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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

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OF THE

FIFTIETH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

VOLUME XIX.

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VOLUME XIX, PART X.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,

FIFTIETH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

cratic Secretary of the Treasury, who it is said has himself contributed $10,000 to the campaign, and of whom it is said, whether truthfully or not I do not know, that his nearest relative has contributed twice as much.

It seems to me to be pretty small business for the Democratic party to be now attempting to get money out of the subordinate officials and clerks of the Government with the vast agencies that they have for the collection of money. In looking over the deposits in the national banks I found several banks that held a million dollars of the people's money. I found some banks that held $1,100,000 of the people's money, and for that they had deposited simply $1,000,000 of Government bonds. I do not say but that it is safe. I do not say but that the money is safe in the national banks, but I do say when the Government is a debtor to the extent of a thousand million dollars and more, drawing on an average more than 4 per cent., it would have been in the interest of public economy and public decency that this money should have been paid on the public debt, when it might have been paid on the public debt in such a way as to have saved to the Government at least 2 or 2½ per cent. upon the money from which no benefit whatever is now derived, except, as suggested on my right, for campaign purposes.

Before the session closes I propose to go into details to show the enormous amount of money that has been lying in the Treasury of the United States when bonds might have been bought at prices that would have paid the Government on its money a fair interest, an interest almost equal to what the Government investors are now realizing on their bonds when you consider the premium.

But, Mr. President, I do not propose upon this resolution to go into any examination of this question. I only rose to reply to what the Senator from Missouri had said on one point. I want to add further before I sit down that I do not myself know, when there is certified to a public officer from the Civil Service Commission a list to be appointed, how it is possible for him to know, without a violation of his official oath, whether they are Democrats or whether they are Republicans. I understand that the man who whispers in his ear that the appointee is either a Democrat or Republican is guilty of a misdemeanor under the law, and I understand that he who communicates that secret is no more guilty than the man who receives it.

If to-day there is in the administration of public affairs any method adopted or winked at by which the appointing power can know the political position or political belief or political affiliation of the men appointed, not only is that officer guilty of an infraction of the law, but some citizen must also have been guilty of an infraction of the law who furnishes him with the information. I called attention to that yesterday, and I only want now to call attention to the statute, because the Senator from Missouri seemed to think that it was perfectly consistent with proper administration that the Department should know, and should then, if it saw fit, make a selection of Democrats to the exclusion of Republicans. Section 5 of the act of January 16, 1883, declares that if any person shall—

Report upon the examination or proper standing of any person examined hereunder, or aid in so doing, or who shall willfully and corruptly make any false representations concerning the same or concerning the person examined, or who shall willfully and corruptly furnish to any person any special or secret information for the purpose of either improving or injuring the prospects or chances of any person so examined, or to be examined, being appointed, employed, or promoted, shall for each such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100, nor more than $1,000, or by imprisonment not less than ten days, nor more than one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

I repeat, if there is any knowledge as to the political condition of these applicants conveyed to any officer who has the power of appointment, unless it is conveyed by the applicant himself, the conveyor and the receiver are both guilty of a misdemeanor under the law.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

Mr. BUTLER. Let the resolutions be read.

Mr. HALE. There is an amendment pending.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Maine had a right to modify his original resolution. It will be treated as one proposition, with the modification included.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Whereas it is alleged that an order has been issued from the War Department in form and terms as follows:

"[Confidential.]

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ORDNANCE OFFICE,
"*Washington, D. C., January 4, 1886.*

"*To the commanding officers of the national armories at Springfield, Mass., and Rock Island, Ill., and of the United States arsenals at New York, West Troy, N. Y., and Philadelphia, Pa., Boston, Mass., Benicia, Cal., etc.:*

"SIR: While arsenals and the armories are not intended to be converted into political machines, two political parties in this country are recognized. It is therefore ordered that hereafter, in employing and discharging employés of any and all grades, other things being equal and qualifications satisfactory, Democrats will be favored; the object being to divide the force in the different grades gradually between Democrats and Republicans. This rule will apply to women and children, as well as to men, and will be strictly enforced.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"S. V. BENÉT,
"*Brigadier-General, Chief of Ordnance, U. S. Army.*"

And whereas it is further alleged that, in pursuance of such order, changes and removals of persons employed by the Government in the United States arsenals and armories have been made, and that honorably discharged soldiers of the Union Army and their wives and children have thus been removed: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, directed to forthwith transmit to the Senate full information as to the order above named, and to state fully what necessities of the Department required that said order should be issued; and to further inform the Senate why an order issued from the military department of the Government upon public business was marked "confidential;" and also to report fully all changes that have been made of persons employed in the United States arsenals and armories since said order was issued, and especially to inform the Senate whether, at the Rock Island arsenal, the wife and children of a former Union soldier have been removed under said order.

Resolved, That the Secretary of War is further directed to transmit to the Senate copies of any further orders or circulars relating to the employment of persons in any part of said Department since March 4, 1885, together with copies of all correspondence between the Department and any of its officers or subordinates or any other person relating to the politics of any of its employés.

Mr. HOAR. I should like for my own satisfaction, if the mover of the resolution has no objection, to ascertain also another fact, and that is what measures have been taken by the War Department to learn the political opinions of the women and children in its employ. I will move to add that to the resolution.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Will the Senator from Massachusetts send the proposed amendment to the desk?

Mr. HOAR. I will dictate it to the Secretary. At the end of the first resolution I move to add:

And also to inform the Senate what measures have been taken by the War Department to learn the political opinions of the women and children in its employ.

Mr. HALE. I have no objection to that. I think it is a proper amendment.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair understands the Senator from Maine to modify his first resolution so as to include what has been dictated.

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolutions will be read as modified.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, directed to forthwith transmit to the Senate full information as to the order above named, and to state fully what necessities of the Department required that said order should be issued; and to further inform the Senate why an order issued from the military department of the Government, upon public business, was marked "confidential;" and also to report fully all changes that have been made of persons employed in the United States arsenals and armories since said order was issued; and especially to inform the Senate whether, at the Rock Island arsenal, the wife and children of a former Union soldier have been removed under said order; and also to inform the Senate what measures have been taken by the War Department to learn the political opinions of the women and children in its employ.

Resolved, That the Secretary of War is further directed to transmit to the Senate copies of any further orders or circulars relating to the employment of persons in any part of said Department since March 4, 1885, together with copies of all correspondence between the Department and any of its officers or subordinates or any other person relating to the politics of any of its employés.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I suppose this resolution has answered the purpose for which it was brought before the Senate. It has furnished the text for a tirade against the Administration and the Democratic party and against the people of the South, and I suppose that was the object proposed in offering the resolution. I do not desire to enter into the kind of discussion that has been indulged in with reference to it, but I want to express my opinion in regard to the character of the debate which has ensued upon it. In my humble judgment such debate in such a cause and on such a resolution is disreputable to this body.

The Federal Administration has been attacked, been misrepresented, been traduced, simply for the purpose of capturing votes in this country in the next Presidential election. That is the truth and the whole truth about this entire debate. The President of the United States has been held up as a violator of every pledge he has ever made in reference to the subject of civil-service reform. While he has kept in office a very large percentage of Republicans opposed to him and men who voted to keep him out of the Presidential office, while he has given, as I believe, just cause of complaint to his own political friends for the favor which he has shown to the other side of this Chamber, and to the friends of the other side of this Chamber, he is now, on the eve of a Presidential election, traduced as a violator of plighted faith and pledges, and held up before the country in that character without any justification or excuse whatever.

It is true that many changes have been made since President Cleveland came into office, but I venture nothing in saying that in the great majority of cases where the changes have occurred they have taken place upon the expiration of the terms of the incumbents that he found in office. There have been some removals and there ought to have been many more, but he has been lenient towards his political foes and suffered them to hold on to the offices which they occupied when he came into power until their terms of office had expired. In the State in which I live we have but one collector of customs, not a very important office, because the State is a very small State; the late incumbent of that office was appointed in the last few months of President Arthur's term, and yet he was permitted by President Cleveland to fill

out his term of office, having at his command a certain class of patronage affecting light-houses down in the Delaware Bay as well as the assistant collectors of customs, etc., throughout the State. With that fact standing out—and it is not an isolated fact, for similar cases have occurred, if not with reference to collectors of customs with reference to other officers all over this country—the President has suffered the party's term to expire of its own limitation and then filled the office with a friend of his Administration. Yet he has been maligned, been misrepresented both as to his motives and his action.

This resolution was introduced for the purpose of furnishing an occasion, I suppose, to indulge in these harangues and tirades against the Federal Administration. I want to express myself with reference to this resolution. What does it mean? It seems the Secretary of War, or some official under him, gave an order the purpose of which he says was to equalize the employés between the two great parties. He says, in so many words, that the object of that order was to divide the force in the different grades gradually between Democrats and Republicans. He found these places filled by Republicans, and very naturally he desired, as his party desires, and as the country knows he has a right, to give to the men of his own way of thinking an equal share in the emoluments that are derived from these offices.

There have not been as many changes as ought to have been made. I heard some time ago of a bureau in the Treasury Department where there were from twenty to twenty-five officials above the class that are subject to the civil-service law, and not more than four or five changes have been made in that bureau since the Administration came into power. I do not hesitate to say that if I had been Secretary of the Treasury and any bureau officer under me had retained such a proportion of his political enemies in his office, I should dismiss him from the office and put in a man who would make proper changes, and if I were the President of the United States, I would see that every head of Department should mete out justice in his appointments to the party that placed me in power. I should be guilty of ingratitude if I did not do it, if I had knowledge that such was not the case.

I have not much respect for this civil-service reform, I mean for the statutory form provided for. I believe in civil-service reform and I believe that the parties charged by the Constitution and laws of this country with the responsibility of administering the Government ought to see that the agents it has in its employ are men of capacity, men of integrity, men of honesty, men of fidelity to the trust reposed in them. I believe in that kind of civil-service reform. I believe that every man selected for public office ought to be faithful to the duties intrusted to his care. Whether he is a Democrat or Republican, he should be a faithful man. I would not be a public butcher and cut the throat of every man who differs from me in politics; but I would give to the Republican party, if I were President, no advantage over my own friends in the distribution of the patronage of the Government. While I believe in that kind of civil-service reform which holds the agents of the Government to the strictest responsibility and the strictest fidelity, I do not believe in that kind of civil-service reform that provides for a competitive examination, and that a man who can pass before a commission the best examination, a man giving the best answers to the questions propounded, must necessarily be preferred to other men.

There is many a dead-beat, there is many a man that has not character enough to sustain him in his neighborhood, who can pass a better civil-service examination than many worthy men fully competent to discharge all the duties and who would be faithful in the discharge of the duties committed to their care; and yet because the fellow has had a better education, has been sent perhaps to some college and graduated there, with not energy enough to make the money that buys the bread to feed him, too lazy or too indolent often to be of any service in any position in life, is selected because he has passed a civil-service examination at a higher grade than some worthy man fully competent and familiar with the duties required of him. He is kept in the background while this dead-beat, this man whose advantages in early life were superior may have the place which ought to have been given to this worthy man. I believe in no such civil-service reform as that.

If I had my way, I would repeal the statute and revoke every rule and order that has been made under it by President Cleveland or anybody else. I have but little patience with that kind of civil-service reform. You may go through now any of these Departments, and there are men whom President Cleveland found there, some of whom are destitute of character and many of them destitute of that industry and those qualifications which fit men for the positions. I went myself to one of the Secretaries some two or three years ago and I said to him, "You have a man in your employ that I meet occasionally; he is drunk every time I see him." "Well, sir," said he, "tell me who he is and I will turn him out." "I will not do it," said I, "because you will not let me have anything to say as to who will fill his place. If you will not allow me any consideration as to who shall fill his place, I am not willing to act as a spy on your men and have them turned out. I shall not assist you, because you will not assist me and my friends in getting places."

There is that class of men in the service, and they ought to be turned out, whether Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Harrison is elected. I would not discharge a faithful official simply because he was a Republican, provided there was not an undue proportion of Republicans in the service over which I presided; but I would turn out, whether he was a Democrat or a Republican, every man who was inefficient, every man who was a lazy drone, every man who did not perform his duties satisfactorily to me as head of the department.

I shall not enter into this general discussion about the people of the South indulged in by the Senator from Colorado. Reckless assertions are frequently made without evidence, too frequently made for the good reputation of the Senate of the United States. I shall not enter into the discussion about the contributions to political funds.

I suppose that men have always given something to defray the legitimate expenses of the party to which they belong. I suppose they will always do it. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] bravely acknowledged that he would do it, and he intended to do it in this campaign to the extent of his ability. I suppose men do that everywhere, contribute something of their means to the support and maintenance and defraying the legitimate expenses of the party to which they belong. All these criticisms about the check of the President, about the checks of the heads of departments, and all such stuff falls idly upon the public mind.

We flatter ourselves, I suppose, that we shape public opinion and make votes for our party by these discussions, but I have no hesitation in saying that there has been no discussion within the last thirty days in this Chamber that has had any effect upon the public mind, or will change the public vote in any section of this country. In the earlier stages of this session, when the tariff question was brought prominently before the mind of the American people by the vigorous message of the President of the United States, there was discussion which was necessary and proper for the information of the country; but the people have drunk in the wholesome sentiments of the President's message, and are imbued with the sentiments which he has advanced, and all these discussions of late amount to but little. In fact, so far as the influencing of votes is concerned, I would rather have the influence of a half a dozen green grocers located at the cross-roads throughout the country than all the influence which these political tirades in this Chamber can make for any party.

Mr. President, I shall not enter into those discussions. I could arraign the Republican party for its past malfeasance and misfeasance and wrong-doings if I saw proper, but I stand here to say that no man can lay his hands upon any corruption of the present Administration. Whatever may be the faults of Mr. Cleveland in other respects, his administration has been clean and pure. There have been no contracts given out with the distinct understanding that contributions should be made by the contractors in the public service to aid the political party to which they belonged. I do not say that such contracts ever were made, but men have been greatly slandered who have held public positions in this country if such were not the fact; but so far as this Administration is concerned I defy any living man to bring home to the Administration, to the knowledge of President Cleveland or any head of Department, any single instance of corruption, direct or indirect, remote or immediate. While I have not been myself the most fulsome flatterer of the President of the United States, yet I take it upon myself to say that no administration has ever been cleaner and purer, or more honest in its purposes and conduct with regard to the high functions committed to its care than the present Administration. And, sir, while President Cleveland may be traduced during this canvass in the vain hope that it will clip his wings in the flight he is to make over this country in November, he will live in the estimation of his countrymen, live in the history of his country, long after his traducers are forgotten.

Mr. DAWES. I do not wonder, Mr. President, that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY] is tired of this debate. I am a little surprised that in a peroration of such a flight and such a bold assertion of the immortality of the present Administration, he should not take more concern to assure the people for what it would live so long and for what it might be remembered so long. History discloses many instances of people who will live on its pages and in the memory of the world, not for any great good they have accomplished or any great achievement, but for far other reasons; and the wicked will be remembered, I am afraid, in these degenerate times, quite as long as any good that can be discovered in this present Administration.

I rose, however, simply to state that the revelations of this debate are but the fulfillment of prophecy. Those who were here when the civil-service law was enacted, and will call to mind the debate which then occurred, will discover in what has been unfolded under this Administration just what the public were told was capable of being accomplished under this law, even by those earnestly in favor, if possible, of some legislation that would work a cure of an evil so inbred as to be incurable by enactment and the result could come only by conversion.

There were those who voted for this bill in sincerity and in an earnest effort to join with those who had more confidence in the efficacy of the bill than they had and who tried to the best of their ability to find some other form of law that would reach this great evil. They were told then that under an administration so disposed this law might

be wrenched into the most efficient instrument of the spoils system possible to be invented, and what clearer demonstration, what more perfect fulfillment of prophecy than the revelations of this debate?

After all, it teaches us what little confidence can be placed in profession, and how impotent is the skill of man in devising legal instrumentalities to prevent the evil minded, if they have the power, from accomplishing their ends. If a man in the administration of public affairs with this law before him, is so disposed, he can accomplish marvelous good with it and lift up the civil-service out of the mire and degradation of the past into a higher plane and a more effective and honest administration of the public service. But with it, if he is so disposed, he can administer it as I have stated, as has been done so plainly under an administration that reached power by professing greater desire and purpose of accomplishing good under it than anybody else. And yet, after all, by manipulation it has accomplished what has been unfolded here to the people of this country in the name of the civil-service law, the like of which can not be found on the records of the past, unjustifiable as was the conduct of the past, and so gross was it as to force upon the country some sort of legislation to cure it.

Until this nation shall put in authority an administration that shall have the courage and the power behind it to hold every official under it to a personal responsibility for the result, no attempt by legislation or by preaching to elevate the civil service of the country will accomplish anything. When a President of the United States shall have the disposition, the courage, and the moral backing behind him on entering the White House to assemble seven men and say to each one of them, "Into your hands I place this portfolio, and I clothe you with all the power I have for the administration of the duties of your portfolio, but if it goes wrong I hold you personally responsible for your head;" and when that minister shall assemble the heads of the bureaus under him necessary for the discharge of his duties and says to each one of them, "I hold you personally responsible for the proper discharge of the duties of this bureau, and I give you *carte blanche* as to the instrumentality to work out that result, but what goes wrong in that bureau falls on your head"—I say when the time comes when a President, whether he be a Democrat or a Republican, can stand in the White House and inaugurate such a system as that, the civil service, in my opinion, will be put on a proper basis. It will be improved or prostituted just according to the heart and purpose of the party that puts the President in the White House.

When such a system of individual and personal responsibility for the discharge of the duties of each office shall prevail, from the President clear down to the most immaterial official, holding each one personally responsible to his own head for what is accomplished under him, no official will stop in the employment of any man under him to inquire whether he be Republican or Democrat, but only whether he is the best man possible for him to select to accomplish what must be accomplished on pain of official death.

That is the responsibility I long to see inaugurated in this Government. That is the only responsibility I expect ever to see that will lift this civil service up out of party work and party dirt to a true and exclusive devotion to the public service; and the depth of the mire into which it will be dragged in each succeeding administration will be measured only by the disposition of those who are clothed for the time being with the power of administration.

So it was thought and so it was put upon record when this law was enacted. So it has proved in the first administration called upon to administer it. Never in all the history of party politics as connected with official life has there been such a demonstration of the difference between profession and practice in this regard as in this Administration—an administration with all these practices brought home to it, with all these violations of professions which were accepted by those who placed it in power, before the country with solicitations for contributions contrived by a thin device deliberately for the purpose of escaping the phraseology of the law, with an extension of solicitation from the highest officer in the Government down to the humblest policeman who walks in the shadows of the night about the streets of Washington City, with a universal address to all officers called upon, with percentage of salary named and fixed, to contribute their share in support of the party in power, now coming before the country in these colors and in these garments for the verdict of the people.

If this Administration with all its sins of commission and omission upon its shoulders shall be accepted again by the people, do they not have the indorsement that there is no length or depth of degradation and prostitution of the civil service to party behests that they are not justified in the future to indulge in?

The Senator from Delaware may think this an unpleasant and perhaps he may think it an unprofitable subject of debate, when the conduct and course of this Administration is presented to the public for approval or disapproval, but to my mind if these practices, if these violations of pledges and professions shall go for naught with the American people, the civil service of this country has nothing to hope of elevation, efficiency, or purity under this Administration.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I have been observing the operations of this civil-service law since its passage, hoping that a means had been devised and put into practice that would remedy the objections to the former mode of appointing officers and that would be better than the general provisions of the Constitution without special legislation. I have come to the conclusion, without reference to party at all, that the law is a bad one; that instead of fixing responsibility and securing reliable officers it has a tendency directly the other way. It removes responsibility from the proper place and places it where the community are utterly unable to know who has done the deed.

Under the system that formerly existed appointments to office were made on the recommendation of gentlemen in Congress and out of Congress. Their recommendations were made matter of record, and they were held responsible in their districts and by the country, and whatever may be said it was dangerous for any Senator or Representative to recommend worthless men or worthless women to office. He might go on for a little while, but his constituents would discuss it at his coming election, and as a rule ambitious and honorable men took great care to recommend to office only suitable persons. Of course they made mistakes occasionally. The system was not perfect. Abuses grew up which called the attention of the country to it. Besides, abuses that did not exist were alleged, and such abuses as did exist were exaggerated by those who were unable to secure appointments; and the press took up the question and demanded a reform in that respect.

What is the reform? What kind of a law have we? In the first place it does not and could not take from the President the appointing power. That is lodged with the President by the Constitution. The law provides that the President shall appoint three commisioners. They are appointed and removable at his pleasure. Of course he can secure men who will do his bidding. That is the first proposition. The next proposition is that there shall be an examination under certain rules. Here is a chance for great partiality in the examination. If by examination you could ascertain exactly the qualifications, moral as well as intellectual, of all persons applying for office, if you could determine by an examination the fitness of person for office, that would be right. But still there is every opportunity to favor particular classes and individuals, to furnish them in advance the questions to be answered, to help them through, and to embarrass those it is desired to keep out. It is impossible in human nature to make that examination perfectly fair, I do not care how it is provided for. It is necessarily held in secret. It is not in human nature to make it fair where there are contending parties, and you can not have a secret examination of that kind, the result to be determined by men belonging to different parties, which is fair to all applicants for place. If it could be so, as was well stated by the Senator from Delaware, you would not necessarily determine the fitness for office, you would not determine the moral qualities by a mere examination. There are other things to be taken into account. Character, responsibility, can not be determined by giving the answers to a few questions.

I say that the test is insufficient, it is too narrow. The chance for fraud and deception exists everywhere in that step. Then comes the next step. Four persons are selected and sent to the appointing officer, from whom he is to select. Is there any law which will prevent him from ascertaining who these four persons are and what their politics are? You may have all the law you will, but the officer who makes the selection will know by some means, by some wink, and you can not punish him for it. The more criminal statutes you have the more they will be violated. It is impossible to execute such a law; and consequently when the names of four are sent to the head of a Department he selects the one he desires to appoint to accommodate some friend or for some purpose that is not known to the public, and the responsibility rests nowhere.

A member of Congress is not even allowed to testify as to the qualifications of an applicant. He can only say whether or not he is of a good moral character, and it is an ungrateful task to file a protest against the moral character of applicants. If the applicant has not such a character that a Member of Congress can conscientiously recommend him, he would not do so, but he does not want to be put into the position of being an accuser. Consequently the man who represents the people has no power to prevent the appointment, because he is unwilling to become a public accuser, although he may know very well that this person has not such a character, such business habits, and such a standing in the community as would entitle him to first-class confidence; that he is not such a man as he would select. Then the applicant is slipped in and the responsibility is nowhere. You can not fix the responsibility. An officer has been put in, and you may go the rounds and nobody is responsible for the transaction.

It is a secret machine and it will work a demoralization of the civil service. Besides, it places all the power in the hands of the President, if he is disposed to use it. He can remove the civil-service examiners; he can remove the Civil Service Commissioners. It places the whole power in his hands, a power that he is unable to execute himself and must trust to others, to secret agents in fact. The President of the United States can not know the people in the various districts over this vast country. Somebody must select them. There must be some mode of selecting them, and I say the mode devised is a mode that will not work well because it removes responsibility from everybody. No-

body is responsible, for it is a secret institution; nobody is responsible for its workings. It can be said "according to the best examination this man has gone through;" and you have the places filled by unworthy men and nobody is responsible for the appointments. I say the old system of the Constitution, under which appointments were made on the recommendations of citizens, including members of Congress, whose recommendations were on file, so that somebody was responsible, was better than this secret system of thimble-rigging that has been recently invented.

Mr. President, this law ought to be repealed for one reason if for no other: it is a law to promote duplicity and lying. It is a law the very execution of which will breed a race of rascals, because its method is secret and there is no responsibility anywhere. The people will learn of the secret ways of manipulation. The President himself can not tell, nobody can tell the machinery by which men are worked into office. There is an examination on questions which may be as irrelevant to what the man is to do, what is required to be done, as possible, having no reference to it, and when that is done he gets a certificate. If it is fairly done, it is an accident. This one or that one will get a position in advance or will by accident answer some very easy questions, have hard questions put to him and get through by accident without any real test of his qualifications for the place desired. Then comes the manipulation of the four names that are certified.

The members of Congress who represent their districts are excluded; in fact, this law disqualifies them as witnesses. The testimony of a member of Congress can not be taken as to the qualifications of an applicant for office. The testimony of the representatives of the people is inadmissible. The presumption is that the representatives of the people are not competent to testify before an officer having the appointing power. Think of the idea that we are not! If that were true, if they are not as a mass fit to be believed on this question, this Government can not last a year. If the testimony of the representatives of the people of the United States in Congress assembled, who have been selected by the suffrages of the people of the various States, can not be taken as to the qualifications of persons for office, the country has reached a point where it can not exist. Such an idea is absurd. Their testimony ought to be received.

This law goes on the supposition that the people only elect rogues to Congress, men who lie, whose testimony can not be received by those officials having the power of appointment. It is degrading to the public service to put such a provision in the law. It is demoralizing to it to say that members of Congress, who are responsible to their constituents, can not testify as to the qualifications of an applicant, while some secret emissary, for money or for gain or for corruption can, by various arts, worm himself or some other person into office under this irresponsible régime or arrangement and you can not put your hand on a responsible party.

I say, for the honor of Congress, for the good of the service, we ought to return to the practice of holding somebody responsible for recommending persons to office. I know no better class to hold responsible than Senators and Members of Congress. It is said they used their power for patronage; that they advanced themselves; that they got into office by this means their friends. I tell you, sir, if they make bad recommendations their appointments never do them any good. I have known many Members of Congress and Senators to be defeated for re-election because they made bad recommendations.

But how will you defeat these secret, under-ground proceedings? How will you defeat the schemers who manipulate civil-service reform? Why should it be presumed that three men selected by the President who will take the position of commissioners will be better men than those selected by the people, when those three men are shielded from all responsibility by pretending that they are doing it according to the rules, and that if anybody is to blame it is the rules and not they? I ask what presumption is there that these three men will be better men than members of Congress, and what presumption is there that these three men will know more? They can not know the character and standing of the applicants. It is impossible. No one man in this country can have a universal acquaintance. Their acquaintance is limited; they are liable to be imposed upon every day, and nobody is responsible, and nobody can be called to account when a mistake is made in these examinations.

Then, when the examination is over, four names are sent to the appointing officer, and he shields himself under the certificate of examination, and he is not responsible; and when you appeal to the President he says, "All this is done under the civil-service rules; it is done in pursuance of the law; I can not control it; I can not remedy the evil."

This is the system. There is no redress anywhere. You may fill all the offices with irresponsible, worthless men under this system and there is no remedy. I say unless a better remedy than this can be devised, unless something better than the civil-service law can be invented, it had better be repealed and a law passed that nobody shall be prosecuted for what has already occurred under it. I think that would be a good idea right now before Congress adjourns to repeal the law and pass an act of oblivion, and let us know who appoints to office, let us know who is responsible for it, and let us know something about it.

I do not believe in secret machines; I do not believe in secret organizations, because rogues who have time to attend to such matters will succeed and honest men will fail. I believe the honor of the country requires that an act of oblivion be passed for all violations of this law, which are numerous and which never can be punished in the very nature of things, and, perhaps, ought not to be punished because the law itself is so defective. I think we ought to have an act of oblivion and start anew under the Constitution and let us know who puts men in office and why they are put there and let our constituents know, and then I think we shall be able to make some improvement.

We have now the spoils system under this law intensified; the spoils system placed in the hands of spoilsmen alone, not placed in the hands of a man who is indorsed by his people, but placed in the hands of men who have the time to manipulate the system, in the hands of men who have no interest in the country, in the hands of secret agents, secret workers, and as long as you have this law you will have scandals under any administration, because as long as human nature remains the same trickery and fraud will be practiced where trickery and fraud are encouraged by law.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is the Senate ready for the question on the passage of the resolutions?

Mr. VEST. Let the resolutions be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolutions will be again read.

The Secretary read the resolutions of Mr. HALE as modified.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have not the slightest disposition to say a word about these resolutions, and to be very frank I care nothing about them, but there are one or two expressions contained in them which I think entirely improper in resolutions of inquiry. If I caught the reading correctly, and I listened as attentively as I could, the language is, "What orders have been issued as to the politics"—please read that over, Mr. Secretary. I object to the assumption of a fact which I know nothing about and care very little about and do not believe to exist.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the clause referred to by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. The part as to what orders were issued or what measures taken to ascertain the politics.

Mr. HALE. The last clause of the first resolution.

The Secretary read as follows:

And also to inform the Senate what measures have been taken by the War Department to learn the political opinions of the women and children in its employ.

Mr. VEST. I object to that form of expression in a resolution of inquiry, not because it is on this subject, but on any other. It should read "whether any measures have been taken to ascertain the politics; and if so, what."

Mr. HALE. "What measures, if any."

Mr. VEST. That will do.

Mr. HALE. The suggestion is correct. The language to which the Senator refers was not in the original resolution. It was suggested by another Senator.

Mr. VEST. I do not know anything about it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Maine propose to modify the resolution by inserting the words "if any?"

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The modification will be stated from the desk.

The SECRETARY. After the word "measures" it is proposed to insert "if any;" so as to read:

And also to inform the Senate what measures, if any, have been taken by the War Department to learn the political opinions of the women and children in its employ.

Mr. VEST. The same thing occurs in another part of the resolution, I think. I am not familiar with it, and not able to specify it, but I so recollect it. As to women and children, I think it is.

Mr. HALE. I think it does not occur in any other place.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The clause has just been read.

Mr. VEST. Then it is in another one. It occurs twice, it seems to me.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolutions will be sent to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] for his inspection.

Mr. VEST. I believe I was mistaken as to the language of the resolution.

Mr. HALE. I do not remember any other place where the language alluded to occurs.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE].

The resolutions were agreed to.

FOURTH-CLASS POSTMASTERS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no further morning business, the Calendar under Rule VIII is in order.

Mr. REAGAN. I ask the indulgence of the Senate to call up Senate bill 3501, Order of Business 2284.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The title of the bill will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 3501) relating to the classification of post-offices and amendatory of the act approved March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to adjust the salaries of postmasters."

Mr. DAWES. At the adjournment last night the Senate had under consideration a bill called up by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SABIN]. The Senator from Minnesota had the promise informally that if an adjournment was had the bill should be taken up this morning on the motion of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. EDMUNDS] and completed. The Senator from Minnesota was obliged to leave this morning, and the Senator from Vermont is not here.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair therefore recognized the Senator from Texas [Mr. REAGAN].

Mr. DAWES. I venture to ask that the Senate may redeem the plighted pledge made last night to the Senator from Minnesota.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. REAGAN. I ask the Senator from Massachusetts if the bill alluded to by him will take much time?

Mr. DAWES. I do not think any discussion will be had upon it.

Mr. REAGAN. The bill to which I have called attention is one which relates to the interest of 50,000 postmasters and the postal service otherwise. It is a bill that I do not think, when it is read, Senators will object to.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the bill called up by the Senator from Texas will be considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. DAWES. I would like the ruling of the Chair as to the unfinished business.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. There is no unfinished business during the morning hour.

Mr. DAWES. Will there be at 2 o'clock?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The unfinished business at 2 o'clock will be House bill 9151, known as the Northern Pacific forfeiture act.

Mr. DAWES. I have done my duty to the absent Senator. I do not feel under any further obligation.

Mr. ALLISON. I have been compelled to be absent from the Chamber for some days, and ask the indulgence of the Senate to call up a small private bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair has recognized the Senator from Texas [Mr. REAGAN], and his bill is before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole, and was about being read.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; I shall not interpose. I was not aware of it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The reading of the bill will proceed.

The bill S. 3501 was read and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HALE. I want to ask the Senator from Texas one question. I ask that in the course of any remarks which he has to submit on this bill he will explain whether there is any class of postmasters covered in its provisions whose salaries are not increased by this measure.

Mr. REAGAN. Yes, sir, I will.

Mr. President, I think a brief explanation of the pending bill will be sufficient. It will be remembered by Senators that petitions have been received from all parts of the country for the increase of the compensation of fourth-class postmasters. There was application for the increase of the compensation of second and third class postmasters, but that was provided for, as will be remembered by the Senator from Maine, in the bill appropriating for the expenditures of the Post-Office Department by allowing pay for rents, fuel, and lights. Nothing in that bill, however, affected the interests of fourth-class postmasters.

There are of this class of postmasters, as appears by the letter of the Postmaster-General of May 3, 51,592. The bill provides to increase their pay. Under the law as it now is when the receipts of an office are $50 a quarter, amounting to $200 a year, or less, the percentage allowed to the postmaster is 100 per cent. This bill provides that up to the amount of $60 a quarter, that is, $240 a year, they are to have 100 per cent., and in that proportion. It is a very small increase, but it is an increase.

The aggregate amount which the bill would carry above the present aggregate for the payment of this class of postmasters is estimated by the Postmaster-General to be $287,043. By a calculation which I have made that would make an average annual increase of compensation of fourth-class postmasters of $5.52, and it would make an average increase of their quarterly pay of $1.35. Some of course would get more and others less. I merely refer to that to show the rate of increase.

I suppose Senators are so well informed upon this subject that it is hardly necessary to take up the time of the Senate by any protracted discussion of the question. Formerly the rates of postage were higher than now. When we reduced the postage on letters, for instance, from 3 to 2 cents a letter, there was a corresponding reduction of the percentage on postage-stamps that went to the postmasters, and a reduction of their compensation. The reduction of the postage on letters and the reduction of the postage on other mail matter, especially fourth-class matter, has very largely increased the labors of these fourth-class postmasters.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumes the consideration of the unfinished business, which is the bill (H. R. 9151) to forfeit certain lands granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, and for other purposes.

Mr. REAGAN. I ask permission to have the pending bill continued.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Texas asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business be informally laid aside. It will be so ordered if there be no objection, and the consideration of the bill called up by him will be continued.

Mr. REAGAN. I was explaining that while the duties and the labors of this class of postmasters have been increased their compensation has been reduced, and the Department believe that an increase is proper, and this bill was prepared in the Department as it is. The Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads believe this increase ought to be made, and have instructed me by the unanimous consent of those of the committee who were present to report the bill to the Senate and ask the favorable action of it.

What I have said shows how the necessity for this increase comes about, and it is an increase to but a small extent and is in response to petitions which certainly are based upon justice. Surely there should be some increase. The Post-Office Department recommend this increase and the Senate committee recommend it.

In response to the inquiry of the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] I ought to say that there is no increase in the bill for any postmasters except fourth-class postmasters.

There are some other provisions in the bill that are simply intended to remedy the administration of the Post-Office by preventing postmasters from making commissions of postage-stamps and stamped envelopes, which the Department deem to be necessary and which I suppose is to prevent such things as selling postage-stamps for goods in order to get an increase of percentage. The postmasters ought to be confined to the legitimate selling of stamps for the business of the Department.

This covers the idea embraced in the bill, and unless something more is called for I will not occupy the time of the Senate.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to ask the Senator what the percentage of increase is by this bill?

Mr. REAGAN. The precise percentage I can hardly state. Perhaps it is 3 or 4 per cent.

Mr. TELLER. Three or four per cent. on the present salaries of these postmasters?

Mr. REAGAN. I gave this illustration: Under the present law, where a postmaster gets $50 or less for a quarter, making $200 or less for a year, he gets 100 per cent., with a gradual reduction of his percentage as the receipts go up. Under this bill he would get 100 per cent. on the first $60 a quarter; he would get 100 per cent. on the first $240; and then there is a corresponding reduction. It is a very slight increase in the compensation. Of over $8,000,000 paid to fourth-class postmasters, according to last year's statement, it will make an increase of two hundred and eighty and odd thousand dollars, or an average of $5.52 to each of these postmasters for a year, or an average of $1.35 a quarter.

I shall be glad to have the favorable action of the Senate upon the bill, for it is certainly one that appeals to our sense of justice, and has the indorsement of the Department and the committee.

Mr. ALLISON. I call the attention of the Senator from Texas to the fact that this bill is to take effect on the 1st day of July, 1888. I suppose the object of that provision is that these postmasters' salaries may relate back to that particular moment of time. Is that it?

Mr. REAGAN. The recommendation upon which the bill was prepared and sent here by the Department is dated September 11, and I suppose the object is to make this increase take effect from the 1st day of July now past.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it had better take effect at the end of the present fiscal year. I think it had better take effect on the 1st of July, 1889. Then there would be an opportunity of adjusting the appropriations in accordance with it. I think that would be better.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator move an amendment?

Mr. ALLISON. I should like to hear the last section of the bill read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Section 5 will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

SEC. 5. That this act shall take effect and become operative on the 1st day of July, 1888, and not sooner, except that it shall so far take effect from the 1st day of April, 1888, as to require the Postmaster-General to classify the post-offices as third-class offices which become so by virtue of this act and fix the salaries, and make any allowances they may be entitled to by law, to take effect July 1, 1888.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly this statute should not be retroactive. We shall get into the trouble that we have been in for some years about what is known as the Spalding act if we undertake to make this retroactive. It ought to take effect in the future, and so far in the future as to make it absolutely certain that nobody will come here with a claim. I think a bill of this importance, increasing the compensation of postmasters all along the line in various ways, certainly should not

take effect until the beginning of the next fiscal year; and I submit that to the Senator from Texas as a wise provision.

Mr. REAGAN. Ordinarily I should agree with the Senator from Iowa, but the returns are all in in this case and the justice and necessity for this change are so manifest that, unless it would work inconvenience, I should regret very much to see these postmasters denied an increase of salary for another year when the returns to enable the Department to make the adjustment are now in, and show as well as they will show at the expiration of another year who would be entitled to the benefit of this increase.

Mr. ALLISON. There are some penal provisions in the bill which I think might make it a little awkward to have it take effect retroactively, and besides this is a small compensation to each postmaster and they have got on with the present compensation for a great many years. I think in increasing their compensation in this way we had better make it take effect in the future. Therefore I suggest some future day, either the 1st of July, 1889, or the 1st of April, 1889.

Mr. EDMUNDS. It ought to be the fiscal year.

Mr. ALLISON. It ought to begin with the first of the fiscal year, and I make that motion if the Senator from Texas will not agree to modify the bill.

Mr. REAGAN. I need only repeat what I have said, that by the reduction of the postage and the loading of the mails with a large additional amount of mail-matter, the result of the percentage of postage-stamps canceled by postmasters was reduced and their salaries were reduced. The injustice is so manifest that petitions have been universal from them asking a restoration of the rates or a compensation proportioned to the labor which they render.

This amendment perhaps about brings the compensation back to where it was before, and it is in answer to the demand made from the country generally, as I have stated, a demand which covers the claims of fifty-one thousand and odd postmasters, and is so just that the Department first recommended in a communication to the other House and then in a communication to the Senate that this measure of relief should be given to take effect at the date prescribed, and the Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads concur with the Postmaster-General in the belief that this is just.

There is no trouble, as I understand; and I do not see how any trouble can arise in making the classification on the returns that were in at the close of the last fiscal year, so that if the act takes effect from the beginning of the present fiscal year there will be no more difficulty than there would be in making the classification under the returns at the end of this fiscal year. It is simply a question whether we will do justice to these postmasters now, or defer that justice to the end of the fiscal year. I trust the amendment of the Senator from Iowa will not be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The Secretary will report the amendment.

The SECRETARY. In section 5, line 3, it is proposed to strike out the word "eight" and insert "nine;" so as to read:

That this act shall take effect and become operative on the 1st day of July, 1889.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment. [Putting the question.] The ayes appear to have it. The ayes have it, and the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. REAGAN. I will not call for a division on the amendment, as there may not be a quorum here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will call the attention of the Senator from Texas to the remainder of the section to see whether any other changes should be made to correspond with the amendment just adopted.

Mr. REAGAN. I suppose that would make it proper to strike out the words commencing after "1888," in the third line, down to the work "1889," in the fourth line.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 3, after the date "1888," it is proposed to strike out:

And not sooner, except that it shall so far take effect from the 1st day of April, 1888.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed amendment will be agreed to if there is no objection. The Chair hears none, and it is agreed to.

Mr. ALLISON. Then "1888" ought to be struck out at the end of the section and "1889" inserted.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let the section be reported as it stands.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The section will be read as amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

SEC. 5. That this act shall take effect and become operative on the 1st day of July, 1889, as to require the Postmaster-General to classify the post-offices as third-class offices which become so by virtue of this act, and fix the salaries and make any allowances they may be entitled to by law, to take effect July 1, 1888.

Mr. REAGAN. Instead of saying "as to require," it should read:

And the Postmaster-General shall classify the post-offices as third-class offices which become so by virtue of this act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be reported.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the section so as to make it read:

That this act shall take effect and become operative on the 1st day of July, 1889, and the Postmaster-General shall classify the post-offices as third-class offices which become so by virtue of this act, and fix the salaries and make any allowances they may be entitled to by law, to take effect July 1, 1888.

Mr. ALLISON. "To take effect from and after the 1st day of July, 1889," it should be. The object I have in view is to have this law take effect thereafter and that there shall be no adjustment of accounts prior to that time, because unless we do that all these postmasters' accounts must be readjusted on the basis of this new law.

Mr. REAGAN. There is no objection to that. The first amendment being adopted, that is proper.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In section 5, line 8, after the word "effect," it is proposed to insert "from and after;" so as to read:

And make any allowances they may be entitled to by law, to take effect from and after July 1, 1889.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I move to amend that by striking out the printed words "to take effect;" so as to read:

Entitled to by law from and after July 1, 1889.

That will make it clear that it operates *in futuro*. Just strike out the printed words "to take effect," and then we shall all understand it alike.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be reported.

The SECRETARY. In section 5, line 8, after the word "law," it is proposed to strike out the words "to take effect;" so as to read:

And make any allowances they may be entitled to by law from and after July 1, 1889.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. REAGAN. I did not exactly understand that. The idea of that provision must be embraced there because this law would make some third-class offices that are not now third-class offices, and the idea was that the law in relation to classification should be carried out. Is that stricken out?

Mr. EDMUNDS. No, sir; it is the allowance to take effect from and after the 1st of July, 1889; so that making this classification their right to readjusted salary will commence on the 1st of July next. That is what I meant to do.

Mr. REAGAN. Let it be reported again.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will report the entire section as amended.

The Secretary read the section as amended, as follows:

SEC. 5. That this act shall take effect and become operative on the 1st day of July, 1889, and the Postmaster-General shall classify the post-offices as third-class offices which become so by virtue of this act and fix the salaries, and make any allowances they may be entitled to by law, from and after July 1, 1889.

Mr. REAGAN. That is all right.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FORT BROOKE MILITARY RESERVATION.

Mr. CALL. I ask the Senate to take up for consideration the bill (S. 3340) for the donation of Fort Brooke military reservation at Tampa, Fla., for free schools and other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let it be read for information.

Mr. TELLER. I shall have to object to that bill. It has not been to the committee, as I understand. I will inquire if that bill has been before the Committee on Public Lands or any other committee?

Mr. CALL. It was reported from the Committee on Public Lands.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill was reported from the Committee on Public Lands, and has once been before the Senate for consideration.

Mr. TELLER. Then it is a different bill from the one I supposed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let it be read for information.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read for information.

The Secretary read the bill, and, by unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that an amendment is pending, which was offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In section 1, line 14, after the word "hereby," it is proposed to strike out "granted" and to insert "allotted;" so as to read:

Five acres for a marine hospital, and 25 acres which is hereby allotted to the city of Tampa for a public park.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I do not object to the amendment, but I should like to inquire whether there is any written report on the bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that there is no written report on the bill.

Mr. EDMUNDS. This bill has not been to the Committee on Military Affairs, which has to do with military reservations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill was reported from the Committee on Public Lands, the Chair is informed.

Mr. CALL. Will the Senator from Vermont allow me to explain the matter to him? Under the act of Congress for that purpose this reservation was surrendered to the Interior Department for disposal as a part of the public lands of the United States. It was surrendered several years ago, and it has been a matter of contention in regard to the method in which it should be disposed of. There have been various claims made against it, some of scrip location and some attempts to make homestead entry, all of which have been disposed of by two different Secretaries of the Interior in the same way.

The reservation lies adjacent to the city of Tampa, right alongside of it, and it is necessary that something should be done in order to allow the extension of the town in that direction; otherwise the people who are locating there will be compelled to seek homes and lots for business purposes in another and not so desirable portion of the city. There is a very decided feeling, I am told, on the part of the people of Tampa that the matter should be settled, so that the land can be made use of for the convenience and advantage of the town.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I should have supposed that, considering the situation of Tampa and its growing importance as a seaport, it would have been the interest of the United States to preserve this military reservation in order that at the proper time, which I have no doubt will come, suitable fortifications and other military structures, etc., may be erected there, instead of disposing of the reservation, now that railways and steam-ships meet at that place, making it a port which will require the usual defensive works. This land ought to have been kept for that purpose; but if Congress has already decided that it shall not be, and it is turned over to the public lands of the United States, that may be another question.

Mr. CALL. I will state further to the Senator from Vermont that the location of the reservation is, in the opinion of military authorities, not desirable as a place for a fortification of any kind. It is on the Hillsborough River, which is some distance removed from the entrance to the bay; while on either side of the Bay of Tampa there are eligible positions for commanding the channel or any approach into the deep water of the harbor. Those points are at least 10 or 20 miles from the present reservation. This reservation was made at a time when it was desirable to protect the country from the Indians. It is an old reservation, having been used exclusively for that purpose.

The great object that I have had in view in the matter was to have this bill so amended that the proceeds of the sale of the lots might be donated to the town of Tampa for the industrial education of her people. The committee, however, have not approved of that idea. I thought I would submit to the Senate a motion to amend the bill, simply appropriating the proceeds of the sale of the lots as provided for in the bill to the town of Tampa for educational purposes under any limitation that might be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. EDMUNDS. If I may interrupt my friend, I notice by the bill that that particular proposition has already been disagreed to.

Mr. CALL. I do not so understand it.

Mr. EDMUNDS. It is so noted on the file copy, so far as I can read it.

Mr. CALL. When the bill was up before, that motion to amend was made; but the bill went over pending the discussion of the proposition, as I remember.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment referred to by the Senator from Florida was disagreed to as in Committee of the Whole. The pending amendment is the amendment which was offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY]. Of course the Senator from Florida will be at liberty to offer the same amendment in the Senate when the bill reaches the Senate.

Mr. BERRY. I rose simply to make the statement which has been made by the Chair. The amendment was disagreed to as in Committee of the Whole, but the senior Senator from Florida gave notice that he would renew it in the Senate. The bill did not reach the Senate upon its former consideration, and therefore the amendment was not offered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] to strike out in line 14 of section 1 the word "granted" and insert the word "allotted;" so as to read:

And 25 acres which is hereby allotted to the city of Tampa for a public park.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there amendments to be offered to the bill in the Senate?

Mr. EDMUNDS. I think the Senator from Florida desires to renew the amendment he offered before. It is written already on the file copy, probably just as the Senator would like to renew it.

Mr. CALL. I renew the amendment in that form.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Florida will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add as an additional section:

SEC. 4. That the proceeds of the sales of the lots shall be donated to the city of Tampa for the support of an industrial school.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL].

Mr. CALL. I hope the Senate will adopt the amendment. This little piece of ground, of 140 acres, I believe it is now, has been made valuable entirely by the settlement and growth of the town, and by the improvements which the people have made there. It is immediately adjacent to the region of country in which are Indians who have no home and no settled location, but for whom a provision has been made in the Indian appropriation bill of this year, with the recommendation of the Committee on Indian Affairs, I believe, at least with the approval of the chairman of that committee.

I think it very desirable that as many institutions as may be available should be established there for the education of that class of people and others who are like them inhabiting the everglades of Florida, and who are upon the outskirts of a settled country. In that point of view, considering the population that is found upon the coast, I urge the amendment. They are a very excellent class of people, some from the West Indies, some from Cuba, and they are poor. They subsist by cigar-making and by fishing and gathering sponges and coral. I think it very desirable that as extensive privileges of education as can possibly be obtained should be furnished to them, and especially industrial education.

Under those circumstances I have for years been seeking to obtain an appropriation of the proceeds of the sale of this property for the cause of education in that locality. It is a somewhat peculiar and exceptional case, though similar to the case at Fort Smith, Ark., where the reservation under almost exactly similar conditions was donated to the town for the purposes of education.

Mr. EDMUNDS. May I ask the Senator from Florida how much land has already been given to the State of Florida by the United States for the support of schools?

Mr. CALL. I do not remember exactly the amount. I think the Government gave the sixteenth section in each township.

Mr. EDMUNDS. The sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections, was it not?

Mr. CALL. I know the sixteenth was given. I am not quite sure about the thirty-sixth.

Mr. EDMUNDS. That would be two sections in each township.

Mr. CALL. Only the sixteenth section was given, I am informed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY], who is upon the Committee on Public Lands. The sixteenth is the only one given, I remember. The Government gave, in addition to that, a large number of acres of land, I think less than 50,000 acres, for two seminaries, many years ago, which are now existing and maintained, the land having sold for a very inconsiderable sum, as it was at a time when land had very little value in Florida.

The money was invested and the State has assumed the payment, and is paying it. The funds were lost, I think, during the war, but the investment is made good by the State. The State of Florida is now maintaining those schools and paying the interest upon the money as it originally agreed to do; but it has had no large appropriations of public land for public schools, there having been only the ordinary sixteenth section.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I was under the impression that in all the admitted, new States, the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections in each township were granted to those States for the use of schools. Perhaps I am mistaken. But certainly the State of Florida has had more than one special grant, and pretty large ones, of land there for the benefit of seminaries of learning and for other educational purposes, agricultural colleges, etc., and has shared well with all the other people of the States, new and old, in all the beneficence of the Government concerning the disposition of public lands. In that State in particular, I suppose, the amount of what were called swamp and overflowed lands that have been granted to that State would be something very large, indeed; and we all know that what forty years ago were called swamp and overflowed lands have turned out in a very large proportion to be lands of the greatest agricultural value.

So I can not see upon what principle of justice to the rest of the people of the United States the public authorities of any part of the State of Florida should take the sum of money, great or small, which is to be got from the sale of this property of the United States, for the purposes of their schools. It does not appear to me to be just.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from Vermont is mistaken in the opinion that the Southern States received two sections of land for school purposes. The sixteenth section only I think was given to all the Southern States. The Western and Northwestern States at a subsequent period did receive two sections of land.

However, the amendment offered by the Senator from Florida was thoroughly considered by the Committee on Public Lands. The chairman of that committee is absent in Kansas. He was very much op-

posed to the amendment for various reasons, and the committee unanimously reported the bill as it now stands.

One objection made to the amendment was that there were other reservations, especially one in Kansas, at Leavenworth, that would have to be disposed of at subsequent periods, and there were reservations in various other States. If this money was given to the town of Tampa, then it would be proper to make the same donation to other towns.

Another objection urged against the amendment by the chairman of the committee was that the people in Tampa, the citizens who reside in the town, have no greater right to receive this benefit than the entire county in which it is located, or the State of Florida; that it was selecting them out and giving them particular advantages where others were entitled to equal advantages.

Those were the reasons which induced the committee to report adversely to this proposition. It is true there is a precedent, and probably more than one precedent. There is one in my own State. The reservation at Fort Smith in my State was given to the town of Fort Smith perhaps three or four years ago. For that reason it was very strongly urged that we should follow the precedent.

I felt it my duty to state the objections that were urged by the chairman of the committee in his absence.

Then the amendment, as offered by the Senator from Florida, it strikes me, is simply to establish an industrial school without any conditions attached as to the character of the school, or any security that the money will be applied in that way.

When the money was given to Fort Smith it was accompanied by various conditions about how the land was to be sold and the money received. Only the interest was to be used for school purposes, and various other conditions that I can not now recite were prescribed. The pending amendment simply provides for the support of an industrial school without stating the character of the school or whether any school of that kind has already been established.

All these, in my opinion, are objections to the amendment. They were urged, however, more strongly by the chairman of the committee than any one else upon the committee; and in his absence I felt it my duty to state his objection to the amendment, and then let the Senate determine the matter.

Mr. TELLER. The case that the Senator from Arkansas cites in his own State, which he says was used before the committee, could hardly be a precedent, because there were peculiar circumstances attending that case which I need not go into now. There was there quite a different condition of affairs from what exists in connection with this place.

As a general rule, I am quite disposed to be liberal with reference to appropriations for school purposes; but having adopted a policy to dispose of these reservations for the public good, for the interest of the entire country, I do not see why we should make an exception in this case. If we do it in this case we must take a great number of military posts in different parts of the country that have been abandoned and turn them over to the local authorities. Unless Congress is prepared to enter upon that sort of a system there can be no special reason why in this case the property should be donated to the people of the city of Tampa.

I think the committee were unanimous in rejecting the present suggestion, although one member of the committee, I believe, was in favor of donating the proceeds of the land to the public schools of the State, or the city, or county, I do not remember which; but nobody was in favor of the proposition as now made.

Besides, from all the evidence the committee could get, the people of the town of Tampa are entirely satisfied with the proposition contained in the bill. This property has been lying there unoccupied for many years. The reservation of the park is a very valuable provision for the city. It is a very delightful portion of the reservation and the most valuable part of it. While this is not an absolute donation to the city, yet practically that is what it amounts to. It will probably never be resumed by the Government for any purpose of the Government, and it is a very valuable donation.

In addition to that, we have set apart other ground for public buildings, which if the Government should ever build on would furnish an additional park, because the grounds reserved are much larger than the public buildings will ever occupy or require. If the Government does not use that part of the reservation it will inure to the benefit of the city. So, on the whole, it is a very liberal donation to the city of Tampa.

I repeat that I was satisfied myself that the city of Tampa is anxious to have this reservation disposed of in such a way that it may be occupied. The portion of it that will be sold as a park might be put in proper order to make the place attractive.

I believe I do not misstate the fact when I say that the people of Tampa are interested in this bill in the shape it now stands, and it is much more likely to become a law if it passes in the shape that we have reported it than if it should be amended in the way the Senator from Florida suggests. I do not believe it is in the interest of the people of Florida to put on the amendment he suggests.

I should like to say further that the State of Florida has no right to complain of the munificence of the Government with respect to the public lands. They got their sixteenth section of school lands; they got their agricultural college lands; they got their internal improvement lands, and they got the general amount of lands, a large amount, that the Government donated to the new States. Indeed, they got nearly the entire State; and I have thought when I have listened to the Senator from Florida on various occasions that they had got all the State. They certainly got all the swamp land there was in the State. On various occasions the Senator has told us that under the pretense of getting swamp land the State had gobbled up, using a Western phrase, all the dry land besides. So if that is true, putting the two together, they have got all the land in the State. They ought to be satisfied to let the Government retain this small reservation, having got a very large donation in every way for schools, for colleges, and as swamp lands, and everything else, and now a very handsome donation is made in this bill itself. While it is not an absolute gift, I repeat, it is practically a donation. It looks to me as rather being a little bit avaricious for the Senator to claim any more.

I am willing to deal liberally with them, and the committee thought we had dealt very liberally when we selected 30 acres of the finest land on that whole reservation, which is worth several thousand dollars an acre at least, as a practical donation to the city. I think the Senator ought to be content with that.

Mr. CALL rose.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. BLAIR. I ask unanimous consent to say a word before that motion is put. This session is not too active for the business of the country. There are a great many bills that require action; there is a great deal of talk to be made before the discussion of the tariff bill can be properly in order. I hope the Senate will not consume the slight intervening time that there is before that debate is expected to commence by this thoughtless adjournment. There is a good deal to be done upon the Calendar. I hope the Senate will remain in session and devote itself to the public business to-morrow at least, if not on Saturday.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Vermont. [Putting the question.] The ayes appear to have it. The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

Mr. CULLOM. I ask leave to submit a conference report.

Mr. BLAIR. I call for a division on the motion of the Senator from Vermont.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Hampshire asks for a division. Senators in favor of the motion will rise and stand until counted.

The Senate proceeded to divide; and the ayes were 20.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from New Hampshire, I trust, will not demand a further count. Twenty have voted in the affirmative.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. More than a majority of a quorum have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. BLAIR. There are several bills upon the Calendar that ought to be acted upon. There are several that I have been waiting months to ask the attention of the Senate to, and, like the man at the pool of Bethesda, just as I thought I was ready to get cured, somebody else who was not half so badly off, who did not need the public attention to anything the extent those bills did, got in with comparatively unimportant matters, and received attention from the Senate, and those bills were passed.

It has come to be that there are some three or four bills which ought to be acted upon before the final adjournment of the session that I fear will receive no attention unless they can receive it between now and next Monday, when, I understand, the tariff discussion is likely to be up. It is with that view, not because I am not as desirous of rest or of relief from these daily sessions as anybody else, that I oppose this motion. I hope the Senator from Vermont will not press it.

One Senator has given notice, I observe, of a desire to address the Senate upon some question to-morrow, Friday, and unless we are to have some system invented and inaugurated by which the whole Senate can talk through a single wire, like the modern duplex telegraph wire, we are not going to have time to relieve ourselves from the public business that is pending and pressing. To adjourn over and spoil the next two days is, I think, entirely wrong and trifling with the public interests. Therefore I hope the Senator will not press the motion. If he does, I shall feel under the necessity of appealing to the yeas and nays.

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator yield to me to submit a conference report?

Mr. HARRIS. Before the conference report is submitted (and I wish to submit one immediately afterwards) I desire to suggest to the Senator from New Hampshire that a demand for a further division or a further count may result in our inability to proceed with any business whatever; and if he presses it I for one promise him that it will require a voting quorum to pass any bill or do any other business in this body.

Mr. BLAIR. We shall have to deal with difficulties of that kind when we come to them. If Senators choose to take the responsibility of obstructing business that they otherwise would not, because some members of the Senate feel it to be their duty to go along as far as they can in the ordinary and usual method of procedure, the responsibility will be with those Senators and not with others who, like myself, desire to go on until we come to obstacles.

Mr. HARRIS. I beg to suggest to the Senator, if he will allow me, that it has come to the exact point now where the question referred to by him arises.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not think it has come to the exact point.

Mr. DAWES rose.

Mr. BLAIR. I am proceeding by unanimous consent.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator will pause one moment. Is there objection to the Senator from New Hampshire proceeding? ["No objection."]

Mr. BLAIR. The question pending has not been decided, and unanimous consent has been given to debate. It is not apparent that I represent a minority of Senators upon the floor, and therefore the Senator from Tennessee is premature in his assumption of fact. I am urging reasons why there is, as I think there should be, a majority opposed to this motion, and I am serious in regard to it. As I said, if we must find out at some time whether we can do business here, I shall endeavor to secure a record by the yeas and nays upon the motion if it becomes necessary.

Mr. DAWES. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the Senator from Massachusetts proceeding? The Chair hears none.

Mr. DAWES. I simply want to make an inquiry of the Senator from Tennessee. I understand him to say that unless we can adjourn over to-morrow we shall not do any more business. Is that the threat the Senator announces?

Mr. HARRIS. The statement of the Senator from Tennessee was that if the Senator from New Hampshire pressed a further count and developed the want of a quorum, the Senator from Tennessee would be here to see that no business should be done without a quorum. That was the statement of the Senator from Tennessee, and the Senator from Massachusetts can draw whatever inferences or deductions (in which he is immensely fertile) that he chooses.

Mr. DAWES. So I understand the Senator from Tennessee announced that unless he can have his way and adjourn the Senate over to-morrow, he will see to it that no business is done hereafter until a quorum is brought back here.

Mr. CALL. I appeal to the Senator from Vermont to withdraw his motion at present. It has intervened in the midst of the consideration of the bill which has been under discussion, and if pressed now it may defeat the further consideration of the bill.

Mr. CULLOM. Is it in order to submit a conference report?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Twenty Senators have voted in the affirmative on the motion of the Senator from Vermont that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I ask unanimous consent to say a word.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The Senator from Vermont will proceed.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I wish to appeal to the Senator from New Hampshire, in the interest of getting on with a few little things this afternoon, to withdraw his insisting upon a division. At the present moment undoubtedly a quorum of the Senate is within reach, for we ought not to do any business at all without a quorum. The Constitution requires the presence of a quorum.

What the Senator from Tennessee has said ought to be said every day by everybody. If I did not suppose that at this moment a quorum was within reach, could be got within half an hour, and is therefore practically here, I should object to any business being done. The Constitution expressly requires that the number of members of this body who are entitled to do business is a majority of Senators elected, and any less number is not entitled to do business according to the Constitution that we have all pledged ourselves to sustain.

I have stood on that proposition ever since I have been a member of this body, and think it to be a duty to do so. Whether at this moment there may or may not be within this Chamber the requisite thirty-nine Senators, I do not know; and therefore, inasmuch as what would be a majority of thirty-nine have voted in favor of adjourning over, I thought it not unfair to appeal to the Senator from New Hampshire to let the business go on in that way. I did not intend to interfere with the bill that has been under consideration.

Mr. BLAIR. I understand the Senator's point is this, that no business should be done without a quorum.

Mr. EDMUNDS. No business ought to be done without a quorum.

Mr. BLAIR. I propose to see that we do not adjourn over until Monday without a quorum; that is all.

Mr. EDMUNDS. That is right.

Mr. HARRIS. I beg permission to say a single word.

Mr. BLAIR. I ask the Senator from Vermont, however, to withdraw his motion. I do not wish to have it pressed to an issue at this time.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the Senator from Tennessee will proceed.

Mr. HARRIS. The motion that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next was, as the RECORD will show, not my motion. If the want of a quorum shall be developed at this time, then no business can be done. I know that there are certain matters of public interest and of public business that ought to be done to-day, and I am anxious that they shall be done to-day. Therefore, if the Senator from New Hampshire chooses to develop a condition of things that may prevent our looking after and performing those duties that devolve upon us to-day, I give notice, and I shall stand by it, that I shall insist upon the presence of a quorum.

Mr. EDMUNDS. There is a quorum here now, I am satisfied.

Mr. BLAIR. Before the matter is decided I wish to protest against being made the poor dog Tray of this business. I have been standing upon the conceded right to find out whether this motion commands a majority of the Senate, which it should require, as both the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from Tennessee say, being out of the usual order of adjournment, a majority in order that it may be carried. I was trying to find out whether there was a majority of a quorum in favor of an adjournment over to Monday, and thus losing a day beyond our usual custom. I suggest to the Senator from Vermont that he withdraw his motion for the present. No doubt there will be unanimous consent given for that purpose.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I am satisfied there is a quorum here, and it is a good time to determine the question now that we have a quorum. As it is no party question, everybody is permitted to vote.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Twenty Senators have voted in the affirmative. The noes will rise. [A pause.] Twelve Senators have voted in the negative.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TELLER (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GIBSON]. I do not know how he would vote, and therefore I refrain from voting.

The roll-call was concluded.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHACE] is paired with the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COLQUITT].

Mr. BLAIR (after having voted in the negative). I desire to change my vote. I vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 9; as follows:

YEAS—35.

Aldrich,	Coke,	Harris,	Platt,
Allison,	Cullom,	Hawley,	Pugh,
Bate,	Davis,	Ingalls,	Saulsbury,
Berry,	Dolph,	Jones of Arkansas,	Spooner,
Blair,	Edmunds,	Manderson,	Vest,
Bowen,	Eustis,	Morgan,	Walthall,
Butler,	Farwell,	Paddock,	Wilson of Iowa,
Cameron,	Gray,	Pasco,	Wilson of Md.
Cockrell,	Hampton,	Payne,	

NAYS—9.

Call,	Hoar,	Sawyer,	Vance,
Chandler,	Mitchell,	Stockbridge,	Voorhees.
Dawes,			

ABSENT—32.

Beck,	Faulkner,	Jones of Nevada,	Reagan,
Blackburn,	Frye,	Kenna,	Riddleberger,
Blodgett,	George,	McPherson,	Sabin,
Brown,	Gibson,	Morrill,	Sherman,
Chace,	Gorman,	Palmer,	Stanford,
Colquitt,	Hale,	Plumb,	Stewart,
Daniel,	Hearst,	Quay,	Teller,
Evarts,	Hiscock,	Ransom,	Turpie.

So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. BLAIR. I move to reconsider the vote just taken, and I do so with the design of withdrawing the motion to reconsider in a moment. Now, sir——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. HARRIS. I object to any debate on the question.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President——

Mr. CULLOM. I rise to submit a conference report which I have been trying to get in for some time.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The conference report can not be received at this time.

Mr. BLAIR. I withdraw the motion to reconsider, and will say what I have to say upon some other occasion.

LIFE-SAVING STATION.

Mr. CULLOM. I rise to submit a conference report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection?

Mr. CALL. That is not in order. The bill which was under consideration by the Senate must be proceeded with.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair understands that the conference report would be in order except when some Senator was upon the floor.

Mr. CULLOM. I was on the floor myself.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair understands that the

Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] had the floor upon the bill that was pending when the motion to adjourn over was entered.

Mr. CULLOM. Can a Senator hold the floor while the yeas and nays are taken on another question?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to submit respectfully to the Chair, in order that the observation of the Chair may not go as a precedent, that I understand a conference report can be submitted when a Senator is speaking, taking him off his feet.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. That question does not arise now, but if it were up the Chair would decide against the suggestion made.

Mr. CULLOM. I believe the Senator from Florida yields. There will be no controversy over the report.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from Florida yields to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. CALL. Yes, I yield.

Mr. CULLOM submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1856) to establish a life-saving station on the Atlantic coast between Indian River Inlet, Delaware, and Ocean City, Md., having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendment.

JNO. P. JONES,
WM. P. FRYE,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
TH. H. BAYLY BROWNE,
T. E. TARSNEY,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report requires no action on the part of the Senate.

BRIGHTWOOD RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from Florida kindly consents to yield to me that I may submit a conference report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be received.

Mr. HARRIS submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2742) to incorporate the Brightwood Railway Company of the District of Columbia, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the words "single or," in line 8, insert "with the approval of the commissioners of the District, a;" so as to read: "And by that name may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, with authority to construct and lay down a single or, with the approval of the commissioners of the District, a double track, etc."

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 2, inserting, after the word "cents," in line 12, page 2, the words "*Provided*, If electric wires or cables are used, the same shall be placed underground;" and agree to the same.

That the Senate insist on its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 3, and the House recede from the same, the amendment being to insert, after the word "jurisdiction," in line 7, page 6, the words "*Provided*, That the full amount of the capital stock subscribed shall be paid in full in cash before said company shall operate the said road."

That the House recede from its amendment numbered 4, inserting, after the word "construction," in line 16, page 9, the words "*Provided*, That it shall exercise no powers not herein expressly granted."

ISHAM G. HARRIS,
C. B. FARWELL,
JOHN C. SPOONER,
Conferees on the part of the Senate.
BARNES COMPTON,
JOHN T. HEARD,
M. S. BREWER,
Conferees on the part of the House of Representatives.

ADDITIONAL REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. SAWYER. I ask the Senator from Florida to yield to me that I may make a report from the Committee on Pensions.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be received if there be no objection.

Mr. SAWYER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2499) increasing the pension of Miss Sarah Mary Carroll, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. VEST, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis., reported it with amendments.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3606) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis., reported adversely thereon, and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. HAMPTON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2267) to pay Thompson McKinley $375 for service voucher issued to him during the late war by Capt. George W. Harrison, assistant quartermaster United States Army, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 3615) for the relief of the St. Louis and Mississippi Valley Transportation Company; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present the petition of the president, Henry C. Haarstick, of that company, and ask that it be received and referred to the Committee on Claims to accompany the bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Claims.

FORT BROOKE MILITARY RESERVATION.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3340) for the donation of Fort Brooke military reservation at Tampa, Fla., for free schools and other purposes, the pending question being on the amendment proposed by Mr. CALL.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Vermont [Mr. EDMUNDS] will withdraw his opposition to this amendment. I had counted with some degree of certainty upon those Senators who had been in favor of the appropriation of the public lands in large quantities for the cause of education, and expected that they would support this amendment to the bill. The circumstances of the case are precisely those of the Fort Smith reservation in Arkansas. I am somewhat astonished that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] should make an objection to the amendment. The quantity of public lands that the State of Florida has received has nothing to do with the matter.

If it is possible, I shall be in favor of reclaiming every acre of the public lands that any State has unlawfully obtained, giving them, as the law has given them, to the settler and not respecting any decisions of the Department which, in violation of law, have given away the lands which were donated to the people for homesteads. In all cases any disposition of the public land by the Interior Department to any other purpose than as homes for the people has been unlawful and is absolutely void. The law has been notice to every one, and no executive officer could by any act not authorized by law give any kind of a right or title to it any more than I could give a title to any one of this Capitol by executing a deed purporting to convey it. We all know that this is the law, and we know but for the poverty of the people and their inability to pay the expenses of a lawsuit it would be so decided without any further legislation.

Therefore it is no objection, so far as I am concerned, that the State of Florida or any other State has obtained in violation of law public lands which should belong to the people for homestead settlement and given them to corporations. Wherever the law has been violated I am in favor of the lands being reclaimed and restored to the people. Unless we follow this rule, we shall find some day that the Capitol has been given away by the Interior Department, and no doubt some kind of law will be claimed to justify it.

But, Mr. President, I shall not delay the Senate further. There is no better use that could be made of the proceeds of this reservation than to educate the people who are local to the place; that is, of the city, county, or district. If there be a reservation at Leavenworth or in Oregon or anywhere else in the United States, not too large in proportions, my vote shall always be given for the appropriation of that reservation and its proceeds to the benefit of the people in that locality; that is, for education and public buildings. I should be very willing to vote such proceeds for the benefit of the cause of education in the State of Vermont if the Senator from Vermont should want it done.

I see nothing in the proposition that the locality may not be benefited by the proceeds of the sale of the land in proper and reasonable quantities applied to the education of the people there. The question of what the State of Florida has received, or rather what individuals or corporations have received in the name of the State, has nothing to do with it. I am looking to the interest of the people of Tampa and South Florida, and to the education of the boys and girls in all useful knowledge.

There are many reasons why this should be done. The agricultural school fund of the State of Florida was in a large measure destroyed by the mismanagement of certain individuals; and I shall not make any partisan or political allusion here. The people there are now paying out of their labor for that misappropriation.

As respects this little piece of land at Tampa, it has been made valuable altogether by the settlement and residence of the people there, and it would furnish a fund that would largely advance the educational interest and the interest of industrial education, which I particularly regard more than all other education.

The interest upon this little fund which the amendment provides would be used not as the Senator from Arkansas says, without limitation, but subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and it would do a great benefit, more than the money could do under any other possible circumstances.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I was the member of the Committee on Public Lands alluded to as having favored the substance of this amendment in the committee. I favored the appropriation of the proceeds of this piece of land to the support of the common schools of the city of Tampa. It seemed to me that the appropriation of this money to an industrial school at that place would be somewhat experimental in its nature. The industrial school system is now being established at suitable and favorable points in the older and more generally settled and wealthier portions of the country; and it seemed to me that at that point was hardly to be found a good place to make the experiment. But the appropriation of the money for the support of the common

schools of that city would be sure to be a judicious appropriation, it seemed to me, if the common schools are worthy of support anywhere. There is a great necessity for an increased efficiency on the part of the schools at that place, and they are without the money, whether they ought to be or ought not to be, and they are likely to remain so.

I do not suppose there is a place in the State of Florida or in any State where an efficient system of common schools is more to be desired or of more imperative need of aid coming from abroad to establish and sustain the system than in Tampa or in the vicinity of Tampa.

As the value of this land is not the work of the United States, whose Treasury would be benefited if we pass the slight amount to be received for it into the Treasury, but the result of the settlement, the industry, the exertion of the community where the soil is, it seems to me that what it sells for ought to go to the people who have given it value. They found that a wilderness, or worse than a wilderness. They have given this land value by the improvements with which they have surrounded it. The United States has no longer use for the land, and is to dispose of it in some way. If it sells for $50,000 instead of 50 cents at the present time, it is not by reason of what the United States has done, but by reason of what that community has done to give that land larger value, a salable value, when it is no longer needed for Government uses.

In that view it seemed to me that the precedent established in the Fort Smith case ought to be applied in this instance. That matter came up on the application of the predecessor, I think the direct predecessor of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY], involving the appropriation of proceeds from the military reservation at Fort Smith for the common schools of that city, and it met with universal favor in the Senate. It met with the favor of the Senator from Vermont. I am confident that the Senator from Vermont voted for or favored that appropriation, and so did Senators generally. I do not remember that there was scarcely any division or opposition on the final vote to the passage of that bill, and the reasons were precisely the same as in this instance.

A city had been established at Fort Smith. The land had been made valuable by the work of the community surrounding it. They needed the money. And when the Government no longer needed the land for military or other uses, it was sold, and the proceeds appropriated to the benefit of the common-school system of that city with very favorable results. I think the Senator from Arkansas will testify, as other prominent citizens of that State have said to me, that the schools of Fort Smith have received a very great impetus from the appropriation of the proceeds of that military reservation.

Tampa is a needy point. It is the extreme south of the country. Good schools there will clean up the city and help to cure the yellow fever, and help to fill that part of the country with the sort of population that will have the intellectual and physical vigor to retain such a knowledge of sanitary and other conditions as will enable them to make their peninsula a healthy locality, and it will be for the common defense, to put intelligence into the southern part of the State of Florida to a greater extent than it now exists. The masses of the people there need the school; they need it for a thousand reasons, and we need that they should have it.

If the Senator from Florida would be willing to modify his amendment so that this money, if the Senate should see fit to appropriate it, might go to the general good, instead of testing an experiment which in any event would only reach a portion of the people, I should be very glad indeed to support his amendment, and I should hope that the Senate would do the same, as they have done formerly.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, I was not a member of the Senate at the time the bill passed granting the Fort Smith reservation to the city of Fort Smith for the benefit of common schools, as stated by the Senator from New Hampshire. I stated before the committee, and I state here, that the reservation was sold in the most fortunate way, so as to yield a large amount of money. I say furthermore, as I stated there, that the effect has been to give an impetus to common schools at Fort Smith that they did not have before. It has builded up a fine school system in the city of Fort Smith.

That the citizens of the city of Fort Smith were very much in favor of that bill there can be no question. It has been a matter that has been discussed since that time in the State. A great deal of opposition was developed outside, in Sebastian County, some claiming that the money should have gone to the entire school district of the locality, or the township; others that it should have gone to the county; others to the Congressional district, or to the State.

The objection urged to this character of appropriations is that it is land which belongs to the entire people, that it is taken and given to the citizens of a particular locality, thereby making others contribute to the education of children in that particular locality when they receive none of the benefits of it. But, as I said, I do not care to discuss that point, because the Fort Smith matter was determined before I came here and is a matter with which I had nothing to do. But if this reservation is to be given to the city of Tampa then every other reservation that has been turned over as a part of the public domain should be given to the city or town nearest to which it is located.

Mr. BLAIR. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. BLAIR. What is the objection to doing that? We have military reservations. They will not amount to much. The money will go to the community that by its personal work has made the land valuable. Can there be any objection to it?

Mr. BERRY. I will state to the Senator that the objection I have to it is the same objection I have to every other species of class legislation, which takes part of that which belongs to the whole people to be used for the benefit of a specified few as against the many. That is the objection I have to it.

Mr. BLAIR. May I ask the Senator another question?

Mr. BERRY. Certainly.

Mr. BLAIR. Are we not doing that every day, taking the money that belongs to the whole people to erect public buildings in this, that, and the other locality, which are no sort of accommodation to one out of twenty of the population of the entire country? Who of the rural population ever has anything of the benefits of any of the numerous public buildings we are erecting, except in the indirect, emotional, fanciful, mental influence that they may exert by being visible to the eye once in a year, being visited on great occasions, it may be because of art or cultivation and the training of the taste? Who gets any real benefit from scarcely any of the individual appropriations that we are making for public buildings or for the improvement of our rivers and harbors, except in this indirect way? Is it not the fact, if you make Fort Smith a large, flourishing, and intelligent city, a center of intellectual life and moral influence, and if you make Tampa the same, in the ultimate result, you are accomplishing as much for the country at large as you could do by putting the money into the Treasury and expending it for other and far less worthy purposes?

Mr. BERRY. The Senator from New Hampshire asks if we are not every day legislating for classes. I answer him that, unfortunately, I think we are, but the instances that he gives are not the ones that I would give. In regard to the public buildings, they are buildings of the Government; they are owned by the Government; they are located at those places where they will most benefit the Government. They are not given to the town; they are not intended to be built for the town especially; but they are built for the accommodation of the courts, the custom-houses, and the post-offices, which belong to the Government. The illustration is not in point in any way that I can see.

Mr. BLAIR. May I ask the Senator a question? What are the post-offices in the various communities but for the benefit of those communities? Is the United States Government anything but a great intangible entity that uses no post-office at all? Is it not the people who use all these things?

Mr. BERRY. I do not propose this evening to go into a discussion of the general question suggested by the interrogatory of the Senator from New Hampshire. I will state, however, that the class legislation I had in my mind is that which the Senator has supported here on various occasions, for instance, taking generals in the Army who resigned and engaged in civil life and failed to succeed at that, and placing them upon the retired-list now for the sole purpose of allowing them to draw money from the Treasury of the United States.

Mr. BLAIR rose.

Mr. BERRY. Wait a minute. If the Senator is going to place men of that character on the retired-list, the private soldiers throughout the country ought to have an equal chance. That is what I call class legislation, and that is what I alluded to.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President——

Mr. BERRY. I do not propose to discuss that matter, and I do not wish to be interrupted right now either.

Mr. BLAIR. Does the Senator decline to be interrupted?

Mr. BERRY. Now.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Arkansas declines to yield.

Mr. BLAIR. I was simply going to suggest whether the pension-list is not of the same kind.

Mr. BERRY. It does not seem to matter much to the Senator from New Hampshire whether I decline to yield or do not, so far as making a speech is concerned.

Mr. BLAIR. It does not injure the Senator's speech.

Mr. BERRY. As I stated in the beginning, I think that the gift of money to Fort Smith is a precedent for the giving of it to Tampa. For that reason and because it was within my own State I made no special objection to it, provided the money went to the common schools; but I was very much opposed to it in the loose way in which it was suggested by the Senator from Florida.

I stated the objections which were specially urged by the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, and I confess, since the Senator from New Hampshire has pressed me, those objections have great weight with me. The objection was that this Government property, which belonged to the people of the entire country, should be taken and sold and the money appropriated for the particular benefit of the school children who happen to live within the limits of that city, while the children of the poor men who live just beyond that limit get no benefit from it, and yet those children have the same interest in the matter as the children who live in the city of Tampa.

In addition to that there is the fact that there are other reservations all over the country, and this would serve as a precedent, and very soon throughout the United States where there is a reservation located the people of that community would come and ask Congress to give them the proceeds of the reservation, and thereby build up the schools of the town, leaving the children who live outside of those places unprovided for.

These are my objections to the amendment, and they are the objections urged by the committee. The committee in addition to that thought they were dealing liberally with Tampa. They gave in the bill over 25 acres for a park. They agreed to sell the land on long credit, giving every man an opportunity to bid at the sale. They adopted every suggestion that was made, I believe, by the Senator from Florida save and except in regard to the proceeds. I believe it is a precedent that ought not to be followed, and that the Government property and the Government money should be used for the good of the whole people of the country, and not for select individuals to be selected by the Member of Congress or the Senator who introduces the bill.

Mr. BLAIR. Unless this money can be reasonably concentrated, its dissipation will be as useless as the mist. For that reason, if it is to be appropriated at all, I think it should go to the city of Tampa, the support of whose schools will absorb the whole of it if they be made reasonably efficient. It will be impossible to distribute the interest upon this money as it accrues from year to year throughout the county or throughout the State, for its effect would be inappreciable.

With reference to class legislation, the Senator's case is hardly opportune so far as regards myself personally. Though I would be in favor of placing such men as General Frémont upon the retired-list, and while in very exceptional cases where very great public service has been rendered by a military officer who had failed to preserve his connection with the roster, I might be induced to place him on the retired-list, I have no recollection of having done so at any time except in the case of General Frémont, when, no doubt, I was justified in so doing.

I said nothing of class legislation. If there is any legislation whatever that is not class legislation, it is that which goes for the support and maintenance of a school system in which and by which every child of the United States born, as all children are, illiterate, can be qualified for the proper discharge of the duties of citizenship. The instances the Senator seems to have in his mind are certainly very far-fetched. They do not apply to the appropriations for the support of common schools.

As I said before, the people there seem to need these common schools. They need just such a light set on the shore, just such a beacon light at Tampa as this money would help to establish. It would be of infinitely more use to the American people than any other conceivable appropriation that could be made here, it seems to me.

As I said before, this particular community, having given all of the value there is to this particular land, it does seem to me like a species of robbery (which we have a right to do because we have the power and can enact the law) to take it from that locality and pour it into the general Treasury and appropriate it in a way that the community which made the value will get next to nothing from it.

I hope the Senator from Florida will modify his amendment. I understand the Senator from Arkansas is not especially opposed to the amendment in the form I suggest.

Mr. CALL. I will very cheerfully modify my amendment, if the Senator from New Hampshire desires it. I only wish to say one word in regard to it, and I intend to say but one.

I wish to say that the people of Tampa are, many of them, the most excellent people in the United States. They are gathered from all parts of the country. They are a very enterprising people, and they have progressed in every way and have developed a large and beautiful city there.

There is also the class of people there of whom I have spoken, men who came into the country from Cuba and the West Indies, engaged in all kinds of occupations, largely devoted to gaining a living from the waters of the ocean, from sponges, coral, fish, and oysters.

Those people have had very little opportunity for education; their time is occupied with severe labor, and they are a poor class of people. In addition to that there are the roaming Indians.

There being separate schools, which is an indispensable thing in that community, between the white and colored races, I am willing for every child everywhere in the State to go there who is willing to go. Of course there will be very few from outside, and none but the local people will attend; but it will do away with the idea of the Senator from Arkansas about class legislation.

I only wish to say that if the Senator from Arkansas is consistent he will never give a vote in this body of any kind whatever, for he will never vote for anything that will embrace every man, woman, and child in the United States. There can not be such an appropriation made except in its incidental effects, and all this idea of class legislation as applied to this kind of an appropriation is utterly unfounded in reason.

The general benefits of all legislation are those which embrace in some of their consequences, direct or indirect, the whole country and all the people in it. That is the only definition you can give it. There never was and there never will be a law passed which embraces every person and affects each one exactly in the same way. The education of each boy and girl in Tampa in some respects benefits all the people of the United States.

If the Senate is willing to pass this amendment in any form for the common schools, as much as I prefer industrial education, believing, as I said, that it is the only education that is advantageous to the great mass of the people, and with which all education will come, I shall gladly accept the modification proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire and agree to any amendment he or any Senator may suggest to carry out that object.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, I am opposed to this amendment. This matter was fully discussed in the Committee on Public Lands, and the committee determined to report the bill without the amendment desired by the Senator from Florida. I believe there are about 37,000,000 acres of land in the State of Florida. Of this quantity over 20,000,000 acres have been selected by the State and claimed by the State as granted to it by the act of 1850, known as the swamp-land grant. Something over 15,000,000 acres, or nearly half the area of the State, have been patented to the State as swamp land. Considerable grants of land have been made to the State in addition to aid in the construction of railroads.

Mr. CALL. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. DOLPH. Certainly.

Mr. CALL. I ask the Senator if I have not been urging him and the Committee on Public Lands to reclaim every acre of that land which was improperly selected, and if I have not asked that a special committee be appointed for the purpose of examining that very subject?

Mr. DOLPH. I was not speaking of what was improperly selected. The Senator from Florida has been urging some impracticable thing. The Committee on Public Lands has had his resolution before it and has made a report which is in print. Any Senator can obtain full information in regard to the condition of the swamp lands in Florida from that report.

I repeat what I have said before, that out of 37,000,000 acres over 20,000,000 acres have been selected and claimed by the State of Florida as swamp land under the act of 1850, and over 15,000,000 acres have been patented to that State. In addition to that there have been considerable quantities of land granted to the State to aid in the construction of railroads. I understand the State of Florida has also received in addition every sixteenth section of public land in each township for public schools, and other grants, for an agricultural college and for university purposes, have been made.

Mr. EDMUNDS. And her share of the proceeds of the sales of all the public lands within her limits.

Mr. DOLPH. And her share of the proceeds of the sales of public lands, in the division that was made by Congress, I think, in 1841—probably in 1841 and 1843. This would appear to be a pretty good showing for the State of Florida in regard to the public lands.

I wholly disagree with the Senator from New Hampshire in his proposition that the lands reserved for this military reservation were made valuable by the acts of the citizens of Florida. I think very likely the land adjacent to this reservation and even the town of Tampa was largely built up by the fact that this was a military reservation and was occupied by the United States forces which had to be supplied at that point; and I know of no reason why, after there has been a reservation of public lands belonging to the United States, and they have been improved by lapse of time and by the general improvement of the country, the Government should not have the benefit of the improved value of the lands. Therefore I see no special or particular claim of the town of Tampa to the proceeds of these lands.

Again, I agree with the Senator from Arkansas, that if we establish precedents of this kind, they must be followed, and every town will claim the proceeds of the sale of the reservation which has been located near it whenever it is offered for sale.

Besides, after the matter has been fully investigated by a committee of the Senate and, as the Senator from New Hampshire knows, carefully and thoroughly, and the committee has made a report, I think that report ought to be acted upon and adopted by the Senate. I hope the amendment will not prevail.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I never was a believer in the sanctity of committee reports. A committee report is entitled to that consideration in open Senate to which the reasons on which it is based may be entitled; and if this report of the Committee on Public Lands is sustained by the better reason the report should be sustained. I do not think the Senator from Oregon probably means to claim for it any greater degree of sanctity than that which I have indicated.

Mr. DOLPH. The Senator from New Hampshire will permit me——

Mr. BLAIR. We are now acting as a Committee of the Whole and not the Committee on Public Lands, and I suppose the work of the Committee of the Whole should be as free from embarrassment as possible and that we should consider nothing but the reasons bearing upon the merits of the case. To be sure, the opinion of the Committee on

Public Lands is entitled to consideration, and the opinion of the majority of the committee was against the appropriation of this money to an industrial school. That was the decision of the committee.

In regard to the Senator's reply to the suggestion I made that the value of this land is owing to the exertion of the war power by the Government, I have to say that he gets the vehicle before the horse. The Government is the creature of the people; the war power is the creature of the people; and the war power was exerted in Florida because there was a people in Florida, the people of the United States, a portion of them, were there, and they were entitled to have the war power exerted in their defense. The people of the United States as a unity acquired that territory and the people as a whole defended that territory, as they have every inch of our frontier and a great deal of our interior, indeed all of our interior from time to time as it was our frontier.

So now these people in Tampa, the portion of the American people settled in Tampa and who conquered the difficulties of nature and made that soil, that locality prosperous and productive and a suitable home for a portion of this nation as a peaceful people and not as a portion of the war power, are entitled to the pecuniary value which they have given to the soil whereon they live. And now that the United States has no longer as a whole nation to discharge that portion of its duty in the exertion of the war power at that particular locality, needs it no longer, it belongs to the people of that locality, and the cultivation which surrounds this particular tract, being the work of the local community, it is only by reason of what they have done that it is longer desirable at all or has any salable value. It is now desirable for places of residences and in small tracts for building lots. Would it be so but for this city, which these people have established and built up there? Certainly not. Therefore it is, I submit, that unless the war powers of the Government are to be looked upon as the creators rather than the instrumentalities of the nation, the value was given to this particular locality by the people and not by the exertion of the war power under the Constitution.

Now, when this tract comes to be sold and we need it no longer for the purposes of war, and it comes to be appropriated for the purposes of peace and sold by the Government, I think that the community which has given the land value ought to have the value to themselves.

Mr. DOLPH. Mr. President, the same argument advanced by the Senator from New Hampshire in regard to the military reservation near the town of Tampa could be applied in the case of the removal of the capital of the United States to St. Louis or Chicago or San Francisco, and the Government reservations and lots upon which the public buildings stand in the city of Washington should be no longer needed for Government purposes and were to be disposed of by sale by the Government. It seems to me with just as much force the Senator could contend that the value of this property had been given to it by the people of the city of Washington, and therefore all the proceeds of the property should go to the support of schools or for some other public purpose in the city of Washington.

I think the fallacy of that sort of argument will be apparent at once. This city has become what it is, not so much by the efforts of the inhabitants of the city as from the fact that the capital of the United States is here, and that the United States has expended millions of money in erecting public buildings, and in opening streets, and in beautifying the streets, and in the payment of the employés of the Government located here, which money is expended in the community and which has built up the city. I say that upon the same principle undoubtedly the military reservation near the town of Tampa, if there were troops stationed there year after year, officers and men, who had to depend upon the surrounding country for subsistence, the very fact that they were stationed there tended to build up the town of Tampa and make the property of the citizens valuable, and it is not the action of the citizens that has made the military reservation valuable.

I do not see force in the expression of the Senator from New Hampshire to the effect that the citizens of the town of Tampa have either any legal or equitable interest in this property. It is a strange argument to me that people can acquire an interest in property the title of which they do not own simply by the improvement of their own property. I can not understand what either the legal or equitable claim of the people of Tampa is to this property. I think, as was said by the Senator from Arkansas, it is the property of all the people, and no such special showing has been made in regard to the wants of the community there as to justify the diversion of the proceeds of this land, which belong to the Government, from the Treasury of the United States to their benefit.

If it was a case where there were some special wants to be supplied, which it was proper for the General Government to supply, then that would be another question and the propriety of the appropriation would depend entirely on the propriety of supplying that want of the people of Tampa. But when the Senator undertakes to show that there is some sort of claim on the part of the people of Tampa to the proceeds of this property, it seems to me that his argument, if it is worth anything, would go to the extent of showing that the people of Washington would have an equitable right to the proceeds of all the public property in this city should the capital at any time be transferred or removed and the property sold.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I will put this question to the Senator from Oregon: Suppose there were not a human being living in the city of Tampa, it was just as necessary that there should have been this military occupation at that point on our coast as now, or as at any previous time whatever. That was a point which it was necessary to occupy for the general defense of the United States as well as the people who might settle in that particular locality. The Senator will not dispute that. In a general sense that is true at least.

Now, suppose that no human being lived there and there is no longer occasion for this military occupation and the United States should offer the land for sale, what would they get for it? It would not sell for 50 cents an acre. Its value is entirely owing to the fact that human beings, a portion of this nation, who with the rest of the United States were entitled to defense at that point because it was an accessible point on our coast where an invading enemy might land and so endanger the whole country—but for the fact, I say, that those people went there and established homes, this land would not be worth anything, would not be worth the time we are spending over it in debate, as the Senator well knows; and if when we withdraw our forces and the forts are dismantled we offer it for sale we get nothing for it, but on the contrary, offering it for sale, as we do now, it being no longer necessary for the general defense to occupy it, it sells for fifty or one hundred thousand dollars, it is not so much what that local community have done, but the fact that they are there and will remain there that gives value to that soil.

I am not talking about—and it is not the proposition before the Senate—disposing of the barracks and personal property that may be on this reservation for the benefit of the people there. There would be some little ground for the Senator's argument, though not much, then; but it is the soil, it is the reservation of land that we are talking about, something that the Government can not carry away. No purchaser can be found for it unless the soil be inhabitable, and it is valuable just in proportion as it is desirable as a place of habitation, and the people there have made it that and given it all of its value. I insist that my argument is a sound one.

Now, take the Senator's illustration as to the city of Washington. To be sure, the Government has given some value, great value, to the city of Washington. People have come here and have settled in consequence of the advantages which the Government has given to this locality. If it should be necessary for the general good to take these public buildings away and establish the capital elsewhere, I admit that the Government would have a right and ought to dispose of these public buildings to the best advantage it could; but could it sell them for anything unless it could remove them? Could it sell these buildings for anything unless somebody lived here or it could be made a good place of habitation? These public buildings are wholly inappropriate for any private use.

The result would be that, if the Government should change from the occupation of its property here, now so valuable, it would be the loser of its substantial value and could not sell it at all, while down at Tampa that piece of land which has been occupied for military purposes can be sold for a large amount of money that can be put into the Treasury. It could sell the soil where the Capitol and the other public buildings stand for something, but it could sell this soil for nothing unless by reason of the fact that somebody would remain and live here.

Everybody would be damaged, of course. The surrounding community by an act of that kind would be robbed of three-fourths of its property undoubtedly, by the fact that the Government chose to get up and locate itself somewhere else. They would suffer largely and the Government would be a total loser of everything, unless some portion of the American people chose to remain here and give value to the locality which we should abandon by reason of its being made appropriate for private and personal use.

So I insist upon it that it is not the Government that does this business for the country, which gives value to these things. The Government exercises its function for only general purposes. The war power is exerted for the general good, and it is specifically put forth where the enemy is likely to be found; but it is put forth not for the special defense of that people, though they are included, of course, in the people at large, but for the defense of the whole country; and when, as down there, we no longer need to meet an enemy at that point and the land is to be given to a private corporation, and we are dependent upon private purchasers for whatever we get for it, I say the people who are there and who have given it its purchasable value are entitled to the proceeds for their own use. We have a right to direct it to a public purpose which may be for the general benefit, as in the case of common schools, or at least we may undertake to exercise that right.

And so generally wherever the local community gives all the value that there is to property which the Government is abandoning—I mean property which can not be removed, like real estate—I say there is an equitable claim that in that locality, for such general public uses as may be needed, we should give them the benefit of the proceeds if there be need, especially as in this case. Surely you can imagine no stronger

case than this. We ought to give this money to Tampa whether there is any public reservation there or not.

Mr. DOLPH. Why?

Mr. BLAIR. Because they need it. On the same principle we passed the common-school bill, and divided the fund it appropriated where the illiteracy is prevalent, in proportion to illiteracy. Did the Senator vote for the school bill? I remember that he did so.

Mr. DOLPH. I did, but I did not vote for a bill for the benefit of one single town or one single community.

Mr. BLAIR. But you voted for the benefit of every town where illiteracy prevailed, and gave in proportion to the prevalence of illiteracy. I do not know any way that the people of Tampa can go to work and recover this money. I do not know any way that anybody can get money out of the Treasury but by act of Congress, unless he has the physical force to do it.

But it seems to me there is no argument which has been offered here, which is not very easily exploded, why this money should not be given to the people of Tampa under the circumstances of this case. They need it. Put it upon the ground of an act of benevolence and charity, and why should they not have it? What location in the United States is so needy as the southern extremity of Florida? Consider the class of population that is there. But few of the more intelligent people of the country are located there. You find descendants of Indians, half-breeds, and foreigners, and all of them educated in the general principles of yellow fever rather than of ordinary intelligence and of the capacity of American citizenship; and if we can put a common school there by expending $50,000 or $100,000 we are doing a great thing for the United States at large.

I wish the Senator from Florida would modify his amendment. I do not propose to go into that part of the question. I will vote for it; but if he would say "common school" instead of "industrial school" I should prefer it.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I shall feel under the necessity, after the suggestion of Senators, in order to pass the bill, to withdraw the amendment I offered. Before doing so, however, I desire to say just a word.

The people of Tampa are not such as my friend from New Hampshire, with the best motives, has described them. There are not many half-breeds there or any kind of mixture of races. They are a very enterprising and very intelligent and very moral and industrious people, perhaps equal to any to be found anywhere in the world; but there is a considerable mixture of Cubans there and of men who have followed the sea for a living, and they have but small accumulations. Therefore it would be very desirable that the public-school education, either common-school or industrial, should be largely aided.

I understand the Senator from Oregon to oppose this amendment on the principle that he will vote against all bills to appropriate the reservations in Oregon for the benefit of the people of Oregon in those particular localities where they may be found, and as this is a matter of principle, I withdraw the amendment and ask for a vote on the bill. ["Vote!" "Vote!"]

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill for the disposition of Fort Brooke military reservation at Tampa, Fla., and for other purposes."

THE LOUISIANA ELECTION.

Mr. CHANDLER. I move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution to investigate the Louisiana election.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question recurs on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. EUSTIS. I call for the yeas and nays on the passage of the resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, at the close of the debate the other day I desired to say a few words upon this resolution, but failing the opportunity, I will briefly state now what I desired then to submit.

The resolution is one for investigation and against which, it seems to me, no Senator can well cast his vote. The one great function certainly of legislative power is to investigate, and to limit the power of investigation or to pursue a policy which limits that power or looks to its limitation, even where there be no certainty of the discovery of important matter, is to pursue a policy which will be likely to result in imperfect, ill-founded action, or the neglect of legislative duty; and for that reason, if for no other, I should support the resolution as I would a resolution to investigate grave charges of this or any other kind against the Commonwealth or conduct of citizenship in the Commonwealth where I reside. On former occasions the Democracy of the Senate have not hesitated to support like resolutions. I remember serving upon a committee when I first had the honor to become a member of the Senate which made like inquiries and investigations in the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and possibly in other of the Northern States; and the charges against the conduct of citizens in those States were of as grave a character as those embraced in the present resolution.

The development of the existence of public evils must certainly be encouraged, for nothing is gained by their suppression. The evil is not lessened by its invisibility. It becomes greater if it remains unexposed within the system, poisoning the blood of the body-politic, and inevitably a catastrophe comes sooner or later, and all the sooner from the failure to investigate, to expose, and so open the way to remedy, to cure.

I anticipate as a result of this investigation, should it be ordered, that substantially everything that is alleged in the resolution of inquiry will be proven. Like investigations on former occasions have had that result, and I have little doubt that it is the general conviction of the country that most of these things asserted have come to be the existing status of several of the States of the United States, or a status has come to be out of which things of this kind inevitably grow, and therefore it is that as the results of these investigations there has come to be comparatively so little demonstration of popular interest.

It seems to be understood that here is this great trouble which should be remedied; but after we discover the disease we do not know how to cure it. Nothing has as yet been done except in so far as the forces of popular general opinion of mankind at large can affect to change or modify the conditions in which our friends in the South have found themselves involved.

I desire, the investigation being made, that the primary object should be to find the remedy, and have therefore for some time, against the patience of the Senate it may be, but I think not against the patience of the American people, certainly not against a great public necessity, urged that we pursue a course of legislation which is substantially and affirmatively remedial in its nature; and there is no way, in my opinion, in which we can reach this Southern difficulty so as to give a permanent cure, and there is no way in which we can prevent the like difficulties coming to every State of this Union but by making it an indestructible principle of action on the part of the nation at large that every human being born on our soil shall either by the parent or by the State or by the nation become fully qualified for the discharge of the duties of American citizenship, to which end the common education of the people is the first step.

And so it is that bearing upon this resolution and with something of the feeling that the old Roman senator is said to have had when he closed what little he had to say on any occasion, and I presume commenced also, with the asseveration that Carthage must be destroyed, I insist upon it that illiteracy in this country must be destroyed; and upon this resolution I have just a word to say in that direction, especially appropriate to the State of Louisiana.

It has been demonstrated by the proceedings and records relating to the very election which is proposed to be investigated that the illiteracy and consequent incompetency of the voting population of that great State is upon the increase. It is now greater than it was in the year 1880. The illiteracy of the white voters is in a rapid state of increase in the State of Louisiana. This is not an evil which is confined to the negro population; it is not an evil which is increasing only with the negro population; but it is increasing with the whole voting population of the State of Louisiana. As long as this condition of things exists and becomes deeper and denser, and larger and higher, and more and more formidable, the evils of which we complain in that State, and which are not absent in other States, will be upon the increase also; and to investigate without a view to the application of some remedy—and this is the only remedy that seems to be within our reach—is the idlest thing in the world.

My colleague has done well to introduce this resolution; but if, as a result of the investigation, nothing should be done save only the development of a difficulty, it will be time wasted and the efforts of the nation thrown away.

Now, Mr. President, I proceed to the establishment of the fact which I have alleged in reference to the condition of intelligence among the voting population of the State of Louisiana.

I will state that I myself wrote to the secretary of state of Louisiana some little time since, and have from him a communication establishing all that I have asserted; and I shall be glad, if I have not mislaid the figures which he gave me, to present them. But his communication showed this in substance, that the increase of illiteracy among the white voters of that State, was some 7 per cent. since the year 1880. The per cent. was larger of the colored voting population.

Still more recently, I wrote to the editor of the New Orleans Times-Democrat, a good paper, a strong and influential paper, Democratic, of course, politically, but a paper of character and position, not inferior, probably, to any other in the country in the regards of which I now speak, and I received in return this communication:

THE TIMES-DEMOCRAT, 58 CAMP STREET,
New Orleans, July 13, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of July 10th to the editors of The Times-Democrat, of whom I am one, was handed me to-day. The article to which you allude, on "the increase of illiteracy in Louisiana," was not published in the The Times-Democrat, but originally in the New York Sun, of which paper I am correspondent here. I wrote the article and sent it to the Sun early in May, but unfortunately—

And I hope some one will find that article, for it is a very telling article—

but unfortunately gave away the only copy of the paper containing it. I inclose, however, some statistics from it which I have saved. They are official,

from the reports of the several supervisors of registration, made to the late secretary of state, Mr. Oscar Arroyo, and are, of course, beyond question. I will be glad to furnish you more data on the subject, if you wish it, showing the steady increase in illiteracy in certain of the parishes (counties), and the fact that in many of them this illiteracy is not confined to the negroes, a large majority of the whites also being unable to read and write. I have interested myself greatly in education here, and have struggled to secure some improvement in our school facilities with but little success. I will, therefore, gladly co-operate with you and assist you in any way I can in this matter. The friends of education in the North can help us materially here by pointing out the condition of affairs shown by such statistics as I send you, as this may help to shame some of our people into making a better provision for public education.

There are a number of facts in regard to education in Louisiana that I would like to call your attention to if you think you can use them.

Yours, respectfully,

NORMAN WALKER.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR.

He incloses these statistics, and I will read them with some care and ask the attention of the Senate to their significance:

Illiteracy in Louisiana.

	White voters.		Colored voters.	
	Literate.	Illiterate.	Literate.	Illiterate.
1888*	99,945	23,986	23,010	102,942
1886†	89,856	20,464	16,570	91,987
1880‡	92,443	16,377	21,422	86,555

This shows an increase of illiterate white voters from 1880 to 1886 of 4,000 and over, and from 1886 to 1888 of 3,000 and over, nearly three and a half thousand, and the increase of illiteracy among colored voters from 1880 to 1886 is about 5,500, and from 1886 to 1888 there are about 11,000, from 91,987 to 102,942 during the last two years.

Now come the total voters of both colors consolidated and the percentages:

	Total voters.		Percentages.	
	Literate.	Illiterate.	Literate.	Illiterate.
1888*	122,955	126,938	49.2	50.8
1886†	106,426	112,452	48.7	51.3
1880‡	113,865	102,932	52.3	47.7

What I call special attention to is the increase in the percentage of illiteracy during this period of time. Illiteracy has increased; the intelligence of voters has decreased from 52.3 to 49.2 per cent.; the ignorance or illiteracy has increased from 47.7 to 50.8 per cent.

Then follow the percentages of white voters and colored voters, dealt with in separate columns.

Percentages.

	White voters.		Colored voters.	
	Literate.	Illiterate.	Literate.	Illiterate.
1888*	80.7	19.3	15.1	84.9
1886†	81.7	18.3	15.4	84.6
1880‡	84.9	15.1	18.0	82.0

As will be observed, there is a steady increase of illiteracy among the white voters, as shown by the percentages, and the literate colored vote has decreased from 18 per cent. down to 15 per cent. during the last eight years.

At the end of the statistics which I have just read Mr. Walker says:

Notice that in 1880 a majority of voters were literate. It has changed since. Notice also that in the new voters, or rather the increase in voters, there were added in eight years:

Whites who can read and write	7,502
Negroes who can read and write	1,588
Total literate	9,090
Whites unable to read, etc	7,609
Negroes unable to read, etc	16,387
Total illiterate	23,996

Of the new white voters a majority were illiterate; of the new negro voters ten out of eleven were illiterate.

Now, Mr. President, there is nothing so significant, so terrible that is developed in the existing data relating to the status of things in this country, as these figures bearing upon illiteracy; and the nation seems to be utterly stunned by their abundance and universal prevalence over vast portions of our country, geographically considered, and among vast masses of our population.

Mr. President, it is not a pleasant thing to be continually harping upon this subject of illiteracy. I am not anxious to do it, but I feel that it is a duty that I must perform.

This matter comes perhaps more naturally to my observation than that of many other Senators, and I feel bound to lay these figures before the Senate and before the country, and to insist upon it that our republican institutions are rapidly becoming neither more nor less than a humbug, and they may as well so be considered when the intelligence of the voter is eliminated from American citizenship. We know that elimination to be increasing everywhere, and the callousness of the public mind on the subject is increasing rather than decreasing. Unlike the continual dropping of water which ordinarily wears away the stone, it seems to me that the obduracy of the public conscience, of the public sensibility, is rather increasing than otherwise. This may continue for a time.

This country and its institutions may be perishing of dry-rot without our observation; but, all the same, the process is going on and the living members of this generation are not to retire to the last receptacle of all flesh, and sleep quietly in the soil of America, without seeing demonstrations of disorder, insurrection, turbulence, bloodshed, and destruction, of which hitherto we have not even dreamed, unless the American people pay attention to this subject and to the fact that the citizenship of this country is becoming incompetent to perform its functions.

I have nothing more to say, except to end as I began, with the asseveration that illiteracy must be destroyed or illiteracy will destroy the country.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask leave out of order to make a report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be received, if there be no objection.

Mr. ALDRICH. I present the report of the Committee on Finance upon the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Rhode Island from the Committee on Finance submits a report to accompany House bill 9051, which will be printed.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask that the report and the views of the minority, which will be presented by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], may be printed in the RECORD, and I ask that an order be made that they may be printed in brevier type for the convenience of Senators.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered if there be no objection. The Chair hears none.

Mr. HARRIS. I present the views of the minority of the Committee on Finance upon the same bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. They will be received and printed in the RECORD with the report of the committee in the type indicated by the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, in behalf of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK], who is absent on account of sickness, I present the paper which I send to the desk as his views, he being of the minority.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. They will be received and printed in the same way.

Mr. HARRIS. Printed in connection with the other reports?

The PRESIDETT *pro tempore*. In the RECORD?

Mr. HARRIS. In the RECORD and in document form.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. They will be printed in the RECORD and as a document in connection with the report of the majority and views of the minority of the committee.

Mr. HARRIS. The majority and minority reports and views of the minority of the minority.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. So the Chair understands.

Mr. ALDRICH, from the Committee on Finance, submitted the following report (to accompany bill H. R. 9051):

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue, respectfully report:

The demand for a careful and thorough revision of our revenue laws is imperative. This revision is necessary:

1. To reduce the national revenues, which are now excessive.

No valid reason can be given why we should, under existing circumstances, continue to collect annually a sum approximating $60,000,000 in excess of the amount required to administer the Government economically and to keep the pledges of public faith.

2. To protect honest importers and domestic producers from the disastrous consequences resulting from fraudulent undervaluations of imported merchandise on which ad valorem rates of duty are levied.

The alarming extent of this dishonest practice and its demoralizing and destructive effect upon public and private interests and the necessity for prompt adoption of remedial legislation have been repeatedly brought to the attention of Congress by successive Secretaries of the

* Report secretary of state. Full registration; State election.
† Report of secretary of state. Small registration; election only for members of Congress.
‡ United States census. Males over twenty-one.

Treasury. The enormous increase from year to year in the quantity of importations of manufactured and other articles of merchandise which are subject to ad valorem duties is largely attributable to this cause. Duties which are nominally protective to American industries, and which would be actually so if honestly collected, prove both delusive and destructive when, through defective laws and negligent or corrupt administration, but a fraction of the amounts lawfully due are levied and collected.

3. To remedy the defects, anomalies, and incongruities which have been from time to time discovered in the tariff schedules, or which have been created by erroneous decisions of the Treasury Department.

The interpretation given to the seventh section of the act of March 3, 1883, by which the cost of coverings and charges of all kinds is excluded from consideration in the assessment of dutiable values, has had the effect, without changing nominal rates, to reduce largely, but in an irregular and unequal manner, the amount of duties collected on imports.

4. To secure the proper readjustment and equalization of tariff rates rendered necessary by modified business conditions, improvements in methods of production, radical changes in prices, or by new elements or sources of competition.

5. To give relief and protection to many industries which are now suffering on account of the inadequate rates levied on competing products.

The public demand for a reduction of revenue is more urgent on account of the inexcusable retention in the national Treasury or on deposit in national banks of vast sums of money in excess of the amount required to pay the current demands upon the Treasury and to meet the maturing obligations of the Government. This sum, with the additions which will accrue within the next four months and before any legislative action reducing the revenues can be effective, will be sufficient to pay in full the outstanding 4½ per cent. bonds due in 1891, $221,000,000.

The existence of this immense surplus furnishes occasion for constant anxiety and apprehension of possible financial disaster. The failure to prevent this dangerous accumulation, inciting, as it does, extravagant expenditures, and constituting an ever-present menace to the prosperity and enterprise of all our people, can not be too severely condemned; but it is a failure for which the executive department of the Government is alone responsible.

This accumulation could and should have been profitably avoided, and the possibility of business disaster averted, by a prompt return of the money collected from the people to the channels of trade through the purchase of United States bonds that could at all times have been obtained for prices which, to the Government, would have been equal to an investment, of otherwise unprofitable funds, at a rate of interest of not less than 2 per cent. per annum.

It is probably true that the $60,000,000 deposited in national banks can not now be withdrawn without peril to the business interests of the respective communities where the banks are located, and that this sum must remain, for an indefinite period, a permanent loan to favored institutions without interest. This unfortunate situation, however, must have been foreseen when the deposits were made, and it should not be aggravated by further deposits, nor should it furnish an excuse for the failure to promptly dispose of the much larger sum remaining in the Treasury in the manner indicated.

To amend the provisions of law which enforce the collection of excessive revenue, and to remedy the defects which we have enumerated, are within the scope of legislative relief, and Congress may properly be held responsible for any evils resulting from a continuance of existing conditions. It may, however, be fairly said that responsibility for delay in the adoption of legislative remedies rests upon the party in control of the House of Representatives, which by the Constitution has sole power to originate revenue bills. The participation of the Senate in any effort to cure existing evils by proper legislation has not been possible, from the fact that the bill under consideration is the first that has reached the Senate in more than five years giving them jurisdiction over the subject.

In view of the universal demand for relief from the unsatisfactory condition in which we find ourselves the inaction of those whose anxiety for reform has been manifested by repeated declarations is remarkable. It would have been easy at any time when Congress has been in session since the 3d of March, 1885—and its sessions have covered at least twenty months of that period—to have secured the concurrence of the two Houses upon a measure which would have reduced the revenue and amended the administrative features of our customs laws in a satisfactory manner.

The refusal to adopt or even to consider a measure of this kind has been publicly declared by a leading member of the House of Representatives (Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL) to have been "owing to the fact that a majority of the Committee on Ways and Means seem to have determined that unless their own peculiar views can be incorporated into law in regard to customs taxation and the continuance of the internal-revenue system without reduction or modification they will prevent any reform in this direction."

It has been the evident purpose of those who have controlled the policy of the party in power to delay action, to magnify causes for uneasiness, and to multiply and intensify evils until the people of the country should imperatively demand relief, and then to assume that the evils and embarrassments from which we are suffering are the necessary incidents of the protective system, and that relief can only be found in the emasculation or destruction of that system.

The known attachment of the great mass of the wage-earners of the country to a system which has been productive to them of unexampled prosperity prevented the adoption of a policy of open attack, and made it necessary that some plausible reason should be found for the stealthy accomplishment of their destructive designs.

Your committee, after a thorough examination of the provisions of the bill (H. R. 9051) referred to them by the Senate, have become convinced of its inadequacy as a remedial measure in view of the condition which confronts us.

1. Its adoption would probably result in an increase instead of a reduction of the revenue from customs.

It is claimed by the friends of the bill that the reduction of revenue from this source would amount to $49,486,240.75; but we are confident that the large reduction in rates proposed would result in greatly increased importations. When American producers supply a considerable portion of our market with articles in general use, and the rates on these are reduced below the protective point, both importations and revenue must increase.

By the acts of July 14, 1870, May 1 and June 6, 1872, important reductions in tariff rates were made and the free-list greatly enlarged. It was officially estimated at the time of the passage of the various acts that these changes would result in a reduction of the revenue from customs of $57,227,510. The revenue from this source in 1869 was $176,114,904, and in 1873 it was $184,929,542, or an increase of $8,814,138, instead of a reduction of $57,227,510. This increase took place notwithstanding the fact that free importations increased in value $157,707,264 between 1869 and 1873. Similar results may be reasonably expected should the House bill become a law.

If foreign manufacturers should, through the changes made in the cotton and woolen schedules, secure a quarter of the market now held by our cotton and woolen manufacturers—and this is certainly a very conservative estimate—the additional amount of duty collected from increased importations would amount to at least $60,000,000 annually. The expansion of imports which would surely follow the reduction of rates on china, porcelain, common window-glass, manufactures of iron and steel, flax, jute, hemp, and a large number of minor manufactures, would greatly augment the revenue.

2. It provides no remedy for undervaluations, but, on the contrary, it invites and gives immunity to unlimited fraud by the substitution of ad valorem for specific duties.

3. It does not remedy any of the inequalities or anomalies, or cure any of the defects of existing law. While it perpetuates existing infirmities, it creates, by its obscurities of purpose and phraseology, and by its faulty construction, doubts and ambiguities which must multiply indefinitely the confusion now existing. The bill does not preserve the classification of dutiable articles in schedules, and it is impossible to say in many instances to what clause of existing law the amendments proposed by the bill were intended to apply, or what their effect would be. Although the different paragraphs in the various schedules have been numbered for reference at the Treasury Department, they have never received any such legal designation as would permit accurate description or identification for purposes of amendment or repeal, and the difficulties which would certainly arise in the interpretation of various provisions of the bill would unavoidably lead to endless litigation and serious loss to the Treasury. Some of the defective provisions now in force have caused great injury to important industries. For instance, the paragraph fixing rates on hat materials reads as follows:

Hats, and so forth, materials for: Braids, plaits, flats, laces, trimmings, tissues, willow sheets and squares, used for making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm leaf, willow, hair, whalebone, or any other substance or material, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

This has been construed by the Treasury Department and the courts to admit silks, satins, laces, and a large variety of other expensive articles as "materials for hats," which are really used for other purposes, at the low rate of duty of 20 per cent. ad valorem, when for other uses the same articles are dutiable at 40 to 50 per cent. ad valorem. The clause in the bill under consideration which provides for the duty on hat materials reads as follows:

Hats, materials for: Braids, plaits, flats, willow sheets and squares, fit only for use in making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm leaf, willow, hair, whalebone, or any vegetable material, not specially enumerated or provided for, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

It was probably the intention of the framers of the bill to remedy the defects alluded to, but it is clear from a comparison of the two paragraphs that the provisions of existing law in regard to materials for hats, composed of "any other substance or material" than straw, chip, etc., would still remain in force and unrepealed, and the practice of importing silks, laces, etc., as hat materials, at 20 per cent. ad valorem would continue. Similar failures of amendments to amend are

found in all parts of the bill. To illustrate cases of this kind we have appended to our report (Appendix F) a list of paragraphs of doubtful meaning, together with some of those where any probable interpretation would increase existing confusion.

The results, however, which would flow from the failures of the bill as a corrective measure would be much less disastrous to the material interests of the country than those which must surely follow the adoption of its vicious affirmative propositions.

AD VALOREM DUTIES.

The feature of the bill which most clearly indicates its purpose is the proposed substitution of ad valorem for specific duties. This substitution could have no other result than to change rates now protective for others which would not protect. The promoters of this bill must have been familiar with the testimony submitted to Congress by Secretary Manning disclosing enormous frauds upon the revenue and honest merchants through the use of ad valorem rates. The frequency and notoriety of these frauds and the widespread demoralization resulting from them should have prevented any attempts to extend the system.

The use of ad valorem rates has been condemned by the experience of every commercial nation in the world, by the judgment of those who have been intrusted with the responsibility of customs administration, and by honest importers and merchants, as well as by intelligent political economists and legislators of every shade of economic belief. The reasons for this general and sweeping condemnation are obvious; ad valorem rates are equally unsatisfactory and uncertain whether levied for revenue or for protective purposes; duties based on foreign market value are, even under the most favorable circumstances, with honesty of purpose on the part of the importer and the highest degree of knowledge and unquestioned integrity on the part of the appraising officers, necessarily uncertain and unequal; but when, as now, many foreign importers deem the successful evasion of our revenue laws by unscrupulous methods the highest evidence of business capacity, ad valorem rates fail lamentably of their purpose. They greatly exaggerate variations in foreign prices. When business is depressed and foreign prices are abnormally low, when foreign competition is most to be dreaded, and when a defensive barrier is most needed by domestic producers, then ad valorem rates are lowest, protection is reduced, and depression is intensified. On the other hand, when foreign values are highest, rates are highest, and restriction enlarges into prohibition.

If it is desirable that a sliding scale of duties should be adopted, rates should increase as foreign prices diminish. Ad valorem rates afford facilities for the grossest frauds upon the revenue; through undervaluations they invite evasions of the law and reward dishonest importers, while they destroy the business alike of honest importers and of domestic manufacturers. The foreign manufacturer practically fixes the duty which he is willing to pay, and in many cases the only limitation upon the amount of foreign importations is the extent to which the fear of detection influences the persons who make the invoices. The evils which flow from ad valorem rates are so great and so manifest that this plan of collecting duties has no advocates but professional and political revenue reformers and dishonest consignors.

In illustration of the effect of the House bill to increase importations and break down domestic producers, we cite the application of ad valorem rates to the manufacture of fine cotton cloths. The specific rates now levied upon cotton cloths furnish no reasonable grounds for adverse criticism, either by the producers or consumers of cotton manufactures. The inevitable effect of the substitution would be to largely increase the importation of all the finer and more expensive classes of these goods, and to produce disorganization and depression in this important industry. The uniform rate of 40 per cent. proposed, bears very unevenly upon the various grades of goods. It would be if collected upon an honest valuation protective upon the coarser and commoner kinds which are largely consumed by all classes of our people, but it would encourage the importation without restraint of those fine fabrics which may be properly designated as luxuries.

The leading cotton manufacturers of the country joined in an emphatic protest to the framers of the bill against the adoption of ad valorem rates, and submitted the following strong statement of their objections to the system:

> While the ad valorem method seems to theoretically have the merits of simplicity and equity, it is in practice found to be unreliable, a prolific source of undervaluation, false invoicing, and false oaths, and a premium upon commercial dishonesty, and to tend toward a transfer of legitimate business from honorable importers to the most irresponsible and unscrupulous class of foreign traders. A reference to the records of revenue from the customs department and the United States courts, or inquiry among importing houses, will convince you, it is believed, of the truth of the foregoing assertion, and that the gravity of the danger inherent from the ad valorem system is not exaggerated.
>
> It is therefore thought to be proper to call your attention to this proposition of the adoption of ad valorem rates pure and simple, and to urge in the strongest manner that no such backward step be taken, however enticing it may appear theoretically, but that the ad valorem rates be used only where the specific form is inapplicable, or to supplement the latter in order to better equalize rates, as it is wisely applied in the present tariff.
>
> While no classification of cotton cloths can be equitable, and discrepancies will from time to time appear and disappear, consequent on changes in processes and the fickleness of fashion, these inequalities are found in practice under the specific form to be so inconsiderable in amount as to have but an insignificant bearing upon the principle and a trifling effect upon the revenue or volume of business, and any objection based upon such inequalities would be found to be imaginary rather than real.

The proposal to apply this principle to all manufactures of wool would be equally unsatisfactory and destructive. The rate proposed in the woolen schedule would prevent importation of the low grades of flannels, blankets, and hats of wool, and all low and medium grades of cassimeres and other cloths which enter into the clothing of the great mass of our people, but would be insufficient upon all the finer classes of dress goods and cloths for men's wear. All the articles in both these schedules which could be classed as necessaries of life, and which are worn by our working men and women, would be protected by the rates proposed to the extent of exclusion of the foreign article, while upon all the finer and more expensive products, which are in the nature of luxuries and purchased largely by the rich, the rates would place no restraint upon importations, and would furnish no protection to the American producer.

Specific duties have been advocated by all our Secretaries of the Treasury, with one notable exception, Mr. Robert J. Walker, from Hamilton, to the present incumbent of the office. The opinions of these officers are given in Appendix A. All the leading statesmen and financiers of Europe, and all acknowledged authorities on taxation on either side of the Atlantic, have advocated specific duties. They have been commended by all the principal administrative officers of customs, by the leading merchants, and by the chambers of commerce, in all of our large cities, for their simplicity and certainty in execution. No expert knowledge is required for their enforcement by customs officials, as the articles upon which they are levied have only to be counted, weighed, or measured. While specific duties are less liable to evasion and are certain and uniform in their operations, giving greater stability to the revenues, they also have the beneficial tendency to exclude from the country inferior, adulterated, and worthless goods.

INJURIOUS REDUCTIONS IN RATES MADE BY THE HOUSE BILL.

That the Senate may be fully advised of the injurious character of the radical reductions in rates which are proposed by the House bill, a table is appended to this report (Appendix G) which shows in parallel columns existing rates, the rates proposed, and the percentage of reduction in each case.

The rates proposed in the schedules imposing duties on silks, wines, liquors, and tobacco are not changed by the terms of the House bill, and but slight reduction is made in the rate of duty on sugar.

With the exceptions named, every tariff schedule is invaded by alterations made with the hostile spirit which pervades the bill, and nearly all of our industries would feel the blighting effect of changes which are either inconsiderate or purposely destructive. The following list contains a statement of some of the manufactures which would be seriously injured by these reductions:

Articles on the dutiable-list injuriously affected by the Mills bill.

Manufactures of cotton.
All manufactures of wool.
All manufactures of hemp, flax, and jute.
Paper envelopes and other manufactures of paper.
Steel railway bars.
Manufactures, articles, and wares of iron, steel, and other metals.
All manufactures of manila, sisal grass, and other vegetable fibers.
China, porcelain, Parian, and other wares.
Common window-glass and the manufactures of glass.
Lead products.
Paints and colors.
Iron and steel rivets, bolts, etc.
Wrought-iron and steel spikes, etc.
Horse, mule, and ox shoes, etc.
Cut tacks, brads, and sprigs.
Horseshoe, hob, and wire nails, etc.
Boiler and other tubes.
Chains of all kinds.
Files, file blanks, rasps, etc.
Iron and steel beams, etc.
Lead in ore and in pigs.
Needles.
Metallic pens.
Type-metal.
Blacking of all kinds.
Manufactures of gutta-percha, hard rubber, etc.
Manufactures of hair.
Ink of all kinds.
Brushes of all kinds.
Marble sawed and dressed, and manufactures of marble.
Manufactures of papier-maché.
Philosophical instruments and apparatus.
Webbing composed of cotton, flax, and other materials.
Zinc, dry and ground in oil.
Confectionery of all kinds.

The committee estimate the value of the annual product of these industries to be at least $2,000,000,000, and that in their prosecution employment is given to not less than 1,250,000 persons, while at least 5,650,000 are directly dependent for support on their continued existence and prosperity.

The testimony taken by your committee and herewith submitted to the Senate contains abundant evidence in detail from manufacturers and workmen alike of the destructive results sure to follow the adoption of the House bill.

From the representatives of imperiled industries a voice of universal protest has been raised and the action of the Senate has been earnestly invoked to preserve great enterprises from ruthless and unnecessary ruin.

For weeks we have patiently listened to persons employed in the various pursuits and from every section, and with doors open to all, we have received the advice and counsel of the men whose labor, enterprise, and skill have made the United States the foremost industrial country of the world, and not one person has appeared to approve or to advocate the bill under consideration.

The free-trade tendencies which are partly concealed in these propositions to cripple or destroy numerous industries are clearly brought into view by an examination of the list of articles which the bill proposes to place upon the free-list. Of the one hundred and four times

from which the duties are removed, nearly one-half, forty-eight in number, are manufactured articles, sixteen are agricultural products, eleven are articles which are now free of duty or without commercial importance, and twenty-one are articles which now pay a small revenue duty, but which are of such a character that removal of duties is unobjectionable.

The following is a list of the manufactured articles from which the duties are removed:

Timber, hewn, sawed, or used for spars or wharves.
Timber, squared or sided.
Sawed boards, planks, deals, and all other sawed lumber.
Hubs for wheels, posts, and all kinds of blocks, rough-hewn or sawed.
Staves of wood.
Machinery for the manufacture of cotton bagging.
Iron or steel sheets coated with tin or lead, known as tin-plates, terne-plates, or taggers' tin.
Glycerine.
Phosphorus.
Soap, hard or soft.
Extracts for tanning.
Indigo, extracts of and carmined.
Iodine, resublimed.
Oil:
  Croton.
  Hempseed and Rapeseed.
Oils:
  Olive oil.
  Cotton-seed oil.
  Salad oil.
  Neat's-foot oil.
  Whale oil.
  Seal oil.
Barks, beans, berries, etc., advanced by refining or grinding.
Cotton ties or hoops for baling or other purposes.
Needles.
Pickets and palings.
Laths.
Shingles.
Clapboards, pine or spruce.
Salt in packages or in bulk.
Burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in width.
Bags of jute for grain.
Alumina, alum, etc.
Borax and boracic acid.
Copper, sulphate of, or blue vitriol.
Iron, sulphate, or copperas.
Soda:
  Sulphate of, or niter cake.
  Sulphate of, or Glauber's-salt.
Sulphur, refined, in rolls.
Coal-tar products.
Coal-tars, not colors or dyes.
Logwood and other dye-woods, extracts of.
Quicksilver.
Brick.
German looking-glass plates.
Chickory, roasted and ground.
Cocoa and chocolate, prepared.
Grindstones, finished.
Ocher and ochery earths, etc., dry and ground in oil.
Acorns and substitutes for coffee, prepared.
Osier and willow, prepared, for basket-makers' use.
Curled hair for beds and mattresses.
Manufactures from non-dutiable crude minerals, not otherwise provided for.
Finishing powder.
Rattans and reeds, manufactured.

This is free trade in the concrete, and the list furnishes conclusive evidence of the intent of the House bill, which can not be neutralized by the eleventh-hour disclaimers of its supporters.

Upon investigation it will be found that, with the exception of tin-plates, the supply of the above articles for home consumption is now furnished to a great extent by domestic producers, whose business would be in most instances at once destroyed by the adoption of this bill.

The committee have not been able to secure accurate statistics of the aggregate value of these manufactures or of the number of persons employed in their production. It is evident, however, from an examination of the list and of the testimony taken by your committee and the reported value of the products of 1880 that at least $500,000,000 of capital and 300,000 workingmen are now so employed. These items seem to have been taken indiscriminately from the present dutiable-list, and there is no reason for the removal of duties upon them which would not apply with equal force to hundreds of other manufactures which are now dutiable. They owe the distinction of having been designated for the first sacrifice on the free-trade altar to the fact that neither the interests of a section nor the political control of a district demanded their preservation.

In many cases where the manufactured article is placed on the free-list a duty is retained on the materials from which it is manufactured. It is needless to say that this discrimination would act as a prohibition upon production in this country.

Soap is placed on the free-list, while duties are retained upon caustic soda and essential oils and a tax is retained upon alcohol. This would undoubtedly result in the destruction of a large industry which gives employment to nearly twenty-five thousand persons.

German looking-glass plates are placed on the free-list, while a duty is maintained on polished cylinder and plate glass, not silvered, or from 2.5 to 45 cents per square foot, equal in some cases to 152 per cent. ad valorem. A duty is also retained on nitrate of silver and tin-foil used in the silvering process.

Tin-plates, or iron and steel sheets coated with tin or lead, are placed on the free-list; while iron ore and pig-iron, as well as the iron bars or steel billets and slabs from which these sheets must be rolled, are dutiable at from 45 to 60 per cent. ad valorem. A duty is also placed by the bill on common black sheet-iron of from 1 to 1.4 cents a pound, and iron and steel sheets, when galvanized with zinc or coated with any other metal except tin or lead, are required to pay an additional duty of from one-fourth to three-fourths of a cent a pound above these rates. There is also a duty levied of 1½ cents a pound upon pig-lead.

Iron and steel cotton-ties and hoops for baling or other purposes, not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, are made free; while other hoop, band, or scroll iron is dutiable at rates varying from 1 to 1.3 cents a pound, and an additional rate of one-fourth of a cent a pound is levied on articles wholly or partially manufactured from hoop-iron. The iron bars or steel slabs from which cotton-ties or hoops must be manufactured are dutiable at from 45 to 60 per cent.

Needles are placed upon the free-list, while the duties on steel remain unchanged at not less than 45 per cent. ad valorem.

The duty is removed from ocher and ochery earths, and umber and umbery earths, dry and ground in oil, while a duty of 15 cents per gallon is retained on linseed-oil.

In the manufacture of the chemical and other products which are placed on the free-list the use of expensive apparatus and machinery is required, and these remain dutiable. Alcohol, upon which a tax of nearly 400 per cent. ad valorem is retained, is largely used in some of the products on which the duties are removed or greatly reduced.

In a considerable number of cases the admission of important manufactured products free of duty while a duty is retained on materials would not only extinguish the industry directly affected, but would effectually destroy important collateral industries.

The free admission of iron or steel sheets of all thicknesses coated with tin or lead would not only prevent the production of tin-plates in this country, but it would cause a substitution of imported tin-plates or sheets in most cases for roofing, and other building purposes, and for domestic uses, where galvanized or other sheet iron or steel is now used, and thus large and important American industries, now fully established, would be annihilated.

The provision to admit German looking-glass plates free of duty would not only destroy the business of silvering plates in this country, but the much larger and more important industry of manufacturing plate or other polished glass for all purposes. As the glass referred to is of the finest quality and highly polished, it would not only take the place of plate or other polished glass for looking-glasses, but of glass for other purposes, as it could be cheaply silvered and the silver removed at an expense which would be insignificant compared with the duty on foreign glass. This provision also contains, we believe, the first attempt which has been made in an American tariff to discriminate between the productions of various foreign states, and it can be safely assumed that the producers of France, Belgium, and England would not consent to this discrimination in favor of German manufacturers.

Placing curled hair upon the free-list would ruin a useful trade, and it would also deprive the farmers of the United States of a profitable market for millions of pounds of hair.

In many cases the duty is removed not only from materials, but also from the manufactured product in various stages as well. Raw wool is free of duty, and no duty is levied on washed or scoured wool, or on wool tops or other manufactures of wool less advanced in condition than yarns.

Jute is put upon the free-list, and the duties are also removed from burlaps and bags of jute for grain.

If Canada consents, round and square timber and sawed boards are all free from duty, while the duty on planed lumber is left an uncertain quantity.

Several important crude minerals, like copper, quicksilver, and antimony, are placed on the free-list, and the duty is also removed from the unenumerated manufactured products of these and of the crude minerals, gold, silver, aluminum, bromine, bismuth, and many others of importance which are now free. It is impossible to say what the effect of this sweeping provision would be; it certainly would admit free of duty a large number of valuable manufactured articles which are now dutiable.

Crude and refined borax and boracic acid, coal-tar, and coal-tar products, and grindstones, finished and unfinished, are placed on the free-list.

It is evident that in these, and in many similar cases, free raw materials would not benefit the domestic manufacturers.

In several cases articles are free under one description and dutiable under another.

For example, iron hoops for other purposes than baling are free, while iron hoops for all purposes except cotton-ties, which are specially provided for, are dutiable at from 1 to 1.3 cents a pound. All vegetable fibers, including flax, are free, while hackled flax is also dutiable at $10 per ton. All earths and clays unwrought are free, while china clay, or kaolin, unwrought, is dutiable. All unmanufactured or undressed monumental or building stone, including marble, is free, while undressed marble is also dutiable at 40 cents per cubic foot. Cocoa prepared and manufactured is free, while chocolate, a preparation of cocoa, is dutiable at 2 cents a pound.

In a great number of instances materials used by the manufacturer are dutiable at one rate, while the finished product is dutiable at a lower rate. This want of relation in rates, which extends to every schedule in which changes are made, will affect injuriously all of our important industries.

For instance, white lead when dry, ground, or mixed in oil is dutiable at 2 cents a pound, while orange mineral, a manufactured product of white lead, is dutiable at 1½ cents a pound; the rate on red lead and litharge, two other lead products, is but one-fourth of a cent above the duty on pig-lead; while the rates on brown and white acetates of lead are so low that production would cease in the United States if this bill should become a law. The rates on structural iron and steel are reduced to six-tenths of a cent a pound, while the duty of 1 cent a pound is retained on bar-iron, from which iron beams must be manufactured.

The duty on sugar above No. 20 Dutch standard in color is fixed by the bill at 2.8 cents a pound, which is equivalent to nearly 85 per cent.

ad valorem. The duty on colored and other confectionery is 40 per cent. ad valorem. Refined sugar could be manufactured into confectionery by machinery at an additional cost of one-half cent a pound, and imported at a rate of duty which would be about one-half of that imposed on the sugar before it was manufactured. Prepared and manufactured cocoa, which contains 75 per cent. of pure sugar, is admitted free, and under this description chocolate confectionery would also be admitted free. We should have then under the House bill refined sugar dutiable at 2.8 cents a pound as sugar, dutiable at half this amount as confectionery, and free as manufactured cocoa. The effect of these provisions upon the manufacturers of confectionery, cocoa, and chocolate, and upon the business of refining sugar in this country can be readily understood. The value of the domestic manufactures of these articles by the census of 1880 was $182,424,602.

Several important manufactures of iron and steel, including files and file-blanks, cut tacks and brads, and steel pens, which now have a specific rate, are given an ad valorem rate of 35 per cent., while the steel from which they are made is dutiable at not less than 45 per cent. ad valorem.

Type-metal is dutiable at 15 per cent. ad valorem, while the lead of which it is largely composed is dutiable at 1¼ cents a pound, or 50 per cent. ad valorem. Lead imported as type-metal would pay a duty of three-eighths of a cent per pound, instead of 1¼ cents if imported as pig-lead. The lead could be recovered by the sweating process at a cost of about one-half of a cent per pound, and still a saving of three-eighths of a cent per pound could be made in duties.

Machinery, hardware, and other articles and wares composed wholly or in part of copper, are dutiable by the bill under consideration at 35 per cent. ad valorem, while machinery, hardware, and other manufactures of iron, steel, or other metals, or of which these metals are the component material of chief value, are dutiable at 40 per cent. ad valorem. Very much the larger portion of all the machinery and hardware now manufactured is composed in part of copper or brass, and if this bill should become a law all machinery and hardware would contain copper or brass, and in this way the duty on all such manufactures would be reduced from 45 per cent. ad valorem, the present rate, to 35 per cent. The effect of this large reduction on the finest manufactured products of iron and steel and other metals, while the duty on the materials of which they are composed remains practically unchanged at much higher rates, would certainly be disastrous to many very important American industries. Machinery is still further discriminated against in the section authorizing the collection of a duty upon packages.

A duty of 25 per cent. ad valorem is placed on paper, while the duty on paper envelopes, the raw material of which is paper, is reduced to 20 per cent., and the duty on the various manufactures of paper not otherwise provided for is fixed at 15 per cent.

Buttons, braids, fringes, and trimmings of all kinds, of wool or silk, are dutiable at 50 per cent. ad valorem, while cloaks and other garments for ladies' and children's wear, made up, are dutiable at 45 per cent. ad valorem.

Ground rice and rice meal are dutiable at 15 per cent. ad valorem, while paddy, or rice with the outer hull on, is dutiable at 1 cent a pound, or 100 per cent. ad valorem. Rice starch, an advanced manufacture of rice, is also dutiable at 1 cent a pound, while by a change in classification the rate on uncleaned rice is advanced one-half a cent per pound beyond existing rates.

Oil-cloths are dutiable at 25 per cent.; oil-cloth foundations bear the same rate, while linseed-oil and many other materials used in the production of oil-cloth are dutiable at a higher rate.

The inconsistencies of the bill are numberless.

Cotton bagging is dutiable at three-eighths of a cent a pound, while a portion of the machinery for manufacturing cotton bagging is admitted free. Jute bags and burlaps which can be used for covering cotton are free, while the machinery for the manufacture of burlaps or jute bags is dutiable at 35 or 40 per cent. ad valorem. Bags of jute for grain are free, while bags of jute for flour, fruit, vegetables, or other purposes are dutiable at three-eighths of a cent a pound. Burlaps not exceeding 60 inches in width are free, while burlaps exceeding 60 inches in width are dutiable at 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Bibles and other books in foreign languages, printed for gratuitous distribution, are free, while Bibles and other books in foreign languages, if printed for sale, are dutiable at 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Needles and looking-glass plates are free, while protective duties are levied on iron-ore and soda-ash.

Extract of hemlock bark is free, and extract of sumac is dutiable.

Beans and pease are free, while rice is dutiable at $1.28 per bushel.

Wool and salt are free, while sugar and coal are given high duties.

Copper-ore is free, and nickel and zinc ores are protected.

One clause of the bill fixes the duties on screens, covers, and a large number of other articles of silk, jute, or vegetable material, at 40 per cent. ad valorem, while other provisions of the bill fix rates on the same articles at from 15 to 50 per cent.

We have enumerated but a few of the many defects and incongruities of the House bill, as every correct principle of tariff construction has been violated in selecting articles for the free-list and those upon which large reductions in rates are made.

FREE RAW MATERIALS.

We have shown the deceptive character of the claim that the proposition of the House bill to place certain materials on the free-list would stimulate manufactures.

All protectionists agree that crude materials used in manufactures, or articles of any description which can not be produced to any considerable extent in this country, or which from climatic or other causes (not depending upon the cost of labor), can not be produced here under as favorable conditions as elsewhere, should be placed on the free-list. With few unimportant exceptions, all the materials which may be fairly said to be included in this description are now free. Those upon which a revenue duty is now retained are transferred to the free-list in the substitute to the House bill proposed by your committee. The great number of articles which have been added to the free-list since 1870 in pursuance of this policy is elsewhere alluded to. The percentage of importations of free and dutiable articles under the various tariffs which have been in existence from 1846, inclusive, is shown by the following table:

Period.	Dutiable.	Free.
	Per cent.	*Per Cent.*
1847 to 1857	88	12
1858 to 1861	78	22
1879 to 1883	70	30
1884 to 1887	66	34

It will be seen that with protective legislation we have had a much larger and constantly increasing amount of free importations. The protective policy contemplates the free admission of all non-competing articles and of all those in the production of which the benefactions of nature have given other countries permanent advantages over our own.

The doctrine of free raw materials, as advocated by tariff reformers, is a difficult one to enforce in legislation. In the usual division of labor the finished product of one man becomes the raw material of his industrial successor. If each man in this series becomes a tariff reformer, and insists that every article which he buys shall be considered a raw material and placed on the free-list, and that every article which he sells shall be deemed a manufactured product and protected, a practical solution of the problem of tariff construction is impossible.

As we have already shown, but very few of the articles placed on the free-list by the House bill can possibly be classed as raw materials

In the small number of cases where duties have been properly removed from crude materials such a reduction has been made on the manufactured product that the change would prove an injury rather than a benefit to the manufacturer.

It is claimed that the bill seeks to reduce the duties on the necessaries of life, but the fact is, that of the long list of articles put upon the free-list salt is the only one which could be called a necessary of life, and of the changes made in the dutiable-list the insignificant reductions on sugar and rice are the only ones which could be credited to this purpose. In marked contrast with these trivial reductions is the action taken in reducing rates of duty on luxuries, as shown by the following table:

Articles.	Existing duties.	Proposed duties.
Artificial feathers, flowers, and millinery ornaments.	50 per cent.	30 per cent.
Dolls and toys	35 per cent.	Do.
Kid gloves	50 per cent.	40 per cent.
Cosmetics, pomades, and toilet powders.	do.	30 per cent.
Cut, engraved, and stained glass	45 per cent.	40 per cent.
Manufactures of rosewood, mahogany, and satinwood.	35 per cent.	30 per cent.
Proprietary preparations, pills, etc	50 per cent.	Do.
Olive, salad, and other oils	Various	Free.
Fine confectionery	10 cents per pound..	5 cents per pound.
	50 per cent.	40 per cent.
Prepared cocoa and chocolate	2 cents per pound...	Free.
Manufactures of marble	50 per cent.	30 per cent.
Percussion caps	40 per cent.	Do.
Fine linen cloths of all kinds	35 per cent.	25 per cent.

FREE WOOL.

We have been recently advised by the President of the United States that in any tariff revision "such reliance upon present revenue arrangements as has been invited or encouraged should be fairly and justly regarded," and assured that in the reforms inaugurated by his party friends "abrupt and radical changes which might endanger such enterprises and injuriously affect the interests of labor dependent upon their success and continuance are not contemplated or intended."

There can be no better test of the sincerity of these sounding declarations than the proposition to put wool on the free-list. Wool has been dutiable since 1816, and through all the tariff mutations which have taken place since no suggestion has been made by any political party, up to the inauguration of the present Administration, for the removal of duties. The wool-growers of the country produce annually 300,000,000 pounds of wool, valued at $100,000,000. They sup-

ply nine-tenths of the clothing wool used by American manufacturers, and they have raised the United States to the first rank among the wool-producing countries of the world.

Those who have by their patient labor and intelligent efforts built up this great industry, relying for security upon the protection of "present revenue arrangements," are certainly entitled to fair treatment and reasonable consideration. They are refused either by this proposal. It is neither fair nor reasonable to suddenly force this large portion of our people into unequal and ruinous competition with the underpaid or semi barbaric labor of other wool-producing countries. It will afford no consolation to the numerous wool-growers of the country to tell them that their ruin may benefit the woolen manufacturers, or that we must have free wool because England, Germany, and France, under circumstances and conditions entirely different from ours, have removed the duties. If we are to look to the interests of the people of the United States alone, and to have in view the development of our own great natural resources, the adequate protection and care of wool producing must continue a feature of our American policy. Even the government of the Southern Confederacy, with a provision in its constitution which forbade the imposition of protective duties, recognized the importance of encouraging wool production, and levied a duty on raw wool.

Scarcely any other branch of American industry is more important to the American people or more necessary to their industrial prosperity and independence than wool-growing and wool-manufacturing. Scarcely any other branch has so fully vindicated the policy of protective duties by remarkable growth since the enactment of the protective tariff of 1861. In selecting these branches of industry for the radical changes which free-trade theories enforce, the President and his party have made it perfectly understood, in this country and abroad, that their acceptance of these theories is complete, and that they intend to put the ax to the root of the protective system.

The only reason given for advocating a repeal of the duties on wool, which have so greatly benefited agriculture, is that cheaper raw materials would help the manufacturer and benefit the consumer. In the same breath it is asserted that the prices of wool have been lower with protective duties than with revenue duties. The attempt to make the wool-grower believe that free trade will raise the price of wool, and at the same time make the manufacturer believe that the same change will render his materials cheaper, can not be said to have been entirely successful. In a large portion of our country wool-growing is co-extensive with farming, and the incidental benefits to the farmer, in many thousands of cases, make agriculture profitable where it would otherwise be profitless. It is by no means to the farmer who devotes his attention exclusively or mainly to the culture of sheep that the duties on wool are of the greatest importance. A far greater number of farmers now make farming pay with the aid of wool-growing who could not do so if they were obliged to compete with the flock-masters and ranges of Australasia or South America.

The contention that wool-growing in this country has not been aided or encouraged by protective duties is sufficiently answered by the following statement of the annual production and production per capita from 1840 to 1885:

Amount of wool produced in the United States.

Year.	Production.	Per capita.	Year.	Production.	Per capita.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*		*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
1840	35,802,114	2.5	1879	232,500,000	4.6
1850	52,516,969	2.7	1880	240,000,000	4.7
1860	60,264,913	1.7	1882	290,000,000	5.3
1869	162,000,000	4.2	1884	308,000,000	5.4
1874	181,000,000	4.2	1886	285,000,000	4.7

It will be noticed that in 1860, after fourteen years of revenue tariff, the total production of domestic wool was 60,264,913 pounds, or 1.7 pounds per capita, while in 1884, after twenty-four years of protection, the total production had increased to 308,000,000 pounds, or 5.4 pounds per capita. This increase justifies the policy of affording this important agricultural product adequate protection.

MANUFACTURES OF WOOL.

The following table shows the advance which has been made in woolen manufactures. It contains a statement of the value of manufactures of wool in each of the census years from 1820 to 1880, and the per capita value for each of those years:

Value of manufactures of wool in each of the census years from 1820 *to* 1880, *and the per capita value.*

Year.	Value.	Value per capita.	Year.	Value.	Value per capita.
1820	$4,413,068	$0.46	1860	$65,596,364	$2.09
1830	14,528,165	.88	1870	177,498,689	4.60
1840	20,696,999	.82	1880	267,252,913	5.34
1850	43,207,545	1.86			

The average annual quantity of wool consumed by our manufacturers from 1840 to 1887 was as follows:

Amount of wool consumed by American manufacturers by decades—average per annum.

Periods.	Products.	Imports.	Total consumption.	Per capita.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pds.*
1841–'50	46,000,000	13,976,459	59,976,459	3.0
1851–'60	66,000,000	23,010,629	89,010,629	3.3
1861–'70	150,000,000	50,161,113	200,161,113	5.4
1871–'80	192,225,000	64,091,664	256,316,664	5.8
1881–'87	289,428,571	79,205,585	368,634,156	6.6

These tables, taken together, show that harmonious development of interests which it is the aim of the American policy of protection to secure.

It is often stated that the heavy duty on wool has prevented the normal growth of woolen manufactures. For the purpose of making a comparison between this and an industry which has free raw material, we insert the following statement, showing the total value and the value per capita of the cotton and woolen manufactures of the United States for each of the census years from 1820 to 1880:

Comparative statement of the values of manufactures of cotton and wool in each of the census years from 1820 *to* 1880, *and the per capita value of each manufacture.*

Year.	Manufactures of cotton.		Manufactures of wool.	
	Value.	Value per capita.	Value.	Value per capita.
1820			$4,413,068	
1830	$32,000,000	$2.49	14,528,166	$0.88
1840	46,350,458	2.71	20,696,999	.82
1850	65,501,687	2.82	43,207,545	1.86
1860	115,681,774	3.68	65,596,364	2.09
1870	177,489,739	4.60	174,495,689	4.60
1880	192,000,110	3.83	267,252,913	5.34

It will be noticed that the relative increase in the value of woolen manufactures has been much greater than in cotton. In 1870 the production of cotton and wool per capita was the same ($4.60 in each case), while in 1880, with a heavy duty upon wool, woolen manufactures had increased to $5.34, and cotton manufactures, with free cotton, had fallen to $3.83 per capita.

It may be valuable in this connection to make a comparison of the changes which have taken place in the consumption of wool in the countries which are the principal competitors of the United States in woolen manufactures.

Germany has increased its consumption of wool in manufactures about 40 per cent. in twenty years. France consumed in 1866 about 310,000,000 pounds of wool—190,000,000 foreign and 120,000,000 home grown; and in 1886 about 446,000,000 pounds—366,000,000 foreign and 80,000,000 domestic; an increase of barely 44 per cent. in twenty years. Great Britain consumed 238,000,000 pounds in 1859, when the United States consumed 86,000,000 pounds. In 1885 Great Britain consumed 366,000,000 pounds, when the United States consumed 400,000,000 pounds. This startling change in the industrial relations of the two countries may afford some explanation of the anxiety in Great Britain for the destruction of the protective policy of this country.

The development of woolen manufactures in the United States has been arrested by the inadequate duties that were imposed upon manufactures of wool by the act of March 3, 1883, which, taken together with the erroneous classification of manufactures of worsted, have led to greatly increased importations from England, Germany, France, and Belgium. The rapidity with which these importations have increased the past year threatens, unless some remedy shall be promptly adopted, to destroy the woolen manufacturing industry of the United States. The following table shows the importation of worsted coatings, etc., from the consular district of Bradford, a single manufacturing district of Great Britain, for the past six months and for a corresponding period in 1887:

Exports from the consular district of Bradford, England, to the United States of certain woolen and worsted fabrics during the first six months of the years 1887 *and* 1888.

Articles.	1887.	1888.	Increase.
Stuffs	$3,199,760	$3,363,605	$183,845
Worsted coatings	1,534,235	2,689,387	1,155,152
Woolen goods	197,560	274,255	76,695
Silk seals, plushes, etc	719,595	1,407,705	688,110
Worsted yarns	302,702	346,330	43,628
Total	5,933,852	8,081,282	2,147,430

Similar statistics in regard to importations from other districts and countries are not available, but they would undoubtedly show a like increase of importations.

The average annual importation of all manufactures of wool except carpets for the years 1868 to 1883, under the tariff of 1867, was $34,129,676.21. The average annual value of the same importations under act of March 3, 1883, in the years 1884–'87 was $39,232,500.25. The value of these importations in 1887 was $42,752,588.12, and in 1888 was $46,352,063.

The value of the importations of all manufactures of wool for the month of July, 1888, was $1,265,992 greater than the importations for the corresponding month in 1887. If this rate of increase continues the total imports for the present fiscal year will be about $63,000,000.

To form an approximate estimate of the rapidity with which the quantity of imported woolen manufactures is increasing we should consider the great decline which has taken place in the price of woolen and worsted goods. The average value of the importations of manufactures of worsteds, etc., for the four years prior to 1883 was $1.33 per pound, while in 1887 the average had fallen to 79 cents per pound.

The people of the United States consume nearly one-third of all the wool produced on the globe, the consumption per capita being very much greater than that of any other country. In 1860 the American producers supplied 68 per cent. of the amount of woolens required for domestic consumption; in 1880 they supplied 87 per cent.; while in 1884 the amount of woolen goods imported was probably less than 10 per cent. of the value of the total consumption. Since the reduction in rates made in 1883, however, with the increase in the value of our imports of woolens, domestic production has relatively declined.

The following table shows the comparative value of domestic and imported manufactures of wool, value per capita, and proportion of the American market held by American and foreign manufacturers in each of the census years from 1820 to 1880:

Year.	Domestic manufactures.			Importations.		
	Value	Value per capita.	Percentage of total consumption.	Value.	Value per capita.	Percentage of total consumption.
1820	$4,413,068	$0.46	38	$7,238,954	$0.75	62
1830	14,528,166	.88	64	8,290,062	.75	36
1840	20,696,999	.82	60	13,950,772	.94	40
1850	43,207,545	1.86	77	13,005,852	.65	23
1860	65,596,364	2.09	68	31,333,273	1.16	32
1870	177,495,689	4.60	85	33,046,521	.94	15
1880	267,252,913	5.34	87	39,537,694	.90	13

One of the principal arguments used by the advocates of free wool is that if the duty should be removed the woolen manufacturers of the United States would be able to compete successfully for the markets of the world, and that by retaining the duty upon wool we are deliberately excluding them from profitable employment. There is, we believe, much popular misapprehension as to the extent of the markets of the world in woolen goods. The total amount of the net importations of woolen goods by all the countries of the world, excluding the United States, probably does not exceed $90,000,000 per annum. We ourselves imported last year, 1888, nearly $49,000,000 in foreign value of woolen goods, or more than $80,000,000 in duty-paid value.

It is thus demonstrated that we have within our own reach a market which is almost equal in importance to all the other available markets of the world, and it would seem to be the paramount duty of Congress to secure to American producers by wise legislation this important portion of the world's market. It can be easily shown that if we had free wool we could not compete on equal terms for the neutral markets of the world. We could not compete because the cost of production of all manufactures of wool aside from the cost of wool is much greater in the United States than in competing countries. We have equal advantages in machinery, capital, the enterprise of our people, but the much greater wages paid to operatives and the greater earnings in this country of all the people who contribute to the production of our woolen manufactures prevent successful competition in neutral markets, unless wages should be reduced to the foreign scale.

It is only by the maintenance of the American system that the operatives in American woolen mills can hope to retain the immense advantages in respect to wages which they have over the workingmen of England, Germany, and France. The protection of the allied industries of wool and woolens has not, however, been beneficial alone to the persons employed in woolen mills. It has at the same time helped to increase the wages and rewards of farm labor; it has enabled us to raise and sell 300,000,000 pounds of wool where 60,000,000 pounds were raised, and to employ operatives in working up 400,000,000 pounds where but 86,000,000 pounds were manufactured. Coincident with this constant advance in wages and enlarged employment there has been a great reduction in the cost of woolen goods to American consumers. Free trade in wool and a bare revenue duty for woolens would compel the farmers to raise other crops, of which the supply is already greater than the demand, and it would close factories in which many millions of capital are invested, rob an army of operatives of employment, and force down the wages of all other labor.

All the sacrifice and suffering, this arrest of harmonious progress, and this disorganization of labor, we are asked to face in the hope that with one-sixth of the world's supply of wool cut off, we may thereby get cheaper wool and woolens. If this hope were rational, the loss would far outweigh the gain. It is better to maintain the wages of our workers and to develop our own resources than to abandon our fields, stop our mills, and look to Europe for the supply of our manufactured products.

A SECTIONAL BILL.

The removal of the duties from cotton-ties, burlaps to be used as cotton bagging, machinery for making cotton bagging, jute bags, etc., the retention of high duties on certain plantation products, such as sugar at 68 per cent. and rice at 100 per cent., the imposition of duties which would be protective on the coarser kinds of cotton and woolen fabrics manufactured in this section, all point to an attempt, by the terms of the House bill, to discriminate in favor of the planters of the cotton-growing States, an attempt made with the vain hope that it may be found possible to achieve the permanent prosperity of one section at the expense of another.

The industries of this section are not disturbed. It is well known that a considerable number of interests in other sections are suffering from insufficient protection, and yet it is significant that the only article upon which the rate of duty is increased in the entire bill is uncleaned rice, which by a change in classification is advanced from 70 to 100 per cent. ad valorem. We submit herewith (Appendix E) a suggestive table taken from the census reports, which shows the relative proportion of the various manufactured products upon which rates are removed or largely reduced by the House bill that were produced in 1880 in the eleven cotton States and in the other States. This table discloses the fact that the section which furnishes the bill and two-thirds of its effective supporters supplies but 2½ per cent. of the industries to be crippled or destroyed.

A BILL TO FAVOR CANADA.

The discrimination is not less marked in favor of the people of Canada and against the farmers and lumbermen living along our northern border from Maine to Oregon. The following table contains a comparison of the rates which are imposed by the Canadian tariff upon certain articles placed upon the free-list by the House bill under consideration:

Comparative statement of Canadian and United States tariffs on certain articles affected by the House bill H. R. 9051.

Articles.	Present law.	H. R. 9051.	Canadian.
Oils, animal and fish	25 per cent.	Free	20 per cent.
Oil, coal	10 per cent.	Free	7½ cts. per gallon.
Meats	1 cent per pound.	Free	1 cent per pound.
Shoulders and other meats	2 cents per pound.	Free	2 cents per pound.
Vegetables	10 per cent.	Free	10 per cent.
Pease	10 or 20 per cent.	Free	10 cts. per bushel.
Beans	10 or 20 per cent.	Free	15 cts. per bushel.
Brick	20 per cent.	Free	20 per cent.
Shingles	35 cents per M.	Free	20 per cent.
Hubs, spokes, etc	20 per cent.	Free	15 per cent.
Lumber and timber, n. o. p. f.	20 per cent.	Free	20 per cent.

Under our existing tariff the Canadians send to our markets annually many millions of dollars in value of their products, which, after paying duties not greater than those levied by the Canadian tariff, are sold in competition with our domestic producers. The advantages which would accrue to the people of Canada by this removal of duties are manifest.

The effect which the placing of lumber on the free-list would have upon the Canadian interests is shown by the following extract from the report of Consul Hotchkiss to the Department of State, under date of February 2, 1888:

I have been thus explicit in describing the systems of the two countries, for, to my mind, they are the key by which the situation and effect may be safely prejudged in case free lumber becomes a reality.

There is no dispute that the American manufacturer controls the making of prices. In doing this, he is not influenced by the Canadian supply in any degree. If the duty of $2 is removed it will not affect the American price, because it has never been a factor and will still be unfelt. No lower price will prevail in the United States than heretofore, and no different net results will be experienced by the manufacturer.

The Canadian, on the contrary, will lay his lumber down in the American market at $2 less per thousand, and will obtain for it the same as the American does, so that the net result to the Canadian manufacturer will be a clear gain of the $2 which the American Government has remitted. This additional net result to the Canadian manufacturer will, however, be of very brief duration.

Having shown how the governments in Canada continue their control of the timber land and their disposition to tax them to the utmost, I am confident that not a May pay day will pass before a public notice will issue in effect that a further increase in annual and timber dues has been made an order in council, in sums sufficient to absorb the $2 per thousand into the provincial treasuries.

That Canada will do this we have reason to believe, not only from the foregoing statement but from the fact that when in 1870 we placed logs on the free-list, which prior to that time bore a duty of $1 per

thousand, Canada in 1872 responded by placing an export duty on logs of $2, which duty is retained to this day.

HOME MARKET FOR FARM PRODUCTS.

The comparative treatment which is indicated by a contrast between the duties on rice and sugar and the placing of beans, pease, meats, vegetables, and other Northern agricultural products on the free-list does not deter the supporters of this bill from making earnest appeals to farmers as a class for support. This appeal is based upon the theory that a protective tariff can not aid the farmer in securing better prices or a wider market for his products, but that it does impose a higher cost upon every protected manufactured article which he buys. It might be an advantage to an individual farmer if he were able to buy the protected manufactured products which he consumes at the prices they could be purchased for in England or Germany; but if all the farmers should purchase their supplies of these articles at the lower foreign price relative conditions would change at once.

If these goods were all purchased abroad, the destruction of a large portion of the domestic demand for farm products created by the artisans and mechanics employed in manufacturing industries would follow, and a very large number of persons now engaged in other pursuits would be obliged to seek employment in agriculture. If, on the other hand, these manufactures should be purchased of domestic producers at the lower foreign price, this would involve, as we have shown, a reduction of the earnings of operatives and mechanics to the foreign level, and the consequent reduction of their ability to purchase farm products from the domestic supply.

An addition of 5 cents per day to the wages of the workingmen of the country would furnish a market within our own territory equal in extent to the value of the surplus agricultural products now annually exported. If the earnings of all persons engaged in useful occupations in the United States should be reduced to the level of the earnings of the same classes in Great Britain, the purchasing power of our people would be reduced more than $3,000,000,000 per annum, or by a sum equal to the value of all our agricultural products in 1880.

No class of people in the United States have an equal interest with the farmer in the diversification of our industries and in the development of manufactures, for proximity to profitable markets gives increased value to labor and to land and its products.

We append to this report Exhibit D, a statement showing the production, consumption, and exportation of cereals from 1840 to 1887, for the purpose of indicating the relative value to farmers of the foreign and home markets. From this table it will be seen that our total annual exports of all cereals would barely supply domestic consumption for three weeks. If the per capita consumption by our people had not been greater in 1887 than it was in 1860, our surplus for exportation would have been at least five hundred million bushels greater than it was. This increase of consumption per capita is owing to the increased earnings of the masses of our people. If the acreage and production of cereals should remain stationary for a year and a half we should then have no surplus for exportation.

The competition in wheat-growing which has been developed in India, South America, Australia, and in the British possessions in North America, is likely to make unprofitable the production of this cereal for exportation by our people, and to cause the wheat-grower of the Northwest to look to an enlargement of the certain and remunerative home market. This enlarged and profitable market can only be secured by increasing the number of people engaged in other than agricultural pursuits, and by furnishing to all increased employment without diminution of wages. To cripple our manufacturing interests and reduce the purchasing power of our working men will result in augmenting the number of competitors in the field of agricultural production, and the increased supply could, in that event only, find a market in Europe by enforced competition with India at ruinous prices. Wheat can now be laid down in Liverpool from the central provinces of India at as low a cost for transportation as from Chicago, and Indian wheat can be delivered in New York at less cost for transportation than from the wheat-fields of Dakota.

It is for the highest interests of the American farmer that the number of our food consumers rather than of food producers should be increased, and that the general prosperity of all should be secured. It is true that the decline in prices of agricultural products has been very great, but the value of these when measured by the value of clothing, farming utensils, or other necessities of a farmer's life, is much greater now than in any of the years preceding 1860.

REDUCTIONS MADE BY THE HOUSE BILL, AS SHOWN BY THE AVERAGE AD VALOREM RATE.

After months spent in violent attacks upon the protective system, and when, fortunately, the people of the country have become thoroughly aroused to impending danger, the friends of the House bill suddenly discover that it is not a free-trade measure, and that it would not injuriously affect the vital interests of any of the large number of persons employed in American industries. In proof of this it is said that the bill proposes an average reduction of only $4.32 on every $100 of dutiable merchandise imported. The average ad valorem rate assessed on all dutiable goods in 1887 was 47.10 per cent., and it is assumed that the average rate under the terms of the House bill would be 42.78 per cent., and that therefore the percentage of reduction of rates *is not more than* 9.2 per cent.

It is claimed that this small percentage of reduction of rates proves conclusively that the bill is conservative in its character, that it would not injure any established industry, and that it is not open to the severe criticism to which it has been subjected. It is assumed that the retention of an average ad valorem rate of 42.78 per cent. on dutiable merchandise is conclusive evidence that the bill has no free-trade tendencies.

These statements in regard to the average ad valorem rate imposed by the bill, and the percentage of reductions made by it, are misleading and deceptive. The average percentage of reduction made by the House bill in tariff rates can be estimated by a comparison of the amount which was collected with existing rates upon the importations of the articles named in its various sections, in any given year, with the amount which would have been collected on the same importations if the rates proposed had been operative. The rates imposed by three schedules of the existing tariff, namely, F, H, and L (tobacco, wines and liquors, and silks), are not reduced or changed in any manner by the terms of the bill. In the other schedules the duties on a large number of articles are left unchanged, and these, together with the schedules referred to, should not, of course be taken into consideration in estimating the percentage of reduction of duties or rates.

The value of all the articles upon which the rates of duty are changed by the bill, and which are alone affected by its provisions, imported in 1887, according to the statement furnished by the Committee of Ways and Means and printed in connection with the bill, was $249,806,796.20. Upon these articles there was imposed a duty in 1887 of $136,087,147,77, equivalent to 54.48 per cent. ad valorem. The same articles, if imported under the provisions of the proposed bill, would have paid, according to the same statement, duties to the amount of $86,600,907.62, or an ad valorem rate of 34.67 per cent. The resulting reduction in the amount of duties collected under the House bill on the importations of 1887 would be $49,406,240.15, or a percentage of reduction of 36.36 per cent., instead of 9.2 per cent., as claimed by the friends of the bill.

To ascertain, however, the effect which the bill would have upon protected industries, we should eliminate from this computation the amount collected from the revenue duty imposed upon sugar. If we deduct the value of the importations and amount of duty collected from sugar in 1887, we should then have the value of all imported articles referred to in the bill $175,571,927.80, upon which the duties collected in 1887 amounted to $78,074,855.50. The duties which would have been collected upon these articles under the proposed bill would have amounted to $39,525,789.49, showing a percentage of reduction of duties and rates upon all articles named in the bill, exclusive of sugar, of 49.37 per cent. These articles paid an average ad valorem rate in 1887 under the present law of 44.46 per cent., and would have paid, under the provisions of the House bill, 22.51 per cent. Instead, then, of retaining an average ad valorem rate upon all articles enumerated in the bill of 42.78 per cent., it would actually retain but 22.51 per cent.

The statement of reductions furnished by the House committee does not embrace the reduction which would be produced by putting German looking-glass plates, bags of jute, jute machinery, and several other articles of less importance upon the free-list, nor does it include the reduction which would be made by an important change of classification in Schedule B, reducing the duties on several kinds of china, porcelain ware, etc., from 60 to 35 per cent. If these reductions are taken into consideration it is apparent that the measure reduces the rates of duty more than one-half upon all articles affected by it except sugar.

The average reduction in rates can be estimated by another method, namely, by a direct comparison of every item of existing and proposed rates and finding the percentage of reduction in each case (as shown in Appendix G), and averaging the resulting percentages without regard to the relative importance of the articles or the amount of importations. This method would show an average reduction of 53 per cent.

The alleged conservative character of the bill disappears under this examination, and we find that the average reductions it would produce are more than twice as great as any which have heretofore been proposed by the most courageous revenue reformer.

Many illustrations might be given to show the absurdity of attempting to establish the protective character of a revenue measure by the average ad valorem rate which it imposes upon dutiable articles. It is the distribution and relation of rates, and not the average rate imposed on all articles, which determine the character of a tariff. For instance, the average ad valorem rate imposed upon all dutiable articles by the British tariff in 1887 was 70.07 per cent., and yet it will hardly be claimed that the British tariff is protective in its character.

If all of the articles in our tariff schedules upon which protective duties are levied should be placed upon the free-list and all our protected industries destroyed, and duties should be maintained at present rates upon tobacco, silks, wines and liquors, and sugar, the average ad valorem rate imposed upon dutiable importations would be 71.92 per cent. instead of 47.10, and by this wonderful mathematical process

of ascertaining the extent of protection by the average ad valorem rate, we should find that the nearer we approached to free trade the greater would be the degree of protection afforded our industries. The assurance that after all a high average ad valorem rate was preserved would afford no compensation to the manufacturers or workingmen whose industries were destroyed by the removal of duties. The average rate upon all the schedules, excluding silks, wines, liquors, tobacco, and sugar in 1887, was 37.65 per cent.

The effect of placing articles on the free-list which bear lower rates of duty than the average is obviously to increase the average rates on the remaining dutiable articles. The high average ad valorem rate resulting from our present tariff is owing to the unexampled low prices current for a number of years, and to the high rates of duties levied on tobacco, silks, wines, liquors, and sugar.

The tariff of 1846 is constantly referred to by tariff reformers as a model enactment, and yet if the articles in the four schedules named had been dutiable at the same rates in 1887 which were imposed upon them in 1846 (wines, 40 per cent.; sugar, 30 per cent.; tobacco, 40 per cent.; silks, 30 per cent.), the average ad valorem rates upon all imported merchandise in 1887 would have been 23.69 per cent., or a less rate than was imposed upon all imported merchandise under the act of 1846.

FREE TRADE.

In consequence of the extreme sensitiveness manifested by the authors and supporters of the bill under consideration to the suggestion that they are free-traders, or that the measure which they have proposed looks in the direction of free trade, it may be well to consider what is understood by free trade when the term is used to describe the economic policy of the nation.

It is true there is but one country to which we can look for an illustration, as, with the conspicuous exception of Great Britain, all other commercial nations have rejected the teachings of that school of political economists who dream of universal serenity and prosperity to be accomplished through the adoption of free-trade theories. Free trade, then, judged by the example of Great Britain, does not mean the abolition of custom-houses nor the collection of all revenues by direct taxation. There is annually paid by the people of Great Britain under the provisions of the British tariff an equal sum per capita for duties on imports to that which would be paid by the people of the United States under the provisions of the House bill or of the substitute proposed by your committee.

A free-trade country may be properly described as one which does not impose protective duties upon importations. Lord Salisbury lately defined a free-trader as one who is opposed to protection. Mr. David A. Wells recently said, "Free trade, as an economic principle or politico-commercial system, is the direct opposite to the so-called principle or system of protection." If these definitions are correct the promoters of this bill are self-confessed free-traders, and the denial that they are engaged in a "crusade of free trade" comes too late, for the American people are not likely to forget the lessons of 1844 and the political rallying cry of "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42."

American free-traders, or revenue reformers, as they now choose to call themselves, are hopelessly divided in opinion as to the proper manner of raising the revenue necessary for the support of the Government; many of the more conspicuous are in favor of a single tax upon land; others prefer the direct tax contemplated by our Constitution; some favor the collection of revenue by customs duties upon articles not produced in this country, after the manner of the British tariff; much the larger number, however, are in favor of a general tariff for revenue only, but all oppose with equal ardor the imposition of protective duties, which they declare to be "vicious" and "iniquitous," resulting in "spoliation" and "robbery."

These gentlemen have also differed at times as to the best method of securing the abolition of protective duties and the destruction of the system. They are, however, in substantial agreement that the long line of our industrial defenses can only be carried by concentrating their forces upon that which seems from time to time to be the weakest point. After each repulse or defeat some new point has been selected for the assault. The warfare has usually been directed against the manufacturers of the country, who were declared to be odious monopolists, whose exactions wrung from an unwilling people by the machinery of a protective tariff could be no longer tolerated. The present movement is disguised under the pretense of a purpose to assist and emancipate our overburdened manufacturers.

Great ingenuity has been shown in the construction of the varied and various reform measures which have been introduced in Congress from year to year, but in all the common purpose of destroying the protective system has never been lost sight of. The free-trade programme embodied in the bill now under consideration was adopted in 1885, after the defeat of the so-called Morrison horizontal reduction bill of 1884.

In November, 1885, the free-traders and revenue reformers of the country met in national conference at Chicago, under the auspices of the American Free Trade League, to decide upon a plan for renewing the attack upon the common enemy. This important conference, after prolonged discussion, determined to urge upon their friends in Congress the adoption of the policy outlined in the following resolutions:

We therefore urge upon Congress for action at the ensuing session—

1. That, under no pretense, shall any countenance be given to attempts to increase protective duties.

2. That articles which are at the foundation of great industries should, in the interest of labor and commerce, be freed from duty, whether they be crude materials (as lumber, salt, coal, ore, wool, etc.) or partly manufactured (as chemicals, dye-stuffs, tin-plate, wood-pulp, etc.).

3. That on products from such articles duties should be at least correspondingly reduced, so that protection, real or nominal, to manufacturers shall not be increased and that the consumer shall have the immediate benefit of the reduction.

We urge that any steps in tariff reform should simplify the present complicated classification, and should do away with mixed duties, replacing them by ad valorem rates, instead of specific duties, which are most burdensome on low-priced goods consumed by the great body of the people.

These resolutions were prefaced by a long preamble, declaring, among other things, that "every protective feature must at the earliest day be eradicated from our revenue system."

A careful comparison of the provisions of the House bill now under consideration with the detailed suggestions contained in the resolutions will show with what fidelity the programme of the free-trade conference has been followed in every essential particular.

At the conference a suggestion was made that it might be advisable to memorialize the President on this subject, but the presiding officer, Mr. David A. Wells, responded:

We can trust the President of the United States.

This confident and significant assertion was publicly made a year before the President sent the annual message to Congress in which he enunciated the policy of the Administration and of his party upon the lines laid down by the free-trade conference, and in which he sought to enforce the soundness of the position they had taken by the use of arguments which had become familiar through constant reiteration for half a century by free-traders on both sides of the Atlantic.

The controversy, however, between the opponents and the friends of the bill under consideration is not one over names or phrases; it is a contest between those who support and those who oppose the American system of defensive duties; and this conflict is as irrepressible as that which was waged between the respective friends of freedom and slavery. There is, moreover, the same irreconcilable antagonism between a protective tariff and a tariff for revenue as that which exists between protection and absolute free trade. The definition of revenue duties given by Secretary Walker, their most distinguished advocate, and one which has been generally accepted by his followers, carefully and effectually excludes all idea of protection.

A duty, whether high or low, which does not equal the difference in cost of production in this and in any competing country of the article upon which it is levied is not protective.

If a duty is protective it matters not to the labor employed in an industry whether it is so accidentally, incidentally, or whether it is levied with full knowledge and intent of the result which is to follow. If the rate is below the protective line it has no defensive virtue and confers no benefits upon domestic manufactures. The debate is between those who believe that protective duties may be levied in pursuance of a wise public policy and those who believe that all protective duties are indefensible; and in this discussion the advocates of the House bill necessarily take their places among the opponents of the protective system.

LABOR COST OF PRODUCTION.

It is asserted that the rates of duty retained by the House bill must be sufficiently protective to the labor employed in our various manufacturing industries, as these rates on all manufactured articles are greater than the entire sum paid in each case for labor in producing the article. For illustration, it is claimed that, as the average rate proposed by the bill on manufactures of cotton is 39.07 per cent., and as the assumed average labor cost in these manufactures is but 21.06 per cent., it may be said (even though competing nations should reduce the wages of labor in this industry to the lowest possible minimum) that the duties retained would much more than equalize the larger sum paid by the American producer for labor. The census of 1880 and the first annual report of the Commissioner of Labor are quoted in corroboration of these and similar statements in regard to other industries. The labor cost of producing a ton of pig-iron in various parts of the United States is assumed to be from 8.55 to 16.71 per cent. of the total cost of production, and as the rate of duty proposed by the bill on pig-iron is $6 a ton, or nearly 55 cent. of the foreign prices, it is therefore said to be evident that this duty could be still further reduced more than one-half and yet be amply protective of the labor employed in this industry.

The extravagance of these statements and the falsity of the deduction made from them are apparent when we consider that the percentage of labor cost in each case is based upon the amount paid for labor at a single stage of the long process of manufacture.

In the ultimate analysis, the cost of production of manufactured articles is the cost of the labor or services of man. The cost of the original elements in their natural state, before they are advanced in value by labor, is insignificant. If, in computing the cost of production, we

should exclude the sums paid for taxes, insurance, interest, and retained for accruing profits, a large portion of which represents payments for labor and services, and which together would rarely amount to 10 per cent. of the entire cost, we should then find the labor cost in all cases to be at least 90 per cent. of the total expenditure.

Mr. Edward Atkinson, in a carefully prepared statement published in April, 1887, demonstrates that of the total cost of producing medium shirtings, worth 6¼ cents a yard, the proportion paid for labor at various stages (on the plantation, in transportation, in factories, etc.) was 92.12 per cent., the remaining portion, 7.88 per cent., being absorbed in interest, insurance, profits, etc. This estimate is confirmed in a striking manner by the following statement of Hon. A. S. Hewitt, made at a hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, February 21, 1884, the subject under discussion being the percentage of labor cost in the manufacture of iron.

Mr. Hewitt said:

The percentage of labor involved in the production of any give article depends upon where you begin to estimate the percentage. If you begin with a steel-rail mill, which uses pig-iron, the labor will be from 25 to 30 per cent. The actual wages paid by a wire mill will amount to about 29 per cent. of the cost. If you include labor in the blast-furnace that would make it 60 per cent. But if you go on back to the ore bed, and put in everything which was paid out from the ore bed, the percentage of labor would have been about 90 per cent. I say this because the gentleman (Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, of Brooklyn, N. Y.) proposes to overthrow facts within my knowledge, and for which I pay. I say the amount which I pay out for labor, when I include every particle of raw material beginning at the ground—and I am a miner both of ore and coal—I have never, with all my anxiety to get it down, got it below 90 per cent. on the value of the finished product.

Mr. MILLS. What is the finished product?

Mr. HEWITT. Any finished product. I make bar-iron.

Mr. MILLS. Is pig-iron a finished product?

Mr. HEWITT. The labor in pig-iron will be 90 per cent. of the cost. It actually takes 90 per cent. of the cost of the article for labor when you include everything, from the beginning to the end.

That which is shown to be true by the intelligent testimony of these two eminent tariff reformers in regard to the manufactures of cotton and iron is equally true in regard to every other manufactured product. The adequacy of a rate of duty for defensive purposes can not properly be determined by ascertaining the sum paid for labor in any one of the many operations necessary to transform natural elements into fully manufactured products. The larger earnings and greater cost of labor at every stage and in all contributory occupations should be taken into consideration, and the rates should always be equal to the resulting increased cost of production. As all of our people engaged in every occupation contribute to and share in the benefits of profitable production, so all are alike vitally interested in the maintenance of a policy which secures and enlarges the area of national industrial success.

The futility of attempting to adjust rates of duty, levied to equalize foreign and American prices, on the basis of the mathematical relation which these rates bear to that small portion of the labor cost of production which is included in the census tables, is demonstrated by the following illustration:

The labor cost of manufacturing worsted goods, according to the census reports, is 16.23 per cent. The actual relative cost of producing No. 36 worsted yarns in the United States and in England, as shown in detail by some tables submitted to the House of Representatives May 12, 1888, by Hon. WILLIAM L. SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, assuming wool to be free from duty in the United States and the cost of wool to be the same in both cases, is 59 cents per pound in England and 90 cents in the United States. It will be seen that to equalize the cost of production between the two countries in this case a duty of 52.54 per cent. must be imposed by our tariff. If a duty of 16.23 per cent. should be levied, the cost of English yarn laid down in New York, duty paid, would be, say, 69 cents per pound, as against 90 cents cost to the American manufacturer; and American production would cease unless wages of labor in this and all collateral industries were reduced to the English standard.

The same tables show the relative cost of manufacturing the same number of yarn from a different grade of wool to be 52 cents in England and 80 cents in the United States. In this case a defensive duty of 53.84 per cent. would be necessary. Mr. SCOTT's tables also, it will be observed, prove conclusively the inadequacy of the rate of duty (40 per cent.) proposed by the House bill upon worsted manufactures.

We are further assured by our tariff-reform friends that the cost of production of many leading manufactures is not greater in the United States, and in some cases is even less, than in competing countries. The most casual examination of the comparisons upon which these assertions are founded will disclose their unreliable character, as in most instances they are based upon dissimilar articles, produced under entirely different conditions.

The general inaccuracy of the statement that manufactures of cotton, iron, wool, or steel can be produced in this country at an equal or lower cost per unit of quantity than in England, Germany, or France is known to every intelligent observer, and is clearly established by the fact that we import annually $175,000,000 in value of these manufactures that are successfully sold in competition with our domestic productions after the payment of duties which we are told are exorbitant. In all cases the greater cost of producing the manufactures to the American producer is due to the greater wages or larger earnings of the workingmen of this country. The fact that all persons employed in American production—and this includes all who are engaged in useful occupations—receive very much larger sums for their labor, whether the compensation is measured by money or by the necessaries and comforts of life, than those who are engaged in similar employment in any other country is now generally admitted.

While revenue reformers are forced to admit the truth of this statement, they claim that the better-paid labor in the United States gives to the American manufacturers lower cost of production on account of the greater activity and efficiency of American workingmen, and that this condition is the legitimate result of the general economic law that high wages are an unerring indication of low cost of product. To say that greater wages per hour or per day can be paid in America than in Europe for attending the same machinery, running at the same speed an equal number of hours, and turning out the same quantity and kinds of goods, and yet that the cost of production will be lower in America, is to state an absurdity; and yet these are the actual relative conditions which govern the production of a large portion of our manufactures. It is true that the cost of production does not in all cases depend solely upon the sum paid for the wages or earnings of employés. There may be climatic advantages, the more extensive or effective use of machinery, greater skill in superintendence or manipulation, more favorable situation in reference to markets, greater experience, intelligence, vigor, or artistic taste of workmen. When all or most of these advantages exist in a country or community the highest rate of wages is not inconsistent with relatively low cost of production.

In the manufacture of textile fabrics and many other branches of industry it can not be truthfully claimed that we have any considerable advantage in most of the respects named over England, Germany, France, or Belgium. In these days of fierce competition between all industrial communities the adoption of a new invention or an improvement in methods in one country becomes immediately known in all the others. Practically, the intelligent and successful manufacturers in all these countries use the same machinery and employ substantially the same methods in production. If we should consult English authorities, we would find a general agreement of opinion that English operatives are more efficient than those of any other nation in the world. On this point Mr. J. S. Jeans, in a recent publication, makes the following statement:

On the contrary, there is abundant proof of the fact that in this respect England continues *facile princeps*. The efficiency of English factory labor continues to remain, as it has ever been, unsurpassed. This attribute is established by many conclusive evidences. * * * In the United States, which, after the United Kingdom, is now the greatest cotton-manufacturing country in the world, the increase in the number of spindles per operative has been practically the same in amount as in the United Kingdom; but the average productiveness of the cotton operatives of the United Kingdom, as expressed in the number of spindles used per employé, is 47 per cent. greater than the same class of workers in America. In factory operations, moreover, English operatives turn out more work per employé than those of any other country, whether measured by the number of spindles which they tend or by the quantity of yarn they spin.

This view of the relative efficiency of labor in the two countries is not shared by intelligent observers in the United States. It is undoubtedly true that American workingmen and mechanics have greater intelligence, activity, and enterprise, and that these qualities more than offset the advantages of association, surroundings, and the inherited skill of generations which the operatives of Great Britain possess. But it is also true, even with this superior activity and intelligence, and all the other industrial advantages which we may possess, that the cost to the American manufacturer of accomplishing certain equivalent results—say, of producing similar yards of cotton or woolen, or pounds of iron—is much greater than to his foreign competitor, owing to the much greater cost here of labor or services in production. The tables submitted by Mr. SCOTT, and elsewhere referred to, establish the truth of this statement with reference to one industry. We might multiply indefinitely examples in regard to others, showing the greater cost per unit of quantity of the similar articles to American manufacturers, thus enforcing the necessity of adequate protective duties to insure the continued industrial prosperity of the United States.

MANUFACTURERS' PROFITS.

It may perhaps be proper in this connection to make an allusion to another fiction extracted from the census reports, which has formed the basis of many tariff-reform arguments in and out of Congress. It has been assumed that the protective policy has enabled the manufacturers of the country to make enormous profits in the prosecution of their business, and that the extent of their net profits could be accurately ascertained from the census tables by deducting the sums reported as paid for materials and labor from the value of the gross product in each case. These net profits are said to vary from 25 to 67 per cent. per annum, and from this it is claimed that capital employed in manufactures is much better rewarded than that employed in agriculture or commerce.

When we consider that the sums returned to the census officials as having been paid for materials and labor do not include the cost of superintendence, administrative labor, insurance, taxes, depreciation of plant, interest, commissions, transportation, losses by bad debts, or

other inevitable elements of cost, the worthless character of these statements and any conclusions which may be based upon them is apparent. If the aggregate expenditures for these unenumerated elements of cost should also be deducted from the total value of products, the average net profits would be found but little, if any, above the average commercial rate of interest.

Experience in industrial communities has demonstrated the fact that whenever the profits in cotton, woolen, or other branches of manufacture much exceed the customary rate of interest, new establishments are erected, new competition is enlisted, and the normal rate of profit is soon restored.

The census tables contain no statistics which were intended to indicate, or which can possibly be made to show the net profits in any trade or business, and all conclusions based on figures obtained in the manner described are equally unreliable.

If any inference could be drawn from the census tables bearing upon the question whether the protective system has increased or diminished sums paid for labor or the earnings of capital, a comparison should be made between the census of 1880 and 1860. The census of 1860 would show a profit to the cotton manufacturers of 35.6 per cent. as against 23.5 per cent. in 1880; to the woolen manufacturers of 47.9 per cent. in 1860 instead of 38.5 in 1880; and in all the manufacture of iron 30.8 per cent. in 1860 instead of 21.1 per cent. in 1880. If any value whatever, therefore, could be accorded to this method of ascertaining profits, it would be shown that a revenue tariff such as existed in 1860 secured much greater profits to the manufacturer and much smaller remuneration to labor than a protective tariff. It may be safely assumed, however, that this class of statements is made for circulation in communities where there is little or no knowledge of industrial methods and results, and where their falsity and absurdity may not be understood.

WAR TARIFF.

The criticism of our tariff laws which is urged with most pertinacity is based upon the assumption that we are maintaining in time of profound peace a war tariff enacted to provide for the enormous expenditures incurred between 1861 and 1866. It is frequently claimed that the rates which are now imposed are greater even than those which were levied during the war. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, in his opening speech upon the bill now under consideration, said:

> The duties on imports were raised from an average of 18.84 per cent. in 1861 to an average of 40.29 per cent. on dutiable goods during the five years from 1862 to 1866, inclusive. These war taxes still remain, and they are heavier to-day than they were on an average during the five years of the existence of hostilities.

This statement would lead to the inference that an increase of rates of duties upon imports had taken place since the close of the war. The assurance with which all opponents of the protective system join in a vigorous demand for the repeal of what they choose to call "war-tariff taxes" has created a popular misapprehension as to the nature of the changes which have taken place in our tariff since 1865. The best answer to this demand may be found in a simple recital of facts.

Three important revisions of the tariff have taken place since 1870, namely, by the acts of July 14, 1870, of June 6, 1872, and of March 3, 1883. Minor changes in rates have been made from time to time by other acts.

By the provisions of the act of July 14, 1870, 178 dutiable articles were placed on the free-list. These included many crude materials in use by our manufacturers, the produce of foreign countries, which did not come in competition with American products. The rates of duty were reduced upon 50 articles. By the act of June 6, 1872, 213 items were added to the free list, and duties were specifically reduced on 49 articles in addition to those upon which a uniform reduction of 10 per cent. was made.

By the act of March 3, 1883, 72 additional articles were placed upon the free-list, while the rates were reduced on 427 paragraphs, embracing every schedule and almost every article upon the dutiable list.

In view of the constant misrepresentations which have been made as to the character and extent of the reductions made by the act of March 3, 1883, we have had the following table prepared by a competent expert, showing the percentage of reduction made in rates by that act:

Statement of rates reduced by the act of March 3, 1883.

Number of items reduced.	Percentage of reduction.	Number of items reduced.	Percentage of reduction.
2	10	33	40 to 45
68	10 to 15	3	45 to 50
44	15 to 20	44	50 to 60
50	20 to 25	15	60 to 70
85	25 to 30	7	70 to 80
48	30 to 35	1	80 to 100
27	35 to 40	72	100

Estimated average reduction in rates, 38.5 per cent.

Those who were responsible for this act did not intend that rates should be reduced below the protective point in any case where protection was desirable. But experience has shown that in some cases they were mistaken in judgment. With changed conditions many of the low rates then adopted have proved inadequate.

The revision of March 3, 1883, left the rates upon nearly all articles mentioned in our tariff schedules greatly below those which had been levied prior to July 14, 1870. For instance, the rate on every item in the woolen schedule had been largely reduced. This is also true of every item in the cotton schedule except manufactures of cotton not otherwise provided for. All manufactures of iron and steel, with a few unimportant exceptions, had been changed. All but two of the rates in the earthenware schedule had been amended. The duties upon common window-glass had been largely reduced. The chemical schedule had been entirely recast, and great reductions in rates had taken place. The list of the articles which remain dutiable at rates which were imposed in 1870 includes the agricultural products, a few manufactured articles of minor importance with rates from 20 to 30 per cent., several fancy articles, like perfumery, cosmetics, and artificial flowers, upon which a revenue duty of 50 per cent. was laid, and the articles enumerated in the flax, hemp, and jute schedule, upon which the duties have never been protective. As to all the great protected industries, changes in phraseology and radical reductions in rates had been made.

The magnitude of these reductions is best shown by the statement that if the rates of duty imposed by our tariff laws prior to the act of July 14, 1870, had been applied to the importations in 1887 the amount of duties collected in the latter year would have been $359,629,117.15, or an excess of $139,596,693.25 above the amount which was actually collected under the provisions of existing law; in other words, if our revenue from customs in 1887 had been collected under the provisions of the war tariff, it would have been 65.65 per cent. greater than the amount which was collected. The average ad valorem rate upon all importations of merchandise in 1887, dutiable and free, was 31.13 per cent. If upon these importations war tariff rates had been levied the average ad valorem rate would have been 51.76 per cent.

These statements would seem to effectually dispose of the claim that our tariff rates are as high or higher now than they were during the war. It is true that the average ad valorem rate levied upon dutiable goods in 1887 was higher than the average ad valorem rate on dutiable goods in the years prior to 1870. This is owing to the unexampled decline in prices which has been going on with increasing rapidity for the past fifteen years. As an illustration of the effect which the lowering of prices has had upon average ad valorem rates when specific duties are levied, the following table is inserted:

Year.	Average ad valorem rate on dutiable imports.	Average rate on all dutiable imports, with sugar dutiable at 45 per cent. ad valorem.	Average ad valorem rate on sugar.
1884	41.61	39.87	53.95
1885	45.86	40.74	73.66
1886	45.55	41.3	70.40
1887	47.10	38.67	82.04

The third column shows the average ad valorem rates on sugar for the years 1884–'87. During these years no change in rates on sugar took place, and yet we have an apparent increase in rates of 52 per cent. in four years. This change was due to the decline in the price of sugar from an average of 3.6 cents per pound in 1884 to 2.7 in 1885, 2.8 in 1886, and 2.5 in 1887. When the present rate of duty on sugar was fixed in 1883 it was equivalent to 45 per cent. ad valorem on the unit of value of importations of 1882, which was 4.4 cents per pound. If, instead of imposing an average specific duty of 2 cents a pound, the act of 1883 had imposed upon sugar an ad valorem rate of 45 per cent. and all other rates had remained as they are in the act the result would have been the steadily diminishing average ad valorem rates shown in the second column instead of the constantly increasing rates in the first column, which are based on actual importations and existing rates. It is evident that if the prices of merchandise current during the war, or in 1864, for example, had been maintained without diminution the average ad valorem rate on the importation of 1887 would have been greatly below the lowest average of any year of the war. The enormous decline in the prices of both domestic and foreign products, without any reduction in their relative cost of production, has had the effect to greatly diminish the protection afforded by an equal ad valorem rate of duty.

During the years from 1862 to 1878 the premium on gold in the United States had the effect of increasing the protective barrier. For the purpose of illustrating the rapidly-diminishing amount of protec-

tion afforded by a uniform rate of duty of 35 per cent. ad valorem, maintained from 1864 to 1886, we have prepared the following table:

Year.	Foreign prices of merchandise.		Protection afforded per unit of quantity in each year by an ad valorem duty of 35 per cent.	Ad valorem equivalent in each year of the specific amount of duty imposed in 1886.
	As shown by the Economist's index number.	Equivalent in United States currency.		
				Per cent
1864	172	$3.49	$1.32	9
1865	162	2.59	.91	12
1866	161	2.27	.79	14
1867	137	1.89	.66	17
1868	122	1.71	.60	19
1869	121	1.61	.56	20
1870	122	1.40	.49	23
1871	118	1.32	.46	24
1872	129	1.44	.50	22
1873	134	1.53	.54	21
1874	131	1.45	.51	22
1875	126	1.45	.51	22
1876	123	1.37	.49	25
1877	124	1.30	.46	25
1878	115	1.16	.41	28
1879	100	1.00	.35	32
1880	115	1.15	.40	28
1881	108	1.08	.38	30
1882	111	1.11	.39	29
1883	107	1.07	.37	30
1884	101	1.01	.35	32
1885	95	.95	.33	35
1886	92	.92	.32	35

For a standard of foreign values and of the changes which have taken place from year to year in the foreign prices upon which ad valorem duties are levied we have taken the well-known index numbers of the London Economist. These tables, prepared for the purpose of showing the movement of English prices, are widely accepted as authority on this subject. They are based on the annual average of the wholesale prices in England of twenty-two articles of commercial importance. The average of prices for the years 1845–1850, represented by the number 100, is used as the standard in each case.

We have assumed for this comparison that the index number in the first column represents the value in dollars and cents of some unit of quantity of merchandise imported into the United States. The second column shows the equivalent value of the same unit in each year in United States currency. The third column shows the relative amount of protection on each unit of quantity which would have been afforded the American producer in each year by an uniform ad valorem rate of 35 per cent. The fourth column shows what the equivalent ad valorem would have been in each year if a specific duty had been levied during the whole period equal to the sum assessed in 1887. It will be noticed that an ad valorem rate of 35 per cent. in 1887 furnishes no greater measure of protection than 9 per cent. would have afforded in 1864.

There are a number of important changes in business conditions, aside from the decline in prices, which have had the effect to diminish the protection afforded by tariff rates. These are (1) the much greater extent to which undervaluation is now successfully carried on; (2) the much greater facilities afforded our merchants for making foreign purchases, and the much less time required for the delivery of the goods purchased; and (3) the greatly reduced cost of trans-Atlantic transportation. A striking example of the effects of cheapened transportation was furnished by the statement of a large manufacturer before your committee, that merchandise could now be transported and landed on the wharf in New York from Liverpool more cheaply than it could be carted to the same wharf from a factory in Brooklyn.

It is important to take into consideration in connection with the examination of the foregoing table that the relative cost of production in Great Britain and the United States in the years named has not materially changed. The increase of the earnings of labor and the resulting increase in the labor cost of production have been greater in the United States than in England since 1860, and the actual sum required in nearly all cases for the sufficient protection of American labor against foreign competition is greater now than in the past. The accuracy of the statement of the greater increase since 1860 in the earnings of labor in the United States than in Great Britain is shown by the following table, in which we have also included the relative cost of living in the two countries at the time the comparison of wages is made:

Comparison of earnings and cost of living of workingmen in Great Britain and United States in years named.

	Earnings per annum.		Increase, per cent.		Cost of living per annum.		Increase, per cent.
	1860.	1885-'86.			1860.	1885-'86.	
Great Britain:							
*For each family..	$292	$389	33	*Great Britain, for each family	$308	$349	13
*For each person employed.....	184	206	12	United States, for each person.....	124	112	†11
United States, for each person employed:							
‡Class 1.....	735	1,242	69				
‡Class 2.....	468	720	54				
‡Class 3.....	399	540	35				
‡Class 4.....	303	420	39				

*Professor L. Levi, "Wages and earnings of working classes." For years 1857 and 1884.

†Decrease.

‡Mr. Edward Atkinson, The Forum, September, 1888, pages 26 to 27.

CLASS I. Specially skilled men, foremen, overseers, boss blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., customarily earning $3 to $5 per day at the present time.

CLASS II. Average mechanics, engineers, blacksmiths, carpenters, machinists, and painters, connected with establishments reported in volume XX of the Census, 1865 to 1880, inclusive.

CLASS III. All the operatives, except foremen and overseers, in 100 establishments, reporting the wages of their working people under more than 1,200 separate titles: bricks, marble, furniture, agricultural implements, tinware, stoves, boots, hats, cars, wagons, flour and saw mills, iron, paper, and textiles, employing men, women, and children, from 20 to 2,000 in each.

CLASS IV. Laborers computed separately, connected with above establishments.

It will be noticed that while the increase in average wages has been much greater in the United States than in Great Britain within the period named, the cost of living has increased in Great Britain and decreased in the United States. In view of these facts, it is not strange that the laborers employed in the production of articles subject to low ad valorem rates are vigorously demanding further protection, and it is remarkable that in such cases any successful competition is now possible.

These considerations establish the necessity for a frequent revision of tariff rates if an equal and just protection is to be afforded at all times. If all the rates imposed by our war tariff had been maintained without change, the specific rates would now have been excessive and the ad valorem rates would have been inadequate. As a matter of fact, the specific rates have all, we think, without an exception, been largely reduced, and the ad valorem rates have also in many cases been improvidently cut down.

The practical question which we have to solve is not the date when duties were established or the circumstances or promises under which they were levied, but, the desirability of protection being conceded, it is, what rates are proper and adequate under existing conditions.

INTERNAL-REVENUE TAX ON DISTILLED SPIRITS.

Sections 29 to 34, inclusive, and sections 36, 38, and 40 of the House bill, are intended to modify existing laws relating to the tax on distilled spirits. Your committee do not recommend their adoption.

The sections, when taken together, can not be construed by your committee as having any other effect than to open wide the door to fraud in the collection of taxes on distilled spirits. The cost of distilling spirits from grain, without the tax, is not more on an average than 20 to 25 cents per gallon, while the tax on each gallon is 90 cents, or nearly 400 per cent. upon the cost of the spirits. This great temptation to fraud led Congress many years ago to pass rigid statutes relating to taxes upon distilled spirits, which are chiefly embodied in chapter 4, Title XXXV, of the Revised Statutes. When enacted they were found absolutely necessary to make it possible to collect the bulk of the tax, as under the laws prior to their passage the frauds were so great as to almost entirely destroy the revenue from this source.

Experience has shown that with all these safeguards it has been exceedingly difficult in some sections of our country to enforce the law against illicit distillation. Notably has this been the case in several States south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers, where large numbers of small distilleries were and still are located, about fourteen hundred in all. It is quite clear to your committee that the general result of the House provisions would be to make it impossible in the future to effectively collect the tax upon distilled spirits, as by these provisions all safeguards against illicit distilling and all the efficient machinery for the detection and punishment of fraud are removed.

It is estimated that with all existing safeguards there are annually produced about 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 gallons that do not pay the tax, and it is notably true that in some of the Southern markets spirits are sold at a price little above the amount of the tax. It would seem that if this tax is to be maintained, greater restrictions should be provided, rather than provisions looking to the relaxation of existing laws.

Section 36 of the House bill is the chief section, and the other sec-

tions are merely tributary or auxiliary; it amends section 3255 of the Revised Statutes by adding a provision which authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to exempt distilleries mashing less than 25 bushels of grain per day from the operations of the provision of the law relating to the manufacture of spirits, and establishes an entirely new principle for the collection of taxes upon spirits produced by them.

The tax is now levied upon the spirits actually produced, whereas this new provision requires that upon the class of distilleries named the tax shall be levied and collected on the capacity of the distilleries, without reference to the amount of spirits actually produced. This is an entirely novel provision in our internal-revenue laws relating to spirits, as from the beginning the aim has been to collect the tax upon the spirits produced. All experience in this and other countries has shown that it is impossible to collect the tax simply upon the capacity of a distillery, as is here proposed. This has been tried in Germany and Austria, and both Governments were soon forced to abandon the system and annul all contracts with distillers, although these contracts in some cases run for a long period of years, and there, as here, the tax is now collected on the actual product. The tax has been collected on the product for a great number of years in Great Britain, as there, also, it has been found that this is the only safe mode of collecting the tax.

This amendment also provides that such distilleries may be run and operated without store-keepers or store-keepers and gaugers.

The presence of store-keepers or store-keepers and gaugers under existing law is found necessary to make sure that the entire product of the distillery pays the tax; if they are removed, the only knowledge the internal-revenue officers can have of the amount produced is the knowledge imparted by the distiller himself, whose interests would be to report the smallest possible production.

The effect of section 3255 thus amended would therefore be to remove from every such distillery all the restraints and safeguards now provided by law against illicit distillation, and this applies to every distillery which has a practical capacity of producing 100 gallons of distilled spirits per day, upon which the daily tax would be $90. It leaves the distiller without supervision in his work of distillation, with the expectation that he will make honest returns at the end of each month of the amount distilled.

A capacity tax must be based upon an estimate of the amount of spirits which can be obtained from each bushel of grain within a certain fixed time. In practical distillation the best results are secured by mashing each bushel of grain in not less than forty to forty-five gallons of water with a fermenting period of not less than seventy-two hours. But with half the quantity of water and the use of an extra quantity of yeast the grain can be fermented and distilled in twelve hours. The yield per bushel of grain in this case would be much less, but the aggregate quantity of spirits produced daily would greatly exceed that permitted by any reasonable official survey, and this increased amount would of course escape payment of the tax. But if the period should be extended from twelve to twenty-four or thirty-six hours, the capacity, as compared with the measure of the still, would then be largely increased, and the Government would depend entirely for the collection of its revenue upon the honesty of the distiller.

Each bushel of corn, it is estimated, produces from 3½ to 4 gallons of proof spirits with a fermenting period of seventy-two hours. With a fermenting period of half that time, the yield would probably be three-fourths of this amount. As grain is the chief material used, the small relative cost of which compared with the tax to be paid would enable the distillery to use the grain (which, for the purpose of feeding to stock, loses little of its value) in a wasteful way, so that the temptation to force the fermenting period into twelve or twenty-four or thirty-six hours, and thus double the product of the distillery, would be so great that in most cases its adoption by these small distillers would follow.

This section would afford the opportunity to establish any number of small distilleries of a much less capacity than 25 bushels per day in out-of-the-way places, in mountain regions, and in houses and cellars, where opportunity of detection would be small, and where, if detected, they would only be required to pay tax on the declared capacity of the distillery.

These small distilleries could be set up at a slight cost, would be portable, and could be removed from place to place easily without detection, and the product of a single week of any one of these small stills would more than pay for the original cost of the apparatus.

From the experience of the Internal Revenue Office for many years it is believed that the tax is now collected upon all spirits distilled in the large distilleries, as in them the safeguards of existing law have proved effectual, and the chief trouble in the administration of the law results from the difficulty of controlling small distilleries and suppressing illicit distilleries in mountain regions and in out-of-the-way places. But for the frauds in the States where these small distilleries most abound the system for the collection of tax on distilled spirits would be regarded as perfect as practicable. These frauds, however, do not probably exceed in the aggregate more than 10 per cent. of the entire amount of spirits distilled in the country. It is because of the safeguards alluded to that the tax has yielded so large a revenue.

If the percentage of fraudulent distillation should be measurably increased it would not be long before the large distilleries which now pay a tax upon all the spirits produced would be obliged to abandon the field in competition with small distilleries which would not be required to pay upon anything but the estimate of the amount produced—on the capacity of their stills.

The small distillers have no reason to ask for this legislation if engaged in the honest production of spirits. The cost to them of such production, so far as the Government is concerned, is no greater than to the distilleries of larger capacity, as the cost of supervision through the medium of gaugers, storekeepers, etc., is not paid by them, but out of the Treasury, and there is no reason why any honest distiller, whether his distillery be of large or small capacity, should complain of Government supervision, *i. e.*, if he means to pay the tax upon the actual amount of spirits produced.

Whatever may be the strength of public opinion in the States where these small distilleries are numerous, the Government can not afford to relax the efficient and necessary safeguards thrown around the production of spirits simply for the purpose of relieving these people from proper supervision which compels the payment of the tax. But the effect of section 36 would be not only to open the door for fraud where these small distilleries are now located, but with the temptation of a profit of 400 per cent. in favor of successful illicit distillation the small distilleries would soon be found in every State of the Union where either corn or molasses could be easily procured, and the distiller honestly paying his tax, whether small or large, would soon disappear.

It may be said that the section only authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to exempt such distilleries from the restrictive provisions of the Revised Statutes and that he may refuse these exemptions. But this officer has no discretion; he must levy the tax upon the capacity of the distillery, and this mode of levy would be the primal source of fraud.

But if this section should become a law no Secretary of the Treasury would feel that he had any discretion respecting its other requirements, as they would be no more imperative upon the Secretary if the law should read "the Secretary of the Treasury shall exempt all distilleries," etc. The word "may," here used, is equivalent to a legislative direction to the Secretary of the Treasury as to what he shall do in the case described.

It is an expression of the legislative will that in cases of distilleries mashing less than 25 bushels of grain per day the existing law should not apply with its rigid requirements, but that in such cases the integrity of the distiller should be substituted for the restraints of law applied to distilleries having a larger capacity.

It is true that the elaborate provisions of our internal-revenue laws respecting the punishment for illicit distillation of spirits are rigorous and the fines and penalties in many cases severe, but they are absolutely essential to the enforcement of the law and to the collection of the revenue derived from the distillation of spirits. These laws are respected and obeyed without question by nine-tenths of our people, and in a large portion of our territory. The penalties, though severe, are only for wrong-doing, and it would be extremely unwise to remove the restrictions, which operate as a protection to all manufacturers of spirits who now honestly pay their taxes, for the purpose of placating individuals or localities which, it is well understood, hold all our revenue laws in contempt. If this source of revenue is to be abandoned, it should be done openly by a repeal of the statutes, rather than by their relaxation to an extent which would ultimately end in this result.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, is authorized to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the section; thus substituting for provisions of the statute restrictive in their nature, which apply to all distillers, the rules and regulations which a Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may choose to make respecting this class. But these rules and regulations must be in accord with the spirit of the section, which is that every restraint of law shall be removed from a distiller who mashes less than 25 bushels of grain per day, and must not be in contravention of the novel provision, hitherto unknown in our laws, of making two rules for the collection of the tax, namely: the capacity rule for one set of distillers, and the rule of the amount of spirits produced for another. The injustice of such legislative discrimination need only be stated to be condemned.

Section 36 is supplemented by other provisions intended to shield not only these small distillers, but all distillers from the rigorous provisions of existing law.

Section 30 is a complicated section, having the effect to impede any process looking toward the arrest or prosecution of offenders under the internal-revenue laws by providing that no warrant shall issue upon information and belief, except upon the affidavit of collector, or deputy collector, or internal-revenue agent, thus excluding all other revenue officers, such as store-keepers, gaugers, etc., who, by reason of their official positions, may have information and belief which would

justify them in making complaint and no private person can make complaint except the facts are within his own personal knowledge.

It provides, further, that no fee shall be paid to either marshals, clerks, or commissioners unless there be a conviction, or unless the prosecution has been approved, either before or after such arrest, by the attorney of the United States for the district where the offense is alleged to have been committed, or unless the prosecution was commenced by information or indictment. Thus, in cases of violations of the internal-revenue laws, it would be necessary for a complicated investigation to be gone through with before any such prosecution could be instituted.

It is impossible for internal-revenue agents to hear complaints and thus be able to make affidavit on information and belief, as there are only twenty of them in all, and they are occupied chiefly in the examination of accounts, giving information to officers as to their method of conducting business, etc. Collectors and deputy collectors are engaged in the detail work of their offices and may be at a great distance from the place where the fraud is being committed. The section would require preliminary trial by a collector or deputy collector before a prosecution could be instituted. The marshals, who under the law are required to execute any process presented, are informed in advance that they shall have no pay unless there is a conviction, which necessarily implies that the marshal, before he serves process, must enter into an examination of the probability of a conviction or else discharge his duties without compensation.

Section 34 minimizes the penalty for intentional violation of the internal-revenue laws. This section is a substitute for section 3176 of the Revised Statutes, which provides that if any person refuses or neglects to make any return or list for taxation, as required by law, or who renders a false or fraudulent return or list, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall assess the tax, and in case of any return of a false or fraudulent list or valuation, the Commissioner shall add 100 per cent. to such tax. So that in case of actual fraud, under section 3176 of the Revised Statutes, the penalty is 100 per cent.; but in case of a refusal or neglect only, except in cases of sickness or absence, the added penalty is 50 per cent.; the penalty in both cases being assessed as a part of the tax.

Section 34 of the bill amends this section of the Revised Statutes by substituting a uniform penalty of 25 per cent., and interest at 10 per cent. from the time when such tax is due and payable; that is to say, if an illicit distiller is caught, or if a distiller makes a false and fraudulent return, instead of 100 per cent. penalty as now provided he is only required to pay a penalty of 25 per cent.

Section 3332 of the Revised Statutes provides that in case a registered distillery, having a producing capacity of less than 150 gallons a day, shall violate the law respecting such distillery, and having been declared forfeited by a judgment of the court for a violation of the internal-revenue laws, such still, etc., shall be destroyed so as to prevent its use for the purpose of distilling. This section of the Revised Statutes is amended by section 38 of the bill so that in case of judgment of forfeiture the seizing officer shall remove such still, etc., to a place of safe storage, where it shall be sold, and that it shall be so removed without mutilation. The reason for the present law was that a distillery of the capacity described in this section, having been detected at one place, could, unless destroyed, be easily removed to another and again begin its operations, as had frequently been done prior to the passage of the law; and it was thought that the destruction of the still was an effectual method of preventing illicit distillation by means of these small distilleries. If the effect of a judgment of forfeiture shall only be to require the seizing officer to carefully preserve and store the still without mutilation, it will soon renew its work in some other convenient locality where the vigilance of revenue officers could, for a time at least, be eluded, as stills of this capacity are portable and easily transferred from one neighborhood to another.

In order that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue might have knowledge of every still manufactured in the country and its location, enabling him thereby to pursue the still from the time of its manufacture until it engaged in the production of spirits to be taxed, section 3244 of the Revised Statutes provides that a manufacturer of stills shall pay an annual tax of $50, and $20 for each still or worm for distilling made by him; and section 3265 of the Revised Statutes requires such manufacturer before the same is removed from the place of manufacture to notify the collector of the district in which such still, boiler, or other vessel is to be used or set up, by whom it is to be used, its capacity, and the time when the same is to be removed from the place of manufacture; and also provides that it shall not be set up without the permit of the collector in writing for that purpose. These wholesome provisions, taken together, were intended to prevent persons from manufacturing stills or procuring them from manufacturers without the knowledge of the proper revenue officers of the Government. But section 40 of the proposed bill repeals all laws which impose these special taxes, and thus stills would be manufactured without the knowledge of the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and without opportunity of the revenue officers to know when, where, or how such stills were to be set up and used.

These sections constitute such a modification of our present revenue system, as respects the collection of taxes from distilled spirits, as will make it easy for those disposed to engage in illicit distilling to do so with impunity, and your committee can not but regard these provisions as seriously endangering the efficacy of our entire system of laws which provide for the collection of revenue from distilled spirits.

THE SUBSTITUTE PROPOSED BY THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The House bill (H. R. 9051) under consideration was received by your committee July 25, and was immediately referred to the following subcommittee: Messrs. ALLISON, of Iowa, chairman; ALDRICH, of Rhode Island; JONES, of Nevada; HISCOCK, of New York; BECK, of Kentucky; HARRIS, of Tennessee, and VOORHEES, of Indiana, who reported the same back, September 25, to the full committee, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, which was adopted by the full committee and reported to the Senate this day by Mr. ALLISON.

In the preparation of the substitute submitted for the consideration of the Senate, it has been the purpose of your committee to present a measure which would, as far as possible, fulfill the important requirements of revenue revision which we have enumerated. The numerous failures and defects of the House bill rendered the task of amending that bill impossible, and made the preparation of a comprehensive and consistent measure of relief and revision necessary. We submit this substitute to the judgment of the Senate, and invite for it full and careful scrutiny. The time which has elapsed since the House bill reached the Senate has been diligently employed by your committee in a careful investigation of the diverse and important questions involved in a general tariff revision, and in hearing such representatives of the vast number of interests affected by changes in the tariff schedules as could be heard in the limited time at their disposal.

Other interested parties are desirous of being heard, and it is the intention of the committee, with the approval of the Senate, to give such time to further hearings as shall be possible during the period the bill may be under discussion, with a view of eliciting the fullest information, in order that the provisions of the substitute, and of such amendments as shall be suggested, may be acted upon with the greatest degree of intelligence.

The committee estimate that the annual revenues would be reduced by the provisions of the substitute as follows: By the reduction of the duty on sugar, $27,759,783.95; by adding to the free-list the forty-two items named in Appendix C, $6,428,095.56; by the abolition of the internal-revenue taxes on the production or sale of tobacco and the reduction of the tax on cigars, $24,371,460.98; and by the provisions which allow the use of alcohol in the industrial arts free from tax, $7,000,000, or a total reduction of $65,559,340.49.

An estimate has also been carefully prepared (Appendix B) of the effect which the other changes in the tariff schedules would have upon importations and the revenue. If this estimate should prove to be correct, the total reduction in revenue effected by the substitute would be $73,668,994.30.

In order to obtain the necessary reduction of revenue, the committee have selected such duties or taxes for reduction or repeal as would, while effecting that object, secure the most beneficial results to the masses of our people, and would not disturb or injure any industry or pursuit entitled to protection.

The excessive duty of from 2 to 3½ cents per pound now imposed upon sugar adds a considerable sum to the daily cost of living of every family in the United States, where in most cases the cost of sugar is greater than the cost of bread. The high rates of duty which have been levied upon this important article of food have not successfully developed the sugar-producing industry of the United States. The great natural advantages which the producers of cane sugars in the tropical islands have over those of the United States preclude domestic competition upon equal terms. If it were not for the fact that parties interested in the production of sugar from sorghum or beets are confident of the rapid development of these industries in the United States the committee would recommend a still greater reduction in the rate of duty upon sugar, as the advantages of this reduction would be felt through a larger circle than any other which could be made in our tariff schedules.

The articles which are placed on the free-list include jute, jute butts, sisal grass, manila, and other crude materials not produced in this country, whose free admission would benefit both the producers and consumers of manufactures from these materials.

The provisions of the substitute which allow the use of alcohol in the industrial arts free from taxation would prove of great benefit to a large number of important manufactures. Alcohol is used in the production of more than five hundred chemical and pharmaceutical preparations and in many of the mechanical and industrial arts, and its use in all these directions would be largely extended if the onerous tax should be abolished. The heavy tax upon alcohol unnecessarily increases the price of many manufactured products, with no corresponding benefit except the resulting revenue, which is not unnecessary.

Your committee have considered numerous suggestions for the repeal of all internal-revenue taxes and the abolition of the entire internal-revenue system, but they deem the adoption of this course at present both impracticable and unwise, not only because the repeal of these taxes would create a large annual deficit, but for the further reason

that the taxes levied on distilled spirits used as a beverage and on beer should be retained, and the legislation to protect American dairy products from fraudulent imitations should be enforced.

The proposition for a repeal of all internal-revenue taxes on tobacco is presented in compliance with a universal demand.

The provisions of the carefully prepared bill to prevent undervaluations, heretofore reported from the Committee on Finance and adopted by the Senate, are incorporated in the substitute.

We have inserted a provision intended to prevent the importation of all articles of foreign manufacture when marked or labeled in such a manner as to represent that they were manufactured in the United States.

Section 39 provides that upon the exportation of articles manufactured from dutiable imported materials the entire sum paid for duties on such materials shall be repaid in the form of a drawback.

In the revision of the dutiable schedules and the free-list submitted constant effort has been made to correct the inequalities and to eliminate the ambiguities of the existing tariff, and careful attention has been given to the recommendations of the executive officers and to the statements of merchants, manufacturers, and workmen whose business has suffered from admitted defects.

In pursuance of our general plan to lessen the evils of undervaluation, to secure more certainty, uniformity, and equality in the collection of duties as well as economy in administration, specific or compound rates have been substituted for ad valorem rates wherever practicable, or when the necessary data could be obtained. Whenever changes of this character have been made they have been adjusted upon information obtained from customs experts or from other reliable sources.

It will be observed that all of the tariff schedules have been thoroughly revised, rearranged, and greatly simplified. They have been divided into paragraphs and numbered consecutively, in order that in the future amendments may be made to a single paragraph or schedule without a general re-enactment of all the schedules, as is now necessary to prevent confusion. The number of paragraphs has been reduced from 495 in the tariff of 1883 to 440 in the substitute submitted.

To secure the proper relation between the rates imposed upon the numerous articles produced in our related and interdependent industries is the most difficult problem of tariff adjustment. The committee have endeavored, in the revision of rates proposed, to accomplish this necessary equalization. Reductions have been made whenever they have seemed desirable, and we have increased rates whenever it seemed necessary to preserve the workingmen engaged in any American industry requiring protection from ruinous or unequal competition.

The present anomalous and inadequate duties on tin and terne plates have received the attention of your committee, who believe that such a readjustment of these rates should be made as would encourage the manufacture of these articles in this country. We have not, however, up to this time, been able to obtain the definite information upon which to base a recommendation for an increase of rates upon the gauges which could now or might in the near future be produced in this country if protection were afforded; but as soon as the requisite information can be obtained we shall offer an amendment for this purpose.

We also, if found necessary after further examination, reserve the privilege of suggesting amendments to other paragraphs.

In all the numerous changes suggested your committee have had constantly in view the preparation of a consistent measure whose beneficent influences would be felt in every section and by every class of our people, which would give greater diversity to our industries, and by strengthening and invigorating the American system of protection secure the harmonious development and prosperity of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

The differences between the House bill and the substitute reported by your committee are fundamental. The House bill has been formulated on the theory that a diminution of revenues can only be secured by a reduction or repeal of protective duties, and that tariff revision means simply that indiscriminate cutting down of rates which encourages importations, benefits foreign manufacturers, and produces free trade.

The substitute proposes to reduce revenues and at the same time to preserve the American system. It is based upon the idea that tariff revision implies an equitable readjustment of duties in the interest and for the benefit of the people of the United States, and in the distribution of rates its framers have not hesitated to erect or to maintain defensive barriers which would carry confidence and comfort into American homes.

The committee express regret that through severe illness they have been deprived of the mature judgment and counsel of the chairman of the Finance Committee, JUSTIN S. MORRILL, of Vermont, the author of the tariff bill of 1862, which formed the basis of our present protective system.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.—*Specific Duties.*

In 1795 Secretary Hamilton reports to the House of Representatives that, by existing laws, about one-third of the duties was derived from articles rated ad valorem, and adds:

"In other nations, where this branch of revenue, as with us, is of principal or very considerable consequence, and where no peculiarity of situation has tended to keep the duty low, experience has led to contract more and more the number of articles rated ad valorem, and, of course, to extend the number of those rated specifically, that is, according to weight, measure, or other rules of quantity. The reason of this is obvious; it is to guard against evasions, which infallibly happens in a greater or less degree when duties are high. * * * It is needless to repeat that this will contribute as much to the interest of the fair trader as to that of the revenue.

"It is believed that in our system the method of rating ad valorem could, with convenience, be brought within a much narrower compass, and it is evident that to do so will contribute materially to the security of the revenue." (American State Papers, Finance, volume 1, page 348.)

Secretary Gallatin, reporting to the Senate in 1801, said:

"In order to guard as far as possible against the value of goods being underrated in the invoices, it would be eligible to lay specific duties on all such articles now paying duties ad valorem as may be susceptible of that alteration." (American State Papers, Finance, volume 1, page 702.)

Secretary Dallas, reporting to the House of Representatives in 1816, says:

"Articles imported to a great amount should rather be charged with specific duties upon their weight and measure, in order to guard against evasions and frauds, than with ad valorem duties on their value." (American State Papers, Finance, volume 3, page 91.)

Secretary Crawford, in 1817, in the report concerning revision of the revenue laws already referred to, calls attention to the subject of frauds, particularly in the importation of articles upon consignment paying ad valorem duties, and recommends a series of remedial provisions, which are mainly applicable to importations subjected to ad valorem duty, to which he adds:

"Whatever may be the reliance which ought to be placed in the efficacy of the foregoing provisions, it is certainly prudent to diminish as far as practicable the list of articles paying ad valorem duties," and submits a list of one hundred and twenty-four enumerations to be transferred to the class of specifics. In 1819 he submitted a further list. (American State Papers, Finance, volume 3, pages 236, 410.)

Secretary Meredith, in his report of December 3, 1849, says:

"I propose a return to the system of specific duties on articles on which they can be conveniently laid. The effects of the present ad valorem system are twofold, namely, on the revenue and on our own productions. Experience has, I think, demonstrated that, looking exclusively to the revenue, a specific duty is more easily assessed, more favorable to commerce, more equal, and less exposed to frauds than any other system. Of course such a duty is not laid without reference to the average cost of the commodity. This system obviates the difficulties and controversies which attend an appraisement of the foreign market value of each invoice, and it imposes an equal duty on equal quantities of the same commodity. Under the ad valorem system goods of the same kind and quality, and between which there can not be a difference in value in the same market at any given time, nevertheless may often pay different amounts of duty. Thus the hazards of trade are unnecessarily increased."

"To levy an ad valorem duty on foreign valuation equably at the different ports is believed to be impossible. That the standard of value at any two ports is precisely the same at any given time is wholly improbable. The facilities afforded to frauds upon the revenue are very great, and it is apprehended that such frauds have been and are habitually and extensively practiced. The statements annexed (marked O), to which I invite special attention, exhibit in a strong light the dangers to which this system is necessarily exposed.

"As the standard of value at every port must at last depend upon the average of the invoices that are passed there, every successful attempt at undervaluation renders more easy all that follow it. The consequences are, not only that the revenue suffers, that a certain sum is in effect annually given by the public among dishonest importers as a premium for their dishonesty, but that fair American importers may be gradually driven out of the business and their places supplied by unknown and unscrupulous foreign adventurers."

The adoption of specific duties has been uniformly favored by the executive officer of the Government, and has been specially recommended by a number of the Secretaries of the Treasury in recent years.

Secretary Bristow, in his annual report for 1876, in commenting upon the administration of the customs revenue, said:

"Another remedy, and the most effective which could be adopted for correcting the evils of the appraisement system, is the substitution, so far as practicable, of specific for ad valorem duties. This change would work a great reduction in the amount of labor requiring the knowledge of experts. The entire process of ascertaining duties would be more simple, certain, and safe. Opportunities for collusive undervaluation would be greatly lessened, and if errors were committed they could not, as to specific rates and amounts, be accounted for except upon the supposition of culpable negligence or actual fraud; whereas, in respect to ad valorem duties, an error of judgment may readily be assigned as a sufficient explanation.

"Such change, either with or without a decrease in the number of dutiable articles, would insure a very considerable reduction of the force at the chief ports, with a consequent diminution of expenses."

Secretary Sherman, in his report to Congress for 1878, made the following suggestions with respect to specific duties:

"While not recommending a general revision of the tariff at the present time, it is deemed important that upon some articles the ad valorem duties now assessed should be converted into specific duties. As a rule, specific duties are to be preferred to either ad valorem or compound rates, and in any future revision of the tariff it is hoped that Congress will give preference to this system of imposing duties as far as practicable. The argument in favor of specific duties applies with great force to kid gloves, concerning the value of which, under the present ad valorem duties, serious differences of opinion have occurred between the importers and the Government during the past year, which have led to protracted delays in the ascertainment of the dutiable value, and consequent injury to the mercantile community."

In his report on the collection of duties for 1885 the late Secretary Manning said:

"In a system of ad valorem rates there are two critical points: One is dutiable value and the other is rate of duty. The present rate of duty on certain silk goods is 50 per cent. of the market value at the time of exportation in the principal markets of the country, or what is equivalent to one-half of the importation. If the law were so administered by the Treasury Department that on the importation of one importer 50 per cent. was levied, and on the importation of another importer, 40 per cent., and on that of another importer, 30 per cent., there would be a general outcry. So there would be if an importer at New York was required to pay only 30 per cent. and if of another at Buffalo was demanded 40 per cent. and of another at Chicago was required 50 per cent. But none the less illegal and intolerable result would follow if the dutiable value on one importation were fixed at $100, on another, by the same vessel, at $80, and on another, by the same vessel, at $60, the merchandise in all of the three being similar. If importers can illegally control dutiable values, they can control the amount of duties paid on the merchandise, although the ad valorem rate may be fixed and uniform for everybody and every port in the country.

* * * * * * *

"I do not make a recommendation to Congress for the restoration of the 'old moiety system' and the statutory inducement to informers, or the law concerning intent and burden of proof, which existed from 1799 to 1874. And I do not

so recommend for the reason that the purpose of the House and Senate, in respect to the simplification of the rates of duty and a prudent enlargement of the application of specific rates, is necessarily unknown. Should some such last-named change be not made, I have little faith that the existing power of the Executive and of the courts will be adequate to secure honest invoices and full appraisement."

* * * * * * *

"The following extracts from the report of Mr. Forward, made nearly half a century ago, are instructive now by way of showing his appreciation of the relation between ad valorem and specific rates, and the light in which foreign manufacturers sending their goods to this country on consignment were then regarded:

"'With a view to guard the revenue against fraudulent undervaluations which can not be entirely prevented by the existing scheme of ad valorem duties, specific duties are proposed in nearly all cases when practicable. The operation of the system of specific duties may not be perfectly equal in all cases in respect to the value of the articles included under it. But this inconvenience is more than compensated by the security of the revenue against evasions, and by the tendency of specific duties to exclude worthless and inferior articles, by which purchasers and consumers are often imposed on.'

* * * * * * *

"One advantage, and perhaps the chief advantage, of a specific over an ad valorem system is in the fact that under the former duties are levied by a positive test, which can be applied by our officers while the merchandise is in the possession of the Government, and according to a standard which is altogether national and domestic. That would be partially true of an ad valorem system levied upon 'home value,' but there are constitutional impediments in the way of such a system which appear to be insuperable. But under an ad valorem system the facts to which the ad valorem rate is to be applied must be gathered in places many thousand miles away and under circumstances most unfavorable to the administration of justice."

The present Secretary of the Treasury, in that portion of his last annual report relating to the administration of the customs laws, used the following language:

"Whatever the rates of customs taxation may be, the laws for the collection of the same should be made as efficient as possible. In this the bona fide importer, who wishes to gain only the legitimate profits of his business, the home manufacturer, and laborer are equally interested. They all have a right to demand that the laws be so administered as to give them every possible protection in their business. The high ad valorem tariff of the last quarter of a century has been the fruitful cause of devices to gain improper advantage at the custom-house. It is therefore desirable that in revising and reducing rates of duty they should be made specific instead of ad valorem so far as the nature of the merchandise will admit. Theoretically considered, ad valorem are preferable to specific duties; but in practice, under such rates as we have had and must continue to have for years to come, the former are the too-easy source of deception and inequality at the custom-house. Congress has it in its power to change, from time to time, as may be advisable, specific rates so as to meet any permanent changes in values."

APPENDIX B.—*Estimates of imports and duties by provisions of Senate substitute to H. R. 9051.*

	Importations, fiscal year 1887.		Estimated imports under the proposed bill.		Estimated decrease of duty by the proposed bill.	Average ad valorem rate of duty.	
	Values.	Duties.	Values.	Duties.		Present law.	Proposed bill.
A. Chemical products	$15,123,113.72	$4,655,375.27	$14,751,699.54	$4,383,074.79	$272,300.48	30.78	29.70
B. Earthenware and glassware	13,055,763.49	7,583,953.97	13,042,454.73	7,308,270.25	275,683.72	58.09	56.03
C. Metals	57,784,719.42	23,090,797.67	51,402,136.87	21,376,664.68	1,714,132.99	39.96	41.58
D. Wood and wooden ware	8,274,012.16	1,518,723.09	8,061,909.70	1,513,440.16	5,282.93	18.35	18.77
E. Sugar	68,956,335.07	56,530,360.14	68,924,968.35	28,770,576.19	27,759,783.95	83.43	41.02
F. Tobacco	10,955,125.03	9,127,738.26	10,739,454.24	6,856,875.68	2,270,862.58	83.82	63.85
G. Provisions, etc	42,593,244.97	11,048,754.66	33,596,588.35	9,040,908.68	2,007,845.98	25.94	26.91
H. Wines, liquors, etc	10,387,592.40	7,681,631.53	9,761,316.47	7,586,442.73	94,588.80	73.94	77.72
I. Cotton manufactures	30,207,908.83	12,081,263.03	29,664,007.64	12,049,295.48	31,967.55	40.00	40.59
J. Flax, hemp, and jute	24,791,662.08	7,868,605.78	24,030,013.17	7,682,125.73	186,480.05	31.74	31.97
K. Wool and manufactures of wool	60,586,613.61	35,629,534.13	53,658,583.84	34,642,732.88	986,801.25	58.81	64.56
L. Silk and silk goods	31,264,276.58	15,540,300.70	30,340,689.80	15,447,942.94	92,357.76	49.71	50.92
M. Books, papers, etc	5,212,152.54	1,154,619.13	4,751,274.82	1,113,825.58	40,793.55	22.15	23.44
N. Sundries	44,008,079.14	10,810,310.37	43,629,620.50	10,679,774.20	130,536.17	24.56	24.47
Articles, not enumerated—dutiable under section 2513 Revised Statutes:							
Unmanufactured	305,545.78	30,554.61	305,545.78	30,554.61		10.00	10.00
Manufactured	564,001.70	112,800.34	564,001.70	112,800.34		20.00	20.00
Packages, crates, boxes, etc., designed to evade duty	12,340.96	12,340.96	12,340.96	12,340.96		100.00	100.00
	424,082,487.48	204,477,083.64	397,236,606.46	168,607,645.88	35,869,437.76	48.21	42.45

APPENDIX C.—*Additions to free-list by proposed Senate substitute.*

Acorns, raw, dried or undried, but unground.
Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, unmanufactured.
Bee's-wax.
Books and pamphlets printed exclusively in languages other than English.
Braids, plaits, flats, laces, etc., for ornamenting hats, etc.
Bristles, raw or unmanufactured.
Bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible.
Chicory root, raw, dried or undried, but unground.
Coal, slack or culm.
Coal-tar, crude.
Curling-stone handles.
Currants, Zante or other dried.
Dandelion roots, raw, dried, or undried, but unground.
Eggs' yolks.
Feathers and downs of all kinds, crude and unmanufactured.
Jute.
Jute butts.
Manila.
Ramie.
Sisal grass.
Sunn.
All other textile grasses or fibrous substances unmanufactured or undressed.
Floor matting, known as Chinese matting.
Grease and oils, such as are commonly used in soap making or wire drawing, etc.
Human hair, raw, uncleaned and not drawn.
Mineral waters, not specially enumerated.
Molasses, testing not above 56°.
Olive oil, for manufacturing or mechanical purposes.
Nut oil, or oil of nuts.
Opium, crude or unmanufactured.
Potash, crude carbonate.
Potash, caustic or hydrate.
Potash, nitrate of, or saltpeter.
Potash, sulphate of.
Potash, chlorate of.
Rags, all not enumerated.
Hemp seed.
Rape seed.
Sponges.
Sand.
Tar and pitch, of wood.
Turpentine, spirits of.

APPENDIX D.—*United States production and consumption of cereals.*

Year.	Production of cereals.		Area of cereal crops.	Products of cereals, per acre.	Home consumption of cereals.		Exports of cereals.	Exports (percentage of production).
	Bushels.	Per capita.			Bushels.	Per capita.		
	Bushels.		*Acres.*	*Bushels.*		*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	
1840	615,525,302	36.0	(*)	(*)	602,326,353	35.3		
1850	867,453,967	37.4	(*)	(*)	851,502,312	36.7		
1860	1,239,039,945	39.4	(*)	(*)	1,216,084,810	38.7		
1870	1,629,027,600	42.2	69,254,016	23.5	1,571,737,179	40.8	57,290,521	3.5
1871	1,528,776,100	38.5	65,061,951	23.5	1,464,956,527	36.9	63,819,573	4.2
1872	1,664,331,600	40.7	68,280,197	24.4	1,588,432,567	38.9	75,899,033	4.5
1873	1,538,892,891	36.6	74,112,137	20.7	1,444,923,959	34.3	93,968,932	6.1
1874	1,455,180,200	33.7	80,051,289	18.2	1,324,687,112	30.6	130,493,088	8.9
Average, 1870–1874	1,563,241,678	38.3	71,351,918	22.0	1,478,947,469	36.2	84,294,229	5.4
1875	2,032,235,300	45.9	86,863,178	23.4	1,928,444,494	43.6	103,790,806	5.1
1876	1,962,822,100	43.4	93,920,619	20.9	1,834,795,271	40.5	128,026,829	6.5
1877	2,178,934,646	47.0	93,150,286	23.4	2,042,970,575	44.1	135,964,071	6.2
1878	2,302,254,950	48.6	100,956,260	22.8	2,111,044,022	44.5	191,210,928	8.3
1879	2,437,482,300	50.2	102,260,950	23.8	2,190,870,793	45.1	246,611,507	10.1
Average, 1875–1879	2,182,745,859	47.0	95,430,259	22.9	2,021,625,031	43.6	161,120,828	7.3

* Estimated.

APPENDIX D.—*United States production and consumption of cereals*—Continued.

Year.	Production of cereals.		Area of cereal crops.	Products of cereals per acre.	Home consumption of cereals.		Exports of cereals.	Exports (percentage of production).
	Bushels.	Per capita.			Bushels.	Per capita.		
		Bushels.	*Acres.*	*Bushels.*		*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	
1880	2,718,193,501	54.3	120,926,286	22.5	2,433,485,593	48.6	284,707,908	10.4
1881	2,066,029,570	39.8	123,388,070	16.7	1,782,843,127	34.4	283,186,443	13.7
1882	2,699,394,496	50.3	126,568,535	21.3	2,531,333,617	47.2	168,060,879	6.6
1883	2,629,319,089	47.6	130,633,556	20.1	2,440,920,948	44.1	188,398,141	7.2
1884	2,992,880,000	52.6	136,292,766	22.0	2,797,514,193	49.1	195,365,807	6.5
Average, 1880–1884	2,621,163,331	48.9	127,561,843	20.5	2,397,219,496	44.8	223,943,836	8.6
Average, 1870–1884	2,122,383,956	45.2	98,114,673	21.6	1,965,930,665	41.9	156,452,964	7.4
1885	3,015,439,000	51.4	135,876,080	22.2	2,848,172,006	48.6	167,266,994	5.5
1886	2,842,579,000	47.1	141,859,656	20.0	*2,933,617,186	48.5	194,131,382	6.8

APPENDIX E.

Comparative statement, by Census Report of 1880, of articles of domestic production, by sections, affected by tariff changes in the bill H. R. 9051 as it passed the House of Representatives.

Articles.	Cotton States.	Other States.
Jute manufactures	None.	$696,982
Dye-wood extracts	....do	5,253,038
Chocolate (cocoa)	....do	1,302,153
Grindstones	....do	184,555
Rattan and whalebone	....do	526,777
Glass manufactures	....do	21,154,571
Ink	....do	1,629,413
Oil-cloths	....do	5,844,587
Files	....do	2,486,533
Nails and spikes	....do	5,629,240
Needles and pins	....do	1,378,023
Steam fittings and heating apparatus	....do	5,127,840
Ivory and bone work	....do	1,454,901
Straw goods	....do	9,345,759
Toys and games	....do	1,502,513
Blacking	....do	1,491,474
Lead, bar, pipes, sheets, etc	....do	5,600,671
Slate mantels, marble mantels, etc	....do	1,630,660
Castor oil	....do	653,900
Scales and balances	....do	3,252,460
Sewing-machines and attachments	....do	13,863,188
Steel springs	....do	3,654,862
Stamped ware	....do	3,512,423
Bags	$91,300	9,635,300
Salt	213,538	4,616,028
Soap and candles	291,935	26,260,792
Stone and earthen ware	129,702	7,814,027
Confectionery	1,756,361	23,880,672
Brushes and brooms	288,328	10,272,527
Iron work, architectural	25,250	2,084,287
Foundry and machine-shop products	7,091,959	207,286,509
Manufactures of wool of all kinds	1,800,873	265,452,040
Planed lumber	2,094,385	34,706,971
Brick and tile	2,644,595	30,188,992
Marble and stone work	803,310	30,611,840
Paints	19,330	23,371,337
Type founding	10,000	2,220,298
Starch	6,000	7,471,712
Cordage and twine	24,000	12,468,171
Paper manufactures	645,547	48,454,367
Hats and caps not wool	6,300	21,296,807
Instruments, professional and scientific	37,900	1,601,194
Wire and wire work	10,200	19,954,423
Tallow and grease	194,105	13,535,908
Beans	230,370	2,844,680
Baking and yeast powders	38,500	4,722,098
Book-binding and blank-book making	159,769	11,817,395
Boxes, fancy and paper	262,038	7,403,515
Brass castings	28,200	10,780,542
Carriages, wagons, etc	4,278,292	100,463,044
Coffee and spices, roasted and ground	451,201	22,473,693
Drugs and chemicals	599,607	38,374,051
Furniture	1,960,680	75,885,045
Hardware	8,900	22,644,793
Iron bolts, washers, nuts, etc	240,000	9,833,330
Kaolin and ground earth	69,795	1,385,962
Linseed oil	700	15,393,112
Neat's-foot oil	500	258,586
Patent medicines and compounds	409,932	14,273,562
Tin ware, copper ware, and sheet-iron ware	2,862,505	45,233,533
Tools, not cutlery	600	4,235,968
Wooden ware	338,350	4,897,124
Total	30,126,457	1,196,104,265
Cotton manufactures	15,938,712	176,151,398
Wool	15,786,767	139,894,984
Sawed lumber	30,018,858	203,249,871
Total	61,744,337	519,296,253
Grand total	91,870,794	1,715,400,518

APPENDIX F.—*Paragraphs of doubtful interpretation in House bill (H. R. 9051)*

[Compared with text of present law.]

PRESENT LAW.	H. R. 9051.
CHEMICALS.	CHEMICALS.
All preparations of coal-tar, not colors or dyes, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.	All preparations of coal-tar not colors or dyes, and not acids of colors and dyes. Free-list.
All coal-tar colors or dyes, by whatever name known and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Aniline oil and its homologues. Free.
All barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, and bulbous roots, and excrescences, such as nutgalls, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, grains, gums, and gum resins, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots and stems, spices, vegetables, seeds (aromatic, not garden seeds), and seeds of morbid growth, weeds, woods used expressly for dyeing, and dried insects, any of the foregoing of which are not edible, but which have been advanced in value or condition by refining, or grinding or by other process of manufacture, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 10 per cent. ad valorem.	All barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, bulbous roots, and excrescences, such as nutgalls, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, grains, gums, and gum resins, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots and stems, vegetables, seeds, and seeds of morbid growth, weeds, woods used expressly for dyeing, and dried insects, any of the foregoing which are not edible and not specially enumerated or provided for. Free-list.
Opium, crude, containing 9 per cent. and over of morphia, $1 per pound. The importation of opium containing less than 9 per cent. morphia is hereby prohibited.	Opium, crude, and not adulterated, containing 9 per cent. and over of morphia, for medicinal purposes. Free-list.
EARTHENWARE AND GLASSWARE.	EARTHENWARE AND GLASSWARE.
Brown earthenware, common stoneware, gas-retorts, and stoneware not ornamented, 25 per cent. ad valorem.	Brown earthenware, common stoneware, gas-retorts, and roofing tiles, not specially enumerated or provided for, and not decorated in any manner, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
China, porcelain, parian, and bisque, earthen, stone, and crockery ware, including plaques, ornaments, charms, vases, and statuettes, painted, printed, or gilded, or otherwise decorated or ornamented in any manner, 60 per cent. ad valorem.	China, porcelain, parian, and bisque, earthen, stone, or crockery ware composed of earthy or mineral substance, including plaques, ornaments, charms, vases, and statuettes, painted, printed, enameled, or gilded, or otherwise decorated in any manner, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
China, porcelain, parian, and bisque ware, plain white, and not ornamented or decorated in any manner, 55 per cent. ad valorem.	China, porcelain, parian, and bisque ware not decorated in any manner, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
All other earthen, stone, and crockery ware, white, glazed, or edged, composed of earthy or mineral substances, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 55 per cent. ad valorem.	White granite, common ware, plain white or cream-colored, lustered or printed under glaze in a single color; sponged, dipped, or edged ware, 35 per cent. ad valorem. All other earthen, stone, and crockery ware, white, colored, or bisque, composed of earthy or mineral substances, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and not decorated in any manner, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
Encaustic tiles, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Encaustic tiles, not glazed or enameled, 30 per cent. ad valorem. All glazed or enameled tiles, 45 per cent. ad valorem.
Brick, fire-brick, and roofing and paving tile, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.	Brick other than fire-brick. Free-list. Paving tiles, not encaustic, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
Green and colored glass bottles, vials, demijohns, and carboys (covered or uncovered), pickle or preserve jars, and other plain, molded, or pressed green and colored bottle glass, not cut, engraved, or painted, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound; if filled, and not otherwise in this act provided for, said articles shall pay 30 per cent. ad valorem in addition to the duty on the contents.	Green and colored glass bottles, vials, demijohns, and carboys (covered or uncovered), pickle or preserve jars, and other plain, molded, or pressed green and colored bottle glass, not cut, engraved, or painted, and not specially enumerated or provided for, 1 cent per pound; if filled, and not otherwise provided for, and the contents are subject to an ad valorem duty, or to a rate of duty based on their value, the value of such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall be added to the value of the contents for the ascertainment of the dutiable value of the latter; but if filled, and not otherwise provided for, and the contents are not subject to an ad valorem

PRESENT LAW.	H. R. 9051.
	duty or to a rate of duty based on their value, they shall pay a duty of 1 cent per pound in addition to the duty, if any, on their contents.
METALS.	METALS.
Provided further, That all iron bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind, in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel, shall be subject to a duty of $22 per ton.	*Provided further*, That all iron bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind, in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel, shall be subject to a duty of not less than $20 per ton.
Sheet-iron, common or black, thinner than 1¼ inch and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1.1 cents per pound.	Sheet-iron, common or black, thinner than 1 inch and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1 cent per pound.
Provided, That on all such iron and steel sheets or plates aforesaid, excepting on what are known commercially as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers' tin, and hereafter provided for, when galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter, or other metals, or any alloy of those metals, three-fourths of one cent per pound additional.	*Provided*, That on all such iron and steel sheets or plates aforesaid, excepting on what are known commercially as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers' tin, when galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter or other metals, or any alloy of those metals, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound additional when not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge, one-half cent per pound additional, and when thinner than 25 wire gauge three-fourths of 1 cent per pound additional.
Iron or steel sheets, or plates, or taggers' iron coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers' tin, 1 cent per pound; corrugated or crimped sheet-iron or steel, 1.4 of 1 cent per pound.	Iron or steel sheets, or plates, or taggers' iron, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers' tin. Free-list.
Iron and steel cotton-ties, or hoops for baling purposes, not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Iron and steel cotton-ties or hoops for bailing or other purposes, not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge. Free-list.
Boiler-tubes, or flues, or stays, of wrought-iron or steel, 3 cents per pound.	Boiler-tubes, or other tubes, or flues, or stays, of wrought-iron or steel, 1½ cents per pound.
Other wrought-iron or steel tubes or pipes, 2½ cents per pound.	
Provided, That iron or steel wire covered with cotton, silk, or other material, and wire commonly known as crinoline, corset, and hat wire, shall pay 4 cents per pound in addition to the foregoing rates: *And provided further*, That no article made from iron or steel wire, or of which iron or steel wire is a component part of chief value, shall pay a less rate of duty than the iron or steel wire from which it is made either wholly or in part: *And provided further*, That iron or steel wire cloths, and iron or steel wire nettings, made in meshes of any form, shall pay a duty equal in amount to that imposed on iron or steel wire of the same gauge, and 2 cents per pound in addition thereto. There shall be paid on galvanized iron or steel wire (except fence wire), one-half of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate imposed on the wire of which it is made. On iron-wire rope and wire strand, 1 cent per pound in addition to the rates imposed on the wire of which it is made. On steel-wire rope and wire strand, 2 cents per pound in addition to the rates imposed on the wire of which it is made.	Iron and steel wire and iron and steel wire galvanized, and all manufactures of iron and steel wire and of iron and steel wire galvanized shall pay the duties now provided by law: *Provided*, That no such duty shall be in excess of 60 per cent. ad valorem.
All non-dutiable crude minerals, but which have been advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for.	
Clippings from new copper and all composition metal of which copper is a component material of chief value not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 3 cents per pound; copper in plates, bars, ingots, Chili or other pigs, and in other forms, not manufactured, or enumerated in this act, 4 cents per pound; in rolled plates, called braziers' copper, sheets, rods, pipes, and copper bottoms, and all manufactures of copper or of which copper shall be a component of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Clippings from new copper fit only for remanufacture, 1 cent per pound. Copper, in plates, bars, ingots, Chili or other pigs, and in other forms, not manufactured, 2 cents per pound; in rolled plates, called braziers' copper, sheets, rods, pipes, and copper bottoms, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
Nickel, in ore, matte, or other crude form not ready for consumption in the arts, 15 cents per pound on the nickel contained therein.	Nickel, in ore or matte, 10 cents per pound on the nickel contained therein.
Nickel, nickel oxide, alloy of any kind in which nickel is the element of chief value, 15 cents per pound.	
Sheathing, or yellow metal, not wholly of copper, nor wholly nor in part of iron, ungalvanized, in sheets, 48 inches long and 14 inches wide, and weighing from 14 to 34 ounces per square foot, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Sheathing, or yellow metal, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
Manufactures, articles, or wares, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, composed wholly or in part of iron, steel, copper, lead, nickel, pewter, tin, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, or any other metal, and whether partly or wholly manufactured, 45 per cent. ad valorem.	Manufactures, articles, or wares, not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of copper, 35 per cent. ad valorem; manufactures, articles, or wares not specially enumerated or provided for, composed of iron, steel, lead, nickel, pewter, tin, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, or any other metal, or of which any of the foregoing metals may be the component material of chief value, and whether partly or wholly manufactured, 40 per cent. ad valorem. Machinery designed for the conversion of jute or jute butts into cotton bagging, to wit, cards, roving frames, winding frames, and softeners. Free-list.
WOOD.	WOOD.
Timber, squared or sided, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1 cent per cubic foot.	Timber, squared or sided. Free-list.
Sawed boards, plank, deals, and other lumber of hemlock, white-wood, sycamore, and bass-wood, $1 per 1,000 feet, board measure; all other articles of sawed lumber, $2 per 1,000 feet, board measure. But when lumber of any sort is planed or finished, in addition to the rates herein provided, there shall be levied and paid for each side so planed or finished 50 cents per 1,000 feet, board measure. And if planed on one side and tongued and grooved, $1 per 1,000 feet board measure. And if planed on two sides and tongued and grooved, $1.50 per 1,000 feet, board measure.	Sawed boards, planks, deals, and all other articles of sawed lumber. Free-list.
SUGAR.	SUGAR.
All other confectionery, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, made wholly or in part of sugar, and on sugars after being refined, when tinctured, colored, or in any way adulterated, valued at 30 cents per pound or less, 10 cents per pound.	All other confectionery, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
Confectionery valued above 30 cents per pound, or when sold by the box, package, or otherwise than by the pound, 50 per cent. ad valorem.	
PROVISIONS.	PROVISIONS.
Rice, cleaned, 2½ cents per pound; uncleaned, 1½ cents per pound.	Rice, cleaned, 2 cents per pound; uncleaned, or rice free of the outer hull, and still having the inner cuticle on, 1½ cents per pound.
Paddy, 1½ cents per pound.	Paddy, or rice having the outer hull on, 1 cent per pound.
Beef and pork, ham and bacon.	Meat, game, and poultry, free.
COTTON MANUFACTURES.	COTTON MANUFACTURES.
All manufactures of cotton, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and corsets, of whatever material composed, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	On all cotton cloth, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
FLAX, HEMP, AND JUTE.	FLAX, HEMP, AND JUTE.
Sunn, sisal-grass, and other vegetable substances, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $15 per ton.	Sunn, sisal-grass, and other vegetable fibers. Free-list.
Brown and bleached linens, ducks, canvas, paddings, cot bottoms, diapers, crash, huckabacks, handkerchiefs, lawns, and other manufactures of flax, jute or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Brown and bleached linens, ducks, canvas, paddings, cot bottoms, diapers, crash, huckabacks, handkerchiefs, lawns, and other manufactures of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That cuffs, collars, shirts, and other manufactures of wearing apparel, made in whole or in part of linen, and not otherwise provided for, and hydraulic hose, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
Flax, hemp, and jute yarns, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Flax, hemp, and jute yarns, and all twines of hemp, jute, jute butts, sunn, sisal-grass, ramie, and China grass, 15 per cent. ad valorem.
Burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in width, of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value (except such as may be suitable for bagging for cotton), 30 per cent. ad valorem.	Burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in width, of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value. Free-list.
Bags and bagging, and like manufactures, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act (except bagging for cotton), composed wholly or in part of flax, hemp, jute, gunny cloth, gunny bags, or other material, 40 per cent. ad valorem.	Bags of jute for grain. Free-list. Bags and bagging, and like manufactures, not specially enumerated or provided for, including bagging for cotton, composed wholly or in part of flax, hemp, jute, gunny cloth, gunny bags, or other material, three-eighths cent per pound.
Bagging for cotton, or other manufactures, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, suitable to the uses for which cotton bagging is applied, composed in whole or in part of hemp, jute, jute butts, flax, gunny bags, gunny cloth, or other material, and valued at 7 cents or less per square yard, 1¼ cents per pound; valued at over 7 cents per square yard, 2 cents per pound.	
Grass-cloth, and other manufactures of jute, ramie, China, and sisal grass, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Grass-cloth, and other manufactures of jute, ramie, China, and sisal grass, not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*,

PRESENT LAW.	H. R. 9051.
	That as to jute, jute butts, sunn, and sisal grass, and manufactures thereof, except burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in width, this act shall take effect January 1, 1889; and as to flax, hemp, manila, and other like substitutes for hemp, and the manufactures thereof, upon July 1, 1889.
WOOL AND WOOLENS.	WOOL AND WOOLENS.
Carpets and carpetings of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either or other material, not otherwise herein specified, 40 per cent. ad valorem; and mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bedsides, and other portions of carpets or carpetings, shall be subjected to the rate of duty herein imposed on carpets or carpeting of like character or description; and the duty on all other mats not exclusively of vegetable material, screens, hassocks, and rugs, shall be 40 per cent. ad valorem.	All other carpets and carpetings, druggets, bockings, mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bedsides of wool, flax, cotton, or parts of either, or other material, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
PAPER.	PAPER.
Paper boxes, and all other fancy boxes, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Paper boxes, and all other fancy boxes, not otherwise provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
Paper-hangings and paper for screens or fire-boards, paper antiquarian, demy, drawing, elephant, foolscap, imperial, letter, note, and all other paper not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.	Paper-hangings and paper for screens or fire-boards, surface-coated paper, and all manufactures of which surface-coated paper is a component material not otherwise provided for, and cardboard, paper antiquarian, demy, drawing, elephant, foolscap, imperial, letter, note, and all other paper not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
SUNDRIES.	SUNDRIES.
Bonnets, hats, and hoods for men, women, and children, composed of chip, grass, palm-leaf, willow, or straw, or any other vegetable substance, hair, whalebone, or other material, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.	Bonnets, hats, and hoods for men, women, and children, composed of hair, whalebone, or any vegetable material, and not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
Bulbs and bulbous roots, not medicinal, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.	Bulbs and bulbous roots, not medicinal. Free-list.
Fans of all kinds, except common palm-leaf fans, of whatever material composed, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Fans of all kinds, except palm-leaf fans, of whatever material composed, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
Feathers of all kinds, crude or not dressed, colored, or manufactured, 25 per cent. ad valorem; when dressed, colored, or manufactured, including dressed and finished birds, for millinery ornaments, and artificial and ornamental feathers and flowers, or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, for millinery use, not specially enumerated or provide for in this act, 50 per cent. ad valorem.	Feathers of all kinds, crude or not dressed, colored, or manufactured. Free-list.
	Feathers of all kinds, when dressed, colored, or manufactured, including dressed and finished birds and artificial and ornamental feathers and flowers, or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, not specially enumerated or provided for, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
Gloves, kid or leather, of all descriptions, wholly or partially manufactured, 50 per cent. ad valorem.	Gloves, of all descriptions, wholly or partially manufactured, 40 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That gloves made of silk taffeta shall be taxed 50 per cent. ad valorem.
Gutta-percha, manufactured, and all articles of, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Gutta-percha, manufactured, and all articles of hard rubber not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
Hair, human, bracelets, braids, chains, rings, curls, and ringlets, composed of hair, or of which hair is the component material of chief value, 35 per cent ad valorem.	Bracelets, braids, chains, rings, curls, and ringlets composed of hair, or of which hair is the component material of chief value, and all manufactures of human hair, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

PRESENT LAW.	H. R. 9051.
Curled hair, except of hogs, used for beds or mattresses, 25 per cent. ad valorem.	Curled hair, for beds or mattresses. Free-list.
Hats, etc., materials for Braids, plaits, flats, laces, trimmings, tissues, willow sheets and squares, used for making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm-leaf, willow, hair, whalebone, or any other substance or material, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.	Hats, materials for: Braids, plaits, flats, willow sheets and squares, fit only for use in making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm-leaf, willow, hair, whalebone, or any vegetable material, not specially enumerated or provided for, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
Hemp seed and rape seed, and other oil seeds of like character, other than linseed or flaxseed, one-quarter of 1 cent per pound.	Hemp and rape seed, and other oil seeds of like character. Free-list.
Garden seeds, except seed of the sugar beet, 20 per cent. ad valorem.	Garden seeds. Free-list.
	Beans, pease, and split pease. Free-list.
Marble of all kinds, in block, rough, or squared, 65 cents per cubic foot; veined marble, sawed, dressed, or otherwise, including marble slabs and marble paving tiles, $1.10 per cubic foot.	Marble of all kinds, in block, rough, or squared, 40 cents per cubic foot.
	Marble, sawed, dressed, or otherwise, including marble slabs and marble paving tiles, 85 cents per cubic foot.
Rags, of whatever material composed, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 10 per cent. ad valorem.	Rags, of whatever material composed. Free-list.
Rattans and reeds, manufactured, but not made up into completed articles, 10 per cent. ad valorem.	Rattans and reeds, manufactured, but not made up into finished articles. Free-list.
Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, 12 cents per 100 pounds; in bulk, 8 cents per 100 pounds: *Provided*, That exporters of meats, whether packed or smoked, which have been cured in the United States, with imported salt, shall, upon satisfactory proof, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, that such meats have been cured with imported salt, have refunded to them from the Treasury the duties paid on the salt so used in curing such exported meats, in amounts not less than $100: *And provided further*, That imported salt in bond may be used in curing fish taken by vessels licensed to engage in the fisheries, and in curing fish on the shores of the navigable waters of the United States, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe; and upon proof that the salt has been used for either of the purposes stated in this proviso, the duties on the same shall be remitted.	Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, or in bulk, when imported from any country which does not charge an import duty upon salt exported from the United States. Free-list.
Stones, unmanufactured or undressed, freestone, granite, sandstone, and all building or monumental stone, except marble, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $1 per ton; and upon stones as above, hewn, dressed, or polished, 20 per cent. ad valorem.	Stones, unmanufactured or undressed, freestone, granite, sandstone, and all building or monumental stone. Free-list.
Strings: All strings of catgut, or any other like material, other than strings for musical instruments, 25 per cent. ad valorem.	All strings of gut or any other like material. Free-list.
Watches, watch-cases, watch-movements, parts of watches, and watch materials, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.	Watches, watch-cases, watch-movements, parts of watches, watch-glasses and watch-keys, whether separately packed or otherwise, and watch materials not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
Webbing, composed of cotton, flax, or any other materials, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.	Webbing, composed of cotton, flax, or a mixture of these materials, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty on same articles, with the percentage of reduction of duty in each case.*

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
			Per ct.
Blacking of all kinds	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Brass, and manufactures of:			
Manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Bristles	15 cts. per pound	Free	100
Brooms of all kinds	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Brushes of all kinds	30 per cent	do	33
Carriages and parts of, not specially enumerated or provided for	35 per cent	30 per cent	14
Chemicals, drugs, dyes, and medicines, not elsewhere specified:			
Acids—			
Acetic, acetous, or pyroligenous acid—			
Specific gravity exceeding 1.047	10 cts. per pound	5 cts. per pound	50
Boracic—			
Commercial	4 cts. per pound	Free	100
Pure	5 cts. per pound	do	100
Tannic and tannin	$1 per pound	50 cts. per pound	50
Alumina, alum, patent alum, alum substitute, sulphate of alumina, aluminous cake, and alum in crystals or ground.	$\frac{6}{10}$ ct. per pound	Free	100
Antimony, as regulus or metal	10 per cent	do	100
Bark for tanning, extracts of: Hemlock	20 per cent	do	100

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
			Per ct.
Borax:			
Crude	3 cts. per pound	Free	100
Refined	5 cts. per pound	do	100
Coal-tar, all preparations of not colors or dyes, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent	do	100
Copper, sulphate of, or blue vitriol	3 cts. per pound	do	100
Crysilic wash for sheep (sheep dip)	20 per cent	do	100
Glycerine—			
Crude, brown, or yellow, of specific gravity of 1.25 or less at a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit, not purified by refining or distilling.	2 cts. per pound	do	100
Refined	5 cts. per pound	3 cts. per pound	40
Indigo:			
Carmined	10 per cent	Free	100
Extract of	do	do	100
Iodine	40 cts. per pound	do	100
Iron, sulphate of, or copperas	$\frac{3}{10}$ ct. per pound	do	100
Lead, acetate of:			
Brown	4 cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	50
White	6 cts. per pound	3 cts. per pound	50
Nitrate of	3 cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	33
Licorice:			
Paste or rolls	7½ cts. per pound	5 cts. per pound	33
Logwood and other dye-woods, extracts, and decoctions	10 per cent	Free	100
Magnesia:			
Calcined	10 cts. per pound	7 cts. per pound	30
Carbonate of, medicinal	5 cts. per pound	3 cts. per pound	40
Sulphate of, or Epsom salts	½ ct. per pound	¼ ct. per pound	50
Mineral waters, all imitations of natural mineral waters, and all artificial mineral waters	30 per cent	Free	100
Morphia, or morphine, and salts thereof	$1 per ounce	50 cts. per ounce	50
Opium—			
Crude, containing 9 per cent. and over of morphia	$1 per pound	Free	100
Phosphorus	10 cts. per pound	do	100
Potash—			
Bicarbonate of, or saleratus, calcined or pearl-ash	1½ cts. per pound	¾ ct. per pound	50
Carbonate of, or fused	20 per cent	Free	100
Caustic	do	do	100
Chlorate of	3 cts. per pound	do	100
Chromate and bichromate of	do	2½ cts. per pound	17
Crude	20 per cent	Free	100
Nitrate of, or saltpeter—			
Crude	1 ct. per pound	do	100
Refined	1½ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	33
Prussiate of—			
Red	10 cts. per pound	7 cts. per pound	30
Yellow	5 cts. per pound	3 cts. per pound	40
Sulphate of	20 per cent	Free	100
Soda—			
Bicarbonate of, or supercarbonate of	1½ cts. per pound	¾ ct. per pound	50
Hydrate or caustic	1 ct. per pound	½ ct. per pound	50
Sal, or soda crystals	½ ct. per pound	¼ ct. per pound	50
Silicate of, or other alkaline silicate	½ ct. per pound	¼ ct. per pound	50
Sulphate of—			
Glauber salts	20 per cent	Free	100
Salt-cake, crude or refined, or niter-cake, crude or refined	do	do	100
Sulphur—			
Refined, in rolls	$10 per ton	Free	100
Sublimed, or flowers of	$20 per ton	$12 per ton	40
Barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs and bulbous roots and excrescences, such as nut-galls, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, grains, gums and gum resins, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots and stems, spices, vegetables, seeds (aromatic, not garden seeds), and seeds of morbid growth weeds, woods used expressly for dyeing, and dried insects, any of the foregoing which are not edible, but which have been advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture.	10 per cent	Free	100
Preparations medicinal—			
Cerates, conserves, decoctions, emulsions, extracts, solid or fluid; infusions, juices, liniments, lozenges, mixtures, ointments, oleo-resins, pills, plasters, powders, resins, suppositories, sirups, vinegars, and waters, of any which alcohol is not a component part.	do	20 per cent	20
Preparations, proprietary, to wit:			
All pills, powders, troches, or lozenges, sirups, cordials, bitters, anodynes, tonics, plasters, liniments, salves, ointments, pastes, drops, waters, essences, spirits, oils, or preparations or compositions recommended to the public as proprietary articles, or prepared according to some private formula, as remedies or specifics for any disease or diseases or affections whatever, affecting the human or animal body (except cosmetics and toilet preparations).	50 per cent	30 per cent	40
Chicory root, ground or unground, burnt or prepared	2 cts. per pound	Free	100
Clay or earths:			
China clay, or kaolin	$3 per ton	$1 and $2 per ton	33
Unwrought or manufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for	$1.50 per ton	Free	100
Cocoa, prepared or manufactured	2 cts. per pound	do	100
Coffee substitutes, namely:			
Acorns and dandelion root, raw or prepared, and all other articles used or intended to be used as coffee, or as substitutes therefor, not specially enumerated or provided for.	2 cents per pound	Free	100
Copper and manufactures of:			
Ores, fine copper contained therein	2½ cts. per pound	Free	100
Regulus of, and black or coarse copper and copper cement, fine copper contained therein	3½ cts. per pound	do	100
Old, fit only for remanufacture	3 cts. per pound	do	100
Clippings from new copper	do	1 ct. per pound	67
Plates, not rolled; bars, ingots, Chili or other pig, and in other forms not manufactured or enumerated.	4 cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	50
Plates, rolled, called braziers' copper, sheets, rods, pipes, and copper bottoms	35 per cent	30 per cent	14
Sheathing, or yellow metal, not wholly of copper, nor wholly nor in part of iron, ungalvanized, in sheets 48 inches long and 14 inches wide, and weighing from 14 to 34 ounces per square foot.	do	do	14
Manufactures, articles, or wares not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of copper, whether partly or wholly manufactured.	45 per cent	35 per cent	22
Cotton, manufactures of:			
Thread—			
Thread, yarn, wraps, or wrap-yarns, whether single or advanced beyond the condition of single by twisting two or more single yarns together, whether on beams or in bundles, skeins, or cops, or in any other form—			
Valued at not exceeding 25 cents per pound	10 cents per pound	do	21
Valued at over 25 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	15 cents per pound	do	17
Valued at over 40 and not exceeding 50 cents per pound	20 cts. per pound	40 per cent	12
Valued at over 50 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	25 cts. per pound	do	12
Valued at over 60 and not exceeding 70 cents per pound	33 cts. per pound	do	21
Valued at over 70 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	38 cts. per pound	do	19
Valued at over 80 cents and not exceeding $1 per pound	48 cts. per pound	do	25
Valued at over $1 per pound	50 per cent	do	20

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
			Per ct.
Cotton, manufactures of—continued.			
Thread on spools—			
Of 100 yards each spool	7 cts. per dozen	40 per cent	26
Cloth—			
Not exceeding 100 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—			
Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 8 cents or less per square yard.	2½ cts. per sq. yd	do	48
Bleached, valued at 10 cents or less per square yard	3½ cts. per sq. yd	do	47
Dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 13 cents or less per square yard	4½ cts. per sq. yd	do	45
Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 200 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—			
Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 8 cents or less per square yard.	3 cts. per sq. yd	do	47
Bleached, valued at 10 cents or less per square yard	4 cts. per sq. yd	do	28
Dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at 13 cents or less per square yard	5 cts. per sq. yd.	do	19
Exceeding 300 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling—			
Not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed—			
Valued at 10 cents or less per square yard	4 cts. per sq. yd	do	30
Bleached—			
Valued at 12 cents or less per square yard	5 cts. per sq. yd	do	23
Dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed—			
Valued at 15 cents or less per square yard	6 cts. per sq. yd	do	17
Earthen, stone, and china ware:			
Bricks and tiles—			
Brick, other than fire-brick	20 per cent	Free	100
Tiles, encaustic	35 per cent	30 per cent	14
Tiles, glazed or enameled	60 per cent	45 per cent	18
Brown earthenware, common stoneware, gas retorts, and stoneware not ornamented	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
China, porcelain, parian, and bisque ware, plain white, and not ornamented or decorated in any manner.	55 per cent	40 per cent	27
China, porcelain, parian, or bisque, earthen, stone, and crockery ware, including plaques, ornaments, charms, vases, and statuettes, painted, printed, or gilded, or otherwise decorated or ornamented in any manner.	60 per cent	50 per cent	17
All other earthen, stone, and crockery ware, white, glazed, or edged, composed of earthy or mineral substances, not specially enumerated or provided for.	55 per cent	35 per cent	36
Fancy articles:			
Beads and bead ornaments of all kinds, except amber beads	50 per cent	40 per cent	20
Canes and sticks for walking—			
Finished	35 per cent	20 per cent	43
Unfinished	20 per cent.	Free	100
Dolls and toys	35 per cent	30 per cent	14
Fans of all kinds, except common palm-leaf fans, of whatever material composed	do	do	14
Feathers, not artificial, not elsewhere specified—			
Crude, or not dressed, colored, or manufactured—			
Ostrich	25 per cent	Free	100
All other	do	do	100
Dressed, colored, or manufactured, including dressed and finished birds for millinery ornaments—			
Ostrich	50 per cent	35 per cent	30
All other	do	do	30
Feathers and flowers, artificial and ornamental, or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, for millinery use, not specially enumerated or provided for.	do	do	30
Perfumery, cosmetics, and toilet preparations—			
All toilet preparations whatever, not elsewhere specified	do	30 per cent	40
Flax, hemp, jute, and other textile grasses and vegetable substances, and manufactures of:			
Unmanufactured—			
Flax—			
Hackled, known as "dressed line"	$40 per ton	$10 per ton	75
Not hackled or dressed	$20 per ton	Free	100
Straw	$5 per ton	do	100
Tow of	$10 per ton	do	100
Hemp	$25 per ton	do	100
Hemp, tow of	$10 per ton	do	100
Manila and other like substitutes for hemp, not specially enumerated or provided for	$25 per ton	do	100
Sunn	$15 per ton	do	100
Jute	20 per cent	do	100
Jute butts	$5 per ton	do	100
Sisal grass	$15 per ton	do	100
Other vegetable substances, not specially enumerated or provided for	do	do	100
Manufactures—			
Thread, twine, and pack thread, flax or linen	40 per cent	25 per cent	38
Yarns—			
Flax	35 per cent	15 per cent	57
Grass (China grass)	20 per cent	do	25
Hemp	35 per cent	do	57
Jute	do	do	57
Bagging for cotton, or other manufactures not specially enumerated or provided for, suitable to the uses for which cotton bagging is applied, composed in whole or in part of hemp, jute, jute butts, flax, gunny bags, gunny cloth, or other materials, valued at 7 cents or less per square yard.	1½ cts. per pound	⅜ ct. per pound	75
Bags and bagging and like manufactures, not specially enumerated or provided for (except bagging for cotton), composed wholly or in part of flax, hemp, jute, gunny cloth, gunny bags, or other material.	40 per cent	do	60
Brown and bleached linens, ducks, canvas, paddings, cot-bottoms, diapers, crash, huckabacks, handkerchiefs, and lawns, of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp shall be the component material of chief value.	35 per cent	25 per cent	29
Burlaps of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value (except such as may be suitable for bagging for cotton)—			
Not exceeding 60 inches in width	30 per cent	Free	100
Exceeding 60 inches in width	40 per cent	25 per cent	38
Grass-cloth and other manufactures of jute, ramie, China, and sisal grass, not specially enumerated or provided for.	35 per cent	25 per cent	29
Oil-cloth foundations or floor-cloth canvas made of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, either of them, shall be the component material of chief value.	40 per cent	do	38
Oil-cloths for floors, stamped, painted, or printed, and all other oil-cloth (except silk oil-cloth) and water-proof cloth, not otherwise provided for.	do	do	38
Sail duck or canvas for sails	30 per cent	25 per cent	17
Sheetings, Russia and other, of flax or hemp, brown or white	35 per cent	do	29
Bags of jute for grain	40 per cent	Free	100
Cables and cordage—			
Cables and cordage, tarred	3 cts. per pound	25 per cent	17
Cordage, manila, untarred	2½ cts. per pound	do	24
Cordage, all other, untarred	3½ cts. per pound	do	17
All other manufactures not specially enumerated and provided for—			
Of flax, or of which flax shall be the component material of chief value	40 per cent	do	38
Of flax, jute, hemp, or manila, or of which flax, jute, hemp, or manila shall be the component material of chief value.	35 per cent	do	29
Of grass	30 per cent	do	17

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
			Per ct.
Fruits, including nuts, not elsewhere specified:			
Currants, Zante or other	1 ct. per pound	Free	100
Dates	do	do	100
Figs	2 cts. per pound	do	100
Raisins	do	1½ cts. per pound	25
Nuts—			
Peanuts or ground beans—			
Not shelled	1 ct. per pound	¾ ct. per pound	25
Shelled	1½ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	33
Glassware—			
Articles of glass, cut, engraved, painted, colored, printed, stained, silvered, or gilded (not including plate-glass, silvered or looking-glass plate), porcelain and Bohemian glass, chemical glassware, painted glassware, and stained glass.	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Cylinder, crown, and common window-glass, unpolished—			
Above 10 by 15 inches and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches	1¾ cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound	14
Above 16 by 24 inches and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches	2½ cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	15
All above 24 by 30 inches	2½ cts. per pound	2⅛ cts. per pound	12
German looking-glass plates of blown glass	Same as cylinder	Free	100
Cylinder and crown glass, polished, unsilvered—			
All above 24 by 60 inches	40 cts. per sq. foot	30 cts per sq. foot	25
Plate-glass, cast, polished, silvered, or looking-glass plates—			
Above 24 by 30 inches and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches	35 cts. per sq. foot	25 cts. per sq. foot	29
All above 24 by 60 inches	60 cts. per sq. foot	45 cts. per sq. foot	38
All other manufactures of glass, or of which glass shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for.	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Glass plates or disks for spectacles	do	Free	100
Gold and silver, manufactures of:			
Gold and silver, manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Grease, not elsewhere specified: All other grease, not especially enumerated or provided for	10 per cent	Free	100
Gunpowder and all explosive substances:			
Percussion caps	40 per cent	30 per cent	25
Gun-wads of all descriptions	35 per cent	25 per cent	29
Hair, not elsewhere specified, and manufactures of:			
Curled hair, except of hogs, used for beds or mattresses	25 per cent	Free	100
Human hair—			
Raw, unclean, and not drawn	20 per cent	do	100
Clean or drawn, but not manufactured	30 per cent	20 per cent	33
Manufactured	35 per cent	25 per cent	29
Bracelets, braids, chains, rings, curls, ringlets composed of hair, or of which hair is the component material of chief value.	do	do	29
Hatters' plush, composed of silk, or of silk and cotton	25 per cent	15 per cent	40
Hat bodies of cotton	35 per cent	30 per cent	41
India rubber and gutta-percha, manufactures of:			
Gutta-percha, manufactured, and all articles of, not specially enumerated or provided for	35 per cent	30 per cent	14
Inks of all kinds, and ink powders	30 per cent	20 per cent	33
Iron and steel, and manufactures of:			
Iron ores—			
Chromate of iron, or chromic ore	15 per cent	Free	100
Iron, in pigs and kentledge	$6.72 per ton	$6 per ton	11
Bar-iron—			
Bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel.	$22 per ton	$20 per ton	10
Bars or shapes of rolled iron, not specially enumerated or provided for, and round iron in coils or rods, less than $\frac{7}{16}$ of 1 inch in diameter.	1$\frac{5}{16}$ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	
Rolled or hammered, comprising—			
Flats not less than 1 inch wide nor less than ¾ of 1 inch thick	$\frac{5}{16}$ ct. per pound	$\frac{7}{16}$ ct. per pound	13
Flats less than 1 inch wide or less than ¾ of 1 inch thick; round iron less than ¾ of 1 inch and not less than $\frac{7}{16}$ of 1 inch in diameter; and square iron less than ¾ of 1 inch square.	1$\frac{7}{16}$ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	9
Bars or rails for railways—			
Flat rails, punched, iron	$17.92 per ton	$15 per ton	16
Tee rails, weighing not over 25 pounds to the yard, steel	$20.16 per ton	$14 per ton	31
Other railway bars, weighing more than 25 pounds to the yard—			
Iron	$15.68 per ton	$11 per ton	30
Steel, or in part of steel	$17 per ton	do	35
Beams, girders, joists, angles, channels, car-truck channels, TT columns and posts, or parts or sections of columns and posts, deck and bulb beams, and building forms, together with all structural shapes of iron or steel.	¼ cts. per pound	$\frac{8}{16}$ ct. per pound	51
Bars, billets, blooms, blanks, ingots, etc., of steel—			
Ingots, clogged ingots, blooms, or blanks, for railway wheels and tires, without regard to the degree of manufacture.	2 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound	25
Cotton-ties, or hoops for baling purposes, of iron and steel, not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	35 per cent	Free	100
Hoop, band, scroll, or other iron, 8 inches or less in width—			
Thinner than No. 10 and not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	1$\frac{3}{16}$ cts. per pound	1$\frac{1}{16}$ cts. per pound	9
Thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	1$\frac{4}{16}$ cts. per pound	1$\frac{3}{16}$ cts. per pound	7
Sheets, plates, and taggers' iron—			
Sheet-iron, common or black—			
Thinner than *1½ inches and not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	1$\frac{1}{16}$ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	9
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25, wire gauge	1$\frac{2}{16}$ cts. per pound	1$\frac{1}{16}$ cts. per pound	9
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29, wire gauge	1$\frac{3}{16}$ cts. per pound	1¼ cts. per pound	17
Sheets and plates pickled or cleaned by acid or by any other material or process, and cold-rolled—			
Sheets—			
Thinner than *1½ inches and not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	1$\frac{35}{100}$ cts. per pound	1$\frac{32}{100}$ cts. per pound	8
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25, wire gauge	1$\frac{40}{100}$ cts. per pound	1$\frac{30}{100}$ cts. p. pound	7
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29, wire gauge	1$\frac{50}{100}$ cts. per pound	1$\frac{30}{100}$ cts. p. pound	14
Sheets or plates of iron or steel (except what are commercially known as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers' tin), galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter, or other metals, or any alloy of these metals—			
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25, wire gauge	1$\frac{85}{100}$ cts. per pound	1$\frac{50}{100}$ cts. p. pound	18
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29, wire gauge	2$\frac{20}{100}$ cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	11
Sheets of iron or steel, cold-rolled, cold-hammered, or polished in any way, in addition to the ordinary process of hot-rolling or hammering—			
Sheet-iron, common or black—			
Thinner than *1½ inch and not thinner than No. 20, wire gauge	1$\frac{1}{16}$ cts. per pound plus ½ ct.	1$\frac{32}{100}$ cts. per pound	7
Thinner than No. 20 and not thinner than No. 25, wire gauge	1$\frac{2}{16}$ cts. per pound plus ½ ct.	1$\frac{30}{100}$ cts. per pound	7
Thinner than No. 25 and not thinner than No. 29, wire gauge	1$\frac{3}{16}$ cts. per pound plus ½ ct.	1¼ cts. per pound	14
Sheets or plates, or taggers' iron, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals are a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers' tin, of iron or steel.	1 ct. per pound	Free	100
Wire rods of steel, not elsewhere specified	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Iron or steel, flat, with ribs	$\frac{8}{16}$ ct. per pound	$\frac{6}{16}$ ct. per pound	33

*By H. R. 9051 "thinner than 1 inch."

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
Iron and steel and manufactures of—continued.			
Wire of iron—			*Per ct.*
Smaller than No. 5 and not smaller than No. 10, wire gauge	1½ cts. per pound.	"Shall pay the duties now provided by law: *Provided*, That no duty shall be in excess of 60 per cent."	10
Wire of steel—			
Smaller than No. 10 and not smaller than No. 16, wire gauge	2 cts. per pound		46
Wire and wire strand, made of iron wire—			
Galvanized—			
Smaller than No. 16 and not smaller than No. 26, wire gauge	4 cts. per pound		4
Smaller than No. 16 and not smaller than No. 26, wire gauge	4½ cts. per pound		40
Smaller than No. 26, wire gauge	5 cts. per pound		14
Galvanized—			
Smaller than No. 16 and not smaller than No. 26, wire gauge	do		47
Manufactures of, not elsewhere specified—			
Axles, parts thereof, axle-bars, axle-blanks, or forgings for axles, without reference to the stage or state of manufacture, of iron or steel.	2½ cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound	40
Anchors, or parts thereof, mill-irons and mill-cranks, of wrought iron and wrought iron for ships, and forgings of iron and steel for vessels, steam-engines, and locomotives, or parts thereof, each weighing 25 pounds or more.	2 cts. per pound	do	25
Anvils	do	do	25
Card clothing—			
Manufactured from tempered steel wire	45 cts. per sq. foot	40 per cent	11
Other	25 cts. per sq. foot	20 per cent	20
Castings—			
Cast-iron pipe of every description	1 ct. per pound	$\frac{6}{10}$ ct. per pound	40
Chain or chains of all kinds, made of iron and steel—			
Not less than ¾ of 1 inch in diameter	1¾ cts per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	29
Less than ¾ of 1 inch and not less than ½ of 1 inch in diameter	2 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	25
Less than ½ of 1 inch in diameter	2½ cts. per pound.	2 cts. per pound	20
Files, file-blanks, rasps, and floats of all cuts and kinds:			
4 inches in length and under	35 cts. per dozen	35 per cent	32
Over 4 inches in length and under 9 inches	75 cts. per dozen	do	46
9 inches in length and under 14 inches	$1.50 per dozen	do	34
14 inches in length and over	$2.50 per dozen	do	45
Hammers and sledges (blacksmith's), track-tools, wedges, and crow-bars, of iron or steel	2½ cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	40
Hollow-ware, coated, glazed, or tinned	3 cts. per pound	2½ cts. per pound.	17
Horse, mule, or ox shoes	2 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	25
Machinery for the manufacture of jute	45 per cent	Free	100
Machinery, not elsewhere specified	do	40 per cent	11
Nails, spikes, tacks, brads, or sprigs:			
Cut nails and spikes of iron or steel	1½ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	20
Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs—			
Exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand	3 cts. per pound	do	56
Horseshoe nails, hob-nails, wire nails, and all other wrought-iron or steel nails, not specially enumerated or provided for.	4 cts. per pound	2½ cts. per pound.	38
Spikes of wrought iron or steel	2 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	25
Needles:			
For knitting or sewing machines	35 per cent.	20 per cent.	43
Sewing, darning, knitting, and all other, not specially enumerated or provided for	25 per cent.	Free	100
Nuts and washers of wrought-iron or steel	2 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	25
Railway fish-plates or splice-bars, of iron or steel	1½ cts. per pound	$\frac{6}{10}$ ct. per pound	37
Rivets, bolts, with or without threads or nuts, bolt blanks, and finished hinges, or hinge-blanks, of iron and steel.	2½ cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	40
Saws and saw-plates—			
Hand, back, and all other saws, not specially enumerated or provided for	40 per cent	30 per cent	25
Tubes or flues, or stays, of wrought-iron or steel—			
Boiler tubes, or flues, or stays	3 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	50
Other tubes or pipes	2½ cts. per pound.	do	33
Wheels of steel and steel-tired wheels for railway purposes, whether wholly or partly finished, and iron or steel locomotive, car, and other railway tires, or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured.	2½ cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	20
All other manufactures of iron	45 per cent	40 per cent.	11
All other manufactures of steel	do	do	11
Lead, and manufactures of—			
Molten and old refuse lead, run into blocks and bars, and old scrap lead, fit only to be manufactured.	2 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	38
Ore and dross	1½ cts. per pound.	¾ ct. per pound	50
Pigs and bars	2 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound.	38
Sheets, pipes, and shot	3 cts. per pound	2½ cts. per pound.	25
Manufactures not especially enumerated or provided for	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Leather, and manufactures of—			
Gloves, kid or leather, wholly or partially manufactured	50 per cent	40 per cent	20
Lime:			
Borate of	3 cts. per pound	Free	100
Liquors, spirituous and malt, and wines:			
Spirits, distilled—			
Alcohol, containing 94 per cent. anhydrous alcohol	$2 per proof gallon	Repealed	100
Compounds or preparations of which distilled spirits are a component part of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, containing 50 per cent. anhydrous alcohol.	$1 per gallon	Repealed	100
Marble and stone, and manufactures of:			
Marble—			
In blocks, rough or squared, of all kinds	65 cts. per cubic ft.	40 cts. per cubic ft.	38
Veined marble, sawed, dressed, or otherwise, including marble slabs and paving tiles	$1.10 per cubic ft.	85 cts. per cubic ft.	23
All manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	50 per cent	30 per cent	40
Stone—			
Slate—			
Slates, slate-pencils, slate chimney-pieces, mantels, slabs for tables, and all other manufactures of slate.	30 per cent	20 per cent	33
Stones, freestone, granite, sandstone, and all building or ornamental stone, except marble, not specially enumerated or provided for—			
Unmanufactured or undressed	$1 per ton	Free	100
Grindstones, finished or unfinished	$1.75 per ton	do	100
Matches, friction or lucifer, of all descriptions	35 per cent	25 per cent	29
Metals, metal compositions, and manufactures of, not elsewhere specified:			
Bronze metal, manufactures of, not elsewhere specified	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Japanned ware of all kinds, not specially enumerated or provided for	40 per cent	30 per cent	25
Metals, unwrought, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent	Free	100
Nickel, nickel oxide, alloy of any kind in which nickel is the element of chief value*	15 cts. per pound	10 cts. per pound	33
Nickel, manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Pens, metallic	12 cts. per gross	35 per cent	19
Pewter, manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Platinum, manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	do	do	11

* "Nickel in ore or matte" by H. R. 9051.

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
Metals, metal compositions, and manufactures of, not elsewhere specified—continued.			*Per ct.*
Quicksilver	10 per cent	Free	100
Stereotype plates	25 per cent	15 per cent	40
Type metal	20 per cent	do	25
Type, new	25 per cent	do	40
Manufactures of all other metals, not specially enumerated or provided for	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Mineral substances, not elsewhere specified:			
Minerals, non-dutiable, advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for.	10 per cent	Free	100
Mineral substances in a crude state, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent	do	100
Oils, not elsewhere specified:			
Animal—			
Neat's-foot	do	do	100
Seal	do	do	100
Whale and fish, not elsewhere specified	do	do	100
All other animal oils and combinations of	do	do	100
Mineral—			
Naphtha, benzine, benzole, dead oil, and similar products of coal-tar	20 per cent	do	100
Petroleum, crude	10 per cent	do	100
Vegetable, fixed or expressed—			
Castor	80 cts. per gallon	40 cts. per gallon	50
Cotton-seed	25 cts. per gallon	Free	100
Croton	50 cts. per gallon	do	100
Flaxseed or linseed	25 cts. per gallon	15 cts. per gallon	40
Hemp-seed and rape-seed	10 cts. per gallon	Free	100
Olive	25 per cent	do	100
Salad, other than olive	do	do	100
Paints and colors:			
Baryta, sulphae of, or barytes—			
Manufactured	½ ct. per pound	½ ct. per pound	50
Unmanufactured	10 per cent	Free	100
Lampblack	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Barytes, artificial sulphate of, or blanc-fixe, or satin white	do	do	20
Blue—			
Prussian	do	do	20
Ultramarine	5 cts. per pound	3 cts. per pound	40
Brown—			
Spanish, Indian red, and colcothar, or oxide of iron	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Vandyke, Cassel earth, or Cassel brown	do	do	20
Lead—			
Litharge	3 cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound	50
Orange mineral	do	do	50
Red	do	do	50
White, dry or in pulp and ground or mixed in oil	do	2 cts. per pound	33
Ocher and ochery earths—			
Dry	½ ct. per pound	Free	100
Oil and moist colors in collapsible tubes	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Red—			
Venetian	do	do	20
Vermilion, quicksilver	do	do	20
Sienna and sienna earths—			
Dry	½ ct. per pound	Free	100
Smalts and frostings	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Umber and umber earths—			
Dry	½ ct. per pound	Free	100
Water colors, in cakes or in moist pans	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Zinc, oxides of—			
Dry	1¼ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	20
Ground in oil	1¾ cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound	14
All other colors and paints, including lakes, whether dry or mixed, or ground with water or oil, not specially enumerated or provided for.	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Paper and manufactures of:			
Paper—			
Printing paper unsized, used for books and newspapers exclusively	15 per cent	12 per cent	20
Sized or glued, suitable for printing paper	20 per cent	15 per cent	25
Manufactures of—			
Boxes	35 per cent	25 per cent	29
Envelopes	25 per cent	20 per cent	20
Papier-maché, manufactures, articles and wares of	30 per cent	25 per cent	17
Paris green	25 per cent	12½ per cent	50
Philosophical apparatus and instruments	35 per cent	25 per cent	29
Powders, finishing	do	Free	100
Provisions:			
Meats, game and poultry, not elsewhere specified, dressed or undressed, but not otherwise prepared	10 per cent	do	100
Tallow	do	do	100
Dairy products:			
Milk, fresh	do	do	100
Egg yelks	20 per cent	do	100
Rags, not specially enumerated or provided for	10 per cent	do	100
Rice, not elsewhere specified:			
Cleaned	2½ cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	11
Uncleaned	1½ cts. per pound	1¼ cts. per pound	17
Paddy	1¼ cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	20
Granulated, or rice meal	20 per cent	15 per cent	25
Salt:			
In bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages	12 cts. per 100 pounds	Free	100
In bulk	8 cts. per 100 lbs	do	100
Seeds, not elsewhere specified:			
Bulbs and bulbous roots, not medicinal, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent	do	100
Castor beans or seeds	50 cts. per bushel	25 cts. per bushel	50
Garden seeds, except of the sugar beet	20 per cent	Free	100
Hemp seed	¼ ct. per pound	do	100
Rape seed and other oil seed of like character	do	do	100
Soap: Hard and soft, not especially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent	do	100
Starch:			
Corn or potato	2 cts. per pound	1 ct. per pound	50
Rice and all other	2½ cts. per pound	do	60
Strings of cat-gut, or any other like material, other than strings for musical instruments	25 per cent	Free	100
Sugar, molasses, sugar-candy, and confectionery:			
Molasses, testing by the polariscope—			
Not above 56 degrees	4 cts. per gallon	2.75 cts. per gallon	3
Above 56 degrees	8 cts. per gallon	6 cts. per gallon	

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
Sugar, molasses, sugar-candy, and confectionery—continued.			*Per ct.*
Sugar, Dutch standard in color—			
Not above No. 13, tank bottoms, sirups of cane-juice, or beet-juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope—			
Not above 75 degrees	1.40 cts. per pound	1.15 cts. per pound	
Not above 76 degrees	1.44 cts. per pound	1.182 cts. per lb.	
Not above 77 degrees	1.48 cts. per pound	1.214 cts. per lb.	
Not above 78 degrees	1.52 cts. per pound	1.246 cts. per lb.	
Not above 79 degrees	1.56 cts. per pound	1.278 cts. per lb.	
Not above 80 degrees	1.60 cts. per pound	1.310 cts. per lb.	
Not above 81 degrees	1.64 cts. per pound	1.342 cts. per lb.	
Not above 82 degrees	1.68 cts. per pound	1.374 cts. per lb.	
Not above 83 degrees	1.72 cts. per pound	1.406 cts. per lb.	
Not above 84 degrees	1.76 cts. per pound	1.438 cts. per lb.	
Not above 85 degrees	1.80 cts. per pound	1.470 cts. per lb.	
Not above 86 degrees	1.84 cts. per pound	1.502 cts. per lb.	
Not above 87 degrees	1.88 cts. per pound	1.534 cts. per lb.	
Not above 88 degrees	1.92 cts. per pound	1.566 cts. per lb.	18.5
Not above 89 degrees	1.96 cts. per pound	1.598 cts. per lb.	
Not above 90 degrees	2.00 cts. per pound	1.630 cts. per lb.	
Not above 91 degrees	2.04 cts. per pound	1.662 cts. per lb.	
Not above 92 degrees	2.08 cts. per pound	1.694 cts. per lb.	
Not above 93 degrees	2.12 cts. per pound	1.726 cts. per lb.	
Not above 94 degrees	2.16 cts. per pound	1.758 cts. per lb.	
Not above 95 degrees	2.20 cts. per pound	1.790 cts. per lb.	
Not above 96 degrees	2.24 cts. per pound	1.822 cts. per lb.	
Not above 97 degrees	2.28 cts. per pound	1.854 cts. per lb.	
Not above 98 degrees	2.32 cts. per pound	1.886 cts. per lb.	
Not above 99 degrees	2.46 cts. per pound	1.918 cts. per lb.	
Not above 100 degrees	2.40 cts. per pound	1.950 cts. per lb.	
Above No. 13, and not above No. 16	2¼ cts. per pound	2.20 cts. p. pound	20
Above No. 16, and not above No. 20	3 cts. per pound	2.40 cts. p. pound	20
Above No. 20	3½ cts. per pound	2.80 cts. p. pound	20
Sugar-candy and confectionery—			
Confectionery valued above 30 cents per pound, or when sold by the box, package, or otherwise than by the pound.	50 per cent	40 per cent	25
Confectionery, all other, not specially enumerated, made wholly or in part of sugar, and sugars after being refined, when tinctured, colored, or in any way adulterated, valued at 30 cents per pound or less.	10 cts. per pound	do	44
Tar and pitch:			
Pitch of coal tar	20 per cent	Free	100
Tar of coal, crude	10 per cent	do	100
Tar and pitch of wood	do	do	100
Teeth, manufactured	20 per cent	20 per cent	
Tin, manufactures of:			
Foil	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
All manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	do	do	11
Turpentine, spirits of	20 cts. per gallon	Free	100
Umbrellas, parasols, shades, and parts of:			
Umbrellas, parasols, and shades—			
All other umbrellas	40 per cent	30 per cent	25
Umbrella and parasol ribs, and stretchers, frames, tips, runners, handles, or other parts thereof, when made in whole or chief part of iron, steel, or other metal.	do	do	25
Vegetables:			
Beans and pease, not for seed	10 per cent	Free	100
Pease, split	20 per cent	do	100
Other, in their natural state or in salt or brine	10 per cent	do	100
Waste, all not specially enumerated or provided for	do	do	100
Wax, and manufactures of, not elsewhere specified:			
Bees' wax	20 per cent	do	100
Wood, and manufacturers of:			
Bassword and other fiber, not otherwise provided for	10 per cent	do	100
Brush, for crib-work	do	do	100
Unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent	do	100
Timber:			
Used for spars and in building wharves	do	do	100
Hewn and sawed	do	do	100
Square or sided, not specially enumerated or provided for	1 ct. per cubic foot	do	100
Lumber—			
Boards, planks, deals, and other sawed lumber, of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore, and basswood—			
Not planed or finished	$1 per M feet	do	100
Planed or finished on one side	$1.50 per M feet	do	100
Planed or finished on two sides	$2 per M feet	do	100
Planed on two sides, and tongued and grooved	$2.50 per M feet	do	100
All other articles of sawed lumber, not elsewhere specified—			
Not planed or finished	$2 per M feet	do	100
Planed or finished on one side	$2.50 per M feet	do	100
Planed or finished on two sides	$3 per M feet	do	100
Planed on one side and tongued and grooved	do	do	100
Planed on two sides and tongued and grooved	$3.50 per M feet	do	100
Clapboards—			
Pine	$2 per M	do	100
Spruce	$1.50 per M	do	100
Hubs for wheels, posts, last, wagon, oar, gun, and heading blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn or sawed only	20 per cent	do	100
Laths	15 cts. per M	do	100
Pickets and palings	20 per cent	do	100
Shingles	35 cts. per M	do	100
Shooks, sugar-box, and packing boxes, and packing-box shooks	30 per cent	do	100
Staves of all kinds	10 per cent	do	100
Cabinet-ware and house furniture, finished	35 per cent	30 per cent	14
Cedar-wood, granadilla, ebony, mahogany, rosewood, and satin-wood, manufactures of	do	do	14
Osier or willow, prepared for basket-makers' use	25 per cent	Free	100
Osier and willow baskets, and all other articles composed of, not specially enumerated or provided for.	30 per cent	do	100
Rattans and reeds, manufactured, but not made up into completed articles	10 per cent	do	100
All other manufactures of wood, or of which wood is the chief component part, not specially enumerated or provided for.	35 per cent	30 per cent	14

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
			Per ct.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, and manufactures of:			
Unmanufactured—			
Class 1, clothing wools: That is to say, merino, mestina, metz or metis wools, other wools of merino blood, immediate or remote, Down clothing wools, and wools of like character with any of the preceding, including such as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Buenos Ayres, New Zealand, Australia, Cape of Good Hope, Russia, Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere, and also including all wools not hereinafter described or designated in classes 2 and 3—			
Value 30 cents or less per pound	10 cts. per pound	Free	100
Value over 30 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound	do	100
Washed wool—			
Value (before washing) 30 cents or less per pound	20 cts. per pound	Free	100
Value (before washing) over 30 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound	do	100
Scoured wool—			
Value (before scouring) 30 cents or less per pound	30 cts. per pound	do	100
Value (before scouring) over 30 cents per pound	36 cts. per pound	do	100
Class 2, combing wools: That is to say, Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, Down combing wools, Canada long wools, or other like combing wools of English blood, and usually known by the terms herein used, and also hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals—			
Value 30 cents or less per pound	10 cts. per pound	do	100
Value over 30 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound	do	100
Scoured wool, value (before scouring) 30 cents or less per pound	30 cts. per pound	do	100
Class 3, carpet wools, and other similar wools: Such as Donskoi, native South American Cordova, Valparaiso, native Smyrna, and including all such wools of like character as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere—			
Value 12 cents or less per pound	2½ cts. per pound	do	100
Value over 12 cents per pound	5 cts. per pound	do	100
Scoured wool—			
Value (before scouring) 12 cents or less per pound	7½ cts. per pound	do	100
Value (before scouring) over 12 cents per pound	15 cts. per pound	do	100
Wool on the skin the same rates as other wools		do	100
Manufactured—			
Balmorals—			
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	40 per cent	41
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	18 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	39
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	40
Belts or felts, endless, for paper or printing machines	20 cts. per pound and 30 per cent.	30 per cent	24
Blankets—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	10 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	40 per cent	50
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	37
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	18 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	43
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound and 35 per ct.	do	42
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	43
Bunting	10 cts. per sq. yd. and 35 per cent.	do	50
Carpets and carpeting of all kinds—			
Aubusson, Axminster, and Chenille carpets, and carpets woven whole for rooms	45 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	do	15
Brussels carpets	30 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	do	32
Druggets and bockings, printed, colored, or otherwise	15 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	do	46
Mats, screens, hassocks, and rugs, not exclusively of vegetable material	40 per cent	do	
Of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either, or other material, not specially enumerated or provided for.	do	30 per cent	25
Patent velvet and tapestry velvet carpets, printed on the warp or otherwise	25 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	40 per cent	27
Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet carpets	45 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	do	26
Tapestry Brussels, printed on warp or otherwise	20 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	do	35
Treble ingrain, three-ply, and worsted-chain Venetian carpets	12 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	do	13
Yarn, Venetian, and two-ply ingrain carpets	8 cts. per sq. yd. and 30 per cent.	do	11
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel (except knit goods), not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other (like) animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer—			
Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes.	45 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	45 per cent	34
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, and balmoral skirts and skirting, and goods of similar description or used for like purposes.	40 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	17
Cloths, woolen—			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	40 per cent	55
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	42
Dress goods, women's and children's, coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description—			
Composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals—			
Valued at not exceeding 20 cents per square yard	5 cts. per sq. yd. and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 20 cents per square yard	7 cts. per sq. yd. and 40 per cent.	do	32
Composed wholly of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of a mixture of them, and all such goods of like description, with selvages made wholly or in part of other materials, or with threads or materials introduced for the purpose of changing the classification—			
Weighing 4 ounces or less per square yard	9 cts. per sq. yd. and 40 per cent.	do	52
All weighing over 4 ounces per square yard	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	43

APPENDIX G.—*Comparison of rates of duty proposed by H. R. 9051 with present rates of duty, etc.*—Continued.

Articles.	Present rates of duty.	By H. R. 9051.	
		Rates.	Reduction.
Wool—continued.			*Per ct.*
Flannels—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	10 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	40 per cent	46
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	40
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	18 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	45
Hats of wool:			
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	45
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	18 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	45
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	40
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	23
Knit goods, and all goods made on knitting-frames—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	10 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	53
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	39
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	18 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	42
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	43
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	36
Rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks, woolen	10 cts. per pound	Free	100
Shawls, woolen:			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	40 per cent	55
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	39
Composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals	40 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	35
Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head-nets, buttons or barrel-buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments, wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals is a component material	30 cts. per pound and 50 per cent.	50 per cent	24
Yarns, woolen and worsted—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	10 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	40 per cent	42
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	18 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	42
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	42
All manufactures of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, made wholly or in part of—			
Wool—			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	55
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	38
Worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals (except such as are composed in part of wool)—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	10 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	48
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	12 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	40 per cent	42
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	18 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	24 cts. per pound and 35 per cent.	do	41
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	35 cts. per pound and 40 per cent.	do	44
Zinc, spelter, or tutenegue, and manufactures of:			
In blocks or pigs	1½ cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound	17
In sheets	2½ cts. per pound	2 cts. per pound	20
Old worn-out, fit only to be remanufactured	1½ cts. per pound	1½ cts. per pound	17
Manufactures of, not specially enumerated or provided for	45 per cent	40 per cent	11
Sacks, crates, boxes, etc., designed to evade duties thereon (section 7, act of March 3, 1883)	100 per cent	Repealed	100

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

The views of the minority presented by Mr. HARRIS are as follows:

House bill No. 9051, "To reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue," passed the House of Representatives on the 21st day of July, 1888, and was referred to the Senate Committee on Finance on the 23d day of the same month.

The majority of the committee, not being willing to accept the House bill as a basis of revision of existing revenue laws and to correct existing evils, decided to strike out all after the enacting clause and report an entirely new bill.

In the preparation of this substitute no member of the minority of the committee was consulted, or informed as to its provisions until it was reported to the full committee, on the 25th day of September, 1888.

The chairman of the committee in May last appointed a subcommittee to hear such persons as wished to be heard upon the revenue question, and much time has been consumed and thousands of pages have been printed of the statements, arguments, and appeals of manufacturers and others, who demand that the present high rate of tariff taxation shall be maintained, and in most instances increased, prompted not by any revenue necessities, but alone for the purpose of increasing their own profits at the expense of sixty millions of tax-payers.

It is safe to say that all the interests benefited by a high protective tariff have been fully heard and have had much influence in shaping this substitute, while the great body of the people, the tax-payers and victims of this policy, have not appeared and have not been heard.

The short time that the substitute has been in the hands of the minority of the committee, and the many changes made in existing classifications, as well as changes from ad valorem to specific duties,

and the many compound duties imposed, render it difficult for the minority to approximate, with satisfactory certainty, the extent to which tariff taxation is increased or diminished upon the articles included in the various schedules, or what effect these changes will probably have upon the amount of revenues to result from such changes.

The essential difference between the House bill and the Senate substitute is apparent and radical at the outset in the matter of revenue. The one is framed in the interest of the public Treasury; the other in the interest of private pockets. The one is framed in the interest of the whole people; the other in the interest of a few thousand manufacturers. The one is designed to reduce both Government revenue and taxation, the taxation especially which bears heaviest on the necessaries of life; the other is intended to raise public revenue indeed, but to maintain private revenues by increasing and retaining taxation on all the necessaries of life.

The advocates of the substitute freely propose to reduce duties or abolish them on those things which yield only Government revenue, but refuse to reduce or abolish duties on those things which produce private revenue. This purpose is avowed, and is defended on the ground that it is all for labor. When it is remembered that the average tariff duty on all manufactured goods is 47 per cent. and the average share of labor therein is about 20 per cent., it will be seen that their love for the workingman is based on the other 27 per cent., which they pocket. Having robbed him of more than half of the bonus which the law gives the workingman they can well afford to love him; and that love will continue unabated until he insists on having all the law gives him.

But the minority think it safe to say that the chief reductions in tariff taxation, as provided by the substitute, are confined to the articles of sugar and rice, with jute, jute butts, molasses, Zante currants, and a few other unimportant articles put upon the free-list, while there is an increase of duties imposed upon the multiform manufactures of cotton, wool, iron, and steel—articles that the whole people, and especially the poor and the most needy classes, are compelled to use.

The substitute relieves the non-necessary tobacco in all its forms, except cigars, cheroots, and cigarettes, from internal taxation, and gives free alcohol to the arts. Taking the tax off of tobacco will reduce revenue about $24,000,000; and it is estimated that the tax taken from alcohol for the arts will make a further reduction of about $7,000,000. But in view of the impossibility of preventing frauds upon the revenue that should be derived from distilled spirits used for purposes other than the arts, the loss of revenue may be safely estimated at many times $7,000,000.

Practically, the substitute offers to the people free whisky and free tobacco, leaving all the expensive machinery for the collection of the revenue and enforcement of the law in full force, while it increases taxation upon the actual and indispensable necessaries of life, and this, too, when there is a large surplus in the Treasury, and under existing laws that surplus is being increased at the rate of over $10,000,000 per month; thus withdrawing and withholding from the channels of trade, commerce, and business of the country money absolutely necessary to their successful operations.

But to better illustrate let us refer to the following schedules: Take Schedule C, metals.

In no single instance is the policy upon which the substitute was framed more clearly demonstrated than in that of railway iron.

The cost to produce rails at a leading mill in the United States in 1887 was less than $27 per ton, of which less than $4.25 per ton was paid in wages.

The present rate of duty on steel rails is $17, and by the substitute it is reduced to $15.68 per ton. The question arises whether this will reduce the wages of the operatives $1.32, or whether $11.43 bounty above the whole cost paid for labor will satisfy the manufacturers.

The labor cost in a ton of steel rails being $4.25, on the pretense that this is so much higher than the former wages, the burden of $15.68 is thus laid upon every ton of steel rails imported into the United States, and thus governing the prices here, in order to equalize the difference in domestic and foreign wages.

This burden is laid upon the transportation of the country, on its foreign trade measured by the amount of duty collected; but where it is transferred to our internal commerce the burden is measured by every pound of rails over which that commerce has to pass, and ultimately falls with crushing weight upon the agriculturist, whose bulky products must seek a foreign market over these tax-laden roads and in foreign ships; and when these foreign markets are reached these products must compete with the pauper products of the cheapest labor to be found anywhere under the sun.

The House bill made a great stride for the farmers' relief when it reduced this tax to $11 per ton.

The rods out of which the farmer's wire fence is made are not apparently changed in rate, but by various changes in classification actual and important additional burdens are imposed. A reduction in dutiable value from 3½ to 3 cents per pound weight accomplishes this. An additional size, No. 6, added without an apparent change of rate does adroitly increase the rate paid on wire rods of this size from 45 per cent. to about 54 per cent., and is an increased tax on this one size of wire rods of nearly $300,000, upon the basis of the importations of 1887, and there is added a proviso by which rods smaller than No. 6 are classified as wire, and thus effect a third distinct increase of tax in this one section—and this is called part of a "system," and rightly so called.

Steel ingots, cogged ingots, billets, bars, etc., now pay 45 per cent. duty if valued at less than 4 cents per pound. By the substitute, if valued at 1 cent or less, they are dutiable at one-half cent per pound; and as some of these items were valued at seven-tenths of a cent per pound in the imports of 1887, the rate of one-half cent is an increase from 45 to over 70 per cent., and nearly a million dollars tax added by this one section.

Cotton-ties also receive careful consideration by the majority. It is not enough that the most formidable and insolent trust which ever laid its hand upon the throat of honest labor, threatening every class, from the poor colored cotton-picker, whose few pounds of crop he could not get to market for lack of means to wrap it, to the merchant and capitalist who had advanced the necessaries of life to sustain that labor through the season. To these come the proposed revision, not with helping hand, but other burdens, and the cotton-ties which their own friends had reduced to 35 per cent. in the tariff of 1883 (one of the bright oases in a desert of iniquity) they omit by name, but include in a new classification, so that instead of 35 per cent. it must pay, according to the valuation of 1887, over 100 per cent., adding nearly a quarter million dollars tax on the imported ties alone, all of which is a loss to the cotton producer. Even with this they are not content, but still further tax the struggling agriculturist in this schedule by raising the duties on trace chains, and all other kinds less than three-eighths of an inch thick, from 2½ cents, which is equivalent to 44.37 per cent., to 3 cents per pound, equivalent to a rate of 53.57 per cent. Can ingenuity go further?

That taggers' iron should be raised from 30 per cent. to 65 per cent.; that table cutlery for the poor should be raised by specific rates added to ad valorem; that knives for the poor should be more heavily taxed and made cheaper for the rich; that breech-loading shotguns should be made cheaper for the $200 grade and dearer for the $15 grade by making each pay the same tax, $10 and 25 per cent. ad valorem; all these and more are no longer startling, and prepare the mind for a thousand other inconsistencies and discriminations hidden by new and obscure classifications that only time and patient investigation will reveal.

COTTON SCHEDULE.

In this schedule again the great progress of "leveling up" is called into requisition, to what end or for what purpose who can say? For instance, medium yarns are raised 3 cents per pound—they are already paying about 45 per cent. tariff tax. Is this to pay the difference in wages here and abroad? Hardly, since by the census of 1880 it is shown that cotton-goods workers are only paid 21.06 per cent. of the product. They do not get half of the present tariff, yet it is proposed to still further increase the rate. By changes in classification and by new subdivisions, still further complicating the administration, and by changes in rates, in effect principally increasing taxes, most glaring inconsistencies and discriminations are perpetrated in this so-called revision.

Cotton yarns pay about 50 per cent. Cotton cloths made from this yarn pay 45 per cent., while the clothing ready made by the tailor or seamstress from this cloth must pay 40 per cent. Hosiery is made dearer for the poor, but undisturbed for the rich. A sock worth 75 cents per dozen must pay 60 cents per dozen and 20 per cent. ad valorem, or 100 per cent., but after they reach $3 per dozen in value the tax is left at the old rate.

Collars are raised from 30 per cent. to 80 per cent. and upwards on the cheaper kinds of linen or cotton.

WOOLEN SCHEDULE.

The substitute not only retains a duty on raw wool, but increases the duty from 10 to 11 cents a pound on clothing and combing wool, and the existing duty is retained on carpet wools, which all parties agree are not produced in this country, and the changes made in the manufactures of wool increases the taxation, and to that extent increases the cost of the manufactured article, and especially the cheaper grades—the clothing of the poor.

To illustrate, take this example: The cheapest woolen dress goods, costing only 15 cents a square yard, is taxed by the substitute 6 cents a square yard and 40 per cent. ad valorem, making the whole tax thus imposed 80 per cent.

On dress goods wholly of wool the duty is increased from 9 cents a square yard and 40 per cent. ad valorem to 11 cents per square yard and 40 per cent. ad valorem, making an increase of taxation on this single article upon the basis of the importations of the fiscal year 1887, when 31,136,149 yards were imported, of $622,722.

And as these goods only cost an average of 21 cents a yard in the foreign market and under existing law are taxed 82.96 per cent. ad valorem, they are by the substitute increased to 92 per cent. ad valorem.

Of this class of goods we imported in the fiscal year 1887, $6,522,568 worth, upon which we collected $5,411,280, with many times that

amount extorted from consumers in the form of bounty to the manufacturers.

But the people will better understand the effect of this change when they see that they are paying in the form of taxation about 19½ cents upon a square yard of goods that cost in the foreign market only 21 cents a yard, making the cost to the consumer 40½ cents a yard.

While it is impossible for the minority to state the exact amount of the increase of revenue resulting from these changes, it is confidently expected that there will be an increase of revenue upon these three schedules of at least $10,000,000 per annum.

LUMBER.

The duty on lumber is practically left undisturbed, and an aggravated tax thus continued on the whole people, and more particularly upon the distant farmers and settlers whose shelter must be brought from great distances, and the tax thus retained inures to the benefit of but a few individuals to the distress of millions.

SALT.

Bulk salt, which is now dutiable at nearly 80 per cent., is continued in the substitute at the same rate. Salt is a product of the sea and earth, which nature's God bestowed upon man for his use. So free is it in nature's plan that a little sea water exposed to the sun heat and the air, nature's own factory, and the residuum is salt. Wherever found we employ the great forces of steam and electricity instead of manual labor in preparing it for use. Why a tax should be imposed on an article so easy of production and of such prime necessity and universal use is not shown. The existing law gives free salt to the fishery interests of New England and taxes salt to the farmer and dairyman. The House bill makes salt free of tax to all.

PROVISIONS.

Macaroni and vermicelli, put upon the free-list long ago for the benefit of the poor, are now taken from the free-list and burdened with a tax of 2 cents per pound, over 35 per cent. ad valorem.

Animals, live, are made dutiable at specific rates, at $20 per head for horses and mules.

Animals for breeding purposes are now free, and over two and a quarter million dollars' worth of breeding horses were imported in the year 1887 for the purpose of improving the stock of this country, and on this importation alone the farmers of the country would pay under the proposed substitute over $300,000 more tax than now.

And other animals now paying 20 per cent. are taxed at the same rate as the more valuable breeding animals. None are benefited but the wealthy. A $10,000 coaching team of six, which cost $2,000 to import under the present law, may come in under the substitute at only $120, while six bronchos from across our southern border, worth $10 a head, which would now come in for $24, must, under the proposed substitute, pay 200 per cent.

TRUSTS.

The present tariff is the nursing mother of trusts. It is the wall behind which these combinations are formed, by which the people are plundered. Tariffs keep out the foreign competition and the combination suppresses the domestic, and the whole people are at their mercy and must pay whatever is demanded. Language is inadequate to describe the iniquity of these corporations against the rights of the people, or to depict their disastrous effects upon the general welfare. As the tariffs, which render trusts possible, are established and maintained at the special instance of those who form them, it would seem but simple justice as well as good policy to tear down as much as possible of their covert and refuse to longer aid them in wrong-doing.

They are not "private affairs," as has been asserted, but public evils of the gravest character, affecting the price of every article which contributes to the comfort and support of the people. The provisions of the substitute favor them greatly, and will serve to encourage their formation in still other branches of manufacture. Many of those belonging to trusts appeared before the Finance Committee, clamorous for such legislation as would promote their interests. They are all opposed to the House bill, which should commend it to all who condemn their methods. It is bad enough to permit those who are most interested—manufacturers—to appear before our committees and suggest the legislation they wish, but surely we should not listen to the trusts and aid them to rob with both hands.

The minority can not pass by in silence the absurd accusation that the House bill means "free trade," "the ruin of industry," and the "degradation of American labor." These charges are as false as they are misleading. How the flow of surplus money into the Treasury can be stopped without reducing the taxes which produce it no man can devise; how these taxes can be reduced without taking off from the top toward the bottom no imagination can conceive. Therefore it would seem no man can propose to cut off excessive taxation without subjecting himself to the charge of "free trade," because any reduction whatever "looks toward free trade." True, Government revenues might be reduced by making duties so high as to prohibit importations altogether; but that is the other end of the road, which increases the taxes paid to private persons. If the first method of reduction leads to free trade, the other leads to free plunder, which is worse.

Republican Presidents and Secretaries of the Treasury for years past have warned Congress of the accumulating surplus and advised the reduction of taxes. Were they all free-traders, advising the destruction of industry and the degradation of labor? The Tariff Commission of 1882, composed of nine men, eight of whom, at least, were protectionists, after perambulating all the country east of the Rocky Mountains, admitted the urgent necessity of reduction, and reported a bill which they said would lower taxes 25 per cent. They said:

> Any amelioration of the unnecessarily burdensome restrictions bearing upon the importations, provided the duties required for the equalization of the different conditions of capital and labor here and abroad are preserved, is a boon not only to commerce considered as a separate national interest, but to production.

That which, with them, was "a boon to production," when offered by the House bill becomes free trade and the ruin of production. They were not accused of free trade or hostility to labor; on the contrary their report was welcomed and applauded by the entire body of protectionists in this Chamber. The Finance Committee based its bill, which is the present law, upon it, and announced that it would reduce duties at least 20 per cent.; yet all advocates of the House bill, which reduces only 5 per cent., are free-traders, so denounced by those who in 1883 proposed a cut in duties four times as great. It is safe to say that there is not a Senator in this body, or a man in any way prominent in the councils of the Republican party in the United States, who, at one time or another, has not admitted the necessity of reducing taxes in order to stop the surplus. They are, therefore, free-traders, and desire the ruin of industry and the degradation of labor.

The minority respectfully submit that those are the enemies of industry who so enhance the cost of the raw material as to restrict its production and limit its markets; and those are its true friends who cheapen its material and enlarge its production and its markets. They further submit that those are the enemies of American labor, who supplant it with the labor of unnaturalized foreigners, whenever that can be obtained cheapest, and who receive by the law 47 per cent. from the consumer in trust for the American labor which makes their products, and fraudulently withhold more than half that trust fund from its owners, and who also lessen and restrict the amount of labor by limiting production and markets by tariffs and trusts; and that those are its true friends who seek to shut off unnatural and heathen competition, enlarge its products and markets, and to lessen for it the cost of the necessities of life.

THE WAGE SCARE.

In a country like our own, where the direction of legislation is determined by the general suffrage, it is only possible for the favored few to secure their bounties by an appeal to the multitude of wage-workers, and the enlistment of their sympathies through their interests, real or imaginary.

So far has this been done in support of the present system that the bread-winners have loaded themselves down with unnecessary and extravagant taxes in hope of fancied returns in better wages and more work, until at last it has become apparent to many at least that taxation does not enrich the man who pays the taxes, and it only needs intelligent comparison of the effects of past legislation to convince any fair-minded man of the beneficial results to be expected from a reduction of the burdens of the people.

Cotton was long ago placed upon the free-list. Did that make free-traders of those who voted for that measure? Did it reduce the wages of operatives in cotton or close the cotton-mills, or did it destroy the cotton plantations? On the contrary, we have grown more cotton than ever since that legislation; we have exported more cotton than ever. Our cotton-mills are more profitable to-day than any other, and our cotton operatives have steadier work and better wages than those who work in other mills, and we export their finished products by the hundred million yards, while protected wool has stopped one-fourth of the woolen machinery and thrown 25 per cent. of the woolen operatives out of employment.

More than a decade and a half ago hides were placed upon the free-list. Did that destroy the leather industry in this country? On the contrary we lead the world in its manufacture, save in a few minor branches, and, with largely increased population, our importations of leather have decreased and our exportations of finished products have increased.

We do import more hides than formerly because our own supply is insufficient, but this raw material furnishes labor to many hands and adds to our national wealth. We imported last year upwards of twenty-four million dollars' worth of hides free. Does that make free-traders of those who made hides free; and if $24,000,000 of free hides does not make one free-trader, does two-thirds as much free wool make free-traders of half our people?

What has happened with cotton and with hides it is confidently believed and promised will happen with free wool. Our production of wool will increase, our manufactories will revive, our woolen operatives will have steadier work and therefore better wages. Our products of woolen goods will increase and as well our exportations of woolen goods to foreign countries. Not ten years ago quinine was placed upon the free-list against protests louder and more vehement than are heard now about the wanton destruction of an honorable industry—with what re-

sult? With immensely increased production in this country, without one cent loss of wages to operatives; but, on the contrary, to their great gain, for as we now make two and a quarter million ounces it can not but mean steadier work to more employés, and the shivering consumer reaps a benefit measured not by cents but by dollars per ounce, and the only destruction which followed in the wake of this reduction was of what was then the most formidable trust in existence. The monopoly went down and legitimate manufacture prospered.

Here is a case where with benefit both to the employé and the consumer, the placing upon the free-list of a finished article was immediately followed by a wonderful cheapening of that product, and it is quite as just to claim the decline in price was entirely due to the removal of the duty as that other claim so often made, that the imposition of duty reduces prices by competition, and in proof of which is cited the general decline of prices in this country, due, as is claimed, to the tariff, ignoring the discovery of new supplies and improvements in methods of manufacture and the supplanting of manual labor in every department of life with inanimate machinery operated by natural forces intelligently controlled.

Take the agriculturist, for example, and note the fearful decline in his returns in a half dozen years. In 1886 nearly 18,500,000 acres more land was cultivated and planted in cereal crops than in 1881 and more than three-fourths of a billion more bushels of grain were raised and sold; yet, instead of receiving nearly $400,000,000 more for the extra outlay of labor and capital on lands poorer on the average than those already occupied, the farmers of the country suffered a loss in values on those grain crops alone of over $600,000,000 on that year's harvest as compared with the values of 1881.

Everything declines save the taxes, and these same farmers, who must send their surplus abroad to find a market, found, on bringing the reduced returns of their crops home, that notwithstanding they were enabled to buy foreign products slightly cheaper than before, that their taxes had been increased in that period, and that they were compelled in 1886 to pay more than $2.30 customs dues on each $100 worth imported, more than they did for like importations in 1881; and to-day those taxes are nearly $4 more per $100 worth than in 1881.

And when, in view of the above cited facts of a decline of about 33⅓ per cent. in the value of his crops in 1886 below the values of 1881, he asks that for to-morrow his taxes be made $3 less per $100 than in that same year 1881, he is met with the cry of free-trader, and that is considered argument enough.

FREE WOOL.

The minority are firmly convinced that besides the incalculable advantage to the whole country which would result from the placing of wool upon the free-list, it is easily demonstrable that no class will suffer, but that each will reap his share of the benefit.

With a consumption of 600,000,000 pounds of raw wool in 1887 and a population of 60,000,000, the average per capita consumption is easily reckoned at 10 pounds, or 50 pounds to the average family of five persons, and the Northern farmer, constantly exposed to the rigors of our winters, consumes something more than the average.

It requires from 3 to 4 pounds of raw wool to make a pound of cloth, so that from 12 to 16 pounds of woolen clothing for the family will be seen to be a low average. This is now taxed from 55 to nearly 90 per cent. The manufacturer is not benefited, because his finished product comes into competition with the foreign product made not only from untaxed wool but cheaper wool.

It is reckoned that 3½ pounds make a pound of cloth, and when the manufacturer pays 10 cents per pound duty he is supposed to be compensated therefor by the specific duty of 35 cents per pound on his woolen goods. Now, this is on the assumption that 3 pounds of raw wool make one of scoured wool; that is, that the wool shrinks in the cleaning not above 66⅔ per cent.

But many South American and other wools contain more than that proportion of foreign matter, running as high as 75 and 80 per cent. This wool our manufacturer can not buy, because his tax on the cloth would then run from 45 to 60 cents per pound, and his compensatory duty is only 35 cents. Therefore for these wools the foreign dealer finds no American competitor in the market and buys them at his own price, and these cheaper wools, untaxed and manufactured abroad, compete here with unfair advantage with our own heavily handicapped woolens, and successfully, too.

Now, if the tax be taken off wools our manufacturers at once become bidders for this wool against the foreign manufacturer, and as a certain consequence the price will rise, and this operates doubly against the foreign manufacturer. He buys his wools dearer and meets untaxed in our markets corresponding grades.

We will import more wools, of course, and in no other way can our great factories prosper, because their capacity is beyond our own wool production. When the factories are turning out more product the employés have steadier work and better wages, and, indirectly of course, the whole country is benefited.

Under the House bill the manufacturers, with free wool, secure even a higher competitive advantage over the foreign than under the present law or the substitute. The manufacturers will export woolen goods as we now export cotton and leather, and the demand for the wool will better the wool market and encourage increased production, while the average wool-grower himself will reap from cheapened clothing more benefits than he ever did from a tax on his product, which he must himself pay.

The minority, therefore, dissenting from the report of the majority, commend to the Senate and the country the bill of the House of Representatives, No. 9051, as a measure for the reduction of taxes based alike upon justice and good policy.

As the best exposition of the effect of bill H. R. 9051 upon taxation and revenue, the report of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means submitted with the bill to the House of Representatives is hereto appended, with our concurrence

ISHAM G. HARRIS.
Z. B. VANCE.
D. W. VOORHEES.

I concur in the above report, indorsing the House bill in respect to articles placed upon the free-list, but desire some modifications in the dutiable-list.

J. R. McPHERSON.

[House Report No. 1496, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

TO REDUCE TAXATION AND SIMPLIFY THE LAWS IN RELATION TO THE COLLECTION OF THE REVENUE.

April 2, 1888.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

Mr. MILLS, from the Committee on Ways and Means, submitted the following report (to accompany bill H. R. 9051):

The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the annual message of the President, calling the attention of Congress to the large surplus now in the Treasury, daily growing larger on account of the excess of receipts over expenditures, have given to the subject that careful consideration which its importance demands, and in response to his recommendations beg leave to report to the House a bill to prevent the accumulation of surplus revenue by reducing the present excessive and unjust rates of taxation imposed upon the people.

Our revenues for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, amounted to $371,403,277.66, while our expenditures for the same time, including interest and sinking fund for the public debt, amounted to $315,835,428.12; leaving a surplus of $55,567,849,54 over and above all requirements for current expenditure. The receipts for the current year up to March 1 amounted to $253,905,890, and the estimates for the remaining four months are $136,094,110; making total receipts for the year $390,000,000. The expenditures for the current year to March 1 amount to $180,594,915, and the estimates of expenditure for the remaining four months amount to $128,405,085; making a total of expenditures of $309,000,000; leaving a surplus of $81,000,000.

As our customs and internal taxes are levied on articles which go into consumption, we may expect our revenues to increase with the increase of consumption, which must keep pace with the growth of population and wealth. On the other hand, with an honest and economical administration of public affairs, our annual expenditures may be expected to decrease. The large surplus now in the Treasury, which it is estimated will exceed $150,000,000 by the 1st day of July next, together with such as may thereafter be in the Treasury, may be applied to the reduction of the debt and the payment of annual interest charge on the same.

It is, then, safe to say that the above surplus, together with the yearly purchase of bonds required by law for the sinking fund, which is an expenditure included in the annual estimates of expenditures, and not in the estimate of the surplus, will extinguish by the date of their maturity in 1891 all the outstanding 4½ per cent. bonds, amounting at this time to $234,427,250, and still leave over $60,000,000.

With receipts growing larger and expenditures growing smaller, we must soon gather into the Treasury the larger part of the circulation of the country to the great injury of its business and the bankruptcy of many of its people. Some method must be adopted by Congress to prevent the congestion which must occur under existing laws.

There are two ways in which this excessive accumulation may be prevented. We may reduce taxation to the level of expenditures and leave in the pockets of the people all moneys not needed for public purposes, or we may raise expenditures to the height of taxation, seeking out new and useless objects of appropriation on which to lavish the great and growing revenues, not needed for any legitimate wants of the public service.

If we adopt the latter course these very objects of useless expenditure will gather upon Congress in such increasing numbers and with such growing demands as to fasten upon the Government a permanent and unchangeable policy of extravagant and reckless appropriations.

This policy once adopted will not only breed corruption in public life and demoralization in private life, but will compel, in periods of depression, an increased rate of taxation for the people or an increase of bonded debt for the Government.

There is but one safe course, and that is to reduce taxation to the necessary requirements of an honest, economical, and efficient administration of Government. Having determined upon this course as the

one which a wise and just policy demands, we are confronted with the question, Upon what articles shall the reduction be made? Shall we leave our import duties as they are and repeal the internal-revenue taxes on alcoholic liquors and tobacco? Or shall we leave the internal-revenue tax as it is and make the reduction on imports alone? Or shall we reduce the taxes on both?

The committee have determined to recommend a reduction of the revenues from both customs and internal taxes. They have given the whole subject a careful and painstaking examination, and in the revision of the schedules have endeavored to act with a spirit of fairness to all interests. They have carefully kept in view at all times the interests of the manufacturer, the laborer, the producer, and the consumer.

The bill herewith reported to the House is not offered as a perfect bill. Many articles are left subject to duty which might well be transferred to the free-list. Many articles are left subject to rates of duty which might well be lessened. In both respects the bill could be improved; but in its preparation the committee have not undertaken or felt authorized to construct a new and consistent system of tariff taxation. They have dealt with the existing system, seeking to free it of much of its injustice, to simplify its provisions, to diminish its complexity, and, as far as practicable, to lighten its pressure on the taxpayer, and make it more contributory to our industrial prosperity and progress.

Furthermore, we have felt constrained to consult the opinions and give weight as far as possible to the views of our associates from different parts of the United States, always subordinate, however, to the paramount consideration of the welfare of the entire country. From the beginning of our Government tariff legislation has been based on the principles of mutual concession. The present bill does not depart from this precedent.

In the progressive growth of our manufactures, we have reached the point where our capacity to produce is far in excess of the requirements of our home consumption. As a consequence, many of our mills are closed, and many of those still in operation are running on short time. This condition is hurtful to the manufacturer, to the laborer, and producer of the materials consumed in manufacture.

The manufacturer loses the profit on his capital, the laborer loses his wages, and the producer of the materials consumed in manufacture loses the market for his products. Manufacturers in many instances, to guard against losses by low prices caused by an oversupply in the home market, are organizing trusts, combinations, and pools to limit production and keep up prices. This vicious condition of business could not exist with low duties, but is the legitimate outgrowth of prohibitory duties on imports. Prohibitory tariffs surround the country with lines of investment and prevent all relief from without, while trusts, combinations, and pools plunder the people within.

In a country like ours, prolific in its resources, where the rewards of labor ought to be large, the capitalist may by such methods keep his investments secure and still make profits; but what is to become of the laborers who are thrown out of employment by stopping the wheels of machinery and limiting the amount of product? And what is to become of the producer of the materials to be consumed by the manufacturer? When the fires are shut off, the laborer and the materials are shut off at the same time, and the market for both is gone; whether they labor in the factory or the field; whether they produce cotton, wool, hemp, flax, coal, or ore; whether the product of their daily labor is cloth, iron, steel, boots, or shoes, they must have constant employment to obtain for themselves and families the necessaries and comforts of life.

When out of employment, with earnings cut short, with low prices for their products caused by the closing of the market, they still must pay for whatever their daily wants require the prices which the trusts have fixed. What is the remedy for this wrong? It is more extended markets for the sale of our products and a constant and active competition in business. With active competition combinations and pools are impossible. With the markets of the world open to us our manufacturers may run their mills on full time, give constant employment to their laborers, with a steadily-increasing rate of wages. With the markets of the world open to the sale of their products they will create an active and constant demand for all the raw materials required in manufactures, which will stimulate, promote, and reward the wool-grower and the producer of cotton, hemp, flax, hides, ores, and other materials of manufacture. We are the largest producers of cotton in the world, we are second in the production of wool, we put on the market annually quantities of hemp and flax, and our country is full of ores and coal. What we need is manufactures enough to consume all the annual product of these materials and create an active demand for them, so that all our workmen may be constantly employed and receive high prices for their labor.

To accomplish this our manufacturers must have markets for the sale of their wares, and these markets are to be found in foreign countries as well as at home. To take the foreign market from the foreign manufacturer we must produce our goods at a lower cost than he can. The principal elements of cost are labor and material. In many of our manufactures the labor cost is lower than in any country in the world, and if the cost of materials was as low here as in foreign countries we could produce our goods more cheaply than they and largely increase our exports to foreign markets.

The annual product of our manufactories is now estimated at $7,000,000,000, of which amount we export only about $136,000,000, or less than 2 per cent. If we could obtain free of duty such raw materials as we do not produce and can only be procured in foreign countries, and mix with our home product in the various branches of manufacture, we could soon increase our exports several hundred millions. With untaxed raw materials we could keep our mills running on full time, our operatives in constant employment, and have an active demand for our raw materials in our own factories. If there should be no duty on any materials entering into manufactures many articles now made abroad would be made at home, which, while it would give more employment to our own labor, would give a better market to many articles which we produce and which enter into manufactures, such as cotton, wool, hemp, flax, and others.

With this end in view we have gone as far as we could and done what we could in the present condition of things to place our manufactures upon a firm and unshaken foundation, where they would have advantages over all the manufacturers of the world. Our manufacturers, having the advantage of all others in the intelligence, skill, and productive capacity of their labor, need only to be placed on the same footing with their rivals in having their materials at the same cost in the open markets of the world. In starting on this policy we have transferred many articles from the dutiable to the free-list. The revenues now received on these articles amount to $22,189,595.48. Three-fourths of this amount is collected on articles that enter into manufactures, of which wool and tin-plates are the most important. The revenues derived from wool during the last fiscal year amounted to $5,899,816.63, and the revenues from tin-plates to $5,706,433.89.

The repeal of all duties on wool enables us to reduce the duties on the manufactures of wool $12,332,211.65. The largest reduction we have made is in the woolen schedule, and this reduction was only made possible by placing wool on the free-list. There is no greater reason for a duty on wool than there is for a duty on any other raw material. A duty on wool makes it necessary to impose a higher duty on the goods made from wool, and the consumer has to pay a double tax. If we leave wool untaxed the consumer has to pay a tax only on the manufactured goods.

It is contended by some that if we put wool on the free-list we should also put woolen goods on the free-list. If this is sound policy we should also put cotton goods on the free-list, for raw cotton is free, and we should put silk goods on the free-list, for raw silk is free. Then where would the Government get its revenues? Duties are imposed to raise revenue, and they should be so imposed as to obtain the revenue with as little burden as possible to the tax-payer and as little disturbance as possible to the business of the country. This is accomplished by imposing the duty on the finished goods alone, and in no tariff, from the first to the last, have woolens, cottons, silks, or linens been placed on the free-list.

We say to the manufacturer we have put wool on the free-list to enable him to obtain foreign wools cheaper, make his goods cheaper, and send them into foreign markets and successfully compete with the foreign manufacturer. We say to the laborer in the factory we have put wool on the free-list so that it may be imported and he may be employed to make the goods that are now made by foreign labor and imported into the United States. We say to the consumer we have put wool on the free-list that he may have woolen goods cheaper. We say to the domestic wool-grower we have put wool on the free-list to enable the manufacturer to import foreign wool to mix with his, and thus enlarge his market and quicken the demand for the consumption of home wool, while it lightens the burden of the tax-payer.

The duty on wool now prevents nearly all the better classes of wool from coming into the country; the domestic product can supply only about one-half of the amount required for home consumption. The statistician of the Agricultural Department puts the domestic product for the year 1887 at 265,000,000 pounds. Others place it higher, but none at more than half the annual consumption of our people. It requires about 600,000,000 pounds of wool and other fibers manufactured with it, which are now paying duty, to supply the annual demands of home consumption.

Why, then, should we keep out by high duties the foreign wools so necessary to the clothing of the people? The Wool-Growers' Association asks us to put on a duty high enough to prevent the importation of all wools. The Wool-Manufacturers' Association asks us to put on a duty high enough to keep out all manufactures of wool. If Congress grants this joint request, what are the people to do for woolen clothing? Are the people to be compelled by Congress to wear cotton goods in the winter or go without, to give bounties to wool-growers and wool manufacturers?

During the last fiscal year there were 114,404,173 pounds of wool imported, and of that amount 81,504,447 were cheap carpet wool, the greater part of which paid 2½ cents per pound duty. The high duty of 10 cents per pound on the finer wools that go into clothing was so great a barrier against the importation of the better wools that only 33,099,696 pounds were imported. But our people required clothing, and if Congress puts a duty so high on wool as to keep it out, still, high as was the duty on woolen goods, $44,235,243 worth were im-

ported and consumed in this country, upon which duties were paid amounting to $29,729,717.

If the charges constantly being made are true, that great quantities of these goods are coming in undervalued, underweighed, and undermeasured, then the aggregate amount is much larger. Frauds of this character, smuggling, and bribery follow prohibitory duties just as the shadow follows the substance. These goods for the most part could be manufactured in the United States, and if the wools in them could be admitted free of duty it would give employment to many thousands of our own operatives, start into life and keep in active operation many of our factories now idle, and largely reduce the cost of these goods to the consumers.

We must find a way to foreign markets for our woolen goods. In the foreign market we must compete with the foreign producer, and in order to do so successfully we must produce our goods at a lower cost and be able to undersell the foreign product and take the market. We are now exporting only $500,000 worth of woolen goods, while England, with free wool, exports more than $100,000,000. With free wool we may not only supply the home market with the greater part of the woolen goods now imported, but we can begin to export woolen goods and soon build up a prosperous foreign trade.

We submit herewith a table showing equivalent ad valorem duties now paid on manufactures of wool—those proposed by the committee and those proposed by the joint agreement of Wool-Growers' and Wool Manufacturers' Associations, adopted in Washington, D. C., January 14, 1888:

Articles.	Present equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed equivalent ad valorem.	Proposed by convention of wool dealers, growers, and manufacturers.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals—			
Manufactures—			
Balmorals—			
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	67.72	40	111.73
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	65.59	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	68.15	40	96.50
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	66.35	40	
Belts or felts, endless, for paper or printing machines	52.87	30	78.59
Blankets—Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	79.66	40	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	63.85	40	128.76
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	69.56	40	
Valued above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	69.36	40	99.36
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	70.30	40	
Bunting	80.75	40	95.75
Carpets and carpeting of all kinds—			
Aubusson, Axminster, and Chenille carpets, and carpets woven whole for rooms	47.14	30	72.85
Brussels carpets	59.03	30	88.67
Druggets and bockings, printed, colored, or otherwise	73.92	30	123.20
Mats, screens, hassocks, and rugs, not exclusively of vegetable material	40.00	30	50.00
Of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either, or other material not specially enumerated or provided for	40.00	30	55.03
Patent velvet and tapestry velvet carpets, printed on the warp or otherwise	55.10	30	85.13
Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet carpets	54.27	30	82.36
Tapestry Brussels, printed on the warp or otherwise	61.13	30	88.76
Treble ingrain, three-ply, and worsted chain Venetian carpets	45.79	30	69.73
Yarn, Venetian, and two-ply ingrain carpets	44.70	30	68.37
Hemp and jute carpets	24.76	30	79.03
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel (except knit goods), not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other (like) animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer—			
Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes	67.74	45	83.11
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing-apparel of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, and balmoral skirts and skirting, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes	54.18	45	
Cloths, woolen—			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	89.84	40	128.33
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	68.91	40	91.30
Dress goods, women's and children's coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description—			
Composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals—			
Valued at not exceeding 20 cents per square yard	67.89	40	102.61
Valued at above 20 cents per square yard	59.06	40	71.78
Composed wholly of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of a mixture of them, and all such goods of like description, with selvages made wholly or in part of other materials, or with threads of other materials introduced for the purpose of changing the classification—			
Weighing 4 ounces or less per square yard	82.96	40	107.28
All weighing over 4 ounces per square yard	69.68	40	92.40
Flannels—Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	73.42	40	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	66.20	40	121.39
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	67.69	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	67.65	40	108.66
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	73.02	40	
Hats of wool—Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound		40	134.54
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	73.04	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	66.22	40	69.77
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	52.07	40	
Knit goods, and all goods made on knitting frames—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	88.33	40	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	65.20	40	125.71
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	69.14	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	69.62	40	83.29
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	62.58	40	
Shawls, woolen—			
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	88.44	40	126.32
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	65.41	40	84.19
Composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals	61.53	40	.....
Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head nets, buttons or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments, wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals is a component material	66.21	50	77.00
Yarns, woolen and worsted—			
Valued at not exceeding 60 cents per pound	69.40	40	116.69
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	67.90	40	
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	68.08	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	69.08	40	117.11
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	68.79	40	
All manufactures of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, made wholly or in part of—			
Wool—Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	88.81	40	126.87
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	64.46	40	84.93
Worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals (except such as are composed in part of wool)—			
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	76.49	40	123.10
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	69.38	40	
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	68.28	40	
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	68.15	40	112.65
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	71.99	40	

From the above table it will be seen that the wool-growers and wool-manufacturing association are clamoring for higher taxes. The contest in the woolen schedule is not between the present rate and the rate proposed by the committee, but between the rate proposed by the committee and the schedule agreed upon by the Wool-Growers' Association and Wool-Manufacturers' Association. The committee propose free wool and a reduction from present rates to 40 per cent. ad valorem on all manufactures except carpets, which were made dutiable at 30 per cent.; ready-made clothing at 45 per cent., and webbings, gorings, etc., at 50 per cent. The joint agreement of the two associations proposes to increase the present rates to 128 per cent. on some of the cheaper cloths; to 102 per cent. on the cheaper grades of women's and children's dress goods when composed in part of wool, and to 107 per cent. when composed wholly of wool; on cheaper grades of flannels to 121 per cent.; on cheaper grades of wool hats to 134 per cent.; on cheaper grades of knit goods to 125 per cent.; on cheaper grades of woolen shawls to 126 per cent.; on woolen blankets to 128 per cent.

These rates, high as they are, are not the highest that are imposed on all woolen goods by the joint agreement. They are only the highest rate on the lowest valued goods, as shown in the agreement. All goods at a lower value are taxed at a still higher rate.

This most extraordinary schedule has been made and agreed upon by the two parties named, and it has been introduced into the House and referred to this committee.

In the woolen schedule we have substituted ad valorem for specific duties. The specific duty is the favorite of those who are to be benefited by high rates, who are protected against competition, and protected in combinations against the consumer of their products. There is a persistent pressure by manufacturers for the specific duty because it conceals from the people the amount of taxes they are compelled to pay to the manufacturer.

The specific duty always discriminates in favor of the costly article and against the cheaper one, and therefore it imposes a heavier burden as it goes down from the highest priced articles to the lowest. This discrimination is peculiarly oppressive in woolen and cotton goods, which are necessaries of life to all classes of people. In order that this fact may be clearly seen and comprehended we append a table taken from the first annual report of the Commissioner of Labor (page 251):

This table states the description of the goods, their width in inches, and the weight per yard of each kind; the price of the goods at the factory; the rate and the amount of duty per pound and ad valorem, and the total amount of duty levied under the compound rate; and also the per cent. which the total duty is of the price per yard at the factory in England.

Price per yard of Leeds (England) woolen and mixed goods, duties, etc.

Name.	Description.		Price at factory.	Duty.						Cost in New York, not including packing, carriage to port, ocean freight, and insurance.
				Rate.		Amount.				
	Width (inches).	Weight (ounces).		Per pound.	Ad valorem (per cent.).	Per pound.	Ad valorem.	Total.	Per cent. of price at factory.	
West of England broadcloth	60	17	$3.60	$0.35	40	$0.372	$1.440	$1.812	50.3	$5.412
Fine worsted trousering	28	11	1.62	.35	40	.241	.648	.889	54.9	2.509
Imitation sealskin (mohair and cotton)	50	31	4.50	.35	40	.678	1.800	2.478	55.0	6.978
West of England beaver	58	25	3.36	.35	40	.547	1.344	1.891	56.3	5.251
West of England all-wool Moscow	58	29	3.60	.35	40	.634	1.440	2.074	57.6	5.674
Fine worsted coating	56	24	2.88	.35	40	.525	1.152	1.677	58.2	4.557
Fine worsted trousering	28	12	1.42	.35	40	.263	.568	.831	58.5	2.251
Indigo blue Cheviot coating	58	28	2.40	.35	40	.612	.960	1.572	65.5	3.972
Low worsted coating (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	24	.82	.18	35	.270	.287	.557	68.0	1.377
Low worsted trousering (woolen back)	28	11	.48	.24	35	.165	.168	.333	69.4	.813
Ottoman (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	27	.82	.18	35	.304	.287	.591	72.0	1.411
Matelesse (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	28	.84	.18	35	.315	.294	.609	72.5	1.449
Mantle cloth (worsted face, woolen back, cotton warp)	50	24	.68	.18	35	.270	.238	.508	74.7	1.188
Wool, fancy suiting	54	25	.94	.35	35	.547	.329	.876	93.2	1.816
Cotton-warp cloth	50	15	.54	.35	35	.328	.189	.517	95.7	1.057
Fancy coating	54	23	.78	.35	35	.503	.273	.776	99.5	1.556
Fancy Cheviot	54	25	.82	.35	35	.547	.287	.834	101.7	1.654
Wool, fancy suiting	54	22	.70	.35	35	.481	.245	.725	103.7	1.426
Diagonal Cheviot	54	25	.76	.35	35	.547	.266	.813	107.0	1.573
Common blue Cheviot coating	52	25	.72	.35	35	.547	.252	.799	111.0	1.519
Cotton-warp Moscow	52	35	.96	.35	35	.766	.336	1.102	114.8	2.062
Cotton-warp cloth	52	25	.64	.35	35	.547	.224	.771	120.5	1.411
Cotton-warp twilled Melton	50	16½	.42	.35	35	.361	.147	.508	121.0	.928
Cotton-warp Moscow	52	30	.74	.35	35	.656	.259	.915	123.6	1.655
Cotton-warp cloth	50	13	.32	.35	35	.284	.112	.396	123.7	.716
Fancy overcoating (cotton warp)	50	34	.82	.35	35	.744	.287	1.031	125.7	1.851
Cotton-warp reversible	50	31	.74	.35	35	.678	.259	.937	1 6.6	1.677
Fancy overcoating (cotton warp)	50	32	.76	.35	35	.700	.266	.966	127.0	1.726
Cotton-warp coating	50	17	.40	.35	35	.372	.140	.512	128.0	.912
Imitation sealskin (calf hair mixed with wool, cotton warp)	50	28	.56	.35	35	.612	.196	.808	144.3	1.368
Cotton-warp coating	50	23	.46	.35	35	.503	.161	.664	144.3	1.124
Cotton-warp Melton	50	13	.24	.35	35	.284	.084	.368	153.3	.608
Cotton-warp serge Melton	50	15½	.26	.35	35	.339	.091	.430	165.4	.690
Reversible diagonal (cotton warp)	50	29	.48	.35	35	.634	.168	.802	167.1	1.282
Reversible nap (cotton warp)	50	29	.44	.35	35	.634	.154	.788	179.1	1.228
Cotton-warp reversible	50	30	.45	.35	35	.656	.157	.813	180.7	1.263

This table is well worthy of careful study. In examining the figures given in the column headed "Price at factory" and the column headed "Per cent. of price at factory," which the total duty amounts to, the startling inequalities in the rate of duty to be paid in this country becomes apparent. The highest priced goods named in the table is West of England broadcloth, worth $3.60 per yard in Leeds, the specific duty being 35 cents per pound and the ad valorem duty 40 per cent., making a total of 50.3 per cent. on the value at the factory. This is on a high grade of goods. In looking at the bottom of the table the last entry is for cotton-warp reversible cloth made in imitation of a better kind. It is worth but 45 cents per yard at the factory. The specific duty is the same as on the West of England broadcloth, 35 cents per pound, the ad valorem duty is 35 per cent., but the specific duty and the ad valorem duty together make the rate on the price at the factory 180.7 per cent. That is to say, the cheaper the goods at the factory the greater is the proportional increment of duty. The column headed "Per cent. of price at factory," which shows the percentage that the duty is of the factory price, brings this cut clearly.

The above table shows the true nature of specific duties, and the consumer can see why it is that manufacturers clamor for them. They know the different values of these goods, and what apt words will embrace the high and low priced together, and make the poorer people pay the same tax for a yard of cloth worth 45 cents that the wealthy do for a yard that costs $3.66; but that fact the specific tariff conceals. The ad valorem rate taxes everything according to its value. A duty of 40 per cent. ad valorem would have imposed a tax of $1.44 on the yard of broadcloth and 18 cents on the cotton-warp cloth that cost 45 cents, and the duty would have been fair to both. As it is, the tax is 180 per cent. on the cheap cloth and 50 per cent. on the high-priced broadcloth.

In the cotton-goods schedule we see the same "vicious, inequitable, and illogical" results of the specific duty. As an illustration, we refer to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the revision of the tariff, February 16, 1886, pages 84, 85, 86, and 87. It will be seen in his report, by the tables sent to him by persons dealing in cotton goods imported into the United States from foreign countries, that cheap goods costing 3.55 cents per yard pay 176 per cent. duty, while those costing 8.12 cents per yard pay 77 per cent. duty; and goods that cost 4 cents per yard pay a duty of 94 per cent., while those that cost 2 cents per yard pay a duty of 208 per cent. These inequalities run throughout the whole specific system. It is that feature that specially commends it to

the manufacturer of the competing article. As these excessive rates are thought to be more hurtful in cotton and woolen goods than in the articles embraced in the other schedules, the committee have substituted the ad valorem for the specific duties as to all articles in the woolen schedule, and in all, except yarns, in the cotton schedules.

In 1789 a duty was imposed on imported hemp, and in 1828 on imported flax, and while at intervals these fibers were imported free without harm to the American producer, yet since 1842 American flax and hemp have been "protected," and this necessitated the imposition of duties upon all manufactures from these and like fibers.

In spite of these duties American hemp has decreased in the amount of production from 74,493 tons in 1860 to 5,025 tons in 1880, as shown by the census reports of those two years, and flax from 7,709,676 pounds in 1850 to 1,565,546 pounds in 1880. But the demand and necessity for the products manufactured from these and similar fibers has greatly increased, and the importations of the raw material and of the finished product have necessarily equally increased.

Formerly every pound of American cotton was covered with bagging and tied with rope made from American hemp; now over 50,000,000 yards of cotton bagging manufactured from imported jute butts are used to cover the 7,000,000 bales of American cotton which are tied with iron cotton-ties, while the present mode of harvesting the immense grain crop of the country requires about 33,000 tons of twine, nearly all of which is made from imported material. So that, in the effort to "protect" probably 8,000 tons of American hemp and 1,500,000 pounds of American flax, a tax larger than the entire value of both these products is imposed on cotton and wheat, whose price to the producer is fixed in the foreign market, where they come in competition with cotton raised in India and wheat raised in foreign countries.

Your committee have put all these fibers upon the free-list, thereby relieving the goods manufactured in America of the tax, amounting last year to $1,930,340 on raw material. It has also put on the free-list burlaps not exceeding 60 inches in width, none of which is made in America, and of which last year there was imported $3,260,117.40 worth, upon which were levied and paid $978,035.22. It has reduced the duties on all the manufactures from these fibers, so that, except on a very few articles, no duty is higher than 25 per cent., and some as low as 15 per cent. The aggregate estimated reduction on this schedule is $4,766,846.88.

Your committee feel assured that no industry will be injured by this reduction of taxation, while it will enable the American manufacturer to compete on equal terms with his rivals, will reduce the cost of production of cotton and wheat, and will cheapen to the consumer the goods which he must purchase.

The duty on sugar is nearly a revenue tax, about 85 per cent. of it being purely a tax paid into the public Treasury; and all the sugars used in America are refined in this country. Your committee desired, in reducing the revenue received from this source, not to endanger the profitable production and refining of sugar here, and yet to prevent oppression by trusts and combinations. After much consideration, we now recommend that the revenue received from sugar be reduced by reducing the rates 20 per cent.

This reduction of rates on all sugars above No. 13 will render possible the importation of foreign refined sugars, so as to prevent exorbitant prices and protect consumers against combinations.

In the earthen and glass ware schedules we have made fair reductions, the larger part of these articles, such as common earthenware and window-glass, being necessary articles of consumption by the great body of the people, and especially the laboring classes. Ornamented china and decorated earthenware we have reduced from 60 to 45 per cent., common earthenware from 60 to 35 per cent., and window-glass from 82 and 106 to 62 and 68 per cent.

In the metal schedule the most important reduction is in steel railway bars, which are now dutiable at $17 per ton, and by the proposed bill at $11 a ton. This is a reduction of about 35 per cent. ad valorem. This reduction will be of great value in promoting and cheapening the construction of railroads and lowering the rates of transportation of freight. Two years ago steel rails sold in this country at $27 a ton. The manufacturers during last year ran the price up to $40. The present price is $31.50. Last year 12,724 miles of railroad were constructed in the United States, which required 1,300,000 tons of rails. It is therefore patent that, by reason of the present exorbitant duty of $17 a ton, the manufacturers were able to raise the price more than $8.50 a ton. They were therefore able to realize, over and above a legitimate profit, more than $11,000,000.

This sum was an increase in the cost of construction, upon which the farmers must pay interest and dividends by way of increased freights upon their wheat, cotton, corn, and other products. The price of rails on board of ship in Liverpool last year was $21; adding freight, the cost of same without duty in this country was $23.50. The duty fixed by the committee, $11, would increase the price to $34.50, or $3 above the price for which American rails are now selling. It is therefore apparent that the rate of duty allowed by the committee is more than enough to compensate our manufacturers for the difference in cost between the American and foreign product.

While we have been constrained to leave high duties on almost all the articles we have touched—duties higher than any necessity either of revenue or of difference of cost of American over foreign products required—we have felt that we ought to give some relief to other branches of industry not benefited by high duties imposed for private purposes. A large number of our people are interested in manufacturing tin, and others in putting up meats, fish, fruit, vegetables, oils, and other articles in manufactures of tin. Many of these products are exported and many consumed at home. During the last fiscal year there were imported into the United States 570,643,389 pounds of tin-plate, valued at $16,883,813.95, on which duties were paid amounting to $5,706,433.89.

We are informed that the value of the salmon caught in the Columbia River, Oregon, and canned and exported during the last fiscal year, amounted to nearly $2,000,000, while the lard that was canned and exported exceeded $14,000,000, and the fruits and meats exceeded $4,000,000. We believe that the removal of the duty on tin-plate would reduce the cost of these and other canned goods now being exported, and give to our people engaged in that trade such an advantage in the foreign market as would effectually overcome all competition, and enable them to hold the market and build up a large foreign trade.

The exporter, under existing law, has a drawback of 90 per cent. of the duty paid on tin-plate, but the repeal of the duty would give him the remaining 10 per cent., and enable him to sell so much lower and give him additional advantage over his foreign competitor. Besides this, the consumers of canned goods at home would obtain them at a reduced price.

The manufacture of tin cans is growing into an extensive industry in the United States. More than 150,000,000 cans are made per year in the city of Baltimore alone, while New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other Northern cities produce large quantities of articles manufactured from tin-plate.

We have placed cotton ties also on the free-list. The duties received from them during the last fiscal year were $121,098.99. Cotton is our largest exporting product. The price is so low, and has been for a number of years, that it hardly pays the cost of producing it, and the committee felt that it was a proper subject for consideration while they were repealing taxes and reducing the surplus revenue of the Government. To our farmers in the Middle and Northern States, engaged in raising hogs and selling their products, we have made salt free of duty and released revenues amounting to $676,865.50. To the people who are settling up the vast prairies of the West, inclosing their lands and building farm-houses, we have made lumber free, and removed duties amounting to $1,039,207.35.

The bill which the committee reports provides for the repeal of all restrictions on the sale of tobacco by the producer, and for the repeal of all taxes on tobacco except on cigars, cigarettes, and cheroots, and of all privilege and license taxes except those for manufacturing and selling cigars, cigarettes, and cheroots. The repeal of special and privilege taxes is also recommended. These taxes have been a fruitful source of the petty prosecutions which have crowded the Federal court dockets in some portions of the country. It is not believed that their retention is essential to the efficient collection of the revenue, and they should no longer be retained.

The changes in the administrative features of the present law are fully shown by the letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated March 14, 1888, and the reductions in the internal revenue will be shown by the letter of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, dated March 12, 1888, both of which are hereto appended.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., March 14, 1888.

SIR: Mr. Talbott, clerk of your committee, has presented me copies, respectively, of the proposed bill "to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue," and of the tables relating to the same, with the request that I communicate to you my views as to probable effect the adoption of the administrative sections of the bill would have upon the revenue, and also that I cause the computations in the tables to be verified, and footings of the column of "values" therein to be made by experts in this Department.

With regard to the effect sections 5 to 23 of the bill would have upon the revenue, I have to advise you as follows:

1. The proposed substitute for section 2499 Revised Statutes would not, it is thought, affect the revenue one way or the other further than to prevent loss of duties by securing uniformity of action in the classification of merchandise.

2. The tendency of the amendment to "Schedule A," respecting "anhydrous alcohol," etc., would be to restrict importations of the article. This would not, however, affect the revenue appreciably, as the importations are trifling in amount.

3. The amendment to the free-list as to "articles of growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States," etc., would not apparently affect the revenue.

4. The amendment relating to "wearing apparel, personal effects," etc., would naturally result in an increase of revenue. But there is no definite basis for determining such increase. It would probably not fall short, however, of $500,000 per annum.

5. While the effect of section 6 would be to increase the dutiable value of merchandise subject to ad valorem duties, its tendency, at the same time, would be to restrict speculative importations, which have been stimulated by the opportunities for evasion afforded by the present law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court and construed by the Attorney-General. The section would not, therefore, in my opinion, operate to increase materially, if at all, the aggregate amount of revenue collected.

No better illustration of the unreliability of mere individual opinions concerning the probable effect upon the revenue of tariff legislation can be cited than the estimates given by the customs officers of the amount required to pay refunds due importers under the Oberteuffer decision, respecting coverings, and

the annual reduction of duties on this account. These estimates, as to the amount necessary to pay refunds, were from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000, while the annual reduction of duties was variously estimated at from $6,000,000 to $10,000,000.

It is now practically ascertained that the amount actually paid and to be paid as refunds covering a period of near three years will not exceed $2,000,000, while the importations and revenue have largely increased, due doubtless in some measure to the opportunity for evasions as above stated.

6. Sections 7 and 8 are calculated to promote orderly administration and the convenience of importers, but will not, it is thought, have any positive effect upon the revenue.

7. The effect of section 9 would be (1) to abolish the 10 per cent. additional duty now collected (under sec. 2970, R. S.) on merchandise remaining in bond more than one year, amounting approximately to $35,000 per annum; and (2) to reduce the revenue by reason of the assessment of duties on the quantity of merchandise withdrawn from warehouse instead of on the quantity actually imported and entered originally, as required by existing law (sec. 2983, R. S.). The amount of such reduction can not be estimated. It would certainly be considerable, and might be very large. The tendency of the proposed amendments would be to increase the volume of goods warehoused and the consequent liability of loss of duties thereon.

8. There is nothing in sections 10 or 11 apparently calculated to affect the revenue.

9. Section 12 abolishes fees collected on entry of merchandise only. As these fees are not separately reported to the Department, there is no ready means of ascertaining the exact amount thereof. It may be safely assumed, however, that the reduction on this account would not exceed $375,000 per annum.

10. The tendency and effect of sections 13 to 18, inclusive, would be to prevent fraudulent attempts upon the revenue, and to insure a more strict and honest enforcement of the tariff laws. Whatever increased duties might result from such improved administrations would probably be offset by a decrease of speculative importations made with a view of defrauding the revenue.

11. SEC. 19. There being no available data for determining the precise amount of duties remitted on account of damage, the exact effect of this section upon the revenue can not be stated. A certain proportion of the merchandise on which damage is now allowed would be abandoned under this section and no duties collected thereon. Another result of this section would be to prevent the importation of any but sound goods, and especially to discourage the shipment, now common, of damaged fruits, nuts, and other such articles, upon which large damage allowances are now made. In any event it is not thought the section would affect the revenue to exceed $500,000 annually. Its great advantage would be to protect honest importers and stop frauds.

I inclose herewith copy of the tables on which footings have been made as requested. With the exception of a few unimportant errors these tables, as printed, appear to be arithmetically correct.

Respectfully, yours,

C. S. FAIRCHILD, *Secretary.*

Hon. R. Q. MILLS.
Chairman Committee on Ways and Means,
House of Representatives.

Estimate of effect of proposed bill on revenues, based on importations of 1887.

Free-list.	Importations of 1887.		Average ad valorem under—	
	Values.	Duties.	Present.	Proposed.
			Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Wood, salt, hemp, chemicals, metals, etc.	$61,672,120.42	$16,799,450.75	27.24	.....
Wool	18,206,987.97	5,390,654.73	29.60	.....
Total free-list	79,879,108.39	22,189,595.48	27.78	.....

Schedules (dutiable).	Importations of 1887.		Estimated—			
	Values.	Duties.	Duties under proposed bill.	Amount of duties remitted.		
A. Chemicals	$5,050,325.28	$2,012,120.51	$1,133,846.78	$878,273.73	39.84	22.45
B. Earthenware and glassware	10,492,067.32	6,920,108.16	5,163,820.44	1,756,287.72	65.96	49.21
C. Metals	16,152,789.24	8,456,847.29	6,976,374.70	1,480,472.59	52.35	43.19
D. Wood and wooden ware	889,558.56	307,805.13	260,217.95	47,587.18	34.60	29.25
E. Sugar	68,897,102.27	56,515,601.67	45,223,513.73	11,292,087.94	82.04	65.64
F. Tobacco	26,441.00	21,567.00	10,064.60	11,502.40	81.57	38.06
G. Provisions	3,235,987.68	1,711,805.92	1,380,320.92	331,485.00	52.89	42.65
I. Cotton and cotton goods	2,423,585.23	1,283,599.57	955,989.28	277,610.29	50.90	40.00
J. Hemp, jute, and flax goods	17,434,514.05	6,223,310.41	4,185,954.62	2,042,355.79	35.72	24.01
K. Wool and woolens	42,448,127.04	29,256,442.90	16,925,861.70	12,330,581.20	68.92	39.87
M. Books, papers, etc	57,298.01	13,982.25	10,425.35	3,556.90	24.40	18.19
N. Sundries	11,221,253.04	4,984,936.33	3,905,795.33	1,079,141.00	44.42	34.79
Total dutiable	178,329,048.72	117,663,127.14	86,132,185.40	31,530,941.74	65.98	48.30
Total free-list	79,879,108.39	22,189,505.48	.....	22,189,505.48	27.78	.....
Total tariff reductions	258,208,157.11	139,852,632.62	86,132,185.40	53,720,447.22	54.16	33.36
Total internal-revenue reduction	.....	.....	.....	24,455,607.00	.....	.....
Total proposed reduction	.....	.....	.....	78,176,054.22	.....	.....

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, March 12, 1888.

Estimated reduction of internal taxation under the provisions of "A bill to repeal certain tobacco and other taxes, and to modify internal-revenue laws."

Total receipts from tobacco, fiscal year 1887		$30,108,067
Deduct cigars and cigarettes	$12,157,196	
Deduct special taxes manufacturers of cigars 18,570×$3=	55,710	
Deduct special taxes dealers in tobacco 514,000×$1=	514,000	
		12,726,906
Receipts from proposed repealed sources, fiscal year 1887		17,381,161
The increase in the receipts of that part of the tobacco tax which this bill proposes to repeal during the first seven months of the current fiscal year over the receipts for the corresponding period of the last fiscal year was $1,234,101, or 13 per cent. Assuming that this rate of increase will continue to the close of the fiscal year, the receipts from these objects of taxation would be increased		2,259,551
Special taxes retail liquor dealers, fiscal year 1887		4,587,268
Special taxes retail dealers in malt liquors, fiscal year 1887		177,148
Special taxes manufacturers of stills and stills manufactured, fiscal year 1887		3,721
Add for assessed penalties		41,758
Add for interest clause in section 10, say		5,000
Total estimated reduction		24,455,607

JOSEPH S. MILLER, *Commissioner.*

THE VIEWS OF HON. JAMES B. BECK, OF THE MINORITY OF THE COMMITTEE.

Not having seen the bill proposed by the Republican majority of the Finance Committee of the Senate until within the last few days, and having no idea what sort of report will accompany it, except that it is announced in the public press that it will contain an elaborate and bitter attack on the propositions and principles contained in the bill that came from the House of Representatives, and being further advised that the views of the minority are expected to be ready promptly, as the subject will be brought before the Senate very soon, I can only enter my protest against the principles presented by the Republican majority of the Senate committee, and give in a general way the reasons I have for supporting the principles presented by the House bill. That bill is an earnest effort to reduce taxation by diminishing the cost of the raw materials used by American manufacturers, so as to enable them to compete in the markets of the world with their foreign competitors who produce similar goods. It proceeds upon the recognized fact that raw materials are not consumed in that form, but are necessary for the production of commodities to which the industry of the country may be properly applied; and it is an honest effort to reduce the cost to the American consumer of the goods which they must necessarily have, retaining, as far as possible, such taxes as are imposed upon articles which the people may use or not just as they please, and the proceeds of which taxation, less the cost of collection, reaches the Treasury of the United States. It seeks to promote trade with all the world, to restore and build up our lost commercial marine, and thus exchange commodities with other people upon somewhat fair and equal terms.

The struggle of the majority of the Senate Committee on Finance seems to be—its effect certainly is—to close our ports as far as possible against commerce from abroad, to make our people dependent for their supplies upon the products of the machinery of the home manufacturer, by limiting and restricting their right to use manufactured articles to such as American producers furnish and at such prices as they see fit to exact, the obvious effect being to surrender to other nations the trade and commerce of the outside world and subject our exports to such extortions in freight charges as combinations of foreign ship-owners see fit to exact. The Senate substi-

tute, when carefully examined, will show that in every feature of it it aims to increase the cost of the goods he needs to the home consumer, and to close the markets of the world against imports and exports as well, except such as are purely agricultural and have to be sold abroad for any price they will bring in free open market with foreign competition. Under it we can have no successful commerce, no return cargoes, indeed, no ships in the foreign trade, and no sailors except such as hover around our coasts protected by the combinations and monopolies in our coastwise trade where all competition is excluded.

This attempt by the majority of the committee to restore specific instead of ad valorem rates simply means, no matter what pretenses may be set up, that the goods used by the poor shall be taxed out of all proportion to those used by the rich, and that the people shall derive no benefits and no reduction of taxation from the invention of new machinery or economic processes made or devised, either at home or abroad, which cheapen the cost of the production of goods. Specific rates exclude the consumer from all benefit of all the progress of science, skill, and invention in cheapening production, while the blanket that costs $1, which only the poor buy, pays the same tax as the blanket that costs $3; and, as the committee were shown in New York on our visit there to prepare a bill to guard against undervaluation, the bridal veil costing $2,000 in Paris would pay no more tax than the imitation article which cost $50. All that, however, is in the interest of the combinations of wealth and power, which alone seem to be worthy of consideration by the majority of the committee. They need no ships, they need no commerce, they seek to exclude imports which may compete with them, and they refuse to sell their goods at such prices as the people abroad will buy them at; therefore the seas might as well, for their purpose, be oceans of fire instead of God-given highways for the world's commerce. The right to plunder all our people is all they ask; that seems to be the object which the majority of the Finance Committee, by their bill, endeavor to attain.

The question now presented is not one of temporary taxation. The pretenses upon which high-tariff taxes are now demanded will be as strong fifty years hence as they are at present. It is no longer infant industries that are clamoring. The manufacturers are stalwart giants now, with machinery equal to the best in the world, and much of it imported from foreign countries and owned by foreigners, who bring it and their workmen here to secure the subsidy Congress gives them, as was confessed by the men engaged in the bagging conspiracy and by many others who appeared before the committee, as their statements show. They control this market against foreign-made goods, and with their machinery at home control all foreign markets against our products.

The Republicans now confess in their platform and the measures they advocate that they never intend that American goods shall be sent for sale into foreign markets, because they know that the ground upon which they demand protection, to wit, the difference in wages here and in other countries, will continue for generations to come, so long indeed as the free lands of this continent are open to homestead settlers. Their affected interest in American labor is simply a false pretense; their whole course has been opposed to the interests of labor, as shown from the time the high war tariffs were enacted and laws were passed by them for the importation of foreign contract labor from all parts of the earth at the lowest foreign wages, duty free, which allowed the employer of the foreign pauper laborer to follow his serfs out like a sleuth-hound if he dared to run away, and to sell his humble homestead over his head unless he worked for the pauper wages he had, in ignorance of our wage-rates, agreed while in Asia or Europe to take. The country is well advised of the desperate struggles they made to obtain and retain Chinese labor to the exclusion of American workmen. Their efforts in that direction became so flagrant that even Republican Senators had to rise in the Senate and denounce their action.

In 1882, during the discussion of the Chinese question, Senator John F. Miller, Republican, from California, said:

> The average American manufacturer is interested generally in two things, namely, the highest protective tariff, and the cheapest labor. * * * It is not difficult to perceive the origin of that political economy which suggests high protective tariff and at the same time advocates the admission of servile laborers into this country without limit. It means high prices for the products of manufacture and low prices for the labor which produces them; the aggrandizement of capital and the debasement of labor; greater wealth to the wealthy and greater poverty to the poor.

Before the discussion on this bill closes, and I hope it will be full and exhaustive, the country will see how false their pretenses now are. No man has denounced high protective taxes or praised the low Democratic revenue tariff of 1846 and shown its advantages to all the interests of the country better or more elaborately than the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], as the records show. Even the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], in the Forty-second Congress (Globe, first session, No. 1, page 34), moved to put salt on the free-list, and expressed a desire (page 80) to have coal added to his proposition. The measure was passed by a vote of 147 to 47, and the amendment of Mr. Farnsworth to Mr. HALE'S free-salt proposition (page 90), made at Mr. HALE'S suggestion, making coal free, also passed by a vote of 130 to 57, many Republicans now in the Senate voting for both propositions. And notwithstanding the demand now so earnestly made for free tobacco in every form, when the Democrats of the Senate in 1883 were insisting upon a reduction of the tobacco tax to 8 cents per pound the Republican party were almost a unit in opposition to it, their candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Harrison,* saying among other things:

> I believe that we can not enter into the general subject of tariff reduction, and we ought not perhaps to reduce much now the taxes on those three articles which I believe the common concurrent consent and common sense of all the people agree should be the last subjects of internal revenue—I mean whisky, beer, and tobacco. I do not announce a doctrine from which I expect any general dissent, certainly not on the Democratic side of the Chamber. * * * I come then to say that, in supporting this measure from our Finance Committee, we are reducing our internal-revenue taxes to those three articles which by common consent should remain, at least till the indefinite future, upon our list of products upon which excise taxes are to be levied.—*Congressional Record*, page 6250, part 6, volume 13, Forty-seventh Congress, first session.

And the distinguished Senator from Ohio, Mr. SHERMAN, opposed the same proposition in language as strong as he knew how to employ, saying, among other things:

> Senators on the other side may think from the vote—I can almost refer to it as a party vote, though it is not entirely a party vote—that they can make political capital by reducing the tax on tobacco. I do not believe it. I believe the plain people of this country, as Mr. Lincoln called them, see through it. They are willing to pay the tax on tobacco, on whisky, and on beer. They are the only internal taxes that they are willing to pay, and I am willing to let these three taxes stand as they are until we can gradually reduce them as the condition of our revenue may allow. Strip your internal revenue of all other classes, even if to do so does benefit some of the banks, even if it does repeal taxes that might be kept on a little while longer with no very great injury; yet it confines the system to these three articles, which in every country are the subjects of taxation. Then spread the balance of your reduction on the external taxes, and do what little good you can until the tariff commission enables us to reduce the whole system of external taxes. * * *

Again he said:

> But do not give away of our surplus revenue more than half of it on an article which is the proper source of revenue, the legitimate subject of taxation, on which the tax is more cheerfully paid and more easily collected than on any other in the whole range or gamut of taxes.

And when on my motion the right was demanded to allow the producer of tobacco to sell $100 of his own product, it raised a storm of indignation among all the Republican Senators, who are now so clamorous for the protection of the producers of tobacco, that a person who either listened to the debate or reads it now would suppose that the country would have been ruined by even allowing them the slight privilege which was given them by the votes mainly of the Democratic party.

The pretense that they are going to aid chemists, machinists, and others by giving them free alcohol is also a sudden conversion, because every report that has been made by the Treasury Department from the time of Secretary Sherman to the present shows that any effort to do that would simply be the breaking down of all barriers against fraud in the collection of revenue on distilled spirits. It would, however, have the effect which perhaps is desired by the Republican gentlemen who deny the existence of trusts, of giving the whisky trust of Peoria, Ill., the right to sell their alcohol at any price they please free from all competition at home or abroad.

But I do not propose now to argue the details of the bill. That, as I have said, will be done to the satisfaction of the country before it leaves the Senate. I shall therefore confine myself to a general statement of the reasons why I support the measure as it came from the House, and oppose that as now presented by the majority of the Finance Committee.

The President of the United States, in his letter of acceptance, has stated the position of his party in regard to taxation and the principles that ought to govern it so clearly that I do not know how better to begin a statement of those principles than to quote a few extracts from that letter.

The President says:

> Our Government is the creation of the people, established to carry out their designs and accomplish their good. It was founded on justice, and was made for free, intelligent, and virtuous people. It is only useful when within their control, and only serves them well when regulated and guided by their constant touch. It is a free government because it guaranties to every American citizen the unrestricted personal use and enjoyment of all the reward of his toil and of all his income except what may be his fair contribution to necessary public expense.
>
> Therefore it is not only the right but the duty of a free people in the enforcement of this guaranty, to insist that such expense should be strictly limited to the actual public needs. It seems perfectly clear that when the Government, this instrumentality created and maintained by the people to do their bidding, turns upon them and through an utter perversion of its powers extorts from their labor and capital tribute largely in excess of public necessities, the creature has rebelled against the creator and the masters are robbed by their servants. The cost of the Government must continue to be met by tariff duties collected at our custom-houses upon imported goods, and by internal-revenue taxes assessed upon spirituous and malt liquors, tobacco, and oleomargarine.
>
> I suppose, too, it is well understood that the effect of this tariff taxation is not limited to the consumers of imported articles, but that the duties imposed upon such articles permit a corresponding increase in price to be laid upon domestic productions of the same kind, which increase, paid by all our people as consumers of home productions and entering every American home, constitutes a form of taxation as certain and as inevitable as though the amount was annually paid into the hands of a tax-gatherer. These results are inseparable from the plan we have adopted for the collection of our revenue by tariff duties.
>
> And yet this is our condition. We are annually collecting at our custom-houses and by means of our internal-revenue taxation many millions in excess of all legitimate needs. As a consequence there now remains in the national Treasury a surplus of more than $130,000,000. No better evidence could be furnished than

*Seeking to confine the reduction to taxes on banks, matches, and patent medicines.

that the people are exorbitantly taxed. The extent of the superfluous burden indicated by this surplus will be better appreciated when it is suggested that such surplus alone represents taxation aggregating more than $108,000 in a county containing 50,000 inhabitants.

Taxation has always been the feature of organized government the hardest to reconcile with the people's ideas of freedom and happiness. When presented in a direct form nothing will arouse popular discontent more quickly and profoundly than unjust and unnecessary taxation. Our farmers, mechanics, laborers, and all our citizens closely scan the slightest increase in the taxes assessed upon their lands and other property, and demand good reasons for such an increase. And yet they seem to be expected, in some quarters, to regard the unnecessary volume of insidious and indirect taxation visited upon them by our present rate of tariff duties with indifference, if not with favor.

General Harrison, in his letter, controverts all the positions taken by the Democratic party, but states the truth very pointedly when he says: "It is not a contest between schedules, but between wide-apart principles." In that I agree with him, and am willing to go before the country on that issue.

There is no dispute about the fact that the present surplus in the Treasury, which is not only needless but dangerous and corrupting in all its tendencies, must continue to increase unless taxation is reduced, and it is equally true that that surplus was produced by the maintenance of unnecessary and, therefore, unjust and oppressive taxation, against the protest of the Democratic party, by the Republican leaders, who are now opposing tariff reduction.

Until now it has been conceded by all men that tariff taxation ought to be reduced from the existing war standard to a peace footing. It is needless to go into detail to show that the present tariff taxes were intended to be only temporary, and were imposed to compensate the manufacturers for the oppressive internal-revenue taxes which were placed upon them and all others by the necessity of war. Senator MORRILL and all the advocates of protection publicly proclaimed that over and over again, and inserted it in the preamble of the acts "temporarily" increasing tariff taxation.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] had charge of the bill of 1864 in the House of Representatives. His speech, made when he presented it, will be found in the Globe of June 2, 1864. He said, among many other things:

The Treasury requires a larger supply of means, and such sources of revenue as have not already yielded their maximum contributions must now be sought, so that we may fill the measure of our wants. This has made an increase of internal duties necessary, and that increase to a considerable extent imposes upon us the duty as well as affords us the power of obtaining an increased revenue from duties on imports from abroad. The withdrawal of the large number of men now in the field from industrial pursuits leaves a paucity of numbers at home, thereby advancing wages and the cost of living, so that a bushel of corn, a pound of wool, a yard of cloth, or a ton of iron can not now, even reducing the currency to a specie standard, be produced at the same cost that they were three years ago. With the tariff considerably increased, and even if we had no internal taxes to pay, our people will hardly find it less difficult to compete with foreign productions and manufactures than they did in times of peace without any increase of tariff. And when we impose a tax of 5 per cent. upon our manufactures and increase the tariff to the same extent upon foreign manufactures, we leave them upon the same relative footing they were at the start, and neither has cause of complaint. The rates proposed are high nominally, and may be so regarded by foreign nations, but considering the weights carried by our own people, other nations will still be able to continue the race with us upon nearly the same terms as heretofore.

* * * * * * *

In making an estimate of the effect of such a war tariff as is now proposed, it is important that we should bear in mind that as we increase the cost of any article we diminish the number of those who are able to consume it.

Again, he said:

Protection was never defended on any other ground than that in the end the consumer obtained his supplies more cheaply. I know sound policy dictates that for proper encouragement of manufacturers all raw materials should be free, and where nations manufacture for exportation no other policy can be maintained. This accounts for the course of France and England upon this subject. They export largely; we do not.

Mr. Shellabarger, then a member from Ohio, asked Mr. MORRILL if there was any increase of duty over and above the tariff of 1861, save and except the compensating duty made necessary by internal-revenue taxes. Mr. MORRILL said in reply that there was no increase except for that purpose, or for the purpose of revenue upon articles not produced in this country.

At the close of his speech Mr. MORRILL made this pledge:

"This is intended as a war measure, a temporary measure, and we must give it our support as such."

Again, he speaks of it as "a war measure, imposed by the necessities of the Government, the scarcity of laborers, and the enormous direct taxation."

On the following day Mr. ALLISON, again resuming, said:

This large internal-revenue tax was made the excuse and the cause of the advance of the tariff of July 14, 1862, and June 30, 1864. I quoted the language yesterday of the then chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in 1862, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, himself a protectionist, and certainly in favor of the protection of the great interest of Pennsylvania, iron. He made a pledge upon this floor in 1862 that those additions of duties upon manufactured articles imported in this country were made necessary because of the internal-revenue taxes. Both he and Mr. MORRILL, subsequently chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, declared that the act of June 30, 1864, was a temporary measure, a war measure, and was not intended as a measure which should remain upon the statute-book as a protective tariff in the time of peace.

Mr. ALLISON yielding the floor for a moment to Mr. COX, that gentleman said:

I desire to say in addition to what has been said by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] that I was on the committee of conference upon the tariff of 1864. The reason why that conference report was made as it was made, the reason given by Mr. MORRILL and Mr. Fessenden, was that the internal tax had been raised, but that the moment that tax was reduced they would be in favor of reducing the customs duties. That was understood when the report was made upon the tariff of 1864; it was one of the conditions leading the conference committee to report that measure.

Mr. ALLISON said further:

It is admitted by all that the increase of the tariff was commenced and carried on upon the basis of the protective duties of the Morrill tariff of 1861; the increase of direct taxation, added to the price of domestic manufactures, rendered an increased tariff necessary in order to prevent our country being flooded with cheaper foreign productions. Certainly, then, upon the decrease of internal taxation the tariff may be, and ought to be, decreased in proportion, the danger being no longer in existence which was sought to be averted by these increased duties.

But I may be asked how this reduction shall be made. I think it should be made upon all leading articles, or nearly all; and for that purpose, when I get the opportunity in the House, if no gentleman does it before me, I shall move that the pending bill be recommitted to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report a reduction upon existing rates of duty equivalent to 20 per cent. upon the existing rates, or one-fifth reduction. Even this will not be a full equivalent for the removal of all internal taxes upon manufactures. It will not be difficult to make a reduction upon this basis.

The position taken by these gentlemen at that time sufficiently illustrates the grounds on which the temporary increase of tariff taxation was agreed to by Congress and accepted by the country.

In 1866 the internal-revenue taxes, as shown by the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1880 (see page 159), amounted to $310,906,984, of which $236,336,037.37 were imposed upon manufactures, railroad receipts, incomes, special taxes, legacies, etc., manufactured products alone paying $127,230,608.66 that year, as shown by the following statement:

1.	Manufacturing products	$127, 230, 608, 66
2.	Gross receipts, railroads, etc	11, 262, 429. 82
3.	Sales, stocks, gold, etc	4, 002, 282. 91
4.	Special taxes, etc	14, 844, 418. 05
5.	Incomes	72, 982, 153. 03
6.	Legacies	924, 823. 97
7.	Successions	246, 154. 88
8.	Miscellaneous	1, 693, 122. 73
9.	Miscellaneous	3, 750, 037. 32
	Total	236, 236, 037. 37

All these taxes were repealed nearly twenty years ago, yet the corresponding tariff taxation which was imposed to compensate for the burdens temporarily imposed by them is to-day almost as high as it was at any period during the war.

The injustice of that condition induced a Republican Congress to strike off on all leading articles 10 per cent. from the tariff taxation in 1872, but in 1875, under the false pretense that the sinking fund was in danger, that 10 per cent. was again restored, and additional taxes were imposed on whisky, tobacco, and sugar. As early as 1881 the surplus arising from the increased taxation became so oppressive that the then President of the United States and the country demanded tariff reduction, although the average duty was at that time 4 or 5 per cent. ad valorem lower on imported goods than it is to-day—as low indeed as the House bill proposes to make it now. After a long struggle on the part of the protectionists to retain their extortions a while longer they obtained a tariff commission, organized in their own interests, which they knew would make as slight reductions as possible. That commission, after reviewing the whole situation, was compelled, among other things, to make the following statement in their report:

Early in its deliberations the commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defenses. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the commission regards not only as a due recognition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction. No rates of defensive duties, except for the establishment of new industries, which more than equalize the conditions of labor and capital with those of foreign competitors, can be justified. Excessive duties, or those above such standard of equalization, are positively injurious to the interest which they are supposed to benefit. They encourage the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprise by rash and unskilled speculators, to be followed by disaster to the adventurers and their employés, and a plethora of commodities, which deranges the operations of skilled and prudent enterprise.

Numerous examples of such disasters and derangements occurred during and shortly after the excessively protective period of the late war, when tariff duties were enhanced by the rates of foreign exchange and premiums upon gold. Excessive duties generally, or exceptionally high duties in particular cases, discredit our whole national economic system and furnish plausible arguments for its complete subversion. They serve to increase uncertainty on the part of industrial enterprise, whether it shall enlarge or contract its operations, and take from commerce, as well as production, the sense of stability required for extended undertakings. It would seem that the rates of duties under the existing tariff—fixed, for the most part, during the war under the evident necessity at that time of stimulating to its utmost extent all domestic production—might be adapted, through reduction, to the present condition of peace requiring no such extraordinary stimulus. And in the mechanical and manufacturing industries, especially those which have been long established, it would seem that the improvements in machinery and processes made within the last twenty years, and the high scale of productiveness which has become a characteristic of their establishments, would permit our manufacturers to compete with their foreign rivals under a substantial reduction of existing duties.

Entertaining these views, the commission has sought to present a scheme of tariff duties in which substantial reduction should be the distinguishing feature. The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free-list and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions, at which the commission has aimed, is not less on the average than 20 per cent., and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent.

The legislation which followed the report of the tariff commission in the last session of the Forty-seventh Congress was perhaps the most discreditable that ever occurred in the history of American politics. The House of Representatives, at the first session of that Congress, had sent to the Senate a bill relating exclusively to internal revenue. It took up the Tariff Commission bill in January,

1883, and after struggling along until about the middle of February without reaching the schedules in regard to sugar, cotton, or woolen goods, or indeed anything beyond the iron schedule, which it only partially considered, it abandoned all attempts to pass any measure, and by devices which were confessed at the time to be revolutionary it resolved to get into conference with the Senate upon a bill which that body had passed in order to endeavor to secure advantages to the protected interests through the action of the conference committee, which the House, so far as it had gone, refused to give them, and which the Senate had in every form repudiated. The debates and the bill of the House, which can be found in the document-rooms of both Houses, will verify this statement. The leading members of the House on the Democratic side denounced the proceeding in every form, but without avail. A few extracts will illustrate this. Mr. BLACKBURN, of Kentucky, a member of the Committee on Rules (see RECORD, page 3370), charged on the floor what the "Keifer-Boynton" investigation has since verified, if any proof was needed when no man denied what he alleged.

Unwilling—

He said—

to trust to a count, which, if common rumor is to be credited, has been carefully made; a count made upon a written agreement signed by members on the other side, binding and obligating themselves to stand for this report and to stand for the motion of non-concurrence; though with care and particularity, as rumor has it (and I doubt not correctly), you have taken time since the Kasson resolution was sent to the Committee on Rules, two weeks ago, to marshal your forces, to obligate them in every manner that is binding, unless it be in open bond, with good and approved securities for the performance of the contract; in the face of all this the majority side of the House dare not allow a motion, which is admitted under every parliamentary law, or parliamentary rule, or parliamentary practice ever known among civilized men. You dare not allow a vote to be taken to concur in the Senate amendments to the text of the bill.

Mr. COX, of New York, said:

It is a fraud upon parliamentary law; a fraud upon all that is just and fair in our politics; it is revolutionary.

Mr. HOUSE, of Tennessee, said:

It is an open, unblushing attempt to concoct, in a secret chamber of a packed conference committee, a tariff bill which the promoters of this movement know can not be passed upon the floor of this House under the rules which govern it. It is an attempt by an indefensible, arbitrary, revolutionary act to wrest from the representatives of the people the right of legislation; to tie their hands, and to deny them the poor privilege of lifting their voices against it.

The House was not even allowed the privilege of agreeing with the Senate on the tariff bill passed by that body. The leading Republican members of the Senate, professing to be conferees on the part of the Senate, were only too anxious to get into the secret recesses of the conference committee chamber, not for the purpose of sustaining the action of the body they professed to represent, but for the purpose of annulling what had been deliberately decided upon, often by a yea-and-nay vote, in the Senate of the United States on many questions against their wishes. Time and space will not permit anything like a full history to be given of the outrages committed in that conference committee.

Late one night, just before the adjournment of Congress, when the conference report was brought into the Senate, and no explanation made as to its provisions, I endeavored to point out, and did point out, many of the outrages committed in that conference report, by which the wishes of both Houses, deliberately expressed, had been violated. That speech will, perhaps, call the attention of Senators, when the debate on this bill comes up, to matters that even now require explanation; but there were many things, not then known to any Senator, concealed by the conferees, which subsequently came to light and developed the flagrant character of that so-called conference. Important clauses were added to the cotton and woolen schedules, increasing the tax upon whole classes of goods, which propositions had never been submitted to either House, or when submitted to the Senate had been defeated by that body, because they never were before the House in any form.

If Senators will take the trouble to look up the bill as it went to the conference committee, and examine it as it left that body, they will find in regard to cotton goods increases far beyond anything that had been even suggested, embracing the most important classes of products in which New England was specially interested.

In Schedule I, cotton goods, a new proviso was added, increasing the tax as follows:

On all cotton cloth not exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 8 cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over 10 cents per square yard; dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 13 cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 40 per cent. ad valorem.

And in Schedule K, wool and woolens, the conference committee, in the ready-made clothing schedule, after "clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description," inserted the words "not specially enumerated or provided for in this act," and then inserted a provision increasing taxation on the following goods:

Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, is a component material, 30 cents per pound, and, in addition thereto, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

The debates in both Houses will show that no suggestion was ever made looking to such increases as these. The result was that instead of a reduction on cotton and woolen goods, Hon. Joseph Nimmo, jr., Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, on March 10, 1884, furnished Congress with an official statement of the duties upon the leading articles under the old law prior to March 3, 1883, and under the act of March 3, 1883, which, instead of a reduction of from 20 to 25 per cent., shows large increases in the manufactures of wool, cotton, earthenware, and china beyond what existed before the law was passed.

The table is as follows:

Values of imports of dutiable merchandise entered for consumption in the United States, with the amount of duty and the ad valorem rate of duty collected during the following periods, during the six months ended December 31.

Articles.	Under the old law—1882.		
	Value.	Duty collected.	Ad valorem rate of duty collected.
			Per cent.
All dutiable merchandise	$260,856,237	$111,266,507	42.65
Sugar and melada	44,432,311	23,180,59[illegible]	52.17
Iron and steel and manufactures thereof	32,499,426	12,713,996	39.12
Wool:			
Clothing	1,210,689	671,415	55.46
Combing	135,123	67,839	50.19
Carpet	3,505,980	974,202	27.79
Manufactures of wool	22,400,387	14,943,626	66.71
Manufactures of cotton	14,967,850	5,629,658	37.61
Manufactures of silk	19,999,119	11,738,469	58.69
Earthen and china ware	4,423,146	1,896,705	42.88
Glass and glassware	4,271,305	2,327,660	54.49
Spirits and wines	5,203,625	3,706,142	71.22
Malt liquors	511,772	227,370	44.43

Articles.	Under act of March 3, 1883.			Increase + Decrease —	
	Value.	Duty collected.	Ad valorem rate of duty collected.	Value.	Ad valorem.
			Per cent.		*Pr. cent.*
All dutiable merchandise	$235,898,109	$96,514,136	40.91	—$24,958,128	— 1.74
Sugar and melada	46,800,671	23,121,601	49.40	+ 2,368,360	— 2.77
Iron and steel and manufactures thereof	23,698,937	7,924,225	33.44	— 8,800,489	— 5.68
Wool:					
Clothing	2,399,515	1,073,311	44.73	+ 1,188,826	—10.73
Combing	615,677	267,704	43.48	+ 480,554	— 6.71
Carpet	4,345,385	1,087,094	25.02	+ 839,405	— 2.77
Manufactures of wool	22,064,512	15,202,183	68.90	— 335,875	+ 2.19
Manufactures of cotton	12,067,631	4,835,714	40.07	— 2,900,219	+ 2.46
Manufactures of silk	21,286,252	10,617,057	49.83	+ 1,287,133	— 8.86
Earthen and china ware	3,824,951	1,830,363	47.85	— 598,195	+ 4.97
Glass and glassware	3,943,197	2,187,362	55.47	— 328,108	+ .98
Spirits and wines	2,945,001	2,659,312	90.30	— 2,258,624	+19.08
Malt liquors	490,315	235,823	48.10	— 21,457	+ 3.67

JOSEPH NIMMO, JR.,
Chief of Bureau.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of Statistics, March 10, 1884.

Even before the bill went into conference the cotton schedule, under the manipulations of the New England manufacturers, had been so changed that Senator SHERMAN had to confess:

The classification is so changed that none but an expert can understand it.

And in regard to the same matter, Senator ALLISON said in the Senate Chamber, on the 3d day of February, 1883 (see RECORD of that date, page 2030):

Now I want to say one word in regard to the Tariff Commission report upon the cotton schedule. The truth is that the Tariff Commission did not examine this cotton matter at all; it may as well be said on the floor of the Senate; nor did they make this schedule that is called the Tariff Commission report schedule. It was made by a cotton manufacturer from Boston with an expert appraiser in New York, and the Tariff Commission accepted it. When the knowledge of that fact came to me I had no particular faith in the Tariff Commission report on this cotton schedule, and therefore I examined it as best I could for myself, hearing the witnesses, reading the testimony, and hearing people who I supposed knew something about it, and in whom I had faith.

When the Senator from Texas [Mr. Maxey] asked him what faith there was to be placed in their report on anything else, after such conduct as that was developed, Mr. ALLISON answered—

I do not choose to express my opinion of their report or anything else.

Much light was thrown upon this subject by a controversy that sprung up between Senator SHERMAN and Senator MORRILL. Mr. SHERMAN had published an elaborate interview in the Commercial

Gazette, of Cincinnati, dated March 14, 1883, in which, among other things, he said:

The truth is, there was a grave fault in constituting the committee on the part of the Senate. The two members of the Finance Committee from New England were put on the conference committee, when, by custom and precedents, Mr. JONES, of Nevada, should have been a member, or, if he declined, Mr. ALLISON. The result was that these two New England Senators controlled the conference, and they were known to be opposed to the duty on wool and in favor of an increase on woolen and cotton goods.

During the debate in the Senate Mr. SHERMAN insisted that the rates upon woolen goods especially were too high, even as they passed the Senate, and of course he regarded the increase made in the conference, which, as I said before, the Senate knew nothing about until after Congress had adjourned, as an outrage; his language in the debate being:

That about one-half of the cost of these woolen goods is in the cost of the raw material, the wool, and the other half is the cost of manufacture. Take, therefore, a lot of these goods; suppose that the value of the goods imported is $1,000, and one-half of that is the cost of the wool, and the other half is the cost of manufacture. The duty on $500, the cost of the wool, has already been fully compensated for and more than compensated for by the specific duty. Then, as to the duty as levied, not as 40 per cent. of the $500, the cost of manufacture, which is all the manufacturer puts upon it, but the duty is levied at 40 per cent. on the thousand, thus giving him a protection of $400, or 80 per cent. on the cost of manufacture. It seems to me that is too large, that the relative duties upon wool and woolen goods are unequal and unfair. The duty ought to be in proportion to the manufactures.

And in the interview above referred to he repeated his charges of improper conduct against his co-conferees from New England, saying:

By the new tariff the whole reduction falls on the wool-grower. It is true there is a reduction of the specific duty on woolens equal to the reduction on wool, but that only leaves the manufacturer *in statu quo*, while the former loses one-fifth of his protection. The protective duty of 35 per cent ad valorem in favor of the manufacturer remains unchanged, and in important branches is changed to 40 per cent.; and the classification is so changed that none but an expert can understand it. Even in the conference committee additional duties were put on both cotton and woolen goods of certain grades, far in advance of existing law. The wool-growers, who did not understand in the beginning what was going on, felt, and still feel, no doubt, that their interests were sacrificed by a reduction of duties on wool without a corresponding reduction on woolens, and with an absolute increase on some grades.

And in that same interview he expressed not only his disgust at the advantage which the New England conferees had obtained over him, but his regret that, having no Democratic conferees to trouble them, they had not fixed up a bill to suit themselves, regardless of their responsibility to the Senate or the wishes of either house. His answer to the newspaper correspondent clearly proves this:

CORRESPONDENT. What effect upon the conference had the withdrawal of Senators Bayard and BECK?

Senator SHERMAN. I can not say that it had any, except to enable the conferees to patch up a little the iron schedule, as I have already stated. But their withdrawal gave the Republican conferees the opportunity of reporting and proposing a thoroughly protective tariff bill, just and harmonious in all its rates.

Again he said:

The conferees would not take this responsibility, and accordingly left the rates named and some others palpably unjust, and have opened the door to contests in the future. If these errors had been corrected the bill would have received every Republican vote in the Senate. The struggle over the bill proved that the Democratic party was hostile to the policy of protection, though occasionally a Democratic Senator voted with us to protect his local industry. The system must stand or fall with the Republican party. We might, in the way stated, have made a square political issue, which I always prefer to do rather than to lean on my political adversaries for occasional votes.

Mr. MORRILL answered Mr. SHERMAN, in a labored article, dated April 28, and published in the New York Tribune. He confesses and avoids the truth of the charges. His main defense is that Mr. SHERMAN was as deep in the mud as he was in the mire. Both did their best to show their want of due respect for the expressed will of the Senate, although neither of them had any right to undertake the task of sustaining the action of the body that appointed them, unless they were determined to maintain and uphold its action by every honorable means, whether they approved it or not. It is painfully apparent from their own statements that neither of them either did so or attempted to do so. Mr. MORRILL says:

The distinguished Senator is a remarkably cool and sagacious man, but he was evidently in a pet, and by this time he will regret some of his rather exaggerated and hasty statements. He criticises the fact that two members of the conference committee were from New England, and would seem to indicate that this brought to bear a malign sectional influence, forgetting that two of the members of the conference committee were from the State of Ohio alone, and perhaps, too, sensitively remembering that the large increase of duties on plain white crockery-ware had never been insisted upon in the Senate by New England.

Again, he says:

But the Senator complains that the duties on woolens were raised in the conference committee; so they were on pig and bar iron.

Again, he says:

Only a proviso was inserted in the conference committee by which a special class of cotton cloth should be subject to a duty of 40 per cent., which is the same or a little less than the existing law.

And adds:

This is not much above the rate fixed on pig-iron, and can hardly be called a local favor.

These interviews show that the conferees, so called, paid no sort of respect to the wishes of the two Houses. They made the tariff which we are now cursed with to suit themselves. One accuses the other of increasing the burdens on cotton and woolen goods, and the other retaliates by charging his accuser with having increased the taxes on earthenware, pig and bar iron, and other things in the iron schedule which the Senate had over and over again defeated him in when he attempted to impose them upon the country on this floor.

Mr. MORRILL adds:

The Senator sought to raise in the Senate the rates fixed in committee on pig-iron, and, not succeeding, he joined Senator BROWN, of Georgia, in cutting down generally the rates upon bar-iron and upon steel railway bars; for as he correctly observes, "a single Republican Senator voting with the Democrats could reduce the duty." A restoration of these rates, even in a committee of conference, was an unpromising risk. If any one was more responsible than Senator SHERMAN for making the "harmony and symmetry of the plan" of the commission's iron schedule "as rough as a saw" I do not remember it.

He was right in saying that—

A restoration of these duties even in such a conference committee, was an unpromising risk.

The Senate bill had passed on the 22d day of February by a vote of 42 to 19, yet the conference report was passed by a vote of only 32 to 31.

I hope these articles in the Commercial Gazette and Tribune, both of which are on file in the Library of Congress, will be carefully studied, as they throw much light upon the spirit that animated the Senate conferees. When they are examined the country will not appreciate the remark made by the Senator from Ohio on the floor of the Senate, within the last few weeks, that the action of the Democratic Senators in refusing to take part in that conference was the most cowardly act he had ever known. The refusal was simply a protest by Democrats against being used to give countenance to or a semblance of acquiescence in what was known to be an effort to overrule the action of the Senate, and not to sustain it.

Mr. MORRILL might very well observe in this interview that the restoration of these duties even in such a conference committee was an unpromising risk, because if Senators had known half of what had been done against their known wishes by their own conferees, instead of the bill being passed, as it was, by a vote of 32 to 31, it would have been defeated by an overwhelming majority, and the condemnation of the conference would have been too pronounced even for them to have ventured into the newspapers to quarrel over their action. Perhaps the worst part of their conduct was not referred to by either of them, and that was in regard to the duties on sugar.

The House had never acted upon that schedule, as their bill shows, but the Senate had in the most emphatic manner determined that the tax on sugar between No. 13 and No. 16 Dutch standard should not exceed $2.40 per 100 pounds. It had fixed the tax on sugar under No. 13 Dutch standard at a satisfactory rate; but that class of sugar was simply raw material for the refiner, not being used in any form except by them, and $2.40 was, by a yea-and-nay vote of the Senate, as is shown by the RECORD, after full discussion, fixed as the proper tax upon sugar between 13 and 16 Dutch standard. Mr. MORRILL and others protested that it was too low, and that foreign competitors would interfere with domestic refiners.

Some of us who had strongly urged $2.40 as a proper rate, believing that it might possibly cripple our domestic refiners in their operations, agreed to $2.50, after being assured by Senators on the other side, especially by Senator MORRILL, that $2.50 per hundred would be entirely satisfactory. I hope the record of that debate will be turned to. It will be found on pages 2548 to 2555 of the RECORD of that session. Yet the conference committee deliberately increased the rate of taxation upon imported sugar between 13 and 16 to $2.75 per hundred, thereby giving to the sugar refiner an absolute monopoly of the sugar-refining business. They thus laid the foundation for the trusts which have been so much and so justly complained of by the country against the domestic refiners of sugar. That act on the part of the Senate conference, which was not only wholly unjustifiable and unwarranted but in violation of pledges they had given, has cost the consumers of sugar in this country not less than $80,000,000, while the fact that they had made such a change in the conference committee was carefully concealed from the Senate, as the record will show.

In the face of facts like these, and these are only the outlines, it is absurd for the Republican leaders to contend that they are now paying or ever have paid any regard to the interests of the tax-payers or the consumers of the country.

Of course, after the passage of that act, the surplus revenue continued to accumulate in the Treasury until all the bonds that could be paid at par were paid off. Not less than $700,000,000 in excess of all the requirements of the sinking fund was paid in the redemption of the principal of the public debt, yet there is at this time almost enough idle money in the Treasury to pay off every dollar that can be paid off until 1907, when the last of our indebtedness, amounting to a fraction over $700,000,000, matures, and we are compelled by law to-day either to lock up the surplus money in the Treasury or to pay to the holders of our bonds any premium they see fit to ask in order to keep the money of the people in circulation for their use.

We are now absolutely at the mercy of any combination the bondholders may make. There is no longer even a decent pretext for the maintenance of any law providing for a sinking fund, which now exceeds $50,000,000 a year, as no man will pretend that we made any agreement to pay the bondholder one dollar of premium upon the bonds he holds; yet the premium upon the 4 percents has in-

creased in the last six months from 124 to 130, and as time goes on will continue to increase, and the Republican candidate for the Presidency, in his letter of acceptance, is urging and demanding that that premium shall be paid to them, although they have no claim, legal or equitable, whatever to it, and are only receiving it now because of the opposition the Republicans are making to the demand of the President for the reduction of taxation so as to make the payment of such premium unnecessary.

Never before has the Republican party boldly avowed its purpose to license the manufacturers of the country to force the people—all the people—of the United States, whether the Government needs revenue or not, to pay them $147 for every $100 worth of their products which the people at large are compelled to have. Never before was the avowal boldly made in a party platform that the American market should be controlled by American manufacturers, by trusts, and combinations, to suit themselves, and that Congress should by law prevent our citizens from buying with their own money what they needed, except from them and at their prices.

Individual members of Congress, I admit, have advocated protection for protection's sake, and have said that, independently of revenue and regardless of public needs, they would maintain tariff taxation for the protection of American manufacturers. Local partisan leagues and neighborhood conventions, and such newspapers as are owned or subsidized by protected organizations, have demanded taxation for protection's sake; but until now the platforms of all former Republican conventions have demanded that taxation should be confined to the amount needed for revenue, only asking that within that limit it should be adjusted so as incidentally to protect American manufacturing industries and the labor employed therein. I need not quote from them. The facts I state can not be successfully denied, as the former platforms have been made part of the record time and again in the debate in the House of Representatives and elsewhere.

The bills now presented by the respective political organizations are infinitely more important in the principles they represent than in the amount of taxation they propose to remove measured merely in money. The Democrats seek cautiously and prudently to reduce all taxation to the revenue standard, so as to take from the people nothing except for public uses and purposes, and only such an amount as is needed to support an economically administered Government, at the same time taking care that no injury is done to any domestic industry, even though unduly stimulated by protection, on whose success the employment of any considerable portion of our own people depends. They seek to aid our manufacturers, by cheapening, wherever it is possible, the raw materials from which finished products are made, so that the markets for them may be enlarged and extended to other countries, and steadier employment, which extended sales necessarily give, be furnished to those who produce them. We seek thus to enable all of our people to obtain what they need or those products with a less expenditure of the money they have earned in their various occupations than they can now.

The Democratic party will cease to exist whenever it fosters monopoly, or legislates to enrich the few out of the hard earnings of the many, or in any way promotes class legislation. Its object and purpose is, always has been, and always must be, to oppose all schemes, however specious, and all legislation, however plausible, that takes the money earned by one class of citizens and gives it to another. Of course it can never command the support of the combinations of wealth that seek to enrich themselves by law out of the earnings of other people; therefore it has no promises of special advantages to make to its supporters. It can only appeal to the manhood of men to stand by and support a political organization pledged to secure to them equal rights and privileges with all other men, and to resist all the combinations organized to obtain by legislation undue advantage over their fellow-citizens.

If the Republic is to last and realize the hopes of its founders, it must be on the basis of securing equal rights to all, granting exclusive privileges to none. Every department of the Government must be limited to the just exercise of the powers specially granted to it, and each Representative, whether of States or people, must be made to recognize the fact that this Government is only a trustee, with limited powers, and that he is only the servant of the people who place him where he is and pay him for his work out of their earnings.

It can not be too often repeated that this Government is simply a trustee, and has not, and can not, get a dollar except what it takes by taxation in some form or other, directly or indirectly, from the people who earn it; that one legitimate industry is as honorable and as much entitled to protection as another; and that all taxes shall be uniform, and must be imposed to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. All our courts, State and Federal, have decided that all taxation must be confined to public uses and purposes, in terms so emphatic, and with such clearness of statement and aptness of illustration that no strength can be added by amplification to what they have so repeatedly decided.

I have given extracts and references to these decisions elsewhere in this report which prove the truth of my assertions, that taxation, to be legal or even honest, must be for public purposes only, and that all class legislation, whether in the form of protection or subsidy, which takes by taxation from the people the money they have earned, or deprives them of the right to use it to the best advantage to themselves in procuring what they need, in order to enrich a favored class, is legalized robbery. The voters of the country will have to settle the question between the contending parties this fall, whether they want to do so or not. The issue is made, and has come to stay. It can be neither avoided nor evaded; it looks to a permanent policy on one basis or the other. The Republican party has moved forward with rapid strides in its assertion of the power of Congress and its right to impose taxes for other than public uses. They no longer hesitate to avow their purpose to force all the consumers of home-made manufactured goods to pay any price home producers or, more properly, home-machine owners demand, by taxing all similar goods made elsewhere so high as to prohibit our people from buying them, under the pretense that they are protecting the "home market." Of course, they simply protect the home seller and thus rob the home buyer; and as the buyers are at least one hundred times more numerous than the sellers, they propose, under the forms of law, to rob one hundred of our citizens to enrich one. They illustrate the principle so aptly stated by Hallam in his History of the Middle Ages:

> We find in the history of all usurping governments, time changes anomaly into system and injury into right. Examples beget custom and custom ripens into law; and the doubtful precedents of one generation become the fundamental maxims of another.

At last, and for the first time, the American people are distinctly called upon, each man for himself, to decide whether the sovereignty, about which so much is said and so little is understood, exists in the individual citizen or in the Congress of the United States. They will, this fall, settle the question, for this generation at least, as conclusively as the late civil war settled the question of secession, whether this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the general welfare of all, or whether it is a paternal government, to be conducted and controlled by Congress to promote such objects and purposes as the majority in Congress from time to time may determine to fasten on the country.

The contest will be none the less earnest because it is waged with ballots instead of bullets, and the result will be none the less conclusive because of its peaceful character. Both parties have put forth candidates worthy of the support of those who advocate the principles they represent, and both sides are organizing, I am happy to say, through national, State, and local clubs, so as to bring out the full strength of their respective organizations.

The questions at issue are as old in principle as the establishment of civil government among men. On the one side will be arrayed, as they always have been, all the organizations and combinations of capital and power that seek wealth by legislation, and especially those who demand from Congress protection by tariff taxation against competition with goods produced abroad, in order that the American consumers of the goods they produce here may be compelled to pay them the prices they demand for the goods they make. On the other side will be arrayed those who deny the power of Congress to grant special privileges to favored classes at the public expense, and who claim that all taxation of the people by their representatives, in whatever form imposed, must be for public purposes, and that it can be imposed only to the extent necessary to support an economically administered government.

Of course there is a large class of voters—far more than enough to determine which party shall win—who, up to this time, have not studied carefully the propositions involved. My hope is that the discussion all over the country this fall will convince the people that their true interests will be best promoted by the success of the Democracy.

Perhaps it is fortunate that the public mind rarely grasps with vigor more than one great public question at a time. When its energies are concentrated on a single vital issue, it ordinarily succeeds in sifting it thoroughly and in separating the grain from the chaff. "Everybody is wiser than anybody," because everybody's interest is that equal justice shall be meted out to all, and that unequal or exclusive privileges shall not be granted to favored classes. Happily for the country there is nothing to distract the public mind from the calm and deliberate consideration of the great issue which the President of the United States deemed so far-reaching and overshadowing as to make it the sole subject to which he directed the attention of Congress in his last annual message, a few extracts from which I propose to quote. The opening sentences are as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

> You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.
>
> The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.
>
> When we consider that the theory of our institutions guaranties to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national

taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

This condition of our Treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster.

After stating what expedients he had been compelled to resort to in order to avoid national bankruptcy, which must follow the locking of the circulating medium in the public Treasury, he says:

While the expedients thus employed, to release to the people the money lying idle in the Treasury, served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the 1st day of December to $55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of $113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the Treasury to $140,000,000.

There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause. And while the functions of our national Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purposes, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the Government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

The President, of course, advises Congress that there is but one honest and just way to obviate the evils and right the wrongs which confessedly exist, and that is to reduce the taxation needlessly and therefore wrongfully imposed upon the people by existing laws, to the annual requirements of an economically administered Government. I again quote, as no man in all the debate in either House of Congress or elsewhere has presented the whole question as well as the President has. He says:

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public Treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad and internal-revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessaries; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to the consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens who buy domestic articles of the same class pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

Again, he says:

By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries, 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers), while 1,810,258 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers, and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by high tariff.

* * * * * * *

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessaries of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the working man nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employés either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

I will give only one more extract, and I may say that the whole argument is so able, cogent, and condensed that it is almost impossible to select any portion of it without impairing the strength and marring the harmony of the whole. He, at least, will not be accused of evasion or cowardice in the presentation of his views and recommendations. If any President ever satisfied the American people that he subordinated private ends to public interests, and had the courage to express his convictions, regardless of personal consequences, President Cleveland in this message, in his veto of the dependent pension bill, and in his enforcement of absolute integrity in the conduct of public officials, high and low, has satisfied them that he is acting with an eye single to the public good. He can say, as the Marquis of Montrose said to those who urged temporizing measures on him as the safest:

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
And win or lose it all.

I have an abiding faith that the American people will indorse the closing paragraph of the message. It answers all the claptrap about protection and free trade, and nobody can deny the truth of it.

It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employés more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens or partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

I know that epithets are not arguments, and that denunciation on one side or the other does not establish either a principle or a fact. But the Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of the several States have denounced taxation in all its forms, when imposed to protect or build up manufacturing interests and industries, or for any purpose other than for public use in running the necessary machinery of the Government, as spoliation and legalized robbery. I can therefore afford to use the same language. I said, in a speech made in the Senate on the 20th of March, 1882:

In the case of the Loan Association *vs.* Topeka, in 20 Wallace, 657, Judge Miller, delivering the opinion of the court, stated the doctrine in language that has been repeated over and over again, but it will bear repetition. An attempt was made to tax the people of the city of Topeka under the authority given by an act of the Legislature so as to issue one hundred bonds of $1,000 each to establish the King Wrought Iron Bridge Manufacturing and Iron Works Company of Topeka, and to aid in encouraging that company in establishing and operating bridge shops in said city in pursuance of an act of the Legislature, which had plenary power, certainly as much power as the Congress of the United States has under the limited power given in the Constitution, which is to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. Certainly, the power of the Legislature that imposed the tax is as broad as the power we have, as all power not granted is reserved in the Constitution to the States and the people. The people of Topeka refused to pay the interest upon the bonds. Suit was brought. The case came to the Supreme Court of the United States, and Judge Miller in delivering the opinion of the court uses this language:

"The power to tax is, therefore, the strongest, the most pervading of all the powers of the Government, reaching directly or indirectly to all classes of the people. It was said by Chief-Justice Marshall, in the case of McCulloch *vs.* The State of Maryland, that the power to tax is the power to destroy. A striking instance of the truth of the proposition is seen in the fact that the existing tax of 10 per cent. imposed by the United States on the circulation of all other banks than the national banks drove out of existence every State bank of circulation

within a year or two after its passage. This power can as readily be employed against one class of individuals and in favor of another, so as to ruin the one class and give unlimited wealth and prosperity to the other, if there is no implied limitation of the uses for which the power may be exercised. To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation.

"'A tax,' says Webster's Dictionary, 'is a rate or sum of money assessed on the person or property of a citizen by government for use of the nation or State.' 'Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes.' Coulter, J., in Northern Liberties *vs.* St. John's Church, says very forcibly: 'I think the common mind has everywhere taken in the understanding that taxes are a public imposition, levied by authority of the Government for the purpose of carrying on the Government in all its machinery and operations—that they are imposed for a public purpose.'"

In that case he calls attention to a very large number of authorities. Judge Miller says further:

"If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the innkeeper, the banker, the builder, the steam-boat owner, are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town."

The supreme court refer with approbation to cases decided from the State of Maine, embracing exactly the same principle, that whether taxation is in the form of a direct tax or in any other form, it makes no difference; whenever property may be seized or levied on to enforce the payment of the burden imposed on property it is as much a tax in one form as in another, and all men whose opinions are entitled to any respect admit that the tariff is nothing but a tax. But when it is imposed for revenue purposes I agree that it is constitutional; when it is laid for subsidy or the protection of special interests, I insist it is unconstitutional, null, and void. In that I am fully sustained by the very able opinions by all the judges of the State of Maine, delivering opinions *seriatim* when questions were propounded to them by the State Legislature. (See 58 Maine Reports, page 590, etc.) The leading question was:

"Has the Legislature authority under the constitution to pass laws enabling towns, by gift of money or loan of bonds, to assist individuals or corporations to establish or carry on manufacturing of various kinds within or without the limits of said towns?"

The judges took up the question submitted to them. Among other things, the three judges who signed the first opinion, Chief-Justice Appleton, Judge Walton, and Judge Danforth, used language some of which I will read. They said:

"Taxes are the enforced proportional contribution of each citizen out of his estate, levied by authority of the state for the support of the government and for all public needs. They are the property of the citizen taken from the citizen by the government, and they are to be disposed of by it.

"There is nothing of a public nature any more entitling the manufacturer to public gifts than the sailor, the mechanic, the lumberman, or the farmer. Our Government is based upon equality of rights. All honest employments are honorable. The State can not rightfully discriminate among occupations, for a discrimination in favor of one branch of industry is a discrimination adverse to all other branches. The State is equally to protect all, giving no undue advantage or special and exclusive preference to any."

That opinion of the judges of Maine is a complete answer to the arguments made by leading Republican Senators, that if there was no revenue required, no pension list, no Army, no Navy, they would still protect manufactures, and would exact taxes by legislation from the mass of the people for the benefit of private parties, in order to enable them to sell goods at high prices so that they may carry on their business profitably. The judges of Maine proceed to say:

"No public exigency can require private spoliation for the private benefits of favored individuals. If the citizen is protected in his property by the Constitution against the public, much more is he against private rapacity."

Congress has only to make one more turn of the protection wheel and make the tax for the benefit of the now highly protective monopolies absolutely prohibitory. Will any Senator say that if the Congress of the United States shall pass an act providing that "in order to encourage Andrew Carnegie and his associates," who are already protected by patents against all the people of the United States, "we will prohibit the introduction of foreign Bessemer steel rails into the United States," that the courts would not declare that act unconstitutional? Yet we have very nearly done it. The chances are that it will soon become a prohibitory tax at $14 a ton. Again the court say, and I hope what they say may be carefully considered by the people:

"If it were proposed to pass an act enabling the inhabitants of the several towns by vote to transfer the farms or the horses or oxen, or a part thereof, from the rightful owners to some manufacturer whom the majority might select, the monstrousness of such proposed legislation would be transparent. But the mode by which property would be taken from one or many and given to another or others can make no difference in the underlying principle. It is the taking that constitutes the wrong, no matter how taken. Whether the cow or the ox be taken from the unwilling owner and given to a manufacturer, or the gift be of money obtained by a sale made by the collector, or by the payment of the tax to avoid such sale, does not and can not change the principle. In either case the cow or the ox or the value thereof is taken from the owner and is given away by others without the owner's consent. If a part of one's estate may be given away, another and another portion may, upon the same principle, be given away until all is gone. What is this but manifest and undisguised spoliation?"

Each of the other judges gave substantially the same opinion, in different language, of course; but each of them pronounced it legislative robbery, their language being quite as denunciatory as any used on this floor by any of us. Judge Dickerson uses this language:

"What claim has manufacturing to such preference over other branches of industry, commerce, trade, agriculture, and the mechanic arts? These are honorable and beneficial pursuits, and the constitution of this State will be searched in vain to find any powers given to the Legislature to authorize towns and cities to discriminate against these employments and in favor of manufacturing in the matter of taxation. If municipal corporations may assess a tax upon their citizens by authority of law to encourage one, it may each and all the branches of necessary industry, and the question is reduced to this: Has the Legislature the constitutional authority to authorize the towns and cities in this State to tax their inhabitants for the purpose of aiding, establishing, or carrying on, not only manufacturing properly so called, but also farming, ship-building, trading, innkeeping, printing, banking, insurance, and any other branch of beneficial industry?"

When another case came up afterwards, which is reported in 60 Maine, "Allen *vs.* Inhabitants of Jay," the chief-justice decided a similar question. The authorities, under an act of the Legislature, had attempted to grant aid to a manufacturing company, or to a saw-mill that was about to be established. The judge said in that case:

"Taxation, by the very meaning of the term, implies the raising of money for public uses, and excludes the raising if for private objects and purposes. 'I concede,' says Black, C. J., in Sharpless *vs.* Mayor, 21 Pennsylvania, 167, 'that a law authorizing taxation for any other than public purposes is void.' 'A tax,' remarks Green, C. J., in Camden *vs.* Allen, 2 Dutch., 839, 'is an impost levied by authority of government upon its citizens or subjects for the support of the state.'

"'No authority or even dictum can be found,' observes Dillon, C. J., in Hanson *vs.* Vernon, 27 Iowa, 28, 'which asserts that there can be any legitimate taxation when the money to be raised does not go into the public treasury, or is not destined for the use of the government or some of the governmental divisions of the state.'

"If there is any proposition about which there is an entire and uniform weight of judicial authority, it is that taxes are to be imposed for the use of the people of the state in the varied and manifold purposes of government, and not for private objects or the special benefit of individuals. Taxation originates from and is imposed by and for the state.

"The idea seems to be that thereby capital would be created. But such is not the case. Capital is the saving of past earnings ready for productive employment. The bonds of a town may enable the holder to obtain money by their transfer, as he might do by that of any good note. But no capital is thereby created. It is only a transfer of capital from one kind of business to another.

"The industry of each man and woman engaged in productive employment is of 'benefit' to the town in which such industry is employed. This can be predicated of all useful labor, of all productive industry. But because all useful labor, all productive industry, conduces to the public benefit, does it follow that the people are to be taxed for the benefit of one man or of one special kind of manufacturings?

"The sailor, the farmer, the mechanic, the lumberman, are equally entitled to the aid of coerced loans to enable them to carry on their business with Messrs. Hutchins & Lane. Our Government is based on equality of right. The state can not discriminate among occupations, for a discrimination in favor of one is a discrimination adverse to all others. While the state is bound to protect all, it ceases to give that just protection when it affords undue advantages, or gives special and exclusive preferences to particular individuals and particular and special industries at the cost and charge of the rest of the community.

"Where is the difference between the coerced contribution of the tax-gatherer to be loaned to individuals for their benefit and those of the conqueror from the inhabitants of the conquered country?"

I can add nothing to strengthen the emphatic condemnation pronounced by the highest judicial authorities of the land against all schemes of taxation and all devices and pretexts whereby either manufacturing or other favored interests are sought to be subsidized, protected from competition, or built up by taxation imposed upon the people for their benefit.

Every utterance applies with full force on the position now assumed by the Republican party in its platform on the measure before the Senate.

The leading statesmen of the country have always reprobated the taxation of all the people in the interests of favored classes. Mr. Webster, in the great debate in the House in 1824, said:

Gentlemen tell us that they are in favor of domestic industry; so am I. They would give it protection; so would I. But then all domestic industry is not confined to manufactures. The employments of agriculture, commerce, and navigation are all branches of the same industry; they all furnish employment for American capital and American labor. And when the question is, whether new duties shall be laid for the purpose of giving further encouragement to particular manufactures, every reasonable man must ask himself both whether the proposed new encouragement be necessary and whether it can be given without injustice to other branches of industry.

These are questions which the American people are at last beginning to consider very carefully.

Mr. Webster further said:

I will now proceed, sir, to state some objections in a more general nature to the course of Mr. Speaker's observations. He seems to me to argue the question as if all domestic industry were confined to the production of manufactured articles; as if the employment of our own capital and our own labor, in the occupations of commerce and navigation, were not as emphatically domestic industry as any other occupation. Some other gentlemen in the course of the debate have spoken of the price paid for every manufactured article as so much given for the encouragement of foreign labor to the prejudice of our own. But is not every article the product of our own labor as truly as if we had manufactured it ourselves? Our labor has earned it and paid the price for it. It is so much added to the stock of national wealth. If the commodity were dollars nobody would doubt the truth of this remark; and it is precisely as correct in its application to any other commodity as to silver.

One man makes a yard of cloth at home; another raises agricultural products and buys a yard of imported cloth. Both these are equally the earnings of domestic industry, and the only questions that arise in the case are two: The first is, which is the best mode, under all the circumstances, of obtaining the article? The second is, how far this question is proper to be decided by Government and how far it is proper to be left to individual discretion? There is no foundation for the distinction which attributes to certain employments the peculiar appellation of American industry; and it is, in my judgment, extremely unwise to attempt such discriminations.

We are asked, what nations have ever attained eminent prosperity without encouraging manufactures? I may ask, what nation ever reached the like prosperity without promoting foreign trade? I regard these interests as closely connected, and am of opinion that it should be our aim to cause them to flourish together. I know it would be very easy to promote manufactures at least for a time, but probably for a short time only, if we might act in disregard of other interests. We could cause a sudden transfer of capital and a violent change in the pursuits of men. We could exceedingly benefit some classes by these means. But what then becomes of the interests of others?

For my part I see very little relief to those who are likely to be deprived of their employments, or who find the prices of the commodities which they need, raised, in any of the alternatives which Mr. Speaker has presented. It is nothing to say that they may, if they choose, continue to buy the foreign article; the answer is, the price is augmented; nor that they may use the domestic article; the price of that is also increased. Nor can they supply themselves by the substitution of their own fabric. How can the agriculturist make his own iron? How can the ship-owner grow his own hemp?

These views are as applicable to the measures and propositions now pending as they were then, and the men of America will indorse and support them.

General Garfield, in a speech in the House of Representatives in 1870, describing the American industries that were entitled to protection, said:

We are limited in our tariff legislation by two things: first, the demands of the Treasury; and second, the wants and demands of American industry. I reject that narrow view which considers industry any one particular form of labor. I

object to any theory that treats the industries of the country as they were treated in the last census, when we had one schedule for agriculture and another for industry, as though agriculture was not an industry, as though commerce and trade and transportation were not industries. American industry is labor in any form which gives value to the raw materials or elements of nature, either by extracting them from the earth, the air, or the sea, or by modifying their forms, or transporting them through the channels of trade to the markets of the world, or in any way rendering them better fitted for the use of man. All these are parts of American industry, and deserve the careful and earnest attention of the Legislature of the nation. Wherever a ship plows the sea, or a plow furrows the field; wherever a mine yields its treasure; wherever a ship or a railroad train carries freight to market; wherever the smoke of a furnace rises, or the clang of the loom resounds; even in the lonely garret where the seamstress plies her busy needle—there is industry. (Volume 13, part 6, RECORD, July 14, 1882, page 6034.)

Volumes might be filled with extracts from the speeches and writings of every leading statesman of the country of all shades of political opinion condemning the policy now advocated by the Republican leaders, but I am content to stand on the decision of the courts and the opinions of the eminent men from whom I have quoted.

Turning to the discussion of the general proposition, it may be truthfully said that when the arguments of the ablest and fairest advocates of the protective-tariff system are analyzed, they are all based on the false assumption that the tax is paid by foreigners, or is imposed on goods imported to prevent foreigners from taking advantage of the cheap pauper labor employed by them in the production of their goods, and to protect American laborers, who receive higher wages here in the production of like articles, against such degrading competition.

The truth is, as the President very clearly shows, that the American consumer not only pays every dollar of the tariff tax imposed on goods imported, but he pays a price equal to the foreign price, with the tariff tax added, on all similar goods manufactured in this country; and, as four-fifths, on an average, of all such goods consumed here are made at home, and only one-fifth imported, the Government, which collects only the tax on goods imported, gets but one-fifth of the tax, while Congress requires all American consumers to pay the other four-fifths to their protected pets, many members of both Houses of Congress being the beneficiaries; and they patriotically call that protecting American industry.

I know that the leading advocates of protection, among them Senators in carefully prepared speeches, have denied that the price of the home-made product is enhanced to the extent of the tax on the imported goods, but their denial does not alter the fact. Indeed, the protectionists all insist that it is true, and prove it conclusively in their arguments before the committees of Congress when demanding protection on their manufactured goods. For example, wool is the raw material of the woolen manufacturer; pig-iron, of the various iron products; lead, of the paints; tin-plate, of many utensils; and so through the list.

In every instance the home manufacturer of more advanced fabrics of wool, iron, lead, and all else claims and obtains protection on the finished products, based on the assumption that his raw material is enhanced in price to him to an amount equal to its foreign price with the tariff tax added; and he proves it, as I said, conclusively, by showing that he buys a portion, often a large portion, of his raw materials abroad, and pays the tariff tax on it, in preference to buying it from the producer here, solely on the ground that the home producer asks him more than the foreign price of the same article with 50 per cent. tariff tax added.

Of course he asserts his right to buy where it costs him the least money; and if that is true of such purchases made by men who buy abroad what in their business is raw material, out of which to manufacture more finished products (and they all prove that it is)—and I may add that our tariff laws are all based on the assumption that it is—why, I ask, is it not equally true in regard to all purchases of imported goods, whether purchasers intend to consume them in the shape in which they are imported, or to change their character by additional labor after they obtain them? The purpose for which imported goods are bought cuts no figure in the argument; the fact is incontrovertible that each purchaser buys them for the sole reason that he can buy them and pay the tariff tax on them, and yet get them cheaper than he can buy goods of the same character produced here. If he could not, there would not be a dollar's worth of imported goods sold in this country.

If the advocates of the protective system would tell the truth and avow their purpose to be that no American citizen should be allowed to buy any manufactured article, at home or abroad, unless he pays to people who have no right to any of his money 47 per cent. more for it than it was worth, or more than any citizen of any other country who is allowed to buy like articles in the open markets of the world pays for it, they know that they would shock the people, and their demand to be restored to power to carry out such purposes would be indignantly frowned down. Therefore they adopt the specious and patriotic "rallying cry" of protection against foreign pauper labor, which has deceived thousands of their victims.

There are a few plain tests by which, when applied, the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err in determining from whom the tariff tax is exacted. That tax is imposed only when goods brought from abroad enter the custom-houses in this country. They are all consumed here. No foreigner consumes a dollar's worth of them. He can get them at the price which the American citizen pays for them, less the 47 per cent. average tariff tax, with freight, insurance, and other costs added, and the importer would make just as much money by selling to the foreigner, before he starts from the foreign port, for 47 per cent. less than he sells to the American, because when he gets 47 per cent. and cost of the voyage more out of our people for the goods sold here he gets back only what he paid at the custom-house.

Every man who has sense enough to know anything knows that the home consumer of imported goods pays the tax, and that foreigners consume none of them; therefore, as the American citizens consume all of them, all the tax is paid by the American consumer. Why does he pay it? Nobody is obliged to buy imported goods when similar goods are manufactured in this country. There can be but one answer, and that I have before stated: the American consumer finds it cheaper to buy imported goods whose price has been increased 47 per cent. by a tax called a tariff than it would be to buy like articles manufactured in the United States at the price the home producer asks for them. He, of course, buys where he can buy cheapest.

Each purchase is an individual one. Neither the Federal Government nor the States, as such, engage in trade. Each man pays the money he has earned by labor of some sort for the things he buys. All limitations imposed on his right to buy what he needs in the cheapest markets are simply means devised, more or less honestly or dishonestly, by Congress, according to the purpose for which they are imposed, to take money out of the consumer's pocket.

The fact that he finds it cheaper and better for him to buy the highly taxed, imported goods than to buy like goods made at home is not only conclusive evidence, but "demonstration strong as proof of Holy Writ," that all goods manufactured here similar to those imported are advanced to the foreign price of the goods, with the American tarift tax and cost of importation added, because, I repeat, if it were not so, no goods could or would be imported.

As the home consumer always buys where he can buy cheapest, whether he uses them as raw materials for more advanced products or for consumption in the shape in which they are imported, his action determines that question, so that no sophistry, however plausible, can controvert the facts established by the purchases made of foreign goods, that the price of like home-made goods is advanced to the point of sharp competition with the foreign-made goods with the tariff tax and cost added, and as it is conceded that at least four-fifths of the goods consumed in this country, which are partly imported and partly made here, are of domestic manufacture, it follows, as the Government gets only the tax on the one-fifth imported. that the domestic manufacturer gets $4 of the enhanced price out of the consumer for every dollar that the Government receives.

The Treasury receives annually about $220,000,000 from tariff taxation. The protected pets of Congress, many of whom are in both Houses voting the people's money into their own pockets, are receiving at least $880,000,000. This is exclusive of all bounties on articles on which there is a high-tariff tax which prohibits importation or which home producers sell here for less than the foreign price with the tax added. In all that large class of products the tax is in fact prohibitory. The Government gets no revenue. The home producers, by trusts and combinations limiting production, forcing idleness or half-time work on their operatives, and maintaining prices a fraction below the foreign price, with the tariff tax and the cost added, pocket all that Congress authorizes them to compel the people to pay. This is the system which the Republican party pledges itself to perpetuate, regardless of revenue, regardless of governmental needs, under the plausible but false pretense that it is protecting American industry and the wages of American laborers.

As it must be obvious that no American consumer would purchase imported goods if they were not offered to him at a lower price than like goods of domestic manufacture are, it is equally obvious that no importer, whether he be a foreign manufacturer, an American merchant, or exporter who takes goods for what he sells abroad, will import goods and pay all charges and 47 per cent. tariff tax on them here unless he can sell them in this market for at least 50 per cent. more than he would be willing to take for them at the place of shipment. He would sell them abroad rather than take less, and he can only sell here by selling his tax-paid goods cheaper than the home producer of like articles sells his product. The markets of the world are open for the sale of foreign products.

There are twenty-five times as many people outside of the United States as there are inside of them. The goods on all markets are the private property of individuals. Foreign governments are not engaged in trade any more than ours. Individual self-interest determines the question where and to what market foreign as well as domestic products will be carried, and while mistakes in regard to prices will sometimes be made, they are reduced to a minimum by the telegraph and the other facilities for obtaining prompt and reliable information in regard to the markets of all countries.

The rule in all trade and mercantile transactions is that goods seek the market in which the seller can get the most money net for his property, after paying all tariff taxes, costs, and charges, just as the buyer buys what he needs, regardless of its place of production, where and from whom he gets it best and cheapest. I therefore insist that no

amount of sophistry can shake or weaken the plain, truthful statement of facts made by the President nor detract from the force of his earnest recommendation that our present vicious, inequitable, illogical, and unnecessary tariff laws ought at once to be revised and amended, because they needlessly, and therefore wrongfully, tax all the people, not only 47 per cent. on the average on all the imported goods they buy above their value in open market, but impose without furnishing any revenue an equal tax on all the goods produced in this country that compete with them in our markets for the exclusive benefit of a few protected manufacturers.

His argument was made overwhelmingly strong when he showed by the official reports of the last census—and the same proportion exists to-day—that out of 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries only 2,623,089 are employed in such manufacturing industries as are, or can be claimed to be, benefited by a high tariff, leaving 14,769,010 to be taxed 47 per cent. on the necessaries of life without any compensation or equivalent, except one dollar out of five paid into the Treasury for the use of the Government, under the pretense that they are thus helping to keep up the wages of about two and a half millions of other laborers, who have themselves to contribute more out of the enhanced price of the things they are compelled to buy, even when they help to make them, than all the enhanced wages they are assumed to receive under so-called protection amounts to.

In the last extract which I read from the President's message he points out with great vigor and clearness the importance of reducing tariff taxation, especially on raw materials, so that our manufactures may be exported to foreign markets and our workmen secure steady employment. I again quote his language:

Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limit of home consumption, saving them from depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employés more certain and steady labor, with its resultant quiet and contentment.

That is the object which the President avows in his message he seeks above all things to promote. The additions to the free-list and reductions in rates of taxation in the Mills bill are efforts to bring about that result, and I believe the intelligent men of the country outside of the few interested protected combinations will sustain us, and denounce those who seek to delude them, instead of submitting longer to their extortions. The superior intelligence of our operatives will overcome great obstacles. They produce more for the pay they receive than the poorly paid and less intelligent operatives of Europe; and that is the true test of the cost of production to the man who has the products to sell. Three dollars a day to a man who cuts and binds with a machine 10 acres of wheat a day is to his employer cheap, low wages compared to $1 a day to a man who cuts and binds an acre, or 50 cents a day to a man who only cuts and binds half an acre.

The opening of the markets of the world has always been held up, even by those who urged temporary protection to infant industries, as an indispensable prerequisite to commercial prosperity, and by no one more earnestly or ably than the Senator from New York [Mr. EVARTS]. He made a most valuable report as Secretary of State on the "State of Labor in Europe" (see Executive Document No. 5, first session, Forty-sixth Congress), from which I read the following:

There is something in the Republic which gives an individuality to the people of the United States possessed by no other people to such a degree. Our inventive genius in mechanical appliances is original, and at least twenty-five years ahead of Europe. Our people accept innovation; are prepared for it by anticipation. Europeans do not. One workman in the United States, as will be seen from the foregoing extracts, does as much as two workmen in most of the countries of Europe; even the immigrant from Europe attains this progressive spirit by a few years' association with American workmen. We have no oppressed and stupid peasantry, little more intelligent than the tools they handle. All are self-thinking, self-acting, and self-supporting.

Within the last fifteen years we have demonstrated our ability by the brilliant development of our own resources to exclude by honest competition foreign manufactures, to a large extent, from our shores. The question which now peremptorily challenges all thinking minds is how to create a foreign demand for those manufactures which are left after supplying our home demands. We can not stand still, for the momentum of increase will soon become so great that it will push us outward anyway; to push us safely and profitably is of so much importance as to almost overtop all other questions of the hour. The question appeals equally to the selfishness and patriotism of all our citizens, but to the laborer it appeals with tenfold force; for without work he can not live, and unless we can extend the markets for our manufactures he can not expect steady work, and unless our manufacturers can undersell foreign manufacturers we can not enlarge our foreign market.

The first great truth to be learned by the manufacturers and workingmen is that the days of sudden fortunes and double wages are gone. We must realize the fact that ocean steam communication has annihilated distance and brought the nations face to face. This drawing together of the nations means equalization in trade, profits, wages, etc., the advantage being with those who soonest accept the situation and show the most sensible continuity in the new paths of success.

What a contrast is presented between the broad, liberal, and just recommendations of the President, so well sustained and enforced by the report of Secretary Evarts, and the narrow Chinese policy urged by all the present Republican leaders, Senator EVARTS, I fear, included, as adopted by their party in its platform at Chicago. It hardly requires ordinary intelligence to understand that protection means taxation imposed on home consumers sufficient to secure the home market to home manufacturers at their own price, and is a confession that the American manufacturer does not propose to seek for foreign trade or compete with foreign goods in the world's markets.

It surrenders the trade in manufactured articles with all the people of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America, outside of the United States, to foreigners, on condition that the American Congress will prohibit all the people of the United States from buying with the money they worked for (much of which they obtained by selling their products of cotton, wheat, provisions, etc., in foreign unprotected markets in sharp competition with pauper labor), unless they pay to the Congressional bantlings 47 per cent. more than they were offered the same things for in the markets in which they were compelled to sell what they produced. Stripped of its gloss and varnish, this is the issue which the American people must settle next November at the polls. Mr. Evarts in that report sounded the key-note, and the President in his message has cleared away the brush under which the vampires who seek to suck the life-blood of the laboring poor tried to conceal themselves while their victims slept.

I think it will be difficult for the distinguished Senator from New York, or any of his political associates, to convince the Senate or the country that they propose to extend the markets for our manufactures to other countries, which Secretary Evarts justly regarded as so important as to overtop all other questions, and one in which the laborers have tenfold more interest than any other class for the reasons he gave. I quote from the Republican platform. It pledges the party to make—

Such revisions of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which can not be produced at home. If there still shall remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of the internal taxes rather than surrender of any part of our protective system.

With an average tariff tax now of over 47 per cent., which is up to the highest point of war taxation, when incomes, manufactures, professions, everything, were loaded down with internal-revenue taxes, all of which have been removed, tobacco and spirits alone being now taxed and they at greatly reduced rates, if that platform does not mean that they deliberately propose to surrender the markets of the world to foreign nations for all time to come in order to still further enhance the cost to the American consumers of the goods they produce, I am incapable of construing the English language. If it does not mean increased idleness, half-time employment to labor, encouragement to strikes, and closed factories, to prevent production of a surplus beyond the needs of home consumption, in the limited, high-priced markets which Congress creates and protects, I confess my inability to comprehend its meaning. Yet they profess it is all done in the interest of American labor.

Every man of sense must know that their professions are false. Their demand for protection is necessarily a confession that our manufacturers do not intend to sell their products in competition with other people outside of the United States. Their outside advocates and Congressional partners insist that they will be ruined, if our own people are not prohibited by Congress from buying at home, unless they pay an average tax of 47 per cent. more than they are offered for anywhere outside of the United States, on foreign goods which they would have to compete with in the world's markets without any protection. They have the audacity to assert that the President is a free-trader when he recommends a reduction of the tax upon our people to the amount required for public purposes, and that the Democratic party is banded together against American interests and in the interest of European nations when it demands a reduction of taxation, as it does in the Mills bill, from 47 to 42 per cent. beyond what the people of other countries have to pay.

Either their clamor for protection is false or the pretense that they ever expect to manufacture for other markets than our own is untrue, as wages always have been and always will be higher here than in Europe. Of course, they can sell at home cheaper than they can send abroad and sell. If they can not compete on equal terms with foreign goods at home, how can they do so abroad? When we propose to reduce the taxes on their raw materials, on iron, lead, copper, wool, dyestuffs, and machinery, etc., to enable them to reduce the cost of their products, so that our own people can buy what they need at lower rates, and, by such a reduction of cost, give them a chance to manufacture goods here in such quantities and at such prices that they can be sent abroad and sold in the world's markets, and thus give the labor they employ steady work by increased production for more extended markets, they meet in convention and denounce us as enemies of the country, conspirators with foreign nations against American interests, and demand still further restriction of imports, which means more exorbitant home prices for their goods, the absolute surrender of the American market to them, which, of course, is nothing less than an absolute surrender by them of all the other markets on earth to foreign nations who make similar goods, and to compensate the American people for the robbery they seek to legalize and perpetuate for all time, they generously offer them free whisky and free tobacco.

HOME MARKET.

General Harrison has probably given the Republican platform as careful consideration as any member of his party, and his utterances as to its meaning and as to his purposes in carrying it out, if elected, must be taken as the highest authority. He made a carefully-consid-

ered speech some time ago, which was reported in a friendly newspaper with all the applause which greeted it, a portion of which I read:

> Our party stands unequivocally, without evasion or qualification, for the doctrine that the American market shall be preserved for our American producers. [Great applause.] We are not attracted by the suggestion that we should surrender to foreign producers the best market in the world. Our 60,000,000 of people are the best buyers in the world [applause]; and they are such because our working classes receive the best wages. [Applause.] But we do not mean to be content with our own market. We should seek to promote closer and more friendly commercial relations with the Central and South American states. [Applause.] And what is essential to that end? Regular mails are the first condition of commerce.
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> The merchant must know when his order will be received and when his consignment will be returned, or there can be no trade between distant communities. What we need, therefore, is the establishment of American steam-ship lines between our ports and the ports of Central and South America. [Applause.] Then it will be no longer necessary that an American minister, commissioned to an American state, shall take an English ship to Liverpool to find another English ship to carry him to his destination. [Applause.] We are not to be frightened by the use of that ugly word "subsidy." [Laughter.] We should pay to American steam-ship lines a liberal compensation for carrying our mails instead of turning them over to British tramp steam-ships.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the desperate straits to which the Republican candidate for the Presidency is reduced in order to sustain the silly twaddle in his platform than the mass of absurd incongruities contained in the sentences I have read. He does not propose to restore tea or coffee to the tax-list. He would oppose a tax on incomes. He does not suggest any new objects of taxation, and stands with his party in favor of the entire repeal of internal-revenue taxes rather than surrender any part of the protective system. Yet he stands unequivocally, without evasion or qualification, for the doctrine that the American market shall be preserved for our American producers.

He must have sense enough to know that no revenue can be obtained from imports if the American market is reserved to American producers. The official reports show him that, independent of pensions and interest on bonds, which the internal taxes provide for, there remains over $200,000,000 to be provided for mainly by tariff taxation to meet the necessary annual expenses of the Government; therefore he is simply talking nonsense when he so emphatically resolved to exclude all competition from abroad with American manufacturers, and pledges himself hereafter to give them a monopoly of the American market.

General Harrison ought to know, and he does know, if he has read President Cleveland's message to Congress, that the men to whom he proposes to grant absolute control of the American markets constitute less than one-eighth of the American workmen who are engaged in honest industries, even when all their operatives are counted in the protected class, while the real beneficiaries are less than one-eighth of an eighth on the most liberal estimate. I will not do him the injustice to assume that he is ignorant of the fact, which intelligent men everywhere concede, that protection can not protect any product of this country which is raised or prepared for market here cheaper than it can be elsewhere, or is produced in such quantities that our own people can not consume it. Cotton, wheat, beef, pork, provisions, tobacco, oils, and dozens of other things illustrate this. Prohibitory tariff taxation might be imposed on all like products of foreign countries, and it would only injure home producers by preventing an exchange of seeds and crosses of breeds for improvement, except at a few points along our extended frontier.

Take cotton, which employs in its production a very large number of the colored race in nearly all the Southern States. In spite of protection 70 per cent. of that product is annually exported, and must be sold in Liverpool and other foreign markets in sharp competition with like products raised in all parts of the world by the cheapest and most degraded pauper labor. Of course the price of the surplus in the foreign market regulates the price of the whole crop at home as well as abroad. No intelligent man will venture to assert that protection protects the producers of cotton or wheat, yet they are both great legitimate and important American industries, employing more laborers in their production than all the factories in the land, and are, therefore, as much entitled to protection as the product of the furnace, the factory, or the loom. It is absurd to talk about protecting either cotton or wheat, and equally absurd to talk about increasing the consumption of either while the high prices of home manufacturers are maintained so as to limit their products substantially to home consumption.

It is impossible to conceive how any man who lives by farm labor, or the sales of products of the farm can support the Republican party in its crusade against all the industries of the country, except the comparatively few whose machines are engaged in manufacturing goods for home consumption; or how tradesmen, such as bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other unprotected occupations, mainly dependent on the prosperity of farm industry, can do so. All intelligent men know that the whole farming industry of this country is, and under our system of taxation must continue to be, paralyzed. Farms covered by mortgages is the rule rather than the exception. Prices of products are regulated by foreign market rates.

Everything that must be sold, has to be sold without protection, while $147 has to be paid on the average to the protected favorites of Congress for every $100 worth of the kind of goods they produce, which the farmer has to buy and pay for with the money he gets in his competition with foreign producers. It is absurd to contend that manufacturers will or can extend the home markets for farm produce if protection is continued at the present or increased rates. Twenty-five years of experience has proved how false all such pretenses are, and every day makes the proof more conclusive.

GENERAL HARRISON ON SUBSIDY.

General Harrison's protected home market, which, he says, is the best in the world (of course it is to the few protected monopolists, but the worst for those who have to buy), means legalized robbery of the masses to enrich a favored class. I have shown that the Supreme Court of the United States and all the courts of the States have so characterized it in terms even stronger than I have used. But General Harrison says: "We do not mean to be content with our own markets," and he urges subsidies for steam-ship lines to Central and South America, so that orders for goods and consignments may be made, and so that American ministers shall not be humiliated by sailing under foreign flags, and British tramps may not handle our mails. All this is simply silly, and yet it was received with great applause.

I hope the question will be frequently asked, during the canvass, how American manufacturers, who declare that they will be ruined and driven out of the home market if the present protective tax of 47 per cent. against competition with like goods manufactured abroad is reduced to 42 per cent., as the House bill proposes, can send their goods to Central and South America, or anywhere else outside of the United States, and sell them in open market in competition with the foreign pauper-made goods against which they demand that a protective tax of 47 per cent. shall be retained in order to enable them to continue their business at home. Either the present tax is an outrageous one or the pretense that they propose to send their products to foreign countries and compete in open, unprotected markets is false. Subsidy, says the Republican platform, and their candidate, General Harrison, says that he is not to be frightened by the use of that ugly word, is the true principle by which our lost carrying trade and foreign commerce in manufactured goods is to be restored and made to flourish.

Let us look at the proposed panacea for a moment. Where is the subsidy to come from? Who is to pay it? Who is to receive it? And what equivalent are those who get it to give in return? Everybody knows that Congress has nothing to give except what it directs the tax-collector to take from the people, and everybody knows that it does not require the wealth of the country as such to contribute a dollar to the support of the Government or to any subsidy it grants. Incomes, bonds, palatial residences, all that the rich enjoy, and the poor only look at and wonder where they came from, are exempt from taxation. Only such things as all men, rich and poor, need and use are taxed. The coachman of the hundred times a millionaire, if he has a wife and family, pays more to support the Government than his employer, if he has no family. Tariff and internal-revenue taxation fills the Treasury. Out of the money so coerced out of the people the subsidies must be paid. Internal taxes are only paid by those who see fit to use whisky, beer, and tobacco, and they are paid by the consumers, rich or poor, in proportion to the quantity used. Every dollar so paid, less a small fraction over 3 per cent., the cost of collection, goes into the Treasury, to be used for subsidies or legitimate expenditures of the Government, as Congress may direct.

The internal-revenue taxes have become very odious lately to the Republican leaders, mainly because none of them go into their pockets; whereas under the system of tariff taxation they pocket at least $5 for every dollar that reaches the Treasury, as over five times as many of the goods consumed are produced here as are imported, and the Government only gets the tax on the one-fifth brought from abroad. Of course it only gets that much, as I have shown, because the individual purchaser finds on examination, and each man examines and decides on each purchase for himself, that it is cheaper for him to pay the foreign price and the tax than it is to pay the price the home manufacturer asks.

That system of taxation is held in high esteem by its beneficiaries and advocates, and General Harrison is so anxious to maintain it, that he proposes to abandon the collection of all internal revenue, because of the "anti-American" principle it contains of paying all the taxes collected into the Treasury. He advocates not only higher protective tariff taxation, but the establishment of a system of steam-ship subsidies, so as to require taxation to be maintained in that form high enough to provide not only for the ordinary expenses of the Government, but for all the subsidies to favored steam-ship lines that he can induce Congress to donate. All this is done in the interest of American labor! Their false pretenses are fully exposed when we see who the beneficiaries are, and ascertain what they propose to do with it.

When the proposition was before Congress in July last the Postmaster-General exposed the scheme so completely that I can not strengthen his presentation of the hollowness of the pretenses set up by General Harrison and his platform on the subsidy question, and will therefore quote what he said. I only desire to remark in advance that more than half, say 56 per cent., of the whole subsidy was to be given to two corporations, the Pacific Mail, of which Jay Gould is president, and the Brazilian Steam-ship Company, of which H. K. Thurber is president

and C. P. Huntington the principal owner, he having bought out the Roach interest.

I do not think the country will appreciate the wail of sympathy General Harrison raises for these poor, innocent, helpless infants or their industries. Plain people will rather assume that this munificent gift was intended to give Mr. Foster and his associates an excuse for frying "some of the fat out of them" for campaign purposes. I submit liberal extracts and the tables in regard to trades from the statement of the Postmaster-General. Nobody has answered it; nobody can successfully controvert it, and in my opinion the American people will approve it.

After showing conclusively that the postal service would be seriously damaged by the proposed subsidy of $800,000 a year, and that he is now paying American companies liberal compensation, he adds:

In the present conditions the proposed law might as well have named the few persons to whom this money is to be paid. Even the laws (Revised Statutes, sections 3976 and 4203) under which American ships might be compelled to carry the mails have been repealed (23 United States Statutes at Large, 58), and it goes without saying that the proposed legislation intends the Department to pay the maximum rate provided, *i. e.*, $1 per nautical mile for five years, to these few persons, without troubling them with any negotiations as to terms, and, indeed, as you will observe, without even the lodgment of discretion in the Department to designate from what ports of the United States the mails shall sail.

It may be said in passing that presumably the "terminal points" from which sailings will be made, if self-interest, as is usually the case, governs, will be those from which the greatest number of nautical miles may be computed, rather than from those at which the convenience and needs of the service would be suited. It may be noted also that the schedules of sailings are to be furnished by the contractors, and not by the Postmaster-General; altogether, from an analysis of the proposed legislation it would seem to exclude the exercise of any power of any representative of this Government to provide for this mail service in the interest of the people, except after contract, which must be on the carriers' own terms and after the carriers have fixed the schedules according to their ideas of what the mail service should be, to compel them to conform to their own expressed views and decision as to the public convenience and the public interests.

Herewith I furnish you two tables, marked "A" and "B." From them you will see that the mails of this country were carried to Central and South America and the West Indies for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1887, by foreign steamers at a cost of $7,936.27 at the single rate, and by steamers of American register at a cost of $39.381.57. The number of miles sailed by the foreign ships employed was 666,448; the miles sailed by ships of American register employed were 546,758. It will be seen on the plan of payment proposed, which is fixed without regard to the amount of mail carried, that the service, which costs us in the fiscal year 1887, $47,317.84, would have cost us, if paid for as proposed, $1,213,206. It is estimated that the weight of mails will be for the next fiscal year increased 20 per cent. over these figures, and from what I have before shown it will be seen that the number of sailings will be increased in about the same ratio over the figures given in Tables A and B. The total cost of the sailings under this bill predicated upon the business of 1887 can be but an approximate standard by which to estimate the cost under a provision of $1 for every nautical mile for each outward trip.

Again, it will not commend itself to our people if, with this enormous compensation, avowedly for the carriage of the mails, frequency of transmission shall be largely curtailed, even to ports touched by American ships, as must be the case where we pay one carrier about two hundred and fifty times as much as we offer for the same service to another. In my opinion the bill would not be advantageous to the service, but the disadvantages would be positive in so far as this Department is concerned, while if it shall become a law the Department will of course faithfully administer the fund in accordance with the spirit of the act. I feel confident that such administration will result only in a very great pecuniary benefit to a dozen individuals, at the expense and embarrassment of good service, and of inconvenience, injustice, and material injury to the great body of the people, whose money will be used in the purchase of those results.

"The question (mail subsidy service) can not be dealt with on commercial principles. * * * For the sake of keeping up such communication with the East as the nation requires they must set commercial principles at defiance, and cost what it may the nation must either pay them what they lose thereby or forego the communication."

Of course England may subsidize lines of ships to open up new markets for her surplus, because she freely exchanges commodities with such markets; and her policy is after establishing the commerce to steadily decrease the subsidy. If the policy of giving bounties to promote commercial relations with other countries be ever adopted again after the failures in our history, it would seem that its adoption should be deferred until closer commercial relations with those countries can be maintained, and are not antagonized by an opposing system of laws.

I hope that language will be considered carefully by gentlemen on the other side when they are quoting what other nations do in order to build up commerce. They met in Chicago lately, and in their platform declared that they are going to keep the American markets for themselves. They propose to build a Chinese wall around the United States to prevent our people from buying anything produced abroad which can be produced at home at any price, in order to protect home industries.

They propose to take no step in the direction that other nations are moving, in order to build up closer commercial relations with other countries, but they propose to antagonize trade with other people by an opposing system of exclusion and restriction which destroys the very idea of commerce with other countries.

The Postmaster-General continues:

Commerce, in the very essence of its meaning, is exchange. It is not to sell and never to buy.

Never to buy seems to be Republican policy in dealing with foreign nations, according to the Chicago platform, if somebody here has the same things to sell, even if he asks double price for them. He adds:

The individual or nation does not exist that will buy all one has to sell for cash with no reciprocal return in profitable exchange. Cargoes out and cargoes back are needed for the creation of a merchant marine. The cargo out will not be bought unless we buy in exchange, and it will be bought if we are willing to trade. Until these conditions come subsidies may maintain a line so long as the subsidy lasts, and then the line will go down for want of legitimate trade. If, however, the subsidy policy is to be pursued, I venture to suggest the Mexican method. When a ship arrives with a cargo the tariff tax is divided with the ship owner, the latter taking 50 per cent. of the duty on the goods he brings in payment on account of his subsidy.

The trading ship is thus enabled to remit to the consignor, if he will employ his ship, a portion of the Government duties, and thus the ship-owner is indeed enabled to promote trade with foreign countries directly. An improvement upon the Mexican method, in the interest of the promotion of trade and of the building of ships to conduct it, would be to enable the owners and the builders to receive at the port of consignment in that country a still greater proportion of the duties imposed by the Government upon the cargo.

In this way the Mexican ship would be enabled to get her cargo, charge a fair profit for carriage, and sell to the Mexican consumer at a price at which he could conveniently buy, take out a cargo for exchange, and repeat the process, to the cultivation of much closer commercial relations with foreign countries, and to the maintenance of Mexican shipping. Of course the Mexican method is somewhat cumbersome, and the same end might be reached without indirection and without the payment of a subsidy by the removal or reduction of the Mexican tariff on imports.

While on the subject of closer commercial relations with South and Central America, for the promotion of which the bill under consideration is doubtless intended, I call your attention to some interesting figures. Our total trade with Brazil for the year ended June 30, 1887, was as follows:

Total imports	$52,955,591
Our total exports to Brazil were	8,137,794
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	47,076,473
We did impose a tariff upon	5,876,703

Our total trade with Central America for the same period was as follows:

Total imports	$7,706,978
Total exports	3,006,714
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	7,195,705
We did impose a tariff upon	441,916

Our total trade with Venezuela was as follows:

Total imports	8,444,967
Total exports	5,504,215
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	8,248,450
We did impose a tariff upon	12,786

Our total trade with the United States of Colombia was as follows:

Total imports	4,771,303
Total exports	7,158,235
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	3,934,559
We did impose a tariff upon	16,594

Our total trade with the Argentine Republic was as follows:

Total imports	4,104,102
Total exports	6,364,545
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	3,347,936
We imposed a tariff upon	752,256

Our total trade with Chili was as follows:

Total imports	2,863,233
Total exports	2,069,138
Of the imports we imposed no tariff upon	2,634,396
We did impose a tariff upon	228,897

These illustrate the universal rule by which the limitations upon commercial relations and the carrying trade with all the countries of Central and South America may be measured. A comparison of the amount brought into the country free of tariff with what we send in exchange is instructive. It should be noted that of the Brazilian imports free of duty the large proportion value is the item of coffee, after deducting which the lesson on exchange of trade as bearing on closer relations with all these countries is the same and the universal one.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

DON M. DICKINSON,
Postmaster-General.

Hon. JAMES H. BLOUNT,
Chairman of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, House of Representatives.

I agree with the Postmaster-General that we must take what the people we seek to trade with have got to sell if we expect them to buy from us. That is what all the leading commercial countries of the world are doing to secure trade and cargoes for their ships both ways. Does any man suppose that the world will buy from us unless we buy something from them? Is it good policy to close our markets against the world? If so, is it not good policy for them to close their markets against us? Can we sell to everybody and buy from nobody? I think not. That, however, involves, as I said, other questions which we can discuss by and by.

All I have to add now is that the Postmaster-General demonstrates that from the time we began with the Garrison subsidy, followed by the Roach subsidy, and the subsidy to the Pacific Mail, that brought so much scandal, we have built up no trade of any consequence, except in goods admitted free of duty. We can build up none by subsidies. This subsidy will not build up trade, but it will seriously embarrass existing postal regulations by giving a subsidy to a few men at the public expense, to the detriment of the public service, and to the injury of every tax-payer in the country.

All I ask is that the American people will read the facts stated and the figures furnished by the Postmaster-General. When they do the clamor of General Harrison and his platform for subsidies will not only be repudiated, but the fact will be recognized that it is simply a desperate effort to secure partisan support and money subsidy from men of wealth and power in the political campaign now being waged against the tax-paying masses for the benefit of wealthy corporations and combinations. If it was not solemnly asserted in the Republican platform and announced by General Harrison that they propose to build up the American merchant marine and foster and promote our foreign commerce, the assertion would be treated as a broad farce or a ridiculous burlesque.

Protection necessarily exhausts itself when it passes beyond our borders. The monopoly of the coastwise trade is given by Congress to American-built ships. That is perhaps the most valuable franchise

that Congress has at its disposal. All the people who have no other means of getting their products to market, or what they need from other parts of the country, are prohibited from using or employing as carriers on our coasts, lakes, and rivers, anything but an American-built ship, no matter how extortionate a price the owner of the home-built vessel may ask. Foreign-built ships may offer to do the work for one-half or one-fourth of the price the home-ship owners ask.

Congress orders that the ship and cargo shall be confiscated if the cheaper offer is accepted. That tribute binds a powerful class of beneficiaries to the protective system, because they get a good share of the plunder. But the high seas are free. Congress can not interfere with the navigation of these God-given highways of the nations, but it prohibits any American citizen from raising the flag of the United States or from claiming the protection of our laws even against pirates or robbers if he dares to send his cotton, wheat, or anything else on a ship he has purchased in a foreign country.

Congress has taxed everything that is needed in building ships so high that ships for the foreign trade can not be built here and compete with foreign-built ships. All other nations buy their ships where they can get them cheapest, yet Congress will not allow our people to buy them elsewhere and hold them as American property. While treaties are now in existence with all other nations which authorize them to trade in all our ports upon the same terms that American-built ships can, we have bound ourselves not to impose on their ships or the cargoes they carry any other or higher taxes, duties, or burdens than we impose on our own ships and cargoes.

The result is, American ships are driven from the high seas. Our flag is not seen on a single steamer that carries our goods and passengers over the Atlantic Ocean. Our ministers to all the courts of Europe are compelled to sail under foreign flags. I wonder General Harrison did not think of that when he deplored the necessity of using foreign ships to carry them to South America. We pay an annual tribute of $160,000,000 to foreigners to haul our goods and transport our passengers. We feed, clothe, and keep employed at least 100,000 sailors for England, while we are prostrated at the feet of every third-class power. Our contests hereafter will not be on the land, but on the sea. In short, the old clap-trap that protection insured preparation for war in time of peace is another of the now thoroughly exploded humbugs, though it was once as potent as the present false pretense that protection is demanded solely in the interest of American labor.

These questions have all been so elaborately argued that it is needless to repeat the exposures that have been made. The country knows that protection and restriction of home markets means destruction to our shipping interests and to foreign trade and commerce, and it has in fact destroyed them. All efforts to restore either by subsidies will only add burdens to the people to enrich the least deserving class of lobbyists, without accomplishing or tending to accomplish any of the objects so ostentatiously paraded by the Republican platform and their Presidential candidate.

The present Secretary of the Treasury, in his last annual report to the present Congress, shows the folly of our adherence to antiquated navigation laws, under the pretense of protecting home industry, after all the world has abandoned them, in the following statement:

A citizen of the United States may buy a foreign-built vessel in a foreign port; he may put the United States flag upon it, and trade with all the countries of the world except his own. Our Government will protect him with all its power in such trade; but if he brings his ship with our flag upon it to one of our ports, our Government will confiscate it or impose prohibitory duties. He may, however, put the flag of any other country on that same ship and bring it to his home without molestation by our Government. It is then protected by the power of a foreign country. It is difficult to understand why it would not be well to so change our navigation laws as to allow foreign-built ships owned by our citizens to come and go between this and other countries while bearing the flag of the country of their owners.

In *ante bellum* days, when the principles and policy of the Democratic party prevailed, more than three-fourths of the American commerce and a large portion of the commerce of the outside world was carried in American ships, officered and manned by American citizens. At that time, under the low revenue tariff inaugurated by Mr. Polk and maintained until 1861, from 70 to 85 per cent. of our carrying trade was carried in American bottoms. We had more shipping in 1860 than all the world combined, except England, and we were rapidly passing her. Less than 10 per cent. of our merchant marine was destroyed during the civil war, although that was made an excuse for years for the falling off of our carrying trade, until it was exposed so often by Democrats and Republicans that the men who made the charge were ashamed to make it any longer. But I do not need to rely upon my own assertions or those of any other Democrat to prove to what a deplorable condition our commerce and merchant marine have been brought by the Republican protective system.

On the 8th day of February, 1884, page 975 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, when Senator FRYE reported a bill from the Committee on Commerce to remove certain burdens on the Armerican merchant marine and to encourage the foreign carrying trade, he opened his speech by saying:

The first section of the bill touches the provision relating to officers of American ships. The law as it stands to-day requires that all officers of vessels of the United States shall be citizens of the United States, and provides a very heavy penalty of 50 cents a ton on a vessel for a violation of this law. It was a good law when it was enacted, when nearly all the sailors on board the ships were American sailors and many of them fit to be made officers; but to-day, when 95 per cent. of the sailors are foreigners, it is not a good law and works a great injustice very frequently. The bill reported by me provides that under certain circumstances the officers, other than the captain, may be foreign rather than American citizens.

On the 8th day of January, 1884, page 311 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Senator FRYE, in a discussion with Senator VEST, of Missouri, in regard to the time when the American tonnage engaged in the foreign trade was largest, said:

I trust the Senator and I will both go into the subject. I stand by my statement that in 1861 the American tonnage in foreign commerce was larger than it was at any other period.

Mr. VEST. The Senator is mistaken; it had begun to decline before that.

Mr. FRYE. I stand by my statement. I said to-day Great Britain carried 85 per cent. of our exports and imports, and we carry but 15 per cent. ourselves.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator say that is Great Britain's proportion?

Mr. FRYE. Eighty-five per cent. is carried in foreign ships. The gentleman must not be so hypercritical. I mean that in foreign ships 85 per cent. of our commerce is carried and our own ships 15 per cent. and a fraction. Now, from 1861—and I still adhere to that—down to the very moment I am talking, the course of the merchant marine of the United States has been the lobster's—backward—until it is down to 15 per cent. of our own exports and imports in the carrying trade.

Why, Mr. President, if this is permitted to go on, in two or three years more, with the same decrease, there will be no American ships carrying our exports or bringing our imports. It will all be done in foreign bottoms.

During the debate on the fisheries treaty a few weeks ago the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. HOAR, read a letter from Admiral Porter, of the United States Navy, which, while it was an exaggeration in some regards and a wanton insult to all men of Scandinavian nationality, still exhibited the condition to which our Navy and merchant marine are now reduced by the policy which the Republican party seeks to perpetuate. While Judge HOAR afterwards denied being responsible for the letter, he commended Admiral Porter and his statements as being worthy of the highest consideration.

OFFICE OF THE ADMIRAL, *Washington, D. C., May 4*, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of May 4, asking my opinion of the value of our fisheries as a nursery for seamen for the present Navy, which is to be built of iron and propelled by steam.

I beg leave to say that all our fisheries at the present moment are more valuable as nurseries for naval seamen than they ever were before, for our commercial marine has been almost obliterated from the ocean.

In our last war with Great Britain our Navy was largely recruited from Massachusetts fishermen, who made the finest men-o'-war's men in the world, which was illustrated by their skill in seamanship and gunnery, which gave us such great success over our opponents.

They not only furnished seamen to the Navy, but manned that immense fleet of privateers that swarmed the ocean, paralyzed the British commerce, and caused a large section of the British people, led by that great political writer, William Cobbett, to demand of the Government that peace should be secured on any terms.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming naval power of Great Britain during the war, with heavy squadrons in every sea, we were indebted to the New England seamen and the brave officers who led them for a success unparalleled in history.

If we had a war to-morrow we must depend almost altogether upon the fishermen of New England to man our naval vessels.

To show the importance of having trained seamen in time of war, I will mention the fact that the regiment of Marblehead fishermen under John Glover were employed to carry Washington's forces across the Delaware when he surprised and captured the Hessians. Without the aid of the fishermen it is doubtful if Washington would have undertaken the perilous enterprise, for the fishermen were the only ones who considered the project feasible.

The ships that will hereafter be built for the Navy will require as good and hardy sailors as have ever been required before, and it is to be regretted that we can not obtain the services of the fishermen in time of peace. Their present calling is more lucrative than any employment they can obtain in the Navy, and there are no sufficient inducements held out to them to enlist in the Government service.

In time of war with a maritime power the occupation of these fishermen would be gone, and they would flock to enlist in the Navy, as they did in the civil war, when the Confederate privateers made their appearance off our coast. The vessels of our Navy may be said at the present time to be manned almost entirely by foreigners, who have entered the service not from devotion to the flag. In case war should be suddenly declared against us, our ships abroad would be obliged to return home, discharge their crews, and ship American seamen. In a late inspection of the United States ship Trenton the board of inspectors reported to me as follows: "The crew is a fair one, considering their want of knowledge of the English language"—a pretty severe commentary on the class of seamen we enlist in the Navy.

It is very desirable that we should adopt some system by which we could obtain enough bona fide American seamen to leaven the crowd of foreigners now on board a United States vessel of war. The crews of our ships of war are generally made up of men from all parts of the world, largely from the Scandinavian race, who do not care what flag they serve under. There are the descendants of the Huns, Goths, and other barbarians who once overran Europe. They enlist in our Navy softened in character, but still free lances as of old. They serve for money, with no sentiment for flag or nationality, and, possibly, if it came to an action with a ship of their own or a neighboring nation, they would haul down the American flag and hoist that of their own country.

The same qualities required for the seamen of fifty years ago are required for the seamen of vessels of war to-day. The better the seaman the more easily he will learn the improvements in gunnery and seamanship, and the best seamen in the world are those who come from the New England fisheries. They are the strongest, hardiest class of men I know of. They are exposed to all weathers and bear the severest tempests. They are seamen all over, and I will merely add that in 1812 the old Constitution, whose career is familiar to every American, was manned almost altogether by Massachusetts fishermen.

As to any extra science being required to man our present and projected ships of war, I would remark that the management of a ship is easier than it used to

be, but we require the same good seamanship we had in days gone by. With a steam-capstan and steam-winch twenty men can get a large vessel under way. An officer on deck, a man at the wheel, and one at the lead, with the above number on deck for general purposes, and the ship can go to sea with the rest of the crew in their hammocks. But when the machinery is disabled and the ship must rely on her ponderous yards and sails, we want every man to understand English and be a seaman from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot.

The modern guns, it is true, are larger than of old; the machinery to work them is a little more intricate; but a week's good drilling would teach native-born seamen all that is essential, and a ship of war at the end of that period would be ready for inspection by the board of inspection. When the board of inspection finish their examination of a ship she must go to sea ready to meet any enemy of equal force, so that what happened previous to 1812, when the Chesapeake was disgraced by the British ship Leopard, can never again occur as long as the board of inspection exists.

If we can in a week drill a mongrel crew so that every man knows his various stations on shipboard, how much easier would it be for us to do the same thing with a crew of New England fishermen, hardy and active in their persons and intelligent beyond any set of foreign seamen.

The question of protection to the New England fisheries and their seamen does not admit of argument, and in my zeal on the subject I may have gone out of my way to prove to you that which you know already.

I inclose you some statistics which, if you have not already got them, will give you the status of our fisheries throughout the United States.

If there is anything bearing on this subject you would like me to hunt up, please let me know, and I will endeavor to obtain it.

The statistics I inclose show at a glance the immense money value of our fisheries and their importance to the country. If it had not been for the fisheries, New England would never have been settled, for on the first landing on those stormy shores it is likely the emigrants would have been forced to go elsewhere but for the quantities of fish, a most fortunate circumstance for the Union, to which New England has added so many true and loyal States.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DAVID D. PORTER, *Admiral.*

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR,
United States Senate.

Men profess to wonder how England retains half the trade of the world in open, unprotected markets, while she pays her operatives more than double the wages paid by many of her competitors on the continent of Europe. The reason is obvious. She has better machinery and more skillful and intelligent labor. They produce more in proportion to the wages paid, and they produce on such an enormous scale to supply a world-wide market that they are employed all the year round. The cheapest raw material that can be found anywhere on the face of the earth is supplied untaxed to the manufacturers of England, and not a dollar of tax is levied to support the Government on anything needed for the comfort of a laboring man and his family except a small tax on tea and coffee. England once pursued relentlessly the restrictive policy we now adhere to till widespread ruin and starvation forced her reluctantly to reverse it.

The history of England while she clung to protection is too well known to need repetition. Squalid poverty was rampant over the land; labor was not only unrequited but unemployed; corn laws and other onerous burdens imposed for the protection of the landed aristocracy were enforced to secure home markets at high home prices as remorsely as the Republican party now propose to restrict and protect our home market in the interest of the combined manufacturers and their machinery. This policy brought starvation to the doors of all the workingmen of that country.

Bread riots and combinations of desperate, starving men, who threatened the overthrow of the government itself, forced Sir Robert Peel and his ministry to repeal the most odious and oppressive of the protective and restrictive laws which had so long enriched the English protected nobility and made paupers and serfs of the laboring masses. Hon. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, stated the situation forcibly in a very able article in the Fortnightly Review a few years ago. He said, after showing how prosperous England is now under her system of unrestricted trade compared to her condition under her protective-tariff system:

A very erroneous idea prevails to some extent in the United States as to the motive of these reforms; and it is often asserted that they were begun when great prosperity had been achieved by the system of tariff taxation that preceded them. How utterly at variance with the facts this view is has been overlooked even by many in England. The true state of the case has been recorded in these words: "It is impossible to convey by mere statistics of our exports any adequate picture of the condition of the nation when Sir Robert Peel took office in 1841. Every interest in the country was alike depressed. In the manufacturing districts mills and workshops were closed, and property daily depreciated in value; in the seaports shipping was laid up useless in harbor; agricultural laborers were eking out a miserable existence upon starvation wages and parochial relief; the revenue was insufficient to meet the national expenditure; the country was brought to the verge of national and universal bankruptcy. The protective system, which was supported with the view of rendering the country independent of foreign sources of supply, and thus, it was hoped, fostering the growth of a home trade, had most effectually destroyed that trade by reducing the entire population to beggary, destitution, and want. The masses of the population were unable to procure food, and had consequently nothing to spend on British manufactures."—*Noble's Fiscal Legislation of Great Britain.*

There is perhaps no man in England who takes a deeper interest in the welfare of the working classes than Hon. John Bright, and no man is better qualified to present the facts in regard to the effect produced by the change of policy from restricted to unrestricted trade, or, if you please, from protection to free trade in that country than Mr. Bright. A banquet was given to him at Rockdale, November 18, 1881, his seventieth birthday, at which he made a speech to the workingmen who had lived as he had under both conditions, in which, among other things, he said:

Now, touching upon this question, one is obliged to refer to a very curious fact that after so many years of experience there are some men who are disposed to call in question the policy of 1846; that is, that there are men of whom you never heard before, and if you would look down the record of all their political life, you would not find a single thing that they have done, and yet they call in question the policy of such men as Sir Robert Peel of 1846 [cheers], and Mr. Gladstone in the succeeding years [loud cheers], and of my lamented friend, Mr. Cobden [cheers], whose services every one acquainted with the recent history of this country must acknowledge. And yet these men—what I should call rather a feeble-minded class of men [laughter]—call in question all this policy, and they have the courage to believe, or the simple-mindedness to believe, that the great body of the people of this country, and especially of the working classes, are not in any degree cognizant of the enormous advantages which the new policy of 1846 has given to the country. [Cheers.]

Mr. Bright, after referring to the original opposition of Mr. Disraeli, and stating the facts in regard to the increase of wages since 1840, under the auspices of free trade, said:

There, according to his statement, was an actual doubling of the wages of the laborers in Lord Beaconsfield's own county of Buckingham. Perhaps some of you may recollect a letter which was published almost immediately after Lord Beaconsfield's death, which he wrote to a gentleman who had sent him a book about the condition of the population in the southwestern counties of England, and Lord Beaconsfield said he thought he underrated the improvement in the condition of farm laborers; that, according to his opinion, the rise in the wages of the farm laborers had been at least 40 per cent.; that is 10*s.* of wages per week had risen to 14*s.* per week.

I believe, indeed, that in many parts of the country the wages of farm laborers, taking into account the hours which they work and all particulars, are doubled since the free-trade policy was established. [Hear! Hear!] Now, take the other class of men. I walked down from the Reform Club through the park to the House of Commons one day in the past summer, three or four months ago, and a man—an intelligent, respectable-looking workingman—joined me and addressed me by name. I asked him how he knew me. He knew me because, he said, "I have been a good deal in Birmingham, and have attended your meetings there, and so I know you very well." [Laughter and cheers.] I talked to him a little about his business. He said he was then getting 7*s.* 6*d.* a day as a bricksetter, and he added, "Formerly I used to work for 4*s.* a day." There is a jump. From 4*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* is a considerable leap.

ADVANCE OF WAGES IN THE COTTON TRADE.

Now I should like to tell you of something that has happened nearer home, for I suspect there are many persons in this meeting who have not the least idea of the actual increase of wages that has taken place among the factory operatives in this neighborhood during the last forty years. I was looking the other day at one of our wages books for 1840 and 1841. I will tell you what I found in it and what I find in our wages book now. The figures are taken over an average of two months at that time and over an average of two months now, and therefore are a fair statement of what happened then and what happens to-day. Many persons here know, of course, all about the interior of a cotton factory, and therefore I shall speak as if we were in a mill and looking over the different people at work. I find that in 1839 the throstle-piecers—I need not explain who they are—were receiving 8*s.* a week and they were working twelve hours a day.

I find that now the same class of hands are receiving 13*s.* a week at ten hours a day. If they worked for twelve hours, and were paid at the same rate, it would be 16*s.* a week, or exactly double what they received in 1839, 1840, and 1841. [Cheers.] The young women who worked at the drawing frames at that time had 7*s.* 6*d.* a week; they have now 15*s.*, and that is without reckoning the fact that they are working two hours a day less. The rovers and slubbers got 8*s.* a week then, and they are getting 14*s.* a week now. The doffers [laughter] are considered a class whose wits are a little too sharp [laughter], and are sometimes not very manageable. They used to have 5*s.* 6*d.* a week, and they now have 9*s.* 6*d.*

The warpers in those days, as far as my recollection serves me—I am speaking of my own business—were all women. They earned on the average of the two months 17*s.* 6*d.* a week. The warpers now are all men, and they have earned in the two months an average of 35*s.* 6*d.* a week. [Cheers.] Well, at that time we had a very clever man as blacksmith, whom I used to like to see strike the sparks off; his wages were 22*s.* a week. Well, our blacksmith now has wages of 34*s.* a week, and that only for factory time, which is ten hours, whereas the man of 22*s.* a week worked the then factory time, which was twelve hours. Now you see the enormous change to the people in these factories. They have two hours' leisure which they had not before, and their wages are nearly double.

* * * * * * *

I think it is impossible to account for this extraordinary improvement in the wages of agricultural laborers, of brick-setters and carpenters, and all your factory operatives, and all your mechanics, upon any other theory than this, that the new policy with regard to trade, which has made your trade fourfold, has been the cause which has made this stupendous and unimagined improvement in the condition of the people. [Cheers.]

Mr. Bright could hardly have falsified the facts in the presence of these men. Again, Mr. Bright said, referring to the croakers who predicted ruin to England by free trade, and the prediction that their only hope was to leave their country:

Well, you did not go abroad, but you staid at home. The law was altered so that the bread could come here, and a great many things besides bread. Trade has extended and you have added, in Great Britain alone, more than 10,000,000 to your population in forty years.

* * * * * * *

And yet, with all that increase of population, you have had the demand for labor more steady, employment better paid, the time of labor shorter. The man must be absolutely blind or worse than blind who can not see and will not acknowledge that the great mass of the people, in physical condition, are enormously better off than they were forty years ago.

Again, Mr. Bright said, and that is all I care to quote:

What are the exports now? Instead of being £51,000,000, they amount to close upon, if not quite £200,000,000, so that the foreign trade of the county has increased fourfold within that time, and as a matter of course the home trade must have immensely increased at the same time, because so great an increase of foreign trade has brought so great wealth to the country that the home trade has increased probably in quite as great proportion as the foreign trade.

FREE TRADE A BOON GREATEST TO WORKINGMEN.

But there is another point, which is one of extraordinary interest, and it shows, I think, that no class in this country suffered so much by the ancient policy of protection as the working class, and that no other class in this country has gained so much as they have gained during the last forty years by the adoption of the new policy. [Cheers.]

The facts stated by Mr. Bright are conclusive on this question at least, and that is the main one, that the difference between wages in England and the United States is nothing like as great now as it was

forty years ago. Therefore American manufacturers do not need as much protection now to compensate them for the higher wages they pay as they did then, while they are demanding more than twice as much.

When Hon. James G. Blaine was Secretary of State, a few years ago, he made a very able report to Congress in regard to wages in this country and in Europe. He caused the consuls of the United States, all of them Republicans, to examine into the wages of operatives in the leading manufacturing cities of Great Britain and the continent. Consul Shaw made an elaborate report as to the wages of operatives in the cotton mills of Manchester, from all of which information the Secretary made a very valuable report to Congress, giving the American and European wages paid for similar work, in which he completely refutes all the hired slanderers of the present campaign of the Protective Tariff League in regard to the starvation wages paid to English workmen, and fully corroborates all that Mr. Bright said. His report ought to be read in answer to his own partisan political speeches now. On pages 98 and 99 of his official report he says:

Owing to the different arrangements of the English and American tables of wages, it is difficult to give comparative analysis thereof which would show at a glance the difference in the wages of the operatives of both countries.

The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week:

Spinners: English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.

Weavers: English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject at the date on which these rates were given to a reduction of 10 per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employés in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are 56; in the Massachusetts mills, 60 per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually 66 to 69 per week.

Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.

In the two prime factors which may be said to form the basis of the cotton manufacturing industry, namely, raw material and labor, we hold the advantage over England in the first, and stand upon an equality with her in the second.

Having the raw material at our doors, it follows that we should be able to convert it into manufactures, all things else being equal, with more economy and facility than can be done by England, which imports our cotton and then manufactures it in her mills. The expense of handling, transportation, and commission must be an important item in this regard as compared with our turning in the fiber from the cotton-fields to our mills and shipping it in the advanced form of manufactured goods. Add to this the secondary fact that it costs us no more to handle and manufacture the same than it costs in England, and we stand on an undoubted equality thus far in the race of competition.

In the face of official facts like these from as distinguished a partisan leader as Hon. James G. Blaine, and of the conceded fact that England pays 50 per cent. more to her workmen than most of the European continental nations, and yet controls more of the world's trade than all other nations combined, it is evident that the clamor that protection controls or increases the rate of wages paid is false. It is the proportion of goods produced to the human labor employed that settles the question of what wages the employer can afford to pay, and Secretary Evarts proved as well as asserted that the average American workman produced double what was produced by the average European workman, as has been already shown by his report.

It is absurd to talk about a people as being paupers who control in free competition more than half the trade and commerce of the world; and it is equally absurd to insist that protection and restriction which produced nothing but pauperism while maintained in England in the interests of their aristocracy will either develop trade or commerce between us and other countries, or add to the wages or comforts of our laborers in any broad sense, so long as we maintain it alone in the interest of the machinery owned by the manufacturers of this country, to the destruction of all other interests and industries.

If anything else is needed to show the value of trade and commerce to a people, the official statistics of England's progress prove it. They show that while her population has increased from 26,500,000 in 1841 to 35,000,000 in 1881, the able-bodied paupers who had to be supported by taxation in England and Wales decreased from 201,000 in 1849 to 111,000 in 1880, and the number of criminal convictions from 34,000 in 1840 to 15,600 in 1881. The taxable incomes of her people, excluding Ireland, increased from £251,000,000 in 1842 to £582,000,000 in 1880, an increase of 130 per cent., while her population increased only 33. The value of her annual exports was swollen from £51,000,000 in 1840 to £223,000,000 in 1880, an increase of 450 per cent.; while the annual savings of the working classes, leaving out of account the increased comfort and advantages afforded by cheap food and materials, are estimated to have increased from £24,500,000 in 1840 to £76,500,000 in 1880.

Mr. Gladstone, who is recognized by all men everywhere as an intelligent, far-seeing statesman, made a speech at Leeds, a few years ago, in which he contrasted our trade under protection in the neutral markets of the world with that of England, now and at the periods when our tariff was at the lowest and their protection was the highest and the most prohibitory. He said:

As for America and her system of protection, he pointed out that in those countries or markets where they met on comparatively equal footing the exports from America amounted to only £4,751,000, while those from the United Kingdom to the same quarter amounted to £78,140,000. "America," said Mr. Gladstone, "is a young country, with enormous vigor and enormous internal resources. She has committed—I say it, I hope, not with disrespect—I say it with strong and cordial sympathy, but with much regret—she is committing errors of which we set her an example. But from the enormous resources of her home market, the development of which internally is not touched by protection, she is able to commit those errors with less fatal consequences upon her people than we experienced when we committed them; and the enormous development of American resources within casts almost entirely into the shade the puny character of the exports of her manufactures to the neutral markets of the world."

He similarly contrasted the trade of Germany, France, Russia, and Holland, and proved that they as well were entirely thrown into the shade by the maligned free trade of Britain. Not only so, he pointed out that in 1842 America controlled four-fifths of her shipping trade with Britain, while now, in 1881, the scales were exactly reversed, and Britain did four-fifths of the business, and that the best, and America only picked up their leavings.

The statesmen of England who broke down the long-cherished protective policy of that country met with an opposition as determined as the monopolists of this country now present to any attempt to curtail or diminish their privileges, and on the same grounds. Joint debates were had before the people. There Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and their adherents laid down the following proposition:

That in the opinion of this meeting the corn laws and every other law which protects one class at the expense of other classes must prove injurious to the national prosperity, and therefore all monopolies, whether passed under the pretext of benefiting the agricultural, colonial, or manufacturing interests, ought to be immediately abolished.

They were met by the advocates of the landed aristocracy and other protected interests with the following counter-proposition, which every protectionist in America repeats to-day as an answer to all propositions for relief:

That protection to native industry, particularly to the agriculture of the country, is essential to the well-being of the state, and any attempt, however plausible, to abolish that protection and further depreciate the productions of our own soil will only end in the spread of inevitable ruin throughout the rural districts, and ultimately deprive the manufacturers of their best and surest customers.

In this country, to-day, the protected combinations are struggling for the maintenance of their right to rob, through Congressional subsidies, all the consumers of this country as earnestly as the landed aristocracy of England struggled to maintain the right to force the mass of the people to pay double price for their products, and they base their demands on the same patriotic pretenses.

No higher evidence of the prosperity brought to a country by unrestricted trade and the reflected benefits derived by other countries from its enlarged commerce can be furnished than is exhibited by our own official reports of our exports and imports to and from foreign countries. So long as England maintained her high protective-tariff system her purchases from us outside of cotton amounted to comparatively nothing. Last year our total exports were, in round numbers, $703,000,000, of which England and her possessions bought $424,000,000, and all the balance of the world took only $279,000,000. Our imports from the British possessions were $244,000,000, so that they bought from us $180,000,000 more than we bought from them. Our imports from Great Britain proper were less than 13 per cent. of their exports, while they took over 50 per cent. of ours.

If protection to home markets is to be the international policy hereafter, and that is the demand now made by the Republican party, its ruinous effect upon all American industries outside of those protected or licensed by Congress to rob our own people must be apparent to all thinking men. Surely England with more than half of the world's trade and commerce in her hands, and with all the other nations of the world to trade with, can get clear of the 13 per cent. of her exports that we now take much easier than we can get rid of the 60 per cent. of our exports, nearly all of them the product of unprotected agricultural industry, which her people take, even if we give her no credit for buying our beef and pork and giving it character and standing in foreign markets as being sound and wholesome, when the leading continental nations of Europe are prohibiting its sale to their people on the ground that it is diseased and unfit for use.

Turning from these general questions, even if I have to be guilty of repetition, to a more careful examination of the effect of restricted markets on labor, it is hard to speak in respectful terms of the false pretenses by which the protected monopolists seek to delude the people.

I have read about Pharisees, hypocrites, and wolves in sheep's clothing, but history shows no such instance of unblushing and shameless effrontery as the Republican platform proposes. The proposition which the protected organizations make to the laboringmen of America, indeed to all the people, stripped of its varnish is, If you will enable us to exclude competition from abroad, give us control of the American market for home-made goods, and enable us to sell what we manufacture at our own prices, which we through trusts and combinations know how to maintain at satisfactory rates, by limiting production through

closed doors and strikes to the wants of the home market, we will agree that you shall have all the whisky, beer, and tobacco you want at the cheapest rates, free from all taxation.

The insincerity of the assumption that the Republican leaders propose to restrict the sales of manufactured goods to those they produce in the interest of American workmen, is intensified tenfold by the fact shown by the record, that they struggled for years to flood the country with the most degraded character of Chinese labor, and as soon as the war tariff gave them a monopoly of production on their own terms they passed laws which they maintained and enforced for over twenty years, authorizing the importation, free of duty, under contracts to be enforced by penalties and liens upon property acquired, the cheapest and most depraved class of pauper labor from all parts of the earth, in order to force American workmen under pressure from such competition to accept the lowest wages they could force them down to by this competition, or be driven out of their protected establishments. Yet they pose to-day before the country as the special champions of American labor.

Do they propose to secure or guaranty to the American laborers they employ, out of the bounty, subsidy, or protection they demand, that Congress shall force the tax-payers to give them either steady work or higher wages than they can get any foreign pauper imported, duty free, to do it for? Will this legislation they demand secure to American workmen any rights which they are bound to respect. Of course not.

They protest against his right to buy anything required for the comfort or want of himself and his family as cheaply as other people obtain them, because it would diminish their profits. They will cheerfully consent to let him have free cheap whisky and tobacco, because all the tax collected from them goes into the Treasury, which they regard as an outrage on them; and they thank God that they are too virtuous and patriotic to deal in such products, except in their "pluck-me stores," where most of their laborer's wages are swallowed up. They parade their contempt for cheap goods for workmen on all occasions.

The political biographers of General Harrison quote with pride and satisfaction the profound statesmanship and intense interest exhibited by him for the working classes, when he announced in what they call his great speech in March last:

> I am one of those uninstructed political economists that have an impression that some things may be too cheap, that I can not find myself in full sympathy with this demand for cheaper coats, which seems to me necessarily to involve a cheaper man and woman under the coat.

If that means anything it means that the man who gets a coat for 10 bushels of wheat, or the woman who gets a dress for 50 pounds of butter, is a cheap man or woman; while they would be highly respectable, in General Harrison's estimation, if they had paid 20 bushels of wheat and 100 pounds of butter for the same coat and dress to some protected pet of Congress, to whom they are compelled by law to pay double what the people to whom they are obliged to sell their wheat and butter offered them the same things for.

Machinery is, day by day, supplanting human factory labor. It neither eats, drinks, nor wears any product of human industry except coal, and needs no protection against any other like machine anywhere. As the proportion of machine work increases and human work decreases, the proportion of increase of price which protection gives goes in a like or greater ratio into the pockets of the machine-owners. The machine is the laborer in whose behalf the organized bands that fill our lobbies are so clamorous in their demand for protection. Of course, as the owners of the machinery control the work of both hands and machines, when demand for products is slack or the supply exceeds it, the owner drops the human labor first, as far as possible, and limits products, if he produces at all, to what the machines, aided by the least amount of human labor, can do, so that all, or the lion's share, of the high price which protection secures may be retained by him.

It will be a striking evidence of the power of employers over their workingmen, or of the credulity, not to say ignorance, of that class of men, if the organized lobbyists succeed in making them believe that their welfare, or the desire to keep up their wages, enters into the contest now being waged. The contract-labor laws under which they imported pauper labor during all the years they controlled the Government; the struggles made by their leaders, General Harrison included, to flood the country with Chinese, sending the money to China and importing ten thousand of them at a time, as the managers of the Central Pacific Railroad did, give the lie to all their professions of sympathy with high-priced American labor.

The records of the country show that while they require all the people to pay them 47 per cent. more for their goods than they could be bought for in the markets where cotton, wheat, and all other farm products have to be sold, they require Congress to maintain and enforce laws enabling them to import the cheapest and most degraded foreign labor, duty free, to run the machinery, and thus drive out the American workmen, or reduce their wages to starvation rates, and they do it all under the guise of philanthropy and patriotism, and in the name of the Lord.

The time has come when even the colored men who labor from January till December in the cotton fields owe it to themselves to ask General Harrison and his supporters what justice is there in forcing them to pay to a few American manufacturers 47 per cent. more for the clothes they wear and the things they must have than they were offered the same things for in the foreign markets in which they are compelled to sell the cotton they labored so hard to raise and prepare for market. The farmers of the North and West may well ask the same questions.

They know that they only receive for their products so much of the foreign open market prices as remains after deducting therefrom all costs of transportation, insurance, commission, interest, and the buyer's profit; and after all that they are to be forced for all time to come to pay $147 to home manufacturers for the same things they were offered at $100 where their products were sold, their only consolation being that the American home market is protected and a few hundred pets of Congress are made millionaires at their expense, and are thus enabled to contribute liberally to Republican campaign funds and literature, to buy the votes of all who are purchasable, and corrupt all who are corruptible, and through a venal hired press deceive the ignorant and denounce as enemies of their country all who oppose their schemes of plunder.

The machinery of the capitalist is the only laborer that is really protected. It has secured to its owners, by the aid of Congress, the colossal fortunes so many of them have built up. The free pauper labor of the world, which regulates the wages paid to the human labor employed here, on the universal principle of supply and demand, does not and can not compete with or diminish the profits Congress gives as a subsidy to protected machinery. The Republican party have for a long time secured the lion's share of the home market to the machine-owners.

They propose now, under the false pretense of protecting American human labor, to give them the absolute power to plunder the American consumers of the products of their machines to any extent they please by imposing stronger prohibition than ever against their right to buy elsewhere; yet they have the audacity to appeal to the laboring men of the country to help them to do it, while they openly threaten to cut down the wages of all their employés, and thus retain the protection to their own machine-work as high as it is now if the representatives of the people dare to curtail their present extortions. They have hundreds of millions at stake, and they will spend their money freely to win it.

The American Protective Tariff League boasted some months ago of having $100,000 on hand for "educational organizations," and Mr. Foster's "fat-frying" process will doubtless produce ample corruption funds, while some campaign secretary may again enlighten the country by publishing the correspondence of distinguished aspirants for Cabinet positions or foreign missions as to the amounts they agree to pay for public offices. Fortunately the great mass of the American people are not for sale, and neither Mr. Carnegie nor any of the subsidized band can either buy, delude, or frighten them. With the markets for protected products restricted to home consumption the employé whose daily bread is earned by his daily labor is at the mercy of his employer.

Trusts and combinations regulate production as well as prices. Shops, foundries, and factories may be, and often are, closed for months or worked on half time, and the owners make money while they are closed by the enhanced price of the product as the supply diminishes. The laborer gets no part of it. He is the victim of enforced idleness. The wages he earned while at work are consumed while he is idle. The protection of 47 per cent. only protects the goods. Every laboring man would rather contract for steady work all the year at $2 a day which he was assured of than take the chance of getting $3 a day while at work, with the risk of idleness or half work half the time.

If, added to steady work, he could buy all he needed for himself and family each day for a dollar and the same things now cost him a dollar and a half, he surely would be better off. While all these questions have been argued with great ability both in and out of Congress, and will doubtless be presented with much elaboration all over the country, no one has presented the false pretenses of the protected classes with more power, or shown more clearly by official statements the small proportion that labor bears to the value of protected manufactured products, than the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE] in a speech made during the present session, from which I take the liberty to quote as follows:

> Of the 17,392,099 of our people engaged in all kinds of industry, only 2,623,089 are employed "in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff." The farmers, persons employed in professional and personal service, domestic servants and laborers, merchants and tradesmen, carpenters and joiners, masons and bricklayers, blacksmiths, tailors, butchers, bakers, plasterers, milliners, and people engaged in railroading, and other forms of transportation, and in other miscellaneous occupations, numbering altogether 14,769,010, the people who perform six-sevenths of the labor done in this country, are thoroughly skinned and fleeced under the operation of the tariff. They are taxed in everything they eat, drink, and wear; in everything that enters into the construction of their houses; in their furniture; in their tools and implements; in everything they handle or touch while living, and in their coffins and grave clothes after their death. they, American laboring people, not engaged in any protected industry and not benefited by the tariff, are thus taxed in all they consume in the name of protection to American labor.
>
> Six-sevenths of our American laborers, groaning and staggering under the burdens of a war tariff which enriches others but impoverishes them, after the war has been over for nearly twenty-five years, are solemnly informed that they must continue to bear the burden for the sake and good of American labor. The axioms of good government, which among other things demand such measures of policy as shall produce the greatest good for the greatest number,

have been reversed in the tariff legislation, which taxes oppressively the great mass of the people in order that a few may become inordinately rich, and all is done in the name and is alleged to be for the benefit of the American workingman, who in fact suffers more than all others from it, while his employers, the lords of the loom and of the foundries and furnaces, have become the richest people in America.

These self-constituted guardians of the laboring man, who have become so sleek and fat, while their wards, the laboring men, are thin and lean, the advocates of a high tariff from pure charity to the American workingman, as they would have us believe, inform the country that the sole purpose for which they desire a highly protective tariff is that they may be reimbursed the difference between the high wages paid American workingmen and the low wages paid European operatives. This, they say, is all they ask or desire. With the difference between American and European wages placed in the shape of a tariff tax on foreign goods brought into our markets, high protectionists tell us they have no fear of the competition of the foreign goods with their domestic products.

Always and every time their argument centers in and is based wholly on the interests of the workingman. Capital desires nothing and receives nothing through the tariff, and the workingman gets all, says the protection'st. In order to show the utter falsity and groundlessness of this claim, I read a tabulated statement furnished me from the Bureau of Statistics, which throws a flood of light on this subject, as follows:

Table of specified manufactures, showing amount of capital, value of materials, amount of wages, and value of product, with the per cent. of material and wages, also the average ad valorem rate of duty on similar importations for the fiscal year 1887.

[Compiled from the United States census of 1880.]

Manufactures.	Capital.	Value of materials.	Total amount paid in wages during the year.	Value of products.	Per cent. of—		Ad valorem rate of duty on imports, 1887.
					Materials.	Wages.	
							Per ct.
Cotton manufactures	$219,504,794	$113,765,537	$45,614,419	$210,950,383	53.93	21.62	40.17
Cotton manufactures (specific)	208,280,346	102,206,347	42,040,510	192,090,110	53.21	21.88	*45.49
Glass	19,844,699	8,028,621	9,144,100	21,154,571	37.95	47.95	59.14
Iron and steel manufactures	230,971,884	191,271,150	55,476,785	296,557,685	64.50	18.77	40.92
Hosiery and knit goods	15,579,591	15,210,591	6,701,475	29,167,227	52.15	22.97	†62.80 ‡39.37
Silk and silk goods	19,125,300	22,467,701	9,146,705	40,033,045	56.12	22.84	50.00
Woolen goods	96,095,564	100,845,611	25,836,392	160,606,721	62.79	16.08	67.21
Worsted goods	20,374,043	23,012,628	5,683,027	33,549,942	68.59	16.94	
Mixed textiles	37,996,007	37,227,741	13,316,753	66,221,703	56.22	20.11	§54.20
Woolen and worsted goods	116,469,607	123,858,239	31,519,419	194,156,663	63.79	16.23	67.21
Woolen goods and mixed materials	134,091,621	138,073,352	36,153,145	226,828,424	60.87	17.27	§60.70
Woolen goods, mixed materials, and worsted goods	154,465,664	161,085,980	44,936,172	266,378,366	60.47	16.87	§61.31

*Cotton cloths. †Woolen hosiery. ‡Cotton hosiery. §Estimated.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *January* 25, 1888.

WM. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

Hon. RICHARD COKE,
United States Senate, Washington City, D. C.

It required either unparalleled impudence or profound contempt for the intelligence of the people, or a combination of both, for the Republicans to declare in their platform that the Mills bill is a free-trade scheme; that its promoters seek to serve the interests of Europe, while they propose to support the interests of America by maintaining uncompromisingly a high protective tariff still further restricting the importations of such necessaries of life as can be produced here at any price, and to get rid of the surplus revenue by an entire repeal of the taxes on whisky and tobacco rather than surrender any part of the protective system.

They know, and fortunately the people know, that every dollar of the tax collected on whisky, beer, and tobacco, less 3.20 per cent., the cost of collection, is paid into the Treasury of the United States; that every dollar of the $120,000,000 so collected is needed and used to pay pensions and interest on the war debt, and will be so needed for many years to come. Therefore, as all the ordinary expenses of the Government must be provided for by tariff taxation, and the Democratic party proposes so to provide for them in the Mills bill, it follows that the epithets so wantonly and foolishly applied, of free-traders and enemies of American interests, only prove the reckless disregard for truth and decency of the men who apply them.

Free trade would produce no revenue from imported goods any more than protection which prohibits imports in order to secure the home market to home producers would; but free trade is not legislative robbery. It would let home consumers buy out of their earnings or from the proceeds of their exports the things they need at the cheapest rates, while prohibitory protection is the worst form of legalized plunder, as it forces the people to buy the things they must have at the highest prices that home producers by trusts and combinations can coerce out of them. The readiness of the protectionists to give up the whisky and tobacco tax grows out of the fact that none of it goes into their pockets, and in their opinion it is not only an outrage but essentially "un-American" to collect taxes in any form unless they pocket the lion's share of them.

Every dollar of the tax on whisky and tobacco might be repealed, and it would not start a factory or a furnace in the land, and would not add a penny to the wages of any workingman. The demand for protection is a confession that those seeking it do not propose to compete in open market with those against whom they seek it, and the protestation so earnestly made that a reduction of tariff taxes from 47 to 42 per cent., as the Mills bill proposes, would be ruinous to the protected pets of Congress is not only an admission which they can not evade, that they are now charging American consumers 47 per cent. more than the foreign price of the goods they make and sell, but an assumption that if hereafter Congress does not authorize them to extort from home consumers more than 42 per cent. above the foreign price they will be ruined.

Whenever a party assumes that it embodies all the wisdom, patriotism, and integrity in the land, and denounces its opponents as enemies of their country, serving the interests of foreign nations, it is safe to assume that it is pharisaical and hypocritical. When the Republicans adopted the following false and scandalous declaration as part of their platform they merited the contempt of all decent people of all classes, because they knew it was a falsehood when they adopted it:

> We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment.

Men sometimes say things in the heat of debate which do them no credit; but the deliberate charge in a carefully-prepared platform, reported by a committee of one from each State, and adopted by the representatives from all the States, that the President of the United States and the Democratic party are serving the interests of Europe, while they alone are moved by patriotic motives, is simply an atrocious calumny. Mr. Clay, in 1824, made use of an expression of that sort, to which Mr. Webster replied. I adopt his reply as the best answer to this infamous charge thus deliberately made. I must add, however, in justice to Mr. Clay, that he said:

> Both classes are equally sincere in their respective opinions, equally honest, equally patriotic, and desirous of advancing the prosperity of the country.

The following is the extract from the speech of Mr. Webster, delivered on 1st and 2d of April, 1824, in the House of Representatives, to which I refer:

> And allow me, sir, in the first place, to state my regret, if indeed I ought not to express a warmer sentiment, at the names or designations which, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Clay has seen fit to adopt for the purpose of describing the advocates and the opposers of the present bill. It is a question, he says, between the friends of an "American policy" and those of a "foreign policy." This, sir, is an assumption which I take the liberty most directly to deny. Mr. Speaker certainly intended nothing invidious or derogatory to any part of the House by his mode of denominating friends and enemies.
>
> But there is power in names, and this manner of distinguishing those who favor and those who oppose particular measures may lead to inferences to which no member of the House can submit. It may imply that there is a more exclusive and peculiar regard to American interests in one class of opinions than in another. Such an implication is to be resisted and repelled. Every member has a right to the presumption that he pursues what he believes to be the interest of his country with as sincere a zeal as any other member. I claim this in my own case; and while I shall not, for any purpose of description or convenient arrangement, use terms which may imply any disrespect to other men's opinions, much less any imputation upon other men's motives, it is my duty to take care that the use of such terms by others be not, against the will of those who adopt them, made to produce a false impression.
>
> Indeed, sir, it is a little astonishing, if it seems convenient to Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of distinction, to make use of the terms "American policy" and "foreign policy," that he should not have applied them in a manner precisely the reverse of that in which he has in fact used them. If names are thought necessary, it would be well enough, one would think, that the name should be in some measure descriptive of the thing; and since Mr. Speaker denominates the policy which he recommends "a new policy in this country;" since he speaks of the present measure as a new era in our legislation; since he proposes

to invite us to depart from our accustomed course, to instruct ourselves by the wisdom of others, and to adopt the policy of the most distinguished foreign states, one is a little curious to know with what propriety of speech this imitation of other nations is denominated an "American policy," while, on the contrary, a preference for our own established system, as it now actually exists, and always has existed, is called a "foreign policy."

This favorite American policy is what America has never tried; and this odious foreign policy is what, as we are told, foreign states have never pursued. Sir, that is the truest American policy which shall most usefully employ American capital and American labor, and best sustain the whole population. With me it is a fundamental axiom, it is interwoven with all my opinions, that the great interests of the country are united and inseparable; that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures will prosper together or languish together; and that all legislation is dangerous which proposes to benefit one of these without looking to consequences which may fall on the others.

The closing sentence embodies in eloquent words the leading ideas of President Cleveland's message, and expresses better than I can the true principles of the Democratic party; while the whole of this extract voices the sentiments and feelings of every honest man against the charges so wantonly and falsely made by our opponents. In behalf of the great party to which I have the honor to belong, I adopt and repeat his indignant utterances as the best answer to the miserable slander contained in the Republican platform.

One of the leading grievances against George III by the American colonies in the Declaration of Independence was "for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world." The Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE], in a speech in the Senate in 1882, stated the grievances of the colonies against Great Britain in these words:

For centuries England was the most earnest, vigorous, and determined champion of protection the world ever saw, enforced the extremest doctrines by all the powers of war and all the arts of diplomacy. She destroyed the growing commerce of Ireland by one blow of her navigation laws, repressed her cattle-raising, her wool-growing, her manufactures, and made her the waste of to-day. She attempted the same rôle in America; forbade the exportation of her products to any country other than her own; forced all the carrying trade into English bottoms; repressed all manufactures of fabrics, and provided by law "that none of the American colonies should manufacture iron of any kind; that no smith should make a bolt, spike, or nail, bar, or rod iron; that no mill or other engine for rolling iron or furnace for making steel should be permitted;" finally drove us to revolution, and lost the brightest jewel from her diadem.

The American commissioners in 1783 made an earnest effort to secure free trade between the United States and the dominions of Great Britain. I quote from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson to Edmund Randolph, December 16, 1783, in which he says:

The definitive treaty had been received by the President some time and a joint letter from our ministers. This gave us an account of the various propositions and steps taken on both sides in the negotiation which preceded the definitive treaty. Mr. Hartley was the British negotiator with America. He was well disposed, but his zeal for systems friendly to us constantly exceeded his powers to agree to them.

Our ministers proposed a free intercourse between every part of the British dominions and the United States, having the rights of their chartered companies. Mr. Hartley approved of it, but his court declined assenting. He then proposed that the unmanufactured produce of the United States should be admitted into Great Britain and the manufactures of Great Britain into the United States, and that we should be allowed to carry our own produce to the West Indies. On being questioned, however, he had no authority to conclude upon these articles even if agreeable to us.

Hon. David A. Wells speaks thus of the principal causes which led to the American Revolution, and of the men who were leaders in it:

By the statute of 1650 the export and import trade of the English colonies was restricted to English or colony-built ships; but by the statute of 1663 nothing was allowed to be imported into a British plantation except in an English-built ship "whereof the master and three-fourths of the crew are English."

* * * * * * *

The enactment of arbitrary laws on the part of Great Britain to prevent her American colonists from freely participating in the carrying trade and commerce of the ocean was, however, a sore grievance, and ultimately, as is well known, constituted one of the prime causes of the American Revolution. They were, furthermore, from the very first either openly or secretly resisted and evaded, and under their influence the colonists became a nation of lawbreakers.

Nine-tenths of their merchants were smugglers. One-quarter of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence were bred to commerce, to the command of ships, and to contraband trade. Hancock, Trumbull (Brother Jonathan), and Hamilton were all known to be cognizant of contraband transactions and approved of them. Hancock was the prince of contraband traders, and with John Adams as his counsel was appointed for trial before the admiralty court in Boston, at the exact hour of the shedding of blood at Lexington, in a suit for $500,000 penalties, alleged to have been incurred by him as a smuggler.

* * * * * * *

Every evasion of such statutes was therefore, in their view, a blow in favor of liberty. Hence, also, the origin of that count in the indictment against the King of Great Britain, embodied in the Declaration of Independence, "of cutting off our trade with all parts of the world."

Such were the views of the men who a hundred years ago were accounted the wisest of American patriots and statesmen. But nowadays to adopt the principles of Hancock, Trumbull, and Hamilton, to advocate the free ownership and employment of ships, and to oppose the enactment of statutes the avowed purpose of which is to restrict or prevent the freedom of international trade and commerce is to invite the accusation of being enemies to the industry of the country and in league with foreign nations to impoverish our own people.

Mr. Wells adds:

In the treaty of commerce entered into between France and the United States in 1778 the commissioners of the two nations, Franklin, Deane, Lee, and Gerard, evidently determined to attempt to inaugurate a more generous policy and establish a precedent for freer and better commercial relations between different countries than had hitherto prevailed. It was accordingly agreed in the treaty in question to avoid "all those burdensome prejudices which are usually sources of debate, embarrassment, and discontent," and to take as the "basis of their agreement the most perfect equality and reciprocity." And they further stated the principle which they had adopted as a guide in their negotiations to be that of "founding the advantages of commerce solely upon reciprocal utility and the just rules of free intercourse."

In the face of facts like these it is absurd to pretend that there ever was an "American policy" that restricted trade and commerce or that looked to the closing of our markets against foreign products. All that was ever claimed was such an adjustment of duties, imposed for revenue, as would afford incidental protection to home manufacturers.

In 1815 Mr. Clay, who is constantly paraded before the country by the protectionists as their great champion, in the debate on the tariff then proposed to be increased in order to raise the money to pay off the war debt, only urged a tax on imports of 25 per cent. instead of 20 per cent.

"In three years," he said, "we could judge of the ability of our establishments to furnish these articles as cheaply as they were obtained from abroad, and could then legislate with the lights of experience." He believed that "three years would be sufficient to place our manufactures on this desirable footing."

Nearly seventy years have elapsed since then, yet 47 per cent. average tariff tax is maintained in time of profound peace, almost at the highest war rates, with over $100,000,000 of surplus annually flowing into the Treasury beyond even the present extravagant, not to say wasteful, expenditures, and all efforts to reduce these taxes to something like a revenue standard are denounced by protectionists as ruinous to American industries.

Mr. Clay had no such ideas as are now maintained by Senators on the other side of this Chamber. In the great debate in the Senate in 1842, while defending the compromise tariff in 1832, under which all duties were brought to a uniform rate of 20 per cent., Mr. Clay said:

If the compromise act had not been adopted the whole system of protection would have been swept by the board by the preponderating influence of the illustrious man then at the head of the Government (General Jackson) at the very next session after its enactment.

Yet General Jackson is sometimes quoted as a protectionist.

Again Mr. Clay said:

As to the compromise, he had already said that it was his purpose, as long as he should remain in the Senate, to maintain that the original principles of the act should be carried out faithfully and honestly; and if in providing for an adequate revenue for an economical administration of the Government they could at the same time afford incidental protection, he would be happy if both of these objects could be accomplished.

Again he said:

As far as he could go, he would; and that was not to lay duties for protection alone, but in laying duties for revenue to supply the Government with means, to so lay them as to afford incidental protection. He would, therefore, say to the friends of protection, lay aside all attempts beyond this standard and look to what is attainable and practicable.

The position taken by Mr. Clay is precisely the ground occupied by Mr. Cleveland, as all who read his message understand; yet Mr. Clay is lauded as the great apostle of protection, and Mr. Cleveland is denounced as an enemy of his country, working in the interests of foreign nations.

No argument is needed to show that the message of the President and the bill passed by the House are both eminently conservative. Following the recommendations of the message, the bill, while seeking to reduce the dangerous surplus so rapidly accumulating in the Treasury, seeks, mainly by cheapening raw material, to give our manufacturers a chance to cheapen their products, and thus reach a portion of the foreign markets, and at the same time reduce the cost to home consumers. "It deals with a condition, not a theory." It continues protection at rates much higher than the just claims of the manufacturers or the interest of the consumers calls for, but it recognizes the artificial and unnatural conditions on which our manufacturing establishments have been built up, and it carefully avoids such reductions as would give them even a semblance of just cause for complaint.

I will not go into the details of the measure now. It is sufficient to say that if it becomes a law the manufacturers will have protection against the right of our people to buy similar foreign-made goods of over 40 per cent., because that is what protection means and all it accomplishes, while all the wages they pay to their operatives does not exceed 25 per cent. on an average of the value of the home-made product, as shown by the census reports furnished by the manufacturers themselves, and as proved by the official tables heretofore referred to as part of the speech of Senator COKE.

The temptation is very great to comment upon the provisions of the Senate bill in detail, in the light of past legislation and of the concessions made by men of all parties as to the necessity of tariff reduction, especially to show how, in the woolen and cotton and other schedules, there is an unwarranted attempt made not only to increase the rate of taxation over existing law, but to do it in the form of compound and specific duties, so as to conceal the increases so artfully devised; but that would extend this statement to an unwarrantable length. I admit that it is too long already. The flagrant injustice of the proposition will, I hope, be fully exposed when the discussion of the items is taken up in the Senate.

The proposals in the Senate bill in regard to the cotton schedule, I only propose to say now, are simply outrageous, and can not be defended upon any principle of common decency.

No Senator will profess that manufactures, especially cotton manufactures, need any more protection now than they did ten, fifteen, or

twenty years ago. Improvements in machinery have cheapened production and diminished the number of operatives needed in these factories until Mr. Atkinson and all the authorities even in New England agree that one operative will produce as much now as five could with the machinery of twenty years since, which means a proportionate increase of protection to machinery. Yet as early as 1868 Hon. N. P. Banks, then a member of the House of Representatives, laid before Congress a proposition from the New England manufacturers consenting to a reduction on woolen and cotton goods of over 25 per cent. The RECORD of May 7, 1868, will show that Mr. Banks, after giving in detail the reductions to which the manufacturers agreed, said:

These papers which I hold in my hand bear the official signatures of the authorized representatives of one hundred and twelve manufacturing corporations and firms of New England, in which they themselves suggest and consent to reduction of duties upon an extended and complete list of articles of foreign manufacture which come actively and directly in competition with the industries in which they are engaged, rising from 10 to 20, 30, 40, and 50 per cent. upon the present schedule of duties upon such importations. More than a hundred and twelve corporations and firms of cotton and woolen manufacturers alone, of their own choice, and after repeated conferences, in which all the interests of the textile fabrics of this country were considered, high and low, made this proposition. * * * As it was with the cotton manufacturers, so it was with the woolen manufacturers. They consented to and in a certain sense recommended, as of their own accord, a reduction of duties of from 23 to 25 per cent.

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Mr. HOOKER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him why these interests asked a diminution of the tariff?

Mr. BANKS. Because their attention had been called to the subject. It was their duty to make known to the Government what they desired. They found when they brought their representative men together from all parts of the country that the duties could be reduced and they could still pursue their vocations with more or less success, and like honest and honorable citizens they made that declaration to the Government. And so did the wool-growers from California to New England. They assembled in the State of New York for the same purpose, and after long and anxious conference one with another and with the woolen manufacturers they agreed, as did the silk manufacturers, to what extent they would recommend a reduction of the duty.

Yet in the face of these propositions and the changes that have occurred to cheapen the production by improved machinery, after the insertion of provisions—inserted I had almost said clandestinely, in the conference report of 1883—increasing the rate on the leading cotton products in which New England was specially interested, it is now proposed to still further largely increase taxation in the interest of a few New England manufacturers; and what is true in regard to them may be said with equal propriety in regard to all the increases proposed in the Senate bill; for, so far as the leading schedules are concerned—in short, it is a bill to increase taxation in the interest of combinations of wealth rather than to reduce it in the interest of the people. The bill, it is true, deals without mercy with the sugar schedule, mainly because nine-tenths of the money collected from the sugar tax is paid into the Treasury, and none of it reaches the pockets of the New England monopolists.

When we reduced the sugar tax in 1883 the clamor of all of these combinations then was that we were destroying an industry that employed a large number of American laborers, principally colored men, for whose welfare they expressed great solicitude. Then, as now, the Democrats agreed only to reductions which would not cripple or destroy home products. It is true that when a sugar plantation is once destroyed it is almost impossible ever to restore it. The plant costs nearly $100 an acre, and takes years to bring it back to a profitable condition after it is once abandoned. It differs from the land upon which hemp, tobacco, and other crops of that sort are produced. They can be changed to something else without loss; whereas the sugar and rice plantations, when once abandoned, can not be used for any other purpose without a sacrifice of all that had been expended upon them to fit them for sugar and rice production.

Therefore the Democratic party, while they cut these two products heavier than any other, wisely did it in such a way as not to seriously cripple or destroy the labor or the capital engaged in those products. Now, perhaps to punish the people of the South, or to raise the clamor that they are patriotically giving the people cheap sugar, the Republican majority have taken care to add the taxes on sugar which they have reduced because they could not pocket them or turn them over to the protectionists, as nine-tenths went into the Treasury, to the products of which the monopolists pocket four-fifths and the Government gets one-fifth, and they call that protecting American labor!

I am, however, glad that the Senate committee has gone to the extreme of protection, restriction, and destruction that it has. It makes the issue squarely before the people of the country, whether all the people are for all time to come to be treated as serfs of a few manufacturers, or whether they are to secure through a revenue tariff something like equal rights in the legislation of the country hereafter. The temptation is very great also to show the indignant protests heretofore made, particularly in 1883, by leading Republican Senators, notably Senators PLUMB, INGALLS, and ALLISON, against the tax on lumber, salt, and other things which the committee propose to perpetuate. That, however, can be done hereafter.

But I ought not to fail to state that the low revenue tariff of 1846 produced more general prosperity and progress in the development of all our industry than any protective system since devised has ever done. So satisfactory was its operation that when the parties met and adopted their platforms in 1856 neither party ventured to find any objection to it, and when the further reduction below 20 per cent. was made in 1857 it received the almost unanimous approval of the representatives from New England, nearly all of whom were opposed to the then administration; yet the taxation then imposed was less than half that now conceded by the so-called free-trade Mills bill, and very little over one-third of what is demanded by the bill of the Senate committee. On the 24th and 25th of March, 1870, Senator ALLISON, then a prominent member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, spoke of that tariff as follows:

The tariff of 1846, although confessedly and professedly a tariff for revenue, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any that we have ever had. If any interest was depressed under the tariff of 1846, it was the iron interest. I do not believe that this interest, as compared with other interests, had sufficient advantage under that tariff; yet when we compare the growth of the country from 1840 to 1850 with the growth of the country from 1850 to 1860—the latter decade being entirely under the tariff of 1846 or the amended and greatly reduced tariff of 1857—we find that the increase in our wealth between 1850 and 1860 was equivalent to 126 per cent., while it was only 64 per cent. between 1840 and 1850, four years of which decade were under the tariff of 1842, known as a high protective tariff, but the average rate of which was about 70 per cent. below the existing rate, or 27 per cent. under the tariff of 1842 as against 44 per cent. upon all importations under the present tariff.

Our industries were generally prosperous in 1860, with the exception, possibly, of the iron interest. This was the statement of Mr. MORRILL, of Vermont, on this floor during the discussion of the tariff of 1864. With regard to the condition of the steel industry in 1860, the steel manufacturers in 1866, memorializing Congress for increase of duties on steel, stated that—

"It was reserved for Pittsburgh to bring about the first substantial and enduring success in the year of 1860; and encouraged by our example numerous establishments have sprung into existence, as already indicated in this paper. This shows that under the revenue tariff of 1857, which imposed only an ad valorem duty of 12 per cent. on steel, a substantial success was achieved in the steel manufacture in 1860." I have read the language of the memorial.

I regard that indorsement of the act of 1846 and of the principles of a revenue tariff as entitled to greater consideration than anything I could say. Hon. Robert J. Walker, Mr. Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, who framed the tariff of 1846, addressed a letter to the people of the United States on the 30th of November, 1867, in which he took occasion to refer to the tariff of 1846, and contrast its principles and provisions with those of the present system. After showing what amount he thought would be sufficient for the wants of the Government economically administered, he said:

This revenue of $244,000,000 a year, as a maximum, I would derive from three sources alone:

1. By a tariff for revenue.
2. By an excise on wines, malt and spirituous liquors, and tobacco; abolishing all other internal taxation.
3. By a tax on our national banks, based upon just and fair equivalents.

* * * * * * *

A tariff for revenue, as experience has shown, instead of depressing improves all industrial pursuits, including manufactures, and vastly augments the wealth of the country. Under the tariff of 1846, as shown by the census, our wealth increased from 1850 to 1860, 126.45 per cent.; whereas from 1840 to 1850 the increase was only 64 per cent.; from 1830 to 1840, 42 per cent., and from 1820 to 1830, 41 per cent. So, also, from 1850 to 1860 our agricultural products increased 95 per cent. and our manufactures 87 per cent., being in both cases nearly double any preceding ratio of increase. So, also, our exports, imports, and revenues nearly tripled in the same period of time, and our domestic trade rose nearly in the same ratio.

This augmented ratio is not the result of increase of population, which from 1850 to 1860 was less than 36 per cent. The Irish famine was supposed by my opponents to account for the increase the first year, although the decreased price paid abroad that year for our cotton nearly equaled the additional sum paid by England for our breadstuffs and provisions. But the next year and the next, before any gold had reached here from California, our exports and revenue went on augmenting in a corresponding ratio, rising in eight years from $22,000,000 under the tariff of 1842 to $64,000,000 under the tariff of 1846.

I think Mr. Walker answers fully the boast of the great feat accomplished by the Morrill tariff, by "transforming ad valorem duties into specific," in the following sentence:

There is another insuperable objection to the specific system, namely, that it unnecessarily and invariably taxes labor vastly more than capital, and the poor in a much greater proportion than the rich, upon the goods consumed. Under the system of specific duties of so much per pound, or yard, or gallon, etc., the specific duty is the same. The rich, who purchase the costly article bearing only the same specific duty, pay, in proportion to value, less than one-half of what is paid by the poor, who purchase a cheaper and less costly article. If we take all the costly articles purchased by the rich bearing under the present tariff the same specific duty as the inferior article bought by the poor, we will find the difference against them exceeds $20,000,000 a year. Such is the immense additional tax exacted from labor under the system of specific duties.

Think of the injustice of a system under which the laboring man pays 90 per cent. tariff tax on the only kind of blankets he can afford to buy, while the wealthy pay less than 60 per cent. tax on such as they use, and in like proportion for all else. How long would a law stand in the State of New York that taxes the residence of Mr. Vanderbilt or Mr. Stewart, worth $2,000,000, no more than the residence of their coachman, worth $2,000? That is specific taxation. Ad valorem or a fair per cent. tax on each according to its value is the system adopted by the American people in all their State governmental affairs, and is the only just system. Mr. Walker but expresses the views of all disinterested intelligent men when he says:

Our present system of taxation is the most onerous ever imposed upon any people, and is utterly destructive of the prosperity of our country.

Our present tariff is most unequal, oppressive, and unjust. It is grievously onerous upon agriculture, commerce, navigation, ship-building, etc. * * * The present tariff, besides the tax of $150,000,000 a year upon imports, the duties

on which are paid by the people into the Treasury in gold, exacts another tax of at least $350,000,000 a year in the enhanced prices of rival protected domestic articles. This can be readily proved by comparing the prices current in gold of such domestic articles with the prices of similar articles produced in other countries. Thus, the tariff taxes the people of the United States to the extent of $500,000,000 a year, of which only $150,000,000 goes into the Treasury, and the remaining $350,000,000 goes into the pockets of the protected classes.

Mr. Walker understood too well the real purpose of the clamor about protection to American labor and the wages of operatives to be deceived by it. He knew that the $350,000,000 of taxes taken from the people which did not reach the Treasury went into the pockets of the protected classes and not into the pockets of their operatives. He made a great report to Congress on the 11th day of December, 1848, which I wish every laboring man in the United States could read, whether he works in a factory or on a farm. Even Senators would be benefited by its perusal.

On the subject of specific and ad valorem duties Mr. Walker says:

If the importation of protected articles would rapidly decrease when the foreign were high in price and specific duties operated as a protection, under the tariff of 1842 from 41 to 243 per cent. (per Table H, compiled from Treasury returns in 1844), what must not have been the decline of importation and revenue when the foreign article fell, as it has in many cases, 50 per cent., bringing up the specific duty from 41 to 82 and from 243 to 486 per cent.? This fact illustrates another objection to the specific duty, namely, that although it professes to be stationary, it is in fact constantly augmenting from reduced prices of foreign articles.

Experience proves that from improved machinery, new inventions, and reduced cost of production the foreign articles are constantly diminishing in price, while the specific duty remaining unchanged it is continually increasing in ratio as an equivalent ad valorem, and the protection augmenting every year. Thus, if the price of sugar was 6 cents a pound and the duty 3 cents, it would be equal to 50 per cent. ad valorem; but if the price of sugar fell to 3 cents, the duty would have risen to 100 per cent. ad valorem, thus doubling the protection and continually augmenting with decreasing foreign prices until the duty becomes prohibitory and the revenue on such articles disappears; whereas the ad valorem bears under all changes of price the same exact ratio to the cost of the foreign fabric, and therefore is the most just and equal, as also necessarily insuring a larger revenue.

In this aspect of the case, the objections to the specific duties as a permament system, with a view to revenue, are insuperable, while their unjust operation upon labor, in imposing so much higher duties as an equivalent ad valorem on the cheaper than the more costly qualities of goods, can not be successfully defended.

That is all I care to say at present on that subject.

One thousand one hundred and thirty-six pages of statements made upon all sorts of subjects before the Senate Finance Committee have been furnished to me. Even that mass of matter contains nothing taken since September 10, 1888. There may be 1,100 more pages that I have not yet seen, and perhaps the committee has not yet had it all printed, but I do not propose to analyze it, or to attempt to go over it in detail. In great part it consists of the demands of men for specific duties and increased or prohibitory taxation.

Perhaps Mr. Oliver's statement, on page 125, in regard to steel-wire rods, when he was demanding specific rates instead of ad valorem, and increases of duty which should amount to prohibition, illustrates the tone of all of them as well as any other. The following few lines, which I insert here, show what I mean:

Senator BECK. Therefore the specific duty at that time was somewhere about 60 to 65.

Mr. OLIVER. About that, I think.

Senator BECK. That is what I wanted you to guess at if you can not tell otherwise. Now you complain of a reduction from 60 per cent. down to 45 per cent.

Mr. OLIVER. We do most emphatically complain.

Senator BECK. You want to prohibit foreign competition, so as to control the home market yourselves?

Mr. OLIVER. That is our position, and we are not ashamed to say it. We want the home market to be supplied by the home manufacturers.

Senator BECK. I thought so.

While I do not propose now to go into the question of trusts or the effect of tariff taxation in their formation and maintenance, because that is before the Senate Finance Committee as a separate proposition and will doubtless be reported upon separately, at which time I may have an opportunity to express my views in regard to them and the encouragement that tariff taxation affords to them, still I can not forbear referring to the well-known and somewhat notorious cotton-bagging trust, which illustrates how the tariff sustains and protects all the others.

Congress having imposed prohibitory duties upon jute and the manufactures of jute used for cotton-bagging, all of the men who had by law secured a monopoly of the business and effectually excluded all competition conspired, or, if you please, combined and formed a trust, buying out the smaller concerns and leasing others, and thus through the trust controlled the whole product, because their machinery could produce in two years more than the country could consume in three, and the prohibitory duty had made foreign competition impossible, as the American market needed more than three-fourths of all the cotton-bagging produced in the world.

This combination, thus protected in its extortions by the operation of our tariff laws, almost doubled the price of the cotton-bagging product to the consumers, and the men who thus conspired, after concealing the facts as to their combination, came before the committee when brought back after their action had been exposed and admitted that they had done it because Congress, or at least the House of Representatives, seemed determined to interfere with their monopoly, and they proposed to make the most out of it while the power to do so remained in their own hands.

I do not know of any better commentary on the folly—I might perhaps use a stronger term—of such protective duties as destroy competition and enable men to combine and conspire so as to ruin the mass of the people who must buy from them, as the cotton-bagging monopolists admit they have done. A feeble pretense was made in committee, and it may be repeated, that it did not hurt the producer of cotton because the bale was weighed bagging and all, and the price was so much per pound for the whole weight, but when that suggestion or assertion came to be investigated it was so absurd that Mr. Murdoch, who was one of the men asking for an increase of duty on cotton bagging, agreed that all the tare was in effect a loss to the producer, as shown by the short extract from his statement which I make part hereof, correcting the work in a question from purchaser to producer:

Mr. MURDOCH. There is another point to be considered about the price of bagging. When this cotton is exported to Liverpool the purchaser of the cotton on the other side deducts 6 per cent. for tare; that is, he deducts from a 500-pound bale 30 pounds for tare, and for the little soiled cotton that may be next to the surface of the bale. So that the man who exports the cotton does not pay for the ties and bagging at all.

Senator BECK. Who pays for them? Somebody pays for them. There is 6 per cent. deducted for tare; who pays it?

Mr. MURDOCH. As you say, somebody pays it.

Senator BECK. Is it not deducted from the producer always? It must be. Everybody can tell that as well as you.

Mr. MURDOCH. It is the same way when they ship rice; they do not charge for the tierce.

Senator ALDRICH. In this country who pays the 40 cents if it is reduced?

Mr. MURDOCH. I suppose it would go to the planter.

Senator ALDRICH. How would it go to the planter? He sells his cotton for the same price.

Mr. MURDOCH. Yes; he gets the same price for his cotton. You can make a very nice argument about it, but it is so.

Senator HISCOCK. There is no doubt but it must affect the price of cotton?

Mr. MURDOCH. Every article of commerce is put up in packages, and nobody thinks of charging for the packing. Corn is put up in bags; meat is put up in boxes or hogsheads, as the case may be, and nobody charges for them; rice is put up in tierces, and nobody charges for the tierces; the same with cotton. When an article is sold it always carries the cost of the package. But when a planter puts 450 pounds of cotton into a bale, puts the bagging and ties on, and then has 475 pounds of stuff which he hauls 5 miles to market, and sells 475 pounds at 10 cents a pound, you can not persuade him that he is not being paid for his bagging and ties. You might argue with him for a year and it would not have the slightest effect on him.

Senator HISCOCK. He does not appreciate the fact that that is taken into consideration in establishing the price of the article?

Mr. MURDOCH. No; but of course that is so.

I desire to say further in regard to this question of trusts that while so much was being said about the whisky trust, especially in Kentucky, I sent a note to John M. Atherton, esq., of Louisville, Ky., who was the president of the Distillers' Association, asking him to advise me fully as to whatever trusts existed in regard to Kentucky whiskies, telling him that I desired to use his statement before the Senate Finance Committee, or to have him examined before that committee if necessary. He was at Saratoga, N. Y., at the time, and wrote out a full statement of the facts, which I tendered to the Subcommittee on Finance and requested its publication among the other statements which they were having printed. There were some expressions in it to which my attention was called, and as the Republican members of the committee thought that it contained matters they did not care to publish, it was handed back to me.

Mr. Atherton came to Washington on a summons to appear before the House committee. A few days afterwards I submitted it to him, and he modified some of the expressions which were objected to or were thought improper by the majority of the Finance Committee. I said to Senators ALDRICH and ALLISON that I would attend to having that communication printed myself, as there seemed to be some reluctance on their part to make it part of the general evidence. I now submit it as an appendix to this report, and ask that it may be printed along with it, as it is a full, fair, and complete statement of the truth by a very intelligent man, and one who is better informed in regard to all the doings and operations in distilled spirits in Kentucky than, perhaps, any other man in the State. The political suggestions that he saw fit to make are in entire accord with my views, and therefore I ask that the letter may be printed, just as it is written, as part of this statement.

JAS. B. BECK.

SARATOGA, N. Y., No. 98 CIRCULAR STREET, *July* 23, 1888.

DEAR SENATOR: The reports from Washington point to the passage of the Mills bill by the House. This sends the bill to the Senate, and in view of this probability, I take the liberty of submitting to you the facts and reflections contained in this communication. To avoid all confusion I will try to keep separate the facts and those observations and conclusions which in my judgment grow out of the facts, but which I know to be the views of an individual and nothing more.

As known to you, I am a distiller of and dealer in Kentucky whisky. In common with all self-respecting men engaged in the liquor traffic, I feel a deep interest in all legislation affecting my business. But apart from this purely selfish consideration, as a citizen of this country I again, in common with the members of my business, feel that interest in all that concerns this people which honest, law-abiding men should feel. Every decent man in the liquor trade, wholesale and retail, must experience a sense of regret that statements utterly at variance with the facts should be made on the floor of Congress. I will try to mention some of these statements, and in each case give you an honest and truthful recital of facts, evading nothing and concealing nothing.

The reports of debates in Congress, in both House and Senate, contain charges that there exists in Kentucky a "whisky ring"—a combination organized and

maintained for making money in any and every way, whether fair or foul, by defrauding the Government and by proposing and aiding legislation out of which money is to be made by this alleged ring. It is unpleasant enough to bear that part of such an accusation, made in Congress, circulated all over the country, and preserved in the Journals of both House and Senate, to be read by generations yet unborn, as fixes or tends to fix upon each individual distiller and dealer in Kentucky his share of the criminality contained in such a charge. But this mortification is deepened by the fact that our public men, our Representatives and Senators, our State officials, our citizens of eminence and influence, are made parties to this "ring," and presented to the public in the light of its agents or attorneys.

The answer to all this is that it is untrue. There is no whisky ring in Kentucky; there never has been. By the word "ring" I mean combination of any and all kinds, making or seeking to make money in any way except by the manufacture and sale of whisky in accordance with the laws of the United States and of Kentucky and in compliance with the methods of honest and honorable business pursuits. If this is true, if there is no whisky ring in Kentucky, it can have no agents and no part in originating or shaping legislation.

I embarked in this business in 1867, and have been continuously engaged in it to this time. I am intimately acquainted with nearly all the distillers and dealers of Kentucky. It is not possible that any ring could exist in Kentucky without my knowledge. But to go to the bottom of this matter, it was the wish of every distiller of Kentucky that the committee of the House investigating trusts would take up the whisky business, and, under the oath of witnesses, get the facts. Many years ago there was in Kentucky an association of Kentucky distillers of which the largest membership did not exceed fifty. Its object was to consider trade matters and to discuss such provisions of law and proposed legislation as affected the distilling business of Kentucky. But at no time was any scheme suggested or desired for evading any law, State or national, or for controlling the business by rings or combinations. The internal-revenue law, enacted mainly in 1869, was in many respects crude, and in not a few extremely technical.

It was designed to prevent the gross frauds on the revenue that existed prior to 1869, and to that end had the approval of every distiller in Kentucky. This association regulated storage and other purely commercial questions, and the only part undertaken by it, of any moment, in national legislation was in the effort to secure an extension of the bonded period, and, in State legislation, in framing a law by which whisky was taxed as other property in Kentucky. There was no pool, no trust, no interference by one distiller with the business, prices, or profits of another. It employed Colonel Wharton as an attorney in Washington in the interest of the bond-extension bill, but violated in that movement no law. That no ring existed, that nothing secret was attempted, that no effort was made to evade or violate law, is absolutely certain. In 1883 or 1884 this association was abandoned by the distillers, as the matters about which it had been mainly concerned were settled as far as any efforts such as described could avail.

This was followed by a movement to incorporate a company under the laws of Kentucky with a view solely to regulate production by fixing a maximum quantity to be made each year by the different distillers, each fixing his own price, selling his own product, and conducting his own business. But the movement failed and was virtually abandoned.

In the late spring of 1887 a majority of the distillers in Kentucky entered into an agreement to produce no whisky from July 1, 1887, to July 1, 1888. This agreement is in writing, in existence, and speaks its own scope and intent. A similar agreement is now under consideration in Kentucky, providing for a restriction of the production in Kentucky from July 1, 1888, to July 1, 1889. But the agreement, if made, is by the voluntary action of each distiller, contains no provision for pooling or consolidating, but leaves each to manage his own business in his own way.

All these movements have been open and honest, with no false, secret, or sinister purpose, and are fully set out in writing to speak for themselves. The records of the Internal Revenue Department show the arrests or seizures in Kentucky for violations of law. These records must disprove the charge of fraud attempted or accomplished by Kentucky distillers, and I most earnestly ask you to obtain a statement on this point from the honorable Commissioner of Internal Revenue. You will find numerous arrests, prosecutions, and convictions for "moonshining" in Kentucky and for selling liquor without license, and you will find a large sum expended by the Government in Kentucky for protecting the revenue from such violations. But you will find an exceedingly small list of offenses of any kind by the registered distillers of Kentucky.

No effort has ever been made in Kentucky to combine the liquor trade for political purposes. Many engaged in the trade as distillers and dealers are strong Republicans and vote the Republican ticket.

The trade of Kentucky differs in the matter of reducing or repealing the internal-revenue tax as other people differ. Many desire a reduction to 50 cents, and on this point there is not much difference of opinion, as less money would be required in the business and less apprehension felt about paying taxes.

If the trade of Kentucky differ in politics it can not be true that the whisky interest dominates or controls the politics of Kentucky, as has been charged in Congress.

May I not ask you, if these statements are true, why Senators and Representatives in Congress, why newspapers and public speakers repeat the charge that a whisky ring exists in Kentucky, and by its devilish schemes and dishonorable methods defrauds the revenue and shapes the politics of Kentucky? If the charge is made in good faith, it should be corrected, for the people of the United States are led to form very unfavorable opinions of the Kentucky distillers and dealers. While this faith may not disturb the public, it is unjust to the individuals assailed, and must degrade them in the eyes of the public. If done to impair the standing of our public men or to weaken an influence they may exert in the discussion of public questions, it is still unjust. Such tactics may be good politics, but the charges are false, nevertheless. But whatever may be the purpose—ignorance or politics—you will confer a favor on the whisky trade of Kentucky if you will at least flatly and positively deny the existence of any whisky ring in our State, past or present.

To give you such information as will explain all points and cover the entire question, I will state that there is a trust, composed of distillers mainly north of the Ohio River, and of a few distillers in Kentucky, who produce spirits and nonaging whisky. The office of this trust is in Peoria, Ill. It is needless for me to explain the difference between spirits and Kentucky bourbon, or what is meant by whisky for aging by storage and spirits made for immediate use. You doubtless know all these distinctions, and while it is interesting enough as either a scientific or commercial question, it is foreign to my purpose. Nor is it my wish to lead you into any reflections on the moral questions involved in the liquor traffic. If the business is immoral, and on this point each must form his own conclusions from what he has himself done or seen his neighbors do, it is quite enough to bear that burden. But in addition to this charge, be it true or false, there need not be preferred in high places the further accusation of theft and conspiracy and all that is implied in the usual term of whisky ring. All the statements on this subject in the foregoing you can accept as true.

Now, it may be said in support of the whisky-ring charge, in the face of the foregoing facts, that nothing of a criminal or semi-criminal meaning is intended, and the intent may be to charge that Kentucky whisky (and, for that matter, all domestic whisky) is protected by the internal revenue, and enabled by that protection to exist and grow rich, and the charge has been made that a whisky trust had sprung up under the internal-revenue law and the tariff duties on imported liquors.

As before stated in this communication, there is north of the Ohio River a whisky trust, which embraces all the distillers of spirits and cheap domestic whisky, except two houses, one at Cincinnati and one at Chicago; but I am unable to find how or in what way the internal tax or tariff duties has contributed to the formation of this trust.

1. Spirits and their kindred products made by the trusts are used as soon as made, and certainly do not remain in bond for any considerable period of time. These spirits are never tax-paid and stored as tax-paid whisky. So the tax is paid by the trust houses as the spirits are made and withdrawn for consumption. The buyer and consumer speedily pay this tax, and it is in nowise a burden to the trust houses; nor can it be a benefit. If the spirits were stored for age, and unfit for use until aged, a strong combination, able to pay the heavy tax of 90 cents and carry the tax-paid stock, would likely, or at least theoretically, have an advantage over their weaker competitors. But such is not the case, and men or firms of small means, of means enough to build a distillery and buy grain enough to operate it on, can make and sell spirits so far as the tax money is involved, as it is always covered by a draft on shipments made generally as soon as the spirits are barreled.

There is no advantage from the internal-revenue law to spirit distillers in a trust or out of it, and any house, no matter how small, can as readily obey the requirements of the law as the largest one. There is the same commercial advantage in favor of a large spirit distillery that exists in favor of a large manufactory of any kind over a small one, less expense per unit of products in the large one than the small one. I mean business expense with which the law can have nothing to do. This statement applies to Kentucky whisky, but in a modified way; the tax of 90 cents is paid at the end of the three years' bonded period on all whisky not previously withdrawn. This tax thus becomes a heavy burden on the Kentucky products (and also on all whisky carried for age beyond the three years).

And this burden certainly outweighs any advantages that can ever result from combinations in the fine whisky business. So instead of a benefit even to fine whisky, the tax of 90 cents is such a burden to fine whisky that the great majority of distillers and dealers would be glad to have the tax reduced to 50 cents. The records of the internal revenue will show the number of distillers in existence in the United States, and this record will further show the large number of very small distilleries that certainly exist under the present law. The distillers of fine whisky, or at least very many of them, would regret to see the internal-revenue law repealed in full so far as it applies to distilled spirits, for the reason that the marks affixed under the law serve to identify the goods, and is a guaranty to the buyer and ultimately to the consumer of the quality.

Many distillers, also, of all grades of distilled spirits can not understand how a tax inuring to the benefit of the whole people can be collected by the States. Kentucky could impose a gallon tax of 25 cents if the United States tax of 90 cents was repealed, and thus support the State government, provided other grain-growing States imposed the same tax. But Texas, for instance, would object to enriching Kentucky in this way. To this it may be said that the local license would be increased, and thus each State gets its full share of this tax. But to this the reply must be made that there is nothing to indicate any more uniformity in license than in the gallon tax. I state, then, objections that many whisky people have to the entire repeal of the whisky tax as the real and honest objections from a trade standpoint. And it is better that real and honest objections should be stated than that the trade be charged with secret if not dishonest motives for their position on this subject.

On the broader question of taxation, and apart from the selfish interest each has in his own business, the whisky trade differ, as do other people—some for tariff reform and some for protection—some indorse the St. Louis platform, while others indorse the Chicago doctrine.

2. Do tariff duties as now laid benefit the whisky business in any way and aid in the formation of trusts? Most certainly not, for the very simple reason that the United States is the greatest grain-growing country in the world, and furnishes the cheapest grain of all kinds for all purposes. If there were no tariff duties and no internal tax on liquors (distilled) there could be no interference with American products by imported goods. In Europe potatoes are used to a large extent for whisky or spirit making, but the product is not good, and could not at a less price compete with grain product. This is too plain and too well known to permit of argument.

On the other hand, if the tariff duties were reduced or repealed and the internal revenue repealed there would be a large export trade in alcohol and spirits. This trade is now greatly restricted through the legislation of foreign countries, as you know. So whatever may be said about the influence of the tariff in fostering trusts in a general way, there is and can be no connection between the internal revenue or the tariff and the formation of trusts in whisky. Nor does either the tariff or internal revenue give any advantages to the whisky trade or to the large over the small distilleries. It is true that the internal tax induces people residing in mountain regions to engage in moonshining, but it does not and can not benefit the registered distiller who pays his tax.

The price of grain, which is fully two-thirds of the cost of spirits or whisky when made, the character of the water, the price of coal or fuel, the price of staves or barrels, the cost of transportation to market—these facts locate the places where distilling will exist to any extent.

This is no defense of trusts, whisky or otherwise. It is simply a statement of fact intended to show the relation, if any, that exists between the internal-revenue law and the tariff and the manufacture of distilled spirits. (By distilled spirits I mean grain product, for the entire repeal of the tariff on liquors would affect grape brandy, I expect, but never bring it in competition with grain products.)

In the discussion of tariff as a political or financial question the whisky tax is an important factor. It is so because of the large sum collected annually from that tax, and which renders less taxation on other things practicable. If the assertion is made that the tariff now in force encourages trusts or combinations, it is no sufficient answer to say: "Look at the Kentucky whisky trusts," waiving, in view of the foregoing facts, that Kentucky has no trust nor any combination akin to trusts, and never had. And admitting, as there is a Western whisky trust, the answer is yet totally insufficient. If the country was full of whisky trusts, their existence does not and can not depend on the tariff nor on the internal tax. There is and can be no competition with American grain spirits in United States by imported spirits. Two or more wrongs do not make a right; if trusts are wrong and injurious, and if they exist in the manufacture of articles strictly domestic, the fewer of them the better. If the tariff encourages trusts in articles made abroad, and competitive, if admitted at a lower range of prices, the remedy can not be found in pointing to trusts not affected by the tariff.

All trusts resting upon the tariff must be reached through the tariff, while the trusts in domestic goods not affected by the tariff must be reached by entirely different legislation. This legislation must, by the rate of tariff or internal tax, widen the field of competition if trusts are to be controlled or rendered, by commercial values, impossible or harmless. This must be done unless there can be enacted and enforced a statute prohibiting trusts of all kinds. The latter remedy is one full of complications, and possibly of restrictions, in directions where no evil can result. It is safer and more in accord with our Governmental doctrines to let commercial laws regulate trade than make the attempt by statute. You once stated in the Senate that the tariff fostered trusts, and the force of the charge

was met by referring to whisky trusts, etc. Does the tariff foster trusts was the question you raised. It does just so far as it restricts competition. A trust is an agreement among competitors by which competition is suspended, and so far as law works this result it aids and abets the purposes of a trust.

Then, is it not possible for all the manufacturers of the world of a certain article to form a trust? It is possible, but not probable, for the number adds to the difficulty, and a difference of conditions renders the agreement well-nigh impossible. The farmers of the United States can not form a trust because of their numbers and the difference in their conditions. Then, again, it will be said the only remedy for the total extinction of trusts effected by the tariff is in free-trade, and a suggestion to fight the tariff trusts by reducing the duty will be charged, if carried to its logical results, as leading to free trade in all competitive articles and in collecting all tariff dues from articles not produced in this country. But, however sound this charge may appear in theory, it is not sound in practice, for if the markets of this country in competitive force are turned over to another country, the same danger of trusts would at once arise in that country.

This is true if one country needs protection against another country; that is, if the principle of protection is a true one and based on facts, to destroy the industries kept alive by it is to again abridge competition. The only result that would follow would be a transfer of the trusts from one field to another. Or instead of a manufacturer's trust in this country we would have an agent's trust, representing foreign manufacturers. The point to be reached is to induce competition, and to do this the largest number of factories should be encouraged—the tariff so reduced as to accomplish this result. If the tariff is so laid as to equalize costs of production, protect labor and the capital invested—for one is useless without the other—then the best result has been obtained that is possible through the force of competitive laws.

A policy of restriction, as proposed in the Chicago platform, leads unerringly to the encouragement of trusts, and if that doctrine is applied it will have the Government actively engaged in three directions: Collecting revenue until the prohibitory point is reached, to be given back to the people or spent in extravagant ways; levying a tariff on articles not produced in this country when the prohibitory point is reached, such as tea and coffee; and thirdly, in enacting and enforcing a law to squelch the trusts and monopolies built up under the restrictive system.

As I understand the St. Louis platform, it contemplates the maintenance of our factories and the protection of our labor upon such basis as will hinder trusts, if not destroy them, and give to the people the money unjustly made by combinations, in addition to that now collected by the Government in excess of its requirements. This will induce competition and give new life to business, while it at least curtails the bounties of the trusts and combinations.

Does not the United States census give the increase in workingmen as well as the increase in population? My belief is, if this country is restricted to the home market, as proposed by the Republicans, the labor element will increase in greater ratio than consumption and the existing evils will be augmented year by year. We must consider the increasing difficulties in the way of establishing new industries or of making money rapidly in our country. This will add to the working element, which, with the aid of machinery, must vastly outgrow the consuming ability of the people other than workingmen, for the latter is a large consumer of the product of his own labor, and can not be benefited by taxing himself directly or indirectly. Then our public lands will soon be occupied and this outlet largely curtailed. So all the agencies at work conspire to increase the manufacturing working force at a greater ratio than the consuming force outside this working force.

If this is true, a policy of such restriction as the Republicans propose will bring this country like unto a great steam-boiler without a safety-valve and in which the steam is made faster than used, and a destructive explosion must follow. This constantly-increasing supply of muscle must compete with itself and lower its own value if pent up in this country. The true policy is, keep all of our markets not for trusts and monopolies to rob, but for the great body of the people, and at the same time get all the outlet we can. To this end let in raw material, for on this there has been little labor expended, and of all manner of wealth none can lie still until future generations need it, with so little expense and so little detriment to the people as raw material. God made it, or makes it every day, and even in the case of wool, the grass furnished by rain and sunshine does the work, and in it is but little of human sweat, toil, or risk.

And, as I once before wrote you, it is no answer to the demand for tariff reform to point to the increased wealth of the country. The country has wonderful resources, and has increased despite our civil war and its enormous taxation. As long as the country was thinly populated, lands at our doors to be fenced and cultivated at will, and our immense trunk lines of railroad to build, we were bound to grow. But we are rapidly, born as our nation was in the full glory of the nineteenth century with all Europe to fill up with, becoming an advanced people. We had no boyhood, and our years of middle life will be comparatively few. We must look quickly to all the ailments that beset the maturer age of a nation. We must continue to grow rich and honestly distribute that increase as far as law and justice can go.

Yours, truly,

J. M. ATHERTON.

Hon. JAMES B. BECK,
United States Senate.

Mr. ALDRICH. I offer a resolution to be referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That the report of the Committee on Finance, with the views of the minority, on the bill H. R. 9051 be printed, and that 6,000 extra copies be printed to be deposited in the document-room of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is that to include the views submitted by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK]?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. EDMUNDS. With the views of the minority.

Mr. HARRIS. The Senator from Kentucky is part of the minority and his paper is part of the report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. MANDERSON. I am directed by the Committee on Printing to report back favorably the Senate resolution which I send to the desk, and I will state that the investigation as to the cost of the 6,000 copies has been made by the committee, and that it will cost less than $500 to print the 6,000 copies.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution reported by the Senator from Nebraska will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the report of the Committee on Finance, with the views of the minority, on the bill H. R. 9051 be printed, and that 6,000 extra copies be printed to be deposited in the document-room of the Senate.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

G. W. M'ADAMS.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I ask the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] to yield to me that I may request the Senate to take up for present consideration Order of Business 2068, being the bill (H. R. 4765) for the relief of G. W. McAdams.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It authorizes the Postmaster-General to release and relieve George W. McAdams, postmaster at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and his sureties, of all responsibility and liability to the Government for funds and property of the Government stolen from the post-office on the night of July —, 1885, by burglars, if he shall, upon examination, find that the loss was without negligence, fault, or blame on the part of the postmaster.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Is there a report in that case?

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. There is a favorable report.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I ask the Senator from Iowa to tell us why this case does not fall under the general law provided for such cases.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. For the reason that the key-deposit fund, which is a small amount, $72, and also the postal notes which were stolen, are not embraced in the general law.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let us hear the report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be read.

The Secretary read the following report, submitted by Mr. SAWYER August 9, 1888:

The Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4765) for the relief of G. W. McAdams, have examined the same, and report:

The report upon which this bill passed the House is approved, and is as follows:

"Your committee, being satisfied that no danger can arise to the Government under the provisions of the bill submitting the question of negligence, fault, and blame to the Postmaster-General for his determination, recommend the passage of the bill."

The bill is reported favorably, with a recommendation that it do pass.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

THE LOUISIANA ELECTION CASE.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Regular order, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] is entitled to the floor on the resolution submitted by him in relation to the Louisiana election.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Vermont calls for the regular order.

Mr. COCKRELL. Pending that, I think we had better have a short executive session.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I was not prepared for the——

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator from New Hampshire allow me?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. CHANDLER. I do.

Mr. HARRIS. I was simply going to suggest to the Senator from New Hampshire, as the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GIBSON], who has heretofore conducted the debate in respect to this resolution and evinced a good deal of interest in it, is detained from the Senate, as I understand, by indisposition, whether he will not consent to let this resolution go over until Monday when we may hope that the senior Senator from Louisiana may be present.

Mr. CHANDLER. I was about to state that I had not expected that opposition would be made to the passage of the resolution from anything that had been said by the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GIBSON]. The junior Senator from that State [Mr. EUSTIS] has, however, called for the yeas and nays on the passage of the resolution, and under those circumstances I yield to the suggestion of the Senator from Tennessee and allow the resolution to go over until Monday in the hope that by that time the senior Senator from Louisiana will be here and indicate his opposition to the passage of the resolution, if he intends to make such opposition, as I have not understood that he did.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will resume its place on the Calendar.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had disagreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes; asked a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. BURNES, Mr. SAYERS, and Mr. RYAN managers at the further conference on the part of the House.

DEFICIENCY IN APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator withdraw the motion for a moment that the action of the House of Representatives on the deficiency bill may be laid before the Senate?

Mr. COCKRELL. I withdraw the motion for that purpose.

Mr. HALE. I desire to call up the deficiency bill that has just come from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives non-concurring in the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes, and asking a further conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. HALE. I move that the Senate further insist on its amendments, and agree to the request of the House for a further conference.

The motion was agreed to.

By unanimous consent the President *pro tempore* was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate, and Mr. HALE, Mr. ALLISON, and Mr. COCKRELL were appointed.

REDUCTION OF LETTER POSTAGE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] for a moment.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yesterday I gave notice that in the event that the Senate should be in session to-morrow I would ask the courtesy of the Senate to allow me to submit some remarks on the bill introduced by myself looking to the reduction of letter postage to 1 cent per ounce. As the Senate has agreed to adjourn over, I now give notice that on Monday next, at some convenient time which will not interfere with the discussson of the tariff measure I shall ask the courtesy of the Senate to permit me to submit a few remarks on that bill. At the suggestion of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations [Mr. ALLISON], who has charge of the tariff bill, I will give notice that immediately after the morning business on Monday I shall ask leave to proceed with my remarks.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to give notice in that connection that at the earliest possible moment on Monday morning I shall ask for the consideration of the tariff bill.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. COCKRELL. I now renew my motion.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 36 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, October 8, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 4, 1888.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

E. D. Lynn, of Texas, to be collector of customs for the district of Saluria, Tex., *vice* Otto L. Threlkeld, deceased.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

Fourth Regiment of Cavalry.

First Lieut. James Parker, regimental quartermaster, to be captain, October 2, 1888, *vice* Lawton, who resigns his line commission only.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 1, 1888.

INDIAN AGENT.

Beal Gaither, to be agent for the Indians of the Siletz agency, in Oregon.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 2, 1888.

ASSAYER.

Van Court Yantis, of Missouri, to be assayer-in-charge of the United States assay office at St. Louis, Mo.

POSTMASTERS.

Charles H. Tracey, to be postmaster at Anaconda, in the county of Deer Lodge, Territory of Montana.

John P. Gasper, to be postmaster at Kingsley, in the county of Plymouth and State of Iowa.

INDIAN AGENT.

Samuel S. Sears, of Elko County, Nevada, to be agent for the Indians of the Nevada agency in Nevada.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *October* 4, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

REFERENCE OF SENATE RESOLUTIONS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the joint resolution (S. R. 104) to print additional copies of the United States map, of the edition of 1887, prepared by the Commissioner of Public Lands; which was read a first and second time, and referred to the Committee on Printing.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the concurrent resolution of the Senate providing for the printing of 10,000 additional copies of the work known as The Growth of Industrial Art; which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

ABANDONED HOMESTEAD ENTRIES.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the bill (S. 3559) to amend section 5304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to allow persons who have abandoned or relinquished their homestead entries to make another entry; with House amendments disagreed to by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. This bill has reached the stage where it is privileged, and if there be no objection, the House will insist upon its amendments, and agree to the conference.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

DR. JOHN B. READ.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the request of the Senat. for the return of the bill (H. R. 10633) for the relief of Dr. John B. Read.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that on yesterday morning the House concurred in the Senate amendments to this bill; and if there be no objection the action of the House in that respect will be reconsidered, and the request of the Senate complied with.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Some time subsequently,

The SPEAKER said: With reference to the bill, the return of which has been requested by the Senate, the Chair has ascertained that this bill was enrolled and signed by the Speaker on yesterday. If there be no objection, the Chair will direct an order to be made instructing the Clerk of the House to inform the Senate of the fact that before the request of the Senate was received the bill had been enrolled and signed by the Speaker.

Mr. HOOKER. What is the bill?

The SPEAKER. It is a House bill for the relief of Dr. John B. Read.

Mr. ROGERS. What is the present status of the bill?

The SPEAKER. It is in that position now, where, in order to secure its recall, it will be necessary that a concurrent resolution be passed by the two Houses.

If there be no objection, the order suggested by the Chair will be made.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

ADDITIONAL CLERK, COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE], a member of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, asks the consideration of the resolution which was objected to by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] on yesterday, who subsequently informed the Chair that he withdrew his objection. The Chair will state that this resolution has been changed a little since it was offered on yesterday, and calls the attention of the gentleman from Ohio to that fact.

The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Enrolled Bills be authorized to employ one additional clerk at the rate of $5 per day for the remainder of this session of Congress, to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House, the compensation to commence on the 27th day of September last.

Mr. KILGORE. I suppose I should make a statement in regard to the resolution. It is perhaps not generally known to the House that there is no other member of the Committee on Enrolled Bills present except myself, and within the last three or four days there have been as many as two hundred bills reported by the committee. To each of these there must be appended four separate reports. They are short, it is true; but they must all be written, and it takes considerable time. The regular clerk has been on duty continuously almost night and day except when he was sick, and then he employed a man himself to take his place. In addition to that he has employed an assistant for the last two weeks to aid him in the work. There is a great accumulation of business, and it is impossible for the clerk and myself to do it without additional help.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, under a misapprehension of the facts on yesterday morning I objected to this resolution; but on inquiry I found I was mistaken and sought to withdraw the objection then. I think undoubtedly it ought to pass, and I hope there will be no objection.

The resolution was considered and agreed to.

Mr. KILGORE moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. MCCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3573) granting the right of way to the Pensacola and Memphis Railroad Company over and through the public lands of the United States in the States of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and granting the right of way to said railroad company over and through the United States naval and military reservations near Pensacola, in the State of Florida.

The message also communicated to the House the following order adopted by the Senate:

Ordered, That the Secretary return to the House of Representatives House enrolled bill No. 10633, entitled "An act for the relief of Dr. John Read," with the message that before the delivery of said enrolled bill to the Senate a motion had been made in the Senate pursuant to its rules to reconsider the vote of the Senate passing said original bill, and the Senate had ordered that the House of Representatives be requested to return said bill to the Senate.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. CARUTH, indefinitely, on account of important business.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. I desire to request leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. WEBER.

There was no objection, and leave was granted.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, on last evening, while temporarily occupying the chair, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] laid a request upon the desk asking leave to have some matter printed, I do not now remember what, which I inadvertently overlooked.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will be in during the day, and the Chair will call the attention of the House to it.

Mr. ROGERS. Very well.

MARITIME CANAL COMPANY, NICARAGUA.

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Speaker, I ask consideration of Senate bill 1305. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Calendar and take up the bill at this time for consideration.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1305) to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua.

Mr. DUNN. This bill was read on Monday last and printed in the RECORD, and I suppose the formal reading of the bill may now be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will submit the request of the gentleman from Arkansas to dispense with the reading of the bill.

Mr. DUNN. I desire to make this additional statement. I hope the bill will be taken up, and if so I shall allow all fair and reasonable time for its full discussion. I do not desire to hurry it through. It is a bill of great importance, one which has engaged national interest for years, and I trust no gentleman will object to its full and fair consideration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. WASHINGTON. I dislike, of course, to object to any man's pet measure, but this is a bill of too great importance to be considered in a House like this though I would not object to its consideration in a full House. I know there are a great many members who desire to offer amendments and debate the bill, who are not present.

Mr. DUNN. I desire to say to the gentleman from Tennessee that the fullest opportunity will be given to offer amendments. We could at least go on and debate the bill.

Mr. WASHINGTON. The members who desire to offer the amendments are not present.

Mr. BAYNE. I would suggest to the gentleman from Tennessee, if the bill be taken up and considered, he could at any time intercept its progress by making the point of no quorum.

Mr. DUNN. I hope the gentleman from Tennessee will allow the bill to be considered, and then after hearing and participating in the consideration, if he sees proper to do so, he can make the point of no quorum on the final passage of the bill, and so let it go over until a quorum appears.

Mr. BURNES. I would like to suggest to my friend from Arkansas [Mr. DUNN] that I could not consent to the bill being considered at length until after the House shall have acted on the conference report.

Mr. DUNN. I thought that was disposed of.

Mr. BURNES. It has not been, but will take but a short time this morning.

Mr. DUNN. I was not present at the close of the House yesterday, but I thought final action had been taken on the conference report.

The SPEAKER. Does the Chair understand that the gentleman from Tennessee objects?

Mr. WASHINGTON. I do.

Mr. DUNN. I hope the gentleman from Tennessee will withdraw his objection and make the point of no quorum on the final passage.

Mr. BAYNE. By that means the gentleman from Tennessee will have control of the bill.

Mr. WASHINGTON. I would state in reply to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. DUNN] that were we to go on with the consideration of the bill it would merely entangle the House in a call of the House from the mere fact that there is no quorum present.

Mr. DUNN. That could be obviated by having consideration of the bill, and then on the final passage the point of no quorum could be made and the consideration of the bill could be abandoned and go over until a quorum appears hereafter.

Mr. BAYNE. We could arrive at a satisfactory conclusion with reference to that.

Mr. WASHINGTON. I do not withdraw my objection for the present.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. HOOKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent——

The SPEAKER. The Chair has recognized the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. DUNN], and under the practice will now recognize a gentleman on the other side of the House.

PETROLEUM AS FUEL ON STEAMERS.

Mr. VANDEVER. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on the Revision of the Laws from the further consideration of the bill (S. 3427) to amend section 4474 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the bill, after which the Chair will ask for objections.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4474 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding thereto the following: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may permit the use of petroleum as fuel on steamers not carrying passengers without the certificate of the supervising inspector of the district where the vessel is to be used, subject to such conditions and safeguards as the Secretary of the Treasury in his judgment shall provide. For a violation of any of the conditions imposed by the Secretary of the Treasury a penalty of $500 shall be imposed, which penalty shall be a lien upon the vessel, but a bond may, as provided in other cases, be given to secure the satisfaction of the judgment.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say that the bill having been referred to a committee of which I am a member I have examined the subject. I can see no objection to the passage of the bill and I hope no objection will be interposed. It is simply to enable vessels not carrying passengers to use petroleum as fuel, and has the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection the committee will be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and it will be considered at this time.

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. VANDEVER moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. PEEL. I ask unanimous consent to take up for consideration the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk.

Mr. KILGORE. I demand the regular order.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will appoint as managers of the conference on the part of the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (S. 3559) to amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to allow honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the late war who have abandoned or relinquished their homestead entries before the expiration of the six months allowed by section 2304 of the Revised Statutes to make another entry, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE], the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER], and the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. HERMANN].

The regular order is the call of committees for reports.

GENERAL DEFICIENCY BILL.

Mr. BURNES. As a matter of privilege, I ask for the further consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the general deficiency bill.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Will the gentleman yield to me for one moment?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] has demanded the regular order.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. But the gentleman from Missouri has the floor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas has demanded the regular order.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. I wanted to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a bill to relieve certain citizens of Nevada.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas has demanded the regular order, and the Chair has no discretion but to proceed under that order.

Mr. BURNES. I ask the Clerk to read amendments 112 and 113.

The Clerk read as follows:

Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory: To further aid the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory, under its articles of incorporation, in the establishment and maintenance of an industrial and educational institution in Salt Lake City for the benefit of the dependent women and children of Utah and Idaho Territories who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church, $75,000; and for contingent expenses of the association, $5,000; in all, $80,000.

The money hereby appropriated shall be disbursed by the treasurer of said association, who shall give such bonds for the faithful performance of his duties as may be deemed requisite by the Secretary of the Interior. All accounts of expenditures under this appropriation shall be audited by the Utah Commission, which shall hereafter act as the board of control for said institution, and shall make an annual report to Congress covering the work of said institution and its expenditures.

Mr. ROGERS. Will the gentleman from Missouri yield to me a moment for a suggestion? Reverting to the aqueduct investigation here, in view of the fact that this conference report will go back to the committee of conference, it has occurred to me since that matter was up here yesterday that if there was any doubt at all about the resolution as it now stands being broad enough in its scope to authorize the committee to have engineers from civil life employed to make further investigation into the character of the work, it ought to be made sufficiently broad to accomplish that purpose; because in a matter of so much importance, involving a couple of million of dollars—it will probably involve that amount before we get through with it—and where the derelictions seem to lie at the door of the Engineer Department of the Government, it may not be safe for the committee to rely exclusively upon investigations made by that department. If, on the other hand, the committee should find that it will not be necessary to employ civil engineers to look into the matter further, then of course the expense need not be incurred. But we can not tell in what direction or in what line an investigation of this kind may extend, and I think the resolution should be made broad enough to enable the committee to call in engineers from civil life, if they shall find it necessary or important to do so.

Mr. BURNES. I think the resolution is broad enough to cover the suggestion of the gentleman from Arkansas. That part of the resolution which provides that the committee shall have power to employ experts would, I think, cover the point.

Mr. ROGERS. If so, of course my suggestion is not necessary.

Mr. BURNES. But the committee will consider the matter carefully and thoroughly. The object of the committee—and if we do not accomplish it we shall fail only in ability—is to have a full and thorough investigation, so that all the information upon the subject that can possibly be of any value may be obtained and communicated to the House. But if the resolution shall be found insufficient it will be enlarged in conference.

Mr. Speaker, the Senate amendments which have just been read are to my mind exceedingly——

Mr. ROGERS. Novel.

Mr. BURNES. I was about to say ridiculous. It is difficult to select a proper word to describe them. They are, thanks to my friend from Arkansas, most novel, unique, unparalleled, and unprecedented. They do not express a high order of business judgment or discretion, nor that practical common sense which we usually expect from a Congressman, even if he serves elsewhere than in this House.

I wish to call particular attention to the language of these amendments. The first proposition is that $80,000, including $5,000 for contingent expenses, shall now be appropriated and placed in the hands of the treasurer of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory to further aid that institution, under its articles of incorporation, in the establishment and maintenance of an industrial and educational institution in Salt Lake City, for the benefit of the dependent women and children of Utah and Idaho Territories who desire to "sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church."

The second amendment provides, substantially, that this money shall be used by this private corporation, without limitation or restriction, upon a mere sentimentality which underlies the whole proposition.

In order to have before the House all the law bearing upon the subject I will commence with the commencement.

The first provision with regard to the matter will be found in the sundry civil appropriation bill for the year ending June 30, 1887. It was an amendment put upon that bill by the Senate (and in the conference the House was compelled to yield, or did yield, to it at the time), and was intended merely to aid in the support of indigent women and children whom the rigors of Federal laws against polygamy had made homeless and husbandless and fatherless. It is as follows:

INDUSTRIAL HOME IN UTAH TERRITORY.

That is not the name of the private corporation now figuring in our deliberations.

To aid in the establishment of an industrial home in the Territory of Utah to provide employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy, and the children of such women, of tender age, in said Territory, with a view to aid in the suppression of polygamy therein, $40,000; said sum to be expended upon requisition of and under the management of a board of control, to consist of the governor, the justices of the supreme court, and the district attorney of said Territory; and the said board shall duly and properly expend said sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the purpose herein indicated, and shall, from time to time, report to the President their acts and doings and expenditures hereunder for transmission to Congress.

I ought perhaps to say in this connection that the Senate amendment was for $50,000; but in conference the Senate submitted to a reduction of $10,000, making the amount $40,000.

Under the provision of law just read the board of management proceeded to rent a private residence in the city of Salt Lake, for which they agreed to pay $45 per month; and at an expense of some $2,000 they furnished this house, and placed it in charge of some ladies representing this private corporation. For ten months the institution thus established was carried on by them, when for some reason or other the representatives of the corporation alluded to came to Congress, and, as we learned from a speech made the other day in another body, and through a distinguished gentleman from the State of Vermont, prepared an amendment to the general deficiency bill, and had it incorporated therein. That Senate amendment on the general deficiency bill, at the last session of the Forty-ninth Congress, was acquiesced in by the conferees on the part of the House. It is a very peculiar amendment. Another peculiar feature of the proceedings which have been had in reference to this matter——

Mr. STRUBLE. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. BURNES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRUBLE. In order that I may clearly understand this matter, I wish to ask whether the gentleman is now referring to the first appropriation made by the Forty-ninth Congress.

Mr. BURNES. I have just referred to the first appropriation, and am now referring to the second.

Mr. STRUBLE. Was not the first appropriation made by the Forty-ninth Congress?

Mr. BURNES. The first was made at the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress; and the second was attempted to be made at the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress.

Mr. STRUBLE. And that is the one you are now referring to?

Mr. BURNES. It is. It will be remembered that at the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress the general deficiency bill failed for want of time, as alleged, on the part of the Senate. In consequence of that failure the provision of course did not take effect; but in the agreement between the representatives of the two Houses upon these questions, the general deficiency bill, which failed at the closing session of the Forty-ninth Congress, was made a special deficiency bill at this session of Congress; that is to say, all that had been agreed upon in conference was made the subject of a special deficiency bill except where circumstances had demonstrated that an appropriation was unnecessary.

This was done in order to remedy promptly the evils which the failure of the bill had caused. The bill, thus framed, contained this second amendment of the Senate, which I will now proceed to consider; and I want to call the attention of gentlemen particularly to the growing desire therein manifest, to take the expenditure of this money out of proper hands and place it in unofficial hands, and hands perhaps but poorly qualified for the business-like disposition of large sums of money:

Industrial Christian Home: To aid the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah—

There, for the first time, we strike the corporate name of this private corporation organized under the laws of the Territory of Utah—

in carrying on under its articles of incorporation the work of providing employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who shall have renounced polygamy, and their children of tender age, $40,000.

That is $40,000 in addition to the first appropriation.

But the unexpended balance of the appropriation for aiding in the establishment of an industrial home in the Territory of Utah contained in the act of Congress approved August 4, 1886, entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, and for other purposes," shall be deemed a part of this appropriation; and the board of control mentioned in said former appropriation shall audit the expenditures under this appropriation and report yearly to the Secretary of the Interior."

I want gentlemen to observe particularly that in this attempt to change the responsibility, and I may say official management in the expenditure of this money, insufficient language was used, for it says, "the board of control mentioned in said former appropriation shall audit the expenditures." It was an added duty on the board. It did not repeal the law making them a board of control in the expenditure of the money. It was an attempt to reduce the board of control to the position of mere auditing officers with reference to the expenditures to be made, as was hoped by this private corporation. But fortunately the Secretary of the Treasury, and perhaps others, took the view that this language did not effect the object desired, that the board of management was not displaced by reason of this provision; and consequently that the board of management remained the same under the second law as under the first, and lawfully controlled the expenditure of all the money appropriated. It has been claimed, however, by the corporation authorities, and by gentlemen who control this project in the other end of the Capitol, that the second law vested the right of expending these appropriations in the private corporation called the

"Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah;" but notwithstanding the law, that corporation, it is said, has consented that Governor West shall hold the money, but allow the corporation to expend it as it pleases.

Contrast the pending propositions with the preceding legislation and you will find that what was not even intimated in the first proposition, but which was attempted in the second provision of legislation, is now boldly attempted by this third effort on the part of gentlemen, and to take this appropriation from the control of legitimate officials and place it in the hands of private persons or a private corporation. I do not know how far I can make allusion to speeches made in the other end of the Capitol or language used in conference, but I feel authorized to go as far as gentlemen have gone in discussing this proposition in the Senate. Therefore I say in the conference, we were told distinctly that the language used severing "allegiance from the Mormon Church" was absolutely and indispensably necessary and would not be yielded under any circumstances.

It was regarded by your conferees as a proposition in the nature of offering a home and provisions—in short a bribe under pretense of charity—to poor deluded women, as we think, to induce them to "sever their allegiance to a church." In such an affair as that we can not consent to be a party. We seek to avoid all interference in matters ecclesiastic, and have nothing to do, in making appropriations, with severing church allegiance.

No member of this House will be accused of any relationship to this church I trust, because he is of opinion that it is not the province of our Government to enter the field of churchmen as a proselyte, although it has been said in another place than this that the Mormon Church is actively opposed to the legislation under consideration. I presume gentlemen who make such a statement have some information in support of it and have not recklessly made the hazard of an assertion that they ought to be prepared to maintain as a fact.

The House Committee on Appropriations have seen nothing tending to justify the remarks to which I have alluded. No member of that committee has been advised by the Mormon Church or any of its representatives, if any such are here. If they have given their confidences to members of another body it was their right, and we do not complain.

We take notice of the laws of the country and learn from them that polygamy is forbidden; that it is under the ban of Congressional legislation, and ought to be eradicated, even if a constitutional amendment were required to accomplish the work. But our work ends with polygamy and does not reach over into the realm of church allegiance, or into the moral consciences of men or women. The fact of polygamy is to be assailed. We attack its practices as a crime, and punish those who commit it. But we punish the body and not the soul of a criminal. We punish for acts not thoughts—for words, sometimes, but never for sentiments entertained.

A distinguished gentleman said elsewhere on Tuesday:

> Whatever lapses there have been on the part of Congress and the Executive in dealing with the monstrous evil of polygamy in Utah and the adjacent Territories of the United States; however delinquent the Government may have been in dealing with that evil, and however much the Mormon hierarchy may have profited by these lapses and delinquencies, no part of the fault for all this can be laid at the door of the women of America.

What "lapses" on the part of the Executive have occurred? Have gentlemen so soon forgotten the noble words of the President in behalf of the sanctity of the home and of the institution of marriage? Have they no remembrance of the grand results of his administration, which have almost destroyed polygamy from the face of our land? It seems that one gentleman at least has the courage of insinuation, if he lacks the courage to make a direct statement. He intimates that there have been lapses in dealing with polygamy on the part of the President.

I do not wish to say one word which would be unpleasant to my friends on my right, not a word. But it is due to the President of the United States. I should say that thirty years ago the Republican party denominated the institution of polygamy as the twin relic of barbarism and promised the country to destroy it; but like many other promises made in the past concerning great national questions it has not been redeemed. Nor was any practical progress made by administrative or executive action until the present administration of Grover Cleveland came into power.

True, there was some legislation prior, some feeble efforts from time to time; but for twenty-four years of Republican administration we had no results in the destruction of this great evil by administrative effort and practically none by legislation. But in four years of this Administration polygamy has been practically destroyed.

Criticism should have been avoided by the gentleman, as it has made necessary a contrast between the results of twenty-four years of Republican administration with four years of Democratic administration, and by such contrast there are gentlemen who will be put to an open shame, much to my regret.

Mr. Speaker, what this House through its conferees offered to do in order to harmonize with the Senate on these amendments——

Mr. DINGLEY. Will the gentleman pardon me for interrupting him just there in order that I may understand exactly the position of this matter? Do I understand the gentleman to state that the Senate conferees refused to take from amendment No. 112 the words to which he has referred—"who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church?"

Mr. BURNES. Yes, sir. When the conferees of the House reached these amendments they were told that the words quoted by the distinguished gentleman from Maine would not be surrendered under any circumstances, and it was not until the second day of the conference we were told that if we could agree upon the other conditions they, the Senate conferees, would waive the language "sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church."

Mr. DINGLEY. Because I understood that the Senate conferees took the position that they were entirely willing to surrender these words; that they were not essential.

Mr. BURNES. That was done at the last moment, and not until near the expiration of the conference, but we now make no issue upon that. It may be considered as yielded by the Senate conferees. But it is still in the Senate amendment and is before the House.

Now, what is the pending proposition? It is a proposition, as it stands, to take $135,000, with six or eight or ten thousand dollars (we know not how much) of it expended, $40,000 of which are now in the hands of the governor of Utah Territory, and place it all in the hands of a private corporation controlled by individual people living, some in Salt Lake City, some in one place, and some in another, mainly, I may say, married women whose business qualifications have never been successfully demonstrated, so far as I know, upon any field of business activity or in any branch of business enterprise. Their respectability is not called in question; their business capacities and experience are, perhaps, practically untried.

Mr. STRUBLE. Will the gentleman pardon me for a moment to ask whether or not it is true that there are gentlemen of respectability residing in the city of Salt Lake who are connected with the institution as members of the board of directors, or in some such capacity?

Mr. BURNES. There are names appearing in the articles of incorporation that indicate that there are men connected with it; but I can say that the life and the soul and the body of the whole institution is the creation of a lady of rare mental and moral endowments—Mrs. Newman—who has represented its interests here from the beginning. Whatever names may be used, and whatever gentlemen may be in the background, this institution is one of women.

Mr. DINGLEY. Just as in the case of many other beneficial and reformatory institutions, I suppose.

Mr. BURNES. Certainly. I have no objection to make to that; but that, as you will see when I come to state the ground upon which we offer to harmonize, has a direct bearing on the suggestion made by the House conferees, and I think you will see and admit that the proposition of the House conferees was just, fair, and even liberal. We say to the Senate conferees, you want a home, a permanent home, if you please, into which can be received the destitute women and children who have abandoned or proposed to abandon polygamy. You want a new house on a new lot, and you want that house furnished, and you want annual supplies from the Government, almost exclusively. A little is expected, perhaps from private contributions or private charity, but it is practically admitted in the papers here that the institution must rest upon the Government of the United States for yearly maintenance. We say we will let this institution be established, we will build you a house that will cost $50,000—that is, the house they want—we will build this house and furnish it and provide all the money necessary to accomplish these ends.

When we shall have built you this house and furnished it we will place it under the control and in the hands of the corporation represented by Mrs. Newman and her associates for management as a public institution of the United States. They shall manage it. We will define simply by law or regulation the classes of people who shall be admitted into the institution; and in that respect I will say that we offered and again offer to make these classes embrace all the people who it is claimed have been rejected under the management of Governor West; that is to say, in the report of the commission and of the corporation it appears that certain classes of women were not allowed to be admitted into the home, such, for instance, as first wives and girls who had been introduced into the Territory, not knowing that polygamy was one of the institutions of the church.

Now, so far as the classes are concerned, we propose, after we shall have built this house on business principles, and after we shall have furnished it to their heart's content, to place it under the control of this private corporation and make an appropriation for its support which that corporation will expend. Five thousand dollars are asked for contingent expenses.

This private corporation has some contingent expenses. For what? It is alleged that it is to pay traveling expenses of parties who will have to go East or elsewhere in search of teachers, in search of people who are to take charge of the interests of the institution, etc.; and also to pay the expenses of indigent females who want to enter the home, but who can not get from their places of residence to the city of Salt Lake where the home is to be located. We are disposed to recognize the great work of Mrs. Newman as justifying a proper payment to her for

expenses incurred and to be incurred in behalf of the enterprise, whatever of success or non-success may result; and for that purpose, and that alone, we would probably agree to one-half the sum proposed for contingent expenses.

Mr. STRUBLE. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him before he passes from that to the discussion of other points? I would like to inquire what the conferees propose in regard to who shall decide upon the admissions to this home? I understand that up to this time the authority to decide that question rested with the governor of Utah; and I would like to hear if the matter has been discussed, and, if it is proper to disclose it, what the conferees of the House proposed to the conferees of the Senate on that point.

Mr. BURNES. I have stated, and will state again, that these ladies claim that there were certain classes of applicants for admission into the home which were rejected by Governor West, in consequence of which some forty or fifty destitute women and children were deprived of the benefits of this home. That is the claim that has been made.

Mr. STRUBLE. That much I remember.

Mr. BURNES. I have seen the statement of this corporation as to the classes that it alleges have been denied admission by Governor West, and also the claim of the corporation as to the classes it desires to have admitted, and if I am not mistaken as to its suggestions, we are willing to recognize those classes as proper objects for admission into the institution.

Mr. STRUBLE. And the authority of deciding upon that rests still with the Government?

Mr. BURNES. Not at all.

Mr. STRUBLE. Then I would like to know in whom the conferees propose to repose this authority.

Mr. BURNES. It was reposed wholly by law. We prefer to define the classes by law, but it can be done by regulations from time to time by the Interior Department. In view of the fact that other and new classes may be presented in the future for admission, we think in some respects the giving of the power to the Secretary of the Interior to make from time to time regulations as to these classes of people to be admitted will prove convenient and advantageous.

But, if it is objected that the Secretary of the Interior ought not to be allowed from time to time to make regulations defining the classes of people who are to be admitted to a Government institution, which the Government has to pay for and support, and the subject should not be settled by law, but left to the will of this corporation, then, indeed, we can not too quickly abandon the whole business and employ some one by contract to take care of and maintain all the poor of Utah Territory.

Mr. STRUBLE. The reason I asked the question was that I had an intimation that it was the fault of the conferees to suggest, or to provide, or to endeavor to provide, that the Secretary of the Interior should be authorized to decide upon certain classes or upon all classes not distinctly provided for in the law that should be admitted to the home.

Mr. BURNES. We suggested to the conferees on the part of the Senate that in our judgment vesting this power in the Secretary of the Interior would give an elasticity to the powers of the corporation that would not exist if we put the regulations in the law. But upon that provision the Senatorial conferees can take their choice. They can either embrace all these classes in the law or they can allow the Secretary of the Interior from time to time to define the classes that shall be admitted.

When this new building is finished and furnished it goes into the hands of this corporation without limitation or restraint as to the domestic management. They should be required to make report as to how they expend the money, and be required to expend it in the support of the classes of people nominated in the law or nominated in the regulations of the Secretary of the Interior. That certainly is not an unreasonable requirement.

As for Governor West and the judges of the supreme court, they have established this home and have managed its affairs for nearly two years. They have not failed to act in accord with the representatives of the corporation so far as the law allowed; and the success of the management can be understood in view of the fact that the highest number of inmates in the home at any one time was twenty-seven, and the average of such inmates has not been more than seven.

Mr. DINGLEY. I would like to ask the gentleman whether the reason for that does not lie in the fact that the governor rejected a large proportion of those whom the institution was intended to benefit—somewhat over one hundred, for example, in ten months.

Mr. BURNES. A claim of that sort is made by the representatives of the corporation, but after two years of effort, two years of advertisement, and an extraordinary appropriation almost without restraint or restriction in its expenditure, the inmates of the home to-day are one woman and five children.

It has been reported to us officially that $6,900 were expended for the first ten months in and about the institution. The expenditures since have not been reported officially, but in one of the papers I find it stated by the corporation that the amount expended up to August last is $13,500. At this point I want to call the attention of the House to a business fact. The gentlemen who discussed this question with us in conference, and one of them who has addressed another legislative body upon it, have labored under the delusion that only $40,000 had been appropriated for this institution. By telegraphing to the Treasury Department I have learned that during the first ten months of the existence of the institution there was drawn from the Treasury $10,000 in four equal installments, and in July last $40,000 was drawn; making $50,000 in all that passed from the Treasury into the hands of this board of management and control.

I find in the reports made here no mention by any of the parties out in Salt Lake City of more than $40,000. It is not stated in any paper or report that the amount is more than $40,000; yet the fact is that they have received $50,000. I ought to say, however, that they have paid back about $1,100, leaving $48,800, or thereabouts, in the hands of these people, or some of them, I presume in the hands of the governor. What use he could have had for the last $40,000 is not explained.

In his hands for what? To support one women and five children! Now, my friend from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] asks me whether there would not have been inmates of this home if Governor West had been more liberal in admissions.

Mr. DINGLEY. Before the gentleman leaves that point, I would like to ask whether there is not a building in course of construction, upon which there has been a considerable amount expended apart from the mere expenses of carrying on the institution, which is rented?

Mr. BURNES. I heard a speech the other day in another place, and in that speech I heard the statement that our proposition was to build this home through the agency of the Treasury Department, and that on that plan it would require three years to finish it; but that already the foundations were laid and the work was rapidly progressing on the central part of the building. That was the first time I had ever heard the statement that work had been commenced on the new building.

I believe that if any contract were made, it was without authority of law, even conditioned to take effect upon a further appropriation by Congress. I do not believe the work is in progress, but I do not know; I do not assert it as a fact that it is not, but I have no information that would justify me in believing that it is.

Mr. DINGLEY. Having suggested the statement by my question, I now wish to name my informant. I learned from Mrs. Newman, who has been more prominent, perhaps, than any other lady in this matter, that a building is in process of construction, and that the walls are up, or nearly up; at any rate, that some $18,000 has been expended upon the building.

Mr. BURNES. All I need say in reply to that is that I have very great respect for Mrs. Newman and for any statement she makes. Mrs. Newman, however, has not been there for some time, and I am quite certain that if she makes that statement she is mistaken. At least I have had no such information from Mrs. Newman, and I have conferred with her upon the subject. I need not repeat what I have already said, that I have great respect for her statements and great respect for her, but I can not believe that this work is in progress, as has been stated by the gentleman from Maine.

I find in these papers before me, coming from this corporation, that a lot was bought and a contract let for the erection of a building by the corporation, to cost $18,000; that the corporation has done this under the provisions of the second law which I read. I call attention to the fact that there is no power given to this corporation to make any such contract, there is no power given to it to spend one dollar in the erection of a new building or in the purchase of ground. Indeed I may say there is no power given to the corporation to handle one dollar of this money except at the discretion of the board of control, of which the governor is chairman.

This sum of $40,000 is now in the hands of the governor out there. It is said that $10,500 have been paid for a lot. But I will not stand upon the fact that neither the corporation nor the board of control had any more power to buy that lot than I had. They say they have bought a lot for $10,500. I am willing the Government shall take the lot, shall recognize the transaction, irregular as it is, recognize the expenditure, and have the title of the lot made to the Government. Then they say that there is a contract to build on that lot an $18,000 house, and that the plan contemplates ultimately its extension. Now, I will go further and say that if there be such a contract, I am willing, in the spirit of healing the business judgment of the corporation managers, to have a provision made which shall take care of any such contract, if one has been made. If in good faith there has been a contract made and the work is progressing, I am willing that we shall recognize it, and carry it on to completion under the contract.

Mr. RYAN. Let me ask my colleague on the committee a question at this point. Suppose it be true that there is a contract for the construction of this building—the entire building—a portion of it contingent upon further appropriations, how is it practicable under such circumstances to turn the work over to the Treasury Department?

Mr. BURNES. I answer my friend and associate in just this way: So far as that alleged contract is concerned, we will ascertain its condi-

tion; and if there be a valid contract, a contract entitled to the respectful consideration of any gentleman on this floor, we will take care of that in its order and according to the necessities of the case.

Mr. RYAN. Ah, but that does not answer my question. I assume that there is a contract for the construction of a building, that it provides for constructing a building according to certain plans and specifications. Now the question I ask is this: If you are to carry out that contract in good faith, how are you to turn the work over to the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. BURNES. I was going to say further, in answer to my colleague, that if the work is in that condition we will set apart the $18,000 contracted to be paid for it and let the work be finished. But the additional work, the work on the wings or extensions, is not under contract; that is not pretended by anybody.

Mr. RYAN. It is pretended that it is under contract, subject only to the contingency of Congress making appropriation to pay for the work?

Mr. BURNES. Then, if that contingency exists, we are not bound to recognize the contract as extending to the wings, because in making the appropriation we can provide that we will not ratify the contract to that extent.

The Secretary of the Treasury can, through his agents and instrumentalities, extend this building, erect the additional buildings; and I call the attention of my colleague on the committee to the fact that in the estimates sent in here by this corporation it is expressly stated that they want $50,000 for the purpose of putting another story upon this building now under contract. That is business for you with a vengeance—they contract for the erection of a building with ample means under their control, and then ask more money to put another story upon it! I give this as a sample of the business wisdom with which this money will be expended if placed under the control of this corporation.

It is said the treasurer of this private corporation is to give a bond for the faithful distribution of this money; and it is also said that we have used the word "he" in the law, and that this necessarily implies that the treasurer must be a male, although at present I understand the treasurer is a female, under disability with regard to making bonds in consequence of being a married woman. What sort of a bond would a married woman make as treasurer for the disbursement of United States funds?

Away with all that! I am perfectly willing for this money to be expended as all other moneys of the United States are expended—by a proper disbursing officer to be appointed under existing law. If those who ask this appropriation object to accepting the money in that way, then it is not so much the institution that they want, it is not so much the suppression of polygamy that they are after, as it is the cash in the hands of irresponsible parties who are not officially authorized to receive it.

Mr. STRUBLE. Has the gentleman examined the statutes of Utah sufficiently to be able to state that under those statutes a woman can not give bond in a case like this?

Mr. BURNES. I have not; it may be that she can.

Mr. STRUBLE. I understand the laws are very liberal out there. I did not know but that in this respect the law might be as it is in the State of Iowa. In our State a woman can give bonds.

Mr. BURNES. I will ask to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks some of the documents to which I have alluded, so that this whole matter may be made of record for subsequent legislators who may be called to consider it.

I close by saying that we are perfectly willing to give to this institution the control of the building and its management. We are perfectly willing to define by law the classes of inmates, or to give the Secretary of the Interior authority to regulate from time to time what classes shall be admitted, with a view of extirpating polygamy. We are willing that the purchase of the lot shall be recognized and the lot turned over to the Government. If there has been a contract made in good faith and work done under it, if the foundations have been laid as alleged, we are willing to recognize that work. It was never claimed until yesterday that any more work had been done than the laying of the foundations; now we are told that the work is already finished, or nearly so.

We are willing to recognize this thing in good faith. We are willing to create a great charitable institution. We are willing to do anything to suppress polygamy, We are willing this private corporation shall have control of it. We are willing to take this contingent fund and make provision for the payment of the services of Mrs. Newman, who has represented it from its inception and who ought to be paid something for her services if we recognize this institution at all. We are willing to do this, and the only thing between the inclination of our minds and gentlemen on the part of the Senate is that we will not allow this money to be transferred from the hands of Governor West to the less responsible hands of the treasurer of a private corporation, but insist that the money shall be placed in the hands of a disbursing officer under the United States. And that is all there is between us to-day.

It is simply a question who shall expend this money for the building of this new house. The old house is there. They are occupying it. Let them continue to occupy it. They have properly the control of it. They have properly the right to operate it until we build this new building. Let us build it as rapidly as possible. Let us make it as complete as possible; but when we do it we say we will do it in our own way, and that the expenditure shall be under the control of the disbursing officer of the United States. We want to do it in the right way.

Mr. STRUBLE. What way is the right way? The Senate amendment contemplates the expenditure under the appropriation made shall be audited by the Utah Commission, which shall hereafter, in the language of the amendment, act as a board of control for such institution and shall make an annual report, etc. If I understand the gentleman from Missouri correctly, he has argued against any authority being reposed in this private corporation or industrial home organized under the laws of Utah.

Mr. BURNES. No, sir.

Mr. STRUBLE. You have argued against giving them any such power.

Mr. BURNES. Only as relates to the building of this house.

Mr. STRUBLE. What objection has the gentleman to giving the power which the language of the amendment confers upon the Utah Commission?

Mr. BURNES. What objection can the gentleman urge against placing the expenditure of this money in the hands of the proper disbursing officer of the United States?

Mr. STRUBLE. I have no objection to that, but it seems to me as made the proposition is liable to change the power of control from the governor, judges, and district attorney and establish another board with power and responsibility connected with it, and that is objectionable.

Mr. BURNES. I have two objections. In the first place, it is legislating still further on an appropriation bill; and in the second place, the Utah Commission can be no better prepared to attend to this than the present board of control. But your amendment proposes to take it away so far as the expenditure of the money is concerned from the board you allude to.

Mr. STRUBLE. Permit me a single question. The governor of Utah in his report recommends the governor, judges, and district attorney shall be relieved from these duties.

Mr. BURNES. I know the gentleman wants to be fair.

Mr. STRUBLE. I do, certainly.

Mr. BURNES. The governor of course realizes, as we all do, there is a manifest impropriety or inconvenience in his having the control of the expenditure of the money for the ordinary current expenses of the institution; but the governor has never yet intimated, if his duty were to build or furnish a building under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, he would not have time to attend to that. The Senate gives the management away from the Government and gives the general management to the corporation. We are trying to put this money in a safe, business-like channel, and that is all.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I can scarcely comprehend the motive of my estimable colleague [Mr. BURNES] in trying to give a partisan character to this discussion. It will strike those who are familiar with the legislation of Congress for the suppression of polygamy, and those Christian people, men and women, throughout the United States who have been engaged for years in efforts to suppress polygamy in the Territory, as somewhat remarkable that a member should stand on the floor of this House and declare that until Grover Cleveland raised his strong arm against polygamy nothing was done in this country to eradicate it.

Mr. SAYERS. Allow me a question right here.

Mr. RYAN. To all those familiar with that legislation, to all those who have been engaged in efforts to suppress polygamy in the Territory——

Mr. SAYERS. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. RYAN. If the gentleman will wait a moment until I conclude the sentence. I say to all those familiar with that legislation, and engaged in efforts to suppress polygamy, that statement of the gentleman will appear somewhat remarkable, and they will be disposed, at least, to give my colleague the full measure of credit for originality.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. And the Mormons themselves seem to misunderstand the position.

Mr. RYAN. The suggestion just made by my friend from Ohio will strike the country with great force. There must be a low degree of intelligence among the Mormons, they must grossly misapprehend the situation, if it be really true that the Democratic party and this Administration are such terrible enemies of their pet institution. So far as I remember, no Representative has ever been sent to this House by Mormon votes who has occupied a seat on the Republican side of it. They have always been politically associated upon the floor of the House with the Democratic side, and with my colleague who has just lauded Grover Cleveland and the Democratic party for completely eradicating this evil from the Territory of Utah. Why, sir, when a gentleman stands on this floor and declares that polygamy has been to any considerable degree suppressed in the Territory of Utah he talks that about which he knows evidently but little. It exists there to-day in well-nigh all its

former proportions; and the most that can be said is that honest efforts are being made to suppress it.

Mr. SAYERS. Will the gentleman now yield for a question?

Mr. RYAN. I will, with pleasure.

Mr. SAYERS. In 1862 and 1882 Congress passed two acts, highly penal in their character, against polygamy. Will the gentleman inform us how many prosecutions under Republican administrations were instituted and conducted under those two acts? Will the gentleman please answer that question?

Mr. RYAN. I have not investigated the subject.

Mr. SAYERS. I will tell you——

Mr. RYAN. The gentleman can take his own time; I decline to be interrupted for the purpose of having injected a speech in my remarks.

Mr. SAYERS. I will take my own time.

Mr. RYAN. This I will say, that so far as I know all measures that have originated in Congress for the suppression of polygamy have originated on the Republican side of the House or in a Republican Senate; and if there has ever been a voice raised or a vote cast against legislation of this character, it has not come from the Republican side of either House.

Mr. FARQUHAR. The House has followed the initiative of the Senate always.

Mr. RYAN. Always, I believe.

Now, sir, I do do not care much about this feature of the question. I did not come here this morning with any idea that anything of a partisan nature would arise in this discussion. I thought we would discuss the subject before the House and nothing else, and to that I propose for a moment to address myself.

The organized Christian women of this country, represented very largely by the National Women's Christian Temperance Union and the National Women's Home Missionary Society, representing over 300,000 women of America, have had for years their attention turned towards this great evil. Mrs. Newman, one of the noblest women in this country, has devoted her energies, her ability, and great heart to the suppression of this evil for years—for a long time she represented one or the other, if not both, of these associations in missionary work in Utah Territory. She and her associates found that as a means of eradicating this wrong some provision must be made for the dependent women who desired to discontinue their polygamous relations, and for their dependent children, or otherwise they must remain in their polygamous condition. Consequently these Christian women, under the laws of Utah, incorporated themselves into an association called the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah.

The object of this association was to make temporary provision for the care of women who desired to abandon their polygamous relations, and also for the care and maintenance of their dependent children. They appealed to Congress for help. They wanted to establish an institution where they could give temporary work to such women, and take temporary care of such children and provide for their education. They appealed, I say, therefore to Congress for assistance. The result of the appeal was the enactment of the first law to which my colleague has called attention. That law provided an appropriation of $40,000 for that purpose. But it provided also that the expenditure should be made under a board of control, as it was called, consisting of the governor of Utah, the chief-justice, and the United States district attorney for that Territory.

But what was done? Practically nothing. Those to whom it was intended to extend the benefits of the law were denied admission. I do not say they were improperly denied; but I do say that the governor gave such an interpretation to the law as excluded, in the short space of ten months, over one hundred of such people who sought admission. Did he attempt to establish a home or to construct one? Did he even purchase ground for the building? Not at all. What did he do? He simply leased a building, wholly inadequate for the purpose, wholly unsuited to carry out the objects of the law, which was to provide industrial training and education for the class of people referred to. Nothing of that kind was attempted. He made no provision for industrial training whatever.

The provisions made were wholly inadequate; and what was the result? These philanthropic ladies at once saw that the very object they had in view in securing the appropriation was being thwarted, and they applied to Congress, not surreptitiously, but openly, by a petition, which appears here in the RECORD, explaining why it was that they wanted further action from Congress.

I will read part of it. I will read a small portion of the petition which is pertinent. This is a petition by Angie F. Newman, addressed to the Senate Committee on Appropriations, and must have been on their files when my friend [Mr. BURNES] considered the proposition which became the second law and to which allusion has been made. Now let me read that:

> At a joint meeting of the board of control and the association I was met by the ruling of the chairman of the board of control, Governor West, that the appropriation was made to the board of control; that the work of the association ended when the appropriation was secured.
>
> Under this ruling the chairman of the board of control rented and furnished a temporary home.
>
> Determined to do what was possible under existing conditions, the association met monthly and attempted—

Mark the language—

> to win the board of control to the recognition of the provisions of the law for industrial education and to the purchase of property and the erection of buildings. We attempted the impossible. To this date both the spirit and letter of the law and intent of the association have been violated by the board of control in that neither industrial nor mechanical arts have been taught in the home.

This is a petition from the lady who has been so justly lauded by my colleague [Mr. BURNES]. This is a petition that was addressed to the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, asking for the enactment of the second law, to which attention has been called—the last law upon the subject. This was a petition which my estimable colleague could have been furnished, and I doubt not was furnished at the time of the consideration of the Senate amendment which resulted in the second law. That amendment was upon a bill of which he had charge. He himself tells us that it was after considerable negotiation and discussion that it was agreed to.

It is customary on the part of the conferees of this body, when the House disagrees to amendments made by the Senate, to ascertain in conference all the facts, as far as possible, moving the Senate to make the amendments in dispute; and I doubt not, with that diligence that I know characterizes my friend, he sought out that information and must have been aware at the time of the reason which impelled the Senate to insert the provision which took away from the board of control the expenditure of this money and left it with the benevolent corporation to which he has referred and the one to which I have referred, namely, the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah.

Now, my friend says that notwithstanding that law the board of control has always drawn the money and disbursed it.

Well, I am inclined to think that is true; but it is also true that that was for reasons which justified or appeared to justify the Department in allowing the board of control to have it.

The board of control took the money only because there seemed to be, as I understand it, no bonded officer of this corporation to receive it; and under such circumstances it was suggested, I believe by the Secretary of the Treasury, that the board of control, being Federal officials, should still retain charge of the money by consent and authority of the association, and the association accordingly gave their consent and authority.

Mr. BURNES. I wish to call the attention of my colleague to the fact that the second law does not make the change of control. It was probably intended to do so, but failed.

Mr. RYAN. I do not think it has failed. That is a matter of construction. I understand the Department held the second law authorized such change of control. That is implied by its requiring authority of the association to turn over the appropriation to the board of control.

Anyhow it is apparent that the object of Congress, by the second law, was to give to this benevolent corporation the control and management of this charitable and benevolent work. Now, what has been done? As I understand, a contract has been made for the construction of this home. This corporation has caused plans and specifications to be made of a building which they deem entirely suitable to their purposes. I understand that they have let the contract to construct the central portion of the building.

The contract goes still further and provides for the construction of the entire building. But the remainder is contingent on appropriations to be made by Congress. Now it is in this condition, and I want to say to my friend when he says nothing has been done, and when he expresses a doubt as to the existence of such a contract, if my information is correct he does himself an injustice. There is such a contract if I am reliably informed, and I believe I am. The work has been commenced, the foundations laid, and the construction is in progress.

Now, having thus devised plans and specifications for a building, having made a contract for the purpose of constructing the central portion of it, and also for the wings, but these latter contingent upon further appropriations, what wisdom is there in taking the work out of the hands of this benevolent association and putting it into the hands of the Treasury Department? Are you to change the plan? Are you to provide some new building? Is an architect of the Treasury better qualified to devise plans for such a home than those who are in charge of the work and to whom it is purely a labor of love?

Is it wise, then, to go on and construct the central portion of this building, adapted to certain other plans which are provided for in a given contingency? My friend [Mr. BURNES] says he would not annul the contract; he would go on and build this central structure under the existing contract, and then he would let the Secretary of the Treasury do the rest under the supervision of the Architect. Do what; carry out these same plans or provide new plans; build this same structure or build a new one? It seems to me that the proposed change is quite unnecessary.

Another reason which operates against it is this, and it is a reason that strikes my mind with force. So far as I am informed, and so far as the conferees are informed, there has been no maladministration on the part of this corporation. The contract is not alleged to be an improvident one. It is not pretended that the building is not suitable

for the purposes for which it is designed, and yet it is proposed to transfer this work to the Treasury Department under the direction of the Supervising Architect.

Now, what would be the effect of that? The effect would be simply to go on and carry out the contract for the central portion of this building and then allow the Supervising Architect to make plans for additions thereto. How would that result? Do we not all know the delays that occur in the completion of public buildings constructed in that way? This proposition means that nothing shall be done for this great charity, that the building shall not be put in condition to carry out the laudable purposes of the association for three or four years to come.

My friend, Mr. BURNES, very well knows that even in constructing a two hundred thousand dollar building four or five years are often occupied by the Treasury Department. There has never been a system of building construction devised so expensive, so extravagant, and so wasteful as that employed by the Government. Therefore, sir, I do not believe it is wise in any aspect of the case to adopt the change suggested by my colleague. I believe it would result in disastrous delay, greatly to the prejudice of this great work.

While I agree with my friend that there has been, so far as I know, no influence from the polygamous portion of the Mormon Territory operating in this Hall against this measure, still, the object of it being the suppression of polygamy, it is to be presumed that all the power they can bring to bear will be brought to bear against its execution.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the only difference, as I understand it—and this I regard as the vital point of this whole discussion—the only difference between the conferees on the part of the Senate and those on the part of the House is as to whether this work shall be continued under this benevolent corporation or shall be transferred to the Treasury Department. As to other details, there is nothing but what can, I think, be easily adjusted. May I ask my colleague on the committee [Mr. BURNES] whether I am correct in this?

Mr. BURNES. Substantially.

Mr. RYAN. My colleague says I am substantially correct.

My information is that the other objections urged by my colleague, some of them with a great deal of force, were met by concessions made by the conferees on the part of the Senate. My colleague [Mr. BURNES] said, with regard to the point to which his attention was called by my friend from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], that it was finally assented to, out of conference as I understood him; that is to say, that after the conference was ended there was an intimation from some of the Senate conferees that they would yield that point. I wish to correct my friend by saying that my recollection is that after the first few moments of discussion there was no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion upon that point, because in the conference committee itself the conferees on the part of the Senate yielded the point readily.

Now, I agree with my friend as to some things. In the first place, I think the Senate amendment should be modified in some particulars. I believe that this work should be permitted to go on under the management of these Christian women, and I believe in that way it would be more wisely and efficiently done than it has been under the management of the board of control, which largely wasted the money that was placed in their hands by the first law.

But I think the amendment is too vague. It should be more specific. I think that in providing appropriations of any character it is the duty of Congress to make them as nearly specific as practicable. I think, therefore, that we ought to provide a specific sum for contingent expenses, a specific sum for furnishing this establishment, and a specific sum for the construction of the building. Then I think we ought to provide carefully that whoever draws this money shall give ample bonds for its proper expenditure. Then I believe, further, that there ought to be competent Federal authority for the auditing of the accounts so that the Government may know that the money spent is expended for the objects and purposes authorized by law.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have explained the situation of this amendment in conference, as I understand it, and I repeat that the only material difference, the only difference that seems to be vital between the conferees of the House and the conferees of the Senate, is that the conferees on the part of the House insist that this whole matter of the construction of this building shall be transferred to the Treasury Department and taken entirely out of the hands of this benevolent association, while the Senate conferees insist that the work shall go on in accordance with the theory of the last law upon the subject.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN] puts his proposition a little too broadly. If my recollection of the relative positions occupied by the conferees on the part of the Senate and those of the House be correct, the proposition enunciated by my colleague on the committee, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES], was presented merely as a compromise; but neither he nor I thought it a legitimate or constitutional duty for the Government of the United States to embark in a scheme like the one involved in this amendment.

Mr. RYAN. Do I understand my friend to say that he and our colleague on the committee [Mr. BURNES] regarded this appropriation as being in violation of the Constitution?

Mr. SAYERS. I will speak for myself only, and will say I do not believe that under the Constitution the Congress of the United States has the right to appropriate public money and intrust it to the hands of private individuals for disbursement in the promotion of any scheme like this, and in the manner contemplated by the amendment. At any rate it would be a very bad policy.

Mr. RYAN. I want to say to my friend——

Mr. SAYERS. Now, the gentleman would not permit me to interrupt him.

Mr. RYAN. I only want to call my friend's attention to one fact——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. DUNN). The gentleman from Texas declines to be interrupted.

Mr. SAYERS. I will let the gentleman interrupt me in a moment. Since both the gentleman from Missouri and the gentleman from Kansas have referred to what occurred in the committee of conference, I may be permitted to go a little further in that direction. The leading member of the conferees on the part of the Senate stated before the conference committee adjourned that it appeared the real differences between the House conferees and the Senate conferees were of a vital and radical character—not merely in reference to detail. But I do not wish to discuss the amendment, as my colleagues upon the committee have explained it sufficiently well.

The gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Speaker, was correct in stating that until Grover Cleveland became President of the United States nothing practical was done toward the extirpation of polygamy in the Territory of Utah. It is true that in 1862 and 1882 acts were passed highly penal in their character. From 1862 to 1885, twenty-three long years, during which the Republican party had control of every Department of this Government, there were, as the records show, only six prosecutions under those two acts. One prosecution was had in 1875, another in 1881, and four in 1884. This is the sum total of what was done during those years by the executive and judicial departments of the Government in regard to the enforcement of these laws.

Now, what did the present Administration do as soon as it came into power? The records show that since March 4, 1885, five hundred and eighty-nine persons have been separately tried and convicted under those two acts. Is not this quite a difference in favor of Mr. Cleveland's administration? In addition, $73,000 of fines and forfeitures have been collected, and more than one hundred and fifty criminal prosecutions are still pending.

But this is not all. In 1887 another act on this subject was passed, an act for the purpose of forfeiting the franchise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and the Perpetual Immigration Fund Company. In less than three months after the passage of that act a suit was instituted and a receiver appointed; $800,000 is now in the hands of the receiver; and final decree will be made before the 1st day of January next. Such is the contrast between the administration of the two parties in reference to the enforcement of these laws against polygamy; and I call upon my Republican friends to deny the record if they can.

Mr. SPINOLA. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with much attention to the discussion of this subject. The debate thus far seems to turn upon the question whether the Government of the United States through its officials shall make certain donations to one religious denomination to persecute another—whether one class of Christians shall be armed with the great power of the American Government to crush out another class, who also claim to be Christians, whether they are or not. A precedent of this character is, in my judgment, a dangerous one for the American Republic to establish; for when this society, organized in Utah, to which reference has been made, shall triumph in the undertaking which they now have upon their hands, and shall drive Mormonism from the limits of the Republic, then in all probability their attention may be turned to some other and weaker denomination; they may come here again and ask the Government to stretch out its strong arm to aid them in carrying on the same class of work in another direction.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Let me suggest to the gentleman that this is simply an appropriation to carry out the Edmunds-Tucker law, and to remedy the harm done by the destruction of homes which the execution of that law brought upon the people. It is the Government of the United States that is driving out Mormonism.

Mr. SPINOLA. And under a Democratic administration we will crush that enormity.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I care not under what party it may be done.

Mr. SPINOLA. I do not yield further; wait till your turn comes. The medicine, I know, is bitter, and you do not like to take it; but you must swallow it whether it be agreeable or not.

There seems to be a dispute as to who shall spend the public money in Utah—whether it shall be spent by one wing of this organization or the other, by the board of control or by a committee of the society. Sir, what right had they to make a contract for the construction of a building at the expense of the United States?

Mr. RYAN. They were authorized by law to do it.

Mr. SPINOLA. There seems to be no law upon the statute-book of the sort indicated by gentlemen, or if there is any such law it has not yet been pointed out by either gentleman. Therefore we have the

right to conclude that it does not exist. Without law a contract has been made for the construction of this building. And now, after that contract has been made without law, they come here to this House and ask us to donate out of the public Treasury money to carry out that contract and erect that building.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that side of the House commenced its career in this country bearing a banner blazoned with the expression of a determination when they came into power in the General Government to destroy the twin relics of barbarism, slavery and polygamy. That relic of slavery died at its own hands.

Mr. FARQUHAR. No, it died by proclamation.

Mr. SPINOLA. I beg your pardon; it perished by its own act.

Mr. FARQUHAR. It was extinguished by the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. SPINOLA. It died because it was odious to the civilization of the world. It died, sir, because certain gentlemen tried to force it into sections of the country where the people said it should not go.

Mr. FARQUHAR. It died because you and I, general, faced it.

Mr. SPINOLA. That is true to a certain extent, but it fell of its own weight.

Now what has become of the other relic of barbarism? Where is it to-day? Its roots have extended and strengthened for a quarter of a century and under the Republican party it has flourished like a green bay tree.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. You mean a green bay horse. [Laughter.]

Mr. SPINOLA. No; I do not mean a green bay horse or a woolly horse. [Renewed laughter]. I mean just what I say. For a quarter of a century it flourished like a green bay tree under a Republican administration. My friend from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] has exposed the record of your party and you can not get away from it.

That record shows the fact that for twenty-four long years of Republican rule there were six cases carried into the courts, and of those six cases there was not one successfully prosecuted, while under the present Administration in a little over three years' duration nearly six hundred of the Mormon saints are now living in the prisons and penitentiaries of Utah, and their chief leaders have fled from the justice that threatened them. The whole band of these immoral wretches are now packing their kits to move across the border into Mexico. This Democratic Administration has made it too warm for them, and we intend to keep up the fire until we fry the fat out of the very last one of them. [Laughter.] You may fry the fat out of the manufacturers of the country, but we will fry the fat out of these immoralists of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I take this ground, that the United States has no right or authority to construct a home for the purpose indicated by the bill pending in the House. It is one of the most dangerous innovations ever attempted by this or any other Congress. I care not how respectable this lady may be, or how strong the appeal she may make to the feelings of the community, we have as members of this House a duty to discharge under the Constitution of the United States to the people of the country. I think if we attempt in this or any other Congress to step across the rules which control our action no man can predict how far the precedent may go or to what disasters it may lead.

If it is made a party question, let it be so. We will be ready to meet you here or before the people. We have done our duty, and the Democratic administrator of the country to-day has done his duty as an upright and moral man in connection with this question. When Grover Cleveland has been re-elected to the Presidency next November, as he certainly will be, with a good Democratic majority in this House behind him, we will drive polygamy from the borders of the Republic for all time. [Applause.]

[Mr. STRUBLE withholds his remarks for revision. See APPENDIX.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BURNES. Mr. Speaker, I will detain the House but a moment. I wish to say to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. STRUBLE] in reply to his statement that I have no enthusiasm in regard to this legislation, judging from the number of objections I make to it, that he does me injustice. I am not making objections to the merits of this institution, and I am not debating the merits or demerits of the proposition.

We are committed to some work for these dependent women and children in Utah, and I am perfectly willing to go on. The only objection I have made is to the loose and imperfect restrictions defining how the money shall be expended and the work conducted. The money appropriated and unexpended and that we may now appropriate should be put in the hands of some responsible disbursing agent of the United States to be applied to the purposes for which Congress shall direct.

A word in reply to my friend from Kansas [Mr. RYAN]. Sir, whenever a suggestion is made on the other side of the House or in another body, who are of kindred political faith, reflecting upon the President of the United States or upon the party of which I am an humble member, and any Demoorat here takes notice of it, he is charged with bringing into the consideration of an appropriation bill political debate.

I beg to state to the gentlemen who have made such statements on that side of the House that it has never been my intention to bring into the discussion of appropriation bills political questions. But in this case I submit to the candid consideration of every member of this House that I was justified in taking notice of the covert insinuation which I have read from remarks of a prominent Republican—an insinuation that on the part of the present Executive, the present President of the United States, there has been some lapse in his administration in neglecting to repress polygamy. In consequence of that assertion I felt it to be my duty to call the attention of the House to it and to refute it; and I call the attention of the House to the further fact that during his administration and only through his administration has this evil been brought to bay and practically extinguished, and now, sir——

Mr. DINGLEY. At that point I desire to ask the gentleman if the fact is not simply that Congress had not got up to the point of passing legislation to repress this evil until that time?

Mr. BURNES. But Congress failed to pass any effective law, and it was the failure of the Republicans, because the Democratic House with 40 majority passed the bill which has made the effective law under which the President is now extirpating this evil.

Mr. DINGLEY. If my friend had been in the Forty-seventh Congress and had witnessed the long contest in securing the passage of the first law for the suppression of polygamy and had noticed where the opposition to it was he would not have made the remarks he has.

Mr. BURNES. If the Democrats had had the majority in the House of the Forty-seventh Congress they might then have passed the bill which was subsequently passed and which is known as the bill of Mr. Tucker, of Virginia. But unfortuuately for my friend the Republicans are responsible for that Congress.

Mr. DINGLEY. I regret exceedingly that any allusion should have been made to party in this matter, because I think it is the sentiment and feeling of both parties and of all the people of this country that this great evil of polygamy shall be extirpated. I think we are all agreed upon that.

Mr. BURNES. The gentleman is right, and if another gentleman in another place had shared in that feeling and that sentiment of fairness there would have been no occasion for the remarks which I have been compelled to make.

Mr. STRUBLE. Will the gentleman from Missouri yield to me for a request?

Mr. BURNES. Pardon me. I want to ask that the Clerk shall read the letter of the Attorney-General in regard to the prompt and efficient enforcement in Utah of the law against polygamy by a Democratic administration.

The Clerk read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *Washington, September* 13, 1888.

SIR: In reply to the resolution of the 25th ultimo of the House of Representatives, in relation to convictions for polygamy in the Territories of Utah and Idaho, I have the honor to transmit the accompanying information. The records of the Department show that under the provisions of the anti-polygamy law of 1882 and the act of 1882 amendatory thereof, and the act of March 3, 1887, there have been in the Territory of Utah 470 convictions for polygamy, adultery, and unlawful cohabitation with fines imposed, and 30 convictions where the sentence was imprisonment without fine, making a total for that Territory of 500. There have been in the Territory of Idaho 48 convictions for polygamy, adultery, and unlawful cohabitation with fines imposed, and 41 convictions where the sentence was imprisonment without fine, making a total for that Territory of 89.

The accompanying lists, marked, respectively, Exhibits A and B, show the cases in the Territories of Utah and Idaho in which fines were imposed, with the date of the judgment in each case and the amount, if any, collected. There have been fourteen pardons granted by the President of the United States to persons convicted under the above acts in the Territories of Utah and Idaho, and the accompanying list, marked Exhibit C, shows the name, date of sentence, sentence, date of pardon, and the reasons for granting the same in each case.

There was 1 conviction in Utah in March, 1875, and 1 in April, 1881; in October and November, 1884, 1 in Idaho and 3 in Utah; in 1885, beginning with the March term, 39 in Utah and 16 in Idaho; in 1886, 112 in Utah and 20 in Idaho; in 1887, 214 in Utah and 6 in Idaho, and in 1888, 100 in Utah and 5 in Idaho—in all 589 convictions. There have been collected in Utah fines and costs in the above cases to the amount of $45,956.90, and in Idaho to the amount of $2,251.10—in all $48,208 of fines and costs, and in Utah in April, 1886, a forfeiture of $25,000.

Very respectfully,

G. A. JENKS,
Acting Attorney-General.

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. BURNES (before the completion of the reading). I will not insist upon the Clerk reading further, but I will embody the statement in my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I wish now to call the attention of the House to a fact which will show that I am not entirely partisan in this matter. In a recital made elsewhere I find the indorsement of a report by Mrs. Newman to this effect:

I found in one cell (meaning a cell of the penitentiary in Utah) 10 by 13½ feet, without a floor, six women, three of whom had babies under six months of age, who were incarcerated for contempt of court in refusing to acknowledge the paternity of their children. When I plead with them to answer the court and be released, they said: "If we do, there are many wives and children to suffer the loss of a father."

This most excellent woman failed to go to the judicial authorities and ask relief for them, but was content to advise them to gain freedom otherwise. I think, sir, that these women ought not to be confined in the penitentiary for contempt of court under such circumstances.

But the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. STRUBLE] has demanded of me

the presentation of facts which I had not intended to present. I find here, sir, a financial statement made by the Industrial Christain Home Association of Utah Territory as follows:

August 6, 1888, Congressional appropriation, $40,000.

Expended in temporary home	$13,500
June, 1888, paid for building lots	10,500
Total	24,000

Twenty-four thousand dollars subtracted from $40,000 leaves a balance of $16,000.

August 16, last contract let for main building, three stories high, $18,000.

That is $2,000 more than the balance on hand. Now, Mr. Speaker, seeing this discrepancy, seeing the amount of money received placed at $40,000, and then the deduction of expenditures, as made, I sent an inquiry to the Treasury Department and received this answer:

There were four advances of $2,500 each made in December, 1886, and March, August, and December, 1887, to Caleb W. West, of which $1,168.95 have since been repaid to the Treasury, making a net expenditure of $8,831.05 in addition to the $40,000 paid in July last.

Therefore, instead of there being a total of $40,000, there is a total of $48,000 to be accounted for; and while I express and reiterate my confidence in the honor and honesty of those in charge of this institution I may be permitted, I think, to present these facts as an evidence that in a business matter, in a business proposition for building this home, we ought to observe ordinary business principles and not intrust it entirely to the discrimination and skill of the ladies of this association.

Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY].

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Speaker, all legislation which touches at all upon the religion of men in this country should be carefully considered. Religion is a subject which never should be legislated upon in this country at all, unless where the exercise of the religion is violative of the law of the land. Polygamy, under all the laws of all the States of this Union and the laws of the land as passed by the Congress of the United States, was a crime before the Book of Mormon was alleged to have been found, and certainly before the Mormon Church was ever established in this country. In the past appropriations have been made for this work which is now proposed to be taken in hand, and those appropriations were said to have become necessary because of the destitution of women and children in Utah.

That destitution grew out of the violation of the laws of this country. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. STRUBLE] speaks of the condition of the place in which it is proposed to house these people. Sir, in this matter I have no sympathy except for the children. The women, when they went into this polygamous relation, knew that they were violating the laws of the land of which they could not but be cognizant. The gentleman calls special attention to the condition of the place in which it is proposed to put them. Does he propose to house them in palaces, as are housed the nobility and the royalty of the older countries? Does he propose to put them upon the body-politic of this country as an incubus like that system of aristocracy and royalty in the monarchical governments?

If they are to be objects of charity at all that charity should be exercised somewhat with a view to economy in the expenditure of the money which has to be taken from the law-abiding element in this country. I believe that means can be devised, and if they can be devised they certainly should be adopted and put into operation, to place the burden of the support of these unfortunate people upon the shoulders of the men who have degraded them in Utah and in other portions of this country.

If the precedent had not been set, I should be opposed to this appropriation *in toto*. How comes it that these persons are objects of charity before the American people, relying on support from the labor of the law-abiding citizens of this country? It is because they have, no matter under whose leadership, pursued a policy of resistance to all the laws of this country and the laws of all the States from the establishment of the Mormon Church to the present time.

They have carried that policy of resistance and open disobedience and defiance of the law-making power of this country and its executive officers to the extent of intimidation and assassination of public officials in the attempted discharge of their duty. Such action upon the part of those people, under the ministry of the priests of the Mormon Church, is just what has put them in the condition in which they are to-day. They have steadily undertaken to resist and violate the laws until they were confronted by the gentleman at the other end of the avenue, the present President of the United States, who was determined to see that the laws should be promptly and thoroughly enforced. It is proposed now to make objects of charity of a number of people whose only claim to the exercise of charity in their behalf is that the deplorable condition which they occupy is the result of their violation of the laws of the land.

It is not my purpose to address myself further to that portion of the bill. There is an amendment proposed by the Senate to pay a small sum of money to the widow of a revenue officer who died of yellow fever in the city of Jacksonville while engaged in the discharge of his duty in the office of the collector of internal revenue. He was the only person in the office at the time. He was stricken down and died before he could be removed from the rooms of that office.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I hope the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] will yield to me a few moments more.

Mr. BURNES. Go on.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Now, let me refer to the difference between such a case as this and that presented in behalf of those Mormon women. The gentleman from Missouri in speaking of the amendment for the relief of the widow and children of this unfortunate deputy collector of internal revenue, said that the appropriation was simply for an object of charity, for which he could find no precedent. Sir, is it claimed that the appropriation in this bill, enormous as it is, for expenditure in the Territory of Utah, and the other appropriations which have been made in the past for the benefit of sufferers from the evils of Mormonism, are anything else than charity?

Every gentleman who has spoken on this subject admits that the proposition under discussion here to-day is nothing more nor less than a charity, yet the charitable expenditure for those unfortunate people in Utah is dignified as a most worthy appropriation, while the appeal for charity in behalf of this widow and her children in the State of Florida is not considered a matter of any importance. Does this House propose to take the stand that people who become objects of charity through the violation of law are proper subjects for the solicitude and support of the Government, but that a man who dies in the discharge of his duty as a Government officer is not a suitable object of charity? Most assuredly that position can not be maintained by any gentleman on this floor. This man died in the discharge of his duty, while acting under the orders of his superior. If he had left that office to escape the danger of the fever, I have no information which leads me to know that the funds of the Government in the custody of that office would have been safe from robbery.

It has been said that there is no precedent for this action. Did not the House of Representatives—I will mention only instances which I think I remember correctly—did not the House of Representatives appropriate for the father of a deceased door-keeper a year's pay, or certainly the balance of a year's pay, which should have gone to the door-keeper? Not long since did not this House, upon the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, appropriate public money to pay the salary of a man who had died in the employ of this House as a messenger, or in some other capacity? I think precedents of this kind could be enumerated *ad libitum*. Certainly if we do not grant to this widow the amount of her husband's salary for a year, she should have the balance which would have accrued to him if he had lived till the expiration of the year.

Let me make now a remark in reply to a suggestion of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER]. It has been said that the appropriation proposed in this case is an indefinite amount. Sir, the amendment provides for the payment of one year's salary; and on page 9786 of the RECORD will be found a letter from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, making to the Senate the statement that this man's salary was $1,400 a year. Therefore there can be nothing indefinite as to the amount.

I ask this House, even if there is no precedent, to give to the widow of this unfortunate employé of the Government, under the peculiar circumstances here presented, the amount of her husband's salary for one year, or to give her at least the balance which would have accrued to him, had he lived till the expiration of the year. I ask the Clerk to read the letter of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue on this subject, to which I have referred.

The Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, September 21, 1888.

SIR: I inclose herewith a copy of letter from Collector Whitfield Walker, district of Florida, dated August 28, 1888, in regard to Deputy Collector L. E. Dancy. Before this letter reached here (August 31) the death of Mr. Dancy was announced by telegram. Mr. Dancy was chief deputy to Collector Walker, at a salary of $1,400 per annum, and an allowance of $125 for his traveling expenses. He was a faithful, zealous officer, and of high standing in the service, and the circumstances under which he performed his duties at the last during the epidemic of yellow fever rendered them singularly meritorious.

Respectfully yours,

JOS. S. MILLER, *Commissioner.*

HON. WILKINSON CALL,
United States Senator.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Speaker, I will not detain the House further than merely to repeat the request that it will either allow the year's salary in this case as asked, or will at least allow the balance which would have accrued to this officer had he lived until the expiration of the year.

Mr. BURNES. It was my purpose, Mr. Speaker, to submit at this time something in the nature of a résumé of the appropriations of this Congress in connection with some remarks of a political nature; but under the circumstances I content myself with asking unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD some remarks which I made the other day in reply to my friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], and to include also in those remarks such tables of expenditure and other matter as may be pertinent.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the request of the gentleman will be granted. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. STRUBLE. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to attach some exhibits.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. CAINE. I ask unanimous consent to print some remarks in the RECORD on this subject.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. ROGERS. I desire to ask the gentleman from Missouri one or two questions for the purpose of obtaining information. I noticed in some observations recently delivered it was stated that $10,000 heretofore appropriated by this Government was used by this corporation in the purchase of real estate. I wish to know if the gentleman is advised in whose name that real estate was taken?

Mr. BURNES. This private corporation purchased $10,500 worth of lots, upon which it is proposed to erect this new building.

Mr. ROGERS. I understand the limit of cost of the building to be erected is $50,000.

Mr. BURNES. Just $50,000.

Mr. ROGERS. And five or ten thousand to furnish it?

Mr. BURNES. Five thousand dollars.

Mr. ROGERS. It is to go into the hands of this private corporation and is not to be under the control of Congress.

Mr. BURNES. No, sir.

Mr. ROGERS. What provision of law is there to prevent the diversion of this property, when they get ready, to other uses?

Mr. BURNES. Nothing except the bond of the treasurer.

Mr. ROGERS. That is for the expenditure of the money. But I understand there is no provision to prevent this private corporation diverting this property to any other purpose.

Mr. BURNES. The only security for the Government would be suit on the bond of the treasurer of the corporation to recover.

Mr. ROGERS. I understand that is only for the expenditure of the money.

Mr. BURNES. That is all.

Mr. ROGERS. Now, as this may result in another public scandal, we are at the point where, if we are to go on with this business, we ought to provide that the money appropriated for this purpose shall not be diverted to improper channels. We ought to see to it before any money is appropriated to it that it shall be accompanied by legislation of that character.

Mr. BURNES. After the report is disposed of, and I hope it will not be agreed to, I shall insist on the disagreement of the House to the Senate amendments, and request another conference with the Senate.

Mr. RYAN. If the report goes back it will have to go back altogether.

Mr. BURNES. Yes, a separate vote can not be had on each amendment.

Mr. DINGLEY. It must be voted on as an entirety.

Mr. ROGERS. I had some idea there would be doubt as to the proper motion, and consulted the Speaker, who said the question was to be put in the affirmative upon adopting the report; a negative vote would disagree to the Senate amendments.

Mr. BURNES. The question is on the adoption of the report, and when that is voted down I shall then move to insist on our disagreement to the amendments of the Senate and ask for a further conference.

Mr. ROGERS. In order to get a negative vote upon it the motion should be on agreeing to the report, and then for the House to vote the motion down. That is the information I have from the Speaker.

Mr. BURNES. If that be the opinion of the Speaker I shall certainly respect it.

Mr. MCKENNA. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. BURNES. Certainly.

Mr. MCKENNA. If the procedure be adopted as suggested by the gentleman from Arkansas, is it tantamount to a negative vote to all the amendments made by the Senate?

Mr. BURNES. It is.

Mr. MCKENNA. Because my object is to get a distinctively negative vote upon the Chinese appropriations.

Mr. BURNES. That is included in the negative vote upon the report.

Mr. STRUBLE. I would like to ask a parliamentary question; whether it is in order to make any motion in regard to these amendments we have been discussing with reference to having certain words stricken out.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair). The report is not open to amendment.

The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Missouri——

Mr. RYAN. According to the suggestion of the gentleman from Arkansas, the question should be upon agreeing to the report; and I think perhaps that is the custom under the parliamentary law.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If the House declines to agree, it is equivalent to agreeing to a motion to disagree; and so the result can be obtained by a negative vote on the pending motion.

The question was taken; and the report of the conference committee was rejected.

Mr. BURNES. I now move that the House insist upon its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate and ask a further conference.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* announced as conferees on the part of the House Mr. BURNES, Mr. SAYERS, and Mr. RYAN.

CAROLINE M. M'DOUGAL.

Mr. BUTLER, by unanimous consent, reported back favorably from the Committee on Pensions the bill (S. 3392) granting an increase of pension to Caroline M. McDougal; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I move that when the House adjourns to-day it be to meet on Monday next; and pending that I ask unanimous consent that next Monday night be fixed, in lieu of Friday night of this week, to consider pension cases as determined by the standing order.

Mr. MCKENNA. Will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. For what purpose?

Mr. MCKENNA. I wish to offer a resolution.

Mr. HOOKER. Will the gentleman from Arkansas allow me to make a suggestion by way of an amendment to his motion?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas (to Mr. MCKENNA). I do not yield until I hear what the proposition is.

Mr. MCKENNA. It is a resolution about declaring that the House will transact no business after the general appropriation bills are passed. I ask that it be read.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House that after the general appropriation bills shall be disposed of the House will transact no further business this session except pension business on Friday nights and except to adjourn from time to time and for the session.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Arkansas yield for this resolution?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. The gentleman can have it referred to the Committee on Rules if he desires it. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi to make a suggestion.

Mr. HOOKER. I concur in the motion which the gentleman has made; but I think we ought to preserve the order of business for to-morrow which provides, under a rule heretofore adopted, that the roll of members should be called with the right when a member's name is reached on the roll to be permitted to call up one bill. I ask my friend from Arkansas, therefore, to so modify his motion as to designate next Monday as the day on which we may consider measures which have been considered heretofore on Friday, under the order I have named.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I have no objection myself to that, Mr. Speaker, and will yield to the gentleman from Mississippi to ask unanimous consent if he wishes.

Mr. HOOKER. I will then move as an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Arkansas that Monday next be agreed upon as the day for the presentation of such motions by members the same as on Fridays.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair understands the gentleman to ask unanimous consent that the business for Monday next shall be the same as on Fridays?

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to know what objection there is to going on to-morrow with private business? We have pursued that order for two days. Why not continue it?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER]?

Mr. ROLAND and Mr. MCCLAMMY objected.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Arkansas, that when the House adjourns to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. MORRILL. What about the night session for pensions?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Pending that motion, I have asked unanimous consent that the consideration of pension bills heretofore fixed for Friday evenings, be fixed for next Monday evening.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the substitution of next Monday night for Friday night of this week for the consideration of private pension bills?

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question now recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Arkansas that when the House adjourns to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. MORGAN. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Why may we not be permitted to go on with private bills to-morrow just as we have been proceeding for the last two Fridays?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will suggest that that is not a parliamentary question.

Mr. MORGAN. Then I object if it is not.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. It does not require unanimous consent, I believe.

Mr. MORGAN. It will require a quorum, though.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman moves that when the House adjourns to-day it be to meet on Friday next.

Mr. MORGAN. Will it not take a quorum to adjourn over until Monday?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If the point is insisted upon it will.

Mr. MORGAN. Then I give notice that I shall call for a quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. I hope there will be no objection to the motion of the gentleman from Arkansas, provided that Monday can be substituted for Friday to consider private bills.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Unless that is done there will be objection.

Mr. LANHAM. I hope the Chair will submit that proposition again to substitute Monday for to-morrow.

Mr. ROWLAND. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. As the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MORGAN] indicates his intention of requiring a quorum, I withdraw the motion and simply move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The motion has been agreed to to substitute Monday night for the consideration of pension bills.

Mr. MORRILL. I ask to reconsider the vote by which that motion was agreed to.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I object.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the reconsideration of the vote by which the motion to substitute Monday night for Friday night for the consideration of pension bills was passed.

The question was put, and the Speaker *pro tempore* announced that the "ayes" had it.

Mr. DINGLEY. Do I understand that the vote on the motion to substitute Monday night for Friday night for the consideration of pension bills was reconsidered?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It was.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I had objected.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair did not hear any objection.

Mr. ROGERS. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it. The Chair will restate the motion——

Mr. ROGERS. I rise to a question of order. I do not think the Chair and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MORGAN] understood each other. The gentleman from Mississippi objected to the substitution of next Monday night for to-morrow night for the consideration of pension bills, and therefore——

Mr. OATES. To get out of this difficulty I ask for the regular order.

Mr. MORGAN. I objected to the substitution of next Monday night for to-morrow night. We desire to-morrow for the consideration of private bills, for the reason that more than half of the member's names have been called, and we want to go on and complete the call.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I would like to notify my colleague [Mr. MORGAN] that it will take a quorum to pass anything to-morrow.

Mr. MORGAN. I accept the notice, and propose to try it on. [Laughter].

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] has asked that Monday night be substituted for Friday night, anticipating that the House would adjourn until Monday. Inasmuch as the House declines to adjourn until then the gentleman desires to reconsider that motion.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. And I object.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I move that the House reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to substituting Monday night for Friday night for the consideration of pension bills.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 4 o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. COMPTON: A bill (H. R. 11560) for the relief of Rich. P. Blackistone—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. GEST: A bill (H. R. 11561) granting cannon to the Soldiers and Sailors' Monument Association of Mercer County, Illinois—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GROSVENOR: A bill (H. R. 11562) granting a pension to Mrs. Isaac Brooks—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also a bill (H. R. 11563) granting a pension to Isaac N. Kline—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NEAL: A bill (H. R. 11564) correcting the military record of Calvin L. Smith—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11565) granting a pension to Leah Henry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MCRAE: A bill (H. R. 11566) granting a pension to E. C. Paschal—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MILLIKEN: A bill (H. R. 11567) for the relief of employés in the New York custom-house—to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DELANO: Petition of citizens of Conklin Forks, and of Norwich, N. Y., in favor of the per diem pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOUK: Petition of the administrator of J. S. Moffett, of Knox County, Tennessee, for reference of his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. NEAL: Petition asking that a pension be granted to Leah Henry, dependent mother of William Henry, late private Company D, Tenth Regiment Tennessee Cavalry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Joel J. Pyatt, for correction of the military record of Calvin L. Smith—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STONE, of Kentucky: Papers in the case of James Crutchett—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. T. L. THOMPSON: Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego, Cal., in favor of the Maritime Canal of Nicaragua—to the Committee on Commerce.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October* 5, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. THOMPSON, of California, indefinitely, on account of important business.

LEAVE TO PRINT.

By unanimous consent, leave was granted to Mr. WHEELER to extend in the RECORD his remarks on the resolution proposing to give an extra month's pay to employés of the House.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled a bill and joint resolution of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (H. R. 3300) to enable the State of Colorado to select indemnity lands, and for other purposes; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 101) providing for the printing of decisions of the Department of the Interior regarding public lands and pensions for sale.

AMERICAN GROCER ASSOCIATION.

The SPEAKER. On the 1st of October the Senate passed and sent to the House a resolution requesting the House to return to that body the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association of the city of New York. The Chair is advised by the Clerk of the House that the Journal shows that this bill, when originally laid before the House, was referred to the Committee on Claims, but it can not be found. The books of the distributing clerk of the House show that it went to that committee; but there is no receipt for it, and that clerk is now dead, so that no further inquiry can be made. The Chair would suggest the propriety of the Clerk of the House informing the Senate that the bill has been mislaid, and request that a duplicate be sent to the House. If there be no objection, that order will be made.

There was no objection.

J. W. PARISH & CO.

Mr. PEEL. I ask unanimous consent to take up for present consideration the bill (H. R. 9718) for the relief of J. W. Parish & Co. I desire to say that that bill was called up last Friday and the report read at length. Mr. OATES objected to its consideration, but since then, learning more about it, he has authorized me to withdraw his objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Joseph W. Parish, George C. Hadley, and William L. Huse, composing the firm of J. W. Parish & Co., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $18,500, the same to be compensation in full to said firm for losses sustained by it by reason of the refusal of the officers of the United States to receive and pay for 5,000 tons of ice which said Parish & Co. had been directed to furnish under a contract dated December 30, 1863, and signed by the medical purveyor of the United States Army stationed at Louisville, Ky., and by said Parish & Co., and approved by the Acting Surgeon-General of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. DINGLEY. Reserving the right to object, I ask if this is the bill that was debated last Friday?

Mr. PEEL. It is the same bill, and to which Mr. OATES objected, but he has authorized me to withdraw his objection.

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. PEEL moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

MARY E. WALKER, M. D.

Mr. NUTTING. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 4265) for the relief of Mary E. Walker, M. D.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objections.

The bill was read.

The SPEAKER. This bill provides that the claim shall be taken up at an early day. Does the gentleman from New York [Mr. NUTTING] desire to pass the bill?

Mr. NUTTING. I desire to pass the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. ROGERS. I would like to understand the provisions of this bill. Does it make an appropriation, or does it simply set a day for the consideration of the claim?

Mr. NUTTING. It provides for a payment of $2,000.

The SPEAKER. The bill makes an appropriation of $2,000. That is to say, the original bill appropriates $10,000, but the committee propose to strike out "ten" and insert "two." Is there objection?

Mr. TURNER, of Kansas. I object.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. LANHAM. I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded. This being Friday, the regular order is the call of committees for reports upon bills of a private nature.

Mr. LANHAM. I move that that order be dispensed with.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] to yield to me for a moment to introduce a resolution for reference.

Mr. LANHAM. I yield to the gentleman for that purpose.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT, 1888.

Mr. RICHARDSON, by unanimous consent, introduced a joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Printing, and ordered to be printed.

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS OF NAVAL OBSERVATORY.

Mr. RICHARDSON also, by unanimous consent, offered a resolution to print the annual volumes of the astronomical observations of the Naval Observatory for 1886, 1887, and 1888; which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The motion of Mr. LANHAM to dispense with the call of committees for reports was agreed to.

Mr. LANHAM. I now ask unanimous consent that gentlemen having reports to present may be permitted to file them with the Clerk.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

REPORTS FILED.

The following reports were filed by being handed in at the Clerk's desk:

MRS. SUE B. JOHNSON.

Mr. HUNTER, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, reported back favorably the bill (H. R. 10649) to increase the pension of Mrs. Sue B. Johnson; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

MOBILE AND GIRARD RAILROAD COMPANY.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, from the Committee on War Claims, reported back favorably the bill (H. R. 10914) for the relief of the Mobile and Girard Railroad Company; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. NUTTING. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. TURNER] withdraws his objection to the consideration of the bill which I called up a few minutes ago for the relief of Mary E. Walker, M. D., and I ask that it be now considered.

The SPEAKER. The regular order has been demanded by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM].

Mr. NUTTING. I hope the gentleman will withdraw that demand.

Mr. LANHAM. I can not do that now. Objection was made to the consideration of the bill. I now move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of considering business upon the Private Calendar; and pending that, I ask unanimous consent that we proceed in the same manner as on last Friday and the Friday preceding.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I think I shall be inclined to resist going into Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar unless there is a quorum present.

The SPEAKER. The motion to go into Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar is pending, but the first question is on the request of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] for unanimous consent that if the House go into Committee of the Whole the same order of precedure shall be observed to-day as on last Friday and the Friday before.

Mr. KILGORE. I think I must object.

Mr. LANHAM. I wish to say in the hearing of my colleague [Mr. KILGORE] that under the arrangement heretofore made a number of gentlemen have been reached in regular order on the roll, and have had an opportunity to have claims considered in which their constituents were interested. I think, therefore, it is only fair that the call of the roll should be completed, so that other gentlemen, who agreed to that arrangement and that method of procedure, shall have the same opportunity as those whose names preceded theirs upon the roll, and I hope my colleague's sense of fairness to other gentlemen who have not yet been reached in the call will induce him to allow us to go on and complete the roll-call, so that members who desire consideration of measures which have been reported from committees of the House duly organized shall have an equal opportunity with others whose bills have been reached earlier.

Mr. KILGORE. I appreciate the observations of my colleague, but we all remember the state of things here last Friday when bills were passed appropriating over $100,000, of which perhaps $5,000 was for meritorious claims, and I am very much inclined to abide by the terms of a resolution which my colleague [Mr. LANHAM] introduced here recently, providing that no legislation shall be had at this session except upon the tariff, upon "trusts," and general appropriation bills. It is true that that resolution has not been adopted, but any gentleman upon this floor can, if he chooses, practically enforce its terms, and I am very much inclined to do it.

Mr. LANHAM. I should be glad to have the purposes of the resolution on "trusts" carried out.

Mr. HOOKER. I hope the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] will withdraw his objection. We have all sat here and heard the roll called half through, and the bills of gentlemen whose names have been reached have been considered, and many of them passed, including, I believe, a bill for the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] himself, and it certainly would be gross injustice to stop the call at this point.

Mr. ROGERS. Let me suggest also to my friend from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] that there are right-of-way bills, and bridge bills and other bills which do not take a dollar out of the Treasury, and which ought to be considered.

Mr. KILGORE. Are they on the Private Calendar?

Mr. ROGERS. Some of them are.

Mr. KILGORE. Well, Mr. Speaker, I give up. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas withdraws his objection. If there be no further objection, pending the motion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM], the Chair will submit a request from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, which is embodied in a resolution which the Clerk will now read.

ELECTRIC LIGHTS IN THE CAPITOL.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the subcommittee on electric lights for the House wing of the Capitol of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds be, and is hereby, authorized to sit during the recess between the present and the second session of this Congress.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is advised that this resolution involves no additional expenditure, the committee having been already authorized to make the investigation. Is there objection to the adoption of the resolution?

Mr. JOHNSTON, of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, as a member of that subcommittee, I would like to know whether the resolution requires us to stay here during the recess?

The SPEAKER. It does not.

The resolution was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of business on the Private Calendar.

The question was taken; and the Speaker declared that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I call for a division.

Mr. LANHAM. If the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. ALLEN] is determined to insist upon the point of no quorum being present, it is unnecessary to take up further time in this way.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of business on the Private Calendar.

The motion was agreed to—ayes 38, noes 7.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Would it be in order for me to submit at this time a privileged motion that when the House adjourns this evening it adjourn to meet on Monday next?

The SPEAKER. That motion can be made when the Committee of the Whole rises. It is not strictly in order now, the House having just voted to go into Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I ask unanimous consent to submit the motion.

Mr. MORGAN. I object for the present. If gentlemen propose to filibuster this day away, we will keep them here to-morrow.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. MCCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2742) to incorporate the Brightwood Railway Company of the District of Columbia.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 4765) for the relief of G. W. McAdams.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 3340) for the disposition of Fort Brooke military reservation at Tampa, Fla., and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 3501) relating to the classification of post-offices and amendatory of the act approved March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to adjust salaries of postmasters."

The message also announced that the Senate further insisted on its amendments, disagreed to by the House, to the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes, agreed to the further conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon said bill, and had appointed as conferees on the part of the Senate Mr. HALE, Mr. ALLISON, and Mr. COCKRELL.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the Private Calendar under the order of business adopted heretofore when the Committee of the Whole was in session.

ESTATE OF RICHARD W. MEADE.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee of the Whole rose last Friday the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HOLMES] was upon the floor making an explanation in regard to a joint resolution which he desired to call up for consideration—joint resolution (H. Res. 189) to amend and enlarge the provisions of a joint resolution approved July 25, 1886, "Joint resolution to refer the claim of the administrator of Richard W. Meade, deceased, to the Court of Claims." The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa as now entitled to the floor.

Mr. HOLMES. Mr. Chairman, when this bill was last before the Committee of the Whole, I was making some observations in explanation of it. I stated that the Spanish Government had allowed the claim in this case in the sum of about $300,000, and that the American commission appointed to investigate the matter had refused to make allowance or further to investigate the claim, because the original papers placed before the Spanish Government were not submitted by this claimant, nor would the Spanish Government permit of any use being made of them for the purpose of enforcing this claim before the American commission.

Mr. LANHAM. I rise to a parliamentary question. I would like to know what is the status of the joint resolution with regard to which the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HOLMES] is now speaking. Has the question been submitted whether the Committee of the Whole will consent to its consideration?

Mr. HOLMES. Consent was given me to make an explanation of this matter; that is what I was doing when, on last Friday, I yielded for a motion that the Committee of the Whole rise.

Mr. SOWDEN. At that time I reserved the right to object when the matter should come up again to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that on last Friday the right to object after the statement of the gentleman from Iowa should be completed, was reserved. When the gentleman from Iowa has completed his statement the Chair will put the question whether there is objection.

Mr. NELSON. I ask that the bill be again read; some of us do not know what it is.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 189) to amend and enlarge the provisions of a joint resolution approved July 25, 1866, entitled "A joint resolution to refer the claim of the administrator of Richard W. Meade, deceased, to the Court of Claims."

Whereas by joint resolution approved July 25, 1866, Congress referred the claim of Richard W. Meade, administrator of Richard W. Meade, deceased, to the Court of Claims "for adjudication thereof, pursuant to authority conferred upon said court by any existing law to examine and decide claims against the United States referred to it by Congress;" and

Whereas the said court and the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed the said claim upon the ground that the said resolution did not confer upon them jurisdiction to hear and determine the said claim upon its merits: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the claim of Richard W. Meade, administrator of the estate of Richard W. Meade, deceased, be, and the same is hereby, referred to the Court of Claims with full jurisdiction and authority to determine and adjudge whether or not the said Richard W. Meade, deceased, had a valid claim against the Government of Spain which was released to the said Government by that of the United States; and if said court determine that such claim was so released, then it is hereby given jurisdiction and authority to pronounce judgment for such amount as it may find to have been justly and equitably due thereon: *Provided*, That no allowance shall be made for interest on said claim accruing after the date of such release: *And provided further*, That from any final judgment of said court or from any judgment on demurrer with leave to amend or plead either the claimant or the United States shall have the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, whose judgment in the matter shall be final.

Mr. SOWDEN. Mr. Chairman, so far as I may have intimated any objection to the consideration of this joint resolution, I withdraw it now, because I see that by the terms of the resolution there is reserved a right of appeal to the Supreme Court. The case is to undergo a thorough judicial examination, instead of being examined merely by a committee of this House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa will now complete his statement.

Mr. HOLMES. After the claim had been disallowed by the American commission Mr. Meade was without remedy. He had his judgment in the Spanish court, but the Spanish authorities maintained that by the treaty the claimant had been relegated to the American Government for the settlement of his claim; that it should be paid out of the $5,000,000 provided in the treaty for the payment of certain claims. On the other hand, the United States Government contended that the claim was still due and owing by the Government of Spain.

What is sought in this case is that this matter may be sent to the Court of Claims for determination of the question whether or not the United States Government is liable; and if not, the further enforcement of the claim will be a matter of diplomatic correspondence between this country and Spain. That is all there is in this proposition. Not a dollar of appropriation out of the United States Treasury is asked, but simply an adjudication of this claimant's rights as between the United States and Spain—nothing more. This is certainly due to any claimant under such circumstances, particularly where a *prima facie* case is made out so absolutely as in this instance. General George G. Meade has deserved well of the people of this nation, and certainly this House is not prepared to do him or his family injustice in connection with a matter so plain on its face as this claim, the justice of which has been conceded so many times in various tribunals, by this Government, and by the Spanish Government as well.

I ask consent that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], who made the report in this case and who has given it more thorough investigation than I have, be allowed to make a statement in regard to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of this joint resolution?

Mr. OATES. I do not understand just exactly what it is proposed to be done by this joint resolution, and would like to have the gentleman explain the present status of this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. The joint resolution is not before the committee for consideration. The question is whether the committee will consent to its being brought up.

Mr. OATES. I know that, but I wish to ask a question in reference to this Meade claim so that I may understand what it is proposed to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. OATES. Has not a bill been already passed referring this question to the Court of Claims, and is not this joint resolution which it is now asked shall be called up for consideration in the nature of legislation amendatory of that which has been already passed?

Mr. HOOKER. If the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HOLMES] will allow me, I will answer the interrogatory of the gentleman from Alabama, as I made the report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which was unanimous in favor of the passage of this joint resolution.

Mr. HOLMES. Certainly, I will yield to the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. HOOKER. There was a resolution passed in 1886 referring this matter to the Court of Claims for adjudication. It was referred to the Court of Claims, and the Court of Claims passed upon it. From that judgment of the Court of Claims there was an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court in rendering its opinion expressed its regret that the resolution adopted by Congress was not broad enough to give jurisdiction to the Court of Claims to adjudicate the whole question.

Mr. OATES. In what particular regard?

Mr. HOOKER. The Supreme Court of the United States expressed its regret in that opinion that the legislation of Congress did not give the Court of Claims jurisdiction to go into the matter of the judgment rendered by the Spanish court, as well as other matters necessarily involved in coming to a right decision upon the nature and validity of

this claim. Now, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Meade had for a number of years entered into contracts with the Spanish Government, fourteen in number, and when he made his claim before the Spanish Junta, where this was being considered, together with other claims against the Spanish Government, they rendered a judgment in his favor. In the treaty which was entered into between the United States and Spain under which we acquired Florida, the United States agreed to assume all liability on the part of Spain to citizens of this country to the extent of $5,000,000. To the commission which was appointed under the treaty Mr. Meade presented his claim, but being unable to withdraw his papers from the Spanish Government and present them to the commission there was nothing before them upon which judgment could be rendered, and the term of three years having expired under the treaty the claim was rejected.

As I have already stated, Mr. Chairman, the Supreme Court of the United States in rendering its opinion upon the appeal taken from the decision of the Court of Claims expressed its regret that the legislation of Congress was not broad enough to take all these matters into consideration.

The resolution now pending merely proposes to give the Court of Claims full jurisdiction to pass upon the validity of this Meade claim, to go into the judgment of the Spanish Government in favor of Mr. Meade, and other matters necessary to arrive at a just conclusion. In other words, the legislation merely proposes to give the court full authority to go into the whole matter, with the right reserved to each party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, as it is evident in a matter of this kind there can be no final disposition of the case until the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered its decision upon the whole matter.

Mr. OATES. From the investigation which I have been able to give this question, without having gone into the whole case, I am satisfied there is some justice in it. My desire was, in asking the question I did, to discover just exactly what was proposed to be done by this legislation.

Mr. HOOKER. If the Supreme Court decides that the Spanish Government by the judgment of its own junta was liable to Mr. Meade, and that the United States assumed under the treaty with Spain the liability of Spain to American citizens, then that is the end of the matter.

Mr. OATES. The gentleman's statement is satisfactory to me, and so far as I am concerned I do not interpose any objection.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, the joint resolution will be laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I object.

The CHAIRMAN. The question will then be submitted on laying the resolution aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass. [After a pause.] The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. Division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 45, noes 9.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. No quorum has voted.

Mr. LANHAM. I hope the gentleman in charge of this joint resolution will withdraw it, as it is evident a quorum is not present.

Mr. HOOKER. I hope the gentleman from Mississippi will not insist upon his point of no quorum. This is simply a resolution referring this matter to the Court of Claims for adjudication. There is nothing else in it.

Mr. LANHAM. I hope the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HOLMES] will withdraw the resolution.

Mr. HOLMES. It does not seem to me, Mr. Chairman, there is anything in this case which requires I should withdraw it, and especially when it seems on the part of those present there is no very serious opposition to it.

Mr. CULBERSON. I demand the regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. The regular order is demanded, and the Chair will appoint as tellers Mr. HOLMES, and Mr. ALLEN of Mississippi.

The committee proceeded to divide.

Mr. LANHAM. I am informed by the gentleman from Mississippi that it is not his purpose to allow any bills to pass unless a quorum is present. That being the case, I move that the committee now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. That motion would not be in order while the committee is dividing.

Mr. HOOKER. I believe my name comes next on the roll. I have a little bill here, involving but a small amount——

The CHAIRMAN. The only business in order is the announcement of the vote by tellers.

The tellers reported—ayes 35, noes 5.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. No quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. I move that the committee now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. RICHARDSON reported that the Committee of the Whole House having had under consideration House joint resolution 189, had come to no resolution thereon.

Mr. LANHAM. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Pending that I move that when the House adjourns to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. MORRILL. I hope the motion to adjourn will not prevail, because it cuts off the Friday evening session for pensions.

The SPEAKER. The motion of the gentleman from Tennessee does not interfere with the Friday evening session.

Mr. DINGLEY. Let the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee be adopted, but not the motion of the gentleman from Texas, which would cut off the night session.

Mr. WHEELER. I move as a substitute for the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee that to-morrow be substituted for the consideration of private bills.

The SPEAKER. That motion is not in order.

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. MCMILLIN, the House divided; and there were—ayes 65, noes 14.

Mr. MORGAN. No quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. That is the pending motion.

Mr. HOOKER. I hope the gentleman will withdraw that motion and allow me to ask leave to present one bill. [Cries of "Regular order!"]

The SPEAKER. The motion of the gentleman from Tennessee is still pending.

Mr. HOOKER. I wish to ask unanimous consent to consider a bill. [Cries of "Regular order!"]

The SPEAKER. If the motion of the gentleman from Texas was withdrawn the Chair would have to proceed with the regular order, which is the appointment of tellers on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee, on which a quorum is demanded.

Mr. HOOKER. The question of no quorum being made on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee, is it in order to do anything else except to adjourn?

The SPEAKER. It is not, except to appoint tellers on that motion and complete the vote. If the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee is withdrawn, the Chair will submit the motion of the gentleman from Texas; otherwise the gentleman from Tennessee has priority under the rules.

The point of no quorum being made, the Chair will order tellers.

Mr. MORGAN and Mr. MCMILLIN were appointed tellers.

The House again divided; and there were—ayes 42, noes 7.

The SPEAKER. Is the point of no quorum insisted upon?

Mr. ROWLAND. I make the point of no quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent, then, that next Monday be substituted for to-day, and that Monday night be substituted for the night session fixed for to-day for pension bills, so that the House may adjourn over until Monday when it adjourns to-day. In other words, I ask unanimous consent that the order of business for to-day may be executed on Monday and Monday evening.

Mr. HOLMES. I understand under that arrangement that the bill just up would have its same status then that it has to-day.

The SPEAKER. Of course it would occupy the same position precisely if that order were made.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MCKENNA. I object.

Mr. LANHAM. Then I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The tellers will resume their places.

Mr. MCKENNA. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there further objection?

Mr. FULLER. I object.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I ask unanimous consent to make a statement for one minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I gave notice on yesterday evening, when it was objected that there was not a quorum here, and that therefore the House could not adjourn over until Monday—thinking that it took just about as many to pass a bill as to adjourn over, and that if less than a quorum was not sufficient to adjourn over less than a quorum ought not to be sufficient to pass any bills, I gave notice that no bills should pass to-day without a quorum; but I find a large number of gentlemen here who have unimportant bills—important to them, but unimportant as public measures of legislation—that they are anxious to pass; and I, as everybody knows, being a sort of an amiably-disposed person, and not wanting to obstruct things of that sort, I will, on the condition that the bill that I called a quorum on be laid aside without a favorable or any other recommendation, withdraw my objection to the House proceeding, and let us take up such bills as are unobjectionable and pass them.

Mr. MORGAN. With the understanding that we may proceed to-day as on the last two Fridays, I withdraw my objection to the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee.

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman from North Carolina made the point of no quorum on that motion.

Mr. ROWLAND. I withdraw the point.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Still my motion is pending, and I ask the Chair to announce the result of the vote.

The SPEAKER. The ayes are 52, noes 8. The point of no quorum has been withdrawn; the ayes have it, and the motion of the gentle-

man from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN], that when the House adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next, is agreed to.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the motion to adjourn, and move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar, Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar, under the same rule as obtained on Friday last.

Mr. HOLMES. I desire, in conformity with the request of several gentlemen, to withdraw the bill, consideration of which I had asked, without prejudice, and that it retain its place on the Calendar.

The CHAIRMAN. If there be no objection, that order will be made.

There was no objection.

A. N. KIMBALL.

Mr. HOOKER. I ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 7151) for relief of A. N. Kimball and sureties on his official bond as receiver of public moneys.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill will be reported, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Commissioner of the Land Office and the proper accounting officers of the Treasury be, and they hereby are, authorized and directed, in the settlement and adjustment of the accounts of Aaron N. Kimball, late receiver of public moneys and disbursing agent at Jackson, Miss., to allow credit for the sum of $1,176.71 (being the sum of $924 of the public funds disbursed by him for clerical services, and for stationery and blanks procured for and used in the land office and receiver's office at Jackson, Miss., in a case of emergency upon a sudden and unexpected increase of the business of said offices, and the sum of $252.71, interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum on the amount of said disbursements from May 2, 1883, to the 23d day of November, 1887, on which last-named date a judgment was rendered in the circuit court of the United States for the southern district of Mississippi against the said Kimball and his sureties on his bond as such receiver, for the said and other moneys). And it is further directed that a remitter be entered on said judgment for the amount of said credit.

It is proposed to strike out all following the enacting clause and insert:

That Aaron N. Kimball, late receiver of public moneys and disbursing agent at Jackson, Miss., be, and he is hereby, allowed credit for the sum of $549 for clerical services rendered and blanks furnished his said office without the authority of the Secretary of the Interior, and for which said Kimball has not heretofore received credit. And the marshal for the United States in the district of Mississippi, and the United States court held at the city of Jackson, in said State, be, and he is hereby, directed and required to credit the said sum of $549 on a certain judgment recovered in said court by the United States as plaintiff against said Kimball and the sureties on his official bond as defendants.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. FULLER. I ask that the report be read.

The report was read, as follows:

The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred House bill 7151, having had the same under consideration, respectfully report:

Mr. Kimball was receiver of public moneys at Jackson, Miss., and in the final adjustment of his accounts with the General Land Office he claimed various items of credit, as follows:

ITEMS OF DISALLOWED ACCOUNT.

To amount paid Joseph S. Ware for clerical services from January 1, 1882, to April 30, 1883, as per Voucher A	$115
To amount paid E. B. Comfort for clerical services from July 10, 1882, to April 3, 1883, as per Voucher B	35
To amount paid N. J. Smith for clerical services from March 4, 1883, to March 7, 1883, as per Voucher C	6
Amount paid Power & Barksdale for printing blanks, as per bill marked Voucher D, and samples from Nos. 1 to 10, inclusive	93
Amount paid Mrs. Mary C. Kimball for clerical services from January 1, 1882, to June 1, 1882, inclusive, as per Voucher E	375
Total	924

The following history of the case, from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, through the Secretary of the Interior, explains why this account was rejected:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, *Washington, March* 13, 1888.

SIR: There are transmitted herewith the report of the Acting Commissioner of the General Land Office on bill H. R. 7151, "For relief of A. N. Kimball and sureties, on his official bond as receiver of public moneys at Jackson, Miss.," and the papers accompanying said bill, as submitted by you on the 7th instant.

Very respectfully,

WM. F. VILAS, *Secretary.*

Hon. WILLIAM C. OATES,
Chairman of Subcommittee, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., March 10, 1888.

SIR: I am in receipt of a communication under date of March 7, 1888, from Hon. W. C. OATES, chairman subcommittee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, inclosing House bill No. 7151, "For the relief of A. N. Kimball and sureties, on his official bond as receiver of public moneys," with accompanying papers, with a request that he be furnished with a "history" of the case, and in reply thereto have to state as follows:

That under date of May 5, 1883, Mr. A. N. Kimball transmitted to this office an account for fractional quarter ending April 30, 1883, debiting the United States with the sum of $549 claimed to have been expended by him for clerical services rendered from January 1, 1882, to April 30, 1883, and for certain blanks furnished the land office at Jackson, Miss., from October 28, 1880, to January 25, 1883.

This account was rejected and returned to him under date of September 17, 1884, because no authority had been given him to make these expenditures.

Nothing further was heard from the account until November 5, 1887, when Mr. A. N. Kimball presented an account for fractional quarter ending April 30, 1883, to this office, supported by vouchers for expenses incurred by said Kimball, as receiver, at Jackson, Miss., from January 1, 1882, to June 1, 1883, amounting to $924, which included the $549, previously rejected, and the further sum of $375 for clerical services rendered to June 1, 1883.

The honorable Secretary of the Interior was advised, under date of November 14, 1887, that the claim of Mr. Kimball could not be allowed without the approval of the Secretary, as is required by section 2255, United States Revised Statutes.

It stands unexplained why Mr. Kimball should submit to this office, under date of November 5, 1887, an account purporting to be for fractional quarter ending April 30, 1887, and containing an item of $375 for clerical services, $75 of which said amount is for services claimed to have been rendered during a period of one month subsequent to the date for which said account is rendered and of the expiration of his term of office, and also why the balance of said $375, amounting to $300, claimed to have been expended for clerical services from January 1 to April 30, 1883, was not included in his account May 5, 1883, for fractional quarter ending April 30, 1883, and rejected as above set forth.

If Mr. Kimball expended the sum claimed for clerical services and blanks, and the United States received the benefit of the same, it is for Congress to determine whether he is entitled in equity to relief or not, and whether he shall be allowed it, notwithstanding the expenditure claimed to have been made was without authority of the Secretary of the Interior, as required by law, and the fact that he was advised by this office that the clerical services could not be authorized. See letters submitted and returned herewith.

Very respectfully,

S. M. STOCKSLAGER,
Acting Commissioner.

Hon. W. F. VILAS,
Secretary of the Interior.

Your committee, while disapproving the course of Mr. Kimball in incurring expenses of his office without authority of the Secretary of the Interior, yet, under the peculiar circumstances, herewith report a substitute and recommend its adoption, allowing him a credit on a judgment recovered by the United States against him and the sureties on his official bond in the United States circuit court at Jackson, Miss., for $549, rejecting $375, the last item in his said account, because the same is not sufficiently explained and proven to entitle him to a credit therefor.

Mr. OATES (during the reading). If the Clerk will suspend the reading I will explain the claim in a few words.

The claimant was receiver at the land office at Jackson, Miss. At a time when there was a great run on the office, the clerical force which he had was unable to do the work, and he ran out of blanks. He took the responsibility of employing additional clerks and having blanks printed for use in his office. After he passed out of office there was a suit brought against him on his bond for a considerable amount—$1,500 or $2,000—and he was found to be insolvent; but his sureties were solvent, and they were unable to use this claim, which amounted to about $900, included in these items. They were unable to use it as a set-off. It was not allowed by the Department, because he had not obtained the authority of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to make this expenditure. After the committee had the benefit of an explanation of the Commissioner of the General Land Office we decided that at least $531 of the claim should be allowed as a credit, giving his sureties the benefit of it on the judgment against them. Some $400 of his claim was rejected by the committee, because we did not think the proof was quite sufficient.

Mr. HOOKER. You recommended that $549 be allowed?

Mr. OATES. Yes. The amount proposed to be allowed is $549, and is certainly just.

Mr. FULLER. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Did this officer ever make any claim to the Department for this expenditure before he was sued on the bond?

Mr. HOOKER. Oh, yes; repeatedly.

Mr. OATES. He claimed it, but it was not allowed.

Mr. FULLER. Were the claims refused by the Department?

Mr. OATES. They were refused, and the Commissioner of the General Land Office makes the statement that they were not allowed because they did not want to establish the precedent of any inferior official expending any amount without the consent of the Department. But they do not dispute the fact that the expenditure was made and that it was necessary.

Mr. FULLER. Then the amount was claimed before he was sued upon his official bond?

Mr. OATES. Oh, yes.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Did he ask the Department for authority to employ the extra help?

Mr. OATES. He first employed them and then applied for consent; and the only ground on which it was refused at the time was that the appropriation was short. When he went out of office it had not been paid.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I would ask the gentleman if he thinks, with his large experience of legislation here, that it would be prudent to allow officers to employ extra help without first obtaining the consent of the proper Department?

Mr. OATES. I think as a rule it would not be right and I would not sanction it. I think the Department made a correct decision in not permitting a precedent to be made; but there are such equities in this case, the Government getting the benefit of that expenditure, that it looks hard to require the sureties to pay the amount after the Government has got the benefit of the expenditures. I think the equities would be to give them the benefit of that much. Now the whole claim was about $900. We rejected the items about which there was some doubt, but there is no doubt about the amount we now recommend.

Mr. RYAN. Do I understand that this claimant had made application to employ these clerks before he did employ them?

Mr. OATES. It was about the same time. He employed the clerks because there was a rush upon the office, and he did not like to refuse the entries on account of a deficiency of clerical force. He sent his application on and went ahead. The clerks commenced doing the work, and he received an answer in a week, or perhaps a month, that the request could not be complied with, because the appropriation was short.

Mr. RYAN. Is that a maximum office?

Mr. OATES. I can not say as to that. It was laid before the Judiciary Committee, and after canvassing it fully they decided unanimously that that credit ought to be allowed under the exceptional circumstances of this case.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Chairman, I think this is a very bad precedent to establish, and I shall have to object.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there further objection to the consideration of this bill?

Only three members objected—not a sufficient number.

Mr. HOOKER. I will move that the bill be laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass. Before submitting that motion, however, I wish to read the concluding sentence of Mr. Stockslager, the Acting Commissioner. He says:

If Kimball expended the sum claimed for clerical service and blanks, and the United States received the benefit of the same, it is for Congress to determine whether he is entitled, in equity, to relief or not, and whether he shall be allowed it notwithstanding the expenditure claimed to have been made was without authority of the Secretary of the Interior, as required by law, and the fact that he was advised by this office that the clerical service which he desired would not be authorized.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Will the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] state precisely what the items are for which payment is recommended?

Mr. OATES. They are stated in detail in the report. The last item, $375 for services rendered by Mrs. Kimball, was rejected by the committee and is not embraced.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Why was that rejected?

Mr. HOOKER. I understand that that was rejected by the committee because they did not have sufficient proof of the rendition of the services by Mrs. Kimball, but in point of fact she is more entitled to pay than anybody else, in my judgment.

Mr. OATES. There was some testimony taken by the subcommittee of which I am a member; but as to this item for clerical services said to have been rendered by the wife of the claimant, there was no evidence of the rendition of the service except his affidavit and hers. As to the other services, however, which we reported favorably upon, there is no question; several affidavits were submitted proving that the services were rendered, and well rendered; and also as to the blanks, it was shown that they were furnished and that only a reasonable price was charged for them.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Do not the account and the proof show that these clerical services were obtained by this officer after he had been notified by the Department that it would not authorize the employment or furnish the compensation?

Mr. OATES. That was the case in respect to the service which he claimed to have been rendered by his wife.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Was it not the case as to the whole of the services?

Mr. OATES. No, not as to the whole; only as to part. He renewed his application. There were two or three different applications.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Now, I want to ask my friend from Alabama whether in his judgment it would be wise in Congress to sanction any such extraordinary course as that of this official. A postmaster or any other officer of the Government having asked for authority to expend the public money in a certain manner, and having been refused, does my friend think it would be proper to permit him to go on and incur expenses on his own responsibility and then come to Congress and ask reimbursement either for himself or his securities? Does not the gentleman know that that would tend to encourage similar expenditures on the part of public officials, who would rely upon Congress to make the amount good later?

Mr. OATES. I stated a few moments ago that I thought the Department was right in not allowing a precedent of this kind to be set up there. But herein lies the equity in favor of those who would benefit by it in this case. The blanks were actually furnished and the printer was paid for them. The services upon which we have reported favorably were actually rendered, and lands were being entered and money paid there, and the Government of the United States actually received the benefit of those services. The money went into the Treasury, and while the act of the officer was not warranted, while it was irregular, and while, if no one but the officer himself was to suffer, it might be well not to relieve him—in fact, I do not think I would vote to do it—yet when the man's sureties are concerned, and when the Government received the full benefit of these services and these expenditures, it seems to me rather a hard case not to allow this credit on the judgment. I think there is an equity in the matter, and it is a case that must rest on its own bottom. It is not likely to be a precedent, nor, so far as Congress is concerned, is it likely to influence our future action. I think it ought not to have been established as a precedent in the Department, but I think the parties are entitled to relief here to the extent recommended. There was some doubt in my mind as to whether the service claimed to have been rendered by this man's wife ought to be paid for, because, in addition to other reasons, those services were clearly rendered after he knew of the refusal of the Department to sanction the expenditure. As to the $549, I think the allowance is clearly right.

Mr. CATCHINGS. For how long a period of time was this extra clerical force employed?

Mr. OATES. Only a short time. There was a run made upon the office when there were a great many people taking up land.

Mr. CATCHINGS. Was it not nearly a year?

Mr. OATES. Oh, not so long—only two or three months.

Mr. HOOKER. Unless some gentleman desires to say something more on this subject, I will move that the bill be laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I have great respect for the judgment of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], as well as the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES], on this question, formed, as no doubt it is, upon fair and considerate attention; and this being a small matter, I would be glad to waive any scruples I may have in regard to it. Small matters as well as large ones make precedents, and I doubt very much whether it would be wise on the part of Congress to set the example of compensating an officer who upon his own responsibility has incurred an expenditure of this sort. We may regret the hardship to his sureties, but I think it much better that a man who has voluntarily incurred a sacrifice of this sort, with full notice that he does so without authority, should suffer the burden of the expenditure rather than that public policy should be violated by Congress in compensating him for an expense incurred in this way.

Mr. HOOKER. I have only a word to say in reply to what has fallen from the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER]. In the several Departments of the Government, particularly in the Land Department, there arises occasionally necessity for the employment of extra clerical force. Of course the Department has, and ought to have, a supervision of this matter, and usually directs whether the extra force shall be employed. But instances have come to my knowledge in which a register or receiver at a land office has been constrained to employ clerks for the performance of the duties of the office, assuming himself the risk of having the Commissioner grant an extra allowance for such services; and in several instances the Commissioner has granted such an allowance. In this instance the Commissioner says himself that, while he did not grant the allowance, there is no sort of question, as the committee has shown in the report, that the services were rendered, that the Government received the benefit of them; that this money was expended for the purpose of purchasing blanks which were absolutely necessary for carrying on the business of the Land Office. There is no sort of question about any one item of the account.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Will the gentleman allow me to conclude this whole matter, so far as I am concerned, by putting a case to him? Take the case of the postmaster at the city of Jackson, Miss. No doubt there is sometimes at that office a great pressure of business in the distribution of mails, etc., and allowances are frequently made for extra expenses at offices of that magnitude. Now, suppose the postmaster at that city, after asking the Postmaster-General to make a special allowance for such service, and after the refusal of such application (the postmaster having been informed that the allowance could not be made on account of the state of the finances), should go on and employ an extra clerk to help him. Would the gentleman favor an appropriation to reimburse the postmaster in such a case?

Mr. HOOKER. I would not; and I will tell the gentleman why. That is altogether a different case. The administration of the postal business in any city or town—Jackson, Miss., or anywhere else—is usually provided for by an appropriation made by Congress which is deemed adequate for the purpose, and the employment of an additional clerk by the mere action of the postmaster is certainly a condition of affairs which could hardly arise, because there is no such increase in the business of the Post-Office Department from day to day, from week to week, from month to month, as may arise in the Land Office, and as did arise in this case.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, the case put by my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] is, as he states it, a very strong one; and in any ordinary case I should accept his judgment on a point of this kind as correct. But I submit to him that he overlooks the controlling element in this case. While I do not distinctly recall the circumstances of this case, my recollection of it, as it came before the Judiciary Committee, has been somewhat refreshed by the observations of my friend from Alabama [Mr. OATES]. As he states, the Land Office declined to make an allowance to this officer because of the fact that there was an absence of appropriation, that the appropriation for work of this sort had been exhausted. There is an act of Congress prohibiting any of the Departments from making any contracts or allowances in excess of the appropriations made by law.

Now here was an emergency—one of a class of emergencies arising from time to time—where the necessities of the office, the convenience

of the people in the proper and speedy dispatch of the public business required an official force for which Congress in its original appropriations had not made provision. To illustrate: At Eureka Springs in our State, some years ago, waters of a medicinal character, or supposed to be medicinal, were discovered; and where there had been a barren waste there was within a few months a population of 5,000 people. The post-office there was completely overrun, persons waiting at the office in large numbers to obtain their mail. The postmaster, with the allowances made to him, could not properly dispatch the duties of his office, and no additional allowance was made by the Department to enable him to do so. Now, the question is whether a public officer, when an emergency like that, unanticipated and unprovided for, arises, should be allowed to neglect or disregard the necessities of the public. In that case, or in some other case of that character (I am not sure about the particular case), the Forty-ninth Congress, when the subject was brought to its attention, made proper provision for the reimbursement of the officer who had been compelled to decide between abandoning the discharge of the public business or staying there and for the time being bearing the additional expense himself. My friend who represents that district states that provision was made by Congress for the reimbursement of the officer in that instance.

Will any gentleman maintain that under such circumstances Congress ought not to have granted relief? And that case is analogous to the one now presented. The Department would have granted the necessary allowance, but Congress had failed to make adequate appropriation, and by statute the Department was prohibited from sanctioning any additional expenditure.

Mr. OATES. I desire to state that the fund appropriated in the general appropriation bill for clerical work in the local land offices is apportioned at the beginning of the year; and the amount apportioned to this particular office was exhausted before this "run" was made upon it. The land officers could not foresee that this rush of business would occur; and as the amount apportioned was exhausted, there were no funds from which an additional allowance could be made.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, one other observation and then I will yield the floor to my friend.

There is a provision of the statute regulating the Department of Justice in this way. Very recently during the present session of Congress——

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. The gentleman from Arkansas will admit it was a wise public policy which was embodied in that statute.

Mr. ROGERS. Yes; I do. I should regard it in a case of public emergency where the public interests are involved to be an unjust and unwise policy not to be allowed in its discretion to make ample provision for such emergency. To illustrate. Recently, in the case of an important investigation, it was found necessary on the part of the Department of Justice to take certain depositions. They were in the progress of taking them in the city of Philadelphia when the Department discovered they would be unable to meet the expenses of the counsel engaged in taking those depositions under notice already served, and when the taking of those depositions was in progress. Now, was the Government to withdraw this special counsel and permit these depositions in which the Government was interested to be taken *ex parte* and without compensation because the statute provided they should not proceed without the funds to carry on the business? Would the Congress of the United States in a case of that kind, when properly presented and when the Department of Justice had taken the responsibility to have these depositions taken, refuse to award compensation to the counsel who were engaged in that work? Certainly not; and they did not refuse to make provision at this very session of Congress, in the general deficiency bill, to provide for the expense incurred in taking those depositions.

Mr. HOOKER. I will now yield to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL].

Mr. PEEL. Mr. Chairman, I have listened to the discussion which has taken place, and the case which has been referred to by my colleague is one in point. I wish to say I am familiar with that case. In my district when the Eureka Springs were first discovered the country where they are located was a wilderness. In a little while after the discovery of the springs, in 1881, people had flocked in there from all directions, and it became necessary to accommodate the public that a post-office should be established for the collection and distribution of the mail. A fourth-class post-office was established at that place, where there had accumulated some ten or fifteen thousand population.

As a matter of course, the Post-Office Department could not allow under the law an assistant in that post-office to help in the distribution of the mail, although such assistance was needed. The postmaster paid the money out of his own pocket to provide a sufficient force to accommodate the public needs. I introduced a bill for relief in that case, and it was reported favorably in the Forty-eighth Congress, to reimburse the postmaster for the money which he had paid out of his own pocket to accommodate the public while he was in the management of that post-office. It was a case of emergency which had arisen unexpectedly, and it was necessary to accommodate the people in receiving and collecting the mail; and it was just such a case where the Congress of the United States should intervene to make good whatever losses were suffered on the part of the postmaster.

Mr. HOOKER. I now yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER].

Mr. FULLER. I wish to say a word in reply to some of the statements made by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ROGERS]. It seems to me if his line of policy is pursued as indicated by his argument we will then have a case of this kind every session of Congress, upon the ground that the amount placed in the hands of these land officers was not sufficient.

Mr. ROGERS. The amount in the case of the Commissioner was not sufficient.

Mr. FULLER. I understand there is a certain amount in the hands of each one of these land officers to meet the expenditures under their management. I remember the case of the Lamar office in Colorado. Owing to the great amount of business in that office this money was exhausted. So in many other offices where the expenses in behalf of the public interests have exceeded the amount which they had on hand, owing to the amount of business which had been suddenly thrown upon them. Now, if we should establish a precedent like that indicated by the gentleman from Arkansas, that because there was a necessity in the case they should go on and hire extra help and come in afterwards to Congress for relief, we may expect an accumulation of cases of that character at every session of Congress. I think it is a dangerous practice, and one which ought not to be encouraged.

Mr. HOOKER. I think the House is ready to vote on this amendment. This is not asked in behalf of the man who did the work and who paid for the help which became necessary, but it is to make the allowance to the sureties involved in this suit.

The CHAIRMAN. The first question is on the pending amendment.

Mr. FULLER. I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 29, noes 3.

Mr. FULLER. No quorum has voted.

The CHAIRMAN appointed as tellers Mr. HOOKER and Mr. FULLER.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 32, noes 1.

Mr. FULLER. While I still think this is a bad precedent, I do not feel like stopping the public business and will therefore withdraw the point of no quorum.

Mr. HOOKER. Thank you, sir.

The amendment was agreed to; and the bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

CALL OF THE LIST OF MEMBERS.

The Clerk proceeded to call the list of members.

Mr. RICE. I rise, Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of stating that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOWARD] is detained from the Hall by sickness in his family, and to ask that by unanimous consent his name be passed over without prejudice to his right under the call.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

STOCKBRIDGE AND MUNSEE INDIANS.

Mr. HUDD. I call up for present consideration the bill (H. R. 5043) for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe of Indians, in the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. DUNN. Is that a private bill?

The CHAIRMAN. It is on the Private Calendar, and is a private bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

Whereas a treaty was entered into on the 5th day of February, 1856, by and between the Government of the United States and the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians, in which the said Indians ceded certain lands to the United States, and accepted, in consideration thereof, certain lands as a reservation, to which said Indians removed, and upon which they have ever since resided; and

Whereas by the interpretation placed by Government officials on the act of February 6, 1871, an act for the relief of said Indians, a large part of said Indians (and their descendants) who signed said treaty of 1856, and have continued with said tribe from the making of said treaty to the present time, are excluded from participating in tribal funds and the right to occupy said reservation: Therefore

Be it enacted, etc., That all persons who were actual members of said tribe of Indians at the time of the execution of the treaty of February 5, 1856, and their descendants, and all persons who became members of the tribe under the provisions of Article VI of said treaty, and their descendants, who did not in and by said treaty, and have not since its execution, separated from said tribe, are hereby declared members of said Stockbridge and Munsee tribe of Indians, and entitled to share in former tribal funds and the occupancy of tribal lands.

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior, without unnecessary delay after the passage of this act, to cause to be taken an enrollment of said tribe on the basis of the provisions of this act, which enrollment shall be filed, a copy in the Department of the Interior and a copy in the records of said tribe.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. HUDD. This is a bill which involves no appropriation of money. It provides merely a mode of settling the differences or disputes between a tribe of Indians residing in Wisconsin. It has been reported favorably by prior Congresses, and the gentleman from Minnesota, my colleague on the Committee on Indian Affairs [Mr. NELSON], has made two reports similar to the one now pending before the House. The bill

only failed on final passage because of not having been reached. It has received unanimous reports from the Indian Committee of three Congresses. It makes no appropriation, is recommended by the Interior Department, and strongly by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. So I presume there will be no objection to its passage.

I move that it be laid aside.

The motion was agreed to; and the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

J. GEORGE RUCKSTUHL.

Mr. HUTTON. I ask present consideration of the bill (H. R. 338) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of J. George Ruckstuhl.

The bill was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to remove from the military record of J. George Ruckstuhl, late a first lieutenant in the Ninety-seventh Illinois Volunteers, the charge of desertion, and to cancel all penalties and forfeitures arising therefrom.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HUTTON. There is an amendment I desire to offer to the bill, and also an amendment to the title.

The CHAIRMAN. The question of amending the title will come up hereafter in the House. The first question is, Will the committee now consider the bill.

Mr. KILGORE. Let us have the report read.

The report (by Mr. GEAR) was read, as follows:

They find that he was mustered into the United States service as first lieutenant of Company C, Ninety-seventh Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry, September 16, 1862. That he was left at Camp Smith, Kentucky, on November 11 to superintend the burial of a dead soldier, and that he did not rejoin his regiment until February 1, 1863, during which time he was "absent without leave." Charges were preferred against him, but he tendered his resignation, to take effect December 31, 1862, which resignation was accepted by General U. S. Grant in general orders March 2, 1867.

In the tender of his resignation he states that it is on the ground of "ill-health," which statement is verified by the certificate of two surgeons who testify to the fact.

In regard to his "absence without leave" Ruckstuhl makes the following statement: That he was left under a verbal order of General A. J. Smith at Nicholasville, Ky., to bury one D. C. Fulton, a member of his regiment; that he did so remain, and after having performed this duty he started to rejoin his regiment; that on arriving at Frankfort he was taken severely ill; that he left his detail at that point, telling them that he would rejoin his regiment at Louisville; that on his arrival at Louisville, Ky., he was unable to rejoin his regiment, as he was suffering from a severe hemorrhage, in consequence of which he was unable to travel; that while in Louisville he was under the care of one Dr. Coke, who is now dead.

This statement of the facts in the case Mr. Ruckstuhl makes under oath, and is supported by the affidavits of one Gottlieb Beih and Mary Daesschofer, who both testify to the fact of his illness in Louisville, Ky.; that he was confined to his bed for about six weeks under the care of Dr. Coke, who has since died. The time that these two witnesses testify as to the duration of his illness covers the period for which he is reported "absent without leave from his regiment."

Your committee recommend that the words in the sixth line of the bill, "the charge of desertion," be stricken out and the words "absence without leave" be inserted in lieu thereof, and that when so amended the bill do pass.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, the amendment recommended by the Committee on Military Affairs adopted, and the bill as amended laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

HYLAND C. KIRK AND OTHERS.

Mr. JACKSON. I ask the present consideration of the bill (S. 395) for the relief of Hyland C. Kirk and others, assignees of Addison C. Fletcher.

The bill was read at length.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. KILGORE. I think the report ought to be read in that case.

The CHAIRMAN. The report will be read, subject to objection.

The report was read at length.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. KILGORE. What is the amount of the claim that is proposed to be presented here to the Court of Claims?

Mr. JACKSON. I will say that this is a Senate bill, and I am not so familiar with the facts as other gentlemen on the floor to enable me to answer questions with regard to the bill. The principal information that I have in respect to it was gathered from an examination of the report of the Senate and the accompanying exhibits. I think the gentleman from New York [Mr. BAKER] has given it more attention and can probably answer fully any questions that may arise in regard to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman from New York will make a statement in reference to the bill.

Mr. KILGORE. What amount does it involve?

Mr. BAKER, of New York. Mr. Chairman, this bill was in charge of my colleague from New York [Mr. DAVENPORT] who is absent, but at his request I have informed myself of the facts on record in the case. This matter was examined when pending in the Court of Claims, which court decided that in case the finding was substantially in favor of claimant—but I will read the exact language of the court. They say:

The court find that one-twentieth of 1 per cent. of the amount so collected, to wit, the sum of $35,151.33, would be a reasonable royalty for the use of the device, if the claimant is entitled to recover therefor.

Mr. KILGORE. That is the whole amount involved?

Mr. BAKER of New York. As I understand it, that is the whole amount involved in this claim.

Mr. KILGORE. My understanding is that it may run up into the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. This is the finding of the Court of Claims, and so stated by Mr. DAVENPORT, and given to me also by other parties familiar with the facts of the case. They inform me that something over $35,000 is the limit of the amount stated by the court as a reasonable royalty for the use of the device, if anything at all is to be recovered.

The CHAIRMAN. The question first is, Will the bill be considered?

Mr. KILGORE. I think I will have to object to the consideration of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question then is, Will the committee consider the bill?

Two members only rising to object, the bill was ordered to be considered.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on laying the bill aside.

Mr. KILGORE. I give notice, Mr. Chairman, that my objection does not end here. I shall insist upon the point of no quorum with reference to this bill. It is too important to be passed in this manner.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. In view of that statement and rather than obstruct the other business to-day, I suggest to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to withdraw the bill.

Mr. JACKSON. Under the circumstances, and at the instance of the gentleman from New York, I will withdraw the bill for the present.

JOHN R. TREUTLEN.

Mr. JOHNSTON, of North Carolina. I ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 2896) for the relief of the heirs of John R. Treutlen.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized to pay to the heirs of John R. Treutlen, late an employé in the House of Representatives, $333.33, being the difference in the salaries paid to laborers and that paid to messengers, which latter office he filled from the 7th day of April, 1881, to the 17th day of December, 1881, performing all the duties of messenger and receiving only the pay of laborer.

SEC. 2. That the amount necessary to pay the same is hereby appropriated and made immediately available.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the consideration of this bill? The Chair hears none.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

JOHN GRAY.

Mr. KEAN. I ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 11165) for the relief of John Gray.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the proper accounting officers of the Treasury be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to pay to John Gray, late major of the One hundred and seventy-fifth New York Volunteers, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the pay and allowances of a major of infantry from the 19th of November, 1862, the date he received his commission as major from the governor of the State of New York, to the 17th day of January, 1863, the date he is borne upon the record as having been mustered into the service as major of said regiment.

Mr. ROGERS. Let the report be read.

The report (by Mr. STONE, of Kentucky) was read, as follows:

The Committee on War Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 11165) for the relief of John Gray, report as follows:

This is a claim for pay for services rendered prior to muster, by John Gray, formerly major of the One hundred and seventy-fifth Regiment New York Volunteers.

The claimant applied to the War Department for relief, and was denied in 1886, for the reason that "his muster into service as major January 17, 1863, recognized him from the earliest date by completion of his command."

The proof shows that John Gray was commissioned major of the One hundred and seventy-fifth Regiment New York Volunteers on the 19th of November, 1862, by the governor of New York, and served in that capacity without pay until January 17, 1863.

Having obtained the benefit of Gray's services, the Government ought not to set up a technical plea in bar of its obligation to make compensation therefor, and your committee are of opinion that payment should be made to Maj. John Gray.

Your committee report back the bill, and recommend its passage.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill? The Chair hears none.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MARITIME CANAL COMPANY OF NICARAGUA.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Chairman, I have a bill here that I want to call up for a friend of mine. I will take charge of it.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. I am informed that there is some question about this bill. How much is there involved in it?

Mr. KILGORE. Not a cent.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (S. 1305) to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that this bill is on the House Calendar.

Mr. DUNN. It is a private bill, to create a private corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that he understands the rule to apply to only those bills which are on the Private Calendar.

Mr. DUNN. I would like to know why it is not on the Private Calendar. It is a private bill, and the rule was intended to comprehend and take in all private bills; and all private bills ought to be on the Private Calendar.

The CHAIRMAN. The time to have made that question woulp have been when it was referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DUNN. I submit that an erroneous reference of a bill ought not to deprive it of its privilege under this call. The fact that it is on the Private Calendar is a very technical question that ought not under the rule to exclude its consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would not by its ruling undertake to exclude a private bill. If there be no objection, the bill will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objection to its consideration.

Mr. CULBERSON. I object.

Mr. DUNN. It has not arrived at the stage for objection. The question is on the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has not called for objection. This discussion is simply upon the point of order, and the Chair has not ruled on the point of order——

Mr. MORGAN. I understand the Chair to state that this bill did not come under the present call, but that it might be called up by unanimous consent.

Mr. DUNN. The Chair called attention to the fact that the bill is on the House Calendar. I state that the bill is a private bill and ought to be on the Private Calendar.

Mr. LANHAM. I raise the point of order on the bill.

Mr. CULBERSON. I demand that the bill be read.

Mr. KILGORE. I understand that the House bill is on the Private Calendar.

Mr. BAYNE (to Mr. KILGORE). Call up the House bill and substitute it for the Senate bill.

Mr. KILGORE. I will just call up the House bill instead of the Senate bill.

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask how this bill comes up at this time.

Mr. DUNN. The bill is trying to get up now.

Mr. LAWLER. I object to its consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. The time has not come for objections. The Chair is informed that the House bill is on the Private Calendar. The objection would be waived for that reason, and the point of order would not lie against its consideration. I now ask if there is objection to the consideration of the House bill?

Mr. CULBERSON. Let the House bill be read.

The CHAIRMAN. The House bill will be taken up, and after it is read the Chair will ask if there is objection to its consideration.

The bill (H. R. 5616) was read for information.

The CHAIRMAN. Shall the bill be considered?

Mr. CULBERSON. I make the point of order that that bill is not upon the Private Calendar.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill which has just been read is on the Private Calendar.

Mr. CULBERSON. The one that I have is not on the Private Calendar.

Mr. DUNN. But when objection was made the gentleman called up the House bill instead.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill which has just been read is on the Private Calendar, page 41. Those who are opposed to the consideration of the bill will rise and stand until counted.

Seven members objected—more than a sufficient number; so the bill was not considered.

STATE NATIONAL BANK OF NEW ORLEANS.

Mr. LAFFOON. I call up the bill (H. R. 3715) for the relief of the State National Bank of New Orleans, formerly Louisiana State Bank.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the claim of the State National Bank of New Orleans, formerly Louisiana State Bank, for the payment of the proceeds of cotton belonging to said bank taken by the agents of the Treasury Department of the United States, in the States of Louisiana and Arkansas, after the 30th day of June, 1865, be, and the same is hereby, referred to the Court of Claims for adjudication, and that said bank may institute suit in said court and the same shall be tried and adjudicated the same as if said action had been filed within the time authorized by law; that the testimony and original papers filed by said bank before the Treasury Department of the United States in connection with said claim be, and the same shall be, received by said court as evidence as if taken or filed under the rules of said court; that the said bank and United States may take further evidence as may be deemed proper, subject to the rules for taking testimony in said court.

The report (by Mr. SHAW) is as follows:

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 3715) for the relief of the State National Bank of New Orleans, formerly Louisiana State Bank, having considered the same, report as follows:

The committee agree with the conclusions reached by the Committee on Claims in the Senate, as embodied in a report from said committee in the Forty-seventh Congress, and adopt said report, and recommend that said bill be amended by inserting, in line 15, after the word "evidence," the words "so far as the same may be legally competent and proper under the rules and practice of said court," and as so amended that said bill do pass.

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred "A bill for the relief of the State National Bank of Louisiana," having examined the same, make the following report:

That the State Bank of Louisiana, a banking corporation chartered by the laws of Louisiana, and located at the city of New Orleans, in 1863, while said city was in the permanent occupation and control of military forces of the United States, through its agents, contracted with various parties residing in Upper Louisiana and Arkansas, who had raised and were the private owners thereof, for the purchase of several hundred bales of cotton. At the dates of these contracts of purchase the venders resided within the lines of the Confederate forces, and commercial relations between the bank and themselves were prohibited, both by the general and statute laws of the Government and by the proclamation of the President of the United States, made under and in pursuance of said laws. The cotton thus purchased or contracted for remained in the possession of the several venders until after the 30th of June, 1865, when hostilities having ceased, it was delivered over to the agent of the bank, and by said agent collected together at different points preparatory to shipment to New Orleans.

After the cotton had thus reached the possession of the bank, and while awaiting shipment to New Orleans, special Treasury agents of the United States, on the 27th and 29th July, 1865, and the 18th November, 1865, seized the same and caused it to be shipped to Simeon Draper, the agent of the Treasury Department at New York, by whom it was sold, and the proceeds paid into the United States Treasury. The State Bank of Louisiana, after the close of the war, having been merged into the State National Bank of Louisiana, the latter, as the successor to all the rights and interests of the former bank, made claim to the proceeds of this cotton, but its claim was rejected by the Treasury Department. The bank thereafter, on the 21st September, 1877, instituted an action in the Court of Claims for the recovery of said proceeds, and was defeated in said court by the plea of the statute of limitation. The object of the present bill is to allow the bank to have its claim referred to the Court of Claims for trial and adjudication, just as though the action had been filed in said court within the time authorized by law. Its claim before the Department was not finally determined until after the bar of the statute had attached.

The rejection of the claim by the Department was based upon the ground that its purchases having been made in 1863 from parties occupying an enemy relation, the bank failed to acquire title to the cotton, and had therefore no valid claim to its proceeds. If the case stood alone upon the contract for the purchase of the cotton in 1863 the correctness of this ruling could not be well questioned. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in Montgomery *vs.* United States, 15 Wallace, 395, and Mitchell *vs.* United States, 21 Wallace, declare that such contracts of purchase would fail to confer a valid title to the property, and your committee at the present session of Congress have reported against a bill granting relief as to the proceeds of property in a case where the party, by his purchase from inhabitants of insurrectionary districts in violation of the non-intercourse laws of the United States, failed to acquire a valid title. So that if nothing appeared in the present case except the bank's purchase of the cotton in 1863 from venders residing within the Confederate lines, it could not be distinguished from the Mitchell claim, and would be controlled by the principles applied in that case.

But there are important particulars in which the present differs from the Mitchell case. The bank's contract for the purchase of the cotton was not completed in 1863, or during the period of actual war. It had paid and the venders had received the purchase-money, but the cotton remained in the possession of the venders under an agreement for its future delivery. If the venders had subsequently refused to make delivery and complete the contract, and the bank had tried then, either during or after the war, to recover the cotton, it would have been nonsuited in any court of the United States if the illegality of the contract had been pleaded, or if the same had appeared to the court in the course of the trial. The planters did not, however, avail themselves of the illegality of the contract, but, on the contrary, recognizing the moral obligation which rested upon them, after receiving the purchase-money, they voluntarily completed the contract and delivered the cotton over to the possession of the bank after the war had actually closed.

Was this delivery, which appears to have been made subsequent to June 30, 1865, in contravention of law or of the non-intercourse acts and regulations of the Government? If the parties could at that time have lawfully made an original contract with each other for the sale and purchase of the cotton in question, it is difficult to see any valid reason why they could not then, without violation of law or public policy, recognize as binding and complete a contract previously entered into, no intervening rights having attached. Sunday contracts are generally prohibited or forbidden by law; but, when completed on Monday, by delivery, their validity can not be impeached. The controlling question, therefore, in the present case is, could these parties lawfully hold commercial intercourse with each other when the cotton was delivered; or rather, was such delivery, either as an original transaction or as the consummation of a previous agreement, in violation of law?

On the 24th June, 1865, the President of the United States, by proclamation issued under authority of law, expressly ordered that "all restrictions upon internal, domestic, and coastwise intercourse and trade, and upon the purchase and removal of products" lying west of the Mississippi River (excepting those relating to property heretofore purchased by the agents or captured by or surrendered to the forces of the United States) are annulled. Under this express authority given by law, the bank could legally have purchased this cotton. The venders could lawfully have sold or given it to the bank. When the venders, after this proclamation, delivered the cotton to the bank, it was in effect either a new sale based upon the valuable consideration previously received, or a voluntary relinquishment and donation of all their rights and title to the property. But suppose it is treated as the affirmation or confirmation of the contract of purchase made in 1863, what rule of law or principle of public policy forbids the ratification of that contract after June 24, 1865, before the Government had seized or captured the cotton? As a general proposition, void, as distinguished from voidable, contracts can not be confirmed, for the reason that the same legal objections arising from positive law or public policy continue to operate when the confirmation is attempted which existed at the formation of the original contract. But when that is not the case, when the law or public policy that originally vitiates the contract has been changed, when the legal objections to such contracts have ceased to operate, there is no reason why the parties thereto may not lawfully ratify or reaffirm their agreement.

If this position is correct, the act of the venders in ratifying and completing their contracts by delivery of the cotton after the restrictions upon commercial intercourse had been removed, conferred upon the bank a title to the property just as valid as though the contract had been first entered into at the date and place of delivery; so that the case is narrowed down to this, that after all hostilities had terminated and the President had, by his proclamation, removed all restrictions upon trade in the districts formerly declared to be in insurrection, the bank applied to the planters who agreed to sell it their cotton in 1863, and requested them to recognize and complete their agreement and confer upon the bank the possession and ownership of the cotton. This they might have refused to do, but feeling the moral obligation arising out of the receipt of the money the bank had paid them, they freely delivered the cotton to the agent of the bank when it was lawful for them to hold intercourse and before any intervening rights of the Government had attached.

Under those circumstances the transaction may well be termed either a valid confirmation of a former contract, or a new sale as of the date of such delivery, or a gift. When the cotton was so received in 1865 it must be admitted that the

possession which the bank thereby acquired was a legal one. The cotton had never been captured "*flagrante bello;*" it had never been abandoned or seized as such; consequently the United States never acquired the right of seizure coupled with possession before the bank perfected both its title and possession. Whether the agents of the Treasury Department had any authority in law for seizing this cotton in the possession of the bank at the several dates already given is, in the opinion of your committee, a matter of such grave doubt, to say the least of it, as to make this a proper case for the decision of some competent judicial tribunal. What the bank now asks is that it may be permitted to sue in the Court of Claims, and that said court shall hear and adjudicate the case as though it had been instituted within six years after the seizure of the cotton by the officers of the Government.

The proceeds of the cotton are in the United States Treasury, placed there by the alleged wrongful acts of special agents of that Department. The bank prosecuted its claim to these proceeds before the Department, hoping for a favorable decision, until its remedy in the Court of Claims was barred by the statute of limitations. Again, claimants in this class of cases were not supposed by the legal profession to have any remedy in the Court of Claims until the Klein case was decided in December, 1871. Under those circumstances the bank, having been guilty of no "laches," should not be deprived of the opportunity to have its claim passed upon by the Court of Claims. It would certainly be against conscience for the Government in a case like the present to keep this money and deny to the bank the privilege of establishing its superior right thereto. Your committee accordingly recommend the passage by the Senate of the accompanying bill.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI NEAR ALMA, WIS.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I call up the bill (S. 2816) to authorize the construction of a bridge for railway purposes across the Mississippi River between the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota, to be located north of and in vicinity of the city of Alma, Wis.

The bill was read for information.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Chairman, is that bill on the Private Calendar?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that it is.

Mr. NELSON. I desire to offer an amendment, to come in at the end of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill is not open to amendment at this stage. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to inquire of the Chair whether this is the same bill about which we had a controversy on last Friday.

Mr. NELSON. It is.

Mr. MORGAN. Does the gentleman from Minnesota now say that he will insist upon a quorum for the passage of this bill?

Mr. NELSON. I shall offer as an amendment the same bill that I offered last Friday.

Mr. MORGAN. But do you intend to call a quorum?

Mr. NELSON. I do intend to call a quorum on this bill unless mine is accepted as an amendment.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, I shall make the point of order against the gentleman's amendment. I know the bill that he proposes to offer.

Mr. MORGAN. I hope my friend from Wisconsin will withdraw the bill if it is to be antagonized.

The CHAIRMAN. This is all out of order. Is there objection to the consideration of this bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSON. I offer the amendment which I send to the Clerk's desk, to come in at the end of the bill. I do not care to occupy time in reading the amendment beyond the first section.

The Clerk read the first section of the proposed amendment, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the city of Duluth, a municipal corporation in the State of Minnesota, or its assigns, or any legally incorporated railroad company or companies which may be associated with it therein, be, and is hereby, authorized to construct and maintain a bridge and approaches thereto over the ship-canal and upon the Government piers of the same through Minnesota Point, being the entrance to the Duluth Harbor from Lake Superior, if upon consideration of a board of engineer officers, to be specially selected for the purpose, a bridge can be built without serious injury to the canal as an entrance to the harbor, and then only upon the plans and at the location recommended by the board and approved by the Secretary of War; said bridge shall be constructed to provide for the passage of railway trains, and further provide for the passage of wagons, street-railway cars, and vehicles of all kinds, for the transit of animals and foot-passengers, for such reasonable rates of tolls as may be approved from time to time by the Secretary of War.

Mr. NELSON. Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not care to have the amendment read further, but I wish to make a statement, if the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is willing.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I make a point of order against the amendment.

Mr. NELSON. I am entitled to have the whole amendment read, but I will waive that right if I can be allowed to make a brief statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] makes the point of order.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; on the ground that the amendment is not germane to the bill under consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] asks unanimous consent that he may be permitted to make a statement.

There was no objection.

Mr. NELSON. The only statement I desire to make is that the remainder of the bill which I have sent up as an amendment is like other bridge bills. The first section, the section that has been read, is to authorize the city of Duluth to construct a bridge across the canal entrance to its harbor, provided that a board of engineers, to be appointed by the Secretary of War, shall decide that such a bridge can be built without obstructing navigation. This amendment does not propose to allow the bridge to be constructed until the board of engineers report that it can be done without injury to navigation. If the engineers say it can not be done, the bridge is not to be built. I am compelled to take this course because I have tried several times during this session to pass this bill, but objection has always been made by the gentleman from Wisconsin, not the gentleman who has now called up the bill, but the gentleman [Mr. HAUGEN] within whose district this proposed bridge across the Mississippi is to be built. The bill which I have called up as an amendment has been called up by the Committee on Commerce and has been objected to, and the point of "no quorum" has been made against it, and again I have called it up myself and objection has been made. The bill called up by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] is to authorize the construction of a bridge from his State across the Mississippi into my State, while my amendment is a bill for the construction of a bridge wholly within my State. The attitude which the gentleman [Mr. HAUGEN] assumed in reference to my bill compels me to take this course, which I have never taken with regard to any other bill, and which I adopt now simply as a matter of self-protection.

I am unwilling to take up further time in this matter, and am very sorry that this controversy has arisen. Whatever may be the merits of the controversy, there is nothing between the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] who now calls up this bill and myself.

Mr. LAGAN. I wish to ask the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] by whom this board of engineers is to be appointed?

Mr. NELSON. By the Secretary of War.

Mr. LAGAN. Are they to be United States engineers?

Mr. NELSON. They are to be United States engineers, appointed by the Secretary of War; and that board is to determine whether a bridge can be built. If the board should decide unfavorably it will not be built.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] will state his point of order.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. My point is that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] is not germane to the bill under consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is well taken. The amendment is not in order. The question is on laying this bill aside to be reported favorably to the House. Before putting that question the Chair will state that some amendments were heretofore adopted to this bill, and it has been read as amended. The question is now on laying the bill aside to be reported favorably to the House. [The question was put.] The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. NELSON. I call for a division.

The question being again taken, there were—ayes 22, noes 1.

Mr. NELSON. No quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. I hope the gentleman from Wisconsin will withdraw the bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Chairman, if I may be permitted to call up another bill, I will withdraw this, as I do not wish to obstruct the business of the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. NELSON. I trust the gentleman may be allowed that privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman will be allowed to call up another bill, this being withdrawn. The Chair hears no objection.

WILLIAM TABB.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I ask for the consideration of the bill (S. 741) for the relief of William Tabb.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States be, and is hereby, directed to pay to William Tabb, of Spottsylvania County, near Fredericksburgh, Va., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $2,149.75, being in full for supplies taken from him during the years 1863 and 1864, by and for the use of the United States troops.

There being no objection, the Committee of the Whole proceeded to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I do not desire to make any remarks on this subject.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on laying the bill aside to be favorably reported to the House.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I think the report had better be read.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It is very short.

The report of the Committee on War Claims (by Mr. THOMAS, of Wisconsin) was read, as follows:

The facts out of which this bill for relief arises will be found stated in Senate report from the Committee on Claims of the present Congress, a copy of which is hereto annexed for information.

Your committee adopt the said report as their own, and report back the bill and recommend its passage.

[Senate Report No. 59, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 741) for the relief of William Tabb, have considered the same and respectfully report:

We adopt the report made by Mr. HOAR from this committee in the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress and recommend the passage of the bill.

"This is a claim for property alleged to have been taken from the claimant in part in May, 1863, by forces under the command of General Joseph Hooker, and in part in May, 1864, by forces under command of Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant. It appears from the evidence on file that the claimant was born in England; that he came to this country in 1848 and has since resided in Spottsylvania County, Virginia; that in 1856 he declared in one of the courts in said State his intention to become a citizen of the United States and to renounce all allegiance to foreign powers, in the manner prescribed by law; that in 1870 he took his final oath and received his naturalization papers.

"On the 16th day of September, 1872, he presented his claim to the Southern Claims Commission. The reports of that commission show that the claim was never prosecuted before them. The claimant alleges that he did not prosecute his claim before the commission because informed by his counsel, after having presented his claim, that the commission had said that they would not take jurisdiction of the cause, owing to the fact that the claimant was not, at the time of the taking of the property, a citizen of the United States. The claimant further alleges that his counsel informed him that the commission advised a petition to Congress.

"Upon this state of facts the claimant made a petition to Congress in 1874, that being two years after he had filed his petition before the Southern Claims Commission.

"There seems to be no doubt as to the claimant's loyalty, it being established by the testimony of several witnesses, including his neighbors and Union soldiers. Your committee are of the opinion that, so far as the character of the claimant is concerned, there is nothing which should deprive him of relief from Congress. The Southern Claims Commission held that they had no jurisdiction because the claimant was not a full citizen in every sense of the word; but he surely was so far a citizen as to entitle him to protection of his rights and property from this Government. The oath declaring his intention to become a citizen of the United States was an act of expatriation, after which he could not claim redress through the British Government.

"The claim is for quartermaster and commissary supplies taken to the value of $2,148.75. No vouchers were given by the officers taking the property, which is explained by the fact that Mr. Tabb and his family were sick at the time with diphtheria. There is evidence showing that on one of the occasions two of Mr. Tabb's children were lying dead in the house from that disease. But there is other satisfactory proof that property belonging to the claimant of the amount and value alleged was taken for the use of the Army.

"A favorable report in the case was made in the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress, recommending that the Southern Claims Commission be given jurisdiction of the claim. Since that commission ceased to exist, it has been the usual way in such cases to recommend the passage of a bill authorizing the Quartermaster-General to examine the claim and report to Congress the facts. This claim, however, is for a small sum, and the proof as to the amount and value of the property taken is very satisfactory.

"Your committee therefore recommend that the bill pass."

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

HEIRS OF MARTIN KENOFSKY.

Mr. LAGAN. I ask for the consideration of the bill (S. 1671) for the relief of the heirs of Martin Kenofsky.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the heirs or legal representatives of Martin Kenofsky, the sum of $4,992.50, in full of all demands for and on account of the claim of the said Kenofsky for the proceeds derived from the sale of $4,992.50 of gold coin belonging to him and used in the service of the United States.

There being no objection, the Committee of the Whole proceeded to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. LAGAN. I move that the bill be laid aside to be favorably reported to the House.

Mr. OATES. I would like to hear the report read.

The report of the Committee on War Claims (by Mr. STONE, of Kentucky) was read, as follows:

The committee find the facts to be as stated in Senate Report No. 483, first session Fiftieth Congress, which report is hereto annexed and made a part of this report, and is as follows:

[Senate Report No. 483, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

Your committee, to whom was referred Senate bill 1219, for the relief of the heirs of Martin Kenofsky, find that Martin Kenofsky, a Prussian subject, was a resident of Grenada, in the State of Mississippi, in 1864; that he was a man of Union sentiments; that he converted his possessions into gold, amounting to $4,992.50; then started for Memphis, at that time occupied by the Union forces, was seized within the lines, his gold taken from him, and he cast into prison, from which he was discharged without trial, and without any restoration of his property. The gold was converted into currency, realizing $8,861. By authority of military officers in command, this money was used for military purposes, contrary to law and the regulations of the Treasury Department. It should have been covered into the Treasury.

The claimant was industrious in pursuing his remedy, commencing at once, in 1865, by application to the Secretary of War, and continuing without cessation until his death in 1880. Then his widow petitioned Congress for relief, but died, pending its hearing, in 1881, leaving seven children in destitute circumstances. The authorities of the Widows and Orphans' Home of New Orleans and friends of the family then petitioned Congress for relief. No laches can be charged against the claimants.

The United States have had the benefit of this money; it was not justly exposed to confiscation; it should have been in the Treasury to-day, subject to the disposal of Congress, and in the opinion of your committee justice requires that, notwithstanding it was never covered into the Treasury, having been committed to the use of the Army contrary to law, this money should be paid to the legal heirs of Martin Kenofsky, and they accordingly report back the bill referred, with an amendment striking out the words "eight thousand eight hundred and sixty-one dollars," in the sixth and seventh lines, and inserting instead thereof the words "four thousand nine hundred and ninety-two dollars and fifty cents," with the recommendation that as amended it ought to pass.

Mr. DINGLEY. Is the amount covered by this bill simply the par value of the gold coin referred to?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. It is simply the par value.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

JESSE DURNELL.

Mr. LANHAM. On behalf of my friend from Illinois [Mr. LANE], who is now absent from the city, I desire to call up for consideration the bill (H. R. 9211) for the relief of Jesse Durnell.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay Jesse Durnell, of Effingham, Ill., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,312.50, being the amount due him for seventeen and one-half months' difference in pay between that of first-class and second-class pilot in the Mississippi Squadron.

There being no objection, the Committee of the Whole proceeded to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. LANHAM. This bill provides simply for paying this claimant the difference between the salary of a first-class and a second-class pilot. The case has been examined by the Committee on Claims, and the allowance of the claim is unanimously recommended.

The amendment reported by the committee was read, as follows:

In line 6 strike out "three" and insert "two," and in line 7 strike out "twelve" and insert "thirty-seven;" so as to make the amount appropriated in the bill $1,237.50.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

C. C. ROBERTS.

Mr. LAWLER. I desire to call up the bill (H. R. 3557) for the relief of C. C. Roberts.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to cause to be paid to C. C. Roberts the pay and emoluments of a first lieutenant of volunteers from the 4th day of April, 1863, to the 1st day of November, 1863, for services rendered as first lieutenant in what was then de-ignated as the Fourth Regiment of Ullman's brigade Colored United States Volunteers, with interest at 4 per cent. on the amount due from November 1, 1863, to the day when this act shall be in force and become approved.

SEC. 2. That the amount of money necessary to pay for the services of the above-named claimant be, and is hereby, appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

There being no objection, the Committee of the Whole proceeded to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. MORRILL. I would like to hear the report read.

The report of the Committee on War Claims (by Mr. LAWLER) was read, as follows:

The bill authorizes the Secretary of War to pay C. C. Roberts the pay and emoluments of a first lieutenant of infantry from April 4, 1863, to November 1, 1863.

Proof filed in support of the bill shows that C. C. Roberts was one of a number of officers and privates of Maine regiments who were designated by Go ernor Coburn, by authority of the Secretary of War, to be detached from their various regiments for promotion in the colored brigade. The order of the War Department detaching these officers and men was dated March 25, 1863. The claimant served as first lieutenant from April 4, 1863, to November 1, 1863, and was not paid for said service by reason of a failure to be mustered into service. The other officers of the colored brigade were subsequently mustered into the service and paid, the claimant failing to be mustered by reason of sickness.

Your committee are of opinion that the claimant having performed the duties of a first lieutenant he should be paid, and report back the bill and recommend its passage, with the following amendments:

In line 5, after the word "volunteers," insert the word "infantry."

In lines 10, 11, and 12 strike out "with interest at 4 per cent. on the amount due from November 1, 1863, to the day when this act shall be in force and become approved."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments reported by the committee, and just read as the concluding paragraphs of their report.

Mr. SOWDEN. I wish to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LAWLER] whether the amendments strike out the provision in the bill for the payment of interest.

Mr. LAWLER. That provision is struck out by one of the amendments.

The amendments were agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on laying the bill aside to be favorably reported to the House.

Mr. DUNN. On that question I call for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 32, noes 1.

Mr. DUNN. No quorum has voted.

The CHAIRMAN appointed as tellers Mr. LAWLER and Mr. DUNN.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask, by unanimous consent, this bill be temporarily laid aside not to lose its place, and with the privilege on the part of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LAWLER] to call it up hereafter.

Mr. DUNN. Or with a privilege of calling it up to-day, if he deems proper to do so.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

PIPESTONE INDIAN RESERVATION, MINNESOTA.

Mr. NELSON. Unanimous consent was granted to my colleague [Mr. LIND] before he left the city, when his name was called to have me call up a bill for him, and in pursuance of that privilege I now call up for consideration the bill (H. R. 11128) for the disposition of the agricultural lands embraced within the limits of the Pipestone Indian reservation, in Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill will be read, after which objection will be asked.

The Clerk proceeded to read the bill.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MCMILLIN. This is a public bill, and does not come within the rule under which we are acting. I make the point of order in justice to gentlemen who have small private bills which they desire to call up. This is a long bill, and is accompanied with a long report. It is not fair to take up the time in reading the bill and report, which ought to be devoted to the consideration of private bills. It is unjust to gentlemen having those measures to call up. While I do not like to do any discourtesy to an absent member, I am compelled to insist upon my point of order.

Mr. NELSON. I admit the point of order made by the gentleman is well taken, and will therefore withdraw the bill. My colleague [Mr. LIND], in case the point of order should be made and the bill ruled out, gave me a private bill to call up, and I now ask for its consideration. The reservation to which reference is made in the other bill is only 1 mile square. But I withdraw that bill.

JAMES DEVINE.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to James Devine, of the county of Brown, in the State of Minnesota, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $700, for damages done to his land by the United States troops in cutting timber on the same for the building of Fort Hanska, and for fuel and other purposes, while in possession of said troops during the outbreak of the Sioux Indians in Minnesota.

Mr. NELSON. With the permission of the committee I will make a brief statement in reference to this matter. It is a bill which was introduced by my colleague [Mr. LIND] and referred to the Committee on Claims, which has reported it back favorably.

In 1862–'63 an Indian war broke out in the State of Minnesota. During that outbreak the State sent out troops to follow up the Indians. Those troops were mustered into the service of the United States. While in that service they took possession of this man's farm, cut down his timber, and used it in the construction of huts and for fuel. This bill merely provides for the payment of $700 to this man for the loss which he incurred.

Mr. KILGORE. These troops were there for this man's protection.

Mr. NELSON. No more for his protection than for the protection of other citizens in that neighborhood against Indian attacks. In this farm of 157 acres there were 40 acres covered with valuable timber. That timber was cut down and used by these United States troops in the construction of huts and as fuel. For this loss this man has never been compensated, and the object of the bill is to recompense him in that regard.

Mr. KILGORE. How much does he claim?

Mr. NELSON. He claims $700. It has been favorably reported.

Mr. KILGORE. Read the report.

The report (by Mr. LAWLER) was read, as follows:

The Committee on War Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 3765) for the relief of James Devine, have considered the same and respectfully report:

A bill (H. R. 1150) for the relief of this claimant was introduced in the Forty-second Congress, second session, and referred to the Committee on Claims. That committee reported the bill favorably, and upon a full examination of the evidence on file in support of the claim this committee finds that the report of that committee (No. 1587) is in accordance with the facts, and the same is hereby adopted and attached hereto.

Your committee accordingly report back the bill and recommend its passage.

[House Report No. 1587, Forty-sixth Congress, second session.]

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 1150) for the relief of James Devine, have considered the same, and respectfully report:

That James Devine was the owner of certain lands in the State of Minnesota, namely, the SE. ¼ of SE. ¼ and lot No. 6 of section No. 28, and lot No. 8 of section No. 33, and the NW. ¼ of NW. ¼ of section No. 34, in township 108, range 31, containing 157 acres, 60 acres of which was timbered. During the Indian outbreak, known as the Sioux massacre of 1862, Company I, Minnesota Mounted Rangers, was stationed on said land for the protection of the settlers and built a stockade or fort thereon, 100 feet long, 75 feet wide, and about 10 feet high. They also built on said land four buildings of various sizes. All the logs, roofing, and shingles for said buildings were taken from the land of Devine. The troops occupied the fort, and used timber for fuel for a period of two and one-half years, and when the troops were removed they took some of said houses with them to other locations.

James Devine testifies that he was at the time the troops occupied the land, and is now, the owner thereof, having a patent for the same from the United States; that there is 157.72 acres of land, 60 of which was timbered; that less than one-fourth of said timber was left standing, the balance, 40 acres, being cut by the troops. The value of timber land at that time was from $20 to $50 per acre, and his loss by said damage was not less than $700, and at the time said timber was taken he was a resident of Milwaukee, Wis., and did not return to his land in Minnesota until 1866; that he has never received any pay or compensation for said loss.

Guttora Thorsdson and Tergrim Tergrimson testify that they own and live on lands adjoining the lands of James Devine; that there was no timber cut on said land before the troops entered thereon to build the fort. The timber land at that time in the vicinity of Devine's land was worth from $20 to $50 per acre; that the troops were there for two and one-half years, and the damage to Devine by loss of timber was not less than $700.

Iver Iverson testifies that he knows the property of James Devine, and to his positive knowledge there was no timber cut off said land previous to the occupancy by the troops, and that the loss to Devine was not less than $700.

John Hauenstein, a second lieutenant of Company I, Minnesota Mounted Rangers, testifies that he commanded said company at Fort Hauska, in township 108, range 31; that the fort and buildings were being erected during the time he had command; that the logs, roofing, shingles, etc., were taken from the land of James Devine; that Fort Hauska was built on Devine's land, and to the best of his knowledge there was about 60 acres of timbered land, and the actual loss at the time to James Devine's property by the destruction of the timber was not less than $700.

Mr. Devine being a resident of the State of Wisconsin from 1857 until 1866, when he returned to Minnesota, he learned for the first time that the State had adjudicated such claims, for which the United States reimbursed the State.

A bill for the payment of damages was presented to the State Legislature, which received a favorable report, was passed to a third reading and defeated because the time expired that had been set for the State to pass on such losses.

Mr. Devine's absence from the State kept him in ignorance of the method of prosecuting his claim until some years after the property had been taken. When he was aware of the manner in which such property was paid for, he presented his claim to the Legislature of the State of Minnesota. Payment was refused, it being a claim against the United States.

Your committee believe the property was taken by the troops for their use, and that the amount asked for the same is just and reasonable, and recommend the passage of the bill.

Mr. SOWDEN. What evidence is there that these troops were mustered into the United States service? The report says they were State troops.

Mr. NELSON. My colleague [Mr. RICE] was a citizen of the State at that time, and knows the fact, which he will state, that they were mustered into the United States service.

Mr. RICE. It is the fact that these troops at the time were mustered into the service of the United States.

Mr. SOWDEN. The gentleman from Minnesota has answered my question that these State troops had been mustered into the service of the United States, and that is satisfactory.

There was no objection; and the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

E. J. ALDRICH.

Mr. LYMAN. I call up for present consideration the bill (H. R. 3155) for the relief of E. J. Aldrich.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That jurisdiction be, and the same hereby is, conferred upon the Court of Claims to try and determine, upon its merits, the claim of E. J. Aldrich, of Pottawattamie County, State of Iowa, against the United States for cotton seized and appropriated in the States of Arkansas and Louisiana, any statutes of limitation to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided*, Suit be commenced in said court within six months next after the passage of this act.

Mr. ROGERS. My attention was temporarily distracted while this bill was being read; will the gentleman state the purport of it?

Mr. LYMAN. It refers a claim for cotton to the Court of Claims. The claimant commenced a suit in the Court of Claims, but he was too late, not having commenced it before the statute of limitations applied. He is an old gentleman, apparently not familiar with the law; and for this or some other reason the claim was not presented in time. This simply removes the bar of the statute.

Mr. ROGERS. What committee does it come from?

Mr. LYMAN. From the Committee on War Claims.

Mr. ROGERS. Is this for a portion of the proceeds of the captured and abandoned property fund now in the Treasury?

Mr. LYMAN. I can not answer the question.

Mr. ROGERS. I would like to hear the report.

Mr. CULBERSON. Let the report be read.

The report (by Mr. THOMAS, of Wisconsin) was read, as follows:

The beneficiary, E. J. Aldrich, claims to be the owner of a claim once owned by one H. A. Millen, for cotton seized and appropriated by the United States Government. In 1871, prosecution therefor was commenced in the Court of Claims. In December, 1876, a motion was filed to dismiss the case on the ground that the cause of action was barred by the statute of limitation; which motion was afterwards sustained. The claimant is an old man and greatly in need financially of the relief demanded if he is entitled thereto. His loyalty is unquestioned and unquestionable, and his claim appears to have merit in it. The bar of the statute of limitation prevents him from establishing the same. All he asks in the bill is that this bar may be removed, and he permitted to establish his claim, if he can, in the Court of Claims.

The committee recommend the passage of the bill.

Mr. CULBERSON. I ask the attention of the gentleman from Iowa for a moment, to inquire on what this claim is based, on what statement of facts it is presented? The report does not show.

Mr. LYMAN. I can not answer as to the facts, because I do not know.

Mr. CULBERSON. As I understand the report, it states that the beneficiary is the assignee of a claim in favor of one Millen against the Government, but it does not state what the claim is for.

Mr. SENEY. What is the claim based upon?

Mr. CATCHINGS. It says in the report for cotton.

Mr. CULBERSON. I would like to have the first clause of the bill again reported.

The bill was again read.

The CHAIRMAN. The first question is, Will the committee consider the bill.

Mr. CULBERSON. Permit me first to ask if this bill provides that there shall be an absolute judgment against the Government, or simply that the court shall report the findings?

Mr. LYMAN. That there shall be a judgment for whatever the court finds due. I assume that the court will take care of all incidental questions that may arise in connection with the investigation

of the claim; and the point is that this removes the bar of the statute of limitations to allow the consideration of the claim.

Mr. CULBERSON. I do not think this bill ought to pass.

Mr. SENEY. What is the amount of the claim?

Mr. LYMAN. I do not know.

Mr. ROGERS. I would like to know something further about this case. The gentleman from Iowa does not seem to be familiar with the facts. What State does it come from, where does the claimant reside, and who has charge of it?

Mr. LYMAN. The claimant lives in the county in which I reside, and I introduced the bill for his relief at his request. I know the claimant, but do not know the facts in the case.

Mr. ROGERS. I would like to make an observation or two.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will first submit the question whether the committee will consider the bill.

Mr. ROGERS. I am asking unanimous consent to be heard for a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection the gentleman will proceed.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, as strong a case, perhaps, as could possibly be submitted to the House was presented by the report from the Judiciary Committee accompanying the claim of Mr. Noble, who has since died. That claim after a full and exhaustive discussion in a full committee of the House was defeated on the call for a quorum. The general sentiment of the House at that time was, and I think the justice of all this question is, that all of the claimants for any portion of this property should be allowed to go into the Court of Claims and let their claims for this money or any portion of it, which the Supreme Court of the United States have held belongs to these people and not to the Government, be adjudicated and settled forever. Now, I am willing, so far as I am concerned, and so far as this case is involved, to concede that this man has a claim. I do not know anything of the case and will not deny that he has a claim; but I do not think we ought to consent to suffer one individual to go in and have consideration and the other side to be kept out if there is merit. It is not fair play. It is not the proper way to deal with such a question. If any of them are entitled to any portion of this property, then all persons under like circumstances are entitled to some proportion of it, and should be entitled to have their share of it. I think in all such cases we ought to pursue that policy, and not be diverted from it in the consideration of an individual case.

Mr. OATES. That is the principle on which Noble's claim was defeated.

Mr. ROGERS. That is what I have just stated. Out of personal friendship and committee associations I reluctantly yielded to my friend from Alabama, who was interested in that case, and made no minority report; but my judgment is that the proper way to deal with the question is to pass a bill for the purpose of letting these people all go into the Court of Claims, and there let the matter be adjudicated between them and a distribution made of the funds.

And there is a matter about this bill which does not obtain in reference to others, and that is that there is a statute of the United States, founded in a wise public policy, which is directly in the teeth of this bill. That statute prohibits anybody from bringing a claim against the Government where he obtains it as assignee. In other words, only original claimants shall be permitted to make claims against the Government.

I trust my friend from Iowa, who is a good lawyer, will understand the motives which prompt my action in this matter. I never object in such cases unless there is a principle involved which I think sufficiently important to invite attention to the case itself, and I regard this as a question of that character.

Mr. CULBERSON. In addition to what my friend from Arkansas has said, there is a general bill now on the Calendar providing for the very object the gentleman has in view; that is, the removal of the bar of the statute of limitation—two reports, one from the Committee on War Claims and one from the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. LYMAN. I will support the general bill when it is presented.

Mr. CULBERSON. We have never had an opportunity to bring it up.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, Shall the bill be considered?

The question was put; and the Chairman announced that more than a sufficient number had objected, and consideration was refused.

MELCHISEDEC ROBINSON.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 10099) for the relief of Melchisedec Robinson.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the claim of Melchisedec Robinson, of Benton County, Mississippi, for quartermaster stores and commissary supplies taken by or furnished the United States Army during the war for the suppression of the rebellion, be, and the same is hereby, referred to the Court of Claims, with all the vouchers, papers, proofs, and documents pertaining thereto, and the same shall there be proceeded in, under the rules and practice of said court, upon the said proofs, vouchers, and documents and such other testimony as may be introduced by either party, and when the facts shall have been found both as to the loyalty of the said Melchisedec Robinson when this claim originated and thereafter to the close of the war, and the merits of his said claim, the court shall thereupon report to Congress the facts as established by the evidence, with its opinion as to the compensation or relief, if any, which should be allowed the said claimant.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill? The Chair hears none.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

JAMES IREDELL MEARES.

Mr. McCLAMMY. I ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 5480) for the relief of James Iredell Meares.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to pay to James Iredell Meares, deputy collector of customs at Wilmington, N. C., the sum of $612, this being the amount of money stolen from the safe of the collector at Wilmington, N. C., and paid by the said James Iredell Meares.

SEC. 2. That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Mr. OATES. I did not hear the amount of money involved.

The Clerk read as follows:

Six hundred and twelve dollars.

Mr. OATES. I would like to hear the report read.

The report (by Mr. SIMMONS) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred House bill 5480, having considered the same, submit the following report:

The claimant in this bill, James Iredell Meares, was in 1885, and is now, special deputy of customs at Wilmington, N. C. On Saturday night, the 21st of November, 1885, or Sunday night, the 22d of November, same year, the building in which the collector of customs for that collection district had his office was entered by burglars and the combination safe, in which the moneys and records of said office was kept, was broken open (the said Meares being the cashier of said office, and having the custody of said moneys and records), and the sum of $612 of the money belonging to said office was taken therefrom.

Mr. Meares is shown to be an honest man, a most excellent and faithful officer, and the affidavits make it clear that the burglary was not the result of any negligence or fault of his.

He not only immediately made the money thus taken good to the Government, but without waiting the action of the Department, employed R. J. Southall, chief of the detective system of the Atlantic coast line system of railroads, to ferret out and bring to punishment the criminals, who for three months worked at great expense to Mr. Meares trying to find a clue to the mystery, but without results.

Every fact necessary to bring this claim within the line of precedents is clearly made out by the affidavits of a number of creditable witnesses, and your committee, without any hesitation, recommend that the claimant be indemnified, as provided in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MONUMENT AT FREDERICK, MD.

Mr. McCOMAS. I ask consideration of the joint resolution (H. Res. 73) providing for the erection of a monument at Frederick, Md., over the grave of Francis Scott Key, the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the sum of $10,000 be, and is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of erecting a monument over the grave of Francis Scott Key, the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," at Frederick, Md., which said sum shall be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, who shall have the management and control of the selection of and the erection of said monument.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that the resolution is on the Union Calendar and not on the Private Calendar. It would therefore not be in order.

Mr. McCOMAS. Then I ask unanimous consent for its consideration, as it is for a small amount of money and for a monument over a grave which is not in a public place.

Mr. ROGERS. This is a special order under which we are proceeding, and I do not think, where unanimous consent is given to consider a special order, that the committee at a subsequent hour of the day should change that order.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is well taken; and, objection being made, the joint resolution is not in order.

Mr. McCOMAS. Then I withdraw it, and I ask consideration of the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk instead.

There was no objection.

I. L. CAIN.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (S. 97) for the relief of I. L. Cain, and others.

The bill was read for information.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. OATES. The price fixed on the cotton mentioned in the bill is entirely too high.

Mr. McCOMAS. I offered this bill at the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BUTLER].

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, Shall the bill be considered? The Clerk read amendments that are not before the committee. The wrong bill was sent up by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. McCOMAS], and the bill which he desires to call up is a Senate bill which has not been read to the committee. The bill as it comes from the Senate has no amendments. The question is, Shall the bill be considered? Is there objection? [After a count.] More than a sufficient number of gentlemen have arisen to object to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. BUTLER. If the report be read I believe there will be no objection to the bill.

Mr. KILGORE. Regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the report if the gentleman from Tennessee so desires.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Chairman, the question has been submitted as to whether or not the bill shall be taken up, and the requisite number having signified their objection, I do not think we ought to consume any more time with this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is probably at fault in the matter. The gentleman from Tennessee asked to have the report read, and I think in justice to him that it should be done.

Mr. LANHAM. I hope the gentleman from Tennessee will not insist on the reading of the report. A sufficient number have signified their objection to prevent the bill being considered, and it will but retard the consideration of other bills to have the report read.

Mr. BUTLER. If the gentleman from Texas will remember, I called up that Senate bill, and on his suggestion I withdrew it with the understanding that I might at any other time bring it up in the House. I refrained from doing so, and the gentleman from Maryland not having anything to call up he called it up for me. We have passed a similar bill for $98,000 in favor of Mr. Dickinson. These are small claims. It has been reported on favorably by the Senate and by the House Committee on War Claims.

Mr. LANHAM. What I said was in the interest of economy of time, because a sufficient number of gentlemen have indicated their intention to object to the consideration of this bill.

Mr. BUTLER. If the report was read I do not think any gentleman would object.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not feel that a vote has been taken upon the question, as the Chair was in error.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not want to do anything that looks like being mean or contrary, as that does not belong to my disposition.

Mr. SENEY. Regular order.

Mr. BUTLER. All right. They are all good Democrats who are the beneficiaries in that bill.

The question was put as to whether the bill should be considered, and the Chairman announced that eight gentlemen had objected, more than a sufficient number, and under the rule the bill could not be considered.

WILLIAM R. WHEATON AND CHARLES H. CHAMBERLAIN.

Mr. MCKENNA. I call up the bill (H. R. 661) for the relief of William R. Wheaton and Charles H. Chamberlain, of California.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay to William R. Wheaton, ex-register, and to Charles H. Chamberlain, ex-receiver of the land office at San Francisco, Cal., jointly, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $3,800, being a portion of the amount deposited in the Treasury of the United States by them as fees for testimony which was taken by clerks whose compensation was paid from the private funds of said ex-register and said ex-receiver.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. KILGORE. I ask to have the report read.

Mr. MCKENNA. If the gentleman from Texas will give me his attention for a minute, I will state that the report is quite long, because it sets forth not merely the facts but the evidence, and I think I can explain the case very briefly.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to say to the gentleman from California that the fact that the report is very long is a suspicious circumstance. [Laughter.]

Mr. MCKENNA. Oh, no. It only shows the industry of the member who wrote it, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SHAW]. But the facts of the case are these: Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Wheaton were respectively register and receiver of the land office in San Francisco. Under a practice that obtained in the office the fees collected for taking testimony were allowed to be retained by the register and the receiver. The Department, however, ruled that the officers could not be allowed, as a matter of law, to retain the fees, and required them to deposit the amount of those fees in the subtreasury in the city of San Francisco, which they did. The amount deposited was about $5,000, somewhat more than the sum mentioned in the bill. Afterwards a salary of $100 a month was allowed to the register and the receiver for doing the very work for which they had charged fees, and this bill is to give them the money which they paid out for clerk-hire. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Only two members objected.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MILES F. WEST.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I desire to call up House bill 1156, for the relief of Miles F. West.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized to pay $474 to Miles F. West, of Macon County, Tennessee, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in full payment for quartermaster and commissary stores taken from him for the use of the Union Army during the late war.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the consideration of this bill?

Mr. KILGORE. Let the report be read.

The report (by Mr. STONE, of Kentucky) was read, as follows:

The Committee on War Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 1156) for the relief of Miles F. West, report as follows:

This is a claim for stores and supplies taken from the claimant's farm in Macon County, Tennessee, during the late war by the Army of the United States. Claim stated at $474.

The claim was filed in the office of the Quartermaster-General October 21, 1879. It was finally considered September 4, 1884, and not allowed for the reason that the Quartermaster-General was not convinced of the loyalty of the claimant.

Your committee are satisfied that the claimant never gave aid or comfort to the rebellion, but was throughout that war loyal to the Government of the United States; that the accounts are correct and just, and that the stores and supplies were taken as charged.

Your committee therefore report back the bill and recommend its passage.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the consideration of this bill?

Mr. MCMILLIN. I move to amend the bill in one particular. Either in draughting or in printing it the figures 7 and 4 have been transposed. The bill reads $474, but it should read $447. The change reduces the amount of the claim, but that is the just amount.

Mr. KILGORE. All I desire was to be satisfied of the loyalty of this man. [Laughter.] If the gentleman from Tennessee can give me any information upon that point I shall be obliged to him.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The proof shows that he was loyal during the war.

Mr. KILGORE. To which side? [Laughter.]

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

NICARAGUA MARITIME CANAL COMPANY.

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman, since the bill known as the Nicaragua Canal bill was objected to by six or seven gentlemen awhile ago, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] has prepared an amendment which satisfies the objections of those gentlemen, so ask I unanimous consent that the bill be now taken up, with the understanding that this amendment shall be added to it.

Mr. CULBERSON. I wish the gentleman to understand that I speak only for myself in regard to that amendment.

Mr. DUNN. I understand; but the other gentlemen have told me that they take the same view. I ask the Clerk to report the bill.

Mr. FULLER. I shall object to that bill being taken up on this day.

Mr. MORGAN. I wish to ask the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. DUNN] whether it will provoke any discussion.

Mr. DUNN. I am willing to make this agreement, that if gentlemen will let the bill be taken up, considered by the committee, and reported to the House to-day, it shall then go over for full discussion and amendment in the House to any day next week which may be designated.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I hope that will be assented to.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] withdraw his objection?

Mr. DUNN. Will the gentleman allow us to recur to the bill now?

Mr. FULLER. I do not think that bill should be considered on Friday, private bill day.

Mr. DUNN. I will agree that the bill, after it is reported to the House, shall be considered there on any day next week that may be designated.

Mr. FULLER. That is a bill which should be carefully considered section by section, and I must object to its being taken up to-day.

Mr. DUNN. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Can we not go back to the bill now unless there are five objectors?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thinks not, the bill having been called and objected to.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Chairman, the situation of the bill is this, as I understand it: I had a right to call up a bill when my name was reached, and I called up this bill, but gentlemen objected, and the bill had to be withdrawn. Now, have I not a right to call up another bill in place of that?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman would have had that right before his name was passed, but the Chair does not think he has that right now.

MARITIME CANAL COMPANY OF NICARAGUA.

Mr. MCRAE. I call up the bill (S. 1305) to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask that the reading of the bill be dispensed with at this time, as it has heretofore been read.

The CHAIRMAN. If there be no objection, the reading of the bill will be dispensed with.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, Shall this bill be considered?

Mr. MORGAN. What is the proposition of the gentleman from Arkansas with reference to discussion?

The CHAIRMAN. There is no proposition at all.

The question being put upon considering the bill, only one member objected.

So the Committee of the Whole proceeded to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. DUNN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] to offer an amendment.

Mr. CULBERSON. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

At the end of section 5 add the following:

"And nothing in this act shall be held or construed to in any manner involve the United States in any pecuniary obligations whatever, other than in respect to the payment of tolls, as provided for in this act."

Mr. DUNN. I hope this amendment, which is a cautionary matter, will be agreed to.

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. PHELAN. I offer the amendments which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to the preamble the following:

"And whereas the interests of the United States of America and of the North and South American Governments render it necessary that said ship-canal should be under the control and guaranty of the United States Government;

"And whereas the said canal when constructed will form a part of the coast-line which the United States would be compelled to defend in case of war."

Also insert, after section 4 of the bill, the following:

"SEC. 5. That the canal to be constructed under this act shall be under the control and protection of the United States, in order that the representatives of all the North and South American peoples may be guarded against any infringement or aggression on the part of foreign nations.

"SEC. 6. That tolls shall be equal upon the same class of tonnage for the vessels of all nations, except as provided in Article LIV of the concession and decrees of the Republic of Nicaragua to the Nicaragua Canal Association of New York.

"SEC. 7. The United States Government binds itself to protect all the rights of the citizens acquired under said concession and decrees, and guaranties the neutrality of the said canal and its operation under the terms of said concession and decrees, subject to the consent and approval by treaty or otherwise of the countries through which the said canal may be constructed."

Mr. DUNN. I hope these amendments will be agreed to. They are acceptable to the friends of this measure and to the country.

Mr. NELSON. I wish to inquire of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON], who introduced the first amendment, whether this last proposition does not to some extent neutralize the other.

Mr. CULBERSON. I think so.

Mr. PHELAN. If the gentleman will allow me to answer that question, I will tell him that in no respect whatsoever——

Mr. CULBERSON. Before the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN] commences his statement, I desire to inquire where this amendment is expected to come in.

Mr. PHELAN. One amendment is an addition to the preamble; the other proposes to insert three new sections as sections 5, 6, and 7, the numbering of the other sections of the bill being changed in accordance with this amendment.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN] whether his amendment conforms to the concessions and guaranties of the Nicaraguan Government in connection with the company seeking this charter?

Mr. PHELAN. I do not wish to bring up any question which might precipitate a discussion of our whole foreign relations in connection with the Nicaragua Canal; but I will say to the gentleman that the amendment I have drawn and submitted was prepared in careful conformity to the utterances of the State Department upon this subject from the time of the Presidency of General Grant to the present Administration. My object is to protect the United States in connection with this enterprise. Under this amendment the Government of the United States could not possibly be involved by the assumption of any financial obligation. The amendment is drawn for the purpose of enunciating clearly and distinctly in the terms of this bill the course which we propose to pursue if any discussion should arise in reference to that canal in the future. In other words, the amendment is drawn for the purpose of carrying out our construction of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that we repudiate the English construction.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I am perfectly satisfied with the gentleman's explanation.

Mr. CULBERSON. I think the House ought to hear that amendment read again.

The Clerk again read Mr. PHELAN'S amendment.

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. Chairman, I think this amendment changes the whole character of the bill. I have not had an opportunity to investigate this matter thoroughly; but my understanding has been all the while that the gentlemen who have petitioned Congress for the passage of this bill desired simply an act of incorporation. Further than that they have not asked and did not expect the Government to go. The bill as passed by the Senate and as now presented to the House, with the amendment I have offered, cuts the Government off from any connection whatever with this canal. But if the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN] should be adopted, our Government will be obliged to keep a standing army in that portion of the continent to protect the rights of this corporation. By the terms of the amendment the Government is bound to protect the interests of all persons concerned in the corporation. If this property should be destroyed by a foreign enemy or by any other means, our Government by this proposition binds itself to make good to these incorporators the amount of their loss.

Another thing. As I understand the reading of the amendment, and I have only heard it read at the Clerk's desk, the Government binds itself to secure to these incorporators their rights in any cession the Government of Costa Rica may grant. Now, I think if the amendment is adopted it becomes a Government project, and the Government will have to send a part of its army there to take care of it and to protect the rights of the people who desire to pass through it, and to protect the rights of property of these people.

It is an extraordinary demand to make on the Government of the United States, in the first place, to create a corporation outside of the limits of the United States, and, in the second place, it is a more extraordinary demand to bind the Government to protect the rights of those people in their property in that country, as must be done if that amendment be adopted.

Mr. PHELAN. If the gentleman from Texas will allow me a moment——

Mr. CULBERSON. I will yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. PHELAN. I would like to answer the statement made by the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. CULBERSON. How long?

Mr. PHELAN. Five minutes.

Mr. CULBERSON. I will yield to the gentleman for that time.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it still open to a point of order?

The CHAIRMAN. It is not.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas labors under a radical misapprehension of the terms of the amendment I have offered. If it purported what he seems to think it does, I would be of the members of this House the last to offer it and the very last to allow it to pass through this House without serious and earnest protest.

My amendment was drawn expressly for the purpose of preventing the very result which the gentleman from Texas is apprehensive may ensue.

The amendment has been drawn, as I have already said, in careful conformity with the utterances of the State Department from General Grant's administration down to the present time. The rights we have in the premises and the duties imposed in connection with this canal are not dependent on the grant of any particular charter; that is, we have those rights and we are compelled necessarily to protect them, it matters not whether this or some other company undertakes to construct this canal.

I offered the amendment for the purpose of serving notice on the investors of the world what our relations to that project were independent of the fact we granted that charter.

I will not enter into a discussion of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, but content myself with saying that there are two radically different and opposite constructions of it, one held by the diplomats of England and the other held by Mr. Blaine and every Secretary of State of the United States since.

My amendment was drawn in conformity with the utterances of our foreign policy on that subject, and not for the purpose of granting these incorporators any greater rights than they would have without it. On the contrary, the privileges they will have will be the same without as with the amendment.

The gentleman from Texas, therefore, is laboring under a misapprehension, and a serious misapprehension, in regard to the effect of the amendment. It was not drawn hastily, but after careful consideration of the subject, and with strict reference to the views of those who favor the United States side of the question. There is nothing binding us in any contingency to assume any financial responsibility in the matter. The grant to these corporators is no greater in the way of protection than the United States grants to any one of its citizens, no matter where he may be. It is to serve notice to the outside world of what our position is.

I have not time, and will not trespass upon the patience of the House, to enter upon any extended discussion with the gentleman from Texas, who is, as I have shown, laboring under misapprehension as to the effect of the amendment I have offered.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. Chairman, I think that sections 5 and 7 of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Tennessee are obnoxious to the objections I have suggested. The fifth section is simply the announcement of the Monroe doctrine in substance, that is to say that the Government of the United States grants and extends to this corporation a distinct announcement that it is bound to protect and defend the rights of the corporation against encroachments or infringements or aggressions on the part of any foreign country. In other words, the Government of the United States undertakes to protect North and South American people against any aggressions or infringements from foreign nations. That is the Monroe doctrine, as I understand it. That is to say, I understand the Monroe doctrine to be this in substance: that the Government of the United States would hesitate before permitting a foreign country or any foreign country to take possession of this canal and dominate these Central American Republics.

But now we are asked to agree to bind ourselves by this amendment in advance of any effort on the part of any foreign country to take possession of the canal. We agree, if we adopt this amendment, to protect the North and South American people, all of them, against invasions or aggressions from foreign nations. That is the substance of it.

The seventh section of the proposed amendment provides that the United States Government binds itself to protect all the rights of the citizens acquired under said concessions and decrees. I have not had an opportunity to investigate this subject fully, but I understand that this Government has made certain concessions to this company. They are, as I understand it, concessions of rights of way or lands, or some franchises in connection with the projected canal. But the Government of the United States binds itself by this amendment to protect all of the rights of citizens acquired under these concessions and decrees; and further guaranties the neutrality of said canal and its operations under the terms of the said concessions and decrees, subject to the consent and approval by treaty or otherwise of the countries through which the canal may be constructed. It also provides that this is to form a link of the chain of our national coast defenses. It provides:

And whereas the said canal when constructed will form a part of the coast line which the United States would be compelled to defend in case of war, etc.

The proposition is, therefore, if this amendment is adopted and if the bill is passed with that amendment embodied in it, to give notice to the whole world that the Government of the United States undertakes in advance to defend the interest of the incorporation in case of war against all aggressions. We make it an American institution. We plant an American institution in this foreign country and give notice that we will protect the interest of every man who acquires any title to the project under the decrees and concessions of this foreign government, and will defend such interests against aggression in time of war.

I repeat, therefore, sir, that I think these amendments change entirely the whole scope, object, and intent of the original bill.

I now yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] such time as he may desire.

Mr. PHELAN. Will the gentleman, before he proceeds, allow me a minute?

Mr. FULLER. Certainly.

Mr. PHELAN. I wish to say to the gentleman from Texas that I am entirely willing to accept any amendment which he may propose to the amendment I have suggested which will ingraft upon this bill a full enunciation of the Monroe doctrine. If the amendment I have drawn does not cover it, if the amendment is inartistically drawn, or is indefinite in any of its terms, I am perfectly willing and anxious to accept any suggestion in the way of an amendment that he may offer to make it clear and emphatic in that respect. The gentleman has unfortunately for myself and my position confused the relations we propose to occupy to the citizens who undertake this enterprise as American citizens and those which we propose to occupy towards the general enterprise itself. It would apply to the construction as well by German, French, or English capital. My object was to ingraft upon the bill the announcement of the Monroe doctrine. If I have not done so in the amendment, or if I have gone beyond that, I am willing to accept any amendment the gentleman may designate which will restrict it clearly to the limits designed to be covered by the amendment or will enlarge it to meet that point. That was the sole object I had in view in preparing the amendment.

Mr. CULBERSON. I do not think it is at all necessary for us to reaffirm the Monroe doctrine. All nations of the world understand our relations to that doctrine, and we can add no strength to our position by a reaffirmation here in this bill.

I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. PHELAN. But that doctrine is denied by England.

Mr. CULBERSON. That is very true; but we are not bound by that denial.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Chairman, this debate so far as it has proceeded satisfies me that I was correct in the position I took when I objected to the consideration of the bill at this time. I want to say that I am in favor of the building of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic with the Pacific; but this is the most gigantic legislation that has been before Congress for many years.

For the first time in the history of this country the United States Government proposes to charter a company to do business on foreign soil.

Mr. BAYNE. Oh, no; not the first time by any means.

Mr. FULLER. I think that this bill is of such importance that it should not be considered on Friday, when it is expected that only the ordinary private bills will be considered, and especially is it objectionable at a time when there are but about sixty members present on the floor.

I have not had an opportunity to examine the bill in all of its details, but I am satisfied from the cursory examination I have given to it that it is not surrounded by the proper guards; that it has not even the safeguards surrounding it that would surround an irrigating-ditch company in the State of Kansas or any mining corporation in the State of Colorado.

I say that this bill should be considered when there is a quorum present, and carefully considered. It is a new question, a great question, and I for one am not in favor of, and do not propose to permit this bill to go through unless there is a quorum present. I give notice of that now.

Mr. DUNN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question just there? How much time does the gentleman desire for the purpose of examining the bill?

Mr. FULLER. I will say that I think this bill should be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as there are legal questions involved. We have already heard from the chairman of that committee [Mr. CULBERSON], who gives one view as to the responsibility of the Government. Mr. PHELAN, who is a member of the Committee on Commerce, gives another. It is already evident that there is a division of opinion as to the legal questions; and I believe the bill should go to the Committee on the Judiciary upon the legal questions for consideration and report.

Mr. DUNN. But the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] has no trouble in reaching conclusions on which he will be satisfied. How much time does the gentleman from Iowa desire to satisfy himself? Will he agree to a day in the future?

Mr. FULLER. I certainly will.

Mr. DUNN. Will you name it now?

Mr. FULLER. I will name it.

Mr. DUNN. Name the day when you will allow the bill to be considered.

Mr. FULLER. I will be in favor of taking this bill up for discussion the second week of the next session.

Mr. DUNN. Oh, well, if the gentleman desires to be captious he can.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I desire to say to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] that this bill has been investigated thoroughly by the Committee on Commerce of this House; it has been before that committee a long while and carefully considered; and I will say to him that there are gentlemen on that committee who are very able lawyers—the chairman, the present acting chairman of the committee, and several others—who certainly have looked into this bill and its provisions in every point of view, and would not undertake to present to the House a bill unless it was correctly guarded. The giving of corporate powers by Congress is no new thing.

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. Chairman, I am entitled to the floor; and I desire to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. O'NEILL] a question. Did not the Committee on Commerce report adversely on this proposition offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN]?

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. CULBERSON. Then I understand that this amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee has been acted upon by the Committee on Commerce, and that the committee refused to report it favorably to the House.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. This bill has been reported favorably from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. CULBERSON. Without this amendment?

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. The amendments of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN] are those of his own suggestion. Mr. Chairman, I think this bill should be allowed to pass.

Mr. PHELAN. I beg the indulgence of the House for just three minutes. At the end of my remarks I will withdraw the amendment which has raised the objection of the gentleman from Texas.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN] to be allowed three minutes in which to make a statement? The Chair hears none.

Mr. PHELAN. So far as the question of constitutionality is concerned, the Committee on the Judiciary, which is composed of lawyers, have already passed upon that subject. When the question came up in the Committee on Commerce it was considered in full committee at three or four different meetings. It was considered carefully and at length. The amendments I offered were not amendments which were antagonized by any member of the Committee on Commerce except upon the proposition that this was a private charter, and it was inexpedient to ingraft upon a private charter any expression of our foreign policy.

Not for the purpose of defeating this bill, but in earnest protest against the proposed action, I offered this amendment. Now, in accordance with the manifest desire of the House, and with no view of applying that rule by which its passage may be obstructed, and having no desire to thrust my single individuality before the House and utilize the brute strength the rules of this House give for the purpose of enforcing my peculiar ideas or requiring a quorum to be present, I feel compelled to agree that a vote of the House shall be taken upon the bill without my amendment, and I withdraw my amendment. [Cries of "Vote!"]

The question was put as to ordering the bill to be reported to the House with a favorable recommendation.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. FULLER. Division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 33, noes 6.

Mr. FULLER. No quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise.

Mr. BAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BAYNE. Is not this question still pending?

The CHAIRMAN. The question is pending as unfinished business.

The motion of Mr. LANHAM was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. MCMILLIN having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. RICHARDSON reported that the Committee of the Whole had had under consideration the Private Calendar, and had directed him to report to the House sundry bills with various recommendations.

WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT TUNNEL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. BURNES. Mr. Speaker, I offer the concurrent resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That all work heretofore performed upon the Washington aqueduct tunnel, together with the provisions of any contract made for the same or any portion thereof, and all the facts and circumstances connected with the bidding for and letting and making of said contracts, and all expenditures of moneys heretofore appropriated for said work, together with the extent of any force employed in said work by the Government, the nature of the same and the compensation therefor, shall forthwith be fully investigated by a joint select committee of six members, of whom three shall be members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and three shall be members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker. Said committee shall have authority to employ a clerk, a stenographer, and such experts as it may deem necessary for the investigation. It may sit during the sessions of Congress or in recess, and shall have full power, either in full committee or in subcommittee, to administer oaths and send for persons and papers, and to conduct its investigation either in Washington or in such places as may be deemed necessary, and shall make full report of its proceedings and the conclusions arrived at, with such recommendations as it may deem proper to Congress on or before January 1, 1889.

Mr. DINGLEY. I desire to reserve the right to object until I learn why that matter is brought here in this form when it is now pending in conference.

Mr. BURNES. The lawyers of the Senate and the great lawyers of the Senate have suggested, with a good deal of force, that perhaps we have not the right or the power under our system of legislation to raise this joint committee in an appropriation bill. Therefore, in order to prepare the appropriation bill properly, it is necessary to get this first out of the way. We introduce this resolution, therefore, and appropriate the money necessary to conduct the investigation.

Mr. DINGLEY. That explanation is entirely satisfactory.

Mr. BURNES. The gentleman being satisfied, I now move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The concurrent resolution was adopted.

Mr. BURNES moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

PRIVATE BILLS PASSED.

House bills of the following titles, reported from the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, were severally ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, they were accordingly read the third time, and passed:

A bill (H. R. 5043) for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe of Indians, in the State of Wisconsin;

A bill (H. R. 2896) for the relief of the heirs of John R. Treutlen;

A bill (H. R. 11165) for the relief of John Gray;

A bill (H. R. 3715) for the relief of the National Bank of New Orleans, formerly Louisiana State Bank;

A bill (H. R. 3765) for the relief of James Devine;

A bill (H. R. 5480) for the relief of James Iredell Meares; and

A bill (H. R. 10099) for the relief of Melchisedec Robinson.

Amendments reported from the Committee of the Whole to House bills of the following titles were severally agreed to, and the bills as amended were severally ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, they were accordingly read the third time, and passed:

A bill (H. R. 7151) for the relief of A. N. Kimball and sureties;

A bill (H. R. 338) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of J. George Ruckstuhl;

A bill (H. R. 9211) for the relief of Jesse Durnell; and

A bill (H. R. 1156) for the relief of Miles F. West.

Senate bills of the following titles, reported from the Committee of the Whole, were severally ordered to a third reading, and were accordingly read the third time, and passed:

A bill (S. 741) for the relief of William Tabb; and

A bill (S. 1671) for the relief of the heirs of Martin Kenofsky.

WILLIAM R. WHEATON AND C. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 661) reported from the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar for the relief of William R. Wheaton and Charles H. Chamberlain, of California.

Mr. MCKENNA. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Claims be discharged from the further consideration of Senate bill No. 664, and that it be substituted for this House bill, with which it is identical.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the House will proceed to the consideration of Senate bill No. 664, in lieu of House bill No. 661, the two bills being, as stated by the gentleman from California [Mr. MCKENNA], identical in their provisions.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 664) for the relief of William R. Wheaton and Charles H. Chamberlain, of California, was taken up, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

House bill No. 661 was, by unanimous consent, laid on the table.

Mr. LANHAM. I move to reconsider the several votes by which these bills reported from the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar have been passed; and also move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ESTATE OF JOSEPH FENNO.

Mr. ROGERS. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 1190) for the relief of the estate of Joseph Fenno, deceased.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the legal representatives of Joseph Fenno, deceased, late of Little Rock, Ark., out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $580, for rent of buildings owned by him in Little Rock, Ark., which were occupied by the military authorities of the United States, under contract, from July 1, 1864, to January 30, 1865, and for which vouchers were given said Busby by said authorities.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. ROGERS. By a clerical or typographical error the word "Busby" appears in the last line of the bill instead of "Fenno." I move to amend by striking out "Busby" and inserting "Fenno."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to a third reading, was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. ROGERS moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

J. M. HOGAN.

Mr. MORROW. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 4489) for the relief of J. M. Hogan.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the claim of J. M. Hogan, of Stockton, in the State of California, for loss of property in consequence of depredations committed by Snake or Shoshone Indians in the year 1861, while *en route* through the Territory of Utah to the State of California; and that the sum of $6,600 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to pay the said claim of the said J. M. Hogan, said claim having been fully examined into by the Indian Bureau of the Interior Department, under rules and regulations promulgated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, with the recommendation for an allowance in the amount hereby appropriated, said claim having been duly reported to Congress, in pursuance to law, by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. KILGORE. I think, perhaps, the report in this case ought to be read. I am inclined to object to the bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Texas asks that the report be read, reserving the right to object.

Mr. MORROW. This claim was investigated carefully by the Indian Bureau, and was reported by the Interior Department to Congress for allowance. It has already been once passed by this House unanimously; but unfortunately it did not pass in the Senate.

Mr. KILGORE. The bill calls for a considerable amount of money.

Mr. MORROW. The money does not come out of the Treasury—not a dollar of it.

Mr. KILGORE. How is the claim to be paid?

Mr. MORROW. It is to be paid out of the funds of the Indians.

Mr. KILGORE. Well, I do not care much about it.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the bill, which was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time.

The question being on the passage of the bill,

Mr. SOWDEN said: I move that the House now take a recess.

The motion was not agreed to.

The question recurring on the passage of the bill, it was passed.

Mr. MORROW moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

JAMES SIMS.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 9297) for the relief of James Sims.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there be, and hereby is, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $6,338, to be paid to James Sims, of Marshall County, in the State of Mississippi, for quartermaster and commissary stores furnished by him to the Army of the United States in the years A. D. 1862 and 1863.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask that the report be read.

The report of the Committee on War Claims (by Mr. BLISS) was read, as follows:

The committee finds from the sworn statement of James Sims, Alfred Featherstone, and Manuel Sims that the claimant furnished quartermaster and commissary stores to the Army of the United States from December, 1862, to August, 1863, valued at $5,582. Receipts are also filed with the committee for a portion of the supplies enumerated in the sworn statement of claimant, which were given at the time by officers of the Army who took them. Also the following order from General Grant in his own handwriting:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
"*Holly Springs, Miss., January* 4, 1863.

"Mr. James Sims, living 8 miles southwest of Holly Springs, is authorized to retain four mules and the remainder of stock, grain, and provisions on hand.

"All United States troops are prohibited from further molesting or taking from Mr. Sims, he having already contributed largely to the support of the Federal Army.

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*"

This order shows that a large amount of supplies not covered by the receipts of officers were furnished by James Sims. Conclusive evidence is also filed showing claimant's loyalty.

The committee is of the opinion that this claim should be paid, and recommend the passage of the bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. KILGORE. I believe this claim ought not to be paid. I am inclined to doubt the proof of the claimant's loyalty. He lived in Mississippi during the war, and the pretense of a man down in Mississippi being loyal to the Government of the United States during the war is tolerably "thin." [Laughter.]

Mr. MORGAN. I presume I was just about as disloyal as the gentleman from Texas, for I was in the Confederate army from the beginning of the war until its close. I would be as unwilling as any one to pay the claim of a man not entitled to payment. But of course persons can prove their loyalty; and the Committee on War Claims, having investigated that subject, is satisfied that this man was loyal. I think the claim ought to be paid.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. KILGORE. Will not somebody over there object to it if I do not? [Laughter.]

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the bill; which was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MORGAN moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

WILLIAM ENGLISH.

Mr. ROCKWELL. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3721) authorizing the President to appoint William English an officer in the regular Army of the United States Army.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint William English a second lieutenant in the regular Army of the United States and to assign him to any vacancy in said rank existing therein.

Mr. SOWDEN. Let us have the report read.

Mr. ROCKWELL. I will make a statement of the facts, if the gentleman from Pennsylvania will allow me.

Mr. SOWDEN. I am willing to accept the gentleman's statement in lieu of the reading of the report.

Mr. ROCKWELL. The report of the Committee on Military Affairs in this case, which was made by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], not now present, is unanimous.

Mr. SOWDEN. What are the facts of the case?

Mr. ROCKWELL. I will state them in a moment. Two different courts-martial sat upon the cases of two officers of the Army, although the cases rested upon practically the same evidence. One of the officers was sentenced to six months' suspension and the payment of a fine of $50; the other officer was condemned to dismissal from the Army, though in the latter case there was substantially the same state of facts, or if anything there was reason for a lighter sentence than in the other case. The committee has unanimously reported this bill; and I am authorized by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], who presented the report, to say that the measure has his entire and hearty approval.

Mr. DINGLEY. What was the offense?

Mr. ROCKWELL. The offense——

Mr. SOWDEN. This is simply to restore the officer?

Mr. ROCKWELL. That is all.

Mr. DINGLEY. What was the offense alleged?

Mr. ROCKWELL. There were two charges, one that he committed some act unbecoming an officer and gentleman, and the other was for absence without leave. On this latter charge, absence without leave, he was found guilty, but on the other he was dismissed on the statement as embodied in the specifications; but they filed certain new specifications at the time of the trial, which the committee thought ought not to have been done.

Mr. DINGLEY. It was not for habitual drunkenness?

Mr. ROCKWELL. No, sir.

Mr. OATES. He was charged with some immoral conduct?

Mr. ROCKWELL. For some conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. The case has been reported unanimously by the committee.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. OATES. I did not hear the reading of this bill. Does it require the appointment absolutely, or leave it discretionary with the President?

Mr. ROCKWELL. It authorizes the appointment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The bill will be again reported.

The bill was again read.

Mr. OATES. I take it that it does not require the President to make the appointment, but only authorizes him.

Mr. ROCKWELL. Not by any means. It has been brought to the attention of the President, and meets his approval in that form.

Mr. OATES. If it only leaves it to his discretion I have no objection.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. ROCKWELL moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ST. CLAIR FLATS SHIP-CANAL.

Mr. CATCHINGS, from the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, by unanimous consent, reported back favorably the bill (H. R. 11445) for completing the dredging of the St. Clair Flats Ship Canal, Michigan; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

HENRIETTA M. SANDS.

Mr. TRACEY. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 1089) for the relief of Henrietta M. Sands, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy, and put it upon its passage.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Henrietta M. Sands, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy, the sum of $370.50, being the sum due to the decedent under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Graham and Temple cases as the difference between actual traveling expenses allowed and the mileage due for travel performed by decedent upon duty under orders in June, 1861.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. KILGORE. Let the report be read, so that we can wind up the evening on that case.

The report (by Mr. TIMOTHY J. CAMPBELL) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred Senate bill No. 1089, for the relief of Henrietta M. Sands, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy, have considered the same, and respectfully report that a report on this bill was made to the Senate at this session of Congress (Senate Report No. 415), and your committee adopt said report as their own, which is appended hereto, and report the bill back and recommend its passage.

[Senate, Report No. 415, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

The Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1089) for the relief of Henrietta M. Sands, widow of Rear-Admiral Sands of the United States Navy, have considered the same, and respectfully report:

This claim is for the balance of mileage due under the law to the estate of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy, for travel performed by him under orders in June, 1861. Under the construction put by the accounting officers of the Treasury upon the act of 1835, officers of the Navy had been notified that mileage would only be allowed where the travel was performed within the United States, and simply actual expenses when they traveled outside of the United States. It was only by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Graham and Temple cases (105-110, U. S. Reports) that officers were informed of the erroneous ruling of the accounting officers, and all who had only received actual expenses claimed, and the accounting officers allowed, and Congress appropriated the money to pay them the difference between what had been allowed and what was due as mileage, a great many of the cases being for travel under orders dating prior to 1850.

The amount due to the late Admiral Sands has been stated by the Second Comptroller, in an opinion laid before the committee, to be $370.50, which he says he could not certify to Congress, as the amount allowed for actual expense of travel was in the accounts of a coast survey officer, and so came under another bureau of the Treasury Department, which declined to consider it.

It is clear that this sum was due to Admiral Sands, and that it has never been paid. It is about the only such claim that remains unsettled. The estate of Admiral Sands, which was solvent, has been closed by the administrator, wherefore it is that the money so due is made by the bill payable directly to the officer's widow, who is the residuary legatee; and your committee recommends the passage of the bill as just and proper.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to a third reading; and being read the third time, was passed.

Mr. TRACEY moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

WILLIAM J. SOWELL.

Mr. PEEL. I ask unanimous consent to take up and pass the bill

(H. R. 2025) to place William J. Sowell on the rolls of the Arkansas Volunteers. I ask to discharge the Committee of the Whole from its further consideration, and pass the bill. It does not appropriate a dollar.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, directed to place the name of William J. Sowell on the rolls of Capt. Thomas J. Williams's company (B), First Arkansas (six months') Infantry Volunteers, as having enlisted June, 1862, and to enter him as having died in service on the 7th day of October, 1862; and all pay, bounty, and pension due under any laws of the United States on account of his services and death shall be paid to the parties thereto entitled.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed, and read the third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. PEEL moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

And then (the hour of 5 o'clock having arrived) the Speaker *pro tempore* declared the House in recess under its previous order until 8 o'clock p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House at 8 o'clock p. m. was called to order by Mr. MCMILLIN, who directed the reading of the following communication:

SPEAKER'S ROOM, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, October 5, 1888.

DEAR SIR: I hereby designate Hon. BENTON MCMILLIN, of Tennessee, to preside as Speaker *pro tempore* at the session of the House this evening.

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

Hon. JOHN B. CLARK,
Clerk House of Representatives.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. LYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit a parliamentary inquiry. Some few weeks ago the Senate bill 3018, granting a pension to John N. Bovee, passed the committee and was reported to the House, the question being upon its third reading. I wish to ask if it is proper to call that bill up now, or if it can be called up the first bill after the committee shall rise to-night?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Iowa that in the regular order this bill will be reached first when the committee rises to-night.

Mr. LYMAN. That is satisfactory to me.

Mr. YODER. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider bills on the Private Calendar, under the special order.

The motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, Mr. BACON in the chair.

Mr. MORRILL. Mr. Chairman, I ask consent that the same order of business be pursued to-night as on last Friday; that is, that the roll be called and each member be allowed to call up a bill as his name is reached.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

ELLEN WHITE DOWLING.

Mr. FULLER. I call up the bill (S. 1481) granting a pension to Ellen White Dowling.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Ellen White Dowling, a volunteer nurse in the Army during the war of the rebellion, and pay her a pension of $25 a month, during life, from and after the passage of this act.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1481) granting a pension to Ellen White Dowling, submit the following report:

The papers submitted to your committee in this case fully substantiate the statements made in the report of the Committee on Pensions in the Senate, and their report is adopted and the passage of the bill recommended, with an amendment striking out the words "twenty-five" and inserting "twelve."

[Senate Report No. 1066, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

The applicant is one of the army of noble and patriotic women who rendered such valuable service in caring for the sick and dying soldiers of the late war. She entered the Massachusetts General Hospital to prepare for field service, and while there cared for many wounded soldiers sent home from the first battle of Bull Run. She left this hospital intending to go to the field, when she was instated in the Armory Square Hospital as first volunteer nurse. Here she served faithfully until May, 1863, acting not only in the capacity of nurse, but as surgeon's assistant during painful operations, when her delicate woman's nature was subjected to the severest nervous strains. Her system has never recovered from the fatigues and shocks of this service, and the committee, after a careful review of the evidence, are convinced that she is entitled to national recognition, and therefore recommend the passage of the bill.

The amendment was adopted.

The bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MARY J. FOSTER.

Mr. GIFFORD. I call up the bill (S. 3030) granting a pension to Mary J. Foster.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place upon the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Mary J. Foster, widow of Milton S. Foster, late a private in Company A, Fifth Regiment Kansas Cavalry.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3030) granting a pension to Mary J. Foster, submit the following report:

The claimant in this case is the widow of Milton S. Foster, of Company A, Fifth Kansas Cavalry, who enlisted August 4, 1861, and was discharged April 20, 1865. In her declaration for pension she declares that her husband contracted catarrh in the service and died therefrom December 16, 1872. The case was rejected on the ground that the soldier's fatal disease was consumption, and it was not proven to have been due to his military service. The prisoner of war records show that he was captured at Marks Mills, April 26, 1864, and released at Red River Landing, February 26, 1865. The assistant surgeon-general United States Army reports that no hospital records of the Fifth Kansas Cavalry were ever on file in this office, so the claimant is unable to show by the hospital records the incurrence of the disease in the service.

A. Thomas testifies that Foster was a strong, healthy man at the time of his enlistment, and that the exposure and hardships of his prison life were the main cause of his injury, which afterwards resulted in his death; that he knew him after the war, and that his constitution was completely broken down.

Other witnesses testify to his robust health at the time of his enlistment, and that he was broken down in health at the time of his discharge.

The evidence submitted to your committee seems to establish the fact at the time of his discharge from the service that he was suffering from catarrh in the head, which gradually increased until the bones of his face began to decay, and until, as one witness testifies, it seemed as if the whole inside of his head was rotten.

His death was caused by consumption, which your committee are satisfied was the natural sequence of the diseased condition of his head, and they therefore recommend the passage of the bill.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. LAWLER. I would suggest to the House that the call of the roll be dispensed with, and that when an initial is announced gentlemen may rise and ask for the consideration of a bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee can not dispense with the order of the House, which requires the call of the roll.

MARY ANN SHOOK.

Mr. JOHNSTON, of North Carolina. I call up for consideration the bill (H. R. 2702) granting a pension to Mary Ann Shook.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Mary Ann Shook, widow of Joseph G. W. Shook, late a private in the company of Daniel Hake in the war of 1812, and to pay her a pension from and after the passage of this act.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill which the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON] has sent up has an amendment written in it.

Mr. JOHNSTON, of North Carolina. It is merely a misprint. The name in the bill should be "Daniel Hoke," instead of which it is printed "Hake." I offer that amendment.

The report (by Mr. HENDERSON, of North Carolina) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2702) granting a pension to Mary Ann Shook, have considered the same and report as follows:

The claimant is the widow of Joseph George Shook, who she declares was a soldier for the period of ten weeks during the war of 1812, under Captain Hoke, of the North Carolina Infantry, and was discharged about March 25, 1815.

Her claim has been rejected by the Pension Bureau on the ground that there is no evidence in the Third Auditor's office, Treasury Department, that her husband was ever in the military service.

The following certificate from the records on file with the State officers of North Carolina shows that a service was rendered in the company alleged:

"NORTH CAROLINA, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT,
"*Raleigh, January 5*, 1885.

"This is to certify that upon the original manuscript muster-rolls of the war of 1812, of the North Carolina troops mustered into the service of the United States, appears the name of George Shook, as a private in the company commanded by Capt. Daniel Hoke, of Lincoln County. That company was of the Seventh Regiment, of which Andrew Irwin was lieutenant-colonel commandant.

"FRED. A. OLDS, *Clerk in Charge of Records.*"

A further statement from Mr. Olds is to the effect—

"That Lieutenant-Colonel Irwin's regiment was ordered to rendezvous at Wadesborough, Anson County, March 1, 1815, a requisition having been made by Maj. Gen. Thomas Pinckney for one regiment to march to the defense of the southern frontier of the sixth military district of the United States. Our records were in part destroyed in 1868, and so I can not give the dates of muster in and muster out."

The claimant is ninety-two years of age.

Your committee are of the opinion that the records on file in the archives of the State should be accepted as sufficient to establish the fact of the service of the claimant's husband. They recommend the passage of the bill.

The amendment was agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered to be laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

ABBIE L. HAM.

Mr. DINGLEY. I was detained this evening and my name was called when I was absent. I ask unanimous consent that I may call up a bill at this time.

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGLEY. I call up for consideration the bill (S. 3197) granting a pension to Abbie L. Ham.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and

limitations of the pension laws, the name of Abbie L. Ham, widow of John S. P. Ham, late captain of Company C, Thirteenth Maine Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. GALLINGER) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3197) granting a pension to Abbie L. Ham, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to submit the following report:

Abbie L. Ham is the widow of John S. P. Ham, late captain of Company C, Thirteenth Regiment Maine Volunteers. The widow's application was rejected on the ground that her husband's death was not due to his service.

The records of the War Department show that the soldier served as second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain, respectively, from December 4, 1861, to January 6, 1865.

Dr. Bates, late surgeon of Ham's regiment, testifies to his suffering from attacks of chills and fever, the result of climatic influences and exposure; that he was a sound, able-bodied man when he entered the service; that at the battle of Sabine Cross-Roads, Louisiana, on the 8th of April, 1864, he was severely wounded in the abdomen and hip by a rifle ball, which entered in front at the lower portion of the abdomen, by the side of the bladder, and passed through the body and lodged in the hip; that he dressed said Ham's wound as he was brought off the battle-field; that he had the reputation of being a brave soldier in his company during his service in the Army.

Dr. Donovan, who knew the soldier twelve years as a neighbor, commenced to treat him professionally in October, 1876; was called to treat him January 5, 1882; found him in a high degree of mental excitement; feverish, pulse accelerated, left arm and leg paralyzed. Upon examination of the heart aortic and mitral murmurs were discovered. Paralysis and delirium continued until January 15, when he died. The diagnosis was cerebral hemorrhage, due to degenerate changes in cerebral arteries. His early death, occurring at the age of fifty years, dependent on organic disease of the heart and brain, in one whose family history has been so exceptionally good, inclines deponent to believe that the soldier's gunshot wound, the general severity of army life, and the damaging effects of malarial infection led to the development of cardiac disease and then to the cerebral affection which resulted as described. This theory seems more probable, since, as it is alleged, he was in a sound physical condition at the time of his enlistment.

Dr. Horr knew the soldier since 1870. He belonged to a large family, who were vigorous and healthy, and was considered to have inherited a vigorous constitution. During the last few years of his life he appeared to be failing in health and growing old prematurely. Deponent first visited him professionally January 8, 1882, in consultation with Dr. Donovan. He was partially conscious, one-half of his body paralyzed, valvular murmurs were heard, and some irregularity of the heart was noted. The case was diagnosed as one of cerebral hemorrhage, from degenerative disease of the blood-vessels, or possibly embolism with hemorrhage infraction. The disease of blood-vessels and heart were believed to have existed for a long time. Five days later they consulted again. The symptoms were more intensified; was in a comatose condition. The scar was nearly over the left hip-joint, the ball having entered the lower part of the abdomen and made its exit near the left trochanter major. Death occurred two days later, and deponent is of the opinion from information obtained by examination and from the history of the case that the disease which caused his death had its origin from malarialpo isoning and other enfeebling agencies to which he was exposed while in ser vice.

This deponent was late an assistant surgeon in the Army and a practitioner of medicine over twenty-two years. A special examiner says he stands at the head of his profession in Maine, and his reputation is excellent.

Amos Nevens testifies to the soldier's soundness before enlistment; lived near him since his boyhood, worked with him and had a good opportunity of judging. From the time of his return home from the Army to the date of his death he was never a well man. He suffered every year from frequent chills and fever and nervous prostration, which was attributed to his wound. They occurred about once a month. Deponent worked with him much of the time, and was a partner with him in the mill and grain business.

The reputation of this witness, as well as that of all who testify, is admitted to be of the best.

The Adjutant-General reports that he was discharged January 6, 1865, and that he was then "present, sick." Amos Nevins, who knew him from his boyhood, says he was sound prior to enlistment, and that he was never well after he returned from the Army.

The long and faithful service of Captain Ham, his serious disability from the wound and disease due to his military service, as well as the opinions of the attending physicians, afford your committee ample justification in returning the bill with the recommendation that it do pass.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MARGARET M. HATCH.

Mr. LAWLER. I ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 5751) for the relief of Margaret M. Hatch.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension law, the name of Margaret M. Hatch, mother of William E. Hatch, deceased, formerly of Company B, Seventh New York Heavy Artillery.

The report (by Mr. LANE) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred House bill 5751, submit the following report:

The claim of Margaret M. Hatch, mother of William E. Hatch, deceased, formerly of Companies A and B, Seventh New York Heavy Artillery, for mother's pension, No. 264917, was rejected January 7, 1884, for the reason that there was no record or other evidence showing that the soldier's fatal disease, hemorrhage of the lungs, was owing to his army service, and claimant is unable to furnish such proof.

The testimony on file in the War Office and Pension Office shows that soldier received a gunshot wound of shoulder and chest in the battle of Cold Harbor, in June, 1864, for which he was sent to the hospital, and that afterward he had partially recovered and returned to his regiment, and that he was discharged with his regiment in 18 5.

The mother claims that the wound of shoulder and chest affected soldier's lungs, and that he had lung trouble at the date of his discharge and continuously to the date of his death. Soldier died in Buffalo, N. Y., of hemorrhage of the lungs, October 27, 1867.

Dr. Thorn, the family physician, who treated soldier immediately after his return home and thereafter, is dead.

The mother says the doctor told her, when her son first returned home after discharge, that the ball had taken a downward course in the chest, and would be apt to cause hemorrhage of the lungs, which proved in the end to be true.

Claimant's husband, the father of the soldier, was a dissipated man, and died in 1878. She is now old, about seventy-eight years of age, and feeble and unable to support herself; has no real estate, and but little personal property, and no one legally bound to support her.

The record further shows that the soldier was a sound man when he enlisted; that he was in the hospital for treatment from June to August, 1864, after receiving the said wound, and that the ball remained in the body, and Dr. Thorn said, when the soldier first returned home, that the ball had taken a downward course in the chest, and the soldier died October 27, 1867, of hemorrhage of the lungs, as the coroner's inquest shows; and an equitable construction of the testimony shows that the soldier died from the injury received in battle.

The committee therefore recommend that the bill do pass.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

WILLIAM A. MATHES.

Mr. KILGORE. I call up for consideration the bill (H. R. 8521) for the relief of William A. Mathes. I call it up for Colonel MATSON, the next governor of Indiana. [Laughter and applause.]

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, instructed to place the name of William A. Mathes, late of Company B, Eighteenth Regiment Volunteer Infantry, on the pension-roll, subject to the conditions and limitations of the pension laws.

The report (by Mr. MATSON) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 8521) for the relief of William A. Mathes, having considered the same, beg leave to submit the following report:

This soldier is pensioned at $30 per month for loss of right arm, as provided by the general law. The next highest rate fixed by law is $50, which is for a condition of total helplessness, requiring the regular aid and attendance of another person. He has been examined, and a board of surgeons recently determined that he was not in that condition, but it was shown by that examination that he had another wound on the remaining hand that greatly disables it, so that he nearly approaches the condition of helplessness.

This wound of left hand was received in battle at the same time the wound of right arm was received, and for the two disabilities it is the judgment of the committee that he should receive a pension of $45 per month; and they therefore ask that said bill do pass, with the following amendments:

In line 4, strike out the words "place the name" and insert instead the words "increase the pension," and strike out all after the word "regiment," in line 5, and add these words: "Indiana Volunteers, to $45 per month, in lieu of the pension now paid him."

The amendments offered by the committee were agreed to, and the bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

SARAH C. TAYLOR.

Mr. LAFFOON. I ask consideration of the bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Sarah C. Taylor, a volunteer nurse in the Army during the war of the rebellion, and pay her a pension of $25 a month, during life, from and after the passage of this act.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor, submit the following report:

The Committee on Pensions in the Senate submitted a report which, upon a careful examination of the papers in the case, your committee find to contain a clear statement of the case, and they thereupon recommend the passage of the bill with an amendment striking out "twenty-five," in line 6, and inserting "twelve."

"[Senate Report No. 962, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

"The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor, have examined the same and report:

"That the claimant was a volunteer Army nurse in the military hospitals of the Government during the war of the rebellion. She entered the service October 15, 1862, and as appears from the sworn statement of Dr. Thurston, assistant surgeon, United States Army, she remained in the service three years, until the close of the war.

"It appears from the evidence that she was a faithful, valuable, and efficient nurse during all this period, and that her services were much needed and highly appreciated. Considering the nature of these services, the laborious details of attention and attendance upon the sick and wounded soldiers of the Government, the care and anxiety incident to an employment so kind, so beneficent in its objects, we do not hesitate to say that such a woman has earned the right to recognition and compensation very nearly, if not equivalent, to that accrued by service in the field for the same period."

We therefore recommend the passage of the bill, more especially as she is now over sixty years of age and without means of support.

The amendment proposed by the committee was agreed to, and the bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

WILLIAM SMITH.

Mr. LYMAN. I ask consideration of the bill (S. 1926) granting a pension to William Smith.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, at the rate of $45 per month, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of William Smith, late a private in Company H, Ninety-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, this act to take effect from its passage, and the pension hereby granted to be in lieu of that which he is now receiving.

The report (by Mr. LYNCH) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1926) granting a pension to William Smith, have had the same under consideration and respectfully report:

William Smith enlisted as a private in Company H, Ninety-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, January 1, 1864; discharged June 14, 1865, on surgeon's certificate of disability because of "amputation of left leg, upper third, for gunshot wound received at Fisher's Hill, Va., October 22, 1864." He was pensioned August 18, 1865, at $8 per month, on account of amputation of left leg. Said pension has been increased from time to time. Claimant now receives $30 per month.

From the papers on file in the Bureau of Pensions it is apparent that the claimant suffers intense neuralgic pain from the stump of his leg; that he is frequently compelled to discard his artificial limb, owing to severe suffering from its use; that his general health is very poor from general debility, and that he is unable to perform manual labor to any extent.

In addition to the loss of his left leg below the knee, he suffered, not long ago, a comminuted fracture of the thigh of the same leg by an accident.

Your committee recommend that the bill be amended by striking out the word "fifty" and inserting the word "fifty-five" in fifth line of the bill, and that it be passed as amended.

Mr. MORRILL. I think the recommendation to strike out "fifty" and insert "fifty-five," which would be contrary to the rules of the committee, is an error.

Mr. LYMAN. The bill proposes to grant a pension at $45 and the recommendation seems to be an error. The Senate bill fixes the pension at $45. I think there should be no amendment offered at all. The Senate bill is just as the committee recommended that it should be passed.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill as printed fixes the pension at $45.

Mr. LYMAN. The amendment proposed in the report is certainly a mistake.

The amendment was disagreed to, and the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

W. J. TAPP & CO.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 332) for the relief of W. J. Tapp & Co.

The bill was read for information.

Mr. MORRILL. I raise the point of order that that does not come under the order for Friday evening sessions.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands the order for Friday evening sessions restricts the House to the consideration of bills reported by the Committee on Pensions and Committee on Invalid Pensions. This seems to be a bill reported by the Committee on Claims, and the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. MARTIN. I will withdraw that bill.

There was no objection.

DAVID HEINBACH.

Mr. MARTIN. I ask consideration of the bill (S. 1219) granting a pension to David Heinbach.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of David Heinbach, Company G, One hundred and seventy-third Pennsylvania Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1219) granting a pension to David Heinbach, having considered the same report as follows:

The committee adopt and make part hereof the report of the Senate Committee on Pensions, and recommend the passage of the bill. The Senate report is as follows:

[Senate Report No. 462, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1219) granting a pension to David Heinbach, have examined the same and report:

This claimant enlisted in Company G, One hundred and seventy-third Pennsylvania Militia, November 2, 1862, and was mustered out August 18, 1863. He claimed pension for a rupture caused by falling from a bridge which he was assisting to build over Goose Creek, Virginia, August 1, 1863. He received no hospital treatment, as he swears his captain, who was also a physician, treated him. His claim was rejected by the Pension Office because he could not obtain evidence that he received the injury in the service. There is ample evidence that the rupture did not exist at the time of enlistment, and that it does exist now, but the claimant swears that he is unable to furnish the evidence required by the Pension Office by reason of the death of his captain and the only two of his comrades who knew and could testify to the facts.

Your committee are of opinion that this is a meritorious case, and recommend that the bill do pass.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MARY M. ORD.

Mr. McKENNA. I ask consideration of the bill (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Ord.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Mrs. Mary M. Ord, widow of the late General E. O. C. Ord, and to pay her a pension at the rate of $100 per month, in lieu of the pension she is now receiving.

The report (by Mr. SAWYER) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary M. Ord, have had the same under consideration and beg leave to submit the following report:

The beneficiary named in the bill is the widow of the late Maj. Gen. E. O. C. Ord.

Upon the death of General Ord the following order was issued by the War Department:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"*Washington, July 24, 1883.*

"With profound sorrow the General of the Army announces the death, at Havana, Cuba, at 7 o'clock on the evening of the 22d instant, of Maj. Gen. Edward O. C. Ord, retired, and lately brigadier-general and brevet major-general on the active-list.

"General Ord was graduated at the Military Academy and appointed second lieutenant in the Third Artillery July 1, 1839. Having passed through the several grades, including that of lieutenant-colonel in the artillery arm, he received his appointment as brigadier-general of the permanent establishment on the 26th of July, 1866. He had, on the 14th of September, 1861, for service in war, been appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, and on the 2d of May, 1862, major-general of volunteers. He was mustered out of the volunteer service September 1, 1866.

"For gallant services in action at Dranesville, Va., Iuka, Miss., the Hatchie, Miss., and at the assault of Fort Harrison, Va., he received, successively, the brevets of lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general, United States Army. He served in the Florida war against the Seminole Indians, on the Pacific coast in the war against Mexico, and in Indian campaigns on the same coast.

"In the Army of the Potomac he was brigade and division commander; in the Army of the Tennessee he commanded the left wing from August to September, 1862, and subsequently he commanded, successively, the Thirteenth, Eighth, Eighteenth, and Twenty-fourth Corps, and the Army of the James. He was severely wounded in the battle of the Hatchie, Miss., and was wounded in the assault and capture of Fort Harrison, Va.

"Since the late war he has at different times commanded the Departments of Virginia, the Ohio, Arkansas, California, the Platte, Texas, and the Fourth Military District.

"He was retired on the 6th day of December, 1880, and by act of Congress approved January 28, 1881, he became a major-general on the retired-list. Retirement did not close his active life, for immediately thereafter he engaged in civil pursuits and continued therein until death suddenly came upon him.

"Distinguished among his country's defenders, General Ord was a soldier of national repute. Through his long military service, reaching towards half a century, his career has been marked by faithful, devoted, and intelligent discharge of duty, by personal gallantry, by honest administration, and by a firmness which was not weakened by his great kindness of heart. As his intimate associate since boyhood, the general here bears testimony of him that a more unselfish, manly, and patriotic person never lived.

"By command of General Sherman.

"GEO. D. RUGGLES,
"*Acting Adjutant-General.*"

Mrs. Ord is now in receipt of a pension of $50 per month, under act of Congress, approved July 5, 1884. She was married to General Ord October 15, 1854, at San Francisco, Cal., and is now a resident of that State. Having exhausted her limited means in support of an invalid daughter, she is now poor and not able to maintain herself and daughter, who is dependent upon her, on present pension, which is her only resource.

In view of her dependence and the long and eminent services of her gallant husband, your committee report favorably on the accompanying bill, and ask that it do pass, amending the same by striking out the words "one hundred" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "seventy-five."

The amendment recommended by the committee was agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered to be laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

NANCY POLOCK.

Mr. MOFFITT. I ask consideration of the bill (S. 2567) granting a pension to Nancy Polock.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Nancy Polock, widow of W. A. Polock, late of Company C, First Nebraska Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2567) granting a pension to Nancy Polock, submit the following report:

The report of the Committee on Pensions in the Senate sets forth fully the facts in this case and is herewith adopted, and the passage of the bill recommended.

SENATE REPORT.

William A. Polock, the late soldier, was a second lieutenant in Company C, First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, from April 30, 1863, to October 3, 1865. He was pensioned at the rate of $6 per month from October 4, 1865, to March 30, 1882, the date of his death, on account of rheumatism contracted in the service. Application of Nancy Polock, widow of said soldier, was filed August 23, 1882, and rejected August 30, 1885, on the ground th t the soldier's fatal disease of kidneys was not a result of the rheumatism for which he was pensioned.

The records of the War Department show that the above-mentioned soldier contracted rheumatism in the service, and the evidence in the case shows that the said disability continued to the time of his death. He also had varicose veins of right leg, said to have resulted from rheumatism.

In her affidavit, filed May 5, 1885, claimant states that it is impossible for her to furnish medical evidence showing the pathological connection between the rheumatism for which her late husband was pensioned and the chronic diarrhea from which he died, because he never allowed physicians to attend him, and he was attended by no doctor during his last sickness. In affidavit filed June 18, 1885, claimant states that two years prior to soldier's death he suffered from dropsy in his back and right leg, and affection of the kidneys, causing swelling of his hands, arms, and lower extremities; that his heart was also affected as a result of rheumatism.

In affidavit filed April 23, 1883, Moses M. Conner, of Brownville, Nebr., testifies that he waited on the late soldier for eight days next preceding his death, and is satisfied that he died from dropsy, a result of rheumatism.

In affidavit filed April 23, 1883, Dr. Charles F. Stewart, of Brownville, Nebr., testifies that he has been a practicing physician for twenty years; that he was called to see the late soldier about fifteen hours before his death, which was caused from dropsy; that he found upon examination a large ulcer upon right leg, which he supposed to be a varicose vein; that he was informed by soldier's family that no physician had been employed in the case.

In a letter filed May 19, 1885, Dr. Stewart states that he found the soldier in a dying condition when he arrived at his bedside, and consequently made but a casual examination of him; that having never seen the soldier professionally before, it is impossible for him to say what pathological connection there might have existed between his rheumatism and dropsy.

In affidavit filed December 21, 1885, Dr. Alfred Crane, of Brownville, Nebr., testifies that claimant suffered two years prior to his death from a kidney complaint caused by a varicose ulcer, chronic diarrhea, and rheumatism.

In an affidavit filed September 27, 1887, Paul H. Douglas, of Brownville, Nebr., testifies that soldier's former wife died September 3, 1854, and his testimony is corroborated by Moses M. Conner, of Brownville, Nebr.

The marriage of claimant to soldier is certified to be a transcript from the record of Scott County, Illinois.

There are now minor children surviving the late soldier.

John M. Thayer, governor of Nebraska; Thomas J. Majors, state senator; Wilson E. Majors; J. H. Bradley, district judge; F. E. Johnson; S. M. Rich, mayor of Brownville; R. T. Rainey, postmaster; Theodore Hill, and others, in a petition dated February 3, 1888, state that the soldier died March 30, 1882, from the effects

of chronic diarrhea and muscular rheumatism, contracted in the service, and that his widow, Mrs. Nancy Polock, is now in very indigent circumstances.

The facts in the case warrant favorable action, and your committee therefore report a bill and recommend the passage of the same.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

EASTER A. JACKSON.

Mr. MORRILL. I ask consideration of the bill (S. 3241) granting a pension to Easter A. Jackson. The report is quite lengthy, and I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the report be dispensed with.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to place upon the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the general pension laws, the name of Easter A. Jackson, widow of Moses H. Jackson, Company D, First Tennessee Mounted Infantry.

There was no objection, and the reading of the report was dispensed with.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) is as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3241) granting a pension to Easter A. Jackson, having had the same under consideration, submit the following report:

The report of the Senate Committee on Pensions is herewith adopted, and the passage of the bill recommended.

[Senate Report No. 1832, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

This bill proposes to place upon the pension-roll the name of Easter A. Jackson, widow of Moses H. Jackson, deceased.

Moses H. Jackson enlisted August 20, 1863, in Company D, First Regiment Tennessee Mounted Infantry, and was discharged April 25, 1865.

On June 29, 1880, he made application for a pension, alleging in his declaration "that whilst in line of duty near Celina, Tenn., about the middle of August, 1864, he was badly injured in right knee and leg, also in back and hips, by his horse falling with him while on a scout near Celina, Tenn."

Before this claim was adjudicated by the Commissioner of Pensions the soldier died, and his widow, the claimant, made application for pension, which application the Commissioner, under date of October 14, 1887, rejected "on the ground that the special examinations fail to show that the fatal disease was due to the soldier's military service in line of duty."

Prior to the death of the soldier he had submitted, in support of his claim, the affidavit of James Beatty, a comrade, who swears to origin and continuance of the disabilities as alleged by the soldier. This is fully corroborated by the affidavit of Comrade F. M. Smith.

The presence of these comrades is verified by the records of the War Department, and their credibility established by the reports of the postmasters at their respective places. Lieut. W. J. Nornd, in answer to an official letter from the Commissioner of Pensions, says:

"I can say to you that I recollect Sergt. Moses H. Jackson being crippled in the Army, and in the hospital at Granville, Tenn., at the time you say he charges; but I was not with him on the scout when he got hurt."

Lemuel C. Wright, late first lieutenant of Company D, First Tennessee Mounted Infantry, in response to an office letter, says:

"I was present at one time about the middle of August, 1864, when Moses H. Jackson's horse threw him near Celina, Tenn. Myself with Jackson and others were in close pursuit of and shooting at some rebel guerrillas, and in crossing a fence his horse fell and threw him off; I saw him get up, and with some help got on his horse; he complained very much at the time, and appeared to be badly hurt; Jackson was confined from duty for some time by said injury; remained in camp at Granville, Tenn.; he may have been treated by the surgeon; I do not remember, to be certain about that; but the circumstance of the horse falling with him I remember well, and know he was hurt. Jackson was a brave, daring soldier, honest and obedient. He went West soon after the war. I have not seen him since soon after his discharge."

Dr. C. R. Prewitt swears to an acquaintance of nineteen or twenty years, and that in November, 1865, he was called to see him, and found him suffering with his right knee, which was very much swollen and very tender and painful, with an ulcer on the inside, and seemed when probed to run up and under the patella. He was also suffering with partial paralysis of the hips and spinal column. His knee got some better, the ulcer healed before he left Kentucky in the year 1871, but the paralyzed condition of his hips and spinal column grew gradually worse, or at least there was no improvement up to the time he left. He was not really able to perform any manual labor, for whenever he went to the field to work his wife always had to go with him to take care of him, for he would frequently fall in the field and be unable to rise for hours at a time. Visited him twice a week from November, 1865, to March, 1871.

Abundance of evidence is presented showing condition and continuance from 1871 to date of death. It is also shown that the mind of the soldier gave way, and that he was committed to the hospital for the insane at Osawatomie, Kans., June 15, 1881, and that he died in that institution on the 21st day of November, 1881.

As before stated, the claim was rejected, and the widow appealed the case to the honorable Secretary of the Interior, who affirmed the action of the Commissioner of Pensions in rejecting the claim, saying "there is no due proof of the alleged casual connection." It is proper to add that the claim was also examined by special examiners in the field. Mr. George B. Fleming, special examiner, gives the opinion that the claim is of "doubtful merit," and recommends further examination. Wray Beattie recommends rejection.

The testimony taken by Mr. Beattie is rather of a negative character, none of them testifying with any degree of positiveness that the disability was not incurred as alleged. They all remember the soldier well; that he was a stout, able-bodied man at enlistment, and that they have no recollection of his incurring any injury or disability. This is more than offset by the plain, positive, and direct testimony presented by the claimant.

The prior soundness of the soldier is well established; his condition at discharge is shown; his gradual failure of health and constitution presented beyond doubt or question; and from the examination of the case given by your committee, we submit that there is a sequence between paralysis of the spinal column and the lower limbs and the insanity which caused the death of the soldier, and recommend the passage of the bill.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

PHILLIPE RAY.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I call up the bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to Phillipe Ray.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretery of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Phillipe Ray, late of Company B, First New Jersey Cavalry, in the war of the rebellion.

The report (by Mr. LYNCH) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to Phillipe Ray, have considered the same and adopt and submit the Senate report, which is as follows:

Phillipe Ray, the claimant, was enrolled and mustered on the 20th day of August, 1861, as sergeant of Company E, First New Jersey Cavalry; was early in 1862 reduced to the ranks and transferred to Company B, where he was made a corporal; was captured by the enemy at Harrisonburgh, Va., June 6, 1862, and is borne as a prisoner upon the regimental rolls for May, June, July, and August of that year. At a date not of record he was returned as a paroled prisoner to Camp Parole, Annapolis, Md., and thence transferred to a Washington hospital September 22, 1862. He rejoined his regiment, re-enlisted at the expiration of his term of service, and was discharged as corporal Company B July 24, 1865. A pension is claimed for disabilities originating in exposure while a prisoner at Belle Isle and Lynchburgh, Va. His application was filed originally in 1869, and relinquished by his attorney in 1871, with the avowal that the evidence required by the Commissioner of Pensions could not be furnished. The case was afterward reopened upon the personal application of the claimant, and on June 17, 1887, was finally disposed of adversely by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, who said in his letter dismissing it that the claimant was no doubt a good soldier, and may have contracted the disability in the service, but that he had failed signally to prove it by the scanty evidence adduced.

The evidence submitted to the committee consists of a certificate of ex-Surgeon Rulett, of the First New Jersey Cavalry, and an affidavit of M. Hutchinson, as to the sound health of the claimant at enrollment, and affidavits of Mrs. E. Beech and Mrs. C. Hornby, that he was suffering in 1873 from kidney disease, which he said was contracted while in the United States service. The medical examiners to whom his case was committed reported his disability from diabetes at one-fourth of total, and permanent, and that in their belief it originated in the service in line of his duty. Ray himself testifies that it had its origin in a severe cold contracted on account of want of shelter while a prisoner, and that his health improved after his return to his regiment, but that during "Burnside's mud march," in January, 1863, he suffered a relapse, since which this disease has been continuous. He accounts for the impossibility of securing favorable testimony from his comrades by stating that he was desirous of promotion which would have been difficult if his physical condition was known.

Your committee, in consideration of the long service of this soldier, his disabled condition, and the possibility and fair probability that his statement is true, report back his petition with the accompanying bill and recommend its passage.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

CHARLES E. SCOTT.

Mr. PETERS. I call up the bill (H. R. 4887) granting a pension to Charles E. Scott.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Charles E. Scott, late a private in Company G, Twenty-third Illinois Infantry Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4887) granting a pension to Charles E. Scott, submit the following report:

The soldier was a corporal in Company G, Twenty-third Illinois Volunteers. In his application for pension he alleges that he contracted camp itch near Richmond, Va., about July 1, 1865, which resulted in loss of eyesight. The origin of disability is clearly proven by the affidavits of Lieut. Horace J. Mack, and by a comrade, J. S. Collister, and its existence and continuance by abundant lay testimony. The claim was rejected on the ground of claimant's inability to furnish satisfactory evidence that his loss of sight was the result of the disability contracted in the service.

It appears from the evidence that the soldier was a great sufferer from the disease contracted in the service, and was continuously treated for the same until the year 1871, when he became totally blind and remained so for about three years, when his sight was partially restored. The medical referee of the Pension Office decides that the loss of sight could not be accepted as the result of the disease contracted, but says that if it was scorbutus and not camp itch with which the soldier was afflicted in the service that it might be admitted. Dr. E. Williams, who treated him in 1872 and 1873, and who is also a medical examiner of the Pension Bureau, describes his case fully and says: "I can not feel justified that it was the result of exposure or hardships of army service."

The examining board at Wellington, Kans., reported August 31 describing his condition, and added: "Do not find any indication of venereal disease; probable cause of impaired sight retinal hemorrhage." They rate him at total second grade.

Your committee are unable to decide positively that the disease contracted in the service was the cause of the impaired vision, and even the medical authorities are in doubt about it. They seem unwilling to say that it might not have been, while they declare their inability to accept it as a positive result. The claimant is helpless and destitute.

Your committee, after a careful examination of all the evidence, recommend the passage of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

JEMIMA STERLING.

Mr. POST. I call up the bill (H. R. 4648) granting a pension to Jemima Sterling.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Jemima Sterling, mother of James Goldsmith, deceased, late of Company I, One hundred and third Illinois Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. LANE) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4648) granting a pension to Jemima Sterling, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to submit the following report:

The proposed beneficiary is the mother of James Goldsmith, who was killed in battle near Kenesaw Mountain, June 15, 1864, while serving as private of Company I, One hundred and third Regiment Illinois Volunteers. Her claim for pension has been rejected on the ground that the soldier left surviving him a widow and minor child. The widow remarried August 11, 1864, and the minor drew pension during pensionable minority. There is, therefore, no one now

drawing pension or entitled to draw pension on account of the death of the aforesaid soldier.

Because of the debarment of the mother from the benefits of the general pension laws, for the reason above stated, the Pension Bureau deemed it unnecessary to call for the requisite evidence as to dependence past and present. But sufficient testimony has been filed showing that the mother was dependent upon the son prior to and at date of his death because of her husband's physical condition, he being totally blind, and that her condition has not since improved.

Being now seventy-four years of age, she is unable to gain a subsistence by her own efforts, and consequently dependent upon others for support.

Congress having always liberally responded to the calls for relief of this unfortunate class, and being fully impressed with the merits of the case under consideration, your committee return the accompanying bill, with the recommendation that it do pass.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

ELI J. YAMGHEIM.

Mr. RYAN. I call up the bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Eli J. Yamgheim.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Eli J. Yamgheim, late of Company A, Sixth Regiment of Kansas Cavalry.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Eli J. Yamgheim, submit the following report:

The claimant in this case enlisted August 1, 1861, in Company A, Sixth Kansas Cavalry, and was discharged November 15, 1864. He filed his declaration for pension April 5, 1875, alleging that he was struck by a spent ball on the left ankle, causing lameness. Jacob A. Heany, Jacob H. Bartles, and Alfred N. Jerrold all testify to the incurrence of the injury. There is abundant evidence to show that it continued to the present time. The examining surgeon at Emporia reported July 27, 1875, and January 9, 1878, that he found him totally disabled. Examining board at Emporia, March 7, 1883, make the same report. On the other hand it is shown that the soldier had suffered from a fever-sore on the same leg prior to enlistment. The fact still remains that the man was sufficiently strong and able-bodied to be accepted in the service; that he served his country faithfully for three years and two months; that he received an injury from which he has suffered ever since, and that now he is disabled.

It is highly probable that if he had never suffered prior to enlistment from the fever-sore of the leg, or that some comrade who was perfectly sound had received the same injury, that no serious result would have followed from it. It is equally probable that if the soldier had not received the injury in the service that he might have gone through life comparatively well. It seems to your committee hardly honorable for the United States Government, after accepting this man in the service and receiving the benefit of his service for over three years, during which time he was frequently exposed to the dangers of the battle-field and suffered all the hardships and privations of army life, to plead now that he was not sound before enlistment, and therefore not entitled to a pension.

Your committee therefore recommend the passage of this bill.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

SYLVESTER STEARNS.

Mr. SENEY. I desire to call up the bill (H. R. 7516) to increase the pension of Sylvester Stearns. This bill passed the House several sessions ago. The claimant is upon the roll at $36 a month, and the bill before the House was for the purpose of raising the pension from $36 to $50 a month. The report of the House committee was made under the impression that the claimant was then a pensioner at $24 a month, and the amount in the original bill was changed from $50 to $36 a month. Subsequently it was ascertained that the claimant was already on the pension-roll at $36 a month, and the Senate amended the House bill so as to change the sum from $36 to $50, and the matter is now before the House upon the amendment of the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the bill which the gentleman calls up a Senate bill?

Mr. SENEY. It is a Senate amendment to the House bill, and I suppose the proper motion is to concur in the Senate amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that the bill is not upon the Calendar, and perhaps it had better be passed over temporarily.

Mr. SENEY. Well, I desire that it shall be acted upon without further delay, because it was acted upon by the Senate two or three weeks ago.

Mr. MORRILL. I suggest to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SENEY] that the proper time to take up that bill will be after the committee rises and we go into the House. The Committee of the Whole can not act upon a matter of that kind.

Mr. SENEY. What is the difficulty in the way of the Committee of the Whole acting upon the Senate amendment to the House bill?

Mr. MORRILL. The House acts upon Senate amendments without any action of the Committee of the Whole. Such action is quite unnecessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Upon the suggestion made by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MORRILL], the opinion of the present occupant of the chair is that a question of that kind does not properly come into Committee of the Whole, but must be acted upon by the House. If the House concurs in the Senate amendment, then there is nothing for the committee to do.

Mr. SENEY. Well, I do not care how we get at it, but I do not wish to lose my opportunity to call up the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk informs the Chair that the bill called up by the gentleman from Ohio came back from the Senate with an amendment, that the bill and amendment were referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and that the bill has not yet been reported back from the committee, so that it is not upon the Private Calendar, nor is it, at the present time, within reach of the House. At any rate it can not be disposed of at this time.

Mr. SENEY. I did not suppose that an amendment of the Senate would have to be referred to the Pension Committee of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. That depends entirely upon the action which was taken in the House at the time. Whatever that action was, the Committee of the Whole can not interfere with it, and as a matter of fact the Clerk informs the Chair that the bill and amendment were so referred.

Mr. SENEY. I can hardly think that any action has been taken by the House in this case since the Senate amended the House bill. I do not know who would call up the bill except myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed by the Clerk that when the bill was returned from the Senate with amendments, it was formally laid before the House and was referred, with the amendments, to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, from which it has not yet been reported back to the House.

Mr. SENEY. Well, so that I do not lose my right to call it up for consideration when we get into the House, I shall be content.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of opinion, in accordance with the suggestion of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MORRILL], that the bill can not be acted upon in Committee of the Whole this evening.

Mr. SENEY. But I do not understand that I am to lose my right to have the bill considered.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but the bill is not in Committee of the Whole.

MARTHA J. COLE.

Mr. SMITH, of Wisconsin. I call up the bill (S. 3230) granting a pension to Martha J. Cole.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Martha J. Cole, mother of Robert E. Horner, late a second lieutenant in the Twenty-seventh Regiment Wisconsin Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. SAWYER) was read, as follows:

From a careful consideration of the facts set forth in the Senate report in this case, which is made a part of this report, the committee believe that this is a meritorious case and comes within the line of precedents heretofore adopted by this committee and recognized by this House, and they therefore recommend that the bill do pass.

SENATE REPORT.

This is a bill to pension Martha J. Cole, mother of Robert Horner, late second lieutenant of Company G, Twenty-seventh Regiment Wisconsin Volunteers.

The claimant was pensioned as dependent mother of Robert Horner and drew her pension until her remarriage. She applied to the Pension Office to be restored after the death of her second husband, but her application could not be allowed by law, which provides that pension shall cease at the date of remarriage of the pensioner.

The only question before the committee is whether or not this is a proper case to be relieved by special enactment. The widow is now nearly seventy years old; she is poor, and disabled by age and other infirmities from making any exertion for her support. Two of her sons were in the service and both died from diseases contracted in the line of duty. Thus she is left without means of support and with the alternative of starvation or the almshouse. The committee does not think that the mother of two soldiers whose lives were sacrificed in Army service and who has seen much better days should become an object of charity so long as the Government has the right to extend to her the small relief she requires.

Therefore the bill is reported favorably, with a recommendation that it do pass.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

LEOPOLD MAYER.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I ask the consideration of the bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Mayer.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Leopold Mayer, late captain of Company C, Twelfth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, and pay him a pension at the rate of $25 per month, in lieu of the pension he is now receiving.

The report (by Mr. LANE) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred Senate bill 619, beg leave to report, adopting the report of the Senate, and in consideration of the facts of the case recommend that said bill do pass.

[Senate Report No. 370, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Mayer, have examined the same, and report:

Claimant was mustered into the service of the United States as first lieutenant Company C, Twelfth Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, to date February 3, 1862, and was mustered out and honorably discharged March 25, 1865; was a prisoner of war from June 15, 1863, till and after May 7, 1864.

The applicant was granted a pension of $4.25 per month, commencing March 26, 1865, on account of rheumatism. Application for increase of pension was rejected on medical grounds July 3, 1886. In his application for increase of pension, filed December 14, 1885, he claims that he is entitled to a higher rating on the ground that for months at a time he is rendered wholly unable to do any manual labor on account of said disability, and this has been his condition each year since the date of his discharge from the service.

Dr. Emil Fischer testifies that he treated claimant from 1864 to 1866 for mus-

cular rheumatism of the right arm and shoulder, so aggravated as to disable him for work. Dr. H. B. Livermore testifies to treatment for rheumatism from 1864 to 1887. Dr. Maunheimer testifies that claimant was under his treatment for rheumatism from 1873 to 1880, and during that time was unable to perform any physical work. Dr. A. S. Munsell testifies that claimant was under his treatment for chronic rheumatism in 1878, and was a great sufferer from said cause in 1880. Dr. Justin Hayes testifies that he treated claimant for rheumatism in 1880.

The board of surgeons at Chicago, Ill., state that the testimony of claimant's physicians is entitled to the fullest consideration.

From all the facts in the case your committee are satisfied that claimant is entitled to a higher rate of pension than he is now receiving, and therefore recommend the passage of the bill.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

JONATHAN C. HARRISON.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I call up the bill (H. R. 7887) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan C. Harrison.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of $36 per month, the name of Jonathan C. Harrison, late a private in Company B, Fifty-second Ohio Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio) was read, as follows:

Jonathan C. Harrison enlisted in Company B, Fifty-second Ohio Volunteers, August 4, 1862, and served in said regiment until his discharge, by reason of wound in right arm, on the 31st day of August, 1864. His discharge states that he was wounded at Resaca, Ga., in the right arm, requiring amputation. The United States surgeon attaches to the discharge a certificate in which are found these words: "Find him incapable of performing the duties of a soldier because of amputation of the right arm below the elbow on account of gunshot wound. Disability total." The United States examining surgeon certifies "that the amputation was performed through right arm just below the elbow."

Dr. C. W. Clancey and Dr. J. B. Conaway, of Smithfield, Ohio, certify that the arm is amputated so near the elbow as to render the stump entirely useless, and that it is so short as to prevent soldier from wearing an artificial limb. Claimant is now drawing a pension of $30 per month, and he asks for an increase of $6 per month, or the same pension that is allowed to soldiers who have an arm amputated at or above the elbow. When the law passed giving soldiers who had a limb amputated below the elbow or knee $24 per month, claimant had an increase allowed him of $6 per month by a special act of Congress on March 3, 1885. He now asks that his pension be increased to $36 per month, and your committee are of the opinion that the claim is a meritorious one and recommend that the bill do pass, as his disability is fully equal to an amputation at or above the elbow, as is clearly shown, not only by the evidence, but by a photograph found among the papers.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

WILLIAM E. PRINCE.

Mr. TURNER, of Kansas. I call up the bill (H. R. 3608) to grant an increase of pension to William E. Prince.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and hereby directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of William E. Prince, late a private of Company I, Twenty-third Regiment of Missouri Volunteer Infantry, at the rate of $50 per month, in lieu of the pension he is now receiving.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The claimant in this case is now receiving a pension of $30 per month for disease of the heart, totally incapacitating him from performing any manual labor. This is the highest rate that can be granted by the Pension Office until it is shown that he requires the constant aid and attendance of another person, there being no intermediate rating between $30 and $50 for cases of this character. The evidence is very clear that much of the time he requires the constant attention of another. Your committee feel that an increase ought to be granted, and therefore recommend the passage of the bill with an amendment, striking out "fifty" and inserting "forty-five."

The amendment reported by the committee to strike out "fifty" and insert "forty-five" was agreed to.

The bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MRS. CAROLINE TAYLOR.

Mr. VANDEVER. I ask the consideration of the bill (S. 3175) granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Mrs. Caroline Taylor, of Logansport, Ind., widow Dr. J. A. Taylor, a volunteer assistant surgeon to the Indiana troops engaged South in the year 1863 in the war of the rebellion.

The report (by Mr. MATSON) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3175) granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor, have examined the papers on file, adopt the report of the Senate hereto attached as the report of this committee, and recommend the passage of the bill.

[Senate Report No. 1709, Fiftieth Congress, first session.]

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor, of Logansport, Ind., have examined the same, and report:

That the applicant is the widow of Dr. James A. Taylor, who died in Logansport, Ind., in October, 1867. The husband was never mustered into the service of the United States, and was never commissioned or appointed to any position in said service; yet as a surgeon he did active and efficient service to the sick and wounded soldiers who were in the Army in the war of 1861.

The facts in the case, from the sworn testimony before the committee, are as follows: In January, 1863, Governor Morton, of Indiana, by telegram, called upon eighteen or twenty physicians and surgeons from different parts of the State to go immediately upon temporary duty as such to the Indiana troops then South. Among the number thus summoned was Dr. James A. Taylor, the husband of the applicant, then in perfect health, engaged in a large professional practice at home, and known as one of the most skillful and careful men in his calling. Dr. Taylor accepted this sudden call by the governor, received a passport to go South, and left his home immediately upon this mission. A copy of the passport, signed by Governor Morton in person, dated January 6, 1863, is now among the proofs filed.

He went south to Vicksburg, to Memphis, and to other points, and upon the transports and vessels spent four weeks in attendance upon the sick and in treating and amputating the wounded. The labor was very severe, owing to the then scarcity of surgical and medical aid. It is shown that he slept during his absence only about four hours in twenty-four; that on one occasion he worked without sleep or rest forty-eight hours continuously. The particulars of his service, its character and efficiency, are proven by the testimony of Dr. John B. Shultz and John G. Meck, and Dr. Asa Coleman, who was one of the party of physicians and surgeons responding to the call of the governor, and who was personally acquainted with Dr. Taylor, testifies that he knew of his service and that he was in command of the volunteer medical corps which went on that occasion to render aid to the Indiana troops.

It appears further from the testimony of his friends and neighbors that Dr. Taylor returned from the expedition much broken in health. He complained of shortness of breath, difficulty of breathing, disturbed action of the heart, and though yet able to do somewhat, was wholly unable thereafter to resume the labors of his former practice. The condition of his health did not improve. About a year after his return from the South he sold out his practice and retired. In 1864, as appears from the testimony of witness Meck and others, he was subjected to very frequent attacks of smothering spells. These compelled him to quit any business he might be engaged in, to spend most of his time on the bed or lounge in a prostrate position. He lost flesh, became pale and emaciated. He had never before his service suffered from any such complaint.

This condition of ill-health continued until the time of his death. He died in one of these smothering spells of what the physicians in attendance during his last illness describe as paralysis of the heart, the first and continuous symptoms of which appear to have sprung from the excessive work, privation, and exposure in his service under the call of the governor aforesaid.

The applicant, his widow, formerly in fair circumstances, is now in reduced circumstances. She was married to the deceased March 19, 1846, and lived with him a faithful wife until his death. She is now advanced in years. She has now no means, money, nor property, nor the expectation thereof. She has no way of subsistence except her own labor, barely sufficient to that end.

The committee believe this to be a meritorious case, and accordingly recommend the passage of the bill herewith reported.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. WHEELER. I would like to call up, if there be no objection, the bill for the relief of Mrs. General Ward B. Burnett. I desire to know whether the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CHEADLE] will make objection.

Mr. CHEADLE. I have stated so often my position with reference to bills of this character that I should suppose every gentleman would understand me by this time. At any rate the bill to which the gentleman refers is in the House, not in Committee of the Whole, and could not be considered now.

SARAH E. M'NAMARA.

Mr. WHEELER. I will call up, then, the bill (S. 2593) granting a pension to Sarah E. McNamara.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to place upon the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Mrs. Sarah E. McNamara, widow of the late John McNamara, D. D., late a chaplain of the Wisconsin Volunteers.

The report (by Mr. MORRILL) was read, as follows:

The report of the Senate Committee on Pensions is adopted and the passage of the bill recommended.

SENATE REPORT.

Claimant is the widow of John McNamara, who was mustered into the service of the United States as chaplain First Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, October 8, 1861, and was mustered out of the service October 13, 1864.

The records of the War Department show that he contracted erysipelas of the face and scalp in the service, by reason of which he was granted a leave of absence for twenty days, as a change of climate was thought by the surgeon to be necessary to save his life.

The claim was rejected March 1, 1888, on the ground that the soldier's fatal disease, paralysis, was not a result of the erysipelas of army origin, nor of any other cause shown to be due to his military service.

In her application filed April 13, 1886, claimant states that her late husband died of disease contracted in the service of the United States; that at the battle of Stone River, March 30, 1863, he incurred paralysis, which affected him every year since the date of his discharge from the service, and which finally terminated in his death.

In her affidavit filed November 29, 1886, claimant states that she was married to the late officer on or about November 18, 1852, and that she lived with him as his wife up to the time of his death, October 25, 1885; that previous to his enlistment into the service the said officer was physically sound and in good health; that he contracted erysipelas in the service, from which he never recovered, and that he was mentally and physically disabled for work by reason of said disability; that the disease seemed to have settled in his left eye, causing said eye to become much smaller than the right eye, and that the said disease grew worse all the time until her late husband became almost totally blind, about six months before his death; that she has good reason to believe that the said disability so weakened her late husband's constitution that the paralysis from which he died was superinduced by the erysipelas of army origin.

In affidavit filed November 29, 1886, George R. Bingham, colonel First Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, testifies that the late officer contracted erysipelas of the face at Murfreesborough, Tenn., in December, 1863, and that the said disease affected his eyes to such an extent that he was compelled to wear colored glasses for a long time after his return from the hospital.

In affidavit filed November 29, 1886, Dr. Luther J. Abbott, of Fremont, Nebr., testifies that he was acquainted with claimant's husband for ten years prior to the time of his death; that he was physically feeble, and his nervous system much deranged on account of an attack of erysipelas of face, scalp, and eyes, which he had in the year 1875; that for a short time preceding his death the late officer had a shock of paralysis, followed by almost total blindness; that he consulted affiant about a week before his death, and always attributed his diseases to exposure during army life.

In affidavit filed November 29, 1886, Dr. N. F. Donaldson, of North Platte, Nebr., testifies that the late officer died from a stroke of paralysis on the right side of his body, October 24, 1885.

It is shown by medical testimony in the claim that the system of claimant's husband was broken down by erysipelas contracted in the service, in consequence of which he was physically unable to rally from a stroke of paralysis, which terminated fatally October 24, 1885.

The grounds of rejection stated by the Bureau of Pensions seem untenable when considered in connection with medical evidence to the effect that the late officer's nervous system was debilitated and greatly deranged by reason of erysipelas shown to be contracted in the service. The facts warrant favorable action, and your committee therefore recommend the passage of the bill.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

BAKER SAINE.

Mr. YODER. I call up the bill (H. R. 2707) granting a pension to Baker Saine.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Baker Saine, of Fort Seneca, Seneca County, Ohio, late a private in Company K, Forty-ninth Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

The report (by Mr. YODER) was read, as follows:

Baker Seine enlisted September 23, 1861, in Company B, Fifty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and served until March 21, 1862, when he was discharged for disability. Re-enlisted February 22, 1864, in Company K, Forty-ninth Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and was discharged March 3, 1865, for disability. Filed his declaration for pension October 3, 1879. Alleges in declaration that at Nashville, Tenn., about the 15th of March, 1864, by reason of exposure in an open car, he contracted chronic bronchitis, chronic rheumatism, and that he sustained a further injury in December, 1864, at —— street barracks, Cincinnati, Ohio, by a fall that he had received.

His claim was rejected by the Pension Office for the reason, as set forth in the record of the case, that the record shows that alleged bronchitis existed prior to his enlistment, and that he was unable to prove origin of the alleged injury that he had received in the service. The hospital record and the record in the Adjutant-General's Office, as well as his discharge, conclusively prove existence of the disease, rheumatism and bronchitis, as alleged, in the service, and there is no question as to its continuance since the service, as is shown conclusively by a number of affidavits on file by surgeons, and the only reason for its rejection is given in the certificate of disability for his discharge, where the surgeon alleges that the claimant had been subject to said disease during the winter for a few years prior to his service. But it does not state how or by what evidence he comes to this conclusion. In contradiction to this statement there is an affidavit on file by James A. Norton, a prominent and creditable citizen of his county, who testifies that claimant was sound and able-bodied, free from bronchitis and rheumatism, at and before he entered the service; that he saw claimant in hospital No. 8, Nashville, Tenn., suffering with erysipelas, in March and April, 1864, and inflammatory rheumatism.

Moses Abbot and Matthew T. Lents testify that they knew claimant from 1853 to 1861, prior to his service in the civil war, and that previous to said time his health was good and perfectly sound. C. P. Lee, M. D., testifies that claimant was sound prior to his enlistment in the service, 1861. A. B. Harvey testifies that during the latter part of June, 1864, claimant was home on a furlough, and that he treated him for inflammatory rheumatism at that time; that he was also suffering from chronic bronchitis. There is abundant evidence to prove the continuance of the disease alleged since the service. The examining surgeon, George L. Hodge, at Fostoria, Ohio, on July 15, 1861, states that he had examined claimant:

"That he had a hacking cough and expectoration of thick yellow sputa; throat is red and irritable; has rheumatism in left shoulder and right knee. I find evidence of the injury that he alleged to have received in a fall while in the service at Cincinnati, and that these disabilities disqualify him in the performance of manual labor and entitle him to two-thirds grade or $12 a month pension."

Your committee is informed by Hon. George E. Seine, who is personally acquainted with claimant, that he is helpless and in destitute circumstances, and that if it were not for an aged sister who provides for him he would have to go to the poor-house; that it will only be a question of a short time unless he is granted aid by this bill before he will have to depend upon public charity for his subsistence.

In view of the testimony of the creditable witnesses, who are men of high standing in the community where they live, who have testified to his prior soundness, your committee is clearly of the opinion that this aged and disabled soldier should not be deprived of a pension by reason of a statement made by an army surgeon, who had no possible means of knowing his condition prior to enlistment. And after a careful investigation of all the evidence on file, your committee has come to the conclusion that this is a meritorious case, and recommend the passage of the bill.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

WILLIAM E. SPRINGSTEIN.

Mr. MORRILL. I desire to call up for the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON], and upon his personal request, the bill (H. R. 10199) for the relief of William E. Springstein.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is directed to put on the pension-roll the name of William E. Springstein, of Company G, Fourteenth Regiment of Michigan Volunteers, at the rate of $50 per month.

The report (by Mr. CHIPMAN) was read, as follows:

The claimant was a private in Company G, Fourteenth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry. At the battle of Jonesborough, Ga., he received a wound from a shell fired by the enemy, which caused the loss of his left leg above the ankle (amputation lower third) and a wound in the lower third of his right leg. He is now pensioned at the rate of $30 a month. His stump has never healed and, as testified by Dr. N. W. Welker, of Detroit, who has attended him for a long time, he is during long periods (once eight month) confined to his room by reason of its condition, not being able to wear his artificial leg or even his crutches. The same doctor describes a cicatrix (the result of the wound in his right leg) adherent to the muscles of the calf, causing pain and impairment of motion.

It appears that he is without one leg, lame in the other, and in constant pain from both. He is now receiving $30 per month, as much as the Pension Office can grant unless he requires the constant aid of an attendant. He does not claim to be in so hard a condition as that, but that he is frequently incapacitated from any labor, when his wounds are particularly painful, and that at all times he is a sufferer. He ought to be allowed $45. The committee recommend that the word "fifty" be stricken from the sixth line and the words "forty-five" inserted in lieu thereof, and that the bill as thus amended pass.

The amendment reported by the committee to strike out in the sixth line the word "fifty" and insert "forty-five" was read and agreed to.

The bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. YODER. I promised the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. SHIVELY] to call up a bill for him; but when his name was called I was temporarily out of the House. I hope there will be no objection to permitting me now to call up his bill, as the call will no doubt reach all the gentlemen present this evening.

Mr. DINGLEY. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. SHIVELY] has not been here this evening. Two of my colleagues, who are absent, desired me to call up bills for them, but I supposed it would not be permitted. If this request is to be granted in behalf of the gentleman from Indiana, who is absent, I would like to have the same privilege in behalf of my colleagues.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. YODER]?

Mr. CHEADLE. I object, unless the same privilege be extended to this side of the House. I have an earnest request from my colleague, General HOVEY, to call up a bill for him.

Mr. YODER. This very privilege has been granted only a few moments ago to my friend from Kansas [Mr. MORRILL].

Mr. MORRILL. That was an entirely different case. I called up a bill for the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON], who has occupied the chair all the evening, and could not call up the bill for himself.

Mr. YODER. As there seems to be objection to the proposition, I withdraw it.

FLORIAN LISCHEWSKY.

Mr. BINGHAM. I call up the bill (H. R. 5918) restoring to the pension-roll the name of Florian Lischewsky. This bill is identical with a bill (S. 3083) which has already passed the Senate, but is not, I believe, on our Calendar. If this House bill be favorably acted upon by the Committee of the Whole, I shall ask in the House to substitute for it the Senate bill, identical in its terms.

The bill (H. R. 5918) was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to restore the name of Florian Lischewsky, late a private in Company C, Twenty-ninth Regiment New York Volunteers, to the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws.

The report (by Mr. LYNCH) was read, as follows:

That it appears the said Florian Lischewsky was a private in Company C, Twenty-ninth Regiment of New York Volunteers, having served therein from June 4, 1861, to June 20, 1863, having been discharged for expiration of his term of service; that while in said service and line of his duty in the summer of 1862, from excessive marching he contracted varicose veins of both legs, for which he was granted a pension by certificate No. 133444, May 8, 1875; that he drew his pension for about two years, when it was stopped and his name stricken from the rolls on the report of a special examiner of the Pension Bureau, on the ground, as alleged, that it was not shown that his varicose veins originated in the service; that your committee find that the evidence (which has not been impeached) filed by said soldier in his claim shows that his said disability did originate in said service and line of duty.

Following is a synopsis of the evidence filed by said soldier, both in his claim for the original pension and in his claim for restoration of his pension.

In the original claim for pension, Fritz Decker, second lieutenant of his company, testified that about the 1st of June, 1862, between Fairfax Court-House and Cross Keys, Virginia, the said Lischewsky, from continuous marching for several days in succession, carrying heavy accouterments, contracted varicose veins of his legs, which troubled him afterwards more or less while with the regiment, and existed at the time of his discharge, in June, 1863; that he well remembers him in the service, and that he got his varicose veins of legs as stated; that he knew him before he enlisted, and that he was then sound in his legs.

Dr. Theodore Roth testified that he prescribed for the said soldier off and on from the time of his discharge from the Army, in the summer of 1863, to the present time (March, 1874), for varicose veins of both legs below the knees, and he has been badly affected in his legs with varicose veins, which have disabled him for following his customary labor; that he enjoyed good health before and up to his enlistment; witness was then acquainted with him, and had he had the bad veins of legs then, believes he would have known it; that he was of good and temperate habits.

That in the claim for restoration Dr. George H. Kobler testified that he has been his physician for the past six years, and knows that he has suffered with varicose veins to such an extent as to disable him for doing any manual labor whatever.

Frank Niedel and Lewis Troutwein testified that they knew him from fifteen to seventeen years and ever since September 4, 1875 (the date to which his pension was last paid); have seen him about every day, and they know he has been afflicted with varicose or enlarged veins of his legs, which have disabled him for any kind of manual labor, etc.

William Grossman testified that he was a comrade in his company and regiment, and that from long and excessive marching in the summer of 1862 in said service he contracted varicose veins of his legs, and after the battle of Bull Run (the last of August, 1862) the major, having two horses, took him on one of them on account of his varicose veins. Witness saw his swelled veins in said service and knew him before he enlisted, and he had no swelled veins of legs then; and they were all stripped down and thoroughly examined before they were mustered into said service.

Birghardt Wallenhaupt testified that he and the said Lischewsky enlisted in said company and regiment at the same time, and they were all thoroughly examined and he was accepted in said service as a sound man and was then free from any swelled veins of his legs; that about the summer of 1862, before and after the battle of Bull Run, Virginia, from excessive marching day and night

he contracted varicose or swelled veins of his legs, and he complained afterwards of his weak and sore and swelled veins of his legs, and was not able to do duty all the time; witness and he slept together for some time in said service and he several times showed witness his legs of swelled veins below his knees, and he suffered with them at the time of his discharge in June, 1863.

The committee see no reason to discredit the testimony recited, and therefore believe that said invalid soldier should have his pension restored to him. We therefore report the bill favorably, and recommend its passage.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

Mr. KILGORE. The call of the roll has been entirely gone through with during this evening and I think that is enough. I move, therefore, the committee rise. We have gone through the complete circle and everybody has had a whack.

Mr. DINGLEY. Let me make a suggestion to the House. I have been absent during the call of the roll and have not yet had the benefit of calling up a single bill. There is one Senate bill upon the Calendar which I would like to call up for consideration at this time, and I hope there will be no objection.

Mr. KILGORE. We can give unanimous consent for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

MARY O. HALL.

Mr. DINGLEY called up for consideration the bill (S. 889) granting a pension to Mary O. Hall.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place the name of Mary O. Hall, widow of Augustus J. Hall, late of Company D, Twelfth Maine Volunteers, on the pension-roll, subject to the limitations of the pension laws.

The report (by Mr. GALLINGER) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 889) granting a pension to Mary O. Hall, having considered the same, beg leave to incorporate the report of the Senate committee as a part of their own report, as follows:

"The soldier, Augustus J. Hall, enlisted November 1, 1861, in Company D, Twelfth Maine Volunteers, and was discharged December 7, 1864. At the time of his death, October 13, 1880, he was pensioned at the rate of $3 a month, for gunshot wound of right arm, near the shoulder. The widow, Mary O. Hall, applied for pension, alleging that her husband died of blood poisoning and other complications arising from the said wound. The case was rejected by the Pension Office, on the ground that the soldier's death was 'in no way due to the gunshot wound.'

"After re-examining the case the medical referee vouchsafed the platitude: 'True pathology can not be divorced from common sense.' The case, on appeal to the Secretary of the Interior, was again rejected as a necessary consequence, since the Secretary did not go beyond the opinion of the medical referee, that the death causes, blood poisoning, heart disease, and dropsy, were not *sequelæ* of the wound.

"The only evidence in the case that tends in any possible way to support this rejection is that of the examining surgeon, who examined soldier July 9, 1870. He states that the soldier appeared well, but complained of pain and inability to use the arm. At the next examination, August 9, 1879 the soldier's disability was rated at one-third, and the same rating was fixed on the third and last examination, August 28, 1880. All the rest of the mass of testimony in the case shows irrefutably that the soldier's death was the result of his wound, and blood poisoning is shown, by abundant medical evidence, to have existed continuously from his discharge to death.

"Dr. Silas P. Bartlett, who knew soldier well, testifies that at enlistment he was a 'sound, rugged, and well man,' but that in the spring of 1865 he treated him for abscess of the elbow-joint, with blood poison, and he treated him from that time until 1877.

"Dr. David S. Stevens says he has every reason to believe, from the appearance of said soldier and his symptoms, that he came to his death by gunshot wound in the shoulder and exposure while in the service.

"Dr. S. F. Crooker, who treated soldier for abscess and blood poisoning from 1880 until soldier's death, gives it as his opinion that soldier's heart disease was caused by blood poisoning, the dropsy by heart disease, and the dyspepsia by the dropsy, which resulted in the death of the patient by interfering with a proper arterialization of the blood.

"As stated above, the only evidence in the case is in favor of the claimant, and your committee do not deem it necessary to cumulate the proof. The only possible conclusion that could be reached after an unprejudiced examination of all this proof is that the case is perfectly meritorious, and that it is sufficiently established from a technical stand-point is just as apparent."

In addition to the above your committee have made a careful examination of the papers on file in the Pension Office, which seem to fully justify the granting of a pension notwithstanding the technical professional opinion of the medical referee. It is doubtless a fact that "true pathology can not be divorced from common sense," but the history of medicine abundantly proves that it is not always easy to distinguish true from false pathology. The equity is so clearly with the widow in this case that your committee report the bill back favorably and recommend its passage.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

Mr. KILGORE moved that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. MORRILL having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. YODER reported that the Committee of the Whole House had had the Private Calendar under consideration, and had directed him to report back sundry bills with various recommendations.

JOHN N. BOVEE.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will read the titles of the bills which have been reported from the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar with a favorable recommendation.

Mr. LYMAN. The Speaker *pro tempore* stated at the beginning of the proceedings that the bill (S. 3018) granting an increase of pension to John N. Bovee came up the first thing in order as unfinished business.

Mr. KILGORE. That is a bill which was under consideration on a former occasion. I wish to say, although I will not make any fight on it, that my impression is it would go out on a point of order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. What is the point of order?

Mr. KILGORE. It was called up on a previous occasion on Friday, September 18, during the evening session, and a vote was taken on it. The majority of those who voted was against the passage of the bill. The vote was announced, so many votes for and so many against the bill. No motion to reconsider was made, and therefore it will stand upon the record as having been beaten.

But that is not all. I have the RECORD containing a report of what occurred on that occasion. It shows that the gentleman himself said he would like to have the matter stand over, and the Speaker announced it would go over as unfinished business.

Mr. MORRILL. By unanimous consent.

Mr. KILGORE. Not by unanimous consent, but that it would go over as unfinished business. I have the RECORD here. My theory is that the Speaker *pro tempore* having announced the vote, so many for and so many against, and the majority being against the bill, it was beaten up to that time. The only way to avoid that was to make the motion to reconsider, but that must be made within two days under the rules, and it has not been done.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair is of the opinion that when the Speaker *pro tempore* announced the bill would go over as unfinished business, which could only be done by unanimous consent, no one having objected, it was taken that unanimous consent was given to its going over as unfinished business.

Mr. KILGORE. The RECORD shows the vote was against it, and the announcement of the Speaker *pro tempore* could not control that result. I have the RECORD before me, and I will read just what did occur:

JOHN N. BOVEE.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The next bill for consideration is the bill (S. 3018) granting an increase of pension to John N. Bovee, and the question is on the third reading of the bill.

The question was put, and the Speaker *pro tempore* announced that the "noes" seemed to have it.

Mr. TRACEY. I demand a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 8, noes 14.

Mr. LYMAN. I called up that bill at the request of a Senator. It is a Senate bill and one I know nothing about; but if it can be passed over without being rejected until I can see the gentleman who asked me to call the bill up, I would be glad.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It will go over as unfinished business. The hour of half past 10 o'clock having arrived, the House, according to order, will stand adjourned.

I say it was not in the power of the Speaker *pro tempore* to announce under that state of facts the bill went over as unfinished business. I submit the point, however, to the Chair.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair is of the opinion that the then occupant of the chair having announced it went over as unfinished business, and having made that announcement before the vote was declared, and that having been accepted as by unanimous consent, it stands over as the unfinished business.

Mr. KILGORE. He announced the result of the vote before saying it went over as unfinished business. The vote was announced when it was suggested by my friend from Iowa that it should be passed over, and by unanimous consent that was done. I submit the point to the Chair.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman who occupied the chair at the beginning of this evening session held that this bill came over as unfinished business.

Mr. LYMAN. Mr. Speaker, before the vote is taken on this question I desire to state that I conceive that very great injustice, unintentional so far as any member of this House is concerned, has been done to the claimant. There was read at the time this bill was up for consideration what purported to be a letter from one John Jones, I believe; not a written letter, but a printed circular, which was, I understand, placed upon the desks of some members. I do not wish to take up the time of the House to have a communication under oath, which is intended at least to clear up this implied injustice to the claimant, read, but I ask to have it printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, and as all I desire to say on the subject.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. That will be done, in the absence of objection.

The communication referred to by Mr. LYMAN is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September* 10, 1888.

DEAR SIR: The letter written to the Hon. C. B. KILGORE by one "J. Jones, an old soldier, (?)" is full of falsehoods and misstatements, not to say maliciousness. It is as follows:

"DEAR SIR: I see that a favorable report has been made by the Committee on Pensions to increase the pension of John N. Bovee. (See Senate bill No. 3018, and House report No. 332 .)

"Mr. Bovee already receives a liberal pension ($30 per month). He now receives, and has been for years, a salary of $1,600 per annum in the War Records Office, War Department, runs a Turkish bath (in his wife's name) on G street near Fifteenth, and owns valuable real estate at Washington Grove, Takoma Park, etc. Do you think this man, who has been drawing a salary (in addition to his present liberal pension) from the Government since the close of the war, ought to have his pension increased, while hundreds of worthy indigent soldiers are suffering?

"Dr. O'Reilly, in his report, says: * * * 'From appearances, etc., it is evi-

dent * * * and affiant presumes that superficial ulceration occurs, etc., in hot weather.' The doctor is not positive in this case.

"Dr. D. W. Bliss, one of his most intimate friends, says: * * * 'which renders the use of an artificial limb of little value, as the stump will not bear the friction of its presence.'

"The facts are these: The only times that he has been known to cast aside his artificial limb were while working in the Government Printing Office. If a furlough or reduction of force was spoken of he found it expedient to resume the crutch until the scare passed over. Also during the twelve years he has been in his present position the same tactics have been resorted to with success.

"He now receives from the Government $1,960 yearly as salary and pension; also every five years the price of a new limb (including railroad fare to and from the manufacturer) that he can not wear unless he gets an increase of $10 a month.

"Respectfully,

J. JONES, *An Old Soldier.*

"Hon. C. B. KILGORE."

I am satisfied that it is a fictitious name, as I do not know any such man; besides, an old soldier would not be guilty of such a mean act. A letter of the same purport was written to the Secretary of War some months ago signed "Justice," but availed nothing. I therefore challenge him to make himself known and prove his statements. I will take up his letter *seriatim*.

First. In regard to the Turkish bath business, I would say that several years ago my wife and brother started in the business, but subsequently he became so dissipated that she was obliged to buy him out to save the business from being sold for debt, and also to save what little she had in it. Her mother's money was used to start the business, and her family has to be supported from it. My salary would not properly provide for those I am obliged to look after.

Second. As to valuable real estate, I do not own a dollar's worth of property in the world from which I realize any income, and what little I do own is mortgaged. I do not own even a home.

Third. The statement that I "have been drawing a salary from the Government since the close of the war" is also false, as the records will show. Most of the time I have been employed I received a per diem compensation. The position I now hold is solely through merit. I have been out of Government employ since I first entered it.

Fourth. The statement that "Dr. D. W. Bliss is one of my most intimate friends" is also false. His insinuation is that he being an intimate friend, would stoop to anything in order to get my pension increased. He fails to quote from Dr. James T. Young's certificate, when he states that he saw my leg when it was open and a running sore; and that was only last year. All these physicians are well known and honorable men and all examined my leg, and all gave their honest opinion in regard to my case.

Fifth. Again he says: "The only times that he has been known to cast aside his artificial limb were while working in the Government Printing Office" * * * and "also during the twelve years he has been in his present position the same tactics have been resorted to with success." My answer to the above charge is, that it is grossly unjust and false. If "J. Jones" knows anything about the case he must have known that I wore what is termed a "peg leg" for nearly two years, being unable to wear the Government leg, and which was paid for out of my own money; and that for eighteen months I was obliged to go on crutches, my leg being open and suppurating, and this while in the Government Printing Office.

I can not understand why the question of salary or property should enter into the case, as there are many instances of persons drawing high salaries and at the same time drawing large pensions, besides owning property.

In answer to the application for an increase of pension through the Pension Office, I was informed that there was no law covering my case, but the Commissioner of Pensions had asked Congress for authority to increase pensions in this and other cases.

It seems to me that there should be a distinction made between one who has no protection for the end of the stump (excepting a slight granulation) and one whose stump is fully protected. I know several men who can bear their whole weight on the end of the stump, and can walk for miles, while I am obliged to lace so tightly that all the pressure comes on the upper part of the leg, which of course stops the circulation of blood, and I can only walk a short distance at a time.

The facts in the case are these: I entered the United States service May 17, 1861, when between sixteen and seventeen years of age, and was wounded at the battle of Gaines Mill June 26, 1862, where I was taken prisoner, laying on the battle-field two nights and days without attention, when I was taken to a grove near by. Mortification having set in necessitated the amputation of my leg near the knee. In this grove I lay, in company with one hundred and fifty other wounded comrades, for twenty-eight days without shelter and but very little care, there being but four men that were able to assist us. I was obliged to dress my own wound, but finally became so weak that I could not properly attend to it, and the vermin in the wound caused the stitches to give way and the flap to drop down and slough off, leaving me no protection to the end of the stump, from the effects of which I have been a sufferer ever since, and it has broken open every summer since. The morning I entered battle I weighed 175 pounds, and when I was exchanged, twenty-eight days after, I weighed 98 pounds.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN N. BOVEE.

Hon. J. LYMAN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me at Washington, D. C., this 13th day of September, A. D. 1888.

[SEAL.] GOODWIN Y. ATLEE,
Notary Public.

Mr. KILGORE. I will say this in explanation of my position in this matter, that the letter to which reference was made came to my hands——

Mr. LYMAN. Then I wish to say that I have been misinformed; that I did not know what the circumstances were exactly; but at all events my intention was to cast no sort of reflection upon the action of the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. KILGORE. I understand. When this case was called I presented the letter, and stated that if the allegations therein contained were true the increase ought not to be granted. That was all my position. That letter was read and went into the RECORD, and upon that statement the House refused to make the extension. I will say further that this letter was signed by one "J. Jones, an old soldier," and from that time to this "J. Jones," the old soldier, has not materialized [laughter], and I am inclined to make no fight upon a fictitious letter.

Mr. LYMAN. Permit me to state that I made no reflection whatever upon the action of the gentleman from Texas.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill S. 3018 was ordered to a third reading, and being read the third time, was passed.

SYLVESTER STEARNS.

Mr. SENEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to call up the bill (H. R. 7516) which I tried to have considered in committee, to increase the pension of Sylvester Stearns, and also ask unanimous consent that the Senate amendments be concurred in.

Mr. KILGORE. I will not make any objection to that, if there is no further request for unanimous consent.

Mr. SENEY. This is all I will ask to-night.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the Senate amendments to the bill called up by the gentleman from Ohio will be agreed to.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

BILLS PASSED.

Bills of the House of the following titles reported from the Committee of the Whole without amendment were severally considered, and ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, were accordingly read the third time, and passed, namely:

A bill (H. R. 5751) for the relief of Margaret M. Hatch;
A bill (H. R. 4887) granting a pension to Charles E. Scott;
A bill (H. R. 4648) granting a pension to Jemima Sterling;
A bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Eli J. Yamgheim;
A bill (H. R. 7887) granting increase of pension to Jonathan C. Harrison;
A bill (H. R. 2707) granting pension to Baker Saine; and
A bill (H. R. 5918) restoring to the pension-roll the name of Florian Lischewsky.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to substitute the bill (S. 3083) restoring to the pension-roll the name of Florian Lischewsky, in place of the House bill just passed.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there be no objection that order will be made.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Without objection the House bill No. 5918 will be laid upon the table.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The following House bills, reported from the Committee of the Whole with amendments, were severally considered, the amendments concurred in, and the bills as amended ordered to be engrossed and read the third time; and being engrossed, they were accordingly read the third time, and passed, namely:

A bill (H. R. 2702) granting a pension to Mary Ann Shook;
A bill (H. R. 8521) for the relief of William A. Mathes;
A bill (H. R. 3608) granting an increase of pension to William E. Prince; and
A bill (H. R. 10199) for the relief of William E. Springstein.

Senate bills of the following titles, reported from the Committee of the Whole without amendment, were severally considered, ordered to a third reading, and being read the third time, were passed, namely:

A bill (S. 3030) granting a pension to Mary J. Foster;
A bill (S. 3197) granting a pension to Abbie L. Ham;
A bill (S. 1926) granting a pension to William Smith;
A bill (S. 1219) granting a pension to David Heinbach;
A bill (S. 2567) granting a pension to Nancy Polock;
A bill (S. 3241) granting a pension to Easter A. Jackson;
A bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to Phillipe Ray;
A bill (S. 3230) granting a pension to Martha J. Cole;
A bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Mayer;
A bill (S. 3175) granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor;
A bill (S. 2593) granting a pension to Sarah E. McNamara; and
A bill (S. 889) granting a pension to Mary O. Hall.

Bills of the Senate of the following titles, reported from the Committee of the Whole with amendments, were severally considered, the amendments concurred in, and the bills as amended ordered to a third reading, and being read the third time were passed, namely:

A bill (S. 1481) granting a pension to Ellen White Dowling; and
A bill (S. 1782) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor.

MRS. MARY M. ORD.

The bill (S. 2663) granting a pension to Mrs. Mary M. Ord, reported from the Committee of the Whole with an amendment, was considered and the amendment agreed to.

The question being on the third reading of the bill,

Mr. KILGORE said: Mr. Speaker, there has been some considerable objection made to that bill, and I think it would be a very good idea for this House to vote on the question of reporting it to a full House to be voted upon at some time hereafter. It is out of the usual line to pass a bill of that size with ten or fifteen men present, and I think it would be a fair and proper disposition of it considering the circumstances. At these evening sessions we have uniformly, so far as my information goes, refused to grant large pensions of that kind, except in one case. I do not know personally—not having been present then—of this fact, but only gather that from what I see in the RECORD.

Mr. MCKENNA. This is only an increase of $25 a month. It is not a showy pension, but an absolutely needed increase.

Mr. KILGORE. An increase from $50 to $100.

Mr. MCKENNA. No; an increase from $50 to $75. This lady is in absolutely destitute circumstances. Her present pension does not support her. She has been compelled to spend what little she receives, with such accumulations as she had saved in times past, to care for an invalid, almost blind daughter—I do not know but that she is totally blind. It is a very meritorious claim indeed. General Ord was not only one of the gallantest of men, but one of the most unselfish and honorable. I knew him when I was a boy, and knew him at one time to jump overboard, endangering his own life, to save a man from drowning.

Mr. KILGORE. I know General Ord was a distinguished soldier and a gallant gentleman. That I know as a matter of fact. He was for a time in Texas. But that is not the question here. The question is whether such legislation as this ought to be engaged in to-night. I do not know whether I ought to object, or whether if I did my objection now comes too late. Of course I could defeat the bill.

Mr. MCKENNA. I hope the gentleman will not insist upon the objection.

Mr. KILGORE. I am inclined to do that at present.

Mr. MCKENNA. It is only an increase of $25, and I hope the gentleman will give this lady the benefit of the doubt existing in his mind.

The question being taken, the bill was ordered to a third reading, and being read the third time, was passed.

Mr. YODER moved to reconsider the several votes taken; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

WILLIAM GALLAGHER.

Mr. YODER. I now ask unanimous consent to call up a bill for Mr. SHIVELY, my colleague, if there be no objection; and I hope there will be none.

Mr. KILGORE. You will not ask another?

Mr. YODER. No. I ask that the Committee of the Whole be discharged from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 10515) to increase the pension of William Gallagher, and that the same be considered in the House.

There was no objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to increase the pension of William Gallagher, late a private in Company D, Twenty-eighth Regiment Kentucky Infantry Volunteers, to $20 per month.

The report (by Mr. MATSON) was read, as follows:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 10515) granting an increase of pension to William Gallagher, have had the same under consideration, and now report:

The claimant is now receiving a pension of $10 per month for gunshot wound of left hip. He filed application for increase June 22, 1887, for original disability and resulting affection of both legs and rerating. The same was referred to a medical referee, who reported the claim for rejection on the ground of "rerating not warranted on medical grounds." The evidence in this case is purely medical, and the committee are of the opinion that the conclusion of the medical board making the examination under oath ought to be considered in preference to the opinion of the medical referee. The claimant was examined for increase by the examining board at South Bend, March 16, 1887, and they conclude as follows:

"He is, in our opinion, entitled to an $\frac{1}{2}$ rating for the disability caused by gunshot wound of left hip, and results."

Another examination was had by said board July 13, 1887, and after making a full report concluded as follows:

"He is, in our opinion, entitled to an $\frac{1}{2}$ rating for the disability caused by gunshot wound of left hip."

We therefore recommend that in line 6 strike out the word "twenty" and insert "eighteen," and, when so amended, we recommend the passage of the bill.

The amendment recommended by the committee was agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. YODER moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

LOUISA ROGERS.

Mr. CHEADLE. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole from the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8549) granting a pension to Louisa Rogers.

There was no objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to place the name of Louisa Rogers on the pension-roll, subject to the pension laws of the United States, she being the housekeeper and dependent daughter of Charles T. Bell, who was late captain in Company —, Seventy-sixth Regiment Indiana Volunteers.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair is of the opinion that that would not give any pension.

Mr. WHEELER. I move to amend by inserting "$12 a month."

Mr. KILGORE. How much is asked by the bill?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The amount is blank.

Mr. CHEADLE. Well, just pass it blank, and the Senate will fill it in by way of amendment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] has offered as an amendment that she be pensioned at the rate of $12 per month.

Mr. CHEADLE. That is entirely satisfactory.

The bill as amended was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to place the name of Louisa Rogers on the pension-roll at the rate of $12 per month, she being the housekeeper and dependent daughter of Charles T. Bell, who was late a captain in Company —, Seventy-sixth Regiment Indiana Volunteers.

The amendment was agreed to; and the bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CHEADLE moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

MRS. ELIZABETH G. SCOTT.

Mr. WHEELER. I now ask unanimous consent to take up the bill (H. R. 7944) to increase the pension of Mrs. Elizabeth G. Scott.

Mr. CHEADLE. It will save time to announce now that I will antagonize that bill.

Mr. WHEELER. Mrs. Scott is a lady——

Mr. CHEADLE. I wish to give notice to you and to members present in this House that another bill shall not pass in violation of the ratings of law if I am present unless there be a quorum. I have stated that so many times that it does seem strange gentlemen should compel me to state it again and again, when I have so often set forth my reasons for objecting.

Mr. WHEELER. The gentleman objects sometimes and sometimes he does not object.

Mr. CHEADLE. If I ever call up a bill that violates the ratings of the law, I hope gentlemen will vote it down. I would rather resign my seat than ask the House to pass a bill which was in violation of the ratings of the law.

ADJOURNMENT.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The hour of 10.30 having arrived, the House stands adjourned until Monday next, October 8, at 12 o'clock m.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. STONE, of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 11568) for the relief of John A. Yandell—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11569) for the relief of Sarah Millikan—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MCCREARY: A bill (H. R. 11570) granting arrears of pension to Peter J. Hiatt—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MCRAE: A bill (H. R. 11571) granting a pension to I. T. Houze—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHEELER (by request): A bill (H. R. 11572) for the relief of Mrs. Fannie Moore—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITION.

The following petition was laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. J. M. ALLEN: Petition of estate of Donald Street, deceased, late of Alcorn County, Mississippi, and also James Conn, of Alcorn County, Mississippi, for reference of their claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *October* 8, 1888.

Prayer by Rev. C. B. RAMSDELL, of the city of Washington.

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last was read and approved.

DR. JOHN B. READ.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *October* 4, 1888.

Ordered, That the Clerk be directed to return to the Senate, in accordance with their request, the bill (H. R. 10633) for the relief of Dr. John B. Read, and also to inform the Senate that the Speaker had signed the above-enrolled bill before receiving the message of recall from the Senate.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I ask that my motion to reconsider the vote on the passage of the bill be taken up and acted upon, and that the order for the third reading be reconsidered and the bill placed on the Calendar. I do this in pursuance of an understanding with gentlemen interested affirmatively for the bill, that if that should be done it shall go on the Calendar and wait until December before it is again taken up.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the vote by which the bill was passed and also the vote by which it was or-

dered to a third reading will be reconsidered, and the bill placed on the Calendar. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. SPOONER. I present the petition of William H. Prince and Henry Hoover, a committee appointed at a public meeting of the workingmen of the District of Columbia, held at Grand Army of the Republic Hall, corner of Seventh and L streets northwest, April 10, 1888, charging that grave wrongs and abuses involving moral turpitude and the integrity of numerous District officials in regard to their conduct of the public works, disbursement of public moneys, etc., and in relation to their dealings with the District workingmen, exist, consisting in part:

First. Of errors in payment to workingmen;

Second. Failure to pay workingmen (by exceeding appropriations);

Third. Permitting workingmen employed as foremen on District work to take private contracts and use District property and materials in the execution thereof;

Fourth. In allowing the use of teams employed and paid for by the District to plow up and otherwise improve the farm property of prominent real-estate agents;

Fifth. In allowing a gang of laborers employed on permit work to be borne and paid on the pay-rolls of the county middle district;

Sixth. Misapplying appropriations made by Congress for current repairs of county roads and diverting it to other uses wholly foreign;

Seventh. Wasting an appropriation of $20,000 made for repairs on Seventh street road;

Eighth. In sanctioning and employing at great loss to the District and District workingmen, imported contract Italian laborers on public works;

Ninth. In malicious persecutions of faithful foremen and inspectors employed on District works;

And praying that these charges be investigated, to the end that relief may be afforded.

I move the reference of the petition to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL presented resolutions adopted by the Board of Trade of Port Townsend, Wash., favoring changes in the boundaries of certain proposed new judicial districts provided for in the bill recently introduced by Mr. MITCHELL in the Senate, and now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. BLAIR, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (H. R. 7344) granting a pension to Henrietta Waldron;

A bill (H. R. 9175) granting a pension to George Wallen;

A bill (H. R. 9296) granting a pension to Bridget Carroll;

A bill (H. R. 7877) to place Mary Karstetter on the pension-roll; and

A bill (H. R. 9791) for the relief of Charles W. Geddes.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 7924) for the relief of A. J. McCreary, administrator of the estate of J. M. Hiatt, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 10481) for the relief of Rev. William Gregston, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 6348) for the relief of Mrs. Ellen P. Malloy, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to, and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. VEST. From the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds I report favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 9447) to restore certain money to the fund for erecting a public building at the city of Detroit.

Mr. PALMER. I ask that the bill be considered at present. It will not lead to any debate nor take any time.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The preamble recites that two lots of land in the city of Detroit, Mich., contiguous to the present site of the post-office building in that city, were purchased by the Government as an addition to that site for the purpose of erecting a new public building thereon; that the purchase money paid for these lots was taken out of and deducted from the amount appropriated for the erection of the building, and that the project of erecting the building on these lots has been abandoned, and other lots of land purchased for that purpose. The bill therefore proposes that the Secretary of the Treasury shall sell these two lots of land for a sum at least equal to the purchase price paid by the Government therefor, and restore to the appropriation for the building the amount realized from the sale.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 338) to clear the military record of J. George Ruckstuhl;

A bill (H. R. 1156) for the relief of Miles F. West;

A bill (H. R. 2896) for the relief of the heirs of John R. Treutlen;

A bill (H. R. 3721) authorizing the President to appoint William English an officer in the regular Army of the United States;

A bill (H. R. 3765) for the relief of James Devine;

A bill (H. R. 4489) for the relief of J. M. Hogan;

A bill (H. R. 4648) granting a pension to Jemima Sterling;

A bill (H. R. 4887) granting a pension to Charles E. Scott.

A bill (H. R. 5043) for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe of Indians, in the State of Wisconsin;

A bill (H. R. 5480) for the relief of James Iredell Meares;

A bill (H. R. 5751) for the relief of Margaret M. Hatch;

A bill (H. R. 7151) for the relief of A. N. Kimball and sureties, on his official bond as receiver of public moneys;

A bill (H. R. 8549) granting a pension to Louisa Rogers;

A bill (H. R. 9211) for the relief of Jesse Durnell;

A bill (H. R. 9297) for the relief of James Sims;

A bill (H. R. 10099) for the relief of Melchisedec Robinson;

A bill (H. R. 10515) to increase the pension of William Gallagher; and

A bill (H. R. 11165) for the relief of John Gray.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills:

A bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Mayer;

A bill (S. 664) for the relief of William R. Wheaton and Charles H. Chamberlain, of California;

A bill (S. 741) for the relief of William Tabb;

A bill (S. 889) granting a pension to Mary O. Hall;

A bill (S. 1089) for the relief of Henrietta M. Sands, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy;

A bill (S. 1219) granting a pension to David Heinbach;

A bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to Phillipe Ray;

A bill (S. 1671) for the relief of the heirs of Martin Kenofsky;

A bill (S. 1926) granting a pension to William Smith;

A bill (S. 2567) granting a pension to Nancy Polock;

A bill (S. 2593) granting a pension to Sarah E. McNamara;

A bill (S. 3018) granting an increase of pension to John N. Bovee;

A bill (S. 3030) granting a pension to Mary J. Foster;

A bill (S. 3083) restoring to the pension-roll the name of Florian Lischewsky;

A bill (S. 3175) granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor;

A bill (S. 3197) granting a pension to Abbie L. Ham;

A bill (S. 3230) granting a pension to Martha J. Cole; and

A bill (S. 3241) granting a pension to Easter A. Jackson.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (S. 1190) for the relief of the estate of Joseph Fenno, deceased;

A bill (S. 1481) granting a pension to Ellen White Dowling;

A bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor; and

A bill (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Ord.

The message also announced that the House had concurred in the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7516) to increase the pension of Sylvester Stearns.

The message further announced that the House had passed a resolution for the appointment of a joint select committee composed of six members of the Senate and House of Representatives to investigate the facts and circumstances connected with the building of the Washington aqueduct tunnel, etc., in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had directed the Clerk of the House to inform the Senate that the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association of the city of New York has been mislaid and can not be found, and requested the Senate to furnish a duplicate of said bill.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bill and joint resolution; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore:*

A bill (H. R. 3300) to enable the State of Colorado to select indemnity lands, and for other purposes; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 101) providing for the printing of decisions of the Department of the Interior regarding public lands and pensions, for sale.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. STEWART introduced a bill (S. 3616) to provide for the formation of co-operative business corporations in the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. STEWART. I move the reference of the bill to the Committee

on Education and Labor, and I should like to be indulged in a remark concerning it.

I intended to make some remarks upon the bill introduced by the Senator from California [Mr. STANFORD] early in the session, having the same general objects in view. That bill, however, has not been reported from the committee, and I have had no opportunity to do so. I also intended to submit some amendments to that bill which I have incorporated in the bill now presented as an entire bill.

I believe that co-operation is the solution of the supposed conflict between capital and labor, and that what we want in this country is more proprietors and less wage-earners. In the progress of society we have reached a period when very little can be done by individual effort. Co-operation in almost every pursuit is required, and while capital co-operates and forms trusts, that is accumulated capital, productive capital is apparently, or is supposed to be, a servant of accumulated capital. That ought not to be.

The productive power of the country is its principal wealth. In a single year the productive power of this country could replace all the accumulated property, and could replace in a very few months all the accumulated property in the hands of rich men and rich corporations.

The only difficulty in the way of the laborers of this country uniting their efforts and combining their labor capital in industrial pursuits is the want of some simple, easy mode of organization. The laborers of this country are now sufficiently intelligent to conduct the most complicated business, and it seems to me that if a simple method is provided for them to unite their efforts, so that they can engage in all industrial pursuits, both productive and distributive, they will unite their capital and compel the accumulated capital of the country to become tributary to their enterprises or remain idle.

The Commissioner of Labor has written some very good works on this subject and collected much very valuable information. I should like very much to have his views upon the bill which I have introduced, and I will ask the Committee on Education and Labor to refer it to him for a report at the next session. It seems to me it is one of the most important subjects that can be considered, but I would hesitate to legislate without having the benefit of the mature views of our very able Commissioner of Labor.

Mr. BLAIR. If the bill should be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, as chairman of the committee I shall take great pleasure in referring it to the Commissioner of Labor for his views and an early report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. SPOONER introduced a bill (S. 3617) granting a pension to J. W. Boyd; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3618) granting a pension to Meryah Watts; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas, introduced a bill (S. 3619) for the relief of Alice E. Robertson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

AMERICAN GROCER ASSOCIATION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *October* 5, 1888.

Ordered, That the Clerk be directed to inform the Senate that the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association, of the city of New York, has been mislaid and can not be found, and request the Senate to furnish a duplicate of said bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The request of the House of Representatives will be complied with, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT TUNNEL.

Mr. HALE. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the message from the House of Representatives in relation to the Washington aqueduct tunnel.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *October* 5, 1888.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That all work heretofore performed upon the Washington aqueduct tunnel, together with the provisions of any contract made for the same or any portion thereof, and all the facts and circumstances connected with the bidding for, the letting and making of said contracts, and all expenditure of moneys heretofore appropriated for said work, together with the extent of any force employed in said work by the Government, the nature of the same and the compensation paid therefor, shall forthwith be fully investigated by a joint select committee of six members, of whom three shall be members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and three shall be members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker. Said committee shall have authority to employ a clerk and stenographer, and such experts as it may deem necessary for the investigation. It may sit during the sessions of Congress or in recess, and shall have full power, either in full committee or subcommittee, to administer oaths and send for persons and papers, and to conduct the investigations either in Washington or in such places as may be deemed necessary, and shall make full report of its proceedings and the conclusions arrived at, with such recommendations as it may deem proper, to Congress on or before January 1, 1889.

Mr. HALE. This is substantially the provision that the Senate embodied in the deficiency appropriation bill, and which afterwards was sent to conference. The conferees agreed upon the proposition, there being no objection whatever on the part of any member of the conference, but on reflection, and as suggested by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. EDMUNDS], it was thought doubtful whether a joint committee of the two Houses could legally be raised by the provisions of a statute, it being of course the constitutional privilege of the two Houses to conduct their own proceedings and make their own committees themselves, without regard to any outside statute or the approval of the President.

Therefore, to save that point, which it seemed to the conferees was well made, and in order that there might be no obstruction to this proposed investigation, the committee unanimously agreed that this concurrent resolution should be reported instead of the provision in the appropriation bill.

The resolution was drawn in conference, and was submitted first in the House of Representatives because that body was in session that day. It passed that body and has just come here.

In order that this investigation may be made most complete and searching, I desire that the Senate shall concur with the House in passing this resolution with only one amendment, which may be needed in order to perfect it. I send to the desk the amendment, which I ask the Senate to agree to.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection to the present consideration of the resolution, it is before the Senate, and the amendment proposed by the Senator from Maine will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In line 8, after the word "contracts," it is proposed to insert the words:

And subcontracts.

Mr. HALE. That amendment is moved so that all the relations between one contractor and another or between the subcontractors and the original contractors may be investigated by this committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was concurred in.

LOUIS RIEL.

Mr. BLAIR submitted the following resolutions; which were read:

Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to the Senate any knowledge or information in his possession or in the possession of the Department of State relating to the case of one Louis Riel, otherwise Louis David Riel, who was hanged for the alleged crime of treason by the authorities of the Dominion of Canada on or about the 16th day of November, 1885, notwithstanding that he was recommended to mercy by the jury who convicted him, doubts being alleged of his sanity, with other mitigating circumstances; and the same Louis Riel in whose favor judgment of naturalization is alleged to appear of record in the United States district court of the third judicial district of the Territory of Montana, of the March term 1883; and also to communicate to the Senate all information of any application made by one Edmund Mallett, now or lately president of the French Canadian League of the United States, or by any other persons, whether verbally or otherwise, to the President or to the Secretary of State in behalf of said Riel prior to his execution, requesting inquiry into the circumstances of his case, his alleged citizenship of the United States, and whether the proceedings in his case had been according to due process of law, and whether there had been a full, fair, and sufficient trial thereof, including the presentation of the fact of his citizenship, and especially of the proof of his insanity with which he had previously been afflicted, and for which he had been long confined, undergoing treatment therefor in an asylum for insane persons, and from which there was alleged to be strong proof of his being afflicted when the events occurred for which he was charged with treason as aforesaid; also what action, if any, was taken by this Government in the premises to secure a new trial or mitigation of the punishment of the said Riel, together with copies of all papers, letters, documents, and correspondence bearing upon the subject-matter; also to inform the Senate whether the said Mallett was at the time of his said alleged application in the employ of the Treasury Department of this Government, and if so, whether since the rejection of said application or the neglect and refusal of this Government to inquire into the case of said Riel (if said application was rejected and said inquiry was neglected and refused to be made), said Mallett has been promoted or appointed to other and more responsible and lucrative service under this Government; and, if so, to what service, together with any other facts relating to the subject-matter of the trial and execution of said alleged American citizen Riel by the authorities of the Dominion of Canada; and

Whereas the said Edmund Mallett, under his hand in a letter dated at Washington, D. C., August 24, 1885, and widely published in the press and supposed to have been communicated to the President and to the Secretary of State, alleged in reference to his interviews with the President and the Secretary of State that the Government refused to inquire into said cases except upon the condition following (among others), to-wit, the condition contained in these words: "First, The American Government will not take the initiative in examining into Riel's citizenship or the rights thereunder," with other matters, showing, if true, gross neglect and indifference to the rights of an American citizen when in extreme need of the protection of his Government, being without means, deprived of liberty, and about to be executed by a foreign nation: Therefore,

Resolved further, That the President be requested to inform the Senate whether the aforesaid allegation of the refusal of this Government to institute inquiry into the case of said Riel upon the statements and petitions of the said Edmund Mallett and others is true, and if the same be not true, whether the said Mallett has ever withdrawn or retracted the same, and if he still adheres to the same, for what reason the said Mallett, since making such public charges against this Government, has been appointed to a responsible and lucrative position in the public service requiring a high order of ability and of personal integrity for the proper discharge of the duties thereof; and if the above charge of the said Mallett be or be not true, whether the President or the Secretary of State had knowledge thereof and of the contents of a certain book entitled "The Blood of Abel," written by one Wilbur F. Bryant, and published in the year 1887, prior to the said appointment of said Mallett; which said book relates to the case of the said Riel, and contains the aforesaid and other letters and statements of the said Mallett, with much other like evidence and allegations of fact, charging this Government with gross and inexcusable negligence in the care and defense of the rights of an American citizen when in foreign parts and about to suffer an infamous death without cause.

Mr. BLAIR. I ask that the resolutions be now considered.

Mr. MORGAN. Let the resolutions go over and be printed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolutions will lie over and be printed, under the rule.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 246) for the relief of J. W. Patterson;

A bill (H. R. 2025) to place William J. Sowell on the rolls of the Arkansas Volunteers;

A bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Eli J. Yamgheim;

A bill (H. R. 2702) granting a pension to Mary Ann Shook;

A bill (H. R. 2707) granting a pension to Baker Saine;

A bill (H. R. 3608) to grant an increase of pension to William E. Prince;

A bill (H. R. 7887) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan C. Harrison;

A bill (H. R. 8521) for the relief of William A. Mathes;

A bill (H. R. 9718) for the relief of J. W. Parish & Co.;

A bill (H. R. 10199) for the relief of William E. Springstein; and

A bill (H. R. 10606) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery, and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln.

The message also announced that the House had concurred in the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4601) to amend the naval record of Nickolas Lenschen, Peter Lenschen, and Loth Possum.

The message further announced that the House had concurred in the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8962) for the relief of Anthony L. Woodson.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolution:

A bill (S. 45) for the relief of Col. James C. Duane;

A bill (S. 70) to provide for warehousing fruit brandy;

A bill (S. 1137) for the relief of Adam L. Epley;

A bill (S. 3433) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the surrender of and cancel land patents to Indians in certain cases;

A bill (S. 3597) to provide for the disposal of the Fort Wallace military reservation in Kansas;

Joint resolution (S. R. 59) authorizing Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird, United States Army, to accept from the President of the French Republic a diploma conferring the decoration of Commander of the National Order of the Legion of Honor; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 112) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Henry Lecomte, of Switzerland.

ANTHONY L. WOODSON.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas, submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8962) for the relief of Anthony L. Woodson, of Woodsonville, Ky., having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment to said bill and agree to the same with the following amendments:

In line — strike out the amount $3,666.90 and insert $4,130.40.

Strike out all after the word "use," in line 9, in the following words: "And the further sum of $2,300, being the value of engineer stores taken in the same way for the construction of forts, stockades, etc., at or near Mumfordville, Ky."

To which the Senate agrees.

JOHN C. SPOONER,
JAMES K. JONES,
JOHN H. MITCHELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

W. J. STONE,
J. M. BROWER,
T. R. STOCKDALE,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was concurred in.

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I offer the following resolution, and ask for its present consideration:

Resolved, That the Regents and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and Director of the United States National Museum be, and hereby are, directed to formulate and transmit to the Senate, at their earliest convenience, a schedule of classified service of the officers and employés of the National Museum, arranged according to duty and salary, as the same is required for the proper working of the Museum.

Mr. HOAR. From what committee does that come?

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. From none. It is a resolution that I introduced in order to get the information.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire for information—I have no doubt it is all right—have we authority to impose directions on the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution and the Director of the National Museum?

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. The resolution relates mainly to the National Museum, which, I suppose, we have a right to call upon for information. It might be different as to the Smithsonian Institution, but as the resolution relates to the Museum, I presume we have that authority. There is no reason why we should not have it.

Mr. HOAR. We have authority to give such directions to the heads of Departments, which rests on unbroken usage from the beginning of the Government, but I am not aware that one House of Congress has a right to order an executive officer of the Government to do anything for its convenience, especially that we have such control over the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. It may be there is such authority reserved by statute. I shall not interpose an objection to the resolution, because I know personally the officers referred to would be anxious to communicate the information, and it is the desire of the Senator from Iowa.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection to the present consideration of the resolution, the question is on agreeing to the same.

The resolution was agreed to.

VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL-SERVICE LAW.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no further resolutions, the Chair lays before the Senate the concurrent resolution offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] on a previous day requesting the Attorney-General to inform the Senate whether he has any information concerning violations of the civil-service law. The Senator who offered the resolution not being in his seat, if there be no objection the resolution will lie over, retaining its place on the Calendar of current business for to-morrow morning.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill is before the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, and will be read at length.

Mr. ALLISON. As this is a long bill and the Senate is familiar with its provisions, at least with those of the original House bill, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the bill at length may be dispensed with, and that as the substitute is read it may be open to amendment; that is to say, that the formal reading of the bill may be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask the Senator from Iowa if there is any objection to having the measure printed in the RECORD?

Mr. HARRIS. It has been printed in the RECORD, I think.

Mr. ALLISON. No, it has not been printed in the RECORD.

Mr. MORGAN. Not the bill.

Mr. HARRIS. The reports were printed in the RECORD.

Mr. ALLISON. Is it proposed that both the bill and the substitute be printed in the RECORD?

Mr. HARRIS. I suppose there is no objection to so printing the bill and amendment, if the Senator suggests it.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, I make that suggestion. My purpose, of course, is to get the amendment of the Senate Committee on Finance before the country. The bill itself has been before the country. It is a House bill, and has been printed, I believe, in various forms. I have no objection to the bill going in. My request, though, was as to the amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection certainly to the amendment being printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the amendment of the Committee on Finance will be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. HARRIS. If either is printed in the RECORD, let the bill and amendment both be printed.

Mr. BUTLER. I was about to suggest that, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the bill and the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance will be printed in the RECORD. It is so ordered.

The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Be it enacted, etc., That on and after the 1st day of October, 1888, the following articles mentioned in this section, when imported, shall be exempt from duty:

Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves.

Timber, squared or sided.

Wood unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for.

Sawed boards, planks, deals, and all other articles of sawed lumber.

Hubs for wheels, posts, last-blocks, wagon-blocks, oar-blocks, gun-blocks, heading-blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough, hewn, or sawed only.

Staves of wood.

Pickets and palings.

Laths.

Shingles.

Clapboards, pine or spruce.

Logs.

Provided, That if any export duty is laid upon the above-mentioned articles, or either of them, by any country whence imported, all said articles imported from said country shall be subject to duty as now provided by law.

Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, or in bulk, when imported from any country which does not charge an import duty upon salt exported from the United States.

Flax straw.

Flax, not hackled or dressed.

Tow of flax, or hemp.
Hemp, manila, and other like substitutes for hemp.
Jute-butts.
Jute.
Sunn, sisal-grass, and other vegetable fibers.
Burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in width, of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value.
Bags of jute for grain.
Machinery designed for the conversion of jute or jute-butts into cotton bagging, to wit, cards, roving-frames, winding-frames, and softeners.
Iron or steel sheets, or plates, or taggers iron, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers tin.
Beeswax.
Glycerine, crude, brown, or yellow, of the specific gravity of 1.25 or less at a temperature of sixty degrees Fahrenheit, not purified by refining or distilling.
Phosphorus.
Soap-stocks, fit only for use as such.
Soap, hard and soft, all which are not otherwise specially enumerated or provided for.
Sheep-dip.
Extract of hemlock, and other bark used for tanning.
Indigo, extracts of, and carmined.
Iodine, resublimed.
Oil, croton.
Hemp-seed and rape-seed oil.
Petroleum.
Alumina—alum, patent alum, alum substitute, sulphate of alumina, and aluminous cake; and alum in crystals or ground.
All imitations of natural mineral waters, and all artificial mineral waters.
Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, unmanufactured.
Boracic acid, borate of lime, and borax.
Copper, sulphate of, or blue vitriol.
Iron, sulphate of, or copperas.
Potash, crude, carbonate of, or fused, and caustic potash.
Chlorate of potash and nitrate of potash, or saltpeter crude.
Sulphate of potash.
Sulphate of soda, known as salt cake, crude or refined, or niter cake, crude or refined, and Glauber's salt.
Nitrate of soda.
Sulphur, refined, in rolls.
Wood-tar.
Coal-tar, crude.
Aniline oil and its homologues.
Coal-tar, products of, such as naphtha, benzine, benzole, dead oil, and pitch.
All preparations of coal-tar not colors or dyes, and not acids of colors and dyes.
Log-wood and other dyewoods, extracts and decoctions of.
Alizarine, natural or artificial.
Spirits of turpentine.
Ocher and ochery earths, umber and umber earths.
Olive-oil, salad oil, cottonseed oil, whale oil, seal oil and neats-foot oil.
All barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, bulbous roots, and excrescences, such as nut-galls, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, grains, gums, and gum resins, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots, and stems, vegetables, seeds, and seeds of morbid growth, weeds, woods used expressly for dyeing, and dried insects, any of the foregoing which are not edible and not specially enumerated or provided for.
All non-dutiable crude minerals, but which have been advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for.
All earths or clays unwrought or unmanufactured.
Glass plates or discs unwrought, for use in the manufacture of optical instruments, spectacles, and eye glasses.
Opium, crude and not adulterated, containing 9 per cent. and over of morphia, for medicinal purposes.
Iron and steel cotton ties or hoops, for baling or other purposes, not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge.
Needles, sewing, darning, knitting, and all others not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
Copper, imported in the form of ores, regulus of; and black or coarse copper and copper cement, old copper fit only for remanufacture.
Antimony, as regulus or metal.
Quicksilver.
Chromate of iron or chromic ore.
Mineral substances in a crude state and metals unwrought not specially enumerated or provided for.
Brick, other than fire-brick.
German looking-glass plates, made of blown glass and silvered.
Vegetables in their natural state or in salt or brine, not specially enumerated or provided for.
Chicory root, ground or unground, burnt or prepared.
Acorns and dandelion root, raw or prepared, and all other articles used, or intended to be used, as coffee or substitutes therefor, not specially enumerated or provided for.
Cocoa, prepared or manufactured.
Dates.
Currants, Zante or other.
Figs.
Meats, game and poultry.
Milk, fresh.
Egg yelks.
Beans, pease, and split pease.
Bibles, books, and pamphlets, printed in other languages than English, and books and pamphlets and all publications of foreign governments, and publications of foreign societies, historical or scientific, printed for gratuitous distribution.
Bristles.
Bulbs and bulbous roots, not medicinal.
Feathers of all kinds, crude or not dressed, colored, or manufactured.
Finishing powder.
Grease.
Grindstones, finished or unfinished.
Curled hair, for beds or mattresses.
Human hair, raw, uncleaned and not drawn.
Hemp and rape seed, and other oil-seeds of like character.
Garden seeds.
Osier or willow, prepared for basket-makers' use.
Broom-corn.
Brush-wood.
Rags, of whatever material composed.
Rattans and reeds, manufactured but not made up into finished articles.
Stones, manufactured or undressed, freestone, granite, sandstone, and all building or monumental stone.
All strings of gut or any other like material.
Tallow.
Waste, all not specially enumerated or provided for.

SEC. 2. That on the 1st day of October, 1888, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the articles hereinafter mentioned, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty on said articles severally:

Glycerine, refined, 3 cents per pound.
Acid, acetic, acetous, or pyroligneous acid, exceeding the specific gravity of 1.047, 5 cents per pound.
Castor beans or seeds, 25 cents per bushel of 50 pounds.
Castor oil, 40 cents per gallon.
Flaxseed or linseed oil, 15 cents per gallon.
Licorice, paste or rolls, 5 cents per pound.
Licorice juice, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, manufactured, one-eighth of 1 cent per pound.
Chromate of potash, 2½ cents per pound.
Bichromate of potash, 2½ cents per pound.
Acetate of lead, brown, 2 cents per pound.
Acetate of lead, white, 3 cents per pound,
White lead, when dry or in pulp, or when ground or mixed in oil, 2 cents per pound.
Orange, mineral, and read lead, 1½ cents per pound.
Litharge, 1½ cents per pound.
Nitrate of lead, 2 cents per pound.
Magnesia, medicinal, carbonate of, 3 cents per pound.
Magnesia, calcined, 7 cents per pound.
Magnesia, sulphate of, or Epsom salts, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.
Prussiate of potash, red, 7 cents per pound.
Prussiate of potash, yellow, 3 cents per pound.
Nitrate of potash, refined, or refined saltpeter, 1 cent per pound.
Sal soda, or soda crystals, one-eighth of 1 cent per pound.
Bicarbonate of or super-carbonate of soda, and saleratus, calcined or pearl ash, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.
Hydrate or caustic soda, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
Soda silicate or other alkaline silicate, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.
Sulphur, sublimed or flowers of, $12 per ton.
Ultramarine, 3 cents per pound.
Paris green, 12½ per cent. ad valorem.
Colors and paints, including lakes, whether dry or mixed, or ground with water or oil, not specially enumerated or provided for, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
Zinc, oxide of, when dry, 1 cent per pound; when ground in oil, 1½ cents per pound.

All medicinal preparations known as cerates, conserves, decoctions, emulsions, extracts, solid or fluid, infusions, juices, liniments, lozenges, mixtures, mucilages, ointments, oleo-resins, pills, plasters, powders, resins, suppositories, sirups, vinegars, and waters, of any of which alcohol is not a component part, which are not specially enumerated or provided for, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

All ground or powdered spices not specially enumerated or provided for, 3 cents per pound.

Proprietary preparations, to wit: All cosmetics, pills, powders, troches or lozenges, sirups, cordials, bitters, anodynes, tonics, plasters, liniments, salves, ointments, pastes, drops, waters, essences, spirits, oils, or preparations or compositions recommended to the public as proprietary articles or prepared according to some private formula as remedies or specifics for any disease or diseases or affections affecting the human or animal body, including all toilet preparations whatever used as applications to the hair, mouth, teeth, or skin, not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Morphia or morphine and all salts thereof, 50 cents per ounce.
Acid, tannic or tannin, 50 cents per pound.
China, porcelain, parian, and bisque, earthen, stone, or crockery ware composed of earthy or mineral substance, including plaques, ornaments, charms, vases, and statuettes, painted, printed, enameled, or gilded, or otherwise decorated in any manner, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
China, porcelain, parian, and bisque ware not decorated in any manner, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
White granite, common ware, plain white or cream-colored, lustered or printed under glaze in a single color; sponged, dipped, or edged ware, 35 per per cent. ad valorem.
Brown earthenware, common stoneware, gas-retorts, and roofing tiles, not specially enumerated or provided for, and not decorated in any manner, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
All other earthen, stone, and crockery ware, white, colored, or bisque, composed of earthy or mineral substances, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and not decorated in any manner, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
Paving tiles, not encaustic, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
Encaustic tiles, not glazed or enameled, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
All glazed or enameled tiles, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
Slates, slate pencils, slate chimney-pieces, mantels, slabs for tables, and all other manufactures of slate, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Green and colored glass bottles, vials, demijohns and carboys (covered or uncovered), pickle or preserve jars, and other plain, molded, or pressed green and colored bottle glass, not cut, engraved, or painted, and not specially enumerated or provided for, 1 cent per pound; if filled, and not otherwise provided for, and the contents are subject to an ad valorem duty, or to a rate of duty based on their value, the value of such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall be added to the value of the contents for the ascertainment of the dutiable value of the latter; but if filled and not otherwise provided for, and the contents are not subject to an ad valorem duty or to a rate of duty based on their value, they shall pay a duty of 1 cent per pound in addition to the duty, if any, on their contents.

Cylinder and crown glass, polished, above 24 by 30 inches square and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 20 cents per square foot; all above that 30 cents per square foot.

Unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window-glass, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, 1½ cents per pound; above that, and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 1½ cents per pound; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 2 cents per pound; all above that 2½ cents per pound: *Provided*, That unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window-glass, imported in boxes containing 50 square feet as nearly as sizes will permit, now known and commercially designated as 50 feet of glass, single thick and weighing not to exceed 55 pounds of glass per box, shall be entered and computed as 50 pounds of glass only; and that said kinds of glass imported in boxes containing, as nearly as sizes will permit, 50 feet of glass, now known and commercially designated as 50 feet of glass, double thick and not exceeding 90 pounds in weight, shall be entered and computed as 80 pounds of glass only; but in all other cases the duty shall be computed according to the actual weight of glass.

Cast polished plate-glass, silvered, or looking-glass plates, above 24 by 30 inches square and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 25 cents per square foot; all above that, 45 cents per square foot.

Porcelain and Bohemian glass, chemical glassware, painted glassware, stained glass, and all other manufactures of glass, or of which glass shall be the com-

ponent material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Iron in pigs, iron kentledge, $6 per ton.

Iron railway bars, weighing more than 25 pounds to the yard, $11 per ton.

Steel railway bars and railway bars made in part of steel, weighing more than 25 pounds to the yard, $11 per ton.

Bar-iron, rolled or hammered, comprising flats not less than 1 inch wide nor less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick, seven-tenths of 1 cent per pound; comprising round iron not less than three-fourths of 1 inch in diameter, and square iron not less than three-fourths of 1 inch square, and flats less than 1 inch wide or less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick, round iron less than three-fourths of 1 inch and not less than seven-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, and square iron less than three-fourths of 1 inch square, 1 cent per pound: *Provided*, That all iron in slabs, blooms, loops, or other forms less finished than iron in bars, and more advanced than pig-iron, except castings, shall be rated as iron in bars, and pay a duty accordingly; and none of the above iron shall pay a less rate of duty than 35 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided further*, That all iron bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind, in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel, shall be subject to a duty of not less than $20 per ton.

Iron or steel tee-rails, weighing not over 25 pounds to the yard $14 per ton; iron or steel flat rails, punched, $15 per ton.

Round iron, in coils or rods, less than seven-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, and bars or shapes of rolled iron, not specially enumerated or provided for, 1 cent per pound.

Iron or steel flat with longitudinal ribs, for the manufacture of fencing, four-tenths of a cent per pound.

Sheet-iron, common or black, thinner than 1 inch and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge, one and one-tenth of 1 per cent. per pound; thinner than No. 25 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 29 wire gauge, one and one-fourth of 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 29 wire gauge, and all iron commercially known as common or black taggers iron, whether put up in boxes or bundles or not, 30 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That on all such iron and steel sheets or plates aforesaid excepting on what are known commercially as tin-plates, terne plates, and taggers tin, when galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter, or other metals, or any alloy of those metals, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound additional when not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge, one-half cent per pound additional, and when thinner than 25 wire gauge, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound additional.

Hoop, or band, or scroll, or other iron, 8 inches or less in width, and not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 10 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1.1 cents per pound; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1.3 cents per pound: *Provided*, That all articles not specially enumerated or provided for, whether wholly or partly manufactured, made from sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron herein provided for, or of which such sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron shall be the material of chief value, shall pay one-fourth of 1 cent per pound more duty than that imposed on the iron from which they are made, or which shall be such material of chief value.

Cast-iron pipe of every description, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

Cut nails and spikes, of iron or steel, 1 cent per pound.

Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

Iron or steel railway fish-plates or splice-bars, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

Wrought-iron or steel spikes, nuts, and washers, and horse, mule, or ox shoes. 1½ cents per pound.

Anvils, anchors, or parts thereof, mill-irons and mill-cranks, of wrought-iron, and wrought-iron for ships, and forgings of iron and steel, for vessels, steam-engines and locomotives, or parts thereof, weighing each 25 pounds or more, 1½ cents per pound.

Iron or steel rivets, bolts, with or without threads or nuts, or bolt blanks, and finished hinges or hinge blanks, 1½ cents per pound.

Iron or steel blacksmiths' hammers and sledges, track-tools, wedges, and crowbars, 1½ cents per pound.

Iron or steel axles, parts thereof, axle bars, axle blanks, or forgings for axles, without reference to the stage or state of manufacture, 1½ cents per pound.

Horseshoe nails, hob-nails, and wire nails, and all other wrought-iron or steel nails, not specially enumerated or provided for, 2½ cents per pound.

Boiler-tubes, or other tubes, or flues, or stays, of wrought-iron or steel, 1½ cents per pound.

Chain or chains, of all kinds, made of iron or steel, less than three-fourths of 1 inch in diameter, 1½ cents per pound; less than three-fourths of 1 inch and not less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter, 1½ cents per pound; less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter, 2 cents per pound.

Hand, back, and all other saws, not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per centum ad valorem.

Files, file-blanks, rasps, and floats of all cuts and kinds, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

Iron or steel beams, girders, joists, angles, channels, car-truck channels, TT columns and posts, or parts or sections of columns and posts, deck and bulb beams, and building forms, together with all other structural shapes of iron or steel, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

Steel wheels and steel-tired wheels for railway purposes, whether wholly or partly finished, and iron or steel locomotive, car, and other railway tires, or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured, 2 cents per pound; iron or steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms or blanks for the same without regard to the degree of manufacture, 1½ cents per pound.

Iron and steel wire and iron and steel wire, galvanized, and all manufactures of iron and steel wire and of iron and steel wire galvanized shall pay the duties now provided by law: *Provided*, That no such duty shall be in excess of 60 per cent. ad valorem.

Clippings from new copper, fit only for manufacture, 1 cent per pound.

Copper in plates, bars, ingots, Chili or other pigs, and in other forms, not manufactured, 2 cents per pound; in rolled plates, called braziers' copper, sheets, rods, pipes, and copper bottoms, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Lead ore and lead dross, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

Lead, in pigs and bars, molten and old refuse lead run into blocks, and bars and old scrap lead fit only to be remanufactured, 1½ cents per pound. Lead in sheets, pipes, or shot, 2½ cents per pound.

Sheathing or yellow metal, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Nickel, in ore or matte, 10 cents per pound on the nickel contained therein.

Zinc ores, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Zinc spelter, or tutenegue, in blocks or pigs, and old worn-out zinc fit only to be remanufactured, 1½ cents per pound; zinc, spelter or tutenegue, in sheets, 2 cents per pound.

Hollowware, coated, glazed, or tinned, 2½ cents per pound.

Needles for knitting and sewing-machines, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Pens, metallic, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

Type metal, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

New type for printing, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

Manufactures, articles, or wares, not specially enumerated or provided for, composed wholly or in part of copper, 35 per cent. ad valorem; manufactures, articles, or wares, not specially enumerated or provided for, composed of iron, steel, lead, nickel, pewter, tin, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, or any other metal, or of which any of the foregoing metals may be the component material of chief value, and whether partly or wholly manufactured, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Cabinet and house furniture of wood, finished, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Manufactures of cedar wood, granadilla, ebony, mahogany, rosewood, and satinwood, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Manufactures of wood, or of which wood is the chief component part, not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

All sugars not above No. 13 Dutch standard in color shall pay duty on their polariscopic test as follows, namely:

All sugars not above No. 13 Dutch standard in color, all tank bottoms, sirups of cane-juice or of beet-juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above seventy-five degrees, shall pay a duty of 1.15 cents per pound, and for every additional degree or fraction of a degree shown by the polariscopic test they shall pay thirty-two thousandths of a cent per pound additional.

All sugars above No. 13 Dutch standard in color shall be classified by the Dutch standard of color and pay duty as follows, namely:

All sugars above No. 13 and not above No. 16 Dutch standard, 2.20 cents per pound.

All sugar above No. 16 and not above No. 20 Dutch standard, 2.40 cents per pound.

All sugars above No. 20 Dutch standard, 2.80 cents per pound.

Molasses testing not above fifty-six degrees by the polariscope, shall pay a duty of 2½ cents per gallon; molasses testing above fifty-six degrees shall pay a duty of 6 cents per gallon: *Provided*, That if an export duty shall hereafter be laid upon sugar or molasses by any country from whence the same may be imported, such sugar or molasses so imported shall be subject to duty as provided by law at the date of the passage of this act.

Sugar candy, not colored, 5 cents per pound.

All other confectionery, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Potato or corn starch, rice-starch, and other starch, 1 cent per pound.

Rice, cleaned, 2 cents per pound; uncleaned, or rice free of the outer hull, and still having the inner cuticle on, 1½ cents per pound.

Rice-flour and rice-meal 15 per cent. ad valorem.

Paddy, or rice having the outer hull on, 1 cent per pound.

Raisins, 1½ cents per pound.

Peanuts or ground-beans, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; shelled, 1 cent per pound.

Mustard, ground or preserved, in bottles or otherwise, 6 cents per pound.

Cotton thread, yarn, warps, or warp yarn, whether single or advanced beyond the condition of single by twisting two or more single yarns together, whether on beams or in bundles, skeins, or cops, or in any other form, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 35 per cent. ad valorem; valued at over 40 cents per pound, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

On all cotton cloth, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Spool-thread of cotton, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Flax, hackled, known as dressed line, $10 per ton.

Brown and bleached linens, ducks, canvas, paddings, cot bottoms, diapers, crash, huckabacks, handkerchiefs, lawns, or other manufactures of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That cuffs, collars, shirts, and other manufactures of wearing apparel, made in whole or in part of linen, and not otherwise provided for, and hydraulic hose, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

Flax, hemp, and jute yarns, and all twines of hemp, jute, jute-butts, sunn, sisal grass, ramie, and China grass, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

Flax or linen thread, twine, and packed thread and all manufactures of flax, or of which flax shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Oil-cloth foundations, or floor-cloth canvass, or burlaps, exceeding 60 inches in width, made of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Oil-cloths for floors, stamped, painted, or printed, and on all other oil-cloth (except silk oil-cloth), and on water-proof cloth, not otherwise provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Gunny-cloth, not bagging, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

Bags and bagging, and like manufactures, not specially enumerated or provided for, including bagging for cotton composed wholly or in part of flax, hemp, jute, gunny cloth, gunny bags, or other material, three-eighths cent per pound.

Tarred cables or cordage, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Untarred manila cordage, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

All other untarred cordage, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Seines and seine and gilling twine, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Sail duck, or canvas for sails, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Russia and other sheetings, of flax or hemp, brown or white, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

All other manufactures of hemp or manila, or of which hemp or manila shall be a component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Grass-cloth, and other manufactures of jute, ramie, China, and sisal grass, not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That as to jute, jute-butts, sunn, and sisal grass, and manufactures thereof, except burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in width, this act shall take effect January 1, 1889; and as to flax, hemp, manila, and other like substitutes for hemp, and the manufactures thereof, upon July 1, 1889.

SEC. 3. On and after October 1, 1888, there shall be admitted, when imported, free of duty:

All wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals.

Wools on the skin.

Woolen rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks.

And on and after January 1, 1889, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the articles hereinafter mentioned in this section, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty on said articles severally:

Woolen and worsted cloths, shawls, and all manufactures of wool of every description, made wholly or in part of wool or worsted, not specially enumerated or provided for, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Flannels, blankets, hats of wool, knit goods, and all goods made on knitting-frames, balmorals, woolen and worsted yarns, and all manufactures of every description, composed wholly or in part of wool or worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, not specially enumerated or provided for, 40 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That from and after the passage of this act, and until the 1st day of October, 1888, the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to classify as woolen cloth all imports of worsted cloth, whether known under the name of worsted cloth or under the names of "worsteds" or "diagonals," or otherwise.

Bunting, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description, composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description, not specially enumerated or provided for, and balmoral skirts and skirting and goods of similar description or used for like purposes, composed wholly or in part of

wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, except knit goods, 45 per cent. ad valorem.

Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description or used for like purposes, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer (except knit goods), 45 per cent. ad valorem.

Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head nets, buttons, or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals is a component material, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

Hemp and jute carpeting 6 cents per square yard.

Floor matting and floor mats exclusively of vegetable substances 20 per cent. ad valorem.

"All other carpets and carpetings, druggets, bockings, mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bedsides of wool, flax, cotton or parts of either or other material, 40 per cent. ad valorem."

Endless belts or felts for paper or printing machines, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

SEC. 4. That on and after the 1st day of October, 1888, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the articles hereinafter mentioned, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty on said articles severally:

Paper, sized or glued, suitable only for printing paper, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

Printing paper, unsized, used for books and newspapers exclusively, 12 per cent. ad valorem.

Paper boxes, and all other fancy boxes, not otherwise provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Paper envelopes, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Paper hangings, and paper for screens or fire-boards, surface-coated paper, and all manufactures of which surface-coated paper is a component material not otherwise provided for, and card-board, paper antiquarian, demy, drawing, elephant, foolscap, imperial, letter, note, and all other paper not specially enumerated or provided for, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Beads and bead ornaments of all kinds, except amber, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Blacking of all kinds, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Bonnets, hats, and hoods for men, women, and children, composed of hair, whalebone, or any vegetable material, and not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Brooms of all kinds, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Brushes of all kinds, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Canes and sticks, for walking, finished, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Card clothing, 20 cents per square foot; when manufactured from tempered steel wire, 40 cents per square foot.

Carriages, and parts of, not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Dolls and toys, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Fans of all kinds, except palm-leaf fans, of whatever material composed, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Feathers of all kinds, when dressed, colored, or manufactured, including dressed and finished birds and artificial and ornamental feathers and flowers, or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, not specially enumerated or provided for, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

Friction and lucifer matches of all descriptions, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Gloves of all descriptions, wholly or partially manufactured, 40 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That gloves made of silk taffeta shall be taxed 50 per cent. ad valorem.

Gun wads of all descriptions, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Gutta-percha, manufactured, and all articles of hard rubber not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Hair, human, if clean or drawn, but not manufactured, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Bracelets, braids, chains, rings, curls, and ringlets composed of hair, or of which hair is the component material of chief value, and all manufactures of human hair, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Hats, materials for: Braids, plaits, flats, willow sheets and squares, fit only for use in making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm-leaf, willow, hair, whalebone, or any vegetable material, not specially enumerated or provided for, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Hat bodies of cotton, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Hatters' plush, composed of silk or of silk and cotton, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

Inks of all kinds, and ink powders, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

Japanned ware of all kinds not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent ad valorem.

Kaolin crude, $1 per ton.

China clay or wrought kaolin, $2 per ton.

Marble of all kinds, in block rough or squared, 40 cents per cubic foot.

Marble, sawed, dressed, or otherwise, including marble slabs and marble paving-tiles, 85 cents per cubic foot.

All manufactures of marble not specially enumerated or provided for, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Papier-maché, manufactures, articles, and wares of, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Percussion caps, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Philosophical apparatus and instruments, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Umbrella and parasol ribs, and stretcher frames, tips, runners, handles, or other parts thereof, when made in whole or chief part of iron, steel, or any other metal, 30 per cent. ad valorem; umbrellas, parasols, and shades, when covered with silk or alpaca, 50 per cent. ad valorem; all other umbrellas, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Watches, watch-cases, watch-movements, parts of watches, watch-glasses, and watch-keys, whether separately packed or otherwise, and watch materials not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Webbing, composed of cotton, flax, or a mixture of these materials, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

SEC. 5. That the following amendments to and provisions for existing laws shall take effect on and after the passage and approval of this act:

Section 6 of the act of March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to reduce internal revenue taxation, and for other purposes," providing a substitute for title 33 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, is hereby amended as to certain of the sections and parts of sections or schedules in such substituted title so that they shall be as follows, respectively:

"SEC. 2499. Each and every imported article not enumerated or provided for in any schedule in this title, which is similar, either in material, quality, textures or the use to which it may be applied, to any article enumerated in this title as chargeable with duty, shall pay the same rate of duty which is levied on the enumerated article which it most resembles in any of the particulars before mentioned; and if any non-enumerated article equally resembles two or more enumerated articles on which different rates of duty are chargeable, there shall be levied on such non-enumerated article the same rate of duty as is chargeable on the article which it resembles paying the highest rate of duty; and on articles, not otherwise provided for, manufactured from two or more materials, the duty shall be assessed at the rate at which the dutiable component material of chief value may be chargeable; and the words "component material of chief value," whenever used in this title, shall be held to mean that dutiable component material which shall exceed in value any other single component material found in the article; and the value of each component material shall be determined by the ascertained value of such material in its last form and condition before it became a component material of such article. If two or more rates of duty shall be applicable to any imported article, it shall pay duty at the highest of such rates: *Provided*, That any non-enumerated article similar in material, and quality, and texture, and the use to which it may be applied to any article on the free-list, and in the manufacture of which no dutiable materials are used, shall be free of duty."

SEC. 2502. Schedule A—Chemical products.—By striking out from this schedule the words "distilled spirits containing 50 per cent. of anhydrous alcohol, $1 per gallon;" also, by striking out the words "alcohol containing 94 per cent. anhydrous alcohol, $2 per gallon."

THE FREE-LIST.

SEC. 2503. By striking out the clause in this section commencing with the words "articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States," and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States, when returned after having been exported without having been advanced in value by any process of manufacture or by labor thereon; casks, barrels, carboys, bags, and other vessels of American manufacture exported filled with American products, or exported empty and returned filled with foreign products, including shooks when returned as barrels or boxes; but proof of the identity of such articles shall be made under general regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and if any of such articles are subject to internal tax at the time of exportation, such tax shall be proved to have been paid before exportation, and not refunded: *Provided*, That this clause shall not include any article upon which an allowance of drawback has been made, the reimportation of which is hereby prohibited except upon payment of duties equal to the drawbacks allowed."

The clause relating to "wearing-apparel," etc. (tariff, paragraph 815), is hereby amended so that it shall read as follows:

"Wearing-apparel, implements, instruments, and tools of trade, occupation, or employment, professional books, and other personal effects (not merchandise) of persons arriving in the United States, not exceeding in value $500, and not intended for the use of any other person or persons, nor for sale; but this exemption shall not be construed to include machinery or other articles imported for use in any manufacturing establishment or for sale: *Provided, however*, That the limitation in value above specified shall not apply to wearing apparel and other personal effects which may have been taken from the United States to foreign countries by the persons returning therefrom; and such last-named articles shall, upon production of evidence satisfactory to the collector or officer acting as such that they have been previously exported from the United States by such persons, and have not been advanced in value or improved in condition by any process of manufacture or labor thereon since so exported, be exempt from the payment of duty: *And provided further*, That all articles of foreign production or manufacture which may have been once imported into the United States and subjected to the payment of duty shall, upon reimportation, if not improved in condition, except by repairs, by any means, since their exportation from the United States, be entitled to exemption from duty upon their identity being established, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury."

"Theatrical scenery and actors' and actresses' wardrobes brought by theatrical managers and professional actors and actresses arriving from abroad for their temporary use in the United States; works of art, drawings, engravings, photographic pictures, and philosophical and scientific apparatus brought by professional artists, lecturers, or scientists arriving from abroad for use by them temporarily for exhibition and in illustration, promotion, and encouragement of art, science, or industry in the United States; and wearing apparel and other personal effects of tourists from abroad visiting the United States shall be admitted to free entry under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; and bonds shall be given, whenever required by the Secretary of the Treasury, for the payment to the United States of such duties as may be imposed by law upon any and all such articles as shall not be exported within six months after such importation: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, extend such period for a further term of six months in cases where application therefor shall be made."

"Wearing-apparel, old and worn, not exceeding $100 in value, upon production of evidence satisfactory to the collector and naval officer (if any) that the same has been donated and imported in good faith for the relief or aid of indigent or needy persons residing in the United States, and not for sale."

SEC. 6. That section 7 of the act approved March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes," is hereby amended so that it shall read as follows:

"Whenever imported merchandise is subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a duty based upon or regulated in any manner by the value thereof, the duty shall be assessed upon the actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise, at the time of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from whence imported, and in the condition in which such merchandise is there bought and sold for exportation to the United States or consigned to the United States for sale, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing the merchandise in condition packed, ready for shipment to the United States: *Provided*, That if there be used for covering or holding imported merchandise, whether dutiable or free, any material or article, other than the ordinary, usual, and necessary coverings used for covering or holding such merchandise, duty shall be levied and collected thereon at the rate to which such material or article would be subject if imported separately:" *Provided, further*, That so much of the foregoing as relates to boxes, sacks, or coverings shall not apply to boxes, sacks, or such other boxing or covering as may be the usual and necessary covering for machinery or parts thereof.

SEC. 7. That section 8 of the act of March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes," amending section 2841 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, is hereby further amended so that said section of the Revised Statutes shall be as follows:

"SEC. 2841. Whenever merchandise imported into the United States is entered by invoice, one of the following declarations, according to the nature of the case, shall be filed with the collector of the port, at the time of entry, by the owner, importer, consignee, or agent; which declaration so filed shall be duly signed by the owner, importer, consignee, or agent, before the collector, or before a notary public or other officer duly authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments, who may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury to receive such declarations and to certify to the identity of the persons making them; and every officer so designated shall file with the collector of the port a copy of his official signature and seal: *Provided*, That if any of the invoices or bills of lading of any merchandise imported in any one vessel, which should otherwise be embraced in said entry, have not been received at the date of the entry, the declaration may state the fact, and thereupon such merchandise of which the invoices or bills of lading are not produced shall not be included in such entry, but may be entered subsequently."

"Declaration of consignee, importer, or agent.

"I, ——— ———, do solemnly and truly declare that the invoice and bill of lading now presented by me to the collector of ——— are the true and only invoice and bill of lading by me received of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported in the ———, whereof ——— ——— is master, from ———, for account of any person whomsoever for whom I am authorized to enter the same; that the said invoice and bill of lading are in the state in which they were actually received by me, and that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any other invoice or bill of lading of the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the entry now delivered to the collector contains a just and true account of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, according to the said invoice and bill of lading; that nothing has been, on my part, nor to my knowledge on the part of any other person, concealed or suppressed, whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the said invoice and the declaration therein are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice, or in the account now rendered of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district. And I do further solemnly and truly declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief [insert the name and residence of the owner or owners] is [or are] the owner [or owners] of the goods, wares, and merchandise mentioned in the annexed entry; that the invoice now produced by me exhibits the actual cost [if purchased] or the actual market value or wholesale price [if otherwise obtained], at the time of exportation in the principal markets of the country where procured, of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and covering of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition packed ready for shipment to the United States, and no other or different discount, bounty, or drawback but such as has been actually allowed on the same."

"Declaration of owner in cases where merchandise has been actually purchased.

"I, ——— ———, do solemnly and truly declare that the entry now delivered by me to the collector of ——— contains a just and true account of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported by or consigned to me, in the ———, whereof ——— ——— is master, from ———; that the invoice and entry which I now produce contain a just and faithful account of the actual cost of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition packed, ready for shipment to the United States, and no other discount, drawback, or bounty but such as has been actually allowed on the same; that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any invoice or bill of lading other than those now produced by me, and that they are in the state in which I actually received them. And I further solemnly and truly declare that I have not in the said entry or invoice concealed or suppressed anything whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the said invoice and the declaration thereon are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice or in the account now produced of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district."

"Declaration of manufacturer or owner in cases where merchandise has not been actually purchased."

"I, ——— ———, do solemnly and truly declare that the entry now delivered by me to the collector of ——— contains a just and true account of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported by or consigned to me in the ———, whereof ——— ——— is master, from ———; that the said goods, wares, and merchandise were not actually bought by me, or by my agent, in the ordinary mode of bargain and sale, but that nevertheless the invoice which I now produce contains a just and faithful valuation of the same, at their actual market value or wholesale price at the time of exportation, in the principal markets of the country where procured for my account [or for account of myself or partners]; that the said invoice contains also a just and faithful account of all the cost of finishing said goods, wares, and merchandise to their present condition, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs and charges incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition packed, ready for shipment to the United States, and no other discount, drawback, or bounty but such as has been actually allowed on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; and the said invoice and the declaration thereon are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any invoice or bill of lading other than those now produced by me, and that they are in the state in which I actually received them. And I do further solemnly and truly declare that I have not in the said entry or invoice concealed or suppressed anything whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice, or in the account now produced of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district."

SEC. 8. That any person who shall knowingly make any false or untrue statement in the declarations provided for in the preceding section, or shall aid or procure the making of any such false statement as to any matter material thereto, shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment at hard labor not more than three years, or both, within the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to relieve imported merchandise from forfeiture for any cause elsewhere provided by law.

SEC. 9. That sections 2970 and 2983 of the Revised Statutes of the United States are hereby amended so that the same shall be, respectively, as follows:

"SEC. 2970. Any merchandise deposited in bond in any public or private bonded warehouse may be withdrawn for consumption within three years from the date of original importation, on payment of the duties and charges to which it may be subject by law at the time of such withdrawal: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall affect or impair existing provisions of law in regard to the disposal of perishable or explosive articles."

"SEC. 2983. In no case shall there be any abatement of the duties or allowance made for any injury, damage, or deterioration sustained by any merchandise while deposited in any public or private bonded warehouse: *Provided*, That the duty assessed on merchandise withdrawn from any such warehouse shall be assessed on the quantity withdrawn therefrom at the time of such withdrawal; but no greater allowance for leakage or evaporation of wines, liquors, and distilled spirits shall be made than is or may be allowed by law on domestic spirits or wines in bond: *And provided further*, That nothing in this section as amended shall restrict or in any way affect the liability of the proprietors of bonded warehouses on their bonds: *And provided further*, That nothing herein shall restrain or limit the exercise of the authority conferred on the Secretary of the Treasury by section 2984 of the Revised Statutes."

SEC. 10. That sections 2803 and 3058 of the Revised Statutes be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 2803. Any baggage or personal effects arriving in the United States in transit to any foreign country may be delivered by the parties having it in charge to the collector of the proper district, to be by him retained, without the payment or exaction of any import duty, or to be forwarded by such collector to the collector of the port of departure, and to be delivered to such parties on their departure for their foreign destination, under such rules, regulations, and fees as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe."

"SEC. 3058. All merchandise imported into the United States shall, for the purpose of this title, be deemed and held to be the property of the person to whom the merchandise may be consigned; but the holder of any bill of lading consigned to order and properly indorsed shall be deemed the consignee thereof; and in case of the abandonment of any merchandise to the underwriters, the latter may be recognized as the consignee."

SEC. 11. That authority is hereby given to the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion to dispense whenever expedient with the triplicate invoices and consular certificates now required by sections 2853, 2854, 2855 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; and triplicate invoices and consular certificates shall in no case be required when the value of the merchandise shipped by any one consignor, in any one vessel, at one and the same time does not exceed $100; and the Secretary of the Treasury, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to make such general regulations in regard to invoices and consular certificates as in his judgment the public interest may require.

SEC. 12. That all fees exacted and oaths administered by officers of the customs, under or by virtue of existing laws of the United States, upon the entry of imported goods and the passing thereof through the customs, and also upon all entries of domestic goods, wares, and merchandise for exportation, be, and the same are hereby, abolished; and in case of entry of merchandise for exportation, a declaration, in lieu of an oath, shall be filed, in such form and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and the penalties for false statements in such declaration provided in the fourth section of this act shall be applicable to declarations made under this section: *Provided*, That where such fees, under existing laws, constitute, in whole or in part, the compensation of any officer, such officer shall receive, from and after the passage of this act, a fixed sum for each year equal to the amount which he would have been entitled to receive as fees for such services.

SEC. 13. That section 2900 of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2900. The owner, consignee, or agent of any imported merchandise which has been actually purchased may at the time, and not afterward, when he shall make and verify his written entry of his merchandise, make such addition in the entry to the cost or value given in the invoice, or *pro forma* invoice, or statement in form of an invoice, which he shall produce with his entry, as in his opinion may raise the same to the actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise, at the period of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from which the same has been imported; and the collector within whose district any merchandise, whether the same has been actually purchased or procured otherwise than by purchase, may be imported or entered, shall cause such actual market value or wholesale price thereof to be appraised; and if such appraised value shall exceed by 10 per cent. or more the entered value, then, in addition to the duties imposed by law on the same, there shall be levied and collected a duty of 20 per cent. ad valorem on such appraised value. The duty shall not, however, be assessed upon an amount less than the invoice or entered value, except as elsewhere especially provided in this act."

SEC. 14. That all invoices of imported merchandise shall, at or before the shipment of the merchandise, be produced to the consul, vice-consul, or commercial agent of the United States of the consular district from which the merchandise is imported to the United States, and if there be no consul, vice-consul, or commercial agent for said district, then said invoices shall be produced to the consul, vice-consul, or commercial agent of the district nearest thereto, and shall have indorsed thereon, when so produced, a declaration signed by the purchaser, manufacturer, owner, or agent, setting forth that the invoice is in all respects correct and true; that it contains, if the merchandise was obtained by purchase, a true and full statement of the time when, and the place where, the same was purchased, and the actual cost thereof and of all charges thereon; and that no discounts, bounties, or drawbacks are contained in the invoice but such as have actually been allowed thereon; and when obtained in any other manner than by purchase, the actual market value or wholesale price thereof at the time of exportation to the United States in the principal markets of the country from whence exported; and that no different invoice of the merchandise mentioned in the invoice so produced, has been or will be furnished to any one. If the merchandise was actually purchased, the declaration shall also contain a statement that the currency in which such invoice is made out is the currency which was actually paid for the merchandise by the purchaser.

SEC. 15. That section 2931 of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2931. The decision of the collector of customs or officer acting as such at the port of importation and entry, as to the rate and amount of duties to be paid on any merchandise, and the dutiable costs and charges thereon, shall be final and conclusive against all persons interested in such merchandise, unless the owner, importer, consignee, or agent of the merchandise shall, within ten days after and not on any day before the ascertainment and liquidation of the duties by the proper officers of the customs, as well in cases of merchandise entered in bond as for consumption, give notice in writing to the collector if dissatisfied with the aforesaid decision, setting forth therein, distinctly and specifically, and in respect to each entry, the reasons of his objection thereto, and shall also, within thirty days after the date of such ascertainment and liquidation, appeal therefrom to the Secretary of the Treasury, who, on receiving such appeal, shall forthwith call upon the collector for a report thereon; and the collector shall thereupon, if he adheres to his decision, set forth, specifically and in detail, to the Secretary, the reasons therefor; and the decision of the Secretary on such appeal shall be final and conclusive, and such merchandise, or costs and charges, shall be liable to duty accordingly, unless suit shall be brought, within ninety days after the decision of the Secretary of the Treasury on such appeal, for any duties which shall have been paid before the date of such decision on such merchandise, or costs and charges, or within ninety days after the payment of duties paid after the decision of the Secretary. No suit shall be begun or maintained for the recovery of any duties alleged to have been erroneously or illegally exacted, until the decision of the Secretary of the Treasury shall have been first had on such appeal, unless the decision of the Secretary shall be delayed more than ninety days from the date of such appeal. And when a suit shall be brought by the United States to recover the additional duties found due on any ascertainment and liquidation thereof, and not paid, the defendant or defendants shall not be permitted to set up any plea or matter in defense excepting such as shall have been set forth in a protest and appeal made as herein prescribed."

SEC. 16. That the section of the Revised Statutes numbered 3012 shall be, and hereby is, amended by adding at the end of said section the following words:

"And there shall be attached to the said bill of particulars, when served as aforesaid, a copy of each and every such protest or notice of dissatisfaction, and of every appeal relied upon by the plaintiff or plaintiffs in said suit; and the said bill of particulars shall declare the date of liquidation; and a bill of particulars, having been served as aforesaid, shall not thereafter be amended by the plaintiff, or by the court on the plaintiff's motion, so as to increase the total sum claimed therein as having been exacted in excess."

SEC. 17. That no suit which by this act, or by any law of the United States, is

permitted to be begun against a collector of customs to recover money alleged to have been illegally exacted by him on imported merchandise, shall hereafter be begun or maintained in any court of any State of the United States, but each and every such suit shall be begun in the circuit court of the United States for the district in which such alleged illegal action shall have been made.

SEC. 18. That section 3012¼ of the Revised Statutes shall be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:

"Whenever it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury (first) that, in any case of unascertained or estimated duties, more money has been paid to or deposited with a collector of customs than the law required to be paid or deposited; and also (second) whenever the Secretary of the Treasury shall have decided, on an appeal to him as herein provided, that more money has been paid to or deposited with a collector of customs than the law required; and also (third) whenever any judgment shall have been recovered and entered, in any court of the United States, against a collector of customs, for duties illegally exacted by him on imported merchandise, and a certificate of probable cause shall have been entered in said suit, in compliance with the provisions and requirements of section 989 of the Revised Statutes, from which judgment the Attorney-General shall certify, in conformity with the act of March 3, 1875 (chapter 136), that no appeal or writ of error will be taken by the United States, and from which judgment the Secretary of the Treasury shall also be satisfied that no such appeal or writ of error ought to be taken; and also (fourth) whenever any suit or suits have been begun against a collector of customs to recover money exacted by him and paid under protest, and an appeal, as required by law, and a bill of particulars has been served therein on the defendant or his attorney, as required by law, and when by the legal effect of any judgment of a court of the United States, satisfactory to the Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Treasury as aforesaid, the said exaction of such duties shall have been declared illegal, and protests, appeals, and bills of particulars have been made according to the law in force at the time of importation, and the proper officers of the customs shall, under the instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury, have reliquidated the entries covered, by said suit or suits, and bill or bills of particulars, according to the principles and rules of law prescribed by said judgment, and the district attorney appearing of record for the defendant shall certify that such suits have been discontinued, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, in each and all of the before-mentioned cases, always excepting judgments or 'judgment cases' in suits commonly known as 'charges and commission' suits, which last named shall only be paid in pursuance of a specific appropriation therefor, draw his warrant upon the Treasurer in favor of the person or persons entitled to the overpayment, or the sum expressed in said judgment, or the sum thus found due on reliquidation of the entries in discontinued suits, including costs payable by law, directing the Treasurer to refund and pay the same out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The necessary moneys therefor are hereby appropriated, and this appropriation shall be deemed a permanent indefinite appropriation."

SEC. 19. That section 2927 of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended by the addition of the following words thereto:

"No allowances for damages to goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States shall hereafter be made in the estimation and liquidation of duties thereon; but the importer thereof may abandon to the Government all or any portion of goods, wares, and merchandise included in any invoice, and be relieved from the payment of the duties on the portion so abandoned: *Provided*, That the portion so abandoned shall amount to 10 per cent. or over of the total value of the invoice."

SEC. 20. That any person who shall give or offer to give or promise to give, excepting for such duties or fees as have been levied or required according to the forms of law, any money or thing of value, directly or indirectly, to any officer or servant of the customs or of the United States, in connection with or pertaining to the importation, or appraisement, or entry, or examination, or inspection of good , wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage, or of the liquidation of the entry thereof, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not less than $100 nor more than $5,000, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than two years, or both, at the discretion of the court; and evidence of such giving, or offering, or promising to give, satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be regarded as *prima facie* evidence that such giving, or offering, or promising was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent and not done with an unlawful intention.

SEC. 21. That any officer or servant of the customs or of the United States who shall, excepting for lawful duties or fees, demand, exact, or receive from any person, directly or indirectly, any money or thing of value in connection with or pertaining to the importation, appraisement, entry, examination, or inspection of goods, wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage or liquidation of the entry thereof, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not less than $100 nor more than $5,000, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than two years, or both, at the discretion of the court; and evidence of such demanding, exacting, or receiving satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be *prima facie* evidence that such demanding, exacting, or receiving was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent and not with an unlawful intention.

SEC. 22. That section 2864 of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby is, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2864. That any owner, importer, consignee, agent, or other person who shall, with intent to defraud the revenue, make or attempt to make any entry of imported merchandise by means of any fraudulent or false invoice, affidavit, letter, or paper, or by means of any false statement, written or verbal, or who shall be guilty of any willful act or omission by means whereof the United States shall be deprived of the lawful duties, or any portion thereof, accruing upon the merchandise, or any portion thereof, embraced or referred to in such invoice, affidavit, letter, paper, or statement, or affected by such act or omission, shall for each offense be fined in any sum not exceeding $5,000 nor less than $50, or be imprisoned for any time not exceeding two years, or both; and, in addition to such fine, such merchandise, or the value thereof, shall be forfeited, which forfeiture shall only apply to the whole of the merchandise, or the value thereof, in the case or package containing the particular article or articles of merchandise to which such fraud or alleged fraud relates; and anything contained in any act which provides for the forfeiture or confiscation of an entire invoice in consequence of any item or items contained in the same being undervalued be, and the same is hereby, repealed."

SEC. 23. That all imported goods, wares, and merchandise which may be in the public stores or bonded warehouses or on shipboard within the limits of any port of entry, or remaining in the customs offices, on the day and year when this act, or any provision thereof, shall go into effect, except as otherwise provided in this act, shall be subject to no other duty, upon the entry thereof for consumption, than if the same were imported respectively after that day; and all goods, wares, and merchandise remaining in bonded warehouses on the day and year this act, or any provision thereof, shall take effect, and upon which the duties shall have been paid, shall be entitled to a refund of the difference between the amount of duties paid and the amount of duties said goods, wares, and merchandise would be subject to if the same were imported respectively after that date.

SEC. 24. That sections 3011 and 3013 of the Revised Statutes be, and hereby are, repealed as to all importations made after the date of this act.

SEC. 25. That on and after the 1st day of October, 1888, all taxes on manufactured chewing-tobacco, smoking-tobacco, and snuff, all special taxes upon manufacturers of and dealers in said articles, and all taxes upon wholesale and retail dealers in leaf-tobacco be, and are hereby, repealed: *Provided*, That there shall be allowed a drawback or rebate of the full amount of tax on all original and unbroken factory packages of smoking and manufactured tobacco and snuff held by manufacturers, factors, jobbers, or dealers on said 1st day of October, if claim therefor shall be presented to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue prior to the 1st day of January, 1889, and not otherwise. No claim shall be allowed and no drawback shall be paid for an amount less than $5, and all sums required to satisfy claims under this act shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. It shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to adopt such rules and regulations, and to prescribe and furnish such blanks and forms as may be necessary to carry this section into effect.

SEC. 26. That on and after the 1st day of October, 1888, manufacturers of cigars shall each pay a special tax of $3 annually, and dealers in tobacco shall each pay a special tax of $1 annually. Every person whose business it is to sell or offer for sale cigars, cheroots, or cigarettes shall, on and after the 1st day of October, 1888, be regarded as a dealer in tobacco, and the payment of any other special tax shall not relieve any person who sells cigars, cheroots, or cigarettes from the payment of this tax: *Provided*, That no manufacturer of cigars, cheroots, or cigarettes shall be required to pay a special tax as a dealer in tobacco, as above defined, for selling his own products at the place of manufacture: *Provided*, That the bond required to be given in conformity with the provisions of Title XXXV of the Revised Statutes of the United States, by every person engaging in the manufacture of cigars in the internal-revenue districts of the United States, shall be in such penal sum as the collector of internal revenue may require, not less than $100, with an addition of $10 for each person proposed to be employed by such person in making cigars.

SEC. 27. That the sum of $20,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the alteration of dies, plates, and stamps, for furnishing blanks and forms, and for such other expenses as shall be incident to the collection of special taxes at the reduced rates provided in this act.

SEC. 28. That section 3361 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and all laws and parts of laws which impose restrictions upon the sale of leaf-tobacco, be, and are hereby, repealed.

SEC. 29. That whenever in any statute denouncing any violation of the internal-revenue laws as a felony, crime, or misdemeanor, there is prescribed in such statute a minimum punishment, less than which minimum no fine, penalty, imprisonment, or punishment is authorized to be imposed, every such minimum punishment is hereby abolished; and the court or judge in every such case shall have discretion to impose any fine, penalty, imprisonment, or punishment not exceeding the limit authorized by such statute, whether such fine, penalty, imprisonment, or punishment be less or greater than the said minimum so prescribed.

SEC. 30. That no warrant, in any case under the internal-revenue laws, shall be issued upon an affidavit making charges upon information and belief, unless such affidavit is made by a collector or deputy collector of internal revenue or by a revenue agent; and, with the exception aforesaid, no warrant shall be issued except upon a sworn complaint, setting forth the facts constituting the offense and alleging them to be within the personal knowledge of the affiant. And the United States shall not be liable to pay any fees to marshals, clerks, commissioners, or other officers for any warrant issued or arrest made in prosecutions under the internal-revenue laws, unless there be a conviction or the prosecution has been approved, either before or after such arrest, by the attorney of the United States for the district where the offense is alleged to have been committed, or unless the prosecution was commenced by information or indictment.

SEC. 31. That whenever a warrant shall be issued by a commissioner or other judicial officer having jurisdiction for the arrest of any person charged with a criminal offense, such warrant, accompanied by the affidavit on which the same was issued, shall be returnable before some judicial officer named in section 1014 of the Revised Statutes residing in the county of arrest, or if there be no such judicial officer in that county, before some such judicial officer residing in another county nearest to the place of arrest; and the judicial officer, before whom the warrant is made returnable as herein provided, shall have exclusive authority to make the preliminary examination of every person arrested as aforesaid, and to discharge him, admit him to bail, or commit him to prison, as the case may require: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to the Indian Territory.

SEC. 32. That the circuit courts of the United States, and the district courts or judges thereof exercising circuit-court powers, and the district courts of the Territories, are authorized to appoint, in different parts of the several districts in which said courts are held, as many discreet persons to be commissioners of the circuit courts as may be deemed necessary; and said courts, or the judges thereof, shall have authority to remove at pleasure any commissioners heretofore or hereafter appointed in said districts.

SEC. 33. That the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may compromise any civil or criminal case, and may reduce or remit any fine, penalty, forfeiture, or assessment under the internal-revenue laws.

SEC. 34. That section 3176 of the Revised Statutes be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 3176. The collector or any deputy collector in any district shall enter into and upon the premises, if it be necessary, of any person therein who has taxable property and who refuses or neglects to render any return or list required, or who renders a false or fraudulent return or list, and make, according to the best information which he can obtain, including that derived from the evidence elicited by the examination of the collector, and on his own view and information, such list or return, according to the form prescribed, of the objects liable to tax owned or possessed or under the care or management of such person, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall assess the tax thereon, including the amount, if any, due for special tax, and a penalty of 25 per cent., and he may add to such tax interest at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum thereon from and after the date when such tax became due and payable. The interest so added to the tax shall be collected at the same time and in the same manner as the tax. And the list or return so made and subscribed by such collector or deputy collector shall be deemed good and sufficient for all legal purposes."

SEC. 35. That nothing in this act shall in any way change or impair the force or effect of any treaty between the United States and any other government, or any laws passed in pursuance of or for the execution of any such treaty, so long as such treaty shall remain in force in respect of the subjects embraced in this act; but whenever any such treaty, so far as the same respects said subjects, shall expire or be otherwise terminated, the provisions of this act shall be in force in all respects in the same manner and to the same extent as if no such treaty had existed at the time of the passage hereof.

SEC. 36. That section 3255 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended by striking out all after said number and substituting therefor the following:

"And the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may exempt distillers of brandy made exclusively from apples, peaches, grapes, or other fruits from any provision of this title relating to the manufacture of spirits, except as to the tax thereon, when in his judgment it may seem expedient to do so.

"The Secretary of the Treasury may exempt all distilleries which mash less than 25 bushels of grain per day from the operations of the provisions of this title relating to the manufacture of spirits, except as to the payment of the tax, which said tax shall then be levied and collected on the capacity of said distilleries; and said distilleries may, at the discretion of said Secretary, then be run and operated without storekeepers, or 'storekeepers and gaugers.' And the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of said Secretary, may establish special warehouses in which he may authorize to be deposited the product of any number of said distilleries to be designated by him, and in which any distiller operating any such distillery may deposit his product, which, when so deposited, shall be subject to all the laws and regulations as to bonds, tax, removals, and otherwise as other warehouses. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, is hereby authorized and directed to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section: *Provided*, That such regulations shall be adopted as will require that all the spirits manufactured shall be subject to the payment of the tax according to law."

SEC. 37. That the provisions of an act entitled "An act relating to the production of fruit brandy, and to punish frauds connected with the same," approved March 3, 1877, be extended and made applicable to brandy distilled from apples or peaches, or from any other fruit the brandy distilled from which is not now required, or hereafter shall not be required, to be deposited in a distillery warehouse: *Provided*, That each of the warehouses established under said act, or which may hereafter be established, shall be in charge either of a storekeeper or a storekeeper and gauger, at the discretion of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

SEC. 38. That section 3332 of the Revised Statutes, and the supplement thereto, shall be amended so that said section shall read as follows:

"When a judgment of forfeiture, in any case of seizure, is recovered against any distillery used or fit for use in the production of distilled spirits, because no bond has been given, or against any distillery used or fit for use in the production of spirits, having a registered producing capacity of less than 150 gallons a day, every still, doubler, worm, worm-tub, mash-tub, and fermenting-tub therein shall be sold, as in case of other forfeited property, without being mutilated or destroyed. And in case of seizure of a still, doubler, worm, worm-tub, fermenting-tub, mash-tub, or other distilling apparatus of any kind whatsoever, for any offense involving forfeiture of the same, it shall be the duty of the seizing officer to remove the same from the place where seized to a place of safe storage; and said property so seized shall be sold as provided by law, but without being mutilated or destroyed."

SEC. 39. That whenever it shall be made to appear to the United States court or judge having jurisdiction that the health or life of any person imprisoned for any offense, in a county jail or elsewhere, is endangered by close confinement, the said court or judge is hereby authorized to make such order and provision for the comfort and well-being of the person so imprisoned as shall be deemed reasonable and proper.

SEC. 40. That all clauses of section 3244 of the Revised Statutes, and all laws amendatory thereof, and all other laws which impose any special taxes upon manufacturers of stills, retail dealers in liquors, and retail dealers in malt liquors, are hereby repealed.

SEC. 41. That this act is intended and shall be construed as an act supplementary and amendatory to existing laws, and the rates of duty and modification of clauses, provisions, and sections as herein specifically made are intended and shall be construed as a repeal of all clauses, provisions, and sections in conflict herewith, but as to all clauses, provisions, and sections in existing laws not herein specifically changed, modified, or amended the rates of duty now existing shall be and remain in full force and effect. This act shall be in force from and after October 1, 1888, except as herein otherwise provided.

The amendment reported by the Committee on Finance is to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill and to insert in lieu of the matter stricken out:

TOBACCO.

That on and after the 1st day of February, 1889, manufacturers of cigars shall each pay a special tax of $3 annually: *Provided*, That the bond required to be given in conformity with the provisions of Title XXXV of the Revised Statutes of the United States, by every person engaging in the manufacture of cigars in the internal-revenue districts of the United States, shall be in such penal sum as the collector of internal revenue may require, not less than $100, with an addition of $10 for each person proposed to be employed by such person in making cigars.

That on and after the 1st day of February, 1889, the internal-revenue taxes on cigars, cheroots, and on all cigarettes weighing more than 3 pounds per thousand, which shall be manufactured and sold or removed for consumption or sale after that date shall be $1.50 per thousand, and on cigarettes weighing less than 3 pounds to the thousand, 50 cents per thousand, and shall be paid by the manufacturer thereof.

That all laws now in force whereby farmers and producers of tobacco are restricted in the sale and disposition of the same, and all laws and parts of laws so far as the same relate to the internal-revenue taxes on the articles hereinafter specified, whether imported or manufactured in the United States, be, and the same are hereby, repealed, to take effect on the 1st day of February, 1889, namely: The taxes on manufactured tobacco and snuff, and the special taxes required by law to be paid by manufacturers of and dealers in leaf-tobacco, retail dealers in leaf-tobacco, dealers in manufactured tobacco, snuff, and cigars, peddlers of tobacco, snuff, and cigars, and manufacturers of snuff: *Provided*, That on all original and unbroken factory packages of smoking and manufactured tobacco, snuff, cigars, cheroots, and cigarettes, held by manufacturers, or dealers, at the time such repeal or reduction shall go into effect, upon which the tax has been paid, there shall be a rebate in favor of said manufacturer or dealer, to the full amount and extent of the tax so paid thereon or to the full amount of the tax so reduced, as the case may be; but the same shall not apply in any case where the claim has not been presented within ninety days following the date when such repeal shall take effect; and no claim shall be allowed for a less amount than $10; and any special-tax stamp covering taxes repealed by this act may be redeemed for the portion of the special-tax year unexpired at the time of the repeal, when the amount claimed for such stamp shall not be less than $10; and all sums required to satisfy claims under this act shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated; and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to adopt such rules and regulations and to prescribe and furnish such blanks and forms as may be necessary to carry this section into effect.

The sum of $20,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the alteration of dies, plates, and stamps, for furnishing blanks and forms, and for such other expenses as shall be incident to the collection of special taxes at the reduced rates provided in this act.

SEC. 2. That all internal-revenue laws limiting, restricting, or regulating the manufacture, sale, or exportation of all tobacco and snuff, except as herein provided, are hereby repealed, to take effect on the 1st day of February, 1889; and that there shall be no drawback allowed upon any such articles which shall be entered for export on or after that date: *Provided*, That all laws now in force shall remain and have full force and effect in respect to all offenses committed, liabilities incurred, or rights accruing or accrued prior to the date when the repeal of the taxes specified in this act shall take effect.

ALCOHOL IN THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

SEC. 3. That the Commissioner of Internal Revenue be, and hereby is, authorized, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the filing of such bond as he may prescribe, to establish warehouses, to be designated as bonded alcohol warehouses, to be used exclusively for the storing of distilled spirits, of an alcoholic strength of not less than 180 per cent. of proof spirit as defined by section 3249 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and in the distillers' original casks or packages, each of which warehouses shall be in the charge of a storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, to be appointed, assigned, transferred, and paid in the same manner that storekeepers and storekeepers and gaugers for distillery warehouses are now appointed, assigned, transferred, and paid. Every such warehouse shall be under the control of the collector of internal revenue of the district in which such warehouse is located, shall be in the joint custody of the storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, and the proprietor thereof, and kept securely locked, and shall at no time be unlocked or opened, or remain open, except in the presence of such storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, or other person who may be designated to act for him, as provided in the case of distillery warehouses. And such warehouses shall be under such further regulations as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe.

SEC. 4. That distilled spirits of an alcoholic strength of not less than 180 per cent. of proof spirit as defined by section 3249 of the Revised Statutes of the United States may, after having been properly gauged, marked, stamped, and branded in distillery warehouses, under regulations to be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, and also stamped as hereinafter provided, be removed in bond from distillery bonded warehouses to a bonded alcohol warehouse, under such regulations and after making such entries, and executing and filing with the collector of the district in which such spirits were manufactured such bonds and bills of lading, and giving such other additional security as may be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. 5. That such distilled spirits, after being deposited in such bonded alcohol warehouse, may, under such regulations as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall prescribe, be removed to secure store-rooms, and used in manufacturing establishments, as hereinafter provided, without payment of the internal-revenue tax, in the industrial arts, and in the manufacture of articles, preparations, compounds, acetic and other acids, and medicinal drugs, or chemicals made according to the direction of the United States or other national pharmacopœia or according to formulas, as published in any of the dispensatories in common use among physicians or apothecaries in the United States. But nothing herein contained shall be held or construed as authorizing the use of any distilled spirits upon which the internal-revenue tax has not been paid, in the manufacture of tinctures, proprietary articles, wines, liquors, cordials, bitters, or other alcoholic compounds which are used or sold as beverages, or which, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, may be so used or sold. All articles excluded from the provisions of this act, manufactured or stored on any premises to which distilled spirits have been removed free of tax under the provisions of this act, and all articles manufactured or stored in violation of this act shall be forfeited to the United States. Every person desiring to have a bonded alcohol warehouse or store-room established, intending to commence or continue business herein, shall file with the collector of internal revenue of the district in which the building or room to be used as such warehouse or store-room is located a notice in duplicate of his desire and intention, stating the location of the building or room, and such other information as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may require; and at the time of the filing of such notice shall execute a bond in duplicate in the form prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, conditioned that he will comply with all the provisions of law and regulations made in pursuance thereof pertaining to the business to be carried on by him, and that he will not use, or allow to be used, any distilled spirits entered into or removed from his warehouse or store-room, by any person or persons whatsoever for any of the uses not authorized by this act, and that in case any such spirits shall be so used he shall pay, or cause to be paid, to the United States a sum double the amount of the tax on all such spirits so used, and shall pay all penalties incurred or fines imposed on him for violation of any of the provisions of this act. Said bonds shall each be with at least two sureties, approved by the collector of the district, and for the penal sum of not less than double the amount of the tax on the estimated quantity of such spirits that are intended to be entered in such warehouse or store-room as the case may be, during a period of sixty days, but in no case shall the penal sum of said warehouse bond be less than $100,000, nor that of the store-room bond be less than $5,000, and the said bonds shall be strengthened and renewed at such times, and shall contain such other conditions as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may require. The collector may refuse to approve said bond when, in his judgment, the situation of the warehouse or store-room is such as will enable the warehouse proprietor or the manufacturer to defraud the United States; and in case of such refusal the proprietor or manufacturer may appeal to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, whose decision in the matter shall be final. One copy of the notice and application and bond will be forwarded to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and one of each will be retained by the collector.

SEC. 6. That all distilled spirits intended to be entered for deposit in a bonded alcohol warehouse, before being removed from the distillery warehouse, shall have affixed to each cask or package an engraved stamp indicative of such intention, to be provided and furnished to the several collectors as in the case of other stamps, and to be charged to them and accounted for in the same manner, and for the expense attending the providing and affixing such stamps 10 cents for each stamp shall be paid to the collector of the district on making the entry for such removal.

SEC. 7. That any manufacturer, after having provided, at his own expense, on the premises, and connected with his manufactory, a secure store-room, in which all spirits used in the manufactory shall be exclusively entered and stored, and to be separated by a secure wall from all other parts of such manufactory, and with one door only entering therein, and all other openings secured and fastened, and approved by the collector of the district and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, after the filing of the notice and bond as required by this act, may, under such bonds and securities as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe, remove distilled spirits of an alcoholic strength of not less than 180 per cent. of proof spirit as defined by section 3249 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in distillers' original casks or packages, without payment of the internal-revenue tax, from a bonded alcohol warehouse, as defined in this act, to his store-room for use in his manufactory as hereinbefore provided. But such spirits shall remain in the original packages until withdrawn for immediate use. Every such store-room shall be under the control of the collector of internal revenue of the district in which such manufactory is located, and shall be in the charge of a storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, and in the joint custody of the storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, and the proprietor thereof, and kept securely locked, and shall at no time be unlocked or opened, or remain open, except in the presence of such storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, or other person who may be designated to act for him, as provided in the case of distillery warehouses, and such storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger shall be appointed, assigned, transferred, and paid in the same manner that storekeepers or storekeepers and gaugers for distillery warehouses are now appointed, as signed, transferred, and paid. And in case the official bond of the storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger has been approved before the passage

of this act, such officer shall file a new official bond, which must be approved by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue before he is assigned to duty under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 8. The storekeeper or storekeeper and gauger assigned to such store-room shall, in addition to keeping such books and making such reports, concerning spirits entered in, and delivered and removed from such store-room, as may be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, have access to every part of such manufactory in which such distilled spirits are used, and make a report each month to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, stating the kind and quantity of distilled spirits used during the month, the purpose for which used, and furnish such other information as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may require and prescribe; and such store-rooms shall be under such further regulations as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe.

SEC. 9. That under such regulations as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe, any proprietor of a bonded alcohol warehouse, who has filed with the collector a bond with at least two sureties, and in the form and sum specified in this act, may admix with the distilled spirits entered in his warehouse, in the presence of the storekeeper, methylic alcohol, wood alcohol, or wood naphtha, which shall cause such distilled spirits to be unfit for use as a beverage; and such distilled spirits, after being so methylated, and drawn off in the presence of the storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, and under the supervision of a gauger to be designated by the collector, into packages of a form and material to be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and different from those of casks in which distilled spirits are usually contained, such packages to be gauged, marked, stamped, and branded by the gauger as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe, may be sold and removed from such warehouse without the payment of the internal-revenue tax. But distilled spirits produced in different months shall not be drawn into the same package, and each package shall not be of less capacity than 5 wine gallons, nor of greater capacity than 25 wine gallons, nor contain more than 39 proof gallons of spirits. Methylated spirits may be used in the arts and manufactures, and for burning, and in the manufacture of articles and compounds, except wines, liquors, cordials, bitters, and other alcoholic compounds used and sold as beverages, or in the opinion of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue calculated or intended to be so used or sold. And the methylation of such spirits shall be by the addition of methylic alcohol, wood alcohol, or wood naptha in such quantities, and in such manner, in the presence of the storekeeper, or storekeeper and gauger, as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe. And no such methylated spirits shall be permitted on any premises in which the business of a distiller, rectifier, wholesale liquor dealer, or retail liquor dealer is carried on, or in premises connected therewith by any private or internal communication. Every person intending to withdraw methylated spirits from any bonded alcohol warehouse shall file with the collector of the district in which the spirits are to be used an application, under oath, setting forth the purpose for which the spirits are to be withdrawn, the estimated quantity to be so withdrawn and used during a period of one year; the place where the spirits are to be stored, and a full description of the premises on which the spirits are to be so used; also, the name and residence of every person interested, or to be interested, in the business to be carried on at said premises; and the application shall be in such form, and shall contain such further information as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may by regulation require.

Upon the receipt of such application and after making such inquiries as will satisfy him that the statements therein contained are true, the collector shall, upon the applicant filing with him a bond with satisfactory sureties and in a penal sum of not less than double the amount of the tax on the spirits intended to be withdrawn during the period of one year, issue a permit, under seal, for the withdrawal of said spirits for the purpose or purposes to be therein specified; said bond and permit shall be in such form as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may prescribe, and may be renewed, and shall be canceled, or revoked at his discretion.

And the Commissioner of Internal Revenue is authorized to have such permits printed from engraved plates and with serial numbers, as in the case of special tax stamps.

No methylated spirits shall be withdrawn from any bonded alcohol warehouse except upon a permit issued as aforesaid, which permit shall, at the time each withdrawal of spirits is made thereunder, be presented by the person to whom it is issued, or by his duly authorized agent, to the storekeeper in charge of the warehouse, who shall indorse upon the permit the quantity of spirits withdrawn, giving the number of packages, the serial numbers of packages and stamps, the number of proof gallons, the date when tax is due by three years' limit, and the date of withdrawal in each case. But in no case shall the quantity of spirits withdrawn under any permit during the period for which the permit is issued exceed the quantity of spirits specified therein. And the sale, removal, and use of such methylated spirits shall be under such regulations and restrictions as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe. And said Commissioner may, in his discretion, exact bonds and returns of persons who purchase or receive, use, or transport methylated spirits. And any internal-revenue officer shall, at all times, have right of access to all premises on which such methylated spirits are received, stored, or used. And the provisions of sections 3276 and 3277 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, so far as applicable, are hereby made to apply to such premises and to the proprietors or occupants thereof. And any person who shall demethylate, or separate methylic alcohol, wood alcohol, or wood naphtha from any such distilled spirits, or use, or by willful neglect, cause to be used, any such methylated spirits for any of the uses not authorized by this act, or who shall separate or recover, or cause the separation or recovery of any alcohol permitted to be used in the manufacture of any of the articles by the provisions of this act free of tax, shall on conviction pay a penalty of not less than $500 nor more than $5,000, and be imprisoned not less than six months nor more than three years.

SEC. 10. That every proprietor of any such bonded alcohol warehouse who shall have filed the application and bond, and every manufacturer who shall have provided a suitable store-room, which have been approved by the collector of the district and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, shall provide a book to be prepared and kept in such form as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may prescribe, and shall make daily entries therein of all spirits received, with the name of the person from whom the spirits were purchased, and the name of the distiller by whom and the district in which the spirits were produced, the serial number of each cask or package, and the actual contents of each when received by him. He shall also, in like manner, enter in said book the quantity of spirits removed each day, and the name, occupation, and address of the person to whom the spirits are sold; and if a manufacturer, he shall enter in said book the quantity removed from the store-room, and if less than a cask or package, the actual quantity removed from any cask or package; and he shall also enter the name of all articles in the manufacture of which such spirits have been used, as authorized in this act. And every person keeping the book herein required shall, on or before the 10th day of each month, make a full and accurate transcript of all entries made during the preceding month, and shall, after verifying the same by oath, forward the same, through the collector of the district, to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The book herein required shall be kept on the premises described in the application, and shall at all times be open for the inspection of any revenue officer; and such officer shall at all times have access to said premises for the purpose of inspecting the same, or any stock, utensil, apparatus, or appliances therein, where such spirits are used, and the owner or occupant of said premises shall, on demand of such officer, furnish needful assistance to enable the said officer to make such examination and report. And any person who shall willfully use, or by neglect cause to be used, any distilled spirits, entered in his bonded alcohol warehouse or store-room established under this act, in any manner except as expressly provided and permitted in this act, shall, on conviction, pay a penalty of not less than $1,000 nor more than $5,000, and be imprisoned not less than six months nor more than three years.

SEC. 11. That any person who, under the provisions of this act, or under any regulation issued in pursuance hereof, shall neglect or refuse to make or render any entry, bond, or account, or shall make or render any false or fraudulent entry, bond, or account, or shall, in qualifying as a surety to any bond required by this act, make any false or fraudulent statement or representation as to the property owned by him, and any person who shall fail to use any stamp, label, tag, mark, caution-notice, or any other device prescribed by this act, or by any regulation issued in pursuance of this act, or shall fraudulently use or re-use the same, shall for any such offense, on conviction had, be fined not less than $500, nor more than $5,000, and be imprisoned not less than six months, nor more than three years; and any vessel, package, or other inclosure not stamped, marked, or branded as required by law and this act, all spirits or other materials contained in such vessel, cask, or package, or inclosure, shall be forfeited to the United States. Nothing in this act shall be construed as extending the time within which the tax on distilled spirits shall be paid beyond the limit fixed by law within which such spirits must be withdrawn from distillery warehouses upon payment of the tax. And, in case any spirits withdrawn from a distillery warehouse under the provisions of this act are not used as authorized by this act within the time fixed by the distiller's warehousing bond for the payment of the tax, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall assess the tax against the person liable, under bond as warehouse proprietor or manufacturer at the time, for the proper use and custody of the spirits, and such tax shall be collected as in the case of other assessed taxes.

It shall not be lawful for any person to receive, use, or store any methylated distilled spirits free of internal-revenue tax under the provisions of this act on any premises within 600 feet in a direct line from any premises used as a distillery or for rectifying distilled spirits.

Any person who shall receive or use distilled spirits free of tax under the provisions of this act, and shall knowingly or willfully omit, neglect, or refuse to do, or cause to be done, any of the things required to be done by this act, or any regulation made pursuant thereto, or shall do anything by this act prohibited, or declared thereby to be unlawful, if there be no specific penalty or punishment imposed by this act for the neglecting, omitting, or refusing to do the thing required, or for the doing, or causing to be done, the thing prohibited, or declared unlawful, he shall, on conviction, pay a penalty at the discretion of the court, not exceeding $5,000. And the Commissioner of Internal Revenue is authorized to determine the quality and strength of the methylic alcohol, wood alcohol, or wood naphtha that may be used in methylating spirits. And the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may also, at his discretion, require the maker of methylated spirit to provide a separate store-room and vats, with suitable locks and fastenings, for keeping and storing methylic alcohol, wood alcohol, or wood naphtha, used in methylating and mixing, and may require samples to be furnished from such vats, or other receptacles, for chemical analysis and for his approval.

SEC. 12. That on and after the 1st day of February, 1889, the following sections shall constitute and be a substitute for Title XXXIII of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

TITLE XXXIII.

DUTIES UPON IMPORTS.

SEC. 2502. There shall be levied, collected, and paid upon all articles imported from foreign countries, and mentioned in the schedules herein contained, the rates of duty which are, by the schedules and paragraphs, respectively prescribed, namely:

SCHEDULE A.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS.

1. Acids.—Acetic or pyroligneous acid, not exceeding the specific gravity of one and forty-seven one thousandths, 1½ cents per pound; exceeding the specific gravity of one and forty-seven one-thousandths, 4 cents per pound.
2. Boracic acid, 5 cents per pound.
3. Chromic acid, 10 cents per pound.
4. Citric acid, 10 cents per pound.
5. Tannic acid or tannin, 25 cents per pound.
6. Tartaric acid, 10 cents per pound.
7. Alcoholic perfumery, including cologne-water and other toilet waters and all alcoholic compounds not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $2 per gallon and 25 per cent. ad valorem.
8. Alizarine assistant, or soluble oil, or oleate of soda, or Turkey-red oil, 8 cents per pound.
9. Alumina, alum, alum cake, patent alum, sulphate of alumina, and aluminous cake, and alum in crystals or ground, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound.
10. Ammonia.—Carbonate of ammonia, 1¾ cents per pound.
11. Muriate of ammonia, or sal-ammoniac, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.
12. Sulphate of ammonia, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
13. Amylic alcohol, or fusel oil, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
14. Blacking of all kinds, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
15. Blue-vitriol, or sulphate of copper, 2 cents per pound.
16. Bone-char, suitable for use in decolorizing sugars, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
17. Borax.—Crude borax, or borate of soda or borate of lime, 3 cents per pound; refined borax, 5 cents per pound.
18. Camphor, refined, 4 cents per pound.
19. Cement.—Roman, Portland, and other hydraulic cement, in barrels, sacks, or other packages, 8 cents per 100 pounds; in bulk, 7 cents per 100 pounds; other cement, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
20. Chalk.—Prepared, precipitated, French, and red chalk, 1 cent per pound; all other chalk preparations not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
21. Clays or earths.—Unwrought or unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $1.50 per ton; wrought or manufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $3 per ton; China clay, or kaolin, $3 per ton.
22. Chloroform, 30 cents per pound.
23. Cobalt, oxide of, 40 cents per pound.
24. Collodion and all compounds of pyroxyline, by whatever name known, 30 cents per pound; rolled or in sheets, but not made up into articles, 40 cents per pound; if in finished or partly finished articles, 40 cents per pound and 25 per cent. ad valorem.
25. Coloring for brandy, wine, beer, or other liquors, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
26. Copperas or sulphate of iron, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound.
27. Dextrine, burnt starch, gum substitute, or British gum, 1 cent per pound.
28. Drugs, such as barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, and bulbous roots, and excrescences, such as nutgalls, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, grains, gums, and gum resins, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots and stems, spices, vegetables, seeds (aromatic, not garden seeds), and seeds of morbid

growth, weeds, woods used expressly for dyeing, and dried insects, any of the foregoing which are not edible, but which have been advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

29. Coal-tar preparations.—All coal-tar colors or dyes, by whatever name known, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

30. All preparations of coal-tar, not colors or dyes, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

31. Ethers.—Sulphuric ether and spirits of nitrous ether, 30 cents per pound.

32. Butyric ether and other fruit ether, oils or essences, $1.25 per pound.

33. Ethers of all kinds not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 75 cents per pound.

34. Extracts and decoctions of logwood and other dye-woods, extract of sumac, and extracts of hemlock and other barks, such as are commonly used for dyeing or tanning, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound.

35. Gelatine, glue, and isinglass or fish-glue, valued at not above 7 cents per pound, 1½ cents per pound; valued above 7 cents per pound, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

36. Glycerine.—Unrefined, of the specific gravity of 1.25 or less at a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit, 1 cent per pound; refined, 4½ cents per pound.

37. Indigo.—Extracts of or pastes of, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; carmined, 10 cents per pound.

38. Ink.—Writing-ink in casks, or in bottles or jugs holding 1 pint or more, 40 cents per gallon; in bottles or jugs holding less than 1 pint, 50 cents per gallon; otherwise than in casks, bottles, or jugs, 60 cents per gallon.

39. Ink-powders, printers' ink, and all other ink, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

40. Iodine, resublimed, 30 cents per pound.

41. Iodoform, $1.20 per pound.

42. Lead products.—Acetate of lead, white, 5½ cents per pound; acetate of lead, brown, 3½ cents per pound.

43. Litharge, 3 cents per pound.

44. Nitrate of lead, 3 cents per pound.

45. Orange mineral, 3½ cents per pound.

46. Red lead, 3 cents per pound.

47. White lead, dry or in pulp, or ground or mixed with oil, 3 cents per pound.

48. Licorice, extracts of, in paste, rolls, or other forms, 5 cents per pound.

49. Magnesia.—Carbonate of magnesia, medicinal, 4 cents per pound.

50. Calcined magnesia, 8 cents per pound.

51. Sulphate of magnesia, or Epsom salts, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

52. Morphia, or morphine, and all salts thereof, 50 cents per ounce.

53. Oils.—Castor oil, 50 cents per gallon.

54. Cod-liver oil, 15 cents per gallon.

55. Croton oil, 30 cents per pound.

56. Flaxseed or linseed oil, 25 cents per gallon of 7½ pounds weight.

57. Cotton-seed oil, 10 cents per gallon of 7½ pounds weight.

58. Hemp-seed oil and rape-seed oil, 10 cents per gallon.

59. Olive oil, fit for salad purposes, 35 cents per gallon.

60. Seal, whale, and other fish oil not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 8 cents per gallon.

61. Opium, aqueous extract of, for medicinal uses, and tincture of, as laudanum, and all other liquid preparations of opium, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

62. Paints and colors.—Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, manufactured, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.

63. Blues, such as Berlin, Prussian, Chinese, and all others, containing ferrocyanide of iron, dry or ground in water or oil, 6 cents per pound.

64. Blanc-fixe, or satin white, or artificial sulphate of barytes, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

65. Black, made from bone, ivory, or vegetable, under whatever name known, including bone-black and lamp-black, dry or ground in oil or water, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

66. Chrome yellow, chrome green, and all other chromium colors in which lead and bichromate of potash or soda are component parts, dry, or ground in water or oil, 4½ cents per pound.

67. Ocher and ochery earths, sienna and sienna earths, umber and umber earths, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, dry, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound; ground in oil, 1½ cents per pound.

68. Ultramarine blue, 4½ cents per pound.

69. Wash blue, containing ultramarine, 3 cents per pound.

70. Vermilion red, or colors containing quicksilver, dry or ground in oil or water, 12 cents per pound.

71. Whiting and Paris white, dry, one-half of 1 cent per pound; ground in oil, or putty, 1 cent per pound.

72. Zinc, *oxide of*, dry, 1½ cents per pound; ground in oil, 1¾ cents per pound.

73. All other paints and colors, whether dry or mixed, or ground with water or oil, including lakes, crayons, smalts, and frostings, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and artists' colors of all kinds, in tubes or otherwise, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

74. Phosphorus, 10 cents per pound.

75. Plaster of Paris, ground or calcined, $1.50 per ton.

76. Potash.—Bichromate and chromate of potash, 3 cents per pound.

77. Hydriodate, iodide, and iodate of potash, 50 cents per pound.

78. Nitrate of potash or saltpeter, refined, 1 cent per pound.

79. Prussiate of potash, red, 10 cents per pound; prussiate of potash, yellow, cents per pound.

80. Preparations.—All medical preparations, known as essences, ethers (solid or fluid extracts), mixtures, spirits, tinctures, and medicated wines, including medicinal proprietary preparations, of which alcohol is a component part, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 cents per pound.

81. All medicinal preparations, including medicinal proprietary preparations, such as anodynes, cerates, conserves, cordials, decoctions, drops, emulsions, essences, extracts (solid or fluid), infusions, juices, liniments, lozenges, mixtures, mucilages, oils, ointments, oleo-resins, pastes, pastilles, pills, plasters, powders, resins, salves, sirups, suppositories, tonics, troches, vinegars, wafers, or waters of any of which alcohol is not a component part, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

82. Preparations known as alkalies, alkaloids, distilled oils, essential oils, expressed oils, rendered oils, and all combinations of the foregoing, and all chemical compounds and salts, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

83. Preparations used as applications to the hair, mouth, teeth, or skin, such as cosmetics, dentifrices, pastes, pomades, powders, and tonics, including all known as toilet preparations, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

84. Santonine, $1 per pound.

85. Soap.—Castile-soap, 1½ cents per pound; fancy, perfumed, and all descriptions of toilet-soap, 15 cents per pound; all other soaps, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

86. Soda.—Bicarbonate of soda or supercarbonate of soda or saleratus, 1½ cents per pound.

87. Hydrate or caustic soda, 1 cent per pound.

88. Bichromate and chromate of soda, 3 cents per pound.

89. Sal-soda, or soda crystals, and soda-ash, one-fourth of 1 cent. per pound.

90. Silicate of soda, or other alkaline silicate, one-half of 1 cent per pound.

91. Sulphate of soda, or salt cake or niter-cake, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

92. Strychnia, or strychnine, and all salts thereof, 50 cents per ounce.

93. Sulphur.—Refined, in rolls, $8 per ton; sublimed, or flowers of, $10 per ton.

94. Sumac, ground, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

95. Tartar, cream of, and patent tartar, 6 cents per pound.

96. Tartars and lees crystals, partly refined, 4 cents per pound.

97. Tartrate of soda and potassa, or Rochelle salts, 3 cents per pound.

98. Varnishes, including so-called gold size or japan, 40 per cent. ad valorem; and on spirit varnishes for the alcohol contained therein, $2 per gallon additional.

SCHEDULE B.—EARTHENWARE AND GLASSWARE.

99. Common brown earthenware, stoneware, and crucibles, not ornamented or decorated, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

100. China, porcelain, parian, and bisque, earthen, stone and crockery ware, including plaques, ornaments, charms, vases, and statuettes, painted, tinted, enameled, printed, or gilded, or otherwise decorated or ornamented in any manner, 55 per cent. ad valorem; if plain white and not ornamented or decorated in any manner, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

101. All other earthen, stone, and crockery ware, white, glazed, or edged, and other manufactures composed of earthy or mineral substances, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

102. Tiles and brick, other than fire-brick, not glazed, ornamented, painted, enameled, or decorated, 20 per cent. ad valorem; ornamented, glazed, painted, enameled, or decorated and encaustic, 45 per cent ad valorem.

103. Fire-brick, not glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated in any manner, $1.25 per ton; glazed, enameled, ornamented, or decorated, 45 per cent. ad valorem.

104. Gas-retorts, $3 each.

105. Slate.—Slates, slate-pencils, slate chimney-pieces, mantels, slabs for tables, and all other manufactures of slate, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

106. Roofing-slates, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

GLASS.

107. Plain green, and colored, molded or pressed, and plain flint, and lime glass bottles, holding not less than 1 pint, and demijohns, and carboys (covered or uncovered), and other plain molded or pressed green and colored and flint or lime glassware, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1 cent per pound. Plain green, and colored, molded or pressed, and plain flint, and lime glass bottles, and vials holding less than 1 pint, 1½ cents per pound.

108. All articles enumerated in the preceding paragraph, if filled, and not otherwise provided for in this act, and the contents are subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a rate of duty based upon the value, the value of such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall be added to the value of the contents for the ascertainment of the dutiable value of the latter; but if filled, and not otherwise provided for in this act, and the contents are not subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to rate of duty based on the value, or are free of duty, such bottles, vials, or other vessels shall pay, in addition to the duty, if any, on their contents, the rates of duty prescribed in the preceding paragraph: *Provided*, That no article manufactured from glass described in the preceding paragraph shall pay a less rate of duty than 40 per cent. ad valorem.

109. Glass and glassware of all kinds (not including plate-glass, silvered or looking-glass plates, or cylinder crown or common window-glass, hereinafter specially provided for), when cut, engraved, painted, colored, printed, stained, gilded, or otherwise ornamented or decorated, and hand, pocket, or table mirrors not exceeding in size 144 square inches, with frames or cases, of whatever material composed, or without frames or cases, 45 per cent. ad valorem.

110. All cut, engraved, painted, or otherwise ornamented or decorated glass bottles, decanters, or other vessels of glass shall, if filled, pay duty, in addition to any duty chargeable on the contents, as if not filled, unless otherwise specially provided for in this act.

111. Unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window-glass, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, 1½ cents per pound; above that, and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 1¾ cents per pound; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 2½ cents per pound; all above that, 2¾ cents per pound.

112. Cylinder and crown glass, polished, not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 4 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 6 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 20 cents per square foot; above that, 40 cents per square foot.

113. Fluted, rolled, or rough plate-glass, not including crown, cylinder, or common window-glass, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, three-fourths of 1 cent per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 1 cent per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 1½ cents per square foot; all above that, 2 cents per square foot; and all fluted, rolled, or rough plate-glass, weighing over 100 pounds per 100 square feet, shall pay an additional duty on the excess at the same rates herein imposed.

114. Cast polished plate-glass, unsilvered, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, 3 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 5 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 8 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 25 cents per square foot; all above that, 50 cents per square foot.

115. Cast polished plate-glass, silvered, or looking-glass plates, not exceeding 10 by 15 inches square, 4 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 16 by 24 inches square, 6 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 30 inches square, 10 cents per square foot; above that, and not exceeding 24 by 60 inches square, 35 cents per square foot; all above that, 60 cents per square foot.

116. But no looking-glass plates, or plate-glass silvered, when framed, shall pay a less rate of duty than that imposed upon similar glass of like description not framed, but shall pay in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem upon such frames.

117. Plate-glass, silvered or unsilvered, and cylinder, crown, or common window-glass, when beveled, etched, engraved, stained, colored, or otherwise ornamented or decorated, shall be subject to a duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem in addition to the rates otherwise chargeable thereon.

118. All manufactures of glass, or of which glass shall be the component material of chief value, not especially enumerated or provided for in this act, 45 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE C.—METALS.

Iron and steel:

119. Iron ore, including manganiferous iron ore, also the dross or residuum from burnt pyrites, 75 cents per ton. Sulphur ore, as pyrites, or sulphuret of iron in its natural state, containing not more 3½ per cent. of copper, 75 cents per ton: *Provided*, That ore containing more than 2 per cent. of copper shall pay, in addition thereto, 1½ cents per pound for the copper contained therein: *And provided further*, That in levying and collecting the duty on iron ore no deduction shall be made from the weight of the ore on account of moisture which may be chemically or physically combined therewith.

120. Iron in pigs, iron kentledge, spiegeleisen, wrought and cast scrap iron, and scrap-steel, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound; but nothing shall be deemed

scrap-iron or scrap-steel except waste or refuse iron or steel that has been in actual use and is fit only to be remanufactured.

121. Bar-iron, rolled or hammered, comprising flats not less than 1 inch wide, nor less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound; round iron not less than three-fourths of 1 inch in diameter, and square iron not less than three-fourths of 1 inch square, nine-tenths of 1 cent per pound; flats less than 1 inch wide, or less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick; round iron less than three-fourths of 1 inch and not less than seven-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter; and square iron less than three-fourths of 1 inch square, 1 cent per pound.

122. Round iron, in coils or rods, less than seven-sixteenths of 1 inch in diameter, and bars or shapes of rolled iron, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1.1 cents per pound: *Provided*, That all iron in slabs, blooms, loops, or other forms less finished than iron in bars, and more advanced than pig-iron, except castings, shall be rated as iron in bars, and pay duty accordingly; and none of the above iron shall pay a less rate of duty than 35 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided further*, That all iron bars, blooms, billets, or sizes or shapes of any kind, in the manufacture of which charcoal is used as fuel, shall be subject to a duty of not less than $22 per ton.

123. Cast-iron pipe of every description, nine-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

124. Cast-iron vessels, plates, stove-plates, andirons, sadirons, tailors' irons, hatters' irons, and castings of iron, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1.2 cents per pound.

125. Castings of malleable iron, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1¾ cents per pound.

126. Anvils, or parts thereof, of iron or steel, 2 cents per pound.

127. Iron or steel anchors, or parts thereof of iron or steel, mill-irons and mill-cranks of wrought-iron, and wrought-iron for ships, and forgings of iron or steel, or of combined iron and steel, for vessels, steam-engines, and locomotives, or parts thereof, weighing each 25 pounds or more, 1.8 cents per pound.

128. Axles, parts thereof, axle bars, axle blanks, or forgings for axles, whether of iron or steel, without reference to the stage or state of manufacture, 2 cents per pound.

129. Blacksmiths' hammers and sledges, track tools, wedges, and crowbars, whether of iron or steel, 2½ cents per pound.

130. Beams, girders, joists, angles, channels, car-truck channels, TT columns and posts, or parts or sections of columns and posts, deck and bulb beams, and building forms, together with all other structural shapes of iron or steel, 1.1 cents per pound.

131. Boiler or other plate, iron or steel, except saw-plates herein after provided for, not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, sheared or unsheared, and skelp iron or steel, sheared or rolled in grooves, valued at 2 cents per pound or less, 1 cent per pound; valued above 2 cents and not above 3 cents per pound, 1.2 cents per pound; valued above 3 cents and not above 4 cents per pound, 1.6 cents per pound; valued above 4 cents and above 7 cents per pound, 2 cents per pound; valued above 7 cents and not above 10 cents per pound, 2.8 cents per pound; valued above 10 cents and not above 13 cents per pound, 3½ cents per pound: valued above 13 cents per pound, 45 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That all plate-iron or steel thinner than No. 10 wire gauge shall pay duty as iron or steel sheets.

132. Boiler or other tubes or pipes, or flues, or stays of wrought-iron or steel, 2½ cents per pound.

133. Bolts, with or without threads or nuts, or bolt-blanks, and finished hinges or hinge-blanks, whether of iron or steel, 2½ cents per pound.

134. Chain or chains of all kinds, made of iron or steel, not less than three-fourths of 1 inch in diameter, 1.6 cents per pound; less than three-fourths of 1 inch and not less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter, 1.8 cents per pound; less than three-eighths of 1 inch in diameter, 3 cents per pound.

135. Forged shotgun barrels, rough-bored, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

136. Forging of iron or steel, or forged iron and steel combined of whatever shape, or in whatever stage of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 2.3 cents per pound: *Provided*, That no forgings of iron or steel, or forgings of iron and steel combined, by whatever process made, shall pay a less rate of duty than 45 per cent. ad valorem.

137. Hoop, or band, or scroll, or other iron or steel, valued at 3 cents per pound or less, 8 inches or less in width, and less than three-eighths of 1 inch thick and not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge, 1 cent per pound; thinner than No. 10 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1.1 cents per pound; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1.3 cents per pound: *Provided*, That hoop or band iron, or hoop or band steel, cut to length, or wholly or partially manufactured into hoops or ties, for baling purposes, barrel hoops of iron or steel, and hoop or band iron or hoop or band steel flared or splayed, shall pay two-tenths of 1 cent per pound more duty than that imposed on the hoop or band iron or steel from which they are made.

138. Nails.—Cut nails and cut spikes of iron or steel, 1 cent per pound.

139 Horseshoe nails, hob nails, and all other wrought iron or steel nails, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 4 cents per pound.

140. Wire nails made of wrought iron or steel, 2 inches and longer, not lighter than No. 12 wire gauge, 2 cents per pound; from 1 inch to 2 inches in length, and lighter than No. 12 and not lighter than No. 16 wire gauge, 2½ cents per pound; shorter than 1 inch and lighter than No. 16 wire gauge, 4 cents per pound.

141. Railway-bars, made of iron and steel, and railway-bars made in part of steel, T-rails, and punched iron or steel flat rails, seven-tenths of 1 cent per pound.

142. Railway fish-plates or splice-bars, made of iron or steel, 1 cent per pound.

143. Rivets of iron or steel, 2½ cents per pound.

144. Sheets, of iron or steel, common or black, including all iron or steel commercially known as common or black taggers iron or steel, and skelp iron or steel; valued at 3 cents per pound or less: Thinner than No. 10 and not thinner than No. 20 wire gauge, 1.1 cents per pound; thinner than No. 20 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 25 wire gauge, 1.2 cents per pound; thinner than No 25 wire gauge and not thinner than No. 29 wire gauge, 1.4 cents per pound; thinner than No. 29 wire gauge, 1.5 cents per pound: *Provided*, That all common or black sheet-iron or sheet-steel not thinner than No. 10 wire gauge shall pay a duty as plate-iron or plate-steel.

145. Sheets, of iron or steel, corrugated or crimped, 1.4 cents per pound: *Provided*, That on all iron or steel sheets or plates and on all hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel, excepting on what are known commercially as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers tin, and hereafter provided for, when galvanized or coated with zinc or spelter, or other metals, or any alloy of those metals, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound additional duty shall be paid.

146. Sheet-iron or sheet-steel, polished, planished, or glanced, by whatever name designated, 2½ cents per pound: *Provided*, That plate or sheet or taggers iron or steel, by whatever name designated, other than the polished, planished, or glanced herein provided for, which has been pickled or cleaned by acid, or by any other material or process, or which is cold rolled, shall pay one-quarter of 1 cent per pound more duty than the corresponding gauges of common or black sheet or taggers iron or steel.

147. Sheets or plates, of iron or steel, or taggers iron or steel coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals, or either of them, is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers tin, 1 cent per pound.

148. Spikes, nuts, and washers, and horse, mule, or ox shoes, of wrought iron or steel, 1.8 cents per pound.

149. Wheels, or parts thereof, made of iron or steel, and steel-tired wheels for railway purposes, whether wholly or partly finished, and iron or steel locomotive, car, or other railway tires, or parts thereof, wholly or partly manufactured, 2½ cents per pound; and ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, or blanks for the same, without regard to the degree of manufacture, 1¾ cents per pound.

150. Wire rods.—Rivet, screw, nail, fence, and other iron or steel wire rods, whether round, oval, flat, or square, in coils or loops or in any other shape, not smaller than No. 6 wire gauge, valued at 3 cents or less per pound, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound; and iron or steel flat, with longitudinal ribs for the manufacture of fencing, valued at 3 cents or less per pound, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound: *Provided*, That all iron or steel rods, whether rolled or drawn, smaller than No. 6 wire gauge, shall be classed and dutiable as wire.

151. Wire.—Wire made of iron or steel not smaller than No. 10 wire gauge, 1½ cents per pound; smaller than No. 10 and not smaller than No. 16 wire gauge, 1¾ cents per pound; smaller than No. 16 and not smaller than No. 26 wire gauge, 2½ cents per pound; smaller than No. 26 wire gauge, 3 cents per pound: *Provided*, That iron or steel wire covered with cotton, silk, or other material, and wire commonly known as crinoline, corset, and hat wire, shall pay 4 cents per pound in addition to the foregoing rates: *And provided further*, That no article made from iron or steel wire, or of which iron or steel wire is a component part of chief value, shall pay a less rate of duty than the iron or steel wire from which it is made either wholly or in part: *And provided further*, That iron or steel wire cloths, and iron or steel wire nettings made in meshes of any form, shall pay a duty equal in amount to that imposed on iron or steel wire of the same gauge and 2 cents per pound in addition thereto. There shall be paid on galvanized iron or steel wire (except fence-wire) one-half of 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate imposed on the wire of which it is made; on iron wire-rope and wire-strand, 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate imposed on the wire of which it is made; on steel wire-rope and wire-strand, 2 cents per pound in addition to the rates imposed on the wire of which it is made: *Provided further*, That all iron or steel wire valued at more than 10 cents per pound shall pay a duty of not less than 45 per cent. ad valorem.

152. Files, file-banks, rasps, and floats, of all cuts and kinds: Four inches in length and under, 35 cents per dozen; over 4 inches in length and under 9 inches, 75 cents per dozen; 9 inches in length and under 14 inches, $1.30 per dozen; 14 inches in length and over, $2 per dozen.

153. Steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, and slabs, by whatever process made; die blocks or blanks; billets and bars and tapered or beveled bars; steamer, crank, and other shafts; shafting; wrist or crank pins; connecting rods and piston rods; pressed, sheared, or stamped shapes; saw plates, wholly or partially manufactured; hammer molds or swaged steel; gun-barrel molds not in bars; alloys used as substitutes for steel tools; all descriptions and shapes of dry land, loam, or iron-molded steel castings; sheets and plates not specially enumerated or provided for in this act; steel in all forms and shapes not specially enumerated or provided for in this act; all of the above valued at 1 cent per pound or less, five-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 1 cent and not above 1.4 cents per pound, six-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 1.4 cents and not above 1.8 cents per pound, eight-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 1.8 cents and not above 2.2 cents per pound, nine-tenths of 1 cent per pound; valued above 2.2 cents and not above 3 cents per pound, 1.2 cents per pound; valued above 3 cents and not above 4 cents per pound, 1.6 cents per pound; valued above 4 cents and not above 7 cents per pound, 2 cents per pound; valued above 7 cents and not above 10 cents per pound, 2.8 cents per pound; valued above 10 cents and not above 13 cents per pound, 3½ cents per pound; valued above 13 cents per pound, 45 per cent. ad valorem.

154. Plates.—Steel plates engraved, stereotype plates, electrotype plates, and plates of other materials, engraved or lithographed, for printing, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

155. Saws.—Cross-cut saws, 6 cents per linear foot; mill, pit, and drag saws, not over 9 inches wide, 8 cents per linear foot; over 9 inches wide, 13 cents per linear foot; circular saws, 30 per cent. ad valorem; hand, back, and all other saws, not especially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

156. No allowance or reduction of duties for partial loss or damage in consequence of rust or of discoloration shall be made upon any description of iron or steel, or upon any partly manufactured article of iron or steel, or upon any manufacture of iron and steel.

157. All metal produced from iron or its ores, which is cast and malleable, of whatever description or form, without regard to the percentage of carbon contained therein, whether produced by cementation, or converted, cast, or made from iron or its ores, by the crucible, Bessemer, Clapp-Griffiths, pneumatic, Thomas-Gilchrist, basic, Siemens-Martin, or open-hearth process, or by the equivalent of either, or by a combination of two or more of the processes, or their equivalents, or by any fusion or other process which produces from iron or its ores a metal either granular or fibrous in structure, which is cast and malleable, excepting what is known as malleable-iron castings, shall be classed and denominated as steel.

158. All articles not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, wholly or partly manufactured, made from sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel herein provided for, or of which such sheet, plate, hoop, band, or scroll iron or steel shall be the material of chief value, shall not pay a lower rate of duty than that imposed on the sheet, plate, hoop, band or scroll iron or steel from which they are made, or which shall be the material of chief value.

159. On all iron or steel bars, rods, strips, or steel sheets, of whatever shape, other than the polished, planished, or glanced sheet-iron or sheet-steel hereinbefore provided for, and on all iron or steel bars of irregular shape or section, which are cold rolled, cold hammered, or polished in any way in addition to the ordinary process of hot rolling or hammering, there shall be paid one-fourth of 1 cent. per pound in addition to the rates provided in this act; and on steel circular saw plates there shall be paid 1 cent per pound in addition to the rate provided in this act.

Miscellaneous:

160. Antimony, as regulus or metal, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

161. Argentine, albata, or German silver, unmanufactured, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

162. Brass, in bars or pigs, old brass, clippings from brass or Dutch-metal, and old sheathing, or yellow metal, fit only for remanufacture, 1½ cents per pound.

163. Bronze powder, 15 cents per pound; bronze or Dutch metal, in leaf, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

164. Bouillons, or cannetille, metal thread, filé or gespinst, and epaulets, galloons, laces, knots, stars, tassels, and wings of gold, silver, or other metal, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

165. Chromate of iron, or chromic ore, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

166. Copper.—Copper imported in the form of ores, 1½ cents per pound on each pound of fine copper contained therein.

167. Regulus of copper and black or coarse copper and copper cement, 1¾ cents per pound on each pound of fine copper contained therein.

168. Old copper, fit only for remanufacture, clippings from new copper, and all composition metal of which copper is a component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1¾ cents per pound.

169. Copper in plates, bars, ingots, Chili or other pigs, and in other forms, not manufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 2 cents per pound.

170. Copper in rolled plates called braziers' copper, sheets, rods, pipes, and copper bottoms, and all manufactures of which copper shall be the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, also sheathing or yellow metal of which copper is not the component material of chief value, and not composed wholly or in part of iron ungalvanized, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
171. Cutlery.—Swords, sword-blades, and side-arms, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
172. Table knives, forks, steels, and all carving, butchers', cooks', hunting, kitchen, bread, butter, vegetable, fruit, cheese, plumbers', painters', palette, and artists' knives of all sizes, finished or unfinished, valued at not more than $1 per dozen pieces, 20 cents per dozen; valued at more than $1 and not more than $3, 50 cents per dozen; valued at more than $3 and not more than $8, $1 per dozen; valued at more than $8, $2 per dozen; and in addition upon all the above named articles 30 per cent. ad valorem.
173. Penknives or pocket-knives of all kinds, knife-blades, razors, and razor-blades, 50 cents per dozen blades, and 25 per cent. ad valorem.
174. Gold-leaf, $2 per package of 500 leaves.
175. Hollow-ware, coated, glazed, or tinned, 2½ cents per pound.
176. Lead.—Lead ore and lead dross, 1½ cents per pound: *Provided*, That lead ore containing silver or silver ore containing lead shall pay a duty of 1½ cents per pound.
177. Lead in pigs and bars, glazier's lead, lead wire, molten and old refuse lead run into blocks and bars, and old scrap-lead fit only to be remanufactured, 2 cents per pound.
178. Lead in sheets, pipes, or shot, 2½ cents per pound.
179. Metallic mineral substances in a crude state and metals unwrought, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
180. Muskets and sporting rifles, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
181. All double-barelled, sporting, breech-loading shot guns, $10 each, and 25 per cent. ad valorem.
182. Needles for knitting or sewing machines, and tape-needles and bodkins of metal, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
183. Needles, sewing, darning, knitting, and all other not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
184. Nickel.—Nickel in ore, 5 cents per pound for the nickel contained therein;
185. Nickel in matte, or other crude form not ready for consumption in the arts, 10 cents per pound on the nickel contained therein;
186. Nickel, nickel oxide, alloy of any kind in which nickel is the component material of chief value, 15 cents per pound.
187. Pens, metallic, except gold pens, 12 cents per gross.
188. Pen-holder tips, pen-holders or parts thereof, and gold pens, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
189. Pins, metallic, solid-head or other, including hair-pins, safety-pins, and hat, bonnet, shawl, and belt pins, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
190. Quicksilver, 6 cents per pound.
191. Screws, commonly called wood-screws, more than 2 inches in length, 5 cents per pound; over 1 inch and not more than 2 inches in length, 7 cents per pound; over one-half inch and not more than 1 inch in length, 10 cents per pound; one-half inch and less in length, 14 cents per pound.
192. Silver-leaf, 75 cents per package of five hundred leaves.
193. Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs, not exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand, 2½ cents per thousand; exceeding 16 ounces to the thousand, 2½ cents per pound.
194. Type-metal, 1½ cents per pound for the lead contained therein; new types, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
195. Zinc or spelter.—Zinc in blocks or pigs, 1½ cents per pound.
196. Zinc in sheets, 2½ cents per pound.
197. Zinc, old and worn out, fit only to be remanufactured, 1½ cents per pound.
198. Manufactures, articles, or wares, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, composed wholly or in part of iron, steel, lead, copper, nickel, pewter, tin, zinc, gold, silver, platinum, or any other metal, and whether partly or wholly manufactured, 45 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE D.—WOOD AND WOODEN WARES.

199. Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
200. Timber, squared or sided, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1 cent per cubic foot.
201. Sawed boards, plank, deals, and other lumber of hemlock, white-wood, sycamore, and bass-wood, $1 per thousand feet board measure; sawed lumber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $2 per thousand feet board measure; but when lumber of any sort is planed or finished, in addition to the rates herein provided, there shall be levied and paid for each side so planed or finished 50 cents per thousand feet board measure; and if planed on one side and tongued and grooved, $1 per thousand feet board measure; and if planed on two sides, and tongued and grooved, $1.50 per thousand feet, board measure.
202. Hubs for wheels, posts, last-blocks, wagon-blocks, oar-blocks, gun-blocks, heading-blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn or sawed only, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
203. Staves of wood of all kinds, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
204. Pickets and palings, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
205. Laths, 15 cents per 1,000 pieces.
206. Shingles, 25 cents per 1,000.
207. Pine clapboards, $2 per 1,000.
208. Spruce clapboards, $1.50 per 1,000.
209. House or cabinet furniture, of wood, in piece or rough, and not finished, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
210. Cabinet ware and house furniture, of wood, finished, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
211. Casks and barrels (empty), sugar-box shooks, and packing-boxes, and packing-box shooks, of wood, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
212. Manufactures of cedar wood, granadilla, ebony, mahogany, rosewood, and satin-wood, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
213. Manufactures of wood, or of which wood is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
214. Wood, unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
215. Sawed boards, plank, deals, and blocks, or posts of mahogany, rosewood, satin-wood, granadilla, or other cabinet wood, 15 per cent. ad valorem.
216. Veneering, and briar-root or briar-wood, and similar wood, unmanufactured, or not further manufactured than cut into forms or shapes suitable for the articles into which they are intended to be converted, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE E.—SUGAR.

All sugars not above No. 13 Dutch standard in color shall pay duty on their polariscopic test as follows, namely:
217. All sugars not above No. 13 Dutch standard in color, all tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice or of beet juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75 degrees, seven-tenths of 1 cent per pound; and for every additional degree or fraction of a degree shown by the polariscopic test, two-hundredths of 1 cent per pound additional.
218. All sugars above No. 13 Dutch standard in color shall be classified by the Dutch standard of color, and pay duty as follows, namely: All sugar above No. 13 and not above No. 16 Dutch standard of color, 1½ cents per pound.
219. All sugar above No. 16 and not above No. 20 Dutch standard of color, 1½ cents per pound.
220. All sugars above No. 20 Dutch standard of color, 2 cents per pound.
221. Molasses testing above 56 degrees, 4 cents per gallon: *Provided*, That if an export duty shall hereafter be laid upon sugar or molasses by any country from whence the same may be imported, such sugar or molasses so imported shall be subject to duty as provided by law prior to the passage of this act.
222. Sugar drainings and sugar sweepings shall be subject to duty either as molasses or sugar, as the case may be, according to polariscopic test.
223. Sugar candy and all confectionery, including chocolate confectionery, made wholly or in part of sugar, valued at 12 cents or less per pound, and on sugars after being refined, when tinctured, colored, or in any way adulterated, 5 cents per pound.
224. All other confectionery, including chocolate confectionery, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
225. Glucose, or grape sugar, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

SCHEDULE F.—TOBACCO, CIGARS, ETC.

226. Cigars, cigarettes, and cheroots of all kinds, $3.50 per pound; but paper cigars and cigarettes, including wrappers, shall be subject to the same duties as are herein imposed upon cigars.
227. Leaf-tobacco suitable for wrappers: If not stemmed, 75 cents per pound; if stemmed, $1 per pound: *Provided*, That if any portion of any tobacco imported in any package or in bulk shall be suitable for wrappers, the entire quantity of tobacco contained in such importation shall be dutiable; if not stemmed, at 75 cents per pound; if stemmed, at $1 per pound.
228. All other tobacco in leaf, unmanufactured and not stemmed, 20 cents per pound; if stemmed, 25 cents per pound.
229. Tobacco stems, 15 cents per pound.
230. Tobacco, manufactured, of all descriptions, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 cents per pound.
231. Snuff and snuff flour, manufactured of tobacco, ground dry, or damp, and pickled, scented, or otherwise, of all descriptions, 50 cents per pound.

SCHEDULE G.—PROVISIONS, ETC.

232. Animals, live.—Horses and mules, $20 per head.
233. Cattle, more than one year old, $5 per head.
234. Hogs, 50 cents per head.
235. Sheep, 50 cents per head.
236. All other live animals, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
237. Bacon and hams, 2 cents per pound.
238. Barley and rye, 10 cents per bushel.
239. Barley-malt, per bushel of 34 pounds, 20 cents.
240. Barley, pearled, patent, or hulled, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
241. Beans, per bushel of 60 pounds, 25 cents.
242. Beans, pease, and mushrooms, prepared or preserved, in tins, jars, bottles, or otherwise, 25 cents per gallon.
243. Beef, mutton, and pork, 1 cent per pound.
244. Butter, and substitutes thereof, 4 cents per pound.
245. Cabbages, 1 cent each.
246. Cheese, 4 cents per pound.
247. Chicory-root.—Burnt or roasted, 1 cent per pound; ground or granulated, or in rolls, or otherwise prepared, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 2 cents per pound.
248. Chocolate, other than chocolate confectionery, 2 cents per pound.
249. Cocoa, prepared or manufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 2 cents per pound.
250. Cocoa-butter or cocoa-butterine, 3½ cents per pound.
251. Comfits, sweetmeats, or fruits preserved in sugar, sirup, molasses, or spirits, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and jellies of all kinds, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
252. Corn-meal, per bushel of 48 pounds, 10 cents.
253. Dandelion-root and acorns, prepared, and other articles used as coffee, or as substitutes for coffee, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1½ cents per pound.
254. Extract of meat, all not specially provided for in this act, 35 cents per pound; fluid extract of meat, 15 cents per pound; but the dutiable weight shall include the extract and the tins, jars, bottles, or other articles containing the same, and no separate or additional duty shall be collected on such coverings unless as such they are suitable and apparently designed for use other than in the importation of meat extracts.
255. Fruits.—Dates, grapes, plums, and prunes, 1 cent per pound.
256. Figs, 2 cents per pound.
257. Oranges, lemons, or limes, in packages of capacity of 1½ cubic feet or less, 10 cents per package; in packages of capacity exceeding 1½ cubic feet and not exceeding 2½ cubic feet, 20 cents per package; in packages of capacity exceeding 2½ cubic feet and not exceeding 5 cubic feet, 40 cents per package; in packages of capacity exceeding 5 cubic feet, for every additional cubic foot or fractional part thereof, 8 cents; in bulk, $1.50 per one thousand.
258. Raisins, 2 cents per pound.
259. Fruits preserved in their own juices, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
260. Ginger or ginger-root, preserved in sugar or otherwise, and citron preserved or candied, 4 cents per pound.
261. Orange-peel and lemon-peel, preserved or candied, 2 cents per pound.
262. Fish.—Mackerel, pickled or salted, 1 cent per pound.
263. Herrings, pickled or salted, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
264. Salmon, pickled, 1 cent per pound.
265. Other fish, pickled, in barrels, 1 cent per pound.
266. Anchovies and sardines, packed in oil or otherwise, in tin boxes measuring not more than 5 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 3½ inches deep, 10 cents per whole box; in half-boxes, measuring not more than 5 inches long, 4 inches wide, and 1½ inches deep, 5 cents each; in quarter-boxes, measuring not more than 4½ inches long, 3½ inches wide, and 1½ inches deep, 2½ cents each; when imported in any other form, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
267. Foreign-caught fish (imported otherwise than in barrels or half-barrels), smoked, dried, salted, pickled, frozen, packed in ice, or otherwise prepared for preservation, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
268. Fish preserved in oil, except anchovies and sardines, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
269. Salmon and all other fish, prepared or preserved, and prepared meats of all kinds, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
270. Cans or packages made of tin or other material containing fish or other kind admitted free of duty under any existing law or treaty, not exceeding 1 quart in contents, shall be subject to a duty on each can or package of 1½ cents; and when exceeding 1 quart, shall be subject to an additional duty, for each additional quart or fractional part thereof, of 1½ cents.
271. Hay, $2 per ton.
272. Honey, 20 cents per gallon.
273. Hops, 10 cents per pound.
274. Indian corn or maize, 10 cents per bushel.
275. Lard, 2 cents per pound.
276. Macaroni, vermicelli, and all similar preparations, 2 cents per pound.

277. Milk, preserved or condensed, including weight of packages, 3 cents per pound.
278. Mustard, ground or preserved, in bottles or otherwise, 10 cents per pound.
279. Spices, ground or powdered, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 4 cents per pound.
280. Nuts.—Almonds, not shelled, 5 cents per pound; clear almonds, shelled, 7½ cents per pound.
281. Filberts and walnuts of all kinds, 2 cents per pound.
282. Peanuts or ground beans, unshelled, 1 cent per pound; shelled, 1½ cents per pound.
283. Nuts of all kinds, shelled or unshelled, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 1½ cents per pound.
284. Oats, 10 cents per bushel.
285. Oatmeal, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
286. Pease, green or dried, in bulk or in barrels, sacks, or similar packages, per bushel of 60 pounds, 10 cents; split pease, per bushel of 60 pounds, 20 cents; pease in cartons, papers, or other small packages, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
287. Rice.—Cleaned, 1 cent per pound; uncleaned rice and rice flour and meal, one-half of 1 cent per pound; rice, broken, which will pass through a sieve known commercially as No. 12 wire sieve, and paddy, one-fourth of 1 cent per pound.
288. Rye-flour, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
289. Salt.—Salt in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, 12 cents per 100 pounds; in bulk, 8 cents per 100 pounds: *Provided*, That exporters of meats, whether packed or smoked, which have been cured in the United States with imported salt, shall, upon satisfactory proof, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, that such meats have been cured with imported salt, have refunded to them from the Treasury the duties paid on the salt so used in curing such exported meats, in amounts not less than $100: *And provided further*, That imported salt in bond may be used in curing fish taken by vessels licensed to engage in the fisheries, and in curing fish on the shores of the navigable waters of the United States, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe; and upon proof that the salt has been used for either of the purposes stated in this proviso, the duties on the same shall be remitted.
290. Seeds.—Castor beans or seeds, 25 cents per bushel of 50 pounds.
291. Garden-seeds, agricultural seeds, and other seeds, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
292. Flaxseed or linseed, and other oil seeds, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 20 cents per bushel of 56 pounds; but no drawback shall be allowed on oil-cake made from imported seed.
293. Starch, including all preparations, from whatever substance produced, fit for use as starch, 2 cents per pound.
294. Tallow, 1 cent per pound.
295. Vegetables of all kinds, prepared or preserved, including pickles and sauces of all kinds, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
296. Vegetables in their natural state, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
297. Potatoes, per bushel of 60 pounds, 15 cents.
298. Vinegar, 7½ cents per gallon. The standard for vinegar shall be taken to be that strength which requires 35 grains of bicarbonate of potash to neutralize 1 ounce Troy of vinegar.
299. Wheat, 20 cents per bushel.
300. Wheat-flour, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE H.—WINES, LIQUORS, ETC.

301. Champagne and all other sparkling wines, in bottles containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, $7 per dozen; containing not more than 1 pint each and more than one-half pint, $3.50 per dozen; containing one-half pint each or less, $1.75 per dozen; in bottles or other vessels containing more than 1 quart each, in addition to $7 per dozen bottles, on the quantity in excess of 1 quart, at the rate of $2.25 per gallon.
302. Still wines, including ginger wine or ginger cordial and vermuth, in casks, 60 cents per gallon; in bottles or jugs, per case of one dozen bottles or jugs, containing each not more than one quart and more than one pint, or twenty-four bottles or jugs containing each not more than one pint, $1.60 per case; and any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles or jugs shall be subject to a duty of 5 cents per pint or fractional part thereof: *Provided*, That any wines, ginger cordial, or vermuth imported containing more than 24 per cent. of alcohol shall be forfeited to the United States: *And provided further*, That there shall be no constructive or other allowance for breakage, leakage, or damage on wines, liquors, cordials, or distilled spirits. Wines, cordials, brandy, and other spirituous liquors imported in bottles or jugs shall be packed in packages containing not less than one dozen bottles or jugs in each package; and all such bottles or jugs shall pay an additional duty of 3 cents for each bottle or jug.
303. Brandy and other spirits manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $2 per proof gallon.
304. Each and every gauge or wine-gallon of measurement shall be counted as at least one proof gallon, and the standard for determining the proof of brandy and other spirits or liquors of any kind imported shall be the same as that which is defined in the laws relating to internal revenue; but any brandy or other spirituous liquors imported in casks of less capacity than 14 gallons or in bottles of less capacity than 1 quart shall be forfeited to the United States: *Provided*, That it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to authorize the ascertainment of the proof of wines, cordials, or other liquors, by distillation or otherwise, in case where it is impracticable to ascertain such proof by the means prescribed by existing law or regulations.
305. On all compounds or preparations of which distilled spirits are a component part of chief value not specially enumerated or provided for in this act there shall be levied a duty not less than that imposed upon distilled spirits.
306. Cordials, liquors, arrack, absinthe, kirchwasser, ratafia, and other similar spirituous beverages or bitters containing spirits, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, $2 per proof gallon.
307. No lower rate or amount of duty shall be levied, collected, and paid on brandy, spirits, and other spirituous beverages than that fixed by law for the description of first proof; but it shall be increased in proportion for any greater strength than the strength of first proof, and all imitations of brandy or spirits or wines imported by any names whatever shall be subject to the highest rate of duty provided for the genuine articles respectively intended to be represented, and in no case less than $1 per gallon.
308. Bay-rum or bay-water, whether distilled or compounded, of first proof, and in proportion for any greater strength than first proof, $1 per gallon.
309. Ale, porter, and beer, in bottles or jugs, 35 cents per gallon; otherwise than in bottles or jugs, 20 cents per gallon.
310. Malt extract.—Fluid, in casks, 20 cents per gallon; in bottles or jugs, 40 cents per gallon; solid or condensed, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
311. Cherry juice and prune juice, or prune wine, and other fruit juice, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, containing not more than 24 per cent. of alcohol, 60 cents per gallon; if containing more than 24 per cent. of alcohol, $2 per gallon.
312. Ginger-ale, ginger-beer, lemonade, soda-water, and other aerated waters in plain green or colored molded or pressed glass bottles, containing each not more than three-fourths of a pint, 25 cents per dozen; containing more than three-fourths of a pint each and not more than 1½ pints, 50 cents per dozen; but no separate or additional duty shall be assessed on the bottles; if imported otherwise than in plain green or colored molded or pressed glass bottles, or in such bottles containing more than 1½ pints each, 50 cents per gallon; and in addition thereto, duty shall be collected on the bottles, or other coverings, at the rates which would be chargeable thereon if imported empty.

SCHEDULE I.—COTTON MANUFACTURES.

313. Cotton thread, yarn, warps, or warp-yarn (not wound upon spools), whether single or advanced beyond the condition of single, by twisting two or more single yarns together, whether on beams or in bundles, skeins, or cops, or in any other form, valued at not exceeding 25 cents per pound, 10 cents per pound; valued at over 25 cents per pound and not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 18 cents per pound; valued at over 40 cents per pound and not exceeding 50 cents per pound, 23 cents per pound; valued at over 50 cents per pound and not exceeding 60 cents per pound, 28 cents per pound; valued at over 60 cents per pound and not exceeding 70 cents per pound, 33 cents per pound; valued at over 70 cents per pound and not exceeding 80 cents per pound, 38 cents per pound; valued at over 80 cents per pound and not exceeding $1 per pound, 48 cents per pound; valued at over $1 per pound, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
314. Spool-thread of cotton, containing on each spool not exceeding 100 yards of thread, 7 cents per dozen. Exceeding 100 yards on each spool, for every additional 100 yards of thread or fractional part thereof in excess of 100 yards, 7 cents per dozen spools.
315. Cotton cloth not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, and not exceeding fifty threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 2 cents per square yard; if bleached, 2½ cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 4 cents per square yard.
316. Cotton cloth not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, exceeding fifty and not exceeding one hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 2½ cents per square yard; if bleached, 3 cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 4 cents per square yard: *Provided*, That on all cotton cloth not exceeding one hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 6½ cents per yard; bleached, valued at over 9 cents per square yard; and dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 12 cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 35 per cent. ad valorem.
317. Cotton cloth, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, exceeding one hundred and not exceeding one hundred and fifty threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 3 cents per square yard; if bleached, 4 cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 5 cents per square yard: *Provided*, That on all cotton cloth exceeding one hundred and not exceeding one hundred and fifty threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 7½ cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over 10 cents per square yard; dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 12½ cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 40 per cent. ad valorem.
318. Cotton cloth, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, exceeding one hundred and fifty and not exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 3½ cents per square yard; if bleached, 4½ cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 5½ cents per square yard: *Provided*, That on all cotton cloth exceeding one hundred and fifty and not exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 8 cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over 10 cents per square yard; dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 12 cents per square yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 45 per cent. ad valorem.
319. Cotton cloth not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 4½ cents per square yard; if bleached, 5½ cents per square yard; if dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, 6½ cents per square yard: *Provided*, That on all such cotton cloths not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 10 cents per square yard; bleached, valued at over 12 cents per square yard, and dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, valued at over 15 cents per yard, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty of 45 per cent. ad valorem.
320. On stockings, hose, half-hose, gloves, shirts, drawers, and other goods made on knitting machines or frames, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, and not otherwise specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
321. On stockings, hose, and half-hose, fashioned, narrowed, or shaped wholly or in part by knitting machines or frames, or knit by hand, and composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, valued at not exceeding $3 per dozen pairs, 60 cents per dozen pairs and 20 per cent. ad valorem; valued above $3 per dozen pairs, and on all shirts, drawers, gloves, and other articles composed of like materials, and made and fashioned in like manner, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
322. On cotton damask and on clothing ready made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, composed of cotton or other vegetable fiber, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, including hemmed handkerchiefs, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
323. On goods heretofore known commercially as Hamburg edgings, embroideries, or insertings, and as Egyptian and Oriental laces, composed of cotton, and stitched or otherwise wrought by machines worked by hand or other power, 45 cents per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem.
324. Plushes, velvets, velveteens, and all pile fabrics composed of cotton, or other vegetable fiber, 10 cents per square yard and 20 per cent. ad valorem.
325. Cotton cords, braids, gimps, galloons, webbing, goring, suspenders, and braces, any of the foregoing which are elastic or non-elastic, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
326. All manufactures of cotton not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE J.—FLAX, HEMP, AND JUTE.

327. Flax straw, $5 per ton.
328. Flax, not hackled or dressed, $20 per ton.
329. Flax, hackled, known as "dressed line," $40 per ton.
330. Tow, of flax or hemp, $10 per ton.
331. Hemp, $20 per ton.
332. Cables or cordage, and twine, including binding twine, composed wholly of manila, or sisal grass, 1½ cents per pound.
333. All manufactures of flax, hemp, jute, or other vegetable fiber, except cotton, or of which flax, hemp, jute, or other vegetable fiber, except cotton, is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, valued at 5 cents per pound or less, 2 cents per pound; valued above 5 cents per pound, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
334. Burlaps, not exceeding 60 inches in width, of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp, or either of them, shall be the component material of chief value (except such as may be suitable for bagging for cotton), 30 per cent. ad valorem.
335. Brown and bleached linen cloth containing not less than one hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
336. On laces, embroideries, insertings, neck ruffling and ruchings, trim-

mings, lace window-curtains, and other completed articles of lace, and tamboured window curtains and other similar tamboured articles, composed of flax, jute, cotton, or other vegetable fiber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

337. On collars and cuffs for men's wear, composed entirely of cotton, 15 cents per dozen pieces and 35 per cent. ad valorem; composed in whole or in part of linen, 30 cents per dozen pieces and 35 per cent. ad valorem.

338. Hemp or jute carpeting, 6 cents per square yard.

339. Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and all similar material suitable for covering cotton, composed in whole or in part of hemp, jute, or jute butts valued at not more than 3 cents per pound, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound.

340. Oil-cloth for floors, stamped, painted, or printed, including linoleum, corticene, cork-carpets, figured or plain, and on all other oil-cloth (except silk oil-cloth), and on water-proof cloth not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 10 cents per square yard and 15 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE K.—WOOL AND MANUFACTURES OF WOOL.

All wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, shall be divided, for the purpose of fixing the duties to be charged thereon, into the three following classes:

341. Class 1, clothing wools; that is to say, merino, mestiza, metz, or metis wools or other wools of merino blood, immediate or remote, Down clothing wools and wools of like character with any of the preceding, including such as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Buenos Ayres, New Zealand, Australia, Cape of Good Hope, Russia, Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere, and also including all wools not hereinafter described or designated in classes 2 and 3.

342. Class 2, combing wools; that is to say, Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, Down combing wools, Canada long wools, or other like combing wools of English blood, and usually known by the terms herein used, and also all hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals.

343. Class 3, carpet wools and other similar wools: Such as Donskoi, native South American, Cordova, Valparaiso, native Smyrna, and including all such wools of like character as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere.

344. The duty on wools of the first class which shall be imported washed shall be twice the amount of duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed; and the duty on wools of all classes which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed.

345. The duty upon wool of the sheep or hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, which shall be imported in any other than ordinary condition, as now and heretofore practiced, or which shall be changed in its character or condition for the purpose of evading the duty, or which shall be reduced in value by the admixture of dirt or any other foreign substance, shall be twice the duty to which it would be otherwise subject.

346. Wools of the first and second class and all hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, 11 cents per pound.

347. Wools of the third class, the value whereof, at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall be 12 cents or less per pound, 2½ cents per pound.

348. Wools of the same class, the value whereof, at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall exceed 12 cents per pound, 6 cents per pound.

349. Wools on the skin, the same rates as other wools, the quantity and value to be ascertained under such rules as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

350. Top waste, slubbing waste, roving waste, ring waste, yarn waste, garnetted waste, and all other wastes similar to them in character or description, composed wholly or in part of wool or worsted, 30 cents per pound.

351. Woolen rags, shoddy, mungo, flocks, and wool waste not otherwise provided for in this act, 10 cents per pound.

352. Noils shall pay the same rate of duty as the washed wools or hair from which they are made.

353. All wools and hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, which have been advanced by any process of manufacture beyond the washed or scoured condition, not otherwise enumerated or provided for in this act, shall be subject to the same duties as are imposed upon manufactures of wool not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

354. Woolen cloths, woolen shawls, and all manufactures of wool of every description, made wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, not especially enumerated or provided for in this act, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 35 cents per pound, and in addition thereto 35 per cent. ad valorem; valued at above 40 cents per pound, and not exceeding 60 cents per pound, 35 cents per pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem; valued at 60 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem.

355. Flannels, blankets, and hats of wool, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound, 10 cents per pound; valued at above 30 cents per pound, and not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 12 cents per pound; valued at above 40 cents per pound, and not exceeding 60 cents per pound, 18 cents per pound; and in addition thereto, upon all the above-named articles, 35 per cent. ad valorem; valued at above 60 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem.

356. Women's and children's dress goods, coat-linings, Italian cloths, and goods of similar character or description, composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, valued at not exceeding 15 cents per square yard, 6 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem; on all the above-named goods, valued at above 15 cents per square yard, 7 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem; but such goods as are composed in part of silk, or which contain an admixture of silk, and in which silk is not the component material of chief value, and not otherwise provided for in this act, shall be dutiable at 11 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That all goods of the character enumerated or described in this paragraph, weighing over 4 ounces per square yard, shall pay a duty of 40 cents per pound and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem.

357. Women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloths, bunting, and goods of like description, composed wholly of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, or of a mixture of them, 11 cents per square yard and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem; and all such goods with selvedges made wholly or in part of other materials, and all such goods in which threads made wholly or in part of other materials have been introduced either in the warp or in the filling for the purpose of changing the classification for duty, shall be dutiable at 11 cents per square yard and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem: *Provided*, That all such goods weighing over 4 ounces per square yard shall pay a duty of 40 cents per pound and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem.

358. Clothing ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, balmoral skirts, and skirting, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes, knit goods, all goods made on knitting-frames, and plushes, and all pile fabrics, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, 40 cents per pound and in addition thereto 45 per cent. ad valorem.

359. Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes (except knit goods), composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, 45 cents per pound and in addition thereto 45 per cent. ad valorem.

360. Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head-nets, any of the foregoing which are elastic or non-elastic, buttons, or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments, wrought by hand, or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals is a component material, 30 cents per pound and in addition thereto 50 per cent. ad valorem.

361. Aubusson, Axminster, Moquette, and chenille carpets, figured or plain, carpets woven whole for rooms, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 45 cents per square yard and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

362. Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 45 cents per square yard and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

363. Brussels carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 30 cents per square yard and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

364. Patent velvet and tapestry velvet carpets, figured or plain, printed on the warp or otherwise, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, 25 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

365. Tapestry Brussels carpets, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, printed on the warp or otherwise, 20 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

366. Treble ingrain, three-ply, and worsted chain Venetian carpets, 12 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

367. Yarn Venetian, and two-ply ingrain carpets, 8 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

368. Druggets and bockings, printed, colored, or otherwise, 15 cents per square yard, and in addition thereto 30 per cent. ad valorem.

369. Carpets and carpetings of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either, or other materials not otherwise specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

370. And mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bedsides, and other portions of carpets or carpetings shall be subjected to the rate of duty herein imposed on carpets or carpetings of like character or description. And the duty on all other mats not exclusively of vegetable material, screens, hassocks, and rugs shall be 40 per cent. ad valorem.

371. Endless belts or felts for paper or printing-machines, 20 cents per pound and 30 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE L.—SILK AND SILK GOODS.

372. Silk partially manufactured from cocoons or from waste-silk, and not further advanced or manufactured than carded or combed silk, 50 cents per pound.

373. Thrown silk, not more advanced than singles, tram, organzine, sewing-silk, twist, floss, spun silk, and silk threads or yarns of every description, 30 per cent. ad valorem.

374. Goods in the piece, including ribbons, not otherwise specially provided for in this act, weighing not less than 1 ounce nor more than 8 ounces per square yard, containing less than 25 per cent. and not less than 10 per cent. in weight of silk, 75 cents per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem; the same containing less than 50 per cent. and not less than 25 per cent. in weight of silk, $1.25 per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem; the same, containing 50 per cent. or more in weight of silk, if black, $1.60 per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem; if white or colored, or partly black or partly colored, $2.25 per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem.

375. Velvets, plushes, or other pile fabrics in the piece (including ribbons), not otherwise specially provided for in this act, weighing not less than 1 ounce nor more than 8 ounces per square yard, containing less than 25 per cent. and not less than 10 per cent. in weight of silk, $1 per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem; the same, containing less than 50 per cent. and not less than 25 per cent. in weight of silk, $1.50 per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem; the same, containing 50 per cent. or more in weight of silk, $3.50 per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem. In ascertaining the percentage of silk under this act the weight of silk shall be taken as found in the goods.

376. Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, cords, and tassels, any of the foregoing which are elastic or non-elastic, buttons, and ornaments, made of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

377. Laces and embroideries, neck-rufflings and ruchings, clothing ready made, and articles of wearing apparel of every description, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, composed of silk, or of which silk is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 60 per cent. ad valorem.

378. All manufactures of silk, of which silk is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 50 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE M.—BOOKS, PAPERS, ETC.

379. Books, including blank-books of all kinds, pamphlets and engravings, bound or unbound, photographs, etchings, maps, charts, and all printed matter, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

380. Paper envelopes, 25 cents per thousand.

381. Manufactures of paper, or of which paper is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

382. Papers known commercially as surface-coated papers, and manufactures thereof, card-boards, albumenized and sensitized papers, lithographic prints from either stone or zinc, bound or unbound (except illustrations in printed books), and all articles produced either in whole or in part by lithographic process, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

383. Paper-hangings and paper for screens or fire-boards, writing paper, drawing paper, filtering-paper, letter-press copying paper, and all other paper not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

384. Printing paper, unsized, used for books and newspapers exclusively, 15 per cent. ad valorem.

385. Paper, sized or glued, suitable only for printing paper, 20 per cent. ad valorem.

386. Sheathing paper, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

387. Playing cards, 50 cents per pack.

388. Pulp, dried, for paper-makers' use, 10 per cent. ad valorem.

SCHEDULE N.—SUNDRIES.

389. Brushes, and brooms of all kinds, including feather dusters, 30 per cent. ad valorem; broom-corn, $4 per ton.

390. Button forms: Lastings, mohair cloth, silk twist, or other manufactures

of cloth, woven or made in patterns of such size, shape, or form, or cut in such manner as to be fit for buttons exclusively, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
391. Card-clothing: Manufactured from tempered steel wire, 45 cents per square foot; all other, 25 cents per square foot.
392. Chronometers, box or ship's, and parts thereof, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
393. Coal, bituminous, and shale, 75 cents per ton of 28 bushels, 80 pounds to the bushel.
394. Coke, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
395. Dice, draughts, chess-men, chess-balls, and billiard, pool, and bagatelle balls, of ivory, bone, or other materials, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
396. Dolls, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
397. Emery grains, and emery manufactured, ground, pulverized, or refined, 1 cent per pound.
398. Feathers and downs of all kinds, when dressed, colored, or manufactured, including quilts of down and other manufactures of down, and also including dressed and finished birds suitable for millinery ornaments, and artificial and ornamental feathers and flowers, or parts thereof, of whatever material composed, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
399. Fire-crackers of all kinds, 8 cents per pound, but no allowance shall be made for tare or damage thereon.
400. Fulminates, fulminating powders, and like articles, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
401. Furs, dressed on the skin but not made up into articles, and furs not on the skin, prepared for hatters' use, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
402. Gloves, kid or leather, of all descriptions, wholly or partially manufactured, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
403. Gunpowder, and all explosive substances used for mining, blasting, artillery, or sporting purposes, when valued at 20 cents or less per pound, 5 cents per pound, valued above 20 cents per pound, 8 cents per pound.
404. Gun-wads of all descriptions, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
405. Hair, human, if clean or drawn but not manufactured, 20 per cent. ad valorem.
406. Hair-cloth, known as "crinoline-cloth," and hair pencils, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
407. Hair-cloth, known as "hair-seating," 30 cents per square yard.
408. Hair, curled, suitable for beds or mattresses, 15 per cent. ad valorem.
409. Hats, for men's, women's, and children's wear, composed of the fur of the rabbit, beaver, or other animals or of which such fur is the component material of chief value, wholly or partially manufactured, including fur hat bodies, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
410. Jewelry: All articles, not elsewhere specially provided for in this act, composed of precious metals or imitations thereof, whether set with coral, jet, or pearls, or with diamonds, rubies, cameos, or other precious stones, or imitations thereof, or otherwise, and which shall be known commercially as "jewelry," 25 per cent. ad valorem.
411. Leather.—Bend or belting leather and sole-leather, and leather not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 15 per cent. ad valorem.
412. Calf-skins, tanned, or tanned and dressed, dressed upper-leather, including patent enameled and Japanned leather, and skins of all kinds not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and chamois-skins, dressed or undressed and finished, 25 cents per pound; sheep and goat skins, including lamb and kid skins, dressed and finished, 20 per cent. ad valorem; skins for morocco, tanned but unfinished, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
413. But leather cut into shoe uppers or vamps, or other forms, suitable for conversion into manufactured articles, shall be classified as manufactures of leather, and pay duty accordingly.
414. Lime, 5 cents per 100 pounds.
415. Manufactures of alabaster, amber, asbestos, bladders, coral, cork or cork bark, cat-gut or whip-gut or worm-gut, jet, paste, spar, or wax, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
416. Manufactures of bone, chip, fur, grass, horn, india-rubber, palm-leaf, straw, weeds, or whalebone, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem.
417. Manufactures of leather, gutta-percha, human hair, and papier-maché, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
418. Manufactures of ivory, vegetable ivory, mother-of-pearl, and shell, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
419. Marble of all kinds.—In block, rough or squared, 65 cents per cubic foot.
420. Veined marble, sawed, dressed, or otherwise, including marble slabs and marble paving-tiles, $1.10 per cubic foot (but in measurement no slab shall be computed at less than 1 inch in thickness).
421. Manufactures of marble not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 50 per cent. ad valorem.
422. Matches.—Friction or lucifer, of all descriptions, per gross of one hundred and forty-four boxes, containing not more than one hundred matches per box, 10 cents per gross; when imported otherwise than in boxes containing not more than one hundred matches each, 1 cent per one thousand matches.
423. Cocoa matting and mats.—Matting, 10 cents per square yard; mats, 5 cents per square foot.
424. Paintings, in oil or water colors, and statuary, not otherwise provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem; but the term "statuary" as herein used shall be understood to include only such statuary as is cut, carved, or otherwise wrought by hand from a solid block or mass of marble, stone, or alabaster, or from metal, and as is the professional production of a statuary or sculptor only.
425. Pearls, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
426. Pencils of wood filled with lead or other material, and pencils of lead, 50 cents per gross and 30 per cent. ad valorem.
427. Pencil-leads not in wood, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
428. Percussion-caps, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
429. Pipes, pipe-bowls, and cigar-holders of wood, one-half of 1 cent each and 70 per cent. ad valorem.
430. All smokers' articles whatsoever, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, including cigarette-books, cigarette-book covers, and cigarette-paper in all forms, 70 per cent. ad valorem.
431. All common tobacco-pipes of clay, 35 per cent. ad valorem.
432. Pearl and shell buttons, 2 cents per line button measure of one-fortieth of 1 inch per gross and in addition thereto 25 per cent. ad valorem.
433. Plush, black, known commercially as hatters' plush, composed of silk, or of silk and cotton, and used exclusively for making men's hats, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
434. Precious stones of all kinds, cut but not set, 10 per cent. ad valorem; if set, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
435. Stone.—Freestone, granite, sandstone, and all building or monumental stone, except marble, unmanufactured or undressed, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 14 cents per cubic foot.
436. Freestone, granite, sandstone, and other building or monumental stone, except marble, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, hewn, dressed, or polished, and burr-stones manufactured or bound up into mill-stones, 25 per cent. ad valorem.
437. Grindstones, finished or unfinished, $1.75 per ton.
438. Umbrellas, parasols, and sun-shades: Covered with silk, alpaca, or similar material, 50 per cent. ad valorem; if covered with other material, 40 per cent. ad valorem.
439. Waste, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, 10 per cent. ad valorem.
440. Watches, watch-cases, watch-movements, parts of watches, watch-glasses, and watch-keys, whether separately packed or otherwise, 25 per cent. ad valorem.

FREE LIST.

SEC. 2503. The following articles when imported shall be exempt from duty:
441. Acids used for medicinal, chemical, or manufacturing purposes, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
442. Aconite.
443. Acorns, raw, dried or undried, but unground.
444. Agates, unmanufactured.
445. Albumen.
446. Alizarine, natural.
447. Alizarine, artificial.
448. Amber, unmanufactured, or crude gum.
449. Ambergris.
450. Aniline salts.
451. Animals brought into the United States temporarily for a period not exceeding six months, for the purpose of exhibition or competition for prizes offered by any agricultural or racing association; but a bond shall be given in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; also, teams of animals, including their harness and tackle and the wagons or other vehicles actually owned by persons emigrating from foreign countries to the United States with their families, and in actual use for the purpose of such emigration, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.
452. Annatto, roucou, rocoa, or orleans, and all extract of.
453. Antimony ore, crude sulphide of.
454. Apatite.
455. Argal, or argol, or crude tartar.
456. Arrow-root, raw or unmanufactured.
457. Arsenic and sulphide of, or orpiment.
458. Arseniate of aniline.
459. Articles in a crude state used in dyeing or tanning not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
460. Articles specially imported for the use of the United States, provided that the price of the same did not include the duty.
461. Articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States, when returned after having been exported, without having been advanced in value or improved in condition by any process of manufacture or other means; casks, barrels, carboys, bags, and other vessels of American manufacture exported filled with American products, or exported empty and returned filled with foreign products, including shooks when returned as barrels or boxes; but proof of the identity of such articles shall be made, under general regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and if any such articles are subject to internal tax at the time of exportation, such tax shall be proved to have been paid before exportation and not refunded: *Provided*, That this paragraph shall not apply to any article upon which an allowance of drawback has been made, the reimportation of which is hereby prohibited except upon payment of duties equal to the drawbacks allowed.
462. Asbestos, unmanufactured.
463. Ashes, wood and lye of, and beet-root ashes.
464. Asphaltum and bitumen, crude.
465. Asafetida.
466. Balm of Gilead.
467. Barks, cinchona or other.
468. Baryta, carbonite or witherite.
469. Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, unmanufactured.
470. Bauxite, or beauxite.
471. Beeswax.
472. Bells, broken, and bell-metal, broken, and fit only to be remanufactured.
473. Birds, stuffed, not suitable for millinery ornaments.
474. Birds and land and water fowls.
475. Bismuth.
476. Bladders, including fish-bladders or fish-sounds, crude, and all integuments of animals not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
477. Blood, dried,
478. Bologna sausages.
479. Bolting-cloths.
480. Bones, crude, or not burned, calcined, ground, steamed, or otherwise manufactured, and bone-dust or animal carbon, and bone-ash, fit only for fertilizing purposes.
481. Books, engravings, photographs, bound or unbound etchings, maps, and charts; which shall have been printed and bound or manufactured more than twenty years at the date of importation.
482. Books and pamphlets printed exclusively in languages other than English.
483. Books, engravings, photographs, etchings, bound or unbound, maps and charts imported by authority or for the use of the United States or for the use of the Library of Congress; but the duty shall not have been included in the contract or price paid.
484. Books, maps, and charts specially imported, not more than two copies in any one invoice, in good faith, for the use of any society incorporated or established for philosophical, literary, or religious purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning in the United States.
485. Books, or libraries, or parts of libraries, and other household effects of persons or families from foreign countries, if used abroad by them not less than one year, and not intended for any other person or persons, nor for sale.
486. Brazil paste.
487. Braids, plaits, flats, laces, and similar manufactures suitable for making or ornamenting hats, bonnets, and hoods, composed of straw, chip, grass, palm-leaf, willow, osier or rattan.
488. Brazilian pebbles, rough or unmanufactured.
489. Breccia, in blocks or slabs.
490. Bristles, raw or manufactured.
491. Bromine.
492. Bullion, gold or silver.
493. Bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible.
494. Burgundy pitch.
495. Cabinets of old coins and medals, and other collections of antiquities; but the term "antiquities" as used in this act shall include only such articles as are suitable for souvenirs or cabinet collections, and which shall have been produced at any period prior to the seventeenth century.
496. Cadmium.
497. Calamine.
498. Camphor, crude.
499. Castor or castoreum.

500. Cassia, cassia vera, and cassia-buds, unground.
501. Catgut, whip-gut, or worm-gut, unmanufactured, or not further manufactured than in strings or cord.
502. Cerium.
503. Chalk, unmanufactured.
504. Charcoal.
505. Chicory-root, raw, dried, or undried, but unground.
506. Cinnamon, and chips of, unground.
507. Civet, crude.
508. Cloves and clove-stems, unground.
509. Coal, anthracite.
510. Coal slack or culm, such as will pass through a half-inch screen.
511. Coal stores of American vessels; but none shall be unloaded.
512. Coal-tar, crude.
513. Cobalt and cobalt ore.
514. Cocculus indicus.
515. Cochineal.
516. Cocoa, or cacao, crude, and fiber, leaves and shells of.
517. Coffee.
518. Coins, gold, silver, and copper.
519. Coir, and coir yarn.
520. Copper, old, taken from the bottom of American vessels compelled by marine disaster to repair in foreign ports.
521. Copper, when imported for the United States Mint.
522. Coral, marine, uncut, and unmanufactured.
523. Cork-wood, or cork-bark, unmanufactured.
524. Cotton, and cotton-waste or flocks.
525. Cryolite, or kryolith.
526. Cudbear.
527. Curling-stones, or quoits, and curling-stone handles.
528. Currants, Zante, or other dried.
529. Curry and curry-powder.
530. Cutch.
531. Cuttle-fish bone.
532. Dandelion roots, raw, dried, or undried, but unground.
533. Diamonds and other precious stones, rough or uncut (not including pearls), and diamond dust or bort.
534. Diamonds set for glaziers' use, and diamonds set as pencils or drills for engravers' use.
535. Divi-divi.
536. Dragon's blood.
537. Drugs, such as: barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, and bulbous roots, excrescences such as nut-galls, fruits, flowers, dried fibers, and dried insects, grains, gums, and gum-resin, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots, and stems, spices, vegetables, seeds aromatic, and seeds of morbid growth, weeds, and woods used expressly for dyeing—any of the foregoing which are not edible and are in a crude state, and not advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
538. Eggs of birds and fowls, and of fish and insects, and egg-yelks, unmanufactured.
539. Emery ore.
540. Ergot.
541. Fans, common palm-leaf, and palm-leaf, unmanufactured.
542. Farina.
543. Fashion-plates, engraved on steel or copper or on wood, colored or plain.
544. Feathers and downs of all kinds, crude and unmanufactured.
545. Feldspar.
546. Felt, adhesive, for sheathing vessels.
547. Fibrin, in all forms.
548. Fibers and grasses: China-grass.
549. Istle or Tampico fiber.
550. Jute.
551. Jute-butts.
552. Manila.
553. Ramie.
554. Sisal-grass.
555. Sunn.
556. And all other textile grasses or fibrous vegetable substances, unmanufactured or undressed, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
557. Fish, fresh, except when frozen or packed in ice, or otherwise prepared by any process for preservation.
558. Fish for bait.
559. Fish-skins.
560. Flint, flints, and ground flint stones.
561. Floor-matting manufactured from round or split straw, including what is commercially known as Chinese matting.
562. Fossils.
563. Fruit-plants, tropical and semi-tropical, for the purpose of propagation or cultivation.
564. Fruits, green, ripe, or dried, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
565. Furs, undressed.
566. Fur-skins of all kinds not dressed in any manner.
567. Gambier.
568. Ginger-root, unground, and not preserved or candied.
569. Glass, broken pieces, and old glass, which can not be cut for use, and fit only to be remanufactured.
570. Glass plates or disks, rough-cut and unwrought, for use in the manufacture of optical instruments, spectacles, and eye-glasses, and suitable only for such use.
571. Gold-beaters' molds and gold-beaters' skins.
572. Grease and oils, such as are commonly used in soap-making or in wire-drawing or for stuffing or dressing leather, and as are fit only for such uses, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
573. Guano, manures, and all substances expressly used for manure.
574. Gunny bags and gunny cloths, old or refuse, fit only for remanufacture.
575. Guts, salted.
576. Gutta-percha, crude.
577. Hair of horse, cattle, and other animals, cleaned or uncleaned, drawn or undrawn, but unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act; and human hair, raw, uncleaned, and not drawn.
578. Hide-cuttings, raw, with or without hair, and all other glue-stock.
579. Hide rope.
580. Hides, raw or uncured, whether dry, salted, or pickled, and skins of all kinds, raw or dried, salted, or pickled, but unmanufactured, except sheep-skins with dutiable wool on.
581. Hones and whetstones.
582. Hoofs, unmanufactured.
583. Hop roots for cultivation.
584. Horns and parts of, including horn strips and tips, unmanufactured.
585. Ice.
586. India rubber, crude, and milk of, and old scrap or refuse India rubber which has been worn out by use and is fit only for remanufacture.
587. Indigo.
588. Iodine, crude.
589. Ipecac.
590. Iridium.
591. Ivory and vegetable ivory, not sawed, cut, or otherwise manufactured.
592. Jalap.
593. Jet, unmanufacted.
594. Joss-stick, or Joss-light.
595. Junk, old.
596. Kelp.
597. Kieserite.
598. Kyanite, or cyanite, and kainite.
599. Lac-dye, crude, seed, button, stick, and shell.
600. Lac spirits.
601. Lactarine.
602. Lava, unmanufactured.
603. Leather, old scraps.
604. Leeches.
605. Lemon-juice, lime-juice, and sour-orange juice.
606. Licorice-root, unground.
607. Life-boats and life-saving apparatus specially imported by societies incorporated or established to encourage the saving of human life.
608. Lime, citrate of.
609. Lime, chloride of, or bleaching-powder.
610. Lithographic stones not engraved.
611. Litmus, prepared or not prepared.
612. Loadstones.
613. Mace.
614. Madder and munjeet, or Indian madder, ground or prepared, and all extracts of.
615. Magnesite, or native mineral carbonate of magnesia.
616. Magnesium.
617. Magnets.
618. Manganese, oxide and ore of.
619. Manna.
620. Manuscripts.
621. Marrow, crude.
622. Marsh mallows.
623. Medals of gold.
624. Medals of silver or copper.
625. Meerschaum, crude or unmanufactured.
626. Mica and mica waste.
627. Mineral waters, all not otherwise specially provided for in this act.
628. Minerals, crude, or not advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
629. Models of inventions and of other improvements in the arts, including patterns for machinery, but no article shall be deemed a model or pattern which can be fitted for use otherwise.
630. Molasses testing not above fifty-six degrees by the polariscope: *Provided*, That if an export duty shall hereafter be laid upon molasses by any country from whence the same may be imported, it shall be subject to duty as provided by law at the date of the passage of this act.
631. Moss, sea-weeds, and vegetable substances, crude or unmanufactured, not otherwise specially provided for in this act.
632. Musk, crude, in natural pods.
633. Myrobolan.
634. Newspapers and periodicals; but the term "periodicals" as herein used shall be understood to embrace only unbound or paper-covered publications, containing current literature of the day and issued regularly at stated periods, as weekly, monthly, or quarterly.
635. Nutmegs.
636. Nuts.—Cocoa.
637. Brazil.
638. Cream.
639. Palm.
640. Palm-nut kernels.
641. Nux vomica.
642. Oakum.
643. Oil-cake.
644. Oils.—Almond.
645. Amber, crude and rectified.
646. Ambergris.
647. Anise, or anise-seed.
648. Aniline.
649. Aspic, or spike-lavender.
650. Bergamot.
651. Cajeput.
652. Caraway.
653. Cassia and cinnamon.
654. Cedrat.
655. Chamomile.
656. Citronella, or lemon-grass.
657. Civet.
658. Fennel.
659. Jasmine, or jasimine.
660. Juglandium.
661. Juniper.
662. Lavender.
663. Lemon.
664. Limes.
665. Mace.
666. Neroli, or orange flower.
667. Nut oil, or oil of nuts not otherwise specially provided for in this act.
668. Orange.
669. Olive oil, for manufacturing or mechanical purposes, unfit for eating and not otherwise provided for in this act.
670. Ottar of roses.
671. Palm and cocoanut.
672. Rosemary or anthoss.
673. Sesame or sesamum-seed, or bean.
674. Thyme origanum, red or white.
675. Valerian.
676. Spermaceti, whale, and other fish oils of American fisheries, and all other articles the produce of such fisheries.
677. Olives, green or prepared.
678. Opium, crude or unmanufactured, and not adulterated, containing 9 per cent. and over of morphia.
679. Orange and lemon peel, not preserved, candied, or otherwise prepared.
680. Orchil, or orchil liquid.
681. Ores, of gold and silver.
682. Osmium.
683. Palladium.
684. Paper stock, crude, of every description, including all grasses and pulp of grasses, fibers, rags (other than wool), waste, shavings, clippings, old paper, rope ends, waste rope, waste bagging, old or refuse gunny bags or gunny cloth, and poplar or other woods, fit only to be converted into paper.
685. Paraffine.

686. Parchment and vellum.
687. Pearl, mother of, not sawed, cut, polished, or otherwise manufactured.
688. Peltries and other proper goods and effects of Indians passing or repassing the boundary line of the Territories of the United States: *Provided*, That this exemption shall not apply to goods in bales or other large packages unusual among Indians.
689. Pepper of all kinds, unground.
690. Personal and household effects, not merchandise, of citizens of the United States dying in foreign countries.
691. Pewter and britannia metal, old, and fit only to be remanufactured.
692. Philosophical and scientific apparatus, instruments, and preparations; statuary, casts of marbles, bronze, alabaster, or plaster of Paris; painting, drawings, and etchings, specially imported in good faith for the use of any society or institution incorporated or established for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for encouragement of the fine arts, and not intended for sale.
693. Phosphates, crude or native.
694. Pimento, unground.
695. Plants, trees, shrubs, and vines, of all kinds, not otherwise specially provided for in this act; and plants, trees, shrubs, roots, seed-cane, and seeds, imported by the Department of Agriculture or the United States Botanic Garden.
696. Plaster of Paris and sulphate of lime, unground.
697. Platina, in ingots, bars, sheets, and wire.
698. Platinum, unmanufactured, and vases, retorts, and other apparatus, vessels, and parts thereof composed of platinum, for chemical uses.
699. Plumbago.
700. Polishing-stones.
701. Potash.—Crude, carbonate of, or "black salts," or fused.
702. Caustic, or hydrate of, not including refined in sticks or rolls.
703. Nitrate of, or saltpeter, crude.
704. Sulphate of, crude or unrefined.
705. Chlorate of.
706. Muriate of.
707. Professional books, implements, instruments, and tools of trade, occupation, or employment, of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall not be construed to include machinery or other articles imported for use in any manufacturing establishment, or for any other person or persons, or for sale.
708. Pulu.
709. Pumice.
710. Quills, prepared or unprepared, but not made up into complete articles.
711. Quinia, sulphate of, and all alkaloids or salts of cinchona-bark.
712. Rags, all not otherwise specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
713. Regalia and gems, statues, statuary, and specimens of sculpture, where specially imported in good faith for the use of any society incorporated or established for philosophical, literary, or religious purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for the use or by order of any college, academy, school, seminary of learning or public library in the United States; but the term "regalia" as herein used shall be held to embrace only such insignia of rank or office, or emblems, as may be worn upon the person or borne in the hand during public exercises of the society or institution, and shall not include articles of furniture or fixtures, or of regular wearing apparel, nor personal property of individuals.
714. Rennets, raw or prepared.
715. Saffron and safflower, and extract of, and saffron cake.
716. Sago, crude, and sago flower, not in condition suitable for use as starch.
717. Salacine.
718. Sauer-kraut.
719. Sausage skins.
720. Seeds.—Anise.
721. Canary.
722. Caraway.
723. Cardamom.
724. Coriander.
725. Cotton.
726. Cummin.
727. Fennel.
728. Fenugreek.
729. Hemp.
730. Hoarhound.
731. Mangel-wurzel.
732. Melon.
733. Mustard.
734. Poppy.
735. Pumpkin.
736. Rape.
737. St. John's bread or bean.
738. Sugar-beet.
739. Squash.
740. Turnip.
741. And all flower and grass seeds not otherwise specially provided for in this act.
742. Selep, or saloup.
743. Shells of all kinds, not cut, ground, or otherwise manufactured.
744. Shrimps, and other shell-fish.
745. Silk, raw, or as reeled from the cocoon, but not doubled, twisted, or advanced in manufacture in any way.
746. Silk cocoons and silk-waste.
747. Silk-worms' eggs.
748. Skeletons and other preparations of anatomy.
749. Snails.
750. Soda, nitrate of, or cubic nitrate, and chlorate of.
751. Sodium.
752. Sparterre, suitable for making or ornamenting hats.
753. Specimens of natural history, botany, and mineralogy, when imported for cabinets or as objects of science, and not for sale.
754. Sponges.
755. Spunk.
756. Spurs and stilts used in the manufacture of earthen, porcelain, and stone ware.
757. Stone and sand: Burr-stone in blocks, rough or unmanufactured, and not bound up into millstones; cliff-stone, unmanufactured; pumice-stone, rottenstone, and sand, crude or unmanufactured.
758. Storax, or styrax.
759. Straw, unmanufactured.
760. Strontia, oxide of, and protoxide of strontian, and strontianite, or mineral carbonate of strontia.
761. Sugar of milk.
762. Sulphur, lac or precipitated, and sulphur or brimstone, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.
763. Sweepings of silver and gold.
764. Tamarinds.
765. Tapioca, cassava or cassada, provided the same is not fit for use as starch.
766. Tar and pitch of wood.
767. Tea and tea-plants.
768. Teasels.
769. Teeth, natural or unmanufactured.
770. Terra alba.
771. Terra japonica.
772. Tin ore, and tin in bars, blocks, pigs, or grain or granulated.
773. Tonquin, tonqua, or tonka beans.
774. Tripoli.
775. Turmeric.
776. Turpentine, Venice.
777. Turpentine, spirits of.
778. Turtles.
779. Types, old, and fit only to be remanufactured.
780. Uranium, oxide and salts of.
781. Vaccine virus.
782. Valonia.
783. Verdigris, or subacetate of copper.
784. Wafers, unmedicated.
785. Wax, vegetable or mineral.
786. Wearing apparel and other personal effects (not merchandise) of persons arriving in the United States; but this exemption shall not be held to include articles not actually in use and necessary and appropriate for the use of such persons for the purposes of their journey and present comfort and convenience, or which are intended for any other person or persons, or for sale: *Provided, however*, That all such wearing apparel and other personal effects as may have been once imported into the United States and subjected to the payment of duty, and which may have been actually used and taken or exported to foreign countries by the persons returning therewith to the United States, shall, if not advanced in value or improved in condition by any means since their exportation from the United States, be entitled to exemption from duty, upon their identity being established, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.
787. Whalebone, unmanufactured.
788. Wood.—Logs.
789. Fire-wood, handle-bolts, heading-bolts, or stave-bolts, and shingle-bolts, hop-poles, railroad ties, ship-timber, and ship-planking.
790. Cedar, lignum-vitæ, lancewood, ebony, box, granadilla, mahogany, rosewood, satinwood, and all other cabinet-woods, unmanufactured, not otherwise specially provided for in this act; bamboo, rattan, reeds, and osier or willow, unmanufactured; bamboo, reeds, and sticks of partridge, hairwood, pimento, orange, myrtle, and other woods, not otherwise specially provided for in this act, in the rough, or not further manufactured than cut into lengths suitable for umbrella, parasol, sun-shade, or whip-sticks, or walking-canes; and India malacca joints, not further manufactured than cut into suitable lengths for the manufactures into which they are intended to be converted.
791. Works of art, paintings, statuary, and other works of art the production of American artists residing temporarily abroad, and paintings, statuary, fountains, and other works of art, imported expressly for presentation to a national institution, or to any State or municipal corporation, or incorporated religious society, college, or other public institution; but such exemption shall be subject to such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.
792. Works of art, drawings, engravings, photographic pictures, and philosophical and scientific apparatus brought by professional artists, lecturers, or scientists arriving from abroad for use by them temporarily for exhibition and in illustration, promotion, and encouragement of art, science, or industry in the United States, and not for sale, and paintings, statuary, and photographic pictures imported for exhibition by any association duly authorized under the laws of the United States or of any State, for the promotion and encouragement of science, art, or industry, and not intended for sale, shall be admitted free of duty, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe; but bonds shall be given for the payment to the United States of such duties as may be imposed by law upon any and all of such articles as shall not be exported within six months after such importation: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, extend such period for a further term of six months in cases where applications therefor shall be made.
793. Works of art, collections in illustration of the progress of the arts, science, or manufactures, photographs, works in terra-cotta, parian, pottery, or porcelain, and artistic copies of antiquities in metal or other material, hereafter imported in good faith for permanent exhibition at a fixed place by any society or institution established for the encouragement of the arts or science, and all like articles imported in good faith by any society or association for the purpose of erecting a public monument, and not intended for sale, nor for any other purpose than herein expressed; but the parties importing such articles shall give bonds, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, for the payment of lawful duties which may accrue should any of the articles aforesaid be so sold, transferred, or used contrary to this provision; and such articles shall be subject, at any time, to examination and inspection by the proper officers of the customs.
794. Yams.
795. Zaffer.

SEC. 2491. All persons are prohibited from importing into the United States from any foreign country any obscene book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture, drawing, or other representation, figure, or image on or of paper or other material, or any cast, instrument, or other article of an immoral nature, or any drug or medicine, or any article whatever, for the prevention of conception, or for causing unlawful abortion. No invoice or package whatever, or any part of one, in which any such articles are contained shall be admitted to entry; and all invoices and packages whereof any such articles shall compose a part are liable to be proceeded against, seized, and forfeited by due course of law. All such prohibited articles in the course of importation shall be detained by the officer of customs, and proceedings taken against the same as prescribed in the following section: *Provided*, That the drugs hereinbefore mentioned, when imported in bulk and not put up for any of the purposes hereinbefore specified, are excepted from the operation of this section.

SEC. 2492. Whoever, being an officer, agent, or employé of the Government of the United States, shall knowingly aid or abet any person engaged in any violation of any of the provisions of law prohibiting importing, advertising, dealing in, exhibiting, or sending or receiving by mail obscene or indecent publications or representations, or means for preventing conception or procuring abortion, or other articles of indecent or immoral use or tendency, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall for every offense be punishable by a fine of not more than $5,000, or by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than ten years, or both.

SEC. 2493. Any judge of any district or circuit court of the United States, within the proper district, before whom complaint in writing of any violation of the preceding sections is made, to the satisfaction of such judge, and founded on knowledge or belief, and if upon belief, setting forth the grounds of such belief, and supported by oath or affirmation of the complainant, may issue, conformably to the Constitution, a warrant directed to the marshal, or any deputy marshal, in the proper district, directing him to search for, seize, and take possession of any such article or thing hereinbefore mentioned, and to make due and immediate return thereof to the end that the same may be condemned and destroyed by proceedings, which shall be conducted in the same manner as other proceedings in the case of municipal seizure, and with the same right of appeal or writ of error.

SEC. 2494. The importation of neat cattle and the hides of neat cattle from any foreign country into the United States is prohibited: *Provided*, That the operation of this section shall be suspended as to any foreign country or countries, or any parts of such country or countries, whenever the Secretary of the Treasury shall officially determine, and give public notice thereof, that such importation will not tend to the introduction or spread of contagious or infectious diseases among the cattle of the United States; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and empowered, and it shall be his duty, to make all necessary orders and regulations to carry this law into effect, or to suspend the same as therein provided, and to send copies thereof to the proper officers in the United States, and to such officers or agents of the United States in foreign countries as he shall judge necessary.

SEC. 2495. Any person convicted of a willful violation of any of the provisions of the preceding section shall be fined not exceeding $500, or imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2496. No watches, watch-cases, watch-movements, or parts of watch-movements, or any other articles of foreign manufacture, which shall copy or simulate the name or trade-mark of any domestic manufacture or manufacturer, shall be admitted to entry at the custom-house of the United States, unless such domestic manufacturer is the importer of the same. And in order to aid the officers of the customs in enforcing this prohibition, any domestic manufacturer who has adopted trade-marks may require his name and residence and a description of his trade-marks to be recorded in books which shall be kept for that purpose in the Department of the Treasury, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, and may furnish to the Department fac-similes of such trade-marks; and thereupon the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause one or more copies of the same to be transmitted to each collector or other proper officer of the customs.

SEC. 2497. No goods, wares, or merchandise, unless in cases provided for by treaty, shall be imported into the United States from any foreign port or place, except in vessels of the United States, or in such foreign vessels as truly and wholly belong to the citizens or subjects of that country of which the goods are the growth, production, or manufacture; or from which such goods, wares, or merchandise can only be, or most usually are, first shipped for transportation. All goods, wares, or merchandise imported contrary to this section, and the vessel wherein the same shall be imported, together with her cargo, tackle, apparel, and furniture, shall be forfeited to the United States; and such goods, wares, or merchandise, ship, or vessel, and cargo shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned, in like manner, and under the same regulations, restrictions, and provisions as have been heretofore established for the recovery, collection, distribution, and remission of forfeitures to the United States by the several revenue laws.

SEC. 2498. The preceding section shall not apply to vessels or goods, wares, or merchandise imported in vessels of a foreign nation which does not maintain a similar regulation against vessels of the United States.

SEC. 2499. Each and every imported article, not enumerated in this act, which is similar, either in material, quality, texture, or the use to which it may be applied, to any article enumerated in this act as chargeable with duty, shall pay the same rate of duty which is levied on the enumerated article which it most resembles in any of the particulars before mentioned; and if any non-enumerated article equally resembles two or more enumerated articles on which different rates of duty are chargeable, there shall be levied on such non-enumerated article the same rate of duty as is chargeable on the article which it resembles paying the highest rate of duty; and on articles not enumerated, manufactured of two or more materials, the duty shall be assessed at the highest rate at which the same would be chargeable if composed wholly of the component material thereof of chief value; and the words "component material of chief value," wherever used in this act, shall be held to mean that component material which shall exceed in value any other single component material of the article; and the value of each component material shall be determined by the ascertained value of such material in its condition as found in the article. If two or more rates of duty shall be applicable to any imported article, it shall pay duty at the highest of such rates.

SEC. 2500. Upon the reimportation of articles once exported of the growth, product, or manufacture of the United States, upon which no internal tax has been assessed or paid, or upon which such tax has been paid and refunded by allowance or drawback, there shall be levied, collected, and paid a duty equal to the tax imposed by the internal-revenue laws upon such articles.

SEC. 2501. A discriminating duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem, in addition to the duties imposed by law, shall be levied, collected, and paid on all goods, wares, or merchandise which shall be imported in vessels not of the United States; but this discriminating duty shall not apply to goods, wares, and merchandise which shall be imported in vessels not of the United States, entitled, by treaty or any act of Congress, to be entered in the ports of the United States on payment of the same duties as shall then be paid on goods, wares, and merchandise imported in vessels of the United States.

SEC. 2504. Whenever any vessel laden with merchandise, in whole or in part subject to duty, has been sunk in any river, harbor, bay, or waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and within its limits, for the period of two years, and is abandoned by the owner thereof, any person who may raise such vessel shall be permitted to bring any merchandise recovered therefrom into the port nearest to the place where such vessel was so raised, free from the payment of any duty thereupon, and without being obliged to enter the same at the custom-house; but under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

SEC. 2505. The produce of the forests of the State of Maine upon the St. John River and its tributaries, owned by American citizens, and sawed or hewed in the province of New Brunswick by American citizens, the same being unmanufactured in whole or in part, which is now admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty, shall continue to be so admitted under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time prescribe.

SEC. 2506. The produce of the forests of the State of Maine upon the St. Croix River and its tributaries, owned by American citizens, and sawed in the province of New Brunswick by American citizens, the same being unmanufactured in whole or in part, and having paid the same taxes as other American lumber on that river, shall be admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time prescribe.

SEC. 2507. Machinery for repair may be imported into the United States without payment of duty, under bond, to be given in double the appraised value thereof, to be withdrawn and exported after said machinery shall have been repaired; and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to protect the revenue against fraud, and secure the identity and character of all such importations when again withdrawn and exported, restricting and limiting the export and withdrawal to the same port of entry where imported, and also limiting all bonds to a period of time of not more than six months from the date of the importation.

SEC. 2508. That the importation of all articles of foreign manufacture, or of boxes or packages containing the same, when stamped, marked, branded, or labeled to represent that such articles were manufactured in the United States, is hereby prohibited, and all such articles shall be forfeited to the United States.

SEC. 2509. That the importation of opium, containing less than 9 per cent. of morphia, and of opium prepared for smoking be, and the same is hereby, prohibited: and all such opium shall, upon importation, be seized and proceeded against for forfeiture and condemnation. All opium containing less than 9 per cent. of morphia, and all opium prepared for smoking, wherever found in the United States, shall be subject to seizure, and shall be condemned and destroyed unless the claimant thereto shall show to the satisfaction of the court that the same was lawfully imported or was prepared from opium lawfully imported: *Provided*, That officers of the United States, by whom opium may be seized under the provisions of this section, and persons giving information leading to such seizure, shall receive such compensation, upon the condemnation of the opium so seized, as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct, to be paid from the appropriation for the prevention and detection of frauds upon the customs revenue. The whole amount of such compensation shall not, however, exceed, in any case, one-half of the appraised value of the opium seized and condemned: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe suitable regulations for the enforcement of this section.

SEC. 2510. All lumber, timber, hemp, manila, wire rope, and iron and steel rods, bars, spikes, nails, plates, angles, bars, and bolts, and copper, and composition metal which may be necessary for the construction and equipment of vessels built in the United States for foreign account and ownership or for the purpose of being employed in the foreign trade, including the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, after the passage of this act, may be imported in bond, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; and upon proof that such materials have been used for such purpose, no duties shall be paid thereon. But vessels receiving the benefit of this section shall not be allowed to engage in the coastwise trade of the United States more than two months in any one year, except upon the payment to the United States of the duties on which a rebate is herein allowed: *Provided*, That vessels built in the United States for foreign account and ownership shall not be allowed to engage in the coastwise trade of the United States.

SEC. 2511. All articles of foreign production needed for the repair of American vessels engaged exclusively in foreign trade may be withdrawn from bonded warehouses free of duty, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

SEC. 2512. That no duty shall be levied or collected on the importation of peltries brought into the Territories of the United States by Indians, nor on the proper goods and effects, of whatever nature, of Indians passing or repassing the boundary line aforesaid, unless the same be goods in bales or other large packages unusual among Indians, which shall not be considered as goods belonging to Indians, nor be entitled to the exemption from duty aforesaid.

SEC. 2513. There shall be levied, collected, and paid on the importation of all raw or unmanufactured articles, not enumerated or provided for in this title, a duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem; and all articles manufactured, in whole or in part, not enumerated or provided for in this title, a duty of 20 per cent. ad valorem.

COLLECTION OF DUTIES ON IMPORTS.

SEC. 13. All merchandise imported into the United States shall, for the purpose of this act, be deemed and held to be the property of the person to whom the merchandise may be consigned; but the holder of any bill of lading consigned to order and properly indorsed shall be deemed the consignee thereof, and in case of the abandonment of any merchandise to the underwriters the latter may be recognized as the consignee.

SEC. 14. That all invoices of imported merchandise shall be made out in the currency of the place or country from whence the importations shall be made, or if purchased, in the currency actually paid therefor, shall contain a correct description of such merchandise, and shall be made in triplicate and signed by the person owning or shipping the same, if the merchandise has been actually purchased, or by the manufacturer or owner thereof if the same has been procured otherwise than by purchase, or by the duly authorized agent of such purchaser, manufacturer, or owner.

SEC. 15. That all such invoices shall, at or before the shipment of the merchandise, be produced to the consul, vice-consul, or commercial agent of the United States of the consular district from which the merchandise is exported to the United States, and shall have indorsed thereon, when so produced, a declaration signed by the purchaser, manufacturer, owner, or agent, setting forth that the invoice is in all respects correct and true, and was made at the place from which the merchandise is to be exported to the United States; that it contains, if the merchandise was obtained by purchase, a true and full statement of the time when, the place where, the person from whom the same was purchased, and the actual cost thereof and of all charges thereon; and that no discounts, bounties, or drawbacks are contained in the invoice but such as have been actually allowed thereon; and when obtained in any other manner than by purchase, the actual market value or wholesale price thereof at the time of exportation to the United States in the principal markets of the country from whence exported; that such actual market value is the price at which the merchandise described in the invoice is freely offered for sale to all purchasers in said markets, and that it is the price which the manufacturer or owner making the declaration would have received, and was willing to receive, for such merchandise sold in the ordinary course of trade, and if subject to specific duty the actual quantity thereof; and that no different invoice of the merchandise mentioned in the invoice so produced, has been or will be furnished to any one. If the merchandise was actually purchased, the declaration shall also contain a statement that the currency in which such invoice is made out is that which was actually paid for the merchandise by the purchaser.

SEC. 16. That, except in case of personal effects accompanying the passenger, no importation of any merchandise exceeding $100 in dutiable value shall be admitted to entry without the production of a duly-certified invoice thereof as required by law, or of an affidavit made by the owner, importer, or consignee, before the collector or his deputy, showing why it is impracticable to produce such invoice; and no entry shall be made in the absence of a certified invoice, upon affidavit as aforesaid, unless such affidavit be accompanied by a statement in the form of an invoice, or otherwise, showing the actual cost of such merchandise, if purchased, or if obtained otherwise than by purchase, the actual market value of wholesale price thereof at the time of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from which the same has been imported; which statement shall be verified by the oath of the owner, importer, consignee, or agent desiring to make entry of the merchandise, to be administered by the collector or his deputy, and it shall be lawful for the collector or his deputy to examine the deponent under oath touching the sources of his knowledge, information, or belief in the premises, and to require him to produce any letter, paper, or statement of account, in his possession, or under his control, which may assist the officers of customs in ascertaining the actual value of the importation or any part thereof; and in default of such production when so requested, such owner, importer, consignee, or agent shall be thereafter debarred from producing any such letter, paper, or statement, for the purpose of avoiding any additional duty, penalty, or forfeiture incurred under this act, unless he shall show to the satisfaction of the court or the officers of the customs, as the case may be, that it was not in his power to produce the same when so demanded; and no merchandise shall be admitted to entry under the provisions of this section unless the collector shall be satisfied that the failure to produce a duly-certified invoice is due to causes beyond the control of the owner, consignee, or agent thereof.

SEC. 17. That whenever merchandise imported into the United States is entered by invoice, one of the following declarations, according to the nature of the case, shall be filed with the collector of the port, at the time of entry, by the owner, importer, consignee, or agent; which declaration so filed shall be duly signed by the owner, importer, consignee, or agent, before the collector, or be-

fore a notary public or other officer duly authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments, who may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury to receive such declarations and to certify to the identity of the persons making them; and every officer so designated shall file with the collector of the port a copy of his official signature and seal: *Provided*, That if any of the invoices or bills of lading of any merchandise imported in any one vessel, which should otherwise be embraced in said entry, have not been received at the date of the entry, the declaration may state the fact, and thereupon such merchandise of which the invoices or bills of lading are not produced shall not be included in such entry, but may be entered subsequently.

Declaration of consignee, importer, or agent.

I, —— ——, do solemnly and truly declare that the invoice and bill of lading now presented by me to the collector of —— are the true and only invoice and bill of lading by me received of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported in the ——, whereof —— —— is master, from ——, for account of any person whomsoever for whom I am authorized to enter the same; that the said invoice and bill of lading are in the state in which they were actually received by me, and that I do not know or believe in the existence of any other invoice or bill of lading of the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the entry now delivered to the collector contains a just and true account of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, according to the said invoice and bill of lading; that nothing has been, on my part, nor to my knowledge on the part of any other person, concealed or suppressed, whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the said invoice and the declaration therein are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice, or in the account now rendered of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district. And I do further solemnly and truly declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief [insert the name and residence of the owner or owners] is [or are] the owner [or owners] of the goods, wares, and merchandise mentioned in the annexed entry; that the invoice now produced by me exhibits the actual cost [if purchased] or the actual market value or wholesale price [if otherwise obtained] at the time of exportation to the United States in the principal markets of the country from whence imported of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition, packed ready for shipment to the United States, and no other or different discount, bounty, or drawback but such as has been actually allowed on the same.

Declaration of owner in cases where merchandise has been actually purchased.

I, —— ——, do solemnly and truly declare that the entry now delivered by me to the collector of —— contains a just and true account of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported by or consigned to me, in the ——, whereof —— —— is master, from ——; that the invoice and entry which I now produce contain a just and faithful account of the actual cost of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings, of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition, packed ready for shipment to the United States, and no other discount, drawback, or bounty but such as has been actually allowed on the same; that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any invoice or bill of lading other than those now produced by me, and that they are in the state in which I actually received them. And I further solemnly and truly declare that I have not in the said entry or invoice concealed or suppressed anything whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the said invoice and the declaration thereon are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice or in the account now produced of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of this district.

Declaration of manufacturer or owner in cases where merchandise has not been actually purchased.

I, —— ——, do solemnly and truly declare that the entry now delivered by me to the collector of —— contains a just and true account of all the goods, wares, and merchandise imported by or consigned to me in the ——, whereof —— —— is master, from ——; that the said goods, wares, and merchandise were not actually bought by me, or by my agent, in the ordinary mode of bargain and sale, but that nevertheless the invoice which I now produce contains a just and faithful valuation of the same, at their actual market value or wholesale price, at the time of exportation to the United States in the principal markets of the country from whence imported for my account [or for account of myself or partners]; that the said invoice contains also a just and faithful account of all the cost of finishing said goods, wares, and merchandise to their present condition, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs and charges incident to placing said goods, wares, and merchandise in condition, packed ready for shipment to the United States, and no other discount, drawback, or bounty but such as has been actually allowed on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; that the said invoice and the declaration thereon are in all respects true, and were made by the person by whom the same purports to have been made; that I do not know nor believe in the existence of any invoice or bill of lading other than those now produced by me, and that they are in the state in which I actually received them. And I do further solemnly and truly declare that I have not in the said entry or invoice concealed or suppressed anything whereby the United States may be defrauded of any part of the duty lawfully due on the said goods, wares, and merchandise; and that if at any time hereafter I discover any error in the said invoice, or in the account now produced of the said goods, wares, and merchandise, or receive any other invoice of the same, I will immediately make the same known to the collector of the district.

SEC. 18. That any person who shall knowingly make any false or untrue statement in the declarations provided for in the preceding section, or shall aid or procure the making of any such false statement as to any matter material thereto, shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment at hard labor not more than two years, or both, in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall be construed to relieve imported merchandise from forfeiture for any cause elsewhere provided by law.

SEC. 19. That the owner, consignee, or agent of any imported merchandise which has been actually purchased, may, at the time when he shall make and verify his written entry of such merchandise, but not afterwards, make such addition in the entry to the cost or value given in the invoice, or *pro forma* invoice, or statement in form of an invoice, which he shall produce with his entry, as in his opinion may raise the same to the actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise at the time of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from which the same has been imported; but no such addition shall be made upon entry to the invoice value of any imported merchandise obtained otherwise than by actual purchase; and the collector within whose district any merchandise may be imported or entered, whether the same has been actually purchased or procured otherwise than by purchase, shall cause the actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise to be appraised; and if the appraised value of any article of imported merchandise shall exceed by more than 5 per cent., and not more than 20 per cent., the value declared in the entry, there shall be levied, collected, and paid, in addition to the duties imposed by law on such merchandise, a further sum equal to 2 per cent. of the total appraised value, for each 1 per cent. of the increased valuation as ascertained by the appraiser in excess of 5 per cent. above the entered value; and the additional duties shall only apply to the particular article or articles in each invoice which are undervalued; and if such appraised value shall exceed the value declared in the entry more than 20 per cent., such entry shall be held to be presumptively fraudulent, and the collector of customs shall seize such merchandise and proceed as in cases of forfeiture for violations of the customs laws; and in any legal proceedings which may result from such seizure the fact of such undervaluation shall be presumptive evidence of fraud, and the burden of proof shall be on the claimant to rebut the same, and forfeiture shall be adjudged unless he shall rebut said presumption of fraudulent intent by sufficient evidence: *Provided*, That the forfeitures provided for in this section shall apply to the whole of the merchandise or the value thereof in the case or package containing the particular article or articles in each invoice which are undervalued: *And provided further*, That all additional duties, penalties, or forfeitures, applicable to merchandise entered by a duly certified invoice shall be alike applicable to goods entered by a *pro forma* invoice or statement in form of an invoice. The duty shall not, however, be assessed upon an amount less than the invoice or entered value.

SEC. 20. That when merchandise entered for customs duty has been consigned for sale by or on account of the manufacturer thereof to a person, agent, partner, or consignee in the United States, such person, agent, partner, or consignee shall, at the time of the entry of such merchandise, present to the collector of customs at the port where such entry is made, as a part of such entry, and in addition to the certified invoice or statement in the form of an invoice required by law, a statement signed by such manufacturer declaring the cost of production of such merchandise, such cost to include all the elements of cost as stated in section 10 of this act. When merchandise entered for customs duty has been consigned for sale by or on account of a person other than the manufacturer of such merchandise to a person, agent, partner, or consignee in the United States, such person, agent, partner, or consignee shall, at the time of the entry of such merchandise, present to the collector of customs at the port where such entry is made, as a part of such entry, a statement signed by the consignor thereof, declaring that the merchandise was actually purchased by him or for his account, and showing the time when, the place where, and from whom he purchased the merchandise, and in detail the price he paid for the same: *Provided*, That the statements required by this section shall be made in triplicate, and shall bear the attestation of the consular officer of the United States resident within the consular district wherein the merchandise was manufactured, if consigned by the manufacturer or for his account, or from whence it was imported when consigned by a person other than the manufacturer, one copy thereof to be delivered to the person making the statement, one copy to be transmitted with the triplicate invoice of the merchandise to the collector of the port in the United States to which the merchandise is consigned, and the remaining copy to be filed in the consulate.

SEC. 21. That if any owner, importer, consignee, agent, or other person shall make or attempt to make any entry of imported merchandise by means of any fraudulent or false invoice, affidavit, letter, paper, or by means of any false statement, written or verbal, or by means of any false or fraudulent practice or appliance whatsoever, or shall be guilty of any willful act or omission by means whereof the United States shall be deprived of the lawful duties, or any portion thereof, accruing upon the merchandise, or any portion thereof, embraced or referred to in such invoice, affidavit, letter, paper, or statement, or affected by such act or omission, such merchandise, or the value thereof, to be recovered from the person making the entry, shall be forfeited, which forfeiture shall only apply to the whole of the merchandise or the value thereof in the case or package containing the particular article or articles of merchandise to which such fraud or false paper or statement relates; and such person shall, upon conviction, be fined for each offense a sum not exceeding $5,000, or be imprisoned for a time not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 22. That it shall be the duty of the appraisers of the United States, and every of them, and every person who shall act as such appraiser, or the collector and naval officer, as the case may be, by all reasonable ways and means in his or their power, to ascertain, estimate, and appraise (any invoice or affidavit thereto or statement of cost, or of cost of production to the contrary notwithstanding) the actual market value and wholesale price of the merchandise at the time of exportation to the United States in the principal markets of the country whence the same has been imported, and the number of yards, parcels, or quantities, and actual market value or wholesale price of every of them, as the case may require.

SEC. 23. That when the actual market value, as herein defined, of any article of imported merchandise wholly or partially manufactured and subject to ad valorem duty, or to duty based in whole or in part on value, can not be ascertained to the satisfaction of the appraising officer, and to assist in the ascertainment of such value, the appraiser or appraisers shall use all available means to ascertain the cost of production of such merchandise at the time of exportation to the United States, and at the place of manufacture; such cost of production to include cost of materials and of fabrication, all general expenses covering each and every outlay of whatsoever nature incident to such production, together with the expense of preparing and putting up such merchandise ready for shipment, and a profit of not less than 5 per cent. upon the total cost as thus ascertained; and in no such case shall the said actual market value of such merchandise be appraised upon original appraisal or reappraisement at less than the total cost of production as thus ascertained.

SEC. 24. That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, nine general appraisers of merchandise, each of whom shall receive a salary of $5,000 a year. Not more than five of such general appraisers shall be appointed from the same political party. They shall not be engaged in any other business, vocation, or employment, and may be removed from office at any time by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. They shall be employed at such ports and within such territorial limits as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time prescribe, and are hereby authorized to exercise the powers and duties devolved upon them by this act and to exercise, under the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, such other supervision over appraisements, classifications, and rates of duty of imported merchandise as may be needful to secure lawful and uniform appraisements, classifications, and rates of duty at the several ports. Three of the general appraisers shall be on duty as a board of general appraisers daily during each day of the year (except Sunday and legal holidays) at least from 10 o'clock in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at the port of New York, at which port a place for samples shall be provided, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time prescribe, which shall include rules as to the classes of articles to be deposited, the time of their retention, and as to their disposition, which place of samples shall be under the immediate control and direction of the general appraisers.

SEC. 25. That the appraiser shall revise and correct the reports of the assistant appraisers as he may judge proper, and the appraiser, or, at ports where there is no appraiser, the person acting as such, shall report to the collector his decision as to the value of the merchandise appraised. If the collector shall deem

the appraisement of the merchandise by such appraiser too low, he may order a reappraisement, which shall be made by one of the general appraisers, or, if the importer, owner, agent, or consignee of such merchandise shall be dissatisfied with the appraisement thereof, and shall have complied with the requirements of law with respect to the entry and appraisement of merchandise, he may forthwith give notice to the collector, in writing, of such dissatisfaction, on the receipt of which the collector shall at once direct a reappraisement of such merchandise by one of the general appraisers. The decision of the appraiser, or the person acting as such (in cases where no objection is made thereto, as above authorized, either by the collector or by the importer, owner, consignee, or agent), or of the general appraiser in cases of reappraisement, shall be final and conclusive as to the dutiable value of such merchandise against all parties interested therein, unless the importer, owner, consignee, or agent of the merchandise shall be dissatisfied with such decision, and shall forthwith give notice to the collector, in writing, of such dissatisfaction, or unless the collector shall deem the appraisement of the merchandise too low; in either case the collector shall transmit the invoice and all the papers appertaining thereto to the board of general appraisers which shall be on duty at the port of New York, or of three general appraisers who may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury for such duty at that port or at any other port, which board shall examine and decide the case thus submitted, and their decision, or that of a majority of them, shall be final and conclusive as to the dutiable value of such merchandise against all parties interested therein, and the collector shall ascertain, fix, and liquidate the rate and amount of duties to be paid on such merchandise, and the dutiable costs and charges thereon, according to law.

SEC. 26. The decision of the collector as to the classification of imported merchandise, and as to the rate and amount of duties chargeable thereon, including all dutiable costs and charges, and as to all fees, charges, and exactions of whatever character (excepting duties on the tonnage of vessels), shall be final and conclusive against all persons interested therein unless the owner, importer, consignee, or agent of such merchandise, or the person paying such fees, charges, and exactions other than duties, shall, not before, but within ten days after such ascertainment and liquidation of duties, as well in cases of merchandise entered in bond as for consumption, or within ten days after the payment of such fees, charges, and exactions, if dissatisfied with such decision, give notice in writing to the collector, setting forth therein distinctly and specifically, and in respect to each entry or payment, the reasons for his objections thereto, and if the merchandise is entered for consumption shall pay the full amount of the duties and charges ascertained to be due thereon. Upon such notice and payment the collector shall transmit the entry and all the papers and exhibits connected therewith to the board of general appraisers which shall be on duty at the port of New York, or of three general appraisers who may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury for such duty at that port or at any other port, which board shall examine and decide the case thus submitted, and their decision, or that of a majority of them, shall be final and conclusive upon all persons interested therein (except in cases where an application shall be filed in the circuit court within the time and in the manner provided for in section 14 of this act), and the entry thereof shall be liquidated accordingly, including all dutiable costs and charges thereon, and all fees, charges, or exactions shall be paid in accordance with their decision.

SEC. 27. If the owner, importer, consignee, or agent of any imported merchandise, or the collector, or the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be dissatisfied with the decision of the board of general appraisers, as provided for in section 13 of this act, as to the construction of the law respecting the classification of such merchandise and the rate of duty imposed thereon under such classification, they, or either of them, may, within thirty days next after such decision and not afterwards, apply to the circuit court of the United States, within the district in which the matter arises, for a review of the questions of law involved in such decision. Such application shall be made by filing in the office of the clerk of said circuit court a concise statement of the errors of law complained of, and a copy of such statement shall be served on the collector, or on the importer, owner, consignee, or agent, as the case may be. Thereupon the court shall order the board of appraisers to transmit to said circuit court a certified statement of their findings of the facts involved in the case and their decision thereon; and the facts so found and certified shall be final and conclusive upon the court; which statement and certificate of the board of appraisers shall constitute the record in the circuit court, and said circuit court shall proceed to hear and determine the question of law involved in such decision, and the decision of such court shall be final, unless such court shall be of opinion that the question involved is of such importance as to require a review of such decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, in which case said circuit court, or the judge making the decision may, within thirty days thereafter, allow an appeal to said Supreme Court; but an appeal shall be allowed on the part of the United States whenever the Attorney-General shall apply for it within thirty days after the rendition of such decision. On such original application, and on any such appeal, security for damages and costs shall be given as in the case of other appeals in cases in which the United States is a party. Said Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction and power to review such decision, and may affirm, modify, or reverse such decision of such circuit court, and remand the case with such orders as may seem to it proper in the premises, which shall be executed accordingly. For the purposes of this section the circuit courts of the United States shall be deemed always open, and said circuit courts, respectively, may establish, and from time to time alter, rules and regulations not inconsistent herewith for the procedure in such cases as they shall deem proper.

SEC. 28. The general appraisers, or any of them, are hereby authorized to administer oaths, and said general appraisers, and boards of general appraisers, and collectors, as the case may be, may call before them, and examine upon oath, any owner, importer, agent, consignee, or other person, touching any matter or thing which they, or either of them, may deem material respecting any entry of imported merchandise in ascertaining the value or classification thereof; and they, or either of them, may require the production of any letters, accounts, or invoices relating to said merchandise, and may require such testimony to be reduced to writing, and when so taken it shall be filed in the office of the collector, and preserved for use or reference until the final decision of the collector or said board of appraisers shall be made respecting the valuation or classification of said merchandise, as the case may be.

SEC. 29. That all decisions of the general appraisers and of the boards of general appraisers, respecting values and rates of duty, shall be preserved and filed, and shall be open to inspection under proper regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. All decisions of the general appraisers shall be reported forthwith to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the board of general appraisers in New York, and the report to the board shall be accompanied, whenever practicable, by samples of the merchandise in question, and it shall be the duty of the said board, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, to cause an abstract to be made and published of such decisions of the appraisers as they may deem important, and the decisions of each of the general appraisers and boards of general appraisers, which abstract shall contain a general description of the merchandise in question and of the value and rate of duty fixed in each case, with reference, whenever practicable, by number or other designation, to samples deposited in the place of samples at New York, and such abstract shall be issued from time to time, at least once in each week, for the information of customs officers and the public.

SEC. 30. That whenever imported merchandise is subject to an ad valorem rate of duty, or to a duty based upon or regulated in any manner by the value thereof, the duty shall be assessed upon the actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise, at the time of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from whence imported, and in the condition in which such merchandise is there bought and sold for exportation to the United States, or consigned to the United States for sale, including the value of all cartons, cases, crates, boxes, sacks, and coverings of any kind, and all other costs, charges, and expenses incident to placing the merchandise in condition packed ready for shipment to the United States, to which shall be added the cost of transportation, shipment, and transshipment, with all the expenses thereof from the place of manufacture or production to the vessel in which shipment is made to the United States; and if there be used for covering or holding imported merchandise, whether dutiable or free, any unusual material, article, or form, designated for use otherwise than in the bona fide transportation of such merchandise to the United States, additional duty shall be levied and collected upon such material or article at the rate to which the same would have been subject if separately imported. That the words "value" or "actual market value" whenever used in this act or in any law relating to the appraisement of imported merchandise shall be construed to mean the actual market value or wholesale price as defined in this section.

SEC. 31. That in all suits or information brought, where any seizure has been made pursuant to any act providing for or regulating the collection of duties on imports or tonnage, if the property is claimed by any person, the burden of proof shall lie upon such claimant: *Provided*, That probable cause is shown for such prosecution, to be judged of by the court.

SEC. 32. That all fees exacted and oaths administered by officers of the customs, except as provided in this act, under or by virtue of existing laws of the United States, upon the entry of imported goods and the passing thereof through the customs, and also upon all entries of domestic goods, wares, and merchandise for exportation, be, and the same are hereby, abolished; and in case of entry of merchandise for exportation, a declaration, in lieu of an oath, shall be filed, in such form and under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury; and the penalties provided in the fifth section of this act for false statements in such declaration shall be applicable to declarations made under this section: *Provided*, That where such fees, under existing laws, constitute, in whole or in part, the compensation of any officer, such officer shall receive, from and after the passage of this act, a fixed sum for each year equal to the amount which he would have been entitled to receive as fees for such services during said year.

SEC. 33. That no allowance for damage to goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States shall hereafter be made in the estimation and liquidation of duties thereon; but the importer thereof may, within ten days after entry, abandon to the Government all or any portion of goods, wares, and merchandise included in any invoice, and be relieved from the payment of the duties on the portion so abandoned: *Provided*, That the portion so abandoned shall amount to 10 per cent. or over of the total value or quantity of the invoice.

SEC. 34. That whenever it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury that, in any case of unascertained or estimated duties, more money has been paid to or deposited with a collector of customs than as has been ascertained by final liquidation thereof the law required to be paid or deposited, the Secretary of the Treasury shall direct the treasurer to refund and pay the same out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The necessary moneys therefor are hereby appropriated, and this appropriation shall be deemed a permanent indefinite appropriation; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to correct manifest clerical errors in any entry or liquidation, whether for or against the Government, at any time within one year of the date of such entry, but not afterwards.

SEC. 35. That from and after the taking effect of this act, no collector or other officer of the customs shall be in any way liable to any owner, importer, consignee, or agent of any merchandise, or any other person, for or on account of any rulings or decisions as to the classification of said merchandise or the duties charged thereon, or the collection of any dues, charges, or duties on or on account of said merchandise, or any other matter or thing as to which said owner, importer, consignee, or agent of such merchandise might, under this act, be entitled to appeal from the decision of said collector or other officer, or from any board of appraisers provided for in this act.

SEC. 36. That any person who shall give, or offer to give, or promise to give any money or thing of value, directly or indirectly, to any customs officer, in consideration of or for any act or omission contrary to law in connection with or pertaining to the importation, appraisement, entry, examination, or inspection of goods, wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage, or of the liquidation of the entry thereof, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined not exceeding $2,000, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than one year, or both, in the discretion of the court; and evidence of such giving, or offering, or promising to give, satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be regarded as *prima facie* evidence that such giving or offering or promising was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent, and not done with an unlawful intention.

SEC. 37. That any officer or servant of the customs or of the United States who shall, excepting for lawful duties or fees, demand, exact, or receive from any person, directly or indirectly, any money or thing of value, in connection with or pertaining to the importation, appraisement, entry, examination, or inspection of goods, wares, or merchandise, including herein any baggage, or liquidation of the entry thereof, on conviction thereof, shall be fined not exceeding $5,000, or be imprisoned at hard labor not more than two years, or both, in the discretion of the court. And evidence of such demanding, exacting, or receiving, satisfactory to the court in which such trial is had, shall be regarded as *prima facie* evidence that such demanding, exacting, or receiving was contrary to law, and shall put upon the accused the burden of proving that such act was innocent and not with an unlawful intention.

SEC. 38. That any baggage or personal effects arriving in the United States in transit to any foreign country may be delivered by the parties having it in charge to the collector of the proper district, to be by him retained, without the payment or exaction of any import duty, or to be forwarded by such collector to the collector of the port of departure, and to be delivered to such parties on their departure for their foreign destination, under such rules, regulations, and fees as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

DRAWBACKS ON EXPORTED MERCHANDISE.

SEC. 39. That on all articles exported manufactured of materials upon which duty has been paid, and entitled to drawback under any provision of law, there shall be allowed a drawback equal to the duty paid on such materials without retention of any part thereof, but such drawback shall be paid only to the manufacturer or actual owner of such merchandise, and in cases only where the identity of the articles exported with the imported materials upon which drawback is claimed shall be established under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury: *Provided however*, That where the amount of drawback is less than $100, the fees of the United States consuls for certifying the foreign-landing certificate shall not exceed 50 cents: *And provided further*, That the duties refunded by way of drawback on imported sugar and molasses, or manufactures thereof, shall be ascertained by the same tests as are provided by law to be applied to sugar and molasses when imported.

SEC. 40. That all imported goods, wares, and merchandise which may be in the public stores or bonded warehouses on the day and year when this act shall go into effect, except as otherwise provided in this act, shall be subjected to no other duty upon the entry thereof for consumption than if the same were

imported respectively after that day; and all goods, wares, and merchandise remaining in bonded warehouses on the day and year this act shall take effect, and upon which the duties shall have been paid, shall be entitled to a refund of the difference between the amount of duties paid and the amount of duties said goods, wares, and merchandise would be subject to if the same were imported respectively after that date.

SEC. 41. That sections 2970 and 2983 of the Revised Statutes of the United States are hereby amended so that the same shall be, respectively, as follows:

"SEC. 2970. Any merchandise deposited in bond in any public or private bonded warehouse may be withdrawn for consumption within three years from the date of original importation, on payment of the duties and charges to which it may be subject by law at the time of such withdrawal: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall affect or impair existing provisions of law in regard to the disposal of perishable or explosive articles."

"2983. In no case shall there be any abatement of the duties or allowance made for any injury, damage, or deterioration by any merchandise while deposited in any public or private bonded warehouse: *Provided*, That the duty assessed on merchandise withdrawn from any such warehouse shall be assessed on the quantity withdrawn therefrom at the time of such withdrawal; but no allowance for leakage or evaporation of wines, liquors, and distilled spirits shall be made: *And provided further*, That nothing in this section as amended shall restrict or in way affect the liability of the proprietors of bonded warehouses on their bonds: *And provided further*, That nothing herein shall restrain or limit the exercise of the authority conferred on the Secretary of the Treasury by section 2984 of the Revised Statutes."

SEC. 42. That nothing in this act shall in any way change or impair the force or effect of any treaty between the United States and any other Government, or any laws passed in pursuance of or for the execution of any such treaty, so long as such treaty shall remain in force in respect of the subjects embraced in this act; but whenever any such treaty, so far as the same respects said subjects, shall expire or be otherwise terminated, the provisions of this act shall be in force in all respects in the same manner and to the same extent as if no such treaty had existed at the time of the passage hereof.

SEC. 43. That sections 2808, 2838, 2839, 2841, 2843, 2845, 2853, 2854, 2856, 2858, 2860, 2900, 2902, 2905, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2943, 2945, 2952, 3011, 3012, 3012½, 3013, 3090 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; and sections 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, and 16 of an act entitled "An act to amend the customs-revenue laws and to repeal moities," approved June 22, 1874; all of the act entitled "An act restricting the refunding of customs duties and prescribing certain regulations of the Treasury Department," approved March 3, 1875; and sections 7, 8, and 9 of the act entitled "An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1883, and all other acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed, but the repeal of existing laws or modifications thereof embraced in this act shall not affect any act done, or any right accruing or accrued, or any suit or proceeding had or commenced in any civil cause, before the said repeal or modifications; but all rights and liabilities under said laws shall continue and may be enforced in the same manner as if said repeal or modifications had not been made, nor shall said repeal or modifications in any manner affect the right to any office, or change the term or tenure thereof. Any offenses committed, and all penalties or forfeitures or liabilities incurred under any statute embraced in or changed, modified, or repealed by this act may be prosecuted and punished in the same manner and with the same effect as if this act had not been passed. All acts of limitation, whether applicable to civil causes and proceedings, or to the prosecution of offenses, or for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures embraced in or modified, changed, or repealed by this act, shall not be affected thereby; and all suits, proceedings, or prosecutions, whether civil or criminal, for causes arising or acts done or committed prior to the passage of this act, may be commenced and prosecuted within the same time and with the same effect as if this act had not been passed.

Mr. HARRIS. Before the Senator from Iowa proceeds, I desire to ask him, and if he shall agree with me in opinion or desire, I then wish to ask the unanimous consent of the Senate to fix a time, and the shorter the time the better it will suit me, upon which general debate upon this bill shall be closed. I shall be glad, if such an agreement can be reached, that we then also agree to consider amendments under Rule VIII, or under the principles of Rule VIII; but I will first put the general proposition: Does it meet the approval of the Senator from Iowa to fix a reasonably short time within which general debate shall be closed upon the proposition?

Mr. ALLISON. What is called general debate in the Senate I think is a very different thing from general debate in any other body. It is impossible for me to say now when gentlemen will cease to desire to speak upon this subject. It is an important subject, as the Senator from Tennessee knows, affecting every interest and every industry and taking in the entire range of our domestic manufactures and products and our importations. So it would seem to me that I ought not to take any responsibility at this time respecting the closing of general debate.

I concur with the Senator from Tennessee in a desire that we shall go on with as much rapidity as possible in the consideration of the bill, and that we shall reach a vote as soon as it is practicable to reach it.

Mr. HARRIS. I quite agree with the Senator from Iowa in the fact that there is no more important question which addresses itself to the legislative department of the Government than the one which the bill proposes, but believing as I do that there is not a Senator upon this floor who has not well-defined and fixed opinions as to the principle that will control his vote in respect to every phase and feature of it, I think it is more important to the country that we come to a vote and have action upon it than to have extended debate upon the general principle.

If the Senator from Iowa agrees, I shall ascertain whether we can, by unanimous consent, fix a reasonable time at which the general debate shall close and we proceed, then, to have the bill read for amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not know how it is possible for us at this time to agree that the debate shall close upon the bill as respects the independence of gentlemen who desire to speak on the subject. Therefore, for myself I would not be willing at this moment to fix any time when a Senator should be deprived of the right of expressing his views upon the bill.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course the Senator from Iowa knows that if it is done at all, it is an agreement that must be made by unanimous consent.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand that.

Mr. HARRIS. Every Senator will commit himself to it if the agreement can be reached at all. I simply desired to know what the wish of the Senator from Iowa was, and he agreeing with me, then I desired to consult the wishes of the Senate and see if we can fix a time at which we shall commence reading the bill paragraph by paragraph for amendment.

Mr. ALLISON. My own idea would be that at some time in the discussion it would be a wise thing to limit the debate on the details of the bill to five or ten minutes on amendments, but I will state, if the Senator will allow me, that it is rather premature to make any suggestion to-day, at any rate, upon that question.

Mr. HARRIS. Does the Senator think that ten days or two weeks would be sufficient for general debate?

Mr. ALLISON. I hope so.

Mr. HARRIS. Then, if the Senator will allow me, I will ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that we agree to close the general debate upon the bill in ten days from to-day, when the reading of the bill for amendment shall proceed.

Mr. ALLISON. I should not like to consent to that at the very beginning. It may be that we shall want eleven days, or we may want twelve.

Mr. PLATT. If I may, as a very humble member of the Senate, say a word, since this consent has been asked, it is quite possible, perhaps probable, that the general debate upon the bill may not consume ten days, but at the same time I think it is a little premature when the bill is first called up for discussion to attempt to fix any time when the debate shall cease. As a very humble member of the Senate I may want to say something myself after those who are more familiar with the subject shall have spoken upon it, and I do not want any agreement which will exclude myself or other humble members of the Senate from expressing their opinion.

Mr. VEST. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa in regard to a matter which may much facilitate the discussion of the bill. I want to ask him if it is proposed that the clerk of the Committee on Finance or of the subcommittee shall prepare a comparative statement between the Mills bill, as it is called, and the amendment proposed? That has been the custom in the other branch of Congress and also in the Senate. The substitute is so long, so intricate, that in the brief time we have now for debate it is almost impossible to ascertain exactly the difference between the House bill and the substitute. Also, as suggested by the Senator from Texas [Mr. REAGAN], the ad valorem rates should be shown. For one who is not an expert and who has not devoted his life to the tariff question, it is almost impossible in the course of a few days to ascertain what are really the salient points of difference between these measures.

Mr. ALLISON. In response to the suggestion of the Senator from Missouri I will say that the clerk of the Committe on Finance, others aiding him, has already prepared what I think is a very valuable contribution in the direction indicated by the Senator from Missouri. It is a print of the bill with the ad valorem rates of the Mills bill and the present law, the quantity of importations for the year 1887, which is the last available fiscal year, the unit of value, the amount of duty collected, etc. The Senator by sending to the Finance Committee room or the document-room either, I think, can be furnished with a copy of it. It was printed on Saturday.

Mr. VEST. Do I understand the Senator to state that that is a comparative statement between the House bill and the substitute? Does it give the ad valorem rates in each bill?

Mr. ALLISON. It does not give the ad valorem rates of the substitute, because, of course, the substitute was only presented a few days ago, but it gives all other ad valorems.

Mr. VEST. I should be very glad if the Senator from Iowa, who is at the head of the committee, would have such a table prepared, as it would facilitate the matter very much with many of us.

Mr. ALLISON. I will state to the Senator that it is not an easy thing to do that.

Mr. REAGAN. If the Senator will allow me, I will suggest that it the table which he says was prepared yesterday was supplemented simply by stating the rates proposed in the Senate bill and the specific rates reduced to ad valorem, we should then have the information sought by the Senator from Missouri. Without that, if we take the mixed rates, specific and ad valorem, no one but an expert can understand what the real rates are. By giving the information asked for by the Senator from Missouri, we shall have before us the exact facts, so as to know what we are doing. I trust the Senator will allow the table to be supplemented by adding to it the rates under the Senate amendment, reducing them also to ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator from Iowa will allow me a moment, I will state that the table now printed and before the Senate, or which will be put in the hands of Senators in the course of the day, contains, wherever it is possible to obtain the information, the unit of value of present importations, and each Senator can make the application of

the rate for himself to that unit of value. It is of course to some extent a matter of estimate; it must be so; and a table prepared by one man perhaps would not meet the views of another man or another Senator as to what was a proper application. We give all the data which are obtainable in regard to the matter by printing the unit of value and the rates which we propose to fix upon importations.

Mr. REAGAN. If we are to take the mixed rates of duty of the Senate substitute, then I suggest that no one but an expert after making the calculations can know the difference of rate between the two bills. Certainly by adding to the table the rates under the Senate bill and reducing them to the ad valorem basis, it would give the whole information, and it would enable us to proceed without the trouble of undertaking to make the calculations and acting as experts, which very few Senators are qualified to do. It would facilitate matters if that course should be taken.

Mr. ALLISON. That matter can be looked into and prepared, if practicable, at an early day.

Mr. REAGAN. I hope it will be done.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, in presenting this bill for consideration at this time it is perhaps unnecessary for me to go into any great detail. Especially is this true after the exhaustive report in explanation of the measure made to the Senate some days ago, and prepared largely, I will say, by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], and also after the brief explanation made by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN]. But there are some things outside of the report that I think ought to be made clear in the very beginning of this discussion; and therefore I wish to refer to a few salient points which may come up in the debate.

The Senate bill proposes to reduce the revenue an amount ranging from $65,000,000 to $73,000,000.

I think I ought to state that this is the first opportunity the Senate has had to consider this great question of the reduction of the revenues since the revision of 1883. The first opportunity came to the Committee on Finance on the 25th day of July of this year, after the usual time of the adjournment of a long session of Congress, and at a time when, under the ordinary and customary proceedings of Congress, especially in a Presidential year, the two Houses should have adjourned. It came to this body after the House of Representatives had been in session upon and respecting this question for within a fraction of eight months. Within a period of a little over sixty days the Senate Committee on Finance prepared the pending substitute, and now present it to you for your consideration.

If the Senate had had an opportunity, it would have considered such a bill as this and the question of the surplus during the last Congress; but the House of Representatives, where these bills must originate under the Constitution, failed during that Congress to send us a bill looking to a reduction of the revenue.

It has been said that the Senate has delayed the consideration of this bill in committee. I speak for myself as well as for my colleagues on the committee when I say we have not had the time we should have had to carefully consider the bill in all its details. The House of Representatives took eight months to prepare a bill, not having the effect to invigorate and strengthen the industries of our country, but I will not say for the purpose, but having the effect, and in an irregular way, to greatly disturb those industries. It is an easy thing to tear down, but it is not so easy to build up. So the Senate Committee on Finance had one object in view, and the Committee on Ways and Means of the House and the House of Representatives, if we are to judge from the effect of their bill sent to us, intended another.

The first question that met the Committee on Finance at the threshold was how much revenue could be taken off safely with reference to all the obligations of the Government. We agreed that from $60,000,000 to $70,000,000 reduction would be safe. I think myself, and I only speak for myself now, that that is the highest possible sum we ought to go in the reduction of the revenue; and therefore whatever amendments may be proposed to this bill hereafter, I trust will not look to a greater reduction of the revenue than is proposed by the substitute.

I had occasion to say on the 28th of August in the discussion on the sundry civil bill, before all the great appropriation bills of the year had finally passed, that the revenues for this year would only exceed the appropriations about $19,000,000. I am able to say that that estimate then made with four appropriation bills undisposed of, has been verified now that they have all practically passed both Houses, with a variation of but $26,000; so that for the current year upon the estimate made by the Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report of the revenues of this current fiscal year, and the appropriations made by the bills already passed for this current fiscal year, there will be a surplus of but $19,000,000 in round numbers. But the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury, it must be borne in mind, was made last December. He estimated then that the revenues for this year from customs would be $228,000,000. As he estimated, the revenue from customs last year, the year ending June 30, 1888, would be $228,000,000. The actual revenues from customs during the fiscal year 1888 was $219,000,000—I am only speaking in round numbers, of course, in these statements—instead of $228,000,000 as estimated by him.

I have before me a statement for the first three months of this fiscal year of the revenues and from customs, and they fall behind the revenues from customs of last year for the first quarter, in round numbers, $2,000,000. If this should continue for the entire four quarters of the year, there will be a reduction of revenue from customs to the extent of $8,000,000; and instead of receiving $219,000,000, as we received last year, we shall only receive $211,000,000, making the receipts from customs this year $17,000,000 less than the estimate made by the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report; and if we take into consideration all the revenues of the Government for the three months composing the first quarter of this year they have fallen off $5,000,000 as compared with the revenues for the same period last year, which, if continued through the year, would make the revenues for the year $20,000,000 less than the estimates of the Secretary and leave no surplus.

I make these statements for the purpose of showing that the enormous surplus which now remains in the Treasury is not likely to be accelerated or increased by anything that is to occur during the present fiscal year, if we take the appropriations as the basis of expenditure and the revenues as disclosed by the receipts of the first three months of this fiscal year. By the provisions of the pending bill there will be no surplus from these revenues unless we put out of consideration entirely the sinking fund of this year. Therefore it is that our Senate substitute contemplates—and we may as well understand it in the beginning of this debate—that for the current fiscal year, this being an exceptional one, as we have made appropriations this year which ought to have been made last year to the extent of $30,000,000 at least. We are not likely to have a surplus for the sinking fund beyond the amount necessary to retire the 4½ per cent. bonds due on the 1st day of October, 1891, including the accumulated surplus now in the Treasury, of $96,000,000, as shown by the Treasury statement on the 1st of October.

Having said this much as respects our current revenues, I wish, before I pass from this subject, to say a word as to the amount of money now in the Treasury, because that should be considered separate and apart from any question of the revenues that are to be derived from this bill or the current revenues from year to year.

We are not making a law here that is intended to in any manner affect the accumulated surplus of the Government. We are making provision for the permanent support of the Government, including every obligation that we are under. According to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 1st day of October, there were $96,000,000 of surplus in the Treasury—no, not in the Treasury; there were $57,000,000 of this money deposited in national banks throughout the country, as shown by the statement of the 1st day of October. So there are really but $39,000,000 of this $96,000,000 in the Treasury.

In this debate I do not wish to refer to the management of the Treasury as respects this accumulated surplus; but for the life of me, I can not understand why it is that this $96,000,000 is not used to retire the 4½ per cent. bonds that are presently to be paid off by the Government. There is no man here or in the country who does not know that every dollar of that surplus which now lies in the Treasury will be used for the purpose of paying off these 4½ per cent. bonds, and that it will lie in the Treasury or in the hands of the banks who hold it until the 1st day of October, 1891, unless in the mean time the Secretary of the Treasury shall purchase and cancel these bonds as he has ample authority to do. There has not been a time in the history of this surplus when the Government could not have purchased these bonds so as to have made more than 2 per cent. per annum interest upon the money invested.

By what process of financiering is it that this Administration, instead of purchasing the 4½ per cent. bonds due presently with the money that must be used for the purpose of redeeming them in 1891, allows certain national banks to take $57,000,000 without interest, the banks loaning it in turn to their customers at whatever the current rate of interest may be? This Government to-day is, therefore, losing 2 per cent. per annum at least on every dollar of the $96,000,000 that are in the Treasury and in the banks, as shown by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, because there has not been a time, I repeat, since not only the 4½ percents of the Government but the 4 per cent. bonds could not have been bought by the Government so as to realize a higher rate of interest than 2 per cent. * Can the Administration justify the management of the Treasury in its policy of refraining from the purchase of the bonds which are presently payable, and loans the money to national banks without interest, with an understanding or expectation that these deposits shall be held there for an indefinite length of time? Is there any possible defense that can be made of this disposition of the public money? Can any one say that this $96,000,000 could not be presently employed by the saving of 2 per cent. per annum for three years or 6 per cent. on the amount.

Now, Mr. President, having said thus much respecting the situation of the Treasury at the present time, I wish to speak as briefly as I can in a general way respecting the features of the measure before us.

In the first place the substitute differs from the House bill in respect to the fact that it proposes to deal with all the schedules in the tariff. The House bill did not deal with the tobacco schedule, with the silk schedule, with the wines and liquors schedule, and dealt lightly with the sugar schedule. We have incorporated in this substitute every

schedule in the existing tariff law, including those I have named and including those also provided for in the House bill. This measure has been made up by the Committee on Finance upon an entirely different principle from that found in the House bill. It has been made up on the principle of protecting American labor and American industry. That is its aim and purpose. If that has not been accomplished in the details of the schedules which we propose the Committee on Finance will be glad to have any Senator point out this defect and propose amendments which will accomplish that purpose. We have sought to care for every industry in our country where we have the same facilities and opportunities of providing for the wants of our people that are enjoyed by other nations engaged in similar industries.

That is the principle of this scheme.

It may be and it is true that in almost every schedule we have increased here and there existing rates of duty. It was the purpose of the framers of this measure to examine with as much care as was possible in the limited time we had the various industries of our country, and if we found that a foreign producer had an advantage over a citizen of the United States, under the circumstances I have just indicated, we sought to put our own producer and manufacturer upon terms of equality with those who are producing the same things abroad. Therefore this measure is open to the criticism that we have advanced here and there rates of duty, but we have also in the aggregate largely reduced rates of duty. I will speak of these details later on. That is, the effect of the substitute is to reduce the revenue from customs on many of the schedules, and in the aggregate reduces the revenue from customs more than $30,000,000 on the basis of any computation that can be made.

But, before entering into such details I wish to say one or two things that ought to be said in response to the minority report, which I find printed with the majority report, or rather with one of the minority reports, because singularly enough the minority composed of five Senators found it necessary to make three reports upon this substitute.

Why it was that the three Senators who united in one report were not willing to adopt the report prepared with so much care apparently, and with so much diligence by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK], why they were not willing to put their names to his report, I do not know; but they seem to have used especial care that not one syllable uttered by the Senator from Kentucky should receive the *imprimatur* of their indorsement, therefore they left him in his solitude to make a report which would suit him upon this bill. The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], it seems, were able to agree in their views upon this substitute, and therefore they make a separate and independent report, not very long, it is true, but containing a great deal of valuable misinformation, if such a thing is possible.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MCPHERSON] it seems, also, like the Senator from Kentucky, stands in a situation of absolute isolation. He does not agree with the Senator from North Carolina and the Senator from Tennessee, nor with the Senator from Indiana. He stands alone also, not even with the Senator from Kentucky, because he submits also a separate and independent report, and as this is more brief than the others I will take the liberty of reading it to the Senate in full:

> I concur in the above report, indorsing the House bill in respect to articles placed upon the free-list, but desire some modifications in the dutiable-list.
> J. R. MCPHERSON.

So my friend from New Jersey finds that the only thing he can do with these minority reports is to indorse them so far as they place certain articles on the free-list, not an inch beyond, but so far as the dutiable articles are concerned in the House bill he wants to make amendments.

So, Mr. President, we are in the attitude here of finding a divided constituency as respects this great bill that comes to us from the House. Only three of the minority are able to agree to formulate a report which is satisfactory to a majority of the minority of the committee.

I am not surprised that the Senator from New Jersey, whom I do not see in his seat, should be satisfied with the free-list of the House bill. By some process five leading industries in New Jersey were put upon the dutiable-list in the House that were upon the free-list when the bill was originally reported to the House of Representatives. So it seems that the interests of New Jersey have been cared for in the House to a satisfactory degree so far as the free-list is concerned. I may have occasion later on to dwell somewhat upon the changes made in the bill in the House of Representatives, but it is enough for me to explain in the absence of the Senator from New Jersey that he finds the free-list satisfactory now, the provision as to New Jersey interests having been changed during the progress of the debate in the House of Representatives. But that is aside from the point to which I desired to call attention at this moment.

The minority—because of course the views of these three gentlemen constituting a majority of the minority of the Committee on Finance must be regarded as the views of the minority—say in the beginning of their report:

> In the preparation of this substitute no member of the minority of the committee was consulted or informed as to its provisions until it was reported to the full committee, on the 25th day of September, 1888.

That is true in a sense, but it is also true that this minority did not seek that information, and I deem the explanation I am about to make necessary and essential in view of the implication in that report. They notified the majority of the Committee on Finance the day this bill appeared in the Finance Committee that the minority of the committee intended to stand upon the Mills bill without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t," and that so far as any attitude of theirs was concerned they would agree upon no bill—I state the substance of their contention, which was that they would stand substantially by the House bill. It was, therefore, perfectly apparent in the very beginning that whatever bill was prepared by the committee and submitted to this body for consideration must be prepared by the Republican members of the Committee on Finance, and we proceeded with that understanding from the beginning of the preparation of the bill until the date given in this report, the 25th of September, when the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance having it under consideration reported it to the full Committee on Finance.

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator from Iowa allow me to ask him to state what member of the minority gave the assurance to which he refers?

Mr. ALLISON. I will answer the Senator by saying that the senior member of the minority stated that to every member of the majority over and over again, and I am very much mistaken if that statement of his was not concurred in by the Senator from Tennessee; at least I never heard anything from him to the reverse of the statement made by the one who had a right to speak for the minority.

Mr. HARRIS. I, of course, do not question the statement made by the Senator from Iowa, but I desire to say that I had no knowledge of any such declaration. Surely the Senator will not say that I ever informed the majority of the committee that I was going to stand unalterably upon the House bill. I have given utterance to such principles as would control my action.

Mr. ALLISON. That statement may have been made too broadly by me, but the substance was, "We intend to stand by the House bill, and you may make such a bill as you choose to make;" and I might go further as respects what was said in various ways relating to this bill, from which we all understood that the minority not only did not wish to take part in the preparation of a substitute, but that they did not even wish to see it until it was a finished production for their inspection. That was as I understood it. As the Senator from Tennessee perfectly well knows, we never withheld the testimony. The opportunity was given for every member to have copies of the testimony taken by the subcommittee as we progressed, and they were present, of course, most of the time, and had the opportunity of being present all the time.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator allow me to ask a question? Were the minority of the Committee on Finance at any time excluded from any hearings before the committee?

Mr. ALLISON. Never. Not only were they not excluded, but they always had an opportunity of being present, as the Senators will bear me out in saying.

Mr. VANCE. Will the Senator allow me to ask him if the minority were ever invited to those hearings?

Mr. ALLISON. Why, Mr. President, "invited?" There never was that formal invitation which is sent for one to come to an evening entertainment; but the Senator from Tennessee well knows that many times I have searched for him in the committee-rooms of this Chamber to notify him of hearings.

Mr. HARRIS. Will the Senator allow me? There ought not to be any misunderstanding about the matter of hearing.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly not.

Mr. HARRIS. In May a subcommittee was appointed, of which the Senator from Iowa was chairman, for the purpose of hearing such persons as desired to be heard upon the revenue question. The Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Indiana and myself were members of that subcommittee. So far as I know, the Democratic members of the subcomittee were notified of hearings, had the right, as they had the opportunity, to be present, and almost invariably, if not invariably, some one of them was present at the examination of all the persons who were examined by the subcommittee.

Mr. ALLISON. I am obliged to the Senator from Tennessee for making that statement. I am also able to state that the Senator from Tennessee was one of the most faithful and constant in his attendance at the sittings of the subcommittee, and gave diligent attention to every question connected with the hearings—I am glad to say that for him—as was also the Senator from Kentucky; and I am not seeking to exclude others by mentioning these two gentlemen. Of course the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], who was also a member of the subcommittee, was present from time to time, but often had engagements elsewhere which prevented him from appearing as frequently, perhaps, as he desired, but the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] were in constant attendance until the Senator from Kentucky unfortunately was obliged to leave the city on account of illness.

Mr. President, there is another thing which I ought to call attention to in this minority report so as to clear away the field. This minority report takes occasion not only to express its own views in the matter I have described, but to express the views of the House of Representatives by incorporating bodily and integrally the report of the House Committee on Ways and Means in their report, and in doing so they have made blunders, which I suppose were unintentional. This House report was made in April, if I remember aright.

Mr. HARRIS. The 2d of April.

Mr. ALLISON. Submitted on the 2d day of April, 1888. In that report is a statement of the results of the House bill as reported. They state how much the revenue would be reduced from customs and how much from internal revenue. I do not go into the question of the accuracy of their calculations at this moment, but they show—and this is now, according to the rules of the Senate, made a part of its archives—that they made a reduction by the House bill of $78,000,000, $24,000,000 on internal revenue and $54,000,000 by reduction of duties on imports, including the free-list; whereas this House bill was so changed in the course of its passage through the House of Representatives that instead of the reductions on the dutiable-list amounting to over $53,000,000 they amount only to a little over $49,000,000. New Jersey industries were taken care of. Some other industries that I might describe and mention were taken care of and removed from the free-list, thereby not only reducing the dutiable and free-lists to $49,000,000, but reducing the free-list to $19,000,000. The internal revenue part of the bill was made up on an estimate made by the Committee on Ways and Means in March. That estimate has not been verified by the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue made since the close of the fiscal year.

The internal revenue reduction as proposed in the bill is more than $2,000,000 less than that stated in what is found to be the minority report with this bill. Thus, instead of the House bill reducing the total revenues by $78,000,000 as is alleged by this minority report, the House bill reduces them by but $71,000,000 on its own calculations, making a difference of over $6,000,000.

That is a general statement as respects the reduction. The House bill on its face then, as it stands here, only reduces the revenues practically $71,000,000 in round numbers.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to say a few words as to the measure we have reported. Perhaps I ought to say in the beginning, that upon one computation made by experts the reduction of the revenue made by it will be $73,000,000. That computation is made up on the idea that where we have increased the duty there will be a corresponding or at least a partial reduction in the importations, and thus the revenue will be reduced in that way. That is the basis upon which this table is made up. But if the computation were made upon the basis of the House bill it would be different. It can not be made upon the basis of the House bill, for in no case have we reduced the duty, in my judgment, to such a point as to lead to an increase of importations, whilst the manifest purpose, or at least the manifest effect, of the House bill is to increase importations not only of the articles that are put upon the free-list but also of the articles where the duties are reduced. That being the manifest effect of the bill, of course it is a question merely of estimate whether or not the increased importation will not amount to a sufficient sum to prevent any reduction of revenue under the House bill. I believe in many instances that will be the absolute result. I have no doubt that where large reductions have been made upon certain imported articles the importations will increase so much that the revenue will not be reduced at all from those particular articles, and the general effect of the House bill will be, not to reduce the revenue at all, or if at all, to a very limited amount, so far as customs revenue is concerned.

But we believe that the increased duties which we propose will reduce importations in most cases of increase, but if we are mistaken in that, if the importations should be what they were in 1887, our bill will still reduce the revenues $61,000,000, so that there is no question but that the effect of the Senate substitute will be to reduce the revenue from $61,000,000 to $73,000,000, and in my judgment it is likely to be midway or substantially midway between those two points. That is the purpose and intent of the Senate amendment. But we have not only reduced the revenue from imports; we have also reduced the internal revenue as well; and I wish to make an observation or two upon the internal-revenue taxation in view of the minority report.

We have put provisions in this substitute very similar to the House bill on tobacco; and why the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] could bring his mind to the point of criticising the tobacco provisions of this substitute I can not quite comprehend. The minority say that "practically the substitute offers to the people free whisky and free tobacco." I can not understand why the Senator from North Carolina should censure the majority of the Finance Committee for proposing a diminution of the internal revenue upon tobacco. I do not understand why it is that we should be criticised in one breath for reducing the tobacco tax, and the Mills bills, so called, extolled into the upper heavens for doing the same thing. In other words, they condemn us for dealing with the internal revenue upon tobacco, and then they indorse the Mills bill, which does practically the same thing.

Why did we put free tobacco in this bill? I will say frankly for myself that I have not been very vigorous and urgent as respects the reduction or repeal of the internal-revenue tax upon tobacco, but I have supposed that there was practically a universal sentiment in favor of taking off the tax on tobacco in both Houses of Congress. This certainly is true as shown by the votes in the two Houses. It has been reduced and reduced from year to year from 32 cents a pound until the last reduction was to 8 cents a pound. It is said to be an onerous imposition upon many of the agricultural States of the Union that produce tobacco, and I supposed that there was a general sentiment in favor of that reduction, and I yielded to it, and the Committee on Finance yielded to it; that is, wherever they were not originally in favor of taking off that tax.

The only difference between the House bill and the Senate bill in that respect is that we have made a reduction upon manufactured cigars of $1.50 a thousand, and we have also taken off the tax upon retail dealers in tobacco, which is retained in the House bill at $1 for each dealer. We did not believe that it was wise to have an army of revenue officers going in every cross-road and hamlet and village in our country collecting a dollar tax from every man who may sell a cigar. Therefore we wiped out that tax in our provision, which is retained in the Mills bill, so called, at $1 for each dealer.

Another provision of this substitute is a provision exempting from tax alcohol used in the arts. The minority say, speaking of this subject:

> But in view of the impossibility of preventing frauds upon the revenue that should be derived from distilled spirits used for purposes other than the arts, the loss of revenue may be safely estimated at many times $7,000,000.

Is there any Senator who would say that alcohol, if it can be safely allowed to be so used without disturbing the tax upon spirits used as beverages, should not be made free of tax? Why is it that all the men who are obliged to use alcohol as a solvent in the thousand varied chemical productions should not have that privilege, thereby cheapening their products, if it can be done safely? Who will say that all those who make varnishes or are engaged in similar mechanical industries, should not have the benefit of this solvent, alcohol, which is the best known for all these purposes, if it can be furnished free of tax safely without impairing the revenue?

Therefore, as a starting point, there is not any one that I know of who will say that the industries of our country should be burdened with a tax upon alcohol of 90 cents a gallon, unless it is absolutely necessary that that burden should come for the purpose of collecting the revenue which we derive now and which we are likely to derive for some time to come from distilled spirits used as a beverage. I take it, then, that the only possible objection to this is that it will disturb the revenue. Now, will it? I say in the beginning that if any Senator here, any of the lawyers of this body or those accustomed to draught or construe or criticise statutes, will declare that we have not put into this substitute provisions sufficiently stringent to prevent frauds upon the revenue as respects the use of alcohol in the arts, the Committee on Finance will accept any amendments he may propose to secure the safety of the revenue.

We intended to make, and have, I believe, made provision here that will absolutely make it impossible to defraud the revenue as respects alcohol used in the arts. I know that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], in his brief debate the other day, expressed some doubt about these provisions. I am afraid the Senator from Ohio had not given these provisions that careful consideration which he generally gives to the subject he discusses, or else he would have modified that expression. There has been, I know, a prevailing opinion for several years that the ingenuity of chemistry would be so great under temptation as to provide some method whereby spirits infused and impregnated with wood alcohol could have that alcohol withdrawn and the spirits then used as a beverage. I have examined this question with care, and there is no part of the bill to which I have given more personal attention than to this question, and I want to say here and now that I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that we can, under the provisions of this substitute, prevent fraud just as certainly as we can prevent fraud in the original distillation of spirits.

It is stated over and over again by chemists who have examined this subject that the only method whereby methylated spirits or wood alcohol can be entirely removed from alcohol proper is by distillation, and not by any crude method of distillation, but by the finer process of redistillation. Therefore it is that if we have machinery and power under existing law to prevent fraudulent distillation of alcohol, the same stringent and restrictive provisions which are here embodied will prevent the redistillation of methylated alcohol into alcohol suitable for beverages.

But we are not without absolute information upon this subject. Great Britain has had this principle in her statute system since 1854, and it is a part of her system to-day, and she has a tax upon spirits more than double, twice and a half, the tax upon spirits in this country. She raises $70,000,000 per annum now by her taxation upon distilled spirits, a greater amount in the aggregate than we raise, and yet methylated alcohol is permitted to be used in Great Britain free of tax.

Germany having double the tax upon distilled spirits that we have, also has a system of bonding and methylization which is perfect in its working.

Here, then, are two countries taxing distilled spirits much higher than we tax them, and yet having machinery in their laws whereby spirits can be withdrawn for industrial purposes without injury to the revenue. Therefore, it will not do to make a mere *ad captandum* statement that this can not be done. It has been done; it is being done under laws no more stringent than we propose here; and therefore there is no question of fraud involved in these provisions as respects alcohol used in the arts. I say this from absolute conviction that it can be done and will be done. My friend from Kentucky in his minority report virtually admits that, because he says that the effect of it will be to give the whisky ring an opportunity of securing an advance upon untaxed alcohol.

But this is only one method. As the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] very well reminds me—although I intended to speak of it before passing from the subject—we have in this measure a provision whereby chemists and other manufacturers may withdraw spirits in bond without the payment of the tax, and they may use these spirits in the production of such chemicals as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time authorize them to produce, without the payment of the tax, and they may do this in bonded warehouses. We have provided a system of bonding for domestic productions. It has been done in this way since 1866 by chemists for export, and I can seen no reason why it can not as well be done for domestic consumption.

It may be noted, as I pass, that at every internal revenue revision we have liberalized the law as respects the authority of chemists to manufacture articles for export. So, taking these provisions together, I regard them as wise provisions, and surely if they can be executed they are necessary provisions, for our producers come in competition at every turn with the great chemists of Germany, who have free alcohol, and with the chemists of Great Britain, the producers of a thousand articles in which alcohol is an essential element in these great countries, who are contesting severely with us for the industrial markets of the world, and particularly for the markets of our own country. So, proclaiming as both sides of this Chamber proclaim practically, that we do not intend to reduce the internal-revenue tax upon distilled spirits at this time, and with the indications at least that this tax is likely to remain for some time to come, are we to put gyves upon our wrists as respects our own great industries and allow Germany and Great Britain to have this enormous advantage of us in all these particulars, and are we to be intimidated in this effort to grant relief by the mere assertion, without a particle of proof to sustain it, that possibly there may be frauds committed under provisions we propose?

Mr. President, this is in curious contrast with the provisions of the bill which the minority of the committee indorse; and I want to say a word respecting that, although it is discussed in the report of the majority. The minority of the committee propose in reality to disturb, if not destroy, our internal-revenue system as respects the collection of the tax upon distilled spirits. What do they do? They open up to free distillation practically all distilleries having a capacity of less than 25 bushels of grain per diem. I will not discuss that question; it is discussed in the report in detail, and I invite criticism of the statements in that report as respects this free distillation proposed in this bill. Everybody knows that with the great temptation of 400 per cent. upon this article of distilled spirits, there are inducements to fraud, and this House bill proposes to open wide every avenue and every door leading in that direction.

But there is another thing that is curious in view of the criticism of the minority as respects the tobacco tax, and as respects the tax upon alcohol used in the arts, that this Mills bill, which they indorse, removes all taxes from retail dealers in spiritous liquors and retail dealers in malt liquors. I would like to have some Senator on the other side of the Chamber disclose why it is that they propose to withdraw from the revenue on whisky $5,000,000, or about one-fourteenth part of all the revenue, by allowing retail dealers to go scot free throughout the country. A tax yielding over four and a half million dollars is swept down by that provision, and yet the minority seem to think that we have opened wide this door and interfered with the collection of the tax on spirits by removing the internal tax from alcohol used in the arts.

So much, Mr. President, for the first two provisions found in the committee's bill. Now I come to the tariff schedules. The first schedule is the chemical schedule. I will say in respect to this schedule, which is a long one, that the committee gave it such attention and care as they were able.

Upon many articles we have reduced the rates below the provisions of the House bill, because wherever alcohol is used as a solvent or in the manufacture of chemical productions we have reduced the duty.

I may say that in the chemical schedule I do not know or remember now a single increase; there may be here and there an increase in that schedule, but certainly none of any prominence.

Then we come to the earthenware and glass schedule. There is practically no increase in the earthenware and glass schedule, but there is a diminution upon some articles, and perhaps I ought to say here—because I mean so far as I discuss these questions to discuss them as frankly as I can—we have provided for the inclusion of the dutiable value of packages and covers; so that under that provision there will necessarily be an increase of duty, as compared with the provisions of existing law. To cover that we have reduced the earthenware and glass schedule wherever there is an ad valorem duty to the extent of 5 per cent.; but with that exception, I think it can not be safely said that there is a reduction in the earthenware schedule.

Now we come to metals, and that seems to be a schedule that has troubled our friends in their minority report. Of course that is practically the most important schedule in the bill. It covers the entire range of our iron and steel and other metallic productions. We have increased the duty in some cases. We have made in this schedule duties specific that were formerly ad valorem, which will operate undoubtedly in some instances as an increase, but not in very many.

This metal schedule is based upon the idea that we should encourage the manufactures of iron and steel in our own country. If there is any one thing that this nation ought to do more than another, it is to build up every industry that is involved in the metals of our country. For every defensive purpose, as well as for every industrial purpose, this should be so. We have 150,000 miles of railway, more railway than there is in all Europe, and I do not know but in all the world beside. Are we to be dependent upon a hostile government possibly for the materials which are so essential to us in both war and peace? Our friends on the other side knew something of the difficulties in that particular twenty-five years ago. If the iron of Birmingham had been developed a quarter of a century ago, instead of under the beneficent laws which are now on our statute book, the tale might have been a very different one so far as the prolongation of the civil struggle in which we were engaged is concerned.

Therefore, aside from any question of our industries, it seems to me it is our duty to see to it that we so encourage the production of the metals in this country as to make us absolutely independent of all the nations of the world. In the minority report I find this metal schedule particularly criticized. It says:

> In no single instance is the policy upon which the substitute was framed more clearly demonstrated than in that of railway iron.

They give some illustrations and I want to accept the illustrations given by them.

> The cost to produce rails at a leading mill in the United States in 1887 was less than $27 per ton, of which less than $4.25 per ton was paid in wages.

I read now from the minority report:

> The present rate of duty on steel rails is $17, and by the substitute it is reduced to $15.68 per ton. The question arises whether this will reduce the wages of the operatives $1.32, or whether $11.43 bounty above the whole cost paid for labor will satisfy the manufacturers.
>
> The labor cost in a ton of steel rails being $4.25, on the pretense that this is so much higher than the former wages, the burden of $15.68 is thus laid upon every ton of steel rails imported into the United States, and thus governing the prices here in order to equalize the difference in domestic and foreign wages.

Is that a frank statement? If it is, is it an intelligent statement? Why, Mr. President, by a curious association of circumstances the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] and the Senators of the minority seem to have had the same illustrations in their minds. I would have supposed, if I did not know it to be otherwise, that they had met socially or in some other way and agreed upon what illustrations they should put in their reports respectively. The Senator from Rhode Island has absolutely annihilated this statement as respects the cost of producing steel rails. The testimony is so eminent that I desire to call the attention of the Senate to it expressly, although I have no doubt they have read it over and over again. I read now from page 31 of the majority report, in which appears a statement of Mr. Abram S. Hewitt. I need not state who Mr. Hewitt is. He was a distinguished member of the House of Representatives for many years. He is known to be a man of the highest intelligence as respects these very questions and of the highest integrity. He is now the Democratic candidate for mayor of the city of New York.

Mr. ALDRICH. One of the candidates.

Mr. ALLISON. I mean one of them. This is his statement as quoted by the Senator from Rhode Island in the majority report.

Mr. Hewitt said:

> The percentage of labor involved in the production of any given article depends upon where you begin to estimate the percentage. If you begin with a steel-rail mill, which uses pig-iron, the labor will be from 25 to 30 per cent. The actual wages paid by a wire-mill will amount to about 29 per cent. of the cost. If you include labor in the blast-furnace that would make it 60 per cent. But if you go on back to the ore bed, and put in everything which was paid out from the ore bed, the percentage of labor would have been about 90 per cent. I say this because the gentleman (Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, of Brooklyn, N. Y.) proposes to overthrow facts within my knowledge, and for which I pay. I say the amount which I pay out for labor, when I include every particle of raw material beginning at the ground—and I am a miner both of ore and coal—I have never, with all my anxiety to get it down, got it below 90 per cent. on the value of the finished product.
>
> Mr. MILLS. What is the finished product?
>
> Mr. HEWITT. Any finished product. I make bar-iron.
>
> Mr. MILLS. Is pig-iron a finished product?
>
> Mr. HEWITT. The labor in pig-iron will be 90 per cent. of the cost. It actually takes 90 per cent. of the cost of the article for labor, when you include everything from the beginning to the end.

Mr. Hewitt shows in this statement that 90 per cent. of the cost of manufacturing a steel rail is labor. We have in the committee-room abundant evidence of the same fact. I will not stop to illustrate from the testimony before the committee, but I will only add to Mr. Hewitt's complete and accurate statement a statement made by the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, furnished by the honorable Senator from Ohio, who now sits opposite to me [Mr. PAYNE], at the request of the committee, in order that we might have accurate and intelligent information as to the actual labor cost of producing a ton of steel rails. The committee asked him to procure this information for us, and I have it here before me, and it will be embodied in our testimony taken from the books of the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company, and vouched for as to its accuracy by the Senator from Ohio.

STEEL RAILS.—STATEMENT OF CLEVELAND ROLLING-MILL COMPANY, OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.

[Presented by Senator H. B. PAYNE, of Ohio.]

Statement showing the cost of producing one ton of steel rails from Lake Superior iron ores, taken from the pay-rolls and expense account.

Paid for labor in mining one ton of ore	$2.32
Paid for labor in transportation of one ton of ore	1.15
Paid for labor in producing one ton of pig-iron from ore	8.85
Paid for labor in producing one ton of steel rails from pig-iron	9.51
Total amount for labor in the production of one ton of steel rails from Lake Superior ore	$21.83

The minority in its report states to us that it costs $4.25. This statement proceeds—

Paid for materials and transportation on same (less the cost of labor), such as ore, spiegel, coke, coal, oil, gas, ganister, clay, brick, etc. $7.67

And as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES] very properly says, that is mostly labor, and it is.

Total cost of 1 ton of steel rails manufactured from Lake Superior ores, $29.50.

And yet the minority of the committee instruct the people of the United States that the labor cost of a ton of steel rails is only $4.25.

Now let me take another illustration——

Mr. HAWLEY. I beg the Senator to allow me. Perhaps they mean producing from pig-iron laid in the pig in their own grounds in Ohio.

Mr. ALLISON. They do not say so. You mean the minority report?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes. If they do, I understand you to say the cost was $9.

Mr. ALLISON. I see the point of the Senator's interruption, and I thank him for it, and I will read again:

Paid for labor in producing 1 ton of steel rails from pig-iron, $9.51—

as against $4.25, according to the minority report. It is a valuable thing for the Senate to know that it only costs $4.25 to produce a ton of steel rails in our country, which sells now for $31.50. That is valuable information to impart to those whose duty it is and whose business it is to supply steel rails, because if the difference between $4.25, the cost of labor, and the price at which steel rails sell for now in the market, is what would thus appear, I want to invite my associates on the Finance Committee to join me in building a steel-rail mill, and we can sell our steel rails at a good deal less than $31.50 a ton.

Now, then, another illustration:

The rods—

Listen to this criticism of our bill by the minority of the committee—

The rods out of which the farmers' wire fence is made are not apparently changed in rate, but by various changes in classification actual and important additional burdens are imposed. A reduction in dutiable value from 3½ to 3 cents per pound weight accomplishes this. An additional size, No. 6, added without an apparent change of rate does adroitly increase the rate paid on wire rods of this size from 45 per cent. to about 54 per cent., and is an increased tax on this one size of wire rods of nearly $300,000, upon the basis of the importations of 1887,

therefore increasing the cost of wire fence to the farmers of the country. So says impliedly this minority report. In connection with this statement there are a few facts which I think should be placed on record. In the first place, this report states that we have reduced the unit of value or rather the dutiable value of rods from 3½ to 3 cents per pound upon this class of wire rods. That is to say, we have provided that this class of rods valued at 3 cents a pound, instead of 3½ cents per pound, shall come in at the lower rate of duty, which, under existing law, is six-tenths of a cent per pound.

When the law of 1883 was enacted we provided that all rods not less than No. 5, wire gauge, should pay six-tenths of a cent per pound when valued at 3½ cents a pound or less. At that time no wire rod was rolled thinner than No. 5, wire gauge. Then we provided that all wire thinner than No. 5 should pay another and a higher rate. That is, it was the intention of the law that all thinner than No. 5, wire gauge, should pay duty as wire; but it was held by the Treasury Department that all rolled iron or steel should be classed as rods, and drawn iron or steel should be classed as wire. The foreign manufacturers then rolled their rods thinner than No. 5 down to No. 6, and imported them under the blanket clause at 45 per cent. ad valorem, a plain and palpable evasion of the intent of the law.

I think there is no better illustration than this, and I will say to my friends on the other side that I want to point a moral here as respects ad valorem duties. Taking the importations of 1887, the duties on steel rods not lighter than No. 5 wire gauge, the unit of dutiable value was 1.6 cents a pound. No. 6 is a finer rod, and came in at 45 per cent. ad valorem, under this Treasury decision, and 201,000,000 pounds of No. 6 came in valued at 1.1 cents per pound.

There is not a man but knows that wire No. 6, being a thinner rod, costs more than a No. 5 wire rod, and yet under this system of ad valorem duties, which has been so often denounced by so many Secretaries of the Treasury, these men bring in these rods at a valuation of 1.1 cents per pound, or at a nominal value on the other side of $24.64 a ton. Does any man believe that they can manufacture wire rods of No. 6 wire gauge at the rate of $24.64 per ton? It is a clear and palpable undervaluation; and all the committee did in this regard was to put this one wire gauge in at the specific duty of six-tenths of a cent per pound, the rate provided for by existing law. It may be that the duties will be somewhat increased, but if they were now valued as they ought to be valued and as the true valuation is, there will be no increase of duty, but really a decrease of the ad valorem rate on a true valuation, as No. 5 wire rods now come in at 36 per cent. ad valorem, or a duty of six-tenths of a cent per pound.

In this connection, Mr. President, I want to call attention to some information that was before the Committee on Finance as respects these wire rods. It was shown before the Committee on Finance that up to the specific duty of 1883 no wire rods were manufactured in this country; but by the development of this wire-rod industry and the use of wire for fences there has been an enormous increase in the use of wire rods. Last year there were imported 149,000 tons, and the year before importations largely in excess of that, but last year we manufactured in the United States 188,000 tons of wire rods, and we shall probably in two years from this time manufacture every wire rod consumed in this country; and the price of wire rods has been greatly reduced from year to year.

When we commenced the manufacture of wire rods in this country two years ago the men who manufactured them in Germany sought to break the market, and they reduced the price to $35 a ton free in New York, duty paid, but when they found they could not induce our people to buy their rods and that our people manufactured their own, they made a close combination in Germany, a trust, whereby they put the price of wire rods up to $40.50 per ton, duty paid in New York, and they have remained there and have staid practically there for the last nine months. I will not read the testimony, but merely state the facts. It will be seen, therefore, that wire rods are being produced now in this country cheaper than they were ever produced before anywhere.

But our friends of the minority seem to think that fence-wire is a wire-rod. Fence-wire is a different thing. These wire-rods are the raw material for fence-wire. These rods are drawn out to No. 11 to 12 wire gauge, and thus become fence-wire. We have reduced the duty on fence-wire in our subsitute a quarter of a cent a pound. The Mills bill does not touch it. So the criticism as applied to this particular thing shows itself to be absolutely an error of fact. Taking our bill as it stands and comparing it with the bill that these gentlemen say they are willing to support, we have done more for the purpose of reducing the duty on fence-wire than has the House bill.

Wire for fencing is now so cheap that a man with $90 can fence a 160-acre field. I know of no boon to our people so great as that boon which has furnished them fence-wire at 2¾ cents a pound, and which affords an opportunity to fence a farm for $90.50, as shown by the present price of fence-wire in this country, at the place of manufacture, or 56 cents per acre. I see the Senator from Missouri shakes his head. That is the wholesale price of fence-wire to-day at every mill where wire for fencing is made. Mr. Oliver, of Pittsburgh, states the present cost of wire fencing under existing conditions which are not changed by the substitute.

The consumer certainly has no right to complain that his wire is costing too much under existing conditions. Barbed wire, which five years ago (with rods coming in at 30 per cent. duty) was worth 8 cents per pound, is to-day selling as low as 2¾ cents per pound at the factory. Allowing half of 1 cent per pound for middle-men's profits and freights (a very liberal estimate) the price to the consumer would be 3½ cents per pound. At this price it would cost just $90.72, or a little over 56 cents an acre, to fence a farm of 160 acres with barbed wire four strands high. Wire nails are sold at $2.30 per keg at the factory, which is less than the cost of rods in 1882. These two articles form the great outlet for the wire-rods that are manufactured and imported into this country—barbed-wire fence and wire nails. No better evidence is required of the fact that protection cheapens the protected article than the constant reduction in the price of wire and wire-rods since 1883 in the face of an advance of 50 per cent. in the rate of duty.

Prior to 1883 the duty on wire-rods was 30 per cent. ad valorem.

Mr. President, I have spent perhaps longer time on the subject of wire than I ought to have done. I do not know but that I should say something more as respects the metal schedule. I will simply add that we have reduced copper one-half, and there is no better refutation of what is said by many people, that the duty is added to the price, than what is disclosed in respect to the question of copper. The duty is a high duty now. We have reduced it one-half. Why? Because we have for the last two or three years exported largely of copper, so that the duty does not affect the price of copper one way or the other in this country. The testimony was clear before the Committee on

Finance that copper is cheaper in this country now than it is in Europe; and a further statement was made before us that a French trust has absolute control of the copper of the world, and they buy all the copper of the world as they have bought and are buying the copper from all the copper mines in the United States; they therefore control the price not only in this country but in Europe, and the duty has no effect upon the price, as the price is now less here or no more than in London, where it is free of duty.

Therefore I say for present purposes or at this time it is not necessary that we should retain the duty on copper for the protection of our own producers, and yet conditions may change. At the present time it is the enormous production of copper and its foreign control that controls the price of copper and not the duty.

The next schedule is wood and wooden-ware. I suppose I need not explain to the Senate that we have made no practical change in the wood schedule. We have corrected one or two incongruities in that schedule, or rather one or two difficulties that arise in the administration of that schedule under the present law. I have been in the past myself rather disposed to think that we ought to reduce the duty upon sawed lumber, but I think it is clear from what has been disclosed recently that any reduction of the duties upon sawed lumber would inure not to our people, but inure to the benefit of the Dominion of Canada; and I am not ready at this moment to pick out and select things which shall especially benefit the Dominion of Canada. We have many unsettled questions with that Government, and lumber should not now be excepted from any arrangements we may in the future make with them. Upon this point I beg to present what has been stated recently by Consul Hotchkiss upon this subject, which is found in the majority report:

I have been thus explicit in describing the systems of the two countries, for, to my mind, they are the key by which the situation and effect may be safely prejudged in case free lumber becomes a reality.

There is no dispute that the American manufacturer controls the making of prices. In doing this he is not influenced by the Canadian supply in any degree. If the duty of $2 is removed it will not affect the American price, because it has never been a factor, and will still be unfelt. No lower price will prevail in the United States than heretofore, and no different net results will be experienced by the manufacturer.

The Canadian, on the contrary, will lay his lumber down in the American market at $2 less per thousand, and will obtain for it the same as the American does, so that the net result to the Canadian manufacturer will be a clear gain of the $2 which the American Government has remitted. This additional net result to the Canadian manufacturer will, however, be of very brief duration.

Having shown how the governments in Canada continue their control of the timber land and their disposition to tax them to the utmost, I am confident that not a May pay-day will pass before a public notice will issue in effect that a further increase in annual and timber dues has been made an order in council, in sums sufficient to absorb the $2 per thousand into the provincial treasuries.

We know, in confirmation of this statement, that when we removed the duty of $1 a thousand on logs Canada straightway put an export duty of $2 a thousand on the same article.

I also wish to incorporate in the RECORD, in order that it may be convenient, a statement made by the Department of Agriculture respecting the effect of the tariff duty upon lumber:

At the present stage of development, however, it seems, so far as the saving of standing supplies is concerned, there need be no fear nor hope from foreign competition, for "the quantity of standing pine in the United States and Canada is reduced to a condition of absolute control; it is held in strong hands on both sides and will not be lightly frittered away." The stumpage price, which has lately advanced as never before, will necessitate the upholding of present values for manufactured lumber, and an advance of prices is as certain as a decrease of supplies.

The discussions of the tariff question in the "lumberman's" papers is naturally tinged by diverse personal interests, according as the manufacturer owns stumpage or relies upon supplied material. There are a number of American lumbermen who have invested millions of dollars and hold large timber-limits in Canada, and their interest would lead them to desire the removal of the incumbrance of $2, which the Canadian Government places on the unmanufactured, and the home Government on the manufactured article. The establishments on this side of the line do not wish to lose the margin of $2, although, as a lumber dealer expressed himself, "they can well afford it, for they control supplies, production, and price."

It is argued that whatever may be the temporary effects of a local or personal character that might result from the abolition of the tariff, such effects would not immediately be felt; they would not be great, and only short-lived. The range in which Canadian lumber, which has never been kept out by the duty, can compete with our own will be extended by so much as the amount of the present duty, if removed, would pay for extended transportation; meanwhile the Canadian stumpage will increase in value, and the distance from which Canadian supplies must be brought will increase so as to offset any temporary advantage.

An unbiased weighing of the arguments advanced on both sides leads to the conclusion that the removal of the tariff on lumber would have no appreciable effect upon the price to the consumer, nor be detrimental to the lumberman's or saw-mill business, nor in the least affect the laboring man; but at the same time no appreciable benefit towards preservation of forests and forest supplies need be expected at this date from such removal. Possibly positive local advantages may be gained, if by such competition local manufactures were encouraged and the shipping of raw material made less profitable.

With these statements, by officials now in office and familiar with the subject, and the additional statement that, in my judgment and belief, after as full an examination as I could make of the subject, the taking off of the duty on a particular article of lumber involved in the House bill would simply be so much of a bonus to the Dominion of Canada rather than a benefit to our own people, I leave the matter, only adding that the framers of the House bill do not touch but one or two classes in the lumber schedule. They do not reduce the duties upon the advanced manufactured lumber; they leave those open, and therefore it is that the effect of the House provision will be simply to put into the treasury of the Dominion of Canada $2 a thousand which it is proposed to take off lumber. That is all I have to say on the lumber question at this time.

Then we come to sugar, which is the next schedule. I want to run over these schedules briefly and state what are the salient points of them.

The House bill reduces the sugar duty 18 per cent.; our substitute reduces it 50 per cent., and with that reduction the ad valorem duty on sugar is higher than the duty upon any other article of a similar nature in the schedules, if we except perhaps a few classes of wool. The sugar duty remains at 41 per cent. and a little more ad valorem under the substitute. It was not an easy thing for the committee to deal with this sugar question as respects the different grades of sugar. I think we have reached a fair solution as between the consumers and refiners of sugar. There was a disposition to make such a readjustment of the duty as would carry the polariscope test to No. 16, Dutch standard, but the majority of the committee thought it unwise, without further information at least, to make that radical change in the law, and therefore we have left the polariscope test in the substitute as it is now, at No. 13, Dutch standard, and as is proposed in the House bill.

Sugar is as essential to every family in the United States as is bread. It enters as much into the consumption of every household, wherever that household may be, as does flour; and if there is any necessary of life that should have a low rate of duty it is sugar, as this duty is paid by the consumer, because we do not now, and can not under the most favorable circumstances for many years to come, produce one-half of what we consume, and I believe—I speak for myself—that reasonable encouragement is given in the substitute to test our power of producing sugar either from sorghum or beets, and also reasonable protection to those now engaged in this production from cane.

The consumption of sugar in our country is enormous. In 1850 we produced as much sugar as we imported. It was not until the decade between 1850 and 1860, I believe, that we reached a point where we imported more sugar than we produced. There was a large production of sugar between these years, and we produced about 384,000,000 pounds on an average, and we imported very little more than we produced. Each year after 1865 there was a gradual increase in the consumption of sugar not only in the aggregate but per capita. We have trebled the consumption of sugar in twenty years, and now consume in the United States more than 3,150,000,000 pounds of foreign sugar, whereas we only consumed twenty years ago 1,110,000,000 pounds; so that in twenty years the people of the United States have nearly trebled their consumption of sugar.

Is there any law of political economy which should require every family in the United States to pay the present high duty of 2 cents a pound upon sugar consumed in that family and in addition the cost paid to refiners of sugar? There is not a family in the United States but what pays more for sugar than it does for bread because of this enormous duty, and yet this House bill comes here to us reducing the duty upon sugar only 18 per cent., making it a nominal reduction, and why? It has been the boast of the Democratic party that they wanted to reduce the duties upon the necessaries of life. What necessary of life is greater than that of sugar? And yet, although it bears the highest rate of duty of any article upon the dutiable-list, liquors and wines not excepted——

Mr. DAWES. Rice.

Mr. ALLISON. Rice should be excepted. It pays the highest ad valorem rate of duty of any article upon the dutiable list, distilled spirits and wines not excepted, and yet this House bill reduces sugar only 18 per cent. Is it to be claimed here that we propose to reduce the duties upon the necessaries of life, and yet keep up this enormous duty upon this essential necessary?

Unless we can utilize beets and sorghum in the production of sugar in the future it is not probable that we shall ever produce one-tenth of the sugar that we consume in this country, and we are consuming year by year a greater number of pounds per capita. So if this measure shall become a law, and thereby reduce the cost of sugar to the consumers of the United States from 1 to 1⅜ cents a pound or $42,000,000 per annum to our people, the effect of this reduction will be undoubtedly to increase the consumption of sugar in our country from year to year. And hence I should say that, as respects this sugar duty, it is probable the revenue will be increased at the rate of $1,000,000 or $2,000,000 a year beyond one-half the amount we have received, and to that extent there will be an addition to the revenue.

Our sugar-producing territory, except of sorghum, is limited, and cane-sugar is produced under unfavorable conditions as compared with the great amount of the production of sugar throughout the world from cane. The Senator from Kentucky takes especial pains to criticise our action on the sugar question in his report, whereby he not only criticises this reduction severely, but he goes back to the legislation of 1883 and states that in the conference committee the duty on sugar between Nos. 13 and 16, Dutch standard, was raised from 2¼ cents to 2¼ cents a pound, and he says in his report that the Senate, by a yea-and-nay vote, had fixed the relation between what is known as raw sugars and sugars between 13 and 16 at 40 cents per hundred pounds or four-tenths of a cent per pound. He states, then, that after a further examination

we yielded finally to a difference of half a cent a pound between unrefined and sugars between 13 and 16 Dutch standard, and then he says the Republicans in the conference committee increased that difference to three-fourths of a cent per pound.

I do not see how it is possible for him to indorse this House bill after making that statement, because this House bill makes the distinction between sugars below 13 Dutch standard and sugars between 13 and 16 Dutch standard of fifty-seven one-hundredths per cent., or nearly the amount provided for in the existing law of which he complains.

The dividing line by this House bill, which we are considering here, provides as respects sugar that all sugars above No. 13 Dutch standard shall pay fifty-seven one-hundredths of a cent beyond the average of the sugar that comes in under the polariscopic test. This substitute, as proposed by your Senate committee, proposes a difference of three-eighths of a cent per pound or a difference of one-fifth of a cent a pound in favor of the substitute and the consumer of sugar and against the refiner as compared with the House bill, and yet the Senator from Kentucky criticises this substitute which reduces twenty one-hundredths of a cent below the bill which he supports between 13 and 16 Dutch standard, and says he is in favor of the House bill. This House bill makes a greater difference in favor of the refiner than the highest point he was willing to concede in 1883.

The difference between the substitute which we propose and the House bill as respects sugar is a difference of $6,000,000 in the aggregate per annum to the consumer. By the House bill the tax upon the people of the United States is $6,000,000 per annum more than the Senate substitute, as the duty is paid by the people who consume the sugar, and, in my judgment, it is practically the only case in all these dutiable-lists where the consumer pays the duty; and, as the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] very justly and very properly observes, it bears heavily upon the poor and upon those who have large families. Six million dollars to whom? Where will it go? It is between 13 and 16. Why is it that the refining interest insists all the time upon that relation of 13 and 16? It is that the centrifugal sugars can not come in between 13 and 16, and thus go into consumption without the intervention of the refiner. Therefore it is that they want to make the line of demarkation strongest between 13 and 16, in order that all sugars that come in may be raw sugars, and thus pass through the processes of refining in our country; and I repeat that the Senate substitute makes a difference of one-fifth of a cent, or $6,000,000 per annum in favor of the consumers of sugar.

What is the effect of that? Acccording to the census of 1880, there was twenty-seven and a half millions of capital invested in sugar refining in the United States. I have not been able to procure the accurate statistics between then and now, but I assume that there is certainly not more than $50,000,000 of capital engaged in that industry now. So this concession made to sugar refiners in the House bill as compared with the Senate bill is 12 per cent. upon all the capital of all the sugar refineries in the United States; and yet the Senators who have made the minority report upon this bill, including the separate and distinct report of the Senator from Kentucky, indorse these House provisions as respects the question of sugar, and then they denounce all trusts. They legislate by the provisions of this House bill $6,000,000 into the pockets of the sugar trust, 12 per cent. per annum upon their capital, and take it out of the pockets of the people of the United States and denounce the Republican party and this substitute for administering to and fostering trusts! Consistency is a jewel that is not found in this minority report any more than it is in the report of the Senator from Kentucky.

The next schedule is tobacco and cigars. We propose in this bill to somewhat modify the duties upon tobacco and cigars. I am not clear that the provisions as introduced are exactly what they ought to be. I say that for the benefit of all those who may be interested in this manufacture we have done the best we could with the information at hand; but, I repeat, in the great hurry of getting this bill with all its schedules properly before the Senate, we have had to report some provisions without the careful examination which should have been made.

We have changed the duty upon imported cigars from two and one-half dollars a thousand and 25 per cent. ad valorem to a specific duty of three and one-half dollars. The effect of that may be, I think, to increase the duty upon some kinds of imported cigars; but as they are a luxury I do not think that increase will be very much felt.

We have also made a change in the law as respects wrappers. We have taxed tobacco suitable for wrappers 75 cents a pound, unstemmed, and if stemmed, $1. In order to compensate for that increase on the wrappers we have reduced the duty on Cuban tobacco for fillers, which is the only tobacco practically imported, from 35 to 40 respectively to 25 and 20 cents. I do not know that this adjustment is just what it should be, and the committee desires the information that always comes from an open discussion of the details of a bill in the Senate and such further information as we can acquire from the trade before the details are finally adjusted.

The next schedule is provisions. We have made some changes in the provision schedule. So far as we could we have provided specific duties in lieu of the ad valorem duties.

There are some things that the committee have in contemplation that we have not yet done as respects the provisions schedule. The committee are considering the question of providing some rate of duty upon eggs imported into our country for the benefit of our own producers and farmers and for the protection of this great industry, which, as Edward Atkinson said, is equal to the iron industry; but we have not yet perfected that provision.

The flax, hemp, and jute schedule has been changed somewhat. It has been changed, first, by the removal of all duty upon the raw material. It has been changed, next, by making specific rates instead of ad valorem rates in many cases. We have reduced certain products of the manufacture of these grasses and fibers and we have increased some others. Notably we have reduced one-half the duty on binding-twine. I will mention that in the interest of farmers and for the benefit of those who joined in the minority report, so that there may be no mistake about it. The reduction is from 2½ to 3 cents a pound to 1½ cents a pound. We have reduced also the duty on cotton-bagging one-half. The duty on cotton-bagging is now 1½ to 2 cents a pound. All under 7 cents a pound is 1½, and all above is 2 cents. We have reduced that to three-fourths of a cent a pound, as our sympathies ran out somewhat with the extraordinary arrangement made by those who use cotton-bagging for consumption during the present year.

The next schedule is silk and silk goods. I will say, for the benefit of those who have not examined with care these schedules, that we have adopted specific duties in lieu of ad valorem duties as applied to this schedule because of the great undervaluations in it. Indeed, a great portion of the difficulty in the New York custom-house arises from the importation of silks, and we have adopted specific rates instead of ad valorem rates. We have done that upon the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, so that we can not, of course, be charged with anything extraordinary in that respect. Secretary Manning—I have his request before me—prepared a silk schedule, which we have adopted in the main, providing specific duties upon silk goods in lieu of ad valorem duties, and I believe the effect will be to increase somewhat the rate of duty upon silks as compared with the duty now collected, or which ought to be collected. It was the intention of the committee and the intention of the Secretary of the Treasury, as we understood it, to make these specific duties correspond exactly with the ad valorem duties, when honestly collected, now on the statute-book.

We have made no great changes in the three other schedules, sundries, books, and the free-list.

Thus, Mr. President, I have gone over the details of this bill, not with the expectation or intention of discussing the merits or demerits of protection or free trade. I did not intend and do not propose to do that in this debate at this moment. I intend to refrain from discussing the abstract question of free trade and protection. I only mean to say that from my examination of these bills—the House bill and the substitute—the one is a clear and distinct measure of protection to American industry and American producers, and the other is a step, and I may say a long step, in the direction of what is commonly known as free trade.

I am reminded by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] that I have not touched upon wool and woolens. I have not, nor have I upon cotton. These are two of the great schedules in this bill. The woolen schedule is changed very much and the cotton schedule is considerably changed; but in the cotton schedule there has been only an increase of duty upon two or three items of rates upon the finer grades and an equal number of items of the lower grades have been reduced.

We have increased duties in the woolen schedule somewhat, but only in the higher classes of woolen goods. We have not touched the lower classes of woolen goods, except to correct what has been understood in the Treasury Department and by both Houses of Congress to be an injustice in respect to worsted goods. We have made that correction and classified worsted goods with woolen goods in every case, and in that sense, perhaps, the lower classes of worsted goods will be required to pay a somewhat increased duty. But with that exception every increase in the woolen schedule comes from an increase in the higher and finer grades of woolen manufactures, and they were made necessary because we increased the duty by 1 cent a pound upon the finer grades of wool.

I ought to say one word as respects the duty on wool, because, in my judgment, it is probable there will be a small increase of revenue arising from that.

Last year—I have not the exact figures before me, but will state them in general—there were imported last year of carpet wools about 63,000,000 pounds of the lower grades, which are now taxed at 2½ cents a pound, which we do not change. There were imported 21,000,000 pounds of the finer grades of carpet wools at a dutiable value of about 18 cents a pound. Upon that higher grade the bill as reported proposes to increase the duty 1 cent a pound upon clothing wool, of which there were imported over 20,000,000 pounds last year and re-exported, I believe, about 6,000,000 pounds; so that the total importation of clothing wool last year probably would not be more than 15,000,000 pounds that would pay duty; we add 1 cent, so that on these two classes there will be an increase of revenue. In the woolen schedule, taken as a whole, upon the basis that there will be as large importations under the new rates as under existing rates, there will be an increase; but I ven-

ture the statement that with this worsted provision corrected woolen manufactures will not be so largely imported in the future as they have been in the past. It is because of the injustice that has been done to the worsted manufactures that we have had such large importations.

Mr. President, I only desire to say in conclusion upon this bill, that it is my purpose, as I am glad to see it is the purpose of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], and as I understand it to be the purpose of this side of the Chamber, to proceed as rapidly as we may with the discussion of the bill. At some future time I may have occasion to make some further observations respecting it, but I only desired this morning to state the general provisions and plan of the measure in order that it might be understood by Senators who have not had an opportunity of examining it carefully.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. President, during the excitement of civil war there was a class of our fellow-citizens whose thoughts were directed to the main chance. Whilst others fought and sacrificed to maintain the integrity of the Union this class improved the opportunity to secure a system of Federal taxation which made them participants in all of its results. During all the turmoil and confusion which followed in the wake of war they steadily improved the shining hours to enlarge their share in this taxation, whilst the attention of men more impulsive or patriotic was directed toward other things. In this way they finally succeeded in establishing a partnership with the Government in the great and lucrative business of taxing the people.

Unlike most modern business firms the amount of its capital was not fixed, being all that they could get; nor was its terms limited, being permitted to embrace every possible article known to human want. The terms of the partners *inter sese* were that the Government should enact the law subjecting the products in use by the people to a certain rate of taxation which come into our ports from foreign countries, and the other partners were to levy their taxes upon all domestic products of like character under the "protection" of the Government tax. By this means the Government mulcted everything that came from abroad and the other partners everything made at home, so that nothing escaped.

Inasmuch as the home products exceeded the foreign by at least six to one, these partners of the Government received in taxes about five dollars where the Government received but one. And it is noticeable that the zeal of the partners has from time to time stimulated the Government to increase the taxes upon all articles which contributed most to swell their gains, with little or no regard to the gains of the public Treasury. To such an extent was this carried that they and their friends came in time to forget altogether that there was a Government to be supported, and to regard the taxing power as having been created expressly for the purpose of contributing to their wealth. Their literature spoke of nothing else, remembered nothing else, strove for nothing else.

"But the best-laid schemes of mice and men" at length go astray.

As the country emerged slowly and laboriously from the extravagance and corrupt expenditure of a state of war, and economy and public virtue once more came back under the auspices of a Democratic administration; and as, in spite of all, the wealth of the people continued to grow with returning peace it finally appeared that the one-sixth dollar of this taxation became too much, and the Government found itself in possession of more money than it could properly and wisely use. The President of the United States announced this fact to the country, showing the injury which it did by locking up so great a sum of the people's money, thus withholding it from the necessities of trade and commerce, and portraying vividly the dangers which it threatened, not only to all financial interests, but to the public morals as well. So irresistible was the logic of the situation that the Republican party, the authors and advocates of this unholy and iniquitous system of taxation of the many for the benefit of the few, reluctantly admitted the necessity for reducing the taxes which produced this surplus.

Both parties then being agreed as to the necessity of reduction, the question arose how and upon what things that reduction should be made. Common sense and common honesty suggested that it should be made upon those things where the inequalities were greatest and where the relief to the people would be greatest, to wit, upon the necessaries of life in greatest use by the most people. To understand the situation it is necessary to consider, first, the chief sources of our federal taxation, and the proportion of revenue yielded by each. This revenue is derived as follows:

Custom duties (estimated for 1888)	$228,000,000
Internal taxes (estimated for 1888)	120,000,000
Miscellaneous sources	35,000,000
Total	383,000,000

Now let us analyze the first two. The internal taxes yield pure revenue to the Government minus about 3 per cent., the cost of collection. Of the customs taxes the greatest single item is that of sugar and molasses. The duty derived from these in the last fiscal year was in round numbers $58,000,000. As nine out of every ten pounds consumed in the United States comes from abroad, the duty received therefrom was nine-tenths pure revenue. That is to say that the Government received $9, whilst its partners in the taxing business received only $1. So it may be said of tin-plate, yielding $5,706,000, and of the few unimportant items which yet remain upon the dutiable-list, as Zante currants, manila, jute, and other textile substances, which are the exclusive growth or production of foreign countries. The duty on them is pure revenue.

On the contrary, the duty on the remaining portion of the customs schedules are for the greater part protection, the average being about $5 tax for the manufacturers and $1 revenue for the Government. Indeed, on many leading articles of common necessity the duty is pure protection, and all goes to the manufacturer and none or next to none to the Government. Now, in reducing the taxes which yield revenue to the Government, a decent regard for either the Government or the people who consume the articles and pay the tax would require that, to say the very least, one part of the reduction should come from those things which yield pure or nearly pure revenue, and the other part from those things which yield pure or nearly pure protection. Equity would everywhere prescribe that the contribution levied upon a firm should be upon each of the partners in proportion to his interest or the amount of his stock, as the case may be. No court of conscience upon earth would decree otherwise.

Therefore in accordance with this just and equitable principle the House of Representatives framed its bill, No. 9051, passed it, and sent it to us for our concurrence. It provides for a total reduction of $78,000,000, $24,500,000 of which comes from internal-revenue taxation, which is pure revenue, and $5,700,000 from the customs duty upon tin-plates, which is also pure revenue. When to this is added the remission of duty upon various unimportant articles wholly grown or produced abroad it will be seen that as near one-half as may be of the proposed reductions were made upon those things which exclusively yield revenue, and the other half upon the things which principally yield protection. In short, the Mills bill gave up half of the proposed reduction to come from the Government and called upon the beneficiaries of tariff taxation to give up the other half, whereas in justice it could have called upon these beneficiaries to surrender in proportion to their interest in the taxation, which, as I have before said, was about $5 to one.

To this fair and generous proposition how did this favored class respond? With the exception of three every Republican voted against its passage. When it arrived in the Senate and was acted upon in the Finance Committee it was rejected by the entire Republican vote and the substitute adopted in its place. Now, how does that substitute divide that reduction between the Government and the people on the one side and the favored classes on the other? In the first place, it takes from—

Internal taxes on tobacco, which is pure revenue	$24,371,000
By reduction on alcohol used in the arts	7,000,000
By additions to the free-list of articles which yield pure revenue	6,428,000
By reduction of sugar duties, nine-tenths pure revenue	27,759,000
Total	65,559,000

(Excluding fractions.)

They claim a total reduction of $73,668,000, and to make up the remainder they claim that they have reduced duties on manufactured goods proper to the extent of $8,109,000. So that if their statement of the effects of their bill be correct it shows that they propose to reduce revenue by very generously giving up $9 of the Government revenues and $1 of their own. But even this is not true. Selfishness necessarily takes refuge in fraud. The favored classes, at whose suggestion this substitute was framed, were enabled by their technical knowledge of their own business to impose, no doubt, upon the members of the Finance Committee, and to largely increase the duties in several schedules. By the best information which the Democratic members of the Finance Committee could obtain in the short time allowed them to examine the substitute this increase will amount to fully $10,000,000. In my own opinion its practical effect would far exceed this. So that it all amounts to this, that for the privilege of reducing its own revenues, those in which no favored manufacturer whomsoever is interested, the Government would be compelled by this bill to pay these pampered paupers a bonus of more than $2,000,000.

The method by which this increase is effected is not new. It was resorted to in the so-called revision of 1883. That, too, was heralded with the declaration that the country demanded reduction and that the bill proposed by the commission would effect a reduction of at least 25 per cent. Yet when that bill had passed the ordeal of this Chamber and through the dark mysterious manipulations of the conference committee, where no voice was heard but that of the friends of high duties, it was found that the alleged reduction of 25 per cent. had by this same process been converted into an increase of 12½ per cent., making the duties which were 42 per cent., 47 per cent. On this occasion that plan, which has been again tried, consists, first, in changing ad valorem to specific duties; to both specific and ad valorem duties; to specific duties based upon values and ad valorem duties added. And where this could not be conveniently done, or done with sufficient mystification to conceal it, changes of classification have been made.

It is almost impossible for any but an expert importer to ascertain precisely what these changes mean, but the intention is plain enough to the humblest understanding. Is not this the acme of pampered insolence; the very incarnation of human selfishness? I do not wonder at their thus using the power which they have acquired over the legislation of

their country; it is quite natural that they should go quite to the end of their tether, if there be any end to it, in their unhallowed pursuit of wealth; but I do wonder that any intelligent Christian man, outside of the favored circle, can be induced to support by his vote and influence this shameless iniquity.

These changes of classification and of rates of duty are justified, and always have been, under the pretense of simplification and of preventing fraud against the Government by importers. This is the old cry of "Stop thief," and must cause a broad smile on the faces of manufacturers when they mention it to each other. How a plain ad valorem duty could possibly be simplified by the addition of a specific duty thereto is one of the mysteries of the trade. And how it could be further simplified by basing a specific duty on a valuation of the article and adding both to the ad valorem is a still greater mystery; but when you add a half dozen different classifications of the same article, distinguishable only by an imperceptible shade of difference in material, fineness, or coarseness, and affix a different value, a different specific, and a different ad valorem rate of duty to each classification, the simplification to be found therein becomes the greatest mystery of all.

The same argument applies with even greater force to questions of fraudulent valuation.

Take the woolen schedule—paragraph 354—"cloth shawls," etc., valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 35 cents per pound, and 35 per cent. ad valorem; valued at above 40 cents per pound and not exceeding 60 cents, 35 cents per pound, and 40 per cent. ad valorem; valued above 60 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound, and 40 per cent. ad valorem. Here there are three different estimations of value in the first place—three different specific duties and three different ad valorem duties on the same article. Surely this is simplification with a vengeance. The next section, 355, "flannel, blankets, and hats," is still worse, comprising four different estimates of value, four specific rates of duty, and four ad valorem rates of duty. The next paragraph, No. 356, "women's and children's dress goods," etc., is, if possible, still more complicated. So it is through the whole of the woolen and the cotton schedules. Proof of this is found in sections 316, 318, 319, 321, 323, and 324. In the metal schedule these tricks abound, and wherever it was practicable to do so specific duties have been added to or substituted for ad valorem, and classifications changed. In their view ad valorem duties, plain and simple as they are, are objectionable, because they will reduce the tax as the price is reduced, whereas specific duties tax the cheapest articles as much as the dearest, and maintain the duties at one figure, although the price goes down until, as often happens, the tax becomes more than the price of the goods.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] claims that the whole schedule is divided into 795 paragraphs, each one relating to a single article.

There are fifteen different schedules, each of which is separate and distinct. Besides that it divides the whole into 795 paragraphs, each paragraph relating to a single article, thus dissipating the idea, which is so common in this country, that the tariff affects three thousand or four thousand articles, because 795 paragraphs describe every article, not only on the dutiable, but on the free list as well.

Let us see if this is true. See section 358, woolen schedule, where are enumerated seven different articles; section 359 enumerated five different articles of three different materials in two different states of manufacture; section 360, where are enumerated fifteen different articles made of three different materials; section 370, where are enumerated six kind of articles made of two different kinds of material. Paragraphs 375, 376, and 377 of the silk schedule, 395, 412, 416, 417, 415, each embracing many articles. In addition to which, necessarily, each schedule has a comprehensive and residuary clause erected to the unknown, "not specially enumerated and provided for."

The report very frankly tells us how careful the majority was to consult all the parties interested in the money to be received from this taxation, and how very tender they had been in dealing with any item wherein their profits might be touched. They say "the time which has elapsed since the House bill reached the Senate has been diligently employed by your committee in a careful investigation of the diverse and important questions involved in a general tariff revision, and in hearing such repre-entatives of the vast number of interests affected by changes in the tariff schedules as could be heard in the limited time at their disposal. Other interested parties are desirous of being heard, and it is the intention of the committee, with the approval of the Senate, to give such time to further hearings as shall be possible during the period the bill may be under discussion, with a view of eliciting the fullest information in order that the provisions of the substitute and of such amendments as shall be suggested may be acted upon with the greatest degree of intelligence."

And with this view they reserve the privilege of suggesting further amendments. By this we are to understand that while the Senate of the United States sits in this Chamber in discharge of its high functions to legislate for the interest of the whole people, the congress of the "interested parties" who are to benefit by public taxation is sitting in the lobby to supervise our work and see that it conforms to their wishes. They are to be consulted whenever any Senator shall suggest an amendment. Surely the power of these protected classes could not be more humbly acknowledged than is done by this statement. With all the care which has been taken of their interests, with all the subserviency which American Senators have thus manifested to these "Barons of the exchequer" it is to be supposed, if not hoped, that their diligence in the guardianship of their own interests, even down to the consideration of the very last amendment which may be proposed, will meet with its reward.

People reading the report of the majority would naturally feel curious to know if that subcommittee "heard" anybody beside the interested manufacturers. Was there any consumer there? Was any complaint made by those who simply pay the taxes, and were there any suggestions made for their relief or to prevent their "injury" and their "disturbance?" Indeed in the difficult task of framing a bill "to secure the proper relation between the rates imposed upon the numerous articles produced in our related and interdependent industries, the most difficult problem of tariff adjustment," did it ever occur to those able financiers to try their hands upon a problem much more simple and important, the revenue duties which should best promote the interest of 60,000,000 people and equalize the burdens of the support of their Government on principles of justice and equality?

It seems to me they should have tried the simple problem first and secured the greatest good for the greatest number before they tested their great genius in solving the problem of how to divide an untold mass of plunder so as to give satisfaction to all the robbers and fry any quantitity of fat out of their spoils. I wonder, too, did the indecency of the spectacle ever occur to them, of permitting these "interested parties" to dictate the laws which were to tax their countrymen? A reputable citizen would not be permitted to sit upon a jury for the trial of a cause in which he had the least interest, directly or indirectly, or any of his kindred, by consanguinity or affinity. A decent judge would not sit in the trial of a cause in which he had once been retained or consulted nor in a suit for or against a corporation in which he had a single share of stock.

Yet in this great cause, wherein they petition the Government to levy taxes upon the people which are to go into their own pockets, they are permitted to control the method and the amount! They are summoned here for that purpose, they are retained in the lobbies until the last moment for that purpose, and the committee gravely tell us that should any amendment be suggested they reserve the right to consult the plaintiffs. *Curia advisari vult.*

I commend their care, but opine their fears are groundless. Judging by this report there would seem to be no danger whatever that the majority of the Finance Committee should at any time forget the welfare of the manufacturers and act as though they had a Government to support and sixty millions of countrymen to legislate for.

Their free-list is a fair indication of their regard for those neglected sixty millions. Acorns, baryta, bees-wax, braids, bristles, chickory, culm, coal-tar, curling-stone handles, Zante currants, Chinese matting, human hair, mineral waters, opium for smoking, rags, rape-seed, sponges, and sand show their respect for the comfort of the million. Books printed in foreign tongues, which our little children can not read, are also free. This, with free opium, is intended doubtless as a bonus to that peculiar American labor for which protection is invoked. With the exception of jute and jute-butts and textile grasses and cheap adulterated molasses there is little upon it worth anything to anybody except the manufacturers. Compare it with the blessings conferred on the poor by the free-list of the House bill—free wool, lumber, salt, cottonties, and tin-plates.

The proposed abolition of all taxes on spirits used in the arts is expressly announced to be for the benefit of the manufacturers. The report says "that this tax is attended with no corresponding benefit except the resulting revenue which is not unnecessary." The report says (on page 10127) that "tariff schedules have been thoroughly revised, rearranged, and greatly simplified. Reductions have been made wherever they have seemed desirable, and we have increased rates wherever it seemed necessary to preserve the workingmen engaged in any American industry requiring protection from ruinous or unequal competition.

You will observe that the usual phraseology is here changed. Up to this report it has usually been called the "American labor in our factories." Now it is "the workingmen engaged in any American industry"—that is to say, any Canadian, Hungarian, Italian, Chinaman, or what not who has taken the place of an American citizen and works for less wages must be protected from ruinous or unequal competition; that is to say, his employer must have more money.

The duty on tin-plate as at present existing is declared to be "anomalous and inadequate." There being no tin-plate produced in America which could be protected, "the inadequacy" of the present tax would be hard to determine; but the anomaly is easily understood. It is certainly rather anomalous, in the opinion of the committee, that this article of prime necessity should be permitted to the people with only a tax paid to the Government instead of the rightful owners, and the committee think that by offering a sufficient reward these distributees of public taxation might be induced to materialize and claim their share. At all events, they think that the pre-natal garments should be prepared and in readiness for the baby which may possibly be born, even though the children who are already in existence go naked and hungry.

In stating the object and intentions of the committee in framing the substitute it was admitted virtually that everything was considered except the interests of the public revenues. They say:

> The substitute is based upon the idea that tariff revision implies an equitable readjustment of duties in the interest and for the benefit of the people of the United States, and in the distribution of rates its framers have not hesitated to erect or to maintain defensive barriers which would carry confidence and comfort into American homes.

Into some of them it will carry this "confidence and comfort," no doubt. The committee did not venture to say all American homes. Into the home of Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Havemeyer, Mr. Ammidown, and every great manufacturer and every member of a trust it will no doubt be warmly received. These homes are found in the palaces.

But in the homes of the cabin and the cottage, in the farmsteads amid the blooming orchards, in the humble habitation of the widow and the orphan the continued tax on their salt, their childrens' books and slate pencils, their tin-cups and water-pails, the increased tax upon their woolen and cotton clothing, their table cutlery, plates, cups and saucers, their blankets and wool hats will carry neither confidence nor comfort. It will rather make the thoughtful among them wonder why in the name of a merciful Creator a free Christian government will thus lade them with this weight of taxation and scrimp their narrow means still more for the benefit of those who are already rich.

The fact that in order to maintain their unnatural profits the manufacturers should urge arguments and make protestations in the very face of human nature and of instinctive moral laws is not so strange as that anybody should be found to believe them. They constantly tell us that their desire for high tariffs is dictated solely by the wish to continue or increase the amount of wages paid to their workmen, and that as for themselves and their own interests it would do them no good, for high duties produce domestic competition and invariably cheapen their products to a point lower than they would be if open to the competition of the world. This is the constant theme of every protection orator, every subsidized paper, and of all the manufacturers themselves, or the great bulk of them, who from time to time for twenty years past have swarmed before committees of Congress eager to swear to these facts in proof of their disinterestedness. Yet all men know that when a man makes anything for sale he naturally and instinctively seeks to obtain the very highest price for it and to obtain the very cheapest material and lowest rate of wages in the manufacture of it.

For between the minimum of cost and the maximum of price lies all the profit there is in the transaction. The nearer these approach the less there is of profit. Therefore when manufacturers or their advocates tell us that they wish such laws passed as will increase the cost of manufacture and lessen the price of their products they simply pervert the truth, and so outrageously that if one did not see it and hear it every day it could scarcely be believed that men in their senses would venture it. In fact, we know that whilst they enhance the price of their products by procuring high duties to be levied on those of their foreign competitors they purchase their labor in the unrestricted labor markets of the world.

It is claimed that the average of American wages are 50 per cent. higher than English wages and 100 per cent. higher than those of the continent of Europe generally. That being so, the average labor cost of all American manufactured products, being about 20 per cent. of the entire cost, covers the difference between American wages and European.

The average rate of tariff duties on all imported products being 47 per cent. of the entire value of the product, there remains 27 per cent. on all goods imported into this country to be added to the cost of all similar goods manufactured in this country over and above the equalization of foreign and domestic labor. To this must be added that large but undefined sum arising from the superior machinery of American manufacturers and the superior skill, strength, and intelligence of the American worker as is evidenced by the output of his products. Now, where does this excess beyond 20 per cent. go? There is but one receptacle for it—the pockets of the manufacturers. If any proof of this were wanting it will be found in the reports of the census of 1880, compiled under high protection auspices, which show conclusively that the profits of manufacturing are greater than those of any other American industry and far exceed many times over that sum which would equalize labor between America and Europe.

So far does this excess go that the people of the United States could well afford to pay themselves through the public Treasury the wages of every workingman in every protected factory in the country and strike off the excess in the tariff on foreign goods which is put there in the workingman's name. Let me illustrate: The cost of making a ton of steel rails in the United States was last year $27, of which $4.25 was paid in wages. This sum covered the difference between American and English labor. The duty on that ton of rails was $17, leaving $12.75 for the manufacturer's profit. Now, suppose that the people of the United States through their treasury should pay that $4.25 themselves and by law abolish the duty on steel rails, that would enable them to buy a ton of English rails laid down in New York for $20.50. Now, as the manufacturer only claims the duty for the sake of his workingman, and as the workman has already been paid for making the ton of rails he could afford to sell the people a ton for the same price, or at most, just enough more duty to exclude his foreign competitor. The rails would then cost the people $24.75, whereas they now cost $31.50.

Again, let me illustrate with pig-iron. The price of American pig for the last several months has averaged about $16.69; the labor cost in that ton was $2.46, which compensates the American maker for his higher labor. The price of a ton of Scotch pig within the same period has averaged about $11.25 laid down in New York, making a difference between the foreign and domestic pig $5.44 with the difference in labor already equalized. Then comes the duty of $6.72 on the Scotch pig which brings it up to $17.97.

This shows that the American maker gets the whole amount of duty on his iron minus $1.28, or $5.44. Now, suppose, as with the steel rails, that we pay the workman his $2.46 from the Treasury for making the ton of pig-iron and repeal the duty, the people would make $5.44 on every ton that they consumed. And if they tell us the truth, that they ask for a tariff on pig-iron solely or mainly to enable them to pay these higher wages to their workmen, of course our manufacturers could compete successfully with the British. But I fancy that they prefer to hold on to that $5.44, which they say they collect as trustees for their workmen. In short, after the manufacturer is compensated for the high wages he is obliged to pay the tariff then becomes simply a question as to how much the public will agree to give him for his own profit. The question of American labor and its protection is then absolutely disposed of. Beyond that the tax is simple and unmitigated plunder.

The fallacies which cluster about this question of labor are numerous. They are so absurd that I doubt if there be an intelligent and impartial thinker in the world who believes them. It is an entire error in the first place to assume that tariffs were ever intended in former times, when our fathers instituted customs duties, to increase wages. High wages were here first, as they always are in new and sparsely settled countries, and when manufactures were beginning with us they asked for tariffs to enable them to compete with foreign manufactures because wages were so much higher in this country than in the Old World, not to make them so. Recognizing the reasonableness of this request, moderate duties were placed by the legislators of that day upon nearly all European products for the purpose of raising revenue and to afford incidental protection to our young manufactures.

There were those then and for many years afterwards who regarded this as a dangerous precedent, and who predicted that the infants would never be satisfied with the small aid afforded them in their struggling days, but would acquire from time to time the wealth and power which would enable them to increase taxation in their benefit to an extent ruinous to consumers and the general public. Henry Clay, who was the illustrious friend of these infant manufactures, met these charges by a positive denial. In his letter to S. F. Bronson, of Georgia, in September, 1843, he said:

> The sum and substance of what I conceive to be the true policy of the United States in respect to a tariff may be briefly stated. In conformity with the principle announced in the compromise act, I think that whatever revenue is necessary to an economical and honest administration of the General Government ought to be derived from duties imposed on foreign imports. And I believe that in establishing a tariff of those duties such a discrimination ought to be made as will incidentally afford reasonable protection to our national interests. I think there is no danger of a high tariff being ever established; that of 1828 was eminently deserving that denomination. I was not in Congress when it passed, and did not vote for it; but with its history and with the circumstances which gave it birth I am well acquainted. They were highly discreditable to American legislation, and I hope, for its honor, will never be repeated.
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> My opinion that there is no danger hereafter of a high tariff is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have now taken a deep root. In their infancy they needed a greater measure of protection; but as they grow and advance they acquire strength and stability, and consequently will require less protection. Even now some branches of them are able to maintain in distant markets successful competition with rival foreign manufactures.

Yet the tariff of 1828, which he says was "highly discreditable to American legislation," was only 39 per cent., whilst our tariff is 47 per cent.

There can be no doubt, if he spoke his honest sentiments, but that if he were alive to-day he would bitterly oppose this substitute of the Finance Committee, and denounce it with all the force of his impetuous eloquence. But he was mistaken when he supposed that our manufactures having taken deep root would be satisfied, and there was no longer danger of high tariffs becoming the rule in this country. Still his honored name is to this day invoked in behalf of every tariff steal which is laid upon the American people.

To attribute our prosperity as a people and the maintenance of the wages of labor to the fact that we have imposed heavy taxes upon ourselves, is a statement utterly destitute of truth or logic. Not only common sense, but the history of the world refutes it. It is a fact well known that in Europe, whose civilization being similar to our own is a country to which we always look for comparison and precedent, the rate of wages is found to be in the inverse ratio to the amount of tariff taxes. Russia, which is the most highly protected country of Europe, pays the very lowest wages in her industries.

Through Austria, Italy, Germany, Belgium, and France you will find a gradually reducing tariff to be accompanied by a gradually increasing wage rate, until England is reached. There you find no protective tariff at all and you find the highest rate of wages in Europe,

equaling in some of their industries the wages paid our own people. It is therefore sheer nonsense or worse on the part of those who know better, to assert it to be an economic law that high tariffs produce high wages. If it were so of course the operation of the law would be the same everywhere under approximately the same circumstances.

If it be said that the different institutions and material situation of the nations of Europe would make a difference, then let us turn to our own country where the same laws and institutions, and practically the same physical conditions attend each State in the Union. We shall find on examination, as has been shown again and again in this Chamber and elsewhere, that wages vary in every State, in various parts of the same State, and often in the same county or city.

But perhaps the most absurd, not to say idiotic, of all assertions is that free trade (which is now understood to be any duty below 47 per cent.) is correct in theory but false in fact. By this is meant that though the theory of a proposition is absolutely correct, all the processes by which it is worked out and demonstrated to be a theory show that the theory is false. But so long as the manufacturers of our country can force people by law to buy all things which they use from them, at prices fixed by them in the absence of competition, whilst they themselves buy their labor and their food in markets cheapened by the competition of the whole world, they may be expected to continue to make and adhere to these assertions in the face of truth and experience.

The committee in their report dissent altogether from the estimates of the labor cost of a product adopted by the great bulk of political economists all the world over. That is, to take the wages paid to the laborer who converted the product from what was raw material for that process of manufacture, and ascertain what proportion those wages bear to the entire cost of the product. They contend that the labor cost proper of a finished product in its last form ready for consumption should be estimated by the wages paid all the way through the entire processes, from the time when the raw material was taken in the state that nature originally furnished it, and should be compensated by tariff duties embracing the whole.

In one sense this is true, but the committee in making their argument for the purpose of showing that the real labor cost of a finished article is about 90 per cent. of its total value, instead of 20, fail to remember or omit to mention the fact that every sale of the article includes the price of all labor previously expended upon it, and that the final sale of the finished article includes all the labor in all the previous forms of the material of which the article is composed. If the labor of digging a ton of ore from the earth was paid protective wages sufficient to equalize the difference between American and English labor in ore digging, when that ore was sold to the man who smelts it those wages were included in the price and paid for.

When the ton of pig-iron was finished, if the workman who smelted it was paid protective wages sufficient to maintain the natural difference between his wages and those of the English smelter, the sale of that ton of pig-iron to the man who rolls it into bars includes those wages, and they can not require to be compensated by another tariff. When the man who rolls it into bars sells to another artificer to be converted into still another form the high protective wages which he paid to his workmen are again included in the price; and so on to the last form in which it is consumed. And therefore, if the manufacturer of the ultimate form of the iron gets a protection which equalizes the difference between the wages he pays and those which are paid to the English workman who makes the same article, it is all that in reason or logic he could ask. But according to the theory of the committee, it would seem that he ought to be compensated by a duty which would cover the cost of every stroke of human labor which had been expended upon the product in all its history, not remembering that this had all been paid for and that every sale of the article, at every stage of its manufacture, had extinguished the question of labor.

Perhaps, however, there is no greater error connected with this subject or one more persistently urged than that concerning the advantages of the home market. It is very true that if a man could sell readily at home for remunerative prices all that he could produce, it would be a happy and a prosperous state of things. Especially would this be so if it could be done naturally and without a violation of the established laws of economy; in other words, if the home market invites him by offering the best prices. But when he desires to go somewhere else to sell his products and to buy his supplies he does so because that other place invites him by offering him the best market. His interest prompts him to accept it.

Then when the law steps in and forbids him to follow the dictates of his interest and tells him that he shall both buy and sell in the home market, that law is in violation of all good economy and of the highest and dearest rights of the people. And when it is found that all these praises of the home market emanate from the home producer whose wares are for sale, and that the law which forbids a man from seeking the best market is instigated likewise by the home producer, then both the praises and the law become the proper objects of suspicion to every honest mind. The farmers of this country are the victims of this selfish and illogical policy, more perhaps than any other class of the community. If protective tariffs operated to raise the price of his products as it does those of the manufacturer, then the restraint upon his rights would not be any worse than upon other people.

But unfortunately for him, whilst the price of all his supplies is increased by tariffs, the price of all his productions is lowered by the free-trade markets of the world. For him the great maxim of political economy that men should be permitted to sell in the highest market and buy in the cheapest is precisely reversed, and he is compelled to sell in the cheapest market and buy in the dearest. This is not true alone of his surplus products but of all; for the price which he obtains in the home market is fixed by the price of his surplus which he sells abroad. The manufacturer takes advantage of this; forces the farmer to pay him protected prices for his cloth, blankets, and all implements of husbandry, and then buys the farmer's flour, meat, and cotton at free-trade prices. A Southern farmer makes cotton for sale. The price which he obtains for it is that for which it would sell in Liverpool, minus freight, insurance, and commissions.

That Liverpool price is cheapened by the competition of the cotton grown in every quarter of the globe. Being compelled then to take that price, common fairness should permit him to buy his supplies in a market cheapened likewise by the prices of the world. In Liverpool or London he could thus buy the bagging and the iron ties to envelope his new crop, but protection says no—you can not do that unless you pay 50 per cent. duty on your bagging and 35 per cent. on your ties—the House bill proposes to make these ties free and reduce the bagging to 15 per cent. But this protection substitute does worse than even the present law, for whilst it does reduce the duty on bagging to 25 per cent. it increases the duty on the cotton-ties to 75 or 100 per cent. And the history of the Southern farmer's cotton is the history of the Western farmer's wheat.

The reasonable amount of prosperity which the country has enjoyed since the war has not been participated in by the agricultural classes, and little wonder when we consider how they are fleeced on all sides for the benefit of the others. The records of mortgages, of declining prices, amply testify to this. Nowhere has the decay of agriculture been more marked and lamentable than in several of the New England States where manufactures most abound. The statistics of these States completely refute the idea that manufactures furnish a home market which enriches the farmer. An intelligent and painstaking gentleman of this city has carefully collaborated the figures which illustrate this subject, and show beyond all question that whilst the cities and towns of New England have grown and become wealthy by the protective policy it has been at the expense and decay of the country at large. Here are his figures and conclusions:

"The protective policy has built up a number of considerable towns in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; and these towns have doubtless given encouragement to gardening in their immediate vicinities. But it is manifest that the incidental good has not reached beyond their immediate neighborhoods. It has been shown that the system, while enriching the capitalists and building the towns in these favored States, has at the same time depopulated and impoverished their northern neighbors. And not only are Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont injured by the artificial stimulant given by protection to manufacturing in the three more southern New England States, but it appears from the census returns that it serves to rob the country in the favored States themselves of population, and thus to ruin agriculture, which fosters the best citizenship, for the purpose of enriching the towns.

"The tendency of population in all our Northern country to rush to the cities is one of the social evils of the times, which legislation should do nothing to encourage if it can do nothing to check. This tendency in New England is particularly noticeable. Massachusetts, the richest and most populous of those States, is undergoing this process of popular congestion—this rushing of the social blood to the head—at a galloping rate. The population of that State in 1870 was 1,457,351, and in 1880 it had risen to 1,783,085. The increase was, therefore, 326,734. A table of the census report of 1880 shows the population of cities and towns in the United States of 4,000 inhabitants and upwards. From this table it appears that in 1870 the towns and cities of Massachusetts, of this description, contained 1,004,000, or not far from three-fourths of the population of the State, and that in 1880 the towns and cities of the State had gained 356,000, or 29,000 more than the State at large. In other words, that the population of the country had diminished to that extent, besides having been stripped of its natural increase.

"The population of Connecticut in 1870 was 537,454, and in 1880 it was 622,700. The increase was, therefore, 85,246. During the same years the population of the towns and cities of Connecticut rose from 289,801 to 370,057. The increase of the city population was therefore 80,255, or only 5,000 less than the gain of the whole State. In other words, the cities absorbed all the natural increase of the country population, except the 5,000, together with what they drew from Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and other sources.

"Rhode Island in 1870 contained 217,353 inhabitants, and in 1880 the population was 276,531. The increase was, therefore, 59,178. The city and town population of Rhode Island increased between those years from 159,900 to 236,200, or 76,300. The cities therefore gained

27,000 inhabitants more than the whole State, or, in other words, the fields and farms lost population to that extent. Instead of fostering agriculture and increasing the number of independent yeomanry, the effect of the protective system is to convert independent yeomanry into dependent factory operatives, liable to be 'locked out' at any moment from the factories and ejected from the tenements occupied by them.

"The depleting effect of protection upon the factory-hand 'breeding States,' is capable of further illustration. Thus the population of Maine in 1870 was 626,915, and in 1880 it was 648,936. The increase was therefore 22,021. The city and town population of Maine in 1870 was 150,630, and in 1880 it was 171,528. The increase was therefore 18,898. These figures show that the aggregate gain of the State was a trifle greater than that of the cities, but the proportionate gain was thirty-fold in favor of the cities. Indeed, if we deduct the increase of city population from that of the State at large the balance in favor of the country will be only 3,123.

"The natural increase of the country alone would be something like 100,000. The population of New Hampshire in 1870 was 318,300, and in 1880 it was 346,991. The increase therefore was 28,691. During the same period the towns and cities of New Hampshire increased from 83,456 to 104,105. The gain therefore was 20,649. This was 8,000 less than the aggregate increase of the State. But it must be remembered that the 8,000 represents the gain of the country, and that proportionate gain is vastly in favor of the cities.

"Vermont in 1870 had a population of 330,551, and in 1880 it was 332,286, showing a gain of 1,735 inhabitants. The towns and cities of Vermont increased in that period from 50,504 to 53,141. The gains of the towns was therefore 2,637, or 900 more than the State, and shows that the agricultural interests had been robbed by the protective policy of that number of citizens over and above the natural increase. The natural increase of population in America is at the rate of 25 per cent. in ten years, and the healthy vigorous population of Vermont at this rate would turn out 80,000 new-born Green Mountaineers in that time."

It thus appears that while protection does protect, and make nabobs of the capitalists engaged in manufacturing, it is destructive of agriculture, and that of all the people in America who support the protective policy, the last to give it aid should be the masses—that is to say, ninety-nine in a hundred of the people in New England—and especially the agricultural population.

These statistical statements, taken from the dry reports of the census, and the inferences necessarily deducible from them are amptly illustrated in a lively, descriptive magazine article of recent date. It is to be found in the April number of the Americam Magazine, and is entitled "The decay of rural New England." The article is both entertaining and instructive as well, although the light which it throws upon the effects of tariff legislation was doubtless never seen or thought of by the writer.

He begins as follows:

> The cultivation of the soil, we have been taught to believe, is the true foundation of national prosperity. If this theory is correct, the fact is, to say the least, startling that the population of the hill towns of New England is steadily declining, and its farming lands are gradually becoming unkempt wildernesses. Vast areas in Connecticut and Massachusetts, formerly covered with fruitful meadows and grain fields, are now "unprofitably gay" with tenacious sumac and odorous fern. The once-cultivated land is occupied by brush and brake, and the woodman plies his ax where seventy-five years ago were heard the ring of the scythe and the rustle of the sickle.

The writer describes many scenes of desolation where a few generations ago were fruitful fields and happy homes.

> For instance, there is a rural town in Connecticut, not 60 miles from New York by rail, and barely 12 from the busy sites of industry that dot the coast line of the Sound. From the windows of an old farm-house there on a June morning one may look down on a square mile of bush and forest, the rye and clover fields of a former generation. * * * The most casual observer must be impressed by the number of empty houses along the way. Count them. One on the corner where the road leaves the highway, another beneath the big elm on the hill, a third under the hill, a fourth on the next slope, four houses in five minutes' walk, and only one is inhabited. Opposite the occupied house is a deserted cellar with crumbling walls, and in the rear are rows of scrawny current bushes and beds of tansy and peppermint, defining what once was a garden plat. Octogenarians tell that in their day a little brown homestead was here, under whose roof Farmer Morgan and his wife reared a brood of ten children on the produce of the farm that stretched back yonder into what is now a waste. Walking further we count three similar ruins in adjoining fields, and across the brook a fourth, four vanished homes in a distance of a quarter of a mile.

There is much more of this melancholy description, but it must be passed over.

Assuming that it is not money, but lands, houses, and all kinds of personal property which constitute wealth, it is plain enough that whilst people are producing for their own supply that they are increasing in wealth. But when their powers of production become equal to their own supply, and a large surplus over and beyond that, then one of three things must happen: First, the production must stop at the home demand, in which case there is an enforced idleness to that extent which results in a loss of wealth; second, if the production continue, it can not result in an increase of wealth, because the excess or surplus of supply will reduce the value of all that is sold and no advance in wealth can be made; or, third, that surplus must be sold abroad to foreign nations. The protective policy forbids this selling abroad.

Its leaders openly proclaim that they intend to reserve the home market for their own people if they have to build a Chinese wall around the United States to exclude all foreign products. They have very nearly done so. The tariff reformers say that we must so modify our laws as to enable our producers to sell their surplus products in the markets of the world, and this can only be done by cheapening as much as possible all the material of production and by lowering the duties upon foreign products to a point that will reasonably permit foreigners to sell them in our markets. For one thing is certain, absolutely certain, we can not sell to them unless they can sell to us. Foreign trade is simply exchange. The idea that we can rigidly shut out the manufactured products of all the world and expect all the world to buy our surplus products is utterly absurd. Being out of our jurisdiction our laws can not force them to do it. Heretofore our vast area of public lands have brought to us annually a great concourse of immigrants constantly swelling our population and thereby enlarging the market for our productions. This to a great extent accounts for our past prosperity, but it is nearly at an end. Our public lands are rapidly passing into private hands—nearly all of the most desirable of them have been occupied. Naturally this vast swarm of immigrants will diminish, whilst the powers of production, constantly increasing, will make the surplus, day by day, far greater than the home demand. It is largely ahead of it now.

The South raises 7,000,000 bales of cotton per annum, 5,000,000 of which is surplus. What would she do with it in the home market? The surplus wheat of the West is rarely less than 150,000,000 bushels. Must it rot in the home market alongside of her vast surplus of meat and corn?

Then what will be done with it? Practically the manufacturers are answering the question every day. Whenever they find themselves with more on their hands than they can sell in the home market they shut down their works and turn their laborers into the streets. They stop production. To enable them to do this effectively all those engaged in the manufacture of the same article enter into combinations which they call "trusts," by which each one agrees under penalties to obey the orders of the "trust," to sell only at certain prescribed prices, to produce only so much or to stop production altogether, as may be decreed.

Meantime the consumer, finding prices at home put up on him, is not permitted to buy abroad by the tariff, must pay whatever prices are demanded of him for his supplies, and must sell his own productions in glutted markets at home. Thus is the American farmer situated by the beauties of this home-market theory which he is invited to support. Before him stands that high Chinese wall which excludes him from the outer world; behind him stand the trusts armed with corporate powers to inflict penalties upon any treacherous member who shall offer to sell him anything below the regulation price! The fact that any of them still hold the title deeds to their farms, still have decent clothing for their families and sufficient implements for their business, designate them as being special favorites of the gods, who have stamped them with the unmistakable marks of immortality.

In the matter of reduction of tax upon distilled spirits the tender mercies of the majority have only been awakened, as usual, for the benefit of the manufacturers. Alcohol used in the arts, as it is euphoniously expressed, is to be relieved of all tax. These "arts" are principally practiced by quacks, medical pretenders, and compounders of cosmetics, hair dyes, tinctures, and what are known to the world, especially undertakers, as patent medicines. The door for the entrance of fraud which is here opened is as much wider than that which they claim is opened by ad valorem duties on imports as is the Gulf of St. Lawrence than the Gut of Canso.

But it makes all the difference in the world who benefits by the fraud and who loses. Ad valorem frauds were supposed to benefit the importer to the loss of the home manufacturer, but when these were changed to compound duties and multiform classifications, by which the fraud was shifted and inured to the profit of the home manufacturer, the situation is pronounced satisfactory. So in this case the possibility of fraud is admitted, but inasmuch as it inures to the benefit of those "interested parties" who are waiting now to judge of our amendments, it was thought wise to remove the tax and risk the consequences. As to the provisions of the House bill which were intended to mitigate in some degree the harsh features of our internal-revenue laws, which are so much complained of by the small operators in distillation in many parts of our country, the stern regard of the majority for the rights of the Treasury has proven incorruptible.

Section 36 of the House bill provided that the Secretary of the Treasury might permit every farmer to distill his apples, peaches, and grapes free from all the regulations and exactions of the law except simply the payment of the tax. The substitute says no, let him comply with all the manifold and expensive red-tape of the law or let his fruit rot upon the ground, which it mostly does to his loss and that of the Government. The same section provides that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may in their discretion permit all small distillers of grain, consuming less than 25 bushels per day, to operate free from all restrictions except the payment of the tax which shall be assessed on the capacity of their distilleries.

The substitute refuses to allow this, on the ground that it opens the

door to fraud. Between the lines, it is not intended for the benefit of manufactures. Section 37 of the House bill provides that fruit brandy may be placed in warehouses, and the tax paid thereon when taken out for removal just the same as other spirits. Why not? But the substitute says no—the farmer who distills his fruit shall pay the tax as the brandy comes from the worm. The professional distillers alone shall have the privileges of a Government warehouse. Section 38 of House bill provides that when the distillery apparatus of a small distiller is seized for any violation of law it shall not be destroyed, but shall be sold as provided by existing law. The substitute says No! The property shall be destroyed whenever seized, though there may have been no legal adjudication of the guilt of its owner.

Section 39 of House bill provides that whenever it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the judge having jurisdiction that the health or life of any person confined in prison for any offense against these laws is endangered by such close confinement, the judge may release him upon bail or make any order necessary for his comfort and well-being. The substitute says No, let him suffer or die.

In sections 29, 30, and 31 of House bill, it is humanely provided, respectively, that the minimum of punishments provided by statute for offenses shall be repealed, leaving it to the discretion of the judge who acquaints himself with all the circumstances to say what punishment shall be inflicted; and that no warrants of arrest shall be issued upon affidavit of charges upon mere information and belief except by the regular officers of the law, and further provide that no fees shall be paid except where the defendant is convicted or the prosecution shall have been approved by the district attorney of the United States. And further, that all warrants of arrest for offenses against the United States laws shall be returnable before some judicial officer residing in the county of arrest, or if there be none such in that county, then in the county nearest the place of arrest. And lastly it is provided by section 33 (House bill) that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the Secretary of the Treasury may compromise cases and reduce or remit any fines, penalties, forfeitures, or assessments under internal-revenue laws. All of which moderate and reasonable provisions in behalf of the small distillers and farmers of the country, the majority indignantly reject. They are too small and humble to secure the attention of those intellects who have been so long struggling to—

Secure the proper relation between the rates imposed upon the numerous articles produced in our related and interdependent industries.

But as they had no time to give to the poor and the humble in the solving of this great problem in customs duties, of course they had none to bestow upon the farmer who distills 100 bushels of apples, or to consult the interest of any of the small fry who are affected by internal-revenue laws. It is a pity; but let us hope there is still justice abroad in the land which will some day be felt.

The attempt to characterize the House bill as sectional in its character because more articles of Northern production are affected by its reductions than of Southern production, is, to say the least, ridiculous. A table is furnished by the committee to show this. Of course nine-tenths of the manufactured products of the United States being made in the northern portion, the duties on which are complained of, necessarily the reductions affected the North more than the South. How could it be otherwise? If it were possible to reduce tariff duties with any show of justice or propriety *sectionally*, it could still be shown that the House bill does not reduce upon articles of Northern production disproportionately. The very reverse would be the fact, and is the fact. Largely over one-half of the proposed reduction by the substitute is made upon sugar, which is a purely Southern product; and rice, also grown in the South, and tobacco, which is mainly a Southern product. And it will not be pretended for a moment that of the productions which are subjects of Federal taxation the South makes anything like near one-half.

I have an abiding hope and belief that our countrymen will not be deceived by any of these proceedings with reference to reducing taxes. For the last ten years the Democratic party has made an honest and persistent effort to reduce them to the necessities of the Government, at every step of which they have been thwarted by the Republican party. They have never at any time had the power to reduce these taxes, for they have not had the possession at any one time of both branches of the legislature and the Executive.

The committee acknowledge in their report the imperious necessity of this reduction, but blame first the President of the United States for the existence of the surplus. They say he could have spent it in paying premiums of $30 on the hundred to their friends the bondholders. It is very true he could, and so he could have squandered it as countless millions have been squandered under the administration of his predecessors, but he did not. They say in the second place that the responsibility rests upon the party in control of the House of Representatives, and that this is the first bill which the House has sent them for reducing revenue in five years.

Nobody will be deceived by this. It is as well known to the country as it is to those Senators who make this assertion, that almost the entire body of the Republican minority in the House have resisted every bill which the Democrats have tried to pass within that period, and that they were able by the help of a handful of Democrats to defeat every bill for reducing taxes, and they know further that these few Democrats who aided them to defeat tariff reduction were applauded to the skies by them and made brevet patriots and moral heroes. They know further, and so does the country, that for ten years past no Republican in the House of Representatives, certainly no considerable number of them, has so much as proposed a bill to reduce tariff taxes.

Many of them have indeed, there as well as here, admitted the necessity of reduction; there is no complaint of the liberality of their admissions in this respect, but during the time which I have been a member of this body I can safely say that no Republican in either House, so far as my recollection goes, has made a bona fide movement to reduce any taxes in the maintenance of which the manufacturers of this country were interested. I challenge a contradiction of this. The result of every step or movement toward a change in the schedules has been an increase, and if anything was lowered it was by accident or oversight.

Now, the moderate propositions of the House bill—which could become a law in twenty-four hours if this Senate would agree to it—are met by a counter proposition which, it is admitted, can not become a law at this session of Congress, which is intended for delay, and which, if adopted, would leave most of the taxes which are complained of in full force and increase many of them. The House bill, on the contrary, is framed not only to relieve the Treasury, but to relieve the people, whilst this substitute is framed so as to relieve the Treasury and increase the burdens of the people. That is the difference between the two.

Mr. ALDRICH. I do not intend to try to answer any portion of the argument of the Senator from North Carolina, but I wish merely to call his attention to a misstatement in regard to the provisions of the substitute reported by the Finance Committee, which he was inadvertently led into, I imagine, by a misprint in the list of articles placed on the free-list. He stated that we had placed opium for smoking upon the free-list. If he will examine the measure as printed, he will find that we have not only not placed it upon the free-list but we have absolutely prohibited its importation. We have not placed it upon the free-list.

Mr. VANCE. Was that in the draught as it was first submitted to the committee?

Mr. ALDRICH. Never has it been in the bill in any other form except as an absolute prohibition of its importation.

Mr. VANCE. It is possible I may have been mistaken.

Mr. ALDRICH. I just want to call attention to that one error of fact at the present moment.

Mr. VANCE. I do not believe it is an error. I shall look into it, and if I find I have made an error I shall correct it. I believe it is so placed on the free-list by omission.

Mr. HISCOCK obtained the floor.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 7788) to establish a new land district in the State of Mississippi; and

A bill (H. R. 11042) for the relief of Motier Howe.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore:*

A bill (S. 869) for the relief of the sufferers by the wrecks of the United States steamer Tallapoosa;

A bill (S. 1856) to establish a life-saving station on the Atlantic coast between Indian River Inlet, Delaware, and Ocean City, Md.;

A bill (S. 3234) to abolish circuit court powers of certain district courts of the United States, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 3390) to create the Lincoln land district in the Territory of New Mexico;

A bill (S. 3573) granting the right of way to the Pensacola and Memphis Railroad Company over and through the public lands of the United States in the States of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and granting the right of way to said railroad company over and through the United States naval and military reservations near Pensacola, in the State of Florida; and

A bill (H. R. 7516) to increase the pension of Sylvester Stearns.

MRS. MARY M. ORD.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representative to the bill (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary M. Ord.

The amendment of the House of Representatives was in line 5, before the word "dollars," to strike out "one hundred" and insert "seventy-five."

Mr. DAVIS. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The amendment was concurred in.

JOSEPH FENNO, DECEASED.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1190) for the relief of Joseph Fenno, deceased.

The amendment of the House of Representatives was, in line 9, to strike out "Busby" and insert "Fenno."

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The amendment was concurred in.

RAILROAD THROUGH HOT SPRINGS RESERVATION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas.

The amendments of the House of Representatives were on page 2, line 26, before the word "years," to strike out "two" and insert "three;" and in page 2, line 27, after the word "act," to add:

Provided, That this condition as to construction within three years shall be construed as a condition precedent to the grant herein made, and in case of failure to so complete said road as provided, such failure shall of itself work a forfeiture of all rights hereunder.

Mr. BERRY. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House of Representatives.

The amendments were concurred in.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills, received from the House of Representatives, were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Eli J. Yamgheim;
A bill (H. R. 2702) granting a pension to Mary Ann Shook;
A bill (H. R. 2707) granting a pension to Baker Saine;
A bill (H. R. 3608) to grant an increase of pension to William E. Prince;
A bill (H. R. 4648) granting a pension to Jemima Sterling;
A bill (H. R. 4887) granting a pension to Charles E. Scott;
A bill (H. R. 5751) for the relief of Margaret M. Hatch;
A bill (H. R. 7887) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan C. Harrison;
A bill (H. R. 8521) for the relief of William A. Mathes;
A bill (H. R. 8549) granting a pension to Louisa Rogers;
A bill (H. R. 10199) for the relief of William E. Springstein; and
A bill (H. R. 10515) to increase the pension of William Gallagher.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (H. R. 1156) for the relief of Miles F. West;
A bill (H. R. 2896) for the relief of the heirs of John R. Treutlen;
A bill (H. R. 3765) for the relief of James Devine;
A bill (H. R. 5480) for the relief of John Iredell Meares;
A bill (H. R. 7151) for the relief of A. N. Kimball and sureties on his official bond as receiver of public moneys;
A bill (H. R. 9211) for the relief of Jesse Durnell;
A bill (H. R. 9297) for the relief of James Sims; and
A bill (H. R. 10099) for the relief of Melchisedec Robinson.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (H. R. 338) to clear the military record of J. George Ruckstuhl;
A bill (H. R. 2025) to place William J. Lowell on the rolls of the Arkansas Volunteers;
A bill (H. R. 3721) authorizing the President to appoint William English an officer in the regular Army of the United States; and
A bill (H. R. 11165) for the relief of John Gray.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs:

A bill (H. R. 4489) for the relief of J. M. Hogan; and
A bill (H. R. 5043) for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe of Indians, in the State of Wisconsin.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands:

A bill (H. R. 7788) to establish a new land district in the State of Mississippi; and
A bill (H. R. 11042) for the relief of Motier Howe.

The bill (H. R. 10606) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery, and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The bill (H. R. 246) for the relief of J. W. Patterson, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

J. W. PARISH & CO.

The bill (H. R. 9718) for the relief of J. W. Parish & Co. was read twice by its title.

Mr. MITCHELL. There is a similar Senate bill which was reported from the Committee on Claims. Unless there is objection, I suggest that the House bill lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection. The bill will lie on the table.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. HISCOCK. Mr. President——

Mr. PLATT. I wish to inquire whether the Senator from New York desires to go on this evening?

Mr. HISCOCK. I should prefer to go on in the morning.

Mr. COKE. The Senator from New York having the floor, I ask him to yield to me for a motion to go into executive session.

Mr. HISCOCK. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. COKE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 12 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 47 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 9, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 8, 1888.

TERRITORIAL JUDGES.

Louis W. Crofoot, of Dakota Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Dakota for the seventh judicial district.

Charles F. Templeton, of Dakota Territory, to be associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Dakota for the eighth judicial district.

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

John H. Oberly to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Edward D. Linn, of Texas, to be collector of customs for the district of Saluria, in the State of Texas.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *October* 8, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of Friday's proceedings was read and approved.

FORT WALLACE RESERVATION.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the bill (S. 3597) to provide for the disposal of the Fort Wallace military reservation in Kansas.

Mr. TURNER, of Kansas. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill. If the House will hear me but a moment I do not think there will be any objection to its passage. A bill passed the House after consideration some time ago, passed the Senate also, and was indorsed at that time by the Secretary of the Interior, and went to the President. The President, however, found that the survey of a certain 40 acres that is provided for in this bill conflicted with the surveys that had been made, and therefore vetoed the bill. In consultation with the Secretary of the Interior he informed me that they were willing, in fact in favor of the passage of the bill, but wanted the second section amended, so as to allow the Secretary of the Interior to cause a resurvey of that 40 acres in order to overcome the difficulty that presented itself in the original bill. For that reason I ask for the present consideration of the bill. It has already passed the Senate without objection.

The bill was read at length.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill? The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. TURNER, of Kansas, moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:
To Mr. LAFFOON, indefinitely, on account of important business.
To Mr. MCCLAMMY, on account of important business.
To Mr. SMITH, of Wisconsin, on account of important business.
To Mr. BAYNE, for Monday and Tuesday, October 8 and 9.
To Mr. MORGAN, on account of important business.
To Mr. NEWTON, an indefinite extension of his leave.
To Mr. CLARK, indefinitely, on account of important business.

WAREHOUSING FRUIT BRANDY.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on Ways and Means from the further consideration of the bill (S. 70) to provide for warehousing fruit brandy, and in doing so I will

make a statement concerning the subject. It is a bill, the substance of which is included in the bill that was passed by the House, and I believe that that portion of it is recommended by the Senate, granting authority for the bonding of spirits distilled from fruits, and it is approved by the Treasury Department. My reason for calling it up now is because if it is not passed now it will be of no benefit to those engaged in that industry this year, because there is no hope that general legislation on that subject can be passed in time to afford relief this year. I will state also that I submitted the proposition to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Judge KELLEY, and the gentleman from Indiana, General BROWNE, who were the only members of the committee on the other side of the House in the city. I also have the authority of the Democratic members, and I think there is no objection to it from any source. It is but a matter of justice.

Mr. MCKENNA. I did not hear the gentleman's explanation.

Mr. MASON. I would like to ask what is the purport of the bill?

Mr. MCMILLIN. The bill is to extend the act entitled "An act relating to the production of fruit brandy and to punish frauds connected with the same."

Mr. MASON. I simply state that I will not raise any technical objection, but simply wish to reserve the right to vote and speak against the measure.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of an act entitled "An act relating to the production of fruit brandy, and to punish frauds in connection with the same," approved March 8, 1877, be extended and made applicable to brandy distilled from apples or peaches, or from any other fruit the brandy distilled from which is not now required or hereafter shall not be required to be deposited in a distillery warehouse: *Provided*, That each of the warehouses established under said act, or which may hereafter be established, shall be in charge either of a storekeeper or of a storekeeper and gauger, at the discretion of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the Committee on Ways and Means being discharged from the further consideration of the bill, and to its consideration at this time? The Chair hears none.

Mr. HITT. I ask to have the bill reported again.

The bill was again reported.

Mr. MASON. It is a Senate bill.

Mr. MCMILLIN. It is a Senate bill and passed the Senate unanimously, I am informed.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MCMILLIN moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I ask to have printed in the RECORD the Senate report, which sets out more fully the reasons for the passage of the bill than I did in my statement.

There was no objection.

The report (by Mr. VANCE) is as follows:

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (S. 70) to provide for warehousing fruit brandy, have had the same under consideration, and report:

The law relating to the warehousing of grape brandies was passed in order to grant privileges to producers whose necessities were identical at that time with those of the producers of brandies now derived from other fruits. The object of this law originally was to enable distillers of grape spirits to keep in bond, without paying tax, for three years, their products until they should be sufficiently matured for the market. Prior to the passage of this law the distillers of grape spirits were required to pay the internal-revenue tax on the same at the time of distillation. This requirement of law imposed such onerous duties upon producers that many were prevented from utilizing wines which were useful only for distillation, or which constituted surplusage in the market on account of the heavy burden imposed upon them. Only a few who commanded sufficient capital were able to pay this tax at that time, as they were compelled to hold such goods sometimes for a considerable period in order to mature them for consumption.

At that time vine-growers, especially in California, were much disheartened, and in some cases were uprooting their vines and in many cases also were throwing away or destroying their wine products which could not be otherwise utilized. The practical value of the law which was passed to enable them to place their brandies in special bonded warehouses was speedily demonstrated; the interests of vine-growers immediately revived; instead of uprooting vines more were planted; many distilleries were established, and the market now is well supplied with choice and well-matured products. Distillation of brandies from fruit enables the producer to utilize material which may fail to find profitable markets otherwise. It enables the vine-grower to obtain profit from inferior goods which are not equal in quality to standard articles, and also to derive some benefit from such waste substances as are left over after expressing grape-juice from skins, seeds, and other residuum of the wine-press.

Practically the same necessities now prevail in all fruit-growing districts. Large quantities of many kinds of fruit, more especially apples and peaches, are being utilized through distillation, but owing to the fact that no bonding privileges are extended to this class of products there is not only great hardship experienced from the levying of the internal-revenue tax upon the same, but also great incentive to fraud. It has been observed also that where the tax on spirits intended for consumption is levied and collected at the time the goods are first produced, the excessive cost of the same, owing to the imposition of the tax, causes holders to force them upon the market long before they are matured and fit for use as beverages. It is therefore greatly to the interest, not only of the producer and the Government, but also of the consumer, that this bill extending these bonding privileges to the producers of fruit brandies should be enacted into law. As a means to prevent fraud it would certainly result in an increase of public revenue, and is therefore, properly speaking, a revenue measure.

This measure passed the Senate in the last Congress (Forty-ninth), and your committee again recommend its passage.

COL. JAMES C. DUANE.

Mr. HERMANN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 45) for the relief of James C. Duane.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of $648, lawful money, be, and is hereby, appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to reimburse Col. James C. Duane, brevet brigadier-general, United States Army, for losses incurred in his office as engineer of the third light-house district through the forgeries committed by a clerk in his office, Henry J. Buete (who has fled the country), in raising his official checks to amounts greater than those for which they were drawn and signed, between the 1st day of January and the 23d day of June, 1879, without any negligence or fault on the part of said Col. James C. Duane.

There was no objection.

Mr. HERMANN. Mr. Speaker, this is a most worthy claim. It has been long delayed, but at last, I hope, justice will be done to one of the most conscientious, gallant, and laborious officers of the Army. The amount involved is only $648, and I call up this claim now, as I have frequently endeavored to do many times before, although the general is not a constituent of mine; and to do this I lay aside claims of my own constituents in order that this bill may be considered. As the report so fully shows, General Duane was detailed as engineer for the third light-house district on Staten Island, New York, in 1879, and during that service a clerk in his employ, with most systematic and remarkable cunning, forged and raised certain checks and vouchers for small amounts for laborers and material men's accounts for light-houses, and through which increased sums were fraudulently inserted, and General Duane was held responsible and actually paid the fraudulent sums in the settlement of his accounts. The Light-House Board recommended to the Treasury Department its repayment, and the Secretary of the Treasury recommended its payment to Congress, or rather submits the first recommendation to us, and I can assure gentlemen that, after a most careful and thorough examination, no blame attaches to the general; but every consideration of justice and equity warrants a return payment to him, and I trust the bill will pass.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. HERMANN moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

LINCOLN, NEBR., A PORT OF DELIVERY.

Mr. RICE. I ask unanimous consent to take from the House Calendar and put on its passage now the bill (H. R. 10606) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery, and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Lincoln, in the State of Nebraska, be, and is hereby, constituted a port of delivery in the customs collection district of New Orleans, and that the privileges of the seventh section of the act approved June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," be, and the same are hereby, extended to said port. And that there shall be appointed at said port a surveyor with compensation at $250 per annum and the usual fees.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the bill, which was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. RICE moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ADAM L. EPLEY.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Claims be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 1137) for the relief of Adam L. Epley, and that the bill be now considered.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Adam L. Epley, the son and only heir of John D. Epley, deceased, late a private in Company F, One hundred and fifty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteers, the arrears of pension due or allowable at the time of his death, and heretofore authorized to be paid the said John D. Epley, now deceased, under pension certificate No. 296437.

There being no objection, the Committee on Claims was discharged from the further consideration of the bill, and the House proceeded to its consideration.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

HENRY LECOMTE.

Mr. TILLMAN. On behalf of the Committee on Military Affairs, I ask unanimous consent that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of joint resolution S. R. 112, and that the resolution be now taken up for immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 112) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Henry Lecomte, of Switzerland.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America

in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, authorized to permit Henry Lecomte, of Switzerland, to receive instruction at the Military Academy at West Point: *Provided*, That no expense shall be caused to the United States thereby: *And provided further*, That in the case of the said Lecomte the provisions of sections 1320 and 1321 of the Revised Statutes shall be suspended.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this joint resolution?

Mr. ROGERS. Reserving the right to object, I would like to hear some explanation of the matter.

Mr. TILLMAN. This is simply a matter of international courtesy which has been often practiced by our Government toward foreign countries, and by them toward us. The object of the resolution is simply to allow the son of a distinguished Swiss officer, who served with honor in our Federal Army during the civil war, and who is now a colonel in the Swiss army, to educate his son at the West Point Academy at his own expense.

Mr. ROGERS. That explanation is all that I care for.

Mr. FULLER. One word. What does the gentleman mean when he says, "at his own expense?" Will this young man pay for his own rations, clothing, and everything of that sort?

Mr. TILLMAN. Yes, sir. I hold in my hand a letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting a letter from the representative of the Swiss Government to this country asking this courtesy. Several times American youths have graduated at the great military academy of France, at St. Cyr; and only a short time ago an American cadet graduated with the highest honors at the English military academy at Woolwich. The granting of international courtesy in this way is, as I have remarked, a very common thing; but in order to satisfy gentlemen I will ask that the letter of the Secretary of State and that of the Swiss minister be read.

Mr. FULLER. All I wish to say is this: If there is to be any expense to the Government connected with this matter, I desire to object; for we have scores of American youths who would be very glad to receive education at the Military Academy.

Mr. TILLMAN. There will be no expense except the little that may arise from the fact of one more student receiving tuition and quarters, which amounts to practically nothing.

Mr. HITT. I will ask the gentleman whether there are not at West Point to-day several students from foreign countries whose admission has been authorized in this manner?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly; and I am astonished that any member should intimate an objection. These evidences of international courtesy are extended, I believe, by all civilized nations to each other; and there certainly should be no hesitation when it is proposed that the United States grant such a courtesy to the sister Republic of Switzerland, which has no military academy of its own.

There being no objection, the Committee on Military Affairs was discharged from the further consideration of the joint resolution, and the House proceeded to its consideration.

The joint resolution was ordered to a third reading, and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. TILLMAN moved to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] will please obtain from the committee-room and furnish to the Clerks the original engrossed copy of the Senate bill.

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly I will do so, Mr. Speaker, and would have sent it to your desk instead of the printed copy, but I had just entered the Hall when I heard a motion for the regular order called, and I resolved to push the consideration of even a printed copy of the resolution to-day, because I have been waiting patiently and begging for a week to bring this matter up and I determined to beg no longer, but to object to everything and call a quorum till I succeeded in passing it, as I have long since become convinced that while the best method of getting anything out of a woman is to beg, the best way to obtain a favor or even justice from a man is to fight. [Laughter.]

J. W. PATTERSON.

Mr. PETERS. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 246) for the relief of J. W. Patterson, and put it upon its passage.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the proper accounting officers of the Treasury be, and they are hereby, authorized and required to pay to J. W. Patterson, late postmaster at Humboldt, Kans., the sum of $2,634.23, of which said Patterson was robbed on or about September 20, 1870, and which he has accounted for to the Government; said robbery having occurred without neglect or other fault on the part of said Patterson.

The committee recommend the adoption of the following amendment:

Strike out "$2,634.23" and insert "$617.73."

There being no objection the bill was considered, the amendment adopted, and the bill as amended ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. PETERS moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

NICKOLAS LEUSCHEN AND OTHERS.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky I demand the regular order.

Mr. SCOTT. I hope the gentleman will yield to me for a moment to ask consent to pass a bill.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I will hear the gentleman's request.

Mr. HAUGEN. I demand the regular order.

Mr. SCOTT. This bill is in the interest of a poor sailor; it carries no appropriation. The man served four years during the war——

Mr. HAUGEN. I withdraw the objection.

Mr. SCOTT. Then, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to concur in the Senate amendments to the bill (H. R. 4601) to amend the naval record of Nickolas Leuschen, Peter Leuschen, and Loth Possum.

I will state that this bill passed the House of Representatives in this session by unanimous consent. It went to the Senate and was there verbally amended, which did not affect the bill. It passed the Senate with the amendment, and is now on the Speaker's table. I merely ask to concur in the Senate amendment.

There being no objection, the Senate amendment was considered and concurred in.

ANTHONY L. WOODSON.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8962) for the relief of Anthony L. Woodson, of Woodsonville, Ky., having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment to said bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the amount "$3,666.20" and insert "$1,130.40." Strike out all after the word "use," in line 9, the following words: "And the further sum of $2,300, being the value of engineer stores taken in the same way for the construction of forts, stockades, etc., at or near Mumfordsville, Ky.," to which the Senate agree.

W. J. STONE,
J. M. BROWER,
T. R. STOCKDALE,
Managers on the part of the House.

JOHN C. SPOONER,
JAMES K. JONES,
JOHN H. MITCHELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The following statement by the House conferees accompanied the conference report:

The bill as it passed the House appropriated $3,666.20 for quartermaster's stores and $2,300 for material used in building fortifications. The Senate struck out the $2,300, thus declining to pay for the engineer stores. The committee of conference find that in addition to the amount allowed for quartermaster stores, fencing was used for fires by the troops to the amount of $434.20 in value, thus making $1,130.40 agreed on by the committee.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, moved to reconsider the vote by which the report was agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

WILLIAM H. CAYCE.

Mr. WHEELER. I submit the following privileged report from the Committee on Public Lands. I am instructed to report back this resolution, and recommend its adoption.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby requested to transmit to this Congress all the papers and records in the case of St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad *vs.* William H. Cayce, in contest concerning 120 acres of land in Miller County, Arkansas, to the end that the action taken by the Forty-fifth Congress June, 1878, be called up and be reviewed by this Congress, wherein said land was declared to be public land of the United States and subject to pre-emption entry, and that pending said review by Congress the Secretary of the Interior be requested to take no further action in the case of said lands.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama sends up the printed resolution. He will please furnish the clerks with the original engrossed resolution during the day.

Mr. WHEELER. I will do so.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. WHEELER moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

BRIG. GEN. ABSALOM BAIRD.

Mr. HITT. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House from the further consideration of the joint resolution (S. R. 59) authorizing Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird, United States Army, to accept from the President of the French Republic a diploma conferring the decoration of Commander of the National Order of the Legion of Honor.

The SPEAKER. The joint resolution will be read, subject to objection.

The joint resolution is as follows:

Resolved, etc., That Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird, of the United States Army, is hereby authorized to accept from the President of the French Republic a diploma conferring upon him the decoration of Commander of the National Order of the Legion of Honor.

The report (by Mr. HITT) is as follows:

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 59) authorizing General Baird to accept from the President of the French Republic a diploma conferring the decoration of Commander of the Legion of Honor, beg leave to submit the following report, and recommend its adoption:

Last year the French Government invited the President of the United States to send two officers of our Army to France to witness certain maneuvers, on a grand scale, of the French army, to take place in the following September.

Similar invitations have been extended annually by France to this Government as to those in Europe; and it has been the custom of the great European powers to always send officers of distinguished reputation and abil ty, and also high rank, whose name and position naturally designated them as fit representatives of powerful countries.

With us the custom has been different, and our Government has restricted its selections to officers, without much regard to their rank, who happened to be on leave of absence in France at the time appointed for the grand maneuvers.

Our Government has therefore been represented by officers much inferior in age and rank to those representing other countries, which has sometimes caused embarrassment to the French Government in its desire to pay us the compliments that our position among nations warrants and the friendly disposition of the French Republic made it most willing to offer.

To remove this source of embarrassment, General Sheridan recommended the selection of officers of high rank, and the President appointed for this duty of representing our Army at the grand maneuvers in France, Brig. Gen. A. Baird, Inspector-General, and Maj. Henry C. Hasbrouck, Fourth Artillery, commandant Military Academy.

The gratification of the French Government at the action of our own, in designating a general officer of the rank and reputation of General Baird, was shown in many ways; by the marked and formal courtesy with which he was received and treated, and the facilities afforded him during the maneuvers, which were witnessed by about sixty representatives of different governments, eight of whom were general officers.

To a number of these representative officers, including General Baird, of high rank and distinguisned personal history, the French Government gave the diploma of a Commander of the Legion of Honor, as an expression of the friendly feeling of the French Government for our Republic, and its action in sending a general officer of such reputation and experience, and as a recognition of the achievements and character of General Baird.

This diploma is usually given by the French Government to encourage high endeavor in every honorable pursuit, but chiefly military. It is given to the man who writes a great book, or discovers a great invention, but especially to one who is distinguished as a soldier.

Your committee see no reason why this expression of friendship for the United States and its representative by the French Government should be refused by this Republic alone among all those governments to whose representatives similar diplomas were accorded, and therefore recommend that the resolution granting permission to General Baird to accept the diploma be adopted.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., June 9, 1887.

SIR: In response to the polite and gratifying invitation of the French Government, conveyed by their minister in this country through the Secretary of State, for our Government to send two Army officers to witness certain maneuvers on a grand scale of the French Army, which are to take place in September next, I have the honor to recommend to the President that Brig. Gen. A. Baird, Inspector-General, and Maj. Henry C. Hasbrouck, Fourth Artillery, commandant of cadets at the Military Academy, be selected to represent our Army and sent to France for this purpose.

General Baird was not long ago appointed as Inspector-General of the Army in consequence of his eminent merit and the distinguished services he has rendered, both in the field during the war and in the more routine matters pertaining to his profession, and his worth as a man and efficiency as a soldier mark him as a fit representative of our Army.

Major Hasbrouck has also a fine record in the field, and for the past five years has rendered valued service as commandant of cadets at the Military Academy, and by virtue of that position and his professional abilities has been the officer to whom all questions upon tactics have been submitted and whose decisions have been adopted as the ruling for the Army. It is ultimately my intention to appoint him as president of a board to revise the tactics for our service, and the experience which he can, if detailed, now gain abroad in witnessing the maneuvers of very much larger bodies of men than can be brought together in this country would be of inestimable value in this connection.

The French Government has annually extended these invitations to this nation and to those of Europe. From the foreign countries it has always been the custom to send officers of distinguished reputation and ability and also of high rank, whose name and position naturally designated them as fit representatives of powerful contries.

With us the custom has been different, and, influenced by what has all the appearance of the melancholy attending great poverty, we have restricted our selections to some of those officers, without very much regard to their rank, who happened to be on leave of absence in France at the appointed time. This has resulted in causing our Government to be represented by officers much inferior in age and rank to those going from other countries, and the French Government, in its desire to pay to us the compliments that our position among nations warrants, has been much embarrassed in the entertainment of our chosen representatives. It is within our power to remove this source of embarrassment, and I think that courtesy to the French nation requires such action on our part, and we can reach this end by selecting officers of the rank I have recommended.

Our Army, it is true, numbers but 25,000 men, but it is the army of a nation of 60,000,000 people, and as good an army for its numbers as that of any other country on the globe, and its officers are especially distinguished for their ability and integrity.

The limited strength of our military force forms one of the most potent reasons for furthering every measure which will promote its efficiency, and in a time of peace I know no better method of reaching this object than is now offered us in the invitation of the French Government, provided we designate men whose rank, position, training, and powers of observation will enable them to obtain opportunities for the examination of the improved methods abroad and the ability to absorb and explain what they see.

With this object in view no better officers could be chosen than those I have recommended, and I strongly urge that their detail may be ordered.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Lieutenant-General, Commanding.

Hon. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT,
Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, June 27, 1887.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith an order designating you, under an invitation extended by the Government of France, as one of the officers of the United States Army to witness the maneuvers of the French army in September next.

The object in designating officers for this duty is not only to recognize an international compliment, but also to obtain information that will be useful to our own Army.

The Secretary of War desires you to give particular attention to such matters as are not usually given in text-books, and that, as soon as practicable after your return, you prepare and transmit to this office a report of your observations, embodying whatever may, in your judgment, be of value or interest to the military service of the United States.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. C. DRUM, *Adjutant-General.*

Brig. Gen. ABSALOM BAIRD,
Inspector-General Uni ed States Army, Washington, D. C.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. HITT moved to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

CANCELLATION OF CERTAIN INDIAN PATENTS.

Mr. PEEL, by unanimous consent, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, reported back favorably the bill (S. 3433) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the surrender of and cancel land patents to Indians in certain cases.

Mr. PEEL. I ask unanimous consent that this report may be now considered, instead of being referred to the Calendar. It is a bill the Secretary feels much interest in.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read, subject to the right of objection.

The bill was read at length.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. PEEL moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. This being Monday, the regular order is the call of States and Territories for the introduction of bills and joint resolutions for reference.

BRIDGES ACROSS THE KENTUCKY RIVER.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky, introduced a bill (H. R. 11573) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

SUPPRESSION OF INFECTION IN UNITED STATES.

Mr. DOUGHERTY introduced a joint resolution (H. Res. 230) to suppress infection in the interstate commerce of the United States; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit what I believe to be a question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MASON. On the 27th day of August I introduced the following resolution:

Whereas a large sum of money belonging to the United States of America has been loaned to the national banks of this country by direction of the present Administration; and

Whereas said large sums of money have been so loaned to the said banks without interest, thereby giving advantage to such banks over other banks and private individuals not having the use of public funds without interest; and

Whereas, also, it is charged in the public press, upon information and belief, that those national banks are being called upon and requested to contribute to the campaign funds of the national Democratic committee representing the present Administration; and

Whereas it is also charged, upon information and belief, that said banks are contributing large sums of money to said committee in consideration of such deposits without interest, which said contributions should go to the United States Treasury instead of the national Democratic committee; and

Whereas such conduct, if true, on the part of the present Administration and the banks is detrimental to the best interests of the people of the United States and a dangerous practice to establish for the use of public moneys: Therefore,

Resolved, That a special committee of five members be appointed with full and complete power to send for persons and papers, and to investigate the subject-matter herein fully and completely, and ascertain and report to this House, first, the amount of money belonging to the Government of the United States held on special dep sit by the different banks of the country; second, the amount of interest, if any, paid by said banks; third, at whose instance such deposits are made and by what authority of law the same was done; and, fourth, what, if any, contributions have been asked, demanded, or received by the national committee representing the present Administration from the said banks, their agents, officers, directors, stockholders, or employés; the amount asked and received; by whom and to whom paid in each case, and to report the same at as early a date as practicable to this House.

Without caring particularly to discuss it, unless it is desired, I wish to state that under the rules of the House, as I understand it, this resolution should have been reported back within ten days. It was re-

ferred to the Committee on Banking and Currency on the day mentioned. I desire now——

The SPEAKER. Is it a resolution of inquiry?

Mr. MASON. It is a resolution of inquiry, and also asks the appointment of a special committee to investigate the subject-matter therein specified.

The SPEAKER. Under the rules of the House, resolutions of that character are not privileged. The only privileged resolutions are those calling upon the heads of Departments for information.

Mr. MCMILLIN. And I make the further point that the resolution embracing one subject-matter which is privileged and another that is not privileged loses its privileged character by reason of embodying the non privileged matter.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has so decided. If the gentleman desires to have a privileged resolution on the subject, he had better introduce one calling for information simply upon the head of the Department, and not asking an investigation by a special committee of the House.

The rule of the House is explicit upon the subject.

Mr. MASON. If the Chair will permit me a moment, I will state that when I introduced this resolution charging the deposit, for instance of $60,000,000 in national banks without interest, and charging upon information and belief that by reason of these deposits certain sums are being solicited to aid a certain campaign committee, as I understand the rule, I asked for information from the department, and at the same time asked for the appointment of a special committee to ascertain what, if any, contributions or solicitations are being made by the national banks by reason of these deposits. Now, if it is not a question of privilege, I desire to move that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the resolution, and that it be put upon its passage.

Mr. MCMILLIN. That motion is not in order.

The SPEAKER. That can only be done by unanimous consent. The Chair thought the gentleman's motion was of a privileged character when he asked for recognition.

Mr. MASON. I understood so from other and older members of the House. I now ask unanimous consent [cries of "Regular order!"] that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the resolution, and that the same be put upon its passage.

Mr. HEARD. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield for a question?

Mr. MASON. Certainly.

Mr. HEARD. Will the gentleman permit an amendment to his resolution in the same line of inquiry.

Mr. MASON. I will permit it.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded, which cuts off amendments and all debate.

Mr. MASON. I desire to know who objects?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] demands the regular order. This being Monday——

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. A few moments since I introduced a resolution appropriating $200,000 for the suppression of yellow fever in the interstate commerce and the Chair referred that resolution to the Committee on Commerce; should it not be referred to the Committee on Appropriations?

The SPEAKER. The Committee on Appropriations is not authorized to consider any bills except those making appropriations for the support of the Government, and this resolution by its title proposes to suppress infection in the interstate commerce. But if the gentleman desires to refer it to the Committee on Appropriations the Chair will submit the motion to the House.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I would state that this resolution, except in the amount to be appropriated, is identical with the one that had been referred to the Committee on Appropriations and reported to the House. Therefore I make the motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Florida moves to refer the resolution, which he introduced a moment ago to the Committee on Appropriations. If there be no objection, it will be so referred.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. This being the second Monday of the month, the remainder of the day is set apart for the consideration of business from the Committee on the District of Columbia if claimed by that Committee.

Mr. WHEELER. I ask unanimous consent that gentlemen having reports to make be permitted to file them with the Clerk.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

FILING OF REPORTS.

The following report was filed by being handed in at the Clerk's desk:

CAMPS FOR YELLOW-FEVER REFUGEES.

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, reported back favorably the bill (H. R. 11530) to provide camps for yellow-fever refugees; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

DISTRICT BUSINESS.

Mr. HEMPHILL. I will state, Mr. Speaker, that the only business the Committee on the District of Columbia have is such as will invoke some opposition, and in view of the fact that the House is so thin the committee has determined not to ask for the consideration of that business.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The next business in order is the call of committees, but unanimous consent has just been given that gentlemen having reports to make can file them with the Clerk for reference to the appropriate calendars.

Mr. NELSON. I ask if the resolution of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. MILLIKEN] is not now the unfinished business.

The SPEAKER. There is an hour for the consideration of bills and resolutions. The hour begins at 2 minutes to 1 o'clock.

RAILROAD AT HOT SPRINGS, ARK.

Mr. MCRAE. I call up for consideration the bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservations in the State of Arkansas.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is informed that bill is in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MCRAE. I move the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of considering the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is this a private bill?

Mr. MCRAE. It is.

The SPEAKER. Then it is not in order. The rule confines the hour to the consideration of public bills which have been reported by committees on previous days.

YELLOWSTONE PARK.

Mr. MCRAE. Then I call up Senate bill 283.

The SPEAKER. That bill is in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MCRAE. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of considering this bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole for the purpose of considering the bill the title of which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

To amend sections 2474 and 2475 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, setting apart a certain tract of land lying near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a public park.

Mr. MCRAE. I move to dispense with the first reading of the bill and that it be now considered by sections.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object. I want to know what the bill is.

The question was put on dispensing with the first reading of the bill; and the Chair announced that the "noes" seemed to have it.

Mr. WHEELER. The bill is very long, and there is but little change from existing law.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I want to know what the bill is.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will announce that the gentleman has the right to have the bill read, and inasmuch as it is not waived by unanimous consent, the bill will have to be read.

The Clerk proceeded to read the bill.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR (before the reading of the first section was concluded). Mr. Chairman, I wanted to know what change was made by this bill in the boundaries; and having learned that, I withdraw the demand for the further reading.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member demand the further reading of the bill?

Mr. NELSON. I wish to inquire whether this bill has been before the Committee on Public Lands of the House?

Mr. MCRAE. It has been.

Mr. NELSON. Is it a unanimous report?

Mr. MCRAE. I think it is. There is no minority report; and I think the bill meets the approval of all the members of the committee.

Mr. NELSON. I wish the gentleman would state to what extent the bill changes the boundaries of the reservation.

Mr. MCRAE. It enlarges the reservation. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER], who will explain the matter.

Mr. WHEELER. This bill makes an enlargement in the reservation to the extent of about 1,600 square miles. It takes off a little strip in Montana Territory and another little strip in Idaho Territory——

Mr. NELSON. Does it enlarge or diminish the reservation?

Mr. WHEELER. It enlarges it, as I have said, about 1,600 square miles.

Mr. NELSON. Is it recommended by any of the Departments of the Government?

Mr. WHEELER. I think that the Department recommended the Senate bill; we have made some amendments in it, but nothing material in the way of additions, except the proviso regarding the railroad; with that exception this is substantially the bill as recommended by the Department.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will finish the reading of the first section.

Mr. HATCH. Before the Clerk proceeds I desire to occupy the floor a few minutes. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] yields to me.

Mr. MCRAE. For a few minutes.

Mr. HATCH. I hope the gentleman will not limit me. I shall not occupy any more time than may be necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk has not concluded the reading of the first section of the bill.

Mr. HATCH. I desire to occupy time in general debate before the reading of the bill by sections is begun.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. HATCH said: Mr. Chairman, I am sure that under the circumstances the Committee of the Whole will pardon me if I digress somewhat from a discussion of the features of this bill, as I have not had during the last few days an opportunity to be in the House to make a statement which I now desire to make.

A short time ago, in a speech which I delivered in my own district, in the State of Missouri, and repeated at Williams' Grove, Pennsylvania, I made the statement that farm implements and farm machinery manufactured in this country were exported and sold to foreign buyers, both in Canada, and in Mexico, as well as in Europe, at lower prices than they were sold to the American farmer. I said further that I had authority for the statement that the Oliver Chilled Plow Works, at South Bend, Ind., exported their plows to Canada and sold them there, or to Canadian dealers, at an average price $4 less than they are sold to the American farmer. I send to the Clerk's desk to be read a letter addressed to a gentleman in my State by the establishment referred to.

The Clerk read as follows:

SOUTH BEND, IND., *August* 31, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 29th ultimo is at hand and carefully noted. We do not suppose that Hon. W. H. HATCH, Congressman from your district, would willfully misrepresent us, but the statements made in his speech at your place on the 28th instant have no foundation in fact whatever. The truth is, we have little or no trade in Canada, as the 35 per cent. duty most effectually shuts us out from that market. There may be imitations of our plows, produced by Canadian manufacturers, but we know nothing of them and are in no wise responsible for them. We do not favor foreign trade in the least, and all reports that we do are false. We export our plows largely to Europe, Mexico, South America, and elsewhere, but buyers for those countries pay us exactly the same price that American dealers do. As to the retail price, take your number 40, which is our standard plow. It is retailed in this country, complete with wheel and jointer, for $14, while the same plow is sold in Great Britain for several dollars more. It is gratifying to us to have our plows so well thought of abroad, but we can say without egotism that their popularity is due solely to their merit.

The United States is the home of the plow and its manufacture has been brought nearer to perfection in this country than elsewhere on the face of the globe. Competition is brisk; factories are plenty, and not only do Americans produce the best plows made, but they are sold cheaper to the user here than in any foreign land. The statements made by Mr. HATCH are not new, and each Presidential year "bob up serenely" as a factor in politics, but we are somewhat surprised that a gentleman of his reputation should make such charges without satisfying himself of their truth. What we have said to you is the truth, pure and simple, and we are prepared to substantiate the same on any or all occasions.

Mr. P. M. Smith, of your place, writes us in regard to this same subject, and we reply to him as we do to you. Thanking you both for calling our attention to the matter, and hoping that we may be set right in your community, we beg to remain,

Yours, truly,

OLIVER CHILLED PLOW WORKS.

H. F. MILLAN, Esq., *Kirksville, Mo.*

Mr. HATCH. I ask the Clerk now to read my reply to that letter, as a foundation for official documents which I shall submit in a few moments.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., October 8, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter, addressed to H. F. Millan, esq., Kirksville, Mo., dated August 31, and subsequently published in the Kirksville Journal and other Republican papers in Northeast Missouri, has just been brought to my attention, the delay having been caused by my unavoidable absence from this city from September 13 until Saturday last.

In a speech delivered by me in Kirksville, Mo., August 28, I stated that farm implements and machinery manufactured in this country and sold to American farmers were exported to foreign countries, notably Canada and Mexico, and after paying a duty to such countries were retailed at a less price than in this country, and, instancing the Oliver chilled plows, stated further that I was informed by good authority that these plows were shipped to Canada and sold at retail to the Canadian farmer at an average of $4 less than the same plows could be bought by the American farmer.

I certainly had no intention of "misrepresenting" the facts or doing your works or any other company in the United States the slightest injustice; on the contrary, I had the highest authority for the statements made, and now have abundant evidence to sustain them.

At the great Interstate Grange meeting at Williams' Grove, Pennsylvania, August 30, I reiterated these statements, without mentioning individual instances, in the presence of one of the largest, most intelligent, and well-informed assemblages of American farmers that has congregated this year, and also in the presence of the largest display of farm implements and machinery to be seen on this continent, with their respective owners or representatives in charge.

I invited, pressed for, and challenged a denial from any such owner or representative present but in vain. Not one of them dared, in such a presence and with the facts at hand, to venture a denial of the truth of these statements.

You are the only manufacturing company in the United States, so far as I know, whose goods have been, or are being, exported for sale, or sold to foreign buyers, that have ventured upon a denial of the facts stated.

In regard to the prices of sewing machines, reapers, mowers, and other high-priced farm machinery, in this country and Europe, as well as Canada and Mexico, no well informed person of respectability will question the oft-repeated and proven statement that such American manufactured articles are sold at greatly reduced prices abroad over those charged the American purchaser.

I am somewhat surprised at the character of your denial; it is evasive and unsatisfactory. You admit that you have some trade with Canada, but are careful to omit that country from the list of those enumerated to which you export your plows. But this will not avail you, nor will the insinuation that "imitations of our plows produced by Canadian manufacturers" may be sold for less money, or be the ones referred to, in the light of the facts so plainly stated in the official correspondence, copies of which I herewith submit to your careful consideration. My statements at Kirksville and elsewhere were made on the authority of Mr. Washington, and I now submit his own statement of the facts from which he derived his information.

I also invite your attention to the cumulative evidence contained in the accompanying correspondence, which fully explains itself without further comment. The statements made may not be "new" to the manufacturers, but they will prove "mighty interesting reading" to thousands of farmers throughout the United States.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. H. HATCH.

OLIVER CHILLED PLOW WORKS,
South Bend, Ind.

Mr. HATCH. I now ask the Clerk to read a letter from the Assistant Secretary of State, and the report accompanying it.

The Clerk read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, September* 18, 1888.

SIR: In pursuance of the verbal promise made to you by Assistant Secretary Rives a week or ten days ago, and confirmed by my personal note of last week, I have pleasure in transmitting to you herewith copy of a report by Mr. Washington, our commercial agent at London, Ontario, on the prices of American agricultural implements in his district.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

ALVEY A. ADEE,
Second Assistant Secretary.

Hon. WILLIAM H. HATCH, M. C.,
House of Representatives.

Inclosure: Consul Washington to Department of State, No. 67, London, Ontario, September 15, 1888.

Mr. Washington to Mr. Rives.

No. 67.] UNITED STATES CONSULAR AGENCY,
London, Ontario, September 15, 1888. (Received September 18.)

SIR: In reply to the circular of the Department of State, dated September 4, 1888, requesting information as to imports of agricultural machinery and tools from the United States into Canada, inquiry elicits the following facts:

I find that plows of American manufacture are among the most prominent of the imports in this line. The Oliver chilled plows (made at South Bend, Ind., and the one, I am told, that has the largest sale in the United States), the Syracuse plow, and the South Bend plow seem to be most in demand and to have the largest sale. I have before me on my desk an offer from an Ontario dealer in the Oliver plows to sell same in f. o. b. at this city in Canada for $10 each in quantities. The retail price here is $12, and numerous transactions take place at that figure.

The same plows, I understand, are sold in quantities at the factory (not for export) at $14 each, and cost the American farmer at retail $16.

The Syracuse plow retails at $11 or $12 here, and, I am informed, sells for from $14 to $16 in the United States at retail, and the South Bend at $11 here and and $14 at home.

It is pleasing to observe how cheaply our manufacturers must be able to turn out these goods, from the fact that the Canadian duty on this class of goods is 35 per cent. ad valorem. Even admitting that the manufacturer makes no profit on his sales in Canada, these figures are of interest:

	Per plow.	
Price at which plow is sold in Canada		$16.00
Duty at 35 per cent. ad valorem and freight	$3.50	
Profit to Canadian dealer probably	1.50	
		5.00
Leaving actual cost to manufacture		5.00
Retailed to American farmer at		16.00
Profit to manufacturer on all home sales		11.00

It would thus seem that the Canadian farmer has an advantage over his American neighbor in the purchase of necessary implements produced in his own country, and the latter before purchasing his plows might well figure as follows:

Price of plows at retail in United States		$16.00
Price of same in Canada	$12.00	
Freight to return same to United States (duty is free on American goods returned)	1.00	
		13.00
Profit to American farmer by purchasing American-made plow in Canada		3.00

Plows with tempered steel mold-boards and beams, which sell in the United States for $17 and upwards, are manufactured in Canada (from Pittsburgh steel on which duty has to be paid, and the wages of the workmen are substantially the same as in the United States), and are sold for $14 retail; thus showing excess of profit made by American manufacturing over Canadian manufacturing, $3 on each plow. When it is considered that the Canadian manufacturer has to pay a duty on his materials and freight upon same to Canada from Pittsburgh, it will be readily seen at a glance that the excess of profits to the American over the Canadian manufacturer is much greater than the sum named, $3.

I am credibly advised by a very prominent Canadian farmer that he has just bought an American self-binding reaper (Walter A. Woods) for $110. Laid down in an American city near the lines the price of same machine in same place to an American farmer would be from $150 to $170.

In addition to the larger implements mentioned, farmers' or agricultural hardware imported from the United States consists of light shelf goods, dry paints, whilst agricultural hand-tools (such as spades, shovels, forks, etc.), on which articles the duty varies from 35 to 70 per cent., although the printed tariff reads only from 30 to 35 per cent. This Government has, however, instructed its customs officers to advance prices on invoices in certain lines which brings the duty up to a very high rate. Thus, on scythes, for instance, by means of a specific and ad valorem duty they have to pay from 60 to 70 per cent.

Notwithstanding these tremendous charges, a careful comparison of the wholesale and retail prices of the above tools shows that in all cases American goods

can be bought in Canada as cheap, and in many cases cheaper, than in the United States.

It is conclusively proven by these facts that the American farmers are not receiving the full benefit of the low prices at which these goods can be produced in the United States. These benefits are apparently reserved for the Canadians and other foreigners to whose markets we export goods; but existing conditions enable the American manufacturer to compel the purchase of his goods by the American farmer at exorbitant profits.

So great has been this discrimination by American manufacturers in favor of foreign purchasers that the Canadian customs authorities have come to regard with suspicion the prices on nearly all American invoices, as they can not understand why these goods should be sold to Canadians at such great reductions from the prices at which they are sold at home at the point of manufacture. As a consequence they have, during the past two years, largely adopted the plan of appraising these goods for duty at the home figures in preference to the prices stated in the invoices. For instance, an American manufacturer may be willing to sell a certain article for $5 to the Canadian trade, the price for the same article at home being $8. The valuation is placed at the latter figure, and even though he sells for the former the purchaser has to pay duty on $3 more than the goods cost him. The result of this practice is that we are losing our export trade to this and probably other foreign countries.

The falling off of the American export trade to this port on dutiable articles in one year having been $211,058.

The shortsightedness of our manufacturers in this respect, no less than the development of manufacturing in Canada, is closing this (as it does other outside markets to our goods), and is driving us back to trade only within ourselves, to the injury of our great agricultural interests, to the reduction of the wages of our workingmen, and to the lessening of the products of our factories.

Replying thus to your circular by an enumeration of facts, I remain, sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. DE H. WASHINGTON.
Commercial Agent.

Hon. GEO. L. RIVES,
Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. HATCH. I have another letter which I would be glad to read and make a short comment upon it, but as I do not wish to take up further time I ask unanimous consent to print this letter, with additional remarks, in connection with the report which has just been read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. If there be no objection, that leave will be granted. The Chair hears no objection.

HOW THE HIGH TARIFF WORKS—MANUFACTURERS SELLING GOODS CHEAPER TO FOREIGNERS THAN TO HOME CUSTOMERS.

The Hagerstown (Md.) Mail gives the following striking instance of the practical operation of the protective tariff, showing the enormous bonus obtained by the monopolists and their perfect ability to compete on equal terms with foreign manufacturers:

The people of the United States have voluntarily taxed themselves to an enormous amount for the benefit of the manufacturers, and in return for making them wealthy they discriminate against their benefactors and sell to foreigners at a much lower price than they will sell to citizens of the United States.

A gentleman told us recently that he went to New York to buy certain machines to sell in South America. The regular price to American dealers was $12 apiece, but this foreigner, upon signing a pledge to sell none of them within the United States, got all he wanted at $7 each.

After getting them beyond our borders they could not be brought back again without paying the tariff tax, and that tax added to the $7 would bring the price up to $12.

The reason of this is apparent. In selling to South America our manufacturer is brought into direct competition, upon entirely equal terms, with European manufacturers, without even the cost of crossing the ocean in their favor.

The fact that under these terms they can compete successfully with Europe should satisfy all that they will not go to ruin while they are protected in this country with a revenue tariff and the freight across the ocean.

The only difference will be that their profits will not be quite so enormous.

The letter given below is a striking illustration of this point. The firm of Ladner & Brother has two stores, one at Eagle Pass, Tex., and the other immediately across the Rio Grande at Piedras Negras, Mexico. He buys his goods for both stores, apparently, from the United States.

Our manufacturers, who are so excited about the interests of our American labor, will sell the Mexican Greaser his shovel for less than one-half what he charges the American workman.

The shovels referred to are the Ames shovels, manufactured in New England.

The letter is as follows:

"OFFICINA DE L. LADNER Y HNO.,
"COMERCIANTES EN ESTUFAS, FERRETERIA Y OJALATERIA,
"*Piedras Negras, Mexico, August* 9, 1888.

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 2d at hand. In reply take pleasure in giving you the figures asked for as nearly as possible. First, in regard to shovels. Our shovels bought for our Eagle Pass store cost us about $6 per dozen, exclusive of freight. Our shovels of the same class and material cost us laid down in Piedras Negras $2.91 per dozen. Another item: Agate ironware can not be bought for delivery anywhere in the United States at better than 35 per cent. discount. In Piedras Negras we can buy the same articles from the same houses at 60 per cent. discount. The list is the same in both cases. These are not the only articles. Disston's saws can be bought with an additional 20 per cent. discount, showing that the manufacturers could sell in home markets in competition with the outside producers. These figures are only a partial list. Every article known to the hardware trade can be bought from the American manufacturers for export cheaper than they can for home consumption. Hoping this will answer your purpose, we remain,

"Very truly, yours,

"A. J. LADNER & BRO.
"Per H.

"Mr. WALTER NEGLEY, *Hagerstown, Md.*"

Mr. Walter Negley, to whom this letter is addressed, is, as is well known to most of our readers, a son of the late Hon. Peter Negley, for many years United States subtreasurer at Baltimore and editor of the Herald and Torchlight. Mr. Walter Negley was raised a Republican, and for all we know may be one now, but is ardently in favor of reforming the present unequal and iniquitous tariff and of the Mills bill, notwithstanding the fact that he is an extensive wool-grower, having many thousand sheep in Texas, and is deeply interested in the wool industry, which Mr. Mills places on the free-list.

In a recent interview published in one of the Washington City papers, Mr. C. T. Campbell, of the city of Mexico, a native of Prince Edward Island, but a citizen of the State of New York, stated: "I have been in Mexico for twelve years. Mexico is forging ahead. Several new lines of railroad are being pushed through. There are wonderful natural resources, but it needs a stronger stream of immigration to develop them. The native peons are a hopeless lot for effective work. The educated classes are, on the other hand, bright and alert. They have sense enough to hold on to a good thing. They know what a good mine is, and rarely will sell one. They are now importing the most improved mining machinery and developing the mines fast. The silver mines of Mexico are undoubtedly the richest in the world. Mining machinery comes in duty free, which gives Mexican miners considerable advantage over American. One thing they get from the States, however, cheaper than anywhere else—that is blasting powder. In fact, the American companies will sell for export cheaper than they will sell at home. There is a trust in that, I suppose, about as there is in everything else."

Mr. HATCH. I have taken the opportunity to make this statement in the House of Representatives in order that it may go upon the record. In view of the fact that the company referred to has seen proper to call in question the truth of the statement made by me on several important public occasions, I have regarded it of importance to the agriculturists of the country that these statements should go upon record; and if any manufacturers of farm implements or machinery in the United States desire to furnish any additional testimony on this subject, I shall be glad to hear from them.

In reply to numerous inquiries I desire at this time to state officially, as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the present status of (H. R. 8191) a "bill to enlarge the powers and duties of the Department of Agriculture, and to create an executive department to be known as the Department of Agriculture."

Members interested in this bill will readily recall its history during the past ten years, but for the information of the people of the United States it may be well to repeat it:

In the third session of the Forty-sixth Congress, February 7, 1881, Mr. Aiken, from the Committee on Agriculture, moved to suspend the rules and pass House bill 4909, on which motion the yeas were 164, nays 83, not voting 45, failing by 1 vote to receive the necessary two-thirds.

Again in the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress, House bill 4429 was reported to the House by Mr. ANDERSON, from the Committee on Agriculture, made a special order, and after full consideration and discussion, on May 10, 1882, passed the House by the overwhelming vote of yeas 183, nays 7, not voting 101.

Again in the second session of the Forty-eighth Congress, December 15, 1884, Mr. Aiken, from the Committee on Agriculture, moved to suspend the rule and pass House bill 1457, which, after discussion under the rules, passed the House by the decisive vote of yeas 166, nays 69, not voting 88.

And again, in the Forty-ninth Congress, January 11, 1887, Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on Agriculture, having reported bill H. R. 5189, after mature deliberation and discussion by the House, the same was passed by the overwhelming vote of yeas 226, nays 26, not voting 67.

This bill passed the Senate February 23, 1887, with amendments, was returned to the House February 25, 1887, referred to the Committee on Agriculture, and, February 26, 1887, reported back to the House with the recommendation that said amendments be concurred in.

Owing to the short time intervening before the final adjournment of the Forty-ninth Congress, March 4, 1887, and the condition of the regular appropriation bills, it was impracticable to obtain consideration of the Senate amendments by the House, and this important measure again failed to become a law.

The principal amendment placed upon the bill by the Senate in the closing days of the Forty-ninth Congress, to wit, February 23, 1887, was an additional section, as follows:

SEC. 5. That the weather service of the United States Signal-Service Bureau is hereby transferred to the Department of Agriculture, to take effect July 1, 1888, and shall consist of one chief and such subordinate officers and employés as may be necessary to efficiently manage said bureau. Until otherwise provided by law, the present organization of the subordinate force of said bureau, including the second lieutenants now in service, shall continue as at present: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed as altering or affecting in any way the present status in the Army of the commissioned officers of the Signal Corps. The chief of said bureau shall receive an annual compensation of $4,500, and be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate: *Provided*, That the Chief Signal Officer of the Army, in addition to his strictly military duties, may be assigned to the charge of the Weather Bureau until a chief shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; and the compensation now paid to the employés and enlisted men of said service shall continue as now; and the moneys appropriated for said service and hereafter appropriated shall be disbursed under the direction of the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture.

The Secretary of War is authorized and directed, within thirty days after the passage of this act, to appoint a board of three Army officers, of which the Chief Signal Officer shall be a member. The duty of said board shall be to make an inventory of all property now in the control and possession of the Signal Service Bureau, and shall separate and turn over to the Department of Agriculture such portions of the property as the said board may determine to be suitable for the work of the Signal-Service Weather Bureau. The remainder of the property shall remain in the control of the Secretary of War.

This amendment was warmly approved by the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, and they unanimously reported to the House in favor of concurring therein.

That no further delay might occur in perfecting the bill and sending it to the President for his action, the Committee on Agriculture at the present session of Congress, March 7, 1888, reported the bill to the House with this section intact and without alteration.

Without alteration or amendment the bill passed the House May 21, 1888, and was sent to the Senate.

Although it had been before that body for its action repeatedly, as heretofore stated, it was not finally acted upon until September 21, 1888, when it was returned to the House with amendments, the only one of any importance being an amendment to strike from the bill the fifth section, which had originated in the Senate and had been accepted by the House.

This was done at a time when it was notorious that no quorum was present in the House and in all probability would not be until the next session, and when a single objection under the rules would de-

feat any action upon the Senate amendments, and thus defeat the final passage of the bill at this session.

Having kept the bill four months, and finding no other pretext for emasculating it and preventing its passage at this session, the Senate deliberately struck out the only section of the bill which had originated in the Senate at the last session and which was deemed of value and importance by the farmers of America, who will not be slow to comprehend the animus of such action or to fix the responsibility of these repeated delays where it properly belongs.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will now proceed with the reading of the bill.

Mr. HATCH. I ask unanimous consent that the hour of the Committee on Public Lands may be prolonged to the extent of the time that I have occupied.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has occupied thirty minutes.

Mr. HATCH. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the committee be extended to make up for the time I have occupied.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I must object to that request.

Mr. HATCH. There is so much time now at command—we have more time now than anything else—that I hope the gentleman will not object to a courtesy of this kind.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I am very much opposed to this bill, and I do not feel like giving it another moment. That is my reason for the objection.

Mr. McRAE. I will say to my friend from Iowa——

Mr. HATCH. As I have taken up the time of the Committee on Public Lands through the courtesy of that committee, I ask the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HENDERSON], as a personal favor to me, to withdraw his objection to this request. The gentleman will have ample opportunity to oppose the bill.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Indiana. I never can withstand that sort of an appeal; I withdraw my objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there further objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri? The Chair hears none.

Mr. McRAE. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask leave to withdraw this Senate bill and to consider a few private bills. It was the purpose of the committee to call up these bills first, but under the ruling of the Speaker we were not permitted to do so, except by unanimous consent. If I can first get unanimous consent to take up a few private bills for the relief of individual homestead settlers and also a right-of-way bill, I will withdraw this bill, in view of the fact that it meets with opposition. We can not hope to pass it, and with the knowledge of this fact I do not desire to consume further time talking about it if I can get the consent I have asked.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent to withdraw from further consideration the pending Senate bill. Is there objection?

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I think it just as well that that be done, for it will be impossible to pass the bill under the present circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hears no objection, and the bill is withdrawn.

RIGHT OF WAY THROUGH HOT SPRINGS RESERVATION, ARKANSAS.

Mr. McRAE. Mr. Chairman, I now call up the bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas. I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires to inform the gentleman from Arkansas that this bill is on the Private Calendar, and the gentleman must ask unanimous consent for its consideration.

Mr. McRAE. I have asked consent; that was embodied in my request.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair did not so understand the gentleman. The gentleman asks unanimous consent that this private bill be considered during the present hour. Is there objection?

Mr. KILGORE. I wish to know to what extent unanimous consent is proposed to be granted? My understanding was that the gentleman from Arkansas asked to withdraw the bill then pending before the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. McRAE. In order to call up these private bills.

Mr. KILGORE. I understand whenever a private bill is submitted the Chair should ask for unanimous consent.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what the Chair is doing. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill which has been indicated?

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Let the bill be reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill will be reported, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. ROGERS having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, a message from the Senate, by Mr. McCOOK, its Secretary, announced that that body had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 9447) to restore certain money to the fund for erecting a public building at the city of Detroit.

It further announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2742) to incorporate the Brightwood Railway Company of the District of Columbia.

It further announced that the Senate had directed its Secretary to furnish to the House, in compliance with its request, a duplicate engrossed copy of the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association of the city of New York.

It further announced the passage of the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association of the city of New York; in which concurrence was requested.

It further announced that the Senate had agreed to the House concurrent resolution providing for an investigation into the construction of the aqueduct tunnel, with an amendment in which concurrence was requested.

AQUEDUCT TUNNEL INVESTIGATION.

Mr. BURNES. Before the Committee resumes its session I desire to call up, by unanimous consent, the concurrent resolution just returned from the Senate with an amendment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The committee only rose informally to receive the message from the Senate.

Mr. BURNES. The amendment will not take a moment and the matter ought to be disposed of at once.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there is no objection, the resolution will be taken up for consideration.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *October* 8, 1888.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That all work heretofore performed upon the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, together with the provisions of any contract made for the same or any portion thereof, and all the facts and circumstances connected with the bidding for and letting and making of said contracts, and all expenditures of moneys heretofore appropriated for said work, together with the extent of any force employed in said work by the Government, the nature of the same and the compensation therefor, shall forthwith be fully investigated by a joint select committee of six members, of whom three shall be members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and three shall be members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker. Said committee shall have authority to employ a clerk, a stenographer, and such experts as it may deem necessary for the investigation. It may sit during the sessions of Congress or in recess, and shall have full power, either in full committee or in subcommittee, to administer oaths and send for persons and papers, and to conduct its investigation either in Washington or in such places as may be deemed necessary, and shall make full report of its proceedings and the conclusions arrived at, with such recommendations as it may deem proper, to Congress on or before January 1, 1889.

The Senate agree to the foregoing resolution of the House of Representatives with the following amendment:

Page 1, line 8, after the word "contract," insert the words "and subcontracts."

Mr. BURNES. The amendment is agreed to by the conferees of the two Houses. I move it be concurred in.

The amendment of the Senate was agreed to.

Mr. BURNES moved to reconsider the vote by which the Senate amendment was agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

RIGHT OF WAY THROUGH HOT SPRINGS RESERVATION, ARK.

The committee resumed its session.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, the bill will be taken up for consideration.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. The reading of this bill was asked for, subject to objection after it was read. It has been read, however, only by its title, when the Speaker asked whether there was objection. I wish to reserve my right to object until the bill has been read in full.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directed the Clerk to proceed with the reading of the bill, when some other gentleman merely asked for the reading of the title, and the title was reported, when the Chair asked if there was objection to the consideration, and no objection was raised.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I reserved the right to object until the bill was read in full, which has not yet been done.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman says that he wished to reserve the right to object until the bill was read, of course the Chair will recognize him.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. My original request was to withdraw the other bill, and then to consider these private bills which have been reported from the Committee on the Public Lands.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that it will hardly be in order to ask unanimous consent for the consideration of bills without reporting them. The Chair did not submit that request to the committee.

Mr. McRAE. That was the request I made to the House, and as I understand it that was what was agreed to. There is no doubt about that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair did not so understand it. The Clerk will proceed to report the bill and amendments of the Committee on the Public Lands to the House.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the right of way is hereby granted to the Mountain View Railway Company, of Hot Springs, Ark., incorporated under the laws of

the State of Arkansas, beginning at such point east of the line of the bath-houses, between the Army and Navy Hospital and the Arlington Hotel, as the Secretary of the Interior may approve; thence by the most eligible route to the east line of Hot Springs Mountain; thence westerly down North Mountain and West Mountain to the west line of reservation.

SEC. 2. That the right of way hereby granted shall not exceed 30 feet in width, and no part of the right of way herein granted shall in any way interfere with or obstruct the full flow of the hot waters or be so located as to cause the United States Government or any citizen thereof any expense of any kind or character, save and except the projectors of said road, its heirs and assigns.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of the United States Government's superintendent of the Hot Springs reservation to see that said railway to be constructed under this act shall not obstruct or in any manner interfere with the springs, hot-water pipes, roads, or paths, now existing or contemplated to be located upon said reservation; but it shall be made safe and secure for the pleasure, comfort, and edification of the patrons of the same, and used for the conveyance of passengers only.

SEC. 4. That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to abridge the right of the city government of Hot Springs to control and regulate the privileges of the Mountain View Railway where the same may cross Central avenue in said city.

SEC. 5. That the Mountain View Railway Company shall have the right to construct observatories at different eligible locations in the vicinity of the right of way hereby granted, at such points as the Secretary of the Interior may approve.

SEC. 6. That said observatories shall not exceed 30 feet square at foundation, and to be built in good and safe manner, and that no timber shall be cut upon the mountain, or earth or rock blasted or removed, or the surface of the ground in any way defaced, except upon the actual road-bed of the said way, and no blasting shall be done on Hot Springs Mountain except as authorized by the Secretary of the Interior; and that the right of way hereby granted shall be used for the purposes herein mentioned and none other: *Provided*, That this grant shall not be construed to abridge the authority of the Secretary of the Interior over the portion of the reservation included in the right of way.

SEC. 7. That said company shall cause a map showing the proposed route of its line through the reservation to be filed in the office of the Secretary of the Interior, and said location shall be approved by the Secretary of the Interior before any grading or construction on any part of the line shall be begun, and the right of way shall be lost and forfeited unless the road is completed and in running order within two years after the passage of this act.

SEC. 8. That the company or its assignees to whom this right of way is granted, shall annually pay to the Government of the United States for the improvement of the permanent reservation at Hot Springs, Ark., 3 per cent. of its gross earnings. And Congress hereby reserves the right at any time to amend, add to, alter, or repeal this act.

The amendments of the committee were read, as follows:

In section 7, line 8, strike out "two" and insert "three;" also in the same line, after the word "act," insert:

Provided, That this condition as to construction within three years shall be construed as a condition precedent to the grant herein made, and in case of failure to so complete said road as provided, such failure shall of itself work a forfeiture of all rights hereunder.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the consideration of this bill in the morning hour?

Mr. McMILLIN. Let the Clerk again report the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, in the State of Arkansas.

Mr. McMILLIN. Will it not suit the purpose of the gentleman from Arkansas to let this bill be considered in the House after the committee rises? I do not believe the rule which prohibits the consideration of private bills in this hour ought to be disregarded, as it is a good one and a wise one. If I did not so believe I would not ask the gentleman to let the bill go over.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that it requires unanimous consent to consider the bill in this hour, and the Chair has just asked if there is objection.

Mr. McMILLIN. I am not going to make any objection to the consideration of the bill in this hour, but simply desired to call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that this rule is one that under no circumstances should be broken. For my part I am very much opposed to the consideration of private bills in this hour. It is certainly a rule that should be adhered to. I do not, however, object if the gentleman desires to consider the bill now.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chairs hears no objection to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. WHEELER. I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to make some remarks now, which I had intended to submit on the deficiency bill, the time consumed not to be taken out of this hour.

Mr. McRAE. Let us pass this bill first, and then the gentleman will have ample time afterwards. This is a good bill, but so far as the House is concerned and the general public it is of little importance. It is of importance, however, to the people there.

Mr. WHEELER. I know that when the deficiency bill comes up I can occupy the time then, but I ask unanimous consent now to be heard, the time not to be taken out of the morning hour.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I demand the regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no objection, the bill is before the committee for consideration, and the first question is on the amendment recommended by the committee.

The amendment was adopted.

The bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MOTIER HOWE.

Mr. McRAE. I now ask consideration of the bill (H. R. 11042) for the relief of Motier Howe.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that this bill is also on the Private Calendar. Is there objection to its consideration in this hour?

There was no objection.

The bill is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there be, and is hereby, granted, relinquished, and confirmed unto Motier Howe, of Oregon, his heirs and assigns, the interest of the United States in and to the west half of the northwest quarter and northeast quarter of the northwest quarter, and northwest quarter of the northeast quarter of section 22, in township 12 south, of range 23 east, of Willamette meridian, in the State of Oregon.

SEC. 2. That in accordance herewith the Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed and authorized to issue to said Motier Howe a patent in due form to said lands.

Mr. McMILLIN. I understood the gentleman from Arkansas had withdrawn the preceding bill.

Mr. McRAE. No; I withdrew the Yellowstone Park bill. I have asked unanimous consent to consider some of these private bills, to which I supposed there would be no objection. They have been reported by the committee favorably, are on the Calendar; they are meritorious, and I hope there will be no objection to our passing these little measures when we have the hour now at our disposal.

Mr. McMILLIN. I do not feel like being captious in regard to these matters, but I hope my friend from Arkansas will not insist on overriding a rule which has operated so well heretofore and which will be entirely broken down if such action as he now proposes is taken with regard to private bills. Now, I am not going to obstruct this bill or make any objection to it. I should perhaps decline to offer objection to any bill the gentleman called up in this hour; but I hope, in view of the sentiment, as I believe, of the House, that he himself will see after this statement that the consideration of private bills in this hour will break down a rule that has the universal approbation of the House, and that he will not insist on asking consideration of private bills.

Mr. McRAE. Well, I will only call up this and one other private bill. [Laughter.]

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. It occurs to me that this is an exceedingly unfair proceeding. This privilege has been denied to all the other committees, and especially to the Committee on War Claims.

Mr. McMILLIN. I agree with my friend from Kentucky fully.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I represent a committee having bills upon the Calendar for eight months, a large number of them, and have not been able to get a day even set apart for their consideration. When the Committee on War Claims wanted to consider private bills we were informed that we could not do so under the rule.

Mr. McRAE. Did you not have other bills to consider?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. No, sir; we lost our hour because we had none but private bills prepared at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on laying aside the bill to be reported to the House.

The bill was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

MARY ALICE WHITE.

Mr. McRAE. I now call up the next bill, for the relief of Mary Alice White, House bill No. 10079.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that this bill is also on the Private Calendar.

Is there objection to its consideration in this hour?

Mr. HERMANN. I ask unanimous consent that it may be now considered.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Several MEMBERS. Regular order.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is made.

LAND OFFICE, MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. McRAE. Then I call up for present consideration the bill (H. R. 7788) to establish a new land district in the State of Mississippi. This is a public bill, and I presume there can be no objection to its consideration.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That all that portion of the State of Mississippi comprised in the counties of Hancock, Harrison, Jackson, Green, Perry, Marion, Lawrence, Covington, Jones, Greene, and Wayne be, and is hereby, constituted a new district, to be called the Gulf land district, the land office for which shall be located at the town of Hattiesburgh, Perry County, State of Mississippi.

SEC. 2. That the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint one man register and receiver for said land district hereby created, who shall receive such compensation as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, who is hereby authorized to fix the same upon the establishment of the office; and said district shall be subject, as other land districts, to be changed or consolidated, and the land office changed to any other place by order of the President.

The committee recommend the following amendment:

Strike out the word "Greene," in the fifth line.

Mr. FULLER. I ask for the reading of the report in that case.

The report (by Mr. STOCKDALE) was read, as follows:

The counties named in this bill lie in a compact body and contain a large majority of all the public lands in the State, and two counties will likely be added, leaving but little public land outside of the new district.

There is but one land office in the State now, and that is located at Jackson, Miss., the capital of the State. There is no railroad communication with the city of Jackson and these counties except by a circuitous route of from 150 to 300

miles, whereas, if this district be established, the same people can reach the new office at Hattiesburgh at a distance of from 50 to 130 miles, and a very large number, perhaps a majority, can reach there by traveling less than 100 miles. The town of Hattiesburgh, the proposed site of the new land office, is on the New Orleans and Northeastern Railroad, nearly in the center of the new district.

This region is becoming settled rapidly, and settlers need homesteads, and ought to have facilities for entering them without going so great a distance. Your committee therefore report the bill back with the recommendation that it pass.

Mr. FULLER. I would like to ask if this is unanimously reported from the committee?

Mr. MCRAE. I do not think there is any minority report; but I am not so familiar with the subject as the gentleman from Mississippi, who made this report.

Mr. STOCKDALE. It is the unanimous report of the committee.

The amendment of the committee was agreed to.

The bill as amended was laid aside to be reported to the House with the recommendation that it do pass.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. MCRAE. I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. RICHARDSON reported that the Committee of the Whole, having had under consideration sundry bills, had directed him to report the same to the House with various recommendations.

BILLS PASSED.

The bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs in the State of Arkansas, reported from the Committee of the Whole with an amendment, was considered, the amendment agreed to, and the bill as amended ordered to a third reading; and being read the third time was passed.

The bill (H. R. 11042) for the relief of Motier Howe, reported from the Committee of the Whole favorably, was considered, ordered to be engrossed and read the third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the time, and passed.

The bill (H. R. 7788) to establish a new land district in the State of Mississippi, reported from the Committee of the Whole with an amendment, was considered, the amendment concurred in, and the bill as amended ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time. The question being on the passage of the bill—

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I demand a division on that vote.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 15, noes 2.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. No quorum.

The SPEAKER. The point of order being made that no quorum has voted, the Chair will order tellers.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR and Mr. STOCKDALE were appointed tellers.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR (one of the tellers). I will not insist on the demand for a quorum.

So, no further count being demanded, the bill was passed.

Mr. MCRAE moved to reconsider the several votes just taken; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

DANIEL T. WOOD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HERBERT] asks leave to withdraw from the files of the Forty-fourth Congress the papers in the case of Daniel T. Wood. If there is no objection, leave will be granted.

There was no objection.

YELLOWSTONE PARK.

Mr. MCRAE. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the further consideration of the bill (S. 283) to amend sections 2474 and 2475 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, setting apart a certain tract of land lying near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a public park.

The motion was agreed to; and the House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is now in Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill the title of which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk again reported the title of the bill.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I would like to ask the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] if that is not the bill we had up in the morning hour?

Mr. MCRAE. It is. How much of the time remains, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. There are twenty-eight minutes remaining.

Mr. MCRAE. I desire to yield twenty-five minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER].

Mr. WHEELER. I would like to ask the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] if he intends to make the point of no quorum on this bill?

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I shall make every point I can for its defeat.

Mr. WHEELER. Then it is useless for me to address the House any further this morning upon that measure. I have made a careful estimate of the members present, and it is quite clear there is less than a quorum in the House. On our last vote but 98 members answered to their names, and it is doubtful if there is now a quorum of the House in the city.

The Committee on Public Lands have finished all the bills which that committee has ready for consideration, and as the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] asserts that the Yellowstone Park bill shall not be considered, and as I may not be able to occupy the floor again for some days, I will take this opportunity to make a few observations regarding the substitute for our tariff bill which has just been reported by the Senate Committee on Finance.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. This bill has been called up for the purpose, I suppose, of allowing some one to make a speech on the tariff.

Mr. WHEELER. The gentleman is taking up a part of my time. I am always willing to yield for questions, but I can not yield time to be used in discussion.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I give notice that that kind of business will not be permitted to be repeated.

Mr. WHEELER. I know that the gentlemen on the other side of the House do not like to hear debates on this subject, and I would much prefer to occupy the time in explaining the features of the bill which is on the Speaker's desk, if they would permit us to do so; but if that is refused I shall use my time as indicated.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I suppose there is further need for making remarks on that subject on that side of the House.

Mr. WHEELER. During the consideration of the tariff bill much more time was accorded in its debate to gentlemen on the other than on this side of the House, and now that public opinion has forced the Republican party to produce a tariff measure I insist that they should not object to its discussion.

The first business laid before this Congress was the message of the President recommending a revision of the revenue laws. The necessity for such revision was clearly shown by the unanswerable logic of that remarkable state paper, and the Democrats of the House at once addressed themselves to the task. The Republicans, after a long and fruitless search for faults or defects in the present Administration, seized upon this demand for a revision of the laws and reduction of the surplus as the keynote of their campaign, and misrepresentations of Democratic purposes were relied upon as effective party ammunition.

Denunciations came with the force of an avalanche from Republicans in all stations and from all sections.

The uncrowned king, Mr. Blaine, dispatched his famous message from the imperial courts where for nearly a year he had been seeking statecraft inspiration, and the cry was echoed by leaders of all grades down to the newest-fledged aspirant for political preferment until the chorus resounded through the Republican camps from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

From the editor of the New York Tribune to the printer of the smallest and least-known Republican weekly, from Maine to Texas and from Oregon to Florida, there came but one sound, as it were the echo of the slogan from across the Atlantic.

Tinkering with the tariff, as they chose to describe our efforts, was specially denounced, and they demanded that the customs laws should be left untouched.

Every intelligent man in the United States knew that this position was taken by Republicans because they felt the necessity of aggressive antagonism.

These purely political stratagems were not concurred in by the real statesmen and sagacious business men in the Republican party.

The charge so often made by Republicans that Democrats could not unite upon a tariff measure was exploded and rebuked by the almost unanimous Democratic vote upon the excellent bill passed by the House in July last.

The most astute and far-seeing Republican politicians insisted that their best policy was to criticise all Democratic measures, and though taunted to produce something better, they, by non-action, admitted their inability to do so.

When our bill reached the Senate the party leaders, who engineer the political campaigns of the Republicans, determined that their party should not be placed upon the defensive by putting in print their partisan substitute for the House bill.

Their position was most embarrassing.

To go before the people in November admitting their inability to devise any means of relief to the tax-payers was equivalent to signing their own political death-warrant, and to submit to the country a bill consistent with their platform would drive from them every voter who thought that the material interests of the country were more important than party success.

After hesitating for three months as to which horn of the dilemma they would accept, these party magnates have decided that any action was better than none, and the long-looked-for Senate tariff bill has been laid before the public.

THE SENATE TARIFF BILL.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the Republican tariff bill has finally been laid before the people, and a remarkable production it is. These persons, who claim to be zealous guardians of the poor man's interests, propose to bring about a reduction of $73,750,000 in the revenues of the Govern-

ment, and of this amount $52,250,000 are taken from the products of agriculture, $7,000,000 from whisky, while the tariff tax is reduced by only $14,500,000, and scarcely any of that reduction is made upon the necessities of life.

This Republican tariff bill distinctly violates the party platform. In that document they demanded—

Such a revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of articles such as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor.

Farmers are not associated together in combinations and trusts. Most of them are men who labor upon their own land. They are our best and most industrious citizens, and yet Republicans propose to make nearly all of this reduction at their expense, while these zealous partisans are careful to make scarcely any reduction upon those articles the manufacturers of which are combined in trusts that oppress the people. This unjust proposition of the Republican Senate is in strict conformity with much of that party's legislation against the interest of the mass of the people, and is the logical outcome of the pledge in their party platform which declares that the Republican party will—

Favor the entire repeal of the internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system.

This shows that General Harrison was nominated upon a platform which the Republican Senate interprets to mean that none of the privileges of the wealthy monopolists of the Northeast are to be surrendered, but that all changes in the revenue laws are to be effected almost entirely at the expense of the hard-working farmers of the West and South.

The difference between the purposes and objects of the Democratic party and the Republican party is very clearly indicated by the characteristics of the bills, designed to reform our revenue laws, which the two parties have submitted to the country.

The effect of the bill prepared and passed by the Democratic House of Representatives will be to lighten the burdens and increase the prosperity and happiness of 20,000,000 people who earn their living by daily toil. The effect of the bill prepared by the Republican Senate will be to perpetuate the privileges whereby a few favored monopolists and corporations have gained enormous individual fortunes at the expense of the comfort and happiness of those by whose toil the wealth of the country is created.

REPUBLICANS SUSTAIN MR. CLEVELAND.

The Republican members of the Senate committee are compelled to admit the correctness of Mr. Cleveland's views, so forcibly expressed in his message.

The report submitted by Senator ALLISON, in behalf of his party allies, asserts:

The demand for a careful and thorough revision of our revenue laws is imperative. This revision is necessary:

1. To reduce the national revenues, which are now excessive.

No valid reason can be given why we should, under existing circumstances, continue to collect annually a sum approximating $60,000,000 in excess of the amount required to administer the Government economically and keep the pledges of public faith.

2. To protect honest importers and domestic producers.

3. To remedy the defects, anomalies, and incongruities which have been from time to time discovered in the tariff schedules, or which have been created by erroneous decisions of the Treasury Department.

4. To secure the proper readjustment and equalization of tariff rates rendered necessary by modified business conditions, improvements in methods of production, radical changes in prices, or by new elements or sources of competition.

These are substantially the reasons given by President Cleveland in his message of last December in which revenue reform was demanded, which document has been so severely denounced by the Senator's party associates.

The Republican authors of the Senate bill give a fifth reason for the revision of the revenue laws, framed, I would suppose, to meet the party requirements of their platform and to induce money contributions from their carefully protected monopolistic pets. This reason is in the words I will now read:

5. To give relief and protection to many industries which are now suffering on account of the inadequate rates levied on competing products.

The bill submitted to the people by the Senate is the work of Republicans only.

It appears to have been prepared by the Republican members of the committee, and in conformity to the views and wishes of dominant members of their party, and that class of manufacturers who specially insist upon maintaining and if possible increasing the present exorbitant rates of taxation, and the Democratic members of the committee were not consulted or even informed as to the provisions of the Senate substitute bill until the subcommittee made a report of the measure to the full committee on the 25th of September.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. The gentleman says they were not permitted to appear before that committee.

Mr. WHEELER. I say they did not appear, and I believe that they would have appeared had they been permitted to do so. It was certainly the wish of all advocates of that kind of revenue reform which would add to the prosperity of the country and lighten the burdens of the people to appear before that committee and endeavor to impress it with their views, but as near as I can learn, no one who is known to be favorable to such a reform as is demanded by the Democratic party was either invited, and I might say permitted, to go before the subcommittee which framed the bill.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. It is a notorious fact that the people of the whole country were informed that the Senate Finance Committee were in session ready to hear all persons interested upon questions relating to the revision of the tariff, and whoever did not appear did not appear upon their own motion, not because they were not welcomed by the Committee on Finance. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. WHEELER. In reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. O'NEILL], I beg to state that I learn for the first time that the people of the whole country were informed that the Senate Finance Committee were in session ready to hear all persons interested. The papers very generally stated that the Finance Committee would not report a bill. This statement was repeated day after day in dispatches from Washington and in the leading papers of the United States, and I am certainly correct that the impression of the people at large was that no bill would be reported, and as weeks and months rolled on and no bill emanated from the committee this view was accepted as the correct solution of the probable action of the Senate; and, as far as I can learn, it seemed that the only persons who knew that a bill was to be reported were those manufacturers who demand high, if not prohibitory, protection, and others who have confidential relations with the Republican party.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. The gentleman never heard an official statement emanating from the committee that they were not going to report a bill. Every one knew that they were.

Mr. WHEELER. It was openly and repeatedly asserted, and I never saw it denied, that Mr. Blaine urged that the best policy for the Republican party to pursue was not to report a bill, and it was also stated that very many of your great leaders concurred with Mr. Blaine, and before we get through with discussing the Senate bill you will find they were right. The Senate bill is framed to benefit the few at the expense of the many.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Many members of this House appeared before that committee and took their constituents before that committee. They were not heard before the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. WHEELER. I yielded to the gentleman from Pennsylvania for a question; but not for a speech. My time is limited, and if the gentleman wishes to make statements in the nature of a speech he must do it in his own time.

Mr. MCKENNA. Do I understand the gentleman from Alabama to say that the Democratic Senators were excluded from the consideration of the bill?

Mr. WHEELER. Their report says so. Senator HARRIS says so in his report, that they were not consulted or informed by the subcommittee of the provisions of the bill.

Mr. MCKENNA. Let me tell the gentleman from Alabama that Senator HARRIS has just said in the Senate Chamber that there is no truth in that.

Mr. WHEELER. Senator HARRIS says:

In the preparation of this substitute no member of the minority of the committee was consulted or informed as to its provisions until it was reported on the 25th day of September to the full committee.

The gentleman from California misunderstood Senator HARRIS. It is very probable that Senator HARRIS and possibly other members of the minority were admitted to certain discussions, but it is quite clear that the bill was framed without consulting with them.

Mr. MCKENNA. He has just declared in the Senate Chamber that he was present, or some member of the minority of the committee was present, during the time the testimony was taken and had ample opportunity to question witnesses during that time.

Mr. WHEELER. I yielded to the gentleman for a question, and not for a speech. I assert that the Senate bill and report has been before the country for nearly a week. It has been published in the papers of the United States, and up to this morning there has not been any denial, so far as I can learn, of the accuracy of the allegations contained in the report signed by the Democratic Senators. No member of the press has expressed a doubt as to the verity of the statement that the Democratic members were excluded from any participation in the preparation of the bill or in the preparation of the report.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. WHEELER. I do not yield for a speech; I will yield for a question.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I do not suppose that the assertion will meet with a contradiction, but I want to say that possibly a score of the members of this House have been present and been heard before that committee. I have been in the Senate Finance Committee when hearings were being had by the subcommittee, when Senator HARRIS himself was present or some other Senator of the minority; sometimes Senator BECK. I know that in the hearings at that time all interested parties were heard—manufacturers and employés or workingmen.

Mr. WHEELER. I have no doubt but that certain manufacturers and such workmen as they desired to go before the committee were given a full hearing. The interests of manufacturers of the South are not in all respects in harmony with those of the Northeast. I did not hear of Alabama manufacturers being invited before the committee, and certainly no one here heard of farmers being before the Republican members of the subcommittee.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I wish to say to the gentleman from Alabama that I know personally that the committee in the preparation of that bill has not only been open to the minority of the Finance Committee, but that the doors of the room have been open and free to every Senator without reference to party.

Mr. WHEELER. I have not been in the Senate this morning and did not hear the discussion to which reference has been made, and I do not question the accuracy of the statement; they are not at all inconsistent with the position I have taken. No doubt Democratic Senators were permitted to be present at every open session of either the subcommittee or the full committee, but no gentleman will doubt but that the essential features of the bill were framed in a committee caucus to which no Democrats were invited. Of course there was no exclusion of members at the committee meetings, and I do not question but that they were open to all Senators.

Mr. FARQUHAR. And the members of any other committee, independent of party.

Mr. WHEELER. I have no doubt the doors were open at the time the evidence was taken. There is no dispute about that because that evidence was generally published in the papers; but the question is as to whether the doors were open during the consideration of the bill and preparation of the report. The minority say they were not, and the allegations of the minority report, which has been published throughout the country, has never been denied.

I will read the exact language of the minority of the committee. The report signed by the Democratic Senators says:

> In the preparation of this substitute no member of the minority of the committee was consulted, or informed as to its provisions until it was reported to the full committee on the 25th day of September, 1888.

The report further informs us that the time of the Republican members of the committee was consumed in—

> Arguments and appeals of manufacturers and others, who demand that the present high rate of tariff taxation shall be maintained, and in most instances increased, prompted not by any revenue necessities, but alone for the purpose of increasing their own profits at the expense of sixty millions of tax-payers.

It could hardly be expected that such a bill would be framed so as to merit the approval of the people, and a merely casual examination shows that the measure is designed to specially promote and protect the interests of capital, and against the interests of the people.

From the minority report of the Democratic Senators I read these words:

> It is safe to say that all the interests benefited by a high protective tariff have been fully heard and have had much influence in shaping this substitute, while the great body of the people, the tax-payers and victims of this policy, have not appeared and have not been heard.

But let us examine the features of this remarkable production which the Senate Finance Committee has submitted.

THE TWO BILLS COMPARED.

It is difficult to conceive of two measures more clearly indicative of the characteristics of the opposing parties.

The Republicans represent and endeavor to serve the aristocratic elements of our people, and the Senate bill is framed specially in their interests, while the House bill is framed in the interest of the Government and of the people.

The report on the Senate substitute bill submitted by the Democratic Senators states that the essential differences between the House bill and the Senate substitute bill are very great.

The report says:

> The one is framed in the interest of the public Treasury; the other in the interest of private pockets. The one is framed in the interest of the whole people; the other in the interest of a few thousand manufacturers. The one is designed to reduce both Government revenue and taxation, the taxation especially which bears heaviest on the necessaries of life; the other is intended to raise public revenue indeed, but to maintain private revenues by increasing and retaining taxation on all the necessaries of life.

From beginning to end the Senate bill seeks to cut down duties on sugar and other articles which produce revenue to the Government, but steadfastly declines to reduce duties on articles where the duty is now prohibitory, and therefore does not produce revenue to the Government, the only effect being to increase private fortunes. In their report the Democratic Senators say:

> The advocates of the substitute freely propose to reduce duties or abolish them on those things which yield only Government revenue, but refuse to reduce or abolish duties on those things which produce private revenue.

The principal reductions in the customs duties, as proposed by the Senate bill, are on sugar and rice, the saving on sugar being estimated at $27,759,783.95, while jute, jute-butts, currants, and molasses, and a few other articles which are not necessaries are put on the free-list.

The House bill places iron ties on the free-list. The Senate bill increases the tax from 35 per cent. ad valorem to a specific tax, equivalent to about 118 per cent. ad valorem.

SENATE BILL MAKES NECESSARIES DEARER.

The Senate bill increases the duties upon nearly all articles manufactured from the four great staples, cotton, wool, steel, and iron. These are articles used by every one, and the largest increases in many cases are upon those articles which must be used by the poor and needy classes of our citizens.

In keeping with the dominant idea of Republicanism, salt, which of necessity is used by every one, is taxed 80 per cent. by the Republican Senate bill and made absolutely free by the bill which passed the Democratic House.

Where the Senate does not openly increase the tax on articles used by the farmer, it in some instances accomplishes that result by indirect means. For instance, a change in the dutiable value of the rods from which the wire fence used by the farmer is made increases the tariff tax on those rods. In addition to this, one size of wire, No. 6, is so changed in classification as to increase the tariff rate on wire rods of this size from 45 to about 54 per cent., making an increase of tax, according to the estimates of the Senate committee, of over $300,000 on this one size of wire rods.

Again, a new proviso is added in the Senate bill by which rods smaller than No. 6 are classified as wire, thus effecting another increase in the tax upon an article used almost exclusively by the farmers.

The tariff tax on many articles is largely increased by changing the duties from an ad valorem to a specific duty, in every case the effect being to put the largest tax upon the cheapest articles, which are used by the poorer classes. For instance, knives and forks, which are found on the poor farmers' tables, are taxed from 200 to 300 per cent., and every article, with scarcely an exception, upon which a specific tax is imposed, is so arranged as to put the heaviest rate on the cheapest article.

Implements used by the farmer have also received the attention of the Senate committee, and in nearly every instance severely to his detriment.

Trace chains and all other chains less than three-eighths of an inch in thickness are raised equivalent to an ad valorem of from 10 to 20 per cent.

In fact, the entire bill is a strike at the farmer, and if it become the law would reduce his profits and increase his already onerous burdens.

The Senate bill takes off the internal-revenue tax from what is classed as non-necessary tobacco in all its forms except cigars, cheroots, and cigarettes.

The minority report, in referring to this part of the bill, says:

> Practically, the substitute offers to the people free whisky and free tobacco, leaving all the expensive machinery for the collection of the revenue and enforcement of the law in full force, while it increases taxation upon the actual and indispensable necessaries of life, and this, too, when there is a large surplus in the Treasury, and under existing laws that surplus is being increased at the rate of over $10,000,000 per month; thus withdrawing and withholding from the channels of trade, commerce, and business of the country money absolutely necessary to their successful operations.

TRUE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

The entire measure, taking it all in all, furnishes additional proof that the principles which govern the Republican party are not the kind upon which our forefathers sought to establish a free republican government, and it admonishes us that the prosperity and happiness of the great mass of the people can only be secured by a rigid adherence to the principles of Democracy. The recent decision of the Supreme Court which asserts that the distinctive principles of that great party are those upon which our system of government is founded, should be a rebuke to those who still insist that the power of the people should be lessened and the power of the General Government increased.

Democratic principles always have been and always will be dear to the hearts of the American people who believe in equal privileges and equal rights to all mankind.

It was devotion to these principles which prompted our forefathers to brave the dangers of a tempestuous ocean, and plant a new government in the unpruned forests of the American continent.

The principles of our party, as expounded by the illustrious men who have made our system of government the envy and the wonder of the world, provide the only base upon which freedom of thought, freedom of action, and equality of rights can be surely founded.

BENEFITS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

That government is most democratic which is nearest to the people, most directly responsible to the people, and most rigidly administered in the interest of and for the highest good and happiness of the great mass of its citizens.

Such a government affords equal protection to all sorts and conditions of men, and its strong arm sternly forbids the encroachment of any upon the rights of all.

These beneficent principles must ever command the approval of a virtuous and intelligent people, and the strength with which they have impressed our citizens assures us that the political organization which has always been governed by them and by which they have been reduced to practice will be kept in power by the American people, and enables those who advocate such a system of government to rejoice in the fact that the prospects of their party, and therefore of the country, were never brighter or more promising than at this time.

Under the wise and fearless administration of President Cleveland all of the numerous and diversified interests of our active, energetic, and enterprising population have been vigilantly guarded and zealously promoted; the public expenditures have been reduced; the different Departments have been rendered more efficient, while being purified of fraud and corruption, and have been converted from reckless and extravagant party agencies into model business establishments.

Notwithstanding the increase in the population of the country, and the consequent greater expense of carrying on their affairs, the Democratic administration has cost less than the Republican administration which preceded it.

DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY.

On the 30th of June last the Democratic administration had been in power during three fiscal years, and a comparison with the three fiscal years preceding establishes this fact beyond doubt. This comparison will show that the cost of the Indian service has been, in round numbers, $1,800,000 less under President Cleveland than under President Arthur. In the War Department the expenditures have been $19,604,000 less, and in the Navy Department the expenditures have been $2,622,000 less. And to this sum of $24,026,000 there should be added $5,300,000 which this Administration has had to pay for Alabama claims and expenses of commission, for refund of duties and drawbacks on exports, for the purchase of the Louisville and Portland Canal, and for the New Orleans Exposition, all of which were legacies from its predecessor.

In the Post-Office Department, comparing the fiscal years 1888 and 1885, there has been an increase of 6,124 in the number of post-offices established, an increase of 3,037 in the number of mail routes, and an increase of 15,128 miles in the length of routes on which mail service is performed. And yet, notwithstanding this increased service, there has been, relatively, a diminution in the expenditures of that Department. In 1885 the excess of expenditures over the receipts was $7,221,775.26, while in 1888 the expenditures were only $2,016,420.87 in excess of the receipts.

And then, too, the number of employés has been reduced in nearly all of the Departments and the interest on the public debt has been steadily diminished.

The admitted sectionalism which, during a period of twenty years, had disgraced the administration of every branch of the public service has disappeared, and the South now receives equal consideration with the North, the East, and the West; the constitutional duty of interposing the veto of the Executive to prevent improper legislation has been fearlessly exercised with the most salutary results; and the authority to prevent wrongful and injurious restrictions upon or discriminations against our citizens by Canada has been demanded from the Republican branch of the National Legislature, that the Executive may thereby effectually protect the honor and dignity of the Government and the interests of its citizens.

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

The long-continued and steadily increasing oppressions of our present unequal and unjust tariff laws, under which the vast majority of our citizens are forced to pay tribute to a specially favored few, resulting in the accumulation of a large surplus in the Treasury to the detriment of every branch of industry and every character of enterprise, have been impressed upon the attention of the people more forcibly than ever before, with the result of the formulation and presentation to Congress of a careful, conservative, and judicious measure of tariff reform.

This wise and just effort to readjust our present iniquitous revenue laws is shown to be necessary by the President's terse and unanswerable statement, "unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation."

The tariff reforms insisted upon by the President and embodied in the measure submitted to the country by the House of Representatives are designed to relieve the great body of the people of oppressive and needless burdens, while carefully maintaining and preserving every interest of the manufacturer or capitalist, and promoting the welfare and prosperity of all of our citizens who must gain their livelihood by labor.

And it is gratifying to note that this necessary modification of our revenue laws is sought to be accomplished in a manner which will materially benefit all of our farming and most of the manufacturing industries of Alabama, while the method proposed to be adopted will not operate to the detriment of any of the great manufacturing or other interests of the country.

THE BENEFITS OF REVENUE REFORM.

If the experience of the past can be relied upon as a safe basis upon which to build expectations for the future, the reductions in the existing tariff now sought to be effected by the Democrats must inevitably result in giving more constant and more remunerative employment to those of our laborers who toil in the manufacturing industries, while the cost of their daily living will be materially lessened.

The tariff was lowered in 1846, and at the close of 1847 it was found that a larger number of operatives, mill-hands, etc., had been employed during the year than during any similar preceding period, and at higher wages. And this was shown to be the fact in every branch of manufacturing industry.

Under the present laws it is impossible for us to compete with other peoples in the markets of the world for the manufactured products of American skill, ingenuity, and industry—one reason for this inability being that we impose a heavy tax upon the products of other countries and practically prohibit international trade.

During that period of our history when our home market was able to consume all the products of our factories the arguments then made in advocacy of prohibitory protection, non-intercourse, and restriction of commercial relations with other countries had a certain plausibility which is in no manner warranted by the conditions with which we are now confronted.

I have laboriously compiled and carefully compared the statistics, and find that under existing conditions the aggregate value of our agricultural and manufactured products exceeds by $5,000,000,000 our capacity to purchase them. It is, therefore, as clear as any proposition can be that we must either find a foreign market for this surplus production or the producers must diminish the excessive production by reducing the hours of labor and the earnings of their laborers.

In his letter of acceptance President Cleveland refers to this important subject in this vigorous language:

> We know that, confined to a home market, our manufacturing operations are curtailed, their demand for labor irregular, and the rate of wages paid uncertain.

And, explaining the effect of the contemplated changes in the law, he says:

> We propose, too, by extending the markets for our manufacturers, to promote the steady employment of labor, while by cheapening the cost of the necessaries of life we increase the purchasing power of the workingman's wages and add to the comforts of his home.

THE PARTY PRINCIPLES AT ISSUE.

In the campaign now being waged for supremacy the two great political parties are asking the confidence and support of sixty million Americans who, on the 6th of November, by the mighty force of the freeman's ballot, are to decide under which party and by what political principles they are to be governed.

It is not a question of men so much as it is a question of measures. To quote the pithy utterance of our fearless leader, "It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory."

Go through our broad land and we find the rank and file, and most of the leaders of both parties, honest and fearless men, who desire nothing so much as the welfare of their country.

I trust, therefore, I may be pardoned if I allude to the cardinal, underlying, and controlling principles of the two great political organizations.

The Republican party contends for the establishment of a strong, consolidated government, in which the greatest power possible shall be centralized in one head.

The Democratic party demands that the least necessary power be given to the central Government and the largest power be reserved to the people.

Centralization generates classes giving a favored few unequal, unconstitutional, and un-American privileges; privileged classes speedily become powerful and arrogant; power and arrogance infallibly tend to foster and encourage pretentious display and lavish expenditure; unbridled extravagance—be it public or private—inevitably lowers the standard of public morals, and in all governments corruption in classes, parties, and individuals has ever preceded the decline of liberty; and it has been this tendency of Republican theories and Republican legislation to generate fraud that has driven so many of the purest and best Republicans into the ranks of their party opponents.

Alexander Hamilton, the ablest advocate of a strong centralized government this country ever produced, and who had devoted his life to the study of the effects of different systems, boldly and frankly admitted that such a government must necessarily be corrupt, but still contended it was the best, because if too much power were given to the people the government would be unstable and could not be durable.

That Hamilton failed to comprehend the ability of the people to govern themselves the history of our country abundantly proves.

THE FRUITS OF A VICIOUS SYSTEM.

We therefore make no reflection upon men, but only point out the evils of the system which an experience of twenty-four years has proved to be subversive of free institutions.

I shall not dwell upon the many wrongs suffered by the people during this long period of Republican supremacy. They are passed, and have often been rebuked.

I will only briefly mention the stupendous Credit Mobilier fraud which once disgraced the American Congress, the Whisky-Ring frauds which stained, as with blood, the steps and doors and inner portals of the mansion once occupied by Washington, by Jefferson, by Jackson, by Lincoln, and now by Grover Cleveland—frauds committed by trusted officials so near the Executive that his integrity might have been suspected had not his open, frank, and honest character precluded the pos-

sibility that he could have been cognizant of the crimes of those who abused his confidence.

I shall barely refer to the Naval frauds, whereby at least $100,000,000 were squandered to enrich a Secretary of the Navy and his favored friends. I shall only drop a tear over the atrocity by which the ermine of the Supreme Court was dragged from the lofty place it held in the estimation of Americans and the world when members of that tribunal consented to aid party purposes and deprived 45,000,000 people of their constitutionally and legally elected President, and placed in the Presidential chair a man who had no shadow of legal right or title to the position; and I shall revive for but a moment the unsavory memories of the post-tradership scandals, the unparalleled rascalities of the star routes, and the wholesale robberies of the carpet-bag governments, whose officials "thrust their larcenous fingers into the pockets of posterity and mortgaged the labor of children yet unborn."

All these are things of the past, but they are a part—an important and inseparable part—of the history of the party that was swept from power by an indignant people in 1884.

DEMOCRATS REDRESS REPUBLICAN WRONGS.

I will, however, venture to remind you that, in the interest of banks and accumulated wealth, the Republican party enacted laws to retire or destroy all the greenback circulation, and demonetized silver as a circulating medium, thus confining our money circulation to gold and national-bank currency.

The Democratic party, in the interest of the people, repealed one of these laws and preserved for them $346,000,000 of paper currency. That party also restored silver as money of exchange and required its continued coinage.

During the period from 1862 to 1866 the Republican party gave to corporations more than 185,000,000 acres of the public domain, nearly equal to the entire area of the original thirteen States of the Union.

The conditions upon which these lands were donated were not complied with, but nevertheless the donees were allowed to retain this empire of land until power was regained by the Democratic party.

During the last four years we have restored to the people 103,000,000 acres, and a Democratic House has enacted laws which restore 55,000,000 acres in addition, the total, 158,000,000, being an extent of territory exceeding the combined area of the twelve great States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maine, Ohio, Maryland, Delaware, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut; and in doing this we have declared that the public domain shall be retained as a sacred legacy for homesteads for the American people.

REPUBLICAN LAWS TO CHEAPEN LABOR.

The fallacy of the pretensions of the Republican party that they are, and have ever been, peculiarly solicitous for the welfare of the workingmen, is shown by the general tenor of nearly all the laws enacted by them which affect labor, and notably by the fact that the first and only law sanctioning and legalizing the importation of cheap foreign labor under contract was enacted when the Republicans had more than two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress. The passage of this law was urged by Senator SHERMAN upon the ground that "labor is too high in this country."

Democrats rebuked this insult to Americans, repealed the law, and made it an indictable offense to import cheap contract labor. In the face of this General Harrison, the candidate of the Republican party, says the difference is little—

Whether the cheap laborer is across the street or over the sea.

If cheap contract labor is brought to America it enables Mr. Blaine and others who employ it to increase their gains by reducing the price of labor, while Democrats have demanded that cheap labor shall remain "over the sea," where it belongs.

The Republican party have built up, fostered, and encouraged all kinds of "combines," monopolies, and trusts, the exactions of which have developed great wealth and arrogance on the one side, and poverty, privation, and suffering on the other.

In a recent Washington paper I find a dispatch, which I will read:

BY ORDER OF THE SUGAR TRUST.

Pursuant to the order issued by President Havemeyer, of the sugar trust, the two large sugar refineries of the firm of DeCastro & Donner were closed down to-day at noon, and one thousand men were thrown out of work.

This illustrates the arbitrary manner in which the wrongly-acquired power of these trusts, created and protected by Republican legislation, is exercised to the great injury of the people. One thousand men are deprived of the opportunity of providing for themselves and families, and a necessity of life is made more costly. This is not an isolated case. Diminution of production, enforced idleness of working men and women are the natural, the inevitable, consequences of the partial Republican legislation, which the Democratic party is now striving to modify in the interest of the people.

For many months past orders of the same import as that of the sugar trust I have just read have appeared in the papers of the country almost daily.

UNJUST TAX LAWS.

The absolute falsity of the claim that the Republican party have protected the interests of the workingmen is further shown by the fact that while that party was in unrestricted control of the Government it abolished nearly every tax which fell upon the rich, but took no steps to lighten the burden of taxation laid upon the poor.

The tax on incomes, paid only by the wealthy or the comparatively well-to-do, was repealed; the railroad, express, and insurance companies were relieved of the taxes they had paid; the taxes on banks, bankers, bank circulation, bank deposits, and bank checks were abolished; and the Republican party, with an audacity almost inconceivable, claims credit for thus lightening the burdens of the people.

But the farmer, the mechanic, and the laboring man, whose "income" had been reduced by imported foreign cheap labor—imported because, as a prominent Republican leader asserted, "labor was too high in this country"—have still to pay exorbitant taxes on the implements he must use and on the tools he works with. They still pay taxes on plows, trace-chains, axes, hammers, files, nails, saws; on the shingles upon his roof, the panes of glass in his rooms, the wood in his infant's cradle, and on the shroud and coffin which cover his dead.

Then, too, as I have before stated, the Republican party alone is responsible for the laws which have fostered and protected all the trusts and combinations of capital by which, with the aid of tariff laws in the interest of accumulated capital, the price of almost every necessary of life has been enhanced and the cost of living to the poor man greatly increased.

THE EVILS AND WRONGS OF TRUSTS.

One trust adds 2 cents a pound to the price of sugar; another adds 1 cent a pound to the price of salt; another adds 30 per cent. to the price of slate pencils; another adds 40 per cent. to the price of oil-cloth; another adds 80 cents a gallon to castor-oil; another adds 25 per cent. to paper envelopes; another 100 per cent. to cotton bagging; another rests upon a tariff tax of $17 a ton on steel rails, and materially increases the cost of railroad travel and transportation; another adds 1¼ cents per pound to the price of nails; another adds 2 cents per pound to the cost of iron nuts and washers; another adds more than one-half a cent per pound to the cost of barbed fence wire; another adds 2½ cents a pound to the price of copper; another adds 1½ cents a pound to the price of lead; another rests upon a tax of 15 cents a pound on nickel; another adds 30 per cent. to the price of cordage; another rests upon a 35 per cent. tax on gutta-percha; another adds 25 cents per gallon to the price of linseed-oil; another adds 5 cents a pound to the price of borax and boracic acid, 3 cents a pound to the price of crude borax and borate of lime, and 4 cents a pound to the price of commercial boracic acid; and still another adds 2½ cents a pound to the price of zinc.

Every one of these trusts and "combines" is hostile to the interests of those who labor, and they have therefore been attacked by the Democratic party, and this character of legalized extortion has been defended against these attacks by the most influential and most prominent Republican leader, Mr. Blaine, who declared in one of his speeches—

They (trusts) are largely private affairs, with which neither President Cleveland nor any private citizen has any particular right to interfere.

To this dogmatic and authoritative exposition of the Republican party's attitude toward trusts an honored and able leader of the Democracy very pertinently replied:

Larceny is a private affair—a very private affair—and yet it is not supposed to be improper to interfere with it by law. The highwayman who demands your money or your life is engaged in a private enterprise, but still the law takes cognizance of his act and punishes it as a crime.

PARTY ATTITUDES ON TRUSTS.

And these two utterances forcibly indicate the striking difference in the views entertained by the Democratic and Republican parties regarding these combinations which have for their object to exact tribute from the great body of the people to satisfy individual greed and rapacity.

The Republicans say they must not be interfered with, because they violate no law. Democrats insist that the welfare and safety of the people is the highest law, and demand that all laws which render oppression of the people possible must be promptly modified or repealed. Witness the following ringing declaration of our platform:

Judged by Democratic principles the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them as purchasers of the benefits of natural competition.

And upon this explicit declaration of Democratic principles President Cleveland in his letter of acceptance comments in this vigorous and unequivocal language:

Such combinations have always been condemned by the Democratic party. The declaration of its national convention is sincerely made, and no member of our party will be found excusing the existence or belittling the pernicious results of these devices to wrong the people. Under various names they have been punished by the common law for hundreds of years, and they have lost none of their hateful features because they have assumed the name of trusts instead of conspiracies.

We believe that these trusts are the natural offspring of a market artificially restricted; that an inordinately high tariff, beside furnishing the temptation for their existence, enlarges the limit within which they may operate against the people and thus increase the extent of their power for wrongdoing.

With an unalterable hatred of all such schemes we count the checking of the baleful operations among the good results promised by revenue reform.

Mr. Cleveland is by no means alone in this assertion that these combinations and trusts have always been condemned by the Democratic party. Mr. Blaine, in the speech I have before referred to, said:

When President Cleveland delivered his message he had something to say to the American people about the danger of "trusts." I think there have been since no Democratic papers in the country, whether they understood the meaning of the word or not, that have not been constantly warning the people of the horrible danger of trusts.

And as if in anticipation of the inevitable results of this system of centralization, a prominent Republican, nearly a quarter of a century ago, made this remarkable prediction:

As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.

MISSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

These are some of the wrongs which it is our duty to correct, and they bring to my mind reflections which the pending contest between the two parties has forced upon my consideration, and which I think should properly be laid before the people. Can there be any doubt as to the result? Principles dear to American freemen on the one side, and those abhorred by them on the other.

The mission of the Democratic party is a grand and lofty one. It seeks to bring our country back to the golden days of honest purity, when all industrious and frugal men could acquire a competence, and when the upward march of the prosperous was not upon the blighted hopes and broken fortunes of their fellow beings. Can any one whose breast retains a spark of love for his country and for humanity hesitate when the prize to be sought involves the welfare and happiness of over 20,000,000 American citizens who toil for the support of themselves and their families.

Some gentlemen have demanded that we cease the struggle, at least for a time, promising that it shall be renewed at another session or another Congress. I have opposed and will continue my opposition to a moment's truce or the surrender of an inch of the vantage ground gained by our party. I insist, and I believe a large majority of the Democratic party will insist, that the fight should be continued until the battle is won. As our ancestors at Runnymede wrung from King John the "Magna Charta"—that priceless grant of liberty and constitutional government—so we will wring from the Senate of the United States a concession as valuable to the people of this land of freedom as was the Magna Charta to the down-trodden subjects of the proud English monarch. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN (before Mr. WHEELER had concluded his remarks). The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. WHEELER. Will the consideration of this bill be resumed to-morrow?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] has three minutes remaining before the hour expires.

Mr. MCRAE. My purpose is to withdraw this bill and call up another which I hope will not meet with such objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman withdraw the bill?

Mr. MCRAE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill is withdrawn. There are two minutes of the hour remaining.

Mr. MCKENNA. Then the bill which was under consideration and to which the gentleman from Alabama addressed his remarks, is no longer before the House.

INDEMNIFICATION FOR SWAMP AND OVERFLOWED LANDS.

Mr. MCRAE. I desire to call up the bill (S. 758) to relieve purchasers of, and to indemnify certain States for, swamp and overflowed lands disposed of, and for other purposes.

The Clerk proceeded to read the bill; but before the reading was concluded,

The CHAIRMAN said: The hour for the consideration of bills reported by committees has expired. The committee will rise.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mr. RICHARDSON reported that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union having had under consideration the bill (S. 758) to relieve purchasers of, and to indemnify certain States for, swamp and overflowed lands disposed of, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that the committee had examined and found duly enrolled bills of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (S. 869) for the relief of the sufferers by the wreck of the United States steamer Tallapoosa;

A bill (S. 1856) to establish a life-saving station on the Atlantic coast between Indian River Inlet, Delaware, and Ocean City, Md.;

A bill (S. 3234) to abolish circuit-court powers of certain district courts of the United States and to provide for writs of error in capital cases, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 3573) granting the right of way to the Pensacola and Memphis Railroad Company over and through the public lands of the United States in the States of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and granting the right of way to said railroad company over and through the United States naval and military reservation near Pensacola, in the State of Florida;

A bill (S. 3390) to create the Lincoln land district in the Territory of New Mexico; and

A bill (H. R. 7516) to increase the pension of Sylvester Stearns.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. FRENCH, by unanimous consent, obtained indefinite leave of absence, on account of important business.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I move that the House now adjourn.

Mr. HIESTAND. I ask the privilege of presenting a proposition to print a document.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that does not cut off the motion to adjourn.

The SPEAKER. It does not.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The gentleman can bring up that matter to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee declines to yield.

The question being taken on the motion to adjourn, it was agreed to—ayes 36, noes 14.

The House accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) adjourned.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. BINGHAM: A bill (H. R. 11574) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to donate certain condemned arms to the Naval Post No. 400, Department of Pennsylvania, Grand Army of the Republic, located at Philadelphia—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE: A bill (H. R. 11575) granting a pension to Judith M. Springate—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HEARD: A bill (H. R. 11576) granting a pension to Thomas J. Meriott—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RYAN: A bill (H. R. 11577) granting a pension to Andrew M. Jackson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SAWYER: A bill (H. R. 11578) to increase the pension of Rowland Ward—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SENEY: A bill (H. R. 11579) granting a pension to George F. Orwick—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STOCKDALE: A bill (H. R. 11580) for the relief of Julia A. Nutt—to the Committee on War Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BINGHAM: Memorial and other papers of the Naval Post No. 400, Grand Army of the Republic, for the passage of a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to donate to that post certain condemned arms—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MCCOMAS: Petition of Michael William Fout, for reference of his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MARTIN: Petition of W. J. ——— and 86 other citizens of Anderson County, Texas, in favor of pure food and pure lard—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MONTGOMERY: Petition of Elizabeth Landolt, of Joseph McDower, of Silas Jourdan, of John Keith, of John A. Rains, of Anthony McElvay, of Harvey Slaughter, of S. W. D. Stone, of James S. Stull, of William D. Wood, and of Pius Boothe, of Kentucky, for reference of their claims to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. OSBORNE: Nine petitions of sundry citizens of the Twenty-fifth district of Pennsylvania, in favor of pure food and pure lard—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. RICHARDSON: Petition of heir of Samuel Smith, of Franklin County, Tennessee, for reference of his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ROGERS: Petition of citizens of Arkansas, for the passage of House bill No. 11027—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SCULL: Petition of John Lorrick and 42 others, of Blair County, and of G. W. Osler and 24 others, of Osterburgh, Pa., in favor of pure food and pure lard—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. STONE, of Kentucky: Petition of Mary A. Baker, of Joseph Spencer, of Daniel Rings, of John C. Lummis, of Scott Noel, of Samuel Goodwin, of William W. Edwards, and of W. Carlisle, of Kentucky, for reference of their claims to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WASHINGTON: Petition of N. J. Bradley and 43 others, of Humphrey County, Tennessee, in favor of the lard bill and pure food bill—to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *October* 9, 1888.

Prayer by Rev. C. B. RAMSDELL, of the city of Washington.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

DEFICIENCIES IN APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. HALE. I present the report of the conference committee on the deficiency appropriation bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report of the committee of conference will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and prior years, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 10, 13, 14, 19, 23, 26, 28, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 64, 66, 67, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 90, 91, 93, 100, 103, 114, 116, 117, 137, and 231.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 83, 87, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, and 229, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 11: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 11, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed, insert "$1,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 12: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 12, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed in said amendment, insert "$6,000;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 29: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 29, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"To refund to the heirs of C. A. J. Flemister the balance of the proceeds of a sale of certain real estate of said Flemister, covered into the Treasury over and above his indebtedness to the Government, $475."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 42: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 42, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Increase of water supply, Washington, D. C.: For expenses of the joint select committee appointed under a concurrent resolution of Congress to investigate the work upon and contracts and other matters relating to the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, $5,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be disbursed by the Clerk of the House of Representatives on vouchers approved by said joint select committee."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 54: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 54, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 7 of said amendment strike out the word "sixty-seven" and insert in lieu thereof the word "sixty-six;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 63: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 63, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed in said amendment insert "$1,328.07;" and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 107: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 107, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"To provide for the payment of the claims enumerated in Senate Executive Document No. 270, Fiftieth Congress, first session, for fees of district attorneys, as follows, namely: Fiscal year 1886, $320; for fiscal year 1887, except the claim numbered 103949 in said Senate Executive Document, $3,833.70; in all, $4,153.70."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendments numbered 112 and 113: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 112 and 113, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendments insert the following:

"Industrial Home in Utah Territory: The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to cause all of the unexpended balances of appropriations made by two acts of Congress, one approved August 4, 1886, to aid in the establishment of an industrial home in the Territory of Utah and to provide employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy and the children of such women of tender age in said Territory, with a view to aid in the suppression of polygamy therein; and the other act approved February 1, 1888, to aid the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah in carrying on, under its articles of incorporation, the work of providing employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who shall have renounced polygamy and their children of tender age, now in the hands of Caleb W. West, or any other person or corporation, to be immediately paid over and delivered to a properly qualified disbursing officer of the United States, to be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury. And said Secretary of the Treasury is further directed to cause a valid title to the lot or lots of ground in the city of Salt Lake in said Territory that were purchased and paid for with money of the United States appropriated in the acts before cited to be immediately vested absolutely and unconditionally in the United States forever. When said balances are fully paid over to said disbursing officer, the Utah commission shall be and become the board of management and control thereof and of all expenditures of said money, and of such as may be hereinafter appropriated, and the said board of management and control shall proceed at once, on plans and specifications to be made or approved by said board, to erect or complete on said lot or lots a building adapted and designed to carry out the purposes of this act, and which when entirely completed and finished, including the approaches and the fencing and grading of said lot or lots, shall not in cost exceed the sum of $50,000; and for these purposes the money appropriated under the two acts of Congress above recited and unexpended is hereby appropriated, and a further sum is hereby appropriated to complete the work above mentioned, not exceeding the sum of $24,000.

"There is also hereby appropriated the further sum of $4,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to suitably furnish said building when the same shall have been completed.

"When said building shall have been completed and furnished it shall be placed in the custody of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory to be used and occupied by it for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of polygamy and of furnishing an industrial home and providing employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy, and the children of such women of tender age in said Territory; and for the purpose of extinguishing polygamy the following classes may also be received, to wit:

"First. First or legal wives.

"Second. Women and girls with polygamous surroundings in danger of being coerced into polygamy.

"Third. Girls of polygamous parentage anxious to escape from polygamous influences.

"Fourth. Women and girls who have been proselyted elsewhere and remove into the Territory in ignorance of the existence there of polygamy.

"For aiding in the work of said association for the present fiscal year, including the transportation of inmates of the institution who desire to permanently remove from said Territory, $4,000.

"Said Utah Commission shall hereafter act as the board of control over said association, both in the erection of said building and in the conduct of the work of the association hereafter.

"Said Utah Commission shall audit all expenditures of said association under any appropriations herein or hereafter made, and shall make an annual report to Congress covering their expenditures and work hereunder, together with that of said association.

"Said Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory for the work herein defined shall have the use and occupation of said building and grounds, free of rent or charge, until such time as said work shall be accomplished, or Congress shall otherwise direct, when possession and occupation of the same shall revert to the United States."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 115: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 115, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment and insert, after line 2, page 2, of the bill, the following:

"To pay out of humane consideration, and without reference to the question of liability therefor, the sum of $276,619.75 to the Chinese Government as full indemnity for all losses and injuries sustained by Chinese subjects within the United States at the hands of residents thereof."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 130: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 130, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"To reimburse the Official Reporter of the Senate for moneys paid for clerical hire during the first session of the Fiftieth Congress, and for extra clerical services and expenses occasioned by the prolongation of the session, $5,000."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 138: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 138, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"To pay all session employés of the House of Representatives authorized by the 'Act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for other purposes,' approved March 3, 1887, to the end of the present session of Congress, $45,000.

"To pay M. H. Clark for services as additional clerk to Committee on Enrolled Bills, from September 27 to October 7, 1888, $66."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 230: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 230, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: After the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment, insert the following:

"SEC. 7. That for the payment of the following claims certified to be due by the several accounting officers of the Treasury Department under appropriations the balance of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of section 5 of the act of June 20, 1874, and under appropriations heretofore treated as permanent, being for the service of the fiscal year 1885 and prior years, and which have been certified to Congress under section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884, as fully set forth in House Executive Document No. 455, Fiftieth Congress, first session, there is appropriated as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE SECOND AUDITOR AND SECOND COMPTROLLER.

"For pay of two and three year volunteers, 1871 and prior years, $27,708.15.

"For bounty to volunteers and their widows and legal heirs, 1871 and prior years, $20,069.46.

"For bounty, act of July 28, 1866, 1880, and prior years, $4,525.89.

"For pay, and so forth, of the Army, 1886 and prior years, $369.47.

"For pay, and so forth, of the Army, 1887, $606.20.

"For pay, and so forth, of the Army, 1888, $225.75.

"INTERIOR DEPARTMENT CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE SECOND AUDITOR AND SECOND COMPTROLLER.

"For pay of Indian agents, 1886 and prior years, $206.75.

"WAR DEPARTMENT—CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE THIRD AUDITOR AND SECOND COMPTROLLER.

"For transportation of the Army and its supplies, 1886 and prior years, $64.81.

"For regular supplies, Quartermaster's Department, 1886 and prior years, $59.25.

"For incidental expenses, Quartermaster's Department, 1886 and prior years, $164.62.

"For clothing and camp and garrison equipage, 1886 and prior years, $88.

"For 50 per cent. of arrears of Army transportation due certain land grant railroads 1886 and prior years, $5.68.

"For commutation of rations to prisoners of war in rebel States and to soldiers on furlough prior to July 1, 1886, $435.

"For contingencies of fortifications, $49.33.

"For pay, transportation, services, and supplies of Oregon and Washington Volunteers in 1855 and 1856, 1871, and prior years, $23.67.

"For horses and other property lost in the military service prior to July 1, 1886, $5,415.16.

"NAVY DEPARTMENT—CLAIMS ALLOWED BY THE FOURTH AUDITOR AND SECOND COMPTROLLER.

"For pay of the Navy prior to July 1, 1886, $18,798.40.

"For pay, Marine Corps, prior to July 1, 1886, $11.40.
"For provisions, Navy, Bureau of Provisions and Clothing, 1886 and prior years, $2,327.93.
"For enlistment bounties to seamen, prior to July 1, 1886, $100.
"For the payment of claims for difference between actual expenses and mileage allowed under the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Graham *vs.* United States, $135.50."
And the Senate agree to the same.

EUGENE HALE,
W. B. ALLISON,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

JAS. N. BURNES,
JOSEPH D. SAYERS,
THOS. RYAN,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is upon concurring in the report of the committee of conference.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I should like to have the Senator from Maine explain, if he will, why it is that the action of the Senate in making provision for the balance of a year's salary to the widow of the late Chief-Justice appears to have fallen out of the bill.

Mr. HALE. The only explanation of that is that, try as hard as we could and did, we were unable to make any impression upon the House conferees on that matter. The subject was fully discussed over and over again. The House conferees from the beginning took the ground that they could not assent to an item of this kind, which, as they claimed, had no precedent on which it could be based, being put upon an appropriation bill.

It was intimated that if a separate bill, standing upon its own merits, providing a year's salary or the balance of it for the widow of the late Chief-Justice, should at any time be introduced and passed by the Senate, the objections, so far as those gentlemen, the members of the conference on the part of the House, were concerned, might not be as strong. My impression is that a bill of that kind, standing by itself, not put on an appropriation bill, could be passed by the other House, from what I have learned; but we have found it impossible to retain the provision of that Senate amendment in the bill.

The nearest approach to a precedent we could find was a statute which was cited to us by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. EDMUNDS], which provided for such a gratuity as this, the balance of a year's salary, or an entire year's salary, to a United States judge in Florida who died at his post from yellow fever contracted there; but that was not done on an appropriation bill.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator from Maine whether there are not abundant precedents for granting the balance of a year's salary to the widows of members of the House of Representatives and members of the Senate who die in office? In that particular did the House conferees point out any distinction in principle between the two cases, the two officers?

Mr. HALE. That has always been done and recognized, but it has not been done in the case of the family of a Chief-Justice.

Mr. HOAR. I so understand, and I was not poking the question at the Senator to indicate any want of fidelity or any inconsistency, but in order to call attention to the precedent.

Mr. HALE. There are plenty of precedents not only of that kind, but with reference to the foreign service on the death of ministers; but the answer of the other House was that the circumstances there are peculiar, that the ministers die abroad, and that is a matter which has passed into acceptance.

What they claimed was (and I had forgotten myself that the record was such) that we had not intervened in this way even in the case of Chief-Justices who have died poor and left their families under the constraint of narrow affairs. In short, we were not able to persuade the conferees on the part of the House to assent to the Senate amendment under any condition on this bill, and so rather than that the bill should fail we yielded. I am sorry we had to do so.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I have no doubt the Senate conferees did their best to carry out the expressed opinion of the Senate. It is, of course, impossible to distinguish this case from the allowances that we make to the widows of members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate and the widows of the employés of both branches. If any possible distinction could be suggested, it would be in favor of making an allowance in this case rather than in the others, for all members of Congress who have any possible means of earning money, either at farming or at the law, or in manufactures or in trade, or whatever, are authorized by the Constitution and the laws to continue those employments while they are still in the Government service, and make by their labor and industry what they can besides, while the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, as well, I think it safe to say, as all the inferior judges of the courts of the United States, are by law prohibited from engaging in their profession of the law; and while they are not prohibited by law from engaging in business they feel it to be a bounden duty in respect of the sacredness and impartiality of their offices that they shall not engage in any active business. Of course if they have any property which is invested, that goes on, but in respect of carrying on affairs they are set aside entirely.

Therefore when Chief-Justice Waite came to this office all his practice and all his worldly affairs were set aside, and he devoted himself to the office. For two years after he might have retired and received his full salary, and when the Treasury of the United States would have paid an equal salary to another judge, he continued to do his duty well and faithfully and saved double the amount of money that this appropriation proposed to give his widow.

I am sorry that the House of Representatives could not see how proper this provision was. I am sorry that they could not see that the suitable place for it should be in an appropriation bill, as it is not a claim of the widow. It is no business contract or engagement; it relates to no private affair; but it proceeds upon the public sense of propriety and justice.

The fact that there is no precedent in respect of Chief-Justices is accounted for from the fact that there is no precedent of a case of this kind that is within my recollection. Perhaps I am mistaken, but I am confident that Chief-Justice Marshall died without leaving a widow; I am confident that Chief-Justice Taney died without leaving a widow; I am confident that Chief-Justice Chase died without leaving a widow; and so certainly for a period of more than half the life of this nation and of a century no instance of this kind has occurred where a Chief-Justice of the United States, after a long, faithful, honorable, and useful career has suddenly left the service of the country by death, leaving a widow in circumstances that make it delicate and gracious and right for Congress to make some suitable provision for and recognition of her, not as a pension, but as, once for all, a substantial gratuity in view of the services her husband had performed.

There is only one precedent that I know of in the case of a judge. It is true we provide for ourselves and our employés in both Houses and the executive branches of the Government in foreign countries, and so on; but when it comes to the judiciary we have not made such provision in so far as I know except in one instance, that of a district judge of the United States who, after a career not a quarter as long as that of the late Chief-Justice, died in Florida at his post in his field of duty of a disease peculiar to that climate, yellow fever, when Congress, without any division of parties, and only a few years ago, gave to his widow the full amount of a whole year's salary—not the balance of it. In this instance the late Chief-Justice died at his post in Washington of pneumonia, a disease incident to this climate, and the House of Representatives can not find it in their heart to make provision for his widow.

I shall try the experiment to-day or to-morrow of introducing a special bill, which was referred to, and see if the Senate will pass it, and if it will we will try it at the other end.

Mr. HALE. I hope the Senator will do that. The conferees on the part of the Senate were, so far as their action goes, fully persuaded of the justice and merit of this appropriation, and recognized fully the great services which had been rendered by the late Chief-Justice who died at his post, and that his family are in a condition where such a grant or benefaction would be most fit and appropriate. We were met by the strong and unrelenting nay of the House of Representatives, and we were unable of course to get it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is the Senate ready for the question on agreeing to the report of the committee of conference?

The report was concurred in.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, recommending an appropriation for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the recent Chinese-exclusion act, approved October 1, 1888, and transmitting a provision for insertion in an appropriation bill to accomplish that end; which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

DR. JOHN B. READ.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of October 4, 1888, calling for papers in the claim of Dr. John B. Read, a copy of Department letter of June 4, 1888, communicating, in response to a similar resolution, all the papers on record in that case to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The communication, with the accompanying papers, will be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and printed, if there be no objection.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I wish to suggest in this connection that the papers I saw bearing upon this subject (which is a very extraordinary one in point of principle, I think, but I do not wish to go into the merits of it now) purported to be and were undoubtedly the report of the board organized by the Secretary of War, consisting of a major, a captain, and a lieutenant in the Army, stating their findings upon the subject.

The joint resolution of Congress upon which the inquiry was had, required, if I interpret it correctly, that the evidence, and all the evidence, on which the board acted, should also be returned to Congress for consideration. I could not find in the papers that I saw—they appear now to have been original—any report of what the evidence was which was submitted or any copies of it, but only a statement of what it tended to show apparently, as a lawyer would express it.

I do not wish to delay the Senate now with any further motion, but at some time I hope the Committee on Military Affairs (as it will have ample time, now that the matter is understood to go over until December) will endeavor to obtain from the War Department all the documents and all the evidence in detail of whatever kind that was laid before that board, so that we may know exactly what the case is. With that observation, I have nothing further to say.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Petitions and memorials are now in order.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HOAR presented the petition of Elizabeth McHugh, of Worcester, Mass., praying to be allowed a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. VANCE. I ask consent to be permitted to make a statement in correction of something that occurred yesterday.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from North Carolina will proceed.

Mr. VANCE. At the conclusion of my remarks yesterday the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] rose and said that I had made a mistake in stating that opium prepared for smoking was placed upon the free-list by the bill of the Committee on Finance. Upon examining the bill I find that he is correct and that I did make a mistake in so stating; but I desire to state that I followed the report of the committee, which states in its appendix C, published in the RECORD, that opium for smoking is placed upon the free-list, and also that the report of the committee published in pamphlet form for general distribution contains the same statement, that opium is placed upon the free-list when prepared for smoking. So I made the mistake by following the report of the committee, and I hope that will serve as a warning to my countrymen at large not to take for granted that all that is stated by that committee concerning the bill is correct.

Mr. ALDRICH. What the Senator from North Carolina says is perhaps technically correct. In one sense the appendix is a portion of the report. The clerical error referred to was made in transcribing the list of articles named in one of the appendices as placed by the bill on the free-list. The error was not brought to the attention of any member of the committee until after it was printed. The statement was no essential part of the report of the committee, as the Senator from North Carolina understands, as well as myself. I stated last night that it was printed through inadvertence, and I have now explained the manner in which the mistake occurred. An examination of the bill by the Senator from North Carolina would have disclosed the error.

Mr. VANCE. The Senator did not say that it crept in through inadvertence, but that it was a misprint, the printer being the scapegoat.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it ought to be well understood, in view of the fact that the Senator from North Carolina says he followed the committee, that the committee, in the text of the bill from the beginning, as was stated by the Senator from Rhode Island, had prohibited the importation of opium for smoking. There never was a time in the consideration of the bill when that provision was not in it, nor was there ever a time when it was not one of the provisions that was fully discussed, for the reason that there is some legal question respecting it. I supposed at least that the Senator from North Carolina, being a member of the Committee on Finance, had read the bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. I wish to say further that that provision of the bill was read in the hearing of the Senator from North Carolina, and it is a warning to him that hereafter he should get his knowledge from the bill itself, and not from newspaper reports as to what it contains.

Mr. VANCE. I beg the pardon of the Senator from Rhode Island as well as the Senator from Iowa. That portion of the bill relative to the administrative branch of the subject was not read to the committee. Nothing but the schedules of taxation were read to the committee; and I very inadvertently and unwisely took the word of the committee as to this matter. I promise never to do so again, Mr. President, if I can be excused.

HOMESTEAD ENTRIES.

Mr. DOLPH submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3559) to amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to allow persons who have abandoned their homestead entries to make another entry, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

Amendment numbered 1: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 6 strike out the word "them" and insert the words "him or her upon the lands settled upon;" in line 8 strike out the words "they have" and insert "he or she has;" and the House agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: Strike out all of section 3 of said proposed amendment and insert in lieu thereof as follows:

"SEC. 3. That the price of all sections and parts of sections of the public lands within the limits of the portions of the several grants of lands to aid in the construction of railroads which have been heretofore and which may hereafter be forfeited, which were by the act making such grants, or have since been, increased to the double minimum price, and also of all lands within the limits of any such railroad grant and not embraced in the grant lying adjacent to and coterminous with the portions of the line of any such railroad which shall not be completed at the date of this act, is hereby fixed at $1.25 per acre."

And the House agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out all after the word "acres," in line 5, and insert as follows:

"Without proof of residence upon and cultivation of the additional entry, and if final proof of settlement and cultivation has been made for the original entry when the additional entry is made, then the patent shall issue without further proof."

Add as an additional section as follows:

"SEC. 5. That every person entitled under the provisions of the homestead laws to enter a homestead, who has heretofore complied with or who shall hereafter comply with the conditions of said laws, and who shall have made his final proof thereunder, for a quantity of land less than 160 acres, and received the receiver's final receipt therefor, shall be entitled under said laws to enter, by legal subdivisions of the public lands of the United States, subject to homestead entry, so much additional lands as, added to the quantity previously so entered by him, shall not exceed 160 acres: *Provided*, That in no case shall patent issue until the person making such additional homestead entry shall have actually and in conformity with the homestead laws resided upon and cultivated the land embraced therein, and otherwise complied with such laws."

And the House agree to the same.

Amend the title as follows:

Strike out the following words: "Amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to," and add, after the word "entry," the words "and for other purposes;" and the House agree to the same.

J. N. DOLPH,
J. H. BERRY,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

THOS. C. McRAE,
BINGER HERMANN,
JOS. WHEELER,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was concurred in.

ELECTORAL MESSENGERS.

Mr. HOAR. I am directed by the Committee on Privileges and Elections to report the bill (S. 3609) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising thereon."

I wish to say that this bill was not referred to the committee, but it was placed upon the Calendar for the reason which I stated when it was introduced. It has been examined by the members of the committee separately without a formal reference, and they instruct me (and I suppose it comes within the general authority of the committee on the subject) to report the bill. I ask that the bill may be put on its passage.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair thinks that under the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts, the bill being on the Calendar and not having been referred to the committee, it can hardly be reported from the committee except as an original bill.

Mr. HOAR. I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be treated as a report of the committee, and that it be put on its passage.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It may be treated as an original bill. The bill just reported will be read the first time by its title.

The bill (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising thereon," was read the first time by its title.

Mr. HOAR. I ask that the bill may be now considered.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The second reading of the bill will be at length, if there be no objection.

The bill was read the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the certificates and lists of votes for President and Vice-President of the United States, mentioned in chapter 1 of Title III of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and in the act to which this is a supplement, shall be forwarded, in the manner therein provided, to the President of the Senate forthwith after the second Monday in January, on which the electors shall give their votes.

SEC. 2. That section 141 of the Revised Statutes of the United States is hereby so amended as to read as follows:

"SEC. 141. Whenever a certificate of votes from any State has not been received at the seat of Government on the fourth Monday of the month of January in which their meeting shall have been held, the Secretary of State shall send a special messenger to the district judge in whose custody one certificate of the votes from that State has been lodged, and such judge shall forthwith transmit that list to the seat of Government."

Mr. HOAR. The bill merely changes the time at which the messenger is directed to bring the vote to Washington, to conform to the new law. I ask that the bill may be put upon its passage.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PREVENTION OF YELLOW FEVER.

Mr. HARRIS. The Committee on Epidemic Diseases, to which was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 111) relating to yellow fever and epidemic diseases, direct me to report a substitute. I report Senate joint resolution 111 back adversely and I shall ask that it be postponed indefinitely.

Mr. CALL. I hope the Senator from Tennessee will agree that the

joint resolution which has been adversely reported may be placed on the Calendar.

Mr. HARRIS. There is no objection to that.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered.

Mr. HARRIS. The substitute is reported in the form of a separate joint resolution.

The joint resolution (S. R. 113) concerning the conference to be held in Washington, December next, to consider the best means of preventing the introduction of yellow fever and other epidemic diseases into this country, was read twice by its title.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that the joint resolution now reported be at this time considered.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The joint resolution will be read at length for information, subject to objection.

The Secretary read the joint resolution.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. CALL. If we are to have the present consideration of the pending joint resolution, I should like to have both joint resolutions taken up. I have no objection to the matter being considered at this time.

Mr. BLAIR. I object to its consideration at this time, until the morning business is through, if there is to be debate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Are there further reports of committees?

PORT OF DELIVERY AT LINCOLN, NEBR.

Mr. FRYE. From the Committee on Commerce I report favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 10606) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery, and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that the bill, which is of local importance, may be now considered. There can be no possible objection to it.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let the bill be read for information.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be read at length, subject to objection.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Lincoln, in the State of Nebraska, be, and is hereby, constituted a port of delivery in customs collection district of New Orleans, and that the privileges of the seventh section of the act approved June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," be, and the same are hereby, extended to said port. And that there shall be appointed at said port a surveyor with compensation at $250 per annum and the usual fees.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I am under the impression, but I am possibly wrong, as the committee has probably looked into it, that there is a later provision than the act of 1880 upon this subject, and in order that all the present laws may apply I move to amend. If the clerks will send me the bill I can state exactly where the amendment will come in.

Mr. BLAIR. I desire to reserve the right to object if the bill leads to debate.

Mr. EDMUNDS. It will not lead to any debate.

Mr. MANDERSON. This is a House bill, and I should regret very much to see an amendment made unless in the opinion of the Senator from Vermont it is an absolute necessity. I think the act of 1880 as to the immediate transportation of dutiable goods is the last general act on the subject.

Mr. DOLPH. I think that act has been amended a great many times, but the amendments are of the same character as the pending bill, simply inserting certain ports in that act as entitled to its privileges.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I am under the impression (though as I say I am not speaking by the book, but it is only safe to amend it) that whatever law is in force now regarding other ports should be in force as to Lincoln. Nobody would question that; and as the bill names that specific act and that only, any later amendment to that act would not fall under this description technically. Of course there will be no trouble about its passage, and I move to amend by inserting after the word "purposes," in line 9, the words "and all other laws in force on the subject," so as to put it in exactly the category of the existing law as to other places.

Mr. DOLPH. I should like to call the attention of the Senator from Vermont to the fact that the act of 1880 contains two important sections. The first section provides that at certain ports goods may be brought in bond and transshipped on the payment of duty. The seventh section provides as to certain other ports to which goods may be shipped. I do not think there has been any amendment that has changed the provisions of those two sections; but if there has been, I suggest whether the amendment proposed by the Senator from Vermont would not be broader than the act. By the bill the port of Lincoln, in Nebraska, would be entitled to the privileges provided in the seventh section of the act of 1880; but if there has been any general amendment of the act of 1880 since, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Vermont would confer all the privileges of the amendatory act as a port to which goods might be entered and from which they might be shipped in bond, as well as the privileges of ports to which they may be shipped in bond.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask the Senator from Oregon if it is not a fact that the amendments to the act of 1880 have simply been the insertion of additional ports.

Mr. DOLPH. I have never known of any other amendments of that act.

Mr. MANDERSON. I do not think there has been any other change.

Mr. FRYE. We have examined a great many of those cases. We never report such a bill any different from this in its terms. It seems to me it is all that is necessary for the purposes sought.

Mr. EVARTS. Mr. President——

Mr. EDMUNDS. I will relieve the situation of my friend from New York [Mr. EVARTS] a little, if he will allow me. Under a constraint that I can not resist, but against my judgment, to save legislation I withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment is withdrawn.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

KILLING OF JOSEPH HOFFMAN, WASHINGTON COUNTY, TEXAS.

Mr. MANDERSON. On behalf of my colleague who is absent [Mr. PADDOCK], I report the following resolution favorably from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate. It is favorably reported with a proposed amendment. I ask for the present consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Whereas Joseph Hoffman, of Brenham, Washington County, Texas, a prominent German Republican of that county, and a witness before the subcommittee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate, was recently shot down, apparently in cold blood, in said city of Brenham; and

Whereas there is some reason to believe that the taking of his life was directly attributable to his political views and activity and to the fact that he had given strong testimony before the Senate committee upon the investigation, which is still pending, under order of the Senate, into alleged election outrages perpetrated in said Washington County, Texas; and

Whereas it is of the utmost importance that witnesses before Congressional investigating committees may, without danger to their lives, freely and fully testify concerning matters under investigation: Now, therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be, and it is hereby, instructed to investigate, either by the subcommittee in charge of the investigation of alleged outrages in Washington County, Texas, or by another subcommittee or otherwise, the circumstances attending the killing of said Joseph Hoffman, with especial reference to ascertaining whether said killing was in any sense due to the testimony given by said Hoffman before the Senate investigating committee as aforesaid, and the said committee, or its subcommittee as aforesaid, is hereby empowered, in pursuing said investigation, to send for persons and papers, and to employ a stenographer; and said committee is directed to report at the earliest practicable day to the Senate, the testimony, with their views thereon, and such recommendation, if any, as to the committee shall seem best, and the said committee may sit during the recess.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The proposed amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. The amendment proposed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate is to add:

The necessary expenses of such investigation to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers duly approved.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

By unanimous consent, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

WIDOW OF CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I introduce a bill which I ask may be read at length the first time, as I shall ask for its present consideration.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be read the first time at length.

The Secretary read as follows:

A bill (S. 3621) for the payment to the widow of the late Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite the balance of a year's salary.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, directed to pay to the widow of the late Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite the sum of $8,745, being a sum equal to the balance of his salary for the year in which he died.

The bill was read the second time by its title.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I venture to ask, contrary to my practice in the ordinary routine of the Senate, that this bill be now considered. I feel justified in doing so from the fact that the Committee on the Judiciary within a few weeks reported an amendment to the deficiency bill providing this very thing; it was considered by the Senate and agreed to; and under the circumstances which have been stated this morning has failed on that bill. I think therefore I am justified in asking the Senate without a reference to consider the bill at this time.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Vermont asks that the bill may be now considered. Is there objection?

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, I heard the statement made by the Senator from Vermont this morning of the obligations that rested upon Congress to give this money to Mrs. Waite, to none of which I agree.

I can not see that Mrs. Waite, more than the widow of any other civil officer of the United States, is entitled to receive a donation from Congress.

The Senator from Vermont said that we provided for the widows of Senators and Members of Congress, and paid them a year's salary. If that be true it ought not to be true. I do not believe that the Congress of the United States has a right to take money out of the Treasury that belongs to the whole people of this country and give it to the widows of Senators and the widows of members or the widow of any one else. When Chief-Justice Waite took his office he knew the salary attached to it. Practically it was part and parcel of his contract and understanding that he should serve for that; and we have no right, as I conceive, to give his widow or the widow of a Senator or Member of Congress or any one else money out of the Treasury of the United States. There are thousands of widows over all this land who are not widows of Senators or members or Chief-Justices, and they have the same right that the widow of the Chief-Justice of the United States has.

It is upon this principle that I oppose the bill. I believe it is building up that legislation of which I have heretofore spoken, called class legislation. I believe it is selecting a few favored individuals and taking the money that belongs to the people and providing that they shall live in luxury and ease, while thousands of others are obliged to toil from day to day. I can not vote for the bill, and I will not give my consent that it be now considered if unanimous consent be required.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Arkansas object?

Mr. BERRY. I object.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let the bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. There will be a meeting of the Judiciary Committee in about ten minutes.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. ALLISON introduced a bill (S. 3622) granting a pension to Henry Heuer; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 114) to quiet title in the United States to certain land in Miller County, Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. SAWYER introduced a bill (S. 3623) granting a pension to Maria Gribbon; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

REVENUE-BILL TESTIMONY.

Mr. ALDRICH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved, That in addition to the usual number, there be printed 750 copies of the testimony accompanying Senate Report No. 2332, for the use of the Senate.

ELLEN P. MALLOY.

Mr. HARRIS. A day or two ago the bill (H. R. 6348) for the relief of Mrs. Ellen P. Malloy was adversely reported and indefinitely postponed. I ask that the vote by which the indefinite postponement was had may be reconsidered and the bill placed upon the Calendar.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had directed him to return to the Senate in compliance with its request the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association, of the city of New York.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the concurrent resolution providing for a joint committee to investigate the work on the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

LOUIS RIEL.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate resolutions coming over from yesterday, offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BLAIR], the title of which will be read.

The SECRETARY. Resolutions calling for information in relation to Louis Riel, who was hanged for the alleged crime of treason by the authorities of Canada.

Mr. BLAIR. These resolutions were offered by me yesterday in consequence of information that had been brought to my knowledge from various sources, particularly through the public press and the publication of a book of apparently considerable merit and written with care and ability, bearing upon the case of Louis Riel. I may say further that private information in the way of correspondence from at least one responsible party has also induced me, with these other considerations, to offer the resolutions. The resolutions were read at length yesterday. They are in print and before the Senate.

I will state that, in substance, they assert that Riel, who was tried and convicted of treason and executed for that crime or alleged crime on the 16th of November, 1885, by the authorities of the Dominion of Canada, was an American citizen; that his trial was without due form and process of law; that, among other causes of defense, he was an insane person, which defense failed to be made with proper force and effect; that the verdict of the jury was, to be sure, guilty, but that it was with a recommendation to mercy; that mercy was not extended, and that he was executed for the crime, somewhat differently from the manner in which we treated the rebellion which occurred in this country but a few years ago, which was upon the most tremendous proportions, and which resulted in the death of no American citizen under the accusation of crime, or, at least, crime in consequence of participation in the rebellion; that a prominent French Canadian brought the circumstances of this man's case and his American citizenship to the attention of the President and Secretary of State, urgently asking for their interference, representing the helpless condition of the man, these mitigating circumstances, and that he was entitled to at least inquiry on the part of his Government into the circumstances under which he was awaiting death; that the Government declined absolutely to interfere, or to make inquiry, or to concern itself about the man's case in any wise whatsoever.

These allegations, the resolutions set forth, were made by one Edmund Mallett, who, I believe, ordinarily has the title of major, and is said to be a gentleman of high character and responsibility, who was at the time these occurrences took place in the employ of the Government, having some function in the Treasury Department; that he, being unable to obtain the attention of his Government to the case of Louis Riel, made much complaint with great publicity and published letters giving the circumstances in regard to the alleged dereliction and reluctance of the Government in the case of Louis Riel; that since these charges were made by Mr. Mallett and since the publication of the book to which I have alluded, and which has been brought, as I understand, to the attention of the President and the Secretary of State, this gentleman has been promoted to a still higher and more responsible position under the Government with increased compensation.

The resolutions do not assume that any of these charges are true, and call for such information as the Government may be able to give us in the premises. I will read to the Senate some of the additional proof, which has, I think, justified my offering, in fact made it an imperative duty to offer the resolutions. I have in my hand a letter from one Wilbur F. Bryant, of Nebraska, which is dated Hartington, Nebr., September 25, 1888, addressed to myself, and is in reply to a letter which I sent to Mr. Bryant after reading the book, "The Blood of Abel," of which he is author, and after reading an article in a prominent New York journal in which he reiterated these charges of negligence on the part of the Government and the unfortunate circumstances of the case of Mr. Riel, and in response to that letter I received this and also the book, which the letter states to be a compilation of facts. He says:

> In regard to Louis Riel my book, mailed yesterday, furnishes an authentic account of the Riel affair. The appendix shows some of the authorities consulted. I have these documents now.

Further on he says:

> The written matter I received from him—

That is, Major Mallett—

> would make a large book of itself. He was the personal and confidential friend of Riel, and, as such, made an appeal, first, to Secretary Bayard, and next to Grover Cleveland, on behalf of the unfortunate half-breed, both of which were unsuccessful.

Further on he says:

> Major Mallett a year ago was an unfortunate applicant for promotion. After the publication of my book, I sent three copies to the White House, and one to Secretary Bayard. Major Mallett has since then been promoted and removed to the Indian service.

He further says:

> Congressman GEORGE W. E. DORSEY, from this district, knows me, also Senator CHARLES F. MANDERSON. General MANDERSON is my personal friend of ten years' standing. I refer you to these gentlemen. Go on, and meet the gratitude of Riel's countrymen all over the land.

The letter is written urging that an investigation be called for, and I have made personal inquiry of the Senator from Nebraska, who informs me that this gentleman is a lawyer of high ability. In fact, his book demonstrates that he is an accomplished gentleman, and certainly well skilled in the matter of authorship. I understand him to be an entirely responsible gentleman, and a good lawyer, and I judge from the contents of the book that he is from my own State originally. I think I know his family connections, and, in fact, there can be no doubt that these allegations come from an entirely responsible source.

It seems that Riel was the son of a French Canadian and an Indian mother. He was a half-breed and belongs to the class of inhabitants known as the Metis in Canada. He lived in Manitoba at the time when the Hudson Bay Company transferred its title, or quasi title, to the soil of Canada to the English Government, about 1869. Difficulties arose in regard to the position of the half-breeds who had become partially civilized, and this man Riel, I ought to say, was, as everything shows, an educated gentleman of great capacity, and vigor, and intelligence. The difficulties in reference to the soil arose in this way: The squatters were in occupation. They had made great improvements on their lands, which had become valuable. They had, after the fashion of the French occupants or habitans of Canada, laid out their lands with a narrow

frontage on the street, the social character of the habitans leading them to establish themselves as far as possible, even when engaged in agricultural occupations, in little villages fronting upon the streets, while the land in long narrow strips passed to the rear to the extent of their holdings. The Government, acquiring the Hudson Bay Company's title, proceeded to survey the lands in different forms, largely disregarding the occupation and the improvements of the settlers, or wholly, perhaps, and laid them out after the fashion of our own country in quarter sections, square portions of land.

If the half-breeds, many of whom were ignorant and unable to follow their titles, had made seasonable application, they might perhaps have succeeded in getting the whole of the land which they had improved; but, as a rule, they were not informed, they failed to do this, and their occupation came to be disturbed by speculators and new settlers coming into the country. Disturbances arose in which these people felt that they were fighting for their homes, and, as we all remember, the sympathy of this whole country and, I think, of the whole world was with these unfortunate people.

An insurrection resulted. Of course it was suppressed. Mr. Riel left the country. A sentence of banishment, I think, was passed upon him. He came to the United States and located in Montana, where he lived for a long time. Finally, difficulties again culminated about the year 1882 or 1883 in the same portion of Canada, Manitoba; and as he had formerly been a leader of his people, Louis Riel was, at the request of a deputation of his people, induced to go again to his former residence in Manitoba; and he undertook the management of this agitation, which was designed to be a constitutional agitation for the establishment of their rights, entirely loyal to the Government of Great Britain, though, of course, bringing them into collision with the authorities of Canada; and with that purpose the agitation proceeded.

There was an entire failure to secure the equitable recognition, as these people claimed, of their rights by the Government of Canada, and force was made use of. General Middleton was sent into the territory with an overpowering force, and the resistance, which had assumed a forcible shape, was suppressed. Riel was captured. He was accused of high treason. He was executed on the 16th day of November, 1885.

I should have stated that after Riel's banishment and his retirement to Montana, in this country, and after the expiration of the period or term of his banishment, he applied for naturalization in one of the courts of Montana, and the decree of naturalization was made in due form. He appears to have been a naturalized American citizen, if we ever had one, and I will call more specific attention to that matter a little further on. If I remember correctly, the decree of naturalization is dated in the year 1883.

During the interim between the first and second insurrections Mr. Riel became insane. He was insane on the subject of the wrongs of his people. He came to conceive that he had a mission to perform for their liberation and a project in that direction which he was charged to carry out regardless of all opposition. Various hardships and sufferings came to be inflicted upon him in the prosecution of his design, until finally his mind became deranged and by the good offices of Major Mallett he was returned to the province of Quebec and for some nineteen or twenty months was under treatment in an asylum there for his insanity. He was afterwards discharged, supposed to have been cured, but when the call to head the second agitation was made upon him and during the excitement which resulted his mind was supposed to have become again disturbed, and Major Mallett says, in several statements, that he has no doubt and believes that Louis Riel was insane at the time of his trial and of his execution.

Something induced the jury to recommend him to mercy. None was extended, no interference was made on the part of our Government, although the American citizenship of this man seems to have been fully established, and it appears to me that, under all the peculiar circumstances of this case, it is a proper subject-matter for calling upon the Department for some sort of a reply.

From the book I read the following, on page 38:

Louis Riel was born October 22, 1844, at St. Boniface, Rupert's Land, on the western bank of a small creek which runs into the Red River from the east, a little north of the site of the present city of Winnipeg. This stream is called after that historic river the Seine. The subject of this sketch was the son of Louis Riel, sr., and Julie de Lagimaudiere. The house in which the child was born was a small, one-story, straw-thatched, log structure, containing but a single room. A saw-mill now stands about 3 rods north the historic spot. Louis was the eldest of eleven children, five of whom, with the mother, survive him.

Louis Riel belonged to the "Metis" or half-breed race. He was what they call in northern New England a French Indian.

I read these extracts without that logical arrangement, which perhaps should be made with reference to their subject-matter, but as I found them in the book. On page 64, speaking of Riel's trial, conviction, and execution, I find this:

Excessive toil, bitter disappointment, and galling poverty so wrought upon his sensitive nature that reason was dethroned. He had come to Washington with $1,000, the donation of a wealthy Canadian. In the space of several months he had given this, piecemeal, to a blind Italian beggar who sat daily in front of the Presbyterian Church on Ninth street. Thus was this high-minded and generous patriot reduced at once to madness and penury in a strange city. But God provided a friend. Riel was possessed of the delusion that he must die for the salvation of his race. Major Mallett took forcible possession of his person. But finding him moneyless, he was compelled to borrow cash from Father Keane, now Bishop of Richmond, to move the unfortunate North. Riel remained for nineteen months at the Beauport lunatic asylum in the province of Quebec.

His ailment was megalomania. This word is not found in the dictionaries. It is derived from two Greek words, *megale*, great, and *mania*, madness. It is a most peculiar and deceptive form of insanity. Its victim might easily pass for a sane person amongst the unobservant. The person afflicted with this mental disorder imagines himself charged with some great mission and altogether a most important person.

Riel was incarcerated under the name of La Rochelle. He remained under the treatment of the medical superintendent, Dr. Francis Ray, until he had recovered. He was discharged from the asylum January 21, 1878. Dr. Ray found his case a most peculiar one, and one requiring careful treatment. To this gentleman Riel confessed his true name.

* * * * * * *

Afterwards he declared his intention to become an American citizen. In the month of March, 1883, he applied to the district court of the United States at Helena, Mont., and on the 16th day of that month he became a citizen. Levi Jerome and E. L. Merrill (full Christian name unknown) appeared as witnesses.

The author goes on to say later in his book on the seventy third page:

This is no party pamphlet. The writer speaks as an American to Americans. On the 16th day of November of the year 1885, Louis Riel, an American citizen, was hanged at Regina, in the Northwest Territories, within the realm of Her Britannic Majesty, for high treason against the crown and dignity of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. The attention of President Cleveland and Secretary Bayard was called to the facts, but they refused to act in the matter. The Secretary of State did not consider the matter of sufficient importance to be mentioned in his annual report. Was this inaction of the United States Government justified by the facts in the case? The solution of this problem is the subject before us.

For the purpose of this volume it boots little that Louis Riel was Catholic or Protestant; that he was of French or Germanic, or of Indian, or of Irish, or of Swedish extraction; that he was a patriot, fanatic, impostor, or madman. For such purpose, it matters not whether he be considered a John Brown, a Count Cagliostro, an Anacharsis Clootz, a Don Quixote, a George Francis Train, or a William Tell. One proposition is beyond cavil: He was at his death an American citizen. That undisputed fact stamped upon him a dignity which neither race, religion, character, or condition could obliterate. *Civis Americanus fuit.* Forget all beside.

Various irregularities in the progress of the trial are pointed out at length in the book. If they are true, several of them are such, in my judgment, as would have led to the setting aside of the proceedings by an American court and would have given this man a new trial. On page 111 the author says:

After the condemnation of Riel, an appeal was taken to the court of Queen's bench of Manitoba.

The errors assigned were, in substance:

"I. That the law giving a stipendiary magistrate, with a justice of the peace and a jury of six, power to try the prisoner was contrary to Magna Charta.

"II. That the law required the information to be taken before a stipendiary magistrate and a justice of the peace, instead of the stipendiary alone.

"III. That the law required the magistrate to take the testimony in writing; and a short-hand reporter's notes were not in compliance with the statute.

"IV. That the evidence was insufficient.

"V. That the powers of the Dominion Parliament were delegated, not plenary; and their act was *ultra vires*."

The evidence and its alleged insufficiency are discussed at considerable length. In the book, on the one hundred and fifteenth page, is a citation from another author, one Rambaut, who wrote another book, it seems, on the subject, and this writer devotes several pages to Riel's case considered from an international standpoint. He says—I read now the quotation from the other book, which contains the matter from the same Maj. Edmund Mallett, of whom I have already spoken:

Taking up now the features of the case that have most interest for the student of political science, we notice, in the first place, that although the affidavit of indictment was evidently prepared to meet the objection that Riel was a naturalized American citizen, and therefore no subject of the Queen, the counsel on both sides omitted all reference to this fact. It seems to be generally believed that Riel was naturalized during his residence in the United States. If this be true, there can be no doubt that he ceased to be a British subject. The effect of naturalization, long a mooted question between the English and American governments, was definitely settled by the treaty of 1870. Riel was accordingly entitled to the same protection which would be due in like case to a native citizen of the United States. When it became evident that Riel was about to be executed under sentence of the Canadian court, the United States Government was asked to interfere in his behalf on account of his American citizenship acquired during his residence in Montana. In this matter, Maj. Edmund Mallet, of Washington, D. C., acted for Riel. He has very kindly written me a letter, in which he succinctly narrates his efforts in Riel's behalf, and the position taken by our Government. He says: "I first consulted Mr. Bayard, and he took this position substantially:

"1. That it was not the duty of the Government to inquire into the fact of Riel's American citizenship; and

"2. That the Government could not interfere even if he was an American citizen, either natural or adopted. If a case was brought to the attention of his Department it would be examined into, but under no circumstances could the Government, he thought, interfere unless it was shown conclusively that he had been discriminated against during his trial by reason of his American citizenship.

"When it became apparent to me that the Canadian Government had committed itself to the execution of Riel, under the pressure brought to bear upon it by the Orange lodges of Ontario, I went to the President and appealed to him to prevent this judicial murder. I based my appeal on the following [grounds]:

"1. That Riel was an American citizen; that he had been indicted as a British citizen, his American citizenship having been entirely ignored, although offer had been made to prove the fact by documents captured at the battle of Batoche and then in the Canadian Government's hands; and that he had been tried by a half jury of six men selected by the judge, and that judge was a mere justice of the peace;

"2. That Riel was insane, and I offered testimony to that effect; and

"3. That the authority to put a human being to death for any cause whatsoever is not inherent in the Government, but is delegated from God, and that such delegated power can be exercised only in certain conditions, such as sound mind, etc.

"The President seemed much interested in the case; expressed himself in sympathy with what I told him; but he considered it a very grave matter to interfere. At last I asked that he send for Mr. Bayard and the British minis-

ter, and see if an amicable understanding could be made to save Riel. The President then said that he would consult with the Secretary of State and see what could be done.

"During the night of the same day the Associated Press announced that the President had been constrained to decline interfering in the matter.

"The position taken by Secretary Bayard rests on sound international law. Our Government would not have been justified in interfering in the matter on the basis of the case presented to the Department of State. Although Riel was a naturalized American, he owed the Queen of Great Britain temporary allegiance while living within the borders of her realm, and he made himself liable for breach of the criminal law of the land. * * *

"Not only had the United States no right to interfere in Riel's behalf, but the Canadian court was in the right in ignoring Riel's citizenship. It was absolutely immaterial."

These are the comments of this other author, who falls to the other view that although Riel was an American citizen, the American Government had no right even to inquire, but must be approached with affirmative effort on the part of the person who needs the interference of his Government, that no matter how helpless he may be he must be able to set in motion the necessary machinery to reach the Department of State and the ear of the President and the executive power of this country, although he may be incarcerated and in a condition of the utmost helplessness by reason of the undertaking to subject him to wrongs in defiance of his American citizenship. That is the gist of the resolutions, the position alleged to be taken by the Government and justified by this author, who is quoted in the book I cite from, that there must be this affirmative power on the part of the helpless and defenseless American citizen to reach his Government before that Government will even open its eye or listen to the complaint of the American citizen about to suffer death, and, as it is alleged, unjustly.

This author goes on to say, in reference to the proposition laid down here of the interest of the party being sufficiently powerful to take care of himself and secure the intervention of his government:

If this proposition was ever even the subject of serious debate since the foundation of the world, the writer is not aware of it.

Further on in the book is a statement that eight years after his banishment, and after the expiration of his five years' term of banishment, he became an American citizen in March, 1883, by regular naturalization.

This author goes on to say:

It will be contended herein that the Government should have interfered in the case of Riel.

In describing the duty of the Government in a case like Riel's the language of President Cleveland himself will be employed:

"The watchful care and interest of this Government over its citizens are not relinquished because they are gone abroad, and if charged with a crime committed in the foreign land, a fair and open trial, conducted with a decent regard for justice and humanity, will be demanded for them."

"Out of thy own mouth I judge thee."

Under this rule laid down by the President it was the duty of his Administration to interfere, for the following reasons:

First. Riel was not guilty of any act which could be considered treason, when laying the question of citizenship entirely aside.

Second. Riel was tried upon the theory that he was a citizen of Great Britain, and not of the United States.

Third. The question of the prisoner's sanity or insanity was never fairly submitted to the jury.

Fourth. There was misconduct of the court in instructing the jury.

Fifth. There was a variance between the indictment and the proof.

These points are discussed at considerable length and with apparent proof that they may have been well founded.

Mr. REAGAN. Will the Senator allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. BLAIR. Certainly.

Mr. REAGAN. I ask whether it has ever been known that this Government or any other government in the world has interposed to protect one of its citizens who has been or is being tried abroad without that question being raised by the person on trial, and without that person having applied to his government for its interposition?

Mr. BLAIR. I think it has. I do not remember anybody making application to the United States Government in the Koszta case, for instance; and the Senator must see, I think, that the greater the helplessness and the need of an American citizen, the less likely and the less competent and able he is to make application for relief from his government.

I think it is the business of the American Government, as it has always been the business of the British Government, to pay attention to complaints, to hold itself open to inquiry, and to make inquiry upon the slightest suggestion that American citizenship in its rights is being violated either at home or abroad.

I do not say that this is a true charge, but the point of all this charge is that this man being an American citizen, and the proof being offered of his American citizenship, of the irregularities attending his trial, of his innocence, his insanity, and all these allegations being offered from responsible sources to the President and the Secretary of State, they refused to inquire, refused to listen, and said the case must be made affirmatively by the party in need, or nothing could be done.

The author says, on page 130:

II. Next Riel was tried upon the theory that he was a citizen of Great Britain and not of the United States. As before stated, the question of his citizenship was totally ignored after the motion for a continuance was disposed of.

The indictment seemed to indicate that the court was prepared for either horn of the dilemma, either his being an American citizen temporarily in the British dominions, and so subject to British law, or a British subject in full.

The author proceeds:

It may be contended—

And I call the attention of the Senator from Texas [Mr. REAGAN] to this, which I read from page 132—

It may be contended on behalf of President Cleveland that, as Riel's counsel never urged the question of his citizenship at the trial, and as he never himself petitioned the United States Government, the Government was justified in refusing to even examine into the question of his naturalization. This is too absurd for serious refutation. Such a rule would have left Martin Koszta to imprisonment and death. If the Greeks of Homer had acted upon such a theory they would have been deaf to the "groans and cries of Helen."

Then he goes on to cite many cases which may be of interest to those who care to pursue this subject further.

Mr. REAGAN. I will say, as reference was made by the Senator to the case of Martin Koszta, that it is hardly a case, as I remember it, to be cited in support of the theory presented here. He certainly made known the fact of his American citizenship and asked the interposition of the American officers.

Mr. BLAIR. No; Koszta was a Hungarian rebel, as I remember the circumstances, and in consequence of his participation in the insurrection of 1848, to save his life he fled from Austria to America, and made declaration of his purpose to be naturalized. He was not naturalized, but he declared his purpose to become a naturalized citizen, and found his way back to European waters again, not Austrian, but I think it was in the port of Smyrna, and there an Austrian man-of-war undertook his recapture and did secure his person and convey him on board an Austrian ship; but the American captain, Ingraham, who was lying with his vessel in those waters at that time, learned of the circumstance and demanded the release of Koszta, without direct authority from his Government; but by virtue of the fact that he was an American and in command of an American ship he undertook himself to interfere, without any formal application, when he found that the rights of one who had undertaken to become an American citizen were being endangered, and he demanded the delivery of Koszta to himself; which was refused. He immediately cleared his decks for action, and Austria surrendered him, and the whole world applauded his conduct. There was no application there, no contact with the Government at all.

On page 149 will be found the record of Riel's naturalization in the United States district court of the third judicial district of Montana:

In the United States district court of the third judicial district of the Territory of Montana.

Present: Hon. D. S. Wade, judge.

In the matter of the application of Louis David Riel, an alien, to become a citizen of the United States of America. In open court, March term, A. D. 1883, this 16th day of March, A. D. 1883, as yet of said term.

This name David, Riel adopted after he came to America. There is no question of the man's identity.

It appearing to the satisfaction of this court, by the oaths of E. L. Merrill and Levi Jerome, citizens of the United States of America, witnesses for that purpose, first duly sworn and examined, that Louis David Riel, a native of Canada, has resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States five years at least last past, and within the Territory of Montana for one year last past, and that during all of said five years' time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same; and it also appearing to the court by competent evidence that the said applicant has heretofore, and more than two years since, and in due form of law, declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and having now here, before this court, taken an oath that he will support the Constitution of the United States of America, and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty whatever, and particularly to Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, it is therefore ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the said Louis David Riel be, and he is hereby, admitted and declared to be a citizen of the United States of America.

D. S. WADE, *Judge.*

Signature: LOUIS DAVID RIEL.

Office of the clerk of the United States district court of the third judicial district of the Territory of Montana, *ss:*

I, B. K. Tatem, clerk of the United States district court of the third judicial district of the Territory of Montana, said court being a court of record, having a common-law jurisdiction, and a clerk and seal, do certify that the above is a true copy of the act of naturalization of Louis David Riel, as the same appears upon the records of said court now in my office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of the said court this 9th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1885, and in the year of our Independence the 111th.

[SEAL.] B. K. TATEM, *Clerk.*
By C. G. REYNOLDS, *Dep'y Clerk.*

Mr. MORGAN. What is the date of the decree?

Mr. BLAIR. It is the 16th day of March, 1883.

On page 151 of the appendix is the information or indictment upon which Riel was tried. I will not read it.

The first count describes him as a subject of our lady, the queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, etc. The second count describes him in the same way. The fourth count opens as follows:

4. And the said Alexander David Stuart further sayeth: That the said Louis Riel, then living within the Dominion of Canada, and under the protection of our sovereign lady, the queen, not regarding the duty of his allegiance, etc.—

Evidently looking or squinting to the defense of his American citizenship, the phraseology in the other indictment speaking of him as the subject of our lady the queen, then as living in the Dominion of Canada and under the protection of our sovereign lady, the queen, and, of course, entitled to that protection, although an American citizen so long as he resided there temporarily and behaved himself as a citizen.

On the one hundred and sixty second page is a letter from Major Mallet himself, addressed to the editor of the Traveller, a translation:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 24, 1885.

DEAR FRIEND GAGNON: The journals which I have received during the past two days indicate that there is great diversity of views among our Canadian journalists in the United States in regard to the rights which American citizenship confers upon Louis Riel in his present unfortunate situation. I notice, too, that the public meetings are being held and petitions signed, and that these meetings and petitions are not agreed upon the best method to proceed to arrest the execution. Evidently there is danger that the generous, humane action of our people may be devoid of influence, by reason of the diversity of views expressed or the poverty of the arguments advanced in the memorials addressed to our Government asking its interference in Riel's case.

Being desirous to ascertain the views of the Department of State in regard to this matter, so as to satisfy myself, and, if opportunity afforded, be of service to my compatriots, I called on Secretary Bayard this afternoon to talk over the matter with him. We discussed the subject together at considerable length. From our interview I can say that the following is substantially the views of the Department of State. Of course the form in which it is expressed is my own:

First. The American Government will not take the initiative in examining into Riel's citizenship or the rights thereunder.

Second. The Government has so far done nothing in the matter, except to inquire of the War Department as to the truth or falsity of a statement to the effect that Riel was captured on American soil. This information was asked for to reply to a New York correspondent who inquired concerning the matter. The Secretary read me his reply, which is unimportant.

Third. The Government will take no action in the case, unless the matter is presented to its attention in a formal manner, the facts and arguments upon which the interference of the Government is invoked to be properly stated in writing.

Fourth. The Government would not be disposed to inquire into or review the proceedings of the court which tried Riel, unless it was shown that he was discriminated against, *i. e.*, that he was tried by harsher methods than a Canadian citizen would have been tried by.

Here is a note which will save me the trouble of making a remark of my own. The author says:

It is presumed, that if Canadian courts were in the habit of using tortures in the trial of Canucks, Secretary Bayard would not object to their using it upon American citizens resident in Canada.

I do not assume that the Secretary of State took this position. I read from the statement of the president of the Canadian League of the United States, who has since this all happened been promoted to a high position under this Government.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator will allow me to say that I do not understand that to be a quotation from anything Mr. Bayard said or wrote.

Mr. BLAIR. No. This man undertakes to state what Mr. Bayard said. I do not undertake to say that he quotes Mr. Bayard correctly.

Mr. PAYNE. Who is he?

Mr. BLAIR. This is Major Mallet, who has been appointed to a prominent position in the Indian Department after charging the Government, and the Government's attention being called to it, with the utmost negligence and dereliction in its duty in not making inquiry into the alleged wrong suffered by an American citizen.

Mr. MORGAN. What office was he appointed to?

Mr. BLAIR. It is a prominent position; superintendent of Indian schools, or inspector of Indian schools.

Mr. MORGAN. Was he confirmed by the Senate?

Mr. BLAIR. I presume he was confirmed by the Senate. He formerly held a responsible position in the Treasury Department, and I have never heard anything against him. I understand he is a gentleman of the very highest character, and I should like to know whether he tells the truth, and that is why these resolutions were offered. The Government undertake, after having had these matters brought to their attention, and three copies of this book being sent to the President and the Secretary of State, containing all these statements—after all this had been developed and brought to their attention—these accusations made, these charges made by this man, they indorse in the very highest and most significant manner possible the witness who is making these serious and venomous charges against them, if they be untrue—and I must not be misunderstood—and I wish to be explicit upon that point, as in any way impeaching the testimony of Maj. Edmond Mallet. He is the head of the French-Canadian societies of this country and is supposed to be, and in fact this author who brings these matters to our attention speaks of him in high terms as a very accomplished, truthful, Christian gentleman. I take it he is, or he would not be holding this office.

Mr. PAYNE. You say he has been appointed to office?

Mr. BLAIR. Yes, sir. There are about a million of French Canadian citizens in the United States; and I submit we are not going to permit those men, after they become naturalized, to be hanged for nothing in Canada, without inquiring of foreign powers, when it is brought to the attention of the Government of the United States that they have been wrongfully accused; that they are in a condition of mind incapable of committing crime, and that even due process of law has been violated in trying their case. I know those people have not had all the advantages of American citizenship, but there are a great many intelligent, cultivated, and eminent gentlemen among them; and as a whole population, I believe there is as much of hope in the French-Canadian population as in any of the immigration which seeks our shores.

But to proceed at the point where I was interrupted:

Fourth. The Government would not be disposed to inquire into or review the proceedings of the court which tried Riel unless it was shown that he was discriminated against—*i. e.*, that he was tried by harsher methods than a Canadian citizen would have been tried by.

Fifth. The Government recognizes the principle that every country has a right to determine for itself what constitutes treason, and it would not be disposed to question Canada's right to try Riel for treason even though he be a native or naturalized citizen of the United States.

I understand the Secretary to say that Riel's case was like some of the Irish so-called revolutionists, so far as it regards this Government, and that the American Government would do all that was proper for Riel, as it had done for the others.

With these views of the Department of State before us, it seems to me that our duty is traced more clearly.

You are aware that I knew Riel intimately, both before and after his becoming insane, knowing the material he is made of, as well as his intimate views and aspirations, I believe that when he gave himself up (when he could have escaped with Dumont) he did so with the determined purpose of having himself put to death as the best means of serving his people and country. I am of the opinion that in madness he acted with an extreme sagacity, which he might have been devoid of with his wits. If Riel is executed, mark me! the children of his executors in the not distant future will erect monuments to his memory. You know the history of Pontiac. Riel is the Pontiac of the nineteenth century

Yours, truly,

EDMOND MALLET.

Here is a copy of another letter dated February 9, 1886, in which he goes over the same ground:

FEBRUARY 9, 1886.

DEAR SIR: Your note finds me on the eve of my departure from the city for a few days, and in the midst of such occupations that is really impossible for me to find the newspaper articles which appeared relative to my efforts to have the United States Government interfere in the Riel case. I will now give you the substance of what was done, and if that does not quite answer your purpose, let me know, and I will give you fuller indications next week.

I first consulted Mr. Bayard, and he took this position substantially:

"1. That it was not the duty of the Government to inquire into the fact of Riel's American citizenship; and

"2. That the Government could not interfere even if he was an American citizen, either natural or adopted. If the case was brought to the attention of his Department it would be examined into, but under no circumstances could the Government, he thought, interfere, unless it was shown conclusively that he had been discriminated against during his trial by reason of his American citizenship."

When it became apparent to me that the Canadian Government had committed itself to the execution of Riel, under the pressure brought to bear upon it by the Orange lodges of Ontario, I went to the President and appealed to him to prevent this judicial murder. I based my appeal on the following: (1) That Riel was an American citizen, that he had been indicted as a British citizen, his American citizenship having been entirely ignored, although offer had been made to prove the fact by documents captured at the battle of Batoche, and then in the Canadian Government's hands, and that he had been tried by a half jury of six men selected by the judge, and that judge was a mere justice of the peace; (2) that Riel was insane; and I offered testimony to that effect; and (3) that the authority to put a human being to death for any cause whatsoever is not inherent in government, but is delegated from God, and that such delegated power can be exercised only in certain conditions, such as sound mind, etc. The President seemed much interested in the case, expressed himself in sympathy with what I told him; but he considered it a very grave matter to interfere. At last I asked that he send for Mr. Bayard and the British minister, and see if an amicable understanding could be made to save Riel. The President then said he would consult with the Secretary of State and see what could be done. During the night of the same day the Associated Press announced that, to my appeal, the President had been constrained to decline interfering in the matter.

Respectfully, yours,

EDMUND MALLETT.

THOMAS D. RAMBAUT, Esq., *New York, N. Y.*

I next present the letter on page 167, by J. Damiens, S. J., a Jesuit father:

ST. PETER'S MISSION,
St. Peter Post-Office, Mont., January 14, 1887.

DEAR SIR: Your favor at hand, and in reply I would say that Louis Riel was here just prior to the Northwest rebellion, and he left this place at the request of a delegation composed of three half-breed men who came after him from their northern country. He lived here about six months. He was married to a half-breed girl called Marguerite Monete, from whom he had two children, John, born 9th May, 1882, and Mary Angelia, born 11th September, 1883. The girl was born here, and the boy somewhere down the Missouri or Musselshell, while Riel was living on the prairie among the half-breeds. Politics was his principal thought [you] might say, and in the last years from the Democratic [he] passed to the Republican party. Sun River is a small place, and he lived not in town, but here around the mission, which is about 20 miles from Sun River. He was making his living teaching school, and [it] would have been better for him as he was told to stick at it and retire entirely from all politics, but his mind was changed there, and this brought the unfortunate man to such a frightful end. With kindest regards, I remain,

Yours, respectfully,

J. DAMIENS, S. J.

Mr. WILBUR F. BRYANT,
Judge, West Point, Nebr.

I do not know that there is any other matter in the book that I need to call attention to at the present time. I read from it to show that these charges are of a serious character, and, as it seems to me, they should be investigated. I have introduced these resolutions as what appeared to me the proper method of commencing an investigation. Before the taking of evidence, it seemed to me that the President and the Secretary of State should be heard to give their account of the matter, and therefore the resolutions were offered in these words:

Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to the Senate any knowledge or information in his possession or in the possession of the Department of State relating to the case of one Louis Riel, otherwise Louis David Riel, who was hanged for the alleged crime of treason by the authorities of the Dominion of Canada on or about the 16th day of November, 1885, notwithstanding that he was recommended to mercy by the jury who convicted him, doubts being alleged of his sanity, with other mitigating circumstances; and the same Louis Riel, in whose favor judgment of naturalization is alleged to appear or record in the United States district court of the third judicial district of the Territory of Montana of the March term, 1883; and also to communicate to the Senate all information of any application made by one Edmund Mallett, now or lately president of the French-Canadian League of the United States, or by any other persons, whether verbally or otherwise, to the President or to the Secretary

of State in behalf of said Riel, prior to his execution, requesting inquiry into the circumstances of his case, his alleged citizenship of the United States, and whether the proceedings in his case had been according to due process of law, and whether there had been a full, fair, and sufficient trial thereof, including the presentation of the fact of his citizenship, and especially of the proof of his insanity, with which he had previously been afflicted, and for which he had been long confined, undergoing treatment therefor in an asylum for insane persons, and from which there was alleged to be strong proof of his being afflicted when the events occurred for which he was charged with treason, as aforesaid; also what action, if any, was taken by this Government in the premises to secure a new trial or mitigation of the punishment of the said Riel, together with copies of all papers, letters, documents, and correspondence bearing upon the subject-matter; also to inform the Senate whether the said Mallett was at the time of his said alleged application in the employ of the Treasury Department of this Government, and if so, whether since the rejection of said application, or the neglect and refusal of this Government to inquire into the case of said Riel (if said application was rejected and said inquiry was neglected and refused to be made), said Mallett has been promoted or appointed to other and more responsible and lucrative service under this Government, and if so, to what service, together with any other facts relating to the subject-matter of the trial and execution of said alleged American citizen Riel by the authorities of the Dominion of Canada.

And whereas the said Edmund Mallett, under his hand, in a letter dated at Washington, D. C., August 24, 1885, and widely published in the press and supposed to have been communicated to the President and to the Secretary of State, alleged in reference to his interviews with the President and the Secretary of State that the Government refused to inquire into said case, except upon the condition following (among others), to wit, the condition contained in these words: "First. The American Government will not take the initiative in examining into Riel's citizenship or the rights thereunder," with other matter, showing, if true, gross neglect and indifference to the rights of an American citizen when in extreme need of the protection of his Government, being without means, deprived of liberty, and about to be executed by a foreign nation: Therefore,

Resolved, further, That the President be requested to inform the Senate whether the aforesaid allegation of the refusal of this Government to institute inquiry into the case of said Riel upon the statements and petitions of the said Edmund Mallett and others is true, and if the same be not true, whether the said Mallett has ever withdrawn or retracted the same, and, if he still adheres to the same, for what reason the said Mallett, since making such public charges against this Government, has been appointed to a responsible and lucrative position in the public service, requiring a high order of ability and of personal integrity for the proper discharge of the duties thereof; and if the above charge of the said Mallett be or be not true, whether the President or the Secretary of State had knowledge thereof and of the contents of a certain book entitled "The Blood of Abel," written by one Wilbur F. Bryant, and published in the year 1887, prior to the said appointment of said Mallett, which said book relates to the case of the said Riel, and contains the aforesaid and other letters and statements of the said Mallett, with much other like evidence and allegations of fact charging this Government with gross and inexcusable negligence in the care and defense of the rights of an American citizen when in foreign parts and about to suffer an infamous death without cause.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, it is the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business, being the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. BLAIR. I will just say, if permitted, in regard to this matter that, as the resolutions are long, I do not ask that they go direct to the President without being considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations if that be thought to be the more judicious way. I only wish the matter to be inquired into in that way which to the committee may seem to be the most appropriate and the most thorough, for it concerns deeply the honor of the Government and it ought not to be, and I do not wish it to be, considered as a partisan matter at all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business.

Mr. BLAIR. I will move to refer the resolutions to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York [Mr. HISCOCK] is entitled to the floor. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. BLAIR. I do not know whether there is any desire on the part of any one to say anything. I think in a matter of this complexity it will be better that the resolutions should go to the Committee on Foreign Relations for examination before proceeding further; but, of course, it is a matter in the hands of the Senate. I am personally indifferent as to what course is taken with them.

Mr. MORGAN. Let the resolutions go to the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, as suggested by the Senator from Alabama, the resolutions will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I ask my friend from New York to yield to me.

Mr. BLAIR. May I be indulged to say one thing? I suggest that the Committee on Foreign Relations, if they have any doubt at all on the subject, be empowered to send for persons and papers. I can give them some information if it shall become necessary.

Mr. EDMUNDS. The committee will consider that.

WIDOW OF CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I am authorized and instructed by the Committee on the Judiciary to report without amendment the bill (S. 3621) for the payment to the widow of the late Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite the balance of a year's salary; and I ask for its present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

Mr. BERRY. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas objects. The bill will go to the Calendar.

Mr. COKE subsequently said: I desire to say that I was out of the Chamber when the bill was reported by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee for the relief of Mrs. Waite. I wish to make the statement now that I would have made then had I been here. I voted against that bill in committee, and shall vote against it in the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senator that the bill has gone to the Calendar.

Mr. COKE. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], who is seated just behind me, also voted against the bill in committee.

LIGHT-HOUSES, LIGHT-SHIPS, ETC.

Mr. PALMER. The Senator from New York kindly gives way that I may make some reports. I am instructed by the Committee on Commerce to report back the bill (H. R. 1239) to extend the jurisdiction of the Light-House Board to the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, California, and ask that the Senate conferees be discharged from the further consideration thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

Mr. PALMER. I now move that the Senate recede from its amendment to that bill, which will leave it just as it came from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so ordered in the absence of objection. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. PALMER. As there are several of these bills, for the information of the Senate I will state that the amendments refer to the appropriation. The bills came over here from the House of Representatives with a limit fixed. The Senate merely made the appropriation with each bill. The conferees can not be gotten together now after a conference has been asked, and on that ground I am instructed to report the bill back and move that the Senate recede from its amendments so that bills can be passed as they come from the House. I now report the several bills which are in the position I have indicated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The same order will be made in each case in the absence of objection. The titles of the bills will be reported by the Secretary.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1249) for establishing a light-house and fog-signal on Roe Island, Suisun Bay, California.

Mr. DOLPH. I suggest whether it ought to appear that these bills are reported from the Committee on Commerce or reported by the Senate conferees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands this comes in as a report from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. DOLPH. I think the record will show that these bills are in the hands of a conference committee. I do not profess to be so well informed as to know precisely how the bills got before the Senate.

Mr. PALMER. I consulted with the President of the Senate in regard to this, and he regarded the *modus operandi* as being perfectly proper. The conferees have consulted with other members of the Committee on Commerce.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The conferees will be discharged from the further consideration of the bill.

Mr. DAWES. Nothing is clearer than that any motion which brings the two Houses together takes precedence of all other motions in reference to any bill pending.

Mr. DOLPH. The Senator did not understand my proposition. I think the RECORD shows that the House has non-concurred in the amendments and asked a conference, or that the Senate asked a conference and it was granted by the House? Those bills were sent to a conference committee. Now the Senator from Michigan says he reports them from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. DAWES. As I understand the parliamentary law, no matter where a bill is, any motion that brings the two Houses together takes precedence of all other motions.

Mr. DOLPH. I am not raising a question as to precedence. I am raising the question as to whether the record should show that these bills are reported back from the Committee on Commerce or whether it should not be by a motion, without any report, by the chairman of the Senate conferees to discharge the conferees from the further consideration of the bills. It was only to get the record straight, so as not to show that the bills were reported by the Committee on Commerce when they are not before that committee, that I ventured to interpose.

Mr. PALMER. Under the circumstances of the case, I imagine, as long as the conferees of the Senate are included in those who recommend this course, there can be no doubt as to its practical operation, whatever may be the technical distinction to be observed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The order is on the motion of the Senator from Michigan that the conferees be discharged, and that the Senate recede from its amendments to each bill. That order will be entered in each case. The titles of the bills will be reported.

The Secretary read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 10183) to establish a light-ship off Grand Round Shoal, near Nantucket, Mass.;

A bill (H. R. 8855) for the establishment of a light-ship with a steam fog-signal at Sandy Hook, New York Harbor;

A bill (H. R. 7604) for the establishment of a light-house and fog-signal at or near Gull Shoal, Pamlico Sound, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 7421) for establishing a light off Pamlico Point, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 5700) to facilitate the transportation of life-saving and light-house supplies at Hog Island, Virginia; and

A bill (H. R. 1641) for the erection of a light-house at or near a point about midway between Barnegat and Navesink lights, in the State of New Jersey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The same order will be entered in each case.

ALIEN MINING CORPORATIONS IN THE TERRITORIES.

Mr. JONES, of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the following resolution, submitted by Mr. STEWART, October 3, 1888, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Mines and Mining be instructed to ascertain and report to the Senate at the beginning of the next session of Congress the number of aliens, foreign companies, and corporations owning or working mines in the Territories of the United States, together with the length of time they have been so engaged, the amount of capital invested by them in mining operations, as near as practicable, the amount of dividends paid, and the amount of money expended by them in such mining operations, and what effect the owning and operating of mines by aliens, foreign companies, and corporations has had upon the growth and prosperity of the Territories; and for that purpose the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may hold its sessions at such times and places as it may deem proper, and employ such clerical assistance as may be necessary. The expenses of such investigation shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

PURCHASE OF SEEDS.

Mr. JONES, of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. HAWLEY September 20, 1888, reported it with an amendment, after the word "oaths," to insert "also to employ a stenographer;" so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture is instructed to inquire and report concerning the purchase of seeds for distribution by the seeds division of the Department of Agriculture, and for that purpose it shall have power to send for persons and papers and administer oaths, also to employ a stenographer. The expenses of said inquiry shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee.

By unanimous consent, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

MRS. FANNIE PEARSON.

Mr. JONES, of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the following resolution, submitted by Mr. DAVIS September 25, 1888, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay, out of the "miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate," to Mrs. Fannie Pearson, widow of Granville L. Pearson, deceased, late a session laborer of the Senate, the sum of $360, being an amount equal to six months' salary at the rate per annum allowed by law to the laborer aforesaid; said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

COMMITTEE ON ADDITIONAL LIBRARY ACCOMMODATIONS.

Mr. JONES, of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the following resolution, submitted by Mr. VOORHEES October 3, 1888, reported it without amendment:

Resolved, That the Select Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress be, and it is hereby, authorized to sit during the coming recess of Congress, and any necessary expenses shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will go to the Calendar.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE AT LA CROSSE, WIS.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator from New York kindly yields to me to allow me to ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The first amendment was, in section 1, after the word "built," at the end of line 16, to insert:

And there shall be submitted to the Secretary of War for his examination and approval a design and drawing of the bridge, and a map of the location, giving, for the space of 1 mile above and 1 mile below the proposed location, the topography of the banks of the river, the shore-lines at high and low water, the direction and strength of the currents at all stages, and the soundings, accurately showing the bed of the stream, the location of any other bridge or bridges, and all other information required.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 2, line 4, after the word "Wisconsin," to insert "and approved by the Secretary of War;" so as to make the section read:

SEC. 2. That said La Crosse and Minnesota Bridge and Ferry Company shall have the right to charge and collect a reasonable rate of toll, not exceeding the amount limited by the laws of Minnesota or Wisconsin, and approved by the Secretary of War.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out section 6, in the following words:

SEC. 6. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. HISCOCK. Mr. President, in view of the policy outlined in the President's message and the professions in his letter of acceptance in connection with the provisions of House bill 9051, known as the "Mills bill," it is just to criticise him and the recent attempts of his party to explain away and misrepresent the effect and purpose of the bill which they claim is calculated to benefit rather than injure American labor and capital.

Our people have always imported largely of those goods produced here, but in quantities insufficient for their consumption, and from the first agitation of a tariff for protection to the present time the opponents of that system have urged that the customs duties were added not only to the cost of the goods imported, but also the price of the corresponding articles we produced.

That has been peculiarly the sophism of the American free-trader, and though successfully disproved by Hamilton and by writers and statisticians since his time it nevertheless occasionally transpires that a new or fresh champion will rush into the arena of debate and parade the dogma with all the airs and consequence of a discoverer of some new and startling truth, destined to solve a great economic question; and the President, the latest of all, indorses to the people of the country this old American free-trade argument.

Were this exploded fallacy true, the President should not only urge but resort to every constitutional method to remove the oppression. Revolutionary methods, if necessary, would be approved by the people for the destruction of the system. If this sophism were true, the protective system would never have been adopted, or if adopted, after a brief period the people without distinction of party would have demanded its abandonment.

Mr. ROGER Q. MILLS, in a late magazine article discussing protection, declares:

And the time will come when all the people will rejoice to see this business relation—a darker evil than that of slavery—eliminated from the land. It is a darker evil, for while the Southern system of unrequited toil enslaved the blacks, this system is reducing white labor to slavery, and we revenue reformers or free-traders, if we may be so called, are making our fight for our own race, whose misery keeps pace with our prosperity, and we can measure our present progress, not only by the palaces of millionaires, but by the huts and hovels of oppressed labor.

If Mr. MILLS was right—if it were a darker evil than that of slavery—we would not now be discussing the merits of his bill; the oppressed country would not have waited the slow progress of his party for the last twenty years, but would have contested the question with the "barons" by the heroic and patriotic methods which "eliminated slavery from the land."

I can not consume time in computing the cost in treasure to the American consumers were it a fact that the percentage of duty upon the goods we import are added as well to the price of the similar goods produced here. The amount, I assume, which would have been exacted under the system, were that true, as has been boldly asserted by Mr. Thurman, would be far greater than the present aggregate wealth of all our people. Why, then, has not that wealth been exhausted and our people become beggars and bankrupts, instead of having been made by it the wealthiest upon the globe; and where is the misery and where the hovels and huts described by the distinguished gentleman from Texas?

I assume the President was not so disingenuous as to refer to an hour, a day, or even a year in speaking of the effect of a long approved economic system, but of its defects as a policy for the country, and was warning the people against its exactions and burdens. If he is correct, our protective system is a criminal injustice, and unless he is mistaken it would long before this have impoverished our people and made them the poorest and most degraded upon the earth. Our villages and cities would now be but aggregations of the "huts and hovels" that Mr. MILLS sees only in imagination, and our agricultural area would have been unreclaimed, unsubdued, and unpeopled by civilized man. There must be either some error in the doctrine they indorse, or else

there are countervailing benefits they have not discovered or imparted to us.

But the President says he does not mention the fact "to discredit the system." If he thoroughly believed the old fallacy he indorsed, he should have made his statement to discredit the system of protection and should continue to sound the alarm until (were he right) the burden should be removed from a long-suffering and long-enduring people; and a great national evil should be remedied; when he would be hailed as a deliverer divinely ordained—one after death to be canonized.

For nearly a century we have practically demonstrated that the effect of protection upon national industries by a country possessed of the raw material sufficient for the finished product which its people consume (or if grown upon the earth then adapted to the climate and the soil), to the extent of equalization with more favored conditions elsewhere in respect to cheaper labor or cheaper capital, has been and will be to increase the volume of the product in the market and to depress and cheapen its price; it is a stimulation to, and increases the competition which forces prices downward.

Price depends upon consumption and supply, and protection increases supply to so marked a degree and forces the price so low that it would be ruinous to producers, except for the increase in consumption. If the goods are a necessity, convenience or luxury to man, a lower price enables him to increase their uses, thus adding to his comfort or pleasure. Again the product of the mechanical industries are applied to new uses when made possible on account of their cheapened cost. Especially is this true with respect to iron and steel for building and fencing, resulting in a great saving to farmers and builders.

The facts need not be fortified by statistics. I have a right to appeal to observation. Sugar illustrates the argument. The protection afforded by the German and French Governments to the beet-sugar industries of those countries has doubled the product of the world, forcing the price to the lowest point known. This is also true not only as to iron and steel goods, but equally so with respect to cotton and woolen fabrics, manufactures of wood, chemicals, and confectionery. There is not, I believe, an exceptional line of manufactured articles in use by man that is not to-day at the lowest price in the history of the market.

In these "latter days" political writers and economists have searched for the cause of the great depression in prices which all have recognized, and they have found it largely due to the increased production in the "protected countries," and it has also resulted, as they have learned, that other countries have cheapened the cost of production, correspondingly increasing their volume, and doubtless the smaller percentage of profit upon the larger volume of business has equaled, if not exceeded, the profits upon the smaller but more expensive product.

The last ten or fifteen years have been remarkable for the constantly decreasing cost of production, and our Republican administrations enforcing the policy and system of protection have been the chief and most important force in this successful war upon high prices.

The President and our Democratic friends must have observed this. Possibly partisanship may have impaired the mental vision of the friends, but some other reason should be found for the President proclaiming and indorsing in a campaign document the old worn-threadbare fallacy.

I am quite aware that I have been thrashing old straw—I believe nothing new can be suggested on the tariff question—but the letter of acceptance justified me.

We are all aware of the reasons which vindicate the protection to our industries, even though there follow temporarily an advance in the price of foreign goods we import. They are the rapid decline in the values of both foreign and domestic goods; the diversification of labor, affording opportunity for all to apply themselves to those industries best suited to their physical conditions and mental capacities; the distribution of labor so that too many workers are not compelled to follow a single industry, overburdening it and so increasing the product as to render it unremunerative; the increased mental activity and higher education rendered necessary to engage in mechanical industries, mining and transportation, and their business management and administration; the enhanced value of our raw materials, and the development of our National resources.

Against a possible temporary increase in the price of imported goods to consumers—if advanced at all—I point to our forests made valuable by the mechanical industries that shape their wood into form for a thousand uses; to the iron ore which would be worthless if the American mechanic did not and could not adapt it to the wants of man; to our coal deposits, indispensable for supplying fuel for our manufacturing industries and transportation, practically valueless without them; to our vast system of railroads which are supported from the transportation of our natural products; but above all, to the increased value of our otherwise unproductive territory, transformed into great States by agriculture and the mechanic arts.

Against these totals place the occasional temporarily increased cost to the consumers, which the President exaggerates and deplores, and we will find to the credit of the Republican system of protection that grand sum which defrayed the expenses of our civil war, which has nearly extinguished the public debt, which has maintained and extended our system of internal commerce, has paid the pensions to our soldiers, and which has given a more general and higher education to our people, and increased beyond that of any other era or stage of our National existence the comforts and luxuries of life, and has contributed in a greater degree to individual wealth and earnings. There has been no complaint of burdensome taxation or excessive prices except in Democratic speeches, messages, and letters of acceptance.

We have become a self-supporting, self-defending Nation, with a population of 60,000,000 people, possessed of the resources, education, and skill requisite for their happiness and for the promotion of continued national progress and prosperity. The welfare and advancement of each individual is limited only by his energy and mental and physical capacity. Our Government with its protective policy has and will accomplish for each citizen all that any human Government ever has or can.

No wonder the President supplements his statement of belief in the old sophism that protection so greatly increases prices by the remark that his statement was not made "to discredit the system." But here we have the peculiarity of Democratic argument. An assertion that, were it true, would prove protection a monstrosity in government—made for effect in the November election—is followed by a disclaimer of hostility to it. This is equaled by the professions of a desire to make our labor more remunerative, and at the same time advocating the abandonment of the best market in the world for a competitive share in the poorest as the surest way to accomplish the object.

The issue is fairly joined by the two great political parties, and free trade or protection will be the American policy after March, 1889. Neither subterfuge nor new confessions of faith will conceal or obscure the real question.

Democratic orators in the manufacturing States are attempting to shift their ground and conceal the purpose of their party; but the official utterances of the President, the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, emphasized by the Mills bill, which was indorsed by the Democratic national convention and passed the House of Representatives by a strict party vote, leave no doubt whatever as to the true position of the Democratic party upon the great economic question.

The history of the Republican party, its platforms, and, above all, the bill reported to the Senate as a substitute for the Mills bill, leaves no doubt as to the position of that party. The Democracy has declared for free trade and for the destruction of our National industries. We have a home market composed of 60,000,000 consumers of the products of our agriculture, and the goods made by our manufacturing industries. The Republican party has resolved to preserve that market for our people, and Democracy with equal resolution proposes free competition with foreign capital and foreign workmen.

It is the same question that divided the North and South, and incited a bloody and expensive war, and the division is on the same agricultural and geographical lines. It is another great struggle on the part of our Southern friends for cheap and degraded labor and against the industrial system of our Northern States; as Mr. MILLS said, "a darker evil than that of slavery."

There are several causes which have tended to increase the value of labor for the last twenty years in this country. The two most prominent are the manufacturing industries of the North and the abolition of slavery in the South. Democracy acquiesced in the latter, but is now making its final struggle for the destruction of the former.

We have a country extending over nearly one hundred degrees of longitude and from the frozen north to the borders of the tropics, rising in altitude from the shores of two oceans to pastures 7,000 feet above the sea, suited to the production of nearly everything necessary to feed and clothe human beings. Its fruits, grains, vegetables, and textile fibers supply the raw material for the necessities and luxuries of life. Our forests abound in those woods adapted to and that can be easily fashioned for all the uses of man, and are so distributed in great abundance over the whole area that with our facilities for transportation the cost when fashioned is a labor cost alone.

Nearly every chemical product required either for its medicinal qualities, for use in manufacturing, or for decoration, is found in our country and scattered throughout our States and Territories so profusely that competition as to price is assured. We are supplied with iron ore and coal from our own mines in an abundance that insures competitive prices in both; the farming area of our country has a capacity over and above the needs of our home consumption more than sufficient to supply the deficiencies in Europe. Our nation of 60,000,000 people with its boundless resources the Democratic party insist shall not be self-supporting or self-sustaining, but shall depend on other nations and the people of other countries to weave the fabrics our people wear and to grow the wool in them, to manufacture the furniture and otherwise fashion the woods they use, and to produce the iron and steel they consume in its various manufactured forms, leaving hidden, undeveloped, and valueless our vast beds of ore. More than this, our agriculture is now encountering sharp competition with the products of India, Australia, the Argentine Republic, and other South American countries, and Democracy threatens in its crusade for cheap labor to impoverish our home market.

There are about five hundred paragraphs in the Mills bill relating to

enumerated articles in the dutiable schedule of our present tariff. The Mills bill transfers to the free-list about one hundred of the paragraphs. Sixty-six relate to manufactured articles and twenty-six to the products of the farm, garden, or mine. The Mills bill reduces the duty on articles in nearly two hundred paragraphs of the present law. By it three-fifths of the products of our country are either thrown open to absolute free trade or the protection is reduced to so meager a scale as to give our market to foreign capital and foreign labor unless our labor be reduced to the foreign rates for wages.

It is cheap labor the other side is fighting for. They have as little sympathy with well-paid labor now as before the war. Their laboring class now, as then, is the colored population, and those who deny them their political rights naturally would cheapen the value of their labor, an equally effective step for their degradation and quite likely necessary to maintain supremacy over them. Well paid men are well fed, well clothed, strong, and become educated, and will not remain in political servitude.

I know the excuse is the reduction of our revenues. On that point there is no particular difference between the two parties. The substitute reported by the Senate Finance Committee provides the more surely and for a larger reduction than the Mills bill, and the necessity for reducing taxation, therefore, is not involved in this controversy.

Democracy is not distressed over the surplus question now. "One hundred million dollars wrung from the tax-payers annually to be squandered in improvident appropriations" was the party cry four years ago. This year we have but little surplus over their appropriations. The Democratic leaders have coined another phrase, and but little has been said in the present discussion about the surplus. The hungry crowd in possession of the Departments has nearly exhausted it, and for the meager amount remaining in the Treasury a hungry expectant crowd is clamoring. "Reduction of surplus" is not so industriously used to conjure with as four years ago. The Mills bill illustrates this. The most that can be claimed for the measure is reduction in our revenues of about $70,000,000. Two and four years ago we were assured by our Democratic friends that they could be reduced $100,000,000 or more.

Both sides concede that a reduction can be made and in about the same amount, still leaving a sufficient revenue to pay the interest on the public debt, the pensions to soldiers, and for the administration of the Government; therefore the question of the amount of taxation is not involved in the discussion, but that of lessening the burdens to consumers and the manner in which the reduction shall be made is involved in the controversy.

Both parties propose to raise a large proportion of our revenues from customs levied upon imports; and I maintain that independent of the incidental benefits claimed for protection it is a matter of no consequence to the American consumer or tax-payer whether the customs duties are levied and collected on four hundred articles which enter equally into general use here and that will be produced in this country (if the labor cost is equalized with that of Europe and India) in sufficient quantities to supply our wants, or upon one-half of that four hundred, the other half being placed on the free-list. The burden of taxation is not lightened by either policy.

My argument is that, independent of the incidental protection which the tariff may afford, it is not of the slightest benefit to the consumers or tax-payers whether our revenues are raised by a protective tariff upon one-half of the dutiable goods now in general use and so low rates imposed upon the other half as to surrender our market to the importers altogether.

The Southern cotton-planter, I assume, uses both the agricultural implements and the cotton-ties. How is his burden increased if the duty is distributed upon the steel of both or placed wholly upon one, and why would the burden of taxation alone be increased if his share of the duty should all be placed upon one and a prohibitory tariff imposed upon the other? Manufactures of iron and steel are consumed generally by the American people, and it is fair to say that outside of cutlery and a few other articles for personal use, from the steam engine and the steel rail to the sewing-needle, directly or indirectly, the taxation imposed is borne by the tax-payers and consumers of the country, and in about the proportion they use them or depend upon the industries in which they are employed.

How then is the tax increased or made more oppressive if levied upon all steel goods in popular or general use than only upon one-half, and the others added to the free-list? The free-list half may, of course, be so arranged as to insure an unequal distribution of taxation upon localities; if there are any articles used exclusively in one portion of the country, as cotton-ties in the cotton States, then to place them upon the free-list would be a dishonest discrimination in favor of that section and not an equalization of taxation. To further illustrate this point take the article soap. It is made from agricultural products and animal fats, largely utilizing and making valuable waste products and materials that would be worthless and become pestilential except for that industry. Of this article we make $20,000,000 worth annually. The ad valorem duty is 20 per cent., and wherein is it more burdensome than the duty upon sugar equally in use by all classes and equally a necessity? Is the tax to the consumer lightened because 67 per cent. ad valorem is placed on sugar and soap is added to the free-list rather than 50 per cent. upon sugar and 20 per cent. upon soap, or has the location of the industries something to do with it?

What I have just said illustrates the sectional character of the Mills bill, and also equally disposes of the pretense that it is not a free-trade measure.

The House bill adds one hundred and three articles to the free-list, including wool, certain manufactures of wood, salt, cotton-ties, tin-plate, soap and glycerine (both practically agricultural industries), vegetables, meats, milk, certain machinery, etc. The American products competing with foreign goods added to the free-list aggregate in value at least $600,000,000 annually. They are as generally consumed by those classes who should carry the burden of taxation as those on the dutiable-list, and no reason can be given for the line drawn between the two, and none can be imagined, unless it was to strike down a portion of our protected industries now and the remainder later. The letter of the distinguished Senator from Missouri advertises the intention equally with the magazine article by Mr. MILLS to which I have referred. I could weary the Senate with quotations from the speeches of the sponsors for and friends of the monstrosity declaring the purpose as I have indicated, but it is unnecessary, for the bill advertises rather than disguises it.

The old free-trade doctrine was to raise the revenues from those goods consumed but not produced here. That has been abandoned by modern free-traders for an equally vicious and fatal one to our industries, which, instead of distributing the import duties so as to protect the whole line of domestic goods, makes so general additions to the free-list that the many hundred millions of dollars in capital employed in our home industries would be wasted or diminished and the labor engaged therein scattered and impoverished, and the now nicely adjusted proportions of labor to our various industries disturbed to the injury of all.

In this connection I refer to a startling feature of the Mills bill. I have before me a list of the principal products of the manufactories of the United States. The value and places of manufacture are taken from the census report of 1880, and doubtless there has been some increase since, but there has been little or no change in respect to the location or percentage of product in the respective States, I am assured. The list contains about one hundred lines of goods, all now protected. The aggregate value of the product for the last census year, 1879, was nearly two thousand million dollars. Of this amount less than 5 per cent. was manufactured in those States which composed the late Southern Confederacy, and a little more than 95 per cent. was manufactured and made chiefly outside of the States which contributed their quota to the Confederate service. This is a startling fact, but I have something still to add more remarkable. The Mills bill envelopes them all within its cuttle-fish folds and provides a 38 per cent. reduction in the protection now afforded them by law.

I have a table before me from which I desire to quote:

Soap and candles—$26,260,792 worth made in the Northern States and only $291,935 in value made in the Confederate States—placed on the free-list.

Bags, other than paper, $9,635,300 worth made in the Northern States; $91,300 made in the Confederate States.

Glass manufactures, $21,154,571 in value made in the Northern States; none in the Confederate States, and there is a reduction upon some of the grades or classes.

Stone and earthen ware, $7,814,027 in value made in the Northern States; $129,702 made in the late Confederate States.

Confectionery, a luxury, $23,880,672 in value made in the Northern States; $1,756,361 made in the late Confederate States, and a reduction of 20 per cent. of the duties or in the protection.

Brushes and brooms, $10,272,527, the value of the products made in the Northern States; $288,328 made in the Confederate States; and a reduction from 20 to 33 per cent. in the protection.

Iron-work, architectural (structural), $2,084,287 worth made in the Northern States, and $25,250 made in the Confederate States, and 11 per cent. reduction made by the Mills bill.

Files, $2,486,533 worth made in the Northern States, and none made in the Confederate States, and a reduction of duty of 40 per cent. by the Mills bill.

Nails and spikes, $5,629,240 worth made in the Northern States, none made in the Confederate States, and a 20 per cent. reduction made by our Confederate friends.

Carriages and wagons, $100,463,044 worth made in the Northern States, and $4,278,292 made in the Confederate States, and a reduction of 14 per cent. made by their representatives.

Furniture, $75,885,045 worth made in the Northern States, and $1,960,680 worth made in the Confederate States, and the Mills bill reduces the protective duties nearly one-half.

Hardware as classified in the census report, $22,644,793 worth made in the Northern States and $8,900 worth made in the Confederate States, and a reduction of 11 per cent. is made by the Mills bill.

But, Mr. President, I will not weary the Senate with calling attention to these various items.

Mr. HAWLEY. Will the Senator allow me to make a statement

right there so that it may go in in this place? I perceive that the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means which made up that bill is composed of Democrats from Confederate States in the proportion of six Democrats from Confederate States to two from Northern States.

Mr. REAGAN. If the Senator from New York will allow me, I desire to inquire in which class he puts the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri?

Mr. HISCOCK. I will say in reference to that that these products are largely in the North outside of those States. The comparison I speak of here, however, is between the Confederate States and the others.

Mr. REAGAN. The aggregate, then, will embrace the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri?

Mr. HISCOCK. Yes, sir.

A word in reference to Texas. Perhaps it is proper that I should make this statement in view of the expression I shall quote from the remarks of the Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE]. We will take the products of Texas on this list. They are:

Brick and tile	$448,418
Carriages and wagons	301,800
Lumber, planed	456,600
Lumber, sawed	2,673,449
Oil, cotton-seed, and cake	276,450
Sash, doors, and blinds	416,500
Foundry and machine-shop products	532,778
Tin-ware, copper-ware, and sheet-iron ware	491,420

Of the products of those industries I have indicated Texas contributed $5,597,415 in value only.

Something has been said in respect to the constitution of the committee that reported the House bill. Texas was most prominently represented there, and the share she has had in the formulation of the bill it is unnecessary for me to refer to.

I think Arkansas, as one of her Representatives was so prominent in the formation of the bill, should be mentioned. That State manifestly should indicate the policy that should control or shape this country in respect to manufactures and protection. I have searched through this list and I find that Arkansas contributed of those products in sawed lumber $1,793,848 worth, and oil, cotton-seed, and cake, $590,000 worth, making $2,383,848 in value as her total manufacture of the products I have indicated. And Arkansas will be potential in shaping the financial or the economic policies of the Government if the House bill is accepted by the country.

A representative of Tennessee has had something to do with the House bill. Tennessee made of brick and tile a little more than half a million dollars' worth; of carriages and wagons a little more than a million dollars in value; of foundry and machine-shop products a little more than a million dollars' worth. She furnished some lumber, some cotton goods, and the aggregate of her contribution to the volume which I have given is valued at $12,068,481.

West Virginia speaks through this same bill. The Senator from Texas has inquired whether she was represented in the list to which I have called attention. She is to the extent of having contributed $5,385,296 in manufactured goods.

Georgia, I think, has done better than the others, for her people make some cotton goods, and with her cotton manufactures the aggregate is $15,083,046.

Kentucky contributed to more items upon the list than any other of the Southern States, and the total of her manufactures in these lines of goods (I do not speak of her whisky) amounts to $18,156,335. I have them aggregated together, so that I can give the figures here. The measure which was forced through the House and in favor of which the Democracy pronounce in the Senate was formulated by gentlemen who represent the States named, and by those gentlemen alone, I may say, for they had the control of the Committee on Ways and Means.

They aggregate as follows:

Texas	$5,597,415
Georgia	15,083,046
Kentucky	18,156,335
Tennessee	12,068,481
West Virginia	5,385,296
Arkansas	2,383,848
Total	58,674,461

These States contributed of the manufactured goods enumerated in the schedule to which I have referred the value of $58,674,461 out of an aggregate of $1,867,857,392, and these Representatives assume to speak for the industries of the country, to shape our economical policy and to provide the markets for the wage-army employed by the capital invested in manufacture.

We have heard it stated in this Chamber, and it has been shouted all over the country, that the Mills bill was not a free-trade measure, that it only reduced the present protection 6 or 7 per cent. That statement is untrue, and unless made by one ignorant of the facts, was intended to deceive. It is easy enough to make a bill—the House of Representatives has made one—which will show an average reduction of only 6 or 7 per cent. in the duties upon those articles as to which duties are reduced, but which will in effect practically open our market to free foreign commerce.

The average reduction of the ad valorem rate of duty under the Mills bill is ascertained by finding what per cent. the amount collected under the present law on certain dutiable goods would be on their foreign value, and the per cent. the less amount collected under the rates of the Mills bill would be on the foreign value, assuming that importations would not be increased. The differences, Mr. MILLS claims, would be the average reduction. Therefore if the difference in the two rates upon one article is small, its importations large—as in the case of sugar—and the importations of the others comparatively small, with a large reduction of rates, still the sugar will hold up the average reduction; and this trick (I withdraw the word "trick") has been perpetrated. The high ad valorem rate upon sugar with its large importations makes the average percentage of reduction upon all to appear small; but the protection upon the other articles would be practically removed, for the purpose of protection.

But omit sugar and the liquors, wines, tobacco, and silks (upon which the rates are not changed) imported from the calculations and the average reduction of the present duties upon American manufactured articles in the dutiable-list in the Mills bill will be from 40 per cent. to 50 per cent.

In sugar, above all other importations, the duty is added to the price and without any compensatory benefits, for the reason that we do not have a competitive production here to force the foreign price down; and it is not the desire of the people, the tax-payers, the farmers, mechanics, and merchants that this burden should be levied upon a necessity in every home to the end that the American market may be opened to foreign goods, rivals of those of American manufacture. The sugar industry, however, was available to hold up the per cent. of average protection to American industries, but the fatal reduction proposed can not be concealed or escape scrutiny.

I will not refer to the gentlemen responsible for the Mills bill or to the States they represent, but I have a right to complain that sectionalism inspired them, and I denounce the National Convention that indorsed the measure and the candidates who approved the platform and accepted its nomination as committed to a monstrosity in sectional legislation.

I would prefer that the issues between the two parties should not be sectional, but that can not now be avoided. It has been forced upon Republican speakers to warn and organize the people against the sectional measure these new masters would impose upon the country. We are justified in referring to the conditions that would largely follow their attainment of the object, end, and purpose they are striving for, and to invite a comparison between the South and the North and contrast the economic policies of the two sections.

I recognize the fact that the South emerged from a civil war devastated and prostrated by it, and compelled to adapt herself to another and better civilization, and to build upon free and paid labor as the foundation for wealth and prosperity. Her laboring class now, as before the war, as I have said, is the negro, and it is most unfortunate that Southern labor is denied political rights. Contempt for, and essentially a proprietorship in, the black man are at the bottom of it all. In a condition of political servitude, the negro has no power to compel deference or respect, and therefore we see a solid South—solid at least as to that portion of it which votes—making, I hope, its last great struggle to degrade labor.

We occasionally hear that the new South would welcome Northern capital and Northern enterprise, but I confess that in the present situation I recognize hostility to both, and a sullen determination from the South to continue a prosecution of undiversified agriculture; to hold the labor in a state of political servitude and in a condition of peonage; and if they are successful the immigration which seeks cheap land to build homes upon and add to its value by improvements will be checked, if not entirely turned backed. Villages and cities will not be vitalized or made prosperous by mechanical industries promoted by Northern capital or enterprise.

The gentlemen who are responsible for and guiding this most unwise policy have again invaded the North and witness her growth and wealth and advancing prosperity, but without profit. They seem to be imbued with the spirit of a generation or two before them, which retreated before the advancement of civilization.

They are now North addressing political meetings largely composed of our highest type of manhood, the mechanics and farmers who govern our Commonwealth. Those audiences should create in patriotic hearts a desire to multiply the constituencies which compose them, and extend into and over the New South our Northern industries, I might properly say Northern civilization.

The policy of proscription and war on wages may continue for a period, but never again will be aided, in my opinion, by Northern electoral votes.

The President claims that his policy, as illustrated by the Mills bill, would increase our foreign trade. With whom, pray, and in what? In the agricultural products? Of many of those I grant we now produce a surplus and have the capacity to largely increase. It has been claimed that its price is established by the foreign market, but that is not true as to our home consumption. Its price is made in a large and valuable home market, in the cities and manufacturing centers that are supplied and fed by the country adjacent to them. These home-market prices are protected naturally by the cost of transportation from

more remote neighborhoods, and largely by reason of the perishable character of the products, while the foreign market controls the price of the surplus we send to it. Of our edible products we export less than 6 per cent. of our production; and let me briefly trace the history of the prices of that exportation for the last few years.

The average export price of wheat for 1886 was 43 per cent. lower than the average price from 1870 to 1886; the decrease from 1870 to 1875 was 13 per cent.; from 1875 to 1885 it was 20 per cent., and from 1870 to 1887 the decrease was 31 per cent.

Corn decreased in its export price from 1870 to 1875, 8 per cent.; and from 1875 to 1880 the additional increase was 33 per cent., and from 1880 to 1887 there was a further decrease of 7 per cent., making a total of 43 per cent. from 1870 to 1887.

The fine brands of wheat-flour exported have decreased in their export value in the last ten years about one quarter.

Bacon and ham from 1870 to 1875 decreased 27 per cent. in value per pound; from 1875 to 1880, 30 per cent. additional. They have a little more than held their own since 1880, but the decline from 1870 to 1887 was 50 per cent.

Cheese declined from 1870 to 1875, 13 per cent. in its pound value; from 1875 to 1880, 26 per cent., and from 1870 to 1887 we find a reduction of 40 per cent.

The foreign prices of agricultural products have been constantly falling, and it is unnecessary for me to more than briefly mention the cause. Increased facilities for transportation the world over has developed new grain-fields and vast pasturage for cattle; has cheapened the cost of transit to those markets where the supply is not equal to the demand, and the price has year by year been forced downward. The limit of capacity for production in the agricultural countries now competing with us has not been more nearly reached than with us, and confronting this fact these Democratic law-makers talk about the advantage of a foreign market for the products of our farms.

Something over one-half of our agricultural product is consumed by those engaged in that industry, excluding cotton. Two-thirds of the surplus and at least three times the amount which is exported is consumed by those engaged in manufacturing and dependent upon it. The best market in the world for the fruits of American agriculture is at home. Not exceeding 8 or 10 per cent. of its fruits, including cotton, ever finds a foreign market. To preserve our home market and extend it should be the policy of every American farmer, and this only can be done by extending and developing the other industries.

Transportation is now the important question in the West. Railroads have opened up there new States and Territories, and the Western people claim with good reason that the cost of transportation to the Eastern States and seaboard makes their land unremunerative. Grant it, and what relief have they in the foreign market to which I have referred, which involves to reach it a further carrying cost? There is a certain remedy—in developing manufacturing which will build cities with populations like those of the older States, in fostering the mechanical arts, and inviting to citizenship those outside of agricultural employment. Why should the West pay for transportation to the Eastern or to the foreign market? They would better build one at home. This the Republican party invites the West to do. On the other hand, the Democracy propose the transportation from Kansas and Minnesota of their products to Europe by rail and water at a cost that will well-nigh consume their value, and then propose the transportation back to them of their manufactured supplies. The transportation charges in a short time will add to their cost far more than the tariff required to insure home manufacture and home consumption of the agricultural products.

This question has been discussed generally with reference to its destruction of the American manufacturer, but there is equally involved the home market of 90 per cent. of the products of our agriculture, the pittance of 10 per cent. (6 per cent. excluding cotton) should not be considered except by the cotton growers, and the contest is with them. Of the cotton crop 70 per cent. is exported, and the balance is manufactured here. Of the other agricultural products 94 or 95 per cent. finds a market here, and 5 or 6 per cent. only is exported.

The chief argument made by the opponents of a protective tariff is that it is oppressive upon agriculture, but to this great industry it is as nourishing and protective as to cotton or woolen fabrics or iron or steel goods.

In this connection I beg to refer to a few of the manufacturing industries which are practically agricultural or tributary to her.

First, take paper—and we have all been amused, and many doubtless have been prejudiced against that industry by the cry of "wood-pulp." Paper is an article of necessity in one form or another in business and domestic life, and its manufacture is an absolute support of agriculture.

In the year of 1887 the value of the product of the paper manufactories of the country was $95,000,000. Paper is made from vegetable fiber, rags, old paper, straw, corn-stalks, wood, and grasses, amounting in value in 1887 to about $50,000,000, and in addition to this, $20,000,000 worth of chemicals and other materials were used in its manufacture. It is fair to say that more than one-half the value of all the paper we use is a contribution of waste material or fibrous products which would be of little or no value except to manufacture into paper.

Woolen goods also illustrate the benefit of protection to agriculture. In the last census year the value of our woolen fabrics was about $267,000,000; and last year $100,000,000 in value of American wool was purchased and manufactured into them.

The product of the starch industry amounted in 1880 to about $7,500,000. Its manufacture afforded a market for $5,000,000 worth of corn and potatoes, and I have been assured that the product for the last year has required 4,000,000 bushels of potatoes and 15,000,000 bushels of corn.

In the census year of 1880 agriculture contributed twenty-nine and a half million pounds of broom-corn to the broom industry. The amount contributed to the manufacture of glue in 1880 was nearly $3,000,000, largely a waste product from slaughtered domestic animals.

In the manufacture of linseed-oil $15,000,000 worth is made annually; purely an agricultural product.

Soap, which the Mill's bill puts on the free-list, in its manufacture consumes from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 worth of animal grease, a large proportion of which would be waste except for that great industry and the manufacture of crude glycerine, of which 9,000,000 pounds were made in the year 1887, all from the same agricultural products.

The curled-hair industry, which furnishes us with mattresses and goods of like character, utilizes an absolutely waste agricultural product—except for it—the hair of slaughtered domestic animals, cattle, hogs, and horses. The value of the raw material is not less than $1,750,000 yearly.

Seventeen million dollars' worth of glucose is manufactured annually in this country, consuming 20,000,000 bushels of corn.

There are other equally important industries to which I might refer; but those I have mentioned illustrate the direct connection between agriculture and manufacture.

Each individual farmer may not contribute to the quantity of hair or fat of domestic animals that is utilized, nor to the immense amount of straw made into paper; his potatoes may not be disposed of to the starch factory or his corn to the glucose factory, but the total consumption of those agricultural products by the various industries increases the price and every farmer receives his proportion of benefit from the increase.

I propose now to invite your attention to that part of the President's letter of acceptance especially devoted to the manufacturing industries of our country.

I understand the letter to indorse the Mills bill, not by the title, but by referring to the consideration of that measure in the House of Representatives. He says:

> When the Democratic majority were attempting with extreme moderation to redeem the pledge common to both parties, they were met by determined opposition and obstruction, and the minority (the Republicans) refused to co-operate.

Certainly this is an unqualified approval of the House bill, and an emphatic denunciation of the Republican opposition. For the latter he has our thanks.

I have already described the extreme moderation of the proposed legislation. Earlier in the letter, the President says:

> We propose, too, by extending the market for our manufacturers to promote the steady employment of labor.

Repeatedly the President has said his policy would extend our markets; he has offered to the manufacturers free wool and free lumber as a bribe for their support. To the first, as a business proposition, they have replied that the wool product of the United States is indispensable to their success and they would prefer to have its production stimulated. To the other, that it is inconsequential in view both of meager Canadian supply and the probabilities of a Canadian export duty; and his overtures have been spurned with contempt.

Whoever has investigated protection and consulted with gentlemen administering the manufacturing industries has been convinced that it is not in Congress or places of "public trust" that we find the greater mental capacity and more intelligent comprehension of economic questions and industrial progress. I admit that, as a class, the men directing the business interests of our country are superior to any other, and they are far more capable than the President even in the ways and means to extend their markets, and almost without exception have rejected his policy as unwise and sure to prove unprofitable; and my arguments against the "policy" will not be addressed to the directors of the industries, but rather to their employés, the wage workers or earners.

The declared theory of the President is that goods are manufactured in other countries at a less cost than here; that the amount of customs duties we impose upon foreign goods exactly equals the difference between the foreign and American cost at that time. At that low foreign cost, then, we must compete in foreign markets, and that can only be successfully accomplished by a reduction of the present profit of the manufacturers or a reduction in labor cost. Labor is as perfectly organized in this as in any other country for its protection; here it is the more intelligent, and the trade and labor organizations know whether as a rule capital receives more than its due proportion of the price of the goods made. It may, at an exceptional establishment, on account of unusual facilities for procuring raw material or an advantageous market,

receive an unequal share, but as a rule labor has been successful in its struggle with capital and established an equitable division between the two. The Government can now borrow money at 2½ per cent. per annum, and railroad securities earning 4 per cent. per annum are sold at par. Our Eastern and New York savings-banks, many of them at least, pay only 4 per cent. The rates of interest do not actually measure the profits of capital in the industries, on account of the unequal risks and hazards, but when the volume of capital seeking investment at remunerative rates is large the rates of interest are not far below the business profits, if the industries are thriving. It is also true that competition has forced prices down to the lowest point remunerative to capital and consistent with the present value of labor or wages paid.

I have referred to the downward tendency of prices, but the subject will bear further mention. The highest authority furnishes twenty-two articles, combining agricultural products and manufactured goods—leading articles in common use—and the average reduction in the prices from 1865 to 1875 was 22 per cent., and from 1875 to 1885 it was 36 per cent., but the most certain proof of the decrease is the custom-house appraisal of the goods imported in 1880 compared with the importations for the last fiscal year, goods which directly compete with the American manufactures.

The average import price of woolen manufactures entered for consumption in the United States for the years 1880 and 1887 were:

Blankets:	Per pound.
1880	$0.619
1887	.513

A fall of 8.6 cents per pound, or 13.89 per cent.

Clothing, ready-made, for both sexes:	Per pound.
1880	$3.008
1887	1.812

A fall of $1.196 per pound, or 39.76 per cent.

Dress goods:	Per square yard.
1880	$0.232
1887	.209

A fall of 2.3 cents per square yard, or 9.91 per cent.

All flannels, blankets, hats of wool, knit goods, balmorals, woolen and worsted yarns, and manufactures not otherwise specified:	Per pound.
1880	$1.264
1887	.789

A fall of 47.5 cents per pound, or 37.58 per cent.

The decline in price of the goods I have mentioned is not greater or less than upon other lines, but in connection with the important fact that our people in 1887 imported more than $200,000,000 in value of goods that directly compete with the American manufactures demonstrate the small margin of profit. They would not permit importation of that which they could profitably make here; and the cost of the production of American goods, then, must be reduced to successfully compete in a foreign market, and that reduction must inevitably be in the labor cost; so then the wage-earners are invited to open the American markets or share them at the expense of a reduction in their own wages. It can only be accomplished in that way—by surrendering a market of sixty million people to obtain a competitive share in the inferior markets elsewhere.

Where are the markets of the world—the foreign markets the President invites our people to share? Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Roumania, Belgium—all the European nations except England and Holland—Holland is moving in that direction—preserve their markets to their own industries. So do Canada and Brazil. All the European nations I have mentioned place their surplus here and in all the markets that subsidized transportation can reach or colonial possessions provide, at prices we can not compete with. It is said by the advocates of the Mills bill that the conditions for manufacturing in this country compare with those of her European or India rivals, except that labor is more costly here. To this I agree. They also admit in public that the protective duties should equalize the labor cost of manufacturing, so as to give that protection which will compensate for our high wages; and I agree to that. But it is claimed by its advocates that the Mills bill does that, and this I most emphatically deny.

It is remarkable that reputable gentlemen should go upon the record making that claim which, like the one that the bill only reduces the protection of the present law 6 or 7 per cent., is viciously false and intended to deceive.

First, where is the compensatory duty for the labor cost in those products added to the free-list wool, lumber, certain manufactures of wood, salt, cotton-ties, soap, specified machinery, tin-plate, glycerine, extract of hemlock, needles, brick, vegetables, curled hair, beans, pease, split pease, broom-corn, fresh meats, game and poultry, milk, tallow, building and monumental stone, etc., one hundred and three articles, I think, in all. It must be remembered that the labor cost, however expended, whether in one branch of manufacture or another, or in agriculture, is equalized where mechanical industries are established.

The free-list aims practically at Northern industries. Labor on the products I have indicated is equally well paid with that engaged in the industries the Mills bill professes to protect. The American labor cost in the manufactured articles added to the free-list and in those left upon the dutiable-list is based upon the same rates of wages. Then what protection is afforded for the wage-workers here employed in their production? It amounted in 1880, according to the census report, to about $500,000,000. Last year their value is variously estimated at from $600,000,000 to $800,000,000.

I pass to the dutiable-list and their claim that in the principal dutiable schedules not less than 35 per cent. ad valorem has been given to imported articles and that that rate more than equals their labor cost.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE], who declared from his seat that "if there is one thing in this world that the average Texan would go any number of miles out of his way to kick and kill and destroy it was a protective tariff," stated in debate that the percentage of labor in the cost of cotton goods is less than 23 per cent.; in glass, 50 per cent.; in iron and steel a fraction less than 19 per cent.; and he undertakes to give the percentage of labor cost and that of the material in those products, respectively; doubtless all taken from the census report, "Statistics of Manufacture," and entirely worthless as evidence of what he stated, for the reason that the labor cost of the materials used or manufactured by the various establishments is not given. The statistics do not furnish the labor cost of woolen clothing, commencing with the sheep farming, or of the other materials used, dyes, etc., and commencing with their raw material before chemical processes had been applied to them, or the cost of cotton goods, commencing with the planter who raised the cotton. Cotton is the material for the spinner, the yarn for the weaver, each furnishing a finished product, and often produced by separate establishments. Iron ore and limestone and fuel constitute the raw material for pig-iron. Iron for steel bars, blooms, or ingots, which are manufactured into wire, tools, etc. Commencing with the mine, half a dozen separate industries advance the manufacture each a stage, until the highest finished product is reached; and the Census Report does not attempt to give the labor cost in the separate stages of advancement upward.

Gentlemen who have discussed this question upon the theory that the Mills bill gives protection to the value of the labor cost in goods have drawn their facts and figures from the "Statistics of Manufacture" and the report of the Commissioner of Labor, Mr. Wright, and I will briefly refer to his table, "The Boot and Shoe Industry." He states the labor cost at varying percentages, according to the character of the goods, from a little less than 19 per cent. up to a little more than 52 per cent. That of the material used at from less than 46 per cent. to above 76 per cent. Material is principally leather; and turning to his table of "Manufactures of Leather" we find its labor cost to be at varying percentages, from less than 12 per cent. to nearly 25 per cent., and the cost of material from 71 per cent. to over 82 per cent. Hides are the principal raw material for leather, and the labor cost and the growth of the animal and the bark and materials used to manufacture the leather, the transportation, etc., are not stated. Here we have three stages of manufacture, in the first of which the labor cost is not given, and in the second only a part of the raw material used, but a careful analysis of the table with other well-established data prove that the labor cost in the boot and shoe industry would not be less than 90 per cent.

Mr. Wright's table on glass also illustrates the point. His percentage of labor cost runs from 38 per cent. to 72 per cent., depending on the quality, etc.; the cost of the material from 11 per cent. to over 60 per cent. These materials are fuel, sand, clay, lime, lumber, and soda, their price in the market being little more than their labor cost, as we well know, but Mr. Wright does not give that.

In pig-iron he states the labor cost at about an average of 12 per cent., varying at the furnaces; and of the material from 65 per cent. to 85 per cent. The labor cost of iron-ore and coal is given and runs from 50 per cent. to 65 per cent., but that of limestone, its labor cost, is not stated. We know its value is principally labor.

The Mills bill proposes to give an equivalent of an average of 50 per cent. ad valorem duty on the foreign price of a part of iron and steel manufactures, but so distributed as to destroy the industry here, and adds a part to the free-list. Mr. Wright's tables demonstrate that, considered with other verified data, their labor value is 90 per cent. of the finished product; but in respect to all his tables the labor cost is so incompletely stated in the materials used that it is impossible to arrive at it in any specified finished product.

I believe I have sufficiently illustrated the fallacy of the argument that the labor cost is covered by the protection afforded in the Mills bill.

Cotton is a raw material and free of duty, as cheap here as to the foreign manufacturer; therefore it was practicable for the gentlemen to obtain correctly the labor cost in all lines of cotton goods; but that they did not do, and in the light of their legerdemain by tables I am justified in charging that the omission was for the reason that the truth would defeat or expose them.

We have the authority of Mr. Edward Atkinson, who is interested in cotton manufacturing and a distinguished statistician, that the actual labor cost in cotton goods is upward of 90 per cent.; that the profit divided to the manufacturer of cotton goods is only 6 per cent. annually. For a production of cotton goods valued at $1,100,000 he demonstrates that $940,000 was expended for labor, commencing with growing the cotton.

To demonstrate the value added to cotton by its manufacture into

articles for use, I have been furnished the following statement by a manufacturer:

Shirtings worth 7 cents per yard are worth 30 cents per pound.
Shirtings worth 10 cents per yard are worth 36 cents per pound.
Shirtings worth 11 cents per yard are worth 40 cents per pound.
Muslin worth 11 cents per yard is worth 44 cents per pound.
Muslin worth 12 cents per yard is worth 50 cents per pound.
Muslin worth 15 cents per yard is worth 70 cents per pound.
Bleached mull worth 10 cents per yard, worth $1 a pound.
Yarns from 18 cents per pound to $1.25 a pound.

The cotton costing for each pound of goods from 12 to 16 cents, according to their value per yard and per pound, and the increase or added value above that is labor.

Labor increased the cotton in value from 250 per cent. to 600 and 700 per cent., and the average ad valorem rate of duty upon the foreign price of cotton manufactures imported in 1887 was 40.17 per cent.

Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, a leading Democratic statesman, speaking with reference to iron and steel goods—he is a manufacturer of both—asserted before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives that 90 per cent. of their value is their labor cost. And so falls the claim of the President and of the framers of the Mills bill that it gives protection to the labor employed in the industries.

Mr. President, the pretense for the Mills bill is that our protective duties are a burden upon our country, that the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer under them. That is untrue, sir, and is proved by the increase in the rates of wages and consumption per capita of those food products and cloth fabrics that contribute to the pleasure and comfort of man. By the extended facilities for a more general education for all, but more especially for the poor; by the increase in the number of savings-bank depositors and owners of land; by the greater production of labor as now applied to new mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries in all our industries, including agriculture; it is far above the increase in the cost of the manual labor employed and 25 per cent., 50 per cent., 75 per cent., 100 per cent., and in many cases 200 per cent. and 300 per cent. more than compensatory for the higher wages paid.

Important inventions have been made in the mechanic arts and equally important discoveries in the sciences. Class distinctions and lines are undefined and in no sense are barriers to advancement; the various industries and employments contribute professional men, politicians, statesmen, merchants, manufacturers, bankers—the good, bad, rich, and poor—in their proper proportions. There has been a general improvement in condition. The poor are not growing poorer, but the protection policy has resulted in a constantly increasing prosperity of all.

Mr. President, I believe I have demonstrated the absurdity of the proposition that we can obtain foreign markets except by the equalization of the labor cost of our goods with the cost of those we must compete with and that it can only be done by lowering the wages here.

I believe I have demonstrated that we can not compete with foreign goods in our own market without protection, and that the present labor cost under the protection system, as an economic question, is more than compensated for in the prosperity of the people.

The Democratic measure was approved by that party in national convention, indorsed by the President in his letter of acceptance, and it proposes to open wide our markets to the competition of foreign goods, without their taxation, for the support of the Government, payment of the public debt, and pensions to the soldiers. Democracy maintains that American producers alone should bear the burden of taxation, and weighted by it contest with England, Germany, Belgium, and India and other markets. The effect of the Mills bill can not be disguised and should not be. The substitute reported to the Senate by the Committee on Finance is equally pronounced in character and purpose. I believe it fairly illustrates the Republican policy of protection, and when its provisions are the law they will defend the American market against foreign competition and importations, and quicken, strengthen, and extend it for the consumption of the fruits of our farms and the products of our mines and factories.

The substitute is not sectional in the protection it would afford. The industries North, South, East, and West are equally provided for. The reductions proposed in the duties on sugars and rice are large, but under the substitute they will remain higher than upon other agricultural products. The committee has not discriminated against any American industry. We did investigate to determine whether, by an equalization of their labor cost with the labor cost elsewhere, certain industries would sustain themselves here, and I do not know of any instance in which protection was refused if the committee concluded prosperity would follow. I do not believe the reduction of duties upon the goods manufactured here will reduce revenues. The experience of the past proves it otherwise, and the substitute under consideration will, in my judgment, in all instances reduce the revenues where larger duties or increased protection is proposed. In its preparation that policy was pursued if manifestly the American product might be enlarged to the demands of our home market and American competition in the manufacture could be assured.

It is probable we have not provided the requisite protection in every instance, but the omissions, I believe, will be found to be very few, and for myself—I speak only for myself—until the substitute with such amendments as may be adopted is the law, I will be willing to correct those errors; I believe it to be the purpose of the committee to continue investigation.

Mr. President, the substitute which has been presented is the opposite of the Mills bill. No comparison of their schedules in respect to the relative reduction of rates by the two bills will be tolerated by its authors; they understand that it stands for protection, and if faulty anywhere in that respect that it should be amended; and that the other stands for free trade.

I have not attempted to discuss the many paragraphs of the Senate substitute. Full tables will be prepared and submitted, and there is not a citizen in the country who will not be able to learn how it affects him and each industry.

Democracy has tendered the issue, and every effort should be made to meet it fairly, and I trust it will not be claimed that the Senate substitute avoids or obscures it. The substitute has pointed the way for the proper reduction of our national revenues (without interfering with the tax on alcohol or spirits which may be manufactured into or used as beverages) and to continue and further enlarge and strengthen the protective system and policy.

Products of manufacture of the late Confederate States and of the other States (Schedule A).

Articles.	Other States.	Southern, late Confederate States.	Reduction by Mills bill from present rates of duty.	Present rates of duty.
			Per cent.	
Jute manufactures	$396,982	None.	28	35 per cent.
Flax, hemp, and jute bagging, including cotton bagging	(a)	(a)	b100	40 per cent.
Bags, other than paper	9,635,300	$91,300		40 per cent.
Salt	4,616,028	213,538	100	8 cts. per 100 lbs. 12 cts. per 100 lbs.
Soap and candles	26,260,792	291,935	c100	20 per cent.
Dyewood extracts	5,253,038	None.	100	10 per cent. 20 per cent.
Chocolate (cocoa)	1,302,153	None.	100	2 cents per pound.
Grindstones	184,555	None.	100	$1.75 per ton.
Rattan and whalebone	526,777	None.	d100	10 per cent.
Glass, manufactures	21,154,571	None.	17	59.14 per cent.
Stone and earthenware	7,814,027	129,702		56.97 per cent.
Confectionery	23,880,672	1,756,361	20	50 per cent.
Brushes and brooms	10,272,527	288,328	e33.3 f20	40 per cent. 25 per cent.
Ink	1,629,413	None.	33.3	30 per cent.
Oil-cloths	5,844,587	None.	37.5	40 per cent.
Iron work, architectural (structural).	2,084,287	25,250	11	45 per cent.
Files	2,486,553	None.	40	35 cts. per dozen. 75 cts. per dozen. $1.50 per dozen. $2.50 per dozen.
Nails and spikes	5,629,240	None.	20	1¼ cts. per pound.
Needles and pins	1,378,023	None.	g100 h43 (i)	25 per cent. 35 per cent. 30 per cent.
Toys and games	1,502,513	None.	14	35 per cent.
Wire and wire-work	19,954,423	None.	.....	Various.
Baking and yeast powder	4,722,098	38,500		20 per cent.
Book binding and blank-book making	11,817,395	159,369		25 per cent.
Boxes, fancy and paper	7,403,515	262,038	28	35 per cent.
Brass castings	10,780,542	28,200	11	45 per cent.
Carriages, wagons, etc., and parts of	100,463,044	4,278,292	14	35 per cent.
Coffee and spices, roasted and ground	22,473,693	451,201		Spices 5 cts. p. lb.
Drugs and chemicals	38,374,051	599,607	42	32.83 per cent.
Furniture	75,885,045	1,960,680	14	35 per cent.
Glass, cut, stained, and ornamented	2,535,000	None.	11	45 per cent.
Hardware	22,644,793	8,900	11	45 per cent.
Iron bolts, nuts, washers, and rivets.	9,833,330	240,000	j25 k40	2 cts. per pound. 2½ cts. per pound.
Kaolin and ground earths	1,385,962	69,795	33.3	$3 per ton.
Lead, bar, pipe, sheet, and shot.	5,600,671	None.	l37.5 m25	2 cts. per pound. 3 cts. per pound.
Mantels, slate, marble, etc.	1,030,660	None.	33.3	30 per cent.
Castor-oil	653,900	None.	50	80 cts. per gallon.
Linseed-oil	15,393,112	700	40	25 cts. per gallon.
Neat's-foot oil	258,586	500	100	25 per cent.
Patent medicines and compounds	14,273,562	409,932	40	50 per cent.
Steel pens	164,000	None.	25	12 cents gross.
Foundry and machine-shop products	207,286,509	7,091,959	11	45 per cent.

a Total in United States, $3,511,653.
b Grain bags.
c Soap, hard and soft, not specified.
d Rattans.
e Brushes.
f Brooms.
g Needles.
h Needles, sewing-machine.
i Pins.
j Nuts and washers.
k Bolts.
l Bar.
m Pipe, sheet, etc.

Products of manufacture of the late Confederate States, etc.—Continued.

Articles.	Other States.	Southern, late Confederate States.	Reduction by Mills bill from present rates of duty.	Present rates of duty.
			Per cent.	
Steam-fittings and apparatus	$5,127,840	None.	11	
Wool manufactures of all kinds	265,452,040	$1,800,873	42	45 per cent.
Sawed lumber	203,249,871	30,018,858	100	67.21 per cent.
Planed lumber	34,706,911	2,096,385		$1 per M feet.
				$2 per M feet.
				50 cents per M feet additional.
Brick and tile	30,188,992	2,644,595	*a*100	20 per cent.
			*b*14	20 per cent.
Marble and stone work	30,611,840	803,310	*c*40	50 per cent.
Paints	23,371,337	19,330	*d*50	25 per cent.
Type founding	2,220,298	10,000	40	25 per cent.
Starch	7,471,742	6,000	50	2 cts. per pound.
				2½ cts. per pound.
Cordage and twine	12,468,171	24,000	19	3 cts. per pound.
				2½ cts. per pound.
				3½ cts. per pound.
Paper manufactures	48,454,367	645,547		15 per cent.
Hats and caps (not wool)	21,296,809	6,300		30 per cent.
Ivory and bone work	1,454,901	None.		30 per cent.
				30 per cent.
Straw goods	9,345,759	None.		35 per cent.
Instruments, professional and scientific	1,601,194	37,900	28	35 per cent.
Cotton manufactures	176,151,398	15,938,712	22.5	40.17
Scales and balances	3,252,460	None.	11	45 per cent.
Sewing machines and attachments	13,863,188	None.	11	45 per cent.
Springs, steel	3,654,862	None.	11	45 per cent.
Stamped ware	3,512,423	None.	11	45 per cent.
Tin-ware, copper-ware, and sheet-iron ware	45,233,533	2,862,505	11	45 per cent.
Tools (not cutlery or hardware)	4,235,968	600	11	45 per cent.
Wooden ware	4,897,124	338,350	14	35 per cent.
Cotton-ties	262,351	None.	100	35 per cent.
Cotton-seed oil and cake	1,033,660	6,657,261	100	25 per cent.
Bells	1,065,824	None.	11	45 per cent.
Billiard tables and materials	2,289,758	None.	14	35 per cent.
Blacking	1,491,474	None.	20	25 per cent.
Boxes, cigar	2,866,365	37,100	14	35 per cent.
Boxes, wooden, packing	12,322,502	364,566	100	30 per cent.
Brass and copper rolled	14,329,731	None.	14	45 per cent.
Carpentering	89,384,655	4,767,484	14	35 per cent.
Carpets, wood	102,170	None.	25	40 per cent.
Cooperage	32,487,938	1,226,832	14	35 per cent.
Furniture, chairs	9,745,583	62,240	14	35 per cent.
Perfumery and cosmetics	2,145,004	58,000	40	50 per cent.
Sash, doors, and blinds	34,366,930	2,254,395	14	35 per cent.
Sewing-machine cases	2,064,837	None.	14	35 per cent.
Shoddy	4,989,615	None.	100	10 cts. per pound.
	1,867,857,392	91,077,230		
Per cent	95.35	4.65		
Wool	139,894,984	15,786,767	(*e*)	

a Brick other than fine.
b Tile.
c Marble.
d Average.
e Placed upon the free-list.

The manufactured products included in Schedule A.

TEXAS.	Value of products.
Brick and tile	$448,418
Carriages and wagons	301,800
Lumber, planed	456,600
Lumber, sawed	2,673,449
Oil, cotton-seed, and cake	276,450
Sash, doors, and blinds	416,500
Foundry and machine-shop products	532,778
Tin-ware, copper-ware, and sheet-iron ware	491,420
Total	5,597,415
GEORGIA.	
Brick and tile	409,025
Carriages and wagons	582,581
Confectionery	336,325
Foundry and machine-shop products	1,299,491
Lumber, planed	371,200
Lumber, sawed	4,875,310
Sash, doors, and blinds	366,000
Tin-ware, copper-ware, and sheet-iron ware	329,624
Cotton goods	6,513,490
Total	15,083,046
KENTUCKY.	
Brick and tile	506,705
Carriages and wagons	1,474,475
Coffee and spices, roasted and ground	296,953
Confectionery	318,540
Cooperage	1,243,930
Cordage and twine	354,750
Cotton goods	426,286
Foundry and machine-shop products	3,013,079
Furniture	949,810
Furniture, chairs	257,820
Glass	$388,405
Lumber, planed	950,638
Lumber, sawed	4,064,361
Marble and stone work	496,980
Paper, not specified	619,422
Soap and candles	393,325
Tin-ware, copper-ware, and sheet-iron ware	772,488
Woolen goods	1,264,988
Patent medicines	363,400
Total	18,156,355
TENNESSEE.	
Brick and tile	523,113
Carriages and wagons	1,253,721
Foundry and machine-shop products	1,191,531
Furniture	954,100
Lumber, planed	270,405
Lumber, sawed	3,744,905
Oil, cotton-seed, and cake	1,235,000
Sash, doors, and blinds	268,930
Tin-ware, copper-ware, and sheet-iron ware	710,813
Woolen goods	620,724
Confectionery	361,225
Cotton goods	934,014
Total	12,068,481
WEST VIRGINIA.	
Carriages and wagons	341,025
Cooperage	306,147
Foundry and machine-shop products	466,862
Glass	748,500
Lumber, planed	353,550
Lumber, sawed	2,431,857
Salt	380,369
Woolen goods	356,986
Total	5,385,296
ARKANSAS.	
Lumber, sawed	1,793,848
Oil, cotton-seed, and cake	590,000
Total	2,383,848

Mr. BATE obtained the floor.

Mr. COCKRELL. As it is quite late I hope the Senate will relieve the Senator from Tennessee from the necessity of proceeding this evening, and let him retain the floor for to-morrow. If he will yield to me I will move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas. I ask the Senator from Tennessee to yield to me, that I may ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8674) for the relief of Sterling H. Tucker and others, a bill which was reported by the Committee on the Judiciary, has come from the House of Representatives, and is one of peculiar merit.

Mr. VEST. I wish to make some reports from the Committee on Commerce.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. While Senators are adjusting the differences between themselves, the Chair will lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed the bill (H. R. 11581) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills:

A bill (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President and the decision of questions arising thereon; and

A bill (S. 1494) to secure to the Cherokee freedmen and others their proportion of certain proceeds of lands under the act of March 3, 1883.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. VEST, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 11107) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the Fort Smith and Choctaw Bridge Company to construct a bridge across the Poteau River, in the Choctaw Nation, near Fort Smith, Ark.," reported it without amendment.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 11338) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Coosa River at Gadsden, in the State of Alabama, reported it with amendments.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3528) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Coosa River at Gadsden, Ala., reported adversely thereon, and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE AT LA CROSSE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives disagreeing to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis.

Mr. SPOONER. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.

The motion was agreed to.

By unanimous consent, the President *pro tempore* was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate, and Mr. SAWYER, Mr. DOLPH, and Mr. VEST were appointed.

AMERICAN GROCER ASSOCIATION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association of the city of New York, returned from the House of Representatives at the request of the Senate.

Mr. SAWYER. I move that the bill be indefinitely postponed. A bill precisely like it has been passed by both branches.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be indefinitely postponed, if there be no objection.

ELECTORAL MESSENGERS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the bill (S. 3609) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising thereon," being identical with the bill passed this morning on the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], will be indefinitely postponed.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 11581) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL-SERVICE LAW.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution requesting the Attorney-General to inform the Senate whether he has any information concerning violations of the civil-service law, offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], who is now absent, will be placed on the Calendar, to be called up when he may return.

SURETIES OF JAMES W. DEMBY.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas. The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] yields to me that I may move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8674) for the relief of Sterling H. Tucker and others.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I very much wish, as I am compelled to go away to-morrow, that the Senate would consider the bill in respect to making a grant of some money to Mrs. Waite, to which the colleague of my friend from Arkansas objected when it was read to-day. May I ask the Senator from Arkansas if he knows whether his colleague [Mr. BERRY] is disposed to withdraw his objection? I have tried to find him, but without success.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas. I am not authorized to speak on that subject; but I do not think that my colleague would interpose any further objection to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. EDMUNDS. If my friend is not authorized to speak for his colleague, it would not be right for me to ask nor for the Senate to take up the bill in his absence to-day. I shall not object to the consideration of the bill moved by the Senator from Arkansas, subject to objection; but after that is disposed of I think I must move that the Senate adjourn.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be read at length for information, subject to objection.

The Secretary read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That Sterling H. Tucker, William P. Grace, Elhanon J. Searle, Josiah H. Demby, Samuel H. Bard, and William G. Pennington, or their estates be, and they and each of them are hereby, released from any and all liability as the sureties upon the official bond of James W. Demby, formerly pension agent, the said release to take effect upon the payment of the legal costs heretofore accrued in the prosecution of said claim by the United States: *Provided*, That all the rights and remedies of the Government on said bond as against said James W. Demby shall in no manner be affected hereby, but remain in full force and effect in law.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I merely wish to say that I did not concur in the report of the committee. I do not think the bill ought to pass; but as a majority of the committee were of opinion that it ought, I shall not interpose any opposition except to state what I have stated.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ELIZA A. CUTLER JONES.

Mr. DAWES. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 2331.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I promised that I would move an adjournment.

Mr. DAWES. This will take but a moment.

The bill (H. R. 6619) for the relief of Eliza A. Cutler Jones was reported by its title.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I shall let that go subject to objection.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be read at length subject to objection.

The bill was read, and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration. It proposes to pay to Mrs. Eliza A. Cutler Jones, of Scottsville, Monroe County, New York, $5,000, in five annual installments of $1,000 each, out of any money that may hereafter be appropriated for the use and benefit of the Cheyenne Indians.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let us hear the report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. There is no report from the Senate committee.

Mr. DAWES. There is a House report which gives the facts.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Waiving the breach of privilege, let us hear the House report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report made in the House of Representatives will be read.

Mr. EDMUNDS. My friend from Massachusetts, the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, says that he can state the case more briefly than the reading of the report made in a body with which we have nothing to do.

Mr. DAWES. Some years ago the Cheyenne Indians made a raid upon three men employed by the Government in their service in gathering stock and murdered the three men. At different times heretofore Congress has inserted in an appropriation bill in two different items an appropriation of $5,000 each, one to the widow and the other to the mother of two of these murdered men, to be paid in installments of $1,000 each annually and taken out of the appropriation made to the Cheyenne Indians. This bill is to give to the aged and poor mother of the last of these three murdered men $5,000, as has been given in the case of the other two, to be taken out of the appropriation made for the Cheyenne Indians, so that they may be punished a little each year to remind them of the crime committed.

This bill has passed the other House, and is precisely like two others that have become laws heretofore.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WIDOW OF CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Mr. President, I wish now, as I see my friend from Arkansas [Mr. BERRY] is in the Chamber, who objected to the present consideration of the bill respecting the widow of the late Chief-Justice, to appeal to him to withdraw his objection to its consideration, as I am obliged to leave town to-morrow, and I have reported the bill, and it was the opinion of the Senate when the matter was considered, as is well known—I wish to appeal to him to withdraw his objection. Of course, if he does not, whether here or not, it can not be considered. I have no objection to my friend opposing the bill, but in respect of its consideration it will be a favor to me if he could feel it consistent with his duty to allow the bill to be now considered.

Mr. BERRY. I think the bill is thoroughly a bad one. To withdraw my objection is equivalent to consenting to its passage by the Senate, as I believe a majority of the Senate would vote to pass it. I do not think the bill ought to pass, and I believe it to be my duty to interpose whatever lawful and legal objections the rules authorize me to interpose, and therefore I can not give my consent to take the bill up this evening. The Senator can move to-morrow, I presume, to take it up, and if a majority of the Senate agree to take it up, then it will be before the Senate; but to consent now will be equivalent to a consent to its passage.

As I stated before, I do not know any character of legislation that has been brought before the Senate the principle of which I regard as more vicious than the one that is involved in this bill.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I do not wish to make any reply to the observations of the Senator from Arkansas. The case has been stated, and the precedents in the history of the Government. I only wish to give notice that to-morrow morning, as soon as it is in order, I will, if I am able to stay till to-morrow morning, and if not, somebody else of the committee will, move to take up the bill, and if a majority of the Senate are willing to take it up it will be taken up and considered. Having said that, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, October 10, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *October* 9, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

PRIVATE LAND CLAIM IN NEW MEXICO.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report of the surveyor-general for New Mexico on the private land claim known as the Nicolas Duran de Chaves grant No. 155; which was referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House Senate bills of the following titles; which were read twice, and referred as indicated:

The bill (S. 3501) relating to the classification of post-offices and amend-

atory of the act approved March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to adjust the salaries of postmasters"—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post Roads.

The bill (S. 3340) for the disposition of Fort Brooke military reservation at Tampa, Fla., and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

AMERICAN GROCER ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY.

The SPEAKER. The Chair also lays before the House a duplicate (sent to the House by request) of the bill (S. 577) for the relief of the American Grocer Association of the city of New York. The Senate has heretofore requested the return of this bill to that body.. If there be no objection, the Clerk will be directed to return it. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. MCCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the bill (H. R. 10666) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery, and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln.

The message further announced that the Senate had passed the bill (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the date for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President and the decision of questions arising thereon;" in which the concurrence of the House was requested.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. ROBERTSON, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. CATCHINGS, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. DAVIDSON, of Florida, indefinitely, on account of urgent business.

To Mr. YODER, indefinitely.

To Mr. HENDERSON, of North Carolina, indefinitely, from Thursday next.

CHANGE OF REFRENCE.

The SPEAKER. The bill (H. R. 8634) providing for the sale of the Fort Sedgwick military reservation in the State of Colorado and Territory of Wyoming to actual settlers, and Senate bill No. 1765 of the same title and on the same subject, have been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SYMES] asks that the Committee on Military Affairs be discharged from further consideration of these bills, and that the same be referred to the Committee on Public Lands. In the absence of objection that order will be made.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

MONUMENT TO GENERAL KNOX.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union from the further consideration of the bill S. 449, and assign the 4th day of December next for its consideration.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the title of the bill, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 449) for the erection of a monument to the memory of Maj. Gen. Henry Knox, at Thomaston, Me.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection, the order requested by the gentleman from Maine will be made.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. DINGLEY. I desire one moment further, Mr. Speaker. As possibly on that day there may be other business occupying the attention of the House, I ask unanimous consent that if by reason of public business this bill be not considered on that day, that it be made a continuing order until it is considered.

Mr. BACON. To that request I object.

Mr. DINGLEY. But, if my friend from New York will permit me to suggest, there may be some matter of public importance to be considered on that day, and I should dislike very much to undertake to antagonize it with this special order. I hope my friend will not object, because it is a very reasonable request, simply that there may be some time for the consideration of this bill, not to interfere with public measures. I do not want it to stand in the way.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands the gentleman from New York to insist upon his objection.

Mr. BACON. I do.

Mr. MILLIKEN. This is a monument to one of the most distinguished soldiers of the Revolutionary war, and I am sure if the gentleman from New York will remember that fact he will not insist on objecting.

Mr. BACON. I thank the gentleman from Maine for the information. I have some knowledge of the history of this country in its earlier days; still I am glad to have my memory refreshed. I did not object, however, on historical grounds.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I did not intend to undertake to instruct the gentleman, but only to recall what this bill was.

PUBLIC BUILDING, FORT WORTH, TEX.

Mr. ABBOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House from the further consideration of the bill (S. 1974) for the erection of a public building at Fort Worth, Tex.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read, subject to objection.

The Clerk proceeded to read the bill.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, it is useless to consume the time in reading the bill. I shall object to its consideration.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has just received a communication from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury which seems to be urgent in its character, asking that an appropriation for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the recent Chinese exclusion act, approved October 1, 1888, be made. The Chair will lay this communication before the House at once and order its reference to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. SOWDEN. Regular order.

Mr. DINGLEY. What is the proposition the Chair has just submitted to the House?

The SPEAKER. It is a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury recommending that an appropriation be made to carry into effect the provisions of the Chinese-exclusion act lately passed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. SOWDEN. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the call of committees for reports.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Will my friend from Pennsylvania yield to me to enable me to ask unanimous consent to fix a day for the consideration of a very important bill during the next session?

The SPEAKER. The regular order being demanded, the Chair will call the committees for reports.

Mr. HOOKER. I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the formal call of committees, with leave to gentlemen to file their reports with the Clerk.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection, that order will be made.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

FILING OF REPORT.

The following report was filed by being handed in at the Clerk's desk:

MARY P. MYERS.

Mr. BLISS, from the Committee on Pensions, reported back favorably the bill (S. 3540) granting a pension to Mary P. Myers; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the hour for the consideration of bills reported from committees, which begins at 12 o'clock and 27 minutes. The call rests with the Committee on Public Lands, which has a bill under consideration coming over from yesterday.

Mr. MCRAE. Before proceeding with the execution of that order, I would ask leave to consider Senate bill 3475.

The SPEAKER. But the regular order has been demanded by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MCRAE. I think if the gentleman from Pennsylvania understands the nature of the bill he will withdraw his demand. It pertains to Washington Territory, and the bill has passed the Senate. The Delegate from the Territory is now absent; but the people of that locality feel a deep interest in this bill. It involves no expenditure.

Mr. JACKSON. I would like to ask what was done with the bill which was pending when the hour expired yesterday?

The SPEAKER. That is in the Committee of the Whole. The gentleman from Arkansas asks, before proceeding with the regular order, to consider this Senate bill.

Mr. MCRAE. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania insist on his demand?

The SPEAKER. It has not been withdrawn.

Mr. SOWDEN. If I withdrew it in this instance, others would have a perfect right to claim the same courtesy, to which they would be entitled.

Mr. MCRAE. I am not asking it as a personal favor. This is a matter for Washington Territory, the Delegate being absent.

Mr. SOWDEN. But if I withdraw the call I am bound in the interest of consistency to allow other gentlemen the same courtesy.

Mr. MCRAE. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill which was under consideration yesterday.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MCRAE. Before the House go into Committee of the Whole I move to limit general debate to twenty minutes.

The SPEAKER. But the House has determined to go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. The gentleman from Ar-

kansas [Mr. McRAE] asks unanimous consent that general debate be limited to twenty minutes. Is there objection?

Mr. JACKSON. I object.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, Mr. RICHARDSON in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole, and the Clerk will read the title of the pending bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 758) to relieve purchasers of, and to indemnify certain States for, swamp and overflowed lands disposed of, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. If no member desires to address the committee the Chair will submit the question on the adoption of the amendments.

Mr. McRAE. There appears to be some objection to this bill, and believing that it should be considered in full House with a quorum, I will make a proposition that I hope will be agreed to by the committee. It is this: That the bill be reported back to the House with the recommendation that it be set for consideration on the 15th of next December.

Mr. JACKSON. Reported how—what kind of a report?

Mr. McRAE. With the request that consideration be postponed until the 15th day of next December.

Mr. JACKSON. I move to amend by striking out the day named in the motion, so that no day will be fixed for the consideration of this bill.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I would suggest in connection with a motion of that kind that there are over two hundred general bills on our Calendar that have as much merit as this bill has, and I think it is very unfair to the short session that we should set metes and bounds for the consideration of bills. I shall object to designating any time for the consideration of any bill that is on the Calendar; I will make a standing objection to setting days for the consideration of bills.

Mr. McRAE. This is a very important public bill and not on the Private Calendar.

Mr. FARQUHAR. But it is on the General Calendar with general measures which are on that Calendar, I have one or two measures on there myself which are of ten times more importance than that bill, and I feel like treating all alike. Therefore, from this time henceforth I will make a standing objection to fixing of days for the consideration of bills.

Mr. SOWDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE] how much is involved in this bill?

Mr. McRAE. There is no amount of money appropriated by it specially. The bill authorizes——

Mr. SOWDEN. How much is involved in it generally, if not specially? Does it involve a large sum of money?

Mr. McRAE. It does not involve any new liability, but authorizes a settlement of some that have existed for many years. It does not involve the appropriation of an additional dollar except for such lands as have been erroneously sold by the United States after granting them to the States, and then only what was paid for the land, giving money indemnity at $1.25 per acre for the dry-land indemnity now allowed by law.

A number of States have claims growing out of these old grants pending against the Government, and the Government has claims pending against these same States. This bill makes it possible for a settlement upon a money basis, without changing or enlarging in any way the original grant. It is to the interest of the States, the United States, and the settlers as well.

Mr. SOWDEN. It does not involve a large sum of money?

Mr. McRAE. It does not increase the liability of the Government unless the land allowed as indemnity is not worth $1.25 per acre. It is in fact in many instances worth more. And the same thing can be said of the lands in place where the States take the land from the purchasers of the Government. In such cases the Government refunds to the purchaser what he paid and the States take the land. The United States make nothing. The States get land and the settler is turned out of his home. This bill authorizes a settlement of such cases by refunding the money to the States, thus perfecting the title of the purchaser. It does not interfere with the original adjustment in the slightest except as I have stated.

Mr. JACKSON. I differ entirely in my judgment from the statement made by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE]. I think this bill does involve a large amount of money.

Mr. McRAE. How much time does the gentleman wish to discuss the bill?

Mr. JACKSON. If you proceed with the consideration of this bill I will take the floor in my own right, so that I can have my own time in opposition. I consider this bill very objectionable, and intend to oppose it to the best of my ability.

Mr. McRAE. You can not take my time, and if you proceed now you must submit to a limit. I have the floor, but will divide with you.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas moves to postpone the consideration of the bill until the 15th of December, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON] moves that the bill be reported to the House and that its consideration be indefinitely postponed. The Chair thinks the motion made by the gentleman from Arkansas has precedence over the motion made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and it is now in order.

Mr. McRAE. I made that as a proposition after I had been informed that a quorum would be demanded on the passage of the bill. I thought it would be agreed to by those who oppose the bill. As that does not meet with the approval of my friends who are opposed to the bill, I withdraw my motion or proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas withdraws the motion, and the question will be on the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON] to indefinitely postpone the consideration of the bill.

Mr. JACKSON. I will not allow the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE] to be more considerate than I am; so I will withdraw my motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE] has the floor.

Mr. McRAE. Mr. Chairman, as it appears that we can not get rid of considering the bill at this time, I will now yield any reasonable time which any gentleman may desire to make a statement or to ask me any questions with reference to the bill. If the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON] wishes time for that purpose, I will yield to him cheerfully.

Mr. JACKSON. If the Chair will recognize me in opposition to the bill, I will take the floor in my own right, and then I shall have something to say about it. I do not want to occupy any part of the time of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE]. I want to be recognized in opposition to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Arkansas yield the floor?

Mr. McRAE. I do not; but I will yield the gentleman from Pennsylvania any time he wishes, reserving the same to myself to reply to him.

Mr. JACKSON. I prefer to take the floor in my own right, as I have already stated.

Mr. McRAE. Well, you can not take it at this time in your own right, and thus talk out the hour allowed for consideration.

Mr. JACKSON. I am not asking it until the time comes to oppose this bill.

Mr. McRAE. The gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SYMES] expressed a desire to have some time to be heard upon the bill, and I now yield him five minutes.

Mr. SYMES. In explanation of this bill, and in reply to statements made by gentlemen on the floor that it is a bill calling for some new appropriation, I desire to say that it is simply a bill to pay what the Government is under absolute obligation to pay. It is a bill to carry out and execute the provisions of United States statutes which have been executed in other cases, in pursuance of the land policy of this Government for a great many years, by paying to the different States 5 per cent. of the proceeds of the public domain sold within the States after their admission into the Union.

It is beyond contradiction, sir, that every new Western State and every new Southern State wherein there was public domain at the time of its admission into the Union was guarantied this payment, and the Government thereafter carried out the guaranty in the statutes and the enabling acts by paying to the States 5 per cent. of the proceeds of the sales of the public domain thereafter disposed of within the boundaries of such new State. It is strange, sir, to hear these objections made by gentlemen who live in the East, and some of them representing States which received this 5 per cent. fund years ago.

It is not just for gentlemen to object at this late day to doing justice to these new States simply because the Government has been slow and Congress has not performed its duty by carrying out in good faith the different acts to which I have referred with reference to the 5 per cent. due new Western States, as they were carried out in the past in regard to the older States when they were represented by the predecessors of these gentlemen who now make these objections. I have stated the sum and substance of this bill, and I have made these few remarks merely for the purpose of placing it before the House in its proper status, not as a new measure, not as a bill to appropriate money, but simply as a bill to carry out laws upon the statute-books of the United States, and to fulfill to some of the new States guaranties of Congress which have been already fulfilled with reference to the older States.

Mr. JACKSON. What statutory provision does the gentleman refer to?

Mr. SYMES. The provisions are contained in a general act as well as in different special acts.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you refer to the swamp-land indemnity fund?

Mr. SYMES. Yes; I refer to that and other acts.

Mr. McRAE. Mr. Chairman, as a part of my remarks upon this bill I desire to have the report of the committee printed in the RECORD, but I will not take time to have it read.

The report is as follows:

The Committee on the Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill (S. 758) for the relief of purchasers of, and to indemnify certain States for, swamp and overflowed lands disposed of, and for other purposes, have had the same under

consideration, and report the same back, with the recommendation that it pass with the following amendment:

Strike out the following words in the first section: "except by grants to such States or to railroad corporations in such States by homestead entries."

Except section 6, which seeks to extend the provisions of the act of September 28, 1850, to the States admitted into the Union since the 17th day of March, 1860, this bill is substantially the same as H. R. 6897, reported from the said committee to the House on the 8th day of February, 1888, and the committee adopt so much of the Report 347 as is applicable to this bill, as follows:

That the full scope and effect of this bill may be understood, it will be necessary to thoroughly understand the several swamp-land grants and the action of the Interior Department with reference thereto; and to that end copies of the acts of Congress and the regulations of the Department are hereto appended. The act approved March 2, 1849 (9 Stat., 352), granted to the State of Louisiana the whole of the swamp and overflowed lands in said State found unfit for cultivation, with the exception of those tracts fronting on rivers, creeks, bayous, etc., surveyed into lots or tracts under the acts of March 31, 1811, and May 24, 1824.

The act of September 28, 1850 (9 Stat., 519), granted to each of the public land States then in the Union the whole of the swamp and overflowed lands remaining unsold within their limits, made unfit thereby for cultivation, and the Secretary of the Interior was required to make out accurate lists and plats of the lands described as aforesaid, and transmit the same to the governors of the States. For some reason the Secretary failed to make any such selections and segregation of such lands as the act clearly contemplated except as he saw fit to make partial and imperfect lists when called upon by the agents of the States from time to time. This failure or neglect has been the source of a great deal of controversy between the States and the Interior Department, and also of a great deal of vexatious and expensive litigation between those claiming under the grant and those adverse to it.

On the 21st day of November, 1850, the Commissioner of the General Land Office transmitted to the governors of all the States covered by the grant a circular of instructions as to the manner of proceeding under said act, with a request that the State elect which of the two proposed methods for designating swamp lands would be adopted.

The proposed methods were:

1. The field-notes of Government survey to be taken as the basis for selections, and all lands shown by them to be swamp or overflowed within the meaning of the act to be placed in the lists to be reported to the General Land Office.

2. The States to make the selections by their own agents and at their own cost, and report the same to the surveyor-general with proof of the character of the land.

The act approved March 12, 1860, extended the grant of September 28, 1850, to the States of Minnesota and Oregon. California, by the act approved July 23, 1866, was granted the same character of lands within her limits, but the method of selecting was much simplified and the adjustment has been much easier than in the other fourteen swamp-land States.

Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin elected to make the field-notes the basis for determining the character of the land.

Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and Oregon elected to make their selections by agents in the field, and they have all made their selections; but very few, if any, have been able to get their claims finally adjusted by the Department.

California did not adopt either method, because under the grant to that State such action was not necessary.

In Louisiana nearly all of the selections are made under the act of March 2, 1849, by deputy surveyors, under the direction of the United States surveyor-general, at the expense of the State. Such lands as are claimed under the act of September 28, 1850, are selected by State agents, with proof of character of the land. Within the last few years the States of Alabama, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Ohio, with the consent of the Department of the Interior, have adopted the field-notes of survey as the basis of adjustment of their claims.

Some of the selections made by the State of Arkansas more than thirty years ago and intended to be confirmed by the act of March 3, 1857, are yet unadjusted, and a great many tracts selected and claimed under the grant of that State have been sold and disposed of by the United States. At this lapse of time it is next to impossible to furnish the Secretary of the Interior with the proof that he should have taken as soon as "practicable after the passage" of the act making the grant.

The grant as first introduced was only intended for Arkansas. That State was mentioned by name both in the title and the body of the act making the grant. It promptly and in good faith entered upon a system of levees and drains to reclaim the lands. In alphabetical order it was the second on the list of States. Notwithstanding all this, less has been done toward adjustment in that State than any other. No indemnity either in lands or money has ever been allowed, although its right to both is not denied.

At the suggestion of the Department, and in the hope that it would lead to an early adjustment of the claim of the State, the Legislature, by two acts, one approved March 17, 1885, and the other March 19, 1887, adopted the field-notes of survey. The Secretary was not satisfied that the said acts gave the governor "full power" to consent to the adjustment of said grant and the claim of the State for indemnity, and on the 16th day of May, 1887, advised the Commissioner, in a written opinion, "that no further action should be taken" by the Department relative to the claim under the swamp-land act until the governor has been given "full power" by appropriate legislation to consent to the adjustment of said grant and the claim for indemnity in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Louisiana case.

For thirty years, upon one pretext or another, the adjustment of this State's claim has been delayed, and for all this time the United States has been disposing of more or less of the lands previously granted to the State and using the money received, while all the time the State is being charged with interest on the debt due the United States. This course on the part of the Department charged with the duty of prompt adjustment, in addition to trifling with law and vested rights, is unjust to the State in that it diminishes a fund upon which it had the right to rely and also in the initiation of a series of defective titles and the lawsuits and losses that always follow such.

This injustice has extended to the other States as well as Arkansas, but in less degree. In proof of the immense litigation that has come of such action reference is made to the citations made by the Department in its circular of April 18, 1882, of nearly two hundred decisions of the court of last resort and of the Department.

The first section of the act of September 28, 1850, after giving the reason for its passage, states that the whole of the swamp and overflowed lands, made thereby unfit for cultivation and unsold, are hereby granted to the States It was an unconditional present grant by Congress of such lands to the States within which they lie, without reference to their sections, townships, and ranges, but at the same time fixed a criterion by which it could be easily ascertained what was granted, to wit, such legal subdivisions of the public lands the greater part of which were so far swamp and overflowed as to be wet and unfit for cultivation.

All such lands were granted and the title vested September 28, 1850, and have continued to be so granted and vested ever since. This has frequently been settled by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. Congress has never attempted to forfeit the grant or in the least modify the description by which they were given to the States, and such as were wet and unfit for cultivation at the time of the grant passed without any reference to the swampy or non-swampy character since or now.

The failure of the Secretary of the Interior to make the list and plats, and his action in continuing to dispose of the lands granted, became such a grievance that Congress passed two remedial acts. The first of these was approved March 2, 1855, and granted relief to the purchasers and locators of swamp and overflowed lands by giving the States the purchase-money for all such lands sold, and allowing dry lands of like quantity for such as were otherwise disposed of. Presuming upon an early adjustment, and assuming that no more erroneous sales would be made or approved by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, this act was not made prospective and continuing, as it ought to have been.

Other difficulties arose about the selections made by the States, and so Congress again, on March 3, 1857 (11 Stat., 251), passed an act declaring that the selections of swamp and overflowed lands granted to the States by the act of September 28, 1850, theretofore made and reported to the General Land Office, so far as the same remained vacant and unappropriated and not interfered with by actual settlement under existing laws of the United States, were confirmed and approved for patent, and extended and continued in force to that time the act of March 2, 1855. So under existing laws the case may be stated as follows:

1. That the respective States to which the grant applied are entitled to all the swamp and overflowed lands made unfit thereby for cultivation which remained unsold therein on the 28th day of September, A. D. 1850.

2. That for all such lands sold between September 28, A. D. 1850, and March 3, A. D. 1857, the States are entitled to the purchase money received.

3. That for all such lands otherwise disposed of than by sale between said dates the States are entitled to have indemnity in lands not swamp and overflowed.

4. That for such lands as have been sold or otherwise disposed of since September 28, A. D. 1857, no indemnity, either in money or lands, has been granted and no adjustment is possible. The land itself must be taken from the purchaser or settler by the State or its grantee, or lost. When such purchasers or settlers are evicted they come to Congress for relief or accept a return of the purchase-money.

5. That in the States where all of the public lands have been disposed of no indemnity scrip is issued, or if issued is of no value to the State, because it is held that it can only be located in the State to which it may be issued. There are certain moneys in the Treasury of the United States received for lands that passed by the said grant, which in both law and equity belong to these States. Besides this, many of them are entitled to other lands not yet sold or disposed of.

The proposed measure is for the adjustment of the claims of the States interested upon a money basis, so as to save for actual settlers all of such lands as did pass to the States by the grant, but have neither been certified for patent nor sold by the United States. It makes no new grant and does not enlarge any previously made. It does not seek to make any change in the mode of selecting or making proof of the methods of selections. Nor does it modify or reverse any decision of the courts or the Department. But it simply provides for an adjustment in accordance with the established methods of the Department and the decisions of the courts, and when such adjustments are made it gives cash at $1.25 per acre, when under the present law either the land in place or dry indemnity land would be received. This will be the effect of the first section if it should become law.

The second section provides for the certification and payment of the money or the entering of proper credits when, as in the case of the State of Arkansas, there is a debt due the United States.

The third section makes the acceptance of cash indemnity a relinquishment and waiver of all right to the land and a confirmation of the title in the United States or their grantees.

The fourth section requires the Department to consider all lists made and proofs taken in accordance with the rules of the Department to be considered in making the adjustment.

The fifth section will have the effect to redeem all outstanding indemnity script at $1.25 per acre. The following letter will show the amount issued to States where the public lands have all been sold and which can not under the rules now in force be located in the States named. These States insist that they can be located on any vacant lands; the attempt has several times been made.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1888.

SIR: In reply to your oral inquiry, I have the honor to inform you that the certificates issued to the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa, authorizing the location of land in lieu of swamp and overflowed lands located with warrants or scrip prior to March 3, 1857, now outstanding and unsatisfied, amount to 121,059.39 acres, as follows:

	Acres.
Illinois	99,675.83
Indiana	3,715.44
Iowa	17,668.12

Very respectfully,

S. M. STOCKSLAGER,
Acting Commissioner.

In conclusion the committee would call attention to the grants and some decisions under them, and to the fact that a similar bill was reported to the last House from the Committee on Public Lands. The bill ought to pass.

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, *November 21, 1850.*

SIR: By the act of Congress entitled "An act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the 'swamp lands' within their limits," approved September 28, 1850, it is directed "that to enable the State of Arkansas to construct the necessary levees and drains to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands therein, the whole of those swamp and overflowed lands made thereby unfit for cultivation which shall remain unsold at the passage of this act shall be, and the same are hereby, granted to said State."

1. By the fourth section of this act it is directed that the provisions of it shall be extended to, and their benefits be conferred upon, each of the other States of the Union in which such swamp and overflowed lands may be situated.

2. And "that in making out a list and plats of the lands aforesaid, all legal subdivisions, the greater part of which is 'wet and unfit for cultivation,' shall be included in said lists and plats; but when the greater part of a subdivision is not of that character, the whole of it shall be excluded therefrom."

This act clearly and unequivocally grants to the several States those lands which, from being swampy or subject to overflow, are unfit for cultivation. In this class is included also all lands which, though dry part of the year, are subject to inundation at the planting, growing, or harvesting season, so as to destroy the crop, and therefore are unfit for cultivation, taking the average of the season for a reasonable number of years as the rule of determination.

You will please make out a list of all the lands thus granted to the State, des-

ignating those which have been sold or otherwise disposed of since the passage of the law, and the price paid for them when purchased.

The only reliable data in your possession from which these lists can be made out are the field-notes of the surveys on file in your office; and if the authorities of the State are willing to adopt these as the basis of those lists, you will so regard them. If not, and those authorities furnish you satisfactory evidence that any lands are of the character embraced by the grant, you will so report them.

The following general principles will govern you in making up these lists, to wit:

When the field-notes are the basis, and the intersections of the lines of swamp or overflow with those of the public surveys alone are given, those intersections may be connected by straight lines; and all legal subdivisions, the greater part of which are shown by these lines to be within the swamp or overflow, will be certified to the State; the balance will remain the property of the Government.

Where the State authorities may conclude to have the surveys made to determine the boundaries of the swamp or overflowed lands, those boundaries alone should be surveyed, taking connections with the nearest sections or township corners; or

Where the swamp or overflowed lands are on the borders of a stream or lake the stream or lake could be meandered and ordinates surveyed at suitable intervals from the borders of the stream or lake to the margin of the swamp or overflowed lands, and by connecting the ends of those ordinates next to that margin by straight lines the boundaries of the swamp or overflowed lands can be ascertained with sufficient accuracy. In no case, however, should any such boundaries or ordinates be marked in the field, as they may produce difficulty in determining the lines and corners of the public surveys hereafter, and thus lead to litigation. The selections in all these cases will be made as before directed. Where satisfactory evidence is produced that the whole of a township, or of any particular or specified part of a township, or the whole of a tract of country bounded by specified surveyed or natural boundaries, is of the character embraced by the grant, you will so report it, the adjacent subdivisions, however, to be subject to the regulations above given; and in every case, under each rule or principle herein prescribed, 40-acre lots or quarter-quarter sections will be regarded as the legal subdivisions contemplated by the law.

The affidavits of the county surveyors and other respectable persons that they understand and have examined the lines, and that the lands bounded by the lines thus examined and particularly designated in the affidavit are of the character embraced by the law, should be sufficient.

The line or boundary of the overflow that renders the land unfit for regular cultivation may be adopted as that which regulates the grant.

You will make out lists of these lands as early as practicable, according to the following form, one copy of which you will transmit to the land officers and another to this office. The land selected should be reserved from sale, and after those selections are approved by the Secretary of the Interior, the register should enter all the lands so selected in his tract books as "granted to the State by an act of 28th September, 1850, being swamp or overflowed lands," and on the plats enter on each tract "State act of 28th September, 1850." Copies of the approved lists will be sent to the registers for this purpose. Your early attention is requested in this matter, that the grant may be disposed of as speedily as possible.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. BUTTERFIELD, *Commissioner.*

Part of section.	Section.	Township.	Range.	Remarks.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., December 13, 1886.

REGISTERS and RECEIVERS,
United States Land Offices:

GENTLEMEN: The rules heretofore in force relative to the admission of entries and filings on lands selected (and prior to their approval and certification by the Secretary of the Interior) as "swamp and overflowed and rendered thereby unfit for cultivation," are hereby modified as follows:

1. When any settler upon such lands or applicant to enter the same under the public-land laws of the United States shall apply to make a filing or entry under said laws, accompanied by a statement under oath, corroborated by two witnesses, that the land in its natural state is not swamp and overflowed and rendered thereby unfit for cultivation, the register and receiver will allow such filing or entry "subject to the swamp-land claim."

2. Upon the admission of any such filing or entry the register will at once notify the governor of the State thereof and allow him sixty days within which to object to the perfection of the entry, and to apply for a hearing of the State to prove the swampy character of the land.

3. When a hearing is ordered between the State and claimant under the public-land laws the burden of proof will be upon the State to establish the character of the land.

4. When no protest or application for a hearing is presented on the part of the State, as herein provided, the State will be deemed concluded from thereafter asserting a claim to the land under the swamp-land grant.

5. The foregoing applies only to those States whose claims are adjusted by examinations in the field.

6. Where swamp-land selections are based upon the field-notes of survey, and the land is alleged not to have been in fact swamp and overflowed and rendered thereby unfit for cultivation at the date of the swamp-land grant, the burden of proof will be upon the contestant or adverse claimant under the public-land laws.

7. You will promptly advise this office when notice is given the governor in any case, stating the date of such notice, and the description of the land involved. You will also duly report the governor's action in each case.

WM. A. J. SPARKS,
Commissioner.

Approved:
L. Q. C. LAMAR, *Secretary.*

UNITED STATES SWAMP-LAND LAWS—REGULATIONS AND DECISIONS THEREUNDER—GENERAL LAND OFFICE, APRIL 18, 1882.

An act to aid the State of Louisiana in draining the swamp lands therein.

Be it enacted, etc., That to aid the State of Louisiana in constructing the necessary levees and drains to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands therein, the whole of those swamp and overflowed lands, which may be or are found unfit for cultivation, shall be, and the same are hereby, granted to that State.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That as soon as the Secretary of the Treasury shall be advised, by the governor of Louisiana, that that State has made the necessary preparation to defray the expenses thereof he shall cause a personal examination to be made under the direction of the surveyor-general thereof, by experienced and faithful deputies, of all the swamp lands therein which are subject to overflow and unfit for cultivation; and a list of the same to be made out and certified by the deputies and surveyor-general to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall approve the same, so far as they are not claimed or held by individuals, and on that approval the fee-simple to said lands shall vest in the said State of Louisiana, subject to the disposal of the Legislature thereof: *Provided, however*, That the proceeds of said lands shall be applied exclusively, as far as necessary, to the construction of the levees and drains aforesaid.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in making out a list of these swamp lands, subject to overflow and unfit for cultivation, all legal subdivisions, the greater part of which is of that character, shall be included in said list; but when the greater part of a subdivision is not of that character, the whole of it shall be excluded therefrom: *Provided, however*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any lands fronting on rivers, creeks, bayous, water courses, etc., which have been surveyed into lots or tracts under the acts of 3d March, 1811, and 24th May, 1824: *And provided further*, That the United States shall in no manner be held liable for any expense incurred in selecting these lands and making out the lists thereof, or for making any surveys that may be required to carry out the provisions of this act.

Approved March 2, 1849.

An act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the "swamp lands" within their limits.

Be it enacted, etc., That to enable the State of Arkansas to construct the necessary levees and drains to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands therein, the whole of those swamp and overflowed lands made unfit thereby for cultivation, which shall remain unsold at the passage of this act, shall be, and the same are hereby, granted to said State.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior, as soon as may be practicable after the passage of this act, to make out an accurate list and plats of the lands described as aforesaid, and transmit the same to the governor of the State of Arkansas, and at the request of said governor cause a patent to be issued to the State therefor; and on that patent the fee-simple to said lands shall vest in the said State of Arkansas, subject to the disposal of the Legislature thereof: *Provided, however*, That the proceeds of said lands, whether from sale or by direct appropriation in kind, shall be applied exclusively, so far as necessary, to the purpose of reclaiming said lands by means of the levees and drains aforesaid.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in making out a list and plats of the land aforesaid, all legal subdivisions, the greater part of which is "wet and unfit for cultivation," shall be included in said list and plats; but when the greater part of a subdivision is not of that character, the whole of it shall be excluded therefrom.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the provisions of this act be extended to, and their benefits be conferred upon, each of the other States of the Union in which such swamp and overflowed lands, known and designated as aforesaid, may be situated.

Approved September 28, 1850.

The grant of swamp lands, under acts of March 2, 1849, and September 28, 1850, is a grant *in præsenti*. See United States Supreme Court decisions, Railroad Company *vs.* Fremont County (9 Wallace, 89); Railroad Company *vs.* Smith (*id.*, 95); Martin *vs.* Marks (7 Otto, 353); decisions of Secretary of the Interior, December 23, 1851 (1 Lester's L. L., 549), April 25, 1862, and opinion of Attorney-General, November 10, 1858 (1 Lester's L. L., 564).

The act of September 28, 1850, did not grant swamp and overflowed lands to States admitted into the Union after its passage. See decision of Secretary Interior, August 17, 1858; Commissioner General Land Office, May 2, 1871 (Copp's L. L., 464), affirmed by Secretary June 1, 1871, and Commissioner General Land Office, January 19, 1874 (Copp's L. L., 473), affirmed by Secretary July 9, 1875.

A State having elected to take swamp land by field-notes and plats of survey is bound by them, as is also the Government. See Secretary's decision, October 4, 1855 (1 Lester's L. L., 553), August 1, 1859 (*id.*, 571), December 4, 1877 (4 Copp's L. O., 149), and September 19, 1879.

An act for the relief of purchasers and locators of swamp and overflowed lands.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the President of the United States cause patents to be issued, as soon as practicable, to the purchaser or purchasers, locator or locators, who have made entries of the public lands, claimed as swamp lands, either with cash, or with land-warrants, or with scrip, prior to the issue of patents to the State or States, as provided for by the second section of the act approved September 28, 1850, entitled "An act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the swamp lands within their limits," any decision of the Secretary of the Interior or other officer of the Government of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided*, That in all cases where any State, through its constituted authorities, may have sold or disposed of any tract or tracts of land to any individual or individuals prior to the entry, sale, or location of the same, under the pre-emption or other laws of the United States, no patent shall be issued by the President for such tract or tracts of land until such State, through its constituted authorities, shall release its claim thereto in such form as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior: *And provided further*, That if such State shall not within ninety days from the passage of this act, through its constituted authorities, return to the General Land Office of the United States a list of all the lands sold as aforesaid, together with the dates of such sale and the names of the purchasers, the patents shall be issued immediately thereafter, as directed in the foregoing section.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That upon due proof, by the authorized agent of the State or States, before the Commissioner of the General Land Office, that any of the lands purchased were swamp lands, within the true intent and meaning of the act aforesaid, the purchase-money shall be paid over to the State or States; and where the lands have been located by warrant or scrip, the said State or States shall be authorized to locate a quantity of like amount, upon any of the public lands subject to entry, at $1.25 per acre, or less, and patents shall issue therefor upon the terms and conditions enumerated in the act aforesaid: *Provided, however*, That the said decisions of the Commissioner of the General Land Office shall be approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

Approved March 2, 1855.

An act to confirm to the several States the swamp and overflowed lands selected under the act of September 28, 1850, and the act of March 2, 1849.

Be it enacted, etc., That the selection of swamp and overflowed lands granted to the several States by the act of Congress approved September 28, 1850, entitled "An act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the swamp lands within their limits," and the act of March 2, 1849, entitled "An act to aid the State of Louisiana in draining the swamp lands therein," heretofore made and reported to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, so far as the same shall remain vacant and unappropriated, and not interfered with by an actual settlement under any existing law of the United States, be, and the same are hereby, confirmed, and shall be approved and patented to the said several States, in conformity with the provisions of the act aforesaid, as soon as may be practicable after the passage of this law: *Provided, however*, That nothing in this act contained shall interfere with the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "An act for the relief of purchasers and locaters of swamp and overflowed lands," approved March 2, 1855, which shall be, and is hereby, continued in force and extended to all entries and locations of lands claimed as swamp lands made since its passage.

Approved March 3, 1857.

An act to extend the provisions of "An act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the swamp lands within their limits" to Minnesota and Oregon, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "An act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the swamp lands within their limits," approved September 28, 1850, be, and the same are hereby, extended to the States of Minnesota and Oregon: *Provided*, That the grant hereby made shall not include any lands which the Government of the United States may have reserved, sold, or disposed of (in pursuance of any law heretofore enacted) prior to the confirmation of title to be made under the authority of the said act.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the selection to be made from lands already surveyed in each of the States, including Minnesota and Oregon, under the authority of the act aforesaid, and of the act to aid the State of Louisiana in draining the swamp lands therein, approved March 2, 1849, shall be made within two years from the adjournment of the Legislature of each State at its next session after the date of this act, and, as to all lands hereafter to be surveyed, within two years from such adjournment, at the next session after notice by the Secretary of the Interior to the governor of the State that the surveys have been completed and confirmed.

Approved March 12, 1860.

Provisions of section 2 repealed as to all States except Minnesota and Oregon by enactment in Revised Statutes. (See section 5596.)

The grant of swamp lands to the States of Oregon and Minnesota was a grant *in præsenti*, and the land so granted can not be otherwise disposed of by the Government. See Secretary's decisions, April 15, 1880; Crowley *vs.* State of Oregon (7 Copp's L. O., 28), and the State of Oregon *vs.* United States, June 4, 1880 (*id.*, 53).

Status of lands within the meander lines of shallow bodies of water at date of survey that might have been temporarily overflowed considered. See Secretary's decision, December 2, 1874 (Copp's Land Laws, 475).

CHAP. CCXIX.—An act to quiet land titles in California.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That in all cases where township surveys have been, or shall hereafter be, made under authority of the United States, and the plats thereof approved, it shall be the duty of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to certify over to the State of California as swamp and overflowed all the lands represented as such upon such approved plats within one year from the passage of this act, or within one year from the return and approval of such township plats.

The Commissioner shall direct the United States surveyor-general for the State of California to examine the segregation maps and surveys of the swamp and overflowed lands made by said State, and where he shall find them to conform to the system of surveys adopted by the United States, he shall construct and approve township plats accordingly, and forward to the General Land Office for approval: *Provided*, That in segregating large bodies of land, notoriously and obviously swamp and overflowed, it shall not be necessary to subdivide the same, but to run the exterior lines of such body of land. In case such State surveys are not found to be in accordance with the system of United States surveys, and in such other townships as no survey has been made by the United States, the Commissioner shall direct the surveyor-general to make segregation surveys upon application to said surveyor-general by the governor of said State, within one year of said application, of all the swamp and overflowed land in such townships, and to report the same to the General Land Office, representing and describing what land was swamp and overflowed under the grant, according to the best evidence he can obtain. If the authorities of said State shall claim as swamp and overflowed any land not represented as such upon the map or in the returns of the surveyors, the character of such land at the date of the grant (September 28, 1850) and the right to the same shall be determined by testimony to be taken before the surveyor-general, who shall decide the same subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the General Land Office.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Commissioner of the General Land Office to instruct the officers of the local land offices and the surveyor-general, immediately after the passage of this act, to forward lists of all selections made by the State referred to in section 1 of this act, and lists and maps of all swamp and overflowed lands claimed by said State or surveyed as provided in this act, for final disposition and determination, which final disposition shall be made by the Commissioner of the General Land Office without delay.

Approved July 23, 1866.

Mr. MCRAE. Now, Mr. Speaker, unless some other gentleman desires to make remarks upon the bill or to ask a question about it, seeing that it will be impossible for us to pass the bill with the number of members now present, I shall ask to have the consideration hour considered as closed so far as this bill and the committee are concerned, so as to allow other committees a chance to do something.

Mr. JACKSON. Since debate has been entered upon and remarks have been made in favor of the bill, I think we who oppose it should at least have an opportunity to briefly state some of the objections to it. I think the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SYMES] must certainly misapprehend the provisions of the bill or he would not have made the answers he did to my questions. The bill of the Senate (758), now under consideration, has nothing in it in regard to 5 per cent. payments. It is a bill providing for an allowance and payment to certain States at a fixed price per acre for swamp lands that it is alleged were embraced in grants made by the General Government to those States, and which lands the States have never received.

It is true, as carefully stated by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE], that this bill does not carry an appropriation of money from the Treasury of the United States. But, Mr. Speaker, it is equally true that the passage of this bill will involve the United States in a liability for a very large sum of money. It is very similar to the bill reported at this session to the House from the Committee on the Public Lands (H. R. 6897), Report No. 347, and it will require but a very brief examination of the bill to satisfy any one that it involves a large liability on the part of the General Government, and that the zeal for its passage is wholly animated by a desire to eventually get handsome donations and allowances from the United States Treasury to certain States in the South and West that are well known to be embraced within its provisions.

Mr. Speaker, if I can be indulged for a very brief time, I would like to call attention to a few points in this case. The title of the bill is "An act to relieve purchasers of and indemnify certain States for swamp and overflowed lands disposed of, and for other purposes." This title, it will be observed, is broad enough to cover almost anything that might be desired, not only in regard to the somewhat celebrated swamp-land grants, but as to anything else. Now what, in fact, are the grants of swamp lands to the States? The original of the acts making these grants are the acts relating to Louisiana, approved 2d March, 1849, and the act relating to Arkansas, approved 28th September, 1850. The fourth section of this latter act made its provisions apply to all States then in the Union having public lands.

The purport of these acts is to grant to the States the swamp and overflowed lands within their boundaries for the purpose of reclaiming them. They were evidently only intended as a grant of such lands as are wholly unfit for cultivation without the construction of levees and drains under a system so extensive that only the State itself is competent to undertake it.

It is safe to say, Mr. Speaker, that of all the improvident legislation of Congress nothing has ever equaled these grants for abstracting public lands from the General Government without consideration. It is a well-known fact that under the different and varying systems of selection vast quantities of good arable lands have been obtained.

The very title of this bill shows that. It is to relieve purchasers who have acquired titles from the United States for lands so desirable that the settler in search of a home going upon the land never suspected the land to be swamp land. The fact is these grants accomplished no good purpose and should never have been made. No such grants, I venture to say, if attention is called to the fact, could now be obtained from Congress. Yet one of the provisions of this bill is to extend all these grants to all States admitted into the Union since 1860.

The gentleman from Colorado speaks of this bill as an innocent, harmless statute to pay some old, just debt. Yet, if I am not mistaken, his State without this act has not the shadow of a claim to any swamp lands whatever. I have not time to go into a full history of this legislation, and shall content myself with calling attention to some of the most objectionable features of this bill. Since the passage of the swamp-land acts in 1849 and 1850 the Government of the United States has been disposing of public lands in various ways—to States and corporations for public improvements by cash sales, by homesteads, by grants for public schools, and for some few other purposes.

It is claimed that the swamp-land grants are grants *in præsenti*, and that without requiring any designation whatever title at once passed to all swamp and overflowed lands to the respective States; that if by inadvertence the Government included in its gifts to a homesteader, or a sale or grant to any one, any land that can now be proven to have been swamp land, the State should now receive pay and indemnity for such lands at $1.25 per acre. No matter if the United States Government got but 12 cents per acre, or nothing at all, it should pay the State at the rate of $1.25 per acre for all such lands.

Further, no matter that it has been the State's own negligence that it has not had the swamp lands designated heretofore, it now claims indemnity for its own negligence.

These claims have no foundation in equity or justice. This bill is simply a convenient medium to get indirectly an appropriation for benefit of a State; and as it extends its benefits to many States, it of course has many friends.

It does not, as I have observed, make an immediate appropriation, but it does make it the duty of the Administration to settle and adjust these alleged claims, and it expressly provides that each State shall have indemnity at the rate of $1.25 per acre for such claims.

It further provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause such State to be credited with these amounts, and he shall apply the same on any debt due the United States by such State.

But, Mr. Speaker, the drawers of this bill were careful to provide that none of this money should apply in the payment of the direct tax, as will appear from a reading of the second section. They eventually intend to have it money.

Mr. Speaker, there are other questions concerning this bill that ought to be discussed before it is voted upon. The gentleman in charge of it intimates that its consideration is not to be pressed at this time, and I hope to have further time to speak of it if it is called up again in this Congress.

Mr. MCRAE. I have offered to yield time to the gentleman if he desires it, but he refused to accept it unless I would surrender to him.

Mr. JACKSON. I thank the gentleman very kindly; but in a discussion of this kind we of the opposition have a right to be heard in our own time, and the gentleman's merely yielding time is not satisfactory.

Mr. MCRAE. The gentleman understands that we have only one hour altogether for the consideration of this bill, and I now say to him that I do not intend to yield the floor to him or any other gentleman to make speeches in opposition to the bill, with no chance to reply to them at this time. I have consented not to proceed with the discussion at this time because as we can not pass it no good will come from it.

If the gentleman compels the friends of the bill to go into the discussion at this time, we propose to take care of our own side. The bill

will bear discussion and I am anxious to discuss it, but I want that discussion before a House able to pass it if a majority so think. I do not care to talk to less than a quorum when I know that point will be made to defeat me.

If, however, gentlemen on the other side will not consent to let me take the course I suggest, then I propose to occupy the time allowed me under the rules of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas is entitled to the floor for an hour.

Mr. NELSON. As there is no prospect of passing the bill now, I trust the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE] will withdraw it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has that right.

Mr. McRAE. I can not consent to withdraw the bill; but if the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON] will consent to the agreement suggested, it will obviate any trouble about the matter. If he does not, the hour will have to be consumed. It is not my purpose to stand in the way of any other committee.

I move that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. RICHARDSON reported that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union having had under consideration the bill (S. 758) to relieve purchasers of, and to indemnify certain States for, swamp and overflowed lands disposed of, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. McRAE. I move that the hour allotted to the Committee on Public Lands for the consideration of the bill just reported from the Committee of the Whole, be now considered as closed; and on that motion I call for the previous question, if such a motion is in order.

The SPEAKER. No motion of that sort can be entertained under the rules. The rules provide imperatively that an hour shall be set apart for the consideration of bills previously reported from committees; and if at the end of the hour on any day a committee has a bill unfinished, it is allowed sufficient time on the next day, not exceeding one hour, to complete the consideration of that bill; when the consideration of that bill is completed or the bill withdrawn the time of the committee has expired.

Mr. McRAE. The motion I make has reference to a bill exactly in that condition—a bill coming over from the consideration hour of yesterday.

The SPEAKER. But the proposition of the gentleman can not be put in the form of a motion; it can be adopted only by unanimous consent, because the rule does not allow a motion to be made to dispense with the hour or any part of it. Has this bill been withdrawn in the Committee of the Whole?

Mr. McRAE. It has not. I did not desire to withdraw it.

The SPEAKER. Then the gentleman asks unanimous consent that the hour belonging to the Committee on Public Lands may be considered as closed for to-day.

Mr. NELSON. So far as relates to that committee, that proposition is satisfactory to me; but I think the gentleman ought not to ask to cut off other committees.

Mr. McRAE. I do not; and have done all I could to avoid such a result except to abandon this bill, and that I will not do.

The SPEAKER. The effect of the proposition will simply be that this committee will hereafter have a sufficient length of time to compensate for the time which may be lost this morning.

Mr. McRAE. The very object of my proposition is to enable some other committee to go on.

Mr. NELSON. To-day?

Mr. JACKSON. Well, I object. I desire that the Committee on Public Lands shall have their time on this bill to-day. I do not want the time to go over till to-morrow; I want it to be occupied this morning, so far as I am concerned.

The SPEAKER. But the Chair will state to the gentleman that immediately upon the completion of the consideration of the bill now pending, the Committee on Public Lands would lose its place, and another committee would be called. No other bill from the Committee on Public Lands could be taken up under the rule.

Mr. JACKSON. But my impression is that this bill, if considered, will consume the time.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. If the House will listen to me for one moment, I may perhaps say something which will be of interest. After careful consideration of all the circumstances I have come to this conclusion, by which I shall abide: With my consent, there shall be no other legislation during this session of Congress, in the absence of a quorum, except appropriation bills and pension bills.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. And the gentleman excepts also, I hope, private bills to which there is no objection.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I mean just what I say.

Mr. McKENNA. I ask unanimous consent to introduce for consideration the resolution which I hold in my hand.

The SPEAKER. The regular order has been insisted upon by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SOWDEN], who, being appealed to, declined to withdraw the call. Of course the Chair is bound by that demand.

Mr. McKENNA. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, I believe, is present. I ask that the resolution be read and that the Chair put the request for unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania does not seem to be present.

Mr. TAULBEE. I demand the regular order.

Mr. McKENNA. You have not heard this resolution read.

The SPEAKER. The hour for the consideration of bills reported from committees has not yet expired, and no other business can now be transacted.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I wish to say that I hope the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] will not include in his objection private bills.

The SPEAKER. That is a matter of personal appeal to the gentleman from Ohio. The House is now acting under the rule which sets apart this hour for the consideration of bills heretofore reported from committees.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. But the gentleman said he would not permit any bill to pass——

The SPEAKER. That has no reference to anything now before the House.

Mr. RICHARDSON. If the gentleman [Mr. McRAE] representing the Committee on Public Lands does not desire to call up any other bill, is it not in order to call the next committee?

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman from Arkansas makes no motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill pending in that committee, the Chair would of course call another committee, and the Committee on Public Lands would lose the remainder of its hour.

Mr. McRAE. The Committee on Public Lands cares nothing about the remainder of this hour, seeing that in the present condition of the House the opposition to the pending bill will be able to prevent its passage. But we do desire that this bill shall not lose any right whatever which it may have as unfinished business.

The SPEAKER. It will not lose any right in that respect. If left undisposed of at the conclusion of this hour, it becomes unfinished business under the rules of the House.

Mr. McRAE. Then I am perfectly willing that the next committee be called.

The SPEAKER. But it becomes unfinished business in the class of business to which it belongs and in the order in which it stands on the Calendar.

Mr. McRAE. I understand that; but it goes on the Calendar as unfinished business?

The SPEAKER. It does.

Mr. McRAE. I suppose that is all I can hope to accomplish.

Mr. JACKSON. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry. Has the Committee on Public Lands the right to call up any other bill now?

The SPEAKER. It has not. Having occupied one hour yesterday, its right to-day is simply to continue the consideration of the bill pending at the termination of that hour. The next committee is the Committee on Indian Affairs.

PIPESTONE INDIAN RESERVATION, MINNESOTA.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, and as I see no other member of the committee present, I desire to call up House bill No. 11128 and ask that it be considered in the House. It is now on the Calendar of the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, calls up House bill No. 11128, and asks unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union be discharged from its consideration——

Mr. NELSON. As the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL], the chairman of the committee, has just come in, I ask to withdraw the call of that bill.

Mr. PEEL. I suppose its consideration might go on.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11128) for the disposition of the agricultural lands embraced within the limits of the Pipestone Indian reservation in Minnesota.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union from the further consideration of this bill——

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object.

Mr. NELSON. I move, then, that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill.

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. NELSON, there were—ayes 20, noes 6.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. No quorum has voted.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will appoint Mr. NELSON and Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR as tellers.

Mr. HOLMES. If in order, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The House divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 9, noes 29.

So the motion was disagreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. BURNES. I ask, by unanimous consent, to report from the Committee on Appropriations a bill making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act.

The SPEAKER. That can not be done unless the gentleman from Pennsylvania withdraws his point of order.

Mr. BURNES. I ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania to allow this bill to be presented and acted on at this time.

Mr. SOWDEN. The reason I have made the point of order is a public one.

Mr. BURNES. The bill which I desire to bring before the House is in behalf of the public business. It makes an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act. It is asked for urgently in order to carry out the law Congress has just passed. It is a public matter.

Mr. NELSON. Have I the right to withdraw the matter which I have called up, and which is now pending?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can do so if he wishes.

Mr. NELSON. Then I will withdraw the bill and yield to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] asks unanimous consent to present a bill, the title of which will be read by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act.

Mr. PEEL. I believe I have the floor.

Mr. BURNES. I ask the gentleman to yield to me for the purpose of presenting for consideration the bill to which I have referred.

Mr. PEEL. The committee has only one hour for the consideration of bills which it has reported, and the gentleman can call his matter up after the morning hour as well as at this time. I do not like to yield at this time, as it will come out of the morning hour. I ask the Chair whether, if I yield, the time consumed will not come out of the morning hour?

The SPEAKER. It will come out of your hour.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT.

Mr. MCKENNA. I ask, by unanimous consent, that the time consumed by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] in presenting the bill be not taken out of the hour belonging to the Committee on the Public Lands.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. BURNES. I now ask, by unanimous consent, to present for consideration at this time a bill (H. R. 11581) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the act approved October 1, 1888, entitled "An act supplementary to an act entitled 'An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,' approved the 6th day of May, 1882," and to defray the expenses which may be incurred in the enforcement of said act by the Secretary of the Treasury during the fiscal year 1889, the sum of $50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. SOWDEN. As this is a bill of a public character and necessary for the public service, I withdraw my demand for the regular order.

The bill was read a first and second time.

Mr. BURNES. I ask for the reading of the letter which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., October 9, 1888.

SIR: The attention of the Congress is respectfully invited to the necessity of making some appropriation for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the recent Chinese exclusion act, approved October 1, 1888.

The enforcement of the act necessarily devolves in the first instance upon the collectors of the several ports of entry in the United States, and from the very nature of the service must require the maintenance of a special force of inspectors, guards, and other employés, and as entry may be effected into the United States not only at the ports upon the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts, but also across the Canadian and Mexican border lines, it is evident that a considerable force must be eventually employed in order to effectually enforce the provisions of the act.

It would be difficult to give a detailed estimate of the expenditure which might be required for this purpose, but it is recommended that an initial appropriation of $50,000 be made, and I inclose the draught of a provision to be inserted in some proper appropriation bill if this recommendation meets with the approval of the Congress.

As the act in question relates to and in a measure regulates the subject of immigration into the United States, it is believed that the money appropriated can be properly paid out of the immigrant fund provided for in the act of August 2, 1882, entitled "An act to regulate immigration." This fund is amply sufficient for this purpose, there being now to its credit upon the books of the Treasury the sum of $281,395.40.

Respectfully, yours,

HUGH S. THOMPSON,
Acting Secretary.

The SPEAKER,
United States House of Representatives.

Enforcement of Chinese exclusion act: For the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the act approved October 1, 1888, entitled "An act, a supplement to an act entitled 'An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,' approved the 6th day of May, 1882," and to defray the expenses which may be incurred in the enforcement of said act by the Secretary of the Treasury during the fiscal year 1889, the sum of $50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. BURNES. The Treasury asks, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the Chinese exclusion act, that the sum of $50,000 shall be paid out of the immigrant fund. We deemed that unnecessary, as that fund is in the Treasury, and therefore we have provided that the amount shall be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. BURNES moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

THE WESTERN CHEROKEE INDIANS.

Mr. PEEL. I ask, by unanimous consent, to call up the bill (H. R. 1407) to authorize the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render final judgment upon the claim of the Old Settler or Western Cherokee Indians.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, in the chair). The Chair is advised that the bill is upon the Private Calendar.

Mr. PEEL. I had a bill of similar nature which was decided by the Chair could not be called up on private-bill day. Now this provides for allowing these Old Settler or Western Cherokee Indians to appeal to the Court of Claims for the adjustment of their claim. They have kept up their tribal relations for the prosecution of that claim, and so far as that claim is concerned they stand as an independent tribe. I do not see, therefore, why, as it relates to a public matter, it should be referred to the Private Calendar.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. After the explanation of the gentleman from Arkansas and a brief examination of the bill the Chair thinks it is a private bill. But the Chair will submit the statement to the House.

Mr. PEEL. Permit me, Mr. Speaker, further to state to the House that there is a bill on the Calendar for the reimbursement of certain Indians that Speaker CARLISLE on last Friday decided was a public bill, and could not be called up on that day. It is a bill which embodies more of the elements of a private bill than the one now under consideration, and yet it was held by the Speaker to be a public bill within the rule. Besides the Chair on last Friday ruled that the bill disposing of the Pipestone reservation was a public bill.

Mr. RYAN. What is this bill?

Mr. PEEL. This is the Old Settler or Cherokee claim. I hope the House will consider it a public bill.

Mr. HERBERT. I submit, Mr. Speaker, one further consideration that appears to my mind a sufficient one to indicate that the gentleman from Arkansas is correct in the position he takes. As I understand it this is in pursuance of a treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe. These treaties have always been regarded as quasi public—the tribe considered as one party to the treaty and the Government as the other—and of course a bill touching such a treaty, or a right growing out of it, would seem to be, and ought necessarily to be, a public bill, just as if the other party were a foreign nation instead of an Indian tribe. Treaties can only be made with tribes of Indians or other parties upon the theory that the person with whom the treaty is made, the tribe, or whatever it may be, is an entity in itself, like a foreign nation, and a treaty so made is necessarily a public treaty.

Mr. DINGLEY. Let the bill be read.

The bill was read at length.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Is this bill subject to objection? I was temporarily out of the Hall.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. A question has been raised as to whether it is a public or a private bill. It has been called up in the hour by the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I shall object to it at any time.

Mr. DINGLEY. I would like to ask the gentleman from Arkansas if this is a claim on the part of a certain tribe of Indians against the United States under a treaty?

Mr. PEEL. It is.

Mr. DINGLEY. Then it is a public bill.

Mr. PEEL. Undoubtedly.

Mr. DINGLEY. But if it is a claim of individual Indians against the Government it is a private claim.

Mr. PEEL. No; it is a claim of a separate band known as the Old Settlers or Cherokees, and for the purpose of presenting the claim they are considered as a separate tribe. Under the treaty of 1846, out of which this claim arises, they are recognized as a separate and independent tribe for the purpose of carrying on this claim against the Government.

Mr. DINGLEY. I made the inquiry because I think it has been frequently held in the House that matters arising between the United

States and a tribe of Indians as an entirety have been held to be public.

Mr. PEEL. That is correct.

Mr. DINGLEY. But if the claim relates to individuals of a tribe against the United States, then it is a private matter.

Mr. PEEL. This is a public bill for the reason that the tribe of Indians here are treated and held to be a separate band, independent of the other Cherokees, for the purpose of carrying on this claim against the Government. Otherwise, I repeat, they belong to the Cherokee Nation.

Mr. RYAN. I understand that these are simply members of the Cherokee Nation of Indians. They are called the Old Settlers, although they belong to the same tribe, the name being given to them, perhaps, because they were pioneers moving into the Territory at an earlier date than the remainder of the tribe. They are simply a class of that nation who perhaps went ont there at an earlier period than the rest of the tribe. They have some rights growing out of the treaty of 1846, and this bill is intended to provide a remedy. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it is a public measure since it does not specify by name the beneficiaries. Hence, I think, under the rulings of the Speaker of the House heretofore it is a public bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. After the reading of the bill, and in view of former rulings of the Chair on this question, the present occupant of the chair will hold this to be a public bill, and that it has the right of consideration in this hour.

Mr. PEEL. Now, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Ohio proposes to make the point of no quorum upon this bill I would like to know it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I certainly shall.

Mr. PEEL. I think if the gentleman will reflect for a moment on the object of this legislation he will not do that.

Mr. RYAN. I understand the objection does not go to the merits.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. When the time comes I will show the reason of the objection. I shall insist, just as I have said, on the presence of a quorum.

Mr. PEEL. Very well, then, Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to withdraw the bill for the present.

There being no objection, the bill was withdrawn.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. McCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas.

The message further announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary M. Ord.

The message further announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1190) for the relief of the estate of Joseph Fenno.

The message further announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the conferees on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for other years, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3559) to amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to allow persons who have abandoned or relinquished their homestead entries to make another entry.

The message further announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8962) for the relief of Anthony L. Woodson.

CHEROKEE FREEDMEN.

Mr. PEEL. I now ask to call up the bill (S. 1494) for present consideration.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will report the title of the bill.

The bill was read, as follows:

A bill to secure to the Cherokee freedmen and others their proportion of certain proceeds of land, under the act of March 3, 1883.

Whereas it is provided in the ninth article of the treaty of July 19, 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation of Indians, that freedmen who have been liberated by voluntary act of their former owners, or by law, as well as all free colored persons who were in the (Cherokee) country at the commencement of the rebellion, and were then residents therein, or who might return within six months, and their descendants, shall have all the rights of native Cherokees; and

Whereas by the fifteenth article of the aforesaid treaty certain terms were provided under which friendly Indians might be settled upon unoccupied lands in the Cherokee country east of the ninety-sixth degree of west longitude, and the Indians thus settled were, upon full compliance with the provisions of said article, to be incorporated into and ever after remain a part of the Cherokee Nation, upon equal terms in every respect with native citizens; and

Whereas under the provisions of the aforesaid fifteenth article an agreement was entered into between the Cherokee Nation and the Delaware tribe of Indians, on the 8th day of April, 1867, which agreement was approved respectively by the Secretary of the Interior and the President of the United States on the 11th day of April, 1867, and by the terms of which the Delaware Indians "became members of the Cherokee Nation, with the same rights and immunities and the same participation (and no other) in the national funds as native Cherokees;" and

Whereas under the provisions of the aforesaid fifteenth article an agreement was entered into between the Cherokee Nation and the Shawnee tribe of Indians, on the 7th day of June, 1869, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the President of the United States, respectively, on the 9th day of June, 1869, by the terms of which the Shawnee Indians were incorporated into and became a part of the Cherokee Nation on equal terms in every respect, and with all the privileges and immunities of native citizens of the Cherokee Nation; and

Whereas it is provided by the sixth article of the aforesaid treaty that all laws of the Cherokee Nation shall be uniform throughout said nation; and

Whereas by an item in the act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1883, the sum of $300 000 was "appropriated, to be paid into the treasury of the Cherokee Nation, out of the funds due under appraisement for Cherokee lands west of the Arkansas River, which sum shall be expended as the acts of the Cherokee Legislature direct;" and

Whereas by an act of the Cherokee Legislature, which was passed over the veto of the principal chief and became a law on the 19th day of May, 1883, the principal chief was directed to cause the said sum of $300,000 to be paid out per capita to the citizens of the Cherokee Nation by blood, and which sum has been paid out only to Cherokee citizens by blood, as directed by said act; and

Whereas by the said act of the Cherokee Legislature the aforesaid freedmen, Delaware and Shawnee Indians have been deprived of their legal and just dues guarantied them by treaty stipulations: Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That there be, and hereby is, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $75,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry out the provisions of this act; and the amount actually expended shall be charged against the Cherokee Nation, on account of its lands west of the Arkansas River, and shall be a lien on said lands, and which shall be deducted from any payment hereafter made on account of said lands. The said sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be by the Secretary of the Interior distributed per capita, first, among such freedmen and their descendants as are mentioned in the ninth article of the treaty of July 19, 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation of Indians; second, among the Delaware tribe of Indians incorporated into the Cherokee Nation by the terms of a certain agreement entered into between said Cherokee Nation and Delaware Indians, under the provisions of the fifteenth article of the aforesaid treaty, on the 8th day of April, 1867, and approved, respectively, by the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior on the 11th day of April, 1867; and, third, among the Shawnee tribe of Indians incorporated into the Cherokee Nation by the terms of a certain agreement entered into between the said Cherokee Nation and Shawnee Indians, under the provisions of the aforesaid article and treaty, on the 7th day of June, 1869, and approved, respectively, by the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior on the 9th day of June, 1869, in such manner and in such amount or amounts as will equalize the per capita payment made to Cherokees by blood in accordance with the act of the Cherokee legislature aforesaid, out of the sum of $300,000 appropriated by the act of March 3, 1883, aforesaid.

Mr. PEEL. As will be observed, during the last session of the Forty-seventh Congress, in 1883, Congress appropriated $300,000 to the Cherokee Nation to be expended as the Cherokee council might direct. The Cherokee council saw proper to distribute that money to their people; that is to say, that the Cherokees by their act excluded their freedmen who had been incorporated into their citizenship under the treaty of 1866 and who under that treaty were given all the rights and privileges of native Cherokees. It also excluded from the distribution the adopted Shawnees and Delawares who under agreement arising under the treaty of 1866 became citizens of the Cherokee Nation. The excluded parties in that nation appealed to the Department. The Department investigated the question fully, but as shown by the preamble the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation vetoed the bill by which those freedmen and the other Indians were prescribed from a participation in the distribution, but the council passed it over the veto by a two-thirds vote and it became a law. When the attention of the Department was called to it they made a thorough investigation of the matter, and the bill is substantially the same as it was approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior and sent to the Forty-ninth Congress, or, I believe, first in the Forty-eighth Congress.

It was very fully investigated by the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which I was a member at that time, and I was chairman of the subcommittee having charge of the measure. We reached the same conclusion, that these parties had been wrongfully excluded and they were entitled to their share of that money. This bill then simply proposes to appropriate $75,000, or so much money as may be necessary to pay these freedmen, Shawnees and Delawares, their proportion and to charge that to the Cherokee fund, or that so much of the Cherokee fund shall be paid over to them. I believe that is about the substance of the measure, and I will now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN].

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. STONE, of Kentucky). The Senate bill does not appear to have been before the committee.

Mr. PEEL. The House bill is reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs, and I will ask that the Senate bill be substituted. That may perhaps require unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It does require unanimous consent. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent that the Senate bill be substituted for the House bill under consideration. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. PEEL. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHELAN].

Mr. PHELAN. I shall not detain the House by entering into an elaborate discussion of this bill, but will simply say that it has all

been passed upon by every department of the Government which can take it into consideration. It has been passed upon very fully and given careful and full examination by the Interior Department—by the Secretary of the Interior and by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs—and it was sent to the Committee on Indian Affairs and carefully considered there. No money is to be appropriated ultimately out of the Treasury of the United States. The money which is appropriatod is to be charged against the Cherokee Nation, and taken out of money that will be paid for some of their lands which are yet to be sold. We are merely advancing to the parties who have been treated unjustly and unfairly by the Cherokee Nation an amount sufficient to pay them out of the Cherokee funds. It is an act of justice which will not cost the United States Government a single cent.

The people who are chiefly interested in this bill, as is well known, are the freedmen of the Cherokee Nation. Under the treaty of 1866 they were given all the rights of Cherokee citizens. Under the act distributing the money which was paid to these Indians from the sale of their lands, it was distributed solely and exclusively among citizens of the Cherokee Nation of Cherokee blood. In this way the freedmen were excluded and also the Shawnees and the Delawares.

This bill is simply an act of justice, which they now request at the hands of the House, and I hope there will be no objection to it. I am sure there can be none upon any ground of equity or of law.

Mr. PEEL. I move that the Committee on Indian Affairs be discharged from the further consideration of the Senate bill.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PEEL. I now move that the bill be put upon its passage.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I can not agree to the passage of this bill. I will go further than the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR], and will say that in my opinion nothing ought to pass this House now except appropriation bills and a motion to adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, this is a matter of such fairness and of such importance that I think it ought to go through without objection. It is a bill for the relief of the Cherokee freedmen, and the case is an exceptional one.

Mr. PEEL. I hope the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE], when he understands the nature of this bill, will not object to it. It does not appropriate a dollar of money out of the Treasury. The matter is one which rests entirely between the Cherokee Nation and these citizens. The bill is recommended by the Department, and it has twice passed the Senate.

Mr. SOWDEN. What is the amount involved?

Mr. PEEL. About $60,000. I now move that the bill be ordered to a third reading.

The motion was agreed to.

The bill was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. PEEL moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, do I understand that that bill has passed? Three or four gentlemen were talking to me here so that I did not take in all that was going on. [Laughter.]

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. They were all good conversationalists. [Laughter.]

Mr. PEEL. I will say to my friend from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] that while he was engaged in that conversation he was doing good service for his country. [Laughter.]

Mr. PEEL. I now call up for consideration the bill (H. R. 1407) to authorize the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render final judgment upon the claim of the Old Settler or Western Cherokee Indians.

Mr. KILGORE. What is that?

Mr. PEEL. This is the same bill which was read a while ago and which the Chair ruled was a public bill. I will make a brief statement with regard to it, and I hope there will be no objection to the passage of the bill, for certainly it is nothing but an act of justice. If we owe any of our Indians anything I am sure that every honest man, and that includes, of course, every member of this House, will say that we ought to pay it. If we do not owe them anything, of course we ought not to pay them anything, and the country ought to know the facts. The subject-matter of this bill is the claim of the Old Settler Cherokees, who are known as the Western or Old Settler Cherokees of the Indian Territory. They were the first Cherokees that went west of the Mississippi River and located in the wilds in 1828. Under the treaty of 1846, made between these people as a separate band of Indians and the Cherokee Nation of Indians and the United States, they were authorized to present their claims to the proceeds of their lands that were sold west of the Mississippi River, and they have been prosecuting that claim for thirty or forty years. The Senate made two favorable reports upon that claim, which is now included in this bill.

Finally, in the Forty-seventh Congress, it was referred to the Secretary of the Interior with authority to employ a special accountant to go over the accounts between this branch of the Cherokee people and the Government of the United States and ascertain what amount, if any, was due them. That special accountant examined the matter thoroughly and reported a large amount as due—something over $400,000, together with a certain rate of interest. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the time, Mr. Price, made a similar report and brought us in debt to these Indians in about the same amount. In the Forty-eighth Congress, the first Congress of which I had the honor to be a member, the question came before the Committee on Indian Affairs, through an executive document, and we were asked to appropriate the money. The chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which committee I was a member, referred the claim to me for investigation. I gave it the most thorough investigation I have ever given any claim since I have been in Congress. I found no disagreement between myself and the Department as to the facts, but there was a disagreement as to the law. Under my construction of the treaty and the acts of Congress relative thereto I believed, and I so reported, that we did not owe these Indians anything. In the mean time, however, the Court of Claims got jurisdiction of the matter by a reference from the Senate committee, and they made a report in the alternative. They said that upon one construction of the treaty, which was the construction I had adopted, there was about $4,000 due the Indians, but upon the other construction, the one adopted by the Department, there was a much larger sum, about $400,000.

Now there stands a disputed question as to the legal construction of the treaty out of which this claim grows, a question which can never be settled satisfactorily to the country and the claimants unless it be passed upon by the court of last resort. This bill then provides simply for referring this claim to the Court of Claims for adjudication, with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The bill is peremptory in requiring the Attorney-General, if the decision should be against the Government, to appeal to the Supreme Court. Thus under this bill the rights of these individual Indians will be passed upon by a court of our own creation.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. STONE, of Kentucky). The hour for the consideration of bills reported from committees has expired.

Mr. KILGORE. I will not agree to the passage of that bill; I will call a quorum on it.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. PERRY, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. HEARD, indefinitely, on account of important business.

HOMESTEAD ENTRIES.

Mr. MCRAE. I rise to present a privileged report, which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3559) to amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to allow persons who have abandoned or relinquished their homestead entries to make another entry, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

Amendment numbered 1: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In line 6 strike out the word "them" and insert the words "him or her upon the lands settled upon." In line 8 strike out the words "they have" and insert "he or she has;" and the House agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

Strike out all of section 3 of said proposed amendment and insert in lieu thereof as follows:

"SEC. 3. That the price of all sections and parts of sections of the public lands within the limits of the portions of the several grants of lands to aid in the construction of railroads, which have been heretofore and which may hereafter be forfeited, which were by the act making such grants or have since been increased to the double minimum price, and also of all lands within the limits of any such railroad grant, and not embraced in the grant lying adjacent to and coterminous with the portions of the line of any such railroad which shall not be completed at the date of this act, is hereby fixed at $1.25 per acre."

And the House agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out all after the word "acres" in line 5 and insert as follows: "without proof of residence upon and certification of the additional entry; and if final proof of settlement and certification has been made for the original entry, when the additional entry is made, then the patent shall issue without further proof." Add as an additional section as follows:

"SEC. 5. That every person entitled under the provisions of the homestead laws to enter a homestead, who has heretofore complied with or who shall hereafter comply with the conditions of said laws, and who shall have made his final proof thereunder for a quantity of land less than 160 acres, and received the receiver's final receipt therefor, shall be entitled under said laws to enter, by legal subdivisions of the public lands of the United States subject to homestead entry, so much additional land as added to the quantity previously so entered by him shall not exceed 160 acres: *Provided*, That in no case shall patent issue until the person making such additional homestead entry shall have actually and in conformity with the homestead laws resided upon and cultivated the land embraced therein, and otherwise complied with such laws."

Amend the title as follows: Strike out the following words: "Amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States," and add, after the word "entry," the words "and for other purposes;" and the House agree to the same.

THO. C. MCRAE,
BINGER HERMANN,
JOS. WHEELER,
Managers on the part of the House.

J. N. DOLPH,
J. H. BERRY,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MCRAE. I move the adoption of that report.

The report was adopted.

Mr. McRAE moved to reconsider the vote by which the report was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ELECTORAL COUNT.

Mr. PEEL. I ask unanimous consent that the House take up and put on its passage a Senate bill now on the Speaker's table, the necessity of which must be obvious, it being designed to correct an error in the statute in regard to the electoral count.

The title of the bill was read, as follows:

A bill (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising thereon."

Mr. PEEL. It will be obvious to the House, on the reading of this bill, that its passage is necessary. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] to explain it if anybody desires an explanation.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I think the measure is understood by the House. It is a bill passed by the Senate for the purpose of correcting a mistake in the act of 1887.

Mr. DINGLEY. The bill should be passed immediately.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. There is no doubt about that.

There being no objection, the bill was read a first and second time, and the House proceeded to its consideration.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the certificates and lists of votes for President and Vice-President of the United States, mentioned in chapter 1 of Title III of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and in the act to which this is a supplement, shall be forwarded, in the manner therein provided, to the President of the Senate forthwith after the second Monday in January, on which the electors shall give their votes.

SEC. 2. That section 141 of the Revised Statutes of the United States is hereby so amended as to read as follows:

"SEC. 141. Whenever a certificate of votes from any State has not been received at the seat of Government on the fourth Monday of the month of January in which their meeting shall have been held, the Secretary of State shall send a special messenger to the district judge in whose custody one certificate of the votes from that State has been lodged, and such judge shall forthwith transmit that list to the seat of Government."

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and was read the third time; and the question being taken on its passage, the Speaker *pro tempore* announced the bill passed.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I call for a division.

Several MEMBERS. Too late!

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair thinks the call for a division comes too late.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I presume the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] does not understand the effect of this measure. By the present law the Presidential electors are required to meet on the second Monday in January, and they are required to have their certificate here by a certain day in December.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The explanation of the gentleman from Kentucky is entirely unnecessary. I think I understand the provisions of the bill. But certain gentlemen on this floor have stated that no legislation shall be passed except certain kinds of legislation. There are bills in which the people of my district are directly concerned, bills which are in the interest of economy on the part of the Government, and bills the passage of which would be of great assistance to the people I represent in their present strait on account of the yellow-fever epidemic.

If it be the purpose of any gentleman——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman's demand for a division comes too late.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. As I understand it, the Chair put the question, and, if no other gentleman voted "no," I certainly voted "no," and then I called for a division.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The demand for a division the Chair has declared came too late.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The vote was taken, the Chair announced the result deliberately, and the demand for a division therefore comes too late. The bill has been passed.

DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. BURNES. I submit the following privileged report.

The report was read.

The SPEAKER. Is the reading of the statement on the part of the House conferees demanded? [After a pause.] If not, its reading will be dispensed with.

The statement of the House conferees accompanying the conference report under the rules is as follows:

The managers on the part of the House of the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for 1888 and prior years, and for other purposes, submit the following written statement in explanation of the accompanying conference report:

The action of the conference committee differs from that submitted in a report to the House on the Senate amendments, on the 3d instant, in the following particulars only:

On amendments numbered 39 and 41: Appropriates $2,500 to enable the commissioners of the District of Columbia to employ special counsel to represent the District in the case of Samuel Strong, authorized to be submitted to an arbitration board under a joint resolution of Congress approved July 10, 1888.

On amendment numbered 42: Strikes out a provision to extend the time within which the Washington aqueduct tunnel shall be completed, from November 1, 1888, to June 30, 1889, and appropriates $5,000 for the expenses of a joint select committee authorized under a concurrent resolution of Congress to investigate work on and other matters relating to said tunnel.

On amendment numbered 100: Strikes out proposed appropriation of $8,745 to pay to the widow of the late Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite the balance of one year's salary.

On amendment numbered 107: Omits from the provision to pay certain accounts of district attorneys in 1887, the claim of Grosvenor Lowrey for $911.20, certified in Senate Executive Document No. 270.

On amendments numbered 112 and 113, relating to the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah: Inserts in lieu of the matter proposed by said amendments the provisions which are set forth in full in the conference report.

On amendment numbered 114: Strikes out proposed appropriation to pay one year's salary to the widow of Lafayette Dancy, an employé of the Internal-Revenue Service, who died of yellow fever in Florida.

On amendment numbered 138: Appropriates $66 for payment of an additional clerk to the House Committee on Enrolled Bills for eleven days' services to October 7, 1888.

On amendment numbered 231: Strikes out the provision to extend the laws of the United States over the territory known as "No Man's Land," and authorizing the entry of public lands therein under the homestead laws.

The bill as agreed upon by the conferees appropriates $4,873,133.37, being a reduction under the amount as it passed the Senate of $291,915.28, and an increase over the amount as it passed the House of $1,645,615.65.

JAS. N. BURNES,
JOSEPH D. SAYERS,
THOS. RYAN,
Managers on the part of the House.

Mr. McKENNA. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. McKENNA. Mr. Speaker, is there any way to get a separate vote on the item concerning the Chinese indemnity?

The SPEAKER. There is not. The conference report must be acted upon as an entirety. It must be agreed to or rejected as a whole.

Mr. McKENNA. A motion is in order to reject the report.

The SPEAKER. That is involved in the proposition to disagree to the report. If it be disagreed to, the whole subject will be open, and the House may insist on its amendments or recede from its disagreement.

Mr. McKENNA. I hope the House will disagree to the conference report. Mr. Speaker, there is no good reason whatever for appropriating $276,000, at this time at any rate, to indemnify the Chinese. It will be observed that the language of the item is somewhat changed. It is put by the committee on the ground of humane reasons. It was put by the President in his recommendation on the ground of a thing befitting the national honor.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if it could be put on either ground, the Calendars of this House are groaning with bills which should be passed for humane reasons, and which should be passed for reasons befitting the national honor. We seem to be in haste, sir, to appropriate $276,000 for claims that have not been audited by any committee of this House, and yet if a bona fide claim, which has passed the scrutiny of one of the committees of this body, be offered for consideration, some gentleman will be eager enough to call the regular order, or some one else swift to demand a quorum and defeat it.

Now, it seems to me that we should be as fair and just to our own citizens as we want to be extraordinarily generous to the citizens of some other nation. In the treaty which was negotiated with the Chinese Government there was a clause of indemnity amounting to $276,000, granted confessedly upon no legal ground whatever; granted then, I suppose, diplomatically. For diplomatic reasons the Chinese Government rejected the treaty. They will not give us the benefit of it. But we propose to give them all the benefit there is in it. Now why? Will some gentleman tell me why? I would like to have some member of this committee explain to me the reason why. Will any gentleman give the answer? There is no legal obligation to do it; there is no moral obligation resting upon us, and the diplomatic reason by the action of China itself has been destroyed. Why, then, grant it?

As I said before, in my former remarks on this subject, in the Forty-ninth Congress we granted $147,000 distinctly on the ground that it should not become a precedent. We grant the $276,000 distinctly that it is for humane reasons and possibly not to become a precedent. Are we never to be humane hereafter? Is this to be the limit of it?

Mr. Speaker, if we should entertain its consideration on the ground of humanity, and I confess it is a strong ground; if we should entertain its consideration on some ground befitting the national honor, and I confess it is strong, there is no haste to entertain either at this time. The Chinese matter is not yet concluded. I hope it is near a conclusion; and when it has reached a conclusion it is time enough to consider whether we shall make gifts to China or whether we shall consider them in the light that this bill desires we should consider them.

Now I am well aware that it looks like this is an invidious matter; it looks as if this great and powerful nation could well afford to grant this sum of money; but if you put it on that ground let us not go abroad to do justice or to grant favors before we do so at home. I

would like some sufficient reason to be given why this should become a law at all.

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. Speaker, I do not rise for the purpose of replying to the remarks of the gentleman from California, who has just taken his seat, or to discuss the pending report, but simply to occupy the attention of the House for a few moments relative to some of the statements made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], not long since, in regard to the expenditures under this Administration. I do not propose to go into a general statement as to the appropriations or expenditures of the public money, but simply to refer to one statement in particular which was made by him—that in relation to the increase of public offices and of salaries. All of the other points made by him have been sufficiently and amply answered by other gentlemen on this floor.

Appended to the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois was a statement that there had been during the last three sessions of Congress, including this one, 799 new offices created, with salaries aggregating $762,236.50 per annum. The gentleman did not trouble himself to present the other side of this question and to show during that time what places had been dispensed with and what salaries had been abolished. I hold in my hand a statement of the offices that have been abolished, the appropriations for which have been discontinued during the same period of time, aggregating 467 offices, at an aggregate compensation of $515,665 per annum. I will not stop to read it, but with the consent of the House will incorporate it in the RECORD as a part of and at the close of my remarks.

This statement, Mr. Speaker, shows that 467 offices with salaries aggregating $515,655 per annum have been discontinued during the three sessions of Congress referred to, and which at least should be considered as a partial offset to the 799 new offices alleged by the gentleman from Illinois to have been created during the same period.

Now, as to the places enumerated as having been established, and which go to make up the total of 799, to which he alludes, I find upon an examination of the table presented by him that out of these places that are counted as offices established 62 are policemen of the District of Columbia, 12 are employés of the fire department, and 25 janitors of new school buildings erected in the District within the past three years, making a total of 99 places of this character which have been created during that time, or an increase of that many in the fire department, the police service, and for the public-school buildings of this city, and which the gentleman enumerates in his list as a part of the new offices created under this Administration.

Here is a great and growing city, a city which in 1880, I believe, contained about 180,000 inhabitants and now nearly 230,000. It is not a strange thing under such circumstances that for the protection of public property and for the preservation of peace and order, for the protection of property from fire, that there should have been this moderate increase; but I wish to call attention to the fact that this increased force is arrayed in the table of the gentleman from Illinois as a part of the increased officers of this Administration.

In the consular service there appears to have been an increase of twenty-three new consulates during the three sessions. They are in fact not new offices created, but they are offices formerly compensated from the fees which they earned. By providing for them specific salaries, as has been done, the fees revert to the Treasury, a better service is obtained for the Government, and the revenue derived from the fees more than balances the aggregate of specific salaries paid.

I find also that of this number one hundred are in the Patent Office. Gentlemen know very well how the Patent Office is run. It is not intended to be a source of revenue especially to the Government; but for the benefit of inventors and the country at large it is necessary that people having cases there should have them disposed of as rapidly and as efficiently as possible. As the country grows our progress has been faster; a large number of applications for patents have been filed there. It has been growing all the while, and, consequently, has necessitated this increase.

During this period of time the Department of Labor was established. In that Department sixty-two of this increased number are employed. That Department was established for the benefit of labor throughout the country. It was demanded by the laboring people and was made without an objection from either side of this House.

Of the number suggested by the gentleman from Illinois I find also eleven United States Senate employés. These are Republican employés provided for by the Republican Senate; and, as is well known here, of course it was consented to finally as a matter of necessity on the part of the House.

Now, as to the General Land Office. In that great office there has been an increase of thirty-five new employés. It is unnecessary for me to state here the reasons for this increase; they are many and obvious. The legislation which has occurred during this period, restoring to the public domain vast bodies of lands granted by Republican Congresses to railroad corporations, has opened the field to and increased the number of homestead settlers, thus multiplying the business of this overworked office.

Then the increase of the Navy has caused an increase of ninety of this number in that Department. That has been sufficiently answered here. We all know the number of vessels that are being built under the provisions for the increase of the Navy.

In that number of officers enumerated by the gentleman from Illinois I find forty-one employés connected with the new Library building. That was voted for by both sides of this House, and was a new enterprise not connected with the current business of the Government.

The interstate-commerce law was also passed during this period, the commission established and went into operation, and I find it has six employés.

In the State, War, and Navy building I find there was fifty-six additional places. These are mostly charwomen and watchmen. There was a great building, which cost about $10,000,000, and which was not completed until a very short time ago. It required additional watchmen and charwomen to care for and protect that vast structure.

I find also four additional employés in the service of the Civil Service Commission, where the business has been accumulating on account of the increased number of examinations and applications.

Now, as to the increase of salaries. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] states there have been 350 salaries increased at an annual cost of $52,000. In examining his statement I find included therein the salaries of 78 employés of the fire department of the District of Columbia which have been increased from $20 to $40 each per annum. I also find that the salaries of 7 Senate employés have been increased and are charged as a part of the 350 referred to, and 165 charwomen have had their salaries increased $60 per annum, making an aggregate of 250 salaries increased, which accounts for that number of the 350 submitted by him, leaving only 100 which I have not accounted for.

I wish to call attention to the fact that of the whole number of salaries increased 7 were for Senate employés (Republican Senate); 165 were for the poorly paid charwomen in the Departments, and 78 were for the fire department force of the District of Columbia.

I do not wish to detain the House at any length, but I will now submit a few suggestions in regard to the Post-Office Department. In 1882 there were 521 employés in that Department. In 1884—the last year of Republican administration—there were 568, and in 1888 there were 591. These figures show an increase of only 70 employés from 1882 down to 1888.

Mr. MASON. I wish the gentleman would state whether the slightness of the increase accounts for the condition of the service.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I will finish my statement and then will answer the gentleman's question. The increase in the Department from 1884 to 1888 was only 23, and in 1884 the letter rate of postage was reduced from 3 to 2 cents per half ounce. The increase of 70 employés between 1882 and 1888 is partly accounted for by the necessity of using additional buildings, requiring the employment of 7 additional laborers, 12 additional watchmen, 22 charwomen, 3 firemen, 1 engineer, and 2 elevator conductors. From these figures it will be seen that the increase included only 23 additional clerks. The percentage of increase in the clerical force was only a little over 4 per cent., while the increase in the number of post-offices was 23.8 per cent., and the increase in the postal business was 39 per cent. And, Mr. Speaker, this increase in the business has been effected notwithstanding the decrease of the letter postal rate from 3 to 2 cents per ounce, and the increase of the unit of weight from one-half to 1 ounce, and the reduction of newspaper postage from 2 cents to 1 cent per pound. Of the increase of 70 in the number of employés in the Department from 1882 to 1888, only 23 have occurred during the present Administration; and this, notwithstanding the large increase in the service, shown by the figures I have already given, and the necessity of using additional buildings.

Now as to the question suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MASON] a moment ago, it is really unnecessary for me to answer it, because the business men of this whole country know how greatly the postal service has increased, and it is not true, as is alleged in a general way by partisans upon this floor, that the service has been inefficient under this Administration. Gentlemen can make that statement in general terms and in a partisan manner here, but they can not substantiate it. The business men of the country will not testify that the charge is true. The business of the Post-Office Department has been greatly enlarged along with the business of the country, and it has been managed efficiently and frugally. I have here a statement of the increased expenditures and the increased revenues of the Department. I will not take time to read it in full now, but will incorporate it in my remarks. I want to call attention to one very significant portion of it, which shows the cost of every dollar of revenue from this source during the different years from 1883 to 1888. In 1883 the cost was $1.04, in 1884 it was $1.08, in 1885 it was $1.17; in 1886, the first fiscal year of a Democratic administration, it was $1.16; in 1887 it was $1.08, in 1888 it was $1.03. It will be seen, therefore, that the last year makes the best showing of any year from 1883 down to the present time.

Mr. DINGLEY. What do I understand that statement to be?

Mr. CLEMENTS. It is a statement showing the cost of every dollar of revenue from the Post-Office Department, and it illustrates the industry, the honesty, and the rigid economy with which that Department has been conducted under this Administration. And as I have

already said the decrease in the cost of collecting the revenue from this source has not in any way impaired the efficiency of the service.

Statement showing offices abolished or salaries omitted to be appropriated for during the Forty-ninth Congress and the first session of the Fiftieth Congress.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

Offices.	No.	Amount.
Executive Office.		
Clerk	1	$1,600
Clerk	1	1,400
Treasury Department.		
Second Comptroller's Office—		
Clerks at $1,600 each	5	8,000
Clerks at $1,400 each	2	2,800
Clerk	1	1,200
Clerk	1	1,000
Clerks at $900 each	3	2,700
Third Auditor's Office:		
Clerks at $1,400 each	6	8,400
Clerks at $1,200 each	14	16,800
Clerks at $900 each	2	1,800
Sixth Auditor's Office:		
Clerks at $1,600 each	3	4,800
Clerks at $1,400 each	10	14,000
Clerk	1	1,200
Clerks at $1,000 each	4	4,000
Trasurer's Office:		
Clerks at $1,200 each	3	3,600
Clerks at $900 each	19	17,100
Register's Office:		
Chief of division	2	2,000
Clerk	1	1,800
Clerk	1	1,600
Clerk	1	1,400
Clerks at $1,200 each	5	6,000
Copyists at $900 each	11	9,900
Engraving and Printing Bureau:		
Clerks at $1,200 each	2	2,400
Copyists at $900 each	3	2,700
Laborers at $660 each	3	1,980
Mint Bureau:		
Clerk	1	1,000
Internal Revenue Bureau:		
Clerks at $900 each	26	23,400
War Department.		
Quartermaster-General's Office:		
Clerk	1	1,600
Clerks at $1,400 each	4	5,600
Clerk	1	1,200
Clerks at $1,000 each	2	2,000
Copyists at $900 each	10	9,000
Watchmen	1	720
Agents at $1,400 each	15	21,000
Surgeon-General's Office:		
Clerks at $1,000 each	20	20,000
Paymaster-General's Office:		
Clerks at $1,400 each	2	2,800
Clerks at $1,200 each	2	2,400
Clerks at $1,000 each	2	2,000
Rebellion Records Office:		
Copyist	1	900
Compositors at $1,000 each	4	4,000
Interior Department.		
Indian Office:		
Employés	3	4,520
Pension Office:		
Clerks at $1,600 each	5	8,000
Clerks at $1,400 each	28	39,200
Clerks at $1,200 each	39	46,800
Clerks at $1,000 each	20	20,000
Copyists at $900 each	45	40,500
Post-Office Department.		
Topographer's Office:		
Draughtsman	1	1,800
Draughtsman	1	1,400
Map mounter	1	720

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

Treasury Department.		
Supervising Architect's Office:		
Clerk	1	$1,600
Clerk	1	1,200
Second Comptroller's Office:		
Clerks	8	10,800
Secret-service division:		
Clerk	1	1,400
War Department.		
Quartermaster-General's Office:		
Clerks and employés	13	14,600
Post-Office Department.		
Office First Assistant Postmaster-General:		
Clerk	1	1,400
Clerks, at $1,200 each	2	2 400
Clerks, at $1,000 each	6	6,000

Statement showing offices abolished or salaries omitted, etc.—Continued.

FIFTIETH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

Offices.	No.	Amount.
Treasury Department.		
Secretary's Office:		
Assistant chief of division	1	$2,100
Clerk	1	1,800
Clerk	1	1,200
Clerks reduced by consolidation of divisions	8	12,560
Supervising Architect's Office:		
Photographer	1	2,000
Second Auditor's Office:		
Clerks at $1,000 each	* 5	5,000
Third Auditor's Office:		
Clerks at $1,400 each	3	4,200
Clerks at $1,200 each	4	4,800
Clerk	1	1,000
Treasurer's Office:		
Clerks at $900 each	5	4,500
Pressman	1	1,200
Separators at $660 each	2	1,320
Feeders at $660 each	2	1,320
War Department.		
Adjutant-General's Office:		
Assistant messengers at $720 each	6	4,320
Watchmen at $720 each	17	12,240
Quartermaster-General's Office:		
Clerks and employés	23	18,915
Paymaster-General's Office:		
Watchmen at $720 each	7	5,040
Interior Department.		
Members Board of Pension Appeals, at $2,000 each	6	12,000
Total	467	515,655

Comparative statement showing the receipts and expenditures of the Post-Office Department for several years past.

Fiscal year ending June 30—	Gross postal receipts.			Expenditures made on account of the year.			Cost for every dollar of receipts.
	Total for the year.	Increase over the previous year.	Per cent. of increase.	Total for the year.	Increase over the previous year.	Per cent. of increase.	
1883	$45,508,692.61	$3,632,282.46	8.6+	$43,519,187.96	$3,077,995.90	7.5+	$1.04
1884	43,325,958.81	*2,182,733.80	*4.7+	47,062,623.56	3,543,435.60	8.1+	1.08
1885	42,560,843.83	*765,114.98	*1.7+	49,782,619.09	2,719,995.53	5.7+	1.17
1886	43,948,422.95	1,387,579.12	3.2+	51,093,036.48	1,310,417.39	2.6+	1.16
1887	48,837,609.39	4,889,186.44	11.1+	53,133,252.00	2,040,215.52	3.9+	1.08
1888	53,233,579.13	4,395,969.74	9.0+	55,250,000.00	2,116,748.00	4.0+	1.03

*Decrease.

Mr. VANDEVER. Mr. Speaker, I understand the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CLEMENTS] to have stated emphatically that the efficiency of the postal service has been materially increased of late and under the present Administration. Now, I can speak with confidence on this question in regard to the part of the country which I represent. At the commencement of this session of Congress I called the attention of this House to the suffering condition of the postal service in Southern California; and I stated then a fact which has never been contradicted—that on account of the inefficiency of the service or inadequate provision for it the mails had piled up in certain offices in Southern California, and especially in San Diego, to such an extent that when there was a change made in the office of postmaster at that place the new incumbent found the office encumbered with a lot of mails which had never been handled or distributed, and in order to get rid of them he was obliged to load them up on wagons and have them hauled down and dumped into San Diego Harbor.

That is a fact which can not be controverted or denied; and although there may have been an increase of appropriation for the postal service, and may have been something like a general increase in its efficiency, I can say that the beneficial effects of such increase have never reached our part of the country; and I assert that if we had here the evidence of the Post-Office Department it would show clearly and unequivocally that petitions are being received and piled up in the Department claiming relief that is but tardily afforded, if at all.

There may be no intention on the part of the Post-Office Department to withhold proper facilities from our part of the country; but I affirm that with reference to us the credit for economy which the Department claims is at the expense of the public convenience. Let me refer to one county of my district to show the growth of population and the increased necessity for postal facilities. In Los Angeles County two years ago the registered vote was a little over 17,000; the registration for this year has already reached 28,000. The increase is in about the same proportion in other counties of Southern California. Not a city or town of any pretensions in that section but is suffering for greater mail and postal service.

Now, that is a fair sample (though it may appear a little exaggerated)

of the general growth of population, the development of business, and the increase of resources in that part of the country. The service of the Post-Office Department has not kept pace with this increase and growth. We have not been able to impress upon the Post-Office Department the necessity for increased postal facilities, and the public there are suffering in this respect. They are crying aloud continually, and crying in vain, to the Post-Office Department for a service which shall be adequate to the public wants.

Mr. Speaker, the pertinency of the observations of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CLEMENTS] to the remarks of my colleague [Mr. MCKENNA] on this Chinese clause of the deficiency bill is not very apparent.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I did not rise for the purpose of replying to that gentleman. I so stated at the beginning of my remarks.

Mr. VANDEVER. Well, as I am on the floor and have some ideas in regard to the Chinese question, I propose to say a few words on that topic. The message of the President of the United States to this House approving the Chinese restriction act seemed to me in the nature of an apology for that act of approval on his part—not an apology to this House, but evidently an apology to China; and in order to make the act which he approved acceptable in some degree to the Chinese Government, the President recommended in his apology that there be an appropriation of $276,000 from the public Treasury as a sort of sop to the Chinese Government in order to make the bill go down. And we are now asked in the report of the conference committee on this deficiency bill to approve that apology of the President to the Chinese Government for signing a bill passed by the Congress of the United States; and that, too, after China had rejected a treaty with this Government that proffered indemnity for alleged depredations committed upon Chinese subjects residing in this country.

Mr. RYAN. A plaster for the bruise.

Mr. VANDEVER. Yes, sir. Now, I can not see that this House is called upon to approve that clause of the deficiency bill; and I agree entirely with every expression which has been made by my colleague. I think this proposed appropriation ought to be rejected. We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the people we represent and to the country at large, that the official acts of the President of the United States should not be accompanied with apologies to foreign governments, and that a money consideration should not be tendered to such a government to make our Congressional action acceptable.

Mr. BURNES. Mr. Speaker, our relations with China, as is known to the public, are somewhat delicate, if not strained. It has been stated in certain quarters that there were outside influences operating to prevent the maintenance of such relations as, I trust, we seek to preserve with every nation on the face of the earth. Be that as it may, the State Department seems to have been firmly of the opinion that this money ought to be appropriated, not only for the reason suggested by the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. MCKENNA], but as evidence of our willingness to pay for damages perpetrated upon citizens of a foreign country. Of course we want to pay our own citizens whatever is due them, but we can not do so in a moment nor in this bill. Let each claim stand on its own merits and bide its own time. That we can not now consider their claims seems not a sufficient reason why we should withhold payment to some one else of what seems to be a fair and reasonable obligation on the part of the Government toward citizens of a foreign government for injuries suffered at the hands of certain parties in some of the Territories of the United States. The amount of damage has been estimated at the sum proposed to be appropriated in this Senate amendment; and it is but reasonable and fair that the damage thus perpetrated should be recognized and paid for, even if not strictly required by the law of nations. We feel that there is some sort of law at least to justify this payment, and if nowhere else, it is recognized in the hearts of mankind.

All I desire to say in justice to the House committee is that the communication with regard to this matter was with the conferees on the part of the Senate, or with the Senate, and the amendment was urged on the conferees of the House by our brethren of the Senate. It was an amendment which met the approbation of the Senate. It was not only urged by members of the Senate conference, but by others distinguished in the councils of the nation at the other end of the Capitol.

I will say to my friend from California it was agreed upon and perhaps put upon the bill by the Senate before the reception of the message of the President of the United States. We were in conference for a number of days.

Mr. MCKENNA. Is not that a reason for not continuing it, that it was put on the bill upon the supposition the Chinese treaty would be ratified?

Mr. BURNES. I beg your pardon, it was put on after the treaty was known not to have been ratified. If I am wrong in that, I will say we had a conference after it was known the Chinese Government had refused to ratify the treaty, and the Senate conferees insisted on it before the reception of the President's message. The House conferees were indisposed to yield—I was, for one. When the message came it was urged as a reason why the action supported by the Senate conferees should be yielded to on the part of the House conferees. Under the circumstances, as no one mind can see the whole of this proposition, and looking at it as a whole, a compromise seems wise, for our relations with foreign countries—possibly peaceable relations—may be in some sense involved. We will do well to look at it from every point of view.

My friend has viewed it from a legislative standpoint, which may be satisfactory to him, but when we view it as a whole there are other considerations which should influence our action. It has met the approval of a co-ordinate branch of the legislative department of this Government, and the one that has to do with ratification of treaties, and the approbation of the executive department also. Because some of us can not see the wisdom of the tender of this payment now, is scarcely a sufficient reason for rejecting this conference report. Something is due to the judgment of others who have had to do, closely, with the whole subject. It is not necessary to argue in favor of a blind submission to the judgment of others, and I would not do so in ordinary matters, but this involves matters and considerations with which we have not had official connection, and concerning which the President and the Secretary of State, from other than a legislative standpoint, and the Senate, which has given it careful consideration, unite in warmly commending this amendment to us. It can do no harm, at least, to agree to the amendment. The money will not be paid to the Chinese Government until after the State Department has fully reconsidered the matter with reference to some further negotiation and arrangement which may be beneficial to the country.

Mr. VANDEVER. What specific claims of the Chinese Government were made the basis of your action in fixing that amount?

Mr. BURNES. It is intended to discharge the obligations of this Government to China on account of damages or injuries inflicted by our citizens on citizens of that country.

Mr. MCKENNA. Were they ascertained damages?

Mr. BURNES. I understand they were ascertained. They were sufficiently ascertained at least to enable the Secretary of State to incorporate this amount in the treaty with China which was rejected.

Mr. VANDEVER. It should be investigated by a committee of the House and not given directly without some such action on our part.

Mr. BURNES. We can not possibly investigate every item by the action of a committee of this House, but this having been investigated already by the Secretary of State to the extent of enabling him to fix this amount in the recent treaty, I do not see that Congressional investigation by a committee could do any good. No man can fix exactly what would be adequate compensation to the survivors of a family whose head, or other member was slain, maimed, or injured. The mind is incapable of grasping such elements of estimation or figures. But as this amount has been ascertained by the Department of State, and so far recognized as to have been put into the treaty, and be urged by the President and the Senate, I think we had better accept it.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, in reply to some statements recently made in this House by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], it seems to me that my friend from Georgia [Mr. CLEMENTS] as well as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS], who spoke the other day on the same subject, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES], have entirely lost sight of the real point which was made by him in his argument. If I understood the gentleman from Illinois aright in the statement made in this House a few weeks ago, in which he alleged that the appropriations had been largely increased under the present Administration, that the number of officials had been enlarged, and that the amounts paid in salaries had been increased over what they had been under a Republican administration, the gentleman from Illinois did not intend to make the allegation that these increases had been unnecessarily and extravagantly made, but he intended in calling attention to them simply to remind gentlemen on the other side of the House that in 1884, pending the Presidential election, they had charged throughout this country and in this House, as gentlemen will well remember, that the Republican party and the Republican administration had largely, unnecessarily, and extravagantly increased the appropriations and the number of officials, as well as their salaries, and that if the country would only give to them (the Democratic party) the control of the reins of Government, then they would show to the people of the country a large reduction of the appropriations and a large reduction of the number of officials and the amount of the salaries. The gentleman from Illinois simply called attention to the fact that these promises under which our friends on the other side came into possession of the Government in 1884, entering upon the actual control of it in 1885, had not been redeemed in any respect.

I take it that that was the only point the gentleman from Illinois had in mind in presenting the statistics which he did; and the very fact that it required the gentleman from Texas, the gentleman from Missouri, and the gentleman from Georgia to undertake to explain why all of these additions to the appropriations had been made, how the number of officials had been increased and how the salaries had been multiplied; I say, the fact that it was necessary to show that the business of the country had increased and had rendered necessary a large increase in official force and emoluments, is sufficient also as an explanation of all increases of appropriations under prior administrations. I take it for granted that not only under prior administrations, but under this present Administration the expenditures of the Government on the

whole have been brought within the proper necessities of the Government, having regard in their increases to the increased business of the country.

But I wish my friends on the other side of the House to bear in mind that when in 1884 in this House and throughout the country they were endeavoring to arouse the indignation of the people of this land against the Republican party and against Republican administrations simply because there had been slight increases, and when they promised to the people that if they should be put into power there would be reductions on appropriations, reductions of officials, and reductions of salary, that really they came into power under false pretenses.

Now, it seems to me that in all matters of this kind it is the desire of whatever party may be in power in this country to endeavor to carry on the administration of the Government within the limits of appropriate economy, and if this example which has been set before us of unredeemed promises of our friends in 1884 shall simply show them in the future that all such promises that may be made during political campaigns, like the promises they made themselves in 1884, are simply for political effect, and that they really had no intention at the time to redeem them, it will have a good influence upon the country. But it ought to be an indication to the masses of the people that their promises were all made for political effect.

I remember, sir, in 1884 one of the constant charges which was being made throughout the country was that the Republican administration had gathered into the Treasury a large and unnecessary surplus. I remember a gentleman, whom I heard upon the stump, declare that this surplus was some $300,000,000 of idle money, and thousands of voters were led to believe that there was truth in the statement, while the promise was held out to them that if there should be a change of administration then the idle surplus would be immediately used in the redemption of the interest-bearing debt of the country paying it off. What was the fact? When the present Administration came into power on the 4th day of March, 1885, it found that there was only $8,000,000 of surplus in the Treasury coming over from the preceding administration of Mr. Arthur, without taking into account the hundred millions of greenback redemption fund, or taking into account the money which had been provided to meet the obligation of the public debt at maturity.

Excluding these there was only eight millions of surplus, as shown by the subsequent accounts of the Treasury, at a time when it was stated that this immense sum of $300,000,000 was locked up in the vaults of the Treasury and while that statement was being used for campaign purposes. And yet, Mr. Speaker, there has not been a single hour since the 4th day of March, 1885, up to the present moment, when the surplus in the Treasury has not been far more than when the Republican administration gave up the control of the Government. The accounts and statements which have been rendered by the Secretary of the Treasury since the 4th day of March, 1885, show that all of the charges made in the campaign and preceding the Presidential election of 1884 were absolutely without foundation.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. But the gentleman from Maine ignores the fact that the condition of our finances was very different during this Administration from what it was before.

Mr. DINGLEY. I was replying——

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Because under the administration of the gentleman's party all the bonds outstanding and redeemable had not been paid, and for some months past we have been unable to redeem any bonds except at a premium; and it was on account of that condition that this surplus accumulated.

Mr. DINGLEY. But my friend forgets that on the 4th of March, 1885, when this Administration came into power, there were one hundred and forty-six millions of 3 percents subject to call at the option of the Government, and instead of calling in, canceling, and paying off these 3 percents, the present Administration proceeded to increase the surplus in the Treasury. The actual condition, the gentleman will ascertain on examination of the facts, shows that they increased that surplus of only $8,000,000 on the 4th of March, 1885, until, in October, it was over $66,000,000, without buying a single 3 per cent. bond.

Mr. SOWDEN. Did not the present Administration call in every one of the 3 per cent. bonds as rapidly as it could?

Mr. DINGLEY. Not at all. On the 4th of March, 1885——

Mr. SOWDEN. When were the last 3 percents redeemed or called in?

Mr. DINGLEY. Not until the subsequent January. On the 4th of March, 1885, there were one hundred and forty-six million in 3 per cent. bonds subject to call, and yet it was not until October in that year that a single one of these 3 per cent. bonds were called in, and they could have been called in through the summer and so much interest saved. I am not at this time complaining of this. But I complain that everywhere it was proclaimed on the stump in 1884 by the gentlemen who represent his party, and perhaps by the gentleman himself, that the Republican party was keeping in the Treasury hundreds of millions—$300,000,000—idle.

Mr. MCKENNA. Four hundred million dollars.

Mr. DINGLEY. And yet, as a matter of fact, from the 4th of March, 1885, until October, 1885, there was nothing even approximating the idle money in the Treasury that was charged.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Will my friend yield to me for a moment?

Mr. DINGLEY. Certainly.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Does he not know that when this Administration came in, as a partial explanation of this state of affairs, that the outgoing Secretary of the Treasury had said that gold and silver could not be kept together, and that a financial panic would come in spite of everything that could be done, and there would be a money stringency in less than ten months after the Administration came into power?

Mr. DINGLEY. I am aware that ex-Secretary McCulloch made a statement of that kind, and that statement was derided all over the country, and that gentlemen said there was no sufficient ground for this condition of affairs.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The gentleman knows that there was a very general apprehension all over the country, and in the campaign at which the present President was elected it was predicted that panic and ruin would follow his administration.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to say in reference to that matter that there was nothing to have prevented the present Administration from paying at least $10,000,000 from the 4th of March, 1885, until October, 1885; but this money was allowed to accumulate unnecessarily in the Treasury until October.

Mr. MCMILLIN. But the gentleman knows that the last one of these 3 percents have been redeemed—every one.

Mr. PETERS. Not until the President was forced to do it.

Mr. SOWDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Maine a question.

Mr. DINGLEY. I am ready to hear you.

Mr. SOWDEN. As I understand the gentleman, he stated to the House that when the present Administration came into power, on the 4th of March, 1885, it found a surplus of but $8,000,000 on hand and in the Treasury.

Mr. DINGLEY. A surplus of $8,000,000 over and above the matured obligations of the Government, and $100,000,000 for the redemption of the currency.

Mr. SOWDEN. This fund could not be applied to the redemption of the $146,000,000 3 per cent. bonds.

Mr. DINGLEY. But the amount was constantly accumulating from that time when the Republicans went out of power; and I was saying that the surplus had been constantly used by the Republican administration for the purpose of calling in the 3 per cent. bonds until that party did go out of power. But when another administration came in, notwithstanding they came in under the charge that this amount had been needlessly accumulating in the Treasury under the Republican party, yet they proceeded to accumulate more, when their Republican predecessors had been paying the 3 per cent. bonds off as rapidly as they could.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Oh, not at all.

Mr. PETERS. And they had to get the Morrison resolution passed through the House to compel the Secretary of the Treasury to go on with the payment.

Mr. SOWDEN. But you contend that when the present Administration came into power there was only $8,000,000 surplus in the Treasury.

Mr. DINGLEY. That was eight millions that was left after the outgoing administration had been using about ten millions per month in paying off the 3 per cent. bonds. But the revenue was accumulating at the rate of nearly ten millions per month from that time on, and instead of using that ten millions month by month to call in the 3 per cent. bonds, the present Administration allowed the surplus to accumulate at the rate of about ten millions a month, until in October, 1885, it had reached the amount of sixty-six millions.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Does not the gentleman know that the Morrison resolution did not relate to the 3 per cent. bonds?

Mr. PETERS. It related to the surplus, though.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Now, I want to call the attention of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] (who is always courteous and whose courtesy I do not wish to trespass upon unwarrantably) to the fact that when the present Administration came into power the outstanding bonds of the Government redeemable at the option of the Administration amounted to $196,000,000, and to the further fact that every dollar of those bonds was redeemed by the Administration up to the 1st of August of last year, so that when Congress met there were no bonds at all outstanding subject to the call of the Government, and the only way in which the surplus accumulating in the Treasury could be disposed of was by going into the market and buying those bonds at the enormous premium of which the gentleman is aware.

Mr. DINGLEY. Let me repeat what I have already said. On the 4th of March, 1885, when the present Administration came into power, the surplus revenue had been used by the Republican administration, which went out at that date, in calling in and paying off the 3 per cent. bonds, so that there were but eight millions of surplus revenue—idle money, so called—in the Treasury. Now, I say that instead of using the surplus revenue, as it had been previously used by the Republican

administration, to call in and pay off the 3 per cent. bonds, this present Administration permitted the revenue to accumulate at the rate of about ten millions per month in the time between the 4th of March, 1885, and October, 1885, so that in the latter month the amount of idle money in the Treasury had reached some $66,000,000.

Now, observe my point. I say there was no sufficient reason for refusing to use that idle money to call in and pay off the 3 per cent. bonds during that period, and especially no reason for such action by a Democratic administration, in view of the fact that the Democratic leaders had appeared upon the platform and had risen in this House during the pendency of the Presidential election of 1884 and had charged upon the Republicans that they had not used the surplus in paying off the debt as rapidly as they ought to have done, but had permitted an accumulation of at least three hundred millions of idle money in the Treasury, although as a matter of fact, on the 4th of March, 1885, the amount was only $8,000,000.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Hendricks in his campaign speeches put the "surplus" at four hundred millions.

Mr. DINGLEY. And, gentlemen, in order to make a show of justification for your statements as to the enormous accumulation in the Treasury you had to include the one hundred millions of greenback redemption, you had to include gold and silver against which there were outstanding certificates, you had to include money which had been set aside to meet bonds and to pay interest which had matured, money which was necessary to meet the constantly maturing obligations of the Government. Now, I am not so much complaining of what was done during the period I have mentioned, as I am calling attention to the fact that the very gentlemen who, during the campaign of 1884, had charged upon the Republicans that they were holding in the Treasury a vast amount of idle money, and who were promising that if they should come into power they would use that idle money in paying off the debt, when they did come into power not only did not increase the payments upon the debt but stopped them entirely for six months and allowed an extra accumulation of $58,000,000 of idle money between the 4th of March, 1885, and October of the same year. I am calling attention to this, and also to the fact that by their own admission, appropriations have been increased under the present Administration, officials have been increased under the present Administration, and salaries have been increased under the present Administration.

I do not say unnecessarily increased, and neither did the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. But, nevertheless, gentlemen, you admit that they have been increased; increased, as you say, no doubt properly, because the business of the country has increased; but I am calling attention to the fact that what you said in 1884 that you would do if you should come into power you have not done, and that you are confessing, by the position which you take now, that your charges against the Republicans in 1884 had no sort of foundation. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. MCMILLIN. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. DINGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCMILLIN. You have contrasted Democratic action with Republican action as to the public debt. Now, is it not a fact that a Democratic House passed a bill for the refunding of that debt, reducing the interest to 3 per cent., a reduction which would have saved on the amount of outstanding bonds about $16,000,000, and did not President Hayes veto that bill, and, on account of that veto, did not the people have to pay millions of money in interest before the bonds were refunded?

Mr. DINGLEY. The gentleman now is going back many years.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I go back to show what was done with reference to this same debt. You have been talking about the action of the two parties with regard to the debt, and I want the whole of the facts to go before the country, and I say that the people had to pay from ten to sixteen million dollars additional, in interest, on account of that veto by a Republican President.

Mr. DINGLEY. The gentleman has gone back to 1877 or 1878 for the purpose of finding an excuse for what occurred in 1885. Now, I wish to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that under the bill introduced by Senator Windom the very bonds of which he has spoken were subsequently refunded at 3 per cent. interest, under conditions far more favorable to the Government than those which were proposed in the bill vetoed by President Hayes.

Mr. MCMILLIN. No, sir. President Garfield's administration saw that the action of the Hayes administration would be their ruin, and they got remission down to 3½ per cent., and the Democratic House forced the rate down to 3 per cent.

Mr. DINGLEY. Not at all; but——

Mr. MCMILLIN. But millions of interest had been paid out in the mean time.

Mr. DINGLEY. Having the floor, Mr. Speaker, I think I shall endeavor to occupy half the time myself.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I interrupted him with his permission.

Mr. DINGLEY. I was entirely willing to yield for a question, but I am not willing to yield for a speech.

Mr. SOWDEN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him another question?

Mr. DINGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOWDEN. I would like to know whether the gentleman's lamentations about the charges which he alleges were made against his party prior to the last Presidential election is not the result of the impression which those charges made upon the public mind and the success with which they met before the people in contributing to the election of the present President of the United States?

Mr. MILLIKEN. The gentleman acknowledges, then, that he elected his President under false pretenses?

Mr. SOWDEN. Not at all.

Mr. DINGLEY. What I am calling attention to is that by what has been said here to-day it is confessed that all of the charges that were made against the Republican party and the Republican administration in the campaign of 1884, by means of which, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SOWDEN] well says, the people were deceived into the election of the Democratic candidate, were without foundation. That is what I am calling the attention of the House and of the country to at this time. You admit, I say, that there was no foundation for your charges, because, instead of reducing the appropriations, as you said you would if you should get into power, alleging as you did that the Republicans had been extravagant and profligate in their expenditures, instead of reducing the appropriations as you promised, you have increased them. You say, very properly, I think, that you have increased them because the country has grown; but did not the country grow during the period of the Republican administrations as well as since? Why could you not have been honest enough in the campaign of 1884 to have owned up that there had been no profligate expenditures, and that the increase of appropriations which had been made had resulted simply from the increased business of the country. Why did you not admit that explanation of the increase under the Republican administrations, just as you offer it now in explanation of the increases which you have made yourselves?

Now, your Administration has come into power on the charge that the Republicans had been maintaining unnecessary officials. I heard the charge made on dozens of stumps that there were twice as many officials as ought to be maintained, and that our party had been using them for political work; and it was promised that if you should come into power you would reduce these officials and these salaries. And now, by your confession here to-day you have not only not reduced the number of officials, but have increased them and have increased salaries. And you give the very appropriate excuse that the business of the country has increased; that it was necessary to have the utmost efficiency possible. I accept the excuse, but call attention to the fact that in giving this excuse you convict yourselves of having deluded and deceived the people in 1884, and induced them to elect your candidate for the Presidency in the belief that he would do something which now you confess he has not done, ought not to have done, and could not have done.

Mr. SOWDEN. One word more. Does not the gentleman from Maine know that his party to-day through their newspapers and public speakers are parading before the country these very facts, and are claiming for electioneering purposes that under this Administration the appropriations have been increased some $90,000,000; and is not this done for the purpose of imposing upon the people——

Mr. DINGLEY. In other words, the gentleman means to say that we are trying to do what his party did.

Mr. SOWDEN. Is not this done for the purpose of inducing the people to vote for the Republican Presidential ticket upon these allegations that the present Administration has been more profligate in the expenditure of public moneys than even its predecessor? Does not the gentleman know further that in reply to the statements of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] has put forth a full and unanswerable explanation of every charge, accounting satisfactorily for every item of increase, and which increase included some $30,000,000 for additional pensions in excess of the amount granted by the administration immediately preceding the present?

Mr. DINGLEY. The amount is stated a large number of millions too high.

Mr. SOWDEN. Does not the gentleman know——

Mr. DINGLEY. When the gentleman gets through his speech I will go on.

Mr. SOWDEN. Has not the gentleman himself used this very argument in a recent speech in the State of Pennsylvania—the argument that this Administration has been far more extravagant than the preceding one——

Mr. DINGLEY. I have not used that argument at all in that form.

Mr. SOWDEN. And has the gentleman been frank enough to give, in explanation of the increased appropriations, the real reasons for it, namely, the increased allowance for pensions, the natural growth of the country, and the enlargement of the public business?

Mr. DINGLEY. I wish to say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that the only use I have made personally in my arguments of this increase of appropriations and officials and salaries has been in precisely

the line I have already indicated, simply showing that the pretense under which the Democratic party came into power in 1884 is now confessed to have been without foundation; that officials and appropriations and salaries have been increased as rapidly under the present Administration, not to say more rapidly, than under previous administrations.

Representatives of the Democratic party have claimed—and it was not for me to say the claim was not just—that this increase was because of the increase in the business of the country. But I have called attention to the fact that by this confession they admit that when, in 1884, they charged that Republican administrations had needlessly increased appropriations, had been making profligate expenditures, and that if the Democrats should come into power appropriations and officials and salaries should be reduced, they obtained power under a pretense which their own official conduct has not verified; for instead of reducing these expenditures they have increased them in various directions. I ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania whether that argument is not legitimate and sound?

Mr. SOWDEN. The gentleman's party makes the same charge against us to-day which he says representatives of the Democratic party made against the Republican administration in 1884.

Mr. MILLIKEN. But the difference between your statements and ours is that yours are now shown to have been untrue, while you do not deny that the statements we make are true. That is quite a wide difference.

Mr. DINGLEY. A single word further. The three responses which we have had to the statements made a few weeks ago by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] show that the people, in accepting as true the charges in 1884 that the Republican party had been profligate in expenditures, had increased officers and salaries unnecessarily, were deluded. You did make the people believe those charges, but now you confess that they were without foundation. In reference to all such charges which we hear from time to time on either side of the House I think it may be said, with the experience we have had, that we undervalue somewhat the intelligence of the people on matters of this kind. There was no ground in 1884 for your charges. I do not believe there is ground now to any great extent for any charges of extravagant and unnecessary appropriations and the creation of unnecessary officials; but I believe we have now the same reason and stronger reason to make such charges than you had in 1884. But I believe, as a matter of fact, such things are hardly being alluded to now by speakers on our side except for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that you deceived the people in 1884.

I believe the people of this country, without respect to party, intend to carry on the affairs of the nation as economically and as efficiently as may be under the circumstances; and although there are occasional instances of falling away from duty, and occasional instances of unwise and improper expenditure, yet I do not want the people of the country to be led into the belief each party coming into power is doing all it can to spend profligately the money of the people and to appoint officers unnecessary, and, in other words, is not to be trusted for fidelity or for common honesty in the management of the affairs of the nation.

I regretted in 1884 when you recklessly made these charges against the Republican party and made so many people believe there was some foundation for them. I regretted to see it, for to some extent it undermined the confidence of the people in the integrity of the public service, and I think there is no necessity for anything of that kind.

The two great parties of the country are divided on great lines of public policy. Let us hold the discussion in reference to the line of division, disagreeing honestly with reference to our views on this matter, discussing them candidly, and not on every occasion which may come up charging upon the other side dishonesty, want of integrity, want of fidelity. But I do not allude to any of these facts I have brought forward, to this increase of expenditure, to this increase of officials under the present Administration, or to the increase of salaries for the purpose of making any charges with respect to its efficiency and fidelity, but simply to hold a mirror up to you in order that you may see the charges you made in 1884, and upon which I believe you came into power, were without foundation and deceived the people of this country.

Mr. BURNES. I have no disposition to engage in this discussion, but I wish to express a word or two——

Mr. DINGLEY. I reserve my time.

Mr. BURNES. I wish to express a word or two of admiration for much the gentleman from Maine has said in regard to the subject under discussion, and perhaps I would be permitted to express the feeling I have that he has been exceedingly adroit. If he had alluded exclusively to the surplus and money question, to the purchase of bonds, subjects which belong to another committee of this House, and not to the subject of appropriations, I should have been entirely content to say nothing.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] has studiously avoided alluding to the real proposition on which, in my judgment, the Democratic party succeeded in the election of 1884. The Democratic party have been in power in this House, with one exception, from 1875 to this time, and it was in some sense responsible for appropriations during that period. No gentleman so far as I know has ever urged with any very great degree of prominence that the appropriations made during the Republican administrations of the Government were extraordinarily excessive or extravagant. And I submit it could scarcely do so without some degree of self-stultification. It was not, then, because of the appropriations during Republican administrations so much, if at all, but it was as to the character of the expenditures and the faithful manner in which they ought to have been disbursed, and in many instances were not.

To that subject the gentleman has made no allusion and I seek to make none. I call the attention of the House and the country to the fact, however, that in the discussion of this question we can not avoid, in justice and in fairness, contrasting the integrity of the expenditures under this Administration as against the want of it in the expenditures under the former administrations. [Applause on the Democratic side of the House.]

In saying this, sir, I only state a fact, without any partisan feeling or design. I simply call the attention of my friends on the other side, and the country, to the fact that for the last four years the money that has been expended has been expended without causing a single blush on any American cheek. Can you say as much for preceding administrations?

Whatever we can or can not say, I simply rose for the purpose of emphasizing the assertion that the people of this country turned the Republican party out of power, in my judgment, not because of the amount of money that was appropriated through Congress, but because of the waste and extravagance and want of integrity, as they believed, that existed in some departments of the administrations that preceded the present one at least. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, it is a very easy thing for the gentleman from Missouri and for other gentlemen on that side to talk about the "waste and extravagance" under a Republican administration of this Government. But it will be a very much more difficult thing for him or for them to substantiate any such statements. It makes some material difference with political parties who the critics are. There is just this difference between your party and ours in the treatment of each other. We have treated you decently and with charity, a charity you have sorely needed. You have slandered us for political capital. It had become an old story with you. You had been crying about "corruption" against the Republican party ever since, and even before the close of the war. It was the only stock in trade your party had.

Mr. Tilden, when he came to run as a candidate for governor of the great State of New York, saw with his political sagacity that it was no use for him to attempt to accomplish a Democratic victory in that State and a Democratic victory in this country upon the old lines upon which you had been working for so many years. He saw you had gone behind in that. He saw that the people of this country would not intrust you with the reins of Government simply on the claims that you had been setting up, and that there was but one way for the Democratic party to succeed in that campaign, which was to commence an attack upon the integrity of the party in power, and to inaugurate your talk about wise reforms in Governmental administration. Well, you then took up the cry, and have been crying it ever since. You have been a good deal like the old lady who made up a story and told it and told it again, and told it so often that she began to believe it herself, and who finally was ready to swear to the truth of it anywhere, when as a matter of fact in the first beginning she did not believe a word of it herself and knew that it was false.

You know how it was in the last campaign. I happened to have a little something to do with that myself, and I have a distinct recollection of a certain distinguished member of the Democratic party who went all through the State of New York—and I know that because I followed him myself—who stated everywhere, and used it and urged it in argument against the Republican party, that there was horded up in the Treasury of the United States as a surplus $300,000,000, which was held there for corrupt purposes.

Mr. Hendricks, your candidate for Vice-President, who was perhaps a little more intense, or a better Democrat than the person to whom I refer, made the statement still more extravagant. He said that there was four hundred millions. And yet, Mr. Speaker, to show how much reliance was to be placed upon such statements as that, when your party came into power in this Government and the party of which I am a member had gone out, and the whole question of surplus was discussed, as it was discussed in this House. there was a statement made that we had left but about eight millions of surplus in the Treasury, a statement on the floor of this House to which there was no denial. It could not be denied because it was the truth. And when one gentleman who had gone through that campaign and had stated that three hundred millions of surplus was in the Treasury, kept there by the Republican party for corrupt purposes, was asked why he made the statement when, as a matter of fact, there was only eight millions, he had nothing to say.

But, sir, you went further than that. You stated that the Republican administration of the Government was rotten with corruption; and one distinguished Democrat, when it was proposed to appoint Carl

Schurz as Secretary of the Interior, said that would not do, that it was all rotten with corruption; that your party was going to put in the breaking-up plow and turn it all out to the light, and that Carl Schurz, having once been Secretary of the Interior, might be very much embarrassed to be in that position under such circumstances. But what did you do? One of your party was appointed as Secretary of the Interior, and he was a man who was honest enough to admit, as I have been credibly informed, that he never found so systematic a method as had been pursued in conducting the administration of that Department, and that everything was correct and straight. You had the vaults of the Treasury overhauled; you had the moneys counted; you found the books all right; you found the money all there; you found everything, down to a defalcation of 2 cents, but I understand that even that was afterwards discovered where some not very careful Democratic counter had dropped the money upon the floor, where it was afterwards discovered.

Now, I say this but to emphasize the statement of my colleague [Mr. DINGLEY]. I do not charge upon the Democratic party, as he does not charge upon it, that these increases in expenses which you have made have been unnecessary; and I say further that I believe it is demoralizing to the people of the country—I believe it is a public injury that in the political campaigns or at any other time these reckless statements should be made regarding any administration, for when the people of the country are brought to believe that their public servants and those standing as high as the President of the United States and his Cabinet are corrupt and dishonest they will find that the strongest possible excuse and inducement to be so themselves. And I would be glad if this should be the last of these indiscriminate attacks on the characters of administrations.

My friend from Missouri may iterate and reiterate his statement in regard to the corruption of Republican administrations before his party came into power; but I say again it is the old story. It not only has never been verified, but the last three and a half years of Democratic rule have proved its falsehood. All this time you have had ample opportunity for investigation, and have shown nothing crooked or wrong. The silence of your officials is the fullest and most conclusive proof that Republican rule was as clean as it was patriotic. Gentlemen will please remember in what condition the country was when you relinquished the Government. You handed it over to us in the flames of civil war. If you will remember this, and what a great crisis we had to go through, if you will also remember the demoralizing influences of a great civil war, all of which fell upon our hands, while we handed back the Government to you with the nation peaceful and prosperous—I think if you will recall these facts, and look through the history of our country during that period, you will say that we came out of a great contest and down to the present time with as clean hands and pure administration of the trust confided to us as can be found in the records of the affairs of men. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. PETERS. I want to call the attention of the House to one single fact; and I do it for the purpose, if possible, of riveting the attention of the Committee on Appropriations to that fact, so that it may be taken into consideration. I do not make any complaint against the increase of the official force in any Department. I believe that the increase in some of the Departments, at least, should be greater than it is. I simply want to call attention to one Department, and that is the Department of the Commissioner of the General Land Office. There has been, as stated by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CLEMENTS], an increase in the clerical force of that Department; and yet what do we find?

Notwithstanding there has been an increase in the clerical force there as compared with that under the Republican administration, yet the work is getting further and further behind during the present Administration. Let me give an illustration: When a man enters a piece of land and lives upon it for a period of six months and applies to have his title completed he pays $200 to the Government, and yet he is unable to obtain evidence of his title for three years after he has paid the last dollar into the Treasury. Now, the gentleman from Georgia says that the Patent-Office is run in the interest of the inventors, and that the inventors pay the money for carrying on that office.

So is it with the Land Office. The man who enters these public lands pays the Government for them. If he enters under the homestead laws he pays the officers the fees, and yet it is years and years before he can get evidence of his title. If he takes land under the preemption or timber-culture laws, he pays to the Government $200 for 160 acres of land, and the homesteader or pre-emptor pays all these expenses, so that the Government is not out one dollar. Yet he is compelled, in the absence of any contest, in the absence of any suspicion that may be cast upon his title, to wait three years, as it is at present, before he can obtain from the Government evidence of his title. Under Republican administration I admit that the title could not issue immediately, but it could issue in a shorter time than three years.

What I want to impress on the Committee on Appropriations when the appropriations bills are considered and brought in during the short session of the Fiftieth Congress is, that the force of the Land Office should be so increased that these men who have paid their money should have evidence of their title from the Government within a reasonable time. It might at least be shown that they had paid their money into the Treasury of the Government.

[Cries of "Vote!"]

Mr. SOWDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] if amendment 107, as modified by the conference report presented by him, excludes the $911.20 balance claimed by Grosvenor Lowrey, one of the special counsel in the Bell telephone cases?

Mr. BURNES. It does.

Mr. Speaker, the Senate amendment relating to the extension of certain laws over the Public Land Strip has been disagreed to, and is not in this conference report. The proposition to pay a year's salary to the widow of a gentleman who died of yellow fever is not in the report. The proposition to pay the widow of the late Chief-Justice Waite the balance of a year's salary is not in the report.

Mr. RYAN. I suppose my friend means that the Senate has receded from those amendments.

Mr. BURNES. The Senate has receded from those amendments.

In regard to the proposition concerning the establishment of an institution for the purpose of assisting in the eradication of polygamy in Utah Territory I desire to make a brief statement, more for the purpose of calling the attention of the Treasury Department to the facts than anything else. We found that matter—I may call it that appropriately—in this condition. Some $40,000 had gotten into the hands of Governor West to be expended by him at the will or wish or on the order of a corporation organized in the Territory of Utah by some good women, doubtless, who had interested themselves in the work of extinguishing polygamy. That money was there in the hands of no bonded officer, subject to be expended by private persons. It was held and liable to be expended by parties who were not under any bond to the Government of the United States. By the amendment as now agreed upon the first thing we accomplish is to get that money, the unexpended balance of the two preceding appropriations, into the hands of a bonded officer of the United States to be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

On investigation it will be found that there are marked discrepancies in several financial statements that have been made to the members of the committee and possibly to the House. That is to say, in one financial statement I found the total amount received—apparently stated at $40,000; expended in temporary home, $13,500; paid for some lots in Salt Lake on which the building is to be erected, $10,500; leaving a balance of $16,000 out of $40,000. But it appears that there were $48,800 drawn out of the Treasury; and the account, instead of starting with $40,000, as it does in this financial statement of the corporation alluded to, should start with $48,800. And then the $13,500 alleged to have been expended under the direction of the corporation should be carefully considered, for the reason that the $40,000 drawn out of the Treasury were drawn as stated in this financial estimate in the month of August last, two months ago, and that $13,500 is deducted from the $40,000 instead of the $48,800, when it could not in the nature of the transaction have been expended after the date it was received.

Now, it is simply impossible for them to have spent $13,500 since August last, and there is no pretense that there has been any such amount expended. I think it will be found upon investigation that the expenditures for the first year, as reported by Governor West in his annual report to the President, were included in the $13,500, without raising the debt entry from $40,000 to $48,800. At all events it will furnish some little work for the Treasury Department, which I trust and know it will carefully perform.

The amount of appropriation asked for in the Senate amendment was $80,000. We give only $32,000.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BURNES. Does the gentleman from Ohio desire to ask a question?

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I simply want to ask whether the gentleman desires to have this bill passed? If he does, I ask him to let it be passed without any more talk. [Laughter.]

Mr. BURNES. I move the previous question. [Renewed laughter.]

The question was taken on ordering the previous question, and the Speaker declared that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 34, noes 3.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. No quorum.

The SPEAKER. The point being made that no quorum has voted, the Chair will appoint to act as tellers the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES].

The House again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 45, noes 3.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Florida insist upon the point of no quorum?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes, sir.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, if it is in order I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BURNES. I hope the House will not adjourn.

The question was taken on the motion to adjourn, and it was not agreed to—ayes 7, noes 30.

Mr. HOOKER. I hope my friend from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY],

who I know has been very much irritated by the failure to get up for consideration certain matters pertaining to his own greatly afflicted portion of the country, will reconsider his opposition to this measure and will not call a quorum. I am sure that when he considers that this is a bill the passage of which is necessary for the public interests he will feel that opposition to it ought not to be manifested in this way. It is a bill which I believe meets the almost unanimous approbation of both sides of the House, and I hope that the gentleman, in the generosity of his nature (for I know him to be a generous man), will withdraw his opposition.

The tellers resumed their places.

Mr. BURNES (before the announcement of the final vote). Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. HOOKER. Pending that motion, Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege. I desire to make a motion to reconsider a vote which was taken on yesterday in the House. During my absence a bill was called up by the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands for the creation of a new land district in the southern part of Mississippi. It was a bill which had been introduced by my colleague, Colonel STOCKDALE, who represents that portion of the State. The existing land district is located in my own city of Jackson, in the county in which I live. Some time ago, when the bill was first reported from the Committee on Public Lands, my colleague, Colonel STOCKDALE, came to me——

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] that a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was made yesterday and was laid on the table; so that unanimous consent will be required to reopen the question.

Mr. HOOKER. I am going to ask unanimous consent to set aside the vote laying the motion to reconsider on the table, and I am offering my reasons for making that request.

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] objects.

Mr. HOOKER. I hope the gentleman will not object to my making a statement.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I do not object to the gentleman making his statement, but I object to the result.

Mr. HOOKER. Then I will make the statement, and the gentleman can object to the request if he pleases. When that bill was brought into the House with a favorable report from the Committee on Public Lands my colleague, Colonel STOCKDALE, sought me at my seat and said that he had had several opportunities to call up the bill and have it passed, but that, in deference to my known opposition to it, he would not call it up in my absence, and therefore had not availed himself of these opportunities. On yesterday I was in the city and in the House during the greater part of the day, but at the time this bill was called up I was not in the House. I had been called out on a matter of business which detained me thirty or forty minutes, and relying upon the statement previously made to me by my colleague I did not suppose it was necessary for me to be here to watch the bill; on the contrary, I expected that I would be notified when it was to be called up in order that I might have an opportunity to state my objections to it. My colleague did not say to me directly that he would not call up the bill at any other time in my absence, but the implication in what he said was very strong that he would not call it up without giving me notice.

I think it important to me that I should make this statement. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the order by which the motion to reconsider was laid on the table be set aside. In this way the bill presented by the committee will stand as passed by the House, with the motion to reconsider pending. This is all I ask; and I appeal to the usual fair-mindedness and justice of my colleague not to interpose any objection to this request, which I suppose will meet no objection from any other quarter.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands the gentleman from Ohio to object.

Mr. HOOKER. I understand him now to withdraw the objection.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I withdraw my objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I desire to say, in justice to myself, that if I used any expression which led my colleague to think that I would not call this bill up in the House, such a thing was entirely foreign to my intention. I was about to call the bill up by unanimous consent, and asked recognition for that purpose; but in conversation with my colleague he told me that he would object. I did not call it up and lost for the time my privilege of recognition. Afterward, when I again had opportunity to be recognized, and the Speaker told me I was at the head of the list, I did not ask unanimous consent to bring the bill up, because my colleague was not in the House.

But I never intended to say—and I do not know how my colleague could have so understood me—that I would not try to have the bill passed in the House regularly under the rules. I knew that my colleague was in the House when the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] commenced to call up bills on the Calendar of the Public Lands Committee—a fact which certainly was ample public notice that any bill on the Calendar of that committee might be called up. I was asked by the gentleman from Arkansas whether I desired the bill called up, and I said yes.

Now, there can be no object in setting aside what has been done except simply to raise objection on the ground of "no quorum." The land office in question is located in the only part of our State that has any public lands. To transact business in reference to those lands the people there have now to go a long distance to the land office in the city of Jackson. This bill does not interfere with that land office, and there can be no object in opposing it except to compel my people to journey to the city of Jackson for the benefit of a couple of officials there.

Mr. HOOKER. I wish to say only one word more. Whatever may have been the intention of my colleague, he certainly said he had not called the bill up because he knew I would object to it if called up.

Mr. STOCKDALE. By unanimous consent, yes.

Mr. HOOKER. The fair inference therefore was that I should have notice when the bill was brought up for passage. While I was in the city yesterday, and may have been in the House in the early part of the day, I was not present at the time this bill was under consideration. All I ask now is that the order of the House laying on the table the motion to reconsider shall be set aside, and that the bill shall be regarded simply as passed. Then, if I can not give any good reason in favor of the reconsideration of that vote, the order of the House passing the bill will stand.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. STOCKDALE] objects to the request of his colleague.

Mr. HOOKER. Do I understand my colleague to object?

Mr. STOCKDALE. Yes, sir.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. BACON: A bill (H. R. 11582) granting a pension to Patrick Callahan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. E. B. TAYLOR: A bill (H. R. 11583) for the relief of George Farnwalt—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 10, 1888.

Prayer by Rev. WILLIAM E. PARSON, of the city of Washington.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE AT OMAHA.

Mr. ALLISON. I present the memorial of T. J. Power, of Helena, Mont., alleging an obstruction to the navigation of the Missouri River caused by the construction of the piers of the Union Pacific Railway Company between Council Bluffs and Omaha. I ask that the memorial be referred to the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River, and in connection with it I desire to offer a resolution for present consideration.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The memorial will be referred to the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River and Tributaries. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River and Tributaries be, and it is hereby, directed to inquire whether the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad Company bridge over the Missouri River between Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebr., authorized by Congress, is in conformity with law, or if the piers of the present bridge or the piers of an old bridge constructed by the said company, are an obstruction to the free navigation of the river, and if so, to report a bill for the remedy of the same.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. WILSON, of Maryland, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1712) for the relief of G. M. Woodruff, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. CHACE, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 9418) to incorporate the Washington and Western Maryland Railroad Company, reported it with amendments.

Mr. HAWLEY, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 1860) to amend section 683 of the Revised Statutes, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. FAULKNER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (H. R. 10032) granting a pension to Milton Wallen;

A bill (H. R. 10253) granting a pension to Emmanuel P. Steed;

A bill (H. R. 3681) granting a pension to Carter W. Tiller; and

A bill (H. R. 9176) granting a pension to Charlotte Taylor.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3619) for the relief of Alice E. Robertson, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. SPOONER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 9464) for the relief of Hudson G. Lamkin, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

CONDITION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. HALE. By direction of the Select Committee to Examine into the Condition of the Civil Service I present the report of the committee, together with the testimony taken by it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. What disposition does the Senator desire to have made of the report?

Mr. HALE. I should like an order to have the usual number of copies printed of the report and the testimony.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered if there be no objection.

Mr. HALE. I wish to say, as the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BLODGETT] is not present, that he desired me, if he was not present, to ask in behalf of the minority that leave might be given to file any report they may desire to make upon the subject at any time during the session. I ask that that leave may be granted.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection, and the leave is granted. The report is not accompanied by a bill or resolution?

Mr. HALE. The report is not yet accompanied by a bill. The committee will further sit and further investigate.

REVENUE-BILL TESTIMONY.

Mr. MANDERSON. I am directed by the Committee on Printing to report favorably a Senate resolution, and I ask for its present consideration.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. ALDRICH October 9, 1888, as follows:

Resolved, That in addition to the usual number there be printed 750 copies of the testimony accompanying Senate report No. 2332 for the use of the Senate.

Mr. DAWES. What report is that?

Mr. MANDERSON. The testimony taken by the Finance Committee on the revenue bill.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3559) to amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to allow persons who have abandoned or relinquished their homestead entries to make another entry.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore:*

A bill (S. 70) to provide for warehousing fruit brandy;

A bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Mayer;

A bill (S. 664) for the relief of William R. Wheaton and Charles H. Chamberlain, of California;

A bill (S. 741) for the relief of William Tabb;

A bill (S. 889) granting a pension to Mary O. Hall;

A bill (S. 1089) for the relief of Henrietta M. Sands, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy;

A bill (S. 1219) granting a pension to David Heinbach;

A bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to Phillipe Ray;

A bill (S. 1671) for the relief of the heirs of Martin Kenofsky;

A bill (S. 1926) granting a pension to William Smith;

A bill (S. 2567) granting a pension to Nancy Polock;

A bill (S. 2593) granting a pension to Sarah E. McNamara;

A bill (S. 2742) to incorporate the Brightwood Railway Company of the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 3018) granting an increase of pension to John N. Bovee;

A bill (S. 3030) granting a pension to Mary J. Foster;

A bill (S. 3083) restoring to the pension-roll the name of Florian Lischewsky;

A bill (S. 3175) granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor;

A bill (S. 3197) granting a pension to Abbie L. Ham;

A bill (S. 3230) granting a pension to Martha J. Cole;

A bill (S. 3241) granting a pension to Easter A. Jackson;

A bill (S. 3427) to amend section 4474 of the Revised Statutes of the United States;

A bill (H. R. 4765) for the relief of G. W. McAdam; and

A bill (H. R. 8962) for the relief of Anthony L. Woodson.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FARWELL introduced a bill (S. 3624) for the relief of Charles D. French; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3625) for the relief of Michael Herr; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3626) for the relief of D. H. Ming; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. HARRIS (for Mr. DANIEL), it was

Ordered, That Arthur Connell be allowed to withdraw his petition and papers from the files of the Senate on leaving copies of the same, there having been an adverse report.

EXPORTATION OF CATTLE THROUGH CANADA.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I offer the following resolution, and ask for its present consideration:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be directed to inquire and report at as early a day as practicable what action can be taken to effect an arrangement with the Dominion of Canada whereby American cattle for export to England and other European countries may be transported through said Dominion of Canada, or any port or ports thereof, without being subjected to the delay imposed by the quarantine regulations now in force.

Mr. CULLOM. To what committee is the direction given?

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. The Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CULLOM. I do not know whether it belongs to that committee or not.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. Yes, it relates to our relations with foreign countries.

Mr. CULLOM. It relates to transportation as well. However, I do not object to the resolution.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. Inasmuch as the subject to which the resolution refers is one of growing interest, especially to the Western portion of the country, I ask that some papers which have been sent to me relating to the subject may also be referred with the resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The papers will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, if there be no objection.

GEORGE K. OTIS.

Mr. CALL. If the morning business is over, I desire to move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 682.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there is no further morning business, the Calendar under Rule VIII is in order, and——

Mr. HOAR. I move to proceed to the consideration of the bill reported from the Committee on the Judiciary yesterday.

Mr. CALL. I believe I have the floor.

Mr. HOAR. I beg pardon; I did not know that the Senator held the floor.

Mr. CALL. I was about to make a motion to proceed to the consideration of a bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair had recognized the Senator from Florida. The Calendar under Rule VIII being in order, the title of the first bill on the Calendar will be stated.

The SECRETARY. Order of Business 1995, a bill (S. 3348) for the relief of George K. Otis.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will the Senator from Florida allow the first case on the Calendar to be passed? It is a case on which there will be no discussion, and it has been called up very frequently as the first case on the Calendar. It will only take a moment. I think there will be no objection to it.

Mr. CALL. I yield for that purpose, if the Senator desires it.

Mr. MITCHELL. I shall not insist upon it if it takes more than a moment's time.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3348) for the relief of George K. Otis. It directs the Postmaster-General to allow George K. Otis, late contractor on route 6771, New York, for the contract term from July 1, 1881, to June 30, 1885, pro rata increase of pay for any increase of service which the Postmaster-General may have required him to perform during that period, the same to be based on the number of trips actually run and distance traveled in excess of what he was required to perform on the date of the execution of his contract.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ALFRED PLEASONTON.

Mr. CALL. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 682) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton a major of cavalry in the Army of the United States.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair is informed that a bill of the House of Representatives, identical with the Senate bill, has passed both Houses and is now in conference. Therefore it would be superfluous to pass the Senate bill.

Mr. CALL. I understand that there is some difficulty in getting the House bill which has passed the Senate considered by the conference and reported to the two Houses. I have no particular interest in the bill, but I am informed that General Pleasonton is in a condition of extreme want and suffering. He has appealed to me through his friends repeatedly, and said he had appealed to other Senators to allow the bill to be considered. It seems to be impossible to obtain a conference re-

port upon the House bill. It is for that reason, this bill standing upon the Calendar, that I have asked that it be considered by the Senate. I do not know what action the Senate can take in regard to the House bill unless it should instruct its conferees to report to the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CAMERON] is chairman of the managers at the conference on the part of the Senate.

Mr. CAMERON. I will state that I have been endeavoring for some time to get a meeting of the Senate conferees with the conferees on the part of the House, but up to this time I have been unable to do so. As the Senate passed the bill, it retired General Pleasonton as major, while the House retired him as colonel. The Senate in all cases in putting officers upon the retired-list has declared that they should be retired with the rank which they held at the time of their resignation. General Pleasonton's friends insist upon it that he shall be retired with a higher rank. That is the difference between the two Houses. As soon as a meeting of the conferees can be brought about, I have no doubt the matter will be adjusted. Up to this time we have been unable to agree.

Mr. CALL. I suppose nothing further can be done now; but I desire to bring the matter to the attention of the chairman of the Senate conferees with the hope that there may be a report made. The bill should receive final consideration at the hands of Congress.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senate bill will be restored to its place on the Calendar.

ANDREW J. SMITH.

Mr. CULLOM. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] yields to me to call up the bill (H. R. 2579) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Andrew J. Smith, late colonel of the Seventh United States Cavalry and a major-general of volunteers.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Military Affairs with an amendment, in line 9, before the words "in the Army of the United States," to strike out "brigadier-general" and insert "colonel of cavalry;" so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the laws regulating appointments in the Army be, and they are hereby, suspended, and suspended only for the purposes of this act; and the President is hereby authorized to nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint Andrew J. Smith, late colonel of the Seventh United States Cavalry and a major-general of volunteers, a colonel of cavalry in the Army of the United States, and thereupon to place him, the said Andrew J. Smith, upon the retired-list of the Army, with the rank and grade of colonel, without regard and in addition to the number now authorized by law of said retired-list.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAMPTON. I wanted to have the House bill substituted for the Senate bill.

Mr. CULLOM. It is.

Mr. HAMPTON. I see the Senator from Illinois called up the House bill. It is all right.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

S. T. MARSHALL.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] kindly yields to me that I may ask the Senate to take up the bill (H. R. 2196) for the relief of S. T. Marshall. It is a bill relating to a constituent of mine, and I believe there will be no objection to it.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to pay $6,598.49 to S. T. Marshall, of Keokuk, Iowa, in full of all claim or demand as assignee of G. M. Marshall, in a contract made in 1850, to supply and furnish beef cattle to General Estill, purchasing and disbursing agent of the United States for the commission sent to California, in 1850, to make treaties with the Indians.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CONDEMNED CANNON AND SMALL-ARMS.

Mr. CAMERON. I ask the Senate to consider at this time the bill (S. 3612) donating condemned cannon and small-arms to Naval Post No. 400, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Pennsylvania. I will state that this bill was read on a former occasion, but was objected to by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], who I understand now withdraws his objection.

Mr. CULLOM. I wish to state that I was under a misapprehension when the bill was formerly read. I desire to withdraw any objection to its passage.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

PREVENTION OF YELLOW FEVER.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask the Senate to proceed at this time to the consideration of the joint resolution 113, reported by me yesterday from the Committee on Epidemic Diseases. It is important, if the joint resolution is to pass at all, that it should be passed at once.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S. R. 113) concerning the conference to be held in Washington, December next, to consider the best means of preventing the introduction of yellow fever and other epidemic diseases into this country.

Mr. CALL. I offer as an amendment to that joint resolution the joint resolution which was adversely reported by the Committee on Epidemic Diseases; and I ask that it be read.

Mr. HARRIS. The joint resolution is on the Calendar of itself. I think it is subject to a question of order, and I make it. It is a pending measure upon the Calendar.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair understood the Senator from Florida to desire to offer as an amendment the joint resolution adversely reported.

Mr. HARRIS. So I understand, but it is offering a measure pending on the Calendar as an amendment to another measure.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair did not so understand the Senator from Florida. The Chair understands the Senator from Florida to offer as an amendment the substance of the joint resolution adversely reported. It will be read as an amendment to the pending joint resolution. The Chair understands the Senator from Florida to move to strike out and insert?

Mr. CALL. I do.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Tennessee if the consideration of the joint resolution is likely to lead to discussion?

Mr. HARRIS. That depends altogether on the Senator from Florida, I must answer the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I was assigned the floor by the President of the Senate, and yielded for matters which I understood would require no discussion and about which there was no difference of opinion. I wish to have a bill taken up for discussion.

Mr. HARRIS. I was not aware of the fact that the Senator from Massachusetts had the floor in respect to some measure of his or I should have asked his courtesy to allow me to call up the joint resolution. If the joint resolution is to pass at all, in my opinion it is a matter of some importance that it should be passed at once so as to go to the other House. I have no desire to say a word except to have the joint resolution read, but if the Senator from Florida by proposing to debate it shall defeat its passage, I shall have done my duty in asking the Senate to consider it. Of course, I shall not trespass upon the courtesy of the Senator from Massachusetts beyond the time that his patience will allow me to do so, but will abandon my request at any moment the Senator may suggest.

Mr. HOAR. Very well.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is moved to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That the President of the United States call upon the Academy of Sciences to convene in the city of Washington at as early a day as practicable, and that the President shall select and request the attendance of such persons of the different schools of medicine and of such others of attainments in science and natural research who shall be distinguished for learning and eminent attainments to take evidence, examine into, and report upon all methods that shall be submitted to them for the cure, prevention, and suppression of yellow fever and other contagious or infectious disease.

SEC. 2. That the President is authorized to invite the attendance of men eminent for learning and attainments in science and natural research from foreign countries and to order a reasonable per diem compensation to them and mileage from and to the homes of all persons who shall be requested to attend and shall attend such convention, including the members of the Academy of Sciences, and the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, is hereby appropriated to pay the expenses of such convention.

SEC. 3. That the President shall appoint the time of the meeting of such convention and the length of time which it shall continue, and may adjourn it or extend the time of its continuance.

SEC. 4. That the money herein appropriated shall be paid upon the order of the President of the United States or as shall be directed by him.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I do not wish to interfere with the Senator from Massachusetts in the bill he wishes to bring up for consideration, but it is I think quite obvious that this is a subject of considerable importance. I am of the opinion that the joint resolution which was adversely reported contains all that is meritorious in the measure of the committee and much that is not contained in that measure, but is important for the protection of the people against this plague. The joint resolution of the committee is impotent of good and is virtually a suppression of all scientific and practical inquiry by experimental methods. It proposes that a number of persons of greater or less sanitary knowledge and opinions shall convene at their own expense and make public their several preconceived opinions already made public in the newspapers and public journals, and like the former commission adjourn.

Why the Committee on Epidemic Diseases should desire to exclude from the consideration of this subject the ablest intellect that can be found in the country, whether it is or is not upon the boards of health of the different States, or whether it is or is not in the military or naval

service, is a proposition that I think they can not vindicate. In the presence of a plague of such very great danger to the whole country as is threatened by this disease, certainly there can be no excuse with intelligent men for ignoring the best capacity that may be found to investigate and consider the subject, nor for confining the selection of this capacity for investigation to the boards of health of the several States.

That is the whole distinction. The amendment that I offer authorizes the President to convene any persons in the United States, whether they are upon boards of health or not upon boards of health, whether they are in the military or naval service or not in the military or naval service, whether in the United States or out of the United States, whose researches and reputation entitle them to consideration, to consider this subject. It provides the only method by which it can be done, the means for compensating them for their service, and providing for their coming to and their going from the place of deliberation.

That is the whole question, and upon that question I wish to have a vote of the Senate. The Committee on Epidemic Diseases say let us take the men not selected for this purpose but who chance to be members of the State boards of health, conspicuous, some of them for eminent ability, others for executive ability, and others perhaps without any special fitness for the investigation. They are not to be selected by the medical profession nor by any scientific body for this most important of all purposes, the consideration and suggestion of plans and methods of investigation and research of the nature and the remedies which have been or may be developed for the prevention and cure of this terrible plague. The committee propose to take whoever may chance to be put upon those boards. It does not provide them with transportation or compensation, but leaves them to their own private resources altogether. It makes no compensation to them for their expenses or for the time occupied in considering a subject which is of importance, and of the greatest importance, not only to the lives and happiness of our people, but also of very great pecuniary importance to the whole country.

That is the whole difference, and therefore I desire a vote upon the two propositions.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I propose to consume but a single moment. The Committee on Epidemic Diseases carefully considered the joint resolution offered as an amendment by the Senator from Florida, and with absolute unanimity, without a dissenting voice or a dissenting opinion, directed me to report as an original measure the joint resolution now before the Senate for consideration, and to report the joint resolution of the Senator from Florida adversely.

I do not know where the Senator from Florida would look for information upon this subject other than the members of those organizations who deal exclusively with sanitary work, and the study of whose lives has been devoted to sanitation. The various boards of health of all the States propose to select from their respective bodies the best sanitarians and send them here for the purpose of conferring and considering the causes and the best methods of prevention of the epidemics referred to in the joint resolution.

The absolute unanimity of the committee in favor of the joint resolution reported by me and against the joint resolution offered as an amendment by the Senator from Florida, fully justifies me, and as I think justifies the Senate, in voting down the amendment and passing the joint resolution as reported by the committee.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I expected that would be about the kind of argument which would be used—that is, the unanimity of the committee, not the reasons for that unanimity. Now, what is the proposition the Senator from Tennessee makes? That you can look nowhere for knowledge upon these subjects except to the boards of health of the respective States, the lives of whose members have been devoted to sanitary knowledge. What authority has he for that statement? How does he know that the members of the boards of health who will be selected will be persons who have devoted their lives to that purpose? There is no reasonable probability that this is true. There may be eminent men here and eminent men there, but the fact that they are selected as a board of health will be no evidence upon that point.

Then there are no means provided for these people to pay their expenses while considering this subject, and the time they can give to this work will be limited by their personal means. There are no means provided for their coming or going, and no means for pursuing any investigations or experiments. Why shall we assume that outside of the boards of health, who doubtless contain many men of much merit, there is not the most conspicuous ability all through the country which could be made available to consider this subject? Why should we not consider that the eminent scientific men of foreign countries who have been appointed upon commissions by their respective governments and sent where this disease is to be found, as well as other diseases, to investigate the processes of cure and prevention—why shall we say here that they would not be important factors in the consideration of this subject? The joint resolution of the committee will prevent investigations and scientific experiments. It loses the opportunity of using the favorable moment when public attention is awakened to the importance of the subject, and postpones and ignores the processes of intelligent thought, examination, and experiment, which alone can possibly lead to discovery of the secrets of nature, until a new holocaust of human life shall be caused by our own ignorance and neglect.

Mr. President, that is the whole subject. I know the Senate will follow the committee, as usual; but I wished to present the two propositions in contrast, the unanimity of the committee without reason, without a single fact upon which they can base a reasonable conclusion, really suppressing inquiry and refusing to recognize eminent medical and scientific knowledge, and the proposition embracing the whole scientific and medical knowledge of the country and of the world, to be convened in a representative form and in limited numbers here for the consideration of this subject and the formulation of plans of inquiry, observation, and experiment. First, the Academy of Sciences, which comprises men not only devoted to one science, but to all methods of scientific natural result; then the members of the boards of health, represented and selected by the different committees or boards of health, or the President, and then men conspicuous throughout the world for the consideration of the cure or prevention of a plague that for one hundred years has desolated the countries of Central America, the United States, and the West Indies, and which threatens now to prevail throughout the whole country in all of its great cities.

It is a subject of the greatest importance, and it is worth the expenditure of a hundred thousand dollars to dignify the investigation and make it effective and useful. It is a narrow-minded idea on our part that refuses to avail ourselves of the conspicuous ability which is to be found in other countries as well as our own for the investigation of this subject.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL].

The amendment was rejected.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

WIDOW OF CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE.

Mr. HOAR. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 3621) for the payment to the widow of the late Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite the balance of a year's salary, which was reported yesterday by the Judiciary Committee.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. I thought perhaps the Senator from Arkansas would permit me, as I have charge of the bill, according to what I suppose is the usual custom, to make a remark in its favor, if there is no objection.

Mr. BERRY. Certainly; I give way to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. HOAR. I wish merely to repeat what has been said before, that the needs of the family of the late Chief-Justice are well known. He had, like Professor Agassiz, never found time to make money when he was engaged in a higher public service.

It has been said that there is no precedent for this legislation. I understand that the case of every member of the House of Representatives and every member of the Senate who has died in office, for a great while, is a precedent for this legislation. It is the universal practice to give to the family of a deceased Senator or Representative his salary for the current year.

It is true that there are some distinctions between the office of Chief-Justice of the United States and that of a Senator or Member of Congress, but all the distinctions are such as make the argument much stronger, in my judgment, in the case of the jurist than in the case of the legislator, because the life of the judge the whole year, whether his court is in session or not, is necessarily devoted to the public service to the exclusion of all other methods of making money, and his calculations must have been made, provision for the support of his family must have been anticipated, planned for, with reference to the receipt of his salary and to the receipt of nothing else from any money-making employment.

It is notorious that Senators and Members of Congress are not only permitted by law, but conceive themselves permitted by practice and by public sentiment, to devote large portions of the year to the practice of their profession or business, whatever it may be. If Chief-Justice Waite himself had died in the Senate his family would have received this appropriation without question, although it would undoubtedly have been true of that eminent jurist and magistrate that he would have been in the receipt of large sums for professional services rendered during the year when Congress was not actually in session; or, as in the case of many eminent lawyers of both Houses of Congress, it would have been true that he would have been rendering service in the Supreme Court of the United States for compensation even while the legislative body of which he was a member was in session.

I therefore confidently affirm that the precedent which we are in the habit of applying to our own associates applies with double force to the case of a Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. HAWLEY. May I add a single word to that? It seems to me

also that the established pension to the widows of the Presidents may be considered as in some degree a precedent.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. President, under the law the Chief-Justice of the United States was entitled to receive and did receive $10,500 per annum. Every dollar that was due the late Chief-Justice at the time of his death was either paid to him or to his widow. The Government is not indebted to the Chief-Justice or his widow either legally, equitably, or morally, one dollar. This is a proposition to give out of the Treasury of the United States something over $8,000 simply as a donation or gift. It is not pretended that the Chief-Justice rendered any services for which he was not paid according to the contract and according to the law. If it be right, as the Senator from Massachusetts insists, to pay the widow of a Senator or Member or a Chief-Justice, and I place them all on the same ground, then the Senator from Massachusetts ought to have the courage to bring in a bill and make it the law of the land in advance to say that a member of Congress shall have $5,000 per annum, and in case of his death that his widow shall receive $5,000 more.

But it is not the law yet; and when a member of Congress or a Senator dies it is sought to give them aid by putting it on an appropriation bill or something of that character, so that the world may not know what is being done. Gentlemen now seek to extend that practice to the widow of the Chief-Justice of the United States. If it be right to do that, why not make it in the law so that the people of the country may understand that when a man is elected to Congress or appointed Chief-Justice this is part and parcel of the contract.

The Senator from Massachusetts seeks to appeal to our sympathies by saying that the condition of the family is well known. Chief-Justice Waite drew a salary of $10,500 for twelve or fourteen years; I do not remember the time. If he was not able to save anything from that salary for his family, then I assert here upon the floor of this Senate he must have lived in a very extravagant way. I assert when it is said again and again that a family can not live respectably upon the sum of $10,500 and save anything in Washington, that it is not true. If the Chief-Justice was economical he ought to have saved a large amount for his family. Therefore the appeal for sympathy has no place here inasmuch as this is a gift pure and simple. There are 10,000, ay, 100,000 widows throughout this land whose husbands' salaries over and above expenses did not amount to $500 that would appeal to my sympathies ten times more strongly than the widow of one who received a salary of $10,500 a year.

These are the objections that I have to this bill. The same objections, I admit, apply to the widow of a Senator or Member. There is no law for either. It is a gift, pure and simple, and it is laying down a precedent—and each precedent is used to put some additional person on that list—it is laying down a precedent to build up here in the city of Washington an aristocratic class, those who live off the toil and labor of the laboring classes throughout this country. It is a gift pure and simple of eight thousand and odd dollars. It might as well be $50,000. There is no reason for saying one sum above another.

I am opposed to it upon principle. I would oppose it in the case of the President's widow, in the case of the widows of Senators and Members. I am opposed to giving it to the widow of the Chief-Justice of the United States. It is easy to be generous with money that does not belong to us. By what authority, by what right do you make donations and select out one person and say this money shall be given to this person, who has no claim, legal, equitable, or otherwise. It is upon this principle that I think the Senate ought not to pass this bill, and if precedents have been made we ought not to make another precedent which will be used hereafter to extend to the widow of every judge of a United States court. If it is given to the widow of the Chief-Justice, there can be no reason why it should not be given to the others.

I hope the bill will not pass.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I propose to vote for this bill, and I desire to say that in my judgment not a single proposition of the Senator from Arkansas can be sustained as a matter of reason and argument.

What are those propositions? They are often made here, and this is a question of important public policy. I am not willing to give money out of the Treasury without consideration. If there be no important and wise public policy which demands that compensation should be made to the widow of a Senator or Member of Congress, some allowance, if there is no public policy that requires that retired officers should receive pay, if the interests of the people do not demand that the widows of Presidents shall receive some consideration, I think that there is as much public virtue on my part and those who think with me in sustaining them as there is on the part of the Senator from Arkansas in refusing to do so.

But what are these propositions that the Senator makes? Nothing more than that Congress has no right to do what? To value the services of a public servant after his death, that it should forget to consider that George Washington or Thomas Jefferson or some other great patriot who has given his life to the people rendered services that in a money value are beyond amount. How unreasonable and absurd such a proposition! Why can you not value the services of Chief-Justice Waite to-day and say they were worth more than the sum that the law required to be paid him? And then, how unreasonable it is that it is so often urged here just like the report of the Committee on Epidemic Diseases—how unreasonable to say that there can be no consideration given to eminent public virtue.

How will you conduct a government if you say there can be no reward to a man for surpassing his fellows in devotion to the public interest, in sacrificing himself and his personal interest for them? Why, Mr. President, you can have no government, you must have a degraded people and institutions that ignore merit and public virtue if you act on such a notion.

Mr. BERRY. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. CALL. Certainly.

Mr. BERRY. I suppose the Senator proceeds upon the theory that these largesses are given only for great public merit, and then he would say that it is a proper thing for the Congress of the United States to resolve that we will give to the widows of the most deserving the money of the people; and then resolve that we and the Chief-Justice are the most deserving. That is the theory upon which he goes; that is, that whomsoever a majority of the members of Congress may think deserving they may give any amount of money they see proper out of the Treasury of the United States, and it is proper for them to say that they themselves are the most deserving persons; hence we will give our widows $5,000.

Mr. CALL. I do not understand that the Chief-Justice was a member of Congress.

Mr. BERRY. The Senator had spoken of members of Congress to-day, and referred to them specially.

Mr. CALL. Neither do I understand that the widow of a man who was a member of Congress is a member of Congress either, nor do I understand that the widow of a President is a member of Congress, but that proposition of the Senator is just as wide of the mark and unreasonable as the other.

Here is the simple question: Has the Congress of the United States the right to consider what was the moneyed value of the services of Chief-Justice Waite now that he is dead; and if they had the right before, have they not now?

Does the fact that a law has been passed fixing a particular amount of money for a particular service forbid Congress to consider the propriety of an increase or decrease of the amount? If the facts justify it, it should be done, and who will say that a Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, a co-ordinate department of this Government, intrusted with the consideration of the great public questions upon which the happiness and welfare of the people depend, should not be allowed to live in a degree of dignity which will enable him to receive respectably the people of the United States who come here expecting to receive attention and consideration from him, or that he shall live like a beggar or a pauper, turning from his door the people who have honored him with public position.

Mr. President, I do not believe that the interests of public virtue, of free government, demand that the servants of the people shall be humiliated in the presence of themselves. Therefore I have upon all proper occasions when the question arose as to a faithful public servant who had given his life in the honest and meritorious performance of his duty and had left those behind him unprovided for—I, as a representative of the people, believing that I sympathize with them and represent them fully, and never having found in my public life in a single public meeting an unwillingnes on the part of the people to respond to that sentiment, I am willing and always shall be willing to make a reasonable and moderate provision for those they have left behind them for our care and consideration by our public servants who had meritoriously performed their duty.

Mr. COKE. Mr. President, being a member of the Judiciary Committee, from which this bill was reported, I rise to say that I opposed it in the committee and oppose its passage here. I believe in equality before the law of all the people of these United States. I believe one good respectable widow woman is exactly the same before the law as another is. There are hundreds of thousands of good widow-women in the United States as much entitled in law, in equity, and of right to a donation from the Congress of the United States as the estimable lady for whose relief this bill is pending before the Senate. Why shall we select one and ignore others? Chief-Justice Waite was paid all he expected to receive during his lifetime; and that which was due him of his salary, if it has not been paid, will be paid to his widow. There is nothing in the law, there is nothing in the equity of the case, there is nothing in the right and propriety of it, which separates this lady from hundreds of thousands of good respectable and needy women in the United States equally meritorious. Why shall they be ignored and she receive a donation?

Mr. President, I have uniformly voted against legislation of this character since I have been here and I always will. I am opposed to privilege and to classes among our people. I stand for equality before the law for all our people, and I stand here to oppose any donation to any individual to be selected from the mass of our people. They are meritorious alike. No man and no woman has a right to demand one thing before the law that all others have not an equal right to demand and to receive. The argument upon which the Senator from Florida would justify this bill will build up an aristocracy in this country to live upon the labors of the working people of the country.

It is all very well to talk about being liberal with other people's money. The money in the Treasury of the United States was placed there for the purpose of carrying on this Government, and it is no part of the administration of the Government for the Congress of the United States to take this treasure and give it away to selected objects and selected persons.

I submit, Mr. President, that the bill is of a character that should not pass, should not become a law. I have never supported one like it, and I never will.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Texas inform the Senate whether there is not as much constitutional authority for this proposition as for supplying the people of Texas with seeds, which he advocated, and which was passed on his recommendation a year or two ago?

Mr. COKE. The Senator from Massachusetts will be answered with a great deal of pleasure. Whether constitutional or not, the Agricultural Department has for more than a quarter of a century been established as one of the executive branches of this Government. As a part of the duty of that Department about $100,000 of appropriations, or perhaps more, have annually been expended for a number of years for seed for general distribution among the people. Now, if it is constitutional to appropriate money to buy seed for general distribution, is it not equally constitutional to appropriate money to buy seed for particular distribution where a particular reason exists for the particular distribution?

I do not defend the creation of the Agricultural Department. I believe that there was no warrant in the Constitution for it when it was created; but it having been ingrafted upon our governmental system, it being an existing and a subsisting fact, what is done by that Department in the way of acquiring and distributing seed, I do submit to the Senator from Massachusetts, is an ample justification and precedent for what was attempted to be done by the passage of the Texas seed bill.

I will add that I did not introduce the Texas seed bill. It was a House bill, passed there without a division, which came to the Senate in the usual way. I advocated its passage by the Senate in exactly the same constitutional views that sustains the votes cast every year in both Houses of Congress for the agricultural appropriation bill.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, this bill appeals to my sympathies. I knew Chief-Justice Waite, and esteemed him as a man and as a great magistrate. I think his services as Chief-Justice of the United States, though possibly not so brilliant as those of some of his predecessors, were of that solid and useful character which conferred great benefit upon this country. He held the highest place to which a man can aspire who belongs to the profession of which I am an humble member. There is nothing which I could do or say to honor his memory, to testify to his great worth, which I would not do if I had the power to do it; but I believe that this bill, though appealing to our sensibilities, is not only a very dangerous precedent for us to follow but it is without warrant in the Constitution.

I understand the appropriating power to be defined and limited and circumscribed exactly in the Constitution with the taxing power. When I look at that instrument I find that Congress has power to lay and collect taxes to carry on the Government, to pay the debts, and provide for the general welfare of the people of the United States. I believe, contrary to the opinion of some of my friends upon this side of the Chamber, that the power to tax and the power to appropriate are not confined simply to those purposes necessary to carry on the Government. I believe we have a broader power, as I have frequently expressed on this floor, a power to appropriate money to provide for the general welfare. But I do not believe that in that general welfare is included the power to make a gift, a donation pure and simple to a single individual. I believe that we, the Congress of the United States, are not the owners of the money in the Treasury. I believe we are simply trustees, and that we are bound to dispose of that money according to the letter of attorney under which we act. I do not think that letter of attorney extends to the making of private donations to private individuals, and, however much I might be disposed from sympathy, from a respect for the memory of the great man whose widow is named in the bill, I feel constrained from a sense of duty to cast my vote against this bill, not only as being without warrant in the Constitution, but as being another precedent in a dangerous direction, which will hereafter be quoted and relied upon as an authority on the part of Congress or as a persuasion to Congress to vote money to a private person whenever Congress in its judgment, in its discretion, may think that private person is entitled to its benefactions.

Mr. CALL. I think the Senators who make the statement that they are opposed to giving money out of the Treasury as a gift should be prepared to sustain the proposition that this is a gift. What is a gift? Can any one say that when a man has rendered valuable service and money is paid to him greater than the amount the law provides, that is a gift? What pretense is there for saying it is a gift, unless it be true that you can not measure the amount fixed in the law as the consideration for the service and say you have undervalued it? Can not a private individual say, "My contract is a harsh one; the services rendered demand more?" How, then, can this proposition be made that this is a gift because Congress says the services of this man, followed by his death, deserve as a matter of valuation, of compensation, a greater sum than was paid to him? Senators who make these remarks can not state the definition of debt without themselves refuting their proposition? What is a debt? Is it not an obligation—something owed by some person for something done, some service performed? And because you have promised less than the service was worth is it less a debt if you have the honesty to say "I paid you less than the service was worth?" These Senators say it is very wrong for them to do this; they claim that "debts *ex debito justitiæ*" can not exist between the people and their servants. They insist that there is great danger to the people if they shall consent when a man has died in their service, has given his life to them, to keep his wife and children from starving, by valuing his service more highly than they would have done if he had lived. This greater valuation of a service which involves the loss of life, in their argument is a crime.

Then, again, the Senator from Mississippi says it is unconstitutional, although he reads the words "Congress may levy taxes to pay the debts of the United States." What is a debt and who are authorized to say what shall be a debt of the United States but the two Houses of Congress of the United States? Who but they, the representatives of the people, can alter the consideration to be paid for a service and make it greater or less and recognize the service as a debt or *quantum meruit?*

Why is not that a debt when the Congress of the United States say it is a debt? What is a debt? As I have said before, a debt may be one of justice, or a debt of merit, or a debt to be awarded by the legislative power of the Government in consideration of services rendered. What is a debt? Why, those persons can not make a definition of it without justifying this bill. A debt is something due for services, something due either from equity or by the terms of a promise or because of merit, a *quantum meruit*, as much as it deserves, even according to the theories of the law.

Therefore there is nothing in these propositions of the Senator from Mississippi or the Senator from Texas or the Senator from Arkansas.

As to equality, why does not the Senator decline to receive the compensation provided here of $5,000, which is far in excess of the $350 average pay of the laborers and of the people of the United States? Why talk about equality when we recognize a difference in services always?

He is not the friend of the people and of equality who is willing to degrade and humiliate those who hold high public stations of the Government into pauperism or those whom they leave behind as beggars and forcing them to live upon the public charity. There is in the conditions of life in this world something due to appearances, something to the necessities of the public service, and the true friend of the people is he who by a public policy honors the faithful public servants, rewards them with just applause, and allows them, their wives, and their children the same respectability of appearance and the same opportunities and privileges as those that belong to other people in private life filling positions of dignity and important trust and duty.

The Senators would have a pandemonium upon earth if their systems of public policy could be adopted—no rewards for merit, for public virtue, for the sacrifice of life in the performance of duty—but they would inscribe over the public service, "Let him who performs public service leave all hope behind. Virtue and faithful public service have no rewards. The interests of the people require the punishment of the faithful public servant." I fail to see any truth or force in them.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* put the question on the passage of the bill, and declared that the "ayes" appeared to prevail.

Mr. BERRY. I ask for a division.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Chair allow me to appeal to the Senator from Arkansas not to insist on his call for a division? The Senator's opinion, and that of the other gentlemen who agree with him, has been put on record by their speeches, which will go into the RECORD, and the calling of a division at this time may very possibly disclose the want of a quorum and thus prevent the continuance of the business of the Senate—the speech of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE], which we are all expecting. I hope the Senator will consider his duty as done by recording his judgment without insisting upon a division.

Mr. BERRY. I have no disposition to take any course which will show that the Senate is in such a condition that no further business can be done when there is public business here that probably is a necessity.

I did state yesterday that I thought a majority of the Senate would vote for this bill. That opinion was based upon the fact that I believe every Republican Senator will cast his vote for it from the circumstance that they invariably vote for this character of legislation, and when they are re-enforced by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] I have no doubt that a majority will vote for the bill.

Therefore, inasmuch as it is probable that a division may disclose the fact that there is not a quorum of the Senate in the city, and thereby prevent the passage of the general deficiency and other bills, I shall

withdraw the call with the hope, and almost with the certainty, that this bill can not, ought not, and will not pass the other House during the session, and therefore no great damage will be done.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Shall the bill pass?

The bill was passed.

POTEAU RIVER BRIDGE.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11107) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the Fort Smith and Choctaw Bridge Company to construct a bridge across the Poteau River, in the Choctaw Nation, near Fort Smith, Ark."

The motion was agreed to; and the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES OF ELIZA M. FERRIS.

Mr. SAWYER. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to pay to Reuben D. Smart, administrator of Eliza M. Ferris, deceased, the sum of money to which she would have been entitled by pension certificate 220860, and which was not issued until four days after her death.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

COOSA RIVER BRIDGE AT GADSDEN, ALA.

Mr. MORGAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11338) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Coosa River, at Gadsden, in the State of Alabama.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The first amendment was, in section 1, line 3, after the word "railroad," to insert "company;" in line 5, after the word "constructed," to strike out "in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary of War;" in line 10, after the word "same," to insert "*Provided*, That the Secretary of War shall approve the plans and dimensions of said bridge;" and in line 12, after the word "bridge," to insert "if approved by the Secretary of War;" so as to make the section read:

That the Anniston and Cincinnati Railroad Company, a corporation created and existing under the laws of the State of Alabama, having constructed a bridge and approaches thereto over the Coosa River, at or near Gadsden, in Etowah County, on a direct line from Anniston, in Calhoun County, to Attalla, in Etowah County, in the State of Alabama, said company is hereby authorized to keep and maintain the same: *Provided*, That the Secretary of War shall approve the plans and dimensions of said bridge. Said bridge, if approved by the Secretary of War, shall be maintained so as to provide for the passage of railway trains, and, at the option of the corporation by which it is built, may be used for the passage of wagons and vehicles of all kinds, for the transit of animals, and for foot-passengers, upon conditions to be agreed upon between said corporation and the county commissioners' court of the said county of Etowah and approved by the Secretary of War.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 2, line 21, after the word "prescribed," to insert:

And provided further, That nothing herein contained shall be held to alter or affect existing laws as to the removal of bridges obstructing the navigation of rivers when the Secretary of War shall so determine.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 4, line 1, after the word "that," to strike out, "the bridge authorized under this act shall be built and located under and subject to such regulations for the security of navigation of said river as the Secretary of War may prescribe; and to secure that object the;" in line 10, after the word "and," to strike out "until said plan and location of the bridge shall have been approved by the Secretary of War" and insert "if the Secretary of War, upon an examination of the papers to him submitted, shall require any change in the location or plans of said bridge, or its entire removal, the company shall, at its own expense, comply with such requirements;" and in line 19, after the word "bridge," to insert "by reason of said bridge being alleged to be an obstruction to the navigation of said Coosa River;" so as to make the section read:

SEC. 4. That said company shall submit to the Secretary of War for his examination and approval the design and drawings of the bridge and a map of the location, giving the topography of the banks of the river, the shore-lines at high and low water, the direction and strength of the current at all stages, and the soundings, accurately showing the bed of the stream, and if the Secretary of War, upon an examination of the papers to him submitted, shall require any change in the location or plans of said bridge, or its entire removal, the company shall, at its own expense, comply with such requirements, said bridge shall not be built; and if any change be made in the plan of said bridge such change shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of War; and if any litigation shall be had in regard to said bridge by reason of said bridge being alleged to be an obstruction to the navigation of said Coosa River, the same shall be in the circuit court of the United States in whose territorial jurisdiction said bridge or any part thereof is located.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out section 6, in the following words:

SEC. 6. That if actual construction of the bridge herein authorized shall not be commenced within one year from the passage of this act, and be completed within three years from the same date, the rights and privileges hereby granted shall cease, and this act shall be null and void.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the reports of the committees of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the following bills:

A bill (S. 307) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy;

A bill (H. R. 7547) granting the right of way to the Yankton and Missouri River Railway through the Yankton reservation in Dakota; and

A bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. MORGAN. I move that the Senate insist on its amendments, and ask for a conference with the House of Representatives thereon.

The motion was agreed to.

By unanimous consent, the President *pro tempore* was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate; and Mr. VEST, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. CULLOM were appointed.

CHIPPEWA INDIANS.

Mr. DAVIS. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 7935) for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota. This bill was considered the other day, and was then read at length.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill when last before the Senate was read at length, and the amendment reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert a substitute was amended in certain particulars. The question now is upon agreeing to the amendment of the Committee on Indian Affairs as amended.

Mr. DAWES. I believe the Senator from Minnesota desires to offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. DAVIS. I desire to offer a further amendment, which is, in section 1, line 28, after the word "effect," to insert the following proviso:

Provided further, That in any case where an allotment in severalty has heretofore been made to any Indian of land upon any of said reservations, he shall not be deprived thereof or disturbed therein, except by his own individual consent, separately and previously given, in such form and manner as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

HOMESTEAD ENTRIES.

Mr. TELLER. I ask that an order be made to print the bill (S. 3559) to amend section 2304 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to allow persons who have abandoned or relinquished their homestead entries to make another entry. The bill has not been printed, and I ask that an order may be made to print the usual number as it finally passed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. In the absence of objection it will be so ordered.

KENTUCKY RIVER BRIDGES.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (H. R. 11262) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River and its tributaries by the Richmond, Nicholasville, Irvine and Beattyville Railroad Company.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The first amendment was, in section 1, line 16, after "foot-passenger," to insert the following proviso:

Provided, That the rates of toll charged by said company shall be first approved by the Secretary of War.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, in section 3, line 12, after the word "War," to insert:

and if the Secretary of War shall at any time think any changes necessary in the plans of said bridge or bridges, or that the said bridge or bridges should be entirely removed, the said alterations or removal shall be at the expense of the company.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate insist on its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon.

The motion was agreed to.

By unanimous consent, the President *pro tempore* was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate, and Mr. VEST, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. CULLOM were appointed.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 9th instant approved and signed the following acts:

An act (S. 937) for the relief of David L. Brainard and others;

An act (S. 145) for the relief of Edward Braden and Job W. Angus;

An act (S. 1668) for the relief of A. M. Woodruff;

An act (S. 1582) for the relief of the estate of Lucien Goyaŭx;

An act (S. 320) for the relief of John D. Adams;

An act (S. 3125) restoring the right of pre-emption to Alfonso Roberts;

An act (S. 3471) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River and its tributaries by the Louisville Southern Railroad Company;

An act (S. 1101) granting a pension to Rachael A. Sinkinson;

An act (S. 1500) granting a pension to Margaret M. Miller;

An act (S. 2720) granting a pension to John B. Ross;

An act (S. 2836) granting a pension to William E. Taylor;

An act (S. 2862) granting a pension to William R. Dean;

An act (S. 2887) granting a pension to George H. Johnson;

An act (S. 1591) granting an increase of pension to Madison M. Meredith;

An act (S. 1958) granting an increase of pension to Eleanor B. Goodfellow;

An act (S. 2346) granting an increase of pension to Jenny Hart Mullany;

An act (S. 2675) granting an increase of pension to Lieut. John R. Durham;

An act (S. 2838) granting an increase of pension to Betsey A. Mower; and

An act (S. 2711) restoring Phebe McLaughlin to the pension-roll.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 9051.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. BATE. Mr. President, from December last to the present day this Congress has been engaged in an effort to meet the demand of the the people for the equalization, reform, and revision of taxation. For the last twenty years, from 1868 to 1888, that demand has been voiced in the platforms of the Democratic party at each Presidential election, and more than once found echo in the platforms, State and national, of the Republican party.

The present Democratic House of Representatives, recognizing its constitutional obligation to originate measures of taxation, has discharged its duty by sending to the Senate, for its concurrence, a bill which in its general scope partially complies with the demands and expectations of the people, with the pledges of the party, and with the bold, manly, and emphatic recommendations of the President in his official communications to the Congress and the country.

If possible to more emphasize the earnestness of its purpose to fulfill its promise of tariff reform in the line of reduction of taxation, the Democratic convention at St. Louis in June last, with a unanimity and enthusiasm unparalleled in American politics, has made Mr. Cleveland its nominee for re-election and Judge Thurman for the Vice-Presidency on a platform which admits of no equivocation and of no misunderstanding. The exigency of party and the desperate fortunes of partisans may misrepresent them, the Democratic party, and its platform as "free trade" and as seeking to compass the injury of American labor, but its platform language and its acts can not be misunderstood nor its honest purpose to reform taxation denied in the face of recent legislation by a Democratic House of Representatives, as evidenced by the "Mills bill" and the mode of its passing the House.

This bill, a Democratic measure, in its scope and terms is antagonistic to "free trade." When we consider that the Democratic party, by its every utterance in convention platforms, in speeches by its representative men, in measures presented to Congress and votes thereon, advocates, along with its measure of tariff reduction as its party policy, the raising of revenue through a tariff as the chief source of necessary national income, the charge against it of "free trade" becomes absurd. Indeed, it refutes itself when we recall the necessities of large revenues demanded by the interest on the public debt, the payment of pensions, the improvement of rivers and harbors, the erection of Government buildings throughout the country, the construction of a navy, the fortifications for the seaboard defense, and the necessary current expenses of the Government, increasing yearly with the growth of population and the expanse of country.

These all united, demand an amount of revenue which, when levied upon customs, will afford the incidental protection needed by the most enlarged and extended system of domestic manufactories, while they successfully destroy the force in any accusation of "free trade." The existing tariff is 47.2 per cent. on the $100. The Mills bill reduces it to 42 per cent., making a reduction of only about 5 per cent. Does this look like "free trade?" The census of 1880 shows that the average labor cost of manufactured articles was 18 per cent.; the average duty under existing tariff law is 47 per cent. Thus a protecting bounty of 29 per cent. was secured, not to labor, but to capital, and was a tax upon the whole people, laborers included, of 29 per cent. Of this the Mills bill takes off only 9 per cent. and leaves 20 per cent. still to capital. This is called free trade, and its lifting of the burden of taxation is attempted to be held up to labor as hostile to the interest of the workingman.

OBSTRUCTION TO REFORM BY REPUBLICANS.

On the other hand, the Republican party, notwithstanding its repeated pledges to reduce taxation—pledges, not flippantly uttered in the idle phrase of a heated political contest, when playing for party advantage, but in solemn utterances in party platforms, State and national; pledges, promulged in Executive messages, and in discussions of them by those whose recognition as party leaders was undisputed; pledges, by official reports of commissions, gravely made in response to demands of legislative enactments, and by commissions created for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting what was best to be done for the country in regard to this tariff question—notwithstanding these party pledges, expressed and implied, we find in this Senate Chamber to-day, after a delay in committee of two months and a half, obstacles thrown in the path of its progress by that which its authors call "a substitute," and, as was recently shown in the other end of this Capitol, a party seemingly organized to defeat that necessary revenue reform to which all parties stand committed. And what is that substitute but an obstruction aiming to compass the defeat of the will of the people in this regard and override and defy the oft-repeated pledges for reduction of the existing tariff?

Let us see how this comes about.

With all its professions, promises, and platforms, the Republican party, while professing to recommend and favor a reduction of the surplus and a reformation of the tariff, has obstructed nearly every movement in that direction. All of its distinguished leaders, Secretaries of the Treasury, and recent Presidents have, in speeches and messages as individuals and officers, urged and advised a reduction of the excessively high war-tariff to a reasonable peace basis. But as a party, and within the last four years as individuals and officials, the whole position has been changed. Capital and monopoly seem to have laid their violent hands upon the organization, suppressed or reversed the opinions of individuals, and thwarted, as they relate to this question, the plans and purposes of the party.

As to the only tariff act, 1883, that has become a law in recent years—after reading the criticism, in his minority report on the pending bill, by the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK], in which he caustically gives the history of the manner in which it became a law—I forbear criticism upon it, and only say it was satisfactorily shown on day before yesterday by the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE] that in its practical operation it did not reduce, but increased the revenue.

The public utterances of such men as Senator ALLISON, who has charge of this bill, and Senator SHERMAN, as a member of the committee who opened the discussion explaining this substitute, and President Arthur by messages, insisting that a time had long since been reached when the rate of taxation made necessary by a tremendous civil war should be reduced, are matters of public record and public history. But what has been done by that great party!

Following those expressions and urgent utterances, the Forty-eighth Congress was unable to pass any measure looking to the reduction. The measure introduced and known as "Morrison's horizontal 20 per cent. reduction" was defeated by striking out the enacting clause, the motion being supported *in solido* by the Republicans, aided by a few ultra-protection Democrats.

In the Forty-ninth Congress the same Republican party, again aided by the same contingent from the Democrats, defeated a bill prepared with great care and labor, by refusing consideration of it. They shut down the throttle-valve and refused even to consider the measure.

In the Fiftieth Congress what has been done? Governed by the same spirit of obstruction and relying upon division among Democrats, in confident expectation that no bill would pass, that party, either in the House or Senate, made no move, presented no measure, either as an originial or as a substitute, until to their consternation and surprise the Mills bill passed. Then, suddenly awakened to the necessity of doing something under the pressure of the growing public sentiment in favor of a reduction of the surplus, the Senate began to assume a sudden and unwonted activity. All at once, in the dog days of August, at the very heels of the longest session in American history, the Senate, with

its imperial toga on, suddenly concluded it would meet the requirement of the last fifteen or twenty years, and save the country from a redundant treasury and exorbitant and oppressive taxation.

But it requires much time and consideration to prepare so important a measure, especially when it is a measure not intended to be passed or to become a law. Several times did grave Senators from this side of the Chamber, in their anxiety to soothe and lull the growing discontent of the country, arise in their places in the Senate and anxiously inquire "when that bill was to be forthcoming?" And as frequently were they admonished to hold themselves in patience, that in a "few days" the measure would be presented. Finally, on the 4th of October, 1888, it was presented, at a time when every man in the Senate and House who had had anything to do in its preparation or presentation could see it had been delayed and withheld until it was impossible even to give it consideration with any view to final action before the close of the pending election. Was it prepared and intended to be passed? might well be asked. It is simply a monstrous delusion, not to say fraud, held up to placate the American people, while the Republican majority encompass its defeat, as they will, it and all other bills to substantially reduce the tariff. It is but another exemplification of how not to do it. With all its seeming plausibility it is simply an obstruction to any real and actual movement in the proper direction, and is simply a misleading equivalent of striking out the enacting clause or refusing consideration.

The Mills bill has passed the House and is an honest movement made in good faith. It is before the country. Now, supposing the friends of this substitute are in earnest and in good faith pushing it for passage, it is proper to glance at it a moment and see what virtue, if any, there is in it.

DECEPTIVENESS OF THE SENATE'S SUBSTITUTE.

This Senate substitute is a superstructure of protection erected upon a frame-work of revenue reform. That much at least the President and his party has wrested from the reluctant grasp of monopoly and manufacturers by demanding tariff reform.

In this substitute revenue reform is compassed by removing the tax from tobacco, as the Mills bill does, and reducing the tax on cigars, cheroots, and cigarettes, about which neither consumer nor manufacturer cared an iota. The latter puts it on his sales, and the former pays it fractionally.

Toward the further recognition of the public demand for revenue reform, spirits used in the arts and sciences are placed on the free-list in this substitute, and thus the door is opened to such frauds as may perhaps, no doubt will to a great extent, make whisky practically free. If so, sugar and bitters reduced, an untaxed cocktail will be at the demand of every toper before he eats his "free breakfast" at which his sugar is half taxed, his tin plates, his tin kitchen utensils, his canned meat and vegetables are heavily taxed, his clothing and tablecloths, his carpets and blankets are all doubly taxed beyond the demands of the revenue.

What the tax-payer gains on his sugar he loses on his woolen goods and on the metals which enter into every calling.

What the smoker gains on "cigars, cheroots, and cigarettes" is doubly taxed on the building and fencing materials of the farmer and mechanic. What science gains by "free whisky" the manufacturers enjoy, but the duty on salt is paid by all citizens; but when salted meat is exported the tax on salt is remitted; and yet this is called protection to the American consumer. New England fish is cured with free salt, but Western pork with taxed salt (having no rebate). Raw wool, which the Mills bill admits free, is divided by the Senate bill into three classes, and taxed from the sheep's back through all the manipulations of manufacture until it turns to "shoddy," when it again is taxed in the lowest-priced goods which the extremely poor people would be glad to have cheapened by the remission of all duties.

Iron ore, which the Senate committee's substitute retains on the dutiable-list at 75 cents per ton, and, thus starting taxation in the bowels of the mine, pursues the iron through every change, as in pig-iron, steel, and all kinds of hardware, until it rusts back into earth. The plow, the loom, and the anvil—agriculture, manufactures, and mechanics—are each and all taxed from the earliest beginning to the completest product—not to support the Government, but to pamper with the hard-earned money of the people the already inordinate profits of the few.

Protection under this "substitute," it is claimed, offers to the people a free-list of $6,500,000. Tariff reform as shown in the Mills bill tenders a remission of $19,750,000 duties, a difference of $13,250,000 toward the reduction of the surplus.

The duty remitted on sugar is largely in excess of that remitted by the Mills bill, and yet this step in the direction of "tariff reform" which follows the Mills bill is deceptive and misleading. The duties paid on sugar go more directly into the Treasury and affect less the price of the article than any goods on the dutiable-list, and hence they fall lightest upon the people. The duty on raw wool, on the contrary, follows that raw material through all stages of manufacture, increasing the price of domestic manufacture at every stage and falling upon the people with an arithmetical progressive increase until it becomes a real burden to the consumer. Thus revenue reduction in one article of consumption is followed by revenue protection in another; but the article reduced is an agricultural, while that protected is a manufactured product. The hand, hostile to agriculture, which framed this substitute, has been aided by another, partial to manufactures, and both seem to have labored to make the people pay for the profit of the favored classes.

When General Harrison, the Republican nominee, announced in his letter of acceptance that the issue in this campaign was not one of schedules but of principles, between free-trade and protection, he could not have supposed that his party in the Senate would reduce the issue to one purely of schedules and abandon all matters of principle, and that the question which the people would be called upon to decide in the approaching election related solely to how much the revenue should be reduced, and not to the principle upon which future revenue should be raised. The Republicans in the House voted and argued in a manly, straightforward way for protection, but the Republican Senate bill has brought the discussion to a mere matter of schedules. The public has thus gained something since the Mills bill passed the House.

The Republican platform declares that—

We favor the entire repeal of internal tax rather than surrender any part of our protective system.

And the nominee of the party, in reiterating the same purpose, announced that the issue before the people was not one of schedules, but of principles, and that the country was to decide between "free trade" and "protection" as systems of revenue.

The Senate substitute for the Mills bill, abandoning the declaration of the Republican platform and the nominee, reduces the issue to one of schedules merely.

ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE ISSUE.

The argument of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], as a member of the committee explaining this substitute, is directed more to the changes of the administrative sections of the revenue laws than to the subject-matter of revenue reduction, his principal argument for the substitute being based upon the fact that it embodies the act passed by the Senate at an early day of this Congress for a revision of customs laws in their administrative features. It is the changes introduced by the previous act which makes the substitute, in the opinion of the Ohio Senator, the most "perfect revenue measure ever placed on the statute-books of the United States."

Differing with the Senator, I am persuaded, upon an examination of it, that the proper characterization of this substitute is a scheme to reduce revenue without reducing burdensome taxes, and that protectionists do not fear in the "Mills bill," which it seeks to supplant, a reduction in the wages of labor, but in the profits of that labor, and that it is the excess of profits that is endangered by the Mills bill.

It is not improved administration, but relief from taxation that now troubles the people. "Overvaluation" may be an evil of large proportions, but "overtaxation" is the greater and more oppressive burden which now paralyzes trade and embarrasses both the Government and the community. The Senate substitute has endeavored to "side-track" the taxation train and give a clear way to the administrative engine, while the "Mills bill," without neglecting the administrative evil, has endeavored to relieve the taxation burden from the people. It is not "novel devices" of schedules, as the Senator from Ohio says, but new methods of tax relief which the people are awaiting.

But much has been gained in the long delay of preparing this substitute. Public opinion has asserted its right to be heard, and the demand for fair play and equal rights in taxation has driven the Senate committee from the party's platform of tariff for protection to the Democratic policy of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. The issue, in Senator SHERMAN'S words, is between "a tariff for revenue only and a tariff for revenue and protection." The remarks of the Ohio Senator can be understood only as an apology for and explanation of the abandonment of a tariff for protection, and the adoption of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. The matter of schedules is not as important as this abandonment of the purely protective tariff policy. Not only is the party's declaration at Chicago, that rather than abandon any part of the protective system it would abolish the whole internal revenue, given up by the substitute, but only a very small part of the internal revenue is repealed, some $24,000,000 out of the $124,000,000. In that, protection is given up as the basis and foundation of revenue. Between the Mills bill and the Senate substitute the dividing lines run entirely between schedules and rates, and the principle of protection finds but little left to stand upon and but few to do it reverence.

The tax on sugar is reduced one-half—from 82 per cent. to 41 per cent., and that on rice from 63 per cent. to 50 per cent. The principle that underlies these reductions, whatever may be said of their purpose, is to reduce revenue on articles of agriculture which enter not into manufactures and therefore do not multiply the cost of living (as the customs tax does not follow it), and which are easiest paid and of which the Government receives all that is paid by the people, while the increased duty on wool and on iron enters into manufactures and increases their cost nearly five times the amount of duty and inures to the manufacturers' profit and the people's loss. This is protection concealed under revenue reduction, a sham and a fraud, which the Senate's "substitute" dare not avow, even though it sustains the Chicago platform.

The seesaw schedule on wool—some duties going up and others com-

ing down—can not possibly be defended on any principle of protection. It can be justified only on that of revenue with incidental protection. But the Senator from Ohio is not entirely satisfied with that, but takes it, as he says, because "half a loaf is better than no bread;" in other words, as the country would not stand the bread of protection he takes the half-loaf of revenue with its incidental protection. And as there was no tin in this country to protect, the Senate committee's substitute treats tin-plate as sheet-iron, and conceals its protection under the cover of iron and again disavows the protection of tin, but hopes to encourage the manufacture of tin-plates by taxing "sheet-iron." This deceptive subterfuge will not recommend itself to the housewife, the laborer, the roofer, and the canner of agricultural products—to protect 5 per cent. of tin the substitute taxes 100 per cent. of iron; *i. e.*, all of the iron in the tin-plate.

Then, "the best revenue bill that was ever introduced into the Congress of the United States," as the Senator from Ohio designates the Senate's substitute, is founded not on the protective policy, but conceals that policy beneath the cloak of revenue reduction, and without the courage of protection convictions, yields that principle and that policy, under the guise, to the demands of the people for equal favors to all and protection to none.

The corner-stone of the Senate "substitute" for the Mills bill is correctly measured, in line and angle, in the views of the minority, by—

> The statements, arguments, and appeals of manufacturers and others, who demand that the present high rate of tariff taxation shall be maintained, and in many instances, prompted not by any revenue necessities, but alone for the purpose of increasing their own profits at the expense of sixty millions of tax-payers.

As the foundation was laid in these representations, so the superstructure was completed for the profits of the builders at the expense of the tax-payers.

The report of the Committee on Finance, which is designed to support and sustain the Senate substitute, erroneous in facts and illogical in deduction, is misleading, and confronted with the almost self-evident proposition that free raw material cheapens the cost of production and lessens the price of the article. The Republican majority of the committee, admitting the truth of this proposition, endeavors to qualify and limit its application by the substitution of "crude" for "raw materials," and by confining the material to the productions of foreign countries which can not be raised in this country; such raw material, the Republican majority admit, "should be placed on the free-list," thus making free a part of the raw material of foreign countries and taxing another part.

The Mills bill, on the other hand, enlarges the free-list with many articles of raw material without regard to the locality of production, because they are important elements in manufactures, and when lessened in cost will cheapen the product to the consumer.

There are many other inconsistencies and incongruities in the Senate committee's substitute which plainly reveal the embarrassments under which its framers labored in their effort to preserve protection from the demand of the people for tariff reform.

It is but a few days since the Senator, Mr. ALLISON, who reported this substitute, assailed on the floor of the Senate the expenditures of public money by the present Administration and alleged that there would be no addition to the surplus this year, because the expenditures were already within twenty millions of the estimated receipts. If that statement was founded in fact, how can the Senator recognize the propriety of reducing the receipts by $73,668,994.30?

In view of that statement, with what propriety do the Republican Senators in their report aver that before any tariff measure can go into effect the additions to the surplus which will accrue within the next four months will be sufficient to pay in full the outstanding 4½ per cent. bonds due in 1891, $221,000,000?

When debating an appropriation bill it is alleged that extravagance has squandered the revenue, but when reporting the tariff the very first reason assigned is that the object of the substitute is "to reduce the national revenues, which are now excessive," and will in four months be enough to retire $221,000,000 of bonds. To quote from the utterances of that Senator yesterday, "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

CONTRADICTORY EXAMPLES.

The inconsistencies of argument are not less than those of its statements. It is alleged in argument that low duties increase the revenue, and in support of that statement it is said in the minority report—

> That it was officially estimated at the time of the passage of the various acts (act July 14, 1870, and May 1 and June 6, 1872) that these changes (of duties) would result in a reduction of the revenue from customs of $57,227,500. The revenue from this source in 1869 was $176,114,904, and in 1873 it was $184,929,542, or an increase of $8,814,138, instead of a reduction of $57,227,510. * * * Similar results may be reasonably expected should the House bill become a law.

But when specific duties are urged in preference to ad valorem duties, then it is affirmed that low duties decrease the revenue; and in support of that argument it is said:

> That the value of all the articles upon which the rates of duty are changed by the bill, and which alone are affected by its provisions, imported in 1887, according to the statement furnished by the Committee on Ways and Means and printed in connection with the bill, was $249,805,796.20. Upon these articles there was imposed a duty in 1887 of $136,087,149.77, equivalent to 54.48 per cent. ad valorem. The same articles, if imported under the provisions of the proposed bill, would have paid, according to the same statement, duties amounting to $86,600,907.62, or an ad valorem rate of 34.67 per cent. The resulting deduction of 1887 would be $49,406,240.15.

Thus, reducing the duties in 1872 increased the revenue by $8,814,138 instead of reducing them $57,299,510 as had been expected. But the committee affirm that the reduction of the Mills bill will cause a reduction on the importation in 1887 of $49,406,240.15. It is not for this side of the Senate to reconcile statements so variant or conclusions so inconsistent.

The incongruities of the report are strikingly apparent throughout, but a single example need only be considered at present. The duty on horses and mules, $20 per head, is a Procrustean bed upon which a Canadian pony and Clydesdale stallion, a Mexican mustang or a broncho and an English thoroughbred are stretched side by side and adjusted and fitted to exactly the same amount of duty. It would have been a more consistant schedule to have classed horses and hay at $2 per ton, or with "acorns and dandelion root at 1½ cents per pound."

While the Mongolian race has been denied that same asylum which every other race finds in this country, the substitute of the Senate committee offers him the consolation of having his "joss-sticks or joss-lights" on the free-list. The disciples of Confucius and Brahma can not come to America, but the implements of their religion shall find free admission where the devotee is denied a resting place. "Free joss-sticks" comes from that side of the Senate which has consumed three months in discussing how to drive the Chinaman from their own free "joss-sticks" in this country.

REPUBLICAN INCONSISTENCY.

The substitute and the accompanying report, read either along or between the lines, are a recognition of the great demand for tariff reform which the people are pressing from all sections of the country upon Congress. But it is at the same time an effort to divert the current into a direction which shall save certain interests from their just contributions to the public welfare, and enable certain others to contrive to levy inordinate profits upon the public. No clamor about labor, or about home industries, or home markets, or other deceptive phrase can blind the people to the single and honest purpose of the Democratic party to adjust the tariff upon principles which shall know no favoritism, and by means of rates which shall confer no special privileges. Guarding invested capital and watching closely the interests of labor, the Democratic party will conform the tariff faithfully to the best interests of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, without permitting American labor to suffer any diminution of its just reward.

The revision of the customs laws finds in the report of the Senate's committee justification from several existing evils, namely: Excessive revenues; frauds from undervaluation; defects, anomalies and incongruities in schedules; a necessity for a proper readjustment and equalization of tariff rates, and relief and protection to home industries. These reasons, with the exception of protection, are also the foundation of tariff reform in the Mills bill. The Senator from Iowa in his speech day before yesterday made protection the chief distinguishing feature of the Senate's substitute for the Mills bill. That protection has existed for more than twenty-five years under the laws which create all the evils which the substitute seeks to remedy. For the truth of this remark I need only refer to the speech of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] as a member of the House eighteen years ago, when, on March 24, 1870, he squarely and emphatically avowed the necessity for reform of the tariff in the interest of agriculture, remarking that—

> The agricultural interest, it will be seen, is much the largest interest in its aggregate product as well as in the number of persons employed. I believe no one will claim that this large interest is directly protected. It is true that under customs laws there is a small duty upon wheat, barley, oats, and other agricultural products, but it does not afford any protection to the great wheat and grain producing regions of the country. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Wilson], in discussing this question, stated that the cost of wheat in New England is about $1.70 per bushel, while in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin the price is about 65 cents per bushel. The Canadian wheat is the only wheat that comes in competition with our own. Canada being nearer New England than the wheat-growing States more than makes up the duty in the reduced cost of transportation.
>
> What is true of wheat is equally true of other grains. Therefore the farmer has practically no protection at all, and whatever benefit he derives is from what the home market furnishes for home products. Unfortunately for the farmer, the market price of wheat is fixed by the price which the surplus will bring abroad, or the price of wheat in London or Liverpool. At that market, where the surplus is sold, and which fixes the value of the whole crop, he comes in competition with the grain produced in the Crimea, in Hungary, and in the region of the Baltic, from fields cultivated by what is known, in comparison with our own, as pauper labor.
>
> But I am told we must so legislate as to furnish a home market for all our agricultural products, and this can only be done by high tariff. Any one examining the subject will see that our agricultural products increase more rapidly than our population, so that if we do not export these products in their natural condition, we must do so by converting them into manufactured articles and export these articles. But this can not be done under a high tariff, for all nations will buy manufactured products where they are the cheapest, and the nation selling the cheapest will control the market. This rule excludes our highly-taxed manufactures made from highly-taxed materials from the markets of the world, although we have natural advantages possessed by no other nation.

The reduction of the revenue was not in 1870 so much the object which the Senator had in view, as the relief of agriculture from the baleful effects of "a high tariff." For in the same speech he assailed the duty on wool and woolens as particularly injurious to the farmer, and in illustration of this injury said:

> I will say with regard to the duty on wool and woolens that I regard it not as an intentional fraud, but as operating as though it were a fraud upon the great body of the people of the United States. I allude to the woolen tariff, a

law the effect of which has been to materially injure the sheep husbandry of this country. In a single county in the State of Iowa, between 1867 and 1869, the number of sheep was reduced from twenty-two thousand to about eighteen thousand in two years, and what is true of this county is true to a greater or less extent of other counties in Iowa, and during this time the price of wool has been constantly depreciated.

Mr. LAWRENCE. I should like the gentleman to inform me how a reduction of the duties on wool and woolen goods would inure to the advantage of the wool-grower?

Mr. ALLISON. I will tell the gentleman how, in my judgment, the wool-grower will be benefited. As the law now is the tariff upon fine wools of a character not produced in this country is 100 per cent. upon their cost. The tariff upon woolens of the same class is only about 50 per cent., so that the finer woolen goods are imported and not the coarser fabrics. Before the tariff of 1867 our manufacturers of fine goods mixed foreign fine wools with our domestic product, and were thus able to compete successfully with the foreign manufacturer of similar wools. But being prohibited from importing this class of wools, these fine goods can not now be produced in this country as cheaply as they can be imported. Consequently, mills that were formerly engaged in producing these goods have been compelled to abandon business or manufacture the coarser fabrics. If they could afford to manufacture those fine goods, they would make a market which we do not now have for our fine wools, to be mixed with other fine wools of a different character from abroad. This want of a market, as I understand it, is the reason why our fine wools now command so low a price. There is no demand for them at home, and we can not export them in competition with fine wools grown in other countries.

I know that the inconsistencies of Republican Senators are not Democratic arguments, but they are emphatic illustrations of the changes which party exigencies force upon party leaders, and will persuade the people that the Senate substitute is more a party measure than an effort to correct existing evils.

What becomes of the home-market delusion of 1870, when the duties were as high, if not higher, than now? The Senator was correct in saying: "The farmer has practically no protection at all," and "unfortunately for the farmer the market price of wheat is fixed by the price which the surplus will bring abroad, or the price of wheat in London or Liverpool." These were not free-trade arguments, but were those of protectionists in behalf of agriculture and the farmers. Why have they lost their force in 1888?

The present cry of free trade when tariff reform is mentioned was a favorite subterfuge when the Senator from Iowa was exerting his great abilities in behalf of reform. The predecessor of Mr. ALLISON in the Senate, the Hon. James W. Grimes, as far back as January 24, 1867, encountered the same outcry of free trade which Mr. ALLISON reiterates now:

Mr. President, the man who opposes the passage of this bill must expect to be slandered. The "protectionists," as they choose to call themselves, have already opened the vials of their indignant wrath upon the heads of those whose opposition they anticipated. Threats of utter political extinction are hurled against every man who, in the exercise of an independent judgment, is not prepared to impose upon his constituents the burdens which the various manufacturing combinations demand. That portion of the public press suborned to their interests is rife with charges that "the capital is thronged with free-traders, and that British gold is operating to secure American legislation for British interests." Every man is condemned in advance who would inquire before he would vote.

We know what all this means, and so far as I have the ability, I am resolved that the people shall know what it means.

It means that two or three large manufacturing interests in the country, not satisfied with the enormous profits they have realized during the last six years, are determined at whatever hazard to put more money in their pockets; and to this end they have persuaded some and coerced other manufacturing interests to unite with them in a great combination demand for what they call protection to American labor, but what some others call robbery of the American laborer and agriculturist.

It is the fashion to denounce every man who does not favor a prohibitory tariff as a free-trader. The charge is made that free-trade agents are at work to influence Congress, and that our tables are incumbered with free-trade documents. Who has seen these free-trade agents? I have yet to see the first man who was in favor of free trade, nor have I seen any man who was opposed to a revenue tariff which would incidentally protect such branches of American industry as needed the fostering aid of the Government. It is on questions of detail that we differ. We disagree as to how much money shall be taken from the pocket of Peter to support and enrich his brother Paul.

Iowa seems to have been represented on the tariff by gentlemen of every shade of opinion. When the Senator explains again, as he has promised, I hope he will reconcile his own opinions and explain why his predecessor and himself, both Republicans, are so divergent on the same question.

Time will not permit me to collect together the many inconsistencies of Republican leaders. They would fill volumes of no small size. I think I could show the Senator [Mr. HISCOCK], who has just preceded me in this debate, voting to put salt on the free-list and now sustaining the substitute with salt on the dutiable list. I could show other Senators now here voting free salt, but will confine my references to those who have just discussed this substitute.

The debate on the substitute will offer the opportunity to each Senator to explain his present position and reconcile what now appears to be a remarkable departure from previous expressions of political convictions.

SALT.

Apart from the vast utility of salt in domestic life, in preserving meat and fish both for domestic consumption and during the longest voyages, it furnishes muriatic acid and soda, a glaze for coarse pottery, improves the whiteness and clearness of glass, gives hardness to soap; in melting metals it preserves the surface from calcination; it is employed to advantage in some assays; it is used as a mordant and for improving certain colors, and enters more or less into as many of the other processes of the arts and sciences as alcohol, which the substitute relieves from tax.

Its tax was one of the causes of the first French revolution, and among the relief of that outbreak was the abolishment of the odious *gabelle* or salt tax. In England the duty was abolished in 1823. Its territorial distribution is co-extensive with the earth and the seas yield it also for the use of man. Its taxation marks the progress of despotism in ancient Rome, in France, in Russia, in Austria, and its relief from taxes measures the progress of enlightened government. The exigencies of war and the pressure of debt may excuse the burdening of this indispensable necessary of life with the increased cost of a tax, but such an imposition in time of peace and prosperity measures the extent to which privilege and favoritism oppress the people in their daily life and struggle. The Mills bill places salt on the free-list; the Senate substitute puts it on the dutiable-list. The first consults the interests of the people; the second looks only to the profits of the manufacturers.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN STATES.

The Senator from New York [Mr. HISCOCK] enters into statistical analysis to show, relatively and comparatively, the North and the South in manufactural interest. His theory seems to be that inasmuch as the South has but little investment in manufactures she has but little interest in the tariff question. I submit that this is neither a broad and liberal nor even a correct view. The interest taken by the South in manufactures is not restricted to the amount of capital which her citizens may have invested therein; with a broader and more liberal view she looks to the use of the raw materials which prosper more freely under her climate than in the colder regions of the North.

The manufacturers wherever located are dependent upon the productions of the South and West; and that is a narrow and contracted view which is confined either to the locality of manufactures or to the amount of interest invested. The exact line of demarkation drawn by the Senator to designate the North has escaped my memory, but I was forcibly impressed with the fact that in classifying the Southern States he failed to credit them with the large resources and extensive development of manufactures in Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Maryland. An estimate of resources of any kind for the Southern group of States which takes no account of these four States, is too palpably erroneous to call for reply. If I may use the expression, it is a statistical play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out.

Whatever the purpose of such restricted comparison, the effect is to belittle and dwarf the South, and then impute jealousy to her people, because they are presumed to be less prosperous than the North. I deny the proposition that the South is less prosperous than the North, except by the devastations of war and the greater devastations inflicted since by the Republican party. There is no standard or measurement for prosperity except that of money value, and even that is arrived at by statistics which are not always reliable. But by that standard it certainly comes with indifferent grace from the Senator who represents in part the great commercial metropolis, New York City, to forget the productive values of the South which flow through the channels of trade to and from that great city.

The cotton of the South, in value from thirty to fifty millions, finds its way to market through the commission houses which the Senator represents, and deposits its tolls of commission in the tills of his constituency; and to the cotton must be added the naval stores, the rice, the sugar, and the molasses, as well as the profits which her merchants leave behind them in their purchases of goods. When all these are estimated, the words of the farewell address of the father of his country will find greater significance than the Senator gives to them:

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal (not protective) laws of a common Government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry.

REDUCTION CONFINED TO FOUR HEADINGS.

According to the report of the majority there are only four headings under which the people are to enjoy relief from taxation; they are:

Sugar relief	$27,759,783.95
Free-list relief	6,428,095.56
Tobacco relief	24,371,460.98
Alcohol relief	7,000,000.00
Total	65,559,340.49

Estimating the present population at 68,000,000 the per capita relief is, from sugar, 41 cents, or $2.05 for a family of 5 persons; from free-list 6½ cents, for the family 32 cents; from alcohol 9½ cents, for the family 47½ cents. Total per capita relief, 57 cents; total family relief, $2.84½.

The smokers, chewers, and snuffers only enjoy the reduction of the tax on tobacco, but these persons are but a small part of the whole people, and they are taxed only when they voluntarily use the weed. Therefore for every dollar of relief to the chewers, smokers, and snuffers a dollar of other tax remains on the whole people. There can be no per capita relief from tobacco, because the whole people do not use tobacco. The women and children, a very large part of the men and boys, neither smoke nor chew nor snuff, yet all the people wear woolen clothes, sleep under blankets, and consume the necessaries of life which remain taxed

because the smokers and chewers and snuffers are relieved from tax. The least commendable part of the Mills bill is made the chief virtue of the substitute.

The extent of relief to the family by the substitute is $2.84½. That is the relief which an ordinary family of five persons would receive under the substitute.

The amount which the same family would contribute to the Government under the substitute can not be stated until proper tables have been prepared. But as the duties which really bear heaviest on the people have not been reduced materially below those of the existing law, the subjoined table taken from the speech of Hon. JOHN D. STEWART, of Georgia, in the House on May 2, will serve to contrast the Mills bill with the substitute in the matter of relief to a family in an investment of $501. It will be seen that the Mills bill reduces taxes $84.29 and the substitute $2.94½ for the family of five persons.

Under the present law let us see what an ordinary family on a farm has to contribute to the Government. I submit a schedule of articles mostly used by a family as an illustration, and the duty on them, and also showing the reduction proposed under the Mills bill:

	Value.	Duty.		Net saving.
		Per cent.		
One cook stove	$35.00	47=	$16.45	
By Mills bill		31=	10.85	
				$5.60
One set crockery	12.00	55=	6.60	
By Mills bill		35=	4.20	
				2.40
One set cheap glassware	4.00	56=	2.24	
By Mills bill		41=	1.64	
				.60
One set cheap cutlery	2.00	50=	1.00	
By Mills bill		35=	.70	
				.30
Two carpets, $12 and $15	27.00	47=	12.00	
By Mills bill		30=	8.00	
				4.00
Sugar	20.00	60=	12.00	
By Mills bill		50=	10.00	
				2.00
Molasses	10.00	47=	4.70	
By Mills bill		35=	3.50	
				1.20
Salt	3.00	40=	1.20	
By Mills bill		Free-list.		
				1.20
Two suits each for father and two sons, six suits, $14	84.00	54=	45.36	
By Mills bill		45=	37.80	
				7.56
Two suits each for mother and two daughters, six suits, $14	84.00	82=	68.88	
By Mills bill		40=	33.60	
				35.28
Twelve pairs shoes, $2.50 each	30.00	30=	9.00	
By Mills bill		15=	4.50	
				4.50
Six wool hats, $1 each	6.00	73=	4.38	
By Mills bill		40=	2.40	
				1.98
Six fur hats, $2.50 each	15.00	52=	7.80	
By Mills bill		40=	6.20	
				1.60
Six ladies' hats, $3 each	18.00	70=	12.60	
By Mills bill		40=	7.20	
				5.40
Six bonnets for ladies, $3 each	18.00	70=	12.60	
By Mills bill		40=	7.20	
				5.40
Farming tools, including plows, gear, handsaw, ax, draw-knife, chains, etc	$60.00	47=	$28.20	
By Mills bill		34=	13.60	
				14.60
Medicines	20.00	*48=	9.80	
By Mills bill		30=	6.00	
				3.80
Thread, needles, thimbles, scissors, etc	12.00	35=	4.20	
By Mills bill		20=	2.40	
				1.80
Four pairs blankets, $3 each	12.00	70=	8.40	
By Mills bill		40=	4.80	
				3.60
Two umbrellas, $2.50 each	5.00	40=	2.00	
By Mills bill		30=	1.50	
				.50
Cotton hosiery, undershirts, etc	8.00	45=	3.60	
By Mills bill		30=	2.40	
				1.20
Window glass	2.00	60=	1.20	
By Mills bill		43=	.86	
				.34
Starch	4.00	94=	3.70	
By Mills bill		47=	1.88	
				1.82
Rice	10.00	113=	11.30	
By Mills bill		100=	10.00	
				1.30
Total cost under present tariff	501.00		189.27	
Under Mills bill			104.98	
				84.29

*Average.

But, Mr. President, there must always follow unjust consequences and individual hardships under any system of taxation, and that policy which minimizes these hardships is sought by the Democratic party in a "tariff for revenue," while the maximum of benefits to the minimum of people is the natural and unavoidable result of protection.

Both parties, then, Mr. President, are agreed upon a tariff for the support of the Government, but the Republican party goes further and favors a tariff specially in the interest of manufactories, independent of such benefits as incidentally flow from a tariff for revenue. This, in the main, is the issue—the shibboleth by which parties will be recognized in the coming battle.

The difference seems to flow from the natural tendencies of the Democratic party to preserve equality and justice between individuals and interests, and of the Republican party to build up favorite interests out of labor and the more productive interests of the country. Despotisms, Mr. President, exercise dominion under the pretense of protection, but in a democracy the citizen exercises self-government and seeks the free exercise of his labor and the enjoyment of its proceeds without restriction of the government other than for the protection of his rights and liberty, in verification of that incisive and expressive utterance of Mr. Lincoln, that our Government was "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Tax is defined to be a levy upon property for the support of government, and is just, as it regards equality of all interests and individuals, according to their ability to pay. The existing tariff exempts the $50,000,000,000 of capital of our country from taxation while it taxes the food and raiment and medicine consumed by the poor, without exception from age, sex, color, or condition.

Whilst the British Government emerged from barbarism, property, being mostly in the hands of the aristocracy, was not taxed, and the revenues of the sovereign were derived from hereditary customs, which embraced taxes on commerce, that still retain the name of "customs," from the rude prerogatives of the crown, or tariffs from "customs," equally piratical as at Tariffa on the Mediterranean. The means for the support of government were afterwards increased by the representatives of industrial communities, who voiced, to some extent, the will of the people; and since then the aristocracy have been taxed according to their property possessions, and commerce has become free, and wealth has multiplied and become more varied and diffused, and along with it has enlarged the spirit of liberty and equality among the people.

The manufactories of the American colonies were domestic, or were operated in the domestic circles by families, and in the workshops of mechanics; and as early as 1663 the colonists opposed all "navigation acts;" and in their resistance to restrictions on commerce was first displayed the spirit of the Revolution.

NO OPPOSITION TO MANUFACTURES.

Soon after its establishment, the Government of the United States passed (in 1789) a tariff for revenue that operated for the benefit of these domestic manufactories in the families of the people, and in the workshops of the mechanics, without distinction; for whilst it raised the prices of imported goods it also incidentally advanced the prices of their domestic manufactures of which the consumers were the owners.

The manufactures which were thus intended to be incidentally protected were chiefly those of individuals, which were made by the family in the household and workshop. They were the products of the distaff, the hand-loom, the hammer, the anvil, the jack-plane, the draw-knife, and the shoe-bench, and were not those of associated and aggregated capital of corporations, trusts, and combinations. Protection under that tariff, as well as under its modifications and changes, down to 1816, was to help the individual, or the simple partnership, where the individual liability obtained, and the competition which it guarded was between the individual citizens in the house and home and the aggregated capital abroad and foreign to the land. Our present system of manufactures had no existence under that tariff. Corporations with chartered privileges, relieving the individual property of its owners from liability for the debts of the concern, now the usual mode of operating, had then no existence here. The decision in the Dartmouth College case had not then found expression favoring charters and vested rights in response to the matchless argument of Mr. Webster, inspired by excessive devotional love for his *alma mater*.

I learn from Bishop's History of Manufactures that in a list of thirty-two iron manufactories whose names were attached to a petition in 1785 there is not the name of either a company or firm, much less a corporation. The one hundred and thirty families which in 1791 constituted the population of the town of Pittsburgh, by far the largest iron manufactory then on the continent, as it is to-day, were composed of five blacksmiths, two whitesmiths, three wheelwrights, two tinners, one clock and watch maker, and thirty-seven persons manufacturing, but not a single firm or corporation. Thomas Jefferson "made nails at the rate of about a ton a month at a considerable profit," and was an inventor of many useful devices, and, if I may so say, besides *inventing* the Democratic party.

In the great trades procession in Philadelphia, which in 1789 welcomed the formation of the Government under the Constitution, there were no corporations, combinations, pools, or trusts; but individuals

and firms represented American manufactures, and their individual property was legally held liable for all their obligations. The encouragement and protection which this tariff of 1789 extended to individuals was incidental to revenue; its 7½ per cent. duty on the invoice value of bar, bolt, and pig-iron, its one-half cent per pound duty on steel, and 1 cent per pound on nails were the liberal protection which individuals received from the Congress, composed to a very large extent of the framers of the Constitution.

That kind of protection, incidental to revenues at these low rates, compared to the present, was nominal, and continued until 1816, when the doctrine of subordinating revenues to protection made its first appearance in our politics. Under the fostering care of protection the individual manufacturer has disappeared and no longer enjoys the encouragement and protection of his Government. The scales, by some legerdemain, have turned, and the individual then protected, has today become the victim of protection, and in his place the associated wealth of corporations and the greed and chicanery of combinations, pools, and trusts, with modern "corsairs" at their head, now fill the land with hardship and want, domineer over the individual, and dictate the laws of Congress and of State Legislatures.

MONOPOLY THE CHILD OF PROTECTION.

In every department of business protection has planted and cultivated these un-American institutions. The food we eat, the beverages we drink, the clothes we wear, the conveyances that transport our persons or productions—in fact, all we are or all we can hope to become, is created, controlled, doctored and manipulated by these hectoring and domineering combinations. They are both under and outside of the tariff; they are everywhere and in every kind of production and mechanism, from the nursing-bottle of the infant to the nail driven in the coffin of the dead old man. And their monopoly of the necessaries of life, with increasing power, adds to the burdens incident to humanity and are inseparable from existence.

It was the expectation of Mr. Hamilton, expressed in his celebrated report in 1791 on manufactures, that their protection and encouragement by duties and imports would render monopoly impossible, but experience has refuted his conclusions and shows that monopolies have grown greater in volume and stronger in power and influence than in his day (see third volume Hamilton's Works); and the dream of Mr. Clay in 1824 was that prosperous manufactories would reduce prices and alleviate the hardships of life for the poor and the workingman and that protection would prove a barrier to monopolies. (See his speech on tariff in 1824.)

But the first century of our existence as a government is about to close with this people bound and fettered in every relation of life to hard task-masters of monopoly under its various and varying forms of combinations, pools, and trusts.

So, Mr. President, this original, our first tariff act, was thus preferred as a measure for revenue because it incidentally operated to benefit the laborer, who was both the maker and owner of these domestic manufactures; still the principle of equality was urged, not only for exercise in individual relations at home, but in our commerce with all nations.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations—

Says Washington in his farewell address—

are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest, and our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors nor preferences, consulting the natural course of things, differing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce by favoring nothing.

The incidental benefits of the tariff for revenue by raising the prices of these domestic manufactures, as all bounties will do, invited the competition of capital, which, with hired labor and machinery, has absorbed the family manufactures and those of the workshops of the laborers into its enlarged factories, until the laborers, while not ceasing to be consumers, have ceased to be the owners of their products, and their advanced prices now go to the stockholders and capitalists, who own these factories, and not as formerly to the laboring owners. And in competition with each other at home, as well as with those abroad, and for larger profits, these capitalists depress the wages of their laborers, who, for the subsistence of themselves and families, "strike" to prevent the competition among themselves that might impoverish and degrade them.

The tariff protected the laborer when he owned the goods, and it protects the capitalists now who own them and oppresses the laborer who pays the prices of the goods. The free exchange of their industries belongs to the natural equity of all legitimate industries, and it is the duty of Government to regard equally the rights of all, as it is also the duty of all to contribute according to their ability for its defense and support. Legislation, whenever a distinction has to be made, should be for the greatest good to the greatest number.

Agriculture is the foundation and support of all other industries, and, more largely than others, exercises labor in independent relations with capital, and contributes more perhaps than all others to the liberty and happiness of mankind. The values of the products of our fields are not confined to home demands, but are enlarged through the exchanges of the world, to feed and clothe its nations. It is not good policy that they should be confined, for there are no invading Tartars against whom we want to build a Chinese wall; let them find a market wherever one exists, for unless you sell you can not buy.

Should our agricultural products be exchanged abroad for money alone its increase at home would soon depreciate the value sufficiently to depress all industries and to damage all social and business relations.

Were our exchanges represented as by one of our merchants he must consider that after the exchange of our agricultural products for the cheaper goods abroad he would have to pay to our Government a tax or tariff for permission to sell them at home; hence he would convert abroad a sufficient quantity of his agricultural products into money to pay the tariff on the balance he should receive in exchange, which, after such deduction, would amount to about one-half the quantity he would have received had there been no tariff; and after paying the tariff to the Government he advances the prices of his goods to the consumer in selling then at home to the extent of the tariff, or freights, exchange, and insurance, interest upon the money invested, not failing to charge profits on all these, but places, in sales to the consumer, like profits on the amount paid as tariff, in order to compensate himself for the tax he had paid to the Government. The home manufacturer then advances the prices of his goods that pay no tariff, which advanced prices are paid by the consumers, including laborers and their families, which constitutes what, by a strange perversion, is called the "protection" of the home laborer against the foreign laborer.

The foreign laborer pays for his necessaries the reduced price paid abroad by the merchant, and only that, while the home laborer pays in addition the amount of the tariff to the merchant or to the home manufacturer; but by absorbing the domestic manufactures of our families and of the work-shops of our laborers and substituting, under the protection and by aid of class legislation, vast establishments in which work is done by iron muscles that never weary nor wear out, propelled by that wonder-worker, steam, the sales of the home manufactures have increased until they largely exceed those of goods imported, as they do in value the revenue of the Government; and on these sales of manufactured goods untold millions are realized by the favored few, and the millions of toilers and their families as consumers are being oppressed and becoming poorer and poorer.

By what mode of operation are these wonderful results brought about? Has the dream of the alchemist become a reality and the hidden secret of the "philosopher's stone" been discovered, by which the baser metals are turned to gold? Mr. President, does not the secret consist in that unequal, invidious class legislation, with its devious methods of enforcement known as the "war tariff?"

Let us glance for a moment at some of the inside workings of this scheme, miscalled protection, operating with the approval of national legislation, and see how the magic spell of this modern American necromancy turns all it touches into gold.

EFFECT OF THE TARIFF ON RAILROADS.

The Bessemer steel combination in 1866 effected a consolidation of all the American patents for the manufacture of this kind of steel, and then, under the protective tariff, was free to occupy and hold the country, its people, and its railroads, subject to its greed and powerless to escape from its exactions. In that year there was produced by the American steel combination 1,500,000 tons. The 140,000 miles of railroads in the United States have been made, by the existing protective tariff, helplessly subject to this combination. We built in 1887 from 10,000 to 12,000 miles of railroads, every mile of which required 90 tons of steel rail, which cost not less than $15 per ton more from that combination than they could have been purchased for in England. Here was a tax of $13,500,000 exacted of new railroads. The life of a rail is ten years, and the entire system requires renewal within that time. The additional cost of $1,350 per mile, exacted by this combination, entails, for 140,000 miles, a charge of $18,900,000. In other words, the existing protective tariff would impose upon the building and repairing of railroads a charge of $32,400,000 more than the same materials could be bought under a freer and less restrictive duty.

Again, sixty-odd companies are combined in the production of salt, whose exactions are aided and promoted by a protective duty of 39.3 per cent.

Again, the refiners' trust in the sugar trade is encouraged and protected by a duty of 82.04 per cent., and the same system of protection of exaction and imposition follows and adheres to almost every article necessary to life and comfort. Of these trusts Mr. Blaine says:

There is not one among them all that derives its being, owes its organization, or came up under the patronage of the National Government.

Strictly and exactly speaking this remark may be true, and yet nearly every one of these trusts is promoted and made profitable by the customs duty which, embarrassing the sale of the imported article, gives to the domestic article the control of the home market. In a prominent influential daily paper (the New York World of September

11, 1888) the following list of "tariff-fostered trusts" is given, with the per cent. of protection and the labor cost per $100:

Title.	Protection.	Labor.
	Per cent.	*Per* $100.
Tin trust	32	$21
General iron trust	45	25
Bessemer-steel trust	84	9
Soap trust	26	3
Linseed-oil trust	54	5
Envelope trust	25	11
Cordage trust	25	12
Paper-bag trust	35	15
Salt trust	50	25
Crockery trust	56	40
General steel trust	45	29
Plow-steel trust	45	29
Nail trust	45	22
Copper trust	24	22
Zinc trust	52	25
Lead trust	74	65
Glass trust	55	45
Rubber-shoe trust	25	24

And may be added cotton bagging and ties, which are now heavily oppressing the planter, and numerous others.

The President has well said of the Democratic party:

We believe that these trusts are the natural offspring of a market artificially restricted; that an inordinately high tariff, besides furnishing the temptation for their existence, enlarges the limits within which they may operate against the people and thus increase the extent of their power for wrong-doing. With an unutterable hatred of all such schemes we count the checking of their baleful operations among the good results produced by revenue reform.

And yet when the Democratic party seeks to relieve the people from these exactions by repealing and reducing duties which produce a revenue no longer needed in its present volume, that simple and necessary proposition crystallizes both parties around threads of ancient politics and turns back our approaching Presidential election to the questions which divided the country more than a half century ago when corporations, trusts, combinations, and pools were unknown, or certainly not known to such uses as they are now prostituted; so that almost at the threshold of a new century we find our countrymen thrashing over again the old straw our fathers left behind them, but with different and entirely new machinery.

It would be not more ridiculous, but less painful, to clothe ourselves in the old continental dress—the silk stockings, knee buckles, and buckskin shirts of our fathers—than to fetter and bind the energy, enterprise, and industry of sixty millions of their descendants in the leading-strings which helped their "infant industries" when the owners did their own work and enjoyed the profits themselves in their own simple and honest way, by which no one was oppressed—this before Whitney's gin had done its work by increasing a thousand-fold cotton culture in the South, or Arkwright's genius had multiplied the single spindle our grandmothers used as they "sat on the creepie and spun at the wheel" a single thread into the twirling millions which now sing in factories, with monopolistic hum, under the combination of machinery and pressure of steam.

These once simple threads spun and woven by our grandmothers, knew little of combined strength and served a plain and honest purpose, a stranger to political entanglements, but now its multiple has oppressive combinations, with commercial potency and political entanglements as troublesome to unravel as were those threads Penelope wrought for the shroud of Laertes while impatiently awaiting the return of Ulysses from his mysterious wanderings.

HOME MARKET AND AGRICULTURE.

The surplus domestic productions of the country over and above the consumption at home amounted in 1887 to $703,622,923, as stated in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury to this Congress. That vast value of our industries was sent abroad for a market, first, because it could not be consumed at home, and, second, because there were needed at home many articles of foreign productions.

In the exchange this country swapped, to use a homely phrase, $716,183,211 worth of its own products for $692,319,768 worth of the products of other people, and received also the difference, $23,863,443 worth of exchange. The products which composed the exports were, from agriculture, $523,073,798, or 74.41 per cent.; from manufacture, $136,735,105, or 19.45 per cent.; from mining (including mineral oil), $11,758,662, or 1.67 per cent.; from the forest, $21,126,273, or 3.01 per cent.; from fisheries, $5,155,775, or .73 per cent.; of other products, $5,173,310, or .73 per cent. (Fitzel's statistical report to Congress.)

Agriculture, which is victimized by these tariff laws, thus provided 74.41 per cent., or three-fourths, and all others 25.59 per cent. In the exports agriculture bears to manufacture the proportion of 75 to 20. In the labor of the country engaged in these two sources of production, agriculture employed, in 1880, 7,670,493 laborers, and manufacturers employed 2,732,595, in the ratio of 3 to 1. Why should the three agricultural laborers be forced to pay taxes for the one laborer in manufacture? The agricultural laborer may be unskilled, yet he guides the plow and gathers in the products which constitute 75 per cent. of the country's exports. Is he not as much entitled, and no more, to the protection and encouragement of the Government as his brother laborer in the factories of the country?

Agriculture, Mr. President, is the natural calling of man; it is the chief source of animal life; upon it depend the diversified interests of society; it turns the wheels of the factory, and propels the car of commerce; it gives strength to the "sinews of war," and potency to the wand of peace; then should it not rather be fostered than slighted by unfriendly legislation? Is not this culture of the field, the orchard, and garden the source of the bread of life on which all must live, and to which in destitution and want all turn, with the hope and faith of old Elijah when he prayed on Mount Carmel amidst the priests of Baal for the clouds to overcast and give rainfall on the dry earth to save a famishing people?

It is estimated that between one and two thousand millions of human beings, besides the domestic animals, are daily fed from the products of the soil; yet, notwithstanding the profusion and prodigality that greets us on every side in this teeming land, the soil untilled for a single year would cause the wail of woe to supplant "the song of the reaper," and the giant specter of famine to brood over every hearthstone. Then is it not suicide to visit upon this interest invidious and hurtful legislation?

What warrant exists in the Constitution, or institutions of this country, for favors to any class of its citizens which are not equally extended to all? If we listen to Washington's farewell address, heretofore quoted, equality among all the children of our common mother is, under the Constitution and teachings of our fathers, the American doctrine. In that (the principle of equality and justice) were laid by our fathers the foundation-stones of our political structure, and any system of obligation that exacts tribute from one class or one person for another class or another person to promote the individual interest of the one violates the fundamental idea of American equality, saps the foundation, and crushes the key of its supporting arch.

AGRICULTURE BUYS IMPORTS.

The agricultural products that are exported are those for which no market exists in this country, and amounted last year to seven hundred and three millions, which were sold in the markets where free trade fixes their price. On the other hand, more than 80 per cent. of products of manufactures were sold in this country with a protected market of over 47 per cent. And this 80 per cent: is five times the amount in value of revenue collected at the customs, and is a bounty that comes from the consumer and goes to the manufacturer who makes and sells the goods consumed in this country; for they sell their goods to the consumer at the same price as if they had paid the tariff tax. Thus the farmer is compelled to sell under free trade, but he must buy under protection.

The pauper labor of Europe and Asia fixes the price of the products of agriculture by competition in the open markets of the world, but the protected owners of factories in the United States fix the prices of what the farmer buys. Is it to be wondered that the farmer complains that while pauper labor abroad fixes the price of all he has to sell, that his clothing, his implements, his transportation, and many of the necessaries of life are not only taxed for the benefit of others, but the price itself is regulated and arranged to suit the greed and avarice of combinations, pools, and trusts?

The amount of goods imported in 1881 was estimated at $753,240,125; and the amount of home manufactures of all descriptions during the year ending June 30, 1883, was estimated at $7,800,000,000. For illustration, let it be supposed that the one-fifth of the latter amount was of the same description of goods as those taxed, then the amount received as incidental protection by our home manufacturers would be twice the amount raised by the Government. So far as this amount received by the Government results from a tariff for revenue, the advocates of the Mills bill, I will say the Democratic party, does not object to it. But it insists, inasmuch as the capital of the manufacturers pays nothing to the Government, and the advanced prices of their goods are paid by their laborers, as by other consumers, that the manufacturers should be satisfied with getting double the amount of the revenue that the Government receives.

But it seems their influence has become organized into the Republican party—for twenty-five years hitherto the strongest party, as a party organization, known to the country—and seeks to control legislation specially for large profits by the influence of capital in business relations—and employment, whether so considered or not, frequently operates to practically support their measures—whilst agricultural laborers vote almost universally against the wishes of their employers without the slightest apprehension of results on that account. Should the tariff average 50 per cent. on all our imports (and it does within a fraction), our exports would be exchanged abroad for a sufficiency of money to pay it, which would continue to swell the volume of our circulation till its depreciation would reduce the home value of $1.50 to that of $1 abroad.

The prices of commodities that make up the cost of home production would correspondingly rise, without any increase of value, till the cost of home production would amount to that of competition abroad and the tariff added, and would continue to advance till the foreign prod-

uct would again become cheaper than similar varieties at home, when importations would be resumed on the basis of an increasing cost of not less than 50 per cent. on all home production. Fixed compensation, the wages of labor, and the prices of transportation, and of home products sold abroad, would not rise, but would lose, at least to the extent of the tariff, or 50 per cent. This would include our home manufactures sold abroad; for their home-cost having risen 50 per cent., would be equal to the tariff when there would be no protection at home, but in the foreign market; the foreign manufacturer would not pay our tariff, and our home-cost would follow our home manufactures as a tax of 50 per cent. in favor of the foreign manufacturer.

The amount of sales of cotton fabrics in South America from the United States has fallen to less than $3,000,000, whilst that of Great Britain has risen to more than $60,000,000.

ENLARGE THE MARKETS.

There is a Democratic international policy underlying the effort of that party at tariff reform; a policy which seeks to open the markets of the world to American manufacturers, which hopes to increase the number and wages of workingmen by multiplying the products of factories until every market of all the nations shall deal in the cheap and beautiful and useful products of American industry, invention, and ingenuity. To that end the national Democratic platform of 1884 announced that—

We favor an American policy based on more intimate commercial relations with the sixteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

That declaration is in perfect harmony with the initial platform of the party, the inaugural address of Mr. Jefferson, which declared for—

Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

In the line of the platform of 1884 the Senator from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN] introduced the "bill to provide for a joint celebration by the sixteen American republics on the 4th of March, 1889, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the Constitution of the parent Republic, the United States."

This was an important step to recover to American trade, commerce, and manufactures the great markets of the American republics—to remove the humiliating fact that with an annual manufacturing product valued at $5,369,579,191, according to the census of 1880, but a beggarly 2 per cent. of our manufactures finds a market in all the foreign markets. And that while the republics of South America annually import from all nations $475,000,000, of that sum the great manufactories of the United States furnish but $77,141,000.

The responsibility for this great loss of trade lies with the protective policy of the Republican party. The restrictive duties which that policy has imposed on the raw materials produced by American republics have driven their commerce and their products to the ports of European nations, where less duties or free trade awaits their arrival. Their hemlock, their dye-woods, their textile grasses, and their wool were all taxed at our custom-houses until the trade with the United States became unprofitable. Hence our manufactures find but a limited sale in these Central and South American countries. It is a universal rule that no people will buy where they can not sell, and hence where burdensome restrictions are imposed on imports there must be a corresponding decline of exports. The consular reports to the State Department contain many virtual protests from our consular representatives against the bad policy of restriction by high duties, as well as forcible arguments for a more liberal fiscal arrangement with the American republics.

In the same direction of liberality of trade and enlargement of markets were the resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives by Hon. R. W. TOWNSHEND, on January 7, 1884, for an American zollverein, or customs union, on the principle of free-trade between all American republics, and like, or common duties, on the products of all other nations.

The great Mississippi Valley, Mr. President, pours its abundant products both of the soil and the workshop through the great river into the very lap of all the American republics. But the restrictive policy of the Republican party has heretofore as effectually divested those markets of American products as the Gulf Stream has carried the waters northward and Europeward.

Tennessee, an important factor in all that concerns the Mississippi Valley, throbbing with vital energy, near the heart of this great country, has felt every restraint that impeded the progress or hindered the development of that great empire of production. The need that is greatest along that valley is markets for the wealth which nature and man annually turns out. That necessity will soon demand a larger field than the home market of 60,000,000 people. The world's market of more than 1,000,000,000 of people can only be opened to the country's energy by the liberal policy of the Democratic party, by which a fair exchange of national products is taxed only for the economic expenses of an honest government.

As the quantity of the precious metals—

Says Mr. Blackstone—

increases, this universal medium, or common sign, will sink in value and grow less precious, and *vice versa*.

The increased quantity of the whole—

Says Mr. Say, in his Political Economy—

reduces the value of any part, and *vice versa*.

The value, then, of our money is intensified or depreciated in the hands of our laborers as our agricultural products are exchanged abroad for products or money.

The laborers of our country, then, Mr. President, not only pay about 50 per cent. tax on their food and raiment and medicine to the Government and manufacturers, but the value of their wages is reduced in the same proportion, whilst the foreign laborers in competition do not pay such tax, and the value of their money is not depressed.

The tariff expressing the amount of cost of production in a nation operates as a tax on its productions in all the markets of the world besides its own, and at home, our financial history shows, is periodically repeated, in succession, an increase in the volume of circulation and depreciation in the value of money, a rise in the cost of production, excessive importations, and a demand for the coin, followed by the substitution and increase of paper and the convulsive contraction of its value, so that in all this the tendency is to absorb the accumulation of the money and to swell the fortunes of a few.

It will be seen from the American Almanac of 1879 that the cost of producing cotton in 1876 was about 9.2 cents per pound and the price obtained 9.8 cents per pound, and I suppose the statistics of later years, during the entire decade, would show, besides the waste of the fields and the tattered condition of the laborers, a more unfavorable comparison between its prices and the cost of its production. The same depression may be observed of all of our agricultural products sold abroad, and, meanwhile, to our shipping this depression has been more destructive than all the storms that have swept over the sea. And but for the amazing productive power of the agricultural South and West serious disaster would have ere now come upon us.

In this connection it is pertinent to say that Spain imported vast quantities of gold and silver from her discoveries in America, and as the volume of her circulation increased the cost of her production was proportionately greater than in the rest of Europe, for, as the money-metal became more plentiful, it became less valuable in its purchasing capacity. "England, under the first Mary, then under the Stuarts, sought the Spanish trade, and during the reign of James II, by the liberal policy of her laws, conducted almost the entire Spanish trade with Europe. The consequence was, the material wealth of England increased more rapidly duirng the latter reign than at any other period of the British Empire."

Spain passed tariff and restrictive laws to retain her circulation, whilst England enlarged her commerce. Spain, from her narrow policy, hemmed in her resources by restrictive commercial laws and lost much of her prestige and commerce with the world, which intensified the value of her money and reduced the cost of production. England grew richer and Spain poorer. England, then a "pent-up Utica," appealed to Neptune for the power of his trident, opened her ports, extended her commerce to the world, became rich, prosperous, and powerful.

And so, Mr. President, we are asked to play the part of Spain—draw around us a cordon, by allowing restrictive and onerous war-tariff laws to remain and become crystallized into our statutes, and thus continue to lessen the purchasing capacity of our money and increase the cost of production. Is this good political economy? Is it wise legislation? Furthermore, this tends to invite travel and investment abroad, where the purchasing capacity of money is greater. Hence, the hegira of capitalists and their families at every incoming spring and autumn, transferring millions of money annually from our shores to Europe, indulging in marvelous expenditures while enjoying with magnetic companions coaching trips beneath the Druid oaks of merry old England, and in Scotland toying with the historic curios of Abbotsford, lunching on the banks of the Clyde, or regaling with hilarity beneath the shadows of the peaks of Ben Lomond, and return less in love with the simple manners and plain democratic institutions of our fathers. And well may Mr. Carnegie spend a portion of his $5,000 daily income, arising from operating in iron under the protection of our existing tariff laws, in Scotland, where the purchasing capacity of money is greater.

The protectionists, under the inspiration of Mr. Blaine, in a celebrated speech three years ago, boast that $3,585,408,792.52 of the public debt, including interest since 1860, has been paid mainly through the proceeds of the tatiff. This boastful statement finds echo with Republicans now. To the extent that it was paid subsequent to the repeal of laws that taxed incomes, it may be replied that not one cent has been paid by capital nor by the proceeds of manufactures, but that the means were obtained by a tax on the goods received in exchange for our agricultural products (as the representative of labor) paid by consumers without any exception of age, color, or condition.

PROTECTION ADVANCES PRICES.

I have assumed, and I think correctly, that the amount paid to the manufacturers on the advanced prices of their goods is twice the amount paid to the Government, so that in paying the $3,585,408,792.52 to the Government, as is the boast of protectionists, the consumers, embracing all classes of laborers and their families, paid to the capitalists who owned the manufactories, for protection, twice that amount, or $7,170,517,585. Nor does this latter large amount include that received for the support of Government nor that paid on our debt and its interest

since 1860. Thus, all amounts raised by the tariff and expended for pensions, internal improvements, public buildings, education, etc., are paid, not by capital, but by consumers, embracing laborers of every description, who pay twice the amount to home manufacturers that they pay to the Government for these purposes.

Nor will it appear strange that the capitalists and protectionists should support schemes for profligate expenditure of money and the repeal of the tax on whisky and tobacco, etc., when it is considered that they will pay nothing beyond that paid by ordinary consumers and the manufacturers will receive $2 for every dollar the Government will collect by a tariff for such purposes as to supply the revenue thus withdrawn. Yet the manufacturer is not satisfied with the exemption of his capital from taxation, and with incidental protection, but as competition multiplies and the cost of production increases, he becomes clamorous, and with the greed of a Turkish bashaw reduces the wages of his laborers, and demands that the consumers, embracing all kinds of laborers, be further taxed, or tariffized, especially for his benefit; and now, under the operation of this special and partial legislation, besides a sufficiency for the support of Government, a vast amount has accumulated in the Treasury that invites wasteful appropriations.

Nor is the enormously-accumulated interest of manufacturers in sympathy with honesty, economy, and virtue in the administration of the Government; for every dollar that is wasted, or is stolen by dishonest Government officials, to replace it the consumer is taxed, through this unequal operation of the tariff for the benefit of the manufacturer, twice the amount wasted or taken, and for every dollar thus lost the manufacturer gets two. Nor is it in sympathy with republican institutions and their principle of equality, as it tends to build up rich and privileged classes, not only exempt from national taxation, but with power to tax the consumers of manufactures (including laborers and the poor of every description) at the same rates that Government taxes them for its support on goods from abroad.

Again, the friends of protection further compare the values of the property of the United States, estimated at $16,000,000,000 in 1860, and at $50,000,000,000 in 1883, and 1887, $62,000,000,000, and ignore all causes for such increase other than the operation of the tariff. (It is not claimed, however, more for a protective tariff than for a tariff for revenue.) It will be remembered that our circulation had a much larger representative value at the former, 1860, than at the latter period. And besides, our natural increase and foreign immigration, our railroads, our mines, and inventions for production and communication, besides the development of our vast domain from Mexico, with constant receipts into the Treasury of apples of gold from California on waiters of silver from Nevada.

These have all contributed to develop this immense wealth, and while being done our agricultural interests and our shipping having been retarded in their development by the operation of the tariff, and our manufactories have increased into mammoth institutions, mainly by absorbing the products of our fields, our domestic manufactures, and those of the workshops of our mechanics, as well as the developments which come most naturally from all these. Again, the protectionists further compare the prosperity of the North, as the friend of a protective tariff, with the condition of the South as opposed to it. The tariff with all of its ramifying influences has been enforced at the South and West as at the North and East.

The comparison is, however, good to show the different effects of the tariff by robbing the agricultural portion that opposes it to enrich the manufacturing interest that befriends it else by what operation of opposition to the tariff have the thousands of millions of their agricultural products been counted to their waste, and by what operation of support have grown up from their material barrenness the vast accumulations of the North and East? And may it not be that the recipients of those bounties, through the operation of the tariff, will still further strip the South as, from the resources which God gave her, she quickens into new life; and may it not be they will still further draw from the entire Northwest the proceeds of their agricultural products in order to pay the expenses of Government and build up a magnificent special class of wealth and influence, contrasted with the destitution of laborers who, driven from employment by trusts and combinations (the legitimate offspring and handmaids of this unequal and unjust tariff legislation), seek subsistence by "strikes" or as tramps on the highways begging for bread? These trusts and combinations, with their pooling policy—now becoming so numerous and gigantic under the operation of our present tariff laws—is the realization of the gravest and most alarming fears of our fathers as to monopolies.

EQUALITY OF TAXATION IN THE STATES.

Under the jurisdiction of home rule in the States all are taxed according to their ability to pay, and capital is taxed for the purpose of education, internal improvements, etc., except such limited amounts as may be exempt for the protection of the poor. These influences of enlightenment and development under State protection or home rule are fostered in harmony with natural advantages and through the inspiration of demand and supply. But under the jurisdiction of the General Government the operation of the tariff exempts capital from taxation and taxes the food, raiment, and medicine consumed by the poor, without distinction of age, sex, color, or condition, for the protection of capitalists engaged in manufactures. Our capitalists, therefore, can well offer to favor education by the Federal Government, and also internal improvements in a wild and extravagant manner rather than by home rule, as in the former case their capital is exempt and in the latter it is taxed according to value, while under local State government our food and raiment and medicine are exempt.

Again, let it not be said, Mr. President, that under existing tariff laws the merchant pays the tariff, for he is compensated by the advanced prices paid by the consumers; nor that the foreigner pays it, since he receives from the merchant the present prices of his goods in his own locality. But who pays the advanced prices of the goods of the home manufacturer? Why, Mr. President, if the consumers, who embrace all varieties of laborers, pay the tariff, how in the nature of things are our home laborers, who, as consumers, do pay it, protected against foreign laborers who do not pay it? Again, nor let it be said that goods can be sold as cheaply after paying the tariff as by paying nothing at all. If the tariff does not advance the price of goods, in what way, I ask, is it to afford protection to the home manufacturer? The question answers itself.

The arguments of the protectionists are much the same as those of the Irish and British landlords in favor of protection for their corn, but at last the laborers demanded cheaper food to keep off starvation, and they obtained privilege to buy where food and raiment were cheapest and bring it beneath their thatched roofs untaxed. This gave some relief, though a mere bagatelle compared to that needed by those oppressed consumers. American laborers and our poor need cheap food and clothing and medicines, and they are told that they can get them cheaper by paying either to the Government or to the manufacturers 47 per cent. on every dollar's worth to which the tariff applies, and that this is protection against the foreign laborer who pays not one cent. Heaven save the mark!

England invites her laborers to the more refined production at home and opens to them her commerce for the free exchange of her products for those of the world. Whilst we are expressing sympathy for home rule and the sufferings of Ireland as we should, we are inconsistently warring against "home rule" at home, and by laying an exorbitant embargo are closing to American laborers the commerce of the world and reducing the values of their wages even below the relief of hunger. Our revenues from customs, as I have said, are paid by the consumers of goods received in exchange for our agricultural products. From this source has flowed all the means of the tariff towards paying the expenses of the Government and a large portion of the public debt, to construct internal improvements, to build costly palaces all over the country, to pay $80,000,000 annually for pensions and bounties, and incidentally to afford twice as much as all these to manufactories, to swell the estimates of their growth and lessen those of the fields. What would the tariff have produced without our agricultural products that paid for the imports upon which the tariff was laid? And without these products, what would the tariff have produced to accomplish all the results represented by protectionists as of the tariff?

HENRY CLAY COULD NOT SUPPORT THE SUBSTITUTE.

Ah, but we are told by high-tariff protectionists that it is "the American system," and they invoke the name of the "great commoner," Henry Clay, to lend it inspiration and effect. In revamping, under existing auspices, the so-called American system of protection, they have superadded to its hardships and injustices the partial repeal of the easiest paid and lightest bearing tax.

There is around the so-called "American system" a hoariness of age and respectability of origin which entitles it to careful consideration, even when its original purpose has outlived the circumstances and conditions which gave it plausibility and won for it a widespread popularity. There lingers around the memory of Henry Clay a halo of admiration which, however any one may oppose his teaching, forbids any American from treating with disrespect any system which his genius originated and his eloquence exemplified.

But it is doing no violence to his well-earned fame to assert that the very principles and circumstances which in 1824 induced him to formulate and advocate protection would, if he were here to-day, make him eloquent in the advocacy of tariff reduction. Recognizing justice as the great underlying policy of civil society, and that any national departure from it lies under the suspicion of being a scheme to plunder the many for the benefit of the few, Henry Clay would recognize the existing tariff as, in the language of Justice Miller—

none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation.

See among his later expressions in 1843, after the "infants" could stand alone—his Bronson letter. Henry Clay, who was the illustrious friend of these infant manufactures, met these charges by a positive denial. In his letter to S. F. Bronson, of Georgia, in September, 1843, he said:

The sum and substance of what I conceive to be the true policy of the United States in respect to a tariff may be briefly stated. In conformity with the principle announced in the compromise act, I think that whatever revenue is necessary to an economical and honest administration of the General Government ought to be derived from duties imposed on foreign imports. And I believe that in establishing a tariff of those duties such a discrimination ought to be made as will incidentally afford reasonable protection to our national interests. I

think there is no danger of a high tariff being ever established; that of 1828 was eminently deserving that denomination. I was not in Congress when it passed, and did not vote for it; but with its history and with the circumstances which gave it birth I am well acquainted. They were highly discreditable to American legislation, and I hope, for its honor, will never be repeated.

My opinion that there is no danger hereafter of a high tariff is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have now taken a deep root. In their infancy they needed a greater measure of protection; but as they grow and advance they acquire strength and stability, and consequently will require less protection. Even now some branches of them are able to maintain in distant markets successful competition with rival foreign manufactures.

Mr. President, were Mr. Clay here now to see a tariff tax of 47.2 per cent., or an average of that, on every $100 worth of imported goods, from which was annually flowing an excessive revenue in time of profound peace and unexampled prosperity; to see, not the feeble, struggling manufactories of his day, mostly operated in the family circles, but the overgrown condition of the multiple of those infant industries, with an annual income of 10, 20, 30, yea, greater per cent., by which, through the outgrowth of class legislation, they have rapidly gathered untold wealth and grown to giant form; ay, sir, and were Mr. Clay here to see as the consequence thereof the vast drain that this so-called protection has made and is making upon the consumers, including the laborers, of this country, and to witness this process of absorption on which the favored few have fattened into very monopolies, do you think for a moment that this great commoner, who, when alluding to such protection as he advocated (arguing in a celebrated speech made in 1824, that it would tend to prevent monopolies), would recognize this present monopolistic machine as the bantling of that day which he, the high priest of his party, christened at the baptismal font of justice and equity as "the American system"—a system, which asked 25 not 47 per cent., and at a time when American manufactories were few, feeble, and not self-sustaining?

For him now to see not only the marvelous development, with its plethora of wealth, commanding millions of money with which to subsidize the press and command a powerful lobby to work for a continuance upon our statute-books of this existing and absorbing class legislation would be to invite his condemnation. Legislation, which under its deceptive shield called "protection," not only opens up channels through which the golden current of Pactolus seems to flow into a vast reservoir of wealth, with its concomitant results of social and political influence, but inviting, if not creating, ugly methods which give rise to those modern ravenous and unconscionable capitalized organizations known as trusts, combines, and pools—organizations which hold within their unrelenting grasp the body of dependent labor, and with power to paralyze at will its manhood and its strength; methods, that limit at will, by a ukase from the head-center, the amount and price of labor by which they operate—no matter whether operated by iron or human hands—as they shut down and lock out dependent employés. Not only so, but methods peculiar to corporations and combines that, boa-constrictor-like, wind their slimy folds around the honest industries of our country, and with constricting coils crush out that honorable competition through which alone this class of labor can find relief. And this, forsooth, is called "the American system of protection."

Ay, Mr. President, these methods, I insist, reach out, even to circumscribing and regulating the amount of field-culture, as in the sugar trust, and limiting the amount of yield of raw material, as in certain mining trusts, for fear that a more extensive culture or greater yield might lessen the power to control the market value of the product, and thus encourage that competition which would deprive them of the power to command and regulate the price of labor.

Past experience and current statistics show that all this tends to increase the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor; and while this is being done, the favored few who are in the "combine" are content to know that their share of the "pool" will await their checks at the end of every quarter.

That vast establishments have risen up, especially in the North and East, as by magic, is admitted, and with equal truth it is insisted that our laborers and agricultural producers have been wasted to construct them, as had been the builders of the ancient monuments that perpetuate the tyranny as well as the genius that built them. Where will we find in the records of the past a despotism that exempted the capital of the country from taxation and taxed alone the food and raiment consumed, without any exception, of the laborer and of the poor? The colored laborers of the fields, in exchange of their products for supplies, receive far short of the amount they would have received had there been no tariff, and they too are immensely profitable to the manufacturers, for they are nearly all agriculturists.

And what does this vast accumulation of wealth pay to the Government for its support? Its owners seem patriotic and zealous for the glory and prosperity of the country. They are grateful, and favor the gift of pensions and bounties to its defenders. They are liberal, and would give vast sums for internal improvement by the General Government, and are indignant at those who oppose them; but they exclaim: Hands off! do not tax our money, nor our lands, nor our manufacturers, nor our palaces, nor our railroads, nor our stocks, nor our bonds, to pay for them; but go and tax the food and raiment and medicine generally consumed by the poor, including the old pensioners, the children at school, the ministers in the cause of Christ, the sisters of charity, the laborers and their families, of all ages, sexes, colors, and conditions; go and tax them, but let the bondholder, the railroader, the factory-owner go free from paying taxes to the General Government. And while you collect Government taxes for such purposes, by such means and from such sources, the manufacturers will collect twice as much and call it the protection of the home against the foreign laborer. Away with such philosophy!

These advanced prices caused by the tariff are felt at every meal that is eaten, upon every garment that is worn, and every dose of medicine that is given. "Do we not also pay as consumers?" say the manufacturers. Yes, but you pay only as equals of the laborer and consumer, however poor, for the exemption of your millions, and that you may recover back, under the pretense of protection, thousands of dollars for every one that you pay. For the laborer and poor there is no exception, and all the money, lands, stocks, and bonds of the rich millionaires, being entirely untaxed by the Government, all together do not pay as much as the shirt of the pauper when living or his shroud when dead.

But may there not be a pursuing Nemesis, as capital in the South is now moving from our wasted fields, seeking more favored investments in manufactures, and competition is multiplying and enlarging—if not strangled by trusts—till an equilibrium will be produced and relieve the most oppressed. Capital, coward as it is, will seek investment where greatest and safest remuneration is found, and happily for the future of my section of this country, the policy of New England is forcing her reluctantly from the field into the factory. Her raw material in mountains of coal and iron, in fields of cotton, in forests of lumber, interspersed with water ways that, under a genial climate, are never ice-bound, are inviting generous rivalry. It asks justice and fairness, not invidious class legislation. Her development, in all save agriculture, in an economic way, affects New England interests; yet that agriculture languishes under oppressive legislation inspired by the land of the Puritan. If law is the perfection of reason, it must be just and bear on all alike, and if we would have prosperity and happiness to follow, our legislative councils must be guided by liberal and enlightened policy.

Let manufacturers continue to enlarge, and competition reduce the prices of their product, and our fields be restricted by trusts and combines in supplying them, and foreign products be driven from our shores by high tariffs, from what source, then, shall we derive our revenue? Protection, then, to the extent proposed, must lead to direct taxation, and that, too, to the extent necessary to pay the enormous amounts that profligacy and the disregard and absorption of the jurisdiction of the States must produce. Would it not be well to open a little wider our national toll-gates and further extend the free-list to raw material, inviting our sister republics of Central and South America, in a less selfish manner, to closer relationship, and allow them to enter our ports with less tax upon their commodities for exchange, thus extending abroad the market for our agricultural and manufactural products? With this extended market would come *pari passu* the demand for increase of labor at home, and with it employment at better wages, where now conspiracies between monopolies forbid it.

Would not this tend to paralyze and check these modern juggernauts or trusts, which limit labor and regulate its price? Is it not safer and better for the country to get rid of the present $120,000,000 and daily increasing surplus revenue in the Treasury, thus lessening temptation to extravagant, profligate, and demoralizing legislation, and so provide for the future that such vast excess shall not so accumulate, but be kept in the channels of trade to strengthen and enliven the business interests of the country? Is it not wiser, then, to adhere to a tariff for revenue with incidental protection; to properly guard home as against foreign labor; to an economical administration of the Government, under the guidance of the present strong, bold, honest hand which now grasps the helm of state?

I submit, Mr. President, with that respect due to the opinions of my senior Senators, that such is the wisest policy, meanwhile properly regarding the rights of the States as contemplated in our Constitution by our fathers, for the peace, happiness, and liberty of our people.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President——

Mr. DOLPH. I understand the Senator from Illinois does not care to proceed to-night.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Illinois desire to proceed this evening?

Mr. CULLOM. I should prefer not to proceed to-night if that course be agreeable to the Senate.

Mr. PLATT. I should like to say a word about the progress of debate upon the bill. The Senator from Illinois does not wish to proceed to-night, and it is manifest that he ought not to be required to do so. I wish to ask whether the bill can not be taken up at an earlier hour than 2 o'clock to-morrow, for if I address the Senate upon the subject I shall have to do so to-morrow.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the course suggested by the Senator from Connecticut will be taken. In the nature of things we can not have much morning business at this stage of the session. Therefore I shall move to take up the bill at an earlier hour in the morning, so as to accommodate both Senators.

ESTATE OF JOSEPH H. MADDOX—VETO MESSAGE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read:

To the Senate:

I herewith return without approval Senate bill No. 2201, entitled "An act for the relief of Laura E. Maddox, widow and executrix, and Robert Morrison, executor, of Joseph H. Maddox, deceased."

An act of Congress approved July 2, 1864, provided among other things that the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, might authorize agents "to purchase for the United States any products of States declared in insurrection, at such price as should be agreed on with the seller, not exceeding the market price thereof at the place of delivery."

Under the authority of said act the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, prescribed rules and regulations to govern the transactions thus permitted, and appointed one H. A. Risley an agent to act for the United States in making such purchases.

On or about the 13th day of November, 1864, said Risley entered into a written contract with Joseph H. Maddox and two other parties, whereby the latter agreed to sell and deliver to Risley as such agent, at Norfolk or New York, 6,000 boxes of tobacco, 350 barrels of turpentine, and 700 barrels of rosin. It was also agreed that all products transported under the contract should be consigned to said Risley as agent, and shipped on a Government transport, or if not so shipped, should be in the immediate charge of an agent of Risley's, whose compensation and expenses should be paid by the sellers. Said products were to be sold in New York or Baltimore under Risley's direction, and one-fourth of the proceeds, after deducting certain expenses, costs, and charges, were to be retained for the United States and three-fourths paid to Maddox and his associates.

It was expressly provided in said contract as follows: "Nothing in this contract contained shall be construed as incurring any liability on behalf of the United States."

It appears that Maddox, very soon after the contract was made, acquired all the interest of his associates therein.

The President of the United States signed an order or permit for the transportation of the goods, in fulfillment of the contract, and for the passage of the parties selling such goods through the Federal military lines, the permit declaring, however, that such transportation and passage should be "with strict compliance with the regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury, and for the fulfillment of said contract with the agent of the Government."

Maddox and his associates were not at the time the contract was entered into the owners of any of the property they agreed to sell and deliver. But it is alleged that Maddox, as one of the parties to the contract and as assignee of his co-contractors, purchased 4,042 boxes of tobacco, worth at the time more than $735,000, for the purpose of fulfilling this contract.

The tobacco was purchased by him within the rebel lines in the State of Virginia. A part of it, he charges, was forcibly taken by the military forces of the Government and converted to its use or destroyed while being transported to its destination, and the remainder of it having been detained in storage at Richmond, Va., was afterwards appropriated to the use of the United States or was destroyed in the fires at Richmond upon the capture of the city by the United States forces in 1865.

An action predicated upon the contract with Risley was brought by Maddox in the Court of Claims to recover the value of this property, but it was held by the court that the contract was void.

On appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States the decision of the Court of Claims was affirmed, upon the ground, as has been previously decided by said court, that under the law the Treasury regulations and the executive orders concerning the purchase of products of insurrectionary States a purchasing agent of the Government had no authority to negotiate with any one in relation to the purchase of such products, unless at the time of the negotiation the party either owned or controlled them; that neither the law nor the regulations for its execution protected a speculation wherein the products to be sold were to be procured by the contractor within the rebel lines after the contract was made; that private citizens were prohibited from trading at all in the insurrectionary districts; and that the object of the law, and the regulations to carry it into effect, was to encourage the insurgents themselves to bring their products to agents of the Government.

With this adverse decision all chance of recovery upon legal grounds or before the courts was dissipated. But recourse to Congress still remained. As appears from a memorandum furnished in support of this bill, the alleged equities of the case were presented to the Forty-second, Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-eighth, and Forty-ninth Congresses. Two adverse and more than two favorable committee reports have been made upon the claim. No bill for the relief of the claimant has, however, passed Congress until the present session, when a favorable condition seems to have presented itself.

The bill herewith returned empowers and directs the accounting officers of the Treasury to settle and pay to the representatives of Maddox the amount found due him on account of the loss and damage he sustained by the seizure by our military forces of the tobacco purchased by him under the agreement referred to, excluding, however, the tobacco destroyed by fire in the city of Richmond, and provides that said claim shall be determined upon the evidence taken and now on file in the office of the clerk of the United States Court of Claims and the War Department and any other competent evidence.

I fail to appreciate the equities which entitle this claimant to further hearing. Every intelligent man should be charged with the knowledge that, as a general rule, commercial intercourse with the enemy is entirely inconsistent with a state of war, and that the law of 1864 had for its object the encouragement of the insurgents themselves to bring their products to us, and not the authorization of persons to roam through the insurrectionary districts and purchase their products on speculation.

Even if the claimant did not understand these conditions, he certainly knew that his contract was based upon a statute; that the agent with whom he was contracting was a creature of statute, and that such statute and certain regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury made thereunder regulated the right and limited the action of all the parties to said contract. These things sufficiently appear from the very terms of the contract and the permit signed by the President. The privileges and liberties contained in this permit are expressly granted "with strict compliance with regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury."

If, before or after entering into this contract, the claimant had examined these regulations, he would have found that they provided that "commercial intercourse with localities beyond the lines of actual military occupation by the United States forces is absolutely prohibited." He would have also found that such regulations expressly provided that the power of the agent of the Government to make contracts should be founded upon the statement that the contractor then owned or controlled the products for which he contracted. And yet the permit of the President, which so completely put the claimant upon inquiry as to what he might or might not do, seems now to be relied upon as the source of equities in his favor, and is pressed into his service under the guise of a sanction of his unlawful proceedings.

Besides the general knowledge the claimant should have possessed of the commercial disabilities consequent upon a state of war, and the information afforded him by his contract and permit, a proclamation of the President, publicly issued September 24, 1864, furnished abundant notice of the kind of trading which would be permitted.

The property for which compensation is asked constitutes a part only of that agreed to be furnished. None of it ever reached the possession of the agent of the Government, but, as I understand the case, was at the time of its seizure or destruction still in the territory of the enemy and in rebellious possession. If, in the circumstances detailed, it was treated by our military forces in like manner as other property in the same situation, there would seem to be no hardship in holding that the contractor assumed this risk as one arising from his unauthorized and, if successful, his profitable venture.

Not being satisfied that there are any especial equities which entitle this claim to more consideration than many others where equities might be claimed in behalf of those who long ago violated our non-intercourse laws, I am unwilling to sanction a precedent which, if followed, might substantially work a repeal of these laws regarded necessary and expedient by those charged with legislation during the war of the rebellion and who had in full view all the necessities of that period.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 10, 1888.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Shall the bill pass, the objection of the President of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding?

Mr. SPOONER. I move that the bill and the message of the President be referred to the Committee on Claims and printed.

The motion was agreed to.

SAMUEL HEIN.

Mr. SPOONER. On behalf of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART] I report favorably from the Committee on Claims without amendment the bill (S. 3351) for the relief of Samuel Hein. I ask that the bill may be considered at this time.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to pay to Samuel Hein, late disbursing agent of the Coast Survey, or his legal representatives, $1,285, being the amount disallowed by the accounting officers of the Treasury.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

YANKTON RESERVATION.

Mr. DAWES. I present a conference report. I suppose it does not require any action on the part of the Senate.

The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7547) granting the right of way to the Yankton and Missouri River Railway through the Yankton reservation in Dakota having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment numbered 1.

That the title be agreed to as proposed by the Senate.

H. L. DAWES,
O. H. PLATT,
JAMES K. JONES,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
S. W. PEEL,
KNUTE NELSON,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be filed.

EXHIBITS FOR PARIS EXPOSITION.

Mr. DOLPH. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask to have read at length with a view to its present consideration.

The joint resolution (S. R. 115) authorizing the Departments of the Government to use articles in their possession for exhibition at the Paris Exposition of 1889, was read the first time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Executive and other Departments of the Government, the National Museum, the Geological Survey, and the Smithsonian Institute, be, and they are hereby, authorized to use for exhibition at the Paris Exposition of 1889 such articles and cases as may be on hand and for which space can be obtained; and that any unexpended balance of the appropriation for the Cincinnati Exhibition of 1888 may be applied for the preparation and boxing of such exhibits.

Mr. DOLPH. This joint resolution was handed to me by an officer of the State Department to-day. He came here to see the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who is absent. The resolution, I think, will meet no opposition. I have consulted all the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations who are present to-day, and all are in favor of the resolution and agree to its being put upon its passage now.

Mr. HOAR. What does the joint resolution comprehend? It seems to be pretty vague in description. I should like to have it read once more.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The joint resolution will be read the second time at length.

The joint resolution was read the second time.

Mr. HOAR. I do not understand what the phrase means, "the Executive and other Departments of the Government." What are the "other Departments?"

Mr. DOLPH. I understand that the articles which it is proposed to place on exhibition at the Paris Exposition are the articles which are now on exhibition at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. HOAR. The joint resolution does not say so.

Mr. DOLPH. I send to the desk and ask to have read a letter from the Acting Secretary of State to the chairman of the committee, which was handed to me in the absence of the chairman.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The letter will be read, if there be no objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, October* 10, 1888.

SIR: The attention of this Department has been called to the fact that, without Congressional action, the Director of the National Museum will have no authority to have articles shipped from that collection to Paris. The same is true of articles in the possession of the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of Ethnology, all of which Departments of the Government would be able at trifling expense, if authorized to do so, to make a satisfactory and creditable display at the Paris exposition which opens in May, 1889.

It will be quite unnecessary to make any further appropriation of funds for the purpose indicated if the unexpended balance of the sum appropriated for the Cincinnati Exposition may be devoted to packing and preparing the exhibits made by the Government there, and transferring them to Paris. All that is desired is that authority should be given to the various Departments of the Government that have articles on hand to use them in the direction indicated. It is proposed by the Commissioner General, who, I believe, has been in correspondence with the authorities of the Smithsonian Institution and the Geological Survey, that little more should be done than transfer the articles now on exhibition at Cincinnati to Paris.

A form of a proposed resolution is hereto appended.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

G. L. RIVES, *Acting Secretary.*

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate.

Inclosure: Joint resolution (proposed).

Mr. HOAR. The joint resolution is slovenly, unmeaning, and utterly unworthy of the Senate or of a legislative body. The Senator from Oregon ought to put it in proper shape before it is passed.

The Geological Survey—

What is the "Geological Survey" as an official?

The Geological Survey is hereby authorized to use for exhibition at the Paris Exposition of 1889 such articles and cases as may be on hand.

Where? It is accompanied by a letter saying that it refers to the articles which have been already exhibited at Cincinnati.

The Executive and other Departments of the Government—

are also authorized.

There is no limitation in the joint resolution to articles which have been exhibited at Cincinnati.

Mr. DOLPH. I will ask the Senator if he knows of any such resolution that has been passed which specifies the articles in the different departments which are to be put on exhibition?

Mr. HOAR. The resolution might at least state, not indicating the several articles, that the responsibility of selecting such articles should be put upon some official or person named.

Mr. DOLPH. I understand the resolution to do that. It specifies the heads of the various bureaus or Departments which have the articles.

Mr. HOAR. It seems to me very extraordinary legal phraseology to say that the Geological Survey is authorized to send to Paris "such articles and cases as may be on hand."

Mr. DOLPH. I am not going to get up a controversy with the Senator from Massachusetts about the joint resolution. I did not draw it. It was transmitted here by the Department of State——

Mr. HOAR. I shall object to it until it is put in proper form.

Mr. DOLPH. Otherwise I might feel disposed to defend the joint resolution and its phraseology.

Mr. HOAR. I object to its present consideration.

Mr. TELLER. While "the Geological Survey" is a common term, perhaps it is not technically correct. That designation ought to be be stricken out, and the Interior Department inserted. The Geological Survey is but a bureau under the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. DOLPH. I have no objection to that amendment being made. I will modify the joint resolution in that manner if it will be satisfactory to the Senator from Massachusetts; but if the rest of the resolution is not satisfactory to him, of course it must go over.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The joint resolution having been read twice, is there objection to its present consideration?

Mr. HOAR. I object.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations or placed on the Calendar, at the option of the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. DOLPH. Let it go on the Calendar.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The joint resolution will be placed on the Calendar.

COMMITTEE ON EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

Mr. HAMPTON submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Epidemic Diseases have leave to sit during the recess of Congress, and any necessary expenses shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. DOLPH. I move that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. CALL. I ask the Senator to withdraw that motion for a moment.

Mr. DOLPH. I will withdraw it for the purpose of hearing what the Senator proposes.

Mr. CALL. I wish to give notice that at the conclusion to-morrow of the remarks of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], unless some other Senator is prepared to speak, I shall address the Senate, by their leave, on the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue, reported by the Senate Committee on Finance.

Mr. TELLER. I think the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] gave notice that he would follow the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. CALL. Then I will say at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from Connecticut.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. DOLPH. I renew my motion.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Oregon moves that the Senate do now proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After nine minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 26 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, October 11, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 8, 1888.

POSTMASTERS.

Everington D. Kelly, to be postmaster at Oregon City, in the county of Clackamas and State of Oregon.

Robert M. Carpenter, to be postmaster at Audubon, in the county of Audubon and State of Iowa.

Samuel E. Carrell, to be postmaster at Adel, in the county of Dallas and State of Iowa.

Perry M. Trumbower, to be postmaster at Muncy, in the county of Lycoming and State of Pennsylvania.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Robert F. Coates, of Wichita, Kans., to be receiver of public moneys at Wichita, Kans.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 10, 1888.

James Petigru Lesoesue, of South Carolina, to be consul-general of the United States at Melbourne, Australia.

PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

First Lieut. James Parker, regimental quartermaster, to be captain, October 2, 1888, *vice* Lawton, who resigns his line commission only.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Assistant naval constructors to be constructors in the Navy: John F. Hanscom, of Massachusetts; John B. Hoover, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Foster, of Pennsylvania; Richard Gatewood, of Virginia; and Francis T. Bowles, of Massachusetts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 10, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to undertake to make a correction of the Journal, if in order.

The SPEAKER. Of the RECORD?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. No, of the Journal. I would like to have read again that portion of the Journal which refers to the passage of Senate bill No. 3620 on yesterday.

The SPEAKER. What is the title?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. A bill supplementary to an act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President."

The SPEAKER. What correction does the gentleman suggest?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I desire to call the attention of the House to a fact in reference to that matter, and in support of the statements I shall now make I will ask the Official Reporter to read his stenographic notes of what actually occurred, and have that compared with what the RECORD, which is before me, shows occurred, in connection with the passage of that bill.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will again read that portion of the Journal to which the gentleman refers.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. PEEL, by unanimous consent, the said bill, Senate No. 3620, was taken from the Speaker's table and read twice.

The House having, by unanimous consent, proceeded to its consideration, the said bill was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. PEEL moved to reconsider, etc.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. If it is competent to do so now, I desire to have the Journal corrected so as to show that if that bill did pass this House at all it passed without a quorum. The gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. STONE, occupied the chair temporarily during that proceeding.

He rose in his place and put the question to the House. I think no member except myself voted in the negative. But I certainly voted "no," and loud enough to be heard by all of the members about me. Immediately upon voting "no," and before the gentleman from Kentucky, occupying the chair, rose to decide the question, I called for a division. The Chair either did not hear me or refused to hear me. I heard distinctly every word uttered by the Chair in reference to that bill, and my voice is certainly as powerful as his.

But if he did not hear me it was his fault, not mine; for he should have preserved order in the House and upon the floor, so that members rising and respectfully addressing the Chair could be heard.

My object now, sir, is to have the Journal corrected so as to show the exact facts in reference to the passage of that bill; and I want to know whether this is to be a precedent that the Chair, by a quick decision, shall be able to cut off a member from exercising his constitutional rights upon this floor.

The SPEAKER. The Journal, the Chair will state, can not be corrected in that particular. The Journal does not purport to contain what is said by members, but only records the action of the House in its proceedings.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. It undertakes to show what is done in the House.

The SPEAKER. The RECORD contains the official report of the debates and proceedings in the House. But the Journal is correct, as the gentleman states.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The Journal states that the bill passed.

The SPEAKER. And the gentleman's statement, of course, goes into the RECORD of to-day.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes, sir; but it should go into the Journal and show that when this bill passed it passed without a quorum as required by the Constitution of the country, if the point be raised.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not see how the Journal can be corrected to show that the gentleman made the point that no quorum had voted; because if it was done the bill was not passed at all until a quorum had voted, and the gentleman had the right then to insist and to continue to insist if he had desired to make the point that no quorum had voted.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I could not do that, because I could not be recognized by the Chair. But if the Speaker would examine the RECORD——

The SPEAKER. The Chair will submit the gentleman's motion to the House as to whether or not the Journal can be so corrected as to show that the gentleman on the floor made the point of order that no quorum had voted.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. That would not be a fact, Mr. Speaker. The point that no quorum had voted was not made, for the simple reason that although occupying the floor for that purpose the Chair refused to recognize me to make that point.

The SPEAKER. The present occupant of the chair was absent at the time, having called the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE] to occupy the chair during the hour for the consideration of bills, which hour expired before the present occupant returned. The Chair therefore can have no personal knowledge of what occurred on the floor of the House. The Chair understands the gentleman's statement now to be that the point of no quorum was not made.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. It was not.

The SPEAKER. And therefore the Journal is correct.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I desire that the stenographer, if he has his official notes, shall read them to show how the language as it appears in the RECORD compares with what actually took place on the floor.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will have the official notes read, and if necessary have the RECORD corrected to conform to them.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The object in correcting the RECORD is to find out whether the action taken by the Chair on yesterday is to be considered a precedent to be followed by this House in the future.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, I was not present when the matter referred to here took place and know nothing of it; but I would suggest that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE] is not now in his seat.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky is in the Hall.

Mr. ROGERS. I now perceive that he is.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has sent for the original notes of the Official Reporter, and will have them compared with the RECORD. While waiting for that the Chair will submit some personal requests of members.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. HARE, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. MOORE, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. GEST, indefinitely.

To Mr. MANSUR, for the balance of the week, on account of important business.

To Mr. JOHNSTON, of North Carolina, indefinitely.

To Mr. SAWYER, indefinitely, on account of important business.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled bills of the House and Senate of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (H. R. 4765) for the relief of G. W. McAdam;

A bill (H. R. 8962) for the relief of Anthony L. Woodson;

A bill (S. 3427) to amend section 4474 of the Revised Statutes of the United States;

A bill (S. 3241) granting a pension to Easter A. Jackson;

A bill (S. 3230) granting a pension to Martha J. Cole;

A bill (S. 3197) granting a pension to Albert L. Ham;

A bill (S. 3083) restoring to the pension-roll the name of Florian Lischewsky;

A bill (S. 3175) granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor;

A bill (S. 3030) granting a pension to Mary J. Foster;

A bill (S. 3018) granting an increase of pension to John N. Bovee;

A bill (S. 2742) to incorporote the Brightwood Railway Company of the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 2593) granting a pension to Sarah E. McNamara;

A bill (S. 2567) granting a pension to Nancy Polock;

A bill (S. 1926) granting a pension to William Smith;

A bill (S. 1671) for the relief of the heirs of Martin Kenofsky;

A bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to Phillipe Ray;

A bill (S. 1219) granting a pension to David Heinbach;

A bill (S. 1089) for the relief of Henrietta M. Sands, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy;

A bill (S. 889) granting a pension to Mary O. Hall;

A bill (S. 741) for the relief of William Tabb;

A bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Mayer;

A bill (S. 664) for the relief of William P. Wheaton and Charles H. Chamberlain, of California; and

A bill (S. 70) to provide for warehousing fruit brandy.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to ask whether it is competent to make a motion to reconsider when unanimous consent had been given to a matter.

The SPEAKER. It is. Unanimous consent is nothing more than a unanimous vote.

Mr. KILGORE. Then, on yesterday, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] obtained unanimous consent to fix a certain day in December for the consideration of a bill. I want to enter a motion to reconsider that vote.

The SPEAKER. The motion can be entered, and the Chair will see whether it was not made on yesterday. The Chair will cause the Journal to be examined.

Mr. MCRAE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to rise to a question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

SWAMP AND OVERFLOWED LANDS.

Mr. MCRAE. On yesterday when considering Senate bill 758 to relieve purchasers of, and to indemnify certain States for, swamp and overflowed lands disposed of, those who were present will remember that in the little discussion had the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON] wanted to oppose the bill. I offered to yield him time out of the hour allotted to me. He declined to accept it. In the RECORD this morning there is a speech of over a column in length from him, very little of which was spoken on the floor in my presence. There are some incorrect statements and unjust conclusions in his remarks as they appear that I would have noticed if they had been delivered. I shall not ask that the RECORD be corrected in that respect, but call attention to the fact that these statements were not made on the floor to show why they were not replied to by me. I was prepared to defend the bill and to answer the gentleman at the time, and think it was hardly fair to so extend his remarks after I had offered him time to be heard. I suppose the remarks are properly credited to him. He assumes the responsibility for them, and I only call attention to them to show that they were not spoken in debate and could not have been answered by me at the time, and to now say that when the bill is reached again for consideration I shall take occasion to answer the objections made by the gentleman and satisfy any reasonable man of the justice of the measure.

Mr. KILGORE. I demand the regular order.

Mr. JACKSON. I would like to say one word in reply to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] in regard to the statements he has made. I will be very brief.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON] asks to make a statement.

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] is correct in his statement that my remarks made yesterday on the floor were revised and corrected in the published RECORD, but not with more liberality than I think is customary in members. In fact, the gentleman's own remarks made yesterday were revised by himself so liberally and freely that when I saw the copy it seemed to be generally rewritten, and this called my attention to the need of revising my

own. But I make no complaint of this. I think he improved them, although they are printed very different from the Reporter's copy. After all, the gentleman and I have discussed this question before, and I think there is nothing there that is not in line with the position we have both generally taken and did take yesterday. So far as I know, there are no disputed facts. The contest is as to policy and arguments.

Mr. McRAE. It is not the revision of the gentleman's remarks that I complain of, but of making a speech in the RECORD that he ought to have known I would reply to if I had heard. I so stated to him, and I stated to him when the bill was up that I would yield him a portion of my time, reserving to myself the right to reply, and he ought to have made his points upon the floor of the House so that I could have an opportunity of replying.

Mr. JACKSON. I insisted on going on and discussing the bill, taking my own time, but the gentleman would not agree to this. I did not need to take time from the gentleman.

In the way of revision I did simply what the gentleman himself did in the same connection, only a little more so, as I had more to say.

Mr. McRAE. I revised and corrected the report of what I said, while you after doing that extended a single sentence into an argument, say, of a column when you had no time at all.

Mr. JACKSON. Your revision in the same way consisted in striking out and putting in something else.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is——

Mr. McRAE. I only corrected what the reporter made me say, and made no attempt to discuss the bill further than to answer questions asked me about it. I have no more to say.

Mr. TAULBEE. I ask the gentleman from Texas to yield to me for a moment in order to offer a resolution and make a brief statement with reference to it.

Mr. KILGORE. I yield to the gentleman for that purpose.

BRIDGE FROM LOUISVILLE, KY., TO JEFFERSONVILLE, IND.

Mr. TAULBEE. This is a resolution of inquiry which relates to the navigation of the Ohio River, and I consider it very important that it should pass at this time. It would properly go to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, but there is not a quorum of that committee present in the city; and if the House will hear the resolution read I do not think there will be any objection to its passage. If, on the reading of the resolution, there should be any objection to its immediate consideration, I shall not insist upon it; but I do not believe there will be any.

There being no objection, the resolution was read, as follows:

Whereas a proposition is now pending before the War Department for the construction of a bridge between Louisville, Ky., and Jeffersonville, Ind., etc.: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be requested, if not inconsistent with the public interests, to inform this House—

1. Whether the proposed bridge can be built without violating existing law.
2. What effect its construction will have upon the coal, iron, and river interests of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.
3. What public necessity has been disclosed for the building of a bridge at that point.
4. Whether any evidence bearing upon the foregoing questions have been presented to the War Department, and if so, what is its purport and character?

Mr. TAULBEE. The Clerk, very properly, did not read the preamble in full, but now that the House has heard the resolution I do not think there will be any objection to it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the consideration of the resolution just read?

There was no objection.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. TAULBEE moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. KILGORE. I demand the regular order.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I want to ask the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] whether he will not let me, on behalf of the State of Pennsylvania, call up a bill to authorize the auditing of an account between that State and the United States. I have a request in relation to it from the executive department of the State of Pennsylvania, and there is some comity due to a State in such a matter, and I am sure the bill can meet no objection.

Mr. KILGORE. Let it wait until another day.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded. The regular order is the call of committees for the presentation of reports.

Mr. LAWLER. I ask unanimous consent that gentlemen having reports to present may be allowed to file them with the Clerk.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I must object to that. I want to call up a bill for consideration.

The committees were called for the presentation of reports.

Mr. LAWLER. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The regular order is insisted upon, which cuts off all request for unanimous consent. The regular order is the hour for the consideration of bills reported from committees. The hour begins at half past 12 o'clock, and the call rests with the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. PEEL. Mr. Speaker, when the hour expired yesterday House bill 1407 was under consideration. While I am of opinion that if members fairly understood the object of the bill there would be no objection to it, yet as there seems to be some difference of opinion about it, and as it is a bill of considerable importance, I desire to say to gentlemen who objected yesterday that if they still insist upon making the point of "no quorum," I shall ask that it be passed over without losing its place, so that it may come up for consideration when we have a quorum.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. There will be the same objection. There can be no more legislation in this House without a quorum.

Mr. PEEL. Then I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Committee on Indian Affairs be passed over without losing its place, so that when we meet in December with a quorum present we shall be able to proceed with this bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. McMILLIN). The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL] asks unanimous consent that the call of the Committee on Indian Affairs be passed over, and that that committee may not lose the remainder of its time, which would be one hour, the call having been exhausted so far as yesterday was concerned. Is there objection?

Mr. KILGORE. Does it not have its place anyhow?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL] that if consent is given to his request the status will be that there will be one hour for the consideration of this bill, but the committee can not call up any other bill unless by unanimous consent.

Mr. PEEL. I understand that.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL]?

Mr. KILGORE. Yes, sir; I object to this House now fixing any day or hour for the consideration of business at the next session.

Mr. PEEL. My request does not fix any day.

Mr. KILGORE. I object to giving anybody any special rights for next session.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Texas objects. Objection having been made, this bill is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and the House will have to resolve itself into Committee of the Whole in order to reach it. What is the desire of the gentleman?

Mr. PEEL. I suppose it is idle to consume further time upon this, as there seems to be a disposition to stop all business. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] announces that he does not propose to let us go on without a quorum; and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] objects to the committee being passed over, and I do not see what we can do. [Laughter.]

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry, with a view to accommodate my friend from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL]. I understand his proposition to be that his committee shall not lose its place in the call.

The SPEAKER. The request of the gentleman from Arkansas was that the Committee on Indian Affairs should be passed over for the present without losing the right to occupy the remainder of the time belonging to it in this hour under the rules of the House. The Chair supposes that the usual course would be pursued and that the committee could come in and claim the remainder of its time whenever no other committee was occupying the consideration hour.

Mr. KILGORE. And the request would not fix a day for the consideration of this bill?

The SPEAKER. It would not.

Mr. KILGORE. Then I will make no objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there further objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL]?

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Before that motion is put, I wish the gentleman would let us have the call of committees for the consideration of bills continued, as I am very anxious that the Library Committee should be called. Even though I know there will be objection to considering the bill which the committee will present, on account of the absence of a quorum, I would like to have the call appear on the record, just as I would like to have it appear of record and go to the country that there are forty or fifty of us here present and that we might, if we chose, pass a number of unobjectionable bills which are on the Calendar and which would help many of our individual constituents.

The SPEAKER. The motion to adjourn is pending, and debate is not in order.

Mr. McMILLIN. I only wish to state that the reason I make the motion is because of the announcement on the part of the gentleman from Ohio that no business could be done.

Mr. LANHAM. Pending that I move that when the House adjourn to-day it be to meet on Friday next.

The question was taken on the motion of Mr. LANHAM; and on a division there were—ayes 30, noes 32.

So the motion was rejected.

The question recurred on the motion of Mr. McMILLIN, which was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will continue the call of committees.

The Committee on the Territories was called.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. I would like to ask my colleague from Texas on the Committee on the Territories if he would make the point of "no quorum" on the bill for the admission of South Dakota?

Mr. KILGORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. Then I will not call it up.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman make the point of "no quorum" on the consideration of pension bills on next Friday night? If so, I should approve of the motion to adjourn over until Friday, and from Friday until Tuesday, and so on.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will continue the call of committees.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. I desire to ask the question of my friend from Texas, if he proposes to oppose the consideration of any further bills, whether it is not better to adjourn for a few days. I notice from the morning papers to-day that the House is falling to pieces like the petals of a flower——

Mr. SOWDEN. Regular order.

The Committee on Labor was called.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. Pending that call I desire to ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Territories may be considered as not passed so that it may be called at the next session.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I object.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the probabilities are that the whole list of committees is likely to be called through anyway.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Mr. PLUMB. On behalf of the Committee on Labor, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union from the further consideration of the bill S. No. 405, and consider the same in the House.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The bill was read at length.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union from the further consideration of this bill and consider it in the House.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I object.

Mr. PLUMB. I move that the House now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering this bill.

The question was taken; and on a division there were—ayes 24, noes 14.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. No quorum.

The SPEAKER. The point of order being made that no quorum has voted, the Chair will order tellers.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi, and Mr. PLUMB were appointed tellers.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. It is unnecessary to go into the consideration of that bill, as the gentleman from Ohio has notified us there can be no legislation.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. BURNES. Pending the vote on this question, I ask unanimous consent to suspend the count until I can make a statement and a request of the House.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the gentleman will be permitted to submit a suggestion.

There was no objection.

Mr. BURNES. It will be remembered that on yesterday a certain bill relating to the Presidential count was called up by the gentleman from Kentucky and passed, and the motion was made to reconsider the action of the passage of the bill, which motion was laid on the table in the usual form. The failure of the presiding officer to hear the objection on the part of a member, which objection was undoubtedly made—and no member in the House will hesitate for a moment to indorse the integrity of the gentleman who occupied the chair—but it was evident he did not hear the objection made. Under all the circumstances, and in order that we may be in a shape which will be fair to all sides, I ask unanimous consent that so much of the action of the House as laid on the table the motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed be rescinded.

Mr. MILLIKEN. What is the bill?

Mr. BURNES. It is the bill in reference to the Presidential count.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. MILLIKEN). The Clerk will report the title of the bill, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President and the decision of questions arising thereon."

Mr. BURNES. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent simply to set aside the action of the House which moved to reconsider and laid on the table the motion to reconsider the passage of that bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object.

Mr. BURNES. I hope the objection will not be insisted upon.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Do I understand that objection is made to the request?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Ohio objects.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I ask the gentleman at least to withdraw his objection until a statement is made by the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I have no objection to do that.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I did not desire to make a statement, Mr. Speaker, but simply rose to ask, if the objection had been withdrawn to the action as proposed by the gentleman from Missouri, what would be the parliamentary status of that bill?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that if the request of the gentleman from Missouri for unanimous consent had been granted, the bill would have stood as passed, with a motion pending to reconsider the action passing it.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. And no new motion to reconsider would have to be entered.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. No new motion would have to be entered. The request of the gentleman from Missouri was to set aside the order to lay on the table the motion to reconsider, which would have left the motion to reconsider pending.

Mr. BURNES. Mr. Speaker, I trust that this proposition, which will leave the bill in the control of the House subject to any action that may be taken now or hereafter, will be acquiesced in by the House. We desire to adopt without further delay the conference report on the general deficiency bill. Ten thousand poor fellows are needing the money we are appropriating for them; they ought to have had it long ago. This is a bill in which numbers of poor people of this country are interested; and I do trust—I ask as a personal favor—that the bill may not be longer allowed to hang. By taking the action now requested we can pass this general appropriation bill, and I do hope——

Mr. MORRILL. I would like to ask the gentleman from Missouri what connection there is between the two propositions?

Mr. BURNES. The gentleman from Florida thinks that he was deprived of the right of objecting to the passage of a bill called up by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] by the accident of the Speaker *pro tempore* not hearing his objection; and if that matter be put *in statu quo* so that the gentleman from Florida can be heard upon it or have a vote on it at any time he may call it up, he will not further object to the passage of this appropriation bill. That is the whole matter.

Mr. MORRILL. That is just what I wanted to ascertain.

Mr. BURNES. It enables us to pass the general deficiency bill.

Mr. MORRILL. I was utterly unable to see any connection between the two propositions; and I do not see now why the gentleman from Florida should undertake to punish the whole House.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I objected to the proposition because I thought a bill which had been passed by the House ought to remain passed. I did not know what connection there was between the two propositions. I would like to know whether it is understood by anybody that this bill in regard to which the motion to reconsider is to be pending shall not pass into law. If there is anybody in the House who objects to that bill, I would like to know it; for I care more for that bill than for the general deficiency bill.

Mr. BURNES. I will say to my friend from Ohio that I do not know what action is proposed to be taken by any member of the House in regard to that bill; but the bill will be left as passed, with a motion to reconsider pending.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I withdraw my objection.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that the bill has been returned to the Senate.

Mr. HOOKER. I wish to say, in connection with what has been stated by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] and other gentlemen, that I conceive it natural that the gentleman from Florida, having called for a division which was not heard by the gentleman at that time occupying the chair, and which I thought, with due deference——

Mr. BURNES. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. HOOKER. Certainly.

Mr. BURNES. I ask unanimous consent to send a message to the Senate recalling the bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will ask whether there is further objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HOOKER. Before the question is put I want to make this remark——

Mr. FARQUHAR. One word. This is seemingly a bargain; it is not a matter of parliamentary proceeding at all; and I should certainly feel like objecting unless I were very sure that no other gentleman would make objection to the passage of this deficiency bill. I agree with the gentleman from Missouri that this bill ought to have been passed long ago. If it is now simply an accommodation to the gentleman from Florida that his motion shall be placed on record so that he may appear as objecting to the passage of the bill with reference to the Presidential electors, I see no difficulty in agreeing to it, because the matter of reconsideration is a privileged question. But if there are

other objectors lying by, and the gentleman from Florida is given this opportunity also, I think it would be taking an unfair advantage of the courtesy of the House to hang up this deficiency bill any longer. I would like to reserve that point.

Mr. BURNES. I am sure there will be no further objection.

Mr. FARQUHAR. If the gentleman is satisfied of that, all right. I did not know but that the gentleman from Mississippi intended to make a point.

Mr. BURNES. Oh, no; I think not.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I certainly am not disposed to object to the request; but I feel it urgent that this deficiency bill should be passed at once, for the honor of this House and for the credit of the country.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. HOOKER. I want to make a single remark before the House passes upon that request.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will suspend his remarks for a moment, until a message from the Senate is received.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. McCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had receded from its amendments to bills of the following titles:

A bill (H. R. 1239) to extend the jurisdiction of the Light-House Board to the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, California;

A bill (H. R. 1249) for establishing a light-house and fog-signal on Roe Island, Suisun Bay, California;

A bill (H. R. 1641) for the erection of a light-house at or near a point about midway between Barnegat and Navesink lights, in the State of New Jersey;

A bill (H. R. 5700) to facilitate the transportation of life-saving and light-house supplies at Hog Island, Virginia;

A bill (H. R. 7421) for establishing a light off Pamlico Point, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 7604) for the establishment of a light-house and fog-signal at or near Gull Shoal, Pamlico Sound, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 8855) for the establishment of a light-ship with a steam fog-signal at Sandy Hook, New York Harbor; and

A bill (H. R. 10183) to establish a light-ship off Great Round Shoal, near Nantucket, Mass.

The message further announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the following titles:

A bill (H. R. 6619) for the relief of Eliza A. Cutler; and

A bill (H. R. 8674) for the relief of Starling H. Tucker and others.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments the bill (H. R. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis.; asked a conference with the House on said bill and amendments, and had appointed as conferees on the part of the Senate Mr. SAWYER, Mr. DOLPH, and Mr. VEST.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. HOOKER. I was proceeding to remark, Mr. Speaker, that when the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] called for a division, I think, with due deference to my friend who was then in the chair, and who, I know, endeavored to decide this matter according to what was right, he ought to have been recognized in the demand for a division. But, sir, at the same time I regard the bill which has been passed as an important one. It is for the purpose of correcting an error in reference to the electoral count which existed in the statute as it passed in 1887. It is a Senate bill, that is, it was introduced in the Senate and passed that body unanimously. I should regard it as unfortunate after the bill had been passed by the unanimous approbation of the House if any action should be taken on our part at this time by which that important bill should be defeated; and anxious as I am to see the deficiency bill acted upon and passed, I should regret very much seeing the House put itself in the attitude where we might be very much embarrassed in reference to the passage of that electoral-count bill. I think that is an important bill. I think it was right on our part that it was passed.

Now if it is understood the gentleman from Florida will not persist in his opposition to that bill, and will not raise the question of a quorum on the deficiency bill, then I think we should agree to the request which has been made and let the matter stand in that attitude. The deficiency bill is of great importance. There are several thousand people interested in it. It is one of the general appropriation bills, and it is important that it should be passed at once. I hope, therefore, there will be no further objection, but that it will be allowed to go through.

Mr. ROGERS. I was temporarily called out of the House, and I wish to know what is the question before the House.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is on the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] to set aside the action of the House laying on the table the motion to reconsider the vote by which the electoral-count bill was passed.

Mr. ROGERS. He wants to enter the motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It was passed, and the motion was made to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed, and that motion was laid on the table. The gentleman's request is to set aside by unanimous consent the vote by which the motion to reconsider was laid on the table, and to allow the motion to be entered to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. ROGERS. I should like to know, if I am in order, what is the object of the gentleman from Missouri in reconsidering that matter.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It has been already stated.

Mr. ROGERS. I was out of the House at the time.

Mr. BURNES. It is done because of the feeling that by the action of the Chair, of course unintentionally, the gentleman from Florida was deprived of his right to have a division on the passage of the bill. Those of us who sat near the gentleman from Florida are aware of the fact that he did call for a division, which, however, was not heard by the Chair. If the vote by which the motion to reconsider was laid upon the table be vacated that leaves the matter standing before the House on the motion of the gentleman from Florida to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. ROGERS. Is the gentleman from Florida opposed to this electoral-count bill at all?

Mr. BURNES. I do not know that the gentleman has urged any reason why he was opposed to that bill, but evidently he showed signs of opposition to its passage.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I was in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore* at the time this matter took place. The vote was taken on the bill. The Chair announced the ayes seemed to have it, and then with some deliberation announced that the ayes had it and that the bill was passed. At that time the gentleman from Florida rose and demanded a division. He states to me in private conversation that he demanded a division before the result was announced by the Chair. The Chair did not hear his demand. The bill was then announced as passed. No motion was made or put to the House that the vote by which the bill was passed should be reconsidered. The RECORD shows exactly what occurred from beginning to end. I do not know what the Journal shows, but I do know that the RECORD shows that there was no motion made to reconsider, and therefore no motion was made to lay the motion to reconsider upon the table. That is all I have to say.

While I regret that the gentleman from Florida was deprived of his right, I wish to say for myself distinctly that I had no intention to deprive the gentleman from Florida, or any other gentleman, of any right which he possessed. The decision I made when I occupied the chair in reference to this bill was only what the House had the right to demand at my hands as its presiding officer at the time.

That was the only question in the matter; and beyond that no motion was made or action was taken in regard to the bill. No motion was made to reconsider.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I will state, in reference to what the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE] has said, that it has not at any time been my intention to impugn his motives in this matter.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I did not understand the gentleman to do so.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I make the statement to this House, and I think the gentlemen who were sitting in my vicinity at the time I was on the floor will bear out the statement, that, having voted "no," immediately after voting I called for a division. The Chair evidently did not hear me, and decided the question. Now, as to the matter of deliberation—the deliberation with which he decided it—I think that gentlemen upon this floor will agree that the decision was certainly a very quick one. The gentleman, however, is of course the best judge of the deliberation with which he decided that question; and I raise no point upon that.

The practice on this floor has been—if I am any judge of the procedure since I have been a member on this floor—a question having been put, a member calls for a division, and even after the Chair has decided the question and a gentleman has arisen and stated that he had called for a division it has certainly been the custom of the House to have the division. It has certainly been the uniform custom of the present occupant of the chair.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that he now has the original notes of the Official Reporter, which can be read if the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] desires; but these notes show what has already been stated by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE] that no motion to reconsider was made. If there be no objection, therefore, the Journal will be corrected, and it will be in order for the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] to make the motion to reconsider.

Mr. ROGERS. A point of order. Can he do so, having voted "no?"

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know how any gentleman voted, the yeas and nays not having been taken.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. If having voted in the minority——

The SPEAKER. There is no record of the vote, and in such cases any gentleman can make a motion to reconsider.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker. Would the fact of a motion being entered to reconsider the vote by which that bill was passed bring the bill back from the Senate?

The SPEAKER. The House would then, the Chair presumes, in accordance with the usual custom, request the Senate to return the bill.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Is there any precedent for the Senate refusing to return the bill? [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair has not examined the precedents; but if there be no objection, the Journal will be corrected in accordance with what is shown by the record and the statement by the gentleman presiding at the time, and if the gentleman desires he can make a motion to reconsider. If there be no objection, the Journal as corrected will be approved.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. If while occupying the chair on yesterday the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] feels that by any action of mine he was deprived of any right to which he was entitled as a member upon this floor, I simply want to say that I desire the House to give to the gentleman from Florida the opportunity to exercise any right that he might have thus been deprived of. I will at the same time make my humble acknowledgment to the House for any error I may have committed, if I did so.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I will state that so far as I am concerned I will do the gentleman from Kentucky the justice to say that whatever right I may have been deprived of it was inadvertently done on the part of the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. Speaker, I would first ask that the Journal be corrected.

The SPEAKER. That has been done.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Then I ask to enter a motion to reconsider.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has the right to enter that motion. If there be no objection, the Clerk will be instructed to request the Senate to return the bill to the House.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask a parliamentary question on Rule XVIII, which I send to the Clerk's desk to be read.

The Clerk read Rule XVIII, as follows:

When a motion has been made and carried or lost it shall be in order for any member of the majority, on the same or succeeding day, to move for the reconsideration thereof, and such motion shall take precedence of all other questions, except the consideration of a conference report, a motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, to adjourn, or to take a recess, and shall not be withdrawn after the said succeeding day without the consent of the House, and thereafter any member may call it up for consideration: *Provided*, That such motion, if made during the last six days of a session, shall be disposed of when made.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Now, Mr. Speaker, to my mind the arrangement proposed this morning sets aside the spirit of that rule, from the fact that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] did not vote with the majority. So far as the status of the electoral bill is concerned, I think that every gentleman here, except the gentleman from Florida, feels that it ought not to be changed. There is, however, one point with reference to the status of the bill upon which my mind is not clear, and that is how far it will be affected by the motion to reconsider.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. No such motion was made.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I refer to the proposition of the gentleman to make a motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. What I desire to know of the Chair is this: What is the exact status of the bill, provided the House agree unanimously to the gentleman's request?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will first decide the point of order made by the gentleman from New York. The gentleman makes the point of order that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] has no right to make the motion to reconsider because as a matter of fact he voted in the negative or with the minority. But that question has been frequently presented to the House, and ever since the Twenty-third Congress at least, and perhaps before that time, it has been decided as the Chair decided it awhile ago. The Clerk will read the decision made in the Twenty-third Congress, which has been followed ever since.

The Clerk read as follows:

Where a vote is not taken by yeas and nays, and consequently no record made of each member's vote, it is the well-settled practice to permit any member to move a reconsideration.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks, therefore, that the gentleman from Florida has a right to enter the motion to reconsider.

The status of the bill is this. The bill was passed yesterday, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] now makes a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed. If that motion is called up now, it must be acted upon now.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The question was taken on the motion of Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR, and the Speaker declared that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I call for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 40, noes 8.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. No quorum.

Mr. PLUMB. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. PLUMB. I desire to inquire what has become of the business that was progressing when the matter came up?

The SPEAKER. The Chair is advised that this matter was taken up by unanimous consent upon the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES]. Of course, if the regular order is demanded, the Chair must proceed with the regular order, which is the hour for the consideration of bills reported from committees.

Mr. PLUMB. Then, for want of making an objection, we are taking up time in this way?

The SPEAKER. The present occupant of the chair was out when this matter came up, but is advised that it came up by unanimous consent.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] asked unanimous consent that this matter might be taken up pending the action as to tellers, and it was done. The tellers were standing on the floor when the consent was given.

The SPEAKER. That is the information given to the present occupant of the chair.

Mr. PLUMB. I desire to inquire whether the former order of business can now be proceeded with?

The SPEAKER. It can. The matter which came up by unanimous consent was a request by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES], which was not agreed to, and afterward the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY], as a matter of right, entered a motion to reconsider, which motion will be pending, and also the motion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

The tellers will resume their places. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois, that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill the title of which was read.

Mr. BURNES. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry. Would it be proper for me now to call up as a privileged matter the conference report on the deficiency bill?

The SPEAKER. That is in order.

Mr. BURNES. Then I call up that report.

The SPEAKER. A conference report is in order, even when a motion to adjourn is pending. The gentleman calls up for further consideration the report of the conference committee on the deficiency appropriation bill.

Mr. BURNES. I move that the report be adopted.

The SPEAKER. The motion was made yesterday; the previous question was ordered upon it, and the House was dividing, but no quorum voted. The tellers will resume their places.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry. What is now the status——

The SPEAKER. The Chair has stated that on the bill with reference to the electoral count the gentleman from Florida has entered his motion to reconsider, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] has made a motion to lay that on the table. The pending question in reference to that bill is upon the motion to lay on the table.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Where is the bill in fact?

The SPEAKER. The bill has passed the House, and has been returned to the Senate.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Would it be in order to offer a resolution asking the Senate to return the bill to the House, as a motion to reconsider has been entered?

The SPEAKER. Not at this time, because the gentleman from Missouri has called up the conference report.

Mr. JACKSON. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry. At one time during this discussion a request was made, and, I believe, submitted by the Chair, that the Clerk request the Senate to return this bill. I wish to know whether that request was submitted.

The SPEAKER. The Chair stated that in accordance with the custom in such cases it would be in order to make such a request of the Senate, but it was not made.

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] will resume their places as tellers upon the question of agreeing to the report of the conference committee.

Mr. BURNES. As it has been announced that the bill in reference to the electoral count has been returned to the Senate, I ask unanimous consent to offer a resolution requesting the Senate to return the bill, pending the motion of the gentleman from Florida to reconsider.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. I would like to inquire the object in having the bill reconsidered.

Mr. BURNES. There is a motion pending now to reconsider, and the bill ought to be here.

Mr. JACKSON. A motion was made to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

Mr. BURNES. The motion to reconsider is pending and also the motion to lay on the table.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. There is no more use in talking. I will say to the gentleman from Missouri that if Florida controls this Government let her take possession.

Mr. BURNES. Oh, well, Florida does not.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Florida is not undertaking to do anything of the kind. A Representative from Florida is undertaking to place himself in a position where he will not be deprived of his rights as a member on this floor. That is all.

Mr. BURNES. I ask unanimous consent to offer the resolution I have indicated.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. I object.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will inform the Senate that a motion

to reconsider is pending, and the Senate can take its own course in regard to the bill.

Mr. PLUMB. Now is it in order to proceed with our business?

The SPEAKER. The tellers will resume their places.

Mr. BURNES. I rise to a point of order. The record now discloses the condition of this bill; and I submit that the House, as a matter of right, should demand the recall of the bill. I make the point that it is the duty of this House, pending the motion to reconsider, to bring the bill back.

The SPEAKER. The present recollection of the Chair is that when there were joint rules in force covering proceedings between the two Houses—rules agreed to by both branches of Congress—there was a provision of the kind which the gentleman indicates. But those rules have not been regarded as in force since 1877; and the House and the Senate have, since that time, conducted their business with each other upon the principles of general parliamentary law. All that the House can do as a matter of privilege or right, is, through its Clerk, to notify the Senate that a motion to reconsider has been made and is pending.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. And to ask the return of the bill. It is usual to ask the Senate in such cases to return the bill.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. Is it not necessary that there should be an order of the House directing the Clerk to make the notification?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks it is the duty of the Clerk to convey to the Senate that information in regard to the state of the bill.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. Regardless of any instruction by the House?

The SPEAKER. The Clerk always notifies the Senate of the fact that a bill has passed the House; and the Chair thinks that when a motion to reconsider the passage of a bill is entered the Clerk should notify the Senate that there is such a motion pending. But the House has control of this matter. If the Committee on Enrolled Bills should report this bill to the House as being duly enrolled and ready for the signature of the Speaker, the House may refuse to receive the report and may refuse to permit the Speaker to sign the bill, because a motion to reconsider is pending. The House must always have control over its own proceedings.

Mr. ROGERS. I wish to submit a parliamentary inquiry, or it may be a point of order. I desire to know whether the Clerk of the House has the right to bear any message to the Senate which he is not directed to communicate by an order of the House entered on its Journal.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would hesitate about deciding as to the actual right of the Clerk; but the Chair thinks it has been the custom to communicate to the Senate all proceedings of the House in relation to bills passed by the House—House bills, and certainly Senate bills.

Mr. ROGERS. I desire to raise a point of order.

The SPEAKER. What is it?

Mr. ROGERS. It is that the Clerk of the House has no business and it is not his duty to make a communication to the Senate requesting the return of a bill passed by the House without first having the authority of the House for so doing.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will examine the matter.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Has it not been the practice of the House to take such action as is proposed to be taken by that resolution in cases identical with the one now before us?

The SPEAKER. It has; and invariably unanimous consent has been granted for such a request, so far as the Chair remembers.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. I desire to withdraw my objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES].

Mr. HIESTAND. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The objection having been renewed, the Chair will take time to investigate and see what has been the practice of the House in similar cases heretofore. Heretofore, so far as the Chair knows, there has never been objection to the request for the recall of a bill from the Senate. It may be the question has never yet been presented to the House.

The tellers will take their places in reference to the report of the committee of conference on the deficiency bill.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was put, and the Chair declared that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I demand a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 8, noes 37.

So the House refused to adjourn.

Mr. BAKER, of New York. What is the present status of the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] in reference to the electoral count?

The SPEAKER. It was objected to.

Mr. LAWLER. I desire to present a privileged report.

The SPEAKER. There is one before the House.

Mr. HIESTAND. I withdraw the motion for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. Objection having been withdrawn, the question recurs on the request made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] for the adoption of the resolution which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House request the Senate to have returned to the House the bill S. 3620, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed having been made.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I think it is far more important that bill should pass than that the deficiency bill should pass. The election of the President may depend on the passage of that bill, and I therefore must object.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will look into the question and determine what the practice of the House has been.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the demand for a further count.

The SPEAKER. The point of order being withdrawn, the Chair will announce the result of the vote.

The tellers report—ayes 51, noes 1.

So, no further count being demanded, the conference report was agreed to.

Mr. BURNES moved to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was adopted, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

MARGARET KENNEDY.

Mr. LAWLER. I wish to submit a privileged report. This report is signed by the committee on the part of the Senate and the House, except Mr. BROWER, who was not in the city.

The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 307) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendment.

W. J. STONE,
FRANK LAWLER,
Managers on the part of the House.

WM. M. STEWART,
JOHN C. SPOONER,
JAMES K. JONES,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The conference report was adopted.

Mr. LAWLER moved to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. PLUMB. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. PLUMB. I wish to know whether on to-morrow the Committee on Labor will have an additional hour on this same question?

The SPEAKER. The Committee on Labor will have on to-morrow, or whenever that character of business is reached, an hour to complete the consideration of the bill before the House.

YANKTON AND MISSOURI RIVER RAILROAD.

Mr. PEEL submitted the following conference report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7547) entitled "A bill granting the right of way to the Yankton and Missouri River Railway through the Yankton reservation in Dakota," having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment numbered 1.

That the title be agreed to as proposed by the Senate.

S. W. PEEL,
KNUTE NELSON,
Managers on the part of the House.

H. L. DAWES,
O. H. PLATT,
JAMES K. JONES,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The statement submitted by the House conferees was read, as follows:

The managers appointed on the part of the House upon the disagreement of the House to the Senate amendments to House bill 7547, entitled "A bill granting the right of way to the Yankton and Missouri River Railway through the Yankton reservation in Dakota," respectfully report: That the Senate amendment to said bill constitutes after the title an entire new bill. But inasmuch as the restrictions upon the railway company are increased, and the interests of the Indians are equally or better protected by the said amendment, your committee recommend concurrence therein. The bill as presented provides that the proposed railway shall pay to the Indians whatever damages they sustain in consequence of the appropriation of their lands, etc., for the construction of the road, the amount to be ascertained in such manner as the President may determine, and to pay in addition thereto the sum of $15 per mile per annum to the Indians.

And further, that said road shall at all times be under the control of the Congress of the United States until the said Territory is admitted into the Union as a State, and then to be under the control of the said State.

S. W. PEEL,
K. NELSON,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was adopted.

Mr. PEEL moved to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. LANHAM. Pending that, I move that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Friday next.

The motion was agreed to.

The motion of Mr. MCMILLIN was then agreed to; and accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Friday next.

PRIVATE BILL INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bill of the following title was introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. RICE: A bill (H. R. 11584) for the relief of Florida Kennerly—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. ABBOTT: Petition of heirs of David and Barbette Carb, of Tarrant County, Texas, for reference of their claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. PHELAN: Petition of Mrs. C. A. Russell, administratrix of B. B. Neville, of Shelby County, and of M. E. Eubanks, heir of Ann B. McGowan, of Hardeman County, Tennessee, for reference of their claims to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October* 11, 1888.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. CULLOM presented the petition of Thomas S. Hasler, late surgeon of Company K, Fifty-fifth Regiment Ohio Infantry Volunteers, praying to be allowed a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. SAWYER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (H. R. 2702) granting a pension to Mary Ann Shock;

A bill (H. R. 10515) to increase the pension of William Gallagher;

A bill (H. R. 5751) for the relief of Margaret M. Hatch; and

A bill (H. R. 7887) granting an increase of pension to Jonathan C. Harrison.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I am instructed by the Committee on Appropriations to report favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 11581) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act. I should like to have the bill passed now, if there is no objection.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the act approved October 1, 1888, entitled "An act a supplement to an act entitled 'An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,' approved the 6th day of May, 1882," and for defraying the expenses which may be incurred in the enforcement of that act by the Secretary of the Treasury during the fiscal year 1889 the sum of $50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is appropriated by the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. CAMERON introduced a bill (S. 3627) to increase the pension of John B. Davis; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3628) granting an increase of pension to Emma Biddle; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3629) for the relief of the heir or heirs of John Howard Payne; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

REDUCTION OF LETTER-POSTAGE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there are no resolutions, concurrent or other, the order of morning business is closed.

Mr. MITCHELL. There is a bill on the table which I had the honor of introducing on the 17th of September, relating to the reduction of letter-postage. If agreeable to the Senate, I ask that it be taken up for the purpose of enabling me to submit some brief remarks upon it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

A bill (S. 3558) to reduce letter-postage to 1 cent per ounce.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after March 4, 1889, the rates of letter-postage shall be as follows: On all letters weighing 1 ounce or less, the postage from any point or place in the United States to any other point or place within the limits of the United States, and on all drop-letters, shall be 1 cent, and for each additional ounce or fraction thereof the postage shall be 1 cent additional.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the bill is before the Senate, and the Senator from Oregon will proceed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, before moving a reference of this bill to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, I desire to submit a few observations for the consideration of that committee and of the Senate.

Cheap postage on letters is something that interests every man, woman, and I might perhaps with propriety say, every child in the United States; especially are the business communities, as well as those who are poor, interested in having letter-postage as low as possible. In considering this subject, of course it is proper that the revenues of the Post-Office Department should be taken into account; and while, in my judgment, it never was expected that the Post-Office Department in this country would be self-sustaining, nor is there in either law or logic any very good reason why it should be, especially at the sacrifice, either total or partial, of the interests of the great masses of the people, any more than the War, Navy, or Interior Departments should be self-sustaining, at the same time it is well we should look to the practical effect in the matter of revenues and the interests of tax-payers generally, of any proposed law looking to a reduction of letter-postage.

There was evidently a radical difference in intention between those who framed the articles of confederation and the framers of our Constitution. Under the former it is plainly to be observed it was expected the Department would be self-supporting, while under the latter it is quite apparent there was upon the part of those who established our present Government an entire absence of all expectation of self-support.

The great fundamental idea upon which the postal system of the United States rests is not that of revenue—as is the case in most European countries—but to disseminate intelligence, accommodate the people, encourage trade, aid commerce, strengthen the ties of friendship and social intercourse, and give stability and vitality to the social, business, and political fabric.

In most of the countries of Europe the main object of the postal service is to produce revenue; we see, consequently, in England, that out of gross receipts amounting to £8,705,337, on money-order and postal business proper, during the year ending March 31, 1888, a net revenue of £2,771,517, or nearly $14,000,000, was realized; in Germany, that out of gross receipts from all branches of the postal service, amounting to 252,933,664 francs, in the year ending March 31, 1887, a net revenue of 34,088,665 francs, or over $6,800,000, was realized; and in France, that out of gross receipts amounting to 172,945,928 francs, during the year ending December 31, 1886, a net revenue of 33,069,462 francs was realized.

It is, therefore, to the postal service of these countries respectively that they look in a large measure for the revenues necessary to revolve the wheels of government in the various *other* departments of the public service, and it is, therefore, a species of general taxation impressed upon and collected annually from the convenience, the business, and social intercourse, and the means of dissemination of intelligence among the people. It is, in other words, a direct and burdensome tax in these European countries and under these European systems upon those things which can not but be properly classed among the very *essentials* of life.

In the United States it is wholly different. There is no reason whatever that the Post-Office Department in this country should be self-supporting, much less that it should be looked to as a source of revenue to be used in liquidating the ordinary expenses of the Government in other Departments. Taxes from other sources, on the luxuries of life and on those articles of foreign production which come in direct competition with the home products of our own country are more than sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government, including any annual deficit in the revenues of the Post-Office Department. From these sources of taxation we are to-day confronted with what by some is regarded a dangerous surplus in the national Treasury, and all parties are insisting on a reduction of taxation of from $60,000,000 to $75,000,000.

It may further be said in this connection that our present rates of letter-postage are as cheap, perhaps a fraction cheaper, than are the rates of any other country on the globe. The penny postage of Great Britain is a large fraction *higher* than our present 2-cent letter-postage, weight, distances, and value of coins considered. But however this may be, if without any serious embarrassment either to the revenues of the Government or the postal service generally in all its varied and important ramifications the rates of letter-postage can be reduced below the present rate of 2 cents for each ounce or fraction thereof, thus extending a most material service to the great body of the American people, then it should be done without any hesitation or unnecessary delay.

We are a progressive nation; none more so—yea, none by a very large percentage so much so among civilized men; and with our progress it is but right that our legislation should gradually tend to reduce, so far as possible, the burdens of the people, and lighten, so far as consistent with good government, the taxes of the masses upon all those articles of general use, which, like letters, must be ranked, not among the

luxuries, but the necessities of life. Especially is the ordinary business letter, as also the every-day letter of social intercourse between separated friends, to be properly ranked among the indispensable necessities of business and social life.

Prior to 1845, forty-three years ago, letter-postage was in this country 25 cents on each letter of a single sheet of paper sent any distance over 400 miles, and 50 cents on a letter containing two sheets of paper a similar distance, and 75 cents on a three-sheet letter. In that year (1845) the first reduction was made by Congress, whereby the letter rate was fixed at 5 cents on all letters going any distance under 300 miles, and 10 cents on all distances over 300 miles; and what was the effect? The increase of letters written and sent was such that, although there was a temporary falling off in the aggregate annual receipts, it was not enough to create a deficiency. Seven years elapsed before another reduction was made. This was in 1851, when letter-postage was reduced from 5 cents to 3 cents, and rates generally on second and third class matter were reduced, and yet, in 1865, there was a surplus in the Post-Office Department of $861,430. In 1882 the surplus was $1,400,000, and in 1883 about $2,000,000. The next reduction in letter-postage was in October, 1883, when the rate of letter-postage was reduced to 2 cents for each half-ounce. This resulted in a deficiency the ensuing fiscal year of about $1,888,601, and in 1885 the deficiency, we are told, was about $7,000,000.

But notwithstanding this great deficiency, a Republican administration intervened again in 1884 in behalf of the masses of the people and of the business interests of the country, and provided that letters not exceeding 1 ounce in weight should go for 2 cents between any points however remote throughout the States and Territories of the Union; and the rates, moreover, on newspapers and periodicals were reduced one-half. Still, notwithstanding this increase in the weight of the letter to be conveyed and the reduction of rates for other matter, the deficiency in 1886 was not as great as in 1885. In the latter year, as we have seen, it was about $7,000,000, while in 1886 it was about $6,930,000, and one year later, in 1887, as we are advised by the report of the Postmaster-General, the deficiency was only about $4,000,000, or nearly $3,000,000 less than that of the previous year—a result brought about mainly by the large increase of mailable matter transmitted through the mails, and also by a very serious and indefensible curtailment of the star-route mail service throughout the States and Territories of the Pacific coast and elsewhere, whereby the people were unjustly deprived of proper mail service.

But not only so. Notwithstanding the decrease in postage rates, the revenues to the Department increased in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, $4,840,000 over those of the preceding year. Postmaster-General Vilas in his last annual report says:

> In part arising from an extension of the limits of mailable matter of the fourth class, ordered to meet the requirements of trade, and from the receipts of the special delivery service, but chiefly from the greater employment of all postal facilities consequent upon the rising business prosperity of the country, faithfully reflected in the postal service, the revenues have gained upon the preceding year by nearly $4,840,000, attaining a height never reached before, despite the restrictive operation of various reductions in the rates of postage.

It is true the expenditures of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, were largely in excess of those of the preceding year; the expenditures for the year 1887 being $53,723,782, and for the year ending June 30, 1888, $55,723,782, or an increase in one year of $2,717,588. It is furthermore true that the expenditures of this Department were in the fiscal year ending June 30 last in excess of those in the last year of President Arthur's administration—that is, the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885—in the sum of $5,677,547, the expenditures in 1885 being only $50,046,235, while in the fiscal year just closed, June 30, 1888, they were $55,723,782. While this is all undoubtedly true, it is plain that, with a commendable but not parsimonious economy in the administration of the Post-Office Department, in connection with the vast increase of population and business throughout the country and the consequent multiplication of post-offices and of postal business, the deficiency now existing in the Post-Office accounts must, under existing rates, soon give place to a very large surplus. In fact, the late Postmaster-General, Mr. Vilas, while not favoring a present reduction in the rates of letter-postage, so states in his annual report. He says, in speaking of the reduction in the deficiency of last year over that of the previous year and of the great increase of business:

> While the fair augury from our present circumstances gives hope that during the current year it (the deficiency) will nearly if not entirely disappear.

He further says:

> It may, therefore, be fairly affirmed that from the beginning of the current fiscal year (July 1, 1887) the postal service has again become substantially self-sustaining.

This prediction of the late Postmaster-General Vilas in his last annual report, it is true, has not been entirely verified, inasmuch as the Department, instead of showing an entire disappearance of any deficiency for the current year referred to by Mr. Vilas, or that the postal service has from the beginning of the current fiscal year (July 1, 1887) again become self-sustaining, there is an actual deficiency of $2,555,040. Still it is true that although the expenditures are thus largely increased, that is, in the sum of $5,677,547 over those of 1885, the last year of Republican administration—still, owing to the largely increased revenues, it is true the gap between revenue and expenditure is gradually, if not rapidly, growing less, and as has been the case within two or three or four years at most, after all, cases of reduction of the rates of letter-postage, will soon disappear.

And hence it follows that without any detriment whatever to the fiscal operations of the Government in connection with the affairs of the Post-Office Department, and without drawing upon the tax-payers to supply annual deficiencies, and with immense benefit to the great masses of the people, especially the business community, and in another form the indigent classes, a reduction of letter-postage to 1 cent to each 1-ounce letter or fraction thereof, and also including all drop letters, may very properly be made. Such a move would be in the interest of the rapid exchange of intelligence; it would increase and add strength and vigor to business transactions, and tend to the maintenance, perpetuity, and strengthening of those ties of kindred, connecting millions of individuals throughout the length and breadth of our wide domain, and which add strength, stability, and unity to the nation, and by means of all which national prosperity is promoted and the great cause of civilization advanced.

THE HISTORY OF LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE RATES OF LETTER POSTAGE IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

It may be interesting, in connection with this proposed legislation, as showing the rapidity of the national growth, to note the first steps taken by the English Parliament looking to the establishment of a regular system of mails in America. The first enactment on this subject was made in the year 1710. It is contained in chapter 10 of the 9th Queen Anne and was an act providing for the establishment of a general post-office for all Her Majesty's dominions and for setting apart a weekly sum out of the revenues thereof, that is of the revenues of the post-office for, to quote the act, "the service of the war and other Her Majesty's occasions."

This act also fixed a schedule of postage rates throughout the English dominions, including, of course, the American colonies. The schedule was lengthy and complicated. It provided, for instance, among other things—

> That on all letters and packets from New York to New London, the chief town in Connecticut, in New England, and from Philadelphia, the chief town in Pennsylvania, and from those places back to New York, the postage should be on a single letter 9 pence; double letter, 1*s.* 6*d.*; treble letter, 2*s.* 3*d.*; a 1-ounce letter, 3*s.*

It also provided—

> That on all letters and packets from New London and Philadelphia to any place not exceeding 50 English miles, and thence back again, the postage should be on a single letter, 4*d.*; double letter, 8*d.*; treble, 1*s.*, and on an ounce letter, 1*s.* and 4*d.*

The next important step was taken in 1765 (chapter 25 of 5 George III), which was an act to alter certain rates of postage and to amend, explain, and enlarge several provisions in an act made in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne, and in other acts relating to the revenue of the post-office.

LEGISLATION AS TO LETTER POSTAGE BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

The next important legislation in reference to this general subject of postal service in America was the act of the Continental Congress of July 26, 1775. This act provided that a Postmaster-General should be appointed for the United Colonies, who should hold his office at Philadelphia and should be allowed a salary of $1,000 per annum for himself and $340 per annum for a secretary and comptroller, with power to suggest so many deputies as to him might seem proper and necessary.

This act also provided that a line of posts should be appointed, under the direction of the Postmaster-General, from Falmouth in New England to Savannah in Georgia, with as many cross-posts as he should think fit.

This act further provided an allowance to the deputies in lieu of salary and of contingent expenses of 20 per cent. on the sums they collected and paid into the general post-office annually when the whole was under or not exceeding $1,000 and 10 per cent. for all sums above $1,000 a year.

It was also recommended by the Continental Congress that the Postmaster-General should establish a weekly post to South Carolina. The Journals of the Continental Congress further show that on that date (July 26, 1775), the Congress proceeded to the election of a Postmaster-General for one year and until another should be appointed by a future Congress, at which election Benjamin Franklin was unanimously chosen Postmaster-General.

By the act of the Continental Congress of April 16, 1779, the then rates of postage, which were fixed by chapter 10, 9 Queen Anne, in 1710, were doubled.

The next change in postal rates is to be found in a resolution of the Continental Congress of December 28, 1779, by which it was provided that the rate of postage until the further orders of Congress should be, "twenty prices upon the sums paid in the year 1775." Five months later, on May 5, 1780, by a resolution adopted on that date, the rates of postage were doubled. This act also provided as follows:

> That all masters of packets and other vessels in Continental service be, and they are hereby, required to lodge whatever letters they bring from abroad, in the post-office nearest to the port where they shall arrive and immediately after their arrival.

While on December 12, 1780, it was provided by a resolution of the Continental Congress as follows:

That the rates of postage on letters be fixed at half the rates paid at the commencement of the war.

This resolution further provided as follows:

That the post-riders to the eastward during their necessary stay at Fishkill have their horses kept in the public stables, and that a reasonable deduction be made from their pay for the forage they shall be supplied with.

And it was further ordered:

That the Postmaster-General order the post-riders to travel through Connecticut at a distance from the sea shore in such a manner as may render them secure from attempts of a like nature with that which lately happened at Stratford, in that State.

It would seem from this that the people of Connecticut in and about Stratford had about that time, 1780, been interfering in some way with the English mail service in this country.

The next change made by the Continental Congress in postage on letters was by resolution of October 19, 1781, when it was resolved as follows:

That the price to be paid for the postage of letters be reduced to what it was at the commencement of the present war.

This resolution authorized the Postmaster-General—

To allow the several postmasters such commission per cent. as he should think their respective services merit, so that the said commissions did not in the whole exceed 20 per cent.; and, further, that he cause the mail to be carried with all dispatch once a week; and, still further, that from and after the 1st day of December next (1871) all express riders on constant pay be dismissed from the public service.

This state of the postal service, in so far as the rates of postage on letters were concerned, continued for one year, until October, 1782, when a lengthy enactment upon the subject of the mail service in this country, entitled "An ordinance for regulating the post-office of the United States of America," was passed. By this ordinance the rates of postage on letters to and from the different post-offices within the United States were as follows, in pennyweights and grains of silver, estimating each pennyweight at five-ninetieths of a dollar, to wit: For any distance not exceeding 60 miles, 1 pennyweight 8 grains; upwards of 60 and not exceeding 100 miles, 2 pennyweights; upward of 100 and not exceeding 200 miles, 2 pennyweights 16 grains; and so on, 16 grains advance for every 100 miles. These were the inland rates; other rates were provided for foreign mail matter.

The next change in the letter postal rates in this country was brought about by a resolution of Congress on October 20, 1787, when it was resolved as follows:

That the Postmaster-General be, and he is hereby, authorized and instructed to alter the present rates of postage so as to reduce them as nearly 25 per cent as will consist with the present mode of calculating pennyweights and grains of silver, in order to reduce them to the currencies of the several States, and that he make the necessary arrangements so that the new rates may take place on the 5th day of April next.

This resolution also provided as follows:

Whereas large packets would frequently be sent by post if a proportionably less rate of postage were charged for them than for letters: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Postmaster-General be, and he hereby is, authorized to fix such rates per pound weight for the carriage of such packets as he may judge will be most likely to induce persons to send such by post.

LETTER POSTAL LEGISLATION UNDER THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

The history of legislation in reference to the rates of letter postage in this country since the adoption of our Constitution is very interesting and may very properly be considered with profit in connection with the consideration of the pending measure looking to the reduction of postage on letters to 1 cent per ounce, and especially with reference to the question already briefly referred to, that of the effect of the several reductions on the revenues of the Post-Office Department.

The act of February 20, 1792, was the first act under our present Constitution fixing the rates of postage on domestic letters. That act established the following rates, to take effect on the 1st day of June, 1792. Section 9 provided—

For every single letter not exceeding 30 miles, 6 cents; for every single letter over 30 miles and not exceeding 60 miles, 8 cents; for every single letter over 60 miles and not exceeding 100 miles, 10 cents; for every single letter over 100 miles and not exceeding 150 miles, 12½ cents; for every single letter over 150 miles and not exceeding 200 miles, 15 cents; for every single letter over 200 miles and not exceeding 250 miles, 17 cents; for every single letter over 250 miles and not exceeding 350 miles, 20 cents; for every single letter over 350 miles and not exceeding 450 miles, 22 cents; and for every single letter over 450 miles, 25 cents.

This act also provided that for every double letter double these rates should be paid, and for every triple letter triple such rates.

The next change in rates of domestic letter-postage was made by section 7 of the act of March 2, 1799. That act established a general post-office at the seat of Government of the United States, and provided that—

For every letter composed of a single sheet of paper conveyed not exceeding 40 miles, 8 cents; over 40 miles and not exceeding 90 miles, 10 cents; over 90 miles and not exceeding 150 miles, 12½ cents; over 150 miles and not exceeding 300 miles, 17 cents; over 300 miles and not exceeding 500 miles, 20 cents; over 500 miles, 25 cents.

By this act a letter containing two pieces of paper was designated as "a double letter," and double the above rates of postage were to be paid. A letter containing three pieces of paper was designated as "a triple letter," and on which triple the above rates were to be paid.

This act also, in section 13, authorized postmasters—

to pay mail-carriers 1 cent for each way-letter delivered to them, also mail-carriers authorized to demand and receive 2 cents in addition to the ordinary postage for every letter delivered by them to persons living between post-offices on their route.

The next change in the rates of postage on letters was made by section 11 of the act of April 30, 1810, and was as follows:

A letter containing a single sheet of paper to be sent—	Cents.
Forty miles	8
From 40 to 90 miles	10
From 90 to 150 miles	12½
From 150 to 300 miles	17
From 300 to 500 miles	20
And all over 500 miles	25

On double letters, or two pieces of paper double, these rates were charged, and on triple, or three pieces of paper, triple rates.

The thirty-fourth section of this act also provided that the rate of postage on drop or local letters should be 1 cent each.

Another change in the rates of letter-postage was made by section 1 of the act of April 9, 1816, which provided that rates of postage after May 1, 1816, should be as follows:

Every letter composed of a single sheet of paper—	Cents.
Less than 30 miles	6
Over 30 miles and not exceeding 80 miles	10
Over 80 miles and not exceeding 150 miles	12½
Over 150 miles and not exceeding 400 miles	18½
Over 400 miles	25

Every double letter composed of two pieces of paper double these rates, and for every triple letter, or three pieces of paper, triple these rates.

This was, it will be perceived, a slight increase in the rates of letter-postage over those provided by the act of April 30, 1810.

The next legislation in reference to letter-postage was that of section 13 of the act of March 3, 1825. The rates, however, fixed by this act were substantially similar to those of the act of April 9, 1816. This act also provided that on all drop or local letters delivered at the post-office 1 cent each should be paid.

The next material change in the rates of domestic letter-postage in this country was made by section 1 of the act of March 3, 1845, and was in substance as follows:

For every single letter in manuscript, or marks and signs, by mail, under 300 miles, 5 cents; over 300 miles, 10 cents; double letter, double rates; treble letter, treble rates; quadruple letter, quadruple rates; and every letter or parcel not exceeding one-half ounce in weight shall be deemed a single letter, and every additional weight of one-half ounce or less shall be charged with an additional single postage. Drop or local letters shall be charged a postage rate of 2 cents each.

This act went into effect July 1, 1845.

This is the first legislation, it will be perceived, by which the rate of letter-postage on letters was based partly on the weight of the letter sent. The act still maintained distance sent as an element, but reduced the schedule from a number of distances as recognized in all previous legislation to simply two measures of distance; that is to say, all distances under 300 miles and all distances over 300 miles.

MAIL SERVICE ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

The first postal legislation looking specially to the establishment of a proper postal service on the Pacific coast is to be found in the act of March 3, 1847. By section 1 of this act, which was entitled "An act to establish certain post-routes, and for other purposes," the following post-routes were established on the Pacific coast. I quote from the act:

From Oregon City, via Fort Vancouver and Fort Nisqually, to the mouth of Admiralty Inlet.

And—

From Oregon City, up the Willamette Valley, to the Kalamet River in the direction of San Francisco.

The act further provided in this wise:

The above routes shall go into operation July 1, 1847, or sooner should the funds of the Department justify the same.

Section 6 of this act (March 3, 1847) also provided as follows:

That the Postmaster-General be, and he is hereby, authorized to contract for transporting a mail from Charleston, S. C., to Chagres, touching at St. Augustine and Key West, and also at Havana, in the Island of Cuba, if deemed expedient, and across the Isthmus to Panama, and from thence to Astoria, or the mouth of the Columbia River, touching at Monterey, San Francisco, and such other places on the coast as the Postmaster-General may direct; the mail to be carried from Charleston to Chagres, and from Panama to Astoria, in steam-ships, and to be transported each way once every two months, or oftener as the public service may require.

By section 7 of this act the Postmaster-General was authorized to establish a post-office and appoint a deputy postmaster at Astoria, Oregon, and at such other places on the coast of the Pacific within the territory of the United States as the public interests may require. That act also provided that—

All letters conveyed to or from—	Cents.
Chagres should be	20
Havana	12½
Panama	30
Astoria	40
Any other place on the Pacific	40

It was, moreover, by virtue of the provisions of this act (March 3, 1847) that the postage-stamp was first introduced to the letter-senders of the United States. Section 11 provided as follows:

That to facilitate the transportation of letters in the mail, the Postmaster-

General be authorized to prepare postage-stamps which, when attached to any letter or packet, shall be evidence of the payment of the postage chargeable on such letter.

The next reduction in letter postage was made by the act of March 3, 1851, section 1 of which act provided that the letter-postage rates should be as follows:

For every single letter, in writing, marks, or signs, by mail, not exceeding 3,000 miles, prepaid postage, 3 cents; not prepaid, 5 cents; for any greater distance, double these rates.

This act went into effect July 1, 1851.

The next reduction in letter postage was made by the act of March 3, 1855. Section 1 of that act provided that in lieu of the rates of postage then in force, the rate should be as follows:

For every single letter, in manuscript or paper of any kind, in writing, marks, or signs, conveyed in the mail between places in the United States, not exceeding 3,000 miles, 3 cents; and for any greater distance, 10 cents; for a double letter, double rates; treble letter, treble rates; quadruple letter, quadruple rates.

This act also provided that every letter or parcel not exceeding one-half ounce in weight should be deemed a single letter, and every additional weight of one-half ounce or less should be charged an additional rate.

This act also provided that all postage should be prepaid, and that postage on drop or local letters should be 1 cent each.

The act of April 3, 1860, provided in section 2 that postage on drop or local letters delivered by carriers should be 1 cent each.

The next change in postal rates on letters was made by the act of February 22, 1861, section 17 of which provided that the rate of letter-postage between any State or Territory east of the Rocky Mountains and any State or Territory on the Pacific should be 10 cents for every one-half ounce.

It was also provided by the act of March 2, 1861, section 9, that contractors on the overland route to San Francisco shall be—

required to run a pony-express during the continuance of their contract or until the completion of the overland telegraph, at certain times, carrying for the Government free of charge 5 pounds of mail-matter, with the liberty of charging the public, for transportation of letters by said express, not exceeding $1 for one-half ounce; to commence before the 25th day of March, 1862, and expire July 1, 1864.

By the act of March 3, 1863, the first regular division into classes of mailable matter was made. That act divided mailable matter into three classes: First class, letters; second class, regular printed matter; third class, miscellaneous matter.

This act also fixed the uniform single rate of postage at 3 cents prepaid by stamp for all distances.

The act of March 3, 1865, section 15, fixed the prepaid postage on drop-letters at all offices except-free delivery, at 1 cent; while the act of June 8, 1872, section 157, established the postage on drop or local letters at letter-carrier offices at 2 cents the half-ounce or fraction thereof, and 1 cent the half-ounce or fraction thereof at all other offices.

By this act, furthermore (section 170), the first provision was made in this country for the issue and transmission of postal-cards at 1 cent each.

By the act of March 3, 1879, letter rates of postage were fixed at 3 cents on each half-ounce, or fraction thereof, postal-cards at 1 cent, and drop-letters at the rate of 2 cents per half-ounce or fraction thereof, including delivery at letter-carrier offices; and 1 cent for each half-ounce or fraction thereof where free delivery by carrier is not established.

The next important and most radical reduction in the rates of letter-postage was made by the act of March 3, 1883, the act having been passed by a Republican Congress and signed by President Arthur, whereby letter-postage was reduced one-third, or from 3 cents to 2 cents for each half ounce. This act took effect October 1, 1883.

But not only so. On the last day of the last Republican administration, on March 3, 1885, another reduction of one-half the then existing rates was brought about by the approval on that day by President Arthur of an act providing that on and after July 1, 1885, letter-postage should be charged at the rate of 2 cents for each *ounce* or fraction thereof. Prior to that the rate was 2 cents on each *half* ounce.

It will be observed the most important changes in the matter of reductions of postage on letters occurred in the years 1845, 1851, 1855, 1863, 1883, and 1885. It is well to observe a little more carefully what effect in respect of the revenue was produced by these several reductions of letter-postage.

The postal revenues, for instance, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1845, the year immediately preceding the reduction made by the act of March 3, 1845, were $4,439,841.80, while the revenue for the fiscal year succeeding that of 1846, being the first year after the adoption of the reduced rate, the revenues were $4,089,089.97, showing a reduction of only $350,751.83, while in the next five succeeding years the average annual postal revenues amounted to $5,158,078.05, or an increase on the average annually for these five years of $718,236.25.

The following table gives the yearly gross postal revenues for these five fiscal years:

For the fiscal year—	
1847	$4,013,447.14
1848	4,161,077.85
1849	4,705,176.28
1850	5,499,986.66
1851	6,410,604.33

In the case of the next material reduction in letter-postage, that of the act of March 3, 1851, by which the 5 and 10 cent rates for inland letters, established by the act of March 3, 1845, were reduced to 3 cents prepaid and 5 cents unpaid for any distance under 3,000 miles, and double said rates for distances over 3,000 miles, there was really a marked increase in the revenues from the very start.

The postal revenues for the year 1852 were $6,925,971.28 as against $6,410,604.33 the preceding year under the old rates, being an increase, as will be seen, of $515,366.95, while the average yearly postal revenues for the three succeeding years, 1853, 1854, and 1855, were $6,749,482.35, or an average increase of $338,878.02 over the revenues of 1851.

Coming to consider the effect of the next material reduction in letter-postage, that of the act of March 3, 1855, we find there was a material increase in the revenues as will be seen from the following statement:

The postal revenues for the fiscal year 1856, being the first year after the adoption of the reduced rates fixed by the act of March 3, 1855, were $7,620,821.66 as against $7,352,136.13 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1855, the year preceding the reduction in letter postage, showing an increase in the revenue the first year after the decrease in the rates of letter-postage of $268,685.53.

So, too, with the reduction made by the act of March 3, 1863, whereby a uniform letter rate of 3 cents was fixed for all distances. We find that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1863, the postal revenues were $11,163,789.59, while for the next succeeding year under the reduced rates the postal revenues were $12,438,253.78, or an increase of $1,274,464.19; while in the second year subsequent to this reduction of letter-postage, that of 1865, the gross postal revenues were $14,566,158.70, or an increase over those of the fiscal year 1863, the year immediately preceding this reduction of $3,392,369.11.

I here insert the following table showing the yearly gross revenues and expenditures of the Post-Office Department for the last ninety-eight years, commencing with the year 1790, and from which it will appear at a glance that through all these several reductions in the rates of letter-postage (and there were still greater reductions from time to time in the postage on second and third class matter, and which I have not cited or discussed) there has been a gradual and marvelously rapid increase each year in the gross revenues of the Post-Office Department, the gross annual revenues to-day being more than six times greater than they were thirty years ago:

United States postal statistics, 1790–1888.

Years.	Revenue of the Department.	Expenditure of the Department.	Years.	Revenue of the Department.	Expenditure of the Department.
1790	$37,935	$32,140	1840	4,543,522	4,718,236
1791	46,284	36,657	1841	4,407,726	4,499,528
1792	67,443	54,530	1842	4,546,849	5,674,752
1793	104,746	72,039	1843	4,296,225	4,374,754
1794	128,947	89,972	1844	4,237,288	4,296,513
1795	160,629	117,903	1845	4,289,841	4,320,732
1796	195,066	131,571	1846	3,487,199	4,084,297
1797	213,998	150,114	1847	3,955,893	3,979,570
1798	232,977	169,084	1848	4,371,077	4,326,850
1799	264,846	188,037	1849	4,905,176	4,479,049
1800	280,804	213,994	1850	5,552,971	5,212,953
1801	320,442	231,248	1851	6,727,867	6,278,402
1802	327,044	269,866	1852	6,925,971	7,108,459
1803	351,822	298,988	1853	5,940,725	7,982,957
1804	389,449	337,502	1854	6,955,586	8,577,424
1805	421,373	377,367	1855	7,342,136	9,968,342
1806	446,105	412,233	1856	7,620,822	10,405,286
1807	478,762	453,885	1857	8,053,952	11,508,058
1808	460,564	462,828	1858	8,186,793	12,722,470
1809	506,633	498,412	1859	8,668,484	15,754,093
1810	552,366	495,969	1860	8,518,067	19,170,610
1811	587,246	499,098	1861	8,349,296	13,606,759
1812	619,208	540,165	1862	8,299,821	11,125,364
1813	703,154	681,011	1863	11,163,790	11,314,207
1814	730,370	727,126	1864	12,438,254	12,644,786
1815	1,043,065	748,121	1865	14,556,159	13,694,728
1816	961,782	804,422	1866	14,385,986	15,352,079
1817	1,002,973	916,515	1867	15,237,027	19,235,483
1818	1,130,235	1,035,832	1868	16,292,601	22,730,593
1819	1,204,737	1,117,861	1869	18,341,511	23,698,131
1820	1,111,927	1,160,926	1870	19,772,221	23,998,837
1821	1,059,087	1,184,283	1871	20,037,045	24,390,104
1822	1,117,490	1,167,572	1872	21,915,426	26,658,191
1823	1,130,115	1,156,995	1873	22,996,742	29,084,946
1824	1,197,758	1,188,019	1874	26,477,072	32,126,415
1825	1,306,525	1,229,043	1875	26,791,360	33,611,309
1826	1,447,703	1,366,712	1876	27,805,908	38,203,488
1827	1,524,633	1,468,959	1877	27,468,323	33,486,322
1828	1,659,915	1,689,945	1878	29,277,517	34,165,084
1829	1,707,418	1,782,132	1879	30,041,983	33,449,898
1830	1,850,583	1,932,708	1880	33,315,479	36,542,804
1831	1,997,811	1,936,122	1881	36,785,398	39,251,736
1832	2,258,570	2,266,171	1882	41,883,005	40,482,021
1833	2,617,011	2,930,414	1883	45,508,693	43,282,944
1834	2,823,749	2,910,605	1884	45,335,959	47,224,560
1835	2,993,356	2,757,350	1885	42,560,844	50,046,235
1836	3,408,323	3,841,766	1886	43,948,423	51,004,744
1837	4,236,779	3,544,630	1887	48,837,609	53,006,194
1838	4,238,733	4,430,662	1888	*53,173,742	*55,723,782
1839	4,484,657	4,636,536			

*In these amounts the business of the last quarter of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, has been estimated.

THE POSTAL SERVICE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

A similar lesson as to the effect of reduced postal rates resulting in largely increased postal revenues is gleaned from an examination of the postal service of Great Britain.

The inland rate of letter-postage in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was reduced by act of Parliament in 1839 from 4 pence to 1 penny per one-half ounce. This act went into effect on January 10, 1840. It may be interesting to observe the effect on the postal revenues of the United Kingdom from this very large reduction in the rates of letter-postage. The immediate effect of course was a very large increase in the number of letters annually sent; and while for the first few years there was a material falling off in the revenues, it was but a short time until the gross postal revenues of the Government were largely in excess of those in 1839 and preceding years, when the letter-postage was 4 pence. The number of letters delivered in the United Kingdom in 1839, the year preceding the establishment of penny-postage, was reported at 75,907,572, while the number delivered in 1840, the first year after the rate had been reduced to a penny, was 168,768,344, or an increase of 122½ per cent. The number of letters delivered in 1841, as shown by the statistics, the second year of the reduced postage, was 196,500,191, while in each succeeding year the letters rapidly increased. In 1845 the number was 271,410,789; in 1850, 347,399,197; in 1855, 456,216,171; in 1860, 564,000,000; in 1865, 648,000,000; in 1870, 863,000,000; in 1871, 915,000,000.

Another reduction of one-half on letter-postage was brought about in Great Britain by the act of Parliament of October 5, 1871, by which the standard weight of a single letter was increased from one-half to 1 ounce, the postage remaining the same, 1 penny. The effect of the reduced inland rate of postage on the revenues of the British post-office department, first, by the act of 1839, providing for a penny-postage, and, secondly, by the act of October 5, 1871, increasing the weight of a single letter from one-half to 1 ounce, may be seen from the following table, showing the gross revenues, in pounds, of the British post-office each year, commencing with the year 1838 and ending with the year 1887:

Year.	Gross revenue.	Year.	Gross revenue.
1838	£2,346,278	1875	£5,670,000
1849	2,390,763	1876	5,950,000
1840	1,359,466	1877	6,000,000
1841-1845*	1,658,214	1878	6,150,000
1846-1850*	2,143,717	1879	6,240,000
1851-1855*	2,569,836	1880	6,350,000
1856-1860*	3,135,587	1881	6,700,000
1861-1865*	3,891,568	1882	7,000,000
1866-1870*	4,618,146	1883	7,300,000
1871	4,900,454	1884	7,730,000
1872	4,680,000	1885	7,905,000
1873	4,820,000	1886	8,150,000
1874	5,792,000	1887	8,450,000

*Average for five years.

POSTAL RATES ON LETTERS IN SEVERAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

The following tables will show the present domestic rates of postage for letters in Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland, all of which may be considered with interest and profit in connection with the consideration of this subject:

Domestic rates of postage for letters.

1. BELGIUM.

For a letter not above 15 grams (½ ounce) 10 centimes (2 cents).
For every additional 15 grams, 10 centimes (2 cents).

2. FRANCE.

For a letter not above 15 grams, 15 centimes (3 cents).
For a letter above 15, but not above 30 grams, 30 centimes (6 cents).
For a letter above 30, but not above 45 grams, 45 centimes (9 cents).
For a letter above 45, but not above 60 grams, 60 centimes (12 cents).
For a letter above 60, and not above 75 grams, 75 centimes (15 cents), etc., 15 centimes (3 cents) for every additional 15 grams.

3. GERMANY.

For a letter not above 15 grams, 10 pfennig (2½ cents).
For a letter above 15, and not above 250 grams (8¾ ounces), 20 pfennig (4 cents).
Unpaid letters, 20 pfennig (4 cents) for letters up to 15 grams, and 30 pfennig (6 cents) for all letters above that weight and below 250 grams.

4. GREECE.

For a letter not above 15 grams, 20 lepta (4 cents).
For a letter above 15, and not above 30 grams 40 lepta, (8 cents).
For a letter above 30, and not above 60 grams, 60 lepta (12 cents).
For a letter above 60, and not above 100 grams, 80 lepta (16 cents).
For every additional 100 grams, 80 lepta (16 cents).

5. GREAT BRITAIN.

For a letter not above 1 ounce, 1*d.* (2 cents).
For a letter above 1 ounce, but not above 2 ounces, 1½*d.* (3 cents).
For a letter above 2 ounces, but not above 4 ounces, 2*d.* (4 cents).
For a letter above 4 ounces, but not above 6 ounces, 2½*d.* (5 cents).
For a letter above 6 ounces, but not above 8 ounces, 3*d.* (6 cents).
For a letter above 8 ounces, but not above 10 ounces, 3½*d.* (7 cents).
For a letter above 10 ounces, but not above 12 ounces, 4*d.* (8 cents).
A letter above the weight of 12 ounces is liable to a postage of 1*d.* (2 cents) for every ounce, beginning with the first ounce. Thus a letter weighing between 14 and 15 ounces must be prepaid 1*s.* 3*d.* (30 cents).

6. ITALY.

For a letter not above 15 grams, prepaid, 20 centesimi (4 cents); unpaid, 30 centesimi (6 cents).
For a letter above 15 and not above 30 grams, prepaid, 40 centesimi (8 cents); unpaid, 60 centesimi (12 cents).
For a letter above 30 and not above 45 grams, prepaid, 60 centesimi (12 cents); unpaid, 90 centesimi (18 cents).
For a letter above 45 and not above 60 grams, prepaid, 80 centesimi (16 cents); unpaid, 1.20 liras (24 cents).
For a letter above 60 and not above 75 grams, prepaid, 1 liras (20 cents); unpaid, 1.50 liras (30 cents).
For a letter above 75 and not above 90 grams, prepaid, 1.20 liras (24 cents); unpaid, 1.80 liras (36 cents).

7. NETHERLANDS.

For a letter not above 15 grams, 5 cents, Dutch (2 cents).
For a letter above 15 and not above 50 grams (1¾ ounces), 10 cents, Dutch (4 cents).
For a letter above 50 and not above 100 grams (3½ ounces), 15 cents, Dutch (6 cents).
For a letter above 100 and not above 150 grams (5 ounces), 20 cents, Dutch (8 cents).
For a letter above 150 and not above 200 grams (7 ounces), 25 cents, Dutch (10 cents).
For a letter above 200 and not above 300 grams (10½ ounces), 30 cents, Dutch (12 cents).
For a letter above 300 and not above 400 grams (14 ounces), 35 cents, Dutch (14 cents).
For a letter above 400 and not above 500 grams (17½ ounces), 40 cents, Dutch (16 cents).
For a letter above 500 and not above 750 grams (26½ ounces), 45 cents, Dutch (18 cents).
For a letter above 750 and not above 1,000 grams (35 ounces), 50 cents, Dutch (20 cents).

8. PORTUGAL.

For every 15 grams, or fraction of 15 grams, 25 reis (2.5 cents).

9. SPAIN.

For a letter not above 15 grams, 25 centimos (5 cents).
For a letter above 15 and not above 30 grams, 35 centimos (7 cents).
For a letter above 30 and not above 45 grams, 45 centimos (9 cents).
And 10 centimos (2 cents) for every additional 15 grams.

10. SWEDEN.

For a letter not above 15 grams, 12 ore (2.2 cents).
For a letter above 15 and not above 125 grams, 24 ore (4.4 cents).
For a letter above 125 and not above 250 grams, 36 ore (6.6 cents).

11. SWITZERLAND.

For a letter not above 15 grams, 10 centimes (2 cents), 20 centimes (4 cents).
For a letter above 15 and not above 250 grams, 20 centimes (4 cents), 40 centimes (8 cents).

THE GREAT DISPROPORTION BETWEEN LETTER RATES AND RATES ON SECOND AND THIRD CLASS MATTER.

While perhaps some forcible reasons may be advanced in favor of the existing disproportion in postage rates as between letter-senders and the publishers of newspapers and periodicals, it is a somewhat startling fact, perhaps not generally known, that while the latter furnish about one-third of the aggregate weight and bulk of the mail matter transmitted through the United States mails, only about one-fortieth, as we learn from the recent report of the late Postmaster-General, of the postal revenues, arises from this source. So that it will be observed that while the first, third, and fourth class mail matter, mainly letters, constitute but two-thirds of the weight and bulk of our entire mails, these classes of mail matter furnish about thirty-nine fortieths of the postal revenues.

While the great advantages to the people arising from the cheap and rapid dissemination of intelligence through newspapers and periodicals can not well be overestimated, with the startling disproportion in the postal revenues made respectively on these different classes of mailable matter, letter postage ought in reason and justice to be reduced. In fact, the first, third, and fourth class mail matter is taxed in postal rates not only a sum far in excess of the cost of the transmission of such matter, but a sum in excess sufficient to meet and more than meet the immense loss that annually necessarily occurs to the Department in the carriage of newspapers and periodicals. In other words, the letter-senders of this nation not only pay, by way of postage on letters sent, the full cost of transmission and handling of letters thus sent, but in addition contribute a large bonus to the publishers of newspapers and periodicals to enable them to send their mail matter through the mails of the country.

It is, however, proper to be stated in this connection that it has been the public policy in this country, and especially has it been the policy of the Republican party, to keep the postal rates on newspapers and periodicals at the lowest possible minimum; and this for the reason, the validity and force of which will be recognized by all, that these are the great vehicles of the dissemination of intelligence among all classes and conditions of people. That such a policy should be continued in the interest of public intelligence, in the universality of current news, public thought, and literature must be conceded by all.

While, therefore, not favoring any increase in the postage on newspapers and periodicals, it would seem reasonably plain that the present wide disproportion in existing rates as between these classes of mail matter should be materially lessened by a reduction of at least *one-half* in the present rates of *letter-postage*, as proposed by the pending bill.

The Republican party in its recent national convention did not fail to give consideration to this important subject. The propriety of reducing postage rates on letter-mail was recognized, and the party was pledged to action in that direction.

The following is one of the planks in the platform of the Republican

party, adopted at Chicago at the recent national convention, and it correctly voices the present prevailing sentiment of the great majority of the people throughout the Republic:

We demand the reduction of letter-postage to 1 cent per ounce.

Inasmuch as the national Democratic platform is silent on this important subject, it is fair to presume the Democratic party, or at least its recognized leaders, who hold its conventions, prepare and adopt its platform, and nominate the Presidential candidate of the party, are opposed to any reduction in the rates of letter-postage. The late Postmaster-General and present Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Vilas, in his late annual message, recorded his opposition to any reduction.

As an humble member, therefore, of the Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, following out my own convictions on this subject, and in accordance, moreover, with what I believe to be the largely predominating public sentiment on this question, and in accordance, furthermore, with what I believe to be equal, exact justice as between all interested in the transmission of mailable matter throughout the United States, and in consonance with the position assumed by the Republican party in national convention assembled, I have introduced this bill. It provides that from and after March 4, 1889, the rates of letter-postage in the United States shall be 1 cent on each letter weighing not to exceed 1 ounce and 1 cent additional for each additional ounce or fraction thereof—this to apply to all letters transmitted from any post-office in any State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia to any other post-office, however near or remote, in that or any other State or Territory of the United States or in such District.

The bill further provides that a similar rate of 1 cent only shall be exacted as postage on each drop letter not exceeding 1 ounce in weight, and an additional cent for each additional ounce or fraction thereof, at any post-office in the United States.

In conclusion, it may perhaps with propriety be said that in the event of the reduction of letter-postage to a 1-cent rate, there is no very good reason why the unit of weight should not also be increased to two ounces; for as the average weight of letters is much less than even one ounce—the present standard—an increase in the unit would not add materially to the weight of the letter mails. Should this be done, fourth-class matter, or merchandise, should then be put on an equality with third-class matter, the rate of postage on which is now 1 cent for two ounces.

With these changes all the present absurd distinctions between first, third, and fourth-class matter would be wiped out. An uniform rate of 1 cent for every 2 ounces of weight would exist on all mail matter except newspapers and periodicals sent to subscribers. The annoyances that so often now result from the detention of matter for insufficient postage could be made to disappear; the temptation to petty fraud by the concealment of written matter in matter of a lower grade would vanish, and absolute privacy could be given to every parcel of matter mailed, for there would no longer be any reason why it should not all be sealed.

For valuable data in connection with the statistics employed by me I must express my grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Madison Davis, the present efficient chief clerk in the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General.

Before concluding I also desire to attract attention, by inserting the same in my remarks, to the very interesting and instructive paper upon the subject of letter postage, which I hold in my hand, prepared in 1883 by Hon. A. D. Hazen, then and for many years the very able and efficient Third Assistant Postmaster-General.

It was upon the facts and reasonings mainly of General Hazen contained in this document that the recommendation of President Arthur for a reduction of letter postage from a 3 to a 2 cent rate was based, and which finally led to the act of Congress of March 3, 1883, reducing the letter rate from 3 to 2 cents on each half ounce.

The bill under consideration is a measure destitute of any element of sectionalism. It is free from anything in the nature of partisanship. It is pregnant with material benefit to all classes, races, and conditions; to those of every business, profession, or occupation in life; to the old and young, men and women, rich and poor, native-born and adopted citizen, and to the alien resident or traveler within our borders as well. Its advantages, blessings, and benefits are unrestricted and universal.

APPENDIX.

[Paper submitted to the Postmaster-General by the Third Assistant Postmaster-General for his consideration, November 18, 1882.]

TWO-CENT POSTAGE FOR DOMESTIC LETTERS.

The balance-sheet of the Department for the last fiscal year showed a handsome surplus of receipts over expenditures, and this has occurred but once since 1851, when the letter-rate of postage was reduced to 3 cents. The exception was in the year 1865, when there was a slight profit, owing to the suspension of mail service in the Southern States. During the year ended June 30, 1851, the receipts amounted to $6,410,604.33, and the expenditures to $6,278,401.68. In the year 1852 the receipts were $5,184,526.84 and the expenditures $7,103,459.04, leaving a deficiency of $1,923,932.20, or 27 per cent. to be supplied from the general Treasury.

This deficiency steadily grew, principally by reason of largely increased expenditures, until 1860, nearly one-half of the expenditures for which year were paid out of the Treasury. During the four years of the war, from 1861 to 1865, the receipts fell only 4.7 per cent. short of the expenditures. In 1865 alone, as before indicated, there was a small surplus of receipts. The restoration of service in the Southern States again increased the burden on the Treasury, so that in 1868 28.3 per cent. of the expenditures were supplied from that source. From this point the tendency was generally towards lower deficiencies, but still in 1875 the Treasury contributed 20.2 per cent. of the expenditures. In 1879 the deficiency was 10.1 per cent., and for 1881 the receipts fell 7 per cent. short of the expenditures. This deficiency was not only wiped out during the last year but a surplus of 3.6 per cent. of the receipts will remain after extinguishing all the liabilities for the year. * * *

While the idea that the postal service should be self-supporting has ever been a favorite one with the American people, no claim has ever been seriously entertained that it should be a source of revenue to the General Government. The utmost that has been expected was that its earnings should be sufficient to defray its expenditures. It would scarcely be good policy to permit the earnings of the Department to exceed its outlays in any considerable amount. A large credit balance would tend to encourage lavishness in expenditure and to promote selfish schemes in the name of the public interests. Nothing induces economy so much as a difficulty in making both ends meet. A small mortgage on the homestead is the best incentive to frugality in the domestic habits of the household.

The Department is now on a surely paying business, and as the receipts are increasing at a much greater rate than the expenditures the general Treasury will at an early day, unless there should be a change in the present condition, be a large gainer from the profits of the postal service. If, however, the theory be correct that the earnings should not be permitted to exceed the outlays of the service, the question is squarely presented as to how the balance shall be maintained. If the present profits could be used advantageously to extend facilities and to afford conveniences to the public not now enjoyed, there can be scarcely a doubt of the popular willingness to have them applied in this direction.

Popular as has been the idea of a self-sustaining service, public opinion has ever sanctioned the granting of needful sums from the Treasury rather than the usefulness of the service should be impaired by a lack of means from the postal revenues. But the expenditures for the coming year have been estimated upon the full measure of the public requirements, as well as the same can now be anticipated, and yet they fall considerably short of the estimated revenues. The result promises to be a large increase on the present profits. The time would seem to be auspicious therefore for a reduction in the rates of postage. As to where the reduction should begin is worthy of serious consideration.

For a long series of years past domestic letters have received the least favor in the postal legislation of the country. The present 3-cent rate was fixed in 1851, though letter-writers have been offered a cheaper, if not altogether a satisfactory substitute, by the introduction of the postal-card. On letters addressed to foreign countries the present uniform rate is 5 cents to the countries within the Postal Union, while the average rate to the same countries in 1851 was several times that amount. On newspapers and periodicals to regular subscribers (second-class matter) the present uniform rate of 2 cents per pound is less than one-half of the average of the complex rates existing in 1851.

The reductions on transient newspapers, circulars, and other printed matter have been equally great since that year, being now 1 cent for each 2 ounces. Parcels of merchandise, not exceeding 4 pounds in weight, first admitted into the mails in 1850, are carried at the rate of 1 cent for each ounce. Moreover, many articles now carried at the cheap rates for third and fourth class matter in 1851 were either subject to letter rates of postage or else were excluded from the mails.

Domestic letters transmitted from one post-office to another now yield a minimum revenue of 96 cents per pound (assuming that each letter is up to the full standard of a half ounce in weight); second-class matter 2 cents per pound; third-class matter, 8 cents per pound, and fourth-class matter, 16 cents per pound. Nearly all the official mail matter of the several Executive Departments of the Government is carried in "penalty" envelopes, yielding no revenue to the Post-Office Department. These are the several classes of matter admitted into the mails, and these the charges upon which the Department realizes its revenues. The principal item of cost is for transportation, and the same rates are paid alike for all classes of matter. The cost of handling one class does not differ materially from the cost of handling another class by the employés in post-offices or on the lines of transportation.

It must be obvious, therefore, that the burden of maintaining the service falls most unequally upon letters. Upon what principle of justice this should be so is not easy of comprehension. Following the example of the oldest and best established governments of the world, the founders of the Constitution delegated to the Government a monopoly in the carriage of letters, and the wisdom of their action has gone unquestioned by the people to this day. Competition by private carriers is, however, allowed for all the other classes of matter permitted to go in the mails. So strictly has the monopoly been maintained that, though by act of Congress letters may be carried outside the mails they must be inclosed in Government stamped envelopes, the Government thus exacting its lawful revenue even when not performing any service in connection with the letters. Common fairness would appear to demand, since the Government maintain the exclusive right to do the work, that the charge should be somewhat proportioned to the cost of doing it and that the loss on merchandise, for example, should not be made a tax on correspondence. So, too, it would seem to be just as fair to tax the letter writers of the country, through the medium of their postages, for supplying commissary stores for the Army as for carrying the official mail matter of the War Department.

With reference to the effect of a reduction in the rates of postage the experience of the past may be found instructive. The changes in the rates were comparatively unimportant up to the 1st July, 1845. The rates on letters existing prior to that date were as follows:

For every letter composed of a single sheet of paper conveyed—	Cents.
Not exceeding 30 miles	6
Over 30 and not exceeding 80 miles	10
Over 80 and not exceeding 150 miles	12½
Over 150 and not exceeding 400 miles	18¾
Over 400 miles	25

And for every double letter, or letter composed of two pieces of paper, double these rates, and for every triple letter, or one composed of three pieces of paper, triple these rates; and for every packet composed of four or more pieces of paper, or one or more other articles, and weighing 1 ounce avoirdupois, quadruple these rates, and in that proportion for all greater weights.

The following were the rates fixed to take effect on the 1st July, 1845, namely:

"For every single letter in manuscript, or paper of any kind, by and upon which information shall be asked for or communicated in writing, or by marks or signs conveyed in the mail, for any distance under 300 miles, 5 cents, and for any distance over 300 miles, 10 cents. For a double letter, double these rates; and for a treble letter, treble these rates; and for a quadruple letter, quadruple these rates; and every letter or parcel not exceeding half an ounce in weight shall be deemed a single letter, and every additional weight of half an ounce, or less than half an ounce, shall be charged with an additional single postage."

Taking distance into account it will be observed that the reduction in the charges was very great. The next important reduction was under the act of March 3, 1851, which established the following rates for domestic letters:

"Every single letter, in writing, marks, or signs, by mail, not exceeding 3,000 miles, prepaid postage, 3 cents; not prepaid, 5 cents; for any greater distance, double these rates."

Although a temporary loss of revenue followed these two reductions it was speedily followed in both cases by a large increase.

For several years prior to 1845 the revenues were almost stationary in amount. Indeed, for the four years ended June 30, 1845, the total amount was $304,433.64 less than for the four years immediately preceding that period. For the year ended June 30, 1845, the revenue was $4,289,841.80, and for the next year, under the reduced rates, it was $3,487,199.35, showing a falling off of $802,642.45. For the year 1847 it increased to $3,880,309.23, and for the year 1848 to $4,555,211.10, or $265,369.30 more than for the year 1845, the entire recovery of the loss of revenue from the reduction in the rates having thus occurred within three years. The increase continued at a rapid pace, so that for the year ended June 30, 1851, the revenue was $6,410,604.33, being $2,120,762.53, or 49.4 per cent. more than for the last year (1845) under the old rates, and $2,923,404.98, or 83.8 per cent. more than for the first year (1846) of the new rates.

The immediate loss of revenue by the act of March 3, 1851, was still greater; but this, too, was speedily recovered. The falling off in the first year of the change was $1,226,077.49, the entire receipts for the year ended June 30, 1852, having been $5,184,526.84. For the year ended June 30, 1854, the revenue amounted to $6,255,586.22, or only $155,018.11 less than for the year 1851, the loss by the reduction of the rates having been nearly recovered in three years. For the year 1855 the revenue was $231,531.80 more than for 1851. The increase steadily continued, and for the year ended June 30, 1860, the revenue was swelled to $8,518,067.40, being $2,107,463.07, or 32.8 per cent., more than for the year 1851, and $3,333,540.56, or 64.2 per cent., more than for 1852.

Again: During the eight years from 1837 to 1845 there were no material changes in the rates of postage, and yet the revenue for 1845 was $655,826.41, or 13.2 per cent. less than for 1837, while the revenue for the year ended June 30, 1853, was $950,882.90, or 22.1 per cent. over that of 1845, notwithstanding that both of the great reductions in the rates of postage had occurred during the intermediate eight years.

For the year 1882 the receipts were more than eight times as much as for 1852, and the increase alone for 1882 over 1881 was only $93,514.66 short of the entire receipts for the year ended June 30, 1852, the first year of the 3-cent rate.

Some idea of the immediate loss by a reduction from 3 cents to 2 cents in the rate of letter-postage may be obtained from the issue of the ordinary 3-cent adhesive stamps and stamped envelopes. It is true that many letters calling for more than one rate of postage bear the higher denominations of stamps, but it is also true that many 3-cent stamps are used for parcels of merchandise and other matter not belonging to the first class. The amount of 3-cent stamps used in this way will probably exceed that of the larger stamps used on letters, so that a diminution of 33⅓ per cent. in the value of the 3-cent stamps would represent the maximum loss on an equal volume of business. The number of the ordinary 3-cent stamps and stamped envelopes issued during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1882, was 849,159,950. An increase of 10 per cent. on these would give 934,075,945 as the issue for the current year. This latter number increased by 10 per cent. would give 1,027,483,539 for the next fiscal year. One cent taken from the value of each of these would amount to $10,274,835.39.

This would be the maximum loss for the first year if a reduction in the rate should be made to take effect on the 1st of July next. But there are good reasons for believing that the actual loss would be much less than that amount. In the first place, the issues of stamps were very considerably in excess of the actual sales during the year 1882. This was occasioned in part by the increased number and importance of the post-offices, requiring a heavier stock to be kept on hand, but more largely by the fact that towards the close of 1881 the requisitions from postmasters were greatly curtailed because of insufficient appropriations for the manufacture of stamps and envelopes. The depletion of stock in post-offices in 1881 was accordingly left to be filled up in 1882, making the issues for the latter year unduly excessive. Thus the sales for the year were $39,703,357, while the issues amounted to $40,978,053.42. The 3-cent stamps issued in 1882 must therefore be regarded as an extravagant basis on which to found the present calculation.

The stimulus of a lower rate would be likely to lead at once to a large increase in the number of letters mailed, and it is probable that a cheaper letter rate would tend in a measure to dispense with the use of postal-cards for written correspondence. In view also of the fact that sealed communications invite closer attention by the recipients than do open ones it is not improbable that to some extent circulars would be inclosed under seal at a 2-cent rate.

Taking these special reasons into account the loss of revenue for the first year may be safely put at $3,000,000, leaving the revenue for the year at $42,670,456.27 instead of $50,670,456.27, as already estimated upon the basis of existing rates. The estimate of $42,670,456.27 for 1884 on a 2-cent rate is $3,393,594.89, or 7.3 per cent. less than the estimated revenue for 1883, and it is $794,046.12 more than the actual revenue for 1882.

The estimated expenditures for the coming year aggregate $46,741,111.25, but the actual expenditures will fall considerably short of this sum, because the requirements at best can only be approximated, and common prudence demands that the appropriations recommended should be sufficiently large to prevent possible deficiencies in any of the thirty-eight distinct items covered by the estimates. If these margins should amount to $1,000,000, the actual expenditures would be left at $45,741,111.25, or $3,070,654.98 more than the estimated receipts on the basis of a 2-cent domestic letter rate. The deficiency required from the Treasury for the first year would therefore be about $3,000,000, or less than 7 per cent. of the expenditures.

This deficiency would be fully offset, and the Department placed on a paying basis at once by a fair allowance for the official mail matter of the Government, and by increasing the charge on merchandise to a proper compensation for carrying it. If the reduction should be made to take effect on the 1st January, 1884, there would be no deficiency for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1884, as the profits for the first six months of the year would offset the loss for the last six months.

The estimated deficiency for the year ending June 30, 1884, based on a reduction from the 1st July, 1883, is not a large one, being relatively a little smaller than the deficiency for the year 1881.

The deficiency for the first year, after the reduction of 1845, was 14.4 per cent., and for the first year after the reduction of 1851 it was 27 per cent. The reduction of 1845 was made in the face of the fact that there was a deficiency of $30,890.19, or seven-tenths of 1 per cent., in the revenue for the last year of the old rates. For the last year before the reduction of 1851 the receipts were only $132,202.65, or a little more than 2 per cent., more than the expenditures. The surplus of $1,508,224.94, or 3.6 per cent., shown for 1882, will, without doubt, be fully doubled during the present year, and the proposed reduction in the rate may therefore be made in the light of existing profits of no mean dimensions.

The reduction in the letter rate from 3 to 2 cents would not be proportionately as great as either of the reductions of 1845 or 1851. True, by the reduction of 1845 letters carried less than 30 miles were reduced only from 6 cents to 5 cents; but the 5-cent rate was also made to carry a letter 300 miles, for which the charge was previously 18¾ cents, and the maximum charge was reduced from 25 cents to 10 cents. The act of 1851 reduced the minimum charge from 5 cents to 3 cents, nearly one-half, and enlarged the distance from 300 to 3,000 miles.

Not only is the proposed reduction in the rate much less than the reductions of 1845 and 1851, but a reduction of the letter-rate now would not affect as large a proportion of the revenue as the reductions did then. This is because in 1851 and prior thereto the functions of the mail service were confined to the carriage of letters and printed matter, the latter not even including bound books. Many articles then charged at letter-rates, or not admitted into the mails at all, are now carried as third or fourth class matter, and new sources of revenue have been added by the introduction of the registry and money-order system. Hence letters contribute a much less proportion of the revenue than they did in 1851. Besides, the present recommendation does not contemplate a change in the rates on printed matter, while considerable reductions on this class of matter were effected by the acts of 1845 and 1851, the free circulation of newspapers within the county of publication having been first admitted in 1845.

Unless the experience of past reductions in this and other countries should be at fault in this instance, the reduction now proposed in the letter-rate will be speedily followed by a very large augmentation of business, and it will at no distant day prove to have been an economic measure of the highest importance to the postal service as well as to the public. Although a comparatively small deficit will be encountered at the start, I am fully persuaded that unless there should be unexpected reverses in the prosperity of the country the Department will again be found upon a paying basis within three years from the time of the reduction, even with the burdens imposed by merchandise and the free mail matter of the Government. To prevent too great a loss at once it would perhaps be wise to confine the present reduction to the 3-cent domestic letter-rate; but as soon as the recovery from this reduction shall have taken place the rate on drop-letters will next be entitled to a reduction.

If the proposed reduction should be made at the forthcoming session of Congress, it would be of advantage to the Department not to have it go into operation before the 1st of January, 1884. Not only would this prevent a deficiency during the fiscal year ending June 30 of that year, but it affords sufficient time in which to reduce to a minimum the stock of 3-cent stamps and stamped envelopes in the hands of postmasters. Under the operations of a sudden change a large quantity of these would have to be returned to the Department for destruction. The labor of handling the stock and of adjusting the accounts with postmasters would be no inconsiderable one, to say nothing of the loss in the cost of manufacturing the articles.

I move the reference of the bill to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SAWYER. I move that Order of Business 161, being a resolution directing the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads to inquire into the advisability of reducing the rate of postage on first-class mail matter, be recommitted to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

The motion was agreed to.

MARGARET KENNEDY.

Mr. SPOONER. I present the report of the committee of conference on the bill (S. 307) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 307) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendment.

WM. M. STEWART,
JOHN C. SPOONER,
JAMES K. JONES,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

W. J. STONE,
FRANK LAWLER,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be filed. It requires no action on the part of the Senate.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. WILSON, of Maryland, it was

Ordered, That the heirs and legal representatives of Capt. Lambert Wickes, United States Navy, have leave to withdraw from the files of the Senate all papers filed by them connected with the bill for their relief, on account of pay and prize-money due said Wickes, there having been no adverse report upon said bill.

COOSA RIVER BRIDGE AT GADSDEN, ALA.

Mr. VEST. I move to reconsider the vote by which the Senate yesterday passed the bill (H. R. 11338) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Coosa River at Gadsden, in the State of Alabama, in order that a mistake may be corrected.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the votes by which the bill was passed and ordered to a third reading will be reconsidered.

Mr. VEST. I move to strike out, in line 16 of section 4, the words "said bridge shall not be built."

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In section 4, line 16, after the word "requirements," it is proposed to strike out "said bridge shall not be built;" so as to read:

If the Secretary of War, upon an examination of the papers to him submitted, shall require any change in the location or plans of said bridge, or its entire removal, the company shall, at its own expense, comply with such requirements; and if any change be made in the plan of said bridge such change shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of War.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. VEST. I move that the Senate insist on its amendments and ask for a conference with the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

By unanimous consent, the President *pro tempore* was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate; and Mr. VEST, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. CULLOM were appointed.

LIGHT AT CEDAR RIVER POINT.

Mr. SAWYER. I move that the bill (S. 3229) to establish a light at or near Cedar River Point, at the mouth of Cedar River, Green Bay, Michigan, be recommitted to the Committee on Commerce. The appropriation in the bill has gone into the sundry civil bill, so that it is not necessary to pass it.

The motion was agreed to.

CONDITION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. HALE submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate, That there be printed 10,000 copies of the report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Operations of the Civil Service, and 1,000 copies of the report and testimony, one-half for the use of the committee and one-half for the Senate.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 9051.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, the question before the Senate and also before the country is, whether the American system of protection to American labor and our American industries shall be continued or whether the Government shall adopt a policy of free trade, or, what is the same thing in effect, a tariff for revenue only.

I desire to say in the outset that the remarks I shall make will not be confined to a discussion of the items either of the House bill at length or of the Senate Finance Committee's bill, for the reason that I have had but very little time for the consideration of the latter, and for the further reason, I think proper to state, that in my judgment it is utterly impracticable for the Congress of the United States to consider those bills item by item with a view of securing the adoption of either at the present session. Therefore my remarks will be somewhat general, as I have already indicated.

There are three ways by which the necessary revenues for the support of the Government may be raised. By direct taxation, by internal or excise taxes, or by customs duties, or by all three if necessary. Before the late civil war the nation had no internal-tax system. It relied entirely on import duties, except as it received money from the sales of public lands and other small miscellaneous sources. The war made it necessary to resort to every means known to the Constitution for raising revenue. Vast sums of money were raised for the prosecution of the war and the maintenance of the Union. When the struggle for national life ended, the financial emergency soon began to pass away, and in the period which has elapsed since the war the Government has paid much the larger part of the debt thereby incurred, taxes both internal and external have been greatly reduced, and to-day we as a nation are in the extraordinary situation of having a surplus in the Treasury. I will say here by way of remark that it seems to be tolerably difficult to find out just how much that is, and there is some question whether there is any; but it is stated that we have a surplus in the Treasury, no more debt due, and the executive and legislative departments of the Government and the people of the country are also debating the question, what is the best mode of stopping the accumulation of the surplus? Not how to get money in, but how to keep it from coming in too fast. There is no need of temper or excitement in the discussion of this question; it is a question of political economy. It is a question about which good men differ. The thing for the American people to do is to reason together, and in the light of all the facts decide it. The people will decide it at the polls in November, whether we do here or not, and, as I believe, in favor of the Republican party and policy.

The Republican party has always believed in the doctrine of protection. The Democratic party does not believe in a protective tariff, though of late, since the issue has been made, that party has begun by its leaders—Mr. MILLS and others—to talk about the amount of protection their bantling, the so-called Mills bill, gives to the various industries.

The Republican party declares in favor of so framing any act for the collection of duties on imports as to give reasonable protection to our industries and the labor to carry them on, and that the revenue should mainly be collected from imports. The Democratic party does not believe in such doctrine, but insists that the true policy is to look alone to the collection of sufficient revenue, and by whatever tariff laws we have collect the duties from such imports as will produce the most revenue, having no regard to the principle of protection.

The Democracy deny that the protective policy is in the interest of American labor, American industry, or in harmony with the national Constitution.

The Republican party asserts that the tariff policy is in harmony with the Constitution, in harmony with the views of the fathers who made it, and with the views of the statesmen of the first sixty years of the nation's history, with rare exceptions, and that it has resulted in developing the nation's resources, adding immensely to its wealth and vastly benefiting the wage-workers of the country.

Mr. President, in my judgment the adoption of the Cleveland-Mills free-trade policy and the passage of the Mills bill, which is stated to be the President's views crystallized into the form of a statute, would for a time not reduce the surplus, but would put more money into the Treasury from import duties, but finally, by bankrupting the people so that they could not buy either imported or domestic goods, the surplus would disappear, and the nation would commence a system of borrowing money, the business in which the last Democratic administration was engaged before the late war—selling bonds at a discount to pay the current expenses.

Such a magnificent puzzle to other nations as the United States Government, in a quarter of a century after the greatest and most expensive civil war known to modern history, having a great surplus in its Treasury, and having difficulty in stopping its accumulation, would not be heard of again for some time; surely not under the administration of the Government in accord with British ideas on the tariff question. The Republican party discriminates in making a revenue statute for the collection of duties by placing a duty upon articles or property imported the like of which is produced in this country; the theory of a tariff for revenue adhered to by the Democracy is against this. We can not raise coffee or tea in this country, hence we allow coffee and tea to come to our ports and markets free. We can raise wheat and wool, hence we do not allow wheat and wool to be brought into this country without paying a duty.

The Democratic theory, if adhered to, requires that a tax should be collected on importations of coffee, tea, and every other article which we use and do not make or produce, and allow the articles or products the like of which we do produce to come in free, or with as small a duty as can be levied for revenue purposes. The Democratic party, as reflected in its ideas and purposes by the President's message and by the so-called Mills bill, approached as near to the theory of the party as in their judgment they dared and avoid defeat.

Mr. President, the Republican tariff policy is American. The Democratic policy (opposition to protection) is English. The Republican party insists on keeping alive American industries; the Democratic doctrine is that that subject is not to be considered in the consideration and enactment of customs laws. The Republican party seeks to secure good wages to American labor; the Democratic party, in pressing for a tariff for revenue only, insists that laborers will fare as well under its policy of revenue reform as under a protective system.

The Republican party believes in good wages, good living, good homes, good schools, and comfort to the toiling masses, and that a protective tariff will go far in securing such blessings, and points with pride to the facts as proof. How any man can believe in a policy of free trade in this country I confess I am unable to comprehend. The theory of free trade, free seas, buy where you can buy cheapest and sell where you can get the best price, is all very beautiful, but does not work in the practice of nations. The teaching that all the world's akin, and that we should regard the interest of the world outside of our own nation equally with the interests of our own, is pleasant, but nations do not practice it.

The time has not come yet when wars and rumors of wars are not heard, or when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together with the consent of the lamb, or that the world is making much progress toward a condition that will justify the expectation of the millennium very soon. As citizens we look first to our families, to the community in which we live, to our country and flag, last to the great world outside of our own land. We are not called upon to pass by home and country and the welfare of our own people and expend our sympathy and aid and comfort on strangers in other lands, when other nations with which we deal are seeking only the welfare of their own people at the expense of our own.

But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.

May not this be borne in mind in enacting laws for our great national household?

Mr. President, let us see what the early history of the country has been on the tariff question. It has been often said that in the very first Congress after Washington became President a law was passed embodying the principles of a protective tariff. The act recited that it was necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of its debts, and for the encouragement of manufactures that duties be laid on goods and merchandise imported. "For the encouragement of manufactures" is the language of the first tariff act enacted by the fathers of the Republic and approved and enforced by Washington. It recognized the principles of protection, and the discussion of the subject then has been the foundation of everything that has been said pertinent to the question since; yet in the face of the fact that Washington and other men who aided in framing our great national Constitution enacted the first law incorporating the doctrine of protection, we are told by modern Democracy that a tariff for protection is unconstitutional and robbery.

The early Presidents successively recommended and advocated the doctrine of protection.

Mr. Madison in one of his messages called attention to the expediency of a revision of the tariff, giving reasons why home industry should be protected, declaring that the tariff had hitherto only been of

secondary importance and that in view of the development of the manufacturing and cotton-growing interest it had become a matter of primary consideration.

Mr. Monroe advocated the doctrine of protection, and under his administration the tariff act of 1824 was adopted, which was opposed by the representatives from the Southern States in Congress, but was championed by that great commoner Henry Clay, of Kentucky, whose name will live in history as the powerful advocate of American industry and American labor.

John Quincy Adams advocated a protective tariff, and during his administration the tariff act of 1828 was passed, which brought to the surface the deadly doctrine of secession, or nullification, which at last culminated in rebellion in 1860. Before 1828 Webster had not favored the protective system, but at that time came out for it, and gave as a reason that it had become the established policy of the nation, and he therefore supported it.

So, Mr. President, I might go on giving the views of the earlier statesmen favoring a protective tariff or the American policy.

The Whig platform of 1840, when William Henry Harrison was the candidate for that party and was elected, contained the following declaration:

A tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country.

The Whig platform of 1852 declared—

That revenue sufficient for the expenses of the Government in time of peace ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports and not from direct taxes, and on laying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and when practicable, by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded American industry equally to all classes and to all portions of the country.

This was the doctrine of the statesmen irrespective of party in the nation's early history, especially of Washington, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Jackson among the Presidents, supported by the leading statesmen of their time; so it was the doctrine of Harrison, Taylor, Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur. In 1832–'33 there was a struggle over the tariff, and from that time the Democratic party, under the lead of the South, began to assert its free-trade ideas more freely, as occasion offered.

The Democratic national convention of 1856 announced that the time had come when the Democratic party should declare itself in favor "of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world." The party carried the election. A Pennsylvania Democrat was elected; the South controlled him, and the country had free trade and free bankruptcy to its heart's content for the succeeding four years. Every man, woman, and child almost is familiar with the condition of the country when Buchanan surrendered and Lincoln took charge of the executive department of the Government. The nation was bankrupt, discredited, and disgraced, the people were poor, the mills and factories were closed, mechanics and laborers were idle, and the farmers had no market for their products—either grain, hogs, horses, or cattle—except at the merest nominal price.

The Republican party in 1860, in national convention, declared—

That while providing for revenue for the support of the General Government by duties on imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country.

The policy of the Republican party to-day, by its platform and by its legislation, is to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country. The platform of the Republican party in 1872 declared—

That the law for raising revenue by duties on importations should be so adjusted in its details as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

The platform of 1876 of the Republican party provided—

That the revenue necessary for the current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

The tariff provisions of the platforms of 1872 and 1876 sounded the right note on the protection question; they announced the doctrine of the party, and it is the doctrine of the party now, and, in my judgment, is believed in by a vast majority of the American people.

The Democratic party in 1876, in its convention, after denouncing the then existing tariff and reciting the alleged evils which resulted from it to the people, closed its assault in the following language:

We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Democracy began to assert itself more strongly in favor of free trade, or as near it as is consistent with the collection of import duties at all.

In 1880 the Republican national convention—

Affirmed the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor.

Mr. President, the prominent idea of late years in the Republican party has been the protection of American labor, it being well understood that without protection American wages would inevitably be reduced.

The Democratic convention of 1880 resolved in favor of "a tariff for revenue only."

The Republican party of 1884 declared that—

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interest of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is the most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor as well as capital may have its just reward and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our solemn protest.

This is a splendid declaration of Republican doctrine on the tariff question.

The Democratic platform of 1884 was cooked up to confuse and fool the people on the tariff question; it was a straddle, and so denounced then by Republicans and denounced since by Democrats, Henry Watterson and others. I will not stop to quote it. It was denunciatory of the existing tariff and greatly concerned about the laboring men, and, among other things, declared the internal tax a war tax; and in that they were right, because it had not been imposed before.

The Republican platform for this year upon the tariff question declares in favor of the American system of protection, protests against its destruction by the Democratic party in the interest of Europe, favors the reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes on tobacco, the tax on spirits for the arts and mechanical purposes, and by such a revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles (except luxuries) of foreign production the like of which can not be produced at home. Finally, if such a revision does not sufficiently reduce the revenue, repeal the internal taxes rather than surrender the protective system to the behests of whisky trusts. The above, Mr. President, is the substance of the tariff plank of the Republican platform of 1888, and is in harmony with the provisions and declarations of the previous platforms of the party.

The Democratic platform of this year, 1888, contains the astounding declaration that "all unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation," followed by the same declaration in different forms of expression, apparently supposing that somebody did not believe that unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. Nobody ever disputed the proposition, and nobody desires unnecessary taxation. The platform indorses the platform of the party of 1884, which has been admitted to be a juggle on the tariff question; it indorsed the President's December message, which the British press lauded as a free-trade document; it indorsed the Mills bill, which was prepared in the supposed interest of the cotton States of the South, and which was at first declared to be a great reform measure looking only to the question of revenue, but which the leaders of the party now are laboring to show is a very good protection measure.

Mr. President, the Democratic party is a free-trade party if it is anything, and has been for fifty years. The people of the Southern States have regarded cotton as king, and have harbored the mistaken idea that their interest lay in the direction of free trade; they have believed that it was their interest to export their cotton to be manufactured in Europe and encourage its importation in manufactures to this country to supply our markets. A market for our products far away, instead of one at home, seems to be the Democratic idea. How much better for the people, how much more American and patriotic, and in the interest of the development of our own resources, and how much more in the interest of American labor, that our looms and mills and factories should be cared for, and how much more profitable to the planter who raises the cotton that it should be spun and woven at home, and placed upon the market in our own land as well as elsewhere. Mr. CARLISLE, in a speech in his district at Covington, recently made the announcement that it is declared in the Democratic platform that "unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation," and by that declaration he says his party "will stand or fall in this contest." He, too, seems to desire to make the people believe that the Republicans are for letting the surplus continue to accumulate. He knows better, for he is an intelligent man.

He says when Mr. Cleveland came into office, March 4, 1885—

He found upon the statute-book laws passed by Republican Congresses under which there was being annually collected from the people $100,000,000 in excess of the actual necessities of the Government. * * * Year after year some of us have struggled in Congress to secure a reduction of this enormous burden upon the people.

Whose fault is it that the reduction has not been made? The House of Representatives, whose duty it is under the Constitution to originate revenue bills, has been Democratic nearly all the time for sixteen years, that gentleman much of the time its presiding officer. There has been a large Democratic majority in that body part of the time, and a fair majority all the time, except two years of the sixteen. Why has not the reduction been made? Democracy is responsible and not the Republicans.

The venerable candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket in his speech at Cheltenham, I believe, said:

The issue, then, is fairly made up between us. It is between high taxation on the one hand and reasonable taxation on the other. It is between taking

the money out of the people, out of their own control, out of their own pockets and burying it in the cellar of the Treasury Department, or it is between that and leaving the money where it belongs, in the pockets of the people, to be used by them as their wants require and as their intelligence and honesty direct.

I ask Mr. Thurman what his party has done to reduce taxation if taxes are too high.

It is known to this country that every effort has been made by the Republican party in the Senate in endeavoring to secure action on the part of the Administration in reducing the surplus, first in taking up bonds that it had a right to take up, and, secondly, to buy bonds which it had not the right to redeem, and yet it has stubbornly refused to do either to the extent that the law authorized it to do.

Why has not a bill to reduce taxation, to revise the tariff and the internal-tax laws, long years ago come to this Senate? That body having power to send to us revenue bills has never done it when the Democrats controlled it since the war until within the last three months. And yet we are to be held responsible for the accumulation of the surplus, whatever it may be, because they, having a majority in the House of Representatives, and having the power under the Constitution, and they alone, have failed to do their duty.

When the Republicans had the control of Congress in 1883, the tariff was revised and the taxes were reduced. We finally have a bill, and so far as this Senate is concerned, we will revise the tariff, will reduce the surplus, and will at the same time protect labor and the industries of the country.

I charge that the Democratic party is responsible for the unnecessary flow of money into the Treasury. That party has not desired to stop it, unless by the adoption of a policy which would reduce the laboring man's wages or close up the mills and factories of the country.

The Secretary of the Treasury said in his last annual report that the receipts for the year ending June 30, 1888, actual and estimated, were $383,000,000, and that the expenditures were $316,817,785.48, showing a surplus of $66,182,214.52. The bill reported to the Senate by the Finance Committee, of which my honorable friend here [Mr. ALLISON] was chairman of the subcommittee that made the bill, as a substitute for the so-called Mills bill, makes a reduction of more than that amount, and if the present Administration should be continued, which I trust and believe will not be done, the reduction would be too great, but if General Harrison, the gallant soldier and able and experienced statesman, the standard-bearer of the Republican party, shall be the choice of the country for its President, the popular branch of Congress will doubtless be Republican also, and then the expenses of the Government will be curtailed, economy will be again enforced, and the administration of affairs will cost the people about the amount of the last Republican administration.

Mr. President, I have given the substance of the provisions of the platforms of the two great parties on the tariff question to show that the Republican party has, in line with the fathers of the Republic, been steadily in favor of the protective policy, and that the Democratic party has for years—since the days of Jackson—been against it. The Republican party is solidly for the protective system to-day, and we appeal to the people to listen and beware of the danger which surely will follow the success of the policy urged upon the country by the President and his followers. The Democracy has, as I have said, practically been for free trade for years, but they have managed by their platforms and plans of campaign to avoid the issue by facing both ways as in 1884, when the orators of that party made protective speeches in one section and free-trade speeches in another.

The President forced his renomination by his December message, and at the same time made the issue for this campaign, which neither he nor his party can now shirk or throw off. The issue is made up and must be decided at the polls.

The December message was an announcement that the free-traders were ready for the contest; the Republican party at once accepted the challenge.

The solid South is practically solid for free trade. It is a solid fact that the solid South, with the aid of Northern Democrats with Southern principles, mean if they can to dictate the financial policy of the nation. Since the beginning of this Congress we have had abundant evidence, not only of a determination on the part of the South to dictate the financial policy of the country, but also upon all important questions. If it were in order for me to refer to the other branch of Congress I would say that that body is organized with a Southern man for Speaker and with chairmen of committees from the States south of Mason and Dixon's line, of Elections, Ways and Means, Judiciary, Commerce, Naval Affairs, Rivers and Harbors, Agriculture, Coinage, Weights and Measures, Post-Office and Post-Roads, Indian Affairs, Railroads and Canals, Mines and Mining, Improvement of the Mississippi River, Education, Claims, Labor, War Claims, Private Land Claims, Revision of the Laws, District of Columbia, and many others of perhaps less consequence.

Mr. President, I do not make this somewhat startling showing for the purpose of exciting sectional feeling or jealousy, but to show that in another body the representatives of that portion of the Union which struggled for four years to destroy it have control of the important legislation of the country. I have no unkind words to utter against any man, but I do not believe in Texas statesmanship. I believe that if the policy as expressed in the so-called Mills bill, and as expressed by the honorable Senators from that State on this floor, were to prevail it would result in ruin to the business of the country.

The senior Senator from Texas, on the 12th of September, in talking about the murders in Washington County, in his State, said that—

> If there is any one thing in this world the average Texan would go any number of miles out of his way to kick and kill and destroy it is a protective tariff.

As the Senator made that statement with an apparent feeling of satisfaction and pride, I am bound to assume that he would go any number of miles with his devoted constituents and join them in their effort to destroy a protective tariff. Then the junior Senator from Texas comes forward and defines the boundary between a tariff for revenue and a tariff for protection. He says:

> That as long as the increase of the tax secures an increase of revenue it is a revenue tariff, but when we reach the point in any commodity where the increase of the tax reduces the revenue by excluding imports we then have a tariff for protection.

And then the Senator proceeds to show that the protective policy is wrong. Mr. President, the Senator says that as long as an increase of tax secures an increase of revenue it is a revenue tariff. A revenue tariff is what our Democratic friends are in favor of, the effect of which is they are in favor of a tariff to secure to Great Britain and other countries the certainty of exporting to this country whatever they please to the fullest extent without regard to the effect such exportations may have on the industries or labor of America.

The position of the Democracy results in protection to foreign manufactures and foreign labor, and ruin and death to home labor and industry. So, Mr. President, the American people are being educated by the distinguished gentleman from Texas on the subject of political economy since they (the people) have had the misfortune of having a Democratic House of Representatives and the greater misfortune of having a gentleman for President whose training in statesmanship began after he was elected President, in the Southern school, the teachers mainly coming from Texas.

Mr. President, in the Northwest every year about this time the agricultural people, the farmers, are alarmed by the announcement that Texas cattle have been brought in from that State and the Texas fever has come with them, spreading among the native herds for miles around, resulting in great loss and injury to the agricultural interests of the section. The proposed tariff legislation, the author of which is said to be a gentleman from Texas, if allowed to be enacted would be worse than the Texas fever among cattle; it would be Texas fever in the business of the country and paralyze the business of the whole country, followed by poverty and distress.

Immediately after the President's message in December, the Ways and Means Committee of the House began its work of framing a tariff bill in accordance with it. After about seven months a bill revising the tariff and to reduce the surplus as alleged, passed; not the same bill reported, but with such modifications as it became necessary to make to secure the requisite votes of Northern Democrats to pass it. While it is urged now that the bill affords ample protection to American industry and labor, yet no Democrat has been heard to utter one sentence in favor of protection. When in the discussion of the Mills bill a Republican asked the question, "Has any friend of this bill (referring to the Mills bill) in this debate uttered one sentence in favor of the American tariff system which discriminates in favor of the home producer and laborer?" the answer came from a Democrat, "No; there was none and you will not hear any Democrat utter one." Neither have we. The Democratic party is opposed to the protective principle.

Mr. President, let us see how much truth there is in the declaration of the President that duties on imports raise the price to the consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Let us take a few examples and see whether that is the operation of a tariff law. Theories are of no account, neither are statements even when made by Presidents when they are in opposition to facts. Take the familiar instance of steel rails. They were first manufactured in this country in 1868, at which time imported steel rails were sold at the sum of $158.50 per ton; they were manufactured in great quantities from that time in this country, and the price ran down with a duty of $28 per ton part of the time and finally reduced to $17, until in 1885 they sold at $28.50, only 50 cents above the duty when we began to make them, and in 1886 the manufacture was 1,763,667 tons and the importation was only 46,500 tons. Protection increases production and lessens the price. Where natural advantages exist for the production of the article protected the encouragement of home manufactures tends to stop importation, home competition begins, and the price decreases to the consumer.

Take the article of soda-ash, which is largely used in certain manufactures; it has not been long that it has been manufactured in this country. It was imported and sold to our people at $48 per ton; finally its manufacture began here, the price went down from $48 to $45, then to $36, and then to $30, falling $18 per ton less than when we used the imported article and did not manufacture it.

Take the article of nails, used by the people. Nails cost 25 cents

per pound—imported wrought nails. The tariff of 1824 imposed a duty of 5 cents a pound, which rate was retained until 1833. According to Democratic doctrine, nails ought to have sold at 30 cents a pound, but instead the price of nails went down to 8 and 9 cents a pound. The tariff duty was lowered to 1½ cents per pound in 1883, and the price is now from 2 to 3 cents per pound.

Axes are a useful article in this and all countries. Before the American people began to manufacture axes in this country the price of English axes was from $2 to $4 apiece. A tariff duty was imposed on English axes; soon axes, American and English, were selling at $1.25 to $1.50; the price ran down still lower, our American manufacturers began to export their axes, and at the World's Fair at Philadelphia in 1876 the English commissioners said, in their report to their government, that—

For years Sheffield supplied not only our own country but nearly all the world. * * * This monopoly remains with us no longer. * * * The American ax has for many years displaced the axes imported from Great Britain; they are now imported into this country (meaning England).

Such is the testimony of the English commissioners to our Centennial Exposition.

Take the article of files. Up to the time the Government passed into the control of the Republican party in 1861, files were nearly all imported and cost our people from $6 to $7 per dozen. Establishments for the manufacture of files were constructed in this country and put in operation. Congress imposed a duty on files; the price of files went down from $6 to $7 per dozen to $2 and $2.30 per dozen, and the importation of files practically ceased. So, Mr. President, I might go on and give almost numberless instances showing the absurdity of the position of the President and his followers. The effect of a protective tariff is the encouragement of home industry, the building of factories and mills and their operation. Competition follows, and reduced prices are assured.

Our Democratic friends seem to be greatly concerned about the duty on blankets and attempt to create the belief in the minds of the people that they are being robbed on account of the duty on imported blankets. Let us see how that is. Reports from responsible manufacturers in this country show that blankets that cost in 1860 $13 now cost $6.80. Blankets that cost $10, $8, $7.50, $5, $3.75, $3.50, $2.25, $2.50, and $2, now cost $5.85, $4.50, $4.35, $3.03, $2.58, $1.90, $1.31, $1.45, and $1.01.

Mr. DAWES. Each pair?

Mr. CULLOM. Each pair.

According to the grade or quality, very little over one-half in price now what it was when the Republican party came into power in 1861. The policy of the Republican party has given the people cheap blankets, and in doing it it has enforced a policy which has given good wages to tens of thousands of our own people—work at good wages by day and rest under cheap blankets by night.

Take another item. Take the article of binding-twine, in which our farmers are interested in connection with cutting grain, etc. The rate of duty on twine, as I understand, is in both bills alike, one being an ad valorem and the other a specific duty, but I understand that under the tariff laws as they are now binding-twine is sold at exactly the same price in this country that it is in the other countries of the world. I desire to ask the honorable Senator from Iowa, who knows more about this bill perhaps than almost anybody else here, to tell me whether I am right in stating that the duty is the same in both bills and whether the price is the same in this country as it is in others.

Mr. ALLISON. The duty is practically the same in both bills. The duty in the House bill is 15 per cent. ad valorem and in the Senate bill 7½ cents per pound.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator say that it is the same?

Mr. ALLISON. I do. The price in the United States and in foreign countries is precisely the same now.

Mr. CULLOM. I so understood, but I desired to be made sure by the statement of the chairman of the subcommittee, who I knew was well advised.

Mr. ALLISON. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. CULLOM. Take another article. Take watches as another example of the operation of a protective tariff. It has not been a great many years since watches began to be manufactured in this country. As probably the country knows, we had a small duty on watches for quite a time, and an effort was made to manufacture them, but it failed, and finally the tariff was increased to such an extent that our manufacturers could run and we commenced the manufacture of watches.

The imports of watches from 1825 to 1858 amounted to $45,800,000. The tariff laws finally gave sufficient duty on imported watches to enable Americans to make watches and compete. We now have, I believe, fifty or sixty watch factories, or establishments engaged in the manufacture of watches proper or their cases, etc., employing many thousands of skilled workmen and other persons, men, women, boys, and girls, at good wages, and watches of American manufacture, good as are made anywhere, are so cheap that everybody has a watch, whereas thirty years ago a watch was a rare article in any country community. Take the article of borax. It is produced in California and Nevada. It used to sell at 32 cents. It now sells at 8, just one-fourth the amount, as a result of a duty upon it and competition in its production and sale. The Mills bill puts it on the free-list, and if the labor of producing it shall be interfered with after awhile we shall hear that the industry in this country is broken down, and the price of the article will then go up. Take chloroform. The duty on that article is 50 cents per pound. It is now selling at 40 cents. Home competition brought the price down and the tariff on the article is prohibitory. Take the article of salt, about which we hear so much. If you will listen to the appeals of Democrats for free salt, you will have difficulty in resisting the conclusion that the people are in distress for want of cheap salt. But let us see how the duty on salt of 12 cents per hundred pounds in barrels affects the price. I use here a statement compiled by Hon. JEHU BAKER from a memorial of the Saginaw Board of Trade of 1888:

Salt product of Michigan, 1860, 4,000 barrels; in 1887, 4,200,000; cost of salt along the Great Lakes, including a barrel worth 20 cents, in 1860, $2.25; in 1866, $1.80; in 1871, $1.46; in 1876, $1.05; in 1881, 95 cents; in 1886, 65 cents; in 1887, 58 cents.

Mr. FARWELL. Including the barrel.

Mr. CULLOM. Including the barrel, which costs 20 cents, literally about as cheap as dirt. Yet there is not a speaker in either branch of Congress on the other side or anywhere else who does not deal with the tax on salt as if it was just going to ruin the business of this country and starve the people for want of that prime necessity.

Mr. President, Sir Charles Tupper, the Canadian minister of finance, knew what he was doing when he congratulated the Canadian Parliament on the fact that if the Mills bill should become a law it would make free articles that Canada sends into the United States, on which last year the people of that country paid as customs to our Government $1,800,000. They know who pays the duty. Mr. Tupper knew that the $1,800,000 which they pay yearly comes out of their pockets and not the pockets of our people. The so-called Mills bill would help Canada a little as well as Great Britain a great deal.

The duties upon importations "raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties," says the President. Democrats all along the line echo the declaration. If they believe such statements and are anxious to put an end to such robbery, as they term it, why do they not take the duty off wheat and give to consumers cheap bread? The consumers are robbed, according to the modern apostles of free trade, for the benefit of the farmer.

There are only between seven and eight millions of farmers. They raise wheat to eat and sell, seldom buy it. There are over fifty millions of American people who buy bread and consume it. If the free-trade theory is sound, these fifty millions are taxed 20 cents on every bushel of wheat, 15 cents on every bushel of potatoes which they consume for the benefit of the seven or eight million farmers according to free-trade or revenue-reform theories. This is a most unjust and oppressive tax upon the masses, put upon them by "our vicious, inequitable, and illogical" tariff laws, simply for the enrichment of the farmer. And yet our Democratic friends do their best to make the agriculturist believe that the present tariff system fails to give any protection to the farmer. When the facts are found it is discovered that the farmer is protected as well as the manufacturer by the present law.

Why is it proposed by the Mills bill to protect wheat and not wool? If wool is to be placed on the free-list why not wheat? Everybody must eat whether well or poorly clothed; wheat can be purchased in India or in Canada for a less price than in the United States. Why not remove the duty and let wheat come in and force our farmers to take less price for their wheat? If cheap woolen clothing would be so great a blessing, why would not cheap bread be a greater one? Mr. President, the Democratic party dare not disturb the duty on wheat, and they know it; and while they do not do that they interfere with the tariff on wool for the purpose of making a discrimination, and only such a one as they think they can carry through when they know they would fail if they would undertake the other.

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BATE] yesterday used the expression "These advance taxes," as I caught it from his lips, "are felt at every meal." On that theory, why does he not take the tax off wheat while taking it off other things?

"The mills of the gods grind slowly," but Democracy would be ground to powder if that party should extend its doctrine so far. No, Mr. President, the doctrine of free trade or revenue reform will not do in this country.

The agriculturist is told that he of all men should stand for free trade, or oppose protection. The mechanic is promised cheap food and cheap clothing when free trade comes, and according to the declaration of the Senator from Missouri in his somewhat famous letter it will surely come if the Democratic party succeeds, for the Senator says:

The President has challenged the protected industries of the country to a fight of extermination. The fight is to the death.

I take it that our manufacturing industries are to be wiped out, to be exterminated, if the policy he states to have been enunciated by the President is to be carried out.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PALMER in the chair). Does the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. CULLOM. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. I had occasion once to make a statement in regard to this matter, and if the Senator from Illinois will indulge me I should like to make another, not that I think it is necessary, but because he has alluded to it again.

Mr. CULLOM. I do not hear the Senator.

Mr. VEST. I said that I had occasion once before to allude to this matter, and I expected that no such necessity, after what I stated then, would arise; but as the Senator has alluded to it again I want to make a statement now in justice to myself.

This was a private letter, as I stated then, written by me upon my desk here in the Senate during a debate. It is my custom, as that of other Senators, when my morning mail comes in to answer very frequently upon soft paper with a pencil the letters which I receive, either by full reply, as is sometimes the case, or by making memoranda which are afterwards type-written by my secretary. I wrote this reply to a friend, an intimate personal and political friend. I want the Secretary to read that reply exactly as it was sent; and its intent and meaning, I repeat to-day, absolutely and without any sort of qualification. If I had been under the impression or had the slightest suspicion that it would have been made public I should certainly have been more particular in framing the sentences and in the verbiage that I used; but to any fair man, to any fair-minded disputant, the letter shows my meaning plainly and unequivocally. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will read the letter.

The Secretary read as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE, *Washington, D. C., June* 23, 1888.

MY DEAR CHARLEY: Yours of the 21st instant has been received.

I did not see the item in the Republican to which you allude, but would not have believed it if I had seen it. I know you too well to believe any such thing.

I sincerely hope that the club may be made permanent and that its membership may be largely increased. Whilst there is no possibility that Missouri will fail to give her electoral vote for Cleveland and Thurman, it is important, both for campaign purposes and as an educational instrumentality, that the organization should be continued.

We are entering upon the most fearful Presidential contest and the most important since that of 1800. Mr. Cleveland by his message, for which I sincerely honor him, has challenged the protected industries of the country to a fight of extermination.

The men who are accumulating immense fortunes under the present tariff laws are determined to defeat Cleveland if money and industry will accomplish it. It is the personal duty of every Democrat in this country to do everything in his power to sustain the President. Every agency which can possibly be used in this direction must be put actively to work.

It is useless for us to disguise the fact that the fight is to the death, and we would be idiots to ignore this fact.

Your friend,

G. G. VEST.

C. M. NAPTON, Esq.,
St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. VEST. I simply wish to state that any man who does not appreciate the difference between a letter written under the circumstances I wrote that to a political and personal friend who was assumed to understand my opinions and the position of the Democratic party, and a letter written to be submitted to the fierce criticism of political opponents and of a public canvass, will have no further explanation from me.

What I meant to say, and what that letter fairly construed does say, is that between the principles of absolute and unlimited protection, which I understand the Republican party to-day to advocate, and the position of the Democratic party, which is the raising of revenue for the support of the Government economically administered, and the proper adjustment of the revenue so to be raised with the taxes necessary to raise it, it is a fight to the death. I meant, and I repeat it, that we intend to wage a war of extermination upon the present system of taxation by which enormous fortunes are given to a few at the expense of the many.

Now, Mr. President, one single word, and I shall not interrupt the Senator further. One sentence in that letter without its context would seem to indicate that I put the President in the attitude of attacking all the industries of the country. It was carelessly written, but it was the system of unlimited protection which I meant and that alone. I have received from a friend——

Mr. TELLER (to Mr. CULLOM). He seems to favor a limited protection.

Mr. VEST. What does the Senator from Colorado say?

Mr. TELLER. I did not mean to interrupt the Senator.

Mr. CULLOM. I wish the Senator from Missouri would confine himself to the reading of the letter and to the explanation.

Mr. TELLER. Allow me to explain. I said according to the Senator's theory protection was right, provided it was a limited protection. I do not know that that is his theory.

Mr. VEST. I mean to say that every tariff, even if it be a revenue tariff, has incidental protection, and that protection and the tariff taxes ought to be justly distributed throughout the country.

If the Senator will permit me a further explanation, I shall not interrupt him further or allude to this matter again. A friend has sent me within the last few days the following garbled extract from this letter. I shall not use the language here which I would use outside of the Senate in regard to the man who has prepared this or the men who have put it upon the country. It would be absolutely indecent under parliamentary rules for me to denounce this infamy as it deserves:

A DEMOCRATIC SENATOR ON CLEVELAND AND FREE TRADE.

Many sincere men who do not desire to vote for free trade and against protection are deceived by the Democratic claim that Mr. Cleveland is not opposed to the industrial interests of the country. Read the following and judge for yourselves:

Now comes what purports to be my letter.

Mr. Cleveland by his message, for which I sincerely honor him, has challenged the protected industries of the country to a war of extermination. The fight is to the death.

GEORGE G. VEST.

In other words, they take two entirely distinct and separate portions of the letter, put them together, leave out the intermediate and explanatory sentences, and put it to the country as a genuine document. The man who did that would disgrace the striped clothes of a penitentiary.

Mr. CULLOM. I had never heard the Senator's explanation of his letter. I do not think that the explanation is much better than the letter itself. There is no mistaking the fact that he did say the President of the United States had challenged the protected industries of the country to a fight of extermination.

Mr. VEST. The President has made his own statement. Why does not the Senator criticise that?

Mr. CULLOM. I have, but I happened to see the Senator's letter, and I thought that was a very good explanation of the President's course and purpose, and that it perhaps ought to be criticised, too.

I do not desire to take issue in any way with the Senator or get into any controversy with him, but the Senator fails to say that he is in favor of protection of any kind to our American industries and American labor. In other words, he and his party stand upon the platform of a tariff for revenue only, without any reference to whether it gives protection to American labor or American industries.

I shall not refer to his letter further, but I have some other quotations which have been furnished me which I think will turn out to be correctly stated and to be genuine.

We demand tariff reform, and we set our faces in the direction of free trade.

That is one.

The Democrat who is not a free-trader should go elsewhere.

If the Senator from Missouri is not a free-trader, he had better come over and join the Republican party.

The conflict between free trade and protection is irrepressible and must be fought out to the bitter end.

The Democratic party, except in the person of imbeciles hardly worth mentioning, is not upon the fence. It is a free-trade party or it is nothing—

As I said almost in the beginning—

The black flag is up; no quarter will be asked and no quarter given.

The above extracts were taken from one of the great organs of the Democratic party, and doubtless penned by its chief editor, Mr. Watterson, who, I believe, is a member of the National Democratic Committee.

Mr. President, when the St. Louis convention was held it was the determination of that party to plant itself upon the doctrine of free trade, and when a member of that convention undertook to control it and to prevent its announcing extreme revenue-reform positions he was substantially sat upon by the convention.

So we are sure of free trade, if Democracy shall succeed at the approaching election. The black flag is up, and no quarter is to be given; it is to be a war of extermination against the protected industries of the country. The manufacturer is told that when the change takes place from protection to free trade the world's markets will be open to him; that his wares will find a ready market and wealth will fill his coffers. In the first place, under such a condition, his factory or mill would be idle and he would have no wares for sale. Mr. President, the world's markets are open now, and whether our wares are sold in them depends on the quality and cheapness of the article where it is wanted. We sell more to Great Britain now than does any other foreign country. And yet we are told by the Democratic party that we do not get into the foreign markets because we have a protective system here, while in competition with Great Britain, which announces itself in favor of free trade, we go into the markets and sell our wares to a greater amount than does any other country in the world.

The value of our manufactures amounts to eight billions of dollars, 98½ per cent. of which is consumed at home, and 1¾ per cent. is exported, amounting to $135,000,000.

The agricultural product of this country amounts to $7,500,000,000, five hundred million less than the manufactures, and 92 per cent. of it is consumed at home and 8 per cent. exported, and yet our Democratic friends seem more concerned about the little surplus we have to send away than to maintain our home industries. The idea seems to be that trading among ourselves does nobody any good. Mr. President, if the people of Illinois have corn and wheat and beef to sell to the people of New England, and they have cotton and woolen goods and boots and shoes and blankets to sell to the people of Illinois, why is not the Massachusetts manufacturer and the Illinois agriculturist each doing as well and enriching the country as much as if each sent his product out of the country? I expect the day to soon come when the

agriculturist of Illinois will find a market for every bushel of wheat and corn and every pound of beef and pork at home to supply the vast multitudes of that State who will be engaged in the stores, the factories, the mills of the great cities and the shops and the mines. The important market, Mr. President, for Americans is a home market.

Mr. President, the farmer has as much interest in maintaining the protective system in this country as any other class of our citizens. What we want and must have is diversified industry. We can not be and ought not to be all farmers, or all mechanics, or all engaged in any one pursuit. The desire of England always was from the early period of the colonies until now that the American people should be hewers of wood and drawers of water for Great Britain, that the American people should be an agricultural people and furnish Great Britain the breadstuffs, the beef, the pork, the lard, etc., and they furnish America with manufactures. The American people never consented to this programme, but insisted on doing as they pleased, and developing the resources of their own country in its manufactures, its commerce, its shipping, and generally securing independence as a people. The weakest nations are those with the least diversified industry.

America occupies a middle ground in regard to diversity of industry. Many of the weaker nations, as South America, Turkey, India, are more exclusively agricultural. In Great Britain the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture is much less than in America. But let us see further what the farmer's interest is in this contest. More than 90 per cent. of our agricultural product is consumed here. The cost of transportation is a great item to be taken into consideration, by farmers especially. In 1865 my own State was more largely a corn-growing State than it is now; it then had fewer mills and factories and mines and machine-shops being operated than it has to-day. She depended largely on consumers east of the Alleghanies for the disposal of her surplus either in the Eastern States or in Europe. It had to be moved from 800 to 3,000 miles, hence the cost of transportation came out of the price which the producer near the market received.

Illinois produced over 117,000,000 bushels of corn and received on an average that year only 29½ cents per bushel, while corn in Connecticut averaged $1.22½, showing that on the total 117,000,000 bushels the Illinois farmers lost nearly $105,000,000. How much more prosperous would the Illinois farmers have been with a market at their door, as it soon will be if the policy of encouraging the development of diversified industry is continued and stimulated.

It is said that "the base of all industry is agriculture—a foundation interest," but that fact does not justify everybody in turning his attention to farming. The interest of the farmer is that other business should be carried on with it and beside it in the interest of the best development of agriculture. The Democrat says we protect manufacturing and the farmer has to pay for it, and if the farmer believed the halt that is told him he would believe himself robbed and ruined by the tariff daily. In the first place the farmer's wheat is protected. There is an import duty upon corn, potatoes, wool, flax, meats, vegetables, and about everything that needs protection which the farmer produces; but if there were not it is the interest of the farmer that other industries should be prosecuted in this country.

John Quincy Adams advocated the harmony of industries. He said:

> The great interests of an agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing nation are so locked in union together that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to all the others.

In Great Britain in 1881 the proportion of the population engaged in what are called industrial pursuits as distinguished from what are designated as commercial, agricultural, domestic, or professional, was 57 per cent., while those engaged in agricultural pursuits were 12.4 per cent.; while in this country the proportion of those engaged in industrial pursuits was only 22.1 per cent., and those engaged in agricultural pursuits was 44.1 per cent. The proportion engaged in agriculture will be reduced as the nation grows older if we encourage diversified industry.

As population increases in any community the value of the lands increases. In this country the States have been divided into classes, the first class having less than 30 per cent. engaged in agriculture; the second, with 30 and less than 50 per cent.; the third, those States with 50 and less than 70 per cent., and the fourth class, those States having 70 per cent. and over. Without going into a detail of figures, the facts show that in the first class of States, having less than 30 per cent. of those engaged in agriculture, the land is worth $38.68 per acre, while in the second class it is worth $30.55, in the third only $13.53, and in the fourth class, where 70 per cent. and over are engaged in agriculture, the land is valued at $5.18 per acre.

The statistics show that the value of lands increases as population not engaged in agriculture increases in the vicinity, and the reason for the increase in the value of land is because its produce finds a home market and better price. Illinois, the State which I have the honor in part to represent, according to the census of 1880 had about one million persons engaged in agriculture. The income from their labors was greatly enlarged by the great mills and factories and meat markets and grain markets of Chicago and other cities of the State. In Chicago to-day we have nearly or quite a million people consuming the product of the agriculturist. Such great industries and great cities scattered over our great country furnish a surer and better market than foreign markets sustained by the pauper labor of Europe.

The protective system is in line with the highest law of nature, namely, self-preservation. A man has a right to defend himself against assault, to preserve himself from bodily injury or to save his own life, to defend his home, his castle, his property against lawless attacks or intruders. So a nation or the people of a nation have the right—it is their duty—to protect, preserve, defend their own interests before looking to the welfare of other nations, especially when other nations are struggling to procure the adoption of a policy for the sole interest of their own producers who want to sell their wares in our market and do nothing to develop the resources of this country. They have nothing in common with us. They pay no taxes. They simply want the benefit of our markets.

Nations and cities alike make this principle of permitting outsiders to sell goods only on condition that they comply with such regulations as are made for a reasonable protection of the interests and rights of the citizens who pay taxes, and in every way assist in bearing the burdens of the community or government in which they live.

Now, Mr. President, I desire to have read by the Secretary an article from the London Morning Post, which I think will be found interesting and germane to the subject under consideration.

The Secretary read as follows:

AS AN ENGLISHMAN SEES IT—A LONDON PROTECTION PAPER SAYS THEY CAN NOT UNDERSTAND US.

[From the London Morning Post.]

According to our friends of the Cobden school, American commerce and American manufactures ought to be declining rapidly under the "withering influence" of a protective tariff. Instead of this, the statistics to which we refer show that in twenty years the population of the States has increased by 69 per cent., the hay crop has increased 106 per cent., the cotton crop 194 per cent., and the production of pig-iron over 386 per cent. Railway construction to the extent of over 21,000 miles was projected last year, and over 15,000 miles of it were actually constructed in the twelve months. What this means will be better understood when it is pointed out that the total mileage of railroads existing in the United Kingdom last year was under the 21,000 planned as a single season's addition to the tracks in the United States. New rails were required for nearly 20,000 miles of road, and upward of 3,000,000 tons of steel rails were turned out for the new lines in course of construction. This quantity is three times the entire turnout of rail of all descriptions, iron and steel, of all the mills of the United States in the year 1880.

Immigration last year was on an exceptionally large scale. On one day the number landed at Castle Garden depot exceeded eleven thousand—the highest figure ever recorded in the annals of the New York immigration bureau. In fact, the stream of new arrivals poured in so densely as to tax to the utmost the resources both of the numerous Atlantic steam-ship lines and the immigration authorities of the Eastern ports. Many of the lines were obliged to order their agents to cease booking "steerage" for a time. A feature, too, of last year's immigration was the unusual number of mechanics, brick-layers, plasterers, and masons, from Scotland, Wales, and the north of England, and who went out to the States in response to advices from the other side stating there were good openings there for such handicraftsmen. And yet there are scores of politicians here so blind to what is going on in the world as to stick to the old fetish formula that protection is more injurious to the country that adopts it than to the country against which the hostile tariffs are aimed.

But for the serious consequences entailed upon our British working classes, that feel every day more and more the pinch of foreign competition, it would be decidedly amusing to note how completely every one of the principles assumed by the one-sided free-trade school of this country is negatived by facts and falsified by the experience of common-place business men. We are constantly told that protection raises the cost of commodities; that a hostile tariff—as Mr. John Bright said but a few days back in a published letter to one of his correspondents—is only a tax which the community pays to support the particular industry benefited by it. As a matter of fact, what do we find in America? Why, their manufacturers can actually beat us out of the field on the score of mere cheapness only. So far from protection enhancing the cost of their goods, they can turn them out at rates at which we, with all our free trade, can not manage to compete.

The Yale lock-makers can afford to pay the carriage of their goods to England and yet undersell the Wolverhampton masters in the very heart of the lock trade, just as the Belgians can quote lower rates for angle-iron delivered in Derby than the local iron-masters of the Midlands. The Philadelphia engine-makers can turn out as serviceable locomotive as any English firm, and ship it all the way to New Zealand for £600 less than the English tenders. In South Russia the agricultural implement trade is said to be passing entirely into the hands of American exporters, in spite of English and German competitors, though the latter are nearer by 3,000 miles to the local market. With the exception of made-up clothing, which is dear because labor is highly paid, and not because the duty on stuffs is so heavy, there is not a single manufactured article produced in the United States, from carpets to cotton, from locomotive engines to steel axes, from agricultural implements to cutlery, and Yankee notions, as many little domestic appliances are called, which is not as cheap or even cheaper there than in this country.

Mr. CULLOM. Mr. President, I have yet said very little on the importance of maintaining our protective system to the laboring classes, or, as they are sometimes termed, the wage-workers of our country. After all, if one class of our citizens have more at stake in maintaining a protective tariff than any other, it is the class upon whom the nation depends for the development of its resources, the men who open up the country, who build the cities, who build and operate the factories, the mills, the railroads, develop and operate the mines; they, above all others, should be protected in good wages as against the cheap labor of other lands.

No man can gainsay the fact that the laborers of America are better paid than are the laborers of the Old World. No policy should be allowed to prevail in this country that by any possibility would operate to lessen the price of labor; rather a policy should be inaugurated to raise the price of wages. The people of this country are the Government. It should be the constant aim and effort of the men charged

with official duty to do that which will tend to lift up (instead of let down) the great body of the people into an atmosphere of higher enjoyment and higher civilization, and no policy should prevail which would require a sober, industrious laboring man to toil daily and still be unable to keep the wolf from the door; rather should such a wise policy prevail as would secure to every toiler a home, rest, advantages of schools for his children, society and churches for himself and family. The good of humanity requires this; the well-being of society and government demands it.

The mechanic and laborer are told by Democratic Senators and speakers in the States that they would do better under their revenue or free-trade policy than they do now. Let us see how wages in this country and in Great Britain compare.

FACTS AND FIGURES FOR WAGE-EARNERS.

The following tables, compiled from volume 20, United States Census, and from British official statements, give the average weekly wages in one hundred and two kinds of work, including manufactures, mechanical trades, and unskilled labor:

Weekly wages in one hundred and two employments.

Occupations.	Great Britain.	United States.
Boots and shoes:		
Cutters	$5.08	$13.85
Finishers	7.26	14.50
Gas, stokers	7.86	11.70
Hats:		
Finishers	6.29	10.60
Trimmers, women	3.15	8.65
Trimmers, girls	1.87	5.25
Dyers	4.96	13.50
Dyers, boys	2.66	4.25
Iron furnaces:		
Keepers	9.66	11.67
Keepers' helpers	4.86	8.82
Fillers	5.53	8.29
Enginemen	6.78	12.82
Iron foundries:		
Molders	7.66	13.76
Machinists	7.19	13.34
Machinery:		
Molders	7.23	13.67
Pattern-makers	7.46	15.46
Rolling mills:		
Puddlers	7.26	20.64
Helpers	4.35	11.02
Hammer men	14.52	27.00
Rollers	7.26	13.38
Roll turners	7.26	19.50
Rollers and bloomers	14.52	28.86
Hoppers	4.60	8.34
Roughers	6.05	13.44
Calciners	2.42	11.44
Wheelers	4.84	7.20
Wheelers, coal	4.84	9.60
Stock-takers	4.84	9.60
Laborers	4.11	7.80
Coal mining:		
Miners	5.75	11.45
Drivers	3.32	10.00
Engineers	6.78	13.84
Blacksmiths	6.41	11.00
Iron miners	5.52	11.70
Paper:		
Rag-sorters	2.54	4.75
Finishers	6.05	10.93
Finishers, women	2.90	4.65
Mechanics	7.38	13.88
Potteries:		
Plate-makers	7.70	20.30
Dish-makers	9.62	19.43
Cup-makers	9.92	19.67
Saucer-makers	7.93	18.58
Basin-makers	9.66	19.73
Hollow-ware jiggers	11.62	21.89
Hollow-ware pressers	8.14	17.90
Kilnmen	6.86	13.18
Sagger-makers	8.46	19.33
Mold-makers	10.23	20.79
Turners	8.00	16.97
Handlers	8.39	16.62
Printers	6.55	13.56
Carpets:		
Weavers	7.26	12.00
Winders, women	2.78	5.28
Dyers	8.87	11.50
Mechanics	6.90	12.00
Cotton goods:		
Printers	12.10	28.02
Apprentices	5.08	15.30
Boys	.85	3.90
Grinders	5.20	8.40
Strippers	4.45	6.37
Drawers, women	3.50	4.62
Mule spinners	6.96	9.21
Doffers, boys	2.18	4.14
Dyers	4.96	6.51
Dyers, boys	2.18	3.90
Finishers	6.20	9.36
Finishers, boys	2.90	4.26
Mechanics	6.78	12.54
Carpenters	6.41	11.66
Laborers	3.87	7.03

Weekly wages in one hundred and two employments—Continued.

Occupations.	Great Britain.	United States.
Silks:		
Winders	$2.96	$5.34
Weavers, power	5.40	11.50
Weavers, women	4.38	7.94
Designers	12.00	24.71
Lace-machine operators, male	9.11	14.75
Lace-machine operators, female	3.09	5.00
Dyers	7.00	12.77
Woolens:		
Sorters	6.47	10.40
Warpers, male	5.52	10.63
Warpers, female	2.90	5.76
Spinners, male	7.05	10.39
Spinners, female	2.72	5.13
Weavers, male	5.38	10.00
Weavers, female	3.78	5.80
Fullers	5.87	8.96
Dyers	4.90	7.52
Car-works:		
Makers	7.50	10.93
Coach-makers	8.11	12.05
Wood machinists	7.74	11.58
Smiths	8.11	12.47
Painters, coach	7.26	11.21
Painters, wagon	4.84	10.93
Laborers	4.36	6.90
Total, 93 occupations	578.49	1,106.83
Average weekly	6.22	11.90
Trades, general:		
Carpenters	6.94	11.84
Smiths	6.98	16.48
Masons	7.45	16.33
Tinners	7.32	14.76
Engineers	7.47	15.24
Mechanics	6.95	13.85
Painters	6.33	11.71
Copper-smiths	7.74	15.00
Laborers	4.37	7.70
Total, 102 occupations	640.04	1,229.74
Average weekly	6.27	12.05

These figures represent a wide range of occupations, from the rudest to the most highly skilled.

WAGES HERE AND IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In the Sixteenth Annual Report of Labor, by Mr. Carroll D. Wright, of Boston, at page 107 he says:

In the fall of 1883 we started upon an original investigation through personal agents of the bureau in Massachusetts and Great Britain, and through these agents we have gathered from original sources (meaning by "original sources" the pay-rolls of great manufacturing establishments, the official wage-lists agreed upon in England, so far as England is concerned, between trade societies and employers, and from other reliable sources) the rate of wages paid in the following twenty-four industries, which are common to Massachusetts and Great Britain:

Industries—1884.	Average weekly wages paid employés.	
	Massachusetts.	Great Britain.
Agricultural implements	$10.25	$8.85
Artisans' tools	11.80	4.89
Boots and shoes	11.63	4.37
Brick	8.63	4.16
Building trades	14.99	7.21
Carpetings	6.08	4.11
Carriages and wagons	13.80	4.89
Clothing	10.01	6.71
Cotton goods	6.45	4.66
Flax and jute goods	6.46	2.84
Food preparations	9.81	2.72
Furniture	11.04	7.96
Glass	12.28	6.94
Hats—fur, wool, and silk	11.01	5.51
Hosiery	6.49	4.67
Liquors—malt and distilled	12.87	12.66
Machines and machinery	11.75	6.93
Metals and metallic goods	11.25	7.40
Printing and publishing	11.37	5.52
Printing, dyeing, and bleaching cotton textiles	8.67	4.94
Stone	14.39	8.58
Wooden goods	12.19	5.67
Woolen goods	6.90	4.86
Worsted goods	7.32	3.60
All industries	10.31	5.86

Showing that wages in Massachusetts are almost double those in Great Britain, the schedule of prices of labor in Massachusetts and Great Britain speaks for itself and is doubtless according to the facts. I will not dwell longer on the subject of difference in the wages of the laborer in this country and in Great Britain. Every man is familiar with the fact that the wages of the skilled mechanic and the common laborer of

this country are nearly twice what they are in the countries of Europe or England. It can not be that the laborer is not in better condition in this country than he would be under a system of free trade or tariff for revenue only.

The history of our own country proves our position, the history of Ireland proves the correctness of our protective system. England, with its free trade and cheap labor and its hundreds of thousands of paupers, is a warning to the people of America against the policy which will soon and inevitably produce a similar condition here. England wants our doors opened that her manufacturers and merchants may bring their goods in free, so that she may give her people work and wages and let American laborers do the walking. Shall we open the doors to British goods free, or so near it, that they may fill our markets? I say no, if it shall interfere with our industries. Keep out foreign production sufficiently to enable us to keep up the price of labor and run our factories and mills and mines and build up our own people and country.

Mr. President, much has been said by our Democratic friends against the tariff plank of the Republican platform because it declared that—

Rather than surrender any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures we would favor the entire repeal of internal taxes.

There is no occasion at present for an entire repeal of internal taxes in order to preserve our protective system, and it will not be done. But what does the so-called Mills bill propose? It contains provisions the very purpose of which is to turn loose the little moonshine distillers of the South, which, so far as they have been able from the passage of the internal-revenue law to this hour, have violated law and have destroyed the lives of many brave men engaged in the enforcement of the law. The passage of the Mills bill would, as some one has said—

Leave Uncle Sam, like a blind beggar with a contribution-box, waiting for the distillers to chip in whatever they desired for the support of the Government.

The proposed amendments were designed to benefit the Southern States, where the little distilleries were found up the hollows. The regulation of distilleries of certain capacity allowing them to be operated without storekeepers or gaugers, modifying the law in relation to arrests, and many other provisions which can not be otherwise than in the interest of the manufacture of spirits without the payment of the tax. The provisions of the Mills bill in relation to internal taxes are constructed to enable the moonshine distillers to manufacture without the payment of the tax all the whisky they choose, while the great establishments in the North, which are running according to law, are surrounded by all the agents of the Government needed to secure it in the payment of the tax on every gallon manufactured according to law.

Mr. President, the bill reported as a substitute for the Mills bill by the Senate Finance Committee will reduce the duty on imported sugar one-half. I am inclined to believe it ought to be put upon the free-list, but a reduction of one-half the present duty will, I trust, be of value to the country. The production of sugar from cane in this country has seemed to have been almost a failure with all the protection that has been given it. The quantity produced in the United States has not increased, but seems rather to be decreasing.

If it can not be produced in reasonable quantities in this country with protection, it would seem contrary to public policy or the policy of a protective tariff to impose heavy import duties upon the article here to supply the demand of our people; there is but a small per cent. of the amount used in this country produced here. The amount consumed in 1887 was 3,130,077,440 pounds, while of the amount consumed we only produced 6.11 per cent. I will ask to insert in the RECORD as part of my remarks a table showing the amount produced in this country since the beginning of 1865 up to and including 1887, the amount imported in same period, and the total amount of duty paid on imported sugar, which would seem to be an extraordinary amount, yet the statistics doubtless give the amount correctly. The amount of duties paid on sugar brought in to supply our markets in twenty-three years beginning with 1865 and ending with 1887 was $860,226,531.46—a vast sum of money to pay for protecting an article produced here in so small quantities, and which so far has not prospered even with a heavy duty on imported sugar as a protection to this industry.

EXHIBIT A.

Year ending June 30.	Production in Louisiana.	Other Southern States.	Imports of sugar.			Average cost per pound in foreign countries.
			Quantity.	Average specific rate of duty.	Duty collected.	
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*
1865	10,800,000	400,000	651,936,494	3.05	$17,642,957.88	4.39
1866	19,900,000	780,000	1,000,055,024	3.08	27,312,967.65	4.02
1867	42,900,000	7,500,000	849,054,206	3.04	28,570,492.23	4.09
1868	41,400,000	10,120,000	1,121,189,415	3.04	30,447,970.89	4.33
1869	95,051,225	5,550,000	1,247,833,430	3.04	30,923,907.06	4.74
1870	99,452,940	5,380,000	1,196,773,569	3.03	36,819,041.26	4.95

EXHIBIT A—Continued.

Year ending June 30.	Production in Louisiana.	Other Southern States.	Imports of sugar.			Average cost per pound in foreign countries.
			Quantity.	Average specific rate of duty.	Duty collected.	
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*
1871	168,878,592	9,420,000	1,277,473,653	2.50	$30,751,497.34	4.91
1872	146,906,125	9,446,000	1,509,185,674	2.04	28,865,447.02	5.37
1873	125,346,493	9,486,000	1,568,304,593	2.01	29,382,579.43	5.35
1874	103,241,119	5,399,000	1,701,297,869	1.98	32,491,318.70	4.95
1875	134,504,691	7,736,000	1,797,509,990	2.10	34,650,084.66	4.35
1876	163,418,070	9,062,000	1,493,977,472	2.38	39,438,417.55	4.04
1877	190,672,570	8,688,000	1,654,536,831	2.34	25,268,294.48	4.91
1878	147,101,941	11,940,000	1,537,451,934	2.33	37,075,426.96	5.06
1879	239,478,753	11,402,000	1,834,365,836	2.32	38,065,803.76	4.10
1880	198,962,278	8,915,000	1,829,291,684	2.44	39,739,306.49	4.18
1881	272,982,899	12,320,000	1,946,745,205	2.45	46,318,073.49	4.41
1882	159,874,950	11,200,000	1,990,152,374	2.44	45,711,795.14	4.41
1883	303,066,258	15,680,000	2,137,667,865	2.31	44,591,448.98	4.37
1884	287,742,230	15,232,000	2,756,416,896	1.95	47,500,749.79	2.61
1885	211,462,963	14,560,000	2,717,884,653	1.97	50,885,915.89	2.67
1886	286,626,486	16,128,000	2,689,881,765	2.00	50,265,538.24	2.84
1887	181,123,872	10,158,400	2,781,159,645	2.03	56,507,495.57	2.84
Total	3,639,804,455	216,702,400	39,290,166,076	.....	860,226,531.46	.....

EXHIBIT B.

Total duties collected on sugar in twenty years (Statistical Abstract, 1887)		$860,226,531.46
Sugar consumed in the United States in 1887	pounds	3,130,077,440
Sugar produced (1887) in Louisiana	pounds 181,123,872	
Other Southern States	do 10,158,400	
		191,282,272
Addition to cost of sugar consumed in 1887 as proposed by the Mills bill		$45,217,282.41
Value of entire sugar crop of the United States in 1887 (191,282,272 pounds), at 5 cents per pound on plantation		$9,564,113.60
Percentage of total consumption of sugar in the United States, produced in the United States, 1887		6.11

Mr. President, the Mills bill places on the free-list a large number of articles chiefly products of the Northern and Western industries which are protected by the present law. If the bill as passed by the House should pass the Senate, many of the industries would probably be destroyed. It provides an ad valorem duty in many instances where it should be specific in the interest of an honest enforcement of the law. We hear much about the frauds in the custom-houses of the country, and many industries since this Administration came into power have been broken down and many others seriously injured in their business by fraudulent invoices which have practically established free trade in this country on some articles of like kind manufactured here. Better have no tariff laws for protection than to have them so framed as that they may be easily evaded by the importer, so that the producer of this country can not know what to rely upon in his business in competition with importations.

I desire to say, in connection with this, that I see by an examination of the two bills, that in the Mills bill, as it is called, there seems to have been an effort to place everything dutiable upon an ad valorem basis, while the other side of the question is taken by the committee on the part of the Senate, making every duty specific, so far as it could consistent with what information it had, so that we may know and the business man may know exactly the amount to be paid upon every article.

The Mills bill makes but slight reduction of the duty upon rice, while vegetables (including potatoes) are put upon the free-list. I ought to say here, perhaps, that there seems to be a doubt in the minds of Senators and others whether or not the Mills bill actually places potatoes upon the free-list. There certainly is a doubt about it. If I am mistaken, I ask the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] to correct me. They do not seem to be mentioned as being upon the protected lists, so far as I can see.

The Mills bill touches lightly the duty upon sugar, which had a protective duty of over 80 per cent., while the sugar trade of the country is in the hands of a trust or combine which is forcing the people to pay enormous prices for the article, and have been in the last few days, by order of Havemeyer, the president of the trust, closing up refineries to prevent overproduction and keep up the price, and turning away thousands of working people in pitiable poverty upon the charities of the public. While sugar and the sugar trust are tenderly cared for, the great wool interest of the North, aggregating in this country 300,000,000 pounds annually, and valued at $100,000,000, which, as stated in the report of the Committee on Finance of the Senate upon the tariff bill, "supplies nine-tenths of the clothing wool used by American manufacturers, and has raised the United States to the first rank among the wool-producing nations of the world—this great and important industry or product is put upon the free-list to struggle on in competition with wool importations from South America or Australia, or perish and

be remembered as one of the elements of wealth in America, killed off by the Mills tariff bill, if it should become a law.

Mr. President, I have seen it charged that our manufacturers of reapers and other agricultural implements are selling their manufactures abroad at less price than they sell the same articles at home. I have made some inquiries to ascertain whether the charge is true and find that it is not, so far as I have made inquiry. In proof that such is not the fact, I will read the testimony of Col. A. L. Conger, a manufacturer of reapers in Ohio, as to the sale of reapers on the subject of wages, etc.

ANOTHER LIE NAILED—THE AMERICAN REAPER TRADE AS COMPARED WITH THE FOREIGN.

The Chicago Daily News and several Western papers having published a statement that American manufacturers are selling reapers at $50 each less to the foreign trade than to American farmers, the question was referred to Col. A. L. Conger, of Akron, Ohio. Colonel Conger is a prominent manufacturer of Ohio and president of the Whitman & Barnes Manufacturing Company, which has large business connections with every State and Territory in the Union, as well as a large foreign trade. He is intimately connected with the reaper business of the United States and knows whereof he speaks. In reply to the inquiry Colonel Conger said:

"The statements contained in the articles, so far as the reaper trade is concerned, are absolutely and unqualifiedly false. There is no reaper establishment in the United States that could afford to entertain such a proposition. On the other hand, as a rule, the manufacturers of agricultural implements in the United States are able to get very satisfactory prices for their goods abroad, and generally in excess of prices received in our home market, and in most cases they get cash before the goods leave New York City, while in this country reapers are usually sold on one, two, and in some instances three years' time. The reason why American manufacturers are enabled to get higher prices for their goods over those manufactured abroad is because of the superiority of our implements. The free-trader is slow to admit this, but nevertheless it is true.

"We pay twice as much for labor in this country as is paid abroad, therefore we get twice as good results from that labor. Labor which receives poor pay brings poor results. Our principal competition in farm machinery for the foreign trade comes from England. In South America, Australia, as well as France, Germany, and Russia, the American manufacturers are building up a splendid trade in farm machinery. If we can do this under our present system of protection, how foolish it would be to break down this system and reduce American labor to the level of the pauper labor of Europe, and at the same time reduce the standard of our manufactured goods, which must necessarily follow. I do not know how this story originated, but I think it was set afloat by English manufacturers, with whom we have to compete. They are very jealous of American manufacturers, and especially of the superiority of our goods.

"We have a million men in this country whose brains are occupied night and day in making improvements in farm machinery, and the wonderful progress and improvements they are constantly bringing forth challenge the admiration of all other countries, and they are looking to America to supply their wants. Let me give you another illustration. I met a gentleman from London a short time since who came in possession of a famous drill made in this country, known as the Morse twist drill, which is known to every American machinist. He had come to this country to get the exclusive agency for the sale of this tool in the English market. This is only one of hundreds of instances which go to show how we can maintain our own manufactories without giving up the great advantage we now hold over all other countries with our laws of protection, which now bring such great prosperity to the American laborer and to our country."

I have also received a letter from the secretary of Messrs. Deere & Co., of Moline, in Illinois, on the question of foreign trade; also the extent and character of the manufacturing interests of that growing city, which I will submit to the Senate:

OFFICE DEERE & CO., *Moline, Ill., September* 7, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of the 2d instant to Mr. C. H. Deere finds him absent, and therefore I take occasion to answer your inquiries as to the character and extent of the manufacturing interests of Moline.

Kinds of goods.	Hands employed.	Volume of business.
(Number of establishments, 2.)		
Steel plows and cultivators	1,200	$2,200,000
Wagons	300	700,000
Corn-planters, rakes, etc	150	500,000
Flouring-mill machinery	150	300,000
Machinery	50	100,000
(Number of establishments, 2.)		
Malleable iron	150	100,000
Scales	25	50,000
Pipe-organs	25	50,000
Pumps	50	150,000
Saddlery hardware	50	150,000

In regard to the second point you make, the competition in the manufacture of plows is so great that the margin of profit has been reduced dangerously low, so that there is no object or opportunity to sell our goods to the foreign at less prices than we do to the home trade. We have done a considerable business with Canada in times past and are still doing some there, and our discounts have been so large, or in other words, our prices so low, that in one instance the Canadian authorities refused to accept our invoice as the true one, but raised the price. We convinced them, however, that the price was the same that we were selling our goods in like quantities to our home trade; but nevertheless it seemed entirely too low to our Canadian neighbors. We have some trade with Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Argentine Republic, but our prices to all our foreign trade are always the same as to our home jobbing trade, never any lower.

I might remark that our foreign trade could be extended indefinitely if we had regular lines of steamers to South American ports and to Australia and New Zealand. As it is now, the only way we can reach the Argentine Republic is by chartering sailing vessels, which occupy on a voyage ninety days on the average from New York to Buenos Ayres. Our plows, United States harvesting machinery, and various other kinds of tools are preferred by the English colonists in the countries named, and also by the South American people, to those of European manufacture. At the little town of Grinnell, in Iowa, there is a small harvester manufactory whose trade in the Argentine Republic increased from ten in 1884 to eight hundred in 1888, they having shipped 80 car-loads of their harvesting machines called headers from Grinnell to the Argentine Republic by the way of New York during this past year.

The eastern plow manufacturers have done a large business with the Argentine Republic for many years in cheap, low-priced plows, and we are just getting a foot-hold there with our better class of American plows. These facts are positive proofs that American farmers are furnished with the tools necessary for carrying on farming operations at a very much less price than any other agricultural country in the world. I mentioned the Grinnell harvester factory because the extent of their foreign trade has come immediately under our notice, but in addition to this there are half a dozen other manufacturers of harvester machinery who are also doing large foreign trade. I think it would be a good idea for you to get the statistics of exports of farm machinery for the past few years from G. W. Silcox, No. 60 Barclay street, New York, as these statistics are open to the public. I mentioned George W. Silcox because he is the agent for our export trade, and might be able to procure them for you as well as anybody else.

The charge that American farm machinery is being furnished to foreign countries at a less price than to our own farming community is a "bald assertion," probably founded on the assumption that all manufacturers make lower prices to their foreign trade than they do to their home. But this is impossible to be true where competition has reduced prices to the lowest possible point consistent with safety, and then all countries that have a tariff protect their own people from undervaluation by stringent rules and regulations.

Yours, truly,

S. H. VELIE, *Secretary Deere & Co.*

Hon. S. M. CULLOM,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. President, the letter just referred to shows how under our protective system our manufacturing interests are growing, the manufactures are carried to foreign countries and placed on the market and sold in competition with like manufactures of other countries, and at the same time furnishing our own people the cheapest and best agricultural implements, especially, in the world. How weak and absurd is the policy that would change this condition. These manufacturing cities in our prairie State give life and vigor to our trade and commerce, and all interests are benefited. The success of one business depends in a measure upon other business around it. Business interests in a community are mutual.

I desire also to present another letter received from a business man in Peoria, Ill., upon the same subject, the selling of agricultural implements abroad:

[Letter from M. Kingman of the firm of M. Kingman & Co., of Peoria.]

PEORIA, ILL., *September* 5, 1888.

Senator S. M. CULLOM, *Washington, D. C.:*

Yours of the 2d received, inclosing slip, which I herewith return. In answer to this will state that I am a stockholder in the Moline Plow Company, also in the Marseilles Manufacturing Company. Both of these concerns have an export and foreign trade, and the contracts for this foreign trade I am fully posted in, and I desire to say to you that this foreign trade pays the same price for their goods at wholesale as the American dealer does, and instead of giving them two, four, and six months' time, they pay the cash on receipt of bill of lading. This is also true of the business done by Kingman & Co. in Mexico for the last three years in the sale of various lines of goods in that republic.

What I stated above, applying to the Moline Plow Company, Marseilles Manufacturing Company, and Kingman & Co., is also true of all the agricultural manufacturers of the West.

We handle goods made at the following cities in Ohio: Dayton, Massilon, Tiffin, Springfield, Cincinnati, and Columbus. All of which sell largely abroad, and the managers of these different factories also have stated a number of times that they were making exactly the same terms that they were selling to these foreign countries, and hence the statement set forth in this slip is untrue in every particular.

If you desire to have a personal letter from the different factories showing these facts, I can obtain them for you.

Mr. President, it is often charged that the Republican party has been unwilling to reduce the tariff duties, and that the party favors retaining the war tariff. The war tariff has long since been modified; it was modified by the act of July, 1870. It was modified by the revision of March 3, 1883, so that the country has no war tariff. If the tariff laws which were in force from 1861 to 1870 had remained in force until now, the Government would have collected for 1887 $139,596,693.25 more than it did under the present law, according to the report of the Finance Committee of the Senate.

The tariff bill reported to the Senate as a substitute for the House bill disposes of the surplus and at the same time protects American labor and industries. If it shall become a law its honest enforcement will neither reduce wages nor will it close our mills, factories, and mines. It will aid in keeping them all open, and will strengthen our home market by retaining the money of the country at home by paying good wages for labor, thereby enabling the masses to buy more and live better than they could if times were hard and wages were reduced. The Senate bill is a complete revision of the revenue laws, reducing and increasing duties when and where in the judgment of the committee the facts demanded it should be done. It should become a law with such amendments as a full discussion may indicate should be made.

It should be so framed as the judgment of Congress shall deem for the best interests of the country, "free from Executive interference or dictation." We have had much dictation by the Executive for the last three years, notably in dealing with pension bills for the relief of disabled veterans of the Union Army in the late war and for widows and children of deceased Union soldiers. Many a brave soldier's heart has been stricken with grief to hear that the President of the nation, he, the veteran, fought four years to save, had vetoed a bill for his relief in his declining years.

One word more on the subject of pension vetoes. The present occu-

pant of the White House has exercised his doubtful power in such cases with an apparent delight, and in doing so, in vetoing two hundred and six cases, he has saved to the Government, according to an estimate made, the sum of $28,116 per annum.

I desire here to say that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] furnishes me this information, and says he has made a careful estimate of the fact. In saving this little sum how many broken-down veterans of the Union Army have been turned away hungry, how many of the number are in the poor-houses of the country I do not know.

I want to relate an incident that occurred in connection with a pension case which was in charge of my honorable friend behind me, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SAWYER], who we all know has been vigilant in season and out trying to protect the widows and the veteran soldiers of the late war in giving them the little pensions to which they are entitled. Through his efforts we passed a bill in the Senate and it passed the House and went to the President and was vetoed. After it was vetoed, the honorable Senator wrote a letter to the lady who was the beneficiary, and this is the language used in her family when she received the letter, containing in it a small remittance from that liberal-hearted Senator. The statement is, that when the mother opened the letter the little children were around her, and her little boy exclaimed, "Oh, mamma, let us go and get something to eat, now that we have got some money."

Those are the people, Mr. President, that the veto power has been exercised with reference to.

But, Mr. President, my purpose is simply, in view of the course of the President of the United States on this great question of the tariff, which has been one of interference and dictation from the time he gave us his December message until now, to call the attention of the Senate and the country to a provision in the Democratic platform of 1872, which declared in favor of remitting—

The discussion of the subject (the tariff) to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

How consistent. In 1872 condemning Executive interference, in 1888 the same great party following Executive dictation like an army of slaves.

Mr. President, the national Democratic convention at St. Louis adopted its platform and declared "that chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States," and a little further on it declares that "the Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power which, four years ago, was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland, and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people." It is not my purpose to discuss the question of the sincerity of that declaration in the platform.

Chief among its principles are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible States.

It is fortunate that the Union is indissoluble; if it had not been the dominant element of the Democratic party would have destroyed it long ago. In the light of history that declaration as an introduction to a Democratic platform is really refreshing, and if the public could regard it as a serious announcement by that party, it would give confidence, at least, that we would have no more rebellions or civil wars in this country; but let us accept the welcome to an exact scrutiny for a moment.

You know, Mr. President, how the charge of extravagance was made all over the country against the Republican party four years ago. It was constant and denunciatory. On account of it some Republicans voted for Cleveland and reform, civil-service reform. Mr. Cleveland was declared elected. We have had a trial of reform, and the result is before the country. How delightful it has been for reformers to behold demoralized and unsatisfactory public service everywhere, the people who pay the taxes not satisfied, and the reform Administration costing them more than any of the administrations before it since the Government was founded.

The total of Mr. Arthur's administration for the years from 1882 to 1885, inclusive	$943,173,130.63
Mr. Cleveland's from 1886 to 1889, inclusive	1,038,476,184.20
Increase 1886 to 1889 over 1882 to 1885	95,303,053.57

Showing that this Jeffersonian simplicity civil-service Administration that welcomes an exacting scrutiny, cost the people nearly a hundred millions more, or will at its close, than the Republican administration just before it. There is another statement which I wish to make in pursuance of the invitation to make an exact scrutiny of the conduct of this Administration. It is this: The Administration admits that it has $60,000,000 loaned without interest to certain national banks. Perhaps the word "deposited" is used.

The money is in the banks, and to take it out might seriously affect the business of the country. But what has been the doctrine of the party? One of the most uncompromising convictions of the Democratic party has been in favor of a subtreasury and against the old national banking system. So thoroughly imbued with a spirit of opposition to the old national banking system was the Democratic party that when the war came on and it became necessary to establish the present national banking system the Democratic party opposed that, and much of the stock in trade of that party has been opposition to the national banks ever since. But now what do we witness? The subtreasury plan abandoned and a Democratic Administration filling the national banks with sixty millions of Government money, when the record shows that in 1840, in national convention, the Democracy declared—

That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

And this doctrine or declaration was reaffirmed by that party in 1844, 1848, 1852, and 1856.

The party has given up at last the only old doctrine it had left. It favored slavery, but says now it is delighted that it is gone. It favored secession, but says that the war killed that. It opposed the internal-improvement system, but it now favors that. It was against Executive dictation, but takes to that now with amazing unanimity. It was against national banks, but now, by the favor of this Administration, certain named national banks are plethoric with money which ought to be where the law requires it should be, either in the Treasury at the capital, or in some of the subtreasuries of the country.

Mr. President, I shall not pursue this fruitful theme further.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. President, the conspiracy against labor fills not a chapter merely, but pervades the whole volume of American history. Often it has seemed on the eve of victory, often it has apparently triumphed, but in the hour of its seeming victory it has been beaten down and baffled and overthrown, now by the ballots of laboring men aroused to a sense of their peril, and again by their bullets on fiercely contested fields. Sometimes this conspiracy has cloaked and disguised its purposes, sometimes it has boldly avowed them, but never since its first organization has it abandoned them for an hour. Whenever temporarily defeated, it has taken advantage of the security felt in its supposed overthrow to renew its plottings. The chief enemies of the country have been among its chief promoters. Early conspirators have perished; new ones have taken their places. The conspirators die, but the conspiracy lives.

This conspiracy against labor obtained early control of the Democratic party. Through the success of that party it hopes for the accomplishment of its purposes, and now but seemingly awaits the reelection of Grover Cleveland to carry out its ruinous designs. It is and always has been a sectional conspiracy, and its name is free trade.

Two systems of labor were established contemporaneously in this country. About a year before the Mayflower touched the Massachusetts shore, a ship landed at Jamestown, Va., loaded with slaves. From that time these two labor systems have been antagonistic forces in the country, and all our woes and troubles and conflicts have been occasioned by "the irrepressible conflict" between these two labor systems. One system involved the idea that labor should be unpaid and ignorant. At first it involved the idea that capital should own the laborer, but always to this day the idea that labor shall be poorly paid and ignorant. The other system involved the idea that labor should be well paid and should be intelligent.

The Southern system, if I may so call it without disrespect, was based upon the idea that the laborer should have no status in society, that he should have no political rights, no civil rights, no "inalienable rights." The other was based upon the idea that the laborer should have an equal status in society with every other man; that he should have political rights and civil rights; that he should be one of the citizens of the Government, responsible for its administration and responsible for its progress; that he should be in the broadest sense a freeman; and so in the States where this grand system of labor was domiciled the oath which an elector was required to take in order to cast his vote, to participate in governmental and State affairs, was called "the freeman's oath." Labor was dignified and the laborer was dignified by his participation in all the functions of government and society. There were indeed slaves in the North at first, but there was no room for them in the labor system which obtained there, and they went out, disappeared by the inevitable operation of the laws which governed that system. The Southern system, where the laborer was unpaid, where he was kept ignorant, where it was a criminal offense to teach him to read even the Scriptures, was adapted only to the rudest cultivation of the soil. The Northern system, where the laborer was well paid and intelligent and free to engage in the "pursuit of happiness," inevitably tended to the diversification of industries.

These two labor systems determined where manufactures should first be planted in the United States. It was not the enterprise of capitalists; it was solely and purely the character of labor which spread over these different sections of the United States which determined where manufacturing should spring up and flourish.

North Carolina by all its natural resources, and the same is true of the other Southern States, was just as much adapted to the establishment of manufacturing enterprises as was Rhode Island. The New England States, where this labor system was first planted, could but attempt to engage in manufacturing. The Southern States, where the ignorant and unpaid system of labor prevailed, could only engage in the raising of cotton, sugar, tobacco, and like agricultural products.

Skill, education, and aspiration in the laborer make agriculture not only more profitable, but are absolutely essential to even the rudimentary development of mechanical industries.

To have supposed that manufacturing could at that day have found a foothold in the Southern section of this country was to suppose that you could reverse a universal law of political economy. The one system involved caste; the other equality. The one involved the idea that man should go up, and the other involved the idea that he should go down. Those are two pregnant words in our language, Mr. President, those two little prepositions, "up" and "down." They belong to the language of the Aryan race. Their counterpart is to be found in no other language. We may trace them back through every migration to the home of the Aryan race in Central Asia.

First, they signified simply the measuring of an expanse upward or downward. Soon they came to have a meaning with regard to human character, with regard to human aspiration, with regard to human progress; and so in our language, when we speak of a man's going "up," we mean everything that is implied in the idea of human progress, and when we speak of a man's going "down," we mean everything that is implied in the idea of human degradation.

This labor system of the North could not but elevate man, could not but elevate the laborer. The labor system of the South could only drag him down until such time as the Northern idea of labor should permeate the South, and he should be in some degree emancipated, not from the actual fetters and manacles of slavery, but from the manacles of this labor system.

The necessities of the Government immediately after the adoption of the Constitution obtained the acquiescence of both sections of the country to the protective system, to the system which was to encourage and protect and to stimulate manufacturing in the United States. Until that time we were practically an agricultural community, both North and South, but immediately upon the adoption of the Constitution it was found necessary to raise money for the expenses of government, and coincident with the idea of revenue came the idea of the establishment, encouragement, and protection of manufacturing industries in this country. No one questioned the constitutionality, the morality, the expediency, or the beneficence of protection then.

So, at the first Congress after the adoption of the Constitution, on the first anniversary of our National Independence after the adoption of the Constitution, George Washington signed his name to the first protective tariff bill July 4, 1789. It was a second declaration of independence, a declaration of industrial independence for the United States; and in these later years when we are having centennial celebrations nothing could be more appropriate than that on the next 4th of July, when we have rounded out a full century of protection to American industries, we should celebrate that event.

There was no objection made in any quarter until after the war of 1812, when we still needed additional revenue, nor indeed was serious objection interposed until the really vigorous protective tariff of 1828 was adopted. Prior to that time the South had not discovered that it was impossible to establish manufactures in the South. It had not discovered that the labor system on which it had undertaken to build its civilization was of a character which made manufactures an impossibility; but it had discovered about that time that the diversification of industries at the North, consequent upon protection and the status of the Northern laborer, impossible to the South by reason of the status of its laborers, had given the Northern States a growth in wealth, in power, in strength, in energy, by which they were entirely outstripping the Southern States.

Calhoun, who in the early history of the Government had been as strong a protectionist as any Northern man, was among one of the first to discover that under the diversification of industries consequent upon the enactment of protective tariffs the North was making great strides. Other South Carolinians, McDuffie notably, joined with Calhoun in raising the cry against protection. The conspiracy then was organized, and from that day to the present time it has existed. Its chief conspirators have always had their home in the same section of the country. It started in South Carolina. Its desire was twofold:

First. To extend the Southern labor system.

Second. To curtail the Northern labor system.

First. To extend that system where labor should be unpaid and ignorant.

Second. To circumscribe and limit that section where intelligent, virtuous, self-respecting, and respected labor should have its home.

One of three things was inevitable, either the Southern labor must be freed, educated, and elevated; or, second, that Northern labor must be degraded, checked in its onward progress; or, third, that the Northern States would become more powerful in wealth, numbers, and political power.

So men came to talk earnestly in the South and constantly about preserving the "balance of power." It was thought, indeed, at that time by superficial observers that this phrase meant preserving the balance of power between slavery and freedom, but slavery was only an incident of the contest. It was to preserve the "balance of power" between the labor system of the South and the labor system of the North. It was to prevent the Northern growth under its labor system and to keep it checked, so that the South should, with its labor conditions, progress equally with the North.

The means by which this was to be accomplished was free trade. The idea of protection was abandoned in the South. It was supposed that it was against the interest of the cotton-grower, and cotton suddenly assumed immense importance in the Southern mind. It was elevated to Kingship. It was felt that free trade would help cotton-growing, and therefore the Southern leaders became free-traders.

What do I mean by free trade? Let us have no difference of understanding upon this subject. There is no difference of understanding among commercial men upon the meaning of this term. Among honest political economists and honest politicians it means only one thing.

Free trade does not mean the abolition of custom-houses. Free trade does not mean that no revenue is to be collected by customs duties. If it meant that, it would have no place in the language of the civilized world, for there is not a civilized country upon the globe that does not have its custom-houses and its collected revenue from customs duties. The man who says that the Democratic party is not in favor of free trade, meaning thereby that it is not in favor of abolishing custom-houses and abolishing customs duties, attempts willfully to mislead. The term has no such significance anywhere. Nobody claims that the Democratic party does not intend to raise revenue by the collection of customs duties. I mean by free trade just what all commercial nations mean by it. I mean what Lord Salisbury means by it, who defines a free-trader as one who is opposed to protection. I mean what Mr. David A. Wells means by it, who said recently—I quote his language as used in the report of the Finance Committee:

> Free trade, as an economic principle or politico-commercial system, is the direct opposite to the so-called principle or system of protection.

That is all any Republican means when he charges the Democratic party with being a free-trade party. There is not a leading Democrat in the United States to-day in full communion with his party, enjoying the confidence of this Administration, who dare say that he is a protectionist. Whatever of protection sentiment and courage there was in any leading Democrat in this country has been crushed under the iron heel of this Administration.

In 1832 this free trade or anti-protection—I shall use the two terms synonymously—sought to destroy the Union. It passed the nullification act of South Carolina, and whatever may have been subsequently claimed to be the grievances of the South, it claimed no grievance then except the tariff-protection act of 1828. It proposed to set up a government for itself because the Congress of the United States had enacted a law which protected and encouraged manufactures, and which tended to the greater diversification of industries and the greater prosperity of the country. That demonstration against the Union was checked. Nullification did not become an accomplished fact. Actual secession and the actual erection of a government independent of and hostile to the United States did not take place. But what was it that prevented it? It was the courage and firmness of Andrew Jackson, doing what a President should do, maintaining and executing the laws of the United States.

But there was another cause, and that was the promise of other Southern leaders who had thereto been protectionists that the scheme of protection should be gradually abandoned. It was the knowledge that the tariff compromise of 1833 was to be enacted, quite as much as the firmness of Andrew Jackson, which prevented that early attempt at secession.

Free trade scored a victory then through the cowardice of the friends of protection. Free trade scored a victory then by the demonstration which it had made towards the overthrow and destruction of the Union; and the compromise measure of 1833 providing for a gradual reduction of protection until there should be no longer protection, was incorporated into a law. The year 1837 brought retribution for that cowardice—brought such disaster as has always followed the abandonment of the protective principle in the United States.

Whenever protection has been abandoned at the instance or at the threats of the men representing the Southern system of cheap and ignorant labor, ruin and bankruptcy have followed.

I wish to quote the words of one who will be regarded as good authority by all the laboring men of the country, whom they will believe, however much they may distrust the statement of politicians. The venerable Peter Cooper, the friend of labor during his long life, rising to eminence and wealth as the result of his own hard labor, in his later years used this language:

> I have noticed in my own business life, extending over a period of nearly seventy years, that every reduction of the tariff (or the tariff-for-revenue-only plan) has brought wretchedness and ruin. It is the natural effect from such a cause. Nothing is more certain than that the advocacy of free trade comes from foreigners who want to break up our industries. They have done it several times already and they want to do it again. The laborers of the Old World get barely enough to keep body and soul together, and that is the condition in which the advocates of free trade are trying to place our laborers, and it behooves every man to do all he can to deter Congress from the endeavor.

The widespread ruin and desolation, the bankruptcy, the suffering of labor, the hunger and wretchedness and despair of laborers wrought a change. They caused the abandonment of the free-trade idea of 1833. They always will when labor asserts itself; and I say to the

Democrats in this Chamber, and to the Democrats throughout the land, that if by the means which they are now employing, if by the deception which they are now practicing, if by the imposture which they are now attempting, they secure the votes of laboringmen, workingmen in the North, and re-elect Grover Cleveland, when those men see the consequences of that they will rise in their might once more and put down free trade and demand protection. But it will be a sad experience for them to go through.

But in 1842 protection triumphed again and prosperity returned. Up to that time the conspirators had not fully obtained control of the Democratic party. In the campaign of 1844 they did obtain entire control of the Democratic party. They resorted to the same tactics which they are now employing. The situation was not vastly different then from what it is now. The Presidential election turned on Pennsylvania, a protection State. The Senate was a tie. To-day the Presidential election will turn, it is supposed, on New York, or Connecticut, or New Jersey, and the Senate will be a tie. The Democrats went into that campaign in Pennsylvania with the rallying cry "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42." The result of it was that the tariff of 1846, which I think the most unblushing of Democrats can not say was not a free-trade tariff, was enacted through the casting vote of the Vice-President, George M. Dallas, thus elected. That tariff brought ruin to the country, ruin delayed for some years by the discovery of gold in California, but though not swift, sure, as every failure to maintain the protective principle will surely, soon or late, bring disaster and ruin.

In 1857, the low tariff having produced a redundant revenue, it was still further reduced; and the parallel between that day and the present may be, I think, instructive. In December, 1855, and in December, 1856, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Guthrie, a Southern free-trader, reported to Congress that there was a surplus in the Treasury which must be disposed of. He recommended still further reductions of the tariff duties for the purpose of reducing the revenue. The surplus in the Treasury was then as large, considering the requirements of Government, its receipts and expenditures, as our present surplus. The Treasury Department had been buying bonds not due at a premium running all the way from 8 to 20 per cent. In 1856 there were $20,000,000 of surplus in the Treasury notwithstanding the purchase of bonds which had been going on.

The Secretary of the Treasury insisted upon still further reducing the free-trade tariff of 1846, and on the last day of the session, on the 3d of March, 1857, that reduction act was passed and Senators and Members of the other House went home. They came here again in December, 1857, to find that the result of that further reduction of the tariff was that the United States had no surplus in the Treasury, and had not money enough to pay members of Congress with, and the very first act passed in December, 1857, was to issue $20,000,000 of Government notes; and printing presses were set running as quickly as possible in order to print notes by which the members of Congress might be paid in time for the Christmas holidays.

This shows that it is not well to be too hasty in dealing with a surplus, certainly by the means proposed by the President and the Democratic party to-day. The first result of any such action is revulsion in business. I have no doubt that if it were possible to pass the bill of the House called the Mills bill, within the next six months importations would so fall off in consequence of depression in business, of a disturbance in business, of inability to purchase foreign goods, that we should have to resort to loans as the first result of such an act. If the country could recover from such disaster the subsequent effect of the bill would be to increase the revenue from customs duties.

I said that in 1844 these conspirators captured the Democratic party. The Democratic platform for 1840 declared for a tariff for revenue only. In 1844 that declaration was reaffirmed, and in 1848, after having passed the free-trade act of 1846, the Democratic National Convention congratulated itself in this way, after reaffirming a "tariff for revenue only:" "That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844 which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union * * * in the noble impulse given to the cause of free-trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842."

This was a party declaration in favor of free-trade quite as notable as the later declaration by the National Democratic Convention of 1856, which boldly declared—

> The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world.

In 1856 the South, united in its demand for free trade, was conspiring for disunion if free trade could not be forced upon the whole country. It was able to declare it to be one of the cardinal tenets of the Democratic party.

From 1857, of which I have spoken, to 1861, the real purpose of the conspiracy against labor was to superficial observers overshadowed by the prominence of the slavery agitation. Slavery *per se* was but an incident of the controversy. It was the old controversy between antagonistic labor systems that was going on; it was the attempt to extend the labor system of the South, to curtail the labor system of the North, to keep labor degraded all over the country; but more attention was given to the incident of the extension of slavery into the Territories than to the character of the labor which was involved in that proposition.

But the war was not for slavery alone. It was fought for that underlying system of labor which the cotton States determined to preserve. It was that which brought the South into rebellion. If any one thing is needed to prove that more than another, it is to be found in a clause of the Confederate constitution, article 1, section 8:

> The congress shall have power, first, to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue to pay the debts, provide for the common defense and carry on the government of the Confederate States. But no bounty shall be paid from the treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States.

It shows that the leaders in establishing the Confederate constitution understood perfectly well what "the irrepressible conflict" was; that it was not an irrepressible conflict between races, between black men and white men, between slavery and freedom alone, but that it was an irrepressible conflict between two labor systems.

Alexander H. Stephens, speaking of the Confederate constitution in his "Constitutional View of the War between the States," on page 336, says:

> The question of a "protective policy," as it was called under the old constitution, was put to rest under the new by the express declaration that no duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations should be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

Let me refer to what Jefferson Davis, the President of that Confederacy, said in his work entitled the "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." Speaking of the Confederate constitution, he says:

> Protective duties for the benefit of special branches of industry, which have been so fruitful a source of trouble under the Government of the United States, were altogether prohibited.

Mr. President, I may refer to another authority. I refer to the opening sentences in a work entitled "Destruction and Reconstruction," by Richard Taylor, lieutenant-general in the Confederate army, familiarly known as General "Dick" Taylor. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

> The history of the United States, as yet unwritten, will show the causes of the "civil war" to have been in existence during the Colonial era and to have cropped out into full view in the debates of the several State assemblies on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in which instrument Luther Martin, Patrick Henry, and others insisted that they were implanted. African slavery at that time was universal, and its extinction in the North, as well as its extension in the South, was due to economic reasons alone.
>
> The first serious difficulty of the Federal Government arose from the attempt to lay an excise on distilled spirits. The second arose from the hostility of New England traders to the policy of the Government in the war of 1812, by which their special interests were menaced; and there is now evidence to prove that but for the unexpected peace an attempt to disrupt the Union would then have been made.
>
> The "Missouri compromise" of 1820 was in reality a truce between antagonistic revenue systems, each seeking to gain the balance of power. For many years subsequently slaves, as domestic servants, were taken to the Territories without exciting remark, and the "nullification" movement in South Carolina was directed entirely against the tariff.

Mr. PLATT. "Antagonistic revenue systems" were the result of antagonistic systems of labor, "each seeking to gain the balance of power."

To show more clearly and distinctly what the author last quoted means, let me refer to something which he has recently said, for which General Butler is authority, in his late Boston speech. He quotes General Taylor as saying, and it has never been denied that I have heard of:

> We made two great mistakes. Had we avoided them we should have conquered you. The first was that we did not substantially destroy the protective features of the tariff in the winter session of 1857 and 1858, by an act which provided a rapid sliding scale to free trade. * * * We could have passed such a law and held it tight on you till it closed the furnaces, workshops, woolen and cotton mills, and steel and bar-iron works of the whole North and West, and scattered your workmen over the prairies and Territories. When the war was ready for you, you would not have been ready for the war. You could not have armed and equipped and put into the field a large army nor built a large navy. You would have been without supplies, machinery, and workmen, and you would have been without money and credit.

I cite these extracts to show that the war itself, the attempt to overthrow the Union, was to establish free trade as much as to preserve slavery.

And now I wish to quote from the Charleston Mercury of May 15, 1861, its views on the Confederate constitution, as follows:

> And first and foremost let us congratulate the people of this great Confederacy that this constitution contains the first acknowledgment in the fundamental law of any people of the great principle of equal and just taxation.

In the light of that I think we may understand what is meant when we are told that our present tariff system is "unjust and unequal taxation."

> That system of partial legislation in the imposition of the taxes which has been the prime cause of all the corruption and sectionalism which have finally overthrown the Union of the United States, is repudiated by this constitution.
>
> Protective tariffs are at an end if this constitution is rightfully administered with all the villainies they spawned upon the country.

The New York Herald, then as now, a Democratic free-trade paper, was in ecstacies over the insertion of this clause in the Confederate constitution. I read some extracts from an editorial article in the New

York Herald of March 19, 1861, in which, speaking of the constitution of the Confederate States, it is said:

The ultimatum of the seceded States is now before the Government at Washington, in this new constitution, adopted by the congress at Montgomery, Ala.

* * * * * * * *

In their unrestricted discretion to shape a Federal Constitution for themselves, the seceded States have unquestionably provided all those securities, checks, and balances which they regard essential for the maintenance of their peculiar institutions. Thus our Northern politicians and the administration at Washington are furnished the conditions upon which the Union may be re-established or definitely divided, without war and without trouble.

This new Southern constitution is the Constitution of the United States, with various modifications, and some very important and most desirable improvements.

And then it goes on to state what is provided on the question of slavery, which I will omit in order not to encumber my speech, and then it says:

Such are the provisions of this Southern constitution, which we may accept as the ultimatum of the seceded States on the subject of slavery. Upon some other questions, however, there are certain stringent provisions in said constitution which it would be extremely difficult to persuade our Northern fishermen, manufacturers, and lobby corruptionists to swallow, even to re-establish the Union. These provisions include—

1. The absolute prohibition of all bounties from the Federal Treasury, and all duties or taxes on imported goods intended to promote or foster any branch of home industry.

Then it speaks of the prohibition of federal appropriations for internal improvements, the restriction by Congress of a majority vote to certain appropriations, the holding of contractors to the strict letter of their contracts, and the Post-Office Department to pay its own expenses, and then goes on to say:

These are excellent constitutional provisions. If they had been in force in Washington during the last ten years they would have prevented the wasteful squandering in swindling lobby jobs, contracts, etc., of three, four, or five hundred millions of public money and public property that have been squandered to the enriching of the lobby-jobbers, and the general demoralization of our Northern political parties and politicians to the lowest level of moral debasement and corruption.

The two classes of amendments indicated upon slavery and upon these other important subjects comprehend the peace offering of the seceded States to the border slave States, to the Government at Washington, and to the Northern States. They are radical propositions of change and reform. They inaugurate a revolution upon the questions involved, whether the final result shall be two confederacies or one.

Now, I beg attention to this:

We are free to say also that the invaluable reforms we have enumerated should be adopted by the United States with or without a reunion with the seceded States, and as soon as possible. But why not accept them with the propositions of the Confederate States on slavery as a basis of reunion? Practically to the North these slavery abstractions amount to nothing, while the reforms indicated are indispensable to the existence of our Government for any length of time, with or without the seceded States.

But, Mr. President, in further support of my proposition that the South in this war upon the labor system of the North had captured the Democratic party, I propose to read at length from another editorial article in the New York Herald of March 19, 1861, as I said before, then and now a Democratic free-trade paper. It is headed "The Two Tariffs, North and South:"

THE TWO TARIFFS, NORTH AND SOUTH.

We publish to-day the tariff recently adopted by the Northern Congress at Washington, and the one virtually agreed upon by the Southern Congress at Montgomery, both *in extenso*, and they present, we think, a fair contrast between the legislative capacity of these two bodies. It is impossible to deny to the Southern tariff an exemplification of statesmanship, enlightenment, wisdom, and a knowledge of governing a great and enterprising people which are wholly wanting in the other document.

The two measures, in fact, differ as much in spirit as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they are as widely different as the legislation of the Mountain in revolutionary France, or the Puritan legislation of the old Commonwealth of England, and the legislation of these two countries at the present day, as any commercial man who understands the subject may see by comparing the one with the other.

The tariff of the Washington Congress—

Meaning the Morrill tariff—

is the most ignorant, useless, plundering, and pernicious enactment that ever was concocted for the avowed purpose of bettering the interests of the country. On the contrary, the tariff of the Montgomery congress—

Adopted, as we observed, under that provision of the constitution which prohibited the fostering of any branch of industry—

is a sound, practical, and intelligible measure, and as such it will command the admiration of the statesmen of England and France and all the commercial nations of Europe. They will discover from the comparison that the art of government is with the South and not with the North, and they will be guided by that conviction in their policy as regards the two sections.

For the last forty years a set of stockjobbers and speculators in the North, and especially in New York, New England, and Pennsylvania, have been using Congress on this question of tariff and revenue for their own benefit and for purely stockjobbing operations, just precisely as they operate in their corner gatherings in Wall street, and they have readily found such men as MORRILL, who represents some grogshop hole and corner interest in Vermont to do the business for them in Washington. The country has suffered many times from ill-judged tariffs got up to suit the stockjobbing and other individual interests, as, for example, from the tariff of 1828, which was settled in 1832, but not before it almost drove South Carolina into nullification and secession; and now that the negro agitation had driven intelligent and practical Southern members out of Congress, the abolitionists and stockjobbers got affairs into their own hands and we see the result in this most iniquitous measure, the Morrill tariff.

I think there is where the phrase "iniquitous measure," applied to the Morrill tariff, came from. I do not recollect that it was ever used before.

The combined effects of these two tariffs must be to desolate the entire North, to stop its importations, cripple its commerce, and turn its capital into another channel; for, although there is specie now lying idle in New York to the amount of nearly forty millions of dollars, and as much more in the other large cities, waiting for an opportunity of investment, it will soon be scattered all over the country wherever the most available means of using it are presented, and it will be lost to the trade of this city and the other Northern States. There is nothing to be predicted of the combination of results produced by the Northern and Southern tariffs, but general ruin to the commerce of the Northern confederacy. France and England, in view of these two measures, will find but little difficulty now in recognizing the independence of the Confederate States of the South. The statesmen of these nations care nothing for our eternal nigger question. Their own commercial interests abroad are all in all to them; and, indeed, upon the subject of negroes, both the American Governments stand now upon an equal footing, inasmuch as the Southern as well as the Northern constitution prohibits the African slave trade.

The tariff of the South opens its ports upon fair and equitable terms to the manufacturers of foreign countries which it were folly to suppose will not be eagerly availed of; while the stupid and suicidal tariff, just adopted by the Northern Congress, imposes excessive and almost prohibitory duties upon the same articles. Thus the combination of abolition fanatics and stock-jobbers in Washington has reduced the whole North to the verge of ruin, which nothing can avert unless the Administration recognizes the necessity of at once calling an extra session of Congress to repeal the Morrill tariff and enact such measures as may bring back the seceded States and reconstruct the Union upon terms of conciliation, justice, and right.

I have read this extract from the New York Herald, Mr. President, in proof, if any proof were needed, of my assertion that the thing in controversy between the South and the North was the question of free trade and protection, it being deemed necessary to have free trade in order to protect the Southern system of labor and protection in order to uphold and benefit the Northern system of labor.

Then came the struggle. Men were arrayed in arms. The Democratic party divided in 1860 in its national convention, but the South consolidated under its Southern wing. It was a conspiracy against Northern labor, I repeat, which made war upon the Union, and it was the Northern labor system which, in defending itself, preserved the Union intact. Wherever met the contending parties, there met these two antagonistic labor systems, and there met these two antagonistic revenue systems. Whoever had eyes to see might have read upon the bars of the Confederate flag, as it was seen in the smoke of battle, these words: "Slavery and free trade;" and whoever had eyes to see might have read between the stripes of the Union flag, these words: "Freedom and protection."

Those were the issues involved in that contest. We had a right to suppose that free trade surrendered at Appomattox, but it did not.

During reconstruction times the conspirators were silent, but they showed their hand again in 1876–'77. The South had then practically become solid. It had acquiesced in the abolition of slavery, it had acquiesced in striking off the visible fetters which had encircled the ankles and wrists of the slave, but it had not acquiesced in the idea of his emancipation from the industrial system of the South.

As soon as reconstruction was over and the excitement of the electoral count had subsided, they began anew their plottings to force free trade upon the country. The laborer was still despised, caste was still maintained, labor was still a badge of inferiority. From that day to this they have talked about a race issue in the South, but the only issue is the issue of labor. It is the question of whether the laborer shall be a man and have the rights of a man, to grow and develop, to be respected, and to take part in government. It is not because the man is black that he is not accorded his place in the government, his right to vote; it is because the South is determined to keep that labor system which was introduced when the ship with its cargo of slaves landed at Jamestown.

They have found two kinds of sympathizers at the North who agree with them in their free-trade "crusade." They are the *doctrinaires*, the professors of the colleges, who know nothing whatever of practical statesmanship, of practical business, or of practical political economy; and the spoilsmen of the North who seek, by adhesion to the free-trade fortunes of the solid South, to get office for their friends and to maintain themselves in a triumphant party. "Northern men with Southern principles."

The essentials of success now are the deception of the masses of Northern Democrats, for if you draw this line in Connecticut as you draw it here in the Senate, if you will avow in Connecticut as you avow here in the Senate that you are opposed to the principle of protection, Connecticut will vote 20,000 majority against the Democratic party. The laboringmen of Connecticut understand the benefits of protection. It is only when they are deceived by the pretense that it is not free trade which is aimed at by the Democratic party, that they stand by that party.

To return to history, and recent history at that. In the Congress which met in October, 1877, in extra session, towards the close of the session there was an overt act of the conspiracy well to be remembered. The present author, sponsor, and father of the House tariff bill of this session, Mr. MILLS, of Texas, on the 1st day of December, 1877, asked for a suspension of the rules of the House to enable him to submit the following resolution for passage:

Resolved, That the Committee on Ways and Means be instructed to so revise the tariff as to make it purely and solely a tariff for revenue and not for protecting one class of citizens by plundering another.

And yet he is making speeches up in Connecticut in this campaign in defense of the "Mills bill," in which by indirection he denies that he is a free-trader. He is endeavoring to secure votes in Connecticut

to help elect Grover Cleveland by making the laboringmen of Connecticut, who believe in protection, think that he does not intend to destroy it and has not endeavored to destroy it in the bill which he has passed through the House of Representatives.

In 1878, at the next session of the same Congress, came the Wood tariff bill, a bill which the late lamented President of the United States, James A. Garfield, denominated a "horrible monster." It was a Democratic measure in that House. It did not receive the support of all the Democratic members. The enacting clause was struck out by a vote of 134 to 120, 18 Democrats voting with the Republicans to strike out the enacting clause—18 protection Democrats in 1878 in the House of Representatives. All honor to them!

That proposition gave us the Forty-seventh Congress, during which we passed the tariff-revision act of 1883, after which came one of the saddest incidents in the history of American politics. It became necessary as a part of this conspiracy to ostracize, crush, and destroy SAMUEL J. RANDALL, who stood with the protectionists. He had been elected Speaker at the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress on the death of Mr. Kerr, and also Speaker of the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses.

In the Forty-seventh Congress he was the head of the minority of the Ways and Means Committee. That entitled him, if the Democrats again obtained control of the House, to go to the head of the committee as its chairman. In the Forty-eighth Congress there came the question of who should be elected Speaker. Mr. RANDALL was a protectionist; Mr. CARLISLE was a free-trader. The result might have been foreseen when the Democratic party was in control of the House. A protectionist can no more be elected Speaker of the House of Representatives when the Democratic party has control of the House than he can be translated to heaven; and just as long as the Democratic party controls the House of Representatives, just so long there will be a free-trade Democrat in the Chair to control the organization of the committees and to recognize whomever he pleases to move for the consideration of bills in the House. The Northern protection Democrats supported Mr. RANDALL; but there were not enough of them.

Mr. CARLISLE became Speaker, and he was re-elected in the Forty-ninth and the Fiftieth Congress, when this unique spectacle was presented—the necessities of the free-trade conspirators requiring it—the election of a Speaker whose seat was contested, and whom every laboring man in this country at that time believed from the bottom of his heart was never elected to this Congress.

How did Mr. CARLISLE, the Speaker, constitute his Committee on Ways and Means? When first elected, all the rule of the House required that Mr. RANDALL, a protectionist, should be made the chairman of that committee if he desired it. It had been given out that he did not desire it, that he desired the chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations, but no one who has read the doings of those times but knows that he was left off from the Committee on Ways and Means and was not permitted to be its chairman because it was understood that he was to some extent a protection Democrat.

How was that committee constituted? Five Southern and two Northern free-traders, together with Abram S. Hewitt, who, I think I do no injustice in saying, was either a protectionist or a free-trader according to his idea of individual revenue, constituted the majority of that committee. Four Republican protectionists were put upon it. There were eight Democrats, not one of whom, unless it was Abram S. Hewitt, could be supposed to be a protectionist, and there were four Northern Republican protectionists put upon that committee. The Democratic members were Morrison, chairman; Mills, of Texas; Blount, of Georgia; Blackburn, of Kentucky; Herbert, of Alabama; Jones, of Arkansas; Hewitt, of New York, and Hurd, of Ohio; and the Republicans were Kelley, of Pennsylvania; Kasson, of Iowa; Hiscock, of New York, and Russell, of Massachusetts. That committee gave the House what was known as the "horizontal reduction bill," voted upon April 15, 1884. The first test vote was on consideration. The objection to consideration was made by William W. Eaton, of Connecticut, who was to some extent a Democratic protectionist. The vote was for consideration 140 to 138 against. It was carried by two majority. Mr. RANDALL and thirty-eight Democrats with him voted "nay."

Then Mr. Converse, of Ohio, moved to strike out the enacting clause. That was carried by 159 to 155, Mr. RANDALL and 37 Democrats with him voting "yea" to strike out the enacting clause. That was in 1884.

In the fall of that year Mr. RANDALL was pressed into the service of the Democratic party to go on the stump, as was Mr. Eaton. They were both in Connecticut, saying, "We are protectionists, we are as good protectionists as any Republicans, and we are Democrats, and you can safely elect Grover Cleveland; you can trust us to prevent the free-trade portion of the Democrats from passing any free-trade bill through the House of Representatives;" and those professions elected Grover Cleveland—I do not call them professions—those statements elected Grover Cleveland.

I have not heard that Mr. RANDALL, or Mr. Converse, or Mr. Eaton is on the stump this year asking Democratic protection laboringmen to vote for Grover Cleveland. Indeed, from the best of my information and belief, I state that they are at present indulging in a good deal of silent meditation upon the compound ingratitude of Grover Cleveland and the Democratic party.

The platform of 1884 was made to appear a straddle. It became necessary now, in the effort to destroy Mr. RANDALL, to more fully capture the President of the United States and win him over to the plan of the free-trade conspirators. As long as Mr. RANDALL was a power in the House of Representatives there was no chance to pass a free-trade bill through that House.

I will not speak of the constitution of subsequent committees until I come to the committees of the Fiftieth Congress.

After the defeat of the Morrison horizontal bill there came the Morrison bill of 1886, which was very much like the Mills bill of 1888. It set out, if I remember, to put coal and iron ore and a variety of things of that sort upon the free-list. They found they had to abandon it in order to get votes to pass it. The result was to put wool and lumber on the free-list and a reduction of duties all along the protected articles. On the question of the consideration of that bill the yeas were 140, nays 157. Mr. RANDALL and 34 Democrats voting "nay." As I said a moment ago, the conspiracy halted. It had come against an obstacle which must be removed. That obstacle was SAMUEL J. RANDALL and his little faithful band of protection Democrats in the House of Representatives standing by him. Only RANDALL and his protection adherents were judged to prevent this cheap, ignorant labor system of the South from overthrowing the labor system of the North. It became necessary to win the President over to the plan of this conspiracy. He was won over, and the bait with which he was captured was the promise of a renomination, which he had pledged himself not to accept. The message which he had prepared for the information of Congress upon the state of the Union was thrown to the waste-basket and a message which gave what information he had on the subject of revenue reform and protection and free trade and unjust taxation and surplus was sent to Congress with the promise that possibly we might have something after that time, a promise which has not been fulfilled.

Mr. CARLISLE constituted his committee after that message was sent. No Northern man at the head of it any more, as Fernando Wood and William R. Morrison had been. A Northern free-trader would not do, and the ranking members on that committee are MILLS of Texas, MCMILLIN of Tennessee, BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas, BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky, TURNER of Georgia, and WILSON of West Virginia. The first five are from States where this cheap, ignorant labor is deemed essential for prosperity. Out of two billions of dollars, in round numbers, produced by the protected industries of this country, the States from which these six ranking members of that committee come, as has been shown to the Senate, produce only $56,000,000 annually. There was no representative from the great State of New York, to say nothing of New England.

I shall never expect a chairman of any important committee from New England while the Democrats have control of the other House. This seems to be as in olden times a raid on New England. We have it thrown in our faces here that protection is a New England theory; that it is for the benefit of New England, and against all the rest of the States. I want to tell those Senators who indulge in that talk that they are mistaken; that the line which separates New England from New York is obliterated; that the center of manufacturing in this country is west of the Alleghany Mountains, and that their taunt of manufacturers will be felt not so particularly in New England as in some other States of the Union.

Mr. RANDALL had power in Pennsylvania in the Democratic party. The control of the State Democratic Committee of Pennsylvania was favorable to Mr. RANDALL. A majority of its members were his friends. Mr. Saunders, a personal and political friend, was its chairman. The edict went forth that Mr. RANDALL had to be stripped of power in his own State. It was necessary to degrade him or the free-trade conspiracy could not prevail, and the President's "next friend" was deputed to destroy Mr. RANDALL'S influence with that committee. Mr. WILLIAM L. SCOTT, by means which, if the secret history of the transaction were written, would shock even the sensibilities of the Democratic party, persuaded the friends of Mr. RANDALL on that committee to depose Mr. Saunders from its chairmanship and to appoint Mr. Kisner as its chairman. What then occurred? Every follower of SAMUEL J. RANDALL in the House of Representatives was given to understand that the price of Presidential favor was a vote for the Mills bill. It was openly proclaimed that "for every SOWDEN there should be an Allentown."

Talk of iniquitous taxation! Look at this iniquitous Administration. The Mills bill was concocted by conspirators in the dark. It was caucused upon and made an administration measure. Votes were purchased for it by yielding partial protection to articles from which protection had been wholly withdrawn if it was necessary to do so in order to secure such votes. Men who had been elected by protection constituencies were cajoled, coaxed, threatened, and driven into its support by this Administration.

The vote was taken. Four Democrats only stood with SAMUEL J. RANDALL. Four only "faithful found among the faithless." Mr. SOWDEN was beaten for a renomination in his district by the influence exercised by the next friend of the Administration upon his constituency. Mr. HOGG, of West Virginia, paired with Mr. RANDALL, then stretched upon a bed of sickness, which it was feared might prove a bed of death. From that bed he wrote to Mr. HOGG, a friend

of the Mills bill, asking him to pair with him on that measure, and Mr. HOGG did so. Influences from the city of Washington defeated Mr. HOGG for a renomination in his district for that act.

Four Democrats only stood with SAMUEL J. RANDALL. The time which Republicans predicted had come: the time when Mr. RANDALL could no longer prevent the passage of a free-trade bill by the House of Representatives. Protection was vanquished and destroyed in the Democratic party the day that the Mills bill passed the House of Representatives.

Could political malignity go further than it has gone in the persecution of that honest friend of intelligent and enlightened labor? I said it was the saddest picture in American politics. The hounding of SAMUEL J. RANDALL to his political and almost to actual death presents the most shocking picture in American politics except that other companion picture, the ruin and death of John Roach, compassed by the Democratic Secretary of the Navy because he was a protectionist and a Republican.

Where do we stand, Mr. President? What is now essential to the complete triumph of these conspirators, to the complete passage of such a free-trade measure as has been sent to us from the House of Representatives? I have already stated what was considered essential, namely, the re-election of Grover Cleveland and the election of Allen G. Thurman to occupy that chair which, Mr. President, you now occupy, give the casting vote in the Senate to the passage of a bill in which the moderation of the present House bill spoken of by the President in his letter of acceptance will be discarded, and the purpose of the conspiracy will be, if possible, more completely incorporated.

There is one other thing that is essential to it, and that is to again deceive the laboringmen of the North who are in the Democratic party. That process is going on, or the attempt is made to secure that result. To this end the President says he is not engaged in a "free-trade crusade." To this end the free-traders on the Ways and Means Committee are trying to make Democratic workingmen believe them to be their best friends. The free-trade war-paint has been washed off as much as possible since the Oregon and Maine elections by these free-traders. It is about as difficult now to find a free-trader as it was for Diogenes to find an honest man in Athens although he hunted in daylight for him with a lantern.

Where are the members of the Ways and Means Committee? They are not in the House of Representatives, but, representing a labor system and a civilization which has neither a just conception of labor nor a respect for laborers, they are perambulating the North to try to make citizen laborers believe that they are their best champions. Since the day when Jacob put on his goat-skin mittens and stole away the birthright of Esau there has been no such imposture attempted. This masquerade in which free-traders promenade in protection costume, in which Democratic monopolists affect the workingman's blouse and carry the workingman's tin-can, is very striking and very suggestive. Like the Apostle Paul, they have determined to become all things to all men in the hope that thereby they may be able to gain some.

A feature of this system of deception, early resorted to, was the pretended antipathy and objection of the Democrats in Congress to what are known as trusts. We heard long and loud declamations here against trusts and upon the duty of Congress to prohibit and to punish all those engaged in them. Has any bill come to us from the House of Representatives dealing with trusts and combinations and syndicates? No. Since it has been ascertained that the gentleman whom the Senator from Tennessee yesterday denominated as a "Corsair" is for Grover Cleveland, and since it has been understood that the great sugar trust is a Democratic institution and is contributing liberally and munificently to the Democratic national campaign committee, and since it is understood that Jay Gould and the members of the National Democratic Committee are among the great railroad monopolists of this country and are all supporting Grover Cleveland and aiding his election, the war against trusts by the Democratic party has degenerated into a paper war. We hear nothing more about it. We shall hear nothing more about it except on the stump, where Democratic protection laboringmen will be told that the Republicans are the monopolists, and that all these trusts are the result of Republican combination and the terrible protective tariff!

Mr. President, many things which I had intended to say must be omitted on account of time. Although I had intended to speak of the necessity of protection to the laborer of this country, of the relation of protection to all that he holds dear in life, I am content to leave what I have to say upon the simple historical statement of this conspiracy. I tell the men who are engaged in it that they will not delude the Democratic laborer of the North. He loves his party, but he loves his country better. He loves the Democratic party, but he loves republican citizenship better. He will follow his party a long way, but into free trade never.

You are making the mistake now which you made in 1860–'61. When you had captured the Democratic party you counted upon the allegiance of the Northern Democratic laborer to that party to stand by and defend you in your supreme effort to force free trade upon this country, or to secede and set up a confederacy of which it should be the corner-stone. You counted without your host. The Democratic laborer of the North was true to his country then, was true to his labor system then, was true to his republicanism then; he enlisted in the army of National defenders. He went side by side with the Republican laborer to defend the system which had made him all he was, and by which alone he hoped for future progress and advancement. You will be disappointed now. He will not follow the Democratic party into free trade. He will stand by protection. He will defeat Grover Cleveland's re-election.

Mr. CHACE proceeded to address the Senate. [For the speech complete see the succeeding day's proceedings.] Having spoken for some time,

Mr. HOAR said: I should like to inquire of the Senator from Rhode Island if he desires to finish his speech to-night. It is getting very dark, and it is late.

Mr. CHACE. I find my throat getting somewhat sore, and if Senators will indulge me, I should prefer to conclude my remarks in the morning.

Mr. HOAR. With the leave of the Senator from Rhode Island, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, October 12, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *October* 12, 1888.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, presented a petition of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Iowa, at Des Moines, Iowa, praying that an appropriation of $200,000 be made to furnish the number of headstones for marking the graves of Union soldiers that will be required to fill the requisitions of the coming year; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. DAVIS, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1311) granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. Murphy, of Marengo, Iowa, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported adversely thereon; and they were postponed indefinitely:

A bill (S. 863) granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. Murphy, of Marengo, Iowa; and

A bill (S. 2035) granting an increase of pension to Samuel J. Murphy, of Marengo, Iowa.

Mr. WALTHALL (for Mr. HAWLEY), from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1455) for the relief of Mark Tomlinson, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

CONDITION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. MANDERSON. I am directed by the Committee on Printing to report back favorably with amendments the resolution for printing the report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Operations of the Civil Service. I ask for its present consideration.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution submitted by Mr. HALE October 11, 1888, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate, That there be printed 10,000 copies of the report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Operations of the Civil Service, and 1,000 copies of the report and testimony, one-half for the use of the committee and one-half for the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendments of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The Committee on Printing report to amend the resolution so as to make it read:

That there be printed 12,000 additional copies of the report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Operations of the Civil Service, and 500 additional copies of the report and testimony, one-half for the use of the committee and one-half for the Senate.

Mr. MANDERSON. The resolution is amended in order to bring it within the rule as to the cost not exceeding $500. Twelve thousand copies can be printed of the report and 500 of the report and the testimony.

The amendments were agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

ANIMAL INDUSTRY REPORT.

Mr. MANDERSON, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution submitted by himself October 4, 1888, reported it without amendment, and it was considered, by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That there be printed 50,000 copies of the fourth annual report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, for the year 1887, of which 13,000 copies shall be for the use of the mem-

bers of the Senate, 27,000 copies for the use of members of the House of Representatives, and 10,000 copies for the use of the Commissioner of Agriculture; the illustrations to be executed under the supervision of the Public Printer, in accordance with the directions of the Joint Committee on Printing, the work to be subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Agriculture.

NAVAL ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. MANDERSON, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the following concurrent resolution, submitted by himself October 4, 1888, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimout consent, and agreed to:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the annual volumes of the astronomical observations of the Naval Observatory for 1886, 1887 and 1888 be printed, and that 1,800 additional copies of each report be printed, of which 300 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 700 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 800 copies for the use of the Navy Department.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the Speaker had appointed Mr. PENINGTON in the place of Mr. O'NEALL, of Indiana, as one of the managers on the part of the House on the bill (H. R. 6514) for the allowance of certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the United States Treasury Department.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2802) to fix the number of unbound and bound Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives, and to provide for their distribution.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6514) making appropriations for certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the Treasury Department.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore:*

A bill (H. R. 4601) to amend the naval record of Nickolas Leuschen, Peter Leuschen, and Loth Possum;

A bill (H. R. 9447) to restore certain money to the fund for erecting a public building at the city of Detroit; and

A bill (H. R. 10606) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery, and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PLATT introduced a bill (S. 3630) granting increase of pension to William H. Dougal; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HOAR (by request) introduced a bill (S. 3631) increasing the pensions of certain disabled veterans of the United States Navy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HAWLEY introduced a bill (S. 3632) for the relief of Mrs. Fannie Moore, widow of Maj. Gen. Marshall Frank Moore; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

MINERAL CLAIMS.

Mr. MITCHELL submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Whereas it is alleged the current uncontested business relating to the application for patents to mineral claims in the mineral division of the General Land Office is in arrears about thirty-three months: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Mines and Mining be, and are hereby, instructed to inquire into the cause of such arrears in such current business, and what legislation, if any, is necessary to correct the evil, and report at the next session of the present Congress.

FOURTH OF JULY CLAIMS.

Mr. SPOONER. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives on House bill 6514.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution of the House of Representatives will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *October* 12, 1888.

Resolved, That the House concur in the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6514) for the allowance of certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the United States Treasury.

Mr. SPOONER submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6514) making appropriations for certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the Treasury Department, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to the amendments made by the Senate, and do recommend to their respective Houses the bill as amended.

JNO. C. SPOONER,
GEO. F. HOAR,
JAMES K. JONES,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
W. J. STONE,
J. B. PENINGTON,
G. W. CROUSE,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on concurring in the report of the committee of conference.

The report was concurred in.

MARINE-HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Mr. DOLPH. The bill (S. 1786) to regulate appointments in the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States passed the other House with an amendment. The bill and amendment were referred to the Committee on Commerce and reported back by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM], with a request for a conference. Some one suggested that it be placed on the Calendar. I wish to have a conference appointed. I think the Senate has already disagreed to the amendment.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report of the Committee on Commerce was a recommendation that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House of Representatives, and ask for a conference thereon. No action was taken and the bill went on the Calendar. If there be no objection, the recommendation of the committee will be agreed to. It is so ordered.

By unanimous consent, the President *pro tempore* was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate; and Mr. DOLPH, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. COCKRELL were appointed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following resolutions; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A resolution for the printing of the report of the Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals in the United States for the year 1887 and 9,000 extra copies; and

A resolution for the printing of 5,000 copies each, in cloth binding, of the first and second annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor, for the use of the Department of Labor.

The message also announced that the House had appointed Mr. WHEELER, and Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa managers of the conference on the part of the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton with the rank and grade of colonel, instead of Mr. TOWNSHEND and Mr. GEAR.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes; and it was thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore*.

IMPROVEMENT OF WILLAMETTE RIVER.

Mr. DOLPH submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be directed to furnish the Senate as soon as practicable an estimate of the cost of the improvement of the Willamette River between Portland and Oswego, in Oregon, by the removal of bars and deepening the channel so as to admit of the navigation of the same by deep-draught vessels.

TESTIMONY IN LA ABRA SILVER MINING CLAIM.

Mr. MORGAN. I offer the following resolution, and ask for its present consideration:

Resolved, That in the taking of testimony in the matter of the claim known as the claim of La Abra Silver Mining Company before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the depositions of witnesses who are physically unable to attend the meetings of the subcommittee or who live at so great a distance from Washington that their attendance would be unduly expensive to the Government may be taken when it is so ordered by such subcommittee.

Such depositions may be taken under oath before a notary public to be named by order of said committee, and may be certified under his official seal.

The examination of such witnesses shall be upon interrogatories in writing, propounded by the subcommittee or by either of the parties in interest, lodged with the clerk of the committee. And the counsel for the claimants and counsel opposing the claim shall be allowed ten days from the date of the service of copies of such interrogatories upon them to propound additional questions to such witnesses, and the testimony so taken shall be received and reported by such subcommittee in the same manner as if said witnesses had been in attendance and had testified before them, and subject to the same exceptions and obligations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). Does the Senator from Alabama ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HALE. I do not rise to object to the resolution but I did not catch the committee to which it refers.

Mr. MORGAN. The Committee on Foreign Relations.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON ADDITIONAL LIBRARY ACCOMMODATIONS.

Mr. COCKRELL. I asked the other day that the resolution reported, I believe, by the chairman of the Committee on Contingent Expenses in regard to the Senate Select Commiteee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress might be laid over. I have since looked at it, and the Senate can take it up and act upon it; it will take but a moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator ask to have the resolution taken up now?

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator who reported it is absent, and I ask that it be now taken up. He wanted it considered at the time when it was reported, and asked that it might be adopted. I intended to call it up early this morning. Let it be acted on now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Select Committee on Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress be, and it is hereby, authorized to sit during the coming recess of Congress, and any necessary expenses shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, upon vouchers to be approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton with the rank and grade of colonel.

ALFRED PLEASONTON.

Mr. COCKRELL submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate on the bill (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton with the grade and rank of colonel having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate and agree to the same.

C. K. DAVIS,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Managers on the part of the Senate.
CHAS. E. HOOKER,
D. B. HENDERSON,
JOS. WHEELER,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report requires no action on the part of the Senate.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there further morning business? If there be none, that order is closed, and the Calendar under Rule VIII is in order.

Mr. CHACE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the House bill 9051, the unfinished business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. CHACE. Mr. President, I hold in my hand a book entitled The Campaign Text-Book of the Democratic Party of the United States for the Presidential Election of 1888. On page 304 of that book, chapter 25, I find a very extended reference to the claim of what has been accomplished by Democratic administration of the Post-Office. In italicised heading to the chapter I find the following:

The railway mail, the star-route, and the steam-boat branches all show increased efficiency and extraordinary expansion. Decline in the number of depredations and defaulters among postmasters and other postal employés.

Further on they claim—

Expedition and accuracy have reached a degree of progress never before attained. The standard of competency of all employés is higher than ever before, and the complaints of the service are fewer than ever before.

Having served during this Congress as a member of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and also as a member of the Special Committee to Investigate the Administration of the Civil Service by the present Administration, I think I am qualified to judge and to discuss the merits and the truthfulness of this claim. It strikes me as the most monstrous assumption that has ever come to my notice.

In regard to their claim that there has been less complaint, Senators will remember that the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PLUMB] and others some three months ago had read at the Clerk's desk a large number of extracts from Democratic newspapers in different parts of the country, particularly in the West and South, but also some from the East, making most strenuous complaints of the inefficiency of the administration of the postal and railway mail service of the country.

I shall not detain the Senate by rereading these newspaper extracts, but with the consent of the Senate print them with my remarks in order that they may show whether it is true that there have been any complaints made of deficiency in the postal service.

The postal service comes nearer to the people than any other branch of the Government. It visits every fireside in the land, and ministers to the social and business concerns of every citizen. The manner in which it is conducted for the time being readily impresses itself upon the people, and furnishes them with a criterion by which to a great extent they judge the capacity of the Government for dealing with public affairs. Recitals from the history of the service never fail to awaken public interest.

DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION FROM 1853 TO 1861.

Upon the advent of the Republican party to power in 1861, after eight years of Democratic administration under Pierce and Buchanan, the postal service was in a wretchedly demoralized condition. Its facilities were meager and unsuited to the public wants; its machinery was inadequate, cumbersome, and inefficient. Official delinquencies were of constant occurrence, and the postal revenues were squandered with reckless prodigality. State laws claiming the right to examine and suppress the mails were sustained by Federal authority, and the Postmaster-General in 1859 not only permitted but instructed a postmaster within sight of the National Capitol to destroy newspapers and pamphlets arriving in the mails which were distasteful to the political sentiments of the community.

Though the rates of postage were high, nearly one-half of the postal expenditures were paid out of the general Treasury, and the deficiency in the postal revenue was constantly and rapidly growing. The departmental reports contained no suggestions for the improvement of the service, and the statute-books were left almost barren of postal legislation. The rates of postage on all classes of matter in 1861 were substantially the same as in 1851, when letter postage was reduced to 3 cents under the Whig administration of President Fillmore. Cheaper postages were not favored, but on the contrary there was a clamor from the Department for a return to higher rates. In his report for 1854 the Democratic Postmaster-General recommended a large increase in the charges for newspapers.

In 1856 he said it was—

fair to conclude that low rates of postage have ceased to stimulate the correspondence of the country.

In the report for 1858 he felt—

bound to say that the last reduction [of letter postage] below 5 cents, and the discount allowed on the greatly reduced rates on printed matter, have greatly curtailed the usefulness of the Department.

And he—

respectfully submitted to the superior wisdom of Congress whether one uniform rate of 5 cents for all distances would not enlarge the usefulness of the Department, diminish, if it did not entirely prevent, such heavy drafts upon the Treasury, and best promote the interests and convenience of the people.

The inefficiency of the service and the abuses to which it had been subjected were eloquently attested by the departmental reports. In 1859 the Democratic Postmaster-General made the following statement:

The expense attending the distribution of letters, even where honestly performed and the legitimate and proper commissions only charged, abstracts no inconsiderable sums from the postal revenues, and this is much swollen by the second and third process of the kind to which they are exposed, often by necessity, sometimes by accident and ignorance, and more frequently, it is feared, by design. * * * For the year ending June 30, 1859, the excess [of expenditures over receipts] amounted to $6,996,009.26. This unfortunate condition of things has involved the Department in imputations of extravagance as disparaging as they have been undeserved. Its present embarrassments which have so crippled its efficiency and clouded its reputation are not the fruit of its own voluntary action. * * * Without entering into the details of the delinquencies and depredations alleged to have occurred in connection with the postal service during the past year, it may suffice to state that its moral aspects are still unsatisfactory.

In concluding the report, the Postmaster-General says of the condition of the postal service:

The country has constantly manifested the most intense solicitude for the preservation of its purity and the prosperity of its administration, and it can not now be disguised that the guilty abuses of its administrations and the reckless waste of its hard-earned revenues, connected with the humiliations to which it has in consequence been exposed, have deeply and sadly impressed the public mind.

While admitting the faults of the Government, the Postmaster-General was disposed to lay a part of the blame to the public when he said:

If embarrassments ensue, it is but proper that they should fall upon those by whose willful or heedless conduct they have been superinduced. Ignorance so defiant at all attempts at its enlightenment, or indifference so insensible alike to duty and to interest, may well be permitted to suffer annoyance and even loss without even exciting any serious concern. Were the duty of the public in reference to its correspondence as faithfully performed as is that of the Post-Office Department, much of the complaint now heard of its irregularity and mismanagement would cease.

REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION, 1861 TO 1885.

A great civil war—the legacy of the Democratic party—did not furnish an auspicious period in which to inaugurate reforms in the methods of administering the Government. Nevertheless, the work of regeneration was not delayed, and the brilliant career of the postal service from 1861 to 1885 resulted with other great achievements from the patriotic, enlightened, and progressive spirit of the Republican party. The supremacy of the National over State authority in the control of the mails was immediately asserted and firmly established after four years of bloody war, and a repetition to-day by the Postmaster-General of the edict of his predecessor in 1859 would raise a storm of popular indignation that would drive him out of office within twenty-four hours.

Letters to soldiers were forwarded without prepayment of postage, and special provision was made for sending them clothing and other articles at low rates of postage. The mail-carrier visited every camp and followed upon every march.

The machinery for conducting the postal service was improved in all its details, and new facilities were introduced to increase its usefulness. It will be necessary to mention only the four great features of the postal service, features which specially distinguish it to-day: the registry, the free-delivery, the money-order, and the railway-mail systems.

The registry system was first put into operation in 1855. The receipts from this source had fallen from $31,000 in 1856 to $25,000 in 1860. In

the latter year the discontinuance of the system was recommended by the Democratic Postmaster-General for the reason—

That correspondents have become convinced that in registering their valuable letters they have been but holding a light for the depredator, instead of darkening his way or embarrassing him in the commission of his crime.

Fortunately the recommendation was not carried out, but instead the system was, a few years subsequently, under Republican administration, put upon a new and secure footing, and in 1885 it yielded a revenue of about $1,000,000. In 1885 the Treasury Department alone committed to the registered mails about $500,000,000 in currency, bonds, etc., not a dollar of which was lost. In 1878 the privileges of the registry system previously confined to letters were extended to all classes of mail-matter.

The free-delivery or letter-carrier system was introduced in 1863 under a Republican administration. In 1885 it was in operation in 178 cities with over 4,000 carriers, who handled nearly 1,750,000,000 pieces of mail-matter.

The money-order system, also a Republican improvement, was introduced in 1864. In 1885 it was in operation at more than 7,000 offices, which issued about 8,000,000 orders, amounting to nearly $125,000,000.

But the great innovation was the railway-mail service, which was inaugurated in 1864. By this system mail-matter is kept in continuous transit without going into post-offices for distribution, thus greatly facilitating the dispatch of matter and economizing the cost of handling it. In 1885 the system was in use on nearly 110,000 miles of railroad, over 4,000 clerks were employed, and they handled about 5,000,000,000 pieces of mail-matter. The "Fast Mails" probably had never even been dreamed of by a Democratic administration prior to 1861.

The methods of collecting and disbursing the postal revenues were radically changed, leading to greater simplicity, certainty, and security. Out of a total of nearly $400,000,000 collected for the seven years prior to 1885 at about 50,000 post-offices, less than $30,000, or say one dollar out of every ten thousand, was lost to the Government—a record that no private or corporate business establishment in the world can boast of. In 1860 the Government lost $170,947.67 by the defalcation of a single postmaster, Isaac V. Fowler, the Democratic postmaster at New York City, and not a single penny was ever recovered.

The great improvements in the service were attended by frequent and important reductions in the rates of postage and a greater liberality in the treatment of mail-matter. The extra charges for long distances were abolished in 1863, and uniform rates were established for all distances. In 1866 provision was made for forwarding letters without additional postage from one post-office to another at the request of the party addressed; also for the return to the writers free of charge of undelivered letters bearing a request to return. At the same time the charge for returning letters from the Dead-Letter Office and the penalty of double postage on partially prepaid letters were abolished.

In 1874 the postal-card was introduced, permitting a written message to be sent at a charge of 1 cent. The number of cards grew from about one hundred million the first year to nearly four hundred million in 1883. By the act of March 3, 1883, letter-postage was reduced from 3 cents to 2 cents per one-half ounce, and this was shortly followed by a reduction of 2 cents for a full ounce under the act of Congress of March 3, 1885, signed by President Arthur on the last day of Republican administration. The postage on an ounce of written matter sent from New York to San Francisco was 20 cents in 1861; in 1885 it was only 2 cents. Letters to foreign countries came in for a full share of the reductions. Postal-union arrangements were made fixing uniform rates, and the charge of 5 cents in 1885 was less than one-sixth of the average rates in 1861.

On newspapers and periodicals sent by publishers to subscribers the charges in 1861 were regulated by weight, distance, and frequency of issue, and they were collected of the subscriber. In 1863 the charges were reduced and made uniform for all distances. In 1874 the rates were fixed at 2 cents per pound for newspapers and 3 cents per pound for periodicals, to be paid by the publishers instead of by the subscribers. In 1878 the rate on periodicals was reduced to 2 cents a pound. By the Republican act of March 3, 1885, the charge on newspapers and periodicals was reduced from 2 cents to 1 cent per pound. This rate is less than one-sixth of the average charge in 1861 for like quantities of matter. On newspapers sent by others than publishers and news agents the charge since 1884 has been 1 cent for each 4 ounces. In 1861 under Democratic administration it was 1 cent for each ounce.

In 1861 the postage on books was 1 cent an ounce for 3,000 miles, and 2 cents an ounce for greater distances. In 1885 it was 1 cent for 2 ounces to all distances. In 1861 corrected proof-sheets and manuscript copy of the same passing between author and publisher were subject to letter postage; since 1863 they have been sent at printed rates, the charge in 1885 being 1 cent for each 2 ounces. In 1861 many articles, such as hand-bills, posters, lithographs, engravings, photographic views, etc., were also charged at letter rates. The present charge for all this matter is 1 cent for each 2 ounces. Much new matter was admitted to the mails. Provision was made for carrying unsealed parcels containing articles of every conceivable description not above 4 pounds in weight at a charge of 1 cent an ounce. The wide extension of postal facilities and the important reductions in the rates of postage from 1861 to 1885, though designed for the public benefit rather than to profit the postal revenue, were attended by the most excellent financial results, abundantly vindicating the liberal and progressive policy by which they had been prompted. All these improvements were by Republican administrations.

The immediate effect of the reduction of letter postage in 1851 was to leave a deficiency of revenue that was equal to nearly one-fourth of the amount of the postal expenditures. Instead of diminishing, the deficency continued on an ascending scale until 1861, when, as already stated, nearly one-half of the expenditures were paid out of the general Treasury. The suspension of mail service in the Southern States in 1861 removed a large share of the burden, so that in 1865 there was a small excess of receipts over expenditures. The restoration of mail facilities in the South at the close of the war again left the postal service with a deficiency of revenue, more than one-third of the expenditures in 1868 having been supplied from the Treasury. From this time the receipts gained steadily upon the expenditures, and in 1882 the postal service yielded a surplus of over $1,000,000. The reduction of letter postage to 2 cents followed in 1883. The revenue had grown from eight and one-third millions in 1861 to forty-five and one-half millions in 1883, and the increase in the volume of mail-matter was in a vastly greater proportion. What a wonderful growth do these figures represent in the development and prosperity of the country during twenty-two years of Republican control of the Government.

The immediate loss of revenue by the reduction of letter postage to 2 cents left the Treasury to bear about one-twelfth of the postal expenditures in 1884. A recovery was delayed by the severe depression of general business in the next year, the total revenue for 1885 being about half a million dollars less than for 1884, and it was reserved to the future to realize the benefits resulting from the stimulus of a lower rate of postage. Still the deficiency of the revenue in 1885 was not more than about one-seventh of the expenditure, and this deficiency was relatively not much more than one-third of that of 1861 at the close of Democratic administration.

While the credit of the great advances made in the postal service belongs to the Republican party, the official records show that the burdens of maintaining the service fall most unequally upon Republican shoulders. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 3, 1881, is published a table exhibiting in separate columns the postal receipts and expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1880, of the States that voted respectively for Garfield and for Hancock in the last-mentioned year. The table was compiled from the report of the Postmaster-General for 1880. It includes only the expenditures chargeable directly to each of the several States, omitting those of a general nature not apportionable by States and Territories.

Nineteen States cast their electoral votes for Garfield and nineteen States voted for Hancock. Of the nineteen States voting for Garfield, ten States yielded a surplus of revenue over expenditure. Of the nineteen States voting for Hancock, only two States—New Jersey and Delaware—had an excess of revenue over expense. The revenue in the nineteen Garfield States amounted to $24,245,790.74, and in the nineteen Hancock States it amounted to $7,914,245.14. The expenditures in the Garfield States amounted to $22,257,446.45, and in the Hancock States they amounted to $11,599,937.44. The net surplus of revenue in the Garfield States was $1,988,344.29, and the net deficiency in the Hancock States was $3,685,692.30. The Garfield States contributed 75.3 per cent. of the total revenue, and the Hancock States 24.6 per cent.

Of the total expenditure 65.7 per cent. was in the Garfield States and 34.2 per cent. in the Hancock States. For every dollar expended in the Garfield States $1.08 of revenue was returned. For each dollar expended in the Hancock States only 68 cents of revenue was returned. The Garfield States, which contributed 75.3 per cent. of the total revenue, had a proportionate share of only 57.7 per cent. in the electoral college. The Hancock States had a proportionate share of 42.2 per cent. in the electoral college, while contributing only 24.6 per cent. of the postal revenue. Thus it appears also that the political representation of the Republican States is not in a fair proportion to the intelligence and business needs of their people as manifested in the use of the mails.

Six Presidential terms intervened from 1861 to 1885, and every one of them left the impress of some highly beneficial measures upon the history of the postal service. The record of the last four years of Republican administration, from 1881 to 1885, includes the reduction of letter postage, first to 2 cents a half ounce, and then to 2 cents an ounce; the reduction of postage on newspapers and periodicals from publishers to subscribers from 2 cents to 1 cent a pound; the reduction on transient newspapers and periodicals from 1 cent for 2 ounces to 1 cent for 4 ounces; and the introduction of the postal-note and special-delivery systems. And notwithstanding all of these changes the deficiency in the postal revenue was not much greater in 1885 than in 1881.

THE POST-OFFICE UNDER MODERN DEMOCRACY.

On the 4th of March, 1885, the control of the Government again passed into the hands of the Democratic party. Nearly four years have passed, and President Cleveland's term is rapidly drawing to a close. For good or evil its doings will soon pass into history. What does the

chapter devoted to the postal service show? Not a single important feature added to facilitate the public convenience or to improve the workings of the service! Not a single effort towards lessening the burden of postal charges to the public! The Administration would be false to the traditions of the Democratic party in favoring a reduction of postages. The only change in this direction was a very recent one lowering the rate on seeds and plants, and that was brought about by the action of the Republican Senate.

The motives which inspired the policy of the Administration are transparent. The reduction of letter postage in 1883 had left some deficiency in the revenue. This might be overcome, and the glory gained of restoring the service to a self-sustaining basis. The gap could be closed from both directions. Without any reduction of the postal rates the revenue would naturally grow faster than the expenditure, and the growth of the expenditure might be restricted by withholding new accommodations and by curtailing those already enjoyed by the people. To the glory of a self-sustaining postal service might be added a shining reputation for economy. Was the public convenience to be allowed to stand in the way of such ambitions as these? The Treasury is, however, still left to bear a goodly share of the postal expenditures.

FALSE DEMOCRATIC CLAIMS.

The "Campaign Text-Book of the Democratic Party for 1888" devotes more than twenty pages to what is alleged to have been accomplished in the postal service during the first three years of the present Administration. The statements bear undoubted evidence of having been prepared in the Post-Office Department, and, without raising the question of the propriety of employing the time of public servants under a "Reform Administration" in the preparation of political literature, it may be well to examine some of the averments contained in the book. It is not claimed that there were any radical changes in the functions and methods of the service, but great credit is taken for an unusual growth in all the branches of business, for greater honesty among employés, and for a higher standard of efficiency in the conduct of the service.

It is not true that—

the service has been extended far beyond precedent in the history of the Department for any similar period of time, and, indeed, for any period of double the time—

And that—

the revenues have in like proportion increased, and the proportionate cost has in like manner decreased.

The actual revenue for 1885 is given at $42,560,843.83, and the estimated revenue for 1888 at $53,233,579.13, an increase of $10,672,735.30, or 25 per cent. The departmental reports show that the revenue for 1880 was $33,315,479.34, and for 1883, three years later, it was $45,508,692.61. This was an increase of $12,193,213.27, or nearly 40 per cent., 25 per cent. increase for three years of Democratic administration and 40 per cent. increase for three years of Republican administration.

The text-book gives the expenditures for 1885 at $49,782,619.09, and the estimated expenditure for 1888 at $55,250,000, an increase of $5,087,380.91, or 10.9 per cent. The report of the Auditor of the Treasury for the Post-Office Department gives the expenditure for 1880 at $36,542,803.68, and for 1883 at $43,282,944.43, an increase of $6,740,140.75, or about 18 per cent. If there was greater proportionate expenditure during this period it was recompensed by a much greater proportionate gain of revenue. The estimated gain of revenue over expenses from 1885 to 1888 was 14 per cent.; from 1880 to 1883 the actual gain was 22 per cent., being a net gain of 8 per cent. in favor of the last-mentioned period under Republican administration.

The increase in the number of pieces of registered matter handled for 1888 over 1885 is given in the text-book at 13.4 per cent.; the increase of the same matter shown by the official reports for 1883 over 1880 was 51.4 per cent. For the money-order service the statistics for 1888 are not given by the text-book in advance of the official report. An examination of the reports, however, shows that the increase in the amount of orders issued for 1887 over 1885 was at the rate of less than 1.5 per cent. The increase for 1882 over 1880 was 15.6 per cent.

The text-book claims an increase for 1888 over 1885 of a little over 19 per cent. in the length of railway-mail routes, and of 22 per cent. in the number of miles traveled. The official reports show that from 1880 to 1883 there was an increase of very nearly 30 per cent. in the length of railway-mail routes, and of about 34 per cent. in the number of miles traveled.

The text-book is silent as to the number of pieces of mail-matter handled by postal clerks; but from the official reports it appears that from 1885 to 1887 the increase was a little less than 18 per cent., while from 1880 to 1882 the increase was about 30 per cent.

One branch of the postal service will sustain the claim of an undue "expansion" since 1885, and that is the Dead-Letter Office. The increase in the number of pieces of dead mail-matter received at that office in 1885 over that received in 1882 was about 13 per cent., while the increase for 1888 over 1885 was nearly 27 per cent. Had the postal service become less efficient or had the public become less intelligent and careful?

With respect to the alleged greater honesty of employés, it will be sufficient to say that the Postmaster-General found it necessary in 1887 to ask for an increase in the appropriation for post-office inspectors from $200,000 to $300,000, to provide for overhauling the postmasters. The increase was granted. At the time fully two-thirds of all the postmasters in office had been appointed by the present Democratic Administration. Not a single uncharitable suggestion came from Republican sources that this great increase of inspectors might be wanted to provide traveling agents to assist in working up at the public expense the perpetuation of the Administration.

The claim of a greater efficiency in the service is not borne out by the facts. The proper and expeditious dispatch and delivery of mail-matter depend largely upon the accuracy of its distribution in post-offices and on the lines of the railway mail service. The work requires a degree of expertness and technical skill that comes only from special adaptation and long experience. The force employed up to 1885 had been carefully selected; it was well trained and highly efficient. Violent changes were sure to result in a serious derangement of the mails.

The departmental reports contain tabular "Statements of errors in the distribution and forwarding of the mails." The record includes in appropriate columns the "Number of incorrect slips returned," the "Number of errors on incorrect slips returned," the number of "missent" and "misdirected" packages of letters, pouches, and sacks, and the number of "errors checked" against other employés. Separate tables are given for the postal clerks and for postmasters at the Presidential post offices.

As to errors made by postal clerks, the footings are 429,373 incorrect slips, with 958,478 errors, in 1883; 396,746 incorrect slips, with 887,704 errors, in 1885, and 697,513 incorrect slips, with 1,734,617 errors, in 1887. For "missent" letter packages, pouches, and sacks, the number was 14,544 in 1883, 14,841 in 1885, and 27,275 in 1887. Is that increased accuracy? For "misdirected" letter packages, pouches, and sacks there were 2,420 in 1883, 2,558 in 1885, and 4,824 in 1887. For errors checked against other employés, the number reported was 1,861,534 in 1883, 1,742,540 in 1885, and 2,873,379 in 1887.

With regard to the errors by postmasters, the incorrect slips were 236,194, with 489,879 errors, in 1883; 215,352 slips, with 415,429 errors, in 1885, and 341,712 slips, with 669,034 errors, in 1887. The "missent" letter packages, pouches, and sacks were 4,623 in 1883; 4,700 in 1885, and 8,432 in 1887. The "misdirected" letter packages, pouches, and sacks were 2,723 in 1883; 2,543 in 1885, and 4,278 in 1887. Is that a degree of accuracy never reached before?

Of the total number of pieces of mail-matter handled by postal clerks there was one error to every 4,153 pieces during the year ending June 30, 1883; one error to every 5,574 pieces during the year ending June 30, 1885, and one error to every 3,373 pieces during the year ending June 30, 1887. A decrease of more than 25 per cent. in errors and a corresponding increase of efficiency from 1883 to 1885 during the last two years of Republican administration, and an increase of nearly 40 per cent. in errors and a proportionate decrease of efficiency from 1885 to 1887, during the first two years of Democratic administration! As the removal of Republican postal clerks has been greatly accelerated since the 1st of July, 1887, to satisfy the pressing political necessities of the Administration, what will the "record of errors" for 1888 and 1889, the last two years of Democratic administration, show?

These figures are not a part of "a general and widespread movement among Republican papers showing concert of action to attack the efficiency of the mail service;" but they are taken from the official reports of the Post-Office Department. They tell their own story. If, as alleged, there has been a decline of complaints, then there has certainly been a great increase of public forbearance with regard to the workings of the mail service. The fault, however, will be shown to be due to the condition to which the postal service had been reduced by the removal of old, tried, and good officials, and the appointment in their places of persons without regard to their fitness for the positions, but for partisan considerations.

DEMOCRACY USING THE POST-OFFICE TO FAVOR FOREIGNERS.

Great credit is claimed by the Democratic text-book for "initiating" parcels-post conventions with certain foreign countries for the exchange of parcels of merchandise. Upon examining this so-called reform it will be found that the Administration, pursuing the general policy and practices of the Democratic party, has been guilty of discriminating in favor of privileged classes in this country and of the citizens of foreign countries against our own people, for whose accommodation and at whose expense the postal service is maintained. One of the advanced steps of the Republican party was to throw open to the people the use of the mails for obtaining from the marts of trade the minor articles of necessity and comfort that enter so largely into life. This was of especial benefit to the country people and to the pioneers of civilization on our frontiers, who are not visited by the express companies and who are unable to procure the desired articles at home.

A great incidental advantage of the system was that it operated as a wholesome check upon the express companies in keeping down their charges to the people. The system was nurtured for the primary reason that it accommodated the people. If incidentally it benefited trade and manufactures, that was regarded of secondary importance in comparison with the convenience it affords the great masses. The law fixed the postage on unsealed parcels sent by domestic mail at 1

cent an ounce or 16 cents a pound and limited the weight of packages to 4 pounds. The idea crept into the head of the Democratic Postmaster-General that it would redound to the glory of his administration to extend this system to foreign countries. The first suggestion to this end apparently was made to him by Great Britain, whose Government is ever alive to advantages to be gained of other nations. On pages 22 and 23 of his report for 1885–'86 the Postmaster-General says of this suggestion:

> The postmaster-general of Great Britain has recently solicited the opening of negotiations with this Department looking to the establishment between the two countries of the convenient parcel-post system in general European use. No other answer was admissible except that our legislation has not yet authorized the employment of postal facilities for such objects.

The Postmaster-General, it will be observed, assigned no reason for not complying with the proposition of the British Government except that the law did not authorize him to do so. If he was influenced in his refusal by the reason that the system would facilitate the introduction of British products to compete with our own manufactures, he failed to give expression to any such reason. The pronounced tendencies of the Democratic party render it improbable that he was governed by motives looking to the protection of home industries.

The idea was not abandoned, however, for the lack of legal authority, the Postmaster-General stating, on page 62 of his report for 1887, that he had entered into a parcels-post convention with Jamaica and Barbadoes, both British colonies, it having been found "permissible to fix by such convention a higher limit of weight and size on articles to be admitted to such mails than that provided by law for domestic mails." The newly found authority did not come from express legislative enactment, but it had its origin in a legal opinion manufactured to order. For the first time in history the administrative branch of the Government assumed the right to fix the mailability of matter and vary the rates of postage—a right that Congress had ever jealously reserved to itself.

The swaddling-clothes of the infant prodigy were cut in dimensions of extraordinary generosity. While parcels to domestic address were restricted to 4 pounds in weight, the limit fixed for packages for *foreigners* was 11 pounds. While the rate on parcels exchanged between our own people, no matter how short the distance conveyed, is 16 cents per pound, goods intended for foreigners may be sent through the entire extent of the domestic mails and over a vast expanse of sea besides, at a charge of only 12 cents per pound. The domestic parcels are dumped into the mails without any formalities and left to take their chances of going safely to destination. The parcels sent abroad, on the contrary, are surrounded with unusual precautions. The sender is given a certificate of mailing and a customs declaration is attached to the parcel, which must also be accompanied by an invoice. There are three distinct blank-forms to be provided and filled out at the Government expense. To the cost of this special machinery is added the extra expense of sea transportation to swell the disproportion of revenue between foreign and domestic parcels.

The system has since been extended to Honduras and the Bahamas, both, like Jamaica and Barbadoes, British colonies. The principal exports of all these countries are sugar, cotton, salt, rum, molasses, rice, coffee, rubber, pine-apples, and oranges. Will our people make use of the mails to procure these articles? The merchants may be benefited and the foreigners may be accommodated by the system, but it furnishes no advantages to the people at large, for whose accommodation the postal service is provided. It would be vastly more to the advantage of our merchants and manufacturers to encourage the use of the mails for the conveyance of their products to our own people, and more in keeping with the objects for which the postal service was created.

The consumers in this country may now procure an article by mail from one of the British colonies named at a lower cost for postage than he could have it sent from any post-office near to his place of residence.

Foreign countries allow the use of the international mails for the promotion of their commerce, but they do so at a charge proportioned to the cost of service rendered; but the discriminations of the mails are made in favor of their own people. The German rate for parcels to the British colonies mentioned is about seven times the amount charged on domestic parcels, and the French rate to the same colonies is about four times the amount of the domestic rate. In using the domestic mails for parcels our people are compelled to pay a charge that is just a third more than the rate at which the mails may be used to send merchandise abroad. And while the charge on our domestic parcels is just one-half the rate for domestic letters, parcels are carried to foreign countries at about one-thirteenth of the rate charged on letters to the same addresses.

While dealing thus liberally with the citizens of foreign countries, has the Democratic Administration taken any steps to encourage the use of the domestic parcels-post? Let us see. Recognizing the discriminations made against our own people in the use of the mails for the carriage of parcels, and appreciating the public utility of an efficient domestic parcels-post, I had the honor on the 16th day of July to introduce a bill in the Senate proposing to merge the third and fourth classes of mail-matter into one class at a uniform charge of 1 cent for 2 ounces, or 8 cents a pound. This in effect would reduce the rate on domestic parcels one-half; and, besides the relief it would afford to the people, the proposition had many advantages in the way of simplifying the workings of the mail service and in saving annoyance and delay to the public. The bill was promptly referred to the Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. It was duly reported back to the Senate with a recommendation favorable to its passage. It is now on the Calendar awaiting a suitable time for action by the Senate. One attempt to secure its passage was antagonized by the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK].

A similar bill was introduced in the Democratic House of Representatives on the 11th day of June by Representative ALLEN, of Massachusetts, a Republican. The bill was smothered by the Democratic Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, most probably at the inspiration of the Democratic Post-Office Department. Perhaps the Democratic opposition to the measure comes from something more potent than the lack of desire to benefit the people; and that is a wish not to interfere with the monopoly enjoyed by the express companies, the Postmaster-General stating on page 61 of his report for 1887 that—

> Parcels-post conventions have never been hitherto negotiated with other countries, nor have any domestic arrangements of the kind been set on foot. It has been our policy to leave to express companies and other carriers the transportation of all parcels above the mailable weight of 4 pounds, and no general demand for any change in this policy has ever arisen, such service by private hands having apparently been hitherto accepted as satisfactory. This, however, has little or no relation to the interchange of small parcels of merchandise with foreign countries. The restrictions of the tariff laws, not only in the duties imposed, but still more in the troublesome and expensive requirements attending the passage through the custom-house and the forwarding of articles, have to a great degree prevented the purchase here by persons residing abroad, or their sending hither, the smaller goods in retail, which within our borders are freely purchased, though long distances intervene between the buyer and seller.

The Democratic party while professing great opposition to corporations is ever tender in taking any action to interfere with their privileges.

The Post-Office Department is awaiting a demand from the people before doing anything to favor them in the transportation of parcels by mail. Was there ever any organized demand from the people for postal reforms? Was the reduction by the Republican party of letter postage to 2 cents demanded by the people? If the Democratic party wishes to test the public appreciation of that measure, let it propose to restore the letter rate from 2 cents for a full ounce to 3 cents for a half ounce. Then the people would be heard from, and in a way to make the Democratic ears tingle. It is the business of the postal administration and of Congress, and not of the people to devise measures of public relief and improvement in the postal service.

The desire of the Democratic administration to favor foreign interests, and particularly British interests, was further illustrated by its action with reference to the importation of merchandise from Canada. Under arrangements made by the Administration the articles could be mailed in Canada to any address in the United States at a charge of only 4 cents a pound, just one-fourth the rate of the charge when mailed in this country. So long as it benefited only the people of Canada the Administration was content, but when some of our seedsmen living on the frontier took advantage of the situation to freight their goods across the line and mail them at Canadian post-offices to their customers in this country the Administration awoke to its blunder through a manifestation of popular discontent.

Democratic legislators hastened to introduce bills to reduce the domestic rate on seeds to one-fourth or one-half the existing rate, but there were no signs that the Democratic Administration looked for a remedy through any reduction of postages. Instead of that the Post-Office Department posted an agent off to Ottawa, who succeeded, by the complaisance of the Canadian Government, in restoring the old arrangement by which parcels mailed in Canada to the United States were subject to the same charges as though mailed in this country. Then Democratic interest in the matter ceased in Congress, and it was left to the Republican Senate to secure an amendment to the Post-Office appropriation act making a reduction of one-half in the domestic rate on seeds, bulbs, and plants. Thus the Democratic party was extricated from its blunder, and it had preserved the consistency of its record in opposing all reductions of domestic postage.

DEMOCRATIC DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BUSINESS MEN.

The spirit which animated the Post-Office Department in dealing with the public was illustrated by a stroke of policy which entailed serious consequences to the business public. An act of Congress passed in 1879 defined the permissibility of the printing on the wrappers or unsealed parcels and on envelopes inclosing circulars. The statute was liberal and it had been liberally construed by the Department. The Postmaster-General stumbled upon this statute in the summer of 1887, and he questioned the generous interpretation which had been put upon it. The sanction of eight years of precedent and the interests and convenience of the public did not permit him to wait a short time and submit his doubt to Congress for decision; but instead he issued a peremptory mandate restricting the quantity of printing previously allowable on the matter in question, and imposing the penalty of a charge of letter-postage rate for violations of his order.

Business men were caught in an embarrassing dilemma. They had on hand ready for use greater or less quantities of the forbidden wrappers and envelopes, which were rendered unserviceable, and no time was afforded for obtaining a new supply. Worse than all, correspondents

were compelled to pay letter postage on matter which had been admitted at printed rates, and sent prior to or in ignorance of the order. A storm of indignation broke out through the public press, and the Postmaster-General realized, probably for the first time, the full extent of the mischief he had done. He insisted that his order was correct; but at the same time he suggested means for its evasion in special cases. He promised to ask Congress to restore the previous condition of things. This promise he kept in his annual report in December last; a special act was promptly passed, the evil was corrected, and once more "quiet reigned in Warsaw."

DEMOCRATIC CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM IN THE POST-OFFICE.

The President came into office with loud professions in favor of civil-service reform. All his public utterances pledged his devotion to that object, and they deluded many voters into casting their suffrages for him. Efficiency and fidelity in the discharge of their duties were to be the tests in the retention of the public servants, and vacancies were to be filled solely with reference to the fitness of the appointees. The manner in which he has carried out his pledges finds no better illustration than in the postal service, where least of all the branches of the Government could changes be made without serious impairment of the public welfare. Of all the tried and faithful subordinates who had aided in elevating the service to its high pedestal but very few, if any, of prominence are in the service to-day.

The first efforts of the Democratic Postmaster-General appear to have been directed to securing the most expeditious means of supplanting Republican office-holders with those of approved Democratic faith. To deceive the public with the belief that the Administration was not false to its civil-service reform pledges "offensive partisanship" was assigned as the cause for making the desired removals. The farce was enacted of requiring the guilt to be established by documentary proof. It was a "star-chamber" proceeding, the accused being afforded no hearing and no opportunity to furnish testimony in rebuttal, if indeed he was made aware of the existence of the charge. Discords were fomented in communities and the sordid motives of human nature were excited to lead neighbor to testify against neighbor. So long as the Administration sustained its pretensions of civil-service reform, and the rewards of political services were bestowed upon its adherents, what mattered it that innocent persons were forced to go out of office resting under the odium of charges which they had not been allowed to refute?

The difficulties and delays in making out a plausible showing were displeasing alike to the Postmaster-General and to the horde of hungry office-seekers knocking at his doors. Accordingly, within a few weeks after his induction into office the Postmaster-General addressed a "confidential" circular to the Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress from certain of the States, seeking their aid in the accomplishment of his purposes, and saying, among other things, the following:

Am impatient to assist our people in securing relief to which they are justly entitled from partisan postmasters. Suggest method which if adopted will give substantial relief. I will require no more proof of partisanship than affirmation of a Representative or Senator, or affidavit of some person whom the Representative can affirm to be of unquestioned credibility.

The greater simplicity of the new method was not without its desired fruit, and changes proceeded with a greater rapidity. The reports of the Postmaster-General show that there were 51,252 post-offices in existence on the 30th of June, 1885. Of the incumbents of these offices 12,150, or nearly one-fourth of the whole number, were removed or suspended, and 15,975, or nearly a third of the whole number, were displaced by resignation, voluntary or involuntary, or by expiration of commissions between July 1, 1885, and June 30, 1887.

Nearly seven-twelfths, or somewhat more than one-half, of the whole number had been displaced within a period of two years. The removals and resignations (!) had exceeded in point of numbers all the post-offices at which the postal revenues were more than $100 annually. Death intervened to save 1,176 postmasters from the chances of removal. Six thousand five hundred and twenty-four newly created post-offices were filled with Mr. Vilas's selections. The official reports do not show how many changes were effected between March 4 and July 1, 1885. Civil-service reform had evidently been practiced with a vengeance in the Post-Office Department.

In the railway mail service, the most important branch of this Department, the general superintendent and every division superintendent have been removed. The last one, R. C. Jackson, at the head of the division including the Middle States, with headquarters in the city of New York, a man whose fitness, earnestness, and faithfulness to duty is unquestioned, and against whom no charge can be sustained, was removed about three weeks since to make a place for a partisan of the present Administration. The outcry which was raised against this removal simply called out the reply that the Post-Office Department were dissatisfied with his record. But what was his record? He commenced in 1874 as a clerk in the Department on a salary of $1,200 a year, and has worked his way up by honest promotion to the highest position in the railway mail service. And I challenge the Department, or any person, to show any ground for his removal, except the desire on the part of the Administration to put in his place a partisan who might be serviceable in promoting the re-election of the President. In the great scramble for office and the haste of this Administration to reward its partisans there have been a great number of bad appointments. The list includes drunkards, and keepers of drinking saloons, of gambling-houses, embezzlers, defaulters, and jail-birds; and as an evidence of this I print in connection with my remarks a list of such appointments, cut almost without exception from Democratic newspapers, or papers supporting the re-election of the President.

In order to be sure that no injustice may be done, I have stricken out the names and left a blank space.

I will begin the list with the head of the railway mail service, who has charge of all the postal clerks.

—— Appointed collector at Port Huron, Mich.; worker for "Boss" Dickinson (1885, June 19; The Tribune, 5). Brother-in-law of Senator Conger; charged with treachery to the Democratic party as chairman of the committee; called an outspoken Copperhead (1886, July 20; New York Sun, 2). Accused of dishonesty in building the Chicago and Port Huron Railroad and of bad record as collector under President Johnson (1886, May 5; The Tribune, 2). Charges filed in June, but no consideration from President (1886, April 16; New York Herald, 4). Adverse report: charges not met; rejected (1886, August 5; New York Sun, 7). Appointed Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service; first important appointment made by Postmaster-General Dickinson, though he had been rejected by Senate for cause, Democratic Representative having protested with charges affecting his integrity. How Dickinson found a way of rewarding a friend without the intervention of a Senate committee (1888, May 16: The Tribune, 3. Also, 1888, May 15; New York Times, 3).

—— Postmaster at Delaware City; defaulter in sum of $2,171 on sales; committed in default of bail (1886, August 1; New York Times, 3).

—— Postmaster at Shenandoah; shortage in accounts, $1,300; appointed two years ago (1887, April 22; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster, Springfield, Ill., Senate committee reports, because of services as the editor of the leading Democratic paper and manager of the Democratic State committee (1886, June 25; New York World, 4). Resolution adopted by Democratic State committee requesting Administration to investigate —— connection with corrupt State printing, and that he be dismissed as unfit for trust or honor (1887, September 3; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at McCook, Nebr., *vice* Scott, removed, but was in nine months dismissed as defaulter (1886, August 12; New York Times, 4).

—— Postmaster at Oconto, Wis.; arrested for robbing mails (1887, January 27; New York Sun, 1).

—— Post-office clerk at Waterbury; arrested for robbing the mails (1887, August 16; New York Times, 1).

—— Appointed clerk of railway mails. Under three indictments for forgery; was arrested three times at Cincinnati for getting money under false pretenses; once in Texas for robbery; twice for theft in Kentucky; recommended by Comptroller Durham. It was predicted he would steal something in a month; did steal money-order for $163; was traced to St. Louis, and was arrested at Santa Fé; awaiting trial (1885, September 2; New York Sun, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at Vinson, Iowa, in place of one-legged Union soldier, S. A. Marine, who was turned out; —— proved to have been indicted and convicted of violating pension laws, and was removed (1886, May 27; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed assistant postmaster at Indianapolis. Testimony of Foulke; reported to have been attached to gambling house Indianapolis, and said, "It was better for the boys to resign than to have us trump up charges against them" (1888, March 29; New York Times, 2).

A "CLEAN SWEEP" DEMORALIZES THE SERVICE.

—— Appointed postmaster at Indianapolis. "Generally believed that if —— was appointed, Mrs. Hendricks's brother, S. W. Morgan would be really postmaster, thus providing a good place for a relative" (1885, March 23; New York Times, 1). Reward for party services rendered many years ago (1885, March 27; New York Times, 1). Disregards civil-service law and charges preferred, "facts President will hardly ignore;" —— removed assistant postmaster and put in broken-down politician; replaced cashier with his own son; removed stamp clerk; removed chief of registry and put in Hendricks's nephew, a boy of twenty-two, clerk in drug store; replaces chief of repair department by pork inspector; discharged janitor and put another son of his own in that place; turned out four poor women engaged in repairing mail-sacks, and put in three male Democrats. Among persons discharged were one ex-general Union Army, one Union veteran, one soldier's widow, and a niece of General Burnside; no complaint save that they were Republicans. "I had promised their places to Democrats. I don't know what the last election meant if it did not mean that Republicans were to be turned out" (1885, July 27; New York Times, 4). Investigation by commission (1885, July 29; New York Times, 5). Appeals to President (1885, August 7; New York Times, 5). Investigation confined to violation of rules, had nothing to do with laborers and workmen or with declarations of postmaster; charges of merciless partisan proscription, outside the part of the service governed by rules, not investigated (1885, August 11; New York Times, 4). Letter of Swift Civil-Service Reform Association, "clear that spirit and intent of law violated in discharge employés classified service because Republicans, and in case of one Wilmington, the postmaster concocted a clumsy and easily exposed falsehood to justify his action" (1885, August 19; New York Times, 1). Demoralization postal service hard to realize; express money-orders have increased 40 per cent. because of postal inexperience; some appointees can hardly write their own names; one mail-carrier, Noe, caught rifling letters in his possession, pardoned by President; Democratic paper says "Congressman BYNUM kept busy appointing felons to office and obtaining pardon for their crimes" (1886, July 18; New York Times, 5). "Dismissed every man and woman in sack department, including four women who had others depending on them, with no charges against any; removed janitor, watchman, engineer, and elevator boy also, declaring because they were Republicans, and men appointed in their places were active political workers." Testimony Foulke, president Indiana Civil Service Reform Association (1888, March 29; New York Times, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at Kearney, Nebr.; was intemperate; admitted had been twice roaring drunk since appointment; once when appointed (1886, May 29: New York Sun, 2).

—— Railway mail agent; recommended by Morrison; took much needed pledge; got tight at Chicago before starting on route; put flask of whisky into mail-bag, which broke, and whisky-soaked letters were refused by Prohibitionists; discharged (1886, November 24; New York Times, 2).

—— Postmaster at Sandusky, Ohio. Arrested for abstracting letters from the mails; proof in his own handwriting (1887, February 15; New York Times, 3).

INCOMPETENT, DISHONEST, AND A JAIL-BIRD.

—— Appointed postmaster at Sioux City, Iowa. Convicted in United States court at Yankton, Dak., and sentenced to penitentiary. Appointed in place of most efficient postmaster; Democrats send letters protesting, and declaring him "incompetent, dishonest, and a jail-bird; thought the President meant what he said about retaining worthy and capable officers until their terms expired, and had not therefore recommended anybody." Appointment secured by office broker who knew Vilas at Madison; predecessor removed on charge offensive partisanship, signed by two men (1885, August 5; The Tribune, 2).

—— Was arrested for stealing $1,000 worth of goods at Racine, Wis., and confessed and held in bonds for $500; forfeited bond and ran away; writes after long absence from Northern Dakota that he has been appointed postmaster (1886, December 10; The Tribune, 1).

—— Postmaster at Peoria. Alleged dismissed from Army for certifying false muster-roll; indicted several years ago for violation internal-revenue laws; pleaded statute of limitations; certified copy of indictment and record sent to President before appointment (1885, November 25; New York World, 4).

—— Postmaster at Newberry, Mich. Arrested with his deputy, C. W. Huer, charged with embezzlement; was active politician and a Democratic county treasurer (1888, May 7; New York Times, 1).

—— Postmaster at Flambeau, Wis. Convicted of robbing town treasury; turned Cleveland Democrat and became candidate for Indian agent, and then for postmaster (1886, February 1; New York World, 1). Protest of people finally prevented appointment.

—— Postmaster at New Holland, Pa., absconded; accounts bad; notes protested (1885, December 11; New York Times, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster, Fort Dodge, Iowa. Appointment secured by J. H. Dunscombe, who, according to affidavit, required Cain to pay $400 yearly out of salary received for support of Democratic paper edited by Dunscombe's son (1886, May 25; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed mail agent Union Station, Ind. Was sentenced in 1872 to the penitentiary for two years for grand larceny; pleaded guilty of robbery in 1887 and was sentenced for two years; indicted for riot in 1879 and found guilty; in the same year he was indicted for robbery; and also in 1883 for assault and battery (1886, January 24; New York Times, 7). Full recommendation by Congressman BYNUM, with signatures of Governor Gray, Judge Niblack, Auditor Rice, Attorney Board, and Secretary Myers (1886, January 31; New York Times, 2).

—— Appointed janitor money-order division, Cincinnati: "colored man who was sent for three years to State prison for stealing gold watch and chain" (1885, July 3; New York Times, 1). Case investigated; found that —— served three years in prison but behaved well since (18 5, July 21; New York Times, 3).

—— Railway mail service, Indiana. Mail car allowed to go to Lafayette without messenger, and mail brought back. He was prominent political worker; appointed for that reason, and had boasted that he had bribed three members of council to vote for a street railroad. Testimony of Foulke, president Civil Service Association (1888, March 29; New York Times, 2).

APPOINTED WHILE IN JAIL.

—— Appointed postmaster at Lincolnville Centre, Me. Now serving out an eight months' sentence in jail for stealing postal money as deputy at that same place; petition signed by more than one hundred Democrats, and approved by the chairman of the Democratic State committee (1885, August 8; New York Times, 4). Appointment asked by Chairman Brown (1885, August 11; New York Sun, 2). Brown declares that he knew nothing about the appointment; was not in the list secured when he was at Washington (1885, August 12; New York Herald, 3).

—— Appointed postmaster at Columbus, Kans.; convicted in Cherokee County of forgery in second degree; was Democratic candidate for auditor of State two years ago; plan of fraud was to use fictitious deed of real estate as basis for loans on notes to fictitious persons (1886, July 24; The Tribune, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at Kearney, Nebr., while serious charges were under consideration by Senate; discovered by inspectors to be a defaulter, and name withdrawn (1886, May 29; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at Atlanta; was impeached as State treasurer in 1870 for malfeasance, but escaped conviction, vote in senate lacking two of the necessary two-thirds; suit brought to recover $27,000 corruptly received while in office, according to his own confession; all the facts placed before the President by Georgia Democrats prior to nomination (1886, February 17; The Tribune, 2).

—— Assistant postmaster at Coshocton, Ohio. Arrested embezzlement Government funds; failed to account or remit (1887, June 26; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at Flatbush at request of F. Campbell; arrested for malfeasance in office, appropriating money passing in registered letters (1887, July 10; New York Times, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at Lansing, Mich.; a professional lobbyist; Democrats indignant that man of his character appointed; Knights of Labor charged that —— received a big fee to look after their bill and then betrayed them; since appointment has compelled employés to contribute money to bear expenses of campaign; personal character unanimously reported unfit, and rejected without opposition (1886, August 5; New York Sun, 7).

—— Money-order clerk at Reading, Pa., short of $1,000; fast young woman in case (1887, June 17; New York Times, 1).

—— Postmaster at Huntington, Conn.; arrested for robbing mails (1887, January 21; New York Times, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at City Island, N. Y.; a defaulter; borrowed of many friends and fled; said to be woman in case; office cleaned out of money and stamps (1888, April 13; New York Sun, 3).

—— Appointed postmaster Fairfield, Ill.; never settled accounts as clerk of court, Wayne County; refused to surrender books; rejected (1886, June 18; New York Sun, 2).

—— Nephew of Congressman SPRINGER; appointed postmaster at Jacksonville, Fla., two days before Congress met; got commission and qualified after Congress met in violation of law; charged with insulting and obscene comments on soldiers' reunion, and on the wife of chairman of the committee of arrangements; a prominent citizen, ——, a crony of ——, was made deputy, and charges that —— compelled him to divide pay; makes affidavit that —— was author of obscene paper above named; supported by other affidavits; all employés and postmaster neglected duties of office for four weeks in SPRINGER'S interest (1886, July 15; New York Sun, 1). Charges proved, and was rejected (1886, July 22; New York Sun, 1).

JAIL-BIRDS FOR PLACES OF TRUST.

—— Appointed postmaster at Fort Dodge, Iowa. Appointment secured by ——, who, according to affidavit, required —— to pay $400 yearly out of salary received for support of Democratic paper edited by ——'s son (1886, May 25; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at Ithaca, N. Y. Office used as partisan headquarters; service in a state of chaos; chronic delays of New York mail; letter and wedding invitations delayed for days or weeks; reprimanded from headquarters (1886, December 17; New York World, 4).

TWO CONVICTS CHOSEN—ONE-LEGGED SOLDIER OUSTED.

—— Appointed postmaster at Vinton, Iowa; under indictment for violating State liquor law; a saloon-keeper and man of intemperate habits and general bad character; one-legged soldier turned out to make place vacant, and predecessor, ——, first appointed, but removed by Vilas because indicted and convicted (1886, May 27; New York Sun, 2). Rejected Democrats concurring (1886, June 17; New York Sun, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at Hoboken. Man of questionable associations and deplorable illiteracy. It was alleged that Governor Abbett had refused to appoint him to a minor office in his gift on account of educational deficiencies. Was he appointed that he might learn to read and write? (1886, July 14; New York Times, 4).

—— Appointed postmaster at Dennison, Iowa; a saloon-keeper, violating State law by selling whisky and beer; appointment the result of arrangement between —— and himself to furnish money for starting a German Democratic paper; —— had offered to start such a paper, if appointed, from the salary, but had been rejected (1886, May 28; New York Sun, 2). —— rejected; found to be mere "dummy" for —— (1886, June 25; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at St. Louis; thrashed Mr. Joseph Pulitzer in street, Star, November 12 (1885, November 13; New York Sun, 2). St. Louis dispatch to Sun says: "Appointments are stench in nostrils of decent people. In vain did Congressman GLOVER tell Executive his nominee for postmaster was a common drunkard, his nominee for surveyor a rascal, his nominee for collector of internal revenue but one remove from imbecile; appointing in face of burning protests notorious drunkards, embezzlers, dark-lantern politicians, helpless imbeciles, at the beck of cross-roads Confederate Senators, bargaining with them for a packed convention. If Manning's machine attempts renomination, the next national convention will not be held in St. Louis (1886, August 1; New York Sun, 8).

—— Appointed postmaster at Chicago, well-known Copperhead (1885, May 7; The Tribune, 1). Reported since his appointment has been active in Senatorial contest just ending. Offense which merits dismissal in fourth-class postmaster can not properly be overlooked in postmaster of first class (1885, May 21; New York Times, 4). Lawyer of feeble health, lacks experience: physical energy, mental quickness desired. In responsible minor offices men were placed by him whose unfitness led one into United States court as defendant in action for malfeasance. He claims he was persecuted because he had shown up gross inefficiency of Chicago postal service. Discontent at Chicago widespread; business some divisions uniformly behind; takes New York papers longer to travel 2 miles in Chicago than all the way from New York (1888, January 13; New York Sun, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at South Salem, in place of ——, who had held office twenty-two years; removes post-office to his house, a mile and a half from the village; boycotted by the people (1885, December 14; The Tribune, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at Webster City, Iowa. Had charged incumbent —— with partisanship, but said in application he was editor of a Democratic paper and chairman of the Democratic committee; that he had made speeches in campaign, and wanted office as a reward; that salary would enable him to do more work for his party than ever. Made eighteen speeches and continued on committee; has been even more offensive partisan himself (1886, April 10; New York Sun, 1.)

—— Appointed postmaster at Lynchburgh. Editor, who, after appointment, called Sherman "first-class fraud, miserable mountebank, unscrupulous scoundrel, uncharitable dog;" and Logan "semi-civilized Illinois ourang-outang, his dirty diatribes;" and Hoar white-livered, onion-eating, nasal-twanged old hypocrite; and Conger "a slang-wanger," etc. (1886, May 15; New York Sun, 2). Rejected, but again reappointed; charged with tissue-ballot frauds, offensive partisan, and intense hostility to civil-service reform (1886, August 10; New York World, 4).

—— Appointed postmaster at Dennison, Iowa, in place of ——, removed for partisanship, but —— was editor Democratic paper, member Democratic committee, delegate in convention, made stump speeches after appointment and took part actively in Democratic campaign. He was appointed by Postmaster-General, as documents show, as reward for party services, and his own letters to President show that usefulness to party would be greatly increased by appointment (1886, March 26; New York Sun, 3). Wrote to Postmaster-General that he would devote his salary to establishment of German Democratic paper (1886, May 27; New York Sun, 2). Adverse report on above facts (1886, March 26; New York Times, 5).

—— Appointed postmaster at Vicksburg; approved assassination of Matthews, advocating use of extreme measures to secure Democratic success; advised murder of Republican sheriff; in April, 1883, his paper, The Herald, said: "White Democrats should direct attack at white Republican bosses and kill them when necessary" (1886, January 20; New York Sun, 2).

JAIL-BIRDS.

Washington Post says: "Federal patronage in Cincinnati employed to elevate most disreputable and odious characters. No less than four criminals hold Government places in Ohio to-day as direct result of Democratic dispensation. Recent subordinate appointments Ohio in Treasury service include three notorious malefactors, one chronic work-house inmate, one in penitentiary for theft, another indicted for murder, but escaped because principal witness disappeared" (Washington Post, 1885, November 8). Rhode Island postmaster had been arrested nine times in three months for violation of liquor law. Pennsylvania clerk of mint confessed writing a forged letter of Neal Dow to influence German votes in Ohio (1885, September 8; New York World, 4). Maine postmaster appointed while in jail (1885, August 23; The Tribune, 5).

THE BRUTAL REVILER OF GRANT.

—— Appointed postmaster at Meridian, Miss.; business manager and principal editor of Mercury which published editorial "coarsely assailing the memory of General Grant; appointed in place of Hancock, removed as offensive partisan. No man who is such a fool as to write an article of the kind is fit to be a postmaster;" disavowal of ——; declares not personally responsible (1885, August 10; New York Times, 4). Had been indicted in United States court for unlawfully conspiring to evade civil-rights law (1885, September 3; New York World, 4). Was leader of bulldozers, whose paper advocated use of violence to carry Democratic ticket; after Grant's death articles published of most brutal character (1886, January 20; New York Sun, 2).

—— Appointed postmaster at Berlin, Wis.; arrested for embezzlement; $30,000 borrowed as if for firm (1886, May 18; New York Sun, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at Philadelphia; was chairman of Democratic city committee. Crosby states could be no more serious violation of spirit of law than removal of Huidekoper, a postmaster of especial merit, supported by many Democrats. (1885, November 26; The Tribune, 2). Complaint of civil-service association that he distributed appointments equally among election districts of city, appoints men who can not write or speak grammatically, dismisses men without charges, and examinations of appointees alleged to be fraudulent. (1886, November 10; New York Times, 5). Complaints challenged by —— and by local board (1886, November 13; New York Times, 5). Testimony Senate committee that only three or four clerks were retained out of four hundred or five hundred, and only four dismissed for cause. Huidekoper removed after Vilas had told him his office was the best managed in the United States (1888, April 5; The Tribune, 1).

—— Appointed postmaster at Natchez; chairman Democratic committee, manager election frauds in 1884; details of reasons for rejection (1885, August 7; The Tribune, 2; August 16, The Tribune, 1, and September 8, New York World, 4). Nevertheless confirmed (1886, June 4; The Tribune, 2). Chairman Republican committee removed for offensive partisanship; chairman Democratic committee appointed, who manipulated election returns so that district having great Republican majority is represented by Democratic Congressman; political activity while postmaster (1886, January 20; New York Sun, 2).

—— Postmaster at Monroe, Ind.; also Gray, postmaster at Portland, Ind., seated on platform at eleventh district Democratic Congressional convention; Daniel Krisher, postmaster at North Manchester, chairman delegation; Postmaster R. L. Seaton and William Mertz, postmaster at Vera Cruz; in all, fifty postmasters present, pernicious activity (1886, September 1; New York World, 4).

—— Appointed Superintendent Railway Mails; formerly discharged as Republican for inefficiency; constant complaint of business men; notorious Indiana partisan, appointed in place of ——, one of the most efficient officers in the Department.

—— Appointed postmaster at West Point in place ——, many years postmaster; no one there knows him (1888, May 30; the Tribune, 1).

The condition of the post-office in Chicago has been a scandal and a disgrace. The outcry became so great at last that the Department was forced to send a commission out there to make an examination, the result of which was the removal of a number of subordinate officers. But still the trouble was not remedied. Corning S. Judd, the postmaster, was a lawyer of some ability; a well-known copperhead; a man against whose private character I have no charges to make, but he was in feeble health; lacking in experience and the necessary qualifications for such a position; lacking in physical energy and those mental qualities and aptitudes which are essential to such a position. At last the complaints were so loud and deep that he has been removed.

The post-office at Indianapolis, occupied by Aquilla Jones, has been a very sink of political corruption. Postmaster Jones openly declared that he set at defiance all the civil-service professions of the President; that he should remove officers and appoint others in their places solely for political consideration.

The Philadelphia post-office, which had been managed for eight years by General Huidekoper, was admitted on all hands, I believe, to have been the best managed post-office in the world, not even excepting the celebrated London office. General Huidekoper had conducted his business purely upon civil-service-reform principles. There was no charge, there could be no charge, made against his management of the office. He was removed and one Harrity, chairman of the Democratic city committee of Philadelphia, put in his place. No such record of inefficiency can be found in the history of the management of any great office in the country. Delays innumerable have occurred in the transmission and the delivery of letters ever since his advent to the office. Illiterate and drunken men have been substituted for carriers in the place of excellent men. Carriers have been seen reeling through the streets with the mail-bags on their backs. Letters have been scattered along the sidewalk; mail-boxes not visited for twenty-four hours at a time, and numerous instances in which letters directed from one part of the city to another have been days, and in some instances weeks, before reaching their destination. It is notorious that the employés of the office spent a large portion of their time in carrying out the behests of Harrity in the great Democratic factional fight against SAMUEL J. RANDALL. All these things are amply proved in evidence taken before the Committee to Investigate the Civil Service. As a specimen of some of the irregularities in that office, I submit the following testimony of Edward J. Frysinger, in which he says that a printing-press was put into that office by Harrity, and Frysinger employed as a printer to print Democratic notices on Government paper:

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD J. FRYSINGER.

Edward J. Frysinger, having been duly sworn, was interrogated as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Where do you live?
A. At 13 Madison street, Chester.
Q. Have you been in the post-office at Philadelphia as an official lately, and if so, when?
A. Yes, sir; from the 21st of April to the 1st of September, 1887.
Q. By whom were you appointed?
A. By Postmaster Harrity.
Q. How did you leave the office?
A. I sent in my voluntary resignation.
Q. What place did you hold in the post-office?
A. I was printer.
Q. Is there a printing establishment in the office?
A. I understand there is yet. I opened the establishment when I went there.
Q. There had been none there before?
A. No, sir; I laid it out.
Q. The men were appointed and you set them to work?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. And you had charge of the printing department in the post-office?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Which was a new feature?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. What kind of printing did you do?
A. Principally the work of the Department.
Q. And of the office?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. How had that hitherto been done?
A. At the Government Office in Washington.
Q. Do you think it is less expensive?
A. It is more convenient to have it there.
Q. Yesterday Mr. Watrous produced a copy of a political circular which was printed in the Press, with which he is connected as editor, which circular was read before the committee. It purports to have been printed at the office by you, or under your direction. Have you knowledge of any such transaction?
A. I printed a circular of that character there.
Q. In the post-office?
A. Yes, of the character he referred to. There was a fac-simile of it in the Press. I suppose that is what he referred to.
Q. Have you the original with you?
A. I have a written order for it. Yes, sir.
Q. Will you produce it?
(The witness produced the paper called for.)
The CHAIRMAN. Please read it.
The WITNESS (reading):

"By request of the Democratic city executive committee you are invited and expected to attend a meeting of the Democratic executive committee of the Twenty-ninth ward, to be held at Quantrell's Hall, Eighteenth and Ridge avenue, on Wednesday evening, June 1, 1887, at 8.15 o'clock, sharp, purpose for the of organization. Please be present.

"Yours, etc.,

"R. C. LLOYD,
"*Chairman Ward Committee.*"

Q. Is there any indorsement upon that in the corner?
A. The directions to me are written in the corner, as follows:

"Mr. FRYSINGER:

"Please set to size of postal-card.

"J. J. V.

"5, 27, '87."

Q. Did you print that circular in the post-office printing department?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. How many of those did you print?
A. I think I printed about seventy of those circulars. The order was for postal-cards, but we afterwards used circulars.
Q. For circulation in this district?
A. I don't know what was done with them.
Q. By whose direction did you print it? Why did you print this political circular, which had nothing to do with the post-office, on the Government printing-press in that office? Did you do it of your own motion, or by direction?
A. By direction.
The WITNESS. He told me to print that first circular and destroy all proof and evidence. I did so; I destroyed all evidence; I took it upstairs to Mr. Vogel, at his desk, and told him that this was rather a dangerous business, and he said no, he did not know that it was. Prior to that, though, downstairs, he had told me it was by authority of Postmaster Harrity and Mr. Drake. I asked him who Mr. Lloyd was, the name that was signed to it, and also to the first one. I said, "Is he liable to disclose anything like this any day?" He said, "Oh, no; he owes his position as magistrate (I think it was) to Mr. Harrity's influence, or to his help." I told him he might change his views some day and become angry, or something of the kind; any way, there the conversation stopped. Postmaster Harrity at that time was in Atlantic City. In about three days Mr. Vogel came down into my room and told me there would be no more work of that character, as Postmaster Harrity had forbidden it, fearing it would leak out; and I supposed it would stop. But in several weeks' time after that this written order was sent down in an envelope.
Q. The one you have here?
A. Yes, sir; and I printed these and took them up to Mr. Vogel, and told him that I understood all that kind of work was to stop. "Well," he says, "Postmaster Harrity is willing we shall print it, only it is to be sent from this room, so that in case it should leak out he can say—Mr. Harrity can—that he had nothing to do with it; that is all."
Q. Mr. Vogel told you this?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. And he, you say, is the personal clerk of the postmaster?
A. He does considerable of the personal writing of Postmaster Harrity.
Q. Upon that you printed it?
A. I printed it upon that authority, deeming that, of course, it was by the authority of the postmaster himself.
Q. You remember the conversation distinctly?
A. Yes, sir; very distinctly.
Q. What are your politics?
A. I am a Democrat.
Q. You have always been a Democrat?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. And are now?
A. Yes, sir; just as much as ever.

By Senator MANDERSON:

Q. How much of a printing plant is there in the office?
The WITNESS. Do you mean in full?
Senator MANDERSON. Yes.
The WITNESS. The material when I was there was worth from $1,000 to $1,200.
Q. Do you mean to say that all of the printed blanks are now printed here in the office?
A. I do not know what they do now. At the time I was there any of the blanks were printed there. There are forms used in the Government Departments, and we have to have a great many of one form, and it pays best to ship those here. But this was more for the convenience of the Department, and was to print notices, etc., that they wanted immediately, and ordinary blanks.
Q. How is the paper that is used supplied?
A. It is supplied from Washington.
Q. Furnished from the Post-Office Department?
A. Yes, sir; from the Department at Washington.
Q. And all you do here is the mechanical work upon your own type and press?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. What presses had you?
A. I had a quarter-medium improved Gordon.
Q. What is the power?
A. It is without power; it should not have been, but I was compelled to do it.
Q. And you think that is a more economical method of furnishing blanks?
A. I think, considering the convenience to the Department, it is good policy to have it there.
Q. The economy is in the time of obtaining matter needed, rather than in expense?
A. The majority of the work that was done there for the Department could be done as economically, and especially at the salary that I was paid, as it could be in Washington.
Q. Have you any familiarity with the Government Printing Office at Washington?
A. I have some familiarity with the salaries paid. I never worked there, but I am posted on such things.
Q. You speak of two different circulars. How many were issued of the first one, the printing of which you protested against?
A. The first were postal-cards. There were about fifty of those, I think; I can not recollect exactly.
Q. And about seventy of the second lot of circulars?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. By whom was the postal-card material and circular material furnished?
A. The postal-cards were sent down to me from upstairs, and as to the paper I really do not recollect whether I used it from the room or whether it was sent down from upstairs.
Q. But it came to you in the usual manner that postal-cards or paper would come to you?
A. Yes, sir; the cards were sent down.

By Senator BLODGETT:

Q. Did you have any conversation with Postmaster Harrity in reference to the printing of these documents?
A. No, sir.

Q. None at any time?
A. Not that I recollect of.
Q. Have you had any correspondence with Postmaster Harrity on the subject?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Will you please state what it was?
A. I wrote to him something to the effect that I had done as he knew, printed matter that was not proper; I can not recollect the words exactly, but something to that effect.
Q. Did you refer to the printing of that letter, and are you quite sure that you referred to that?
A. I have a copy of the letter at home.
Q. From your recollection did you refer to this special case in your letter?
A. I referred to that printing I had done that, as he knew and as I stated in it, I had no right to do.
Q. What did you ask him to do?
A. I spoke to him—I did not ask him to do anything, I think.

Thus adding proof that the Democratic officials are using not only the subordinate officers under their employ, in the pay of the Government, to do the labors to print Democratic circulars on the printing-presses of the Government, but using the Government paper and postal-cards for that purpose.

Below I submit some extracts from papers showing complaints from different parts of the country:

Mr. PLUMB. I ask now that an extract from the Topeka Capital, commencing with the marked part, be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"Let us consider for a moment what would be the result if the proposed investigation should be made as asked for by Mr. PLUMB in the Senate and Mr. PERKINS in the House. The Post-Office Committee, after thorough inquiry, would find that the heads of the Postal Department were engaged in a censurable effort to serve the public with postal arrangements entirely inadequate, utterly refusing to recognize the fact that the entire West was being flooded with a vast increase of mail-matter without corresponding increase of force to handle the same. The said committee would moreover find that these Department heads had full knowledge that this was the cause of the whole trouble and that it was entirely in their power to accomplish a speedy remedy if their purblind meanness was not too deeply rooted.

"From among the thousand cases of willful neglect to serve the people properly the committee might take the condition of the Kansas City and Pueblo run on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé with which to illustrate their report. This run received at Kansas City on the 1st day of July, 1886, 11,653 pounds of mail-matter, to handle which, as well as other pouches taken on *en route*, the run employed a force of 40 men. On the 1st day of August, 1887, the same run received at Kansas City 23,000 pounds and the force has been augmented by 8 new men. In other words, 48 men were expected to handle 23,000 pounds of mail, while one year before 40 men had all they could do to properly handle 11,653 pounds, or an increase of over 100 per cent. in labor and of one-sixth per cent. in laborers. And even this small addition was not given till the old force had struggled with the work till they fainted at the rack.

"Moreover, the committee would find that as a result of the rapid filling up of Kansas, and the States and Territories west of her, that the mail received on this run has increased since August 1, 1887, at a greater rate than at any time in the past, till now it is absolutely impossible for the present force to extricate from the pile of pouches under which they are buried every day.

"R. M. Thomas, superintendent of the railway mail service in the seventh division, in a desperate effort to expedite matters, divided this run at Dodge City, ordering the east end to work Kansas and New Mexico, Arizona and what is known as No. 3, leaving Colorado and Utah for the west end.

"With four men to a car the east end is not able, at present, four days out of the week to get through with Kansas alone, and all the rest is left for the west end to handle when there is only two men to the car, making it necessary to throw off New Mexico and Colorado at La Junta most of the time. Very often the east end can not work No. 3, then the west end has it to do first, so that frequently over 100 pouches of Colorado mail is left to be worked during a run of 65 miles, a greater part of which, of course, is thrown off at Pueblo unopened. A large portion of this is daily papers. The transfer clerk does the best he can with it, and sometimes gets it started back within forty-eight hours. The committee would find that the remedy for the evils on this run was very simple.

"Let it be restored to its former condition when the men ran through, thus saving three or four hours which is now lost in tying out racks and rehanging and in receipting for twenty or thirty pouches of registered mail; put four men to a crew and two helpers from Kansas City to Newton, making fourteen new men in all, and any mail could be handled to the entire satisfaction of the public.

"Chief Clerk Hunter, at Kansas City, and Superintendent Thomas, at St. Louis, know well enough what the trouble is, and have, no doubt, asked for sufficient force, but it has not and will not be given them. These gentlemen also know that the old men are being so overworked that they are becoming discontented, and a large number of them are making arrangements to leave the service. New men can not stand it to take their places, so that the situation seems to be growing more deplorable every day.

"If the committee should be of a particularly prying turn of mind it might find, hidden away somewhere, a private circular which a certain head of a Department thought necessary to issue to the postal clerks, instructing them not to talk with any one excepting the head of their own department in regard to any trouble in the mail service whatsoever, or to ventilate any 'supposed' grievances on account of overwork or otherwise, to a newspaper man or any one else, and that any knowledge of a violation of the order would be followed by immediate dismissal from the service. Thus deliberately they write themselves egregious asses and complacently wave their ears over that solemn truth."

Mr. PLUMB. I also send up a slip from the Emporia Daily Republican, which I ask to have read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"The Soldiers' Tribune, of Lyons, Kans., joins the plaint against the inefficiency of the present mail service. Says the Tribune: 'The Emporia Republican and Newton Republican frequently come straggling in from the west, tired, weary, and as much the worse of the wear as though they had been on a health-seeking tour to Colorado or New Mexico.'"

Mr. PLUMB. I send up another extract, from the Topeka Daily Capital, which I ask may be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"HOW LONG, O LORD!

"How long must the people of Kansas endure the present infamous and outrageous mail service?

"Every day complaints come to this office from subscribers of the Capital in Kansas, asking if something can not be done to remedy the existing evil. We have called attention to this miserable service repeatedly, our Congressmen have presented the complaints of Kansas people to the Democratic House only to be ignored and ridiculed. Every effort possible has been made to correct the miserable manner in which the mail-matter is handled, and yet no relief comes.

"Yesterday one of our subscribers at McPherson wrote us that the Capital never reached that place on the day of publication, and that two or three days' mail would be dumped in there at one time. There can be no excuse for this delay. The Capital is mailed in the Topeka post-office each morning, and it should leave on the 1 o'clock train in the afternoon for McPherson, and reach that place by 4 or 5 o'clock.

"The rotten mail service in Kansas and the entire West is enough to damn the present Democratic Administration. It has shown itself wholly incompetent to handle this most important Department of the public service, and when the time comes there will be a rising up among the outraged people of the West against this Administration that will relegate it to a deserved oblivion.

"Speed that day."

Mr. PLUMB. Now I ask that there be read a letter from the manager of the Kansas City Journal, which covers a point mentioned in a speech of the Senator from Texas yesterday about the fast mail.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"KANSAS CITY, MO., *February* 1, 1888.

"DEAR SIR: Thanks for your efforts in behalf of a public wearied with hopeless waiting for an improvement of methods and reform in the administration of that Department of the Government which comes into the daily business and social life of every intelligent citizen of the West.

"I wish, without lengthening my story, to give a phase which can not be charged up to inefficient subordinates. Upon a railroad to Smith Centre, Kans., which has been in full operations three months, there is no mail service. Upon the authority of a post-office official, I state that on the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska (Rock Island system in Kansas and Nebraska) nothing beyond a pouch service is yet in operation, and this not until long after the road had been in business.

"The Chicago, Milwaukee and Kansas City Railroad, after long delay in bridging the Missouri River at this place, put on their freight trains last November and passenger trains about the 1st of December. There is no mail service on that road yet, and our papers for Excelsior Springs, about 35 miles from here, are sent out on a freight train. The opening of such lines must be known months before such opening actually transpires, yet no move is made to use them as postal routes until after in operation. Usually three to four months' time elapses then before the Department begins to make an expense, and saves so much to enter up as political capital. The service when begun, badly as it is managed, is not more disreputable than the beggarly management at headquarters. 'Like master like man' finds its exemplification in the postal service of the United States. A 'barren ideality,' the fast train upon whose movements thirteen roads wait here at Kansas City, detains the sending of two-thirds of all mail going from this vicinity into Kansas from two to four hours.

"The local force at Kansas City, and every city of the Missouri Valley, is seriously inadequate; to serve a 'penny wise and pound foolish' economy.

"Yours, respectfully,

"J. A. MANN.

"Hon. P. B. PLUMB,
"*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*"

Mr. PLATT. Will the Senator from Kansas allow me to put in an extract from a letter which I received yesterday while the Senator from Texas was speaking?

Mr. PLUMB. I will.

Mr. PLATT. I wish to show that this complaint is not confined to the West. Indeed, scarcely a day passes that I do not receive from my constituents writing me on other subjects complaints of the inefficiency of the mail service in Connecticut. This letter is from the Henry Bill Publishing Company, of Norwich, and I read that portion of it which relates to the mail service; it is dated February 11, 1888:

"NORWICH, CONN., *February* 11, 1888.

"DEAR SIR: We are very much annoyed and troubled by the apparent disorganization of the whole postal system of this country, caused, as we believe, by the removal of experienced postal-route agents and others and putting inefficient men in their places. Our entire mail matter is very much delayed. We do not receive letters from any part of the country as quickly by twenty-four hours as we used to, and from many parts it is delayed for days. Besides this, large numbers of letters that we send out are never received by the parties to whom they are sent, and the same with letters sent to us.

"We are the largest patrons of the post-office in this city, sending out about one-ninth of all mail-matter that goes from here, and our business extends over the entire country, and has to be transacted almost entirely through the mails, and the delays and other things that we have spoken of are very serious losses to us. A letter sent to us from Palmer, Mass., a distance of less than 60 miles, did not reach us for more than a week after it was sent, and this is a sample of a large number of similar cases that we could mention. But our greatest trouble is in so much mail-matter being lost, and we think the trouble is that the mail-route agents, being inefficient and not able to do the work that the thoroughly skilled and efficient route agents have been doing, are tempted to destroy the matter, as they can not distribute it.

"I presume it is useless for us to make this complaint, but think it best to let you know how we are bothered.

"Hon. ORVILLE H. PLATT,
"*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*"

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"The time has come, in fact it came long ago, for the United States postal authorities to do something for the Western mail service. We do not know whether the rank service which we have been receiving is due to incompetency or lack of sufficient help, but one thing we do know, that it is about as weak as the people are going to stand by and accept without kicking vigorously. Day after day, week in and week out this office has received numerous and repeated complaints of failure to receive papers. We have traced the matter down and find that it is due to the rotten mail service. We are possessed of ordinary patience, but the time has gone by for us longer to remain silent. Yesterday morning at 3.30 the greatest outrage that has ever been perpetrated upon a daily newspaper in Kansas since the State was admitted into the Union was served the Gazette by the route agent who worked the mail going west on train No. 203, either through ignorance, drunkenness, imbecility, or maliciousness, we know not which."

To the foregoing I now add an extract from the Memphis Avalanche, a Democratic newspaper. It is headed "The Cause of the Trouble:"

"There can be no doubt that Senator PLUMB had a partisan object in asking for an investigation of the mail service of the West and South, which was declared to be inefficient. But it is to be regretted that it did not pass. The service is not what it should be. There can be no doubt of the truth of that proposition. Complaints are numerous and well-grounded, but the cause is not that ascribed by Mr. CHACE, who claimed it was due to the fact that 90 per cent. of the employés had been dismissed. Upon investigation it will be found that the trouble does not come from the ninety Democrats recently put in office, but from the ten Republicans who are allowed to remain."

I shall not make any remarks about the comparison between the strength and virtue and so on of ten Republicans as compared with that of ninety Democrats.

"Every one of them would be glad to see a change, and few of them would hesitate, in a quiet and unobtrusive way, to put a spoke in the wheel of the Democratic wagon. By all means let us have an investigation of the affairs of the Post-Office Department as administered in the South."

I have also an extract from the St. Joseph Gazette, one of the leading Democratic papers in Western Missouri:

"A postal clerk, who is not employed on the Central Branch, informed an Atchison Champion reporter lately that the principal cause of irregularities in the mail service on that road is the lack of car-room and facilities. He says the letter mail is amply provided for, but this requires nearly all the available space in the cars, and there is no room to handle the newspaper mail. The Gazette would like to believe that numerous and constantly recurring irregularities in the newspaper-mail service of the territory in which it circulates depend upon causes so easily remedied as the one reported from the Central Branch. This would at least lend to a very damaging annoyance continually suffered by the press the hope that the trouble is not altogether irremediable."

It will be seen that the complaints are pretty evenly distributed between Democratic and Republican newspapers, and the Senator from Texas will have his labor for his pains if he seeks to make the people of the West and the South believe that they are having a good mail service when they know very well they have not.

Mr. PLUMB. Mr. President, I thought I had presented sufficient newspaper extracts. But having been reproached by the Senator from Texas with partisanship, I will contribute now the Democratic quota to the complaints against the Department. I will read first from a paper published at Pine Bluff, Ark., vouched to me as being a Democratic paper:

"The large crowd in front of the post-office every morning waiting for a turn at the general-delivery window shows that the amount allowed by the Government for clerical help is certainly inadequate to the needs of the office. The niggardly style in which the postal affairs are run is not at all satisfactory to the public. Congress should do something to rectify this condition, and failing to do it, it will have some vicious things said about it. It is a serious thing for the laboring people of this city to be compelled to wait hours for a chance to get their mails. No blame can attach to Mr. Alexander, as we understand it, for this state of affairs, but the trouble lies in the small allowance made for clerical help. Pine Bluff is no village now. She is a city of about 15,000 people and growing fast."

Mr. PLUMB. I ask the Secretary to read in this connection the article which I have marked, being an extract from a leading Kansas paper, the Daily Capital of Topeka, and which appears also in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 22d of this month.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the paper, if there be no objection.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"THE MAIL SERVICE OF KANSAS.

"Never at any time in the history of Kansas has there been in the United States mail service such an utter disregard of the rights of the people as at this time. Notwithstanding the great increase in population, the stupid attempt on the part of the Administration to make a record for economy has cut down the clerical force necessary to properly distribute the mails at large offices and in the mail trains, and it is consequently too small to do the work. Tons of mail-matter pass through Kansas on the train westward that can not be disposed of by the force allowed by the Post-Office Department. The result is that it is carried past the towns where it belongs, and brought back after two or three days' absence in Colorado or New Mexico. It is not the fault of the railway clerks, because the Department asks of them a task that it is not possible for them to perform. The people of Kansas have been patient, and the press has been lenient over this Democratic folly. Mails going west are so heavy that men working to the extent of their strength, doing more than double duty, can not handle them.

"Appeals to the Department at Washington for adequate help to take care of this important public service are unheeded. The railway mail service through Kansas has become criminally neglected, and it is time this attempt of the Democratic party to make capital by a show of false economy should be brought to the attention of Congress. In reply to continued appeals for the Department to send a man to examine the railway mail service in Kansas, a man came, and overlooking the tons of mail that could not be distributed in time to be thrown off at the towns where it belonged, he succeeded in having two or three clerks fined for not having the regulation gold-lace band on their caps, and thus civil-service reform was indorsed and the record of the party for economy maintained."

Mr. PLUMB. I offer also a letter received a day or two since from the secretary and business manager of the Kansas City Journal, one of the leading daily papers of the West, on the same subject.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"KANSAS CITY, MO., *January* 28, 1888.

"DEAR SIR: Is it possible to bring to bear such pressure, by means of a Senate committee on investigation of Western mail service in Missouri and Kansas, as will rectify the present demoralized condition of said service?

"Our relations to this service are such that we suffer more perhaps than any other line of business and know more of its delinquencies than those engaged in other vocations.

"I can say after eighteen years' continuous labor in this one office, with full facilities for learning as to general efficiency of the mail service, that it was never so bad nor so badly administered as during the past year, and that the tendency at this time is toward a down grade. Can you give this attention and bring it before the people in such manner as to lead to a reform?

"Very repectfully,

"J. A. MANN,

"*Secretary and Business Manager Kansas City Journal.*

"Hon. P. B. PLUMB, *Washington, D. C.*"

Mr. PLUMB. To meet the possible suggestion that the information contained in the newspaper article already read and the letter from the business manager of the Journal may be colored, being from Republican sources, I send to the Clerk's desk to be read an article from a paper claiming to be the leading Democratic paper of Kansas, and the official organ of the party in that State, which will show that complaints are not confined to Republican sources. The article is from the Abilene Gazette, a daily paper published at Abilene, Kans.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The paper will be read, if there be no objection.

I have very carefully avoided putting into the RECORD anything that was said of a partisan character in regard to this matter. In sending up to be read slips from newspapers I have carefully eliminated all possible which had any partisan tinge whatever, including only that which contained a bold narration of the facts connected with the mail service in the West. I should like to add a little to the record, and directly in the line of the defense set up by the Senator from Texas. In a particular case, that of a Democratic newspaper in Kansas which made complaint of the service, the Senator from Texas alleges that it was due to a failure on the part of the publisher of the paper to get the required certificate from the postmaster. That is simply an incident in the general complaint; it is not the substance of it at all. I will ask to have read from the same paper, the Abilene Gazette, another specification; it being, as I have said before, a Democratic paper.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The article will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"Junction City is 25 miles from Abilene. The trains leave here at noon and arrive there at 1 o'clock. The fifty subscribers of the Gazette at Junction City received three days' papers at once, and yet they wonder why we are old before our time. They think it strange that we kick. Call it indiscretion if you want to, but even Job would murmur if he ever had such an experience as this.

"The Gazette reaches Junction City, 25 miles from here, by way of Kansas City. Now, this seems strange, but it is a fact. The route agents prefer to do this way, and while it is some little inconvenience to the public and to us, still we will stand it.

"After all, the old-fashioned mail system was pretty fair. It had its conveniences, and you knew just when a letter or a paper would reach its destination when it was once mailed.

"The Topeka Commonwealth has not been received at Abilene for four days. We will receive a bundle perhaps in a few days. They will come via Denver by fast freight."

Mr. PLUMB. I now ask to have read a letter written by a subscriber to the Atchison Daily Champion, and published in that paper a few days since.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"WHITE CITY, KANS., *February* 6, 1888.

"GENTLEMEN: Is there no remedy for the irregularity of the mails?

"I commenced to take the Daily Champion some three months since, because I like it better than any other State or Kansas City daily, and have taken it some twelve years; but I am almost discouraged. My papers come to me from two to four days old; for instance, I got my paper dated February 2 this morning, February 6, just four days in transit. The Department had better put on the old overland stage, drawn by faithful mules; would then get it in two days at least. We have two railroads, the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska and Missouri Pacific, and get mail four times daily.

"T.

"ATCHISON DAILY CHAMPION."

Mr. PLUMB. I will state that the point at which that letter was written is about 75 miles distant by rail in a direct line from the place where the paper is published. It took, as the writer says, four days for the paper to get that distance of 75 miles, and there are four trains a day.

I now ask that there be read an extract from the Atchison Daily Champion on the same subject, commencing with the marked part.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"It is an undeniable fact that never in the history of the country has the Post-Office Department been so inefficient as under the present Administration. There has been one unbroken series of delays and inexcusable blunders in the transmission of the mails, and in the different post-offices of most of the States, especially Kansas, gross and almost criminal carelessness has been the rule for the past two years. Newspapers, letters, and packages, plainly addressed, have either been delivered to the wrong parties, or remailed to other points, or piled up in the offices, where they were deposited and not delivered at all. In some cases the fault of all this is with the Department at Washington, the authorities not providing clerical help; in other and most cases the fault is in the local offices, where ignorant and incompetent help is employed.

"Not only have the mails been badly managed, and the business of the country been embarrassed in consequence, but the rulings of the Department, in nearly every instance where postal questions have been submitted, have been distinguished for their stupidity and want of a broad and intelligent appreciation of the needs and rights of the public.

"A case in point is that recent order requiring all letters mailed on a train to be put off at the first office to be canceled by the postmaster, the postal clerks not being allowed to cancel stamps, which subjects business men to unnecessary inconvenience and loss of time, and an indication that the Department is not disposed to accommodate the public when it can be done as well as not and without additional expense. The same style of doing business characterizes every other order that has been issued by the Department for the last two years. It all shows that the Post-Office Department is now in incompetent hands and that it and all the other Departments of our Government have outgrown the limited capacity of the Democratic party."

Mr. PLUMB. I now ask that there be a paragraph read from the Orange City Free Press of date of February 4, 1888.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

"WORSE AND MORE OF IT.

"Friday morning all newspaper mail from the east destined to this office was carried on west or eaten up by the route agent. No mail of any description was received from the west. If this thing keeps on people will be obliged to transmit their mail by private carriers. Let us hear from the Abilene Gazette again. The Gazette, by the way, has not been received at this post-office now for three days."

Mr. MANDERSON. Mr. President, I must confess my surprise at the charge made by the Senator from Texas that this is in the nature of making political capital rather than an earnest and honest desire to correct an existing evil. Certainly nothing that was said by myself the other day would warrant that assertion. I sought simply to present a defect in the administration of postal affairs in the State that I have the honor in part to represent.

I read letters that had been received by me from the editors of newspapers. I stated, not, perhaps, at such length as I should at the time, some of the personal complaints that had come to me, not only from those editing public journals, political journals, but from those engaged in all trades and in all professions. I perhaps should have gone further and should have said that my attention had been called to the matter by personal knowledge of the administration of the postal affairs of my own State. I am giving nothing at second hand, but I could very properly give here, if time would admit, my own experience as to the defects of the postal service west of the Missouri River.

I indulged in nothing in the way of complaint or censure of the Post-Office Department, but it is marvelous to me that in the presence of this record showing the character of the debate that occurred here the Senator from Texas should indulge in this sort of remarks. Why, Mr. President, I turn to the debate that was had here on the 1st day of February and I find that the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], not a Republican, but one in political accord with this Administration, followed in the line of the suggestions made by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PLUMB], and expressed his gratification that this resolution had been introduced recognizing that there were evils which demanded attention. I read one or two extracts from the speech of the Senator from Alabama. He said:

"The clerical force to do this work has not kept pace with the increase of all mail-matter carried over our lines, nor have the salaries that belong to the inferior officers in the service of the Government of the United States been increased sufficiently to enable them to do this additional amount of work."

Again he said that we not only ought to increase the pay, but we ought to provide for the increase of the number of these postal clerks.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] said:

"Mr. President, I should like to say a word, if I may be allowed. I have looked into this matter with some care of late, and I am glad that the resolution is offered, and hope it will be adopted, because it is going to develop a great many things."

Again he said:

"I hope all this will be gone into and developed, and then let us do something which will make the service good and efficient."

Here is pretty fair Democratic recognition, it seems to me, that the present service is bad and inefficient; and it is not that we desire to censure the present Post-Office authorities, but because we want to remedy these existing evils, that we press this matter. The Senator from Texas, authorized so to do by the Post-Office Department, in his speech delivered yesterday spoke of the complaint that was made by Mr. Rounds, who at the time of his death was one of the proprietors

and one of the editors of the Omaha Republican, a Republican journal published in Nebraska. I do not think that Mr. Rounds in this presence needs anything in the way of indorsement. Every man here knows him from personal association with him to have been a truthful, honest man. I read from a letter by him in which he complained of the difficulties under which his journal labored along with other citizens of that town. I am told that all the foundation there was for that complaint was that some young men, three in number, one being discharged after another, who were employed by the Omaha Republican Company to attend to its mailing-list, had neglected to place the address on the wrappers of the newspapers, and they had been thrown in the waste-basket, and in that way had miscarried.

It is quite likely that that complaint was made, but that complaint was made on the 16th day of June, 1887. The investigation immediately followed, and the report from which the Senator from Texas read is dated the 6th day of July of that year. But the letter I called the attention of the Senate to and that I read in part was dated the 26th day of November, 1887, and this is the complaint that it made:

"Without any disparagement of our present post-office officials"—

And so we say here. We do not disparage the competency of the gentlemen who are in charge of the Post-Office Department; we do not attempt to give the reason for this abuse, but we enter our protest in this, as we claim, the proper place for the entering of such complaints.

"Without any disparagement of our present post-office officials, everybody knows and complains of the mail service here. Especially is this true as regards our paper, and, we presume, the others in this city, and we are in constant receipt of complaints from subscribers of the non-receipt or irregular and late receipt of their papers."

And I read a corresponding complaint from Mr. Hitchcock, the editor of the Omaha Journal, in which he said, after speaking of his own difficulties:

"What is true of the newspapers is true of bankers, wholesale merchants, and others having heavy mails. The service is abominable, but the postmaster is not to blame. He and his force are up to their ears in mail-bags, overwhelmed with work, and crowded into inadequate quarters."

AN OPEN LETTER—THE SHAMEFUL MANNER IN WHICH BUSINESS IS TRANSACTED AT OUR POST-OFFICE.

OFFICE OF THE H. P. HUBBARD COMPANY,
New Haven, Conn., October 10, 1888.

FRIEND BEN.: September 19th we wrote an important letter to the Providence, R. I., Dispatch, a new Republican daily; not getting any reply, we wrote again on the 24th. Patiently we waited until October 2, when, entirely out of patience, we telegraphed them for an answer, collect, thinking it was their fault. They answered, saying that they had not received either letter. We then wrote on the 5th, repeating our former letter, and, to make reasonably sure of their receiving it, we paid you 10 cents and registered it. Your receipt is dated the 4th (evidently an error), and yet, allowing this one day, how is it that it should take four days for the letter to be delivered to them? We hold the return registry card signed by them on the 9th. Omitting Sunday for rest, the highly intelligent reformer, to whom, in the line of your duty, you intrusted this registered letter, must have walked over, making an average of 68 miles a day. Has he returned yet, and is he tired?

I have not as much objection to the victors enjoying the spoils (while they can), but as a pure matter of business do seriously object to this sort of employés. The Department should appoint competent men, or else not discharge those who are faithful.

With great regret at the disorganized condition of the service, as evidenced by frequent blunders and delays,

I am yours, truly,

H. P. HUBBARD.

BENJAMIN R. ENGLISH, *Postmaster*.

I have received from a friend in Pasadena, Cal., a letter from which I read the following extract, the letter written to this party having been sent to Pasadena and returned reinclosed to them. I quote:

I regret very much that it [the letter] should have been so long in reaching me and should have made a fruitless trip across the continent and back. It is entirely due to our bad post-office here. About the time that letter came the state of our mail could hardly have been worse, and I think it really is a very serious drawback to living here. Only those people who had lock-boxes were sure to get anything, and they even missed letters and scarcely received any papers. The papers were just neglected and set about the post-office in sacks, and any one who wished or had the opportunity helped themselves to them. We have had a lock-box all the time, but a registered letter with the full address and box number on it lay in the office nearly a month before we received it. I am told it was even worse at San Diego, where the postmaster deliberately had several loads of unassorted mails carted off and dumped into the bay, because, he said, there was no time to sort it.

These are only samples of a few of the complaints that have come from the newspapers and individuals all over the country. I might fill the RECORD with them. At first the people complained, then they became angry, and at last the thing has become a standing jest, and the people use the United States mail as the standard of comparison for slowness, inefficiency, and uncertainty.

HOPES FOR THE FUTURE.

The record for the past thirty-five years proves that the hope for the highest measure of prosperity for the postal service lies in the success of the Republican party. The first important reduction of letter postage in this country was made less than fifty years ago, during the term for which General William Henry Harrison was elected President. At that time the postage on an ounce letter from New York to Pittsburgh was $1. In 1888 the Republican Presidential candidate, General Benjamin Harrison, is pledged by the platform upon which he was nominated to an effort to secure the carriage of an ounce letter anywhere within the wide extent of the country at a charge of 1 cent.

Such is the wonderful transformation of the postal service within two generations, and such the record of the two parties in the management of this great Department.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President——

Mr. DOLPH. I ask the Senator from Florida to give way for a few moments until I can put a question to the Senator from Iowa, who reported the bill.

Mr. CALL. Certainly.

Mr. DOLPH. I learn that there is an anxiety among some of the people on the North Pacific coast in regard to the provisions of the Senate substitute as to the tariff on coal. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa if the substitute puts coal upon the free-list in any form, and what the provisions of the substitute are in regard to coal?

Mr. ALLISON. I have had several inquiries in the same direction. "Coal-slack or culm of coal" is put by the substitute upon the free-list; but that is one of the mistakes of the measure, and really it should have been corrected before it was reported. However, it is the intention of the committee, at least of the majority of the committee, that coal-slack or culm shall pay a duty as now.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator explain what the article is that he now mentions?

Mr. ALLISON. It is refuse coal which passes through, I believe, a half-inch screen, by regulation of the Treasury Department; but it is difficult to distinguish between coal and coal-slack. The committee propose to put all coal upon the dutiable-list at the rate now provided by law—75 cents a ton for coal, and slack at 30 cents a ton, as now. I will say to the Senator that is one of the amendments the committee will propose when the bill is taken up by paragraph for amendment.

[Mr. CALL withholds his remarks for revision. See APPENDIX.]

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I have taken the floor upon the pending bill known as the tariff bill, and have brought my notes and documents here with the intention of making what is commonly called a speech, perhaps of an hour and a half; but I shall frankly confess, Mr. President, that I have not the courage. My heart fails me, and partly because my heart is in another place. I am to speak in Connecticut to-morrow night, and I think I belong there.

I am very glad this Senate tariff bill has been reported. I think it in the main a very good bill; perhaps the best first draught that was ever submitted to Congress. It is the result of diligent, I may say intense, labor for some months on the part of the Republicans of the Senate Finance Committee. It is the result of a search for information from all the sources they could think of best qualified to inform them. It is built upon a definite principle in the maintenance of the old doctrine of protection, which, excepting at intervals, broken at times for a short period by acts that resembled a free-trade tariff, has been the doctrine of the country; and also the doctrine of all the large civilized nations of the world with one single exception, and that exception is a country which can not possibly afford to adopt such a tariff. It is absolutely out of the power of Great Britain to make the protective tariff that we contemplate, because we have (what Great Britain has not) within our limits, somewhere between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the northern lakes and the southern gulf, nearly every possible element that is needed for the support, the progress, and the glory of the nation; everything in the mines, everything in the field, every textile fabric. All these things are laid before us, and the possession of these wonderful resources of this great variety of climate—this very possession of itself intimates a command from the Divinity that we should improve it and build up a great people here.

Our duty is at home as a nation, not in any narrow, contracted, illiberal, or unchristian spirit; but in a great and broad sense our duty is at home. No such task was ever laid upon a race of people or upon a continent as is placed upon us here.

Why, sir, we hear a demand that we shall seek a foreign market and not limit ourselves to the confines of our own land. Gentlemen forget that the marvelous growth of this country is such as to tax all its own marvelous powers. Seek a foreign market, sir! We shall bring into this country in this decade by the natural increase and by immigration a body of people equal in numbers to the whole of Spain. Sixteen or seventeen millions of people are coming here, being born here, to grow up here and have homes. Their houses are to be built, their furniture is to be built, the iron ware is to be furnished, their farming implements, their fences are to be put down, their churches and their schoolhouses are to be built, and their clothing is to be made, and all this is to be done for sixteen new millions of people between 1880 and 1890, and in the next decade it will be done for 18,000,000 of people. We need not be disturbed about foreign markets, neither need we be seeking for work to be done outside. We shall find foreign markets and work, but we have a great work at home.

We are reproached for the lack of a foreign commerce. We built in the year 1887, if Mr. Poor, an established authority, is to be accepted, 12,000 miles of railway. Our book of statistics says it costs $65,000 a mile to build and thoroughly equip a railroad. If that be true, and if it be true that Mulhall is right in saying that steam-ships cost from £16 to £24 per ton, then, accepting the highest of these figures, we find that the railways built in 1887 in the United States cost twice as much as all the steam-ship tonnage of Great Britain, and we have in one year a means of commerce that more than doubles the three millions tonnage of steam-ships which is the boast of that nation and the admiration of the free-trader.

That is where the resources of this nation go, where the savings and the earnings of this people go, to building up the nation. If by any legislation of ours we can erect such barriers, such dikes, such breakwaters as to protect our people, in all this grand transformation, from sudden inroads from without, from unjust and unwise competitions, it

is an obvious duty to do it. There is no Christian duty to-day resting upon us to leave our well-paid labor here open to the rush of illimitable quantities of goods from an overcrowded market dumped in upon us to the derangement of our industries. We are under no obligation to do that.

It is a misfortune, if you please, of many other nations that their people are ill-paid and ill-fed and ill-clothed; that they are not as productive, man for man, as ours. It is the inheritance from previous bad government. No matter from what fault or what reason, there are the facts. It is moreover a fact that you can not scale down the wages of the American to the wages of the European by any legal process or by any effort that man can put forward, because this nation, on this continent of illimitable resources, has great demands for labor, and will have for generations. There is a greater demand here than anywhere else, and the rewards of labor will continue higher than elsewhere. But yet a breaking down of our industries by legislation, by a reversal of the old legislation, would cause, undoubtedly, a lowering of those wages, while it could not bring them to the figure where they could successfully compete in foreign markets for a great many of the manufactures of the world.

We are nearer an honest and honorable trial of this great question than ever before. The jury is ready. Twenty-five days from this the question will be decided. The issue is free trade against protection, not frankly even now as I wish it to be made, yet I have in my eye at this very moment, in this Chamber, men who do not disguise it. Every free-trader in the United States understands perfectly on which side of this contest he belongs. The Free Trade League at its last annual meeting, in its resolutions, set forth almost precisely, indeed precisely, the course that has been pursued in the preparation of the Mills bill.

It is their programme for the advancement of the cause, not that we should undertake now directly to apply to ourselves the tariff which Great Britain has, but that we should sap and undermine by beginning, for example, with what some of them call raw materials, disregarding the fact that what is raw material to one man is the finished product of another, and that we shall begin also by an assault upon weak spots here and there that we may break and divide the forces of protection. For example, by making salt and wool free—making wool free in an endeavor to divide the manufacturing forces of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania.

So the issue is truly made. The question is whether we shall begin a course of entire economic reconstruction of the United States and pass through years of disturbance and readjustment. If the free-traders shall have their own sweet will by the possession of the executive and both branches of the legislative department, it is not to be supposed that they will begin with the British tariff. Indeed they would soon throw themselves out of power by that. Mongredien, one of the ablest writers in behalf of free trade, lays down the policy for a nation in our circumstances, if it is to undertake this economic revolution. He advises that it begin as the Mills bill begins and as the Free-Trade League advised, with one thing or a few things at a time, hoping that a change in that way might not be violent and permitting men released from one industry to easily turn themselves with their capital to another.

But, sir, as I said, I do not intend to enter fully into this argument. I am going where the jury is. The bill has been presented; its purposes and general character have been set forth by the authors of it. Those who desire to speak here upon it can do so, but the people are not looking this way nor caring much what we say or do now. No one supposes that the bill can be discussed item by item, as it must be and as its friends wish to have it discussed before the final vote is taken. That work must inevitably go over until December. It is my humble judgment that the best service that the Congress of the United States can do is to go home, and I do not think I am deserting duty by saying that, for one, I am going.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. President, I think the country is to be congratulated on the fact that in the pending political contest there is submitted to the people a great political issue which affects all the interests of the country, and which calls for the determination by the people themselves of the true principles which should govern in the levying and collecting of taxes for the support of the Government.

On the one side it is proposed by the theory of the Senate Finance Committee's bill to levy a tax upon the people of this country for the protection of domestic industries, and making the collection of revenue an incident and not the principal object of its collection. On the other side the proposition is that we shall levy and collect taxes for the support of the Government as provided for in the Constitution, allowing such protection as is incident to the collection of revenues for the support of the Government.

I am not prepared to say that if separately submitted I would vote for all the items in the tariff bill which was sent us from the House of Representatives, nor am I prepared to say that if separately submitted I would vote against all the items in the substitute bill of the Finance Committee of the Senate. But I do most earnestly approve the theory of the House bill which proposes to reduce the burdens of taxation on the people, and to reduce the surplus of revenue in the Treasury by reducing the rates of taxation on the necessaries of life. And I am as earnestly opposed to the theory of the Senate bill which proposes to reduce the surplus of revenue by reducing the tax on such luxuries as tobacco and whisky and raising the taxes on the necessaries of life, such as clothing, iron, steel, implements for use in agriculture and the mechanic arts, salt, lumber, etc., so as to exclude them wholly or in large part from importation and thus increase the cost to consumers.

I should have liked to present an analysis of these two bills and to call attention to the compound rates of duty imposed by the Senate bill, and to show how it increases duties above what is required by the present law and over those proposed by the House bill. But I can not do this unless I had tables reducing the mixed rates of the Senate bill to ad valorem rates. Such tables have not yet been prepared; nor can I now have time to make a satisfactory analysis of these bills.

I desire to express my preference, however, for ad valorem rates, which all can understand, to mixed specific and ad valorem rates which no one but an expert can understand, and which serves to hide from the public the extent to which they are taxed.

My principal object in the remarks I shall now submit is to make some reply to the remarks of the honorable Senator from New York [Mr. HISCOCK]. That Senator is one of the Senators who represent the most populous State in the Union, which contains much greater wealth than any other State in the Union, which controls a much larger internal and foreign commerce than any other State in the Union, which contains the great commercial and cosmopolitan metropolis of the Union, and in which is concentrated the great mass of the capital of this country employed in domestic and foreign commerce, in railroads, the telegraph and express business, in shipping, in mining, etc. He is one of the Senators from a State whose commercial and social relations are blended with those of the people of every other State in the Union, and whose commerce extends to every country on the globe. He is one of the Senators representing a State whose business and prosperity depend on the industries, commerce, and good will of the other States of the Union, and which is usually national and fraternal in its politics and organization.

In view of these facts we would naturally and reasonably expect those representing that great State and its vast and varied interests to be broad, liberal, national, and fraternal in their political views.

With the friendliest feelings personally for that Senator, and with a purpose to be entirely fair, I think it a duty to offer some criticisms on his speech of Tuesday last. In that speech he says:

> It is the same question that divided the North and South and incited a bloody and expensive war and the division is on the same agricultural and geographical lines. It is another great struggle on the part of our Southern friends for cheap and degraded labor and against the industrial system of our Northern States.
>
> There are several causes which have tended to increase the value of labor for the last twenty years in this country. The two most prominent are the manufacturing industries of the North and the abolition of slavery in the South. Democracy acquiesced in the latter, but is making its final struggle for the destruction of the former.

Further on the Senator makes the following statement:

> In this connection I refer to a startling feature of the Mills bill. I have before me a list of the principal products of the manufactories of the United States. The value and places of manufacture are taken from the census report of 1880, and doubtless there has been some increase since, but there has been little or no change in respect to the location or percentage of product in the respective States. I am assured. The list contains about one hundred lines of goods, all now protected. The aggregate value of the product for the last census year, 1879, was nearly two thousand million dollars. Of this amount less than 5 per cent. was manufactured in those States which composed the late Southern Confederacy, and a little more than 95 per cent. was manufactured and made chiefly outside of the States which contributed their quota to the Confederate service. This is a startling fact, but I have something still to add more remarkable. The Mills bill envelops them all within its cuttle-fish folds and provides a 38 per cent. reduction in the protection now afforded them by law.
>
> I have a table before me from which I desire to quote:
>
> Soap and candles, $26,260,792 worth made in the Northern States, and only $291,935 in value made in the Confederate States—placed on the free-list.
>
> Bags, other than paper, $9,635,300 worth made in the Northern States; $91,300 made in the Confederate States.
>
> Glass manufactures, $21,154,571 in value made in the Northern States; none in the Confederate States, and there is a reduction upon some of the grades or classes.
>
> Stone and earthen ware, $7,814,027 in value made in the Northern States; $129,702 made in the late Confederate States.
>
> Confectionery, a luxury, $23,880,672 in value made in the Northern States; $1,756,361 made in the late Confederate States, and a reduction of 20 per cent. of the duties or in the protection.
>
> Brushes and brooms, $10,272,527, the value of the products made in the Northern States; $288 328 made in the Confederate States; and a reduction from 20 to 33 per cent. in the protection.
>
> Iron-work, architectural (structural), $2,084,287 worth made in the Northern States, and $23,250 made in the Confederate States, and 11 per cent. reduction made by the Mills bill.
>
> Files, $2,486,533 worth made in the Northern States, and none made in the Confederate States, and a reduction of duty of 40 per cent. by the Mills bill.
>
> Nails and spikes, $5,629,240 worth made in the Northern States, none made in the Confederate States, and a 20 per cent. reduction made by our Confederate friends.
>
> Carriages and wagons, $100,463,044 worth made in the Northern States, and $4,278,292 made in the Confederate States, and a reduction of 14 per cent. made by their representatives.
>
> Furniture, $75,885,045 worth made in the Northern States, and $1,960,680 worth made in the Confederate States, and the Mills bill reduces the protective duties nearly one-half.
>
> Hardware, as classified in the census report, $22,644,793, worth made in the Northern States, and $8,900 worth made in the Confederate States, and a reduction of 11 per cent. is made by the Mills bill.
>
> But, Mr. President, I will not weary the Senate with calling attention to these various items.

Mr. HAWLEY. Will the Senator allow me to make a statement right there so

that it may go in in this place? I perceive that the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means which made up that bill is composed of Democrats from Confederate States in the proportion of six Democrats from Confederate States to two from Northern States.

Mr. REAGAN. If the Senator from New York will allow me, I desire to inquire in which class he puts the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri?

Mr. HISCOCK. I will say in reference to that that these products are largely in the Northern States outside of those States. The comparison I speak of here, however, is between the Confederate States and the others.

Mr. REAGAN. The aggregate, then, will embrace the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri?

Mr. HISCOCK. Yes, sir.

A word in reference to Texas. Perhaps it is proper that I should make this statement in view of the expression I shall quote from the remarks of the Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE]. We will take the products of Texas on this list. They are:

Brick and tile	$448,418
Carriages and wagons	301,800
Lumber, planed	456,600
Lumber, sawed	2,673,449
Oil, cotton-seed, and cake	276,450
Sash, doors, and blinds	416,500
Foundry and machine-shop products	532,778
Tin-ware, copper-ware, and sheet-iron ware	491,420

Of the products of those industries I have indicated Texas contributed $5,597,415 in value only.

Something has been said in respect to the constitution of the committee that reported the House bill. Texas was most prominently represented there, and the share she has had in the formulation of the bill it is unnecessary for me to refer to.

This statement is made by the honorable Senator to show that as the eleven States to which he refers, and which he designates as comprising the late Southern Confederacy, manufacture so little as compared with the other twenty-seven States that they ought not to have a potential voice in the enactment of laws regulating the duties on imports. It will be observed that the Senator excludes the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri from the list of Southern States, and adds their manufactures to those of the Northern States, doubtless for the purpose of showing the greatest possible disparity between the manufactured products of the Northern and Southern States.

These figures, so unfavorable to the Southern States, he tells us, were taken from the census of 1880, and he adds, "Doubtless there has been some increase since, but there has been little or no change in respect to the location or percentage of product in the respective States, I am assured."

To show that the Senator is not as well informed on this subject as he usually is, I present a statement showing the increase of population, the aggregate and the per capita increase of wealth, the increase in railroad mileage, in the number of manufacturing establishments, in the capital invested in them, in the number of employés in them, in the value of their products, in the value of mineral products, in the value of farm products, in the number of schools, the number of children who attend them, and in the expenditures for public schools in the Southern States between the years 1880 and 1888.

Items.	1888.	1880.	Per cent. of increase.
Population	18,942,858	14,639,714	29.4
Gross wealth	$3,240,774,722	$2,164,792,795	49.8
Wealth per capita	$171,111	$148,142	15.6
Railroad mileage	35,679	17,808	100.0
Number of manufacturing establishments	59,185	34,563	71.4
Capital	$426,597,000	$179,366,230	143.5
Number of hands	440,253	215,245	112.8
Value of products	$585,058,103	$315,924,794	85.4
Value of mineral products	$25,482,600	$3,347,445	760.6
Total value of farm products	$793,098,293	$611,697,048	29.7
Schools	62,038	45,031	37.8
Children in attendance	2,402,117	1,832,620	36.7
Expenditures for public schools	$11,742,.07	$8,415,706	83.2

Mr. ALDRICH. Will it interrupt the Senator from Texas if I ask him a question?

Mr. REAGAN. No, sir.

Mr. ALDRICH. I should like to ask the authority of the table he submits.

Mr. REAGAN. I will state the authority. I am indebted to the Washington Post of September 16 for this table, as copied from the New Orleans Times-Democrat. And the Post accompanies it with the statement that—

It is certain that in no other portion of the world has such a record been made in the past eight years as these figures contain.

I will state to the Senator that while I have not the papers before me, yet from having seen publications in the Manufacturers' Record of Baltimore, the table evidently came from that paper. It makes a specialty of collecting these statistics.

Mr. ALDRICH. I had a double purpose in asking the Senafor the question: In the first place, to find out the authority for an elaborate statement like that, which, if it could be made off-hand, would certainly save the country many million dollars in the collection of the census; and, second, whether he undertook to say, or was meant to be understood as saying, that the South had increased more rapidly in manufactures from 1880 to 1888 than the North.

Mr. REAGAN. I have no doubt it has.

Mr. ALDRICH. In manufactures?

Mr. REAGAN. Proportionately it has increased more rapidly. I mean the percentage of increase has been much greater in the South than in the North, in my opinion.

Mr. ALDRICH. Then the Senator's idea in making the statement is not to show that the South has suffered from a protective system?

Mr. REAGAN. That is not my object. The Senator may give that construction for his purposes if he chooses; but I made the statement to show that that increase has occurred in spite of a protective and oppressive tariff.

From the table I have presented it is seen that in that time the increase of population in these States has been 29.4 per cent., the increase of aggregate wealth 49.8 per cent., the increase of wealth per capita 15.6 per cent., the increase of railroad mileage 100 per cent., the increase in the number of manufacturing establishments 71.4 per cent., the increase of capital invested in manufacturing establishments 143.5 per cent., the increase of hands employed in them 112.8 per cent., the increase in the value of manufactured products 85.4 per cent., the increase in the value of mineral products 760.6 per cent., the increase of farm products 29.7 per cent., the increase in the number of schools 37.8 per cent., the increase of attendance in schools 36.7 per cent., and the increase of expenditure for public schools 83.2 per cent.

I desire, also, to present two tables copied from the Fort Worth Gazette of October 8, 1888, which were confessedly taken from the Manufacturers' Record. I desire to say in reference to that publication that it makes a specialty of obtaining information as accurately as it can as to the progress of manufactures in the Southern States, and I apprehend that it is reasonably accurate in its presentation of these statistics and facts.

The following table illustrates the increasing diversity of the new enterprises. We give the following comparison, showing the number organized during the first nine months of each of the last three years:

Enterprises.	First nine months of—		
	1888.	1887.	1886.
Iron furnace companies	15	26	8
Machine-shops and foundries	101	80	56
Agricultural implement factories	12	17	8
Flour-mills	114	98	71
Cotton-mills	59	59	9
Furniture factories	55	41	19
Gas-works	23	29	19
Water-works	73	65	21
Carriage and wagon factories	53	32	12
Electric-light companies	122	53	23
Mining and quarrying enterprises	361	444	114
Lumber mills, including saw and planing mills, sash and door factories, stave factories, etc	626	512	362
Ice factories	46	76	42
Canning factories	211	60	11
Stove foundries	4	3	5
Brick-works	128	141	43
Miscellaneous iron-works, rolling-mills, pipe works, etc.	28	56	16
Cotton compresses	35	33	11
Cotton-seed oil mills	23	15	3
Miscellaneous enterprises not included in foregoing	853	754	322
Total	2,942	2,594	1,175

Here is an increase in the first nine months of this year of 358 new enterprises compared with the same time in 1887, and of 1,767 compared with the same time in 1886.

Summing up the amount of capital and capital stock represented by our list of new enterprises and the enlargement of old plants for the first nine months of 1888 we have:

FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1888.

Alabama	$19,939,000
Arkansas	6,900,000
Florida	2,946,000
Georgia	9,388,000
Kentucky	22,101,000
Louisiana	5,259,000
Maryland	6,059,000
Mississippi	1,591,000
North Carolina	5,254,000
South Carolina	3,850,000
Tennessee	8,060,000
Texas	14,836,000
Virginia	8,929,000
West Virginia	5,703,000
Total	121,415,000

I know that it is the habit of gentlemen who rely upon sectional prejudices, and whose interest and disposition it seems to be to disparage the South, to try in every way to discredit the progress of that country. They need but look at the extent of territory there, the character of that territory, its resources, both agricultural and mineral, its water power, its genial climate, and that energy which has enabled its citizens to do what they have after utter prostration and poverty, to see that in a few more years the people of the South intend to command the respect of even the fanatics of New England.

When it is remembered that at the close of the war between the States, twenty-three years ago, those States were desolated by a most

destructive war, their social and industrial systems overthrown; that a very large proportion of their men, in the vigor of manhood, had fallen in battle or died of disease in camp or hospital; and that for about four more years they underwent a process of political reconstruction, which, under the manipulations of the military, provost-marshals, Freedmen's Bureau officers, camp followers, and lawless plunderers exhausted the most of what little property the war had left them, with a servile race, for the most part wholly unfitted for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, enfranchised and made the ruling class, the wonder to thoughtful men would be not that such a people were as poor as the Senator from New York would represent them to be, but rather that they had been able to reorganize society and re-establish civil government and make such wonderful industrial progress.

In reference to the poor figure the Senator makes Texas cut as a manufacturing State, if he had been as anxious to place her in a creditable light before the Senate as he seems to have been to discredit her enterprise, he would have recognized the fact that she is a new State, with no such accumulations of capital as exist in the older States; and a very little inquiry would have enabled him to ascertain that she is now the first cotton-producing State in the Union, produces about one-eighth of all the cattle in the Union, is now the first sheep-growing State in the Union.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator from Texas permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. REAGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOLPH. Did I understand the Senator to say that Texas was the largest sheep-producing State in the Union?

Mr. REAGAN. I will say to the Senator from Oregon that when the census was taken in 1880 California and Ohio exceeded Texas, but three years ago Texas had passed them in the race and had more sheep than either of them.

Mr. DOLPH. How many has Texas now?

Mr. REAGAN. Something over six million.

Mr. DOLPH. California has over six million, probably seven million.

Mr. REAGAN. The Senator has doubtless seen, as I have seen, from time to time, tables of this kind placing Texas ahead of all the other States as a sheep-raising State. Texas has more horses than any other State, except Illinois, and is steadily coming to the front in the production of corn and wheat, with farms of the value of at least $300,000,000; and besides these, has in money and land the largest school fund of any State in the Union or of any government in the world.

If the Senator had chosen to inquire he could have known that Texas cattle furnish a very large amount of the beef which feeds the good people of New York. And if he had chosen to consult the merchant princes of New York they could have told that their business was annually swelled by the receipts of the larger part of a million and a quarter bales of cotton, sent there from Texas, worth more than $60,000,000, and that Texas merchants buy probably more than that sum annually of merchandise in New York. And they would doubtless be able to tell him they have more respect for the people of Texas and of the South than he manifests.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] having interjected into the speech of the Senator from New York the statement which I have quoted, that the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, which made up the House tariff bill, is composed of six Democrats from the Confederate States—I am glad the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BLAIR] was not here to reprimand a brother Senator for using the term "Confederate States"—the Senator from New York proceeds as follows:

Something has been said in respect to the constitution of the committee that reported the House bill. Texas was most prominently represented there, and the share she has had in the formulation of the bill it is unnecessary for me to refer to.

I think Arkansas, as one of her Representatives was so prominent in the formation of the bill, should be referred to. That State manifestly should indicate the policy that should control or shape this country in respect to manufacture and protection. I have searched through this list and I find that Arkansas contributed of those products in sawed lumber $1,793,848 worth, and oil, cotton-seed, and cake, $590,000 worth, making $2,383,848 in value as her total manufacture of the products I have indicated. And Arkansas will be potential in shaping the financial or the economic policies of the Government if the House bill is accepted by the country.

A Representative of Tennessee has had something to do with the House bill. Tennessee made of brick and tile a little more than half a million dollars' worth; of carriages and wagons a little more than a million dollars in value; of foundry and machine-shop products a little more than a million dollars' worth. She furnished some lumber, some cotton goods, and the aggregate of her contribution to the volume which I have given is valued at $12,068,481.

West Virginia speaks through this same bill. The Senator from Texas has inquired whether she was represented in the list to which I have called attention. She is to the extent of having contributed $5,385,296 in manufactnred goods.

Georgia, I think, has done better than the others, for her people make some cotton goods, and with her cotton manufactures the aggregate is $15,083,046.

Kentucky contributed to more items upon the list than any other of the Southern States, and the total of her manufactures in these lines of goods (I do not speak of her whisky) amounts to $18,156,335.

I suppose whisky was not mentioned, because it contributed a very much larger revenue, and it would not do to credit the South with a larger revenue.

I have them aggregated together, so that I can give the figures here. The measure which was forced through the House and in favor of which the Democracy pronounce in the Senate was formulated by gentlemen who represent the States named, and by those gentlemen alone, I may say, for they had the control of the Committee on Ways and Means.

This, with what preceded and followed these remarks, could have had no other purpose than to raise a sectional issue and revive the passions and prejudices of the war, in the absence of and to supply the place of legitimate argument based on the respective merits of these two bills, and sustained by patriotic devotion to the best interests of the whole country.

It will be remembered that when the Senator from New York was showing how little manufacturing had been done in the late Confederate States he omitted the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and placed their products in his aggregates for the Northern States. Now, the Senator from Connecticut, in order to show that six of the Democrats of the Ways and Means Committee were from the late Confederate States, includes West Virginia and Kentucky among them, as there are only six members from all the Southern States on that committee, embracing the two from West Virginia and Kentucky, the other seven being from Northern States; and the Senator from New York accepts this new classification, because it aids his sectional view while it conflicts with his previous statement.

However misrepresentations might be allowable to deceive either enemies or friends in war, it is hardly to be expected of great statesmen in the most important and responsible positions when discussing a public measure for the benefit of a common country and Government.

The Senator from New York then presents the following table and statement:

They aggregate as follows:

Texas	$5,597,415
Georgia	15,083,046
Kentucky	18,156,335
Tennessee	12,068,481
West Virginia	5,385,296
Arkansas	2,383,848
Total	58,674,461

These States contributed of the manufactured goods enumerated in the schedule to which I have referred the value of $58,674,461 out of an aggregate of $1,867,392, and these Representatives assume to speak for the industries of the country, to shape the economical policy of the country, and to provide the markets for the wage-army employed by and capital invested in manufacture.

Here, again, the Senator from New York embraces West Virginia and Kentucky, but forgets to mention Maryland and Missouri, these two States having, as shown by the census of 1880, 195,111 persons employed in manufacturing establishments, while all the States named by the Senator had only 201,742 persons so engaged, being but 6,631 more than in the two States so omitted to produce sectional effect.

With no malice or unkindness of feeling, but for the purpose of subserving the ends of justice and fairness, I have made this criticism on the part of the speech of the Senator from New York to which it refers. His high position and the great State he in part represents made it necessary that his effort to influence the action of the Senate on so great a question by such questionable means should be exposed. What must be thought by fair-minded people, who feel a patriotic pride in the welfare of their whole country; and what must be thought by just people of the great State of New York, much the largest recipient of the commercial advantages and blessings of the whole Union, when they see that one of their Senators has employed appeals to sectional and war prejudices in order to influence the adjustment of a great economic question in which all the American people are equally interested without reference to the parts of the country in which they live?

The Senator from New York says:

It is the same question that divided the North and South, and incited a bloody and expensive war, and the division is on the same agricultural and geographical lines.

Can the Senator suppose any one but himself will believe this to be true? Its nearest approximation to truth consists in the fact that protection barons and millionaire manufacturing corporations are by our tariff legislation robbing all other classes of the people by the levy of an average tax on them for their benefit of nearly one-half the value of all the goods they buy of the kinds of taxed imports; and if this shall be continued it must in the end enslave the great mass of the people.

In the statement above quoted the Senator makes the implied admission of a fact which he and other protectionists have been trying to keep out of view—that is, that the interests of the agricultural States were different on this question from those of the manufacturing States. But he fails to draw the line between the two classes of States at the right place. If his hypothesis were true, then the States south and west of Pennsylvania would certainly be classed as agricultural States, while those north and east of that State might be classed as manufacturing States. But I submit that his whole statement is incorrect, and assert that the division of interests in this respect is not by State lines and sections of the country, but by vocations. The protected manufacturer, wherever he is, in whatever part of the Union, in whatever State he may be, gets his share of the unjust tax levied on all the other people of the country, whether they are in the South, the West, or in the East, and whether they be farmers, mechanics, artisans, laborers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, or preachers; and they extort this tribute from

their own employés and operatives just as they do from all others who are required to pay this monstrous tax on the necessaries of life.

Another fallacy presented, at least inferentially, by the speech of the Senator, is that the people of the States where but little manufacturing is done are not entitled to an equal influence in the determination of the tariff question with those of States where more manufacturing is done. This assertion, it is fair to presume, is made on the principle that the citizen who meets a highwayman has not as much interest in his money and watch as the robber has. But this monstrous doctrine is in full harmony with the essential principles and action of the protectionists, who maintain in effect that the more the masses of the people are taxed for the benefit of the few the richer they are, and that a tax unnecessarily collected, as is now done under existing law, of $600,000,000 a year off of the people at large for the benefit of the barons of protection, is a public blessing, resulting from the blessed beneficence of a protective tariff.

And this accords with the Republican policy as demonstrated in their acts of legislation and practices of exempting capital from its share of the burden of supporting the Government, and of levying upon agriculture and labor the tribute which is building up a class of millionaires and increasing the hosts of tramps and paupers.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Rhode Island appeals to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. REAGAN. Certainly; I yield.

Mr. ALDRICH. Do I understand the Senator from Texas to say that we are collecting $600,000,000 for the benefit of manufacturers in addition to the amount which is paid at the custom-houses?

Mr. REAGAN. I will give the Senator the exact figures, so that there can not be any mistake. I do affirm substantially what the Senator supposes, and I will show him the process by which I reach that conclusion, so that he may at his leisure make any criticism he may see proper, and see whether he can overthrow my position or not.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator from Texas will permit me, I will state my reasons for asking the question.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. REAGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALDRICH. I understand the Senator to say that $600,000,000 are added annually to the price of the domestic manufactured products of this country by the operation of the tariff.

Mr. REAGAN. No, I did not say that. I said much worse than that about it.

Mr. ALDRICH. What is the Senator's statement?

Mr. REAGAN. I do not know that I can turn at once to the statement that I made on the 16th of August, but I there show the amount of imports for the year ending the 30th of June last, the portion of those imports which are taxed, the portions which are not taxed, with the average rate of duty upon the taxed imports. I will read a few paragraphs from my remarks on a former occasion, which will answer the question:

> The value of our imports for the year which ended June 30, 1888, was $723,873,630. Of this sum the taxed imports amounted to $479,805,362; the remainder, $244,068,268, being imported free of duty. The average rate of duty on the taxed imports was 47.10 per cent. and yields a gross revenue of $225,988,225. Now, let us see what it costs the consumers of the country, the farmers, laborers, artisans, professional men, and others, to obtain this $225,988,225 of gross revenue. The value of manufactured products in the United States for the year 1880, as shown by the census, was $5,369,579,191. It is fair to assume that when we tax imports $47.10 on the $100 worth of imported goods this enables the makers of domestic products of the same kinds to add 47.10 per cent. on the dollar to the price of their fabrics, and still to undersell importers by the amount of the cost of transportation from foreign countries to this. This may not be strictly accurate, but it is near enough correct to illustrate the view I am presenting.
>
> A tax of 47.10 per cent. on the amount of our domestic manufactures of 1880 (and they are considerably more now) would yield $2,527,071,798 of revenue. But let us deduct $2,000,000,000 from the $5,369,579,191 as the assumed proportion our free-list bears to the taxed imports and we still have $3,369,579,191 of domestic fabrics of the kinds of our taxed imports. A tax of $47.10 on the $100 of this sum would show that to obtain $225,988,225 of gross revenue for the support of the Government from imports we are taxed $1,587,071,798, which does not go into the Treasury, but is transferred by law from the consumers to the manufacturers of these goods.
>
> But this sum should be reduced by the amount of a reasonable average tax, say 30 per cent. A tax of 30 per cent. on $3,396,579,191 would yield $1,010,873,757 of revenue. Deduct this sum from $1,587,071,798 and still the consumers of our domestic manufacturers would be unnecessarily taxed the sum of $576,198,044 a year. This is the sum annually transferred, according to this calculation, from the consumers to the manufacturers of these fabrics.

That is the answer I make to the Senator, with this additional statement, that I have placed it at $576,000,000. Most other statisticians—most statisticians, I should say, for I do not claim to be one—place it at at least $600,000,000. I have placed it at the lowest estimate of any one I have ever seen make the calculation.

Mr. ALDRICH. My purpose in asking the question was to get, if I could, some accurate statement from a representative Senator upon the other side of the Chamber as to the cost of the protective system to the people of this country. I understand the Senator from Texas to state it variously at $600,000,000, $1,600,000,000, and $1,800,000,000 per annum. He stated in the first speech from which he read, but which he asked the Reporter to omit as he thought he was reading from the later speech, that the amount would exceed $1,800,000,000 annually, being 47 per cent. upon four thousand million dollars' worth of manufactured products. In the next statement he makes it $1,600,000,000, but reduces that a thousand million as the amount which would be added by what he considers a moderate revenue tax.

My purpose in asking the question was this: If $600,000,000 was correct, that is only 10 per cent. of the value of our manufactured products instead of 47 per cent. If $1,800,000,000, which was the Senator's first statement, is correct, the people of this country under a protective system have been obliged to pay the manufacturers for twenty-seven years $1,800,000,000 a year. They have thus paid $48,600,000,000 since 1861, or $5,000,000,000 more than the whole wealth of all the people of the United States.

Mr. REAGAN. I do not know that I precisely understand the Senator's suggestion. The first estimate I made without making the deduction. I took $1,578,000,000 as the amount, and then deducted 30 per cent. upon the proportion of taxed imports.

Mr. ALDRICH. Why should we raise a thousand million by taxation, then?

Mr. REAGAN. I do not say that; I say we transfer. I say that in raising $225,000,000 for the Government we transfer, according to this calculation, $1,587,000,000 to the manufacturers, which does not go into the Treasury, and after deducting from this sum $1,010,873,757 as the amount of a tax of 30 per cent. on the $3,369,379,191 of manufactured fabrics, there would still be $576,198,044 unnecessarily transferred by law from the consumers to the manufacturers.

Mr. ALDRICH. Let me see if I understand the Senator. Do I now understand him to say that if we had a revenue duty with an average of 20 per cent. we should then put into the pockets of the manufacturers of the country a thousand million dollars?

Mr. REAGAN. No, sir; that is not my position.

Mr. ALDRICH. What is it then?

Mr. REAGAN. If we impose the tax upon three billion three hundred and odd million a year of the $5,300,000,000, we throw off two billion for the purpose of meeting the average of what would be the free-list.

Mr. ALDRICH. When it is a thousand millions, what is it deducted for?

Mr. REAGAN. The Senator, I expect, will have to look at the figures as I give them. A tax of 30 per cent. on $3,396,000,000 would yield $1,010,000,000 of revenue.

Mr. ALDRICH. Does not the Senator mean to say that if we had an average ad valorem tariff of 30 per cent. it would result in putting a thousand million dollars into the pockets of the manfacturers?

Mr. REAGAN. No, sir; it would simply result in saving to the people $576,198,044 of their own money that is now transferred from them to the manufacturers by law.

Mr. ALDRICH. As this is a matter of some importance and has been long a contested question, and we seem now to be on the point of arriving at some accurate settlement of the subject, I pursue the inquiry with perhaps what may seem a little pertinacity. I understand the Senator to say that under our existing tariff we do pay either $1,600,000,000 or $1,800,000,000, according as you assume the basis for computation.

Mr. REAGAN. I do not say that. The Senator will see when he reads my speech that I do not say anything like it. I say we obtain a revenue of $225,000,000, and to obtain that amount we levy a tax upon the people and transfer from them to the manufacturers $1,587,071,798 that do not go into the Treasury; but we simply transfer it from one class of people to another, without consideration.

Mr. ALDRICH. One thousand million dollars?

Mr. REAGAN. One billion one hundred and eighty-seven million seventy thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight dollars.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator please repeat the basis on which he places his deduction of $1,600,000,000 or $1,800,000,000, as the case may be?

Mr. REAGAN. I will ask the Senator to read my remarks. My statement was clear. He will certainly understand it, and I do not care to repeat over and over the statements I have made.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator from Texas allow me to put a question to him?

Mr. REAGAN. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I understand the Senator to say that for every dollar of a tariff tax there goes into the pocket of the manufacturer an equivalent if his manufacture is a protected article?

Mr. REAGAN. I assume that.

Mr. HOAR. I understand the Senator does; and he thinks there goes into the pockets of the manufacturers about $500,000,000 in that way, after making allowance for what ought to be imposed as a necessary and proper tariff tax, an average tariff tax.

Mr. REAGAN. Yes, that is the assumption I made.

Mr. HOAR. If there goes into their pockets in addition to that a similar sum for the necessary tariff tax (whether the tax is necessary to the Government would not of course matter here in considering how much you transfer to the manufacturer), then the Senator would make out a sum equal to about one thousand eight hundred million dollars, if I understand him correctly.

Mr. REAGAN. About one billion five hundred and eighty-seven million seventy-one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight dollars.

Mr. HOAR. The question I want to put is this: The manufacturing capital of this country in round numbers is three thousand million, or three billion dollars. So, according to the Senator's statement, there is transferred from the pockets of the people a sum equivalent, if it be $500,000,000, to 16⅔ per cent., or if it be a thousand million dollars and a little over, equivalent to 33⅓ per cent. of their entire manufacturing capital, saying nothing of their ordinary lawful, legitimate, and proper profits. Can the Senator explain how it is that if, since the high tariff of 1862 and so on, the manufacturing capital of this country has been getting in addition to all its lawful, proper, legitimate profit, a plunder from the people equivalent in one point of view to 33⅓ per cent. and in another to 16⅔ per cent. of their entire capital, the Government bonds all this time can be purchased and are greedily purchased at a rate which pays about 2.17 per cent.? Will the Senator explain that extraordinary fact?

Mr. REAGAN. I do not know that I comprehend the question which the Senator puts to me.

Mr. HOAR. I will repeat it. The Senator says that the manufacturers of this country, in addition to all lawful, proper, and reasonable profits, get in the way of plunder a sum of certainly $500,000,000, as he says, taking the sum which the Government ought reasonably and properly to have received of course. That would create an increased profit to manufacturers, whether the Government tax is proper or not, equal in one case to five hundred millions, and in the other equal to one thousand millions; that is, in one case 16⅔ per cent., and in the other 33⅓ per cent. of the entire manufacturing capital of the country.

I wish to know how it is that if since 1860 property invested in manufactures has been getting in this country as a regular and ordinary thing from 16⅔ to 33⅓ per cent. on the capital, at the same time Government bonds will realize in the market only a sum which will pay the purchasers about 2.17 per cent. interest? That seems extraordinary.

Mr. REAGAN. I think my proposition is a little misunderstood by the Senator. The only proposition which I made was that according to the basis of calculation which I made $576,000,000 more was collected under the present law than was necessary to be collected under a tax of 30 per cent.

Mr. HOAR. And that goes into the manufacturers' pockets?

Mr. REAGAN. I say that it is a transfer of that sum from the consumer to the manufacturer.

Mr. ALDRICH. May I trespass upon the patience of the Senator for one moment?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. REAGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALDRICH. If under a revenue tariff of 30 per cent. $1,000,000,000, according to the Senator's theory, would be added to the price of our domestic products, that would increase the cost of the manufactured products annually to this extent for the benefit of the manufacturers. If that is true, and if a revenue tariff would do this, I do not see any difference between a revenue tariff and a protective tariff as a system of robbery. It is only a question of degree. The legitimate, logical result must be that the Senator himself and every Senator who believes with him should be in favor of absolute free trade and the abolition of all custom-houses.

Mr. REAGAN. I do not know that I know what the Senator means by free trade. If he means a revenue tariff as contradistinguished from a protective tariff, then I want to be set down as a free-trader.

Mr. ALDRICH. In this particular case I meant the abolition of the custom-houses and of customs revenue absolutely; because if it would cost a thousand million dollars with a revenue tariff of 30 per cent. and cost a certain other amount if the duty were protective, I certainly should be in favor of a protective tariff; but I can not see how the Senator can be in favor of a revenue tariff if that is robbery to the extent of $1,000,000,000 to the people of this country.

Mr. REAGAN. The Senator has no choice in that. To talk about doing away with custom-houses is to talk about a thing that comes into nobody's mind, as there is universal assent to the collection of revenues necessary to support the Government by duties on imports. If the Senator means that, I suppose he will not find a free-trader in the United States, at least not one in a thousand certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. I used the term "free trade" in a very narrow and technical sense. Every country from the beginning of civilization to the present time has collected some part of its revenue from customs, and there is no such thing actually as free trade in that sense.

Mr. REAGAN. I am glad at any time to yield to any explanation or question of a Senator, but I should like to proceed now and close my remarks. I am very sure that I will never convince the Senator that it is not right to tax the farmers of Texas one-half the value of their purchases for the benefit of the manufacturers of Rhode Island. I could not convince him of that until I could convince him that he ought not to want more money than belongs to his people. He may convince me, because I do not profess to be an adept in things of this kind as he is.

HOME MARKETS.

The Republicans assume that a protective tariff is justified because it furnishes a home market for agricultural products; and to sustain this view they refer to the much larger amount of farm products which are consumed in this country than are exported to foreign countries. The mode of presenting that question is both illogical and misleading. The true criterion is not how much of agricultural products our people consume at home, but how much, after supplying the home market, we export. During the last fiscal year, after supplying all our home markets required, our people sent to foreign markets $523,073,798 worth of agricultural products. There was that vast amount more than our home markets required, which but for our international exchange of commodities would have been lost to the farmers of the country, and its loss would have bankrupted the whole country.

The Republicans tell us their policy for reducing the surplus of revenue in the Treasury is to reduce the tax on tobacco and on other articles not produced in this country, and to so increase the duty on such imports as compete with American products as to reduce the imports and thereby reduce the current revenues. This policy of restricting trade, of commercial non-intercourse with other countries, is against the enlightened spirit of the age, is a reactionary policy which would destroy our foreign commerce and ruin all classes of business men and people. A suspension of our trade with foreign countries for one year would bankrupt all, whether farmers, merchants, or manufacturers. We can not sell abroad if we refuse to buy. A partial suspension of our foreign trade would be injurious to all exactly to the extent to which it might be carried.

Even without foreign trade, if the Republican policy of making all we need at home were carried out, we can not increase our home markets by increasing manufacturing establishments, for the reason that by the stimulus of high protection our people have more money invested in manufacturing and more machinery employed in that business than are necessary to supply the needs of our own country; and on account of the high price of living and material in this country, created by a high protective tariff, our manufactured fabrics cost so much that we can not sell them in foreign markets, and so have no inducement to build more manufactories to increase the home market.

One of the results of the excessive investment in manufactories is that the mills can not be run on full time, and laborers are often thrown out of employment by shutting down these establishments, and they and their families are made great sufferers because glutted markets require the suspension of manufacturing.

It is urged as an argument in favor of protection that it has been the cause of a great increase of the wealth of the country. That each new manufacturing establishment is an addition to the wealth of the country is certainly true, just as it is true that each new farm or workshop or office is an addition to the general sum of property. It is also true that the diversification of employments tends to increase wealth. In these senses the claim that manufactures increase wealth is justly made. But the general assumption that the great increase of wealth in this country is due wholly or mainly to its manufacturing interests is not warranted, though certainly they have contributed their fair proportion to it. The increase of wealth in this country is due to many causes, such as—

First. The great extent of territory.

Second. Its great fertility.

Third. Its great variety of productions.

Fourth. The extraordinarily rapid increase of population.

Fifth. The boundless mineral resources of the country.

Sixth. The superior facilities for transportation both by land and water.

Seventh. The improvements in chemistry during the last half century.

Eighth. The improvements in the mechhanical arts.

Ninth. The improvements in tools and machinery.

Tenth. And of late years the large exportation of agricultural products and the large importation of gold in return for these exports.

Eleventh. Improved mechanical skill and improved organization.

It ought also to be said that from causes I have heretofore stated during this session, and need not now repeat, that this increase of wealth is not generally diffused among the people, but has to a large extent gone into the possession of the great corporations of the country or into the hands of a few rich men, while the great mass of the people have not increased their wealth, and it is pretty certain a majority of them have grown poorer during the last ten or twenty years.

Such a question as that of the revision of the tariff, which affects every business interest and vocation in the country, ought to be discussed with candor and fairness. So much of interest is involved and so many people are interested in it, and so much intelligence has been and will be brought to bear on it, that sophistry and deceit and misrepresentation must all at last give way to truth. And the mere advocates of special interests will have to yield to the matured and honest judgment based on facts, which will sooner or later settle this great question in accordance with the best interests of the whole people.

I was led into this reflection in considering the monstrous fallacy which Republican politicians generally are trying to get the American people to believe, and in which they have to some extent succeeded, that a high tariff secures high wages for labor.

That the manufacturing capitalists and their agents have threatened and do threaten their operatives with a reduction of wages if the tariff

should be reduced, in order to control their votes, is no doubt true; and that many of the poor workmen are made to believe their wages are to be reduced on account of tariff reduction is no doubt equally true. This is not the convincing of their judgments by facts and reason, but is plainly fraudulent intimidation and coercion.

It can not truthfully be said that the rate of wages depends on the rate of tariff duties. If this were so, and a given rate of duties on imports would secure to the manufacturer a net profit of 10 per cent. and which enable him to pay his operatives $1 a day, and the law should change the rates of duties so as to enable him to realize a net income of 30 per cent., he should pay them $3 per day. No such thing ever happened or ever will happen. The employer will pay his operatives the sum which the labor market requires him to pay. No more and no less, whatever the duties on imports may be. If there are more laborers seeking employment than are required by the factories, their wages will be low, whether the duties on imports be high or low. If the amount of labor is not sufficient to supply the demands of the factories the price of labor will be higher and the rates of duties will not in either event affect the wages of labor. All men know this to be incontrovertibly true.

If times are dull, wages will be lower. If times are prosperous, wages will be higher, without reference to the rates of duty on imports. If money is scarce, wages will be lower; if plentiful, they will be higher, and the tariff will not in either case affect them. Wages, like every other marketable commodity, are to a greater or less extent governed by the law of supply and demand. The every-day experience and observation of the operatives in the manufacturing establishments demonstrates to them the fact that the employers demand their services at the lowest terms they can be had for without reference to the tariff. Of late years they often strike for higher wages, or to prevent the reduction of their wages, and in many cases it has happened that their employers, who have so much love for them and so much care for their interest just now when their votes are needed, have turned them adrift and employed cheaper labor, imported under contract from the oppressed and starving populations of Europe.

It must require a great deal of cheek in protectionists to argue that the rates of the wages of labor depend on the rates of tariff duties, and surely none but the most stupidly ignorant will believe them.

The idea that manufacturers are so greatly interested in the increase of the wages of their operatives, which would of necessity reduce their own profits, must cause a broad and knowing smile on the face of each of them when he looks into the face of another, and no doubt sometimes leaves them in doubt as to whether their political or hired advocates are sincere fools or hypocritical cheats.

Much stress is laid on the necessity of protection to manufactures which will enable our manufacturers to compete with those of European countries. While the wages of labor are as a rule lower there than here, there are other circumstances which go far towards equalizing the conditions of manufacturers in the two countries. In the first place, we have unlimited raw material for most manufactures without the expense of importation, while the cost of transportation, commissions, etc., of foreign-made goods 3,000 miles across the ocean, and the cost of exchange, give our manufacturers a decided advantage over them, and especially so in all heavy or bulky articles.

Besides this, Senator EVARTS, when Secretary of State in 1879, in an official report as Secretary of State, and Hon. James G. Blaine, in 1881, in an official report as Secretary of State, basing their statements on the reports of our foreign consuls, tell us that American laborers work more hours than those of Europe, are more efficient, and produce a larger amount of commodities for a given amount of wages than the laborers of Europe. And they assume that this, with our advantages in the possession of raw material, goes far towards equalizing, if it does not equalize, the condition for manufacturing in the two countries. And these two distinguished men were then speaking as Americans and not as partisans desiring to control the result of an election.

I ought to have mentioned here (which I believe some gentleman has referred to) that if high tariff makes high wages, it becomes necessary to explain how it is that in Russia, in Austria, in Germany, and in France, with high tariffs, labor is so much lower than it is in what is called "free-trade England," a country with lower duties.

All things considered, it is safe to assume that such a moderate tariff as will insure sufficient revenue to carry on the Government, pay pensions, meet the interest on the public debt, and gradually extinguish its principal, would place our manufacturers at advantage over those of Europe.

The pretense that the advocates of a high tariff are advocating an American and that the advocates of a revenue tariff are advocating an English policy is an insult to revenue reformers and an outrage upon truth and decency. It is the merest clap-trap, based on fraud and deceit.

The policy of the Republican party on this question is in harmony with its history as a party. It boldly affirms the doctrine of protection for the sake of protection, and treats the collection of revenue for the support of the Government as an incident to the assumed constitutional power to protect domestic manufactures, by taxing the people nearly one-half the value of the articles they are obliged to buy, and thus impoverishing them, in order to exclude foreign manufactures from our markets, and to make millionaires of a limited number of men and corporations.

The policy of that party, from the time it came into power, has been to stimulate and foster class interests and monopolies of every kind, and to plunder the many for the benefit of the few. And it has at all times been faithful and true to that policy, except when a State and national political convention meets, or in speeches, not in action, in a session of Congress preceding a Presidential election.

On those occasions it is profuse in resolutions and speeches in favor of the interests of the people, and especially of the laboring people of the country. It is then the greatest friend and special champion of popular rights, so far as resolutions and speeches can make it their champion. But what measure of policy, what act of Congress, can they point to as their work, which is not for class interests and against the interests of the people at large, and especially against the interests of workingmen and women? And notwithstanding all their late pretensions to interest in the welfare of the people and of labor, I make the prediction, and call their attention to it now, that when the approaching election is over they will direct their efforts as usual to the building up of class interests and monopolies, and that we will hear no more from them about popular rights and the rights of labor until the coming of another popular election.

I have on former days of this session pointed out the class legislation and monopolies built up and sustained by Republican policy, and will not restate them now.

Their bold advocacy of protection for protection's sake is in plain, palpable violation of the Constitution. But they have never allowed this instrument to stand in the way of their policy of centralization, of promoting class interests and of plundering the masses of the people for the benefit of the few. The Constitution provides that—

Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises.

And the purposes for which they may be collected are specified, and according to the Constitution they can be collected for no other purpose, are specified in the same clause and in the same sentence of the Constitution, and are—

To pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

The words "general welfare of the United States" are held by the ablest and best expounders of the meaning of the Constitution to be not a separate grant of power, but rather a limitation upon the specific grants of power. If this interpretation of the Constitution is correct, as I believe it to be, where are we to find the power to pass laws for the protection of domestic manufactures? Certainly not in the power "to pay the debts" or "to provide for the common defense."

But independently of the question as to the absence of the constitutional warrant for such legislation, no principle is better settled in the State and Federal Constitutions and in the general policy of the country than that every citizen shall be protected in the ownership and enjoyment of his private property; and that he shall not be deprived of it except for public uses, and not then without just compensation. This right, with the necessary exception as to the taxes which must be contributed for public use, is hedged around and guarded and protected by many constitutional provisions, State and Federal.

A tax for protection is not to pay the debts of the United States, is not for the support of the Government, is not for the common defense, it is for no purpose for which we can impose a tax; but it is plainly and solely a tax to transfer the property of some private citizens to other private citizens arbitrarily and without compensation. It is to impoverish a part of the people by means of a law of Congress in order to enrich another part of the people by the same law. It is unwarranted, arbitrary, unreasonable, and unjust. It creates monopolies on the one side and destitution and oppression on the other. And its necessary outcome, if persisted in, will be to destroy our present system of Government and build up privileged classes and an aristocracy of wealth.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 6246) for the relief of Samuel Fels;

A bill (H. R. 9949) for the relief of Patrick C. McQueeny; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. DOLPH. I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

Mr. ALLISON. If there are any Senators who are ready to speak to-morrow we may as well have a session. If there are none, of course I make no objection to adjourning over.

Mr. DOLPH. I have made inquiry in reference to that matter, and I can not find that any Senator is prepared to speak to-morrow on the tariff bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASCO in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

The motion was agreed to.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had, on the 8th instant, approved and signed the act (S. 2411) for the relief of C. A. Williams and others.

PRINTING OF GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

Mr. COKE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. GEORGE. I ask the Senator to withdraw his motion for a minute that I may give a notice.

Mr. COKE. I withdraw the motion for that purpose.

Mr. GEORGE. I do not see any member of the Committee on Finance here, but there was a bill referred to that committee in which I feel some interest. I have been written to concerning it by a great many men who are in the interest of labor. The bill was passed by the House of Representatives on the 29th day of August, 1888, read twice, and referred to the Committee on Finance on the same day. It has not been reported. It is a bill "to provide for printing Government securities in the highest style of art," and it provides:

That from and after the passage of this act all Government securities, bonds, notes, and internal-revenue stamps shall be printed in the highest style of the art of plate-printing from hand-roller presses.

I desire to give notice that if that bill is not reported from the committee by Monday next I shall move to discharge the committee from its further consideration and ask that it be put on its passage.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business may be informally laid aside, and that the Committee on Finance may be discharged from the further consideration of the bill named by him.

Mr. GEORGE. No; I said I would make that request if the bill was not reported by Monday next.

Mr. SPOONER. What bill is that?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Will the Senator from Mississippi again state the title of the bill at the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. GEORGE. Yes, sir; it is a bill (H. R. 9623) to provide for printing Government securities in the highest style of art.

Mr. ALDRICH subsequently said: I understand that in my absence and in the absence of the chairman of the committee the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] desired to ask a question of some member of the Finance Committee.

Mr. GEORGE. Yes, sir. I gave notice that on Monday I should move to discharge the Committee on Finance from the further consideration of the bill which has passed the House of Representatives (H. R. 9623) to provide for printing Government securities in the highest style of art. That is a bill which requires such printing to be done by hand-labor and not by machinery.

Mr. ALDRICH. I will say that that bill upon its reception by the Finance Committee was referred to a subcommittee, consisting of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] and the Senator from New York [Mr. HISCOCK], who commenced an investigation of the subject which has not yet been completed, and they have not reported their conclusions to the full committee.

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Before submitting the motion of the Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE], the Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution from the House of Representatives; which will be read:

The resolution was read, and referred to the Committee on Printing, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed 5,000 copies each, in cloth binding, of the first and second annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor for the use of the Department of Labor.

REPORT ON PRODUCTION OF PRECIOUS METALS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following concurrent resolution from the House of Representatives; which was read, and referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the report of the Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals in the United States for the year 1887 be printed, and that 9,000 extra copies be printed, 4,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, 2,000 copies for the use of the Senate, and 3,000 copies for the use of the Director of the Mint.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 6246) for the relief of Samuel Fels was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

The bill (H. R. 9949) for the relief of Patrick C. McQueeney was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888 was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Printing.

INNOCENT PURCHASERS OF PATENTED ARTICLES.

Mr. GEORGE. I desire to call the attention of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] to a bill which was referred to the Committee on Patents some six or eight months since, and to which I called his attention about a month ago, to protect innocent purchasers of patent rights, and to ask him at what time we may expect the bill to be reported to the Senate?

Mr. PLATT. The Senator from Mississippi seems to be going for all the committees of the Senate this afternoon, I should judge. [Laughter.] I have not been able to report that bill yet, and it is probable now, with the Senate thinned to its present numbers, and the Senator from Mississippi knowing that I propose to go home to-morrow, that I shall not be able to report it at this session.

Mr. GEORGE. I simply desire to say that I feel a good deal of interest in that bill. I am not after the committees at all, but about a month or six weeks ago I called the attention of the Senator from Connecticut to the bill, and I think he promised to give it attention and report it at some early day.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. COKE. I renew my motion.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Texas, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After ten minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, October 15, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 12, 1888.

UNITED STATES CONSUL.

E. P. Earle, of Alabama, to be consul of the United States at Cognac, *vice* Oscar Malmros, appointed commercial agent at St. Étienne.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 12, 1888.

POSTMASTERS.

Lawrence Smith, at Gadsden, Etowah County, Alabama.
William R. Kelly, Fernandina, Nassau County, Florida.
Benjamin S. Chase, Natchez, Adams County, Mississippi.

WITHDRAWAL.

Executive nomination withdrawn by the President October 12, 1888.

PROBATE JUDGE.

J. R. Wilkins, of Beaver County, Territory of Utah, to be judge of probate in said county.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October* 12, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. BARNES, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. STOCKDALE, indefinitely, to commence on Monday, October 15.

To Mr. ANDERSON, of Mississippi, indefinitely, to begin on Monday next, on account of important business.

To Mr. ROWLAND, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. DUNN, for the remainder of the session, on account of bad health and important business.

To Mr. OSBORNE, on account of personal engagements.

To Mr. MCKENNA, indefinitely.

To Mr. HOLMES, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. HITT, indefinitely, on account of important business.

Mr. JACKSON. In that connection, Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask ten days' leave of absence for the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CHEADLE] on account of a desire on his part to visit his constituents. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr McMILLIN in the chair). Without objection the leave will be granted.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled bills of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same, namely:

A bill (H. R. 4601) to amend the naval record of Nickolas Leuschen, Peter Leuschen, and Loth Possum;

A bill (H. R. 9447) to restore certain money to the fund for erecting a public building at the city of Detroit; and

A bill (H. R. 10606) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln.

FOURTH OF JULY CLAIMS.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged report from a committee of conference.

The Clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee of conference of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill of the House 6514, making appropriation for certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the Treasury Department, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to the amendments made by the Senate, and recommend to their respective Houses the bill as amended.

W. J. STONE, of Kentucky,
JOHN B. PENINGTON,
G. W. CROUSE,
Managers on the part of the House.
JOHN C. SPOONER,
GEO. F. HOAR,
JAS. K. JONES,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I move the previous question on the adoption of the report.

Mr. NELSON. I should like a statement as to the amendments. A verbal statement is sufficient.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I will make a verbal statement. It is the usual 4th of July bill, carrying the appropriation for claims allowed by the Quartermaster's Department, and passed upon by the accounting officers of the Treasury. It passed the House and went to the Senate. There it was found that by a mistake in printing a small claim had been left out that had been allowed. That was included, and the Senate amended the bill by attaching another claim to it of the very same character.

Mr. NELSON. As that is all, I waive the request to have the statement read.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that it is customary to have the statement of the House conferees read.

The Clerk read the statement, as follows:

These amendments are agreed to by the conferees of the House because the claims covered have been exhaustively examined by the Committee on War Claims of the House and the Committee on Claims of the Senate, and the recommendations of the War Department, the Quartermaster-General, and Commissary-General have been adopted by both said committees.

As precedents for these amendments to this bill, the House agreed to precisely similar amendments in the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses.

The previous question was ordered, and under the operation thereof the conference report was agreed to.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, moved to reconsider the vote by which the report had been agreed to; and also moved to lay that motion on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Regular order.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. HOLMES. I ask leave of absence for Mr. J. R. BROWN, of Virginia, for ten days, on account of important business.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the leave will be granted.

There was no objection.

NAVAL RESERVE.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Will my friend from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] indulge me in asking the House for the privilege of assigning a day during the next session for the consideration of a bill which I regard as important, and which has the approval of all parties in the country. I ask it now as I am going to leave the city. I want to fix December 12 next for the consideration of the bill. It is for the organization of the naval reserve. I very seldom in any way interfere with the business of the House, and never but to promote its regular and orderly dispatch.

Mr. DINGLEY (to Mr. WHITTHORNE). There is no objection here.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio withdraws the call for the regular order, and I ask that Wednesday, December 12, be set apart for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 10622) reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs, being a bill to organize the naval reserve.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection?

Mr. KILGORE. What is the bill?

Mr. WHITTHORNE. It is a bill to organize the naval reserve. It has been reported unanimously by the Committee on Naval Affairs and has general approval.

Mr. KILGORE. There is very serious objection to having twenty or thirty men fixing the order of business here for the next session. I have no objection to the bill of the gentleman from Tennessee, but I have uniformly objected to that proceeding, and I would occupy an inconsistent position if I were to treat the gentleman from Tennessee in any way different from the manner in which I have treated other gentlemen.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Will my friend let me claim age and other personal reasons? [Laughter.]

Mr. KILGORE. Does anybody else want that kind of privilege?

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Nobody else wants to make a similar request. I have been impressed as far as any man could be by the gentleman's courtesy and by his urbanity and by every impulse he has exhibited for the dispatch of business.

Mr. KILGORE. Are you talking to me? Is all that for me?

Mr. WHITTHORNE. For the House and for you.

Mr. KILGORE. If there be no other objection, I will be willing, but as a general proposition I am opposed to days being set for bills in advance.

Mr. DUNN. Before consent is given I desire to know if the gentleman excepts from his order bills to raise revenue?

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Yes.

Mr. OATES. What is the proposition?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. WHITTHORNE] asks to fix a day, December 12, for the consideration of the bill for the organization of the naval reserve.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. What is the bill?

Mr. WHITTHORNE. A bill for the organization of the naval reserve.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The regular order is demanded.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman from Ohio will withdraw the demand for the regular order until I can obtain consent for the passage of a resolution to print the agricultural report for this year, and the report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor, which have not been printed.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I withdraw the demand for the regular order for that purpose.

REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

Mr. RICHARDSON. It is simply to make the usual order for the printing of these documents.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution, as follows:

Substitute for House joint resolution 203, a joint resolution providing for printing the first and second annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed 5,000 copies each, in cloth binding, of the first and second annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor.

The substitute was adopted, and the resolution as amended was ordered to be read a third time; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask that the original resolution lie on the table.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT FOR 1888.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I now ask consideration of the joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888.

The Clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee having considered the resolution to print the Agricultural Report for 1888, direct me to report the same back with the recommendation that it do pass.

The previous question was ordered on the passage of the resolution, and under the operation thereof the resolution was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

REPORT OF DIRECTOR OF THE MINT FOR 1887.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I now ask consideration of the resolution to print 9,000 copies of the report of the Director of the Mint for 1887.

The report (by Mr. RICHARDSON) was read, as follows:

The committee have considered the resolution and direct me to report the same back to the House with the recommendation that it do pass. The estimated cost of the printing is $2,484, taking the report of 1886 as a basis.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

PRINTING GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask consideration of the bill (S. 3162) providing for the printing of Government publications upon private orders.

The title of the bill was read.

The report (by Mr. RICHARDSON) was read, as follows:

The committee have considered Senate bill 3162, providing for printing of Government publications upon private orders, and direct me to report the same with the recommendation that it do pass. There are two sections in the bill. The first only changes the title of the person formerly known as Congressional Printer so as to make it conform to the existing law, wherein he is called Public Printer, and providing that when Congress is not in session the books may be published under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, which is also to

make the provision agree with the existing law. The new legislation in the bill is in section 2, which provides that at any time after books or documents have been printed the Public Printer may have printed from the stereotype plates in the Government Printing Office said books or documents for any person desiring the same whenever the number desired will justify putting the plates to press, the same to be paid for at the estimated cost thereof and 10 per cent. thereon, to be paid in advance. The section also provides for the Public Printer making proper report to Congress of any such sale.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, from the reading of that report I very much question the policy of this bill. To my mind, the present law is liberal enough in its provisions for permitting printing to be done at the Government Printing Office for private parties. Under that law any person who chooses can order any publication he desires while the publication is going through the press upon paying the cost and 10 per cent. in addition, and that is quite as far as we should go. It never was the intention, in founding the Government Printing Office, to permit any private printing to be done there. The idea was that, as the employés of the office and all its material are employed and paid for out of the Government Treasury, the work done should be for the benefit of the people generally and not for individuals, and for one, I have always deprecated the policy of permitting private parties to have any printing done there.

I think it is unfair to American printers and publishers who have large investments in plants of their own, who employ printers and bookbinders and pay them good wages, that the Government should enter into competition with them. The policy is entirely wrong, and while I suppose there have been reasons for permitting it to a certain extent, I certainly do not think it ought to go any further. There appears to be no necessity for passing a bill of this kind, and until we have a good, thorough investigation of the whole subject I think no such bill ought to pass. If there were an opportunity to curtail the amount of printing that is done at the Government Printing Office I should be one of the first members on this floor to favor such a reform. As I have already said, I think sufficient latitude is allowed by the present law which permits parties to get as many copies as they want of any Government publication upon paying 10 per cent. over the cost, and giving their orders while the work is going on, so that the Government shall not be put to the extra cost of keeping forms or any other expenses of that kind. I certainly am not willing to go beyond that, and I think the better plan is to lay this bill over for the present.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I shall not insist upon passing the bill at this time if the gentleman persists in his opposition to it after I have made a statement. This is a Senate bill which I understand has been passed by the Senate unanimously. The bill as it comes to us makes only this change in the existing law. At present any private party who desires extra copies of a Government publication by paying 10 per cent. above the cost to the Public Printer can have extra copies of such publication, provided he gives his order pending the printing of the document; indeed, I believe the order must be given before the document goes to press. Now, valuable Government publications are often put to press in the Government Printing Office before the public know that they are even contemplated, and this bill simply provides that after such a publication has been made, if any person desires to have it duplicated or to have extra copies printed, and if the number desired is sufficient to justify the Public Printer in putting stereotype plates to press again, he may do so upon the party paying the cost and 10 per cent. in addition. The only difference between this bill and the present law is that the bill would allow a new edition of a document to be printed, instead of requiring the order to be given before going to press.

Mr. FARQUHAR. That is exactly the policy that I utterly condemn. Let me illustrate the objection to it. Take for instance the Greely report. A Hartford firm has published that for a year or two past, but now that report is published by the United States, and under this bill any bookseller or any private individual could come in and use the United States Government Printing Office to put a new edition, an official edition, of that report into the market in competition with the edition of the Hartford man after he has gone to all the expense of printing the work and making his plates and all the other expenses incident to such an enterprise. I tell you, gentlemen, the very first opportunity that occurs I shall, as a printer and as a Representative, do my best to have a reform made in the Government Printing Office in this respect, so as to prevent the Government of the United States from entering into competition with private firms in the printing business. That policy has gone too far already. Originally when this 10 per cent. privilege was granted it was understood that it was only to be used for the benefit of the Departments and of members of Congress. It never was intended that the general public should come in and procure the Government publications in that way, and then go out and sell them as against private publishers. The policy is bad, and instead of being extended it ought to be curtailed. I am totally opposed to this bill.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I had not quite concluded the statement I desired to make.

Mr. FARQUHAR. One word more. Is the gentleman [Mr. RICHARDSON] aware that the publishers of this country by formal resolution, and the International Typographical Union, have condemned this policy?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I was not aware of it.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Well, they have; and they, as the men most interested, have a right to be heard.

Mr. HOLMES. I wish to ask the chairman of the committee [Mr. RICHARDSON] if it is not more important that the people of this country should be heard than the publishers?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I should think so. I should think that the people would have at least as much right to be heard on this question as the publishers who desire to make a profit out of them upon these publications. But, Mr. Chairman, to show the desirableness of such a law as this, take, for instance, such a publication as the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion. That is a very valuable publication, but it is hardly of sufficient commercial value to justify private parties in reprinting it. Now, it is possible that if such a law as this were passed, inasmuch as the Government Printer has the stereotype plates on hand, private parties having a demand for that publication in the trade would avail themselves of the law to have a new edition printed, and thus be enabled to supply the demand of the public outside of orders given to the Public Printer or the distribution made through members of Congress.

It seems to me it would be a great accommodation to the public to enable them to get books of that character in this way. I do not know that the Government Printing Office does work any cheaper than the printers and publishers of the country, but certainly the public would be accommodated by a law like this in cases such as that which I have suggested. However, I shall not oppose the bill at this time. It is a Senate bill; it did not originate in our committee, and I am perfectly willing to let it lie over, if the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARQUHAR] desires.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I do.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I will withdraw the bill and let it go upon the Calendar.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It will be referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

DISTRIBUTION OF CONGRESSIONAL JOURNALS.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I have only one other bill to present from our committee. I am directed by the Committee on Printing to report back favorably the bill (S. 2802) to fix the number of unbound and bound Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives, and to provide for their distribution. I ask that this bill be now put on its passage.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be printed of the Journals of the Senate 1,055 copies, and of the Journals of the House of Representatives 1,174 copies.

Of the Senate Journals there shall be bound 1,025 copies, which shall be distributed as follows: To the office of the Secretary of the Senate, 78 copies; to the Senate library, 36 copies; to the Senate document-room, 25 copies; to the Senate folding-room, 43 copies; to the House document-room, 337 copies; to the Department of State, 10 copies; to the Department of the Interior, 435 copies; to the Library of Congress, 52 copies; to the Court of Claims, 2 copies, and to the library of the House of Representatives, 7 copies. Of the Journals of the House of Representatives there shall be bound 1,124 copies, which shall be distributed as follows: To the office of the Secretary of the Senate, 78 copies; to the Senate library, 36 copies; to the Senate document-room, 25 copies; to the document-room of the House of Representatives, 348 copies; to the Department of State, 10 copies; to the Department of the Interior, 435 copies; to the Clerk of the House of Representatives (for governors of States), 123 copies; to the Library of Congress, 52 copies; to the Court of Claims, 2 copies, and to the library of the House of Representatives, 15 copies. Of the unbound Journals of the Senate there shall be printed 30 copies, which shall be distributed as follows: To the Secretary of the Senate, 6 copies; to the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, 5 copies; to the document-room of the House of Representatives, 5 copies; to the Public Printer, 4 copies; to the library of the House of Representatives (for file copies), 5 copies; and to the library of the Senate (for file copies), 5 copies. Of the unbound Journals of the House of Representatives there shall be printed 50 copies, which shall be distributed as follows: To the Secretary of the Senate, 6 copies; to the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, 25 copies; to the document-room of the House of Representatives, 5 copies; to the Public Printer, 4 copies; to the library of the House of Representatives (for file copies), 5 copies; and to the library of the Senate (for file copies), 5 copies.

SEC. 2. That all laws in conflict with this bill are hereby repealed.

The report of the committee was read, as follows:

The committee have considered the bill to fix the number of unbound and bound Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives, and to provide for their distribution, and report the same back with the recommendation that it pass. The committee herewith submit the report made to the Senate April 26, 1888, upon this bill by Mr. MANDERSON, showing the reasons for the passage of the bill, and make the same a part of this report.

"The Committee on Printing, having made full investigation into the matter stated in the foregoing title, recommend the passage of the accompanying bill.

"It was learned by your committee that there were more of the unbound Journals of both branches of Congress printed and distributed in signatures or parts, semi-monthly, than were needed, and hence the number has been reduced. Since the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD has been made so complete by its index there seems to be little demand for the semi-monthly issue of the Journals, the former containing the same information in better form.

"Your committee, by correspondence and personal interview, endeavored to ascertain the exact number of bound Journals required for the good of the public service and to meet every reasonable demand. The result of this investigation is presented in the bill. By a mistake in the revision of the United States Statutes of 1878, the number of bound Journals was increased 1,550 copies. There being no need of continuing this duplication of the usual number, it was deemed in the interest of economy to cut it off. Wherever the committee has found it possible to reduce the number of Journals printed under old law or custom by fitting the issue to the exact requirements, it has been done. The following

tables will show in convenient form the distribution of the number of copies of the Journals proposed to be printed in the bill:

Unbound copies in signatures.

	Senate.	House.
Office of the Secretary of the Senate	6	6
Office of the Clerk of the House	5	25
Document-room of the House	5	5
Public Printer	4	4
Library of the House (file copies)	5	5
Library of the Senate (file copies)	5	5
Total	30	50

Bound copies of Journals.

	Senate.	House.
Office of the Secretary of the Senate (for Senators)	78	78
Senate library	36	36
Senate document-room	25	25
Senate folding-room	43	43
House document-room (for members)	337	348
Department of State	10	10
Department of the Interior (for States)	435	435
Clerk of the House (for governors of States)		123
Library of Congress (for foreign exchange)	52	52
Court of Claims	2	2
Library of the House of Representatives	7	15
Total	1,025	1,124

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ALFRED PLEASANTON.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. MCMILLIN). On a former day of the session the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TOWNSHEND], and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] were appointed conferees on the part of the House upon the bill (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasanton with the rank and grade of colonel. Since that time the gentleman from Illinois and the gentleman from Iowa have left the city. The Chair therefore appoints in their stead the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON].

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. MCCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 7547) granting the right of way to the Yankton and Missouri River Railway through the Yankton reservation in Dakota.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment House bills of the following titles:

A bill (H. R. 2196) for the relief of S. T. Marshall;

A bill (H. R. 11107) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the Fort Smith and Choctaw Bridge Company to construct a bridge across the Poteau River in the Choctaw Nation near Fort Smith, Ark.;"

A bill (H. R. 11152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris; and

A bill (H. R. 11581) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House was requested, House bills of the following titles:

A bill (H. R. 2579) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Andrew J. Smith, late colonel of the Seventh United States Cavalry and a major-general of volunteers; and

A bill (H. R. 7935) for the relief and civilization of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments House bills of the following titles, requested a conference with the House on said bills and amendments, and had appointed as conferees on said bills respectively Mr. VEST, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. CULLOM:

A bill (H. R. 11262) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River and its tributaries by the Richmond, Nicholasville, Irvine and Beattyville Railroad Company; and

A bill (H. R. 11338) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Coosa River at Gadsden, in the State of Alabama.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolution of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 3348) for the relief of George K. Otis;

A bill (H. R. 3351) for the relief of Samuel Hein;

A bill (S. 3612) donating condemned cannon and small-arms to Naval Post No. 400, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Pennsylvania;

A bill (S. 3621) for the payment to the widow of the late Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite the balance of a year's salary; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 113) concerning the conference to be held in Washington December next to consider the best means of preventing the introduction of yellow fever and other epidemic diseases into this country.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The regular order having been demanded, the first business in order is the call of committees for reports.

Mr. LANHAM. I desire to submit a motion to dispense with that call, and will, as preliminary thereto, ask unanimous consent that gentlemen having reports to present may file them in the usual manner with the Clerk.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, that order will be made.

There was no objection.

FILING OF REPORTS.

The following reports were filed by being handed in at the Clerk's desk:

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS ON PRIVATE ORDERS.

Mr. RICHARDSON, from the Committee on Printing, reported back favorably the bill (S. 3103) providing for the printing of Government publications on private orders; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

I. T. HOUZE.

Mr. BLISS, from the Committee on Pensions, reported back with amendment the bill (H. R. 11571) granting a pension to I. T. Houze; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

E. C. PASCHAL.

Mr. BLISS also, from the Committee on Pensions, reported back with amendment the bill (H. R. 11566) granting a pension to E. C. Paschal; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

SELMA AND MERIDIAN RAILROAD COMPANY.

Mr. MASON, from the Committee on Claims, reported back favorably the bill (H. R. 4521) for the relief of the Selma and Meridian Railroad Company; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

JULIA A. NUTT.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, from the Committee on War Claims, reported back favorably the bill (H. R. 11580) for the relief of Julia A. Nutt, widow and executrix of Haller Nutt, deceased; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is now on the motion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] to dispense with the morning hour for the call of committees.

The motion was agreed to.

ALLEGED CORRUPTION IN REFERENCE TO LIBRARY BUILDING.

Mr. RICE. I desire to call up a privileged report—the report of the special committee appointed to inquire whether any member of the House of Representatives has by improper means sought to influence the action of the architect of the new Library building.

The report was read, as follows:

The special committee appointed in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 4th of September, instant, which directed said committee to inquire into and report to the House whether any member of the House, acting for himself or in concert and combination with others, has sought by persuasion, intimidation, or other corrupt and improper means to influence or control the action of Mr. J. L. Smithmeyer, the architect of the new Library building, in the selection, acceptance, or approval of interior or improper materials to be used in the construction of said building; and the further resolution of the House of Representatives of September 17, directing the said committee to inquire into and report to the House whether any member of the House, acting for himself or others, or in connection with any person acting for or in the interest of others, and with the knowledge of any member, or acting for or with the knowledge and in the interest of any company, person, or individual with whom any member of the House is interested or associated in any business, directly or indirectly, has sought by persuasion, intimidation, or any undue or improper influence to direct or control or influence the action of Mr. J. L. Smithmeyer, the architect of said building, in the selection or acceptance, or in procuring to be selected or accepted, material to be used in said building, or in the management, control, or construction of said building, beg leave to report that they have had the same under consideration; that charges were placed before the committee against Hon. WILLIAM G. STAHLNECKER, a member of the House of Representatives; that counsel in support of the charges and in opposition thereto appeared before the committee and were heard in conducting the investigation; that the sworn testimony of witnesses was taken, and the same is herewith submitted to the House, together with the charges above mentioned.

The testimony is very full, and the examination was given considerable latitude, greater, perhaps, than the matter at issue would strictly warrant in support of the charges.

The committee is unanimous in the opinion that the evidence does not sustain the charges, and there is no impression upon the mind of any member of it that Mr. STAHLNECKER is not fully exonerated from all charges of any improper attempt by persuasion, intimidation, or other corrupt means to influence or control the action of Mr. J. L. Smithmeyer, the architect of said Library building, in the selection or acceptance of any material to be used in the construction thereof, nor does his action in connection therewith in any way reflect or leave a shadow of suspicion upon his honor, or upon the dignity and honor of the House of Representatives.

They desire also to say, in conclusion, that they are satisfied from the investigation that the distinguished gentleman who offered these resolutions and set on foot this inquiry was actuated by the most honorable motives and a sincere desire to vindicate the integrity of the House of Representatives.

They recommend that the report, charges, and testimony be printed for the use of the House.

Mr. RICE. If no gentleman desires to discuss this report, I ask for a vote upon its adoption.

The question being taken, the report was adopted.

Mr. RICE moved to reconsider the vote by which the report was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, owing to the fact that it has been stated with great earnestness and positiveness by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] that no further business shall be done during this day, or perhaps during the remainder of the session—a sentiment which perhaps is joined in by other gentlemen—I shall not make the motion customary on Friday morning that we go into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of private business. Believing that the statements which have been made so earnestly in reference to this matter will be carried out, I move that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

Mr. HOOKER. Before the Chair puts that motion I beg to make a suggestion in reference to the course which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] indicates his purpose to pursue. We have heretofore on private bill day called the roll of members up to a certain point; and I think there ought to be no objection to completing the call. We have gone as far as the letter M or N; and I think it would be a very great hardship on gentlemen whose names have not yet been reached if we should not now complete the call. I do not see any reason why we should not go into Committee of the Whole in order to do so.

Mr. LANHAM. I fully appreciate what the gentleman from Mississippi has stated, and if the matter were left to me I would proceed in the usual manner. But the statements to which I have referred having been made, and I take it having been made in earnest, it would seem unnecessary to consume the time of the House if there can be no business done.

The present motion, however, does not interfere with that question.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. That does not interfere with the order for the evening?

Mr. LANHAM. Not at all.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Texas, that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I now desire to interrupt the gentleman from Texas for a moment. What the gentleman from Mississippi has stated is true, and it bears hard upon those of us whose names are lower down on the list. Our names have been nearly reached—those whose names begin with "O" [laughter]; we have been here for several Fridays waiting to be reached, and I have a little bill here which is of importance to one of my constituents, and I would like very much to have an opportunity of considering it.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, with a view to fixing the responsibility where it may properly rest, I will submit the motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar.

The motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, Mr. ROGERS in the chair.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I now ask unanimous consent that we may adopt the same order of procedure observed on last Friday; that is to say, that the names of members be called alphabetically, beginning where we left off on the last call of the roll, and as each member's name is reached that he may have the privilege of calling up one bill, the same right of objection by five members being permitted as has heretofore been adopted.

Mr. DUNN. I presume that means to take up the unfinished business, if that is adopted.

Mr. LANHAM. Of course that would have to come up first.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Is it understood that if a member calls up a bill when his name is reached and objection is made, he may have the right to take up another?

Mr. LANHAM. That would be a change in the order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is advised that the Nicaragua bill was before the committee at its last session and is the unfinished business.

Mr. LANHAM. I renew my request now, Mr. Chairman, that we may proceed in the same manner as heretofore, and that the same rule as to objection shall be adopted.

Mr. STOCKDALE. As I understand it, if a member calls up a bill and it is objected to, he then has the right to call up another.

The CHAIRMAN. That has not been the order heretofore. If a member withdraws a bill he has been granted the right to call up another; but if the bill is objected to, that right does not attach.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I ask unanimous consent that that order be adopted.

Mr. BACON. I understand that the last request, that of the gentleman from Mississippi, is one for unanimous consent.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in the nature of an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. BACON. But I presume that both require unanimous consent.

Mr. OATES. I hope the gentleman from Mississippi will not undertake to change the rule that has heretofore prevailed and which is fair to all members. No one gentleman ought to have an advantage over any other in that respect.

Mr. BACON. As I understand from the Chair, the request of the gentleman from Mississippi requires unanimous consent.

The CHAIRMAN. It was put in the nature of a request for unanimous consent, but is an amendment.

Mr. BACON. If unanimous consent is required, I object to it.

The CHAIRMAN. It does require unanimous consent.

Mr. BACON. Then I object.

Mr. McMILLIN. I wish to submit a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. McMILLIN. I believe this order would not interfere with the unfinished business?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands the Nicaragua Canal bill is the unfinished business, and would come up first.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

NICARAGUA CANAL COMPANY.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will now report the title of the unfinished business coming from the last meeting of the committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1305) to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua.

Mr. FULLER. What is the status of that bill?

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is pending to lay the bill aside to be reported favorably to the House.

Mr. DUNN. I understand the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] desires to offer some additional amendments, and if I may be permitted I yield to him for that purpose. The question before the committee was on laying the bill aside.

Mr. FULLER. I desire to be heard for a few minutes first on this question.

Mr. DUNN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. LANHAM. There was an amendment proposed by my colleague [Mr. CULBERSON] to this bill.

Mr. BAYNE. That was agreed to.

Mr. DUNN. It was adopted, and is now a part of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is advised by the Clerk that the parliamentary status of the measure is this, that the motion was pending to lay the bill aside and report it favorably to the House. The question was being taken on that motion, and upon it the gentleman from Iowa raised the question of no quorum. The parliamentary status of the bill, then, is upon that motion.

Mr. LANHAM. The amendment of my colleague [Mr. CULBERSON] had been adopted in committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It had been adopted, and the question was on laying the bill aside as amended.

Mr. DUNN. I hope now, Mr. Chairman, that no objection will be made to the motion to amend or to the privilege that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] asks, to offer amendments and to address the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of no quorum has not been withdrawn.

Mr. FULLER. I withdraw it temporarily until I can be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman withdraws the point of no quorum temporarily, and I would submit to the gentleman from Arkansas that the proposition to lay the bill aside with a favorable recommendation should be withdrawn.

Mr. DUNN. I withdraw it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be so ordered. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER].

Mr. FULLER. I call for the reading of the bill, and ask that it be printed in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The bill is as follows:

An act to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua.

Whereas to facilitate commercial intercourse by water between the Atlantic and the Pacific States, as well as with foreign nations, it is deemed desirable for the public interest of the United States that a ship-canal be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, on what is known as the Nicaragua route: Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That Frederick Billings, Charles P. Daly, Daniel Ammen,

Francis A. Stout, Horace L. Hotchkiss, Edward F. Beale, Hiram Hitchcock, C. Ridgley Goodwin, A. C. Cheney, J. F. O'Shaughnessy, H. C. Taylor, J. W. Miller, A. S. Crowninshield, A. G. Menocal, Charles H. Stebbins, T. Harrison Garrett, Jules Aldige, R. A. Lancaster, Alfred E. Mills, Gustav E. Kissell, Horace Fairbanks, George H. Robinson, Alfred B. Darling, Joseph E. McDonald, James Roosevelt, Christian Devries, Frederick F. Thompson, Henry A. Parr, and such other persons as may be associated with them and their successors are hereby constituted and created a body corporate and politic in deed and in law, by the name, style, and title of "The Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua," for the construction, equipment, management, and operation of a ship-canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, either entirely through the territory of the Republic of Nicaragua or through Nicaragua and in part through the territory of the Republic of Costa Rica with such collateral, connecting, or cross canals as may be necessary to connect therewith, and to exercise such other powers as have been conferred by the Government of Nicaragua by the concession of that republic to the Nicaragua Canal Association, through Mr. A. G. Menocal, its representative, and dated the 23d day of March, A. D. 1887, and finally approved by the legislative and executive authority of the Republic on the 20th, 23d, and 24th days of April, A. D. 1887, and such powers as the Republic of Costa Rica may confer of the same kind as those named in said concession; and the said Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua by that name shall have perpetual succession; may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended in all courts of law and equity within the United States; may make and have a common seal; and shall have and possess the rights, powers, and privileges usually possessed by similar companies. It may receive, purchase, hold, and convey such real and personal estate, property, and rights of property, or concessionary rights as may be necessary to carry into effect the purposes of this act (may issue stock to the amount of the value thereof in payment therefor, and the stock so issued shall be declared and taken to be full-paid stock and not liable to any further calls or assessments); may do all lawful things to secure the full enjoyment of the powers, privileges, rights, benefits, and grants contained in any canal concession so made by the Republic of Nicaragua or to be made by the Republic of Costa Rica, as aforesaid; and to aid in the construction of said canal and to carry out the purposes of this act, the said Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua is hereby authorized to issue its bonds, and to secure the same by mortgage on its property and rights of property of all kinds and descriptions, real, personal, and mixed, including its franchise to be a corporation. The principal office of said corporation shall be in the city of New York, and all legal process may be served upon the person who may at the time be in charge of said office or upon the attorney of said company, whose name and address shall be certified by the president of the company, and such certificate shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of State of the United States.

SEC. 2. That the capital stock of said company shall consist of not less than one million shares of $100 each, with the right to increase the capital stock to two million shares of $100 each, upon the vote of two-thirds of the stock of said company at any time outstanding, which shares shall in all respects be deemed personal property and shall be transferable in such manner as the by-laws of said corporation may provide. Five incorporators, who shall be chosen by a majority of the number from those named in this act, shall have power to open books of subscription to the capital stock of said company in the city of New York, and at such other places in the United States, Nicaragua, or elsewhere, as they may designate, who shall receive all subscriptions for stock; and no stock shall be transferable except upon the books of the company provided for that purpose. The said incorporators shall give thirty days' notice of the time and place of the opening of said books, by publication in one daily newspaper in New York City, and one newspaper in Managua, Nicaragua, and one in San José, Costa Rica, if the said canal should be in part in the territory of that Republic. Sixty days' previous notice shall be given of the payment required of the time and place of payment by publication in one daily newspaper in the city of New York and in one newspaper in Managua, Nicaragua, and one in San José, Costa Rica, if the said canal should be in part in the territory of that Republic; and in case any stockholder shall neglect or refuse to pay, in pursuance of such notice, the stock held by him may be sold to the highest bidder for cash, according to the regulations to be made therefor in the by-laws of said company. The directors hereinafter provided for may adopt regulations and by-laws not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 3. That the affairs of said company shall be managed by a board of directors, fifteen in number, who shall hold their office for three years and until their successors are duly chosen and qualified, and a majority of whom shall be citizens and residents of the United States. At the first election five shall be chosen by the stockholders for one year, five for two years, and five for three years, and at each annual election thereafter five shall be chosen by the stockholders for three years. The said board shall elect from its number a president, who shall be a citizen and resident of the United States, and one or more vice-presidents of the company, who shall hold office for such terms as the by-laws of said board may provide and until their successors are duly elected and shall have qualified.

SEC. 4. That for the management and disposition of the stock, property, estate, and effects of the said company the board of directors may make such by-laws, rules, and regulations as may conform to the authority granted in such canal concession or concessions, and not be inconsistent with this act or the laws of the United States or the existing treaty stipulations of the United States with the Government of Nicaragua or of Costa Rica, if the said canal should be in part in the territory of that Republic; and may fix the time for election of directors, and in case of vacancy in said board, caused by death, resignation, or otherwise, may fill the same. No person shall be a director who is not a stockholder, and any one ceasing to be a stockholder shall cease to be a director. All meetings of stockholders shall be held at the office of the company in the city of New York, and at least one such meeting shall be held in each year; but failure to elect directors on the day appointed by said by-laws shall not be deemed to dissolve said company, but such election may be holden on any day appointed thereafter by the directors first giving thirty days' notice thereof, in manner aforesaid. The directors, of whom eight, including the president, shall be a quorum, shall have full power touching the election or appointment of all officers of the company, and said officers shall hold office at the will and pleasure of said board.

SEC. 5. Nothing in this act contained shall be deemed or construed to in any wise restrict or impair any right of the United States under any treaty in force with the Republic of Nicaragua.

SEC. 6. That Congress shall at all times have the power to alter, amend, or repeal this act when in its judgment the public good may so require.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Chairman, I objected to the passage of this bill on last Friday because it was private-bill day, when it was understood that bills of no great and general importance should be considered, and for the further reason that only a few members were present, and I believed that a bill of this magnitude should be considered in full House. I also felt that the bill was too loosely drawn and did not have incorporated those safeguards which should be inserted in a bill of this kind. The object of this measure is a desirable one, and, in my judgment, of very great importance to the country. I know that there is a very general wish on both sides of this Chamber to pass a measure at this session of Congress looking to the building of the contemplated canal. I shall insist, however, on the adoption of certain amendments, which I deem necessary to protect the public who may have business connection with this organization, and if these amendments are adopted I shall not object to the consideration and passage of the bill.

I regret that only two or three members of the committee (Commerce) having charge of this bill are present. Owing to the multiplicity of questions presented for our consideration, and the utter inability for want of time to personally examine the merits of each measure, I have depended largely for information to aid my judgment in the discussion by the committees reporting bills. I especially regret that my colleague [Mr. ANDERSON, of Iowa] is not present, who is a member of the Committee on Commerce, for I am well satisfied that he would insist on material amendment of this bill before its passage.

The history of corporations in this country the past twenty-five years is more than sufficient to satisfy any legislator that no charter should be given to any set of men, I care not how high their business standing, unless there are careful provisions against stock-jobbing, watering of stocks, and putting worthless and pretended stocks upon the market. The people of this country have suffered so much in this regard hat in most of the States, especially the Western States, the Legislatures have iunisted, in the granting of charters to corporations, on the insertion of the most stringent provisions to guard the interests of those who invested in the contemplated enterprises.

I would call attention to the Iowa, Kansas, and Colorado laws upon this subject. It is not of the general order of legislation for Congress to charter corporations to do business and own personal and real estate on foreign soil. I am aware bills similar to the present one and the bill known as the Tehuantepec Ship-Railway bill have been before Congress, but while they have passed the Senate they have not become laws. Up to the present time Congress has insisted on inserting all the necessary safeguards in the charters, but for some reason they are left out of this bill, and about all the reason I have heard given for their absence is because the present incorporators are honest men. This will not do in legislation.

I find this bill provides that the directors may adopt regulations and by-laws; but there is no provision for the approval of the stockholders, no provision in reference to amendment of the same, or any provision requiring a notice of meeting of stockholders.

This bill does not require the making of an annual report by the officers of the company or any penalty for not so doing, or any punishment for knowingly making a false report.

I find no provision for the payment of certificates for stock issued nor to prevent capital stock paid in from being withdrawn or returned to stockholders or diverted from the use intended; nor any penalty for so doing.

No statute of limitation is fixed for subscriptions for stock and amount to be paid thereon, nor is any time fixed for commencement of the construction of the canal, nor any time fixed for expiration of corporation by limitation, if work is not commenced by a certain time.

The important and necessary provision absolving the Government from all pecuniary liability is left out of this bill; but heretofore it has always been insisted on being inserted.

I will now call attention to some amendments which I deem necessary to perfect this bill, and which I shall offer at the proper time. But first I desire to call the attention of the gentleman having charge of this bill to section 1, commencing on line 41, to the words "may issue stock to the amount of the value thereof in payment therefor, and the stock so issued shall be declared and taken to be full-paid stock and not liable to any further calls or assessments." I would like an explanation of these words when the gentleman comes to explain the bill, for I find, commencing with line 52, that for the purpose of constructing this canal the company is authorized to issue bonds. Is it proposed to pay for construction in both bonds and stock?

The first amendment is as follows:

The directors hereinafter described, with the approval of the majority of the stockholders, may adopt regulations and by-laws not inconsistent with the provisions of this act. But no amendment to or change in the by-laws shall be made except by a majority vote of the stockholders, either personally or by proxy, and at a meeting called for the purpose. At least twenty days' notice of any such meeting shall be published in a newspaper of general circulation in the city where the principal office of the company is located.

Is it not a proper and necessary safeguard to the stockholders that a provision should be incorporated to prevent the directors from changing the by-laws except by a majority vote of the stockholders and at a meeting called on published notice?

Second amendment proposed:

Said company shall annually, within sixty days from the 1st day of January of each year, make a report in detail, showing the condition of said company on the 31st day of December and exhibiting the following, namely: First. The amount of the capital stock of the company. Second. The property or assets held by the company. Third. The liabilities of such company. Fourth. The receipts of the company during the preceding year. Fifth. The expenditures during the preceding year. Said report shall be under oath and signed by the president and at least five directors of said company, and shall be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State of the United States. Said company failing to make and deposit said report shall be subject to a penalty of $10,000 for every month that said company shall continue thereafter to transact business.

Third. If said report shall be false in any material representation, all the offi-

cers who shall have signed the same, knowing it to be false, shall be jointly and severally liable for all damages arising therefrom.

Mr. Speaker, in my judgment no corporation should ever be organized by a legislative body unless it requires an annual report to be made of all its business affairs and showing its condition in detail. This is due to all investors, and if report is false a punishment should follow.

Fourth. That no certificates for stock shall be issued till at least 10 per cent. of the same shall be fully paid for in money at the par value of said stock, and the money deposited in the treasury of said company; and said stock so subscribed shall not be assignable until the whole of the same shall have been so paid in; and no payment on account of the capital of said company shall be made except in money; and said company is hereby prohibited from returning or repaying any part of the money so paid. No bonds in excess of the amount of capital paid and received shall be authorized or issued until such paid capital shall amount to the sum of $5,000,000. No part of the capital stock paid in shall be at any time withdrawn or returned to the stockholders or in any manner diverted from the proper uses of the corporation. Every person violating or aiding in the violation of the foregoing provision shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Stock should be bona fide and represent something and have a value, and no pretended payment for stock should be permitted. It should not be huckstered about and traded for jackknives. It should represent the value of the property. You can not build a canal on wind or paper. A corporation should not be permitted to mortgage until there is a cash investment made on the part of the stockholders. Nor should the capital stock paid in be diverted into other channels, as in case of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. If such a provision as this had been incorporated in that bill, the scandals and crimes connected with the Credit Mobilier would have been avoided. It matters not how national the objects sought to be accomplished, or how high the personal and financial standing of the incorporators, the legislative body should in granting a charter protect the public from a misappropriation or improper use of the stock.

Fifth. That if stock to the amount of ten millions of dollars shall not be subscribed, and 10 per cent. thereof actually paid in, before the expiration of two years next after the passage of this act, or if the work of constructing said canal shall not be actually commenced before and be in progress at the expiration of four years next after the passage of this act, the said corporation shall be deemed to have expired by limitation, and all its franchises and privileges shall be deemed to have absolutely ceased and become determined.

It has been the rule for years in chartering corporations by Congress to insert a provision of this kind. It prevents the too frequent practice of obtaining a charter for the purposes of trade and merchandise. It gives the company four years in which to commence construction. In a company where capital stock is one hundred million it seems clear that requiring ten million of stock shall be subscribed and 10 per cent. thereof paid in is a provision which should be insisted upon as an earnest that the company is bona fide and means to take hold of, build, and finish this great enterprise.

Sixth. That nothing in this act contained shall be held or construed to in any manner involve the United States in any pecuniary obligations whatever, other than in respect of the payment of tolls as provided in this act.

This is a very important amendment. In the Forty-ninth Congress the substance of this amendment was incorporated by the Senate in the Tehuantepec Ship-Railway bill and also in the Maritime Canal Company charter. I know it is said by eminent authority that the United States assumes no liability without this amendment, but wise men differ. The chairman of the Judiciary House Committee (very high authority, in my opinion) thinks a liability is created by the terms of the present bill. In any event, it is a proper provision to insist upon, and it clearly defines the status of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt but that this great necessity to commerce will soon be completed. The time has arrived, in this day of wonderful progress and enterprise, when the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific will be united at or near the Isthmus of Panama or Nicaragua. Capital in aggregated form is seeking all the known recesses of the earth for investment, and the business men of America will not permit this great project to fail which promises such a rich return on the investment. The progress of civilization the last twenty-five years is almost beyond comprehension. One of the greatest achievements of modern times was the building of the Suez Canal. The proposed enterprise is equally of as great importance. It is a necessity to the age.

The discovery of Bessemer, invention of the compound (steam-ship) engine, telegraph, and telephone have in a great degree annihilated time and space, and the time is fast approaching when no country or set of men shall have a corner or monopoly in the products and markets of the world. No country can in this day of progress maintain or sustain itself with a Chinese wall about it, as has been intimated on this floor. True progress and development does not depend on iron-clad laws and restrictions, but on the virtue, integrity, and industry of the people. I trust this bill will be so amended as to protect the public, and that this great project will soon reach its consummation.

In case the foregoing amendments are adopted I shall interpose no further objections to the passage of the bill.

I understand that the bill is now before the committee for amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. It is.

Mr. FULLER. Then I offer the following amendment.

The Clerk read the amendment, as follows:

Strike out all after the word "company," in line 30, section 2, and add to said section the following: "The directors hereinafter described, with the approval of the majority of the stockholders, may adopt regulations and by-laws not inconsistent with the provisions of this act; but no amendment to or change in the by-laws shall be made except by a majority vote of the stockholders, either personally or by proxy, and at a meeting called for the purpose. At least twenty days' notice of any such meeting shall be published in a newspaper of general circulation in the city where the principal office of the company is located."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Chairman, I simply desire to answer what I think was a covert thrust made by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] at the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. ANDERSON], who is absent. If I clearly understood what the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] said, he intended to convey the impression that Mr. ANDERSON, who is now absent, should be held somewhat responsible for inconsiderate action on the part of the Committee on Commerce in not having incorporated in the pending bill the amendments which he has proposed. I am not responsible for the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. ANDERSON], who is absent, but I merely wish to say in defense of him and the Committee on Commerce in general, that no doubt he was actuated by the action of the Republican members of the Senate, who, under the leadership of Senator EDMUNDS, the leading Republican lawyer of that body, passed the bill practically as it was reported from the Committee on Commerce.

For myself, I desire to say that I regard the amendments offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] as eminently judicious, and I shall vote for them, although I shall vote against the passage of the bill in its present position. The amendments which the gentleman suggests simply remedy some few of the radical defects of the bill. There are other defects in that bill which I regard as of such importance as to compel me to vote against the bill. I therefore shall vote for the amendments, but I shall reserve to myself the privilege of voting against the bill.

Mr. BAYNE. Vote! Vote!

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose, and Mr. MCMILLIN took the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. MCCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had passed a resolution authorizing the printing of the annual volumes of the astronomical observations of the Naval Observatory for 1886, 1887, and 1888.

The message further announced that the Senate had passed a resolution authorizing the printing of 50,000 copies of the fourth annual report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, for the year 1887; and requested the concurrence of the House therein.

MARITIME CANAL OF NICARAGUA.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman, I will say that I am not physically able to discuss this question if it were desirable to do so, but I do not think the House feels that there is necessity for an elaborate discussion. We all know and feel that we may safely accept a question of simple law coming from the distingushed Senator who is understood to have scrutinized carefully and mainly to have draughted this bill—I refer to the distinguished Senator from Vermont, Mr. EDMUNDS. All know his purity, his ability, and his great skill; and we know his entire freedom from all disposition to make improper and unsafe concessions to corporations. This company does not seek aid of the Government either directly or indirectly by grant or implication. They simply ask a charter. They desire the prestige of a national charter, granted by the Congress, enabling them to avail and to utilize the great and magnificent concessions made by the Government of Nicaragua to this company. Many of the points which have raised the apprehension of my friend from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] have been guarded and protected by the articles of concession from the Nicaraguan Government to this company. They guard against improper squandering and disposition of the stock of the company or the properties which that government grants to the company; and if there is any apprehension in the mind of any gentleman at all that this Government may by omission or laches of any kind be involved in any liability, or grant unrestricted power to this company, I will be glad for him to show it and to offer an amendment that will protect against it, for I am as far from desiring to do either of these things as any gentleman of the House can be.

I look and I may perhaps be dazzled by the magnificent prospect that lies before us, and the grand results which I foresee from the achievement of this great enterprise, the final great master-work in engineering that now remains to make the whole world close neighbors and to expedite and facilitate the world's commerce as has never been done before. The construction and opening of this canal will multiply the tonnage not only of this country, but of the whole world, by three, without the building of another ship. It will more than triple the capacity of the tonnage of the world. No one can to-day estimate the magnificent results which mankind must reap from its fulfillment. Therefore, if gentlemen have apprehensions, I beg that they will present such amendments as will relieve their own minds, and then let us

give to this company the small, naked privilege of availing themselves of this great concession, so as to go on and complete the last great remaining work of commerce and civilization.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, the object of this measure will doubtless meet the approval of every member on the floor of this House, and of the entire country. The only question is whether the bill contains proper safeguards for the protection of the public. One of the greatest burdens laid upon labor in this country is that it has been obliged, and is obliged, under the system of incorporating transportation companies by the several States, to pay tribute largely to fictitious capital, capital which has never been invested at all. It is provided by the amendment which has been read that the stockholders of this company shall be required to pay in 10 per cent. of the capital, and, as I understand it, there is nothing requiring them to pay anything beyond that.

Mr. DUNN. The gentleman can not suppose that it would be possible to complete the work without paying for the stock?

Mr. RYAN. No; but I do suppose that it would be possible, by borrowing the money on bonds secured by mortgage, to complete the work without paying in more than 10 per cent. on the stock. I say such a thing is possible. Supposing that to be done, then the revenues derived from the canal must pay off that indebtedness and the interest upon it, after which the surplus would be devoted—to what? Why, to paying dividends upon the stock. Now, the question is whether this measure contains provisions to guard against the public being required to pay dividends upon capital only 10 per cent. of which has actually been paid in. Dividends might be declared upon the dollar of nominal capital when the capital really invested was only 10 cents. I am not familiar with the details of this bill, and I do not know but it contains ample provisions to guard against an imposition of that kind upon the products of labor which must be transported through this canal. I ask my friend who has charge of the bill whether it does contain such a provision?

Mr. FULLER. I think I can answer the gentleman, so far as the amendment which I have offered is concerned.

Mr. RYAN. Well, I desire that information.

Mr. FULLER. The amendment which I propose to offer prescribes, first, that 10 per cent. of the capital shall be paid in money; next, that the money shall be deposited in the treasury of the company; that the stock shall not be assignable until the whole of the capital shall be paid in, and that no payment on account of the capital of such company shall be made except in money. Further, it prohibits the company from returning or repaying any part of the money so paid in. Therefore, if the amendment is adopted, the money must stay in the treasury. Then there is a further provision that the company can not issue bonds until $5,000,000 have been paid into the treasury. It seems to me that the amendment covers very fully the questions raised by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. That was a difficulty I had in my mind in relation to this bill. I think that point ought to be amply guarded; and if it has been, and other safeguards are adequate, I am entirely satisfied with the bill and shall gladly support it; but having only heard read the amendment of my friend from Iowa [Mr. FULLER], I am not clear that it does not adequately provide against watered capital. We all know that the several States that created our great transportation corporations were greatly at fault in not providing such safeguards in their charters. The result is, as everybody knows, that the labor of our country is taxed heavily to pay dividends on fictitious capital.

There is scarcely a line of railway in this country that is not represented by pretended capital from 25 per cent. to 300 per cent. in excess of what it would cost to duplicate the same line of railway. The products of labor are taxed by some of our great railways to pay dividends upon $90,000 per mile, whereas the same line could be duplicated at a cost not exceeding $25,000 per mile. We hear a great deal about the wrongs committed against labor, and yet this, the greatest of all wrongs, is rarely mentioned. It is a system of robbery as wicked as it is insidious. It is one which is likely sooner or later to be assailed with the irresistible fury of a plundered public. It is a wrong of such gigantic and far-reaching consequences that there is sure in the near future to come from the people an imperative demand for its complete eradication.

Then shall we sit here and create a corporation to which the commerce of the world must pay tribute without providing adequate safeguards against such a perfidious system? A large share of that commerce, it is true, will be the products of the labor of foreign nations, but a goodly share of it will be the products of American labor. I insist that Congress shall never again create a transportation corporation with power to carry on such a system of piracy against the labor of this country. Out of abundance of caution I shall therefore offer as an amendment to the amendment of my friend from Iowa the following:

And no dividends shall be declared or paid on the stock authorized by this act in excess of 8 per cent. per annum on the amount actually paid to said company upon such stock.

I am as anxious for this measure to pass as anybody. It is one of great public importance. But I am not willing to create this corporation without such restrictions in the charter as shall adequately protect the public.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Mr. Chairman, I have examined this bill to some extent, though not very fully, but I am not willing, in dealing with such an important measure, to take it simply upon the statement that the gentleman who drew it up and advocated it was very able, because I have sometimes found it to be the case that the more able and astute the gentleman is who frames a measure of this kind, the less the Government is protected and the more the corporation is benefited.

I do not want to be understood as saying anything against corporations in general or against this particular corporation, but to speak briefly of the merits of this bill as it is framed and before the House. No member on this floor is more heartily in favor than I am of the scheme for establishing some communication—or as many lines of communication as you please—between the two oceans so as to aid the commerce of this country. I concur in all that has been or may be said as to the great commercial advantages of the scheme; and I think the Gulf States will probably be the first to realize those great advantages.

The gentleman from Arkansas has spoken of the large and liberal concessions made by Nicaragua. That gentleman is a lawyer well enough versed in the law to frame a bill of this sort, or any other, and I regard his legal opinion with great respect. But I do not consider the concessions made by the Nicaraguan Government very large or very liberal, though they are large enough in verbiage. In those concessions it is provided that the vessels of war of all governments that may be at war with the Nicaraguan Government shall be rigorously excluded from passage through this canal or entrance to it. As the canal will be on the soil of Nicaragua, such a provision is well enough; but it does not stop there. There is provision for excluding the vessels of any country that may be at war with Nicaragua or any Central American republic. Taking the family of republics down there, it would be a very easy thing for a powerful government to produce a state of war between some one of them and the United States Government. A declaration of war by any one of them would stop our vessels. In matters of war diplomacy is not always conducted upon the broadest and most magnanimous scale.

A government at war sometimes has very great influence over smaller governments; and the state of war contemplated by this provision might occur by the smallest Central American republic being declared in a state of war with the United States Government, and that might be done at the instance of some great country which might be at war or preparing for war with the United States Government. Who is to determine what a state of war is? Some of the ablest lawyers in this House, when we had under discussion the proposed settlement of the French spoliation claims, differed in opinion with reference to the question whether there was or was not at the period when those claims originated a state of war between France and the United States. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] made a very able historical and logical argument to show that there was a state of war between these two countries, and that, therefore, the Government of the United States was not liable to pay those claims. Other very able lawyers argued, probably as ably and logically, that there was no war. All parties will admit that there never was a gun fired between France and the United States during all that time, and that no war was ever declared by either Government. A war may exist without a declaration of war (as it did between the United States and Mexico) until fighting had been done. But in the case of France and the United States war was not declared nor a gun fired; yet gentlemen have insisted—very powerfully, I think—that a state of war did exist between the two countries.

Mr. MILLIKEN. The court decided the other way.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I am informed by my friend that the court decided the other way; but I think the gentleman is mistaken, unless he refers to the finding of facts of the Court of Claims in finding the facts at the instance of Congress, and the findings of that court can not be cited as decisions.

Now, who is going to say whether war exists or not? Shall our vessels stand at the mouth of this canal on the one side or the other until it is decided by some court whether war exists or not? And what court shall decide it, a court of the United States or a court of some of those southern republics? Suppose one court decides that there is war, and another decides that there is not; then what? What power is then to determine whether this rigorous exclusion shall be enforced, whether our vessels shall go through the canal or hover at the two entrances and view vessels of other countries pass them? This bill does not contain one line in the way of provision by which this Government will have any power, authority, or influence to say who shall go through that canal. United States vessels might go to the mouth of the canal on either the Atlantic or the Pacific side, and the Nicaraguan Government might say, "Your Government is at war with some one of the Central American republics," and our vessels would have to wait until that question was determined.

There is no provision by which the Government of the United States can exercise any control whatever. It yields power entirely, so far as there is a yielding of power, to this company. There is no grant of power by the United States Government, I admit, except this act of incorporation. This Government has no territorial jurisdiction to

grant, no authority to grant or withhold such jurisdiction except as it may be involved in the general doctrine which the people of this Government have adopted and which is embodied as a part of its policy, to which all parties assent, that our Government can not allow that canal to be dug or a railroad to be built across the Isthmus without having some sort of control there; at least to the extent of having that line of communication neutral for the benefit of nations. That is as little as we could ask; and this is a very important concession if we intend to maintain the Monroe doctrine, for is it not the inevitable sequence of the action of Congress in chartering this company that we accept and acquiesce in and indorse all the provisions contained in these concessions, misnamed, of the Nicaraguan grant?

If this bill should pass and be signed to-day there is nothing in it which would prohibit this company from selling out to-morrow every dollar's worth of its stock to the Government of Nicaragua or England or Germany or Kamchatka or to any company representing any foreign government. The company must have its office in New York, it is true.

Mr. DUNN. All the prohibitions which the gentleman intimates are necessary will be found in the articles of concession of Nicaragua.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I think the gentleman is mistaken in that; but if he be correct, to whom does the Nicaraguan Government make these concessions? Not to the United States Government, but to this company. And Nicaragua may buy out the company to-morrow: England, Germany, Egypt, or any other country may buy it out to-morrow; if these gentlemen want to sell, and I apprehend that gentlemen who produce a scheme like this would be willing to sell out for a profit, if they get this charter. They are business men, under no obligations to anybody.

The concession of the Nicaraguan Government is to the company. It is not a treaty. There are treaties, but I am speaking of the concessions, that they are not in the form of a treaty with the government, but in the form of voluntary concessions to this company for the purpose of producing that canal.

Now, I say, Mr. Chairman, that a scheme of this magnitude I believe can be so hedged about, if gentlemen are anxious to build it, that the Government of the United States will have some right and some power to interpose its voice if it be undertaken to be established in a manner inimical to the United States either in war or peace, either in commerce or in reference to its prestige upon the high seas.

This canal will be a part of the high seas physically, or in practical effect on commerce, if it shall be built. Yet it will be controlled by a private corporation, by this charter over, which no government will have specific control except Nicaragua.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Let me ask the gentleman from Mississippi if the primary condition of things in reference to the proposed construction of the Suez Canal was in any respect different from what is proposed in reference to this Nicaraguan Maritime Canal Company? I should like to know whether a governmental guaranty is needed to initiate or complete the work intended to be built by this Maritime Canal Company. Is there any more necessity in this instance that the Government of the United States should guaranty this company than there was in the case of the Suez Canal by the French Government? Its stock without such guaranty was floated in the money markets of the world, and one of the grandest commercial successes in modern times was accomplished with no governmental guaranty, and with no special protection of the kind indicated.

Now, let me say to my friend from Mississippi—and I do not intend to make a speech—the Nicaraguan Government has gone as far as it can go, and I can not see why the Government of the United States——

Mr. STOCKDALE. I hope, Mr. Chairman, this speech is not to come out of my time.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I wish, then, the gentleman from Mississippi would state just what kind of guaranty he deems necessary in this matter.

Mr. STOCKDALE. The gentleman has entirely misunderstood me.

Mr. FARQUHAR rose.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi declines to yield further.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I am willing to yield for a question, but not for a speech.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I wish to know what guaranty the gentleman would have different from that in the case of the Suez Canal?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I am not discussing this project on the basis of the Suez Canal, and I did not say anything about this Government guarantying this canal. If the Government were to undertake to guaranty the construction of this Nicaragua Maritime Canal Company, I would myself vote against the bill.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I do not mean any money guaranty, but I refer to a governmental guaranty as to the protection of the rights of the company.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Let me ask the gentleman from New York how long after the construction of the Suez Canal, under the concessions of the Egyptian Government, Great Britain had the controlling interest in it?

Mr. FARQUHAR. The controlling interest is in the hands of the French.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Great Britain was said to have acquired the controlling interest in the Suez Canal, and, so far as I understand, holds that control to-day.

Mr. FARQUHAR. It may possibly so far as the money interest. I know the French shareholders had to lay down their stock on the English stock exchange. But that was not governmental interference. Neither the English Government nor the French Government, as a government, has anything to do with it. It may possibly be the majority money interest was transferred.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Certainly, and with that transfer obtained the control of the canal. It occurs to me that the gentleman's illustration is a very bad one. If there is anything in the constantly expressed and reiterated policy of the United States Government, it is that nothing of so great a value shall pass from under the control of the Government, or in reference to which they shall not have some part in the control of this great water way. The prestige of the United States in the western waters and over the continent of America is one of the tenets of American political faith. If there is anything on which the Government of England prides itself, whether it be tangible or intangible, it is the prestige of Great Britain upon the high seas. And if the Suez Canal was constructed upon concessions not materially differing from the Nicaraguan concessions, nevertheless the English Government took good care that Englishmen had control of that canal shortly after it was finished. And if we pass this crude bill based upon these skillfully drawn concessions, we will find England controlling this canal in the near future, and the people of the United States will point with derision at the record of the Fiftieth Congress in this matter.

And who does not know that the money control of a great improvement like that means in effect the physical and supreme control of it? There is the condition to which I object, and now——

Mr. FARQUHAR. Will the gentleman permit an interruption? In section 3 of the bill he will find that the control—if he means the national control or the nationality of the members comprising the board of directors—is fixed, for it provides that it shall consist of fifteen directors holding office for three years, and that a majority of them shall be citizens and residents of the United States.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I am aware of that.

Mr. FARQUHAR. And therefore I do not see how we can possibly go any further than that, except to make the whole board of directors citizens and residents of the United States.

Mr. DUNN. I desire to save the gentleman from Mississippi unnecessary labor on that point. The gentleman insists that the company can sell its stock and property to another government.

Mr. STOCKDALE. To any other person or corporation that it pleases.

Mr. DUNN. But you said that it could sell it to a government; that it could sell it to any government. Is that the proposition?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I will hear you.

Mr. DUNN. You will hear me to see if you can sustain the proposition.

Mr. STOCKDALE. No, sir; I will hear you to submit a question; not to present an argument.

Mr. DUNN. Has the gentleman read article 8 of the concession?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I have read all of the concessions.

Mr. DUNN. Article 8 of this concession from the Nicaraguan Government expressly controverts the position that the gentleman assumes, and would prohibit the action that he seems to apprehend. It provides as follows:

> The present concession is transferable only to such company of execution as shall be organized by the Nicaraguan Canal Association, and in no case to governments or to foreign public powers. Nor shall the company cede to any foreign government any part of the lands granted to it by this contract, but it may make transfers to private parties under the same restrictions. The Republic of Nicaragua can not transfer its rights or shares by selling them to any government.

Does the gentleman understand that there is an absolute prohibition against the sale of the shares or of the property to any other government or power whatever?

Mr. STOCKDALE. That is a prohibition of sale as to governments. But the gentleman must see that it is no answer to my position, notwithstanding the air with which the gentleman claims to give me information. They can not sell under the concessions to a government as a government, but will the gentleman undertake to say as a lawyer that they can not sell to the citizens of a government, or to any corporation organized by any government or under the authority of any government on the face of the earth? It precludes the sale to a government itself as a government, but not to a citizen, or to the citizens or corporations of a government.

Mr. FARQUHAR. But if they did sell to the citizens of a government they would not have governmental rights. They would never have such rights as a government. They would have simply the right of investment. I do not see how you can strengthen the matter beyond what this bill proposes in that regard. No sale of this property can give any power beyond what the concession from Nicaragua gives to this company.

Mr. STOCKDALE. But that is the very point. This concession is to the company and not to the United States Government, and if at any time the Nicaraguan Government desires to so change her con-

cessions as to allow sales to be made directly to other governments, she would only have to get the consent of the corporation and this Government could not interpose an objection.

Mr. DUNN. Will you make an amendment that will improve that portion of the bill?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I am willing to do that if time be allowed. But will the gentleman permit me to proceed now in my own way? I do not think that the floor belongs to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. DUNN. I am not claiming it.

Mr. STOCKDALE. There seems to be a great deal of impatience upon the right because I rise to discuss the question presented by this bill, which, on the information that I possess and on the best light that I can bring to bear on its construction, is a giving away of the rights of the American Republic to that prestige that it should have and has a right to claim on the high seas in that direction.

This is a concession of the Nicaraguan Government to this company, and the long reading of the article of concessions on the part of the gentleman from Arkansas, that they can not sell to any government, as a response to my argument is simply a begging of the question. They can sell to a corporation or to individuals of any government, and that was what I meant to say.

Mr. BAYNE. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. STOCKDALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAYNE. I understand you to concede that the bill might be so amended as to preclude the difficulties that you apprehend may arise?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I think it might be so amended.

Mr. BAYNE. That in other words the power rests in Congress to amend it?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I believe it does.

Mr. BAYNE. Now, has the gentleman read the fifth section of the bill?

Mr. STOCKDALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAYNE. That "Congress shall have at all times power to alter, amend or repeal this act"——

Mr. STOCKDALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAYNE. "When in its judgment the public good may so require?"

Mr. STOCKDALE. Yes; I am coming to that. There never was, Mr. Chairman, in my judgment, a more miserable catch-penny device inserted into any bill that went before an enlightened legislative body than that.

Mr. BAYNE. What? The reservation of the power to alter or amend?

Mr. STOCKDALE. What is the power? It is not the power to alter or amend only.

Mr. BAYNE. Oh, yes. I have quoted the language.

Mr. STOCKDALE. It is the power to repeal as well. I was about to add, I claim to understand the English language.

Mr. BAYNE. The bill itself provided that Congress shall have the power to alter or amend.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I do not say that that language is not contained in the bill. If the gentleman would do me the honor to listen to me with a little more patience, he would see that there is a very clear distinction in the point that I am trying to make. Congress by the sixth section of the bill reserves the power at all times to alter, amend, or repeal the act when in its judgment the public good may so require.

I say no company would invest a hundred millions with that saving clause in it, if they did not intend to sell out or transfer the stock so as to speedily put the company and the enterprise beyond the reach of the United States Government, where the repeal would not affect them.

I did not know that I would raise such a storm around me when I began to discuss the merits of this bill. Gentlemen seem to resent any infringement of it as though it were a child of theirs; but since the attention of the House has been called to this last section, I ask gentlemen on this floor who represent a constituency of business men if after they have granted these powers to the company, and after that company shall have gone on and expended a hundred millions of money—or after they have expended $200,000,000, as they have the right to increase the capital—by money or water, and if that company undertake to sell or do anything else with its property not inconsistent with the concessions of the Nicaragua Government and not inconsistent with this charter as it now stands, that Congress would have the temerity to go on and repeal the act and destroy their enterprise after they have, under the guidance or connivance of the Government, expended this large amount of money?

There is not a man on the floor who would vote to repeal the law as long as the company shall not act inconsistently with the bill or in violation of it. Laws may be repealed, and properly so; and I grant that the power exists here. There is no question about that. But the power to do a thing, and the good faith, the consistency, and the respectability of doing it, are two different things. I say that the powers proposed to be here granted will be on record to be read of all men, and will operate as an indorsement of the Nicaragua concessions, and the company will have the right to regard them as settled on the basis of good faith; for no respectable man can vote to repeal the law which would destroy their rights and property acquired under them, when the company shall have expended their money, unless they had violated the provisions of the bill or the concessions. That clause of the bill struck me with peculiar force, giving arbitrary power to Congress to repeal or alter a law, or to amend or change it, and thereby destroy the rights of property. But where is the policy of the Government expressed?

Mr. BAYNE. In the last section:

That Congress shall at all times have the power to alter, amend, or repeal this act when in its judgment the public good may so require.

Mr. STOCKDALE. That is a most singular proposition to come from a gentleman who represents a business community. These people who spend their money are not to be consulted at all. If the public good requires it then the owners are not to be consulted.

Mr. BAYNE. Oh, no.

Mr. STOCKDALE. That is what it says and means. What does it mean if not what it says? Who is to determine whether the public good requires the repeal of the charter? Why, this Congress is to determine it; and whenever it pleases it can determine that the public good requires the repeal of this law or the alteration or amendment of it without providing further to take any consideration of the interests of these parties who are to expend their money and construct this stupendous improvement; and this is another serious objection to the framing of this bill. What I said in answer to the gentleman is that Congress has power to make this bill as it ought to be, and should do so. I am not going into captious objections to it. If I was I would not make the remarks I have made.

I have not been an obstructionist and will not be now. I will abide by the vote of the House. But I believe that if this bill shall pass now, with all these powers in it and all these defects in it and these dangers in it—and every time gentlemen on the other side speak there is something new evolved to show that this company would be at the mercy of Congress under the power this last clause would give—that it will be disastrous to the success of this great enterprise of constructing that canal. For I say that in my opinion no set of men who have brains enough to have $100,000,000 are going to build a canal under such a provision as this, and particularly after this discussion of the powers of the Government as shown in this bill; and I doubt very seriously the good faith of the scheme when gentlemen say they will undertake to invest $100,000,000 on such a document as this. It is too uncertain, too vague, and too indefinite a document for business men to make an investment of $100,000,000 upon.

Therefore I say that men interested in such an enterprise as that embraced by this bill—and men who I am told control millions—if they will invest $100,000,000 on any such document as that under this concession of the Nicaraguan Government, it looks very much like a trading scheme or to get the United States Government committed to it and then proceed under the auspices of some other government. As I have said, these concessions can give no power, except so far as Nicaragua has the power to grant them, under that charter, and these people could sell to whom they pleased. They could sell to a citizen of Nicaragua their stock, notwithstanding the majority of the stockholders and the president also be citizens of the United States, and the general office may be in New York, and they may also have another office, or other offices, as they put it, in Europe or any other country.

The chief office may be where the president is; they may call that their chief office, and yet they may do all their business somewhere else and transmit it to the chief office. In other words, this concern, after being chartered by the Government of the United States, can pass out of their hands in less than a week, and the Government gives them the power to do what? Why, if I be correct in my understanding, it simply gives them the power to trade in the stock of this corporation which is to exist on paper.

Now, it may be said that that is harmless; but why should the Government of the United States do a thing simply because it may be harmless? This means something, or else these gentlemen would not want it, and I will tell you what I think it means to this Government. It means a giving away of power on the part of this Government to control or influence the construction of canals across the Isthmus, and when we do that we do not do a harmless thing. We do an extremely foolish thing when we raise up a barrier in our own way which will confront us when we undertake hereafter, as we may undertake, by treaty or by the advancement of money, to control the construction of a canal to connect the two oceans; and it is no argument to say we can escape this awkward attitude by an act of bad faith—the repeal of this charter after property rights have been acquired under it.

I do not think there has ever been any proposition relating to the crossing of the Isthmus, either by land or by water, which provided that the war vessels of the United States must stand at either end of the canal and wait if we shall happen to be at war with any South American republic. The Government of the United States is asked to charter this company, and if it does so, then I say that it can not, with any show of reason or justice, undertake to repeal that charter on the ground of public policy; and gentlemen who now advocate the passage of this bill would then cry out shame to the Congress that would destroy property rights that it had fostered and created. Whose public policy? The public policy of this Government?

We go to the governments of South America and of Europe and say, "Here is a charter providing for a canal across the Isthmus;" and then we turn around and say that that charter shall be repealed because of our public policy alone. Suppose we should repeal this charter after the company has sold out to some other country. What then? Why, we have marched up the hill, and can march down, if we choose. The company and canal will be under the protection of England or France. Who shall say when we are at war and when we are not? Who shall admit vessels to go through the canal when we are at war and who shall exclude them?

This bill ought to be amended, and if it can not be properly amended now, then, where there is so much at stake and so much difference of opinion, this House is too near the end of the present session and the attendance is too small to pass it. I do not mean by that remark that I am going to be factious or call a quorum, but I say the attendance in this House now is too small to consider and pass a bill of this importance. A few men are asked to legislate here upon a question that will affect every State and every hamlet in the Union, and they are asked to take this measure just as it is simply because the gentleman who framed it is very able.

I am, as I have said, as much in favor of the scheme as any man can be, and my constituents want it, but I want it and they want it on a basis that will be American, and with such concessions as will admit the United States to a voice in its control in the future; and it is because I am in favor of the canal that I oppose this scheme that will either defeat the building of the canal or exclude the United States from all participation in its control.

I hope to see the bill put in proper shape and passed and become a law, and I want to see the name of the United States in it somewhere; but I shall not be surprised at all if this company reject the charter and refuse to accept it whenever the bill is so framed as to retain to this Government any right to influence the action of the company.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent that all debate upon the pending bill be now closed.

Mr. RYAN. Will that include debate upon the amendment?

Mr. LANHAM. Upon the bill and amendments.

Mr. FULLER. There is only one amendment pending.

Mr. RYAN. I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER].

Mr. FULLER. The amendment to which the gentleman refers has not yet been offered.

Mr. RYAN. Well, I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment which the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER] proposes to offer.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent that all general debate upon the bill and amendments be now closed.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not understand that the gentleman desires to cut off the five-minute debate.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the bill and amendments be closed in ten minutes.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I object to that.

Mr. RYAN. I hope the gentleman will not undertake to cut off the five-minute debate.

Mr. LANHAM. How much time does the gentleman want?

Mr. RYAN. About five minutes.

Mr. JACKSON. I want about five minutes, if the gentleman from Texas pleases.

Mr. LANHAM. Then, Mr. Chairman, I move that all general debate be now closed.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER].

ALFRED PLEASONTON.

Mr. HOOKER. Mr. Speaker, before that amendment is voted upon, I ask consent of the gentleman having charge of this bill to let the committee rise for a moment in order that I may present a privileged report and have it returned to the Senate.

Mr. DUNN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HOOKER. I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose, and the Speaker *pro tempore* [Mr. MCMILLIN] resumed the chair.

Mr. HOOKER. Mr. Speaker, I submit a report from a committee of conference.

The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton with the rank and grade of colonel, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same.

CHARLES E. HOOKER,
D. B. HENDERSON,
JOSEPH WHEELER,
Conferees on the part of the House.

C. K. DAVIS,
F. M. COCKRELL,
Conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. HOOKER. I move that the report of the committee of conference be adopted.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that no statement accompanies the report, as the rule requires; but if there be no objection, the report will be accepted without it.

There was no objection.

Mr. HOOKER. I will simply say that the House passed a bill retiring General Pleasonton with the rank of colonel, but the Senate refused to agree to it, and finding the Senate conferees obstinate on that point, the conferees on the part of the House agreed to accept the Senate amendment.

The conference report was adopted.

Mr. HOOKER moved to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

MARITIME CANAL COMPANY OF NICARAGUA.

The Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calender resumed its session.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. FULLER].

Mr. MCMILLIN. Let us have the amendment again read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out all after the word "company," in line 30, of section 2, and add to the said section the following: "The directors hereinafter described, with the approval of the majority of the stockholders, may adopt regulations and by-laws not inconsistent with this act; but no amendment to or change in the by-laws shall be made except by a majority vote of the stockholders, either personally or by proxy, and at a meeting called for the purpose. At least twenty days' notice of any such meeting shall be published in a newspaper of general circulation in the city where the principal office of the company is located."

The question being taken on agreeing to the amendment, there were—ayes 23, noes 8.

Mr. TURNER, of Kansas, and Mr. LAWLER. No quorum.

Tellers were ordered; and Mr. TURNER, of Kansas, and Mr. DUNN were appointed.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 17, noes 5.

Mr. LAWLER. No quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. I move that the committee now rise.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman mean to have it understood by this motion that we are not to go into committee again to go on with the call of members for the bringing up of unobjectionable private bills?

Mr. LANHAM. As I have already said this morning, I believe it is the intention of some gentlemen here to prevent any bill being passed; that has been stated very deliberately.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I propose that we go on and test the disposition of gentlemen in reference to private bills which may be called up. There are a great many such bills which are unobjectionable and ought to be passed; and if we go on with the call of the roll in Committee of the Whole many of such bills may be considered. I do hope the committee will not rise.

Mr. LANHAM. But we are without a quorum, and the point is insisted upon.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. That call applies only to the pending bill, and I very much regret it, for I think it is a bill which should be passed. But, Mr. Chairman, there are individual citizens who are asking for legislation which can not be objected to.

Mr. LANHAM. How are we going to reach such bills when the point of "no quorum" is insisted upon?

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Other business may intervene and the question of no quorum may be waived.

The question being taken, the motion of Mr. LANHAM that the committee rise was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. MCMILLIN having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. ROGERS reported that the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, having had under consideration the bill (S. 1305) to incorporate the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua, had come to no resolution thereon.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. MCCOOK, its Secretary, announced that the Senate had disagreed to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1786) to regulate appointments in the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States; asked a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and had appointed as conferees on the part of the Senate, Mr. DOLPH, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. COCKRELL.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (H. R. 6514) for the allowance of certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the United States Treasury Department.

LEAVE TO PRINT.

Mr. RYAN. I ask unanimous consent to extend in the RECORD my remarks made to-day in Committee of the Whole on the bill in relation to the Nicaragua Canal.

There being no objection, leave was granted.

SAMUEL FELS.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 6246) for the relief of Samuel Fels, and that the bill be now considered.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Samuel Fels, of McCracken County, Kentucky, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $2,333.62 for tobacco purchased by him from an agent of the United States Government, and afterwards recovered and taken from him by the owner.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. DINGLEY. Let the report be read.

The report of the Committee on War Claims (by Mr. STONE, of Kentucky) was read, as follows:

That the proof in this case shows that the claimant purchased five hogsheads of tobacco from John E. Woodward, as sold by him under military orders of General E. A. Paine, then commanding the Western District of Kentucky, and paid said Woodward therefor $2,333.62; that on February 20, 1865, E. A. Lindsay, by his suit against Mr. Fels in the Jefferson County circuit court of Kentucky, established his right to said tobacco as the owner thereof at the time it was seized and sold by order of General Paine. The court decided that the orders of General Paine in seizing and selling said tobacco were illegal, and that no title passed to Mr. Fels; and the claimant was forced to and did pay the owner of said tobacco, E. A. Lindsay, its value, being $2,504.85.

Your committee are of the opinion that Mr. Fels bought (and paid for) said tobacco in good faith from the military authorities of the United States without notice of said Lindsay's ownership thereof or claim thereto, and that he should be reimbursed for the amount he paid for it.

Your committee report back the bill and recommend its passage.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I desire to ask the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE] how much of this money the Government received.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. Something over $2,300—the whole amount for which the tobacco was sold.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. The report does not show that that amount went to the Government; it says the tobacco was sold for that.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. The report does show that Mr. Fels paid $2,333.62 for the tobacco at a Government sale. Then the original owner of the tobacco brought suit against Mr. Fels in the circuit court at Louisville, and secured judgment against him for the value of the tobacco, $2,504, which Mr. Fels was obliged to pay, making nearly $5,000 in all which he paid for the tobacco.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. He paid this money, it seems, to somebody who sold the tobacco illegally; but is there any proof that the Government ever got the money?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. Yes, sir; this tobacco was sold by order of General Paine——

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. Oh, a great many things were sold during the war by order of somebody; but the question is whether this money was received by the Government.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. The Government did receive the proceeds of this sale.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. Where is the proof of that?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. With the papers in the War Department and upon the records of the court in Louisville, Ky. [Cries of "Vote!"]

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. JACKSON. I understand this is the sum paid to General Paine.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. It is.

Mr. JACKSON. And no more?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. And no more.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair hears no objection.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

BRIG TALLY-HO.

Mr. ROCKWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask by unanimous consent to call up for consideration the bill (H. R. 6757) to refer the claim of the owners of the brig Tally-Ho to the Court of Claims.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill and report will be read subject to objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted etc., That the claim of the legal owners of the brig Tally-Ho, her cargo and freight, and of personal effects on board her, alleged to have been sunk by collision with the United States steam vessel of war Pinta, on or about the 3d day of October, 1883, be referred to the Court of Claims, to hear and determine the same to judgment, with right of appeal as in other cases.

Whereas the legal owners of said brig, cargo, freight, and personal effects, or some of them, did, on the 29th day of July, 1884, file in said Court of Claims, in the case referred to said court by the Secretary of the Navy, and then numbered on the docket of said court Department case numbered 16, their petition setting forth their losses by said collision, and whereas evidence has been taken upon said petition, both by said petitioners and by the United States, and said evidence has been filed in said court, the claim above referred to said court may be heard and determined by said court upon said petition already filed therein, and the said evidence already taken and filed by either party upon said petition may be used and referred to in said hearing and determination of said claim in all respects as if originally taken and filed for the purposes of the hearing and determination thereof provided for by this act.

The report (by Mr. MANSUR) was read, as follows:

The United States steam vessel of war Pinta, on the night of October 3, 1883, collided with and sunk the coal-brig Tally Ho, off the coast of Massachusetts. The Navy Department ordered a court of inquiry, which on investigation decided that the war vessel was at fault. Thereupon the Secretary of the Navy referred the case to the Court of Claims for investigation under the provisions of the second section of the act of March 3, 1883 (22 Stat. at Large, page 485), commonly known as the "Bowman act." Whereupon the legal owners of the said brig on the 27th of July, 1884, filed in the Court of Claims their petition setting forth the loss of said brig by said collision.

Pending a trial of the case, and after much evidence had been taken and filed in the cause, the said Court of Claims decided in another case, also pending in said court, of a collision between a United States vessel and the schooner Abbie Pitman, which case had also been referred under the "Bowman act," that collision cases could not be referred to the Court of Claims under that act, and, consequently, that the court had no jurisdiction over the case of the Abbie Pitman (20 Court of Claims Reports, page 253). This decision will necessarily require the dismissal of the claim in the case of the Tally Ho, but the bill now proposed, if it becomes a law, will enable the court to take jurisdiction of that case and proceed with the hearing and determination of the same upon its merits, in the same manner as if the reference of the case to the Court of Claims had been authorized by an act of Congress before any proceedings had been had therein in said court, and will permit the claimants to use the testimony already taken in the case.

Your committee recommend that the bill do pass.

Mr. WASHINGTON. I will not object to this bill if the gentleman from Massachusetts will consent we shall go on with the regular call and when his name is reached he will not ask to call up another bill. I am on the list myself, and as it is made up alphabetically, I am low down, and my people would like to have a chance as well as others.

Mr. ROCKWELL. I am willing to agree to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. KILGORE. This vessel and cargo were supposed to be worth how much?

Mr. ROCKWELL. By reference to the petition filed in the Court of Claims it appears the amount is about $15,000.

Mr. KILGORE. I understand the proposition here is to make the Government liable in damages for the negligence of its employés.

Mr. ROCKWELL. The proposition is simply to send the matter to the Court of Claims.

Mr. KILGORE. I understand the proposition here is to establish the principle that the Government of the United States is liable in damages for the negligence of its employés?

Mr. ROCKWELL. Let me answer the gentleman.

Mr. KILGORE. I can not agree to that. If any such principle were adopted it would impoverish the Government.

Mr. ROCKWELL. Let me answer.

Mr. KILGORE. I will hear the gentleman's answer, but it will have no effect, as I shall object.

Mr. ROCKWELL. As the report of the committee shows, this claim was referred to the Court of Claims. It is a case where the United States steamer ran into a coal-barge and ran it down, and never stopped to see whether anybody was injured or not.

Mr. KILGORE. They should have been tried and put in the penitentiary.

Mr. ROCKWELL. The Secretary of the Navy thought the best way for him to get rid of it was to let the matter be referred to the Court of Claims.

Mr. KILGORE. The Government of the United States should not be held responsible for the negligence of its employés.

Mr. ROCKWELL. I confess that might be a fair argument to apply to the House in discussing such a question, and I should be perfectly willing to meet the gentleman at any time upon that argument. But it ought not to be applied, and should not interfere here. It should not interfere with the passage of a bill where the Secretary of the Navy says that the officers of the Government were themselves to blame, and where the court was unable to take jurisdiction under the Bowman act.

Besides, Mr. Speaker, this is by no means a new question. There have been several precedents for it. It is not a new thing. It has been done several times before, and I can cite to the gentleman several instances where Congress has passed similar bills of relief. It is not out of the way at all. It is a bill based upon the idea that where a Government officer has been so negligent as not to respect the rights of a citizen, then Congress steps in and says that the citizen so aggrieved shall have some remedy. The gentleman will hardly deny that there should be a remedy for such wrongs. We ought to have some such relief on our coast; you ought to have it on the coast of Texas. I think, therefore, in view of the facts, that there can be no reasonable objection to this bill.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to say to the gentleman that if Congress has done this before, then Congress ought to draw the line now. If it ever did it before, it has done wrong. It ought not to have passed any such bill. And another thing I will say to the gentleman from New York——

Mr. ROCKWELL. Massachusetts, if you please.

Mr. KILGORE. Massachusetts; excuse me. [Laughter.] Congress does not derive its authority to legislate from precedents, but it derives it from the Constitution.

Mr. ROCKWELL. I am perfectly willing to concede that.

Mr. KILGORE. And precedent does not have any effect upon Congress, and ought not to have any, except possibly in determining the construction of a doubtful clause in the Constitution.

Mr. ROCKWELL. I am perfectly willing to concede all of that. Now, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. KILGORE. Now, we can shorten this, as there are other people who want to have recognition to ask unanimous consent. I am bound to kick upon this thing. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Texas objects.

Mr. ROCKWELL. I trust then, in view of the action of the gentleman, that I will not be bound by any promise I have made when my name is called on the list, if we shall proceed in that order.

Mr. LAWLER was recognized.

Mr. LANHAM. I move, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. TAULBEE. Let me interrupt the gentleman to make a request before he submits a motion, which I presume is a motion to adjourn. I wish to ask consideration of a bill carrying only $60, two months' labor, to a man employed by the Government, and who the Secretary of the Treasury said ought to have been paid, and would have been paid, but Congress failed to provide for it.

PATRICK C. M'QUEENY.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair had recognized the gentleman from Illinois to ask unanimous consent.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I want to ask unanimous consent too. I have some bills here involving small amounts——

Mr. LAWLER. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 9949) for the relief of Patrick C. McQueeny.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The bill will be read subject to objection.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Patrick C. McQueeny, late sergeant Company B, Seventeenth Regiment United States Infantry, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $50, being for additional bounty due him.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. LAWLER moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled a bill of the following title; when the Speaker signed the same, namely:

A bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

BATTELLE & EVANS.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 506) for the relief of Battelle & Evans, and put it upon its passage.

The bill was read at length.

Mr. ROGERS. Let the report in that case be read, subject to the right of objection.

The report was read.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. RICHARDSON rose.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I object, unless there is some understanding in reference to what course is to be taken in regard to these matters.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. For what purpose does the gentleman from Tennessee rise?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I did not rise to object, but simply to state that I think we ought to go into Committee of the Whole and proceed in the regular order with the Private Calendar. Some of us whose names are on the list hope to be reached during the day.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman move to go into Committee of the Whole?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I do not.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It can only be done, as the gentleman is aware, by a motion.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I know.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, I will ask unanimous consent that when the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider business on the Private Calendar, the Nicaragua bill be laid aside, and that we may then proceed as heretofore determined upon.

Mr. KILGORE. I object.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I hope what I rose to say will not interfere with the consideration of the bill of the gentleman from Ohio which has been read.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. This bill does not take any considerable sum from the Treasury. It involves only a few hundred dollars, a small claim, going to a widow who needs the money badly.

Mr. HOOKER. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. Is it necessary that there should be unanimous consent to go into Committee of the Whole?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that no motion has been made to go into Committee of the Whole. The gentleman from Texas asked unanimous consent to lay aside the unfinished business in Committee of the Whole on which the point of "no quorum" was raised.

Mr. LANHAM. Because unless we can get rid of the Nicaragua bill there is no use of going into Committee of the Whole. It will confront us at once as soon as we go into committee.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill called up by the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I object.

Mr. WASHINGTON. I will have to ask the gentleman from Ohio to state that when his name is called, if we go on in the regular order, he will give up his right, or else I shall be compelled to object.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I desire to have my bill considered now; it will take but a moment, and I shall object to anything else.

Mr. WASHINGTON. If the gentleman will waive his right I shall not object.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I object.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I will waive the right to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. KILGORE. I do not understand the exact purpose of this bill or the amount it involves.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The bill will be again read.

Mr. KILGORE. That is not the information I want. The bill does not contain any information as to the amount involved.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. It involves a very small amount, to pay for hide and tallow. The beef was paid for, and this is only to pay for the hide and tallow.

Mr. KILGORE. How much?

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I can not say. A few hundred dollars.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have a case here in which the beef has not been paid for yet [laughter], and shall retain my objection until there is a unanimous agreement that the members be called if we can not go into Committee of the Whole for unanimous consent for the consideration of bills.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection?

Mr. KILGORE. I move that the House take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

The question was put, and the motion was not agreed to.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR]?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. There is objection.

Mr. TAULBEE. I would like to present a bill to pay a laborer $60 for work done which the Secretary of the Treasury would have paid but Congress failed to make an appropriation.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. TAULBEE] that a gentleman on the left of the Chair has been recognized, and there being objection to the measure called up by him the Chair will be compelled to recognize another gentleman on that side, as there have been recognitions on the right of the Chair. [Cries of "Regular order!"]

Mr. TAULBEE. I appeal to gentlemen on the other side to let this bill pass, as it only involves $60. It is for work done by a laborer, and the Secretary of the Treasury had not an appropriation to pay for it.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The regular order has been demanded.

Mr. TAULBEE. I ask the gentleman from Ohio to withdraw it for the purpose of considering this bill. [After a pause.] The gentleman has withdrawn the demand for the regular order.

Mr. RYAN. If the demand for the regular order be withdrawn we are entitled on this side to recognition.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I expect we had better have the regular order.

Mr. TAULBEE. I understood the gentleman to say he withdrew it, so far as this bill was concerned.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state the condition of business. The Committee of the Whole House reported the Nicaragua Canal bill as not having been completed——

Mr. LANHAM. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Several MEMBERS. Oh, no; let us take a recess.

The question was put, and the Speaker *pro tempore* announced that the noes seemed to have it.

A division was demanded.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 19, noes 33; so the House refused to adjourn.

Mr. BACON. I now move that the House take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

The question was put; and the Speaker *pro tempore* announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

A division was demanded.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 42, noes 6.

Mr. WASHINGTON. No quorum.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will appoint the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON] and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. WASHINGTON] as tellers.

Mr. WASHINGTON (to Mr. BACON). Withdraw that motion. We are not going to sit here every Friday evening to pass pension bills and not have any of our bills passed.

Mr. RICHARDSON (pending the count). I rise to make a request. As it is evident there is no quorum here, I ask unanimous consent that the roll be called in alphabetical order for recognition in the House under the same regulations and conditions that applied to the call of the roll in Committee of the Whole on Friday, beginning where we left off on last Friday, and continuing up to the time to take a recess this evening at 5 o'clock.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection?

Mr. KILGORE. I object.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I insist that under the rule a gentleman must rise to object.

Mr. KILGORE (rising). I object, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. TAULBEE. I would like now to get that little bill passed. It is only $60, and it is for a laborer.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that that is not in order while the House is dividing.

Mr. TAULBEE. Is it in order for the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. WASHINGTON] to withdraw the point of no quorum until this bill shall have passed? [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Tennessee can withdraw the point; but if he does, the effect will be that the House will take a recess.

Mr. TAULBEE. Well, this bill is to pay a laborer for work done during the month of July. There was a law authorizing the work, but the appropriation bill when passed, after the performance of the labor, failed to make provision to pay for it. The amount is only $60. The Secretary of the Treasury has written a letter, which is incorporated in the report, saying that the only remedy is for Congress to give relief.

Several MEMBERS. Regular order.

Mr. OATES. I ask unanimous consent that I may have leave to print remarks in the RECORD on the tariff, a subject upon which I have not spoken during this session.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair is of the opinion that the general leave heretofore given would authorize the gentleman to print his remarks.

Mr. OATES. That order was made, I know, during the pendency of the bill, but I did not know that it was a continuing order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair thinks the gentleman will be entitled to print under that order, but to save all question the Chair will put the request to the House.

Mr. OATES. Before the question is put I desire to say, because I do not want to abuse any of the privileges of the House, that what I want to print is not my own production, but is an essay, or pamphlet, written on the subject of the tariff by George W. Stone, chief-justice of the supreme court of the State of Alabama, which fully meets my approval in every respect.

Mr. DINGLEY. If we are going to permit the printing in the RECORD of essays upon the tariff, then we shall soon have a pretty large RECORD.

Mr. OATES. Well, I adopt this production.

Mr. DINGLEY. I shall have no objection if the same privilege is given for the printing of other essays on the other side, but I think we had better not enter upon that course. I am not going to make a formal objection myself, but I simply suggest that if the privilege is granted in one case, it must be granted in others, and it will probably lead to a great abuse.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, it may be a matter of some importance, as the question has come up, to know just what is the privilege under the order heretofore made. There was a general order made allowing the printing of speeches on the tariff, and it has been taken advantage of, I do not mean to say improperly, to print a letter of the President and also a letter of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and a letter of Mr. McPherson, and other documents. I do not wish to be understood as criticising any gentleman who has so construed the permission and taken advantage of it to print these documents, but I think it is a matter of some importance that the House should now settle what is the privilege existing under that order.

Mr. RYAN. I have no doubt that the order is in operation and will be during the entire session.

Mr. OATES. I brought this to the attention of the House because I did not want to do anything that was not fully within the rules of the House. I will state, however, that the production which I propose to print is as much, or rather more, a legal argument than a political one.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES].

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, not desiring to object to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES], I simply wish to say that when he took the floor I hoped, and I think members generally hoped, that he was going to bring up his resolution for the final adjournment of the House, to which I think there would be no objection. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES]?

Mr. FARQUHAR. If the document that has been mentioned constitutes the "speech" which the gentleman wants to print, I object. We do not want any legal arguments on the tariff.

Mr. OATES. No; I am satisfied you do not.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Only two documents have appeared so far in the RECORD in this connection—the letter of President Cleveland and the letter of ex-Senator Harrison. Those are subject to the frank of members, but if we are to go into a matter of printing outside pamphlets we might as well print the Tariff Bulletin and the documents of the Democratic campaign committee at once.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman object?

Mr. FARQUHAR. I do.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. While the question is up, I think we ought to have some understanding as to whether the order of the House allowing speeches on the tariff to be printed still continues. If it does, I suppose the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] has the right to make such a speech as he pleases; and if it does not, we all ought to understand that fact.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair intimated awhile ago an opinion that the order did continue, but before making a formal ruling on the point the Chair would like to examine the question a little more fully, and will withhold his decision if the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] does not insist upon it now.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I would prefer that the Chair should take time to look into the matter.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Kentucky withdraws his objection to the consideration of the bill which I desired to call up awhile ago.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Since the objection was made a motion to take a recess has intervened, and the House is now dividing upon that question.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I ask unanimous consent that that be dispensed with, and that this bill be now considered. [Laughter.]

Mr. WASHINGTON. I withdraw the point of no quorum.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I renew it.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I move that the House adjourn.

The question was taken on the motion to adjourn, and the Speaker *pro tempore* declared that the ayes seemed to have it.

The question being taken on the motion to adjourn, it was disagreed to; there being—ayes 27, noes 34.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I withdraw the point that no quorum voted.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Ohio withdraws the point that no quorum voted. The Chair will announce the result.

Mr. OATES. What proposition is that?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. On the motion to take a recess.

Mr. OATES. I renew the point that no quorum voted.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The point being renewed, the Chair will appoint the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] to act as a teller in conjunction with the gentleman from New York.

Mr. OATES (before the count by tellers was concluded). I call for the yeas and nays on the motion for a recess.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. On the motion for a recess, the tellers reported—ayes 42, noes 6. The gentleman from Alabama demands the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, I desire to inquire whether it is not the fact that, in the event no quorum should appear on the vote by yeas and nays, no legislative business can be done during the rest of this day.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair is of opinion that such would be the effect.

Mr. LANHAM. That being so, and there evidently being no quorum present, I move that the House adjourn.

The question being taken on the motion to adjourn, there were—ayes 24, noes 27.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I call for the yeas and nays on the motion to adjourn.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JACKSON. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. If the motion to adjourn should prevail, will it dispense with the session to-night for pension legislation?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that it would have that effect.

Mr. JACKSON. Then all who vote for adjournment are in favor of dispensing with the session to-night.

The question was taken on the motion to adjourn; and it was decided in the negative—yeas 25, nays 43, not voting 256; as follows:

YEAS—25.

Allen, Miss.	Grimes,	Montgomery,	Sowden,
Anderson, Miss.	Hooker,	Neal,	Stockdale,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Hutton,	Oates,	Stone, Ky.
Clements,	Kilgore,	Peel,	Turner, Ga.
Dunn,	Lanham,	Richardson,	
Forney,	Latham,	Rogers,	
Gay,	Martin,	Sayers,	

NAYS—43.

Bacon,	Farquhar,	McComas,	Post,
Baker, N. Y.	Fitch,	McMillin,	Rockwell,
Bayne,	Fuller,	Merriman,	Ryan,
Bliss,	Gest,	Milliken,	Scull,
Bound,	Haugen,	Morrill,	Stahlnecker,
Bunnell,	Henderson, Iowa	Nelson,	Taylor, J. D., Ohio
Butler,	Hiestand,	Nutting,	Vandever,
Campbell, T. J., N. Y.	Hitt,	O'Neill, Pa.	Walker,
Conger,	Jackson,	Penington,	Wheeler,
Dingley,	Lawler,	Peters,	Woodburn.
Dougherty,	Lyman,	Plumb,	

NOT VOTING—256.

Abbott,	Culberson,	Jones,	Rice,
Adams,	Cummings,	Kean,	Robertson,
Allen, Mass.	Cutcheon,	Kelley,	Romeis,
Allen, Mich.	Dalzell,	Kennedy,	Rowell,
Anderson, Iowa	Dargan,	Kerr,	Rowland,
Anderson, Ill.	Darlington,	Ketcham,	Russell, Conn.
Anderson, Kans.	Davenport,	Laffoon,	Russell, Mass.
Arnold,	Davidson, Ala.	La Follette,	Rusk,
Atkinson,	Davidson, Fla.	Lagan,	Sawyer,
Baker, Ill.	Davis,	Laidlaw,	Scott,
Bankhead,	De Lano,	Laird,	Seney,
Barnes,	Dibble,	Landes,	Seymour,
Barry,	Dockery,	Lane,	Shaw,
Belden,	Dorsey,	Lee,	Sherman,
Belmont,	Dunham,	Lehlbach,	Shively,
Biggs,	Elliott,	Lind,	Simmons,
Bingham,	Enloe,	Lodge,	Smith,
Blanchard,	Ermentrout,	Long,	Snyder,
Bland,	Felton,	Lynch,	Spinola,
Blount,	Finley,	Macdonald,	Spooner,
Boothman,	Fisher,	Maffett,	Springer,
Boutelle,	Flood,	Mahoney,	Steele,
Bowden,	Foran,	Maish,	Stephenson,
Bowen,	Ford,	Mansur,	Stewart, Tex.
Breckinridge, Ark.	French,	Mason,	Stewart, Ga.
Brewer,	Funston,	Matson,	Stewart, Vt.
Brower,	Gaines,	McAdoo,	Stone, Mo.
Browne, T. H. B., Va.	Gallinger,	McClammy,	Struble,
Browne, Ind.	Gear,	McCormick,	Symes,
Brown, Ohio	Gibson,	McCreary,	Tarsney,
Brown, J. R., Va.	Glass,	McCullogh,	Taulbee,
Brumm,	Glover,	McKenna,	Taylor, E. B., Ohio
Bryce,	Goff,	McKinley,	Thomas, Ky.
Buchanan,	Granger,	McKinney,	Thomas, Ill.
Buckalew,	Greenman,	McRae,	Thomas, Wis.
Burnes,	Grosvenor,	McShane,	Thompson, Ohio
Burnett,	Grout,	Mills,	Thompson, Cal.
Burrows,	Guenther,	Moffitt,	Tillman,
Butterworth,	Hall,	Moore,	Tracey,
Bynum,	Hare,	Morgan,	Townshend,
Campbell, F., N. Y.	Harmer,	Morrow,	Turner, Kans.
Campbell, Ohio,	Hatch,	Morse,	Vance,
Candler,	Hayden,	Newton,	Wade,
Cannon,	Hayes,	Nichols,	Warner,
Carlton,	Heard,	Norwood,	Washington,
Caruth,	Hemphill,	O'Donnell,	Weaver,
Caswell,	Henderson, N. C.	O'Ferrall,	Weber,
Catchings,	Henderson, Ill.	O'Neall, Ind.	West,
Cheadle,	Herbert,	O'Neill, Mo.	White, Ind.
Chipman,	Hermann,	Osborne,	White, N. Y.
Clardy,	Hires,	Outhwaite,	Whiting, Mich.
Clark,	Hogg,	Owen,	Whiting, Mass.
Cobb,	Holman,	Parker,	Whitthorne,
Cockran,	Holmes,	Patton,	Wickham,
Cogswell,	Hopkins, Ill.	Payson,	Wilber,
Collins,	Hopkins, Va.	Perkins,	Wilkins,
Compton,	Hopkins, N. Y.	Perry,	Wilkinson,
Cooper,	Houk,	Phelan,	Williams,
Cothran,	Hovey,	Phelps,	Wilson, Minn.
Cowles,	Howard.	Pidcock,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cox,	Hudd,	Pugsley,	Wise,
Crain,	Hunter,	Randall,	Yardley,
Crisp,	Johnston, Ind.	Rayner,	Yoder,
Crouse,	Johnston, N. C.	Reed,	Yost.

So the House refused to adjourn.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi (at the conclusion of the first roll-call). Mr. Speaker, is it in order to ask unanimous consent to dispense with the second call?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair thinks it would be very unusual.

The roll-call having been completed,

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the names.

There being no objection, it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent that the pairs be inserted in the RECORD without being read by the Clerk.

There being no objection, it was ordered accordingly.

The following-named members were paired on all political questions until further notice:

Mr. DARGAN with Mr. GROUT.

Mr. TOWNSHEND with Mr. SPOONER.

Mr. HOLMAN with Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana.

Mr. COBB with Mr. ANDERSON, of Kansas.

Mr. CARLTON with Mr. FUNSTON.

Mr. MCCREARY with Mr. CROUSE.

Mr. CARUTH with Mr. HUNTER.

Mr. HAYES with Mr. KERR.

Mr. BLOUNT with Mr. RUSSELL, of Connecticut.

Mr. FORAN with Mr. HIESTAND.

Mr. MAISH with Mr. LEHLBACH.

Mr. NEAL with Mr. HAYDEN.

Mr. BRICE with Mr. GAINES.

Mr. JONES with Mr. BOWDEN.

Mr. ELLIOTT with Mr. BINGHAM.

Mr. COLLINS with Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas, with Mr. BROWNE, of Indiana.

Mr. SPRINGER with Mr. HENDERSON, of Illinois.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, with Mr. KENNEDY.

Mr. COMPTON with Mr. GOFF.

Mr. OUTHWAITE with Mr. MCKINLEY.

Mr. HATCH with Mr. STEWART, of Vermont.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia, with Mr. MCCOMAS.

Mr. RANDALL with Mr. LODGE.

Mr. BLAND with Mr. BUTTERWORTH.

Mr. SCOTT with Mr. GROSVENOR.

Mr. MCMILLIN with Mr. BURROWS.

Mr. CRISP with Mr. REED.

Mr. COX with Mr. CANNON.

Mr. MATSON with Mr. HOVEY.

Mr. WILKINS with Mr. LONG.

Mr. MILLS with Mr. KELLEY.

Mr. FRENCH with Mr. STEPHENSON.

Mr. O'NEALL, of Indiana, with Mr. FINLEY.

Mr. MCCLAMMY with Mr. OSBORNE.

Mr. DAVIDSON, of Florida, with Mr. WEBER.

Mr. HENDERSON, of North Carolina, with Mr. FLOOD.

Mr. HOGG with Mr. SCULL.

Mr. ENLOE with Mr. PUGSLEY.

Mr. STEWART, of Georgia, with Mr. HARMER.

Mr. WILSON, of Minnesota, with Mr. ATKINSON.

Mr. BOOTHMAN with Mr. MCKINNEY.

Mr. CULBERSON with Mr. BAKER, of Illinois.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri, with Mr. WILLIAMS.

Mr. TAULBEE with Mr. FARQUHAR.

Mr. LAWLER with Mr. SEYMOUR.

Mr. DUNN with Mr. ROWELL.

Mr. ANDERSON, of Illinois, with Mr. DALZELL.

Mr. MACDONALD with Mr. JOHN R. BROWN.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Missouri, with Mr. CONGER.

Mr. CHIPMAN with Mr. ARNOLD.

Mr. LANDES with Mr. MCCORMICK.

Mr. VANCE with Mr. MOFFITT.

Mr. MANSUR with Mr. SAWYER.

Mr. WILKINSON with Mr. NICHOLS.

Mr. FISHER with Mr. BROWER.

Mr. ERMENTROUT with Mr. GALLINGER.

Mr. RAYNER with Mr. DE LANO.

Mr. NORWOOD with Mr. PARKER.

Mr. GLOVER with Mr. COOPER.

Mr. DIBBLE with Mr. BELDEN.

Mr. DOCKERY with Mr. WARNER.

Mr. COWLES with Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio.

Mr. SIMMONS with Mr. BUNNELL.

Mr. NEWTON with Mr. FELTON.

Mr. GLASS with Mr. KETCHAM.

Mr. LATHAM with Mr. GEST.

Mr. SHIVELY with Mr. OWEN.

Mr. MCSHANE with Mr. LAIRD.

Mr. MAHONEY with Mr. BROWN, of Ohio.

Mr. MCADOO with Mr. BRUMM.

Mr. BACON with Mr. CASWELL.

Mr. LYNCH with Mr. YARDLEY.

Mr. WHITING, of Michigan, with Mr. HOUK.

Mr. RUSSELL, of Massachusetts, with Mr. COGSWELL.

Mr. PIDCOCK with Mr. PHELPS.

Mr. DARLINGTON with Mr. MOORE.

Mr. CUTCHEON with Mr. TARSNEY.

Mr. HOWARD with Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois.

Mr. MORSE with Mr. WHITING, of Massachusetts.

Mr. BLANCHARD with Mr. THOMAS, of Illinois.

Mr. GRANGER with Mr. ROCKWELL.

Mr. BELMONT with Mr. DAVENPORT.

Mr. O'FERRALL with Mr. MASON.

Mr. BIGGS with Mr. MORROW.

Mr. CLARDY with Mr. WADE.

Mr. STEWART, of Texas, with Mr. DUNHAM.

Mr. FORD with Mr. GUENTHER.

Mr. SNYDER with Mr. YOST.
Mr. DAVIDSON, of Alabama, with Mr. PATTON.
Mr. RUSK with Mr. O'DONNELL.
Mr. GREENMAN with Mr. SHERMAN.
Mr. BYNUM with Mr. STEELE.
Mr. CANDLER with Mr. BREWER.
Mr. BOUTELLE with Mr. WISE.
Mr. SPINOLA with Mr. THOMAS, of Wisconsin.
Mr. TIMOTHY J. CAMPBELL with Mr. WEST.

The result of the vote was announced as above stated.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question recurs on the motion that the House take a recess until 8 o'clock, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. NELSON. I make the point that the roll-call having disclosed the fact of no quorum, the only business in order is either a motion to adjourn or a motion for a call of the House. I submit that the motion for a recess is not now in order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair was about to state the status of the business of the House. Of course the rule stated by the gentleman applies in all cases where the absence of a quorum is disclosed.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Speaker, three weeks ago, although a bill in which I was interested was on the very first page of the Calendar, I stood here and consented to the arrangement for a call of the roll, that members as reached might bring up their bills. The roll has now been called half through, and those members whose names have been reached are now seized with a sudden spirit of economy, and are trying to break up that arrangement. [Laughter.] I do not think it is fair. I submit we should now go on by unanimous consent, as I presume we can do, and call the roll in accordance with the agreement which was made three weeks ago.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] that as the record discloses the fact that no quorum is present nothing is now in order except a motion to adjourn or a motion for a call of the House—a proceeding which looks to the procurement of a quorum.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I move a call of the House.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. Pending that I move we adjourn.

Mr. JACKSON. I make the point of order that no business has intervened——

A MEMBER. A motion for a call of the House has been made.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. What is the point of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON]?

Mr. JACKSON. I was about to make the point that no business had intervened since the vote upon the motion to adjourn, but I am now disposed to think the point would not be well taken.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair agrees with the gentleman. [Laughter.]

The question being taken on the motion to adjourn, it was disagreed to; there being—ayes 30, noes 32.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Kentucky for a call of the House.

Mr. LANHAM. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. The roll-call having disclosed the fact that there is no quorum present, can any other business be disposed of during this legislative day; in other words, can any business be transacted at the session of this evening?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The evening session is but a continuation of the session of the day, and it has been uniformly decided, so far as the present occupant of the chair is aware—certainly it has been decided in a very large number of cases—that when the absence of a quorum has been disclosed by a yea-and-nay vote, it is not in order to entertain during the remainder of the same legislative day any other business except a motion to adjourn or a motion for a call of the House, looking to the procurement of a quorum.

Mr. LANHAM. Then I think we had better adjourn. Certainly we can do no good by meeting to-night if that is all we can do.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The House has just declined to adjourn, and the motion of the gentleman from Kentucky for a call of the House is the only business that can now be transacted.

Mr. DUNN. Is it in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the House refused to adjourn?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Although that motion would seem to defeat the object of the rule, the Chair is inclined to think that it would be in order, but would prefer to examine the question before deciding it.

Mr. DUNN. I am inclined to think that the House, on a reconsideration, might determine to adjourn in view of the fact that we can transact no business. I move to reconsider that vote.

Mr. RICHARDSON. And I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. OATES. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. OATES. Is it in order to move to reconsider a motion for an adjournment? If the Chair will permit me, I think it is not; because if it was in order, that motion could be repeated indefinitely.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair has just stated that it would seem like a defeat of the rule itself; but will examine the precedents. [After a pause.] On an examination the Chair sustains the point of order of the gentleman from Alabama that it is not in order to reconsider a vote on adjournment, and in support of the ruling the Chair will have read from the Digest.

The Clerk read as follows:

A motion to reconsider a vote by which the House refused to adjourn is not in order.—*Journal second session, Forty-fifth Congress.*

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Kentucky for a call of the House.

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. LANHAM. Pending that, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. That motion has just been voted down.

Mr. LANHAM. But there has been some intervening business—a motion to reconsider that vote and a decision of the Chair, for instance.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair thinks that the gentleman may reach his object by voting down the motion for a call of the House. Besides, the Chair thinks that a ruling by the Chair on a motion not in order would not be such intervening business as comes within the meaning of the rule to permit the motion to adjourn to be repeated.

The question being taken on the motion of Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky, for a call of the House, it was rejected.

Mr. LANHAM. I now renew the motion that the House adjourn.

The question was taken; and on a division there were—ayes 38, noes 20.

Mr. JACKSON. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, there being 12 in favor of and 39 opposed to the motion, the affirmative being more than one-fifth of the whole vote.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 32, nays 30, not voting 262, as follows:

YEAS—32.

Allen, Miss.	Hiestand,	Montgomery,	Sayers,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Hooker,	Neal,	Sowden,
Campbell, T. J., N. Y.	Hutton,	Oates,	Stockdale,
Clements,	Kilgore,	Peel,	Stone, Ky.
Dougherty,	Lanham,	Penington,	Tillman,
Dunn,	Martin,	Rice,	Turner, Ga.
Forney,	McMillin,	Richardson,	Walker,
Grimes,	Merriman,	Rogers,	Wheeler.

NAYS—30.

Bayne,	Fitch,	McComas,	Ryan,
Bliss,	Fuller,	Milliken,	Scull,
Bound,	Gest,	Morrill,	Stahlnecker,
Bunnell,	Haugen,	Nutting,	Taylor, J. D., Ohio
Butler,	Henderson, Iowa	O'Neill, Pa.	Vandever,
Conger,	Jackson,	Peters,	Woodburn.
Dingley,	Lawler,	Post,	
Farquhar,	Lyman,	Rockwell,	

NOT VOTING—262.

Abbott,	Clardy,	Hall,	Matson,
Adams,	Clark,	Hare,	McAdoo,
Allen, Mass.	Cobb,	Harmer,	McClammy,
Allen, Mich.	Cockran,	Hatch,	McCormick,
Anderson, Iowa	Cogswell,	Hayden,	McCreary,
Anderson, Miss.	Collins,	Hayes,	McCullogh,
Anderson, Ill.	Compton,	Heard,	McKenna,
Anderson, Kans.	Cooper,	Hemphill,	McKinley,
Arnold,	Cothran,	Henderson, N. C.	McKinney,
Atkinson,	Cowles,	Henderson, Ill.	McRae,
Bacon,	Cox,	Herbert,	McShane,
Baker, N. Y.	Crain,	Hermann,	Mills,
Baker, Ill.	Crisp,	Hires,	Moffitt,
Bankhead,	Crouse,	Hitt,	Moore,
Barnes,	Culberson,	Hogg,	Morgan,
Barry,	Cummings,	Holman,	Morrow,
Belden,	Cutcheon,	Holmes,	Morse,
Belmont,	Dalzell,	Hopkins, Ill.	Nelson,
Biggs,	Dargan,	Hopkins, Va.	Newton,
Bingham,	Darlington,	Hopkins, N. Y.	Nichols,
Blanchard,	Davenport,	Houk,	Norwood,
Bland,	Davidson, Ala.	Hovey,	O'Donnell,
Blount,	Davidson, Fla.	Howard,	O'Ferrall,
Boothman,	Davis,	Hudd,	O'Neall, Ind.
Boutelle,	De Lano,	Hunter,	O'Neill, Mo.
Bowden,	Dibble,	Johnston, Ind.	Osborne,
Bowen,	Dockery,	Johnston, N. C.	Outhwaite,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Dorsey,	Jones,	Owen,
Brewer,	Dunham,	Kean,	Parker,
Brower,	Elliott,	Kelley,	Patton,
Browne, T. H. B., Va.	Enloe,	Kennedy,	Payson,
Browne, Ind.	Ermentrout,	Kerr,	Perkins,
Brown, Ohio	Felton,	Ketcham,	Perry,
Brown, J. R., Va.	Finley,	Laffoon,	Phelan,
Brumm,	Fisher,	La Follette,	Phelps,
Bryce,	Flood,	Lagan,	Pidcock,
Buchanan,	Foran,	Laidlaw,	Plumb,
Buckalew,	Ford,	Laird,	Pugsley,
Burnes,	French,	Landes,	Randall,
Burnett,	Funston,	Lane,	Rayner,
Burrows,	Gaines,	Latham,	Reed,
Butterworth,	Gallinger,	Lee,	Robertson,
Bynum,	Gay,	Lehlbach,	Romeis,
Campbell, F., N. Y.	Gear,	Lind,	Rowell,
Campbell, Ohio	Gibson,	Lodge,	Rowland,
Candler,	Glass,	Long,	Russell, Conn.
Cannon,	Glover,	Lynch,	Russell, Mass.
Carlton,	Goff,	Macdonald,	Rusk,
Caruth,	Granger,	Maffett,	Sawyer,
Caswell,	Greenman,	Mahoney,	Scott,
Catchings,	Grosvenor,	Maish,	Seney,
Cheadle,	Grout,	Mansur,	Seymour,
Chipman,	Guenther,	Mason,	Shaw,

Sherman,	Stone, Mo.	Turner, Kans.	Wickham,
Shively,	Struble,	Vance,	Wilber,
Simmons,	Symes,	Wade,	Wilkins,
Smith,	Tarsney,	Warner,	Wilkinson,
Snyder,	Taulbee,	Washington,	Williams,
Spinola,	Taylor, E. B., Ohio	Weaver,	Wilson, Minn.
Spooner,	Thomas, Ky.	Weber,	Wilson, W. Va.
Springer,	Thomas, Ill.	West,	Wise,
Steele,	Thomas, Wis.	White, Ind.	Yardley,
Stephenson,	Thompson, Ohio	White, N. Y.	Yoder,
Stewart, Tex.	Thompson, Cal.	Whiting, Mich.	Yost.
Stewart, Ga.	Tracey,	Whiting, Mass.	
Stewart, Vt.	Townshend,	Whitthorne,	

So the motion was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Pending the announcement of the vote on the motion to adjourn, leave of absence was granted, by unanimous consent, as follows:

To Mr. GAY, for the remainder of the session.

To Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. TURNER, of Kansas, indefinitely, on account of political business.

To Mr. SYMES, indefinitely, on account of important business.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

And accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday at 12 o'clock.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. NELSON: A bill (H. R. 11585) to remove the charge of desertion from Thomas Calahan—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. STONE, of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 11586) for the relief of Stephen Williams—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CONGER: Memorial of the Grand Army of the Republic of Iowa, urging sufficient appropriations for supplying head-stones for the graves of ex-Union soldiers and sailors—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. HARMER: Petition of Charles F. Hansell, for reissue of pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LYMAN: Petition of the Grand Army of the Republic of Iowa, for an appropriation for head-stones for deceased Union soldiers—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. NELSON: Petition for the relief of Thomas Calahan, Company L, Fifth United States Artillery—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. REED: Petition of 48 citizens of Saco, Me., for the relief of Miss Anna Ella Carroll—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. W. L. WILSON: Petition of Jonathan J. Pettit, of Jefferson County, West Virginia, for reference of his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *October* 15, 1888.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday last was read and approved.

SARAH A. WOODBRIDGE—VETO MESSAGE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read:

To the Senate:

I return without approval Senate bill No. 3276, entitled "An act granting restoration of pension to Sarah A. Woodbridge."

The first husband of this beneficiary, Anson L. Brewer, was an additional paymaster in the Army, and died February 2, 1866, from injuries received in an explosion of a steamer.

His widow, the beneficiary, was pensioned at the rate of $25 a month from the date of her husband's death until October 21, 1870, when she remarried, becoming the wife of Timothy Woodbridge.

Two children, who were minors at the time she was pensioned, became sixteen years of age in April, 1870, and July, 1874, respectively.

Upon the remarriage of the beneficiary her pension stopped under the law.

It is now proposed to restore her to the pension-roll, notwithstanding the fact that her second husband is still alive.

Many cases have occurred in which pensions have been awarded by special acts to the widows of soldiers who, having remarried, were a second time made widows and rendered destitute by the death of their second husbands. I have not objected to such charitable legislation.

But I think this is the first time that it has been proposed to grant a pension after such remarriage when the second husband still survives.

It seems to me that such a precedent ought not to be established. If in pension legislation we attempt to determine the cases of this description, in which the second husband can not or does not properly maintain the soldier's widow whom he has married, we shall open the door to much confusion and uncertainty as well as unjust discrimination.

I am glad to learn from a statement contained in the committee's report that this beneficiary, though in a condition making the aid of a pension very desirable, has a small income derived from property inherited from her mother.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 12, 1888.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Shall the bill pass, the objections of the President of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding?

Mr. DAVIS. I move that the bill and message be referred to the Committee on Pensions.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BLAIR. Would remarks on the motion to refer be in order?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The message having been referred, it can be recalled and the Senator then be recognized.

Mr. BLAIR. In connection with the reference of the veto message I wish to take the opportunity to offer a few remarks bearing upon the subject.

Mr. HOAR. Will my friend from New Hampshire allow me to put a question to the Senator from Alabama before he proceeds, which will take but one moment?

Mr. BLAIR. I will give way for that purpose.

INDEBTEDNESS OF PACIFIC RAILROADS.

Mr. HOAR. I desire, with the leave of the Senate, to call the attention of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] to the bill providing for funding and arranging the debt of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. That is a corporation in which, within the last four or five years, a very large number of persons in the State of Massachusetts, and among them my own immediate neighbors and friends, invested.

There was a time when a gentleman whose authority stands very high in railroad matters announced publicly that the stock of the Union Pacific Railroad Company would be a good 6 per cent. dividend, paying stock at par, and the holders of that stock who held it for speculative purposes sold an enormous amount of it, which was purchased by trustees, widows, and persons of small means, as being the only permanent investment they knew of which promised such a dividend as that. One banker in my own city is said to have placed $3,000,000 of that stock at that time among this class of persons.

Of course everybody knows that it has been for the last six weeks impossible to expect the attention of the Senate to that subject at this session; but I desire to ask the Senator from Alabama whether it might not be well to set the bill down for a hearing on the first Tuesday of the next session, or the first Wednesday. Of course it will then be in control of the committee and of the Senate, if they desire further to make any disposition of it. But I suggest whether it would not be well to get that order now.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope that no order will be made respecting any public business which will interfere with the consideration of the bill now before the Senate as the unfinished business. With that limitation, I have no objection.

Mr. HOAR. Subject, of course, to that limitation.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BLAIR] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to respond to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. BLAIR. I suppose briefly.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. BLAIR. Very well; I give way for that purpose.

Mr. MORGAN. Probably five or six weeks since, in the absence of the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] who is chairman of the Select Committee on the Pacific Railways, I asked the Senator to state a time during the present session when we might proceed to consider that bill, and it was intimated privately to me that it was impossible to properly consider that bill during the present session of Congress. The importance of it has been well stated by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and it is a very urgent matter that that bill shall be considered by both Houses of Congress. A very large amount of money is at stake upon it, for which the United States is responsible and upon which it is making very large payments now every time interest on the bonds matures.

It is very fortunate, I think, that we are so near to a proper consideration of this question at least as that the committees of both Houses have unanimously agreed upon the same bill, and while there may be errors in the measure and it may be something that the Senate will debate at some little length, I conceive that we have at last fixed upon a principle by which these debts can be settled and the country be satisfied. So I shall very cheerfully indeed accord with the Senator from Massachusetts in asking the Senate to fix the first Tuesday in the December session of this body for the consideration of that bill, at the close of the morning hour.

Mr. HOAR. Subject to the tariff bill.

Mr. MORGAN. Subject, of course, as the Senator from Iowa has said, to the tariff bill, though, I suppose, we are ready to proceed with now and dispose of the tariff bill immediately. I think we are from all the indications.

Mr. HOAR. I suggest to the Chair to submit the request for unanimous consent that that order may be made.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It requires the consent of two-thirds of the Senators present. The Senator from Massachusetts asks that Senate bill 3401, known as the Union Pacific Railroad funding bill, may be made a special order for the Tuesday after the first Monday of December next, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had, on the 10th instant, approved and signed the following acts and joint resolutions:

An act (S. 2519) to make enlisted men of the Signal Corps responsible for public property;

An act (S. 602) for the relief of James Millinger;

An act (S. 544) to authorize the construction of a highway bridge across that part of the waters of Lake Champlain which separates the islands of North Hero and South Hero, in the county of Grand Isle, in the State of Vermont;

An act (S. 2613) to amend an act approved June 15, 1882, changing the boundaries of the fourth collection district of Virginia;

An act (S. 249) to prevent the manufacture or sale of adulterated food or drugs in the District of Columbia;

An act (S. 3168) regulating admissions to the Institution of the Association for Works of Mercy in certain cases, and for other purposes;

An act (S. 3098) concerning the settlement of the boundary lines between Connecticut and Rhode Island;

An act (S. 122) granting a pension to Samuel Lane;

An act (S. 330) granting a pension to Marion Vangordon;

An act (S. 654) granting a pension to Caroline Motz;

An act (S. 1264) granting a pension to Martha V. Coleman;

An act (S. 1766) granting a pension to Stephen Butler;

An act (S. 2321) granting a pension to John V. Hennessy;

An act (S. 2606) granting a pension to John B. Timberman;

An act (S. 3141) granting an increase of pension to Jonas Doering;

Joint resolution (S. R. 110) in aid of the sufferers from yellow fever; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 10) relating to the inclosure of certain points of especial interest on the battle-field of Gettysburgh.

MARY ANN DOUGHERTY VETO MESSAGE.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I am not familiar with the facts in the case which has been the foundation of the veto message laid before the Senate this morning, but upon the motion to refer it to the committee for further consideration I desire to offer a few observations at this time.

The President of the United States is certainly quite right in saying that it is not usual to grant a pension to the wife of a second husband, who was the widow of a soldier, during the lifetime of the second husband, but circumstances of a character which seem to make it equitable and just to grant a pension in such a case may, I think, be easily conceived. Such cases have arisen before this, and I presume that there must have been—an investigation will show how that was—circumstances in this particular case which seemed to take it out of the ordinary rule.

In connection with this general subject of the veto of private pension bills by the President, I wish to take advantage of the propriety of so doing on this occasion to offer some matter which should have been offered earlier in the session, bearing on a previous veto, still under consideration by the Senate, in the case of Mary Ann Dougherty. I submit the veto message in full in connection with what I am about to say, but I call special attention to certain remarks made by the Executive. Alluding to Mrs. Dougherty, after having stated the general grounds upon which the veto is based, the Executive proceeds to say what, it seems to me, was superfluous and unnecessary, since it can not possibly bear upon the question at issue between the United States and the applicant for a pension:

To the Senate:

I return without approval Senate bill No. 1547, entitled "An act granting a pension to Mary Ann Dougherty."

A large share of the report of the Senate committee to which this bill was referred, and which report is adopted by the committee of the House, as is usual in such cases, consists of a petition signed by Mary Ann Dougherty, addressed to the Congress, in which she states that she resides in Washington, having removed here with her husband in 1863 from New Jersey; that shortly after their arrival in this city her husband, Daniel Dougherty, returned to New Jersey and enlisted in the Thirty-fourth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers; that she obtained employment in the United States arsenal making cartridges, and that while so engaged she was injured by an explosion.

She also states that she had a young son killed by machinery in the navy-yard, and that at the grand review of the Army after the close of the war another son, six years old, was stolen by an officer of the Army, and has not been heard of since. She further says that her husband left his home in 1865 and has not been heard of since, and that she believes he deserted her on account of her infirmities.

It is alleged in the report that she received a pension as the widow of Daniel Dougherty until it was discovered that he was alive, when her name was dropped from the rolls.

The petition of this woman is indorsed by the Admiral and several other officers of the Navy and a distinguished clergyman of Washington, certifying that they know Mrs. Dougherty, and believe the facts stated to be true.

There is no pretense made now that this beneficiary is a widow, though she at one time claimed to be, and was allowed a pension on that allegation. Her present claim rests entirely upon injuries received by her when she was conceded not employed in the military service. If the pension now proposed is allowed her it will be a mere act of charity.

Her husband, Daniel Dougherty, is now living in Philadelphia, and is a pensioner in his own right for disability alleged to have been incurred while serving in the Thirty-fourth New Jersey Volunteers Of this fact this beneficiary has been repeatedly informed. And yet she states in her petition that her husband deserted her in 1865, and has not been heard of since.

It is alleged in the Pension Bureau that, in 1878, she succeeded in securing a pension as the widow of Daniel Dougherty, through fraudulent testimony and much false swearing on her part.

The police records of the precinct in which she has lived for years show that she is a woman of very bad character, and that she has been under arrest nine times for drunkenness, larceny, creating disturbance, and misdemeanors of that sort.

It happens that this claimant, by reason of her residence here, has been easily traced, and her character and untruthfulness discovered. But there is much reason to fear that this case will find its parallel in many that have reached a successful conclusion.

I can not spell out any principle upon which the bounty of the Government is bestowed through the instrumentality of the flood of private pension bills that reach me. The theory seems to have been adopted that no man who served in the Army can be the subject of death or impaired health except they are chargeable to his service. Medical theories are set at naught and the most startling relation is claimed between alleged incidents of military service and disability or death. Fatal apoplexy is admitted as the result of quite insignificant wounds, heart disease is attributed to chronic diarrhea, consumption to hernia, and suicide is traced to army service in a wonderfully devious and curious way.

Adjudications of the Pension Bureau are overruled in the most peremptory fashion by these special acts of Congress, since nearly all the beneficiaries named in these bills have unsuccessfully applied to that bureau for relief.

This course of special legislation operates very unfairly.

Those with certain influence or friends to push their claims procure pensions, and those who have neither friends nor influence must be content with their fate under general laws. It operates unfairly by increasing in numerous instances the pensions of those already on the rolls, while many other more deserving cases from the lack of fortunate advocacy are obliged to be content with the sum provided by general laws.

The apprehension may well be entertained that the freedom with which these private pension bills are passed furnishes an inducement to fraud and imposition, while it certainly teaches the vicious lesson to our people that the Treasury of the National Government invites the approach of private need.

None of us should be in the least wanting in regard for the veteran soldier, and I will yield to no man a desire to see those who defended the Government when it needed defenders liberally treated. Unfriendliness to our veterans is a charge easily and sometimes dishonestly made.

I insist that the true soldier is a good citizen, and that he will be satisfied with generous, fair, and equal consideration for those who are worthily entitled to help.

I have considered the pension-list of the Republic a roll of honor bearing names inscribed by national gratitude, and not by improvident and indiscriminate alms-giving.

I have conceived the prevention of the complete discredit which must ensue from the unreasonable, unfair, and reckless granting of pensions by special acts, to be the best service I can render our veterans.

In the discharge of what has seemed to me my duty as related to legislation and in the interest of all the veterans of the Union Army, I have attempted to stem the tide of improvident pension enactments, though I confess to a full share of responsibility for some of these laws that should not have been passed.

I am far from denying that there are cases of merit which can not be reached except by special enactment; but I do not believe there is a member of either House of Congress who will not admit that this kind of legislation has been carried too far.

I have now before me more than one hundred special pension bills which can hardly be examined within the time allowed for that purpose.

My aim has been at all times, in dealing with bills of this character, to give the applicant for a pension the benefit of any doubt that might arise and which balanced the propriety of granting a pension, if there seemed any just foundation for the application; but when it seemed entirely outside of every rule, in its nature or the proof supporting it, I have supposed I only did my duty in interposing an objection.

It seems to me that it would be well if our general pension laws should be revised with a view of meeting every meritorious case that can arise. Our experience and knowledge of any existing deficiencies ought to make the enactment of a complete pension code possible.

In the absence of such a revision, and if pensions are to be granted upon equitable grounds and without regard to general laws, the present methods would be greatly improved by the establishment of some tribunal to examine the facts in every case and determine upon the merits of the application.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *July* 5, 1888.

I also submit the report of the Senate committee, and of the House committee, upon the same case, together with a copy of the report of Senator Sewell in the last Congress in favor of the passage of the same bill:

[In the Senate of the United States, March 8, 1888.—Ordered to be printed.]

Mr. BLODGETT, from the Committee on Pensions, submitted the following report (to accompany bill S. 1517):

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1547) granting a pension to Mary Ann Dougherty, have examined the same, and adopt the report presented by the Senate in the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress, and recommend the passage of the bill. The following is the report:

The committee, having said petition under consideration, which is hereto appended and made a part of this report, and having in addition thereto examined the papers in her application for pension, are of the opinion that it is a deserving case, and one which merits the attention and aid of Congress.

The following is the petition referred to:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:*

"As a petitioner for your favorable consideration of my claim for pension, I do most respectfully represent that I am a resident of Washington, D. C. I came here with my family in 1863 from Mount Holly, N. J., when, shortly after, my husband, Daniel Dougherty, returned thereto and enlisted in Company G, of the Thirty-fourth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers. I obtained employment in the United States arsenal making cartridges for the United States Army then in the field; that on or about the 28th day of June, 1864, while so employed and in the line of duty, as above stated, an explosion occurred, which killed and injured a number of the employés.

"Your petitioner was one of the victims. I was severely burned and internally injured, besides being mentally injured by the fall from the height to which I was thrown through the force of the explosion. My flesh was burned, as scars will show, and I inhaled the fire. My collar-bone was also broken. I was unconscious when found, and became insane from the injuries received.

"My son (the eldest), a bright boy, was killed by machinery in the United States navy-yard at Washington, where he was at the time employed, as the records of the Navy Department will show.

"At the close of the war, on the third day of the grand review of the Army, in the year 1865, my oldest surviving boy of six years was stolen by an officer of the Army and has not been heard of since.

"My husband, who served in the organization aforesaid, left his home in 1865,

and has not been heard from since. He deserted me, as I believe, on account of my infirmities.

"I have been accustomed to a comfortable home, and might have continued well and happy but for the war and its consequences. Prior thereto I was in perfect health, both mentally and physically.

"That, in view of the facts as aforesaid, she earnestly begs your consideration and prays that she may be placed upon the pension-rolls of the United States, subject to its provisions and limitations thereof.

"MARY ANN DOUGHERTY."

[Mary Ann Dougherty.—April 17, 1888.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House and ordered to be printed.]

Mr. PIDCOCK, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, submitted the following report, to accompany bill S. 1547:

The Committee on Invalid Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1547) granting a pension to Mary Ann Dougherty, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to submit the following report:

The facts in the case are substantially set forth in Mrs. Dougherty's petition, which is as follows:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:*

"As a petitioner for your favorable consideration of my claim for pension, I do most respectfully represent that I am a resident of Washington, D. C. I came here with my family in 1863 from Mount Holly, N. J., when, shortly after, my husband, Daniel Dougherty, returned thereto and enlisted in Company G, of the Thirty-fourth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers. I obtained employment in the United States arsenal making cartridges for the United States Army then in the field; that on or about the 28th day of June, 1864, while so employed and in the line of duty, as above stated, an explosion occurred, which killed and injured a number of the employés.

"Your petitioner was one of the victims. I was severely burned and internally injured, besides being mentally injured by the fall from the height to which I was thrown through the force of the explosion. My flesh was burned, as scars will show, and I inhaled the fire. My collar bone was also broken. I was unconscious when found, and became insane from the injuries received.

"My son (the eldest), a bright boy, was killed by machinery in the United States navy-yard at Washington, where he was at the time employed, as the records of the Navy Department will show.

"At the close of the war, on the third day of the grand review of the Army, in the year 1865, my oldest surviving boy, of six, was stolen by an officer of the Army, and has not been heard of since.

"My husband, who served in the organization aforesaid, left his home in 1865 and has not been heard from since. He deserted me, as I believe, on account of my infirmities.

"I have been accustomed to a comfortable home, and might have continued well and happy but for the war and its consequences. Prior thereto I was in perfect health both mentally and physically.

"That, in view of the facts as aforesaid, she earnestly begs your consideration and prays that she may be placed upon the pension-roll of the United States, subject to its provisions and limitations thereof.

"MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

"The undersigned respectfully represent that they are acquainted with Mary Ann Dougherty, believe the facts stated in the aforesaid petition to be true, and join her therein and ask consideration of same from your honorable body.

"DAVID D. PORTER, *Admiral.*
"MRS. GEORGE U. MORRIS.
"S. NICHOLSON,
"*Commodore, United States Navy.*
"W. A. LEONARD,
"*Rector of St. John's Parish.*
"E. C. WEAVER,
"*Late Captain United States Volunteers.*
"GEORGE W. ROUZER,
"*Correspondent Army and Navy Journal.*
"GEO. BANCROFT."

The claimant received a pension as the widow of said Daniel Dougherty, and continued to draw the same until it was discovered that the soldier was alive, when her name was dropped from the rolls. This pension was not obtained through fraud on her part.

There is no question of her abandonment by the soldier. Her injuries, as well as the afflictions under which she has passed, have completely shattered her nervous system, and for years she has been an object of charity in the city of Washington. Persons of the highest character have interceded in her behalf with your committee, and testified to her good character.

Believing that the relief asked for by this poor unfortunate woman should be granted, your committee report favorably on the accompanying bill, and ask that it do pass.

[In the Senate of the United States, July 20, 1886.—Ordered to be printed.]

Mr. SEWELL, from the Committee on Pensions, submitted the following report, to accompany petition and bill S. 2868:

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the petition of Mary Ann Dougherty, asking for a pension, have examined the same, and report as follows:

The committee having said petition under consideration, which is hereto appended and made a part of this report, and having in addition thereto examined the papers in her application for pension, are of the opinion that it is a deserving case, and one which merits the attention and aid of Congress.

The following is the petition referred to:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:*

"As a petitioner for your favorable consideration of my claim for pension, I do most respectfully represent that I am a resident of Washington, D. C. I came here with my family in 1863 from Mount Holly, N. J., when, shortly after, my husband, Daniel Dougherty, returned thereto and enlisted in Company G of the Thirty-fourth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers. I obtained employment in the United States arsenal making cartridges for the United States Army then in the field; that on or about the 28th day of June, 1864, while so employed and in the line of duty as above stated, an explosion occurred which killed and injured a number of the employés.

"Your petitioner was one of the victims. I was severely burned and internally injured besides being mentally injured by the fall from the height to which I was thrown through the force of the explosion. My flesh was burned, as scars will show, and I inhaled the fire. My collar bone was also broken. I was unconscious when found and became insane from the injuries received.

"My son (the eldest), a bright boy, was killed by machinery in the United States navy-yard at Washington, where he was at the time employed, as the records of the Navy Department will show.

"At the close of the war, on the third day of the grand review of the Army, in the year 1865, my oldest surviving boy, of six years, was stolen by an officer of the Army, and has not been heard of since.

"My husband, who served in the organization aforesaid, left his home in 1865 and has not been heard from since. He deserted me, as I believe, on account of my infirmities.

"I have been accustomed to a comfortable home and might have continued well and happy but for the war and its consequences. Prior thereto I was in perfect health both mentally and physically.

"That, in view of the facts as aforesaid, she earnestly begs your consideration and prays that she may be placed upon the pension-rolls of the United States, subject to its provisions and limitations thereof.

"MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

"The undersigned respectfully represent that they are acquainted with Mary Ann Dougherty, believe the facts stated in the aforesaid petition to be true, and join her therein and ask consideration of same from your honorable body.

"DAVID D. PORTER, *Admiral.*
"MRS. GEORGE U. MORRIS,
"S. NICHOLSON,
"*Commodore, United States Navy.*
"W. A. LEONARD,
"*Rector of St. John's Parish.*
"E. C. WEAVER,
"*Late Captain, United States Volunteers.*
"GEORGE W. ROUZER,
"*Correspondent Army and Navy Journal.*
"GEO. BANCROFT."

The committee find that claimant made application for pension as the widow of Daniel Dougherty, and in 1878 received certificate for same; that shortly thereafter evidence was discovered showing that the husband was not dead, and had made a claim (No. 302,398) for a pension. The name of the claimant was thereupon dropped from the pension-rolls of the Department.

Since that period she has been trying ineffectually to obtain relief. But very poor, and suffering at times from absolute want, ignorant of the proper method of procedure, her bones broken and her system completely shattered by the explosion at the United States arsenal, wherein she was serving the Government, and in the line of duty when it occurred; her eldest son killed while working in the navy-yard; and insane for four years from the injuries received, and the afflictions under which she had passed, as set forth in detail in the foregoing petition, and her mind affected more or less from that time to the present, she has been unable of her own motion to get her case in shape to present to Congress for assistance. Kind friends have done this for her, and the names of Admiral Porter, Commodore Nicholson, Hon. George Bancroft, Rev. W. A. Leonard, and others to her petition are sufficient by their high character, to certify to her integrity and the merits of her claim.

The committee therefore report the accompanying bill, placing her name on the pension-roll at — dollars a month, and earnestly recommend its passage.

I do not care on this occasion to go particularly into the discussion of the general subject of the veto of special pension acts. That has been pretty thoroughly discussed already. It has been made apparent to the country that they are of comparatively trifling importance; that the entire amount saved annually by the vetoes of the Executive in those cases is hardly more than $50,000 a year. It has also, I think, been shown in a great many instances, and I have charged that in all cases where the vetoes were upon the merits and I charge it now upon the floor of the Senate, they have each and all been unjust. I say it has been shown in a very large number of them affirmatively that the action of the Executive has been unwise, ill-considered, ill-informed, and exceedingly and unnecessarily severe in its operation upon these applicants—severe not only in the deprivation of pension which they should receive, but in the defamation of character which has attended them as individuals and has been heaped unsparingly upon the soldiery of the country at large.

Mrs. Dougherty came to me, as she came to the members of the committee, with reference to the slanders and libels contained in the veto message upon her personal character. The chairman of the committee [Mr. DAVIS] some time since introduced and laid before the Senate the evidence then existing as to the character of this woman and the justice of her claim. He was called to another part of the country by reason of illness, if I recollect aright, in his family connections, and left a request that I should follow the matter up a little further, or as much further as I should be able to do, in the way of the collection of such evidence as might be brought to me bearing upon the charges of the Executive, these unnecessary and irrelevant charges of the Executive, even if they were true.

I have done so not to the extent that I see, from what I learn, the inquiry might be well and more successfully pursued, but as far as I could. Most of the work has been done by Mrs. Dougherty herself, who has evidently suffered mentally under these charges as acutely as could any woman in the land.

I believe from my investigation and knowledge of the matter that the charges were entirely unjust. I believe this poor woman to possess an excellent personal character, and that she has always possessed an excellent personal character; that she has been wrongfully and ruthlessly and wickedly assailed. However, the Executive may have been himself misled; there has been that carelessness and indifference in dealing with the reputation of this woman which deserves reparation, to say the least.

I ought in this connection to say further that at a time subsequent to the original discussion the Senator from Missouri on my left [Mr. COCKRELL] rose in the Senate and with great vigor charged that the allegations of fact upon which the favorable reports of the House and Senate committees had been based were untrue; that this woman's case was substantially and really a fraud from beginning to end; and he dared the further investigation of the claim. Therefore, although it would have been well for the Senator to have adduced his proof as well as to have made his charge, as the woman had been already assailed, it is doubly proper that I should lay before the Senate such matter as has come to my possession and leave the Senate and the country to judge between these parties, the assailant and the defendant.

If in this work I seem a little tedious to the Senator, who is smiling,

let me assure him that neither he nor the Senate has dealt with a more important matter at this session or is likely to do so. To my mind, the question of doing rank and infernal injustice to this woman is as serious as the question of the tariff, or the re-election of the President for another term, or the election of any other candidate to occupy that same high office; and I think that the Senator will be willing to give his attention without his sneers to what I have to offer. If not, I shall seriously misconceive the pleasure of the American people if they do not yield a more reasonable consideration to this matter than those who have made these charges.

I will first read what I believe was already put before the Senate on a former occasion, the original petition sent by several distinguished citizens of this country. It is as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

As a petitioner for your favorable consideration of my claim for pension, I do most respectfully represent that I am a resident of Washington, D. C. I came here with my family in 1863 from Mount Holly, N. J., when, shortly after, my husband, Daniel Dougherty, returned thereto and enlisted in Company G, of the Thirty-Fourth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers. I obtained employment in the United States arsenal making cartridges for the United States Army then in the field; that on or about the 28th day of June, 1864, while so employed and in the line of duty, as above stated, an explosion occurred, which killed and injured a number of employés.

Your petitioner was one of the victims. I was severely burned and internally injured, besides being mentally injured by the fall from the height to which I was thrown through the force of the explosion. My flesh was burned, as scars will show, and I inhaled the fire. My collar bone was also broken. I was unconscious when found and became insane from the injuries received.

My son (the eldest), a bright boy, was killed by machinery in the United States navy-yard at Washington, where he was at the time employed, as the records of the Navy Department will show.

At the close of the war, on the third day of the grand review of the Army, in the year 1865, my oldest surviving boy of six years was stolen by an officer of the Army and has not been heard of since.

My husband, who served in the organization aforesaid, left his home in 1865 and has not been heard from since. He deserted me, as I believe, on account of my infirmities.

I have been accustomed to a comfortable home, and might have continued well and happy but for the war and its consequences. Prior thereto I was in perfect health, both mentally and physically.

That, in view of the facts as aforesaid, she earnestly begs your consideration and prays that she may be placed upon the pension-rolls of the United States, subject to its provisions and limitations thereof.

MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

The undersigned respectfully represent that they are acquainted with Mary Ann Dougherty, believe the facts stated in the aforesaid petition to be true, and join her therein and ask consideration of same from your honorable body.

DAVID D. PORTER, *Admiral.*
MRS. GEORGE U. MORRIS.
S. NICHOLSON,
Commodore United States Navy.
W. A. LEONARD,
Rector of St. John's Parish.
E. C. WEAVER,
Late Captain United States Volunteers.
GEORGE W. ROUZER,
Correspondent Army and Navy Journal.
GEO. BANCROFT.

This is a paper that has been filed in the Pension Office. The George Bancroft referred to here was supposed at first to have been the historian. It is another gentleman of the same name, who is well known to citizens of the city of Washington. He is a man of high character and is concerned in the musical service of several of the churches here, and has been well known for many years.

In this connection I read the following certificate, and I invite the fullest investigation of the genuineness of these signatures, about which something was heard on former occasions:

WASHINGTON ARSENAL, *Washington, D. C., March* 9, 1880.

To all whom it may concern:

We, the undersigned, hereby certify that Mary A. Dougherty was employed at this arsenal and that while at her work on the second day of July, 1864, was severely burned by an explosion of powder. At said explosion several were killed.

JOHN MURPHY,
First-class Private of Ordnance.
F. WHYTE,
Captain, United States Army.
R. B. CLARK.
JOSEPH CAMPBELL,
Acting Sergeant Ordnance Department.
JAMES HARTWELL,
Sergeant of Ordnance.
GEO. W. McKEE,
Captain and Brevet Major, Commanding.

It will be observed that the date of this is in the year 1880, sixteen years after the occurrence. The genuineness of these signatures, I see, has been called in question in the public prints. I noticed some time since in the Philadelphia Times an assertion that these ordnance officers, at least Major McKee and Sergeant Campbell, repudiate the genuineness of their signatures. That was the substance of the statement made in the paper, but it is evidently merely a mistake on their part if they have done so. It will be observed that the certificate was made some sixteen years after the occurrence, and some of the details may have passed their mind since the year 1880, when it was made. I have had this paper examined at the Ordnance Department, or, at least, the signature of Major McKee especially, the one to which my attention was particularly called, and I have received the following certificate:

ORDNANCE OFFICE, WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., August 7, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of this date, inclosing a certificate, dated Washington Arsenal, D. C., March 9, 1880, signed by "George W. McKee, captain and brevet major, commanding," and five others, to the effect that Mary A. Dougherty was employed at said arsenal and while at work was severely burned by an explosion, etc., and requesting from me a certificate by myself or officers who may be able to recognize the handwriting of the signers, as to the genuineness of the signatures.

In reply I beg to say that I am familiar with Major McKee's signature, and have compared this with his signature on official papers in this office, and believe that his signature to the paper of Mary A. Dougherty is genuine. In regard to the other signatures on said paper I can not certify.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. V. BENÉT,
Brigadier-General, Chief of Ordnance.

Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR,
Acting Chairman Committee on Pensions, United States Senate.

Others who are acquainted with several of the prominent signatures have assured me that they are genuine. There is not the slightest reason on the face of the earth to cast any suspicion on the genuineness of any of these signatures. If there is lack of recollection upon the part of any of them at the present time, it is easily to be accounted for by the lapse of seven or eight years or more since the certificate was given.

I caused a letter to be written to Major McKee who is at the Allegheny arsenal, at Pittsburgh. The letter was written by Mrs. Dougherty at my request, and this answer was received:

ALLEGHENY ARSENAL, *Pittsburgh, Pa., August* 23, 1888.

MADAM: I am in receipt of your letter asking if I could not refresh my memory with regard to the employés injured at the Washington arsenal explosion in 1864. Such a long time has elapsed it would be impossible for me to do so. I am sorry I can not assist you, if you are justly entitled to a pension, but the facts are as I have stated above.

Very respectfully,

GEO. W. McKEE.

Mrs. MARY ANN DOUGHERTY,
Washington, D. C.

This is an unquestionably genuine signature. The Senator from Missouri can compare it with that on the certificate and see that they are evidently the same signature.

I have here an affidavit by Mr. John Jordan, who is a resident of this city:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *City of Washington:*

Before me, S. A. Terry, a notary public in and for the District aforesaid, personally appeared John Jordan, who being duly sworn, deposes and says as follows: I am thirty years of age, and have known Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty for over twenty-five years. The first I remember of her was when she was boarding at Mr. Jonabal's. I remember distinctly after that time that she was working at the arsenal, and was working there at the time of the explosion. I remember hearing my mother talk years ago of Mrs. Dougherty being hurt at the time of the explosion. I, however, did not see her wounds at the time, and can not say from personal knowledge that she was wounded there. I fully recollect that she was working there at the time and always understood she was injured by said explosion.

JOHN JORDAN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of September, A. D. 1888.
[SEAL.] S. A. TERRY, *Notary Public.*

I next read a certificate by Mr. H. B. Moulton of this city, well known to many as being a citizen of this city who takes a lead and often is before the committees of Congress in reference to prohibitory legislation for the District. He is a prominent gentleman, well known to thousands throughout the country. He says:

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *July* 26, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: At the request of Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty, I hereby certify that in the year A. D. 1864, I was the foreman of the laboratory in the United States arsenal, located in this city, and among the employés of that department of work was one Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty; that in the month of June of that year an explosion occurred in which over twenty ladies were killed, and many others injured, and among the injured was Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty.

Very respectfully,

H. B. MOULTON.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR,
United States Senate.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26th day of July, A. D. 1888.
[SEAL.] S. A. TERRY, *Notary Public.*

I will say that I have mislaid a more extended affidavit of Mr. Moulton, in which he goes on to say that he has frequently met this lady since that time. He was himself injured in the explosion. He met her soon after the explosion, when she had got out and he himself was about, and they talked over the subject between them, and from time to time since then he has met her and the subject of her injury has been frequently alluded to. He identifies her person fully as that of the woman who was injured in the explosion, and whom he has known ever since, and at whose request and in whose presence he made these statements. I have also the following:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July* 11, 1888.

To whom it may concern:

It affords me pleasure to recommend the bearer, Mary Ann Dougherty, to the charitably disposed as worthy, meritorious, and of good moral character. Any courtesy extended to her will be appreciated and worthily bestowed.

Very respectfully,

GEO. BANCROFT, 611 *P street, northwest.*

I have another statement from him. Mr. Bancroft has been engaged and I think is now engaged as a claim agent in the prosecution of claims of this and perhaps of other kinds against the Government. He is a man whom I have seen personally several times, and he appears to be a very respectable gentleman, as I stated before. He says that for many years he has known this woman; that she has been in reduced circumstances; that he has had occasion from time to time to assist her with charity; and that he believes her to be a thoroughly worthy, upright woman, not an intemperate woman and not guilty of any immoralities.

I may say in passing that there appears to have been a little confusion

as to the dates when the explosion took place. I have been informed that there were two explosions at nearly the same time. I have not authenticated that statement, but think that it may have been true. I will read in connection with this remark a certificate made by the clerk of the Committee on Pensions, who at my request made some inquiries:

This is to certify that I have examined the files of the Evening Star, published at Washington, D. C., in reference to its report of the explosion which occurred at the United States arsenal at Washington, D. C., on the 17th of June, 1864.

In said report it is stated that two of the witnesses before the coroner's inquest, namely, Thomas B. Brown, superintendent of the building where the said accident occurred, and his assistant, Andrew Cox, both testified that all the books and rolls containing the names of the persons employed in said building were burned.

J. B. POTTER,
Clerk Committee on Pensions, United States Senate.

JULY 27, 1888.

The explosion in which Mrs. Dougherty was injured has been stated in one paper to be on or about July 2, and in another June 28. I think there must have been either more than one explosion or a failure in memory in fixing the date. It will be observed, too, that the records of the arsenal in one of these explosions were shown to be lost, by the matter taken from the Evening Star, and a statement which I have from one witness who was blown up with the rest was to the effect that the records of the arsenal at the time of the injury to Mrs. Dougherty were also destroyed, but the witness, Mr. Moulton, kept the roll. He had charge of the roll itself and knew positively in reference to the name of this particular, identical Mary Ann Dougherty being borne upon that roll, and being injured in the explosion. I have the following affidavit:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *ss:*

I, Elizabeth McConnell, being duly sworn in due form of law, deposes and says that she is a resident of this District, and has resided here for about forty years; that she is well acquainted with Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty, and has known her since long before the explosion in the arsenal in 1864. That Mrs. Dougherty was injured in said explosion, and I have known her ever since said explosion; my brother, Sergeant Campbell, lived in the arsenal, and I visited said grounds frequently. That Mrs. Dougherty now present is the identical person who was injured in said explosion.

MRS. ELIZABETH McCONNELL.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of September, A. D. 1888.
[SEAL.] S. A. TERRY, *Notary Public.*

It has been denied in the public prints, whether by Sergeant Campbell himself on account of lapse of memory I can not say, that the certificate signed by Major McKee and Sergeant Campbell was a genuine certificate. Here is the sister of Sergeant Campbell himself who signed that certificate and the sergeant who was employed in the arsenal at that very time when the explosion took place, who says she visited the arsenal often where her brother was, and swears positively to the identity of this very Mrs. Dougherty who was present when this affidavit was given, and which was brought to me. Here, I say, is the sister of the same Sergeant Campbell who establishes the essential facts which are controverted by the Senator from Missouri in his defiance to the committee and to all mankind to show that this case was otherwise than an absolute fraud upon the facts. I am glad to see that these papers now attract the attention of the Senator from Missouri, because I do not think that he would defame a woman unnecessarily even by telling the truth without an apology.

I will read the following:

GENERAL AFFIDAVIT.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *County of Washington, ss:*

In the matter of claim for pension and vindication of the character of Mary Ann Dougherty, pending before Congress.

On this 27th day of August, A. D. 1888, personally appeared before me, a notary public in and for the aforesaid county, duly authorized to administer oaths, James W. Rock, aged 39 years, whose post-office address is 819 Sixth street southwest, Washington, county of Washington and District of Columbia, well known to me to be reputable and entitled to credit, and who, being duly sworn, declares in relation to aforesaid case as follows:

On the 28th day of June, 1864, he was an employé of the Government and at work in the arsenal at the time of the explosion on that day. He remembers Mary Ann Dougherty, who was therein employed making cartridges, and recollects distinctly that she was severely injured in the accident and while in the discharge of her duties: that for some time thereafter she was confined to her house and bed under medical treatment therefor and to deponent's knowledge has never fully recovered therefrom; that she lost a son in the Government service, who was killed at the navy-yard in this city; that she is in reduced circumstances, an invalid, deserving, and merits the consideration of your honorable body. He further declares that he has no interest in said case and is not concerned in its prosecution.

JAS. W. ROCK.

CHAS. W. DARR.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *County of Washington, ss:*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this day by the above-named affiant, and I certify that I read said affidavit to said affiant, including the words erased and the words added and acquainted him with its contents before he executed the same. I further certify that I am in no wise interested in said case nor am I concerned in its prosecution, and that said affiant is personally known to me and that he is a creditable person.

[SEAL.] CHAS. W. DARR, *Notary Public.*

I call the attention of the Senate to this item of evidence bearing upon the very bitter assertion of the Senator from Missouri the other day, that this woman did not have any son blown up or killed in the navy-yard; that that claim was a fraud designed, as I suppose he would say, to excite the sympathy of the soft-hearted, and perhaps soft-headed, committees of Congress on the subject of pensions. But here is the evidence bearing upon that point, and perhaps there is more.

I will say, in passing, in reference to this matter of the boy being killed at the navy-yard, who at the time was the only support of this woman, who had several children and was herself already disabled, as previously stated, by a prior explosion, that a lady of the highest respectability in this city who was befriending Mrs. Dougherty went to the navy-yard, and she has informed me that she found the utmost difficulty in receiving even the ordinary courtesies to anybody from the officers there, and came away with the impression that the officers were exceedingly reluctant that information should be derived from any official source bearing in favor of this Mrs. Dougherty and against the declarations made by the Executive in regard to her. All the way through it has come to me from those who have been making these investigations, two persons or more, that like interference from some source has resulted in reluctance in giving the testimony which otherwise might be much more full and complete, the expression being used that the Dougherty case had become a political issue.

I will read a little fuller statement in the form of a letter. I am sorry I mislaid the affidavit, which was the same in substance, but a little more full:

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *July* 31, 1888.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR, *United States Senator:*

In answer to your letter of inquiry of the 27th instant I would say that the Mary Ann Dougherty who called upon me a few days ago in regard to the veto of her pension claim, and to whom I gave the statement addressed to you, is the identical woman who was in the year A. D. 1864 employed in the United States arsenal in this city. I knew her then, and remember her distinctly now, having frequently seen her and spoken with her from year to year since the explosion, in which I have always understood she was injured. I have been a resident of Washington since that time. When the explosion occurred I was clerk in the building in which it took place, and was myself severely injured. After my recovery I was made foreman. As clerk I kept the list of the employés, and there was no other person of that name employed there. Her husband was or had been, as I understood, in the Army.

Very respectfully,

H. B. MOULTON.

I have here something bearing upon this Mr. Moulton:

[Duplicate.]

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *July* 26, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: At the request of Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty I hereby certify that in the year A. D. 1864 I was the foreman of the laboratory in the United States arsenal located in this city, and that among the employés of that department of work was one Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty; that in the month of June of that year an explosion occurred in which over twenty ladies were killed and many others injured, and among the injured was Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty.

Very respectfully,

H. B. MOULTON.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR, *United States Senate.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., 604 B STREET, S. W., *July* 26, 1888.

I certify that H. B. Moulton was employed as foreman in the laboratory at Washington arsenal at the time he states. At that time and during the war I was employed as chief clerk at the arsenal, and was personally acquainted with Mr. Moulton.

The paymaster at that time was Military Storekeeper E. N. Stebbins, and his vouchers ought to be on file in the Second Auditor's office of the Treasury Department.

I am seventy-three years of age and am blind, and consequently unable to recognize Mrs. Dougherty.

F. WHYTE,
Captain United States Army, retired.

I have already made observation with reference to the vouchers. I understand that there has been search in the Treasury Department or Navy Department or somewhere where they ought to be, and I have been told that these vouchers were not found; but it appears altogether probable that in the explosions, as shown to have been the case in one instance, vouchers and papers were destroyed, which accounts for many of the mistakes about this case.

I have here a letter from a witness who sends a certificate:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 27, 1888.

This is to certify that Mrs. May M. Doherty was a fellow employé at the time of the explosion at the arsenal, June 28, 1864, and was severely injured by said explosion.

She is a deserving woman and in reduced circumstances, being a widow. She has lost her son in the Government service, having been killed at the navy-yard in this city.

JAS. W. ROCK,
819 *Sixth street, southwest., city.*

The probability is that the common reports of the death of the husband leads this gentleman into a mistake as to his survivorship in some distant part of the country drawing the pension this woman ought to have if justice was done between the two parties. I have here a statement of facts drawn by Mrs. Dougherty, or by some one in her behalf, which is signed by James Mulloy, who certifies these facts are true. He is, or has recently been, in the employment of the police department of this city.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *City of Washington, ss:*

The affidavit was drawn and informally executed, and I will read it as it is:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *City of Washington, ss:*

Personally came before me, a notary public in and for the aforesaid city and District, ——— ———, aged — years, a citizen of the city of Washington, District of Columbia, reputable and entitled to credit, and who, being duly sworn, declares as follows:

That he became acquainted with Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty in the year of 1863, and lived a near neighbor to her, and knows that she was employed in the United States arsenal in 1864, and knows that at the time of the explosion in June, 1864,

she was so engaged, and was one of the victims of said explosion. He further declares that he can well remember that after the explosion her son, a bright, intelligent youth, was given employment in the navy-yard, and that he was accidentally killed, while in the discharge of his duty, in the year of 1865; and further, that he has personal knowledge of the fact that at the time of the three days' review in May, 1865, she had a little son who disappeared, and to the best of his knowledge and belief, has not been heard—

So that she lost two of her sons in the way described—

from since. All that is herein stated is given from memory, of all the facts and circumstances; and he further declares that he has known the Mary A. Dougherty ever since, and can positively identify her as the same that was blown up in the arsenal, and suffered as herein stated. I have no personal interest in this matter, but give this testimony as an act of justice, and I am willing to be interrogated by any one whom this may concern.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me on this — day of August, 1888.

This is, as I said before, drawn by some one who knew the facts, and this man could state them with the expectation that his statement would be sworn to. It failed to be formally executed. I have here in his handwriting, the same as his signature, the following:

I hereby certify that the bearer, Mrs. Mary A. Dougherty—I have known her since 1863, and believe what she sets forth in the within to be true, and that she is truthful and honest, so far as I know.

Yours, respectfully,

JAS. MULLOY.

I will read a letter from Mr. Bancroft:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July* 26, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Considerable controversy seems to be afloat regarding an act recently passed for the relief of one Mary Ann Dougherty, vetoed by the President, to whose petition therefor my name was signed, and not that of Hon. George Bancroft, the historian. Believing then, as I do now, that for her troubles and the injuries she had received while in the employ of the Government, I signed said petition after observing the names of the distinguished gentlemen that preceded mine, without ever thinking the act would be attributed to another. I am still of the opinion the case is meritorious, and instead of meeting with the vituperation of the Executive deserves the consideration of your honorable body.

Very respectfully,

GEO. BANCROFT.

Hon. C. K. DAVIS,
United States Senator.

Mr. Bancroft informs me that in the preparation of this case, the collecting of these papers, he was connected with the transaction before the Department, and since that Mrs. Dougherty herself or friends outside of his office have been the active parties, but he has known her and collected the correspondence with the office.

I have here a letter which I will read from Mrs. Kate Marr, 1827 Ninth street, in this city:

Mrs. WEAVER:

Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty has been here; she is very sick and will go to the hospital for a few days. She wishes me to ask you if you will not go at once to the man whom you could not see on account of his being sick, the one who saw her boy killed. Get his affidavit and take it to Senator BLAIR by 2 or anyhow 3 p. m. to-day. She was due at the Capitol to-day but is not able to go. If more affidavits are necessary, she can obtain one from a Mrs. Moddus with whom she boarded when she worked at the arsenal, and she will be grateful for the kindness.

MRS. KATE MARR, 1827 *Ninth street.*

This is addressed to Mrs. Weaver, who is at the head of the Woman's Christian Temperance organization in this city, and was interested in this case, who, among others, made inquiries at the navy-yard. Here is a letter addressed by Mrs. Marr to myself:

TUESDAY.

SIR: Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty, whom you have so kindly befriended in her efforts for relief, sent word to me this morning begging that I would write, stating that she was ill and not able to see you. I advised her to go to the hospital for a few days, as I found her afterwards in a very bad condition. The poor creature was a servant in my employ at one time, and I have always felt the greatest interest in her and sympathy for her; indeed, going far enough to find excuses for her failing that always seems to me more the lingering evidence of insanity than a nearer cause. I do sincerely hope that her matter will right itself, and feel encouraged.

Very respectfully,

MRS. KATE THYSON MARR,
1827 *Ninth street northwest.*

Senator BLAIR.

I do not know what the failing here referred to is. I know that it has been said to me that Mrs. Dougherty's mind was so affected by her sufferings at the time of the explosion and since that there are recurring periods when she manifests some mental aberration.

I will now read a certificate by quite a number of residents of the city who have known her:

We, the undersigned friends and old neighbors of Mrs. Mary A. Dougherty, hereby testify to her good moral character from a knowledge of her for many years.

The police officer has written this addition to his former certificate in his own hand:

From all I know of Mrs. M. A. Dougherty I believe to be a woman of good moral character.

JAMES MULLOY.
JOSEPH WILLIAMS, 2130 *Seventh Street Road.*
JAMES A. FULTON, *Seventh street Road.*
ROBERT CONDON, *Seventh Street Road.*
J. H. DAHL, *Seventh Street Road.*
JACOB MADERT, 1822 *Seventh street.*
THOMAS B. TURNER, 1702 *Seventh street.*
M. T. BRIDWELL, 363 *M street, S. W.*
JOHN F. QUIGLEY, 1102 *Seventh street, S. W.*

Then further:

I have known Mrs. Mary A. Dougherty for more than fifteen years, and have known her in connection with her pension claim. She has always been a truthful, honorable woman, and what I learned of her in the beginning has been reiterated ever since, and corroborated by others. I have always known her as feeble in body and mind, and from what I have learned is certainly the result of an injury received as claimed. Anything Mrs. Dougherty would tell me I would not dare to doubt.

LAVINIA C. DUNDORE,
717 *M street, N. W.*

I think that is the name—a good handwriting anyway.

I concur.

E. S. MORSE, 717 *M street, N. W.*
MRS. MARY GOCKLER, 721 *M street.*
MISS MARY STEWART, 1503 *Fifth street, N. W.*
MR. M. G. FOX, 1137 *Seventh street, N. W.*
M. FOLEY, 811 *Seventh street, N. W.*
W. K. MARTIN, 321 *I street, S. E.*
C. B. DOWDEN, 928 *Seventh, N. W.*

I will say here in passing that Mrs. Dougherty came to me a few days ago and informed me that Mrs. Logan, the widow of General Logan, would come to the Capitol and give me a statement or certificate in reference to the good character and good name of Mrs. Dougherty. It was a very stormy day and Mrs. Logan, as I understand, must have left the city the day following the one I was to have seen her, in order, as I learn from the public prints, to leave the country on a visit to Europe. I do not know anything further in regard to it. I know Mrs. Dougherty came to me feeling very much rejoiced that she would be able to bring to me, before it was necessary to present this to the Senate, a statement from Mrs. Logan. Mrs. Dougherty informed me that on a former occasion General Logan had acted very kindly to her in many ways, and I have come to believe pretty much what Mrs. Dougherty tells me without anybody back of her. I will read another affidavit:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *Washington City, ss:*

Statement made this the 14th day of August, 1888, by Martha A. Martin, residence No. 321 I street, northeast, Washington, D. C., in the pension claim of Mary Ann Dougherty, now pending in the United States Senate and which was recently vetoed by the President of the United States.

Have known Mrs. Dougherty since 1867. My husband kept a drug store and Mrs. Dougherty came there to get medicine. I heard it said at that time, when I first knew her, that she was one of the victims of the arsenal explosion, which occurred at the Washington arsenal in June, 1864. I have seen the scars upon her person which Mrs. Dougherty says are the result of said explosion. I was acquainted with several other persons who were in said explosion and they have told me that Mrs. Dougherty was injured in said explosion. Mrs. Dougherty commenced work for me in 1877 and remained with me for two years, and since that time she has visited me often, and I have gladly afforded her food and shelter when she was out of work and had nowhere else to go. I was keeping the O-street eating-house for the market people during the time that Mrs. Dougherty worked for me.

My son was nine years in the Navy as druggist, and was three years on the Wyandotte receiving-ship at the Washington navy-yard. I have heard him frequently speak of the accident at the navy-yard which resulted in the death of the son of Mrs. Dougherty, and have heard other persons speak of said accident, and have no doubt of the fact.

Mrs. Wells, whose husband was a surgeon in the Navy, and was stationed at the Washington navy-yard, has said to me that Mrs. Dougherty's son was killed there. Surgeon Wells and his wife are now both dead. I also knew George Sylvester, M. D., who was the physician who attended Mrs. Dougherty; and he came to my husband's drug store for medicine, and I have heard him speak of the said accident when Mrs. Dougherty received her injury. I believe that Mrs. Dougherty is a virtuous and respectable woman. I know nothing to the contrary. She is a poor, unfortunate person, and justly merits the charitable consideration of Congress.

MARTHA A. MARTIN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of August, A. D. 1888.
[SEAL.] R. B. NIXON, *Notary Public.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September* 11, 1888.

Hon. Senator BLAIR:

SIR—

This is a statement drawn up by Mrs. Dougherty. It is not in her hand-writing, but I have also her statement in her own handwriting. The people who have drawn these papers are lacking in clerical skill somewhat. I read oftentimes more than one document at the expense of a little repetition; but I do not feel any apprehension that the facts will be too definitely understood if I repeat.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September* 11, 1888.

Hon. Senator BLAIR:

SIR: May I be permitted to approach you upon the subject of my unfortunate claim for a pension, which I might have obtained without the vilification that has been heaped upon me by the President's veto (had I been in a sane condition).

I beg to impress upon your mind that I am no common character. I was born in the county of Limerick, Ireland, on the 25th day of March, 1840, and was sent to the United States by my honored parents, for a twofold purpose, *i. e.*, that of an improvement in my health, and finish my education; my destination was Mount Holly Seminary, Mount Holly, N. J., where I remained until in the year 1853, when without the sanction of my parents I married my husband, Daniel Dougherty, the ceremony having been consummated at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church.

I will say before proceeding further with this letter that Mrs. Dougherty, as I am informed by herself, is the daughter of a prominent physician in the old country. She came here, as she states, for the completion of her education, and for the benefit of her health, in her younger days. That she has had an unfortunate life, it is not necessary to observe, but she uses in the first part of this letter the expression that she is no common character, and I think the woman is a woman of as bright original promise as the average of women in this country.

At the breaking out of the war I was living in affluence, the fact of which I can produce evidence. Reverses came, and we came to Washington, and my husband enlisted in a regiment of New Jersey volunteers. Now, I had six children, four boys and two girls, all depending for support. Necessity forced it, and I sought and obtained a situation in the United States arsenal. I worked there for some months, when, about the latter part of the month of June, 1864, there was an explosion occurred, in which I was severely injured, receiving a

fracture of my skull, a broken collar-bone, and a severe burning to my flesh. The explosion herein alluded to can not be forgotten, as there is a monument erected in Congressional Cemetery to the memory of the unfortunate ladies torn to pieces at the time of my injury.

Sympathy for me led to the appointment of my eldest son to a situation in the navy-yard, where, in the line of duty, in the spring of 1865 he was accidentally killed by machinery.

My husband returned from the war a wreck of his former self, and we were living near the boundary in May, 1865, during the "Grand Army review." My second surviving son, a bright boy of six years, was kidnapped by some one, supposed to be an officer in General Thomas's corps, and though efforts were made, and the President, Andrew Johnson, offered a reward, I have never heard of him since.

As to my character, the President of the United States, I had thought, should be the last man to assail it, as I have had no personal knowledge of him, prior to the time when I went into the White House, holding in my hand a horse-shoe, and the President's first remark was, "What have you in your hand?" "A horse-shoe," I exclaimed, for "luck, nothing more," and then the President said to me, "I will remember your case and act consistently."

Now my character has been impeached as a ground for the veto. I was arrested, as all are liable to, but the records of the courts must show that I have been exonerated, and I am at a loss to know why I was not investigated before the veto of the President.

There are others whom I know could give positive evidence to the facts of my misfortunes, but they have personal considerations, as they hold office and fear—their names are sacred.

I wish to wrong no one, and even would help an enemy in distress, but at the same time I will protect and defend my family name, which is beyond reproach.

Very respectfully,

MRS. MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

Hon. Senator BLAIR:

This matter has been condensed. We could say more if the situation demands it.

M. A. D.

As I said, this statement is not in her handwriting, but I have a statement in her handwriting. Some friends seem to have assisted in putting it as they thought in a more legible hand, I suppose.

In this connection I will read her own communication to me. This was drawn with the idea on her part in one or two places that there should be the insertion of some of the documents that I have been reading, but I will pursue the reading as it is.

MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

I was born on the 25th of March, 1840, in the County Limerick, Ireland, and was brought to this country at an early age for the benefit of my health and to finish my education. I was put in Mount Holly (N. J.) seminary, and was married from that place in 1853, in St. Mary's Church, to Daniel Dougherty, and when I left there to come to Washington I had a family of six—four boys and two girls. When about three months in this city my husband enlisted in the New Jersey volunteers, and I heard nothing from him until after my injuries in the arsenal.

As I have just mentioned, I had obtained employment in the United States Government arsenal, through Colonel Benton, then in charge, and was there about three months when the explosion occurred, and I was so injured by this explosion as to be unable to work, and my son was put to work in the United States navy-yard to keep my family from starving. He was there but a short time when he was killed by an accident, and then, at the close of the war—the third day of the grand review—my second surviving son was taken by an officer of General Thomas's regiment by force, and I have never seen him since.

As for being such a character as represented by the President, I can say that I was arrested but once with any charge against me, that of beating a police officer with his own club while he was misusing his wife, and two others—which were dismissed—for selling liquor to soldiers of the Army during the war.

Which means these two other charges of selling liquor which she explains further on, and it seems she was dismissed without blame.

After getting better, before I was able to work, I went back to the arsenal where I worked about a year when the work was about finished. At the second time I went to the arsenal Major White was paymaster, and my name should be on the pay-roll at that time.

All these misfortunes were such that I was mentally prostrated and I was put in St. Elizabeth's.

I will call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to the fact that it appears this woman was before the explosion and has been up to her partial recovery employed, and for a while afterwards.

Mr. COCKRELL. About a year?

Mr. BLAIR. Yes.

I went back to the arsenal, where I worked about a year.

I suppose there was work done in that arsenal after the books were destroyed, and probably she did some of it. She says she did.

All these misfortunes were such that I was mentally prostrated, and I was put in St. Elizabeth's Insane Asylum and staid but a few weeks, when I was put in Providence Hospital, and from there I went to my home, which was being taken care of by my brother.

When able to work I went to the family of Dr. Harword, now in Philadelphia, and have been working in the families of several prominent people, well known here, and who will vouch for what I say here.

Perhaps the Senator can hunt that up. She says here that her name should be on the pay roll, but I will suggest to the Senator that he will find that probably one-half the miscellaneous pay-rolls used in the Army during the war have been destroyed, and I am informed that to a very large extent the pay-rolls, papers, and vouchers which had become useless by reason of the lapse of time have been destroyed in these very Departments.

[Here comes the application for a pension.] I have been from then until now trying to get a pension, and I am almost worn to death looking for evidence for my benefit.

I most earnestly hope and pray that I may succeed to it now, for I fear this will set me crazy again—the libeling of an honest woman by a man who has no business to say such things.

Yours, very respectfully,

MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

I have another paper drawn by her in which she goes over the same ground.

MARY ANN DOUGHERTY—HER ARRESTS AND THE CAUSES.

I do as you bid me in writing out the statement of my arrests and the reasons therefor—

Before I forget it, as there is a good deal in this matter, I want to say that the police records have been very carefully examined all through every book, with the assistance of the clerk, by Mrs. Charlotte Smith quite recently, for I did not know that she knew anything about this case until I obtained this evidence, and she informs me that in going through this very large number of volumes of records down to the present time there is a variety of names very similar to that of this Mrs. Dougherty, and that serious charges are made against many of them and for aught I know they were proved, but this identical Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty that we are trying to get a pension for seems to have carried all the way through an entirely innocent and unquestionable reputation—arrested, as she says, but exonerated in every instance; the first time for assisting to prevent a brutal and drunken police officer from killing his wife, and in the other two instances she now gives an account:

I do as you bid me in writing out the statement of my arrests and the reasons therefor. You know already the assault on the officer (for beating his wife) with his own club, in which case I was acquitted. This was the first.

When my husband left for the war I had no means of support, and my children had to be fed and my rent paid; so, as I saw others doing, I bought a half gallon of liquor, which was hardly in the house and before I had sold a drop, when an officer came in and took it from me, and I had to go with him and take my little children with me, as there was no one in the house to care for them. In the morning the case was dismissed, and when I returned to my home I found it had been robbed, as I had left no one in charge. (The police could watch where the liquor went but could not protect a person's property.)

After this, I applied to Colonel Benton, and through his kindness I succeeded in getting work in the United States arsenal. About a month after getting my situation, one evening a soldier came to my door and asked for a glass, which I gave him, thinking he wanted to get a drink at the pump opposite. He then took from his pocket a flask and then treated a companion, which was witnessed by an officer, who arrested them and me, and again I was obliged to stay all night with my little ones in a cell. In the morning the soldier swore I had sold him no liquor, and this case was dismissed.

In the next case I was employed at the Deaf and Dumb Institute and had come into town to make some purchases, and then went to a store to pay a bill, and when I left I forgot an umbrella (which belonged to my employer, Mr. Ballard) and the goods I had bought. I returned for them and was told that I had left nothing there; and when I attempted to remonstrate with the storekeeper he beckoned for a police officer, who arrested me under the impression that I was another person well known to the police; and this time also I was dismissed. (I have never seen the goods nor umbrella from that time since.)

This is the substance of my crimes (?).

You have asked me about my children. One boy is buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery, one in Mount Holly, N. J., and my son Johnny, who was killed in the navy-yard—I don't know where he is buried. I have one son now with my brother in the State of New Jersey, and my husband stole two from me while I was on a visit with him in Philadelphia, and I have never since seen them.

I have been to the reform school, and Mrs. Shallenberger says she will get a letter from the priest and send it to you, but I will go out Sunday again to make sure of it and bring it to you.

I have been unable to write before, as I have the rheumatism in my arm and fingers.

I hope this is satisfactory, and that you can make use of it.

Yours, most truly,

MARY ANN DOUGHERTY.

And inclosed is this:

I have heard no more about my husband and children until I received the dispatches of the death of my husband (whether he intended to get rid of me or not), and since then I have been trying to get enough to find my two children, but I am getting worse off, and now the President has fixed me altogether and I will have to wait till I get my money before I can look for them.

Mrs. Weaver, the lady I have referred to as prominent in the Woman's Christian Union of this city, gives me this statement:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July* 7, 1888.

To whom it may concern:

This is to certify that I have known Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty several years. Has been a servant in my family, and I believe her to be strictly honest and virtuous. She is industrious, and I believe the stories lately circulated to be without foundation. She has had a great deal of trouble, and has been more sinned against than sinning.

MRS. M. A. WEAVER.

Again:

WASHINGTON, *April*, 1888.

This is to certify that Mrs. Dougherty has lived with me for some time, until illness compelled her to leave, and we found her capable and honest. I sincerely hope she will find a home among good people.

ELIZABETH SHALLENBERGER.

I have here written on a piece of paper which relates to something connected with the case, dated December 24, 1879, something in regard to an application for employment on the back of it. It seems that as long ago as that she was making very consistent statements in regard to the loss of her children in seeking employment; but I read this particularly as a certificate from a clergyman who may be known in the city:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July* 8, 1888.

This is to certify that Mrs, Mary Ann Dougherty was employed as a servant in our family four years ago and served in that capacity several months. We found her industrious and faithful in her duties.

MELVILLE BALLARD.

I have known Mrs. Dougherty for some time past, and believe that she is deserving and can be trusted.

JOHN VAUGHAN LEWIS.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, *December* 24, 1879.

The pastor of St. John's Church in this city at that time. As it appeared from these papers that Mrs. Dougherty is a Catholic, I insisted that she should bring me some testimony from the clergy of her own denomination, for I suppose everybody understands that no Catholic clergyman will give his certificate or his indorsement from personal

knowledge or from investigation in a case of this kind unless he knows he is right; and she has brought me the following:

GONZAGA COLLEGE, *Washington, D. C., July* 11, 1888.

From the many references shown me by Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty, I should judge her to be a person of a trustworthy character and capable of performing whatever she undertakes in her line of usefulness.

P. J. O'CONNELL, S. J.

Another pastor of hers to whom she has ordinarily confessed she told me, and who has known her longer and known her better, sends me the following from the same college:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September* 16, 1888.

To whom it may concern:

Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty, whose case can not fail to arouse the sympathy of every one who hears it, has been spoken well of to me by truthful persons who have known her for years and who have employed her. I think the aid she asks from Government is fairly and justly due her.

E. A. McGURK, S. J.,
Pastor St. Aloysius.

Mr. President, I have read these items of evidence at length because I think they ought to go upon the records of this country along with the veto which assailed this woman. I think that it can hardly be claimed that this woman is not vindicated. That the assault upon her reputation grows out of no primary malevolence towards her it would be entirely unfair to claim; but the thing has happened that this woman has been injured, she has been deprived of her pension when in a reasonable discretion she ought to have had it. Beyond that, she has been deprived of her character that has stood well in this community evidently for a quarter of a century, and I submit that it calls upon all those who have been instrumental in doing this injury that they make reparation. I trust the Executive will do so in as public a manner as he attacked her by a communication to both Houses of Congress to place upon the eternal files of this Government forever as an antidote to the injury which has been perpetrated by the veto, an injury to reputation as well as a deprivation of an all-important pecuniary right which this woman was entitled to in the judgment of the Congress of the United States.

I might in this connection make some other remarks bearing upon the general topic of these vetoes, but I wish this matter to be considered without politics and apart from politics. It is a personal affair which ordinarily could be adjusted in the courts, but which could not in this case be adjusted in the courts. It is a matter that appeals to everything just and natural in the most ordinary human nature, and that there may be no excuse for the reiteration of these charges or efforts of ingenuity and investigation in some way to impeach or weaken the force of this irrefragable testimony as to this particular woman, no effort to conceal the force of the testimony and to do this woman the justice that evidently upon the basis of these facts belongs to her, and that there may be no excuse to mix this case up with the politics of the country, I will forbear upon this occasion the general remarks which at some time I shall be glad to offer to the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, the President of the United States, as a matter of course, in vetoing this bill had no personal feeling in the matter, and could not have been actuated by any personal ill will. He vetoed it because he believed it was right to do so and because he believed that it was a fraud.

Some time ago the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] made an onslaught upon the President on this very case, and it was then that I challenged the Committee on Pensions to bring in a report in favor of passing this bill over the President's veto, and to-day that challenge stands unanswered.

Now, in order to avoid that the Senator from New Hampshire has come in here with a volume of hearsay testimony. He quotes what two of the ministers of the Catholic Church say, and comments upon it by asserting that they are always very careful in such matters. That is true, and now in each one of these certificates they do not speak upon any personal knowledge, and they so state.

Mr. BLAIR. To what does the Senator refer?

Mr. COCKRELL. To those two letters the Senator read from Catholic clergymen.

Mr. BLAIR. But the facts are sworn to by witnesses who assert facts positively.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am talking about the two Catholic priests whose letters the Senator read. Here is one:

GONZAGA COLLEGE, *Washington, D. C., July* 11, 1888.

From the many references shown me by Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty I should judge her to be a person of a trustworthy character and capable of performing whatever she undertakes in her line of usefulness.

P. J. O'CONNELL, S. J.

He does not know a thing about it; but she has gone there and spread a parcel of names before him, and to get rid of her he gives that kind of a certificate.

Mr. BLAIR. Will the Senator assent to an interruption?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. BLAIR. Let me say to the Senator that this woman tells me as to the certificate of the priest last read that he has very frequently been her confessor, and the other priest knows her well. It is not to be expected that these priests have employed this woman in their families or can give certificates as to her character from that process of association as the other parties did; and the Senator knows, as we all know, that no Catholic priest would ever seemingly indorse any bad woman.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no seeming indorsement about it at all. He just says she has presented good names and good testimonials, and ought to be a good woman. The statement of the other priest is to the same effect. All this is mere trash, the veriest bosh, the veriest secondary and hearsay testimony ever submitted.

Now, mark the point. This woman in her long and diffusive letters to the Senator states that she was employed in the arsenal several months before the explosion in which she was injured, but she recovered; and she was employed in there again for a year. That settles this case. If she was in that arsenal, her name is upon the records and pay-rolls; and the attempt to make the impression that those records were destroyed is entirely wiped out by the fact she alleges that she was there a year afterwards.

Mr. BLAIR. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. BLAIR. There is nothing but the naked, bare assertion of the Senator from Missouri to show that her name is not upon the record.

Mr. COCKRELL. Well, I am not through yet; wait——

Mr. BLAIR. Except the fact that the records were burned up.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is just what I wanted the Senator to state. I have some papers that I will read in a few minutes, and they will show where her name is.

Mr. SPOONER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not remember the details or the facts bearing upon this case, but I would like to ask the Senator what there is in the case bearing on this woman's right to a pension which involves her character. If she was not employed there, if she was not entitled to a pension for that reason, in what way did it become either necessary or proper by way of veto to impeach her character and place upon the record these charges against her moral character?

Mr. COCKRELL. She based her claim to a pension upon the ground that she was a Government employé in the arsenal and was injured in that explosion.

Mr. SPOONER. Very well.

Mr. COCKRELL. Now I will show that that is false.

Mr. SPOONER. Very well.

Mr. COCKRELL. And a fraud, and that all the rest of her conduct is in accordance with that fraud.

Mr. SPOONER. There comes the point of my question. Concede it to be false, and that for that reason the woman was not entitled to a pension, the point as I understand it made by the Senator from New Hampshire is that the veto should have proceeded upon that ground without any slander or impeachment of the woman and her antecedent and moral character.

Mr. COCKRELL. There is no slander of the women, not a particle. The President did not tell half the truth about her character.

Mr. BLAIR. He did not tell any of it.

Mr. COCKRELL. He told only a part, and not half the truth about her.

Mr. BLAIR. He did not tell any of the truth about her.

Mr. COCKRELL. He stated only a part, and every word he said was the truth—every solitary word. There never was such an effort made on the face of the green earth to bolster up a fraud as this is.

Now, I speak plainly. The Senator from New Hampshire has nailed the point. He tried to make the impression that the arsenal records were destroyed in the explosion, but now Mrs. Dougherty comes in and says she was there twelve months after the explosion. Mark that point. She now says she had a son killed afterwards in the navy-yard. She can tell where all the other sons who are dead are buried, but unfortunately the grave of that son can not be found. She does not know where he was buried. How did it happen that she knows so well where the others were buried and not that son? I say the son was never killed there. I reiterate and repeat everything I said with redoubled emphasis when I challenged the Senate Committee on Pensions to bring in the evidence. I have got this case narrowed down to the exact point.

The name "George Bancroft" signed to her affidavit is not the name of the distinguished historian, but he is a claim agent, a pension agent, a pension shark.

Mr. BLAIR. I assert he is as honest a man as either of us.

Mr. COCKRELL. All right; I have his record right here. I hold in my hands a report of the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department accompanied by the testimony—House report 189, Forty-fifth Congress, third session, the investigation of the frauds that were attempted upon the soldiers of this country by a pack of claim agents very soon after the arrears of pension bill was passed. Here is a circular that was issued and sent to every soldier in the country whose name and address could be found. This circular is on pages 8 and 9; I will not read it all.

To the pensioners of the country:

The undersigned pensioners of Washington, D. C., having been more thoroughly identified with the prosecution of the arrears of pension bill than any others resident here, desire to present you notice of the fact that Capt. R. A. Dimmick, of this city, who came here three years ago for the sole purpose of securing the passage of this measure, the credit is entirely due for management

and organization in pressing the matter upon the attention of Congress and in educating the public, the press, State Legislatures, and other bodies; and while others who have no claim to credit are now seeking to create an impression that they have been first and foremost in this work, it is our duty to recognize Captain Dimmick not only as the prosecutor of this measure, but as the one without whose effort the measure would never have been pressed upon Congress. He put in the first petition from New York, and has been the means of having nearly every petition and every letter sent to Congress the past three years, and his work has covered from Maine to California. He has placed before the country over one hundred thousand pamphlets, petitions, and documents, and his compilation of statistical information, embracing the most unanswerable arguments, being the result of much study and work, has been the main means of enlightening the public and Congress as to the justice and merits of the claim. Senators, Representatives, and other officials here frequently call for these pamphlets.

He has done an immense work against heavy opposition and discouraging circumstances in various ways, and has frequently been obliged to assume necessary obligations, being at present indebted to the extent of $152, which we trust pensioners will not only relieve him of, but come forward and show in a generous manner their appreciation of his work; for not a pensioner in the land to-day would be entitled to receive the benefit of this law had it not been for his labors. Our assertions are fully corroborated by the attorneys of this city. As we have sought an act of justice and obtained it through the especial instrumentality of Captain D——, let us now perform an act of justice toward him in appreciation of the effort, knowing, as we do, that he has never received any compensation for the labors of the past three years. Let it not be said that pensioners were ungrateful to one to whom they owe so much, and a debt which can never be paid. We have started the movement here towards a generous testimonial by those pensioners whose homes will now be made more comfortable and happier, and not only appeal to you to return the inclosed subscription blank filled out in accordance with your appreciation of the benefits you will receive, but induce all others interested, who have the spirit of manhood and generosity, to do likewise.

Your fellow-pensioners,

J. C. S. BURGER, *War Department.*
H. H. BROWER, *Interior Department.*
W. L. TREMBLY, *War Department.*

On the back of this circular is the following:

"CERTIFICATION.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 27, 1879.

"As a matter of justice I desire to state that three years ago this month Capt. R. A. Dimmick came direct from New York to my house, and remained with me for some time, and that on his arrival he announced his intention, that he had come on for the express and sole purpose of prosecuting the arrears-of-pension bill before Congress; that he has worked unremittingly on behalf of this measure until the present, often engaged until midnight and often from midnight until morning. I do not hesitate to state that the pensioners, as well as many others of this city, know that Captain Dimmick has done an immense work with but small means, and with difficulty securing help to assist him here, even from those interested, the large majority of whom have never lent even a helping hand. I am free to say that, from the knowledge I have of the prosecution, there is not a pensioner in the land who will reap the benefit of this law but owes to Captain Dimmick, especially, a great debt of gratitude; for without his constant efforts and organization and direction of the prosecution, it is well known that not a pensioner would ever have received his just dues from the Government.

"GEO. BANCROFT."

The undersigned, pension attorneys, of Washington, D. C., desire to state that to Capt. R. A. Dimmick, of this city, is entirely due the management and direction of the prosecution of the arrears of pension bill which has become a law, and to him especially every pensioner is indebted for the success which has crowned his efforts.

T. W. TALLMADGE.
L. LOWE.
GEO. BANCROFT & CO.
L. BINGHAM & CO.
McNEILL & BIRCH.
WILLIAM CONARD & CO.
R. W. WALKER.
E. P. HALSTEAD.
R. S. & A. P. LACY.
L. H. BURSLEY.

And that circular was sent out under the name of George Bancroft, and thousands probably thought it was Hon. George Bancroft, the patriot and historian. This is the man who has been engaged in that kind of business, sending out circulars to pensioners, inviting them to make subscriptions to be paid to a fellow claim agent. So much for George Bancroft.

Now, we come down to Mary Ann Dougherty and her work in the arsenal. She was there two or three months before the explosion, and she was there a year afterwards, she says.

Mr. BLAIR. Will the Senator have the whole of that document printed?

Mr. COCKRELL. Not the whole of the document, only those two letters.

Mr. BLAIR. The Senator said he was not reading it all.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Reporter will print the whole of it. We have now got the whole case in a nut-shell. She was there in the explosion; she was blown up; and she afterwards got well and went back to work at the arsenal over a year, so she alleges. Then her son went to the navy-yard after she was blown up, and was killed there. There certainly ought to be a record of his employment. This is the first time that I have ever been able to get the date of his employment there.

Now we come to Mary Ann Dougherty. Rolls are kept and are in the Auditor's Office to-day which show who was there, who was drawing money. Not only that, but Congress passed a law appropriating $2,000 for the benefit of the persons who were injured by the arsenal explosion, and that money was paid and receipts taken from every one who was injured. I say that if Moulton and these other humanitarians who are manifesting so much sympathy for this poor woman permitted that $2,000 to be paid out without her getting any of it they were frauds, too. What were they doing that they did not see that Mary Ann Dougherty got her share of that $2,000? It was appropriated by Congress after the explosion, and a record was kept of those who received any part of it, of those who were injured. Now I will read:

ORDNANCE OFFICE, WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., July 19, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to return letter from Senator COCKRELL, asking for information in regard to Mary Ann Dougherty, whose pension bill (S. 1547) was vetoed by the President July 5, 1888, and to report:

In the petition herewith embodied in the Senate report accompanying Senate bill 1547, Mary Ann Dougherty states:

* * * * * * *

"I obtained employment in the United States arsenal, making cartridges for the United States Army then in the field; that on or about the 28th day of June, 1864, while so employed and in the line of duty, as above stated, an explosion occurred, which killed and injured a number of the employés.

"Your petitioner was one of the victims. I was severely burned and internally injured, besides being mentally injured, by the fall from the height to which I was thrown through the force of the explosion. My flesh was burned, as scars will show, and I inhaled the fire. My collar bone was also broken. I was unconscious when found, and became insane from the injuries received."

* * * * * * *

The records of this office have been carefully examined. It is true that on the 17th of June, 1864 (not the 28th June, as stated in the memorial) an explosion occurred at the Washington arsenal in this city (now the Washington barracks) by which twenty-one employés were killed and many were wounded.

A close examination of the monthly pay-rolls of the arsenal from October, 1863, to December, 1864, nine months before and six months after the date of explosion, fails to show the name of Mary Ann Dougherty on the rolls as an employé.

On July 4, 1864, the President approved joint resolution appropriating $2,000 for the relief of the sufferers by a late accident at the United States arsenal in Washington, D. C., to be distributed to the persons injured by the explosion. The commanding officer of the arsenal made the distribution.

The commanding officer of the arsenal made the distribution, and this was after the explosion. The law was not passed until the 4th of July. The explosion occurred on the 17th of June, consequently it must have been nearly a month after the explosion before this money was paid out.

The commanding officer of the arsenal made the distribution. His accounts, now on file in the Second Auditor's office, have been carefully examined, and the name of Mary Ann Dougherty does not appear among the one hundred and twenty persons relieved by the distribution of the money.

There is nothing to be found in the records to show that Mary Ann Dougherty was then employed or was injured at the arsenal, as claimed by her in the inclosed memorial.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. V. BENÉT,
Brig. Gen., Chief of Ordnance.

Hon. SECRETARY OF WAR.

Mr. President, these are indisputable facts. They will overcome all the hearsay that can be piled up by these pitiful solicitations of Mary Ann Dougherty to kindly disposed people in this city. There is nothing in it. She never was employed in the arsenal, and her son never was, so far as I have been able to ascertain, killed at the navy-yard.

I have a letter of the Secretary of War, but I will not consume the time in reading it, which simply states that he transmits the letter of the Chief of Ordnance, which I have read.

I have also a letter here from the Secretary of the Navy in regard to this boy being killed, which is as follows:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *Washington, July* 21, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant in reference to the pension bill of Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty, vetoed by the President, and asking to have a thorough search made, and advise you "whether any son of Mrs. Dougherty was employed in the navy-yard, and, if so, when and for what time and his full name, and whether any one of that name was ever killed in the navy-yard by machinery or otherwise, and, if so, when and where and under what circumstances, etc., and give me (you) any further information in regard to the subject-matter."

So far as can be judged from the petition to Congress of Mary Ann Dougherty, a copy of which you furnished for my information, her son, if she had one so employed in the navy-yard, was so employed at some time in the years 1863, 1864, or 1865. The name of her son is not stated, and as, during the war, there was a very large number of employés at the navy-yard, it would be almost impossible without better information to ascertain whether she had a son among the number.

The commandant of the navy-yard was directed to inquire and report whether the records of the yard showed that a lad by the name of Dougherty was killed by machinery in the yard at any time between 1863 and 1866, or whether any one employed in the navy-yard had knowledge of such a circumstance. I inclose herewith, for your information, a copy of the report of Captain Meade, commandant of the yard, and copies of the several papers which accompanied it. These do not sustain the statement that a boy by the name of Dougherty lost his life at the navy-yard.

If, however, Mrs. Dougherty will furnish the Department with the name of her son, and state as well as she can recollect at what time he was employed, and when and the circumstances under which he was killed in the navy-yard, further examination and inquiry will be directed to be made.

Very respectfully,

W. C. WHITNEY,
Secretary of the Navy.

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate.

Here is a letter of Captain Meade:

UNITED STATES NAVY-YARD, WASHINGTON,
Commandant's Office, July 20, 1888.

SIR: The records of this yard seem to be very imperfect between the years 1860 and 1867; but from all I can gather, no such person as Dougherty was "killed by machinery" during the time specified in your telegram of the 19th instant. No one here has any recollection of such accident between 1863 and 1866.

I inclose all the letters on the subject except the surgeon's. He says there is no record in his office of such an occurrence.

Very respectfully,

R. W. MEADE,
Captain United States Navy, Commandant.

Hon. SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Navy Department.

This is from A. G. Kellogg, commander, United States Navy:

EQUIPMENT OFFICE, NAVY-YARD, *Washington, July* 20, 1888.

SIR: Referring to the telegram dated the 19th instant, from the honorable Secretary of the Navy, making inquiry as to a boy named Dougherty, said to have been killed by machinery in this yard some time between 1863 and 1866, I respectfully state that there is no record of such an occurrence in this Department; neither have I been able to learn of any upon inquiry among the old employés, one of whom was Mr. James Wilson, who at that time was foreman of the anchor shop.

Very respectfully,

A. G. KELLOGG,
Commander, United States Navy, Equipment Officer.

Capt. R. W. MEADE, U. S. N.,
Commandant.

Here is another from Commander McCormick:

ORDNANCE OFFICE, UNITED STATES NAVY-YARD,
Washington, D. C., July 20, 1888.

SIR: Referring to your indorsement of yesterday on the Department's telegram, regarding an accident to a boy named Dougherty, I beg leave to inform you that no mention is made in the records of this Department of any such accident, and persons employed here during the period named have no recollection of it.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A. H. MCCORMICK,
Commander United States Navy, Inspector of Ordnance.

Capt. R. W. MEADE, U. S. N.,
Commandant Navy-Yard, Washington, D. C.

Another letter from William H. Butler:

CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE, UNITED STATES NAVY-YARD,
Washington, July 20, 1888.

I remember a man by the name of "Noble" fell while rigging a smoke-stack of ordnance foundry in this yard about thirty years ago, and he died soon after the fall and before he was removed from the yard. I was well acquainted with him and worked with him frequently. I never heard of him as Dougherty, and I do not remember of a man by the name of Dougherty being killed in the navy-yard about that time.

WILLIAM H. (his x mark) BUTLER.

Witness of signature:
GEO. F. WATERS.

Here is one from Christopher Lewis:

CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE, UNITED STATES NAVY-YARD,
Washington, July 20, 1888.

I came to work in the navy-yard in the year 1854. I remember hearing of a man having been killed by falling from the ordnance smoke-stack about a year before I came to work in the yard as an employé.

I was driving for a man by the name of Riley in 1853, and my work brought me in the yard frequently, and I was shown where the man fell soon after the occurrence. I was told at that time that the man who was killed was named Noble Dougherty.

CHRISTOPHER (his x mark) LEWIS.

Witness of signature:
GEO. F. WATERS.

Mr. BLAIR. It shows that there was a man killed named "Noble Dougherty."

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes.

Mr. BLAIR. When?

Mr. COCKRELL. The man states—

I came to work in the navy-yard in 1854.

This was before the other Dougherty came there.

Mr. BLAIR. Eighteen hundred and sixty-four I suppose is meant.

Mr. COCKRELL. This says 1854.

Mr. BLAIR. There is no subject-matter of investigation back that far.

Mr. COCKRELL. This statement goes back to the time when this man first came there to show how long he had been connected with the navy-yard.

Mr. BLAIR. Does he state when Noble Dougherty was killed?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes.

I was driving for a man by the name of Riley in 1853, and my work brought me in the yard frequently, and I was shown where the man fell soon after the occurrence. I was told at that time that the man who was killed was named Noble Dougherty.

Mr. BLAIR. The other testimony is to the effect that this smoke-stack fell during the war, so that your date is evidently wrong. It should be 1864 instead of 1854.

Mr. COCKRELL. All right; it is immaterial about that.

Mr. BLAIR. If the Senator will permit me I will reply.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly, I will hear the Senator if he wishes to speak.

Mr. BLAIR. At 2 o'clock I wish to say a few things.

Mr. COCKRELL. Here is a letter from J. A. H. Wilmuth:

UNITED STATES NAVY-YARD, *Washington, D. C., July* 20, 1888.

SIR: I respectfully report that log-book J (from 1863 to January 1, 1865) is missing. It has never been in my charge since I have been in the office.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. A. H. WILMUTH, *Mate, U. S. N.*

Capt. R. W. MEADE, U. S. N.,
Commandant.

Now, Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRYE in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived the Chair is obliged to lay before the Senate the unfinished business, being the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not wish to interfere with the Senator from Missouri in his elucidation of this question or with the Senator from New Hampshire, and of course I will not interrupt them.

Mr. COCKRELL. I shall only detain the Senate for a few minutes.

Mr. BLAIR. I shall want four or five minutes to reply.

Mr. COCKRELL. I hold in my hand a letter from the Secretary of War of August 20.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington City, August* 20, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, inclosing a clipping from the Pittsburgh Dispatch relative to the case of Mrs. Mary Ann Dougherty, and requesting to be furnished with such information as the records of this Department afford relative to Captain Whyte and H. B. Moulton, who are mentioned in the article, and also that application be made to the Navy Department for information relative to a son of Mrs. Dougherty, who is alleged to have been employed in the Washington navy-yard and subsequently crushed to death in the machinery in one of the shops.

In reply, I beg to inclose a report of the 9th instant, from the acting Chief of Ordnance, giving the desired information relative to Captain Whyte and Mr. Moulton.

With reference to Mrs. Dougherty's son and his alleged employment in the Washington navy-yard, a letter was sent to the Secretary of the Navy, under date of the 13th instant, inclosing a copy of your letter and an extract from the newspaper clipping, with the request that he would communicate with you upon the subject.

With reference to your request for any information which can be obtained as to whether the George Bancroft who signed the petition of Mary Ann Dougherty is a nephew of the historian Bancroft, I beg to state that it is believed that the person referred to is George Bancroft, formerly a clerk in the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department, and at present a member of the firm of George Bancroft & Co., pension claim agents, No. 635 G street, northwest, this city.

This George Bancroft is borne on the Blue Book as having been born in England and appointed from Iowa. He was in the division of which Mr. Charles A. Bates was chief. Mr. Bates is still a chief of division in the Internal Revenue Bureau, and can doubtless furnish other information in regard to Mr. Bancroft.

The inclosure contained in your letter is returned herewith as requested.

Very respectfully,

R. MACFEELY,
Acting Secretary of War.

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate, 1518 R street, northwest, Washington, D. C.

That inclosure was taken from the Pittsburgh Dispatch, to which the Senator has referred, and which I will have the Reporter copy and insert in my remarks.

Mr. BLAIR. What is the substance of that article in the Dispatch? I did not refer to it. I referred to the Philadelphia Times. What is this article about?

Mr. COCKRELL. It is an interview with Major McKee. I will ask the Reporter to copy it and insert it in my remarks.

The article is as follows:

[The Pittsburgh Dispatch, Pittsburgh, Sunday, July 29, 1888.]

NOT ON THE BOOKS—A VERY CURIOUS FEATURE OF THE NOW FAMOUS MARY ANN DOHERTY CASE—HER NAME NOWHERE TO BE FOUND AMONG THE VOUCHERS OF THE PAY-ROLLS OF THE WASHINGTON ARSENAL—HER STORY STRAIGHT AS A STRING, BUT THE WHOLE BUSINESS SHOWS A REPREHENSIBLE LOOSENESS OF AFFAIRS.

WASHINGTON, *July* 28.

The one curious and mysterious feature of the Mary Ann Doherty case is that no record of the woman's name can be found on the books of the Second Auditor's Office, where the vouchers of the pay-rolls of the arsenal are kept. When Senator COCKRELL said, in uttering his defiance to Senator DAVIS, that he would undertake to show from the records that no such person was employed in the arsenal in 1864, many thought that it was a mere bluff. But COCKRELL is not that kind of a man. He is famous for posting himself in regard to the smallest details of a case, yet no one seemed to know whether the Senator had searched the records or not.

At the Second Auditor's Office to-day no one knew of the search having been made in regard to the Doherty case. Thereupon the Dispatch correspondent procured from Secretary Fairchild a note to the Second Auditor, directing that a thorough search be made for the name of Mary Ann Doherty among the vouchers of 1864. As the examination was about to begin it was learned that a week ago Mr. John Cook, chief clerk of the Ordnance Department, had made some investigation of the matter. Repairing to Mr. COOK the correspondent was informed that at the instance of Senator COCKRELL he (Mr. Cook) had, with another clerk, made a most searching examination of the vouchers from October, 1863, to December, 1864, and that the name Mary Ann Doherty was not to be found. Neither was it among the list of names of beneficiaries from the $2,000 appropriated for the relief of those wounded by the explosion.

The undoubted fact of the absence of the name from existing records was the chief basis of the President's veto of the bill passed by both branches of Congress.

Now for the other side. Mary Ann herself, who is 53 years old, tells a very straight story, and Captain Whyte is convinced that he and other officers signed the certificate dated March 9, 1880, only after they had ample evidence from persons acquainted with the facts that there was nothing fraudulent in the application of Mrs. Doherty. H. B. Moulton, a lawyer of unquestioned veracity, made affidavit that he was foreman of the cartridge department at the arsenal June 17, 1864, when the explosion occurred; that Mary Ann Doherty worked under him, and that he knew her; that she was badly injured by the explosion. He has no doubt that the Mary Ann applying for a pension is the Mary Ann who was blown up.

There was plenty of evidence that not long after the explosion the young son of this Mrs. Doherty was given a situation at the navy-yard, at the solicitation of citizens, on account of the injuries and impoverished condition of the mother, and that this boy, who was about 9 years of age, was caught in the machinery of one of the shops and crushed to death.

Mrs. Doherty's story is indorsed by Admiral Porter, George A. Bancroft, a nephew of the historian, and other gentlemen of equal reputation, who learned the story years ago, before this application for a pension was thought of. Yet with all this testimony, involving H. B. Moulton's positive assertion of the employment of Mrs. Doherty at the arsenal at that time, no such name appears on the pay-rolls, and that is unaccountable, except upon two theories, either that she was appointed the 1st of June and was blown up before the first day—in which case her name would not appear on the rolls—or else, admitting Moulton's affidavit to be correct, she was known to Moulton as Mary Ann Doherty and drew her pay under another name.

One fact that seems to have been generally overlooked is that the case was given among others to a subcommittee of the Committee on Pensions, of which Senator BLODGETT, of New Jersey, is chairman. Senator BLODGETT investigated the case and made a favorable report. It was upon the strength of this report that the bill was passed, and therefore BLODGETT is really responsible for all the

wrangling that has been indulged in, the epithets that have been hurled at the President, and the almost bloody encounter in the field of honor between BLAIR, the Puritan, and BUTLER, the Fire-eater.

It has certainly become a very interesting as well as perplexing case, and all the more interesting because both sides are preparing to fight it out on the lines already marked. As for Mary Ann Doherty personally, she is not an attractive individual. She has worked herself into a condition of excitement over her pension which unfits her for work. She does nothing but gad about—often none too sober—and bore every one she meets with her story. But that has nothing to do with the truth or justice of the matter, and so the battle will be fought just as though she were the most charming woman in the world.

I will next read a letter of General Macfeely, Acting Secretary of War, dated the 21st of August, inclosing a copy of the communication from the Chief of Ordnance, which simply shows that Captain Whyte is a retired officer of the Army and was chief clerk at the arsenal, and that Moulton was employed at the arsenal.

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, August 21, 1888.

SIR: In response to your telegram of this date I have the honor to inclose herewith a copy of a report of the 9th instant from the Acting Chief of Ordnance in the case of Mary Ann Dougherty, which was inadvertently omitted from Department letter of the 20th instant.

Very respectfully,

R. MACFEELY,
Acting Secretary of War.

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate, 1518 R street, northwest, Washington, D. C.

ORDNANCE OFFICE, WASHINGTON, *August* 9, 1888.

Respectfully returned to the Secretary of War.

The Captain Whyte referred to is a retired officer of the Army, and at the time of the explosion (June 17, 1864) he was the chief clerk at the Washington arsenal. In regard to H. B. Moulton, our records show that he was employed at the Washington arsenal in the capacity of laboratorian during the months of May, June, August, September, October, November, and December, 1864, at wages of $2, $2.25, $2.50, and $2.75 per day, respectively. The records prior to May, 1864, were not examined, nor were they after December, 1864.

The names of all Government employés at the arsenal would necessarily appear on the monthly pay-rolls, and the absence of the names of any persons from the pay-rolls would be evidence that they were not employed at the arsenal.

CHAS. S. SMITH,
Captain Ordnance Department, United States Army,
Acting Chief of Ordnance.

These papers prove beyond the power of controversion that Mary Ann Dougherty was never employed in that arsenal and was never blown up in the arsenal, and never received one dollar of the $2,000 appropriated and paid out to the one hundred and twenty persons who were injured in that explosion, and there the records stand, and they can not be impeached or overthrown by the hearsay, flimsy, whimsical statements that have been introduced here of men, women, and children in the city of Washington.

Mr. GEORGE. The Senator will permit me to ask him, are the rolls of employés in the Department for the year and month in which this explosion took place in this arsenal now perfect?

Mr. COCKRELL. They are, and the names of the one hundred and twenty people who received the $2,000 are all there upon the rolls.

Mr. BLAIR. The Senator will permit me a word right there. He has produced no evidence whatever that at the particular period covered by the explosion the records exist at all. He has produced general letters, but no records within that time.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have produced a letter that a search of the rolls in the Department shows that her name is not upon them, and that a search of the roll containing the 120 names of persons to whom the $2,000 was distributed shows that it does not contain her name; and that is all anybody can state.

Mr. BLAIR. The Senator simply proves that this woman has received an additional wrong in not getting her share of the compensation awarded.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is wonderful with Moulton and all her friends at her back and $2,000 distributed out that she did not get any share of it. That is too thin.

Mr. BLAIR. I will reply to the Senator.

Mr. COCKRELL. Do.

Mr. BLAIR. The Senator has demonstrated a capacity that no human being ever possessed before or undertook to claim; that is, that he can prove a negative. We have brought here the affirmative evidence of witness after witness of the highest character, unimpeached and unimpeachable, and they swear to personal and direct knowledge of every fact that was alleged in this woman's petition, and to every fact that is in controversy in this case before the Senate. The Senator knows that, and although he has exhibited a great deal more of modesty and of quietude of manner in the way in which he has offered this testimony than he did when he made the charges the other day, I submit that even now there is a greater amount of vigor in the manner in which he undertakes to perpetrate this fraud upon the country in the innocence of his soul than there ought to be.

How is the testimony of these witnesses to be impeached? How are you to meet the testimony of the Admiral of the Navy and the dozen other high citizens of this country who made their certificates to the essential truth of all the facts contained in this woman's petition, which contained all the facts in controversy here before the Senate? How are you to meet the assertions of Major McKee and Sergeant Campbell, and four or five others, several of whom had personal knowledge and were there at the time, and swear that this identical woman worked for the Government and was blown up and her life almost destroyed, and that she suffered from insanity for years afterwards, being able, however, in view of the destitution of her children, to render some service for about a year, but from the explosion until now an injured, a suffering, and poor, distressed, unfortunate woman, who is deserving of sympathy instead of this effort of a great Government to fugle itself into four more years of position by assailing a laboring woman, sick and poor woman, like Mrs. Dougherty.

I did not anticipate just this style of meeting a case of this kind before the Senate. Let me remind the Senator from Missouri that if his sneers are sincere, the President himself did not put his veto upon the ground that the woman's assertions of fact were not true; but when he was met in the Senate and in the country, before he was met in the Senate with the protest of all decent people that he had no right to villify this woman, even though she was an outcast, assuming the truth of all that has been charged and not proven, and which has been asserted after it was demonstrated to be false—assuming the truth of the whole of it, the President is an infamous libeler when he uses the great constitutional power he has to hand this poor woman's name down to remotest posterity defamed and libeled unnecessarily. Her character was not in issue at all, and when this was called to the attention of the Senator and the President how did they meet it? They go to work and undertake to prove that this woman is a fraud, and after all this testimony has been offered they come in with this infamous charge sustained by negation, without any evidence at all.

I suppose there is a better nature in every man; and if I fail to find that better nature, if I fail to reach it in the Executive, I shall infer that it is a minus quantity and not there. I come here and discard all secondary evidence, all general comments, all outside matters, and confine myself to the evidence in this particular case, and I have produced here nothing but legal evidence, such as is made use of in the establishment of claims before the Departments—the positive, direct, sworn testimony of witnesses who knew about this case, and who are not to be discarded and put aside by the fact that certain records of this Government have been carelessly kept or carelessly guarded, blown up or destroyed by fire. When I produce that kind of testimony, confined to the specific issue, how does the Senator meet it? He gets up and denounces not only this woman and her case as a fraud, but everybody connected with it as having come here and lied under oath, or lied in another way quite as guilty, by their letters and affirmations in writing.

Here are persons whose characters are assailed besides Mrs. Dougherty. Mrs. Weaver is or has been at the head of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of this city, a woman of as good character as there is on the face of the earth, and she told me, as I understood her, that in her efforts to get information in regard to the death of this boy in the navy-yard she was treated discourteously by the officers, and was informed that this was getting to be a political issue and they must keep quiet. Mrs. Dougherty told me in regard to an all-important piece of testimony of a man who knew of the facts about the explosion, now employed under this Government, that he did not dare to tell the truth about it, because he had been warned by emissaries of the Government to keep still, that it was a political issue, and they must be careful what they said or they would lose their places. The disgrace, the mantling disgrace of this whole line of statements of this kind that come to me is shameful. I hope to Heaven they are not true. There could be no motive whatever for these parties to come to me with asseverations of this kind.

Now, what does it amount to that certain officials do not find the records in the Treasury Department? I doubt whether if they were there they would find them. I doubt very much if they were there that they would find them. I doubt whether they would find records of this kind without some difficulty and prolonged search, and it would be the easiest thing in the world to overlook them if they were under their very eyes.

I have come to believe, what I would not at one time have stated but for this persistence in face of the proof I have adduced, that there has been an amount of connivance and trickery and fraud perpetrated by those in the employment of the Government to victimize this woman, and put her in the wrong as against the veto of the President, that would shame the very denizens of the pit itself.

The Senator inadvertently dropped out the word and told me the date was 1854, as though it was not a mistake in the writing as to when the falling of the smoke-stack occurred. The other witnesses speak of it as something that occurred during the war, as I recollect.

But he would put that occurrence long before the occurrence of another fact in controversy here. But here it seems was a man who remembered "Noble Dougherty," who was injured in this way by the falling of the smoke-stack, and the name is Dougherty. It would be marvelous if the name had been preserved in the records in any case, but here is this man's recollection, a recollection coming from the other side, and along with that is the testimony of half a dozen witnesses who knew personally about this matter; and this evidence, which will appear in the RECORD to-morrow, I commend to the careful examination of every lawyer, yes, of every person of ordinary common sense who can get access to it.

The Senator says he does not find anything down there in the records of the surgeon. In my belief—I do not know anything in regard to that—it does not follow that the boy was ever taken care of. Possibly under the pressure of affairs in this Dougherty family he may have been dumped into the water and be lying at the bottom of the Potomac to-day. The woman says she does not know where he was buried, and the Senator sneers at her because in her insanity, in her illness and confinement in an asylum and under the treatment of the physicians there, at her home and elsewhere, she does not know what has become of the body of her child. God may have buried that boy's body, and it may be found in the future under the guardianship of the same great Being who buried Moses on the mountain top; and the Senator may find possibly that this defamation to which he has made himself a party will be a very serious matter in some other tribunal where the boy will confront him and those who do injury to his mother, as does the Senator in his effort to defend his chief.

The Senator begins a reply to this evidence by reading from some old manuscript or document the complimentary allusions made by soldiers in the employment of the Government to the services of one Captain Dimmick in obtaining the passage of the arrears-of-pension law. He does seem to have been exceedingly efficient, and these men sent out their request for contributions to a testimonial, Mr. George Bancroft indorsing it on the back. Do you suppose these soldiers, in their efforts to procure suitable testimonials to Captain Dimmick, himself a soldier, would attempt to palm off on the whole United States of America the name of a single man and the name of one man only, George Bancroft, whose indorsement was not that of an honest man, calculated to give credence and support to their circular? The Senator says, undoubtedly the whole country believed that that was George Bancroft, the historian. Is it any disgrace to this man to wear the name of George Bancroft, the historian? Is he to go about the country explaining that he is not George Brancroft, the historian?

There is nothing upon the face of the paper signed by Mr. Bancroft in this case which would make it improper for a man to affix or sign his name to it. I thought it very likely it was George Bancroft, the historian. I sent for him, and he did not pretend that he was somebody else; he put on no airs. I then made inquiry outside, and I found that this same George Bancroft is a man of most excellent character in the city of Washington, whose associates are among the religious people, the churches of this city, and who stands, so far as I can learn, as well as any of them or any of us, and there is not the slightest reason on the face of the earth to suppose that he is in any way misconducting himself in connection with this case; moreover, the evidence shows that he had nothing to do with getting it up, more than to present it to the Department.

And so it comes to pass that these officers of the Government who claim to have personal knowledge that this woman has been blown up and was injured, and then these various other officers who know this by repute, having lived here in the city, understanding about it, make their certificate in regard to it, and the Senator would reply to all that mass of evidence by saying this man is not George Bancroft, the historian. He may be a much better man, though I have high respect for George Bancroft, the historian, and no more honorable name exists in that great American history which he has written than the name of the author at the beginning of it.

But the Senator took out the Pittsburgh Dispatch and was going to read it, but his astute eye was arrested, and I thought he was not going to read it, and did not read it. He said he would have it printed—some of it—and I desired to know if it was to go into the RECORD. So I took the paper from the Senator myself, and now I will read it.

The Pittsburgh Dispatch. Pittsburgh, Sunday, July 29, 1888.

It will be borne in mind that this bears on the effort of the Department after the tumult had been raised to discredit the testimony of McKee and the rest of them, and to get them to say they never signed any such paper, and that it was a fraud, an imposition. A big business for the Administration! Undoubtedly that is where the large part of the surplus has gone to. [Laughter.]

NOT ON THE BOOKS—A VERY CURIOUS FEATURE OF THE NOW FAMOUS MARY ANN DOUGHERTY CASE—

There was a twang in the Senator's tone. I can not imitate that, but I will ask the Senate to consider that the twang is in as well as the contents of the paper.

[The Pittsburgh Dispatch. Pittsburgh, Sunday, July 29, 1888.]

NOT ON THE BOOKS—A VERY CURIOUS FEATURE OF THE NOW FAMOUS MARY ANN DOUGHERTY CASE—HER NAME NOWHERE TO BE FOUND AMONG THE VOUCHERS OF THE PAY-ROLLS OF THE WASHINGTON ARSENAL—HER STORY STRAIGHT AS A STRING, BUT THE WHOLE BUSINESS SHOWS A REPREHENSIBLE LOOSENESS OF AFFAIRS.

Not on the part of Mary Ann Dougherty though. No looseness in the affairs of Mary Ann Dougherty, a woman of unexceptionable character. But there is no record here to prove the character of her assailants in that respect. They stand equal before the country, and I submit it is time to produce affidavits in support of the veto and those who defend it against the charge of looseness in affairs.

[Special telegram to the Dispatch.]

WASHINGTON, *July* 28.

The one curious and mysterious feature of the Mary Ann Doherty case is that no record of the woman's name can be found on the books of the Second Auditor's Office, where the vouchers of the pay-rolls of the arsenal are kept. When Senator COCKRELL said, in uttering his defiance to Senator DAVIS, that he would undertake to show from the records that no such person was employed in the arsenal in 1864, many thought it was a mere bluff. But COCKRELL is not that kind of a man. He is famous for posting himself in regard to the smallest details of a case, yet no one seemed to know whether the Senator had searched the records or not.

At the Second Auditor's Office to-day no one knew of the search having been made in regard to the Doherty case. Thereupon the Dispatch correspondent procured from Secretary Fairchild a note to the Second Auditor, directing that a thorough search be made for the name of Mary Ann Doherty among the vouchers of 1864. As the examination was about to begin it was learned that a week ago Mr. John Cook, chief clerk of the Ordnance Department, had made some investigation of the matter.

Right here I want to ask the Senator to bear in mind that the certificates he has produced cover all the records of the time from 1861 to 1865, and they say in regard to all these records that there was no Mary Ann Dougherty.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not a bit of it.

Mr. BLAIR. Between those months. I apologize. It was from nine months before to six months after the accident.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is it.

Mr. BLAIR. It is in proof here and demonstrated by the concurrent account in the testimony given in the investigation, a sworn copy of which I have put in from the Evening Star, that the records were blown up in one of these explosions and destroyed, and yet there is no exception made, and these papers do not show that any portion of the records are absent. If there were not two explosions, there being only a little inaccuracy as to date, then it was demonstrated that the records were not on file at all, for they could not be and never were there, for they went in the air before they could be filed at all, and if there were two explosions, what reason is there to suppose that they were not as likely to go into the air in the second explosion when twenty people were killed and a large number wounded, as in the first explosion that occurred, in which it is proved that the records were destroyed? Then, of what use are these certificates that the Senator produces here when they fail directly to note that any records whatever were destroyed, and carry to the country the impression that all records during the period in question were placed on file, and that therefore the name of Mary Ann Dougherty ought to appear?

I submit that these records and these letters produced by the Senator, which at best could only undertake to prove a negative, are so far impeached and invalidated by this pretense to cover everything, when it is demonstrated that there is much that they can not cover, because they were never there, that they should all be wiped out of the case. But to go on with the Pittsburgh Dispatch:

Repairing to Mr. Cook, the correspondent was informed that at the instance of Senator COCKRELL he (Mr. Cook) had, with another clerk, made a

MOST SEARCHING EXAMINATION

of the vouchers from October, 1863, to December, 1864, and that the name Mary Ann Doherty was not to be found. Neither was it among the list of names of beneficiaries from the $2,000 appropriated for the relief of those wounded by the explosion.

Now, right on that point the Senator makes an argument, as though it could be an argument of any consequence to meet this direct and positive and overwhelming testimony from a dozen witnesses, based on the circumstance that she failed to get the money that belonged to her. Does not the Senator know that in cases of this kind scarcely one-half of those who deserve and should receive reparation get any, and here this woman sick, in the insane asylum, and unable to attend to her affairs, and Mr. Moulton injured, and for many months unable to attend to anything, and these other workmen having enough to attend to to get a living for themselves they were not likely to hunt up this woman, nor were they in any sense responsible for her at all.

The undoubted fact of the absence of the name from existing records was the chief basis of the President's veto of the bill passed by both branches of Congress.

That was not so, because the veto discussed the facts as found by Congress and rejected the claim upon those findings, and then when we said the woman's claim was good notwithstanding the veto, and when I and others criticised the fact that the President defamed the woman unnecessarily, even if she had no right on the facts to the pension, then it was that the Senator from Missouri came in and charged that all the proofs were frauds, the admitted facts sworn to by everybody, found by both Houses of Congress in this Congress and by the committees which reported on the case at the last Congress and a re-examination at the Pension Office, and nothing at the Pension Office ever developing anything to the contrary of the truth of all these three principal facts, the injury to this woman, the loss of one son by death in the navy-yard, and the kidnapping of the other. I say the Senator then came in and charged that what everybody had before, including the President in his veto, taken to be true was a fraud.

Now for the other side, and I will observe that the correspondents have a sense of justice and give both sides. That is the great saving feature of our American journalism; it plays the mischief with both sides and gets at the truth in the end.

Now for the other side.

Mary Ann herself, who is fifty-three years old, tells a very straight story, and Captain Whyte—

The man who was there in charge as chief clerk, and now a retired Army officer, and, as I understand, a graduate of West Point, blind,

seventy-three years old, whose statement is here in the proof I have presented—

and Captain Whyte is convinced that he and other officers signed the certificate dated March 9, 1880, only after they had ample evidence from persons acquainted with the facts that there was nothing fraudulent in the application of Mrs. Doherty.

I do not wonder when the Senator's alert eye crept over this article from the Pittsburgh Dispatch that he was anxious to withhold it; that he exhibited no anxiety to read it, and the more he examined it the less likely it seemed that we should ever get it, and I made my advance to the Senator's desk, and I, perusing it, found it to be a most important piece of evidence for Mrs. Dougherty's side.

H. B. Moulton, a lawyer of unquestioned veracity—

That is what I said about him; the Senator said he was a fraud—

a lawyer of unquestioned veracity, made affidavit that he was foreman of the cartridge department of the arsenal June 17, 1864, when the explosion occurred; that Mary Ann Doherty worked under him, and that he knew her; that she was badly injured by the explosion. He has no doubt that the Mary Ann applying for a pension is the Mary Ann who was blown up.

There was plenty of evidence that not long after the explosion the young son of this Mrs. Doherty was given a situation—

Did the Senator from Missouri know that there was plenty of evidence right here in his possession from these witnesses that he produced and put on record?—

There was plenty of evidence that not long after the explosion the young son of this Mrs. Doherty was given a situation at the navy-yard at the solicitation of citizens—

They can not find that petition of the citizens either, I suppose—

on account of the injuries and impoverished condition of the mother, and that this boy, who was about nine years of age, was caught in the machinery of one of the shops and crushed to death.

There is plenty of evidence—these correspondents find it and Mrs. Dougherty said the same thing—a great inventor Mrs. Dougherty!—has invented all this history and got all the responsible members of the Army and Navy, nearly, in this city to certify that her story is true; and yet it is a falsehood!

Mrs. Dougherty's story is indorsed by Admiral Porter, George A. Bancroft, a nephew of the historian.

It seems in my conversation with Bancroft something of that kind did drop out, that he was a remote connection—he did not emphasize that he was one at all. I asked him what this George Bancroft business meant. He said it was a good name and belonged to him and he used it, and I could not see why he had not the right to his own name. But I found out that he led the singing in several of the churches, that he stood first rate in the Sunday schools, and I thought he might possibly tell the truth, even if he was not the historian Bancroft himself.

A nephew of the historian—

I state this on the authority of the correspondent now—

and other gentlemen of equal reputation, who learned the story years ago, before this application for a pension was thought of.

Just think of that, all these people are inventing this story to perpetrate a fraud upon the country long before the perpetration of the fraud was throught of!

Yet with all this testimony, involving H. B. Moulton's positive assertion of the employment of Mrs. Doherty at the arsenal at that time,

NO SUCH NAME

appears on the pay-rolls—

The name went up in the same smoke in which disappeared the pay-rolls themselves—

and that is unaccountable, except upon two theories: either that she was appointed the 1st of June, and was blown up before the first day, in which case her name would not appear on the rolls; or else, admitting Moulton's affidavit to be correct, she was known to Moulton as Mary Ann Doherty and drew her pay under another name.

What is to be said of that? Moulton states that she was known as Mary Ann Dougherty; he put her name upon the pay-roll; and the other solution which is suggested here is perhaps the true one. Of the other two theories which I suggest, either one would account for it. One is that the clerk in his search at the Department failed to find her name on the roll, if the name was there, and the second is, that in the second explosion rolls were as likely to be destroyed as in the first, and it is demonstrated that in the first the rolls were destroyed. And these Government certificates fail to take notice of any destruction of rolls whatever, yet the Senator from Missouri would have us believe they have got all the names of persons that were in the employment of the Government during that period, notwithstanding the proven destruction of a part of the rolls in at least one explosion, and undoubtedly in both, if there was more than one.

One fact that seems to have been generally overlooked is that the case was given, among others, to a subcommittee of the Committee on Pensions, of which Senator BLODGETT, of New Jersey, is chairman. Senator BLODGETT investigated the case and made a favorable report.

It might have been said that it was also investigated in the last Congress, and Senator SEWELL made a favorable report also.

It was upon the strength of this report that the bill was passed, and therefore BLODGETT is really responsible for all the wrangling that has been indulged in—

Perhaps that accounts for what is said to be the difficulty over in New Jersey—

the epithets that have been hurled at the President, and the almost bloody encounter in the field of honor between BLAIR, the Puritan, and BUTLER, the Fire-eater.

Comment is unnecessary on that.

It has certainly become a very interesting, as well as perplexing case, and all the more interesting because both sides are preparing to fight it out on the lines already marked. As for Mary Ann Doherty personally, she is not an attractive individual.

Perhaps this correspondent, if he had been blown up in that arsenal twenty-five or thirty years ago, been insane a good part of the time ever since, and had passed through the distress and suffering which mark the countenance of this woman, whose body was burned in many places almost to a cinder, would not be so very charming.

She has worked herself into a condition of excitement over her pension which unfits her for work. She does nothing but gad about—often none too sober—and bore every one she meets with her story. But that has nothing to do with the truth or justice of the matter.

Thank God here is a correspondent who has struck the point in the case at last.

And so the battle will be fought just as though she were the most charming woman in the world.

And that is the way it ought to be fought.

Mr. President, I have no more to say. If the President of the United States and the Senator from Missouri and the country can leave this matter where it is, I am content; but Mary Ann Dougherty is vindicated. There is nothing against her but the unsustained and libelous assertion of the President in his veto message, made unnecessarily, irrelevantly, and wrongfully, and the effort of the Senator from Missouri to bear him out in the false position which he has assumed.

JAMES M. WILLBUR—VETO MESSAGE.

Mr. VEST. I rise to morning business.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Before morning business can be entertained by the Chair it is his duty to lay before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the message.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Georgia rise to the question that has just been before the Senate?

Mr. BROWN. I rise to ask the Senator in charge of the tariff bill to yield to me a few moments until I present a petition, and I want to submit a few remarks in connection with it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair can not entertain morning business until the messages of the President, now on the table, are laid before the Senate. The reading of the message will proceed.

The Chief Clerk resumed and continued the reading of the message, as follows:

To the Senate:

I herewith return without approval Senate bill No. 1044, entitled "An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to state and settle the account of James M. Willbur with the United States and to pay said Willbur such sum of money as may be found due him thereon."

The claim mentioned in this bill grows out of alleged extra work done by the claimant in the construction of the post-office and court-house building in the city of New York.

The United States, in September, 1874, entered into a contract with Messrs. Bartlett, Robbins & Co., by which they agreed to furnish and put in place certain wrought and cast iron work and glass for the illuminated tiling required for the said building according to certain specifications and schedules which formed a part of said contract. The work was to be of a specified thickness, and the contractors were to be paid for the same at certain rates per superficial foot. The approximate estimate for the entire work was specified at $35,577.56. Samples of the tiling to be put in were submitted to the Supervising Architect and accepted by him.

In August, 1874, the claimant entered into an agreement in writing with Bartlett, Robbins & Co. to do this work as subcontractor for them at certain prices for each superficial foot of said tiling put in place.

In neither contract was the weight of the tiling mentioned.

The work was, under the contract with Messrs. Bartlett, Robbins & Co., completed, and after such completion and the measurement of the work the said firm of Bartlett, Robbins & Co. were paid by the Government the sum of $35,217.57, in full satisfaction of their contract with the United States.

It appears that after the completion of the work the claimant gave notice to the Government that he had a claim against Bartlett, Robbins & Co., growing out of said work, for the sum of $8,744.44, and requested that payment be withheld from said firm until his claim against them was adjusted.

The fact that said claim had been made having been communicated by the Supervising Architect to Bartlett, Robbins & Co. on the 22d day of August, 1876, they responded to the Supervising Architect as follows:

"DEAR SIR: We inclose copy of our account against Willbur and the Illuminated Tiling Company and a copy of Willbur's assignment to the tile company, which includes a copy of his agreement with us; and when the Department settles the measurement of the work the items in the contract will show just what the amount is, and, as we have repeatedly assured him, he will have all the measurements the Government gives us.

"If any one has cause of complaint in this case it is us. Four times the work came to a stand, or nearly so, and our Mr. B. was compelled to go to New York and stay until it was moving again, charging his expenses by Willbur's request, and finally it had to be finished by others, etc. We know this does not interest you particularly, as you do not know him in the matter, but there has been so much willful misrepresentation we thought silence might be misconstrued.

"It is charitable to think Willbur must be crazy.

"Very respectfully, yours,

"BARTLETT, ROBBINS & CO."

In an opinion of the Solicitor of the Treasury concerning this claim, dated November 30, 1883, I find a statement that on the 20th day of October, 1876, a paper was filed by the attorneys of the claimant, in which his claim for extra work and material in performing his contract was alleged to be $21,857.94. It is further stated that this claim was hastily drawn by one of Willbur's attorneys, and without consultation with him.

On or about the 20th day of March, 1877, Mr. Willbur himself filed a statement

of such extra work and material, in which he claimed for the same the sum of $42,685.20.

Another statement made by Willbur, in February, 1878, presents a claim on account of the same matters, amounting to $47,159.62.

This claim, so variously stated, is based upon the allegation that tiling and frames of greater thickness than were required by the contract were put in the building. Although it is insisted by the claimant that these thicker tiles and frames were directed to be put in, or at least accepted by the person having charge of the construction of the building for the Government, I hardly think it will be seriously contended that the claimant has any legal claim against the United States.

But, with a view of discovering whether, upon equitable grounds, the claimant should be paid anything by the Government for glass and iron of greater thickness than its contract with Bartlett, Robbins & Co. required, and which had been put in its building by their subcontractor, the Secretary of the Treasury in 1884 appointed a committee of three persons to examine and report upon this claim of Willbur's, "with a view of determining what portion, if any, it is proper for the Government to pay."

On the 24th day of January, 1885, this committee made a report, by which they determined that there should be paid to the claimant on account of the matters alleged the sum of $1,214.90.

This report was based upon the measurements, examinations, and estimates of two experts, one selected by the claimant and the other by the committee. The report was transmitted to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of the Treasury and an appropriation asked to pay the amount awarded.

But Mr. Willbur was not satisfied, and on the 6th day of January, 1885, addressed a communication to the Secretary of the Treasury, in which this passage occurs:

"I shall insist on a remeasurement of the entire work, as this is vital to my claim. The excess which I furnished can only be ascertained by weight instead of by measuring the thickness of the plates and frames."

At the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress and early in 1886 this claim was before the Senate Committee on Claims, and at the instance of the committee this work was again examined by experts, who came to the conclusion that the claimant was entitled to the sum of $45,615.67 for the extra work which he had performed and materials furnished.

It is only alleged that the glass tiling and frames actually put in the building were slightly thicker than those required by the contract, and this alleged increased thickness seems to be fairly represented in a general way by the claim that some of the glass and frames which were required to be 1 inch thick were actually put in 1¼ inches thick.

Upon this statement it must be admitted that the sum above stated as the value of this extra thickness is somewhat startling. In the language of the report upon this bill by the Supervising Architect, "a claim of $47,159.02 for such slight excess on work, the price of which was $35,217.57, is hardly entitled to consideration."

The claim, as well as the award of the experts last named, reach their astonishing proportions by the application of weights to the question in the following manner: A certain area is measured. A square foot of the tiling actually put in is weighed, and a square foot of the tiling required by the contract is also weighed. Both these weights are multiplied by the area. The lesser aggregate weight is deducted from the greater, and the difference is divided by the weight of a square foot of the lightest tiling, thus reducing it to square feet of such lightest tile. These square feet are multiplied by the price agreed to be paid by the contract for each superficial foot, and an item of extra work is determined. Thus additional weight in constructed and finished tiling is converted, as far as price and measurement are concerned, into finished tile, which more than doubles the quantity actually laid down.

This can not be right. And yet the bill herewith returned directs the Secretary of the Treasury to settle this claim for extra work upon the basis of the report of the experts who have adopted this mode of adjustment; or, if not satisfied with their report, he shall within thirty days from the passage of the act cause a reweighing of said material to be made by two sworn experts, one to be appointed by him and one by the claimant, and a third to be appointed by these two, in case they can not agree. The bill further provides that he shall then pay to said Willbur the difference of excess in weight and superficial measurement as found by said experts between the illuminated tiling and frames furnished and that contracted for at the contract prices for such work and material.

There are features of this claim which suggest suspicion as to its merit. In any view of the matter I regard the claimant as seeking equitable relief. He is not entitled to dictate the rule by which his claim is to be adjusted; and he should be quite satisfied if the officers of the Government charged with the settlement of such matters are permitted by the Congress to afford equitable relief according to such rules and methods as are best calculated to reach fair results.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 12, 1888.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Shall the bill pass, the objections of the President of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding?

Mr. EVARTS. I move that the bill and message be referred to the Committee on Claims.

The motion was agreed to.

MARY K. RICHARDS—VETO MESSAGE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read:

To the Senate:

I return without approval Senate bill No. 3306, entitled "An act granting a pension to Mary K. Richards."

The beneficiary named in this bill applied for a pension on the 14th day of November, 1878, and the same was rejected in April, 1879. Her claim has lately been re-examined, and since the passage of the bill herewith returned she has been allowed a pension by the Pension Bureau, it having been there determined that the former rejection was a manifest error.

With this action of the Pension Bureau I entirely concur.

I therefore venture, notwithstanding the persistent misrepresentations of my action in similar cases, to disapprove this bill upon the ground that this deserving beneficiary will receive under the action of the Pension Bureau a much larger sum than she would if such action was superseded by the enactment of the proposed special statute in her behalf.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 15, 1888.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Shall the bill pass, the objections of the President of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding?

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, there are some observations in this veto message upon which I wish to comment. The President of the United States reiterates his former assumption of unusual anxiety for the rights of soldiers in like cases, as he states, by saying that he vetoes this bill in order that the applicant may receive a still higher reward from a grateful country.

This is a case where a rejection has occurred, and in consequence of that rejection application is made to the two Houses of Congress. The investigation by the two Houses of Congress in this case calls the attention of the Pension Office to the injustice it has wrought, and rather than submit further, as in many instances, to the admonition and sometimes severe reproof contained in the reports of the two Houses of Congress, the Pension Office reviews its previous act of injustice, admits its error, and allows the claim. Meanwhile the matter proceeds in the halls of legislation. At last, when it reaches the President he makes the result at the Pension Office, which is caused by this action of the legislature of the country, the basis of claiming an unusual virtue in himself. It is not the first time that this has been done. It is not the first time that the President himself has gone to the country upon this improper pretense.

I wish to call attention to a similar case reported in the last Congress—the case of Newcomb Parker—which I had occasion to review. I shall read the report in that case upon the veto message. We have found it impossible to obtain the two-thirds vote in former Congresses in these vetoed cases, and that is the reason why the time of the Senate is not taken up by the reporting of them back and the interminable discussions which never could result, no matter how just the case, in securing the two-thirds vote necessary in the two Houses of Congress.

The majority of the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States, returning Senate bill No. 1077, granting a pension to Newcomb Parker, with his objections to the passage of the same, have considered the message, and reconsidered the bill and the evidence in support thereof, and report:

This is really an interesting case. The claimant *filed his declaration* January 7, 1880, six months before the expiration of the limitation for arrears, so that if granted he would be pensioned from the incurrence of the disability, and become entitled to considerable money. He proved that he had suffered from a broken ankle received in line of duty, and there was no doubt about it.

Two special examiners successively reported in favor of the claim. There must have been parties in the Pension Office who resented these favorable reports of their own agents. If two favorable reports result in rejection, how many are necessary to secure the admission of a claim under the rules of the Pension Office? Where the reports continue in a man's favor why should the office interrupt the flow of good results by interposing a rejection? It would seem that the best chance of success is to have a bad case, since verdicts for the plaintiff turn him out of court.

This is not an obscure case either, for the certificate of disability shows that claimant was discharged for this very permanent hurt "by reason of an old irreducible dislocation and fracture of right ankle-joint, received at Fort Totten, District of Columbia. Is unfit for duty in Invalid Corps."

A permanent incurable hurt, contracted in the service, is proved by their own records, and then proved again by two reports of their own agents, who must have known better than to do justice if it could be avoided when their work had to run the gantlet of such official supervision at Washington.

Well, the result of all this demonstration was the rejection of the claim November 10, 1885, on the ground that claimant "is unable to prove that he contracted or had any disability in the service that he did not have prior to enlistment," and the claimant was notified accordingly. Whereupon, January 14, 1886, Senator EDMUNDS introduced the following bill (S. 1077):

"That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, the name of Newcomb Parker, late of Company K, Eleventh Regiment of Vermont Volunteers."

Which, on the 15th day of April, was reported by the Committee on Pensions to the Senate without amendment, and the following statement of facts submitted in support of the bill:

[Senate Report No. 561, Forty-ninth Congress, first session.]

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1077) granting a pension to Newcomb Parker, have examined the same, and report:

The claimant, Newcomb Parker, late private of Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, enlisted August 14, 1862, and was discharged February 8, 1864. He made application for pension January 7, 1880, alleging dislocation of right ankle by a falling stockade at Fort Slocum, District of Columbia, about January 1, 1864. The claim was rejected November 10, 1885, on the ground that the claimant is unable to prove that he contracted or had any disability in the service that he did not have prior to enlistment.

It appears from the report of the Adjutant-General that this soldier was disabled by reason of lameness from the fracture of ankle-joint December 31, 1863, and that on February 8, 1864, was discharged for disability, but when and where fracture of ankle occurred the records do not show. The certificate of disability for discharge is, however, on file, and states that he was found unable to perform the duties of a soldier because of old and irreducible dislocation and fracture of right ankle-joint received at Fort Totten, District of Columbia, and unfit for duty in Invalid Corps, discharged at his own request, disability one-quarter.

The last examination by a medical board, August 6, 1885, rates the disability by reason of injury to right ankle at total.

The claimant has entered evidence of several parties who knew him before enlistment, showing that he was then a sound man and had no difficulty with his ankles, and also testimony as to the incurrence of the disability in the service.

The report of a special examiner, dated October 23, 1885, which closes as follows, is also on file:

"From the testimony in this claim I am of the opinion it is one of merit, and therefore respectfully recommend it for admission."

The report of another special examiner, in which a large amount of testimony was taken, dated August 4, 1885, is also on file in which he states:

"I think there is merit in the claim for injury of right ankle, and that on that account it may be admitted."

It would seem from this evidence that there can be no doubt that this disability was incurred in the service, and that this case should properly have been admitted as recommended—as recommended by the special examiners—in the Pension Office. Why it was not so admitted does not appear from the papers.

Your committee recommend the passage of the bill.

On the 21st of April—

I ask attention to the dates, to see how an effort is made by the veto

message to put Congress in a false position, just as I doubt not is the case now before us—

On the 21st of April the bill passed the Senate, and on the 12th of June it passed the House of Representatives, was enrolled June 14, and went to the President for his approval on the 21st of June, whereupon such proceedings were had as the following letter indicates to be usual in such cases. It will be observed that enrolled bills can not come to the possession of the Interior Department save from the custody of the President, who receives them from Congress.

"[From letter in other cases, June 14, 1886.]

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

"SIR: I send hereby enrolled bills as follows: * * * Please cause the same to be critically examined and report to this Department whether in your opinion any objections to their approval are known to exist. In cases where objections exist they should be specifically set forth.

"Very respectfully,

"H. S. MULDROW,
"Acting Secretary.

"The COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS."

Does the President review the evidence for himself, asking the Senate for it? If he saw fit to do so, he could get the papers from the Senate, although we find it impossible for us to get public documents from the Executive when they are essential to the performance of public duty. We have asked for them and hunted for them carefully for some years and have failed to get them. If he asked he would readily get the additional evidence often in possession of the Pension Committees of Congress. These bills coming to him, enacted by both Houses of Congress, instead of reviewing them for himself or appointing some independent tribunal that has not already been overruled, he sends them back to the very source of the injustice that is complained of, and asks the Pension Office to say whether they can find any objection to the action of Congress, when that action is a re-proof of their inaccuracy or their own wrong.

February 6, all the papers on file in the Pension Office in this case were called for and sent to the Senate committee, and April 15 were returned to the Pension Office.

Being now in possession of the Senate report and of the papers from and after April 15, and of the enrolled bill from the President, and his demand for the facts, the Commissioner overhauls the performances of his subordinates in this case, and the following report of the evidence on file is the result. It will be observed that this document itself proves that it is made after the Senate action took place, and was known to the Commissioner, who personally examined this case, as a document printed herewith, containing, as it does, these words: "The papers were sent to the Senate Committee on Pensions February 6, 1886, and returned April 15, 1886."

[No. 335797. Newcomb Parker, Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers.]

Claim was rejected November 10, 1885, on the ground that claimant is unable to prove that he contracted or had any disability in the service that he did not have prior to enlistment.

Soldier enlisted as private August 14, 1862, and was transferred to One hundred and twenty-ninth Company, Second Battalion Invalid Corps, December 31, 1863, at Clifburn Barracks, by reason of lameness from fracture of ankle-joint and flat foot. Discharged February 8, 1864, for disability.

Certificate of disability shows that he was discharged by reason of an "old irreducible dislocation and fracture of right ankle-joint, received at Fort Totten, District of Columbia, is unfit for duty in the Invalid Corps, and is discharged at his own request; disability, one-fourth."

Regimental records not on file.

Claimant alleges in declaration filed January 7, 1880, that about January 1, 1864, at Fort Slocum, District of Columbia, he had his right ankle dislocated by the falling of a stockade.

In deposition before special examiner he states that as near as he can remember, it was in October, 1863, at Fort Slocum, District of Columbia, a detachment of his company were engaged in strengthening the earthwork by driving a stockade. He was on top of the parapet handling one of the timbers, when he slipped and fell into the ditch, and the timber came down on him and crushed his right ankle. Was picked up by his comrades and taken to regimental hospital, which was between Fort Totten, where Company K was stationed, and Fort Slocum. Never had any trouble with his feet or ankle prior to enlistment, and has never received any injury to right foot or ankle since discharge, but admits an injury to left hip by being squeezed between two cars in 1873 or 1874. Was stripped and examined at enlistment.

Special examiner reports not reliable.

Moses Demarse, late private Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, testifies that in the fall of 1863, at Fort Totten, he had just come off of picket duty and he saw claimant lying in his bunk, and he had crutches made for him. He said, and they all said, that he was hurt coming off the bomb-proof at Fort Totten. He was all right when affiant went on pickett duty, and was lame when he returned. His ankle was not broken, for it was not in splints, but it was badly swollen, and a kind of black color and bruised. His foot was kind of flat when he enlisted, but he used it perfectly well, only it turned out a little more than the other. Can not say which foot it was.

Reputation good, by special examiner.

Nathan K. Martin testifies that he was a member of Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, and claimant seemed all right at enlistment, except that he had a twisted ankle and flat foot. Claimant was examined at enlistment at same time affiant was. Remembers that in the fall of 1863, when the defenses of Washington were being strengthened, claimant was at work, and in some way got his ankle strained. He was in line of duty. Does not remember the circumstances of the injury, only that he was at work on the fortifications.

Julius Gaudant testifies that he was a private in Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, and knew claimant from boyhood, but had not seen him for several years prior to enlistment. Did not notice that he had any trouble with his foot or a peculiar walk at enlistment. Remembers that late in the fall of 1862 (same year they went out) they were building stockade barracks, and in some way claimant got his foot, ankle, or leg hurt, and it made him lame for a long time. Did not see him when he was hurt, but did see him five minutes afterwards, and he said his foot or leg was hurt, and started away, limping. Claimant was made lame in 1862, and laid around camp for more than a year, doing nothing. Claimant's allegations were read to affiant, and he states that he does not remember the injury at all that way, and only recollects his statement above. Remembers that when claimant was hurt somebody said, "Newk's leg is broken;" and the boys said, "He is only fooling to get rid of work." But affiant did not afterwards, for he would not have kept it up so long, and he kept getting worse.

Allen S. Fleury testifies that he was a member of Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, and has known claimant ever since he was a child, and knows that as a boy and young man he was an active, athletic fellow, and never noticed any difficulty in getting around. Can not say from his own personal knowledge that claimant received any injury in the service; knows that he was transferred to the Invalid Corps for lameness, and that he was lame around camp for a considerable time before he was transferred. While he has no personal knowledge of how he became lame, yet there is an impression on his mind that he was hurt somehow at Fort Slocum in the fall of 1863. Whether that impression was made from facts within his own knowledge, or from having this matter talked up to him, he can not say.

At Fort Totten they used to play ball a good deal, and claimant was quite active; but there was a time when he did not play on account of lameness. Claimant's statement was read to affiant, and he states he does not remember any feature of the narrative.

"Good."

George H. Soules, late lieutenant, Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, states, in a reply to a letter from this office, that he remembers claimant was off duty at Fort Totten in 1863 on account of his foot and ankle being bad. As to his being sound at enlistment, knows that he was stripped and examined, and he supposed that was good evidence of soundness.

M. S. Lillie, late private Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, states, in reply to a letter from special examiner, that he remembers Parker, and was on duty with him when he was injured, and he never did any duty afterwards.

Thinks it was his hip or ankle that was injured by a small tree hitting him, but can not recall the particulars to mind.

The surgeons of the regiment have been corresponded with, but they fail to remember claimant.

Henry C. Hill, postmaster, Isle La Motte, Vt., testifies that he has known claimant since he was a boy, and prior to 1862 he seemed to have some trouble with his ankles and he had a flat foot. He walked with the right foot more turned than the left and it was flat, broken down in the instep so that there was no hollow; sold him boots from the time he was old enough to wear them until he enlisted, and he walked on the "inner side" of his feet, but he turned the right foot more than the other, wore it out on the inner side of the sole, and broke down the shank directly. It is reported that he has met with two or three accidents on the railroad since the war. He has no bias or prejudice in this matter.

Polly A. Goodsell testifies that she is claimant's sister, and that when he was a boy eight or nine years old he fell off a car and sprained his ankle; it was not broken, and he got well in a little while, and never was a cripple until he came home from the war. He never had a flat foot until he came home from the Army, and always wore his boots as straight as any of the other boys, and nothing was the matter with his feet when he enlisted; remembers of two accidents received since the war. Last winter he got jammed in coupling cars, and hurt his stomach, and about sixteen years ago he had his shoulders squeezed.

Elizabeth Parker testifies that she is claimant's mother, and that when he was about fifteen years of age, in attempting to get off a train while it was in motion the heel of his boot dragged along the ground as he hung on, and turned his right ankle and sprained it. In two weeks he was walking around again, and he never had any more trouble with that foot until he went into the Army. Both feet were alike when he enlisted, and he walked as well as ever he did; had no flat foot and did not break down the shank of his boot. He got doubled together on the cars about fifteen years ago and dislocated his right hip. Is certain that it was his right hip because we have spoken about it a good many times; that all the injuries he has received have been on that limb. Has noticed that his foot has changed since then.

He had a lump on his ankle as big as her fist when he came from the Army, but she did not see that his foot was any different from what it was when he enlisted; but since he got that hip hurt she can see a change in his foot, and it is flattened out and turned sideways. He has met with two other accidents on the railroad since, and both of them to the right limb, and of course that goes to affect the foot and ankle. He said when he returned that he was digging a trench at Fort Slocum, and fell in and broke his ankle. Knows the bones were broken because they had to straighten the ankle by bandages.

Ezra Fleury testifies that he has known claimant since he was a boy, and used to employ him a good deal. He always had a flat foot from boyhood, and a peculiar gait which gave him the appearance of slight lameness, but it did not interfere with him, and he was always ready to scuffle or wrestle with anybody who came along, and was an expert at it. Has seen him swimming, and seen his bare legs, and should say, so far as his ankles were concerned, he was a sound man in 1862.

The papers were sent to the Senate Committee on Pensions February 6, 1886, and returned April 15, 1886.

Medical examination by the Plattsburgh board, held August 6, 1885, shows as follows:

The internal malleolus of the right foot is extra prominent. Immediately below this malleolus is another bone, one of the tarsus, which is nearly as prominent as the malleolus. Below this other bone is a large callus of the integument. The ball of great toe and the internal border of the same toe are also the seat of hard calluses of the integument. The foot is everted so that he walks on the internal border of this foot. The arch of this foot is entirely obliterated. His boot shows that he walks constantly on the internal border. There is considerable motion of the ankle, and the motion of the toes is not interfered with.

Rated total for injury of right ankle.

So all that had been done in Congress had got back through the President into the possession of the Commissioner of Pensions, and thereupon he made a report, and a favorable report.

The wrapper or jacket in which the papers were kept has the following indorsement (we call especial attention to that which shows that a special act was pending):

Returned from S. C. (Senate committee) April 15, 1886.

[Indorsed on jacket.]

"No. 335797.
"Newcomb Parker; P. O., Rouse's Point, N. Y.
"Service: Co. K, 11th Vt. Vols.
"Enlisted July 14, 1862.
"Discharged Feb'y 8, 1864.
"Application filed Jan'y 7, 1880.
"Alleges dislocation of right ankle.
"Attorney: George L. Clark, Plattsburgh, N. Y.

Another of these "wretches" known as claim agents. This man is a leading member of one of the churches of the city, I happen to know.

"Nov. 19, 1885, Clark informed rejected; claimant is unable to prove any dis. in service he did not have prior thereto.
"June 22, 1886, date and cause of rejection to claim't through Hon. H. G. Burleigh.
"Ret'd from S. C. April 15, 1886.
"June 24, 1886, letter to Att'y Clark (see copy)."

In the indorsement of April 15 the letters "S. C." are used for "Senate committee" by the custom of the office, and indicate, of course, to any one examining the papers that the papers have been in the possession and on that date returned from possession of that committee.

June 24, the Commissioner makes the order indicated by the following paper now among the files:

"[335797. Newcomb Parker, Company K, Eleventh Regiment Vermont Volunteers.]

"Mr. MACK, *Chief, Eastern Division:*

"The honorable Commissioner directs that this claim be allowed under his ruling No. 181.

"EVANS, *Re-rev'r.*

"JUNE 24, 1886."

This allowance of the claim, this long report in favor of it, was made after two rejections, and after, in consequence of those rejections, this man had come to Congress, got his bill through Congress, gone to the President, and the President had sent it down to the Pension Office to see if they could not find some objection to it, and finding that there was objection they could make to it, to specifically note it in their reply. They make the examination, reverse all their former action, report in favor of the claim June 24, and the Commissioner orders the claim to be allowed June 24, 1886.

Prior to June 29 all these things have taken place at the Pension Office, the bill and the action of the Pension Office considered by the Executive, and on the 29th the President of the United States sends the following veto message to the Senate:

[Senate Ex. Doc. No. 194, Forty-ninth Congress, first session.]

Message from the President of the United States, returning Senate bill 1077, without his approval.

To the Senate:

I hereby return without approval Senate bill numbered 1077, entitled "An act granting a pension to Newcomb Parker."

This claimant filed an application for a pension in the year 1880.

Before the passage of the bill herewith returned, the Commissioner of Pensions, in ignorance of the action of Congress, allowed his claim under the general law. As this decision of the Pension Bureau entitles the beneficiary named to draw a pension from the date of filing his application, which, under the provisions of the special bill in his favor, would only accrue from the time of its passage, I am unwilling that one found worthy to be placed upon the pension-rolls by the bureau to which he properly applied should be an actual loser by reason of a special interposition of Congress in his behalf.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *June* 29, 1886.

Now note that all these things have taken place at the Pension Office, the bill and the action of the Pension Office have been considered, and on the 29th the President sends the veto message to the Senate, which is so like the form employed in the conclusion of the present veto message, which suggested this case to me, with very slight alteration. I call attention to the similarity in the conclusion of the veto message before the Senate and the one to which I have reference.

See the deadly parallel.

To the Senate:

I return without approval Senate bill No. 3306, entitled "An act granting a pension to Mary K. Richards."

The beneficiary named in this bill applied for a pension on the 14th day of November, 1878, and the same was rejected in April, 1879. Her claim has lately been re-examined, and since the passage of the bill herewith returned she has been allowed a pension by the Pension Bureau, it having been there determined that the former rejection was a manifest error.

With this action of the Pension Bureau I entirely concur.

I therefore venture, notwithstanding the persistent misrepresentations of my action in similar cases, to disapprove this bill upon the ground that this deserving beneficiary will receive under the action of the Pension Bureau a much larger sum than she would if such action was superseded by the enactment of the proposed special statute in her behalf.

GROVER CLEVELAND,

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 15, 1888.

To the Senate:

I hereby return without approval Senate bill No. 1077, entitled "An act granting a pension to Newcomb Parker."

This claimant filed an application for a pension in the year 1880.

Before the passage of the bill herewith returned the Commissioner of Pensions, in ignorance of the action of Congress, allowed his claim under the general law. As this decision of the Pension Bureau entitles the beneficiary named to draw a pension from the date of filing his application, which, under the provisions of the special bill in his favor, would only accrue from the time of its passage, I am unwilling that one found worthy to be placed upon the pension-rolls by the bureau to which he properly applied should be an actual loser by reason of a special interposition of Congress in his behalf.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *June* 29, 1886.

The following letter of the Commissioner, addressed to the committee, dated February 6, 1886, proves that as early as that date he was informed of the action going on in Congress; that from and after that date he was not in ignorance of the proceeding for a special act, and that up to that date, when he transmitted the papers to the Senate, nothing had been done in the way of reconsidering the case, and as a matter of fact nothing was done until in the month of June last.

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, PENSION OFFICE,
"*Washington, D. C., February* 6, 1886.

"SIR: In response to your request, I have the honor to transmit herewith the papers in the claim for pension of Newcomb Parker, late private of Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers, original number 335797. The claim was rejected on the ground that the claimant is unable to prove that he contracted or had any disability in service that he did not have prior to enlistment.

"Very respectfully,

"JOHN C. BLACK, *Commissioner.*

"Hon. JOHN I. MITCHELL,
"*Chairman Committee on Pensions, United States Senate.*"

The Senate kept the papers until the bill was reported and returned to them April 15. During the time the papers were in possession of the Senate nothing would have been done by the Commissioner. The bill passed the House on the 12th of June. It was in possession of the House from and after its passage by the Senate, April 21, up to June 12. It was reported to the House some days earlier, on May 11, and after the House report was made the papers, if the House had called for them, would have been returned to the Pension Office. Accordingly, on the 12th of June, we find the Pension Office astir, as by the following appears:

"BOARD OF RE-REVIEW, *June* 12, 1886.

"[No. 335797. Newcomb Parker, Company K, Eleventh Regiment Vermont Volunteers.]

"Respectfully referred to the medical referee.

"Please look over this case and state whether, in your opinion, claimant's present condition is due entirely to injury of right ankle and flat foot, shown to have existed prior to enlistment; or whether, if it is accepted that he received an injury to said ankle in the service, you can separate the two, and rate for the disability which may be due to the service, as per Commissioner's ruling No. 181.

GEO. O. EVANS, *Re-reviewer.*

"Approved:

"F. W. POOR, *Acting Chief Board Re-review.*"

"[No. 335797. Newcomb Parker, Company K, Eleventh Regiment Vermont Volunteers.]

"MEDICAL DIVISION, PENSION OFFICE,
"*Washington, D. C., June* 14, 1886.

"Respectfully returned to Mr. Poor, acting chief board of rereview.

"To say exactly what degree of disability is due to the injury received before enlistment and to that alleged to have been received in service is impossible, but if the alleged injury is accepted legally, then it is, in my opinion, the duty of the medical division to separate the injuries received before and after enlistment, and grant a rating for the injury as legally accepted.

"GEORGE P. DU BOSE, *Medical Examiner.*

"Approved:

"P. H. BARTON, *Acting Medical Referee.*"

This completes the light thrown upon the subject by the records, except as by the following unsigned document, which comes to us among the files:

"[No. 335797. Newcomb Parker, Company K, Eleventh Vermont Volunteers.]

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, PENSION OFFICE,
"*Washington, D. C., June* 23, 1886.

"SIR: In reply to your communication of recent date relative to the above-entitled claim, I have the honor to state that I have caused the evidence to be carefully examined and have personally considered the same.

"You are informed that the case is now under consideration with a view to its allowance, and certificate will be issued as soon as the exigencies of the work of this office will admit.

"Very respectfully,

"——— ———, *Commissioner.*"

"GEORGE I. CLARK, 916 *F street, City.*"

Now, we submit in this connection the French proverb that "he who excuses accuses," and also the legal maxim, "unusual clauses always induce a suspicion." With all the rest, why does the President in his message suppress the fact that this claim had been formally rejected by the Pension Office, so that the claimant had no remedy but in the interposition of Congress? Why does he take pains to say that "in ignorance of the action of Congress" the Commissioner had allowed the claim under the general law? Why does he proceed to express his anxiety to save the claimant from the loss of arrears of pension by the action of Congress when such action would have no such effect, not in the least impairing his right to the allowance of the arrears, save by the force of a recent unaccountable ruling of the present Commissioner, reversing all previous practice and violating all equity, and, we believe, all legal right, made apparently as a punishment to those who dare to apply to Congress for relief, no matter what the outrage they may have suffered in the toils of the office?

Why does the President so write this message as to place Congress (whose action was based upon the rejection of the claim by the Commissioner), himself, and the Commissioner before the country in a light favorable to himself and the Commissioner and unfavorable to the legislature of the country?

Can any one believe that the Commissioner of Pensions reversed his own deliberate action rejecting this claim without a particle of further evidence or any trace of reason save as the result of the proceedings in Congress, of which it is simply absurd or worse to deny his knowledge, or at least knowledge of those who reviewed and reversed his previous action, and allowed this claim just in season to enable the President to write this peculiar veto which places Congress in the attitude of inflicting hurt to the claimant by its meddlesomeness?

The President could not have been familiar with the facts in this case; all he knows of them comes from the Commissioner of Pensions or from his office.

Who told him that the Commissioner had reversed the rejection and allowed the claim in ignorance of the action of Congress? That assertion must have come from the Commissioner, for no one else could have known of his want of knowledge. The Commissioner decided June 23 to allow the claim. June 21 the enrolled bill went to the President. Was the enrolled bill in possession of the Commissioner before he decided to allow this claim? However that may be, is it conceivable that, with the office stirred up by this pension controversy and the constant watchfulness of the office over the proceedings of Congress and the correspondence going on between committees and the office, the overhauling and transmission of files, and the special attention thus called to each case, besides the public proceedings, reports, passage of bills recorded in our Congressional daily, which goes in numbers to all Executive Departments, to say nothing of the omnipresent newspapers of the land, that the eyes of the men who do the work in the office were not fixed upon their unjust and unreasonable decision in this case, and that whether or not those who were urging the claim in Congress called the attention of the Commissioner to it, the allowance of this claim is not wholly due to the action of Congress and not "in ignorance" of that action?

There can be no good cause assigned for this ruling of the Commissioner, refusing, by reason of special acts, the right to prosecute under the general laws for arrears justly due, except in the few cases where Congress makes express or plainly implied provision that the pension granted is in lieu of all claims whatsoever. Even then, when the claim is for a vested right under existing and general laws, which is the fact in this and nearly all other cases, the action of the legislative power would fail, for a vested right can not be taken away by act of Congress, and pensions due by virtue of laws existing when the contract of enlistment should be held to be, in effect, vested rights protected by all subsequent legislation.

In closing this report it is proper to observe, as the result of a careful re-examination, that in the whole twenty-five vetoes of special pension acts, originating in the Senate, not one "bogus," or fraudulent, or ill-considered claim, so far as Congress is concerned, has been developed. Nor, in the belief of your committee, is there one, except the case of Mrs. De Krafft, in which there was a clerical error in the bill, doing no one any harm, in which the defeat of the pension by the exercise of the veto power has not worked great wrong, and in most cases, suffering to the soldiers or their dependent and needy relatives in whose favor the Congress had exercised the legislative power.

This report is prepared and submitted under the following order of Senate committee:

"At a regular meeting of the Committee on Pensions, June 29, 1886—

"*Ordered*, That the several veto messages of the President be referred, respectively, to the members of the committee who reported the bills vetoed, with instructions to examine and report the same back to the Senate, submitting any questions to the committee for advice and re-examination which they think necessary, and that any member of the minority of the committee have leave to present dissenting views."

I think this report, made upon just such a case as I presume that before the Senate to be, so far as the claim of the President is concerned, is pertinent and should go along with the message of the President, which is made part of the records of the country.

I wish in this connection to have printed the first, second, third, fourth, and part of the fifth pages of Senate report No. 1424, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, being the general report made by the Committee on Pensions, or made by myself by their direction upon the pension vetoes which were referred to the committee. It is the general matter preceding the reports upon a large number of vetoes of Senate bills in the last Congress:

Mr. BLAIR, from the Committee on Pensions, submitted the following report, to accompany bill S. 2005, returned by the President with his objections thereto.

The Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the message of the President returning Senate bill 2005, granting a pension to Mary J. Nottage, widow of Thomas Nottage, late a sergeant of Company F, Third New Hampshire Volunteers, with the Executive disapproval, have considered the same, and have re-examined and reconsidered the evidence in support of the claim of this soldier's widow for a pension.

The committee report the veto message back to the Senate and recommend the passage of the bill, the President's objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is said that never since the foundation of the Government has there been an Executive veto of a private pension bill, save in a single instance, until the present session. How that may be is of no consequence, but so great has become the number of such vetoes interposed by the present Executive, all within a few weeks past, and so extraordinary the censure, sometimes rudely expressed, and in nearly every instance severely implied, of the action of the two Houses of Congress and of their committees, upon whom has devolved the wearisome and generally unappreciated labor of investigating these claims, accompanied in many cases by such ridicule of, and evident disgust with, the claims themselves, that your committee feel that they are justified in a brief review of the circumstances involved.

In doing this a strong effort will be made to restrain a not unnatural feeling of indignation, which, if permitted to assume the proportions which the provocation justifies, would wholly destroy those respectful forms of expression which must be maintained in official intercourse between the different officers and Departments of the Government. This becomes the more necessary in proportion as it is rendered the more difficult by reason of the unjust and unexampled style in which some of the messages of the President are expressed. It shall be the effort of the committee to get on in this difficult matter without violating the courtesies of official intercourse by imitating an example which, so far as we are aware, is without precedent and which, so far as we are concerned, shall remain so.

We have caused an examination of the files of the two Houses of Congress to be made, and we think with a substantially accurate result, including the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress from its commencement to the 26th day of June.

There have been 3,788 bills for private pensions, or for increase of private pensions already granted, introduced in the House, and 764 in the Senate; 530 House bills and 88 Senate bills have passed both branches and gone to the President for his approval.

The President has vetoed so far forty-five House bills and twenty-three Senate bills, or 25 per cent. of the Senate bills and 8½ per cent. of the House bills which have been submitted for his approval. These vetoes have been accompanied with declarations of distrust of the merits and good faith of the mass of other legislation which he can not veto for want of time.

It is necessary to state the facts, although your committee is not insensible to the special condemnation with this disparaging contrast between the proportion of Senatorial ill-work as compared with that of the House inflicts upon them. Each House, however, is responsible for every bill which reaches the Executive. The actual work done in the way of passing bills by the Senate is as follows: House bills passed by the Senate 530, Senate bills 292. There would seem to be unacted upon or rejected by the House of bills introduced in the House about six-sevenths of the whole number, while the Senate has acted favorably upon about three-eighths of the whole number of bills originally introduced in that body thus far during the session.

It will also be observed that but a small proportion of those introduced are reported by either House. It is, in fact, impossible to investigate them generally and fully, and it is all that mortal strength can perform to act upon those which are believed to be clearly just. It is but an idle waste of time to write up adverse reports, as a rule, and only those who have comparatively little else to do can spend time in making reports against doubtful claims which are likely yet to be made good ones by testimony which may be produced later in the same or in subsequent sessions.

We observe further, that whatever may be said to the contrary, it is very seldom that a member of the House or Senate will introduce any bill in the slightest degree tainted with fraud. Very few bills are introduced without some knowledge of their merit on the part of those who introduce them.

A computation as careful as your committee is able to make without the full examination of each bill—and even if that were done it would still remain to deduct the pension already being paid in cases of increase (a very large proportion of the total named in the bill)—satisfies the committee that up to this date, June 26, the whole amount of money called for annually by all the private pension bills passed by Congress this session, including those struck down by the President, the character of which will appear further on, is not more than $150,000, and $200,000 would cover the total possible raid by Congress had it been permitted to pursue its scandalously extravagant career unchecked to the end of the session. The vetoes have covered not far from $20,000, or perhaps $25,000, and applicants for special relief are expected to know better than to press Congress and the President further for a redress of their wrongs.

These sums of money are not to be despised by this nation, but it would be a comfort to know that it rightly belongs to us—or, at least, that if withheld wrongfully it did not cost health and life to those and the dependent relatives of those whose valor and sacrifices preserved our institutions and made the official existence possible which has saved this cash to the surplus in the Treasury. The present population of this country is at least 60,000,000 souls, and our wealth not less than $60,000,000,000. We have also, let us feel grateful to Providence, a most encouraging prospect for the future.

Much criticism has been indulged in by the President of the methods of legislation pursued by the two Houses of Congress, and however uninformed he may be upon the subject, and however unintentionally by reason of want of knowledge he may have misrepresented to the country the methods of legislation which have been pursued in like cases ever since congresses and parliaments have existed, and which have, since parliaments became free, been safe from kingly and presidential interference, all the same the people are misled by the unwarranted statements of the President as to the manner in which legislation upon pensions, claims, and the like is, and of necessity must be, conducted.

A claim or a private pension act can be discussed in committee and debated in the Senate as long as an appropriation bill; and therefore the conduct of affairs compels on the part of Congress, if not on the part of any other department of the Government, some attention in the division of time and labor to the relative importance of the interests involved. Pension claims always require the investigation of questions of fact and appeal to motives of justice, humanity, gratitude, sound public policy, patriotism, admiration for noble deeds, the love of glory, and the perpetuation of the Republic. It is not necessary that this investigation of the facts be made by a full jury of 76 Senators, nor by the whole 325 members of the House of Representatives, nor by both Houses in full assembly concurring. It is essential that at least one capable and honest mind should examine thoroughly each case in each House of Congress, and in all cases of doubt and difficulty or of unusual features that the committee and the House should do the same.

That we aver to be the usual and ordinary course of the transaction of the pension business of the Senate, and to have been so during the session, all statements to the contrary notwithstanding. The printed reports of the committee have been on the personal files of every Senator for days, and in some cases for months, on all the bills which have been passed by the Senate. Alert objectors from the ablest Senators not on the committee have watched its work and the progress of these bills through the Senate, objecting and discussing whenever they believed there was cause to do so in the careful and proper discharge of their duty. And if formal headings and phrases common to all bills have been sometimes omitted, and in consequence of long delays there have been, when an opportunity finally came, many cases rapidly passed when there was no ground for opposition, it was only a convenient dispatch of public business, hurtful in no way, usual always, and to be commended by any intelligent observer.

The pension business of the Senate has never been better done than during this session. Those members of the committee who have performed the most have been as careful as any, and derision of their patient, conscientious, and exhausting labors to help along these noblest and best portion of God's poor and the country's benefactors can originate only in a wise and noble nature which is misled, or in one that, if informed, sadly needs reconstruction or re-creation.

There has been from year to year an accumulation of this work, and both Houses of Congress have this session made great exertions to perform that which came from their predecessors as well as the increase from more recent rejections by the Pension Office, together with new cases arising outside the jurisdiction of that institution.

Still the President is wrong when he attempts to stigmatize the industry of this Congress as a reckless and scandalous disregard of public duty and waste of the public treasure, and says that there have already been three times as many pension bills passed as at any former session; but we are informed that 381 such bills were passed in the second session of the Forty-eighth Congress—a short session—nearly two-thirds instead of one-third as many as during the present session. Not very important, to be sure, but when a dazed Congress is struggling to preserve a decent reputation it may be justified in pointing out an occasional error on the part of the accuser.

The files of papers in these vetoed cases, which are now in possession of your committee, contain the letter of the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, under date of June 14, 1886, stating that he incloses enrolled bills as follows, enumerating 118 House bills and 11 Senate bills, and instructing the Commissioner of Pensions as follows:

"Please cause the same to be critically examined, and report to this Department whether, in your opinion, any objections to their approval are known to exist. In cases where objections exist they should be specifically set forth."

This indicates, of course, unmistakably that the President relies upon the Commissioner for his facts.

Any one who knows the prolonged and critical examination required would at once discredit the pretense of thorough personal investigation in the large number of cases which go to the Executive. It is, of course, impossible.

In every, or nearly every, vetoed case, Congress, by the action of both Houses, has overruled the action of the Commissioner of Pensions. Thereupon the President calls upon the Commissioner, whose physical condition is well known, to sustain the action of his office, and he naturally does so to the best of his ability. It should not be forgotten that oftentimes the reports of the two Houses contain severe and deserved reprimand of the action of the Pension Office.

Why the President should initiate this game of shuttlecock and pelt a coordinate department of the Government with vetoes based upon the review of the action of Congress by some subordinate of the Commissioner of Pensions is a topic which will bear thought, but perhaps may be left without discussion. Why the finding of the two Houses of Congress should be discredited and attributed to unworthy motives, indifference, or incapacity, while the reassertion by the pension clerk that he is right and Congress wrong is accepted as the basis of fact in these numerous vetoes, it is hard to perceive. But all through these vetoes there seems to run the fallacy that the power of Congress to grant pensions is limited to what may already be done by the Pension Office under the general law.

It is difficult to write in that rudimentary way upon the nature of pensions and the various grounds of compensation, charity, and public policy which is necessary in order to remove this impression. It is sufficient to observe that the jurisdiction of the legislative power of this Government is larger than that of the Commissioner of Pensions, and that sooner or later, although it may cost the country a prolonged and steady effort, this truth will become apparent.

But it should be remembered that in a very large number of these bills passed by Congress important original written evidence is filed with the committees or presented verbally, as in hearings before other committees upon all public questions which come before legislative bodies; and often the applicant is present with his statement and his palpable disabilities. This evidence is not available to the Executive, at least without the asking, and never has been in possession of the Pension Office. Consequently, in nearly every case the Congressional statement stands upon stronger proof than the finding of facts which the President sets up in disapproval of the bill.

The several pension bills vetoed by the President, with the evidence in each case, have been re-examined by the member of the committee who submits this report, and it is his belief that in every instance—twenty-three in number—the veto of Senate bills granting relief to claimants of pension has wrought injustice to them, and that the statement of facts submitted by the Senate committee in support of the bills was true upon the evidence, and that the statements of fact in the veto messages, so far as they conflict with finding of Congress, is untrue and wrong. Such brief notes upon each case as may facilitate further examination of the evidence, together with the Senate report and the veto of the President, are herewith submitted.

Further and more particular reports in the several cases will be submitted by

the members of the committee to whom the bills are referred, or in the Senate when they are called up for action.

In the particular case—that of Mary J. Nottage—in which this general report is respectfully submitted, there is a reprint of the evidence, that there may be a full opportunity for the people to examine and judge for themselves on the premises. This case is selected because of the comparative brevity of the testimony, and is by no means one of exceptional merit or hardship.

In this connection I ask leave to have printed the special report accompanying the case of Harriet Welch and James E. O'Shea. There are many others, but I can not cumber the RECORD to too great an extent:

No. 5.—HARRIET WELCH.

The principal facts upon which this claim is based are set forth in the previous report of this committee, which is hereto appended. The reason alleged by the Pension Office for the rejection of this claim is that the death of the soldier did not result from the service. The following newspaper account of his death appeared at the time:

"Syreannous Welch (or Deuney, as he was generally called), a veteran and pensioner of the last war, was killed on the track of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, about 4 miles north of this place, on Wednesday night or Thursday morning last, and was mangled in a fearful manner, his head having been cut into just above his eyes and his brains scattered along the track. He had been to Green Bay attending to some business relating to his pension and returned on the 11 p. m. train. He was known to have left Hilbert, but was not known to have ever reached Chilton, and it is supposed that he fell from the 11 p. m. train and was lying on the track when the 1 a. m. train going north killed him. An inquest was held by Esquire Green, of this city, and a verdict rendered in accordance with the facts. The deceased was an industrious and hard working man and was an engineer at Zech Brothers' mill, and leaves a wife and seven small children to mourn his loss."

No question is raised as to the legality of the marriage, which seems to have resulted in long cohabitation and the birth of seven children. The claimant was married to the soldier June 7, 1868. There is nothing in the evidence to justify the slur which the President casts upon the chastity of this widow and the legitimacy of her seven fatherless children. Pensions have heretofore frequently been granted in cases similar to this. Human nature cries out aloud for the allowance of pension in such a case, and if this woman, with her seven small children, is to be deprived of it, your committee at least are glad that the responsibility rests elsewhere.

We print the Senate report and the veto of the President, and recommend the passage of the bill, the veto to the contrary notwithstanding.

[Senate Report No. 293, Forty-ninth Congress, first session.]

Harriet Welch is the widow of Syreannous Welch, private Company C, Thirty-eighth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, who was pensioned for gunshot wound of his left leg, received in the military service and in the line of his duty. The rate of pension was increased from one-half to three-quarters because of increasing disability in the wounded leg. Again applying for increase of pension, he was directed to report for examination before the examining board of surgeons convened at Green Bay, Wis. Returning from Green Bay, Wis., he fell from the cars and was killed, September 7, 1877.

John Harmer filed affidavit May 22, 1884, that "soldier's leg was so crippled that he could not depend upon it, and that it gave way many times and caused him to fall." That it is his belief in attempting to pass from one car to another while returning from Green Bay his leg gave out and caused him to fall between the cars, when he was crushed to death.

In view of all the facts, the committee believe it to be their duty to report in favor of this bill, and recommend its passage, with the following amendment: Strike out in the seventh, eighth, and ninth lines the words "at the rate of $8 per month, and $2 per month for each of her children under the age of sixteen years," and insert "and her minor children" in lieu thereof.

To the Senate:

I return without approval Senate bill No. 1333, entitled "An act granting a pension to Harriet Welch."

The beneficiary named in this bill asks for a pension as the widow of Syreannous Welch, who was wounded in 1864 while in the service, and was pensioned therefor in 1867. In 1876 his rate of pension was increased. In 1877 he appears to have applied to have his pension again increased. It is alleged that upon such application he was directed to appear before an examining board or a surgeon at Green Bay., Wis., for examination, and in returning to his home from that place on the 7th day of September, 1877, he fell from the cars and was killed, his remains having been found on the track the next morning.

No one appears to have seen the accident; but it is claimed that he could not depend upon his wounded leg and that it "gave way many times and caused him to fall." From this statement the inference seems to have been indulged that his death was attributable to the wound he had received thirteen years before.

The widow's claim based upon this state of facts was rejected by the Pension Bureau on the ground that the accident resulting in death was not the result of his military service; and on an appeal taken to the Secretary of the Interior from that determination the same was sustained.

Though this widow admits that prior to her marriage with the deceased soldier she had married another man whom she could only say she believed to be dead, I believe her case to be a pitiable one and wish that I could join in her relief. But unfortunately official duty can not always be well done when directed solely by sympathy and charity.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *June* 22, 1886.

No. 14.—JAMES E. O'SHEA.

A re-examination of the evidence in this case satisfies your committee that the original report made by them is just, and that the statements therein are fully borne out by the testimony. It would seem that this soldier was a very brave and trustworthy man, a scout and prisoner of war, who rendered dangerous and most efficient service. He has many wounds and is a completely broken-down man. We have seen him. He is now in the Soldiers' Home in this District. Instead of being a deserter the records prove that although tried he was found "not guilty." The report of this committee is right, and the sneers of the veto uncalled for. Apparently there can have been no examination whatever of the evidence by the author of the veto in person. To veto this brave and patriotic soldier into history as a deserter in addition to all the rest is a carelessness to say the least of which your committee has not been guilty. Here is food for thought and an opportunity for reparation.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE.
Washington, March 12, 1886.

MY DEAR BOB: The bearer, James E. O'Shea, is an old soldier of the Volunteer Army. From a careful examination of his case I am satisfied that he has been unjustly treated, and if you can do anything to assist him until his case (application for pension) in Congress is settled, it will be appreciated and fully deserved.

He was charged on the records with desertion. I found the facts to be that he was tried for desertion, but found not guilty. I therefore removed the charge, and his bill will doubtless pass both Houses of Congress in due time. General Logan, I understand, has charge of it.

Yours faithfully,

THOMAS WARD,
Assistant Adjutant-General, United States Army.

Capt. ROBERT CATLIN,
Deputy Governor Soldiers' Home, Washington, D. C.

DECEMBER 19, 1885.

To the Governor of the Soldiers' Home, Washington, D. C.:

Your petitioners would respectfully represent that the bearer of this petition, James E. O'Shea, late of Company F, Twenty-third Illinois Volunteers, is an old soldier who is trying to get a pension by reason of disabilities which he claims were contracted while doing duty as a soldier. He is in very needy circumstances and is a worthy man.

We respectfully ask that you will admit him to the privileges of the Home while he is prosecuting his claim for pension.

THOMAS WARD, *A. A. G.*
CECIL CLAY,
Bvt. Brig. Gen., U. S. A., Chief Clerk Dept. of Justice.
JOHN W MAHAN,
Formerly Major Ninth Mass. Vols., and Bvt. Lt. Col. U. S. V., Vice-Pres., representing Fifth Corps Society Army of Potomac, 1878.

I concur.

JNO. A. LOGAN.

We print the Senate report and the veto:

[Senate Report No. 607, Forty-ninth Congress, first session.]

The committee ascertain from the record report that this claimant enlisted in April, 1861, and was discharged in October, 1864. He asks to be pensioned for disability, occasioned by a gunshot wound in the leg, which was disallowed on the ground of want of evidence that he received the wound in the line of duty. The examining surgeon finds the wound, and describes the entrance and exit of the ball; also, a wound or scar in the head, and the nearly total loss of sight of one eye. The report of the Surgeon-General shows that the soldier was in hospital more than once, but the record does not give the cause for which he was treated. The Adjutant-General's report shows that the man was under discipline for some irregularities, but, notwithstanding this and the lack of the required proof that he was wounded in the line of duty, the committee are of the opinion that, situated as he was, he was very liable to, and very probably did, receive the wound from which he had suffered and is still suffering.

The fact that the records of the War Department are often imperfect works great hardship to men who apply for pensions, and where there is reasonable proof to substantiate a claim the committee are of the opinion that the absence of record testimony should not deprive him of relief.

Inasmuch as there is proof that the soldier received the wound, and that he is badly disabled from it and other causes shown by the medical examiners, and that he is old and destitute, the bill is reported favorably with a recommendation that it do pass.

[Senate Ex. Doc. No. 161, Forty-ninth Congress, first session.]

Message from the President of the United States, returning Senate bill 337 with his objections thereto.

June 3, 1886.—Read, referred to the Committee on Pensions, and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate:

I return without approval Senate bill No. 327, entitled "An act granting a pension to James E. O'Shea."

From the report of the committee to whom this bill was referred I learn that the claimant enlisted in April, 1861, and was discharged in October, 1864.

He filed a claim in the Pension Bureau alleging that he received a saber wound in the head March 7, 1862, and a gunshot wound in the left leg in the autumn of the same year.

It appears upon examination of his military record that there is no mention of either disability, and that he served two years after the time he claims to have received these injuries. So far from being disabled, it is reported as an incident of his Army life that in the year 1864 this soldier was found guilty of desertion and sentenced to forfeit all pay and allowances for the time he was absent.

The report of the committee, in apparent explanation of the lack of any official mention of the injuries alleged, declares that "the fact that the records of the War Department are often imperfect works great hardship to men who apply for pensions;" and his conviction of desertion and the lack of proof to sustain his allegations as to his injuries are disposed of as follows in the committee's report:

"The Adjutant-General's report shows that the man was under discipline for some irregularities, but, notwithstanding this and the lack of the required proof that he was wounded in the line of duty, the committee are of the opinion that, situated as he was, he was very liable to, and very probably did, receive the wound from which he suffered and is still suffering."

I am convinced that there exists serious difficulty on the part of the claimant, instead of in the record of the War Department; that the kind of irregularity for which he was under discipline is calculated to produce a lack of confidence in his merits as a pensioner; and that the fact of his situation being such as to render him liable to receive a wound is hardly sufficient to establish his right to a soldier's pension, which is only justified by injuries actually received and affirmatively proven.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *June* 2, 1886.

Taking the case of James E. O'Shea, I will say, notwithstanding all the trouble we had about it since the last Congress, this faultless institution, the Pension Office of this country, has taken it up again and allowed the pension to James E. O'Shea from the beginning.

I shall ask consent to put in another case like the case of James E. O'Shea, if I can find the name. After having been passed by Congress and rejected by the Executive veto in the Forty-ninth Congress, it has been passed again in both branches of the present Congress, and has been signed by the President; and, as I have been informed by those who have examined the case, there is not a single particle of additional or different evidence from that which existed years ago, and which was upon the files of the Pension Office for years.

I also ask leave to insert the case of J. D. Haworth, on page 47 of the report:

No. 15.—J. D. HAWORTH.

A careful re-examination of the evidence in this case will convince any fair mind that the report heretofore made by the committee (Senate Report No. 633)

does not state the claimant's case as strongly as it should be. The ground alleged for the rejection of this case is that the disease of the eyes from which claimant suffers existed prior to enlistment. In regard to that we are of opinion that although there may have been a hereditary tendency to weakness of the eyes, yet it appears clearly that the serious development of this trouble was almost wholly attributable to his service, and that it has continued ever since. The soldier rendered long and faithful service, and the rejection of his claim on the ground that the disability was contracted before entering it works exceeding hardship and injustice. This man is old, poor, and blind, and the country which he served so well and faithfully ought to help him in this extremity. It will help him if there is any soul left in it.

We append hereto in further explanation the petition of his citizens and comrades respecting the veto, as well as the Senate report containing a statement of the facts, and the message of the President.

HEADQUARTERS CHARLTON POST, No. 143, G. A. R.,
Richland, Iowa, June 14, 1886.

Whereas a bill pensioning our comrade, James D. Haworth, has passed both branches of Congress; and

Whereas Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, has vetoed the same, thus depriving a worthy, honored, and a deserving ex-soldier and comrade of the benefit of the action of the said Congress, which is his just dues; and

Whereas we, as citizens and comrades, have known said comrade, James D. Haworth, intimately and well, some of us from a time dating before the late war, and believing that a great injustice has been done our comrade, leaving a stigma upon his character, that of perjury: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we earnestly condemn the action of the President in said veto, and believe that he was not properly informed in the case; that we ask, and earnestly insist that the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and each member thereof, to use their best endeavors to pass the same over the veto of the President that justice may be done to our comrade, neighbor, and friend, who served in the Army for three years.

Resolved, That comrade James D. Haworth has our permission to furnish the Senate Committee and Committee of the House on Pensions, also such members of Congress, a copy of these resolutions at his pleasure.

Unanimously adopted by Charlton Post No. 143, June 14, 1886.

S. E. JOHNSON, *Commander.*
Attest: LEWIS HORTON, *Adjutant.*

[Senate Report No. 633, Forty-ninth Congress, first session.]

That the records in this case show that the claimant was a sergeant in Company H, Thirty-third Regiment Iowa Volunteers, and that he served with the regiment until about the month of April, 1863, when he began to complain of "sore eyes," and was treated for sore eyes by Assistant Surgeon William Scott, of the Thirty-third Iowa Volunteers, and that he excused claimant from duty at Little Rock, Ark., in the spring or summer of 1863, because of "blindness in right eye and weakness of left eye;" and there is evidence to show that he did not continue in his regiment after this time, but was transferred to Company H, Twenty-first Regiment, Veteran Reserve Corps, where he remained until the expiration of his term of service, when he returned to his home.

Declaration for pension filed February 20, 1879, in which claimant alleges "sore eyes, with complete loss of right eye, and injury to the left eye." Claim rejected November 4, 1880, on the ground that there is "no satisfactory proof that the affection of the eyes is due to disability arising from service, but existed prior to service."

The affidavits of the claimant's mother, two sisters, and a brother, clearly show that the claimant could not see out of his right eye from early childhood, and was called "blind" in that eye, although their testimony shows that he could see a little out of that eye, but not much.

One sister testifies that claimant did use an "eye-water" to bathe his eyes with occasionally when they became "sore," and that it was the same eye-water as his father used, who was said to have the same trouble with his eyes.

It appears from the testimony, therefore, that the claimant had "sore eyes," and that the sight of the right eye was much impaired even in childhood, so that it can not be said that the disease originated from causes growing out of the service.

There is abundance of testimony to show that the claimant's eyesight has failed since he entered the service, and is not now as good as it was before he enlisted.

The committee believes that it is the object of the Government to pension all who are deserving and who have been impaired in health by faithful services performed, and it is shown by the record that claimant is not able to perform manual labor, and often requires help to enable him to get about, and that in consequence of his infirmity he is very poor. It is also shown that the disease is steadily progressing and it will not be long before claimant may become totally blind.

Taking into consideration the evidence on file in this case, your committee believe it to be their duty to report in favor of this bill and recommend its passage.

[Senate Ex. Doc. No. 158, Forty-ninth Congress, first session.]

Message from the President of the United States, returning Senate bill 1253, with his objections thereto.

May 28, 1886.—Read, referred to the Committee on Pensions, and ordered to be printed.

To the Senate:

I hereby return without approval Senate bill No. 1253, entitled "An act granting a pension to J. D. Haworth."

It is proposed by this bill to grant a pension to the claimant for the alleged loss of sight in one eye and the impairment of the vision of the other.

From the information furnished me, I am convinced that the difficulty alleged by this applicant had its origin in causes existing prior to his enlistment, and that his present condition of disability is not the result of his service in the Army.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *May* 28, 1886.

Mr. President, the tariff can wait until another year, if necessary, but I want to speak upon this assumption of kindness and virtue on the part of the Executive and the Pension Office. I will do the Pension Office the justice to say that I think in many respects they have transacted their business with commendable celerity and for the benefit of the soldiers of the country. There are undoubtedly abuses, and many of them, I think, are very great abuses, which have not yet been reformed. But I believe that the management of the office has been conducted in some respects for the direct purpose of political advantage. If necessary, I will give my reasons for that, but I think the country understands it; and if I have done anybody any injustice I will be the sufferer and not the Department. Many of the claims to superior merit are unfounded, with no right to special credit, and I think while the present Commissioner, a man of energy and vigor, has administered his office well and efficiently in many respects, he has done as well for his party as he has for the soldiers.

The President and the Democratic party set up an incessant clamor that by reason of having signed so many of these bills the President has demonstrated an exceedingly and unusually friendly animus toward the soldiery of the country, the men who preserved the Union by their valor, their sacrifices, and oftentimes by their lives. But it is to be considered with reference to these special acts, first, that they had been accumulating for years; that the rejections had been accumulating for years; that efforts had been making for a long period of time to get reviews and more favorable action, and at last these cases came in a large body to the Houses of Congress. It is true that for a long time they failed to be considered with favor, but they are now considered in the Senate committee by both parties as represented on that committee. I take pleasure in saying—it is nothing but an act of justice to the Senate committee as now constituted—I think its members of both parties act with friendly feeling and just favor toward pension claims and in pension legislation. I express this feeling, not that it is a compliment to anybody, for it is simply a discharge of duty, but I think it an act of justice to the Senate committee as it is now constituted of both parties.

But this has not always been so. In the last Congress, the Forty-ninth Congress, when the flood of claims came to us which had been rejected year after year or failed to be in anywise acted upon, the illness of the chairman of the committee cast upon me the labor of acting chairman. I determined that those bills should be acted upon. We proceeded to do it, and it was from impulses emanating from that committee-room that these numerous cases found their way to the Presidential mansion and the great number of vetoes took place of cases as meritorious as those that were signed, and a large number were signed and did meet with the Executive approval. But the vetoes and the approvals were without discrimination as to the merits of the claims.

I wish to read now a statement of the number of reports made by the members of the Committee on Pensions of the Forty-ninth Congress:

By Mr. SAWYER, 542.

He stands pre-eminent in the list. His work is a monument more to be desired than the one of Washington; a monument which will endure for all time in the gratitude of the defenders of our country.

Reports made by Committee on Pensions, Forty-ninth Congress.

Mr. Sawyer	542
Mr. Blair	363
Mr. Sewell	108
Mr. Van Wyck	80
Mr. Aldrich	23
Mr. Mitchell	17
	1,133

It is proper to say that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Mitchell] was sick nearly all the time, and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] was very largely engaged on another committee. The reports made by Republican members of the committee aggregate 1,133, while those made by the Democratic members were as follows:

Mr. Whitthorne	30
Mr. Camden	10
Mr. Jackson	7
Mr. Colquitt	3
	50
Total	1,183

I have here a statement which covers like data for several Congresses. It is not all of it so unfavorable to the Democratic efforts to pass these bills—some of it is perhaps as much so—but I read the list for the last Congress because that is the Congress which has been particularly criticised, and I know the evil, if it be one, originated in the Senate committee-room, and that I am myself responsible to a considerable extent for this work, whatever be its desert.

Statement of private pension bills reported by the Committee on Pensions, United States Senate, during the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, and Forty-ninth Congresses, and the first session of the Fiftieth Congress.

By Democratic members of the committee:	
Forty-sixth Congress reported	235
Forty-seventh Congress reported	192
Forty-eighth Congress reported	198
Forty-ninth Congress reported	50
Fiftieth Congress reported	285
Total	960
By Republican members of committee:	
Forty-sixth Congress reported	179
Forty-seventh Congress reported	155
Forty-eighth Congress reported	637
Forty-ninth Congress reported	1,133
Fiftieth Congress reported	702
Total	2,806

In regard to pension legislation that has been proposed and that has been enacted during the last Congress and the present Congress, comprising a period of time covered by the Democratic administration, I have in my hand a list of all the important bills, I think of all the bills of a general character, which have been introduced.

A bill (S. 2263) to amend the pension laws, and for other purposes.

Passed the Senate but failed in the House.

A bill to amend the pension laws, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the act entitled "An act relating to claim agents and attorneys in pension cases," approved June 20, 1878, is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. That sections 4768, 4769, 4786 of the Revised Statutes are hereby made applicable also to all cases filed with the Commissioner of Pensions since June 20, 1878, and which have not been heretofore allowed.

SEC. 3. That section 4785 of the Revised Statutes is hereby re-enacted and amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 4785. No agent or attorney or other person shall demand or receive any other compensation for his services in prosecuting a claim for pension or bounty land than such as the Commissioner of Pensions shall direct to be paid to him, not exceeding $25; nor shall any agent, attorney, or other person demand or receive such compensation, in whole or in part, until such pension or bounty land claim shall be allowed."

SEC. 4. That section 4786 of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 4786. It shall be the duty of the agent or attorney of record in the prosecution of the case to cause to be filed with the Commissioner of Pensions, for his approval, duplicate articles of agreement, without additional cost to the claimant, setting forth the fee agreed upon by the parties, which agreement shall be executed in the presence of and certified by some officer competent to administer oaths. In all cases where application is made for pension or bounty land, and no agreement is filed with and approved by the Commissioner as herein provided, the fee shall be $10, and no more. And such articles of agreement as have been heretofore or may hereafter be filed with the Commissioner of Pensions are not authorized nor will they be recognized except in claims for original pension, claims for increase of pension on account of a new disability not before alleged, in claims for restoration where a pensioner's name has been, or may hereafter be, dropped from the pension-rolls, on testimony taken by a special examiner of this office, showing that the disability or cause of death on account of which the pension was allowed did not originate in the line of duty, and in cases of dependent relatives whose names have been, or may hereafter be, dropped from the rolls on like testimony upon the ground of non-dependence, and in such other cases of difficulty and trouble as the Commissioner of Pensions may see fit to recognize them: *Provided*, That no greater fee than $10 shall be demanded, received, or allowed in any claim for pension the cause of which originated prior to March 4, 1861; nor in any claim for pension or bounty land granted by special act of Congress; nor in any claim for increase of pension on account of an increase of the disability for which the pension had been allowed: *And provided further*, That no fee shall be demanded, received, or allowed in any claim for arrears of pension or arrears of increase of pension allowed by any act of Congress passed subsequent to the date of the allowance of the original claims in which such arrears of pension or of increase of pension may be allowed.

"The articles of agreement herein provided for shall be in substance as follows, to wit:

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

"Whereas I, ——— ———, late a ——— in company ———, of the ——— regiment of ——— volunteers, war of 1861 (or if the service be different, here state the same), having made application for pension under the laws of the United States:

"Now, this agreement witnesseth, that for and in consideration of service done and to be done in the premises, I hereby agree to allow my attorney, ——— ———, of ———, the fee of ——— dollars, which shall include all amounts to be paid for any service in furtherance of said claim, and said fee shall not be demanded by or payable to my said attorney, in whole or in part, except in case of the granting of my pension by the Commissioner of Pensions, and then the same shall be paid to him or them in accordance with the provisions of the act of Congress approved ——— ———.

"Having heretofore paid my said attorney in part for his services herein the sum of ——— dollars, that amount is to be deducted from the sum above stipulated to be paid.

"(Claimant's signature.)

"(Two witnesses' signatures.)

"STATE OF ———, *County of* ———, *ss:*

"Be it known that on this the ——— day of ———, A. D. 188—, personally appeared the above-named ——— ———, who, after having had read over to ——— in the hearing and presence of the two attesting witnesses the contents of the foregoing articles of agreement, voluntarily signed and acknowledged the same to be ——— free act and deed.

"(Official signature.)

"And now, to wit, this ——— day of ———, A. D. 1880, I (or we) accept the provisions contained in the foregoing articles of agreement, and will, to the best of my (or our) ability, endeavor faithfully to represent the interest of the claimant in the premises.

"And I (or we) hereby acknowledge that I (or we) have heretofore received from the claimant the sum of ——— dollars, and no greater sum, and agree that that amount shall be deducted from the sum herein stipulated to be paid.

"Witness my (our) hand the day and year first above written.

"(Signature of attorney.)

"STATE OF ———, *County of* ———, *ss:*

"Personally came ——— ———, whom I know to be the person he represents himself to be, and who, having signed above acceptance of agreement, acknowledged the same to be ——— free act and deed.

"(Official signature.)

"And if, in the adjudication of any claim for pension in which such articles of agreement have been or may hereafter be filed, it shall appear that the claimant had, prior to the execution thereof, paid to the attorney any sum for his services in such claim, and the amount so paid is not stipulated therein, then every such claim shall be adjudicated in the same manner as though no articles of agreement had been filed."

A bill (S. 2208) to provide pensions for certain invalid soldiers and sailors who have been discharged from the Army or Navy of the United States after three months' service therein during the war of the rebellion, and for the widows and dependent parents of deceased pensioners, and to increase the rate of pension in certain cases, and for other purposes.

This is a proposition in substance the same which I had the honor originally to present in previous Congresses.

Added as an amendment to House bill No. 5667. Failed in the House.

A bill (S. 2208) to provide pensions for certain invalid soldiers and sailors who have been discharged from the Army or Navy of the United States after three months' service therein during the war of the rebellion, and for the widows and dependent parents of deceased pensioners, and to increase the rate of pension in certain cases, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That every person specified in the several classes enumerated in section 4693 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and the amendments thereto, who served in the military or naval service, as mentioned in said section, for the period of three months during the war of the rebellion, and has an honorable discharge therefrom, and who is or shall become disabled from any cause not the result of his own gross carelessness, disreputable conduct, or vicious habits, and shall also be dependent, wholly or in part, upon his own labor or upon pecuniary assistance from others for the means of comfortable support, shall, upon making due proof of the facts, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the proper authority, be placed upon the list of pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive a pension during the continuance of such disability at a rate proportionate to the degree thereof; and such pension shall commence at the date of filing an application therefor. The highest rate of pension granted by virtue hereof, which shall be for total incapacity to perform any manual labor, shall be $30, which is hereby made divisible upon that basis for any less degree of disability: *Provided*, That no person entitled to or receiving an invalid pension under existing laws, or such as may be hereafter enacted, granting pensions for disabilities contracted in the military or naval service of the United States and line of duty, greater than that provided for herein, shall receive the benefits of this act. But any such applicant for invalid pension having an application therefor pending, or who shall hereafter file his application for such pension, may, by a declaration over his own signature, at any time elect to prosecute his said claim under this act or under the general laws; and his pension, when allowed, if prosecuted under this act, shall commence from the date of such election, except as above provided.

SEC. 2. That all widows of soldiers or sailors who, as such widows, are now receiving, under existing laws or a special act of Congress, the sum of $8 per month, by reason of the death of such soldiers and sailors from a disability contracted in the military or naval service of the United States, and in line of duty, since the 4th day of March, 1861, shall, from and after this date, be entitled to and receive the rate of $12 per month in lieu of said rate of $8; and all such widows who shall hereafter be found to be entitled to the rate of $8 per month under existing laws shall be entitled to and receive the rate of $12 in lieu of said rate of $8.

SEC. 3. That if any invalid pensioner pensioned under pre-existing laws has died or shall hereafter die, or if any pensioner under section 1 of this act shall die, leaving a widow or minor child under sixteen years of age, or both, at the date of the death of such pensioner, such widow and minor children shall be held to be entitled, in the order of succession named, to an original pension in their own right, under existing laws, without being required to prove that the death cause of such pensioner was due to his military or naval service of the United States, and shall receive the rates now allowed by law, except that such as may be found to be entitled to $8 per month shall receive in lieu thereof $12 per month.

SEC. 4. That pension granted such widows on account of such minors shall be continued without limit as to age, provided it shall appear that such minors are of unsound mind or physically helpless, so as to render them incapable of earning a subsistence: *Provided*, That such widow retains the care, custody, and control of such minors; and in the event of the death or remarriage of such widow, or abandonment by her of such minors, then the pension shall be continued to them in their own right, without limit as to age, payable to a duly constituted guardian.

SEC. 5. That in considering the claims of dependent parents the fact and cause of death and the fact that the soldier left no widow or minor children having been shown as required by law, it shall be necessary only to show by competent and sufficient evidence that such dependent parent is without other present means of support than his or her own manual labor, or the contributions of others not legally bound for his or her support; and such as may be found to be entitled to $8 a month under existing laws shall receive in lieu thereof $12 a month from the date of this act.

SEC. 6. That in all applications under the general pension laws, including this act, where it appears by record evidence that the applicant was regularly enlisted and mustered into the service, that fact shall be sufficient *prima facie* evidence that he was then in good health and free from the disease or cause of disability for which he claims a pension; but such evidence shall be subject to rebuttal by record or other satisfactory evidence of the prior existence of such disease or cause of disability.

A bill (H. R. 5667) granting pensions to soldiers and sailors of the Mexican war, and for other purposes.

Passed the Senate with amendments. Failed in the House.

An act granting pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the Mexican war and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll the names of the surviving officers and enlisted men, including marines, militia, and volunteers of the military and naval services of the United States, who, being duly enlisted, actually served fourteen days with the Army or Navy of the United States in Mexico or on the coasts or frontier thereof or *en route* thereto in the war with that nation, or were actually engaged in a battle in said war and were honorably discharged, and to such other officers and soldiers and sailors as may have been personally named in any resolution of Congress for any specific service in said wars, although their term of service may have been less than sixty days, and the surviving widows of such officers and enlisted men as were married to such officers or soldiers or sailors prior to the discharge of such officers and enlisted men: *Provided*, That such widows have not remarried: *Provided*, That every such officer, enlisted man, or widow who is or may become sixty-two years of age or who is or may become subject to any disability or dependency equivalent to some cause prescribed or recognized by the pension laws of the United States as a sufficient reason for the allowance of a pension, shall be entitled to the benefits of this act; but it shall not be held to include any person not within the rule of age or disability or dependency herein defined, or who incurred such disability while in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aiding or abetting the late rebellion against the authority of the United States.

SEC. 2. That pensions under section 1 of this act shall be at the rate of $8 per month, and payable only from and after the passage of this act, for and during the natural lives of the persons entitled thereto, or during the continuance of the disability for which the same shall be granted: *Provided*, That section 1 of this act shall not apply to any person who is receiving a pension at the rate of $8 per month or more, nor to any person receiving a pension of less than $8 per month, except for the difference between the pension now received (if less than $8 per month) and $8 per month.

SEC. 3. That before the name of any person shall be placed on the pension-roll under this act proof shall be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, of the right of the applicant to a pen-

sion; and any person who shall falsely and corruptly take any oath required under this act shall be deemed guilty of perjury; and the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be stricken from the pension-roll the name of any person whenever it shall be made to appear by proof satisfactory to him that such name was put upon such roll through false and fraudulent representations, and that such person is not entitled to a pension under this act. The loss of the certificate of discharge shall not deprive any person of the benefits of this act, but other record evidence of enlistment and service and of an honorable discharge may be deemed sufficient: *Provided*, That when any person has been granted a land-warrant, under any act of Congress, for and on account of service in the said war with Mexico, such grant shall be *prima facie* evidence of his service and honorable discharge; but such evidence shall not be conclusive, and may be rebutted by evidence that such land-warrant was improperly granted.

SEC. 4. That the pension laws now in force which are not inconsistent or in conflict with this act are hereby made a part of this act, so far as they be applicable thereto.

SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any attorney, claim agent, or any other person to demand or receive a fee greater than $10 for services rendered in behalf of a claimant under this act, which shall not be demanded or received until such claim is allowed; and any person violating the provisions of this section shall be subject to the provisions of section 5485 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

SEC. 6. That section 4716 of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed so far as the same relates to this act or to pensioners under this act.

SEC. 7. That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any person while under the political disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

SEC. 8. That every person specified in the several classes enumerated in section 4693 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and the amendments thereto, who served in the military or naval service, as mentioned in said section, for the period of three months during the war of the rebellion, and has an honorable discharge therefrom, and who is or shall become disabled from any cause not the result of his own gross carelessness, disreputable conduct, or vicious habits, and shall also be dependent on his own labor for support, shall, upon making due proof of the facts, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the proper authority, be placed upon the list of pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive a pension during the continuance of such disability at a rate proportionate to the degree thereof; and such pension shall commence at the date of filing an application therefor. The highest rate of pension granted under this section, which shall be for total incapacity to perform any manual labor, shall be $24, which is hereby made divisible upon that basis for any less degree of disability: *Provided*, That no person entitled to or receiving an invalid pension under existing laws, or such as may be hereafter enacted, granting pensions for disabilities contracted in the military or naval service of the United States and in line of duty, greater than that provided for herein, shall receive the benefits of this act; but any such applicant for invalid pension having an application therefor pending, or who shall hereafter file his application for such pension, may, by a declaration over his own signature, at any time, elect to prosecute his said claim under this act or under the general laws, and his pension, when allowed, if prosecuted under this act, shall commence from the date of such election.

SEC. 9. That all widows or minor children of soldiers and sailors who as such are now receiving, under existing laws, general or special, the sum of $8 per month, by reason of the death of such soldiers and sailors in service or from a disability contracted in the military or naval service of the United States, and in line of duty, since the 4th day of March, 1861, shall, from and after this date, be entitled to receive the rate of $12 per month in lieu of said rate of $8; and all such widows or minor children who shall hereafter be found to be entitled to the rate of $8 per month under existing laws shall be entitled to and receive the rate of $12 in lieu of said rate of $8.

SEC. 10. That if any invalid pensioner pensioned for a disability contracted in the military or naval service of the United States, and in the line of duty, has died or shall hereafter die, leaving a widow or minor child under sixteen years of age, or both, at the date of the death of such pensioner, such widow and minor children shall be entitled, in the order of succession named, to an original pension in their own right, under existing laws, without being required to prove that the death of such pensioner was due to his military or naval service of the United States, and shall receive the rates now allowed by law, except that such as may be found to be entitled to $8 per month under existing laws shall receive in lieu thereof $12 per month.

SEC. 11. That pensions granted widows on account of minor children shall be continued without limit as to age, whenever it shall appear that such minors are of unsound mind or physically helpless, so as to render them incapable of earning a subsistence: *Provided*, That such widow retains the care, custody, and control of such minors; and in the event of the death or remarriage of such widow, or abandonment by her of such minors, then the pension and additional pension shall be continued to them in their own right, without limit as to age, during the continuance of such disability, payable to a duly constituted guardian.

SEC. 12. That in considering the claims of dependent parents the fact and cause of death and the fact that the soldier left no widow or minor children having been shown as required by law, it shall be necessary only to show by competent and sufficient evidence that such dependent parent is without other present means of comfortable support than his or her own manual labor, or the contributions of others not legally bound for his or her support; and such as may be found to be entitled to $8 a month under existing laws shall receive in lieu thereof $12 a month from the date of this act.

SEC. 13. That in all applications under the general pension laws, including this act, where it appears by record evidence that the applicant was regularly enlisted and mustered into the service, that fact shall be *prima facie* evidence of soundness at the time of his enlistment; but such presumption shall be subject to rebuttal by record or other competent evidence.

House bill 5667 was sent to us by the House, and the Senate amended it by adding Senate bill 2203. This bill being thus attached to the Mexican pension bill, the whole went back in the Forty-eighth Congress to the House, and rather than pass this bill a Democratic House defeated both, and thus the Mexican pensioners went to the wall likewise, and only found their remedy in the Forty-ninth Congress, when action was had upon the two propositions, the Mexican pensioners on the one hand and the soldiers of the war of the Union on the other, in two separate bills, and the Mexican pension bill got through and the Union soldiers' bill was killed in the House.

A bill (S. 1526) amending sections 4756 and 4757 of the Revised Statutes, relating to pensions to certain disabled persons who have served in the Navy or Marine Corps.

Passed the Senate and House and became a law.

An act amending sections 4756 and 4757 of the Revised Statutes, relating to pensions to certain disabled persons who have served in the Navy or Marine Corps.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4756 and section 4757 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same are hereby, amended by inserting the words "or as an appointed petty officer, or both," after the words "as an enlisted person" in the former section, and after the words "as an enlisted man" in the latter section.

A bill (introduced by Mr. BLAIR) (S. 1886) for the relief of soldiers of the late war, honorably discharged after three months' service, who are disabled and dependent upon their own labor for support, and of dependent parents of soldiers who died in the service or from disabilities contracted therein.

Passed the Senate, but failed in the House.

A bill for the relief of soldiers of the late war, honorably discharged after three months' service, who are disabled and dependent upon their own labor for support, and of dependent parents of soldiers who died in the service or from disabilities contracted therein.

Be it enacted, etc., That every person specified in the several classes enumerated in section 4693 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and the amendments thereto, who served in the military or naval service, as mentioned in said section, for the period of three months during the war of the rebellion, and has an honorable discharge therefrom, and who is or shall become disabled from any cause not the result of his own fault, and shall also be dependent upon his own exertions for support, or upon the contributions of others not legally bound thereto, shall, upon making due proof of the facts, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the proper authority, be placed upon the list of pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive a pension during the continuance of such disability and dependence at a rate proportionate to the degree of such disability; and such pension shall commence at the date of filing an application therefor. The highest rate of pension granted under this section, which shall be for total incapacity to perform any manual labor, shall be $24 per month, which is hereby made divisible upon that basis for any less degree of disability: *Provided*, That no person entitled to or receiving an invalid pension under existing laws, or such as may be hereafter enacted, granting pensions for disabilities contracted in the military or naval service of the United States, and in line of duty, greater than that provided for herein, shall receive the benefits of this act; but any applicant for such invalid pension having an application therefor pending, or who shall hereafter file his application for such pension, may, by a declaration over his own signature, at any time, elect to prosecute his said claim under this act or under the general laws, and his pension, when allowed, if prosecuted under this act, shall commence from the date of such election: *Provided further*, That no pension paid under any law hereafter shall be rated at less than $4 per month.

SEC. 2. That in considering the claims of dependent parents, the fact and cause of death and the fact that the soldier left no widow or minor children having been shown as required by law, it shall be necessary only to show by competent and sufficient evidence that such dependent parent is without other present means of comfortable support than his or her own manual labor, or the contributions of others not legally bound for his or her support; and such as may be found to be entitled to $8 a month under existing laws, as modified by this section, shall receive in lieu thereof $1 a month from and after the approval of this act.

SEC. 3. That in all applications under the general pension laws, including this act, where it appears by record evidence that the applicant was regularly enlisted and mustered into the service, that fact shall be conclusive evidence of the soundness at the time of his enlistment, except in case of fraud.

SEC. 4. That no person shall be entitled to more than one pension at the same time under any or all laws of the United States, whether such pension shall have been already obtained or shall be hereafter obtained, unless the act under which such pension is claimed shall specially so declare.

That bill passed the Senate, was reported to the House, but did not pass the House; it died in the House. It was the most important bill that has ever been pending with any possibility or probability for the time being of its passage since the arrears-of-pension bill. It is a bill which covered the entire list of all the soldiers of the Union who were in need of assistance from their Government, those who under the general laws were not pensionable. The bill in substance had passed in the previous Congress. It had been asscciated with the Mexican pension bill. I am stating matters that I am conversant with and was a part of. I had urgently sought that the two measures might go together, and that the two might become part of the statute law of the land, that being great acts of justice to the soldiers in two great wars they might proceed with equal step; but it was fated not so to be.

The soldiers of the country will recognize this bill if I do not stop, being short of time for a more specific setting forth of its merits; but it would have covered some two hundred and fifty thousand undoubtedly of the meritorious and disabled soldiers of this country. If anybody had cared to do a service to the soldiers of this country who were in want and destitution and disabled from gaining a livelihood by manual labor, it would have been easy to have passed that bill and to have used some of the surplus in giving their just dues to these men, their widows, their orphans, and their parents, but it failed.

A bill (S. 2056) to amend the pension laws by increasing the pensions of soldiers and sailors who have lost an arm or leg in the service.

Passed the Senate and House and became a law.

An act to amend the pension laws by increasing the pensions of soldiers and sailors who have lost an arm or leg in the service.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all persons on the pension-rolls, and all persons hereafter granted a pension, who, while in the military or naval service of the United States and in line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension of $30 a month; that all persons now on the pension-rolls, and all persons hereafter granted a pension, who in like manner shall have lost either an arm at or above the elbow or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension of $36 per month; and that all persons now on the pension-rolls, and all persons hereafter granted a pension who in like manner shall have lost either an arm at the shoulder-joint or a leg at the hip-joint, or so near the joint as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, shall receive a pension at the rate of $45 per month: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to repeal section 4699 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, or to change the rate of $18 per month therein mentioned to be proportionately divided for any degree of disability established for which section 4695 makes no provision.

A bill (S. 2482) to restore pensions in certain cases.

Passed the Senate, reported in the House, but did not pass the House.

An act to restore pensions in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That the act entitled "An act to restore pensions in certain cases," approved June 9, 1880, shall be construed so as to include within its provisions all officers and enlisted men in the Army, and their widows and minor children.

A bill (S. 181) granting pensions to ex-soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to dependent relatives of deceased soldiers and sailors.

Passed the Senate March 8, 1888.

An act granting pensions to ex-soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to dependent relatives of deceased soldiers and sailors.

Be it enacted, etc., That in considering the pension claims of dependent parents, the fact and cause of death, and the fact that the soldier left no widow or minor child or children, having been shown as required by law, it shall be necessary only to show by competent and sufficient evidence that such parent or parents are without other means of support than their own manual labor or the contributions of others not legally bound for their support: *Provided*, That all pensions allowed under this section shall commence from the date of the passage of this act, or from the date of subsequent dependence, and shall continue no longer than the existence of such dependence.

SEC. 2. That all persons who served three months or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or who may hereafter be suffering from mental or physical disability, not the result of their own vicious habits, which totally incapacitates them from the performance of manual labor, and who are without other adequate means of self support, shall, upon making due proof of the fact according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive $12 per month; and such pension shall commence from the date of the filing of the application in the Pension Office, after the passage of this act, upon proof that the disability then existed, and shall continue during the existence of the same: *Provided*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under existing laws, or whose claims are pending in the Pension Office, may, by application to the Commissioner of Pensions, in such form as he may prescribe, receive the benefits of this act; and nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent any pensioner thereunder from prosecuting his claim and receiving his pension under any other general or special act: *Provided, however*, That no person shall receive more than one pension for the same period: *And provided further*, That rank in the service shall not be considered in applications filed thereunder.

SEC. 3. That if any invalid pensioner has died, or shall hereafter die, leaving a widow, minor child, or children under eighteen years of age, or in case there be no widow, or minor child or children, a dependent mother or father, such widow, minor child or children, or mother or father, shall be placed upon the pension-roll at the rates established by law for widows, minor children, and parents, without regard to the cause of death of such pensioner: *Provided*, That said widow was married to the deceased pensioner prior to the passage of this act. All pensions granted to widows under this or any other general law shall take effect from the date of the death of the husbands of such widows, respectively, but not dating back of the passage of this act. That the increase of pensions for minor children shall be at the rate of $5 per month instead of $2 per month, as now provided by law, and in case a minor child is insane, idiotic, or otherwise helpless, the pension shall continue during the life of said child, or during the period of such disability.

SEC. 4. That any agent, attorney, or other person instrumental in prosecuting any claim under section 2 or 3 of this act who shall, directly or indirectly, contract for, demand, receive or retain, for his services or instrumentality in presenting and prosecuting such claim, a sum greater than $10 (payable only upon the order of the Commissioner of Pensions, by the pension agent making payment of the pension allowed), or who shall wrongfully withhold from a pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of the pension or claim allowed and due such pensioner or claimant, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for every such offense, be fined not exceeding $500, or imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 5. That section 4716 of the Revised Statutes is hereby modified so that the same shall not apply to this act: *Provided*, That this act shall not apply to those persons under political disabilities. And no person shall be pensioned under this act for any disability incurred while engaged in any military or naval service against the United States.

SEC. 6. That all laws and parts of laws which conflict with the provisions of this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

Senate bill 181 is similar in some respects to Senate bill 186 of the last Congress, but provides for only about fifteen thousand, who, as it is supposed, are in the poor-houses of the country or directly sustained by charity such as is given only to the very helpless and very poor. That bill has been passed by the Senate. It is a very modest bill. It left out the two hundred and twenty-odd thousand cases which Senate bill 186 included. It has gone to the House, there to sleep the sleep of death. So that even the soldiers of the country in extremest need, God's poor and our saviors in war, are not to receive any assistance from a Democratic House nor from the Executive who controls that body with an arm of iron power.

A bill (S. 373) for the relief of women enrolled as Army nurses, etc.

On Senate Calendar.

A bill for the relief of women enrolled as Army nurses, etc.

Be it enacted, etc., That all women regularly enrolled in the United States service as Army nurses or sanitary agents during the late war of the rebellion, and who rendered six months' service in the hospitals, diet kitchens, or on the battle-fields, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom; or who, prior to the completion of the period named, were disabled in the line of duty and honorably discharged, shall, upon making due proof of the fact, according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed on the list of pensioners of the United States and entitled to $25 per month; and such pensions shall commence from the date of filing the application in the Pension Office after the passage of this act: *Provided*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under special enactments may, by making application to the Commissioner of Pensions, in such form as he may prescribe, receive the benefits of this act: *Provided*, That no person shall receive more than one pension for the same period.

SEC. 2. That any agent, attorney, or other person instrumental in prosecuting any claim under this act who shall, directly or indirectly, contract for, demand, receive, or retain for his services or instrumentality in presenting and prosecuting such claim, a sum greater than $10 (payable only upon the order of the Commissioner of Pensions, by the pension agent making payment of the pension allowed), or who shall wrongfully withhold from a pensioner or claimant the whole or any part of the pension or claim allowed and due such pensioner or claimant, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for every such offense, be fined not exceeding $500, or imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. That all laws and parts of laws which conflict with the provisions of this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. BLAIR to the bill (S. 373) for the relief of women enrolled as Army nurses, etc., namely: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That all women who volunteered or were registered in the United States service under medical authority as Army nurses, or hospital agents during the late 'war of the rebellion,' and who rendered six months' service in the hospitals, or on the battle-fields, or who, prior to the completion of the period named, were disabled in said service and honorably discharged by reason of such disability, or on showing present necessity, upon making proof of service rendered, from surgeons, or others having personal knowledge of the same, which may be verified, as far as possible, by any records on file in the War Department, according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, shall be placed upon the pension-roll, and entitled to $25 per month, during life; such pensions to commence from the passage of this act: *Provided*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under special enactments, or under general laws, who are entitled to the benefits of this act, may, by making application to the Commissioner of Pensions, as herein provided, receive the above sum in addition to their present pension as an increase.

"SEC. 2. That any agent, attorney, or other person instrumental in prosecuting any claim under this act who shall, directly or indirectly, contract for, demand, receive, or retain for his services or instrumentality in presenting and prosecuting such claim a sum greater than $10 (payable only upon the order of the Commissioner of Pensions, by the pension agent making payment to claimant of the pension allowed) shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall, for every such offense, be fined not exceeding $500, or imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 3. That all laws and parts of laws which conflict with the provisions of this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed."

My genial friend from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] I have plied twenty or thirty times to know if he was ready to take up this bill, and I suppose he is waiting yet for papers from the Department of War.

Mr. COCKRELL. He needs more information.

Mr. BLAIR. He nods assent, and as to when these Army nurses will get their claim nothing save some power possessed of the power of prophecy can give any indication; but I will assure the Senator that if there were a quorum here and we could do business at all, I would not fail to move its consideration.

Mr. MORGAN. Is there no quorum here?

Mr. BLAIR. I should think there would be, listening to one of my speeches. They are in the Democratic committee-rooms, it may be.

A bill (S. 379) to allow soldiers and sailors in the United States service who have lost both hands an increased pension.

Passed the Senate March 21, 1888.

An act (S. 379) to allow soldiers and sailors in the United States service who have lost both hands an increased pension.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all persons who, in the military or naval service of the United States and in the line of duty, have lost both hands shall be entitled to a pension of $100 per month.

Amend the title of the bill so as to read: "A bill to increase pensions in certain cases."

A bill (S. 509) authorizing an increase in pensions in cases of deafness.

Passed the Senate and House and became a law.

An act authorizing an increase in pensions in cases of deafness.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all persons on the pension-rolls of the United States, or who may hereafter be thereon, drawing pensions on account of loss of hearing, shall be entitled to receive, in lieu of the amount now paid in case of such disability, the sum of $30, in cases of total deafness, and such proportion thereof in cases of partial deafness as the Secretary of the Interior may deem equitable; the amount paid to be determined by the degree of disability existing in each case.

A bill (S. 998) to restore pensions in certain cases.

Passed the Senate March 21, 1888.

An act to restore pensions in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That the act entitled "An act to restore pensions in certain cases," approved June 9, 1880, shall be construed so as to include within its provisions all officers and enlisted men in the Army, and their widows and minor children.

A bill (S. 1000) to increase the pensions of certain soldiers and sailors who are utterly helpless from injuries received or diseases contracted while in the service of the United States.

Passed the Senate February 2, 1888.

An act to increase the pensions of certain soldiers and sailors who are utterly helpless from injuries received or diseases contracted while in the service of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all persons who are or who may become totally helpless from injuries received or diseases contracted while in the military or naval service of the United States shall be entitled to receive a pension of $72 per month.

SEC. 2. That the increase allowed by this act to those persons who may hereafter become totally helpless shall be made to commence in strict conformity with section 4698½, Revised Statutes.

A bill (S. 1529) to amend paragraph 3 of section 4693 of the Revised Statutes, and for other purposes.

Passed the Senate March 31, 1888.

A bill (S. 1529) to amend paragraph 3 of section 4693 of the Revised Statutes, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That so much of paragraph 3 of section 4693 of the Revised Statutes as provides that no claim of a State militiaman on account of disability from wounds or injuries received in battle with rebels or Indians, while temporarily rendering service, shall be valid unless prosecuted to a successful issue prior to the 4th day of July, 1874, is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. That the claims of all such persons now pending, or which may be hereafter filed, shall be adjudicated in the same manner as claims of persons who have been regularly enlisted in the United States military service. This act shall include claimants wounded or disabled in any Indian war prior or subsequent to the passage of this act.

A bill (S. 1567) to give a pension of $100 per month to persons who, in the military or naval service of the United States, and in the discharge of duty, have lost both hands, or the use of both hands.

A bill (S. 1567) to give a pension of $100 per month to persons who, in the military or naval service of the United States, and in the discharge of duty, have lost both hands, or the use of both hands.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all persons who, in the military or naval service of the United States and in line of duty, shall have lost both hands, or lost the use of both hands, so as to require the regular personal aid and attendance of another person, shall be entitled to a pension of $100 per month; and this shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension.

That bill has not been acted upon as yet. The subject-matter has been considered. The Senate committee has several important bills as yet not acted upon on its files, for the reason that our work seems to go for nothing. If we do pass these bills in the Senate, they die almost invariably and inevitably in the House. The records show how that is. It is not at all strange that the committee is discouraged in doing this important and interminable work merely to provide material for the agencies of destruction in other departments of the Government.

A bill (S. 1596) in relation to oaths in pension and other cases.

Passed the Senate March 31, 1888.

A bill (S. 1596) in relation to oaths in pension and other cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That any and all affidavits and declarations to be hereafter made or used in any pension or bounty cases, or in claims against the Government for back pay or arrears or increase of pension, or for quarterly vouchers, or oath of allegiance, may be taken by any officer authorized to administer oaths for general purposes in the State, city, or county where said officer resides. If such officer has a seal and uses it upon such paper, no certificate of a county clerk, or prothonotary, or clerk of a court shall be necessary; but when no seal is used by the officer taking such affidavit, then a clerk of a court of record, or a county or city clerk, or prothonotary having a seal shall affix it thereto, and shall certify to the signature of said officer, to the effect that such certifying officer believes his signature is genuine.

A bill (S. 1626) to amend the act of March 3, 1877, entitled "An act amending the pension law so as to remove the disability of those who, having participated in the rebellion, have, since its termination, enlisted in the Army of the United States and become disabled."

Passed the Senate March 31, 1888.

An act to amend the act of March 3, 1877, entitled "An act amending the pension law so as to remove the disability of those who, having participated in the rebellion, have, since its termination, enlisted in the Army of the United States and become disabled."

Be it enacted, etc., That the act of March 3, 1877, entitled "An act to amend the pension law so as to remove the disability of those who, having participated in the rebellion, have, since its termination, enlisted in the Army of the United States and become disabled," be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"That the law prohibiting the payment of any money on account of pensions to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States, shall not be construed to apply to such persons as afterward voluntarily enlisted in the Army or Navy of the United States, and who, while was in such service, incurred disability from a wound or injury received or disease contracted in the line of duty."

That is an evidence of the ultra determination of the representatives of the people of the North to inflict some indignity, some species of mal-action, some terrible blow to the feelings and the prosperity of our friends of the South. We will get it up and pass it at any time unless, indeed, it should meet with that sort of opposition which I met with when I tried to do a little something for the confederate soldiers in getting them employment instead of its being given to confederates who were not soldiers, to disabled men instead of men who were not disabled, men who were to render an equivalent for all they got, because whatever they received would be simply the wages which would be paid to somebody and would go in any event to somebody who was in the service of the so-called Confederate States.

A bill (S. 1770) granting pensions to soldiers and sailors confined in Confederate prisons.

On the Senate Calendar.

A bill granting pensions to soldiers and sailors confined in Confederate prisons.

Whereas many officers, soldiers, and sailors of the Federal Army and Navy were confied in so-called Confederate prisons for an unusual length of time, suffering great hardships, and contracting disease hard to prove under the existing pension laws: Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll the names of such officers, soldiers, sailors, and marines who, while in the service of the United States and while in the line of their duty, were taken prisoners of war, and as such confined in so-called Confederate prisons, between the 1st of May, 1861, and the 1st of May, 1865, as follows: All who were prisoners of war two months and less than six months, one-half pension; those who were prisoners of war six months and less than twelve months, a three-fourths pension; and all such as were prisoners of war twelve months and more than twelve months, a total pension; and, furthermore, such surviving prisoners of war shall receive $2 a day for each and every day's confinement in said Confederate prisons: *Provided*, That such pension shall in each case begin from the date of the passage of this act, and shall be paid at the same time and in the same manner as other pensions are now paid: *Provided further*, That this act shall not entitle any person to draw more than one pension, but that such survivors of the so-called Confederate military prisons as are entitled to and are receiving a pension at the time of the passage of this act shall be entitled to the increase of their pension which this act may grant them.

A bill (S. 2381) to so amend section 9646 of the Revised Statutes as to allow the pensions of officers of the Army and Navy, their widows and dependent parents, to be rated as of the rank held by such officers at the date of discharge.

On the Senate Calendar.

A bill to so amend section 9646 of the Revised Statutes as to allow the pensions of officers of the Army and Navy, their widows and dependent parents, to be rated as of the rank held by such officers at the date of discharge.

Be it enacted, etc., That in all cases in which application for a pension is now pending, or shall hereafter be made, by any officer of the Army or Navy, or the widow or dependent parent of the same, where the proof shows that the person on account of whose disability application is made incurred the disability for which, or in consequence of which, the pension is claimed in the line of duty, but nevertheless remained in the service, and was afterward promoted and mustered into service in good faith, the claimant, whether officer, or widow, or dependent parent, shall be entitled to receive the same pension that would have been allowed in case such disability had been received while such officer held the rank which he occupied when discharged from the service.

SEC. 2. That in any case where a pension has been heretofore granted to any such person, or widow, or dependent parent, in which by this act a higher rating is provided for, the Secretary of the Interior shall, upon due application and proof, increase such pension according to and on the basis prescribed by this act.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to allow the pensions of officers of the Army and Navy, their widows and dependent parents, to be rated as of the rank held by such officers at the date of discharge."

That bill has passed the Senate, and a more just bill in its way, though comparatively unimportant, can not be conceived. Here is a man who when he is a corporal or a private loses his physical powers by wounds or by other disability, yet he is sufficiently serviceable by reason of his intellectual qualities, it may be—at all events he is so necessary to the service that he remains in the service, and in spite of all this discomfort and disability, the ill conditions under which he continues in the service of his country, he wins promotion. That man may become a general by his service in camp and in field, and yet if after his discharge he applies for a pension he will only receive one in proportion to the pay which he received at the time the injury was inflicted. The bill is designed to give him pension as of the rate belonging to the rank which he held at the time of his discharge.

A bill (S. 2446) granting an increase of pensions in certain cases therein mentioned.

Passed the Senate May 16, 1888.

An act granting an increase of pensions in certain cases therein mentioned.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4698 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to allow to all persons who are now paid, or may hereafter be found entitled to, a pension for the loss of one eye or the sight thereof, under existing laws for such disability, a pension of $16 per month in lieu of any lesser sum now by law provided therefor, the increase herein provided to take effect only from the passage of this act.

SEC. 2. That nothing herein contained shall deprive a pensioner of the right to a higher rating by reason of his rating for total disability, as is now provided for by existing laws.

SEC. 3. That the Commissioner of Pensions is hereby required and authorized to proportionately divide the rate for a partial loss of sight of either or both eyes, upon the basis of the rate for the loss of one eye herein provided for.

I submit these measures for the examination of the future if not of the present, in order that the public records may contain the evidence upon which a just conclusion can be arrived at as to the proposition of the President and the Democratic party that they are specially the friends of the soldiers of the war for the Union; that they have done as much, and always what they could, to secure justice to these servants of the public. I submit that the record is against them, as the result of the war was against them.

The single bill, Senate bill 1886, had in it more of good than all the other pension legislation that has taken place or that has been proposed during the last four Congresses by any party whatsoever, and not only have we failed to secure a consideration of it, not only has that bill in the various forms in which it has been pending for years been destroyed in the House, but an exceedingly imperfect and comparatively useless and unimportant and a troublesome sort of bill in administration, which would nevertheless have done some good, was vetoed by the President in the Forty-ninth Congress. In this Congress the Senate has passed a bill, introduced by Senator MANDERSON at request of the Grand Army, including or supposed to include only 15,000 of the 250,000 or more cases that Senate bill 1886 would have relieved—a bill which we passed simply because we could not pass anything better with hope of its favorable consideration by the executive power.

That went to the House a long time ago. Senators will remember the debate we had upon it, that it was a mere pretense of relief, but we took it simply because we had no hope of getting more. The Grand Army came here entreating for the passage of just this little measure of relief for men that were absolutely in suffering and abject poverty in this country, men but for whom there would have been no country to-day, no Treasury, no surplus, no existing taxing power whatever, no unity, no nation at all. They appealed to us that these men might receive a mite to ease the suffering of their remaining lives. That bill has gone to the House. No action has been had upon it, not even by the Democratic committee.

It has not even been returned, as I understand, to the House. Certainly it has not been considered, and if considered nobody believes it would ever be approved by the Executive, who comes to us in the message which draws from me these remarks and postures before the country as one determined that no defender of his country shall suffer by reason of the hostile action of the Senate of the United States. I have shown that but for the special act which has been vetoed there never would have been any reconsideration, much less reversal of their own

unjust action in the Pension Office; there would never have been any allowance of the claim. Tell the truth.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill, with the message of the President, will be referred to the Committee on Pensions, and printed.

WILLIAM S. BRADSHAW—VETO MESSAGE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read:

To the Senate:

I herewith return without approval Senate bill No. 3208, entitled "An act granting a pension to William S. Bradshaw."

The beneficiary mentioned in this bill was mustered into the military service as first lieutenant on the 28th day of October, 1861.

About eight months afterwards, and in June, 1862, he resigned from the service, his resignation being based upon a surgeon's certificate which he procured, and which is as follows:

"William S. Bradshaw having applied for a certificate to accompany his resignation, I do hereby certify that I have carefully examined this officer and find that his disease is of a chronic pleuritic character, contracted (previous to his entering the service) four years since from an injury received in shoeing a fractious horse, in consequence of which he was laid up for a number of weeks with a severe attack of pleuritis; that he has never been able to endure severe labor since; that since entering the service active drilling or marching has invariably developed severe pleuritic pains about his chest and underneath his sternum, rendering him totally unfit for duty."

It is entirely evident that the statements contained in this certificate are of such a nature that they must have almost entirely been communicated to the surgeon by the officer himself. It will be observed that there is an absolute lack of any intimation that his disabilities were attributable in their origin to army service, and he surely can not ask us to believe that a man with the intelligence fitting him to be a commissioned officer in the Army, and having this certificate in his possession, did not know what it contained.

It furnished the reason for his honorable discharge in the dark days of his country's need and operated as an exemption from further military service.

And yet in September, 1883, more than twenty-one years after his discharge, he applied to the Pension Bureau for a pension, alleging lameness of breast and back, contracted in the service.

After an examination of all the facts, I can not believe that this is a case in which a pension should be granted.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 15, 1888.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Shall the bill pass, the objections of the President of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding?

Mr. SAWYER. I move that the bill and message be referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BROWN. I object to the reference at this time. The Senate is not in a condition at this time where it has power to pass an order making the reference. Upon that question I desire to be heard for a few moments.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair can not hear the Senator on that question.

Mr. BROWN. Not on a motion to refer?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If the Senator objects upon the ground he states, the Chair will have to ascertain whether the Senate is in a condition to refer the bill and message or not.

Mr. BROWN. I will just conform to the ruling of the Chair, and simply object without giving my reason.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. That being the case, the message and bill will lie on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11262) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River and its tributaries by the Richmond, Nicholasville, Irvine and Beattysville Railroad Company.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 3715) for the relief of the State National Bank of New Orleans, formerly Louisiana State Bank; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill (S. 1786) to regulate appointments in the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States, agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. PHELAN, Mr. LAGAN, and Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania managers at the conference on the part of the House.

SARAH C. TAYLOR.

Mr. TURPIE. I ask the Presiding Officer to lay before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor. The effect of the amendment is to reduce the allowance made by the Senate bill from $25 to $12 per month.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRYE in the chair) laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor; which was, in line 6, before the word "dollars," to strike out "twenty-five" and insert "twelve."

Mr. TURPIE. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is it the pleasure of the Senate now to receive morning business?

Mr. BROWN. I present the petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Georgia, praying for the repeal of the internal-revenue laws. I move its reference to the Committee on Finance, and desire to make some remarks on the motion.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the petition will be received, and the Senator from Georgia will be recognized as entitled to the floor as soon as other morning business is through.

Mr. TURPIE presented the petition of Thomas H. Shelton and other citizens of Green Oak, Ind., praying that a widow's pension be granted to Mrs. Elizabeth New; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. TURPIE, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (H. R. 2707) granting a pension to Baker Saine;

A bill (H. R. 8549) granting a pension to Louisa Rogers;

A bill (H. R. 8521) for the relief of William A. Mathes; and

A bill (H. R. 10199) for the relief of William E. Springstein.

Mr. SAWYER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (H. R. 3608) to grant an increase of pension to William E. Prince;

A bill (H. R. 4887) granting a pension to Charles E. Scott;

A bill (H. R. 4648) granting a pension to Jemima Sterling; and

A bill (H. R. 2236) granting a pension to Eli Yamgheim.

Mr. SAWYER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3628) granting an increase of pension to Emma Riddle, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

COMMITTEE ON EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

Mr. DAVIS. I have been requested by the chairman of the Committee on Contingent Expenses to present on his behalf a favorable report upon the resolution submitted by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HAMPTON] October 10, 1888, and to ask for its consideration.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Epidemic Diseases have leave to sit during the recess of Congress, and any necessary expenses shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT TUNNEL.

Mr. HALE. With the approval of the members of the Committee on Appropriations who are present I report a joint resolution and ask for its immediate passage. It will speak for itself.

The joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, was read the first time at length, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to use so much of any unexpended balance of appropriations for the work of the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, District of Columbia, as may be necessary, for the purpose of protecting and preserving the work already done upon said tunnel.

Mr. HALE. Under the rulings of the Comptroller no work can be continued on this tunnel after the 1st of November, and there is now no fund that can be used by the Secretary of War for preserving and protecting this great work. The resolution provides simply that from the unexpended balances which have not yet been used, the Secretary may for that purpose, and for that alone, use such sums as may be necessary to protect and preserve the work.

By unanimous consent the joint resolution was read the second time and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. VEST introduced a bill (S. 3633) for the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel A. Craddock, late of Audrain County, Missouri; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BLACKBURN introduced a bill (S. 3634) granting a pension to Mrs. Nancy Smith; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. SAWYER introduced a bill (S. 3635) granting a pension to Persis L. Hall; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CHACE (by request) introduced a bill (S. 3636) for the relief of William McClain; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 3715) for the relief of the State National Bank of New Orleans, formerly Louisiana State Bank, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

EXHIBITS AT PARIS EXPOSITION.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. BROWN. I will yield to the Senator from Alabama, but I shall not yield further. My remarks will not be lengthy.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire to call up the joint resolution (S. R. 115) authorizing the Departments of the Government to use articles in their possession for exhibition at the Paris exhibition of 1889.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. HOAR. Let it be read for information.

Mr. MORGAN. I offer a substitute for it.

Mr. HOAR. Let the substitute be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

That the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney-General, the Commissioner of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Director of the National Museum, the Commissioner of the Fish Commission, and the Commissioner of Labor be, and they are severally hereby, authorized, in their discretion, to use for exhibition at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889 such articles as may be available for said exposition, and that any unexpended balances of the appropriations for the Cincinnati Exhibition of 1888 may be applied for that purpose.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN].

The amendment was agreed to.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WASHINGTON AND WESTERN MARYLAND RAILROAD.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator from Georgia kindly yields to me for a moment. I move that the bill (H. R. 9418) to incorporate the Washington and Western Maryland Railroad Company be recommitted to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The motion was agreed to.

WILLIAM S. BRADSHAW—VETO MESSAGE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Georgia object to the reference of Senate bill 3208 and the veto message of the President to the Committee on Pensions?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, the Constitution of the United States in Article I, section 5, says:

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, etc.

Neither House of Congress has the right to do business in the absence of a quorum, and Congress has certainly no right to do business in the absence of a quorum in either House. I suppose I may without transcending proper bounds say truthfully that there has not probably been a quorum in the House of Representatives, as shown by the different divisions called for and published, at any time within the last ten days or two weeks. And while I do not demand a call of the Senate at present, I suppose I may say with equal truth that there is not probably a quorum of the Senate now present, either in this Chamber or in the city of Washington, and that there is no reasonable probability that there will again be a quorum of either House present answering to their names before the first Monday in December.

It follows therefore that neither can do any business that is objected to by a Senator in one case or a Representative in the other. I submit, then, that we can do no legal act as a Congress in the present state of affairs, and that there is but one thing left that ought to be done, and that is, that Congress shall adjourn at the earliest day possible; and it might be much more convenient in getting away from here, if the adjournment should take place before there has been a formal test of the question whether there is a quorum present.

Now, why this extraordinary proceeding? We have already protracted the session to a greater length than was ever reached by any other Congress from the commencement of the Government to the present day. We ought to have a good excuse before our constituents for this protracted session, and we ought to be able to show something substantial that we have accomplished during ten and a half months of constant session.

It may be said that our salaries are the same whether Congress is in session or not; but the expense of Congress is very different when in session to the expense when Congress is not in session. Every day that we stay here we are wasting in salaries and hire of clerks, messengers, doorkeepers, printers, and other expenses, to say nothing of the bills that we are passing illegally without a quorum, large sums of money that ought not to be expended in the present state of things.

Now, why all this irregularity and this extraordinary conduct on the part of the Congress of the United States?

It all grows out of the fact that there is a Presidential campaign pending; that the two parties are jealous of each other, and each is constantly fearing that the other will get some advantage, and it grows out of the further fact that the two parties are divided on the tariff question, and while they both profess to be in favor of a reduction of revenues, so as to rid the country of the surplus in the Treasury and send it back into the proper channels of trade, still each party is afraid that the other will get the advantage in the manner of conducting the campaign by the legislation which may be enacted.

In the House of Representatives, which alone has the power to originate a revenue bill, the Democratic party is in the majority and controls the House. That party, from the time of the organization of the committees, which I believe was in January, down to the latter part of July, was occupied in considering, preparing, reporting, and passing a tariff bill looking to a reduction of the revenues and of the surplus in the Treasury. The House passed a bill and sent it to the Senate more than two months ago. The Republicans having a majority of the Senate, took up this question, by its Finance Committee, and a subcommittee took probably some two months in preparing a bill to be offered as a substitute for the House bill. This bill gives the Republican plan of reducing the revenues and disposing of the surplus in the Treasury. I do not think the Democrats in the House consumed more time than was necessary, in view of the great task that was before them, and I do not think the Republicans have consumed more time in the Senate than the necessities of the case required, or more than was necessary to do the labor of preparing a bill for a thorough revision of the tariff.

The Democratic House having fully discussed the measure, the Republican Senate was certainly entitled to reasonable time for discussion; but when we take into the account the fact that for the last sixth months or more the question has been almost constantly discussed in one branch or the other of Congress, and in the public press, and by politicians in every portion of the Union, it can hardly be expected that much that is new can be produced in the discussion in the Senate at the present time. Distinguished Senators have already made able speeches on the question, throwing much light upon it; and able and distinguished Senators may still follow and discuss the same question in different forms and under different headings, but after all the argument must be substantially the same that we have already heard.

Now, in this state of the case, with no quorum of either House present, I do not think any one will say that it is possible to pass a tariff bill at this session of Congress. Suppose the Senate should remain in session and discuss the bill for another month, or until the first Monday in December; and taking it by sections it would probably take that length of time, as it took more than that length of time in the House to discuss it in detail by sections. Then, if the Senate should pass its bill and send it back to the House as a substitute for the House bill, the question must go to a conference committee, and there would be no reasonable probability, pending the Presidential campaign, that the two Houses would agree upon a bill that would become a law. In this state of the case what earthly use is there for continuing the session?

There certainly is no good excuse for its continuance for another day, unless it is claimed that the Republican party in the Senate has not had an equal chance with the Democratic party in the House for the discussion of the question. But there is certainly no reason why the debate should be as protracted in the Senate as it was in the House, when we have the able debate in the House by the leading orators of both parties before us for our information. Now I see no reason why an adjournment should not be agreed upon at once, unless the Republicans will state that they do not feel that they can safely go to the country on their substitute without further discussion, or that they believe they can pass a tariff bill at this session.

Let it be borne in mind, however, that the question has been very ably discussed by the chairman of the committee, Mr. SHERMAN; and Mr. ALLISON, who has the bill in charge, made a lengthy and at the same time a very able presentation of the views of his party on the question. He has been followed by the Senator from New York, Mr. HISCOCK, the Senator from Illinois, Mr. CULLOM, the Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. CHACE, and the two Senators from Connecticut, who have ably expounded their side of the question.

On the other hand, the Democratic side has been very ably presented by the Senator from North Carolina, Mr. VANCE, the Senator from Tennessee, Mr. BATE, the Senator from Florida, Mr. CALL, the Senator from Texas, Mr. REAGAN, and others are still to be heard.

It seems to me, when two weeks have been taken in the able presentation of the case by the distinguished orators on both sides whose names I have just mentioned, that there is little left for others to say.

I do not by these remarks intend to be understood as claiming for either party an advantage over the other in the discussion, and I do not say that the Republicans with propriety might not continue the discussion and attempt to pass their bill if there was a quorum present.

Let it be borne in mind, however, that a majority of the Senators belonging to each of the political parties, including several of the most distinguished leaders on each side, are now absent.

In this state of the case I take it that no vote can be had upon the bill, and no good can come from protracting the discussion. If we can not at this session pass a tariff bill, we ought without further delay to adjourn *sine die*, and let the bill go over until the December session. I do not believe, after the long discussion that has already been had on the question, both in and out of Congress, that either party is making a single vote by protracting this debate in this Chamber.

The intelligent people of the United States have no doubt made up their verdict on this question, and they only wait for the election to make up the record. If anything can be done to influence them either way, it will be better done by meeting the people face to face and discussing the question in their hearing than it can be done by sending out speeches from this Chamber, which, by the time they are now prepared, printed, and sent out, will not be generally read, and would not probably influence to any great extent the popular verdict.

The most that can be done by either party in the short remaining period of the campaign will be to see to it that they get their people to the polls.

I do not propose to demand a call of the Senate, or to make any point to test the question of quorum or no quorum for the present, as I understand there are two or three Senators who have already prepared tariff speeches that they desire to deliver; but I do not believe that other legislation ought to be proceeded with until there is a quorum present to take part in the deliberations of the Senate, and to cast their votes on all questions that come before the body, and to discharge their duty as Senators.

A majority of the Senate have no right to leave their seats in this Chamber and go home to engage in the campaign or in other business, and leave a minority here to protract the session, which has already been longer than the people of this country approve.

Now, Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], who has the bill in charge, if he sees any possible chance to pass a tariff bill at the present session of Congress and in the present state of things, when there is not a quorum of either House present and no probability that we can get a quorum before the December session?

Does the Senator from Iowa expect under any state of the case to be able to pass the bill through both Houses in any shape at the present session of Congress? If there is to be a tariff bill passed by the Fiftieth Congress, is it not now inevitable that it must be done by the next and not by the present session of Congress?

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I——

Mr. BROWN. I desire to have the Senator from Iowa answer my question.

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BROWN], I think, in the main has very well stated the situation, and therefore it is hardly worth while for me to answer in any great detail the specific questions submitted by him.

I do not now see, I will say frankly to the Senator from Georgia and to the Senate, that it is possible to pass through the Senate during the remainder of this session the revenue bill under the circumstances which surround us. Three weeks from to-morrow we have a Presidential election. I think it will be conceded by all that Senators should have an opportunity of going home in a reasonable time for the purpose of participating in that election. So, unless we are to sit here continuously until the 1st of December without a recess or adjournment, I do not think it possible to pass this bill through the Senate.

The next question is, whether I believe if we should stay until the 1st of December or until such time as we should get this measure fully and intelligently presented, that then the bill could pass the other House? As I understand, the rules of the House will require that the bill when returned shall go to the Committee of the Whole. Therefore should the bill go through it would result in some weeks of discussion, and should there be at once a conference ordered, it seems to me that under the circumstances it would be impossible to complete the bill before next December.

There is another thing which I ought to mention, and that is that we should have in the consideration of this bill a full Senate, and without saying anything respecting why we have not a full Senate I think Senators will all agree with me that that is impracticable and impossible for the next few weeks. I do not believe that Senators will remain here in session for the next three weeks to consider this bill pending the Presidential election, nor do I believe that we are called upon to do so.

The Senator from Georgia states that this is the longest session known in our history; but it is a fact that to this day and to this hour, laying aside this tariff question entirely and absolutely, this Senate and this Congress are not ready to adjourn. That is a most extraordinary circumstance.

Mr. GEORGE. Will the Senator repeat that statement?

Mr. ALLISON. I say, laying aside the question of the tariff entirely, this Congress is not this day and this hour ready to adjourn if it discharges fully the duties which are required of it. We have the most extraordinary situation as respects the appropriation bills. One of the important appropriation bills of this session, one affecting a vast number of people, and in many instances very many poor people, the general deficiency bill, has not yet received the signature of the President of the United States. It was only transmitted to him, I think, last Friday or last Saturday. Therefore, whatever may be said as respects the discussion of the tariff bill or its consideration in the other House or in this Chamber, there has never yet been a moment when either House could afford to adjourn on account of the appropriation bills which are necessary to carry on this Government. The most important appropriation bill in the whole list was signed, I believe, only one week ago. Clearly, then, whatever delay has occurred at this session of Congress has not occurred in this Chamber because of the consideration of the tariff bill or the want of that consideration.

Mr. President, the appropriation bills have been considered in this Chamber as they came to us with all the diligence that was possible under the circumstances and in the situation that surrounded us. We have given in the Committee on Appropriations such consideration as we could to those bills and reported them promptly to the Senate of the United States. Therefore, whatever may be the situation now, it does not arise in this Chamber from the consideration of the tariff bill. It arises wholly, so far as we are concerned, from the fact that the appropriation bills did not come to us as they usually come to us, in the early period of the session, and as under the former rules of the House of Representatives and the universal custom of that House they heretofore come to us. So this delay in the appropriation bills is the primal cause of the situation as respects the Senate to-day.

The Senator from Georgia says that the House of Representatives considered the tarift bill and sent it to us during the last week of July. That is true, and it is also true that the Senate Committee on Finance took up the bill with all the care and diligence possible, and reported it to this Chamber at the earliest day practicable. It is also true that since that report has been made we have been engaged here in a general discussion of it, and I know perfectly, as the Senator from Georgia knows, that other gentlemen desire still to be heard upon the measure on both sides of the Chamber.

So I concur with him in the view that it is not possible for us to take up the tariff bill, beginning even to-morrow, and consider it under the ten-minute rule, to pass it, as this bill should be passed, before we return to our respective States for the great Presidential election which is pending.

Now, whether we should take a recess and come back here within a few weeks after that election and go on with this bill, I leave very much to the judgment of Senators on both sides of the Chamber. It has fallen to my lot to have charge of this bill. It is my purpose, I will say to Senators, to pursue it with whatever facility it can be pursued in this Chamber until it is finally disposed of. I am willing to allow a reasonable time for general debate upon it, but after a reasonable time I shall ask both sides of the Chamber to consent that we shall take up this bill paragraph by paragraph, and debate it under the ordinary five or ten minute rule respecting each paragraph.

Whatever we may do now, whether we adjourn to-morrow or next day or next week, we ought to have an understanding in this Chamber that when we return here this shall be the first and the primal business for our consideration, whether it be in November or December, and that we shall give vigilant care and attention to it in order that it may go to the House of Representatives before the Christmas holidays, and if I have my way I shall undertake to pursue this bill to the exclusion of all other business in order that that may be accomplished.

Therefore, Mr. President, having said thus much upon this bill and upon the other questions that have detained us here, I am willing to submit to the judgment of the Senate as respects its further consideration.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. House bill 9051 is the unfinished business.

Mr. COCKRELL and Mr. VEST addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the senior Senator from Missouri yield to his colleague?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator from Iowa desire that we should go on with the discussion this afternoon? I should like to make a motion to go into executive session.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair will recognize the Senator for that purpose. Does the Senator submit the motion?

Mr. ALLISON. I know the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] does not wish to proceed to-night, but perhaps some other Senator who does not wish to occupy much time is ready to go on this evening. If so, I should prefer we should go on for some time to come.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I will go on.

Mr. COCKRELL. I hope my colleague will yield unless the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] desires to speak.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand the Senator from Wisconsin is ready to go on this evening. We can have an executive session at a later hour.

Mr. VEST. I had just as lief speak now.

Mr. COCKRELL. Very well. I will not make the motion I was about to submit.

Mr. VEST. I have no prepared speech on the tariff. The issue has been made up and has gone to the country. What I desire to submit in a very few moments will be upon some questions which have arisen in the current debate on the report and bill that have come from the majority of the Finance Committee.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], who represents the majority of the committee, has just stated that the delay in disposing of tariff legislation has come from the House of Representatives. My reply to that is simply this, that in the Forty-ninth Congress the Democratic party in the House tried to consider the tariff question with a view to readjusting the tariff and diminishing the rates of duty now imposed. The Republican party, with a unanimity never seen before upon any great question, assisted by a few Democrats, succeeded in postponing entirely the consideration of this question. That record is an answer to the Senator from Iowa, complete and irrefutable.

The country understands this whole arrangement; the country understands that the Republican party does not wish to pass any tariff bill. The manufacturers in the East are to be told that they will receive additional protection, if necessary, and the grangers in the Northwest are to be deluded with a promise of a reduction of duty upon the necessaries of life. That is the status of this question to-day, and no amount of assertion or eloquence or argument will change the conviction of the people of the United States in that regard.

But, Mr. President, what I desire particularly to notice is a charge made in the national platform of the Republican party to the effect that this Administration has placed with pet banks $60,000,000 of the public money when that amount should have been applied to the purchase of bonds and the reduction of the bonded debt of the country. The majority of the Committee on Finance have gone away from the logical and I might almost say the legitimate discussion of the tariff question to make this charge, that the Democratic Administration has taken $60,000,000 of the public money and for purposes of favoritism has put it in certain national banks throughout the country.

There has not been a speech made in this Chamber which pointed toward a political subject within the last five months where this charge has not been reiterated. "The uncrowned king of America" with his characteristic aggressive eloquence has recently stated that Mr. Cleveland had put this money into the pockets of certain rich Democrats in Wall street—a charge of corruption, a charge that should damn this Administration in all history and for all time to come, if true.

Now, Mr. President, I propose to show what there has been of favoritism toward pet banks in this country. I propose to investigate the question whether or not enormous amounts of money have been put into the pockets of Democrats by this Administration as charged upon this flocr and in the public prints and by stump-speakers throughout the country.

Mr. Blaine, with his characteristic indifference to actual figures and facts, and with that glittering sort of spasmodic eloquence which characterizes his effusions, recently stated that this Administration was putting in the pockets of its favorites $3,000,000 every year, being 5 per cent. upon $60,000,000 deposited with the national depositories; and he was pleased to observe in a speech lately made in which he is said by his friends to have annihilated the Postmaster-General, Mr. Dickinson, quoting from Charles James Fox, that ignorance in a Cabinet minister was utterly inexcusable. Now, if ignorance in a Cabinet minister be inexcusable, what must be or what could be the excuse for certain statements made by the ex-premier of a Republican administration and an ex-candidate for the Presidency?

Mr. Fairchild, in his speech on Saturday last in New York, so effectually disposed of Mr. Blaine's argument that I will quote his remarks in full:

WHAT BANKS EARN ON DEPOSITS.

Mr. Fairchild here quoted Mr. Blaine's assertion that with money at 5 per cent. a deposit of $60,000,000 would be a gratuity to the national banks holding the money of $3,000,000 a year.

This is not true. There are a number of banks with deposits of a million and over. I have in mind a half dozen where I know the officers to be prominent and zealous Republicans, and I can think of but one where the officers are Democrats of prominence. So much for the politics; now for the profits. Mr. Blaine says that a deposit of $1,000,000 is worth to the depository $50,000 a year. Let us see. A deposit of $1,000,000 would require $910,000 of 4 per cent. bonds as the security, which at 125 would have cost $1,137,500. This money, loaned at 5 per cent., would have given the bank $56,875 if the bank had not become a depository, but being a depository, it must keep 25 per cent. of the deposit as a reserve, so it can loan but $750,000, which produces $37,500 interest. Now add the interest on the United States bonds, which Mr. Blaine, with horror, says that the banks are allowed to collect—4 per cent. on $910,000 is $36,400—and you have $73,900 received by the depository. But from this should be deducted 1½ per cent., the yearly proportion of the 25 per cent. premium, which the owner of the bonds must lose when the bonds are paid at maturity, twenty years from date of purchase, and there is left $62,525, the difference between which and $56,875, is $5,650, not $50,000 as stated by Mr. Blaine.

So that, Mr. President, by the plainest rules of arithmetical calculation, instead of a profit of $3,000,000 a year which exists in the imagination of "the uncrowned king of America," the profit on the whole amount of the deposit, even putting it at $60,000,000, which it never was, would amount to $339,000 a year instead of $3,000,000, a mere bagatelle of two million and some six hundred thousand dollars, but it is as near exactitude as "the uncrowned king of America" ever reaches when attacking the Democratic party.

If Senators will take the trouble to look at Executive Document No. 248, they will find a list of the national depositories which have received from the Treasury fifty-eight million and some hundred thousand dollars of deposits of the public money. It is said that this money was put out through the country to favorites and pet banks. I have here a list made out with absolute exactness of the amount of money that is now in the depositories of the United States, amounting in the aggregate to $58,527,076.78 to this date. I have here a statement of the amount of money placed in the depositories of each State, and the State of Massachusetts, hopelessly Republican beyond any sort of peradventure, has more money in its national depositories in proportion to population than any State in the entire Union. Take the State of Ohio, also a hopelessly Republican State judging from all its political antecedents, and Ohio has $7,014,055.21, and Massachusetts, as I omitted to state, has $6,668,831.68.

The largest State in the Union and the great financial State of the entire country, in which is located Wall street and where is the financial heart of the United States, has $13,354,618, with her enormous population, while six millions and some hundred thousand dollars are in Massachusetts with one-fourth of the population, and $7,000,000 and more in the hopelessly Republican State of Ohio, whilst in the Southern States there is a mere pittance, because, Mr. President, under the operation of the tariff system the money of the country is in the North and in the East and not in the South and West. The national debt and the bonds of the Government are held in the nine manufacturing States in a proportion outside of all legitimate proportion as to population and territory. This system has put the money of the country there, and the national banks are found in a larger proportion in those States than elsewhere.

But, Mr. President, I propose to look into this question of favoritism to pet banks. This is not the first time that the national banks in this country have been used as fiscal agents of the Government. They are by law made the fiscal agents of the people of the United States, although they have at times forgotten that agency and assumed to be the master and to control the moneyed interests of the people who own them.

In 1879, when the Treasury of the United States under a Republican administration desired to sell the 4 per cent. bonds and to fund the outstanding bonds of the Government issued before that time at a larger rate of interest than 4 per cent., an institution in the city of New York, the First National Bank, was in intimate relations with the Treasury Department of this Government, and I have taken the pains to collect from official sources the remarkable exhibit which is now upon record in the Treasury Department in regard to that institution.

Recollect, Mr. President, that now there are $58,000,000, speaking in round numbers, of public money in the national depositories scattered all over this country—North, South, East, and West. From the account current which I hold in my hand it appears that the First National Bank of New York owed the Government of the United States on April 16, 1879, $185,270,787.95; on May 1, 1879, $180,344,941.75; on June 1, $151,076,952.94; on August 1, $57,963,086.50; and on the first of the next month, September, it owed the Government $20,065,014.39.

This was not for money deposited, but it was for bonds sent to that bank, it being indebted, according to this account current for the months I have stated, the enormous amounts which its officials controlled and managed as a matter of course for the benefit of their stockholders.

My friend from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] asks me what security was given. None. The money that is now out in the hands of depositories is secured by a deposit of United States bonds, and not one dollar of it is put into a depository until the bonds are placed by that depository in the national Treasury.

Mr. ALLISON. Shall I understand the Senator to say that there was no security in the case of the First National Bank of New York?

Mr. VEST. Not that I know of. Will the Senator state what security there was?

Mr. ALLISON. United States bonds for every dollar of it. It was secured by United States bonds.

Mr. VEST. As I understand the transaction, the First National Bank of New York was made a fiscal agent of the Government to dispose of the 4 per cent. bonds. They were permitted to pay in bonds of the Government, which we sought then to refund, instead of money, and the only security that the Government of the United States had was in the fact that these bonds were paid over or cash was paid over on this current account from time to time. I propose to put the account in the RECORD, and the Senator from Iowa will see that they paid, for instance, in the city of Washington a large amount, $256,135, and so on from day to day in bonds, bonds of the Government that were to be refunded, and then in another column is their cash account.

There are two accounts, one of the First National Bank of New York

as a corporation, and the other of the syndicate which they represented, but in either event they sent orders by telegraph for bonds, one of those telegrams being for the enormous sum of $190,000,000 of bonds. When these telegrams were received the bonds were sent and the bank was charged with the amount. I will insert the accounts in the RECORD:

Statement showing the payments made by the First National Bank of New York from April 16, 1879, to October 17, 1879.

Date of payment.	Account No. 1—General.		Account No. 2—"Syndicate."		Total payments as per transcripts.	Balances.
	Cash paid in New York.	Called bonds paid in Washington.	Cash paid in New York.	Called bonds paid in Washington.		
Balance						$185,270,787.95
1879.						
April 16		$509,622.92			$509,622.92	
April 17	$200,000.00	255,043.59			455,043.59	
April 19		356,553.23			356,553.23	
April 22		1,629,998.14			1,629,998.14	
April 26		521,501.56			521,501.56	
April 28		727,614.86			727,614.86	
April 30		725,511.90			725,511.90	
						4,925,846.20
May 8	1,000,000.00	2,616,239.72			3,616,239.72	180,344,941.75
May 9	500,000.00				500,000.00	
May 12	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
May 13	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
May 14	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
May 15	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
May 17	1,000,000.00	597,246.46			1,597,246.46	
May 23		841,576.73			841,576.73	
May 24		779,565.21		$10,094.93	789,660.14	
May 27		15,471,197.12			15,471,197.12	
May 29		2,349,756.14			2,349,756.14	
May 31	*102,312.50				102,312.50	
						29,267,988.81
						151,076,952.94
June 3		1,257,621.84			1,257,621.84	
June 4		57,568.50			57,568.50	
June 5		775,782.42			775,782.42	
June 6				10,810,035.75	10,810,035.75	
June 7		434,397.16			434,397.16	
June 13				3,576,388.02	3,576,388.02	
June 14				6,054,246.09	6,054,246.09	
June 17	*51,875.00			640,939.87	692,814.87	
June 18				1,363,741.56	1,363,741.56	
June 19				4,205,369.68	4,205,369.68	
June 21				3,749,374.36	3,749,374.36	
June 26	500,000.00				500,000.00	
June 27	1,000,000.00			12,307,795.68	13,307,795.68	
June 28	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
						47,785,135.93
						103,291,817.01
July 3	1,500,000.00				1,500,000.00	
July 5	500,000.00			4,527,741.44	5,027,741.44	
July 7	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
July 10	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
July 11	500,000.00			465,118.63	965,118.63	
July 12	2,000,000.00			392,153.72	2,392,153.72	
July 14	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
July 19	500,000.00				500,000.00	
July 21	1,000,000.00				1,000,000.00	
July 22	2,000,000.00				2,000,000.00	
July 23	2,000,000.00			5,166,928.87	7,166,928.87	
July 24			$1,500,000.00		1,500,000.00	
July 25			2,500,000.00		2,500,000.00	
July 26				5,257,795.09	5,257,795.09	
July 28			2,000,000.00		2,000,000.00	
July 29			1,000,000.00		1,000,000.00	
July 30			5,000,000.00	1,018,992.76	6,018,992.76	
July 31			3,500,000.00		3,500,000.00	
						45,328,730.51
						57,963,086.50
August 1			4,000,000.00	416,260.20	4,416,260.20	
August 2			4,000,000.00		4,000,000.00	
August 5				2,190,796.10	2,190,796.10	
August 6	1,192,639.13		2,000,000.00	1,018,969.40	4,211,608.53	
August 7			3,500,000.00		3,500,000.00	
August 8			1,500,000.00		1,500,000.00	
August 9				427,966.44	427,966.44	
August 11	1,000,000.00		1,500,000.00		2,500,000.00	
August 14	500,000.00			2,037,962.75	2,537,962.75	
August 15	500,000.00				500,000.00	
August 16	500,000.00			798,839.07	1,298,839.07	
August 18	1,000,000.00	1,368,188.32			2,368,188.32	
August 21	465,500.00				465,500.00	
August 22	{484,200.00 *5,100.00	}			489,300.00	
August 23	315,000.00	2,433,571.79			2,748,571.79	
August 25	{*5,125.00 320,000.00	}			325,125.00	
August 26	320,000.00				320,000.00	
August 27	318,000.00	401,769.54			719,769.54	
August 28	434,000.00	1,017,195.79			1,451,195.79	
August 29	346,000.00	800,988.58			1,146,988.58	
August 30	780,000.00				780,000.00	
						37,898,072.11
						20,065,014.39
September 1	312,000.00	82,542.33			394,542.33	
September 2	325,000.00				325,000.00	

*San Francisco.

Statement showing the payments made by the First National Bank of New York from April 16, 1879, to October 17, 1879—Continued.

Date of payment.	Account No. 1—General.		Account No. 2—"Syndicate."		Total payments as per transcripts.	Balances.
	Cash paid in New York.	Called bonds paid in Washington.	Cash paid in New York.	Called bonds paid in Washington.		
1879.						
September 3	*$1,022.50 331,000.00				$332,022.50	
September 4	328,000.00	$161,650.00			489,650.00	
September 5	424,000.00	305,712.33			729,712.33	
September 6	330,000.00				330,000.00	
September 8		50,952.05			50,952.05	
September 9	340,000.00				340,000.00	
September 10	339,000.00				339,000.00	
September 11	375,000.00				375,000.00	
September 12	*3,391.87 375,000.00	178,175.00			556,566.87	
September 13	376,000.00				376,000.00	
September 15	*2,025.00 375,000.00				377,025.00	
September 16	*10,125.00 374,000.00	1,180,018.49			1,564,143.49	
September 17	373,000.00				373,000.00	
September 18	375,000.00				375,000.00	
September 19	372,000.00	1,280,119.40			1,652,119.40	
September 20	369,000.00				369,000.00	
September 22	370,000.00				370,000.00	
September 23	668,000,00				368,000.00	
September 24	*250,000.00 118,000.00				368,000.00	
September 25	368,000.00				368,000.00	
September 26	368,000.00				368,000.00	
September 27	369,000.00				369,000.00	
September 29	357,774.05	651,306.37			1,009,080.42	
September 30	3,351,300.00	543,350.00			3,894,650.00	
						$16,463,464.89
						3,601,550.00
October 6		388,757.39			388,757.39	
October 9		424,161.14			424,161.14	
October 13		279,504.81			279,504.81	
October 17		15,027.59			15,027.59	
						1,107,450.93
						2,494,099.07

*San Francisco.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator understand that the First National Bank of New York received that money as an ordinary deposit or had any right whatever to use it or make any money out of it itself? Was it not a mere agency between the persons who surrendered the old bonds and the persons who took the new bonds through a Government establishment in New York for public convenience?

Mr. VEST. We shall see about that.

Mr. HOAR. That is the question I put.

Mr. VEST. The question is a question of actual fact about which I know nothing. I only judge from the record. Here is an account current which shows a vast indebtedness from that bank to the Treasury of the United States. I do not pretend to say that that money was deposited as this present money is deposited in national depositories, but the effect has been just the same; the only difference is in the profits which have been gathered in the one case and in the other from the money of the Government.

Here is a great fiscal necessity resting upon the Government of the United States. It must use these national banks. What has this Administration done? It has publicly, openly, without sectional feeling, without prejudice, without oppression, scattered this money all over the country in different national depositories, and as I have shown from the record without any political purpose whatever.

But what was done by the Republicans when in power? Instead of putting the money all over the country so as to give every section a just proportion of the benefits, these gentlemen who now talk about pet banks, put enormous amounts of money under the control of the First National Bank of New York, and I will show beyond any sort of question that such profits were made out of that transaction as are unknown in the financial history of the whole world.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question right there?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. Does he think that this distribution of the public money under any circumstances among the national banks is justifiable?

Mr. VEST. If I had my choice I would not put one dollar of the public money in these banks—not one dollar, speaking for myself; but Mr. Fairchild stated in his answer to a resolution of Congress the reasons for having pursued this course.

We were confronted, as the majority of the Finance Committee stated in their report, with a surplus of at least $60,000,000 which was increasing day by day. What were we to do with it? "Buy bonds," says the Senator, and yet the reports of the transactions in bonds, which I have here, show that the Government when it made a purchase of bonds advanced abnormally and extravagantly the premium upon those bonds in the open market.

No more delicate operation could have been undertaken by any administration than the purchase of bonds at enormous premiums. When these purchases commenced bonds were bought at 25 per cent. premium, and ran up at once to 26, 27, and 28, which was an enormous advance in public securities. The Secretary of the Treasury was forced to refuse large numbers of bonds, because nobody knows better than my friend from Iowa that if he had gone into the market and offered to take an enormous amount of bonds, approximating to the whole of the surplus, they would have immediately gone to a premium which would have put them beyond the reach of any Secretary of the Treasury unless a lunatic. Mr. Fairchild explains this fully.

Forty-eight million dollars of bonds have been purchased, and they must have been purchased with a view to the financial condition of the country. The Secretary could only purchase so as not to pay an enormous premium and at the same time relieve the money market from the stringency which was then existing. If he had gone in without regard to the condition of the country, if he had thrown the whole of this surplus into the bond market at once, there would have been an advance in the premium unprecedented in the financial history of this country.

Mr. CHACE. Will the Senator allow me a question?

Mr. VEST. What is it?

Mr. CHACE. Did not the Secretary of the Treasury decline bonds that were offered to him?

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course he declined.

Mr. CHACE. And could he not have bought those bonds so as to save the Government a large amount of interest?

Mr. VEST. The Senator will give me time to explain why in my judgment it would have been inexpedient and imprudent for him to have done that thing. Suppose the Secretary of the Treasury had taken all the bonds that were offered, he knew very well that Wall-street speculators were attempting to force the Treasury to buy the bonds so as to increase the premium.

Mr. CHACE. But if he had taken the bonds he would have saved the interest on them.

Mr. VEST. He would have saved some of the interest beyond any sort of question, but what would he have lost to the people of the United States in the increased premium, because every time he purchased the premium increased?

Mr. CHACE. Did he get any interest on the money he put in the banks?

Mr. VEST. I do not know that he got any interest upon it, and there is no pretense that he did.

Mr. CHACE. Then is it not the fact that he refused to buy bonds with the Government's money when by buying them he could have saved interest, and put the money in the banks and got no interest?

Mr. VEST. I would prefer that the Senator should make his own speech in his own time. He is simply making an argument in the guise of a question.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator allow me to ask him one question and then I will promise not to ask another? Did not the Secretary when he lent these $60,000,000, or $58,000,000, to the banks, as the Senator has just stated, compel those banks to purchase bonds for security and thereby raise the price of bonds just as much as if he had bought them himself?

Mr. VEST. That matter is fully discussed in Mr. Fairchild's report.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to hear the Senator's view.

Mr. VEST. He says that in his judgment that was not the result. But it is impossible to arrive at anything except an approximate answer to that question.

Mr. HOAR. The banks bought the bonds and got currency for those bonds?

Mr. VEST. That was a question for the banks to determine. If they wanted the public money deposited with them, they were compelled to deposit the bonds; and if they did not have them, to purchase them and deposit them as security for the bonds.

Mr. HOAR. That put up the bonds.

Mr. VEST. What was the effect of the purchase of these bonds it is impossible for me or any other living man to answer. The bond market was manipulated in the city of New York and by interests which in a monetary sense were adverse to the Treasury. The Treasury of the United States was simply in the condition of any other purchaser of bonds in the market; it was compelled to consider the existing circumstances. It was compelled to watch its monetary adversaries, and it was compelled to keep down enormous premiums and at the same time to prevent a panic in monetary circles.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to have the Senator tell the Senate and the country how many of these bonds were rejected at 26¼, at 26½, and at 26¾ premium to be subsequently bought at 28, 29, and 30?

Mr. VEST. I have a full statement here. It is accessible to the Senator, and I will put it in the RECORD.

Mr. TELLER. I want the Senator to tell us——

Mr. VEST. I am not able, because——

Mr. TELLER. The Secretary's statement does not show it.

Mr. VEST. It does show it; it does show the purchases which were made and the premium that he paid on every bond purchased. I admit, and that is my statement here over and over again, that with every purchase that was made by the Treasury Department the premium on the bonds advanced, and that was the trouble in this whole transaction. It was not the plain, open purchase without any other result except that one man took the bonds and another took the money, but the Secretary was compelled to watch the condition of the money market and bond purchases in the city of New York.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator allow me to ask——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. VEST. I prefer that Senators would answer me afterwards, but I am a yielding man.

Mr. TELLER. Does the Senator yield?

Mr. VEST. Oh, certainly.

Mr. TELLER. I want to ask the Senator if he is not aware of the fact that when the Secretary of the Treasury said he would take bonds at 124 he was receiving a large number of bonds at 124 when he discontinued the purchase, and that no bonds went up until he had given to those bonds a fictitious value by allowing the depository banks to become the holders of Government money?

Mr. VEST. I do not know that fact.

Mr. TELLER. Then I will take occasion to enlighten the Senator.

Mr. VEST. Very good. Let the Senator do that. This is an open debate with a fair field and no favors asked. You can show it.

I say in this whole transaction, and I have gone through it as carefully and as patiently as I could, the Secretary of the Treasury has honestly endeavored to administer the functions of his great office without favors, and certainly without any personal consideration as to himself.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., October 11, 1888.

Statement of bonds purchased under circular of April 17, 1888, *to June* 30, 1888.

	Bonds.	Premium.
Four per cent	$18,282,100	$4,839,578.71
Four and one-half per cent	8,337,550	579,247.87
Total	26,619,650	5,418,826.58

Bonds purchased October 9 *and* 10, 1888.

	Bonds.	Premium.
Four per cent	$4,473,200	$1,297,228.00
Four and one-half per cent	7,161,650	608,740.25
Total	11,634,850	1,905,968.25

It is very well known, and Mr. Fairchild stated it frankly, that the President of the United States had doubts in regard to his power to purchase bonds, and it is an open secret that the Attorney-General gave him the opinion that he did not have that power beyond any question, but it was a doubtful power at best, and Mr. Cleveland in accordance with his character and antecedents as President of the United States, refused to exercise a doubtful power and openly declared that he would not purchase bonds until Congress had authoritatively given him the power to do so, or made an expression of its opinion in regard to that law. All of us are familiar with the legislation that was had on that account, how a resolution that came from the House of Representatives was attempted to be amended by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK], and finally passed in the shape of a declaration of opinion by the Senate and House of Representatives that the power existed. I believed that that power existed, but there were lawyers better than myself who did not believe it.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him there to make a historical statement respecting that bill?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. ALLISON. That bill came to us from the House of Representatives and the Senator from Kentucky put on it an amendment.

Mr. VEST. I recollect it.

Mr. ALLISON. And that amendment passed here, but it went back to the other House and slept the sleep of death there.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course the record shows it and I am obliged to my friend, but there was no necessity for the information.

The point I make in the whole matter in regard to the action of Congress is this, that the overwhelming sentiment of both Houses and of the lawyers of both Houses was to the effect that the power existed, and when Mr. Cleveland was satisfied that this was the opinion of the lawyers in Congress and the overwhelming opinion of the legal profession throughout the country, he immediately ordered the purchase of bonds, and the purchase commenced within two days afterwards as the record shows, and $48,000,000 of bonds have been purchased since that time.

I have heard it stated that the Treasury Department purchased bonds before Congress had passed this resolution or considered it. It is not true, Mr. President. No bond was purchased, except for the sinking fund, prior to the time that Congress passed upon this resolution, and the first circular was issued on April 17, two days after the resolution had been considered in the Senate and the House.

But the Senator from Massachusetts asked me if in 1879 the First National Bank of New York was not acting simply as a fiscal agent of the Government, and if it had any right to make money out of the transactions between it and the Government of the United States, under which it bought bonds and transferred them to the Secretary of the Treasury in exchange for 4 percents, or paid cash.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator, I think, misunderstood my question. My question was whether it had a right to make money out of this fund.

Mr. VEST. I do not know whether it had the right or not; I know it did; and that is the point I am coming to. I am coming to the point that is made in every speech and in every Republican newspaper in the country, that there are pet banks in New York. I want to show a pet that was petted and caressed as never was any dainty darling before. I want to show a pet that was the pet of pets, and nothing like it has ever been seen in the financial history of the world.

I have made a compendium of the history of this bank. I do not blame the bank; I do not blame its officers; their business is to make money. I am talking now about a system adopted by a Republican administration, whose supporters taunt us with having pet banks in the city of New York to put money into the pockets of rich Democrats.

The First National Bank of New York—I speak from the record—was organized in July, 1863. The capital stock, at first $200,000, was increased to $300,000 in December, 1863, and in April, 1864, to $500,000, at which figure it has remained ever since. Up to the end of 1877 the bank had paid moderate dividends and had gradually accumulated a surplus of over $700,000, so that it began the year 1878 with a little over $1,200,000 working capital. The total profits of 1878, according to the table, were $466,000, to which must be added dividends of 52 per cent. on $500,000, which somehow do not appear in the Chronicle's tables, making $260,000 more, or over $700,000 profits in one year, about 60 per cent. on $1,200,000. The stockholders got $320,000 in dividends, and the stock of the bank is quoted in the Chronicle January, 1879, at $400 per share of $100.

At the beginning of 1879 the surplus was $1,760,000, making the working capital $2,260,000, and the profits of that year amounted to $1,225,000, which is nearly two-and-a-half times the capital proper and 60 per cent. of the compounded capital and surplus.

Starting with an investment of $1,236,700 on the 1st of January, 1878, this fortunate institution in five years realized $4,486,000 in profits. Of this amount $2,740,000 was added to its surplus, and $1,746,000 was paid in cash dividends.

Since 1882 the profits have not been so conspicuous, but in 1886 they run up very near to $1,000,000.

It is a fact that commencing with $200,000 capital, which was increased in April, 1864, to $500,000, this bank has realized in net profits over $10,000,000, which is 80 per cent. per annum for twenty-five years on $500,000.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. Does the Senator mean to say that the bank made those profits on Government deposits?

Mr. VEST. I mean to say that the basis of their enormous profits was laid in 1879 through this relation with the Government.

Mr. TELLER. That is not the question. I want the Senator to answer it.

Mr. VEST. I will not yield any further. I prefer to make my own argument in my own way, and the Senator can criticise it afterwards.

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator declines to yield, it is all right.

Mr. VEST. I want to be entirely fair, and certainly not ill-natured, but I should like to proceed with my statement consecutively.

I do not mean to say that all this was made out of Government money, but I say this bank, which had only made ordinary dividends up to 1879, in that year laid the basis of all the profits which its stockholders have since received. I will show it from the record. In 1878 that bank made 12 per cent.; in 1879 it made 120—think of it—120 per cent., and it only made it after these bond transactions with the Treasury of the United States. Here is a list of its dividends taken from the record: In 1873, 15 per cent.; in 1874, 14 per cent.; in 1875, 11 per cent.; in 1876, 12 per cent.; in 1877, 12 per cent.; in 1878, 12 per cent.; in 1879, 120 per cent.

Table showing capital, surplus, dividends, etc., of the First National Bank, New York City, at the dates named, the items being taken from the New York Financial Chronicle.

Where found.		Year.	Capital.		Surplus.		Dividends.		Annual profits.	
Volume.	Page.		Par of stock.	Amount.	Amount.	At date.	Per cent.	Amount.†	Amount.†	Per cent.†
18	142	1873	$100	$500,000	Not stated		15	$75,000		
20	182	1874	100	500,000	.....do.....		14	70,000		
22	179	1875	100	500,000	.....do.....		12	60,000		
24	133	1876	100	500,000	.....do.....		12	60,000		
26	140	1877	100	500,000	$736,700	Jan. 5, 1878	12	60,000		
28	219	1878	100	500,000	1,142,700	Jan. 1, 1879	12	60,000	$466,000	37.7
30	14	1879	100	500,000	1,767,700	Dec. 12, 1879	120	600,000	1,225,000	74.6
32	67	1880	100	500,000	2,441,800	Dec. 31, 1880	30	150,000	824,100	36.3
*34	XIII	1881	100	500,000	3,010,500	Dec. 31, 1881	40	200,000	768,700	26.1
*36	XIII	1882	100	500,000	3,477,700	Dec. 30, 1882	40	200,000	667,200	19.0
*38	89	1883	100	500,000	3,437,700	Dec. 31, 1883	40	200,000	160,000	4.0
*40	94	1884	100	500,000	3,788,100	Dec. 20, 1884	40	200,000	550,400	14.0
*42	101	1885	100	500,000	4,322,800	Dec. 1, 1885	40	200,000	734,700	17.1
*44	108	1886	100	500,000	5,095,500	Mar. 4, 1884	40	200,000	972,700	20.2
*46	126	1887	100	500,000	5,384,800	Dec. 7, 1884	40	200,000	489,300	8.7

* Investor's supplement.
† The figures in these three columns are obtained by computation from those given by the Chronicle.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator now tell us how much deposits they had in 1879?

Mr. VEST. I do not know how much deposits they had.

Mr. TELLER. I mean Government deposits.

Mr. VEST. They handled $120,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds, I know, as shown by this account, in 1879. They subscribed at one time by telegraph for $190,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds, and the telegram is on file now in the Treasury Department; but they got $120,000,000, and the bank which the year before and all the years before had only declared 12 per cent. dividend declared 120 per cent.

Mr. BLAIR. Was that the result of commissions for placing the bonds?

Mr. VEST. I do not understand anything about it. Here is the account, and that is all I know.

Mr. BLAIR. I am glad you do not know anything about it.

Mr. VEST. Let the Senator attend to pensions. I am now on this question and I want to get through it as intelligently as I can with my poor capacity.

Mr. TELLER. I do not like to interrupt the Senator.

Mr. VEST. I will yield.

Mr. TELLER. Does not the Senator know that the profit was not made out of the Government, but that this bank acted as the banker for a large syndicate of people who were purchasing bonds, and that the profit was made out of those people and not out of the Government?

Mr. VEST. I understand Mr. Blaine to say that the $3,000,000 a year on the $60,000,000 of Government money is made out of the people of the United States, and he used the expression in his speech at Grand Rapids, picking out some old granger in the crowd as an exemplar of the horny-fisted yeomanry of the country, and said, "My friend, your money and mine is being loaned out by these banks at 5 per cent. interest."

Mr. TELLER. The Senator will allow me to say that that is no answer to my question. The Senator is dealing with this question as a Senator, and he is dealing in the presence of the American people, and I want to know whether he, as a Senator on this floor, dares to charge that they made this large amount of money out of the Government of the United States, or any money out of the United States, because that is the only point with which we are concerned, not what they made out of other bankers.

Mr. VEST. It is hardly necessary for the Senator to inform me that I am in the presence of the American people, and that I am dealing with this as a Senator.

Mr. TELLER. It did seem so to me.

Mr. VEST. I do not undertake to say that this money was paid out of the Treasury of the United States directly. I am talking about the question of pet banks.

Mr. TELLER. Was it so made indirectly?

Mr. VEST. I say it was made by reason of the favoritism shown to that bank in its fiscal operations with the Treasury of the United States, and the record shows it.

Mr. TELLER. Does the Senator mean to say that that bank had any privilege not granted to every other bank in the United States?

Mr. VEST. Certainly, as a matter of course, Mr. President, or my speech would not be worth anything. I mean to say that this enormous dividend was not declared by any other bank.

Mr. TELLER. That is not the question. Did the Government extend to this bank privileges it did not extend to any other? I want to know whether the Senator will say that.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, because they made this bank the fiscal agent and gave them the privilege of buying other bonds and they accepted for the 4 percents, and the account current here shows that the Treasury allowed an enormous amount to be overdue for months from this bank. That was not a good year for national banks either. I want to read from the remarks of the then Secretary of the Treasury, who is now Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], for 1879, the year that this bank declared 120 per cent. dividend. Here is what he says:

> The effect of the business depression prevalent from 1873 until the resumption of specie payments upon the national banks is shown in the losses which they have sustained and the dividends which many have been compelled to pass; also by the noticeable diminution, from year to year, in the aggregate surplus.

But this was an oasis in the financial desert. Instead of their having diminished profits the profits were enormous beyond anything known in financial history for the amount of capital invested.

But, Mr. President, we are told by our friends on the opposite side of the Chamber that the responsibility for this condition of the Treasury of the United States rests upon the Democratic party. I have alluded to the fact that the Democrats in the House of Representatives twice attempted to consider this matter of the tariff, and were defeated by the solid Republican vote, with a few recalcitrant Democrats. Why did not our friends on the other side offer a tariff bill in the House if they wanted to reduce the surplus, as they said they intended to do in their national platform of 1884? Why did they make no attempt to reduce it? Instead of considering the question at all they voted it down, and then taunted the Democratic party with the fact that they had sent no bill to the Republican Senate from a Democratic House of Representatives.

Mr. ALDRICH. I will answer the question, if the Senator wants an answer.

Mr. VEST. I prefer to let the Senator answer it afterwards. I have no doubt he is entirely competent to do it. I will listen to my friend from Rhode Island with a great deal of pleasure. No one has a higher opinion of his ability than I have, especially his ability on tariff questions, and if he wants a certificate from me, I will tell the people of Rhode Island that he is the most valuable Senator they have ever had on this floor. If they were to defeat him for the Senate, after reading this bill which he has reported here, they would deserve to be blotted out from the list of States. The fine Italian hand of my friend from Rhode Island is evident in every line of this bill. I say it with the kindest feeling to him. He represents his people and I am representing mine. The difference between us is that he is getting an undue proportion of the money of the country at the expense of my constituents, in my opinion.

Mr. President, I have taken the trouble, through the most valuable expert, I think, in the Treasury Department, to reduce to a reasonable compass the Senate substitute for the Mills bill, and I want to show what the reduction of taxation has been. I will ask to put these tables into the RECORD so that they can be open to inspection and criticism, but I want to give the result of the reduction of taxation which has been promised us by the Republican party on the necessaries of life as found in the following statement: This is "the values of and duties collected on the below-named manufactured articles entered for consumption in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1887, with the estimated amounts of duty accruing on like imports under the provisions of House bill 9051 and the Senate substitute; also showing the excess in amounts of duty under the Senate substitute over like amounts under the present laws and House bill 9051," which is the Mills bill.

This, I take it, is valuable. All theoretic discussions have closed, and we come now to actual results. We want to see which party has attempted to reduce the import duties on the necessaries of life.

Take up the first schedule—but I will pass the schedules; they are here and they can be inspected by my friends on the other side. I was anxious to see certain specific articles manufactured in New England—for that is the milk in the cocoa-nut—and the ever-present hand of New England is seen in this bill.

Take woolens, cloths. The excess of duties under the Senate substitute over the present tariff is 6.75 per cent.; it is 87.88 per cent. over the Mills bill. It is 8.23 per cent. on dress goods over the present tariff, and it is 95.05 per cent. over the House bill. It is 14.50 per cent. excess over the present tariff on knit goods, and it is 79.44 per cent. over the Mills bill. It is 67.51 per cent. excess over the present tariff on shawls, and it is 70.67 over the House bill. It is 64.71 over the present tariff on yarns, and 186 per cent. over the Mills bill on yarns.

Now, take cotton, another New England manufacture. On thread, not on spools, it increases the rate of duty over the present tariff 10.09 per cent., and over the Mills bill 31.39. On cloths it increases the duty over the present tariff 9.88 per cent., and 24.95 over the Mills bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator allow me to ask him one question?

Mr. VEST. Well, I prefer to get through with the table, and then the Senator can explain.

Mr. ALDRICH. I want to ask whether this is a list of the necessaries of life?

Mr. VEST. Certainly, most of them are.

Mr. ALDRICH. I call attention to the next two or three items.

Mr. VEST. If they are not, they can very easily be pointed out. I rather think woolens are necessaries of life. My impression is that if any man would try a blizzard up in my country he would come to that conclusion very rapidly. I think that cottons, shawls, yarns, knit goods, and dress goods generally are necessaries of life.

Now, we come to flax, hemp, and jute, brown and bleached linens; the increase in the Senate substitute over the present tariff is 14.29 per cent., and over the Mills bill 62.94 per cent. On laces and embroideries it is 66.67 per cent. over the present tariff and 66.67 over the Mills bill. On yarns the increase over the present tariff is 14.29 and over the Mills bill 166.66 per cent.

On steel in forms not specified the increase over the present tariff is 33.42 per cent., and over the Mills bill the same. On railway bars, which is the only reduction on anything that can be called necessaries of life—perhaps I state it too strongly, but I mean to say that the only decrease of duty, outside of sugar, of any prominence in the Senate bill is upon railway bars, and there the decrease under the present tariff is 24.69 and over the Mills bill an increase of 42.35 per cent.

I now present this analysis:

Values of and duties collected on the below-named manufactured articles entered for consumption in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1887, with the estimated amounts of duty accruing on like imports under the provisions of House bill 9051 and the Senate substitute; also, showing the excess in amounts of duty under the Senate substitute over like amounts under the present laws and House bill 9051.

Articles.	Values.	Duties collected under—						Excess of duties under Senate substitute over—			
		Present laws.		House bill.		Senate substitute.		Present laws.		House bill.	
		Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Per cent.	Amounts.	Per cent.
			Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.				
Woolens:											
Cloths	$10,022,370.67	$7,055,824.94	70.40	$4,008,948.26	40.00	$7,531,853.64	75.15	$476,028.70	6.75	$3,522,905.38	87.88
Dress goods	17,199,141.02	12,398,974.92	72.09	6,879,656.41	40.00	13,419,025.95	78.02	1,020,051.03	8.23	6,539,369.54	95.05
Knit goods	1,980,453.74	1,243,689.31	62.80	792,181.49	40.00	1,423,935.33	71.90	180,246.02	14.50	631,753.84	79.44
Shawls	1,029,998.19	654,008.00	63.50	411,999.27	40.00	703,154.00	68.27	49,146.00	7.51	291,154.73	70.67
Yarns	1,747,562.09	1,207,734.64	69.11	699,024.84	40.00	1,989,236.45	113.83	781,501.81	64.71	1,290,211.61	186.00
Cottons:											
Thread, not on spools	919,702.30	423,759.58	46.08	353,035 58	38.60	466,497.26	50.72	42,737.68	10.09	111,461.68	31.39
Cloths	3,555,347.28	1,617,200.80	45.49	1,422,138.91	40.00	1,777,010.63	49.98	159,809.83	9.88	354,871.72	24.95
Flax, hemp, and jute:											
Brown and bleached linens, etc	13,589,418.55	4,756,296.50	35.00	3,397,354.64	25.00	5,435,767.42	40.00	679,470.92	14.29	2,138,412.78	62.94
Laces and embroideries	1,142,473.35	342,742.00	30.00	342,742.00	30.00	571,236.67	50.00	228,494.67	66.67	228,494.67	66.67
Yarns	789,013.50	276,154.73	35.00	118,354.02	15.00	315,605.40	40.00	39,450.67	14.29	197,251.38	166.66
Iron and steel:											
Steel, in forms not specified	6,091,898.65	2,614,385.43	42.92	2,614,385.65	42.92	3,488,080.52	57.26	873,695.09	33.42	873,695.09	33.42
Railway bars	1,000,329.00	843,347.49	84.30	446,853.04	44.67	636,152.29	63.59	*207,195.20	*24.69	189,299.25	42.35
Tin plates	16,883,813.95	5,706,433.89	33.80	Free		5,706,433.89	33.80			5,706,433.19	100.00
Needles, not for machines	307,484.44	76,871.10	25.00	Free		76,871.10	25.00			76,871.10	100.00

*Minus.

NOTE.—The amounts of duty stated as "collected" under House bill and Senate substitute are estimated upon the imports of 1887.

Now, Mr. President, in a few words, what is the result of this operation? The only substantial decrease in the whole of this bill is upon sugar, and sugar is made the stalking-horse for an increase upon all the necessaries of life manufactured in New England. Sugar, a Southern product, is made to bear the burden of this reduction for the purpose of concealing the increase upon cottons and woolens which are manufactured in the factories of New England, and it is a remarkable fact that our friends whose shibboleth politically is protection to infant industries should attack sugar at the very time when it is struggling into life upon the prairies of the great Northwest. In your State, Mr. President, and mine the sugar industry to-day promises to furnish enough sugar to supply every man, woman, and child in the whole United States. The Commissioner of Agriculture reports that in the culture of sorghum the seed and cane fed to stock will pay for the manufacture of the sugar. So it is a clear profit to the people upon these prairies who go into the culture of sugar on the stalk.

I have my personal opinions in regard to the sugar tax, and if isolated from this bill and from any other consideration, I should express them here to-day very freely, but I call the attention of my friend from Iowa, whose people can raise sorghum as well as mine, that at this particular juncture when the principle of protection to the infant industries should be applied by the Republican party, if ever, they take it away from the sugar industry, for the only substantial reduction in the entire bill on duties is made upon sugar.

Comparative statement showing the operations under the present tariff laws, under House bill No. 9051, and under the Senate substitute, respectively based upon the quantities and values of dutiable merchandise entered for consumption in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1887.

Schedules.	Values of merchandise dutiable under—			Duties collected on merchandise dutiable under—				
	Present laws.	House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.	Present laws.	House bill 9051.		Senate substitute.	
					At present rates.	At rates House bill 9051.	At present rates.	At rates Senate substitute.
A. Chemicals	$18,864,257.96	$14,328,700.00	*$16,027,271.69	$6,199,811.99	$4,921,661.79	$4,170,945.61	$4,810,400.92	*$4,602,661.78
B. Earthen and glass ware	13,056,150.43	13,025,360.46	13,056,150.43	7,776,202.42	7,770,044.43	6,914,682.12	7,776,202.42	7,548,760.03
C. Metals	55,111,922.37	36,788,309.46	55,111,922.37	22,469,401.89	16,393,745.24	15,126,379.16	22,469,401.89	23,218,801.21
D. Wooden ware	7,697,357.06	1,018,154.94	7,697,357.06	1,385,356.19	346,148.84	298,561.65	1,385,356.19	1,454,309.11
E. Sugar	74,242,279.20	74,242,279.20	68,905,915.07	58,016,686.34	58,016,686.34	47,079,512.20	56,519,995.74	28,265,431.09
F. Tobacco	10,955,125.03	10,955,125.03	10,955,125.03	9,127,758.26	9,127,758.26	9,127,758.26	9,127,758.26	7,107,710.12
G. Provisions	39,165,566.07	35,831,552.21	†41,198,052.10	9,529,091.81	8,734,188.43	8,364,587.33	9,128,241.26	†9,736,609.98
H. Liquors	10,190,946.40	10,190,946.40	10,190,946.40	7,402,242.82	7,402,242.82	7,402,242.82	7,402,242.82	7,766,684.81
I. Cottons	30,208,851.83	30,208,851.83	30,208,679.83	12,081,297.43	12,081,297.43	11,803,687.14	12,081,263.03	12,306,648.04
J. Hemp, flax, and jute	33,807,282.55	19,316,781.15	24,802,607.55	9,497,981.74	6,639,073.59	4,793,111.06	7,870,329.08	8,798,021.87
K. Wool and woolens	60,586,613.61	42,379,625.64	60,586,613.61	35,629,534.13	29,239,479.40	16,984,966.61	35,629,534.13	40,060,648.41
L. Silk goods	31,264,278.58	31,264,276.58	31,264,278.58	15,540,300.70	15,540,300.70	15,540,300.70	15,540,300.70	15,842,061.96
M. Books, papers, etc	5,214,635.21	5,214,635.21	5,214,635.21	1,154,369.41	1,154,369.41	1,150,812.51	1,154,369.41	1,227,455.61
N. Sundries	59,580,006.88	54,737,660.43	‡51,703,449.90	16,091,597.36	14,671,037.47	13,567,845.57	14,435,013.44	‡14,581,016.00
Total	449,945,271.18	379,592,258.54	426,922,993.83	211,811,632.49	192,038,034.15	162,325,392.74	205,330,409.29	182,516,820.02

Schedules.	Average ad valorem rates of duty collected on merchandise dutiable under—					Merchandise dutiable under present laws and placed on the free-list under—					
						Values.		Duties collected under present laws.			
								Total duties.		Average ad valorem rates of duty.	
	Present laws.	House bill 9051.		Senate substitute.		House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.	House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.	House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.
		At present rates.	At rates of House bill 9051.	At present rates.	At rates of Senate substitute.						
	Per ct.	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*					*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*
A. Chemicals	32.83	34.35	29.11	30.01	28.72	$4,535,557.96	$2,873,972.27	$1,278,150.20	$1,389,411.07	28.18	48.34
B. Earthen and glass ware	59.56	59.12	53.09	59.56	57.82	30,789.97	.....	6,157.99	.....	20.00	.....
C. Metals	40.77	44.56	41.12	40.77	42.13	18,323,612.91	.....	6,075,656.65	.....	33.16	....
D. Wooden ware	18.00	31.00	29.32	18.00	18.88	6,679,202.12	.....	1,039,207.35	.....	15.56	.....
E. Sugar	78.15	78.15	63.41	82.03	41.02	.....	5,336,364.13	.....	1,496,690.60	.....	28.04
F. Tobacco	83.32	83.32	83.32	83.32	70.36	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
G. Provisions	24.33	24.38	23.34	22.16	23.58	3,334,013.86	1,232,605.00	794,903.38	409,850.55	23.84	32.52
H. Liquors	72.64	72.64	72.64	72.64	72.61	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
I. Cottons	39.99	39.99	39.07	39.99	40.74	.....	172.00	.....	34.40	.....	20.00
J. Hemp, flax, and jute	28.09	34.37	24.81	31.73	35.47	14,490,501.40	9,034,675.00	2,858,908.15	1,627,652.66	19.73	18.08
K. Wool and woolens	58.80	68.99	40.08	58.80	65.12	18,206,987.97	.....	6,390,054.73	.....	35.10	.....
L. Silk goods	49.71	49.71	49.71	49.71	50.67	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
M. Books, papers, etc	22.14	22.13	22.07	22.14	23.54	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. Sundries	26.86	26.80	24.78	27.92	28.20	4,842,346.45	7,884,026.98	1,330,559.89	1,566,583.92	27.48	19.87
Total	47.07	50.60	42.77	48.10	42.75	70,443,012.64	26,331,815.38	19,773,598.31	6,481,223.20	28.07	24.61

* $36,986; duty, $3,773.60 from free-list. † $3,235,091.03; duty, $374,843.44 from free-list. ‡ $7,461; duty, $2,931.40 from free-list.

NOTES.—This table shows a deficiency of $330,050.37 in the value of, and of $220,791.41 in the duty collected on dutiable merchandise in 1887, as reported in the annual report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. This difference is principally due to the omission from this table of dutiable merchandise ($177,909.59) withdrawn free of duty from warehouse and of merchandise not dutiable under any of the schedules. If these amounts had been included, the average ad valorem rate of duty under the present laws would be 47.10 instead of 47.07 per cent.

The interpretation of House bill 9051 is that of the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, as published by the clerk of that committee, and of the Senate substitute that of the Senate subcommittee on tariff.

The values and duties under both House bill and Senate substitute are computed on the importation of 1887, without speculating upon any possible increase or decrease consequent upon a decrease or increase in the rates of duty imposed by the proposed bills. The computations have been made as accurate as practicable, but in many cases under the Senate substitute a calculation was made impossible by the change from an ad valorem to a specific rate of duty. In such cases no account has been taken of the proposed change.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Bureau of Statistics, October* 9, 1888.

WM. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL, *United States Senator.*

Mr. President, I do not care to go further into the argument of the details of this bill. I want to make one single observation and I am done. I wish to discuss this bill fairly. I am glad the time has come when the people of the United States are brought face to face with great industrial and financial questions, and when they must be determined by intellectual effort and fair argument. I want to discuss these questions fairly, if I know myself.

The Senator from Iowa, for whom I have the greatest regard, made a statement in his opening speech which I doubted and which I am satisfied is not correct. He said that the cost of the manufacture of steel from pig-iron into rails was over $9. I challenge that statement here now. I say it is not true as a matter of fact. I say that in the compromise or agreement which was made between the Knights of Labor and the Edgar Thomson Steel Works a year and a half ago—a deliberate sealed agreement which I can produce here in the Senate, if necessary—it was agreed between the workmen and the owners of those works that the price of labor in steel rails from the condition of pig-iron was $4.09 to the ton. Yet the Senator deliberately asserted, and I have no doubt honestly, that it was over $9 to the ton.

I shall not waste any time before the Senate of the United States or any other intelligent audience by arguing the absurdity of putting all the costs of the iron from the time it comes out of the ground until you get pig-iron into this calculation. It is answered by the simple statement that it is a finished product in the shape of pig-iron when it reaches the hand of the steel-rail manufacturer. Suppose it was intended to protect the tailor who made this coat for me, would you consider all the labor in the raising of sheep, shearing the wool, spinning and weaving, until it became the finished cloth in the hands of the tailor, in the question of protection to him? It reaches him a finished product, it comes to his hands finished, and the only protection he is entitled to legitimately is the protection on his labor in connection with the finished product.

Senators quote here a statement of Mr. Hewitt that the cost of labor in steel rails was 90 per cent. Read it again and you will find that Mr. Hewitt says it depends upon what stage in the process you start with your calculation in order to meet the ratio of labor as put into the product. It is a finished product when it reaches, in the shape of pig-iron, the steel-rail manufacturer, and the only protection he can ask is upon the basis of $4.09 in labor to the ton.

Mr. ALDRICH. Why do you support a bill that proposes to levy a duty of $11 a ton, if that is true?

Mr. VEST. Because I believe that $11 a ton is amply sufficient to

give a margin of profits of $5 at least on the ton to the steel-rail manufacturers. The duty is $17 under the present tariff law. It is reduced by the bill of the Senate to $15.68. My assertion is, and I challenge contradiction upon it, and it is a question of fact, that the cost of the labor that changes pig-iron into steel rails is $4.09. I say the protection is ample at $11, and when you give the manufacturers $15.68 protection you give them more than they are entitled to. That is all I desire to say.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I desire to detain the Senate just a few moments in noticing one or two points made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST].

As to the last point made, I do not want him to quarrel with me respecting the matter of steel rails. I quoted the Senator from Ohio [Mr. PAYNE], his colleague on that side of the Chamber, who gave me the cost of steel rails, and stated that that statement of cost was taken from the books of a company in his own city, and he vouched to me for the integrity and intelligence of the men who furnished that information. Therefore I supposed I had some right to rely upon that information, and I inserted it in my remarks.

I shall not undertake now to go into detail as to the particular point at which protection begins, but I had supposed that if an American steel-rail maker was compelled to buy his pig-iron that paid a duty first upon the ore and next upon the pig, and so on through all the processes, he would be compelled to buy the pig-iron at such a cost as would enable him to compete with people on the other side who paid no duty upon their raw material. But I do not intend to discuss that question now.

I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to his criticisms respecting the surplus in the Treasury for a moment. I do not want him to get away from the primal consideration of my criticism, although I notice that he called attention to what was said by Mr. Blaine at some remote point. I do not want him to get away from the proper criticism of the conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury as respects the surplus by calling attention to the fact that some pet bank in 1879 made a large percentage. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] has over and over again explained in this body the situation of 1879. That had no relation to the question of the surplus money in the Treasury. The deposits quoted from the books of the Treasury, or from whatever books the Senator quoted, were deposits made in the operation of refunding $600,000,000 of the public debt from a 6 per cent. bond into a 4 per cent. bond, and the First National Bank of New York, to which he alludes, was one of a number of banks in New York City which subscribed for that loan.

What was the condition of the law then? It was that the man who held a 6 per cent. bond could not be required to surrender it until the expiration of a period of ninety days. Then in the operation of the syndicate it was necessary that there should be some intermediary as respects the situation between the bonds subscribed for and the bonds redeemed in order that the entire monetary business of our country would not be disturbed. The Senator from Ohio has made that explanation over and over again. I shall not undertake to defend him. He needs no defense in this regard.

But the statement made as respects the present situation is that the Secretary of the Treasury has money out of the Treasury which belongs to the people, as the Senator says Mr. Blaine said to the old farmer who was sitting in the audience. Where does this $57,000,000 come from, I ask the Senator from Missouri, and I will await his reply, that is now deposited in certain national banks of our country?

Mr. VEST. It comes from excessive tariff taxation.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; it comes from excessive taxation; but this $57,000,000 comes out of the Treasury of the United States, where it belongs, having been paid in there by the tax-payers of the country.

Now, the criticism upon Secretary Fairchild and this Administration is that here were bonds that they could have purchased with this money, but instead of doing that they loan it to certain banks without interest.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the Senator from Iowa allow me to call his attention to an act with which I know he is entirely familiar?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORGAN. It is the act of 1882 for the extension of time for the reorganization of the national banks, which was thoroughly debated here in the Senate. In section 9 of that act it is provided:

That not more than $3,000,000 of lawful money shall be deposited during any calendar month for this purpose.

That is, for the purpose of taking up a bank's bonds, the object being to protect the Treasury by keeping the money in circulation. The Secretary of the Treasury has no right to receive from the national banks bonds that would reduce the circulation generally in the United States more than $3,000,000 a month.

Mr. ALLISON. Is it possible that the Senator from Alabama is connecting that ninth section of the act of 1882 with anything I am talking about?

Mr. MORGAN. I think so.

Mr. ALLISON. It has no more relation to it than an eclipse. It has no possible connection with the question I am considering. My point is that the Secretary of the Treasury had $57,000,000 of United States money in the Treasury of the United States that had been collected and put there by means of taxation.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator was also complaining, if he will allow me, that the Secretary of the Treasury was not buying the bonds with this money. He can not buy from the national banks more than $3,000,000 a month.

Mr. ALLISON. It has no relation, I will say to the Senator, to the purchase of bonds. It has relation to the surrender of circulation.

Mr. MORGAN. But every bond that is bought by the United States Government to-day is canceled the moment it is bought.

Mr. ALLISON. What I am saying has no relation now to the relations of the national banks. Here is the point, and it is a point Senators on that side of the Chamber can not get away from. Here were $57,000,000 in the Treasury that should have been used in the purchase of United States bonds, thereby saving to the United States more than 2 per cent. interest per annum, and the Secretary of the Treasury or the President of the United States, instead of using this money for that purpose, which was a legitimate and lawful purpose, authorized by law, put the money into the hands of certain national banks without interest. That is the point I make against the Senator from Alabama and those who uphold this Administration, and I am not to be answered that the Secretary of the Treasury could not buy these bonds from the national banks. He could buy them wherever they were to be purchased in the open markets of the country, with more than $700,000,000 of them for sale of one kind of bonds, and $250,000,000 of another, with a very small portion in the national banks for any purpose whatever.

It is a mere subterfuge, I will say, with all due respect to the Senator from Alabama, to quote upon me the ninth section of the act of 1882. Here was lawful authority to buy bonds. The Secretary of the Treasury could have bought them and saved from 2½ to 2.35 per cent. interest per annum to the Government of the United States. Instead of doing that he put this money into banks from the Treasury.

It will not do for the Senator from Missouri to tell me that the effect of buying these bonds was to enhance the price of bonds. The Secretary of the Treasury became the biggest bull in the market (if I may use that expression here as respects these bonds) when he authorized the national banks to receive $1.10 for every dollar of par value of bonds put into the Treasury. In other words, he said to a national bank, "You deposit here $100 of 4 percents and I will loan you without interest $110 for them."

The Secretary of the Treasury makes a fallacious calculation when he talks about a bank going into the markets and buying bonds. The presumption, and the natural presumption, is that these banks have the bonds and they are drawing 4 per cent. interest upon them at the time that these deposits are made. In nine cases out of ten they do not buy the bonds. They are holding them in the vaults of their banks, and the Secretary of the Treasury says to the banker, "If you will transfer these United States bonds that you hold in your vaults from your vaults to the Treasury vaults, I will not only pay you the 4 per cent. interest that I am paying you now, but I will loan you $1.10 for each dollar in order that you may loan that money to the people of the United States at the current rate of interest."

Mr. VEST. Does the Senator mean to say that the national banks are holding the 4 per cent. bonds when there is not a place in the United States they could not loan their money out at 5 and 6 per cent.? Why would they hold dead bonds, you might term them, at 4 per cent.?

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from Missouri knows, as I know, that the great banks of our country keep on hand a certain amount of Government bonds as indemnity or security against their current deposits. They keep them in that form, first, for immediate conversion, and secondly, for the purpose of securing interest upon them. There is not a national bank in any of our great cities that does not in its assets show a considerable amount of bonds carried.

Mr. SPOONER. Could they not borrow them from their customers and then divide the interest they made, the difference?

Mr. ALLISON. As they have done in many cases, as I am told, on account of this enormous stimulus given to them by the Secretary of the Treasury. Therefore this fallacious statement of the Secretary of the Treasury made in Wall street will not do, because it assumes that before the banks receive the deposits they go into the markets and buy the bonds. They have these bonds, and they have them for banking purposes, and having them, the Secretary of the Treasury says to them, "Deposit your bonds in the Treasury and I will not only pay you the interest which you are receiving now, but the people will pay you whatever the current rate of interest is."

The fundamental objection to that, however, rises far beyond this question of interest. The interest is a mere surface question. I want to suggest a case to the Senator from Missouri. Suppose we were now, instead of being about the 1st of October, 1888, about the 1st of October, 1891, and these $57,000,000 on deposit were in the hands of national banks. Although our 4½ per cent. bonds would then be due, the Secretary of the Treasury could not call them in. Why? A sudden call of $57,000,000 from the banks would create a panic throughout this country. The objection that I have to these loans for redeposit in the Treasury for the purpose of paying current expenses or for the purpose of redeeming

the national debt is that a sudden call would at once create a panic throughout the United States.

So the Secretary of the Treasury in order to avoid that made a most extraordinary obligation to these banks when these deposits were made. I will read one of them, and I want to call the attention of the Senator from Missouri to this statement. It is a letter from Secretary Fairchild and was introduced into a debate in the other House by one of my colleagues, General WEAVER, from my State. I assume it to be absolutely genuine, as it was introduced in debate on the 1st of March. It is a letter addressed to the Treasurer by the Secretary.

SIR: The Western National Bank of New York City—

We know what bank that is—

SIR: The Western National Bank of New York City has been designated a United States depository, and the security fixed for the present at $1,000,000 of United States 4 per cent. bonds. In order to avoid the usual delay in obtaining a balance by accumulating revenue deposits, I will thank you, when the bonds are received, to cause to be transferred to said bank from national-bank depositories other than those in New York City such amounts as may be deposited therein to the credit of your general account in excess of their authorized balances, until the sum of $1,100,000 is reached, which amount the Western National Bank will be authorized to hold as a fixed balance.

Respectfully, yours,

C. S. FAIRCHILD, *Secretary.*

What does that mean? It means that the Western National Bank is to have $1,100,000 of Government money, and that it is to be there as a fixed balance which it can loan to its customers. Therefore the Treasury is in the attitude now of having this money not only in the hands of these national banks, but in the hands of people which may be liable to a sudden call. So, I say, for public reasons aside from the 2 per cent. to be made per annum upon this vast amount of money, it would have been better for the Secretary of the Treasury to have purchased these bonds and allowed the money thus to go into circulation among the people.

That is my criticism upon the conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury as respects these deposits. Of course, a certain amount of deposits in the ordinary transactions of Treasury affairs must be kept in national banks. It runs from $10,000,000 to $15,000,000 and $20,000,000 under ordinary circumstances, but here is now $57,000,000 beyond that amount. There are in the monthly statements that come to us to the credit of disbursing officers $38,000,000 in addition to these $57,000,000, these $38,000,000 being very largely in the hands of the national banks subject to the drafts of the disbursing officers.

Mr. TELLER. Practically altogether.

Mr. ALLISON. Practically altogether, as the Senator from Colorado tells me. So there is practically $57,000,000 plus $38,000,000 in these national banks. I tell the Senator from Missouri he can not get away from this criticism by alluding to Treasury operations in 1879, which were necessary or proper, at least in a large degree, for the purpose of refunding the interest-bearing debt then bearing 6 per cent. to an interest-bearing debt of 4 per cent.; and it will not do either for the Secretary of the Treasury to shield himself behind the fact that there was no law which allowed bond purchases to be made. That law was as clear and distinct and explicit as any law upon the statute-book.

Mr. ALDRICH. No law has been since passed.

Mr. ALLISON. No law has been passed since, as the Senator from Rhode Island suggests, but a mere opinion, expressed intelligently by the two Houses of Congress; and thereby also hangs a tale, which I should think would not be a very agreeable one to the Senator from Missouri, or to the Senator from Kentucky, or Senators on that side of the Chamber. A bill came here from the House of Representatives, and a majority of the Senate put upon it a provision that for every million dollars of national-bank notes withdrawn there should be a million dollars of silver certificates issued. It went back to the House with that amendment, for the purpose of preventing a sudden withdrawal of the circulating medium of our country. That amendment was so hostile and offensive to this Administration that with that amendment the bill now sleeps the sleep of death. It has never been met by any responsive appeal in the House of Representatives.

It has been the policy of this Administration, so far as the effect of that policy is concerned, to pile up money in the Treasury by one pretext and another, so as to furnish an excuse for having $130,000,000 in the Treasury, in order to break down the protective system of our country, which was called the other day an "infamous system" by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. President, I do not intend, so far as I am concerned, that the Administration shall get away from a just and proper criticism of their conduct in putting this money into the hands of banks, whether pet or otherwise, rather than to have saved the interest to the people by purchasing bonds which must be presently paid, because the bonds must be paid in 1891.

I made the prediction in my remarks a few days ago, and I repeat it now, that this very money, or the greater portion of it, will be in the hands of these identical banks, if the present policy is pursued after the 4th of March, 1889, when the 4½ per cent. bonds mature in October, 1891.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President——

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator from Colorado desire to proceed now?

Mr. TELLER. I desire to reply to some things which have been said. I do not care about continuing at this late hour of the day.

Mr. HOAR. If the Senator will yield to me, I will move that the Senate adjourn.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* Before submitting the motion to adjourn, in responding to an interrogatory of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], the Chair feels bound to state that the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] had been recognized to proceed upon the pending bill, being the unfinished business. The Chair understood him to yield informally, as is frequently done, to his colleague, retaining his right to the floor. The debate has proceeded by unanimous consent since, but by the practice which prevails in the Senate, the Chair thinks the Senator from Missouri will be entitled to proceed whenever he demands the floor.

Mr. ALLISON. I give notice that immediately after the ordinary routine business in the morning I shall move to take up the bill.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to say that I dissent from the ruling of the Chair that any Senator has a right to yield the floor and have a debate go on all the legislative day and then resume it, especially when the Senator was not speaking. I do not want to be technical about it and insist on making some remarks to the Senate at this time or even to-morrow, but as a matter of principle I want to enter my protest against the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. VEST. I hope the Senator from Colorado will be permitted to speak to-morrow, and I hope my colleague will give him an opportunity.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* The Chair was merely stating what had been the uniform practice and custom and usage in the body.

Mr. TELLER. It does not seem quite right that a Senator should launch this class of debate upon the Senate, and then shut off the other side.

Mr. COCKRELL. Have I shut off the other side?

Mr. TELLER. Not at all; I am not quarreling with the Senator from Missouri; I was criticising the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. COCKRELL. I yielded to my colleague [Mr. VEST], who was compelled to be absent. Before he got through the Senator from Iowa requested to be recognized. I believed it was but fair and just and right to let him reply to my colleague.

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. COCKRELL. I yielded the floor to him. Now, if the Senator from Colorado wants to make an additional reply I will yield to him for the purpose, or I will yield to him to-morrow; but I do not propose to be cut out of my right to control the time.

Mr. TELLER. I was just about to say, if I had been allowed to proceed, that if the Senator from Missouri insisted upon going on, of course I would defer my remarks; but I was not allowed to say that. I am not very particular whether I go on to-night or to-morrow morning, or whether I defer my remarks until after the Senator from Missouri gets through. I shall simply claim the floor at some time.

Mr. HOAR. May I make a suggestion to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. COCKRELL. My colleague will be here in the morning, and I will yield to the Senator from Colorado in the morning; but I want it to be understood that I have the floor, and I shall not permit every other Senator who wants to speak on the bill to go on and speak.

Mr. TELLER. I am not particular about it.

Mr. COCKRELL. I shall take the floor as soon as the Senator from Iowa calls up the bill, and if he does not call up the bill the first thing after the morning business I shall do so myself.

Mr. BLAIR. At what hour? At 2 o'clock?

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, no.

Mr. ALDRICH. In the morning hour.

Mr. BLAIR. Is there any agreement by unanimous consent to that effect? I inquire because it is necessary for me, as I shall have to be absent from the Senate, to occupy five or ten minutes at some time. I can do it to-night.

Mr. HOAR. I withdraw the motion to adjourn.

Mr. BLAIR. It is not upon this subject, but it is upon one where I am under a certain necessity to say a word.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* The motion to adjourn being withdrawn, the Senator from Missouri yields to the Senator from New Hampshire.

RELATIONS WITH CANADA.

Mr. BLAIR. I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution introduced by me on the 6th of August may be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* If there be no objection, the joint resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.R.101) requesting the President to open negotiations with the Government of Her Britannic Majesty with a view to the political union of the Dominion of Canada, or any of the provinces or subdivisions thereof, and the United States, and for other purposes.

Resolved, etc., That the President be requested to open negotiations with the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, in which the Dominion of Canada and the several political subdivisions thereof shall be represented, with a view to the settlement of all differences between Her Majesty's Government and the United States, and especially to the arrangement of terms mutually just, honorable, and satisfactory for political union between the Dominion of Canada, or between any of the several provinces or subdivisions of the Dominion of Can-

ada, and the United States, subject to the approval of the people of the Dominion of Canada, or of the people of any province or subdivision thereof who may be included in such arrangement, and to ratification by the United States in such manner as Congress may prescribe; such political union to be republican in form and in accord with the Federal system and the Constitution of the United States; and the negotiations may embrace such further treaties, compacts, and alliances as shall be deemed necessary for the future peace, happiness, security, and general welfare of Her Majesty's Dominions and of the United States.

Mr. BLAIR. I have certain information derived from a careful and prolonged course of investigation by a very intelligent gentleman traveling in Canada for some three or four months, purposely in the pursuit of intelligence as to the public opinion of the Dominion of Canada upon the question of political union between the two countries, and as I have felt an interest in that subject and there is pending in the Committee on Foreign Relations the joint resolution bearing upon that topic introduced by myself, I wish to have this information printed, which has been prepared and condensed at my request and addressed to me as chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. It is, I think, about ten pages of matter, written with a type-writer. It is collected and prepared by Mr. Charles T. Thompson, a correspondent of the New York Tribune, a very intelligent gentleman, who made this investigation in pursuance of his own inclinations and also at the request of others who desired to ascertain as nearly as possible the exact condition of public sentiment upon this great international question.

If the Senate will give permission to have this paper printed, I will not trouble the Senate to read it *in extenso*.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection, and leave to print the paper in the RECORD is granted.

The paper is as follows:

SIR: The matters affecting the relations between Canada and the United States which your committee now has before it, and your interest in advocating the political union of the two countries lead me to lay before you the following practical facts bearing on the matter of a political union:

As a newspaper correspondent I was recently commissioned to go through Canada and ascertain the wishes of the Canadian people as to a political union with this country. The tour was an exhaustive one, across the entire country, through every province, in the important commercial cities as well as small agricultural districts, giving an opportunity to talk with representative men, members of Parliament, business men, farmers, and laborers on the matter of a political union.

So little is known or understood on this side as to the sentiment on this subject in Canada that a brief statement of the facts may be of value in your consideration of the matter. It appears to be particularly relevant to the present discussion, for the wishes of the Canadian people, for or against a political union, would be an important factor in any move which this country would take in that direction.

First. Canada is ready for a political union. This is sometimes asserted as an abstract proposition, but I will undertake to prove it. In a trip covering three months, from end to end of Canada, it was found that every community, large and small, had the nucleus of a political union party in it. They came from both parties, Tories and Grits, the sentiment not being founded on any party reasons, but solely in the belief that a political union with the United States would lead to Canada's prosperity.

The reasons assigned were various, as the succeeding statements of representative men will show. Some took the broad ground that the two countries had a common language and common interest and should be governed in common; some that Canada had grown too great to be a mere colony of Great Britain; some that the control exercised by Great Britain was a monstrous and unnecessary expense; and some that a political union was the only solution of grave social and religious problems which have arisen in the province of Quebec and are spreading to Ontario.

These feelings are best shown by extracts from the views of leading men through the Dominion, representing a diversity of localities and interests.

In the towns immediately along the border the sentiment is particularly strong. At Amherstburg, for instance, many of the leading business men and bankers are the most radical in the movement. Hon. Mr. Balfour, member of Provincial Parliament from that riding, says he has found many of his colleagues in Parliament openly advocating annexation, and that the number of these advocates has grown surprisingly of late. At Windsor, opposite Detroit, the leading banker, Mr. Curry, is one of the heads of the sentiment, and he even goes so far as to be ready to advance a considerable sum of money, $10,000 or more, to help bring Canada into the Union. The master workman of the Knights of Labor of Windsor also expresses sentiments equally as strong, and says that political union is desired by the laboring masses of Canada. At Essex Center, the central point of the agricultural community of Essex County, the feeling was thus stated by Hon. James Brien, member of Parliament:

"A great many are beginning to favor annexation. It is only within the last few years, too, that the annexation talk has become so general. Formerly the man who whispered in favor of annexation was denounced as a rebel, but it has become too common now to treat in that way."

This expression is readily borne out by talking with the people of the locality. Hon. Brien's partner is an open advocate of political union, while the storekeepers and business men are almost a unit for it. At Chatham, further up the border, the views of Mr. Charles Northwood fairly reflect many similar views:

"Political union," said he, "would be a great benefit to both sides. It is said that England would not favor it, and that such a course would be disloyal. I think, however, that mother country would like the arrangement for several reasons. It would establish a more cordial relation between the mother country and the United States, and England's trade and real interests are larger to-day with the States than with Canada. Then, it would relieve the mother country from harassing irritation over fishery disputes. That is patched up for a time, but it will come out again, and the way to stop it for ever is to have a political and commercial union. Annexation, too, would help to bring about a closer relation between all English-speaking people, by which a federation of their nations would eventually rule the world, advancing civilization and Christianity."

Along the shores of Lake Ontario, where Canadian towns with admirable harbors are without sail or shipping, there is a longing for political union as the means of restoring their commerce. For instance, Dr. Clark, the leading physician of Cobourg, Ontario, thus expresses it:

"They asked me what party I belonged to," said Dr. Clark, "but I've told our politicians I belong to neither of their parties. My party is the one representing annexation. When they put up a man representing that feeling he will have my support. We should send our representatives to Washington, not to Ottawa. I used to be called rebel for such views, but that time is gone by now. There are too many of the same way of thinking. When I talk of annexation now the only answer is that the time has not come yet. There is no longer any talk of rebel or of the impossibility of annexation. A secret ballot taken here would show a surprising result, and I believe annexation might carry. There are many of our leading merchants who would support it, although they would not say so openly. It is a strong feeling throughout Canada, too. Hon. Ebenezer Perry, who was a member of the Canadian senate, told me that he had found the leading men of Montreal and Kingston in favor of annexation.

"It would be of vast benefit in improving Canada. Property would advance in value. American enterprise and capital would come in here, and that's what we need. Look at the towns across the line and compare them with the stagnated condition of the towns on this side. Great Britain is thousands of miles away, and has no real interest in us. Annexation is what Canada needs, and must have to revive her."

This is not a random opinion, but is one which is in line with many others, the names and expressions being at hand, but withheld for purposes of brevity.

Going further back, into the manufacturing communities, the same sentiment prevails. At Hamilton, Ontario, one of the chief manufacturing points of the Dominion, the political union sentiment is very prevalent. The president of the Conservative Club, a leading organization, is one of the chief advocates of the step, and he is followed by merchants and manufacturers almost without number. At Ingersoll, another manufacturing point, Hon. A. McKay, member of Parliament, thus expressed his view:

"What I wish to see," said he, "is absolute independence from England, and I can foresee that end coming. I would not want to live in a country if I thought it were always to be a mere colony. The United States framed their declaration of independence when they had only 3,000,000 of people, and we have about 5,000,000 now. Canada has all the elements to make up a prosperous and independent country. It would be of vast benefit to us in the way of stimulating immigration. The emigrant now comes from a monarchy, and wants to get under an independent form of Government. For that reason the United States system of universal suffrage draws the emigrant there and gives him an interest in the country. He can not see the same advantages here, where we are part of the same sort of monarchy he has left. There would be no drawback to independence, such as fear of maintaining a standing army. Canada will always be too close an ally of the United States to ever have a war with her."

There is a class bearing titles and much devoted to English customs who treat any expression of political union as disloyal to the mother country. But these are comparatively few, and the general desire is to first consider Canada's interest. This idea was thus stated by Mr. John Craig, head of the agricultural society of Oxford County, Ontario, and one of the best known and conservative citizens:

"No one could well accuse me of disloyalty," said he, "for I was in the mother country for forty years before coming here, and therefore had all my predilections formed toward her. But I do not regard annexation as a disloyal feeling. The Bible doctrine is that the son must turn from his father and mother and cleave to his wife; and that's the case with us here; it means no disrespect or disloyalty to the parental roof, however. On a previous issue the cry was raised that the mother country would be injured. 'Then so much the worse for the mother country,' answered Sir John Macdonald. That's the answer now. If annexation will hurt the mother country, why, 'so much the worse for her.' That is the practical view being taken of the matter now."

In the farming communities a similar wish for political union is general. At an agricultural fair in one of the best agricultural districts I talked with leading farmers on the subject. James Anderson, a leading farmer and reeve of his locality, thus emphatically stated his observations of the farmer sentiment for political union. He was asked if there were one thousand annexationists in his locality.

"Yes," said he, "not only that, but nine-tenths of our farmers are for out and out annexation. If you will drive through the farming district in my township you will discover the remarkable prevalence of annexation sentiment. They are all for it, not alone commercial union, but political, moral, geographical, and religious union. Wipe out the dividing line absolutely—that's what they want—and make us a political part of the United States. There is but one condition imposed, and that is that the new State of Ontario shall retain her local laws, the State's rights doctrine. That could readily be arranged. New York has her own State laws and is not governed by United States Federal laws, except on Federal questions. Ontario would have the same right to make her own laws for all State questions. That overcomes the objection frequently raised that Ontario would have to surrender her good laws for the inferior ones of the United States.

"Annexation means an arising from the stagnant condition of Canada's cities and industries to-day. Why is it that Detroit has grown to a metropolis while Windsor has languished? Why is it that Woodstock here is not the size of Utica, N. Y., and other inland towns in the States? The places here have fully as many natural advantages. They are the centers and supply points for fully as rich a farming country. The products, cheese, etc., are fully as abundant. And yet they struggle along as dwarf villages, unable to progress. The reason is not in the people or the imaginary line that divides them, but in the Canadian Government and institutions. We need an infusion of American ways and means. Annexation would make Woodstock a city of 40,000 inhabitants in the next fifteen years. It would build us up with population and capital.

Going into the province of Quebec, which is largely French, the expression for political union is even more pronounced. The French have no ties of love for Britain, and they would gladly break away from the yoke put on at the Plains of Abraham. Even the monument erected by the British in memory of Wolfe, which stands in the suburbs of Quebec, on the Plains of Abraham, is pelted by the French, until it has to be rebuilt frequently. All of the cities and towns are French, not English, including Montreal, Quebec, and St. Hyacinthe. The latter is an average Quebec community, with a population of about 7,000. There are scarce 100 English-speaking people. Not only is their language French, but all their inspirations are the same, and there is not even a faint bit of sentiment of loyalty for the English Crown.

The only flag flying is the tricolored flag of France, over the skating rink. "God save the Queen" is not heard, but the "Marseillaise" rings out at the festive gatherings. As one glances over the album of M. Bernier, M. P., the pictures of Bonaparte and Josephine, Napoleon III and Eugenie are most conspicuous. They do not look to London for their ideas, but to Paris. Merely in name is it part of the English Empire. It is not even Canadian, but French. Their most cherished friend is the States, and it would take but little to arouse such people into enthusiasm for annexation. Judge William T. Mitchell, of Port Huron, the United States consul there, told me that there were constant demands for his Stars and Stripes to be used on public occasions. They seek it to fly over the race-course, to decorate the Wamaska club-house, and even to lower to half-mast on the death of a distinguished citizen.

In such communities, having no ties to Britain, but many attractions towards this country, the feeling towards political union is particularly strong. It was thus expressed by Hon. M. E. Bernier, member of the Dominion Parliament:

"If you were to go from house to house, and the people were to give a free expression of their views, you would find nine out of every ten of them in favor of annexation. I am sure of it. The idea that the clergy would oppose it is largely erroneous. The priests recognize the fact that on the other side they would not be so completely under the control of their superiors, but would have more liberties. I have heard priests compare the prosperity of their colleagues who had gone to the States with their own lack of it."

The remarkable prevalence of feeling for a union with the States was shown by Le Progres de l'Est, the leading paper of Sherbrooke, province of Quebec. This was secured through questions directed to the Canadian subscribers of a paper. The responses disclosed the surprising result of nearly two to one in favor of annexation in both the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Here are the figures:

Provinces.	For annexation.	Against annexation.
Ontario	132	70
Quebec	18	10

Singularly, however, little Nova Scotia turned the scale the other way. But Nova Scotia's voice would be weak indeed against the two larger provinces in a general struggle. Le Progres says of this test vote, the following being a translation:

"This table is very instructive. In Ontario there has been found two to one in favor of annexation. Where, then, is all the boasted loyalty of the sister province? In the province of Quebec the result is not surprising, for there has always been as many French-Canadians for annexation as against it."

Further expressions could be multiplied indefinitely, but they would appear to be merely reiterations. They would show that the leading men—members of Parliament, journalists, business men, farmers, and workmen—are ready and anxious to become a part of an American union extending from the Gulf to the Arctic. It is not meant to state that such feeling is unanimous, for it is not; but it is substantial in all classes and communities, and merely waits the hoped-for opportunity in order to fan it into an overwhelming and irresistible movement towards a political union with the United States.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

CHARLES T. THOMPSON.

Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR,
Chairman Senate Committee on Labor and Education.

Mr. BLAIR. For my own part, I am entirely opposed to the idea of anything like retaliation or resort to unnecessary force, either of word or of action, in the discussion or in the elucidation of the relations between the Dominion and this country. I think we need the union as much as Canada needs the union, and that the line of peace for the future, the relations of these two great sections of the continent, and of the people who now and are hereafter to inhabit them, lies in the direction of conciliation and of unity, and that the project should never be put forth between these two great countries as one specially for the advantage of either, but for the unquestionable advantage of both.

I do not believe that these peoples can develop, can exist alongside of each other for any great length of time unless united, if they are to live in peace. I do not mean this as a menace, for I think, with the best disposition in the world, there will come inevitably those international conflicts, those wars, those destructive relations in the future which have existed on the continent of Europe, and which might well be avoided now that both countries are comparatively without population and without development, Canada very much more so, of course, than we. If now there could be a unity between these really homogeneous peoples and the institutions of each become homogeneous and united, and their development go on in such a symmetrical and united condition for the future as that we should be really, when there shall be 500,000,000 in the territory of the now separated nationalities, one nation, united as we are ourselves on the southern side of the line, and far more so, than Canada and Canadians ever can be unless in some way the whole is fused in one.

I believe it is as much to the advantage of this country that there should be union, and it is no just way of putting the subject when we speak in anything of an offensive sense of annexation.

Mr. HOAR. May I suggest to my honorable friend (I suppose he is speaking somewhat for the sake of having Canada hear what he says) that I think there are people in this country who believe that Canada has an objection to our annexing her, but are entirely willing that she should annex us, of course adopting our Constitution.

Mr. BLAIR. I am not willing to do that. I am willing to be united with Canada and that Canada should be united with the United States, but I am not willing that the idea of inequality upon either side should find its way into these considerations. It is nothing but political union that suits my mind, and there is a great deal in these matters of sentiment. Most of the wars of the world have been the result of matters of sentiment, and sentiment really controls the history of mankind far more than do questions of actual material development and of material consequence.

It is useless at this time to enter upon the broad field of general discussion, and I only called the subject up because I am desirous that this printed and carefully prepared matter which is given to me by Mr. Thompson may be spread before the country, and that on our side of the line we may be really informed of the general and strong inclination of the masses of the people, as this information demonstrates undoubtedly a majority of the people of Canada are to-day desirous of union with the people of the United States. I feel for one that that inclination is most earnestly and harmoniously reciprocated by the sixty-five million who make up the American nation.

Mr. HOAR. I renew my motion.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Massachusetts moves that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 16, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MONDAY, *October* 15, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of Friday's proceedings was read and approved.

NAVAL ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. MCMILLIN in the chair). The Chair will lay before the House bills and resolutions from the Senate. It is not usual to do this on Monday morning, but being near the close of the session, the Chair will lay them before the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *October* 12, 1888.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the annual volumes of the astronomical observations of the Naval Observatory for 1886, 1887, and 1888 be printed, and that 1,800 additional copies of each report be printed, of which 300 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 700 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 800 copies for the use of the Navy Department.

The resolution was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Printing, and ordered to be printed.

BRIDGES ACROSS THE KENTUCKY RIVER AND TRIBUTARIES.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the bill (H. R. 11262) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River and its tributaries by the Richmond, Nicholasville, Irvine and Beattyville Railroad Company, with amendments.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, Governor MCCREARY on leaving requested me to ask that these two formal amendments be accepted by the House. They are purely formal, and I ask the concurrence of the House in the amendments. One is relative to a footway over the bridges, and the other requires that any changes in the construction of the bridges be approved by the Secretary of War.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 12, after the word "passengers," insert "provided that the rates of toll charged by said company shall be first approved by the Secretary of War;" on page 1, line 12, after the word "passengers," strike out [,], and in page 2, line 7, after the word "war," insert "and if the Secretary of War shall at any time think any changes necessary in the plan of said bridge or bridges, or that the said bridge or bridges should be entirely removed, the said alterations or removal shall be at the expense of the company."

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. ROGERS moved to reconsider the vote by which the amendments were agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ANDREW J. SMITH.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the bill (H. R. 2579) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Andrew J. Smith, late colonel of the Seventh United States Cavalry and a major-general of volunteers, with amendments.

Mr. WARNER. I ask that the title of the bill be again read.

The title was again reported.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Speaker, that is a mere formal amendment, and I hope it will be acted upon at this time.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. It merely changes the rank.

Mr. WARNER. It is a mere formal amendment.

The Clerk read the amendment, as follows:

Strike out the words "brigadier-general" and insert "colonel of cavalry."

Mr. MCMILLIN. What is his rank?

Mr. WARNER. The Senate amendment reduces the rank from brigadier-general to colonel.

Mr. MCMILLIN. There was no proposition to retire him as a brigadier-general?

Mr. WARNER. The bill originally introduced was to retire him with the rank of brigadier-general. The Committee on Military Affairs of the House amended the bill and proposed to retire him with the rank of colonel, the rank that he held in the regular Army at the time of his resignation. It went to the Senate and in the Senate it was believed that the language used in the amendment was not sufficiently clear, and therefore they struck out the words suggested in the amendment and left it at the same rank as the bill passed the House, precisely.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Let it lie over for the present and I will look at it if it meets the approval of the House. I ask that it lie on the Speaker's table for the present.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

MARINE-HOSPITAL SERVICE.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the bill (S. 1786) to regulate the appointment in the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States.

The Clerk read as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *October* 12, 1888.

Resolved, That the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House to the bill of the Senate 1786 and request a conference of the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Ordered, That Mr. DOLPH, Mr. SAWYER, and Mr. COCKRELL be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The SPEAKER. This bill has reached a stage at which it is privileged. If there be no objection, the House will insist upon its amendments and agree to the conference asked.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

GEORGE K. OTIS.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the bill (S. 3348) for the relief of George K. Otis; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

SAMUEL HEIN.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the bill (S. 3351) for the relief of Samuel Hein; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

CONDEMNED CANNON FOR THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the bill (S. 3612) donating condemned cannon and small-arms to Naval Post No. 400, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Pennsylvania; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

WIDOW OF CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the bill (S. 3621) for the payment to the widow of the late Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite the balance of a year's salary; which was read twice.

The SPEAKER. Unless there be objection, this bill will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. An objection would send it to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I think that is where it ought to go. It stands on the same basis as any other claim.

The bill was referred to the Committee on Claims.

YELLOW-FEVER CONFERENCE.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a joint resolution (S. R. 113) concerning the conference to be held in Washington in December next to consider the best means of preventing the introduction of yellow fever and other epidemic diseases into this country.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I ask unanimous consent that that resolution be read and considered at this time. It does not make any appropriation.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object.

APPOINTMENTS IN MARINE-HOSPITAL SERVICE.

The SPEAKER appointed as managers of the conference on the part of the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (S. 1786) to regulate appointments in the Marine-Hospital Service of the United States Mr. PHELAN, Mr. LAGAN, and Mr. O'NEILL of Pennsylvania.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. BACON, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. POST, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. LAWLER, indefinitely.

To Mr. NEAL, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. LYMAN, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. STRUBLE, indefinitely.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE COOSA AT GADSDEN.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the bill (H. R. 11338) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Coosa River at Gadsden, in the State of Alabama, with amendments of the Senate thereto.

Mr. FORNEY. I move that the House concur in the Senate amendments. The changes are immaterial. I ask that the amendments be read.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object.

Mr. FORNEY. I hope the gentleman will not object to this. It is simply a House bill in which the Senate has made some immaterial amendments.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I have already given notice that there shall be no more legislation in this House this session.

Mr. FORNEY. Then you ought to have stopped it some time ago. Why do you draw the line on this bill?

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I draw it this morning on this bill.

Mr. FORNEY. You ought to have drawn it earlier. [Laughter.]

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. This being Monday, the regular order is the call of States and Territories for the introduction of bills and resolutions.

Mr. WHEELER (when the State of Alabama was called) offered a preamble and resolution in relation to the Senate tariff bill, which was read in part.

Mr. DINGLEY (before the completion of the reading). Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask if that is either a bill or a resolution within the meaning of the rule.

The SPEAKER. It seems to be a resolution.

Mr. DINGLEY. It seems to be a caucus resolution providing what the Democratic party should do, or will do.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] in his place on the floor offered the resolution when his State was called.

Mr. WHEELER. I have offered it in the regular order.

Mr. DINGLEY. It is not in the form of a resolution.

Mr. WHEELER. The second resolution provides for the discharge of a duty I regard as incumbent upon members of Congress.

Mr. DINGLEY. It might be very proper in a caucus, but not here.

Mr. WHEELER. I think it is eminently proper for this body.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, I suggest that that resolution is for the Democratic party and is leveled against another party, and therefore it is properly a caucus matter.

The SPEAKER. The Chair, of course, has no control over the character of resolutions offered by members, except to see that they are respectful to the House and to the other branch of Congress.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Independent of the bad taste of that resolution it is bad sense. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The preamble is no part of the resolution.

Mr. DINGLEY. Does the resolution propose legislation?

The SPEAKER. It does not.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Then what is the use of it?

The SPEAKER. That is not a question for the Chair. A gentleman may introduce a proposition on any subject. The Chair has no control of the matter; but the House may take such action as it pleases. It may move to lay the proposition on the table, or it may refuse to receive it.

Mr. DINGLEY. I would like to have the rule read which relates to the introduction of bills and resolutions under this call.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the first clause of Rule XXIV.

The Clerk read as follows:

RULE XXIV.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Each Monday morning during a session of Congress, immediately after the Journal of the proceedings of the last day's sitting has been read and approved, the Speaker shall call all the States and Territories in alphabetical order for bills and resolutions for printing and reference without debate, on which call joint and concurrent resolutions and memorials of States and Territorial Legislatures may be presented and appropriately referred; and, on this call only, resolutions of inquiry directed to the heads of the Executive Departments shall be in order for reference to appropriate committees, which resolutions shall be reported to the House within one week thereafter.

Mr. DINGLEY. I make the point of order that this is neither a joint nor a concurrent resolution, within the meaning of the rule.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that this rule originally provided for the presentation on this call of joint and concurrent resolutions only. At the beginning of the Forty-ninth Congress the rule was so changed by the House as to embrace all resolutions; and words "joint and concurrent" as now embraced in the rule have reference only to resolutions of State and Territorial Legislatures, as the gentleman will see if he will examine the language of the rule.

Mr. WHEELER. I ask unanimous consent to strike out the word "Democratic" before "members." I hardly expected any aid from the other side of the House, as every member I see there to-day voted and spoke against the relief for the people which is sought to be secured by this resolution.

Mr. DINGLEY. I submit that the time of the House should not be occupied by the presentation of a resolution of this kind, which is evidently not within the intention of the rule.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Maine that a resolution presented under this call does not necessarily go into the RECORD because it is read. It requires unanimous consent——

Mr. DINGLEY. But the time of the House is being improperly occupied by the reading of a caucus resolution.

The SPEAKER. The resolution, the Chair supposes, will go to the Committee on Rules, as it does not propose any legislation, but simply declares the sense of the House upon certain propositions.

Mr. WHEELER. The resolution was not read through.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will conclude the reading of the resolution without the preamble. The preamble is no part of the resolution.

The Clerk resumed and concluded the reading of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. This resolution will be referred to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I desire to know whether this resolution becomes a matter of record—whether as read it goes into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER. It does not, except by unanimous consent of the House.

Mr. FARQUHAR. All right, then. I made the inquiry simply because the gentleman who offered the resolution is a friend of mine; and for his own good name, as well as for the credit of the House, I did not wish the resolution to appear in the RECORD.

Mr. WHEELER. I am very thankful to the gentleman for expressing a desire to take care of my good name, but I will endeavor to discharge that duty myself without the aid of any one.

I asked unanimous consent to have the word "Democratic" stricken out, because I was delighted to see gentlemen on the other side of the House indicate a willingness to unite with us in the continued effort to lighten the burdens now borne by the tax-payers, and that is the only thing to which the resolution proposes to commit the House.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. It would spoil the resolution if that word were stricken out.

Mr. FARQUHAR. It would be like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

AMENDMENT OF REVISED STATUTES.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, introduced a bill (H. R. 11587) to amend sections 851, 856, 857, 858, 861, and 862 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the District of Columbia; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed.

BRIDGE ACROSS HUDSON RIVER.

Mr. FARQUHAR (by request) introduced a bill (H. R. 11588) authorizing the building of a bridge across the Hudson River, connecting the States of New York and New Jersey, and making it a post-route; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BUILDING AT EASTON, PA.

Mr. SOWDEN introduced a bill (H. R. 11589) for the erection of a public building at Easton, Pa.; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed.

LAND BOUNTY FOR SOLDIERS, ETC.

Mr. SOWDEN also introduced a bill (H. R. 11590) granting a bounty of 160 acres of land to all non-commissioned officers, private soldiers, and sailors who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, and to the heirs and legal representatives of those who were killed in battle or died while in the service; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on the Public Lands, and ordered to be printed.

PENSIONS.

Mr. SOWDEN also introduced a bill (H. R. 11591) granting a pension to all honorably discharged soldiers and sailors who served in the late war of the rebellion and who are mentally or physically disabled and dependent, either wholly or in part, upon charity for support; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SOWDEN also introduced a bill (H. R. 11592) providing for the payment of pensions to all honorably discharged soldiers and sailors who served in the military or naval service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, upon attaining the age of sixty-five years; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Mr. RICHARDSON introduced a bill (H. R. 11593) to provide additional accommodations for the Government Printing Office; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed.

TIME FOR MEETINGS OF CONGRESS.

Mr. WHEELER introduced a bill (H. R. 11594) to designate the time for the convening of Congress; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES.

The SPEAKER. The call of States and Territories for the introduction of bills and resolutions is now completed.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called by the Senate Committee on Pensions to the fact that upon the bill for the relief of Margaret S. Heintzelman, widow of General Heintzelman, the Chair appointed as conferees on the part of the House the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CHIPMAN] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. THOMPSON] and the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMPSON], neither of whom is now in the city. I call the attention of the Chair to this fact in order that other conferees may be appointed.

There is another case to which my attention has been directed by the same memorandum, sent to me by the Senate committee. Upon the bill with reference to the pension of the widow of General Kilpatrick the report of the committee of conference was agreed upon, but the gentlemen representing the House on that committee have left the city without filing the report. I bring up these questions as a matter of courtesy; I am not interested personally in either of the bills.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will take proper action in the cases referred to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the call of committees for motions to suspend the rules; but there is a motion pending made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. WARNER], which has priority, if insisted upon. The Chair thinks, however, that on the first Monday of this month, during the absence of the present occupant of the chair, a motion to suspend the rules was also made by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. DUNN], by consent, which motion is also pending. But if the gentleman from Missouri insists upon his motion, it has priority.

Mr. WARNER. The motion of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. DUNN] was withdrawn.

The SPEAKER. At any rate the motion of the gentleman from Missouri has priority. A second was demanded and no quorum voted. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. WARNER] has been appointed as one of the tellers, and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BARNES] not being present, the Chair will appoint in his place the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CLEMENTS].

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. OATES. I desire to offer the following resolution:

The SPEAKER. Is it privileged?

Mr. OATES. It is.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas the present session of Congress has continued longer than any other held in the history of the Government; and

Whereas there is much less than a quorum present in the Senate and House of Representatives, so that no legislation can be constitutionally enacted; and

Whereas there is no probability of a quorum being present in either of the said Houses of Congress during the time which the present session may by law continue: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session by adjourning their respective Houses on Wednesday the 17th day of October, at 12 o'clock m.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I desire the indulgence of the House while I say a few words in explanation of my action in offering the resolution at this time. I understand full well the difficulty of arriving at an agreement, both among Senators and Members of the House in respect to this matter of adjournment. It is well known to the whole country that there is not a quorum present in the House, and has not been for weeks. It is also known there is not a quorum present in the Senate. It is well known to every one that this House has been waiting the action of the Senate on the tariff bill, and that they have reported a substitute for the House bill, and have it under consideration. But at the same time we have not a sufficient number present legally and constitutionally to adopt a single amendment to it if the question is made, as in my judgment it ought to be made, on every important question when there is not a quorum present in either House.

It was certainly contemplated by the framers of the Constitution that at least a quorum should be present to do business, and when it is business of such an important character a quorum should pass upon it, and nothing less than a quorum.

I would ask the reference of this resolution to the Committee on Ways and Means, which is the usual course to take, but for the fact that it is known to all of us that there is not a quorum of that committee present. No committee of this House can muster a quorum of its members, and unless there be present a quorum of the committee they can not take any legal action upon it under the rules of the House. And in the absence of such a quorum the only thing to do is for every member to act for himself, or defer action on the matter until members of the majority can get together and hold a caucus and resolve on the subject.

I am perfectly willing it should take this course. I do not wish to force a vote on it. I know it is a question of privilege and if demanded gentlemen can have a vote on it now. I am not disposed to press it, but if the House or a considerable number of gentlemen want further time, either Members of the House or Senators, I am perfectly willing the resolution I have offered may lie upon the table to give such an opportunity.

Mr. LANHAM. The recital in the preamble of the gentleman's resolution discloses the fact there is neither a quorum in this House nor in the Senate. The question I desire to ask, Mr. Speaker, is whether under the rules of the House, and I presume it is the same under the rules governing the Senate, it is competent for the House without a quorum to pass a resolution to adjourn *sine die?*

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks not if the point is made.

Mr. LANHAM. The resolution declares in the preamble there is no quorum present.

Mr. MCMILLIN. That shows the impossibility of doing the thing which is proposed.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will cause the provision of the Constitution to be read.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. I hope the gentleman from Alabama will have unanimous consent of the House to withdraw the preamble of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will cause the Clerk to read that provision of the Constitution which prescribes what a less number than a quorum of either House may do.

The Clerk read as follows:

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

The SPEAKER. Less than a quorum, therefore, can do nothing except to adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members.

Mr. KILGORE. I take it, Mr. Speaker, that less than a quorum could adjourn, unless the point of no quorum is made.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has so stated, but the resolution itself recites in the preamble the fact that a quorum is not present.

Mr. KILGORE. I hardly think that is a part of the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama, the Chair understands, does not ask immediate action on the resolution.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I would suggest that the gentleman from

Alabama strike out the preamble of the resolution and let it be adopted now.

Mr. OATES. I have no objection whatever to striking it out, as it is only a part of the argument in support of the motion.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman desire an immediate vote upon the resolution?

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I would suggest to my friend from Alabama that he had better let this go over until to-morrow.

Mr. OATES. I have no objection. [Cries of "Vote!" "Vote!"]

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that the question of the final adjournment of the session is one that in the present state of the Senate, there being no quorum there, could only be accomplished in the absence of any objection that might require a quorum to pass the resolution. So far as the recitation of the preamble of the resolution is concerned, about the absence of a quorum in the House as well as at the other end of the Capitol, I think it is just to the House to say that it is known here and throughout the country that the House is simply waiting to give the Senate an opportunity to act upon the bill passed by the House for the reduction of taxation, a bill that we sent to that body some months ago. We are now and have at all times been ready to act. I think I would not eulogize this House too much were I to say that there is no day upon which it may become necessary that a quorum shall be present to pass a bill for the reduction of taxation that a quorum will not be found present ready to transact that legislation. The House has done its whole duty, and only waits to force the Senate to act.

Mr. LANHAM. Will the gentleman from Tennessee permit me to ask him if it has not been demonstrated beyond question to the satisfaction both of the House and the country that that bill will not pass at this session of Congress?

Mr. McMILLIN. That, of course, is a matter about which the record shows all that can be known, either by myself or the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LANHAM. Still I think it must be recognized that there is no prospect of reaching a conclusion upon the bill at this session.

Mr. McMILLIN. There were reasons satisfactory to the members of the Committee on Ways and Means which prevented the introduction of a resolution of this purport to-day. What they were is perhaps not properly a subject to present to the House at this time. I know the members around me will concur with me in this. I will content myself with the statement I have made, and let the House take such action upon the resolution as it may see proper.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks consent to let this resolution lie over until to-morrow. Is there objection?

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The tellers will take their places——

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Speaker, permit me a moment, as I wish to make a statement or suggestion in that connection. If there is any business that can be done in the House to-day, I do not want to stand in the way, because we know from past experience that this can not be seconded unless a quorum is present. Hence it would be taking up the time of the House unnecessarily in going through the form of counting by tellers. If, therefore, this bill can retain its present status——

The SPEAKER. It will retain its place.

Mr. WARNER. Then I do not wish to obstruct any other business that may be transacted. If there is anything else that can be transacted without the presence of a quorum, I do not object.

Mr. McRAE. If the gentleman will permit me, I would like to submit a little bill for consideration from the Committee on the Public Lands.

Mr. WARNER. Certainly; I yield for that purpose.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the next committee to be called is the Committee on Naval Affairs, then the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, after which the Committee on the Public Lands will be called.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio has announced that no legislation can be had and no business transacted in the absence of a quorum of the House; and in view of that fact, and for that reason only, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. McRAE. Will the gentleman permit me a moment? I do not think the gentleman from Ohio will object to this bill.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I adhere to the position I have taken.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio assents to the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee, and declines to withdraw his objection.

Mr. McMILLIN. I have no desire to intervene with this motion to defeat the passage of the bill which the gentleman from Arkansas desires to call up, or any other legislation, and only make the motion in view of the statement of the gentleman from Ohio, and because if the measure of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE] is called up, all further business of the House will be blocked by the gentleman from Ohio, as he has stated.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I wish to modify my statement to this extent, to say that I shall not object to a report from the Labor Committee.

Mr. McRAE. I would like to have the title of the bill read at least, and let the gentleman from Ohio state whether or not he will object to its consideration. It is a matter involving no appropriation. I am not personally interested in the matter. It pertains to Washington Territory, the Delegate being now absent——

Mr. WHEELER. And involves laboring men.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the Clerk will report the title.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 3475) granting the use of certain lands in Pierce County, Washington Territory, to the city of Tacoma for the purposes of a public park.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, as there is evidently no quorum, all we can do is adjourn, however much we desire to consider measures of other committees.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN], that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. McMILLIN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] desires to make a motion relative to a privileged matter, and I withdraw my motion temporarily to enable him to make that motion.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I entered a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill (S. 3620)—I think that is the number—relative to the electoral count was passed. I now move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The motion is pending.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I desire to make a motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

The SPEAKER. That motion was made, the Chair thinks, by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], and a vote was being taken by tellers.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I withdraw the demand for a further count.

The SPEAKER. Then the ayes have it, and the motion is laid on the table.

Mr. PLUMB. I wish to inquire whether it would be in order to proceed with the unfinished business.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] has moved that the House adjourn.

Mr. OATES. Before that motion is put, there was a question made on Friday last and not determined by the Chair that I would like to have disposed of. That was as to my right to print in the RECORD under a former order of the House some matter touching on the tariff, and whether it was competent for me to do it. I stated to the House that the matter I wished to publish was not of my own production, but was by an essayist.

The SPEAKER. That is a question for the House to determine, and not the Chair.

Mr. OATES. The question was whether the former order of the House was broad enough to cover the matter I desired to have printed.

The SPEAKER. The Chair can state his own recollection of the former order, and that is that there was an order allowing gentlemen to print remarks upon the subject of the tariff, or upon the bill commonly known as the Mills bill. The Chair supposes that gentlemen can incorporate in their remarks extracts from the writings of other parties.

Mr. OATES. The question is as to whether it could be done under the former order. I do not want to transgress the rules of the House. I understand that in printing speeches upon any subject, a member can incorporate in his speech whatever he deems proper.

The SPEAKER. That has been the practice; but the Chair would state that it is always under the control of the House. The House may decline to permit anything to be printed in the RECORD except what was actually spoken or read on the floor; and, therefore, the Chair thinks this is a question for the House alone, and not for the Chair.

Mr. OATES. I was calling the attention of the House to the fact that there is a continuing order allowing members to print remarks on this subject.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is aware of that.

Mr. OATES. Now, the question is whether I can adopt and print the substance of an essay as my remarks under that order of the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair, under the law and under the rules of the House, has no control whatever over the RECORD. It is the duty of the Chair simply to revise the Journal as kept by the Clerk of the House and see that it states correctly the proceedings of the body; but the RECORD itself is in the exclusive control of the House, and the Chair has no power at all to decide or to direct whether the matter shall or shall not be printed in the RECORD. If a gentleman prints in the RECORD, under an erroneous construction of an order made by the House, any matter that ought not to have gone into it the House has the power to strike it out; but the Chair has no power in advance to decide what matter can go into the RECORD.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] be given leave to print.

Mr. DINGLEY. I have no objection to that, provided I may also have the right to print a certain letter relating to foreign wages and the condition of foreign labor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY]?

Mr. MANSUR. I object. [Laughter.]

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KILGORE. I desire to ask the Chair whether the motion to adjourn *sine die* is not a privileged question?

The SPEAKER. It is.

Mr. KILGORE. And that a vote can be demanded at any time?

The SPEAKER. It can.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to give notice that a vote will be demanded on that to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. WASHINGTON. Pending that motion, I move that when the House adjourn to-day it be to meet on Wednesday.

Several MEMBERS. Oh, no!

Mr. PLUMB. I object.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. FARQUHAR. What is the status of the electoral-count bill, after to-day's proceedings?

The SPEAKER. It has passed both Houses, and the motion to reconsider has been laid on the table. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. WASHINGTON] moves that when the House adjourn to-day it be to meet on Wednesday.

Mr. PLUMB. I shall raise the point of order and will object to that motion.

Mr. WASHINGTON and others. You can vote it down.

The question was put; and the motion was not agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. MORRILL: A bill (H. R. 11595) for the relief of William McClain—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PLUMB: A bill (H. R. 11596) for the relief of Jane Johnson, widow of Moses Johnson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11597) for the relief of Eliza J. Preston, widow of Albert W. Preston—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 11598) for the relief of Jane Payden, widow of John Payden—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Change in the reference of a bill improperly referred was made in the following case, namely:

A bill (H. R. 11586) for the relief of Stephen Williams—from the Committee on War Claims to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. D. B. HENDERSON: Resolutions of the Grand Army of the Republic of Iowa, relative to head-stones for deceased soldiers—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. WASHINGTON: Petition of Eliza J. Ezell and of Mrs. M. B. Winbourn, of Davidson County, Tennessee, for reference of their claims to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, *October* 16, 1888.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* presented a petition adopted at a meeting of the Society of Friends in session at Lawrence, Kans., representing a membership of over 8,000 members, praying for the passage of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move to dispense with the call for the morning business.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. That can only be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask unanimous consent.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection——

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator allow me to present a memorial?

Mr. PASCO. I have a paper which I desire to present.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It requires unanimous consent to suspend the order of morning business.

Mr. COCKRELL. I yield for petitions.

Mr. PASCO. I present a paper relating to the claim of the successors in the interst of Messrs. Boyd and Monroe in aid of the petition of Mary E. Boyd, of Florida, in regard to certain land entries in Florida. I move the reference of this paper to the Committee on Claims, to which committee the petition has already been referred.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. FRYE (by request) presented the petition of Marion Guild Walport, of Washington, D. C., claiming that her family is of royal descent, that there is a conspiracy against them in which President Cleveland and foreign diplomats are implicated, and praying for an investigation of the facts; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. WILSON, of Maryland, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, submitted adverse reports thereon; which were agreed to, and the bills were postponed indefinitely:

A bill (S. 1120) to increase the pension of John L. Kirk; and

A bill (S. 2891) granting a pension to Mrs. N. H. Lambdin.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. EVARTS introduced a bill (S. 3637) granting an increase of pension to Amos Cross; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3638) granting a pension to George McCreedy; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3639) granting a pension to Magdalen Harper; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A. J. M'CREARY.

Mr. SPOONER. Before the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] left the city he requested me to call up during the session, stating that it was quite important, the bill (H. R. 7924) for the relief of A. J. McCreary, administrator of the estate of J. M. Hiatt, deceased, and for other purposes; and I have been requested by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], whose constituents are interested in it, to ask the Senate to consider the bill. It has been unanimously reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs, and I think it will only take a moment to pass it; but if the Senator from Missouri objects, I shall not insist upon it now.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not think we ought to commence passing bills this morning.

Mr. SPOONER. Very well.

Mr. COCKRELL. If there is no further morning business, I renew my request.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair will receive further morning business, if any be offered.

STEAM-PRESSES IN BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.

Mr. BLAIR. I desire to make an announcement, if the morning business is to be dispensed with. I am compelled to leave the city, and understand that a motion may be made to discharge the Committee on Finance from the further consideration of the House bill relating to the use of steam-presses in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. I desire to say that should such a motion be made, I hope it will prevail and that the bill may be passed, and my friend, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE], not now in the room, will please note that I desire him to vote on that question, as my vote accords with his own.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis.

The message also announced that the House had passed the Senate concurrent resolution to print the fourth annual report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the year 1887, with amendments in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore:*

A bill (S. 45) for the relief of Col. James C. Duane;

A bill (S. 307) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy;

A bill (S. 1137) for the relief of Adam L. Epley;

A bill (S. 1190) for the relief of the estate of Joseph Fenno, deceased;

A bill (S. 1494) to secure to the Cherokee freedmen and others their proportion of certain proceeds of lands under the act of March 3, 1883;

A bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas;

A bill (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary M. Ord;

A bill (S. 2802) to fix the number of unbound and bound Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives, and to provide for their distribution;

A bill (S. 3433) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the surrender of and cancel land-patents to Indians in certain cases;

A bill (S. 3559) to allow persons who have abandoned or relinquished

their homestead entries to make another entry, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 3597) to provide for the disposal of the Fort Wallace military reservation in Kansas;

A bill (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising thereon;"

A bill (H. R. 1239) to extend the jurisdiction of the Light-House Board to the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, California.

A bill (H. R. 1249) for establishing a light-house and fog-signal on Roe Island, Suisun Bay, California;

A bill (H. R. 1641) for the erection of a light-house at or near a point about midway between Barnegat and Navesink lights, in the State of New Jersey;

A bill (H. R. 2196) for the relief of S. T. Marshall;

A bill (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton with the rank and grade of major;

A bill (H. R. 5700) to facilitate the transportation of life-saving and light supplies at Hog Island, Virginia;

A bill (H. R. 6514) for the allowance of certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the United States Treasury Department;

A bill (H. R. 6619) for the relief of Eliza A. Cutler Jones;

A bill (H. R. 7421) for establishing a light off Pamlico Point, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 7547) granting the right of way to the Yankton and Missouri River Railway through the Yankton reservation in Dakota;

A bill (H. R. 7604) for the establishment of a light-house and fog-signal at or near Gull Shoal, Pamlico Sound, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 8674) for the relief of Sterling H. Tucker and others;

A bill (H. R. 8855) for the establishment of a light-ship with a steam fog-signal at Sandy Hook, New York Harbor;

A bill (H. R. 10183) to establish a light-ship off Great Round Shoal, near Nantucket, Mass.;

A bill (H. R. 11107) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the Fort Smith and Choctaw Bridge Company to construct a bridge across the Poteau River, in the Choctaw Nation, near Fort Smith, Ark.;"

A bill (H. R. 11581) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act;

Joint resolution (S. R. 59) authorizing Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird, United States Army, to accept from the President of the French Republic a diploma conferring the decoration of Commander of the National Order of the Legion of Honor; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 112) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Henry Lecomte, of Switzerland.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no further morning business that order is closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the tariff bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. TELLER. I desire to submit some remarks in reply partially to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] yesterday, and some remarks that will not perhaps be in the nature of a reply to what he said, and I desired to do so this morning; but I propose to wait until the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], who is entitled to the floor, and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], who desires to submit some remarks, conclude, and follow the Senator from Wisconsin, who, I understand, desires to leave the city this afternoon. When they are through, I shall ask the indulgence of the Senate to be heard.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, the question of taxation is by far the most important of all the many questions that have demanded the consideration and action of the Congress of the United States. It is a vital question with every organized government in the world; always has been and always will be such. No system of government can be administered without cost or expense. No cost or expense can be incurred and paid by any system of government without some source from which to derive the revenue or money to pay such cost or expense. No such revenue or money can be obtained by any government without some burden, some taxation, being imposed upon the subjects or citizens of such government directly or indirectly. Such burden, such taxation is the return or the equivalent borne or paid by such subject or citizen to his government for the rights, privileges, and immunities of his citizenship and the protection of his life, liberty, and property. In a perfect system of government every subject or citizen should contribute equally for the protection of his life and liberty, and in proportion to the property he possesses for the protection of such property.

In every system of government, the right and the power to determine the amount and objects of and to impose such burden, such taxation upon its citizens, must be vested in some department of such government.

Under our written Constitution such right and power are vested in Congress. Our Constitution requires "direct taxes" to—

be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed—

And declares that—

no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken—

And—

no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State—

And—

no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Section 8, of Article I, provides that—

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

The grammatical construction and true meaning of which clause, in my judgment, is that Congress has the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises in order to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

What are taxes, duties, imposts, and excises?

A tax is an excise, a duty, a custom, an impost, whatever is required by Government, national, State, municipal, and local, to be paid by the people for governmental use; a sum levied by government authority for public purposes. An excise is a tax imposed on commodities produced and consumed in our own country, and is usually called an internal or an internal-revenue tax.

A duty, a custom, an impost is a tax imposed on commodities imported from foreign countries; is a tariff tax.

What is the origin of the word "tariff?" Upon a promontory running out into the Straits of Gibraltar, at the southern point of Spain, is a fortress called "Tarifa," which commands the entrance and exit of the Mediterranean Sea. When the Moors were in possession they demanded, and having the power, exacted, of all vessels passing in or out of that sea a duty, a custom, an impost, a tax, or sum fixed according to the rates they prescribed on all commodities transported therein, and this duty, custom, tax, so levied and exacted, was called "Tarifa," or "Tariff."

The power to tax vested in Congress is not unlimited, not merely discretionary. Constitutions are made to limit, define, and restrain the powers of government.

Judge Thomas M. Cooley, in his work on Constitutional Limitations, well says:

Constitutionally a tax can have no other basis than the raising of revenues for public purposes, and whatever governmental exaction has not this basis is tyrannical and unlawful. A tax on imports, therefore, the purpose of which is not to raise revenue, but to discourage and indirectly prohibit some particular import for the benefit of some home manufacturer, may well be questioned as being merely colorable, and therefore not warranted by constitutional principles.

Mr. Justice Miller, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Loan Association *vs.* Topeka (20 Wallace Reports), most ably expounds the power and objects of taxation, and says:

The theory of our Government, State and national, is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power anywhere. The executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of these governments are all of limited and defined powers. * * * Of all the powers conferred upon government that of taxation is most liable to abuse. * * *

The power to tax is, therefore, the strongest, the most pervading of all the powers of government, reaching directly or indirectly to all classes of the people. It was said by Chief-Justice Marshall, in the case of McCulloch *vs.* The State of Maryland, that the power to tax is the power to destroy. A striking instance of the truth of the proposition is seen in the fact that the existing tax of 10 per cent. imposed by the United States on the circulation of all other banks than the national banks drove out of existence every State bank of circulation within a year or two after its passage. This power can as readily be employed against one class of individuals and in favor of another, so as to ruin the one class and give unlimited wealth and prosperity to the other, if there is no implied limitation of the uses for which the power may be exercised.

To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms.

Nor is it taxation. A "tax," says Webster's Dictionary, "is a rate or sum of money assessed on the person or property of a citizen by government for the use of the nation or State." Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes.

Coulter, J., in Northern Liberties *vs.* St. John's Church, says, very forcibly:

"I think the common mind has everywhere taken in the understanding that taxes are a public imposition, levied by authority of the Government for the purpose of carrying on the Government in all its machinery and operations—that they are imposed for a public purpose.

"We have established, we think, beyond cavil that there can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose.

"If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the inn-keeper, the banker, the builder, the steam-boat owner, are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town."

In order to determine intelligently the question of taxation now pend-

ing we must ascertain the exact condition of our Government financially, its indebtedness, its assets and liabilities, its revenues and their sources.

First. The total debt, including all kinds of obligations, on June 30, 1888, was $1,717,784,793.72, consisting of three classes of items, to wit: First, "debt bearing no interest," $688,350,21 .32; second, "debt on which interest has ceased since maturity," $2,664,363.12; third, "interest-bearing debt," principal and accrued interest, $1,026,770,217.28.

The first class of items includes $56,807.50 of "old demand notes" outstanding; $346,681,016 of United States or legal-tender notes or greenbacks, used as money, never to be redeemed or reduced I hope till every dollar of interest-bearing debt has been paid; $14,415,000 of certificates of deposit, for which an equivalent amount has been deposited in the Treasury; $119,887,370 of gold certificates and $200,387,376 of silver certificates, for both of which an equal amount of gold coin and bullion and silver dollars has been deposited and is now in the Treasury, and $6,922,643.82 of fractional currency, being the estimated amount outstanding and undestroyed.

The second class of items, "debt on which interest has ceased since maturity," includes thirty different kinds of obligations, issued at sundry times since the organization of the Government, which have never been presented for redemption or payment and may never be.

The third class of items, "interest-bearing debt," includes $11,624,-205.28 of accrued unpaid interest and $1,015,146,012 of principal bearing interest, consisting of $222,207,050 of "funded loan of 1891" bearing 4½ per cent. interest, redeemable or payable September 1, 1891; and of $714,177,400 of "funded loan of 1907," bearing 4 per cent. interest, redeemable or payable July 1, 1907; and of $138,050 of "refund certificates," bearing 4 per cent. interest, fundable in the 4 per cent. bonds of the "funded loan of 1907," and redeemable July 1, 1907; and of $64,623,512 of Pacific Railroad bonds bearing 6 per cent. and redeemable at different dates from January 16, 1895, to January 1, 1899; and of $14,000,000 of "Navy pension fund," bearing 3 per cent. interest, being simply a fund for Navy pensioners, the amount of 3 per cent. interest on which is appropriated to pay Navy pensions, and will probably never be extinguished. This sum should not be considered as an interest-bearing obligation to be paid. Excluding the "Navy pension fund" and the accrued unpaid interest, we had on June 30, 1888, an interest-bearing debt of $1,001,146,012, principal payable as above stated.

Second. The aggregate assets, cash in the Treasury on June 30, 1888, amounted to $714,033,484.77, consisting of—

Gold coin and bullion	$313,753,616.89
Silver dollars and bullion	248,022,218.54
United States notes or legal tenders	52,398,204.07
Trade-dollar bullion, national-bank notes, and funds in depositories	66,739,903.45
Paid bonds, coupons, etc	185,384.97
National-bank notes in process of redemption	6,770,380.08
Minor and fractional silver coin	26,163,776.77

The aggregate liabilities of the Treasury were $584,649,243.29, consisting of the following items:

Outstanding gold certificates	$119,887,330.00
Outstanding silver certificates	200,387,376.00
Outstanding certificates for United States notes	14,415,000.00
Held to pay matured debt, interest, etc	14,289,926.37
Held for redemption of United States notes or legal tenders	100,000,000.00
Held for redeeming national-bank notes "failed," "in liquidation," etc	98,929,571.27
Held to meet current liabilities, checks, etc	36,739,999.65

Deducting the aggregate liabilities from assets we had $129,384,-241.48 cash in the Treasury, June 30, 1888.

Of this sum there were $112,035.58 in minor coins—1, 2, and 3 cent pieces—and $26,051,741.19 in fractional or subsidiary silver coins, accumulated under act of June 9, 1879, which made such coins and United States notes interchangeable in sums of $20 or any multiple and such coins a legal tender in sums not exceeding $10.

Deducting the minor and fractional silver coin we had on June 30, 1888, a net surplus of cash in the Treasury of $103,220,464.17, and on September 30 we had an aggregate surplus of $121,290,666.06, and, deducting minor coin and fractional silver coin, a net surplus of cash of $96,444,845.84.

We have not a dollar of interest-bearing debt either redeemable or payable prior to September 1, 1891, and the surplus now existing and sure to accrue during fiscal year 1889 would be sufficient to extinguish the debt maturing in 1891, and then we would have no debt redeemable or payable till July 1, 1907.

This condition, this congestion of the Treasury has not arisen suddenly from unforeseen causes, but from causes long foreseen and understood, as I will clearly prove.

On the 31st of August, 1865, the public debt reached the highest point, and was made up of the following items, to wit:

Funded debt	$1,109,568,191.80
Matured debt	1,503,020.09
Temporary loans	107,148,713.16
Certificates of indebtedness	85,093,000.00
Five per cent. legal-tender notes	33,954,230.00
Compound interest legal-tender notes	217,024,160.00
Seven-thirty notes	830,000,000.00
United States legal-tenders	433,160,569.00
Fractional currency	26,344,742.51
Suspended requisitions uncalled for	2,111,000.00
Total	2,845,907,626.56

Of these obligations, $684,138,949 were a legal tender, not counting the fractional currency also circulating as money.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1866, for the first time since 1860, we had a surplus in the Treasury, after paying all net ordinary expenditures, including interest on public debt and premiums, of $37,-223,203.07, and during each of the fiscal years since we have had a surplus. The aggregate amount of the surplus for the years 1866 to 1888, both inclusive, is $1,603,187,227.75.

The surplus in 1870 was over one hundred and one millions, in 1880 over sixty-five millions, in 1881 over one hundred millions, in 1882 over one hundred and forty-five millions, in 1883 over one hundred and thirty-two millions, in 1884 over one hundred and four millions, in 1885 over sixty-three millions, in 1886 over ninety-three millions, in 1887 over one hundred and three millions, and in 1888 over one hundred and three millions. These sums remained after paying all interest and other net ordinary expenses.

During these twenty-three years, from July 1, 1865, to June 30, 1888, being the fiscal years 1866 to 1888, both inclusive, we have paid from the Treasury of the United States—

Principal of bonds or funded debt	$1,199,970,200.00
Principal of other obligations, such as temporary loans, 5 per cent. compound interest, and United States legal-tender and 7.30 Treasury notes, etc	403,217,027.75
Interest on public debt	2,197,803,200.41
Net ordinary expenses, exclusive of interest	4,447,676,414.52
Aggregate payments	8,248,666,842.68

Third. Enormous revenues, with prolific sources, were essential to enable the Government to collect and expend this bewildering amount in twenty-three years.

These vast amounts have been received into the Treasury during said period from taxes imposed by our laws upon and collected from the people, in sums and from sources, as follows:

Customs or tariff taxes	$4,197,588,329.33
Internal-revenue taxes	3,313,462,178.35
Direct taxes	10,430,595.43
Sales of public lands	83,302,504.71
Premiums on loans and sales of gold coin	169,265,420.90
Other miscellaneous sources	474,617,813.96
Aggregate receipts	8,248,666,842.68

During these twenty-three years the people of the United States, the toiling masses, have paid in taxes imposed by the tariff laws upon the numerous articles of imported merchandise consumed and used by them the vast sum of $4,197,588,329.33, which has actually been received into the Treasury. They have also paid into the Treasury in taxes imposed by the internal revenue laws upon the taxable articles they have used the sum of $3,313,462,178.35. Of this sum the taxes on "distilled spirits" yielded $1,273,639,807.06; on fermented liquors, $273,616,446.33; on manufactured tobacco, $755,552,749.18; and on all other sources under said laws, $1,011,356,303.80.

We will receive no more revenue from the two sources of "direct taxes" and "premiums on loans and sales of gold coin."

The revenues for the fiscal year 1888 were:

Customs or tariff taxes	$219,091,173.63
Internal-revenue taxes	124,296,871.98
Sales of public lands	11,202,017.23
Other miscellaneous items	24,674,446.10
Direct taxes	1,565.82
Total revenue for 1888	379,266,074.76

In the probable event of a change in the public land laws by reserving such lands for actual homestead settlers the revenue from that source may greatly diminish, if not entirely cease. There will be no more revenue from direct taxes. The revenues from "other miscellaneous items" vary from year to year, and may continue at from fifteen to twenty-five million dollars annually.

The two main sources of revenue are the customs or tariff and the internal revenue, and will, with reasonable certainty, continue to yield sums of net revenue equal to or even greater than the sums yielded the past year. The surplus must therefore continue to accumulate in the Treasury as long as the existing tariff and internal-revenue laws remain unchanged and the people are able to purchase the articles so taxed.

With this condition of an idle, demoralizing surplus now in the Treasury, and the reasonable certainty of its continued increase under existing laws, what is the wisest and best remedy for relieving the Treasury?

This is the great, vital question, overshadowing all others in its magnitude and demanding the most serious, painstaking thought and laborious efforts of every patriot, tax-payer, and voter.

Three remedies, and only three, are apparently available.

First. To pay out the surplus in the purchase of the interest-bearing debt at whatever premium the holders of the funded bonds may have the conscience to ask, and also in the redemption and absolute retirement of the United States legal-tender notes or greenbacks.

This would only give temporary relief; for the existing and the reasonably certain surplus for the next ten or eleven years would purchase and extinguish the funded debt and, in two or three years more, redeem and absolutely retire the greenbacks, and then we would have no debt of any kind.

This is neither a wise nor judicious remedy and only a *dernier ressort* for temporary relief.

Second. Larger expenditures, extravagant, generous, liberal appropriations, to be made by Congress for objects and purposes other than those necessary for a wise, judicious, and economical administration of our Government, so that the annual appropriations shall equal total receipts from taxation.

This proposal, in my judgment, would not be a remedy for any condition of the Treasury, but would be a crime, and nothing less, committed by the agents and representatives of the people—the tax-payers—which should relegate to private life every Representative and Senator who supports such policy.

Third. A change in the existing laws, imposing the internal-revenue and customs or tariff taxes so as to reduce the amount of such taxes collectible from the consumers of the articles taxed under such laws to the amount actually required to pay the expenses of the Government economically administered, and to make the annual receipts from such taxes equal to the expenses of the Government.

This seems to me to be the only wise and just remedy against surplus revenues arising from taxes imposed by law upon the people.

What have been the policies of the Republican and Democratic parties touching the accumulating surplus and the remedies therefor?

The Republican party had a two-thirds majority in the House and Senate from July 1, 1865, to March 4, 1869, and could pass any party measure over the veto of President Johnson. From March 4, 1869, to March 4, 1875, the beginning of the Forty-fourth Congress, that party had the complete control of the Government in all the three branches—executive, legislative, and judicial. From March 4, 1875, to March 4, 1885, it had complete control of the executive department—the President, Cabinet, and all appointive officers—and the President, by his veto, could defeat any inimical measure of Congress. From 1865 to date that party has had and now has control of the Senate, excepting only that from March 4, 1879, to March 4, 1881, during the Forty-sixth Congress, the Democratic party had control of the Senate. During the Forty-seventh Congress, from March 4, 1881, to March 4, 1883, the Republican party had control of both Senate and House. From March 4, 1875, to March 4, 1879, during the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses, the Democratic party had control of the House, and from March 4, 1879, to March 4, 1881, during the Forty-sixth Congress, had control of both the Senate and House. From March 4, 1883, to date, the Democratic party has had control of the House. And from March 4, 1885, to date, has also had control of the executive department.

To ascertain what has heretofore been the policy of the Republican party in regard to the continuously accumulating surplus, we will examine the official records of the Republican executive administration from 1865 to March 4, 1885. The Treasury Department is specially charged by the laws with the administration of the finances—taxation, revenue, etc. The Secretary of the Treasury is required by law to submit to Congress, annually, a finance report showing the receipts and expenditures of the revenues, with such recommendations as he may deem proper for the consideration of Congress. Hon. Hugh McCulloch, a distinguished Republican statesman and financier, was Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, from March 7, 1865, to March 4, 1869, and in his finance report for 1866, says:

A further diminution of internal taxes and a modification of the tariff, which will doubtless lead to a reduction of customs duties on many articles, will be required in order that production may be increased and new life infused into certain branches of industry that are now languishing under the burdens which have been imposed upon them.

And recommended:

Third. In a careful revision of the tariff for the purpose of harmonizing it with our internal taxes, removing the oppressive burdens now imposed upon certain branches of industry, and relieving altogether or greatly relieving raw materials from taxes, in order that the product of labor may be enhanced and the production and exportation increased.

And in his instructions to Hon. David A. Wells, special commissioner of the revenue, touching the preparation of a system of taxation, said:

You will therefore endeavor, first, to secure for the Government a revenue commensurate with its necessities, and, secondly, to propose such modifications of the tariff laws now in force as will better adjust and equalize the duties upon foreign imports with the internal taxes upon home productions. If this last result can be obtained without detriment to the revenue by reducing taxation upon raw materials and the machinery of home productions rather than by increasing the rates of imports, it would, in my opinion, by decreasing the cost of production and increasing the purchasing power of wages, greatly promote the interests of the whole country.

And said in his recommendation to Congress:

The Secretary does not, as before stated, intend to discuss it, but he ventures to suggest that the following general principles, some of which have been acted upon by Congress, and the correctness of all of which have been proved by other nations, may be safely adopted as a guide to the legislation that is now required:

First. That the fewest number of articles, consistent with the amount of the revenue to be raised, should be subject to internal taxes, in order that the system may be simple in its execution and as little offensive and annoying as possible to the tax-payers.

Second. That the duties upon imported commodities should correspond and harmonize with the taxes upon home productions, and that these duties should not be so high as to be prohibitory, nor to build up home monopolies, nor to prevent the free exchange of commodities which is the life of commerce. Nor, on the other hand, should they be so low as to seriously impair the revenues, nor to subject the home manufacturers, burdened with heavy internal taxes, to a competition with cheaper labor and larger capital which they may be unable to sustain.

Third. That the raw materials used in building and manufacturing, and which are to be largely enhanced in value by the labor which is to be expended upon them, should be exempted from taxation, or that the taxes upon them should be low in comparison with the taxes upon other articles. This is the policy of other enlightened nations, and it is believed that the diminution of direct revenue which it would involve, if adopted by the United States, would be more than made up by the augmented value which it would give to labor and by the increase of productions and exports which would be sure to result from it. It should be constantly borne in mind that taxes upon raw materials directly increase the cost of production, and thus tend either to reduce the product of labor or to prevent exportations to foreign markets.

Fourth. That the burdens of taxes should fall chiefly upon those whose interests are protected by taxation and upon those to whom the public debt is a source of wealth and profit, and lightly upon the laboring classes, to whom taxation and the debt are without so many compensatory advantages.

And in his finance report for 1867, said:

Inasmuch as large and permanent revenues can not be realized unless laws are so framed as not to bear heavily upon the industrial pursuits, a tariff which, harmonizing with internal taxes, should year by year yield the largest revenues, would undoubtedly prove to be the least prejudicial to national growth and prosperity.

And in his finance report for 1868, when it was uncertain whether too large a reduction of the internal-revenue taxes might have been made, said:

The Secretary does not doubt, however, that the best interests of the country will be subserved by a reduction of the tariff and an increase of excise duties.

Hon. George S. Boutwell, a distinguished Republican from Massachusetts, was Secretary of the Treasury from March 11, 1869, to March 16, 1873, and in his finance report for 1869, in discussing the revenue question and speaking of its unexpected success, said:

We shall then be in a condition to enter upon the work of reducing taxation at the commencement of the next session of Congress.

And in his finance report for 1870 said:

The financial prospect, although highly favorable, is not such as to warrant important changes in the revenue system at the present session of Congress; but should the result during the coming year meet my expectations, it will be possible at the December session of the Forty-second Congress to make a very material reduction in the revenues without impairing the ability of the Government to make satisfactory payments of the public debt.

And in his finance report for 1871 said:

It is practicable to dispense with all revenue from internal sources except that derived from stamps, spirits, tobacco, and malt liquors.

And in speaking of reduction of the customs duties, said:

In this view, I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the reduction of the duties on salt to the extent of 50 per cent.; the duty on bituminous coal to 50 cents per ton; the reduction of the duty on raw hides and skins; and the removal of all duties from a large class of articles produced in other countries, which enter into the arts and manufactures of this country, and which are not produced in the United States, and the revenue from which is inconsiderable. Such a list, with the revenue derived from each article, is in course of preparation, and will be submitted to Congress. * * * While nothing, as the consequence of legislation, could be more disastrous to the public prosperity than a policy which should destroy or seriously disturb the manufacturing interest of the country, it is still possible, by wise and moderate changes adapted to the condition of business and labor, to reduce the rates of duties with benefit to every class of people.

And in his finance report for 1872, said:

Anticipating a condition of peace, we may also anticipate a general reduction in the percentage of customs duties. This reduction, however, should not be measured solely by the wants of the Treasury; but regard should be had also to the condition of the various branches of industry in which the people are engaged. In presence of the fact that the leading pursuits of the country are stronger than ever before in the possession of adequate capital and a supply of intelligent laborers, there may be a moderate reduction from time to time in the rate of duties, as the diminishing expenses of the Government shall permit, without either alarming capital or injuring labor.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, the most distinguished financier in the Republican party and the ablest, and a statesman of unquestioned ability, varied attainments, and long experience, was Secretary of the Treasury from March 9, 1877, to March 4, 1881, and in his finance report for 1878, said:

The needs of the public service require that no reduction of internal-revenue taxes be made. The commodities from which the internal revenue is mostly collected, namely, spirits, tobacco, fermented liquors, and stamps, are those which properly bear the burden of the tax, and the present rates are, in the main, equitable and satisfactory; and to them the trade in those commodities has become adjusted. Any change in these rates, or agitation of change, disturbs the course of business, and is prejudicial both to dealers and the revenue. Stability in the rates of taxation is, in view of the present condition of the country, especially desirable.

And in his finance report for 1879, in discussing the internal-revenue taxes, said:

The very large proportion of the revenue derived from those sources is of itself an argument for the stability of the rates of taxation upon them. If the proportion were small, fluctuation in the rates of taxation would be of less consequence. * * * The demand for change of rates does not originate with the consumers, who pay the greater part of the tax, but chiefly with those who seek an enhancement of profit on the capital invested in the manufacture.

And in his finance report for 1880, said:

If it should be determined by Congress to reduce taxes, it is respectfully recommended that all the taxes imposed by the internal-revenue law, other than those on bank-circulation and on spirits, tobacco, and fermented liquors, be repealed.

And further said:

The Secretary can not too strongly urge the importance of stability in the rates imposed on spirits, tobacco, and fermented liquors. These articles are regarded by all governments as proper objects of taxation. Any reduction in the rates imposes a heavy loss to the owner of the stock on hand, while an increase operates as a bounty to such owner. When the rate is fixed the trade adapts itself to it. A change disturbs the collection of the tax and the manufacture of the article. As already suggested, the time is opportune for reducing the subjects of internal taxation to the articles named and the taxes on circulating notes of banks.

Hon. Charles J. Folger, a distinguished Republican statesman and jurist from New York, was Secretary of the Treasury from November 14, 1881, to his death, on September 4, 1884; and in his finance report for 1881 said:

Meanwhile the daily receipts from the community by the Treasury continue, the surplus over its needs increases, and money lies idle. It seems that the plan most just for giving relief is to reduce taxation, and thereby diminish receipts and surplus.

* * * And is it a beneficial exercise of governmental power to raise money by taxation in greater sums than the lawful demands upon the Government require, when those demands are of themselves a heavy burden upon the industry and business of the country?

And in speaking of the amount of taxes derived from spirits, tobacco, and fermented liquors, said:

The tax on these articles is a tax on appetite or indulgences, legitimate subjects of taxation when taxation is needful. A reduction of that tax is not recommended.

And in his finance report for 1882, said:

I respectfully refer to my last report for my views upon this subject. They have not materially changed. Now, as then, it is recommended to retain a tax on spirits, tobacco, and fermented liquors, as legitimate subjects of needful taxation. They are, in the main, the means of indulgence, and should come before necessaries as subjects of taxation. * * * Propositions have recently been made to abolish the whole sytem of internal revenue, but neither public sentiment nor political action indicates a desire on the part of the tax-paying citizens to strike out this class of taxes.

To complete an effectual reduction of taxation it must be made on some principal source of revenue, and such an one is the duties on imports collected under the tariff laws, and an additional obvious method of avoiding a surplus in the Treasury is a reduction of the revenues from those.

He further said:

In reading the testimony before the Tariff Commission it is to be observed that with scarcely an exception the representative of every industry, while conceding that a general reduction of the tariff is proper and necessary, has claimed that its peculiar product can submit to no reduction of the protection now afforded.

He further said:

* * * The classes of merchandise paying the largest amount of duties from customs are the following, in the order named: Sugar and molasses, wool and manufactures from it, iron and steel and the manufactures from them, manufactures of silk, manufactures of cotton, amounting to about one hundred and thirty-seven and a half millions. A substantial reduction upon each of the classes of articles named is recommended. And it is believed that the time has arrived when a reduction of duties on nearly all the articles in our tariff is demanded and is feasible.

And in his finance report for 1883, made after the passage of the present tariff law, he said:

That there is likely to be a continuing surplus in the Treasury over the ordinary expenses of the Government, so long as the present revenue laws remain, is seen by those attentive to fiscal affairs.

He further said:

In the recommendations of the President and those of this Department, and the action of Congress, and in the expression of public opinion, there has been substantial concord as to how the needed reduction of the revenue should be brought about. It has been generally conceded that the internal-revenue taxes, except those upon spirits, fermented liquors, and upon the circulation of banks, might well be abolished.

There has been difference whether the tax upon tobacco should be abolished or modified. There were but few advocates of the immediate total abolition of taxes upon spirits or fermented liquors. My last report said that taxes upon spirits and tobacco, being upon things not needful, should be retained rather than those upon the common necessaries of life; which as a proposition is not to be controverted.

But it was conceded by all that a substantial reduction should be made upon nearly all imported articles subject to duties.

To make a start in the proposed reduction of revenue from imports, the Tariff Commission had been created. In good faith it undertook the work. * * *

He further said:

* * * On the whole, then, this Department does not recommend an immediate revision of the tariff act. It adheres, however, to its conviction, that ultimately the just and expedient method of relief from taxation and of limiting the revenues to the needs of an economical government must be found in a reduction of the duties on imports.

He further said:

Propositions are made to repeal the whole system of internal revenue. As to this, I repeat my remark of last year: I see no public sentiment or political action, indicating a desire on the part of tax-paying citizens to strike out this class of taxes.

Hon. Hugh McCulloch was again Secretary of the Treasury from the 28th day of October, 1884, to the incoming of the present Democratic Executive, and in his finance report for 1884, touching the necessity for a reduction of import duties, says:

First. That the existing duties upon raw materials which are to be used in manufacture should be removed. This can be done in the interest of our foreign trade.

Second. That the duties upon articles used or consumed by those who are the least able to bear the burden of taxation should be reduced. This also can be effected without prejudice to export trade.

The tax upon whisky could not be repealed without a disregard of public sentiment nor without creating a necessity for higher duties upon imported goods; but while this is true the tax upon the alcohol used in manufacturing might be removed with decided benefit to home industry and foreign trade.

Now consider the official records of the Republican Presidents in their messages to Congress. President Grant in his first annual message of December 6, 1869, said:

The subject of tariff and internal taxation will necessarily receive your attention. The revenues of the country are greater than the requirements and may with safety be reduced. But as the funding of the debt in a 4 or 4½ per cent. loan would reduce annual current expenses largely, thus, after funding, justifying a greater reduction of taxation than would now be expedient, I suggest postponement of this question until the next meeting of Congress.

In his second annual message, December 5, 1870, he said:

With the revenue stamp dispensed by postmasters in every community, a tax upon liquors of all sorts and tobacco in all forms, and by a wise adjustment of the tariff which will put a duty only upon those articles which we could dispense with, known as luxuries, and on those which we use more of than we produce, revenue enough may be raised, after a few years of peace and consequent reduction of indebtedness, to fulfill all our obligations. * * * The necessities of the country compel us to collect revenue from our imports. An army of assessors and collectors is not a pleasant sight to the citizen, but that or a tariff for revenue is necessary.

In his third annual message, December 4, 1871, he said:

I therefore recommend a modification of both the tariff and internal-tax laws. I recommend that all taxes from internal sources be abolished, except those collected from spirituous, vinous, and malt liquors, tobacco in its various forms, and from stamps.

In readjusting the tariff I suggest that a careful estimate be made of the amount of surplus revenue collected under the present laws, after providing for the current expenses, etc., * * * and that this surplus be reduced in such a manner as to afford the greatest relief to the greatest number. There are many articles not produced at home, but which enter largely into general consumption, through articles which are manufactured at home, such as medicines compounded, etc., from which very little revenue is derived but which enter into general use. All such articles I recommend to be placed on the free-list.

And in his annual message of December 7, 1874, said:

I would suggest to Congress the propriety of readjusting the tariff so as to increase the revenue and at the same time decrease the number of articles upon which the duties are levied. Those articles which enter into our manufactures, and are not produced at home, it seems to me, should be entered free. Those articles of manufacture which we produce a constituent part of, but do not produce the whole, that part which we do not produce should be entered free also.

I will instance fine wools, dyes, etc. These articles must be imported to form a part of the manufacture of the highest grades of woolen goods.

Chemicals used as dyes, compounded in medicines, and used in various ways in manufactures come under this class. The introduction, free of duty, of such wools as we do not produce would stimulate the manufacture of goods requiring the use of those we do not produce, and therefore would be a benefit to home production. There are many articles entering into "home manufactures" which we do not produce ourselves the tariff upon which increases the cost of producing the manufactured article. All the corrections in this regard are in the direction of bringing labor and capital in harmony with each other, and of supplying one of the elements of prosperity so much needed.

In his annual message in December, 1875, in speaking of the articles which should be entered free, he said:

I would mention those articles which enter into manufactures of all sorts. All duty paid upon such articles goes directly to the cost of the article when manufactured here, and must be paid for by the consumer. These duties not only come from the consumers at home, but act as a protection to foreign manufacturers in our own and distant markets.

President Arthur, in his first annual message of December 6, 1881, said:

In view of the heavy load of taxation which our people have already borne, we may well consider whether it is not the part of wisdom to reduce the revenues, even if we delay a little the payment of the debt. It seems to me that the time has arrived when the people may justly demand some relief from their present onerous burden, and that by due economy in the various branches of the public service this may readily be afforded. I therefore concur with the Secretary in recommending the abolition of all internal-revenue taxes except those upon tobacco in its various forms and upon distilled spirits and fermented liquors, and except also the special tax upon manufacturers of and dealers in such articles. * * *

If a careful revision can not be made at this session, a commission such as was lately approved by the Senate, and is now recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, would doubtless lighten the labors of Congress whenever this subject shall be brought to its consideration.

In his second annual message of December 4, 1882, he said:

It will be remembered that I urged upon Congress at its last session the importance of relieving the industry and enterprise of the country from the pressure of unnecessary taxation. It is one of the tritest maxims of political economy that all taxes are burdensome, however wisely and prudently imposed.

And though there have always been among our people wide differences of sentiment as to the best methods of raising national revenues, and indeed as to the principles upon which taxation should be based, there has been substantial accord in the doctrine that only such taxes ought to be levied as are necessary for a wise and economical administration of the Government. * * *

Either the surplus must lie idle in the Treasury or the Government will be forced to buy at market rates its bonds not then redeemable, which under such circumstances can not fail to command an enormous premium, or the swollen revenues will be devoted to extravagant expenditures, which, as experience has taught, is ever the bane of an overflowing Treasury. It was made apparent in the course of the animated discussions which this question aroused at the last session of Congress, that the policy of diminishing the revenue by reducing taxation commanded the general approval of the members of both Houses. * * *

The present tariff system is in many respects unjust. It makes unequal distributions both of its burdens and its benefits. This fact was practically recognized by a majority of each House of Congress in the passage of the act creating the Tariff Commission. * * * If the tax on domestic spirits is to be retained it is plain, therefore, that large reductions from the customs revenues are entirely feasible.

It must be remembered that these recommendations of President Arthur were made to the Forty-seventh Congress, Republican in both Senate and House. The Tariff Commission, created by the act of May 15, 1882, and composed largely of Republicans, made its report to the House on December 4, 1882, and the so-called tariff act of March 3, 1883, entitled "An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes," was passed by that Republican Congress.

President Arthur, in his first message thereafter, on December 4, 1883, said:

Hitherto the surplus as rapidly as it has accumulated has been devoted to the reduction of the national debt.

As a result, the only bonds now outstanding which are redeemable at the pleasure of the Government are the 3 percents, amounting to about $305,000,000. The 4½ percents, amounting to $250,000,000, and the $737,000,000 4 percents are not payable until 1891 and 1907, respectively. * * * There are cogent reasons, however, why the national indebtedness should not be thus rapidly extinguished. Chief among them is the fact that only by excessive taxation is such rapidity attainable.

In his last message, on December 1, 1884, he said:

Our system of tax and tariff legislation is yielding a revenue which is in excess of the present needs of the Government. These are the elements from which it is sought to devise a scheme by which, without unfavorably changing the condition of the workingman, our merchant marine shall be raised from its enfeebled condition, and new markets provided for the sale beyond our borders of the manifold fruits of our industrial enterprises. The problem is complex and can be solved by no single measure of innovation or reform.

The countries of the American continent and the adjacent islands are, for the United States, the natural marts of supply and demand. * * * It is by no means desirable, however, that the policy under consideration should be applied to these countries alone. The healthful enlargement of our trade with Europe, Asia, and Africa should be sought by reducing tariff burdens on such of their wares as neither we nor the other American states are fitted to produce, and thus enabling ourselves to obtain in return a better market for our supplies of food, of raw materials, and of the manufactures in which we excel.

It seems to me that many of the embarrassing elements in the great national conflict between protection and free trade may thus be turned to good account; that the revenue may be reduced so as no longer to overtax the people; that protective duties may be retained without becoming burdensome; that our shipping may be judiciously encouraged; the currency fixed on firm basis; and, above all, such a unity of interests established among the states of the American system as will be of great and ever-increasing advantage to them all.

Now examine the policies as declared in the national Republican platforms.

The national Republican convention at Chicago, in May, 1868, which nominated General Grant, declared in its fourth plank:

Fourth. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

The convention in 1872, which renominated General Grant, in the seventh plank declared:

Seventh. The annual revenue after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal; and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

The convention which nominated Mr. Hayes in 1876 in eighth plank declared:

Eighth. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

The convention which nominated General Garfield in 1880, in Chicago, in fifth plank declared:

Fifth. We affirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor.

The convention which in 1884 nominated Mr. Blaine declared in fourth, fifth, and sixth planks:

Fourth. * * * We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duty shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor as well as capital may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Fifth. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our most earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

Sixth. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminating process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great protective industries of the country.

In order to make no mistake as to the declared policy of the Republican party, examine the declarations of some of the leading Republican States in their State platforms, and some other States.

The Republican party of Illinois in State convention, September 20, 1871, declared in third and fourth planks:

Third. That as it will be necessary and desirable to obtain from duties on imports a large portion of the revenue needed to defray the expenses of the Government, to pay the interest on the national debt, and the principal as it matures, such duties should be so adjusted as not to prejudice, but promote the interests of every section and branch of industry as far as may be possible.

Fourth. That the large surplus remaining in the national Treasury after the payment of all the expenses of the Government, including the interest on its public debt, calls for a still further reduction of the public burdens, and that in effecting that reduction regard should be had to relief from that species of taxation which, while it adds but slightly to the revenue of the country, taxes heavily its labor and productive interests; and we heartily approve the bills repealing the duty on coal and salt which have already passed the House of Representatives.

The Republicans of Illinois, in State convention, May 22, 1872, in seventh and eighth planks, declared:

Seventh. That the necessities of the Government require so large a tariff upon importation that the question of free trade is not one now before the American people. The only question left is how to so adjust the tariff that it will most promote the labor industry and general welfare of the country without being oppressive to any interests of society, and we know of no better way to dispose of this subject than that adopted by the Republican party in Congress—to learn wisdom by experience, reduce taxation as fast as possible, and remove unnecessary burdens upon the necessities of life.

Eighth. That in adjusting the details of a system for raising a revenue to cover the necessary requirements of the Government, and meet its liabilities, care should be taken to so regulate the imports that they will press least upon the growing industries of the country, cheapen the necessaries of life, and afford to labor the fairest promise of permanent reward.

Illinois Republicans, in their State platform, on June 28, 1882, declared:

Fifth. That the Republican party now, as in the past, is in favor of such just laws as shall protect the agriculturist, the manufacturer, and the workingman from the oppression of monopolists.

Republicans of Indiana, February 22, 1870, in fifth plank, declared:

Fifth. That a reduction of taxation is demanded both of tariff and internal taxes, until it reaches the lowest amount consistent with the credit and necessities of the Government; and that we are in favor of a tariff for revenue, believing that a proper adjustment of duties must necessarily afford all the incidental protection to which any interest is entitled.

And in their State convention of February 22, 1876, further declared:

Eleventh. Taxes should give the greatest possible exemption to necessities, and be placed more heavily upon the luxuries and wealth of the country.

The Republicans of Ohio, in their State convention of June 2, 1875, declared:

Third. We are in favor of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection to American industry.

And in their State convention of March, 1876, in their sixth plank, again declared:

Sixth. We are in favor of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection to American industry.

And in their State convention of June 12, 1878, declared:

A tariff for revenue should be maintained and so adjusted as to secure incidental protection to home industry.

The Republicans of Iowa, in State convention, August 17, 1871, declared in third plank:

Third. That a tariff for revenue is indispensable and should be so adjusted as not to become prejudicial to the industrial interests of any class or section of the country, while securing to our home producers fair competition with foreign capital and labor.

And in their State convention of June 19, 1878, declared:

Tenth. A tariff wisely adjusted for revenue.

The Republicans of Wisconsin, in State convention, on August 31, 1871, declared in fifth plank:

Fifth. That in our judgment the most efficient and satisfactory means of raising the larger portion of revenue to meet the obligations of the Government is from duties on imports; that such duties should be so laid as, first, to make sure of the amount required; second, to fairly distribute the burdens of the nation upon all sections of the country, all classes of people; and third, so as never to burden one interest that another may thrive.

The Republicans of Connecticut, in State convention, on January 24, 1872, declared in fifth plank:

Fifth. In national affairs we urge, first, a large reduction of taxation; * * * third, retaining a tariff sufficient to raise the needed revenue, we would have it carefully adjusted to favor American industry, working rather to interests widely extended than to merely local and limited pursuits. * * *

The Republicans of New York, in State convention, September 28, 1871, declared in third plank:

Third. That we call upon Congress, as far as may be compatible with the national credit, to continue to reduce taxation, and as rapidly as possible remove the burdens from the national industry; that while our interest accounts, our pension-rolls, and other obligations entailed by the rebellion shall remain, we are in favor of such a tariff as will yield the needed revenue with the least injury to the people, at the same time affording protection to our own rather than to foreign manufactures.

And in their State convention of May 15, 1872, declared:

Sixth. That there should be a tariff for revenue so adjusted as to bear as equally as possible upon every kind of labor, property, and industry.

In order to determine more definitely still the declared policy of the Republican party heretofore, consider the report of the Tariff Commission of 1882.

The Republican Congress, the House and Senate both being Republican, enacted the law of May 15, 1882, creating the "Tariff Commission," to be composed of nine members to be appointed by a Republican President. Section 3 of this law is as follows:

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of said commission to take into consideration and to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff or a revision of the existing tariff, upon a scale of justice to all interests; and for the purpose of fully examining the matters which may come before it, said commission, in the prosecution of its inquiries, is empowered to visit such different portions and sections of the country as it may deem advisable.

Said commission made its investigation—took 2625 pages of printed testimony, not, however, verified by the affidavits or oaths of the witnesses—and submitted its report to a Republican Congress December 4, 1882, saying:

Early in its deliberations the commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defenses. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the commission regards not only as a due recognition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction.

No rates of defensive duties, except for the establishment of new industries which more than equalize the conditions of labor and capital with those of foreign competitors, can be justified. Excessive duties, or those above such standard of equalization, are positively injurious to the interests which they are supposed to benefit. They encourage the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprise by rash and unskilled speculators, to be followed by disaster to the adventurers and their employés, and a plethora of commodities which deranges the operations of skilled and prudent enterprise. Numerous examples of such disaster and derangements occurred during and shortly after excessively protective periods of the late war, when tariff duties were enhanced by the rates of foreign exchange and premiums upon gold. Excessive duties, generally, or exceptionally high duties in particular cases, discredit our whole national economic system, and furnish plausible arguments for its complete subversion.

They serve to increase uncertainty on the part of industrial enterprise, whether it shall enlarge or contract its operations and take from commerce as well as production the sense of stability required for extended undertakings. It would seem that the rates of duties under the existing tariff—fixed for the most part during the war, under the evident necessity at that time of stimulating to its utmost extent all domestic production—might be adapted through reduction to the present condition of peace, requiring no such extraordinary stimulus.

* * * * * * *

Entertaining these views, the commission has sought to present a scheme of tariff duties in which substantial reduction should be the distinguishing feature. The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free-list and the abolition of duties on charges and commissions, at which the commission has aimed, is not less on the average than 20 per cent., and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent. The reduction—slight in some cases, in others not attempted—is in many cases from 40 to 50 per cent. The actual amount of the total reduction can not be stated with precision, partly from want of time to make the calculations required for such details in the brief period intervening between the final determination in particular cases and the preparation of this report, and there is no exact standard by which to estimate the amount of reduction in revenue on account of the varying character, amount, and price of commodities in the importations of different years.

These numerous quotations from official Republican authorities show conclusively that the policy of that party touching the surplus and the remedies therefor, as declared prior to 1888 to the voters to secure their votes and retain power, has been to retain the internal-revenue taxes on spirits, beer, and tobacco, and remove the others, and to reduce the rates of tariff duties on imported articles and add dutiable articles to the free-list, and thus remove the onerous burdens of unnecessary taxation and reduce the surplus accumulating in the Treasury to the wants of the Government economically administered.

Is this the policy of the national Republican party in this contest of 1888? How can their present policy be ascertained? The Chicago national Republican convention, composed of delegates from every Congressional district, State, and Territory, alone had the right and authority to declare the policy of the party in this contest, and did so declare it, which I now quote:

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free-list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which can not be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behest of the whisky ring and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

They now declare "the protective system must be maintained" and "the needed reduction" of revenues effected—

By repealing the taxes upon tobacco, and the tax upon spirits used in arts and manufactures, and by such revisions of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production except luxuries not produced at home, and if there still remain a surplus revenue then by the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system.

By this platform the Republican convention has issued the command to all the former adherents of its party "to right about march," and to abandon all the lines of policy heretofore declared for party guidance.

It now reverses and denounces all the declared policies and recommendations of Secretaries McCulloch, Boutwell, Sherman, and Folger, and of Presidents, Grant and Arthur, and the national Republican platforms of 1868, 1872, 1876, 1880, and 1884, and the Republican State platforms of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, Connecticut, and New York, and the findings and recommendations of the Republican tariff commission of 1882.

It is a radical departure from all past policies in this country, and practically a bold declaration for a paternal Government, supported by exorbitant, unnecessary taxes imposed for the enrichment of millionaires and the impoverishment and degradation of the laboring masses.

No such declaration of policies and principles has ever before been adopted in this country by any political organization or party claiming the confidence and suffrages of the voters.

I appeal to the record for the truth of this statement.

The Whig platform at Baltimore, May 1, 1844, adopted by the convention which nominated Henry Clay for President and Theodore Frelinghuysen for Vice-President, declared for—

A tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country.

The national Whig convention at Baltimore, June 16, 1852, which nominated General Scott, declared in fifth plank:

Fifth. Governments should be conducted on the principles of the strictest economy; and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof in time of peace ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and on laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, and, when practicable, by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry equally to all classes and all portions of the country.

The Labor Reform platform adopted at Columbus, Ohio, February 21, 1872, declared in the fifth plank:

Fifth. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free of duty such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury, and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.

The Liberty party in the Buffalo convention at Utica, N. Y., June 22, 1848, which nominated John P. Hale for President and Leicester King for Vice-President, declared:

15. *Resolved*, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are therefore in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the expenses of the Federal Government and pay annual installments of our debt and the interest thereon.

The Free-Soil party in the convention at Pittsburgh, Pa., August 11, 1852, which nominated John P. Hale for President and George W. Julian for Vice-President, declared in their thirteenth plank—

That no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt.

I have already quoted the Republican national platforms of 1868 and subsequently. I will now quote from earlier platforms.

The Republican convention at Philadelphia, Pa., June 17, 1856, which nominated John C. Frémont for President and William L. Dayton for Vice-President, made no declaration as to revenue or tariff; and at Chicago May 17, 1860, having nominated Abraham Lincoln for President and Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President, declared in the twelfth plank:

Twelfth. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties on imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

The Republican convention of 1864 at Baltimore, June 7, which renominated President Lincoln, declared:

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures and a vigorous and just system of taxation.

The Republican party now declares for an embargo tariff, a prohibition of imports of such articles as are produced in this country, a Chinese wall around our borders on sea and land, and, rather than surrender any part of their protective system, for free whisky; for if you remove the internal-revenue tax from whisky it will be beyond dispute free. Unless all the States and Territories could agree upon a uniform tax, the manufacture of whisky would be practically free. If any one State should levy a tax on whisky higher than in any other, the production of whisky in such State would be driven out and the manufacture confined to such State or States as imposed no tax or the lowest tax.

But whisky is an article "produced by our people the production of which gives employment to our labor," and in various forms is imported into this country and pays a high tariff tax, and is a "part of the protective system" which this platform says must be maintained and not surrendered. Therefore the Republican party declares for the repeal of all internal taxes upon distilled spirits and for the maintenance of the protective system thereon—that is, the tariff taxes upon all imports of distilled spirits, which is greater than the internal taxes. Who will be benefited, who will be enriched by this policy? Certainly not the consumers of such spirits, but most unquestionably the manufacturers and distillers of such spirits—the whisky ring. For with the repeal of all internal taxes and the retention of all tariff taxes upon imports you protect the home manufacturers and distillers to the amount of the internal taxes so repealed and enable them to sell their home-distilled spirits at the same prices they do now with the internal taxes added. These internal taxes on spirits distilled from materials other than apples, peaches, or grapes, excluding all special taxes, licenses, etc., were in 1884 over seventy millions, in 1885 over sixty millions, in 1886 over sixty-two millions, and in 1887 over fifty-nine millions, and in 1888 about the same. The Republican party thus proposes to protect and enrich the whisky ring annually to the amount of $60,000,000 rather than surrender any part of the protective system.

This policy is in direct antagonism with the declared policies of Alexander Hamilton, the progenitor of the Republican party, Henry Clay, the father of the so-called but misnamed "American system," and James G. Blaine, the bold, impetuous, and reckless leader of the Republican forces in this campaign, as I will now show by quotations from each of them.

Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury under President Washington, in his first finance report, in speaking of the necessity for an increase of the revenue to the amount of $600,000, recommended that the increase—

Be made on wines, spirits (including those distilled within the United States), teas, and coffee. * * *

And said—

They are all of them in reality luxuries, the greatest part of them foreign lux-

uries; some of them, in the excess in which they are used, pernicious luxuries; and there is perhaps none of them which is not consumed in so great abundance as may justly denominate it a source of national extravagance and impoverishment. The consumption of ardent spirits particularly, no doubt very much on account of their cheapness, is carried to an extreme which is truly to be regretted, as well in regard to the health and the morals as to the economy of the community.

Henry Clay, on the 26th day of April, 1820, in speaking of the probable necessity of increase of revenue, says:

And I am for one ready to exclude foreign spirits altogether, and substitute for the revenue levied on them a tax upon the spirits made within the country. No other nation lets in so much of foreign spirits as we do. By the encouragement of home industry you will lay a basis of internal taxation, when it gets strong, that will be steady and uniform, yielding alike in peace and war.

Clay proposed to exclude importations of foreign spirits and impose an internal tax upon the home product—just the reverse of the proposed Republican policy of to-day.

Hon. James G. Blaine in his Paris pronunciamento in December last, when asked if he would advise the repeal of the whisky tax, replied:

No, I would not. Other considerations than those of financial administration are to be taken into account with regard to whisky. There is a moral side to it. To cheapen the price of whisky is to increase the consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the reform wrought by high license in many States if the National Government neutralizes the good effect by making whisky within reach of every one at 20 cents a gallon. Whisky would be everywhere distilled if the surveillance of the Government were withdrawn by the remission of the tax, and illicit sales could not then be prevented even by a policy as rigorous and searching as that with which Russia pursues the Nihilists. It would destroy high license at once in all the States. Whisky has done a vast deal of harm in the United States. I would try to make it do some good.

He further said:

So long as there is whisky to tax I would tax it, and when the National Government should have no use for the money I would divide the tax among the Federal Union with the specific object of lightening the tax on real estate. * * * Some honest but misguided friends of temperance have urged that the Government should not use the money derived from the tax on whisky. My reply is that the tax on whisky by the Federal Government, with its suppression of illicit distillation and consequent enhancement of price, has been a powerful agent in the temperance reform by putting it beyond the reach of so many. The amount of whisky consumed in the United States per capita to-day is not more than 40 per cent. of that consumed thirty years ago.

Now let us ascertain the policy and principles of the Democratic party in regard to a tariff taxation, the accumulating surplus in the Treasury, and the proper remedy for its prevention. The national Democratic party in convention, in 1840, declared in its fourth and fifth planks:

Fourth. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

Fifth. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government.

These resolutions were expressly reaffirmed in the platforms of the national Democratic party in the conventions of 1844, 1848, 1852, 1856, and 1860.

And in the platform of 1868 the Democratic party declared for—

A tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal-revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

And in the platform of 1876 declared—

We denounce the present tariff levied upon nearly four thousand articles as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the process of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

The national Democratic party in convention in 1880 pledged itself—

Anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

And declared for—

A tariff for revenue only. * * * Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

And—

The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

And in 1884 declared—

From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of the reform must be subject in the execution of this plain dictate of justice—all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, being heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The national Democratic convention of 1888 declared—

The Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic Representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessaries of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when by unnecessary taxation trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the national Treasury.

The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and to abolish unnecessary taxation. Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation; on the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessaries of life in the home of every workingman and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment.

President Cleveland, in his first annual message, of December 8, 1885, after pointing out the excess of revenues, said:

The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the Government and indirectly paid by the people from customs duties. The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system.

Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed.

In his second annual message, of December 6, 1886, he again called attention to the continuing excess of revenues, which would soon pay off all that part of our public debt which could be paid at our option, and said:

When more of the people's substance is exacted through the form of taxation than is necessary to meet the just obligations of the Government and the expense of its economical administration, such exaction becomes ruthless extortion and a violation of the fundamental principles of a free Government. * * * It has been the policy of the Government to collect the principal part of its revenues by a tax upon imports, and no change in this policy is desirable. But the present condition of affairs constrains our people to demand that by a revision of our revenue laws the receipts of the Government shall be reduced to the necessary expense of its economical administration; and this demand should be recognized and obeyed by the people's representatives in the legislative branch of the Government. In readjusting the burdens of Federal taxation a sound policy requires that such of our citizens as have built up large and important industries under present conditions should not be suddenly and to their injury deprived of advantages to which they have adapted their business, but if the public good requires it, they should be content with such consideration as shall deal fairly and cautiously with their interests, while the just demand of the people for relief from needless taxation is honestly answered. * * *

And these considerations suggest such an arrangement of Government revenues as shall reduce the expense of living, while it does not curtail the opportunity for work nor reduce the compensation of American labor and injuriously affect its condition and the dignified place it holds in the estimation of our people.

But our farmers and agriculturists, those who from the soil produce the things consumed by all, are perhaps more directly and plainly concerned than any other of our citizens in a just and careful system of Federal taxation. * * *

I recommend that, keeping in view all these considerations, the increasing and unnecessary surplus of national income annually accumulating be released to the people by an amendment to our revenue laws which shall cheapen the price of the necessaries of life and give freer entrance to such imported materials as, by American labor, may be manufactured into marketable commodities.

In his message of December 6, 1887, he clearly and concisely presented the whole question of surplus, excessive taxation, its dangers, and the remedies, and showed that after paying all the public debt which we could pay at its face value, all which was payable at our option, and the purchase of over twenty-seven millions of bonds in the market at a high rate of premium, because not yet either due or payable at our option, there was still a surplus, which must continue to increase under existing laws, and said:

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public Treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal-revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessaries; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures because they render it possi-

ble for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet, when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation. * * *

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the workingman nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employés either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation.

The farmer and agriculturist, who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes, upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears, and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They, of course, are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woolen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman. * * *

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations, quite prevalent at this time and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

The necessity for combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exists a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country. * * *

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufacturers, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate by adding them to the free-list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessaries of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed on raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessaries; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve beside to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employés more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

While the Republican party in its last platform has abandoned and renounced all its former-declared policies and remedies, the Democratic party stands undismayed, boldly and fearlessly maintaining and proclaiming its undying principles and its wise and judicious policies for the encouragement and development of the interests of our whole country, the interests of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our national prosperity and greatness. We are the friends of each of these great interests, and of the toiling masses engaged therein. We propose measures of relief from the condition confronting us—an idle, accumulating surplus in the Treasury, arising from burdensome, unnecessary taxation—by such a wise and just, fair and careful revision of our existing internal-revenue and tariff laws as will reduce the receipts of revenues to the amount necessary for an economical administration of the Government, and at the same time best promote and encourage the development and permanent prosperity of all our industrial interests, and give to them assurance of, and the means for, securing more remunerative and extended home and foreign markets, and more steady and continuous operations, and to American labor—the toiling millions in our own country—increased advantages and opportunities, and better wages.

The Republican party in its platform of 1884 arraigned the Democratic party, charging that "the Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus," thus admitting the burden of unnecessary taxation, and that the proper relief was "by a wise reduction of the surplus."

The Democratic party in the House of Representatives has passed a bill (H. R. 9051), commonly called the Mills bill, proposing to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus—

by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive industries of the country—

and thus, in enforcing its own principles and policies, practically carries out the recommendations of the Republican party heretofore made by its Secretaries of the Treasury, Presidents, national platforms, State platforms, and Tariff Commission.

This proposed measure of relief was met in the House by a persistent refusal of the Republican minority to propose any substitute or any better measure, notwithstanding all their party's pledges.

I hold in my hand a tabular statement, prepared in the Bureau of Statistics at my instance, which I will have printed in the RECORD to save time of reading, and which compares the existing laws and the House bill and Senate substitute as applied to imports in 1887.

What is this House bill No. 9051, entitled "A bill to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue?" This bill proposes a revision of both the internal-revenue or excise and customs or tariff laws, and a reduction of the revenues derived from each. It proposes to repeal all restrictions on sales of tobacco by the producer, all taxes on tobacco, excepting on cigars, cigarettes, and cheroots, and all privilege and license taxes, excepting those for manufacturing and selling cigars, cigarettes, and cheroots. The excise duties so proposed to be repealed yielded during the fiscal year 1887, $17,381,161 in revenue, and a reduction of this sum is proposed. This bill also proposes to repeal all the special taxes under the internal-revenue laws imposed upon manufacturers of stills and retail dealers in liquors and in malt liquors. These taxes in the fiscal year 1887 yielded a revenue of about $4,814,895, and a reduction by such sum is proposed.

These are the proposed changes and reductions in and under the internal-revenue laws, amounting to about $22,196,056.

This table shows clearly the results of the present tariff laws in 1887, applied to the dutiable imports, and also of the proposed law applied to the same imports.

All dutiable articles under the present and proposed laws are grouped under fourteen schedules, as shown in the table, and each schedule includes a large number of kindred articles. The proposed bill makes no changes in the present law in the schedules F, "tobacco," leaving the average ad valorem rate of duty at $83.32 on the $100; or H, "liquor," leaving the same rate of 72.64 per cent.; or L, "silk goods," leaving the same rate of 49.71 per cent., and makes only a very slight change in schedule I, "cottons," so as to correct certain irregularities and inequalities in the present law, and reduces the present average ad valorem rate of duty of 39.99 per cent. to 39.07 per cent., a reduction of only 92 cents on the $100 in value.

The proposed bill takes from the list of dutiable merchandise under the present law and places on the free-list sundry articles of which the imports in 1887 were of the value of $70,443,012.64, and the amount of duties thereon collected under present law at the average ad valorem rate of 28.07 per cent. was $19,773,598.34, and by this amount reduces the surplus revenue.

Under the present law the dutiable merchandise imported in 1887 was of the value of $449,945,271.18; the amount of duties collected thereon was $211,811,632.49, and the average ad valorem rate thereon was $47.07 on the $100 in value, or 47.07 per cent.

The value of the merchandise dutiable under the present and also under the House bill imported in 1887 was $379,502,258.54, and the duties collected thereon amounted to $192,038,034.15 under the present law, and the average ad valorem rate of duty was $50.60 on the $100 in value, or 50.60 per cent.; and the duties collectible thereon under the House bill amount to $162,325,392.74, and the average ad valorem rate of duty thereon is $42.77 on the $100 in value, or 42.77 per cent.

The House bill therefore reduces the average ad valorem rate of duty, based upon the imports of 1887, from $50.60 on the $100 in value, or 50.60 per cent., to $42.67 on the $100 in value, or 42.77 per cent., being a reduction of only 7.83 per cent., and reduces the revenues from $192,038,034.15 to $162,325,392.74, being $29,712,641.41, and by this amount reduces the surplus revenues. The total reductions by the proposed bill, therefore, are $19,773,598.34 by the free-list and $29,712,641.41 by reduced rates of duties from 50.60 per cent. to 42.77 per cent., making $49,486,239.75. Briefly, the proposed bill takes from the merchandise imported in 1887 to the value of $449,945,271.18, and taxed by present tariff laws at 47.07 per cent., and places on the free-list articles of the value of $70,443,012.64, taxed by present law at 28.07 per cent., and reduces the average ad valorem rates of duty on the remaining $379,502,258.54 worth imported in 1887 from $50.60 on the $100 in value, the tax of the present law, to $42.77 on the $100 in value, a reduction of only $7.83 on the $100 in value, or 7.83 per cent.

Based on importations of 1887, the following table shows reductions in rate of duty and amount placed on the free-list, by schedules:

Schedules.	Reduction in duty.	Amount placed on free-list.
	Per cent.	
Chemicals	5.24	$4,535,557.96
Earthen and glass ware	6.03	30,789.97
Metals	3.44	18,323,612.91
Wooden ware	4.68	6,679,202.12
Sugar	14.74	None.
Provisions	1.04	3,334,013.86
Hemp, flax, and jute	9.56	14,490,501.40
Wool and woolens	28.91	18,206,987.97
Books, papers, etc	.06	None.
Sundries	2.02	4,842,346.45

This House bill, proposing a reduction of the surplus arising from internal-revenue taxes by about $22,196,056 and from tariff taxes by free-list and reduction of rates of tariff duties by $49,486,239.75, being an aggregate reduction of $71,682,295.75, is denounced as a direct attempt to fasten on this country the British policy of free foreign trade, and declared to be free trade. This is absolutely false, as the record shows. The statute laws of the United States from July 4, 1789, the date of the first law imposing tariff duties on imported merchandise, to March 3, 1883, the date of the existing law, show that as many as fifty-five or more laws have been enacted affecting tariff taxation, and such laws were enacted in forty-five different years during this period of ninety-four years, and in some years more than one such was passed. The longest period in our whole history during which no such law was passed was from July 30, 1846, the date of the so-called Walker tariff, to March 3, 1857, when duties were reduced.

The principal tariff laws are popularly known by the names of their supposed authors. The following table gives the popular names, dates, and average ad valorem rates of duties as nearly as can be determined:

Popular name.	Date of passage.	Average ad valorem rate of duty.
Hamilton tariff	July 4, 1789	About 10 per cent.
Calhoun tariff	Apr. 27, 1816	About 20 to 25 per cent.
Clay tariff	May 22, 1824	About 32 to 37 per cent.
Abominations tariff	May 19, 1828	About 45 to 48 per cent.
Clay's compromise tariff	Mar. 2, 1833	About 30 to 20 per cent.
Whig tariff	Aug. 30, 1842	About 35 per cent.
Walker tariff	July 30, 1846	About 25 per cent.
Morrill tariff	Mar. 2, 1861	About 48 per cent.

With these facts and figures before him, how can any intelligent man say that the House bill is a free-trade measure?

FREE TRADE.

In the minority report by the Republican members on the House bill, in the majority report of the Republican Senators, in the Republican press, and by Republican speakers free trade is held up as a scarecrow to frighten voters and deter them from supporting the Democratic party.

Why is this done? There must be some object sought to be accomplished.

What is it?

What is free trade? It has two separate and entirely different meanings?

1. The dictionaries define free trade to mean:

Commerce unrestricted by tariff regulations or customs duties; free interchange of commodities or liberty of introducing merchandise into a country from any other country without payment of government duties; trade or commerce between people and nations without restrictions, taxation, duties, imposts, or burdens.

Under our Constitution we have free trade, as defined by dictionaries, pure and simple, among all our people throughout all our States and Territories.

No man can truthfully say that the House bill proposes or favors such free trade. The charge is absolutely without any foundation.

2. Free trade in the United States, when applied and used to indicate a policy of revenue, means a tariff for raising revenue, with such incidental protection as all tariff duties necessarily afford. It means a policy for revenue tariff as distinguished from a policy for protective tariff. To establish the correctness of this definition I will quote from so-called free-traders and protectionists.

The free-trade convention of many delegates from many States held in Philadelphia in 1831, by Albert Gallatin, chairman of the committee, presented a memorial to Congress in 1832 protesting against the then existing tariff, and asking—

That duties be so reduced as to leave after extinguishment of the public debt only that amount of revenue which may be necessary to meet the ordinary exigencies of the Government.

The American Free-Trade League of New York, in 1870 or 1871, in response to inquiries from Edward Young, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, said:

We believe in the utmost possible freedom for all citizens of the United States in trade as well as in all the other relations of life; but we recognize that absolute freedom of trade must be limited to the revenue necessities of the Government, just as absolute freedom in other respects is necessarily limited by government; and therefore the Free-Trade League willingly submits to taxation and duties to meet the necessities of government, while it denounces as robbery and tyranny all taxation for the benefit of special classes.

Henry Clay, in his speech "on American industry," in the House of Representatives, March 30 and 31, 1824, said:

Two classes of politicians divide the people of the United States. According to the system of one, the produce of foreign industry should be subject to no other impost than such as may be necessary to provide a public revenue; and the produce of American industry should be left to sustain itself, if it can, with no other than that incidental protection, in its competition, at home as well as abroad, with rival foreign articles. According to the system of the other class, whilst they agree that the imports should be mainly, and may under any modification be safely relied on as a fit and convenient source of public revenue, they would so adjust and arrange the duties on foreign fabrics as to afford a gradual but adequate protection to American industry, and lessen our dependence on foreign nations, by securing a certain and ultimately a cheaper and better supply of our own wants from our own abundant resources. Both classes are equally sincere in their respective opinions, equally honest, equally patriotic, and desirous of advancing the prosperity of the country. In the discussion and consideration of these opposite opinions, for the purpose of ascertaining which has the support of truth and reason, we should, therefore, exercise every indulgence, and the greatest spirit of mutual moderation and forbearance. And, in our deliberations on this great question, we should look fearlessly and truly at the actual condition of the country, retrace the causes which have brought us into it, and snatch, if possible, a view of the future. We should, above all, consult experience—the experience of other nations as well as our own—as our truest and most unerring guide. * * *

Hon. James G. Blaine, the leader of the protectionists in this campaign, in his "Twenty Years in Congress," discusses tariff legislation and policies at length, using the terms "free-traders" and "protectionists," as the two great opposing parties in politics and on pages 207, 208, and 211, says:

In the foregoing summary of legislation upon the tariff the terms "free trade" and "protection" are used in their ordinary acceptation in this country, not as accurately defining the difference in the revenue theories, but as indicating the rival policies which have so long divided political parties. Strictly speaking, there has never been a proposition by any party in the United States for the adoption of free trade. To be entirely free, trade must encounter no obstruction in the way of tax either upon export or import. In that sense, no nation has ever enjoyed free trade. * * *

The essential question which has grown up between political parties in the United States respecting our foreign trade is, whether a duty should be laid upon any import for the direct object of protecting and encouraging the manufacture of the same article at home. The party opposed to this theory does not advocate the admission of the article free, but insists upon such rate of duty as will produce the largest revenue and at the same time afford what is termed "incidental protection." The advocates of actual free trade according to the policy of England, taxing only those articles which are not produced at home, are few in number and are principally confined to doctrinaires.

Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, Jr., of Ohio, on May 18, 1888, said:

This brings us face to face, therefore, with the two opposing systems, that of a revenue as distinguished from a protective tariff, and upon their respective merits they must stand or fall.

Yet Mr. Blaine, Mr. MCKINLEY, and other protectionists, in speeches and campaign literature, declare the proposed bill to be a free-trade measure—to mean the "British policy of free foreign trade"—and declare the Democratic party to be a free-trade party and the advocates of the British policy of free foreign trade, and so use the term "free trade" that their auditors and readers must necessarily think they mean by "free trade" trade without any restrictions, duties, or taxes, and such freedom of trade as England has, and as we have among ourselves. Why is this done? The object must be to deceive, mislead, and array prejudice, and at the same time divert attention from the real issue.

Such a course is neither fair nor creditable to the persons who pursue it, for they know that neither the Democratic party nor any other political party in the United States has ever proposed the adoption of free trade—trade without any restrictions, duties, or taxes—and that no nation has ever enjoyed such free trade.

The Tariff League Bulletin of New York, a special pleader for protection, has published far and wide the charge that President Cleveland has said:

I believe in free trade as I believe in the Protestant religion.

And in the issue of September 7, 1888, states that—

We have received many letters asking for proof that the statement is correct, and we have taken great pains to trace to their origin these words attributed to the President.

And then says:

We have in our possession conclusive evidence that the President used the expression some time ago in a private conversation with an ex-attorney-general of Pennsylvania, who repeated it to Colonel McClure, editor of the Philadelphia Times. Colonel McClure repeated it to a gentleman of prominence and veracity, and finally the President's expression became public. It has never been disputed either by the President or those who repeated it. There is no doubt whatever of its authenticity.

Is the publication of such falsehoods, based upon such pretended hearsays, fair, honorable, or just?

Is the cause of protection in such desperate straits that such cowardly attacks must be made upon the President in the face of his frank, bold, and manly messages upon the tariff?

The following letter of the President shows the utter falsity of the charge:

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 15.

George Whiteley, of 107 Walnut street, in answer to a letter of inquiry sent to President Cleveland as to certain free-trade utterances he was charged with having made, yesterday received the following:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, *Washington, September* 13, 1888.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 8th instant has just been presented to my attention, and it affords the first intimation I have had that in an article published in the North American Review I am charged with the declaration that 'I believe in free trade as I believe in the Protestant religion.' In answer to your inquiry as to the truth of this allegation I have to say that I never made use of that expression or one anything like it. The statement you quote is pure, unadulterated fabrication. While it would be unfair to attempt to meet or refute every false statement coined or forged to serve the purposes of misrepresentation in the heat of the political canvass, the friendly spirit of your inquiry has led me to make this emphatic denial.

"Yours, very truly,

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

"GEORGE WHITELEY, Esq."

Will the Tariff League Bulletin have the honor and manliness to publish the President's letter? I doubt it.

The true issue is not free trade, but a question of policies in regard to the accumulating surplus in the Treasury and the best method or system for reducing the onerous burdens of unnecessary taxation, and leaving the surplus in the pockets of the tax-payers.

Shall the policy of a high protective tariff or of a revenue tariff with incidental protection prevail?

What is protection? Webster says:

Protection is the establishment of such duties on goods imported as will protect or cherish domestic industry.

And—

A protectionist is one who favors the protection of some branch of industry by legal enactments.

The Industrial League of Pennsylvania, in answer to Mr. Edward Young, in 1872, said:

Protection is simply defense; nothing more, nothing less, and nothing else.

Yes, it is defense. Defense against what? Defense against competition, and consequently a monopoly of the market for the sale of the protected article.

What are the advantages or benefits of a protective tariff as claimed by protectionists?

Could some intelligent being, divinely endowed with a knowledge of the English language, be translated from some other world to the United States and only hear and read the Republican speeches, platform, and literature, he would necessarily be led to believe that the protective-tariff policy was the fountain and source of all blessings and caused the succession of day and night, and of the seasons; regulated sunshine and shower, made the seeds to germinate, the harvests to ripen, agriculture to prosper, commerce to flow, and developed all the industrial interests of the country, enriched the poor by providing them with houses, food, clothing, and high wages, and made the people of the United States the most intelligent, progressive, prosperous, and happy among all the nations of earth.

Mr. President, let us examine the origin, purpose, alleged benefits, and proposed duration of this high protective-tariff policy, and the origin of the term "American system," and why applied thereto.

President Washington in his message to the Second Congress on January 8, 1790, said:

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation. But I can not forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home.

No law had then been enacted for granting any exclusive rights or patents to inventors for their inventions.

On January 15, 1790, the House of Representatives in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union adopted a resolution—

That it is the opinion of this committee that the several matters recommended by the President of the United States in his speech to both Houses of Congress, relating to a provision for the national defense; to the promotion of manufactories for essential, particularly for military, supplies; * * * to the advancement of the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the United States; to the encouragement of useful inventions, etc., * * * ought severally to be referred to select committees, etc.

The House thereupon ordered—

That it be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and report to this House a proper plan or plans, conformably to the recommendations of the President of the United States in his speech to both Houses of Congress, for the encouragement and promotion of such manufactories as will tend to render the United States independent of other nations for essential, particularly for military, supplies.

In obedience to this order Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, on December 5, 1791, submitted to the House his celebrated "Report on Manufactures." Mr. Hamilton is justly entitled to the distinction of being the father of the system of protection, and he and Henry Clay were certainly the ablest advocates and expounders of the system, its objects and purposes. When Mr. Hamilton submitted his report Congress had already enacted the tariff laws of July 4, 1789, and August 10, 1790.

Mr. Hamilton in his report said:

The Secretary of the Treasury, in obedience to the order of the House of Representatives, on the 15th day of January, 1790, has applied his attention, at as early a period as his other duties would permit, to the subject of manufactures, and particularly to the means of promoting such as will tend to render the United States independent of foreign nations for military and other necessary supplies; and he thereupon submits the following report.

He then enumerates the principal circumstances which would make manufacturing establishments beneficial to the country, as follows:

1. The division of labor.
2. An extension of the use of machinery.
3. Additional employment to classes of the community not ordinarily engaged in the business.
4. The promoting of emigration from foreign countries.
5. The furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions, which discriminate men from each other.
6. The affording a more ample and various field for enterprise.
7. The creating in some instances a new and securing in all a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.

In discussing the beneficial influence of manufacturing establishments in "the promoting of emigration from foreign countries," he says:

Here is perceived an important resource, not only for extending the population, and with it the useful and productive labor of the country, but likewise for the prosecution of manufactures, without deducting from the number of hands which might otherwise be drawn to tillage; and even for the indemnification of agriculture, for such as might happen to be diverted from it.

In discussing the home market for farm products, the benefits of manufactures in "the creating in some instances a new and securing in all a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil," he says:

It is evident that the exertions of the husbandman will be steady or fluctuating, vigorous or feeble, in proportion to the steadiness or fluctuation, adequateness or inadequateness, of the markets on which he must depend for the vent of the surplus which may be produced by his labor; and that such surplus, in the ordinary course of things, will be greater or less in the same proportion.

For the purpose of this vent a domestic market is greatly to be preferred to a foreign one, because it is, in the nature of things, far more to be relied upon.

To secure such a market there is no other expedient than to promote manufacturing establishments. Manufacturers, who constitute the most numerous class, after the cultivators of land, are for that reason the principal consumers of the surplus of their labor.

This idea of an extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil is of the first consequence. It is of all things that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture. If the effect of manufactories should be to detach a portion of the hands which would otherwise be engaged in tillage, it might possibly cause a smaller quantity of lands to be under cultivation; but by their tendency to procure a more certain demand for the surplus produce of the soil, they would, at the same time, cause the lands which were in cultivation to be better improved and more productive.

In discussing the objections and obstacles to the establishment of successful manufactures, he says:

First. If the system of perfect liberty to industry and commerce were the prevailing system of nations, the arguments which dissuade a country in the predicament of the United States from the zealous pursuit of manufactures would doubtless have great force. It will not be affirmed that they might not be permitted, with few exceptions, to serve as a rule of national conduct. In such a state of things each country would have the full benefit of its peculiar advantages to compensate for its deficiencies or disadvantages. If one nation were in a condition to supply manufactured articles on better terms than another, that other might find an abundant indemnification in a superior capacity to furnish the produce of the soil.

And a free exchange, mutually beneficial, of the commodities which each was able to supply on the best terms might be carried on between each, supporting in full vigor the industry of each. And though the circumstances which have been mentioned, and others which will be unfolded hereafter, render it probable that nations merely agricultural would not enjoy the same degree of opulence in proportion to their numbers as those which united manufactures with agriculture, yet the progressive improvement of the lands of the former might in the end atone for an inferior degree of opulence in the mean time; and in a case in which opposite considerations are pretty equally balanced the option ought, perhaps, always to be in favor of leaving industry to its own direction.

But the system which has been mentioned is far from characterizing the general character of nations. The prevalent one has been regulated by an opposite spirit. The consequence of it is that the United States are to a certain extent in the situation of a country precluded from foreign commerce. They can, indeed, without difficulty, obtain from abroad the manufactured supplies of which they are in want, but they experience numerous and very injurious impediments to the emission and vent of their own commodities. Nor is this the case in reference to a single foreign nation only. The regulations of several countries with which we have the most extensive intercourse throw serious obstructions in the way of the principal staples of the United States.

In such a position of things the United States can not exchange with Europe on equal terms; and the want of reciprocity would render them the victim of a

system which should induce them to confine their views to agriculture and refrain from manufactures.

A constant and increasing necessity on their part for the commodities of Europe, and only a partial and occasional demand for their own in return, could not but expose them to a state of impoverishment, compared with the opulence to which their political and natural advantages authorize them to aspire.

Remarks of this kind are not made in the spirit of complaint. It is for the nations, whose regulations are alluded to, to judge for themselves whether, by aiming at too much, they do not lose more than they gain. It is for the United States to consider by what means they can render themselves least dependent on the combinations, right or wrong, of foreign policy. * * *

But the greatest obstacle of all to the successful prosecution of a new branch of industry in a country in which it was before unknown consists, as far as the instances apply, in the bounties, premiums, and other aids which are granted, in a variety of cases, by the nations in which the establishments to be imitated are previously introduced. * * *

The objections to the pursuit of manufactures in the United States, which next present themselves to discussion, represent an impracticability of success arising from three causes—scarcity of hands, dearness of labor, want of capital.

The first two circumstances are to a certain extent real, and within due limits ought to be admitted as obstacles to the success of manufacturing enterprise in the United States. But there are various considerations which lessen their force, and tend to afford an assurance that they are not sufficient to prevent the advantageous prosecution of many very useful and extensive manufactories. * * *

It may be affirmed, therefore, in respect to hands for carrying on manufactures, that we shall, in a great measure, trade upon a foreign stock, reserving our own for the cultivation of our lands and the manning of our ships, as far as character and circumstances shall incline.

As to the dearness of labor, another of the obstacles alleged, this has relation principally to two circumstances: one, that which has just been discussed, or the scarcity of hands; the other, the greatness of profits.

So far as the dearness of labor can be a consequence of the greatness of profits in any branch of business, it is no obstacle to its success. The great undertaker can afford to pay the price.

There are grounds to conclude that undertakers of manufactures in this country can at this time afford to pay higher wages to the workmen they may employ than are paid to similar workmen in Europe. The price of foreign fabrics in the markets of the United States, which will for a long time regulate the prices of the domestic ones, may be considered as compounded of the following ingredients: The first cost of materials, including the taxes, if any, which are paid upon them where they are made; the expense of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools; the wages of the persons employed in the manufactory; the profits on the capital or stock employed; the commissions of agents to purchase them where they are made; the expense of transportation to the United States, including insurance and other incidental charges; the taxes or duties, if any, and fees of office which are paid on their exportation; the taxes or duties and fees of office which are paid on their importation.

He then says that—

As to the cost of materials, the advantage upon the whole is at present on the side of the United States—

And—

as to the expense of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools, an equality at least may be assured—

And—

as to the article of wages, the comparison certainly turns against the United States—

And—

as to profits on the capital or stock, it is alike applicable to the foreign and domestic manufacture.

But with respect to all the remaining items, they are alone applicable to the foreign manufacture, and, in the strictest sense, extraordinaries; constituting a sum of extra charge on the foreign fabric which can not be estimated at less than from 15 to 30 per cent. on the cost of it at the manufactory.

This sum of extra charge may confidently be regarded as more than a counterpoise for the real difference in the price of labor; and is a satisfactory proof that manufactures may prosper in defiance of it in the United States. * * *

To all the arguments which are brought to evince the impracticability of success in manufacturing establishments in the United States, it might have been a sufficient answer to have referred to the experience of what has been already done. It is certain that several important branches have grown up and flourished with a rapidity which surprises, affording an encouraging assurance of success in future attempts; of these it may not be improper to enumerate the most considerable.

He then discusses the proper plan for the encouragement and promotion of manufactures, and says:

In order to a better judgment of the means proper to be resorted to by the United States, it will be of use to advert to those which have been employed with success in other countries. The principal of these are:

1. Protecting duties, or duties on those foreign articles which are the rivals of the domestic ones intended to be encouraged.

Duties of this nature evidently amount to a virtual bounty on the domestic fabrics, since by enhancing the charges on foreign articles they enable the national manufacturers to undersell all their foreign competitors. * * * Indeed, all the duties imposed on imported articles, though with an exclusive view to revenue, have the effect in contemplation, and, except where they fall on raw materials, wear a beneficent aspect toward the manufacturers of the country.

* * * * * * * *

2. Prohibitions of rival articles, or duties equivalent to prohibitions. * * *

Considering a monopoly of the domestic market to its own manufacturers as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, a similar policy on the part of the United States in every proper instance is dictated, it might almost be said, by the principles of distributive justice, certainly by the duty of endeavoring to secure to their own citizens a reciprocity of advantages.

3. Prohibitions of the exportation of the materials of manufactures. * * *

4. Pecuniary bounties.

This has been found one of the most efficacious means of encouraging manufactures, and it is in some views the best.

He discusses at great length the advantages of "bounties," and among others, says:

It can not escape notice that a duty upon the importation of an article can not otherwise aid the domestic production of it than by giving the latter greater advantages in the home market. * * *

The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must always be of questionable policy, because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success. But in new undertakings they are just as justifiable as they are oftentimes necessary. * * *

There is a degree of prejudice against bounties, from an appearance of giving away the public money without an immediate consideration, and from a supposition that they serve to enrich particular classes at the expense of the community. * * *

As to the second source of objection, it equally lies against other modes of encouragement which are admitted to be eligible. As often as a duty upon a foreign article makes an addition to its price, it causes an extra expense to the community for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer. A bounty does no more. * * *

5. Premiums.

These are of a nature allied to bounties, though distinguishable from them in some important features. * * *

6. The exemption of the materials of manufactures from duty.

The policy of that exemption, as a general rule, particularly in reference to new establishments, is obvious. It can hardly ever be advisable to add the obstructions of fiscal burdens to the difficulties which naturally embarrass a new manufacture; and when it is matured and in a condition to become an object of revenue, it is, generally speaking, better that the fabric than the material should be the subject of taxation. * * *

7. Drawbacks of the duties which are imposed on the materials of manufactures. * * *

8. The encouragement of new inventions and discoveries at home and of the introduction into the United States of such as may have been made in other countries, particularly those which relate to machinery.

This is among the most useful and unexceptional of the aids which can be given to manufactures. The usual means of that encouragement are pecuniary rewards and, for a time, exclusive privileges. The first must be employed according to the occasion and the utility of the invention or discovery. For the last, so far as respects "authors and inventors," provision has been made by law. * * *

9. Judicious regulations for the inspection of manufactured commodities. * * *

10. The facilitating of pecuniary remittances from place to place.

11. The facilitating of the transportation of commodities.

He then discusses the rates of duty necessary for the encouragement and protection of manufactures. As to the first instance, iron, he says:

The only further encouragement of manufactories of this article, the propriety of which may be considered as unquestionable, seems to be an increase of the duties on foreign rival commodities.

And recommends the increase of the duty upon steel from 75 cents to 100 cents per hundredweight, and a duty of 2 cents per pound upon nails and spikes, and says:

To insure the end, it seems equally safe and prudent to extend the duty ad valorem upon all manufactures of iron, or of which iron is the article of chief value, to 10 per cent.

And as to the manufactures of steel, says:

Manufactures of steel generally, or of which steel is the article of chief value, may with advantage be placed in the class of goods rated at 7½ per cent. As manufactures of this kind have not yet made any considerable progress, it is a reason for not rating them as high as those of iron; but as this material is the basis of them, and as their extension is not less practicable than important, it is desirable to promote it by a somewhat higher duty than at present.

A question arises, how far it might be expedient to permit the importation of iron in pigs and bars free of duty. It would certainly be favorable to manufacturers of the article; but the doubt is, whether it might not interfere with its production.

And as to cotton, he says:

The present duty of 3 cents per pound on the foreign raw material is undoubtedly a very serious impediment to the progress of these manufactories. * * *

To secure to the national manufacturers so essential an advantage, a repeal of the present duty on imported cotton is indispensable. One cent per yard, not less than of a given width, on all goods of cotton, or of cotton and linen mixed, which are manufactured in the United States, with the addition of 1 cent per pound weight of the material if made of national cotton, would amount to an aid of considerable importance, both to the production and to the manufacture of that valuable article.

If the duty of 7½ per cent. on certain kinds of cotton goods were extended to all goods of cotton, or of which it is the principal material, it would probably more than counterbalance the effect of the drawback proposed in relation to the fabrication of the article.

I have made these voluminous quotations to show the exact grounds upon which the policy of protection by tariff duties and bounties was presented by Mr. Hamilton at that early day.

In enumerating the supposed benefits of manufacturing establishments he lays great stress upon the promotion of immigration from foreign countries and the creation of a home market for the surplus products of agriculture, but does not intimate the possibility even of higher wages or any protection to American labor against competition with the pauper labor of Europe.

He frankly admitted that the wages of labor were higher here than in any other nation, and that the "scarcity of hands and dearness of labor" were serious obstacles to the success of manufactures; and argues that these obstacles can be overcome by immigration, the importation of foreign laborers, and that our manufacturers could even then afford to pay higher wages than were paid in other countries for similar work, by reason of the disadvantages under which foreign manufacturers labored, and which were extraordinaries, such as commissions, transportation, insurance and other charges, taxes, and duties on importation, and that these were an extra charge on foreign fabrics, amounting to not less than 15 to 30 per cent. on cost at manufactory; and that this sum of extra charge was more than a counterpoise—an equivalent for the difference in price of labor, and was a proof that manufactures may prosper in defiance of the higher wages here.

He claims that the greatest obstacle to success of new manufactures was in the bounties, premiums, and other aids granted in many cases by the nations in which the establishments to be imitated were previously introduced. In other words, infant manufactures could not without aid compete with old-established ones, and therefore infant industries must be protected, not American labor, already then receiving higher wages than in Europe. In discussing the means to be

adopted for encouraging and protecting manufacturers he says nothing of an "American system," does not propose an "American system," but on the contrary, says:

It will be of use to advert to those which have been employed with success in other countries.

He proposes to adopt foreign policies, foreign systems, the British system of protecting duties and bounties, and frankly admits that protecting duties, any duties on foreign articles—the rivals of domestic ones—are a "virtual bounty on the home fabric," for the benefit of the home manufacturer, giving him "the monopoly of the domestic market" and an addition to the price of the domestic fabric, to be paid by the consumer as "an extra expense to the community for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer, and that "a bounty does no more."

He seems to give preference to bounties over duties, and asserts that their effects, so far as the domestic manufacturer is concerned, are practically the same. He admits that—

The continuance of bounties on manufactures—

The same as protective duties—

long established must always be of unquestionable policy, because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success. But in new undertakings they are just as justifiable as they are oftentimes necessary.

"New undertakings," "infant industries," need the protecting duties or bounties, not "long-established ones."

The duties specifically recommended by him as necessary to be imposed for the protection of manufacturers, were very little higher than the then existing duties under the tariff acts of August 10, 1790, and March 2 and 3, 1791, and reduced to an average ad valorem rate were not exceeding 10 per cent., excluding coffee, tea, spirits, and wines as then taxed.

Mr. Clay, in his speech in the House, April 26, 1820, "on the protection of home industry," said:

But, say gentlemen, there are to the manufacturing system some inherent objections, which should induce us to avoid its introduction into this country; and we are warned by the example of England, by her pauperism, by the vices of her population, her wars, etc. * * *

Pauperism is in general the effect of an overflowing population. Manufactures have undoubtedly produced a redundant population; but so may commerce and so may agriculture. * * *

But even France has not that great security against the abuses of the manufacturing system, against the effects of too great a density of population, which we possess in our waste lands. While this resource exists we have nothing to apprehend. Do capitalists give too low wages? Are the laborers too crowded and in danger of starving? The unsettled lands will draw off the redundancy and leave the others better provided for. * * *

I am aware that while the public domain is an acknowledged security against the abuses of the manufacturing or any other system, it constitutes at the same time an impediment, in the opinion of some, to the success of manufacturing industry by its tendency to prevent the reduction of wages of labor. * * *

It is true that we can not remain in the relation of seller only to foreign powers for any length of time; but if, as I have no doubt, our agriculture will continue to supply as far as it can profitably to the extent of the limits of foreign demand, we shall receive not only in return many of the articles on which the tariff operates for our consumption, but they may also form the objects of trade with South America and other powers, and our comforts may be multiplied by the importation of other articles * * *

But, sir, friendly as I am to the existence of domestic manufactures, I would not give to them unreasonable encouragement by protecting duties. Their growth ought to be gradual, but sure. I believe all the circumstances of the present period highly favorable to their success; but they are the youngest and weakest interests of the state. Agriculture wants but little or no protection against the regulations of foreign powers. The advantages of our position, and the cheapness and abundance and fertility of our land, afford to that greatest interest of the state almost all the protection it wants. As it should be, it is strong and flourishing, or if it be not at this moment prosperous, it is not because its produce is not ample, but because, depending, as we do altogether, upon a foreign market for the sale of the surplus of that produce, the foreign market is glutted. Our foreign trade, having almost exclusively engrossed the protective care of the Government, wants no further legislative aid; and whatever depression it may now experience, it is attributable to causes beyond the control of this Government. The abundance of capital, indicated by the avidity with which loans are sought, at the reduced rate of 5 per cent.; the reduction in the wages of labor, and the decline in the price of property of every kind, as well as that of agricultural produce, all concur favorably for domestic manufactures.

The plea is for protecting duties for domestic manufactures, the youngest and weakest interests—"infant industries"—and the plea is urged because of "the reduction in the wages of labor;" not for the protection of labor, not to enable the manufacturers to pay higher wages, and because "agriculture wants but little or no protection," and "our foreign trade * * * wants no further legislative aid."

On March 30 and 31, 1824, when Speaker of the House, Mr. Clay, in his speech on "American industry," said:

The greatest want of civilized society is a market for the sale and exchange of the surplus of produce of the labor of its members. This market may exist at home or abroad, or both; but it must exist somewhere if society prospers, and whenever it does exist it should be competent to the absorption of the entire surplus of production. It is most desirable that there should be both a home and a foreign market. But with respect to their relative superiority I can not entertain a doubt. The home market is first in order and paramount in importance. The object of the bill under consideration is to create this home market and to lay the foundations of a genuine American policy. It is opposed; and it is incumbent upon the partisans of the foreign policy (terms which I shall use without any invidious intent) to demonstrate that the foreign market is an adequate vent for the surplus produce of our labor. But is it so? First, foreign nations can not, if they would, take our surplus produce. If the source of supply, no matter of what, increase in a greater ratio than the demand for that supply a glut of the market is inevitable, even if we suppose both to remain perfectly unobstructed. * * * But secondly, if they could they will not. The policy of all Europe is averse to the reception of our agricultural produce so far as it comes into collision with its own, and under that limitation we are absolutely forbid to enter their ports, except under circumstances which deprived them of all value as a steady market. The policy of all Europe rejects those great staples of our country which consist of objects of human subsistence. The policy of all Europe refuses to receive from us anything but those raw materials of smaller value essential to their manufactures to which they can give a higher value, with the exception of tobacco and rice, which they can not produce.

Our agricultural is our greatest interest. It ought ever to be predominant. All others should bend to it; and, in considering what is for its advantage, we should contemplate it in all its varieties of planting, farming, and grazing. Can we do nothing to invigorate it; nothing to correct the errors of the past and to brighten the still more unpromising prospects which lie before us? We have seen, I think, the causes of the distress of the country. We have seen that an exclusive dependence upon the foreign market must lead to still severer distress, to impoverishment, to ruin. We must then change somewhat our course. We must give a new direction to some portion of our industry. We must speedily adopt a genuine American policy. Still cherishing the foreign market, let us create also a home market, to give further scope to the consumption of the produce of American industry. Let us counteract the policy of foreigners and withdraw the support which we now give to their industry and stimulate that of our own country. It should be a prominent object with wise legislators to multiply the vocations and extend the business of society, as far as it can be done, by the protection of our interests at home against the injurious effects of foreign legislation. * * *

The creation of a home market is not only necessary to procure for our agriculture a just reward of its labors, but it is indispensable to obtain a supply of our necessary wants. If we can not sell we can not buy. That portion of our population (and we have seen that it is not less than four-fifths) which makes comparatively nothing that foreigners will buy, has nothing to make purchases with from foreigners. * * *

At that time and for many ages before and afterward to 1846 the English corn laws, imposing high tariff duties on all imports of corn, wheat, and breadstuffs from foreign countries into England were in force and our exports of the same heavily burdened.

Mr. Clay further said:

But it is said that wherever there is a concurrence of favorable circumstances, manufactures will arise of themselves, without protection; and that we should not disturb the natural progress of industry, but leave things to themselves. If all nations would modify their policy on this axiom, perhaps it would be better for the common good of the whole. Even then, in consequence of natural advantages and a greater advance in civilization and in the arts, some nations would enjoy a state of much higher prosperity than others.

The object of protection is the establishment and protection of the arts. * * *

The adoption of the restrictive system on the part of the United States, by excluding the produce of foreign labor, would extend the consumption of American produce, unable in the infancy and unprotected state of the arts, to sustain a competition with foreign fabrics. Let our arts breathe under the shade of protection; let them be perfected as they are in England, and we shall then be ready, as England now is said to be, to put aside protection and to enter upon the freest exchanges. * * *

"On the reduction of duties on imports," in the Senate of the United States, January 11, 1832, Mr. Clay said:

Whoever may be entitled to the credit of the payment of the public debt, I congratulate you, sir, and the country most cordially, that it is so near at hand. It is so nearly being totally extinguished that we may now safely inquire whether, without prejudice to any established policy, we may not relieve the consumption of the country by the repeal or reduction of duties and curtail considerably the public revenue. In making this inquiry, the first question that presents itself is whether it is expedient to preserve the existing duties in order to accumulate a surplus in the Treasury for the purpose of subsequent distribution among the several States. I think not. * * *

The public revenue, then, should be regulated and adapted to the proper service of the General Government. It should be ample; for a deficit in the income, always to be deprecated, is sometimes attended, as we know well from history and from what has happened in our own time, with fatal consequences.

We may safely assume that the revenue may now be reduced, and considerably reduced. This reduction may be effected in various ways and on different principles. Only three modes shall now be noticed.

First. To reduce duties on all articles in the same ratio without regard to the principle of protection;

Second. To retain them on the unprotected articles and augment them on the protected articles; and

Third. To abolish and reduce the duties on unprotected articles, retaining and enforcing the faithful collection of those on the protected articles.

To the first mode there are insuperable objections. * * *

The second would be still more objectionable to the foes of the tariff than either of the others. * * *

The third mode is the most equitable and reasonable, and it presents an undebatable ground, on which I had hoped we could safely tread without difficulty. It exacts no sacrifice of principle from the opponent of the American system; it comprehends none on the part of its friends. The measure before you embraces this mode. It is simple and free from all complexity. It divides the whole subject of imports according to its nature. It settles at once what ought not to be disputed, and leaves to be settled hereafter, if necessary, what may be controverted. * * *

It assumes the right of the Government in the assessment of duties to discriminate between those articles which sound policy requires it to foster and those which it need not encourage. This has been the invariable principle on which the Government has proceeded from the act of Congress of the 4th of July, 1789, down to the present time. And has it not been admitted by almost every prominent Southern politician? Has it not even been acknowledged by the fathers of the free-trade church in their late address promulgated from Philadelphia to the people of the United States? If we never had a system of foreign imports, and were now called upon for the first time to originate one, should we not discriminate between the objects of our own industry and those produced by foreigners? And is there any difference in its application between the modification of an existing system and the origination of a new one?

Mr. Clay in his speech in the Senate on February 2, 3, and 6, 1832, in defense of his so-called American system, said:

I pass with pleasure from this disagreeable topic to two general propositions which cover the entire ground of debate.

The first is that under the operation of the American system the objects which it protects and fosters are brought to the consumer at cheaper prices than they commanded prior to its introduction or than they would command if it did not exist; and, second, that the tendency of the system is to sustain, and that it has upheld the prices of all our agricultural and other produce, including cotton. * * *

This brings me to consider what I apprehend to have been the most efficient of all the causes in the reduction of the prices of manufactured articles, and that is competition. By competition the total amount of the supply is increased, and by increase of the supply a competition in the sale ensues, and this enables the

consumer to buy at lower rates. * * * The great law of price is determined by supply and demand. Whatever affects either affects the price. If the supply is increased, the demand remaining the same, the price declines. If the demand is increased, the supply remaining the same, the price advances. If both supply and demand are undiminished, the price is stationary, and the price is influenced exactly in proportion to the degree of disturbance to the demand or supply. * * *

And now, sir, I would address a few words to the friends of the American system in the Senate. The revenue must, ought to be reduced. The country will not after, by the payment of the public debt, ten or twelve millions of dollars become unnecessary, bear such an annual surplus. Its distribution would form a subject of perpetual contention.

Mr. Clay on February 25, 1837, in discussing the bill to reduce the tariff, said:

But the best friends of the protective policy never intended that that policy should be perpetual, though the acts establishing it were unlimited in point of time. All who advocated the system went upon the ground that after a certain time (the precise period they did not attempt to fix) our domestic manufactures would become so thoroughly fixed and permanently established that they would bear the competition of rival products from abroad. * * *

The great question so long agitated between different portions of the Union has not been whether in laying a bill for revenue the Government may not levy a duty which gives incidental protection to the industry of our own citizens, for this none will deny, but whether such protection is in itself a proper and legitimate object for which taxes may be laid. The friends of the protective policy have always maintained the latter proposition.

And in speaking of the compromise act of 1833, he says:

At the time of its conception he was not in the city, but in Philadelphia, whither he had retired for three weeks. While there he was called upon by a committee of manufacturers, who disclosed to him their apprehensions of the imminent danger to which the tariff system was exposed, and who asked with anxiety what was to be done, whether no measure could be devised to save the manufacturing interests from the ruin with which they were threatened. It was to these individuals, and not to his friends in Congress, that he first applied to know whether in their apprehension a long lease of the protective policy, even though on a lower scale, would not be better than the uncertain state with regard to it in which they then were. To this question not a single man (and he put it to the most intelligent individuals) hesitated for a moment to reply in the affirmative. He afterwards conferred with other manufacturers and found that they concurred in the same view. * * *

The bill then provided a biennial reduction at the rate of 10 per cent. on all duties over 20 per cent., till the 1st of December, 1841; in June following, one-half of the remaining excess of duties over 20 per cent., and soon after the residue. To this bill it was objected that the manufacturing interest could never live under it. But what has been the fact? The law has now been in operation for four years, and have you heard any complaints from that interest? Can any period of four years be pointed out in which it has enjoyed greater prosperity? But it was urged that, although the manufacturers might get along till 1842, yet when that time should arrive they could no longer exist under the remnant of protection which would then be left them; that is, with a duty of 20 per cent., the home valuation, and the cash payment. In reply to this I said then, and I say now, that no man can tell beforehand whether this protection will be found sufficient or no. For myself, I do believe that the leading manufacturing interests of the country can subsist under it.

Mr. Clay, on March 10, 1838, in reply to Mr. Calhoun in their memorable discussion, in defending his compromise tariff of 1833 (this reply of Clay is found in the Daily National Intelligencer of March 19, 1838), said:

There is protection from one end to the other in the compromise act; modified and limited, it is true, but protection nevertheless. There is protection, adequate and abundant protection, until the year 1842; and protection indefinitely beyond it. Until that year the biennial reduction of duties is slow and moderate, such as was perfectly satisfactory to the manufacturers. Now, if the system were altogether unconstitutional, as had been contended, how could the Senator vote for a bill which continued it for nine years? Then, beyond that period, there is the provision for cash duties, home valuations, a long and liberal list of free articles carefully made out by my friend from Rhode Island, Mr. Knight, expressly for the benefit of the manufacturers, and the power of discrimination, reserved also for their benefit, within the maximum rate of duty fixed in the act. * * *

No one, Mr. President, in the commencement of the protective policy, ever supposed that it was to be perpetual. We hoped and believed that temporary protection extended to our infant manufactures would bring them up and enable them to withstand competition with those of Europe. We thought, as the wise French minister did, who, when urged by a British minister to consent to the equal introduction into the two countries of their respective productions, replied that free trade might be very well for a country whose manufactures had reached perfection, but was not entirely adapted to a country which wished to build up its manufactures. If the protective policy were entirely to cease in 1842, it would have existed twenty-six years from 1816, or eighteen from 1824; quite as long as, at either of those periods, its friends supposed might be necessary. But it does not cease then, and I sincerely hope that the provisions contained in the compromise act for its benefit beyond that period will be found sufficient for the preservation of all our interesting manufactures. For one, I am willing to adhere to and abide by the compromise in all its provisions, present and prospective, if its fair operation is undisturbed.

Mr. Clay, in his letter of September 13, 1843, to Dr. F. S. Bronson, of Lagrange, Ga., published in Niles's National Register of October 21, 1843, said:

The sum and substance of what I conceive to be the true policy of the United States in respect to a tariff may be briefly stated. In conformity with the principle announced in the compromise act, I think that whatever revenue is necessary to an economical and honest administration of the General Government ought to be derived from duties imposed on foreign imports. And I believe that in establishing a tariff of those duties such a discrimination ought to be made as will incidentally afford reasonable protection to our national interests.

I think there is no danger of a high tariff being ever established; that of 1828 was eminently deserving that denomination. I was not in Congress when it passed, and did not vote for it, but with its history, and with the circumstances which gave birth to it, I am well acquainted. They were highly discreditable to American legislation, and I hope for its honor will never be again repeated.

After my return to Congress in 1831 my efforts were directed to the modification and reduction of the rates of duty contained in the act of 1828.

The act of 1832 greatly reduced and modified them, and the act of 1833, commonly called the compromise act, still further reduced and modified them. The act which passed at the extra session of 1841, which I supported, was confined to the free articles. I had resigned my seat in the Senate when the act of 1842 passed. Generally, the duties which it imposes are lower than those in the act of 1832. And, without intending to express any opinion upon every item of this last tariff, I would say that I think the provisions, in the main, are wise and proper. If there be any excesses or defects in it (of which I have not the means here of judging) they ought to be corrected.

My opinion that there is no danger hereafter of a high tariff is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have now taken a deep root. In their infancy they needed a greater measure of protection, but as they grow and advance they acquire strength and stability, and consequently will require less protection. Even now some branches of them are able to maintain in distant markets successful competition with rival foreign manufactures.

I have thus quoted very fully from Mr. Clay, beginning in 1820 and ending in 1843, that we may clearly see the exact grounds upon which he sustained the protective system.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM SO CALLED.

In his speech in March, 1824, for the first time in tariff discussions, Mr. Clay designated the policy of protection, the "American policy," the "American system," and ever since that speech protectionists have rolled this phrase "American system" as a sweet morsel under their tongues and have hurled at all persons who differed with them the charge of favoring a British system of free foreign trade—a foreign system.

Daniel Webster, then a Representative in the House from Massachusetts, on April 1 and 2, 1824, in reply to Mr. Clay, then Speaker of the House, said:

And allow me, sir, in the first place to state my regret, if indeed I ought not to express a warmer sentiment, at the names or designations which Mr. Speaker has seen fit to adopt for the purpose of describing the advocates and the opposers of the present bill. It is a question, he says, between the friends of an "American policy" and those of a "foreign policy." This, sir, is an assumption which I take the liberty most directly to deny. Mr. Speaker certainly intended nothing invidious or derogatory to any part of the House by this mode of denominating friends and enemies. But there is power in names, and this manner of distinguishing those who favor and those who oppose particular measures may lead to inferences to which no member of the House can submit. It may imply that there is a more exclusive and peculiar regard to American interests in one class of opinions than in another. Such an implication is to be resisted and repelled. * * *

Indeed, sir, it is a little astonishing, if it seemed convenient to Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of distinction, to make use of the terms "American policy" and "foreign policy," that he should not have applied them in a manner precisely the reverse of that in which he has in fact used them. If names are thought necessary, it would be well enough, one would think, that the name should be in some measure descriptive of the thing; and since Mr. Speaker denominates the policy which he recommends "a new policy in this country;" since he speaks of the present measure as a new era in our legislation; since he professes to invite us to depart from our accustomed course, to instruct ourselves by the wisdom of others, and to adopt the policy of the most distinguished foreign states, one is a little curious to know with what propriety of speech this imitation of the other nations is denominated an "American policy," while, on the contrary, a preference for our own established system, as it now actually exists, is called a "foreign policy." This favorite American policy is what America has never tried; and this odious foreign policy is what, as we are told, foreign states have never pursued. Sir, that is the truest American policy which shall most usefully employ American capital and American labor and best sustain the whole population. With me it is a fundamental axiom, it is interwoven with my opinions, that the greatest interests of the country are united and inseparable; that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures will prosper together or languish together; and that all legislation is dangerous which proposes to benefit one of these without looking to consequences which may fall on the others.

It would seem that the reply of Mr. Webster would have silenced the further demagogical use of the term "American system," but it did not, and to-day we hear the same use of the term from ocean to ocean.

Why did Mr. Clay use this term of "American system" to designate his protective-tariff system?

Mr. Hamilton in his celebrated report, as before quoted, based his whole system of protective duties and bounties upon the like systems or policies "which have been employed with success in other countries," and reasoned, from their successful adoption and employment by foreign nations, the probability of their success in our country, and thus boldly proposed to introduce these exotic, foreign systems into our country. In the tariff discussion in 1820 Mr. Clay had been warned of the effects of the adoption of this foreign system of protective duties, and especially of the dire results of the system in England, for he said:

And we are warned by the example of England, by her pauperism, by the vices of her population, her wars, and so forth.

And in reply to the warning said:

Pauperism is in general the effect of an overflowing population. Manufactures have undoubtedly produced a redundant population, but so may commerce and so may agriculture.

He was warned of our higher wages for labor in this country than in foreign countries, and of the effect of the protective policies in foreign countries in reduced wages, pauperism, and vices, and that the same foreign policies adopted here would produce like results.

To break the force of these facts, that the policy of protective, discriminating, restrictive duties was the policy then of England and other foreign countries, and the results of such policy there were a redundant, overflowing population, low wages, and pauperism, and that his protective policy was only an imitation of such foreign policy, he introduced and coined the term "American system."

The protective, restrictive policy is not an American system. On the contrary, it is the excluding, restrictive, prohibitive system practiced by the "Celestial Empire," China, for thousands of years, which built by pauper labor the Chinese wall. It is the system to-day of Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia. It was the system of England, and rigidly maintained in the days of Hamilton

and Clay, and until her labor was degraded and wages reduced to starvation point. Such is the historical origin of this real foreign Chinese-British-Italian policy of restrictive, prohibitive duties adopted by protectionists in this country and proclaimed by the Chicago platform as the American system of protection.

Not a word did Mr. Clay utter in behalf of increasing the wages of American labor; not a word for the protection of American labor against the pauper labor of Europe; on the contrary, as with Hamilton so it was with Clay—protection to American manufacturers and contention by both that our wages, compared with the so-called pauper labor of England and Europe, were not as much higher as represented. How long was this protection to continue? Mr. Hamilton claimed that protective duties were necessary and justifiable for "new undertakings," "new manufactures," and that—

The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must always be of questionable policy—

But fixed no date. Mr. Clay claimed, in 1820, that—

Manufactures were the youngest and weakest interests of the State. Agriculture wants but little or no protection—

And—

our foreign trade wants no further legislative aid.

And, in 1824, that—

The unprotected manufactures of a country are exposed to the danger of being crushed in their infancy.

And—

Let our arts breathe under the shade of protection; let them be perfected as they are in England, and we shall then be ready, as England now is said to be, to put aside protection and to enter upon the freest exchanges.

Mr. Clay called them infant industries in 1820 and 1824, but in 1837 said:

The best friends of the protective policy never intended that that policy should be perpetual.

And that—

All who advocated the system went upon the ground that after a certain time (the precise period they did not attempt to fix) our domestic manufactures would become so thoroughly fixed and permanently established that they would bear the competition of rival products from abroad.

And in speaking of "the remnant of protection" left under compromise tariff of 1833, which was a duty of 20 per cent., said:

For myself, I do believe that the leading manufacturing interests of the country can subsist under it.

In 1838 Mr. Clay said:

No one, Mr. President, in the commencement of the protective policy ever supposed that it was to be perpetual. We hoped and believed that temporary protection extended to our infant manufactures would bring them up and enable them to withstand competition with Europe. * * * If the protective policy were entirely to cease in 1842 it would have existed twenty-six years from 1816 or eighteen from 1824, quite as long as at either of those periods its friends supposed might be necessary.

In his letter to Dr. Bronson in September, 1843, Mr. Clay said:

My opinion that there is no danger hereafter of a high tariff is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have now taken a deep root. In their infancy they needed a greater measure of protection, but as they grow and advance they acquire strength and stability, and consequently will require less protection. Even now some branches of them are able to maintain in distant markets successful competition with rival foreign markets.

And now, after nearly a century of duties under the various tariff laws protective of our manufactures against competition with like manufactured products from foreign countries to the amount of 10 to 25 per cent. from 1789 to 1824, and of 30 to 48 per cent. from 1824 to 1846, and of 25 per cent. from 1846 to 1857, and of 20 per cent. from 1857 to 1861, and of 40 to 50 per cent. from 1861 to this date, and after the lapse of forty-five years from the date of Mr. Clay's letter to Dr. Bronson, we hear the same cry for protective duties to our infant industries.

When will they attain the age of majority—of maturity?

When this British system of protective duties was transplanted in this country by Mr. Hamilton we were then an infant nation in population and time of separate existence, under a republican-democratic government, antagonistic to the other governmental systems of the world, burdened with an onerous debt, without financial credit in the money centers of the world, with limited sources of revenue, with a vast area, with sparse population, and without the essential and necessary supplies, military or otherwise, to render us independent of other nations. We were without railroads, canals, steam-boats, and necessary transportation facilities for the exchange and the internal commerce among our own people. Our products of agriculture and manufacture were largely confined to restricted local markets at home, and when exported were burdened with heavy duties by the restrictive and discriminating policies of foreign nations, and especially our surplus agricultural products, not large in quantity, were, when exported to England, heavily taxed by an almost prohibitive duty; and we had but few products we could sell to or exchange with foreign countries upon equal or fair terms, and were to a large extent dependent on foreign nations for many supplies essential to our existence and success in event of wars. Europe was in a state of almost continual wars, and our new nation was liable at any time and upon easy provocation to be drawn into a war.

Thus situated, the system of protective duties was urged by Hamilton as well as by Clay, to counteract the foreign protective systems, to render us independent as a nation on foreign nations for essential, especially military, supplies, and to induce capital to be invested in new manufactories of such supplies, and to protect the manufacturers in the infancy of such establishments against the competition of old, long-established manufactories in foreign countries; and to insure to such manufacturers a sure return of profits on their investments, and without any purpose of making the system perpetual; and to induce foreign immigration in order to increase the numbers of the laborers in this country, and to enable the manufacturers to trade on a foreign stock, imported laborers, and thus, by increasing the numbers engaged in manufactures, increase the demand for our surplus agricultural products, and furnish in the various localities where manufactories might be established the home market for farm products, then absolutely excluded from the foreign markets by the restrictions and prohibitory laws of England and other countries.

The conditions and surroundings have entirely changed. The grounds upon which the system was advocated by Hamilton and Clay no longer exist.

In 1790 we were a nation of 3,929,214 people. Now we number over 60,000,000.

Then we were in our national infancy—babyhood. Now we are a mature nation one century old.

Then our governmental system was an experiment, dissimilar to any previously existing system, and the envy of all others. Now our system is established beyond doubt, and has carried us safely and victoriously through the war with Great Britain, then the most powerful nation on land and sea, and through the war with our now esteemed and friendly neighbor, Mexico, and through our own late civil war, the severest ordeal to which our system could possibly be subjected.

Then we were poor, burdened with debt, without financial credit and standing among nations, and with limited sources of revenues. Now we are rich in all the elements of true wealth, with financial credit at home and abroad second to no nation on earth, without a dollar of debt we can now redeem or pay without a heavy premium, and with an overflowing Treasury and sources of revenue we are trying to decrease, and with territorial boundaries extending from ocean to ocean and from Canada to Mexico, inhabited by an intelligent, progressive, enterprising, self-reliant, patriotic people.

Then we were dependent on foreign nations for many essential supplies necessary to our national existence, even military supplies, and without transportation facilities for our surplus products. Now, in 1880, we had 253,852 manufacturing establishments with a capital of $2,790,272,606, consuming materials of the value of $3,396,823,549, and yielding an aggregate product of the value of $5,369,579,191; and with steam and water power in 1880 equal to the muscular power of 21,000,000 of men, representing a population of 105,000,000 of people, and capable of manufacturing all the supplies of our consumption at home, if continuously working on full time, in six months, and making us wholly independent of any foreign nation for essential supplies, military or otherwise. And in 1887 we had 148,987 miles of railroad in operation, binding together the oceans that wash our shores, and extending into the territories of our bordering nations, and running into and through every State and Territory except Alaska; and bringing together, excluding Alaska, the farthest parts of our country, in point of time, within one week, and affording boundless facilities of travel and transportation for our surplus products from State to State.

Then the only markets for our surplus products were the home local markets. Now our markets are simply the powers of consumption of our people in every locality in our own country and in all foreign countries, and are quickly and easily accessible to our surplus wherever produced.

Then we had no foreign markets for our surplus agricultural products, because of the restrictive policies of foreign nations. Now the markets of the world are open to the competition of our products on terms equally as advantageous and liberal as we offer them.

And yet we are called upon by our Republican friends to increase the protective duties upon the manufactured products of our century old but still infant industries, and to perpetuate their British-Chinese policy of restriction, to the exclusion of any healthful competition of foreign products in our home markets, and secure to our manufacturers a monopoly of this home market, and thus strengthen the powers of their trusts, which Mr. Blaine calls "private affairs with which the consumers have nothing to do."

THE SO-CALLED HOME MARKET.

This leads us now to consider this "home market for farm products."

This is another pet phrase of protectionists. Why are they continually pleading for a home market, just as they do for their so-called American but real foreign system?

There is an object in view—an end to be secured.

The majority of the Senate committee in their report say—

No class of people in the United States have an equal interest with the farmer in the diversification of our industries and in the development of manufactures, for proximity to profitable markets gives increased value to labor and to land and its products.

And that—

An addition of 5 cents per day to the wages of the workingmen of the country would furnish a market within our own territory equal in extent to the value of the surplus agricultural products now annually exported.

Protectionists point to the tariff duties imposed on corn, 2 cents per bushel, corn-meal same, on wheat 20 cents per bushel, on flour 20 per cent. ad valorem, on beef and pork 1 cent per pound, on hams and bacon 2 cents per pound, and on cheese and butter 4 cents per pound and on other farm products when imported, to make them believe they, too, are protected against the products of pauper labor in foreign countries.

Our Republican friends say that lands are higher and farm products bring a higher price in the vicinity of manufacturing establishments than elsewhere. To some extent and in regard to some products this is true, but is not caused by protection. Lands are always higher in the vicinity of any locality where any considerable numbers of people are aggregated, and not engaged in farming, are consumers. As in the vicinity of towns and cities and in densely settled districts, regardless of whether such persons are engaged in manufacturing or commercial or other pursuits, and regardless of whether their employments are the beneficiaries of protection.

There are many towns, cities, and communities where lands are higher and farm products bring a higher price than in the more distant surrounding country, and yet where there are no protected industries and no employed consumers in such industries.

There are many industries in this country, wherein are employed thousands of laborers, which do not enjoy any protection and in whose vicinity lands are higher and farm products of certain kinds command a higher price than elsewhere. Therefore protection can not be the cause of such higher prices of lands and for such farm products.

The whole extent of the so-called home market for farm products is the consumption of farm products by those engaged in the protected industries, for whilst so engaged they are consumers and not producers of farm products. Now, to what extent does protection benefit the farmers in the prices of their surplus products to these employés in the protected industries? Our Republican friends say to the full extent such employés consume such products. I deny the assertion, for it is merely an assertion. Bear in mind that in this great country, among all our people, in all our States and Territories, absolute free trade, without any restrictions, burdens, or taxes, is the constitutional system and the law of the land, and all our products of the soil which will bear transportation are carried upon our railroads and navigable waters from ocean to ocean and from Canada to Mexico, and the prices are regulated and controlled, not by any local neighborhood, town, or city market, but by the prices in our great commercial centers and ports of export to foreign markets. And the foreign markets of the world absolutely regulate, fix, and determine the prices of all such transportable products, not only in such markets, but also throughout the length and breadth of our whole country, subject only to the cost of such transportation.

Consequently our farmers derive no benefit whatever in the prices of their surplus products susceptible of transportation, in these local markets where employés are aggregated in protected industries and only receive the price of such articles in such localities as regulated and fixed by the foreign markets of the whole world.

Now, as to farm products, which will not bear, or are not susceptible of transportation—quickly perishable vegetables and products—the local market everywhere—the number of consumers of such articles in each locality, determines the price regardless of whether such consumers are engaged in protected or unprotected industries, or commercial or other pursuits, or mere pleasure seekers at resorts, or students in institutions of learning, or Government officials and employés.

Protection is therefore of no benefit to such producers of perishable products in the prices they receive.

Protection therefore does not and can not affect or increase the prices of the surplus products of the farmers; and the so-called home market for farm products is a myth, a delusion, and a snare to entrap farmers into voting for the Republican party.

Now, as to the extent of the increase of consumers of surplus farm products by protection, I say emphatically that a high protective tariff as distinguished or opposed to a revenue tariff has never caused, does not now and can not in future cause, any increase in the numbers of consumers engaged in manufacturing industries over or above the numbers who have been or will be employed in such industries under a revenue tariff.

But admitting for the sake of argument that all the persons engaged in protected manufactures are so engaged because of the high protective tariff, and to the extent of their numbers are consumers of surplus farm products, are they consumers in such numbers and of such quantities as to seriously affect the prices of the surplus farm products? Let the facts and figures show. The total population of the United States of all ages, sexes, and races in 1880 was 50,155,873, and the total number of all persons engaged in both manufacturing and mining industries was 3,837,112. Deduct from this number those engaged in the unprotected industries of the country, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, butchers, bakers, etc., and we have not exceeding 2,623,089 persons, including all ages, sexes, and races engaged in protected industries. As to the whole population they are as 1 in 19, or about 5.23 per cent.

In 1880 the total exports of all kinds of products from the United States amounted to $823,946,353. Of this sum the agricultural products were $685,867,737, being 83.24 per cent. of all exports. After having exhausted the home market this vast sum of surplus agricultural products was exported and sold in the foreign markets of the world—in competition with the pauper labor of India, Russia, and all other parts of the world—and the prices in the markets of the world regulated and fixed the price not only in such markets, but also in the home market.

Our Republican friends, in their Senate report, as quoted before, say that an addition of 5 cents per day to the wages of the workingmen of the country would furnish a market for all this surplus of farm products so exported. Do they mean to leave the impression that an addition of 5 cents per day to the wages of those engaged in protected industries would equal in amount the value of all such exported farm products? If they did not mean this, why make such a statement? Perhaps they meant that our workingmen do not have sufficient food under a high tariff, and if their wages were increased 5 cents per day they could eat that much more.

I admire their arithmetic. Five cents per day—working days, three hundred—would be $15, and, counting 2,623,089 as the employés or consumers in protected industries, would amount to $39,346,335—to equal the exports of surplus farm products of $685,867,737 in value.

Suppose, however, that each of the men, women, and children engaged in protected industries consumed during the year $40 worth of the kind of articles so exported, and this estimate is too high, they would only have consumed $104,923,560 worth, or less than one-sixth of the value of such exported articles, and such consumption would have but little effect. Our Republican friends claim they are protecting farm products.

The following statement will show some of the surplus farm products exported in 1880, and the imports, duties, etc.:

Articles.	Exports.	Imports.	Duties.
Cotton, raw	$211,535,905	$591,120	Free.
Corn	54,279,608	65,364	10 cents per bushel.
Wheat	190,546,305	534,475	20 cents per bushel.
Flour	35,333,197	28,532	20 per cent. ad valorem.
Meat products	132,488,201	1,239,292	1 cent per pound on beef and pork, 2 cents per pound on hams and bacon, and 4 cents per pound on butter and cheese.
Butter and cheese	18,862,407		
Total value	643,045,623		

This shows clearly the farce of the so-called home market and the protective duties on such products. Farm products have no competition worthy the name in the home market with like foreign products.

But farmers compete with the products of the lowest and most degraded pauper labor of the world in the markets of the world, and receive for their surplus products both in the home and foreign markets the prices established and regulated by such foreign market with such competition, and are neither directly nor indirectly the beneficiaries of any tariff duties at home, and in some foreign markets even have to submit to protective duties imposed on their surplus products exported thereto. Farmers can not be benefited by high-tariff taxes.

To establish these facts beyond the power even of Republican protectionists to dispute them, I will present the deliberate statements of two distinguished Republican leaders, Senators on this floor, representing great agricultural farming constituencies.

Senator W. B. ALLISON, of Iowa, said in the House on March 24, 1870:

The agricultural interest, it will be seen, is much the largest interest in its aggregate product, as well as in the number of persons employed. I believe no one will claim that this large interest is directly protected. It is true that under customs laws there is a small duty upon wheat, barley, oats, and other agricultural products, but it does not afford any protection to the great wheat and grain-producing regions of the country. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. WILSON], in discussing this question, stated that the cost of wheat in New England is about $1.70 per bushel, while in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin the price is about 65 cents per bushel. The Canadian wheat is the only wheat that comes in competition with our own. Canada being nearer New England than the wheat-growing States more than makes up the duty in the reduced cost of transportation.

What is true of wheat is equally true of other grains. Therefore the farmer has practically no protection at all, and whatever benefit he derives is from what the home market furnishes for home products. Unfortunately for the farmer the market price of wheat is fixed by the price which the surplus will bring abroad, or the price of wheat in London or Liverpool. At that market, where the surplus is sold, and which fixes the value of the whole crop, he comes in competition with the grain produced in the Crimea, in Hungary, and in the region of the Baltic, from fields cultivated by what is known, in comparison with our own, as pauper labor.

But I am told we must so legislate as to furnish a home market for all our agricultural products, and this can only be done by high tariff. Any one examining the subject will see that our agricultural products increase more rapidly than our population, so that if we do not export these products in their natural condition we must do so by converting them into manufactured articles and export these articles. But this can not be done under a high tariff, for all nations will buy manufactured products where they are the cheapest, and the nation selling the cheapest will control the market. This rule excludes our

highly-taxed manufactures made from highly-taxed materials from the markets of the world, although we have natural advantages possessed by no other nation.

Senator P. B. PLUMB, of Kansas, January 17, 1883, said in this Chamber:

I do not ask that any duty shall be increased. No one raising anything within the State of Kansas, and no manufacturer in that State asks for an increase of duty on anything. We do ask that a ring—if I may use that expression without offense—a collection and combination of interests located upon the eastern frontier of this country, near the seat and source of power, easily accessible to tariff commissions and easy to get their ears, shall not have their own way about everything of this kind, entirely irrespective of the sections of this country remote from the seat and sources of power.

Mr. President, some of us have got to be consulted before this bill finally passes, and some of us will be consulted after the bill has passed in regard to the reasons for the action or non-action taken. I say now to the persons who have the run of this thing, to those who have had control and are better posted, and have been able by arts and various processes to do those things which were not thoroughly understood—I beg of them to consider that the people are watching this proceeding, and that they want no higher taxes, but lower taxes, and that in giving the protection for American industry they want to give a decent chance to a class of people who by reason of their calling can not be protected at all, but who have got to take their chances in the market of the world for their products, hard products to raise, expensive products to get to market, and in the production of which there is the smallest margin of profit.

I was talking with a farmer from Massachusetts to-day about this thing. He said he had as good a farm as there was in the old Bay State, and yet he said that he could barely make both ends meet, and he complained to me that one of the reasons why he could not do so was because everything else that surrounded him was so much protected that it simply took the difference between profit and loss in his calling, and left him a very slim chance indeed, from year to year.

I will present the testimony of that distinguished soldier and statesman, whose presence in this Chamber we all so much miss, and whose death we mourn.

General John A. Logan said in the House on April 18, 1870:

Now, when the gentleman, who seems to be the protector to an especial manner of the great labor interests of the country, speaks of this protection being the protection of the labor of this country, I ask him: Does not every farmer and mechanic in this broad land make use of iron in all kinds of labor? The 4,000,000 men that have been freed recently are laborers, are producers, not manufacturers. They are not men of skilled labor; they evidently are not the men who are protected. And then there are the men in the Northwest who produce corn, wheat, oats, pork, and beans, etc.; they are producers and consumers, and are not protected; and it is they who pay this large amount of money into the pockets of the manufacturers of this article. And when a gentleman stands upon this floor and tells me that this high, this extraordinary high tariff is for the protection of the laboring men of this country who are not skilled laborers, I tell him I do not understand how he can possibly substantiate such a theory.

If we will not buy of foreign nations, they will not buy of us. If we sell to them, we must buy of them.

Close the markets of the world to the exports of our surplus farm products and the ruin and bankruptcy of our farmers follow unavoidably, and all other industries suffer.

There is, however, a home market—a prolific, enriching home market—for the protected manufactured products, but none for surplus farm products.

Let census and record figures show the enchanting beauties of this home market for manufactured products.

By the Tenth Census the value of manufacturing products was $5,369,579,196. Deduct from this the value of materials, $3,396,823,549, and we have the value of net product, $1,972,755,642. This is an enormous sum of products to be sold in some market. Where was it sold, and in competition with what other like products? In 1880 the total imports into the United States were $667,954,746, of which $208,301,863 were free of duty, and $459,652,883 were dutiable, and upon which duties or taxes to the amount of $186,522,065 were paid into our Treasury by the consumers of such imports. In the same year the total exports, $823,946,353, of which $685,867,737 were exported agricultural products, leaving only $138,078,616 as the value of all other exports, and at the highest estimate not over $90,000,000 were protected manufactured products.

The following statement shows some of the manufactured products so exported and imported:

Manufactured products.	Exported.	Imported.
Cotton manufactures	$9,981,418	$29,929,366
Iron and steel manufactures	14,716,524	53,714,008
Wood and manufactures	16,237,376	6,650,598
Woolens	216,576	33,911,093
Earthen, stone, and china ware	106,724	5,760,163

Deduct the $90,000,000 worth of manufactured products enjoying home protection from net product $1,972,755,642, we have $1,882,755,642 of manufactured products sold in our home market, with the advantage and benefit of high protective duties imposed on all like foreign products imported. In this net product of manufacturing products sold in the home market there are doubtless many products not enjoying the benefit of protective duties, or in fact any duties. For these make a liberal allowance of $350,000,000, and we still have $1,532,755,642 as the value of the manufactured products enjoying the home market and hedged around with high protective duties on like imports.

It is no wonder that manufacturers enjoying this hedged-in home market organize into "home-market clubs," and publish tariff-league bulletins, and sundry other publications, circulars, and leaflets, and send them broadcast throughout the land, through the mails and Republican campaign committees and clubs, and hire Jarrett and other pretended laboring men to proclaim the benefits of this home market, of which they have the exclusive monopoly for their millions of products, up to the limit of the high tariff duties on like imported products. Having this monopoly, they try to make farmers believe that the home market is for them. In 1880 the $459,652,883 worth of foreign products imported and taxed by the tariff laws $186,522,065 was the only competition they had with products of the world, and against this they had the shield and protection of the tariff duties as stated.

What is the origin of this home market for farm products? It originated with Hamilton and Clay, as shown in my quotations from them.

Why did they plead for a home market for farm products? Because there was then no foreign market for such products, on account of the restrictive, prohibitive corn laws of England and restrictive laws of other foreign countries. And such products were practically denied admission into foreign countries.

Mr. Hamilton said:

The United States are to a certain extent in the situation of a country precluded from foreign commerce. The regulations of several countries with which we have the most extensive intercourse throw serious obstructions in the way of the principal staples of the United States.

Mr. Clay said:

The policy of all Europe is averse to the reception of our agricultural produce, so far as it comes into collision with its own, and under that limitation we are absolutely forbid to enter their ports, except under circumstances which deprive them of all value as a steady market.

Since those days the conditions have entirely changed. England in 1846 to 1848 repealed her obnoxious corn laws and other nations removed their restrictions, and now our agricultural products of cotton, wheat, meats, etc., are admitted free of duty in almost every country and our surplus agricultural products are left free to compete in the foreign markets with all the laborers of all countries, and their prices there regulate and fix the prices there and here, and they therefore have no advantages in the home market over the foreign, but are absolutely controlled by the foreign.

Yet we hear the same old song of home market, delicious and enriching to the manufacturers, who enjoy its exclusive monopoly; pernicious and impoverishing to the farmers, who enjoy no advantages in it over the foreign markets.

The grounds upon which it was advocated by Hamilton and Clay have passed away and no longer exist, and yet our Republican friends persist in proclaiming it the panacea for the farmers, merely to catch their votes.

WHO PAYS THE TARIFF DUTIES IMPOSED BY OUR LAWS UPON DUTIABLE IMPORTED ARTICLES?

Any person, firm, or corporation, either at home here, or in any foreign country, desiring to sell in our markets such dutiable article ascertains the cost at foreign factory, the transportation and insurance charges, and the tariff duties, and by adding all these items together determines the total cost of the articles to him when ready for sale here, and then ascertains the selling price in our markets, and determines by comparing the relative total cost and the selling price the margin, if any, for profit on the investment.

The tariff duty is just as much a part of the total cost here as the cost at factory or the transportation and insurance charges, and is essentially an inseparable part of the total cost of such article when ready for sale in our markets, and the profit expected to be realized in its sale is computed upon the tariff duty so paid as fully as upon the factory cost or transportation and other expenses. And the consumer of such article must and does necessarily and unavoidably pay, in the price paid for such article, the amount of such duty with percentage of profit added thereto.

For illustration: An American citizen desiring to purchase either for his own consumption or for sale in our home market an article of foreign manufacture, costing at the factory $1,000, and the transportation and other expenses being $20 and the tariff duty 60 per cent. ad valorem, or $600, can make his purchase in different ways as may best suit his convenience. He may purchase directly from the foreign manufacturer, and in such case pays the $1,000 factory cost, the $20 expenses, and upon the delivery of the article in our Government warehouse does and must pay the $600 tariff duty before the article can be delivered to him or transferred to his house. The total cost to him is $1,620, and if he consumes the article the tariff duty of $600 is an integral part of the $1,620 cost to him. If he sells the article he computes his profit as much upon the $600 paid for tariff duty as upon the $1,000 paid at factory. And the final consumer, whoever he may be, pays in the total price paid for such article the amount of such duty, with profit thereon added.

He may, to suit his convenience, purchase such article of the foreign manufacturer, or of his resident agent, partner or branch house in this country, to be delivered at his own business house or home. And in this case the seller, either foreign manufacturer, his resident agent, partner or branch house, pays the $20 transportation charges, and, upon

the delivery of the article from the ship or railroad in our Government warehouse, must and does pay the $600 tariff duty before the article can be removed, and then delivers such article to such purchaser and receives from him the total amount, $1,620, being the factory cost, transportation expenses, and duty, and our American citizen purchasing in this way pays the tariff duty of $600 as fully as if he himself had imported the article and had paid the said three items—$1,000 factory cost, $20 expenses, and $600 duty—to the three different persons, manufacturer, carrier, and collector of customs.

Suppose, however, that after he has bought this article at a cost of $1,620 the selling price in the market falls, or fashions or styles change, or financial depression ensue, or he becomes financially embarrassed, or for any other cause he is compelled to sell the article at cost, the consumer still pays the duties. He may be compelled to sell the article even at a loss of 10, 20, 30, or 50, or any other per cent., then he is the sufferer and the consumer the gainer. He does not deduct the loss from the item of $600 tariff duty any more than from the item of $1,000 factory cost.

He simply charges his loss to account of loss. This is an incident to all transactions of buying and selling all kinds of products, domestic and foreign, dutiable and free, and is an exception to the general rule of business; and in all such cases of loss the consumer gets the benefit of such reduced price. Certainly no one buys to sell again without the hope of gain or profit. If mistaken, he must bear the loss.

The duty is imposed by law upon the specific article when imported, not upon the foreign manufacturer, not upon the common carrier of such articles, not upon the importer, nor yet upon the seller or the buyer. It is imposed by law upon such dutiable imported articles, regardless of the persons producing or handling, buying or selling such article for the express and avowed purpose of making such article cost more; of increasing the cost of such article in our markets by the amount of the tariff duty; for the especial benefit and protection, not of the consumer, nor of the importer, whoever he may be, but of the home manufacturer, and for the further express purpose of making the consumer of such foreign article pay this increased additional cost of the tariff duty if he will purchase such foreign article in preference to the like article manufactured here. If this be not the object and purpose of imposing tariff duties upon imported articles, then protection and high tariff laws are a humbug, a fraud, a delusion, a will-o'-the-wisp.

The fact that the consumer of any imported product pays the tariff duties thereon in the increased price paid for such article seems so plain, so patent, that no one would dispute it. Yet we find the protectionist leaders and publications claiming that the foreign manufacturer pays the tariff duties, not the consumer. If this be true, the consumer is benefited to the amount of the tariff duties. This conclusion must necessarily and logically follow if the claim be true that the foreign manufacturer pays the tariff. Practically this claim is that the protectionists have devised a mysterious system imposing high tariff duties upon imported articles, whereby the foreign manufacturers and exporters to this country have to pay such duties and then sell such articles to our consumers without adding such duties as a part of the price.

There is no mystery about taxes imposed on an imported article. The consumer of such article pays it. No arithmetical legerdemain can relieve him from its payment.

Senator EDMUNDS, in his tariff article in Harper's Magazine for February, 1888, in reply to Mr. Watterson, refers to the policy of England in advocating partial free trade, and what she knew, and said, meaning England:

> Well understanding the error of the idea that seems to be advanced in Mr. Watterson's article, that it is the consumer who bears the whole burden of impost duties, and well understanding the fact that at least a very heavy proportion of such imposts is borne by the foreign producer or manufacturer, this last-named fact appears to be entirely overlooked by those who advocate great reductions of customs duties as a benefit to the consumer and as a relief of the consumer from taxation. If the profits of the foreign manufacturer or producer are essentially diminished by customs duties, and are essentially increased by the diminution or abolition thereof, then so far the money obtained from them is not by taxation of our own people, but by taxation of the foreigner; and if the surplus revenues are to be reduced by the abolition or reduction of the customs duties, so far they are reduced not for the benefit of our own people but to the benefit of people of other countries who are the exporters of goods to our markets.

He attempts to sustain his position by referring to the removal of the duties on coffee and tea, and says no decrease in selling price here resulted, and makes comparisons of prices.

The fallacy of his statement is clearly shown by his illustration of the effects of removing duties from coffee and tea, articles not produced in this country and not benefited in production here by duties.

The question is not what effect the removal of duties from an article not manufactured or produced in this country may have upon its selling price here.

Protectionists advocate protective duties on articles manufactured here, to defend, to protect the home manufacturers against competition or too close competition with like articles manufactured abroad, and the effects of an increase or reduction of tariff duties must and can only be ascertained by confining comparisons to protected articles produced here with like articles produced abroad.

Senator EDMUNDS says—

> "If" the profits of the foreign manufacturer or producer are essentially diminished by customs duties and are essentially increased by the diminution or abolition thereof, then so far the money obtained from them is not by taxation of our own people but by taxation of the foreigner.

He uses his famous "if," and does not assert his proposition to be true.

His "if" is based upon the supposition that the demand and supply, and consequently the market price paid by the consumer, remain unchanged, and disregards competition.

Take as an example an article of cotton cloth manufactured here and in England, the cost of which in England is $950 and here $1,000, and the market price—selling price to consumer—is $1,200. There being no duty, the English manufacturer receives $250 profit and the home manufacturer $200 profit, and the consumer pays $1,200.

Now, impose a tariff duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem on the imported article, and you reduce the profit of the foreigner to $155 and leave the profit of the American at $200, and consumer pays $1,200 for the article and is not benefited; but the home manufacturer realizes a relatively higher profit.

Now, impose a tariff duty of 20 per cent. ad valorem, or an equivalent specific duty on the imported article, and you reduce the profit of the foreigner to $60 and relatively increase the profit of the American manufacturer, and the consumer still pays $1,200 and is not benefited.

Now, impose 30 per cent. ad valorem duty, and the foreigner suffers a loss of $35 and the American receives his same $200 profit and has a monopoly of the American home market, and the consumer still pays the same $1,200, derives no benefit, and is liable to have the $1,200 market price slightly increased.

Now, increase the duty to 40 per cent. ad valorem, and the foreigner would lose $130, if he still sold at $1,200, and the home manufacturer would have an exclusive monopoly of the home market; and even at the same price of $1,200 the consumer would still pay the tariff tax and would certainly have the market price increased to $1,250 or $1,300.

Now, reverse the transaction. There is a 40 per cent. duty on the foreign article and the home manufacturer has a monopoly, no competition from abroad, and holds the article at $1,200, or even an increase, and no duty goes to the Government. Reduce the duty to 30 per cent. and he still has a monopoly. Reduce it to 20 per cent. and the foreign producer can make a profit of $60 on his product, worth at home $950, and begins to export the product to this country, and as long as the demand, the consumption, will take all the home product and foreign at the $1,200, the home manufacturer keeps on his $200 profit, but if the market becomes dull and demand light he reduces the price in the home market to $1,140, or his profit to 14 per cent., and then the foreigner can make no profit and must retire. And in all cases of reduction of duties the consumer receives the benefit, either in reduced price of foreign product or reduced price of home product, or both.

The consumer at home, and never the foreigner, pays all tariff duties on imported articles, and not only this, but he pays to the home manufacturer for his product profits increased by the amount of the tariff duties imposed on like competing imported article, subject only to the competition in this country among and between the protected manufacturers.

When the duty is so high that there is no margin of profit to the manufacturer in foreign countries on his products exported to this country, you close our ports to the entry of his products, and the duty becomes prohibitory and gives the home manufacturers a monopoly and the liberty, power, and temptation to form trusts and combinations, to reduce any competition among themselves, limit the products of their factories to the consumptive demand at their own prices, and to shut down their factories whenever production exceeds consumption, and thus begin a reduction of consumption, which leads to industrial depression and to lock-outs of laborers and to want, misery, and suffering.

But to establish still more clearly that the consumer pays in the price paid for a dutiable imported article the amount of the tariff duty thereon with the per cent. of profit generally added, I will quote from protectionists whose loyalty to the system can not be doubted. Mr. Clay said, in 1832, in speaking of the public debt:

> It is so nearly being totally extinguished that we may now safely inquire whether, without prejudice to any established policy, we may not relieve the consumption of the country by the repeal or reduction of duties.

If the consumers of the country did not pay the tariff duties, how could their repeal or reduction relieve them?

Ex-President John Quincy Adams, when a Representative in the House from Massachusetts, on May 23, 1832, submitted to the House from the Committee on Manufactures his celebrated report, No. 481, in which he discusses fully who pays the tariff duties, and says:

> But the duty upon the article imported from abroad enabled the domestic producer to enter into competition with the importer from abroad. So long as this competition continues the duty operates as a bounty or premium to the domestic manufacturer. But by whom is it paid? Certainly by the purchaser of the article, whether of foreign or of domestic manufacture. The duty constitutes a part of the price of the whole mass of the article in the market. It is substantially paid upon the article of domestic manufacture as well as upon

that of foreign production. Upon one it is a bounty, upon the other a burden, and the repeal of the tax must operate as an equivalent reduction of the price of the article, whether foreign or domestic. * * *

The incidental effect of competition in the market, excited on the part of the domestic manufacturer by the aggravation of duty upon the corresponding article imported from abroad to reduce the price of the article, must be transient and momentary. The general and permanent effect must be to increase the price of the article to the extent of the additional duty, and it is then paid by the consumer. If it were not so, if the general effect of adding to a duty were to make the price of the article upon which it is levied less, the converse of the proposition would also be true, and the operation for increasing the price of the domestic article would be to repeal the duty upon the same article imported—an experiment which the friends of our internal industry will not be desirous of making. We can not subscribe, therefore, to the doctrine that the duties of impost protective of our own manufactures are paid by the foreign merchant or manufacturer.

This should be absolutely conclusive.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

The burden of the song of protectionists to-day is the alleged protection of our laboring people against foreign pauper labor.

Our Republican friends assert that a high protection tariff gives higher and better wages to laborers engaged in our manufactures—than they would receive under a revenue tariff—which necessarily affords protection to the extent and amount of the duties or tariff taxes imposed under it.

The Democratic party denies it.

The issue is squarely and fairly made.

The Republican protectionists hold the affirmative, and the Democratic party the negative.

We demand affirmative proof, facts and figures, of protectionists to maintain their position.

What do they offer in the way of proof, facts and figures?

Mr. Blaine points to the low wages, deprivations, sufferings, almost starvation, of laborers in England and Europe, and then points to the happy, prosperous, joyous, and contented condition and high wages of American laborers, and warns the American laborers that the proposed House bill, reducing the average ad valorem rates of duties from 50.60 per cent. to 42.77 per cent., a reduction of 7.83 per cent., will reduce their wages and lower them to a level with foreign laborers and reduce them to a like condition.

In this he only follows in the footsteps of his distinguished successor in the Senate, Senator FRYE, who previously made a tour of Europe, and has ever since been depicting to American laborers the fearful condition of the pauper laborers of Europe, and appealing to them to vote for a high protective tariff to prevent being reduced to a similar condition.

They say that this proposed reduction of the tariff duties will cause many American manufacturers to close, and thus throw out of employment their laborers, or will force these manufacturers to reduce the wages of labor in order to maintain competition with rival establishments in foreign countries employing so-called pauper labor. In support of their first point, that wages are higher in this country than in England, Europe, or any other country, they present many tables of figures, comparing the daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly wages in this country with the wages for like employment in England, Europe, and other foreign countries, and showing higher wages here than in those countries. In reply we say with the greatest pleasure and pride, yes, wages in dollars and cents in this country as compared with wages in foreign countries by the day, week, month, or year are higher, and we intend they shall remain so, if our wise and just policy shall prevail.

But our Republican friends say the high tariff, the high taxes they have imposed upon foreign products, causes and produces these higher wages in this country, and must be maintained to keep the wages up to their present rate. This we most emphatically deny, and demand the proofs that high tariff taxes have either caused or will maintain higher wages here than in foreign countries. Now, what proof do they offer? They fall back upon the one only simple fact, which we gladly admit, that wages are higher here than in foreign countries. The fact of higher wages here we admit. The assumption, the assertion, that protection causes these higher wages we deny *in toto*. In order to expose the glaring fallacy of this mere assertion, let us apply to this one fact and one false assertion the principles of logic.

Before doing this let me state unquestioned facts, which every intelligent American voter must know, that England is called a free-trade country, and that Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and other European countries have high protective tariff duties on products imported, just as this country has to-day, and that wages, by the day, week, month, or year, compared in dollars and cents, are higher in England than in any other country except the United States, and are higher in France than in any other continental country, and are higher in Germany than in Austria, Spain, or Italy, and that these countries, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and Austria, are adjoining and contiguous countries, with lines of division and separation such as mark the boundaries of our respective States, with railroads and transportation routes connecting and running into and through them respectively as in our adjoining States. They are, however, separate and independent nations with different languages.

Now, our Republican friends reason thus: Wages are higher in the United States than in any other country. The United States have a high protective tariff, therefore the high protective tariff causes higher wages and must be maintained. The major premise we admit, the minor premise we admit, but the conclusion is false.

Now, apply the same logic to other countries. Wages are lower in Italy than any other European country. Italy has a high protective tariff, therefore a high protective tariff causes lower wages in Italy and must be maintained to keep them lower.

Again, wages are lower in Germany than in England. Germany has a high protective tariff, therefore a high protective tariff causes such lower wages.

Again, wages are higher in France than in Germany. France has a high tariff, therefore the high tariff causes the higher wages. Wages are lower in Germany than in France. Germany has a high protective tariff, therefore this high tariff causes the lower wages. Wages are higher in the United States than in Germany, France, and Italy, and all four countries have high tariffs; therefore, if the high tariff in this country causes the higher wages here, then the same high tariff in each of those countries must cause the lower wages there.

Wages are higher in England than in Europe. England has free trade; therefore free trade causes the higher wages.

If because wages are higher in this country than in England, the high tariff here causes such higher wages; then, because wages are higher in England than Europe, free trade there must cause the higher wages.

Canada and Mexico, our adjoining countries, each have high tariffs and lower wages than in this country. If the high tariff here cause the higher wages, then the high tariff in Canada and Mexico must cause the lower wages there.

In all these cases the major and minor premises are true, but in each the conclusion must be false. The same substantial cause in such adjoining countries can not possibly produce such diametrically opposite effects.

The conclusion is irresistible that a high tariff, high protective duties, can not and do not in this or any other country increase the rate of wages.

But to further expose the fallacy, the falsity of this assumption—mere assertion—that protection, high tariff taxes, increase wages, compare the rates of wages in this country in the different States, and even in different localities in the same State.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, in his first annual report, for 1886, shows by numerous tables "the variation in the rates of wages" in the different States and different localities of the same State, and says:

A casual examination of these summaries will show that any attempt to prove an American rate of wages must necessarily result in failure. There is no such thing as an American rate of wages.

The following are examples of the variation in the rates of wages in same kind of work in manufactures in different States and in different localities in same State:

In agricultural implements the average rates of daily wages for males were for "molders," in Illinois, $3.13; in Indiana, $1.65; in Pennsylvania, $1.80; and in Ohio, $2.51. For painters, $2.09 in Illinois, $1.72 in Indiana, $1.50 in Maine, and $2.50 in Pennsylvania.

In cotton goods, for "carders," 85 cents in Delaware, 71 cents in Maryland, $1.26 in Massachusetts, 96 cents in New Hampshire, and $1.20 in New York; for "engineers," $2.50 in Connecticut, $1.50 in Georgia, $2.04 in Massachusetts, $2 in New Jersey, $2.43 in Pennsylvania, and $4.33 in Vermont; for "machinists," $1.50 in Connecticut, $1.83 in Maine, $2.13 in Maryland, $1.47 in Massachusetts, $2.35 in New Jersey, $1.94 in New York, and $2 in North Carolina; and for "overseers," in Connecticut $2.57, in Georgia $3.43, in Massachusetts $2.85, in New Hampshire $4.15, and in New York $2.56.

In "metals and metallic goods," for "puddlers," in Delaware $2.50, in Illinois $4, in New York $2.84, in Pennsylvania $3.47, and in West Virginia $2.75.

In "print works," for "engravers," in New Hampshire $4.28, in New Jersey $2, and in Pennsylvania $3.33.

In "woolen goods," for "carders," in California $1.75, in Vermont $1, in Pennsylvania $2.65, and in New York $1.08; for "dyers," in California $1.87, in Delaware $3, in Maine $1.44, in Massachusetts $1.12, in New Jersey $1, and in Vermont $1.02; for "finishers," in Connecticut 98 cents, in Massachusetts 99 cents, in New Jersey 75 cents, in New York $1.25, and in Missouri $2; for "weavers," in Delaware $1.71, in New Jersey $1, in New York $1.08, in New Hampshire $1.50, and in Massachusetts $1.28.

In different localities in some States—in Ohio in agricultural implements, "plows," for blacksmiths, in one establishment $2.50, in another $2, and in another, $1.75; and such like variations exist in other States. These variations in the prices for the same kind of work exist in foreign countries and in different localities in the same country in about the same degree as in the different States in this country and in different localities in the same State, and they also exist in all the industries, protected and unprotected, here and elsewhere, and the rates of wages here in the unprotected industries are relatively as much higher than in foreign countries as the rates in the protected industries are. Therefore protection can not regulate or increase wages. How

can these facts of the differences in wages in different States and different localities in the same State exist if the tariff duties regulate or increase wages?

Absolute free trade, without restrictions, taxes, or burdens of any kind between all the States and Territories of our great country and among all our 60,000,000 of people is the constitutional policy, and exists while the same tariff duties are uniform in every State. Can the same cause operating uniformly everywhere in this country produce such widely different effects or results? It is absolutely impossible.

This assertion—mere assumption—that protection is specially for the benefit of the laborers, wage-workers, of this country, and not for the benefit and enrichment of manufacturers, is now the main reliance of protectionists, our Republican friends, to maintain the high tariff duties. Hence the frantic efforts to make the voters, the toiling laborers, believe and assent to this assertion. This is comparatively a new subterfuge, a *dernier ressort* of those who advocate high protective duties.

The protective system, high tariff duties, this exotic system, formed and fashioned in imitation of the restrictive, prohibitory systems of foreign nations, practiced by the Celestial Empire and by Great Britain before our nation was born, when civilization and humane efforts for the amelioration of the masses were struggling with barbarism and feudalism, and it was thought to be necessary to shelter and hedge around every industry with the strictest laws, was not transplanted and established and maintained here to regulate or increase the wages of the employés engaged therein, and had no such object in view. On the contrary, it was established for the express purpose of encouraging and protecting manufactures, such manufactories as would tend to render us independent of foreign nations for essential, particularly military, supplies, and of insuring to manufacturers remunerative profits for their investments of capital, and was never intended to be perpetual, but only temporary, as I have already shown, and the fact was admitted and recognized that the tendency would be the reduction of the then existing higher wages in this country to the standard rates in foreign countries.

What are the proofs of these statements? In the tariff law of July 4, 1789, to which protectionists so often refer, the preamble recited:

Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandises imported.

And not a word or syllable can be found in that law looking to the protection of American labor or increasing wages.

On January 15, 1790, the House of Representatives, in the Second Congress, ordered the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton—

to prepare and report a proper plan or plans for the encouragement and promotion of such manufactories as will tend to make the United States independent of other nations for essential, particularly for military, supplies.

Not a word or syllable can be found in this order about any plan for protecting American labor or increasing wages. The Secretary, Mr. Hamilton, submitted his report on manufactures, from which I have quoted so largely, and said not a word about protecting American labor against the cheaper or pauper labor of all foreign countries, or increasing the wages of American laborers; but, on the contrary, expressly enumerated as the fourth principal reason, which would make manufacturing establishments beneficial to the country, "the promoting of emigration from foreign countries," which was to be the panacea for the "scarcity of hands and the dearness of labor."

He admitted the fact, then and ever since existing, that wages were higher in this country than in any other, and affirmed that—

in respect to hands for carrying on manufactures we shall in a great measure trade upon a foreign stock.

Import our manufacturing laborers or employés, reserve our own laborers for other pursuits, and thus, by increasing the numbers of those seeking employment, lessen the scarcity of hands and necessarily reduce the wages.

He admitted that protecting duties—

evidently amount to a virtual bounty on the domestic fabrics;

And—

by enhancing the charges on foreign articles they enable the national manufacturers to undersell all their foreign competitors;

And—

wear a beneficent aspect toward the manufacturers of the country;

And that—

as often as a duty upon a foreign article makes an addition to its price, it causes an extra expense to the community for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer.

It is thus clear that the acknowledged father of this British-Chinese protective system urged its establishment and maintenance, not for the purpose of protecting American labor or increasing wages, then, as now, higher in this country than any other, but for the encouragement and protection of the manufacturers and to insure to them remunerative profits.

Mr. Clay, the successor of Mr. Hamilton, in defending and maintaining this protective anti-American system, never urged it for the purpose of protecting American labor or increasing wages. On the contrary, when warned of the results of the high protective system of Great Britain in producing lower wages, pauperism, and vice, and that the same results might follow the transplanting and maintaining of this British system in America, he replied that—

Pauperism is in general the effect of an overflowing population. Manufactures have undoubtedly produced a redundant population.

And that while our waste lands existed they were a security against the abuses of the manufacturing system and the effects of too great a density of population, and would draw off the redundancy, but were—

An impediment in the opinion of some to the success of manufacturing industry by its tendency to prevent the reduction of the wages of labor.

He urged that—

The abundance of capital, * * * the reduction of the wages of labor, and the decline in the price of property of every kind, as well as that of agricultural produce, all concur favorably for domestic manufactures.

He contended that relatively wages were not so much higher here than in England, as was claimed.

The facts, therefore, are that wages were higher in this country before any tariff law was enacted than in any other country, and have ever since remained so, and that this British system of high protective duties was advocated for the benefit of manufacturers, and to promote emigration from foreign countries to compete here with our American labor, to increase the numbers seeking employment, increase the competition, and reduce the wages.

This has ever since been the policy of protectionists—to import the hands to carry on manufactures, to trade upon a foreign stock.

The conclusive evidence of this is found in the enactment of the law of July 4, 1864, entitled "An act to encourage immigration" (volume 13, United States Statutes at Large, pages 385, 386, 387).

This law appropriated $25,000 to carry its provisions into effect and authorized the appointment by the President of a Commissioner of Immigration with $2,500 salary, and section 2 provided:

That all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries, in conformity to regulations that may be established by the said commissioner, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months, to pay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States or of the several States and Territories, and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract and the contract be recorded in the recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the homestead law when the title is consummated or on property otherwise acquired until liquidated by the emigrant.

It was provided in section 3, as follows:

That no person shall be qualified to fill any office under this act who shall be directly or indirectly interested in any corporation having lands for sale to immigrants, or in the carrying or transportation of immigrants either from foreign countries to the United States and its Territories or to any part thereof.

This clearly shows that these contract laborers to be imported were not intended to develop the West or for the agricultural interest, but for the manufacturing interests. This law was not for the protection of American laborers or the increase of their wages, but was in strict accord with the policy of protectionists from the days of Hamilton.

To establish my position still more conclusively, I quote from the speech of Hon. John F. Miller, now deceased, and late United States Senator from California, in the Senate on the 28th day of February, 1882:

The average American manufacturer is interested generally in two things, namely, the highest protective tariff and the cheapest labor. * * * It is not difficult to perceive the origin of that political economy which suggests high protective tariff and at the same time advocates the admission of servile laborers into this country without limit. It means high prices for the products of manufacture and low prices for the labor which produces them; the aggrandizement of capital and the debasement of labor; greater wealth to the wealthy and greater poverty to the poor.

I also quote from speech of Senator JOHN P. JONES, of Nevada, now a member of Senate Finance Committee, made on the 9th day of March, 1882, in the Senate:

I have noticed, Mr. President, that most of those who are in favor of the largest liberty being extended to the Chinese immigrant to this country are also in favor of a tariff—a tariff which has been urged as necessary to protect the American laborer from the degradation of competition with the pauper labor of Europe, as it is usually termed. In reality, if we may judge of their motives by the action of the men who are now advocating a tariff, it was not the American laborer they wished to protect against the pauper labor of Europe, but it was the American capitalist, the lordly manufacturer, that they wished to protect against the free competition of the capitalist of Europe. Our capitalist manufacturer wanted a larger interest on his money than the capitalist of Europe was willing to accept, and he was given the benefit of a tariff.

Let us see how that tariff works. It works in this wise, that everything that the capitalist manufacturer has to sell he sells in a protected market, he sells in a market in which foreign capitalists can not compete with him.

How is it with what he has to buy? For the principal article he has to buy—to wit, the labor of men—he demands free trade in the broadest sense, not only free trade in bringing in laborers of our own race who can soon accommodate themselves to our conditions of life, but the bringing in a class of laborers who have been inured to poverty by thousands of years of training. The capitalist asks the broadest free trade for that, his own market in any event being protected.

Now, how is it with the laborer? Everything he wants to buy he has to buy from his capitalist master in a protected market; everything he has to sell, to wit, his labor (and, unlike the capitalist, he can not hold it away from sale; unlike the capitalist, he can not wait for better times, or travel here and there where he pleases to sell it, but he must sell it every day), he must sell in the openest market in the world. This is the theory in favor of the laborer that the gentleman [Mr. DAWES, of Massachusetts] propounds to us. We reject it, and by this bill propose to bar out this degrading, this shocking competition with our own people. And yet he tells us we are striking a blow at labor, that we are proposing to inflict injury on the laborers of our country.

Ah! sir, when the artisans and laborers of this country shall be made to understand that they are subjected to free trade in labor they will demand as one

of the conditions of their existence that they shall have an open market in which to buy that which they want if it is an open market in which they must sell their labor, the only thing they have to sell. They will never consent to a tariff on bales and boxes and hampers of goods coupled with free trade in human brain and muscle.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. DAWES] told us that he wanted the American people to know that this bill was a blow struck at labor. Yes, sir, it is a blow struck at degraded, underpaid, underclothed, underfed labor, and it is a blow in favor of that fair remuneration which the forces of our civilization up to this hour have decreed that the laborer should get.

Have those who have been the beneficiaries of the protective duties and bounties of the Government carried out in practice this policy of "promoting emigration from foreign countries" and "traded on a foreign stock" of imported laborers? Let the facts and figures answer.

From January 1, 1865, to December 31, 1887, 8,582,077 foreigners, not including any from Canada and Mexico since July 1, 1885, came to our hospitable shores, and from nearly every civilized nation on earth.

The tenth census shows that 2,732,595 hands of both sexes, all ages and nativities, were employed in manufacturing industries, and 3,837,112 of both sexes, all ages and nationalities, were employed in both manufactures and mechanical and mining industries, and of this number 2,611,325 were natives of this country, and 1,225,787 of foreign birth; 284,175 from Ireland, 368,110 from Germany, 225,730 from Great Britain, 44,615 from Scandinavia, 153,935 from British America, and 149,222 from other countries. The percentage of persons, native and foreign, engaged in all and in separate occupations in 1880 are as follows:

Occupations.	Natives.	Foreigners.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
All occupations	79.91	20.09
Agriculture	89.40	10.60
Professional and personal services	75.52	24.48
Trade and transportation	74.67	25.33
Manufacturing, mechanical and mining	68.05	31.95

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in his first annual report as United States Commissioner of Labor, page 245, in commenting on this ratio or percentage of foreigners in manufacturing industries, says:

It will be seen at once that the tendency of immigrants is to assimilate with our mechanical industries. This increases the supply of labor in comparison to the demand, lowers wages, contributes to whatever overproduction exists, and cripples temporarily the consuming power of the whole.

The eighteenth annual report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the bureau of statistics of labor for Massachusetts, submitted December 31, 1887, dealing with the unemployed in that State in 1885, shows 816,470 persons of both sexes, all ages and nationalities, engaged in gainful occupations, and of this number 574,881 employed and 241,589 unemployed, the percentage of employed being 70.41 and of unemployed 29.59.

In his analysis, Mr. Wright says:

In other words, a little less than one-third of the persons returned as being engaged in remunerative labor were unemployed for about one-third of their working time; while on the other hand, the working population of the State, considered in their entirety, were employed at their principal occupation for a trifle less than eleven months during the census year.

Of the 241,589 unemployed, 144,553, or 57.37 per cent., were natives of the United States, and 97,036, or 42.63 per cent., were foreign born; the foreign born from Ireland, 46,872; from Canada, English, 2,297; from Canada, French, 15,535; from England, 11,399; Scotland, 2,314; Nova Scotia, 6,091; New Brunswick, 2,407; Germany, 2,592, and from other foreign countries in less numbers, there being some from each of the following countries: Prince Edward Island, Sweden, Portugal, Asia, Africa, Austria, Belgium, British America, China, Cuba and West Indies, Denmark, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Newfoundland, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sandwich Islands, South America, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Wales, and 388 persons from countries not specified.

When the United States granted to the Central Pacific Railroad of California millions of acres of the public doman and $25,885,120 in bonds to aid in the construction of that road, the managers or contractors, by contract with the Chinese companies in California, imported Chinese laborers by the thousand (estimated at ten thousand) to do the work, to displace American labor, and reduce wages.

These facts speak for themselves and show how faithfully the protectionists have carried out the policy of their so-called protection to American labor by the "promoting of emigration from foreign countries" and the importation of laborers from almost every race on earth, civilized and uncivilized, and placing them in their manufactories to compete with American laborers and reduce their wages.

One thing alone—our immense area of unsettled public domain—has thus far saved us from an overflowing population in our manufacturing centers and the inevitable results, reduction of wages, pauperism, and vice. The proof of this statement is found in the report of cotton manufactures by Edward Atkinson in the Tenth Census, wherein he says:

During the last thirty years the factory population of New England has passed through three phases. First came the sons and daughters of the New England farmer; but as the sewing-machine and other inventions opened new demands for women's work, women of American birth passed out to easier or better paid employments, while the men took up other branches requiring more individual skill. These places were taken mainly by Irish, with a few Germans and English. But as the Irish saved their earnings and as the New England yeomen emigrated to the richer lands of the great West, they passed out of the mills to buy up the deserted farms of the poorer Northeastern States, where by their persistent industry and manual labor they achieved success and gained a position which satisfied them, but with which the native New Englander is no longer contented. Their places in the mills are now being more and more taken by the French Canadians, who in their new conditions and surroundings show little of the stolid and unprogressive character which has kept them so long contented on their little strips of land on the St. Lawrence River.

Thus, while our manufacturers have been protected by high duties on all foreign products competing with theirs in our markets, and have practically enjoyed, and now enjoy, a monopoly of the home market, they have been and are practical free-traders in foreign labor and in wages, and have been the importers of foreign laborers from every race and tongue on earth, and have enacted laws to legalize their grinding contracts made in foreign countries with foreign laborers, even making such contracts a lien upon the homesteads of such laborers and all other property, and made the United States to pay the expenses of administering such laws; and have freely and without restrictions—until the law of February 26, 1885, was enacted "to prohibit the importation and immigration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its Territories, and the District of Columbia"—imported such foreign laborers and placed them in factories and mines to take the place of their former employés at reduced wages.

These facts are known to all, and can not be denied.

Our American laborers, instead of enjoying any increase of wages in protected industries, have all the time been in free, unrestricted competition with the laborers of all foreign nations. Even since the passage of the law prohibiting imported contract laborers the manufacturing and mining bosses have been evading the law and still importing foreign laborers through others.

Their motto is protection against competition in the sale of the products of labor in their monopolized home market and free trade in laborers and their rates of wages.

If the laborers are benefited by protection and their rates of wages either maintained or increased, why do the laborers, who are members of the organized labor associations, such as Knights of Labor and others, receive higher wages as a rule than other laborers not such members? Why does organized labor receive better wages than unorganized? Why strikes of laborers in protected industries to prevent reduction of wages?

Who receive the prices of the sales of the products of protected industries, the laborers or the manufacturers? Who receive the additional or increased prices for which the protected products are sold, the laborers or the protected manufacturers? The manufacturers always receive the prices for which the protected products are sold in the first instance.

By claiming that protective duties are necessary to enable them to pay the present rate of wages they admit they are the beneficiaries of the protection. If they do not, why do they clamor for protection? They receive all the proceeds of the sales of all the products of all their employés.

Unless protection secures to them higher prices for their products it can be to them no benefit, gain, or profit, and is a delusion. If the laborers are intended to be the sole beneficiaries of protection, or even in part, why not so word the tariff laws as to secure the payment direct to the laborers of the whole or some particular part of the increased prices secured by protection?

The protected manufacturers are intelligent, progressive, and aggressive business men. They have large sums of money invested in protected industries, and like all other business men, they work to make as large profits as possible on their investments. They therefore buy the materials for manufacture at the lowest possible prices in any accessible market, and hire or employ the necessary laborers, skilled and unskilled, at the lowest possible prices they can induce them to accept. And in some instances where force can be used to any advantage, armed detectives and police are hired to overawe the laborers into submission to their own terms.

As they purchase materials, so they purchase the labor of their employés, and then sell the products of the laborers and their investments, the manufactured articles, at the highest prices obtainable in the protected market.

The demand for and the supply of the raw materials in the market determine the prices they have to pay therefor.

If there be a surplus of such materials in the market, an excess over the demand, the prices paid therefor are the lowest, and are graded according to the quantity of the surplus. If demand and supply be equal, the prices are fair, average, or general. If the demand be greater than the quantity of such materials in the market, the prices are higher, above the general average.

So it is in the sales of their products. If the demand for such products be greater than the supply or quantity of the products, they can sell the same at high prices, graded according to the excess of the demand over the supply. If the quantity or supply of such products in the market be greater than the demand therefor, they must either hold their surplus or sell at lower prices.

As in the purchase of materials and the sales of the products of the labor and materials, so in the purchase of the labor of the employés, the demand and supply, the number of employers, and the number of those seeking employment, to a very great extent regulate and control the rates of wages, the selling price of labor—the only product the laboring man has to sell—and sell this labor he must or suffer for the necessaries of life. He can not store it away and await an increase of the rates of wages. If there be only one laborer and one employer the laborer can secure a fair price or rate of wages. If there be one laborer and two employers the laborer can secure a higher rate of wages. If there be two laborers and only one employer he secures the laborer at the lower rates. If there be five, ten, or more laborers to one employer in the labor market such employer can almost dictate his own terms or rate of wages; while if there be five, ten, or more employers to one laborer he can almost dictate the rate of wages.

Protection therefore has absolutely nothing to do with the ability of the protected manufacturer to pay the present or increased rate of wages, and is of no possible benefit to the laborer.

All the prophecies of protectionists of dire disasters to the manufacturing establishments and of reduction of wages to follow the passage of the House bill are without foundation. The duties remaining on imported articles of the same kind manufactured here will, as an incident to the revenues they yield to the Treasury, be amply and more than sufficient to enable every healthful, legitimate manufacturing establishment to continue and to prosper and to pay the present and even an increased rate of wages, and not one will be closed by the passage of that bill that will not be closed if the bill never passes.

To show still more conclusively that the high tariff taxes—protection—do not regulate or increase wages, I submit the following statement, compiled from the Tenth Census, showing the value of various manufactured products, the labor cost, the percentage of labor cost, the existing ad valorem high tariff, and the rate proposed in the House bill:

Industries.	Value of product.	Labor cost.	Percentage paid labor.	Present tariff rate.	Tariff rate by House bill.
				Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Carpets	$31,792,802	$6,835,218	21.5	47	30
Cotton goods	210,950,383	45,614,419	21.6	50	40
Bolts, nuts, etc	10,073,330	1,981,300	19.7	59	35
Nails and spikes	5,629,240	1,255,171	22.3	43	34
Iron pipe, wrought	13,292,162	1,788,258	13.5	70	35
Oil, castor	653,900	44,714	6.8	194	97
Oil, linseed	15,393,812	681,677	4.4	54	21
Screws	2,184,532	456,542	20.9	50	35
Wool hats	8,516,569	1,893,215	22.2	54	40
Woolen goods	160,606,721	25,836,392	16.1	70	40
Worsted goods	33,549,942	5,683,027	16.9	68	40

The laborers in all these employments receive much less for labor—not even one-half of the tariff tax—than the amount of the protection secured to the product by this tax. And the rates of wages do not vary in different industries in proportion to the rate of tariff tax or protection afforded in each.

Our Republican friends claim and assert that protection—high tariff taxes—makes the wages of labor high and the prices of their products to the consumers low, and therefore, in the interest and for the benefit of the laborers and consumers, must be perpetuated. This is a pleasing claim, an attractive assertion, and very misleading and false. Analyze it and see the assertion as it really is. The assertion, in other words, is that high tariff taxes make the rates of wages higher and the prices of products lower than they would be under a revenue tariff or without a high tariff; in other words, high tariff taxes compel manufacturers to pay out more money and to increase their expenses, and to take in less money and to decrease their revenues; and therefore the manufacturers will be ruined, unless these high tariff taxes, which so compel them to pay out more money, increase their expenses, and to take in less money, decrease their revenues, are perpetuated.

They appeal, in that way they have so long found effective, to Congress to enact laws not merely maintaining, but largely increasing, the present war-tariff taxes on all imported products which compete with their products in the blessed home market, and blandly claim that such laws are not for their own benefit, profit, or enrichment, but especially for the benefit of the laborers, American labor, and of the consumers of both the imported and home-manufactured products, and when their claim is denied then they assert vigorously that such laws will so operate as to compel the foreign manufacturers and not the consumers of such imported articles to pay such high taxes, and to compel them to pay higher rates of wages to the laborers, and to sell their manufactures at lower prices, to pay out more money, and to take in less money than they could or would without such high tariff taxes, or with a revenue tariff. The falsity and the absurdity of their claims are thus made apparent.

They receive all the proceeds of the sales of their manufactures. Why do they not pay such higher wages to their laborers and sell their products to the consumers at lower prices without any law to compel them to do so? They can if they will, and no such laws are necessary to make them, and if they were they would be useless and inoperative and could not benefit laborers. Labor would still be bought in the market, laborers would still be hired at the lowest rates of wages at which obtainable in the free market.

High tariff taxes, protection to manufactures, can not and do not regulate or increase wages. This must be apparent from the facts I have presented.

But, Mr. President, instead of regulating or increasing rates of wages, high tariff taxes—protection to manufactures—tend to decrease, to lessen the rates of wages. They give the manufacturers a monopoly of the home market, but restrict them, by the taxes on many products used in their factories, from any serious efforts to secure markets in foreign countries.

As I have shown, the steam and water power in our industrial establishments is capable of turning out manufactures far beyond the possible consumption of such articles by our home market. And being restricted from the foreign markets upon equal terms with competitors the manufacturers must either sell at greatly reduced prices or stop production or reduce wages. They have had from 1880 to 1886, both inclusive, high tariff taxes. The results are that during this period there were 22,304 establishments involved in strikes, and 1,323,203 employés striking or involved in such strikes, and of this last number 1,020,156 employés originated the strikes. The employés before the strikes numbered 1,660,835, and after the strikes only 1,635,047, leaving 25,788 employés to seek labor elsewhere. There were 103,038 new employés engaged after the strikes, of whom 37,483 were brought from other places.

Strikes for increase of wages occurred in 9,439 establishments, against reduction of wages in 1,734, for reduction of hours of labor in 4,344, for increase of wages and reduction of hours of labor in 1,692, and for reduction of hours and against being compelled to board with employer in 800. During same period there were lock-outs in 2,214 establishments, involving 175,270 employés, of which 1,753, or 79.18 per cent., were ordered by combinations of managers.

TRUSTS.

In the great manufacturing States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Illinois the number of establishments in such States involved in strikes was 74.84 per cent. of all the establishments so involved in the whole country, and the number of lock-outs in such States was 89.48 per cent. of all lock-outs.

These five States, by the census of 1880, contained 49 per cent. of all the manufacturing establishments of the country.

Why this great strife and contention about rates of wages and these lock-outs by combinations of managers if high tariff taxes—protection—regulate or increase wages?

The figures I have given are taken from the third annual report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor. He also gives from the best obtainable data the estimated losses, and says:

> The loss to the strikers as given in these tables for the period involved was $51,814,723. The loss to employés through lock-outs for the same period was $8,157,717, or a total wage loss to employés of $59,972,440.

Verily high tariff taxes affect wages, but to decrease, not increase.

REASONS FOR HIGHER WAGES IN UNITED STATES.

Why are the rates of wages in dollars and cents, by the day, week, month, or year, higher in the United States than elsewhere, if high tariff taxes—protection—do not regulate or increase, but decrease or lessen them?

Mr. President, it would require a volume to show fully all the causes operating in this great country to make wages higher than in any other, and I can only briefly name some of these many causes.

First. Our democratic-republican system of governments, national and State, guarantying to every citizen, by written constitutions, civil, religious, and political liberty, perfect equality before the law, in the enjoyment of life and its protection, of property and its acquisition and disposition, and of labor and its fruits, and in the freedom to choose avocations in life and to attain the positions of honor, profit, trust, and distinction, from the humblest to the highest, in national and State governments, in civil and professional pursuits, and securing to the citizens of each State all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, and the perfect liberty to go and come at pleasure throughout all our territorial limits.

Second. The absolute freedom of trade and commerce between all our States and Territories and among all our citizens without any restrictions or impediments.

Third. Our immense public domain and territorial limits, extending from ocean to ocean, and through so many degrees of latitude, with such varieties of climate and soil and products, affording cheap homes to all who will choose them, and facilities to all to engage in so many diversified labors and pursuits, and to change from one to another without serious loss.

Fourth. Our systems of public, common, and purely secular schools, open and accessible to the children of all, the rich and the poor alike, wherein mingle on terms of equality the children of all our citizens, without rank, caste, or class distinction, and all can obtain such edu-

cational qualifications as will fit them for the ordinary business pursuits of life.

Fifth. Our higher educational facilities, universities, colleges, academies, theological, law, medical, technical, and other special institutions, open and accessible to all upon easy and comparatively cheap terms, wherein the varied attainments for the diversified pursuits in life can be acquired.

Sixth. The opportunities for safely investing any surplus of earnings and securing its safety and increase, which induce the habit of saving such surplus among all who are laudably ambitious to better their condition and improve their social surroundings and positions.

Seventh. The absence of a large standing army and freedom from its onerous burdens, its blood tax, and compulsory service in it.

Eighth. Our encouragement of the inventions of new and novel devices by our liberal system of patent laws, granting an exclusive monopoly of the right to inventors for a given term of years to use and make and sell such devices and the patent-rights thereto, which have led to so many useful mechanical and other inventions wonderfully increasing the powers of production beyond the power of the muscular labor of our entire population by utilizing and appropriating the combined powers of coal, steam, electricity, and machinery in production.

Ninth. The versatility, quickness, and power of our citizens to adopt the easiest and quickest means to accomplish the best ends, the largest results. That our citizens, native and foreign, have acquired, and very quickly acquire after becoming adopted these last advantages, can not be disputed, and these advantages result largely from the causes I have named which make our wages higher than in other countries. But the rate of wages of labor must not be measured by the dollars and cents paid therefor by the day, week, or month, but by its efficiency, its productive power, the cost of its product.

One man working by the day at $1 may cut and split 75 fence rails, another at same price 100 rails, another 125, another 150. Their daily wages are the same to the employer, but the cost of the product to the employer is very different. In the first case the rails cost him each 1⅓ cents, in the second 1 cent each, in the third four-fifths of 1 cent, and in the fourth two-thirds of a cent, or just one-half of the amount paid to the first hand; and measured by efficiency, productive power, cost of production, the fourth laborer was worth two laborers of the first one. This example only illustrates in a simple manner the real value of laborers to the purchaser, the employer. Any farmer having timber to be made into rails and seeking to purchase or hire the labor to make the rails could and would, if he knew the efficiency of the first and last named laborers, give the last $1.50 per day in preference to the first at $1 per day. So it is in all kinds of labor, skilled and unskilled. Measured by the value of labor to its purchaser or employer by its efficiency, its productive power, and the cost of its product to the employer, the rates of wages in this country by the day, week, or month are no higher to the employer, the manufacturer, than in other countries where much lower rates prevail.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in his sixteenth annual report as chief of the bureau of statistics of labor in Massachusetts, says:

> We venture the suggestion, however, that it is the sum of wages and not the rate which constitutes the true money standard of cost of labor, and we carry this suggestion to its logical outcome in the following proposition: In proportion as capital, through machinery, becomes more effective, the relative number of laborers is decreased in proportion to product, the rate of wages is increased, and the sum of wages is reduced; that is, lower cost is compassed by higher wages.

It is a settled fact, in my judgment, that can not be gainsaid, that high wages to the laborer are cheap wages to the employer or purchaser, higher wages cheaper wages, and the highest the cheapest wages. And low wages to the laborer are dear wages to the employer, lower wages dearer wages, and lowest wages dearest wages. And that the product of the highest paid labor to the employer, the manufacturer, is the cheapest. And while he pays such high rates of wages he secures a cheaper and better product, which he can sell in the market at a greater profit; therefore our high wages are not the result of protection, high tariff taxes, but of the efficiency, the productive power of the laborer and the low cost of its production. That our American labor is more efficient and productive than labor in other countries I will prove by protectionist authorities. Hon. WILLIAM M. EVARTS, when Secretary of State, in his report to Congress on the state of labor in Europe, submitted May 17, 1879, said:

> The average American workman performs from one and one-half to twice as much work in a given time as the average European workman. This is so important a point in connection with our ability to compete with the cheap labor manufactures of Europe, and it seems at first thought so strange, that I will trouble you with somewhat lengthy quotations from the reports in support thereof.

Hon. James G. Blaine, while Secretary of State, in his letter of June 25, 1881, submitting to Congress his report called "Cotton-goods trade of the world and the share of the United States therein," No. 12 Consular Reports, said:

> The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week:
> Spinners: English, $7.20 to $8 40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.
> Weavers: English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of 10 per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.
> The average wages of employés in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.
> The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are fifty-six, in the Massachusetts mills sixty, per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually sixty-six to sixty-nine per week.
> Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.
> From these returns it is seen that every American spindle consumes 66 pounds of raw cotton, while each British spindle consumes only 32 pounds, or less than one-half the American consumption per spindle.
> It thus appears that each American operative works up as much raw material as two British operatives, turns out nearly $1.50 worth of manufactures to the British operator's $1 worth, and even in piece goods, where the superior quality and weight of the American goods are so marked, the American operative turned out 2.75 yards to 2.50 yards by the British operative.

Mr. Charles S. Hill, a staunch protectionist, who in 1882 was statistician of the State Department and represented the Metropolitan Industrial League of New York, appeared before the Tariff Commission on October 20, 1882, and made the following statement (see Tariff Commission report, 1882, volume 3, page 1688):

> One point further in regard to labor in Europe vs. America. Here are some figures that show a remarkable, but what seems to be an irrefutable fact, or let him who questions it produce further evidence. The following comparison speaks louder than any argument.

Manufacturing industries.

Description.	United States.	Great Britain.
Hands employed	5,250,000	5,140,200
Value of product	$8,000,000,000	$4,000,000,000

> Here is the positive proof that American mechanics in the aggregate accomplish exactly double the result of the same number of British mechanics. They are therefore very justly paid double in wages.

The efficiency of labor, its productive power, has been most wonderfully increased by the aids of coal, steam, electricity, and machinery, and the rates of wages have necessarily increased, but not in proportion to the increase of efficiency and productive power, and the labor cost in the product has been greatly decreased. Hence the higher wages and lower priced products. Numberless examples could be given in every branch of manufacture, showing the increase of the efficiency of labor, or in the amount of work done in each day by each hand with the aid of machinery, and steam, water, or electric power, and the reduced cost to the manufacturer of the articles so produced daily, and consequently reduced selling price.

Who are the beneficiaries of high tariff taxes of protection? If those engaged in the manufacture of the kinds of articles upon which a tarift tax is imposed when imported from a foreign country are not the beneficiaries of such high taxes, why do they demand their imposition? If the high tariff taxes imposed upon a foreign manufactured article when imported do not enable the home manufacturer of similar articles to sell his articles in the home market at a price just below the cost of the foreign articles with the tariff taxes added, why does he want any such tariff tax imposed?

If the high tariff taxes do not increase or add to the total cost and the selling price in our market of the imported article, how can they lessen, reduce, or prevent the competition of the imported article in our home market with our home manufacture? How can the home product be protected from competition? Those engaged in the manufacture or production of the class of articles upon which the high tariff taxes are imposed when imported are the sole beneficiaries of such taxes, aside from the revenues paid into the Treasury, coming only from the imported articles.

If they do not receive the benefits, no one does. Take a piece of cloth costing at the factory in the United States $100, and at the foreign factory $95. The foreigner can send his cloth to our market and sell it—there being no tariff tax—at the cost of the American cloth, and make a profit, less freightage, etc., of $5.

Now, impose a tariff tax of 6 per cent. ad valorem on the imported cloth, and the total cost here will be $100.70 when the home and foreign manufacturers are practically on equal terms in our market. Increase the tariff to 15 per cent. ad valorem, then the foreign cloth pays the duty, $14.25, and costs here $109.25, and the home cloth can be sold at just a little less, say $108, and make a profit of $8, or 8 per cent. Increase tariff to 30 per cent., then foreign cloth is subject to $28.50 tariff, and costs for sale here $123.50. Our home cloth can be raised in price to $120, or 20 per cent. profit. Increase to 50 per cent., then foreign cloth pays $47.50 tax, and costs $142.50. Then home cloth can be raised to $135 or $140, or 40 per cent. profit. Increase tax to 100 per cent., foreign cloth costs here $190, and Americans can sell just below that amount. A tariff tax so high as to make all sales of foreign goods in our markets entail a loss upon importer, whoever he may be, simply amounts to a prohibition of the import of such article.

Our Republican friends argue that the effect of protection, high taxes

on imports, is to cheapen the prices of the home products to consumers, and therefore results in benefit to them. This is a fallacious and misleading argument, and assumes that because a certain fact exists—that is, the reduced selling prices of all manufactured products in this country—therefore protection, high taxes on imports, has caused it. In other words, the prices of manufactured products in the United States have greatly fallen. The United States have a high tax on imports—a protective system. Therefore protection has caused the fall in the prices. Test it by England. The prices of manufactures have greatly fallen in England.

England has free trade.

Therefore free trade has caused the fall in prices. If protection has caused the fall in prices here, then equally must free trade have caused the fall in England. High tariff taxes—protection—have had nothing whatever to do in causing the fall in prices of manufactures here or elsewhere. Prices of all kinds of manufactured products, protected and unprotected just alike, in the United States and in all the countries of the world accessible and open to commerce, to trade, have very greatly fallen. The fall has not been in the United States alone.

The cause of such fall in prices is apparent. It has been the efficiency, the increased efficiency and productive power of human labor, aided by and intelligently and skillfully controlling and directing the powers of coal, steam, electricity, and machinery. Each man with such aids of power and machinery performs a vastly increased amount of work, can raise more wheat, corn, and farm products; can make more boots, shoes, hats, coats, pants, and all other articles of all kinds and classes, and the cost of such articles is much less, and consequently the prices much lower.

The efficiency of labor and its increased productive power have had the same effects, have produced the same results in all industrial pursuits regardless of tariffs.

How can high tariff taxes imposed on imported products, the articles themselves, and added to and becoming an integral, inseparable part of the total cost of such articles thereafter, regardless of the persons who may import, sell, or resell them, make similar articles manufactured here sell at lower prices? The claim is farcical.

The tariff duty imposed on an imported article is paid into the Treasury before it can be taken out of the Government warehouse, and thereafter forms a part of the selling price of such article.

The manufacturer here adds to the selling price of his product an amount which will make such price just a little less than the selling price of the import, and the purchaser of such article pays such amount so added in the price he pays and the manufacturer puts such amount into his pocket.

If he does not do this, then of what benefit is protection to him? What is the object of protection? If it fail, then protection is a failure. But our friends say: "Look at this article and at that article, they are actually selling in the home market for less than the amount of the tariff duties on such imports." Yes; such things have occurred, and will probably occur again; but high tariff taxes—protection—was not the cause of such things directly or indirectly. Such claim that protection caused such reductions is without foundation in fact, and can not be established by any legitimate proof. Years ago lead was selling in this country at a price considerably less than the amount of duty imposed thereon on importation, and, as a matter of course, none was imported. The tariff duty did not cause this reduced price.

The reduced price was caused by the great excess of lead in the market for sale over and above the demand and other causes, such as cheapness of production, etc., and the tariff was inoperative. The principle and the object of protection, high taxes, are as I have stated. To all general rules there are exceptions. Competition between rival establishments may cause a very great reduction, a cut in prices, just as so often occurs between our railway lines. Overproduction, a surplus of products beyond the demand, the consumption, may reduce prices. Industrial depressions will also reduce prices. Bad management and the failure of large establishments with heavy stocks of products to be thrown on the market suddenly will reduce prices. These are some of the incidents which attend protected industries as well as others, and are exceptions and not the rule.

Think seriously for one moment about this claim of manufactured products being so reduced in price. A sane, responsible, and intelligent American manufacturer, with large amount of capital invested in machinery for manufacturing woolen cloth, deliberately asks Congress to pass a tariff law imposing high taxes upon all imported woolen cloth, so that he, in the operations of such law, may be constrained or compelled to sell his product, so protected by such taxes from competition in our home market, for a less price than he could or would with only a revenue tariff or without any tariff!

How farcical! This statement only shows the fraud and false pretense of any such claim.

In order to show beyond any question that the protected manufacturers are the sole beneficiaries of the high taxes, I will quote some protectionist authorities.

Ex-President John Quincy Adams, in his report on manufactures before referred to, said:

The doctrine that duties or impost cheapen the price of the articles upon which they are levied seems to conflict with the first dictates of common sense. But its supporters first appeal with confidence to the fact that most of the articles upon which additional duties were levied by the tariff of 1828 have since that time considerably fallen in price, and then they argue that it must be so by the excitement of competition in the market. It is certainly contrary to the natural course of things that an addition to the cost should be a reduction of the price of an article. True it is that the duty gives a spur to the production of the article at home. The price of any article in the market must always depend upon the relative condition of the demand and supply at the time and place of sale. But very slight variations of time or place affect often to a very great extent the relative proportion of the demand and supply, and consequently the price of the article. No safe conclusion can be drawn from the fact that subsequent to the tariff of 1828 the prices of the articles upon which the duties were then increased have fallen, unless from other circumstances it can be shown that the increase of the duty was the cause of the fall in price, nor will it be sufficient to prove so strange a paradox to account for it by the excitement of competition. Wherever there is a profitable market there will be competition. Had the tariff of 1828 never been enacted the competition in our markets would have been as great and would have been as effectual to reduce the prices as it has been with the aggravation of duties. In that competition our own manufactures might not indeed have shared, but it would have existed in all its force between those who furnished the supply, and could not have failed to reduce the prices to the level of the moderate profit necessary to the existence of the trade.

James P. Foster, president of the Republican League of the United States, wrote a confidential letter, dated May 23, 1888, headquarters of the Republican League of the United States, New York, and sent it in confidence to leading Republican manufacturers. It therefore contains the confidential, personal views and knowledge of Mr. Foster and the gentlemen to whom he refers. The following are extracts therefrom:

It may not be of your personal knowledge, but it is a fact nevertheless, that the manufacturers of the United States who are most benefited by our tariff laws have been the least willing to contribute to the success of the party which gave them protection, and which is about to engage in a life and death struggle with free trade.

A Republican United States Senator, from a State which never had a Democratic representative in either House of Congress or a Democratic State officer, in speaking of the well-known disposition of the manufacturing interest to lock up its money, fold its hands, and look on while somebody else fights for its success, says:

"The campaign which we are about to enter will concern, more than anybody else, the manufacturers of this country. They have heretofore been very laggard in their contributions to the Republican cause. In fact, if I could punish them without punishing the cause of protection itself, I would consign them to the hottest place I could think of on account of their craven parsimony. If this class of people do not care to contribute to the success of the Republican party they are welcome to try their chances under a Democratic administration. I can stand it as long as they can." And again: "I was solicited to contribute to a protective-tariff league, and I replied that if the manufacturers of the United States in their associated capacity were an eleemosynary institution that I would vote to give them a pension, but that I did not propose myself to contribute money to advance the interests of men who were getting practically the sole benefit, or at least the most directly important benefits, of the tariff laws. I am in favor of protection; not precisely the kind we are having, but I might be willing to keep even that rather than not to have any; but I am sure I can get along without any of it fully as well as the manufacturers can, and if they think the Republican party is going to maintain a high protective corps for this benefit, and that the men who do the work in that party are going to keep up the expenses of a campaign out of their own pockets, leaving them to reap the fruits of the tariff policy without any deduction for political expenses, they are very greatly mistaken. I understand that in a general way the manufacturers of New England have been more liberal in their contributions than those of Pennsylvania.

"In fact, I have it from the best possible source that the manufacturers of Pennsylvania, who are more highly protected than anybody else, and who make large fortunes every year when times are prosperous, practically give nothing toward the maintenance of the ascendency of the Republican party. Of course, I shall not violate what I consider to be a proper principle of action; but, if I had my way about it, I would put the manufacturers of Pennsylvania under the fire and fry all the fat out of them. If the Mills tariff bill comes to the Senate there will be some votes cast there which will open the eyes of some of these people who have, while gathering their millions, treated the Republican party as their humble servant."

These are strong words and bitter, but they are true, and it now remains with you and your associates to determine whether they are to be reiterated after this campaign is over, and protection has, through your apathy, been struck its death-blow. If you give us the means to win the victory we will do it. Are you willing?

Yours, very truly,

JAMES P. FOSTER, *President*.

I now hold in my hands Tariff-League Bulletin, devoted to the protection of American labor and industries, volume 1, No. 23, New York, June 8, 1888, in which is an editorial commenting on Mr. Foster's letter. I read the following extracts therefrom:

The Republican party is unfortunate in its friends. In 1884 it was defeated by the indiscretion of one who persisted in entertaining its candidate at Delmonico's, and by the over-enthusiasm of another, whose alliteration was trumpeted by a hostile press to every hamlet in the Union where a Catholic vote could be reached.

Now it is a "confidential" letter issued from the "headquarters of the Republican League of the United States," and so confidentially circulated that it has received flattering attention from every Democratic editor in the country.

The Chicago Times pronounces it "one of the most sensational political documents ever issued in this country."

It would be useless to criticise the tone of this "sensational document," or the temper with which it assails American manufacturers, in words which it says "are strong and bitter, but they are true." And we will not here comment upon the unfortunate policy of the letter, which enforces a peremptory demand for money with a threat.

It is important at this time only to review the charges against American manufacturers, which are the bone and sinew of this "confidential letter" without which it would receive from us no comment whatever. They are quoted, it is true, from an eminent Republican Senator, but they are quoted with approval, and declared to be true.

These charges, when stripped of their discreditable verbiage, are, first, that the "campaign which we are about to enter will concern, more than anybody else, the manufacturers of the country"—"men who are getting practically the benefits, or at least the most directly important benefits, of the tariff laws." And, second, "that while reaping the fruits of the tariff policy they have been

very laggard in their contributions to the Republican cause." Their conduct is called "cravenal parsimony." The New England manufacturers, it is said, have been somewhat less parsimonious than the others. But of Pennsylvania manufacturers it says, in language both vigorous and picturesque:

"If I had my way about it, I would put them under the fire and fry all the fat out of them." * * *

But while manufacturers derive no greater advantages from protection than other classes in proportion to the magnitude of their enterprises, they nevertheless do contribute far more than all other classes to its support. The records of the Republican party prove it. Those who have been engaged in collecting funds for its defense will testify to it. We therefore deny the assertion of the Senator whom the Republican League has chosen for its mouthpiece, and we affirm that more than three-fourths of all the money used in support of Republicanism and protection has come from men directly or indirectly engaged in manufactures.

Facts might be adduced to defend the manufacturers of Pennsylvania from the charge which, in the Republican League document, has been especially made against them. But it is unnecessary. The absurdity of the charge is so apparent that the wonder is that any one holding an important position in the Republican party could have been found to make it.

I submit, Mr. President, with these facts before us, certainly no one can doubt that the business men, not the politicians, who are engaged in protected industries, know what they put in their pockets by the reason of high tariff taxes and how much they can afford to pay out of their profits to perpetuate Republicanism. What is the amount? "More than three-fourths of all the money (the millions of dollars) used in support of Republicanism and protection has come from men directly or indirectly engaged in manufactures." They are the beneficiaries, or they never would pay out such vast sums to perpetuate a system which was of no financial benefit to them.

While the persons engaged in protected industries are the sole beneficiaries of high tariff taxes imposed on imported competing articles, and the consumers, the purchasers of their protected products, pay to them the enhanced prices they are able to command in their monopoly of the home market, and the Government receives no part of such enhanced prices as revenue, the country at large, the masses of the people, and all other industrial enterprises are the sufferers. I assert as an indisputable proposition, principle, that no taxes, no system of tariff taxes, or other kinds of taxes can enrich any nation or people or increase the general wealth.

Taxes may be so imposed as to enrich one class or portion of the people, those engaged in particlar avocations not so taxed, but when so imposed they decrease the wealth of all other classes and avocations; and nothing is added to the general wealth. Peter is simply impoverished to enrich Paul. This is the inevitable result—nothing more, nothing less, and nothing else. Taxation is a burden. High tariff taxes induce an unnatural, abnormal flow of capital into the protected industries by reason of the promised large profits. Other fairly remunerative employments are abandoned. The employés in these are left without labor and thrown upon the labor market for employment.

Coal, steam, electricity, and machinery have all been made obedient laborers in production until our manufacturing establishments can largely more than supply our home market of consumption. An unhealthy rivalry ensues; cuts in prices, as in the rivalry of railroads, follows. The markets are deranged, business unsettled, and establishment after establishment fails or closes. Laborers are thrown upon the labor market; cuts or reductions in the wages result; strikes or lock-outs follow. Having the monopoly of the home market and consumption decreasing, a glut in the market is produced, and the surplus is shipped to some foreign country and sold at greatly reduced prices, and the markets there deranged. As soon as the home market recovers and prices rise, the same process is repeated. It is an abnormal, unnatural, hot-house condition.

To settle these facts beyond dispute I will read extracts, as follows:

Hon. James G. Blaine, in his report on the cotton goods trade of the world, to which I have already referred, commenting on the decrease of trade with China, said:

Our manufacturers, whenever a lull occurs in the home demand, use most commendable efforts for the enlargement of their trade in the various countries, but the moment a brisk home demand again arises they immediately withdraw from foreign markets to the great annoyance of and losses to their correspondents, who enter into their new business relations believing in their permanence.

The persistence of such practical merchants and the manufacturers, as those of the United States are wont to consider themselves, in such a grave commercial mistake as this is surprising both to our business correspondents and to our competitors for the world's trade, and an immediate reformation is demanded if we would hope to assume a permanent and leading place in international commerce.

In commenting on the trade with Australia, he quotes from Consul-General Spencer, at Victoria, as follows:

From information received at this consulate from merchants who were formerly engaged in importing cotton goods directly from America, it appears that some years since such goods were decidedly popular in this market and in good demand, but the importers, who draw their supplies directly from New York and Boston, soon found that the wholesale dry-goods merchants in this city were able to undersell them, the latter having purchased the same brand of goods in London at lower prices than were current at the same date in the American markets. The importers naturally inferred that these goods, representing the surplus stock of American manufacturers, had been "slaughtered" or sacrificed in the London market with a view of maintaining prices at home.

He quotes from Consul Winser, at Sonneberg, Germany, as follows:

Again, it is said that our manufacturers produce more goods than they can well dispose of, and unsettle the trade by filling each succeeding order at a lower price.

Finally, having overstocked the market, some cases are cited of manufacturers who have established sales-rooms in Germany themselves and disposed of their wares at prices far lower than their former largest customers could afford to sell, often on long credit. In many branches of manufacture traveling agents of American houses sell their wares to retailers at the same rates which wholesale dealers have been required to pay, thus cutting the ground from under the feet of the latter, to whom is due the credit of having introduced, after infinite pains and trouble, these very goods to the German people.

He quotes from Mr. Pickering, United States commissioner to the Melbourne exposition, Australia, as follows:

The great natural resources of Australia are too great to allow the present depression to be anything but temporary. It would be well for our manufacturers to bear this in mind, and those who have or who desire to have a share of this Australian trade should assure the merchants here that they may rely on being supplied with goods at the sacrifice (if necessary) of a few home orders. I am the more impressed to urge this, having just been shown a letter received by the agent of a Philadelphia firm who are exhibiting here, from which I quote: "Send us no more orders at present; our home demand prevents us filling foreign orders for some time to come."

In speaking of the field open to our cotton manufacturers he says:

It is estimated that the Chinese supply themselves with cotton goods manufactured by hand-looms, in their primitive manner, to the extent of over 7,300,000,000 yards annually, an amount almost equal to twice the total annual exports of cotton piece-goods from Great Britain. * * *

The cotton-goods trade of the world is a vast subject, and requires the best consideration of American manufacturers, united consideration to be followed by united action; but if the same masterly direction of forces be applied toward its diversion to the United States as has been applied by the statesmen and manufacturers of Great Britain to the development of their trade, the world offers a field large enough for the consumption of all the manufactures we can produce, even were our entire product of raw material converted into American cloth, instead of being exported in such large quantities as it is at present.

I quote from a speech of ex-President Garfield in the House, May 13, 1872, who said:

And I know, moreover, that for nearly two years the wholesale price of American salt in Toronto, Canada, was $1 lower per barrel than the same salt was selling for on the New York side of the lake. That is, we produced it, shipped it across, paying whatever portage, freights, and transportation were required, and then sold it to our Canadian neighbors at $1 per barrel less than it was sold to people on our shores. Certainly, gentlemen will not want a duty continued that enables that thing to be done.

I now quote the following consular report:

No. 67.] UNITED STATES CONSULAR AGENCY,
London, Ontario, September 15, 1888. (Received September 18.)

SIR: In reply to the circular of the Department of State, dated September 4, 1888, requesting information as to imports of agricultural machinery and tools from the United States into Canada, inquiry elicits the following facts:

I find that plows of American manufacture are among the most prominent of the imports in this line. The Oliver chilled plows (made at South Bend, Ind., and the one, I am told, that has the largest sale in the United States), the Syracuse plow, and the South Bend plow seem to be most in demand and to have the largest sale. I have before me on my desk an offer from an Ontario dealer in the Oliver plows to sell same f. o. b. at this city in Canada for $10 each in quantities. The retail price here is $12, and numerous transactions take place at that figure.

The same plows, I understand, are sold in quantities at the factory (not for export) at $14 each, and cost the American farmer at retail $16.

The Syracuse plow retails at $11 or $12 here, and, I am informed, sells for from $14 to $16 in the United States at retail, and the South Bend at $11 here and $14 at home.

It is pleasing to observe how cheaply our manufacturers must be able to turn out these goods, from the fact that the Canadian duty on this class of goods is 35 per cent. ad valorem. Even admitting that the manufacturer makes no profit on his sales in Canada, these figures are of interest:

	Per plow.	
Price at which plow is sold in Canada		$10.00
Duty at 35 per cent. ad valorem and freight	$3.50	
Profit to Canadian dealer, probably	1.50	
		5.00
Leaving actual cost to manufacture		5.00
Retailed to American farmer at		16.00
Profit to manufacturer on all home sales		11.00

It would thus seem that the Canadian farmer has an advantage over his American neighbor in the purchase of necessary implements produced in his own country, and the latter before purchasing his plows might well figure as follows:

Price of plows at retail in United States		$16.00
Price of same in Canada	$12.00	
Freight to return same to United States (duty is free on American goods returned)	1.00	
		13.00
Profit to American farmer by purchasing American-made plow in Canada		3.00

Plows with tempered steel mold-boards and beams, which sell in the United States for $17 and upwards, are manufactured in Canada (from Pittsburgh steel on which duty has to be paid, and the wages of the workmen are substantially the same as in the United States), and are sold for $14 retail; thus showing excess of profit made by American manufacturing over Canadian manufacturing, $3 on each plow. When it is considered that the Canadian manufacturer has to pay a duty on his materials and freight upon same to Canada from Pittsburgh, it will be readily seen at a glance that the excess of profits to the American over the Canadian manufacturer is much greater than the sum named, $3.

I am credibly advised by a very prominent Canadian farmer that he has just bought an American self-binding reaper (Walter A. Woods) for $110. Laid down in an American city near the lines, the price of same machine in same place to an American farmer would be from $150 to $170.

In addition to the larger implements mentioned, farmers' or agricultural hardware imported from the United States consists of light shelf goods, dry paints, whilst agricultural hand-tools, (such as spades, shovels, forks, etc.) on which articles the duty varies from 35 to 70 per cent., although the printed tariff reads only from 30 to 35 per cent. This Government has, however, instructed its customs officers to advance prices on invoices in certain lines, which brings the duty up to a very high rate. Thus, on scythes, for instance, by means of a specific and ad valorem duty they have to pay from 60 to 70 per cent.

Notwithstanding these tremendous charges, a careful comparison of the wholesale and retail prices of the above tools shows that in all cases American goods can be bought in Canada as cheap, and in many cases cheaper, than in the United States.

It is conclusively proven by these facts that the American farmers are not receiving the full benefit of the low prices at which these goods can be produced in the United States These benefits are apparently reserved for the Canadians and other foreigners to whose markets we export goods; but existing conditions enable the American manufacturer to compel the purchase of his goods by the American farmer at exorbitant profits.

So great has been this discrimination by American manufacturers in favor of foreign purchasers that the Canadian customs authorities have come to regard with suspicion the prices on nearly all American invoices, as they can not understand why these goods should be sold to Canadians at such great reductions from the prices at which they are sold at home at the point of manufacture. As a consequence they have, during the past two years, largely adopted the plan of appraising these goods for duty at the home figures in preference to the prices stated in the invoices. For in-tance, an American manufacturer may be willing to sell a certain article for $5 to the Canadian trade, the price for the same article at home being $8. The valuation is placed at the latter figure, and even though he sells for the former the purchaser has to pay duty on $3 more than the goods cost him. The result of this practice is that we are losing our export trade to this and probably other foreign countries.

The falling off of the American export trade to this port on dutiable articles in one year having been $211,058.

The short-sightedness of our manufacturers in this respect, no less than the development of manufacturing in Canada, is closing this as it does other outside markets to our goods, and is driving us back to trade only within ourselves, to the injury of our great agricultural interests, to the reduction of the wages of our workingmen, and to the lessening of the products of our factories.

Replying thus to your circular by an enumeration of facts, I remain, sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. DE H. WASHINGTON,
Commercial Agent.

HON. GEO. L. RIVES,
Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

I now read a letter from Mexico:

OFICINA DE L. LADNER Y HNO.,
COMMERCIANTES EN ESTUFAS, FERRETERIA Y OJALATERIA,
Piedras Negras, Mexico, August 9, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 2d at hand. In reply take pleasure in giving you the figures asked for as nearly as possible. First, in regard to shovels. Our shovels bought for our Eagle Pass store cost us about $6 per dozen, exclusive of freight. Our shovels of the same class and material cost us laid down in Piedras Negras $2.91 per dozen. Another item: Agate ironware can not be bought for delivery anywhere in the United States at better than 35 per cent. discount. In Piedras Negras we can buy the same articles from the same houses at 60 per cent. discount. The list is the same in both cases. These are not the only articles. Disston's saws can be bought with an additional 20 per cent. discount, showing that the manufacturers could sell in home markets in competition with the outside producers. These figures are only a partial list. Every article known to the hardware trade can be bought from the American manufacturers for export cheaper than they can for home consumption. Hoping this will answer your purpose, we remain,

Very truly, yours,

A. J. LADNER & BRO.
Per H.

Mr. WALTER NEGLEY, *Hagerstown, Md.*

These extracts show conclusively the results from high tariff taxes, which the Senate substitute proposes to increase, and in some instances to the point of prohibition of imports.

A healthful competition with imported products in our home market is as necessary and beneficial to manufacturing interests as to all others.

Ex-President Garfield in the House, on April 1, 1870, in discussing the high tariff taxes, said:

I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the prices as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily we shall year by year approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade.

This competition can never exist under the existing war tariff or the Senate substitute.

I do not seek to destroy or break down or injure our manufacturing interests. The House bill will not do it. I desire to see them prosper and grow. And would to God to-day that they could and would manufacture and supply our entire home demand at fair and legitimate profits and prices with all such articles as can be successfully manufactured here. No one country can produce and manufacture every article of human want.

As rich as we are in the varied products which supply our wants, we can not successfully and profitably, now or in the future, confine our wants to our own supplies and consume them. We will produce many surplus articles wanted in foreign countries, and will want many surplus products of other countries. In order to sell our surplus, we must buy. A revenue tariff, such as the House bill provides, will be more healthful and beneficial to our manufacturing and all other industries than the Senate substitute. The House bill will afford all the incidental protection to our manufacturing interests which they ought to ask, and at the same time reduce the surplus.

THE TARIFF LAW OF JULY 30, 1846.

Why will some of the highly protected industries not learn by the history of the past?

In 1824 the tariff taxes were increased; the greed for large gains was not satisfied. In 1828 the tariff of abominations was enacted, largely increasing the burdens of high taxes.

What did the manufacturers do?

Remember what Mr. Clay said. They saw the reaction, the sober second thought of the people. The situation was similar to the present. There was surplus, the debt was nearly paid, and the surplus threatened a constant increase beyond all the legitimate necessities of the Government.

Did they then propose the policy of the Republican platform and the Senate substitute—to increase the tariff taxes still higher, so as to exclude imports, and by such prohibitory taxes decrease the revenues?

Mr. Clay, in the language I have quoted, shows that they appealed to him to save them by reducing the high-tariff taxes. He presented and passed his compromise bill providing for a gradual reduction of duties to an ad valorem rate of 20 per cent. and declared his measure many years afterward to afford ample and abundant protection.

In 1842 the duties were increased and reaction again ensued, and resulted in the enactment of the Walker tariff of July 30, 1846, which imposed an average ad valorem tax of 25 per cent., 17 per cent. less than the House bill.

This law, this tariff rate of 25 per cent. proved so satisfactory and beneficial that no effort was even made by manufacturers or high protectionists to change, alter, or amend it for nearly eleven years, a longer period than any tariff law enacted since the organization of our Government ever continued in force without change. This is an unanswerable vindication of the wisdom, fairness, justness, and acceptability to the people interested, of this tariff law against all assaults which can be made upon it by our latter-day protectionists. Under its benign operations we heard nothing about the so-called American but real Chinese system of protection, nothing about protection of American labor, nothing about ruined, struggling, infant industries.

It was and is the true American system contemplated by our Constitution—tariff taxes for the purpose of raising the revenues necessary for an honest, economical administration of our Government; and at the same time affording such incidental protection to our necessary manufacturing industries as would secure a properly adjusted competition between their products and similar foreign products and not give them an exclusive monopoly of our home market.

Now, after it had been in operation nearly eleven years, what occurred? It was finally assaulted by the protected manufacturers, those who had so long enjoyed its beneficial operation. Why? I repeat, why? Because under it the revenues were exceeding the necessary wants and demands of the Government. The situation was similar to the present; the public debt was nearly paid and there was a threatened surplus, just like it was in 1832, when Clay passed his compromise tariff. Did the manufacturers propose, ask, or demand an increase of the tarift duties so high as to prevent imports, destroy healthful competition, and thus reduce the threatened surplus and give them a monopoly of the home market, as now proposed by the Republican platform and Senate substitute? Oh, no; that was not the panacea proposed or desired as a substitute for the then existing real American system. No Chinese, no British system was then proposed to be transplanted and acclimated here.

They proposed, and the tariff law of March 3, 1857, was enacted, reducing the rates of duties from the average ad valorem rate of 25 per cent. to 20 per cent., a reduction of $5 on the $100 valuation.

Senators JOHN SHERMAN and JUSTIN S. MORRILL were then members of the House. From Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island there were 18 yeas and 9 nays. From New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland there were 24 yeas and 28 nays. From Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, 14 yeas and 33 nays. From Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee the yeas were 60 and nays 2, and from California 2 yeas. Senator SHERMAN, who was a member of the House when the law of March 3, 1857, was passed, said on May 10, 1860, in the House:

The manufacturers have asked over and over again that they should be let alone. The tariff of 1857 is the manufacturers' bill; but the present bill is more beneficial to the agricultural interest than the tariff of 1857. Under that all wool costing less than 20 cents a pound was admitted free of duty. Under this bill wool costing less than 18 cents a pound is admitted free of duty, and imposes a duty of 3 cents a pound on all wool costing between 18 and 24 cents, and a duty of 9 cents a pound on all wool costing 25 cents a pound and upwards, thereby raising the duty on wool.

Senator ALLISON, one of the main authors of the Senate substitute, on March 24, 1870, said in the House:

It is claimed that the high rates of our present tariff are necessary, because the revenue to be obtained therefrom is essential to the Government, and that if we reduce the rates at all the effect will be the depression of all the industrial interests of the country. The tariff of 1846, although confessedly and professedly a tariff for revenue, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any that we have ever had. If any interest was depressed under the tariff of 1846, it was the iron interest.

I do not believe that this interest, as compared with other interests, had sufficient advantage under that tariff; yet, when we compare the growth of the country from 1840 to 1850 with the growth of the country from 1850 to 1860, the latter decade being entirely under the tariff of 1846, or the amended and greatly reduced tariff of 1857, we find that the increase in our wealth between 1850 and 1860 was equivalent to 126 per cent., while it was only 64 per cent. between 1840 and 1850, four years of which decade was under the tariff of 1842, known as a high protective tariff, but the average rate of which was about 70 per cent. below the existing rate, or 27 per cent. under the tariff of 1842 as against 44 per cent. upon all importations under the present tariff. Our industries were generally prosperous in 1860, with the exception, possibly, of the iron industry. This was the statement of Mr. MORRILL, of Vermont, on this floor during the discussion of the tariff of 1864.

The length of time the Walker tariff of 1846 remained unchanged—

and then the reduction of the average ad valorem rate of 25 per cent. to 20 in 1857, which was the first change, and the quoted language of Senator ALLISON, one of the authors of the Senate substitute, are complete vindications of the system of tariff taxes for revenue with such incidental protection as all tariff duties afford.

THE WAR TARIFF AND THE CLAIMS OF ITS REDUCTION.

Our Republican friends seem indignant when we charge the fact that the present rates of duty are still the war rates, and in reply they assert that they have been greatly reduced. Why were the very high rates imposed during the war? The records show that such increased rates were not imposed either for the protection of manufactures or for additional revenues solely, but were largely on account of the high rates of internal-revenue taxes imposed on manufacturers and manufactured products. For the proof of this statement I submit the statements of Senators MORRILL and ALLISON, certainly competent witnesses. Senator MORRILL, in the House on March 12, 1862, in advocating the bill "to provide internal revenue to support the Government and pay interest on the public debt," said:

If manufactures in the history of our Government have been fostered, they are now the strongest pillars of our support. A burden that would paralyze the agriculturists of the country will be taken on the backs of the steam giants with alacrity and confidence. But it will be indispensable for us to revise the tariff on foreign imports, so far as it may be seriously disturbed by any internal duties—on some things the tax proposed is more than the present tariff—and to make proper reparation, otherwise we shall have destroyed the goose that lays the golden eggs. From such a revision, including some articles that hitherto it has not been considered sound policy to take from the free-list and lower schedules of the tariff, it is expected also to increase the revenue several millions of dollars. If we bleed manufactures we must see to it that the proper tonic is administered at the same time. There are many articles, however, where the tariff is now high enough for revenue or protection, which will require no advance.

In June, 1864, in the House, Senator MORRILL said:

And when we impose a tax of 5 per cent. upon our manufactures and increase the tariff to the same extent upon foreign manufactures, we leave them upon the same relative footing they were at the start, and neither has cause of complaint. * * *

In making an estimate of the effect of such a war tariff as is now proposed, it is important that we should bear in mind that as we increase the cost of any article we diminish the number of those who are able to consume it. * * *

This is intended as a war measure, a temporary measure, and we must give it our support as such.

Senator ALLISON, in the House, on March 25, 1870, said:

Mr. Chairman, at the close of the session yesterday afternoon I was endeavoring to show the rise and progress of the existing tariff, and the causes therefor, originating in the internal-revenue laws that were passed from time to time from 1861 to 1865, for the purpose of raising revenue to maintain the Government in its struggle with the rebellion. I stated on the 30th of June, 1864, an ad valorem internal-revenue tax was imposed upon manufacturers in this country equivalent to 5 per cent. upon their gross products, and that tax of 5 per cent. was increased by an act passed in March, 1865, so that it became 6 per cent. upon the gross product of every article manufactured or consumed in this country in the way of internal-revenue tax.

This large internal-revenue tax was made the excuse and the cause of the advance of the tariff of July 14, 1862, and June 30, 1864. I quoted the language yesterday of the then chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in 1862, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, himself a protectionist, and certainly in favor of the protection of the great interest of Pennsylvania, iron. He made a pledge upon this floor in 1862 that those additions of duties upon manufactured articles imported in this country were made necessary because of the internal-revenue taxes. Both he and Mr. MORRILL, subsequently chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, declared that the act of June 30, 1864, was a temporary measure, a war measure, and was not intended as a measure which should remain upon the statute-book as a protective tariff in the time of peace.

In 1866, when Mr. MORRILL introduced into the Thirty-ninth Congress a tariff measure as a temporary measure, the manufacturers of the country were groaning under a weight of (internal) taxation equivalent to $128,000,000 per annum.

These taxes, by successive acts of repeal, have all been removed. First came the revenue act of July 13, 1866, when the internal tax was removed from most manufactures of iron and steel and reduced upon manufactures of woolens, and the free-list enlarged. In March, 1867, a further reduction of taxes was made, and by the act of March, 1868, all taxes upon manufactures were abolished save only the tax of $2 per $1,000 upon sales, thus practically relieving the domestic industry of the country of a burden which, in 1865, was $73,000,000, in round numbers; in 1866, $128,000,000; in 1867, $92,000,000; and in 1868, $62,000,000. The abolition of these taxes successively upon domestic manufactures had the effect to increase and still increases by so much the tariff on similar articles, inasmuch as no reduction has yet been made in the tariff.

It is admitted by all that the increase of the tariff was commenced and carried on upon the basis of the protective duties of the Morrill tariff of 1861, the increase of direct taxation, which, added to the price of domestic manufactures, rendered an increased tariff necessary in order to prevent our country from being flooded with cheaper foreign productions. Certainly, then, upon the decrease of internal taxation the tariff may be and ought to be decreased in proportion, the danger being no longer in existence which was sought to be averted by those increased duties.

But I may be asked how this reduction shall be made. I think it should be made upon all leading articles, or nearly all, and for that purpose, when I can get an opportunity in the House, if no gentleman does before me, I shall move that the pending bill be recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to report a reduction upon existing rates of duty equivalent to 20 per cent. upon the existing rates, or one-fifth reduction. Even this will not be a full equivalent for the removal of all the internal taxes upon manufactures.

During the delivery of this speech Hon. S. S. COX, interrupting Mr. ALLISON, said:

I desire to say, in addition to what has been said by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], that I was on the committee of conference upon the tariff of 1864. The reason why that conference report was made as it was made, the reason given by Mr. MORRILL and Mr. Fessenden, was that the internal tax had been raised, but that the moment that tax was reduced they would be in favor of reducing customs duties. That was understood when the report was made upon the tariff of 1864; it was one of the conditions leading the conference committee to report that measure.

Hon. Zach. Chandler, in the United States Senate, in 1870, during this discussion, said:

The time has arrived when this tariff question must be settled and settled upon a permanent basis. New England, for the last fifty years, has been receiving the benefit of protection to every product of her looms and her anvils. She now is in the position of the rebels who, after they had established their government in the South, wanted "to be let alone." That is all New England wants now. She has got all the protection she needs on her products, and now her cry is: "Let us alone, and strike off protection from every other part of the United States." I give notice that I shall, at an early day, introduce a bill repealing the entire revenue system and placing a horizontal duty upon every article imported into the United States, except spirits, wine, and tobacco.

The extreme high war rates were imposed as an equivalent for the very heavy internal-revenue taxes imposed on manufacturers and their products, with the distinct understanding that they would be reduced as the internal-revenue taxes were.

Have they been so reduced?

The majority report of the Senate Finance Committee, proposing the substitute, states that "three important revisions of the tariff have taken place since 1870, namely, by the acts of July 14, 1870; of June 6, 1872, and of March 3, 1883;" and claims that by the act of July 14, 1870, one hundred and seventy-eight dutiable articles were placed on the free-list and rates reduced on fifty articles; and by the act of June 6, 1872, two hundred and thirteen items were added to the free-list and duties reduced specifically on forty-nine articles "in addition to those upon which a uniform reduction of 10 per cent. was made;" and by the act of March 3, 1883, seventy-two articles were placed on the free-list, while the rates were reduced on four hundred and twenty-seven paragraphs.

It is true that section 2 of the act of June 6, 1872, provided for a reduction of 10 per cent. after August 1, 1872, on the then existing duties on "all manufactures of cotton, etc., on all wools, etc., on all iron and steel, and on all manufactures, etc., of same, on all metals and manufactures of metals, etc., not otherwise provided for, on all paper, etc., on all manufactures of india-rubber, etc., on all glass and glassware, and on all cotton," not otherwise provided for.

This was a substantial reduction had it been permitted to remain. But by section 4 of the act of March 3, 1875, said section 2 of June 6, 1872, carried into the Revised Statutes as section 2503, was repealed, and the 10 per cent. duties restored as to all manufactures of cotton, etc. And by this act of March 3, 1875, the duties on "molasses, concentrated molasses, tank-bottoms, sirup of sugar, cane-juice, melada, and on sugars according to the Dutch standard in color," were increased 25 per cent. of the then existing duties.

Their claim of reductions by act of March 3, 1883, is not sustained. The Tariff Commission recommended a reduction of 20 to 25 per cent. The reduction actually made was not 4 per cent. average ad valorem. The war rates, therefore, have not been reduced as promised, and as the internal-revenue taxes were reduced.

They have reduced taxes, but they are the very taxes which caused the increased tariff taxes to be imposed, and not the war-tariff taxes. The following statement of the receipts into the Treasury from customs, or tariff taxes, and internal revenue will show how each has been comparatively reduced yearly:

Year.	Customs.	Internal revenue.
1866	$179,046,651.58	$309,226,813.42
1867	176,114,810.88	266,027,537.43
1868	164,464,599.56	191,087,589.41
1869	180,048,426.63	158,356,460.86
1870	194,538,374.44	184,889,756.49
1871	206,270,408.05	143,098,153.63
1872	216,370,286.77	130,642,177.72
1873	188,089,522.70	113,729,314.14
1874	163,103,833.69	102,409,784 90
1882	220,410,730.25	146,497,595.45
1885	181,471,939.34	112,498,725.54
1886	192,905,023.44	116,805,936.48
1888	219,091,173.63	124,296,871.98

These figures show how the war tariff still remains and the internal-revenue taxes have been reduced. The reductions made in the internal-revenue taxes are worthy of consideration and interesting. They have removed the internal-revenue taxes from apothecaries, auctioneers, banks and bankers, billiard-rooms, bowling-alleys, pawnbrokers, produce brokers, stock brokers, circuses, claim agents, express carriers and agents, insurance agents, even jugglers, lottery-ticket dealers, all manufacturers, patent-right dealers, peddlers, and theaters.

They also removed the internal taxes from all incomes (the tax being on incomes over $600), and all dividends or profits from banks, canal, insurance, turnpike, and railroad corporations and companies. From these income and dividend taxes, up to 1873 included, there had been paid into the Treasury the sum of $346,768,347.77.

They also removed the internal taxes from all legacies and successions, which yielded over $14,000,000 up to 1871.

And for the special benefit of the toiling laborers they removed all internal taxes on "billiard tables," carriages, plate of gold and silver, gold watches, piano-fortes kept for use, and yachts kept for use. But in order to show more clearly how the internal taxes have been reduced while the war-tariff taxes have been maintained, let us consider the percentage of the total internal taxes paid into the Treasury each year

under the internal-revenue laws, which have been repealed, or the percentage of collections of internal taxes under the repealed laws, to the total collections under all the laws.

This percentage of collections under laws since repealed was 82.76 per cent. in 1865, 81.61 per cent. in 1866, 77.04 per cent. in 1867, 76.65 per cent. in 1868, 52.82 per cent. in 1869, 49.18 per cent. in 1870, 38.95 per cent. in 1871, 30.24 per cent. in 1872, 15.58 in 1873, and 10 per cent. in 1874 and 1875, 9.39 per cent. in 1876, 8.83 per cent. in 1877, 9.27 per cent. in 1878, 8.94 per cent. in 1879, 9 per cent. in 1880, 8.71 in 1881, 9.15 in 1882, 7.90 in 1883, and fell below 1 per cent. in 1884 under tariff law of March 3, 1883.

In other words, 82 per cent. of the 100 per cent. of all internal-revenue taxes have been removed, while the war-tariff taxes still remain, and the Senate substitute proposes no general reduction, but an enormous increase on many articles over existing rates.

Republicans complain that they have had no chance to revise the tariff for the last five years on account of failure of the Democratic House to pass such a bill.

In the Forty-seventh Congress the Republicans were in power in both branches of Congress. March 3, 1883, they passed their tariff bill, pretending to reduce tariff taxation. They made an actual reduction on some articles, an increase on others, and on others still fixed specific instead of ad valorem duties, thus cunningly revising the law so as to impose higher average duties than before. The average ad valorem duty upon all dutiable articles for the year ending June 30, 1883, before that law took effect, was 42.45 per cent.; under the operation of the law as our Republican friends revised it this duty has been gradually climbing up, so that on the 30th day of June, 1887, it had reached 47.10 per cent.

Republicans now complain they have had no chance in the Senate to revise the tariff for five years past.

On the 6th of May, 1884, the Democrats were in possession of the House, and a motion was made to strike out the enacting clause of Mr. Morrison's bill reducing tariff taxation, and the bill was defeated by a majority of 4; 118 Republicans voted against this bill; they were aided by 41 Democrats; voting for the bill were 4 Republicans and 151 Democrats. On the 17th day of June, 1886, Mr. Morrison moved another bill to reduce tariff taxation. This was defeated by the votes of 107 Republicans aided by 33 Democrats; for the bill were 3 Republicans and 137 Democrats. The Democratic majority were unable to pass a bill through the House of Representatives because of the united opposition of the Republican members, aided by a few Democrats. Thus we see why no bill has, in former Congresses when the House was Democratic, been passed. It has not been the fault of the Democratic party. Why so much delay in reporting the House bill back to the Senate?

The celebrated tariff bill of 1846 was passed by the House July the 7th; in twenty-two days afterwards, July 28, it passed the Senate.

The tariff bill of 1857 passed the Senate six days after it passed the House. I do not cite, because it would not be fair, the rapidity with which such bills were rushed through the Senate during the war. I point only to what was done in time of peace. The tariff bill of 1867 was in the Senate committee fifty-four days, the longest time of any I have been able to find. The tariff bill of 1870 passed the House June 6; twenty-nine days thereafter, July 5, it passed the Senate.

Now we come to the last tariff bill that was passed, the bill of 1883. December 8, 1882, the Senate took from the Calendar a little internal-revenue bill, recommitted it to the Senate Committee on Finance, and January 4, 1883, that committee reported to the Senate a complete tariff bill tacked on to an internal-revenue bill—a thing never done before in the history of our legislation. I call attention to it to prove, and it undoubtedly does prove, that when they want to do a thing they can find a way to do it, and they are not always about it, either. They framed that bill, root and branch; they reported it to the Senate, perfect and complete, in twenty-seven days; and on the 20th of February they passed it.

The same committee that framed the bill of 1883 in twenty-seven days is in the Senate now, and was at work in committee, or pretended to be, on this bill for one hundred and thirty days. The Republican members of that committee were in 1883, Messrs. MORRILL, SHERMAN, Ferry, JONES of Nevada, ALLISON, and ALDRICH. Only one Senator has gone—Ferry. The other five have been there all the time since. They have had five years more of experience; five years more of service on that committee than they had had in 1883; five years more within which to familiarize themselves with the details of taxation: and losing Senator Ferry they have gained HISCOCK, at least his equal in ability and far his superior in knowledge of the subject, for Senator HISCOCK has had many years' experience as a member of the Ways and Means Committee in fighting and killing in the House bills for the relief of the people that never lived to be considered in the Senate. What is the matter with them? What has this committee to gain by taking one hundred and thirty days in which to frame a bill, when five years ago they could make one in twenty-seven days?

The answer can be made but in one way: delay—delay that would excuse them from voting. They have not intended to vote, they dare not vote upon their bill, for a vote would show their division. They prefer the bill should stand subject to amendment. In that shape it is pliable as any political platform that ever was built. In Kansas and on the Pacific coast they can promise to amend it in one particular. That means that the high tariff on sugar which the Kansas farmers want protected can be put back next session. All the Republican members from Kansas and the Pacific coast voted in the House against the reduction on sugar made by the Mills bill. The Senators from those States compromise to vote against the reduction on sugar in the Senate bill. Senators from the Northwest can promise to amend it in other particulars, and those from Pennsylvania and New England can promise still other amendments. The advantage, then, they have is that the Mills bill is the action of a Democratic House. If there are any defects in that bill Republicans can assail it—a Democratic House passed it. But if the Senate bill is defective, why, Republicans can promise that the Senate will amend it. The Senate has not indorsed it. It is only the bill of a committee.

Rumor has it that the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN], before this bill was reported from the Committee on Finance, seducingly intimated to members of the other House that if they would pass a resolution to adjourn and send it here his side of the Senate would vote for it, and they would adjourn before any bill was reported at all.

What have they been waiting for? To take action on this bill? They have been waiting to wear out members of the other House so as to induce that House to pass a resolution to adjourn. They have been waiting to wear out the House and wear out the minority of the Senate, and if possible induce some tired Democrat to offer a resolution to adjourn, so that they can go upon the stump and proclaim to the world that the Democratic party had prevented them from passing this tariff bill.

Mr. SPOONER. There has not been much of a House left to wear out.

Mr. COCKRELL. The responsibility for passing or not passing this bill rests upon the Republican majority of the Senate and not upon the Democratic House. It does not make a bit of difference whether there is one man in the Democratic House or not, the Democratic House has done its duty; it has passed the bill, and it is here; and you have no right to make any inquiry as to whether there is a quorum in that body or not. It has nothing further to do with the tariff question until you have passed your bill and sent it back to that body.

Why have you not done that? There is a reason for it. There is always a policy behind the action of the Republican Senators, distinguished leaders, aspirants for the highest positions in the gift of their party. There is always a reason. The House passed a bill, and the Republican members of the House offered no substitute at all; they proposed to stand upon opposition to that measure. The Chicago convention met and they declared against the reduction. They declared for reducing duties by increasing the rates of duty. That was the policy upon which the Republican members of the House went. They therefore refused to do anything. The bill came here. The Republican Senators were not willing to charge the Democratic line under that kind of a banner. Therefore they must change the line, change front, if possible, in the face of the enemy; and they bring in a bill presumably, claimed to be reducing the tariff and at the same time increasing the rates of duty.

It is a keen, double-edged sword. There is fat to be fried out of somebody; there is fat to be fried out of the manufacturers. Here is one process of frying it: Increase the rates of duty on certain manufactures; they will fry liberally; generous streams will flow from them into the Republican campaign fund. Here is another class. The duties are lowered on them, and they, too, will fry as long as that bill is pending here in the Senate and promises can be made that the duties will be changed.

Only a day or two ago a controversy sprang up in West Virginia over putting a certain kind of coal on the free-list. Who was it who rose in his seat and asked what was the provision of the bill in regard to that article, and who was it who got up and made an explanation that it was a mistake and would be corrected?

In other words, this bill is to be kept open to fry the fat out of all kinds of manufacturers, those who are protected by increased duties and those who claim to be injured by reduced duties. Whenever anybody comes and makes a complaint, "Oh, we will correct that before the bill is passed; we have just reported it tentatively."

The committee say in their report that they are going to take additional testimony; that they are going to give the bill further consideration. What did you report it here for, then, if you are not ready to act upon it? Oh, it is a double-edged sword, and it is keen both ways and on both sides, with a sharp point. You wanted to bring all the manufacturers before you. Did you ever send for any of the farmers? Did you ever send for any of the wheelers? Did you ever send for any of the laborers, the toiling millions? Did you have a man before you who did not come there voluntarily, and whose expenses were not paid by somebody if not out of his own pocket?

We have not yet had the opportunity to see the testimony in print; but I understand you investigated that infamous jute combine out West, and you had before you, I understand, a St. Louis gentleman, one of my constituents, and he brought before you witnesses from Indiana, and from Ohio, probably, and other States, to tell you that it would not do to reduce the tariff on jute. When they were questioned

about it, they were made to confess that this jute man had hired them by the day to come here, and had borne their expenses to come here and swear in his interest.

That is the kind of testimony that you had before that tariff investigation; and this bill has not been reported to be passed. It never has been the intention to do it, and your only hope now to get out of your dilemma is that some Democrat, tired out, will introduce a resolution to adjourn and you will be enabled to let go.

What is your bill? It takes from the free-list and places on the dutiable-list the following articles to the following amounts, according to the importations of 1887:

Articles proposed by Senate Finance Committee to be transferred from the free-list to the dutiable list.

Articles.	Values.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
Aluminium	$9,458.00	$1,891.60
Oil of poppy	27,528.00	6,882.00
Gold size	7,461.00	2,984.40
Root flour	575.00	115.00
Macaroni	500,970.20	177,339.54
Animals for breeding—		
Cattle	401,168.83	70,970.00
Hogs	2,298.00	80.00
Horses	2,252,374.00	301,800.00
Sheep	56,348.00	14,267.50
All other	51,357.00	10,271.40
Total	3,309,538.03	586,601.44

Also, "fresh fish, when frozen or packed in ice." Of this no estimate can be made.

This substitute proposes to place some dutiable articles from the schedules of "chemicals," "sugar," "provisions," "cottons," "hemp, flax, and jute," and "sundries," of the aggregate value of $26,331,-815.38 as imported in 1887, on the free-list.

On many of the schedules the duties are increased.

On the whole amount of metals imported in 1887, amounting to $55,111,922.37, the average duty paid was 40.77; under the Senate bill it would be 42.13. On cotton manufactures, amounting to $30,-208,851.83, the average duty was 39.99; under the Senate bill it will be 40.74. On books, papers, etc., amounting to $5,214,635.21, the average duty has been raised. On sundries, amounting to $59,580,006.88, the average duty has been raised. On wool and woolens, amounting to $50,586,613.71, the average duty was 58.80; under the Senate bill it will be 66.12.

Ties for baling cotton and hay now pay a duty of 35 per cent. Capitalists not willing to manufacture them at the importer's price with 35 per cent. added, demanded such a duty as will enable them to "control the American market," and the Senate bill raises the duty to over 100 per cent. This would give us the benefit of a "cotton-tie trust." On woolen dress-goods costing abroad an average of 15 cents a yard, the duty now, 83 per cent., is raised to 92 per cent. These are only samples; look at whole schedules.

The following table shows the values of certain named articles as imported in 1887 and the amounts of duties collected under present and the average ad valorem duty thereon under present law. Also the amounts of duties payable thereon under the House bill, with the average ad valorem rate thereon, and the same under the Senate substitute, and the amounts of the excess of duties payable thereon under the Senate substitute over the same under present law and the percentage of increase, and also the percentage of increase of duties under House bill. This is the table from which my colleague [Mr. VEST] read yesterday, and I will not consume the time of the Senate in reading it.

Values of and duties collected on the below-named manufactured articles entered for consumption in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1887, *with the estimated amounts of duty accruing on like imports under the provisions of House bill* 9051 *and the Senate substitute; also showing the excess in amounts of duty under the Senate substitute over like amounts under the present laws and House bill* 9051.

Articles.	Values.	Duties collected under—						Excess of duties under Senate substitute over—			
		Present laws.		House bill.		Senate substitute.		Present laws.		House bill.	
		Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Per cent.	Amounts.	Per cent.
Woolens:			*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*				
Cloths	$10,022,370.67	$7,055,824.94	70.40	$4,008,948.26	40.00	$7,531,853.64	75.15	$476,028.70	6.75	$3,522,905.38	87.88
Dress goods	17,199,141.02	12,398,974.92	72.09	6,879,656.41	40.00	13,419,025.95	78.02	1,020,051.03	8.23	6,539,369.54	95.05
Knit goods	1,980,453.74	1,243,689.31	62.80	792,181.49	40.00	1,423,935.33	71.90	180,246.02	14.50	631,753.84	79.44
Shawls	1,029,998.19	654,008.00	63.50	411,999.27	40.00	703,154.00	68.27	49,146.00	7.51	291,154.73	70.67
Yarns	1,747,562.09	1,207,734.64	69.11	699,024.84	40.00	1,989,236.45	113.83	781,501.81	64.71	1,290,211.61	184.57
Cottons:											
Thread, not on spools	919,702.30	423,759.58	46.08	355,035.58	38.60	466,497.26	50.72	42,737.68	10.09	111,461.68	31.39
Cloths	3,555,347.28	1,617,200.80	45.49	1,422,138.91	40.00	1,777,010.63	49.98	159,809.83	9.88	354,871.72	24.95
Flax, hemp, and jute:											
Brown and bleached linens, etc	13,589,418.55	4,756,296.50	35.00	3,397,354.64	25.00	5,435,767.42	40.00	679,470.92	14.29	2,038,412.78	60.00
Laces and embroideries	1,142,473.85	342,742.00	30.00	342,742.00	30.00	571,236.67	50.00	228,494.67	66.67	228,494.67	66.67
Yarns	789,013.50	276,154.73	35.00	118,354.02	15.00	315,605.40	40.00	39,450.67	14.29	197,251.38	166.66
Iron and steel:											
Steel, in forms not specified	6,091,898.65	2,614,385.43	42.92	2,614,385.65	42.92	3,488,080.52	57.26	873,695.09	33.42	873,695.09	33.42
Railway bars	1,000,329.00	843,347.49	84.30	545,853.04	54.57	777,672.29	77.74	*65,675.20	*7.79	213,819.25	42.47
Tin-plates	16,883,813.95	5,706,433.89	33.80	Free		5,706,433.89	33.80			5,706,433.19	100.00
Needles, not for machines	307,484.44	76,871.10	25.00	Free		76,871.10	25.00			76,871.10	100.00

*Minus.

NOTE.—The amounts of duty stated as "collected" under House bill and Senate substitute are estimated upon the imports of 1887.

W. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
Washington, D. C., October 11, 1888.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator be kind enough to state what is the final result, what the average ad valorem rate on all dutiable goods?

Mr. COCKRELL. Under your bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes.

Mr. COCKRELL. Why, you pretend to reduce it to 42.75 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. We do not pretend at all. That is not a part of our statement.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is your system, not your statement. I understand that. This statement was made by the Treasury Department, and that your system and mode of imposing these duties, calculated as best can be done before they are put in practical operation, shows that you levy an average ad valorem duty of 42.75 per cent.

Mr. ALDRICH. How much is it in the Mills bill?

Mr. COCKRELL. By the Mills bill it is 42.77 per cent., according to my calculation.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is higher by the Mills bill than by ours.

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes; that is, the general average is very slightly. What have you done? How have you cut your rates down? By striking at the sugar tariff, and there is your tender point. Your reductions are all made in the sugar tariff.

Before the House bill was finally reported from the Committee on Ways and Means and in the proceedings of that committee on March 19, 1888, the following proceeding was had:

Mr. BROWNE, of Indiana, moved to strike out lines 340 to 370, inclusive (being the sugar provision, and which would have left sugar at present rates). Lost by following vote: Ayes, Messrs. Kelley, Brown, Reed, McKinley, and Burrows—5; nays, Messrs. McMillin, C. R. Breckinridge, Turner, Wilson, Scott, Bynum, and Mills—7.

Thus when the sugar schedule was pending before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House—and the record has been made public and it is now public property—a Republican member of that committee, Mr. BROWNE, of Indiana, moved to restore the present tariff rates

upon it and not to reduce it at all, and every Republican member there voted for that, voted to restore sugar to the present duty, and they voted in the House against the measure of the majority to reduce the tariff on sugar.

Mr. CHACE. Why, Mr. President, does the Senator say that the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee voted in the House against a reduction of the tariff duty on sugar?

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not know how they voted in the House on final action.

Mr. CHACE. I understood the Senator to say "in the House."

Mr. COCKRELL. They voted in committee to restore the duty to its present rate, to what it was before, and not to sustain the Democratic majority of the committee in reducing it.

Mr. CHACE. Did they not vote in the House to take off 50 per cent. of the duties on sugar?

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not remember.

Mr. CHACE. That is the fact, I believe.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not know whether it is or not.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly, it is the fact.

Mr. CHACE. I should like to say that I am advised by a member of the House of Representatives, who claims to know the fact, that the statement made by the Senator from Missouri is incorrect.

Mr. COCKRELL. What statement?

Mr. CHACE. That they did not vote in committee in that way.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have the official record, and I do not care what the member of the House may say. The official record of the vote by yeas and nays in the committee on March 19, 1888, shows just what I have read.

Mr. CHACE. Will the Senator pardon me one or two questions on this sugar schedule?

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator does not make a speech.

Mr. CHACE. I understand the Senator to make out that the average rate of duties in these two bills is about 42 per cent. Will he tell us what the ad valorem rate is in the Senate substitute on sugar?

Mr. COCKRELL. Forty-one and two-tenths per cent.

Mr. CHACE. That is about the same as the average rate of duties.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all, sir; the average rate of duties under the present law is 78 per cent.

Mr. CHACE. No; but I say it is about 41 per cent. in the Senate substitute, and the average of all the duties in both bills is about 42 per cent. Now, will the Senator please to tell us why sugar, an agricultural product, should have a rate of duty upon it higher than the average duties upon the most extreme manufactured articles in the country?

Mr. COCKRELL. If the protective system must be maintained at all hazards, and rather than yield one part of the protective system you are going to have free whisky, why will you make a 50 per cent. reduction upon sugar, an industry that, if its friends in Kansas and other States are correct, needs protection at this time, a new industry, the production of sugar from sorghum by machinery, while you increase your tariff on woolen goods manufactured in your own States 100 per cent.?

Mr. ALDRICH. Does the Senator from Missouri support the duty on sugar as a protective duty?

Mr. COCKRELL. It makes no difference whether I support it or do not support it. I am arguing about the Republican party and not about my views. I am attacking the Republican party. I am not defending myself. I am not on trial.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am asking the Senator for his views, if he is willing to give them.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is immaterial what my views are. That is not the question. The question before the American people is the Senate substitute as compared with the House bill. It is a measure that has been brought into the Senate to fry the fat out of the manufacturers by giving some of them high rates and others reduced rates, and then hold it here and never pass it, promising changes and amendments; and, as I said before, when the other day the people of West Virginia got scared, a distinguished Representative running for office sent word down here to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] or some of the Republican Senators that that would never do, and a Republican Senator very innocently gets up on the floor and interrogated the distinguished Senator from Iowa, and he tells him that that is all going to be arranged; that that was just simply a mistake. Let anybody else find any defect in the bill and the same promise can be made.

Mr. ALLISON. It will be.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have no doubt of it; and it is said, rumor has it, that the frying-pan was kept not far from the Senate Finance Committee, so that when the manufacturers and others came voluntarily before the committee, they had an opportunity of visiting that frying-pan and seeing what was wanted.

Mr. President, in addition to the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House voting to restore the tariff to its present rates, in 1886, when a tariff bill was before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, the Senator from New York [Mr. HISCOCK], then a member of the House, put a question to Mr. GAY, now, and then, a member of the House, in regard to salt and sugar. I read what occurred before the House Committee on Ways and Means March 10, 1886, whilst Mr. GAY was addressing the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You have got an island of salt?

Mr. GAY. There is no telling the developments of it. There are now fifty cargoes of salt shipped by the day from that island, and its possibilities are unknown.

Mr. HISCOCK. The way with us to remedy the trouble is this: Gentlemen who think as you do should come over and vote on our side of the House, and then the gentlemen at this end of the table will be elevated up to the other end, and you will not be troubled with this thing any more.

Mr. GAY. Whether I stand on one side or the other, I am for the legitimate protection of every American industry.

Mr. HISCOCK. We want the men who think as you do to help us to organize the House so that the order at this table may be reversed.

In other words, you have reached that point where you form a tariff combination trust, and all your interests must stand or fall together.

Mr. ALDRICH. Those same gentlemen voted for the Mills bill. What kind of a combination was it that resulted in that vote?

Mr. COCKRELL. That is just what I wanted the Senator to say. That is the reason you cut sugar down. There it is in a nutshell. They did not vote with you in the House this time, and you are punishing them for it now. That is the reason; that is just exactly the question I wanted the Senator to ask.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. Every single Republican Senator in 1883 voted for a reduction on sugar almost as great as now is included in this bill, notwithstanding the fact that the Senator says a reduction was proposed by a Democratic member in the House. It is a well-known fact that the gentlemen to whom I have alluded were opposed to the Mills bill up to a certain time, and afterwards they voted for it; and I was asking the Senator if he had any information upon the subject of what it was that caused the change.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have never heard of any cause for the change. I have never seen any cause why the Republican party of the Senate should go back upon the Republican party in the House in regard to this matter.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Republican party in the House voted, without a single exception, in favor of a reduction of 50 per cent. on the present tariff on a vote by tellers.

Mr. COCKRELL. Did the Kansas men vote for the reduction?

Mr. ALDRICH. I say every Republican member in the House.

Mr. COCKRELL. Do you call them Republicans?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir. With one exception every Republican member voted for a reduction of 50 per cent. on sugar, which is precisely the same reduction effected by the Senate substitute.

Mr. COCKRELL. Now, Mr. President, there is a formation among them, and there is no question about it, to hold up the tariff to the present high war-tariff rates.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand a list of articles on which the duty has been raised by the substitute of our committee. I will have it inserted at the end of my remarks.

You have taken hold of the tariff schedules. Schedule No. 226 changes the rate on tobacco, cigars, cheroots, etc., $2.50 per pound and 25 per cent. to $3.50 per pound, a reduction of $273,097 on importations of 1887.

By this change cigars worth $10 per 1,000, which now pay $2.50 per pound, or an average of $37.50, and 20 per cent., $40, would pay $3.50 per pound, or an average of $52.50 per 1,000, an increase of $12.50 per 1,000, while cigars costing $250 per 1,000, which now pay $100 duty per 1,000, would pay $52.50 per 1,000 under the substitute, the same as the cheap cigar, a reduction of $47.50 per 1,000. That, I suppose, is for the benefit of the laboring man!

Mr. ALDRICH. Let me suggest to the Senator from Missouri, if he has made that calculation upon cigars costing a dollar a thousand, which is quite as probable as Havana cigars costing $10 a thousand, he will show ten times as high an ad valorem rate.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, the question before the Senate and before the people to-day is a tariff to prohibit imports, because that is the practical policy, the declared policy of the Republican party in its platform, and a majority of the Republican Senate. A minority of the Republican Senate can not change that policy. That is your platform. Upon the other hand, the Democratic party stands upon the platform of a reduction of the rates of tariff duties to that amount which will yield revenues for the support of the Government and afford the incidental protection which all tariff duties afford.

You have not passed your bill; you do not intend to pass it. You are just waiting now to get some tired Democrat to introduce a resolution to adjourn, and you will gladly adopt it and go home, and then try to charge upon the Democratic party throughout the length and breadth of the land that the cause you have not passed the tariff bill is that the Democrats moved an adjournment.

APPENDIX.

ITEMS ON WHICH DUTY IS RAISED BY SENATE SUBSTITUTE.

Metals:
Chains less than three-eighths inch.
Sheets of iron or steel less than No. 29 wire gauge.
Sheets of iron or steel less than No. 29 wire gauge, galvanized.

Metals—continued.
Fence-wire rods smaller than No. 5.
Wire worth over 10 cents per pound.
Steel ingots, blooms, billets, etc., less than 1 cent.
Cotton-ties.
Bronze powder.
Table cutlery, and all knives.
Penknives and pocket knives.
Gold leaf.
Breech-loading shotguns, cheap.
Quicksilver.
Wood-screws one-half inch and less.
Type metal.
Wood:
Rattans, manufactured.
Tobacco:
Cigars, cigarettes, and cheroots, cheap.
Leaf-tobacco, wrapper.
Provisions:
Animals, live.
Cotton:
Medium yarns.
Cotton cloth exceeding 150 threads to 200.
Stockings and hose, fashioned.
Flax and hemp:
Yarns.
Brown and bleached linens.
Grass-cloth.
Sheetings.
Manufactures of flax, etc.
Sail duck.
Jute yarn.
Laces, embroideries, etc.
Cuffs and collars.
Wool:
Class 1, combing wools, cheap.
Class 2, clothing wools, cheap.
Class 3, carpet wools, dear.
Manufactures of wool:
Cloths.
Shawls.
All manufactures.
Flannels.
Blankets.
Hats.
Balmorals.
Yarns.
Women and children's dress goods.
Clothing, ready-made.
Cloaks, dolmans, and jackets.
Silk goods:
Laces, embroideries.
Wearing apparel.
Books and papers:
Blank books.
Photographs.
Buttons.

Mr. SPOONER obtained the floor.

Mr. COCKRELL. Before the Senator proceeds I should like to have read or put in the RECORD a letter from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in regard to the system for the free use of distilled spirits in the arts and manufactures as provided for in the substitute of our Finance Committee.

Mr. HOAR. I suppose it may be inserted in the RECORD without being read.

Mr. ALDRICH. I want it read either before or after the Senator entitled to the floor gets through.

Mr. COCKRELL. I want it to go in as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the paper.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, October 8, 1888.

SIR: Referring to your request for an expression of my views respecting the proposed exemption from tax of alcohol used in the industrial arts, as provided in the amendment reported by the Senate Finance Committee to House bill 9051, inclosed please find copy of a letter addressed from this office to Hon. JAMES B. BECK, under date of August 2, in response to a similar request pending the consideration of this proposed measure in committee. No copy of the proposed amendment was furnished this office at the time, and this suggested change in the law was considered simply as a proposition, without regard to the conditions imposed, and solely from a revenue standpoint. Notwithstanding the many safeguards now contained in the bill against the fraudulent use of the alcohol so exempt from tax, the proposed measure is, in my judgment, still open to the objections noted in my letter referred to; and as a measure for the relief of the manufacturer and the tax-payer, the amendment, I think, is open to still further objection.

The many requirements contained in the bill respecting the storage, custody, and use of the alcohol in the cases provided, and the large bond security exacted and other conditions imposed for the prevention of fraud, would, in my opinion, prove so burdensome and so difficult of compliance in many instances as to prevent the average manufacturer from availing himself of the proposed exemption.

The quantity of alcohol used in small lots by retail druggists and other small manufacturers in this country for pharmaceutical purposes and in the preparation of cologne-waters, toilet articles, etc., is very considerable and possibly exceeds, in the aggregate, the quantity used by the large wholesale manufacturers for like purposes. But, in order to obtain alcohol free of tax in the manner provided for in the bill (except in cases where the alcohol has first been methylated) the applicant must first provide a separate and secure room on his premises for the exclusive storage of the alcohol so obtained, and must file with the collector of his district the necessary notices and entries and a bond in a sum of not less than $5,000; and no portion of the alcohol, however small, can be removed from such store-room unless for immediate use and in the presence of the Government storekeeper having the custody of the room and spirits stored therein.

The practical difficulties here involved in the case of a small manufacturer, in providing the required store-room and securing the attendance of a storekeeper at the proper time, are such as would, in my judgment, effectually exclude this class of manufacturers from any benefits under the bill. If such should prove to be the case the business of manufacturing articles where alcohol is used in any considerable quantities would, of course, soon pass into the hands of a few large manufacturers who could easily comply with all the requirements of the proposed law. Such a law would be manifestly unjust; and the benefits which the consumer of the articles so produced would derive under the law would be such as the manufacturers would graciously concede. The provisions made in the bill for the establishment of "bonded alcohol warehouses," into which all bonded alcohol withdrawn from the distiller's warehouse must pass before reaching the manufacturer, would also in my judgment be greatly to the advantage of the large manufacturer over his smaller competitor.

The large bond security ($100,000) required of the proprietor of such warehouse would necessarily limit the number of warehouses so established, and would of course effectually prevent the small manufacturer from establishing his own bonded warehouse. By a system of warehouse charges, commissions, etc., the small manufacturer would be entirely at the mercy of the proprietors of these bonded warehouses and the distillers of the alcohol. The opportunity afforded by this bill for a combination of alcohol distillers and large manufacturers to establish these bonded warehouses and control the spirits entered into and withdrawn therefrom is, to my mind, a most dangerous one.

One of the principal objections now urged to the present tax on distilled spirits, especially as to alcohol (on which the tax is nearly five times the cost of producing the article) is that, owing to this high rate of tax and the many onerous restrictions placed on the business, the manufacture of this article is controlled by a few distillers, who, by limiting their production, are able to fix their own price on the article produced. If, as I apprehend, the effect of this proposed amendment to the law imposing this large tax would be to confine the manufacture of articles from alcohol, free of tax, to a comparatively small number of manufacturers, the monopoly feature of the internal-revenue law, if it now exists, would, instead of being lessened, be greatly increased, and the whole system of revenue laws relating to distilled spirits would become so unequal and unjust as to invite their hasty repeal.

In view of this objectionable feature of the bill and the dangers to be apprehended from the fraudulent use of the alcohol as set forth in the accompanying letter, I can not but regard this proposed measure as inexpedient and dangerous in the highest degree.

Recent experiments conducted in this office with methylated spirits (the details of which will appear in my annual report of 1888) demonstrate the fact that such spirits, even when containing a large per cent. of methyl, can by a very simple and inexpensive process be so demethylated or cleansed as to admit of their being used in the compounding of liquors intended as beverages.

The provision found in the bill for the methylation of alcohol in the bonded alcohol warehouses, and the exemption of such methylated spirits from many of the restrictions applicable to pure alcohol, would seem to furnish another dangerous opportunity for fraud, instead of affording an additional safeguard against fraud as intended.

The proposed measure is open to the further objection that the employment of a force necessary to carry out the provisions of the bill, and to properly supervise the business therein authorized, would probably entail upon the Government an expense greater than any similar measure heretofore proposed, and perhaps equal to the present cost of collecting the entire receipts from distilled spirits, and that no provision is made in the bill for this large additional expense, or for the appointment of additional revenue agents, which would be absolutely necessary in case the bill should become a law.

Respectfully, yours,

JOS. S. MILLER, *Commissioner.*

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue makes his criticisms upon our provision as respects alcohol used in the arts. One is that the provision respecting bonded warehouses is too severe, that we have tied it up too closely, and therefore there is danger that these bonded warehouses may be in a few hands. Inasmuch as the law authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to establish as many bonded warehouses as he chooses to establish, I do not think there can be any sort of danger in that regard unless the Secretary of the Treasury chooses to act without due regard to the public interest.

As to the recovery of methylated spirits, I wish to say just one word. England and Germany to-day are allowing manufacturers to use methylated spirits, and the concurrent testimony in both those countries is that they can not be recovered except by redistillation. So I care not what the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may have stated in his report of 1888, he can not overcome the fact that in two great countries they use methylated spirits to-day.

Mr. VEST. Will the Senator, before he takes his seat, allow me to make one statement?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. That is a very material question of fact. I assert now, and I can demonstrate, that this wood-alcohol or methyl can be taken out after it is used in the arts and sciences and prepared as a harmless drink, and in this very town inside of three days I have seen, on a machine costing $22, brandy and whisky manufactured after having been demethylated, equal quantities of fine brandy and of wood-alcohol and of pure alcohol, and afterwards the methyl or wood-alcohol, which is a poison, taken out and then reduced by water until no man, except an expert, could tell the difference between it and the brandy and whisky sold in the saloons at high prices.

That is a question of fact. I assert that I can produce the process here that will manufacture it, and I say, no matter what has been done in England or in France or anywhere else, that this is done in this town; and if I had known that this matter would come up I should have brought the actual article manufactured, which can be drunk with perfect impunity and can not be detected.

Mr. TELLER. Would it make a man drunk?

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course. It has alcohol in it. I assert it as a fact, and it can be proved by actual demonstration; and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] was right when he said that it was dangerous to put this provision in this bill, as he declared in his opening speech.

Mr. ALLISON. He did not say it so strongly as that. He said he had some doubt about it.

Mr. VEST. Yes; he said he had great doubts, so great that he be-

lieved it would almost destroy the internal-revenue system of taxation on spirits.

I will make this assertion good or else I will stand convicted here not only of inaccuracy, but of something worse. I say you can take the finest brandy or the finest bourbon whisky made at the Taylor distillery or any of the other distilleries of Kentucky, put with it equal quantities of wood-alcohol, which is a poison, and of a pure alcohol, which is not, and you can use the wood-alcohol together with the other in the arts and sciences, and afterwards you can extract by this process, on a machine costing $22, actual valuation, all the wood-alcohol or methyl, demethylate it, and then it is a harmless drink, and can be sold in all saloons.

Mr. ALLISON. What is the process?

Mr. VEST. I do not undertake to describe it. I have seen it.

Mr. ALLISON. It is a process of redistillation, and it requires the same effort that it requires to distill alcohol. If the Senator from Missouri has such a scheme, he has a scheme which under the House bill will enable a man to have in his bureau drawer a distillery for the manufacture of whisky.

Mr. VEST. I would rather the Senator should use another form of expression. I have not any such scheme.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. VEST. That machine is in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and open to inspection.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well. I do not care where the machine is. I only want to say that the most distinguished experts——

Mr. VEST. I do not want my name put in any scheme.

Mr. ALLISON. Of course I meant it in no offensive sense to the Senator.

Mr. VEST. I understand that.

Mr. ALLISON. He said he had the machine.

Mr. VEST. No; I said I had seen it.

Mr. ALLISON. I of course know that the Senator from Missouri is not engaged in any such occupation as that. I only know that experts have made efforts in this country, in England, and in Germany for the extraction of wood-alcohol, and it has been regarded as the most important invention that could be made, and they all concur that this wood-alcohol can not be recovered except by a process of distillation or redistillation, which must be of the same nature as the original process of distilling alcohol.

It is true that in Germany they have adopted an additional safeguard by the injection of a small quantity of pyridine, a natural product of nicotine, but recently found in coal-tar, and which is extracted from it, and thereby they have made it more secure and more absolute; and we propose in this bill that the Secretary of the Treasury shall have authority to use the improved methods now in use in Germany and to some extent in Great Britain. So, I care not what the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may say or what machine the Senator from Missouri may have seen or observed, it is by a process of redistillation, in my judgment, which is a process, that if successful, will enable every man to produce alcohol, and it is the only way whereby this wood-alcohol can be recovered.

Mr. VEST. Before the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] proceeds, will he yield to me for a moment?

Mr. SPOONER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VEST. I desire to have put in the RECORD certain tables, which came to me this morning from the Treasury Department, in regard to the duties imposed by the Senate committee's substitute. I want them put in the RECORD for the use of all Senators.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The tables will be printed in the RECORD, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none.

The tables are as follows:

SCHEDULE K.—*Wool and manufactures of wool.*

Par. Senate bill.	Articles.	Importations for fiscal year 1887.		Rates of duty.			Amount of duties.			Value per unit of quantity.	Ad valorem equivalents.		
		Quantity.	Value.	Existing law.	House bill.	Senate bill.	Collected in 1887.	At new rates, based upon importations for fiscal year 1887.			Existing law.	At new rates, based upon importations for the fiscal year 1887.	
								House bill.	Senate bill.			House bill.	Senate bill.
	Class I.												
346	Wool, hair of the alpaca, goat, etc., value 30 cts. or less p. lb...lbs..	22,607,856.30	$4,127,025.97	10 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	11 cts. p. lb.....	$2,260,785.64	.....	$2,486,861.20	$0.182	54.78	.....	60.25
	Value over 30 cts. p. lb., lbs.....	17,586.00	5,875.00	12 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	11 cts. p. lb.....	2,110.32	.....	1,934.46	.334	35.92	.....	32.96
	Washed, value 30 cts. or less p. lb.....lbs...	383,275.00	131,006.00	20 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	22 cts. p. lb.....	76,655.00	.....	84,320.50	.342	58.51	.....	64.36
	Washed, value over 30 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	2,010.00	692.00	24 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	22 cts. p. lb.....	482.40	.....	442.20	.344	69.71	.....	63.90
	Scoured, value 30 cts. or less p. lb....lbs...	184,985.00	74,886.00	30 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	33 cts. p. lb.....	55,495.50	.....	61,045.05	.405	74.11	.....	81.52
	Scoured, value over 30 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	22.00	13.00	36 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	33 cts. p. lb.....	7.92	.....	7.26	.591	60.92	.....	55.84
		23,195,734.30	4,339,497.97	.....	.....	.....	2,305,536.78	.....	2,634,610.67	.187	55.20	.....	60.71
	Class II.												
	Combing wool, value 30 cts. or less p. lb..lbs...	9,568,431.00	2,213,331.00	10 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	11 cts. p. lb.....	956,843.10	.....	1,052,527.41	.231	43.23	.....	47.55
	Value over 30 cts. p. lb., lbs	129,573.00	54,026.00	12 cts. p. lb. ...	Free...	11 cts. p. lb.....	15,548.76	.....	14,253.03	.417	28.78	.....	26.40
	Scoured, value 30 cts. or less p. lb.....lbs...	5,958.00	2,701.00	30 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	33 cts. p. lb.....	1,787.40	.....	1,966.14	.453	66.18	.....	72.79
		9,703,962.00	2,270,058.00	.....	.....	.....	974,179.26	.....	1,068,746.58	.234	42.91	.....	47.08
	Class III.												
347	Carpet wool, value 12 cts. or less p. lb.....lbs...	61,811,967.40	6,185,733.00	2½ cts. p. lb.....	Free...	2½ cts. p. lb.....	1,545,299.26	.....	1,545,299.26	.10[illegible]	24.98	.....	24.98
	Scoured.....lbs...	6,717.00	1,206.00	7½ cts. p. lb.....	Free...	7½ cts. p. lb.....	503.78	.....	503.78	.179	41.77	.....	41.77
	Carpet wool, value over 12 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	19,685,714.00	3,554,823.00	5 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	6 cts. p. lb.....	984,285.70	.....	1,181,142.84	.181	27.69	.....	33.23
	Scoured.....lbs..	79.00	52.00	15 cts. p. lb.....	Free...	18 cts. p. lb.....	11.85	.....	14.22	.658	22.79	.....	27.35
		81,504,477.40	9,741,814.00	.....	.....	.....	2,530,100.59	.....	2,726,960.10	.126	25.97	.....	27.99
	Total unmanufactured wool.....	114,404,173.70	16,351,369.97	.....	.....	.....	5,899,816.63	.....	6,430,317.35	.143	36.08	.....	39.32
351	Woolen rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, etc., lbs.....	4,902,381.00	1,855,618.00	10 cts. p. lb	Free...	10 cts. p. lb.....	490,238.10	.....	490,238.10	.379	26.41	.....	26.41
354	Woolen cloths, valued not over 40 cts. p. lb.....lbs..	.....	.....	.....	.....	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Valued above 40 cts. and not above 60 cts. per lb.....lbs..	.....	.....	.....	.....	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Valued above 60 cts. per lb.....lbs..	.....	.....	.....	.....	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

SCHEDULE K.—*Wool and manufactures of wool*—Continued.

Par. Senate bill.	Articles.	Importations for fiscal year 1887.		Rates of duty.			Amount of duties.			Value per unit of quantity.	Ad valorem equivalents.		
		Quantity.	Value.	Existing law.	House bill.	Senate bill.	Collected in 1887.	At new rates, based upon importations for fiscal year 1887.			Existing law.	At new rates, based upon importations for the fiscal year 1887.	
								House bill.	Senate bill.			House bill.	Senate bill.
	Woolen cloths—cont'd.												
	Valued not above 80 cts. per lb.....lbs..	1,117,564.40	$713,315.94	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	.....	.....	$640,808.21	$4,008,948.26	$7,531,853.63	$0.638	89.84	40.00	75.15
	Valued above 80 cts. per lb.....lbs..	7,689,699.02	9,309,054.73	35 cts. p. lb. and 45 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	.....	6,415,016.73			1.211	68.91		
	Total woolen cloths..	8,807,263.42	10,022,370.67	.....	.....	.....	7,055,824.94	4,008,948.26	7,531,853.63	1.138	70.40	40.00	75.15
	Woolen shawls, valued not above 80 cts.....lbs...	42,604.31	27,903.34	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	.....	.....	24,667.68	411,999.27	703,154.00	.655	88.44	40.00	68.26
	Valued above 80 cts.....lbs...	237,778.30	327,460.85	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	.....	.....	214,206.74			1.337	65.41		
	Composed wholly and in part of worsted, etc.....lbs....	447,504.20	674,634.00	40 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	.....	415,123.58			1.508	61.53		
	Valued not above 40 cts.....lbs...	.....	.....	.....	.....	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Valued above 40 cts. and not above 60 cts.....lbs....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Valued above 60 cts.....lbs....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Total woolen shawls.....	727,886.81	1,029,998.19	.....	.....	.....	654,008.00	411,999.27	703,154.00	1.415	63.50	40.00	68.26
354	Yarns, woolen and worsted:												
	Valued not above 30 cts. per lb.....lbs...	99,869.50	29,031.60	10 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	20,148.01	.....	.....	.290	69.40	.....	.....
	Valued above 30 cts. p. lb. and not above 40 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	661,086.43	241,074.00	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.			163,706.28	108,042.24	360,871.49	.365	67.90	40.00	133.60
	Valued above 40 cts. p. lb. and not above 60 cts. per lb....lbs...	753,993.72	410,264.12	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	279,311.35	164,105.64	428,003.44	.544	68.08	40.00	104.32
	Valued above 60 cts. p. lb. and not above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	1,275,844.79	875,280.12	24 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	612,550.81	350,112.04	860,449.95	.686	69.08	40.00	98.30
	Valued above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	157,866.50	191,912.25	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	132,018.19	76,764.90	139,911.50	1.216	68.79	40.00	72.90
	Total yarns.....	2,948,660.94	1,747,562.09	.....	.....	.....	1,207,734.64	699,024.82	1,789,236.38	.592	69.11	40.00	102.38
354	Manufactures, n. o. p. f., made wholly or in part of wool:												
	Valued not exceeding 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs....	123,783.46	80,510.00	30 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	71,502.76	.....	.....	.650	88.81	.....	.....
	Valued above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs....	993,500.11	1,421,735.00	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.			916,419.10	600,898.00	1,047,811.42	1.431	64.46	40.00	69.74
	Manufactures of worsted, hair of the alpaca, goat, etc.:												
	Valued not exceeding 30 cts. p. lb.....lbs....	100,189.00	24,146.00	10 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	18,470.00	.....	.....	.241	76.49	.....	.....
	Valued exceeding 30 cts. p. lb. and not above 40 cts. p. lb.....lbs....	174,018.25	60,737.00	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.			42,140.14	33,953.20	125,681.63	.349	69.38	40.00	148.06
	Valued exceeding 40 cts. p. lb. and not above 60 cts. p. lb..... ....lbs.....	1,588,069.60	859,029.70	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	586,512.92	343,611.88	899,436.24	.541	68.28	40.00	104.70
	Valued exceeding 60 cts. p. lb. and not above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	3,785,978.60	2,740,630.00	24 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	1,867,855.36	.....	.....	.724	68.15	.....	.....
	Valued exceeding 80 cts. p. lb .....lbs...	1,343,256.80	1,469,661.73	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.			1,058,004.68	1,684,116.69	3,735,810.85	1.094	71.99	40.00	88.73
	Total manufactures not elsewhere specified.....	8,108,795.82	6,656,449.43	.....	.....	.....	4,560,904.96	2,662,579.77	5,808,740.14	.821	68.52	40.00	87.26
354	Balmorals:												
	Valued above 30 cts. p. lb. and not above 40 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	1,009.00	370.00	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	250.58	148.00	482.65	.367	67.72	40.00	130.44
	Valued above 40 cts. p. lb. and not above 60 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	724.00	426.00	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	279.42	170.40	423.80	.588	65.59	40.00	99.48
	Valued above 60 cts. p. lb. and not above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	873.00	632.00	24 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	430.72	897.20	1,731.60	.724	68.15	40.00	77.20
	Valued above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs..	1,213.00	1,611.00	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.			1,068.95			1.328	66.35		
	Total balmorals.....	3,819.00	3,039.00	.....	.....	.....	2,029.67	1,215.60	2,638.05	.796	66.79	40.00	86.80

SCHEDULE K.—*Wool and manufactures of wool*—Continued.

Par. Senate bill.	Articles.	Importations for fiscal year 1887.		Rates of duty.			Amount of duties.			Value per unit of quantity.	Ad valorem equivalents.		
		Quantity.	Value.	Existing law.	House bill.	Senate bill.	Collected in 1887.	At new rates, based upon importations for fiscal year 1887.			Existing law.	At new rates, based upon importations for the fiscal year 1887.	
								House bill.	Senate bill.			House bill.	Senate bill.
355	Flannels:												
	Valued not above 30 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	73.00	$19.00	10 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	10 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	$13.95	$7.60	$13.95	$.260	73.42	40.00	73.42
	Valued above 30 cts. and not above 40 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	456.00	175.35	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	116.09	70.14	116.09	.384	66.20	40.00	66.20
	Valued above 40 cts and not above 60 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	4,819.00	2,653.37	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	1,796.10	1,061.34	1,796.10	.551	67.69	40.00	67.69
	Valued above 60 cts. and not above 80 cts. p. lb .....lbs...	136,889.00	100,633.33	24 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	68,075.03	.....	.....	.735	67.65	.....	.....
	Valued above 80 cts. p. lb ..... lbs...	77,097.15	81,722.45	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.			59,673.03	72,942.31	158,536.77	1.060	73.02	40.00	86.93
	Total flannels.....	219,334.15	185,203.50				129,674.20	74,081.39	160,462.91	.844	70.02	40.00	86.64
	Blankets:												
	Valued not above 30 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	3,707.00	830.00	10 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	10 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	661.19	332.00	661.19	.224	79.66	40.00	79.66
	Valued above 30 cts. p. lb. and not above 40 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	602.50	250.60	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	160.01	100.24	160.01	.416	63.85	40.00	63.85
	Valued above 40 cts. p. lb. and not above 60 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	1,010.00	526.00	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	365.90	210.40	365.90	.521	69.56	40.00	69.56
	Valued above 60 cts. p. lb. and not above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	700.50	489.30	24 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	339.38	.....	.....	0.698	69.36	.....	.....
	Valued above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	1,559.07	1,790.62	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.			1,258.81	911.96	1,812.20	1.155	70.30	40.00	79.48
	Total blankets.....	7,570.07	3,886.52	.....	.....	.....	2,785.29	1,554.60	2,999.30	.513	71.67	40.00	77.16
	Hats of wool:												
	Valued above 40 cts. p. lb. and not above 60 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	818.00	337.00	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	282.69	154.80	282.69	.473	73.04	40.00	73.04
	Valued above 60 cts. p. lb. and not above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	428.00	329.00	24 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	217.87	.....	.....	.769	66.22	.....	.....
	Valued above 80 cts. p. lb .....lbs...	2,027.46	5,878.98	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.			3,061.21	2,483.19	3,465.37	2.900	52.07	40.00	55.82
	Total hats of wool..	3,273.46	6,594.98	.....	.....	.....	5,561.77	2,637.99	3,748.06	2.014	54.01	40.00	56.83
356	Women's and children's dress goods, coat linings, Italian cloth, etc., composed in part of wool, worsted, etc.:												
	Valued at above 15 cts. p. sq. yd. and not above 20 cts. p. sq. yd.....sq. yds...	26,929,224.70	4,094,403.06	5 cts. p. sq. yd. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	7 cts. p. sq. yd. and 40 p. ct.	2,779,502.28	.....	.....	.152	67.89	.....	.....
	Valued at above 20 cts. p. sq. yd....sq. yds ..	9,701,047.32	3,562,967.99	7 cts. p. sq. yd. and 40 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	7 cts. p. sq. yd. and 40 p. ct.	2,104,260.54	3,062,948.42	5,627,067.46	.377	59.06	40.00	73.48
357	Same, composed wholly of wool, worsted, etc.:												
	Weighing 4 ounces or less per sq. yd., sq. yds.....	31,136,149.20	6,522,568.51	9 cts. p. sq. yd. and 40 p. ct.	40 p. c..	11 cts. p. sq. yd. & 40 p. c.	5,411,280.91	2,609,027.40	6,034,003.89	.209	82.96	40.00	92.51
	Weighing over 4 ozs. per sq. yd..... lbs....	2,560,715.83	3,019,201.46	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	40 p. c..	40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. c.	2,103,931.19	1,207,680.58	2,231,966.91	1.179	69.68	40.00	73.92
	Total women's and children's, etc.....	.....	17,199,141.02	.....	.....	.....	12,398,974.92	6,879,656.40	13,893,028.26	.....	72.09	40.00	80.77
	Bunting.....sq. yds...	242.50	53.00	10 cts. p. sq. yd. & 35 p. c.	40 p. c..	11 cts. p. sq. yd. & 40 p. c.	42.80	21.20	47.87	.219	80.75	40.00	90.32
	Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel n. o. p. f..lbs...	330,415.94	689,002.38	40 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.	40 p. c..	40 cts. p. lb. and 45 p. c.	373,317.15	275,600.95	442,217.38	2.085	51.18	40.00	64.18
358	Knit goods, all goods made on knitting-frames:												
	Valued at not above 30 cts. p. lb...lbs...	48.00	9.00	10 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct..	40 p. c.	40 cts. p. lb. and 45 p. c.	7.95	.....	.....	.187	88.33	.....	.....
	Above 30 cts. p. lb. and not above 40 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	201.32	79.95	12 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct..			52.13	.....	.....	.397	65.20	.....	.....
	Above 40 cts. p. lb. and not above 60 cts. p. lb .....lbs...	20,109.00	10,601.60	18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct..			7,330.18	.....	.....	.527	69.14	.....	.....
	Above 60 cts. p. lb. and not above 80 cts. p. lb.....lbs...	73,417.23	50,895.08	24 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct..			35,433.42	.....	.....	.693	69.62	.....	.....
	Above 80 cts. p. lb..lbs...	1,238,052.29	1,918,868.11	35 cts. per lb. and 40 p. ct..			1,200,865.63	.....	.....	1.550	62.58	.....	.....
	Total knit goods, etc...	1,331,827.87	1,980,453.74				1,243,689.31	792,181.50	1,423,935.33	1.487	62.80	40.00	71.89

SCHEDULE K.—*Wool and manufactures of wool*—Continued.

Par. Senate bill.	Articles.	Importations for fiscal year 1887.		Rates of duty.			Amount of duties.			Value per unit of quantity.	Ad valorem equivalents.		
		Quantity.	Value.	Existing law.	House bill.	Senate bill.	Collected in 1887.	At new rates, based upon importations for fiscal year 1887.			Existing law.	At new rates, based upon importations for the fiscal year 1887.	
								House bill.	Senate bill.			House bill.	Senate bill.
359	Cloaks, dolmans, etc., lbs	476,129.73	$772,240.65	45 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	45 cts. p. lb. and 45 p. ct.	$523,154.55	$308,896.26	$561,766.58	$1.622	67.74	40.00	72.74
360	Webbing, gorings, suspenders, etc., composed of wool, worsted, etc....lbs...	239,817.00	443,808.95	30 cts. p. lb. and 50 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	30 cts. p. lb. and 50 p. ct.	293,849.58	177,523.58	293,849.58	1.851	66.21	40.00	66.21
361	Carpets: Aubusson, Axminster, and chenille, sq. yds	162,244.80	425,924.46	45 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	45 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	200,787.53	170,369.78	200,787.53	2.625	47.14	40.00	47.14
362	Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet, sq. yds	56,614.54	99,410.58	.....do.....	40 p. ct.	.....do.....	53,949.70	39,764.23	53,949.70	1.851	54.27	40.00	54.27
363	Brussels carpets, sq. yds	190,118.24	196,464.87	30 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	30 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	115,975.06	78,585.94	115,975.06	1.033	59.03	40.00	59.03
364	Patent velvet and tapestry velvet carpets, sq. yds	83,630.13	83,313.38	25 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	25 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	45,901.52	33,325.35	45,901.52	.966	55.10	40.00	55.10
365	Tapestry Brussels, sq. yds	106,377.88	68,348.04	20 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	20 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	41,779.98	27,339.21	41,779.98	.643	61.13	40.00	61.13
366	Treble ingrain, three-ply, and worsted chain Venetian carpets ...sq. yds...	25,437.00	19,332.00	12 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	12 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	8,852.04	7,732.80	8,852.04	.760	45.79	40.00	45.79
367	Yarn, Venetian, and two-ply ingrain carpets ....sq. yds...	74,262.00	40,416.00	8 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	8 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	18,065.76	16,166.40	18,065.76	.544	44.70	40.00	44.70
368	Druggets and bockings, printed, etc., sq. yds	3,962.00	1,353.00	15 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	15 cts. p. sq. yd. and 30 p. ct.	1,000.20	541.20	1,000.20	.341	73.92	40.00	73.92
369	Carpets and carpetings of wool, flax, or cotton, etc., n. o. p. f. .....sq. yds...	35,432.87	35,203.82	40 p. ct	40 p. ct.	40 p. ct.....	14,081.52	14,081.52	14,081.52	.994	40.00	40.00	40.00
370	Mats, screens, hassocks, etc., not exclusively of vegetable material.....	.....	502,889.37	40 p. ct	40 p. ct.	40 p. ct.....	201,155.76	201,155.76	201,155.76	.....	40.00	40.00	40.00
	Total carpets.....	.....	1,472,655.52	.....	.....	.....	701,549.07	589,062.19	701,549.07	.....	47.64	40.00	47.64
371	Belts or felts for paper or printing machines.....lbs...	191,143.75	167,166.00	20 cts. p. lb. and 30 p. ct.	40 p. ct.	20 cts. p. lb. and 30 p. ct.	88,378.55	66,866.40	88,378.55	.875	52.87	40.00	52.87
	Total manufactures of wool.....	.....	44,235,243.64	.....	.....	.....	29,729,717.50	16,951,850.18	33,897,853.19	.....	67.21	38.32	76.63
	Total raw wools and manufactures of wool.....	.....	60,586,613.61	.....	.....	.....	35,629,534.13	16,951,850.18	40,328,170.54	.....	58.81	27.97	66.56

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] has just put in the RECORD certain papers. I should like permission, without detaining the Senate at this time by any remarks of my own, to put upon the record for the use and for the instruction of the Senate the statement of the most distinguished free-trade statistician in this country, Mr. Edward Atkinson, as to the—I will not say the effect of a protective tariff, because he would not ascribe these results to the tariff in any large degree, but as to the comparative condition of progress of the nation during the last twenty years, when a high protective tariff has been in operation, as compared with the previous years.

Mr. Atkinson, who is unquestionably the most distinguished free-trade statistician in this country, and whose integrity I never heard any person who differed from him most warmly question, or his desire for honest and accurate results, has recently contributed to a magazine called The Forum, for the present month, a statement of the progress of the nation since 1860, or since 1865 or 1870—he takes different dates for the comparison in different cases—as compared with the immediately preceding period, and his results cover and overthrow at every point, so far as I recollect, the elaborate speech of the Senator from Texas [Mr. REAGAN], made the other day. The Senator from Texas attributed to protection certain results which by a process of *à priori* reasoning he undertook to demonstrate would happen, and which he affirmed did exist in this country.

Now, here is the great free-trader's statement of the facts which I desire to put on the record of the Senate.

All the changes—

Speaking now of the period since 1865—

All the changes have been in the direction of lower prices, smaller profits proportionately to each transaction, accompanied by higher wages.

Then he goes on to say:

While the earnings of workmen have increased, the earnings of those charged with the direction and application of capital have increased, while mere possession of capital has become less and less remunerative to the owner.

That is the comment furnished by the facts upon the Senator's statement that some $500,000,000 or $600,000,000 a year were passing into the pockets of the capitalists who were engaged in manufacturing. Says Mr. Atkinson:

While great fortunes have become more conspicuous they yet bear in the aggregate a lessening proportion to the total savings of the community.

The great gain and the increase in consumption in recent years have been chiefly in the consumption of articles which are of common use by the great mass of the people rather than in luxuries or articles of voluntary use.

We find that while the population increased from 1870 to 1887 only 55 per cent. the product of hay, which is synonymous with meat and the products of the dairy, increased from 70 to 80 per cent.; the product of grain 85 per cent.; the consumption of wool, domestic and foreign, nearly 100 per cent.; the product of pig-iron 285 per cent.; the construction of railways 223 per cent.; and so on in varying proportions, all in excess of population, with regard to all the necessities and comforts of life.

The value of the imports of merchandise over and above our exports, from 1866 to 1875 inclusive, was, in round figures, $817,000,000. The value of our exports of merchandise above our imports, from 1876 to 1885 inclusive, consisting wholly of the products of agriculture, was one thousand five hundred and seventy-four million.

On what elements did this depend? The railway charge upon the twenty-six great systems of railway which diverge from Chicago east and west, from 1866 to 1875, was 2.1837 cents per mile; from 1876 to 1885, it was 1.1037 cents per mile, making a saving of 1.08 cents per mile on the traffic of these specific lines on which 35 to 40 per cent. of the whole railway service of the country was performed, yet this difference in the rate of charge on these specific lines only, from 1876 to 1885, inclusive, came to more than $1,700,000,000, as compared to the rate charged in the previous ten years. This saving alone more than accounts for the excess of our exports over our imports, which excess enabled us to redeem our bonds or to import the coin necessary for our use.

He then gives a marvelous table and chart, in which he declares and illustrates by a picture to the eye:

No. 1. Average wages of mechanics, engineers, carpenters, machinists, and printers connected with the mills and works treated in volume 20, United States Census, which he has verified and confirmed by

separate investigations of his own. Establishments in Eastern, Middle, and Western States:

	Per day.
1860	$1.56
1885	2.40

Table No. 2—and I desire to call the attention especially of the Senator from Texas to this table—

No. 2. Average cost of one day's supply of food, fuel, and material for clothing customarily used by such mechanics, computed at retail prices on twenty shops, ten east and ten west of Buffalo:

1860	$0.3095
1885	.30

So that the average cost of food, fuel, and material for clothing since 1860 has diminished .95 of a cent a day, while the earnings of these classes that Mr. Atkinson sums up have increased from $1.56 to $2.40 per day.

No. 3. Purchasing power of three hundred days' wages in equal portions of the same kinds of food, fuel, and cloth, as above given:

1860	$15.72
1888	21.00

His table No 4 I will put in in this connection, although it is not immediately applicable to the present debate.

No. 4. Quantity per capita of coin, convertible bank-notes and legal-tender notes in circulation or in use as money at the respective dates:

1860	$14.06
1885	27.25

These tables are, as I have said, the result of the most careful inquiry of an eminent scientific man, a free-trader, and made, so far as there is any purpose to be extracted from them, in the course of an investigation which does not especially concern the issue which is now under debate in the Senate.

Mr. REAGAN. Will the Senator from Wisconsin allow me one word?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. SPOONER. I will yield if for only a minute. I can not yield for any length of time, as I desire to leave the city at 7 o'clock this evening.

Mr. REAGAN. I only ask the Senator to yield for a moment.

Just how far the tables presented affect the question which I was discussing I am not able now to determine. They do not overthrow the fact, however, that there were five billion and some hundred million dollars' worth of products manufactured in the United States, as shown by the census of 1880, and that if we subtract two billion from the five billion to correspond with the free-list, leaving three billion to correspond with the tax-list, a tax of 47.10 per cent. would yield $1,557,071,798; and that if we subtract from that sum the result of a tax of 30 per cent. it would still leave five hundred and seventy-six-odd million, I believe it is, unnecessarily drawn from the people. But altogether it transfers by operation of the law, if the calculation is correct, over a billion and a half of money as a result of that system, and no tables which a doctrinaire can present can alter those great facts.

Mr. HOAR. These are statements of fact. The Senator from Texas is the person to whom the term "doctrinaire" would be applied, of course not offensively; but he reasons *à priori* from what he thinks ought to exist.

Mr. REAGAN. I leave it with the statement I have made.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, with an amendment in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had appointed Mr. CLEMENTS, Mr. MCMILLIN, and Mr. RYAN members on the part of the House of Representatives of the Joint Select Committee to Investigate the Washington Aqueduct Tunnel.

WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT TUNNEL.

Mr. HALE. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives on the Senate joint resolution in regard to the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

The amendment of the House of Representatives was to add to the joint resolution—

That the joint select committee of the Senate and House authorized by a concurrent resolution of Congress to make inquiry and report concerning all of the work and contracts therefor on the Washington Aqueduct tunnel and other matters in relation thereto, are hereby, in addition to the powers conferred by said concurrent resolution, authorized and directed in their discretion to inquire and report touching all plans and estimates prepared under the auspices of the Government for extending the water supply of Washington City, and finally the said committee may extend their inquiries as to any and all other matters concerning the extension of said water supply that may aid the Congress in ascertaining and fixing the responsibility for any mismanagement therein, or for the future construction and management thereof.

Mr. HALE. I see no objection to that amendment. I move that the Senate concur.

The amendment was concurred in.

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES OF ELIZA M. FERRIS.

Mr. SAWYER. I wish to enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the Senate passed the bill (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris, and I ask that the House be requested to return the bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. When did the bill pass the Senate?

Mr. SAWYER. About three or four days ago.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Unanimous consent, then, will be necessary.

Mr. SAWYER. I ask unanimous consent.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that the vote by which the Senate passed the bill named by him may be reconsidered.

Mr. SAWYER. I only ask to enter the motion to reconsider.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. And the Senator accompanies the motion with a request that the House of Representatives be asked to return the bill. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none. The motion to reconsider will be entered.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I do not intend to enter at this time into an argument upon the comparative merits of the Senate or House tariff measures, or to consider the principles upon which the Republican party justifies its adhesion to the protective system, or even to discuss the objections to it. I shall reserve that discussion for the time when the Senate is seriously at work with a quorum upon this subject. My present purpose is simply to prove by witnesses who have been friendly to free trade, who live where it was born and where it has its home, that its results are not satisfactory, and that there is clamor for its overthrow and demnad for its abandonment.

If free trade, or, what is the same thing, "tariff for revenue only," as contradistinguished from "protection," is a system in itself so beneficial to capital and to labor, as our Democratic friends assert, its beneficence must be apparent in its operation in the United Kingdom, if anywhere on the earth, for that is the only distinctively free-trade nation in the world. I propose now only to prove that under the influence of free trade or a tariff for revenue only in Great Britain there has been for twelve years or more past, with slight intermissions, a very serious depression in industry and trade of almost every kind, and a depression in agriculture which defies parallel. The downward tendency was so great as to attract the attention of English statesmen, and to compel an investigation with a view to legislative or diplomatic action for relief.

In 1885, the 29th day of August, Victoria, "by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith," issued a commission to certain "trusty and well-beloved cousins and councilors," and others, numbering twenty-six, the Earl of Iddlesleigh being the first and the Earl of Dunraven being the second, the object whereof is set forth in the commission, as follows:

Whereas we have deemed it expedient that a commission should forthwith issue to inquire and report upon the extent, nature, and probable causes of the depression now or recently prevailing in various branches of trade and industry, and whether it can be alleviated by legislative or other measures.

This commission entered upon its work, and it was wonderfully thorough. It called before it a number of distinguished witnesses, one of whom, Mr. Robert Giffen, an official of the Board of Trade, on the 7th of October, 1885, testified, among other things, as follows:

There has been a very rapid increase of consumption of cotton in the United States. It rises from 382,000,000 pounds in 1866-'70 to about 881,000,000 pounds in 1884. That is a very great increase in the consumption of raw material in the country which produced the raw material.

He testified that the consumption in the United States down to 1884 showed an increase of about 130 per cent., and that it was accounted for "by their using up their own raw material." He also testified that at the same time the continent of Europe showed an increase of about 100 per cent. During those periods the consumption of the raw material in England increased only 53 per cent.

Our Democratic friends, it seems, would take the duty off of cotton cloths, after a while and stop all this consumption by home manufacturers. They seem to think it would be wiser to send all of our cotton to England, and buy it back from England manufactured at prices fixed there without restriction. The Republican theory is that we manufacture all our raw material in this country if we can, furnishing employment to our people, investment for our capital, and a market for our agricultural products, shipping our surplus to England and other countries.

I could spend profitably some time in quoting from the testimony of prominent Englishmen, including officials, facts pertinent and important, by way of vindicating the American principle of protection to home markets, but it is apart from my present purpose, and would take too much time. My main object is to lay before the people in form convenient for circulation and reference testimony which can not be disputed, showing that the condition of trade and industry and agricult-

ure in free-trade England is now, and has been for years, what we hope never to see in this country.

The commission addressed a circular of inquiry to the various chambers of commerce in the United Kingdom. These chambers of commerce are important institutions, in a commercial way, in England and other portions of the kingdom. Their methods of investigation, the regularity of their meetings, the reports of their committees, the representation in them of every department of business, and the reports which they make to the Government, all combine to render them competent witnesses as to matters within their jurisdiction. These were each interrogated as to the trades or industries of especial importance to its district.

They were also asked, among other things, how the trade and industry of the district had been affected during the last five years, as compared with the periods 1865 to 1870, 1870 to 1875, 1875 to 1880—when the depression began—when it reached its lowest point, and what were its most common symptoms. They were also specifically interrogated as to the fact of overproduction and the effect of foreign competition, foreign tariffs, and bounties; and they were asked to suggest remedies.

I intend to quote freely from the answers of these chambers of commerce, commencing with—

Aberdeen and surrounding district. Industries: Spinning, the manufacturing of wool, flax, hemp, and jute, the spinning of cotton, the manufacturing of paper, combs, soap and candles, provision curing, granite stone dressing and polishing, ship-building and ship-owning, engineering, fisheries, agriculture, and the industries dependent upon agriculture.

They say—

Most trades and industries at present are depressed, especially shipping, ship-building, and agriculture.

The progress of the depression in most industries may in general be said to have been uniform. No signs of improvement are apparent. Assuming that the depression of trade means reduction of profits, it began about the year 1881. It has now reached a lower point than for many years, with at present a downward tendency. Industries are seriously affected by foreign competition, and to a large extent by foreign tariffs and bounties.

The condition is largely attributed to overproduction.

Barnsley and district. Industries: Coal trade, linen trade, glass-bottle trade, and paper trade:

Paper trade and glass-bottle trade very depressed. Uniform downward depression since 1876.

They say foreign tariffs and bounties

Are at the bottom of all our troubles.

Batley. Industries: Manufacture of heavy woolens, worsted coatings, and blankets; also, to a less extent, coal and iron trade:

All branches may be fairly described as depressed. Depression having begun in 1874, and now at its lowest point. Its most prominent symptoms are low prices of raw material and manufactured goods, which, after a long-continued fall, are probably lower now than ever they were before. Real property, and especially mills and machinery, being unsalable, except at a great sacrifice. Its progress has continued for many years, trade having gone from bad to worse. Production has exceeded demand, and with a falling off in foreign trade there seems to be no prospect of immediate improvement.

Very injuriously and very considerably affected by foreign tariffs.

Belfast. Industries: Linens, iron foundry and machine making, ship building, flour milling.

Principal foreign trade with United States, British possessions, West Indies, and South America, and continental Europe.

The linen trade is depressed, in the sense that it fails to give an adequate return on the capital invested. The depression, which commenced about ten years ago, has been marked by a fall in prices during the first years, and by a continuance of low prices and sluggish demands in subsequent years. The present rate of wages is slightly below the average of the last twenty years. The condition of the linen trade has been adversely affected by the changes in the hours of labor, fall in prices, foreign competition, and foreign tariffs.

Iron foundry and machine making:

Speaking generally, depression began in 1868, continued to end of 1870; trade improved from then to 1875; reached its lowest point in 1879 and 1880; since then it has been languid owing to want of demand.

It is attributed in part to "severe competition," and trade is said to have been severely injured by foreign tariffs.

Flour milling:

Most unfavorably affected, owing to the large importation of foreign manufactured flour.

Trade has been generally depressed during the last ten years.

Birmingham. Industries: The iron metal, hardware, jewelry, guns, leather, glass, and coal trade:

The trade and industry of the district have been much depressed during the years 1880 to 1885, and before, but the extent of such depression, the loss of profits, the diminution of capital, and decreased demand for labor, can only be guessed at, the necessary factors for making any accurate or reliable estimate not being available. Every trade, special and ordinary, can only be described as depressed. This depression began in 1876-'77; lowest period during the present year; depression on the whole uniform in duration and intensity, with occasional short periods of activity in special trades, arising from recent government reforms and other exceptional causes.

It is attributed—

to German and Belgian competition, foreign labor, duties on many manufactured goods exported abroad, the exorbitant cost of carriage of goods from Birmingham to the seaboard, which has placed inland districts at a great disadvantage, compared with maritime towns. They recommend as a remedy, in addition to legislation regulating railways and railway rates, and emancipating the canals from the control of railway companies, "the imposition of an import duty on foreign manufactured goods in all cases where the same class of goods are manufactured in this country."

Thus it will be seen that Birmingham, everywhere famous, complains of the competition of the world, and recommends as a remedy for its depressed trades the imposition of tariff duties and the protection of home industries.

Other grounds to which they impute the depression are the better technical education of the foreign workman and the great agricultural depression, caused by a long series of bad seasons, and foreign competition, resulting in diminished purchasing power.

Birstall, near Leeds. Industries: The manufacture of heavy woolen cloth, worsted coatings, and blankets; also, other industries subordinate thereto.

Generally, they say, the industries in—

1882 were, and are now, as depressed as at any time; excessive depreciation in the value of mill property, serious diminution of profit on the capital invested, want of employment for a considerable number of machines and work people, and serious accumulation of stocks in the hands of manufacturers. Since 1882 the depression has increased gradually, and we are not able to anticipate its further course.

They report that their industries have been materially affected by foreign competition in home markets, and very seriously by the imposition of hostile duties, which "helped to exclude our manufactured goods from foreign markets."

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. SPOONER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOAR. Does the Senator find in his researches that there is any suggestion that that foreign competition which England says is so injurious to her comes from any countries that are not themselves protected?

Mr. SPOONER. None except perhaps Belgium, which has protection after a fashion, but is in a sense a free-trade country. This is all from British witnesses, chambers of commerce; nothing that I assert; no inference that I draw from testimony taken.

Dewsbury. Industries: Manufacturers of heavy woolen cloths, blankets, and carpets, and their kindred industries, including a large sale of rags and shoddy.

As to carpets:

It is the opinion of a large majority of persons engaged in trade that industry is depressed, and that the future is gloomy and discouraging.

The depression began in 1878, and its most prominent symptoms are work people out of employment, machinery standing idle, and depreciation in value of factory and other property.

Attributable to overproduction and foreign tariffs.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to inquire of the Senator if he is reading now exactly the report?

Mr. SPOONER. I am reading exactly the report.

Mr. TELLER. It is a quotation?

Mr. SPOONER. It is a quotation. I am quoting from the various reports.

Dudley. Industries: Coal and iron industries and fire-clay and glass manufacture.

From 1880 to 1885 depressed.

Local trades are generally depressed.

From about 1878—

the depression has been continuous. We can give no answer as to the immediate future. The district is suffering considerably from the inequality of railway rates and the monopoly caused by the absorption of local canals by railway companies.

Among the remedies they recommend is modification of foreign tariffs. They say foreign competition severely felt in some branches of manufactures.

Trade is greatly restricted and diminished by adverse foreign tariffs.

Dundee. Industries: Spinning and manufacturing of jute; the same of flax and hemp, machine and engine building for home and export requirements; also ship-building, steam and sailing, and ship-owning, and the carrying on of seal and whale fishing at Greenland, Newfoundland, and Davis Straits:

The volume of the flax industry has steadily decreased since 1876. The volume of the jute trade since 1865 increased largely to 1884, but has diminished suddenly within the last twelve months, say 12 to 15 per cent. During the last few years the gross value has continued to decrease largely in proportion to the volume; during the last twelve months a further reduction from a very low standard of value has taken place, averaging about 25 per cent. The net profit has been gradually getting less within the last few years, and at present mills and factories are running at a considerable loss. The capital invested is as large as ever, but as the industries have become unprofitable nothing approaching to the invested capital could be realized. This refers not only to the industry of jute and flax, but also to all the industries mentioned above. The quantity of labor has not been seriously affected, but the remuneration has been reduced.

They attribute it to the foreign duties and the increase in the erection of mills and factories in Germany, Austria, Spain, Italy, and Russia since 1880, for the purpose of manufacturing similar yarns and goods as are produced in that district.

The rate of wages is at present lower than it has been for the last ten or twelve years, and also slightly lower than the average of the past twenty years. This is general, but it applies to both skilled and unskilled labor.

How many of our laboring men will want to go to Dundee and live under free trade after reading this?

Exeter. Industries: Iron-foundry trade, mineral-oil trade, and tanning trade; principally, however, the paper trade:

From 1875 to 1880 the trade dropped to its lowest level, at which it now remains, the volume showing a slight increase, but gross value and net profit remaining at the lowest point. The general trade of the district has been materi-

ally affected by the agricultural depression we have for some years been suffering from, as both landlords and tenants have not had money to spend. The depression has since 1875 been uniform; no profit whatever is now got from a great portion of the trade. There are thirteen paper mills now left as against fifteen in 1870, but in the last fifteen years there have been fourteen failures among those fifteen mills, some having failed more than once.

How delightful it would be to the paper manufacturers of the United States, and those who depend upon them for wages and employment, to be put on the Exeter basis!

This continued depression is imputed to the factory act, and to fall in prices due to foreign competition.

Greenock. Industries: Sugar-refining, ship-building and marine engineering and ship owning.

In sugar-refining depression is reported. They say:

The refiners have not only had to contend with the losses arising from the diminishing value of sugar, but they have also had to meet the competition of foreign refiners, who, through the assistance of export bounties, are enabled to pay the cost of sending their refined sugars to this country, and at the same time to undersell the British refiners in their own home market.

As to ship-building:

The gross value has decreased largely; contracts have been lately taken at such extreme low prices in order to keep works open as to yield practically no profit. The number of workmen at present and for the last two years employed in this trade and subsidiary trades has largely decreased. It is reckoned that during the last period of depression, which culminated in 1879, the workmen then employed did not exceed 60 per cent. of the number employed in 1874. In 1882-'83 the gross number employed did not rise to the amount of 1874, but in 1885 the number is fewer than in 1879, the total being estimated at not more than 57½ per cent. of the number employed in 1874.

As to ship-owning:

Profits have been diminishing, especially since 1882, until now they are almost *nil*, and if shipping property were to be realized heavy losses would be sustained. Fewer men are employed than formerly.

As to sugar refining:

The depression began about 1875. It is worse now than ever. A prominent symptom is that from time to time works are shut up, and never for years have all the refineries in Greenock been working at the same time.

As to ship-building:

The depression began about two years ago. Most prominent symptoms are want of work by both employers and workmen; many workmen idle, etc.

The remedy recommended as to sugar refining is—

That the artificial help our foreign competitors get from export bounties should be withdrawn. This could be done either by the imposition of countervailing duties, which we do not desire to be resorted to, or by our government using strong diplomatic action to persuade the foreign governments to adopt free trade. A perfect cure for our grievance would be the abolition of sugar duties all over the world!

They complain, and this is significant, that their ship-building industry is depressed—

Because since 1882 the continental orders have ceased; the ship-owners of Germany, France, Italy, and of the countries which were the principal customers of Greenock builders have now ceased to order vessels in Great Britain to the same extent as formerly, and for the following reasons:

First. Because under the conditions of the subventions granted under color of mail service and under direct bounty inducements it is more profitable or obligatory to have the vessels constructed in their own countries.

Second. Because under the above conditions, and in France especially, under the stimulus of direct bounties given to the ship-builders, a large number of powerful ship-building yards have sprung into existence on the continent, capable of furnishing all the tonnage required.

This is worth a second thought in connection with the policy of the Democratic party of refusing any assistance or encouragement to American steam-ship lines.

Hartlepools. Industries: Ship-building, engine-building, timber, saw-mills, iron manufacturing, timber and grain exports, ship-owning, cement manufacturing, wood-pulp making, coal and glass exports:

All the industries in this district are depressed at present. The present depression began in 1883, and is now at the lowest point. No sign of any improvement.

They impute this to foreign competition and foreign tariffs.

Heckmondwike. Industries: Blanket and carpet manufacturing, principally; also, rags and cloths:

In 1874 and 1875 it gradually grew worse. The depression continued until 1880, when there occurred an American boom which temporarily lifted prices and induced activity; 1880 to 1885 progressively bad and unprofitable years. Prices continuously drooping.

The carpet trade of this district, which is distinct from that of Halifax and Kidderminster, is very depressed from the following causes: First—

The important market of Canada has been taken away from us by the encouragement given to manufacturers in that country by the excessive duty levied on our goods.

If Canada had been as near to the mother country as poor Ireland, her industries would have been stifled generations since, and Heckmondwike would not have had this cause of complaint. They say that they anticipate an improvement for the reason, among others, that there is a great improvement in the United States, and it is sure to react on their markets. They complain of foreign tariffs and foreign competition, including colonial competition. They say:

Indeed, these foreign and colonial manufacturers are often Englishmen who see their way to make money abroad more than at home.

This circular was also addressed to the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce. Huddersfield comprises thirty-four townships, an area of 68,884 acres, and a population in 1881 of 156,504 people. Its industries are woolen and worsted manufactures, dyeing and finishing, cotton spinning, woolen and Angora yarn spinning, chemical manufactures, and machine making.

The Huddersfield yarn spinners under date of September 29, 1885, addressed a letter to the chamber of commerce in which they say:

We, the undersigned yarn spinners, beg to impress upon your notice the serious depression which has now existed for so long a period in the yarn-spinning trade of this district. As there is now a commission appointed to inquire into such depression, we ask you in returning answers for this center not to overlook or ignore the serious depression and decline this industry has fallen into, and more especially as this decline has taken place in the face of an ever-increasing importation of foreign yarns.

Another communication upon the same subject, dated October 7, 1885, contains the following sad statement of depression and ruin, notwithstanding the operation of the blessed free-trade principle, "Buy where you can buy the cheapest and sell where you can sell the dearest:"

As a proof of the deplorable state this trade has been in for the past fourteen or fifteen years we most respectfully beg to inform you that we hold a list of over fifty firms of spinners who have been ruined and brought into the bankruptcy court during that period. This list can be produced for your perusal, if required. The sole cause we think of the unprofitableness in the yarn trade is brought about by the large imports of foreign yarns which is monthly increasing, and gradually beating down the home spinner in our market, while we are debarred by high tariffs from exporting coarse yarns, which our machines are eminently adapted for producing cheaply. The foreign spinner comes here in times of depression and realizes his yarn at under cost of production to the great loss and embarrassment of the home spinner.

They say:

The productions of other countries, and even of our own colonies, have much to do with the present depression.

The answers of the committee of the East India and China trade section of the incorporated Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, after referring to the effect of the demonetization of silver as the cause of the depression of trade in Europe and America, say:

Low prices have led to overproduction and efforts to make small profits on a large turn over, and the result has been loss. By all means let us have free trade, but bounties should be met by countervailing duties, and hostile tariffs on English goods should not be countenanced in commercial treaties.

They want free trade, if they can get it, thus to break down the manufacturers in other countries and control the markets of the world; but if they can not have free trade they want protection. Certainly. We do not intend they shall have free trade so far as the United States is concerned, if the Republican party can prevent it.

Lancashire. Sugar refiners' association report sugar-refining industry depressed:

For twenty years it has suffered from foreign bounties. The manufacture of loaf sugar has been extinguished for at least ten years, and that of moist sugar is suffering most acutely at the present time. Refining trade suffers from a large importation of bounty-fed refined sugar. This condition might be met by diplomatic action; failing this, by countervailing duties.

By this is probably meant "diplomatic action" similar to the attempt to force free trade in fish on the United States by the outrageous and abusive treatment of our fishing vessels and fishermen at sea by the Canadian authorities.

Liverpool. The seed-crushing trade:

There had been long-continued depression until July and August last, when, owing to prospective short supplies of seed from Russia, our markets became more active.

They attribute depression to overproduction in part.

The want of demand on the one hand, induced from the farmer's poverty, and, on the other hand, foreign competition. From all parts of the world we now receive cattle-feeding cakes at the mill, and we are unable, owing to foreign tariffs, to obtain any advantage by selling our oil in the markets of our competitors.

Now, I ask attention to what follows here from Liverpool as to the watchmaking trade. There is hardly a man in the Senate who does not remember the time when Liverpool watches were regarded as among the best and filled this country. My friend from Maine [Mr. FRYE] carries one now.

Liverpool. Watch manufactures: T. R. Russell, a representative watch manufacturer of Liverpool, makes this statement as to the manufacture of watches. It is pathetic, and I give it with fullness. He says:

Watch manufacturing was formerly of special importance; it is now of little importance in Liverpool. Thirty years ago the amount of capital invested was probably two hundred thousand to three hundred thousand pounds. Probably eighteen hundred operatives were employed in the various branches. At present I do not think there are two hundred, mostly old men, and none or few apprentices being taken.

The bulk of the operatives before dying suffered greatly, became casual dock laborers, and entirely sunk in the social scale. The production has of course fallen in proportion to the diminished labor and capital employed, both being about one-tenth of what it was thirty years ago. Thirty years ago four-fifths of the large number of watches made in Liverpool were exported to the United States. This trade has been entirely killed by the increased American tariff. In fact it may be said that whatever an English watch can be sold abroad for, it is thus excluded or crippled while the home market is flooded with American and Swiss surplus stock.

This is the condition of the watch-manufacturing industry of Liverpool because of the encouragement given in America by the protective system to the watch-manufacturing industry here, and to-day we make as cheap watches as can be found in the world, and the market of England is supplied with them as well as the markets in other countries.

We have now fifty or sixty watch factories giving steady and remunerative employment to many thousands of skilled workmen and others, and there are no better watches in the world.

In Geneva, Switzerland, last summer I asked the hotel proprietor to point out to me the portion of the city where I could look at watches,

and, approaching it, the first sign I saw was one high up, in a language I could understand, bearing these familiar words, "Waltham watches;" and the Waltham watches were especially advertised in Paris as of great utility.

Mr. Russell continues—this is not American testimony; it is no Republican speech upon the effects of free trade:

I believe the watch trade, not in Liverpool only, but in Coventry and in London, is more depressed now than at any period within the past thirty years, or so far as I have learned it by tradition from father and grandfather during their time. In fact it is a dying industry. The depression began when the United States seriously raised their tariff, and is at the lowest point now if it does not go any lower. The wages have been pretty well wiped out, because the great bulk of the operatives have been wiped out of the trade.

By all means let us adopt the Democratic policy and build up the watch trade of Liverpool, Coventry, and London and destroy our own!

Luton (comprising parts of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and a part of Essex). Industries: Straw-plaiting and manufacturing of straw-plaits into hats and bonnets. Two-thirds home trade, one-third foreign. Straw plaits to Germany, America, and France. "Decrease in regard to the making of straw-plaits, an increase in regard to the importation of foreign plaits." Depression is confined to straw-plaiting. From 1871 to the present date, prices not remunerative. They say:

In negotiating foreign tariffs insist upon the duties being considerably modified, and, if possible, annulled and removed in relation to our local industry.

Certainly. Why not?

Macclesfield. The silk industry, including the sewing and spinning of waste and raw silk and power-loom weaving; also the manufacture of union tablets, such as cotton and silk, and spun and pure silk, and the dyeing of silk:

Thrown silk has in past years been largely exported to America and the continent of Europe, but its reduced production to-day indicates corresponding limited demand both at home and in Europe.

In a note they say:

The exportation as regards America has almost entirely ceased in consequence of the duty of 35 per cent.; annually less.

As regards manufactured goods, large orders were formerly executed for America. France subsequently became a moderate customer. To-day the exportations to America are all but *nil*, while perhaps 20 per cent. of our productions are sent abroad.

In the last five years trade and industry has shown unmistakable signs of prostration and decay. There have been fitful and brief periods of revival both in volume, gross value, net profit, and quantity of labor employed. The decrease of production is apparent.

Prior to 1860 the trade of Macclesfield was in a fairly flourishing condition—fifty-five mills, with an approximate of 14,000 hands. From that day to 1870 there was great depression. The fifty-five mills were reduced to thirty-two, and the hands employed were reduced from 14,000 to 5,000. There was a general depreciation of property, and over two thousand houses being vacant within the borough. During the Franco-German war, when all the continental forces were mobilized, we enjoyed a uniform prosperity—1870 to 1876—but since the latter date the silk industry has gradually languished, and at the present time there are over thirty mills closed entirely.

What an unmixed and uniform blessing free-trade is to England! They impute their loss to foreign tariffs.

Manchester. Industries: Coal, copper, iron, machinery, coal, and chemicals.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-five to 1869 so unsatisfactory that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce reported at the close of 1869—

The extreme depression of trade has resulted in an extent of disasters almost without parallel within the history of our commerce. In this year alone upwards of eighty spinners and manufacturers in this district failed, while those whose wealth enabled them to avoid ruin were left with crippled means and greatly depreciated property. Such property fell to a third and in some cases to a fourth of its former value, and was even at times unsalable. Many mill owners in apparently affluent circumstances were driven to seek for subsistence in subordinate situations, and even in emigration. Destitution caused an enormous advance in the poor rates, and in order to avoid liability to taxation in unworked factories the machinery of many was cleared out, and even sold for old metal.

1870 to 1874: The first two years were prosperous ones. (The Franco-German war.) The three following more or less unsatisfactory. 1875 to 1879: The whole period was unsatisfactory. Many very important failures in financial and other commercial circles occurred in 1875 and 1878. 1880 to 1884: The first two years were, generally speaking, fairly profitable ones, but the last three have witnessed steadily extending depression.

What a wonderful, never-ending blessing, certain of beneficent results, is free trade!

In Great Britain in 1883 there were 42,000,000 cotton-using spindles; on the Continent, 22,500,000; in the United States, 12,660,000; in the East Indies 1,700,000. We want to use our vast cotton product in our own country, and multiply our spindles to 42,000,000, and reduce Great Britain's number to 12,660,000. It will not be done by the application of the principle of the Confederate constitution to our economic system.

Let me give here the characteristics of the cotton trade as to profit as given by Messrs. Ellisons' circulars, and they are authority and are reported by the Royal Commission:

1865. Gloomy, but more encouraging at close.
1866. Most disastrous.
1867. Most unsatisfactory.
1868. Not so unsatisfactory as 1867.
1869. Unprofitable.
1870. Good.
1871. Unexampled prosperity (Franco-Prussian war).
1872. Unprofitable.
1873. Not satisfactory.
1874. Dull.
1875. The year closed unregretted.
1876. Less unsatisfactory than 1875.
1877. Not a single redeeming feature.
1878. Unparalleled depression.
1879. The depression culminated. Revival in October.
1880. Improving.
1881. Fairly remunerative.
1882. Diminished profits.
1883. Very far from satisfactory.
1884. Very unsatisfactory.

A beautiful record for nineteen years of free trade in the English cotton trade!

George Lord, director of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, says, by way of recommending a remedy:

Government might, however, exert its influence, so far as practicable, in endeavoring to produce modification of the tariffs of foreign countries, and even of some of our own colonies, which are now so onerous as to restrict, and in some cases prohibit, the import of the manufactures of this country.

The mother country ought to direct the combined influence and educational power of the Cobden Club to bringing some of her recalcitrant colonies to appreciate the beauty of free trade before revolutionizing the economic policy of the United States.

Morley. Industries: Woolen and linen trades:

All branches of trade in this district have never been for twenty years past so depressed as at present. Depression began in the year 1877. Lowest point is the present period. Symptoms: Heavy stock, small profits, and severe competition. Attributed to increase of foreign hostile tariffs, especially in respect to France, Germany, Austria, and America.

They recommend legislation securing more favorable treaties with foreign nations, and they say:

The protective and hostile tariffs of other countries, and especially of our own colonies, have much to do with the present depression, as their effect is most severely felt in this district.

Salt. Chamber of Commerce: Manufacture of salt and rock-salt mining:

The salt trade is very much depressed.

In 1884 they exported 233,170 tons to the United States.

The depression began three years ago, and is now at its worst, causing want of employment for the men, one-third of the works being permanently idle for want of trade; houses unoccupied; and still there is every possibility of further depression.

They impute it to competition on the part of foreign countries.

Salt being imported to England from our own colonies.

And the remedy which they suggest is the reduction of duties in foreign countries; to wit, the United States, etc.

Very many such reports might be quoted.

Similar questions were also addressed to various commercial associations, and the answers, if I might take the time to read them, would be exceedingly instructive and interesting. With few exceptions they complain of foreign tariffs and foreign competition, many including tariff and competition by their English colonies, and in some cases recommend as a remedy countervailing duties.

The Tin-Plate Manufacturers' Association made a report admitting great depression, in which they attribute the principal cause to overproduction. There is one item in their report which is worthy of special note. It is this:

This price being below the cost of production, a combination was formed to reduce production by stopping one week in every month, to the end of the year. This combination has been in operation for three months, and has greatly improved the market.

Is this a trust? It is certainly "a combination to put up prices," and it certainly was not caused by protection in England.

Circulars were addressed to the different guilds and trade societies and unions in the United Kingdom, representing workmen in every department of skilled labor, and their replies generally show long-continued depression, and in them there is much of despondency and hopelessness.

The reports and testimony obtained by this commission constitute a mine of great wealth in the way of information bearing upon the effect of free trade, and one finds in them almost limitless vindication of the efficiency and utility of the American system.

I will later in my remarks give the summing up of all the testimony upon the subject by the commission in its report, but before that I desire to show that, depressed during so many years as the industries have been, agriculture has fared infinitely worse than any other department of labor. I fancy the English farmer would thank God with all his heart if he could have a few years of American protection and of the prosperity which that system has for so many years brought to the American farmer.

Sir James Caird, the senior land commissioner for England, and a great authority, testified to the continual depression and ruin among the agricultural classes of England. After giving the result as to the different countries, he was asked:

Have you made any generalization of the result?

Answer. Yes, I have. The present as compared with ten years ago as deduced by me from these figures, which I have already given, would show on an average that the landlords have lost 30 per cent., the tenants 60 per cent., and the laborers 10 per cent., and putting that into figures, it brings out that on £65,000,000 of rental for the United Kingdom the landlords' loss of 30 per cent. would be equal to about £20,000,000, and the tenants' 60 per cent., inasmuch as their income may be taken at half the rental, would be just the same; that is to say, 60 per cent. on half the rental is also £20,000,000. With regard to the laborers there was a difficulty in estimating the amount of reduction, but I will place before your lordships the way in which I endeavored to arrive at it.

Without taking time to give his method, he estimates the reduction upon labor to be 10 per cent. of £28,000,000, which would be £2,800,000, and the total loss to the landed interest in spendable income for the last year, which was the year 1885, he figures at £42,800,000, or $214,000,000 in one year, one million more of annual loss to those engaged in agriculture than all the sums collected last year by the Treasury from customs duties. I wish every American farmer could read his testimony. How much of such "blessing" does the American farmer want? For ten preceding years the annual loss in agriculture had been as great, and in one or two years greater than in the year to which I have called attention.

Another item to which I desire for one moment to call attention is, that the number of applications for patents in Great Britain for 1854 was 2,764; the number of patents granted 1,878; the average for five years down to 1859 was, applications 3,054, granted 2,020; the average for five years to 1864, applications 3,306, granted 2,084; for five years down to 1869, applications 3,668, granted 2,298; the average for five years down to 1874, applications 3,938, granted 2,693; for five years down to 1879, applications 5,052, granted 3,379; the average for five years down to 1884, 8,122; the number granted is not given. This is absolutely trifling compared with the applications made and granted in the United States during the same years.

Who will deny, in the face of these figures, the proposition that the "protective system," encouraging the investment of capital, stimulating home competition, has encouraged invention and made us to lead the world in patentable ideas and improvements?

I turn to the final report of the commission, where, with a strong bias of course toward England, and a desire not to injure national credit or to cripple the successful operation of free trade, the entire testimony and investigation of the commission is thus summed up.

Mr. HOAR. Will the Senator allow me to make an observation there?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. HOAR. I understand that the result of that comparison looking into English patents is made even more impressive by the fact that according to English law they give a patent to everybody who asks for it, while under our law the application for a patent is carefully examined to see whether it infringes on one already granted.

Mr. SPOONER. That intensifies the value of the contrast, and I thank the Senator from Massachusetts for the suggestion.

Now here is the final report. I desire it to be remembered that it is a report of a commission of Englishmen, some of them noblemen, all of them prominent men, most of them members of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords, and their report is exceedingly significant:

With very few exceptions trade is reported to be depressed, and in many cases it is considered to be more depressed than at any previous period. The number of workmen out of employment at the time when the answers were drawn up showed considerable variation according to the districts and trades to which they belonged, but there appears to have been a greater want of employment among the unskilled than among the skilled workmen. The rate of wages for time work appears on the whole to be slightly higher than the average of the last twenty years, but it is not now at its highest point. The rate for piece-work has diminished for nearly all cases. A reduction is reported in hours of work of from three to four hours a week during the last fifteen years. Both the quantity and the quality of the work produced have largely increased. Summarizing very briefly the answers which we received to our questions, and the oral evidence given before us, there would appear to be a general agreement among those whom we consulted.

A. That the trade and industry of the country are in a condition which may be fairly described as depressed.

B. That by this depression is meant a diminution and in some cases an absence of profit, with a corresponding diminution of employment for the laboring classes.

C. That neither the volume of trade nor the amount of capital invested therein has materially fallen off, though the latter has in many cases diminished in value.

D. That the depression above referred to dates from about the year 1875, and that with the exception of a short period of prosperity enjoyed by certain branches of trade in the years 1880 to 1883, it has proceeded with tolerable uniformity and has affected the trade and industry of the country generally, but more especially those branches which are connected with agriculture.

These unimpeachable witnesses establish the existence of a condition which we do not wish to have duplicated in the United States.

My friend from Colorado [Mr. TELLER], who has had access to a later report than this, has brought to my attention this fact, that in the last year a single association of skilled workmen in Great Britain, the Organized Association of Engineers, paid out of their treasury, contributed out of their earnings, $400,000 to keep from want the members of the association who were out of employment and who were compelled to rely upon such assistance to maintain themselves and their families. He also calls my attention to the fact that in that year the poor-rate of England paid by parliamentary grant amounted to $92,220,510, while all the money paid by Great Britain for educational purposes—and I wish I had time to read the items—amounted to only $27,224,910, and there never has been a time when there was a larger number of men out of employment, of both skilled and unskilled laborers, than today in free-trade Great Britain.

The report continues:

As regards the causes which have contributed to bring about this state of things, there was, as might be expected, less unanimity of opinion, but the following enumeration will, we think, include all those to which any importance was attached:

First. Overproduction.

How is this? We have heard it claimed for a great many years that overproduction was due to the artificial stimulus given by protection. This contention ought to be forever silenced by this finding of the royal commission.

Second. The continuous fall of prices caused by the depreciation of the standard value.

Third. The effect of foreign tariffs and bounties and the restrictive commercial policies of foreign countries in limiting our markets.

No wonder Great Britain desires above all other things, save the extinction of the spirit of liberty in Ireland, that the industries of the United States and other countries may be broken down that she may supply the world with manufactures.

Fourth. Foreign competition, which we are beginning to feel both in our own and neutral markets.

"The tariff is a tax!"

Fifth. An increase in local taxation and the burdens of industry generally.

"Buy where you can buy the cheapest; sell where you can sell the dearest."

This sweet-sounding formula of free trade has not diminished local taxation or lifted the burdens from industry generally in free-trade England apparently.

Sixth. Cheaper rates of carriage enjoyed by our foreign competitors.

It has been claimed that because of the tariff on iron and steel our rates of carriage were too high, and therefore we should let in at lower rates of duty the iron and steel products of other lands. England complains greatly of high rates of carriage and of discrimination, and concedes cheaper carriage to other countries, including the United States.

Seventh. Legislation affecting the employment of labor in industrial undertakings.

Eighth. Superior technical education of the workmen in foreign countries.

This last is quite significant! Is not this remarkable as one of the causes for the continued and terrible depression reported by this royal commission?

I can not follow the commission through its analysis, or attempted analysis, of causes. Time will not permit.

Dealing with the nature of the depression, after having established its existence, they say:

Those who may be said to represent the producer have mainly dwelt upon the restriction and even the absence of profit in their respective businesses. It is from this class, and more especially from the employers of labor, that the complaints chiefly proceed. On the other hand, those classes of the population who derive their income from foreign investments, or from property not directly connected with productive industries, appear to have little ground of complaint. On the contrary, they have profited by the remarkably low prices of many commodities.

This is always so. Wages may go down among the American workmen to meet the wages of other lands, the standard of living may be reduced, but the mortgages upon their homes, the moneys they owe to those of fixed income, and the rate of interest will not go down. The money-lenders will profit, and they alone, "by the remarkably low prices of many commodities," which are to follow the adoption of the Southern philosophy upon this subject. The report continues:

We may therefore sum up the chief features of the commercial situation as being:

A. A very serious falling off in the exchangeable value of the produce of the soil;

B. And increased production of nearly all other classes of commodities;

C. A tendency in the supply of commodities to outrun the demand;

D. A diminution in the profits obtainable by production; and

E. A similar diminution in the rate of interest on invested capital.

The diminution in the rate of profit obtainable, from production, whether agricultural or manufacturing, has given rise to a widespread feeling of depression among all the producing classes. Those, on the other hand, who are in receipt of fixed salaries, or who draw their incomes from fixed investments, have apparently little to complain of, and we think that so far as regards the purchasing power of wages a similar remark will apply to the laboring classes.

They find that there has been "systematic overproduction continued during a long period, and resulting, according to the unanimous testimony of the witnesses who appeared before us, in little or no profit to the producing classes."

What a mass of goods England must have accumulated through all these years of "systematic overproduction," which she holds ready to flood the American market with, at ruinous prices, the moment the principle of the Confederate constitution shall become the ruling principle in the United States!

Systematic overproduction for fifteen years in England in every department almost of effort, we do not want the benefit of!

They say:

We are disposed to think that one of the chief agencies which have tended to perpetuate this state of things is the protectionist policy of so many foreign countries, which has become more marked during the last ten years than at any previous period of similar length. The high prices which protection secures to the purchaser within its protected area naturally stimulates production and impels him to engage in competition in foreign markets. The surplus production which can not find a market at home is sent abroad, and in foreign markets undersells the commodities produced under less artificial conditions. The natural growth of the industries of foreign countries, possessing in many cases the population and other resources required for successful manufacturing enterprise, has also contributed to produce the same result.

I call attention also to what this commission say in this final report in regard to their home market:

We have, as above pointed out, suffered a serious loss in our purchasing power by reason of the deficient or unremunerative character of the produce of the soil. Sir James Caird estimates the loss in purchasing power of the classes engaged in or connected with agriculture at £42,800,000 during the year

1885, and the loss in several of the preceding years must no doubt have been equal to or even greater than this. This amount has been lost to the markets in which it was formerly spent, and can not fail to have had an important influence upon the demand for manufactured goods.

What a blessing is free trade to the English farmer!

Again:

An effect of a similar kind, though less in degree, has been produced by the increased competition in our own market of foreign manufactured or partly manufactured goods, the importation of which appears to grow at a slightly more rapid rate than population, having been £1.97 per head in the year 1870–'74, and £2.35 per head in the period 1880–'84.

They also say that—

The reputation of British workmanship has also suffered in another way by the fraudulent stamping of inferior goods of foreign manufacture with marks indicating British origin. This appears to be principally the case with the hardware goods of Birmingham and Sheffield, which have secured so wide a reputation in the markets of the world. We regret, however, to be obliged to add that the practice of fraudulent marking appears, from the evidence before us, to be not unknown in this country.

The report proceeds—and now I ask attention to this, because it shows the point to which they have come and the prospect for the future, both as respects their industry and as respects their labor:

It is, however, right to point out that while the share of the aggregate wealth produced in the country which now falls to labor is larger than it was twenty years ago, a corresponding diminution has taken place in the share which falls to capital. In other words, that while wages have risen profits have fallen, and that this is obviously a process which can not be continued beyond a certain point. This point has, we think, been very nearly, if not quite, attained already. A time may therefore come when capital will lose all inducement to lend itself to the work of production, and if the employer is driven out of the field the laborers will necessarily suffer with him.

A brilliant prospect for the British manufacturer and the British laborer under the benign influence of free trade after having given it a splendid trial!

Announcing that they have few recommendations to make, the commission say—and there is an undertone of sadness running through it which if England had been less brutal in her treatment of others would be quite affecting:

We think also that the increasing severity of the competition of foreign countries is a matter deserving more serious attention than it has received at the hands of our commercial and industrial class. We can not perhaps hope to maintain to the same extent as heretofore the lead which we formerly held among the manufacturing nations of the world. Various causes contributed to give us a position far in advance of other countries, which we were able to hold for many years, but those causes could not have been expected to operate permanently, and our supremacy is now being assailed on all sides.

It is only being assailed, however, by countries which have grown prosperous under the principles of protection, including some of the colonies of Great Britain.

What a royal tribute to the wisdom and power of protection as an economic principle is given by this royal commission!

"And our supremacy is now being assailed on all sides!" Even by the colonies of Great Britain, which will have none of free trade; by Germany, which adopted the protective system in 1879, and which under its impulse has grown with a rapidity in every department of industry never known to that country before. And the United States, which under the protective policy has outstripped in wealth and growth and industrial progress the world, is one of the factors assailing, and to continue to assail, if the Democratic party does not succeed in forcing the Confederate principle upon the country, the supremacy of Great Britain.

To-day England may still be mistress of the seas, but the testimony taken shows that she is in deadly fear of losing that position; that her ship-building and ship-owning industries are languishing because the protection given by France and other countries to ship-building and ship-owning has brought her a competition difficult to be met. She does not any longer hold the markets of the world. The brutality and selfishness with which she sought to kill the industries of the American colonies, and after the war of 1812 to stifle the industries of America by flooding the country with British-made goods at a loss; the brutality and selfishness and outrage with which she killed, and has kept down, the industrial independence and prosperity of Ireland, have outlived their usefulness, and there has come a day when Great Britain is forced to admit that her "supremacy is assailed on every side," and that she can no longer expect to maintain the position as the leading manufacturing nation which she once possessed.

But for the 3,000 miles of ocean which lie between Great Britain and the United States our fate might have been the fate of Ireland; and underlying the opposition of England to the principles of home rule in Ireland to-day is this old-time dread of commercial and industrial competition, the fear well grounded that if Ireland had her home-rule parliament it would adopt its own commercial system, would quicken into life its dead industries, and rich in raw material and natural resources and in the ingenuity and patriotism of its people, would become a dangerous rival.

It is not long since Baron Bramwell, an eminent English jurist whose name is known to all lawyers, in an article entitled "Has Ireland a grievance?" published in the Forum of August, 1887, and addressed to the American people, "lets the cat out of the bag."

Home rule—

He says—

is a step to the establishment of a separate state in Ireland, with the certainty that other steps will be taken; the establishment of a separate state, with good ports and harbors opposite the entrance to the Clyde, and Glasgow, Liverpool, the Bristol Channel, all the channel ports, and the Thames.

Mark how: England fears the development of Irish industries and the growth of Irish commerce!

I can not forbear to quote from the dissenting report of George Auldjo Jamieson what he says about the free trade of England. After having signed the majority report, he criticises it for omitting to enter upon the subject of the effect of foreign tariffs and the remedy to be found in protection. He says:

I must attribute the comparative reticence and the apparent apathy of the report on this subject to the reluctance of the commission as a body to enter on any inquiry which could tend to a conflict of opinion on the question of free trade; but it seems to me impossible to deal with this matter, which is thrust on our notice very forcibly by the evidence, without grappling to some extent with that question. I think the reluctance to deal with it is due greatly to misconception. Controversy can not touch the axioms which combine to form the principle of free trade. It is the efficiency or the imbecility of the method which applies that principle to the practical business of the country which may be questioned.

If a beneficent principle fails to accomplish beneficent results the fault must lie with those who have to put it into practical operation. That there is some delinquency is apparent from the evidence. Free trade justly credited with every capacity for good comes before us in much of this evidence laden with the broken promises and disappointed hopes due to the extravagant advocacy of its early supporters. It was to convert the world; and after forty years no nation of importance has adopted it, and some have abandoned it. It was to confer great benefits on its votaries, and corresponding evils were to assail those who rejected it. The prosperity we enjoyed was shared while it lasted with other nations, and the ratio of their advance not infrequently outstripped our own; the depression which other nations have suffered we have shared with them, though we alone have had the benefit of free trade.

Enterprise was to be paralyzed and invention stifled where free trade did not prevail; but Germany has rivaled if not excelled us in enterprise; and America has been more prolific of invention than any other nation; and to neither Germany nor America has free trade contributed its stimulus. A system which can confer prosperity on its votaries only when those who abjure it are also prosperous, and which permits depression to assail with strict impartiality those who adopt and those who reject it, appears to me either to have much reason to complain of the method of its application, or to require some further justification than those arguments which prevailed before prophecy was falsified by history.

I think, therefore, that it is much to be regretted that any attempts to reconcile the results of free trade with its beneficent principles, and to reduce it to its proper level as the weapon and not the master of true statesmanship, are so keenly resented by those who are most jealous of its reputation; they seem to have passed into that phase of opinion when inquiry is deemed pernicious, and men allow themselves to become the slaves of doctrine, their zeal for the dogma outweighing alike consideration for its truth and concern for its effects.

No system of human politics or economics can be absolutely true. It can be true only relatively to the circumstances and conditions of the society to which it is applied. What was true in a political sense, *i. e.*, good in the thirteenth century, would be untrue, *i. e.*, inapplicable, in the nineteenth. What in a political sense is true in London would be in a similar sense untrue at Honolulu. No investigation, therefore, could, in my opinion, have been more useful, and none more profitable as bearing on the depression of our national industry than an inquiry whether the circumstances of 1886 are in all respects equally as appropriate as those of 1846 to the adoption and application of free trade as it was then adopted and applied. * * * But it is the first duty which a State owes to its citizens to protect their industries from invasion, and a government which confesses its impotence or professes its reluctance to fulfill that duty abdicates one of its primary functions.

Nor is this all. Mr. Jamieson was not alone of the royal commissioners in his view of the fallibility of free trade as a system adapted now even to England. In another report, signed by Dunraven, W. Farrer Ecroyd, P. Albert Muntz, and Nevile Lubbock, occurs the following significant declaration:

Sir James Brady, inspector of Irish fisheries, remarked, under date September, 1886, "there were over 8,000 tons of salted fish imported into Ireland last year; treble the quantity might and ought to be exported."

This reads like the utterance of an American protectionist.

The report continues—

We have already described the way in which the high protective duties levied by foreign nations, whose industries are almost or quite on a par with our own as regards cheapness of production, constitute in effect a bounty upon their exports of protected articles. So far as this affects their competition with our purchasers in neutral markets we have, of course, no direct remedy in our hands. Of the possibility of applying an effectual though indirect remedy, we shall have hereafter to speak, but as regards their practical subsidized competition in our home market, which is doing so much to destroy the profits of our producers, and to diminish the employment of labor, we have at command an effectual remedy.

The imposition of duties equal to 10 or 15 per cent. upon all manufactures imported from foreign countries would, we believe, sufficiently countervail both the bounty-creating effect of their protective tariff, and the unenviable economy of production obtained through longer hours of labor and less effective inspection and regulation of its conditions. For our aim ought not to be to countervail any natural and legitimate advantage which foreign manufactures may possess, but simply to prevent our industries being placed at an artificial disadvantage by the interference of either home or foreign legislation, and to replace them, as nearly as may be, in the position in which they would have found themselves but for such interference.

Such duties would undoubtedly to a considerable extent keep foreign manufacturers out of our home market and thereby give increased employment to our home industries. But in this country so insufficient is the present employment of the available labor and agencies of production, and so great is the pressure of capital seeking investment and labor seeking employ, that in our opinion neither prices, profits, nor wages could possibly be raised by the operation of such duties above the lowest remunerative level.

* * * * * * *

The measures which we have indicated would counterwork the effect of protection and strengthen the position of our producers directly in the home market, and indirectly, though substantially, in neutral markets. It is of course out of our power to obtain more free access to the protected markets of countries like the United States, France, and Germany themselves. In past years we had little occasion to regret this, or to trouble ourselves about it. Their course of action did not harm us so long as we were able in spite of it to obtain full employment for all our available labor.

That is, as long as the balance of trade was against these countries,

including the United States, and instead of working up their own raw material they were steady customers of Great Britain's manufactured products; but under the influence of protection these countries have become manufacturers instead of so great buyers, and England long since began to feel the change in her situation. Her manufacturers and labor suffer, while the manufacturers and labor of protected countries prosper.

To buy everything in the cheapest market, though not permitted to sell in the dearest, may be the best policy, so long as we can find other fields of equally remunerative employment for the home enterprise and industry which we displace in so doing, but no longer, for from the moment in which the combined effect of protective tariffs abroad and foreign competition at home limits our market, so as to cramp the full and free exercise of our industries, it begins to choke the living fountain of our wealth, our social well-being, and our national strength. We think the evidence is conclusive that during the past ten or twelve years this point has been reached, and that the adoption of a national policy suited to the changed conditions is imperatively demanded.

Dunraven, however, wished it understood that he was not in favor of protection!

Our Democratic friends want free trade in the United States, or what is practically free trade, a tariff for revenue only, while very many in Great Britain are demanding in an essential and potential way protection to her stagnant and decaying interests, and protection as a relief, the efficacy of which it doubts, to the labor which is now suffering in that country.

I wish I might read some extracts on the subject of England's necessity for protection, and the fallacy of free trade, from the little book, "A Forbidden Topic," by Sir Edward Sullivan, but time will not permit on this occasion.

In a recent article in the London Post he makes these suggestive comparisons, which are well worthy of attention:

Under free trade the masses must get poorer, because they get less employment. A well-known statistical work gives a comparison of the material progress of France under protection and England under free trade. If there is any truth in figures it ought to startle us from our free-trade dream.

The comparison is based on the returns of legacy duty:

In 1826 England was 10s. a head richer than France.
In 1850 England was 19s. a head richer than France.
In 1877 England was 5s. a head poorer than France.
France has 57 per cent. of her land under tillage, and it is increasing every year.
The United Kingdom has 30 per cent. of land under tillage, and it is diminishing every year, but the population of England increases much more rapidly than the population of France.
The commerce of England has increased 21 per cent. in ten years.
The commerce of France has increased 39 per cent. in ten years.
The commerce of the United States has increased 68 per cent. in ten years.
The commerce of the world has increased 26 per cent. in ten years.
So much for the blasting effect of free trade.

Certain it is, from what I have shown, that free trade has not for many years been satisfactory in its effect in England, and that there are already signs of revolt among the English people against that system.

While we all of both parties admit the necessity for a reduction in the revenues, and the Republican party stands pledged to a revision of the tariff, this is not a wise time, if one ever shall come, for the American people to follow the Southern Democracy and Northern *doctrinaires* and the importers into the experiment of free trade.

The British diplomatic representatives reported from every nation on the habitable globe to the royal commission the condition of industry and trade, and a glance at their reports shows that with few exceptions the general condition of nations in respect of trade was prosperous, while that of England was depressed. Set against this picture, drawn by the royal commission and the various bodies to whose testimony I have adverted, of England's condition under free trade, the marvelous growth and prosperity, in the face of war and other adverse elements, of the United States under protection, and the object lesson thus afforded is unanswerable in favor of the protective system, and against our trying any experiment to hazard the well-being of labor and the growth and development of our country.

The Democratic party will vainly attempt to convince the people that it is engaged in no free-trade crusade, and that the Mills bill is a protective measure. If there is a people on the earth not liable to be mistaken as to what constitutes free trade it is the English people. They know the article when they see it, and the joyful acclaim with which the merchants of England, burdened with the goods of many years of "systematic overproduction," hailed the advent of Mr. Cleveland's message as a commercial deliverance to them will not be forgotten.

The conspicuous English newspapers promptly welcomed it as free trade, and but for the fact that they soon ascertained that their enthusiastic plaudits excited the suspicion of the American people, and tended to delay "the good time coming," every newspaper in Great Britain would have been working enthusiastically to-day for Cleveland and Thurman and free trade. The prudent Englishmen, doubtless informed from America of its effect, warned English newspapers that it would not do. Therefore there appeared speedily the following in the London Pall-Mall Gazette:

Free-traders would be well advised if they moderated the ecstacy of their jubilation over President Cleveland's message. Every word which they say in its favor will be used as a powerful argument against the adoption of its recommendations.

And later, on this side of the Atlantic, from the Halifax (Nova Scotia) Herald, the following:

There is slight doubt but that we Canadians will have a large sympathy with President Cleveland's candidature, and it would be unfortunate if any expression of this sympathy on our part should serve to embarrass the Democratic party in those States where the real contest centers. The Southern States have very friendly feelings toward the Canadian Provinces, but they are already strong in their adhesion to the Democratic party. The present contest will be close. The odds are heavily in favor of the Republicans, but, inasmuch as we desire to see President Cleveland successful, it is most certainly advisable that the Canadian press should guard against embarrassing his party, and precluding his success, by tendering his administration indiscriminate and fulsome compliment.

So there came silence over the English press and the Canadian press, and while in the debate upon the Mills bill not one word was said in the House of Representatives by any man who favored it in support of the principle of protection, the Democratic party is engaged now from morning till night, from Monday till Sunday, in shouting throughout the United States that the English papers were mistaken; that the Canadian papers were mistaken; that England does not know free trade when she sees it; that the Democracy is not in favor of free trade, and that the Mills bill is a protective measure.

But the wisdom of silence came to the English and Canadian press too late. Neither their sudden and continued silence after the first joyful outburst, nor the retaliation message of the President, whose purpose none have misunderstood, will drive from the minds of manufacturers and wage-workers and farmers in the United States the fact which stands boldly out and is palpable that the warmest adherents of the President's policy, as indicated by his message, are the Southern Democracy, long ago committed by national platform and Confederate constitution to the principle of free trade, the New York importers, and England.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. I presume it will be impossible for the Senator from Colorado to finish his remarks this evening. There is a little executive business that ought to be transacted. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. HOAR. I move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let us have just a short executive session. It will not take three minutes.

Mr. HOAR. Why not wait until to-morrow?

Mr. FRYE. I wish to get in a report in executive session.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Massachusetts withdraw his motion to adjourn?

Mr. HOAR. I do.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After four minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Wednesday, October 17, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 16, 1888.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

George Moorman, of Louisiana, to be United States marshal for the eastern district of Louisiana, *vice* Reuben B. Pleasants, deceased.

FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

Sixteenth Regiment of Infantry.

Additional Second Lieut. Capers D. Vance, of the Twenty-first Infantry, to be second lieutenant, October 1, 1888, *vice* Wright, promoted.

FOR PROMOTION IN THE ARMY.

Medical Department.

Capt. Leonard Y. Loring, assistant surgeon, to be surgeon with the rank of major, October 9, 1888, *vice* Meacham, deceased.

Sixteenth Regiment of Infantry.

Second Lieut. Walter H. Wright, to be first lieutenant, October 1, 1888, *vice* Cushman, resigned.

FOR PROMOTION IN THE REVENUE SERVICE.

First Lieut. Joseph W. Congdon, to be a captain in the Revenue Service of the United States, *vice* Constable, deceased.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 10, 1888.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Harry E. Shields to be receiver of public moneys at Seattle, Wash.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY.

George S. Duryee, of New Jersey, to be attorney of the United States for the district of New Jersey.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

James A. Moore, of Nevada, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Nevada.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, *October* 16, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

UNLAWFUL REGISTRY OF VESSELS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Commissioner of Navigation in response to a resolution of the House calling for information relative to alleged unlawful registry of vessels as vessels of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and ordered to be printed.

BRIDGE AT LA CROSSE, WIS.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a bill (H. R. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis., with amendments of the Senate thereto.

Mr. HUDD. Mr. Speaker, the amendments of the Senate are merely formal, and I ask unanimous consent that they be now concurred in.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendments.

The amendments were read, as follows:

Page 1, at the end of line 13, insert: "And there shall be submitted to the Secretary of War, for his examination and approval, a design and drawing of the bridge, and a map of the location, giving, for the space of 1 mile above and 1 mile below the proposed location, the topography of the banks of the river, the shore-lines at high and low water, the direction and strength of the current at all stages, and the soundings, accurately showing the bed of the stream, the location of any other bridge or bridges, and all other information required."

Page 1, line 17, after "Wisconsin," insert "and approved by the Secretary of War."

Page 2, strike out lines 12 and 13.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin that the amendments of the Senate be concurred in?

There was no objection.

The amendments were concurred in.

REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY FOR 1887.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a concurrent resolution of the Senate authorizing the printing of 50,000 copies of the fourth annual report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the year 1887.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask unanimous consent that that concurrent resolution be now considered.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 50,000 copies of the fourth annual report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the year 1887, of which 13,000 copies shall be for the use of the members of the Senate, 27,000 copies for the use of members of the House of Representatives, and 10,000 copies for the use of the Commissioner of Agriculture; the illustrations to be executed under the supervision of the Public Printer in accordance with the directions of the Joint Committee on Printing; the work to be subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Agriculture.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, that provides for a large edition, 50,000 copies, and the resolution should be self-appropriating. I have drawn an amendment, which I ask unanimous consent to have considered at this time.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] that this concurrent resolution be now considered?

Mr. OATES. I should like to know what is the necessity for printing so large a number of copies of this document?

Mr. RICHARDSON. It is the annual report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, and the number is the same as was printed last year and the year before. The resolution last year was not self-appropriating; it was so the year before last, but this one is not, and therefore I have drawn an amendment to make it so, and also to change the concurrent resolution to a joint resolution. The estimate for this printing is $27,930 for an edition of 50,000 copies.

Mr. OATES. This is not an agricultural report?

Mr. RICHARDSON. It is not an agricultural report, but it is the report of the Bureau of Animal Industry, which bears the same relation to live-stock that the agricultural report bears to agriculture.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There was no objection.

The amendments offered by Mr. RICHARDSON were read, as follows:

Add to the resolution the following:

"And that there be and is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of $27,930, or so much thereof as may be necessary for that purpose."

Also change the resolution from a concurrent to a joint resolution.

The amendments were agreed to.

The concurrent resolution was passed.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. BLISS, indefinitely.

To Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. MANSUR, indefinitely, from October 16, on account of important business.

INVESTIGATION OF THE WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will appoint as a committee to investigate the work upon the Washington Aqueduct, in accordance with the law passed this session, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. CLEMENTS; the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. MCMILLIN, and the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. RYAN.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that the committee had examined and found duly enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (H. R. 1239) to extend the jurisdiction of the Light-House Board to the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, California;

A bill (H. R. 1249) for establishing a light-house and fog-signal on Roe Island, Suisun Bay, California;

A bill (H. R. 1641) for the erection of a light-house at or near a point about midway between Barnegat and Navesink lights, in the State of New Jersey;

A bill (H. R. 2196) for the relief of S. T. Marshall;

A bill (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton with the rank and grade of major;

A bill (H. R. 5700) to facilitate the transportation of life-saving and light-house supplies at Hog Island, Virginia;

A bill (H. R. 6514) for the allowance of certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the United States Treasury Department;

A bill (H. R. 6619) for the relief of Eliza A. Cutler Jones;

A bill (H. R. 7421) for establishing a light off Pamlico Point, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 7547) granting the right of way to the Yankton and Missouri River Railway through the Yankton reservation in Dakota;

A bill (H. R. 7604) for the establishment of a light-house and fog-signal at or near Gull Shoal, Pamlico Sound, North Carolina;

A bill (H. R. 8855) for the establishment of a light-ship with a steam fog-signal at Sandy Hook, New York;

A bill (H. R. 8674) for the relief of Sterling H. Tucker and others;

A bill (H. R. 10183) to establish a light-ship off Great Round Shoal, near Nantucket, Mass.;

A bill (H. R. 11107) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the Fort Smith and Choctaw Bridge Company to construct a bridge across the Poteau River, in the Choctaw Nation, in the State of Arkansas;"

A bill (H. R. 11581) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act;

A bill (S. 45) for the relief of Col. James C. Duane;

A bill (S. 307) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy;

A bill (S. 1190) for the relief of the estate of Joseph Fenno, deceased;

A bill (S. 1137) for the relief of Adam L. Epley;

A bill (S. 1494) to secure to the Cherokee freedmen and others their proportion of certain proceeds of lands under the act of March 3, 1883;

A bill (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas;

A bill (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary M. Ord;

A bill (S. 2802) to fix the number of unbound and bound Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives, and to provide for their distribution;

A bill (S. 3433) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the surrender of and cancel land-patents to Indians in certain cases;

A bill (S. 3559) to allow persons who have abandoned or relinquished their homestead entries to make another entry, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 3597) to provide for the disposal of the Fort Wallace military reservation, in Kansas;

A bill (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the decisions of questions arising thereon;"

Joint resolution (S. R. 112) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Henry Lecomte, of Switzerland; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 59) authorizing Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird, United States Army, to accept from the President of the French Republic a diploma conferring the decoration of commander of the National Order of the Legion of Honor.

LAND OFFICE AT FOLSOM, N. MEX.

Mr. CONGER. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 2040) to establish a land office at Folsom, in the

Territory of New Mexico. I desire to state it was agreed that the eastern half of New Mexico should be divided into two land districts, and the two bills for the creation of these districts should have passed at the same time. During my absence last week one was passed. This is a Senate bill, and has been unanimously reported by the Committee on Public Lands of this House.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read, after which there will be opportunity for objection.

The bill was read.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this bill?

Mr. MCMILLIN. I wish to know whether this bill has been recommended by the Department of the Interior?

Mr. CONGER. It has been; and it has also been reported unanimously by the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. MCMILLIN. We have already, if I remember correctly, established one additional land office for that Territory during this session.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. The gentleman will allow me to state that I have talked on this subject with the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] and also with the delegate from New Mexico [Mr. JOSEPH], and they both favor the passage of the two bills. This bill should have gone through at the same time as the other. Both offices are necessary for the accommodation of that large Territory.

Mr. MCMILLIN. It seems to me that this is a rather sudden multiplication of demands on behalf of that Territory.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. It is a large Territory.

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] will allow me to say to him that I had charge of making the report in this case at the instance of the Committee on Public Lands; and whilst I might agree with him that this would seem like multiplying offices (to which there may be some objection on the ground that probably it furnishes places for some appointees of the gentleman's own party), at the same time the Department, in the report which I have examined, seems to favor the establishment of this office; at least it was stated in the report that the office is one which would accommodate the people of the Territory. I think the Department would approve of establishing this office.

Mr. MCMILLIN. "Would approve?"

Mr. JACKSON. I think I can say the Department does approve, because, although the request for information was not made in connection with this bill, the Department in its answer upon another question stated that there was no objection to the bill.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I think the bill itself ought to be referred to the Department before we enter upon an increase of offices. So far as concerns the remarks of my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. JACKSON], that this will give us some additional offices, I will say that we are not thirsting for any new offices beyond what the public interest demands.

If the gentleman has no objection to letting this bill go over for the present, I will look into the matter between now and to-morrow morning; and if it seems to me correct I shall make no objection to the passage of the bill.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I hope the gentleman will not interpose objection this morning. This bill came over here from the Senate before the bill establishing the other land office, and the Delegate from the Territory [Mr. JOSEPH] wanted this bill referred until both could go through together.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I suggest to my friend that we are not now crowded with business, and this matter will keep, I suppose, until to-morrow. I think I must object to action on the bill now; but if, on examination, the measure seems to me correct, I shall not object to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee objects for the present. The request will be considered as pending to-morrow morning.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER proceeded to call the committees for reports.

Mr. OATES. I move to dispense with the morning hour for the presentation of reports. I do not suppose anybody wants to make any reports.

Mr. PLUMB. Will that interfere with the regular order, which would be, I understand, the call of the Labor Committee?

The SPEAKER. It will not. It is a means for getting at the hour for the consideration of bills reported from committees.

The motion of Mr. OATES to dispense with the morning hour for the presentation of reports was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed joint resolutions of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

Joint resolution (S. R. 115) authorizing the Departments of the Government to use articles in their possession for exhibition at the Paris Exposition of 1889; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The next business in order is the consideration for one hour of bills reported from committees.

WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT.

Mr. SAYERS. A joint resolution in regard to the Washington Aqueduct has come over from the Senate, and it is proper that the House take some action on it immediately. I ask unanimous consent that it be read and considered at the present time. Its immediate passage may be very necessary in order to preserve the aqueduct.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will cause the joint resolution to be read, after which objection to its consideration will be asked for.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to use so much of any unexpended balance of appropriations for the work of the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, District of Columbia, as may be necessary, for the purpose of protecting and preserving the work already done upon said tunnel.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There was no objection.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I have an amendment to offer, which I think is important.

The SPEAKER. The amendment will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to the resolution:

"That the joint select committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, authorized by concurrent resolution of Congress to make inquiry and report concerning all of the work and contracts therefor, on the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, and other matters in relation thereto, are hereby, in addition to the powers conferred by said concurrent resolution, authorized and directed in their discretion to inquire and report touching all plans and estimates prepared under the auspices of the Government for extending the water supply of Washington City, and, finally, said committee may extend their inquiries as to any and all other matters concerning the extension of said water supply that may aid the Congress in ascertaining and fixing the responsibility for any mismanagement therein or for future construction and management thereof."

The amendment was adopted.

The joint resolution as amended was ordered to be read a third time; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. SAYERS moved to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama was recognized.

Mr. OATES. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi for a moment.

Mr. HOOKER. I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the Senate joint resolution, just reported from that body, authorizing the various departments of the Government named therein to send their exhibits to the Paris exhibition. It appropriates no money at all, I will remark, but simply authorizes the unexpended balance remaining over from the Cincinnati exhibition, if any, to be used for this purpose. It is important that it shall be passed now, if at all.

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman from Illinois has demanded the regular order.

Mr. PLUMB. I will withdraw the demand temporarily to hear what this is.

The SPEAKER. The joint resolution called up by the gentleman from Mississippi will be read subject to objection.

The joint resolution (S. 115) was read at length.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

Mr. KILGORE. I must object.

Mr. HOOKER. I hope the gentleman will permit me to make a brief statement.

Mr. KILGORE. Oh, well, I think we had better proceed with other matters.

Mr. HOOKER. This involves no appropriation, let me state.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to inquire then how this affair can be carried on without the expenditure of money?

Mr. HOOKER. It only authorizes the appropriation of the unexpended balance remaining over from the Cincinnati Exposition.

Mr. KILGORE. Then I object. There ought not to be a cent expended for any such purposes.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I now call up the resolution I offered on yesterday.

The SPEAKER. That is a privileged matter.

Mr. OATES. I ask that the resolution be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives. That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized

to close the present session by adjourning their respective Houses on Wednesday, the 17th day of October, at 12 o'clock m.

Mr. OATES. I ask to amend the resolution by striking out "Wednesday, the 17th" and inserting "Thursday, the 18th."

Mr. SOWDEN. I move a further amendment to the amendment, to strike out "Thursday, the 18th" and insert "Wednesday, the 24th day of October."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the amendment.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, from time immemorial, I think, resolutions fixing the date for the final adjournment of Congress have invariably come into the House, during the control of both parties, from the Committee on Ways and Means. Inasmuch, therefore, as that has been the custom, and there is such a widespread difference of opinion, at least among members on this side of the House, as to the time to be fixed for final adjournment, it seems to me we ought not to depart from that old custom, and therefore I move the reference of the resolution to the Committee on Ways and Means.

The SPEAKER. That motion is in order.

Mr. OATES. I would ask the gentleman to show me and to show the House the Committee on Ways and Means. [Laughter.] It has disappeared. Some of the members are here, very respectable and intelligent gentlemen; but the committee as a committee does not appear.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I desire to say that I see four or five members of that committee here now.

Mr. OATES. That is not the committee.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I am quite sure a quorum of that committee could be obtained. The chairman was here yesterday. I see the gentleman who is second on the committee present; and the chairman is here to-day, I am told. I see about five members of the committee, and it only takes seven or eight to make a quorum; so that there could be no difficulty in getting a quorum now, as I am informed by members of the committee. I do not see a quorum of the committee present, but I take it for granted that if a resolution of this character be referred to that committee, it being the leading committee of the House, its members would feel that it was their duty to have a quorum to consider that resolution. I have no doubt a quorum could be had in twenty-four hours.

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, a resolution for adjournment was introduced and referred to that committee——

Mr. FARQUHAR. And kept there.

Mr. OATES. And that committee never reported it. It is well known that a caucus of the majority side of the House considered it, and that action was satisfactory to me; but it did not change my opinion respecting the purpose of the resolution; and yet I acquiesced as cheerfully as any man could. And, sir, in answer to the point made by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] as to the custom of referring such resolutions to the Committee on Ways and Means, I may say that there is nothing in the rules of the House which requires a resolution of that character to go to that committee. There is nothing in the definition of the jurisdiction of that or any other committee of this House which would render it necessary for that resolution to go there. But, sir, I am not disposed to depart from the custom if that committee were here. It is known to all that there is not a quorum of that committee here. There is not a quorum of any committee of this House present.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I beg the pardon of the gentleman from Alabama. I have the honor to be a member on a committee, and I know it has a quorum present.

Mr. WHEELER. I have a committee, and there is a quorum of that committee present.

Mr. OATES. Oh, yes; of little committees of five or seven members there may be a quorum present.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I could not permit the statement of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES], that there was not a quorum of any committee present, to go unchallenged.

Mr. OATES. Oh, well——

The SPEAKER. A motion to refer is not debatable, except by vote of the House.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] will permit me, I will ask if it is in order to postpone the motion to refer until to-morrow?

The SPEAKER. The Chair knows of no instance where a motion to recommit has been postponed.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I do not make the motion to postpone the reference. I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry as to whether a motion to postpone the consideration of that resolution and the motion for a reference would be in order?

The SPEAKER. A postponement of the motion to refer would leave the resolution still pending for consideration in the House.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I move to postpone the consideration of the resolution and the motion made by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] to refer it to the Committee on Ways and Means.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will examine the rules in reference to the motion.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I will now yield the floor back to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES].

Mr. OATES. Mr. Speaker, I desire to complete the statement I had risen to make. In reply to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] I would state that no one has a greater respect for the Committee on Ways and Means or several of its members than myself. They have done very able and efficient service all through this session; but, sir, a member on this floor, because he is a member of that committee, has no more right or higher right on this floor than I have or any one else. But when that committee was supposed to have a quorum, or a quorum of its members were supposed to be present, that resolution to adjourn was referred with my approbation to that committee. Now doubtless it is well known that there is not a quorum of that committee present, and they could only act and advise as individual members of this House. We all know the rule requires a majority of a committee to make a legal report on anything, and the fact that I offer this resolution and ask for action does not deter them from giving their valuable opinions to this House. I therefore insist that it is not a departure from any established custom nor a reflection upon any of those gentlemen in the least. It is a matter upon which every member here has a right to call for action, and every member is responsible to his constituency for his action and to no one else. Now, sir, I know there is not perfect harmony of opinion upon this subject.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Will the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] tell me if it is more necessary to have a quorum of the Committee on Ways and Means than it is to have a quorum of this House to act on this resolution? I believe the preamble of the gentleman's resolution states that there is not a quorum here.

Mr. OATES. That was a part of my speech, which has been withdrawn. [Laughter.] It presented the anomaly of reciting a truth which in that form defeated action. We have got to resort to falsehood, or at least to suppress the truth, in order to act in this matter. [Laughter.] To such a farce have we come in attempting legislation at this late day. Of course my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] and every member here knows that it requires a quorum to fix a day to adjourn, if any member chooses to make that point.

I am perfectly aware of that, but I trust that no member will make the point. Mr. Speaker, I want to see this resolution adopted and sent to the Senate. If they are not ready to adjourn, there is no coercion of them in this resolution. They have the same power over the question that the House has, and if they want more time they will take it and we can acquiesce and go along. It is a custom which has prevailed for fifty years, perhaps throughout the entire history of our legislation, that these adjournment resolutions always originate in the House of Representatives, just as bills to raise revenue always originate here, and I suppose it was that fact which gave rise to the custom of referring the adjournment resolution to the Committee on Ways and Means. Now, sir, we are remaining here from day to day in the face of the fact that a member on the other side of this Chamber has given notice that no measure shall pass except, I believe, such as relate to pensions and labor bills; and if a point like that were made in the Senate, or anything that required a yea-and-nay vote, they could not move a peg, they could not adopt a single amendment to the important bill which they now have before them for consideration. Can it be hoped, then, that they are going to take any action in the way of passing a bill of such importance? It is to be presumed that a quorum would be required to be present before they could make any progress whatever in that direction, and now, with only two or three weeks remaining before the Presidential election, I do not believe that any good can be accomplished by continuing this session of Congress. Every movement now toward legislation of any character is certain to be political; but it is to be hoped, and I believe, that after the Presidential election legislation can be enacted which will be of more substantial benefit to the country than it would be possible to have now, even if we had a quorum present. Every consideration, to my mind, is in favor of an early and almost immediate adjournment of Congress.

I have expressed these views, with the indulgence of the House, merely to explain the reasons which have prompted me in the discharge of what I believed to be a duty, as no other member had moved in the matter, and, having discharged that duty, I desire now to have a vote upon the resolution. If a vote is had upon referring it to the Committee on Ways and Means with no quorum of that committee present in the city, in my judgment it will be equivalent to a defeat of the resolution, because even if the members of that committee who are present should to-morrow report back a resolution in favor of an adjournment, any member on this floor could make the point that it was not a legal report because there was not a quorum of the committee present, and we would have the resolution before us in substantially the same shape as now.

Therefore nothing could be accomplished in that way, and if any gentleman here is hostile to the resolution all he has to do, upon the vote being announced, is to demand a quorum, and that is the end of it.

Mr. KILGORE. Regular order.

Mr. RICHARDSON and Mr. MCMILLIN addressed the Chair.

Mr. WHEELER. I desire to offer a substitute.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] de-

mands the regular order. The resolution is not debatable, and no substitute can be offered at this time, because there are two motions pending, both of which have priority over amendments. One is the motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Ways and Means, and the other is the motion to postpone its consideration until to-morrow. The question is first on the motion to postpone.

Mr. McMILLIN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE], at my request, withdraws the demand for the regular order for a moment, and in that moment I desire simply to say a word, in order that there may be no misunderstanding of the motives of the Ways and Means Committee in declining to report back the adjournment resolution which was introduced by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES]. I should not comment upon that now but for the fact that the gentleman has spoken of that resolution and of the action of the party in reference to it.

Mr. OATES. Which I said disposed of it in a manner satisfactory to me.

Mr. McMILLIN. Yes. It is, however, proper for me to state that it was the concurrent judgment of this side of the House, after that resolution was introduced and after mature deliberation, that the resolution should not be reported favorably, and I undertake to say that there is not a member on this side of the House, I undertake to say that there is not a gentleman in the United States agreeing with us in political views, who will not say to-day that the action of the Ways and Means Committee in refusing to report that resolution, and the action of the party in declining to adjourn, was as wise as it could have been. We would have adjourned, leaving the Senate without having reported any tariff bill whatever, and with the bill which the House presented to fire at during the balance of the campaign; whereas we now have their admission that there ought to be a reduction of the revenue to the amount of at least $70,000,000.

Mr. OATES. I want to interrupt the gentleman to ask him to make a little exception to his broad statement. There are gentlemen who think it would have been wise to have adopted the resolution at that time.

Mr. McMILLIN. I did not know that. I thought the gentleman from Alabama himself said he thought the action then taken was proper.

Mr. OATES. I said that I did not blame the Ways and Means Committee, because the matter was considered in caucus, and I acquiesce cheerfully in the action of the caucus, but it did not change my opinion at all.

Mr. SOWDEN. Mr. Speaker, I demand the regular order. There is no use in disclosing the secrets of our organization here. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded. The question is on the motion to postpone the consideration of this resolution until to-morrow.

The question was taken; and there were—ayes 23, noes 21.

So the motion to postpone was agreed to.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. RYAN, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to withdraw from the files of the House papers relating to the bill (H. R. 777) to compensate Mrs. Sarah L. Larimer for important services rendered the military authorities in 1864 at Deer Creek Station, Wyoming, and for loss of property taken by Sioux Indians.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The hour for the consideration of bills reported from committees begins at fifteen minutes before 1 o'clock. The call rests with the Committee on Labor.

Mr. LANHAM. I move that the House adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The pending question, if the House should not adjourn, is upon the motion made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PLUMB] that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The question being taken on the motion to adjourn, there were—ayes 29, noes 21.

Mr. DINGLEY. I call for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, 16 (more than one-fifth of the last vote) voting in favor thereof.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the negative—yeas 27, nays 31, not voting 266; as follows:

YEAS—27.

Breckinridge, Ky.	Howard,	Montgomery,	Sowden,
Campbell, Ohio	Hutton,	Oates,	Stone, Ky.
Clements,	Kilgore,	Penington,	Tillman,
Forney,	Lanham,	Richardson,	Turner, Ga.
Grimes,	Latham,	Rogers,	Walker,
Hall,	Mansur,	Rusk,	Wheeler.
Hooker,	McMillin,	Sayers,	

NAYS—31.

Abbott,	Farquhar,	Hopkins, N. Y.	Rockwell,
Bayne,	Fuller,	Jackson,	Ryan,
Bound,	Gest,	McRae,	Scull,
Bunnell,	Harmer,	Milliken,	Taylor, E. B., Ohio
Campbell, F., N. Y.	Haugen,	Morrill,	Vandever,
Conger,	Henderson, Iowa	Nelson,	Warner,
Dingley,	Hermann,	Nutting,	White, N. Y.
Dougherty,	Hiestand,	Plumb,	

NOT VOTING—266.

Adams,	Crouse,	Kennedy,	Rayner,
Allen, Mass.	Culberson,	Kerr,	Reed,
Allen, Mich.	Cummings,	Ketcham,	Rice,
Allen, Miss.	Cutcheon,	Laffoon,	Robertson,
Anderson, Iowa	Dalzell,	La Follette,	Romeis,
Anderson, Miss.	Dargan,	Lagan,	Rowell,
Anderson, Ill.	Darlington,	Laidlaw,	Rowland,
Anderson, Kans.	Davenport,	Laird,	Russell, Conn.
Arnold,	Davidson, Ala.	Landes,	Russell, Mass.
Atkinson,	Davidson, Fla.	Lane,	Sawyer,
Bacon,	Davis,	Lawler,	Scott,
Baker, N. Y.	De Lano,	Lee,	Seney,
Baker, Ill.	Dibble,	Lehlbach,	Seymour,
Bankhead,	Dockery,	Lind,	Shaw,
Barnes,	Dorsey,	Lodge	Sherman,
Barry,	Dunham,	Long,	Shively,
Belden,	Dunn,	Lyman,	Simmons,
Belmont,	Elliott,	Lynch,	Smith,
Biggs,	Enloe,	Macdonald,	Snyder,
Bingham,	Ermentrout,	Maffett,	Spinola,
Blanchard,	Felton,	Mahoney,	Spooner,
Bland,	Finley,	Maish,	Springer,
Bliss,	Fisher,	Martin,	Stahlnecker,
Blount,	Fitch,	Mason,	Steele,
Boothman,	Flood,	Matson,	Stephenson,
Boutelle,	Foran,	McAdoo,	Stewart, Tex.
Bowden,	Ford,	McClammy,	Stewart, Ga.
Bowen,	French,	McComas,	Stewart, Vt.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Funston,	McCormick,	Stockdale,
Brewer,	Gaines,	McCreary,	Stone, Mo.
Brower,	Gallinger,	McCullogh,	Struble,
Browne, T. H. B., Va.	Gay,	McKenna,	Symes,
Browne, Ind.	Gear,	McKinley,	Tarsney,
Brown, Ohio	Gibson,	McKinney,	Taulbee,
Brown, J. R., Va.	Glass,	McShane,	Taylor, J. D., Ohio
Brumm,	Glover,	Merriman,	Thomas, Ky.
Bryce,	Goff,	Mills,	Thomas, Ill.
Buchanan,	Granger,	Moffitt,	Thomas, Wis.
Buckalew,	Greenman,	Moore,	Thompson, Ohio
Burnes,	Grosvenor,	Morgan,	Thompson, Cal.
Burnett,	Grout,	Morrow,	Tracey,
Burrows,	Guenther,	Morse,	Townshend,
Butler,	Hare,	Neal,	Turner, Kans.
Butterworth,	Hatch,	Newton,	Vance,
Bynum,	Hayden,	Nichols,	Wade,
Campbell, T. J., N. Y.	Hayes,	Norwood,	Washington,
Candler,	Heard,	O'Donnell,	Weaver,
Cannon,	Hemphill,	O'Ferrall,	Weber,
Carlton,	Henderson, N. C.	O'Neall, Ind.	West,
Caruth,	Henderson, Ill.	O'Neill, Pa.	White, Ind.
Caswell,	Herbert,	O'Neill, Mo.	Whiting, Mich.
Catchings,	Hires,	Osborne,	Whiting, Mass.
Cheadle,	Hitt,	Outhwaite,	Whitthorne,
Chipman,	Hogg,	Owen,	Wickham,
Clardy,	Holman,	Parker,	Wilber,
Clark,	Holmes,	Patton,	Wilkins,
Cobb,	Hopkins, Ill.	Payson,	Wilkinson,
Cockran,	Hopkins, Va.	Peel,	Williams,
Cogswell,	Houk,	Perkins,	Wilson, Minn.
Collins,	Hovey,	Perry,	Wilson, W. Va.
Compton,	Hudd,	Peters,	Wise,
Cooper,	Hunter,	Phelan,	Woodburn,
Cothran,	Johnston, Ind.	Phelps,	Yardley,
Cowles,	Johnston, N. C.	Pidcock,	Yoder,
Cox,	Jones,	Post,	Yost.
Crain,	Kean,	Pugsley,	
Crisp,	Kelley,	Randall,	

So the House refused to adjourn.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the names.

There being no objection, it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. LANHAM. I ask unanimous consent that the pairs be inserted in the RECORD without being read by the Clerk.

There being no objection, it was ordered accordingly.

The following-named members were paired on all political questions until further notice:

Mr. DARGAN with Mr. GROUT.
Mr. TOWNSHEND with Mr. SPOONER.
Mr. HOLMAN with Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana.
Mr. COBB with Mr. ANDERSON, of Kansas.
Mr. CARLTON with Mr. FUNSTON.
Mr. McCREARY with Mr. CROUSE.
Mr. CARUTH with Mr. HUNTER.
Mr. HAYES with Mr. KERR.
Mr. BLOUNT with Mr. RUSSELL, of Connecticut.
Mr. FORAN with Mr. HIESTAND.
Mr. MAISH with Mr. LEHLBACH.
Mr. NEAL with Mr. HAYDEN.
Mr. BRYCE with Mr. GAINES.
Mr. JONES with Mr. BOWDEN.
Mr. ELLIOTT with Mr. BINGHAM.
Mr. COLLINS with Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts.
Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas, with Mr. BROWNE, of Indiana.
Mr. SPRINGER with Mr. HENDERSON, of Illinois.
Mr. CAMPBELL, of Ohio, with Mr. KENNEDY.
Mr. COMPTON with Mr. GOFF.
Mr. OUTHWAITE with Mr. McKINLEY.
Mr. HATCH with Mr. STEWART, of Vermont.
Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia, with Mr. McCOMAS.
Mr. RANDALL with Mr. LODGE.
Mr. BLAND with Mr. BUTTERWORTH.
Mr. SCOTT with Mr. GROSVENOR.

Mr. McMILLIN with Mr. BURROWS.
Mr. CRISP with Mr. REED.
Mr. COX with Mr. CANNON.
Mr. MATSON with Mr. HOVEY.
Mr. WILKINS with Mr. LONG.
Mr. MILLS with Mr. KELLEY.
Mr. FRENCH with Mr. STEPHENSON.
Mr. O'NEALL, of Indiana, with Mr. FINLEY.
Mr. McCLAMMY with Mr. OSBORNE.
Mr. DAVIDSON, of Florida, with Mr. WEBER.
Mr. HENDERSON, of North Carolina, with Mr. FLOOD.
Mr. ENLOE with Mr. PUGSLEY.
Mr. STEWART, of Georgia, with Mr. HARMER.
Mr. WILSON, of Minnesota, with Mr. ATKINSON.
Mr. BOOTHMAN with Mr. McKINNEY.
Mr. CULBERSON with Mr. BAKER, of Illinois.
Mr. STONE, of Missouri, with Mr. WILLIAMS.
Mr. TAULBEE with Mr. FARQUHAR.
Mr. LAWLER with Mr. SEYMOUR.
Mr. DUNN with Mr. ROWELL.
Mr. ANDERSON, of Illinois, with Mr. DALZELL.
Mr. MACDONALD with Mr. JOHN R. BROWN.
Mr. O'NEILL, of Missouri, with Mr. CONGER.
Mr. CHIPMAN with Mr. ARNOLD.
Mr. LANDES with Mr. McCORMICK.
Mr. VANCE with Mr. MOFFITT.
Mr. MANSUR with Mr. SAWYER.
Mr. WILKINSON with Mr. NICHOLS.
Mr. FISHER with Mr. BROWER.
Mr. ERMENTROUT with Mr. GALLINGER.
Mr. RAYNER with Mr. DE LANO.
Mr. NORWOOD with Mr. PARKER.
Mr. GLOVER with Mr. COOPER.
Mr. DIBBLE with Mr. BELDEN
Mr. DOCKERY with Mr. WARNER.
Mr. COWLES with Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio.
Mr. NEWTON with Mr. FELTON.
Mr. GLASS with Mr. KETCHAM.
Mr. LATHAM with Mr. GEST.
Mr. SHIVELY with Mr. OWEN.
Mr. McSHANE with Mr. LAIRD.
Mr. MAHONEY with Mr. BROWN, of Ohio.
Mr. McADOO with Mr. BRUMM.
Mr. LYNCH with Mr. YARDLEY.
Mr. WHITING, of Michigan, with Mr. HOUK.
Mr. RUSSELL, of Massachusetts, with Mr. COGSWELL.
Mr. PIDCOCK with Mr. PHELPS.
Mr. DARLINGTON with Mr. MOORE.
Mr. CUTCHEON with Mr. TARSNEY.
Mr. HOWARD with Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois.
Mr. MORSE with Mr. WHITING, of Massachusetts.
Mr. BLANCHARD with Mr. THOMAS, of Illinois.
Mr. GRANGER with Mr. ROCKWELL.
Mr. BELMONT with Mr. DAVENPORT.
Mr. O'FERRALL with Mr. MASON.
Mr. BIGGS with Mr. MORROW.
Mr. CLARDY with Mr. WADE.
Mr. STEWART, of Texas, with Mr. DUNHAM.
Mr. FORD with Mr. GUENTHER.
Mr. SNYDER with Mr. YOST.
Mr. DAVIDSON, of Alabama, with Mr. PATTON.
Mr. RUSK with Mr. O'DONNELL.
Mr. GREENMAN with Mr. SHERMAN
Mr. BYNUM with Mr. STEELE.
Mr. CANDLER with Mr. BREWER.
Mr. BOUTELLE with Mr. WISE.
Mr. SPINOLA with Mr. THOMAS, of Wisconsin.
Mr. TIMOTHY J. CAMPBELL with Mr. WEST.
Mr. BACON with Mr. BAKER, of New York.
Mr. HOGG with Mr. POST.
Mr. SIMMONS with Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR.

The SPEAKER. The House refuses to adjourn, there being—ayes 27, noes 31. No quorum has voted.

Mr. OATES. Having endeavored to induce the House to adjourn and having failed in that I now ask leave to adjourn myself; in other words, I ask leave of absence for the remainder of the session.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. LANHAM. I make a similar request for indefinite leave of absence after to-morrow.

Mr. WHEELER. I think all these gentlemen should make a speech on the Senate tariff bill before they go away.

Mr. DINGLEY. Gentlemen will not let us adjourn and yet they go away themselves.

Mr. OATES. I am in favor of adjournment myself.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

Mr. HOOKER. I ask, by unanimous consent, to substitute a joint resolution——

The SPEAKER. The record has just disclosed the fact that there is no quorum in the House, and no business can be transacted except to order a call of the House or to adjourn, and a motion to adjourn has just been voted down.

Mr. LANHAM. I move there be a call of the House.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 23, noes 17.

So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. McMILLIN. I move the House do now adjourn.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 30, noes 20.

Mr. JACKSON demanded the yeas and nays, and subsequently withdrew the demand.

So the motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 11 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BOWDEN: Petition of citizens of Clarke, Frederick, Warwick, and Dinwiddie Counties, Virginia, in favor of pure food, drugs, and lard—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. FARQUHAR: Petition of citizens of North Barton and of Natural Bridge, N. Y., in favor of pure food and drugs—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LATHAM: Petition of citizens of Beaufort, Carteret, Bertie, and Craven Counties, North Carolina, in favor of pure food, drugs, and lard—to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 17, 1888.

Prayer by Rev. HERMAN S. COOK, of Waynesborough, Pa.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* presented a petition of the Workingmen's League of America, urging consideration of the construction given by the Secretary of the Treasury to the act of March 3, 1881, relating to the surplus; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Nineteenth Illinois Veteran Club, of Chicago, Ill., praying for the passage of the bill to retire General W. S. Rosecrans with his late rank of major-general in the Army; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. ALLISON. I present the memorial of John Cowdon, of New Orleans, La., relating to the bridging of the Mississippi River.

I move that the memorial be referred to the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River, and as it is brief, I ask unanimous consent that it may be inserted in the RECORD.

The memorial was referred to the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives:

The present plans of bridges are too expensive. They retard the free outflow of water, causing greater overflows, and are great obstructions to the free navigation of all our rivers, greatly increasing the cost of transportation.

In the plans herewith presented will be found a remedy for all the above-named evils so detrimental to the people of the United States of America.

The material proposed to be used for the arches will give more than ten times the strength ever required.

The abutments will be as solid as rock, and will resist all the pressure that solid rock can resist.

The other and only remaining difficulty has been in raising the arches; but by the plans I shall adopt there will be no more difficulty on that point than have engineers had in raising spans 200 feet long and 50 feet high.

If desired, the arches for the 3,000 and 2,500 foot spans could be lowered 50 and 30 feet, respectively, as seen by lines A and B from the elevation as shown; but it would cost from $75,000 to $100,000 more, and the bridges would not be any stronger, when the cost of putting up the arches as proposed would not be $5,000 more than the spans 50 and 30 feet lower.

The estimates for the abutments and arches are ample, and will cover all that part of the expense, and will be fully two-thirds the entire cost. But should I be mistaken on the other part of the work (for I have no data on which to base an accurate estimate), and it should cost as much as the abutments and arches, then such bridges would not cost one-fifth as much as bridges of the same length of span now cost on any and every other plan now in use. The bridges are designed to have double railroad tracks with 30 feet space between for wagon-road and two footways.

In order to test this plan I intend to build a 3,000-foot span bridge, the railroad track to be 100 feet above high-water mark, across the Mississippi River, at Natchez, and at the second session of the Fiftieth Congress will ask for the authority to do so.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN COWDON.

THEODORE LEWIS.

Mr. PUGH. I am instructed by the Committee on the Judiciary to report favorably, without amendment, the bill (H. R. 10735) for the removal of the political disabilities of Theodore Lewis, of Louisiana. I ask for the present consideration of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed—two-thirds of the Senators present voting in the affirmative.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. WILSON, of Maryland (by request), introduced a bill (S. 3640) to amend sections 851, 856, 857, 858, 861, and 862 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES OF ELIZA M. FERRIS.

Mr. SAWYER. I wish to withdraw a motion I entered yesterday to reconsider the bill (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection, and the motion entered by the Senator from Wisconsin to reconsider the bill named by him will be withdrawn.

AWARDS UNDER MEXICAN TREATY.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask for the present consideration of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any subcommittee thereof charged with the investigation of the claim of La Abra Silver Mining Company against Mexico, have leave to sit in the recess of the Senate and conduct such investigation in Washington City or in the city of New York, and the powers given to said committee under existing resolutions of the Senate may be exercised in the recess of the Senate.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. BROWN. I am a member of that subcommittee. I have no objection to the passage of the resolution, but I desire to give notice now that I can not attend its sittings during the recess.

Mr. MORGAN. Only formal sittings will be necessary.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there is no further morning business, that order is closed.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 9051.

Mr. DOLPH. I ask the Senator from Iowa to yield to me to call up a bill to grant the right of way over an Indian reservation, a House bill reported unanimously from the Committee on Indian Affairs by the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SABIN], who left it with his colleague [Mr. DAVIS]. The junior Senator from Minnesota was watching for an opportunity all day yesterday to call up the bill, but had to leave, and he asked me to call it up for him. It will not take long.

Mr. ALLISON. Let the revenue bill be taken up first.

Mr. DOLPH. Very well.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Iowa moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business, being the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] is entitled to the floor on the unfinished business.

Mr. TELLER. I have no objection to yielding to the request of the Senator from Oregon, unless debate shall follow on the bill he wishes to call up.

Mr. DOLPH. If it does I shall not insist upon its consideration.

RIGHT OF WAY THROUGH SIOUX RESERVATION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The title of the bill the consideration of which is requested by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH] will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 7964) granting to the Aberdeen, Bismarck and Northwestern Railway right of way across a portion of the Sioux reservation, in Dakota Territory.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Oregon asks unanimous consent that the pending order, being the unfinished business, may be informally laid aside to enable him to ask for the consideration of the bill the title of which has been read. If there be no objection, the bill will be read at length for information, subject to objection.

The Chief Clerk read the bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore:*

A bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor;

A bill (S. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at La Crosse, Wis.;

A bill (H. R. 11262) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River and its tributaries by the Richmond, Irvine and Beattyville Railroad Company; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. COCKRELL. I would thank the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER] to yield until I can secure an order. The select committee appointed during the last Congress to examine the methods of conducting business in the Executive Departments may desire to obtain some reports from the Departments in regard to the methods of business and any changes or improvements made in them.

I therefore ask that the committee may be continued, with leave to sit, if necessary, in vacation, and to report at any time during the next session. There will be no expense of any kind connected with it. It is simply a leave to sit.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

STEAM-PRESSES IN BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, with the leave of the Senator from Colorado, I desire to state that on Friday last I gave notice that on Monday morning I should move to take up the bill (H. R. 9623) to provide for printing Government securities in the highest style of art. I have been unable to obtain the floor on the two legislative days which have intervened since that notice. This morning I had a conference with the legislative committee of the Knights of Labor, who are pressing this bill. Owing to the thinness of the Senate, the fact that they have been informed that the opponents of the bill desire to take some further testimony, and their wish to have the bill fully and fairly considered upon its merits in a full Senate and after full investigation, as the result of the conference between myself and the legislative committee to which I have referred, and at their request, I now notify the Senate that I shall not make the motion which I gave notice that I would make.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President——

Mr. GEORGE. If the Senator will indulge me another moment, I should like to ask from the Senate from to-morrow leave of absence during the remainder of the session.

Mr. COCKRELL and others. No objection.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Mississippi asks leave to absent himself from the service of the Senate after to-morrow. The Chair hears no objection. Leave is granted.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the considerainon of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws ti relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, at this hour of the session it may seem somewhat presumptuous to discuss what may be considered political questions in the Senate. I do not know that I should have felt constrained to detain the Senate with any remarks of mine but for the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury has seen fit in a recent public speech to make some statements that I think need contradiction—statements that Ithink are not supported by the record. He has made some explanations of the policy of the Administration that, I think, come from afterthought and after-consideration, and were not the moving cause at the time of the commission of the acts of which there has been considerable criticism.

The Secretary of the Treasury has fallen into a very general mistake, which has been made by others, when he addresses the brokers and bankers of Wall street, in supposing that what is their interest is the interest of the whole country, and that if the acts of the Administration are in accordance with their ideas and are commended by them they must necessarily be in the interest of the whole people. I noticed the other day that in speaking from the steps of the subtreasury building in New York the Secretary of the Treasury said "to the business men of New York:"

When I have the honor of thus addressing you I feel that I am speaking to the whole country, for you represent and are in touch with the business and business men of every part of the Union.

Later on he said:

I know that we are often told that your welfare is not the welfare of some parts of the country, but I have never been able to find reason to support this statement. Where is the dividing line? Where does your interest cease, and that other alleged interest begin? Good, economical government, prosperous business, safe currency, and low taxation are well for the whole country, are well for each and every part of the country. One part of it can not suffer in any of these respects without instant communication to every part.

Mr. President, I find no fault with the latter part of this statement, but I do find fault when the Secretary of the Treasury in addressing the bankers and brokers of New York, the non-producing element of that great city, asserts that he speaks to all the people of the United States and all of its varied interests by speaking to them. I deny his conclusion that their interests are the interests of the whole people of this country. On the contrary, I assert that their interests are not the interests of the whole country.

What I complain of now, and what I have complained of heretofore, is that this Administration has been conducted in its financial policy upon a Wall street basis, governed, controlled by Wall street influences and Wall street interests to the utter disregard of the great interests of the people.

Four years nearly of this Democratic Administration have passed, and I propose even at the risk of being somewhat tedious to the Senate to review its financial policy and its financial management, and to compare it with the management of the Republican party, so bitterly and severely criticised by the Democratic party at all times, not even excepting this present time. Even the Secretary of the Treasury finds time to cast some reflections upon the past management of public affairs under Republican administrations.

When the Administration came into power the first movement with regard to the management of the finances was to put a bank president at the head of the Treasury Department. I do not contend that he was incompetent because he was a bank president. I do not contend that because a man has spent his time in casting up accounts and poring over the ledgers of a national bank he is unfit and unsuitable to occupy the position of Secretary of the Treasury, but I do say that bank presidents as a general thing know very much more of the rates of interest and discount of bankable and non-bankable paper than they know of the great questions of finance which must be met and settled in a public office like that of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

Not only was a bank officer put at the head of the financial department of the Government, but the Treasurer of the United States, second in importance in that great Department, was also selected from a bank in New York, and these two officers came here thoroughly imbued with the ideas of Wall street. Neither of them ever had an idea in common with the masses of the people, with the business interests of the West or the South or the North or the East, save and except those who have large fixed incomes and who deal in securities. They had no interest in the great masses, and I can say here that they do not represent the sentiments of the Democratic party in this body. Not 5 per cent. of the Democrats of this body were in accord with them; and yet to-day upon every occasion can be found men who were in utter antagonism with them when they came into power, ready on this floor to defend every act of omission or of commission, and to resent any criticism that may be made as to the administration of the finances of the nation.

With a Democratic majority in the other House committed to diverse views from those of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Chief Executive of the nation, why is it that they have stifled all these complaints? Why is it that nobody on the other side of this Chamber has been found to find fault with that which they complained of under other administrations when performed in a lesser degree? Is it because of the desire to sustain a partisan administration? Is it because the interest of the country is less than the interest of the party? Whatever may be the reason, there is one thing certain, that it would have been condemned if it had occurred under Republican administration, in the severest terms, by every member on the other side of the Chamber, and yet, with two or three exceptions, it is to-day accepted as a proper administration of public affairs. In supporting this Administration for re-election, they, as do their associates everywhere, know that it means another four years of Wall-street domination in the financial affairs of this Government.

When the present President was about to assume the duties of the Chief Executive of the nation, in an unusual manner he addressed members of the other House with a request for legislation. I need not now, and will not now, criticise the impropriety, to say the least of it, of an incoming President, with millions of money in the way of patronage at his command, addressing an outgoing House of Congress in accord with him and suggesting legislation of a financial character. His letter to members of the House of Representatives has been read again and again, in which he urged the suspension of the coinage of silver dollars upon the theory that if their coinage was not suspended disaster and ruin would come to the business of the country.

When he was inaugurated and came into power the very first official act which we received from him, save his inaugural address, teemed with attacks upon the financial system that Congress had indorsed in 1878, and that the people, with a unanimity which did not admit of any controversy anywhere, had approved. In his first message in December, 1885, he said:

> Nothing more important than the present condition of our currency and coinage can claim your attention.
>
> Since February, 1878, the Government has, under the compulsory provisions of law, purchased silver bullion and coined the same at the rate of more than $2,000,000 every month. By this process up to the present date 215,759,431 silver dollars have been coined.
>
> A reasonable appreciation of a delegation of power to the General Government would limit its exercise without express restrictive words to the people's needs and the requirements of the public welfare.
>
> Upon this theory, the authority to "coin money" given to Congress by the Constitution, if it permits the purchase by the Government of bullion for coinage in any event, does not justify such purchase and coinage to an extent beyond the amount needed for a sufficient circulating medium.

Congress had determined what was a sufficient circulating medium, but the President here attempted to determine that for himself, and decided that the amount Congress had determined was not the right sum. Before he had said this (and I read it in connection because the two go well together and show what was in the mind of the Chief Executive then, and it sustains a statement I made that this Administration was in all financial affairs in full accord with the extreme Wall-street idea) the President said:

> The very limited amount of circulating notes issued by our national banks compared with the amount the law permits them to issue, upon a deposit of bonds for their redemption, indicates that the volume of our circulating medium may be largely increased through this instrumentality.

He further in a very lengthy message complained of the coinage of silver, declaring that it threatened to put us on a silver basis, declaring that already the hoarding of gold had commenced in this country, and that if we continued to coin silver as we were coining it, for any considerable length of time, the country would be upon a silver basis, and all the gold would leave us. The last report of the financial officers of the Government shows that there are $650,000,000 of gold in this country to-day. It has rapidly increased since the President told us that hoarding had commenced and that gold would be scarce. Not only did the President take this view, but so did the Secretary of the Treasury and so did the Treasurer himself. Mr. Secretary Manning in his first report said:

> The disorders of our currency chiefly arise from the operation of two enactments:
>
> 1. The act of February 28, 1878, which has been construed as a permanent appropriation for perpetual Treasury purchases of at least $24,000,000 worth of silver per annum, although from causes mostly foreign that metal is now of mutable and falling value, which must be manufactured into coins of unlimited legal tender and issued to the people of the United States as equivalents of our monetary unit.

I call the attention of Democratic Senators to this language:

> 2. The act of May 31, 1878, which indefinitely postponed fulfillment of the solemn pledge (March 18, 1869) not only of "redemption" but also of "payment" of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, legalized as $346,000,000 paper money of unlimited legal tender, and required the post-redemption issue and reissue of these promises to pay dollars, as equivalents of our monetary unit.

Then he recommended not only the discontinuance of the coinage of the silver dollar, but he recommended also the retirement of the $346,000,000 of paper money called legal-tenders by the use of the surplus in the Treasury and such surplus as should arise in the Treasury for the purpose of paying off these notes.

The Treasurer of the United States, who was also as I said a bank officer in New York and came here imbued with Wall-street ideas, recommended the same thing. At the next session of Congress the Secretary of the Treasury sent us a further report upon this same question. He said, speaking of the coinage of the silver dollar:

> It is an expense and a taxation demonstrated by experience to be of no avail for any useful end. Needless as a tax, our silver purchase is also a disturbance in the Treasury, which threatens the currency without relieving the tax-payer. It is heaping up a heavy load of silver coin needing to be kept, but increasingly difficult to keep, in domestic commercial equivalence with our monetary unit.

Then he concluded that the only thing to do was to stop the purchase of silver. He said:

> IV. To stop the purchase of silver is our only choice, our duty, and our interest.
>
> It will stop a wasteful and injurious expense, and the taxation which defrays it.
>
> It will commence and promote reform in the sum and the methods of Federal taxation.
>
> It will recover to the United States an equality of position (non-coinage) with foreign powers, which will give us due influence in negotiation.

Then he concluded, after various recommendations:

> I respectfully recommend to the wisdom of Congress the unconditional repeal of the act of February 28, 1878, accompanied by such a declaration.

Such a declaration as he had suggested, which was a declaration that we would unite with the powers of Europe in adopting an international basis of coinage.

Passing from that, he went to the greenbacks, and said:

> Pay our unfunded debt of $346,681,016 with the present surplus, and the surplus which will accrue before the whole reduction of taxation can be made or take effect, and while no more funded debt can be paid except at a premium during the five years from now until 1891.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> I therefore respectfully recommend:
>
> 1. Repeal of the clause in the act of February 28, 1878, making compulsory Treasury purchases of silver, for the reasons heretofore given and in order to reduce surplus and unnecessary taxation $24,000,000 a year.
>
> 2. Further reduction of surplus taxation, beginning in a manner which will be suggested below, close down to the necessities of the Government economically administered.
>
> 3. Repeal of the act of May 31, 1878, making compulsory, post-redemption issues and reissues of United States legal-tender notes, thus facilitating—
>
> 4. Gradual purchase and payment of $346,681,016 outstanding promissory notes of the United States with the present and accruing Treasury surplus, issuing silver certificates in their room, and gold certificates if need be, without contraction of the present circulating volume of the currency, these notes (called greenbacks) being now the only debt due and payable before 1891, except the 3 per cent. bonds, which are probably all to be called and paid early in the ensuing fiscal year.

Here were two conspicuous things in the financial policy of this Administration: First, the suspension of the coinage of the silver dollar; second, the retirement of the $346,000,000 of greenbacks which by the act of 1878 were not to be further retired.

Mr. PUGH. If it will not interrupt the Senator——

Mr. TELLER. Not a particle.

Mr. PUGH. I should like to ask him if the Republicans of Wall street did not concur with the President and the Secretary of the Treasury in those recommendations?

Mr. TELLER. I have no doubt that the Republicans of Wall street who are engaged in banking, who represent the great banking interest of that city, and who engage in brokerage, and I have not any doubt that the Republican importers also, fully concur with the financial policy of this Administration. I do not know of any considerable number of men in that great financial center who handle money who do not agree with the Administration.

Mr. PUGH. I will ask the Senator another question. Was it not the votes of Southern Democrats in Congress which prevented the suspension of the coinage of silver, and are not those Democrats now charged with being conspirators in a movement to destroy Northern industries?

Mr. TELLER. I have on more than one occasion given due praise to Democratic Senators for what I consider enlightened, advance statesmanship upon the silver question. I must confess that when I now see the same Senators supporting an administration that is directly and positively opposed to their former avowed policy on this question I am amazed; and that is as much I suppose as I have a right to say upon that subject. I know at all events that to-day the voices of those who were loudest in declaiming against the proposed suspension of the coinage of the silver dollar in this Chamber have been silenced—I do not say by Executive influence, for it would not be according to the rules of debate for me to say so. It is not for me to say why their voices are silent now.

I see the remarkable spectacle of a Democratic House allowing a bill that two-thirds of them were in entire accord upon to be suppressed by the Committee on Ways and Means and the bill not permitted to come before the House where a vote could be taken upon it. I have seen other remarkable exhibitions of Wall street influence that got beyond the Executive Departments of the Government through this Administration.

While I shall never fail myself to give the Southern Senators and Southern Members who voted with the Western Members and Senators upon the silver question their due praise, I must say that they were voting for their interest more than they were voting for ours; for although Colorado produces nearly one-quarter of the silver of the world, Alabama and Mississippi and Georgia have as much interest in the maintenance of the silver dollar as Colorado. It was not a question of local interest, as I have said before; it was a question in which all the people of this country and the world are interested; and when I see an Executive capable of using his influence in such a way as to stifle the voices from that section of the country in favor of the silver dollar, I apprehend that out of it may grow some future trouble.

But whatever may be now the sentiment of the Democratic Senators I am dealing with the administration of financial affairs in the executive department and not in the legislative; and will any Senator here deny what I have stated to be true, that in the very first message there was an attack upon silver, that there was an attack upon the greenback, and that it has been repeated in every message and every report from that day to this? Every public document that has emanated from the Treasury Department, whether it has had the *imprimatur* of Mr. Manning or Mr. Fairchild or Mr. Jordan, has been in sympathy and in accord with the men of Wall street whom I have heard denounced again and again from the other side of the Chamber as the robbers of the American people.

The President in his next message, of 1886, declared that he saw no reason why he should change his views on that subject. Then, too, Secretary Manning raised the question in his report, that there was no power to issue the legal-tender note. Perhaps the Senators would like to have that read. He said in his report:

> The power to force into the circulation an unfit representative of, a false equivalent of, a debt of, that monetary unit of value, as its namesake and equal in exchange, is a power to destroy men's faith in the honor of a Government and its laws. Their sense of betrayal, and their perception of the fact, are expressed by the non-equivalence in exchange often disclosed between the undebased coin and the debased coin, between the coin and the promise to pay converted into a legal tender, between the coin undepreciated and the depreciated coin, according as in any of these ways the monetary unit has been the instrument or the memorial of that duplicity. But such proceeding found no precedent, such opinions as are here controverted found no believer, no defender among the lawyers, statesmen, or people in the first seventy-two years of this Republic.
>
> Not until after 1861, when a great danger had beclouded most men's perceptions of financial as well as constitutional law, was a legal-tender money made out of the debts of the United States.
>
> Not until the infection spread was it ever deliberately argued that any representative of the unit of value could justly be suffered to be made, or to abide, in permanent depreciation and disparity therewith.
>
> But whether or not a non-equivalent of the coin dollar may be made a lawful dollar, and whether or not post-redemption issues and reissues of such promises can be lawfully made, after twenty-one years of peace have superseded any real or imagined exigency of war, certain it is that every argument of policy now forbids the continuance of that legalized injustice. Had it ever been conferred, the Federal Government should be stripped of so dangerous a power. No executive and no legislature is fit to be trusted with the control it involves over the earnings and the savings of the people. No earthly sovereign or servant is capable of a just exercise of such authority to impair and pervert the obligation of contracts.
>
> To apply the present and the unavoidably accruing proceeds of our surplus taxation during the next five years in payment of the only portion of the public debt beyond the vanishing 3 per cents, which is now due or will be payable, except at a high premium, before the 4½ percents of 1891 mature, besides being a large measure of currency reform, will also diminish and finally dissipate the objectionable and invidious influence of the Treasury upon the money market and upon the business of the country.

I commend that to the Democratic Senators who are lawyers. I commend that to the Democratic Senators who sustain the Supreme Court in the assertion that the Government has the power to make a legal-tender note. He continued—

> What surplus we expend in paying off the greenback debt will diminish by so much the immediate reduction of our tariff taxation; for, while the funded debt stands, certainly it is not wise to discard the taxes on whisky, tobacco, and beer.

So it was the purpose of this Administration, then, if they could, to get the consent of Congress to retire the greenbacks as well as to suspend the coinage of silver; and in his letter of February 1, 1887, Mr. Manning reiterated practically the same doctrine that he advanced in these former reports. I call attention to these extracts from that letter:

> That another species of our outstanding indebtedness, namely, the legal-tenders or greenbacks, known in law as United States notes, are, equally with what the law designates as Treasury notes, beyond any need or excuse for reissue; that temporary notes which are a debt of principal only, like notes which are a debt of principal and interest, should at once be cashed and canceled from abundant and superfluous coin in hand not now capable of being applied to any other use—this is so obvious a principle of sound finance, such as a prudent citizen would apply to his private affairs, that any Secretary of the Treasury would be subject to just reproach for departure therefrom by reissues, were it not that the act of May 31, 1878, seems to require of him that fiscal misstep. And I beg leave to submit to the House the question whether, among many other reasons for its repeal, the contraction of the currency sought to be averted by that act can now in any other and better way be prevented than by its repeal.
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> It is therefore necessary now, not only to reduce taxation in order to prevent surplus-tax-collecting from being currency-contracting again and again, but it is necessary also to employ our present and unavoidable tax surplus in the payment, not of funded, but of the unfunded debt.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> Great extravagance of needless expense or serious monetary trouble can both so be avoided. The people's representatives, by action before adjournment, can relieve the Secretary of the Treasury from the bad choice between these now present alternatives.
>
> The surplus coin and bullion which will remain in the Treasury after all the bonds subject to call have been paid and before the Fiftieth Congress will assemble, together with the proceeds of surplus taxation which will flow into the Treasury before any possible reduction of taxes by the present Congress can take effect, constitute a sum which can well be got out of the Treasury into the hands of the people where it belongs, by the payment of the greenback debt. Coin certificates are a ready and superior paper money to the greenbacks. The substitution can be effected as a mere matter of the Treasury administration whenever two indispensable conditions are first fulfilled by Congress. Of these, the first is that the silver purchases should be stopped.
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> * * * * * * *
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> The repeal of the compulsory silver purchases (act of February 28, 1878) is the first and indispensable condition. The repeal of the compulsory post-redemption reissues of United States notes (act of May 31, 1878) is the next and only other condition.
>
> These two repeals are together necessary to prevent either on the one hand an extravagant expense or on the other hand a considerable contraction of the currency. I can see no other alternatives. As the evil is at our door, I can not conceive that the case admits of further delay.

It was the policy of this Administration to leave the funded debt, the interest-bearing debt of the Government to draw interest, and to pay off the unfunded debt, or the $346,000,000 of greenbacks. Mr. President, I wait to see whether there is any Senator on the other side of the Chamber who will announce himself in accord with that doctrine so repeatedly enunciated by the Chief Executive and his chief financial officer and never disclaimed to this hour.

Mr. Manning departed from the Treasury Department, and Mr. Fairchild, who so recently addressed the "business men of New York," became his successor, and in his report of last December, dealing with the silver question, speaking of its difficulties, and advising the suspension of the coinage of silver, as his predecessor had done, he said:

> Another plan, somewhat similar to that recommended by my predecessor in his last annual report, would be to provide that when the reserve was exceeded an amount of United States notes equal in value to such excess should be canceled, if enough of them were in the Treasury; but if not, then the purchase of bullion to cease until the maximum reserve should be reached. This would create a vacuum in the circulating medium which would be filled by silver. The amount of United States notes would be gradually reduced until the whole were extinguished.

Mr. President, I think I need not read any further from the published reports of the Government officers to show that my statement is unquestionable, can not be questioned, that the Treasury Department proposed instead of paying the public debt, which it had been the policy of the Republican party when in power, to do the other thing—keep the public debt alive, keep in existence the interest-bearing debt, and retire that which was costing the people nothing, that which was serving the people as money as no other money ever served any people in the world.

Why, let me ask, should we retire the greenback circulation, a money that is good wherever civilized men trade, although it is paper money; good wherever civilized men meet each other and exchange products; good in every corner of the world where men read and where they know the actual condition of their fellows in other parts of the world? It saves to the people the interest on $346,000,000 of money to have the greenbacks continued in existence; and in whose interest could it be to retire them save that of the holders of Government bonds, and theirs alone?

When the Republican party went out of power they left in the Treasury of the United States $100,000,000 set apart for the redemption of greenbacks, which had been set apart in the early days of resumption,

and which are now required by law to be so held, or at least public opinion had consented that they should be there held for the purpose of making good at any time in gold the greenback when it should be presented. How much more did they leave? About $25,000,000 of subsidiary coin, which this Administration has stricken from the available assets of the Government and declared to be of no practical benefit. Then they left in addition, not, as Mr. Fairchild says in his recent speech, $22,000,000, but $8,764,590.11.

Nobody can have forgotten that in 1884, during the political campaign, every Democratic orator, from the candidate for Vice-President down, declared again and again upon the public rostrums that we had accumulated a hundred millions of surplus in the Treasury over and above the $100,000,000 required for the redemption of greenbacks, and that that hundred millions ought to be applied to the payment of the public debt, and I am astonished to see in the public prints that that stupendous falsehood is being repeated now by prominent Democratic orators in the land.

A Democrat recently in one of the Western States, a candidate for a high office, declared that when they came into power they found one hundred millions of money in the Treasury not needed, which they, he said, at once proceeded to pay on the public debt. Now I propose to make a little examination of how they have paid the public debt. I read from the report of the late Secretary, Mr. Manning, and the same statement can be found in the report of the Treasurer:

Net balance—

This is December, 1885, showing the indebtedness of the United States on March 4, 1885, as to which he concludes:

The assets of the Treasury on the 4th of March, 1885, excluding fractional coin and other unavailable items, were as follows:

* * * * * * *

Net balance in Treasury, $8,764,590.11.

That was the available balance in the Treasury when the Republican party went out of power and when the Democratic party came in. During the portion of the fiscal year 1885 that had run when we went out of office we had paid out about $45,000,000 on the public debt. We had in the preceding fifteen months paid out $110,000,000 on the public debt, and we had paid out the year before that $99,000,000 on the public debt, and the year before still more, and the year before still more. As money came into the Treasury month by month the surplus was paid out until, as I said, when the Democrats took charge of the administration of public affairs all the money had been paid that it was prudent to pay on the public debt, and much more than they have since declared ought to have been paid. Instead of there being $100,000,000 there was practically no money left at all to be paid by them. There was an increasing surplus. It was more in May than it was in April, more in April than it was in March; and on the last of June, 1885, there was about $44,000,000 of surplus in the Treasury.

When the Democratic party came into power there was a trifle more than $194,000,000 of 3 per cent. bonds outstanding that were due and payable. These were the bonds that Republican Secretaries had been retiring as rapidly as the surplus would allow. What was the duty of the present Administration when they had ten, fifteen, or twenty millions of dollars in the Treasury which could have been paid upon these bonds? Every one of them could have been called if there was money. What did they do? Let us see.

On the 31st of July, 1885, the surplus had increased to $44,052,229. Not a dollar of the 3 percents or any other bonds had been paid. During the month of July there was added to that amount the sum of $5,663,643, making the surplus on the 1st day of August, 1885, $49,715,872 independent of fractional coin, independent of what they called the unavailable assets. Of the available assets there were practically $50,000,000 in round numbers in the Treasury, while 3 per cent. bonds to the extent of almost $200,000,000 were outstanding drawing nearly $500,000 a month of interest, and yet not a dollar was paid on the public debt. During the month of September, 1885, the increase of surplus was $14,186,534, coming into the Treasury at the rate of half a million dollars a day nearly, more than for every working day in the month; and the surplus on the last day of that month was $63,903,106, and still not a dollar had been paid on the public debt.

By December 31 of that year this amount had increased to $71,018,872; and by the 1st of January, 1886, to $79,689,862 of available assets, over and above what they termed unavailable assets, that had always in our accounting been treated as a part of the surplus moneys of the Treasury. Not a bond had yet been called in, and no effort had been made to pay the public debt or to reduce the burden of taxation upon the people. The whole $194,150,000 of unpaid 3 percents, when the Administration came in, were still unpaid, drawing, as I said, almost $6,000,000 a year out of the people of the United States, that went to the holders of those bonds.

Nobody who was a member of this body in the fall and winter of 1885 has forgotten the fierce attack made upon this policy by the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK]. I could hardly say myself in this Chamber the harsh things he said of the policy that would accumulate the people's money in the Treasury of the United States with the interest-bearing debt still due and unpaid. Yet since that time I do not know that I have heard anybody criticise the Administration that practically continued this same policy for more than eighteen months thereafter. So grievous had this policy of the Administration become to the people, so objectionable and so odious, that on the 23d of February, 1886, the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives submitted a resolution, known as the Morrison resolution, in which they asserted that there was $179,000,000 of available surplus that could be paid upon the public debt. The committee in their report state—

That on January 30, 1886, as shown by the official "statement of the assets and liabilities of the Treasury of the United States," there was in the Treasury and United States depositories, including amount held for the redemption of United States notes, and not including minor and fractional silver coin classed "as assets not available," the sum of $179,689,862.24 in excess of all other liabilities than the redemption of said United States notes.

It is believed that this sum is largely in excess of the sum required for the purpose for which it is held, and that a considerable part thereof should be applied to the payment of the interest-bearing debt of the United States now payable, to the end that public moneys shall be used to lighten public burdens and not unnecessarily held to lure the agents and representatives of the people on to improvident and wasteful expenditures.

Your committee therefore reports the accompanying joint resolution and recommends its adoption.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That whenever the surplus or balance in the Treasury, including amount held for redemption of United States notes, shall exceed the sum of $100,000,000, it shall be, and is hereby, made the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to apply such excess in sums not less than ten millions per month during the existence of any such surplus or excess, to the payment of the interest-bearing indebtedness of the United States, payable at the option of the Government.

That resolution was passed by the House, came to this body, and was here amended upon the application of the Treasury Department, which declared that it was necessary that $20,000,000 should be retained in the Treasury over and above the one hundred millions for the redemption of greenbacks. It then went to the President. Mr. Jordan, who came before the Finance Committee of this body in regard to it, declared that $20,000,000 was not sufficient, that there should be at least $50,000,000 kept in the Treasury besides the one hundred millions for greenback redemption. In a few days after this Morrison resolution went to the President, Congress adjourned, and the President vetoed it by a pocket veto—the meanest and most contemptible, in my judgment, of all vetoes. As much as I have felt inclined to censure some of his vetoes, I think the most contemptible of all is when the President puts a bill in his pocket and thus lets it fail.

That resolution passed the House on the 14th of July, 1886. It came to this body, and as I said was amended, and it went to the President on the 30th of the same month, or at least it passed this body on the 30th of the same month. When the resolution passed the Senate there was a surplus in the Treasury of $80,000,000, $60,000,000 of which must by the terms of this resolution have been promptly paid upon the $194,000,000 of 3 per cent. bonds still unpaid. Rather than pay $60,000,000 on these bonds the President chose to disregard the legislative will, and to allow the resolution to die in his hands.

The first call was made on the 29th of December, 1885, for $10,000,000, to be paid February 1, 1886. At that time the surplus revenues were $71,018,872. The second call was made on the 29th day of January, 1886, for $10,000,000, and at that time the surplus was $79,689,862, or at least it was three days thereafter. The third call was made on the 20th of February, 1886, for $10,000,000, to be delivered on the 1st of April. On the 28th day of February, eight days after this call, the surplus was $72,298,202. The fourth call was made on the 22d of March, 1886, for $10,000,000, to be delivered May 1. On the 1st day of March the surplus was $76,381,099. The fifth call was made on the 20th of April, 1886, for $10,000,000, to be delivered on the 1st of June. On the 30th of April the surplus was $77,030,999.

Can anybody give any reasonable excuse, can anybody give any reason why these calls were made for $10,000,000 of bonds when there were seventy-five, seventy-eight, seventy-nine million of money in the Treasury, every dollar of which might have been paid out upon the public debt, and thus have reduced the interest-bearing debt to that extent? Nobody can explain it except upon the theory which I have advanced, that it was the policy of this Administration to keep the bonds out and not pay the public indebtedness bearing interest, but, if possible, to pay the indebtedness bearing no interest. In whose interest was this?

The sixth call was made on the 22d of May, 1886, and I desire to ask a little attention to this call. On the 22d of May the call was for $4,000,000, to be delivered on the 1st of July. When this call was made, the surplus was no less than $73,000,000, for nine days later, May 31, it was $76,142,611; and yet the call was for only $4,000,000 of 3 percents.

The seventh call was made on the 21st June, 1886, for a like sum of $4,000,000, to be delivered on the 1st of August. When this call was made the surplus could not have been less than $72,000,000, for at the end of the month it was $75,101,109.

On the 19th of July, 1886, five days after the Morrison joint resolution had passed the House, the eighth call was made for a like sum of $4,000,000, to be delivered on the 1st of September. At the time this call was made the surplus was not less than $75,000,000, for on the last day of July it was $80,206,325.

With $80,000,000, out of which was to come but $4,000,000, no fur-

ther calls were made until the 12th day of August, 1886, when a call was made for $10,000,000.

I have called attention to the surplus when these calls were made. I now desire to call the attention of the Senate to the surplus when these calls matured, when the time of payment arrived. When the first call, made on the 29th day of December, 1885, was payable, that is, the 1st of February, 1886, for ten millions, there were $79,689,862 in the Treasury, and the public indebtedness bearing 3 per cent. that might be paid was $194,150,000. When the next call matured there was $72,298,202, and the public indebtedness that was then payable was $184,000,000. Each of these calls I have stated in a table, which I will now put in:

Calls.	Date.	Redeemable.	Amount called.	Surplus.	Public debt payable.
First	Dec. 29, 1885	Feb. 1, 1886	$10,000,000	$79,689,862	$194,000,000
Second	Jan. 29, 1886	Mar. 1, 1886	10,000,000	72,298,202	184,000,000
Third	Feb. 20, 1886	April 1, 1886	10,000,000	76,381,099	174,000,000
Fourth	Mar. 22, 1886	May 1, 1886	10,000,000	77,030,999	164,000,000
Fifth	Apr. 20, 1886	June 1, 1886	10,000,000	76,142,611	154,000,000
Sixth	May 22, 1886	July 1, 1886	4,000,000	75,191,109	144,000,000
Seventh	June 21, 1886	Aug. 1, 1886	4,000,000	80,206,325	140,000,000
Eighth	July 19, 1886	Sept. 1, 1886	4,000,000	76,527,561	136,000,000

But I want to attract a little attention to the fact that when the $4,000,000 call due on the 1st of July was payable, there was $75,191,109 in the Treasury surplus money and $144,000,000 of unpaid 3 per cent. bonds still out. Why was only $4,000,000 called? Simply because Wall street did not want any of these bonds called, and because a pretense must be made in the interest of the people, a pretense that they were paying off the public debt; and those three calls of $4,000,000 each were made when the call ought to have been for $70,000,000 when the first call was made, when the bonds could have been practically paid off, half of them at least, by one single call; but the calls were strung out and the last of them was not paid until July 1, 1887, when they could have been all paid by the close of the fiscal year, 1886; or if not by June 30, at least within two months thereafter.

Mr. President, there was more than one period during the time I have recited when $75,000,000 would have paid half of the 3 per cent. bonds or more, and when that amount was in the Treasury applicable to that purpose. What excuse, what reason can be given for not having done it? I have never heard any given. I have never yet found any man living who was willing to stand up here and defend the conduct of the Administration in that particular. Much as Senators and Members and outside adherents may prate of its honesty and of its ability, none of them are willing to say that the management of the 3 per cent. bonds is marked by anything but imbecility of the grossest character, to put it in no harsher terms.

How much money do you suppose we lost by this dallying? Remember that the interest on these 3 percents as I stated was almost $500,000 a month. Think of it! The President of the United States has arrogated to himself, or if he has not his friends have, a great deal of credit because he has stood between this body and the other, on the one side and the public Treasury on the other when we have been sending him pension bills involving $96 a year, or perhaps $144, for some lone widow and has met them with a veto, and the whole Democratic portion of the country has resounded with praise that he has stood between rapacious legislation and the Treasury! There have never been five days since this Administration came into power that they have not lost more money by their negligent management than it would have taken in any one year to pay all the vetoed pensions. A week ago I carefully examined every pension bill that the President had vetoed, and carefully estimated how much he has saved to the public Treasury; $28,116 is the total that he has saved per annum. Think of it! Five hundred thousand dollars a month was left in the hands of the bondholders of Wall street to accommodate them, and then he attempted to save it by wringing it out of the poor unfortunate defenders of our flag.

Suppose they could not prove that they had incurred their disabilities in the line of duty; suppose they could not show that they were practically and perfectly sound when they went into the Army, they have rendered to the Government of the United States a service for which they ought to be compensated, which can not be done in dollars and cents; and when we say that we will give the pittance of $12 a month to the widow of one of these men, or $8 a month to the crippled soldier, whether crippled in the service or not, the President in the interest of the revenue of the country steps up and vetoes the bill, and yet he allows a half a million a month of the money of the United States to go into the hands of bondholders of New York, and he does that for eleven months without an attempt to pay a dollar of the public debt! He has lost more money on the 3 per cent. bonds than would have paid every single vetoed pension bill for more than one hundred and fifty years, if the beneficiaries should have all lived that length of time. But it was in the interest of the bondholder, it was in the interest of the money-lender, it was in the interest of the money-grabber that this was done, and not in the interest of poor men.

There was $75,000,000 lying in the Treasury month in and month out for more than a year, and the interest on that would have been, at 3 per cent., two millions and a quarter of money. That nobody can deny; that proposition can not be gainsaid. It was stated by a prominent member of the Committee on Appropriations in the House of Representatives that the Government lost more than four millions on that single transaction of the 3 per cent. bonds.

The last of the 3 per cent. bonds were paid on the 1st day of July, 1887. There were at that time $244,000,000 of bonds bearing interest at the rate of 4½ per cent., $738,000,000 bearing interest at 4 per cent., and $64,000,000 bearing interest at 6 per cent. The 4½ per cent. bonds are due in September, 1891. The $738,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds are due in 1907, and the $64,000,000 of sixes are due in 1895 and 1896. Here were more than a thousand million dollars of indebtedness bearing, some of it 4½ and some 6 per cent. interest. The interest charged on this is about $14,000,000 or $45,000,000 a year.

The President all this time had ample authority to buy these bonds. It was simply a matter of discretion; it was simply a matter whether the Government could make money by taking its surplus funds and buying these bonds, and there was not a bond then that could not have been bought—not one of any denomination that I have mentioned which could not have been got so as to save to the Government of the United States from 2¼ to 2½ per cent. on every dollar that it invested in that purchase. Was it wisdom to allow the money to lie in the Treasury ($44,000,000 when the last 3 per cent. bond was bought), drawing no interest, and to allow these bonds to continue to draw interest? What was the practical and business-like method to deal with a surplus when there was no other method of disposing of it? To buy bonds at such figures as would net to the Government the greatest amount of interest upon the expenditure of its money. That is what ought to have been done; that is what the act of 1881 proposed should be done. That was why it was passed. That had been enacted by the Morrison resolution and by every act and by every movement of the legislative department of the Government, that the surplus money should go to retire the debt.

It is not worth while now for the Senators on the other side or the friends of the Administration to say there ought not to have been a surplus. That has nothing to do with the question. There was a surplus that they knew would continue. There had been a surplus of $80,000,000 or of $83,000,000 at one time, before they paid a dollar on the public debt. There was still a surplus and bonds were still to be had, I repeat, at a rate that would have saved to the Government from 2¼ to 2½ per cent. per annum on its money.

Mr. PUGH. I should like to ask the Senator if the action of the Senate in the adoption of the Beck amendment to the resolution in relation to the power of the President, declaratory of that power to make the purchase of bonds, did not show that the Senate was opposed to the President's exercising the power to purchase bonds without supplying the deficiency made by the purchase on account of the withdrawal of national-bank notes by silver certificates or silver coin?

Mr. TELLER. I do not think it indicated anything of the kind.

Mr. PUGH. Why did the Senate, then, make that amendment to the House resolution?

Mr. TELLER. I will tell the Senator why the Senate made that amendment. We knew that these bonds had to be bought; we knew that no administration could live and continue to accumulate money in the public Treasury in that way; we knew that necessarily in buying these bonds there would be some reduction of the currency of the country, which we did not propose should occur; and so we said, "As you buy these bonds, when you buy the bonds of a bank that has issues of national-bank notes, and they by reason of disposing of their bonds retire their notes, you shall issue an additional amount of silver money equal to the circulation retired." There never was a suggestion in this Chamber that we should not buy the bonds. And I venture to say here that if that question had been submitted to this body there would never have been a single vote, and no man could have been found in this body who would have voted against the proposition that the Government should buy the bonds when they could be bought at a reasonable profit to the Government.

Mr. PUGH. I will ask the Senator, if that was so plain, so perfectly manifest, why did they leave it to the discretion of the President? Why did not the Senate make the *authority* mandatory to purchase these bonds?

Mr. TELLER. The Senator knows very well that it was contended that the act of 1881 was practically mandatory. The Senator knows very well that the Administration had sent here a statement that they wanted to buy bonds, but they did not know whether they could or not.

Mr. PUGH. Still the power was left discretionary.

Mr. TELLER. Certainly it was discretionary. You could not say how many they should buy, because if you did say that they should put every dollar of public money in bonds it would have been within the power of the men holding the bonds to unite and force the Government to pay an unreasonable sum. It was not reasonable to say they should buy bonds at any price. What we intended to say was, and what the House had said in the resolution that came to us was, "You have the authority." That was all. And that was all the Adminis-

tration asked, and that was what the Democratic House said it had the authority to do; and we said, "You have the authority," but we said, "In exercising that authority you may reduce the circulating medium of the country, and we do not want that done, and so you shall issue as many silver dollars as you contract national-bank notes." That is all there was of it, and the Administration understood that Congress intended that they should buy bonds, and they have been buying since in a limited and laggard way.

The Senator knows very well and everybody knows that in this body the authority of the Administration to buy bonds was never questioned. I do not believe there is a Senator in this Chamber who would have stood here and expressed a doubt upon that proposition. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] said the other day that it was the universal sentiment of the profession everywhere that that authority existed, that the lawyers of the country everywhere so believed, and there never could have been any doubt about it. There never was any doubt of it. It would not be proper for me to say that it was a pretense. It would not be proper for me to say that the President and the Secretary of the Treasury sent it here knowing that that was the law. It would hardly be the thing for me to say that. If I was not restrained by this place and this presence, I would say it. I do not believe that any man who had the capacity to be a justice of the peace in the United States doubted the authority to buy bonds under the act of 1881.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I think the Senator from Colorado has not quoted the Senator from Missouri correctly. The Senator from Missouri said that he had no doubt about it, but that there were abler lawyers than he who had expressed doubts, and among the rest the Attorney-General.

Mr. TELLER. I have heard before that the Attorney-General had so decided. I do not know but that it is so; but I do know that the Attorney-General decided upon another proposition in an appropriation act and declared that if it was a general provision it stood like any other. If he did give the opinion now claimed, he has made two decisions, one contrary to the other. I shall believe that the Attorney-General has made the decision now referred to, when I see it. I believe it has not yet been incorporated in the published opinions of the Attorney-General, and I take this occasion to say that when that is again asserted I trust somebody will produce that opinion, so that we may see upon what theory and upon what ground it is based. I should like to see where the Attorney-General says that that is different from any other provision of an appropriation act. How can he distinguish that from the provision which says that the President of the United States shall receive $50,000 a year instead of $25,000? How can he distinguish that act from hundreds of others that have gone into the Revised Statutes that in the revision were taken out of appropriation bills?

I repeat again, Mr. President, that it could not have been a question amongst lawyers. It might have been a question amongst politicians; it might have been a question amongst bankers who did not want this power exercised; it might have been a question among the brokers of Wall street who were protesting against the paying of these bonds, who wanted to hold on to them, who wanted the money to accumulate in the Treasury; but it was not a question amongst men who are accustomed to construing statutes.

Mr. PUGH. If the Senator will indulge me a moment——

Mr. TELLER. Certainly, I am quite willing to yield.

Mr. PUGH. The Senator is aware that the act of 1881 conferred authority to make this purchase within the discretion of the President in reference to the 3 per cent. bonds. At the time that act was passed the bonds running to maturity had not the large premium that they afterwards had in the market, and the President stated that he doubted whether that authority extended to the purchase of bonds in advance of their maturity at high premiums. It was the premium that these bonds had in the market after this authority to make the purchase was given, that caused him to hesitate in the exercise of that discretionary power, and he asked Congress to reaffirm it or to declare that it existed in the face of this increase in the value of the bonds.

Mr. TELLER. Oh, Mr. President, the authority of the Executive to buy bonds does not depend upon the price of the bonds. That is his discretion. If he had the authority he could buy the bonds if they went to 500, though he might be blamable for doing it at that price.

Mr. PUGH. A great many claim that he ought not to buy at the present premium.

Mr. TELLER. That is not the question. The question is, did he have the power, not was it a wise exercise of the power. Did he have the power? We shall discuss the other question later. Whether it was a wise exercise of the power has nothing to do with it. Did he have the power? He asserts that he doubted his power, but he never gave any good or valid reason why he doubted the power. Let us see what the act was:

That the Secretary of the Treasury may at any time apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as he may consider proper, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds: *Provided*, That the bonds so purchased or redeemed shall constitute no part of the sinking fund, but shall be canceled.

The 3 per cent. bonds were not purchased. The $194,000,000 of 3 per cent. bonds that were taken in were never purchased. They were redeemed. We do not purchase bonds that are due. The Senator knows that. Here was authority to use the money in the Treasury to redeem the bonds due or to purchase bonds. To purchase bonds means to take any bonds not due. That is a matter, then, of contract between the Government and the holder of the bond; at least that is the construction given to the law in the Treasury Department. I myself have never had any question, and I do not have any now, that it is in the power of any sovereign state to call in its securities and pay them off whenever it sees fit. I do not believe that any government in the world ought to abdicate that power. But another construction has been put on it, and I do not propose to quarrel with it, because I would have the Government always keep what the people believe to be faith with them. The people have been led to believe that the Government had no right to pay these debts until the time fixed for their maturity; and because of that I am willing the Government should pay them according to the public opinion, for it is better that the Government of the United States should sink millions of money than that it should discredit itself in the minds of the people of the United States.

So I was willing and am willing now that the Government should purchase these bonds and pay the premium, and any premium, I do not care how great it is, provided that it is cheaper for the Government to pay the premium; that is, that the Government would be the gainer by doing that instead of allowing the money to lie idle in the Treasury. I am not now dealing with the question whether it is wise to accumulate a surplus. That has nothing to do with this point. It is going to be there, and it will be there in spite of everything that can be done at this session, and the administration officials knew it was going to be there then. What the Government should have done was to buy the bonds at such figures as would net the Government the greatest possible revenue.

After the redemption of the 3 per cent. bonds the money continued to accumulate in the Treasury until on the last day of November, 1887, a few days prior to the President's famous free-trade message, there was in the Treasury $55,258,701 beyond what was needed to carry out the provisions of the sinking fund.

The Secretary of the Treasury on the 3d day of August, 1887, gave notice that he would receive proposals for the delivery of 4½ per cent. bonds on the 10th of August, and every Wednesday following, to carry out the provisions of the sinking-fund statutes. On the 22d of September the Secretary gave a further notice that he would purchase 4½ per cent. bonds at 108.4 until the 1st of October, and the 4 per cent. bonds at 125 until the 1st of October, and at 124 from that date until the 8th of October, the aggregate not to exceed, however, $14,000,000. That was supposed to be the necessary sum for the sinking fund to comply with the provisions of the statutes.

At this time the surplus was about $45,000,000, and after the purchase up to the 8th of October, of which I will speak later, it was still more than $40,000,000. Under the circular of August 3 the Secretary purchased of the 4½ per cent. bonds $11,505,300. Under the circular of September 22 the Secretary purchased $7,780,100 of 4½ per cent. bonds, for which he paid, of course, 108.4 because that was the price that he had fixed, making a total of the 4½ percents of $19,455,400, and a total of both classes of bonds of $24,844,050 at a cost of $27,842,237.

These transactions were closed on the 8th of October, 1887, and this amount was passed to the sinking fund. On the last day of that month the surplus was $56,758,704. Why did not the Secretary of the Treasury continue to buy bonds? He rejected a very large number of bids for 4 percents, as I will show in a few moments, at 125. He rejected a great number of 4½ per cent. bond bids at less than 108. Why did he not buy all the bonds that were then offered to him? I have here a statement of the Treasury Department showing the amount of bonds offered.

After the purchase, which was closed on October 8, 1887, no further bonds were bought until 1888. The House of Representatives on the 7th of February, 1888, passed a resolution inquiring why the Secretary was not purchasing bonds in these words:

Whereas it appears from a letter of the honorable Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 13, 1888, addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and printed in Executive Document No. 78, first session, Fiftieth Congress, that an additional appropriation of $2,000 is made necessary to meet an anticipated deficiency in telegraphic expenses of the Treasury Department caused by the regulations recently adopted relating to deposits of Government funds in national-bank depositories; and

Whereas the Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report to Congress, says: "The Government has purchased some bonds during the present fiscal year for the sinking fund, and has been obliged to pay such a price for them that the annual saving in interest upon the purchases is only about 2½ per cent.; that the price of the same class of bonds has materially advanced since these purchases, and that the premium paid on said purchases amounted to $2,852,015.88;" and

Whereas the policy of purchasing bonds with surplus money in the Treasury, as aforesaid, has ceased, and the policy of depositing the public funds in a large number of national banks has been substituted in lieu thereof; and

Whereas the statute authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to designate national banks as United States depositories provides that the Secretary shall prescribe the regulations by which said depositories of public funds shall be governed: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, directed to re-

port to this House at the earliest possible moment all the facts bearing upon the following inquiries:

First. At what dates were the propositions made by the Treasury Department to buy said bonds, and if any person or association was employed to purchase said bonds, and give name of said person or persons or association; give dates of purchase, name of seller, kinds of bonds purchased, amounts paid, and current rates at which said bonds were quoted at the time the proposition to purchase was made by the Department.

Second. State when the policy relating to deposits in national-bank depositories was adopted which created the deficiency spoken of in the letter aforesaid of the Secretary of the Treasury, and whether after the purchase of bonds spoken of on the eleventh page of the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the year 1887; give also reasons for changing policy first adopted, to wit, the purchase of bonds.

Third. State if the deficiency spoken of in the aforesaid letter of the Secretary was caused by the large increase in the number of national-bank depositories. Append to your answer a statement showing the per cent. of deposits on bonds deposited to secure the same under present regulations of the Treasury Department; also append copy of said regulations. State what per cent. of deposits has been allowed by the Department on United States bonds deposited for this purpose for the past twelve years, and whether the rate has been uniform, and whether below or above the par value of the bonds previous to the adoption of the present policy, and what was the rate percentage at the date of change or policy.

Fourth. Has said new policy of the Department concerning United States depositaries the number thereof, and the increased percentage of deposits allowed, had any effect to either increase or diminish the circulation of national-bank notes, and to what extent, and whether said policy has resulted in the increase or diminution of the money supply of the country?

Fifth. State the number of national banks which have been designated as depositaries of public funds since the adoption of the present policy, the number formerly designated that have availed themselves of the increased rate, and where said banks have been designated since the adoption of the present policy and rate of deposits; state when the bonds deposited in the Treasury by said designated depositories were transferred to said associations, and by whom.

After the passage of this resolution the Secretary of the Treasury commenced the purchase of bonds, not for the sinking fund, but for the purpose of reducing the surplus. I find that on the 17th of April the Secretary issued a circular inviting offers of bonds, and he received offers down to the 15th of June, according to the last detailed statement that has been furnished, of $47,505,250 of the 4 per cent. bonds, of which he had accepted $15,669,450, leaving the sum rejected $31,835,800. This is what I referred to when I asked why he had not bought all the bonds that were offered. When the Secretary of the Treasury began to buy these bonds, which was on the 23d day of April, 1888, the first bid was for $20,000 4 per cent. bonds at 125. These were taken. The next bid was for $100,000 at 125½, which he rejected. The same day, also, he rejected a bid for $200,000 at 125½. He received a bid for $250,000 at 125⅝. He rejected $250,000 in lots at 126¼ and 126½, and $250,000 in lots at 126½, and various other lots, including one lot of $1,000,000, on the 28th of that month, at 126⅝.

In May large offers were rejected at 126⅝. A million and a quarter bid was rejected at 127, and a long list was rejected from 126⅝ to 127.

Again, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of May, large lots of $100,000, $2,000,000, $375,000, $50,000, $1,500,000, $2,750,000, $40,000, etc., were rejected at from 127 to 127¼ and 127⅛, and one lot at 126⅞. On the 15th of the same month a million was rejected at 127¼. Large amounts were rejected at sums ranging from that up to 127⅜.

On the 22d of May a million and a half were rejected at 128. Large sums were rejected at 127 and a fraction near to 128.

The total of these rejections shows more than $20,000,000 rejected below 128; very large offers were rejected at 127 and later in the month taken in at the same price, and the later transactions of the Department show that it has bought a large amount of these bonds within the last few weeks at 128 and a fraction, and some of them almost to 129. Rumor says that within the last ten or fifteen days 130 has been paid for these bonds. I have myself been unable to get anything but the average, and that does not go very far from 129.

Not only is this so in regard to the fours, but of the two-and-a-halfs. Large offers have been rejected, amounting to $21,000,000, and since then large sums have been bought at a price exceeding that at which these offers were rejected. It is said by the friends of the Administration, and the Secretary himself in his speech in New York claimed that in making these purchases bonds necessarily went up. When he fixed the price at 125 and said, "I will take these 4 per cent. bonds at 125 from all who bring them," the holders brought the bonds and he had no trouble with them. When he said, "I will take them, the next day, for a limited period of eight days at 124," they still brought them and sold them, and if the Secretary of the Treasury had said, as he ought to have said, "I will give you 126 and a fraction," which would have left the Government a very handsome sum on its money invested, he could have bought all the bonds that the surplus money of the United States would have paid for. Even if he had bought them at 128 he would have saved to the Government more than 2 per cent. per annum on the money invested, but the Secretary did not choose to do that; he preferred to use the money in another direction.

Of these $31,835,800 of 4 percents that were rejected, some were offered at 127, some at 127⅛, some at 127½, and some at 127⅞, at which last price some lots were purchased. These bonds can not now be purchased for any such sum. The same may be said of the others, although the 4½ percents may be bought now at a less price than the Secretary paid for them when he commenced buying them.

I come now to one other transaction and then I shall not detain further the Senate on this subject. It is said by the Secretary of the Treasury in his New York speech that the purchase of these bonds would have a tendency to increase their price. I want to tell the Senate and the country what in my judgment has enhanced the price of these bonds. The bonds had a value as an interest-bearing security, drawing a large and valuable interest, 4 per cent. on some and 4½ per cent. on others. The 4½ percents must certainly be redeemed in 1891; the 4 percents are as certainly redeemable in 1907, or nineteen years from this time. What were they worth? They were worth whatever a man could buy them for; so that he could get them at rates which would pay him 3 per cent. on his money, or even 2½ per cent., he might be satisfied with that. What did the Secretary do? He gave to these bonds a character and a power that they never had before possessed, and what was that? A power, I assert, that no government security anywhere in the world ever possessed, and I am not aware that any other securities of ours ever possessed—the power to borrow not simply small sums, but more than their face of the public money without interest.

When the Secretary of the Treasury adopted the policy of putting the Treasury money into the national banks and holding as security for it these bonds, of course he enhanced the value of the bonds. If they had been his own bonds and he had been intrusted with a scheme to make them valuable, there was no other method by which he could have made them so valuable, unless it was to have extended the time of their payment, which he did not have the power to do. When he said, "Your bond has got the power to draw its 4 or 4½ per cent. and I will put into your banks $110 of every $100 of bonds, and on that you may draw $6.60 more," he gave them an interest power, instead of $40 a thousand on the fours and $45 on the four-and-a-halfs, of 100 per cent. and more, and is it strange that when these bonds could be hypothecated and money borrowed on them for which they paid no interest at all, they should have gone up? Is it strange that the man who had theretofore been drawing his $40 on his $1,000, when he found that he could draw $105 on it, should hold on to the bonds and that he should decline to put them in the market. If the Secretary of the Treasury had taken the advice of the men who held these bonds and had followed their advice he could not have made them so valuable as he made them in any other way than the way he did. No other system would have given them the value in the eyes of the investing public that he gave them by putting $60,000,000 of the money of the people in the national banks without a cent of interest, and that, too, when every dollar of it would have netted the Government from 2½ to 2½ per cent. by the purchase of Government bonds.

We were told by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] the other night that great amounts of money had been put in the banks by the predecessors of the present Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. President, it is not true that any considerable sums of public money had been put in the banks save and except for the convenience and accommodation of the Treasury of the United States in its refunding operations. Of course when we refunded several hundred million dollars of debt these transactions went through the banks and there was nominally a large amount of money that went out of the national Treasury; it was not money that was transmitted from the Treasury at Washington or the subtreasuries to the banks; and that is what we complain of.

The Secretary says that the people who have the money can not afford to go out and buy bonds at these figures, and then he figures that on $1,000,000 a man will only make, who takes a Government deposit, $5,600. These people did not buy these bonds to make money on. They were the holders and the owners of these bonds. They were then in possession of them, drawing the interest on them, and the Government was wanting to buy them, and the Government said all at once, "We will not buy them, but we will let you bring us your bonds, and for every $100 that you put into the Treasury we will give you $110;" and thus the banks holding the securities drew in their currency and contracted the circulation! Why should they not? On every million dollars held as security for their issue of notes they could issue $900,000 of national-bank notes. When they had retired their national-bank notes they could borrow $200,000 more on the same amount of bonds. Who pretends that the banks could not make from 3 to 6 per cent. on these bonds in New York City? Who pretends that they were not put there for the interest of the bankers? The Secretary says that it has not been profitable. He says they are returning them. Very few of them appear to have been returned, for the last statement makes the amount hard on to $60,000,000 yet, as I understand.

The Secretary said in his speech in New York that this is a little more than the amount the banks have heretofore held. When the Democrats came into power there was deposited in all the national banks of the United States, for the convenience of the United States and nothing else, $10,150,036. June 30, 1885, the sum was $12,928,264.47; and when the November report was made by the Secretary of the Treasury the deposits were $13,595,550. In November, 1886, the deposits were $16,266,639. I find in looking over the reports that the deposits in national banks that year were $122,098,651. I might stand up here and insist that there was over $122,000,000 of Government money deposited; but I understand that to mean that in the course of the business transactions $122,000,000 passed through the banks properly and legitimately, and upon that I have no criticism whatever to

make. That explains the condition when we were refunding, how it happened that $200,000,000 at one time was found in the banks, and in a few days it was all out and in the Treasury.

What we complain of is that for a year now these banks have been carrying from $40,000,000 to $60,000,000 of the people's money without interest. What is more, it is dangerous to the public interest to have this money there. The Government must some day call for it. When it calls for it, it will compel the banks to contract their loans for a very large amount of money. There is not any Secretary of the Treasury who dares to call for it promptly. It would be better to let it lie there and waste the interest on it for a time than to call for it suddenly and thus disrupt and break up all the business of the country.

What right has the Secretary of the Treasury to put that money in the banks and thus take upon himself the power to disturb the great interests of this country by either calling for it or refusing to call for it? No more money should be put into the national banks than could be put there properly and profitably for the interest of the Government. If it is necessary to get the money out, buy bonds with it as long as it will save the Government 2 per cent., or 1 per cent., or one-half per cent., or a quarter per cent. interest, rather than let it be in the banks. Is it not better that the Government should get 2 per cent. than that the banks should get it? If this had been done under a Republican administration there would have been no end to the complaint; there would have been no end to the denunciation of the administration that would thus build up these great banks.

I have heard a great deal of talk about robbing the people of the United States through the tariff. What do the Senators say about robbing the public of their interest money through the national banks? Are they any better than the manufacturers? Have they any more souls? Are they any kinder to the poor? Have they done as much for the interests of the country as the men who produce? The men who count money and who only count money, who handle money and handle money alone, are useful and valuable in society, but they are not the chief agents in progress; they are not the moving agencies to move the business of the country. It is another class than the great corporations which have piled up their millions of money, as the Senator from Missouri told us the other day. He need not have singled out one bank. There are other banks which have made as much money as that bank has made. There are other banks which sell their stock at higher prices than the stock of that bank sells for. There has been a new bank comparatively recently started in New York which holds a million dollars of the Government money. I want to call the attention of the Senate to how this money got into the bank. We can not have forgotten that the Western National Bank of New York was organized in New York by the late Secretary of the Treasury, now dead, and Mr. Jordan, formerly Treasurer of the United States. I find this letter, written on the 8th day of October, 1887, dated at Washington and directed to the Treasurer of the United States:

SIR: The Western National Bank of New York City has been designated a United States depository, and the security fixed for the present at $1,000,000 of United States 4 per cent. bonds. In order to avoid the usual delay in obtaining a balance by accumulating revenue deposits, I will thank you, when the bonds are received, to cause to be transferred to said bank from national-bank depositories other than those in New York City such amounts as may be deposited therein to the credit of your general account in excess of their authorized balances, until the sum of $1,100,000 is reached, which amount the Western National Bank will be authorized to hold as a fixed balance.

Respectfully, yours,

C. S. FAIRCHILD, *Secretary.*

A fixed balance. How long is it to be held? If that had occurred under a Republican administration it would have been said that that was a pet bank. You draw the money out of the bank outside of New York City, disturb the business of the country, take it out of a bank that has Government deposits and is as much entitled to them as this Western bank; you take out its deposits for the purpose of putting them in this bank at New York City, dominated and controlled by late officials of the Treasury Department.

Yet we are told that there has been no favoritism in this transaction; that all the banks of the country have fared alike. Whether that is true or false is immaterial in this discussion. The question is, has the Treasury Department managed the finances of the country with economy and with skill?

A careful analysis of the several extracts I have gone over to-day will show without a question that the Treasury Department has lost to the Government since it went into power of money, that should have been saved, not less than $10,000,000. It is a vast sum of money to take out of the tax-payers of this country for the benefit of the national banks and national bondholders; men who do but little towards encouraging the industrial pursuits of the country; men who do not, it is believed by a great majority of the people of this country, bear their due proportion of the public burdens. Why should they be picked out to lend money to? Why, on the contrary, should we not go to work and pay off the public debt, and reduce the surplus, and reduce the taxation by way of interest?

Mr. President, the close of this Administration is at hand. If there was time I do not know but that I should be inclined to compare the financial management of this Administration and its general management with the administration that preceded it or the administration preceding that. But before I leave this question I desire to insert as part of my remarks a statement that I find in the New York Sun criticising the action of the Treasury Department:

Secretary Fairchild has raised his limit for the purchase of United States 4 per cent. bonds to 130, and at that figure has just bought $6,340,350 of them. In January last the Secretary could have purchased these bonds at from 125 to 126. In the same month of January he deposited with certain favored national banks $30,000,000 and upward of public money free of interest, with which he could have bought $24,000,000 of bonds. Adding to the 130 he is now paying for them the 2 per cent. interest paid since January brings their cost to the Government up to 132, as against say 126, which the cost would have been if he had bought them in January. Here is a dead loss to the national Treasury of 6 per cent. on $24,000,000, or $1,440,000, and a corresponding profit to the banks which bought the bonds and pledged them to the Treasury. This might have been avoided, and could have been avoided by the exercise of a little common sense. What says the President?

I also submit the following table showing the surplus in the Treasury:

Net cash (surplus in Treasury) on dates stated, as shown by public-debt statements from July 31, 1885, *to August* 31, 1888.

March 4, 1885, commencement of Cleveland's Administration (Finance Report, 1885, pages 12, 13)	$8,764,590.11	November 30, 1886	$40,093,556.22
July 31, 1885	44,052,929.35	December 31, 1886	42,196,632.77
August 31, 1885	49,716,572.69	January 31, 1887	27,780,050.87
September 30, 1885	63,903,106.30	February 28, 1887	19,148,975.45
October 31, 1885	66,818,292.38	March 31, 1887	21,859,983.51
November 30, 1885	61,930,595.34	April 30, 1887	34,886,038.20
December 31, 1885	71,018,872.23	May 31, 1887	23,951,692.44
January 31, 1886	79,689,862.24	June 30, 1887	40,853,369.28
February 28, 1886	72,298,202.92	July 31, 1887	45,698,594.15
March 31, 1886	76,381,099.54	August 31, 1887	44,760,908.86
April 30, 1886	77,030,999.35	September 30, 1887	45,269,665.15
May 31, 1886	76,142,611.33	October 31, 1887	56,758,704.83
June 30, 1886	75,191,109.95	November 30, 1887	55,258,701.19
July 31, 1886	80,206,325.98	December 31, 1887	69,842,879.11
August 31, 1886	76,527,561.24	January 31, 1888	85,230,746.09
September 30, 1886	67,896,321.01	February 29, 1888	92,987,796.82
October 31, 1886	52,783,199.98	March 31, 1888	104,573,930.34
		April 30, 1888	110,244,969.60
		May 31, 1888	94,706,617.08
		June 30, 1888	103,220,464.71
		August 31, 1888	107,673,320.92

Mr. President, since I have been a member of the Senate I have been exceedingly careful to say nothing harsh, nothing not supported by the evidence, in regard to public officials. I do not now desire to say anything harsh of the present or past administration of the Treasury Department. I have submitted these facts. I have submitted them for the benefit of those who profess to believe that there has been a wise, economical administration of the finances of this country. I have submitted them for the benefit of the people who are about to vote upon the succession of the Administration, and who are to determine whether they want the silver dollars destroyed. I want them to understand that that is a cardinal feature of the faith of this Administration. I want them to understand that it is a further idea to destroy the greenbacks. I want them to understand that this Administration has paid out with laggard steps the surplus money on the public debt only when compelled by resolutions of the House and Senate and by public opinion that would no longer be stayed. They have been compelled to pay, and have paid, as I said before, with laggard steps, with delay and hesitation the money of the people on the public debt.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. PUGH] asked me if the Southern Senators had not stood up for silver, and if they were not now charged with having attempted to destroy the industrial interests of the North. I do not mean to say here or anywhere else that they have willfully and intentionally gone into a scheme to destroy the industrial interests of this country. I know the charge has been made. I could not make it here properly, if I believed it. I should be loath to believe that there was so much of the old venom and rancor left in Senators from the Southern States that they would willfully inflict upon the Northern people an injury. I am bound in honesty of mind to believe that it is owing to their faulty education, that it is owing to the surroundings and to the false teachings of which the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] spoke so vigorously a few days since. The fact is that the Southern people have been brought up in a different political school from ours. They have inherited different political ideas, and strange as it may seem, with the great prosperity of the North before them, with all the examples held up to them in the North and in the East and in the West of unexampled prosperity under the protective system, they are unable to see them, and instead of applying them to their own region of country, and getting some of the benefits of this wonderful progress and wonderful prosperity, they on the contrary say that they would return to the old ideas, that they would have no manufactures, or but few; that they would be agriculturists, and they would put us upon a free-trade basis.

I will admit that within a few days it has been denied that they would put us upon a free-trade basis. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] disclaimed yesterday that he was a free-trader; other Senators have declared that they were not free-traders; but no Democratic Senator save one has stood on this floor and declared that he was a protectionist. I believe perhaps one or two others, if they had expressed themselves, would have been compelled to say they were protectionists; but not exceeding three men on that side of the Chamber will rise here

and say they are in favor of the doctrine of protection. When it was asserted that that doctrine had not been supported or advanced on the Democratic side of the House, a prominent Democrat replied, "No, and you will not find it." The Democratic party is not a protection party except just a few days before an election. It has been a free-trade party since 1856, when it declared in its national platform that the time had come for progressive free trade. There has not been an argument adduced on this floor or in the other House by a Democrat which has not been in favor of free trade. They have used all the Cobden Club arguments, they have used all the free-trade arguments, and they have held up to us as an example to follow, Great Britain, with its wonderful prosperity, as they say.

The prosperity of Great Britain was fully explained and shown up by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] yesterday. There is poverty, distress over all that land, and stagnation of business. The markets of the world are open to them; they have cheap labor, intelligent labor; capital is cheaper there than in any other country on the face of the earth; and yet they are suffering in every department of life, and are fleeing to this country at a rate unexampled and unparalleled in the history of that remarkable country. If the people of the United States want free trade they do not want it because of the prosperity that it has brought to Great Britain. Great Britain is many times poorer than she was fifty years ago. The laborers of Great Britain are in a worse condition now than they were twenty years ago. The Senator from Wisconsin called attention to some statistics that I had handed him. Ninety-two million dollars a year for the poor of Great Britain, $27,000,000 a year for education, science, and art; a million and a quarter people who are called paupers; seven million people in Great Britain who have received assistance from the public authorities. As one of their distinguished men said, every fifth man in the kingdom is toeing the line of pauperism. Is that the kind of a feast to which we are inviting the American people? Oh, no, Mr. President, the economic management and the economic principles of this Democratic Administration do not commend themselves to the American people.

I should like to submit a few extracts that I have here from different speeches made by members of the Democratic party in Congress and out, to show the free-trade tendency of the Democratic party. I will first call attention to the declaration of the Democracy in their platform of 1856:

Resolved, That the time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of progressive free trade throughout the world.

Henry George, in a recent number of the Standard, said:

I spent the latter part of last week in Washington. Mr. Cleveland has the reputation of being even a stronger free-trader than his message would indicate—and that is strong enough for all practical purposes. The message, as originally written, is said to have been more radical even than as finally sent in, being modified somewhat at the suggestion of free-trade Democrats, who feared it might be too strong for the party in its demoralized condition on the tariff question.

Mr. Cleveland has burned his ships; he stands before the country a champion of free trade against protection; and he must make, as he has ample power to do, the weak and treacherous politicians of New York and other doubtful States accept that position or go into opposition; else in spite of the splendid courage he has heretofore shown, they will involve him in the fate that in affairs of great moment befalls the timid.

The way to win is to silence apologists, send skulkers and cowards to the rear, and face the music. If Mr. Cleveland is re-elected, as with courage I believe he will be, protection will have received its death-blow.

The London Daily News of July 6, 1888, has the following editorial on this subject:

President Cleveland's speech is more to the point. He discusses the principles at issue in the struggle and shows that he is the free-trade candidate in everything but name. The reservation is an important one for American party purposes. The President feels compelled to characterize the attempt to brand him as a free-trader as deception, but for all that the electoral conflict now in progress is a conflict between free trade and protection, and nothing less. This is a very good conflict as things go, and, like warfare between good and evil, it threatens to be perpetual. Mr. Cleveland may find a more formidable antagonist in General Harrison than we have been led to suspect.

The Philadelphia Press displayed in its editorial columns the following editorial from the London Globe:

As a rule, the Presidential contest has very little interest for the Old World. On the present occasion, however, an issue is involved which very closely concerns Europe, more particularly Great Britain. Mr. Cleveland has taken his stand on free trade, and although his party managers have considerably planed down his platform, he is universally recognized in the States as pledged to initiate a new departure in fiscal policy, nor can there be any doubt that he would act up to this understanding were he elected. The central issue of the contest lies between the maintenance of the present fiscal system intact and its modification in the direction of free trade. And on that broad question Mr. Cleveland's candidature naturally and necessarily carries English sympathy.

[London Times of July 6, 1888.]

It would hardly be possible to put the free-trade case more clearly or more strongly, and yet such is the force of words, President Cleveland shrinks from the use of the term "free trade," and in fact declares that those who taunt him with being a free-trader are deceiving the country. "Free trade" appears to be equivalent, in the language of American political controversy, to "enemy of the workingmen and of industrial enterprises."

That it should be so is one of the curiosities of politics, and an extraordinary instance of the power of a phrase even over minds which are commonly shrewd and reasonable; for it is certain that the arguments which President Cleveland urges are those which Cobden used to employ forty-five years ago, and which any English free-trader would employ now. Such propositions as that taxation ought to be strictly limited by the needs of the country; that it is unjust to tax the whole community for the benefit of special classes; that import duties stifle production and limit the area of a country's markets, are purely free-trade arguments. As such we are very glad to see President Cleveland using them, though we are sorry for the popular infatuation which makes it dangerous to give them their right name.

[London Iron and Steel Trades Journal, July 7, 1888.]

There can be no doubt that President Cleveland is one of the most sound economists of the day, and his speeches display the most thorough grasp of commercial questions. The recent remarks in which he stated that it is the clear right of the people to demand that the cost of government should be limited by frugality and its burden of expenditure by actual needs are worthy of J. S. Mill himself.

[Speech of Hon. C. R. Breckinridge, of Arkansas, in House of Representatives, May 17, 1888.]

Of course any reduction of excessive rates of tariff taxation is in the direction of free trade. I do not seek to conceal my own belief in the wisdom of the greatest possible freedom of trade from all hindrance and restrictions.

[Speech of Hon. John H. O'Neall, of Indiana, in House of Representatives, May 14, 1888.]

As a free-trader—and I claim to be one—I protest against making the tariff so high as to destroy competition from abroad.

[Speech of Hon. R. P. Bland, of Missouri, in House of Representatives, July 19, 1888.]

I am not here for the purpose of voting for a tariff on lead, or a tariff on flax, or a tariff on anything, but I am here to get the tariff off everything I can. I am in a combine for the purpose of reducing taxes, and I will vote for a bill with free lead, or free anything else in it to accomplish that purpose.

[Speech of Hon. S. S. Cox, of New York, in House of Representatives, May 18, 1888.]

There was no warrant in England, there is no warrant here, either by natural laws or State laws, or constitutional requirement, to restrict such freedom of exchange for the personal or class interests of any one, any more than there is a warrant for a State religion or the abridgment of speech, press, and suffrage. * * * Freedom, not only to work as we please, but to dispose of the product of our work as we please; freedom to spend our money where we can get the most for it, and freedom to make that money without the ignominy of enslaving statutes.

[Speech of Hon. Silas Hare, of Texas, in House of Representatives, May 12, 1888.]

I believe that a tariff for protection is the foundation and principal cause of all the complaints and unrest that have either threatened or actually disturbed the public peace and quiet for years. * * * If we did not require money to defray the expenses of Government, I would be an absolute and uncompromising free-trader.

[Speech of Hon. Peter T. Glass, of Tennessee, in House of Representatives, April 26, 1888.]

I am in favor of putting all the raw materials of manufacture on the free-list, including salt, coal, iron ore, copper, timber, and lumber, together with every article now on the free-list.

[Speech of Hon. L. F. McKinney, of New Hampshire, in House of Representatives, May 4, 1888.]

Give us a free and open market with the world, break down the barriers that a false system has built around us, go back once more to the principles of true Democracy. As an abstract question of right, who is there who dares to say, with his hand upon his heart, looking to God, "I have not the right, the God-given, inalienable right, to buy what I may need or require wherever I can buy it most cheaply?" Not one.

[Speech of Hon. J. B. McCreary, of Kentucky, in House of Representatives, May 2, 1888.]

I am glad to be a member of a Congress to which a President sent an annual message entirely on tax reform, and which is true to the principles and teachings of the Democratic party from its organization by Jefferson at the beginning of this century to the present time.

[Speech of Hon. W. J. Stone, of Kentucky, in House of Representatives, May 16, 1888.]

The North yet worships the shrine of protection, but the handwriting is on the wall and that idea is doomed to pass out of the list of American idols.

[Speech of Hon. Isidor Rayner, of Maryland, in House of Representatives, May 1, 1888.]

But, Mr. Chairman, I appeal to the Democracy here to stand true to their colors. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I appeal to them to stand up to the traditions of our party. A tariff for anything else than revenue is outside the traditions and principles of our party, and at war with its pledges and history. It is foreign to our platform. We have given to the people the assurances of our intention to do this. Let us prove our faith by our works. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Let us engrave upon the imperishable tablets of the law the truth of the doctrine we have proclaimed. A man can not, at this time, upon this floor, be a Democrat and be in favor of the continuance of the present system.

[Speech of Hon. Edward Lane, of Illinois, in House of Representatives, May 12, 1888.]

Free trade is the natural right of commerce. * * * Protection is forever a cheat and delusion. * * * Protection is not right. * * * It should be an inherent right in every American citizen to sell his labor and his wares where he can get the best price, and to buy where he can buy the cheapest. * * * The protective system is un-American, and is a perversion of the laws of nature, of God, and man.

[Speech of Hon. Charles T. O'Ferrall, of Virginia, in House of Representatives, May 2, 1888.]

"Tariff for revenue" is the motto which I have tacked to the masthead, and if I shall fall, I shall fall with my face to the enemy still crying aloud against the oppression of my people. I intend to stand by, uphold, and defend, as far as God has given me the ability, the underlying principles of Democracy upon this question. I may be a weak defender of the right, but I will at least be a bold one. The flag of tariff for revenue will soon float in triumph, and when victory is once inscribed upon it, the child has not been born that will ever see defeat written over it. * * * Sir, I believe commerce between nations should be relieved, as far as possible, of all fetters and all restraints.

[Speech of Hon. Edward Lane, of Illinois, in House of Representatives, July 16, 1888.]

I am for free and unrestricted interchange of commodities with the whole world (with a tariff for revenue only). If this is free trade, then I am a free-

trader from the topmost hair of my head to the lowest extremity of my feet, in every nerve and fiber of my being, and I will not be driven from it by the taunts of any set of men or party.

[Senator Coke.]

I will just say to the Senator that if there is any one thing in this world the average Texan would go any number of miles out of his way to kick and kill and destroy it is a protective tariff.

[Roger Q. Mills's speech at East St. Louis, Ill., September 25, 1888.]

If Grover Cleveland is re-elected President of the United States—as he will be [a voice: "He will that"]; if another Democratic House of Representatives is chosen, and if we can get our Republican friends out of the other end of the Capitol and get Democrats in place of them, then we will pass a tariff bill that puts raw materials all on the free-list, and then we will put our own intelligent and skillful and productive labor in this country upon a plane of equality with the laborers of all other countries.

I call attention, also, to an extract from the Memphis Appeal, one of the leading Democratic papers published in the South, in which it says:

We lay down concisely, and we trust clearly, the Democratic doctrine of free trade, which is as old as the birth of the party. The Democratic party was always known as the party that strictly construed the Constitution, and was therefore opposed to the levy or collection of a tax for any other purpose than the support of the Government, and was equally as rigidly opposed to the appropriation of public moneys for any other purpose, its motive in its first and most notable campaign being "free trade and sailors' rights." The doubtful States have long been familiar with the fact that the Democratic party is the free-trade party, and they know that any attempt to reconcile it to protection in any form, shape, character, or degree would be an abandonment of principle that would and of right ought to cover it with obloquy and disgrace.

I have here an extract from the letter of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]. I had made the extract before I heard his explanation of the letter. His statement was that—

We are entering upon a most fearful Presidential contest, the most important since that of 1860. Mr. Cleveland, by his message, for which I sincerely honor him, has challenged the protected industries of the country to a fight of extermination.

I understand the Senator to simply say that he wrote this in a private letter; I do not understand that the Senator now disavows the sentiments that are there expressed. I do not understand that the Senator indicates that he is in favor of protection under any system or any form whatever, but on the contrary, that protection is as odious to him as to all others of his party.

Mr. President, I do not believe that I can conclude my remarks any better than by calling the attention of the country to the remarks made by the great German, Bismarck, on the question of protection in America. Our remarkable success, our wonderful progress, unequaled in the annals of history, that has astonished the world, as it has astonished ourselves, he attributes to the protective tariff, and advises Germany, who follows readily his advice, to adopt the same system, and the result shows that the labor wages of Germany, which were very low and very much depressed under free trade, have gradually risen under the system of protection, and they will rise ultimately undoubtedly until they reach a rate equal to our own. I admit that a tariff does not make wages higher except that it produces and provides employment, furnishes opportunity for men, and thus it does make wages higher.

On the 14th of May, 1882, Bismarck, in a speech before the German Reichstag, said:

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterwards disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, gave labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States.

Mr. MORGAN obtained the floor.

PROPOSED RECESS—FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator from Alabama will yield to me, I desire to offer at this time a concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DOLPH in the chair). The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That at 1 o'clock p. m. on Saturday, the 20th day of October, instant, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives adjourn their respective Houses, to meet on Monday, the 19th day of November next, at 12 o'clock m.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say in offering this resolution, as I stated the day before yesterday to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BROWN], that I am satisfied we can make but little further progress with the revenue bill now. I propose this recess for the reason that it will give us two weeks before the beginning of the regular session in which to go on with the bill and make it absolutely certain, as far as the Senate is concerned, that it can be passed before the 1st of January. That is the only motive I have in suggesting a recess.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Iowa ask for the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. ALLISON. I ask unanimous consent that it may be considered.

Mr. COCKRELL. I desire to suggest to the Senator from Iowa that it would be better to refer the resolution, to-day at least, to a select committee of, say, five Senators. It would be hardly fair to refer it to the Committee on Finance or the Committee on Appropriations.

In regard to the propriety of the recess suggested, I have very serious doubts. The Senator admits frankly that nothing can be done during the remaining days between this time and the election. That being the fact, I do not think final action upon the bill will be hastened by bringing Congress back here on the 19th day of November. If Congress were to take a recess until that time, it would be exceedingly inconvenient for the members of the other House to come here and practically have nothing to do. It is very doubtful whether there would be a full Senate at that time, and it would be only two weeks before the beginning of the regular session. That would only give us twelve days after the election.

I suggest to the Senator that it would be better, in the interest of the early passage of the bill, to have an adjournment until the regular session, and then let the Senator give notice that on the second day of that regular session he will call the bill up for action, and that he will press it, and will oppose any adjournment for the Christmas holidays. In that way he would secure the passage of the bill just as early as by having Congress meet on the 19th day of November. For one, I will pledge myself in advance, if that is done, that I shall oppose any regular recess during the holidays, except simply an adjournment over from one day to another, or two or three days before Christmas, and the same way at New Year's. So we should have all the time to devote to the bill, and I think with that understanding members of the Senate and House would all come here with that expectation, and there would be no calculation of the ordinary adjournment for the Christmas holidays, which ought never to be done, I will say, at a short session of Congress.

There is a reason why a long holiday recess is taken at the beginning of a regular Congress. It is a rare thing after the Speaker is elected and the officers of the House chosen that the committees are formed and ready to be announced until after the 1st of January. Therefore very little can be done before the holidays are over. In the Senate we organize our committees at the beginning of a regular Congress and arrange all the business, which takes some time, and when that has been done it is usually time to take the recess. But I say that the habit of Congress taking a long recess in the short session is pernicious and injurious to the public business, and we ought to break it up, and there is no better time in the world to put a stop to it than this year.

I think that it would be in the interest of the promotion of final action upon the bill if instead of taking a recess until the 19th of November we should substitute an adjournment until the regular session.

Mr. HOAR. The course which the Senator suggests was taken in the short session in 1883, when the large reduction in the tariff duties and extension of the free-list was made.

Mr. COCKRELL. I remember; and that course ought to be followed at every short session.

Mr. ALLISON. My only object in saving the two weeks prior to the regular session is that the Senate may go on and consider the revenue bill. Whether we meet on the 19th of November or on the first Monday in December, it is my purpose, and so far as I know, the purpose of this side of the Chamber, to press the bill to the exclusion of all other business. Of course in a matter of this importance we should consider the convenience of Senators and the probability of securing a full attendance, because I think Senators will all agree that in a matter of this moment there should be a full attendance in the Senate. Senators very well know that the Senate has been thin for some days. There has not been that full attendance in the Senate which there ought to be in the consideration of so important a bill as this.

Mr. BROWN. Will the Senator from Iowa allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. ALLISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROWN. After the Senate has been ten and a half months in session, when Senators can not at most have more than a month and ten days, say, of vacation, does the Senator believe that he could get a quorum of the two Houses, or anything like a full Senate or House, to return here on the 19th of November?

Mr. ALLISON. I hoped that could be done. The time fixed is two weeks after the election. Senators would be gathering in, I should think.

Mr. BROWN. Does the Senator think it reasonably probable that it could be done?

Mr. ALLISON. I think so.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. President, it is apparent that we are not going to make any progress during the remainder of this session in the investigation of the bill before the Senate. Congress has been in session nearly eleven months. The individual convenience of members, of course, is not to be very largely considered. I have not seen my home in more than eleven months. I do not feel, for one, that I can well return here by the 19th of November.

I concur with the Senator from Missouri. If Congress can be adjourned until the regular meeting, I will unite with those who desire to prevent a holiday recess and to urge the consideration of the revenue bill until it is disposed of. I feel that that is necessary; that the interests of the country require it. If the bill is to be disposed of, it

ought to be disposed of so that the business interests of the country may not continue to be disturbed by keeping the tariff question open. I believe the bill ought to be disposed of, and I am sorry that we are not able to dispose of it at this session. If Congress can be adjourned, I say in advance that I will assist in retaining the Senate in session during the time usually spent in holidays and in urging the consideration of this bill until it is disposed of.

I think a good deal of inconvenience in many respects would result from taking a recess now. From now until election day, the 6th of November, very little opportunity will be allowed to Senators to attend to any of their own business, which has been neglected now for nearly a year. Between the election and the 19th, less the time required to get back here, scarcely any time would be allowed to Senators to look after their affairs at home. It seems to me that Senators ought to have three or four weeks to look after the condition of their business at home.

I hope it may be agreeable to the Senate to adjourn with the understanding that in order to facilitate action upon the tariff bill we shall avoid the usual holiday recess and go on with the consideration of the bill until it is disposed of.

Mr. COCKRELL. I think that the Senator from Iowa will see at once the propriety of changing the resolution as I have indicated. While as a matter of course we know there are not Senators enough here personally to make any binding obligation, I am satisfied that all on this side of the Chamber who are here will concur in the statement that we will oppose any of the ordinary motions for a recess during the Christmas holidays, and will join with the Senator from Iowa in securing continued consideration of the bill from the day of the regular meeting of Congress until final action is had upon it, as my friends here suggest, sitting on Fridays and Saturdays. In other words, we will devote the time assiduously to the consideration of the bill, and the Senator from Iowa may rest assured there will be no opposition to final action upon the bill on this side of the Chamber. There will be no attempt to delay action at all. Action will be facilitated by the course I suggest.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Iowa ask for the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. ALLISON. I ask for its present consideration.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the resolution be referred to a select committee to be appointed by the Chair, to consist of five Senators. I think that course would be better.

Mr. HALE. I suggest to the Senator from Iowa, in order to bring this matter to a head, that there is a great deal of force in the suggestions which have been made by the Senator from Missouri and other Senators upon that side of the Chamber. To come here at any time in the middle of November or soon afterwards would be a matter of great inconvenience, and it would be doubtful whether many Senators could be got here.

In view of the earnest, and so far as we have seen, unanimous, expression upon the other side in favor of an adjournment rather than a recess, and in view of what has been said by the Senator from Texas as to what would be his course in pushing forward the revenue bill at the regular session, I suggest to the Senator from Iowa whether it would not be wise, rather than to delay action or send the resolution to any committee, to substitute for his resolution for a recess one that shall provide for an adjournment instead, in accordance with the suggestions which have been made upon the other side.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I concur in the propriety of the suggestion made by the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Maine. Personally I have no special objection to coming here on the 19th of November, but I am satisfied that we should not have a majority here. I think it has been apparent to the country for the last several weeks that no tariff bill would be passed at the present session. The attempt to pass one on the part of the Senate has been in the estimation of the country but a farce, as it was very apparent that no bill could be passed at the present session. I do not care to continue any longer what in the judgment of the country is a farce.

If we are going to adjourn, let us adjourn to the regular term. We all know if we come back here in November there will be no tariff bill passed during the present session, and we might just as well adjourn at once; and we could have adjourned six weeks ago with just as much propriety as we can to-day, in my judgment. I have been ready myself, whenever a proper resolution should come, to vote for an adjournment.

Mr. ALLISON. Yesterday the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] during the course of his remarks took occasion to say that the Senate substitute was a mere temporary arrangement, that so far as the Senate was concerned it was a play, and the venerable Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY] now intimates the same thing.

Mr. President, I want to test the sense of the Senate, and both sides of it, as to whether it is our purpose to pass a tariff bill or not. My object in proposing a recess instead of an adjournment is that if it is necessary that we should pass a tariff bill, we shall go and do it. I have not the slightest doubt that there will be a full quorum of the Senate on this side on the 19th of November, no matter what happens. That is what I believe, and it is for that reason that I propose this recess. I know the views of Senators on both sides of the Chamber as respects this question. I will say frankly to both sides of the Chamber (because there is on this side a desire to adjourn as well as upon that) that—I see that the Senator from Alabama smiles when I make these remarks.

Mr. MORGAN. I was merely smiling at the hole some of our friends have dropped into. That was all. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I shall test the sense of the Senate on my resolution.

Mr. BROWN. Does the Senator mean that he will pass it by a majority without a constitutional quorum?

Mr. ALLISON. I mean to say that I shall take the sense of the Senate upon it.

Mr. MORGAN. I object to the consideration of the resolution this morning.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution goes over under the rules until to-morrow, and will be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8074) to provide for allotment of land in severalty to United Peorias and Miamies in Indian Territory.

The message also returned to the Senate, in compliance with its request, the bill (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 11599) to authorize the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington to be used as a *mail-bag repair-shop*, and for other purposes; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris; and it was thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore*.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, the resolution just now offered by the Senator from Iowa in charge of this bill [Mr. ALLISON], to take a recess until the 19th of November, alters the apparent situation, but not the real situation, as to legislating upon tariff taxation. The general in command orders the bugles to sound a retreat instead of a surrender, but his army disappears all the same. The fifteen days in November set apart for the discussion of this measure, made to take the place of twenty days between this and the 6th of November—the election day—had just as well be utilized now in debating and voting upon this bill.

I must be pardoned for still doubting as to the real motive of this movement. It seems to me that it is only a *finesse* by which to escape the disclosure of serious disagreement among Republican Senators as to the items of this almost inscrutable bill.

If the Republican majority in the Senate desire that the people shall pass upon the new issue they seek to inject into this campaign—differing widely from the issue presented by the Chicago convention, and still more widely from the platform that General Harrison has been building for his personal use—they should prove their faith by their works. They should stay in this Chamber and vote on this bill, and then the people, in their voting, would better understand who and what they are expected to vote for.

This Chamber has been deserted by the majority, who claim to be the earnest, enlightened, and only capable tariff reformers. They fled from their own bill; they have so managed that no vote on it is possible until the Senators are summoned back by the remnant who linger here to their post of duty, and the resolution just read is intended to excuse them from returning here to vote on this measure.

How long will it be assumed by the Senate that the people can be deceived by the thin varnish of appearances? None of the empty declarations of a purpose to relieve the country from a pressing and dangerous emergency that now echo through this deserted Chamber will strike the public ear with any other than a sense of their insincerity.

The Senate cannot afford to play at this farce in the face of an anxious people.

The people want to know if the subsidized class of monopolists who have so long grown rich upon their toil, through excessive and unjust taxation, are still to throttle them, and whether a day of relief will ever come.

The people have the power now, in this Chamber and in the other House, to get some relief under the Senate bill and greater relief under the House bill. Why not give it to them? Why do we wait until

after the elections to relieve the people unless the majority in the Senate hope that the elections may be construed into an excuse from performing a great duty to the country which the Senate bill confesses and the report of the Committee on Finance emphasizes.

Is the Senate waiting for an excuse to relapse into that state of inaction that has permitted bondholders, money kings, and subsidized parasites to fix their grasp on the taxing power as a means of money-making? The situation of the country was never more dangerous than it is at this hour. Fortunes ranging from $270,000,000 down to the common grade of $1,000,000 each have been amassed within the last twenty years by men who have produced not one dollar of wealth added to the common stock. Nothing but the state of our laws could have given such advantages to such men.

The money contributed to the campaign fund to perpetuate monopoly, under the name of protection, by the subsidized manufacturers, which the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] proved in his speech yesterday, may fasten on this country the perpetuation of this era of the domination of money over the moral power of a free people. If this is to be the result of this movement of the Senate to escape a plain and acknowledged duty, as it is confessed in the bill now before this body, we shall find that a fearful responsibility has been incurred.

November 19 is appointed in this resolve as the day of the expected death of the Senate bill. Unless the people speak out and demand relief in terms that will admit of no denial, they will not escape from the calamity. I say now that they need not expect relief for many years to come, unless in the November election they shall constrain the majority of the Senate at last to obey their often-expressed will.

Turning to the measure before the Senate, I find that the statement of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], first made by him, is that the Senate bill proposes to reduce the revenue an amount ranging from sixty-five to seventy-three million dollars. "We agreed (he says) that from sixty to seventy million reduction would be safe."

His next statement is, "That for the current year (1888–'89) upon the estimate made by the Secretary of the Treasury * * * there will be a surplus of but $19,000,000 in round numbers."

And that estimate of the revenue income, he alleges, is too large.

These statements present us a very urgent inquiry. Why should the Senate Committee on Finance be willing to create a deficit of $46,000,000 in the Treasury? The pressure on them surely must be very great to force them to such desperate legislation.

The reductions made in the Senate bill are stated as follows:

Sugar	$27,759,783.95
Tobacco	24,371,460.98
Whisky	7,000,000.00
Free-list	6,428,095.56
Total	65,559,340.49

Another estimate based on reduced importation of other merchandise puts the total reduction under the Senate bill at $73,668,994.30. This would leave $8,109,653.81 of reduction on all other dutiable imports than those I have just stated. What does this large reduction of revenue imply?

The answers are obvious:

First. That the existing taxes are too large by that amount ($73,668,994.30) and are an injustice to the people.

Second. That it endangers the financial condition of the country to gather such excessive sums into the Treasury.

Third. That it is the consumer and not the foreign producer who pays this tax.

These simple facts, presented in the Senate bill, as a substitute for the House bill, speak volumes as to the earnest progress the people are making and are forcing the majority in the Senate to make both in the reduction of high taxes and high protection.

In the Senate bill there is a very ingenious arrangement to save the grand aggregate of profits to the capitalists by shifting the protection, as it is called, from some classes of articles that now are heavily taxed to others on which it imposes still heavier duties; but there is cause for congratulation to the country that at last the united and consolidated array of all the tax-nurtured classes, as one man, or rather one corporation, against all the consumers of their productions, has been compelled to disintegrate. This bill selects some of them for slaughter, and, without mercy, offers them as a sacrifice to appease the hot indignation of the people.

The House and the Senate committee agree that excessive taxation exists, and they both agree with the President that "excessive taxation is unjust taxation." This agreement with the President goes still further. It is a distinct admission not only that the aggregate of taxation is excessive and unjust, but that the taxes are excessive on several articles of leading importance, such as sugar, rice, and jute. This agreement with the President both by the House and the Senate committee goes still further. They all agree that the financial condition of the country is seriously imperiled by the annual locking up of $120,000,000 in the Treasury, there to remain useless to the country; to tempt Congress to indulge in extravagant and corrupting expenditures in order to get it back again into circulation, and to prevent the starvation of enterprise and industry, from which it is was abstracted.

So anxious are the Senate committees as to the dangers that attend this piling up of money in the Treasury through excessive taxation that they turn aside from the discussion of the remedy for this great evil to berate the President for permitting any of it to remain in the banks where the people can have some chance to use it in moving their crops to market, alleging that such proceeding is unsafe as to the security of the fund. They and their candidate for the Presidency point out that it is even better to buy in our bonds at 129 cents on the dollar, an operation that is expensive and unjust thus to permit the people to have any access to their own money to be used in their daily business.

Remembering that the Republican party made our bonds payable only at the date of maturity, and that the Government could not force their redemption at an earlier date; remembering that the interest to be paid was changed from United States currency to gold, to favor the bondholder; that silver was demonetized by the Republican party, so that this payment of the principal of our bonds should only be made in gold; remembering that the custom-house receipts were pledged for the payment of the interest on our bonds, and that the Republican party has all the time refused to allow the tariff dues to be paid in United States legal-tender notes or in national-bank notes, all for the benefit of the bondholders, it is not to be expected that all the motives for continuing these extraordinary favors to that class have ceased.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALDRICH. Do I understand the Senator to say that the customs authorities refuse to receive legal-tender notes in the payment of customs duties?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I did not say that. I said you refused to pass a law to authorize it to be done.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is done now.

Mr. MORGAN. I know it is done. We have asked you time and again on this floor to pass such a law, and you would not do it because you were afraid.

Mr. ALDRICH. What is the occasion of passing it?

Mr. MORGAN. There is occasion always to have a sworn officer obey the law.

Mr. ALDRICH. Nobody has ever questioned the authority of the Secretary.

Mr. MORGAN. There is occasion for having a sworn officer of the Government obey the law, and if the law is such——

Mr. ALDRICH. Does the Senator mean to say that the present Secretary of the Treasury is violating the law by receiving legal-tender notes?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not propose to be diverted from this little enterprise now by side-bar questions such as the Senator from Rhode Island desires to put to me.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. MORGAN. No, I beg pardon. I do not wish to be interrupted.

That this favoritism to the bondholders has not ceased is manifest from the declarations of General Harrison, re-enforced by the report of the Senate Committee on Finance, that bonds should be bought in at 128 cents on the dollar, or at whatever price they may reach in the market, and that taxation should be maintained for that purpose. This is a very dangerous avowal of policy.

Is it not as easy to corner the market on the remnant of 4 percents due in October, 1891, as it was for "Old Hutch," as some person is affectionately styled in Chicago, to corner the wheat market and add the tears of the poor as a sauce to make bitter the bread they must eat sparingly to make him richer? Only declare the policy General Harrison has so recklessly avowed, that the surplus revenues must be used in buying our bonds not yet due at whatever is the market premium on them, and it is altogether easy to put up the rate to 130 or 135 if a few capitalists will organize a "trust" for that purpose. All the bondholders, whether in the "trust" or not, would share the benefits of such an opportunity.

In the double duty of buying in the bonds and avoiding the creation of an excited and advancing market, the Secretary of the Treasury has been compelled to demonstrate to the bondholders that they were not the only channel through which the people could still have some benefit from the money that the cruel tariff now in force dragged from their pockets and locked up in the Treasury. He has done this in a way that the laws enacted by the Republican party justified, and has saved the country from the rapacious greed of the bondholders and their friends in Congress.

One of three alternatives was forced upon the Secretary of the Treasury by the existing state of the laws, which the Democratic party have been unable to change, and he has chosen that which was least favorable to the "coupon clippers" and most favorable to the people. He was compelled to leave the surplus money in the vaults of the Treasury, where it was dead, or pay it out to bondholders at enormous premiums, or else leave it in the national depositories—the banks—where it is held under the ample security of our bonds, and could still be in reach of the demands of the people for means to carry on their business.

It is claimed that the Government saves something in the final interest account—in the long run—by paying this enormous premium to the bondholder. If that is true in a final balance-sheet, how does the result compare with the losses now being sustained by the people in having $128,000,000 taken from their business to-day in order to pay that sum, ten years or twenty years in advance of its maturity?

Whether or not the Government loses money by this operation, the people not only lose it at a fearful rate in their business, but they lose it in that hardest of all impositions upon commerce and industry which compels an encroachment upon the capital needed to carry on any form of trade by compelling them to pay the principal and interest to-day on debts that fall due twenty years after date. No legitimate business can stand such depletions. High taxation to compel the people to raise money to-day to pay the principal and interest of a public debt to mature twenty years hence is the least justifiable, the most oppressive, and the most cruel tyranny that was ever practiced in the name and under color of the laws. And to do this, to put money in the pockets of a legalized monopoly, or to enrich one class at the expense of another is an abuse of the taxing power for which there can be no excuse.

Notwithstanding the fact that General Harrison and the Chicago convention regard this as an inconvenient time to stop the raid of the bondholders and the subsidized classes upon the earnings of the people, and have no quarrel with the annual excessive taxation of $120,000,000, because the bondholders can so profitably absorb it at 29 per cent. premium on their bonds, and because the protected capitalists can realize from it much larger percentages in their profits, the country will welcome these eleventh-hour comers into the vineyard, the Senate committee, with their pruning-hooks and leather aprons, prepared to cut off this parasitical excrescence. They come very late, and angrily threatening to cut the tendrils of the true vine; but since the Democracy have at last forced them to work for the country instead of the lords of the vineyard, we will have a care that they shall do no serious harm.

They come protesting that their labors are all for the benefit of foreign capital and foreign pauper labor, who, they allege, are the real taxpayers, but they feel that this is an error which they have not yet the courage to recant in words.

In their speeches they cling to this error, but they abandon it in their bill and come squarely abreast with the President in declaring that unnecessary taxation is an unjust taxation, and that this excess of $73,668,999.30 is an unjust tax and must be pruned off, leaving the true vine to grow and bear fruit. The logic of their speeches is in deadly conflict with the logic of this Senate bill.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in a speech in New York last week, has so clearly stated the manner in which this Administration has used the surplus revenue that the present unjust and dangerous tariff has poured into the Treasury that I gladly avail of this opportunity to present it to the Senate. It is an answer to statements and questions put in the Senate by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], which, I trust, will convince him that he has not fully comprehended all the reasons that dictated this wise policy.

> The present Administration upon coming into power found many difficult problems to deal with. My predecessor was confronted at the outset by a general alarm as to the future of our circulating medium. This alarm was, as would now appear, premature, but it was very real, and threatened disaster. He met it by various devices, which averted the danger and allayed fear. Among these devices was the suspension of bond calls until such a state of things was reached that every kind of our money was received with confidence by our people in every part of the Union. On March 31, 1885, there was a surplus in the Treasury of $22,259,025.76. This surplus increased until on January 31, 1886, it was $79,689,862.24. The ownership of silver dollars by the Government also increased from $43,878,256 to $93,959,880. Thus the surplus formed a reservoir which caught and held that kind of money which the people did not wish to hold themselves. This temporary accumulation in the Treasury the then Secretary believed would keep those silver dollars which the people still held as valuable as they were when paid to them by the Government. The result justified his belief.
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> At this time confidence had then fairly well been restored, and bond calls began again, and were made in such amounts as to prevent any further accumulation of surplus until August, 1886, when I, then being Acting Secretary of the Treasury, deemed it prudent and wise to increase the amount of each call, the result of which was the reduction of the surplus on February 28, 1887, to $19,148,975.45, or $3,000,000 less than the Administration found it on assuming power two years before. When we began calling the bonds there were $194,190,500 of 3 percents subject to call. The last of these bonds was called in July 1, 1887, and at the end of that month we had a surplus of $45,698,594.15, to which the revenues were daily adding, and there were no bonds which could be called or bought, except on such terms as the holders thereof might demand. Money soon became in sharp demand, bank reserves were low, timid capital was seeking safety, business men became alarmed, and were pressing in their appeals to the Treasury Department to save the country from financial disaster; therefore all the remaining bonds needed for the sinking fund during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1888, were purchased between July 31 and October 1, 1887, at a total premium of $2,852,015.88, and thus the surplus was kept from increasing during those two months.
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> After the sinking-fund requirements had been met, there was no indisputably lawful method left to avert surplus accumulation. An increase of Government deposits in national-bank depositories was the only certainly lawful means left to save the country from the evils which a rapid withdrawal of the circulating medium from the channels of business might cause, consequently the banks were urged to become depositors, and thus put at least a portion of the daily surplus of the Government where it might be available for trade. As a further inducement to do this the percentage of deposits to the par value of the United States bonds, which were in all instances taken as security, was somewhat raised, but always was kept within the limits of absolute safety. In fact, the money thus deposited was and is far more amply secured than the money in the subtreasuries; there is no possibility of the loss of a dollar of these deposits. The banks, particularly in this city, at first were reluctant to take deposits, and for a time I feared that this resource might fail, but gradually more and more banks applied, until about $40,000,000 above what would have been the normal deposits under proper conditions was thus placed and made available for the country's business. I need not add that there was absolutely no favoritism in this matter; the banks were designated and deposits made in the order of the applications; political and personal friends and foes were treated exactly alike, the widest possible distribution was sought, until almost every State and Territory had one or more depositories, and could use some of the money which rightfully belonged to their business.
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> Our critics say: But you ought to have bought bonds; the law gave you ample power; you could have saved interest on the bonds bought. In reply, I say that considering the large sums of money which we knew that we must invest in bonds, and which we have since invested in them, I believe that had we attempted to spend $40,000,000 in the purchase of bonds between October 1 and December 31, 1887, the price of the bonds would have advanced much more than it did, and that the net result now would be a much greater outlay in premiums than the interest which would have been saved had the bonds been bought. I say further that many good authorities doubted the lawful power to pay premiums for any but sinking-fund purposes; the purchase was not absolutely necessary; and consequently we deemed it best to adopt the conservative course and keep within unquestioned law and await the advice of Congress, then to meet within two months. The question involved was the use of the public money in the payment of high premiums on the debt not yet due. I am accused of overcaution in doing this, of anxiety, to be sure, that it had the sanction of the law-making power; if this be a crime in an executive officer, then I am guilty.
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> Mr. Blaine says that a deposit of $1,000,000 is worth to the depository $50,000 a year. Let us see how this is. A deposit of $1,000,000 would require $910,000 in 4 per cent. bonds as the security, which, at 125, would have cost $1,137,500. This money loaned at 5 per cent. would have given the bank $56,875, if the bank had not become a depository, but, being a depository, it must keep 25 per cent. of the deposit as a reserve; so it can loan but $750,000, which produces $37,500 interest. Now add the interest on the United States bonds, which Mr. Blaine with horror says that the banks are allowed to collect. Four per cent. on $910,000 is $36,000, and you have $73,900 received by the depository; but from this should be deducted 1½ per cent., the yearly proportion of the 25 per cent. premium which the owner of the bonds must lose when the bonds are paid at maturity, twenty years from date of purchase, and there is left $62,525, the difference between which and $56,875 is $5,650, not $50,000, as stated by Mr. Blaine, as the reward to the bank for serving as the medium to put a million of dollars where it could be useful at a time of dire necessity.

The report of the Senate Committee on Finance is both a confession and a demonstration of the fallacy that the taxes on imports, sold in our markets, is a tax on the foreign producer and not on the consumer. No other subject but tax-fed monopoly would ever find logicians ready to uphold so bold and misleading an error as this. I rejoice that this committee has marched over the débris of this absurd proposition that has so long done service to injustice and wrong. If the existing revenues from taxation are too large by the sum of $73,668,999.30 annually collected, how do we give any relief to our people by reducing the tax; if it is true that it is the foreign producer and not the home consumer, who pays this tax? It can not possibly hurt our people to have high taxation on any imported goods if those taxes are, in fact, paid by the foreign producer. This committee solemnly declares, when it brings in this bill, the absurdity of this assertion. They explode it.

They give up this unnecessary tax because it is a burden on our people, for which there is no plea or excuse, and which they are aware that the people will no longer endure.

If it is true that high taxes make low prices by increasing home competition in home production, and if low taxes increase prices, why does this committee lower the taxes on any imported products unless they desire thereby to increase the price of that product. If a high tax lowers prices by increasing competition a low tax must raise them for the same reason. And yet this committee boasts of decreasing some taxes while it deplores increasing others. The proposition that the existing taxes are too high for the good of the people is admitted by this Senate bill just as it is by the House bill, and they both adopt the same rule of measuring the excess of taxation, namely, the sum that the revenue exceeds the utmost probable limit of the needs of the Government.

Both Houses also agree that a reduction of revenue from tariff taxation is a public necessity, and the Senate committee makes a boast of the reduction of tax rates on sugar, jute, and other crude materials in the following sympathetic and gratulatory statements:

> The high rates of duty which have been levied upon this important article of food have not successfully developed the sugar-producing industry of the United States. The great natural advantages which the producers of cane sugars in the tropical islands have over those of the United States preclude domestic competition upon equal terms. If it were not for the fact that parties interested in the production of sugar from sorghum or beets are confident *of the rapid* development of these industries in the United States the committee would recommend a still greater reduction in the rate of duty upon sugar, as the advantages of this reduction would be felt through a larger circle than any other which could be made in our tariff schedules.

The general drift, therefore, of both bills is towards lower rates of taxation. The ship is unmoored at last and floats with the current of popular feeling and of American policy. The ice nip in which it was frozen has thawed in the warm breath of an indignant people, and the Republican committee of the Senate are coming in "out of the cold."

The Republican minority of the House Committee on Ways and Means could neither be driven nor induced to formulate a bill to reduce taxes.

In debate they could not deny the necessity for such reduction, but the winter was still upon them. It was too early in the contest for them to feel sensibly that the country was growing hot for a relaxa-

tion of excessive taxation, and they flattered themselves that they could still defeat the progress of the people towards justice and equal rights under the laws, by debate, protestation, and inaction. They resolved to "hold the fort" as long as its walls would stand, and to refuse any line of action that would expose them and their "infant-industry" protégés to a contest in the open fields. It is well known to the country that the obstruction and delay of tariff reform, which began in 1880, was kept up through all the years to 1888, by the Republicans in the House, as a body, and that in the proceedings during this Congress on the tariff bill this delay has taken the form of obstinate resistance to any tax reform.

The Republicans of the House declined to act upon this great public duty which the Republicans of the Senate declare to be incumbent on them and too imperative to be neglected. They offered no relief to the country, they suggested no remedy; they only opposed all progress in that direction by objections to any plan the Democrats could suggest, and by compelling all the delay that was possible in the passage of the bill.

When the "Mills bill" reached the Senate, more than two months ago, there was anxious conference in the Republican circle. It was found that the pledges of Republican national conventions, the recommendations of Republican Presidents, and the findings and recommendations of a Republican tariff commission, and the speeches of Republican Senators were such solemn committals to the people of the country that the tariff taxes should be reformed and the revenue reduced, that the Senate could not afford to follow the lead of the Republicans in the House, and was forced, yes, literally forced, to take a step in the direction of tariff reform.

It is true that they never intended, and do not now intend, at this session of Congress, to go another inch in that direction beyond the presentation of this bill and its general discussion as a whole. They do not intend to pass this bill as it is now or hereafter. They do not intend to have it read now by sections for amendment, for that proceeding would disclose the cunning of the Republican right hand now supposed to be concealed from its left hand, in putting on the stage this masquerade of monopoly, disguised in the innocent appearance of fair dealing and justice to the country.

But this bill brought in by the Republican majority of the Senate is a great and notable triumph for the Democracy, because it is a broad and conclusive admission that the people need and demand the relaxation of high taxes and some concession from the favored classes. The Democracy have forced the Republican party to take position in favor of the people's right to make this demand.

We have forced them to declare their purpose (which I admit they do not intend shall be carried out) to reduce the revenues $73,000,000. How can we suppose that they intend to cut off $73,000,000 of revenue when they declare that the excess of revenues for the current year will only amount to $19,000,000? Such a declaration, made under such circumstances, has the appearance of being made under the duress of abject fear of the people. Such a conclusion would be inevitable if it was intended to pass this bill—the substitute—but for the fact that it is so easy and so just to the people, by changing another statute, to omit from the current annual expenses $50,000,000 now gathered from them to be put in the sinking fund for the redemption of our bonds. This $50,000,000 added to the $19,000,000 of surplus that the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] admits will be found in the Treasury on June 30, 1889, makes $69,000,000, a sum within a small fraction of the estimated reduction of the revenue to be secured by the Senate bill.

It would never do for the Republicans, at this time, to take from the shoulders of the people this useless and cruel tax of $50,000,000 a year, which is the alleged security for the redemption of bonds originally bought for 50 cents, or less, on the dollar and now held firmly at $1.28. Their nurslings, the bondholders, would kick out of the party traces and refuse the money to keep the procession moving, if the credit of their bonds should be lowered somewhat to the neighborhood of their par value.

Moreover, this neat excuse for unnecessary taxation carries with it as much, annually, as $2,000,000 of profits to monopolist classes, and would furnish about the most conclusive plea that can be stated why the unnecessary taxation of the people should cease. Why, then, should the Republican party create a plain necessity for the reduction of taxation $50,000,000 annually, by repealing the sinking-fund act? That would be too costly an experiment, so far as votes are concerned, in those vast areas of political influence over which the bondholders have almost undisputed sway.

They reason thus: "This sinking fund ought to cease; it is a useless, expensive, and dangerous law. But to cut it down now would increase the surplus in the Treasury by $50,000,000 each year, and would lose our friends, the bondholders, 2 or 3 cents on their premium of 28 cents on their bonds. They are too proud to pocket such a loss." They reason further: "If we find that our bill runs the revenue down to, or below, the sum of the annual surplus, then we can demand of the bondholders that they shall give up the pretended security of $50,000,000 they hold in the sinking fund and look to the security afforded by the good faith of 65,000,000 people for the redemption of the few bonds as yet unpaid.",

The adroitness of the Republican committee in holding the repeal of the sinking fund in reserve as a door of escape from any trouble that may come to them, and in counting this now as one of the current necessary expenses of the Government in order to find that large excuse for high taxation, shows a very high order of financial ability, of the sort that misleads with false appearances, and substitutes them for facts.

Why should we deceive the people with the pretense that $50,000,000 a year is taxed out of them to meet an obligation of honor, when its only effect is to "gild the refined gold" of our credit by placing a mortgage on our revenues to raise this vast sum yearly to pay to the holders of our bonds and increase the premiums on them? Is this done to furnish excuses to 65,000,000 of people why they should each pay nearly a dollar per annum on this account alone of excessive taxation?

If there were no selected classes to receive this subsidy thus forced from the tax-paying people through our tariff laws no sane man could imagine an excuse for this needless tax upon the people.

If this Senate bill could become a law, and if the surplus should be reduced to $19,000,000, and if there should be $46,000,000 of deficit in June, 1889, the sinking-fund tax will not live a day longer than the Finance Committee of the Senate can get its head under the ax. But until this is demonstrated and until the November storm has cleared the atmosphere the Republican party will fail and refuse to see that the $50,000,000 annual taxes to supply the sinking fund is unnecessary taxation upon this generation; that it takes from the capital invested in their business that enormous sum annually, and makes hard lines for them, and in unpleasant places, merely to enrich capitalists.

Passing from this general view of the situation—of which I have only time to give the faintest outline—every Democrat in the Senate would welcome the opportunity to enter with the Republican majority here into an examination and vote upon the items of this Senate bill as it is reported. But the majority here do not intend to have this discussion in time to inform the country as to the real merits of the bill so that they can consider it in the November elections.

This is a bold policy for such a majority to adopt—a majority of one in the Senate, of whom as many as three represent States that vote against the prohibitive subsidy features of all tariff taxation—a majority of one in the Senate that is already reversed, as to that one Senator, by the elections in a sovereign State of other Senators who are opposed to excessive taxation, to class legislation, and to monopoly in tariff laws.

This majority of one increases and intensifies the monopoly and subsidy of the present tariff laws by the most masterly ingenuity in reclassifying the schedules, in the Senate bill, and thus endeavors to appease General Harrison, who declares that he will not permit a single step to be taken in the direction of reducing the bounty to capital, that he is pleased to christen as the protection of labor. He declares that no part of the protection under the existing tariff shall be given up, and no step in that direction shall be taken if he is President. He may be satisfied, however, with the reduction of protection on sugar, rice, and jute, as it is merely transferred to and increased on wool and woolens, cotton goods, and metals.

This majority of one openly rebukes the Chicago convention for its string of vapid platitudes, and resorts at once to the destruction of all taxes on tobacco, and to the shipwreck of the system of whisky taxation, which that convention had decided to hold amongst the reserved forces to sustain the advanced line of the high protection phalanx. The convention ordered that this tax should not be resorted to unless for the purpose of relieving the attack on that part of the line. The Finance Committee at once cut down these taxes, which no man pays except to gratify a taste or fancy, and that is purely voluntary, and put the burden on the articles of necessity that rich and poor, healthy and sick, prosperous and miserable, must all have to maintain life, health, and comfort.

This majority of one in the Senate even dares to speak harshly of trusts and combines, although Mr. Blaine has said that they are private matters, not within the domain of proper legislation, and much more innocent than people generally suppose them to be.

But this majority of one, after bringing in a bill that is original in almost every line, and is intended to originate a complete system of tax laws in the Senate, disperse to the country and ascend the stumps to address "the jury," as the Senator from Connecticut declares. They leave us without a quorum to do business; they desert the forum where the jury of Senators should be found, to discuss before the masses, where no records are made, the intricacies of a tariff bill upon which the Senate can not act intelligently without full explanation. Not one Senator on this floor, not a member of the Committee on Finance, would venture to assert that he could explain the tangle of rates, classifications, and compound duties that this bill presents, so as to tell the country what will be their effect on the cost of goods imported or made at home, without patient research and free discussion of the items found in these nineteen general classifications.

A shepherd who has watched the stars every night of his life could as well be expected to give us a distinct idea of the individual stars of the Milky Way as that which a tax-paying farmer could gather in reference to the provisions of this bill from the confused blaze of light and

wisdom reflected upon the canvas just for a moment from the magic-lantern of the majority of the Senate Committee on Finance and is then turned away to flash again upon the political meetings.

If there had been at any time any expectation that the Senate would be permitted to vote on this bill before November, this absence of Senators would be a grave matter, and the country would take note of the situation. It is the Republican party that has required this delay in considering this bill, and not the individuals who comprise that party.

This expedient for longer maintaining the present unjust and ruinous tariff is of a piece with all the party tactics that have been resorted to by the Republican party for years.

Whatever their party platforms, Presidential candidates, Congressmen, and leading papers may say, or may have said. even in the form of solemn pledges to the people in favor of tariff reform, results only in broken promises.

When, in 1880 to 1883, the people demanded tariff reduction and reform, the demand was evaded by providing a Republican commission to investigate the subject of Federal taxation, and to report their recommendations to Congress. They were all the friends of a protective tariff as contradistinguished from a revenue tariff.

They were of that class who are now claimed to be the only people fit to consider a tariff bill—the friends of high protection. This startling arrogance on the part of the advocates of monopoly, that only protectionists should be permitted to deal with protection, found its supposed exclusive privilege to doctor the tariff in the appointment of that commission. In their report this vainglorious demand was fully complied with, and high protectionists were formed into a commission to reform the tariff. That commission could not defiantly shame the truth. They could not witness with indifference the real sufferings of the people. They reported a tariff measure far more moderate than the Mills bill, and urged its adoption for the following reasons, among others:

Early in its deliberations the commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defenses. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the commission regards not only as a due recognition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction. No rates of defensive duties, except for the establishment of new industries, which more than equalize the conditions of labor and capital with those of foreign competitors, can be justified. Excessive duties, or those above such standard of equalization, are positively injurious to the interest which they are supposed to benefit. They encourage the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises by rash and unskilled speculators, to be followed by disaster to the adventurers and their employés and a plethora of commodities, which deranges the operations of skilled and prudent enterprise.

Numerous examples of such disasters and derangements occurred during and shortly after the excessively protective period of the late war, when tariff duties were enhanced by the rates of foreign exchange and premiums upon gold. Excessive duties generally, or exceptionally high duties in particular cases, discredit our whole national economic system and furnish plausible arguments for its complete subversion. They serve to increase uncertainty on the part of industrial enterprise, whether it shall enlarge or contract its operations, and take from commerce, as well as production, the sense of stability required for extended undertakings. It would seem that the rates of duties under the existing tariff—fixed, for the most part during the war under the evident necessity at that time of stimulating to its utmost extent all domestic production—might be adapted, through reduction, to the present condition of peace requiring no such extraordinary stimulus. And in the mechanical and manufacturing industries, especially those which have been long established, it would seem that the improvements in machinery and processes made within the last twenty years, and the high scale of productiveness which has become a characteristic of their establishments, would permit our manufacturers to compete with their foreign rivals under a substantial reduction of existing duties.

Entertaining these views, the commission has sought to present a scheme of tariff duties in which substantial reduction should be the distinguishing feature. The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free-list, and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions at which the commission has aimed, is not less on the average than 20 per cent., and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent.

The Republican party resisted legislation in both Houses to carry out the views of this commission. Finally, in 1883, when driven to the wall, they passed the law as it stands now, in which there is legislation by a conference committee against the express votes of both Houses, and that legislation was all in the interest of high duties, of which the highest were on articles of prime necessity.

With constant effort since that time the Democracy have been unable to get the subject considered in the House, and the tariff of 1883 has remained intact. It is a sunken rock in the sea. Waves of popular indignation roll across it, but there it remains, immovable. Until the people have again spoken on this subject, in terms that will warn monopoly, conspiracy, trusts, and combines that they are no longer the disposers of their rights and the regulators of their industries, these favored classes will never yield any of their advantages, and will never consent to a tariff revision in the interests of the toiling masses. When the people elected Tilden they expressed their confidence in a statesman who went as far as Mr. Cleveland has ever gone in his efforts to reduce the taxation of the people. Mr. Garfield, a member of the Cobden Club, went as far as Mr. Cleveland in the same direction. Mr. Arthur urged his party to reform the tariff and reduce taxation, and Mr. EVARTS, while a Cabinet minister of the Hayes administration, under his responsibility, made a report to the first session of the Forty-sixth Congress, in which he said:

There is something in the Republic which gives an individuality to the people of the United States possessed by no other people to such a degree. Our inventive genius in mechanical appliances is original, and at least twenty-five years ahead of Europe. Our people accept innovation; are prepared for it by anticipation. Europeans do not. One workman in the United States, as will be seen from the foregoing extracts, does as much as two workmen in most of the countries of Europe; even the immigrant from Europe attains this progressive spirit by a few years' association with American workmen. We have no oppressed and stupid peasantry, little more intelligent than the tools they handle. All are self-thinking, self-acting, and self-supporting.

Within the last fifteen years we have demonstrated our ability by the brilliant development of our own resources to exclude by honest competition foreign manufactures, to a large extent, from our shores. The question which now peremptorily challenges all thinking minds is how to create a foreign demand for those manufactures which are left after supplying our home demands. We can not stand still, for the momentum of increase will soon become so great that it will push us outward anyway; to push us safely and profitably is of so much importance as to almost overtop all other questions of the hour.

The question appeals equally to the selfishness and patriotism of all our citizens, but to the laborer it appeals with tenfold force; for without work he can not live, and unless we can extend the markets for our manufacturers he can not expect steady work, and unless our manufacturers can undersell foreign manufacturers we can not enlarge our foreign market.

The first great truth to be learned by the manufacturers and workingmen is that the days of sudden fortunes and double wages are gone. We must realize the fact that ocean steam communication has annihilated distance and brought the nations face to face. This drawing together of the nations means equalization in trade, profits, wages, etc., the advantage being with those who soonest accept the situation, and show the most sensible continuity in the new paths of success.

But so firm is the grip of protected monopoly upon the power of taxation that nothing, it seems, can cause it to relax, and so imperious are their demands for the ownership of what they call the home market that they require that the tariff shall yield no revenue to the Government when its operations admit the products of any foreign country into competition with them. Not a step of progress in that direction has been made in reality since 1867, although in 1883, under the pretense of reducing the revenue, the increase caused by that act has endangered the country to a frightful degree.

It is the fixed purpose of the monopolists to stand by the tariff of 1883 with all its dangerous consequences, and this bill and its history prove the fact. This Chamber would not be deserted by the high-tax Senators to give them an opportunity to endeavor to control the people in their votes if they did not intend that excessive taxation should still continue to pour into the Treasury more than $100,000,000 a year of surplus revenue and more than $300,000,000 a year into the coffers of the protected capitalists.

The present tariff in all its essential features is intended to be permanent. If the surplus is reduced $73,000,000 a year, it will be done only on the condition that this sum shall be multiplied by three in its advantages to the protected capitalists, and at the expense of a suffering people, so far as the Republican side of this Chamber can control legislation.

In any European state a surplus revenue of $120,000,000 annually, as a fixed income, would breed wars of conquest and aggrandizement that would destroy the people. When our bonded debt is extinguished, or even while we are waiting for its maturity, what will we do with this constantly increasing store of money?

What more dangerous thing could exist in our country than the fixed certainty of the yield of this vast sum to the Treasury every year, taxed from all consumers to pay a few producers for engaging in pursuits that yield naturally large returns for skilled labor?

Already the laborers clamor and strike for a larger dividend in the tax-bonus that was alleged to be raised to pay for their toil. The owners of the labor-saving machines claim five parts out of six for what they contribute to the production. They differ; the labor ceases until want has compelled a resumption of work. In the mean time the high tariff has forced out competition, and the scarcity of supply has forced the home market up many points. The strike has starved the workingmen into submission, while the capitalist, the owner of the machines, has greatly increased his wealth by waiting for a higher market.

How often has it turned out that strikes have been provoked by the owners of plants and machinery in order to produce this very result? Let our laboring men answer.

It is easier, safer, more respectable to have the operatives desert a factory where "their room is good company" than it is to lock them out when they are working contentedly for subsistence. If all the money that has been made by capitalists in the rise of prices for their productions, in consequence of strikes and lock-outs, could have been distributed to their employés, millions of hungry men, women, and children would shout for joy.

If the laborer could receive his fair share of the bounty given to the capitalists by unequal tax laws, the men who suffer most from the unjust exaction would feel compensated, in great measure, for the wrongs they suffer. The people understand all this. They know the causes that breed discontent amongst operatives of all classes in this land, where all others are contented and live in peace.

It is a reproach to a free government that such troubles should exist and that they should be, as they are, beyond the powers of the civil authorities to control them. They could not exist if a rankling sense

of injustice did not goad the sufferers into resistance, and if the temptations to speculation in human labor did not cause that injustice. These evils and many others quite as great are the fruits of the tariff of 1883. Yet the Republicans in this body make concerted effort to delay the reformation of a system that has produced those results every day it has existed, and the still more dangerous result to the people at large of a Treasury loaded to congestion with money that is the life-blood of all industry, the dangerous fruit of unjust taxation.

My wish on this occasion is for thorough examination and enlightened votes on the items of this bill. In one great matter the avowed purpose of both sides of the Chamber is the same. We agree that the inflow of surplus revenues must be stopped. That one object is of sufficient importance to the country to demand the earnest and unceasing labors of every representative of every State on this floor, as it did gain the untiring labors of the representatives of every Congressional district in the other House of Congress.

Why should we not, at least, make one effort to agree on some plan that will remove this threatening evil from our financial situation? But the field of labor and progress towards a remedy is abandoned in the hunt for political power, and the ground so dearly won in the House must be lost to the people. Nothing of the promised discussion and action upon Federal taxation remains in reach of the Senate but the criticisms of the House bill and of the Senate bill, and of the Democratic party and the Republican party, all intended as mere stump speeches to affect the pending elections. The country may, in the enthusiasm of party rivalry, forgive us for this indifference to a great and pressing duty, but I can not repress the conviction that the majority, at least, should be here to press this measure to a vote, if they intend to pass it, and let the other House consider the question whether we can come to an agreement in conference.

We can not plead the excuse for our delay that the people will in November settle the question as between the Mills bill or the Senate bill. Their vote will not change any vote in the Senate, not that the Senate does not respond as readily as the House to the will of the people, but for the reason that the Senate bill has never received a party indorsement outside of this Chamber; and it is notoriously a radical departure from the Chicago platform of the Republican party. If Mr. Cleveland is re-elected this point will be made by every Republican Senator against the Mills bill and in favor of the Senate bill.

The people are not settling the controversy for the Senate between the Mills bill and the Senate bill. That subject will be as open for discussion in December as it is now, and I can see no reason why the discussion should not proceed now as well as then.

I will not assume that I am so informed in the details of values, prices, qualities, classifications, and all the varied information relating to imported goods, and goods that compete with them, as to enable me to expound the occult mysteries of the Senate bill. I doubt if any one Senator on the Committee on Finance knows all these things. They examined interested people, who are experts, to get the facts on which these taxes are based. That evidence is still in the hands of the printers, so we must decide first and hear the evidence afterwards as to whether this is, as is alleged, the best first draught of a tariff bill that ever came before the American Senate.

The Senate will agree with me that the absence of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] from the Senate is a deplorable loss, as is the absence of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL]. Mr. BECK'S views on this question are stated by him in a way that precludes any efforts to improve them, or to make his arguments more powerful or convincing. His contribution to the report of the minority enables us to survey a field with comparative ease that would be otherwise crowded with difficulties. He had not seen the bill, I think, when his report was written, but he was informed as to its general tenor and provisions.

I have felt that we could not add much to the weight of his argument until we could enter upon a consideration of the bill, item by item, and then we could only give specific application of the facts and doctrines he has stated in a general way to the provisions of the bill in detail. The tables prepared by Mr. Switzler and submitted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] are upon the best expert authority to which we could resort. They do not give the comparative taxation of separate articles of the respective classes of goods, but are sufficiently in detail to enable us to understand the general drift and purpose of the authors of the Senate bill.

The first and most distinctive feature in both the House and Senate bills is the free-list. Amongst all the absurdities that are uttered in the discussion of our tariff system among the grossest of them is that which imputes to the Democratic plan of taxation the epithet (for such it is intended to be) that it is a free-trade plan.

Equally absurd is the notion that the Republican plan is for protection throughout, and contains no elements of free trade. A mere phrase can not be invented that will fully describe the plan of taxation of either party. As near an approach to it as I can make would describe the Democratic plan as giving equal justice in the tariff laws to every American industry, while the Republican plan seeks to confer upon certain selected industries, in certain favored sections, peculiar advantages in money-making at the expense of all other industries and of consumers of the subsidized productions.

As to free trade, it is a part of every tariff law that was ever enacted by Congress. No tariff law has been without a free-list—not articles omitted from taxation by inadvertence, but a list of articles put on the free-list by the force of the statute prohibiting their taxation. The man who would put every imported article of foreign production on the free-list is a free-trader, and nobody else is a free-trader in theory or practice. As to the manner of supporting the Government by taxation, the free-trader and the prohibitionist of importations of foreign goods stand on the same ground precisely. Neither of them wants any revenue collected on imports, and both are, therefore, thrown back upon direct or internal taxation for the money to support the Government. Thus do we see, again, in the circuit of political movements, that "extremes meet." To the extent that any Senator recommends and votes for placing any imported article of foreign production on the free-list that Senator is a free-trader.

The free-list under the present tariff comprises many hundreds of articles classed in section 2503 of the Revised Statutes under 332 general classifications. Of these many hundreds of articles as to which free trade is compelled under existing laws, more than two-thirds of them are either grown or manufactured in the United States, or else we have in our own country other articles of like kind that are quite as useful.

Will any Republican Senator claim for his party that it is not responsible for this immense movement towards free trade by which we give up all revenue on imported goods that were valued during the last fiscal year at more than $300,000,000? Will any such Senator pretend that under the Republican treaty of 1871 with Great Britain, and the Republican act of Congress of 1873, we do not yield to Canada every year $20,000,000 of taxation by the free-trade plan of letting her goods pass to and fro through our country, free of all duty, for the benefit of a few railroad corporations?

Did not the Republican President and Senate ratify a treaty with Mexico, which the Democratic House of Representatives, I am pained to admit, has failed to put in force, by which not less than $50,000,000 of Mexican productions, now heavily taxed, would come in free of duty? Have we not yielded more than $10,000,000 a year of duties to Hawaii, in order to get her sugar and other productions free of duty? With all this history of the tremendous strides towards free trade which the Republican party have made in treaties and in legislation, when the Democrats had scarcely a voice in Congress, how can their leaders expect to blind the people so that they can not discover their inconsistencies by standing in the fog they have created and ringing their alarm bells to warn the country against the Democracy as a malign conspiracy of free-traders?

And this present Committee of Finance "cry aloud and spare not" against the Democratic party and the Mills bill as the evil machinators of free trade, while they quietly add to the existing free-list under the present tariff forty-two classifications of articles which embrace many hundreds of distinctive items. The following is the free-trade side of the Senate bill:

ADDITIONS TO FREE-LIST, SENATE SUBSTITUTE.

Acorns, raw, dried or undried, but unground.
Baryta, sulphate of, or barytes, unmanufactured.
* Bees-wax.
* Books and pamphlets, printed exclusively in languages other than English.
* Braids, plats, flats, laces, etc., for ornamenting hats, etc.
* Bristles, raw or unmanufactured.
* Bulbs and bulbous roots, not edible.
Chicory root, raw, dried or undried, but unground.
* Coal, slack or culm.

The chairman of the committee said that was a mistake, not a clerical mistake; no, not clerical; that is to say, it was a mistake of judgment on the part of the committee putting that in there. As soon as they heard from West Virginia and that the hair was rising on the heads of some of their Republican friends out there, they took it back and apologized for it, calling it a mistake.

Mr. GEORGE. What is it?

Mr. MORGAN. "Coal-slack or culm" on the free-list. That was a mistake, but it was a mistake not of the printer but of the men who wrote the article that the printer was to set up. I continue the addition to the free-list:

* Coal-tar, crude.
Curling-stone handles.
* Currants, Zante or other, dried.
* Dandelion roots, raw, dried, or undried, but unground.
* Eggs' yolks.
* Feathers and downs of all kinds, crude and unmanufactured.
Jute.
Jute butts.
Manila.
* Ramie.
Sisal-grass.
Sunn.
* All other textile grasses or fibrous substances, unmanufactured or undressed.
* Floor matting, Chinese, known as.
* Grease and oils, used commonly in soap-making or wire-drawing.
* Human hair, raw or uncleaned, and not drawn.
* Mineral waters, not specially enumerated.
* Molasses, testing not above fifty-six degrees.

* Olive oil, for manufacturing or mechanical purposes.
* Nut oil, or oil of nuts.
Opium, crude or unmanufactured.

I believe that was a mistake; that was in the report, but was not in the bill; that was a change of opinion of course, unless the bill was written before the report was—a change of opinion anyway.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is in both the bill and report.

Mr. MORGAN. Opium, crude or unmanufactured?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORGAN. I beg pardon; I thought it was stated the other day that it was not, in reply to a remark of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. VANCE].

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator mistakes.

Mr. MORGAN. The list continues:

* Potash, crude carbonate.
* Potash, caustic or hydrate.
* Potash, nitrate of.
* Potash, sulphate of.
* Potash, chlorate.
* Rags, all not enumerated.
* Hemp seed.
* Rape seed.
* Sponges.
* Sand.
* Tar and pitch, of wood.
* Turpentine, spirits of.

Let us look at this free-trade schedule of the Committee of Finance and see whether it was intended to apply to articles not grown or manufactured in the United States.

I have referred to these articles by a star in front of each. What about spirits of turpentine? What country makes more than we do?

Mr. ALLISON. No country.

Mr. MORGAN. What about bees-wax? Why put bees-wax on the free-list when every old lady in the United States who has a few beehives can melt out a little bit of wax and take it to the country store and buy a few spools of thread to sew up the cloth that she spins on her spinning-wheel and weaves on her home-made loom? Bees-wax is useful in many manufactures, and yet it is the most domestic of all domestic industries that I know anything of, and when you put that on the free-list you strike at the income of almost every poor old lady in the South, to say the least of it, and I expect a great many in the North.

This measure has very little consideration for that class of people. They are not known to exist in the world, so far as this bill is concerned, and Providence might just as well have omitted the unnecessary act of creating them, for, after all, they have got to take care of themselves and support everybody else. The toils that they perform every day around their households they are to get no benefit from, and they are discriminated against in favor of wealthy men like Jay Gould and Vanderbilt, who never planted a grain of corn or of wheat in the world, and yet they have run their fortunes up until Jay Gould's is said to be $277,000,000, and God knows how much Vanderbilt's is, for they have got the practice now of hiding how rich they are.

If George Washington or Thomas Jefferson had supposed that the Republic of which they were laying the foundation could be so far abused in the warping of the Constitution of the country as to open the seams through which this vast flood of money could pour into the pockets of single individuals they would have shut the door on them and have tried some other plan. It was entirely unexpected and unanticipated that in a country of freedom and equality of privileges and of rights and immunities of every kind, the law could be framed in such a manner, through the pressure of a political party whose chief aim it is to make their friends rich, as that one man in this country, without ever laboring or toiling or contributing anything whatsoever to the general good of mankind, could amass a fortune according to law of $277,000,000.

I look upon it, as I think this world must, with utter amazement. There is not a crowned monarchy in this world that can confer upon one of its subjects by all the monopolies it can put within his reach and by all the exclusive privileges and honors it can confer, the opportunity or the ability to do that which this Republican party have provided in favor of men like Jay Gould and Vanderbilt through their system of the abuse of the Constitution of the country.

Mr. GEORGE. They subscribe to the campaign fund.

Mr. ALDRICH. Which campaign fund?

Mr. MORGAN. It does not make any difference to me which. I am here not to deal with political parties or political partisans or that celebrated gang of upstarts who are called political leaders, but I am here as an embassador from the State of Alabama for the purpose of trying to rectify the laws so that these men can not use this power and can not find it to be used for these corrupting political ends, and so that every man in the United States shall have an equal, a fair, and a just opportunity to rise under the smiles of Providence to the true dignity of his manhood and to the enjoyment of the benefactions that He has provided for us all.

I do not ask which party they subscribe to. The Senator from Rhode Island may want to know. I do not. It makes no difference in what party these things appear. If, in looking upon the statute-books of my country, I find that the laws as they exist are capable of bringing about such results as these, it is my duty not to desert this Chamber and go off to make speeches in aid of these subscriptions of fat fried out of protected manufacturers, but it is my duty to stand here in this Senate and look these laws over night and day, and Sunday, if need be, until we have brought relief to a suffering people. That is my duty, and that is what I am trying to perform.

This committee, however, of free-traders—for what is a free-trader but a man who wants goods imported without duty?—add forty-two classifications of imported articles to the three hundred and thirty-two already admitted free of duty by Republicans in Congress, and to all the goods of Canada and nearly all coming from Hawaii, amounting in value annually to more than $293,000,000, while all dutiable imports amount to $450,325,321.

Largely more than half of the goods imported from foreign countries into the United States are admitted free of duty under the Republican law of 1883, and this committee adds hundreds of articles under forty-two classifications to that list, and yet they have the assurance to rise in this Chamber, man after man, and denounce this side of the Senate as being free-traders.

I will read an extract on that subject from their report on page 28:

A free-trade country may be properly described as one which does not impose protective duties upon importations. Lord Salisbury lately defined a free-trader as one who is opposed to protection. Mr. David A. Wells recently said, "Free trade, as an economic principle or politico-commercial system, is the direct opposite to the so-called principle or system of protection." If these definitions are correct the promoters of this bill are self-confessed free-traders, and the denial that they are engaged in a "crusade of free trade" comes too late, for the American people are not likely to forget the lessons of 1841 and the political rallying cry of "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42."

I can imagine what must be the feelings of a man who has pocketed a fifty-dollar bill that belongs to somebody else and is going off with it, and as he passes out of view he meets a friend whom he reproaches as being a thief. The friend points to the fact, "You have got $50 of stolen money in your pocket; why do you call me a thief?" "Because if you had had the opportunity you would have stolen $100." Here is this committee carrying this enormous free trade in foreign goods making no objection to it, or very slight, and adding forty-two classifications of articles to it, turning around in their report and engaging in new definitions of what a free-trader is; something that they put up that they think will fit our side in order to get the chance to apply to us what they believe to be an unpopular epithet, and yet they are passing through the Senate here and through history as the champions of a system that brings in more than $293,000,000 of values a year without the imposition of a single cent of duty.

And when Mr. Cleveland asked them to reinstate the tariff upon Canadian goods, and the House passed a bill that it should be done, amounting to not less than $20,000,000 a year, and when that would seem to be necessary as a measure of reaction or retaliation against Canada on account of ill-treatment to us under an alleged existing provision of the treaty of Washington, the House passed the bill and it came over here and went to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which I happen to be a member, and there it sleeps the sleep of death. Why? There are two reasons for it. Twenty million dollars a year would have added too much to the surplus revenue, which would have made a necessity for cutting it down a little more, and the blessed railroad corporations, that have got so much fat to be fried out of them yet for the benefit of campaign purposes, would have lost money! That is a plain statement, but it is nevertheless absolutely true.

Why did the committee add anything to the free-list unless the people needed the relief they give them, small as it is, and partial, until it sickens the sense of justice? Why did they not propose to repeal the existing free-list, so far as it includes any articles that are produced in the United States, or for which we can produce a good substitute, if they intend to protect American industries simply because they yield home productions? Hides, tan-bark, tannin, charcoal, horns and hoofs of cattle, indigo, lemon and lime juice, asbestus, sulphur, drugs, aluminium, cotton, eggs, fire-wood, fresh fish, goat-skins, logs, railroad ties, and great number of articles are on the free-list of 1883 and are produced in our country.

Not only are these left on the free-list by these avowed enemies of free trade, but they add to the list forty-two classifications of articles, all of which but seven are produced in the United States. Driven into this corner by their substituted tariff bill, they resort to new definitions of what they call free trade, and attempt to convict us of political heresy for practicing what they preach. It is a vain thing to attempt to convict the Democracy of evil intentions when our accusers do precisely what we are doing, except that we are trying to distribute and adjust taxation so as to save the people and they are trying to increase the riches of the capitalists at the expense of the people.

It is with much satisfaction that I present the list of articles free of duty which the Mills bill proposes to add to the existing free-list in a table that shows the present rate of duty on each article. In that list is found the highest merit of the Mills bill. That is taxation remitted, and every human being in the United States shares in the relief just given. I will put this table as an appendix to my remarks. Under this

list duties to the amount of $22,189,505.48 are cut off. They are not merely transferred by increased duties to other articles.

Three-fourths of this sum was paid by manufacturers on wool and tin-plate, two articles that are of prime necessity to working people and their families. Wool is produced everywhere in the farming and grazing districts of the United States, and a very large proportion of it is grown in the sheep ranges of the South and West, and at no cost to the wool-growers for grazing, except the care of the shepherds. Tin-plate is used in every household throughout the country, and in canning goods, fish, meats of every variety, and in all our climates. No other articles could have been selected which, in their growth and production, are less sectional than these, although they are much more necessary for general use in the North than they are in the South.

Raiment next to food, and the cooking of food next to both, are things that are elementary in the living of our population, and a reduction of taxes of $5,706,435.89 annually on tin-plates, of $5,899,816.63 on wool, and of $12,332,211.65 on woolen goods, is a blessing to the industrial classes of the country, the memory of which will not fade. Its enjoyment may be postponed or defeated, but it will come in the near future. The people will have this relief, while this large reduction will still leave wool and woolen fabrics under such shelter against foreign competition that their producers will still be amongst the most fortunate of the bounty-fed industries in the United States.

Until the discussion of this bill reaches the stage where the items are being separately considered it will not be practicable, within limits of debate that are reasonable, to point out fully the application of this bill to each particular branch of trade or industry.

We well understand that the discussion will not be permitted to reach this stage at this session of Congress, and I will reserve the expression of my views as to the separate items of the Senate bill until they are respectively called for the action of the Senate. But the summary of results I will now state will, for the present, show sufficiently the changes made by the Senate bill.

Tables carefully prepared by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics give this comparison of the average ad valorem duties under the present law, and of those proposed by the House bill and Senate bill respectively, on the different classes of dutiable imports under each:

Chemicals: Present law, 32.83 per cent.; House bill, 29.11 per cent.; Senate bill, 28.72 per cent.
Earthen and glass ware: Present law, 59.56 per cent.; House bill, 53 per cent,; Senate bill, 57.82 per cent.
Metals: Present law, 40.77 per cent.; House bill, 41.12 per cent.; Senate bill, 41.12 per cent.
Woodenware: Present law, 18 per cent.; House bill, 29.32 per cent.; Senate bill, 18.88 per cent.
Sugar: Present law, 78.15 per cent.; House bill, 63.41 per cent.; Senate bill, 41.02 per cent.
Tobacco: Present law, 83.32 per cent.; House bill, 83.32 per cent.; Senate bill, 70.36 per cent.
Provisions: Present law, 24.33 per cent.; House bill, 23.34 per cent.; Senate bill, 23.58 per cent.
Liquors: Present law, 72.64 per cent.; House bill, 72.64 per cent.; Senate bill, 72.61 per cent.
Cottons: Present law, 39.99 per cent.; House bill, 39.07 per cent.; Senate bill, 40.74 per cent.
Hemp, flax, and jute: Present law, 28.09 per cent.; House bill, 24.81 per cent.; Senate bill, 35.47 per cent.
Wool and woolens: Present law, 58.80 per cent.; House bill, 40.08 per cent.; Senate bill, 66.12 per cent.
Silk goods: Present law, 49.71 per cent.; House bill, 49.71 per cent.; Senate bill, 50.67 per cent.
Books and papers: Present law, 22.14 per cent.; House bill, 22.07 per cent.; Senate bill, 23.51.
Sundries: Present law, 26.86 per cent.; House bill, 24.78 per cent.; Senate bill, 28.20 per cent.

But the House bill puts on the free-list merchandise valued at $70,443,012.64 on which duties are collected under the present law, and the Senate bill adds to the present free-list merchandise valued at $26,331,815.38, as follows:

Chemicals: House bill, $4,535,557.96; Senate bill, $2,873,972.27.
Earthen and glass wares: House bill, $30,789.97.
Metals: House bill, $18,323,612.91.
Woodenware: House bill, $6,679,202.12.
Sugar: House bill, $000.00; Senate bill, $5,336,364.15.
Provisions: House bill, $3,334,013.86; Senate bill, $1,232,695.
Cottons: House bill, $000.00; Senate bill, $172.00.
Hemp, flax, and jute: House bill, $14,490,501.40; Senate bill, $9,004,675.
Wool and woolens: House bill, $18,205,987.97; Senate, $000,000.
Sundries: House bill, $4,842,346.45; Senate bill, $7,884,026.98.

These facts easily enable us to discern the conclusion to which they all point, that the concessions made to the tax-payers in the cost of sugar, whisky, and tobacco are more than balanced by the increased exactions on other articles that are indispensable to human comfort and even to human life.

I am not disposed to make complaints because the section of country in which I live is denied a full share in the discriminating favors of the Government. With such resources as we have and with a world-wide monopoly in iron and coal, yellow-pine timber, and cotton, if we choose to use the blessings of Providence to extort money from other less favored sections, it is much the safer policy for us to hasten slowly through the natural growth of our wealth than it is to lift one great industry high above another by the artificial assistance of acts of Congress.

We have a basis of prosperity, laid by the hand of the Creator, that will never be taken from our country or decreased in its yield of income that enables us to grow rich and strong without being constantly appealing to Congress to tax other sections for our advantage. So that it is not the amount of money we are to lose that causes me to enter my protest against the discrimination against sugar, rice, and cottonties and cotton-bagging in the bill. The great body of Louisiana sugars rate in color below No. 13 Dutch standard.

Sugars under No. 13 Dutch standard, and testing 75 per cent. of saccharine matter under the polariscope, are now taxed $1.40 per 100 pounds. The Senate bill reduces the tariff on this class of sugars to 70 cents per 100 pounds, or one-half, and on sugars above No. 13 Dutch standard in color to $1.37½ per 100 pounds, just one-half. The refiner has nothing to do but to raise the color of the sugar we import to or above No. 13 Dutch standard, and make 100 per cent. on the duties he pays on his sugar without reference to its saccharine strength.

The sugar producer here is between the monopoly of the refiner on the one hand and the competition of the Cuban producer on the other, and the consumer who will always buy the cleanest looking sugar he can find at a price within his means will buy of the refiner and compel the producer to come down in his prices. An evil of the same sort is in the present law, but it is somewhat checked by the fact that it requires twice the sum to control the market for low-grade imported sugars under the existing law that would be required under the Senate bill. This is a terrible descent from the autocratic position assumed and carried out by the committee of conference in 1883, so well stated by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] in his minority report, in which he says:

Mr. MORRILL might very well observe in this interview that the restoration of these duties even in such a conference committee was an unpromising risk, because if Senators had known half of what had been done against their known wishes by their own conferees, instead of the bill being passed as it was, by a vote of 32 to 31, it would have been defeated by an overwhelming majority, and the condemnation of the conference would have been too pronounced even for them to have ventured into the newspapers to quarrel over their action. Perhaps the worst part of their conduct was not referred to by either of them, and that was in regard to the duties on sugar.

The House had never acted upon that schedule, as their bill shows, but the Senate had in the most emphatic manner determined that the tax on sugar between No. 13 and No. 16 Dutch standard should not exceed $2.40 per 100 pounds. It had fixed the tax on sugar under No. 13 Dutch standard at a satisfactory rate; but that class of sugar was simply raw material for the refiner, not being used in any form except by them, and $2.40 was, by a yea-and-nay vote of the Senate, as is shown by the RECORD, after full discussion, fixed as the proper tax upon sugar between 13 and 16 Dutch standard. Mr. MORRILL and others protested that it was too low, and that foreign competitors would interfere with domestic refiners.

Some of us who had strongly urged $2.40 as a proper rate, believing that it might possibly cripple our domestic refiners in their operations, agreed to $2.50, after being assured by Senators on the other side, especially by Senator MORRILL, that $2.50 per hundred would be entirely satisfactory. I hope the RECORD of that debate will be turned to. It will be found on pages 2548 to 2555 of the RECORD of that session. Yet the conference committee deliberately increased the rate of taxation upon imported sugar between 13 and 16 to $2.75 per hundred, thereby giving to the sugar refiner an absolute monopoly of the sugar-refining business. They thus laid the foundation for the trusts which have been so much and so justly complained of by the country against the domestic refiners of sugar. That act on the part of the Senate conference, which was not only wholly unjustifiable and unwarranted but in violation of pledges they had given, has cost the consumers of sugar in this country not less than $8,000,000, while the fact that they had made such a change in the conference committee was carefully concealed from the Senate, as the record will show.

If the Senator from Kentucky has made a true statement about this matter, Mr. President, we begin to understand the power of monopoly in its influence upon the Senate of the United States. When a tariff bill gets into conference between the two Houses and high protectionists in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, whether Democrats or Republicans, conclude that they will violate the express votes of both bodies, or of one body, and they conclude that they will violate the pledges that they have given to their brother Senators and raise sugar from $2.50 per hundred pounds to $2.75 per hundred pounds, and thereby make it possible for $8,000,000 to be leeched out of the common people of the United States, it is not worth while in the face of facts like these to deny that the Senate of the United States is the subordinate slave of the subsidized monopolies of the United States. I come to the center to make the declaration and sustain it by the facts stated in this report by the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator from Alabama allow me to say a few words in response to the statement he has now made?

Mr. MORGAN. After I get through, yes.

Mr. ALDRICH. I should be glad to say a word now.

Mr. MORGAN. If it is in denial of anything I have stated here, of course the Senator is at liberty.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. MORGAN. I expect I had better get through and let the Senator take his own time to reply.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Alabama declines to yield.

Mr. ALDRICH. I want to enter a denial now.

Mr. MORGAN. Of the facts stated by the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORGAN. He is not here. God grant that he were here. When the life of that man shall have passed out, and there might have

been some apprehension awhile back that it was about to be demanded of him, the United States of America would not find among its own native-born sons one that it could not spare with less regret than this adopted Scotchman, who came to us a boy. His heart is with the people of this country. He takes the Democratic view of the Constitution of the United States, which gives to every man in this land an equal right to rise by his own energies and his own abilities.

While he is detained from the Chamber by sickness his nature chafes and frets at the thought that he is not able physically to be here to take a hand in this great battle between the people and the monopolies. His statements, sir, made in a written report will be received by the people of the United States until the itemized facts are produced and the witnesses appear who are to deny those statements, and when I repeat from him what he solemnly utters, I always feel that I have under my feet a foundation that is immovable.

The sugar monopoly is made easier by the Senate bill, and the consumer of nearly every pound that is made will pay the refiner in addition to his mercantile profit from 75 to 100 per cent. profit on all the duties he pays on imported sugars. The committee abandon the protection of sugar. Why they did not put it on the free-list is a question alone for the consumers to examine into since the producers are openly deserted by them. This is what the committee say on that subject, and it is a point of very considerable importance:

The high rates of duty which have been levied upon this important article of food have not successfully developed the sugar-producing industry of the United States. The great natural advantages which the producers of cane sugars in the tropical islands have over those of the United States preclude domestic competition upon equal terms. If it were not for the fact that parties interested in the production of sugar from sorghum or beets are confident of the rapid development of these industries in the United States the committee would recommend a still greater reduction in the rate of duty upon sugar, as the advantages of this reduction would be felt through a larger circle than any other which could be made in our tariff schedules.

There is a clear abandonment on the part of this committee of any duty supposed to rest upon them heretofore to give any protection to sugar, because they say that they have tried it, and the production of sugar can not be improved by high rates of taxation. So that Southern agricultural production is dropped out of the scheme of protection entirely. I repeat, why is it that the consumers of sugar throughout the United States shall not demand that sugar shall be put on the free-list, the Republicans, who have professed heretofore to be the nursing mother of all protected industries, having abandoned this infant to the inclemency of the season? This is retaliation upon a Southern industry, so meant, so intended, and so avowed.

I can not more truly or more forcibly present the retaliation of the Senate bill upon the cotton-growers of the country than by quoting from the report of the minority of the committee:

Cotton-ties also receive careful consideration by the majority. It is not enough that the most formidable and insolent trust which ever laid its hand upon the throat of honest labor, threatening every class, from the poor colored cotton-picker whose few pounds of crop he could not get to market for lack of means to wrap it, to the merchant and capitalist who had advanced the necessaries of life to sustain that labor through the season. To these come the proposed revision, not with helping hand, but other burdens, and the cotton-ties which their own friends had reduced to 35 per cent. in the tariff of 1883 (one of the bright oases in a desert of iniquity) they omit by name, but include in a new classification, so that instead of 35 per cent., it must pay according to the valuation of 1887 over 100 per cent., adding nearly a quarter million dollars tax on the imported ties alone, all of which is a loss to the cotton producer. Even with this they are not content, but still further tax the struggling agriculturist in this schedule by raising the duties on trace chains, and all other kinds less than three-eighths of an inch thick, from 2½ cents, which is equivalent to 44.37 per cent., to 3 cents per pound, equivalent to a rate of 53.57 per cent. Can ingenuity go further?

I say that the taxation of cotton-ties is a mere act of unjust retaliation for an alleged discrimination in favor of Southern producers, and to prove it I will read from the report of the majority their confession of this purpose:

The removal of the duties from cotton-ties, burlaps to be used as cotton-bagging, machinery for making cotton-bagging, jute bags, etc., the retention of high duties on certain plantation products, such as sugar at 68 per cent. and rice at 100 per cent., the imposition of duties which would be protective on the coarser kinds of cotton and woolen fabrics manufactured in this section, all point to an attempt by the terms of the House bill to discriminate in favor of the planters of the cotton-growing States, an attempt made with the vain hope that it may be found possible to achieve the permanent prosperity of one section at the expense of another.

The industries of this section are not disturbed. It is well known that a considerable number of interests in other sections are suffering from insufficient protection, and yet it is significant that the only article upon which the rate of duty is increased in the entire bill is uncleaned rice, which by a change in classification is advanced from 70 to 100 per cent. ad valorem. We submit herewith (Appendix E) a suggestive table, taken from the census reports, which shows the relative proportion of the various manufactured products upon which rates are removed or largely reduced by the House bill that were produced in 1880 in the eleven cotton States and in the other States. This table discloses the fact that the section which furnishes the bill and two-thirds of its effective supporters supplies but 2½ per cent. of the industries to be crippled or destroyed.

The House bill throughout is a measure for the reduction of taxation. The fact that the duty on uncleaned rice is increased does show an intent to foster the rice-growing industry by subsidy. I object to the principle involved in that feature of the bill, but when it is called to mind that rice is grown only in malarial districts where negro labor alone can be employed, that the area of the rice-growing districts is very small, that it is an agricultural pursuit apart from all others, requiring such peculiar knowledge of the art that a rice-grower is as distinct from other agriculturists in his skill as a fruit-grower is from a corn-grower, it claims the approval of philanthropy that we should encourage this industry. The negro who grows rice is the competitor of the Chinese cooly, of the Hindoo laborer, the Egyptian fellah, and is not in competition with any other laborer in the United States. In view of these facts the flimsy excuse for this legislative retaliation on the leading industries of more than half the arable portions of this country has no reasonable justification.

The bagging, forced by a tariff tax that gives shelter to conspiracy to extort from the cotton-grower enormous tribute, and the iron ties that are taxed in the Senate bill more than 100 per cent. on their cost, are a dead loss to the cotton-grower. The tare on every bale of cotton in Liverpool is 28 pounds, without reference to the weight of the bale. With cotton at 10 cents a pound it is $2.80 deducted from every 500-pound bale, worth $50. If the bale weighs less, say 400 pounds, it is worth $40 minus $2.80. This tare reduces the selling price of the 500 pound bale to $47.20, and of the 400-pound bale to $37.20. This is 5.60 per cent. on the value of the crop. On a crop of 6,000,000 bales, at 10 cents per pound, the loss to the cotton-growers is $16,800,000. This is all thrown away, for they are not even allowed to have the discarded iron hoops and the bagging stripped from the cotton bales by this arbitrary rule of the market.

Now, for us to add more than 100 per cent. to the cost of the cotton-ties and nearly as much to the cost of the cotton-bagging to increase our revenues that are already so grossly in excess that Congress is ready to resort to any measures to get rid of it, however dangerous to the country, is a species of legislative retaliation that no acrimony of party feeling and no exaggeration of sectional resentment can justify to the minds of a thoughtful, honest, and generous people. The cotton crop of the South is the permanent and irrevocable gift of Providence to this country as an incident of our climate. No richer gift was ever bestowed upon any land, and no other country can, by its productions, destroy its values. More than half the yield from this crop is produced by white labor, and 95 per cent. of those engaged in its subsequent manufacture are white people.

In the cotton-fields the father and mother, sons and daughters, are engaged first in the cultivation and then in the harvest, which must be gathered by hand labor. More of personal toil enters into this crop than in any other industry, even more than in rice and sugar. The product is $300,000,000 a year in ready cash, and that money is gold whenever it is demanded. In the exchanges of the United States it is the leading factor. Without this our balances of trade would shrink out of sight and be lost to hope. The Constitution compels us to ship it without the protection of an export duty. In cotton we must have compulsory free trade, and our market is with people who are daily styled paupers by our learned Senators. The home market could no more absorb our cotton crop than Alabama could consume all the wheat in the Northwest. With fivefold our present population we could not absorb the increase of production that will attend such an increase of our population.

Cotton clothing is the first lesson that impresses the savage and leads him up to civilization. The uses of cotton will extend and amplify with the increase of human population, which is the true mission of Christian philanthropy. The more people there are in the world, and the more they are enlightened and refined, the greater must be the demand for cotton.

That the Senate Committee on Finance should have forgotten these things when it declared a war of retaliation on cotton is a sad evidence of the extent to which the passing demands of a political campaign can tempt our justly distinguished statesmen to attack anything that seems to oppose their march to power and make open war upon an industry that is the whole living of their negro allies in the South.

Fully half of every bale of cotton raised by negro labor belongs to him the moment it is gathered. If negro labor produces 3,000,000 bales one-half the burdens I have stated falls upon the negro race, and this is a hard blow to be inflicted by the pretended friends of those people. I leave them to settle their own family quarrels. The white people of the South spend the cash proceeds of their cotton after large usury is paid for money borrowed to support the working people, for provisions and clothing. It is they and not the manufacturers of New England that furnish the great home market to the Northwest and New England.

If they had no other claim than this to some indulgence from excessive taxation, I should feel it a privilege to see them dealt justly with. Those who still desire to legislate for sections or against sections will still find followers who go where their prejudices lead them; but, if the Senate still desires the South to be made the subject of retaliatory legislation to gratify a prejudice, the resort to tax laws for this purpose is cruel to innocent people, especially so to the improvident negro population, and is not up to the standard of magnanimity or of courageous legislation which the American people expect to find in the Senate.

I will not attempt further to debate this bill until it is called for

action, by sections, which is a duty that the majority in this body can retire from if they choose, but which I will not assist them to evade.

APPENDIX.

Additions to free-list by H. R. 9051.

Articles.	Present rate.
Bristles	15 cents a pound.
Boracic acid (commercial)	4 cents a pound.
Boracic acid (pure)	5 cents a pound.
Alumina, alum, patent alum, alum substitute, sulphate alumina, aluminous cake, and alum in crystals or ground	$\frac{6}{10}$ cent a pound.
Antimony, as regulus or metal	10 per cent.
Bark for tanning, extract of; hemlock	20 per cent.
Bibles, books, and pamphlets printed in other than English, and all books and publications of foreign governments and societies for gratuitous distribution	
Borax (crude)	3 cents a pound.
Borax (refined)	5 cents a pound.
Coal tar, all preparations of, not colors or dyes, not specifically enumerated or provided for	20 per cent.
Copper, sulphate of	3 cents a pound.
Crysilic wash for sheep	20 per cent.
Glycerine, crude, brown, or yellow, of specific gravity of 125 or less at a temperature of 60 degrees, not purified by refining or distilling	2 cents a pound.
Indigo, and extract of	10 per cent.
Iodine	40 cents a pound.
Iron, sulphate of	$\frac{3}{10}$ cent a pound.
Logwood and other dye-woods, extracts, and decoctions	10 per cent.
Mineral waters, imitations of natural and artificial	30 per cent.
Opium, crude, containing 9 per cent. and over of morphia	$1 a pound.
Phosphorus	10 cents a pound.
Potash, carbonate of, or fused, and caustic	20 per cent.
Potash, chlorate of	3 cents a pound.
Potash, crude	20 per cent.
Potash, nitrate of (crude)	1 cent a pound.
Potash, sulphate of	20 per cent.
Soda, sulphate of (Glauber's-salts)	20 per cent.
Soda, sulphate of (salt cake, crude, or refined, or niter cake, crude or refined	20 per cent.
Sulphur, refined	$10 per ton.
Barks, beans, berries, balsams, buds, bulbs, and bulbous roots and excrescenses, such as nut-galls, forest-flowers, dried fibers, grains, gums, and gum-resins, herbs, leaves, lichens, mosses, nuts, roots, and stems, etc	10 per cent.
Chicory root	2 cents a pound.
Clay, unwrought or manufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for	$1.50 a ton.
Cocoa, prepared or manufactured	2 cents a pound.
Coffee, substitutes for, not specially enumerated or provided for	2 cents a pound.
Copper, ores, fine copper contained therein	2½ cents a pound.
Copper, regulus of, and black or coarse copper and copper cement, fine copper contained therein	3½ cents a pound.
Copper, fit only for remanufacture	3 cents a pound.
Brick, other than fire brick	20 per cent.
Canes and walking sticks, unfinished	20 per cent.
Feathers, ostrich and others, crude or not dressed, colored, or manufactured	25 per cent.
Flax, not hackled or dressed	$20 a ton.
Flax, straw	$5 ton.
Flax, tow of	$10 a ton.
Hemp	$25 a ton.
Hemp, tow of	$10 a ton.
Hemp, manila, and other like substitutes for, not specially enumerated or provided for	$25 a ton.
Sunn	$15
Jute	20 per cent.
Jute-butts	$5 a ton.
Sisal-grass	$15 a ton.
Other vegetable substances not specially enumerated or provided for	$15 a ton.
Burlaps of flax, jute, or hemp, or in which they are component material of chief value (except such as may be suitable for bagging for cotton), not over 60 inches wide	30 per cent.
Bags of jute for grain	40 per cent.
Currants, Zante or other	1 cent a pound.
Dates	1 cent a pound.
Figs	2 cents a pound.
Glass, German looking-glass plates of blown glass	45 per cent.
Glass, plates or disks, for spectacles	10 per cent.
Grease, not specially enumerated or provided for	25 per cent.
Hair, curled, except of hogs, used for beds or mattresses	20 per cent.
Hair, human, raw, unclean, and not drawn	15 per cent.
Iron, chromic ore	35 per cent.
Cotton-ties, or hoops for baling purposes	1 cent a pound.
Iron, sheets or plates, or taggers' iron, etc., known as tin-plates, terne-plates, and taggers' tin	45 per cent.
Machinery for the manufacture of jute	25 per cent.
Needles, sewing, darning, knitting, etc	3 cents a pound.
Lime, borate of	$2 a gallon.
Alcohol, 94 per cent. anhydrous alcohol	$1 a gallon.
Compounds or preparations of which distilled spirits are component part of chief value containing 50 per cent. anhydrous alcohol	$1 a ton.
Stone, unmanufactured or undressed	$1.75 a ton.
Stones, grind	20 per cent.
Metals, unwrought, not specially enumerated or provided for	10 per cent.
Quicksilver	
Minerals, non-dutiable, advanced in value or condition by refining or grinding, or by other process of manufacture, not specially enumerated or provided for	10 per cent.

Additions to free-list by H. R. 9051—Continued.

Articles.	Present rate.
Mineral substances in a crude state, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent.
Oil, neat's-foot, seal, whale, and fish, not elsewhere specified, and all other animal oils and combinations of	20 per cent.
Oil, naphtha, benzine, etc	20 per cent.
Oil, petroleum, crude	10 per cent.
Oil, cotton-seed	25 per cent.
Oil, croton	50 cents a gallon.
Oil, hemp-seed and rape-seed	10 cents a gallon.
Oil, olive, and salad other than olive	25 per cent.
Baryta, unmanufactured	10 per cent.
Ocher, dry	½ cent a pound.
Sienna and sienna earths, dry	½ cent a pound.
Umber and umber earths, dry	½ cent a pound.
Powders, finishing	35 per cent.
Meats, game, and poultry, not elsewhere specified, dressed or undressed, but not otherwise prepared	10 per cent.
Tallow	10 per cent.
Milk, fresh	10 per cent.
Egg yelks	20 per cent.
Rags, not specially enumerated or provided for	10 per cent.
Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or packages	12 cents per 100 lbs.
Salt, in bulk	8 cents per 100 lbs.
Bulbs and bulbous roots, not medicinal, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent.
Seeds, garden, except of the sugar-beet	20 per cent.
Seed, hemp, rape, and other of like character	½ cent pound.
Soap, hard and soft, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent.
Strings, of cat-gut, etc., other than strings for musical instruments	25 per cent.
Tar, pitch of	20 per cent.
Tar, of coal, and tar and pitch of wood	10 per cent.
Turpentine, spirits of	20 cents a gallon.
Beans and pease, not for seed	10 per cent.
Pease, split	10 per cent.
Waste, all not specially enumerated or provided for	10 per cent.
Bees-wax	20 per cent.
Bass-wood and other fiber, not otherwise provided for	10 per cent.
Brush, for crib work	10 per cent.
Wood, unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for	20 per cent.
Timber, used for spars and building wharves	20 per cent.
Timber, hewn and sawed	20 per cent.
Timber, square or sided, not specially enumerated or provided for	1 cent cubic foot.
Lumber	From $1 per 1,000 feet to $3.50.
Clapboards, pine	$2 per 1,000.
Clapboards, spruce	$1.50 per 1,000.
Hubs for wheels, posts, lasts, wagon, oar, gun, etc., blocks, and all like blocks, rough-hewn or sawed only	20 per cent.
Laths	15 cents per 1,000.
Pickets and palings	20 per cent.
Shingles	35 cents per 1,000.
Shooks, sugar-box and packing boxes and packing-box shooks	30 per cent.
Staves of all kinds	10 per cent.
Ozier, or willow, prepared for basket-makers	25 per cent.
Osier and willow baskets, etc	20 per cent.
Rattans and reeds, manufactured, but not made up into completed articles	10 per cent.
Wools, unmanufactured	2½ to 36 cents.
Woolen rags	10 cents a pound.
Sacks, crates, boxes, etc	100 per cent.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill is before the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, and will be read at length.

Mr. COCKRELL. If the Senator from Iowa has no objection, I will move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the amendment reported by the Committee on Finance.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert——

Mr. ALLISON. I want to say just a word in response to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] as respects cotton-ties and the injustice that has been done in regard to this necessary article for baling cotton. The Senator assumes that the rate of duty is added to the price, which, of course, it is not. Although he does not state that, I suppose his argument is based upon that idea. The present duty on cotton-ties is 35 per cent. ad valorem. The price of cotton-ties, according to the unit of value, is 1.2 cents per pound, the foreign value. It takes 9 pounds of hoop-iron to circle a bale of cotton, so that the foreign price of hoop-iron for a bale of cotton is nine times 1.2 cents. Cotton-ties now pay 35 per cent. duty. The Senate substitute increases it somewhat.

Mr. MORGAN. How much?

Mr. ALLISON. It increases it to the extent of 8 cents a bale on each bale of cotton, assuming that all the duty is paid by the consumer.

Mr. MORGAN. Is not that equivalent to 100 per cent. on the present duty?

Mr. ALLISON. It is nearly that on the present duty.

Mr. MORGAN. That is what I stated or meant to state.

Mr. ALLISON. But I am coming to the point of the injustice. It is perfectly well known that these cotton-ties will be made, can be made

in this country, in the Senator's own State. Assuming, however, what is claimed, that this duty will add one-quarter to the ties, it only makes, as the Senate substitute proposes, a difference of 2 cents a bale to every bale of cotton in the United States, which when sold in this country is paid for as cotton.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator is mistaken about its being paid for as cotton in this country. It is not paid for as cotton. Tare affects the price here as it does in Liverpool.

Mr. ALLISON. That is a question of course of debate. What I mean to say is that when a bale of cotton is purchased in this country it is purchased with the cotton bagging and the iron hoops on it.

Mr. GEORGE. The tare is taken off.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is a question whether it is or not. The New England manufacturer buys 9 pounds of iron which cost the cotton planter 2 cents a pound and he pays 10 cents a pound for it. Upon whom the tax rests ultimately I do not say.

Mr. GEORGE. He gets it for nothing by its reducing the price of the cotton.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is a question of argument whether it does or not.

Mr. MORGAN. No, a bale of cotton that weighs 528 pounds is sold for 500 pounds.

Mr. ALDRICH. Not in this country.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALDRICH. I beg the Senator's pardon. The manufacturer of New England who buys a bale of cotton weighing 528 pounds, iron hoops, bagging, and all, pays for 528 pounds without any allowance for tare whatever.

Mr. MORGAN. But you get your market rate at Liverpool.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is an open question whether you do.

Mr. MORGAN. And the market rate at Liverpool is fixed by the fact that 28 pounds are taken from every bale.

Mr. ALDRICH. The market rate in Liverpool is not the same always as the market rate in New England. It is a very complicated question.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish merely to state that this proposition as to cotton-ties makes a difference of 2 cents a bale on the cotton, and no more.

Mr. ALDRICH. I feel that I ought to say a word in regard to the statement made by the Senator from Alabama concerning the action of the conference committee on the tariff law of 1883.

Mr. MORGAN. I made no statement, if the Senator will allow me; I read from the report of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK].

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator reiterates the statement which the Senator from Kentucky makes in his minority report.

Mr. MORGAN. That has always been my conviction, however.

Mr. ALDRICH. I am the only Senator who was a member of that conference committee now in the city, and I should have hitherto paid some attention to the statement contained in the views of the minority submitted by the Senator from Kentucky had it not been for the enforced absence of that Senator—an absence the occasion of which I regret as much as the Senator from Alabama.

Many of the statements which the Senator from Kentucky makes as to the action and motives of members of the conference, based upon the allegations of others, are absolutely untrue, as can be demonstrated by the RECORD, and as will be shown whenever the Senator from Kentucky shall appear in his seat, which I hope may be very soon.

Mr. GEORGE. I hope the Senator from Rhode Island will allow us to believe the Senator from Kentucky, whom we all know to be a very accurate man, until his statement is shown by demonstration to be false.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no doubt the Senator from Kentucky believed that his statements were true. I have as high respect and admiration for that Senator as any man upon this floor, and, as I have no doubt, he was misled. I believe that upon an examination of the record he will as quickly and as readily exonerate his colleagues on the Finance Committee and admit his error as any other Senator in the Chamber would.

Mr. EUSTIS. Will the Senator state what the inaccuracy is?

Mr. ALDRICH. It is too long a story to go into now, and I prefer to have the Senator from Kentucky as well as the chairman of the committee [Mr. MORRILL] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] here whenever the statement is made.

One word in regard to sugar. The Senator from Alabama says that the Senate substitute fixes a rate of duty upon raw sugars, testing 75 degrees of saccharine strength by the polariscope, at .70 cent per pound, and on the first grade of refined sugars, between Nos. 13 and 16, 1⅜ cents per pound, or a difference of .67 cent per pound, or a duty on refined sugar nearly double the duty on raw sugars, for the benefit of the refiners.

The House bill fixes the rate of duty upon sugars testing 75 degrees of saccharine strength at 1.15 cents a pound, and upon refined sugars, between 13 and 16, at 2.20 cents per pound, showing a difference between raw and refined in the House bill of 1.5 cents per pound as against .67 cent per pound by the Senate bill, giving an additional benefit to the refiners by the House bill of .38 of a cent a pound, or an annual gratuity to the refiners upon all the sugars consumed in this country which pass through the refineries of $11,400,000. This bonus to the refiners, it should be borne in mind, is in addition to the protection which they receive under the Senate substitute. I think it due to the Senate that this statement should be made.

Mr. MORGAN. My reference to the sugar production was more particularly to the fact that the Senate bill does not change the relative rate of duty on unrefined and refined sugars, but the duty on grades below No. 13 Dutch standard.

Mr. ALDRICH. In that the Senator is very much mistaken.

Mr. MORGAN. I can not be, because it is put in a specific sum.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think I can convince the Senator of that by a single statement.

Under the existing law the duty upon sugars below No. 13 Dutch standard, the average being ninety degrees, is 2 cents per pound, and the duty on refined sugars between 13 and 16 is 2.75 cents, or a difference of seventy-five one-hundredths, or three-quarters of a cent per pound. By the Senate bill the average rate on raw sugars at ninety degrees is 1 cent a pound, while the duty upon No. 13 to 16 is 1⅜ cents, or a difference of three-eighths of a cent a pound. We have then a difference of three-eighths of a cent a pound under the Senate bill between raw and refined as against three-quarters of a cent under existing law, or a reduction of three-eighths cent per pound of the protection afforded refiners.

Mr. MORGAN. Ninety degrees of saccharine strength as developed by the polariscope is not a fair test.

Mr. ALDRICH. I stated that ninety degrees was the average.

Mr. MORGAN. Then why do you put seventy-five degrees in the bill?

Mr. ALDRICH. We commence assessing the duties at seventy-five degrees.

Mr. MORGAN. The fair test is to take the extremes, the lowest on sugars below 13, and the lowest on sugars above 13.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator takes that as a basis he will find a very much greater difference between the present law and the Senate substitute than the basis taken by me. For instance, at seventy-five degrees, under existing law, the duty is 1.4 cents a pound, and from 13 to 16 it is 2¾ cents per pound, making a difference of 1.35 cents per pound between seventy-five degrees and 13 to 16, while under the Senate bill this difference is but .67 cent. If the Senator takes that basis for his calculation he is worse off than before.

Mr. MORGAN. I have no right to complain of the Senate Finance Committee about this matter, because they have openly and avowedly and in a very frank way disclaimed any intention to protect sugar hereafter, so that it would be a heartless job; but what I complain of now, and what I complained of in 1883, was that the difference in duty between the grades below 13 and above 13 was very great. The Senate committee has held on to precisely the same relative differences in duty. Certainly it has to lower the grade of sugars at 75 degrees saccharine strength and those that are 13 by the Dutch standard or above it. If you put the duty at just one-half, exactly what it is under the act of 1883, you lower the grades.

Mr. ALLISON. Will the Senator allow me a moment?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, I want to be corrected if I am mistaken about it.

Mr. ALLISON. All sugars under 13 Dutch standard must go into the refineries; that is to say, they are unfit for consumption, and therefore must go through the refineries. The protection to the refiner comes between 13 and 16 and above. The existing protection to the refiner is three-quarters of one cent per pound, and that is the gravamen of the contest made by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] in his strictures upon the act of 1883. The present protection to the refiner is three-quarters of a cent. Under the Senate substitute the protection is three-eighths of a cent. So we have reduced the relative protection to the refiner one-half, or from three-quarters of a cent to three-eighths of a cent a pound.

Mr. MORGAN. In reducing that you have given the refiner the opportunity of one-half the money to form his combination and control all the sugar under 13.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me one moment more, I ought to add that the House bill, which I suppose the Senator proposes to favor, gives to the refiners fifty-seven one-hundredths of a cent protection, as against thirty-seven and a half one-hundredths in the Senate bill, or, in other words, twenty one-hundredths of a cent per pound more than the Senate bill upon every pound of sugar that passes through the refineries. That is the entire production of foreign sugars. So the Senator can quarrel with the House bill, and not with the Senate bill in his criticism.

Mr. MORGAN. I have not quarreled with either the House bill or the Senate bill as yet, because I have not had an opportunity to find out precisely what they do. We are getting at it a little bit now upon sugar. I was felicitating the Senate and the country upon the fact that both the House and the Senate were making reductions in the existing rates of duties upon all commodities that were touched, and I thought it was a good occasion for us to get together and consider the

bill, and see if we could not agree about something that would relieve this country.

I am not by any means committed to the sugar tariff in the House bill. There are some other features of the House bill which do not meet my approval. I might take the House bill as a whole in preference to not taking any bill at all, as I might take the Senate bill as a whole in preference to not taking any bill at all. I want to have an opportunity to make a comparison between the propositions of the House and Senate upon these questions.

The objection that I was making about the sugar rate is the same that I made in 1883, that there was too wide a difference between sugars above 13 and sugars below 13; that that discriminated very decidedly against the American sugar producer, and also it discriminated very largely against the American sugar consumer, because, as I have said to-day in my remarks, every man will have the brightest, clearest, best-looking sugar he can get within reach, and the refiner will monopolize the market by the use of a small amount of money. While the producer gets but a very low protection of tariff duty upon his product, the refiner will take the matter into his own hands and compel the Louisiana producer to come to his terms. I think it is very unfortunate in this bill, or in any other bill, and certainly very unfortunate in the law as it stands now, that any set of men in the United States are given the opportunity by our legislation to monopolize this product of universal use, and tax the people enormously and unnecessarily in its consumption, and at the same time use it for the purpose of breaking down a domestic industry. That is my position.

Mr. ALLISON. That is precisely the position of the House bill, I will say to the Senator.

Mr. MORGAN. Now, let us go on and consider your bill. It may be that I shall vote for it.

Mr. ALLISON. In 1883 we discussed the sugar question, and the Senator participated in that discussion. As the Senator from Kentucky said, the first vote in this body was a vote giving the refiners .40 of a cent, and then afterwards it was changed to .50 of a cent. Now, the Senate bill is .02½ of a cent below anything that was suggested in this Chamber in 1883.

Mr. MORGAN. It may be a better bill than any we have had, and I may vote for that feature of it.

Mr. ALDRICH. My object in calling the attention of the Senator from Alabama to these facts, which I supposed he had overlooked, was this: I remembered that on a former occasion, in 1883, he, alone I think upon that side of the Chamber, voted with the Republican Senators in favor of a large reduction of duty upon sugar; and I believed that when his attention was called to the fact that upon the basis he had adopted that the House bill made a definite and positive discrimination of $11,400,000 a year in favor of the sugar trust, that his voice would be no longer heard in support of that measure.

Mr. MORGAN. Perhaps not in support of that feature of it.

Mr. GEORGE. I am a little surprised, Mr. President, to hear it asserted in this body that intelligent, true, commercial men will pay for 28 pounds of worthless stuff, as bagging and ties are after they are put on the bale, the same price that they pay for the cotton which is inclosed within the bale, without making any deduction from the price. I think I can state a fact or two very well known in commercial circles in the South which will remove all doubt upon that subject.

In the first place, the price of cotton in this country is fixed by the market in Liverpool. New Orleans is the great commercial mart of cotton in the South. Large amounts of cotton are brought to New Orleans for the purpose of shipment and sale to Liverpool. In Liverpool the tare is taken off. Can any sane man believe that the purchaser in New Orleans for shipment to Liverpool, buying by the Liverpool price (that is regulating the price in New Orleans by what the cotton can be sold for in Liverpool with a fair profit), will pay 8 or 10 cents a pound for 28 pounds of tare when as soon as its gets to Liverpool he will not get anything for it?

There are one or two other facts to which I will call the attention of Senators. A commercial bale of cotton in the South formerly was 450 pounds. I believe in late years it has risen to 500 pounds. It is a well-known fact, recognized in all the markets in the South where the tare, bagging, and ties are taken without making any special deduction, that if the bale of cotton offered for sale is a light bale, less than 400 pounds, then the price is reduced, simply because it is light and simply because the tare, the bagging, and ties which inclose the cotton and which have been adjusted in the price for a commercial bale would be unequal; and therefore a reduction is made.

I call the attention of Senators to another fact very well known in the South. Six or seven yards—I have forgotten which, and it is not material—of bagging are ordinarily put around a bale of cotton. If there be an excess over the number of pounds which is the regulation, then a deduction is made on that account. That shows that the tare is adjusted in the price. Six hoops or ties is the regulation number for a bale of cotton. If you put seven ties upon a bale of cotton, then there is a deduction for that.

These things show quite evidently to a thinking man that the tare, instead of being deducted specifically, is weighed with the bale and adjusted in the price which is paid.

Mr. ALDRICH. Just what regulates the price of cotton in New Orleans, Natchez, Memphis, or in any other Southern port, is a very complicated question, which depends upon many different elements. For instance, a certain grade of long staple cotton to be used in the manufacture of fine yarns, or some other particular grade of cotton for a special purpose might be in such demand in New Orleans at a particular time that the Liverpool price would have but little influence in regulating the price for the New England market. To what extent the New England price affects the Liverpool price, or the Liverpool price affects the New England price, is a very uncertain problem.

There is one fact, however, which invariably confronts the New England manufacturer; he has to pay 10 cents a pound for 28 or 30 pounds of cotton-bagging and iron hoops which costs the Southern planter 2 or 3 cents a pound. Whether he pays more or less than the Liverpool price is a question which he may not be able to ascertain. Nor do I imagine that any Senator upon this floor could tell with any degree of certainty how much was paid by the manufacturer, how much by the planter, and how much by the consumer.

Mr. GEORGE. If the New England manufacturer, with his eye open, actually pays the full value of cotton as cotton according to the markets of the world, and then pays 10 cents a pound in addition to that for 28 pounds of bagging and ties, I have only this to say about it, that he is a species of Yankee I never heard of before.

Mr. FRYE. Does not the Senator know that we buy bushels and bushels of sand, enough to make a small hill in the neighborhood of a large cotton-mill?

Mr. GEORGE. That is deducted.

Mr. FRYE. Oh, no; it is not deducted.

Mr. GEORGE. There is nothing better known in the commercial circles of the South than that dirty cotton sells for a less price per pound than clean cotton.

Mr. FRYE. We do not know it until we pick it.

Mr. GEORGE. If you have not found that out in New England, it is the first thing in New England you never did find out.

As to what regulates the price of cotton, Liverpool, as I understand, is not a manufacturing city. I understand that Manchester and some other places are the manufacturing towns. Liverpool is the great commercial mart of cotton in the world. If a manufacturer wants a certain kind of cotton, very fine or very low, he goes to Liverpool, if he is over in that country, because he knows he can find all kinds of cotton there. Liverpool does not sell any particular kind of cotton, but all kinds of cotton. In New Orleans, I admit, sometimes when a corner has been made on cotton, and when somebody is found short on sales, or something of that sort, cotton rises for a few days before settling time to a higher price than the normal price, and somebody is hurt; but taking the thing all the way through in the cotton season the price of cotton in every market in this country is fixed by the price in Liverpool.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, October 18, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, *October* 17, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message from the President of the United States, in writing, was communicated to the House by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries.

The message also announced as follows:

The following bill was approved by the President October 2, 1888:

An act (H. R. 10540) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes.

The following bills and joint resolution were approved by the President October 12, 1888:

An act (H. R. 11101) to include Sapelo Sound, Sapelo River, and Sapelo Island in the Brunswick collection district in the State of Georgia;

An act (H. R. 9619) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Missouri River at some accessible point within 1 mile north and 1 mile south and east of the mouth of the Kansas River;

An act (H. R. 10068) granting a pension to Lieut. Starkey R. Powell, of Black Hawk war;

An act (H. R. 10934) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell township maps or plats remaining on hand in his office;

An act (H. R. 7410) for the relief of settlers upon Old Camp Sheridan military reservation;

An act (H. R. 10060) prescribing the times for sales and for notice of sales of property in the District of Columbia for overdue taxes;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 210) authorizing the printing of the third annual report of the Commissioner of Labor;

An act (H. R. 2696) for the relief of John J. Crooke; and

An act (H. R. 5248) for the relief of the American Grocer Association of the city of New York.

The following bill was approved October 13, 1888:

An act (H. R. 1923) providing for the establishment of a life-saving station at the harbor of Kewaunee, Wis., and at other places herein named.

The following bills were approved October 15, 1888:

An act (H. R. 200) granting a pension to Walter O. Watson;

An act (H. R. 201) granting a pension to Edward Waters;

An act (H. R. 968) granting a pension to H. S. Sayre;

An act (H. R. 1085) granting a pension to Thomas Raines;

An act (H. R. 2139) granting a pension to George Rhody;

An act (H. R. 2471) granting a pension to Anna M. Noyes;

An act (H. R. 2474) granting a pension to Joseph Lincoln Young;

An act (H. R. 2716) granting a pension to J. W. Leight;

An act (H. R. 2788) granting a pension to Lieut. George T. Russell;

An act (H. R. 4039) granting a pension to Mary A. Pfeiffer;

An act (H. R. 5174) granting a pension to Statira Young;

An act (H. R. 5740) granting a pension to Anson Ward;

An act (H. R. 7185) granting a pension to Samuel Neikirk;

An act (H. R. 7485) granting a pension to Mrs. Susan V. Wilcox, mother of Martin V. Wilcox;

An act (H. R. 8200) granting a pension to Lydia Ann Wilber;

An act (H. R. 9182) granting a pension to Ransom Riley;

An act (H. R. 9341) granting a pension to Mrs. Dulcena Noel;

An act (H. R. 9862) granting a pension to Benjamin F. Bair;

An act (H. R. 9975) granting a pension to Joseph Welsh;

An act (H. R. 10017) granting a pension to Samuel Anderson;

An act (H. R. 10121) granting a pension to Sarah A. Mason;

An act (H. R. 10122) granting a pension to Margaret Quinton;

An act (H. R. 10629) granting a pension to Washington Ryan;

An act (H. R. 10705) granting a pension to Mary L. Tanner;

An act (H. R. 10824) granting a pension to Mary A. Van Buskirk;

An act (H. R. 10907) granting a pension to Henry Mitchell Youngblood;

An act (H. R. 11030) granting a pension to Susan E. Latture;

An act (H. R. 71243) granting a pension to Mary E. McQueen;

An act (H. R. 4038) granting a pension to Victor, Gertrude, Margaret, and Helen, minor children of Lieut. George R. McGuire;

An act (H. R. 9371) granting a pension to Betsy Williams, widow of William R. Williams, private Company C, Eighth Regiment Michigan Volunteers;

An act (H. R. 2073) granting an increase of pension to Daniel Willborg;

An act (H. R. 9358) to increase the pension of Rosalie O'Sullivan;

An act (H. R. 10210) granting an increase of pension to Philip Thomas;

An act (H. R. 10733) to increase the pension of George C. Quick;

An act (H. R. 2566) for the relief of Phillip Kopplin;

An act (H. R. 6449) for the relief of Perry R. Nye;

An act (H. R. 7912) for the relief of Frances P. Vernon;

An act (H. R. 9719) for the relief of Thomas Shackelford;

An act (H. R. 10007) for the relief of Henry Rose;

An act (H. R. 10827) for the relief of Catharine Teegardin;

An act (H. R. 11029) for the relief of Mary Vanbuskirk;

An act (H. R. 10241) increasing the pension of Richard Porter;

An act (H. R. 10106) to place the name of Matilda Spangler on the pension-roll;

An act (H. R. 10256) to place the name of Lucy Wagor, of Hillsdale, Mich., on the pension-roll;

An act (H. R. 10258) to place the name of Cyrus Millius, of Ogden Centre, Mich., on the pension-roll; and

An act (H. R. 10944) granting a pension to Victoria May.

The following bills were approved October 16, 1888:

An act (H. R. 508) granting a pension to Sarah F. Hawkins;

An act (H. R. 2120) granting a pension to Elizabeth Evans;

An act (H. R. 2689) granting a pension to Johanna Geyer, widow of Gustav W. Geyer;

An act (H. R. 3801) granting a pension to Nelson J. Crook;

An act (H. R. 7457) granting a pension to Eleanor D. Heath:

An act (H. R. 8553) granting a pension to Arabella Davis;

An act (H. R. 9169) granting a pension to Tempy M. Johnston;

An act (H. R. 10103) granting a pension to William Fairbanks;

An act (H. R. 10159) granting a pension to Jenny Buell;

An act (H. R. 10224) granting a pension to Elias H. Hall;

An act (H. R. 10687) granting a pension to Charles Junot;

An act (H. R. 10708) granting a pension to Jane E. Knoble;

An act (H. R. 10881) granting a pension to Nancy J. Cotner;

An act (H. R. 11057) granting a pension to Margaret Gray;

An act (H. R. 9370) granting a pension to Mrs. Susan Bates, widow of Thomas Bates, late private Company A, Twenty-sixth Regiment Michigan Volunteers;

An act (H. R. 3152) for the relief of Arlington M. Harrington;

An act (H. R. 3504) for the relief of John German;

An act (H. R. 6309) for the relief of Mary A. Covey;

An act (H. R. 8993) for the relief of Shadrack W. Brown;

An act (H. R. 8748) to increase the pension of Richard Jobes;

An act (H. R. 9935) to increase the pension of Isaac Hurd;

An act (H. R. 11021) to increase the pension of Charles Hahneman;

An act (H. R. 5193) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Franklin; and

An act (H. R. 10245) granting an increase of pension to Hannibal Kimball.

VETO MESSAGE—JOHN ROBESON.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 6201, entitled "An act granting a pension to John Robeson."

The beneficiary named in this bill enlisted August 8, 1862, and was discharged for disability on the 21st day of November, 1862, after a service of a little more than three months.

In the certificate of disability upon which his discharge was granted, the captain of the beneficiary's company states that he has been unfit for duty for sixty days; that the soldier represents that he has not done efficient service since enlistment by reason of phthisic, from which he has suffered since childhood, but has grown worse since entering the service. The surgeon of the regiment states in said certificate that the soldier has asthma, with which he has been afflicted from infancy.

Upon this certificate based necessarily so far as his previous condition is concerned, this man procured his discharge after doing but very slight service.

He filed an application for pension in the Pension Bureau in October, 1879, basing his claim upon the allegation that he contracted asthma in September, 1862, about a month after he entered the service.

Two special examinations were had in his case, and his statement was taken in each.

On the first examination he said he could not account for the statements of his captain and surgeon, unless they arose from a remark he made that he had phthisic when he was small.

On the second he accounted for the statements of the captain and surgeon by saying that he felt very sick, and feared that he could not live if he remained in the service; that he was suffering with jaundice, as well as asthma, and having been told that he could not be discharged on account of jaundice, but could on account of asthma, he asked the captain to tell the surgeon that he had known him to have asthma before enlistment. He also says that he procured others to tell the same story.

On these examinations there was the usual negative testimony produced of certain parties who knew the claimant before enlistment, and did not know that he was afflicted. This is balanced by the evidence of others who testify that the claimant had asthma before enlistment.

Upon consideration of the character of the ailment, the testimony upon the two examinations, and the conduct of the beneficiary and his own admissions, I can not escape the conviction that whatever disability he had at the date of discharge he had when he enlisted, and that his claim was properly rejected by the Pension Bureau.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 16, 1888.

Mr. MORRILL. I ask that the further reading of the messages be dispensed with, that they be printed in the RECORD, and referred to the appropriate committees.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I think they had better be read.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made to the request of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MORRILL], and if there be no objection the message will be referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETER LINER.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following veto message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 9106, entitled "An act granting a pension to Peter Liner."

The beneficiary named in this bill enlisted as a sergeant in the regular Army in 1871, and he alleges that he served a previous term of enlistment, commencing in 1866.

While on a march from one post to another on the frontier in September, 1874, the beneficiary was severely wounded by the bursting of a gun, necessitating the amputation of three of his fingers.

The reports of this occurrence develop the fact that the gun which bursted in his hands was a shot-gun, and that the accident happened while the beneficiary was hunting "for his own pleasure or benefit."

His wound was a severe one, and the injured man was probably a good and faithful soldier, but it seems quite clear to me that it would be extending the pension theory to an unwarrantable limit to hold the Government responsible for such an accident.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 16, 1888.

SOPHIA VOGELSANG.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 10661, entitled "An act granting a pension to Mrs. Sophia Vogelsang."

The husband of this beneficiary was severely wounded in the military service of the United States, and in consequence of said wound his left leg was amputated. This was in 1862. In January, 1863, another amputation was performed higher up above the knee. He appears at that time to have been living, or at least was treated, at Detroit, Mich. He was pensioned at the rate of $30 per

month at the time of his death, which occurred at Louisville, Ky., where he appears to have then resided, on the 21st day of July, 1885.

The beneficiary filed a claim for pension in November, 1885, alleging that her husband died of gangrene.

There does not, however, seem to be a particle of evidence establishing that cause of death. On the contrary, the report received at the Pension Bureau of his death attributes it to sunstroke, and this does not seem to be directly questioned.

The report of the House Committee to whom this bill was referred, proceeds upon the theory that death was caused from the use of opium to allay the pain of the wound. This theory is presented upon the alleged opinion of the surgeon living in Detroit, who made the second amputation in 1863. He says that the pain of the wound obliged the soldier to take morphine. But it does not appear that he observed the case for a long time preceding death. Instead of his giving an opinion that the disability and morphine produced death, he says, as it is reported to me, after describing the condition of the limb previous to its amputation in 1863, and immediately thereafter, "according to my opinion said disability and the constant use of morphia in consequence of it may have been the cause of his death." This, and the statement of a druggist in Louisville, that he sold him morphine to alleviate pain, and of two different persons with whom he boarded at that city in 1885, to the same effect, is all the evidence that I can discover tending in the least to hint that the death of the pensioner resulted from any cause but sunstroke, which really stands as the undisputed cause of death.

The allegation in the committee's report that the beneficiary's claim was rejected by the Pension Bureau on the ground that her husband's death proceeded from the use of morphine, is erroneous. The cause of rejection is stated to be "that the death cause (sunstroke) was not the result of the soldier's military service."

We are not therefore left to the consideration of the question whether death from the use of morphine to allay pain can be charged to the disability incurred, for if death resulted from sunstroke it will hardly be claimed that it was in any way related to such disability.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 16, 1888.

WILLIAM S. LATHAM.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I herewith return without approval House bill No. 10563, entitled "An act granting a pension to William S. Latham."

The beneficiary named in this bill enlisted in August, 1862. The rolls for March and April, 1863, report him a deserter, but it having been ascertained that sickness was the cause of his failure to return to his regiment at the end of a furlough granted to him, upon which failure the charge of desertion was based, he was restored to his company and the charge of desertion removed.

All this is stated in the report of the committee to which this bill was referred.

But it is not mentioned in said report that he was again furloughed on the 17th day of August, 1863, and failing to return at the end of his furlough, one month thereafter, again became a deserter, but was not so reported until October 8, 1863.

He was arrested January 1, 1864, but there appears to be no record of his trial or his restoration.

He filed a claim for pension in the Pension Bureau in January, 1870, and he was informed twice during the year 1888 that no favorable action could be taken until the charge of desertion had been removed.

On application to the Adjutant-General, that officer, on the 21st day of February, 1888, declined to remove said charge of desertion.

The claim is still pending before the Pension Bureau.

I do not suppose that the Congress is prepared to go so far in special pension legislation as to grant pensions to those against whom charges of desertion appear of record.

In the belief that the fact of the second desertion above mentioned was overlooked by the Congress, and because the application for pension in this case is still pending in the Pension Bureau, where complete justice can still be done, I am constrained to withhold my approval of this bill.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 16, 1888.

MARY WOODWORTH.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 7657, entitled "An act granting a pension to Mary Woodworth, widow of Ebenezer F. Woodworth."

The husband of this beneficiary enlisted October 1, 1861. On the rolls of his company for May and June, 1862, he is reported as a deserter, and the report is the same on the muster-out roll of his regiment, dated October 24, 1864.

An effort was made on the application by the beneficiary for pension to the Pension Bureau to attribute the charge of desertion to the unfriendliness and injustice of the soldier's captain, and an unsuccessful effort was made to have the charge removed from the record by the Adjutant-General.

The soldier, therefore, is still recorded as a deserter from camp near Farmington, Miss., since March 12, 1862.

The application of the widow to the Pension Bureau in 1867 states that her husband was missing at Hamburgh, Tenn., May 7, 1862, and not having since been heard from, is supposed to be dead.

The captain of the company testifies that the soldier was employed with the ambulance corps, and that for misconduct he, the captain, ordered him to his company and censured him; that very soon after that the soldier was absent at roll-call and was marked as absent without leave; that in a day or two after that a member of a detail returned to camp from Hamburgh Landing and reported that he had seen the soldier there and had been told by him that "he was off and never would go back." Thereupon he was dropped from the roll as a deserter.

Various theories are presented to account for the soldier's absence in other ways than by desertion, some of his comrades going so far as to express the opinion that he was murdered at the instigation of his captain. None of these theories, however, seem to be more than conjectures with various degrees of plausibility.

If the question of desertion could be solved favorably to the beneficiary, another difficulty immediately arises from the fact that there is absolutely no proof of death except the soldier's long absence without knowledge of his whereabouts; and if his death could be presumed, the cause of it, and whether connected at all with military service, are matters regarding which we have no information whatever.

I am unable to see how a case in such a situation can be considered a proper subject for favorable pension legislation.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 16, 1888.

ELIZA S. GLASS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 11332, entitled "An act granting a pension to Eliza S. Glass."

The husband of this beneficiary was in the military service from December 28, 1863, to April 27, 1864, a period of four months.

He was discharged at the last-mentioned date for disability, the surgeon stating in the certificate his trouble to be "chronic hemorrhoids and rheumatism, both together producing lameness of back; unfit for Invalid Corps." The captain of the soldier's company, in the same certificate, states: "During the last two months said soldier has been unfit for duty fifty-four days in consequence of chronic rheumatism, owing to spinal affections and sprains received before entering the service, and made worse by drilling in double quick."

He filed a claim for pension December 24, 1879, more than fifteen years after discharge, in which he claimed that on the 15th day of January, 1864, he received an injury to his back by slipping and falling upon the ground.

After a thorough examination, this claim was rejected on the ground that his disability existed prior to enlistment.

The beneficiary filed a claim for pension December 3, 1885, alleging the death of the soldier April 26, 1885.

This claim was also rejected on the ground that the death causes, "nervous prostration and spinal trouble," were not due to the service.

Both of these cases were appealed to the Secretary of the Interior, and in the decision of said appeals it is stated that upon an application for a discharge from the service the soldier first set up an injury to his back, from a fall while on drill; that the regimental surgeon refused to entertain this proposition; that the next day the soldier returned, and upon the representations of himself and his captain that his trouble dated back of the alleged accident upon drill, and was chronic, the certificate for discharge was made out, and pursuant thereto his discharge was granted.

I am of the opinion that considering the cause of death and all the facts and circumstances surrounding this case, the certificate of discharge which the soldier himself procured to be made out should stand as stating the true origin of his disability. And if the certificate was set aside and all the facts tending to support it were disregarded, the cause of death would still, in my opinion, appear to be disconnected with military service.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

ELLEN KELLY.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 4820, entitled "An act granting a pension to Ellen Kelly."

The husband of this beneficiary was granted a furlough to go home and vote on the 31st day of October, 1864. On his way there he was severely injured by a railroad collision, and there does not seem to be a particle of doubt that the injuries thus sustained caused his death.

Upon these facts this does not seem to be a proper case for the granting of a pension.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

ELIZABETH HECKLER.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 11222, entitled "An act granting a pension to Elizabeth Heckler."

The husband of this beneficiary was pensioned for asthma, and there is no doubt of the propriety of such pension, nor is there doubt upon the evidence that this affection continued up to the time of his death.

But he died of acute inflammation of the bladder and chronic enlargement of prostate gland. There is no proof that these causes of death were in the least complicated with the difficulty for which the deceased was pensioned, or any other trouble which was the result of military service.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

MARY A. CARR.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 4102, entitled "An act granting a pension to Mary A. Carr."

The husband of this beneficiary served in the Army from November 5, 1863, to June 15, 1865. He made a claim for pension for injury to his left ankle, caused by being thrown from a horse while in the service, and some time after his death a pension was allowed upon his claim at the rate of $4 per month, commencing at the date of his discharge and ending at the date of his death.

He died on the 16th day of March, 1877, of apoplexy, and his widow filed a claim for pension on her own behalf in March, 1885, based upon the allegation that the injury for which her husband was pensioned was the cause of his death.

I can not upon the facts of this case arrive at a conclusion different from the Pension Bureau, where it was determined that the death of the soldier could not be accepted as having been caused by the injury to his ankle.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

LYDIA A. EATON.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message; which

was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 2472, entitled "An act granting a pension to Lydia A. Eaton."

The husband of this beneficiary was pensioned for chronic rheumatism at the rate of $4 a month up to the date of his death, August 4, 1884.

The beneficiary filed a claim for pension on the 2d day of September, 1884.

The cause of her husband's death was cystitis, which being interpreted is inflammation of the bladder.

The claim of the beneficiary was rejected on the ground that the fatal disease was not due to army service, and I fail to discover how any other conclusion can be reached.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

JOHN DAUPER.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 10342, entitled "An act granting a pension to John Dauper."

This beneficiary enlisted April 24, 1861, and was discharged August 28, 1861, four months after enlistment.

He filed a claim for pension in September, 1879, alleging as cause of disability diarrhea and disease of the stomach, liver, kidneys, and bladder.

None of these ailments were established satisfactorily as originating in the soldier's brief service, and as constituting disabilities after discharge.

The claim was therefore rejected by the Pension Bureau, and this action appears to be entirely justified upon the facts presented.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

ESTER GAVEN.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 11005, entitled "An act granting a pension to Ester Gaven."

This act provides that the beneficiary shall be placed upon the pension-roll as the widow of Bernard Gaven, and the report of the committee to whom this bill was referred throughout speaks of her as bearing that relation to the soldier.

She filed a claim in the Pension Bureau for a pension on the 31st day of January, 1881, as the mother of Bernard Gaven.

This claim is still pending, and, though evidence that the death of the soldier had any relation to his military service is entirely lacking and some other difficulties are apparent, the case may still be made out in the Pension Bureau. If it is, the beneficiary can be put upon the pension-roll in her true character as mother of the soldier, instead of widow, as erroneously stated in the bill herewith returned.

Upon the merits as the case now stands and because of the mistake in describing the relationship of the beneficiary this bill, I think, should not become a law.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

MARY HOOPER.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the following message; which was read, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed:

To the House of Representatives:

I return without approval House bill No. 10504, entitled an "An act granting a pension to Mary Hooper."

The husband of this beneficiary was first lieutenant in the volunteer service from December 7, 1861, to February 28, 1862, a little over two months, when he resigned. His resignation was based upon a medical certificate in which it is stated that this officer is unfit for duty on account of chronic pleuritis and pulmonary consumption, from which he has suffered for the past four months.

This certificate is dated February 14, 1862.

The soldier filed a claim in 1871, alleging typhoid fever resulting in paralysis, and that the fever was contracted in the latter part of February, 1862.

The soldier died January 17, 1884, of paralysis.

The beneficiary filed a claim for pension November 17, 1887, claiming that her husband died of disease contracted in the service.

The claims have been specially and thoroughly examined. The testimony does not establish any disease or disability in the service other than those stated in the certificate procured by him when he resigned, but it does tend to establish that about April 17, 1862, after his resignation, the soldier was sick with typhoid fever and that afterwards he suffered from partial paralysis, which increased and finally caused his death.

I make no reference to the fact stated in the committee's report, suggesting the idea that the courage of the deceased soldier had been questioned, further than to correct the allegation of the report that either his or his widow's claim for pension has been rejected for cowardice. It appears from the record furnished to me that they were rejected on the ground that the evidence is insufficient to connect the death cause or disability with the soldier's military service.

I am unable to see what other conclusion could be reached in the face of the soldier's own statements, as contained in the medical certificate furnished him and elsewhere made, and upon consideration of the other facts in the case.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *October* 17, 1888.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. ABBOTT, indefinitely, on account of business.

To Mr. SAYERS, indefinitely.

To Mr. BLISS, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. ROGERS, indefinitely.

To Mr. JACKSON, for five days, on account of business.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled bills and joint resolution of the House and Senate of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (H. R. 11139) to authorize the building of a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River, at La Crosse, Wis.;

A bill (H. R. 11262) to authorize the construction of bridges across the Kentucky River and its tributaries by the Richmond, Irvine and Beattyville Railroad Company;

Joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel; and

A bill (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor.

CORRECTION.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN], as he desires to correct the RECORD.

Mr. RYAN. I desire unanimous consent to call attention to what I believe to be an error reflecting upon the methods of a very prominent business man, contained in a speech recently delivered by Mr. HATCH, of Missouri. It appears in a report which he quotes in his speech from a commercial agent named Washington, dated September 15, and addressed to the Assistant Secretary of State. The specific matter I refer to is as follows:

I am credibly advised——

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. What is the matter which the gentleman desires to present?

The SPEAKER. The Chair understood that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN] desired to make a correction of the RECORD.

Mr. RYAN. I think the Chair misapprehended me. I desire to call attention to an erroneous statement which was made in a speech recently delivered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] upon the floor of the House—a statement which does injustice to a business man.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. That is not a question of privilege.

Mr. RYAN. It is not, and I have not risen to a question of privilege. I ask unanimous consent to call attention to this statement and have read a letter from the business man referred to. That is all I wish to say upon the subject.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. In the absence of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] it does not seem proper that anything intended as a reply to his statement should go into the RECORD by unanimous consent.

Mr. RYAN. I do not propose to make any comment whatever on the matter myself.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Then I object.

Mr. RYAN. I make this request simply for the purpose of allowing a gentleman who can not be heard upon this floor to correct an error which does him injustice, and his letter is very brief.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN] that under an order of the House heretofore made every member has a right to print in the RECORD remarks on the subject of the tariff, and that is a subject to which this statement relates.

Mr. RYAN. Then I will avail myself of that order to make this correction.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I have no objection to that. All that I objected to was that unanimous consent should be given for a statement made by a gentleman not a member of the House to be printed in the RECORD as a correction of another statement said to be erroneous made heretofore by a gentleman who is a member of the House and who is now absent.

Mr. RYAN. Do I understand that the gentleman objects to having the letter read?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. As a matter of unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas has leave to print.

Mr. RYAN. I shall then avail myself of this leave, and shall make such comments of my own as may seem appropriate.

On the 8th of the present month the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] made a speech in this House. The object was apparently to demonstrate to the farmers of our country that the tariff enabled our manufacturers to rob them by exacting extortionate prices. To this end he reiterated what he has elsewhere stated—

That farm implements and farm machinery manufactured in this country were exported and sold to foreign buyers both in Canada and in Mexico, as well as in Europe, at prices lower than they were sold to the American farmers.

He said he made this statement upon the authority of a report made by a commercial agent named Washington, dated London, Ontario, September 15, 1888, and addressed to the Assistant Secretary of State.

To support his statement he incorporated into his remarks the full text of Mr. Washington's report.

I find in that report the following:

I am credibly advised by a very prominent Canadian farmer that he has just bought an American self-binding reaper (Walter A. Wood's) for $110. Laid

down in an American city near the lines the price of same machine in same place to an American farmer would be from $150 to $170.

This same Walter A. Wood was a highly respected member of the Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Congresses, and is one of the largest manufacturers of harvesting machines in the United States. This morning I received a letter from him showing that this statement in Mr. Washington's report is, to use a mild phrase, decidedly misleading. Here is Mr. Wood's letter:

WORMLEY'S HOTEL, *Washington, D. C., October* 17, 1888.

DEAR SIR: I want you to call the attention of the House to a statement which appears in a speech made recently on the floor of the House of Representatives by Mr. HATCH, of Missouri, that one of my machines was sold to a Canadian farmer for a less price than I sell the same machine for to one of our own farmers.

If this is a true statement, the transaction was without my knowledge and not by my authority.

I have a trade in my harvesting machines in every grain-growing country on the globe except Canada, where I have no trade, and in no country do I sell machines for a less price than I sell them for in the United States. I have neither agents or customers in Canada, and I don't believe there are two of my make of harvesting machines in the Dominion. If there is, some one unknown to me has placed them there.

Two hundred thousand copies of this speech, I am told, have been sent out by one press for the farmers to read, from which they get the impression that I trade more fairly with Canada than with the United States, which is not the truth.

If Mr. HATCH cares enough about this question to get at the real truth as far as I am connected with it, I will show him or his secretary my books. If after an examination he does not say his speech has given to the farmers of the United States a wrong impression of the way my business is conducted, I will pay him for his expenses and the trouble he incurs in making the examination.

Very respectfully, yours,

WALTER A. WOOD.

Hon. THOMAS RYAN,
House of Representatives.

But the report of this "commercial agent," as he designates himself, contains a further statement, in substance that the Oliver Chilled Plow Company, of Indiana, sells the Oliver plow in Canada $4 less than they sell it in the United States. The Oliver Plow Company deny this in the most unequivocal terms in a letter which I find in the speech referred to. Let the letter speak for itself:

SOUTH BEND, IND., *August* 31, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 29th ultimo is at hand and carefully noted. We do not suppose that Hon. W. H. HATCH, Congressman from your district, would willfully misrepresent us, but the statements made in his speech at your place on the 28th instant have no foundation in fact whatever. The truth is, we have little or no trade in Canada, as the 35 per cent. duty most effectually shuts us out from that market. There may be imitations of our plows, produced by Canadian manufacturers, but we know nothing of them, and are in no wise responsible for them. We do not favor foreign trade in the least, and all reports that we do are false. We export our plows largely to Europe, Mexico, South America, and elsewhere, but buyers for those countries pay us exactly the same price that American dealers do. As to the retail price, take your number 40, which is our standard plow. It is retailed in this country, complete with wheel and jointer, for $14, while the same plow is sold in Great Britain for several dollars more. It is gratifying to us to have our plows so well thought of abroad, but we can say without egotism that their popularity is due solely to their merit.

The United States is the home of the plow, and its manufacture has been brought nearer to perfection in this country than elsewhere on the face of the globe. Competition is brisk; factories are plenty, and not only do Americans produce the best plows made, but they are sold cheaper to the user here than in any foreign land. The statements made by Mr. HATCH are not new, and each Presidential year "bob up serenely" as a factor in politics, but we are somewhat surprised that a gentleman of his reputation should make such charges without satisfying himself of their truth. What we have said to you is the truth, pure and simple, and we are prepared to substantiate the same on any or all occasions.

Mr. P. M. Smith, of your place, writes us in regard to this same subject, and we reply to him as we do to you. Thanking you both for calling our attention to the matter, and hoping that we may be set right in your community, we beg to remain,

Yours, truly,

OLIVER CHILLED PLOW WORKS.

H. F. MILLAN, Esq., *Kirksville, Mo.*

This Mr. Washington could read with profit the story of another Washington and his little hatchet. The zeal of this free-trade official of this free-trade Administration seems to have seriously warped his capacity for accuracy.

If the statements of Mr. Wood and the Oliver Chilled Plow Company are entitled to credit, the report of Mr. Washington, upon which the gentleman from Missouri based his speech, is not creditable even as a campaign document, for which it was evidently designed.

Inaccurate and misleading as it is, the speech of the gentleman of Missouri is made the vehicle to transport it through the mails at the cost of the tax-payers of the United States to the farmers of our country for the purpose of prejudicing and arraying them against the manufacturing industries of our own land. By such doubtful methods it is supposed American farmers will be persuaded to break down their own home markets that take more than 90 per cent. of their products. By such questionable influences it is sought to move the American farmer to close the American workshops and drive our wagemen therefrom or reduce them to the wretched condition of foreign labor.

By such agencies it is hoped to align the farmer against himself by securing his assistance to drive our wagemen from the shop to the farm, thereby converting the consumer of his products into a competitor. Such is the artful means by which it is expected the American farmer may be induced to strike down his own home market, without the possibility of any material increase of his foreign market, and to surrender the rich markets of our own country to foreign producers, who, when once they get a monopoly of our trade, will be able to dictate to them—to our farmers—the prices of what they have to sell and what they need to buy.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment House bills of the following titles:

A bill (H. R. 7964) granting to the Aberdeen, Bismarck and Northern Railway a right of way across a portion of the Sioux reservation in Dakota Territory; and

A bill (H. R. 10735) for the removal of the political disabilities of Theodore Lewis, of Louisiana.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House to the joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

The message further announced that the Senate had directed its Secretary to request the return to the Senate of a bill (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris.

LEAVE TO PRINT.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, before rising to the question of privilege, I ask unanimous consent to print some remarks in the RECORD. In the early part of this session I introduced a joint resolution in relation to the employment of Army and Navy bands, and I want to print a few remarks in response to what fell from the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HERBERT] on that subject. There is no politics in it.

There was no objection.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. KILGORE. What is the regular order?

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the call of committees for reports; but a request was made by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CONGER] yesterday for the consideration of a bill which was objected to temporarily by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] and the request came over to this morning, and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CONGER] now requests that it be considered; but the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX] states that he rises to a question of privilege, and that is the regular order if it be a question of privilege.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. COX. I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read an editorial from the New York Tribune of September 29, 1888.

The Clerk read as follows:

MR. S. S. COX'S POSTAL FRAUDS.

Illustrations are multiplying, as the campaign proceeds, of the dishonest use that is being made by the Administration and its supporters of the Post-Office Department. It is bad enough to have to put up with such wretched service as the Democracy is giving the country, everywhere involving numberless losses and delays in the transmission of mail matter. We could fill several columns of the Tribune with complaints of this character received from our readers during the last year. It would seem that the Democratic officials at Washington have used the postal service as a reservoir for all the stupidity they have in their party. Scarcely one of the experienced and faithful clerks whose diligence and care had made the service almost perfect when the Democrats took possession of it now remains, and in their places is a lot of ignorant employés appointed solely in payment of party labors. The inevitable result is a demoralized service. That, we say, is bad enough. But to find in addition that the Department is being used by Democratic officials and campaign committees all over the land to aid Mr. Cleveland's re-election is worse.

It was only the other day we discovered that a lot of Democratic campaign documents had been inserted in wrappers containing the Tribune after they had been mailed at the New York post-office. If there were any decency in the Department's management, the rascals who perpetrated that fraud would be hunted down and punished. And now we hold in our possession a large bundle, weighing nearly 4 pounds, addressed to an interior resident, postmarked at station E in this city, and bearing in one corner these words: "Pub. Doc., Free," and in another the signature, "S. S. Cox, M. C." The law which gives Congressmen the franking privilege provides that they "may send and receive through the mail all public documents printed by order of Congress," nothing more and nothing else. Let us look at the "Pub. Doc., Free," printed by order of Congress, which Mr. COX is sending all over the State in 4-pound packages. They are:

1. One copy of "Cartoons from Puck," being a series of the works of Mr. Keppler's artists, devoted largely to the representation of Mr. Cleveland as a sort of demigod, and of Republican statesmen as clowns, dragons, snakes, and creatures of those sorts. There is no mark on this public document indicating that it was "printed by order of Congress."

2. One copy of "The Cartoon," a Democratic campaign paper, some features of which render Mr. COX's liability to the penal statutes against circulating lewd and immoral pictures through the mails a question which District Attorney Walker may perhaps think it necessary to consider. Nor does this public document bear any evidence of having been printed by order of Congress.

3. Nineteen copies of a circular containing twenty-two lies about General Harrison's Chinese record, together with a disgusting picture representing him in the embraces of a Chinaman. We hardly suppose Mr. COX capable of circulating such stuff as this circular contains, though, of course, if he would consent to cheat the Government and to tell a falsehood as he has done by declaring these papers to be "public documents printed by order of Congress," it may well be argued that it is not much worse to bear false witness against General Harrison.

4. Forty-five copies of a lie addressed to farmers, declaring that "the Republican party favors free whisky and the unrestricted manufacture of bogus butter."

5. Ten copies of a card entitled "Facts to Consider," including several that are not facts at all, among which is a statement the inference of which is that "The Christian Union" has declared for Cleveland and Thurman.

6. Ten copies of the Democratic platform.

7. Ten copies of Mr. MILLS's recent harangue at Tammany Hall.

8. Eight copies of "The Louisville Courier-Journal."

9. Fourteen copies of Mr. FITCH'S speech, ten of Mr. SPRINGER'S speech, and nine of Mr. SCOTT'S speech, these being the only public documents in the entire bundle.

As a member of Congress Mr. COX has a great advantage in committing frauds on the postal service over the ordinary Government employé. Had a clerk in one of the Departments abused the penalty stamp as Mr. COX has abused his franking privilege he could have been indicted and sent to jail. Mr. COX will not fail, we are sure, to see the impropriety of a law which permits him to cheat the revenues with impunity.

Will Mr. Don M. Dickinson kindly return to his duty and put a stop to these scandalous abuses?

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I am not very anxious to vindicate what little character I may have as a member of this House, nor any reputation which I may have with members on both sides for the just performance of my duties here. This editorial in the New York Tribune was as much of a surprise to me as I presume it was to any gentleman of either party. It came out while I was at home on my brief vacation, and I at once went to the office of the Tribune and saw the editor and saw the package. The package was very unlike anything ever sent out from this House or from this Congress, or from any Congress. It was not gotten up in the ordinary form; it was not in the ordinary envelope in which we send out public documents that are frankable. It was a melange of everything piled in together. It had what purported to be my frank upon it, and in large letters, "Pub. Doc."—"M. C." The signature was a tolerably good imitation, though very much larger than mine, and the "Pub. Doc." and the "M. C." were so unlike my writing that they might well have suggested the idea of a forgery; but it seems they did not to those engaged in this conspiracy.

I looked at it and told the editor on the instant that it was a forgery. Thereupon he asked me to write a statement which I dictated in his office. I ask the Clerk to read that statement, which was published in the Tribune of the 30th of September last.

Mr. ROGERS. Give us the name of the editor.

Mr. COX. I will give it.

The Clerk read as follows:

To the Editor of the Tribune:

SIR: The editorial in your journal to-day, headed "Mr. S. S. COX'S Postal Frauds," must be founded on a total misconception of facts. I have not directly or indirectly sent out under my frank any documents not frankable under the statute, and no one has been authorized by me to use my name for that purpose. I have no knowledge of any such business, and would not permit it for a moment. I shall write to the Post-Office Department promptly to investigate and punish any one guilty of this infraction of the law.

Since writing the foregoing, I have called upon you in person. You have shown me the package in question, and although it bears the stamp of the Post-Office authorities, showing that the signature has been accepted as mine and the package has gone through the mails, I unhesitatingly pronounce the signature a forgery, and will unite with you in any efforts to bring the perpetrator of such a fraud to justice.

S. S. COX.

NEW YORK, *September* 29, 1888.

Mr. COX. On looking at the signature purporting to be my frank, it occurred to me to make a statement, which I did, to the Postmaster-General, calling his attention to the matter. I stated to him that while I was at home in New York, at the time when this franked package was mailed, as alleged, at Station E, near the Democratic headquarters, I had not franked any documents whatever in New York except half a dozen speeches on the Life-Saving Service and perhaps one or two on the census—speeches which I sent to friends and which I got out of my trunk. I did no other franking in New York City. Apart from that, the only franking I have done during this session has been in this city by a stamp which exhausted itself some weeks ago, when I put it under lock and key and thought no more about it. I have never used it since. The franking done in New York City under my name was the franking of my own speeches, which the national committee ordered. In that case the frank was limited by my own written order to my own speeches, and that order is on file with the committee. So that I could not have been more strict than I was in regard to this business, and I was strict, sir, because I never favored the resuscitation of the franking privilege, as my votes years ago will show.

I ask the Clerk to read also the answer of the Postmaster-General to my request for an investigation. This will give the animus of this business as nearly as I can find it out.

The Clerk read as follows:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., October 3, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, inclosing two articles extracted from recent issues of the New York Tribune with regard to the use by some unknown person of a forged imitation of your frank in the transmission through the mails of certain unfrankable matter.

Several cases involving the misuse of franks of members of Congress have been recently brought to the attention of the Department and are now undergoing investigation.

In two of these cases the genuine frank of Hon. A. P. HOVEY was used some time during the past month to send through the mails certain German Republican newspapers, one of them being the Cincinnati Volksblatt, which are not in any sense frankable matter; though Mr. HOVEY, who was notified of the facts on the 19th ultimo, has declared that the use of his frank for such a purpose was never authorized by him.

In two other cases what appears to be the genuine frank of Hon. M. S. QUAY was used to transmit free through the mails a pamphtet entitled "A Short Review of the Public and Private Life of General Benjamin Harrison;" another entitled the "State Prison South;" several tariff tracts isued by the Industrial League, and a card entitled "Cleveland's Record," which are not and do not purport to be public documents.

In still another case an apparently genuine frank of Hon. JNO. KEAN, jr., has been used to cover a pamphlet entitled "The Liquor Traffic," and another entitled "Protection and Prices," neither of which is frankable under the law.

Information was communicated on the 19th ultimo to both Mr. QUAY and Mr. KEAN of this misuse of their franks, but the Department has, up to this time, not received from either of them any explanation whatever in regard thereto.

These cases all differ from yours in this respect: that they involve the misuse of genuine franks, while in your case the frank is an unmistakable forgery. They are cited to show that the Department is giving prompt attention to matters of this character.

The chief post-office inspector will be directed to give this affair a prompt and thorough investigation, in the course of which an endeavor will be made to obtain from the publishers of the Tribune the wrapper bearing the forged frank, and also to ascertain how the franked package came into their possession.

Yours, very respectfully,

DON M. DICKINSON,
Postmaster-General.

Hon. S. S. COX,
House of Representatives.

Mr. COX. After I had written to the Postmaster-General asking his attention to the matter and his scrutiny into it he sent to the regular authorities at New York, who sent out an inspector. The inspector first called at the New York Tribune office and afterward on me. What he did, the result of his investigation and examination, appears in the report which has been made to the Postmaster-General, and which I procured this morning. I ask the Clerk to read the report to the Postmaster-General and the paper which is an exhibit attached to it.

The Clerk read as follows:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF POST-OFFICE INSPECTOR,
New York, N. Y., October 9, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Above case, No. 105072c, subject "Alleged illegal use of the frank of Hon. S. S. COX, M. C.," has been investigated, and I have the honor to submit the following report: The complaint of the Hon. S. S. COX is that his frank has been used upon a package of mixed matter, some of it frankable and some not. Said package was addressed to "Susan B. Beebe, P. M., South Apalachin, Tioga County, New York," and indorsed "Pub. doc., free; S. S. COX, M. C.," all in writing, and postmarked "New York, E." The papers in the above case were handed to me on the morning of the 5th day of October, 1888, and I at once proceeded to an investigation by calling at the editorial rooms of the New York Daily Tribune, in New York City, N. Y. Saw Mr. Reid, the editor-in-chief, and informed him that the Post-Office Department had undertaken an investigation of the complaint of the Hon. S. S. COX, M. C., as to the illegal use of his frank, and for the purpose of making a proper and thorough investigation, I requested that I be allowed to take the package in question. This request was refused, saying that he had no authority to allow the package to go out of his possession. He was asked if he would allow me to take the package with the assurance that the same would be safely kept and returned to him in good order. He still refused, saying that he would not allow the package to go out of his possession except upon an order from the addressee of the package. He suggested that as successful investigation of the case could be made with a fac-simile of the package bearing the frank of S. S. COX, M. C., and published in the Daily Tribune of October 3, 1888, as could be made with the original package. He was also requested to give the name of the person from whom he received the package. He refused to give the name, saying that he received it from a responsible party. Believing that the possession of this package was absolutely necessary in order to make a successful investigation of this case, I started for South Apalachin, N. Y., on the night of October 5, 1888, to procure, if possible, an order from Susan B. Beebe on Mr. Reid for the delivery of the package. I also desired to make an investigation of the case at South Apalachin, N. Y., post-office. On arriving at the post-office at South Apalachin, N. Y., on the 6th October, 1888, I ascertained that Susan B. Beebe was not the postmaster at that place, and had not been since September 30, 1887.

Elvira E. Bills is the postmaster at South Apalachin, N. Y., and has been since the 30th September, 1887. She is now an invalid, and her husband attends to the duties of the office.

Alonzo Bills, assistant postmaster, says that he was in charge of the post-office at South Apalachin, N. Y., when a package addressed to Susan B. Beebe arrived in the mail from Apalachin, N. Y., about two weeks ago, and he delivered it to either Reuben or Orrin Beebe; does not know which; can not say whether the package was similar to the one described in the Tribune of October 3, 1888, or whether the package was addressed to Susan B. Beebe, postmaster; can not say that the package described in the Tribune of October 3, 1888, ever came through the mail and was delivered to Susan B. Beebe or any member of her family; would not swear that the package did or did not come through the mail; his opinion was that the package came through this office.

Susan H. Beebe says that she was postmaster at South Apalachin, N. Y., up to about the 1st of October, 1887; received a package same as the fac-simile published in the Tribune of October 3, 1888; received the package from her grandson, aged about seven years, who brought the same from the post-office; noticed the address on the package, and my husband and stepson examined the contents, laid it away, and my stepson, Orrin Beebe, took charge of it; never before received a package addressed as the one in question; the package contained books and papers; have not seen the package since my stepson took charge of it; had no knowledge of the package before it was received, nor did not know what disposition would be made of the same after it was received. After explaining the object of this investigation, Mrs. Beebe was requested to give us an order on the editor of the Tribune for the package in his possession addressed to her, which she did.

Reuben Beebe, husband of Susan B. Beebe, says the package was received, as stated by Mrs. Beebe, some time from the 16th to 20th September, 1888; it was handed to me, and I opened the same, took out one paper and read it. The package was in the house two or three days. My son, Orrin Beebe, was a delegate to the Republican Congressional convention held at Owego, N. Y., about the 22d September, 1888, and when there he met Mr. DE LANO, Republican candidate for member of Congress, to whom he stated the circumstance of my wife receiving the package. Mr. DE LANO requested my son to send the package to him, and it was forwarded to him by express from Apalachin. The next we heard of the package was what we read about it in the Tribune.

On the afternoon of October 8, 1888, I presented the order received from Mrs. Beebe for the delivery of the packages at the editorial rooms of the New York Daily Tribune, and the gentleman to whom it was presented questioned the genuineness of the order, remarking that the body of the order was not in the same handwriting as the signature. I informed him that the order was written by myself at Mrs. Beebe's request, and that she signed the same. He refused to deliver the package, at the same time exhibiting a telegram dated at Owego, October 6, 1888, purporting to be from Mrs. Beebe, countermanding the order given me on the same date, remarking at the same time that if he considered the package necessary in the prosecution of this investigation he would deliver

it to me notwithstanding the telegram countermanding the order for the delivery of the same. He further remarked that he did not believe the Department was sincere in its efforts to investigate this matter.

Investigation of this case at headquarters of the Democratic national committee at No. 10 East Twenty-ninth street, New York City, N. Y., shows that documents sent out from this place are usually sent out in large quantities to State or county committees, and only by request from an individual or from some person for them are small packages sent out; that no request to send Susan B. Beebe, P. M., a package of documents has been received at said headquarters; that the name of Susan B. Beebe, P. M., does not appear on the list of persons to whom packages are to be sent, and that documents are not sent out bearing the frank of S. S. Cox, M. C. J. B. Treanor, the gentleman who has charge of forwarding documents, says that he will make affidavit that the package in question was not sent from the national Democratic headquarters in New York City by authority of any one in charge of the mailing department at said headquarters; that he is thoroughly acquainted with the postal laws, and never sends matter under frank of "M. C." unless the same is frankable.

Investigation at the New York State Democratic headquarters at the Hoffman House in New York City shows by the statements of C. R. De Freest, clerk of the executive committee, that no packages similar to the one described in the Daily Tribune of October 3, 1888, have been sent out from the said headquarters; that explicit orders have been given by him not to mail documents addressed to females, whether they were postmasters or not, and that such orders have been strictly observed; that the frank of S. S. Cox, M. C., is only used on envelopes covering the speeches of said S. S. Cox, M. C., mailed from the said New York State Democratic headquarters.

Investigation at Branch E of the New York, N. Y., post-office, shows that large quantities of documents have been received at said Branch E for mailing from the headquarters of the national and State Democratic committees in New York city, and it is impossible to ascertain at what time or by whom the package in question was mailed.

Hon. S. S. Cox, M. C., states that the alleged package franked by him is an unmistakable forgery; and that he will testify on oath that the signature is not his and he did not authorize it.

As a result of this investigation I conclude as follows:

First. That the indorsement of the name of S. S. Cox, M. C., on the package addressed to Susan B. Beebe, P. M., South Apalachin, Tioga County, New York, and mailed at Branch E, New York, N. Y., post-office, is a forgery.

Second. That the Hon. S. S. Cox did not authorize the use of his name on said package.

Third. That it does not appear that said package was authorized to be made by any one at either the national or State Democratic headquarters in the city of New York.

Fourth. That the investigation as to who forged the signature of Hon. S. S. Cox as it appears on said package is practically defeated by the attitude of the Tribune in refusing to deliver up the package upon which the forgery appears. The action of the Tribune seems to have been directed so as to obstruct and defeat investigation rather than promote it. They have done everything possible to block the way to the truth rather than assist in developing the facts.

Herewith inclosed please find order of Susan B. Beebe on the editor of the Tribune for the delivery of the package.

Respectfully, yours, etc.,

C. L. MORRIS,
Post-Office Inspector.

C. E. DOSSER, Esq.,
Inspector in charge New York Division.

Mr. COX. I have the original of that order from Mrs. Beebe. I have made a copy of it, as I must return the original to the files of the Post-Office Department. I will ask the Clerk to read the order of this lady.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Copy.]

SOUTH APALACHIN, N. Y., *October* 6, 1888.

DEAR SIR: I am informed through the columns of the New York Daily Tribune that you have in your possession a package of documents and papers addressed to "Susan B. Beebe, P. M., South Apalachin, Tioga County, New York. Pub. Doc., free; S. S. Cox, M. C." For the purpose of an investigation by the Post-Office Department as to whether the indorsement upon said package of the signature of S. S. Cox, M. C., is a forgery or not, will you have the kindness to deliver the said package addressed as above to C. L. Morris, post-office inspector, and oblige,

Yours, respectfully,

SUSAN B. BEEBE.

Mr. WHITELAW REID,
Editor New York Daily Tribune, New York City, N. Y.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I think the only package of this kind sent out under what purported to be my frank—at least so far as I could ascertain—was the package which has been traced from Station E, New York City, to this place in Tioga County; so that it is not a fact, as stated in the Tribune article, that the country has been flooded with matter of this kind.

Shortly after my statement to the editor of the Tribune and after the publication of my letter to the Postmaster-General, which has been read, the editor very graciously withdrew his charge against me; and in an editorial published on the 30th of September, which happened to be my birthday, he gave me very kindly congratulations, stating that he was very glad to know I was not such a person as I had been represented.

Now, the animus of all this business I will not to-day inquire into. It is not a matter for rhetoric; it is not a matter for objurgation; it is not a matter for retaliation on either side of this House. I bring the subject to the attention of the House now when there is leisure, with the view to the adoption of some remedy for this business in the future. These very franks or stamps which have been used are still being used by Senator QUAY and others, notwithstanding the Postmaster-General has called attention to the matter and written letters to them——

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. The gentleman will allow me a moment. He states that the franks referred to are still being used by Senator QUAY. There is no evidence of that fact.

Mr. COX. I get it from the Postmaster-General; but I withdraw that statement.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. There is no evidence before the House that that is so.

Mr. COX. Yes, sir; there is some evidence.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. It has not been put in.

Mr. COX. I have a statement by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MANSUR] that recently, within a few days, the State of Missouri has been flooded with these unfrankable documents under the stamp of Mr. QUAY; and I have one here before me, sent to me this morning, which comes from a gentleman in New Berne, N. C. The matter covered by the frank in this case embraces extracts purporting to be from various London and other papers—we all know the character of the matter—matter not taken from the RECORD at all; and this is still going on.

Mr. FARQUHAR. The gentleman says those extracts are not from the RECORD. I believe all those British extracts have been published in the RECORD as a part of Congressional speeches.

Mr. COX. If the gentleman will wait until I get through he will find out something more. In this letter from New Berne, N. C., the writer says:

NEW BERNE, N. C., *October* 11, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed please find one of Mr. QUAY'S franks as used by him and sent all over North Carolina. I did not even have time to read it; anyhow, it may be of service to you.

Very truly,

C. ABNER,
Of Baltimore City, 26 S. Paca street.

Mr. SUNSET COX, *Washington, D. C.*

I do not know anything about this, except that it comes to me from an authentic source.

In regard to the retraction of this publication, so far as it impugned my character and reputation, the Tribune did very well on my birthday, and I supposed it was all ended.

I did not propose any remedy for myself personally. I knew that article which was read here was libelous both in law and in fact. I knew it was libelous on Congress—not a legal but a moral libel on Congress. I knew the whole thing would be developed in time; that is, after the election, perhaps; and therefore I rested there about it—did not make it a question to be presented here, did not come here for that purpose. I rested on the statement made by Mr. Reid, editor of the Tribune, after he gave publicity as he did to that cruel and outrageous charge on me of being a cheat and a fraud and using these frauds for some personal or party purpose.

Now, what is the object of fixing a forged frank on me? I had no knowledge, until the inspector revealed it, Mr. DE LANO, my colleague in New York, was engaged in this business. I hope he is not, but it seems a delegate in his Congressional convention was a nephew of the woman who received this anomalous and curious package. He gives it to Mr. DE LANO. I invited him to be here this week, for I did not know how long Congress would last. He is not here. I wish he were, so we might understand why it was that when this forged package—this unfrankable matter came into his possession—why it was that he did not send it to the Postmaster-General. Why did he not at least call attention that such postal matter was going out? Why did he not at least inform me of the transaction and inquire into the alleged forgery? My relations with this gentleman were friendly enough to warrant his doing this much. It certainly demands explanation.

Mr. MCCULLOGH. Mr. DE LANO, the gentleman from New York, is a friend of mine. Does the gentleman mean to make any charge against him?

Mr. COX. You got up once before when I was talking. I thought you were getting tired of getting up. [Laughter.]

Mr. MCCULLOGH. I will get up and sit down whenever I choose.

Mr. COX. Whenever you want anything from me you can get it. [Laughter.] I will take a drink with the gentleman after the election.

Mr. MCCULLOGH. You ought not to say anything about a man behind his back.

Mr. COX. It is not my fault he is not here.

Mr. MCCULLOGH. But he is not here.

Mr. COX. I gave him notice to be here. I am not responsible for this matter at all, or his absence.

Now, any one will see when he examines this signature that it looks like mine. Anybody can make my name; there it is, a few circular marks and it is done. [Laughter.] I know also that if you examine the "Pub. Doc., M. C.," any one can see it is a shabby awkard forgery.

I state now that I sent no matter in New York or elsewhere not frankable. I never have done it. Whoever did do it did it for some purpose. It was to fix reproach on our party or in order to avoid the reproach which may fall upon gentlemen on the other side. Not gentlemen who sit here on the other side, but gentlemen of the party.

These documents have gone all over the country. Why did not these Senators and others call attention of the Post-Office Department to them as I have done? I have done my duty. Why do they not do it? It is all I can do. I can not go elsewhere. You authorized this inspection service. I can not go elsewhere. I am too old a politician to meddle much in newspaper business. It does not pay in the long run to have a contest with one of these grand newspapers, therefore I have avoided it now as I have always done. I felt it to be my duty to my constituents to make this statement to the House.

Why do I say that? Because after the statement of Mr. Reid, so handsomely made, of having thoroughly exculpated myself from the action

alleged in the editorial to which I have called attention here, he comes out on the following Sunday in an editorial and reiterates substantially the same statements, and publishes a fac-simile of the forged signature and indorsements on the package, with the name reduced so as to make it more similar to the manner in which I ordinarily write my own name. It was written originally fully three times as large as I ordinarily write. In the fac-simile as published in the Tribune it is reduced to about the size of my signature. Why is this thing being promulgated? What is the animus of it? Is it for a good purpose? The forged package is now, as a matter of fact, posted up in the Tribune window in Park Row—in their show-window in Printing House Square—for the people to look at and fix a stigma upon me as a man and as a candidate for Congress.

It will not have the effect hoped any more than if it was written in water. But the reproach is there, and every gentleman in Congress shares in it with me if this thing should be allowed to go on with such scandalous effrontery.

These, Mr. Speaker, all are facts. Every gentleman must see that there is a little, sneaking, unkind, unfair, microscopic meanness about it for which language has no term of reproach and human ingenuity no fit mode of expression.

Without reflecting upon anybody, unless to vindicate myself and the American Congress, I leave the matter where it is, to the good sense o the American people everywhere. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BAYNE. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. MCMILLIN). For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. BAYNE. I wish to be heard upon this question for a moment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is not debatable. The gentleman from New York rose to a question of privilege.

Mr. BAYNE. I wish to be heard——

Mr. COX. Permit me one moment further. I have a letter here sent from a gentleman in Iowa, which contains certain matter which is unfrankable, extracts from English newspapers. "England seeks to make the United States a dependency of her own" and other matter of that kind, which has been sent out in that part of the country under the frank of Mr. QUAY to a gentleman in Iowa, whose name I will not give unless it shall be necessary, and which matter has been sent to the Speaker of this House for the purpose of showing that Iowa is also being flooded with just such matter as I have called attention to. If the assault upon me has not been made to cover up this sort of action on the part of somebody else I am unable to perceive what can be the motive.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Will the gentleman allow a word?

Mr. COX. Certainly.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I do not know what frank, if any, these documents are being sent out under; but I do know that the State of Iowa is being flooded with Puck, and the oleomargarine document to which reference is made in that package, from New York, and which is in the Tribune office. The very same documents are being sent out there and scattered throughout that State; but whether franked or not I do not know.

Mr. COX. Well, will the gentleman from Iowa, if there be a wrong in this thing, aid me in finding out the wrong-doer?

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I do not know who does this.

Mr. COX. Well, will you join me in endeavoring to hunt the matter down? The Postmaster-General says that he will probe the matter to the bottom, and he will bring it before the grand jury. He will do this in the forgery in my case to obtain a conviction of the forger. To this end, to prove the body of the crime, the original document will be had.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I will join with you in an endeavor to investigate the matter.

Mr. COX. I knew you would. You are an honorable man and a soldier, and I am satisfied to stand by you.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. But I call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that the Postmaster-General is swift to give the names of men on one side whose franks are alleged to be used in this manner, but he does not call attention to any on the other, even to the name of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. ALLEN] whose name was used in that same connection.

Mr. WHEELER. Because there are no Democrats engaged in that business.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I presume the gentleman from New York can attend to this matter.

Mr. COX. I will take care of it.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. And I trust that the gentleman from New York in the range he has taken will take a broad enough view of this subject to concede the right on this side of the House to be heard briefly on this question, and not to shut off some remarks in answer to what he has said.

Mr. COX. I have not tried to do so. I will be very glad to hear from the gentleman.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. The gentleman from Pennsylvania and myself would like to be heard.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I would like to ask the gentleman from New York a question.

Mr. COX. Certainly.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Believing most sincerely in the statement that the gentleman from New York has made with reference to his connection with the matter under discussion, I hope for the sake of the dignity of the occasion that he will withdraw all allusions to the possibility of this action having been inaugurated for the purpose of covering up any infractions of law which may be alleged against the other side.

Mr. COX. I will withdraw that with a great deal of pleasure, *pro forma*, if you will have the manliness to say that I have made a perfect exculpation of myself from the charge of the New York Tribune.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I do say it.

Mr. COX. Then I hope the gentleman from Pennsylvania will begin his remarks in the same kind tone.

Mr. BAYNE. I wish to make a few observations.

Mr. COX. I will yield to you, if you will begin in that way. [Laughter.]

Mr. BAYNE. If the gentleman had permitted a suggestion I was about to make to come without putting a condition upon it, it would have been more satisfactory to him and to myself also. I fully acquit the gentleman from New York of having committed anything wrong in this matter, and take his explanation to be candid and true.

Mr. COX. That is all right.

Mr. BAYNE. While, however, the gentleman has made an explanation which should be entirely satisfactory regarding himself, he has by the report of the Postmaster-General and by some observations he himself has made undertaken to involve Senator QUAY in the kind of a difficulty from which he has extricated himself. I desire to say a word or two on this part of his speech. The gentleman stated, and he must have done so without sufficient examination, that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. MANSUR], I believe, handed him documents——

Mr. COX. I said he had gone for the documents, and that a great lot of them had gone to his State. This one came from North Carolina.

Mr. BAYNE. This is another one.

Mr. COX. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAYNE. Well, the gentleman stated that some documents had gone into North Carolina under the frank of Hon. M. S. QUAY, United States Senator, and that they were not frankable matter. There are several documents contained in that envelope, and every one of them is a frankable document. The gentleman did not examine them. If he will do so, he will see that every one is a portion of a speech made by somebody in the House of Representatives or the Senate. The first I have in my hand quotes a number of sentences from a speech made by Hon. NELSON DINGLEY, Jr., of Maine, in the House of Representatives, May 4, 1888. This is followed by a quotation from a speech by Hon. SETH L. MILLIKEN, of Maine, in the House of Representatives, May 12, 1888; then comes an extract from a speech of Hon. S. R. PETERS, in the House of Representatives, May 17, 1888; then a quotation from a speech made by Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN, of New Jersey, April 26, 1884; then a quotation from a speech of the same gentleman; still another, and still another. Then there is a quotation from a speech made by Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, Jr., of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, May 18, 1888; then another quotation from Mr. MCKINLEY, and one quotation after another from speeches made by members of the House of Representatives in the discussion on the tariff question during this year and in the year 1884.

Mr. NELSON. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] allow me a question?

Mr. BAYNE. Let me get through with my statement.

Mr. NELSON. I just want to ask one question.

Mr. BAYNE. Very well.

Mr. NELSON. My question is this: Were these papers printed at the Government Printing Office?

Mr. BAYNE. I do not know whether they were or not.

Mr. NELSON. Now, is not that the dividing line?

Mr. BAYNE. Oh, no, sir.

Several MEMBERS. No, it is not.

Mr. BAYNE. I have seen an immense edition of the speech delivered by the able Speaker of the House of Representatives, which was not printed at the Government Printing Office, and which was distributed under frank.

Mr. NELSON. Suppose somebody collects speeches and makes a compendium and the printing is done at a private printing office. Is that frankable?

Mr. RYAN. Yes.

Mr. WARNER. Certainly it is.

Mr. BAYNE. It is perfectly plain that it is; and it has been the practice all along. You can have them printed at any place you please and send them out under the franking privilege.

Now, Mr. Speaker, these documents, all of which seem to have been inclosed in one envelope and sent to Mr. J. K. Kearn, New Berne, N. C., and under the frank of Senator QUAY, are frankable documents. There may be a disposition on the part of some one to take a technical exception, because, perhaps, captions are put on them.

Mr. COX. I would like to ask the gentleman a question there.

Mr. BAYNE. Whether these captions appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I do not know.

Mr. COX. Suppose they do not?

Mr. BAYNE. I do not know——

Mr. COX. Suppose they do not appear in the RECORD, would that be frankable matter?

Mr. BAYNE. I should say it was, because the substance is given; and a designation of that sort, especially where separated from the body of the speech, is necessary to direct attention to the subject-matter of the article.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania hold that excerpts from or a syllabus of a speech that was never made or printed in the RECORD as such would be frankable matter because it was put in that speech?

Mr. BAYNE. I say that it has been the practice of the parties from time immemorial.

Mr. MCMILLIN. To send that kind of matter?

Mr. BAYNE. To send that kind of matter.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I deny it. There never was an instance of it, so far as I know, until it went out under Senator QUAY'S frank, in such a form as I will read if the gentleman will permit me:

The present conspiracy against the material interests of the Pacific coast. Remarkable utterances of an English statesman. Free trade will establish there all the insignia of conquest.

That goes out as a heading to an extract from a speech.

A MEMBER. Was it ever published in the RECORD?

Mr. MCMILLIN. There is no evidence that it ever was. It does not have any such appearance; it is not in the type of the Government Printing Office, and I hold that there is no justification for such a publication being sent out under a frank.

Mr. BAYNE. And I aver, with knowledge of the facts to a very considerable extent, that it has been the practice of both parties from time immemorial to send out such matter.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Where is the evidence of it?

Mr. BAYNE. I decline to be interrupted further.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The gentleman has been holding the floor by unanimous consent, and can be cut off at any moment.

Mr. BAYNE. The gentleman from New York [Mr. COX] yielded to me.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I am not going to cut the gentleman off, but I called attention to the fact that he was proceeding by unanimous consent, because I wanted him to understand that neither the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX], nor any other gentleman has the right, upon a question of privilege, to yield the time of the House to any one else. I want it understood that we know how we are proceeding here.

Mr. BAYNE. Courtesy was extended to the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX], and very properly, to make his statement, and then he yielded to me, and I——

Mr. MCMILLIN. Courtesy was extended to the gentleman from New York on a question of privilege.

Mr. BAYNE. Who has the floor? Courtesy was extended to the gentleman from New York to go on and make his statement. He made it. Part of that statement, it seemed to me, was open to serious exception, even as a vindication of himself. He read a report from the Postmaster-General which failed utterly to explain the matters with which the frank of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX] was connected; and when the Postmaster-General went to the extent of alleging that General HOVEY, and Senator QUAY, and Mr. KEAN, of New Jersey, had sent out improper matter under their franks, as if that distinguished legal mind thought that the vindication of the gentleman from New York was to be made by saying to these Republicans "You're another; somebody else has done what you have done, and therefore you are guiltless." When the Postmaster-General went to that extent, I thought it was quite outside of this case.

The statement of the gentleman from New York himself with respect to his connection with this affair, and the statement of the inspector, were evidence that bore directly upon the case, and constituted, to my mind, the gentleman's full vindication, and I accord to him the full benefit of it. But when it was assumed and alleged by the Postmaster-General that Senator QUAY had sent out documents improperly, when it was assumed and alleged by the gentleman from New York that Senator QUAY had violated the franking privilege, and when the evidence produced to sustain that allegation utterly refutes it in the light of the experience and practice of both parties from time immemorial, then the country can form some judgment of the value of the conclusion arrived at by the Postmaster-General respecting the alleged abuse of the franking privilege by Senator QUAY. It is conceded that a part of the matters contained in the package sent out under the frank of the gentleman from New York were in no sense frankable. That package contained a copy of Puck, which certainly was not frankable, and there were other unfrankable matters in it. But when documents made up of excerpts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, extracts from speeches delivered in the House and in the Senate, with perhaps a little heading added for the purpose of drawing attention to the substance of the extract—when these things are adduced here as evidence to show that the franking privilege has been violated by other gentlemen, I say they utterly fail to establish that fact, and the allegation is false, whether it comes from the Postmaster-General or any other man, and deserves no confidence.

Mr. ROGERS. Do I understand from the statement of the gentleman from Pennsylvania that he admits that Senator QUAY is sending out those things, or authorizing it to be done?

Mr. BAYNE. I do not know, but I do not doubt that he is, and I claim that these matters are properly and legitimately frankable.

Mr. ROGERS. I only wanted to have the fact understood.

Mr. BAYNE. I do not know the fact, but I have no doubt of it.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. BAYNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I hold in my hand a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 25. Does the gentleman mean to say that if this RECORD was sent to any printing office in any part of the country and was there copied *verbatim et literatim*, the copy thus made would be a frankable document?

Mr. BAYNE. I do.

Mr. COX. Suppose there were subheads as large as the extracts?

Mr. BAYNE. That is another question.

Mr. COX. Now, are you really clear in your own mind and conscience that you are right about that?

Mr. BAYNE. I am, because it has been the practice, and because liberty has been given in these campaigns to prepare extracts from speeches and circulate them in this way. In reply to the suggestion of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY], I will say that I have at times sent out copies of my own speeches delivered in the House which were printed outside of the Government Printing Office. The present Speaker of this House has also done it; and he ought to know what is proper in this matter. There are many other members of this House who have done the same thing. It has been the practice for many years to do it. These subheadings themselves, for aught that I know, may appear in the speeches themselves. I have had no opportunity to make an examination and comparison in that respect; but whether that be so or not, both parties are doing this thing in this canvass, and both parties have done it in years past. Right on my left——

Mr. COX. Allow me——

Mr. BAYNE. One moment.

Mr. COX. I hope the gentleman will yield to me; I was courteous to him.

Mr. BAYNE. I will yield in a moment. On my left sits the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], who is either sending out or having sent out hundreds upon hundreds—perhaps thousands upon thousands—of speeches, each one of which seems to take up a particular topic; and these speeches are circulated with subheads which do not appear in the RECORD. I have copies of them at home now, lying on my desk. If there has been, then, a violation of the franking privilege by Senator QUAY, the gentleman from Kentucky is guilty of a similar violation of law in the circulation of these speeches which are now going over the country, for aught that I know, by tens of thousands.

Mr. COX. I gave to the gentleman at his request the extracts which were sent to Mr. Speaker CARLISLE. Does the gentleman undertake to tell the House that any of those extracts were ever in the RECORD?

Mr. BAYNE. I say exactly that; that these extracts were in the RECORD. Here is a speech of Hon. J. N. DOLPH——

Mr. COX. Do not mix up the different matters.

Mr. BAYNE. No, sir. I have here the one sent to Speaker CARLISLE. It is a speech of Hon. J. N. DOLPH, of Oregon, in the Senate May 12, 1888. From this speech two of the extracts are taken, one a quotation from the London Globe, which Senator DOLPH put in the RECORD; another from the London Daily News, which, no doubt, he also put in the RECORD as a part of his speech. These are credited to Senator DOLPH, as embraced in his speech in the Senate May 12, 1888. Here is another, and still another, from the same quarter. Here is a quotation from the speech of Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, May 18, 1888. Everything set forth in these extracts is in the RECORD, unless it be the subheads, and as to subheads the gentleman from Kentucky has properly enough employed them in the circulation of some of his speeches; and other gentlemen on both sides of the House have, no doubt, done the same.

This is all I have to say. These facts tell their own story. They are a complete and thorough vindication of the integrity of Senator QUAY in this matter. I have no doubt that the case of Mr. KEAN, of New Jersey, is analogous. If some German papers were sent out under the frank of General HOVEY, of Indiana, it is stated that he has explained the matter to the satisfaction of the Postmaster-General, just as my friend from New York [Mr. COX] has made an explanation satisfactory, not only to the Postmaster-General, but to the whole country.

Mr. COX. Does the gentleman believe that a translation into German of matter taken from the RECORD would be frankable?

Mr. BAYNE. I do.

Mr. COX. Well, I declare!

Several MEMBERS. Regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I think after the allusion which has been made to me, I ought to be allowed a moment. The difference between——

Mr. BAYNE. The gentleman from Kentucky will excuse me one moment. I wish to add that inquiry was made of the Postmaster-

General, and he gave authority for the sending through the mails under frank of public documents translated into different languages.

Mr. COX. And you think that right?

Mr. BAYNE. The Postmaster-General has so decided.

Mr. HAUGEN. I wish to state that in the early part of this session Senator SAWYER made inquiry at the Post-Office Department whether translations into other languages of matter taken from the RECORD were frankable, and he was informed that they were. At the same time inquiry was made whether RECORD matter, if printed elsewhere than at the Government Printing Office, was frankable; and again the answer was in the affirmative.

Mr. COX. Who authorizes the translation and who translates in such cases? How can it be known that the translation is accurate?

A MEMBER. The Postmaster-General has given his opinion.

Mr. COX. I do not care who gives an opinion, if the law be not complied with. The Postmaster-General has been too liberal.

Mr. MILLIKEN. You have no right to impeach your own witness.

Mr. COX. I am not doing so.

I wish to reiterate, before my friend from Kentucky addresses the House, that the only object I had in calling attention to the statement of the Postmaster-General as to these other franks was to get at the intent of making this false charge against me. What could have been the reason for it? Was it the cry of "Stop thief?"

Mr. BAYNE. Oh, no, because the cases are not analogous.

Mr. COX. Really!

Mr. BAYNE. Although I acquit the gentleman from New York, and believe every word he has said about this matter, I insist there is no foundation whatever for any charge against Senator QUAY or Mr. KEAN—not a particle.

Mr. COX. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania very cordially for his kind expressions in regard to myself.

Mr. BAYNE. Let me say one thing further to the gentleman from New York. Upon an investigation, it appears that every one of these subheads is taken from the speech as published in the RECORD.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Every one of the subheads appearing in the copy of the speech sent to Mr. CARLISLE will be found in the RECORD.

Mr. BAYNE. So that in fact no matter has been circulated by Senator QUAY in this way except that which was a part of the RECORD?

Mr. COX. If the subheads are taken from the RECORD, it does not matter, of course, as to the typography.

That is not the question I raise here against Senators and others, of complaints of subheads sent broadcast over the country and no response made to this statement of the Post-Office Department by the Republican party; but whether there was not a sort of mystery, a sort of diabolism in raising this charge against an innocent man like myself. [Laughter.]

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. The gentleman must remember so far as the charge is true these documents were sent out by somebody. You stand acquitted, but the Tribune has the right to publish that to show the Democratic party during that time, not through the gentleman from New York, has been distributing these documents to the editors of the country.

Mr. COX. My inference is that there is some motive outside of mere politics.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. The reports furnished by the gentleman from New York show a greater desire to comment for political effect rather than to get at the real party.

Mr. COX. It is true I might find as a motive for this transaction it was if intended to cloud this business by sending out garbled extracts and subheads from Republican headquarters and from others to raise the charge on me.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. You have not proved they are garbled. That remains to be proved. And you must admit those documents referred to in the Tribune were sent under your frank. Notwithstanding what the Postmaster-General says, it is evident they submitted them to inspection and invited them to make exact copies, which would answer every purpose for the use of the inspector. They had the right, however, to hold the thing itself in the Tribune office, because everybody knows that would be legal evidence in court.

Mr. BAYNE rose.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's hour expired some time ago.

Mr. BAYNE. I ask to be printed as part of my remarks this document.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I object, because I do not want it made frankable.

Mr. BAYNE. These documents——

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa, It is frankable now, and you can not prevent it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Give me a moment, only a moment, as my name has been brought in. I do not make any comment upon what has been done by the Senator from Pennsylvania, for I have not examined the documents, nor have I any information whether this is frankable, whether these compendiums can be made; but as to the gratuitous reference to myself by the gentleman from Pennsylvania the whole foundation for it is, and I have sent for one of my speeches, at the top of page 3 are the words, "On free raw hides and free wool." Another one was "Tax on books or information." I have not that one here.

Mr. BAYNE. Another was on sugar.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Yes. Another was on the sugar bounty.

Mr. BAYNE. Another on free raw hides.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Yes; another on free raw hides. Those are subheads.

Mr. BAYNE. And do not appear in the RECORD.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. And I suppose do not appear in the RECORD.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. All right. We do not object. It is done by both committees, and has been since the flood.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. What I wanted to do was to put on the record the exact fact so far as I am concerned so the RECORD may show the extent of my guilt, if I am guilty, and to thank my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] for acquitting his distinguished Senator by saying he followed my example, even if it were a bad example.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. You were both innocent.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled a bill (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris; when the Speaker signed the same.

UNITED PEORIAS AND MIAMIES.

Mr. PEEL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit a privileged report from a committee of conference.

The report was read, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8074) to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to the United Peorias and Miamies in the Indian Territory, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

On page 2 in line 29, of the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment, after the word "building," insert the words "together with the land." On page 5 of said amendment, in lines 9 and 10, strike out the words "in the Interior Department."

On page 6 of said amendment in line 1 strike out the word "removed to the Indian Territory;" and strike out all from lines 16 to 19, inclusive, on page 6 of said amendment, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"And the court may ascertain the reasonable value of the services of counsel employed by said confederated tribes to represent the tribes on said examination, not to exceed 10 per cent. of the aggregate sum actually in controversy; and the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be paid to said counsel so much of the sum so ascertained as in equity and justice he may consider to be due for such service, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States now due to said tribes arising from the sale of the lands of said tribes in Kansas."

And the Senate agree to the same.

S. W. PEEL,
J. M. ALLEN,
B. W. PERKINS,
Managers on the part of the House.

H. L. DAWES,
O. H. PLATT,
JOHN T. MORGAN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

The managers on the part of the House submit the following statement:

The managers upon the part of the House after a full and free conference with the conferees upon the part of the Senate upon the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon H. R. 8074, alloting lands between the Peoria and Miami Indians in Indian Territory, and for other purposes, beg leave to submit the following report: House bill provided that each person of the confederated tribes be allotted 220 acres with the privilege of selling all of his or her allotment except 160 acres. Senate amendment changed the amount to be allotted to each person from 220 to 200 acres without right to sell any part of it, and the remainder of this reservation to be held in common and leased for the benefit of the tribes under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to which your conferees agree, and ask that the House adopt, etc.

Also Senate amendment allowing that portion of the Peorias known as the citizens members to bring suit in Court of Claims to settle their rights and interest to certain moneys held in trust by the United States, to which we also agree, and respectfully ask concurrence upon part of the House.

S. W. PEEL,
J. M. ALLEN,
B. W. PERKINS,
Managers on the part of the House of Representatives.

Mr. PEEL. I ask the adoption of the report.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, at the time this bill was under consideration in the House there were certain features of it which were opposed by my colleague, Mr. LA FOLLETTE, a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs. He is now, with so many other members of the House, necessarily absent, but informs me that after the passage of the bill through the House he made an inquiry at the Indian Office and found that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was opposed to the bill in its present form.

He desires to have this bill held for consideration until his return, as he wishes to make some observations or remarks in regard to it; and for that reason I shall have to oppose its consideration at this time. I shall do it on his account alone.

Mr. PEEL. I am not aware that there is any opposition in the Indian Office or anywhere else to the bill in its present form. My colleague on the committee [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], as I understand, never made any opposition to the provisions of this bill.

Mr. HAUGEN. The particular feature of the bill to which he is opposed, and to which he informed me the Indian Office is opposed, is that referring to the alienation of the lands by the grantees of the allottees.

The bill, as I understand it, for I am not familiar with its provisions, provides that the allottees shall not alienate the lands allotted to them except to some other Indian; but there is no restraint upon the other Indian who may become the grantee of the allotment.

Mr. PEEL. There is nothing of that kind in the Senate amendment.

Mr. HAUGEN. Not in the Senate amendment, but in the bill as it passed the House.

Mr. PEEL. This bill has been changed entirely by the Senate. This simply changes the manner of allotment.

Mr. HAUGEN. I understand the Senate amendment does not touch that feature.

Mr. PEEL. That is not the bill at all.

Mr. HAUGEN. But the Senate amendment does not strike that from the bill?

Mr. PEEL. The Senate amendment is a substitute for the bill. It is all stricken out.

Mr. HAUGEN. Let the bill lie over until to-morrow——

Mr. PEEL. I should not object to that, but I will be compelled to be absent.

Mr. HAUGEN. Then let it lie over for a few moments until I can examine it. I do not object, of course, on my own account.

Mr. PEEL. Very well; I will withdraw the report for a few minutes to give the gentleman an opportunity to examine the bill.

LAND DISTRICT, FOLSOM, N. MEX.

Mr. CONGER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call up for present consideration the bill S. 2040, which was before the House on yesterday.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. COX). The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CONGER] calls up the bill the title of which the Clerk will read.

Mr. CONGER. This bill was read on yesterday.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. And it is a continuing matter.

Mr. RYAN. What is the bill?

Mr. CONGER. A bill for the establishment of a land district in the eastern part of the Territory of New Mexico.

Mr. RYAN. Was unanimous consent given on yesterday?

Mr. CONGER. It was laid over at the suggestion of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN], who wanted time to examine it before giving consent to its consideration. I hope the gentleman from Kansas will not object.

Mr. RYAN. I desire to know the status of the bill. I understood it was objected to on yesterday by the gentleman from Tennessee. If that is so, and if he withdraws the objection this morning, it is still the subject of objection, as I understand.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Tennessee asked that it lie over until to-day; but it is still open to objection.

Mr. RYAN. Then I hope it will not be considered this morning. I wish to examine it, and shall object for the present.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Objection being made, the bill is not before the House.

Mr. KILGORE. I demanded the regular order a few moments ago, but will withhold it for the present to allow the gentleman from Kentucky to make a request.

REPAIR SHOP FOR MAIL-BAGS.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I ask unanimous consent to take up for present consideration the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11599) authorizing the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington, to be used as a mail-bag repair-shop, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Postmaster-General be, and he is hereby, authorized to rent for a term until July 1, 1889, a suitable building in the city of Washington for the purpose of being used as a mail-bag repair-shop and for the storage of the supplies used by the Post-Office Department in supplying post-offices, at a rental not exceeding the rate of $3,000 per annum.

And for the purpose of providing for the expenses incidental to the occupancy of such building and for the proper performance of the work therein until July 1, 1889, the following sums are hereby appropriated, payable out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated:

For rent, $3,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary; for two watchmen, at the rate of $720 per annum each; one laborer, at the rate of $660 per annum; one charwoman, at the rate of $240 per annum; for gas, $250, or so much thereof as may be necessary; and for fuel, $500, or so much thereof as may be necessary; in all, $6,090.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MONTGOMERY moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I ask that the letters, which I send to the Clerk's desk and which are explanatory of the necessity for the passage of this bill, be published in the RECORD.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. What is the substance of the letters?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. They simply explain the necessity for the passage of this bill.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I have announced my purpose of objecting to the passage of any bills except those connected with labor; and understanding that this bill just passed was one of that kind I made no objection. I do not see the necessity for printing the letters.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Ohio objects.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, it is stated to me that it may be for the information of the Senate to have these letters printed, and I therefore withdraw my objection.

There was no further objection, and it was so ordered.

The letters are as follows:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., October 5, 1888.

SIR: In view of the fact that the post-office at Washington City will be removed from its present site on Louisiana avenue, and that the mail-bag repair-shop, which is located in the post-office building, can have no room in the new building at the Pension Office, I have the honor to request that application be made to Congress for an appropriation of at least $5,000 to enable the Department to rent a suitable building for the mail-bag repair-shop.

Under recent orders issued by you, the mail-bag repair-shop at the city of Washington has become the main repair shop of all the bags in the service. At present there are ninety persons employed in this shop, and the premises now occupied by them are partly unfit and can not be used in the winter.

The result of your order making Washington City the main repair office has been a very large saving in the annual cost of bags and sacks, and it would be a great detriment to the public service and seriously to be deprecated if the efficient work of this shop should be interfered with for the want of proper accommodation.

Very respectfully,

A. LEO KNOTT,
Second Assistant Postmaster-General.

Hon. DON M. DICKINSON,
Postmaster-General.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
DIVISION OF POST-OFFICE SUPPLIES,
Washington, D. C., October 8, 1888.

SIR: By the request of the chief clerk of the Post-Office Department I have the honor to submit the reasons in brief for the necessity of additional storage room being furnished to the division of post-office supplies.

The present space is entirely inadequate to keep on hand a sufficient stock of the articles required by the postal service. Owing to this lack of room the Department is required to make orders for small quantities of the various articles contracted for, thus adding largely to the clerical work; and in case of contractors furnishing inferior supplies, owing to the limited amount of these articles enabled to be kept on hand the inspection committee is obliged to accept them at a reduction instead of rejecting them as should be done in all cases when supplies do not come up to the contract requirements. This course is detrimental to the service and costly to the Department.

Often, when contractors are delayed in the delivery of supplies owing to the breaking of machinery or negligence, or when railroads fail to deliver promptly, from accident or otherwise, the Department is unable to furnish postmasters with the supplies necessary to properly conduct their business, and the postal service of the country is embarrassed. For nearly four years no additional storage room has been furnished, while during that time 12,510 new post-offices have been established, which, taken with the natural growth in the business of the service, have completely overrun the storage room of the division. Every available space is now occupied to its fullest extent, even to the corridors, and heavy articles like twine and wrapping-paper have to be piled to such a height that the lives of visitors to the Department and of employés are often in danger. By this course additional help is required to perform the manual labor. Action should at once be taken to procure storage room sufficient to carry at least a three months' supply of the various articles furnished.

I have the honor to remain, very respectfully,

J. L. WOODBRIDGE, *Superintendent.*

Hon. DON M. DICKINSON,
Postmaster-General.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 9, 1888.

SIR: Referring to my letter of the 5th instant to the Postmaster-General, by him referred to you with a recommendation for an appropriation of $5,000 for a repair shop in the city of Washington and a storage-room for post-office supplies, I have the honor to submit the following facts:

An investigation made last March disclosed the fact that there were in the New York and Washington post-offices on March 1, 1888, about 375,000 bags—leather and jute—which had been suffered to accumulate in those repair shops and had not been, by proper repairs, kept in the current stock of the Department and in use.

Under an order of the Postmaster-General, the repair shop at the city of Washington was placed under my immediate charge, and Maj. R. D. S. Tyler was appointed superintendent thereof, and orders were issued to the various repair shops and to the railway mail service to send all the damaged bags—leather, jute, and canvas—to this shop for repairs. In order to perform this work expeditiously the force was from time to time increased until it now stands at the following figures:

Women, on jute sacks	51
Canvas-workers	9
Leather-workers	14
Laborers	17

The total number of bags, jute, canvas, and leather, repaired in this shop since the order placing this work under the charge of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General was made, is 344,643, and the current service has been kept in full and abundant supply without making any additional requisitions for new bags.

By the establishment of the Washington repair-shop and the bringing of the damaged bags here under the immediate direction of this office, instead of leaving them to the postmasters at the several repair-shops, the saving to the Department therefor can be best illustrated by the following statement, to wit:

The amount paid for new pouches and bags of all kinds from June 30, 1887, to February 1, 1888, was $167,460.75.

The amount paid for new mail-bags from February 1, 1888, to October 10, 1888, was $10,621.62.

The total cost for the ninety employés in the repair-shop during the month of September was $4,016.26.

We have not employed ninety persons during this time, but the average probably since February 1 was about forty-five, and the expenditure per month since that date for payment of wages to employés, materials, and tools used in the repair of bags would probably average $3,000, making a total of about, say, $25,000 expended for this purpose since February 1, 1888. This added to the sum of $10,621.62 gives a total of $35,621.62 expended for mail sacks and mail bags as against an expenditure of $167,460.75 for new pouches and bags of all kinds from June 30, 1887, to February 1, 1888, making a difference of $131,739.17. I say that this illustrates a saving, but I do not mean to say that this sum of $131,739.17 would have been expended in new mail bags, as the stock which was thus obtained would have gone through the balance of the fiscal year. Assuming that we would not have expended more than one-half of this amount for new bags from February 1 to October 1, 1888, in other words about $65,869, the figures still show the sum of at least $30,248 as the estimated saving resulting from repairing the accumulated stock and putting it in the service and use since February 1, 1888. The best estimate that I can reach as to the annual saving to the mail-equipment division of this office by keeping the repair shop in Washington on its present basis will be $60,000 per annum.

Very respectfully,

A. LEO KNOTT,
Second Assistant Postmaster-General.

Hon. C. L. ANDERSON,
Acting Chairman Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, House of Representatives.

JULIA A. NUTT.

Mr. LAGAN. I wish to offer the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk to be read, for the purpose of having the claim referred to the Court of Claims.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11580) for the relief of Julia A. Nutt, widow and executrix of Haller Nutt, deceased.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I shall object to the consideration of that bill.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman asks that the claim be referred to the Court of Claims.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. NEWELL, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate requested the House to return to the Senate the bill of the House (H. R. 1152) for the relief of the legal representatives of Eliza M. Ferris.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. KILGORE. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The regular order is the call of committees for reports.

Mr. McMILLIN. The announcement having been made that no business can be transacted, I therefore move that the House adjourn.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Pending that, I ask to be excused from attendance at further sessions of the House during this session, as it is impossible to do business without a quorum. I make this request on that account.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa? The Chair hears none.

Mr. PLUMB. I also ask to be excused during the remainder of the session.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois? The Chair hears none.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Speaker, I make the same request.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I want to present a privileged question before we adjourn.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman object to the request of the gentleman from Florida for leave of absence?

Mr. KILGORE. Oh, no; let him go. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I want to present a privileged question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I think the House will probably be glad if I take the gentleman from Texas with me. [Laughter.]

Mr. KILGORE. I ask consideration of the resolution I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives be authorized to close the present session by adjourning their respective Houses on Saturday, October 20, 1888, at 1 o'clock p. m.

Mr. McMILLIN. For the purpose of permitting action to be taken on the resolution, I withdraw my motion to adjourn.

Mr. WHEELER. I desire to offer the following amendment.

Mr. KILGORE. I demand immediate consideration of that resolution.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Alabama proposes an amendment, which the Clerk will read.

Mr. WHEELER. A substitute.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I understand that the previous question was demanded on the resolution as it stands.

Mr. KILGORE. I do demand the previous question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The previous question is demanded.

Mr. WHEELER. Without allowing the amendment to go in?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Pending that motion, I move to refer the resolution to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to raise the point of order that that can not be done under the rules. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will hear the gentleman on the point of order.

Mr. KILGORE. I understand that this is a privileged question, and if this privileged question can be referred to a committee, then any other privileged question can be so referred. Now, the rule in relation to questions of privilege is this:

Questions of privilege shall be, first, those affecting the rights of the House collectively, its safety, dignity, and the integrity of its proceedings; second, the rights, reputation, and conduct of members individually in their representative capacity only; and shall have precedence of all other questions, except motions to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, to adjourn, and for a recess.

A motion to adjourn appears to be the highest question of privilege that can possibly be presented to the House, because it can even take precedence of a question affecting the safety of the House, the dignity of the House, or the personal privilege of any member of the House; and I assume that it would not be contended for a moment that a question of privilege affecting the safety or the dignity of this House could be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, or any other committee.

But further, sir, there appears to be no Committee on Ways and Means here. About the only committee that has been able to make any report to this House for the last three months is the Committee on Enrolled Bills, and I think that if the resolution is to be referred at all, it ought to go to that committee. [Laughter.]

Mr. RICHARDSON. I beg the gentleman's pardon, the Committee on Printing has made several reports lately.

Mr. WHEELER. The Committee on Expenditures in the Treasury Department has made four reports within a month.

Mr. KILGORE. With the chairmen of these committees and the clerks and the apple women out in the lobby we have got a quorum. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us look at the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, and I think it will be seen that this resolution might just as well be referred to the Committee on Enrolled Bills as to the Committee on Ways and Means, so far as jurisdiction is concerned, because the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means applies to bills relating to revenue and to the bonded debt of the United States. But I assume, sir, that a question of privilege like this can not be referred to any committee at all. The very meaning of the "privilege" is that the matter may be called up and acted upon at the time it is called up instead of being buried in a committee. Gentlemen can of course vote it down, and that will be tantamount to referring it to a committee.

Now, I want to make an observation about the policy of continuing this Congress in session.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. As I understand, the gentleman from Texas wishes to call up a motion to adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The present occupant was not in the chair when this matter came up, but his understanding is that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] has offered a resolution to adjourn.

Mr. KILGORE. I have.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. And I understand that upon the offering of that resolution a motion was made to refer it to a committee.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would like to understand the situation. If the gentleman from Texas has simply called up the resolution which was offered yesterday, then the motion to refer was pending at the time the proposition was postponed. If the gentleman has offered a new resolution, of course that is a new proposition and subject to all proper parliamentary motions.

Mr. McMILLIN. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] moved to refer the resolution after the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] had demanded the previous question.

The SPEAKER. Did the gentleman from Texas offer a new resolution?

Mr. McMILLIN. He did.

Mr. KILGORE. Yes, sir; I offered a resolution to adjourn on Saturday.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The point I make is that this was not a privileged matter when there was already pending a motion to refer a similar resolution offered by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] on yesterday.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks there may be any number of the same character.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. And that any proposition to adjourn is privileged, no matter how often it may be made?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks so.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE]

offered his resolution, and upon it he demanded the previous question. I then moved that it be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. The gentleman from Texas now makes the point of order upon my motion that it can not apply to his resolution for a final adjournment. The gentleman arose to debate the question of order, but he has departed from that and has stated that he wishes to debate now the question of the propriety of an adjournment, and the point I make is that in debating the question of order he can not proceed to debate the other question.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. There is one point of order now pending.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Then I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Is a motion to adjourn debatable?

The SPEAKER. A motion to fix the time at which the House shall adjourn *sine die* is debatable. This is not a motion to adjourn, nor a motion to fix a day to which the House will adjourn.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I want to add, upon the point of order which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] makes upon my motion, that the words "shall adjourn" and "for a recess," in the rule which he quotes, apply not to final adjournment, but to the usual daily adjournments of the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has just stated that distinction. The Clerk will read the fourth subdivision of Rule XVI as to the priority of motions.

The Clerk read as follows:

When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, to adjourn, to take a recess, to lay on the table, for the previous question (which motions shall be decided without debate), to postpone to a day certain, to refer or amend, or to postpone indefinitely, which several motions shall have precedence in the foregoing order.

The SPEAKER. It will be observed that the motion for the previous question has priority, under the rule, over the motion to refer; therefore, while the motion to refer may be made pending the demand for the previous question, the vote must first be taken on ordering the previous question. If the House should decline to order the previous question——

Mr. RICHARDSON. I beg pardon for one moment. If the Chair will refer to Rule XVII he will find the following language:

It shall be in order, pending the motion for, or after the previous question shall have been ordered on its passage, for the Speaker to entertain and submit a motion to commit, with or without instructions, to a standing or select committee.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is correct; the Chair for the moment did not remember the rule. It is a rule which has usually been applied to matters of legislation, the passage of bills, joint resolutions, etc., but the Chair thinks it applies as well to any proposition pending before the House. Therefore the motion to refer is in order pending the demand for the previous question, or after the previous question has been ordered.

Mr. WHEELER. Is this motion to refer debatable?

The SPEAKER. It is not, under the rules of the House.

The question being taken on the motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Ways and Means, there were—ayes 19, noes 20.

Mr. RICHARDSON. No quorum.

Tellers were ordered; and Mr. RICHARDSON and Mr. KILGORE were appointed.

The House again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 20, noes 7.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I withdraw the point of no quorum.

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, I renew it. [Laughter.]

Mr. SOWDEN. It is very evident there is no quorum present. I therefore move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. PEEL. I hope the gentleman will allow a vote on the conference report which was presented a short time ago. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. HAUGEN] withdraws his objection.

The SPEAKER. The House is dividing, and under the rules a conference report can not be entertained when a division is being taken. But if there is no objection, the Chair will entertain the request of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. PEEL].

Mr. KILGORE. What is involved in the matter?

Mr. PEEL. The report was presented awhile ago; and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. HAUGEN] asked that action be deferred until he could look into it. He does not now object.

The SPEAKER. The report has already been read. The question is on agreeing to it.

Mr. HAUGEN. Since this report was presented I have examined this matter; and I am satisfied that if my colleague were here he would not object to the bill in its present form. I withdraw my objection.

The report of the committee of conference was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. SOWDEN. I now renew my motion that the House adjourn.

The SPEAKER (having put the question). The ayes seem to have it.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I call for a division.

Mr. KILGORE. I withdraw the point of "no quorum" upon the reference of the adjournment resolution. I am willing to allow the matter to be referred.

The SPEAKER. A motion to adjourn is pending.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I ask that the Chair announce the result of the vote on the question upon which the House was dividing.

The SPEAKER. Upon the motion made by the gentleman from Tennessee to refer the resolution with regard to adjournment to the Committee on Ways and Means, the ayes were 20, the noes 7. The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I now withdraw the demand for a division on the motion to adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The demand for a division being withdrawn, the motion that the House adjourn is agreed to.

The House accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) adjourned.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. J. E. CAMPBELL: A bill (H. R. 11600) granting a pension to W. T. Nichols—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOOKER: A bill (H. R. 11601) for the relief of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Peter, Jackson, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. FELIX CAMPBELL: A bill (H. R. 11602) to reinstate John Wilson in the Engineer Corps of the United States Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. MCRAE: A bill (H. R. 11603) for the relief of John B. Luttrell—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MCMILLIN: A bill (H. R. 11604) to amend an act approved March 3, 1885, to authorize the construction of bridges across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers, in Tennessee—to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. WILLIAM WHITING: A bill (H. R. 11605) for the relief of William Murphy—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CLEMENTS: Petition of Benjamin Heath, of Georgia, for reference of his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MCMILLIN: Petition of E. W. Bass, late captain in Fifth Tennessee, for removal of charges against him—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WHEELER: Petition of Rachael Lawson, of Lauderdale County, Alabama, for reference of her claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, *October* 18, 1888.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

MAIL-BAG REPAIR-SHOP.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a bill from the House of Representatives.

The bill (H. R. 11599) to authorize the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington to be used as a mail-bag repair-shop, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title.

Mr. SAWYER. I ask unanimous consent that that bill may be now considered.

By unanimous consent, the bill was read the second time at length, and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, and was read the third time.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Before the vote is taken on the passage of the bill, I should like to inquire of the Senator in charge of it whether in the opinion of the Department the passage of the bill is necessary, or whether it is a voluntary movement on the part of the House of Representatives.

Mr. SAWYER. I will state to my friend from Delaware that representatives of the Post-Office Department came to the Senate Committee on Appropriations and requested a clause for this purpose to be put into the Post-Office appropriation bill. It passed the Senate, but the conferees on the part of the House insisted upon its being struck out, and it was struck out. Then the representatives of the Post-Office Department went to the House and got the House to pass this bill, and came here yesterday and asked me specially to take charge of it and secure its passage by the Senate. I think the bill ought to pass. It is very important.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill was passed.

LANDS OF UNITED PEORIAS AND MIAMIES.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate the action of the House of Representatives on the conference report on House bill 8074, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *October* 17, 1888.

Resolved, That the House concur in the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8074) to provide for allotment of land in severalty to united Peorias and Miamies in Indian Territory.

Mr. MORGAN. I submit the report of the committee of conference on the part of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The report will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 8074) to provide for the allotment of land in severalty to United Peorias and Miamies in Indian Territory, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1, and agree to the same with amendments as follows:

On page 2, in line 29, of the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment, after the word "building" insert the words "together with the land." On page 5 of said amendment, in lines 9 and 10, strike out the words "in the Interior Department."

On page 6 of said amendment in line 1 strike out the words "removed to the Indian Territory;" and strike out all of lines 15 to 19, inclusive, on page 6 of said amendment, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"And the court may ascertain the reasonable value of the services of counsel employed by said confederated tribes to represent the tribes on such examination, not to exceed 10 per cent. of the aggregate sum actually in controversy; and the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be paid to said counsel so much of the sum so ascertained as in equity and justice he may consider to be due them for such services out of any money in the Treasury of the United States now due to such tribes arising from the sale of the lands of said tribes in Kansas."

And the Senate agree to the same.

H. L. DAWES,
O. H. PLATT,
JOHN T. MORGAN,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

S. W. PEEL,
JOHN M. ALLEN,
B. W. PERKINS,
Managers on the part of the House.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on concurring in the report.

The report was concurred in.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. GRAY. I present a petition, which has been sent to me in the absence of both the Senators from Connecticut, being the petition of more than 500 citizens of that State, representing nearly all the gainful occupations of our country. As the petition is short I will ask permission to read it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. GRAY. The petition is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

GENTLEMEN: The workingmen of Connecticut, wage-earners, manufacturers and farmers, use upwards of $100,000,000 worth of raw materials annually in their industries. A large amount of these materials can not be obtained in this country. Nearly all of these materials come from without the borders of our State. The increased cost of these materials, particularly of wool, salt, lumber, tin-plates, etc., by reason of the tariff taxes, has become an intolerable burden. The Mills bill, which now comes before you, relieves us from many of these taxes. The final enactment of the bill will be worth millions of dollars to our people. It will revive many industries which are now much depressed. It will tend to increase the wages of our mechanics and the profits of our manufacturers. It will add value to our farms and our factories. We, the undersigned, citizens of Connecticut, therefore most respectfully ask that the bill be speedily passed by your honorable body.

The petition is signed by W. H. Shannon and over 500 others.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The petition having been read will appear in the RECORD, as the Chair supposes without the names. It is so ordered, if there be no objection. The bill having been reported, the petition will lie upon the table.

BILL INTRODUCED.

Mr. HALE (by request) introduced a bill (S. 3641) to confer the rank of lieutenant by law on Nathaniel Johnson Coffin; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PROPOSED RECESS—FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over under objection from yesterday, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the concurrent resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. ALLISON, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That at 1 o'clock p. m. on Saturday, the 20th day of October, instant, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives adjourn their respective Houses, to meet on Monday, the 19th day of November next, at 12 o'clock m.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If the Chair remembers correctly, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] yesterday moved to refer the resolution to a committee of five, to be appointed by the Presiding Officer, and under the objection of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], the subject went over until to-day.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is right.

Mr. PADDOCK. I desire to offer an amendment to the resolution.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to amend the resolution in line 3, by striking out "20th" and inserting "27th;" and in line 4, by striking out "19th" and inserting "12th;" so as to read:

That at 1 o'clock p. m. on Saturday, the 27th day of October, instant, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives adjourn their respective Houses to meet on Monday, the 12th day of November next, at 12 o'clock m.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri desire action upon his motion to refer?

Mr. COCKRELL. Not now. I withdraw it for the present.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. PADDOCK].

Mr. ALLISON. I have consulted as many Senators as I could on both sides of the Chamber as to what we should do respecting the question of adjournment, and I think the prevailing opinion is on both sides—I know there are Senators on both sides who do not agree to it—but the prevailing opinion is that it is wiser to adjourn until the first Monday in December. I think that is the prevalent opinion on both sides of the Chamber, so far as I can gather that opinion. I understood that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BROWN] intended to propose an amendment looking to an adjournment, and if he does so, I shall for myself support it.

Mr. BROWN. I think the Senate should pursue whatever course would best promote the passage of a tariff bill at the earliest day that it can reasonably and properly be done, but I do not believe that we can facilitate that result by taking a recess from Saturday until the 19th day of next month, and then again assembling before the regular time of meeting in December.

The Senate has been in session now over ten and a half months. Senators who have attended to their duties during that length of time at the Capitol might, it seems to me, reasonably ask for at least a month and twenty days of vacation before the commencement of the next session of Congress. My own opinion is that you could not get a quorum to attend on the 19th of next month, and if a quorum did appear it would only forward the matter by a few days and would not really be a gain in time of any great public concern.

Again, the Presidential election takes place in the mean time, and the popular verdict that may be then pronounced will have a great deal to do with the shape in which the tariff bill will finally pass. If the Democrats are successful, I presume something very near the Mills bill, if not identical with the Mills bill, will be passed at the December session. If the Republicans should be successful, probably something more nearly like the bill reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate as a substitute would be enacted into a law.

I think it is desirable therefore, in this state of the case, that we should not take final action until the Presidential election, and let the popular verdict be known before the tariff bill is passed into a law.

Entertaining these views, and being satisfied that the resolution to take a recess would be unwise, I think I should call for a division on that question if it should be put to the Senate, and we should then have to test the question whether there is a quorum present. Under all the circumstances, however, I believe it is better that we should adjourn; and therefore I offer the following resolution as a substitute for the resolution of the Senator from Iowa:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives declare their respective Houses adjourned without day on Saturday, the 20th day of October, at 1 o'clock p. m.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Georgia moves to strike out all after the word "that" in the resolution of the Senator from Iowa, and to insert. The question is on agreeing to the substitute proposed by the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. EVARTS. Mr. President, I hope the amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia will be adopted. We of all the people in this country ought not to be inattentive to the fact that the two Houses of Congress are not now in a position to debate the details of the tariff bill, on which, of course, divisions would need to be taken. We of all men in the country should not be the only ones unobservant of the fact that the Presidential election intervenes about half way between our present date and the meeting of the next session of Congress. We are all aware that the subject of the tariff is the principal topic heretofore debated, and the principal matter to be decided in the opinions of the people at this election.

It seems to me, therefore, from any observation that I have made outside of these Chambers and outside of Washington, that the general feeling of the country is that we have faithfully debated on both sides the question of the change of the tariff, and that now the debate on principles has been brought to a close in this body, and the details, if they are ever to become practically determinable by this Congress, will need an attendance of a majority here.

I therefore heartily support the motion made by the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. DOLPH. If it is proposed to adjourn, I should like to be informed as to the object of putting the hour at 1 o'clock on Saturday. I have not heard of any Senator on either side of the Chamber who proposes now to enter into a general discussion of the revenue bill which has been under consideration. I suppose there is no certainty that the deficiency bill will be signed before that date, and if we are

going to adjourn I do not see what difference it makes whether we adjourn to-day at 1 o'clock, or to-morrow at 1 o'clock, or on Saturday—whenever the other House can act on the resolution.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from Oregon that the deficiency bill, which is certainly an important bill, is now under consideration, I suppose, by the President; and the object in fixing Saturday is to give him an opportunity to examine that bill and some other bills which have recently been sent to him.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that several other bills of considerable importance have recently been signed by the Presiding Officers of both Houses and forwarded to the Executive for his approval. In the opinion of the Chair there should be an interval in which the Executive might act; otherwise, the Senate and the House adjourning, the legislation would entirely fail.

Mr. DOLPH. It is well understood that the legislation of the Congress continues through the short session, until 12 o'clock on the 4th of March, and bills are hurried to the President and receive his signature at the close of the session. However, I merely make the suggestion, if we have proceeded with the tariff bill as far as we can under existing circumstances and there is no further legislation, whether it is necessary that the session should be extended until Saturday.

Mr. ALLISON. I think there are Senators who desire to make some observations on the bill before we adjourn, so that we are not ready to adjourn to-day. But certainly the President should have an opportunity to examine the bills which have been sent to him, because if they are not signed they fail on adjournment.

Mr. DOLPH. If they are not signed they will fail in any event, and if returned without the signature of the President they would fail in the existing condition of both Houses.

Mr. PADDOCK. The object that I should seek to accomplish by the amendment which I propose is that if we could continue the consideration of the tariff bill and such speeches as would be made between this and the 27th should be delivered, the Senate being relieved to that extent, it might happen that a date not remote in the future might be fixed for a final vote on this proposition. Possibly the Committee on Finance might conclude after a little that it would be proper to name a date upon which the vote could be taken—perhaps the 12th of December, or some time thereabouts. Whereas if we should take so long a recess as has been proposed, or if we should adjourn, the speeches which could be made now would have yet to be made hereafter, and the date of the determination of this question correspondingly delayed—postponed very far into the future.

My judgment is, and the desire of the people of the State whom I have the honor in part to represent here is, that there should be a revision of the tariff at the earliest possible date. I believe that a great majority of my constituents are in favor of the bill which has been perfected and reported by the Committee on Finance and which is before the Senate at this time. That committee have performed a very great labor, having done in six weeks what they might have been properly allotted six months to do. That bill is here; it is a good bill. I am very much in favor of it, although I should perhaps desire and expect at the proper time to ask for a change or two in the bill. However, I think we could go ahead until the 27th, and relieve the Senate of a certain number of speeches that will have to be made some time. My friend, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], whose speech is phenomenal, both as to its duration and its quality, has unwound himself a little. I should hope before the end of next week he would be unwound still further, and then, if we should come back here on the 12th, we should have an easier time until the commencement of the next session, and I think we would make very decided progress.

I think it would gratify the country if we would undertake to push this measure as rapidly as we can. If we adjourn on the 27th, that will give all of us, Senators from the remotest as well as those from the nearer States, an opportunity to get home in time to rest a little before the election on the 6th day of November, and the date I suggest for the reassembling will give them sufficient time to return. Then if we can possibly fix a date so early as the 12th of December to vote on this question, it would be in order, and it would be very proper, that there should be a long holiday recess afterwards. We might take a recess from the 15th of December or somewhere there to the 6th of January, which would ease us up a little after the enormous amount of time and labor we will have put in by that date, and indeed have already put in.

This is my view. I think it would be better to do as I suggest. I think the country would be better satisfied with it, and I think it would be well for the Senate to take that course. Of course I know perfectly well, as every Senator does, that the bill can not be passed in the short time to intervene between this and the 6th of November, when of course we shall have to take a recess.

Mr. COCKRELL. Is the Senator from Nebraska in earnest?

Mr. PADDOCK. The Senator from Nebraska will answer that he is terribly in earnest.

Mr. COCKRELL. I should think he was terribly in earnest in trying to make the people believe that which does not exist. Now look! Hold up your fingers and count them. Talk about business!

Mr. TELLER. You will not get a quorum if you count.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have not said anything about that. I am simply calling the attention of the Senator from Nebraska to what he might count on his fingers. Talk about transacting business! If the Senator wants to pass that bill before the 6th day of November, we will stay here. If that is the object, we will stay here.

Mr. PADDOCK. Of course the Senator knows that is an absurdity. The bill certainly ought to have a month's consideration. It is patent of course to everybody that it ought to have a month's consideration, and it can have that under my plan.

Mr. COCKRELL. A month's consideration! How do you mean to act upon it?

Mr. PADDOCK. I mean to discuss it so far as it may be desired to discuss it up to the 27th, and when my friend from Missouri comes back on the 12th of November he will very likely be prepared himself to make another speech.

Mr. COCKRELL. Every Senator who has desired to speak has had an opportunity, and we have three days longer really before Saturday in which to talk. The claim of the Senator from Nebraska is perfectly farcical. If you want to pass that bill before the election, we will stay here with you. You can not do it. It is a farce to undertake it, and you know it.

Mr. PADDOCK. The Senator knows the primary trouble about the matter, and that is that the other House has not had a quorum for six weeks.

Mr. COCKRELL. That does not make a particle of difference. The House has nothing to do with this bill now; it is the Senate, nothing more and nothing less and nothing else.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair hopes Senators will cooperate with the Chair in preserving order.

Mr. COCKRELL. We will do so most heartily. It does not make a bit of difference, as to the action of the Senate, whether there is a quorum in the House or not. The House has disposed of the tariff bill. It is here in the Senate. It is for the Senate to dispose of it. The House ought to have gone home long ago. There is no use for any of them here. Wait until you pass your bill. It will be time enough to talk about a quorum in the House when the bill is passed by the Senate. If it is before the 6th of November, or any other time, there will be a quorum in the House. Don't trouble yourselves about that.

Mr. GEORGE. They will be here promptly.

Mr. COCKRELL. They will be here in time to act immediately upon the bill. Now, pass it. It does not make a bit of difference when you pass that bill, there will be a quorum of the House here. Get the Senate in a condition to work. That is your business. You are in control of the Senate and not of the House. Here is the place for you to act. Do not commence complaining about the House. You are not responsible for the House. The Democratic party is responsible for that, not the Republican majority of the Senate. Let every tub stand on its own bottom, if it has any bottom.

Mr. PADDOCK. The Senator can certainly charge no laches to this side of the Chamber in the consideration of the bill. There has never been so much labor performed by any committee of the Senate upon any measure in so short a time as was performed by the Committee on Finance that perfected and reported this bill, in the consideration of the same and the preparation of its very able report. There has been no moment lost that could have been utilized on this side in the discussion of the proposition.

Now, if the Senate wishes to quit, it is all right, but so far as I am concerned, although I am not disposed to take up any time of the Senate in the discussion of the proposition—I am not much in the habit of doing that sort of thing—at the same time I am ready to stay here and listen to my friend from Missouri, and to my friend from Alabama, and the others who I know will speak on this question. If we were to stay here until the 17th we would have plenty of speeches, which we shall have to have later if we do not stay.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator talks about the haste with which the Finance Committee has disposed of this bill. Why, it is a farce. What did you do in 1882 and 1883? You took a little internal-revenue bill in December, 1882, and you referred it to the Committee on Finance, and you reported that back in less than thirty days, and you passed it in less than thirty days after that, and then forced a conference upon it, and you got the present tariff law. How does that compare? This is the longest time the Senate Committee on Finance has ever considered a tariff bill in the history of the United States Congress.

Mr. PADDOCK. What about the House committee in this year, 1888?

Mr. COCKRELL. That does not make any difference. Do not trouble yourself about the House. The House will take care of itself. Take care of the Senate. Here is your responsibility.

Mr. ALDRICH. I suppose the Senator from Missouri desires to make a correct statement?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. COCKRELL. As a matter of course he yields.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator must have forgotten that in 1883 the bill to which he alludes passed the House of Representatives at the long session, and was referred to the Finance Committee during the long session.

Mr. COCKRELL. Why do you trouble yourself about the House? We are talking about the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Senators will please address the Chair.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator will be patient with me for a moment so that I may make my statement, I will state when the Senate met at the short session of 1882–'83 the bill already prepared by the Tariff Commission was presented to them for consideration, and all the committee had to do in the consideration of the question was to consider the Tariff Commission bill, which was a complete and perfected measure. In this case it became necessary for the Senate committee to prepare a new and original measure, which took a very much longer time, of course, than was taken in 1883 for the consideration of the measure which was prepared by the Tariff Commission.

Mr. COCKRELL. You did not follow the Tariff Commission report at all in 1883. You never pretended to follow it. They told you to reduce the revenues from 20 to 25 per cent. Instead of that you raised them. The Tariff Commission report did not help you at all. It was not your guide, it was not your standard. You had it at this time. If it was of any benefit to you then, it could have been of benefit to you now. You had all the investigations. All the members of Finance Committee but one were members who considered the bill of 1882–'83. Every one of you is perfectly familiar with it. The other member of the committee, the junior Senator from New York [Mr. HISCOCK], was a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House then. So all the members of your committee are men who considered that bill.

I say the Senate committee has taken a longer time in the consideration of this bill than has ever been consumed in the Senate of the United States in the consideration of any tariff bill.

Mr. FRYE. We have got the best bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. The best bill?

Mr. FRYE. Yes.

Mr. COCKRELL. Wonderful it is! It catches the breeze from whatever point of the compass it comes. It is an admirable bill to report on the eve of an election, to "fry the fat" out of those who are interested in manufactures!

I have the record here in regard to all these matters. Let us understand ourselves distinctly now. If the Senator from Nebraska, if the majority of the Senate on that side of the Chamber say they can pass this bill before the 6th of November, we will stay here with you. If you can not pass it before the 6th of November, then I say you know, and every intelligent, thinking, conservative man knows, that to meet here on the 12th of November or on the 19th of November will not facilitate the final disposition of the bill. That is all there is in it. It is a perfectly patent matter. Understand me. If they want to pass the bill before the 6th of November we will stay here. If they will come and confess that they can not do it before that time, then we say to them, you know as we know that merely taking a recess until the 12th of November or until the 19th of November or any other day in November will not hasten final action on the bill one particle, and will be of no service in the final settlement of it.

I gave the reasons yesterday for this view. You will not have a quorum of the Senate here if you meet on the 12th or the 19th of November. You can not take votes upon the various amendments. Nothing will be decisive. You may get through the Committee of the Whole with the bill, and then when you go into the Senate you will have to do the work all over again. Therefore, I say, taking your position, if you can not pass the bill and do not intend to pass it before the 6th of November, in the interest of early action upon the bill the Senate should adjourn and meet on the regular day in December, and then we should have no adjournment for the Christmas holidays, no holiday recess, but should go on continuously working upon the bill regularly, just as if we were in the midst of a session, or on the heels of it. That is the only sensible, practical plan, and it is all you can do. You have got to do one or the other of these things.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is a matter of little consequence, but in regard to the statements made by the Senator from Missouri as to the action of the Finance Committee in 1883, I must say that each one of those statements is a misstatement of fact. The Committee on Finance did take the Tariff Commission bill as the basis of their work, and they reported it with very few exceptions as the bill came from the commission; and whenever changes were made they were made in the nature of reductions; and the bill as reported from the committee and as passed by the Senate made more and greater reductions than the Tariff Commission bill itself.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is the Senate ready for the question upon agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BROWN]?

Mr. MORGAN. Was that accepted by the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. ALLISON. I said I was going to vote for it.

Mr. MORGAN. I thought you said you were going to accept it.

Mr. ALLISON. I will vote for it.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is not worth while to have any vote on these questions. Unless it can be done by unanimous consent it can not be done at all.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; I accept the amndment.

Mr. DOLPH. I object to it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Oregon the Chair did not understand. The Chair understands the Senator from Iowa to accept the amendment.

Mr. DOLPH. I do not know that I am here to accept everything that is offered from the other side.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment, then, being accepted, will be read as an original resolution.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives declare their respective Houses adjourned without day, on Saturday, the 20th day of October, at 1 o'clock p. m.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is the Senate ready for the question on agreeing to the resolution? [Putting the question.] The ayes appear to have it. The ayes have it. The resolution is agreed to.

BILLS PASSED OVER.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate the first bill on the Calendar under Rule VIII.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 5080) for the relief of C. B. Wilson.

Mr. DOLPH. Let that go over.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be passed over to the Calendar under Rule IX. The next bill on the Calendar will be stated.

The bill (H. R. 593) for the relief of James Albert Bonsack was announced as the next bill on the Calendar.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that go over.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be passed over under Rule IX.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. MORGAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After six minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened.

WAGONS MADE BY PRISON LABOR.

Mr. TELLER. I submit the following resolution:

Whereas it is reported that the Secretary of the Interior has purchased a large number of wagons for the Indian service that were manufactured with prison labor in the State of Tennessee, thus putting the honest labor of the country in competition with such prison labor: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be authorized and directed to inquire as to the truth of such report, the number of wagons so purchased, the price paid for the same, whether the price paid was the fair market price thereof, and whether legislation is or is not required to protect the honest labor of the country from such prison convict-labor competition.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it go over.

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator will withdraw his objection a moment——

Mr. COCKRELL. I will withdraw it.

Mr. TELLER. I will state why I offer the resolution.

Mr. President, my attention has been called to this fact by several people who are interested in the labor of the country. My attention was first called to it by the following, which I cut from a newspaper:

A GOVERNMENT CONTRACT.

The firm of Cherry, Morrow & Co. has secured a Government contract for the building of four hundred army wagons, or wagons to be used in the Territories occupied by Indians. The contract was secured over the competition of many of the leading wagon manufacturers in the United States.

I understand that the firm of Cherry, Morrow & Co. are the lessees of the convict labor of the State of Tennessee and are manufacturers of wagons at Nashville, Tenn. I have here their advertisement in which they allege themselves to be manufacturers of wagons, and they have on their advertisement the words "No imported pauper labor employed." I am told that this firm does its work by convict labor and that their bid for wagons—it is at least so reported—was below the bids of other persons not employing convict labor, and so low that they could not compete with them.

I myself do not believe that the Government of the United States should encourage this system of leasing convict labor, nor do I believe that the Government of the United States by its purchases should give a preference to the products of involuntary labor that underbids necessarily the honest independent labor of this country. I do not object to the employment of convicts in a proper manner, so that they may maintain good health, that they may in some degree relieve the State of the burden of their support by the manufacture of such things as are necessary for them within the prison walls, or the production, where they can work on farms, of such articles as may contribute to their own support; but I do object to a system that encourages this class of labor, involuntary labor, in the hands of corporations and individuals at a nominal rental, thus enabling a corporation at a place where criminals are kept to compete to the disadvantage of the people who are employed in the honest manufactures of the country.

I find in the President's message of 1886 a rather remarkable statement, which, it seems to me, may probably have been acted on by the official who purchased these wagons, nominally the Secretary of the Interior, but really and practically, of course, the Commissioner of In-

dian Affairs; for while the Secretary must be held, I suppose, technically accountable, it was a matter not brought to his attention, and if complaint is to be made against any official it is against the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and not against the Secretary; but of course the purchase is made in the name and by the authority of the Secretary. The President, in his message to Congress in 1886, said:

With prisons under its own control, the Government could deal with the somewhat vexed question of convict labor, so far as its convicts were concerned, according to a plan of its own adoption, and with due regard to the rights and interests of our laboring citizens, instead of sometimes aiding in the operation of a system which causes among them irritation and discontent.

Upon consideration of this subject it might be thought wise to erect more than one of these institutions, located in such places as would best subserve the purposes of convenience and economy in transportation. The considerable cost of maintaining these convicts as at present, in State institutions, would be saved by the adoption of the plan proposed; and by employing them in the manufacture of such articles as were needed for use by the Government, quite a large pecuniary benefit would be realized in partial return for our outlay.

I desire to enter my dissent from that suggestion. I desire to say here that I do not believe the Government of the United States should, for the purpose of saving a few dollars in supporting its criminals, be purchasing convict labor products or using convict labor products.

Mr. President, in the Forty-ninth Congress the House of Representatives sent to this body House bill 5541, entitled "A bill to prevent the employment of convict labor and alien labor upon public buildings and other public works, and convict labor in the preparation or manufacture of materials for public buildings or other public works, and to regulate the manner of letting contracts therefor."

It provided—

That in all advertisements for the erection or construction of public buildings or other public works, or for materials to be used in their erection, construction, or completion, and for all supplies of every description to be furnished to or for the use of any of the Departments, and in all contracts made under or in pursuance of such advertisements, there shall be inserted a condition that no convict or prison labor whatsoever, or the product thereof, shall be employed or used upon any public building or other public work, or in the preparation or manufacture of any of the articles, materials, or supplies contracted to be furnished therefor; and there shall also be inserted in said contract the further condition that no person who is not a bona fide resident within the limits of the United States, and who has not declared his intention to become a citizen thereof in the manner provided by law, shall be employed in the erection, construction, or completion of any public building or other public work.

SEC. 2. That any willful breach of any of said conditions by any contractor shall authorize and work a forfeiture of the contract, and shall constitute a complete defense in bar against any claim or action against the United States for the recovery of any sum or sums under said contract; and it shall be the duty of the officer letting any such contract, upon being advised that any contractor has knowingly violated the terms of such contract, to declare the same forfeited.

This bill passed the House of Representatives July 15, 1886, coming to the Senate just about the close of the session, and passed the Senate on February 28, 1887. It then went to the President of the United States, and was disposed of by what is commonly called a pocket veto. The bill never came back to the House in which it originated, was not signed by the President, and did not become a law. Here was a legislative declaration, as far as it was competent for a legislative declaration to be made without the approval of the President, that hereafter the United States would buy materials that were the products of honest labor and honest labor alone. The Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY] asks me if that was not confined to public buildings. I will read it again for him:

That in all advertisements for the erection or construction of public buildings or other public works, or for materials to be used in their erection, construction, or completion, and for all supplies of every description to be furnished to or for the use of any of the Departments, and in all contracts made under or in pursuance of such advertisements, there shall be inserted a condition that no convict or prison labor whatsoever, or the product thereof, shall be employed or used upon any public building or other public work, or in the preparation or manufacture of any of the articles, materials, or supplies contracted to be furnished therefor.

That covers the whole ground. It is a legislative declaration that not only public buildings should not be built by convict or alien labor, but that no supplies on the part of the Government should be bought from any party using convict labor nor from any party who had used convict labor in any degree for the construction of the article sold. This is not the law, I will admit; but it seems to me that in view of this legislative declaration, although it did not meet with the approval of the President, not having been vetoed by him, the Departments ought at least to refrain from purchasing the products of convict labor.

I find that the State of Tennessee has provision—I see one of the Senators from that State here and presume that is the present law, but if not he will correct me—for the hiring out of its convicts in general terms. I will not stop to read it. Under that system I understand that this firm of wagon-makers have become at some price the employers of the convicts of the State. In nine cases out of ten the corporations or individuals who contract with a State for convict labor contract at a mere nominal sum, sufficient to feed and clothe them, and the balance of the proceeds of the labor of the convicts goes into the pockets of the contractors. As a general thing it is a money-making system. It has become in some sections of the country, I am sorry to say, a very general system of disposing of convicts. Especially is that true of the southern part of the United States, and great scandals and great disgraces and great cruelties have grown out of it, and great detriment to the public service and to the honest labor of the country in my judgment.

If I may be allowed to say what I think the Government of the United States ought to do through its executive officers, when they have occasion to purchase supplies, it is to purchase the needed supplies in the market at a fair market price from the men who produce them, and who also, when they are producing are contributing to the support of the Government, national, State, and municipal. I do not think it is becoming to the Government of the United States to employ convict labor or to buy the products of convict labor, a labor that bears none of the burdens of the State; nor do I believe that it is the proper thing for the Government of the United States to employ alien labor in this country or in foreign countries. I do not believe that the Government of the United States is justified, as was done through the War Department very recently, in buying from English manufacturers a very large number of blankets, upon which the only saving of money to the Government was 30 cents each, and then in order to make that they remitted the duty, amounting on that one purchase of blankets to more than $600. In other words, when the manufacturers bid for the blankets they bid within 30 cents of their English competitors who got the contract, and who were notified before they bid that their bids would be received without reference to duty; that the Government of the United States would exercise a privilege given to it to buy of foreign manufacturers less the duty; that it would remit the duty. A newspaper the other morning stated that there had been another consignment of foreign blankets to the United States.

Mr. HALE. The Senator will allow me to suggest that the steamer Aurania on her last trip brought a large number of woolen blankets purchased for the use of our Army, and the newspapers so stated at that time.

Mr. TELLER. Is it the proper thing for the United States Government to send abroad for goods it needs? If it sends abroad and would allow foreign manufacturers to compete with the American manufacturer on the basis that I would compete if I wanted to buy, it might be another case. They do not do that. They exercise a sovereign power and say, "duty off," and save 30 cents on a blanket, or $300 on a thousand blankets. It does seem to me that that is beneath the dignity of this great Government. I think it is beneath the dignity of this great Government to purchase and use as its supplies, because it may get them a few dollars cheaper, the results of convict labor, whether in Tennessee or anywhere else.

Involuntary labor has always been cheaper than voluntary labor. It always will be cheaper, because the involuntary laborer is compelled to labor whether he will or not; he is under the force that is put upon him by his task-master, and it is not fair to put honest American laborers in competition with that class of labor. I am as much opposed to that as I am to buying the product of Chinamen, whether they manufacture their goods in this country or anywhere else, who will manufacture them at prices at which American manufacturers can not manufacture, unless they destroy the prosperity of American laborers in this country. Inasmuch as this bill, which ought to have become a law, which passed both Houses of Congress, as I understand, without a dissent, is not a law by the failure of the President to sign it, I propose to see if at a subsequent session when there is more time we can not enact a law that will compel the administration—not this Administration, but all administrations that may come hereafter—to buy the honest product of honest American labor, whether it be blankets or whether it be wagons, or whatever it may be.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Will the Senator allow me to ask him whether he is not aware that some of the manufacturers of this country employ foreign labor in the production of blankets and other things?

Mr. TELLER. I am quite aware that they do.

Mr. SAULSBURY. I want to say to the Senator that I, myself, in 1877 was in a mill in the city of San Francisco, or in the neighborhood of San Francisco, that was run exclusively by Chinese laborers. I went there about the time that they were at their lunch, and I was invited by the superintendent to go in. There were about two hundred Chinamen who were manufacturing blankets exclusively, and some of the nicest looking blankets I ever saw, and I was told by the superintendent of that mill that by reason of the cheapness of their labor they could compete with the laborers of England in the manufacture of blankets. So, I suppose, it is the custom among manufacturers everywhere to employ the cheapest labor they can get.

Mr. TELLER. I do not deny that when an alien comes to this country he must be an alien for some period; he can not be a citizen at once; and when we open our doors to the aliens of every country to come here, we can not shut the factories and mills against them. The Government might exclude them from its labor; it has the power to do that; nobody else would do it. I understand that the manufacturers of this country will use the cheapest labor they can get. I understand that some of the manufacturers of this country are clamoring for free raw material. I understand that many of them are willing that the sheep industry of the West should go down if they can get free Australian wool. I understand that the manufacturers of California were willing to use Chinese labor, and from the manufacturers of California, and those alone, and the class of men who wanted to employ that labor there in manufacturing something else, came the opposition to the legislation that has finally settled the Chinese question.

I understand that quite well, but that is a very different thing from the Government engaging in this sort of business. I do not say in this

case, because I do not know, that these wagons were offered at a rate so low that the honest manufacturer of wagons in Tennessee could not furnish them; but that is the assertion made in Tennessee; that is what I want this committee to inquire about. I want to find out whether that is so or not. If so, these manufacturers and other manufacturers would take the place of all the honest manufacturers, and after awhile the only wagon-makers in this country would be the convicts. I do not know that there are quite enough convicts to supply all wagons, but they could supply a very large number undoubtedly.

This is not a matter of mere indifference to the public. This is a question that has agitated the public for many years, and I therefore have submitted this resolution.

Mr. FRYE. I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that Austria has a general law under which the product of all convict labor shall none of it be sold at home to compete with home labor, but all of it shall be for exportation, and a large part of it is exported now to the United States of America.

Mr. TELLER. I was aware of that fact, and I meant to have mentioned it, but it escaped my mind. I understand that is a fact. While in another body recently when this question was up men were clamoring for the passage of the Mills bill, were declaiming against convict labor and denouncing everybody who employed it or bought the products of it, yet they were willing to open the doors, open our ports to the convict labor of Austria and other countries without stint and without restriction.

Mr. BATE. Mr. President, as to the point the Senator from Colorado makes in regard to the purchase of wagons by the Interior Department manufactured in Tennessee, I know nothing of the matter except that I know that there is such a firm as that named by him, and that it is a very reliable firm. I further know that they have a fine reputation all over this country. They do an immense amount of work and ship to all parts of the country. Perhaps no firm of that kind of wagon-makers has a superior reputation. I know further that the Senator is mistaken if he thinks that the sum paid for the labor performed by convicts in Tennessee is merely nominal. I know something personally about that, because I happened to be connected with the executive office of the State at the time the law was passed, and I, as chief executive, accepted the bid, the highest made for convict labor in the United States. That firm to the State of Tennessee gives annually $100,250—at any rate it is upwards of $100,000 that they pay annually—for the labor of convicts, all of which is matter of legislation in Tennessee, and was approved by the Legislature to which it was reported.

I think the Senator will find himself likewise mistaken when he investigates this matter to the bottom as to its being the lowest bid. It is a very large contract, and I have heard it spoken of casually, but I did not investigate it, knowing the character of the firm of Cherry, Morrow & Co., whom I know very well. I know they are responsible, and I furthermore know they are gentlemen of high character and correct in their dealings. They stand very high; perhaps no firm in this country stands higher. I also know most favorably the Commissioner of the Indian Bureau, who had the dealings with them referred to by the Senator, and my understanding at the time was that it was the only firm in the United States that could furnish the particular kind of wagons needed by the time they were wanted. That is to say, the wood had to be of a certain character, and had to be seasoned, which required much time to effect. A large supply of four hundred wagons of the kind wanted within the time specified could be furnished by them. At least I so understood.

I want to say further that neither of these parties has any objection in the world to going into any investigation that may be desired on the part of the Senator from Colorado or of the Senate, and I approve of anything he suggests in regard to an investigation of the case. If there is anything wrong about it, let us know it. I think it will turn out that there is no wrong, and not only that, but that it was the best bargain that could be obtained by the Secretary of the Interior or those who acted under him in getting that particular kind of goods of the amount and quality desired.

So I see no reason why it should not be investigated. If the Senator thinks there is a cat in the meal, let it out; these gentlemen will not object; but do not let us prejudge the case on the eve of an election and at the very close of the session of Congress. Let us have the proof, let us understand it; but right here, on the eve of the election, and at the close of the session nothing can be done now to contradict it. I will join hands with the Senator to have an investigation at the proper time of this matter.

These people are from my State, and I know the character of the gentlemen who made this contract on both sides, and I am persuaded that we could take the Senator as a jury himself, or as a member of the committee to act upon it, and he would indorse what has been done in this regard.

I speak of it from the fact of the character of these gentlemen and of the work that they perform. That is the only point that concerns my constituents and the only one I care to discuss.

Mr. TELLER. I am not attacking the Senator's constituents. I am not finding fault with Cherry, Morrow & Co. I have no doubt they are men of high character, as he says; at least I will take his word for it that they are men of financial responsibility and character. I have no reason to suppose they are not. I will take issue with the Senator, though, when he says that Cherry, Morrow & Co. are the only firm that can furnish that kind of wagons.

Mr. BATE. I understood at the time that they had a very large supply of seasoned timber from Indiana and other States which they have had drying there for years, and the Commissioner required that the wagons should be made of seasoned lumber; and my understanding was that they were the only firm that could deliver within the specified time the large number and the particular kind of wagons to be furnished.

Mr. TELLER. If the number is only four hundred—I have seen it stated as high as eight hundred; but even if it was eight hundred, I will guaranty, having had some observation, that there are many concerns that can furnish eight hundred wagons. They do not furnish the wagons all at once.

Mr. BATE. Pardon me. My understanding was that there was a bid. Whether the wagons were advertised for or not, I do not know.

Mr. TELLER. All such matters must be advertised.

Mr. BATE. Then I think I am justified in saying that they were advertised and that this firm was the lowest bidder for that particular kind of work in the quantity and quality required.

Mr. TELLER. They were the lowest bidders. That is what the other wagon-makers complain of. That is what the honest labor of the country complains of. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs must advertise for bids, and when he had advertised for them, of course he took the lowest bid. He need not have taken the wagons from this concern.

Mr. COCKRELL. You say he need not have taken the lowest bid?

Mr. TELLER. No, sir.

Mr. COCKRELL. Suppose this firm was the lowest bidder?

Mr. TELLER. He is not obliged to take the lowest bidder.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then to whom should he give the contract?

Mr. TELLER. He could give it to any other concern that he saw fit, that was responsible, that made a bid.

Mr. COCKRELL. And not be impeached for violating the law?

Mr. TELLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRELL. In other words, then, you hold that the laws of Congress are not binding on the Executive Departments.

Mr. TELLER. No, I do not. The laws of Congress do not require the officer to do it.

Mr. COCKRELL. Does not the law of Congress expressly require him to let the contract to the lowest bidder?

Mr. TELLER. He is to be the judge of the fitness and propriety of every bid. He has discretion, and there are a great many bids that are received which are lower than others that are not deemed proper for the Government to accept. The Government rules out a class of bidders and gives them notice, "If you bid here, although you are the lowest bidder, you can not come in." Why? "Because you are a failing bidder; because you have not kept your contracts." The officer was not necessarily compelled to accept the bid. If he was, then there is the more necessity for a change of the law.

Mr. COCKRELL. In other words, if he were compelled to do it, it was a Republican law that compelled him.

Mr. TELLER. That law was on the statute-book long before the Republican party came into power or into existence. I noticed that the Senator from Missouri and some others seem to think when any complaint is made of mal-administration anywhere, if they can just find that it was done under Republican administration, that is all right and they are justified.

Mr. BATE. Will the Senator pardon me if I ask him a question? He has been connected with the Interior Department in an official capacity. Was it the custom when he was there to allow contracts to go to any other than the lowest bidder?

Mr. TELLER. These contracts are made by a board of commissioners. A board in New York makes these contracts, a board of distinguished philanthropic gentlemen, and many and many a time they report in favor of giving contracts not to the lowest bidder, because they think it to the advantage of the Government to take some other.

Mr. BATE. Then this whole thing is justifiable according to the Senator's own suggestion, as those distinguished philanthropic gentlemen, as a board, approved it.

Mr. TELLER. I am talking about the administration of public affairs. I am saying that if that is the law, if they are compelled to do it, I want the law changed and I want some legislation. We have proposed legislation and we have passed a bill in both bodies of Congress which would have been the law but for the action of the President.

Mr. BATE. The Senator wants legislation. Does he expect to have it at the close of this session here?

Mr. TELLER. I do not, but I want it at the next. There is a bill pending now which can be so amended as to cover the whole ground. I want to know what the facts are. I want to know something about them. We have submitted this question to the Commissioner of Labor. He made a report in 1886.

Mr. BATE. What committee is this resolution directed to?

Mr. TELLER. The Committee on Indian Affairs. On the 2d of August, 1886, the following resolution was approved by the President:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Commissioner of Labor be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to make a full investigation as to the kind and amount of work performed in the penal institutions of the several States and Territories of the United States and the District of Columbia, as to the methods under which convicts are or may be employed, and as to all the facts pertaining to convict labor and the influence of the same upon the industries of the country, and embody the results of such investigation in his second annual report to the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That the investigation hereby authorized can be carried out under the appropriations made for the expenses of the Bureau of Labor for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887.

Under that the Commissioner of Labor made an exhaustive report which, I submit to the Senator from Tennessee, it would be well for him or any other Senator to study who believes that convict labor is the proper thing, who believes that the honest labor of this country should be put in competition with convict labor, and that the Government should be the patron of convict labor. I do not believe in it. The Commissioner reports that it is hostile and injurious, as did the commissioners of various States. Mr. Louis D. Pilsbury, the superintendent of prisons of New York, in 1879 reported against putting the free laborers of New York in competition with convict labor. I want so far as I can that the Government of the United States shall give no aid or encouragement to what is considered a degradation of American labor that is prevailing all over the Southwest and South. No such thing can be done in the North.

Mr. BATE. The Senator will permit me to say that I looked into that matter formerly to some extent, and the very system in vogue in Tennessee in regard to the management of the prisons, which involves necessarily the leasing of the convicts and the work that they do, is taken from the report of James G. Blaine, of Maine, when he was in the Legislature there as chairman of a committee.

I want to state further in regard to the convict labor question, that I am not discussing it now, but only looking to the matter brought out by the Senator which concerns my State and my constituents.

Mr. TELLER. If there is any wicked thing that has occurred in this country that the Democrats do not lay to James G. Blaine I should like to know what it is.

Mr. BATE. It seems whenever we do we hit the nail on the head every time.

Mr. TELLER. If he ever made a mistake, they are ready to follow him, but they are not ready to follow him in any good work. They do not adopt his principles of protection to American labor, and all that.

Mr. BATE. I hope they never will.

Mr. TELLER. But if he should come out in favor of convict labor they would regard it as good authority and they would consider themselves absolved from the slightest criticism if they could only cite him as a witness.

Mr. BATE. The Senator follows him in other things; but he does not propose to follow him in this, as it does not suit todo so just now on the eve of a national election.

Mr. TELLER. I was a protectionist and I knew something about these things before I ever heard of James G. Blaine. I am as old in years as he is, if not older. I do not follow him when I think he is wrong. I follow him when he is in accord with my ideas. I do not know whether he recommended convict labor or not. If the Senator means to say that he is in accord with him on that let him produce his authority. I do not know whether he is in favor of doing work of this kind with convict labor or whether he is opposed to it. I only speak for myself, and I am not condemning or criticising Tennessee. I have nothing to do with it. I am simply stating that, as a member of the legislative department of this Government, I want, if I can, to say ot the Executive Departments of the Government, "You shall not do this thing;" and if they reply that they think they are compelled by law, then they may be absolved until we pass new legislation, and I shall inquire of the Executive then, when they come back with that reply, "Why did you not put your signature to that bill passed in 1887? Why did you not, when the legislative department of the Government said they would protect the honest labor of the country against convict competition, say that you agreed with us?" When the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sets up his defense, that it was the positive enactment of law that compelled him to make this purchase, that is the answer I propose to make to him.

Mr. BATE. There is no objection to the inquiry on the part of either the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, or the parties to the contract. I join with the Senator in asking for the investigation.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Under the objection interposed by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], the resolution lies over until to-morrow.

Mr. COCKRELL. I withdrew the objection to enable the Senator from Colorado to make his remarks.

Mr. President, this resolution recites that:

It is reported that the Secretary of the Interior has purchased a large number of wagons for the Indian service that were manufactured with prison labor in the State of Tennessee, thus putting the honest labor of the country in competition with such prison labor.

And therefore a committee of investigation is to be appointed. There is no allegation here that this alleged action is in violation of law. There is no allegation here that there was any criminality in letting this contract. There is no allegation that the Secretary of the Interior has, directly or indirectly, transgressed or violated or evaded or in any manner avoided the operation of the laws in force. Then, why ask for a committee? What do you want to inquire into? Do you want a smelling committee to take testimony and publish it on the heels of the election? Is that the object?

Mr. TELLER. No, Mr. President, if the Senator will allow me to say a word. I have not any idea that there will be any testimony taken before the election. It has nothing to do with the election. The committee will probably not touch the question until the next session.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then why introduce it here now? Why not wait until next session? No, Mr. President, this is purely political; and as such I meet it.

I say that if the Senator wants information from the proper Department in regard to this, a resolution of inquiry addressed to the Department will be answered, and that is legitimate.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator will allow me to say that I do not need any. I assert here that they have bought these wagons, if that is what the Senator means.

Mr. COCKRELL. Do you assert that it was done in violation of law? I say that they were compelled to buy them if they followed the law.

Mr. TELLER. Then I want to change the law.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then bring in a bill to change the law. Do you want a committee to inquire whether the law should be changed or not?

Mr. TELLER. We passed a bill through the Senate and through the House, and the President pocketed it. That is why the trouble now exists. But for that pocket veto the bill would have been a law.

Mr. COCKRELL. When was that bill sent to the President?

Mr. TELLER. It passed this body on the 28th day of February, 1887. I will venture to say one hundred bills that passed later than that got his signature.

Mr. COCKRELL. That may be. When did it pass the House? When did it reach the President?

Mr. TELLER. It was a House bill, and went from here to the President.

Mr. COCKRELL. That was on the 28th of February, and Congress adjourned on the 3d of March. Any honest President who knows what he is doing is compelled when a multitude of bills are passed at the close of a session to withhold his signature from a few.

Mr. President, this is the law, and I assert that the distinguished Senator from Colorado, when he was Secretary of the Interior, never permitted one of his subordinate bureau officers to reject the lowest responsible bidder for a proper article when the law required bids to be invited. He would not have risked his reputation as an honest man and as an honest official before the people of this country by compelling one of his subordinate officers to accept a higher bid than was put in by another responsible bidder, and he knows it. These bids were made in the same way that they have been and under the same law for years and years.

This is only in keeping with what I saw some time ago in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. My attention was not called to it in the RECORD, but was called to it by an editorial article in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, which, as I now recollect, was almost *verbatim* the speech of a distinguished Republican member of the House of Representatives, and it was headed "A brilliant financial exploit," and goes on to state:

In 1887 the Federal Government advertised for bids for 2,000 blankets for the Medical Department of the Army. The specifications were plain as to the texture and quality of the fabric, and the weight was to be 4 pounds. The lowest bids were one from an American manufacturer for $2.56 and one from an English maker for $2.25. There was a difference, therefore, of only 31 cents between the bids, the British figures being the price delivered in this country minus the duty. Under such circumstances, the natural inference would be that the Government would give the contract to the American manufacturer, and keep in this country the money which they would cost, so that this money would go to the benefit of domestic labor.

Now, the Senator from Colorado is trying to draw the same conclusion, that the natural inference would be that the official would disregard the lowest bid and give the contract to somebody else. No, Mr. President, no honest official could do it. My attention was called to that charge, and I addressed a letter to the Secretary of War for the facts in the case. I have his reply in my hands, and I am very glad of the opportunity to read it and spread it upon the record:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington City, August* 7, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, inclosing a clipping from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat relative to the purchase of blankets for the Medical Department of the Army, and requesting to be furnished with a statement of the facts in the case.

In reply, I beg to state that on March 4, 1887, the Medical Department advertised for proposals for medical and hospital supplies; among the articles were 2,000 white all-wool twilled blankets. The letter of advertisement (copy herewith) informed all bidders that two prices might be given to any proposal for any item, one for delivery in bond, the other for delivery duty paid. The number of blankets purchased was 2,000. The price was $2.252 each. The only proposals received were from American bidders.

Not British bidders.

The lowest bid for a blanket of domestic manufacture, to be made of imported wool, was $2.56. The contract was awarded to C. W. Hayes, of Washington, D. C., at $2.252, in bond at the port of New York.

2,000 blankets, at $2.56, would have cost	$5,120
2,000 blankets, at $2.252, cost	4,504
Amount saved to the Government	616

The blankets supplied by Mr. Hayes were superior in quality and weight to any of the samples submitted by the other bidders, and exceeded the standard weight of 4 pounds by 2½ to 4 ounces each. They were all wool, as reported by the Army chemist after examination, while none of the other samples submitted exceeded the standard weight; and in the matter of quality some were of inferior wool or manufacture and others were not all wool. The principle acted upon by the Medical Department has been to buy the best article that could be had from the lowest bidder, this being in strict compliance with paragraph 1534, Army Regulations, which provides that "except in the rare cases where the United States may elect to exercise its reserved right to reject proposals, contracts will be awarded to the lowest responsible bona fide bidder, who, when required, produces a proper article and whose proposal therefor is not unreasonable in amount."

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator read that sentence again, going back to where the Government reserves the right to reject?

Mr. COCKRELL. I will read it again:

This being in strict compliance with paragraph 1534, Army Regulations, which provides that "except in the rare cases where the United States may elect to exercise its reserved right to reject proposals, contracts will be awarded to the lowest responsible bona fide bidder, who, when required, produces a proper article, and whose proposal therefor is not unreasonable in amount."

That is always reserved in all proposals for contracts, not that you can reject the lowest bid and take the second or third, but you have got to reject them all and advertise again. That is what is meant by the rejection of proposals.

Section 2505, Revised Statutes of the United States, provides that articles imported for the use of the United States shall be admitted duty free if the price of the articles did not include the duty. Various articles of foreign manufacture, such as quinine, morphine, olive oil, linen sheets, and pillow-cases, as well as books, meteorological instruments, plate-glass, and Portland cement, have for many years past been purchased, in bond, from American bidders for use in the Medical Department, the Signal Corps, and for river and harbor works. Such articles as are enumerated herein were purchased in bond under the administrations of Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Arthur. Under the administration of President Grant the number of purchases of articles made abroad for the Signal Service was largely in excess of those for any corresponding period. Under President Hayes's administration there were forty permits granted for free entry for the Signal Service. Under President Arthur's administration there were sixty-one permits, and under the present Administration the number has fallen to nineteen.

The newspaper clipping is returned herewith.

Very respectfully,

WM. C. ENDICOTT,
Secretary of War.

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate, 1518 R street, northwest, Washington, D. C.

This was published as a direct charge against this Administration; the intention was to make the impression that it was doing something that had never been done before, that it was violating the law, that it was giving British manufacturers the advantage in our own home market over our home manufacturers, and was purchasing British goods to the exclusion of American goods. It was published as a departure from the settled practice. That was the reason the article was published as a criticism upon the Administration. Now this record shows what? It shows that the officers of the Medical Department were only pursuing the policy which has been pursued invariably; that the same thing was done under the administration of President Grant to a greater extent, under President Hayes to a greater extent, and under President Arthur to a greater extent, and was in compliance with law and with Army regulations, and instead of being a discrimination against American manufacturers or American goods, the invitations were to American bidders, and Americans bid for furnishing the supplies.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to ask the Senator a question, now that he has got through with that.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly, I yield.

Mr. TELLER. I ask the Senator if he approves of this system of doing business, whether it was done under Grant or Arthur or anybody else?

Mr. COCKRELL. Yes, sir; when the Congress of the United States passes a law and requires the executive branches of this Government to purchase everything upon invitations or bids for contracts, and directs them to be let to the lowest responsible bidder, I say that the officer who acts must do as the law prescribes. He has no discretion.

Mr. TELLER. That is not the question I asked the Senator. I asked whether he favored and approved the principle of buying of foreigners when we could buy at home? I want to know if he is not in favor of so modifying the law that the Government shall buy of American manufacturers and American producers.

Mr. COCKRELL. My opinions are not in discussion, and it is not anybody's business what they are so far as this point is concerned. I say so without wishing to answer the Senator shortly; but it is a question of fact with which my opinions have nothing to do. I have not time to give my opinion on that question when I am discussing another. Here is the law which has been on the statute-books during twenty-odd years of Republican administration.

Mr. TELLER. Are you in favor of changing it?

Mr. COCKRELL. You have been in power; you were Secretary of the Interior; and where is your recommendation to change the law, sir? If you were in favor of it, when did you recommend it?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Order.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Chair will pardon me. When did the distinguished Senator from Colorado when he was Secretary of the Interior send to the Congress of the United States through his chief executive officer a recommendation to repeal this law which he and his subordinates carried out?

Mr. TELLER. I think if I had done so, the Senator would have regarded it as a very remarkable performance on my part to send in such a recommendation.

Mr. COCKRELL. It is the duty of the Department officers and the President to communicate to Congress their views in regard to necessary legislation.

Mr. TELLER. Not at all.

Mr. COCKRELL. And the Senator, when Secretary of the Interior, was derelict if he did not do it.

Mr. BATE. That is one of the just criticisms to be made, that while the Senator was in office seeing all these evils, that he did not recommend a remedy in his official capacity, and that he has not heretofore done it, but waits till the close of the session, and right upon the heels of an election, and then makes his suggestions.

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator will allow me, I have not recommended it now.

Mr. BATE. But the resolution does.

Mr. TELLER. I have not attacked the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Senator says there is no charge of an illegal contract. Of course not. I did not intend to make any. I simply say this thing has been done, and I want a committee to inquire whether any legislation is necessary. We know that the House of Representatives and the Senate thought it was, and if the Senator from Missouri is right it was necessary, but the President did not approve of that kind of legislation.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am perfectly astonished at one thing, that the distinguished Senator from Colorado gets up here and frankly admits that he has not even given his opinion on this question when he has been trying to incite me to give mine.

Mr. TELLER. Why, Mr. President, I said distinctly what my views were. The Senator could not have listened to me.

Mr. COCKRELL. It may have been in the Senator's first remarks, but not in the last.

Mr. TELLER. I said distinctly that I was opposed to anything of that kind, but if legislation was necessary, as both Houses seem to have thought it was at one time, I was in favor of that legislation, and I want the committee to report whether it is necessary or not.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President——

Mr. COCKRELL. I dislike extremely to be annoyed in the midst of my discourse, but I will yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON. I desire to interrupt the Senator about this very matter. I am gratified myself to hear the letter read from the Secretary of War. That seems to disclose the fact that the only difference between a 5-pound blanket produced in this country and one produced abroad, irrespective of duty, is 31 cents per blanket. In Iowa we have been taught for a good many years that the duty is added to the price of all domestic productions. But it seems from the letter of the Secretary of War that that is a great mistake, that our domestic producers produce blankets within 31 cents for a 5-pound blanket of the cost abroad, irrespective of duty. That is a very gratifying letter to me, and I hope the Senator will have it printed in the RECORD.

Mr. COCKRELL. I hope the distinguished Senator from Iowa will listen again and refresh his multiplication powers, and he will ascertain that he is very much mistaken. He must go back to the elementary arithmetic.

Two prices might be given to any proposal for any item, one for delivery in bond, the other for delivery duty paid. The number of blankets purchased was 2,000. The price was $2.252 each. The only proposals received were from American bidders. The lowest bid for a blanket of domestic manufacture, to be made of imported wool, was $2.56. The contract was awarded to C. W. Hayes, of Washington, D. C., at $2.252 in bond at the port of New York.

Duty free. The Government pays no duty.

Mr. ALLISON. Certainly; that is to say, the price of the domestic blanket is within 31 cents of the price of the foreign blanket. So this old idea about duties seems to be dissipated by this letter.

Mr. COCKRELL. "Dissipated!" Not at all.

Mr. ALLISON. That is the point I make.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all. If they had been of the same quality it would have been a different matter; but here was imported wool upon

which the home manufacturer had paid a duty, but then the home manufacture was not all wool.

Mr. ALDRICH. Did the Secretary of War require that these blankets should be made from imported wool as a part of the specifications?

Mr. COCKRELL. Congress required it.

Mr. ALLISON. Oh, no.

Mr. ALDRICH. To be made from imported wool?

Mr. COCKRELL. Congress requires any woolen blanket if it has the right kind of wool in it, by virtue of the very law they passed to have the imported wool.

Mr. ALDRICH. I should be glad to have my attention called to that law.

Mr. COCKRELL. The law imposing duties on imported wool.

Mr. ALLISON. That statement of the Secretary of War is in a little addendum there. It is perfectly absurd to suppose that he issued proposals for American blankets to be made of imported wool. That is a little *lapsus* of the clerk who wrote that letter and for the purpose of making a point. There is no such thing possible as that the Secretary of War, certainly not a Democratic Secretary, would require a domestic manufacturer of blankets to bid to furnish only blankets made of imported wool. That would be an absurdity that I would not suppose the Secretary of War would be guilty of.

Mr. ALDRICH. I guess he did not do that.

Mr. ALLISON. That can not be so.

Mr. COCKRELL. The letter speaks for itself. The letter shows exactly what the transaction was, and it shows the meanness and the desperation of a political party that undertakes to censure the action of Democratic officials for what it did for twenty-odd years itself and what was done under its laws; and when it criticises a Democratic official in that act, to make the impression that it is the first time in the history of the country that such a thing was ever done, there is where I say the censure is.

Mr. ALLISON. I am not on that point.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am on that point, and I am going to grind it in.

Mr. ALLISON. I am on the other point.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is the point I am on. Here a distinguished Republican member of the House of Representatives gets up on the floor and makes that statement to produce the impression that the Democratic party has deviated from the law and from the policies of former administrations, and has given preference to a British manufacturer over an American manufacturer, and it is in consonance with the hypocrisy of the so-called "foreign British policy" when applied to our revenue policy; it is in keeping with that.

Mr. President, the statement was made for the express purpose of deceiving the people. It was made to create the impression upon the people of the United States that this Democratic Secretary of War had done a thing that never had been done in the history of this country; done a thing which a Republican administration would have scorned to do; done a thing which ought to deter the honest American voters from voting for it; and it is spread upon the record and sent broadcast throughout the country. Now, the facts are what? That the Secretary of War pursued the law exactly. The facts are that the Republican administrations of Grant, of Hayes, and of Arthur, every one of them, did the same thing, and did it when the Secretaryship of the Interior was held by the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

Mr. TELLER. We did not buy any blankets from Great Britain.

Mr. COCKRELL. They were bought precisely in the same way under the administration of Arthur, of which the Senator was a member. There were sixty-one permits then—more than under any other administration.

Mr. TELLER. For blankets?

Mr. COCKRELL. To buy articles of foreign manufacture for the Signal Service and other services, and it makes no difference whether they were blankets or not.

Mr. TELLER. Olive-oil, and instruments not made in this country.

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all; nothing of that kind. They were precisely the articles manufactured here, and now the Senator comes in when he knows his resolution can not pass——

Mr. TELLER. I do not see why it should not. The Senator may possibly know.

Mr. COCKRELL. Simply because I say to you frankly that I do not propose that you shall have any smelling committees to put forth just what they please before the election. You can call upon the Secretary for any information in regard to this matter, and he will give it to you. I am speaking plainly now. There is no deception about the matter. That is all of it. We have no objection to the investigation, none in the world, but you can not make it now. You can not have your committee sitting here between now and the election to put out any kind of report it chooses. You can call on the Secretary of the Interior for information, and he will furnish it immediately; but I will not consent to this kind of a process. It is not fair nor honest nor just.

This is an attempt to censure the Secretary of the Interior and the administration of the Indian Office, for what? For precisely what has been done, and for precisely what the law requires and what was done under the administration of the distinguished Senator from Colorado when he was Secretary of the Interior, and what was done under all his Republican predecessors when they were honest, in every instance. They had the law before them. They were compelled to take the lowest responsible bidder, and they had no right to inquire whether these wagons were made in Ohio, in Pennsylvania, in Missouri, in Kansas, or in any other State. Where they were manufactured had nothing to do with the wagons themselves, but their character and fitness for the work desired was the point. And why does the Senator introduce this resolution? It is to make an impression upon the voters of the United States that the Democratic administration of the Interior Department has been acting against American labor and in favor of convict labor. It is not fair, it is not just, it is not right.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri seems to be offended because I did not attack the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of the Interior. That is rather remarkable. I suppose if I had done so, he might have got up more indignation than he has now over this thing. I did not pretend to attack the Secretary of the Interior. I said this was what was being done. I said I was opposed to it, that I wanted the committee to see if it could be stopped either under existing law or by other laws to be enacted. The Senator says it can not be stopped under existing law. So much the worse, then, for the Executive of this country who declined to sign the bill sent to him from the legislative branch of the Government without a dissent, everybody being in favor of it.

The Senator from Missouri will not stand in his place and say that he is in favor of the Government buying convict-labor products in this country to-day. Of course I understand he is in favor of our buying the products of foreign convict labor from Austria, because he can not be otherwise if he is in favor of free goods, which he is whenever the necessities of the Government do not compel it to have revenue from duties.

Mr. President, the Senator says that this thing has been done, and was done under my administration of the Interior Department. The Senator does not know as much about the administration of the Interior Department as I do, especially while I had charge of it. I know we never bought any wagons made by convict labor. I know, what is more, that I never would have bought them. He knows and everybody knows that there is a discretion in every public officer that he may exercise, and he is only amenable when he abuses the exercise of that power. The very notice that the Senator reads here shows that the officials may reject the proposals made, and it is not, as he says, necessary to reject them all. They may reject any man's proposal if they think he will not furnish a good article, or that he will not furnish it according to the contract. There is a list in every Department of the Government of what are called "failing bidders," who are prohibited from bidding; that is to say, the Departments, when they come to their bids, throw them out.

The Senator has seen fit to read a very remarkable letter of the Secretary of War, which I am very glad he has submitted.

Mr. DOLPH. I ask the Senator before reading the letter to yield to me a moment to see if I understand this matter of the purchase of foreign blankets.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. DOLPH. It is asserted here that there is a law which requires supplies for the Army and other Departments to be purchased by advertisement and that the contract must be let to the lowest bidder. I can not believe that there is any law which requires the acceptance of the lowest bid from a foreigner of goods delivered in bond if the price of the goods delivered in bond is less than the price of the home manufactured article. Take this instance. I understand that the blankets which were furnished were 5-pound blankets. The price of the foreign article delivered in bond was $2.25. The lowest bid for blankets of American manufacture, as I understand, was $2.56; but we are told that the duty upon 5-pound blankets would be 12 cents a pound or 60 cents, with an addition of 35 per cent. ad valorem, which would make a total duty of $1.37, which, added to $2.25, would make the actual cost of the English blanket $3.62, as against the cost of a blanket of American manufacture $2.56, or a difference of $1.06, or a little over a dollar's difference in the price of the 5-pound blankets.

If there is a law that requires the acceptance of a bid for a foreign article delivered in bond without payment of duty to be received, if it is less than the price of the domestic article, I shall be very glad to learn it. I can not believe there is any such law in existence. I shall be glad to be informed on a subject of which I am ignorant, and I shall be sorry to learn that we have such a law on the statute-book by which an executive officer would be authorized to purchase blankets and to actually pay—because it amounts to that—a dollar apiece more for the foreign than for the domestic article. If I understand this matter, that is this exact case, because if the blankets had paid the duty every blanket would have paid to the Government $1.37, to be added to the price.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator from Missouri, as I said a little while

ago, regards himself as justified and the Administration as justified for anything it does if he can find that it has ever been done under a Republican administration. The trouble with this Administration and the Democratic party is that they have only adopted our vices. Whenever we have been doing things that we ought not to have done they follow quickly in our wake to do the same thing, and if anybody criticises the action they say "You did the same thing." When we attempt to make any reform in these things we shall be met with Democratic opposition upon the theory that it was done under Republican administration. That is not the question. The question is whether it is right. When I ask the Senator whether he approves it, he says it is of no consequence what his opinion is. That is not the question. He is justifying the Administration, and says they did right.

This letter is a remarkable letter, and I agree with the Senator from Iowa that it is a valuable addition to the literature of this age on the tariff question. It is remarkable in several respects. It is an admission that the charge made was true. It is remarkable because it attempts to justify the transaction on the ground that somebody else had done the same thing. And yet it does not say that any Republican administration ever bought a blanket of this character. Olive oil and some other things were bought for the Signal Service, perhaps some instruments, something, nobody knows what. The Senator says that the Department got a superior article at a gain of 31 cents per blanket. When the Departments advertise for an article they specify what that article shall be. If they want an all-wool article it must be all wool, and if a man bid for an all-wool article and did not send the right sample, all wool, of course his bid was not accepted. Now let us see what this says:

In reply I beg to state that on March 4, 1887, the Medical Department advertised for proposals for medical and hospital supplies. Among the articles were two thousand white all-wool twilled blankets. The letter of advertisement (copy herewith)—

I wish the Senator, if he has that letter, would produce that—

informed all bidders that two prices might be given to any proposal for any item, one for delivery in bond, the other for delivery duty paid. The number of blankets purchased was two thousand. The price was $2,252 each. The only proposals received were from American bidders.

The Senator emphasized that. He thinks he has escaped the charge that we are buying foreign products because an American go-between, a middle-man, was making a profit, was bringing these blankets in and selling them to the Government, an American importer, who of course in the nature of things agrees with the Senator from Missouri in his views of the political economy of the country which would justify the buying of everything from abroad and making nothing at home. That has nothing to do with it. The question is not who sold them to the Government, but who made them? Were they of American or of foreign manufacture? It is admitted here that they were foreign blankets.

The lowest bid for a blanket of domestic manufacture, to be made of imported wool, was $2.56.

Other American manufacturers might have bid and not suggested in their bid that the blanket was to be of imported wool. This foreign Administration could not get along unless they had imported blankets or blankets made of imported wool. The good old-fashioned wool of American sheep would not do. The Senator undertook to say that we could not make any blankets out of American wool, and that if they were suitable blankets they had to be made of imported wool. Does not the Senator know that we have produced the finest blankets ever made in the world on the American continent? There has been no blanket made under the light of the sun that is superior to blankets which have been made on the American continent, and I think they were made of American wool. Does not the Senator know that there has been no finer wool raised anywhere than we have raised in this country? The high-bred sheep of this country have sold for more money in America than any other place in the world. If the Senator does not know it, he ought to look up the sheep industry and he would find it out.

Evidently the Senator has a copy of the advertisement. If he will produce it, we shall find out whether this was a call for blankets made of imported wool or not. I do not know, I can hardly believe that we have reached that state of affairs where the Secretary of War would advertise for blankets that must be made of imported wool. I know that they have gone very far in those things, but that is going further than I think any Secretary of War would ever do, or anybody else. I do not think the Senator from Missouri would justify that.

The contract was awarded to C. W. Hayes, of Washington, D. C., at $2.252 in bond at the port of New York.

2,000 blankets at $2.56 would have cost	$5,120
2,000 blankets at $2.252	4,504
Amount saved to the Government	616

I am glad of the correction. It has gone all over the country that the amount was $16 less—$600 instead of $616.

The blankets supplied by Mr. Hayes were superior in quality and weight to any of the samples submitted by the other bidders—

Of course they were. They were made of imported wool, and made abroad, and of course they were better because they were made abroad. I know a great many gentlemen who would not buy an article of American manufacture for their clothes. They think if they are not made in Great Britain they are not good, and half the time they are wearing American cloth under the supposition that they are wearing English goods. Not long ago a gentleman in New York wanted to fit his house with carpets, and he went up to one of the distinguished carpet manufacturers of the country and looked over his stock, and said that there was nothing there at all that would suit him, that he must have an English carpet. Then he went to another establishment where he purchased what he supposed to be an English carpet, but it was really an American carpet, and he was entirely content to pay 50 per cent. more for what he supposed was an English carpet. There is a good deal of that sort of feeling in this country, but I did not know that it had got into the War Department to the extent that it seems to have got there by this letter. But let me read on—

and exceeded the standard weight of 4 pounds by 2½ to 4 ounces each.

There was a fraud on every American bidder. What right had they to give any preference because the blanket weighed more? They said: "Bring us a blanket of this kind." If they wanted 4 ounces more, or half a pound more, it was their place to ask for it. The American bidder had a right to suppose that he was to bid for the blankets they had advertised for, and no others. However, we have not got the blankets, and, seeing this thing through British eyes, it may be that the quality and the weight are both superior because of the origin of the blankets.

They were all wool, as reported by the army chemist after examination, while none of the other samples submitted exceeded the standard weight.

Of course not. Why should they? Naturally they would not, and naturally men would bid for the quality of blankets that were described in the advertisement calling for bids. If the Department wanted a 4-pound blanket men would bid for a 4-pound blanket. If they wanted a 2½-pound blanket they would bid for a 2½-pound blanket.

And in the matter of quality some were of inferior wool or manufacture and others were not all wool.

If they were not all wool they did not come within the provisions of the advertisement, and of course they would be rejected.

The principle acted upon by the Medical Department has been to buy the best article that could be had from the lowest bidder, this being in strict compliance with paragraph 1534, Army Regulations, which provides that "except in rare cases where the United States may elect to exercise its reserved right to reject proposals."

So that they do reject proposals. The Senator says—and I know he has the power to do it—that this resolution shall not pass, that there shall be no smelling committee, there shall be no secrets of this Administration exposed on the eve of the election which might exhibit the fraudulent pretenses of the Senator's political associates when they say that they are in favor of the protection of American labor, and that their system of economy will not injure American labor. It is possible that an examination might disclose something. The Senator says it will be harmless after election; we must wait until after election. If the Senator's theory is correct, that there is a statute which makes it imperative on the Administration thus to buy the product of convict labor, then the greater guilt rests upon him who pocketed a bill that we had passed with entire unanimity to prevent that very thing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRYE in the chair). The consideration of the resolution is objected to by the Senator from Missouri, and it goes over under the rule.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following joint resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 231) authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to the officers and employés of the Senate and House of Representatives borne on the annual rolls their respective salaries for the month of October on the 20th day of said month; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 232) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to session employés of the Senate and House for the full month of October.

The message also announced that the House had non-concurred in the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7843) granting to Citrous Water Company right of way across Papago Indian reservation in Maricopa County, Arizona; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. HUDD, Mr. PEEL, and Mr. NELSON the managers at the conference on the part of the House.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, in the report of his speech made day before yesterday, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] incorporated a letter from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in

which the Commissioner said he inclosed a letter which had been addressed to Hon. JAMES B. BECK, on the subject of methylation of spirits. The inclosure was not printed with the Commissioner's letter, and I should be very glad, if the Senator has a copy of it, if he will have it inserted.

Mr. COCKRELL. I have it at my room. I have not got it here. I will bring it in the morning. There were five or six inclosures which I never read in full, and, as the Senator will remember, I had finished my speech before I discovered that I had not read this letter, and simply handed it in. The others I will have here in the morning. I forgot to give to the Reporter the other letters. There were quite a number of them. I will bring them and have them put in the RECORD in the morning. I do not remember what he says about the letter spoken of, but there were, I think, three or four other communications. I will let the Senator see them in the morning just as if they were printed. I regret that I did not think of it. I see I have not got them here, and I remember now that there were a number of them.

I move that we take a recess for fifteen minutes. There may be some communications from the President, and I should like to have a short recess.

Mr. ALDRICH. Make it half an hour.

Mr. COCKRELL. Thirty minutes, then.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri moves that the Senate take a recess for thirty minutes.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate thereupon took a recess for thirty minutes. At the expiration of the recess the Senate reassembled, at 2 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.

REPORT OF PRODUCTION OF PRECIOUS METALS.

Mr. ALLISON. I should like to take this occasion, if there is nothing pressing before the Senate, to call attention to two or three matters for the convenience of the Senate and to ask the consideration of several House resolutions in regard to printing.

Mr. ALDRICH. Are they resolutions reported from the Committee on Printing?

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from Rhode Island that these are not reports from the committee. They are resolutions which have been handed to me by the clerk of the Committee on Printing. I ask the Senate to consider the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives for printing the report of the Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals of the United States for the year 1887.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the Committee on Printing will be discharged from the further consideration of the resolution. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the report of the Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals in the United States for the year 1887 be printed, and that 9,000 extra copies be printed, 4,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, 2,000 copies for the use of the Senate, and 3,000 copies for the use of the Director of the Mint.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Iowa asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution just read.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. ALLISON. The estimate of the cost of this printing is $2,484.

The resolution was agreed to.

REPORTS OF COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the Committee on Printing be discharged from the further consideration of the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives to print copies of the first and second annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor, with a view to its present consideration.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Committee on Printing will be discharged from the further consideration of the resolution, if there be no objection.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed 5,000 copies each, in cloth binding, of the first and second annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor for the use of the Department of Labor.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT FOR 1888.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that the Committee on Printing be discharged from the further consideration of the joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the Committee on Printing will be discharged from the further consideration of the joint resolution. The Chair hears none.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask for the present consideration of the joint resolution.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888, which was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there be printed 400,000 copies of the annual report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1888: 70,000 copies for the use of the members of the Senate, 300,000 copies for the use of the members of the House of Representatives, and 30,000 copies for the use of the Department of Agriculture, the illustrations for the same to be executed under the supervision of the Public Printer, in accordance with directions of the Joint Committee on Printing, said illustrations to be subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Agriculture; and the copy for the illustrations of said report shall be placed in the hands of the Public Printer not later than the 20th day of December, 1888, and the copy of the text not later than the 1st day of February, 1889.

Mr. ALLISON. I believe the division as between the Senate and the House of Representatives is the usual division. The House are to receive 300,000 copies and the Senate 70,000 copies, and 30,000 copies will be for the use of the Department of Agriculture. I ask the Senator from Missouri if that is not the usual division.

Mr. COCKRELL. I wanted to make an inquiry in regard to that matter. We have a rule as to documents which I think we have pretty well established, that the Senate shall have in the proportion of one-third and the House two-thirds, but, as I understand, it has been the rule of the Committee on Printing, and also a rule acquiesced in by the Senate for some years, to let the House members have a larger proportion of the Agricultural Report than of the other documents. I understand from the clerk of the Committee on Printing that this is the usual ratio. If it is, I have no objection to it.

Mr. TELLER. I think that gives us the usual ratio of about eight hundred that we have had, or something in that neighborhood; but it has always seemed to me that it was folly to go to the great expense of publishing a large book like this and then limiting us to so small a number of copies. When the book is once published the few thousand additional copies that the Senate and House would get more would be a mere nothing. I have never been able to get enough copies of the Agricultural Reports to meet the demand in my State, which is not considered an agricultural State.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it might be well to allow the joint resolution to pass. This volume will not be printed until after we convene again, and if we desire additional copies they can be ordered then.

Mr. TELLER. I do not desire, of course, to interfere with the passage of the joint resolution, but it seems to me that we ought to take steps to give the people more of these volumes. I get 800 copies and attempt with my colleague to go through the farmers in the State, and we can not do it. One man gets a copy and another man does not get it. There should be enough of these volumes to give every farmer who would make practical use of it a copy. There should be no distinction in giving a few men here and a few men there, but there should be a general distribution, and the additional cost would be merely nominal. I have felt myself, from time to time, compelled to buy copies, as I know others have done when they could be bought at second-hand.

Mr. PADDOCK. I ask that the joint resolution be again read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. At the request of the Senator from Nebraska the joint resolution will be again read.

The joint resolution was again read.

Mr. PADDOCK. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Iowa if this is the usual number that has been allowed in times past?

Mr. ALLISON. This is the usual number, I believe. I am not quite sure as to the exact proportion, but the clerk of the Committee on Printing states that it is about the proportion usually given as between the two Houses.

Mr. PADDOCK. If the joint resolution does not give the usual number, I should like to have it amended so as to print at all events as many copies as it has been the custom of Congress to print. In fact, I think the number ought to be increased. I indorse fully all that the Senator from Colorado has said in respect to making the aggregate number of these reports larger. I myself have been compelled to make purchases largely during the past session of these reports in order to supply the demand of my constituents, who are almost exclusively an agricultural people. I think if the number named in the joint resolution were even doubled we should then need more.

Mr. TELLER. It will give about 900 copies apiece. That would give to the State of Colorado a little over 2,700 copies, which is totally inadequate if you attempt at all to supply the live farmers of the country.

Mr. COCKRELL. I rather agree with the Senator from Iowa that we had better pass this joint resolution. It will be a short time until the meeting of the next session, and then we can pass a resolution for the printing of additional copies. My impression is that this is about the number that we have printed for the last three or four years.

Mr. REAGAN. Each Senator was given about 800 copies last year, and this gives 900 copies.

Mr. PADDOCK. I have just been informed by the clerk of the committee that this is the usual number, and I withdraw the objection, hoping that hereafter Congress will make provision to increase that number.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say to the Senator from Nebraska that next winter a resolution can be introduced to print additional copies. This volume will not be printed until after the convening of Congress in December.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT TUNNEL.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Under the concurrent resolution of

October 9, authorizing the appointment of a joint committee to investigate work upon the Washington Aqueduct tunnel, the President *pro tempore* designates as members on the part of the Senate the Senator from Vermont [Mr. EDMUNDS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. DAWES], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. FAULKNER].

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. T. O. TOWLES, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution of the Senate providing for the adjournment of the two Houses of Congress without day on the 20th instant.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 11599) to authorize the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington to be used as a mail-bag repair-shop, and for other purposes; and it was thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore*.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, among the criticisms which have been made upon the bill reported from the Finance Committee, there are two which, on account of the source from which they emanate, rather than their gross inaccuracy, seem to the committee to be worthy of attention.

The first of these is what purports to be an official statement and estimate of the effect of the Senate substitute, made by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department and signed by the Chief of that bureau. This table was submitted to the Senate by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], now absent, and is found on printed pages 10448 and 10449 of the RECORD. It purports to show in detail what the effect of the Senate bill would be upon importations under the different tariff schedules, and the different items in the schedules, if that bill should become a law. This official statement further illustrates the absurdity of attempting to prove by elaborate statements of average ad valorem rates and percentages the character or effects of a tariff bill.

For instance, the promoters of the House bill claim great credit for having put sawed lumber and other articles in the lumber schedule upon the free-list. Yet it appears from an examination of this statement of the Bureau of Statistics that the average rate of duty imposed by the House bill upon articles in the lumber schedule (Schedule D) is 29.32 per cent., while the average rate imposed by the Senate substitute is 18.88 per cent. In other words, the House bill levies an average ad valorem duty on lumber according to this table greater by 55 per cent. than the Senate substitute, and yet a large proportion of the articles in that schedule are placed on the free-list by the House bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. I did not catch the Senator's statement about the first item, if it will not interrupt him to say so.

Mr. ALDRICH. I said that the House bill, according to this statement, imposes an average rate of duty upon all articles in the lumber schedule of 29.32 per cent., while the Senate bill imposes but 18.88 per cent., and therefore, to follow the reasoning adopted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] in relation to the remaining portion of the table, the House bill imposes 55 per cent. higher rates upon lumber than the Senate bill.

Mr. FRYE. As a matter of course this statement of the Treasury Department is an entire mistake as to that item?

Mr. ALDRICH. It is not a mistake. The figures are accurate, I think. I have had the figures compared, but I think they are accurate. I only mention it to show the utter worthlessness and absurdity of attempting to show the character either of this bill or the House bill by a system of ad valorem rates and percentages.

Mr. ALLISON. That is to say, if a man were to pick up this table and look at it and consider it a verification he would say that the House bill levies a duty on lumber 55 per cent. higher than the Senate bill.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes; 55 per cent., and he would have this official statement of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department to prove it.

Mr. ALLISON. On the stump.

Mr. FRYE. What I meant to say was that it is an entire mistake. The House bill has not increased the duty, nor has the Senate bill increased it.

Mr. ALDRICH. The deductions which the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber seek to make from this table would lead to a great mistake in this case, although the statement itself is not incorrect.

The Senator from Missouri in submitting this table to the Senate stated that it disclosed the fact that the Senate bill had very greatly increased the duty upon certain necessaries of life. Among these he cited woolen and cotton cloths, the rates upon which he claimed were largely increased.

The fact is, as was stated by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] in his opening speech upon the bill, that the rates of duty imposed upon the lower grades of woolen cloths and cotton cloths are not increased by the Senate bill. Upon all the lower grades of woolen cloths the rates fixed by the bill are 35 cents a pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem, which is exactly the same rate as that imposed on the same class by existing law.

On the other hand upon all the grades or classes of cotton cloths which could by any possibility be called necessaries of life—those which are used by the great masses of our people—the bill instead of increasing the rates of duties decreases them. Yet this official statement is brought here for the purpose of trying to prove to the people of this country that we have largely increased the duties upon all cotton and woolen cloths.

Mr. REAGAN. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. ALDRICH. Certainly.

Mr. REAGAN. I ask if the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] did not state in his opening address on the subject of the Senate bill that it did increase the duty on woolens to some extent?

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes; on the higher grades of woolens, and the Senator from Iowa also made the same statement. It is also true that upon the higher grades of cotton cloths and of fine cotton yarns the bill increases the rates. There never has been any attempt at concealment on the part of the committee of the fact that it proposes an increase of rates on these goods, and in every other case where an American industry required additional protection, or where the working people engaged in any pursuit were suffering from inadequate rates. That has been the avowed purpose of the framers and promoters of this bill.

The criticism which Senators make is not that these duties are greater than different industries require, but they content themselves with the general statement that we have largely increased the duties upon the necessaries of life.

This statement is misleading and inaccurate in its general features and in its details. I am not surprised that partisan newspapers or members of Congress should assail the Senate bill and misrepresent its provisions; but I am surprised that the Bureau of Statistics, which, above everything, should be fair and non-partisan, and to whom we have always looked for mathematical accuracy, should put forth an official paper which is not only grossly inaccurate in its mathematics, but is entirely unfair and misleading in the application of the information in its possession in a matter of great public importance.

The first item in the table before me to which I shall call the attention of the Senate is woolen cloths. The rate fixed by existing law upon woolen cloths is upon all cloths below 80 cents a pound 35 cents a pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem, and upon all cloths exceeding 80 cents a pound in value 35 cents a pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem. The rates fixed by the Senate substitute are upon woolen cloths valued at below 40 cents a pound 35 cents a pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem, the same it will be borne in mind as upon the lower class under existing law; on those valued between 40 and 60 cents a pound 35 cents a pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem, and exceeding 60 cents a pound 40 cents a pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem.

It will be observed that in order to make an accurate comparison between results to be effected by the rates fixed by the Senate substitute and existing law, based upon the importations of 1887, it would be necessary to ascertain how many pounds of woolen cloths valued at below 40 cents a pound were imported in 1887 and what amount of duty was collected upon them. This would also be true of the grade between 40 and 60 and above 60.

When the statement which I now have under consideration was first brought to my attention in the columns of a Democratic newspaper several days before it was submitted to the Senate, I immediately addressed a note to the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics and asked him to furnish me the data upon which this estimated effect of the Senate substitute upon woolen cloths was based. Late on Monday night I received by special messenger a statement from him, in which he says that as all the woolen cloths imported valued at less than 80 cents per pound averaged 63.8 cents per pound in value, therefore he had concluded that all woolen cloths were valued above 60 cents a pound, and had computed them all at the highest rate of duty assessed by the Senate bill.

Some Senator upon the other side may ask, are there any woolen cloths imported that are valued below 60 cents a pound? I will answer this by reading from a statement made by the Commissioner of Labor in his first annual report to Congress, which I venture to say has appeared and reappeared in many scores of Democratic speeches in this body and in the other branch, as to the effect of a tariff upon woolen goods. In this statement he details twenty-eight different grades of woolen cloths, valued at less than 80 cents per pound, to illustrate the effect of the act of 1883. Of these twenty-eight, twenty-seven are below 60 cents a pound, thirteen are below 40 cents a pound, fourteen between 40 and 60 cents, and one from 60 to 80 cents.

This table, I say, has been in constant use in both Houses to illustrate the effect of the act of 1883, and it is certainly fair to assume that a considerable proportion of the goods imported in 1887 which were valued at less than 80 cents a pound were invoiced at less than 60 cents per pound. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, instead of saying frankly to the Senator from Missouri and the Senate I have no data—as he had none and could have had none—upon which to base an estimate of the effect of the Senate bill upon woolen cloths, computes all importation at the highest rate of duty and forwards this inaccurate

statement without an explanation, to be made the basis of the charge that we have largely increased the duty on woolen cloths.

This is also true as to rates on woolen shawls, which are included in the same clause in the present law and in the Senate substitute. In a speech recently made in Wall street, in the city of New York, the Speaker of the House of Representatives was reported by the New York World of the next day to have said:

The tariff taxes upon the cheaper grades of shawls and woolen cloths are increased to more than 100 per cent., and the duties on knit goods, the underwear of the people, by a change of classification, are increased to more than 200 per cent. I know these may seem to be extravagant figures, but I am prepared to substantiate the truth of every one of them.

I do not mean to impeach the intelligence of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, but if he had read the Senate substitute at all or had any knowledge of its provisions he would have known that it not only does not increase the duty on the lower grades of woolen cloths and woolen shawls to 100 per cent., but that it does not increase these rates at all; that they remain in the Senate bill word for word, letter for letter as in the existing law.

Let us also examine for a moment Mr. CARLISLE'S statement in regard to knit goods, which he says are increased by the Senate substitute to 250 per cent., and compare his figures with those which are furnished by the Bureau of Statistics. According to the report of the bureau the duty on knit goods in 1887 was 62.80 per cent., and by the Senate bill it would be 71.90 per cent.

Mr. COCKRELL. What is the Senator on now?

Mr. ALDRICH. On knit goods. I am showing that by this Bureau of Statistics table which I have before me the duty under the present law is 62.80 per cent., while under the Senate substitute it would be 71.90 per cent., instead of 250 per cent., as stated by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Before leaving Mr. CARLISLE'S speech, I should say that by the Bureau of Statistics table the duty on woolen shawls in 1887, under the existing law, was 63.50 per cent., while their estimate of duty under the Senate substitute would be 68.27 per cent. This same Bureau of Statistics, by another table, shows that the duty on woolen shawls in 1887 was 88.44 per cent., and 65.41 per cent. as against an estimated duty under Senate bill of 68.27 per cent.; so that instead of increasing the duty according to Mr. CARLISLE to the extent of 100 per cent. upon the lower grades of woolen shawls the evidence of the Bureau of Statistics, whatever it may now be worth, shows that we have reduced the duty from 88.44 per cent. to 68.27 per cent.

This bureau table estimates that the Senate bill increases the rate of duty on yarns 64.71 per cent. above existing rates. By another table, prepared by the Treasury Department, which was submitted to the Senate on yesterday by the same Senator from Missouri who submitted the statement now under consideration, and which was intended to show the effect of the Senate bill upon all wool and woolens, the rate of duty on woolen and worsted yarns was stated at 102.38 per cent., while the table which I have before me estimates that the duty would be 113.83 per cent. The second table shows that the amount of duty collected under the Senate bill would be $1,789,000, while the first table shows $1,989,000.

Mr. COCKRELL. I do not see where the Senator gets his figures.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator from Missouri will turn to page 10500 of the RECORD he will find under the first classification of yarns——

Mr. COCKRELL. Will the Senator just bear with me a moment? I am at it.

Mr. ALDRICH. He will find in the second table submitted by his colleague to the Senate as to the effect of the Senate substitute, that there would be collected upon the yarns $1,789,236; and if he looks at the first table submitted by him he will find that the amount is given one million nine hundred and some odd thousand dollars, or a difference of $200,000 between the two statements. Then if he will look at the amount which it is estimated would be collected from dress goods in the second statement, on page 10501, he will find the estimate to be $13,893,028.20, while under the first table the estimate is $13,419,025.95, or a difference of $474,000 in the single item between these statements submitted on successive days by the Senator from Missouri.

I understood the Senator when he presented these tables to say that they both came from the Treasury Department, and I infer that they were both prepared at the Bureau of Statistics.

It is true, as was stated by both the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], that upon the higher grades of woolen goods and upon worsted goods of all kinds we have proposed an increase of rates by the Senate bill. The committee had three reasons for making such an increase. The first was the inadequate duties which were imposed in 1883 upon many classes of woolen and worsted goods. That is evidenced, as the committee show in their report, by the large and rapidly increasing importations from year to year of woolen and worsted manufactures.

The second was the anomalous duties which, under the decision of the Treasury Department, are now levied upon worsted goods. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his last annual report, calls the attention of Congress to this inequality, and says:

There is much reason to believe that the manufacture of worsted cloths must soon cease in this country, unless the tariff law in this regard is amended.

I shall not stop to read the whole of his statement, but it is conclusive upon this point.

Under existing law worsted goods, and the yarns imported in 1887 were largely worsted yarns, pay 10, 12, 18, and 24 cents a pound compensatory specific duty, while scoured wool from which the yarns and cloth are made pays 30 cents a pound specific duty. Based upon the estimate that it takes 1 pound and one-third of scoured wool to make a pound of worsted yarn, the specific duty upon the wool is 40 cents a pound, while the duty upon the yarn cloth is only 10, 12, 18, and 24 cents a pound as I have stated.

This is a direct discrimination against the worsted manufacturers of the country, and it is not surprising that the Secretary of the Treasury should call the attention of Congress to it. But by providing a remedy for the inequality and by fixing the same rates of duty upon woolen and worsted cloths and woolen and worsted yarns we are unjustly subjected to the charge that we have increased duties 100 per cent. Instead of manfully saying that the increase is right, and that it is necessary for the preservation of important industries, the Senator from Missouri says "You have increased the duties upon necessaries of life more than 100 per cent. by this provision of the bill."

The Committee on Finance in the Senate substitute have divided cotton cloths into five classes for the purpose of assessing duties; the first class includes cloths containing not exceeding 50 threads to the square inch, the second containing above 50 and not exceeding 100, the third above 100 and not exceeding 150, the fourth above 150 and not exceeding 200, and the fifth exceeding 200.

Upon the first and second classes the committee recommend a reduction of one-half cent per yard upon those goods upon which a specific duty is levied, and on those upon which an ad valorem rate is assessed a reduction from 40 to 35 per cent. ad valorem.

On the third class, between 100 and 150 threads to the square inch, the duties remain the same in the Senate substitute as in existing law. In the higher classes, the fourth and fifth, we have increased the rate upon those which bore a specific rate half a cent a yard, and we have increased the ad valorem rate from 40 to 45 per cent. ad valorem.

It will be observed that under the existing law all cotton cloths not exceeding two hundred threads to the square inch and above a certain limit in value pay an ad valorem rate of 40 per cent. The committee propose that two-fifths of these shall pay 35 per cent., one-fifth 40 per cent., and one-fifth 45 per cent. By the statement under consideration all classes are computed at 45 per cent.

The cotton cloths, between one hundred and two hundred threads to the square inch, upon which a specific rate is now levied, pay a duty respectively of 3, 4, and 5 cents a square yard. Under the Senate substitute one half of these, say from one hundred to one hundred and fifty threads, pay the same rate. The other half, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, pay an additional half cent a yard. In this Treasury estimate they are all computed at the highest rate.

The allowance is made for the reductions in duties which are effected, but additions are always made in case of an increase. The effect of the table, therefore, if it had any, would be to convince the people of this country that we had increased the duty upon all cotton cloths, while we have reduced the duty upon the two lower grades, left it without change upon one, and increased it only on the two higher grades.

I have already stated that the goods upon which we have made the reductions in duty are the goods largely in use by all classes of our people, while the classes upon which we have made an increase are described in a report of the Treasury Department as "articles of cotton which are so elaborately manufactured as to become more articles of luxury than many articles of silk which are classed as luxuries." They are goods bought largely by the wealthier classes of our people. They are a class of goods of which the importation is constantly increasing, and owing to the large percentage of labor employed in their production the present rate of duty is inadequate.

The Senator from Missouri, following in the footsteps of other Senators, took occasion to say that these high rates on cotton goods were for the benefit of New England manufacturers.

Mr. COCKRELL. I wish the Senator would explain that he is referring to my colleague, who is now absent.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes, I am referring to the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], who is not now in the Senate, I am sorry to say.

If I had the time, I should like to make a comparison between the rates of duty fixed upon these fine cotton cloths and the rates fixed by the Senate bill upon some crude products of Missouri.

I would even like to compare them with the rates fixed by the House bill upon lead, lead ore, zinc, plate-glass, and half a dozen of the leading products of Missouri. The House bill, for instance, levies 152 per cent. upon plate-glass, while the highest rate of duty fixed by this bill upon cotton goods is 45 per cent.

I will put into the RECORD as part of my remarks a statement showing the great reduction which has taken place in the rates upon cotton cloths by the act of 1883 and those proposed by the Senate substitute; and I will say supplementary to it that there is not one schedule in

the whole tariff where the rates have been so greatly reduced by recent legislation as in the schedule of cotton cloths.

Table showing the duties prior to 1883, *the reductions made in* 1883, *and the changes in the cotton schedule proposed by the Senate substitute to House bill* (*H. R.* 9051), 1888.

	Duties prior to 1883.	Reductions made in 1883.		Changes proposed by the Senate substitute, 1888.		
		Rate.	Reduction.	Rate.	Reduction.	Total reduction.
Not exceeding 50 threads to sq. in.:		Cents.	P. ct.	Cents.	P. ct.	P. ct.
Brown	5 to 6 cts	2½	55	2	20	75
Bleached	5½ to 6½ cts	3½	42	2½	28	70
Printed, etc	5½ to 6½ cts., and 10 per cent.	4½	30	4	11	41
50 to 100 threads:						
Brown	5 to 6 cts	2½	55	2½	10	65
Bleached	5½ to 6½ cts	3½	42	3	14	56
Printed, etc	5½ to 6½ cts. and 10 per cent.	4½	30	4	11	41
100 to 150 threads:						
Brown	5 to 6 cts	3	46	No change.		46
Bleached	5½ to 6½ cts	4	33	do		33
Printed, etc	5½ cts. and 20 per cent. to 6½ cts. and 15 per cent.	5	29	do		29
					Advance per cent.	
150 to 200 threads:						
Brown	5 to 6 cts	3	46	3½	16⅔	29½
Bleached	5½ to 6½ cts	4	33	4½	12½	20½
Printed, etc	5½ cts. and 20 per cent. to 6½ cts. and 15 per cent.	4	29	5½	10	19
Over 200 threads:						
Brown	5 to 7 cts	4	33	4½	12½	20½
Bleached	5½ to 7½ cts	5	23	5½	10	13
Printed, etc	5½ cts. and 20 per cent. to 7½ cts. and 15 per cent.	6	25	6½	12½	12½

Reductions in 6 clauses = 15.66 per cent. Advances in 6 clauses = 12.36 per cent. No changes in 3 clauses.

I will also put in the RECORD a statement showing the increasing importations of fine cotton cloths since 1883.

Importations of cotton cloth, in yards, under present tariff.

Description.	1883, before present tariff.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	Totals.
BROWN.						
Not over 100 threads to square inch	140,434	28,780	62,121	245,835	160,118	496,854
100 to 200	34,600	68,277	129,241	776,915	1,229,612	2,204,045
Over 200	5,040	694,302	174,833	328,264	653,403	1,850,802
Exceeding 200, valued 10 c. or less		380,606	316,175	100,794	134,825	932,400
Exceeding 200, valued over 10 c		397,848	53,454	56,892	98,678	606,872
	180,074	1,569,813	735,824	1,508,700	2,276,636	6,090,973
BLEACHED.						
Not over 100 threads	9,766,320	751,524	1,081,269	1,401,586	1,325,342	4,559,721
100 to 200	151,976	6,835,378	8,065,116	6,715,489	4,389,972	26,005,955
Over 200	70,852	1,147,564	1,659,688	3,164,109	1,861,345	7,832,706
Exceeding 200, valued 12 c. or less		2,360,000	1,842,903	1,610,419	1,304,760	7,118,082
Exceeding 200, valued over 12 c		1,339,972	4,826,889	1,878,114	734,649	8,799,624
	9,999,148	12,454,438	17,475,865	14,769,717	9,616,068	54,316,088
COLORED.						
Not over 100 threads	390,906	655,622	1,047,404	1,535,616	1,493,152	4,731,794
100 to 200	10,970,270	3,293,516	2,901,359	3,815,872	4,536,834	14,547,581
Over 200	896,152	1,609,828	1,993,647	4,452,263	6,418,006	14,473,744
Exceeding 200, valued 15 c. or less		1,428,278	1,153,800	2,418,308	2,184,598	7,184,984
Exceeding 200, valued over 15 c		5,893,483	6,299,050	3,616,413	3,502,375	19,311,321
Total	12,257,328	12,880,727	13,395,260	15,838,472	18,134,965	60,249,424

The next item referred to in this wonderful table is "brown and bleached linens, etc.," by which the Bureau of Statistics undertake to show that $2,138,412.78 more duty would be assessed under the Senate substitute than under the House bill. The chief of the bureau has already called my attention to a clerical error in this item of $100.000, but this is of slight consequence compared with the error in the classification which the statement contains.

Under the Senate substitute all brown and bleached linens exceeding one hundred threads to the square inch are dutiable at the same rate as by existing law, namely, 35 per cent. ad valorem, while classes counting below one hundred threads to the square inch are dutiable at 40 per cent. ad valorem.

The committee were led to believe by men who are most thoroughly acquainted with the manufacture of flax—and upon this point the evidence was regarded as conclusive—that but a small proportion of the brown and bleached linens which are now imported would be advanced in rate by the provisions of the Senate bill. Yet the Bureau of Statistics, without any data before them whatever, compute all importations at the highest rate of 40 per cent.; this upon $13,589,000 in value increases estimated duties over $650,000 in one item alone, and all for the purpose of establishing an increase of duties which does not exist.

The next item of necessaries of life which, according to the bureau table, the Senate bill increases the rate upon is "linen laces and embroideries," upon which we have increased rates from 30 to 50 per cent. The Secretary of the Treasury in a communication within a year, I think—the Senator from Iowa reminds me that it was a statement made by Secretary Manning—called the attention of Congress to the anomalous rate of duties which was fixed upon linen laces and embroideries, which was 10 per cent. less than the rate fixed upon cotton laces and embroideries, and advised Congress to increase the rate.

The next item is steel in forms not specified. Under the present law all steel not specifically enumerated, valued at less than 4 cents a pound, pays an ad valorem rate of 45 per cent. By the Senate substitute we have fixed six different classes of specific rates, depending upon the value of the steel, to take the place of the one ad valorem rate of 45 per cent.

There can not be any evidence in the hands of the Treasury Department or of the Bureau of Statistics to show what number of pounds of any of those grades were imported in 1887, or what the effect of the Senate substitute would be upon importations, and yet we are confronted by a statement assumed to be mathematically accurate and which states that the Senate bill would increase the duties $873,695.09.

I think the mathematical character of this bureau table is best exemplified by the last two items on the list, "tin-plates" and "needles," which are placed by the House bill upon the free-list. Under the head of the excess of duties by the Senate substitute over the House bill, showing the percentage of increase of the Senate rates over the House rates, we have:

Duties under the House bill on tin-plate and needles, nothing.
Percentage of increase by the Senate bill, 100 per cent.

Why "100 per cent.?" Why is $5,706,000 100 per cent. of nothing? Why not say a thousand per cent., or 10,000 per cent.? The average rate of increases effected by the Senate substitute would have been much larger. Our Democratic friends could then have shown that the rates on the necessaries of life had been increased to an indefinite extent. Yet the table is presented in the Senate of the United States with the stamp of official approval by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. It is evident that the mathematical expert of the bureau must have been absent when the table was prepared. It bears the impress of the same blundering hand that prepared the House bill.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives in the same speech to which I have alluded called attention to the fact that we had increased the duty on Havana cigars, and this statement was repeated by the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL], who is now in his seat. He stated that the Senate bill increased the duty upon Havana cigars worth $10 per thousand. It is a favorite—I was going to say trick, but I think that would be a little too harsh—but it is a favorite device of tariff reformers and free-traders to assume some impossible low value for imported goods, and to claim that the specific rate imposed would be equivalent to some very high ad valorem rate.

For instance, I noticed recently in a free-trade newspaper a statement that among the enormities which the Senate substitute proposed was a duty of 300 or 400 per cent. upon shotguns. In order to establish this they assume double-barreled breech-loading shotguns worth $3.25 each, and that the Senate rate of duty is more than 300 per cent. on this value. Why say three dollars and a quarter? Why not say $3 or $2 or 25 cents? If double-barreled breech-loading shotguns were worth 25 cents each, the duty fixed by the Senate bill would be an enormous one; the equivalent ad valorem rate would be among the thousands. The assumption is just as fair and equally as reasonable in one case as in the other.

But I think it unnecessary to pursue this subject further. I was desirous that the people who might read the Treasury statement which I hold in my hand and the remarks which were made by the Senator from Missouri in presenting it, or who might have heard or read the speech of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, might not be misled by the character of the statement, and I felt it due to the Senate and due to the people that the utterly worthless and inaccurate character of what purports to be an official statement of the effects of the Senate bill should be exposed.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, I do not wish to make a tariff speech, but I desire to correct one impression which seems to prevail very ex-

tensively among the Senators and Members of the House from the South.

I took occasion last night to look over quite a number of Democratic speeches, and I found the burden of the song to be the enormously rich manufacturers of New England, the fearful monopolies they owned and carried on, and the enormous profits they produced at the expense of labor.

I found in one speech a statement that cotton-mills were making 35 per cent. net profit, and I found it to be proven by figures from the census of 1880. For instance, the capital of all the cotton-mills in the country was given, then the cost of all the raw material, then the cost of wage labor, then the value of the product. Then the wages and the material were added together, subtracted from the value of the product, and it left a balance that was the net profit.

I have heard that stated in the United States Senate by Senators from the South over and over again. I have heard as distinguished and intelligent a Senator as the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK], who is now absent, make that same statement here on the floor of the Senate. I was at the time in the chair presiding. I heard the other Senator from Kentucky, now retired, Mr. Williams, make the same statement. At this very Congress it has been made twice in the National House of Representatives by Southern members.

Why can not Senators from the South see the utter absurdity of that statement? It figures out anywhere from 25 to 35 per cent. net every time you try it. You may try it on woolen goods, on cotton goods, on silk, on linen, and it will prove every time the net profit our manufacturers are making to be from 25 to 40 per cent.

Is there a Senator from the South who makes this statement who really believes it? It certainly would be unkind to charge that he made it on the floor of these two Houses and did not; but look at the utter absurdity of it.

There are over a billion of dollars to-day in the saving-banks of the North not drawing over 4 per cent. interest. Do you suppose this money would remain in these savings-banks drawing 4 per cent. interest if you could invest it in a cotton mill or in a woolen mill or a linen or a silk mill and draw your 35 per cent. or 30 per cent. or 20 per cent. net? There are millions and millions of dollars invested in United States bonds drawing not over 3 per cent. interest. Does any Senator dream that the Secretary of the Treasury would have the slightest difficulty in redeeming United States bonds if a man could take his money and invest it in manufacturing in New England and make 25 per cent.? I should think the absurdity of this statement itself would be its own refutation in the mind of any gentleman, and it is beyond my conception how a Senator or a Member of the House can in his place in either of these bodies make such an egregious and absurd statement.

What is left out in the statement of those gentlemen? Let me show once for all. There is the power. It is either steam or water. In almost every large manufacturing city there is a water-power which is owned by a separate corporation, and the other corporations hire it at so much a horse-power. They pay so much a year. Where it is steam, of course it is created by coal or by wood, and must cost something. That in that statement is left out entirely. What next? Fuel is left out entirely. What next? Gas. What next? Insurance. What next? Taxes. What next? All supplies.

Mr. COCKRELL. Supplies, not material?

Mr. FRYE. Supplies outside of materials. What next? All salaried officers are left out entirely. It is only the wage labor included. Not a single salary goes into that senseless computation. What next? Commissions on sales left out. What next? Freight truckage, storage, insurance, and like charges. What next? Salary of the treasurer, who is hardly ever a resident of the city where the factory is running. What next? Interest. What next? Depreciation of the mill property. What next? Depreciation of machinery.

The items left out in every single instance, whether relating to cotton, wool, or silk, equal the item named for wages in this computation.

Mr. DOLPH. And bad debts.

Mr. FRYE. "Bad debts" is suggested, but I leave that out as an uncertainty. I can make what I am saying absolutely certain.

I have in my hand a transcript from the books of a cotton mill running from 51,000 to 54,000 spindles, about which there can be no mistake whatever. I will give the items for a year, and I trust that after this I shall not hear repeated in the Senate any such statements as I have heard so many times before.

The capital stock of this mill is $1,000,000. The value of the product is $679,644.73. This is for the year 1882, an average good year for the last ten, less the cost of bleaching, which, of course, the statement does not deal with, $42,643.40, making net value of the product $637,-001.33.

Cost of wage-labor, $148,890.81.

Power, $2,762.51.

No power costing less than that can be found in the United States, within my certain knowledge. It is water-power, and the cheapest in America to-day, a great deal cheaper than steam.

Fuel, $4,652.54.

Gas, $2,503.05.

Insurance, $6,714.35.

Taxes, $15,901.89.

Sundries, including supplies, ordinary repairs, salaried officers' pay, $47,770.04.

Cotton, $297,289.83.

Commissions on sales, $10,420.68.

Freight, truckage, storage, insurance, and other charges on goods, $7,037.09.

Treasurer's salary and office expenses, $8,625.32.

Interest, $9,018.13.

Net profits for the year, exclusive of any allowance for depreciation, $75,415.09.

Now, what is the depreciation in machinery alone in this mill? The best cotton manufacturers allow for this 50 cents a spindle to a dollar. Some say that 50 cents in a well-conducted mill will cover the depreciation in machinery; others insist that it will take a dollar a spindle. I call it 75 cents a spindle. At that rate it leaves the net profit of this year, 1882, in this mill—one of the best conducted ones of this whole country—$39,000. That is 3.9 per cent. on the capital, and the capital has not been watered; it is actual money paid in.

Now, the free-trade formula would state the case of this mill for 1882 as follows: Capital, $1,000,000; labor, $148,890; materials, $297,289; making in all for labor and material $446,179; product, $637,000. Deduct the material and labor from the product and it leaves $190,821, leaving for the year's profit a little over 19 per cent. As a matter of fact it was 3.9 per cent.

There is no escape from that statement. I am a stockholder myself, to a very small amount, in that mill. I know that the average net profits for the last ten years have not been over 5 per cent. annually. I know that there is one cotton-mill in my city which has failed, and has been lying still for three years. I know there is another cotton-mill, as good a mill as can be found, that has not run an hour for over six years. I know that the average net profits of well-conducted cotton-mills in my city, paying less for power than any other mills in this country, have not netted 5 per cent. annually for ten years. One of our largest mills has not paid a dividend for ten years, and its stock is 60 per cent. below par.

Mr. PUGH. What kind of goods do they manufacture?

Mr. FRYE. Common goods. Nearly all nice bleached sheetings. A variety of goods, neither the coarser grades nor the finer embroideries, laces, etc.

I know further, that the woolen mills of this country have been worse off the last ten years than the cotton. I know that nearly one-half of the worsted mills in the United States to-day are idle, doing nothing absolutely. I know that you may take it through New England, and for ten years the woolen mills have not netted 4 per cent. profit—I mean 4 per cent. per annum for ten years.

There should not be these gross misstatements made in a matter of this kind where reasonable certainty can be arrived at.

Mr. TELLER. I should like to supplement what the Senator from Maine has said by calling the attention of those Senators who believe that the manufacturers are making so much money to the character of securities that are sold now and the prices at which they are sold. It must be apparent to everybody that if our manufacturers are making anywhere from 15 to 45 per cent. as claimed, the money of the country would go into manufactures, because we have not reached the point in manufactures where we entirely supply the American market. Of course things like woolen goods and cotton goods and hardware and iron and glass ware and earthenware and things of that kind for ten years, $237,000,000 a year has been the importation of that class of goods—goods that can be manufactured by almost any class of labor. I hold in my hand the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of October 13, 1888, authority, as a standard everybody knows, which gives the securities dealt in, their prices, the interest they bear, etc., and there will be found in this about three hundred classes of railroad bonds—I now speak of railroad bonds particularly—that are selling at 100 or above. In about three hundred there are only three that sell for less than 100. Of course I do not mean to say that a great many bonds do not sell for less, but any bond that bears 7 per cent. interest or 6 per cent. interest, where the road is in good condition, will sell for above 100.

The bonds of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company, whose road leads from Chicago to the Northwest, due in 1915 and bearing 7 per cent. interest, are worth 130¾, or were last week, on the 12th instant. Another bond of the same company, their sinking-fund bonds, due in 1929 and bearing 6 per cent. interest, are worth 117.

The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific 6 per cent. bonds, due in 1917, were worth 131½ on the 5th of October, and on the 12th they were worth 132½. During the month of June they were up to 134.

You may take also the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad, and their 6 percents are worth 120½ to 121¾, and they were as high as 123½ last May.

The Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland 7 percents were selling on the 5th of this month for 131, and in May and July they sold for the same.

The 7 per cent. bonds of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, due in 1900, are bringing 120.

The Erie first consolidated, gold, 7 percents, due in 1920, are worth 136, and sold in August for 138½.

The Houston and Texas 7 percents were worth on the 5th instant

123¼, and on the 12th, 123½. Several of their bonds of different classes all run above 100.

The Lake Shore consolidated coupon first seven percents, due in 1900, are worth 127¾; and the second seven percents, due in 1903, are worth 125½. So you might go through the list until you strike some others that are still higher.

The Delaware and Hudson Canal seven percents are worth 146¾ to 149.

Mr. EUSTIS. How does that happen?

Mr. TELLER. I will tell the Senator how it happens.

Mr. EUSTIS. How does it happen that so many of these securities are owned in New England?

Mr. TELLER. I will tell the Senator why they are owned in New England if he wants me to tell him. It is because the people of New England, living upon a soil not particularly attractive to agriculture, turned their attention to something else than the farms of New England, and it is owing to that fact that New England became a manufacturing country. The farms there will not produce one-fourth of the crops that the farms of the State the Senator represents will produce, but they are worth from three to five times as much per acre, and why? Because they have got the market at their doors, and the Senator's State has got its market somewhere else. The Senator prefers to buy his goods in Europe and transmit the products of his soil to Europe to pay for them. The people of New England propose to manufacture their goods on their own soil and to feed the manufacturers with the products of their home farms, and invariably that has made a rich people; and the history of the world is, without exception, that a purely agricultural people have always been a poor people.

Mr. FRYE. We made a good deal of money in New England in manufactures during the war.

Mr. EUSTIS. Does the Senator admit that?

Mr. TELLER. I admit that they have made money by manufacturing. If they had not made money by manufacturing I should not be so particularly anxious that manufactures should be continued. It is because I want the manufacturing done in this country, because whoever manufactures, whether he be capitalist or whether he be laborer, he receives compensation from it that he can not get from the pursuit of one class of labor alone.

Mr. ALDRICH. I think it should be stated that where the people of New England have made a dollar in manufacturing they have made at least a hundred dollars, I think, and probably a thousand dollars, in building railroads and in conducting enterprises in Louisiana and in Iowa.

Mr. EUSTIS. I ask the Senator where did they get the money to build all these railroads in the West and in the South?

Mr. ALDRICH. They earned it and they saved it while the people in some other sections were doing neither.

Mr. EUSTIS. How did they earn it?

Mr. ALDRICH. They earned it by the sweat of their brows in an honest and proper way.

Mr. TELLER. Why, Mr. President, it is very simple. Of course, the New England manufacturers made a great deal of money during the war. There is no question about that. Prices went up very greatly in this country. While the Senator and his associates and his citizens were engaged in other pursuits not so profitable, while they were practically engaged in destroying, not simply the Government, but the property of the country, the New Englander with his thrift, furnishing his full quota of people for the field, as he always did, was engaged in producing and in saving and in creating.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator from Colorado yield to me for a moment?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. DOLPH. I think it ought also to be stated that the money that is made by New England in manufacturing is not made alone by the stockholders who own the plant, for instance, of a cotton-mill similar to those just referred to by the Senator from Maine. I asked the Senator from Maine how many persons were employed in the cotton-mill he referred to and he told me there were probably two thousand persons there employed. While the cotton manufacturer, while the company that owns the mill, were making less than 5 per cent.——

Mr. FRYE. Three per cent.

Mr. DOLPH. Say less than 4 per cent. for themselves on the capital invested, they were making money for every one of these two thousand employés by giving them steady employment the year round at remunerative wages; and I will guaranty that if you go into this New England town you will find that these two thousand employés own more of these railroad bonds than the stockholders in that company. Therefore the manufacturers of New England are making money for the common people, for the laborers of the country.

While I am up I desire, if the Senator from Colorado will permit me, to make a further suggestion.

Mr. TELLER. Go ahead.

Mr. DOLPH. In regard to the bonds of the Northwestern Railroad Company, I believe the Senator said they were drawing 7 per cent. interest and selling for 130, payable several years from now. I have just made a computation to find out how much interest that would be on the present cost of the bonds as they are selling from day to day in the markets. I find it would be a little under 5.4 per cent. on the cost of the bonds—that is to say, you pay $130 for a hundred-dollar bond drawing 7 per cent. At that price the investor would receive a little less than 5.4 per cent. interest on his money. But we must take another thing into consideration, and that is that the bonds are taxable, and not only is the bond itself taxable, but the interest upon it is taxable, and the taxes, including State, municipal, and county taxes, are probably from 2 to 3 per cent. You may take that as the average, and certainly they are all taxed to the extent of 2 per cent. So the net income upon that investment would be less than 3.4 per cent., which is less than the amount received by the manufacturer on his money.

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator from Louisiana, when he asked why these New England people loaned the money, supposed that I meant in reply to say that the manufacturers owned these securities, I beg to assure him that I did not.

Mr. EUSTIS. I did not mean to criticise or anything of that sort. The Senator from Maine was representing that they were making no money from manufactures. For instance, take the State of Massachusetts. That State has no shipping.

Mr. TELLER. She has some shipping.

Mr. EUSTIS. That State has no coal mines, no iron mines; that State has no agricultural wealth whatever, and yet there is such enormous wealth in that State that it is almost impossible to make an estimate of what it is.

I know that in regard to one railroad the other day the fact was disclosed that five hundred thousand shares of stock of that railroad were owned by capitalists of Boston. We know that a large majority of the stock of the Union Pacific Railroad is so owned. What puzzled me was, inasmuch as they have no other source from which wealth is created if they are not making money by their manufacturing, where in the world do they get the money?

Mr. TELLER. Let me tell the Senator where they get the money. In the first place he says Massachusetts has no shipping. Why, the people of Massachusetts made immense fortunes in the China and the West India trade and other trades.

Mr. EUSTIS. At the present day, I mean.

Mr. TELLER. They laid the foundation of their great fortunes, many of them, in the foreign trade.

Mr. EUSTIS. The Chinese trade is in the hands of a few families.

Mr. TELLER. Comparatively few. That is true. Then they went into manufacturing. Then when they got money they saved it. Then they put it into these enterprises in the West and all over the country. They are a saving, frugal people, and they make more money out of the sterile hills of New England, acre for acre, than the Senator's constituents make in the fertile lands of the Mississippi Valley.

Mr. EUSTIS. The Senator is mistaken when he makes that statement.

Mr. TELLER. They do, acre for acre, the State over. There are exceptions of course, but they have made it by their home market. They have got valuable products, but they can not compete with the world in the products of their gardens, their hay, vegetables, and such things; and so they have diversified their industries in New England.

It does not follow that the manufacturers get this money. There are more than $1,000,000,000 in the banks of New England belonging to the men who toil. The State of Connecticut, little as it is and small as its population is, as I understand, as stated here on the floor the other day, has more than $300,000,000 in its savings-banks, largely the property of men who labor. They own their own houses and their own gardens. They are the most independent laborers in the world.

The trouble with the Senators who are advocating a departure from the economic plan of the American people is that they are unacquainted with the laborers of this country. They are not familiar with their habits, with their methods. That is the trouble.

Does the Senator suppose when money is going begging, as it is now in this country, that if the manufacturers were making such immense profits there would not be a rush to build up manufactories all over the country? When you can sell railroad bonds that bear 7 per cent. interest for 145 to 149, when that is considered good investment, does not the Senator suppose, if it could be shown that the manufacture of cotton goods or of woolen goods paid 10 per cent., everybody would put his money in it? Why not? Of course they would.

Mr. EUSTIS. Why should they not put their money into the brewery business, which is enormously profitable?

Mr. TELLER. There is a limit to the brewery business.

Mr. EUSTIS. And there is a limit to manufacturing.

Mr. TELLER. We have not reached the limit; that is the trouble. I know that some of the free-traders have asserted that the machinery of the United States was capable of producing in six months enough to supply all the wants of the people for a year. I tell you that in ten years on the coarser materials we have paid out for European products $2,237,000,000. If that had been paid to labor in this country, according to the lowest computation made even by free-traders who are honest and intelligent, it would amount to $1,700,000,000, or it would have given labor to four hundred and fifty thousand people year in and year out, at a dollar and a half a day for every day that they worked.

That is what we have been buying abroad, and the trouble with the Senator from Louisiana is that he wants to buy more abroad. He is not satisfied to send across the water $200,000,000 and more per year

to build up foreign manufacturers and support foreign labor, but he wants to open the door for all foreign productions and put all the American laborers where Mr. MILLS recently asserted they would be put, on an equality with European laborers.

Mr. EUSTIS. Will the Senator allow me a word?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. EUSTIS. I do not believe that protection protects American laborers.

Mr. TELLER. I know the Senator does not. That is where his fallacy lies.

Mr. EUSTIS. I did not expect the Senator to pass such hasty judgment on my convictions as that.

Mr. TELLER. I will reserve my judgment then.

Mr. EUSTIS. The reason why it does not is—perhaps the Senator is not acquainted with the statistics on the labor quesion——

Mr. TELLER. Possibly not.

Mr. EUSTIS. Does he know that in the city of Boston, which is a manufacturing city and the center of manufacturing interests, there are 89,783 more children of foreign parentage than of Massachusetts parentage? So long as your doors are open to the lowest pauper class of labor of Europe, whether it be the Russian Jew or the Polish Jew or the Scandinavian or the Irishman or the Englishman—and when I use the words "pauper labor" of course I do not intend to cast any reflection upon any class of people; I mean those people who in their own countries work for small wages—how can protection protect American laborers? How can it do so when in the city of Boston itself you find that enormous aggregation of foreigners? There is nothing to attract foreigners to Boston that I know of.

Mr. TELLER. I can tell you why.

Mr. EUSTIS. Certainly it is not their Sunday laws. There is nothing but the simple fact that that is a manufacturing city.

Mr. TELLER. That is it.

Mr. EUSTIS. And your doors are wide open, and they not only admit, but they invite that cheap labor from Europe; and I say it is absolutely incredible to suppose that such a fact is correct. When I repeat to the Senator that 89,783 children of Boston are children of foreign parentage in excess of the children of Massachusetts parents, I should like to have the Senator explain to me how it is that protection protects American artisans and American operatives. I will add that that does not include the enormous immigration from Canada into the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. TELLER. The trouble with the Senator from Louisiana is that he proposes to consider in his treatment of public affairs as Americans only those who were born on American soil.

Mr. EUSTIS. No, I do not.

Mr. TELLER. That may be possibly some of the old, lingering know-nothing notion of Louisiana, that several years ago was pretty powerful in that State.

Mr. EUSTIS. I deny that.

Mr. TELLER. I do not say he participates in it, but he treats the matter in that way. I, myself, treat every man who comes to this country and intends to make his home with us, and to cast his lot with us, as an American whenever he so decides. I consider the Irishman, the Englishman, the German, the Russian, the Scandinavian, or any man who comes here to make this his home, comes here by the invitation extended to him years and years ago before the Republican party came into power, comes here rightfully, and when he comes here he is entitled to the same consideration and the same protection as if he had been born here.

I consider all such persons entitled to the same protection that I am who boast of as long a line of American ancestry as any man in this country, having no foreign blood that has come into my family since the landing of the Mayflower. I say that they have the same right that I have, and when I legislate I legislate for them as I would for my own children; and I am astonished that the Senator should suggest to me that the fact that there are eighty-nine thousand children in Boston of foreign parentage has anything to do with the question. I will tell the Senator that in one of the Southern States of this Union 70 per cent. of the entire population are either foreign born or the children of foreign-born parents, a State where they have sent out one of their executive officers to seduce men from the Republican ranks upon the theory that free trade will give to the laboring men of Wisconsin more comfort, more happiness, than the protective system under which they have been prospering and the blessings of which he admits himself they came here to enjoy. Because protection raises the price of labor in this country, it undoubtedly induces immigration; but can any man say that we have suffered by immigration? It may be possible that the time has come or may come when it will be necessary to restrict immigration; but the 9,500,000 men who have come here since 1860 have added immensely to the strength and to the wealth of this nation. One of the great causes of our prosperity is that we have been able to absorb and take into our community and assimilate them with ourselves and furnish them employment. We have furnished nine and a half millions of men employment in twenty-seven years.

There is not in the annals of history any such remarkable thing as that. No other nation was ever able to receive such a great flow of people, provide them labor, provide them homes; and every one of them to-day is a hundred per cent. better off than when he landed on our shores, if he has been here any length of time, not only in money, but in manhood, in intelligence, and in virtue. That is what we have done for the people of the world, and we have taken good care of our own people at the same time.

The Senator says protection does not protect. Sir, it has protected us and protected nearly the whole world that wanted to come to us. We to-day pay more to labor than any other people in the world. We give to our laborers more comfort, more independence, a better position, than any people ever did in the history of the world. No man can point to any time, or any period, or any country where laborers were so well rewarded, so honestly treated, so respectable, so powerful, as they are here. To what do you attribute it if not to the system that has enabled every man who came here to get labor at remunerative wages? The Senator knows and everybody knows that the American laborer demands what no other laborer ever gets, comforts, pleasures, luxuries, leisure, opportunities for his children and for himself, such as no other laborers get anywhere else in the world.

Mr. PUGH. Will the Senator allow me to ask him if the employers of the laborers in this country do not make more money out of them than the employers anywhere else in the world?

Mr. TELLER. They do, Mr. President. This prosperity is not confined to one class of people in this country. That is the beauty of it. It pervades all classes of society. The distribution of wealth in this country is the most equal in the world. We have some very rich men, but we have millions and millions of men in this country who are comfortably off. We have, I repeat, the best fed and the best clothed and the best housed and the most independent labor on the face of the earth. What does the Senator propose, and what do the advocates of free trade propose? That we shall open the doors of this country not simply to the men to whom he objects, but to the products of men abroad? He complains that we open the door to every man who desires to make a home on American soil, but he is willing to open the door to the product of every man abroad who will stay at home and who will manufacture for us. He denies that the men should come here and should enter into our society, should pay part of our own taxes, and support our churches and schools and society, and become part and parcel of our nation. He would deny to them that privilege, but he would say "if you stay at home in Europe, live on coarse fare and wear coarse clothing, live as you have been accustomed to live, and work cheaply, we will buy your products." What will become of the American laborer then, whether he be foreign born or whether he be native?

Mr. President, protection does protect. You may argue, you may bring a Daniel Webster here against that proposition, but there is before the American people the patent fact, which can not be denied, that there is prosperity in all our borders; that we have grown in wealth, we have grown in intelligence, we have grown in moral worth and virtue under this system, and why should we want to abandon it? To-day we are the richest people in the world, the happiest people in the world, the freest people in the world, the most intelligent people in the world, the strongest and most powerful nation on the face of the globe; and all this has been accomplished within a hundred years. Why should we want to change a policy that has more than trebled our wealth in twenty-five years, notwithstanding the ravages and wastes of war? We have advanced from $14,000,000,000 to $62,000,000,000 within twenty-seven years, and we put into the field immense forces of men to destroy and not to create. We destroyed before we began this career of prosperity nearly one-half of the accumulated wealth of this country, and in twenty-seven years we have not only resuscitated ourselves, but we have added immense stores of wealth. I repeat all that would go for nothing to me, I do not care whether the wealth was piled mountain high, if with it there had not come other blessings greater than money—comfort, happiness to the laboring men, independence, strength, manhood, intelligence, and virtue.

I repeat that it has no parallel in the world, and yet the Senator tells me that protection does not protect. Where do you get this great and growing prosperity, this increasing prosperity, if it does not come from our system of political economy? The proof is in our prosperity.

Mr. EUSTIS. Mr. President, I did not intend to take part in this discussion, but I shall be perfectly frank with the Senator from Colorado.

The most extraordinary spectacle that I have witnessed in my legislative career is to hear a Senator who represents an agricultural and a non-manufacturing constituency make a protection speech. I can understand that Senators from New England, who represent the true interests of their constituencies, are in favor of the protective system existing to-day. It has inured to their benefit; it has increased their wealth; it has increased their prosperity. They may pretend to be paupers.

I was very much moved by the statement read by the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] as to the very small dividends that one particular company in one particular year had been able to declare. I admire the political sagacity of the representatives of New England. If I were not afraid of using an offensive term, I would say that I also admire their audacity, their coolness, and their complacency under the circumstances, when since 1862 they have been taxing the remainder of the people of the United States for their own enrichment, hav-

ing succeeded in creating in this country a system so artificial that even a suggestion from the President of the United States or any high authority that there should be revision of that system in order to know whether the tax-payers of this country have not sufficiently long endured this oppressive and onerous taxation, creates an alarm. Who ever heard in the history of the civilized world where a monarch or a President announced to the people that it was time to reduce taxation, that that proclamation should not be received with universal rejoicing by the people who were taxed? Why, sir, it would be almost equal to the declaration of one of the crowned heads of Europe that the time for disarmament had arrived and that the monarch was to relieve the people who had been oppressed by these large standing armies. We know what gladness and what rejoicing such tidings would bring to every heart in the land; and yet in this country, I say, so artificial has the system become, with all its ramifications and with all its enticements, that, incredible to believe, we hear protection speeches from the Senator from Colorado telling his people that they ought to thank God that they have the opportunity of being taxed for everything that they wear, and everything that they use, and everything that they consume, in order to pour their earnings into the rich coffers of the wealthy capitalists of Boston and New England!

Does the Senator doubt, does he not know that that is a simple operation, taking place annually, that so long as this system of taxation exists in this country his people are the sufferers and the people of New England are the beneficiaries? Why, Mr. President, if old Tom Benton could rise from his grave and appear in this Chamber and hear a protection speech made by a Western Senator he would be glad to get back into that grave as soon as possible.

There is not an article that is used by a Western man for the purpose of making his cabin, of building his fence, of cultivating his farm, which that man is not taxed for the privilege of using, for the benefit of some New England manufacturer. And this, Mr. President, is the more incredible from the fact that when the Senator from Colorado, as he has often done with such power and eloquence, has appealed in this Chamber for financial measures of relief upon the silver question and other financial questions, he has found the Southern brigadier shoulder to shoulder with him upon those questions of affording relief to the great agricultural constituencies of this country, but he has found every time every New England Senator voting "No!" "No!" "No!" on those questions.

So it was when he asked that by legislation he should be protected from Chinese immigration. The Southern Democrats voted with him and his colleagues to exclude the Chinese, and until this last vote was given every New England Senator had always voted to allow the Chinese to overrun his constituents notwithstanding his protest.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Blaine was one of the greatest champions we ever had in this Chamber.

Mr. EUSTIS. He was an exception, of course. We all understand how disinterested his vote was.

Mr. MITCHELL. He was a Senator then.

Mr. EUSTIS. Therefore, Mr. President, I was glad to hear the Senator from Colorado give his reasons why he is a protectionist, because protection protects American labor. I wish that I could believe that. I know perfectly well that it will be impossible for a great many years to reduce duties on imports so that there shall be any conflict between American labor and European labor; that the difference between the wages in the two countries will have to be maintained on account of the great expenditures of the Government, and so on; but when I asked the Senator to explain to me why the protection system as a system protects American labor, he simply made an anti-Know-Nothing speech. I am not a Know-Nothing.

Mr. TELLER. No; I did not mean to say so.

Mr. EUSTIS. The reason why I asked the question was this: In the testimony taken before the Ford committee in New York City, which I regret has not been published yet for the information of the country, a large number of witnesses testified there, and the most startling evidence was given upon this question.

Now you take the poor American sewing girl. Certainly no persons in this country ought to excite or do excite as much sincere sympathy as that class of people. No matter whether a man is a free-trader or a protectionist, I say that that class of people are deserving of not only personal but legislative sympathy.

What was the evidence before that committee with reference to those poor women? Why, sir, they are engaged in making all sorts of underclothing. They are engaged in making shirts, they are engaged in sewing clothes, and so on, and they all testified that within the period of five years their wages had been decreased 50 per cent. Mark you, everything that they made was protected by law. There was a high duty on everything that they worked upon. Their wages were reduced 50 per cent., and what was worse, even at those starving wages one-half of them were not able to get employment at all, because the Polish and Russian Jews were landed by the thousands at Castle Garden, and because those Polish and Russian Jews, who can live on probably 10 or 15 cents a day, have taken the place of those unfortunate women. That is not my impression; it is not my opinion; it is the positive testimony of witnesses before a committee of Congress.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator will allow me just a moment——

Mr. EUSTIS. Wait one moment. I am dealing with the Senator from Colorado. What I want him to explain is, how does protection protect, when, under your system of protection—which Heaven knows is high enough—such a condition of things can be brought about? In other words, although you may make a law prohibiting the introduction of pauper labor, what does that law amount to, or what does your protection amount to, if the moment these people land in this country the manufacturers can employ them and do employ them? That is the reason I give you those figures about Boston in Massachusetts. It was not to reflect on any class of people. It was merely to show that, in my judgment and according to my conception, protection *per se*, what you call protection, does not necessarily protect the American laborer, and now a new field of cheap labor has been discovered—I refer to Southern Russia and to Poland—what is to prevent these people from superseding and driving out of the factories the American operatives?

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator will allow me, I should like to ask him what remedy he proposes? Is it free trade?

Mr. EUSTIS. That is not the question. You tax the people of the United States under the pretext that you are accomplishing protection to the American laborer. I do not believe it. I am in favor of relieving them of that tax, because I do not believe that protection does protect. From what I have said the Senator seems to admit now that protection does not protect.

Mr. TELLER. No, I do not.

Mr. EUSTIS. Explain, then, to me how it does protect. That is what I want to know.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator seems to be very much astonished that a Senator, representing a Western State, a non-manufacturing State, should be a protectionist. Mr. President, I have not the same reason for being a protectionist that the Senator has for being a free-trader. He was brought up under free-trade influences and in a free-trade atmosphere undoubtedly, and so was I just exactly as he was. I am a protectionist from conviction. I represent the youngest State in the Union, a State composed of people from every State in the Union, and from every country under the sun where civilized men live. I doubt whether it would be possible to select any civilized country on the face of the earth that does not have its representative in Colorado.

At the coming election when they vote in November the number of men who were born on the soil of Colorado will be comparatively insignificant. They will be unnoticeable. The people of Colorado are people who understand their wants and their wishes, and they are people broad enough in their sympathies to look beyond their State lines. They recognize the fact that what is for the general good of the people is for their good; what promotes happiness all over the country promotes happiness in Colorado; what promotes wealth all over the country promotes wealth in Colorado.

I want to say to the Senator from Louisiana now that the issue will be made in Colorado on this tariff question as sharply as it will be made in Connecticut or in Massachusetts or in any State of the Union with a people that, I think, I can safely say on this floor have no superiors in the world for intelligence, for aggressiveness of character, for independence of thought, and they will give in proportion to their vote a greater majority in defense of American protection than any other State in the Union, Pennsylvania not excepted. They will give a bigger percentage, I repeat, than any State, and they will do it not upon the theory that it is solely for their benefit, but that it is for the benefit of all the country.

The Senator complains that there are sewing women in New York who do not get employment. Why, Mr. President, no country will be without something of that kind, but we have less of it than any other country. That is what I contend.

Mr. EUSTIS. Their wages have decreased 50 per cent.

Mr. TELLER. Their wages may have decreased in the city of New York owing to the influx of labor.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator from Colorado allow me to make one statement right here?

Mr. TELLER. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. The Senator from Louisiana has referred to testimony taken before a House committee in New York. I want to refer to testimony taken before the Senate committee of which I am a member. The representatives of an association of people engaged in the manufacture of clothing appeared before the Senate Committee on Finance and stated that the rates of duty fixed by the present law upon clothing were entirely inadequate for their protection, and they asked us to increase the rates; and this statement was supplemented by a further statement that they had asked the committee of the House of Representatives to give them a hearing on the subject, which that committee refused to do. They stated to us that they believed this House committee thought the rates were altogether too high now. The House committee so stated, and these people attributed the condition of affairs to which the Senator from Louisiana is now alluding to the fact that the present duties upon clothing are inadequate.

Mr. EUSTIS. Who testified to that?

Mr. ALDRICH. Some ten or twelve different people.

Mr. EUSTIS. Operatives?

Mr. ALDRICH. Operatives and manufacturers of clothing.

Mr. EUSTIS. Of course if these people now work at present wages it is because your protection does not protect them.

Mr. ALDRICH. Nobody ever pretended that inadequate duties protected them.

Mr. EUSTIS. How much higher would you make them?

Mr. ALDRICH. We have added 5 cents per pound and 5 per cent. ad valorem. If we find that is insufficient we will make it higher, if we can.

Mr. EUSTIS. There is no doubt of that.

Mr. TELLER. I was about saying when interrupted by the Senator from Rhode Island that it was possible that an influx of a large number of laborers of a particular kind in a city may disturb for a time the course of trade; but in a country like ours, where labor is well rewarded, it always, like water, seeks its level, and if it is dammed up in New York City too much, it will flow off into other sections of the country in a little while, and we shall have a uniform rate.

I admit that there are isolated cases; but what will the Senator say to me if I tell him of the want and the destitution and the distress in free-trade England? Is the Senator aware that one-fifth of the population of Great Britain in one single year have received assistance from public charity? Is he aware that a country having half the population, or about that, of ours has eight times as many paupers and poor all the time as we have? It is a startling statement to be made. Is he aware of the fact that every fifth man who dies in the city of London goes to a grave paid for by the public authorities? Is he aware that a distinguished Englishman recently declared that one-fifth of the whole population were toeing the line of pauperism? Did he hear the statement made here by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] the other day, taken from the official publications of Great Britain? If he did not, I commend him to look at a later report, to look at a report that came out in June, of the royal commission now in session, where they report as to the destitution, the poverty, and the lack of business. Let him look at that report and go over it and see the different societies that testify that they are supporting their poor in Great Britain, their associates who are out of labor—not paupers, but members of associations. The proof before that commission was, as the Senator from Wisconsin stated the other day, that one society had paid $400,000 in a year to keep its members who were unable to get work. It was in proof before that commission that some of these societies had been compelled to double their rates; it was in proof that a number of the societies had been compelled to disband because so many of their members were out of employment, and they were absolutely compelled to surrender and to cease to make any efforts to protect their associates who could not get labor.

Does the Senator from Louisiana believe that the poor sewing-women of New York will get more labor when he puts them in competition with all the world? They are in competition now only with Americans practically, or would be if this duty was what it ought to be. When they are put in competition with Americans they find it sharp and difficult to live. The Senator says, put them in competition with all the world. Will that cure the evil? How absurd, Mr. President. I do not mean to be offensive when I say "absurd," but I mean to say that can not possibly relieve the difficulty of which the Senator complains.

Mr. President, the Senator inquires how much you would raise the duty. I should like to tell the Senator how much I would raise the duty. I would start by a duty on the importation of everything that could be made in this country. That is protection. I would take my chances that the manufacturers would get no more than fair profits. When money can be borrowed in the markets of New York, as it can to-day, for 2 per cent. per annum, I would risk that they would not make any great amount of money by the manufacture of woolens, or cotton cloths, or any other article. When the manufactories can be built and a profit returned of 4 or 5 per cent. to men who are now willing and glad to get 2 per cent. on their money, they do not rush to manufacturing. Five per cent. is regarded as a profitable and fair investment anywhere now in this country.

There was a time when we did not have money and when a tariff so high as to be prohibitory might have been used by the few manufacturers to extort from the people. There is no danger of that now. I would give this $2,237,000,000 of money that I spoke about that has gone out of the country in ten years and divide it up, and I would divide it amongst American laborers who get 72 per cent. of it. I would give the Government 5 per cent. more, for that is the rate of taxation of the whole, and then I would let the capitalists have the balance, and I think it would be better for the country than to send it abroad to support foreign laborers and foreign capitalists.

Mr. EUSTIS. Does the Senator know the profit of the manufacturer on the suit of clothes the Senator himself now wears?

Mr. TELLER. The Senator inquires if I know how much profit the manufacturer makes on the suit of clothes I have on. I do not. I simply know that the man who made this suit of clothes got at least three times as much as he would in almost any other country in the world, and in any other country save Great Britain. That I know. I know that the man who raised the sheep off whose back the wool came that made the coat I have on was protected in his industry. I know that the men who sheared the sheep and the men who carded the wool and who spun it and who wove it, all got from 50 to 100 per cent. more than they get in other countries where they have cheap clothes. I do not want to repeat a trite thing, but cheapness is not the main thing; cheapness is not the great desideratum of life.

What good does it do to have cheap clothes if you do not have the money to buy them? What good is it to the laborer if he can say, "I can buy the supplies of my family for a week for a dollar, but I have not a nickel?" He will not have the nickel unless he has labor. I do not want cheap goods at the expense of cheap labor in this country, and there is where we part with our brethren from the South. They have got cheap labor. They want cheap labor, and I have no doubt that very many men in the North want cheap labor. I have no doubt that very many of the manufacturers want cheap labor, but it is our duty to see that they do not get it at the expense of the laboring men of this country.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Will the Senator from Missouri yield while the Chair lays before the Senate a joint resolution from the House of Representatives?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

PAY OF EMPLOYÉS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair will lay before the Senate a joint resolution from the House of Representatives, the title of which will be read.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 232) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay session employés of the Senate and House for the full month of October, was read twice by it title.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that may be immediately considered.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate another joint resolution from the House of Representatives, which will be read by its title.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 231) authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to the officers and employés of the Senate and House of Representatives, borne on the annual rolls, their respective salaries for the month of October on the 20th day of said month was read twice by its title.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask that that joint resolution may be considered at this time.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

REVENUE LAWS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I confess I am very much astonished at the onslaught that has been made by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] upon the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics touching the tables presented to the Senate by my colleague [Mr. VEST], now absent, and printed in the RECORD of October 16.

I happen to know something about those tables. Before the Senate bill was reported I had a table prepared in the Bureau of Statistics, having made out myself the headings so as to show the information I desired. I hold the table in my hand now. It shows opposite each schedule the value of merchandise dutiable under the present law, the value of merchandise dutiable under the House bill, and the rates of duties, etc.

About the time that was completed the Senate bill was reported, and I requested that it should be included in the statement, so that we should have a statement showing the value of the dutiable merchandise imported in 1887 under the existing law, the value of that same merchandise that was dutiable under the House bill, then the value that was dutiable under the Senate bill, then the average ad valorem rate of duty under the existing law on the whole importation, and then the average ad valorem rate of duty under the existing law on the articles that were dutiable under the House bill, and also upon the articles dutiable under the Senate bill, and then the average ad valorem rate of duty with the amount on the free-list.

I requested also that the table "woolens, cotton, flax, hemp, iron, and steel," should be made out for a special purpose. It was made out and furnished to me before it was ever in print. These tables were made by Mr. Emil J. Keferstein, who was born in Prussia and was appointed in the civil service of the Government from the District of Columbia.

I have not gone further back than 1879 to ascertain the date of his appointment. His name appears in the Official Register of the Treasury Department for 1879. He has been there ever since that time. He made this table as all tables are made. As to the beginning of it, I gave him the headings or points that I wanted, and he went to his house and made it, and it is a correct table, and the figures are correct,

except that there are one or two errors in the calculations and one error that he pointed out and one that he did not point out.

Mr. ALDRICH. I have no doubt there are many that have not been pointed out.

Mr. COCKRELL. No, there are not. The Senator criticises in regard to wood and woodenware. He says that the average ad valorem rates of duty are under the present law 18 per cent., under the House bill at the House rates 29.32 per cent., and under the Senate substitute at the Senate rates 18.88 per cent. There is no trouble about that. There is no conflict there, and there is no error. There it is, a plain mathematical proposition.

Mr. ALDRICH. I did not say there was any error.

Mr. COCKRELL. You criticised that, and that was one of the matters you pointed out as a humbug in the figures to show that there was nothing in them, and you tried to create the impression that the figures were wrong.

Mr. ALDRICH. I did not. I stated distinctly that the figures were right, but that the deductions that were drawn from them were wrong.

Mr. COCKRELL. The deductions are not wrong. The first column under the present law is the average ad valorem rate of duty upon all wooden wares dutiable under the present law, and that is 18 per cent. The House bill puts a large number of those articles dutiable under the present law on the free-list to the value of $6,679,202.12. There is the amount of existing dutiable merchandise put on the free-list.

Now take the merchandise that is left and apply the existing rates to it, and it makes the 31 per cent., because the dutiable articles having the highest rates of duty are left on by the House bill. Lumber is taken off and other articles, and that makes it. Now, then, you apply the House bill rates of duty to those articles now dutiable and still left on the dutiable-list by the House bill, and the average is 29.32 per cent. It is a considerable reduction.

Now take the Senate substitute. I have not compared the articles, but the same rate of duty exists under the Senate bill on the dutiable articles that exists under the present law. There is no change in that respect, but the Senate rates increase the duties to 18.88 per cent., and the Senate puts nothing on the free-list from that schedule.

So you may take any of the other schedules, and the figures are correct and are made upon a correct basis. They show just what they pretend to show and nothing else, and there is no misrepresentation about them, and any one who will look at them in a fair and candid light can see that there was no intention in the preparation of these figures to mislead or deceive anybody, but to get at the truth, and they do give the truth.

That table shows in the first column the dutiable merchandise under the present law imported in 1887 belonging to each schedule. That is not disputed, is it? In the next column it shows the value of the dutiable merchandise under the House bill which was imported in 1887. In the next column it shows the value of the merchandise dutiable under the Senate bill imported in 1887.

Now, what is the basis? The basis is that all these laws were in existence and applicable to the importations of 1887. You may say that is an incorrect basis. It is the only kind of a basis that you have to go upon. It is the only basis by which you can compare a law that exists or has existed with one that you propose. It may not be in every respect mathematically correct. Why? Because the Senate substitute proposes confusion. You have been afraid yourselves to make a calculation upon it. You take an article dutiable in 1887 at a specific rate and you make an additional ad valorem rate.

Nobody but your manufacturers, who are interested in this bill, who have caused it to be framed in the way it has, know the exact values of these articles upon which you lay a specific duty. The Government has not got them, and they have not been imported by values. They have been imported as specific articles, and the Government has taxed them accordingly under the existing law. Now you put on a compound duty. You not only maintain and retain the specific duty, but you add an ad valorem duty besides. The Government has nothing there by which it can tell exactly what would be the prices of these articles, and consequently can make no calculation, and the notes to this table explain this.

Mr. ALDRICH. I will say to the Senator from Missouri, to avoid any misapprehension on his part, that there is not a case of that kind in this bill, and he can not find one.

Mr. COCKRELL. These notes explain exactly how this table was made. There was no deception and there is none in it and it is correct, with very few mistakes, which have been made, probably, some in printing and some in other ways; but not nearly as many as in the statement which the committee have submitted.

The next column is duties collected on merchandise dutiable under the present law. There is the amount of duties paid. How do you tell what would be collected under the House bill and under the Senate bill? You take the rates proposed in the Senate bill and take the rates in the House bill and apply them to the merchandise imported in 1887. You take the rates proposed in the Senate bill and apply them the best way you can. There is confusion there in the rates, as I have said, and for that reason there may be inaccuracies in getting at either the rates of duty where compound or the value of the article. But these figures are based upon that and are correct.

Then we take the House bill and the duties under that. Take the present law, at the present rates, then under the House bill, and then the Senate substitute at present rates. Now, we have all the figures upon which you can take the percentages.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL. Does your table show the difference in the percentage of the duty between that now levied under existing law and that levied by the House bill? Does your table show that?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly.

Mr. MITCHELL. What is the difference, according to your table?

Mr. COCKRELL. They are all in there.

Mr. MITCHELL. The Senator can state.

Mr. COCKRELL. No, I can not, without sitting down and making a calculation.

Mr. MITCHELL. You can not state?

Mr. COCKRELL. The rates are all given, and it is supposed any intelligent man can add or subtract, as the case may be.

Mr. MITCHELL. Can you or not now from your table state the difference in the per cent. of duty between the present duties under existing law and the Mills bill?

Mr. COCKRELL. You mean the total of the bill?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes. What is the difference?

Mr. COCKRELL. I can tell you. You take the present law applied to the imports of 1887, and the average ad valorem rates of duty were 47.10 per cent.

Mr. MITCHELL. Under what law?

Mr. COCKRELL. Under the present law.

Mr. MITCHELL. The existing law?

Mr. COCKRELL. Wait a moment. I will give you the figures. You take, then, the articles dutiable under the existing law and also the articles dutiable under the House bill and apply the present law to those articles, and the average ad valorem rates of duty are 50.60 per cent. Now, you take the House bill and apply it to the same articles, and they are 42.77 per cent.

Mr. MITCHELL. But take all the articles.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is all there is.

Mr. MITCHELL. Take all the articles that are now subject to duty under existing law, and what is the difference between the per cent. of duty on those articles and the per cent. of duty on all those articles under the House bill?

Mr. COCKRELL. I never made that calculation, because there is $70,443,012.64 placed upon the free-list under the House bill.

Mr. MITCHELL. In other words——

Mr. COCKRELL. Wait a moment. I apply the average ad valorem rates to the articles dutiable under the existing law and the House bill.

Mr. MITCHELL. Is it not the fact, then, that in all the statements made in the Senate on the other side of the Chamber, to the effect that the difference is only very slight between the duties under the Mills bill and under the existing law, you leave out of consideration the free-list?

Mr. COCKRELL. Not at all. I have here the free-list; 28.7 per cent. is the present average rate on that. Here are the figures for that, and any man can see them; $70,443,012.64 of dutiable merchandise under the existing law are placed on the free-list by the House bill, and the present average ad valorem rates on those articles are 28.7 per cent. As a matter of course, you put them in and it would reduce and make it applicable to the others, which would make a less average all around. There is no doubt about that. But they are taken off the dutiable-list and put on the free-list. The only controversy is, shall they go on the free-list? That is the question of the hour.

Then what are the duties levied by the House bill on the other articles that are dutiable under the present law? That is the controversy. We have nothing to do with what has gone on the free-list. We do not propose to retain them on any average ad valorem rates. We put them on the free-list and take them out of the dutiable list entirely. The controversy is as to whether they shall go on the free-list. That is the point.

Then what is the controversy as to the other matter? The controversy is as to the reduction of duties upon those articles. We say that taking the goods imported in 1887 and dutiable under the present law and applying the House bill to them, the average ad valorem rates would be 42.77 per cent. We say apply the present law and it will be 50.60 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. I would like to have the Senator state what his investigation shows the average ad valorem under the Senate substitute to be?

Mr. COCKRELL. I have stated that it would be 42.75 per cent.

Mr. ALLISON. Just the same practically.

Mr. COCKRELL. Practically the same. There is .02 per cent. difference only.

Mr. ALLISON. So that the bills are practically the same thing?

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly. There is no doubt about that. The figures here show it. There is no concealment about it. You have made enormous reductions on some articles, but you have made large increases on others.

Now, Mr. President, I want to make the statement in regard to these tables that they are correct and the percentages are correct and the basis of the calculation is correct, and it is the only kind of a calculation that you or anybody else can make. That is all there is about it.

In regard to the second table, that is part of the same calculation. While this first table was made out just as it was finished and furnished to be copied by Mr. Keferstein and his assistants, who were detailed for that purpose—and whom I never saw until they commenced working on these tables—under no instructions, who were asked for nothing, and they made them out just as they would have made them ont for the Senator from Rhode Island or the Senator from Iowa, and I suppose both those Senators know these employés better than I do. I never saw them before we commenced on this work that I have any knowledge of. Mr. Keferstein has been employed there ever since 1879.

The other table, as to the percentages, is on page 10448 of the RECORD, and was also submitted by my colleague. When that was furnished to me I ran over the figures myself to see that the calculations were correct, and to see the principle upon which the figures were made, the basis on which the percentages were derived. I found that on yarns, under the schedule of "woolens," according to my calculations and the figures which I had, the percentage in the last column under the House bill ought to have been 184.57 instead of 186. That is the way I made the division. The other figures were correct.

I have been furnished by the chief of the Bureau of Statistics a letter, which gives an explanation of the basis upon which these figures were made and which was furnished to the Senator from Rhode Island, and which he did not take the liberty of reading. This comes from the Bureau of Statistics. This is a copy of the explanation that was furnished to the Senator from Rhode Island, and I will now read it.

Notes explanatory of bureau table of October 11, 1886, *showing the operations under the present tariff laws, under House bill* 9051, *and under the Senate substitute on importations of certain manufactured articles.*

[Prepared in reply to inquiries by Hon. N. W. Aldrich, of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate.]

	Quantity.	Value.	Value per unit.
1. Woolen cloths:	*Pounds.*		
Imported	1,117,564.40	$713,315.94	$0.638
	7,689,699.02	9,309,054.73	1.24
Total	8,807,263.42	10,022,370.67	1.138

Paragraph 354, Schedule K, Senate substitute, provides the following rates of duty on woolen cloths valued at above 60 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound plus 40 per cent. ad valorem.

That is paragraph 354, Schedule K, which I read:

354. Woolen cloths, woolen shawls, and all manufactures of wool of every description, made wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 35 cents per pound, and in addition thereto 35 per cent. ad valorem; valued at above 40 cents per pound, and not exceeding 60 cents per pound, 35 cents per pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem; valued at above 60 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound, and in addition thereto 40 per cent. ad valorem.

The same applies in regard to flannels, etc.

All of the above being over 60 cents per pound, the amount of estimated duty in the table of October 11,* is placed at	$7,531,853.64
House bill 9051 provides 40 per cent. ad valorem, which computes on above	4,008,948.26
Showing excess under Senate substitute as	3,522,905.38

There is no record of the importation of any woolen cloths valued at less than 60 cents per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. Does the Senator think that a fair statement, or does he understand that the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics meant to be understood that there were no importations of any woolen goods below 60 cents a pound?

Mr. COCKRELL. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, as the Senator well knows, can have no personal knowledge of all these details of business; no human being can; he acts upon what his subordinates in the office furnish him after they have gone through with all these details. He says that there is no record in his office of the importation of any woolen cloths valued at less than 60 cents per pound.

Mr. ALDRICH. I only speak of the chief of the bureau as the responsible head of the office. What I asked the Senator is whether he himself believes that is a fair statement. Here are the importations of woolen goods valued at below 80 cents a pound under the classification of the present law.

Mr. COCKRELL. We have nothing to do with that. This is 60 cents a pound.

Mr LDRICH. Then the Senator does not understand the statement from which he is reading. The present law makes a division line at 80 cents a pound, and all goods valued below 80 cents a pound are subject to a rate of duty of 35 cents a pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem, and the average value of the goods imported in 1887 was 63 cents and a fraction a pound. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics says, as there is no record in his office of any below 60 cents a pound, he therefore assumes that there were no importations below 60 cents a pound, and he puts them all at the higher rate. I say that statement or computation was made in the most dense ignorance or else it was purposely made unfairly.

Mr. COCKRELL. I can say that the statement was made by the gentleman I have referred to, and was made from the information he had that was furnished to that bureau, and I have no reason to believe, and do not believe, that he had any interest, directly or indirectly, or remotely, to make any misstatement about it, because he knew the statement would be relied upon; he knew it would be quoted here; he knew it would be subject to criticism, and there could be no motive in the world for any misrepresentation.

Mr. ALDRICH. It must be apparent to the Senator from Missouri, if it was not to this clerk that he speaks of in the bureau, that there were large quantities of woolen goods imported in 1887, upon which there was a value of less than 60 cents a pound placed.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am not familiar with that question, I say frankly, and I have not given any opinion on it. I am simply going by the statement here. The letter of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics proceeds:

2. Brown and bleached linens, etc.
3. Steel, in forms not specified.

The titles used in bureau table of October 11, 1888, "Brown and bleached linens, etc.," and "Steel, in forms not specified," are not intended to apply to any special class of articles enumerated in Senate substitute, but are abbreviations of classes of articles well known in the publications of this bureau, namely:

"Brown and bleached linens, etc.," stands for brown and bleached linens, ducks, canvas, paddings, cot-bottoms, diapers, crash, huckabacks, handkerchiefs, and lawns, of flax, jute, or hemp, or of which flax, jute, or hemp shall be the component material of chief value.

"Steel, in forms not specified," stands for steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms and slabs, by whatever process made; die blocks or blanks; billets and bars, and tapered or beveled bars; steamer, crank, and other shafts; shafting; wrist or crank pins; connecting rods and piston rods; pressed, sheaved, or stamped shapes; saw-plates, wholly or partially manufactured; hammer molds or swaged steel; gun-barrel molds, not in bars; alloys used as substitutes for steel tools; all descriptions and shapes of dry-sand, loam, or iron-molded steel castings; sheets and plates not specially enumerated or provided for; steel in all forms and shapes not specially enumerated or provided for.

The proviso of paragraph 335, Schedule J, Senate substitute, for "brown and bleached linen cloth containing not less than one hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling," is not contained in the present law, and for this reason no record exists of the importations of this class of linens. All brown and bleached linens were, therefore, with the other commodities named, classed as dutiable under the provisions of paragraph 333, Schedule J, Senate substitute.

Mr. ALDRICH. If the Senator will pardon me——

Mr. COCKRELL. Let me read this paragraph. I read paragraph 333:

333. All manufactures of flax, hemp, jute, or other vegetable fiber, except cotton, or of which flax, hemp, jute, or other vegetable fiber, except cotton, is the component material of chief value, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, valued at 5 cents per pound or less, 2 cents per pound; valued above 5 cents per pound, 40 per cent. ad valorem.

Mr. ALDRICH. That paragraph does not apply to the articles under consideration at all.

Mr. COCKRELL. Paragraph 335 is as follows:

335. Brown and bleached linen cloth containing not less than one hundred threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, 35 per cent. ad valorem.

He says that they have no importations under this paragraph.

Mr. ALDRICH. He does not say they have any importations.

Mr. COCKRELL. He does not say they have any importations, but they have no description of that kind in the present law, and therefore the imported merchandise that may be included in that paragraph is not designated in the present importations. Then he says that he places them under the paragraph which I read, paragraph 333.

Mr. ALDRICH. Before the Senator leaves that point I wish to suggest to him the effect of that. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics not having the information upon which he can base an intelligent judgment as to how much of one or the other of these articles would be imported, places them all at the highest rate. That is what I find fault with in this statement. If the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics had appended to the table which the Senator from Missouri presented a statement that it was simply a guess as to how much of one kind or how much of another was imported, if he had ever made the partial explanation which he makes in the letter the Senator is now reading, I should have had no occasion to rise in my seat and find fault with that officer. But he sends it here as though it were positive information based upon facts, and he now says that he knows nothing about it himself, and not knowing anything about it he has placed the whole of these importations at the highest rate of duty, which is certainly manifestly unfair.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics accompanied these tables with a full explanation, for which the Senator will not give him credit. I read from the notes printed here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 10449. He says:

Notes: This table shows a deficiency of $380,050.37 in the value of, and $220,791.41 in the duty collected on dutiable merchandise in 1887, as reported in the

* Prepared by this bureau in regard to the present tariff law, House bill, and proposed Senate substitute.

annual report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. This difference is principally due to the omission from this table of dutiable merchandise ($177,909.59) withdrawn free of duty from warehouse and of merchandise not dutiable under any of the schedules. If these amounts had been included, the average ad valorem rate of duty under the present laws would be 47.10 instead of 47.07 per cent.

The interpretation of House bill 9051 is that of the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, as published by the clerk of that committee, and of the Senate substitute that of the Senate subcommittee on tariff.

The values and duties under both House bill and Senate substitute are computed on the importation of 1887, without speculating upon any possible increase or decrease consequent upon a decrease or increase in the rates of duty imposed by the proposed bills. The computations have been made as accurate as practicable, but in many cases under the Senate substitute a calculation was made impossible by the change from an ad volorem to a specific rate of duty. In such cases no account has been taken of the proposed change.

WM. F. SWITZLER,
Chief of Bureau.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of Statistics, October 9, 1888.

Mr. ALDRICH. The last statement the Senator read shows conclusively that the chief of the bureau did not intend to be understood as the Senator now understands him in regard to his explanation. He says where these changes have been made no account has been taken of them. That is why I find fault with him, that where a change was made so that neither the bureau nor anybody else could tell the exact provision of law, he sends that statement here as though no change had been made, and as though he had accurate information on which to base it, and accompanies it by no explanation and no statement that it was simply an estimate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I proceed to read the explanation of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. He says:

The amounts of duty carried out in bureau table of October 11, as estimated under House bill and Senate substitute, are correct, but the excess of Senate bill printed as $2,138,412.78 should read $2,038,412.78—per cent., 60.

Which is an excess, according to this table, of just $100,000, and the increased percentage is reduced to 60 instead of 62.94.

4. Attention is called to a typographical or other error on page 107 of the volume entitled "Comparison of Tariff Schedule, etc., prepared under the direction of the Senate Subcommittee on Tariff." The quantity of steel rails dutiable under the present law at $17 per ton (on first line of page 107) reads 40,509.863 tons instead of 49,509.863 tons.

That is, that much dutiable was imported in 1887. The correction of this error will change it to 49,509.863, only an error of 9,000 tons in the amount of the dutiable importation of steel rails in 1887.

The correction of this error will change the bureau table of October 11 on line "railway bars" to read—

This is not the fault of the bureau in getting the column opposite "railway bars" wrong. It was the fault of the committee that those figures were made incorrectly.

Mr. ALDRICH. We are not engaged in carrying on a bureau of statistics.

Mr. COCKRELL. That is all very true; but the calculation was made upon your own figures.

Mr. ALDRICH. So far as railway bars are concerned.

Mr. COCKRELL. As to railway bars, and you made a mistake.

The correction of this error will change the bureau table of October 11, on line "railway bars," to read—

	Amount.	Per cent.
Duties collected—		
Under House bill	$545,853.04	54.57
Under Senate bill	777,672.29	77.74
Excess of duties—		
Over present laws	65,675.20	7.79
Over Senate bill	231,819.25	42.47

W. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of Statistics, October 15, 1888.

I desire to state that I made that correction yesterday. I discovered it yesterday and I made that correction in this table of percentages as it was published in my remarks.

Mr. ALLISON. It was undoubtedly an error in printing, making an 0 instead of a 9.

Mr. COCKRELL. I desired simply to make these statements. The Senator complains of the percentages on woolen cloths. There is an increase and a decrease. So it is in cotton cloths. That necessarily changes the percentages; but I insist that these figures are correct, based upon the best interpretation that could be given to the law.

INVESTIGATIONS BY FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask unanimous consent to offer a resolution for present consideration.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be authorized and directed to continue, during the recess of Congress, the investigation of such revenue matters, including House bill 9051, as have been referred to it by resolutions of the Senate, subject to the authority conferred by said resolutions.

Mr. ALLISON. I will say briefly——

Mr. COCKRELL. Let that go over until to-morrow. I will see the Senator about it.

Mr. ALLISON. If the Senator will allow me——

Mr. COCKRELL. Oh, certainly. Make your explanation.

Mr. ALLISON. My explanation is simply this. There are some matters that the Committee on Finance desire to investigate further respecting trusts. Two or three investigations we could not complete before reporting the bill, and that is one of them. Then the plate-printing matter is only half finished. The subcommittee hope to take testimony before we convene here again. The resolution is for the purpose of authorizing these two things to be done.

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it come up in the morning. I will see the Senator and talk with him about it.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well.

Mr. COCKRELL. I wanted to ask the Senator about the testimony that has been taken. I have been furnished with one volume. Will there be another volume out soon?

Mr. ALLISON. I think the whole is in print now.

Mr. ALDRICH. Two volumes are now ready.

Mr. ALLISON. It will all be ready for distribution in a very short time, probably to-morrow.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am exceedingly anxious to get it so as to send it to the public bindery to have it bound.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is in the folding-room of the Senate to-day.

Mr. ALLISON. I can assure the Senator that he will get it to-day or to-morrow.

Mr. COCKRELL. The resolution goes over.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri objects to the present consideration of the resolution. It lies over under the rules.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, October 19, 1888, at 12 o'clock m.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 12, 1888.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Medical Inspector Michael Bradley, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a medical director in the Navy, from the 19th of June, 1888.

Surg. Theoron Woolverton, a resident of New York, to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Passed Asst. Surg. Howard Wells, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Medical Inspector Adrian Hudson, a resident of the District of Columbia, to be a medical director in the Navy from the 10th of July, 1888.

Surg. Charles H. White, a resident of Massachusetts, to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 10th of July, 1888.

Passed Asst. Surg. James H. Gaines, a resident of Maryland, to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 10th of July, 1888.

Medical Inspector Newton L. Bates, a resident of New York, to be a medical director in the Navy from the 1st of September, 1888.

Surg. George W. Woods, a resident of California, to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 1st of September, 1888.

Passed Asst. Surg. Daniel N. Bertolette, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 1st of September, 1888.

Surg. Frank L. DuBois, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 15th of September, 1888.

Passed Asst. Surg. Ezra Z. Derr, a resident of Maryland, to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 15th of September, 1888.

Surg. George H. Cooke, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a medical inspector in the Navy from the 15th of September, 1888.

Passed Assist. Surg. Frank B. Stephenson, a resident of Massachusetts, to be a surgeon in the Navy from the 15th of September, 1888.

Paymaster George A. Lyon, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a pay inspector in the Navy from the 15th of September, 1888.

Passed Assistant Paymaster John W. Jordan, a resident of Florida, to be a paymaster in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Assistant Paymaster R. T. Mason Ball, a resident of Virginia, to be a passed assistant paymaster in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Lieut. Commander John K. Winn, a resident of Massachusetts, to be a commander in the Navy from the 31st of March, 1888.

Lieut. Clifford H. West, a resident of New York, to be a lieutenant-commander in the Navy from the 31st of March, 1888.

Lieut. Frank J. Milligan, junior grade, a resident of Tennessee, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 31st of March, 1888.

Ensign Philip V. Lansdale, a resident of Maryland, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 31st of March, 1888.

Lieut. John P. Merrell, a resident of Michigan, to be a lieutenant-commander in the Navy from the 28th of May, 1888.

Lieut. Albon C. Hodgson, junior grade, a resident of Georgia, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 28th of May, 1888.

Ensign Horace W. Harrison, a resident of the District of Columbia, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 22d of May, 1888.

Ensign William S. Benson, a resident of Georgia, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 28th of May, 1888.

Lieut. James M. Helm, junior grade, a resident of Tennessee, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 1st of June, 1888.

Ensign William V. Bronaugh, a resident of Kentucky, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 1st of June, 1888.

Lieut. Joseph G. Eaton, a resident of Massachusetts, to be a lieutenant-commander in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Lieut. William G. Cutler, junior grade, a resident of Nevada, to be a lieutenant in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Ensign Frank M. Bostwick, a resident of Wisconsin, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Lieut. Cameron McR. Winslow, a resident of Massachusetts, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 1st of July, 1888.

Ensign Walter M. Constant, a resident of Indiana, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 1st of July, 1888.

Lieut. Charles Laird, a resident of Ohio, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 28th of September, 1888.

Ensign James H. Oliver, a resident of Georgia, to be a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy from the 28th of September, 1888.

Passed Assistant Engineer George E. Tower, a resident of New York, to be a chief engineer in the Navy from the 30th of June, 1887.

Passed Assistant Engineer Hugh H. Cline, a resident of Maryland, to be a chief engineer in the Navy from the 2d of December, 1887.

Assistant Engineer Theodore F. Burgdorff, a resident of New Jersey, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 22d of June, 1886.

Assistant Engineer William R. King, a resident of Maryland, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 17th of March, 1887.

Assistant Engineer Frank H. Eldridge, a resident of Ohio, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 30th of June, 1887.

Assistant Engineer Charles C. Kleckner, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 30th of June, 1887.

Assistant Engineer Edgar T. Warburton, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 1st of July, 1887.

Assistant Engineer William B. Dunning, a resident of New York, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 2d of December, 1887.

Assistant Engineer Robert I. Reid, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be a passed assistant engineer in the Navy from the 19th of June, 1888.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate October 18, 1888.

UNITED STATES CONSUL.

E. P. Earle, of Alabama, to be consul of the United States at Cognac.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, *October* 18, 1888.

The House was called to order at 12 o'clock m. by Hon. S. S. COX, who directed the reading of the following communication:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 18, 1888.

SIR: Hon. S. S. COX is designated to preside as Speaker *pro tempore* at the session of the House to-day.

J. G. CARLISLE, *Speaker.*

Hon. JOHN B. CLARK,
Clerk House of Representatives.

Prayer by Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D. D.

THE JOURNAL.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The Clerk will read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, before the Journal is read, I desire to call the attention of the Speaker *pro tempore* to paragraph 1 of Rule I.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The Chair will direct the Clerk to read the paragraph of the rule referred to by the gentleman from New York.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Speaker shall take the Chair on every legislative day precisely at the hour to which the House shall have adjourned at the last sitting, immediately call the members to order, and on the appearance of a quorum cause the Journal of the proceedings of the last day's sitting to be read, having previously examined and approved the same.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, I merely call the attention of the present occupant of the chair to the language of the rule, in the absence of the Speaker of the House, that on the appearance of a quorum the Journal of the preceding day shall be read. I am unwilling that certain members of this House shall absent themselves from its sessions while other members, like myself, have sat here and been in attendance day after day since the session began in last December. We have had one or two motions presented looking to the adjournment of this body. They have been treated somewhat captiously, I take it; and I think it is now time that we should come to some reasonable arrangement and definite conclusion as to whether we shall be parties to a waiting political game or adjourn the House properly and in order, there being no quorum present.

I believe the Speaker of the House, whatever his engagements elsewhere—and there is no reason because of illness for his absence—ought to preside over the deliberations of this skeleton House as long as the members present are willing to sit here doing a skeleton business.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a question of order.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I feel, and I state that it is not only a disgrace, but it is an affront to the intelligence of the Congress, to have two insignificantly attended bodies, as are now in session, kept in attendance here waiting patiently on the movements of parties.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The gentleman from Tennessee rises to a question of order, and will state it.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I make the point of order that the gentleman does not present a question of privilege. There is nothing to disclose the absence of a quorum, and I make the point of order that he is out of order.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, with all due deference, I think I do present a question of the very highest privilege. The Chair will bear witness——

Mr. RICHARDSON. I demand the regular order.

Mr. FARQUHAR. The Chair will bear me witness——

Mr. RICHARDSON. I call the gentleman from New York to order. I have demanded the regular order.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I have called the attention of the Chair to the rule.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask a decision of the point of order I have made.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The Chair will decide the question.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Very well.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The Chair does not count the House, and can not tell officially whether a quorum is present or not.

Mr. FARQUHAR. But, Mr. Speaker, when the attention of the Chair is called to the fact that a quorum is not present, is it not the duty of the Chair to determine that question before the Journal is read?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* There is no record to disclose the absence of a quorum, attention having been merely called to the rule, and no objection being made to the reading of the Journal. The present occupant of the chair would not like to rule upon such a question to change the uniform custom and practice of the House. If the gentleman from New York would make that point of order when Mr. Speaker CARLISLE is present perhaps he would entertain the question.

The regular order is demanded, which is the reading of the Journal. The Clerk will read the Journal.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Do I understand that the Chair has not the affirmative right to determine whether a quorum is present by a count of the House?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The Chair would not undertake to decide upon such a question under such unusual circumstances and adversely to the usage.

Mr. BAYNE. But is it not the duty of the Chair, when the question is raised, to count the House for himself and ascertain officially whether a quorum is present?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The regular order is demanded, which is the reading of the Journal.

Mr. BAYNE. But when the attention of the Chair is called to the fact, is it not the duty of the Chair to count the House before the Journal is read?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The Chair would not undertake to change the uniform custom of the House.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Is custom entitled to greater consideration than the rule of the House?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The custom of the House is sometimes a rule unto itself, and controls in the absence of a rule.

Mr. BAYNE. But the custom of the House can not stand in the face of the rule where attention is called to the rule. If the custom has permitted the reading of the Journal in the absence of a quorum, and the rule prohibits it, if attention is called to the rule, the question should be decided.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, on the point of order raised by the gentleman, I would state that the presumption is in favor of the presence of a quorum until the contrary is shown affirmatively by the record. Furthermore, as to the criticisms of the gentleman from New York, I will state that in ten years of service in this House, or nearly that length of time, I have seen no such question raised, although there is frequently no quorum present in the morning when the Journal is read, even when there is a full attendance of members in this city. Members are often tardy about coming in in the early morning.

The gentlemen themselves will admit that their proceeding is unheard of and their criticism unprecedented.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I will take my own means of criticising my own motives and my own——

Mr. MCMILLIN. I do not criticise the gentleman's motives.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I call for the regular order.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I do not intend anything captious in this matter, but we had better bring it to a decision at once.

Mr. MCMILLIN. It is not my purpose to be captious.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* The Clerk will proceed to read the Journal.

The Clerk read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore.* Without objection, the Journal will be approved.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. There is objection.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I object.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. For what purpose does the gentleman object?

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I object to the confirmation of the Journal.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman move to amend the Journal?

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I simply object; and I suppose that makes it a matter for a vote.

Mr. BAYNE. There must be a motion to approve the RECORD, as it has been done by unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will put the question on the approval of the Journal. [After putting the question.] The ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR, Mr. FARQUHAR, and Mr. BAYNE. Division.

The House divided.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will announce the result as ayes 15, noes 9, but——

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR and Mr. FARQUHAR. No quorum.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. On consideration, the Chair would say that the Speaker should approve the Journal; and in the opinion of the Chair it was unnecessary to submit formally to a vote of the House the question of approval, no error being suggested and no correction proposed. The Clerk will read the rule relating to that matter. [Laughter.]

The Clerk read clause 1 of Rule I, as follows:

The Speaker shall take the chair on every legislative day precisely at the hour to which the House shall have adjourned at the last sitting, immediately call the members to order, and on the appearance of a quorum cause the Journal of the proceedings of the last day's sitting to be read, having previously examined and approved the same.

Mr. FARQUHAR. "On the appearance of a quorum." The Chair will not rule on custom which is opposed by the law and the rules. As I understood the Chair, he ruled that the custom should be carried out. I call attention to a positive rule, and now the Chair takes the rule as against the custom.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair did not decide as to the rule. The Chair thought the custom was uniform, and did not undertake to change it. No member objected formally to the reading of the Journal, and the want of a quorum had not been disclosed by any proceeding of the House prior thereto.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I make it as a broad assertion that there is not a quorum here, and it has been evidenced by this vote. I care nothing about the discussion of it.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a question of order, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I understand the Chair to decide that the Journal is approved by the Speaker.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The rule seems to require it and the Chair so holds. No attempt has been made to change or amend the Journal.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Then I call for the regular order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. There is no question before the House, and the regular order is demanded, which is the call of committees for reports.

The committees were thereupon called for reports.

CITROUS WATER COMPANY.

Mr. HUDD. Mr. Speaker, I was absent when the Committee on Indian Affairs was called, and I ask unanimous consent to non-concur in the amendments of the Senate to a House bill in relation to a right of way across an Indian reservation.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 7843) granting to Citrous Water Company right of way across Papago Indian reservation in Maricopa County, Arizona.

Mr. HUDD. I ask unanimous consent that the amendments of the Senate be non-concurred in, and that a conference be requested.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on non-concurring in the Senate amendments, and agreeing to the conference asked. Is there objection?

There was objection.

The question was put, and the Speaker *pro tempore* announced that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 23, noes 1.

Mr. FARQUHAR. No quorum. I simply want to emphasize that, Mr. Speaker, and not to discuss it any further.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will appoint as tellers the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. HUDD] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARQUHAR].

The tellers reported—ayes 10, noes 1.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I call for the yeas and nays.

After the count,

Mr. HUDD. The other side. [After a pause.] I withdraw the call for the other side.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The yeas and nays are ordered, a sufficient number having arisen.

The Clerk proceeded to call the roll; but before the completion of the call, by unanimous consent, the demand for the yeas and nays was withdrawn, further proceedings under the yeas and nays were dispensed with, and the motion of Mr. HUDD to non-concur was agreed to.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* appointed as conferees on the part of the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill H. R. 7843 Mr. HUDD, Mr. PEEL, and Mr. NELSON.

EXTRA COMPENSATION TO HOUSE EMPLOYÉS.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I ask unanimous consent to take up the resolution providing for an extra month's pay to the employés.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will report the resolution, after which the Chair will ask for objections.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives respectively are hereby directed to pay to the officers and employés of the Senate and House of Representatives (including the Capitol police), who are now borne on the annual and session rolls of their respective Houses, one month's extra pay at the compensation now paid them by law; and a sum sufficient to pay the same is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which sum shall be immediately available.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I think the resolution should be limited to the House employés. Not that I would do injustice to any other class, but resolutions so limited have been passed heretofore, the limitation being put upon the ground that the Senate employés are already paid a larger compensation than the House employés. Then, too, the resolution just read embraces a class of employés who have not been embraced heretofore in such resolutions. The gentleman has made his resolution broad beyond precedent in that regard, and therefore I suggest that it be modified. I can realize that, from the great length of this session, there is a class of our employés who would be done injustice to if we did not allow them some extra compensation, but I think the resolution should be properly guarded. Then, as to another class of officers of the House, we have already, I believe, made an appropriation of $1,000 extra to each of the Official Reporters by way of reimbursement of extra clerk hire, and I do not think they ought to be included now. The resolution seems to me quite loosely worded, and, if the gentleman will pardon the criticism, I suggest that be make it conform to resolutions heretofore passed concerning extra compensation for employés of the House.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I suggest that the gentleman offer an amendment.

Mr. MCMILLIN. As the gentleman has moved in the matter, I suggest that he modify his resolution himself.

Mr. HOOKER. I think that the gentleman who offers this resolution in regard to extra compensation for employés of the House ought to make the amendments suggested by the gentleman from Tennessee, and it seems to me particularly appropriate that it should be amended so as not to include that very worthy corps of officers for whom extra compensation has already been provided. I mean the Official Reporters of the House.

Mr. MCMILLIN. All of them except one have been voted $1,000 each. One has not, but he has not been here during the whole session. I have no suggestions to make beyond stating the facts.

Mr. HOOKER. Well, if these officers have received extra compensation, it seems to me that they should not be included in a general resolution of this kind. I say if that be so, because although I know there was a proposition before the House to make them such an allowance, I do not know whether it became a law or not. This has certainly been a very protracted session; and as to the other officers and employés of the House, especially the reading clerks, the journal clerk, and all the other clerks of the House who have necessarily been in attendance at the night sessions which have been so numerous during this Congress, I think it is very appropriate that we should pass a resolution of this character giving them some extra compensation. If there ever was a time when it would be appropriate for the House to grant additional compensation, this seems to me to be the time. I know that when I had the honor to be here as a Representative from my State some years ago, it was not an infrequent occurrence to adopt a resolution of this character even at the end of an ordinary session.

It has been announced elsewhere, and I believe it is true, that this is the longest session of Congress that has ever occurred since the organization of the Government. Hence, if there ever was a time when the employés of the House who have not already been compensated on account of their extra service, should be provided for in a resolution of this kind, it seems to me this is such an occasion. I heartily sanction the purpose of this resolution, and hope it will meet the concurrence of the House.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I have sent up an amendment which I desire the Clerk to read.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Will the gentleman permit a remark in reference to the compensation of the stenographers?

Mr. MILLIKEN. Certainly.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, attention has been called to the fact that in one of the appropriation bills $1,000 was voted to each of the stenographers of this House. The remarks made this morning by

the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] would seem to imply that this was a bonus or gratuity. I wish to say that instead of this appropriation of $1,000 being anything in the nature of a bonus to these stenographers, it will barely pay, and possibly will not pay, the extra expenses which have been imposed upon them at this session for clerk-hire in the copying of their notes, etc.

Mr. McMILLIN. I was not criticising the action of the House in making that appropriation, but only calling attention to the fact that already two months' extra pay, or a little more than two months' extra pay, had been given to that class of officers, whereas no such provision had been made for these other officers.

Mr. FARQUHAR. All I desired was simply to call attention to the fact—and I know the gentleman from Tennessee on examination must concur with me—that the excessive length of this session has caused to the official stenographers extra expenses which the $1,000 voted to each of them in a bill which has not yet become law will not cover.

I wish to say further that when Mr. Edwards, one of the corps of Reporters, died, I did all I could to have some little compensation voted for the family of that man who gave his life in the service of this House during our protracted debates on the tariff bill; but not one dollar of appropriation could I get into the appropriation bill. I hope at the short session we will make amends for our omission in this matter.

Mr. HOOKER. I ask the gentleman from New York whether the family or legal representatives of Mr. Edwards were not included in the proposition giving additional compensation to the stenographers?

Mr. FARQUHAR. As I understand, the proposition I have in mind was met by way of objection by the suggestion that there had already been this $1,000 appropriated.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. The amount voted to the Reporters was not in fact extra compensation for their services, but mere remuneration for excessive outlay of money to which they were subjected.

Mr. SOWDEN. I would like to have this resolution reported again. I am not sure that I understood it correctly.

The resolution was again read.

Mr. SOWDEN. I would like to know the exact amount of money this resolution involves in the event of its adoption.

Mr. MILLIKEN. If the resolution passes in the form in which it was originally offered it will involve an expenditure of about $40,000.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The amendment sent to the desk by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. MILLIKEN] will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Add to the resolution the following:
"Not to include the Official Reporters, whose compensation for extra services is provided for in the deficiency bill now pending in conference."

Mr. SOWDEN. I did not exactly catch the statement of the gentleman from Maine as to the amount involved in his resolution, on account of the confusion prevailing.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I said that if the resolution should pass as originally presented the amount involved would be about $40,000.

Mr. SOWDEN. Then, if it involves that sum, I shall have to object to its present consideration.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I hope the gentleman will allow me a moment before he objects. There is an amendment pending excluding the Official Reporters, and I propose to accept the amendment suggested by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN], which will exclude from the resolution everybody except employés of the House.

Mr. McMILLIN. That has been the custom.

Mr. HOOKER. If the gentleman from Maine [Mr. MILLIKEN] will allow me a moment, I wish to make a remark in connection with what I said a few moments ago, in order that this matter may be properly understood. The sum which was attempted to be provided in the deficiency bill for the stenographic corps (it has not yet become a law, I understand) was intended to reimburse to that corps the expenditures they are required to make, they being the only officers of the House who make personal expenditures in connection with the discharge of their official duties. They are required to pay the expenses of transcribing their short-hand notes, the expenses connected with attendance on their rooms, etc., and, as I understand, the sum heretofore voted by the House was designed simply to reimburse the actual outlay necessarily incurred by the reporters in reducing the short-hand notes to the form in which they appear in the RECORD. If, therefore, we vote, as I think we should, this additional month's pay, I do not know that there would be any justice in excluding the stenographers from the operation of the resolution. I deem it proper to make this remark in view of the suggestion I made before.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that when I drew this resolution I understood the circumstances just as they have been stated by the gentleman from Mississippi, and that is why the language included the Official Reporters. If I could have my own way, I would be glad to have the resolution passed in the shape in which I originally presented it; but if it can not be passed without the amendments indicated by gentlemen who have spoken, then, rather than have the resolution defeated, I will accept their amendments.

Mr. McMILLIN. I wish to restate, Mr. Speaker, my original proposition, which was to the effect that a custom had originated, by reason of a difference in pay between the employés of the House and the Senate, to make some such provision as this at the close of the sessions of Congress for the House employés.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I so understood.

Mr. McMILLIN. That custom, however, ceased or fell into disuse in the last Congress; and I believe in the preceding Congress, too, it was refused when it was proposed to pay the month's extra compensation.

I realize, however, that this has been a most extraordinary session. I also take great pleasure in bearing testimony to the uniform efficiency, vigilance, untiring service, and courtesy of our officials in this most trying session. I called attention, first, to the fact that the custom has been, where this has prevailed at all, to make the appropriation proposed by this bill, not a month's extra compensation to the Senate and House employés, but to the House employés, in order to cover the difference between the pay of the two bodies, that being the original foundation of this action; secondly, I thought it but proper to direct the attention of the House to the fact that an appropriation has been embodied in the deficiency bill to reimburse the stenographers of the House for actual payments made by them; third, that it had not been the custom heretofore for the House to inaugurate a proposition providing payment for a class of employés that belong neither to the Senate nor to the House, but who are controlled by joint action.

Having made this statement I am willing to leave the question to the House to determine, and merely suggested to the gentleman from Maine to include only the employés of the House, as has been the custom heretofore.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I desire to offer an amendment in the nature of an additional resolution, if that is now to be considered.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved also, That the Clerk of the House be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay out of the contingent fund of the House to John Prater, for services rendered in the House cloak-room, at the rate of $50 per month for the present session of Congress.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I am informed that he has performed services without compensation; and we all know, at least on this side of the House, that he has performed his services exceedingly well. Having received no pay, if the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Maine passes, I think it only right and proper that he should be paid for the services actually rendered by him.

Mr. SOWDEN. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. MILLIKEN. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania allow me a moment, and I will afterwards yield the floor to him?

Mr. SOWDEN. Certainly.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I offer what I send to the desk as an amendment to the amendment already offered.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Two amendments are now pending, and this would not be in order at this time. It may be read, however, for information.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Clerk of the House be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the officers and employés of the House borne on the annual and session rolls on the 30th day of September, 1888, one month's extra pay at the same compensation then paid them by law, said sum to be immediately available.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I offer that as a substitute for the resolution and amendment already offered.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. SOWDEN. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. SOWDEN. I object.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Then there is nothing before the House.

Mr. SOWDEN. I desire to be heard.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will recognize the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. SOWDEN. As I understand, Mr. Speaker, the amendment or substitute offered by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. MILLIKEN], providing for an additional month's pay to the annual as well as the session clerks or employés of the House, involves some $20,000 now, instead of $40,000 or more under the original proposition. It seems to me, sir, whether this has been the custom in the past or not, that it is a vicious one, and that the time has come when it should be broken up. Here we have a number of annual clerks or employés whose salaries are fixed by law, every one of whom on receiving an appointment to the office he holds knew in advance exactly what the law provides for the services he is called upon to perform.

Under the law he receives a compensation for twelve months' service, for an entire year's service, and the proposition now is not only to pay him for the twelve months' service when he renders less than eleven, but to pay an additional month's compensation, or, in other words, to give him pay for thirteen months, when as a matter of fact he rendered less than eleven months' service.

Again, so far as the session employés are concerned, instead of being a hardship upon them they are to be congratulated, for they are largely

benefited by the prolongation of the session. I know that the pages of the House, these little boys, who are receiving $2.50 a day while the session lasts, are greatly benefited by its unusual length, and there is no reason, and certainly no argument has thus far been advanced by the gentleman from Tennessee or any one else, that furnishes any ground for giving additional pay to these employés as proposed. Every employé of the Senate and the House should be gratified, and would no doubt be pleased if the session continued for the full twelve months, since he would be correspondingly benefited. So, I repeat, I can see no good reason why we should make this additional plunge into the public Treasury and abstract therefrom $20,000 to $30,000 to pay for services which were never rendered and the Government never received. I repeat, therefore, that the time has come when we should put a stop to it, and I think this is as good a time as any to break up this custom. Let us break up this vicious and expensive system. Let us give every man every dollar that he honestly earns, and pay them the salaries legally due them, but do not let us take the people's money and vote a gratuity to them that is unwarranted by law and pay them for services never rendered.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say this resolution is offered for the very purpose of paying to the employés of this House what they have earned, and what they have richly earned. As I suggested in some remarks I made a few days ago upon this subject, we have kept them here. We could have got up and gone at any time we chose; but they have not the slightest control over the time; they are required to stay here.

Now, I have further to say, Mr. Speaker, that extra pay has been given for extra service to the employés of the Government Printing Office; and extra pay has been given for extra services in the Adjutant-General's Office. Clerks in the Departments are allowed a month's vacation with pay during the time they are gone. Now, these young men, and these old men who are at work here, as my friend from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] suggested, have been doing an unusually large amount of work; and we have caused them to do it. This thing is not done without precedent. On the contrary, until last Congress, just such a resolution as this has passed at every session since I have been in Congress, and for a long period prior to that. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SOWDEN] suggests that these employés knew beforehand what they were to receive, because the law fixed the rate of compensation.

They also knew beforehand that it had been the custom to vote them this extra month's pay, and that that custom had existed so long that it had really become almost a law; and considering the amount of work they have done and the length of time they have been confined here I think it is nothing more than just. I have heard gentlemen stand up in the House time and again during this session and talk of the hardships of laboring men and say we should liberally compensate the laboring men. Now, if there are anywhere in this country any men who labor more assiduously than the men whose names are included in this resolution, I should like to see them produced.

Mr. SOWDEN. I object to the consideration of this resolution at this time, for the reasons already given by me why it should not pass.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I hope the gentleman from Pennsylvania will let them have consideration of their bill, and that they should have the voice of the House upon its passage.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman insist upon his objection?

Mr. SOWDEN. I insist upon the objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. JOHNSON, one of its clerks, announced to the House that the Senate had passed a resolution fixing the date of final adjournment on Saturday, the 20th day of October, 1888, at 1 o'clock p. m., in which it requested the concurrence of the House.

EXTENSION OF LEASE OF BUTLER BUILDING.

Mr. SHAW. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the resolution now in the hands of the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Select Committee on Indian Depredation Claims and the Committee on the Eleventh Census be authorized to continue the occupancy of the rooms now used by them in the Butler Building during the remainder of the present Congress, and that the Clerk of the House is hereby directed to pay rent for the same out of the contingent fund of the House at the rate now being paid.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. NEWELL, one of its clerks, informed the House that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill (H. R. 11599) to authorize the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington to be used as a mail-bag repair shop, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had agreed to the report of the conference committee on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (H. R. 8074) to provide for allotment of land in severalty to United Peorias and Miamies in the Indian Territory.

EXTENSION OF LEASE OF BUTLER BUILDING.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, in explanation of that resolution I will state that the House some time ago authorized the lease of these rooms for these respective committees during the present session of Congress, and the lease, unless it be extended by the House, will terminate with the present session. The House also authorized the furnishing of these rooms, which has been done at an expense of $400. The rooms were carpeted and provided with the necessary furniture. Of course, if this lease is not extended the furniture will have to be removed; and the Clerk has informed me that he has no place to store it. In addition to that, these committees will have duties to discharge during the next session of this Congress; and it seems to me it would be good policy to extend the lease, as there is but a short time intervening.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution? The Chair hears none.

The resolution was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I call up the resolution just received from the Senate.

Mr. HOOKER. Before you do that I want to ask leave of absence for my colleague——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE].

PAYMENT OF EMPLOYÉS FOR OCTOBER.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and they are hereby, instructed to pay the officers and employés of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, including the Capitol Police, for the month of October, 1888, on the 20th day of said month.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution? The Chair hears none.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

COMPENSATION OF EMPLOYÉS.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the joint resolution (H. Res. 232) which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Be it resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and they are hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the session employés of the Senate and the House of Representatives salaries for the full month of October, and that the amount of money necessary to carry out the provisions of this resolution be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, this simply covers the unexpired portion of the present month. The amount required to make the payment will be quite small, and I do not believe there can be any objection to the resolution.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the consideration of this joint resolution?

Mr. SOWDEN. I would like to hear the resolution reported again

The joint resolution was again read.

Mr. SOWDEN. I see no objection to that.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. FARQUHAR moved to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. FORNEY. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations, or such subcommittee as they may designate, are hereby authorized to sit during the vacation, for the purpose of considering and facilitating the business of the committee in advance of the next regular session, to be convened at such time as the chairman of such committee may order.

The resolution was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. WALKER, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. PEEL, indefinitely, on account of important business.

To Mr. BARRY (on motion of Mr. HOOKER), indefinitely, on account of indisposition.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled a bill of the following title; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (H. R. 11599) to authorize the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington to be used as a mail-bag repair-shop, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I call up for present consideration the resolution which has just been received from the Senate, and ask that it be reported by the Clerk.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will lay before the House the concurrent resolution on final adjournment, which will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *October* 18, 1888.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives declare their respective Houses adjourned without day on Saturday, the 20th day of October, at 1 o'clock p. m.

Mr. WHEELER. I desire to offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] has the floor.

Mr. McMILLIN. Let the amendment be read for information.

The amendment was read, as follows:

Resolved, That this Congress take a recess from Saturday, October 27, at 5 p. m., until 12 o'clock noon, November 12, 1888.

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, the resolution received from the Senate and just read looks to the closing of this extraordinarily long session of Congress, and I think that a few remarks concerning the session, the work that was before it, what has been proposed by the House, and what by the Senate, are not inappropriate on this occasion. I shall therefore ask the indulgence of the House briefly.

One of the great questions that came before this body on its assembling was the reduction of taxation, a reduction which the business interests of the country demanded, which the people themselves, in their individual capacity as tax-payers, demanded, and which the best interests of the Government, in every sense, demanded. More revenue was being collected than was necessary, and how to reduce that revenue was the question to which the House addressed itself until it passed the bill reported from the Committee on Ways and Means, and is the question to which the Senate has addressed itself since that time. Each body has proposed a measure of relief, or what it claims to be a measure of relief. Those members of the Ways and Means Committee who were here thought it necessary to make an investigation into the merits of the proposition reported by the Senate so as to determine what relief it would probably afford and what its real effect would be. Through the very efficient work of the clerk of that committee, Mr. Henry Talbot, and Mr. Doyle, of the Treasury Department, aided by such other assistants as were deemed necessary, we have come to a conclusion as to what the effect of the Senate bill would be; and with the indulgence of the House I will now make a very brief comment upon it, taking as the basis of what I say the results developed by this investigation.

The Senate bill has changed the rates of duty and the classifications so extensively and in such ways that it is difficult to make the calculations as to what will be its operations; but from the best data that can be obtained and the most accurate calculations that could be made the following may be given as a summary of the effect of that bill upon the revenues, should it pass.

There are fourteen of these schedules, and out of these fourteen schedules the duties on eleven will be increased by the Senate bill, according to the importations of the last fiscal year. Taking these as a basis of calculation the changes proposed by the Senate would increase the duties on eleven of these fourteen schedules.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. The gentleman will allow me to ask this question: Is not the increase of duties liable to reduce revenue?

Mr. McMILLIN. I will state to the gentleman that it is possible to make import duties absolutely prohibitory, and thereby increase the taxes of the people and utterly cut off revenue for the Government. That can be accomplished; and if the gentleman confesses that to have been the object of the Senate, there is no doubt that they have accomplished their object in a wonderfully successful degree.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I deny that it has been the object of the Senate to increase the taxes of the people. This whole business has been gone over so much that if the gentleman favors the passage of this resolution he had better make his remarks short.

Mr. McMILLIN. If it does not increase the revenues and does not increase taxation——

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I mean just what I have said.

Mr. McMILLIN. Now, Mr. Speaker, what will be the effect or these proposed changes? I think it proper the country should know. Take, first, chemicals——

Mr. BAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to inquire of the gentleman whether an opportunity will be given this side of the House to reply to the observations he is now making?

Mr. McMILLIN. I will state to the gentleman that I do not propose to occupy all the time of the House. It is, of course, at all times within the discretion of the House to determine what course it will take with any resolution which may be offered.

Mr. BAYNE. I have no objection whatever to the gentleman elaborating his views upon the question of adjournment; but, of course, I shall insist that this side of the House shall be given an opportunity to reply.

Mr. PETERS. I will simply state now for the information of the gentleman, that unless——

Mr. McMILLIN. I can not yield further; the gentleman will have his time.

Mr. PETERS. I was going to make this suggestion——

Mr. FARQUHAR. I rise to a parliamentary question: Is the gentleman from Tennessee speaking in his own time for an hour?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman has an hour to discuss the resolution. If the previous question should not be ordered, the Chair, at the conclusion of the gentleman's remarks, will recognize some gentleman on the other side for an hour.

Mr. McMILLIN. In chemical schedule A, according to the importations of 1887, the values imported were $5,041,574.54; the duties were $1,489,211.31. The estimated duties under the Senate substitute would be $1,409,932.01. The present rate of duty is 29.53 per cent.; under the substitute it would be 27.96 per cent. In that case there is a reduction of the revenues of less than $100,000.

In the earthen and glass ware schedule, the importations of 1887 were $6,322,000, the duties $3,516,000. The estimated duties under the Senate substitute are $3,282,000. The present rate is 55.60 per cent.; the rate under the substitute would be 51.92 per cent. But it is proper to say concerning this schedule that both the House bill and the Senate bill fix duties upon the coverings containing the importations, which, according to the Tariff Commission's report, amount to at least 9 to 11 per cent.; so that when you consider the change made as to coverings to meet the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, there is actually no reduction, although I have given credit for a reduction in the statement just made.

In the metal schedule the importations were $17,660,000; the duties, $8,115,000. The estimated duties under the Senate substitute would be $9,743.000. The present rate is 45.89 per cent.; the proposed rate, 55.17 per cent. So that on the metal schedule, instead of the people getting that relief which they are entitled to receive, they get an increase of taxation to the extent of about 10 per cent. and an increase of revenue of over a million and a half of dollars.

In the woodenware schedule the importations were $1,060,000; the duties, $302,000. The estimated duties are $371,000. The present rate is 28.49 per cent.; the proposed rate, 35 per cent. This is the relief which is given on woodenware.

We come now to sugar, upon which there is a real reduction made. The importations were, in round numbers, $68,000,000; the duties, $56,000,000. The estimated duties will be $28,000,000. The present rate is 81 per cent.; the proposed rate, 41 per cent. But by a change of the schedule a greater benefit proportionally is given to the manufacturers who are engaged in the sugar trust than is given under existing law.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I will state to the gentleman that that matter was answered yesterday in the Senate quite thoroughly and effectually.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR (to Mr. McMILLIN). Your speech has been printed before.

Mr. McMILLIN. With my friend's permission, I will take care of my speech. It is truth that I am uttering, and I do not care how often it is repeated. The Commissioner of Statistics has made computations, and arrives at substantially the same reductions stated here. The difference between the sugar duty and that on other things is that about nine-tenths of the increase of price added to sugar goes into the Treasury, whereas in some of these other schedules where there is an increase four-fifths of it goes into the pockets of the manufacturers, and not more than one-fifth into the Treasury.

Mr. FARQUHAR. It goes to Havemeyer & Co.; that is where it goes.

Mr. McMILLIN. I have just explained. I am glad my friend is aroused on that subject. Under the Senate schedule a greater benefit is given to the manufacturer than under the existing law or the Mills bill.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I wish to state that after an examination of all the reports made by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House and now reviewed by the Senate Finance Committee that the figures he gives are too old, having been corrected by later statistics.

Mr. McMILLIN. I can not yield to my friend, as I see some impatience manifested on the part of some members of the House as to the time I shall occupy. Therefore I decline to yield.

Tobacco: Importations, $10,955,123.03; present duties, $9,127,758.26; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $11,507,718.23—an increase of rate from 83.31 to 105.04.

Provisions: Importations, $24,315,089.97; present duties, $6,192,126.83; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $6,831,383.95, an increase of rate from 25.46 to 28.09. The increase of duties is over half a million.

Liquors: Importations, $2,549,662.24; present duties, $1,929,508.77; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $2,396,231.96, an increase of rate from 75.06 to 93.98.

Cotton: Importations, $24,726,037.70; present duties, $10,152,993.44; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $10,356,856.42, an increase of rate from 41.06 to 41.89.

It will be observed on comparison of the schedules which have been prepared and which have been printed that the increase has been greater upon the cheaper goods worn by the people in the ordinary avocations of life than on the finer commodities.

Hemp, flax, and jute: Importations, $17,301,413.04; present duties,

$5,858,031.30; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $6,785,-723.10, an increase of rate from 33.85 to 39.22.

Wool and woolens: Importations, $46,212,247.11; present duties, $29,938,893.68; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $34,322,-845.84, an increase of rate from 63.48 to 74.27. Some of these duties are raised so high they go from 100 to 225 per cent., the greater increase being on the ordinary and the lesser on the finer grade of goods. So, instead of giving cheaper woolen goods, the Senate bill proposes to increase the cost, and instead of allowing the manufacturer to have his wool at 10 cents a pound, as he gets it now, the Senate proposes to make the duty 11 per cent.

Silk goods and silk: Importations, $31,264,276.48; present duties, $15,540,300.70; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $16,002,-094.04, an increase of rate from 49.73 to 51.18.

Books and papers, etc.: Importations, $35,724,436.31; present duties, $818,583.21; estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $893,-109.88, an increase of rate from 22.91 to 25.

Sundries: Importations, $10,568,347.25; present duties, $2,948,-510.12: estimated duties under the Senate substitute, $3,104,501.84, an increase of rate from 27.89 to 29.37.

I have gone through the schedule and the aggregate stands in this way: Total importations, $270,489,951.42; present duties, $152,456,-739.14; while under the proposed law, including sugar, there would be received $135,291,638.10; taking out sugar and computing the balance of the schedule there is an increase instead of a decrease of duties, so making the deductions of duties estimated by the Senate bill of $17,-165.101.04.

The duties remitted by the free-list on this bill are $5,828,074.65, and the duties remitted by the prohibitory features of the bill are $600,020, making in all a tariff reduction (instead of the bill we sent to the Senate), a proposed reduction of $23,593,195. And adding to that, Mr. Speaker, the free alcohol in the arts, the whole bill—that is if no more alcohol is used in the arts than is used at present—the whole relief afforded by the Senate bill in round numbers will not exceed $30,000,000, while in their report they themselves admit that the people are entitled to relief of from sixty-five to seventy-five millions of dollars. Instead of this they give but $30,000,000.

Mr. FARQUHAR. They make it the amount of the surplus.

Mr. McMILLIN. No, it is not. It disposes of the accumulations, but what becomes of the vast sum in the Treasury that ought to be gotten out, and the accumulations?

Mr. PETERS. Why, pay that out on the public debt.

Mr. McMILLIN. I admit that the only remedy, if the accumulation now in the Treasury is used in the demands of the Government and the increase hereafter, is in the payment of the public debt. But, Mr. Speaker, the people have a right while they are paying their honest debts to be exempt from additional payment of $29,000,000 for every $100,000,000 that is paid.

Mr. PETERS. But we have the 4½ per cent. bonds falling due in 1891, and they are only one-eighth.

Mr. FARQUHAR. And I hope the gentleman from Tennessee will not take away from the Secretary of the Treasury the credit for the saving he has made in bond purchases.

Mr. McMILLIN. But the people ought not to be required to pay $29,000,000 more as bonus on each $100,000,000 bonds paid for.

Mr. FARQUHAR. It is only a question whether you will continue the interest to coming generations or whether you will pay it off now when you have the money. Every business man who conducts his business properly will take up his notes and pay them off whenever he has the means in hand to do so.

Mr. McMILLIN. But the people ought not to be taxed at this high rate for the privilege of paying their debts. The remedy I was going to suggest is to stop the tax, and upon that question we join issue with gentlemen on the other side.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I hope the gentleman will not take issue with the Secretary of the Treasury in paying off the bonds.

Mr. McMILLIN. I hope the gentleman will permit me to proceed in my own way.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Certainly.

Mr. McMILLIN. The gentleman will have his own time.

I have stated that there was no remedy left to the Secretary of the Treasury with the present taxation system taking more money from the pockets of the people than ought to be required for the purposes of the Government; but I have also said that the real remedy ought to be applied here by a reduction of taxation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives proposed to give to the workingmen of this country $6,000,000 of tin-plates free. It does not interfere with any industry in the country; it does not throw any laborer here out of employment. But the Senate say, "Oh, no; the tin-plates shall be taxed." By an artful change they are put into another schedule where, while they do not pretend to increase the duty, they do very largely increase it. Again, we said to the people by the House bill that they should have free lumber. The Senate say no, that the lumber manufacturers shall continue to derive their thirty millions from increase of cost while the Treasury gets but one million. And so I might go on through all of these schedules and show that the masses of the people get no benefit while the same remarkable state of affairs exists in the bill.

I will simply cite one illustration. Take the change in the tobacco schedule, or the proposition for a change there. Under the provisions of this bill reported by the Senate there is an increase of the tax on cigars worth $10 a thousand of $12.50, while on finer cigars, smoked by wealthy people, worth $250 a thousand, there is a decrease of the tax of $47.50. Then you take the ordinary table-ware. Take a poor article of knives worth 50 cents a dozen. The tax is increased from the present rate, 35 per cent., up to 70. Take knives worth $5 a dozen and the rate of duty is less, while on a knife worth $20 a dozen there is a still less reduction of duty; and when you come to the fine pearl-handle knives worth $40 a dozen, the duty remains as it is to-day.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Now will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. McMILLIN. If the gentleman will pardon me, I can not yield. I might go on through all of these schedules in the same way. The gentleman from New York will have his time to make such statement as he desires.

I have cited facts, Mr. Speaker, which show this remarkable state of things, that this bill increases the taxation upon articles of necessity rather than upon luxuries.

I call the attention of the House to the following detailed statement showing the increases made by the Senate over the existing law. Leaving out the sugar schedule, the increase on the others is unprecedented, considering the circumstances surrounding us demanding a reduction instead of an increase.

The main effort of the Senate seems to have been to raise the rates of duty instead of lowering them. When the average tariff rate in 1882 was only 42 per cent., a tariff commission was appointed composed of men favorable to a protective tariff—most of them selected because they were the representatives of some one of the protected industries.

That commission recommended a reduction of 20 per cent., and said that a reduction of 25 per cent. could be safely made; but now, when the average rate of duty is more than 47 per cent., the Senate proposes an increase on all the schedules except three. Leaving out the sugar schedules, the revenues would be vastly increased by the Senate bill.

The recommendation of President Arthur and Secretary Folger for a reduction of taxes has not been heeded; the recommendation of President Grant for free raw materials has been disregarded; the recommendation of the Tariff Commission for a reduction of 20 per cent. on existing rates, which amounted to over 42 per cent., has been wholly disregarded; the promises made by the Republican platform adopted at Chicago in 1884 have been thrown to the winds, and above all and beyond all, the just demands of the people for a reduction of the revenues of the Government and the interests of an economical administration have been disregarded. And we are told that instead of reducing taxes they will increase them. The Senate say that instead of simplifying and reducing them, they will complicate them; instead of giving the people relief from tariff taxation of about $50,000,000, confessed to be right, their whole tariff reductions, as I have said before, amount to only about $23,500,000, including the free-list.

They seem to have adopted the idea that the way to increase prosperity was to increase taxation. The people have waited long for relief; they can be no longer deluded; they no longer believe that $47 is paid to labor for every hundred dollars' worth of goods manufactured; nor will they agree to this increase of the tax on the necessaries of life, while no corresponding increase, and in many cases a reduction is made on luxuries. With the utmost confidence in the intelligence of the people to see the right, and their integrity to do it, we place our cause in their hands, and are willing to abide the decision they may make. [Applause.]

Estimates of effect upon the annual customs revenues of Senate substitute for bill H. R. 9051.

[Prepared, by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, by the clerk.]

SENATE TARIFF BILL.

To the Committee:

Your direction to examine the tariff rates of the substitute for House bill 9051, reported by the Committee on Finance to the Senate, has been complied with so far and with as much exactness as the limited time, numerous interruptions, new and involved classifications, and insufficient information would permit. It is believed the estimate is far too liberal in the computation of reductions, and that if an occasional reduction has been estimated at less than the facts justify, or an increase reckoned as yielding more revenue by the changed rate than further inquiry would have done, that ten may be found which err in the other direction, and that a strict investigation with the command of fuller data would demonstrate that the actual reductions effected by the proposed amendments to our present tariff legislation would not reach $15,000,000 on the dutiable-list.

Out of fourteen schedules under which all dutiable articles are arranged, eleven have rates increased, and of the other three, one, namely, earthenware and glassware, has been already explained to have been left practically with the same rates as under the present law, the reductions having been considered to be offset by the re-enactment of the dutiable-package clause, and by many it is claimed the package clause will increase rates in this schedule 10 per cent. while the reductions are but 5, which would in effect be an increase of 5 per cent. in this schedule. Without a more certain basis for calculation it was considered best to estimate the reduction as shown on the face of fixed rates, and it is so done in the tables. (See Tariff Commission Report, page 13, where it is claimed that a rate of 40 per cent. on these goods, with a duty on the packages, etc., is equal to a rate of 50 per cent. without such dutiable charges.)

In one other schedule, chemicals, a slight reduction is shown of $80,000, and even this would be lessened if various increased rates in paints and some other items could be calculated with any certainty.

The last schedule, and the only one of the fourteen which, taken as a whole,

shows any material reduction, is E, sugar, on which $28,000,000 are reduced, the raw sugars being reduced one-half and the refined sugars not quite so much.

In further explanation it may be said that the accompanying tables were taken from the schedule published by the Finance Committee, except that on wool, as explained elsewhere; and that their interpretations of rates and items imported under the various sections were, so far as possible, followed in this estimate. Where a striking difference was apparent, as in leaf-tobacco, now dutiable at 35 cents, which is shown by their schedule to be reduced to 20 cents, of course the true rate was used in the estimate. So far as possible articles and rates not affected were eliminated from the calculation.

SCHEDULE A.—*Chemicals.*

1. Acetic acid below 1.047 s. g. is reduced 25 per cent., while that above 1.047 is reduced 60 per cent., or to 4 cents per pound.

2. Boracic acid, pure, is left at the present rate, 59 per cent., while commercial boracic acid is raised to 100 per cent. ad valorem; and the importations of the commercial acid are ten times as much as the pure.

7. Perfumery is reduced from 63.25 per cent. to 38.25.

10, 11, 12. Ammonia is increased from 25 to 50 per cent. higher than in present law.

Roman and Portland cements are raised from 20 per cent. to 8 cents per cwt. The Wallkill Portland Cement Company, of New York, in a letter in 1884 and in 1888, said if the duty of 20 per cent. was retained and the package duty restored "it is probable that this industry will as rapidly increase here as in other countries."

This the House bill does.

The rate is not excessive on Portland cement, but putting the same specific rate on Roman cement worth only half as much (or less) than Portland makes the rate on Roman cement 50 per cent., nearly. It has sold in this country at 75 cents per barrel. Tax 32 cents by the substitute.

23. Oxide of cobalt for bleaching pottery is increased from 20 to 27 per cent. We import nearly three times as much as is manufactured here.

35. Glue is increased from 20 to 25 per cent.

33. Inks, writing, are changed from 30 per cent. to 40, 50, and 60 cents per gallon; decreasing rates on some inks and much increasing rates on cheaper kinds. Without data no difference is estimated in the tables.

45. Orange mineral is increased from 70 to 80 per cent.

59. Olive oil, increased from 25 to 38 per cent.

63-70. Paints, several new classes are named and rates changed from ad valorem to specific; some increased, but no data for calculation.

75. Plaster of Paris, increased from 20 to 21 per cent.

Castile soap also raised from 20 to 21 per cent.

98. Spirit varnishes are changed from $1.32 per gallon and 40 per cent. to $2 per proof gallon and 40 per cent. No data at hand from which to calculate the per cent. of increase which is evident.

SCHEDULE B.—*Earthenware and glassware.*

99. Brown earthenware is reduced from 25 per cent. to 20 per cent., a reduction reckoned at 20 per cent. in the Senate report on the House bill.

100. Chinaware, plain and decorated, and all other earthenware is reduced 8 to 9 per cent., counting the same way, while the re-enactment of the dutiable-package clause more than compensates for the reduction, but in the estimates no account is taken of the package clause and credit given for full amount of reduction claimed.

102. Encaustic tiles, now 35 per cent., are raised to 45 per cent., and all fire-brick or common brick, when glazed, also raised to 45 per cent.

107. Bottles, if holding less than 1 pint, are made dutiable at 1½ cents per pound, and none to pay less than 40 per cent.

112. Cylinder and crown glass, polished, 10 by 15, raised from 2½ to 4 cents per foot.

117. Beveled or ornamented glass, increased 10 per cent. in addition to rates fixed on plain, of the same kinds.

118. Plain flint or lime glassware, made 1 cent per pound whenever 1 cent per pound exceeds 40 per cent.; otherwise to pay 40 per cent. Taken together, there is an evident increase in duties to be received under this schedule; but not taking into account the package clause, and for lack of more certain data in other items, credit is given for the decrease as shown.

SCHEDULE C.—*Metals.*

134. Chains, less than ¾ inch in diameter, as trace-chains, etc., are raised from 44.37 per cent. to 53.57 per cent.

137. Cotton-ties and hoops for baling, .2 cent more than the hoop-iron from which it is made (1.1 cents), increasing the revenue over $240,000 and raising the duty from 35 per cent. to 108 per cent.

144. Sheets of iron or steel thinner than No. 9 and taggers iron are raised from 30 per cent. to above 60 per cent., more than doubling the duty, the increase following the thin sheets through the various processes of pickling, cold-rolling, etc.

146. Cold-rolled steel sheets, thinner than No. 29 wire-gauge, are increased from 41.60 per cent. to 75 per cent. ad valorem, and taggers iron, pickled, etc., from 39.18 per cent. to 61.11 per cent.

150. Fence wire rods of steel now paying 45 per cent. duty, smaller than No. 5, are raised to .6 cent per pound or 54 per cent. if No. 6, and 1¼ cents if smaller than No. 6.

151. Iron and steel wire, worth over 10 cents per pound, are raised to 45 per cent. They now bear specific rates, but the rate proposed is ad valorem and higher in all cases.

153. Steel ingots, cogged ingots, blooms, slabs, die blocks or blanks, billets, now 45 per cent., are made five-tenths of a cent per pound when valued at 1 cent or less, an increase from 45 to 60 and 80 per cent., according to the value of the various descriptions. When the value reaches 4 to 7 cents the rate is left at 2 cents, above 30 per cent. on importations of 1887, but above 13 cents in value the rate is changed again to ad valorem, and made 45 per cent., more than doubling the present rate of 3½ cents per pound.

159. Circular-saw plates are increased from 37.32 per cent. to 45 per cent. (from 4 to 7 cents in value), though circular saws are left with only 30 per cent. duty.

163. Bronze powder, now 15 per cent., is made 15 cents per pound, equivalent to about 30 per cent. ad valor m. (See Appendix, House bill 9702, first session Forty-ninth Congress.)

172. Table knives, now 35 per cent. duty, are made 20 cents per dozen, when valued at $1 or less; valued at $1 to $3, to pay 50 cents per dozen; and valued at $3 to $8, to pay $1 per dozen; and valued over $8 per dozen, to pay $2 per dozen, and in addition 30 per cent. on all. It is impossible to accurately calculate the effect of this new classification, but it will be seen that knives worth 50 cents per dozen will under this provision pay 70 per cent.; those worth $1.50 per dozen will pay 63 per cent.; worth $5 per dozen, pay 50 per cent.; worth $20 per dozen, pay 40 per cent.; and after $40 per dozen value is reached the rate is less than at present. On the cheapest cutlery imported the rate will be far beyond 100 per cent.; the effect has been estimated at an increase of one-half or 52 per cent.

173. Penknives and pocket-knives, rate changed from 50 per cent. to 50 cents per dozen blades and 25 per cent., which leaves the rate unchanged when the import value is $8 per dozen on four-blade knives, but increased on lower grades. A boy's 10-cent knife of two blades would have the duty quadrupled; a cheap three-bladed knife would be raised 200 per cent., and the average knife in common use be much increased. It is estimated the duties on average imports are increased by this provision to 65 per cent., instead of 50 per cent.

181. Double-barreled breech-loading shotguns, rate changed from 35 per cent. to $10 each and 25 per cent. A $10 gun would thus pay 125 per cent. instead of $3.50, as now, while a $300 gun would pay $85 instead of $105 duty, as under present law. If average importations be valued at a little over $35 each, the increase in duties would be one-half, and on this basis the estimate is made.

191. Small screws, one-half inch and less, are increased from 44.59 per cent. to over 52 per cent.

194. Type metal changed from 20 per cent. ad valorem to 1½ cents per pound. In Senate majority report is a statement which would indicate an increase to more than 50 per cent. ad valorem. The estimate is based on the strength of statement in report, at 50 per cent. duty, an increase of 150 per cent., as calculations were made in same document on reductions in House bill.

SCHEDULE D.—*Wood and wooden ware.*

213. Manufactures of wood not especially enumerated. The principal increase in this is rattans, now paying 10 per cent., are raised to 35 per cent.

215. Sawed boards, of mahogany, rosewood, etc., made 15 per cent., and

216. Veneering and briar-root or briar-wood made 20 per cent.

SCHEDULE E.—*Sugar.*

217. Sugar below No. 16, Dutch standard, is reduced in rates one-half; and molasses below No. 56° polariscopic test is made free, which practically places all molasses on the free-list, and sugar drainings and sweepings, now 20 per cent. ad valorem, are made to bear the same rate as sugar or molasses, according to relative test. By reduction by adulteration these, too, may be included in free molasses.

All sugars above No. 16, Dutch standard, are reduced less than one-half, leaving the margin on refined sugars above raw sugars higher than at present. For instance, the rates on sugar of 90° below 13 Dutch standard and that on sugar above No. 20 are within a fraction of 84 per cent., while under the substitute the 90° sugar will be reduced to 42 per cent. and that above No. 20 to 47 per cent.

SCHEDULE F.—*Tobacco.*

226. Cigars, cheroots, etc. Rate changed from $2.50 per pound and 25 per cent. to $3.50 per pound; a reduction of $273,097 on importations of 1887. By this change cigars worth $10 per thousand, which now pay $2.50 per pound, or an average of $37.50 and 25 per cent., equal $40, would pay $3.50 per pound, or an average of $52.50 per thousand—an increase of $12.50 per thousand; while cigars costing $250 per thousand, which now pay $100 duty per thousand, would pay $52.50 per thousand under the substitute, the same as the cheap cigar—a reduction of $47.50 per thousand.

227. Leaf-tobacco, for wrappers, made 75 cents per pound, now pay 35 cents per pound, if less than 85 per cent. run one hundred leaves to the pound (Sumatra leaf). Under the substitute any leaf fit for wrappers condemns the whole package or bulk to 75 cents rate.

In 1885, 15,238,637.81 pounds of leaf-tobacco were imported, paying $5,333,523.25 duty. There are no returns to indicate the proportion of wrappers imported, but Mr. Hammerstein, editor of the United States Tobacco Journal, told the Committee on Ways and Means, in March, 1886, that 10,000 bales out of 50,000 bales of the Havana tobacco imported in 1855 were wrappers, or about 2,000,000 pounds Havana, and the same authority gave over 4,000,000 pounds importations of Sumatra wrappers. This would be a total of over 6,000,000 pounds wrappers out of a total of 11,000,000 pounds leaf imported in 1885.

With the same proportion 8,000,000 out of the 15,000,000 pounds of leaf in 1887, at 35 cents, would pay 75 cents, or a duty of $6,000,000, while the rest of the 15,000,000 pounds would be reduced to 20 cents, yielding a revenue of $1,447,000, a total of $7,447,000, or an increase of over $2,000,000 on leaf alone; and this would be much increased by the provision which makes any package or bulk subject to 75 cents duty if it contains any wrapper leaf.

SCHEDULE G.—*Provisions.*

232. Horses are made dutiable at $20 per head, cattle at $5 per head, and sheep and hogs at 50 cents per head.

Animals for breeding purposes have been free since 1816 through all tariffs, even including the war period. This provision would lay duties to the amount of nearly $400,000 on importations in 1887 of free breeding animals.

254. Extract of meat, now 20 per cent., is made dutiable at 35 cents per pound if solid, and 15 cents per pound if fluid, and the tin can made also dutiable at 15 cents per pound.

255. Grapes, from 20 per cent. to 1 cent per pound, or about 25 per cent., as estimated in Appendix to House Bill 9072, introduced by Mr. RANDALL, first session, Forty-ninth Congress.

260. Ginger and citron preserved, raised from 35 per cent. to 4 cents per pound. In Secretary Manning's Report on Revision of the Tariff, page 217, James A. Hays & Co., of Boston, say 2 to 3 cents is better than 35 per cent., and 4 cents is estimated in the table at 45 per cent.

273. Hops are increased from 42 per cent. to 53 per cent.

276. Macaroni and vermicelli, made free in 1883, are again placed on the dutiable-list at 2 cents per pound, or 35.40 per cent.

SCHEDULE H.—*Wines, liquors, etc.*

302. Still wines, etc., in casks are raised from 50 cents to 60 cents per gallon, or from 71 to 85 per cent. Champagnes which pay 51 to 54 per cent. are not increased. Still wines in bottles are in effect increased by making bottles and jugs dutiable at 3 cents each, an increase of over $90,000 on importations of 1887.

303. Compounds containing 50 per cent anhydrous alcohol, rate changed from $1 to $2 per proof gallon, as suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury.

311. Cherry juice or prune juice is increased from 20 per cent. to 55.97, if not over 24 per cent. alcohol; above that made $2 per proof gallon.

312. Lemonade and soda water increased from 20 per cent. to 25 cents per dozen, an increase of over 87½ per cent., as reductions are figured on House bill in Senate report.

The total increase of duties effected by the changes in this schedule on wines, bottles, alcoholic compounds, cherry juice, lemonade, soda water, etc., will, as nearly as may be estimated from data at hand, aggregate $466,723.19.

SCHEDULE I.—*Cotton manufactures.*

313. Cotton yarns worth from 25 to 60 cents per pound are increased 3 cents per pound, raising the rates to slightly over 50 per cent. in each class.

315. Cotton cloths are classified into five instead of three divisions, as in the present law—not exceeding 50 threads to the square inch, from 50 to 100 threads, 100 to 150 threads, 150 to 200, and above 200. Without returns as to nature of average imports, it is impossible to make anything like accurate calculations. In the table of estimates it is assumed that one-half the importations of each class divided will be entered in the new class.

321. Stockings, hose, half-hose, etc., fashioned by machinery, are changed from 40 per cent. to a compound rate of 60 cents per dozen pairs and 20 per cent., a reduction on the finer grades and an increase on the cheaper. It is believed it will increase the revenues, but to what extent it is impossible to calculate, and no increase is estimated in the tables.

322. Ready-made clothing is increased from 35 to 40 per cent.

323. Hamburg edgings and Egyptian and oriental laces are changed from 40 per cent. to 45 cents per pound and 15 per cent. ad valorem in a provision recommended by Secretary Fairchild to the Committee of Ways and Means in 1886, and estimated by him at prices of that date to be approximately the same rate as under the present law. The other section, covering other laces, lace window-curtains, etc., recommended by him at the same time, is omitted in the Senate bill, by which it would seem these articles are intended to be provided for in the basket clause at 35 per cent., instead of 40 per cent. as under the present law.

SCHEDULE J.—*Hemp and flax.*

333. Flax yarns, hemp yarns, and jute yarns, brown and bleached linens, grass cloth, sheetings, and all manufactures of flax, etc., are raised from 35 to 40 per cent., sail duck from 30 to 40, and seines and gilling twine from 25 to 40 per cent.

336. Linen, laces, embroideries, etc., are increased from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent.

337. Collars and cuffs for men's wear, if cotton, are raised from 35 per cent. to 15 cents per dozen pieces and 35 per cent.; if in whole or part of linen, 30 cents per dozen pieces and 35 per cent.

340. Oil-cloths for floors, now 40 per cent., are made dutiable at a compound rate not much higher as applied to the importations of 1887.

SCHEDULE K.—*Wool and woolen goods.*

The changes in classification and the aggregation of items bearing similar rates in the Senate schedule made it so difficult to compare rates that for the only time in the tables of estimates their arrangement is departed from and one exhibiting details of items substituted.

The names of articles are taken from the home-consumption statement and rates proposed by the substitute are added, so that the descriptions are those of the present law and the schedule numbers not consecutive, but the items affected are all included.

346. Clothing and combing wools are made 11 cents if in the grease, 22 cents if washed, and 33 cents if scoured, without distinction as to value.

348. Carpet wools, valued over 12 cents, are raised to 6 cents, making a total increase in raw wools of more than a half million of dollars with reckoning.

350. Top waste, garnetted waste, etc., made dutiable at 30 cents per pound, the present rate on most of the classifications.

352. Noils to pay duty as washed wool of the same grade, under ruling of the Secretary of February 25, 1887. They now pay duty as washed or scoured, according to condition.

354. Woolen cloths.—A new subdivision reducing the dutiable-value line to 40 cents per pound, at present rates, but raising those from 40 to 60 cents per pound in value to 35 cents per pound and 40 per cent.; that is, if valued at 42 cents per pound to pay 123 per cent. duty.

Valued over 60 cents per pound, to pay 40 cents per pound and 40 per cent., thus raising the average importations of all woolen cloths imported in 1887 of the class below 80 cents in value to 102 per cent. duty; total increase on woolen cloths, $476,000.

Shawls raised, the cheapest grade to over 100 per cent., and duties on all shawls increased nearly $50,000.

Woolen manufactures, the cheaper grades over 100 per cent. by the proposed rate, and nearly $60,000 increased duties.

355. Flannels increased over $30,000.

Blankets and hats changed in classification and rate; a blanket worth 65 cents per pound would under the proposed rate pay 100 per cent. duty.

358. Knit goods are classified with ready-made clothing at 40 cents per pound and 45 per cent., and the cheaper grade, which now pays 10 cents per pound and 35 per cent., is thus raised to 258 per cent., an increase of 193 per cent., as reductions of the House bill are counted in the Senate report. On this item of knit goods the increase in duties is $180,000. Balmorals are classed in the same way, and the rate on the cheaper grade raised to 154 per cent.

355. Yarns are not mentioned by name, and would seem, therefore, to fall in the basket clause; but in the Senate schedule they are classed as not changed, save in the higher grades; but even with this construction adopted, in the estimates over a quarter million increase is realized and the rate on yarns, between 60 and 80 cents per pound, raised to above 98 per cent.

354. Worsted goods are increased to 180 per cent. on the cheapest grade to 76 on the better, and the duties to be realized from the proposed rate over $1,000,000 above the present law.

356. Dress goods, etc., are increased in rate to yield over $700,000 above present duties, if composed partly of wool or worsted; and

357. Dress goods wholly of wool, etc., increased in rate to over 90 per cent. on the cheaper goods, and yield, by proposed rate on importations of 1887, $750,000 more than the present law.

358. Clothing, ready made, is increased in rate; as also

359. Cloaks, dolmans, etc., the latter to 45 cents per pound and 45 per cent., effecting an increase of over $100,000. The total increase upon the manufactures of wool alone aggregate nearly $4,000,000. The importations of manufactured woolen goods in 1887 has been repeatedly estimated at considerably less than one-third the consumption. If the theory that the domestic price is raised by the duty on all articles on which we depend for any considerable portion of our supply from abroad, then the augmentation of price of woolen goods effected by the proposed rates would aggregate $12,000,000, or about 20 cents per capita, or $1 to the head of each family of five persons.

SCHEDULE L.—*Silk and silk goods.*

The changes in the silk schedule involve a revolution in the system of classification and imposition of duty, and embodies in the main a schedule submitted by the then acting and present Secretary of the Treasury June 14, 1886, to Hon. William R. Morrison, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. This, the Secretary announced, was the result of a series of conferences at the Department with representative manufacturers, a committee of the Silk Association of America, and of the Dry Goods Importers' Association.

He further suggests:

"These rival interests were unable to agree as to rates or the basis of their adjustment."

These schedules were submitted to the appraisers of the leading ports, and on their views the Secretary further says:

"From their replies * * * it will be seen that these officers found objections more or less serious to each of the schedules submitted."

And commenting on the disagreement the Secretary said:

"I confess to much disappointment at the failure of the efforts thus made by the Department to secure the co-operation of the business interests most directly concerned in formulating a satisfactory measure for the imposition of specific duties on silk."

At the prices of silks at that date the rates were estimated to equal 40 to 50 per cent. As silks fall in price the rate would correspondingly increase. Schedule No. 376 is new and 377 also, the latter an increase to 60 per cent., including wearing apparel, etc., and taking the Senate schedule would increase the duties $461,793.34 on this item alone.

Books, papers, etc.

379. Blank-books and drawings are raised from 20 to 25 per cent. Books exclusively in any foreign language but English put upon the free-list will effect a decrease of revenue, and a definition of limitation on what shall constitute periodicals—already free—will have a tendency towards an increase.

380. Envelopes, now 25 per cent., are made 25 cents per 1,000—a reduction on the finest grades so low as to be nearly equivalent to placing on the free-list, but not on the cheapest grades. An average reduction is evident, and yet no data from which to determine how much, so it was left unchanged in the table, being so many times covered by the increase in

382. Surface-coated papers and lithographs and photographic papers from 15 and 25 per cent. to 35 per cent., for which evident increase no estimate is made, except as contained in manufactures of paper, which are only counted at 25 per cent.

It is believed that the increase will aggregate $75,000 upon this schedule at rates as fixed.

SCHEDULE N.—*Sundries.*

389. Brooms are increased from 25 to 30 per cent.

398. Ostrich feathers, and other feathers, birds, etc., reduced from 50 to 40 per cent.

399. Fire-crackers changed from 100 per cent. ad valorem to 8 cents per pound, about the same rate.

412. Calf-skins, tanned, and all other not enumerated are increased in rate, and

417. Leather manufactures increased from 30 to 35 per cent.

418. Shell manufactures increased from 25 to 40 per cent.

422. Matches changed from 25 per cent. to 10 cents per gross or 1 cent per thousand, but no data as to import prices from which to calculate effect of new rate.

429. Pipes, bowls, and cigar-holders have added 72 cents per gross to present rates, but no number of these articles imported returned from which to calculate increase.

432. Buttons, except silk, have added 2 cents per line per gross to present rates.

435. Freestone, granite, etc., rough, from $1 per ton to 14 cents per cubic foot; and

436. Dressed stone from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent.

FREE-LIST.

The principal items added to the free-list by the substitute are—

630. Molasses testing not above 56 degrees, yielding in 1887, $1,496,690. Sugar drainage and sweepings made dutiable as sugar or molasses, according to test, may in part, if not all, come in free under this provision.

487. Braids, laces, etc., for hats, bonnets, etc., paying, in 1887, $822,704 duties, are also made free.

678. Opium, crude, yielding a revenue of $468,153 is made free and opium prepared for smoking is prohibited, still further reducing the revenue by $600,000, as measured by the importations of 1887.

550 to 556. Jute, manila, and other fibers, and floor matting made free, decrease the revenues about $2,000,000.

544. Ostrich and other feathers paying $311,000 are made free.

510. Coal-slack or culm is placed on the free-list. Some controversy seems to have risen as to whether this would make all coal free, but in the copy furnished this committee, only culm or slack could be construed to be made free, and only $10,000 is estimated as the reduction effected by this section, and even this would be undisturbed if, as is announced, it is the purpose to restore all coal to the dutiable list.

Recapitulation.

Schedules.	Importations in 1887 of articles affected by the Senate substitute.		Estimated duties under the Senate substitute.	Average ad valorem rate.	
	Values.	Duties.		Present rate.	Substitute rate.
A.—Chemicals	$5,041,574.58	$1,489,211.31	$1,409,982.01	29.53	27.96
B.—Earthen and glass ware	6,322,113.81	3,516,159.62	3,282,446.50	55.61	51.92
C.—Metals	17,660,960.51	8,115,310.97	9,743,397.65	45.89	55.17
D.—Woodenware	1,060,542.32	302,226.39	371,179.31	28.49	35.00
E.—Sugar	68,940,157.07	56,527,124.54	28,284,208.17	81.99	41.02
F.—Tobacco	10,955,123.03	9,127,758.26	11,507,718.23	83.31	105.04
G.—Provisions	24,315,089.97	6,192,126.83	6,831,393.95	25.46	28.09
H.—Liquors	2,549,662.24	1,929,508.77	2,396,231.96	75.66	93.98
I.—Cotton	24,726,037.70	10,152,993.44	10,356,856.42	41.06	41.89
J.—Hemp, flax, and jute	17,301,413.04	5,858,031.30	6,785,723.10	33.85	39.22
K.—Wool and woolens	46,212,247.11	29,938,893.68	34,322,845.84	63.48	74.27
L.—Silk goods and silk	31,264,276.48	15,540,300.70	16,002,094.04	49.73	51.18
M.—Books, papers, etc	3,572,436.31	818,583.21	893,109.08	22.91	25.00
N.—Sundries	10,568,347.25	2,948,510.12	3,104,501.84	27.89	29.37
Grand total	270,489,951.42	152,456,739.14 135,291,638.10	135,291,638.10	56.36	50.02
Duties remitted by reductions		17,165,101.04			
Duties remitted by free-list		5,828,074.65			
Duties remitted by prohibition (opium)		600,020.00			
Total duties remitted		23,593,195.69			

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE A.—*Chemicals, drugs, etc.*										
Acetic acid	1	2 cts. per lb	17.73	1½ cts. per lb	13.30	.113	lbs. 842	$95.00	$16.84	$12.63
Acetic acid, exceeding 1.04		10 cts. per lb	88.46	4 cts. per lb	35.40	.113	lbs. 18,302	2,069.00	1,830.20	732.08
Boracic acid, commercial	2	4 cts. per lb	72.42	5 cts. per lb	94.34	.053	lbs. 376,184	19,885.00	15,334.74	18,809.20
Boracic acid, pure		5 cts. per lb								
Chromic acid	3	15 per ct. ad val	15.00	10 cts. per lb				5,571.00	835.65	835.65
Tannic acid	5	$1 per lb	196.97	25 cts. per lb	49.21	.508	lbs. 390	198.00	390.00	49.50
Alcoholic perfumery	7	$2 p. gal., and 50 p. c.	63.25	$2 p. gal. and 25 p. c.	38.25	15.091	gal. 15,670.94	236,487.60	149,585.68	90,463.78
Alcoholic compounds										
Alizarine assistant	8	N. e.; 25 p. c. ad val		3 cts. per lb	22.50					
Ammonia, carbonate	10	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	1¼ cts. per lb	26.51	.066	lbs. 980,208	64,832.00	12,966.40	17,153.64
Ammonia, muriate	11	10 per ct. ad val	10.00	¾ ct. per lb	15.00	.050	lbs. 2,196,483	110,531.00	11,053.10	16,473.62
Ammonia, sulphate	12	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	½ ct. per lb	25.00	.020	lbs. 852,129	17,275.00	3,455.00	4,260.64
Blue vitriol, or sulphate of copper	15	3 cts. per lb	77.11	2 cts. per lb	51.28	.039	lbs. 462.50	18.00	13.88	9.25
Camphor, refined	18	5 cts. per lb	34.11	4 cts. per lb	27.39	.146	lbs. 307	45.00	15.35	12.28
Roman and Portland cement	19	20 p. ct. ad val		8 cts. per 100 lbs	31.09	1.030	bbls. 1,070,400	1,101,994.41	220,398.88	342,528.00
Roman and Portland cement, in bulk			20.00	7 cts. per 100 lbs						
All other cement			20.00	20 p. ct. ad val				538.00	107.60	107.60
Chalk, prepared, precipitated, French, or red	20		20.00	1 ct. per lb				15,038.00	31,007.60	31,007.60
All other chalk preparations				20 p. ct. ad val						
Chloroform	22	50 cts. per lb	41.67	30 cts. per lb	25.00	1.200	lbs. 5	6.00	2.50	1.50
Cobalt, oxide	23	20 p. ct. ad val	20.00	40 cts per lb	27.29	1.466	lbs. 28,681	42,034.00	8,406.80	11,472.40
Collodion and all compounds of pyroxyline	24	50 cts. per lb	5.17	30 cts. per lb	3.10	9.667	lbs. 6	58.00	3.00	1.80
Collodion, rolled or in sheets, not made up		60 cts. per lb	11.43	40 cts. per lb	7.62	5.250	lbs. 20	105.00	12.00	8.00
Collodion, in finished or partly finished articles		60 cts. per lb. and 25 p. ct. ad val.	31.54	40 cts. per lb. and 25 per ct.	29.35	9.178	lbs. 120,937	1,110.00	350.06	325.87
Ether, sulphuric	31	50 cts. per lb	48.00	30 cts. per lb	29.76	1.008	lbs. 124	25.00	60.00	37.20
Ether, spirits of nitrous		30 cts. per lb								
Fruit, ethers	32	$2.50 per lb	229.40	$1.25 per lb		1.090	lbs. 334	364.00	835.00	417.50
Oil, cognac		$4 per oz	533.33			.750	lbs. 16	12.00	64.00	20.00
Ethers, not enumerated	33	$1 per lb	61.62	75 cts. per lb	46.21	1.623	lbs. 541	878.00	541.00	405.75
Extract, logwood, etc	34	10 per ct. ad val	12.55	1 ct. per lb	17.86	.056	lbs. 8,824,041	328,761.00	41,248.60	58,240.41
Extract, sumac		20 per ct. ad val								
Gelatine, glue, etc., not above 7 cts.	35	Gelatine, 30 per ct.	30.00	1½ cts. per lb				219,357.95	65,807.39	54,839.25
Gelatine, glue, etc., above 7 cents		Glue, 20 per ct	20.00			.095	lbs. 5,038,609	479,756.00	95,951.20	119,939.00
Glycerine, unrefined of 1.75 specific gravity	36	2 cts. per lb	24.78	1 ct. per lb	12.39	.081	lbs. 10,245,356	816,745.00	204,907.12	102,453.56
Glycerine, refined		5 cts. per lb	47.18	4½ cts. per lb	42.45	.106	lbs. 1,786,748	189,339.00	89,337.40	80,403.66
Indigo, extracts or pastes of	37	10 per ct. ad val	10.00	¾ ct. per lb	10.56	.071	lbs. 1,528,632	109,131.00	10,913.10	11,465.12
Indigo carmined		10 per ct. ad val	10.00	10 cts per lb	8.83	1.132	lbs. 29,168	33,024.60	3,202.46	2,916.80
Ink, writing, in casks, bottles, or jugs of 1 pint or more				40 cts. per gal						
Writing-ink, in bottles or jugs of less than 1 pint	38	30 per ct. ad val	30.00	50 cts. per gal				103,658.81	31,097.64	31,097.64
Writing-ink, otherwise than in casks, etc				60 cts. per gal						
Iodine	40	40 cts. per lb		30 cts. per lb						
Iodoform	41	$2 per lb	57.32	$1.20 per lb	34.11	3.489	lbs. 140.71	491.00	281.42	168.85
Acetate of lead, white	42	6 cts. per lb	131.11	5½ cts. per lb	120.19	.046	lbs. 36,589	1,674.42	2,195.34	2,012.40
Acetate of lead, brown		4 cts. per lb		3½ cts. per lb			No imports reported.			
Orange mineral	45	3 cts. per lb	70.00	3½ cts. per lb	81.69	.043	lbs. 1,621,803	69,513.00	48,654.09	56,763.10
Licorice	48	7½ cts. per lb	56.18	5 cts. per lb	37.45	.134	lbs. 1,068,115	142,602.00	80,168.00	53,405.75
Carbonate of magnesia	49	5 cts. per lb	57.93	4 cts. per lb	46.34	.086	lbs. 77,072	6,652.00	3,853.60	3,082.88
Calcined magnesia	50	10 cts. per lb	40.36	8 cts. per lb	32.29	.248	lbs. 3,721	922.00	372.10	297.68
Morphia or morphine	52	$1 per oz	58.52	50 cts. per oz	29.26	1.709	oz. 14,311	24,456.00	14,311.00	7,155.50
Castor-oil	53	80 cts. per gal	194.77	50 cts. per gal	121.73	.411	gal. 1,507	619.00	1,205.60	753.50
Cod-liver oil	54	25 per ct. ad. val	25.00	15 cts. per gal	28.19	.522	gal. 130,295.85	69,326.00	17,331.50	19,544.38
Croton-oil	55	50 cts. per lb	62.50	30 cts. per lb	37.50	.800	lbs. 22.50	18.00	11.25	6.75
Cotton-seed oil	57	25 cts. per gal	62.50	10 cts. per gal	25.00	.400	gal. 15	6.00	3.75	1.50
Olive oil	59	25 per ct. ad val	25.00	35 cts. per gal	38.85	.901	gal. 181,618	163,648.10	40,912.03	63,566.30
Seal, whale, and other fish oil	60	25 per ct. ad val	25.70	8 cts. per gal	27.75	.288	gal. 57,281	16,513.10	4,128.28	4,582.48
Blues, such as Berlin, Prussian, and Chinese	63	20 per ct.; 25 per ct.	20.33	6 cts. per lb				69,152.90	14,059.28	14,059.28
Blanc-fixe, or satin-white, or artificial sulphate	64	25 per ct. ad val	25.00	¾ ct. per lb	33.22	.023	lbs. 71,808	1,621.00	405.25	538.56
Chrome yellow, green, and other colors in which lead or bichromate of potash or soda enters	66	25 per ct. ad val		4½ cts. per lb			Classified with "all other paints."			
Ocher, ochery earths; sienna, sienna earths; umber, umber earths; not specially enumerated when dry	67	½ ct. per lb	45.59	½ ct. per lb	23.09	.011	lbs. 7,891,321	86,543.00	39,456.66	19,978.30
Ultramarine	68	5 cts. per lb	51.76	4½ cts. per lb	46.58	.097	lbs. 647,382	62,535.00	32,369.10	29,132.19
Wash blue, containing ultramarine	69	20 per ct. ad val,		3 cts. per lb			New class			
Vermilion, red, or containing quicksilver	70	25 per ct. ad val	25.00	12 cts. per lb			New class	10,141.00	2,535.25	2,535.25
Plaster of paris, ground or calcined	75	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	$1.50 per ton	21.40	7.000	tons 4,814.23	33,736.50	6,747.30	7,221.13
Essences, ethers, extracts, mixtures, spirits, tinctures, and medicated wines of which alcohol is component part	80	50 cts. per lb	207.12	40 cts. per lb	165.70	.241	lbs. 36,626.75	8,812.00	18,313.38	14,650.70
Pills, powders, cordials, liniments, lozenges, troches, vinegars, etc., not specially enumerated	81	50 per ct. ad val	40.09	25 per ct. ad val	25.00			235,474.80	117,737.41	58,868.70
Santonine	84	$3 per lb	174.36	$1 per lb	58.12	1.721	lbs. 68	117.00	204.00	68.00
Castile soap	85	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	1½ cts. per lb	21.80	.057	lbs. 3,654,321	209,469.39	41,893.87	45,679.01
Sulphur, refined, in rolls	93	$10 per ton	35.06	$8 per ton	28.05	28.523	tons 83,545	2,383.00	835.40	668.36
Sulphur, sublimed, or flowers of		$20 per ton	55.82	$10 per ton	27.91	35.827	tons 278,563	9,980.00	5,571.26	2,785.63
Spirit varnishes, containing alcohol	98	$1.32 per gal. and 40 per ct.	95.50	$2 per gal. and 40 per ct.	117.31	2.387	gal. 2,595.90	6,196.00	5,905.00	5,905.00
Total chemicals								5,041,574.58	1,489,211.31	1,409,932.01

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE B.—*Earthenware and glassware.*										
Brown earthenware, etc.	99	25 per ct. ad val.	25.00	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00			$40,287.48	$10,071.87	$8,057.49
Stoneware above 10 gallons.										
China, etc., ornamented	100	60 per ct. ad val.	60.00	55 per ct. ad val.	55.00			3,608,464.53	2,165,078.67	1,984,655.49
China, etc., plain		55 per ct. ad val.	55.00	50 per ct. ad val.	50.00			955,837.55	525,710.65	477,918.77
All other earthenware	101	55 per ct. ad val.	55.00	50 per ct. ad val.	50.00			938,779.93	516,328.96	469,389.96
Tiles, roofing and paving	102	35 per ct. ad val.	35.00	45 per ct. ad val.	45.00			11,642.00	4,074.70	5,238.90
Tiles, encaustic*										
Fire-brick, plain	103	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00	$1.25 per ton				53,683.94	10,736.78	10,736.78
Fire-brick, ornamented		Not enumerated		45 per ct. ad val.	45.00		No data.			
Gas retorts	104	25 per ct. ad val.		$3 each			No data.			
Green and colored glass bottles†	107	1 ct. per lb.	56.54	1 ct. per lb.	56.54	.018	lbs. 14,305,372	253,025.00	143,053.72	143,053.72
Plain green bottle glass		1 ct. per lb.	28.33	1½ cts. per lb.	42.50	.035	lbs. 2,748	97.00	27.48	27.48
Green glass filler	108	30 per cent.	30.00	40 per cent.	40.00			421,753.98	126,526.16	168,701.59
Cylinder and crown polished, 10x15	112	2½ cts. per sq. ft.	7.28	4 cts. per sq. ft.	11.66	.343	ft. 7,714	2,648.00	192.87	308.56
Beveled or ornamented‡	117			New class.						
Plain flint or lime glassware	118	40 per ct. ad val.	40.00	1 cent per pound				35,894.40	14,357.76	14,357.76
Total earthenware and glassware								6,322,113.81	3,516,159.62	3,282,446.50
SCHEDULE C.—*Metals.*										
Bar-iron, flats, 1 inch wide, ⅜ inch thick	121	.8 of 1 ct. per lb.	58.34	.8 of 1 ct. per lb.	58.31	.014	lbs. 715,472	9,811.38	5,723.77	5,723.77
Round and square, ⅜ inch diameter		1 ct. per lb.	48.16	.9 of 1 ct. per lb.	43.34	.021	lbs. 21,839	453.49	218.39	196.56
Bar-iron, less than above		1.1 cts. per lb.	69.86	1 ct. per lb.	63.51	.016	lbs. 64,996	1,023.49	714.96	629.97
Bars, n. s. e., and round in coils, ⅛ inch	122	1.2 cts. per lb.	55.36	1.1 cts. per lb.	50.75	.022	lbs. 506,165	10,972.13	6,073.97	5,567.81
All other, and slabs, blooms or loops		35 per ct. ad val.	35.00	35 per ct. ad val.	35.00	.038	lbs. 808,312	30,948.00	10,621.80	10,621.80
Cast-iron pipe	123	1 ct. per lb.	28.88	.9 ct. per lb.	26.00	.035	lbs. 1,699	58.83	16.99	15.30
Cast-iron vessels	124	1½ cts. per lb.	30.78	1.2 cts. per lb.	30.00	.041	lbs. 693,322	28,154.82	8,666.62	8,319.86
Malleable castings	125	2 cts. per lb.	25.04	1⅞ cts. per lb.	22.00	.090	lbs. 53,770	4,294.40	1,075.40	940.96
Anchors, mill-cranks, etc.	127	2 cts. per lb.	68.26	1.8 cts. per lb.	64.28	.028	lbs. 115,808	3,393.00	2,316.16	2,084.54
Axles and parts	128	2½ cts. per lb.	62.29	2 cts. per lb.	50.00	.040	lbs. 789,224	31,671.75	19,730.61	15,784.48
Blacksmiths' hammers, etc.	129	2½ cts. per lb.	15.81	2½ cts. per lb.	14.24	.158	lbs. 9,176	1,450.70	229.41	206.46
Beams, girders, etc.	130	1¼ cts. per lb.	102.75	1.1 cts. per lb.	91.66	.012	lbs. 13,513,672	164,403.00	168,920.93	148,650.39
Boiler and other plate, iron or steel	131	1¼ cts. per lb.	31.01	1 ct. per lb.	25.00	.040	lbs. 38,502	1,552.00	481.28	616.03
				1.2 cts. per lb.						
				1.6 cts. per lb.						
				2 cts. per lb.						
				2.8 cts. per lb.						
				3½ cts. per lb.						
				45 per ct. ad val.						
Boiler tubes or flues	132	3 cts. per lb.	70.97	2½ cts. per lb.	59.52	.042	lbs. 1,675,057	70,051.00	49,712.25	41,876.42
Other tubes or pipes		2½ cts. per lb.	20.12		22.32	.112	lbs. 419,744	46,934.46	9,444.26	10,493.66
Bolts and hinges	133	2½ cts. per lb.	59.78	2½ cts. per lb.	53.57	.042	lbs. 108,776.25	4,548.83	2,719.44	2,447.40
Chains, not less than ⅜ inch	134	1¾ cts. per lb.	47.15	1.6 cts. per lb.	43.24	.037	lbs. 181,099	6,721.00	3,169.24	2,897.58
Chains, ⅜ to ⅛ inch		2 cts. per lb.	47.33	1.8 cts. per lb.	42.85	.042	lbs. 193,425	8,173.85	3,868.50	3,481.65
Chains less than ⅛ inch		2½ cts. per lb	44.37	3 cts. per lb.	53.57	.056	lbs. 1,243,202	70,043.06	31,080.07	37,296.06
Forgings of iron or steel	136	2½ cts. per lb.		2.3 cts. per lb						
Hoop, band, or scroll iron to 8 inch. wide, ⅛ inch to No. 10, 3 cents or less per lb	137	1 cent per lb.	39.00	1 cent per lb.	39.00	.026	lbs. 156	4.00	1.56	1.56
No. 10 to No. 20 wire gauge		1.2 cts. per lb.	47.21	1.1 cts. per lb.	44.00	.025	lbs. 1,337	34.00	16.05	14.70
Thinner than No. 20 wire gauge		1.4 cts. per lb.		1.3 cts. per lb.						
Hoops for baling, etc., (cotton-ties)‖		35 per cent	35.00	1.3 cts. per lb.	108.33	.012	lbs. 28,000,960	345,997.00	121,098.95	364,012.48
Cut nails and spikes	138	1¼ cts. per lb	43.07	1 cent per lb.	34.48	.029	lbs. 25,735	746.80	321.67	257.35
Wire nails, 2 inches, not less than No. 12	140	4 cts. per lb.		2 cts. per lb.						
1 to 2 inches long, No. 12 to No. 16 wire gauge		4 cts. per lb.		2½ cts. per lb.						
Shorter than 1 inch, under No. 16 wire gauge		4 cts. per lb.		4 cts. per lb						
Railway bars, steel, over 25 lbs	141	$17 per ton	84.33	.7 cent per lb.	77.77	20.160	tons 49,509.863	998,096.00	841,667.63	776,224.65
Railway bars, iron, over 25 lbs.		$15.68 per ton	93.00		93.00	16.855	tons 12.459	210.00	105.30	105.30
Tee rails, not over 25 lbs.		.9 cent per lb.	74.48		58.00	27.068	tons 69.75	1,888.00	1,406.16	1,093.68
Flat rails, punched		.8 cent per lb.	58.01		50.81	30.857	tons 4.375	135.00	78.40	68.60
Railway fish-plates	142	1½ cts. per lb.	92.75	1 cent per lb	76.15	.013	lbs. 20.330	274.00	254.13	203.30
Rivets of iron or steel	143	2½ cts. per lb.		2½ cents per lb.			(incl'd with No. 133)			
Sheets of iron or steel, 10 to 20 wire gauge	144	1.1 cts. per lb.	46.38	1.1 cent per lb.	46.38	.024	lbs. 1,228,251	29,130.00	13,510.76	13,510.76
Sheets, No. 20 to 25 wire gauge		1.2 cts. per lb.	36.40	1.2 cent per lb.	36.40	.033	lbs. 1,752,659	57,782.00	21,031.92	21,031.92
Sheets, No. 25 to 29 wire gauge		1.4 cts. per lb.	42.15	1.4 cent per lb.	42.15	.036	lbs. 1,035,062	36,834.00	15,525.95	15,525.95
Sheets thinner than No. 29 wire gauge		30 per ct. ad val.	30.00	1.5 cents per lb	68.18	.022	lbs. 53,590	1,165.50	349.65	803.83
Taggers iron			30.00		65.21	.023	lbs. 6,241,437	145,709.47	43,712.84	93,621.55
Sheets, iron or steel, corrugated	145	1.4 cts. per lb.	25.00	1.4 cts. per lb.	25.00	.056	lbs. 21,161	1,185.00	296.26	296.26
Sheet-iron or steel, pickled and cold rolled, 1½-inch to No. 20, wire gauge	146. [Provided, etc.]	1.35 cts. per lb.	36.58	1.35 cts. per lb.	36.58	.037	lbs. 1,490	55.00	20.12	20.12
Sheets, No. 25 to No. 29		1.75 cts. per lb.	78.55	1.75 cts. per lb.	78.55	.022	lbs. 5,550	213.00	167.31	167.31
Sheets, thinner than No. 29		30 p.ct. and ½ ct. p. lb	41.60	1.4 cts. p. lb. & ½ c.	75.00	.022	lbs. 6,074	131.00	54.49	109.22
Boiler and other plate, pickled, etc		1½ cts. p. lb. and ½ ct.	21.76	1½ cts. per lb.	18.11	.069	lbs. 62,038	4,276.00	930.57	775.47
Taggers iron, pickled and cold rolled		30 p.ct. and ½ ct. p. lb	39.18	1.4 cts. & ½ c. p. lb.	61.11	.027	lbs. 495,021	13,486.00	5,283.36	8,167.84
Spikes, nuts, washers, horseshoes	148	2 cts. per lb	48.54	1.8 cts. per lb,	43.90	.041	lbs. 2,245	92.50	44.90	40.41
Ingots or blanks for wheels	149	2 cts. per lb.	101.22	1¼ cts. per lb.	87.50	.020	lbs. 493,111	9,743.00	9,862.22	8,629.44
Steel—										
Fence-wire rods not smaller than No. 5‖	150	.6 ct. per lb	33.00	.6 ct. per lb.	33.00	.013	lbs. 334,698,837	4,223,611.50	1,717,480.90	2,008,193.62
All other of steel		45 per ct. ad val.	45.00		54.54					
		.6 ct. per lb		.6 ct. per lb.						

* Encaustic tiles 30 per cent. in H. R. 9051.
‡ 10 per cent. ad valorem additional by Senate substitute.
‖ Wire rods smaller than No. 6 classed as wire at 1¼ cts.
† There is no such division as pints in the law.
§ Cotton-ties covered by provision.

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE C.—*Metals*—continued.										
Iron or steel wire not smaller than No. 10		1¼ cts. per lb		1¼ cts. per lb		.081	lbs. 1,082,488.50	$88,302.00	$16,237.38	$13,531.10
Iron or steel wire, No. 10 to 16		2 cts. per lb		1⅝ cts. per lb		.079	lbs. 1,113,395	88,523.00	22,267.90	19,484.39
Iron or steel wire, No. 16 to 26		2½ cts. per lb		2¼ cts. per lb		.065	lbs. 79,555	5,198.00	1,988.89	1,789.98
Iron or steel wire cloths, and wire nettings, 5 to 10		3⅛ cts. per lb	12.96	3¼ cts. per lb		.270	lbs. 300	81.00	10.50	9.75
Iron or steel cloths and nettings, 10 to 16		4 cts. per lb	16.48	3¾ cts. per lb		.243	lbs. 2,301.50	558.75	92.06	86.30
Iron or steel cloths and nettings, 16 to 26		4½ cts. per lb	100.75	4½ cts. per lb		.045	lbs. 6,045	270.00	272.63	256.91
Iron or steel cloths and nettings, galvanized, 5 to 10		4 cts. per lb	20.00	3¾ cts. per lb		.200	lbs. 65	13.00	2.60	2.43
Iron or steel cloths and nettings, galvanized, 16 to 26		5 cts. per lb	114.21	4½ cts. per lb		.044	lbs. 20,650	904.00	1,032.50	929.25
Iron or steel wire, galvanized, 5 to 10		2 cts. per lb	66.67	1⅞ cts. per lb		.030	lbs. 100	3.00	2.00	1.75
Iron or steel wire, galvanized, 10 to 16		2½ cts. per lb	111.18	2¼ cts. per lb		.022	lbs. 55,145	1,249.00	1,378.63	1,240.76
Iron or steel wire, galvanized, above 26		3⅛ cts. per lb	89.94	3¼ cts. per lb		.039	lbs. 6,244	243.00	218.55	202.93
Wire rope and strand of iron, 10 to 16		3 cts. per lb	44.54	2¾ cts. per lb		.067	lbs. 18,545	1,244.00	556.35	509.98
Wire rope and strand of iron, 16 to 26		3⅛ cts. per lb	59.17	3¼ cts. per lb		.059	lbs. 92,529	5,473.00	3,238.52	3,017.19
Wire rope and strand of iron, galvanized, 10 to 16		3⅛ cts. per lb	55.13	3¼ cts. per lb		.063	lbs. 6,946	441.00	243.11	225.74
Wire rope and strand of iron, galvanized, 16 to 26	151	4 cts. per lb	62.38	3¾ cts. per lb		.064	lbs. 7,813	501.00	312.52	292.98
Wire rope and strand of iron, galvanized, above 26		4½ cts. per lb	38.24	4½ cts. per lb		.118	lbs. 1,470	173.00	66.15	62.47
Wire rope and strand of steel, 5 to 10		3½ cts. per lb	25.30	3½ cts. per lb		.133	lbs. 13,875	1,919.00	485.63	450.93
Wire rope and strand of steel, 10 to 16		4 cts. per lb	51.83	3¾ cts. per lb		.077	lbs. 293,400	22,642.00	11,736.00	11,002.50
Wire rope and strand of steel, 16 to 26		4½ cts. per lb	49.74	4½ cts. per lb		.090	lbs. 249,814	22,600.50	11,241.67	10,617.09
Wire rope and strand of steel, above 26		5 cts. per lb	30.78	4¾ cts. per lb		.162	lbs. 17,339	2,817.00	866.95	823.51
Wire rope and strand of steel, galvanized, 5 to 10		4 cts. per lb	59.03	3¾ cts. per lb		.068	lbs. 30,351	2,055.00	1,214.04	1,138.16
Wire rope and strand of steel, galvanized, 10 to 16		4½ cts. per lb	53.58	4½ cts. per lb		.084	lbs. 22,813	1,916.00	1,026.59	969.55
Wire rope and strand of steel, galvanized, 16 to 26		5 cts. per lb	40.12	4¾ cts. per lb		.125	lbs. 663	83.00	33.30	31.63
Iron or steel wire valued above 10 cts., 16 to 26		2½ cts. per lb	13.86	45 per cent. ad val.		.181	lbs. 761,596.25	137,408.00	19,039.90	61,833.60
Iron or steel wire valued above 10 cts., smaller, 26		3 cts. per lb	10.97	45 per cent. ad val.		.273	lbs. 426,248.60	116,578.00	12,787.46	52,460.10
Wire covered with cotton, etc., above 10 cts		6 cts. per lb	12.00	45 per cent. ad val.		.500	lbs. 4	2.00	.24	.90
Wire covered with cotton, etc., 16 to 26		6½ cts. per lb	11.86	45 per cent. ad val		.548	lbs. 467	256.00	30.37	115.20
Wire covered with cotton, etc., above 26		7 cts. per lb	22.17	45 per cent. ad val.		.316	lbs. 1,232	389.00	86.24	175.05
Wire, galvanized, 16 to 26, above 10 cts		3 cts. per lb	15.40	45 per cent. ad val.		.194	lbs. 139	27.00	4.17	12.15
Wire, galvanized, above 26		3½ cts. per lb	10.82	45 per cent. ad val.		.323	lbs. 22,915	7,413.00	802.04	3,335.85
Files, blanks, etc., of all kinds 9 in. to 14 in	152	$1.50 per doz	53.30	$1.30 per doz		2.814	doz. 2,096.25	5,899.30	3,144.38	2,725.12
Files above 14 inches in length		$2.50 per doz	63.29	$2 per doz		3.950	doz. 1,515.83	5,988.00	3,789.59	3,031.66
Ingots, blooms, slabs, billets, and in all forms not specially enumerated or provided for, 1 cent per pound or less		45 per cent. ad val	45.00	.5 ct. per lb	62.50	.008	lbs. 607,304,082	4,815,436.65	2,166,496.49	3,031,520.41
Above 1 ct., not above 1.4 cts		45 per cent. ad val.	45.00	.6 ct. per lb	44.73	.013	lbs. 34,633,095	447,882.00	215,046.90	213,798.57
Above 1.4 cts. and not above 1.8 cts.	153			.8 ct. per lb						
Above 1.8 cts. and not above 2.2 cts.				.9 ct. per lb						
Above 2.2 cts. and not above 3 cts.				1.2 cts. per lb						
Above 3 cts. and not above 4 cts				1.6 cts. per lb						
Above 4 cts. and not above 7 cts		2 cts. per lb	34.77	2 cts. per lb	35.08	.057	lbs. 1,722,350	99,062.00	34,447.00	34,447.00
Above 7 cts. and not above 10 cts.		2½ cts. per lb	30.07	2.8 cts. per lb	30.76	.091	lbs. 6,401,946	585,465.00	176,053.53	179,254.48
Above 10 cts. and not above 13 cts.		3½ cts. per lb	31.96	3½ cts. per lb						
Above 13 cts. per pound			19.58	45 per ct. ad val	45.00	.166	lbs. 687,430	114,053.00	22,341.49	51,323.85
Steel plates engraved, stereotyped p'a'es, etc	154	25 per cent. ad val	25.00	25 per cent. ad val	25.00			34,419.54	8,604.89	8,604.89
Cross-cut saws		8 cts. per lin. ft	12.80	6 cts. per lin. ft	9.64	.622	ft. 6,858	4,267.00	548.64	411.48
Mill pit and drag saws not over 9 inches wide	155	10 cts. per lin. ft	22.50	8 cts. per lin. ft	18.01	.444	ft. 9	4.00	.90	.72
Mill pit and drag saws over 9 inches wide		15 cts. per lin. ft		13 cts. per lin. ft						
Circular saws		30 per cent. ad val	30.00	30 per cent. ad val	30.00			356.00	106.80	106.80
All other saws		40 per cent. ad val	40.00	40 per cent. ad val	40.00			20,795.50	8,318.20	8,318.20
Bars of iron or steel, cold rolled, 4 cts. or less		45 per ct. + ¼ ct. lb	51.93	1.6 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	51.39	.036	lbs. 837,562	30,205.00	15,686.16	15,494.89
Valued at from 4 to 7 cts. per lb		2 cts. + ¼ ct. lb	44.10	2 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	44.10	.051	lbs. 149,581	7,632.00	3,365.58	3,365.58
Valued at from 7 to 10 cts. per lb		2½ cts. + ¼ cts lb	30.92	2.8 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	31.44	.097	lbs. 807,793	78,364.00	24,233.79	24,637.68
Valued at above 10 cts. per lb		3½ cts. + ¼ ct. lb	17.55	3½ cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct.	18.84	.199	lbs. 131,375.50	26,207.00	4,598.15	4,926.58
Strips of iron or steel, 4 cts. or less per lb., cold rolled		45 per ct. + ¼ ct. lb	52.63	1.6 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	56.06	.033	lbs. 1,666,868	54,597.00	28,735.83	30,727.05
Strips from 4 to 7 cts		2½ cts. lb. + ¼ ct. lb	31.71	2.8 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	32.10	.095	lbs. 518	49.00	15.54	15.79
Strips from 7 to 10 cts	159	3½ cts. lb. + ¼ ct. lb	12.43	3½ cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	13.29	.282	lbs. 2,425	683.00	84.88	90.93
Sheet-iron, cold rolled, No. 25 to 29, wire gauge		1.5 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct. lb	19.43	1.5 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	19.43	.090	lbs. 78	7.00	1.36	1.36
Sheet-steel, cold rolled, valued at 4 cts or less		45 per cent. + ¼ ct. lb	52.05	1.6 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	52.85	.035	lbs. 115,222	4,084.00	2,125.86	2,131.60
Sheet-steel, 4 to 7 cts		2 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct. lb	40.52	2 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	40.52	.056	lbs. 32,977	1,831.00	741.99	741.99
Sheet-stell, 7 to 10 cts		2½ cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct lb	31.87	2.8 cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	32.44	.094	lbs. 20,810	1,959.60	624.30	634.70
Sheet-steel, above 10 cts		3½ cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct. lb	10.17	3½ cts. p. lb. + ¼ ct	10.90	.344	lbs. 75,848	26,099.00	2,654.70	2,874.30
Circular saw plates, 7 to 10 cts		3¾ cts. per lb	37.32	4½ cts. per lb	45.00	.100	lbs. 617	62.00	23.14	27.76
Circular saw plates above 10 cts		4½ cts. per lb	33.72	4½ cts. per lb	35.71	.126	lbs. 508,882	64,135.00	21,627.53	22,899.69

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE C.—*Metals*—continued.										
Antimony as regulus or metal	160	10 per cent. ad val.	10.00	⅝ cent per lb.	11.90	.063	lbs. 3,085,497	$192,902.00	$19,290.20	$23,141.22
Bronze powder	163	15 per cent. ad val.	15.00	15 cts. per lb.	30.00			472,842.00	70,926.30	141,852.60
Copper in ore	166	2½ cents per lb.	49.63	1¼ cts. per lb.	25.00	.050	lbs. 4,149,412	209,005.00	103,735.32	51,867.66
Regulus of copper	167	3½ cents per lb.	70.57	1¾ cts. per lb.	35.00	.050	lbs. 29,094	1,443.00	1,018.30	509.15
Old copper, clippings, etc., and composition metal	168	3 cents per lb.	51.57 13.83	1½ cts. per lb.	30.17 8.06	.058 .217	lbs. 37,786 lbs. 977	2,198.00 212.00	1,133.58 29.31	660.25 17.09
Copper in plates, bar, or pigs	169	4 cents per lb.	41.50	2 cts. per lb.	20.75	.096	lbs. 415	40.00	16.60	8.30
Table knives, forks, steels, hunting knives, kitchen, butter, fruit, painters', artists', etc.	172	35 per cent. ad val.		20 c. p. doz. and 30 p. c. 50 c. p. doz. and 30 p. c. $1 p. doz. and 30 p. c. $2 p. doz. and 30 p. c.				454,984.30	159,244.51	238,866.76
Penknives and pocket knives	173	50 per cent. ad val.		50 cts. per doz. blades and 25 p. ct. ad val.				1,419,861.27	709,930.64	922,909.83
Gold-leaf	174	$1.50 per package of 500 leaves.	28.17	$2 per package of 500 leaves.	37.55	5.326	packs 1,099	5,853.00	1,648.50	2,198.00
Hollow-ware	175	3 cts. per lb.	47.36	2½ cts. per lb.	40.00	.063	lbs. 22,749.50	1,444.00	683.84	569.86
Lead ore and lead dross*	176	1½ cts. per lb.	59.27	1½ cts. per lb.	59.27	.025	lbs. 814,142	20,605.00	12,212.14	12,212.14
Lead in sheets, pipes, and shot	178	3 cts. per lb.	60.82	2½ cts. per lb.	51.02	.049	lbs. 19,260	950.00	577.80	481.50
Double-barreled sporting breech-loading shot guns	181	35 per ct. ad val.	35.00	$10 each and 25 per ct. ad val.				748,482.49	261,968.87	392,953.30
Nickel in ore	184	15 cts. per lb.		5 cts. per lb.						
Nickel in matte	185	15 cts. per lb.		10 cts. per lb. on the nickel.						
Nickel, nickel oxide or alloy	186	15 cts. per lb.	30.73	15 cts. per lb.	30.73	.483	lbs. 390,586	190,652.00	58,587.90	58,587.90
Quicksilver	190	10 per ct. ad val.	10.00	6 cts. per lb.	14.32	.419	lbs. 693,547	290,380.00	29,038.00	41,612.82
Screws, commonly called wood-screws, more than 2 inches in length	191	6 cts. per lb.	26.17	5 cts. per lb.	21.83	.229	lbs. 41	9.40	2.46	2.05
Screws, 1 to 2 inches		8 cts. per lb.	61.17	7 cts. per lb.	53.43	.131	lbs. 821.25	107.40	65.70	57.48
Screws, ¼ to 1 inch		10 cts. per lb.	54.05	10 cts. per lb.	54.05	.185	lbs. 11,744	2,173.00	1,174.40	1,174.40
Screws, ¼ inch or less		12 cts. per lb.	44.58	14 cts. per lb.	52.04	.269	lbs. 5,309.50	1,429.00	637.14	743.33
Cut tacks, brads, or sprigs, 16 oz. to M.	193	2½ cts. per M.		2½ cts. per M.						
Cut tacks, etc., over 16 oz. to M.		3 cts. per lb.	80.21	2½ cts. per lb.	74.32	.037	lbs. 129.50	4.85	3.89	3.56
Type metal	194	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00	1½ cts. per lb.				60,328.00	12,065.60	30,164.00
Zinc, in blocks or pigs	195	1½ cts per lb.	46.35	1½ cts. per lb.	54.69	.032	lbs. 7,432,490	240,535.00	111,487.37	130,068.57
Zinc, old and worn out	197	1½ cts per lb.	57.65	1½ cts. per lb.	48.07	.026	lbs. 416,499	10,837.00	6,247.52	5,206.23
Manufactures of metals†	198	45 per ct. ad val.		45 per ct. ad val.						
Total metals								17,666,960.51	8,115,310.97	9,743,397.65
SCHEDULE D.—*Wood and wooden wares.*										
Manufactures of wood not specially enumerated	213	10 to 35 per ct. ad val.	28.49	35 per ct. ad val.				1,060,512.32	302,226.39	371,179.31
Sawed boards of mahogany, rosewood, granadilla, etc	215	Not in present act.		15 per ct. ad val.						
SCHEDULE E.—*Sugar.*										
Sugar, Dutch standard, not above No. 13	217	Sugar, Dutch standard in color: Not above No. 13, tank bottoms, sirups of cane-juice or beet-juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope—	*Cts. per lb.*	Not above 75 degrees seventy one-hundredths of one cent per pound, and for every additional degree or fraction of a degree shown by the polariscope test, two hundredths of a cent per pound additional.						
		Not above— 75 deg...lbs.	1.40	60.29		30.14	.023	17,920,047	416,091.00	250,880.61	125,440.30
		76 deg...do.	1.44	55.60		27.80	.026	5,059,259	131,020.00	72,853.32	36,426.66
		77 deg...do.	1.48	68.28		34.14	.022	1,251,835	27,135.00	18,527.01	9,263.50
		78 deg..do.	1.52	60.59		30.29	.025	8,644,792	216,862.10	131,400.83	65,700.41
		79 deg..do.	1.56	61.70		30.85	.025	15,126,069	382,446.00	235,966.67	117,983.33
		80 deg..do.	1.60	80.42		40.21	.020	74,444,274	1,481,186.71	1,191,108.38	595,554.19
		81 deg..do.	1.64	68.97		34.48	.024	22,458,585	534,002.80	368,320.78	184,160.39
		82 deg..do.	1.68	72.37		36.18	.023	34,134,039	792,344.77	573,451.88	286,725.94
		83 deg..do.	1.72	70.41		35.20	.024	21,232,102	518,674.40	365,192.14	182,596.07
		84 deg..do.	1.76	88.22		44.11	.020	293,616,530	5,824,375.72	5,167,650.92	2,583,825.46
		85 deg..do.	1.80	79.91		39.95	.023	132,114,329	2,976,063.78	2,378,057.89	1,189,028.94
		86 deg..do.	1.84	70.59		35.29	.026	40,123,191	1,045,899.26	738,266.69	369,133.34
		87 deg..do.	1.88	73.26		36.63	.026	66,627,404	1,709,857.13	1,252,595.19	626,297.59
		88 deg..do.	1.92	76.26		38.13	.025	58,515,435	1,473,226.94	1,123,496.35	561,748.17
		89 deg..do.	1.96	73.24		36.62	.027	49,227,902	1,317,350.84	964,866.88	482,433.44
		90 deg..do.	2.00	84.03		42.01	.024	525,903,782	12,515,940.47	10,518,075.64	5,259,037.82
		91 deg..do.	2.04	79.49		39.74	.026	25,803,437	662,244.42	526,390.11	268,195.05
		92 deg..do.	2.08	77.46		38.73	.027	19,711,380	529,298.00	409,996.70	204,998.35
		93 deg..do.	2.12	72.76		36.38	.029	15,513,934	393,760.00	286,495.40	143,247.70
		94 deg..do.	2.16	78.32		39.16	.028	42,64[illegible],837	1,176,032.48	921,042.10	460,521.05
		95 deg..do.	2.20	84.26		42.13	.026	1[illegible]112,543,601	29,047,723.93	24,475,959.21	12,237,979.60
		96 deg..do.	2.24	78.73		39.36	.028	108,341,553	3,082,513.25	2,426,850.79	1,213,425.39
		97 deg..do.	2.28	79.65		39.82	.029	77,274,745	2,211,871.81	1,761,864.17	880,932.08
		98 deg..do.	2.32	83.45		41.72	.028	13,260,140	368,631.00	307,635.25	153,817.62
		99 deg..do.	2.36	86.17		43.08	.027	1,235,193	83,829.00	29,150.56	14,575.28
		100 deg..do.	2.40								

*By this provision silver ore is made dutiable if it contains lead, and the lead must pay $336,000 if 10,000 tons were imported. See House debate.

† If copper component material of chief value, 35 per cent. (see 170), or 1¾ cts. per lb. (see 168); if not chief value, 45 per cent.

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE E.—*Sugar*—continued.										
All sugar No. 13 to No. 16 D. S.	218	2¾ cts. per lb.	86.97	1⅞ cts. per lb.	43.48	.032	lbs. 293,957	$9,295.00	$8,03 3.88	$4,043.44
All sugar No. 16 to No. 20 D. S.	219	3 cts. per lb.	89.43	1⅞ cts. per lb.	47.79	.034	lbs. 65,967.80	2,213.00	1,979.02	1,071.97
All sugar above No. 20 D. S.	220	3½ cts. per lb.	83.91	2 cts. per lb.	47.61	.042	lbs. 38,205	1,593.57	1,337.20	764.10
Molasses testing above 56 deg.	221	8 cts. per gal	47.26	4 cts. per gal.	23.63	.169	gal. 2,159	365.50	172.72	86.36
Sugar drainings and sweepings	222	20 per ct. ad val., n.e.	20.00	Subject to duty as sugar or molasses, as the case may be.						
Sugar-candy and confectionery	223	5 cts. per lb. (*a*) / 10 cts. per lb. (*b*)	59.29 / 71.00	5 cts. per lb.	59.29 / 35.50	.084 / .141	lbs. 87,881.50 / lbs. 10,352.50	7,410.80 / 1,458.20	4,394.07 / 1,035.25	4,394.07 / 517.62
All other confectionery	224	50 per ct. ad val.	50.00	50 per ct. ad val.	50.00			13,796.26	6,898.13	6,898.13
Glucose or grape sugar	225	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00	¾ ct. per lb.	37.50	.020	lbs. 1,784,642	35,644.00	7,128.80	13,384.81
Total sugar, etc								68,940,157.07	56,527,124.54	28,284,208.17
SCHEDULE F.—*Tobacco, etc.*										
Cigars, cheroots, and cigarettes	226	$2.50 p. lb., and 25 p.c.	108.11	$3.50 per lb.	116.31	3.009	1,102,600.11	3,318,012.17	3,586,003.38	3,859,100.38
Leaf-tobacco, for wrappers, unstemmed / Leaf-tobacco, for wrappers, stemmed	227	75 cts. per lb. / $1 per pound.	81.57	75 cts. per lb. / $1 per lb	81.57	.919	28,756.00 / None reported.	26,441.00	21,567.00	21,567.00
All other leaf-tobacco, unstemmed* / All other leaf-tobacco, stemmed	228	35 cts. per lb. / 40 cts. per lb.	71.17 / 89.58	20 cts. per lb. / 25 cts. per lb.	40.65 / 55.92	.492 / .447	15,238,637.81 / 48,996.14	7,493,661.79 / 21,868.50	5,333,523.25 / 19,590.37	7,447,727.56 / 12,249.03
Tobacco stems	229	15 cts. per lb.	113.23	15 cts. per lb.	113.23	.132	lbs. 234	31.00	35.10	85.10
Tobacco manufactured	230	40 cts. per lb	178.73	40 cts. per lb.	178.73	.224	lbs. 378,998.75	84,818.57	151,599.50	151,599.50
Snuff and snuff-flour, etc.	231	50 cts. per lb	150.04	50 cts. per lb.	150.04	.333	lbs. 30,879.31	10,290.00	15,439.66	15,439.66
Total tobacco, etc.								10,955,123.03	9,127,758.26	11,507,718.23
SCHEDULE G.—*Provisions, etc.*										
Animals, live:										
Horses	232	20 per ct. ad val. / Free for breeding	20.00 / Free.	$20 per head.	31.66 / 14.25	63.164 / 140.262	No. 38,800 / No. 15,090	2,450,763.45 / 2,252,374.00	490,152.69 /	776,000.00 / 301,800.00
Cattle	233	20 per ct. ad val. / Free for breeding	20.00 / Free.	$5 per head.	37.31 / 17.68	13.437 / 28.263	No. 72,977 / No. 14,194	980,605.31 / 401,168.83	196,121.06 /	364,885.00 / 70,970.00
Hogs	234	20 per ct. ad val. / Free for breeding	20.00 / Free.	50 cts. per head.	21.18 / 3.48	2.369 / 14.363	No. 1,634 / No. 160	3,871.25 / 2,298.00	774.25 /	817.00 / 80.00
Sheep	235	20 per ct. ad val. / Free for breeding	20.00 / Free.	50 cts. per head.	19.00 / 25.31	2.632 / 1.975	No. 451,266 / No. 28,535	1,187,918.80 / 56,348.00	237,583.76 /	225,633.00 / 14,267.50
All other†	236	20 per ct. ad val. / Free for breeding	20.00 / Free.	20 per ct. ad val.				41,907.70 / 51,357.00	8,381.54 /	8,381.54 / 10,271.40
Beans	241	10 per ct. ad val.	10.00	25 cts. per bush.	24.27	1.030	bu. 478,205.33	492,752.39	49,275.23	119,551.33
Beans, pease, mushrooms, prepared	242	30 per ct. ad val. n.e.		25 cts. per gal.			No data			
Cabbages	245	10 per ct. ad val.		1 ct. each			No data			
Chicory, burnt or roasted / Chicory, ground or in rolls	247	2 cts. per lb / Not enumerated	65.17	1 ct. per lb. / 2 cts. per lb.	32.25	.031	lbs. 5,333,585 / No data	163,682.00	106,671.70	53,335.35
Cocoa-butter	250	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00	3½ cts. per lb.				18,362.00	3,672.40	
Dandelion root and acorns, prepared	253	2 cts. per lb.	33.57	1½ cts. per lb.		.060	110,746	6,597.00	2,214.92	1,661.19
Extract of meat‡ / Extract of meat‡	254	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00	35 cts. per lb. / 15 cts. per lb.				208,549.00	41,709.80	41,709.80
Dates, grapes, plums, and prunes	255	1 ct. per lb / Grapes 20 per ct	30.26 / 20.00	1 ct. per lb.		.033	80,587,319	2,662,551.72 / 371,662.00	805,873.19 / 74,332.40	805,873.19 / 92,915.50
		L. 16 cts. per box / O. 13 cts. per box	16.80 / 20.43	10 cts. per pkge.		.952 / .636	2,246 / 117,565	2,139.00 / 74,821.00	359.36 / 15,283.45	224.60 / 11,756.50
		L. 30 cts. per box / O. 25 cts. per box	16.15 / 22.72	20 cts. per pkge.		1.858 / 1.100	2,043,875.83 / 1,561,887.75	7,797,735.50 / 1,717,887.75	613,162.75 / 390,343.50	408,775.16 / 312,377.55
		55 cts. per bbl	24.28	40 cts. per pkge		2.265	156,230.55	353,898.85	85,926.80	61,492.20
Oranges, limes, or lemons	257			8 cts. per cubic ft. additional						
		20 per ct. ad val / L. $2 per M / O. $1.60 per M / Limes 20 per ct	20.00 / 38.00 / 36.43 / 20.00	$1.50 per 1,000		4.829 / 5.263 / 4.392	M. 53,864.65 / M. .76 / M. 8,311.733	260,122.58 / 4.00 / 36,504.25 / 40,128.73	52,054.52 / 1.52 / 13,298.78 / 8,025.75	80,796.97 / 1.14 / 12,467.59 / 8,025.75
Ginger and citron, preserved	260	35 per ct. ad val.	35.00	4 cts. per lb.				13,373.00	4,680.55	6,017.85
Orange and lemon peel, preserved	261	Not enumerated		2 cts. per lb.			No data			
Hops	273	8 cts. per lb.	42.64	10 cts. per lb.	53.35	.188	lbs. 16,618,829	3,117,662.70	1,329,506.31	1,661,882.90
Macaroni, vermicelli, etc.	276	Free	Free.	2 cts. per lb.	35.40	.056	lbs. 8,866,977	500,970.20		177,339.54
Milk, preserved or condensed, including weight of packages	277	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00	3 cts. per lb.				402,127.00	80,425.40	80,425.40
Spices, ground or powdered, not specially enumerated	279	5 cts. per lb.	50.12	4 cts. per lb.	40.11	.100	lbs. 24,991.30	2,492.57	1,249.50	999.65
Filberts and walnuts of all kinds	281	3 cts. per lb.	54.79	2 cts. per lb.	36.52	.055	lbs. 11,207,548	613,711.55	336,226.44	244,150.96
Nuts of all kinds, shelled or unshelled, not specially enumerated	283	2 cts. per lb.	44.38	1½ cts. per lb.	33.30	.045	lbs. 867,939	39,109.91	17,358.78	13,019.08
Split pease, per bushel	286	20 per ct. ad val.	20.00	20 cts. per bush.	26.17	.765	bush. 53,076	40,608.40	8,121.73	10,615.20
Rice, cleaned / Rice, uncleaned, or in flour or meal / Rice, broken / Paddy and broken rice	287	2½ cts. per lb / 1½ cts. per lb / 20 per ct. ad val. / 1½ cts. per lb	113.03 / 71.52 / 20.00 / 134.50	1 ct. per lb. / ½ ct. per lb. / ½ ct. per lb. / ½ ct. per lb.	50.24 / 23.84 / 31.86 / 26.90	.020 / .021 / .016 / .010	lbs. 33,731,463 / lbs. 4,000,642 / lbs. 48,526,783 / lbs. 2,152	671,461.73 / 83,909.00 / 762,302.00 / 20.00	758,957.95 / 60,009.64 / 152,460.40 / 26.90	337,314.63 / 20,003.21 / 242,633.91 / 5.38
Castor beans or seeds	290	50 cts. per bush.	55.70	25 cts. per bush.	27.85	.898	bush. 33,648.75	30,204.00	16,824.38	8,412.18
All starch preparations	293	2½ cts. per lb	97.90	2 cts. per lb.	78.31	.025	lbs. 300,622.50	7,676.50	7,515.60	6,012.45
Vegetables of all kinds, prepared or preserved, pickles, sauces, etc., not specially enumerated	295	30 and 35 per ct.	32.81	35 per ct. ad val	35.00			681,406.72	223,543.88	238,492.35
Total provisions								24,315,089.97	6,192,126.83	6,831,393.95
SCHEDULE H.—*Wines, liquors, etc.*										
Still wines, including ginger wine in casks / All bottles or jugs containing wines or liquors	302	50 cts. per gal. / 3 cts. each (bottles)	71.57	60 cts. per gal. / 3 cts. each	85.71	.700	gal. 3,405,228.88 / No. 6,407,648.33	2,378,886.70	1,702,614.44 / 192,229.45	2,043,137.32 / 285,263.83

*About 8,000,000 pounds wrappers which would pay 75 cents per pound, $6,000,000; balance reduced to 20 cents, $1,447,727.56.
† Mules included, to pay $20.
‡ Tin cans or jars, dutiable at 15 cents per pound.

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE H.—*Wines, etc.*—cont'd.										
Alcohol containing 94 per cent. anhydrous alcohol	303	$2 per pf. gal	170.35	$2 per pf. gal	170.35	.908	gal. 345.58	$339.00	$577.58	$871.16
Compounds containing 50 per cent. anhydrous alcohol		$1 per pf. gal								
Malt extracts, fluid, in casks	310	Not enumerated		20 cts. per gal			No data			
Malt extracts, fluid, in bottles or jugs		Not enumerated		40 cts. per gal			No data			
Malt extract, solid or condensed		Not enumerated		40 per ct. ad val			No data			
Cherry juice or prune juice, not over 24 per cent. alcohol	311	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	60 cts. per gal	55.97	1.072	gal. 15,914	17,060.00	3,412.00	9,548.40
Containing more than 24 per cent. alcohol		20 per ct. ad val		$2 per gal			No data			
Ginger-ale, lemonade, soda water, ¾ pint	312	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	25 cts. per doz	37.53	.666	doz. 230,445	153,376.54	30,675.30	57,611.25
In bottles, ¾ pint to 1½ pints		20 per ct. ad val		5 cts. per doz			No data			
In bottles, over 1½ pints		20 per ct. ad val		50 cts. per doz			No data			
Total wines, liquors, etc.								2,549,662.24	1,929,508.77	2,396,231.96
SCHEDULE I.—*Cotton manufactures.*										
Cotton thread, yarn, or warp yarn, 25 to 40 cents per lb	313	15 cts. per lb	42.30	18 cts. per lb	50.70	.355	lbs. 624,537.48	221,477.00	93,680.62	112,416.74
Yarn, 40 cts. to 50 cts. per lb		20 cts. per lb	45.38	23 cts. per lb	52.13	.441	lbs. 477,395.29	210,422.00	95,479.07	109,800.91
Yarn, 50 cts. to 60 cts. per lb		25 cts. per lb	45.21	28 cts. per lb	50.63	.553	lbs. 322,656.67	178,405.00	80,664.18	90,343.86
Cotton cloth, not bleached, not over 50 threads to inch*	315	Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 200 threads:		New class.						
Bleached		2½ cts. per sq. yd		2 cts. per sq. yd			80,059		2,001.51	1,601.18
Stained, painted, or printed		3½ cts. per sq. yd		2½ cts. per sq. yd			662,671		23,193.53	16,566.77
Cotton cloth, 50 to 100 threads		4½ cts. per sq. yd		4 cts. per sq. yd			746,576.12		33,595.95	29,863.04
Bleached		2½ cts. per sq. yd		2½ cts. per sq. yd			80,059		2,001.51	1,801.32
Stained, painted, or printed		3½ cts. per sq. yd		3 cts. per sq. yd			662,671		23,193.53	19,880.13
		4½ cts. per sq. yd		4 cts. per sq. yd			746,576.12		33,595.95	29,863.04
Cotton cloth, not exceeding 100 threads to square inch: Unbleached, not over 6½ cents per yard. Bleached, valued over 9 cents, and dyed, stained, or printed, valued over 12 cents per square yard.	316	Not bleached, val. 8 cts. or less. p. sq yd:								
		2½ cts. per sq. yd	48.94			.051				
		Bleached, val. 10 cts. or less per sq. yd:								
		3½ cts. per sq. yd	75.28	35 per ct. ad val		.046				
		Dyed, colored, etc., val. 13 cts. or less per sq. yd:								
		4½ cts. per sq. yd	73.31			.061				
		Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 200 threads:		New class.						
Cotton cloth, 100 to 150 threads to square inch, unbleached	317	Not in present law		New class.						
Bleached		3 cts. per sq. yd		3 cts. per sq. yd			614,806		18,444.18	18,444.18
Dyed, stained, or printed		4 cts. per sq. yd		4 cts. per sq. yd			2,194,986.12		87,799.44	87,799.44
		5 cts. per sq. yd		5 cts. per sq. yd			2,268,417		113,420.86	113,420.86
		Not in present law		40 per ct. ad val						
Cotton cloth, 150 to 200 threads, unbleached	318	3 cts. per sq. yd	56.19	3½ cts. per sq. yd		.053	s. yds. 614,806	65,648.00	18,444.18	21,518.21
Bleached		4 cts. per sq. yd	55.76	4½ cts. per sq. yd		.072	s. yds. 2,194,986.12	314,930.27	87,799.44	98,773.37
Dyed, stained, or printed		5 cts. per sq. yd	49.23	5½ cts. per sq. yd		.102	s. yds. 2,268,417	460,800.25	113,420.86	124,762.93
		Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 200 threads. Not bleached, val. at over 8 cts.								
		Bleached	40.00			.098	653,403	63,952.75	25,581.10	28,777.73
Cotton cloth, 150 to 200 threads to square inch, unbleached, valued at over 8 cts. per square yard; bleached, valued at over 10 cts.; dyed, stained, or printed, valued at over 12 cts. per square yard, 45 per cent. ad valorem.		40 per ct. ad. val	40.00	45 per ct. ad val.		.126	1,861,345	234,126.23	93,650.49	105,356.80
		Dyed, colored, etc., valued at over 13 cts.	40.00			.162	6,418,006	1,036,606.37	414,642.51	466,472.83
Cotton cloth, over 200 threads to square inch, not bleached	319	4 cts. per sq. yd	57.54	4½ cts. per sq. yd	64.29	.070	s. yds. 134,825	9,372.00	5,393.00	6,067.12
Bleached		5 cts. per sq. yd	51.88	5½ cts. per sq. yd	57.29	.096	s. yds. 1,304,760.25	125,743.00	65,238.01	71,761.81
Dyed, stained, or printed		6 cts. per sq. yd	48.40	6½ cts. per sq. yd	54.43	.124	s. yds. 2,184,598.25	270,767.00	131,075.90	147,460.38
Unbleached valued over 10 cts., bleached over 12 cts., and dyed or printed over 15 cts., 45 per cent.										
		40 per ct. ad val	40.00	45 per ct. ad val		.136	s. yds. 98,678	13,443.00	5,377.20	6,049.35
			40.00			.164	s. yds. 734,649	120,783.00	48,313.20	54,352.35
			40.00			.194	s. yds. 3,502,375.05	677,546.00	271,018.40	304,895.70
Stockings, hose, etc., fashioned by machinery, etc.	321	40 per ct. ad val.	40.00	60 cts. per doz. pairs and 20 per cent.				5,947,478.04	2,378,991.23	2,378,991.23
Cotton damask, clothing ready-made, etc	322	35 per cent., 40 per cent. ad val.	38.77	40 per cent. ad val.	40.00			1,860,271.99	721,271.27	744,108.79
Hamburg edgings, embroideries, etc.	323	40 per cent. ad val.	40.00	45 cts. per lb. and 15 per cent. ad val.	40.00			10,661,300.73	4,264,520.29	4,264,520.29
Plushes, velvets, etc.	324	40 per cent. ad val.	40.00	10 cts. per sq. yd. and 20 per cent. ad val.	40.00			2,252,965.07	901,186.03	901,186.03
Total cotton manufactures								24,726,037.70	10,152,993.44	10,356,856.42

* A new classification under 50 threads to square inch, and by 317, 100 to 150 threads is here introduced, precluding accurate estimate. In each case the estimate given assumes that half the class divided will be entered in the new class.

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE J.—*Flax, hemp, and jute.*										
Hemp	331	$25 per ton	16.59	$20 per ton	13.27	150.701	tons. 5,623.3864	$847,449.00	$140,584.70	$112,466.72
Cables and cordage, tarred	332	3 cts. per lb	30.13	1½ cts. per lb		.100	lbs. 566,831	56,444.50	17,004.93	8,502.46
Cables and cordage, manila	332	2½ cts. per lb	32.89	1½ cts. per lb		.077	lbs. 355,890	27,052.00	8,897.24	5,838.35
Cables and cordage, all other	332	3½ cts. per lb	30.08	1½ cts. per lb		.146	lbs. 23,826	2,772.00	833.94	357.39
Yarns, flax	333	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	40 per ct		.128	lbs. 1,527,292	195,589.50	68,456.33	78,235.80
Yarns, hemp	333	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	40 per ct		.125	lbs. 500,000	62,316.00	21,810.60	24,926.40
Brown and bleached linens	333	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	40 per ct				13,589,418.55	4,756,296.50	5,435,767.42
Grass cloth	333	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	40 per ct				75,310.00	26,348.50	30,124.00
Sheetings	333	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	40 per ct		.111	yds. 39,804	4,423.00	1,548.05	1,769.20
Manufactures of flax	333	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	40 per ct				410,856.44	143,799.76	164,342.57
Sail duck	333	30 per ct. ad val	30.00	40 per ct			yds. 94,404	14,904.00	4,471.20	5,961.60
Seines and gilling twine	333	25 per ct. ad val	25.00	40 per ct				6,232.75	1,558.19	2,493.10
Jute yarn	333	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	40 per ct		.042	lbs. 12,614,917	531,108.00	185,887.80	212,443.20
Laces, embroideries, etc	336	30 per ct. ad val	30.00	50 per ct. ad val				1,142,473.35	342,742.00	571,236.67
Collars and cuffs for men's wear of cotton	337	Not in present law		15 cts. per doz. pieces and 35 p. ct. ad val.			No data			
In whole or in part of linen	337	Not in present law		30 cts. per doz. pieces and 35 p. ct. ad val.			No data			
Bagging for cotton	339	1½ cts. per lb	54.13	¾ cent per lb	27.06	.028	lbs. 964,452	26,727.00	14,446.78	7,223.39
Oil-cloths for floors	340	40 per ct. ad val	40.00	10 cts. per sq. yd. and 15 per ct. ad. val.	40.38	.394	sq. yds. 782,843	308,336.95	123,334.78	124,534.83
Total flax, hemp, and jute								17,301,413.04	5,858,031.30	6,785,723.10
SCHEDULE K.—*Wool and manufactures of wool.*										
Class 1:										
Clothing wools, value 30 cents or less per pound	346	10 cts. per lb	54.78	11 cts. per lb	61.11	.182	lbs. 22,607,556.30	4,127,025.97	2,260,785.64	2,486,831.19
Value over 30 cents	346	12 cts. per lb	35.92	11 cts. per lb	32.90	.334	lbs. 17,586	5,875.00	2,110.32	1,934.46
	346	Washed: 20 cts. per lb	58.51	22 cts. per lb	64.36	.342	lbs. 383,275	131,006.00	70,655.00	84,320.50
	346	24 cts. per lb	69.71	22 cts. per lb	63.90	.344	lbs. 2,010	692.00	482.40	442.20
	346	Scoured: 30 cts. per lb	74.11	33 cts. per lb	81.65	.405	lbs. 184,985	74,886.00	55,495.50	61,045.05
	346	36 cts. per lb	60.92	33 cts. per lb	55.84	.591	lbs. 22	13.00	7.92	7.26
Class 2:										
Combing wools, value 30 cents or less per pound	348	10 cts. per lb	43.23	11 cts. per lb	47.55	.231	lbs. 9,568,481	2,213,331.00	956,843.10	1,052,527.41
Value over 30 cents per pound	348	12 cts. per lb	28.78	11 cts. per lb	26.39	.417	lbs. 129,573	54,026.00	15,548.76	14,253.03
	348	Scoured, 30 cts per lb.	66.18	33 cts. per lb	72.81	.453	lbs. 5,968	2,701.00	1,787.40	1,966.14
Class 3:										
Carpet wools, value over 12 cents per pound	348	5 cts. per lb	27.69	6 cts. per lb	33.53	.181	lbs. 19,865,714	3,554,823.00	984,285.70	1,191,942.84
	348	Scoured, 15 cts. per lb.	22.79	18 cts. per lb	27.34	.658	lbs. 79	52.00	11.85	14.22
Total wools								10,164,430.97	4,354,013.59	4,895,284.30
Wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, and manufactures of:										
Manufactures—										
Cloths, woolen—										
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	354	35 cents per pound and 35 per cent.	89.84	Valued above 60 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound and 40 per cent.	102.66	.638	lbs. 1,117,564.40	713,315.94	640,808.21	732,352.13
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	354	35 cents per pound and 40 per cent.	68.91		73.04	1.211	lbs. 7,689,699.02	9,309,054.73	6,415,016.73	6,799,501.48
Shawls, woolen—										
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	354	35 cents per pound and 35 per cent.	88.44		101.07	.655	lbs. 42,604.31	27,903.34	24,677.68	28,203.05
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	354	35 cents per pound and 40 per cent.	65.41		69.04	1.377	lbs. 237,778.30	327,460.85	214,206.74	226,095.66
Composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals	354	40 cents per pound and 35 per cent.	61.53		66.53	1.508	lbs. 447,504.20	674,634.00	415,123.58	448,855.28
All manufactures of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, made wholly or in part of—										
Wool—										
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	355	35 cents per pound and 35 per cent.	88.81		101.49	.650	lbs. 123,783.46	80,510.00	71,502.76	81,717.38
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	355	35 cents per pound and 40 per cent.	64.46		67.95	1.431	lbs. 993,500.11	1,421,735.00	916,419.10	966,094.04
Flannels—										
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	355	24 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	67.65		94.41	.735	lbs. 136,889	100,633.33	68,075.03	95,008.93
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	355	35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	73.02		77.73	1.060	lbs. 77,097.15	81,722.45	59,673.03	63,527.84
Blankets—										
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	355	24 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	69.36	Valued at above 60 cts. per pound, 40 cents per pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem.	95.22	.698	lbs. 700.50	489.30	339.38	475.92
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	355	35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	70.30		74.65	1.155	lbs. 1,550.07	1,790.62	1,258.81	1,336.26
Hats of wool—										
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	355	24 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	66.22		92.03	.769	lbs. 428	329.00	217.87	302.80
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	355	35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	52.07		53.82	2.900	lbs. 2,027.46	5,878.98	3,061.21	3,162.57

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE K.—*Wool and manufactures of wool*—continued.										
Knit goods, and all goods made on knitting frames—										
Valued at not exceeeding 30 cents per pound	358	10 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	88.33	40 cts. per lb. and 45 per ct. ad val.	258.33	.187	lbs. 48	$9.00	$7.95	$23.25
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound		12 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	65.20		145.70	.397	lbs. 201.33	79.95	52.13	116.50
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound		18 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	69.14		120.88	.527	lbs. 20,109	10,601.60	7,330.18	12,814.32
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound		24 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	69.62		102.70	.693	lbs. 73,417.25	50,895.08	35,433.42	52,269.68
Valued at above 80 cents per pound		35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	62.58		70.80	1.550	lbs. 1,238,052.29	1,918,868.11	1,200,865.63	1,358,711.55
Balmorals—										
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound		12 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	67.72		154.05	.367	lbs. 1,009	370.00	250.58	570.10
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound		18 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	65.59		112.74	.588	lbs. 724	426.00	279.42	480.30
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound		24 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	68.15		100.25	.724	lbs. 873	632.00	430.72	633.60
Valued at above 80 cents per pound		35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	66.35		75.11	1.328	lbs. 1,213	1,611.00	1,068.95	1,210.15
Yarns, woolen and worsted—										
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	355	24 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	69.08	Valued above 60 cts. per lb., 40 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct. ad valorem.	98.30	.686	1,275,844.79	875,280.12	612,550.81	860,449.05
Valued at above 80 cents per pound		35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	68.79		72.80	1.216	157,866.50	191,912.25	132,018.19	139,911.50
Worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals (except such as are composed in part of wool)—										
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	354	10 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	76.49	35 cts. and 35 per ct.	180.22	.241	100,189.00	24,146.00	18,740.00	43,516.25
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound		12 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	69.38		135.27	.349	174,018.25	60,737.00	42,140.14	82,164.33
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound		18 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	68.28	35 cts. and 40 per ct.	104.70	.541	1,588,069.60	859,029.70	586,512.92	899,436.24
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound		24 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	68.15	40 cts. and 40 per ct.	95.25	.724	3,785,978.60	2,740,730.00	1,867,855.36	2,610,643.44
Valued at above 80 cents per pound		35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	71.99		76.55	1.094	1,343,256.80	1,469,661.73	1,058,004.68	1,125,167.41
Bunting	357	10 cts. per sq. yd. and 35 per ct.	80.75	11 cts. and 40 per ct.	90.82	.219	s. yds. 242.50	53.00	42.80	47.87
Dress goods, women's and children's, coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description—										
Composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals—	356									
Valued at not exceeding 20 cents per square yard		5 cts. per sq. yd. and 35 per ct.	67.89	Valued above 15 cts.; 7 cts. per sq. yd. and 40 per ct. ad val.	86.25	.152	s. yds. 26,926,224.70	4,094,403.06	2,779,502.28	3,522,806.94
Composed wholly of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of a mixture of them, and all such goods of like description, with selvages made wholly or in part of other materials, or with threads of other materials introduced for the purpose of changing the classification—	357									
Weighing 4 ounces or less per square yard		9 cts. per sq. yd. and 40 per ct.	82.96	11 cts. and 40 per ct.	92.50	.209	s. yds. 31,136,149.26	6,522,568.51	5,411,280.91	6,034,003.81
All weighing over 4 ounces per square yard		35 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	69.68	40 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct. ad val.	73.92	1.179	lbs. 2,560,715.83	3,019,201.46	2,103,931.19	2,231,966.91
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel of every description not specially enumerated or provided for, and balmoral skirts and skirting, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes	358	40 cts. per lb. and 35 per ct.	54.18	40 cts. per lb. and 45 per ct. ad val.	63.92	2.085	lbs. 330,415.94	689,002.38	373,317.15	442,217.44
Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments, for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes	359	45 cts. per lb. and 40 per ct.	67.74	45 cts. per lb. and 45 per ct. ad val.	72.74	1.622	lbs. 476,129.73	772,240.65	523,154.55	561,766.66
Total wool and manufactures of wool								36,047,816.14	25,584,880.09	29,427,561.54

Articles.	Schd. No. substitute.	Rates of duty. Existing law.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Senate substitute.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Importations for fiscal year 1887. Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Estimated duties under Senate substitute.
SCHEDULE L.—*Silk and silk goods.*										
Silk, partially manufactured	372	50 cts. per lb	19.08	50 cts. per lb		2.621	lbs. 3,461	$9,071.00	$1,730.50	$1,730.50
Thrown silk, sewing silk, etc	373	30 per ct. ad val	30.00	30 per ct. ad val		2.501	lbs. 174,020.70	445,162.98	133,548.89	133,548.89
Silk goods and ribbons, 8 to 10 ounces per square yard, and 10 to 25 per cent. silk	374	50 per ct. ad val	50.00	75 cts. per lb. and 15 per ct.				15,982,839.77	7,966,419.88	7,966,419.88
25 to 50 per cent. silk		50 per ct. ad val		$1.25 per lb. and 15 per ct.						
50 per cent. or more of silk, if black		50 per ct		$1.60 p. lb. and 15 per ct.						
50 per cent. or more of silk, if white, colored, or mixed		50 per ct		$2.25 p. lb. and 15 per ct.						
Velvets, plushes, fabrics, and ribbons, not otherwise specially provided for, of 1 to 8 ozs. per sq. yd. and 10 to 25 per ct. silk	375	50 per ct		$1 p. lb. and 15 p. c.				6,343,086.33	3,171,543.15	3,171,543.15
25 to 50 per ct. silk		50 per ct	50.00	$1.50 p. lb. and 15 p. c.						
50 per ct. or more of silk		50 per ct		$3.50 p. lb. and 15 p. c.						
Webbings, gorings, etc	376	50 per ct	50.00	50 per ct. ad val				462,455.00	231,227.50	231,227.50
Laces, embroideries, clothing, &c	377	50 per ct. ad val	50.00	60 per ct. ad val				4,617,933.42	2,308,966.78	2,770,760.05
All manufactures of silk not enumerated	378	50 per ct. ad val	50.00	50 per ct. ad val				3,453,727.98	1,726,864.00	1,726,864.00
Total silk and silk goods								31,264,276.48	15,540,300.70	16,002,094.04
SCHEDULE M.—*Books, papers, etc.*										
Books, pamphlets, etchings, etc	379	25 p. ct., 20 p. ct	24.95	25 per ct. ad val				2,762,324.70	689,241.50	690,581.17
		25 per ct	25.00					35,424.07	8,856.03	8,853.03
		20 per ct	20.00					25.00	5.00	6.25
Envelopes	380	25 per ct	25.00	25 cts. p. M				6,533.00	1,633.25	1,633.25
Manufactures of papers*	381	15 per ct	15.47	25per ct. ad val				768,129.54	118,847.43	192,032.38
Lithographs, surface-coated papers	382	Not in present law		35 per ct. ad val						
Total books, papers, etc								3,572,436.31	818,583.21	893,109.08
SCHEDULE N.—*Sundries.*										
Brooms of all kinds	389	25 per ct. ad val	25.00	30 per ct. ad val	30.00			4,174.80	1,043.70	1,252.44
Feathers and downs of all kinds when dressed, colored, or manufactured, including dressed or finished birds, artificial feathers, flowers, not specially enumerated	398	50 per ct. ad val	50.00	40 per ct. ad val	40.00			849,097.00	424,993.50	339,638.80
Fire-crackers of all kinds	399	100 per ct. ad val	100.00	8 cts. per lb				332,941.00	332,941.00	332,941.00
Gunpowder and all explosive substances used for artillery, blasting, mining, or sporting purposes, valued at 20 cents or less per pound	403	6 cts. per lb	34.13	5 cts. per lb	28.44	.176	lbs. 1,280	225.00	76.80	64.00
Valued above 20 cents a pound		10 cts. per lb	8.46	8 cts. per lb	6.77	1.182	lbs. 500	591.00	50.00	40.00
Human hair, clean or drawn, not manufactured	405	30 per ct. ad val	30.00	20 per ct. ad val	20.00			40,611.28	12,183.38	8,122.25
Hair, curled, for beds or mattresses	408	25 per ct. ad val	25.00	15 per ct. ad val	15.00			153.00	38.25	22.95
Calf-skins, tanned or tanned and dressed; dressed upper-leather, enameled or japanned, and skins of all kinds not specially enumerated	412	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	25 cts. per lb	25.00			3,827,133.09	765,426.61	956,783.27
Lime	414	10 per ct. ad val	.10	5 cts. per 100 lbs			bbls. 132,239	57,226.46	5,722.65	19,835.85
Manufactures of alabaster, amber, jet, spar, etc	415	Various: 10, 20, 25, and 30 per ct.	22.56	25 per ct. ad val	25.00			322,862.22	72,742.42	80,715.56
Manufactures of leather, gutta-percha, human hair, and papier-maché, wholly or in part not specially enumerated	417	30 to 35 per ct	31.72	35 per ct. ad val	35.00			729,464.46	231,426.88	255,312.56
Manufactures of ivory, vegetable ivory, mother-of-pearl, and shell, wholly or chief part, not specially enumerated	418	Average 34.31 per ct.	34.31	40 per. ct. ad val	40.00			244,826.14	84,099.49	97,930.46
Matches, in boxes, 100 or less	422	35 per ct. ad val	35.00	10 cts. per gross				25,458.41	8,910.44	8,910.44
Matches, in boxes, over 100, or not boxed				1 ct. per 1,000 matches.						
Cocoa matting	423	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	10 cts. per sq. yd				221,492.19	44,298.54	44,298.54
Cocoa mats				5 cts. per sq. foot						
Pipes, pipe-bowls, and cigar-holders, of wood	429	70 per ct. ad val		½ ct. each and 70 per ct.			No separate data			
Buttons, except silk	432	25 per ct. ad val	25.00	2 cts. per line, button measure of 1/40 in., per gross and 25 per ct. ad val.				3,469,016.25	867,254.07	867,254.07
Hatters' plush	433	25 per ct. ad val	20.00	10 per ct. ad val	15.00			158,243.00	39,560.75	15,824.30
Freestone, granite, etc., rough	435	$1 per ton	21.22	14 cts. per cu. foot	31.83	4.713	tons 13,513.18	63,689.61	13,513.18	20,269.77
Freestone, etc., dressed	436	20 per ct. ad val	20.00	25 per ct. ad val	25.00			221,142.34	44,228.46	55,285.58
Total sundries								10,568,347.25	2,948,510.12	3,104,501.84

*Part of this is raised to 35 per cent. by section 382.

Free-list.

Articles.	Sched. No.	Importations of 1887. Present rate.	Equivalent ad valorem.	Unit of value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Baryta, sulphate of	469	10 per cent	10.00	.001	11,813,810	$12,649.00	$1,264.90
Bees-wax	471	20 per cent	20.00	.212	9,159.25	1,946.10	389.22
Braids, plaits, flats, laces, etc., for hats, bonnets, etc	487	do	20.00			4,113,521.67	822,704.33
Bristles, raw or manufactured	490	15 per cent	15.08	.995	lbs. 1,162,824.75	1,156,435.00	174,423.71
Bulbs and bulbous roots	493	20 per cent	20.00			160,982.47	32,196.40
Coal slack or culm	510	30 cents per ton	39.86	.753	tons 36,292.80	27,313.97	10,887.83
Coal-tar, crude	512	10 per cent	10.00	3.269	lbs. 2,599	8,495.00	849.50
Currants, Zante	528	1 cent per pound	27.48	.036	lbs. 29,196,393	1,032,326.00	291,963.93
Egg-yelks	538	20 per cent	20.00	.147		2,726.00	545.20
Ostrich and other feathers	544	25 per cent	25.00			1,246,558.46	311,639.65
Jute	550	20 per cent	20.00	40.178	tons 21,477.436	862,926.00	172,585.20
Jute-butts	551	$5 per ton	19.13	26.131	tons 68,965.361	1,802,162.00	344,826.84
Manila	552	$25 per ton	21.06	118.718	tons 23,359.100	2,773,150.00	583,977.53
Sisal-grass	554	$15 per ton	14.80	101.318	tons 33,287.355	3,372,619.00	499,310.34
Sunn	555	$15 per ton	15.45	97.085	tons 277.7145	26,962.00	4,165.72
All other textile grasses, etc., n. s. e	556	$15 per ton	13.66	109.837	tons 1,519.132	166,856.00	22,787.03
Floor-matting	561	20 per cent	20.00			661,476.58	132,895.31
Grease and oils not otherwise provided for	572	10 per cent	10.00	.014	lbs. 8,881,134	125,483.66	12,548.37
Human hair	577	20 per cent	20.00		lbs. 20,337,139	63,088.00	12,617.60
Mineral waters not provided for	627	30 per cent	30.00	.305	gals. 21,243	6,473.14	1,941.94
Molasses not above fifty-six degrees	630	4 cts. per gal	28.04	.140	gals. 37,417,265	5,336,364.13	1,496,690.00
Nut oil, or oil of nuts, n. o. p	667	25 per cent	25.00	.296	gals. 283,773	83,857.00	20,964.25
Olive oil, unfit for eating	669	25 per cent	25.00	.901	gals. 544,855	470,944.29	122,736.08
Opium, crude, unadulterated, not under 9 per cent. morphia	678	$1 per lb	43.76	2.285	lbs. 468,153.13	1,069,918.00	468,153.13
Potash:							
Crude	701	20 per cent	20.00	.034	lbs. 4,744,276	163,603.00	32,720.60
Caustic	702	20 per cent	20.00	.045	lbs. 1,237,857	56,184.00	11,236.80
Nitrate of	703	1 cent per lb	35.30	.028	lbs. 10,552,118	298,070.00	105,221.18
Sulphate of	704	20 per cent	20.00	.020	lbs. 1,996,324	38,986.00	7,797.20
Chlorate of	705	3 cents per pound	94.93	.120	lbs. 1,855,899	223,321.00	55,676.97
Rags, not otherwise provided for	712	10 per cent	10.00	.683	lbs. 2,280	1,558.00	155.80
Hemp seed	729	½ cent per pound	15.07	.017	lbs. 3,040,473	50,447.00	7,601.19
Rape seed	736	½ cent per pound	7.50	.033	lbs. 1,111,839	37,040.00	2,779.60
Sponges	754	20 per cent	20.00			302,509.57	60,501.00
Sand	757	10 per cent	10.00			12,904.00	1,290.40
Turpentine, spirits of	777	20 cents per gal	11.80	1.700	146.50	294.00	29.30
						25,803,105.04	5,828,074.65

Mr. BAYNE. I did suppose, in view of the fact there had been a long discussion of the tariff question in the House of Representatives and the matter had gone over to the Senate, that we should have forborne on an occasion of this sort when unanimity is so necessary in order to effect an adjournment. [Laughter.] But it seems the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] is anxious to discuss the tariff question even when the proposition before the House is whether we shall adjourn or not; and he has devoted his remarks mainly to the measure which is now pending in the Senate.

The first proposition of the gentleman from Tennessee, as I caught it, was that the Mills bill simply made a reduction of existing duties of between 5 and 6 per cent. The argument of the advocates of that bill in the House of Representatives was directed to that end, and it was assiduously asserted on that side of the House that the total reduction made was about 5 or 6 per cent. Like some of the propositions of the bill, this argument is a deception and a snare calculated to deceive the public who could not fully investigate the bill. Taking the entire bill and eliminating from the calculation the duties which were stricken entirely from existing law, such a calculation was possible, but that conclusion is erroneous.

In order to ascertain how far the Mills bill reduces the duties on imports, all articles under existing law which are not touched by the bill should not be taken into consideration. Articles which are put on the free-list, and which now pay a duty, should be counted as a 100 per cent. reduction. If sugar, an industry which flourishes in a certain section of the country be left out, and if the calculation be made on the basis of the proposed free-list, coupled with the articles on which the duties are reduced, it will be found that the Mills bill makes an average reduction of duty of from 40 to 50 per cent.

Mr. WHEELER. May I ask the gentleman a question—one question.

Mr. BAYNE. In a moment. And yet the argument on that side of the House has been that the reduction of duties has only been between 5 and 6 per cent.

Mr. WHEELER. The question I want to ask is, what would be the effect of the reduction on sugar——

Mr. BAYNE. I will come to that presently. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] has said that the iron schedule of the bill prepared by the Senate increases the duty upon the whole about 10 per cent.

How he arrives at that conclusion I can not understand. The duties on soft steel and cotton-ties are raised by the Senate bill. They are simply put upon the level they should occupy in a properly graduated metal schedule. Unless these duties raise the percentage 10 per cent. on the iron schedule, there is no such increase as he asserts. But cotton-ties are a commodity consumed in a certain section of the country, not produced like sugar, and therefore they were put upon the free-list by the Mills bill. The Senate did not see fit to discriminate in favor of the Southern section of this country as against the consumers of hoop-iron throughout the West and throughout the entire North. It sought to draw no line of discrimination as to production or consumption, but aimed to treat both the producers and the consumers of the country equally, equitably, and alike.

The gentleman has undertaken to show that the Senate bill, notwithstanding its reduction of the duties on sugar of 50 per cent. yet raised the duty on sugar and gives advantage to the sugar trust. I aver that the Mills bill as it passed the House was under the direction and inspiration of the sugar trust. It has sufficiently appeared that a leading Democrat of New York and the president of that great trust, appeared either directly or indirectly before the Ways and Means Committee of the House and secured from that committee such protection as would enable that trust to flourish.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] allow a suggestion there?

Mr. BAYNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. The gentleman has probably forgotten that he has just stated a fact that has been denied by all the gentlemen who constitute the majority side of the Ways and Means Committee; and if he persists in that statement I would be greatly obliged to him if he would state the evidence upon which he makes that allegation.

Mr. BAYNE. I shall treat the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] fairly. It was denied by gentlemen of that committee that Mr. Havemeyer appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means; that is, that he appeared in one of its official sittings. But it has been admitted by members of the Ways and Means Committee that Mr. Havemeyer and his attorney had conferences with them respecting duties upon sugar.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. May I have the attention of the gentleman just a moment on a matter of fact?

Mr. BAYNE. I must decline to yield now.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I will take only a moment of the gentleman's time.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The gentleman from Pennsylvania will have plenty of time, because the statement he has made is absolutely untrue, and the facts must go into the RECORD.

Mr. BAYNE. Very well; if plenty of time is accorded I will yield for any interruption.

Mr. MCMILLIN. The statement the gentleman has made is one that can not be substantiated in any way in the world, because it is absolutely devoid of all fact.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I think that statement is true; because there was no investigation or hearing before the Committee of Ways and Means, but only before a fraction of it.

Mr. BAYNE. It was admitted in a colloquy on this floor that Mr. Havemeyer and his attorney were here in Washington. It was admitted, if I recall the facts correctly, by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] that he had had a conversation with Mr. Havemeyer.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. On the contrary, the gentleman from Kentucky expressly stated that he had had no conversation with Mr. Havemeyer, though he thought that he had been introduced to him. The gentleman from Kentucky also stated that he had had no conversation with Mr. Parsons, the attorney of Mr. Havemeyer, on the question of the sugar schedule, but had had conversation with him on other subjects, and that those gentlemen were here before the Committee on Manufactures under subpœna from that committee. Instead of making any admission that I had had any conversation with Mr. Havemeyer on the subject of the sugar schedule, I expressly disclaimed it; and as to the statement that I had had any conversation with his attorney on that subject, I explicitly said it was not true, and that I now repeat. There was no foundation of truth in it.

Mr. BAYNE. These two gentlemen deny that they had any conversation with Mr. Havemeyer or his attorney respecting the duties on sugar, but I say that the Committee on Ways and Means, whether they did it consciously or unconsciously, changed the sugar schedule in the Mills bill after that visit of Mr. Havemeyer. The original bill reported by the committee drew the line at No. 16 Dutch standard, and the bill was amended so as to draw the line at No. 13 Dutch standard, and the object sought by the sugar trust was to have the line drawn at No. 13 Dutch standard, because it would give them an advantage. The two events were coincident, namely, the visit of Mr. Havemeyer and his attorney to the city of Washington and these changes made in the Mills bill.

Mr. TURNER. I beg the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] to allow me to make a statement of a minute or two at that point, because the gentleman has, no doubt unintentionally, done an injustice. The statement of fact which he has made is untrue, Mr. Speaker. The change in the sugar schedule to which he adverts occurred prior to the visit of Mr. Havemeyer to which he refers; and, in regard to the visit of Mr. Havemeyer, I beg leave to make this statement.

That gentleman came here in answer to a summons from the Committee on Manufactures, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] is aware, in order to testify in regard to the sugar trust, and while here he brought into the room of the Committee on Ways and Means samples of sugar which he had with him to illustrate the different grades and standards. Those samples were brought to Washington for use before the Committee on Manufactures, and while engaged here as a witness before that committee, Mr. Havemeyer appeared in the room of the Committee on Ways and Means and displayed his samples on a table there; on which occasion there were present, according to my recollection, one Republican gentleman and two or three Democratic members of the committee. None of us had any conversation with Mr. Havemeyer. He simply made his statements in regard to the colors and grades and standards of sugar as illustrated by the samples which he exhibited. There was no discussion of our bill.

It was merely an informal affair, and nothing beyond what I have stated took place. No propositions were made on either side, but the matter ended there. Out of that transaction have grown the extraordinary statements repeated here to-day by the very fair and courteous gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE], who, I believe, usually means to be just; and on that slight foundation has arisen also the extraordinary statement made by Mr. Blaine the other day in Indiana. All of these statements, whether that of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE], or that which was made on the floor of the Senate on a recent occasion by a gentleman managing the Senate bill, or the statement made by the gentleman from Maine, Mr. Blaine, in his discussion of the sugar question in Indiana—all of the statements are untrue.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Will the gentleman allow me to make a suggestion at this point, as Mr. Blaine's name has been mentioned?

Mr. BAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I beg that I shall be allowed to occupy a little of the time that is allotted to this side of the House.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I want to add that I was not present at the conversation of which my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] has just spoken.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled a bill (H. R. 11599) to authorize the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington to be used as a mail-bag repair-shop, and for other purposes; when the Speaker signed the same.

Mr. BAYNE. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] has stated what took place between Mr. Havemeyer and certain gentlemen of the committee; and I of course accord due credit to any statement that gentleman may make. But, whether consciously or unsconciously, the Mills bill promotes the sugar trust. If the gentlemen disclaim any intention to promote the interests of that trust, they should amend the Mills bill so as to conform it to the Senate bill.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Is the gentleman from Pennsylvania aware——

Mr. BAYNE. I must decline to yield.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is entitled to proceed without interruption.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Of course I will not persist in interrupting the gentleman if he declines to yield; but I wanted to call his attention to a fact which he has forgotten.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. BAYNE. I must beg to decline, because I can not state connectedly the facts and propositions I wish to submit if I am constantly interrupted.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman is entitled to proceed without interruption.

Mr. BAYNE. By the House bill the duty on sugar of 75 degrees saccharine strength is fixed at 1.15 cents per pound, and upon refined sugars between 13 and 16 Dutch standard the bill as amended here in the House makes the duty 2.20 cents per pound. The difference between the two was 1.05 cents per pound. That gave to the sugar "trust" an advantage of thirty-eight one-hundredths of a cent per pound, an aggregate amount to the refiners of $11,400,000 per year. The Senate bill puts raw sugars of 90 degrees at 1 cent and the duty on sugar between 13 and 16 at 1⅜ cents per pound, the difference being three-eighths of a cent per pound in favor of the Senate bill. The aggregate reduction of duty on sugar by the Mills bill was only about 20 per cent., from 82 per cent. to 62 per cent., while the aggregate reduction by the Senate bill is from 82 per cent. to 41 per cent., a reduction of 50 per cent. How anybody knowing anything about figures and comprehending at all the situation can aver, in view of these facts, that the Senate bill is favorable to the sugar "trust" is a mystery to me.

But more. This House bill, right in the teeth of the recommendation of Hon. Daniel Manning, late Secretary of the Treasury—a man of ability and an able financier—placed one duty after another, so far as it practically could, upon an ad valorem instead of a specific basis. Secretary Manning had in his report admonished Congress that specific duties should be substituted for ad valorem in order to prevent undervaluations, evasions, and frauds upon the revenue; yet in the preparation of this bill the advice of that great financier was disregarded and a multitude of duties now specific were relegated to the ad valorem class. The Senate, taking up that very subject, has adopted a specific duty wherever practicable, and applied in the preparation of its bill the suggestion of the late Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Manning.

Now, when it is claimed on the one hand that the reduction of the rates of duty made by the Mills bill is only between 5 and 6 per cent., when in point of fact it is between 40 and 50 per cent. upon the articles embraced in the reduction, leaving out sugar, and when in connection with that the door to undervaluation, to evasion of the law, to fraud, is open wider and wider so that the importers may break the law, how can gentlemen on the other side say that they desire a full, fair collection of the revenues of this country? How can they claim that there is not a sinister aim underlying this Mills bill to render the protective system of this country odious in the eyes of the people and to render evasions of it so frequent that the law will become difficult of execution?

Mr. HOOKER. Will the gentleman allow me to ask a question just there?

Mr. BAYNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOOKER. What do you do with the argument your people have made that the Mills bill, instead of reducing revenue, is going to add to it?

Mr. BAYNE. I reply by stating the simple proposition that as you reduce duties you swell importations, and thereby the revenue is increased. The tariff act of 1883 reduced duties, but it increased the revenue of the Government. The Mills bill reduces rates of duty, but it would swell the revenues of the Government. It is a logical inference, and one borne out by experience, that if you reduce duties and swell importations the aggregate revenue is increased.

The gentleman who preceded me has spoken of tin-plate. Sir, tin-plate was manufactured successfully in this country for a number of years. Up to the year 1878 an excellent quality of tin-plate was manufactured here, there being four establishments in this country engaged in that manufacture. Before those establishments started tin-plate was selling at $12 to $14.75 per box of 112 pounds. After these establishments were started in this country the effect was that the price of tin-plate was reduced year after year until it ran down to $6 per box. The tin-plate "trust" of Great Britain maintained high prices until it found that American manufacturers were going to produce tin-plate; when this was discovered the British manufacturers brought down their selling price so low as to compel the American manufacturers to close their establishments.

There are now in this country four establishments fully equipped and ready to manufacture this article; and if we authorize a duty of 2.2

cents per pound they will manufacture all the tin-plate that may be required by the consumers of this country at prices as low as those at which tin-plate is now selling; they will give employment to $30,000,000 of capital and to twenty thousand men, and will keep within the borders of our country the $16,000,000 now annually paid to foreign manufacturers for this article.

Mr. HOOKER. Why have you not done that before?

Mr. PETERS. We have not had the power.

Mr. BAYNE. No, we have not had the power. When we get the opportunity we propose to do it; and we propose to have an opportunity after the November election.

Mr. HOOKER. That will be a "deferred hope."

Mr. BAYNE. I do not think so. There is nothing more certain politically under the sun than that the next House of Representatives will be Republican, and it follows almost as certainly as night the day that General Harrison will be elected President of the United States. You mark that prediction, and see if it is not verified by the facts in a short time.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] has seen fit to speak of cutlery, and he goes on to say the Senate bill maintains a higher rate of duty on the very low grades of cutlery than it does on the higher and better grades. That is an effect of specific duties to put a higher rate of duty on inferior articles and a lower rate of duty on superior articles. It is a consequence of specific duties, but it is a consequence which inures to the advantage of the American consumer. If the ad valorem duty be low on cutlery, or woolen goods, or cotton goods, or anything else, the most inferior character of goods will be imported, whereas if the duty be specific and be graduated as low as can be in the matter of specific duties, the specific duty, when it invites importation at all, invites a better quality of goods from abroad, and thus the American consumer has a better article for the money he pays. And that is one of the reasons at least why the Senate has seen fit to put specific instead of ad valorem duties.

Now, Mr. Speaker, under our protective system in this country we have prospered beyond all precedent. During the three hundred and fifty years of our occupancy of this continent, including the hundred years of our existence as a nation, the aggregate wealth of this country up to 1860 amounted to about $16,000,000,000, while from 1860 to 1880, a period of twenty years, the aggregate wealth of the country, as shown by the census of 1880, reached the enormous aggregate of $45,000,000,000. Thus in twenty years of protection the people of the country made nearly $30,000,000,000, or to be accurate, $29,000,000,000 in aggregate wealth. That result was attributable to our protective system.

From 1860 up to the present time is the only period in our history when we have had a fair test of the protective system. At no other period has that system been permitted to endure longer than eight or ten years. Since the beginning of the Government in 1789 we have had over one hundred and thirty modifications of our protective system; tariff enactment after tariff enactment, tinkering with the tariff all the time; but during this last period we have had a continued protection for twenty-four years, and during that twenty-four years this country has prospered more and gained more in wealth by 200 per cent. than in all the three hundred and fifty years of its antecedent history.

It is claimed by the gentleman from Tennessee the Senate bill will not reduce the revenue of the Government. It is shown beyond all peradventure that bill will reduce the revenues about $75,000,000.

Mr. HOOKER. Then if the taxes were doubled the revenues would be increased as much more.

Mr. BAYNE. Yes, if the tariff were doubled it would increase the prosperity of this country. There is no doubt about it. [Laughter.] There is no question about that. The Senate bill was framed with a view to reduce the revenues of the Government. It will have that effect because it will not increase importation. It will have that effect because the duties are made specific, and there will not be undervaluations and evasions of the law.

The Senate bill is the most perfect piece of tariff legislation ever presented to or ever enacted by Congress. It is the most perfect system which has ever been framed. One advantage of it is that it divides the various classes of goods into thirteen different schedules, placing the different articles in alphabetical order in each schedule.

So framed is that bill that the administration of it by the Treasury Department and customs officers will be easy. Evasions of that plan will be difficult, and the country under the system proposed by the Senate, which will be the law of the country if any legislation be enacted by this or the subsequent Congress, will go on and prosper as it has done during the last quarter of a century.

It has been stated by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] that the Senate bill puts a duty of 258 per cent. on a certain class of knit goods, and I believe he referred to a computation made by Mr. Switzler, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, as his authority. The allegation is founded on paragraph 358 of the Senate bill. That paragraph is as follows:

358. Clothing ready made, and wearing apparel of every description not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, balmoral skirts and skirting and goods of similar description, or used for like purposes, knit goods, all goods made on knitting-frames, and plushes, and all pile fabrics, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, 40 cents per pound and in addition thereto 45 per cent. ad valorem.

Now, it so happens that in the year 1887 there were imported 48 pounds of some kind of knit goods, valued at $9, and the duty of this peculiar and exceptional class, under paragraph 358 of the Senate bill, would probably be 258 per cent. What kind of goods these are I have been unable to ascertain, and the reports of Mr. Switzler do not show.

But should this isolated and exceptional fact disparage paragraph 358 of the Senate bill?

The woolen goods imported in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, were—

Cloths	$10,022,370.67
Dress goods	17,199,141.02
Knit goods	1,980,453.74
Shawls	1,029,998.19
Yarns	1,747,562.09
Making a total of	31,979,525.71

That vast importation ought to satisfy the veriest free-trader, especially in view of our abundant capacity to produce all these things. And this very Mr. Switzler makes the Senate bill levy duties on these articles as follows:

	Per cent.
Cloths	75.15
Dress goods	78.02
Knit goods	71.90
Shawls	68.27
Yarns	113.83

Now, why was a change of existing law in regard to woolens necessary? For reasons that are obvious to those who understand the situation. Under existing law a pound of clean wool pays a far higher amount of duty than a pound of cloth. It takes, I am informed, 18 ounces of wool to make a pound of cloth. The 18 ounces of wool pay 33.75 cents duty, while the pound of cloth pays but 12 cents duty. I am indebted to the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. ARNOLD] for this information.

It is obvious that the duties on articles in the woolen schedule should be raised if the manufactured product should pay its relative proportion of duty. And inasmuch as there are vast and increasing importations of woolens, and for the further reason that many of our people, including large numbers of working women, are engaged in manufacturing them, the Senate committee doubtless foresaw that the duties they have fixed would diminish importations and thus decrease the surplus revenue on the one hand and stimulate home production and employ home labor on the other. The Senate's proposition is not only just and well founded from an economic standpoint, but it is as well humane and patriotic.

The Mills bill puts a straight ad valorem of 40 per cent. on all woolens. Its effect in this regard would simply be to flood our markets with the cheapest, meanest shoddy that the poorest-paid labor of Europe can produce.

Mr. Speaker, I did not anticipate this debate. It is scarcely appropriate to the occasion or to the subject under consideration. But the debate is a good thing, for the more this great subject of protection is discussed, the more certain will be the victory which the friends of American industries will achieve.

I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR].

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in view of the extraordinary statement of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] and the more extraordinary statement of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], in reference to the matter of interview between the members of the Ways and Means Committee and Mr. Havemeyer and those interested with him, I wish to take the time allotted to me in reading from the RECORD of July 10 last a colloquy which will be found on page 6563. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MCCOMAS] was on the floor, and asked this question:

Mr. MCCOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask a question of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means for information. I desire to ask the gentlemen of the majority of the committee (and I see three of them present), whether or not on the 26th of March last, Mr. Havemeyer, of New York, did not have a hearing by a majority of the committee, or by four members of the majority, with respect to sugar? I know that on the 12th of March there was a hearing and an examination of Mr. Havemeyer before the Committee on Manufactures, but I want to know now whether, on the 23d of March, the day of the adjournment of this House by reason of the decease of the lamented Chief-Justice of the United States, the members of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means did not, individually or collectively, some of them, give a hearing to Mr. Havemeyer on this subject?

To which this response was given:

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman I do not believe that anybody ever came to Washington to confer with the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means but what he had ample opportunity to talk over the business he came here about.

This was a direct answer, a Democratic answer.

Mr. MCCOMAS. Does that include Mr. Havemeyer?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. As regards this particular case, I do not remember dates, but I remember that Mr. Havemeyer talked with me and perhaps a little with some of the other Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee about the sugar-refining business. It was when he was here summoned as a witness before the Committee on Manufactures.

Mr. McCOMAS. That was on the 12th of March.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Very well, then, I would say that it was on the 12th. I am speaking now from memory, and I will say that at my request, having developed before the Committee on Manufactures an interesting line of investigation, precisely what the Committee on Ways and Means were engaged upon, I asked him to wait after he was done with the Committee on Manufactures and go with me to the Ways and Means Committee room, as I wanted him to talk there with one or two gentlemen of the committee. It related to some matters of a technical character that I for one wanted information about. That, I suppose, is what the gentleman from Maryland refers to.

Mr. McCOMAS. Now, does the gentleman from Arkansas recall the fact that on the day of our adjournment here on account of the decease of the Chief-Justice Mr. Havemeyer did have a hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means or some of its members?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I have no recollection of it.

Mr. McCOMAS. Anyhow, you admit that he did have a hearing before the majority on some other day upon your invitation?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I do not mean to deny it, the facts, as stated, at all. My only recollection on the subject is what I have given you. But suppose he did. Suppose he had come to me or I had met him on the day you say, I would have listened to him with great pleasure.

* * * * * * *

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Nor were some of us present. But this is the fact which the gentleman has disingenuously distorted. No human being came to any member of the majority of the Ways and Means Committee and asked to have a conversation with him when it was not courteously accorded.

Mr. McCOMAS. Did Mr. Havemeyer——

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. One moment. When the gentleman says, in antithesis, that we gave a hearing to the "chief of the sugar trust" and refused it to others he is intentionally disingenuous.

Mr. McCOMAS. Let me ask the gentleman this question. If he wants to be fair and frank, does he deny specifically that Mr. Havemeyer on March 12 or 23, individually conferred, informally if you please, on this subject with a number of gentleman of that committee?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I do not deny it.

Mr. McCOMAS. Ah, that is my point.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I do not deny it. [Applause on the Republican side.] And the gentlemen who applaud, applaud a disingenuous statement.

Mr. McCOMAS. My statement is as fair as yours. My assertion was that members of that committee, men who happen to be on that committee, a number of the gentlemen in the majority on the committee, had, informally or formally, I care not which, given time and had conversations on this question with this gentleman at the head of the sugar "trust," and within a few days thereafter reported this bill making the change from 16 to 13, Dutch standard.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Indubitably, if Mr. Havemeyer asked an audience, he got it.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. The gentleman does not read the whole of that answer.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly not.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in our part of the country we do not pride ourselves about being particularly chivalrous, but we have an appreciation of what honesty is and fair-dealing, and when Mr. MILLS tells Mr. Blaine that the Committee on Ways and Means had no audience with Mr. Havemeyer, he tells the absolute truth in words, but I think he should have stated an interview was had with certain members of the committee and Mr. Havemeyer.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Go on and say it; say what you intended to say. Have the courage as well as the malignity to use the term you design to imply.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I say nothing more than that. I say it was a truth in language, because the Committee on Ways and Means never existed as a committee in formulating that bill. It was only a fraction of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. BAYNE. I now yield ten minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARQUHAR].

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Before the gentleman from New York proceeds will he permit an interruption?

Mr. FARQUHAR. Certainly.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I want to say to the gentleman from Ohio that I intend to respond to what he has said, and I desire that he shall be present when I do so. I want to point out the disingenuousness of the original conversation as carried on, with the disingenuousness of the gentleman himself in his garbled extract from it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I will be here.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, I do not know that I can throw any light on this aftermath of tariff discussion. At the close of the great tariff debate which took place in this House there was a speech of one hour made by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS], the whole burden of which speech was that the entire reduction of taxation proposed by the Mills bill, from the present rate of tariff duty, amounted to from 5 to 7 per cent. There was no opportunity for further debate after that speech had been delivered, and hence no chance of contradicting the statements in open House that were then made. I see those statements still repeated all over the country. The speech rests on the statement embodied in the arguments then delivered, first that the 47 per cent. claimed to be exacted by the present law was a robbery on the part of the manufacturers, and that the Mills bill proposes merely a lesser robbery. But I want to go beyond that. The Democratic platform of 1884, as well as the reaffirmation of the platform in 1888, held out to the wage-earners of America the hope that whatever tariff legislation should be enacted, or internal-revenue laws, that the wage-earner of the country should be cared for.

Now we have sufficient data, and they credible, too, I believe, from the Bureau of Statistics itself, to show that the wages of the American wage-earners are from 65 to 67 per cent. greater than in any competing country in the world, and especially have these figures been used by the chiefs of the Bureaus of Statistics and of Labor in respect to the wages of English workmen as compared with our own. So if we are to take the message of President Cleveland, and take the Democratic platforms, and then take the figures furnished to us by these bureaus, indicating 67 per cent. difference between the wages here and abroad, and that the Democratic party is determined in its legislation to save, to protect, to make independent the American wage-earners, we ought naturally in all of our tariff measures to bear out this same relative rate by making our dutiable list 67. But there is a deduction to be made from it. The Chief of the Bureau of Labor in his well-considered figures shows that there is an advantage to the English workmen of 17 per cent. in the matter of living.

That fairly would leave the general tariff scale of America at 50 per cent. That is the proposition that the President holds out in his message; that is the proposition that has been made in repeated speeches from the Democratic side; but I find by the Mills bill that instead of holding it at 50 per cent. for the protection of American labor, it is stated to have gone down to 42 per cent. Now, on this floor, and I am willing to stand by the figures here and elsewhere, I present to this House what I regard as a mathematically correct tabular comparison of the present tariff rates and the Mills bill, to which I desire to call the attention of the House, as a side note. At the same time I will say that I am very sorry Mr. MILLS or any one else has seen fit on the stump and elsewhere in this country to persist in playing on the intelligence of our people with the fact or the statement that there is only 5 per cent. of reduction in his bill from the present tariff.

Now, sir, here are the averages in the various schedules:

Schedules.	Present rate.	Proposed rate.
A.—Chemicals	41.28	26.23
B.—Earthenware and glassware	60.61	50.90
C.—Metals	52.57	43.97
D.—Woodenware	34.60	29.25
E.—Sugar	78.14	63.41
G.—Provisions	46.62	37.38
I.—Cotton	50.89	39.40
J.—Hemp, flax, jute	34.40	23.64
K.—Wool and woolens	69.49	40.15
M.—Books, papers, etc	24.40	18.19
N.—Sundries	44.78	35.06
Total	64.84	48.28

The difference between 64.84 and 48.28 is 16.56, and 16.56 is 25.53 per cent. of 64.84, not counting the free-list.

So the actual reduction according to this tabulated statement of the duty, which will pass uncontradicted by the Bureau of Statistics, and which is prepared in this Mills bill itself, is over 25 per cent. on the existing rates, not counting the free-list.

Now let me summarize, as my time is very short. My reasons on this floor, Mr. Speaker, for antagonizing the Mills bill clear through were, first, the opposition that I had to a change from specific duties to ad valorem. The very first position that was taken by any amendment on the Republican side was to bring back the specific rates or to compound the rates.

Now, I have as an authority the present Secretary of the Treasury, where he speaks in his last annual report in respect to the specific and ad valorem duty, which I will ask the Clerk to read. I am willing to take Democratic authority even for the Senate bill. In the action of the Senate in going back to specific duties, I desire to say that it has been at the demand and at the request of all the wage-earners of this country that a specific duty should be allowed, both for the prevention of undervaluation and at the same time to show that the American Congress had taken care specifically of the labor that enters into every product of our industries.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whatever the rates of customs taxation may be, the laws for the collection of the same should be made as efficient as possible. In this the bona fide importer, who wishes to gain only the legitimate profits of his business, the home manufacturer, and laborer are equally interested. They all have a right to demand that the laws be so administered as to give them every possible protection in their business. The high ad valorem tariff of the last quarter of a century has been the fruitful cause of devices to gain improper advantage at the custom-house. It is, therefore, desirable that in revising and reducing the rates of duty they should be made specific instead of ad valorem, so far as the nature of the merchandise will admit. Theoretically considered, ad valorem are preferable to specific duties; but in practice, under such rates as we have had and must continue to have for years to come, the former are the too-easy source of deception and inequality at the custom-house. Congress has it in its power to change, from time to time, as may be advisable, specific rates so as to meet any permanent changes in values.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as my time is limited, I want to summarize in one or two words my whole opposition to the House bill. I find by examination of the tables furnished by the Ways and Means Committee of this House that this bill abolishes one-fourth of all the customs duties. I find also that it puts one-sixth of all these dutiable articles on the free-list, and adds to the free-list products of American industries which employ 300,000 persons and $500,000,000 of capital that are

placed in hazard by its provisions. It reduces the duties on schedules that are the ark of our tariff system, because it strikes immediately at the home industries; and these schedules give protective employment to 1,750,000 Americans, and in this there are employed two thousand millions of American capital.

Mr. BAYNE. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. MILLIKEN].

Mr. MILLIKEN. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to detain the House more than a few minutes, and I do not intend to get mixed up in the disputes between the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] and other gentlemen on this side of the House. I have simply this to say, since reference has been made to the statement of Mr. Blaine upon the stump in regard to Mr. Hevemeyer having been heard before the Committee on Ways and Means, that he founded his statement upon the record which has been read here to-day, and I think that any man outside of Congress, reading that record, would be warranted in coming to the conclusion which not only he but so many people in this country have come to on this subject. In addition to that, my friend from Georgia [Mr. TURNER], even in attempting to defend the position of the Committee on Ways and Means, has stated this morning that Mr. Havemeyer had a hearing in that committee-room. That is something which I understand nobody else had there.

The gentleman has stated that Mr. Havemeyer had a hearing, that he presented his samples, that he commented upon them, and that he was listened to; and the result seems to show that he was listened to with effect and that what he stated was so far accepted by the committee that the duty on sugar was placed where he wanted it to be. Therefore, taking the record as it stands and the supplementary statement of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER], which goes to confirm the position taken by this side of the House upon that matter, I do not think that anybody can reasonably reflect either upon Mr. Blaine or anybody else for anything that has been said about it.

My friend from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] in his remarks this morning stated that the Senate bill raised the duties upon articles of necessity. I desire to know if there are any articles of greater or more general necessity, any articles that relate more directly to the comfort and welfare of the people generally than the article of sugar, upon which Mr. Havemeyer or somebody else succeeded in leaving a duty of 68 per cent., while fifty-three other articles were put upon the free-list, almost all of them articles produced by our own people in the North. There is a radical difference between the two bills.

As Mr. Harrison so felicitously said the other day, it is not a question of schedules but of wide-apart principle. Mr. MILLS took the position here, they who supported the Mills bills took the position, and the President took the position, that in every instance the duty is added to the cost of the article, even though it be an article of domestic production. We take issue upon that proposition, and the facts show that it is not correct. I heard a little illustration of this given once by a distinguished gentleman who was formerly a Democratic Senator from Connecticut, and afterwards a Representative on this floor, Mr. Eaton. He said that on one occasion a distinguished college professor came down to a manufacturing community in his State to make a free-trade speech, and got along very nicely until he saw a farmer standing up beside the wall, and thought he would be a specially good man to talk to. So he told the farmer how the tariff had swindled him, and stolen from him, and robbed him, and impoverished him. The farmer said, "I don't know about that, Mr. Professor. I came down here five years ago with only $500 in money; I bought a farm, agreeing to pay $3,000 for it. I paid $500 down, mortgaged it for $2,500, and in five years I have paid for that farm, and I have a little money in bank. So I don't think I have suffered much from these protectionists." "Ah!" said the professor, "you are probably one of those shrewd, hard-working, industrious, thrifty men who would save money anywhere, and you would have done what you have done in spite of the tariff; but don't you know that this tariff robs you at the rate of 6 cents a yard for every yard of cotton that is in your shirt?" "Now," replied the farmer, "you probably think that is true or you would not say it, but you can't prove it by anything that you teach up in that school of yours, because I pay only 5 cents a yard altogether for that cotton." [Laughter.]

Mr. BAYNE. I yield now to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PETERS]. I have only a few minutes remaining, and before the gentleman from Kansas proceeds I would like to inquire whether he will not be allowed ten minutes, if so much time is to be occupied on the other side.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I have no objection, except that I have an engagement which will take me away from the House soon, and I prefer that the ten minutes should not be occupied at this time.

Mr. PETERS. Then I will yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE].

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to participate in this debate, and I would not have done so, but for (to use his own words) the extraordinary exhibition which the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] has made to-day, and which seems to render necessary a statement from me. The gentleman from Ohio said he would occupy his ten minutes in reading from the RECORD, and then he read that RECORD in such a way as to give a false coloring to it, which I might be justified in saying was intentionally done, because he suppressed such parts of it as would show that the coloring which he gave was a false coloring. As, for instance, he reads a sentence from the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MCCOMAS] and then takes one word from my response as if I had approved of what Mr. MCCOMAS had said, and suppresses the remainder of my sentence, though the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] called his attention to it immediately.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I deny that statement, and I call for the proof of it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The denial of the gentleman is now utterly useless, when he could have made the correction immediately upon Judge TURNER'S calling his attention and my attention to his use of the word "indubitably," which he read and then stopped.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I did not stop at the word "indubitably." I read the whole sentence: "Indubitably, if Mr. Havemeyer asked an audience, he got it."

The gentleman from Kentucky must make no mistake when he charges me with anything that is dishonorable.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I did not catch the last sentence of the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I say the gentleman from Kentucky must make no mistake when he charges me with anything that is dishonorable.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. "The gentleman from Kentucky" will make no mistake when he makes that charge against the gentleman, after his exhibition this morning.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I do not understand the gentleman.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I suppose he is the only person present who does not understand the response. Judge TURNER was sitting close to the gentleman from Ohio, and instantly, when he used the word "indubitably," Judge TURNER ejaculated, "You have not read the whole sentence."

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR rose.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Wait a moment; I will give you plenty of time. And then Judge TURNER turned to me and said, "He has read only the word 'indubitably;' he has not read the whole sentence." I said "Certainly;" and the gentleman from Ohio went on with his comment—a very fair comment indeed. He said, "We do not profess in my country to have any chivalry, but we do profess to admire fair dealing"——

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Which is exhibited by their sending this gentleman to Congress; it exhibits their desire for fair dealing.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I will say that I did not stop at the word "indubitably." I marked it on my RECORD for the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] to read; and I marked the whole sentence. If I did stop there it was unintentional. I intended to read the whole sentence. I did read the whole sentence.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I will not follow the example of the gentleman in what he has done this morning, and say that he did intentionally suppress a part of the sentence. If he says he intended to read it, I will let the matter go. I will not even go on and say that it would have sounded much more as if he were now accurate if he had done that when Judge TURNER called his attention and my attention to it. We were both sitting close to him, and attention was called to it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. The record at the Reporter's desk will show that I read the whole sentence at once.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I can not say how the record is; but I know the gentleman did not read the whole sentence——

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I know I did.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. And Judge TURNER called his attention to it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. May I ask to have the Reporter read——

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I am not to be called off into any discussion with the Reporter.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I will state, in confirmation of what the honorable gentleman from Kentucky has said, that his recital just made of the facts as to what I stated, and as to my understanding of the reading the gentleman from Ohio made, is correct. As I understood, the gentleman read the word "indubitably," and then either said "etc." or stopped altogether and read no other word. If the Reporter has got the other words it is not because the gentleman from Ohio read them, but because, according to what is the usual practice here, he handed the language to the Reporter.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I handed not a word to the Reporter.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. But the Reporters know how to go to the different pages of the RECORD and get a passage which is referred to.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Does the gentleman, for the purpose of condemning me, condemn also the Reporters of this House?

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I do not, sir. Let the gentleman un-

derstand me. When the gentleman took his seat he ceased that quotation with the word "indubitably."

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. If I did I made a mistake——

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I have no disposition to challenge that last statement. I acted on the instant upon my understanding of what the gentleman read, and called the attention of gentlemen around me to it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. If you had called my attention to it, so that I could have understood——

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. If the gentleman from Ohio had then used the courtesy which he ordinarily observes in these cases he would have yielded to me and I would have called his attention to it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, at this moment I am not aware that the gentleman from Georgia asked me to yield or said a word to me.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. But I did, sir.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I was not aware of it.

Mr. HOOKER (to Mr. TURNER, of Georgia). I heard you; you certainly did.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia (after conferring with Mr. BAYNE). The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] was sitting by the gentleman from Ohio and heard me. The gentleman from Ohio, no doubt, did not hear me, if he says so.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I did not.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I will not contradict the gentleman's statement in that regard.

Mr. BAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I heard the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] call the attention of the gentleman from Ohio to the point, but, as I suggested to the gentleman from Georgia, the gentleman from Ohio probably did not hear it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I was so much interested in my own matter that I did not hear it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman read with great emphasis at one part that I had said "I do not deny it" to a statement made by Mr. MCCOMAS. The gentleman was familiar with this whole record, and he knew that in a subsequent part of it I explained that the reason I did not deny the statement was because I was not familiar with the facts, and therefore did not contradict it; that I personally was not present. He read it so as to make the impression upon the House that by that refusal to deny it I had affirmed the statement, when I had expressly said the reason I did not contradict it was because I was not aware of the fact, and therefore did not contradict it.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Will the gentleman allow me a single word now?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I understood the gentleman this morning to deny it; and having seen in the RECORD that he once said he did not deny it, I called his attention to that fact.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Yes, sir; and if the gentleman who has interposed now had not suppressed it he would have found I denied it then. For in answer to it I said to Mr. MCCOMAS, who asked whether he did have a conversation with certain members of that committee—I said this:

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I do not deny it.

I said I did not know. I was not present. The gentleman knew I had said that. He deliberately suppressed it. He read the sentence, "I do not deny it," and read the applause of the Republican members of the House which followed that, with emphasis. Having used the words "in my extraordinary denial this morning," for the purpose of insinuating to this House I had not denied the thing at all in the presence of Mr. MCCOMAS what I had denied this morning, and that is a specimen of the fair play which the gentleman says in his part of the country is admired.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there is one thing in this RECORD to which I do call attention now, although it has been corrected heretofore. I said in that conversation——

Mr. FARQUHAR rose.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Let me get through. It was an exciting colloquy, a great many persons interposing, persons asking questions and other persons answering questions, interrupting gentlemen on the other side of the House, interrupting by applause and by derisive laughter the reporter, therefore it is not unnatural he should make some mistake; but the mistake he made is so apparent on the face of it I do not think anybody was deceived by it. But I took the liberty of making a correction, so there should be no mistake about the matter:

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Let me get through. The gentleman, judging of me by himself, may think it was improper.

As that gentleman [Mr. MCCOMAS] is absent, I care not to pursue that. I went on:

I had known Mr. John Parsons; he was in the committee-room; we renewed our acquaintance, and had a humorous conversation about the gentleman being before the Committee on Manufactures, and I was introduced to three or four gentlemen, including one or possibly two of the Messrs Havemeyer; but there was no conversation between us either about the sugar schedule or the testimony before the Committee on Manufactures.

Mr. MCCOMAS. I understand that Mr. Parsons is the counsel of the sugar trust.

The colloquy goes backward and forward for some time. I am reported as asking as to the sugar schedule. The corrected RECORD states, and what I said was, I had no conversation with him on the sugar schedule.

I make this as to this correction so there may be hereafter no apparent contradiction. The correction will be found in the permanent RECORD. I state that as the gentleman has not called attention to it so there may be no doubt about it hereafter.

The point has been made again this morning by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. MILLIKEN], of whom I speak courteously because he has shown courtesy in it, and has been made by the gentleman from Ohio, who is entitled to no courtesy after the way he has behaved this morning, that there were hearings before the committee; that is, these gentlemen came into the committee-room and had a hearing when no one else was allowed to come into the committee-room to have a hearing. That has been explained over and over again. I believe the gentleman from Maine [Mr. MILLIKEN] does not mean to use the word "hearing" disingenuously. There was no hearing accorded by the Committee on Ways and Means to any human being during the Fiftieth Congress on the subject of the tariff, with which hearing I was familiar or acquainted, in the sense——

Mr. FARQUHAR rose.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. One moment. In the sense that committee in its organized and formal meeting had anybody with a formal hearing before it. There was no exception. There was no partiality. Nobody was granted time; on the contrary, there was nobody denied a conversation, or, if you choose to use the word, a hearing, with the majority of the Ways and Means Committee, or any member of it, on any subject in which he was interested, who desired to talk to the members of the Committee on Ways and Means—with the committee or any individual member of it on matters before it, so far as I know. Those conversations were during our hours of rest. They were given to any gentleman. One gentleman had a conversation on the cotton schedule. I recollect Mr. Dalton, chairman of the Arkright Club, and the gentleman from Massachusetts is listening to me, and he knows who Mr. Dalton is—the chairman of the Arkright club—Mr. Townshend, and other gentlemen from Massachusetts, who came to talk about cotton with us. A gentleman from Rhode Island, Mr. Merriman, a large woolen manufacturer, Mr. Jesse Metcalf, and other gentlemen came to talk with us on the woolen question.

Mr. Jesse Metcalf and other gentlemen representing the woolen interest were heard with reference to the woolen schedules. We heard gentlemen from Philadelphia representing the great carpet interests, and various other industries there, and there was no secrecy whatever about it. They were of all classes of manufactures. We heard labor committees. We heard gentlemen on glass. I recollect specially one gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Depauw, as well as a delegation from Baltimore, who were heard upon the subject, and there never was any secrecy about it.

Now certain gentlemen have disingenuously used the word "hearing" in a different meaning from that used by myself in this connection, for the word has two meanings, and allege that there was a refusal on the part of the committee to "hear" the workingmen, but at the same time it granted "hearings" to manufacturers. That always was, when intelligently done, a disingenuous statement, and after the explanation was made, and it was repeated, then, of course, it was intentionally disingenuous. There never was any concealment about it.

Mr. BAYNE. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly.

Mr. BAYNE. The gentleman has enumerated a number of persons who were given hearings by perhaps members of the Committee on Ways and Means——

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Just there I want the gentleman to understand exactly what I did say and the use I make of the word. I say they were given hearings, that is to say that we had conversations with them; that they came to us for information. We talked with them individually. We did not as a committee.

Mr. BAYNE. I understand that. But the gentleman has enumerated a number of persons with whom conversations, if you please, were had by members of the committee.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. BAYNE. And these are mostly identified with the idea of protection. Now, I would like to ask the gentleman whether J. D. Moore had any conversation with members of the committee?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. J. S. Moore, you mean.

Mr. BAYNE. Yes; J. S. Moore.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. He undoubtedly had with me, and with other members of the committee, too, as also did Mr. David A. Wells, on my seeking; and I will not hesitate to say that I went to Boston largely for the purpose of having a conversation with Mr. Edward Atkinson.

I needed certain information that I knew Mr. Atkinson possessed, and I went expressly to see him. I also did what I am not in the habit of doing, got him to invite me to a dinner and asked him to invite to meet me a number of gentlemen representing various industries there with whom I desired to talk. We had at this interview Mr.

Jefferson Coolidge, Mr. W. B. Rice, and other gentlemen representing various industries of Massachusetts. I asked these gentlemen and asked other gentlemen connected with the enterprises and industries of that State to give me an opportunity to have conversations with them on various matters. As to Mr. J. S. Moore, I did seek a conversation with him; as far as I know he never did with me, but I did with him, and I found him one of the most valuable, intelligent, and admirably informed gentlemen.

Mr. BAYNE. So I suppose.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Just as I did Mr. David A. Wells, Mr. Edmund Atkinson, Mr. James Russell Lowell, and various other gentlemen connected with industries of many kinds throughout the country. I do not hesitate to avow, and in the most public manner, my sense of obligation to these and many other gentlemen for valuable information connected with the industries of the country as relating to the preparation of the tariff bill.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I would suggest to the gentleman that the most of the members who have been named by him are also members of the Cobden Club.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. That may be true—no, I think it is not; but if they were I do not see what difference it could make. The members of the Cobden Club, whose faces I have never seen, are entitled to gratitude for valuable information upon this very subject; and I do not hesitate to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Gladstone and Sir Lionel Playfair, whose contributions to economic questions have great value, if indeed they have been excelled; and I would commend to my friend from New York to read Mr. Gladstone and Sir Lionel Playfair, and try to draw a little of the broad spirit which animates their writings, as well as a little of the liberality with which they deal with a question of this magnitude.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I accept graciously, of course, the recommendations of the gentleman from Kentucky, but I may be permitted to say that for the last twenty years I have perused pretty much all of these economic studies, and the longer I read economic books the more I am confirmed in the opinion that there is an American system which is paramount to and independent of the British system, and is more satisfactory to the American people.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I confess to some admiration for the learning and erudition that my friend testifies he has, and I give him the meed of my admiration on the modesty that has kept his light under a bushel so many years, so that we had not heard of it before. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. FARQUHAR. I am glad of the compliment. I merely wish to suggest that if the wage-earners of the country had been more consulted the gentleman would have had more information than he obtained on this subject.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that if we had sat on the inside and heard testimony and on the outside had caught the frying of the fat, it might have been that our bill would have been different to what it is, and the exchequer of our party might have been fuller. That is, on the other end of the Capitol, not on this. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, as to the sugar schedule and Mr. Havemeyer's connection with it, I want to say once for all that so far as I had anything to do with it—and I was perhaps as largely responsible for that schedule as any member of the Ways and Means Committee, as it was originally put in the bill—I thought it was a good thing to make the line of demarkation at 16 and not at 13. The Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee disagreed with me on that subject, and only after a great deal of hesitation that schedule was adopted by us.

As soon as it was adopted the New York Times came out in a series of able articles demonstrating that the schedule as we drew it up was not in the interest of the American producer. I made personal inquiries as far as I was able to do so of persons who were familiar with the manufacture of sugar in Louisiana, in California, in the Hawaiian Islands, and elsewhere, of gentlemen of all political views, that I might make myself familiar with it. I came to the conclusion that we had made a mistake in the change of that schedule, and while the existing schedule was wholly unsatisfactory, that my change of it was probably equally unsatisfactory; and acting on the principle that controlled me and all that I did on this bill whenever I was in a state of doubt as to what I ought to do, I thought the existing condition of things had better be retained, and so I consented to a change back to the schedule, precisely as the Senate, after full examination, have also done. They left the line of demarkation at 13, precisely as the House did.

Now, in relation to Mr. Havemeyer, he had nothing to do with me so far as the making of that change is concerned. I had no conversation with him on the subject of sugar at all.

Now, as to what ought to be done with the sugar schedule, I then was in doubt; I now am in doubt. In the Senate schedule there are two grave defects, according to my best judgment. One is that it admits molasses not exceeding fifty degrees of saccharine matter entirely free. Thirty-seven million gallons of that class came in during 1887.

By that the refiners can control the introduction of the raw material. I see no reason why under this bill the introduction of raw sugar would not cease, and all would come in in the shape of molasses and the sugar refiner get the entire margin of duty on his refined sugar; and if any gentleman at this time can point out that I am mistaken, I will be glad, because I want to know what is the real merit or demerit of putting molasses on the free-list, which seems to strike at the beet-sugar interests of California and the sorghum industry of Kansas and Louisiana sugars, because the refiner would get the entire margin of duty. Under the schedule as it is in the Senate bill the margin between the duty on raw sugars and the duty on refined sugars is larger than that in the Mills bill. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has not examined the sugar schedule with his usual care or he would have ascertained in the refined sugars the margin of the duty is higher in proportion to the duty on the raw sugar in the Senate bill than it is in the House bill or under the present law.

Mr. BAYNE. Will the gentleman permit an inquiry there?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly.

Mr. BAYNE. If all raw sugar should be imported in the form of molasses and put on the free-list as in the Senate bill, would it not very largely reduce the revenues of the Government?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. It would. Fifty-six millions of dollars, of course. And, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman says that that is what his party desires to do, that they desire to have that $56,000,000 taken out of the revenue and not to avoid a plan to prevent the introduction of raw sugar, but to effect the destruction of the hope of Kansas and California to produce sugar from sorghum and beets and the destruction of the sugar interests of Louisiana, it may be a matter which he would himself and I myself might have some remarks to make. If molasses under fifty-six degrees of saccharine is introduced in sufficient quantities to make the refined sugars of the country, the entire $56,000,000 revenue received from sugar will of course cease, and it will go into the pockets of the sugar refiner. That $56,000,000 will be transferred by the gentleman's legislation from the Treasury of the United States to the pockets of the refiner, because the refiner will have the entire duty on refined sugars which is 1⅛ of a cent. Certainly that will be sufficient to exclude all refined sugars, and the reduction of revenue to the Government will mark precisely the increased profit and revenue to the sugar refiner.

There can be no doubt about that, and if the gentleman, with his usual research, will take the subject up and study it he will agree with me, though possibly he may not acknowledge it until after the Presidential canvass is over.

Mr. BAYNE. That will be free raw material.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Undoubtedly it will be free raw material; but the gentleman seems to have no conception of the difference between a free raw material which increases the amount of product in America and decreases the cost, and a free raw material which diminishes the revenue of the Government, increases the profit of the manufacturer, and leaves the burden upon the consumer precisely where it was before. That is the difference between the gentlemen who advocate free molasses and those who advocate free wool, free leather, free raw silk, free cotton, free lumber, and other free raw materials which have to be made up here.

Now, I did not intend to participate in this debate, but as I am up, there are one or two points in this "perfect" Senate bill to which I wish to direct attention. There is a colloquialism in Kentucky that "you don't need to eat the whole leg of mutton to know that it is underdone;" and I propose to take a sample from this Senate bill. The duty on knit goods is increased by this bill in such a way as to put it at 258 per cent. That is, goods costing $9 will have put upon them a duty of $23.25, by the mere changing of the term "knit goods" from its place in the present statute to another classification in the proposed bill. I understood the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE], in the colloquy that he had with the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER], to approve of that. Does he believe that a prohibitory duty of 258 per cent. upon knit goods is a "perfect" rate of duty? I understand the gentleman to say that that is his doctrine.

Mr. BAYNE. I am not prepared to speak at this moment specifically as to knit goods; but I know that under the existing law there has been a very large importation.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I took it for granted that the gentleman knew this Senate bill as the Turk knows the Koran, because he said it was "perfect" in all its parts, a sort of divine inspiration which had come down from the heavenly source of the Committee on Finance of the Senate. But may be the gentleman will think that 148 per cent. duty is a proper rate of duty on woolens. On manufactures of worsted, hair of the alpaca, goat, etc., not exceeding 30 cents a pound, or exceeding 30 and not exceeding 40 cents a pound, the duty under the present law is 69 per cent. The Mills bill makes it 40 per cent. and the Senate bill makes it 148 per cent. That is, the Senate bill makes a change of 78 per cent. according to my way of counting; but the gentleman says that is not a proper way; he says that we should reckon the percentage on the duty, not on the price of the article. Well, it is over 100 per cent. of increase on the present duty. Seamless goods that are brought in at over 80 cents pay, under the present law, 64 per cent., by our bill they will pay 40 per cent., by this "perfect" Senate substitute they will pay 69.74 per cent. That is, the duty on costly goods, over 80 cents, is increased 5 per cent., while the duty on the less valuable goods, such as poor people have to buy, is in-

creased 78 per cent. The one increase is 5 per cent., the other is 78 per cent.

Do I understand my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] to indorse that discrimination by which the duty on the cheaper goods is made 148 per cent., an increase of 78 per cent., while on the more valuable goods the increase is only 5 per cent.?

Mr. BAYNE. I observed in my remarks that specific rates upon knit goods and upon everything else would raise the duty on inferior articles, and I stated that that would be to the advantage of the consumer. A shoddy blanket, for instance, would pay a very small ad valorem duty, but under a specific rate the duty upon it would be comparatively high. The Senate bill encourages the importation of good goods instead of inferior ones.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. In other words, I would say that it gives to the privileged class, who have money and who own the manufactories in which the cheap goods are made, an opportunity to sell those cheap goods at enormous prices to the poor while they import from abroad their own wearing-apparel at a comparatively low rate of duty. I take issue with the gentleman as to whether this is a "perfect" bill for the benefit of the consumer, in view of the fact that of the sixty millions of our people probably fifty-nine millions must wear the cheaper goods, while possibly one million with their wives and daughters may be able to import the more costly goods. That is the equality of citizenship which my friend believes lies at the foundation of the Republican party.

Mr. BAYNE. I have no doubt that the change was made on knit goods in consequence of the fact that in 1887 there were over $60,000,000 of them imported.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. My friend is permitting himself to make a misstatement unintentionally. He is reading the figures of the whole importation of woolen goods and raw material—woolens, worsted goods, and the raw material.

Mr. BAYNE. I have not made a mistake. There is no division in the statement, and I read the whole, intending to eliminate the wool. Eliminating that, $16,000,000, it still leaves about forty-four million as the importation of knit goods.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Undoubtedly. Now, the point of difference between the gentleman and me is that he wants to put the increase of duty on so much of that forty-four millions as a rich man can buy at only 5 per cent., while upon what the poor man can buy he proposes an increase of 78 per cent.; and I, on the other hand, want to make the duty only 40 per cent. upon whichever article the man's means enable him to buy.

Mr. BAYNE. If my friend will permit me, the object of the Senate bill is to prevent the importation of goods made from the refuse matters of the cities of Europe. I believe that the poor man should have as good a blanket as the rich man, and every poor man in this country is able to buy a good American blanket.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I am glad my friend believes that, for if he does honestly believe it he will join the Democratic party as soon as his belief takes the form of practical action. [Laughter.] At present the margin between his practice and his opinion is greater than the margin between the rich man's goods at an increase of only 5 per cent. and the poor man's goods at an increase of 78 per cent. of duty. [Laughter.]

This bill is full of just such things. In pocket-knives the case is exactly the same: the man of small means pays an enormous duty; the man of larger means pays less in proportion. And so all the way through.

Mr. BAYNE. Will my friend hear me a moment? A European jack-knife, I believe, sells at something like $2 a gross over there. Its blade is made of iron. The Senate bill will perhaps by a specific duty exclude the importation of iron-bladed jack-knives which sell at about $2 a gross. The American consumer, however, will thereby secure a knife with a steel blade that will be of some value to him.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The difference between the gentleman and myself is that I think the man who wants to buy a jack-knife ought to have the liberty of doing so—ought not to be deprived of the opportunity, besides paying for the privilege of being deprived of it, while my friend from Pennsylvania believes that if a man wants such a jack-knife he has no right which the Republican Senate ought to regard, and he not only ought not to be allowed to buy the jack-knife, but ought to pay to the gentleman's constituents and others who make knives not only the full price of the knife but a bonus; he ought to pay first for the knife, and second for wanting the jack-knife.

Mr. BAYNE. Then, if I understand the gentleman's proposition, he ought to bring in a bill taking off all tariff duties and raising the revenue of the Government by direct taxation.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Not by any means. We have to raise a certain amount of revenue—$310,000,000. Direct taxation must be apportioned among the States according to population. It would be an impossibility for us to raise our revenue in that way. Nobody thinks it can now be done—certainly not I. Therefore we must raise this revenue in large part—in much the larger part—by imposts on imports. The difference between the gentleman and myself is that I believe in an honest levying of taxes, each man paying his ad valorem tax on the thing he desires to import; the gentleman believes, as he frankly says, in laying these taxes so that revenue shall not be collected for the Government, which means, as I understand, that it shall be collected for the manufacturer. That is the distinct difference between us; and that is what this bill does—not openly, not frankly, not candidly, but clandestinely—by changes in schedules, by the manipulation of classifications, by the hiding away of words in the midst of unusual collocations, so that nobody, not even an expert, can read this bill and understand what it means except after careful comparison and the most accurate and painful analysis.

Mr. Speaker, I had intended to say some other things about the sugar schedule and the action of certain gentlemen in regard to it, but I do not care to do so. Some of those gentlemen are absent to-day, and I myself have to go away. I wish to say I have felt that the late statement of the gentleman who is at the head of the Ways and Means Committee about the sugar "trust" was absolutely accurate. I have not criticised the statement of Mr. Blaine, because I supposed he was misled by statements made on this floor; but I felt that it was an outrage on decency as well as a violation of truth for the gentleman from Ohio to say that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS], when he denied the statements of Mr. Blaine, had been accurate as to the letter, but had spoken what he meant to say was a falsehood as to the spirit. That statement was wholly gratuitous; it was absolutely without foundation; and it will stick to the gentleman from Ohio, as all intentionally false statements do, for the balance of his public life.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR addressed the Chair.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I reserve the remainder of my time.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. SOWDEN). The gentleman from Kentucky has fifteen minutes remaining.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I have no disposition to take very much time, Mr. Speaker; but in reference to the strictures which the gentleman from Kentucky has made upon my action to-day I wish to say, without using any adjectives, that I think he is in the wrong and I am in the right. The first statement which he makes is that I garbled an answer of the gentleman in the RECORD by stopping, in reading the answer, at the word "indubitably." My reply to that is, first, that I have no such recollection; second, I had no such intention; third, there is no such fact—it is not true. In this connection I desire the Reporter to have the Clerk read the notes of that matter.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky (after a pause). While we are waiting, I will ask, in order to throw light upon this matter, whether the Reporter has to refer to the notes or to the RECORD.

Mr. J. H. WHITE (one of the Official Reporters). I have the notes here, and can read them.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Read them, if you please, so that we can hear them.

Mr. WHITE read as follows:

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR (reading):

"Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Indubitably, if Mr. Havemeyer asked an audience he got it."

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. The gentleman does not read the whole of that answer.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly not.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Now, Mr. Speaker, the report of the RECORD shows that I read the whole sentence; and I know that I did read it. If any man living says I did not, I still know I did. I understand how easy it is to make mistakes in a matter of this kind. I had no reason at all to suppress any part of the extract; I did not suppress any of it; and when the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] made his remark, as I am sure he did make it, because the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] heard it, my mind being upon the subject that I was following, I did not hear it; I did not stop to listen. But to say that I read that word "indubitably," and stopped there, is a slander on me that never has been made before, and never must be made here or elsewhere.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I would like to suggest that it was not the intention of my friend from Ohio to read that from the RECORD at all. He carried the book over to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I will refer to that.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. BAYNE had not risen to read from the RECORD.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. While the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] was speaking the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] made his remarks, and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] made his. I passed over to the gentleman from Pennsylvania and suggested it would be well enough to get the RECORD. He said: "You get it for me." I went to work, and it was late before I found it. It seemed to be absent from all our desks. I hastily examined it. I was looking only at those two points, one was whether any member of the Committee on Ways and Means had a conversation with Mr. Havemeyer and the other was whether the statement of the gentleman from Kentucky made to-day denying there was any such interview was a matter of correct recollection or not.

Finally I found the RECORD and looked hastily on this page and saw the name of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE]. I

called upon the gentleman from Pennsylvania to read it, but he was closing his remarks at that moment. I looked for a pencil, and the gentleman from Kansas handed me a pencil and I marked the report of the remarks of the gentleman from Kentucky. Then having occupied myself alone on the question of denial whether any such thing had occurred to any member of the committee, whether there had been any hearing at all, I looked over on the next column and I saw the report which I read. I marked that. I marked it, as this paper will show, including the entire sentence said to be suppressed. I marked it not for myself. I did not say a word and do not wish to say a word in this House if anybody will say it for me. But the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] was closing and suggested that I take ten minutes to read this report.

This was the RECORD of the 9th day of July. I did not look over the leaf to see what else was there, and I did not remember what was there. I had no occasion to remember. It was not a question whether the gentleman from Kentucky was present at these interviews, because I did not understand he was by this statement. He simply said he did not deny there had been an interview between Mr. Havemeyer and some member of the committee. I had but ten minutes in which to read this, and eight of the ten minutes was occupied in reading it. I made a remark or two, and had no opportunity either to read the balance of the speech made in the colloquy which occurred or anything else except this matter which I brought to the attention of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Now, if I had had the slightest idea the gentleman from Kentucky would regard it as a matter of the least interest, or that it would throw the least light on this subject, or if I had known the fact of his subsequent statement, which I did not know, wherein he said that he was not present, I would have taken more time to explain that whole matter.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say, after what the gentleman from Ohio has just said, that what seemed to me to be a statement of his which called for my remarks began with the use of the words "extraordinary denial of the gentleman from Kentucky," after what had occurred at a certain time which he would read from the RECORD. It naturally seemed to me that it was a deliberate charge on the part of a gentleman of long standing in this House that my denial of to-day was a denial which had in it an element wanting in veracity, as would be shown by his reading the extract from the RECORD. I now desire to say, after what the Reporter has read from his notes, and after what the gentleman himself has said in denial, that I regret having said what I did in response to what I believed to be a personal attack upon my veracity and character, and which I believed at the time was attempted to be sustained by an unfair and garbled reading of the RECORD. I think it is due to myself as well as the gentleman from Ohio to say this much.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I had no intention, Mr. Speaker, of raising any such question. And I would say here that when anybody attacks me in that way they always apologize. [Laughter.]

I yield now the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PETERS].

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. NEWELL, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888;

Also, that the Senate agreed to the concurrent resolutions of the House of Representatives to print the first and second annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor, to be used in the Department of Labor; and the report of the Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals in the United States for 1887.

The message further announced that Mr. EDMUNDS, Mr. DAWES, and Mr. FAULKNER had been appointed members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate to investigate the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. PETERS. Mr. Speaker, in the time allotted to me——

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Before the gentleman from Kansas proceeds, will he yield to me for a moment?

Mr. PETERS. Certainly.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I would like to call the attention of the gentleman from Ohio to another fact in connection with this subject which transpired during his speech. Of course the statement of the Official Reporter should be conclusive as to whether the gentleman read the entire sentence about which a dispute has arisen or not.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I did read it.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. If the gentleman read the latter part of the sentence, I certainly did not hear it. But the statement he had already made was satisfactory to me even without the reading of the official record of the Reporter's notes. But I desire to call his attention to the fact that his statement was preluded by an assertion that what I said here was "extraordinary," and I think the gentleman went on to use the statement "disingenuous."

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I think not. I am certain I did not use the word.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Then I misunderstood the gentleman.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I did not use that language.

Mr. PETERS. Now, Mr. Speaker, as the clouds have all been blown away and the sky is once more clear, I want to come back to the original subject-matter before the House.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The adjournment question.

Mr. PETERS. Yes, the resolution providing for adjournment. As the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] has said, this has been an extraordinary session of Congress. It not only has been an extraordinary session by reason of the peculiar circumstances attending the beginning of it, but it seems to-day, from what has occurred, that its closing hours are to be as extraordinary as its opening hours.

We have here a resolution which has been called up in the House providing for an adjournment *sine die* on next Saturday. That means, if adopted, that there will be no other legislation in the Fiftieth Congress until the first Monday in December next. It means more than that. It means that there will be really no further legislation of any consequence or importance until January next, because every member who is familiar with the course of legislation in this House knows that even at the second session but little is accomplished prior to the holiday vacation, and consequently we are met face to face to-day with a proposition to close all further legislation in regard to every matter before the House practically until the beginning days of January, 1889.

On the first Monday in December, 1887, when the Fiftieth Congress met, when Mr. Speaker CARLISLE took the chair, he made some remarks prior to taking upon himself the oath of office, in which he called the attention of the country to the dangerous surplus that had accumulated in the Treasury of the United States and the absolute necessity to the business interests of the country for a revision of the tariff and for a reduction of the duties which had placed that surplus in the Treasury.

He called attention to the stagnation in business and to the great injury to the business interests that was being brought about by the accumulation of this surplus. If there was anything to be deduced from that great Democratic leader's expressions, it was that as soon as the House got under way and the committees were appointed there should be immediate steps taken not only to reduce the surplus already in the Treasury, that had been withdrawn from the circulating medium of the country and the business interests of the country, but more particularly to stop the flow of this surplus into the Treasury.

Now, what is disclosed in relation to this notwithstanding these urgent words of the Speaker, notwithstanding that these remarks were followed by the marvelous and remarkable message of the President of the United States on the following day, in which he depicted the horrors that would overtake the business interests of this country if that surplus was not reduced and if there was no revision of the tariff? Notwithstanding all these warnings, notwithstanding all we were led to expect, what does the record disclose?

The record of the Fiftieth Congress discloses that not a single effort was made towards the reduction of the surplus until the 1st of March, 1888. And it was upon that day that a proposition was offered in this House originating with the Committee on Ways and Means, which was virtually a re-enactment of the law of 1881. It was not a very difficult piece of legislation to draw; it was not a very difficult measure to determine.

But, notwithstanding all this, the surplus that had been allowed from April, 1887, to increase and accumulate in the vaults of the Treasury from that time up to the meeting of the Fiftieth Congress, and to the importance of the reduction of which the attention of the House had been called, no effort was made in this branch of the Legislature until the 1st of March, 1888, for its reduction. And what was done then? We passed that bill which was virtually a re-enactment of the law of 1881, which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to go into the markets and purchase the bonds of the United States with the surplus in the Treasury. That was sent to the Senate. The Senate amended it and sent it back to the House, and it was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and there that bill sleeps and rests to-day. It has not been brought to the light of day. Then what was done? Afterwards a resolution was offered which provided and expressed that it was the sense of each individual member of this House that the law of 1881 was in fact meant to give the Secretary of the Treasury power to purchase bonds with the surplus accumulated in the Treasury of the United States. That resolution, which I say was an expression of the individual judgment of each member of this House, passed this body, and then for the first time since April, 1887, began the purchase of bonds with the surplus in the Treasury of the United States.

Now, is not that remarkable haste shown by the legislative record that has been made by this Congress in the face of the speech made by Speaker CARLISLE, and the remarkable message that was sent to this House on the second day of this session in December, 1887?

Now, then, what further were we led to believe? Not only were we led to believe that there should be an immediate attempt made to reduce this surplus and get this money out into business channels, so that the business interests that had been stagnated by its withdrawal might be relieved, but we were also informed and made to believe that there would be a special proposition to revise or reform this tariff, which has

been charged as the great source of injury to the business interests of the country.

And, now, what is the record in regard to that? It shows that, notwithstanding there was not a single dilatory measure or motion presented in this House, yet the majority of the Ways and Means Committee did not present a tariff bill to this House until, I believe, the 3d day of April, 1888, and there it rested until the 17th day of that month, when it was called up for consideration, and, as gentlemen all remember, that tariff measure was not passed through this House until July 21, 1888, nearly eight months from the time the Fiftieth Congress first met.

Now, if there was such a necessity for a revision of the tariff, if this tariff was robbing the tax-payers of the country, if there was extorted from the labor of the country dollar after dollar of their hard earnings, how does it come that in this remarkable and extraordinary session of Congress eight months should have elapsed before the bill should have been passed by a Democratic House to relieve the people from this burdensome extortion and robbery?

Now, Mr. Speaker, it seems to me, in the light of this record, that this resolution proposing an adjournment, and which seems to be advocated by the majority side of the House, is only in keeping with the studied effort that has been made by the Democratic party to keep open this question of the tariff, to keep it before the people as a great question, not for the purpose of securing a revision, but for the purpose of carrying the elections this fall.

Mr. HOOKER. Why, this resolution comes from the Republican Senate!

Mr. PETERS. I will come to that in a moment, and, if the gentleman will permit me to be unparliamentary, I will refer him to the record of the proceedings in another branch of the legislative body, where he will find that the resolution as first introduced provided for taking a recess, and that it was the objection which came from the Democratic side of that body which prevented the passage of the resolution in that form and led to the introduction and passage of the resolution providing for a final adjournment. If gentlemen on the other side find any comfort in that state of facts, they are welcome to it.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Does not the gentleman know that the time taken by the Senate to prepare its substitute for what is known as the Mills bill has been unprecedented in the history of tariff legislation in this country?

Mr. PETERS. The record shows that the time taken by the Ways and Means Committee of the House in preparing the Mills tariff bill was just twice as long as the time consumed by the Senate in preparing its bill.

Mr. RICHARDSON. If the gentleman will refer to the record he will find that he is mistaken.

Several MEMBERS on the Republican side. Oh, no.

Mr. PETERS. I want to say further that there have never been but two long sessions of Congress, according to my recollection, that have continued as late as the 21st day of July. Now, what was the object in this case? I do not accuse any individual of having any particular motive in view, but I speak of the Democratic party as a body, as a political organization, and I say that the conclusion may be reasonably drawn from the record that that party was not in earnest when it spoke about a revision of the tariff.

If it had been in earnest, or if it is in earnest now, what should be adopted is the resolutions proposed by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER], which was read for the information of the House, and which provides for taking a recess so that this Congress can come together on the 12th day of November for the purpose of carrying out what will then be known to be the will of the people expressed at the polls. If the people in November next re-elect Grover Cleveland President of the United States, it will be an indorsement of the Mills bill. If they elect Benjamin Harrison President of the United States, as I believe they will, it will be an indorsement of the Senate bill, and, whatever may be the result, it is the duty of the party in power in this House, according to my judgment, if it is sincere in its professed desire to reform the tariff, to keep this body in such a position that it can at once address itself to a revision of the tariff immediately after the election.

That, I say, will be the duty of the majority of this House if their position as embodied in the Mills bill is indorsed by the people at the polls; yet, notwithstanding that fact, notwithstanding what seems to be the judgment of every man who gives the subject his unbiased attention, a Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee calls up here to-day a resolution providing for an adjournment *sine die*.

Mr. MCMILLIN. A resolution brought over from the Republican Senate, which now has the tariff question before it.

Mr. PETERS. I have already alluded to that, and I have perhaps gone beyond the proper parliamentary line in calling the attention of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] to what is disclosed by the RECORD as to the proceedings of the other branch of Congress.

Mr. HOOKER. I do not think the gentleman has transgressed very far, because he has the resolution here before him.

Mr. PETERS. I have the resolution here, but I have no right to refer to what occurred in the Senate.

Mr. HOOKER. Well, we will not disagree about that.

Mr. PETERS. That is what you desire to keep out of sight.

Mr. HOOKER. Why so?

Mr. PETERS. Because it shows the inconsistency of your party.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there has been much said upon this question of percentage in relation to the tariff. I have never heard a Democratic orator speak against a protective tariff but what he indulged in this "hifalutin" talk about "per cent." Why do they do it? I mean nothing offensive to any individual speaker; I am referring only to the general style of Democratic orators on the question of the tariff.

I remember reading somewhere the utterance of a speaker or writer on the tariff who said that the poor farmer who rises in the morning puts on a flannel shirt which is taxed 89 per cent., that if he wishes to look at the glorious sunlight he looks out through window-glass that has been taxed 59 per cent., and so on, piling one per cent. upon another. Now, why do gentlemen adopt that style of argument? I can not understand any reason for it, unless it be to invest this whole tariff question with an air of mystery so as to impress the ordinary, average human being with the idea that he is incapable of understanding it. So far as my observation goes, so far as my experience goes, so far as my knowledge goes, this tariff question is a simple, plain, business question, and whoever endeavors to address himself to it upon plain business principles can usually be understood by the masses.

But whenever he wants to talk so that, if possible, he may not be understood, then he commences dealing in "percents." I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the tariff question. I have only called attention to it in connection with this extraordinary resolution, in the light of the past action of the Democratic side, that is now before this House for consideration.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. SOWDEN). The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I hope the gentleman will permit me to ask him a question; and I will yield him one minute to answer.

Mr. PETERS. Perhaps that may not be long enough to enable me to answer.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Well, then, two minutes. What I want to know is this: The Senate bill puts lumber back on the tax-list; I want to know whether the gentleman favors that.

Mr. PETERS. I will state to the gentleman that I stand now as I stood when the Mills bill was before the House. I am opposed to free lumber.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Then is the Senate bill right or wrong?

Mr. PETERS. The Senate bill does not put lumber on the free-list.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Then the Senate bill is right?

Mr. PETERS. Certainly. Lumber is now free, so far as lumber in the rough is concerned. Logs can now come in from Canada free. It is only when lumber has been touched by the magic hand of labor that protection comes in and says, "We will protect it to a sufficient amount to compensate for the difference between the wages of labor in the United States and the wages of labor in Canada." Although I come from an agricultural State, which has scarcely a stick of timber, yet my people understand that, even if this duty on lumber were taken off, it would not operate to the advantage of the consumer, but would tend simply to benefit the "lumber kings" and the railroad companies that transport lumber from the manufacturer to the consumer.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I desire a vote as early as possible on the pending resolution; but I do not wish to be discourteous to any gentleman. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER], I believe, desires to speak. I yield him fifteen minutes.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to see that the discussion to-day has been so beneficial that even the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PETERS] has been constrained to rise in his seat and demand a reform in the tariff laws of our country, and I am also glad to see that the conversion has been so complete that he insists we shall remain here, inconvenient as it is to us all, in order to reform the tariff laws and do justice to the people. The gentleman must have heard from home; and he may apprehend that unless the tariff laws are reformed there is danger Kansas may go Democratic. [Laughter.]

Mr. RYAN. That is the way you are going to elect Cleveland!

Mr. WHEELER. We are going to elect Mr. Cleveland, and we can do so without Kansas, though I should rejoice to see that State redeemed. A failure to re-elect Mr. Cleveland, with his wise and pure administration, and his stainless and unassailable record, would be well-nigh equivalent to an admission that the American people are incapable of self-government.

Mr. Speaker, I have sent a resolution to the Clerk's desk to amend the Senate resolution for adjournment. I have done this because I have very emphatic convictions in regard to it. I am as homesick as any man in this House; I am desirous to go home; I have been here constantly since last November; I desire very much to go home, and I would like exceedingly to remain there until December; I do not want to come back here the 12th of November; but I believe it is our duty to do so.

I believe the paramount question before us is the revision of the tariff-tax laws.

Every President and every Secretary of the Treasury since 1865 has emphasized this necessity. Mr. Cleveland, the great champion of the people's rights, has demanded it, and even the Republican Senators have admitted the wisdom of his requirement. In the report they say:

The demand for a careful and thorough revision of our revenue laws is imperative. This revision is necessary:

1. To reduce the national revenues, which are now excessive.

No valid reason can be given why we should, under existing circumstances, continue to collect annually a sum approximating $60,000,000 in excess of the amount required to administer the Government economically and keep the pledges of public faith.

2. To protect honest importers and domestic producers.

3. To remedy the defects, anomalies, and incongruities which have been from time to time discovered in the tariff schedules, or which have been created by erroneous decisions of the Treasury Department.

4. To secure the proper readjustment and equalization of tariff rates rendered necessary by modified business conditions, improvements in methods of production, radical changes in prices, or by new elements or sources of competition.

Some gentlemen say we can complete this great work during the next session, and promise to remain all through the Christmas holidays. I will gladly join them in this commendable resolve, but I am not so sanguine as they, and would much prefer to take no risks in so important a matter. This Congress will cease to exist on the 4th day of March, 1889. There can not be more than sixty working days in the next regular session of Congress. It is impossible for us to get a quorum of members to remain here during the Christmas holidays. They will more certainly come here on the 12th of November and work on this important measure for three weeks before the regular commencement of the session than remain here during the holidays. I express this opinion as the result of my experience in former Congresses, but so far as I am personally concerned I will gladly remain here and work through Christmas and New Year's week.

My resolution provides that instead of adjournment we shall take a recess from Saturday, October 27, until Monday, the 12th of November. This will give us ample time to get through with the election, and then we can put in three good weeks of work before the next session commences.

In order to pass a tariff bill the Senate substitute must be thoroughly discussed, and the time required to properly debate that measure can be easily estimated. Each speech will require at least one hour, and we know it is usual for Senators to speak on such a bill for two, three, and sometimes four hours. Those who are prepared to speak will be here promptly on November 12, and others will gather in, until finally all will be present in time to bear their part in this important legislation.

THE DUTY OF DEMOCRATS.

When I introduced the resolution last Monday, which excited so much opposition on the other side of the House, I was confronted by the fact that every Republican on the floor had by his speeches and votes opposed the course insisted upon by the measure; but the moment I saw a possible indication that a single member of that party was willing to join us in our just, humane, and righteous effort to lift the burdens of the people, I immediately asked to have the word "Democrat" stricken from the first resolution, which I certainly had a right to do, for every member has such a privilege regarding his own measures while they are still in the course of introduction. As thus amended the resolution was as I will read:

Whereas the Senate of the United States has reported a bill to revise the tax laws, which bill is more oppressive to the masses of the people and more in the interests of the monopolists than any measure ever proposed to any legislative body of which we have a record: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That the members of this House pledge themselves to continue their efforts to defend the people against this unequal, unjust, and unwise legislation, which, if enacted into law, must inevitably check and limit the sale of American products in foreign countries, stimulate and strengthen the operations of combinations and trusts, and prolong, if not perpetuate, the subjection of the people to the exactions of accumulated capital; and the members of this Congress will maintain the contest upon this floor until the victory is won or the duties with which they have been charged by the people lapse by constitutional limitation; and

Be it also resolved, That the Senate tariff bill should be discussed upon this floor, to the end that its features may be exposed and made known to the people.

This seemed to make the resolution less satisfactory to our friends on the other side of the House. They were in a dilemma. They were unwilling to go before the country admitting their opposition to so wise and good a line of procedure, and by keeping the resolution out of the RECORD they seemed to think or hope that their unfortunate position on this question could be kept from the people.

Now I will ask the gentlemen who opposed the measure, do they insist that the Senate bill shall not be discussed? I know that the more it is debated and its deformities, its illogical features, and un-American principles exposed the more desperate becomes their cause, but let me tell them that the people of the United States are too intelligent and well informed to be misled with sophistry. We must publish the two bills, we must compare them and point out the respects in which they differ, and the people will readily see that the Democratic House bill is in the interest of the people and the Republican Senate bill is against the people, and in the interest of accumulated capital.

What has occurred here to-day shows the necessity of discussing that Senate bill and letting the people know the merits of the two measures, because, as the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PETERS] has said, the 6th of November will determine the question, and the happiness of our people demands that it shall be determined in favor of the measure proposed and passed by the House of Representatives.

As the gentleman from New York stated in a few words what his idea was on the subject, I will state in a few words what I said some eleven days ago contrasting the House and the Senate bills:

The effect of the bill prepared and passed by the Democratic House of Representatives will be to lighten the burdens and increase the prosperity and happiness of 20,000,000 people who earn their living by daily toil. The effect of the bill prepared by the Republican Senate will be to perpetuate the privileges whereby a few favored monopolists and corporations have gained enormous individual fortunes at the expense of the comfort and happiness of those by whose toil the wealth of the country is created.

INCONGRUITIES AND INCONSISTENCIES.

As the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] said, the Senate bill from the beginning to the end is one mass of incongruities, which it will take an expert of the Treasury Department who has been studying these questions all his life to unfold and disentangle, so that it can be understood by the people.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] repeated more than once in his speech—

As you reduce duties you will swell importations.

The gentleman was very careful to emphasize this assertion, and made it the basis of a large part of his argument.

This has been the theory of many of the gentleman's colleagues, but I find in the Republican Senators' report on the proposed Senate tariff bill, without any comment or explanation, a table which takes quite a different view of this matter.

The table is Appendix B of the Senate report, and is found on page 54 of that document, which the Republican members of the Finance Committee have submitted to Congress and the country as their explanation of their substitute for the bill H. R. 9051 which we passed on July 21 of this year. The table is as I will read:

APPENDIX B.—*Estimates of imports and duties by provisions of Senate substitute to H. R. 9051.*

	Importations, fiscal year 1887.		Estimated imports under the proposed bill.		Estimated decrease of duty by the proposed bill.	Average ad valorem rate of duty.	
	Values.	Duties.	Values.	Duties.		Present law.	Proposed bill.
A.—Chemical products	$15,123,113.72	$4,655,375.27	$14,751,699.54	$4,383,074.79	$272,300.48	30.78	29.70
B.—Earthenware and glassware	13,055,763.49	7,583,953.97	13,042,454.73	7,308,270.25	275,683.72	58.09	56.03
C.—Metals	57,784,719.42	23,090,797.67	51,402,136.87	21,376,664.68	1,714,132.99	39.96	41.58
D.—Wood and woodenware	8,274,012.16	1,518,723.09	8,061,909.70	1,513,440.16	5,282.93	18.35	18.77
E.—Sugar	68,956,335.07	56,530,360.14	68,924,968.35	28,770,576.19	27,759,783.95	83.43	41.02
F.—Tobacco	10,955,125.03	9,127,758.26	10,739,454.24	6,856,875.68	2,270,882.58	83.82	63.85
G.—Provisions, etc	42,593,244.97	11,048,754.66	33,596,588.35	9,040,908.68	2,007,845.98	25.94	26.91
H.—Wines, liquors, etc	10,387,592.40	7,681,031.53	9,761,316.47	7,586,442.73	94,588.80	73.94	77.72
I.—Cotton manufactures	30,207,908.83	12,081,263.03	29,664,007.64	12,049,295.48	31,967.55	40.00	40.59
J.—Flax, hemp, and jute	24,791,662.08	7,868,605.78	24,030,013.17	7,682,125.73	186,480.05	31.74	31.97
K.—Wool and manufactures of wool	60,586,613.61	35,629,534.13	53,658,583.84	34,642,732.88	986,801.25	58.81	64.56
L.—Silk and silk goods	31,264,276.58	15,540,300.70	30,340,689.80	15,447,942.94	92,357.76	49.71	50.92
M.—Books, papers, etc	5,212,152.54	1,154,619.13	4,751,274.82	1,113,825.58	40,793.55	22.15	23.44
N.—Sundries	44,008,079.14	10,810,310.37	43,629,620.50	10,679,774.20	130,536.17	24.56	24.47
Articles, not enumerated—dutiable under section 2513 Revised Statutes:							
Unmanufactured	305,545.78	30,554.61	305,545.78	30,554.61		10.00	10.00
Manufactured	564,001.70	112,800.34	564,001.70	112,800.34		20.00	20.00
Packages, crates, boxes, etc., designed to evade duty	12,340.96	12,340.96	12,340.96	12,340.96		100.00	100.00
	424,082,487.48	204,477,083.64	397,236,606.46	168,607,645.88	35,869,437.76	48.21	42.45

SENATE REPORT ILLOGICAL.

This Republican Senators' report on the bill is almost as remarkable, inconsistent, and illogical as the bill itself.

Referring to Schedule A, the report says the bill will reduce the duty on chemical products from 30.78 per cent. to 29.70 per cent., these Senators' "estimate" that this diminution in the tariff will reduce importations to the extent of $371,414.18.

The report states that in Schedule B the bill will reduce duties on earthenware and glassware from 58.09 per cent. to 56.03 per cent., and, according to the report, it is estimated that this reduction of duty will be followed by a reduction in the value of the importations of these articles to the amount of $13,308.76.

In Schedule E the report states that the bill will reduce the duty on sugar from 83.43 per cent. to 41.02 per cent., and this enormous reduction in the duty—the proposed duty being less than one-half that imposed by the existing law—they claim will cause no increase in the importation, but on the contrary, according to the estimate of the authors of the report, the result will be that the value of sugars imported under the proposed bill will be $31,366.72 less than under existing laws.

In Schedule F the report states that the bill will reduce the duty on tobacco from 83.82 per cent. to 63.85 per cent., and they think this reduction of duty will not increase the importation of foreign-grown tobacco, but on the contrary their estimate is that it will cause a reduction in the annual imports of tobacco to the amount of $215,670.79.

In Schedule N the report states that the bill will reduce the duty on Sundries from 24.56 per cent. to 24.47 per cent., and this reduction in duty, the report estimates, will reduce the importation of the articles embraced in this schedule to the amount of $378,458.64.

Now, it will be remembered that since Mr. Blaine gave the key-note of the Republican campaign in his cablegram of December 8, 1887, the Republican clamor has been that even the least reduction in the tariff tax will flood our country with foreign products, and since this House passed the bill making a reduction of 5 per cent. there has been one resounding chorus—sometimes approximating a howl—that such a reduction in the tariff would glut our markets with the products of foreign labor, stop all of our factories, pauperize our labor, and play the dickens generally.

But when even a greater reduction is made by the unsoiled, sacred hands of Republican Senators, the argument is reversed, and forgetting for a moment the Republican campaign oratory which has nearly deafened the country for the last ten months, the Republicans now assure us that a reduction in the tariff tax on imports, including the great variety of goods in the sundries schedule, will certainly cause a diminution in the aggregate value of importations of that character. And this, too, in the face of the well-known fact that our population, wealth, and requirements are rapidly increasing.

Again: It is clear that a reduction of the duty on an article will lessen the cost of that article and larger quantities be purchased because of the lower price.

Now, if importations are diminished while requirements are increased and the ability to purchase augmented, it is clear the deficiency must be made up from the products of American manufactures, and therefore the Republican Senators contend that a reduction of duties will result in a vast increase in the prosperity, happiness, and comfort of the American people.

If the unflinching partisans be correct in the conclusions they have deduced from their premises, they are entitled to and should receive our hearty thanks for their unexpected co-operation, for, accepting their conclusions, we could not desire a more complete vindication of the Democratic position on the tariff, or a more forcible argument in support of the Mills bill than is found in this report of Republican Senators.

In defending this absurd position I presume it will be said the table is merely a mathematical calculation based upon some theory, but there is not one word in the report to justify this assumption. We must therefore take the table as submitted and assume that the Republican Senators meant what they have said, namely, that the third column in the table is an estimate of what they really believe the importations of the various articles will be should the bill become the law.

ARTICLES ON WHICH TARIFF IS INCREASED.

Let us now examine their estimate of the effect of an increase of the tariff tax. Referring to Schedule C, the Republican report states that the Senate bill will slightly increase the duty on metals, raising it from 39.96 per cent. to 41.58 per cent., but this trivial increase in the duty these Senators estimate will effect a reduction in our imports of foreign metals to the amount of $6,382,582.55 and a diminution in the Government's revenne of $1,714,132.99.

Regarding Schedule D the report states that the Senate bill will increase the duty on wood and woodenware from 18.35 per cent. to 18.77 per cent., and, according to the estimate of the Senators, will effect a reduction in the value of our imports amounting to $212,102.46 and a reduction of $5,282,93 in the amount of duty collected.

In Schedule G, the report states that the increase in the duty on provisions from 25.94 per cent. to 26.91 per cent. will cause a reduction of imports to the amount of $8,996,656.62, and will reduce the revenue by $2,007,845.98.

In Schedule H, the report states that the Senate bill will raise the duty on wines, liquors, etc., from 73.94 per cent. to 77.72 per cent., and it is estimated that this increase in the tariff tax will cause a falling off in imports to the amount of $626,275.93 and a reduction in the revenue of $94,588.80.

In Schedule I the report says that under the Senate bill there will be an increase of the duty on cotton manufactures from 40 per cent. to 40.59 per cent., and it is estimated in the report that this increase of duty will be followed by a reduction of $543,901.19 in the value of our imports and a decrease of $31,967.55 in the customs revenue.

In Schedule J the report says that the Senate bill will increase the tariff tax on flax, hemp, and jute from 31.74 per cent. to 31.97 per cent., which increase in duty will result in reducing the imports of those articles $761,648.91 and decreasing the revenue $186,480.05.

In Schedule K the report says that the Senate bill will increase the tariff on wool and manufactures of wool from 58.81 per cent. to 64.56, and it is estimated by the Republican Senators that this increase of duty will occasion a decrease of importations to the amount of $6,928,-029.77, while the revenue will be reduced $986,801.25.

In Schedule L the report states that the Senate bill will increase the tariff on silk and silk goods from 49.71 per cent. to 50.92 per cent., and the estimated effect of this reduction in duty is that imports will be diminished to the extent of $923,586.78, and the revenue will be lessened $92.357.76.

In Schedule M the report states that the Senate bill will raise the tariff on books, papers, etc., from 22.15 per cent. to 23.44 per cent., and the Republican authors of the report estimate that this increase in duty will diminish the imports to the amount of $460,877.72 and decrease the duty collected to the amount of $40,793.55.

FRAUDS UPON THE PEOPLE.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. FARQUHAR], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] have all advocated and commended those features of the Senate bill by which many articles now subject to an ad valorem tax are required to pay specific duties. The only reason given for the proposed change is that it will prevent fraud by undervaluation.

I insist, Mr. Speaker, that we should prevent fraud, and it can be done, and should be done, by punishing those who commit the fraud. That is our method of dealing with that matter, but our friends on the other side of the House propose to prevent fraud upon the Government by perpetrating a greater fraud upon the people, and the people selected as the victims of this fraud are those of limited means who are compelled to purchase the cheapest commodities.

Take the wool schedule. The Democratic House proposes to tax all blankets 40 per cent. The poor man who buys a two-dollar blanket pays a tax of 80 cents upon it, and the rich man who buys a ten-dollar blanket pays upon it a tax of $4. The Republican bill says the rich man should pay less and the poor man must pay more. To do this the framers of that measure put a mixed or compound duty on blankets, exacting from 35 to 40 per cent. ad valorem, and in addition, from 10 to 40 cents per pound, thus placing the higher tax on the cheap blanket and a heavier burden on the poor man who is obliged to purchase the less expensive class of goods.

In the same way the Senate bill raises the tax on woolen cloths from the 40 per cent. proposed by the House bill to above an average of 75 per cent. And this 75 per cent. is so arranged that the heaviest tax is levied upon the coarse, cheap cloths, and the least exaction falls upon the expensive cloths.

Pursuing the same method the Senate bill increases the tax on woolen shawls from the uniform rate of 40 per cent. provided by the House bill to an average rate of 68 per cent.

Manufactures of worsted, hair of the alpaca, goat, etc., are subjected in the House bill to a tax of 40 per cent., and the Senate bill proposes to make it as high as 148 per cent. On children's worsted clothing the 40 per cent. imposed by the House is increased to 93 per cent. by the Senate. The House bill proposed a tax of 40 per cent. on woolen balmorals, and the Senate bill fixes it at 130 per cent.; and so on through the entire woolen schedule. No, not through the entire schedule, for when the Senate bill comes to deal with goods used most largely by the wealthy the tax is either reduced or removed altogether.

For instance: I find that the Senate bill tranfers bonnet trimmings and other trimmings from the dutiable list to the free-list. This class of imports paid customs duties last year to the amount of $800,000 and the contemplated change will relieve the well-to-do of a tax and the deficiency in the revenue thus created is to be supplied by increasing the taxes which necessarily fall upon those of limited means.

And right here I desire to call the attention of the House to the fact that, in some instances, so adroitly have the framers of the Senate bill managed the wool schedule that it is calculated to mislead any one. Far be it from me to imply that the bill has intentionally been made deceptive, but the fact remains that it is likely to deceive. The bill makes four classifications of woolen cloths and on cloths costing under 60 cents per pound, a lower tax is imposed than on those costing 80 cents per pound, but an examination of the statistics reveals the fact that

but a small quantity of cloths costing less than 60 cents per pound are imported. Our imports of woolen cloths costing less than 80 cents per pound cost an average of between 60 and 70 cents.

SUGAR AND THE SUGAR TRUST.

But let us examine the Senate monstrosity in another schedule. I asked the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] a question he did not answer. I asked if the reduction in the tax on sugar would not all, or substantially all, inure to the benefit of the refiners. The gentleman said he would answer my inquiry and explain the question at issue before he finished his speech, but he forgot to do so.

Now, I insist that this enormous reduction of $28,000,000 will not inure to the benefit of the people.

The members of the sugar trust who control all business in that line will buy the sugar for about $28,000,000 less than they would pay for it if the present law remained in force; but we all know that so long as they can control the selling price they will keep it at the highest point possible, and some of these magnates have admitted that they habitually fix the price of sugar at the highest figures the public will bear.

I believe that if the Senate bill shall become the law, with the sugar trade in its present condition, much of the $28,000,000 which now goes into the public Treasury will find its way into the vaults of this mammoth combination.

Some Republican Senators and some Republican members of this House appear to be quite familiar with Mr. Havemeyer, while our side of the House and the Democratic Senators know very little of this distinguished gentleman.

SECTIONAL DISCRIMINATION.

To my mind it seems reasonable to suppose that he or his attorneys must have had some influence in the framing of this clause of the Senate bill. Two objects are accomplished by the Senate bill. The sugar trust reaps a great harvest and a chastisement is inflicted upon a Southern Democratic State. If the punishment could have been made more severe, without simultaneously injuring Northern industries, I fear the heavier infliction would have been visited upon us. I read from the Senate report, bottom of page 47:

> The high rates of duty which have been levied upon this important article of food have not successfully developed the sugar-producing industry of the United States. The great natural advantages which the producers of cane sugars in the tropical islands have over those of the United States preclude domestic competition upon equal terms.

The existence of these conditions is usually regarded by avowed protectionists as an unanswerable argument for increasing the tariff, but in absolute disregard of all dogmas and former declarations of doctrine the Republican Senators in this instance give it as a sufficient reason for abandoning all further effort to produce sugar in this country, and say further that were it not for other existing conditions a still greater reduction would have been made.

I will read from the Republican Senators' report, bottom of page 47 and top of page 48:

> If it were not for the fact that parties interested in the production of sugar from sorghum or beets are confident of the rapid development of these industries in the United States, the committee would recommend a still greater reduction in the rate of duty upon sugar.

Now bear in mind that in this country sugar from cane is exclusively a Southern product and sugar from sorghum and beets is obtained almost exclusively in the North, and we can appreciate the modesty, consistency, and assurance of these Senators when they denounce the Mills bill as a sectional measure, and these are the gentlemen who insist on raising the tax on cotton-ties, used by the Southern people, from 35 to 118 per cent.

OUR DUTY AS REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen may be wearied with the unusually protracted session, but they should remember we are sent here by the people, not to consider our own comfort or to be governed by our own preferences, but simply and only to guard the interests, promote the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of our constituents by such legislation as we think best adapted to secure these ends. We should remember, also, that it is enjoined upon us by the highest authority "be not weary in well doing," and though the struggle through which we have passed in our effort to relieve the great mass of our people from the oppressive exactions of unequal and unjust tax laws enacted by the Republican party in the interest of a specially favored and privileged few, though this struggle has been trying and exhausting, fidelity to those by whom we have been trusted and honored demands we shall remain at our post of duty, be we never so weary and worn, until all the measures designed to benefit the people have been properly considered and finally disposed of.

There are quite a number of such measures which, in my opinion, should be acted upon before we have the right to seek the repose and comfort of our homes.

I will mention a few which I have reported from the committee of which I am chairman and the consideration of which I have repeatedly but unsuccessfully urged.

There is the bill providing for the establishment of camps of refuge for yellow-fever sufferers, which I regard as of the gravest importance to the whole country; and as at this time "the pestilence that walketh at noonday" is ravaging a portion of my own district, it is of special interest to those I immediately represent on this floor. Under this state of facts I think I would be fully justified in opposing an adjournment until that necessary measure of relief is considered.

Then there is the bill to establish signal stations in the West Indies, the object being to give our people notice of the approach of cyclones. This much-needed legislation has been asked for by the chambers of commerce of nearly all of our maritime cities, particularly by those of New York, New Orleans, and Mobile.

There is the bill providing for the creation of a bureau of tariff statistics, and all who have participated in the recent discussion on our tax laws will admit that we need some such bureau.

There is, too, the bill designed to secure a better class of work in printing the money and securities of the Government, now pending in the other House. No one who has read the evidence secured by the committee which reported that bill will deny that the enactment of that bill into law is imperatively demanded to protect the people from the losses they must sustain if the inferior quality of work we now have is to be continued—a perfect but costly exemplification of counterfeiting made easy.

Then there is, too, the important bill to determine the final balances due to and from the Government which the Treasury officials regard as necessary to a proper system of accounting, and without the sanction of which law they can not close their books.

There is, too, the bill granting leaves of absence to certain faithful and well-deserving employés of the Government, and doubtless many others equally meritorious which it would be tedious to specify.

But, it may be said, we can not possibly transact business in the absence of a quorum. Well, we can at least try, and fix the responsibility for preventing needed legislation where it belongs. I would suggest, however, that we have ample power to compel the attendance of absent members, and with proper authority the Sergeant-at-Arms can use the telegraph, and we can secure a quorum within two days at the outside.

Let us not deceive ourselves. We can not neglect a plain and imperative duty, and then excuse ourselves by the reflection that the neglect was attributable to others than ourselves. Whatever it is necessary we should do can be done, and for one I feel that the effort to perform our duty should not be abandoned—at least it should not be abandoned until we have exerted all the powers with which we are clothed and it has been demonstrated that their exercise was in vain.

THE PRAYERS OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

I was thinking last Sunday that in the churches throughout our land there have been, since Congress began its session, prayers offered up by the people asking that we may take such action as will tend to promote the national happiness, to the increase of industry, and to perpetuate to us the blessings of equal liberty. We have not yet accomplished the work we were sent here to perform, and therefore this Hall is our post of duty.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Does the gentleman think it is going to increase the industries of our country by putting them on the free-list? Is not that the very best way in the world to secure their absolute destruction?

Mr. WHEELER. No, sir; I think not. If we put some articles on the free-list and judiciously revise the tax on others it will be better for this country. We would soon have a great foreign trade—a trade which in ten years would make the United States the center of wealth, power, and civilization. Its ships would sail on every sea, and the flag of the country would float and be respected in every port. [Great applause on the Democratic side.]

There will be a demand for labor because of the demand for the laboring man's product, and this demand will be so great that it will necessitate an increase in the laboring man's wages, and it will enable us to get better classes of labor from abroad and keep out paupers and Chinese. [Applause.]

Mr. MILLIKEN. I doubt very much if my friend's ideas could be realized in that manner. I fear the plan he proposes is going to make it impossible ever to be realized.

Mr. WHEELER. The history of the world shows that to be the result. No nation was ever great and wealthy without commerce. The gentleman will hardly claim that people will send empty ships to our country to carry away our products. We have got to trade with foreign countries in order to secure a market for our own.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. MILLIKEN. I hope the time of the gentleman will be extended. If I had known that his time was so brief I would not have interrupted him with questions.

Mr. WHEELER. I am much obliged to the gentleman, but I do not wish to detain the House longer. I have insisted that the Democratic House of Representatives should not take the initiative in the matter of adjournment. This much has been accomplished. We have not sent to the Senate any proposition looking to either adjournment or recess. Rather than consent to that I would have remained here until

the 4th day of March. But as the Republican Senate have sent us a resolution announcing that they would do no more business, I am ready to acquiesce in and accept their proposal.

I have expressed my views, and I trust that when we meet again in December we will all be ready to labor without intermission until we have agreed upon a measure which will relieve the people of their present heavy burdens, and enable them to realize that this is, in fact as well as in name, a land of liberty and equal rights. [Cries of "Vote!" "Vote!"]

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to participate in this debate at all, and do not rise now for the purpose of indulging in it to any considerable extent. But inasmuch as the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PETERS] has seen fit to challenge the Democratic party for alleged delay in this matter, and charges the delay in the passage of tariff legislation upon that party, I have risen simply for the purpose of presenting a statement which has been prepared by a member of this House with some care, and which forms part of an interview published in a New York paper some days ago.

I ask to have it read, as reflecting upon this question of delay. One date is not given in the paper; that is the date of the passage of the Mills bill. It is well known that it passed this House on the 21st day of July. The Senate did not enter, so far as the public records show, upon the discussion of the tariff in committee prior to that time; but from some day in May it is well known that the Senate committee was engaged on the tariff bill as a substitute for any bill which might be passed by the House. I ask the Clerk to read this paper:

The Clerk read as follows:

The celebrated tariff bill of 1846 passed the House July 7; July 28 it passed the Senate. The tariff bill of 1857 was adopted by the House six days after it passed the Senate. The tariff bill of 1870 passed the House June 6, and on July 5 it passed the Senate. There has never been any tariff bill that lingered in the Senate anything like the time that it has devoted to this. It is true that all these bills were framed in the House and only amended in the Senate, as the Constitution contemplates. But we have one case that is precisely in point, the tariff bill of 1883. December 8, 1882, the Senate took from the Calendar a little internal-revenue bill, recommitted it to the Committee on Finance, and January 4, 1883, reported to the Senate a tariff bill complete and perfect, which they had manufactured in twenty-seven days. The committee reporting that bill was the same, with one exception, as the present one.

The committee on the bill of 1883 was, MORRILL, SHERMAN, Ferry, JONES, of Nevada, ALLISON, and ALDRICH. The only change is that HISCOCK has been substituted for Ferry. HISCOCK is at least equal to Ferry in ability, and has a great deal more knowledge of this question, because he was for a long time on the Ways and Means Committee of the House, so that with five more years' experience than they had in 1883 the committee has taken one hundred and thirty days precisely to do what they did in twenty-seven days then. This means something. It can only mean these Senators have intended just exactly the result which has followed—to delay the bill until there was no quorum in the Senate and there could be no vote had. A vote would show that in the Senate, just as in the House, no reduction of taxation on the necessaries of life or any of them is to be expected from the Republicans.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I now demand the previous question upon the adoption of the resolution.

The previous question was ordered; under the operation of which the resolution was adopted.

Mr. MCMILLIN moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

JOHN PRATER.

Mr. HOOKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to offer a resolution at this time for consideration.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The resolution will be read, subject to the right of objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House be authorized to pay out of the contingent fund of the House to John Prater for services rendered in the cloak-room, from December 1, 1887, to October 31, 1888, at the rate of $50 per month.

Mr. HOOKER. That is the amendment which was offered this afternoon by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] to another resolution. I offer it now as a separate measure, and hope it will be adopted.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

Mr. HOOKER moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

BRIDGES ACROSS THE CUMBERLAND AND CANEY FORK RIVERS.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I have a little bill here which I wish to ask consent to take up and consider. It is a bill making no appropriation, but is merely to amend the authority given for the construction of certain bridges. The railroad company is actually at work now, and if this is not done this work must be suspended. It is recommended by the War Department, and the Committee on Commerce have also favorably reported upon it.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The bill will be read, subject to objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 11604) to amend an act approved March 3, 1885, to authorize the construction of bridges across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers, in Tennessee.

The bill is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1 of an act approved March 3, 1885, entitled "An act to give the assent of Congress to the construction of a railroad bridge by the East and Middle Tennessee Railroad Company over the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers," be amended so as to read:

"That the Middle and East Tennessee Central Railroad Company and the Knoxville Railroad Company, or either of said companies, or any company with which either may consolidate, be, and are hereby, authorized to construct and maintain a bridge, and approaches thereto, over the Cumberland River at the most accessible point in or near the limits of Carthage, county of Smith, and State of Tennessee. Said bridge shall be constructed to provide for the passage of railroad trains across said river, and, in the discretion of said company or companies, wagons, horses, and foot-passengers."

SEC. 2. That section 6 be amended so as to read:

"Said company or companies, or either of them, is hereby also authorized to construct a railroad bridge over the Caney Fork River at such point as may be necessary in the building of their road, subject to the provisions and limitations contained in the preceding sections of this and the act it is intended to amend."

SEC. 3. That said act is hereby so amended as to empower the Secretary of War to use his discretion in the approval of the plans of the bridges therein provided for, as to the height they shall be placed above high water and the length of span that shall be given the main channel-span, whether the bridges be a continuous span or with a draw-span, provided the bridges, or either of them, shall not be so constructed as to limit or obstruct the navigation of said river or rivers.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I will insert a letter from the Secretary of War, and also the report of the Committee on Commerce favoring the bill.

The letter of the Secretary of War is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington City, October* 16, 1888.

SIR: Referring to the proposed amendment to House bill 9793, "to amend an act approved March 3, 1885, to authorize the construction of bridges across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers, in Tennessee," submitted by you, providing that the height above high water, and the length of the main span of these bridges be left to the discretion of the Secretary of War. I have the honor to state that a copy of the report of the Chief of Engineers on the subject, dated the 15th instant, has this day been handed to you.

Very respectfully,

WM. C. ENDICOTT, *Secretary of War.*

Hon. B. MCMILLIN,
House of Representatives.

The report (by Mr. CRISP) is as follows:

The Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 9793) to amend an act approved March 3, 1885, to authorize the construction of bridges across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers, in Tennessee, have had the same under consideration, and report as follows:

The proposed bill has been submitted to the Secretary of War, meets his approval, does not change any of the provisions of the original bill looking to the protection of the navigation of the rivers, and we recommend its passage.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to be engrossed, and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MCMILLIN moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

LEE SWORDS.

Mr. MILLIKEN, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution; which was read:

Be it resolved, That the Clerk of the House be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to Lee Swords $40 out of the contingent fund of the House for services as folder in the House folding-room during May, 1877.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. MILLIKEN moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

MAJ. GEN. ANDREW J. SMITH.

Mr. WARNER. I ask to take from the Speaker's table the following bill and non-concur in the Senate amendments, and ask a committee of conference.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2579) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Andrew J. Smith, late colonel of the Seventh United States Cavalry, and major-general of volunteers.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. MCMILLIN in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. WARNER] that the House non-concur in the Senate amendments and request a conference? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

PUBLIC PARK, TACOMA, WASH.

Mr. MCRAE. I desire to offer for present consideration this bill, which I report from the Committee on Public Lands.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 3475) granting the use of certain lands in Pierce County, Washington Territory, to the city of Tacoma for the purposes of a public park.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby granted to the city of Tacoma, in the county of Pierce, in the Territory of Washington, a license to occupy, improve, and control, for the purposes of a public park for the use and benefit of the citizens of the United States, and for no other purposes whatever, the following-described pieces or parcels of land, situate in the county of Pierce and Territory of Washington, and described as follows, namely: Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, and the east half of the southeast quarter, and the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter, and the southwest quarter of the northeast quarter of section 15, township 21 north, of range 2 east, and lots 1, 2, and 3, and the south half of the south-

west quarter of section 14, same township and range, and lots 1, 2, and 3 in section 10 of the same township and range, containing 635 acres, more or less: *Provided*, That the United States reserves to itself the fee of all said lands, and that this license is granted upon the express condition that the United States may take possession of and occupy said lands or any part thereof for military or other purposes whenever its proper officials see fit to order the same, and without any claim for compensation or damage on the part of said city of Tacoma.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill? The Chair hears none. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Arkansas that this bill is before the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. McRAE. I report the bill now and ask for its consideration.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman's request was to report the bill and consider it now. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The bill was ordered to a third reading, and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. McRAE moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ANDREW J. SMITH.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will appoint as conferees on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill H. R. 2579, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TOWNSHEND], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MAISH], and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR].

ARMY AND NAVY BANDS.

Mr. COX. I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee on Naval Affairs from the further consideration of joint resolution No. 24, in reference to the employment of Army and Navy bands, and I propose to amend it so as to take away the obnoxious features which were objected to by the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs [Mr. HERBERT].

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That hereafter no enlisted man in the service of the United States, the Army and Navy, respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life for emolument, hire, or otherwise, where the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in their respective arts, trades, or professions.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX] to discharge the Committee of the Whole from the further consideration of this resolution and consider the same now? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. COX. I propose to amend it so as to take away the features which were obnoxious to Mr. HERBERT, of Alabama, the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and limit it entirely to the musicians of the Army and Navy. The practice of employing them is not uniform, and this proposes simply to limit it to the musicians. The bands of the various posts, etc., around the country come down and play for a smaller sum than certain bands, and the other bands are more or less discouraged, as they depend upon their music for a living. Therefore I ask to amend the bill so as to make it apply to musicians only.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will report the amendments.

The Clerk read as follows:

In line 3, after the word "enlisted," strike out the word "man" and insert "musician;" in lines 4 and 5, strike out the words "whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private;" in line 9, after the word "civilian," insert the word "musicians;" and strike out the whole of line 10.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York to discharge the committee from the consideration of this resolution and consider it in the House?

Mr. SHAW. I hope it will be read as it will stand amended.

The Clerk read the resolution as amended, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That hereafter no enlisted musician in the service of the United States, the Army and Navy, respectively, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life for emolument, hire, or otherwise, where the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilian musicians.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX]? The Chair hears none.

The amendments were agreed to; and the resolution as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. COX moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution had been adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. KILGORE. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair had recognized the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CONGER].

Mr. CONGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the Committee of the Whole House be discharged from the consideration of the bill which the Clerk will read.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CONGER] asks the committee be discharged from the further consideration of a bill, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] moves that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BAYNE. I hope the gentleman from Texas will not insist on that motion.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to hear what the bill is.

LAND OFFICE AT FOLSOM, N. MEX.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

A bill (S. 2040) to establish a land office at Folsom, in the Territory of New Mexico.

Be it enacted, etc., That all that portion of the Territory of New Mexico bounded and described as follows: Commencing at the northeastern corner of said Territory and running thence west on the northern boundary line of said Territory to the line dividing ranges numbered 24 and 25, thence south on said range line to the principal base-line running east and west through said Territory, thence east on said base-line to the eastern boundary line of said Territory, thence north on said eastern boundary line to the place of beginning, be, and is hereby, constituted a new and separate land district, to be called the Colfax land district, the land office for which shall be located in the town of Folsom, county of Colfax, in the said Territory of New Mexico.

SEC. 2. That the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a register and a receiver of public moneys for said district; and said officers shall reside in the place where said land office is located, and shall have the same powers and shall discharge similar duties and receive the same fees and emoluments as officers discharging like duties in the other land offices of the Territory of New Mexico.

Mr. McMILLIN. I objected to this bill the other day, and it is proper, I think, that I should make this statement. I went to the Land Office, but I was unable to see either the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of the General Land Office. It impressed me when the bill came up that it was a bill which the public demands did not require. I still hold the same opinion. In what purports to be an indorsement of the bill there is rather a peculiar indorsement, and a good portion of the territory embraced in this has been put in a new district since this was introduced. I think it is proper to make that statement to the House.

Mr. CONGER. Permit me to say that the eastern half of the Territory was divided into two land districts; the county of Lincoln, in the southeastern part, is in the bill already passed, and it was the understanding with Mr. JOSEPH that the two bills should go through together.

Mr. McMILLIN. But Mr. JOSEPH is not the only person concerned in the matter, and that is why I made the investigation.

Mr. CONGER. I know, but this applies to the northeastern part, and the other land district organized is in the southeastern part.

Mr. McRAE. If this bill covers any part of the territory covered by the bill I moved for Mr. JOSEPH, I shall object to it.

Mr. CONGER. It does not. The other bill comprises simply the county of Lincoln, and this is north of it.

Mr. McMILLIN. I think the gentleman will find from the report that it does embrace a part of the same territory.

Mr. CONGER. I have the other bill in my desk, and there is no conflict between them at all.

Mr. McMILLIN. Let the report be read.

The report (by Mr. JACKSON) was read, as follows:

The Committee on the Public Lands, having under consideration the bill (S. 2040) to establish a land office at Folsom, Colfax County, New Mexico, report:

That at present there is no land office nearer the northeastern portion of the Territory of New Mexico than Santa Fé; that by reason of the location and completion of railroads there is likely to be in the near future a large emigration to that part of the Territory. The district as proposed in this bill is of a fair size, embraces much good land, and emigrants have no public means of travel by any direct route from this part of the Territory to Santa Fé, the present office. That it would greatly accommodate settlers to establish this office at Folsom, which is on a railroad. The honorable Commissioner of the General Land Office, in a letter answering an inquiry of the Senate committee concerning the propriety of establishing this office, under date of April 5, 1888, says that—

"It may be done without serious inconvenience to the transaction of current business, and I have no objection to interpose."

In a letter of same date, answering an inquiry in regard to establishing a land district by House bill 5048, to be known as the Las Vegas district, the honorable Commissioner of the General Land Office says that—

"The eastern portion of the Territory proposed to be included within its limits is included in Senate bill 2040, upon which this office makes a favorable report. The creation of the (Folsom) Colfax district (bill S. 2040) it is believed will fully answer the public requirements."

The committee, believing that the establishment of this office will tend to promote the acquisition of public lands in the Territory of New Mexico of homestead settlers, recommend the passage of the bill.

Mr. CONGER. The bill has been on the Calendar for some time, and on several occasions I had an opportunity to call it up, but at the request of Mr. JOSEPH it was delayed until this bill should have come over from the Senate.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to considering this bill at this time?

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to a third reading; and it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. CONGER moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

The House then, on motion of Mr. MCMILLIN (at 4.30 p. m.), adjourned.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE: Petition of John B. Martin and of estate of James L. Martin, for reference of their claims to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. NELSON: Resolution of the Lake Carriers' Association, protesting against the passage of Senate bill No. 2182—to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. MCMILLIN: Petition of Eliza O. Prince, and of R. N. Miers, of Sumner County, Tennessee, for reference of their claims to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

PRIVATE BILL INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule a private bill of the following title was introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. MCMILLIN: A bill (H. R. 11606) for the relief of John J. Kelly, of Jackson County, Tennessee—to the Committee on War Claims.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *October* 19, 1888.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. TELLER. I present a petition of citizens of Milwaukee, Wis., praying that a bill be introduced in the matter of the pension claim of Mrs. Helen Lehman, guardian of Jonas Lehman (insane), late of Company H, One hundred and eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteers, and that she be placed upon the pension-roll. The junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] has prepared a bill accomplishing that purpose, which I ask leave to introduce for him, and that the bill and petition be referred to the Committee on Pensions.

The bill (S. 3642) granting a pension to Jonas Lehman was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying petition, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HAMPTON introduced a bill (S. 3643) for the relief of the building and mutual loan associations of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

INVESTIGATIONS BY FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from yesterday under objection, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. ALLISON, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be authorized and directed to continue, during the recess of Congress, the investigation of such revenue matters, including House bill 9051, as have been referred to it by resolutions of the Senate, subject to the authority conferred by said resolutions.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

WAGONS MADE BY PRISON LABOR.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from yesterday under objection, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution, submitted yesterday by Mr. TELLER, as follows:

Whereas it is reported that the Secretary of the Interior has purchased a large number of wagons for the Indian service that were manufactured with prison labor in the State of Tennessee, thus putting the honest labor of the country in competition with such prison labor: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be authorized and directed to inquire as to the truth of such report, the number of wagons so purchased, the price paid for the same, whether the price paid was the fair market price thereof, and whether legislation is or is not required to protect the honest labor of the country from such prison convict-labor competition.

Mr. TELLER. Let that lie over. The Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] objected to it yesterday, and it may lie over.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be placed on the Calendar.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had non-concurred in the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2579) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Andrew J. Smith, late colonel of the Seventh United States Cavalry and a major-general of volunteers, asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. TOWNSHEND, Mr. MAISH, and Mr. GEAR managers at the conference on the part of the House.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills:

A bill (S. 3475) granting the use of certain lands in Pierce County, Washington Territory, to the city of Tacoma for the purposes of a public park; and

A bill (S. 2040) to establish a land office at Folsom, in the Territory of New Mexico.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolution; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 11604) to amend an act approved March 3, 1885, to authorize the construction of bridges across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers, in Tennessee; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 24) in reference to the employment of the Army and Navy bands.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The message further announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions; and they were thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore:*

A bill (H. R. 7964) granting to the Aberdeen, Bismarck and Northwestern Railway right of way across a portion of the Sioux reservation, in Dakota Territory;

A bill (H. R. 8074) to provide for the allotment of land in severalty to United Peorias and Miamies, in Indian Territory, and for other purposes;

A bill (H. R. 10735) for the removal of the political disabilities of Theodore Lewis;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the Agricultural Report for 1888;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 231) authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to the officers and employés of the Senate and House borne on the annual rolls their respective salaries for the month of October, on the 20th day of said month; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 232) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay session employés of the Senate and House for the full month of October.

THE REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. COCKRELL. Yesterday the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH], whom I do not now see in his seat, alluded to some letters referred to by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his letter to me presented a few days since, and which were not printed with that letter. It was an oversight that I did not have them handed to the Reporter at the same time that the letter of the Commissioner was submitted. I now have those letters, and if there be no objection I ask that they may be printed in their order in the RECORD.

Mr. ALLISON. I should like to hear them read.

Mr. COCKRELL. They are only copies of letters which have been written heretofore. There are no new letters. The Commissioner in his letter to me inclosed copies of various previous communications from his office. One of them is a letter to Hon. Charles J. Folger, dated December 18, 1882, from Mr. H. C. Rogers, Acting Commissioner. Another is a letter to Mr. Manning, of March 6, 1882, from Mr. Miller, the Acting Commissioner. Another is from Mr. Miller to Senator BECK, dated August 2, 1888, and there is a copy of a letter from Mr. C. A. Bates and Mr. T. A. Cushing, dated January 19, 1887. These are employés of the Department, and this was the report of an investigation that they made, addressed to the Commissioner. The letters can be read, as the Senator from Iowa desires to hear them. He may desire to say something in regard to them. I will have them read from the desk, and I ask that in the publication in the RECORD the Commissioner's letter to me may be republished, the other letters now to be read to follow, so that they will all appear together. I hope there will be no objection to that.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair hears none.

The letter referred to is as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, October 8, 1888.

SIR: Referring to your request for an expression of my views respecting the proposed exemption from tax of alcohol used in the industrial arts, as provided in the amendment reported by the Senate Finance Committee to House bill 9051, inclosed please find copy of a letter addressed from this office to Hon. JAMES B. BECK, under date of August 2, in response to a similar request pending the consideration of this proposed measure in committee. No copy of the proposed amendment was furnished this office at the time, and this suggested change in the law was considered simply as a proposition, without regard to the conditions imposed, and solely from a revenue standpoint. Notwithstanding the many safeguards now contained in the bill against the fraudulent use of the alcohol so exempt from tax, the proposed measure is, in my judgment, still open to the objections noted in my letter referred to; and as a measure for the relief of the manufacturer and the tax-payer, the amendment, I think, is open to still further objection.

The many requirements contained in the bill respecting the storage, custody, and use of the alcohol in the cases provided, and the large bond security exacted and other conditions imposed for the prevention of fraud, would, in my opinion, prove so burdensome and so difficult of compliance in many instances as to prevent the average manufacturer from availing himself of the proposed exemption.

The quantity of alcohol used in small lots by retail druggists and other small manufacturers in this country for pharmaceutical purposes and in the prepara-

tion of cologne-waters, toilet articles, etc., is very considerable and possibly exceeds, in the aggregate, the quantity used by the large wholesale manufacturers for like purposes. But, in order to obtain alcohol free of tax in the manner provided for in the bill (except in cases where the alcohol has first been methylated) the applicant must first provide a separate and secure room on his premises for the exclusive storage of the alcohol so obtained, and must file with the collector of his district the necessary notices and entries and a bond in a sum of not less than $5,000; and no portion of the alcohol, however small, can be removed from such store-room unless for immediate use and in the presence of the Government storekeeper having the custody of the room and spirits stored therein.

The practical difficulties here involved in the case of a small manufacturer, in providing the required store-room and securing the attendance of a storekeeper at the proper time, are such as would, in my judgment, effectually exclude this class of manufacturers from any benefits under the bill. If such should prove to be the case the business of manufacturing articles where alcohol is used in any considerable quantities would, of course, soon pass into the hands of a few large manufacturers who could easily comply with all the requirements of the proposed law. Such a law would be manifestly unjust; and the benefits which the consumer of the articles so produced would derive under the law would be such as the manufacturers would graciously concede. The provisions made in the bill for the establishment of "bonded alcohol warehouses," into which all bonded alcohol withdrawn from the distiller's warehouse must pass before reaching the manufacturer, would also, in my judgment, be greatly to the advantage of the large manufacturer over his smaller competitor.

The large bond security ($100,000) required of the proprietor of such warehouse would necessarily limit the number of warehouses so established, and would of course effectually prevent the small manufacturer from establishing his own bonded warehouse. By a system of warehouse charges, commissions, etc., the small manufacturer would be entirely at the mercy of the proprietors of these bonded warehouses and the distillers of the alcohol. The opportunity afforded by this bill for a combination of alcohol distillers and large manufacturers to establish these bonded warehouses and control the spirits entered into and withdrawn therefrom is, to my mind, a most dangerous one.

One of the principal objections now urged to the present tax on distilled spirits, especially as to alcohol (on which this tax is nearly five times the cost of producing the article) is that, owing to the high rate of tax and the many onerous restrictions placed on the business, the manufacture of this article is controlled by a few distillers, who, by limiting their production, are able to fix their own price on the article produced. If, as I apprehend, the effect of this proposed amendment to the law imposing this large tax would be to confine the manufacture of articles from alcohol, free of tax, to a comparatively small number of manufacturers, the monopoly feature of the internal-revenue law, if it now exists, would, instead of being lessened, be greatly increased, and the whole system of revenue laws relating to distilled spirits would become so unequal and unjust as to invite their hasty repeal.

In view of this objectionable feature of the bill and the dangers to be apprehended from the fraudulent use of the alcohol as set forth in the accompanying letter, I can not but regard this proposed measure as inexpedient and dangerous in the highest degree.

Recent experiments conducted in this office with methylated spirits (the details of which will appear in my annual report of 1888) demonstrate the fact that such spirits, even when containing a large per cent. of methyl, can by a very simple and inexpensive process be so demethylated or cleansed as to admit of their being used in the compounding of liquors intended as beverages.

The provision found in the bill for the methylation of alcohol in the bonded alcohol warehouses, and the exemption of such methylated spirits from many of the restrictions applicable to pure alcohol, would seem to furnish another dangerous opportunity for fraud, instead of affording an additional safeguard against fraud as intended.

The proposed measure is open to the further objection that the employment of a force necessary to carry out the provisions of the bill, and to properly supervise the business therein authorized, would probably entail upon the Government an expense greater than any similar measure heretofore proposed, and perhaps equal to the present cost of collecting the entire receipts from distilled spirits, and that no provision is made in the bill for this large additional expense, or for the appointment of additional revenue agents, which would be absolutely necessary in case the bill should become a law.

Respectfully, yours,

JOS. S. MILLER, *Commissioner.*

Hon. F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. COCKRELL. The first to be read is the letter of Commissioner Miller to Senator BECK.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The letter will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, August 2, 1888.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo in reference to the proposed exemption from internal-revenue tax of alcohol used in the arts and manufactures.

In compliance with your request for references, etc., to similar measures heretofore introduced in Congress, and for my opinion in regard to the effect that the now proposed measure would have upon the collection of the revenue, I have to state:

1. That upon examination of this subject it appears that as early as the Forty-seventh Congress, first session, a bill (H. R. 5082) was introduced providing for the use of free alcohol in the industrial arts.

For debates on this bill, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 13, pages 5325, 5360, and 5364.

Similar bills (H. R. 901 and 10415) are also found to have been introduced during the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress, but owing to the fact that the records for that Congress now accessible to this office are incomplete, I am unable to refer you to the debates, if any were had, on these bills.

The position of this office in respect to the various plans heretofore proposed for exempting such alcohol from tax appears from the following letters and reports, copies of which please find inclosed:

a. Letter addressed by this office to the Secretary of the Treasury, under date of September 18, 1882, in reply to Senate resolution of July 26, 1882 (Forty-seventh Congress, first session), directing the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain under what regulations methylated alcohol is prepared and sold, duty free, in Great Britain; and whether a system based on similar regulations can not be adopted in the United States.

b. Letter addressed by this office to the Secretary of the Treasury under date of December 18, 1882, inclosing printed copy of regulations referred to in Senate resolution of July 26, 1882, with suggestions thereon.

c. Letter addressed by this office to the Secretary of the Treasury under date of March 6, 1886, inclosing copy of House bill 901 (first session, Forty-ninth Congress), providing for the use of methylated spirits (except in certain cases) in the industrial pursuits, with objections thereto.

d. Report prepared in this office under date of January 19, 1887, on House bill 10415, authorizing the use of alcohol free of tax in the arts and manufactures, with objections thereto.

Your attention is also called to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the proposed use of methylated spirits (Senate Executive Document No. 24) 547. Also to objections to use of such spirits referred to in my annual report for 1885, pages lii-liii. Also to Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 85, Forty-eighth Congress, first session. Should any other document or report on this subject be found in this office the same will be furnished you.

2. From the inclosures now furnished, it will be seen that the several bills heretofore introduced in Congress on this subject, although mainly confined to methylated spirits, have not received the sanction of this office, and that the objections offered to the bills were more on account of the dangerous opportunities afforded by the proposed plan for the perpetration of frauds on the revenue, even when the exemption from tax was limited to methylated spirits, than from any loss of revenue likely to result from the use of the spirits as contemplated in the bills. If the present proposed measure authorizes the free withdrawal and use of pure spirits as well as methylated spirits for the purposes named, in my opinion the dangers of fraud on the revenue, should the bill become a law, would be greatly increased by this additional privilege. From the best data that this office has been able to obtain, the quantity of free alcohol which would annually be used in the arts and manufactures is estimated at about 7,000,000 proof gallons. This quantity of spirits, if exempt from tax, would, under the present rate of tax, result in a loss of revenue of some $6,300,000. As a revenue measure, therefore, the proposed exemption would be open to this objection. But the most serious objection, I think, that can be offered to the bill is the frauds likely to be committed in the use of such spirits.

Under the present laws relating to distilled spirits the exemption from tax on spirits used and consumed in this country is limited to withdrawals for scientific purposes by regularly constituted scientific institutions or colleges of learning (section 3297, Revised Statutes, and act of May 3, 1878), and for the use of the United States (section 3464, Revised Statutes). The purposes for which the spirits are withdrawn, and the high character of the persons withdrawing the spirits and having the custody thereof in such cases, is of itself a guaranty that the spirits will be used as contemplated by law, and the limited number of applications made for such withdrawals renders it an easy matter for the Department to regulate and supervise.

But should the privilege of withdrawing free alcohol become general, and its use extended to all the arts and manufactures (except as to certain prohibited articles), the business would soon assume such proportions, and would be taken advantage of by so many unscrupulous persons, that I am satisfied that this office, with its present force of local officers and revenue agents, would in many cases be unable to prevent, or even detect, the fraudulent use of the alcohol, in consequence of the great variety of ways by which such use could be accomplished. Indeed, it may be questioned whether with an increased force such a supervision could be exercised over the various kinds of business where free alcohol would be used as would insure the proper use of the spirits in all cases.

One of the principal safeguards now afforded by the law against the fraudulent evasion of the tax on distilled spirits is the bonded warehouse system, under which the product of each distillery is kept in a separate warehouse, in the custody of a revenue officer, and apart from any tax-paid spirits, or any other article or substance which would admit of a fraudulent concealment or removal of the spirits. Under this system, the identity of the spirits as an article upon which the tax is due and has not been paid is preserved; and the continuous custody of the spirits by the Government insures their removal only after the full amount of tax due has been paid. Experience has shown the wisdom of the Government in keeping its hand on the spirits so long as a tax liability attaches to the spirits. A release of the spirits from the Government custody before the payment of the tax would render the tax-lien on the spirits imposed by section 3251, Revised Statutes, of but little practical value, and would naturally encourage a fraudulent disposition of the spirits and the consequent evasion of the tax.

The present system of collecting the revenue on distilled spirits is, as is well known, the result of many years' experience, and an experience which, from both a moral and financial standpoint, is to be avoided in future, if possible; and any radical change in this system would, in my judgment, open the way to successful frauds, and would soon result in general demoralization of the wine and spirit trade.

That the same opinion is entertained by many persons in that trade is indicated by the inclosed slips taken from one of the leading trade journals.

It would, in my opinion, be far better from every point of view to reduce the rate of tax on all distilled spirits rather than exempt from tax, for any purpose not now authorized by law, the very spirits which can assume so many disguises and so easily escape the vigilance of the revenue officers after being removed from the distiller's warehouse.

Respectfully, yours,

JOS. S. MILLER, *Commissioner.*

Hon. JAMES B. BECK,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. COCKRELL. The next one is a letter to Secretary Folger, of September 18, 1882, from H. C. Rogers, Acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, September 18, 1882.

SIR: Your letter of 2d ultimo with one inclosure, relative to methylated spirits has been received (initials H. B. J. W.).

The inclosure is a copy of Senate resolution of July 26, 1882, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain under what regulations methylated alcohol is prepared and sold free in Great Britain, and whether a system based upon similar regulations can not be adopted in the United States in order to supply manufacturing chemists and others with methylated alcohol free of tax.

In reply to your inquiry for such information upon the subjects therein referred to as this office may be able to furnish, I submit herewith a statement showing by collection districts and in aggregate the quantity of alcohol used in the arts and manufactures during the year ended April 1, 1882. Also showing the quantity which would have been used if the tax had been 50 cents per gallon, and also if the use of the alcohol had been permitted free of tax, the quantities given in the last two cases being based as to each district upon an estimate furnished by the collector of the district.

It is understood that the regulations referred to are those which now govern the manufacture and sale of methylated spirits, permission for which was first obtained in 1856 by the late Mr. John Wood, chairman of the board of inland revenue. This methylated spirit is a mixture of 90 per cent. of spirit of wine of density not less than 0.830 specific gravity and 10 per cent. of purified wood spirit; reliance for safety from fraud is placed upon the fact that such a mixture is unfit for human consumption and that the wood spirit can not again be separated from the spirit of wine by any commercial process. (See page 317, volume 3, part 1, Roscoe and Schorlemmer's treatise on Chemistry, Appleton & Co., New York, 1882.)

It is, however, stated on page 172, Wagner's Chemical Technology, also published by Appleton in 1882, that confirmed spirit drinkers had now and then used wood spirit instead of whisky and the like, and, it appears, without bad effects.

On the question of separation of the wood spirit from the spirit of wine, the following statements may prove of value: Dr. Ure's method for detecting the presence of ethyl alcohol in wood naphtha and for detecting the presence of wood naphtha in ethyl alcohol is given on pages 145 and 146 of Muspratt's Chemistry, William Mackenzie, publisher, London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, no date; also on pages 152 and 153, volume 1 of the Encyclopedia of Chemistry, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, dated 1877,

Alexander Wynter Blyth, in his recent highly prized work on the Analysis of Foods and the Detection of Poisons, furnishes (on page 132 of the latest edition, published by William Wood & Co., of New York) a method of determining the quantity of wood spirit in a suspected mixture.

It is stated in Roscoe and Schorlemmer's Chemistry that the unpleasant smell of the methylated spirit is partially removed by the means of acids or oxydizing agents, and that the spirits thus obtained, though still containing methylated alcohol, is sufficiently tasteless for use in adulterating whisky and other alcoholic liquors.

An examination of the methods of determining the quantity of wood-spirits, as set forth in Blyth's work, indicates that the method might possibly be employed as a commercial process for separating the wood-spirit from the spirit of wine.

This office is not in possession of a copy of the regulations under which methylated alcohol is prepared and sold duty free in Great Britain, nor of what are known to be the laws and regulations governing the collection of the excise tax in Great Britain on distilled spirits, and I am therefore unable to state at this time anything more definitely in reply to your request than what is above set forth. If you should procure a copy of these laws and regulations by correspondence with the British authorities through the Department of State or otherwise, and submit them for my consideration, I would respectfully suggest that a complete set of the laws and regulations governing the collection of this tax should be supplied. I am led to make this suggestion through the circumstance that the stamp system in use under existing internal-revenue laws is not employed in Great Britain, and that this fact would doubtless make it necessary to modify the British system in order to adapt it to the method employed in the United States.

Inclosed herewith please find the certified copy of the Senate resolution, transmitted in your letter.

Very respectfully,

H. C. ROGERS,
Acting Commissioner.

Hon. CHARLES J. FOLGER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. COCKRELL. The next letter which I ask to have read is a letter to Secretary Folger, of December 18, 1882, from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, December 18, 1882.

SIR: Your letter of 14th instant (initials H. B. J.), relative to supplying manufacturing chemists and others with methylated alcohol free of tax, has been received.

A set of printed documents referred to in the letter obtained through the Department of State from the United States minister at London, in compliance with request made in my letter of 18th of September last, has also been received.

In reply, I have to say that such portion of Senate resolution of July 26, 1882, as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain under what regulations methylated alcohol is prepared and sold duty free in Great Britain would be fully answered by submitting to the Senate the printed documents above referred to, and which are herewith returned in accordance with your request.

I would also say in reply to the second branch of the inquiry that, in my opinion, similar regulations can with a few modifications be adopted in the United States and made a part of the laws governing the tax on distilled spirits.

The adoption of the system would involve the creation, under internal-revenue laws, of two new classes of special tax-payers, namely: Methylated spirit-makers to pay a tax, say, of $48 per annum, and of retail dealers in methylated spirit to pay a tax of $2.40 per annum.

It would also be necessary to create officers whose duty would be to witness the mixing of the spirits with the required proportion of wood-naphtha, to exercise certain surveillance, to keep certain accounts, and make certain reports set forth in the regulations, or to devolve those duties on existing officers.

It is noted that samples of naphtha to be used are to be taken by the proper officer and forwarded to the "laboratory" for examination and approval of the board of commissioners of inland revenue. A literal adaptation of this regulation would appear to require such samples to be sent to this office. Owing to the great extent of territory comprised in the United States this regulation would seem to be impracticable. It would seem to be better to have arrangements made for testing naphtha at certain designated points.

Certain methods by which frauds could be committed were referred to in my letter of September 18, 1882, and I would respectfully suggest whether it would not be well to transmit to the committee a copy of said letter.

An examination of the British regulations indicates that they are best adapted to thickly settled countries. It would be necessary, therefore, to frame the law so as to admit of modifications in the regulations adapted to the sparsely settled portions of the United States, or to limit their manufacture and use of methylated alcohol to areas having not less than a certain density of population.

The foregoing crude suggestions are made upon a mere reading of the law and regulations returned herewith.

I can not venture any more definite suggestions without attempting to draught regulations which would provide for the manufacture, sale, and use of methylated spirit free of tax under internal-revenue laws. In this way the necessary legislation could be determined. This, however, would require time, and as the report received from the State Department did not arrive until ten days after the opening of Congress, the date set for the introduction of the bill, I have not deemed it advisable, without special authority, to create further delay in this matter.

No report has yet been received from the Academy of Sciences showing the result of experiments being made by that scientific body, referred to on page 18 of my report for 1882, to determine whether alcohol mixed with wood-naphtha can be restored to its original purity.

Very respectfully,

H. C. ROGERS,
Acting Commissioner.

Hon. CHARLES J. FOLGER,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. COCKRELL. The next is the letter of Commissioner Miller to Secretary Manning, dated March 6, 1886.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, March 6, 1886.

SIR: Inclosed please find House bill No. 901, Forty-ninth Congress, first session, referred to this office on the 4th instant for my opinion and suggestions by Hon. W. C. BRECKINRIDGE, Committee of Ways and Means, House of Representatives.

This bill provides for the withdrawal from distillery warehouses without tax of alcohol and other spirits to be used in industrial pursuits. It requires the Secretary of the Treasury to grant permit for the withdrawal of such spirits under certain limitations from distillery warehouses, free of tax, for the sole purpose of use in industrial pursuits.

Two classes of safeguards are provided. One is through the use of methyl or wood alcohol, which applies only to spirits which are not withdrawn for use in tobacco factories or such other industrial pursuits as should entail their complete destruction; the other safeguard is that which may be afforded by rules and regulations which the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall adopt—specific penalties in the sale or use of the spirits withdrawn for any purpose other than that specified in the bill, also for any violation of the rules or regulations made in conformity with the act.

The bill having been submitted for my opinion and suggestions, you may say to Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, if you please, that in my opinion, if the manufacture, compounding, and preparation of medicines are industrial pursuits in the sense in which the term is used in the bill, the benefits of the bill would not extend to such pursuits unless the use of the spirits in the preparation of the medicine would entail their complete destruction. From reports received by this office and published on pages 31 and 32, No. 152, volume 13, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, it appears that alcohol was more often and more extensively used by chemists, druggists, and pharmacists than by others using it in arts and manufactures. It would seem, also, that it would be more to the interest of the public at large to authorize the use of alcohol, free of tax, in the preparation of medicine than to allow such use in other arts and manufactures.

It is presumed that the safeguard provided by methylation is intended to apply to alcohol to be used as a solvent, as by manufacturers of varnish, hats, chemicals used by photographers, and in the preparation of paints, white lead, etc.

In my report for the year ended June 30, 1885, page 53, the following statement is made: "The methylation also of grain alcohol by the addition thereto of a small proportion of wood-naphtha in order to permit the use of the alcohol in industrial pursuits without payment of tax thereon, as has been proposed, would hardly afford the degree of safety against the use of the alcohol as a beverage which has been attributed to it."

Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, in a speech on the subject of a tax on distilled spirits and tobacco, quotes Dr. Squibb, who says, "spirits may be cheaply methylated." This fact, which Mr. Hewitt, being now in the House, may readily affirm or deny, renders the protection by methylation of little or no value. On the other hand, the experiments made by the National Academy of Sciences at the request of this office, in 1882, indicated to the satisfaction of that scientific body that spirits could not be cheaply methylated.

The report of the committee of the National Academy of Sciences was transmitted to you on the 12th of January, 1883, with the suggestion that the same be forwarded to the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

I would also call attention to office letter to you of September 18, 1882, in answer to your letter of August 2, 1882 (initials H. B. J.), and to office letter of December 18, 1882, with printed documents forwarded pursuant to Senate resolution of July 26, 1882, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain under what regulations methylated alcohol is sold duty free in Great Britain.

If this bill should become a law, the expense of collecting the revenue would be increased and the receipts would be materially diminished, and I fear that quite a percentage of the reduction would be found to have occurred through frauds perpetrated under the law. Therefore, as an internal-revenue measure, the bill has nothing to recommend it.

Respectfully,

JOS. S. MILLER, *Commissioner.*

Hon. DANIEL MANNING,
Secretary of Treasury.

Mr. COCKRELL. The last is dated January 19, 1887, from C. A. Bates, and concurred in by T. A. Cushing, directed to the Commissioner.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

To the Commissioner:

I have carefully examined the annexed bill (H. R. 10415) with reference to its provisions for the use of spirits, free of tax, in the arts and manufactures.

Sections 5 to 10, inclusive, provide for the withdrawal of methylated spirits from distillery warehouses, free of tax, for use in the "arts and manufactures."

Sections 11 to 13, inclusive, provide for the withdrawal from such warehouses, free of tax, pure spirits or methylated to be used in internal-revenue manufacturing warehouses of "all articles, preparations, and compounds intended for sale in or use in the United States," except wines, etc., used or sold as beverages.

Sections 14 to 19, inclusive, for the allowance of drawback of tax on spirits "used for mechanical and scientific purposes, or in the manufacture of any article, preparation, or compound," except wines, etc., used or sold as beverages.

In each of these cases special provisions are made for the filing of notices, entries, bonds, etc., and for the assignment of internal-revenue storekeepers (and in the case of drawback for the appointment of special inspectors not exceeding fifty in number) for the issuing of necessary regulations, and also impose fines and penalties for fraud committed or attempted in connection with the withdrawal or use of such alcohol.

The bill bears internal evidence that this portion of it is made up of several distinct bills on the subjects named, and on account of the needless repetitions, as also on account of the seeming inconsistencies in some of its provisions, the bill as now drawn is open to objections on these grounds.

The bill, I think, could be much simplified and shortened by a rearrangement (see slip annexed to bill), and yet contain all its provisions without materially changing its phraseology.

From a revenue point of view the bill, in my opinion, should not receive the sanction of this office.

While I have no very satisfactory data on which to base an estimate of the quantity of spirits that would be used for the purposes named, should the bill become a law, I venture to predict that the annual withdrawals for these purposes would at least amount to 9,000,000 taxable gallons, or about one-seventh of the average withdrawals of spirits for domestic purposes during the past five years.

In addition to this large falling off in receipts from distilled spirits, there would be a very large expense (officers' expenses and salaries) connected with the proper supervision of this business, and this extra expense, when added to the actual cost of collecting the tax on spirits, would make an amount so large when com-

pared with the receipts as would in my judgment furnish another and still stronger argument in favor of the total abolition of the tax on distilled spirits. Besides this, there are grave reasons for apprehending extensive frauds in connection with the proposed withdrawal of free spirits, and frauds of this kind if committed would further decrease the revenue and have a most demoralizing effect on the whisky business generally.

I may perhaps take a rather too gloomy view of this matter, but, as I regard it, the bill is a very dangerous one, so far as the revenue is concerned.

Respectfully,

C. A. BATES.

JANUARY 19, 1887.

I entirely concur in the above.

T. A. CUSHING.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, I desire to say one word respecting these communications. The communications read from the Internal-Revenue Office, dating back in 1882, I think are of very little value as illustrating the matter before us. In the first place, the Commissioner there admits that he did not even have before him or accessible to him the spirit regulations of Great Britain, and therefore he knew practically nothing about the subject, as he himself states.

The subsequent letters relate entirely to a House bill, and are criticisms of a House bill which proposed three methods whereby spirits might be used in the arts, one by means of methylation, another by means of bonding, and another by means of free spirits with drawbacks; and the latter system, the drawback system, is especially condemned in those letters.

The Commissioner, in writing to Secretary Manning under date of March 6, 1886, also criticises the House bill, and does not express an opinion as to what could or could not be done under a proper system. All of the writers seem to think that as a revenue measure such a bill would be a mistake.

The letter of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, dated August 2, 1888, addressed to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK], in criticism of the *project* for the measure now in the Senate substitute for the House tariff bill is a criticism that has no real application to that measure. It is a criticism made upon, I think, the second draught of the amendment of the Committee on Finance. That amendment, as it then stood and was submitted to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, has practically no relation to the amendment as it now stands. Therefore, everything contained in all these letters must be thrown aside in any criticism of the substitute reported by our Committee on Finance.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue in one of the letters read states that the great safeguard for the collection of the tax on distilled spirits now is the system of bonded warehouses. That is precisely the system of the substitute as it respects alcohol used in the arts. We follow through a bonded warehouse the spirits until they are finally absorbed in the chemical production specified in the amendment. Every safeguard suggested by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue is provided for as respects bonded warehouses. There is no provision in it whereby a drawback is allowed. There are only two methods. One is that of bonding, and the distilled spirits are followed by a Government officer through every stage of manufacture until they are absorbed in the production, whatever it may be; and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to say what thing can be produced by this method. Hence, excluding the idea that any production can be made from free spirits except such as can not again be recovered, as respects this provision of the bill, I think there can be no just criticism made upon it.

As to the question of methylation, I agree that there is room for argument. That is to say, there is opportunity for persons to say it can not be done. But I have to say in response that the most eminent chemists in this country were consulted by the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance before we reported the provision, and I do not hesitate to declare that Dr. Squibb, who is mentioned in one of the letters, and the eminent chemists of Philadelphia all agree that the ethyl in methylated spirits can not be recovered except by redistillation; and that is the great point in this case.

Some of these letters allude to the report of the committee of the Academy of Sciences. The question was referred to that committee, consisting of three eminent chemists, who, in 1882, made a report, which is found among our documents, in which they state in conclusion—I will only give the conclusion of their report—

> It is plain from the foregoing that, considering our experiments as final, it is impossible to purify the mixture containing wood naphtha to a sufficent extent to make it palatable without the aid of distillatiou. Hence, apparently, it would be as difficult to carry on the process of purification on the large scale as to carry on the illegitimate manufacture of alcohol. This fact in itself might be a sufficient protection against fraud, though the committee does not feel competent to express a decided opinion on this point.

They show that the only method of recovering the wood alcohol is by redistillation. Every one knows what that is. So if we have now on our statute-books a law which is sufficient to prevent the illegitimate distillation of alcohol, the provisions of the Senate bill applying to that law and making stringent restrictions respecting redistillation will be sufficient to prevent the redistillation of methylated alcohol. The matter is just as plain to my mind as that two and two make four.

It follows that if the Commissioner of Internal Revenue under existing law can prevent fraud in the distillation of alcohol, the same laws, the same regulations, and the same processes will prevent fraud in the redistillation of methylated alcohol.

But all these statements—and they are statements, as these letters indicate, made without any very great examination—have standing against them the fact that since 1853 (not 1856, as stated in the letters) in Great Britain, with a tax of $2.50 per gallon upon distilled spirits of the proof of our distilled spirits, making a much larger tax upon alcohol than we impose, under the regulations of the British Board of Trade methylated spirits have been sold and used in the industrial arts. The Committee on Finance have all these regulations. They are not cumbrous, nor are they difficult of enforcement. Many of them are embodied in our provisions here, and the remainder of them can be embodied in the regulations of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and adapted to our system. Germany has the same thing under her system of withdrawing spirits not only for methylation but bonded spirits as well for use in the arts.

If that can be done there, why should it not be done in our country? Why should the Commissioner of Internal Revenue set himself up as sponsor of the revenue because he says as a revenue measure it will not be a success? Of course it will not. It is the intention of the bill to reduce the revenue to the extent of the tax on the spirits so used in the arts.

If these spirits can not be recovered except by redistillation, of course the Commissioner of Internal Revenue can easily protect the revenue as to all distilled spirits sold for use as a beverage. Do any of these letters say, is there any suggestion anywhere, that this wood alcohol or wood naphtha can be withdrawn from the spirits so as to enable them to be used as a beverage without redistillation? Nobody pretends that.

The question resolves itself simply into this, whether it is a wise or unwise thing for us to attempt such a revenue measure as will allow the industrial arts of this country to use alcohol without the payment of the tax, and thereby to the extent of such use free of tax reduce the cost of all the articles that are produced in this way? That is the only question; and I will say to the Senator from Missouri that if in the detailed discussion of these provisions he can find any more stringent provisions respecting the use of these spirits, either under our system of bonding or under our system of methylation, I shall be glad to adopt it.

I will add that these provisions have been submitted, I will not say to whom, because perhaps I ought not to state that, but these provisions have been submitted to the highest experts having charge of internal-revenue matters, and many of these stringent provisions are the result of their careful work.

Therefore it is, Mr. President, that I do not wish this question to be clouded or disturbed by the letters which are put in here, showing it is true upon their face that the men who have written them have not given that examination to this subject which they should have given.

Now, I will say to the Senator from Missouri that the clause as to alcohol for use in the arts is a provision that will be open to the criticism of the chemists between now and December. Every man who is familiar with the use of distilled spirits in the arts and the method of methylation, not only in our country but in Great Britain and Germany, will have an opportunity of criticism, and if the judgment of these experts shall show that there is any great opportunity for fraud, and wherein that opportunity exists, I will go hand in hand with the Senator from Missouri in making the bill more perfect in that respect.

But surely when Great Britain collects more tax from distilled spirits than we do, having more than twice the rate of tax that we have, and can furnish these spirits to her industries, we ought to be willing to make an honest attempt to do the same thing, unless we intend to abolish entirely the internal-revenue tax upon distilled spirits, and I do not understand that any proposition of that character comes from any suggestion in these letters.

That is all I have to say now upon this subject.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, as a matter of course it is almost impossible to determine in advance what will be the result and effect of the practical operation of these provisions in regard to the use of alcohol in the arts. I have no doubt the Senator is entirely sincere in his views with regard to it. There are other gentlemen who are equally as sincere in their views which are directly the opposite to those of the Senator from Iowa. I have not myself made any personal investigation of this matter, and, therefore, can not speak from personal information upon it; but my colleague [Mr. VEST] and others, who have examined it, say that the alcohol can be, as it were, demethylated and made into most excellent brandy. I have seen several times little bottles of it said to be very pure. I can not state whether it was pure or not.

Mr. ALLISON. Nobody denies that this can be done. Of course it can be done.

Mr. COCKRELL. But not by redistillation, as the Senator claims, or not by such a process of redistillation as can be prevented. If a redistillation had to occur of the same character and kind as an original distillation, as a matter of course if you can prevent the original distillation you can prevent the redistillation; but this is not the process that is used in demethylating this alcohol after it has been used in the arts, or after it has been prepared for use in the arts. That is the only difference in the world, as I understand the matter.

I am very glad that the Senator has disclosed the fact that this is only a tentative proposition, like all other provisions of the bill.

Mr. ALLISON. No, sir; it is not a tentative proposition.

Mr. COCKRELL. But it is to be subject to criticism and amendment and change and modification up to the time it is finally acted on.

Mr. ALLISON. Undoubtedly. In response to the intimation or suggestion of the Senator from Missouri that this provision as respects alcohol for use in the arts is like every other provision in this bill, I will say that it is open to public debate and criticism in this body, and to modification and change. This bill of ours is the bill of the subcommittee, and afterward of the Committee on Finance. Nobody claims that it is perfect in any respect. I know myself as regards this very provision that we had five prints of it. It was printed five times, and some of the most important features in it were inserted after the fourth print.

I have no doubt that the Senator from Missouri, putting his sharp eye upon it and having it held up to the public gaze between now and the time when it will be acted on, may be able to suggest some imperfections in it, and therefore the committee is willing to accept them in the spirit of the proposition, and that is to exempt, if we can exempt, this article from tax when it is used in the arts.

Mr. DOLPH. The proposition is not tentative that you propose to remove the tax. It is the method of doing it.

Mr. ALLISON. It is the method. That is all I mean. I mean to say that this measure is open to the just criticism of everybody, and we invite that criticism. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in the nature of things, can know very little more about it than we can. He is not a chemist; I assume that he has not studied the question with that care and attention which would be required to make him an expert. Therefore I submit this proposition to the experts of the country, and if they say to us that we can not do in this country what is done in Great Britain and in Germany as respects these spirits, then I will listen to their criticisms, and so far as I can, and I have no doubt other Senators will, act upon them in the direction of the improvement of the bill.

Mr. COCKRELL. The question remains just where it was before. Here are views conflicting. The Senator says they have determined to remove the tax upon alcohol used in the arts. I suppose that is to be regardless of whether it will lead to frauds which can not be prevented or not. That inroad is to be made upon the tax derived from distilled spirits regardless of what may be its results.

Mr. ALLISON. Oh, no.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understood the Senator from Iowa to say, in response to the language of the Senator from Oregon, that this tax had to be removed from alcohol used in the arts; that that was a settled fact, and the question was only as to the method of doing it.

Now, Mr. President, if that is a settled fact, then the tax has got to be removed regardless of whether frauds can be prevented or not.

Mr. ALLISON. I hope the Senator will be a little more candid in his statement.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask the Senator if that is not what the Senator from Oregon said to him, and if he did not assent to it? I will ask him to say that.

Mr. DOLPH. I do not think that that is a fair construction of what I said or what the Senator from Iowa said.

Mr. COCKRELL. Did you not ask the Senator from Iowa if it had not been determined that that tax should be removed?

Mr. DOLPH. Not if it would result in fraud.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Senators will address the Chair.

Mr. DOLPH. If the Senator from Missouri will yield to me now, I will make the explanation.

Mr. COCKRELL. Certainly, I always yield.

Mr. DOLPH. I say that I do not think the Senator from Missouri puts the proper construction either on the question I put to the Senator from Iowa or on his reply. Of course if it should be found impracticable to prevent frauds, no one would propose to remove the tax. I supposed that that was understood. That was admitted, as I understood, by the committee.

What I understood the Senator from Iowa to say to the Senator from Missouri was, that the committee were willing to perfect this measure and to listen to any person who would criticise it, and who could suggest any additional provisions which would be a safeguard against fraud, and that the committee of the Senate, so far as he could speak for them, and this side of the Chamber, would be glad to accept them.

Mr. COCKRELL. That was the explanation until the Senator put in the statement that the fact was that that tax was going to be removed. He is entitled to his explanation. I have no objection to his explanation, but my criticism was merely upon the language he used, that it was a fact that this tax had to be removed; and, as a matter of course, if it has to be removed, the consequences of it are immaterial whether frauds can be prevented or not.

As I said before, many persons who have investigated this matter declare that this alcohol can be demethylated and used as a beverage, and that a redistillation process, such as is required in the distillation of spirits in the first instance, is not necessary.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. MORGAN submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs, or a subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit in the recess of the Senate at Washington, D. C., to complete the examination as directed in resolutions of the Forty-ninth Congress, of the condition of the Indian tribes in the reservations in Minnesota, Dakota, and Montana, and the powers conferred on said committee under said resolutions are continued until the examination is completed, subject to the further orders of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 11604) to amend an act approved March 3, 1885, to authorize the construction of bridges across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers, in Tennessee, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

ARMY AND NAVY BANDS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate the joint resolution (H. Res. 24) in reference to the employment of the Army and Navy bands; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. BLAIR. I ask that the joint resolution be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be read at length for information, if there be no objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

Be it resolved, etc., That hereafter no enlisted musician in the service of the United States, the Army and Navy, respectively, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life for emolument, hire, or otherwise, where the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilian musicians.

Mr. BLAIR. A bill similar to this joint resolution was introduced a long time since and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and was somewhat discussed by the committee, but there was never any action upon it. This joint resolution comes to us from the other House, and I move that it be taken up and considered at the present time.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, as it affects more largely persons engaged in the military service than in any other. I object to its third reading to-day.

Mr. BLAIR. I suppose that one motion is not superseded by offering another without action upon the first.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Hampshire will pause. The joint resolution can not be read a third time the same day on which it is read the first and second times except by unanimous consent. The Senator from Missouri has the right, under the rules, to object. The Senator from New Hampshire can only get leave to have the joint resolution considered now by unanimous consent.

Mr. BLAIR. Do I understand, then, that the Senator from Missouri objects?

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. I think it is a matter that ought to be examined and investigated.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It will be so referred, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none.

RECESSES.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate take a recess for thirty minutes.

Mr. BLAIR. I think there are other bills and resolutions from the House of Representatives.

Mr. COCKRELL. I say frankly that the Senator need not try to pass any bills now. It is just a farce. That is enough to say.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Calendar, under Rule VIII, is in order.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate take a recess for thirty minutes.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate thereupon took a recess for thirty minutes. At the expiration of the recess the Senate reassembled, at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will report the first bill on the Calendar under Rule VIII.

The CHIEF CLERK. Order of Business 1996. A bill (H. R. 5080) for the relief of C. B. Wilson.

Mr. COCKRELL. I ask unanimous consent that the further call of the Calendar be suspended or that it be laid aside for the present, and that the Senate do nothing except such business as may be necessary. I think we shall have a message from the President and we may need an executive session. I simply suggest that we remain in *statu quo* without doing any business for a short time. Perhaps, however, it would be better to take a formal recess. I move that a further recess be taken until half past 2 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and thereupon the Senate took a recess. At the expiration of the recess the Senate reassembled, at 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

BILLS BECOME LAWS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the following bills, having been presented to the President on the 4th instant and not having been returned by him to the House of Congress in which they originated within the ten days prescribed by the Constitution, have become laws without his signature:

An act (S. 317) for the relief of William A. Bevans; and

An act (S. 2563) to compensate Mrs. Sarah L. Larimer for important services rendered the military authorities in 1864 at Deer Creek Station, Wyoming.

The message also announced that the President had on the 18th instant approved and signed the following acts:

An act (S. 70) to provide for warehousing fruit brandy;

An act (S. 1856) to establish a life-saving station on the Atlantic coast between Indian River Inlet, Delaware, and Ocean City, Md.;

An act (S. 3427) to amend section 4474 of the Revised Statutes of the United States;

An act (S. 1671) for the relief of the heirs of Martin Kenofsky;

An act (S. 741) for the relief of William Tabb;

An act (S. 2742) to incorporate the Brightwood Railway Company of the District of Columbia;

An act (S. 1291) granting a pension to David Heinbach;

An act (S. 2593) granting a pension to Sarah E. McNamara;

An act (S. 3175) granting a pension to Mrs. Caroline Taylor;

An act (S. 3197) granting a pension to Abbie L. Ham;

An act (S. 3230) granting a pension to Martha J. Cole;

An act (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to Leopold Mayer; and

An act (S. 3018) granting an increase of pension to John N. Bovee.

The message further announced that the President had this day approved and signed the act (S. 1089) for the relief of Henrietta M. Sands, widow of the late Rear-Admiral Benjamin F. Sands, United States Navy.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE AT OMAHA.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. PADDOCK. I simply rise to ask the Senator to yield to me for a moment.

Mr. ALLISON. I will yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Iowa withdraw his motion?

Mr. ALLISON. For the moment.

Mr. PADDOCK. I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River and its Tributaries be authorized to continue during the recess of Congress, the investigation directed by the resolution of this body of October 10, 1888, with all the powers and privileges conferred by said resolution. And all necessary expenses of such committee shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution will be referred, under the rule, to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. PADDOCK. I desire to ask a suspension of the rules as to the reference order of the resolution which I have presented.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair does not feel at liberty to entertain a motion to suspend the rules at this stage of the business.

Mr. PADDOCK. I happen to be the only member of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate who is present to-day. So far as that committee can give its assent to the resolution through me, that assent is given. I think under the circumstances it might be proper to suspend the rules for the purpose of passing this resolution, which is based upon a resolution of the Senate passed on the 10th day of the month, directing positively and imperatively the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River and its Tributaries to make an investigation and inquire in respect to obstructions of the Missouri River occasioned by the improper construction of a bridge. I hope the Presiding Officer will find it proper and competent for him to allow the rules to be suspended, if the Senate is willing to suspend them.

Mr. BATE. A bill has just come from the other House to amend a previous act so as to enable bridges to be put across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers in Tennessee. I should like very much to get unanimous consent to have that bill passed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair understood the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL] to announce that objection would be interposed to the transaction of any legislative or other business. If the Senator from Missouri withdraws his objection interposed, the Chair will submit the request for unanimous consent for the consideration of any business that may be asked by any Senator present.

Mr. BATE. It is merely a question of the amendment of a charter that has passed the House so as to put some bridges across the Cumberland and Caney Fork Rivers. My colleague in the House [Mr. MCMILLIN] requested me to secure the passage of the bill here.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The first request was made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. PADDOCK] if business is to be transacted.

Mr. PADDOCK. I desire to state to the Senate that before I introduced the resolution I had a conference with the Senator from Missouri, and I have pursued that course which I understood to be suggested by the Senator from Missouri, and to be agreeable to him. I think he would so indicate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I did not catch what the Senator was saying.

Mr. PADDOCK. I say before presenting the resolution I had a conference with the Senator from Missouri, and I understood him if not exactly to suggest it to concur in the proposition which I have presented.

Mr. COCKRELL. I will state very frankly that I said to the Senator that he must consult his side of the Chamber. This is a question of the expenditure of the contingent fund of the Senate. The Senate is Republican; the Republicans are responsible for it; and they must take the lead in all such matters. Therefore, I have not said a word or interposed any objection. It is for that side of the Chamber to determine what shall be done in such a matter.

I think myself the subject mentioned ought to be investigated, and I suggested to the Senator from Nebraska that the only way for the Committee on the Improvement of the Mississippi River and its tributaries to investigate it was by an extension of the resolution of October 10th. That is the only way it can be done. It is for Senators on that side to determine whether they will at this late day entertain a resolution for incurring that amount of expense, whatever it may be. I do not know that there will be any material expense, but that is what I meant by saying to the Senator that I did not propose to interpose any objection.

Mr. PADDOCK. Then I understand the Senator withdraws his objection. I will state that the resolution is in the interest of economy.

This inquiry will have to be made at Omaha, and it is in the interest of economy that it should be undertaken. The inquiry should be made during the recess of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I understand, however, the ruling of the Chair to be that a resolution involving payment from the contingent fund of the Senate must necessarily go to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It is the imperative requirement of the rule.

Mr. COCKRELL. So the question of objection or no objection would have nothing to do with it.

Mr. PADDOCK. If it is in order to do so, I move that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the resolution. As a member and as acting chairman of that committee, I make that motion, if it is in order.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Nebraska moves that the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate be discharged from the further consideration of the resolution.

Mr. COCKRELL. It has not been referred, has it?

Mr. PADDOCK. It has been referred.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair announced its reference. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. COCKRELL. I think that is going a long way. As the matter can not be done without a suspension of the rules and all that, I appeal to my friends on the other side of the Chamber that they ought not to undertake to go that far. I think it is hardly right, and I do not think there is one of you but must see that it is a very bad precedent.

Mr. ALLISON (to Mr. PADDOCK). Let it go.

Mr. PADDOCK. All right.

Mr. COCKRELL. I think it is a dangerous precedent.

Mr. TELLER (to Mr. PADDOCK). Withdraw the motion.

Mr. PADDOCK. All right; I withdraw the motion to discharge the committee.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After twenty-five minutes spent in executive session, the doors were reopened, and, on motion of Mr. ALLISON (at 3 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.), the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, October 20, 1888, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 19, 1888.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

Fourth Regiment of Cavalry.

Second Lieut. Charles P. Elliott, to be first lieutenant, October 2, 1888, *vice* Smith, appointed regimental quartermaster.

Quartermaster's Department.

Lieut. Col. Henry C. Hodges, deputy quartermaster-general, to be assistant quartermaster-general with the rank of colonel, October 19, 1888, *vice* Saxton, retired from active service.

Maj. George H. Weeks, quartermaster, to be deputy quartermaster-general with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, October 19, 1888, *vice* Hodges, promoted.

Capt. Lewis C. Forsyth, assistant quartermaster, to be quartermaster, with the rank of major, October 19, 1888, *vice* Weeks, promoted.

Ninth Regiment of Infantry.

Second Lieut. Albert S. McNutt, to be first lieutenant, October 17, 1888, *vice* Stivers, resigned.

Alfred Pleasonton, late major Second Cavalry, to be major in the Army, October 19, 1888.

Ninth Regiment of Infantry.

Additional Second Lieut. Matthew C. Butler, jr., of the Fourteenth Infantry, to be second lieutenant, October 17, 1888, *vice* McNutt, promoted.

Fourth Regiment of Cavalry.

Additional Second Lieut. John P. Ryan, of the Third Cavalry, to be second lieutenant, October 2, 1888, *vice* Elliott, promoted.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY.

Patrick H. Bryant, a resident of Tennessee, and Luther Lochman von Wedekind, a resident of Pennsylvania, to be assistant surgeons in the Navy, to fill existing vacancies in that grade.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles R. Bisbee, of Florida, to be collector of customs for the district of St. John's, in the State of Florida, to succeed Edward Hopkins, deceased.

POSTMASTER.

Charles J. Ackert, to be postmaster at New Paltz, in the county of Ulster and State of New York, the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after October 1, 1888.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate October 19, 1888.

APPOINTMENT IN THE ARMY.

Alfred Pleasonton, late major Second Cavalry, to be major in the Army.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS.

Charles R. Bisbee, of Florida, to be collector of customs for the district of St. John's, in the State of Florida.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, *October* 19, 1888.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. Dr. CUTHBERT, D. D.

The Clerk read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

THE JOURNAL.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the Journal will be approved as read.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, I object to the approval of the Journal, upon the point of order that I made yesterday morning and which I now renew, and bring to the attention of the Speaker of this House. The Speaker *pro tempore* held yesterday that the custom of the House overruled the rule which requires the presence of a quorum when the Journal is read and approved, and I desire to have a ruling upon that point now from the Speaker of the House, in order that such a decision as was made yesterday shall not stand permanently on the minutes as a precedent. The same point was raised in the second session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, and I desire to call attention to the proceedings upon it and to the action in that case, which sustains the point I made yesterday, that there must be a quorum present and that the Speaker must take cognizance of the fact that there is a quorum present before the Journal of the preceding day is read. I ask the Clerk to read from the Journal of the Twenty-seventh Congress the portion which I have indicated, omitting the votes.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, how does this matter come up this morning?

The SPEAKER. The Chair stated in the usual form that unless objection was made the Journal would be approved as read. The gentleman from New York [Mr. FARQUHAR] objects upon the ground, as the Chair understands it, that there is no quorum present in the House, and states that the same objection was made on yesterday morning; and, of course, if that be a good objection, the approval of the Journal yesterday morning would not be valid. The Clerk will read as requested by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARQUHAR].

The Clerk read as follows:

SATURDAY, *April* 9, 1842.

At 11 o'clock, the hour to which the House stood adjourned, the Speaker took the chair and directed the Journal of yesterday to be read.

Mr. Russell, of Ohio, objected to the reading of the Journal on the ground that a quorum had not appeared.

The Speaker decided that it was in order to read the Journal in the absence of a quorum.

From this decision Mr. Russell took an appeal to the House, and the question was stated, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House? when

A motion was made by Mr. Steenrod that the question on the appeal do lie upon the table. * * *

The Speaker here stated that his decision had been made hastily and without referring to the rule; that during the call of the yeas and nays he had looked into the subject and found that his decision was erroneous, the first rule providing that, upon the appearance of a quorum, he shall cause the Journal of the preceding day to be read. He therefore recalled his decision.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully submit that that is a precedent which should govern this question, and I now ask for a decision by the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The first rule of the House provides that the Speaker shall take the chair on every legislative day, precisely at the hour to which the House shall have adjourned at the last sitting, immediately call the members to order, and, on the appearance of a quorum, cause the Journal of the proceedings of the last day's sitting to be read, having previously examined and approved the same. The Chair thinks that if the point is made before the Journal is read that there is no quorum present in the House, it is the duty of the Chair to cause the roll of the members to be called for the purpose of ascertaining the fact; because there is only one case provided for by the rules in which the Chair itself may ascertain by a count whether or not a quorum is present, and that is where the previous question has been ordered upon a measure. The rule provides that in such a case there shall be no call of the roll ordered until the Speaker shall have ascertained by a count that there is no quorum actually present. The rule also provides that the Journal shall have been previously examined and approved by the Speaker, but the Chair thinks that is merely a preliminary examination and approval, and that the proceedings of the House and the question as to whether or not they are correctly or incorrectly recorded by the officers of the House, must always be under the control of the body itself. If this were not the case the reading of the Journal would be an entirely useless proceeding.

In this case the Chair does not understand that the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARQUHAR] made the point of order before the Journal was read, but he makes the point now that the approval of the Journal, when objected to, can not be made by the House in the absence of a quorum; and the Chair thinks that point well taken, because the approval of the Journal is the transaction of business; it is a proceeding which affects the regularity and validity of the proceedings of the previous day. But until a vote is taken, and the fact that no quorum is present is disclosed, or until the roll is called and discloses that fact, the Chair, of course, can not say officially that there is not a quorum present in the House.

There may be no quorum actually on the floor at the present moment, and yet a quorum might appear upon a vote. The question, therefore, is, "will the House now approve the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday?" and in order to prevent any difficulty or misunderstanding hereafter, the Chair thinks the House ought also to approve or disapprove the Journal of the proceedings of the day before yesterday. As many as are in favor of approving the Journals of the proceedings of yesterday and the day before will say "ay."

Mr. RICHARDSON. I understand the gentleman from New York to have made the point this morning that there is no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has not made it yet.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I understood the gentleman to state——

The SPEAKER. The Chair has decided that until a vote is taken it can not be determined whether a quorum is present or not; but when the gentleman objects to the approval of the Journal a vote must be taken on that question, as the Chair thinks, because the House alone has the right to approve its Journal.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I understood the Chair to state that he would at once proceed to ascertain whether there is a quorum present by directing a call of the roll.

The SPEAKER. The Chair stated that if before the reading of the Journal the gentleman had raised the point that no quorum was present, the Chair would not have directed the Journal to be read until the presence of a quorum was ascertained. But the Journal having now been read, the question is simply upon its approval; and this must be decided by a vote, which, if the point be made, will disclose whether or not there is a quorum present. As many as are in favor of approving the Journals of the last two days will say "ay."

The affirmative and the negative vote having been taken,

The SPEAKER said: The ayes have it, and these two Journals are approved.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I withdraw the point which I made——

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not understand the gentleman to have made any point since the vote was taken.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I mean that I do not now desire to press any point as to the absence of a quorum.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not understand the gentleman to have made any such point since the vote was taken. There was a mere suggestion on the part of the gentleman that there was no quorum present, and that the point indicated by him had heretofore been made and decided.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I misunderstood the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I misunderstood the gentleman from New York. I thought the gentleman had made the point.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I do not desire to raise any point now in regard to the absence of a quorum.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. NEWELL, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment House joint resolutions of the following titles:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 231) authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to the officers and employés of the Senate and House of Representatives borne on the annual rolls their respective salaries for the month of October on the 20th day of said month; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 232) making an appropriation to enable the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay all session employés of the Senate and House for the full month of October.

CLAIM OF STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested by the executive authority of the State of Pennsylvania and its accounting officers to call up the bill for the purpose of reauditing an account in which that State is interested, and having the result of that reauditing reported to this House at the next session. This bill passed the Senate in April last, and has been unanimously recommended by the Committee on War Claims, the Senate report having been adopted by that committee and presented to the House by its chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE].

I ask in these closing hours of this session that this bill may be taken up by unanimous consent and passed. The probabilities are, Mr. Speaker, that if passed to-day it may, between now and to-morrow at 1 o'clock, receive the approval of the President. The bill provides simply for reauditing—nothing else. It makes no appropriation. It simply requires a report to be made to this House. I ask, therefore, in behalf of the State of Pennsylvania that the bill may be taken up and passed. It is Senate bill No. 2329. I am sure that, if properly understood, it will meet no objection from any quarter.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I would like the gentleman from Pennsylvania to state the character of the claim and its amount, the right to object being meanwhile reserved.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, many years ago there was settled an account between the Government of the United States and the State of Pennsylvania for expenses which the State took upon itself to pay, expenses incurred in raising and paying certain Union regiments. So far as the principal of that account was concerned, amounting to some hundreds of thousands of dollars, it was paid by act of Congress of April 12, 1866. But the interest, amounting to about $41,000, which the State of Pennsylvania assumed and absolutely paid to the individuals who, in the first place, advanced this money, depending upon the State of Pennsylvania to see that it was settled and upon the assurance of Governor Curtin, then governor of Pennsylvania, that he would see to it that it should be settled, was never paid to the State, though authorized by the same act of Congress, this bill being designed to correct a mistake in the previous audit. The question came before the proper Departments of the Government—before the War Department and ultimately the Treasury Department. The matter was acquiesced in by the then Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch, and more recently received some indorsement from the late Secretary of the Treasury, Judge Folger. The State of Pennsylvania now simply asks that there may be a re-examination and a reauditing of that account, and a report to the House of that reauditing. There is no appropriation made by it. It is, I will say in all frankness, preliminary, perhaps, to asking an appropriation. But to-day the State of Pennsylvania, through me, asks only the passage of the Senate bill.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. It is very hard to resist an appeal from the State of Pennsylvania; and especially so when made by my amiable friend who now represents the voice of that Commonwealth in this request. But the principle involved in this claim is one that is very far-reaching, as I understand. It is the question of interest on State claims of the character he mentions.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Let me interrupt the gentleman to explain there. Some patriotic citizens of the city of Philadelphia advanced certain money during the rebellion, amounting in all to $700,000.

Mr. WASHINGTON. In what year?

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. The State authorities then took upon themselves the repayment of these individuals through Congress; and the money was advanced for that purpose. The interest had been paid by them, and was due for eighteen or twenty months. The money had been paid, I repeat, by these patriotic citizens, and they are out of pocket for that sum, they or their representatives of the State of Pennsylvania up to the present time. The bill for which I now ask consideration does no more than provide for an audit of the amounts so paid.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Why did not the State pay the interest?

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Because the State had advanced the money, and to pay the principal took all the amount of the repayment that was made by Congress to the State of Pennsylvania. The State paid both the principal and interest, and Congress so provided by the act of April 12, 1866. But the entire amount was not paid. Congress appropriated $800,000, and the State received less than $700,000. The understanding was then that another settlement would be made; and the object of this bill is to carry out that understanding.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. As I understand it, then, the State of Pennsylvania has no interest in the question.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Oh, yes, it had, because the State undertook to see to the payment originally and the State to-day is seeking to have a reaudit of the account made. I am now simply asking, as one of the members from the State of Pennsylvania, to have this bill taken up and passed, which is at the instance of and in obedience to the desire of the executive authorities of the State of Pennsylvania.

As I said before, this bill passed the Senate unanimously many months ago, was unanimously recommended by the Senate committee, and was unanimously reported by the War Claims Committee of this House through the chairman, General STONE, of Kentucky. The report is very full, setting out all the facts from beginning to end. But I can not say, I will state in great frankness to my friend, what the bill proposes ultimately to do, but suppose, of course, an appropriation will be asked to pay what is due. At present it only authorizes the auditing of the claim. That is all I ask. That is all the bill does. Nothing is proposed by this bill in any respect touching the ultimate payment. It is simply for an examination and report as to the amount remaining due, that being the interest for this many months, which interest was paid by the individuals who advanced the money originally to the Government of the United States. They were told by those in authority at the time that they would be repaid. But Governor Curtin in his patriotic orders of that day took upon himself to have the matter brought before Congress then. That is the entire history of the transaction.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania has suggested considerations which do great credit to his constituents on the score of lofty patriotism on their part; but I respectfully submit to him that if we were to pay them for their patriotism in this way, it would rob them of that credit.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. This bill does not rob them of any credit.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. But in all kindness to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, whose wishes I have been always willing to second, as he knows, I desire to say that the principle of the bill involves a very large sum of money. The State of Massachusetts, as I happen to remember, has a claim of the same character, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars, and so with other States; the claims being scattered all over the United States. I think, before we commit ourselves to a principle of that sort, we ought to have more time to examine and a fuller attendance of members than we have now. I therefore feel bound to object.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. The entire amount involved would not amount to more than $41,000. These patriotic gentlemen, at a time when patriotism was needed in this country, evinced this patriotic spirit, and paid the interest for twenty months or more, and they certainly ought to be remunerated for it, or the State which made itself responsible. It is nothing more than right and proper and just. But that is not the question to-day. The only thing I ask is to pass this bill permitting the re-examination and reauditing of the account. It does not involve, I think, any principle such as the gentleman from Georgia seems to apprehend.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made, and the matter is not before the House.

LABORERS IN CLOAK-ROOMS.

Mr. PETERS. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the resolution I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read subject to objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the laborers employed in the cloak-room of the House be retained during the recess and until the convening of the second session of the Fiftieth Congress, at the same rate of compensation they are now receiving; said compensation to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. PETERS. Mr. Speaker, it is well understood that the employés of the House engaged in the cloak-room will have to take up the carpets and clean up the Hall immediately after the *sine die* adjournment, and prior to the beginning of the next session they will have to replace the carpets. They will be engaged here almost constantly during

the recess, and the object of the resolution is simply to give them compensation during the period of their employment.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and adopted.

Mr. PETERS moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

RECONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC WORKS, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Mr. RICE. I desire to ask consideration of a bill reported from the Committee on Commerce.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks for consideration of a bill the title of which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 9768) to authorize the city of Minneapolis, Minn., to repair, alter, and reconstruct certain public works.

The bill was read at length for information.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. KILGORE. I object.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I demand the regular order.

Mr. HOOKER. I hope the gentleman will yield to me that I may ask unanimous consent to substitute a resolution for a bill.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I will yield for a moment.

Mr. HOOKER. I ask unanimous consent to substitute the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk for a bill which was unanimously reported from the Committee on War Claims. The object of the bill was to refer a claim to the Court of Claims, and to accomplish that it would have to go through both Houses, which of course can not now be done. I therefore offer the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has the right to offer a resolution. Does the gentleman ask unanimous consent for its present consideration?

Mr. HOOKER. I do.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I will yield for that.

Mr. KILGORE. Let it be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the claim of J. H. Hurt, of Mississippi, with all the papers and proof in the same be, and the same is hereby, referred to the Court of Claims under the provisions of the act approved March 3, 1883, commonly known as the Bowman act, and the amendment thereto by section 14 of the act of March 3, 1887, commonly known as the Tucker bill.

Mr. KILGORE. Has the bill passed both Houses?

Mr. HOOKER. It has not passed either House. The object is to substitute the resolution for the bill in order to get a reference made of the claim.

Mr. KILGORE. I will be under the painful necessity of objecting; and I must demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the call of committees for reports.

ENROLLED BILLS.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (H. R. 7964) granting to the Aberdeen, Bismarck and Northwestern Railway right of way across a portion of the Sioux reservation, in Dakota Territory;

A bill (H. R. 10735) for the removal of the political disabilities of Theodore Lewis;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 231) authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to the officers and employés of the Senate and House of Representatives borne on the annual rolls their respective salaries for the month of October on the 20th day of said month; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 232) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay session employés of the Senate and House for the full month of October.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I move to dispense with the call of committees for reports.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. WHEELER. I understand that the regular order is to go on with the call of the roll of the House for the consideration of bills on the Private Calendar, in the order that has been followed for several Fridays.

The SPEAKER. Those bills are in Committee of the Whole House, and the present occupant of the chair could not state what the order would be in committee.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House for the purpose of considering bills on the Private Calendar.

Mr. RYAN. I desire to ask the gentleman from Kentucky whether he intends to have the order of taking up business on the Private Calendar which has been observed heretofore?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I would ask of the committee that we follow the same order that we followed for two private bill days prior to this.

The question was put; and the Speaker announced the "ayes" seemed to have it.

Mr. KILGORE. I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 17, noes 4.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was put; and the Speaker announced that the "ayes" seemed to have it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Is that a motion to adjourn? I hope the gentleman will withdraw it for a moment that I may have an opportunity to correct the RECORD. I had a somewhat warm colloquy yesterday in which I am made to say that I had a certain conversation with Mr. Havemeyer on the sugar schedule, when I expressly stated I had not had such a conversation. The whole connection shows that it is a mistake; but it is about a matter that I prefer thus publicly to make the correction. I ask to do so now, as I have just got into the city.

The SPEAKER. The correction will be made.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Will the gentleman from New York [Mr. WHITE] allow me to make a single remark? By the resolution which passed yesterday the House will adjourn at 1 o'clock to-morrow, and if the House adjourn now to meet at 12 o'clock to-morrow it will hardly give time for the usual committee to wait on the President and report to Congress. I therefore suggest to the gentleman from New York that he withdraw his motion and allow a motion to be made for a recess until some time before 12 o'clock—say half past 11.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. I will withdraw the motion to adjourn for the purpose of permitting that motion to be made.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. If the House adjourn now, will it deprive us of the usual Friday evening session?

The SPEAKER. It will.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Then I hope that the House will not adjourn, because it will deprive the poor people who have pension bills on the Calendar of the last chance to have their pension granted. [Laughter.]

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I move that the House take a recess until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. WHEELER. I move to amend that motion so as to take a recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

Mr. KILGORE. I want to say in reference to what the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. O'NEILL] has said about getting a bill passed so that it might reach the President to-morrow by 1 o'clock, that there is more business now before the President than he can dispose of before adjournment.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. But to pass the bill is a great gratification to those having bills on the pension Calendar of the House.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] to the motion of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER], that the House take a recess till 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. BAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BAYNE. Would it be competent for the House to take a recess to-night, after the consideration of pension bills, until to-morrow at 11 o'clock?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks so.

The question was put on the amendment of Mr. WHEELER, and it was rejected.

The question then recurred on the motion to take a recess until 11 o'clock to-morrow.

The question was put; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 19, noes 9.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. But for the fact that I want to save the voice of the Clerk, I would endeavor to have the yeas and nays called.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. No quorum.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will appoint as tellers the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE].

The House divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 12, noes 5.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. There is a motion pending that has priority over that.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. The House is now dividing.

The SPEAKER. If objected to, of course the gentleman's motion can not be made when the House is dividing.

Mr. BAYNE. I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourn to-day it be to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE]?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, if that is agreed to by unanimous consent, will it necessarily vacate the taking of the vote upon the present question?

The SPEAKER. If the House decides that when it adjourns to-day it will adjourn to meet to-morrow at 11 o'clock, it makes no decision whatever as to the hour at which it will adjourn to-day. The House is left still in session.

Mr. WHEELER. But the House can adjourn immediately, can it not?

The SPEAKER It can adjourn immediately, in an hour, or at whatever time it chooses. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] that when the House adjourn to-day it adjourn to meet to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

Mr. WHEELER. I do not wish to object to the motion, but ask indulgence to remind the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] who made the request that he forgot on yesterday to answer my question regarding the sugar trust and the sugar schedule. [Laughter.] The gentleman said he would come to that matter in a moment, but he became so absorbed with other subjects that he forgot to give the desired information.

I also wish to call attention to the apparent severity with which the Senate tariff bill deals with the industries of the three States whose electoral vote was so manipulated in 1876 by the Republican party managers as to enable them to seat Mr. Hayes in the Presidential chair.

Having used those States to carry out their purposes, as illegal as that whereby Louis XIV seated his grandson on the throne of Spain, or Frederick the Great despoiled Maria Theresa of a part of her dominions and annexed Silesia to Prussia, the Republicans now propose a change in the tariff laws which, if their theories are correct, would inflict great injuries upon Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

South Carolina is chastised by reducing the duty on rice from 2½ cents per pound to 1 cent per pound, and rice uncleaned is reduced from 1½ cents to one-half of 1 cent per pound, and tar, pitch, and turpentine are put on the free-list. The industries of Florida are to suffer by having the duty on her oranges reduced from 13 cents to 10 cents, while lemons are reduced from 16 cents to 10 cents, and sponges are placed on the free-list, and poor Louisiana has her sugar duty reduced from 83 to 41 per cent., and molasses below 56 degrees is placed on the free-list, which substantially puts all molasses on the free-list; for statistics show that while we imported 37,000,000 gallons of molasses below 56 degrees, we imported only 2,000 gallons above 56 degrees, and all molasses can be easily diluted to a point below 56 degrees.

Now, it must be borne in mind the Republican party contends that high protection is a cure for all evils. That those industries are specially blessed whose products are protected by a high or prohibitory tariff. They also contend that the tariff law of 1883 reduced the tariff upon all articles to the very lowest limit, and that the slightest change in the direction of reduction must be followed by ruin, bankruptcy, pauperism, death, and destruction; and with such a picture of possible desolation before them they, without a pang, attempt to change the tariff on the products of the States of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina, so as to bring about these dreadful results.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no question before the House, and I call for the regular order.

Mr. WHEELER. I wish to place in the RECORD a table which I have prepared, showing some of the extraordinary changes which are made in the Senate tariff bill to the detriment of the masses of the people. The table shows the increase in tax proposed by that bill upon some articles of wool and manufactures of wool. I do this under the general permission.

Table showing the tariff on wool and manufacturers of wool, as proposed by the House and Senate bills.

Class.	Articles.	House bill.	Senate bill.
		Per cent.	*Per cent.*
1	Scoured wool, value 30 cents or less per pound	Free.	82
2	Combing wool, scoured, value 30 cents or less per pound	Free.	73
3	Carpet wool, scoured, value 30 cents or less per pound	Free.	42
3	Woolen rags, shoddy, waste, etc., per pound	Free.	26
3	Woolen cloths, valued not above 80 cents per pound	40	75
3	Woolen shawls, valued not above 80 cents per pound	40	68
3	Woolen yarns, valued between 30 and 40 cents per pound	40	134
3	Woolen manufactures not otherwise provided for, valued between 30 and 40 cents per pound	40	148
3	Woolen balmorals, valued between 30 and 40 cents per pound	40	130
3	Flannels, valued above 80 cents per pound	40	87
3	Blankets, valued not above 30 cents per pound	40	80
3	Blankets, valued between 30 and 40 cents per pound	40	64
3	Wool hats, valued not above 60 cents per pound	40	73
3	Women and children's dress goods, weighing 4 ounces or less per square yard, per square yard	40	93
3	Same, weighing over 4 ounces per square yard, per square yard	40	74
3	Bunting, per square yard	40	90
3	Woolen cloaks, dolmans, etc., per pound	40	73
3	Woolen druggets and bockings, printed, etc., per square yard	40	74
3	Belts or felts for paper or printing machines, per pound	40	53

I also wish to place in the RECORD a table which I requested to be furnished by the Bureau of Statistics, showing the value and duties collected on certain articles under existing law, and also showing the excess in amounts of duty under the Senate substitute over and above like amounts under existing law, as well as under the bill passed by the House on July 21, 1888. A table somewhat similar to this has been printed in the RECORD, but the bureau discovered errors in their calculations which are corrected in this table.

Values of and duties collected on the below-named manufactured articles entered for consumption in the United States during the year ending June 30, 1887, with the estimated amounts of duty accruing on like imports under the provisions of House bill 9051 and the Senate substitute; also, showing the excess in amounts of duty under the Senate substitute over like amounts under the present laws and House bill 9051.

Articles.	Values.	Duties collected under—						Excess of duties under Senate substitute over—			
		Present laws.		House bill.		Senate substitute.		Present laws.		House bill.	
		Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Av. ad valorem rates.	Amounts.	Per cent.	Amounts.	Per cent.
			Per cent.		*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*				
Woolens:											
Cloths	$10,022,370.67	$7,055,824.94	70.40	$4,608,948.26	40.00	$7,531,853.64	75.15	$476,028.70	6.75	$3,522,905.38	87.88
Dress goods	17,199,141.02	12,398,974.92	72.09	6,879,656.41	40.00	13,419,025.95	78.02	1,020,051.03	8.23	6,539,369.54	95.05
Knit goods	1,980,453.74	1,243,689.31	62.80	792,181.49	40.00	1,423,935.33	71.90	180,246.02	14.50	631,753.84	79.44
Shawls	1,029,998.19	654,008.00	63.50	411,999.27	40.00	703,154.00	68.27	49,146.00	7.51	291,154.73	70.67
Yarns	1,747,562.09	1,207,734.64	69.11	699,024.84	40.00	1,989,236.45	113.83	781,501.81	64.71	1,290,211.61	186.00
Cottons:											
Thread, not on spools	919,702.30	423,759.58	46.08	355,035.58	38.60	466,497.26	50.72	42,737.68	10.09	111,461.68	31.39
Cloths	3,555,347.28	1,617,200.80	45.49	1,422,138.91	40.00	1,777,010.63	49.98	159,809.83	9.88	354,871.72	24.95
Flax, hemp, and jute:											
Brown and bleached linens, etc	13,589,418.55	4,756,296.50	35.00	3,397,354.64	25.00	5,435,767.42	40.00	679,470.92	14.29	2,038,412.78	60.00
Laces and embroideries	1,142,473.35	342,742.00	30.00	342,742.00	30.00	571,236.67	50.00	228,494.67	66.67	228,494.67	66.67
Yarns	789,013.50	276,154.73	35.00	118,354.02	15.00	315,605.40	40.00	39,450.67	14.29	197,251.38	166.66
Iron and steel:											
Steel, in forms not specified	6,091,898.65	2,614,385.43	42.92	2,614,385.65	42.92	3,488,080.52	57.26	873,695.09	33.42	873,695.09	33.42
Railway bars	1,000,329.00	843,347.49	84.30	545,853.04	54.57	777,672.29	77.74	*65,675.20	*7.79	231,819.25	42.47
Tin-plates	16,883,813.95	5,706,433.89	33.80	Free		5,706,433.89	33.80			5,706,433.19	100.00
Needles, not for machines	307,484.44	76,871.10	25.00	Free		76,871.10	25.00			76,871.10	100.00

*Minus.

NOTE.—The amounts of duty stated as "collected" under House bill and Senate substitute are estimated upon the imports of 1887.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Washington, D. C., October* 11, 1888.

W. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

To Hon. JOSEPH WHEELER.

I will also submit a table, likewise prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, showing comparative ad valorem rates. The table gives ad valorem rates under existing laws, under the House bill, and under the Senate bill. It also gives values and duties and average rates under each bill.

Comparative statement.

Schedules.	Average ad valorem rates of duty collected on merchandise dutiable under—					Merchandise dutiable under present laws and placed on the free-list under—					
						Values.		Duties collected under present laws.			
								Total duties.		Average ad valorem rates of duty.	
	Present laws.	House bill 9051.		Senate substitute.		House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.	House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.	House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.
		At present rates.	At rates of House bill 9051.	At present rates.	At rates of Senate substitute.						
	Per ct.	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*					*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*
A. Chemicals	32.83	34.35	29.11	30.01	28.72	$4,535,557.96	$2,873,972.27	$1,278,150.20	$1,389,411.07	28.18	48.34
B. Earthen and glass ware	59.56	59.12	53.09	59.56	57.82	30,789.97	.....	6,157.99	.....	20.00	.....
C. Metals	40.77	44.56	41.12	40.77	42.13	18,323,612.91	.....	6,075,656.65	.....	33.16	.....
D. Wooden ware	18.00	34.00	29.32	18.00	18.88	6,679,202.12	.....	1,039,207.35	.....	15.56	.....
E. Sugar	78.15	78.15	63.41	82.03	41.02	.....	5,336,364.13	.....	1,496,690.60	.....	28.04
F. Tobacco	83.32	83.32	83.32	83.32	70.36	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
G. Provisions	24.33	24.38	23.34	22.16	23.58	3,334,013.86	1,232,605.00	794,903.38	400,850.55	23.84	32.52
H. Liquors	72.64	72.64	72.64	72.64	76.21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
I. Cottons	39.99	39.99	39.07	39.99	40.74	.....	172.00	.....	34.40	.....	20.00
J. Hemp, flax, and jute	28.09	34.37	24.81	31.73	35.47	14,490,501.40	9,004,675.00	2,858,908.15	1,627,652.66	19.73	18.08
K. Wool and woolens	58.80	68.99	40.08	58.80	66.12	18,206,987.97	.....	6,390,054.73	.....	35.10	.....
L. Silk goods	49.71	49.71	49.71	49.71	50.67	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
M. Books, papers, etc.	22.14	22.13	22.07	22.14	23.54	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. Sundries	26.86	26.80	24.78	27.92	28.20	4,842,346.45	7,884,026.98	1,330,559.89	1,566,583.92	27.48	19.87
Total	47.07	50.60	42.77	48.10	42.75	70,413,012.64	26,331,815.38	19,773,598.34	6,481,223.20	28.07	24.61

NOTES.—This table shows a deficiency of $380,050.37 in the value of, and of $220,791.41 in the duty collected on dutiable merchandise in 1887, as reported in the annual report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. This difference is principally due to the omission from this table of dutiable merchandise ($177,909.59) withdrawn free of duty from warehouse and of merchandise not dutiable under any of the schedules. If these amounts had been included, the average ad valorem rate of duty under the present laws would be 47.10 instead of 47.07 per cent.

The interpretation of House bill 9051 is that of the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, as published by the clerk of that committee, and of the Senate substitute that of the Senate subcommittee on tariff.

The values and duties under both House bill and Senate substitute are computed on the importation of 1887, without speculating upon any possible increase or decrease consequent upon a decrease or increase in the rates of duty imposed by the proposed bills. The computations have been made as accurate as practicable, but in many cases under the Senate substitute a calculation was made impossible by the change from an ad valorem to a specific rate of duty. In such cases no account has been taken of the proposed change.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *Washington, D. C., October* 11, 1888.

WM. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

Hon. JOSEPH WHEELER.

I also submit, in tabular form, a comparative statement showing the operations of the tariff under the existing laws, under the bill passed by this House, and under the substitute proposed by the Senate.

Comparative statement showing the operations under the present tariff laws, under House bill No. 9051, *and under the Senate substitute, respectively, based upon the quantities and values of dutiable merchandise entered for consumption in the United States during the year ending June* 30, 1887.

Schedules.	Values of merchandise dutiable under—			Duties collected on merchandise dutiable under—				
					House bill 9051.		Senate substitute.	
	Present laws.	House bill 9051.	Senate substitute.	Present laws.	At present rates.	At rates House bill 9051.	At present rates.	At rates Senate substitute.
A. Chemicals	$18,864,257.96	$14,328,700.00	*$16,027,271.69	$6,199,811.99	$4,921,661.79	$4,170,945.61	$4,810,400.92	*$4,602,661.78
B. Earthen and glass ware	13,056,150.43	13,025,360.46	13,056,150.43	7,776,202.42	7,770,044.43	6,914,682.12	7,776,202.42	7,548,760.03
C. Metals	55,111,922.37	36,788,309.46	55,111,922.37	22,469,401.89	16,393,745.24	15,126,379.16	22,469,401.89	23,218,801.21
D. Wooden ware	7,697,357.06	1,018,154.94	7,697,357.06	1,385,356.19	346,148.84	298,561.65	1,385,356.19	1,454,309.11
E. Sugar	74,242,279.20	74,242,279.20	68,905,915.07	58,016,686.34	58,016,686.34	47,079,512.20	56,519,995.74	28,265,431.09
F. Tobacco	10,955,125.03	10,955,125.03	10,955,125.03	9,127,758.26	9,127,758.26	9,127,758.26	9,127,758.26	7,107,710.12
G. Provisions	39,165,566.07	35,831,552.21	†41,198,052.10	9,529,091.81	8,734,188.43	8,364,587.33	9,128,241.26	†9,736,609.98
H. Liquors	10,190,946.40	10,190,946.40	10,190,946.40	7,402,242.82	7,402,242.82	7,402,242.82	7,402,242.82	7,766,684.81
I. Cottons	30,208,851.83	30,208,851.83	30,208,679.83	12,081,297.43	12,081,297.43	11,803,687.14	12,081,263.03	12,306,648.04
J. Hemp, flax, and jute	33,807,282.55	19,316,781.15	24,802,607.55	9,497,981.74	6,639,073.59	4,793,111.06	7,870,329.08	8,798,021.87
K. Wool and woolens	60,586,613.61	42,379,625.64	60,586,613.61	35,629,534.13	29,239,479.40	16,984,966.61	35,629,534.13	40,060,648.41
L. Silk goods	31,264,278.58	31,264,276.58	31,264,278.58	15,540,300.70	15,540,300.70	15,540,300.70	15,540,300.70	15,842,061.96
M. Books, papers, etc	5,214,635.21	5,214,635.21	5,214,635.21	1,154,369.41	1,154,369.41	1,150,812.51	1,154,369.41	1,227,455.61
N. Sundries	59,580,006.88	54,737,660.43	‡51,703,440.90	16,001,597.36	14,671,037.47	13,567,845.57	14,435,013.44	‡14,581,016.00
Total	449,945,271.18	379,502,258.54	426,922,993.83	211,811,632.49	192,038,034.15	162,325,392.74	205,330,409.29	182,516,820.02

* $36,986; duty, $3,773.60 from free-list. † $3,235,091.03; duty, $374,843.44 from free-list. ‡ $7,461; duty, $2,934.40 from free-list.

These tables clearly show the superiority of the House bill to the Senate bill as a measure of relief for the people—particularly for the farmer.

The Senate bill proposes to deprive the farmer of whatever small protection they have heretofore accorded him, and to increase the burdens he has to bear wherever it can be done. Heaven knows his burden is grievous enough without increasing the exactions.

Under the present law his flannel shirt is taxed 95 per cent., his coat 55 per cent., his shoes 35 per cent., his hat 85 per cent., his bucket 55 per cent., his tin wash-basin 55 per cent., his cotton towel 45 per cent., his plates 50 per cent., his knives and forks 35 per cent., his salt 60 per cent., his pepper 60 per cent., his tobacco 180 per cent., his cigar 110 per cent., his window-glass 60 per cent., his bridles 35 per cent., horseshoe nails 55 per cent., his hammers 20 per cent., his plows 45 per cent., his trace-chains 55 per cent., his Bible 25 per cent., his carpet 50 per cent., his sheets 45 per cent., and his blankets 85 per cent.

Nor does this list include all the taxes the poor agriculturist must pay. His wife's broom is taxed 30 per cent., her cooking utensils 40 per cent., her cooking soda 50 per cent., her needles 25 per cent., her spool thread 74 per cent., her calico dress 55 per cent., and the yarn she knits into socks for her husband and children is taxed 80 per cent.

In fact, whether in his house, in his field, at his table, in his bed, or on his knees the farmer is taxed by every possible device, on every conceivable article he must use.

MILLIONAIRES AND MORTGAGED FARMS.

One statement of an unquestionable and undeniable fact will suffice to show that the tendency of Republican legislation has always been to oppress the farmer.

When the Republican party came into power the millionaires of the country could have been counted on the fingers of one pair of hands, and mortgages on farms were, comparatively speaking, unknown. To-day, as the logical outcome of the Republican policy, millionaires are countless and most of the farms in the West and Northwest are mortgaged to the money barons of the manufacturing States of the East and Northeast.

That this is no exaggerated statement is shown by the dispatches which constantly appear in the public press. One of recent date is in these words:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *October* 17.

M. J. Horsemann, of this city, who has been investigating the condition of the farmers in Ramsey County, Dakota, who were reported to be starving to death, returned *last night*. He says there are seventy families who are absolutely destitute of food and fuel, and something must be done, and immediately, or they will starve to death. The real condition of the people is beyond description.

Men, women, and children are in rags, and they have not a cent in the world. Their crops were totally destroyed, and their land, stock, and farm implements are mortgaged up to their full value, and the mortgagers are threatening foreclosure.

The most absolute distress prevailed everywhere. Women and children were crying, and men were going barefooted and in rags.

Do the gentlemen of the Republican party believe that the people, the great body of workers whose sacrifices in war and labors in peace have made this country great, glorious, and wealthy, would ever knowingly have imposed such burdens upon themselves?

No, Mr. Speaker, they can not believe it themselves and can not expect such an absurdity to be credited by others. Thanks to the sagacious leadership of our courageous President, the people have been aroused. Day by day they are learning how they have been through many weary and sorrowful years made victims of an unparalleled system of wrong and extortion.

The intelligent and impartial jury of the American people is now called upon to decide this great and momentous question. That it will be decided in the interest of right and justice I can not doubt. That we must ultimately triumph in this righteous contest I believe as firmly as I believe that to-morrow's sun will rise.

The SPEAKER. The point of order is well taken. There is nothing before the House, except a request for unanimous consent. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE]?

Mr. WHEELER. I would like an answer to my question.

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] insists upon the regular order.

Mr. BAYNE. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the deficiency bill has not yet been returned with the President's signature, and that several other bills are in the same position, it seems quite important that the House should have two hours to-morrow, and I do hope that unanimous consent will now be given that when we adjourn to-day it will be to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow, and I do trust that neither the tariff question nor any other will be allowed to interfere with that simple, single proposition.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made. Gentlemen who desire to vote will please come forward and pass between the tellers.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. I move a call of the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will announce the result so far. Upon this question the yeas are 12 and the nays 6. Does the gentleman still insist upon the point of no quorum?

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I do.

The SPEAKER. No quorum has voted and the gentleman from New York [Mr. WHITE] moves a call of the House.

The question was taken on the motion to order a call of the House, and it was not agreed to.

Mr. WHITE, of New York. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken; and there were—ayes 14, noes 18.

So the House refused to adjourn.

DISTRIBUTION OF DOCUMENTS.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to ask unanimous consent, pending the count by tellers, to offer a resolution which applies to the distribution of publications to members of the House. I think every member of the House is interested in the matter, and while this is not a question of privilege, yet it trims very close to it, and I think no member will object to the passage of the resolution. It will be remembered by gentlemen who were here at the time that on the last day of the Forty-ninth Congress Mr. Hammond, of Georgia, introduced a resolution providing that publications ordered by the Forty-ninth Congress should be continued to members of that Congress although their terms expired on the 3d day of March, 1887. The resolution I desire to offer now is simply intended to repeal that one, so as to permit books ordered by the Forty-ninth Congress to be apportioned by the Doorkeeper as they come in to members of the Fiftieth Congress who were not members of the Forty-ninth. I think it is right and proper and ought to pass.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the presentation of the request? If not, the resolution will be read, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The original resolution was introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAIDLAW], whom I do not now see in the House. The Committee on Printing thought that his resolution did not exactly cover the matter, and therefore recommend a substitute. The reading of the report will explain this matter.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Printing, to whom was referred a House resolution "that all documents and books published by the authority of the Forty-ninth Congress which now stand to the credit of such members of the Forty-ninth Congress as are not members of the Fiftieth Congress shall be, and the same hereby are, placed to the credit of their successors, respectively," report the same back with a recommendation that it do not pass, but that the following resolution be adopted as a substitute in lieu thereof:

"*Resolved*, That the Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives be, and he is hereby, instructed to apportion to the members of the Fiftieth Congress all books which have not yet been apportioned, including all the volumes of the second edition of Wharton's Digest, notwithstanding the resolution of the House of March 2, 1887, introduced by Mr. Hammond, which is hereby repealed."

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution reported by the Committee on Printing; which was adopted.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the original resolution, for which the resolution just adopted was a substitute, will lie on the table.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask that a resolution on the same subject, introduced by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. WALKER], be also laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. In the absence of objection, that order will be made.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The question now recurs on the motion that the House take a recess until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning. Gentlemen desiring to vote on that question will pass between the tellers and be counted.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I renew the request made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I now withdraw the motion for a recess.

The SPEAKER. The question recurs on the motion made by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE] that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of bills on the Private Calendar.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I wish the gentleman would withhold his motion for a moment while I present a proposition to which I understand there will be no objection.

Mr. KILGORE. I understood there was a motion pending to adjourn.

The SPEAKER. That has been decided in the negative.

Mr. KILGORE. Upon the motion that the House go into Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar the point of "no quorum" was raised.

The SPEAKER. Therefore that question is still pending. No quorum having voted, the Chair appoints as tellers the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILGORE] and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. STONE].

Mr. SOWDEN. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; there being—ayes 19, noes 8.

The House accordingly (at 1 o'clock p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. G. A. ANDERSON: A bill (H. R. 11607) granting a pension to John Cummings—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. McSHANE: A bill (H. R. 11608) granting a pension to Albert A. Palmer—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITION.

The following petition was laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HOOKER: Petition for reduction of taxes on dental and surgical goods—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE.

SATURDAY, *October* 20, 1888.

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. ALLISON submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee of two members of the Senate be appointed, to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that Congress, having finished its business, will be ready to close the present session by an adjournment to-day at 1 o'clock p. m.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. How shall the committee be appointed?

Mr. ALLISON and others. By the Chair.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolution being silent, the Chair will designate, if there be no objection, to serve upon the committee named in the resolution the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. SAULSBURY].

CIVIL-SERVICE INVESTIGATION.

Mr. BLACKBURN. I desire to submit the views of the minority of the select committee appointed to examine into the condition of the civil service. I ask that the order hitherto made by the Senate for the printing of the majority report be extended so as to include these views of the minority.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection, and it will be so ordered.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. MITCHELL introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 117) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of Senators by the votes of the people of the States; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. MITCHELL. The joint resolution is introduced in pursuance of instructions of the Legislature of my State, and I will state that it is also in accordance with my own judgment. I ask that the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States; which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall become and be a part of the Constitution, namely:

Strike out the word "Legislature" in the first clause of section 3 of Article I, and substitute in lieu thereof the word "people;" so that said clause shall be as follows:

"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote."

Mr. MORGAN introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 118) to amend and enlarge the provisions of a joint resolution approved July 25, 1866, entitled "Joint resolution to refer the claim of the administrator of Richard W. Meade, deceased, to the Court of Claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. MITCHELL, it was

Ordered, That leave be granted to withdraw from the files of the Senate the papers accompanying the bill (S. 2563) to compensate Mrs. Sarah L. Larimer for important services rendered the military authorities in 1864 at Deer Creek Station, Wyoming, and for loss of property taken by the Sioux Indians.

RECESS.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock.

Mr. COCKRELL. Would it not be better to take a recess nominally and yet be in a condition to receive any message that may come, with the understanding that no business shall be transacted until the hour named?

Mr. ALLISON. I have no objection to that course.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* (at 11 o'clock and 12 minutes a. m.). By unanimous consent, the Senate will informally take a recess, and business will be resumed as occasion may require.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* (at 11 o'clock and 30 minutes a. m.). The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. Res. 233) authorizing the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, to remain at said exposition until and including the 15th day of November, 1888; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a resolution providing that a committee of three members on the part of the House be appointed, to join a similar committee on the part of the Senate, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses of Congress are ready to adjourn, and to respectfully inquire whether he has any further communication to make to them.

The message also announced that the Speaker had appointed Mr. MCMILLIN, Mr. TURNER of Georgia, and Mr. RYAN as the committee under the foregoing resolution of the House.

GOVERNMENT EXHIBITS AT CINCINNATI EXPOSITION.

Mr. TELLER. I ask for the present consideration of the joint resolution which has just come from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The joint resolution will be read the first time by its title.

The joint resolution (H. Res. 233) authorizing the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, to remain at said exposition until and including the 15th day of November, 1888, was read the first time by its title.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, the joint resolution will be read the second time at length.

By unanimous consent the joint resolution was read the second time at length, and considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate a letter of the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of July 16, 1888, a report from the Chief Signal Officer of the Army, together with charts and tables prepared under his direction, upon the climate of Oregon, and upon the climatic and other conditions of the agricultural districts of Eastern Oregon and Washington Territory, etc.; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

At 12 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m. a message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the Speaker had signed the enrolled joint resolution (H. Res. 233) authorizing the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, to remain at said exposition until and including the 15th day of November, 1888; and it was thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore*.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 19th instant approved and signed the following acts and joint resolutions:

An act (S. 45) for the relief of Col. James C. Duane;

An act (S. 1190) for the relief of the estate of Joseph Fenno, deceased;

An act (S. 1137) for the relief of Adam L. Epley;

An act (S. 307) for the relief of Margaret Kennedy;

An act (S. 1482) granting a pension to Sarah C. Taylor;

An act (S. 2663) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary M. Ord;

An act (S. 2110) granting the right of way for the construction of a railroad through the Hot Springs reservation, State of Arkansas;

An act (S. 1494) to secure to the Cherokee freedmen and others their proportion of certain proceeds of lands under the act of March 3, 1883;

An act (S. 3597) to provide for the disposal of the Fort Wallace military reservation in Kansas;

An act (S. 2802) to fix the number of unbound and bound Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives and to provide for their distribution;

An act (S. 3620) supplementary to the act approved February 3, 1887, entitled "An act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President and the decision of questions arising thereon;"

An act (S. 3433) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the surrender of and cancel land patents to Indians in certain cases;

Joint resolution (S. R. 59) authorizing Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird, United States Army, to accept from the President of the French Republic a diploma conferring the decoration of commander of the National Order of the Legion of Honor;

Joint resolution (S. R. 112) authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the Military Academy at West Point Henry Lecomte, of Switzerland; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 116) authorizing the Secretary of War to protect the Washington Aqueduct tunnel.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

At 12 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m. Mr. ALLISON and Mr. SAULSBURY, of the joint committee appointed to wait upon the President of the United States and notify him that Congress was ready to adjourn, appeared at the bar of the Senate, and

Mr. ALLISON said: Mr. President, the committee appointed by this body, in association with a similar committee from the House of Representatives, have the honor to inform the Senate that they communi-

cated to the President of the United States the fact that the two Houses were now ready to adjourn unless he had some further communication to make, and in response he stated that he had no further communication to submit.

THANKS TO PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Mr. SAULSBURY. Mr. President, I offer the following resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORGAN in the chair). The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Senate are due, and hereby are tendered, to Hon. JOHN J. INGALLS, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, for the uniformly able, courteous, and impartial manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution. [Putting the question.] The resolution is unanimously adopted.

FINAL ADJOURNMENT.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* (at 1 o'clock p. m.). Senators, gratitude impels and usage permits the Chair to postpone for an instant the moment of our separation to acknowledge the honor of your resolution of confidence and approval.

But justice demands the admission that if the Chair has succeeded in the discharge of the delicate and important duties of his position; if order has been maintained in debate; if the laws have been impartially administered; if promptness, facility, and correctness in the transaction of public business have been secured; if the traditions of the Senate, which are its noblest heritage, have been preserved inviolate, it is due to your considerate indulgence, to your constant and cordial co-operation. Without these the greatest abilities could not succeed; with these the humblest faculties could not fail.

The termination of the longest continuous session of the Senate since the foundation of the Government approaches; and trusting that the Supreme Power, which controls the destinies of nations as well as the fortunes of men, may, during the brief interval of your labors in this Chamber, continue His beneficence to each of you personally, to the families of which you are members, to the States of which you are representatives, and to the country of which you are citizens, the Chair announces that the Senate stands adjourned without day.

CONFIRMATION.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate, October 16, 1888.

SURVEYOR-GENERAL.

Charles W. Irish, of Nevada, to be surveyor-general of Nevada.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *October* 20, 1888.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Rev. J. H. CUTHBERT, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Oh, Thou whose throne is in the heavens, and whose kingdom ruleth over all, the Judge of the earth, the Sovereign of the universe, our God and our Father! draw nigh unto us as we attempt to draw nigh unto Thee. Let Thy blessing be upon all who are in authority in the land, both State and National; Thy servant, the President of the United States, both Houses of Congress, the members of the Supreme Court, and especially this assembly. Grant unto these Thy servants, O God, that they may be faithful stewards of the trust committed unto them, and by their zeal and devotion may truly represent the people and approve themselves as ministers of God to them for good and not for evil. And grant unto the people they represent that appreciation of this high and responsible service that will lead them profoundly to sympathize with Thy servants here.

We thank Thee for all that Thou hast done during this session by Thy servants. Whatever has been wrong in spirit or in action, in mercy forgive. Whatever has met with Thy approval, confirm, O Lord, and establish; establish Thou the work of their hands upon them; yea, the work of their hands establish Thou it.

We thank Thee, most merciful Father, that in so large an assembly, so few of Thy servants have been summoned away by death, and that many who have been sick well nigh unto death have been in Thy merciful providence restored. The shadows have fallen upon their households, but the goodness and mercy of our God have been extended to them all.

And now let Thy blessing be upon them in this parting interview—Thy servant, the Speaker of the House, all its officers, all the members, present or absent; the representatives of the press, who have recorded these proceedings, the witnesses of these proceedings. The Lord watch over and between us all. Our fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever? Like shadows they have gone; like shadows we follow them. Whatever time we are in trouble be Thou our helper; whatever time we are in darkness, uncertainty, and doubt, be Thou our guide, our guide even unto death, and through death to the general assembly and church of the first-born in heaven.

Our Father, who art in heaven; hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done upon earth even as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation. Deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

THE JOURNAL.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read.

The SPEAKER. The Journal, if there be no objection, will be approved, with a slight correction in reference to a part which relates to the decision of the Chair yesterday morning. It is simply a verbal inaccuracy. The Chair hears no objection.

OHIO CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. I ask unanimous consent to submit at this time for consideration a joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read, subject to objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution authorizing the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, to remain at said exposition until and including the 15th day of November, 1888.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That authority is hereby granted to continue until and including November 15, 1888, the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, under authority of the act approved May 28, 1888.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. This is simply to authorize a continuance of the exhibits until the date mentioned.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I see no objection to the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the joint resolution (H. Res. 233) was considered, read a second time, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR moved to reconsider the vote by which the joint resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MCMILLIN submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee of three members of the House be appointed to join a similar committee on the part of the Senate to wait on the President of the United States and inform him that the two Houses of Congress are ready to adjourn, and respectfully inquire if he has any further communication to make to them.

The SPEAKER appointed Mr. MCMILLIN, of Tennessee, Mr. TURNER, of Georgia, and Mr. RYAN, of Kansas, members of the committee on the part of the House.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I move that the House take a recess until 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I ask the gentleman to withdraw that motion for a moment to permit me to submit a resolution authorizing the Doorkeeper to employ certain laborers now on the roll, and who will be necessary in his department during the recess.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Very well; I will hear the resolution.

LABORERS UNDER DOORKEEPER.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I submit the resolution I send to the desk, and hope the House will agree to its adoption.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Doorkeeper of the House be authorized and directed to retain in the service and pay of the House during the month of November all persons employed by the session in his department now on the laborers' roll, including T. K. Hackman, the riding page, and the assistant folder in the seal-room, at the same rate of compensation now paid said persons; and the Clerk of the House be directed to pay said persons out of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. RICHARDSON. These employés are necessary principally in the care of the furniture under the Doorkeeper. There are seven or eight of them in all; and the Doorkeeper desires to be permitted to retain them during the time mentioned.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered, and agreed to.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I now renew the motion that the House take a recess until 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

Mr. WHEELER. I move to amend the motion by making it 12 o'clock. We are compelled to adjourn at 1 o'clock to-day, and something may transpire to occupy the remaining hour of the session that would be of great importance to the country.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I will state to the gentleman that the half hour remaining of the session has been decided to be ample.

Mr. WHEELER. But the gentleman can not know what may transpire to require a session of the House during that half hour.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I think the time fixed is ample.

The amendment of Mr. WHEELER was rejected.

The motion of Mr. TURNER, of Georgia, was then adopted.

And accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 12 minutes a. m.) the House took a recess until 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.

AFTER THE RECESS.

The recess having expired, the House, at 12 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m., resumed its session.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. NEWELL, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, the joint resolution (H. Res. 233) authorizing the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, to remain at said exposition until and including the 15th day of November, 1888.

Also, that the Senate had appointed, as members on the part of the Senate of the joint committee to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that Congress, having finished its business, was ready to adjourn, Mr. ALLISON and Mr. SAULSBURY.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled a joint resolution of the following title; when the Speaker signed the same, namely:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 233) authorizing the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, to remain at said exposition until and including the 15th day of November, 1888.

RICHARD E. RHEA.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives, That the Doorkeeper be authorized to retain in his employment for the month of November Richard E. Rhea, mail-page of the House, at the same rate of compensation he now receives; and the Clerk of the House be authorized to pay said sum out of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I will state, Mr. Speaker, that this morning when the resolution was offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] providing for certain employments during the recess, this was seemingly omitted. There is a demand for his services for ten days after the conclusion of a session, and for the ten days preceding the next session.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. KILGORE. I understand from the Clerk of the House that the contingent fund of the House is exhausted, or will be when the appropriations already made by the House are provided for. It will therefore be unnecessary to pass any other resolution making drafts upon that fund.

Mr. FARQUHAR. This will take very little money, not more than $30.

Mr. KILGORE. But I understand from the Clerk that there was not enough money in the fund to pay what has been already voted.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Then this will simply go into the pro rate. I can say to the gentleman that it is imperative that these services should be performed, and if the money to pay for them is not in the fund it can be provided for in the deficiency bill.

Mr. KILGORE. I do not think it is necessary to pass any further resolutions of this character, for the reason I have stated.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I suggest to the gentleman that this will be provided for in the deficiency bill.

Mr. KILGORE. Very well. I will not object further.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. FARQUHAR moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

JULIA A. NUTT.

Mr. LAGAN. I ask unanimous consent to take up for consideration at this time the bill (H. R. 11580) for the relief of Julia A. Nutt.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

Mr. KILGORE. I think we ought not to pass any more bills.

CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES.

Mr. WASHINGTON. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the clerk of the Committee on Manufactures be continued on the roll, at the rate of $6 per day, during the recess of the present Congress, the committee having been authorized to sit during the recess; and that the Clerk of the House be authorized to pay the same out of the contingent fund of the House.

Mr. WASHINGTON. I want to state that the Committee on Manufactures has been authorized to sit during the recess, but in the resolution giving that authority no provision was made for a clerk, so that unless the resolution be adopted they will be without a clerk.

Mr. SOWDEN. Is the clerk of that committee an annual clerk?

Mr. WASHINGTON. No; he is a session clerk.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of this resolution?

There was no objection.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. WASHINGTON moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MCMILLIN, Mr. TURNER of Georgia, and Mr. RYAN, the committee appointed to wait upon the President, having returned, presented themselves at the bar of the House, and

Mr. MCMILLIN said: Mr. Speaker, the committee appointed to wait upon the President to inform him that both Houses were ready to adjourn and to ask whether he had any further communication to make to Congress, instruct me to report that they have performed that duty and have received the response from the President that he has no further communication to make.

LEAVE TO PRINT.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the paper which I hold in my hand, which is a reply to the report on "free quinine" prepared by Mr. John W. Springer at the request of Hon. WILLIAM M. SPRINGER, a member of this House, and heretofore printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. WASHINGTON. A few days ago objection was made to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] having printed in the RECORD something in relation to the tariff, because it was not his own production. From what I know of the paper presented by the gentleman from Pennsylvania it comes under the same head, and therefore I object.

RECESS.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House now take a recess until seven minutes to 1 o'clock.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky. I ask the gentleman to withhold that motion for a moment in order that I may offer a resolution.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I yield for that purpose.

EMPLOYÉS OF HOUSE POST-OFFICE.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the employés in the post-office of the House of Representatives be paid out of the contingent fund of the House for two weeks' services next preceding the beginning of the next session of Congress which they are required to perform; the sum to be fixed upon the present rate of their compensation.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. STONE, of Kentucky, moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

RECESS.

The motion of Mr. MCMILLIN was then agreed to; and the House accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) took a recess until seven minutes to 1 o'clock.

The recess having expired, the House reassembled at 12 o'clock and 53 minutes p. m.

THANKS TO THE SPEAKER.

Mr. MCMILLIN having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*,

Mr. RYAN offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House are hereby tendered to Hon. JOHN G. CARLISLE, the Speaker, for the courtesy, ability, and fairness with which he has presided over the deliberations of the first session of the Fiftieth Congress.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message from the President, by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that he had approved bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

An act (H. R. 10112) granting to the Duluth and Winnipeg Railway Company the right of way through the Fond du Lac Indian reservation, in the State of Minnesota, and for other purposes;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 101) providing for the printing of decisions of the Department of the Interior regarding public lands and pensions for sale;

An act (H. R. 7516) to increase the pension of Sylvester Stearns;

An act (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes;

An act (H. R. 10606) to constitute Lincoln, Nebr., a port of delivery, and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Lincoln;

An act (H. R. 2972) authorizing the President to appoint and retire Alfred Pleasonton with the rank and grade of major;

An act (H. R. 4765) for the relief of G. W. McAdams;

An act (H. R. 11181) making an appropriation for the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act;

An act (H. R. 8962) for the relief of Anthony L. Woodson;

An act (H. R. 4601) to amend the naval record of Nickolas Leuschen, Peter Leuschen, and Loth Possum;

An act (H. R. 7421) for establishing a light off Pamlico Point, North Carolina;

An act (H. R. 6514) for the allowance of certain claims reported by the accounting officers of the United States Treasury Department;

An act (H. R. 11599) to authorize the Postmaster-General to rent a suitable building in the city of Washington to be used as a mail-bag repair-shop, and for other purposes;

An act (H. R. 1641) for the erection of a light-house, at or near a point midway between Barnegat and Navesink lights, in the State of New Jersey;

An act (H. R. 1249) for establishing a light-house and fog-signal on Roe Island, Suisun Bay, California;

An act (H. R. 5700) to facilitate the transportation of life-saving and light-house supplies at Hog Island, Virginia;

An act (H. R. 7604) for the establishment of a light-house and fog-signal at or near Gull Shoal, Pamlico Sound, North Carolina;

An act (H. R. 6619) for the relief of Eliza A. Cutter Jones;

An act (H. R. 2196) for the relief of S. T. Marshall;

An act (H. R. 10735) for the removal of the political disabilities of Theodore Lewis, of Louisiana;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 229) to print the agricultural report for 1888;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 231) authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay to the officers and employés of the Senate and House of Representatives borne on the annual rolls their respective salaries for the month of October on the 20th day of said month;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 232) making appropriations to enable the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay the session employés of the Senate and House for the full month of October; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 233) authorizing the exhibits made by the Government at the centennial exposition of the Ohio Valley and Central States at Cincinnati, Ohio, to remain at said exposition until and including the 15th day of November, 1888.

NOTE.—The message also announced that the following bills having been presented to the President on October 5, 1888, and not having been returned by him to the House of Congress in which they originated within the ten days prescribed by the Constitution, had become laws without his signature:

An act (H. R. 6022) granting a pension to Smith Bodkins;

An act (H. R. 10171) granting a pension to Rachel Rogers;

An act (H. R. 10173) granting a pension to Catharine Mulligan;

An act (H. R. 10274) granting a pension to Joseph W. Filler;

An act (H. R. 10672) granting a pension to Mighill H. Patten;

An act (H. R. 9148) to grant a pension to Jane Robinson; and

An act (H. R. 3908) increasing the pension of Jesse L. Garrett.

THANKS TO OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. HOPKINS, of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be tendered to the Clerk and the officers of this House for the courteous discharge of their duties.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, I now declare this House adjourned *sine die*.

PRIVATE BILL INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule a private bill of the following title was introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. BUNNELL: A bill (H. R. 11609) granting a pension to Hellen A. Moore—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. C. H. ALLEN: Petition of Eunice G. Saunders, widow of William Saunders, for a widow's pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of John Tynen, Stephen Winningder, Daniel Whitman, and Horace Merrill, for pension as veterans of the Mexican war—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, memorial of John Tynen and others—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CONGER: Petition of citizens of Massachusetts, Maine, Alabama, Missouri, Mississippi, Virginia, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indiana, Georgia, and California, in favor of pure lard and pure food and drugs—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WASHINGTON: Petition of citizens of Pickett County, of Henderson County, and of Sunbright, Tenn., in favor of pure lard and pure food—to the Committee on Agriculture.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Aid to Common Schools.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Tuesday, February 14, 1888,

On the bill (S. 371) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Mr. HAWLEY said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: There is a very large sum of money involved in this measure, popularly known as the Blair bill; but that is a comparatively small consideration. The defenders of the bill have been obliged, I think I may say, to develop their theories of the Constitution, and those theories have so much of a foothold popularly nowadays, not only among people who superficially discuss these matters, but even among men of eminence and supposed legal learning, that it leads one to meditate as to whether we are on the eve of a possibly serious departure from that theory of the Constitution and the relations between the Federal Government and the States to which we have given adhesion for a century.

The proposition before us is to give $79,000,000 in this one bill to be expended during eight years. During eight fiscal years there will be annually appropriated, the first year seven, the second ten, the third fifteen, the fourth thirteen, the fifth eleven, the sixth nine, the seventh seven, and the eighth five million dollars; and two million dollars additional are provided for building school-houses, making $79,000,000. To an old-fashioned reader of old-fashioned works upon the Constitution there are many very singular and interesting features in the bill. One is:

Provided, That no money shall be paid to a State, or any officer thereof, until the Legislature of the State shall, by bill or resolution, accept the provisions of this act; and such acceptance shall be filed with the Secretary of the Interior. And if any State, by its Legislature, shall decline or relinquish its share or proportion under this act, or any portion thereof, the sum so relinquished shall go to increase the amount for distribution among the other States and the Territories as herein provided. And any State or Territory which shall accept the provisions of this act, at the first session of its Legislature after its passage, shall, upon complying with the other provisions of this act, be entitled at once to its pro rata share of all previous annual appropriations.

There is a premium on a prompt acceptance. The money is to be divided among the several States in the proportions of the illiteracy of their population as stated by the census of 1880. Here is another feature that, among our New Englanders, who are indeed truly and righteously State-rights men, whatever may have been thought of us, is rather a singular thing. The governor of a State is to be expected to make humble and detailed report to the Secretary of the Interior upon a variety of matters that for a century have been considered matters of internal administration entirely.

After the acceptance of the general bill by the Legislature of a State, I do not see that the governor of the State has any discretion; at any rate if he does not make his report his State loses its share. It is practically, then, a compulsion, practically an order issued by the Secretary of the Interior to the governor to report to him—

A statement, certified by him, showing the common-school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of money expended therein during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools, not including expenditures for the rent, repair, or erection of school-houses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common-school revenues or in the common-school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein, and, so far as is practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the manner in which the same were apportioned to the use of the common-schools; the number of white and colored children in each county or parish and city between the ages of ten and twenty-one years, both inclusive, as given by the census of 1880, and the number of children, white and colored, of such school age attending school; the number of schools in operation in each county or parish and city, white and colored; the school term for each class; the number of teachers employed, white and colored, male and female, and the average compensation paid such teachers; the average attendance in each class, and the length of the school term. No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age, without distinction of race or color, etc.

So that certain legislation is to be required of the States, not by direct command of the Federal Government, but under a previously purchased assent to the terms of the bill, and then the request becomes the equivalent of a command to the governor of the State.

Under what rules is this great fund to be administered? Here is an interesting feature: The Secretary of the Interior is charged with the proper administration of this law, through the Commissioner of Education. The Secretary is made the supervisor of our governors. The Commissioner of Education is to be made a sort of secretary of state or executive officer for the Secretary of the Interior. They are "authorized and directed, under the approval of the President, to make all needful rules and regulations, not inconsistent with its provisions, to carry this law into effect."

What these rules are to be the State that makes previous acceptance of the general terms of the bill can not know in advance. The Secretary and the Commissioner, with the approval of the President, may alter these administrative rules from time to time, according to their discretion. A governor is still bound to submit to these rules upon the risk of losing the very large sum of money for his State. His State has, by what is supposed to be a binding bargain, agreed that he shall report, and has, moreover, promised a course of legislation.

Then there are some directions—I shall call them directions—to the State as to the character of its legislation.

That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws—

That is kind!—

and copies of all school-books authorized by the school boards or other authorities of the respective States and Territories, and used in the schools of the same, shall be filed with the Secretary of the Interior.

The language of polite request is dropped. The law says imperatively to each State "if this bill is accepted and you wish the money, copies of every book you use must be filed with the Secretary of the Interior."

A provision follows that each State shall raise a sum as great as that given it by the National Government. Then—

SEC. 9. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may, in the discretion of its Legislature, yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein—

provides for training-schools or normal schools.

Further, who shall decide what are common schools "not sectarian in character" in the terms of section 11? I suppose the Secretary of the Interior will have that interesting question before him as to what extent schools are sectarian, which, as once was done in good old-fashioned New England, require the catechism to be well learned, or which, as in many modern district schools, open the day with a chapter of the Bible and a prayer. Are they "sectarian schools?" If so, to what "sect" do they belong? And could a State sanctioning such schools be allowed to have its several hundred thousand dollars a year under this bill?

Section 12 opens thus:

SEC. 12. That no second or subsequent allotment shall be made under this act to any State or Territory unless the governor of such State or Territory shall

first file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory.

That differs in form, but really does not differ in spirit in its assumption of power from a command to the governor of every State that he shall file with the Secretary of the Interior annually a full statement of the payments and disbursements made of this fund.

The section proceeds to require of the governor—

And also the amount expended in such State or Territory, as required by section 9 of this act, and also a statement of the number of school districts in such State or Territory, and whether any portion of such State or Territory has not been divided into school districts or other territorial subdivisions for school purposes, and if so, what portion, and the reasons why the same has not been so subdivided; the number of children of school age in each disdrict, and the relative number of white and colored children in each district, and of the number of public, common, and industrial schools in each district; the number of teachers employed; the rate of wages paid; the total number of children in the State or Territory, and the total number taught during the year and in what branches instructed; the average daily attendance, and the relative number of white and colored children; and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district.

But hear this:

And if any State or Territory shall misapply or allow to be misapplied, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes and in the manner herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, and the other matters herein prescribed to be so reported, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof—

Until the full amount so misapplied, etc., shall have been replaced. And the sum so lost shall be distributed elsewhere.

If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereof have been observed, then, and not otherwise, the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as is hereinbefore provided. And it shall be the duty—

This is interesting—

And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to promptly investigate all complaints lodged with him of any misappropriation by or in any State or Territory of any moneys received.

There is no complainant described or appointed. The complaint may come from anybody, everybody, who, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior, is important enough to deserve a hearing. When he listens to a complaint I see nothing to be done but to send a notice to his excellency the governor of one of our sovereign States, asking him to give account to the Secretary of the Interior as to these charges of misappropriation and failure to comply with the terms of the law.

To proceed:

And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to promptly investigate all complaints lodged with him of any misappropriation by or in any State or Territory of any moneys received by such State or Territory under the provisions of this act, or of any discrimination in the use of such moneys; and the said complaints, and all communications received concerning the same, and the evidence taken upon such investigations, shall be preserved by the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be open to public inspection and annually reported to Congress.

It is easy to suppose a case, as follows: The Secretary of the Interior sends notice to the governor, we will say of Alabama, that there are serious charges made by five or fifty respectable citizens in the northwest county of the State that there has been a misappropriation in that county, a violation of the provisions of the act. The Legislature may be in session. The time of the Secretary of the Interior is much occupied. He is required to investigate promptly. He requests the governor of the State to come up to Washington and bring the evidence with him as to how he has disbursed this money, and be prepared to answer the charges. The governor of the State says to the Legislature, "I will be obliged to you if you will take a recess for a fortnight; we shall lose a million dollars if I do not go directly to the Secretary of the Interior and carry my papers and witnesses with me. I must appear there to represent Alabama, the defendant, in answer to five of her citizens on a complaint that she has violated a trust."

Such a case is quite possible; it is almost literally provided for. It is not to be supposed this $79,000,000 will all go through a process of distribution covering eight years without complaint as to the manner of the expenditure—involving charges of misapplication, failure to make full annual reports, keeping sectarian schools, discrimination on account of color, failure to prescribe the proper courses of education, or to file copies of its school-books, etc.

The proceedings must be summary, because on or before the 1st day of September in each year the Secretary of the Interior is required to report to the President whether any State or Territory has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture.

No State or Territory that does not distribute the moneys raised by its own taxes equally, without distinction of race or color, is to be entitled to any of the benefits of this act.

Then there are two millions more provided in the sixteenth section to be given to the several States on the same basis, the basis of illiteracy, to be known as the common-school-house fund, and to be expended for the erection of school-houses for the use and occupation of pupils attending schools in the sparsely populated districts. These houses must be built in accordance with plans to be furnished free on application by the Bureau of Education; but not more than $150 shall be paid from said fund towards the cost of any single school-house. Nothing extravagant is provided for there, evidently. There is something ridiculously compassionate in this bill in its attempt to go down to the people of the State a thousand miles away from here and tell them we will give them $150 if they will furnish the rest and let us show them how to build a $300 school-house.

I remember well the log school-house of my childhood, in a Southern State. It was of the rudest possible construction, costing, perhaps, two days' labor of the neighbors and a few cents for nails and nothing for glass. But it was a good school; and the instruction ranged from A, B, C to Virgil and Horace. A proposal to ask the National Government for $150, or to take it if offered, would have been offensive.

It is said that nothing is done under this bill, and great stress is laid upon that, without the previous assent of the State. I can not see how that materially changes the character of the transaction. To impose upon a State these regulations or virtual commands, it is virtually admitted, would be unconstitutional; but the consent of the State having been obtained, it is alleged to be constitutional. That consent only changes it from rape to prostitution. I hold that a State has no power to give the National Government an extension of its control over that State's affairs. A single State can not surrender any fraction of its powers.

In reply to propositions from a Federal officer to give money for schools and lay down terms and conditions and require legislation and detailed statistics and copies of school-books and statements of the courses of instruction, the natural reply of a New England governor would be, "I have the honor to refer you to the history of this Commonwealth for two hundred and fifty years, colony and State, to show you that it has never been in the habit of reporting to anybody how it taught the children in its schools."

But there is no limit to the possible extent of encroachments upon local rights and duties if the policy and logic of this bill are to be sanctioned. A judicious distribution of money might bring over to national control a wide range of subjects which we have hitherto supposed to be retained by the several States for their exclusive regulation.

Mr. President, I am perfectly well aware that the constitutional questions involved here have been argued most ably, at great length, and repeatedly. I make the frank admission that, though I am glad to see that some Senators are listening, I am not speaking to the Senate, but to a part at least of the people of Connecticut, because a decent respect for their opinions in favor of this measure requires that I should give some explanation of my opposition. I hope Senators will pardon me if I seem to say unnecessarily something of what has already been said.

I consider that the bill is a judgment entered up that the common-school system of the country, and, further than that, the system of local government on the whole, has been a failure in a very important particular. If there be one thing that distinguishes the legal and constitutional history of this country, it is the grand theory of decentralization and localization of government. We inherited from our English and Saxon ancestors the local governments of tithings, and hundreds, and boroughs, and towns, and counties. As much power as possible has been retained by the people for the management of all business that begins and ends within their own sight and concerns the so-called smaller matters of government. And this because such work can so be best done, and if not always best done in the judgment of people of other localities or of higher authorities, yet done in the manner most likely to content the people and develop the inestimable power of self-government.

This bill says that in a matter so fundamental, so indispensable, as the education of children, there are a third of the States, more or less, that have so far failed that we must enter upon a very doubtful exercise of power and take a considerable share of control. So far as I have been able to ascertain the authority for the proposed new policy, it is said to lie chiefly in what is called the "general-welfare" clause of the Constitution. It can be nowhere else. It is not found in usage; it is not found in statute; it is not in the letter of the Constitution.

Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution contains eighteen clauses specifying grants of power to the Congress. The first clause is as follows:

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

It is claimed that herein Congress is empowered to provide for the "general welfare;" that is, to do anything which in its judgment conduces to the welfare of the nation, and as education is a good thing, Congress has a right to go to work to educate the people, especially as it is alleged that many of them are either unable or unwilling, or partly both, to educate themselves. The Senator from New Hampshire pushed this claim to a most extravagant extent, likening the bill to the desperate endeavors of a nation to save its life in time of war, and affirming for the National Government a right to say that school education is a matter of such vast and vital importance, and is so wofully neglected, that the nation must in a time of peace and wonderful prosperity assume measurable control over it, even though it were admitted to be

beyond constitutional reach. Pomeroy's Constitutional Law has become a standard authority. This authority (he was my classmate and old friend, I am happy to say) declares:

If the construction should be adopted which regards the second clause [to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare] as an independent grant of power, it would, in effect, be making our general government unlimited. Providing for the common defense and general welfare includes everything which any government could possibly do; and a grant of power in these broad terms would be the same as making Congress omnipotent, equal in the extent of its functions to the British Parliament.

The usual and constant theory of the Government has been that the expression "to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare" is not an independent grant of power. The power of unlimited taxation is truly granted, for that is essential to sovereighty, but it is granted for specified purposes, and the application of the levied money is confined to paying the debts and providing for the common defense and general welfare. As Story and others suggest, the clause has now the same meaning and purpose that it would have if it read, "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes" in order "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare." So far from being used to signify a grant of power the words "general welfare" are used for a limitation of power.

The words had a history and a construction before the Constitution was draughted. They occur in attempts to draught schemes of colonial federation. They are found in the third of the Articles of Confederation, thus:

ART. 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves, etc.

Clearly the Continental Congress understood that as well as if it had italicised the word "general" and said "for their general and not individual, local, and particular welfare."

Bancroft says:

The phrase "general welfare," adopted from the Articles of Confederation, though seemingly vague, was employed in a rigidly restrictive sense to signify (in the language of Washington) "the concerns of the Union at large, not the particular policy of any State."

When the necessity for a better bond of union appeared and the great constitutional convention assembled, it adopted the following resolution:

That the national legislature ought to be empowered to enjoy the legislative rights vested in Congress by the Confederation, and moreover, to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation.

They afterward revised the resolution, and after again proposing to give the new Government all the powers granted by the Articles of Confederation, they added:

And moreover, to legislate in all cases for the general interests of the Union, and also in all those to which the States are separately incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation.

To me there are no explanatory phrases of that day more significant of the authority given Congress than those quoted.

Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth, delegates from Connecticut, in their joint letter transmitting the new Constitution to the governor of Connecticut, said that—

The additional powers vested in Congress extend only to matters respecting the common interests of the Union, and are especially defined, so that the particular States retain their sovereignty in all other matters. The objects for which Congress may apply money are the same mentioned in the eighth article of the Confederation, namely, for the common defense and general welfare, and for payment of the debts incurred for those purposes.

Whoever has examined the too scanty records of that constitutional convention will find that no stress was ever laid upon the words "general welfare" as conveying the power claimed by the advocates of this bill. Nobody thought of them save an occasional skeptic, hostile to the general plan, who pointed to that clause as virtually consolidating all the colonies in one grand national government; but nobody either in the great convention itself or in the separate State convention ever paid serious attention to that criticism.

Among the ablest bodies ever assembled in the country were the conventions called by the several States to consider the adoption of this Constitution. The ablest jurists and wisest legislators of the colonies were there. There is some record of their debates. I have not been able to find a single instance in which the most captious critic, and critics were abundant, claimed that the words "general welfare" had the construction given them by the Senator from New Hampshire and the Senator from New York [Mr. EVARTS]. Those conventions were all exceedingly jealous of this new Government. The great obstacle in the path of the adoption of the Constitution was the popular fear that it was to absorb the precious rights of local government. Seven States offered amendments: New York, thirty-three; Massachusetts, twenty-six; Rhode Island, twenty-one; Virginia, twenty—in general looking rather towards restrictions and limitations of national power, but not one attempting to give a restricted meaning to the words "general welfare," simply because those words were understood to be themselves words of limitation. The general character of those propositions is shown by the ten amendments that were adopted. Two of them (the ninth and tenth) were not in the original only because they would have been really superfluous, and their adoption was due only to abundant caution. They are:

ART. IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

And the famous Article X:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

There is another test of the nation's interpretation of that clause. There have been about one hundred and ten State constitutions adopted in the United States. A considerable number—I have no means of knowing how many, and in many cases undoubtedly they were excellent instruments—were draughted and failed of adoption. Of those one hundred and ten, I think seventeen were adopted before the Constitution of the United States, but at least a hundred constitutional conventions have been held, probably many more than that, since 1789. Now, I appeal to every Senator to say whether I am correct in affirming that probably we have had no representative bodies in the United States to equal those constitutional conventions in ability. I do not think that there is an instance in which a State (unless it might have been in some rough periods of reconstruction; certainly in times of peace there has not been an instance) did not with a broad and generous patriotism say, "Let us have our best men, by general ticket, if not otherwise."

Is there a single one of those constitutions which gives the slightest imaginable color to the construction that the great Senator from New York places on this clause of the Constitution? Not a single one.

There is still other authority. I take the liberty of quoting some familiar passages from Jefferson, Madison, and Story. I read an extract from volume 1 of Story on the Constitution, page 644, section 926, quoting Thomas Jefferson in his opinion on the Bank of the United States, 15th February, 1781:

To lay taxes to provide for the general welfare of the United States is—

Says he—

to lay taxes for the purpose of providing for the general welfare. For the laying of taxes is the power and the general welfare the purpose for which the power is to be exercised. Congress are not to lay taxes *ad libitum* for any purpose they please, but only to pay the debts or provide for the welfare of the Union. In like manner they are not to do anything they please to provide for the general welfare, but only to lay taxes for that purpose. To consider the latter phrase, not as describing the purpose of the first, but as giving a distinct and independent power to do any act they please, which might be for the good of the Union, would render all the preceding and subsequent enumeration of power completely useless. It would reduce the whole instrument to a single phrase, that of instituting a Congress with power to do whatever would be for the good of the United States; and as they would be the sole judges of the good or evil, it also would be a power to do whatever evil they pleased. It is an established rule of construction, where a phrase will bear either of two meanings, to give that which will allow some meaning to the other parts of the instrument, and not that which will render all the others useless. Certainly no such universal power was meant to be given them. It was intended to lace them up strictly within the enumerated powers, and those, without which, as means, those powers could not be carried into effect.

This opinion was deliberately reasserted by Mr. Jefferson on other occasions.

Mr. Madison, in his letter of November 27, 1830, to Mr. Stevenson, says:

Consider, for a moment, the immeasurable difference between the constitution limited in its powers to the enumerated objects, and expanded, as it would be, by the import claimed for the phraseology in question. The difference is equivalent to two constitutions, of characters essentially contrasted with each other; the one possessing powers confined to certain specified cases, the other extended to all cases whatsoever. For what is the case that would not be embraced by a general power to raise money; a power to provide for the general welfare, and a power to pass all laws necessary and proper to carry these powers into execution; all such provisions and laws superseding at the same time all local laws and constitutions at variance with them? Can less be said, with the evidence before us, furnished by the journal of the convention itself, than that it is impossible that such a constitution as the latter would have been recommended to the States by all the members of that body whose names were subscribed to the instrument?

Story, in his work on the Constitution, volume 1, page 630, section 909, says:

SEC. 909. The Constitution was, from its very origin, contemplated to be the frame of a national government, of special and enumerated powers, and not of general and unlimited powers. This is apparent, as will be presently seen from the history of the proceedings of the convention which framed it; and it has formed the admitted basis of all legislative and judicial reasoning upon it ever since it was put into operation, by all who have been its open friends and advocates, as well as by all who have been its enemies and opponents. If the clause "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States" is construed to be an independent and substantive grant of power, it not only renders wholly unimportant and unnecessary the subsequent enumeration of specific powers, but it plainly extends far beyond them, and creates a general authority in Congress to pass all laws which they may deem for the common defense or general welfare.

Story, volume 1, page 302, says:

SEC. 426. On the other hand a rule of equal importance is not to enlarge the construction of a given power beyond the fair scope of its terms, merely because the restriction is inconvenient, impolitic, or even mischievous. If it be mischievous the power of redressing the evil lies with the people by an exercise of the power of amendment. If they do not choose to apply the remedy it may fairly be presumed that the mischief is less than what would arise from a further extension of the power; or that it is the less of two evils. Nor should it ever be lost sight of that the Government of the United States is one of limited and enumerated powers, and that a departure from the true import and sense of its powers is, *pro tanto*, the establishment of a new constitution. It is doing for the people what they have not chosen to do for themselves. It is usurping the functions of a legislator and deserting those of an expounder of the law. Ar-

guments drawn from impolicy or inconvenience ought here to be of no weight. The only sound principle is to declare, *ita lex scripta est*, to follow, and to obey.

The substance of it all is summed up by the same author, volume 1, page 644:

SEC. 927. The same opinion has been maintained at different and distant times by many eminent statesmen. It was avowed, and apparently acquiesced in, in the stated conventions called to ratify the Constitution; and it has been on various occasions adopted by Congress, and may fairly be deemed that which the deliberate sense of a majority of the nation has at all times supported. This, too, seems to be the construction maintained by the Supreme Court of the United States.

That is enough; repetition from a hundred can not strengthen that.

But what does the phrase "general welfare" mean? You may say that it is what Choate called a "rhetorical flourish," but it is entitled to an exceedingly valuable and perfectly proper meaning. The Government is one of enumerated and of limited powers, of course, but within that field over which it has control it is absolutely supreme. I am stating the merest truism. It may tax to the ninety-ninth dollar of the hundred the citizen has. It may take ninety-nine out of a hundred men to war and sacrifice them upon the altar for the good of the country. In everything that is necessary to its life it is supreme, even, for example, going down to the States and putting its hands on the ballot-box for the election of members of Congress, determining not only the men to register and receive the votes, but the men to count the votes, and the men to return the votes, if necessary protecting them by an army. Every citizen in every State who has a right to vote for a representative in the Legislature has a right to vote for a Representative in Congress, and this Government has the power and is bound to protect him in the exercise of his right.

While strictly adhering to the theory of limitations let us be equally ready to glorify the worth and majesty and supremacy of the Federal Government in its own great field.

The moment this Government faces outward to meet other nations it becomes a nation among nations, with all the powers which are essential to the dignity and usefulness thereof. There is nothing that Uncle Sam can be called upon to do as a gentleman among nations that he has not the absolute power to do.

Where else is it? The States have it not; and yet we are, as to all the world without, a nation, full orbed, matchless in splendor and grandeur, moving to the front of the world. Is it not so?

I made memoranda of things done by the United States Government, which the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] carefully collected and collated and recited in the last session to justify his view favorable to this bill, to show that the United States exercised an equally broad constitutional power in other matters. That which he used to justify himself I use to justify myself. It is in accordance precisely with what I have said of the great nation, full orbed, fully developed. He cited an appropriation in 1796 of $4,000 paid to two Americans who had been obliged to pay that sum to ransom themselves from Algerines; $50,000 in 1812, under Madison, to purchase provisions to give to Venezuelans who had suffered from an earthquake. Madison in 1813 signed a bill to distribute vaccine matter among the States. It would be less defensible, it seems to me, nowadays; but it was a very singular, new, and wonderful thing then, and was regarded certainly with as much dignity as our present distribution of beans.

In 1847 ships of war were sent to convey provisions to the people of Ireland. In 1871 ships went with provisions to the starving people of France and Germany. In 1876 the Government spent something like a million dollars participating in the great centennial exhibition. It spent money to explore the Amazon; it spent money upon the Wilkes exploring expedition; it spent money upon expeditions to the North Pole; it surveyed the Nicaragua canal; it has observed eclipses, etc.

Such are things which I claim that the Government has a right to do, concerning the broad general welfare as distinguished from the local and particular and personal welfare of the people of the States. All these things are consistent with the claim I made that there must be somewhere the perfection of a nation as to external matters. It is not to be supposed that we shall be the only government in the world that can not pay a compliment to any other nation. It is not to be supposed that we are the only people in the world who can not make a subscription to some international charity or which can not put up a great statue. Here is a gallant English or Dutch captain who rescues one of our sinking ships; the President sends him a watch or a chronometer. In all external matters the Federal Government is supreme, and must do and has the right to do whatever it is well for a gentleman among nations to do, or, in the language of the constitutional convention, that "to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation."

When the Connecticut sailor found the old bark Resolute derelict in the Arctic seas and brought it down to New London, a fine exploring ship of the British Government, our Government compensated the sailor for it, took possession of it, fitted it up in good taste, and sent it to the British people with our compliments and good-will. It was accepted in like spirit; and now a fine table made from oak of the old Resolute, and sent over by Queen Victoria, is that upon which the President writes daily in his audience chamber. I do not find the constitutional power for that in any particular letter or word of the Constitution, but I have not the slightest difficulty in finding it in the legitimate inferences and practice of the nation from 1789 to this day. The Constitution intended to make it a full-fledged nation with a government authorized to do anything necessary to which individual States were incompetent. The fathers were not thinking that a State could not keep a district school.

But this is substantially the theory of my absent friend, the Senator from New York. The education of the people is a great and glorious work. The American people are a great and glorious people. Therefore, the great and glorious National Government must undertake the great and glorious work. Let us apply these theories in another direction. If there be one thing that stands first among the objects of human government it is the protection and salvation of life. When two wild and savage tribes engage in battle, and, when the strife is over, spare the lives of captives, they have evidently made a long step toward civilization.

The thing called government first stops men from killing each other, and, secondly, protects their property.

Some of our friends, it seems to me, forget that there is no general law of the United States against murder in any State of the Union, or in force anywhere save upon the high seas, or in waters under Federal maritime jurisdiction, or in dock-yards, forts, or arsenals, or other places under exclusive Federal jurisdiction. Six inches outside of those reservations one man a day for ten years may be killed in the face of the laws and the officers of the United States, and not an officer can lawfully interfere unless, indeed, the crime shall be connected with the obstruction of some Federal law.

Moreover, when a citizen of Connecticut goes to London or to Paris and suffers outrageous wrong and sends report thereof to Washington, the power of the nation is invoked, and if necessary our magnificent Navy and Army may be sent immediately to set it all right. Sixty millions of people would demand justice. Let the same man cross the line into Rhode Island and in like manner be infamously wronged. The Government that might be ready to send armies and navies against other nations has nothing whatever to say to Rhode Island. The wrong may be repeated year after year, and it may be in spirit and reality inflicted upon the citizen simply because he is a citizen of Connecticut; but so long as Rhode Island passes no law against citizens of Connecticut as distinguished from citizens of other States no branch of the Federal Government can interfere. Now, why is not the eloquence of the two distinguished Senators directed toward these obvious omissions in the great Constitution, under which there is no possibility of doing so plain and proper a thing as protecting human life? Is a Government providing for the general welfare when it can not enforce laws for the ordinary protection of persons and property in ninety-nine one hundredths of the area of the States?

Let us try another test. One may take the United States Constitution and, without having a State constitution before him, may easily sketch what the latter must be. On the other hand, give to a legal scholar, who has never heard of the Federal Constitution, copies of the State constitutions and he can construct the general features of the former, just as the naturalist, from a single bone, reconstructs the prehistoric animal.

The United States has passed no law against murder, mayhem, rape, robbery, theft, and the whole range of crimes against person and property, save only when committed thus, in the language of the statute:

Within any fort, arsenal, dock-yard, magazine, or in any other place or district of country under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.

Or upon the high seas, or in any arm of the sea, or in any haven, river, creek, basin, or bay within the admiralty and marine jurisdiction of the United States and out of the jurisdiction of any particular State.

As I have said, except in those areas described there is no Federal law against these great crimes. Now, take the statute-book and look through it. To the criminal statutes mentioned add the laws punishing crimes against the existence of the Government, piracy, crimes against the courts, against the operation of the Government in the matter of revenue, currency, and postal service, the misconduct of United States officials, and crimes against the elective franchise and the civil rights of citizens, and you have the whole catalogue of criminal laws of the National Government. The remainder of the single volume is chiefly devoted to the organization and duties of Congress, the judiciary, the various Executive Departments, the Army and Navy, Territories, lands and Indians, the diplomatic service and foreign relations, revenue, postal service, commerce, patents, bankruptcy, and a few other topics of obviously general national interest.

Take the Federal statute-book and you may construct the average State statute-book without having a single copy of a State statute-book in existence. Take the Revised Statutes of the several States, the thirty-eight volumes, and look through the tables of contents. Note the elaborate regulations of the educational system, the details of assessment and direct taxation, the scheme of life for multitudinous business corporations, the safeguards of the relation of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, master and servant; the laws of inhabitancy; the tenure and transfer of real estate; the laws of commons and highways; the laws of health and burial, and for the sale of poisons and liquors, the laws for the settlement of estates; the elaborate prohibitions of all wrongs to life, person, and property, and the full remedies in graded courts for all

wrongs, the civil and criminal writs, trials, and executions. You will soon perceive that, while many assertions of ancient rights are common to the national and state constitutions and bills of rights, the theory seems rather to be that, though surrendering the chief elements of sovereignty and the general care of all the great external relations of peace and war to a great central National Government, yet, in retaining so much for their hands exclusively, the people at home were doubting the ability and disposition of every power but their own, in their own States, to secure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in the larger part of the field of life's work.

Our magnificent theory of the distinct functions of national and local governments, interlocking and supplementing and, as a whole, making the noblest success in history, is attacked by this bill and many other propositions. Why not? Is it not an embarrassment that we have thirty-eight varieties, yes, counting the Territories, forty-six varieties of law concerning marriage and divorce, forty-six sets of laws concerning devise and inheritance, forty-six sets relating to the tenure of land, etc.? Especially vexed are many good people by the variety and discord of the laws of marriage. Why does not our friend from New Hampshire direct his eloquent and illimitably broad style of construction toward passing some statutes relating to marriage and divorce that shall cover the whole country and so promote the "general welfare?"

There are inconveniences about many of these things. That we will admit; and if the inconveniences be so great that there ought to be a radical change in the fundamental theory of the government in that respect, let us have a constitutional amendment. We are not tied or hampered hopelessly. There is a constitutional process for constitutional changes; they are to be made by Congressional assent, followed by the approval of three-fourths of the State Legislatures, not by unconstitutional statutes and the purchase of the assent of States through generous gifts.

It is to be observed that in forming the Federal Constitution the people of the colonies did not give away as much as they could spare, but only as much as the nation absolutely must have. They did not give away as much as possible; they retained as much as possible. Nothing was given away that could be retained without defeating the purpose to found a nation.

I said there are many schemes to enlarge the central combination of power at the expense of the local subdivision thereof. For example: a demand is made, by what is supposed to be a popular party, that the great National Government shall take charge of the whole system of railroads. Imagine the embarrassments arising from the intertangled and intermingled relations of forty or fifty State and Territorial systems of railway company organization and government! There are about 150,000 miles of railroad in the United States, not counting side-tracks or double or quadruple tracks—enough to girdle the globe with six parallel lines. Perhaps it would cost the nation eight thousand million dollars to get possession of them, and then add six hundred thousand to the number of Government officers and employés to run them. What shall we do with seven hundred and fifty thousand Government officers, employés, soldiers, sailors, etc.? What dividend shall we pay the present owners of railway stock? Or what rate of interest shall we pay upon the bonds we issue for the stock? Political organizations already in the field are putting national railways in their platforms.

Some worthy people desire to have the National Government become a savings bank—that is to say, open banks of deposit at every post-office of any consequence, and pay interest to the depositors of money. How much shall we pay? Four per cent. is as little as most depositors will be content with. The present deposits in the savings banks of the country amount to nearly or quite eleven hundred millions. Why should we borrow that sum and pay 4 per cent. therefor when we can borrow all we want at 2.40 per cent.? But that is the theory pressed, as if there were something magical in the words "United States," and as if these matters could not be left in charge of the people in their several States. I am sure Connecticut desires to be let alone. Her citizens had $97,000,000 in savings banks. My colleague [Mr. PLATT] says it is now $102,000,000. Surely we can not be made to believe that any person sent from Washington is better qualified to manage them than our own citizens, or better qualified to inspect them than our own State superintendents, all of whom are under the daily watch of the depositors.

There is a little more logic in the proposition to establish a postal telegraph, because that bears a resemblance to the carriage of letters; but we shall look with great jealousy upon a governmental telegraph system, costing a hundred millions of capital and requiring a large force of employés.

I hear the exclamation "State rights!" as if I were unduly an advocate of State rights. I am upon the ground of the constitutional convention, of every State convention that was held to adopt that Constitution, and of every State convention that has sought to make a State constitution. I am upon the ground of every great writer upon the Constitution, and the ground of the Supreme Court from the first day to this. I am where the history, laws, Constitution, and legal brains of my country compel me to stand and stay until we have a complete reconstruction of our whole theory, which is decentralization, local self-government, and supreme majesty and power in the great representative central government within its necessary field.

I have heard it said, as if men believed it, too, in this Chamber, when reservation and caution were suggested concerning centralization, "Oh, well, State rights are played out since the war." I have heard it again and again. A Senator from a prominent Southern State said the other day that he did not care how many Trojan horses came along if each one had a million dollars in it. Another Senator, an able lawyer, said to me in this Chamber, "Well, whatever the people want is constitutional." I hope he was not in earnest; I am sure he was partly in joke.

Nothing relating to the rights of the States was settled by the war save this: A State can not be the final arbiter of infractions of the Constitution; a State can not be allowed, upon its own judgment that the Constitution has been violated, to go out of the Union; in short, the question of secession. That is all. Otherwise the Constitution remains exactly as it was and the relations of the States remain just as they were. Of course I mean excepting always the three great amendments. They are receiving their construction rapidly from the Supreme Court. It is surprising many to find that some of the clauses of the amendments are simply prohibitions directed to the States, and that the functions of the Federal Government (according to the Supreme Court) are confined to declaring, through the Supreme Court aforesaid, that violations of said prohibitions are unconstitutional.

No, sir, the true doctrine of State rights is simply that of the theory and practice of the nation, partly an inheritance, partly an insensible growth, and partly the fruit of the wisdom of 1788. If we are to change it, let us do so deliberately. Let us have a national convention to revise the Constitution, and if this bill has wise foundations, let us get the assent of three-fourths of the State Legislatures to a new article giving the National Government measurable or total control of the common schools everywhere. Does any man think that could be done? If not, then, and the Constitution must remain as it is in that regard, pray let us not attempt a most unjustifiable misconception of the function of the words "general welfare," or the still worse theory, that this Constitution must be silent—*inter arma leges silent*—as if we were in the face of a deadly national peril.

The best people to run the common schools are the people of the States, the counties, and towns, and the districts themselves. Not that there may not be failures and errors from time to time, just as in other matters of local government, but that the evils of the great central control would far overbalance those failures in the long run, and, education being a vital interest, if the people can not cultivate the desire, and zeal, and spirit of self-sacrifice requisite to conduct education, then local self-government is a failure.

But, in general, the people take good care of their local interests and duties. In general, but not everywhere and always, I am sorry to say, yet surely in the end, our form of government will be vindicated. It is to be regretted that the desire for good schools is not stronger in many localities. It is the desire that is lacking. Much is said of the weakness and poverty of the people. For a time there was poverty in the South. The fences were down, the fields were growing wild, the banks were ruined, railroad stock vanished. The negroes changed form as wealth and instead of being $3,000,000,000 or $4,000,000,000 in the hands of the slaveholders, they were $4,000,000,000 or $5,000,000,000 in their own hands, and after the first shock the economic condition was improved. There was destitution; there is little now. There is a greater lack of desire than of ability. There are the inevitable embarrassments of scanty scattered settlements. It is impossible to have ideal schools among a people of limited means, whatever their strong desire, who are but ten or twenty to the square mile.

There is no Southern State so poor as were the nine towns of Connecticut in 1650, and no county poorer; yet in that year they enacted that each town of fifty families should keep a good school, and, a few years later, that towns of one hundred families should have a grammar school able to fit pupils for the university already established at Cambridge. Penalties were imposed for neglect.

Now, will this measure increase the desire and the self-sacrifice for education? A large part of the value of the educational system is in its giving the people, the parents and the guardians, a just estimate of the value of education. The thoughtful people who are interested in great educational enterprises in the South hope to see the adults in neglected regions come to know enough to desire common schools. The schools will soon follow.

Are you going to hasten that result by such legislation as this? I do not believe it. I think it is the judgment of the wisest educators that the odds are against it. When you go from without, from a great, distant, inexhaustible source, this great fountain in Washington, and take a chest of money to pay for schools, it is believed that it would weaken instead of strengthen the hoped-for spirit. The muscles of the arm are not strengthened by being supported from without.

Consider, the money supplied by this bill would come by a round-about path from a distant source. It would not be seen as it traveled from the pocket of the tax-payer to the Treasury at Washington. But as it left the Treasury and was passed down by order of the Secretary of the Interior to the State treasurer and the managers of schools it would assume the guise of a heavenly blessing seen by the tax-payer for the first time. Yet it would have been shorn by the tolls of tax-gatherers.

The cheapest way to have a common school, other things being equal, is to have the people take the money from their own pockets and hand it to the schoolmaster and the carpenter and the wood-seller and the book-seller in their own district. The people will be more likely to see waste and mismanagement and they will think oftener of the school. The process nearest to that in value is the action of county and State authorities.

But if money is paid out at the back door to A B, and 95 per cent. of it is paid in a year after by C D at the front door, some illiterate people will think that C D pays it out of his own pocket.

When the eight years of this bill shall have expired, you will hear candidates upon the stump saying, "My fellow-citizens, I am going back to Washington in place of Smith. Smith says the Blair bill is played out; that the time is up, and he does not want any more of it. As against that narrow view of the Constitution, as for that miserable, by-gone, worn-out theory of State rights, I am for the broad national view. I promise you, if I get there, the Blair bill shall be renewed and continued. And inasmuch as the population of our district has increased, I shall join in demanding at least $12,000,000 or $15,000,000 a year hereafter. This is a great country."

I have no faith that the process will cease. More probably the measure will be made stronger and the scheme of supervision and interference stronger. A previous acceptance by the State will be waived by mutual assent. It will be enough to refer to the law of 1888. The farce of purchasing the assent of a State is easily omitted. The process of Federal assumption of State duties—let us hear less of rights and more of duties—the process will not take the form of violent trespasses. It is more likely to proceed in the disguise of good works and to win its way by purchases and compromises.

I am reminded of that *pia fraus*, that pious fraud of the ancient common law, the process of fine and recovery. A B was in possession of lands securely entailed, bolted down by entails, entirely beyond his control. Wherefore, in order to convey the lands he pretended to lose them. C D brought a sham suit; A B abandoned the defense and was allowed to compromise and surrender the estate. In time the courts and even the Parliament came to recognize this as honest business. It would be only repeating history if in twenty years after the passage of this bill the Federal Government should find itself virtual master and certain mismanager of common schools, and then encounter and surrender to a fierce agitation for a return to wisdom.

It does not bother me that Connecticut is to get $352,000 from this bill and pay out $871,780. I do not think it would trouble the people of our State at all if they thought the balance was given for a great and just national purpose. I know it would not. They never shrink from the cost of education or whatever is indispensable to State and national prosperity. But I have to doubt that the Senator from New Hampshire could go right into Connecticut and persuade some illiterates that the bill was really a benefaction to Connecticut, because they could see the $352,000 come into our state-house and go out into the towns and school-districts, but they would see little of the collection and travel of the $871,000 going down to Washington.

As an interesting, if not amusing, example of the exhibitions that this great benefaction develops, I present a resolution taken from the Democratic platform adopted in North Carolina June 26, 1884:

Whereas there is now more than $100,000,000 in the Treasury of the United States wrung from the pockets of the people by unjust taxation on the part of the Republican party: Therefore,

Resolved, That we will accept such distribution of said surplus revenues of the Government for educational purposes as may be made by the Congress of the United States: *Provided, always*, That the same shall be disbursed by State agents, and not accompanied by objectionable features and embarrassing conditions.

That which most strongly draws the sympathy of good people toward this measure is the appeal in behalf of the emancipated slave. There is no person under twenty-three years of age who was a slave. There is no person under twenty-six who has a recollection of his bondage. Nearly a generation of the former slaves is dead. For the survivors there is great hope in moral and religious training; but very few of those illiterate now will hereafter learn to read. The Uncle Toms and Aunt Dinahs are in that regard almost hopeless.

I forbear to inflict upon the Senate tables of statistics and pages of quotations, but my reading convinces me that the South is for the most part making excellent progress—in some cases most admirable progress in education.

Surely the votes show that the States for whose benefit the bill is chiefly urged show it a remarkable degree of hostility and give us cause for doubt and hesitation. It would be also remarkable if some Senators were not overpersuaded to support the bill by the popular effect of the temptation offered by tens of millions of money. Some States unanimously oppose it. The Kentucky Legislature has adopted hostile resolutions during our discussions here. Has any Southern Legislature sent to Congress this winter an appeal in its behalf? I have not heard of one.

Who says that Maryland is poor and can not take care of her children, and is willing to take $150 to help build a school-house? Or Delaware? Or great and rich Missouri? Does Texas need it with her 278,000 square miles, an empire of itself, whose startling statistics of area, school lands, and past and prospective growth travel around the world? What folly to carry to Texas next year $356,000, and four millions within eight years. She has uncounted resources not yet changed to money, and has just thrown the deed of a principality to the contractors for her new state-house! Does Arkansas need it, with her wonderful prosperity and her most honorable zeal in the cause of education? Or Florida? The good cause prospers there also. The North fancies that its emigrants scattered all over the State deserve part of the credit, but, if the native is entitled to the whole of it, so much the better. Georgia boasts of her wealth and growth.

Mr. President, it is an old saying, and one worthy of belief, that self-help is the best of all help. Every one of us here, something like a veteran in experience of the world, knows exactly how to spoil a boy of sixteen by nursing him and feeding him with a spoon. I think that large bodies of citizens can be similarly injured. The education that is obtained in a community where it is hard work for the father to spare the $5, and where he is certain to ask the boy every few days, "How are you getting along, John?" and where the mother must care for the children and watch and patch them, and start them to school, and wish for their help at home on busy days—that kind of education is worth something; but the education paid for out of the inexhaustible pocket of Uncle Sam is not worth twenty-five cents on the dollar to some people. The odds are it will demoralize them in the end.

I thank the occupant of the chair [Mr. PLATT] for what he sends me at this moment in behalf of the history of his side of the State—the ancient colony of New Haven, consolidated with Connecticut in 1662.

The legislation of New Haven, in 1656, contains this chapter:

It is ordered that the deputies for the particular court in each plantation within this jurisdiction for the time being, or where there are no such deputies, the constable or other officers in public trust shall, from time to time, have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors within the limits of the said plantation; that all parents and masters do duly endeavor, either by their own ability and labor, or by improving such schoolmaster or other helps and means as the plantation doth afford, or the family may conveniently provide that all their children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may, through God's blessing, obtain at least so much as to be able to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable printed books in the English tongue, being their native language, etc.

I have no doubt that a great many friends of education, superintendents of public schools and eminent teachers, most honorable citizens whose business it has not been to study law-making, led by the most laudable and generous of impulses, have been warm friends of this bill. To those people I pay my tribute of profound respect, if they will permit me to say it, affection. But sitting here reading, hearing, and thinking, looking over the whole broad field, and looking not to this year, or the next year, or the next, but to wide results and many years, some of us are led to believe the bill fraught with more mischief than good.

But by no means all the educators are upon what is to me the wrong side. President Barnard, of Columbia College, New York, says:

My objections are founded not only on the consideration that it is a bill to promote mendicancy, but also upon the higher consideration that it is totally without justification in the Constitution of the United States. There is not only in the Constitution no direct grant of power to Congress to do a thing of this kind, but the spirit of the provision in regard to the power of taxation is violated when it is proposed to distribute money among the States, not in proportion to the entire population, but in proportion to a particular class; and inasmuch as the distribution of these large sums of money has a manifest tendency to discourage the honorable spirit of self-help in the subsidized States, it is manifestly doing harm rather than good, and hence can not find even a poor pretext at justification under the much-abused "general-welfare" clause of section 8 of the Constitution.

President Hyde, of Bowdoin College, says:

At the head of a petition in favor of the Blair bill which has been circulated industriously in these parts, the fact that there is a surplus in the Treasury was placed prominent among the reasons why the petition should be signed.

These in brief outline are my reasons for opposing the Blair bill, and I think it was owing to similar reasons that only one signature to the petition mentioned above was obtained from the college faculty.

President Carter, of Williams College, dwells upon the value of vigorous effort and self-denial of the people as the thing there is the most need for in this question:

I have spent some time in the South, and have given some attention to the conditions and prospects of general education in that part of the country. My previous feeling that the precious boon of education can not be conferred on whole peoples without regard to their estimate of its value, but must be secured by vigorous efforts and self-denial arising from an appreciation of the necessity of the rudiments to every community, has been deepened by what I have seen. There is great need of schools in the South. There is also great need of hospitals. But it by no means follows that it would be wise for the Federal Government to devote large sums of money to the erection of buildings and the support of directors for either the training of the mind or the cure of the body. If the result of the Blair bill could be to encourage self-help and to make education precious, to arouse self-denial and give vigor to the slowly but surely increasing respect for public education, and firmness to the determination to make it more general and thorough, one might support it with earnestness. But the effect of its passage and enforcement could not be such, but would be the very reverse. And, though one must have warm sympathy with some of those educators who have done much to develop this respect and self-reliance, under most difficult conditions, and who now ask for the passage of the bill, the best interests of the South and of the country as a whole, rightly considered, loudly ask that we carefully adhere, in this matter above all others, to the principles of local self-government and local self-reliance.

Here is a protest from the superintendent of schools in Texas:

SIR: It is a mistake to assume that the teachers of the South universally desire the passage of the Blair bill. The State Teachers' Association of Texas has once refused to indorse the Blair bill, once indorsed a resolution favoring Federal aid

without Federal supervision, and at its last meeting ignored the subject almost entirely. Many leading teachers in this State are outspoken in opposition to the Blair bill, while almost all are indifferent to it.

In common with many of the more thoughtful teachers of the South, I can not see how such a bill, by which the Federal Government will gradually assume control of education, can be constitutional. I still hold to the belief that all powers not expressly delegated to the General Government are reserved to the States and the people; and I have not ceased to interpret the "general-welfare clause" of the Constitution as limited by the specific grants of power delegated in the same instrument. I hold these opinions, without assuming to be a constitutional lawyer, because I believe that the Constitution is at once so simple, strong, and comprehensive that an average school-boy can understand its meaning.

But, apart from the constitutional question, I believe that the Blair bill, if it should become a law, would impede the progress of popular education in the South. Of the progress which has been made in the last decade, and which is still being made, I need say little; for all who have given any attention to this matter know how wonderful it has been. The Southern States have never been in so good a condition educationally as they are at present. The growth is normal, healthy, and strong. Interest in the education of the masses is greater than it has ever been. Opponents of public schools have been converted or silenced. In the mean time the spirit of self-help has grown apace with the rapid industrial development, which is almost universal. This spirit of self-help is the life-blood of any sound educational system either in the individual, or the school, or the State; and this spirit grows by exercise. Many school districts are supplementing State aid by local taxation. In a few years all will do so if the people are not led to look away from themselves to the Federal Treasury for the support of the schools. The Southern States are much better able to carry on and develop efficient systems of public schools now than they were to inaugurate them twenty years ago. Why may we not reasonably expect them to do so?

Some of the demagogical or short-sighted advocates of this bill have won friends for it by promises of lower school taxes, and it is highly probable that a strong effort will be made, if the bill should become a law, to reduce the State tax for the support of the schools by the amount received from the Federal Treasury. Thus the effect would clearly be not only to stop the healthy progress now being made, but even to lower the present standard of efficiency of our school system.

Illiteracy is disappearing in the Southern States. The apparent increase shown by the census of 1880, as compared with that of 1870, is simply due to the untrustworthiness of the latter so far as the South is concerned. The census of 1890 will show the truth. If the South, while bearing the burden of the vast mass of illiteracy which overweighted citizenship at the close of the civil war, has been able to make such satisfactory progress in all that constitutes stable prosperity, no fears for the welfare of the nation from this quarter need be entertained in the future.

I have not the slightest doubt a very large percentage of this apparently bad showing comes from the fact that the census of 1870 was—I will not say quite worthless, but—very imperfect as compared with the census of 1880.

The South does not need the extraconstitutional help proffered by this bill now; at the time when extraconstitutional help was needed it was not given or tendered.

I may add that I have no doubt that the Blair bill, if it should become a law, would be the beginning of the transition from State control of public education to national control. At least ten years would be necessary to complete this transition, and during this period the efficiency of our schools would be impaired by the antagonism of the dual system. A national system of education, however admirable it may be in Germany, is neither necessary nor desirable in the United States.

OSCAR H. COOPER,
Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Texas.

AUSTIN, TEX., *February* 8.

General Armstrong, of Hampton, is the head of the famous Hampton school, normal school, Indian school, and colored man's school. I have rarely known a man in whom the sentimental and the severely, coldly practical are so happily united as in this man—soldier and gentleman, son of a missionary, idealist and hard-headed farmer and mechanic, all combined. He says:

SIR: As to our position towards the Blair bill, events seem to have pretty clearly defined it for us. From 1870 to 18 4 we, with others, worked for Government aid for Southern schools, urging Senator Hoar's bill, which failed to pass the House, and accepting the "Blair bill" when it appeared as the best thing we were likely to get. But we never regarded it as a bill which a true educator would have framed, both because it granted too much aid in too short a time and because there was danger of a final reaction when its bounty should cease.

As then the marvelous and, we confess, unexpected growth and strength of the Southern school system made themselves manifest, and when we began to study the causes to which these were due we found that a change of base was forced upon us. The justification for this change I find in the vigor of sentiment existing in the South in favor of the public-school system; in the impartial devotion to it of many ex-Confederate slaveholders, which I have personally witnessed; in the fact that it is hopeless and fatal for any politician, whatever his standing, to oppose it (the negro vote finding its chief excuse in the solidity with which it goes for "free schools"); in the surprising development of Southern resources; in the evident ability of the so-called border States to educate in a reasonable time all their children; in the great school endowment of Texas and the growing wealth of Georgia and Alabama; and in the progress of schools in Florida, Arkansas, and other States, which provide in all, it is estimated, 15,000 negro schools alone, of which Virginia has 1,600.

From our own standpoint we can say nothing stronger than that, in the midst of our struggle to secure from charity the means to support the Hampton School, we would not accept aid from State or people were it offered on the plan of the Blair bill, being conscious that in the end it would do us more harm than good. For here it is not mainly education that we seek to give, but education through self help. Take out the self-help and the rest is not worth much. Apply the Blair bill to the Southern school system and it will check the growth of the best thing in Southern life, the effort of the people to educate themselves. One-third of the Southern children of school age have to-day probably no chance for education; twenty years ago almost none had it; twenty years hence I believe all will have it.

Furthermore, as I see how far we are from securing the application of the rules of civil-service reform to our Indian work, a sweeping change of officers being in order at the opening of every political change, I feel less confidence that Government bounty to Southern schools could be applied to the best advantage; while, on the other hand, the use of funds from local taxation is carefully watched and abuses are fought with vigor.

Above all things, educational work ought to be wholly free from party interests. Its foundations must be sure and permanent, not spasmodic and shifting; and for these reasons I have come gradually to the conclusion that national aid, at least as provided by the Blair bill, is unwise and undesirable.

S. C. ARMSTRONG.

HAMPTON, VA., *January* 30.

Professor Minor, of the University of Virginia, says:

I take much interest in the Blair bill, very earnestly desiring its defeat; first, because I think it a very dangerous infraction of the Constitution; and second, because communities, like individuals, are always enfeebled by having done for them what they can and ought to do for themselves.

President Eliot, of Harvard University, says:

SIR: The policy embodied in the Blair bill seems to me utterly vicious. It is bad enough to raise a surplus, but to use a part of that mischievous surplus in enfeebling the admirable public sentiment of the South in regard to education is far worse.

And he says further:

General Armstrong put the whole matter into a nutshell when he said in his letter to you of January 30, speaking of the education given at Hampton, "Take out the self-help, and the rest is not worth much." That is true of all education, and applies to States just as well as to individuals.

Mr. BLAIR. Would the Senator object to my putting in the very latest report coming from the superintendent of schools of Virginia as to the actual condition of the schools there just now?

Mr. HAWLEY. I would rather the Senator should put that in at the close. That of itself is an isolated fact.

Mr. BLAIR. It is a reply to General Armstrong. General Armstrong's statement is that things are improving in Virginia.

Mr. HAWLEY. That is an issue between you and General Armstrong. I have such respect for the man that I like his opinion and feeling about it better than I do a column of cold figures.

President Chamberlain, of the Wisconsin University, is a man of ability and, I am told, a man of exceptionally good judgment. He says:

The provisions of the Blair bill impress me unfavorably, not because of any objection to governmental aid to public education, which I most cordially approve, but because of the peculiar method of the apportionment. If a specific—

And this is a good point—

If the specific endeavor is to be made by the General Government to remove illiteracy by a discriminative appropriation, the bounty—for it amounts to that—should be placed upon the illiteracy removed, and not upon the illiteracy permitted to exist. Illiteracy in this country is not so much the result of poverty as of indifference, and a permanent and effective remedy is only to be found in the development of local interest and endeavor. Government aid, if it is to be discriminative at all, should be apportioned on the basis of endeavor and not upon the lack of endeavor, of which illiteracy is the expression.

If the principle of apportionment on the basis of illiteracy is established there is danger, if not certainty, that the same principle will determine the apportionment of future appropriations which are sure to be sought. There will then be a specific inducement to use the funds for the education of the dominant few, and to keep in ignorance as many as practicable so as to secure the greater future apportionment. It will be impossible to effectively guard against this by legal provision. Not only will the beneficent end sought thus be liable to be defeated, but a precisely opposite result encouraged.

If the apportionment is to be discriminative, it should be based upon the decrease of illiteracy or the increase of school attendance. The bounty should be placed on the thing sought, and not upon the thing sought to be removed.

I speak theoretically. I have never known educational prizes to be awarded on the basis of ignorance and indifference. I can only imagine the effect of offering a bounty upon idle and truant boys.

Superintendent Seaver, of Boston, one of the men on whom our good friend the Senator from New Hampshire lavishes a little sarcasm and the Senator from New York a good deal, as they did upon Mr. Marble, of Worcester, a gentleman of eminent professional worth—Superintendent Seaver, of Boston, says:

Like many others, I at first felt impressed by the sentimental view of this question. To sweep away illiteracy by magnificent grants of money from an overflowing national treasury seemed not only a grand enterprise within itself, but a display of patriotic generosity on the part of the Northern people towards the Southern, which could not fail to be attended with the happiest results. But this is paternal government, the objections to which have been growing clearer and clearer ever since the days of reconstruction, particularly through experience in the Southern States themselves.

Aside from the doubtful constitutionality of the Blair bill—a point which may be open to technical argument—the measure clearly involves an extension of the functions of the National Government into the domain of education, a domain that has hitherto been left in the exclusive possession of the several States; and such an extension, whether technically justifiable or not, is clearly, to my mind, a bad constitutional policy.

After presenting the constitutional argument forcibly, he adds:

We no more want a department of the General Government controlling education throughout the nation than we want a department of public worship.

He says this also, which is perfectly true:

If there were no surplus in the Treasury, no one would seriously propose to lay a tax of $79,000,000 to be collected by the National Government and distributed to the several States for educational purposes.

Now, Mr. President, there is a great deal more that might very easily be said. If Senators knew how much temptation I have resisted, they would regard leniently my assumption of so much time. A few words more.

The honorable legislation of the Continental Congress concerning the Northwestern Territory, and the equally noble and uniformly sagacious legislation of the Federal Congress in laying the foundations of future States with dedications of great areas of land to education are not to be cited in favor of this bill. Those legislators were the trustees and guardians of future empires. When the young States assumed the reins of self-government the trust was discharged and the new State became responsible to God and its own people for the dedicated wealth.

The students of the science of government, the world over, are coming to believe what our fathers believed, and the great mass of our jurists,

statesmen, and historians always believe, that the wisdom of our founders, under the blessing of Heaven, has found the true solution of the great problem of the government of large populations covering wide areas. It is in the division and decentralization of power, local self-government, and large measures of local liberty and independence, combined with a national government that, for all purposes of national life, has unrestricted power, reaching to every citizen as well as every State; that, in its internal as well as external relations, supplies that to which the individual States are severally incompetent, and to the world at large appears in the full magnificence of power appropriate to a free people near the head of the world in all the true elements of greatness.

And, while we are meditating upon measures tending to centralization the rest of the world is tending toward the positions we are asked to vacate. Great Britain, to whom the problem has been one of life and death, is shaken to the center by the debate and is meditating measures of decentralization that may at any hour develop into greater changes than any that empire has undergone for a century.

In my opinion this bill, glorious as the cause is, fascinating as the arguments in favor of education always are, is a bill drawing into Federal control an interest that from the settlement of the continent to this day has been under local control, and wisely so. It is a bill to promote mendicancy; it cultivates beggary. It is a bill declaring the failure of local self-government in one of the supreme interests of the people. It purposely declares the bankruptcy of States who before our very eyes are rich and growing. It makes an ineffectual if not a false pretense of temporary action; it would be not for eight years; it would be the beginning of a permanent policy, a permanent new relation between the Federal Government and the States, and it would never go backwards; it would never diminish its action.

I hope the bill will be defeated. I wish that every Senator could be at liberty to vote exactly as his judgment and conscience command, unfettered by the resolutions of State Legislatures or previous committals. The longer this bill is held in view the weaker it grows, and the nearer to constitutional rights, and justice, and wisdom, in my judgment, the people and Congress are coming. I am willing to see the bill defeated by any of the constitutional means—defeated by the House, defeated by the Senate, or defeated by the President.

Purchase of United States Bonds.

REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH PLUMB,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 3, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 5034) to provide for the purchase of United States bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury—

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to apply the surplus money now in the Treasury, and such surplus money as may hereafter be in the Treasury, and not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as he may consider proper, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds—

Mr. PLUMB said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This bill comes here from the Ways and Means Committee upon the supposition that there is a lack of power now in the executive department of the Government to use any part of the surplus in the Treasury in paying a premium on Government bonds. President Cleveland in his message to this House on the opening of the present Congress says:

> The only provision of law from which such a power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago, and it is subject to the suspicion that it was intended as temporary and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion and authority. * * * If it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested, and provided, as far as possible, with such checks and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.
>
> In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the surplus money accumulating in the Treasury, it should be borne in mind that premiums must of course be paid upon such purchase. * * *

The views expressed by the President as to the want of power on the part of the Government to redeem its outstanding indebtedness are held by the general public regardless of party lines, a fact which of itself renders a careful examination of the whole subject of bond redemption of the utmost importance; and it is on this account especially that I have been induced to address the House on this occasion.

Mr. Chairman, the financial condition of the country is one of peculiar gravity, such as has never before occurred in our history. We are confronted with a large and increasing surplus in our Treasury, and at the same time are in debt more than a thousand millions of dollars, three-quarters of which it is almost universally believed can not, in consequence of the requirements of existing law, be redeemed for twenty years to come, and not a dollar of it for the next four years. Influenced by this general supposition, the question, "What shall we do with the surplus?" is one of absorbing interest to all classes. The President exhausts himself in its consideration, political parties are taking sides upon it, and the whole industries of the country are threatened with revolution in consequence of the supposed existence of a law which forbids the use of the surplus for the purpose of extinguishing the debt unless outstanding bonds are purchased at any premium the holders may demand.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the ground which my investigation of this subject compels me to take is, that by existing law, as it really is to-day, a large majority, if not all, of the outstanding bonds of the United States are subject to call at the pleasure of the Government. If this be the correct view, and I hope to be able to show that it is before I sit down, the necessity and importance of the most careful investigation will be conceded by every member on this floor.

Section 3693 of the Revised Statutes provides, among other things, that "none of the interest-bearing obligations of the United States not already due shall be redeemed before maturity, unless at such time bonds of the United States bearing a less rate of interest than those to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin." This statute, it should be remembered, is a general law, designed to affect and control all issues of Government bonds. It was first enacted for the purpose of strengthening the public credit, and was carefully worded so as to cover every exigency that might in the future arise in respect to the interest-bearing public debt. Its object was and is to give to the public a solemn pledge that all bonds might be paid before maturity, in case the credit of the Government should so improve that a saving could be made to the people by the issue and sale at par of a bond drawing a less rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed.

This statute was first enacted in March, 1869, and was re-enacted in the revision of the statutes by an act approved June 22, 1874, *and again* by acts of March 2, 1877, and of March 9, 1878, which provide that—

> When printed and promulgated as herein provided, the printed volume shall be legal evidence of the laws in all the courts of the United States, and of the several States and Territories, but shall not preclude reference to nor control in case of any discrepancy the effect of any original act as passed by Congress since the 1st day of December, 1873.

Nowhere within the lids of the Revised Statutes can there be found any repeal of this act, and, what is more, as we shall see further on, nearly all legislation on the subject of issuing the bonds of the Government harmonizes with this important statute.

Mr. Chairman, lawyers in this House will agree with me that such a statute can not be repealed by implication; ay, they will go further and tell you that its provisions control all legislation on the subjects it embraces, which legislation having been passed subsequently, makes temporary provision in relation to the subject of the general law. The manifest importance of section 3693 of the Revised Statutes, its intended far-reaching control over all financial legislation both before and since March 1, 1869, the date of its enactment, can best be understood by a brief review of the historical facts which called for the passage of this act known as "An act to strengthen the public credit."

Four years had elapsed since the surrender of Lee at Appomattox; the impulse that moved all patriots to herculean efforts to preserve union and liberty, regardless of sacrifice, was resistless in its power and bequeathed to the nation a victory the grandest ever written on the page of history; but its value was secured at an immense cost. After war, peace; after peace, the accounting; and for this purpose Congress had to devise the ways and the people had to furnish the means. At the time we are considering the accounts had largely come in and had been so far adjusted as to reveal to the country a national debt of $2,500,000,000. The expenditure required by this great war was too vast in amount to be furnished by hoarded capital, and the people were called upon to pledge their property and their future earnings in the shape of Treasury notes and in interest-bearing bonds payable in such notes, so that each man and woman who contributed of their substance or their labor, each soldier who carried a musket, and each officer in command, of whatever rank, received the pledge given by all to one that this vast debt should be paid.

This pledge of the people that they would consecrate their fortunes as well as their lives and sacred honor was a scheme that the mere man of money could not comprehend, and against it he most solemnly protested, declaring again and again that money could not be made in that way; but Congress, uninfluenced by the timid counsels of capital, provided for the issue of the greenback, made it a legal tender, and the Supreme Court declared it valid. Congress went further and provided for taking up these Treasury notes and giving interest-bearing obligations of the United States in their stead, with the provision, however, that these bonds were redeemable in the same kind of Treasury notes for which they were issued, and that the interest should be in coin or in both coin and currency.

When the act to strengthen the public credit was passed there was outstanding, as stated by the then Senator Hendricks, of bonds, the interest of which was payable in coin and the principal in greenbacks, a total of $1,600,000,000. The interest on this entire debt, with the exception of $215,000,000, was at 6 per cent. At the time of which I

am speaking both bonds and greenbacks were greatly below the par of gold, a discount which, as stated by Senator Garrett Davis, amounted in the aggregate to $900,000,000—that is, if these bonds could be brought up to a par with gold it would put this vast sum into the pockets of those who held the bonds. The proposition before the country was to have Congress declare that the entire public debt should be payable in coin, and upon this question the people and their representatives in Congress were divided; not Democrats on one side and Republicans on the other, but bondholders and the moneyed men in favor and the tax-payers against it.

Mr. Chairman, it is no part of my purpose to say here which of these parties was right. I am bringing before the House the actual condition of financial affairs prior and up to March 1, 1869, at which time Congress took the initial step towards the resumption of specie payments.

Sir, this immense debt, evidenced by interest-bearing and non-interest-bearing Treasury notes, bonds payable in lawful money or greenbacks and bonds payable in coin, and above and beyond all other facts, the high rate of interest, nearly all of which was payable in coin, confronted Congress, and to meet the situation called forth a debate which for importance and ability has never been equaled in the financial history of the Government. This debate was participated in by such members of the House of Representatives as Schenck, Garfield, Stevens, Butler, Logan, and Allison, and such Senators as Sherman, Fessenden, Conkling, Doolittle, Garrett Davis, Morton, Henderson, Hendricks, and Howe, occupying a great amount of time, and was finally decided in the Senate at a late hour in the night of Saturday, February 27, 1869.

Mr. Chairman, I refer thus fully to this history to show that no effect of the act under discussion on the past, present, or future could possibly have escaped these legislators. Every word was fully considered, and without question each provision of the law expressed a purpose, in respect to which there can be no mistake.

We are now called upon to examine that provision of the act which declares that none of the interest-bearing obligations not already due shall be paid before maturity, unless at such time United States notes are convertible into coin at the option of the holder, or unless at such time bonds bearing a less rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin. This, Mr. Chairman, is plain English. In it there is no ambiguity. These words are fitly spoken—spoken in the interest of all the people by those who were duly authorized to speak; and this law, which is the law to-day, proclaims to all that whenever bonds bearing a lower rate of interest than those outstanding can be sold at par in coin the right to pay off the latter is reserved. Notice is given in this public statute to all the world that under the circumstances so minutely described this great right of sovereignty will be exercised. That nothing short of the exercise of this right was contemplated by Congress when this act was passed is shown by the words uttered by Senator SHERMAN of the committee of conference on the part of the Senate. Senator Doolittle asked:

How can you fund the 5-20 bonds, bearing 6 per cent. interest, into a bond bearing a lower rate of interest after the Congress of the United States in a public act expressly pledges the faith of the Government to pay the 5-20 bonds, principal and interest, in gold at 6 per cent.?

Senator SHERMAN answered:

My honorable friend from Wisconsin comes back and says, "How can you fund the public debt?" I will tell him. We will do it just as England does it, and just as every other country did that reduced the rate of interest. When the bonds of the United States rise above par in gold, then we can place in the money markets of the world a bond bearing a lower rate of interest.

Sir, I believe that if we would wisely and persistently, firmly and boldly march to specie payment in such a way as not to distress our people—not by increasing taxes, but by steadily appreciating our public credit until the 5 per cent. bonds rise to par in gold—the whole of the 6 per cent. bonds could be paid off. Why, sir, when the bonds of England rose to 103 per cent., 3 per cent. above par, in gold, then it was that they reduced the rate of interest 1 per cent. by putting out a bond at a lower rate of interest.

Again, replying to Senator Morton, Mr. SHERMAN concluded by saying:

I do assert, as a question of public policy, that it is wise for us now to declare in the language of this bill that the bonds and greenbacks shall alike be paid in gold as rapidly as we can do so, that these bonds and these greenbacks shall be linked together in every law that is passed, that every privilege that is given to the bondholder shall be given to the holder of the greenback, that both shall rise to the par of gold, when the bondholder may be paid off by bonds bearing a lower rate of interest, and with a large saving of interest to the people of the United States in that most oppressive form of our expenditures.

Mr. Chairman, let us next see what was said by General Schenck, manager on the part of the House, in explanation of the same conference report. I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, volume 73, page 1879:

The Senate had also struck out the following proviso as it passed the House: "*Provided, however*, That before any of said interest-bearing obligations not already due shall mature or be paid before maturity, the obligations not bearing interest and known as United States notes shall be made convertible into coin at the option of the holder."

Mr. Schenck declared that—

The Senate would not agree to anything to take the place of that proviso; but it was finally agreed by the committee of conference to insert in the place of the proviso stricken out, the following: "But none of said interest-bearing obligations not already due shall be redeemed or paid before maturity unless at such time United States notes shall be convertible into coin at the option of the holder;" that is—

Explained General Schenck—

the bonds of the United States are not to be paid before maturity, while note-holders are to be kept without their redemption, unless the note-holders are able at the same time to convert their notes into coin. But inasmuch as this might raise the price of bonds to a higher figure and be for the benefit of the bondholders, then they proceed to put in further language so as to keep the bonds from going up out of proportion to greenbacks by providing that if the bonds went above par in gold then they might be paid off; because it was supposed we could then sell bonds at a lower rate of interest. They put in these further words, "unless at such time bonds bearing a lower rate of interest than bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin."

Now, sir, is it possible to make clearer the fact that this act had in it two purposes—one in the interest of the bondholder, the other in the interest of the tax-payer? To the former it was a sure increase in the value of their bonds amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars; to the latter the promised relief in the future from taxation by a reduction of interest whenever the bonds came to be above par in coin. This guaranty to the tax-payer was not willingly conceded by the Senate, but, being insisted upon by the House, was inserted in the conference report, and because it was so inserted Mr. Stevens gave the measure his support. I repeat, Mr. Chairman, the concession to the tax-payer was this: whenever bonds could be sold at par, bearing a lower rate of interest than bonds to be redeemed, then the outstanding bonds were redeemable. That, sir, was the law then; it is the law now, as I shall proceed to show.

This act was first approved, as has been already stated, March 1, 1869. It was incorporated into the Revised Statutes with very few changes, and on the 22d of June, 1874, by enactment of Congress, made one of the statutes of the United States, general and permanent in its nature, and as such it was clothed with all the binding force that could possibly attach to it had it been voted upon in a separate bill and duly signed by the officers of the two Houses of Congress and approved by the President. In support of this view I cite the following authorities.

In the case of The United States *vs.* Bowen (100 United States Reports, page 513), Justice Miller, in delivering the opinion of the court, said:

The Revised Statutes must be treated as the legislative declaration of the statute law on the subjects which they embraced on the 1st day of December, 1873. When the meaning is plain the courts can not look to the statutes which have been revised to see if Congress erred in that revision, but may do so when necessary to construe doubtful language in expressing the meaning of Congress.

In the light of these facts and of this decision we are prepared to examine Title XLII of the Revised Statutes, which relates to the public debt. A careful reading of this entire title, containing sixteen sections, will show that it was intended to be, and is, a compilation from the various acts which had been passed from time to time prior to 1873 on all matters relating to the public debt.

If there be a doubt in the mind of any one as to this intention, it must be removed by section 5595 of the Revised Statutes, which declares:

The foregoing seventy-three titles embrace the Statutes of the United States, general and permanent in their nature, in force on the 1st day of December, 1873, as revised and consolidated by commissioners appointed under an act of Congress, and the same shall be designated and cited as the Revised Statutes of the United States.

In order to remove all question as to what acts or parts of acts were intended to be repealed by the re-enactment, section 5596 provides:

All acts of Congress passed prior to said 1st day of December, 1873, any portion of which is embraced in any section of said revision, are hereby repealed, and the section applicable thereto shall be in force in lieu thereof; all parts of such acts not contained in such revision having been repealed or superseded by subsequent acts or not being general and permanent in their nature: *Provided*, That the incorporation into said revision of any general and permanent provision, taken from an act making provisions of a private, local, or temporary character, shall not repeal or in any way affect any appropriation or any provisions of a private, local, or temporary character contained in any of said acts, but the same shall remain in force; and all acts of Congress passed prior to said last-named day, no part of which is embraced in said revision, shall not be affected or changed by its enactment.

Mr. Chairman, we are now prepared to ascertain just how much, if any portion, of the refunding act under the provisions of which all of the now outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States were issued has been repealed and how much remained in force after June 22, 1874. Remember, the repealing statute declares "that all acts of Congress passed prior to December 1, 1873, any portion of which is embraced in any section of said revision, are hereby repealed and the section applicable thereto shall be in force in lieu thereof."

Now, an examination will show that sections 3695, 3696, 3697, and 3701 re-enact several sections of the refunding act. For instance, section 6 of the refunding act contains a provision for the cancellation of bonds which have been purchased, and is re-enacted in section 3697.

Section 6 of the refunding act also has in it provisions relating to the sinking fund and the cancellation and destruction of the bonds purchased, which are re-enacted in section 3695 of the Revised Statutes. Can there be a question but that the several portions of the refunding act are embraced in the Revised Statutes? And if, in the language of the law, the enactment of any portion works a repeal, can there be any doubt but that the enactment of these several portions works a repeal? And is it not true that the sections applicable thereto are in force in lieu of the repealed sections?

It should be borne in mind that the revision took effect some three years after the funding act was passed, and more than four years before a 4 per cent. bond had been issued and before a 4½ per cent. had

been sold. Now, if there remains a question as to the fact of the statutory repeal of the refunding act, it may be further insisted that, as a general principle of law, the later act repeals by necessary implication the former. In the case of The United States *vs.* Tyman (11 Wall., 88), the court says:

> The revision of 1874, while professing to follow previous statutes, was in law a new enactment, and wherever, either by accident or design, provisions of previous law are altered in the Revised Statutes the Revised Statutes must control.

But it may be claimed that while several sections of the refunding act are repealed, thus working a repeal of "any act of Congress, any portion of which is embraced in any section of said revision," yet section 1 of said refunding act, which provides for the issuing of all of the bonds now outstanding, and fixes the date of their maturity, both provisions being temporary in their character, is thereby exempted from the repeal. If this be so, what becomes of section 3693 of the Revised Statutes? Is it made a nullity by an act of a temporary character passed prior to the date of the revision? Can general laws be made of no effect in any manner except by being repealed?

In Ellis *vs.* Page (1 Pickering, 43), the supreme court of Massachusetts said (page 45):

> It is a well-settled rule that when any statute is revised, or one act framed from another, some parts being omitted and others retained, the parts omitted are not to be revised by construction, but are to be considered as annulled. To hold otherwise would be to impute to the Legislature gross carelessness or ignorance, which is altogether inadmissible.

Another instance of the controlling effect of the Revised Statutes of the United States over pre-existing enactments is found in the case of The United States *vs.* Hammond (2 Woods, pages 197–203). It there clearly appeared that section 820 of the Revised Statutes was re-enacted by a mistake, the original law from which it was taken having been repealed before the enactment of the revision; but Judge Woods—afterward of the Supreme Court—said that

> This made no difference, and that Congress having enacted the section, whether by mistake, inadvertence, or otherwise, it was renewed and put in force from the date of the revision, even though it had previously been repealed.

It is true that in State *vs.* Stoll (17 Wall., 425), the Supreme Court held that if the provisions of a special charter or a special authority derived from the Legislature can reasonably well consist with general legislation whose words are not absolutely harmonious with it, the two are to be deemed to stand together, one as the general law of the land, the other as the law of the particular case.

In this case it would be impossible to apply that principle, because if the provisions of the refunding act (section 1) were allowed to remain in force, allowing the one thousand millions of bonds to be redeemed at the pleasure of the United States at any time within thirty years after the date of their issue, there would be nothing left for section 3693 to operate upon.

> Any construction of a statute which implies that Congress passed an act which could have no possible operation is not to be adopted. Effect must be given to all the words of a statute, and every part of it must be so construed as to give it force. (United States *vs.* Fisher, 109 United States Reports, 143.)

The case of The United States *vs.* Auffmordt (122 United States Reports, 197) is a very recent case, reaffirming the principle that—

> Where a statute is passed covering a whole general subject, it repeals all former laws governing that subject, because it takes their place and there is nothing left for the previous laws to operate upon.

But, Mr. Chairman, suppose we go further with the argument and for the sake of it concede that the provision of the funding act as published which declares the maturity of the bonds to be after thirty years from the date of their issue still remains as a temporary provision, what is its force and legal effect when construed, as it must be, in conjunction with the Revised Statutes or general law on the subject of the redemption of the bonds? Why, sir, plainly this: These bonds mature in thirty years, but the Government reserves the right to redeem them before maturity on condition that at the time bonds bearing a lower rate of interest can be sold at par in coin. There is no way to escape from this construction of the two acts, unless you insist that a temporary provision may repeal a general law which deals with the same subject—a construction which must be conceded to be entirely inadmissible.

Mr. Chairman, a careful reading of section 3693, which I have so many times referred to, demonstrates that it was the design of Congress to give it the same control over the redemption of all bonds issued after the revision, as it had and was intended to have on all bonds issued prior to March, 1869. A change was made in the revision in one word, as follows:

In the act of 1869 the text reads, "But none of said interest-bearing obligations," etc., referring, no doubt, to bonds then outstanding; whereas in the Revised Statutes Congress has been careful to strike out "said" and insert "the," so that it reads, "none of the interest-bearing obligations," etc.; which must refer to all such as were issued or to be issued under any law that had been or might be passed by Congress.

This change of terms is significant; it was not made by accident or mistake, but "said" was stricken out and "the" inserted instead for the purpose of reasserting the great right reserved to the people to avail themselves of every possible opportunity to reduce the interest on the public debt and so to reduce taxation, for that, which as Senator SHERMAN well said, "is to the people the most oppressive form of our expenditure." "None of said interest-bearing obligations" meant in the act of 1869 the 5.20 bonds and others that had already been issued, while "none of the interest-bearing obligations," which new wording took effect December 1, 1873, not only controlled existing bonds, but bonds which had been provided for by law but had not been issued, as was the case with the 4 and 4½ percents, together with any that might thereafter be issued.

Mr. Chairman, thus far it has been my purpose to make clear my understanding of the law as it is found in the statute-books, irrespective of any variance of the wording of the funding act as actually passed, from what is published in the Statutes at Large. I maintain that the act approved March 1, 1869, and re-enacted in the revision of June 22, 1874, is general law, and that none of its provisions have ever been repealed, or even attempted to be repealed; that its object was defined with the utmost clearness in the great debate which resulted in its first becoming the law, and that the object of Congress in re-enacting it is put beyond questioning by the insertion of the definite article "the" in the place of the adjective "such," as in the original act. The object was to continue in force a law which retained in the Government the right to redeem all of its outstanding interest-bearing indebtedness before maturity, on condition that at the time bonds of the United States bearing a less rate of interest could be sold at par in coin.

THE REFUNDING ACT.

I come now, Mr. Chairman, to the consideration of the act passed July 14, 1870, known as the refunding act, under which the 4 per cent. bonds, so called, were issued, and with the indulgence of the committee I will make a brief statement of facts, such as I desired to make some days ago in respect to the variance *found to exist* between the law as passed by Congress and as it is published in the Statutes at Large. An editorial in a prominent public journal, which claimed that the law as found in the statutes authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to call for redemption outstanding bonds in the order prescribed by law, caused me to investigate that question, and in doing so I determined to examine carefully the refunding act of July 14, 1870, and all the facts attending its passage. In thus pursuing the investigation I noticed that the report of the committee of conference between the two Houses on the funding bill, and which was agreed to in the House of Representatives by a yea-and-nay vote, in providing for issuing one thousand millions of 4 per cent. bonds, declared that said bonds were "redeemable at the pleasure of the United States for thirty years from the date of their issue," while in the act as published in the Statutes at Large the preposition "for" is omitted and "after" is inserted in its stead. This essential variance between the act as voted upon and as printed in the Statutes at Large so interested me that I determined to ascertain, if possible, which was correct, and for that purpose went to the State Department and there examined the enrolled bill as signed by the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate, and as approved by the President. To my great surprise I found that the word "for" as above described had been erased and the word "after" inserted in its stead, so that the enrolled bill reads "after" instead of "for."

Thinking it possible that the enrolling clerk had found that the record made by the Secretary of the Senate contained the word "after," and had made the erasure and alteration in the bill before it was signed, I next had recourse to the records made by both the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House in the original daily Journals of the proceedings of their respective bodies, a certified copy of which is before me, and in both these original records the word "for" stands unaltered, just as it was when the yeas and nays were recorded on the final passage of the bill, and presumably as it was when the enrolled bill was signed.

Mr. Chairman, it would be difficult to find in our language two words with more opposite definitions than these prepositions "for" and "after." Webster says, "The radical sense of 'for' is to go, to pass, to advance, to reach or stretch," and that it signifies "during," and Worcester adopts the same definition.

On the other hand, the same authorities define the word "after" to mean following, or later in time.

It follows, then, that as the law stands now upon the record of both Houses of Congress the bonds commonly called 4 percents are redeemable at the pleasure of the United States at any time during thirty years.

Mr. Chairman, the proposition I maintain is that in cases where there is an important variance between the records made of the wording of the law by the proper officers of the two Houses of Congress and the published copy, the records of the House and Senate must be resorted to, and if the words there recorded have a clear and distinct meaning, no resort to any other testimony to set aside that meaning is admissible, and that the law as found on such records must stand until repealed. I make this proposition in the presence of a large number of lawyers who are members of this body, and I ask them to show if they can that this is not the rule. Sir, the erroneous publication of the law does not make it a law, even though it is published and signed by the presiding officers of each House and approved by the President.

A similar question has been raised in England. In May's Treatise on Proceedings in Parliament it is said, page 554, that—

Since the assent of the Queen, Lords, and Parliament is essential to the validity of an act—

1. Will the royal assent cure all prior irregularities in the same way that the passing of a bill in the Lords would preclude inquiry as to the informalities in any previous stage?

2. Is the indorsement on the bill recording the assent of the Queen, Lords, and Commons conclusive evidence of the fact? or

3. May the journals of either house be permitted to contradict it?

The first case in which a difficulty arose was in the 33d of Henry VI.

In that case the Lords, in order to avoid certain construction as to the date on which a certain bill was to take effect, altered the date, but did not return the bill to the Commons. A motion was made to impeach the validity of the act on the ground that the Commons ought to have had the bill back. On the hearing, Chief Baron Illingworth and Mr. Justice Markham were of the opinion that if the amendment made the bill vary in effect from that which was sent up from the Commons the act would be invalid. Chief-Justice Fortescue concluded the case by saying:

This is an act of Parliament, and we will be well advised before we annul any act of Parliament, and peradventure the matter ought to wait until the next Parliament; then we can be certified by them of the certainty of the matter; but, notwithstanding, we will be advised what shall be done.

In 1829 a bill to amend the law in relation to the employment of children in factories passed the Commons and was agreed to in the Lords with an amendment, and through mistake received the royal assent, after which the amendment was agreed to by the Commons; but in order to remove all doubts an act was passed to declare that "the act shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes as if the amendment made by the Lords had been agreed to by the Commons before said act received the royal assent."

In 1843 the schoolmasters' widows' fund bill was returned to the Commons with amendments, and by mistake the bill received the royal assent. After an examination of precedents the act was made valid by a new enactment.

In this country, as in England, the assent of the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives is essential to the validity of an act, and the courts of the United States have with great unanimity held, as has been done in England, that the records made by the law-making branch of the state must be resorted to in all cases in dispute in order to ascertain what the law is.

The first to which I shall refer is entitled Town of South Ottawa *vs.* Perkins (page 261 *et supra*, 94 S. C. Reps., Otto, IV). The facts of this case occurred in my Congressionaldistrict, and, briefly stated, are these: Certain towns along the line of the Ottawa, Oswego and Fox River Valley Railroad voted bonds to the amount of nearly half a million dollars to aid in the construction of said road. The town of South Ottawa, acting under a published act of the Legislature, which was signed by the speaker of the house, the president of the senate, and approved by the governor, voted to issue, and did issue, its bonds to a large amount for the purpose indicated. These bonds were delivered to the railroad company, and by it to the contractors, who sold them to investors and used the proceeds in constructing the road. Every transaction in relation to the issuance and sale of these bonds was made in the utmost good faith. After interest had been paid on the bonds for a year or more it was discovered that the record made by the secretary of the senate of Illinois did not show affirmatively that the bill granting to these towns the authority to vote the issue of bonds as indicated above was read a third time and the yeas and nays called thereon, as the constitution of the State requires.

When the case came on for trial in an Illinois court, the town of South Ottawa offered to prove by the journals of each house of the Legislature that there was no entry in the same of a final vote by the senate on the act of February 18, 1857 (giving the town authority to vote). The testimony was objected to, and was ruled out by the court on the ground that the holder of the bonds was a bona fide purchaser of them without notice of any objection to their validity; that the first installment was paid at maturity, and therefore the defendant was estopped from offering any evidence to show that the act was not passed, the same having been duly published among the printed statutes as a law, and being, therefore, *prima facie* a valid law; in other words, although it might not have been duly passed, the town, under the circumstances of the case, was estopped from denying its passage.

Now, the Supreme Court of the United States, after stating the case in the language above quoted, say:

We can not assent to this view. There can be no estoppel in the way of ascertaining the existence of a law. That which purports to be a law of the State is either a law or it is not a law, according as the truth of the fact may be, and not according to the shifting circumstances of parties.

Further on, in the same opinion (page 269), the court lays down the general doctrine as follows:

Not only the courts but individuals are bound to know and can not be received to plead ignorance of it. The holder of the bonds in question can claim no indulgence on that score, and can take no advantage that he is a bona fide purchaser without notice.

Again, it may be urged that while the law as laid down in the above case applies to the existence of a statute, it does not apply to a case like the refunding act, in which a single provision of the act is in dispute. To which I reply that, in the opinion just quoted, the court affirms the doctrine held in the case of Gardner *vs.* The Collector (6 Wall., 511), namely:

That when a question arises in a court of law of the existence of a statute, or of the time when a statute took effect, or of the precise terms of a statute, the judges who are called upon to decide it have a right to resort to any source of information which in its nature is capable of conveying to the judicial mind a clear and satisfactory answer to such question, always seeking for that which is most appropriate, unless the positive law has enacted a different rule.

The purport of the doctrine held is clearly to the effect that no distinction can be made between the question of the existence of a statute and that of the precise meaning of terms used in a statute that has been duly passed.

In the case of Gardner *vs.* Collector (6 Wall., page 499), before referred to, the Supreme Court of the United States held that it is competent to go beyond the published statutes, and sustains the position taken by Lord Coke—

That every one is bound to take notice of what is done in Parliament, for as soon as Parliament hath concluded anything the law intends that every person hath notice thereof, for the Parliament represents the whole realm.

To this Justice Miller, by whom the opinion, to which there was no dissent, was rendered, adds:

If this proposition be sound, of which there seems to be no reason to doubt, how can it be held that the judges, upon whom is imposed the burden of deciding what the legislative body has done when it is in dispute, are debarred from resorting to the written record which that body makes of its proceeding in regard to any particular statute?

He adds, further, that the courts of last resort in several of the States have expressly decided that this may be done, and quotes—

Purdy *vs.* The People (4 Hill's N. Y., page 384): "The certificate of the secretary of state that the bill was passed by a two-thirds vote is not evidence that it was passed by a two-thirds vote; at least it is not conclusive evidence. The journals kept by the two houses may be resorted to in ascertaining whether an act was passed by a two-thirds vote."

De Bow *vs.* The People (1 Denio, page 9): "The question whether a particular act received the assent of the required number of members is to be determined by the court, who is for that purpose to examine the original law on file in the office of the secretary of state."

Fowler *vs.* Pierce (2 Cal., page 151): "The court may go behind the record evidence of a statute and inquire whether it was passed or approved in accordance with the constitution."

Matter of Wellman (20 Vt., page 656): "But it would be unsafe as it would be unfit to allow the commencement of a public law whenever the question may arise, whether at near or distant time, to depend upon the uncertainty of parol proof or upon anything extrinsic to the law and the authentic recorded proceedings in passing it."

The conclusion reached by the United States Supreme Court is as follows:

We are of the opinion, therefore, on principle as well as authority, that whenever a question arises in a court of law of the existence of a statute, or of the time when a statute took effect, or of the precise terms of a statute, the judges who are called upon to decide it have a right to resort to any source of information which in its nature is capable of conveying to the judicial mind a clear and satisfactory answer to such question; always seeking first for that which is most appropriate, unless the positive law has enacted a different rule.

I am aware that some lawyers seem to think that when a law as published has been acted upon in good faith for a long series of years it becomes binding as a law, notwithstanding it was never passed in the form in which it was published, and to support this view the case of Pease *vs.* Peck (18 Howard, page 599) will be quoted. This was a case arising in the State of Michigan where a law which was

adopted and published by the governors and judges of the then Northwestern Territory was to be in force until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved by Congress, but afterwards the Legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall see fit.

In a volume of laws so published there was contained a certain statute of limitation, which was re-enacted by a revision of the laws, but subsequently the phrase "beyond the seas" was dropped out of the statute without express legislative authority, and for thirty years the statute of limitation had been acted upon with the phrase "beyond the seas" left out. One of the parties to the case sought to give effect to the law as it was originally worded, but the court held—

When a law as published has been acknowledged by the people and received the harmonious interpretation of a long series of years, the propriety may well be doubted of referring to any ancient manuscript to show that the law as published was not an exact copy of the original manuscript.

This case and the one under discussion differ so widely in the circumstances under which they each arose that the doctrine laid down in the former case can have no bearing on the latter.

In discussing the question, Judge Grier said:

It must be remembered that there is no allegation or pretense that the act published by authority of the Legislature differs from the original reported to them and adopted by them. That is the only original, if there be any in existence, by which the printed copy could be corrected or amended. But to correct or amend the declared will of the Legislature as published under their authority by the words of a document that did not emanate from them * * * would be, in our opinion, judicial legislation and arbitrary assumption.

The language of the court thus given shows conclusively that if the same variance had been shown between a law as passed by the Legislature of Michigan and as published by their authority no such decision of the cases would have been rendered.

Having shown, as we think, conclusively that there is a total lack of authority to sustain the view that the erroneous publication of a supposed law can defeat the will of the law-making power, we shall proceed to discuss and maintain the doctrine that, in case of dispute, the record made by both Houses of Congress and approved by them can alone determine what the law is.

Mr. Chairman, the decisions of courts of the highest resort, both in this country and in England, on this question are all in one direction, and all unite in bringing us to the conclusion that the law as it stands on the records of Congress is the law, and it must be our rule of action

as long as it stands there. No accepted rule of interpretation will permit us to go elsewhere than to the words used to ascertain what the law means.

Vattel lays down in his first rule of interpretation for treaties and statutes the following:

The first general maxim is that it is not permitted to interpret what has no need of interpretation. When an act is conceived in clear and concise terms, when the sense is manifest and leads to nothing absurd, there can be no reason to refuse the sense which this act naturally presents. To go elsewhere in order to restrain or extinguish it is to endeavor to elude it.

And this rule is adopted by the United States Supreme Court in United States *vs.* Fisher (2 Cranch, 358).

Puffendorf says:

As for words, the rule is, unless there be reasonable objection against it, they are to be understood in their proper and most known signification, not so much according to grammar as to the general use of them.

Rutherford's Rules of Interpretation declare that—

Words are the common signs that mankind make use of to declare their intention to one another; and when the words of a man express his meaning plainly, distinctly, and perfectly, we have no occasion to have recourse to any other means of interpretation.

The American rule is:

Whether courts are interpreting an agreement between parties, a statute, or a constitution, the thing to seek is the thought which it expresses. To ascertain this the first resort in all cases is to the natural significance of the words employed in the order and grammatical arrangement in which they stand. If thus regarded the words embody a definite meaning which involves no absurdity and no contradiction between different parts of the same writing, then that meaning apparent upon the face of the instrument is the one alone we are at liberty to say was intended to be conveyed. In such a case there is no room for construction. That which the words declare is the meaning of the instrument, and neither the courts nor the Legislature have a right to add or to take away from that meaning. (Newell *vs.* The People, 7 N. Y., 99; McCluchey *vs.* Cromwell, 11 N. Y., 593.)

Again, in the enactment of statutes the rule of interpretation in respect to the intention of the Legislature is that when the language is explicit the courts are bound to seek for the intention in the words of the act itself, and they are not at liberty to suppose or to hold that the Legislature intended anything different than that their language imports. (Supervisors of Niagara *vs.* The People, 7 Hill, 513.)

It is useless to quote more authority on these points. It seems to be well settled that it is our duty to ascertain the exact language used by Congress in passing the refunding act, and having so ascertained it, it is equally apparent that it needs no construction, its meaning being so clear that none is required.

In concluding the legal part of my argument I submit—

1. The Revised Statutes, approved June 22, 1874, contain the law now in force pertaining to the public debt, and that any provisions of the refunding act of July 14, 1870, inconsistent with the Revised Statutes are either repealed or must be so construed as to give force and effect to said statutes; and it follows, therefore, that whenever bonds of the United States can be sold at par in coin, bearing a less rate of interest than any of the bonds which represent the outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States now bear, they are redeemable at par.

2. If there be any question as to the right of the Government to redeem or refund the 4½ per cent. bonds, there can be none as to the 4 percents, for the reason that the law as passed makes them redeemable at the pleasure of the United States at any time within thirty years from the date of their issue. Whether it be by accident or design, the law as it stands provides for the redemption of all of the 4 percents at the pleasure of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, the condition contemplated in the law has come. Bonds bearing 2½ per cent. and possibly 2 per cent. interest can be sold at par in coin to-day, and this interest burden can thus be reduced 1½ per cent. at the very least, making a saving to the tax-payer of not less than $200,000,000; and yet the opportunity of doing so is unheeded by those whose duty it is to execute the law. Why, sir, the Administration now in power has taken from the Treasury $2,852,015.88 of the tax-payers' money and handed it over to those holding Government bonds, which bonds by law are free from all tax, and for what? For the principal of these bonds? No, not that. Was it for interest? No, not for interest. If for either the debt or interest on the debt, no one could complain. For what, then, have nearly three millions been taken out of the Treasury? Why, sir, it is for a premium on these bonds. Is there any law authorizing such procedure? If so, why should it be resorted to instead of exercising the lawful right to pay these bonds before maturity, which the act of 1869 and the revision of 1874 so clearly confer?

I pass now to the consideration of further objections that I am sure will be urged against the view I have thus presented. It will be said that inasmuch as the refunding act has been so long published as reading "after thirty years," etc., transactions have been made on such reading, and it would not be just to the holders of the 4 percents, now at a premium, for Congress to insist upon authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to either issue bonds bearing a lower rate of interest for the purpose of redeeming the 4 percents, or to pay them off before the expiration of thirty years from their date; indeed, it may be claimed that to do so would be a species of repudiation, such as this Government should not permit.

Sir, this objection is entitled to the gravest consideration. Whenever the honor and integrity of the Government are at stake no good citizen will desire to have anything done that will in any degree tend to tarnish that honor or impeach that integrity.

In discussing this branch of the question, it is proper to explain at the outset that in no event can the action contemplated be made to relieve the Government from paying in full the principal and interest of its debt. If it were otherwise, I, for one, would not favor it. Every cent that the outstanding bonds call for should be paid, and will be paid. But the premium which the securities of the Government bear does not, in any legal sense, affect our duties or responsibilities. These premiums express speculative opinions of capitalists as to their value, and change from day to day, like premiums on shares and bonds of any corporation. When such corporations pay the principal and interest on their bonds and divide their net earnings on their shares no one thinks of holding them accountable for more, and yet we shall, no doubt, be charged with a want of equity if we avail ourselves of the law and proceed to refund the debt so as to save $200,000,000 to those who pay the taxes.

What is equity? It is defined to be an impartial distribution of justice. Now, let us for a moment see how this impartial distribution of justice stands historically between the bondholder and tax-payer in reference to the very debt which led to the issuing of these 4 percents. This indebtedness was incurred to put down a rebellion at a cost of more than $6,000,000,000. From whence came this vast sum? Only a moiety of it was advanced by the capitalists of the country. It was furnished in the main by employing the credit of the whole people, in the form of the Treasury note. This immense debt has been nearly extinguished, not by the capitalists, but by that great middle class from which the ranks of the Army were filled. They are the men who left their homes and their business—alas! how many never returned to home or business—and for love of country, not for pay, saved liberty from its peril, and made property secure. Where then were the men of wealth, the bondholders of to-day? They were busy at home, they speculated on disturbances in values caused by war, and on the inflation prices inevitable when the public credit has to be used to such an extent as the great war demanded, and, of course, they alone became the owners and holders of Government bonds.

The following table, showing where our outstanding registered bonded debt is held, the amounts held, and the total thereof, is from the report of the Register of the Treasury, 1887:

Bonds.	Foreign.	Treasurer United States for national banks.	Domestic.	Total.
4 per cent	$7,261,850	$129,792,850	$484,833,950	$621,888,650
4½ per cent	3,739,950	79,141,600	124,099,600	206,981,150
Pacific railroad		3,481,000	61,142,512	64,623,512
Total	11,001,800	212,415,450	670,076,062	893,493,312

Of the $670,076,062 under heading "Domestic"—

Insurance companies hold in round numbers	$55,500,000
Savings-banks, institutions, etc., round numbers	209,000,000
Individuals, trustees, etc	405,576,062
Total	670,076,062

Of the entire $893,493,312, only $11,001,800, a little over 1.23 per cent., is held abroad.

There are about 48,708 individual and trustee holders, representing $405,576,062, or an average of $8,327 each.

In addition to the registered bonds outstanding as enumerated above, there are—

Outstanding of the funded loan of 1891	$38,588,550
Outstanding of the funded loan of 1907	112,300,450
Total	150,889,000

This shows that of the people of the United States about one individual holds bonds to twelve hundred that are not bondholders.

This table of registered bonds shows, in the main, how the public debt is distributed, although the unregistered bonds can not, of course, be traced to the actual holder.

It will be seen that some two hundred and ten millions belong to national banks and savings institutions, while fifty-five millions are the property of insurance companies, leaving only four hundred and five millions in round numbers in the hands of individuals, largely, no doubt, wealthy men. It is said that one hundred millions of these securities are held by the representatives of one of the largest estates in America. It is not likely that those interested in this estate care to avail themselves of the premiums, and therefore will not suffer loss on that account, save in the rate of interest; but if it were so, could that fact furnish an equitable justification for the burden which, to refuse the legislation contemplated, would be put on the labor interests of the country?

Men of wealth are not all sordid, and as a rule they understand the necessity and propriety of complete submission to the law as it stands

on the statute-book, for it is only when law is supreme that property is secure. The banker is too intelligent to suppose that in the long run the interests of his most important branch of commercial affairs can best be promoted by suffering any injustice to be done to the industrial wealth producer upon whose prosperity the bank depends for support and profit. It is, moreover, pertinent to observe that in a large degree the premium on Government securities will not be made available to these holders in the form of premiums, for the reason that they are intended to be kept by them until by lapse of time the premium will fade away. Complaint will only come from those who are unwilling that a rate of interest 1½ per cent. per annum higher than such investments would now command—and which through a failure to invoke the law has been paid them for some years—should not be continued for twenty years more.

Mr. Chairman, I have referred to these two parties in interest in this matter not for the purpose of arraying one body of citizens against another. The object should be to cause each one to feel and acknowledge the equal importance of all those who go to make up the grand mosaic work of the social compact we call government.

The capitalist and the laborer are dependent upon each other, and both require the aid of intellect and skill, and I am sure that both capital and labor have a deep interest in heartily acknowledging this fundamental truth. Can the hand say to the foot, "I have no need of thee?" As well can capital say to labor, or labor to capital, "My interests are not yours." Surely "all are but parts of one stupendous whole," and a government like ours can not stand without honestly adopting in legislation the great principle of equity to all classes and conditions among its citizens.

Mr. Chairman, the facts to which I have referred point to the necessity and propriety of guarding well the interests of the great body of the people upon whom the burden of taxation must necessarily rest. If they are to love, cherish, and defend the Government that is over them it will be because their rights and their interests are not neglected, and because the scales of justice are evenly poised between the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the laborer. The people of this country are not anarchists, and they will never become such if equity prevails in the administration of public affairs.

It can not be denied that upon every principle of right as between the tax-payer and the bondholder, the former is entitled to the saving which can be secured to him by such legislation as it now fairly lies in our power to adopt. To be sure, the bondholder will lose his expected premium, but did the Government promise him a premium? No. The Government promised the principal of the bond with interest, and that is precisely what the Government will pay in any event. Is there the shadow of repudiation in such a fulfillment of the promise of the Government? Is it equitable to insist that the tax-payer shall lose over two hundred millions, which the enhanced credit of the Government enables us to save? I think not.

Mr. Chairman, this is in no sense a party question; it is more a question of financial justice. The refunding act was passed seven years before a 4 per cent. bond was issued under its provisions; and when it was enacted it was not expected that these bonds would command a premium, and the right of the Government to redeem them seemed to have no special significance; but as time went on the people, strengthened by the great struggle through which they had passed, again at peace, marching together, a triple alliance of enterprise, capital, and labor, caused this country to make strides in material prosperity such as was never before witnessed on this globe. Farms, mines, mills, and factories were multiplied, new Territories were occupied, new States erected, railways and telegraphs were projected in every direction, and a surplus of wealth was created which, in the form of money, sought safe investment at low rates of interest. Then it was that these bonds found ready takers at home; less than 1½ per cent. of those outstanding being held abroad—as shown by the report of the Register of the Treasury, already quoted. These bonds now bring a high premium, mainly because the value of interest on Government securities, which like these are free from tax, is not to exceed 2½ per cent. per annum. In other words, it is their tax exemption and the unquestioned quality of the bonds that give them a value beyond par and interest, which is denominated premium, and which has reached 25 per cent.

This enormous premium, it is conceded, will fade away whenever the 4 percents are either redeemed or refunded; but has the bondholding class earned the right to have this premium continued to them at the expense of the tax-payer? Is it the duty of Government to withhold such action now as will put an end to such injustice? Shall we, by refusing a remedy that clearly lies within our reach, burden the people of the country with a tax of over $11,000,000 annually for twenty years to come, for the sole benefit of bondholders, who as a class "toil not, neither do they spin?" To do this would not be, I greatly fear, an impartial distribution of justice.

We shall be told, moreover, that these bonds were sold by the Treasury Department or its agents, with a promise that they were redeemable only after thirty years from the date of issue, and that we are in honor bound to fulfill that promise, even though it be clearly shown that no authority of law was in existence for making it.

Sir, when the act of March 1, 1869, was passed, and over sixteen hundred millions of bonds, which by law were redeemable in paper money, were thereby turned into coin bonds—a performance that put untold millions into the pockets of the bondholders—the same claim was made in justification of the procedure. Then, as now, it was urged that the agents of the Treasury Department had made promises and representations upon which the bondholders relied when they bought the bonds. Of this justification Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, then declared:

> What is said of promises made by the Secretary of the Treasury or his agents that bonds would be redeemed in specie, is so far absurd that no respectable lawyer would venture to urge it in a court of justice. The act of Congress, which was the Secretary's power of attorney, was in the hands of the capitalist, and his counsel was bound to know what the law was.

So in the case we are considering. If the bondholder, in defiance of these well-settled propositions, decided to risk his chances for a premium on the mere insertion in the bond of statements not authorized by the law, he did so at his peril, and no principle of law or equity will justify us in insisting that the tax-payer is bound to make good his mistake.

Mr. Chairman, the President has told us of his misgivings in paying a premium on bonds and asks for definite authority; and, sir, I have no reason to doubt but that the Executive and his legal advisers will indorse the correctness of the views I have here advocated as to the law as it stands; hence the solicitude, and hence the request that "the authority should be plainly vested."

Sir, the first step to be taken in compliance with this request should be to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to obey the law. He should be instructed to use any surplus in the Treasury available for the reduction of the debt in redeeming the outstanding bonds in the order of their issue. This done and the reduction of the surplus is assured, and the fear of a dangerous stringency in the currency, either in Wall street or in the country at large, will no more vex the President nor his Secretary of the Treasury. This policy inaugurated and it will not be necessary to destroy the productive industries of the country in order to reduce the surplus; but in ten more years the great war debt will have been wiped out, and none will sigh for its return, unless it be those bondholders who love a long bond, issued by a rich government, with good interest, free from all tax, and at a high premium.

If, on the other hand, Mr. Chairman, we enact this bill into a law and authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to go into the market and buy the bonds of the United States, what a spectacle will be made of the financial policy of the Government. The Secretary of the Treasury in the stock market, sometimes a bull, sometimes a bear, operating for a fall in premiums in the name of the people. Sir, the very idea is ridiculous. Can you call this statesmanship without blushing? Why, sir, the Hon. JOHN SHERMAN expressed true statesmanship when he, in the great debate to which I have already referred, insisted that we would follow the example of the British Government in this respect, and whenever the rate of interest could be lowered it would be done.

Public funds should never be permitted to rise enough above par to bear any considerable premium. Such a condition of things tends to increase the value of money, which is always an additional burden on productive industry. The lower the rate of interest the easier it will be for our manufacturers to compete for the markets of the world, and it is the duty of this Government to at least set the example of paying as low a rate of interest as money is worth for securities of like quality; and we all know that there are none better on the globe than the bonds of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me we can take no middle ground. Either we must repeal the law or we must call for its enforcement. By enforcing it we shall establish a principle in finance of great value to the sovereign people, the right to reduce the interest rate on the public debt to the lowest possible point, and to rid themselves of the debt when they are able to do so without burdensome taxation. It would, moreover, mark the beginning of a new era in the relations that have hitherto existed between money and the people. Long enough in the history of the world has money been the master and the people the slave, and it is time to inaugurate a change and make money the servant and tool of the people; not by disregarding law, but by strict obedience thereto; not by demanding aught that justly belongs to money or to those who possess it, but by insisting that a just regard shall be had for that great host of wealth producers which make up the body of our people from the humblest wage-worker through all classes to the business man and banker.

Mr. Chairman, why break faith with the people and refuse to perform the solemn pledge made to them on March 1, 1869, and reiterated June 22, 1874—a standing proclamation of the law to-day; a promise which binds us to reduce to a minimum the rate of interest on the public debt, and retains the right to pay it off when we can? If any part of the contract is to be declared off, why not let other parts go also, and go back to the agreement then made, to pay the bonds off in lawful money, greenbacks? That was the very condition upon which the bonds were first issued. Do this, if you will, and then as we have ability to pay, and as the business of the country demands currency, take up the bonds with Treasury notes, redeemable as they now are in coin. Let them take the place of bank notes, but do not, I implore you, refuse the people the right to reduce the rate of interest, while

you insist in violation of the agreement in permitting the bondholder to hold his bonds for twenty years to come. Remember the great body of the people for whom we are legislating are too intelligent to be deceived in this matter. They may be, many of them, plain people, as Lincoln called them; they may necessarily be busy with their own every-day affairs, or they may be wage-workers; but, thank Heaven, we have advanced to a period in which every public act is known and intelligently scrutinized by the citizen, of whatever condition in life he may be. The common school, the press, and the telegraph have put it beyond the power of those in authority to bind with impunity burdens upon the people beyond their own convictions of what is just.

Mr. Chairman, I am constrained to believe that every member on this floor is willing and anxious to vote for the fulfillment of the pledges of the law, and that the defeat of this bill will so show. As for me, never so long as I have a vote here will I cast it in favor of securing to the holders of Government bonds a premium thereon at the expense of the tax-payer.

Under any circumstances such a vote would be unadvisable, and doubly so when, as now, the solemn declaration of the law is that it need not be done. Such a vote is nothing short of taxing one class for the benefit of another, and is properly characterized by the language of the Supreme Court of the United States in the following words:

To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it on favored individuals to aid private enterprises and to build up private fortunes, is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation.

Mr. Chairman, my contention is—

1. That the refunding act as published names a time at which the bonds issued under it mature, and that section 3693 of the Revised Statutes, which was enacted subsequent to the refunding act, and before any of the 4½ and 4 percents were issued, was intended to and does control all the provisions of the refunding act in respect to the redemption of said bonds before maturity.

2. That the statute referred to contains a clear and express provision for the redemption of these bonds before maturity on the conditions named therein.

3. That the conditions necessary to the lawful exercise of the right to redeem these bonds have transpired and now exist.

4. That as if to remove all possible doubt as to the right to redeem now the bonds known as 4 percents, a correct reading of the refunding act as passed shows that they were made redeemable at the pleasure of the United States at any time during thirty years from the date of their issue; so that,

5. Beyond all question the $735,000,000 of outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the Government known as 4 per cent. bonds are redeemable at the pleasure of the United States; and

Finally, that existing law, the eternal principle of equity, the highest industrial interests of the people, as well as true political economy, demand that the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to use the surplus in the Treasury applicable to the reduction of the public debt in redeeming these bonds.

War Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES D. RICHARDSON,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 9, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 2952) for the allowance of certain claims for stores and supplies taken and used by the United States Army, as reported by the Court of Claims under the provisions of the act of March 3, 1883, known as the Bowman act—

Mr. RICHARDSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Before beginning the discussion of this bill, I desire to thank the House in behalf of the claimants interested for the kindness to them and the courtesy to myself in giving unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The claims included in this bill, which is known as the omnibus bill, are all for stores and supplies furnished to the Army of the United States during the war. This fact has been found in each case by the Court of Claims, a court charged with the express duty of making such investigation under the act of March 3, 1883, known as the Bowman act. The preliminary inquiry in each case was as to the loyalty of the claimant. That fact has been found favorably by the Court of Claims in all these claims; and, in addition to that fact, the finding is further that the claim is just, and in each case is for supplies furnished the Union Army during the late war between the States.

Mr. LANHAM. How many claims are embraced in this bill?

Mr. RICHARDSON. There are about thirty-five, of which twenty-five belong to the State of Tennessee. In order that there may be no misunderstanding, I want to say, in addition, that the findings of fact by the Court of Claims in each case are carefully certified by that court under its seal. There was a finding in each case. These findings of the Court of Claims were submitted to this House during the Forty-ninth Congress and were regularly referred to the Committee on War Claims, of which I was then a member. Each case was considered by that committee upon the findings of the Court of Claims, and unanimously reported by myself from that committee to the House. They have been again unanimously reported in this omnibus bill, which I had the honor to introduce into this House on January 4th, 1888, by the Committee on War Claims of the present House.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. May I ask my colleague a question?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITTHORNE. Are not the methods pursued by this bill precisely the methods pursued in the disposition in the House of the 4th of July claims?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Precisely, except that, as the House will understand, the findings in the 4th of July claims are by the Quartermaster-General of the Army through his agents. In these cases the facts are found by a court of competent jurisdiction—the Court of Claims—composed of five judges, able and learned in the law. The claims are regularly prosecuted in that court, the United States Government being represented in each case by an Assistant Attorney-General and the claimant by his attorney. The proceedings are conducted much as if they were cases in a chancery court.

Mr. HOLMAN. I notice that the claim of Urias Buskirk, of West Virginia, is one of the claims included in this bill. Now, that State is one of the States embraced under what is known as the 4th of July law. It has been classified as one of the loyal States. Citizens of that State and of Tennessee were entitled to a hearing before the Quartermaster-General and the Commissary-General for supplies taken by the Army and the Navy for the use of the United States.

Mr. LANHAM. Did that apply to old Virginia, or only to certain counties in old Virginia?

Mr. HOLMAN. It applied to what is known as the State of West Virginia. It is important, therefore, whether any of these claims have been considered by the Quartermaster-General and the Commissary-General, and, if so, what was their finding? It is a well-known fact that some $70,000,000 of claims were filed before the Quartermaster-General and the Commissary-General, and that those claims continued to be filed as late as 1879, when the limitations applied. Under that law the Quartermaster-General and the Commissary-General were clothed with ample authority to send out agents for the purpose of taking testimony wherever it was necessary in the investigation of these claims. I would like to ask the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] whether he thinks, where claims were considered before the Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General for supplies taken for the use of the Army, they having such ample authority under the 4th of July law to send out agents in all directions to procure whatever testimony was necessary, it is not now desirable we should know just exactly what was the finding upon the cases which were examined, and why, if cases were not investigated, they were not brought to the attention of those tribunals within the time limited by the law?

Mr. RICHARDSON. I will endeavor to answer the gentleman from Indiana as fully as I can. He asks if the claims are barred by law. The third section of the Bowman act has this provision:

Nor shall the said court have jurisdiction of any claim against the United States which is now barred by virtue of the provisions of any law of the United States.

With this provision in the law I am quite sure that court would not take jurisdiction of a claim barred under any law. The claim to which he refers was carefully considered in the Committee on War Claims of the last Congress upon the findings of the Court of Claims, and, as I have remarked, was favorably reported. In addition to that fact I submit this principle to the gentleman from Indiana: That even if this case had been considered at one time by either the Quartermaster-General or the Commissary-General and disallowed—which I do not admit is the case—he must remember that the claim has been properly referred, for sufficient reason, under the Bowman act, to the Court of Claims, a court organized for the express purpose of investigating all facts raised in this case. This court is better prepared, better equipped, and better qualified to pass upon all the questions involved in the claim, including that of loyalty and of the justice of the claim, and, indeed, in every respect as to its merits, than the Commissary-General or the Quartermaster-General.

I say this because the United States in this court is represented by counsel and the claimant by counsel. I have felt all along, while a member of the Committee on War Claims and in the discharge of my duties as a member of this House, that it was not necessary for me to go back of the findings of the Court of Claims, where that tribunal had examined a claim, and investigate the facts in the claim, or to ascertain if the agent of the Quartermaster-General or the Commissary-General was more entitled to be depended upon for a true finding of the facts than the Court of Claims. It is well known that these agents were not qualified for such examinations. I prefer, in the discharge of my duties

as a member of Congress, to take the finding of this court, composed of efficient judges with ample powers and organized for the express purpose of examining into these claims, because I know they are clothed with ample facilities for such investigation.

Mr. HOLMAN. I wish to ask the gentleman from Tennessee another question while he is upon the floor, and it is this: How do the amounts reported by the Court of Claims compare with those of the claims when originally presented?

Mr. RICHARDSON. The Committee on War Claims found that in nearly every case the Court of Claims cut down the claims and allowed only a small proportion of the amount asked. In some cases they allowed the full amount, but in most of them the claims were largely reduced. I will add further that prior to the beginning of this Congress a little over two thousand cases arising out of the war had been referred by Congress to the Court of Claims, and that court have been so careful in their consideration, so particular and so rigid in applying the principles of the law in these cases, that less than 10 per cent. of all such so referred to it have been passed upon favorably, and so reported back to Congress.

Mr. LANHAM. In regard to the claim of J. R. McKinnie, administrator of David McKinnie, deceased, of Hardeman County, Tennessee, I do not discover from the reading of the report that there was any finding by the Court of Claims that the claimant was loyal. The other reports that have preceded this have shown that that fact of loyalty was found by the court. There was a question originally as to the loyalty of this claimant, and the court failed to find that he was loyal. In view of that fact I think we should strike out that paragraph of the bill relating to the claim of McKinnie.

Mr. RICHARDSON. In reply to the gentleman from Texas I desire to call his attention to section 4 of the Bowman act, under which this claim was considered by the Court of Claims. It is true, as the gentleman has stated, that the court has not set out as one of its findings the loyalty of the claimant. But if the gentleman will turn to section 4 of the Bowman act he will find the court is prohibited from entering upon consideration of the claim until the fact of loyalty is established. Section 4 of the Bowman act is as follows:

SEC. 4. In any case of a claim for supplies or stores taken by or furnished to any part of military or naval forces of the United States for their use during the late war for the suppression of the rebellion, the petition shall aver that the person who furnished such supplies or stores, or from whom such supplies or stores were taken, did not give any aid or comfort to said rebellion, but was throughout that war loyal to the Government of the United States, and the fact of such loyalty shall be a jurisdictional fact; and unless the said court shall, on a preliminary inquiry, find that the person who furnished such supplies or stores, or from whom the same were taken as aforesaid, was loyal to the Government of the United States throughout said war, the court shall not have jurisdiction of such cause, and the same shall, without further proceedings, be dismissed.

Now, the question of loyalty is a jurisdictional question. It is not necessary for the Attorney-General of the United States to appear and file a plea of want of loyalty. The law itself files that plea; and the Court of Claims, until the fact of loyalty is fully established, declines to enter into the consideration of the merits of the claim.

Contrary to the general practice in courts there are two investigations by this court; first, as to the question of loyalty——

Mr. OATES. Is not the gentleman mistaken as to the question of loyalty being a jurisdictional fact? Does that cut any figure in the case at all, unless the act requiring the reference, or under which the reference was made, required proof of loyalty? Otherwise it cuts no figure whatever, as decided by the Supreme Court.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] is correct as to the practice in some cases—that is, where claims are referred by an act of Congress; but there is no act referring this case to the Court of Claims. It is referred by a committee of this House under the Bowman act, which provides that in all cases referred under it by a committee of Congress the fact of loyalty must be first ascertained before the court can consider the claim. Therefore the question of loyalty is a jurisdictional question. The law itself makes it a jurisdictional question. Of course, it is understood that I had nothing to do with the making of that law. I would probably not lay so much stress upon the question of loyalty as is done in that law if I had my way about it. But as a member heretofore of the Committee on War Claims, I recognized, and as a member now of the House I recognize the full force and effect of that law, and expect to be governed by it in all these cases. Now, Mr. Speaker, as I was about to state when interrupted, the court first hears each claim upon the plea of loyalty; and unless by affirmative proof the claimant overcomes the difficulty in that respect and establishes his loyalty throughout the war—not from the time of taking the oath, as in the 4th of July cases, but throughout the war—the court decline to enter upon the consideration of the case under the Bowman act. Therefore, while the court have not set out in their report that they found affirmatively that this claimant was loyal, they could not, under the law as an intelligent court, and would not, and, I undertake to say, did not enter upon the consideration of the case until the claimant was found to have been loyal.

When the question of loyalty is established to the satisfaction of the court, then the case is remanded to the rules, as it were, in chancery practice. The case is not proceeded with. The court does not go on to try the case upon its merits, but it remands it, just as a chancellor does when he remands a case for additional proof. It is sent back to the rules, to a separate docket, and then it is that the case is tried upon its merits. Proof is introduced; witnesses for the claimant are examined by his attorney and cross-examined by the United States Attorney-General; witnesses for the Government are introduced by the Attorney-General and cross-examined by the attorney for the claimant, and this second trial of the case is upon its merits. Now, sir, there is no case in this bill that has not undergone both these investigations; first a preliminary one to establish the loyalty, and then, that being affirmatively established, a second trial upon the merits of the case. I hope the gentleman will not make a motion to strike out the item mentioned.

Mr. LANHAM. It seems from the reading of the report of the Court of Claims that the Commissary-General was not satisfied at the time as to the loyalty of this claimant, and there is an omission in the report of the Court of Claims to make any statement whatever with reference to the question of loyalty. In all the other cases that have preceded this one in the bill I believe the fact of loyalty has been affirmatively set forth by the court.

Mr. CATCHINGS. The gentleman is mistaken about that. There was a case the other day in which the same omission occurred, and attention was called to it by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], but he finally conceded that it was not necessary that the fact of loyalty should be set out in the report, because it was a jurisdictional fact.

Mr. LANHAM. I had not noticed that, but in view of this case as it stands I think that we ought to have some affirmative showing as to this claimant's loyalty.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Now, then, sir, the House having gone over all the claims included in the pending bill, I desire to add a few words to what I have already said in the running debate thereon. I will first speak of the 4th of July claims in order that members may get the distinction between such claims and those included in this bill which may be better termed Court of Claims cases. The 4th of July claims arise in this way: When the armies of the United States were in the field during the late war between the States it was almost invariably the case that the quartermasters and commissaries could not give legal or formal vouchers for the supplies taken from the people for the support of the Army. Early recognizing this fact, in 1864, on the 4th day of July, Congress passed a bill authorizing the payment for stores and supplies taken from citizens of the loyal States, when proof was made before the Quartermaster-General and the value of these stores established.

In 1866 this privilege was extended, first, to some counties of West Virginia, and then to the State of Tennessee. In each case the claimant was required to establish that he had been loyal to the date of the taking of his property. In 1871 Congress established the Southern Claims Commission and provided for payment for stores and supplies taken in all the States in insurrection. The investigation by the Quartermaster-General under the 4th of July act, as it was called, was conducted mainly by him, with the assistance of agents furnished him by Congress to conduct the investigation, to inquire into the property so taken in the vicinity where the claims arose. In many, if not in all, such instances these investigations were made without any proper or legal hearing, made by these agents, who were without legal education and training, and for some years after the close of the war by agents full of prejudices against the claims.

It is true that a large number of the claims thus investigated by these agents of the Quartermaster-General's Department were allowed and paid, but very, very many were rejected. Many of these rejected cases have been brought before Congress year after year, session after session by claimants asking relief. We all know that Congress has been in the past almost overwhelmed with private bills and petitions for the relief of these claimants, and efforts have been made to take them away from Congress and place them before some court or forum having jurisdiction to legally try and determine them. Both President Grant and President Hayes recommended the reference of these claims to a court. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bristow, and his successor, Mr. Sherman, the Quartermaster-General, and nearly every official of the Executive Departments having charge of these matters have recommended that a court of competent jurisdiction should be required to pass upon these cases and finally adjudicate them.

At last, after many efforts, on March 3, 1883, the act known as the Bowman act was passed by Congress. This act provides that all these claims, along with others, may be referred to the Court of Claims, but it requires that the claimant shall prove his loyalty throughout the entire war, as a jurisdictional question, while under the 4th of July act, as it is called, a claimant could recover if he showed that his property was taken after he had taken oath of allegiance to the Government; yet under this Bowman act the claimant is required to prove beyond doubt that he was loyal from the beginning to the close of the war. As I have already remarked, about 2,025 such claims have been referred by committees of Congress, under the Bowman act, to the Court of Claims. Less than 10 per cent. have been favorably reported back to Congress by that court. All these set forth in the pending bill have been so referred by Congress and reported back by that court.

Now, Mr. Speaker, these men had been for years importuning Con-

gress, session after session, for relief; had failed to get it, and finally Congress said to them by the Bowman act, "You shall have a hearing in the Court of Claims." They have had it, and that at very considerable expense, because the testimony in the Court of Claims has to be taken with proper observations of the forms of law, attorneys must be employed, and all the expenses incident to a court trial must be incurred, and have been incurred. The cases are reported back here, the amount due each one definitely ascertained after judicial investigation, and Congress is asked to pay them. Case after case has come back here from that court, after a full investigation under the act of Congress, has been sent to the proper committee, favorably reported upon, and yet no final action taken by Congress.

As a member of the Forty-ninth Congress, near the close of its last session I attempted to do what should have been done long before, in my judgment, that is, take all of these cases, put them in one bill, and pass them. But that bill failed. I have made the same effort again in the pending bill. Here, sir, are men who, twenty-five years ago, furnished to the armies of the United States the food and transportation necessary to sustain those armies in the field, without which they could not have been sustained, and which could not have been obtained elsewhere or under other circumstances. These claimants have been suppliants at the feet of Congress since that time for the pay due them, begging, pleading, and urging payment of their just claims; and yet the representatives of the people in Congress have refused and failed in the discharge of what I think was their duty—to pay them. After years of effort Congress decided that these claims could not be properly investigated while pending here, but should be judicially investigated, and it sent them to the Court of Claims for such investigation, and impliedly, at least, in doing so, it pledged itself to the payment of whatever amounts might be determined by that court to be due.

The express object of the Bowman act, as shown, was to give relief to Congress by taking claims involving controverted questions of fact from Congress to that court. I shall not, in asking for a reason why we do not respect the findings of that court, pronounce any eulogy upon its members. But, so far as my opinion goes, and for whatever it may be worth, I do say it is a judicial tribunal thoroughly qualified to pass upon just such cases as these. It is composed of five judges of ability and long training, men who have for years been engaged in this class of work, and who, I may safely say, can not be imposed upon in the investigation of these cases.

The findings of this court are entitled to greater consideration when we know that there are, besides the judges, trained and skillful attorneys looking after the interests of the United States. Congress does not refuse to allow these claims because there is not sufficient money in the Treasury with which to pay them. What, then, may I ask, causes the delay and the refusal to pay these claimants, the claims of men who are asking, not for mercy, but simple justice? I will not say it is demagogy, but I will say that it is not, in my opinion, creditable to Congress and to the American people that citizens are thus treated. The time has fully arrived when the United States can afford to be honest and decent with all creditors.

We should treat all subjects with absolute impartiality. But let me ask, while this class of creditors are thus treated, how is it with those who hold the bonds of the Government? As a class the latter are rich and powerful, the moneyed people, and the corporations of the country. The former are poor and with comparatively small estates and incomes. With the latter, that is, the rich and powerful, in advance of the maturity of his claim, three, four, five, eight, or ten days, the Secretary of the Treasury—and Congress approves his act—writes the check for the interest due and forwards it so that even before the day it shall become due the wealthy creditor holds in his hand, delivered to him at his own door, the check for his money. But it is the poor and lowly, the men who toil in the field, on the farm, and in the factory, who have not, like Shylock, the bond to present to the Government—they must be compelled to wait, and beg, and plead for their money and then possibly not get it. It seems, sir, that Congress dare not refuse to pay the banks and bondholders, yet does not hesitate to impose upon other creditors equally as deserving and meritorious.

The late Senator Sumner, speaking of this question, once said, "We have the meanest Government in the world," and the late Senator Morton, on January 12, 1869, said:

> Let me take the case of a Union man in the South, who has borne the heat and the burden of the civil war; who has been persecuted, and who has sustained all those hardships that we know were incident to the condition of a Union man in the South during that war. To say that we will treat him as a public enemy and that we will refuse to pay him for his property, deliberately taken by the Government, when, under the same circumstances, we would pay a man living in the North for his property taken by the Government, is revolting to the plainest principles of justice. I can not subscribe to any such doctrine.

In my judgment it is the duty of this House to pass this bill. It is five years since the Bowman act was passed, and, so far, not a solitary man has been paid one dollar under the provisions of that act. Three years ago and more that court began to report the facts in cases similar to these that had been examined into, and yet, for some inexplicable reason to me, so far Congress has made no appropriation for them. I do not think Congress can longer afford to pursue such a course. It can not afford to be dishonest with the citizens of the United States. As I am now, sir, asking this small boon, comparatively speaking, for my people, and what has heretofore been denied and refused them, it will not, I trust, be deemed inappropriate for me to refer briefly to immense benefits so freely voted by Congress to another class of its citizens—I mean ex-soldiers, who are receiving such munificent bounty from the Government in the shape of pensions.

It would seem from the amounts thus voted that Congress feels it can not do enough in that direction.

The contrast is striking, yet why should it be?

The war could not have been fought without soldiers. Soldiers could not exist without the very supplies and stores furnished them by the claimants in this bill, and others of like character.

Why then discriminate?

Why applaud the man who fought, yet turn a deaf ear to the man who fed him that he might fight?

Is it because the one lives North and the other South?

Congress rushes to the front to pay the pensioner, and is equally as prompt, if not more so, to pay the bondholder, but the plowholder who toiled and labored the year round to plant and till and gather his crop, saw it all taken by his Government, to which he was always devoted and loyal, yet his claims are ruthlessly and insultingly brushed aside and rejected.

These citizens reside largely in my State because it was the theater of war so long and was so continuously occupied by the Union armies.

Ungrudgingly and without serious complaint they meet the onerous and exorbitant rate of taxation laid upon them by the high protective tariff under which we live.

They are taxed not to raise taxes, but to protect and build up monopolies and add wealth to wealth four, five, and ten fold, and, though thus ground down and imposed upon, they struggle on. I will be pardoned if I say under such circumstances they should feel that a just and benignant Government should not refuse them so fair and honest a demand when it is comparatively so small a pittance.

As I have already stated, the pending bill provides for about thirty-five claimants. Of this number twenty-five are citizens of my own State, and the amount which they will receive if this bill becomes a law is the sum of $84,092.16.

Since entering this House as a member of the Forty-ninth Congress, my first term, it has been my pleasure, as it was made my duty by reason of my assignment to the Committee on War Claims of that Congress, to investigate with some care the provisions in the laws of Congress for the allowance of Southern war claims. I find, sir, that members on this floor have not given close attention to these laws. I desire therefore now to repeat possibly something which I may have already said in regard to these various acts of Congress passed for the allowance of these claims. First, then, was the act of July 4, 1864. The first section of that act denied jurisdiction to the Court of Claims over such claims. The second section made the Quartermaster-General's Office the place for the settlement of claims for quartermaster's stores. The third section made the Commissary-General's Office the place for the settlement of claims for commissary's supplies. Only the claims of loyal citizens in States not in insurrection could be passed upon by the Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General.

In 1866 Congress extended the provisions of this act to certain counties in West Virginia, and on July 28 of that year extended its provisions to the loyal citizens of Tennessee. Under that act claimants furnished their testimony by *ex parte* testimony or affidavits and any vouchers that they might have received from any officers of the Army who had regularly, not wantonly, taken and used their stores and supplies. The Government took its proof by means of special agents sent out into the field to investigate claims, who inquired secretly, and so reported; it not being until the act of June 5, 1880, that claimants or their attorneys were allowed to be present and cross-examine witnesses before these special agents.

It is a fact, and will not be denied by any one, that the reports of these agents when made were considered and held to be confidential, their contents were not to be disclosed, and the claimants and their attorneys were denied access to these reports. This was the mode of procedure for sixteen years, and was certainly contrary to the genius of our institutions. As for the Commissary-General, no law was passed allowing him special agents, and consequently he did not investigate the claims by himself or such agents. He acted only on such claims as were supported by vouchers or affidavits furnished by officials. These remarks refer to 4th of July claims.

I desire now to refer to the Southern Claims Commission, which was organized under act of March 3, 1871. This commission was given jurisdiction over claims for stores and supplies of loyal citizens in the States that had been declared in insurrection, and this without regard to the act of July 4, 1864. The original act creating the commission declared that all claims not presented to the commission before March 4, 1873, should be forever barred. The life of the commission was fixed by this act at two years, but Congress extended it from time to time. On June 15, 1878, Congress declared that the commission should expire on March 10, 1880, and it so expired. On the same day, June 15, 1878, Congress limited the time for claimants filing evidence in chief

and submitting their claims to March 10, 1879, but it allowed them to take testimony in rebuttal after that date. On June 23, 1879, Congress required the special agent of the commission to give notice to and opportunity for claimants to be present at the taking of testimony by said agents on behalf of the commission.

But the act was not of any benefit to claimants, owing to the near approach of the end of the commission, and because the claims in which claimants had filed their evidence before March 10, 1879, had been nearly all disposed of. And by act of May 11, 1872, the commission was authorized to create not more than three agents to investigate the claims presented to it. This investigation was to be the hunting out of evidence against the Government and the cross-examination of the claimant's witnesses. When the claim was for over $10,000 the commission required the claimant to come with his witnesses to Washington and to have the testimony given orally before the commissioners. Congress did not make the commission a court to pass judgment officially and absolutely against the Government, but only a tribunal to investigate and report on each case to Congress, so that Congress could do in respect to the case whatever it might thereafter think proper. The commission prior to the act of June 23, 1879, prohibited their special agents allowing claimants or their attorneys to be present at the taking of testimony by them on behalf of the Government.

Thus it will be seen difficulty upon difficulty, obstacle upon obstacle, was thrown in the way of adjudication and allowances of these claims. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that many who were disappointed, whose claims had been unjustly and unfairly and improperly disallowed, were clamoring to the representatives of the people in Congress for simple justice. Out of this clamor and contention, as I have heretofore said, came the act which I have referred to, called the Bowman act, passed for the express purpose, as I have already stated, and I quote from the caption of the act, "to afford assistance and relief to Congress and the Executive Departments in the investigation of claims and demands against the Government." This act was well considered, and was debated very fully in Congress before it passed, as the record shows, the gentleman from Indiana taking part therein and offering amendments thereto, with the object of perfecting it.

This act gave jurisdiction to the Court of Claims over all the claims that had been submitted to and disallowed by the Southern Claims Commission, except those barred by reason of not having the evidence in the case filed before March 10, 1879, and except those paid in part. Also, of all claims presented to and disallowed by the Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General under the act of July 4, 1864. That is to say, that this act gives to the committees of either House of Congress powers to refer these claims of loyal citizens for stores and supplies to the Court of Claims for investigation and report. In passing upon such claims the court has before it all the testimony—good, bad, and indifferent—submitted to the Southern Claims Commission and the report of the commission. It calls upon the Quartermaster-General and the Commissary-General for all information in their control, and upon the War Department and War Records offices, including Confederate archives, for information in their control.

When the claimant or the Government desired to take additional testimony due notice must be given, and the claimant is present in person or by his attorney, and the Government by attorney acting for the Attorney-General. When the proof is thus taken and the case is ready for trial it is argued upon briefs and orally by the attorneys of both sides. Then when the findings of the court under all the circumstances I have shown are favorable to the claimant, how can any gentleman on this floor refuse to vote the necessary appropriation to pay the claim? The Supreme Court of the United States regards the findings of the Court of Claims as final in all such cases. Why can not this House do so? In the case of Carven *vs.* The United States (111 U. S., page 609) the Supreme Court said:

> We have no doubt that Congress, in cases under the Bowman act, intended to establish the same practice of making the findings of fact by the Court of Claims conclusive on both parties, thus removing from the halls of legislation the determination of controverted questions of fact, relieving itself and its committees from the investigation of such matters proper to be tried only by a judicial tribunal, and obtaining the full measure of the assistance and relief contemplated by the act.

Now, Mr. Speaker, having said what I have upon the injustice so often done these claimants by Congress, particularly in reference to the claimants who have been forced to resort to the Court of Claims for their remedy and for the allowance of their just demands, it is but fair and proper for me to say that there has been some liberality shown by Congress heretofore in the allowance of the claims under the 4th of July act, as it is called. These claims, popularly known as 4th of July claims, because the bill under which they are audited and allowed passed Congress on the 4th of July, 1864, are under that act annually at the beginning of each session of Congress transmitted by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and by him laid before Congress. That is to say, all these claims so investigated and allowed by the proper accounting officers of the Treasury for the current year are annually, at the beginning of Congress, so transmitted.

As a member of the Committee on War Claims of the House of Representatives of the Forty-ninth Congress I gave assiduous attention to the allowance of all such claims. I have no cause to complain, and do not complain for my people, for a want of proper consideration of such claims since I have been a member of this House. Having somewhat criticised the House for its tardiness and its refusal to make an appropriation for the claims in the pending bill, found by the Court of Claims, I will very briefly make some amends by referring to the allowances made in payment of the 4th of July claims, upon bills which I had the honor to introduce or report to the House. For illustration, take this class of claims which were transmitted to the second session of the Forty-eighth Congress—the session preceding the one to which I was elected—by the Secretary of the Treasury. I found when I entered this House that the bill including these claims had not been passed by the Forty-eighth Congress, and I addressed myself at once to the obtaining of the necessary legislation to that end, and succeeded in having reported from the Committee on War Claims, of which I was a member, the bill for their allowance.

In this bill 557 citizens of my State were beneficiaries to the amount of $169,788.50. During the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress I had the honor of introducing and assisting in pressing to its successful passage a bill containing a similar class of claims which brought relief to 640 citizens of my State to the amount of $177,874.52. In the second session of that Congress I likewise had the honor of presenting and assisting in pressing to its passage a similar bill. which brought relief to 567 citizens of Tennessee, and the amount allowed them in the bill was $120,115.35. These sums amount in the aggregate to $467,782.37, and have been paid out to 1,764 citizens of Tennessee. The poor people thus benefited and blessed are deeply grateful to Congress for the relief thus afforded.

Mr. Speaker, I will be pardoned for saying I take some pride in referring to this record, as it is the first time in the history of Congress, as I am informed and believe that three of these bills have been passed by one Congress. Only one was passed by the Forty-eighth Congress.

As a member of the present Congress I have had the honor to introduce a bill, and it has been favorably reported by the Committee on War Claims and is now upon the Calendar awaiting its regular call, for a similar class of claims, in number 364, and which carries the sum of $71,777.86, and I have no doubt at a very early day its passage will also be secured. I shall spare no effort, at any rate, to bring about this most desirable result.

Thus there will have been paid, since my admission to a seat in Congress, including the latter bill, to the people of Tennessee, 2,128 in number, the sum of $539,556.23. If the pending measure, the Court of Claims bill, passes, it will, as I have stated, bring relief to twenty-five additional citizens of my State and to the sum I have already mentioned, $84,092.16. The whole number of people thus relieved, as you will see, Mr. Speaker, is very large, to wit, 2,153, and the whole sum paid and to be paid them $623,648.39.

It is apparent, when the aggregate amount set out is apportioned among so large a number of claimants, the amount to each is small. But that it has proven and will prove a blessing to them, I shall not attempt to demonstrate—it is self-evident. I will not detain the House further, but ask an immediate vote upon the passage of the pending bill that justice may be no longer deferred, but may be at an early day meted out to these deserving people.

I demand the previous question upon the passage of the bill.

The demand was sustained, and under operation thereof the bill was passed.

Terms of President, Members of Congress, etc.

REMARKS

OF

HON. C. NEWTON,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 2, 1888.

The House having under consideration the joint resolution (H. Res. 120) proposing amendments to the Constitution changing the time for the commencement and limitation of the terms of the President, Vice-President, and members of Congress, and altering the date of the annual meeting of Congress—

Mr. NEWTON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The pending resolution proposes to amend the Constitution. To amend as to the commencement and limitation of the terms of the President; to amend as to the date of the annual meeting of Congress. The resolution provides that the term of office of the President shall continue until the 30th day of April, 1889, and that the 30th day of April shall thereafter be substituted for the 4th day of March as the commencement and termination of the official term of the President and Vice-President. The 31st of December is substituted

for the 4th day of March as the commencement and termination of the official term of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives. The first Monday in January of each year in lieu of the first Monday in December is proposed as the day for the assembling of Congress.

Some of the provisions of the resolution have evidently not been matured, and their operation would, to my judgment, bring about results not contemplated by the honorable gentleman, the author of the resolution.

The term of office of the President is extended until the 30th day of April, 1889, by the terms of the resolution.

Now, it is very improbable, should the amendments proposed be voted by this Congress, that those amendments would receive the sanction of three-fourths of the several States as required by Article V of the Constitution before the 4th day of March, 1889. Say that this ratification will be had before that time, Mr. Speaker, and the effect of this measure would be to extend the present term of the President of the United States from the 4th day of March, 1889, until the 30th day of April, 1889, nearly two months.

I believe this to be an unwise and dangerous precedent in the legislation of our country, should it be adopted. Whilst it is proper for legislation to fix and regulate the terms of officers to be elected in the future, I believe it to be unwise for legislation to interfere with, either to curtail or to extend, the terms of officers already elected. This legislation may appear to us harmless now, but the time may come in the history of this country when the Representatives of the American people may behold it as a hideous monster, threatening the overthrow of republican institutions. And the future Representative may appeal to it as a precedent in the legislation of this Government for the extension and continuation of power, inconsistent with and beyond the tolerance of republican ideas and institutions.

There is a feature of this resolution to which I desire to call particular attention. The resolution provides:

> The Congress in existence when the members of the first House of Representatives are elected, after the ratification of this amendment, shall hold no annual session after such election, and its term of office shall expire on the 31st of the following December.

The effect of this provision, if this proposed amendment were ratified before December, 1888, would be to abridge the term of the present Congress by two months and to extend the term of the President by about the same time. The President, whose term of office expires, under existing laws, with that of the Fiftieth Congress, would in such event hold office for four months after the expiration of that Congress, and so on for future Presidents and Congresses. It has been suggested, however, that the amendment would not be ratified by the required number of States before the expiration of the term of the present incumbents. It is possible for such a ratification before this time, whilst we may say it is improbable. Let us suppose, Mr. Speaker, that the administration of the affairs of the Government should by the next general election be transferred from the party in power. Whilst this is hardly supposable now, such a condition of political affairs is liable to occur at some future period of our history.

In weighing and considering the merits of the proposed amendment we should contemplate at least that this country at some future period will be confronted by such a political condition. We would then have a President representing one party and one policy and a Congress dominated by another party and representing an entirely different policy. Well may we imagine the embarrassment of the Chief Magistrate of this country advising and recommending a policy to a Congress that would not only reject that policy, but hurl it back with ridicule and contempt. May we consider long and well before we as American citizens consent to place the President of this Republic in a position that would embarrass, humiliate, and bring into public disregard the highest office within the gift of the people of this country. Besides, there is another feature of the proposed measure that deserves to be more seriously considered than any other, a feature that opens up the pathway to probable instability and revolutions in the Government, civil revolutions that would be appalling to the American people and might threaten overthrow to republican institutions.

Under the proposed amendment, should the election of the President be transferred to the House of Representatives, the incoming or new Congress would have the choosing of the President.

In the grasp for power, and in the maintenance of the party in power (whatever party may be in power at the time), we may well foresee the numerous contests that would come before that Congress, the inducements to corruption and fraud, and the consequent wranglings and delays resulting it may be in disorganization and a failure to make choice of a President before the time fixed for his inauguration. Other evils may be foreseen without being pointed out, resulting from such a status of affairs. Such a condition of things would necessarily result in dissatisfaction and discontent to the American people, disorganizing their councils, and placing their revered institutions in jeopardy.

Mr. Speaker, it is sufficient for me that such results might be made only remotely probable by the adoption of the proposed amendment. If we are to make innovations on the legislation of this country, let us be deliberate and prudent as to the steps which we may take. If we are to make innovations, let the fundamental law, the Constitution of this country, be the last to be invaded. Let those innovations be demanded by some great public convenience and necessity, and let them have a tendency to stability, and not to instability, disorganization, and revolution.

But it has been properly suggested that Congress may, without the intervention of a constitutional amendment, provide a different day for the assembling of Congress.

The Constitution provides, Article I, section 5: "The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December unless they shall by law appoint a different day."

If the proposed amendment has for one of its objects to bring the newly elected member sooner to the discharge of and in the active exercise of his official duties, if it be desired, as suggested in the discussion, that he should come to the discharge of his duties fresh from the people, that object may be attained by a simple act of Congress independent of any constitutional amendment, and the Congress elected in November might by act of Congress be required to assemble in March subsequent or at some day earlier than it would now assemble under the existing law.

But, Mr. Speaker, while the time, as now fixed, for the assembling of a newly elected Congress may be too long, I do not think that it is an unwise idea that some time should elapse between the election of a new Congress and the date when that Congress is to assume the active exercise of its official duties. The new member, whose time hitherto has only been partially given to the study of important public questions, is better enabled to study more closely the important questions that affect the great interests of the country and of the people whom he represents, and on the assembling of Congress he comes to the discharge of his duty better prepared and equipped to act upon these questions.

Mr. Speaker, I have not heard any good reason assigned for changing the inauguration of our President from the 4th of March to the 30th day of April. This amendment seems to have been prompted more through sentiment than through any apparent necessity. Now whilst sentiment is to be admired in many things, it should have no place as a reason for changing the organic law of a great government. Since the foundation of the Government, with one exception, our Presidents have been inaugurated on the 4th of March, and I do not believe that we should now, through sentiment or through any buta good and valid reason, supplant this day memorable in our history for another.

Mr. Speaker, we are called upon by the proposed measure to make certain innovations in the fundamental and organic law of the country. We should ever approach a question of this kind with the greatest deliberation, care, and prudence. Nothing less than a great public demand and necessity should induce us to a step of such importance. I have yet to learn that such necessity exists. I have yet to see that our institutions would be in any wise ameliorated by the proposed amendments, and I can not under my convictions support the propositions presented in the pending resolution.

Civil-Service Appointments of Persons who Served in Confederate Army and Navy.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. DANIEL,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, March 21, 1888.

The Senate having under consideration the second reading of Senate bill 2443 providing for preferences in certain cases in civil-service appointments of persons who were engaged in the military or naval service of the so-called Confederate States—

Mr. DANIEL said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: If this were a question of courtesy to the Senator who has offered this bill, there would be no doubt in my mind as to how I should vote upon it. I feel incapable of offering a discourtesy to any Senator on this floor, and I certainly would go very far to avoid doing so to one who has been inspired by such magnanimous and generous sentiments as those which that Senator has expressed.

But no public question should ever be decided by any mere matter of courtesy. The question before the Senate is the propriety of the consideration of this bill. If it had gone in due course without note or comment, none would have felt that anything improper had occurred. But since a question has been made upon it, that question must be met, and I trust that no ex-Confederate on this floor will dodge that question, although doubtless his emotions might incline him to do so. If I could with propriety decline to vote upon this question I would do so, because in my judgment it does not become a Confederate soldier to ask

of the United States Government any peculiar right or privilege whatsoever; and no Confederate soldier within my knowledge has done so.

The Confederate soldier boldly laid down the gauntlet of war and made war, and when he came out of that war he had contempt for but two classes who were engaged in it: first, the men who made apologies; and, second, the men who demanded them. Questions of great international strife and of great social conflict never descend to personality. They are governed by the great philosophies of human existence; they are governed by laws higher and superior to and above the mere conduct of the individual who moves in the great path of human history.

I have no doubt that the honorable Senator from New Hampshire has offered this bill in a spirit of benevolence and of kindness and of generosity; but it has not been called for by any Confederate; it has not grown out of any demand of public sentiment. The wise legislation of the world is generally that which is the product of a matured public opinion which has gradually formed behind it and of which it becomes the mere legislative expression. No public discussion has been had upon this subject; no wide debate either North or South has been heard upon it. The Senator from New Hampshire said that he originated the bill. I venture to believe that its origin is almost entirely confined to the lucubrations of his own mind. While I shall greatly respect, yea, shall honor and admire and feel my soul go out to the great and noble spirit that will face any kind of opposition to assert that which he believes to be right, I can not believe, sir, that in this instance that gentleman has acted wisely or in consonance with the public spirit of the country.

All, sir, that the Confederate soldier asks of the United States is that he shall stand equal before its laws and shall have a fair opportunity to work out his own salvation; and I venture to say there is not a county or a town or a hamlet from the Potomac to the Rio Grande in which a Confederate soldier will be seen in rags or in tatters in the street begging bread. There is no palace and no hut and no fireside where he is not always a welcome and honored guest; and there is no honorable citizen who would not divide with him whatever he had in this life of its comforts.

There is no danger of any such honorable and true man, however humble he may be, or however little may be his fortune, dying upon the roadside because no good Samaritan will come by to lend him a helping hand. The Confederates ask nothing special not accorded to other men in this Government; all they ask is that they be respected in those rights of American citizens which they have assumed knowingly and intentionally, and which they intend to abide by, in such manner that, God helping them, no man can justly point toward them the finger of scorn or apply to them the epithet of insult.

Refund of Direct Tax of 1861.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. OATES,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 3, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (S. 139) to credit and pay to the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by the act of Congress approved August 5, 1861—

Mr. OATES said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The bill before the committee provides for the refunding or repaying in part to the States and Territories and to the District of Columbia, and in part to the individuals from whom it was collected, the direct tax levied under the act of August 1, 1861. A provision in a general revenue bill passed at that time levied for the exigencies of the war which was then impending twenty millions of dollars annually and apportioned it among the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia according to their respective populations. There were supplementary acts subsequently passed, but these related only to the States then in insurrection or rebellion.

This law could not, owing to the existence of actual war, be enforced in the Southern States. These supplemental acts contained much harsher provisions for their enforcement than the original act contained. It is a most singular fact, I will remark in passing, that although this law laid this tax annually, there never was any attempt made to collect it except for the first year, and yet, so far as I have been able to find, that law is yet unrepealed. So uneven was it in its operation and contrary to what the people had been accustomed to, I suppose was the consideration which caused its non-enforcement, notwithstanding it was a constitutional enactment.

The collections of this tax in the loyal or Northern States and Territories, with, I believe, a single exception, were made through the States and Territories and the District of Columbia. They availed themselves of the provision in the act allowing 15 per cent. to be retained out of the collections by all States and Territories which assumed its payment. I believe Delaware was the only exception. All the others assumed and paid, with the exception named and the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, the amount of the assessment apportioned to their populations respectively. The Territory of Washington never paid in full, but all others of the Union States and Territories assumed and paid the tax, mark you, not as States and Territories, but they collected it from the people, and for the employment of their machinery in collecting this money from the people they retained 15 per cent. of the collections, which aggregated two and one-quarter millions of dollars. And, gentlemen, it was asserted here yesterday that this bill carried $15,000,000 only. If you will examine it you will find that it covers the whole field, including the 15 per cent. deduction, and that it aggregates seventeen and one-half millions of dollars.

In the Southern States it could not at the time be enforced, but as the Union arms conquered that territory collectors of this tax followed and collected by assessment and sale in many cases and in many others by receiving in money directly from the property owner the amount of assessments against his property. There were many irregularities in some of the conquered districts in the matter of the assessments and collections. A notable instance was that in South Carolina, where the entire town of Beaufort was sold after the notice of sale had been misdescribed so far as the property was concerned, the notice given being of a misleading character, and thus the property was thereby sacrificed and the owners robbed of their homes.

The same is true in respect to many plantations near there and within that district. There were irregularities in other localities, but none so great as in this; and to-day there is a bill pending before this House, now in the Judiciary Committee, for the purpose of rectifying the wrong done and repairing the damages so far as it is within the power of Congress to do it. That, however, I only mention as incidental to this discussion.

After the war the process of enforced collection in the Southern States continued. Greater progress was made in some localities, as in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, than in others; but in none, save the State of Louisiana, were the collections completed and the sum raised which had been assessed to them.

After the war, in view of the condition of affairs in the South, the industries of the people completely revolutionized, everything out of joint, the people broken down in fortune and prostrated, the Congress from time to time passed acts delaying and postponing the collection of this tax in those States; the last of which was passed in 1868 and extended the time to the 1st day of January, 1869, since which for a period of twenty years no effort whatever has been made to collect a dollar of this tax.

The aggregate of collections is about seventeen and one-half millions, which leaves uncollected two and one-half millions only, in round numbers, or one-eighth of the original assessment. And this alone is the pretext upon which the passage of this bill is urged—because only one-eighth of that tax remains uncollected and which has been allowed to sleep for twenty years, it is now made the pretext for bringing forth this bill to deplete the Treasury of seventeen and one-half million dollars in the interest of those who desire to get rid of the surplus in the Treasury otherwise than by reducing the taxation which now burdens the people and cripples our national prosperity. Other gigantic schemes of misappropriation are to follow if this be successful.

How is it to be distributed? By the terms of the bill all the States and Territories which assumed and paid the tax are to receive the total amount of this money. It is to be given to them as States and Territories, while as such they never paid a dollar of it. There is a "trust" provided in the bill, to continue for six years, as the mode of repayment to those from whom the United States collected it directly. The money is to remain in the hands of the governor of the State, to allow people who paid the tax, or their legal representatives, to make proof of the fact, and where they do so to recover back the money. That provision applies to whom? Only to the people of the Southern States; for this tax was collected directly from none others except Delaware. By this provision they are to be postponed for six years, as none of them are barred until that time expires, and the governor can not ascertain to whom to pay it before that time expires.

Another thing. This provision for a "trust," to run for six years, is beyond the term of office of the governor of any State or Territory, and yet there is no provision for it to pass to his successor. He is not a bonded officer, and if he were his sureties would not be liable for this trust. His bond was never executed in contemplation of his becoming the trustee for these purposes. And hence in criticism of the bill I feel warranted in asserting that it is most carelessly, inartificially, and ineffectively framed.

The bill further provides that if any of this money remains at the end of six years which is not taken by proof, as I have already stated, then that becomes the money of the State. Now, how will it operate in respect to the loyal or Northern States and Territories of the Union? New York will receive, under the provisions of this bill, about two and one-half millions. Her citizens who paid it are not to receive a dollar of it; it is all to go to the State; and what is true of New York is equally true of all the other States and Territories which adhered to the Union during the war, with the solitary exception of Delaware.

In that State the trust would operate, and the people who paid the tax would receive the money under the provisions of this bill. Is that a just discrimination?

In every other loyal State the money will go to the State as a State; not to the people who paid it. Suppose that New York undertakes to distribute the money to the tax-payers, to the people who paid it, how will it operate? Those who paid the tax a quarter of a century ago in large part have died or left the country, or have found homes in some of the Western or Southern States or Territories. What interest have they in refunding to the State of New York to relieve from present burdens of taxation some Wall street king, some speculator, or some millionaire? This bill would be of some benefit to the present tax-payer, but none to those who paid it and have since removed from the State. The annual taxes of the State constitute an obligation on the present generation. Why take the money of the tax-payers of a past generation for the relief of the present one? Is there any justice in that?

Mr. HEARD. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. OATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEARD. I ask the gentleman this question: If the money which was paid by this State as a State be refunded now to the State and go into its treasury, will it not lessen the rate of taxation and thereby be a relief to all the tax-payers?

Mr. OATES. They never paid any of this money as a State. Your State did not. None of them did. They collected it from the people, and while it will relieve the burdens of the present citizens of the State it will not relieve the burdens of all those who paid.

Mr. HEARD. I am sure the gentleman wants to be thoroughly understood. He says this was not paid by the State as a State. In contradistinction of the case where it was paid by the sale of the property of individual citizens, I say it was paid by the State as a State, because the money was collected by the general laws of taxation of the State, as in my own State.

Mr. OATES. The collections made from individuals by the United States form the case in which this bill provides a trust and for the money to go back to the persons from whom it was collected or their personal representatives. But where this tax was collected through the machinery of the State, and by the State from the people, this bill provides simply for paying the money back to it as a State and not to the people from whom it was collected. It has but the mere semblance of justice in it. The bill is deceptive and misleading in all its features, and, with the committee amendment adopted, more to the benefit of the lobbyists interested than to the people at large.

There is another thing to which I will invite the attention of the House in respect to the operation of this bill if passed. It must be remembered that there is a marked change in the number of the people and the condition of the respective States now as compared with a quarter of a century back; and if you test this refund by the last census you will find that the bill will operate enormously to the advantage of the Eastern or older States as against the Western or new States. As an illustration of this let us take the State of New York with a population, as shown by the Tenth Census, of 5,082,871; New York would receive under the operation of this bill the amount of the net collections, exclusive of the 15 per cent., which I insist is included in the bill, $2,213,330.86, while on the same basis the State of Kansas, with a population of 996,096 would get only $71,743.33. The ratio of population approximates one to five in favor of New York, while the ratio of money paid to the States will approximate $1 to $30 in favor of New York. The State of Nebraska, with a population of 452,401, would receive under the operation of this bill $19,312. As compared with New York its population is about as one to eleven, while the bill will distribute the money it appropriates in the proportion of $1 to Nebraska for every $114 to New York. Illinois, with a population of 3,077,871, approximating three-fifths that of New York, under this bill would receive but $1 for every $2.25 received by New York. So take it as you will, this bill, which is claimed to be an adjuster of inequalities, is in its operation a creator of more glaring inequalities, in respect to the people and the States who paid the tax, than those now existing.

I now pass from the criticism of the bill to the more serious question of the power of Congress to pass it.

To that I will now pay my respects. It was a tax legally and constitutionally laid. Will any one deny that? The taxing power of the United States through its Congress is plenary and unlimited except as to the manner in which the tax is laid. The Congress had the right to lay this tax, and, as in the case of all direct taxes thus laid, it was apportioned among the States and Territories according to population—not according to their ability to pay, not according to the value of their property, but according to the number of their people. That is the constitutional provision. But although this tax was a constitutionally laid tax, it is intimated in the report of the majority that there has been some question or cavil made about the constitutionality of the manner of its collection in allowing the States to collect it in consideration of 15 per cent.

That objection is utterly unsound. The Congress, having the right to lay the tax, had the right to choose the most appropriate means, in their judgment, for its collection; and who will undertake to gainsay the proposition that Congress did determine that that was the most appropriate and best means of collecting this tax, constitutionally laid? So far as it was laid and collected, which is to the extent of seven-eighths of it, it was legally and constitutionally done. It was expended in the maintenance of armies and navies and for the public defense, which was a constitutional and legal purpose.

Now, sir, I take it for granted that no gentleman on this floor will assert or maintain the proposition for one moment that this tax was not legally laid and legally collected, so far as it was collected, with the exceptions I have named in South Carolina, and legally and constitutionally applied. The fact that a part of it remains uncollected does not in the least affect the legality and uniformity of the tax. The provision of the Constitution unmistakably requires that duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform; but uniformity is not an essential element in the constitutionality of a direct tax, but if it were, the constitutionality of this tax can not be denied by saying that it was not uniformly collected, as uniformity would have reference to the laying and apportioning the tax, and not to the failure of the Government to collect it or any part of it.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. Will the gentleman allow a question?

Mr. OATES. I will yield for a question.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. Is the gentleman in favor of the collection of the unpaid balance of the twenty millions?

Mr. OATES. I will meet you on that. I am not; and I will tell you why further on. I am not in favor of it except in one contingency. If you will pay back to the Southern States the sixty-eight millions of cotton tax you took from my people wrongfully under an unconstitutional law, Alabama alone will pay it out of the ten millions of cotton tax you took from her people in 1866, 1867, and 1868, after the close of the war.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. You state that a tax, the cotton tax, was laid unconstitutionally, which is denied by equally as good lawyers as yourself.

Mr. OATES. I decline to yield, Mr. Chairman. I do not propose to be led off from the line of my argument.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. I wanted to know whether you were in favor of the collection of the balance of the twenty millions.

Mr. OATES. I have answered that, and I will have more to say about it a little further on.

Mr. HEARD. Will the gentleman allow me a question on a law proposition?

Mr. OATES. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEARD. The gentleman from Alabama concedes the constitutionality of the levying of this direct tax, and says that it was done in pursuance of the Constitution. He says also that the Constitution requires that taxes shall be laid uniformly. Now, would the gentleman maintain that the Constitution in its spirit would be executed if a tax were uniformly laid, but only partially collected? Would not the partial collection be equivalent to laying the tax in a manner not uniform?

Mr. OATES. I did not yield for a speech. I had already answered that question as plainly as I could in my limited use of the English language.

Mr. HEARD. Then I beg the gentleman's pardon. I was absent from my seat during the first part of his remarks.

Mr. OATES. I had said emphatically that the failure of the Government to collect the tax in any part would not affect the question of the uniformity of the tax if that were essential.

Mr. DALZELL. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. OATES. I will yield for one question and then I will yield no more.

Mr. DALZELL. Why do you say that the cotton tax was unconstitutional?

Mr. OATES. Allow me to come to that further on. I do not choose to be led off from the line of my argument now to answer that question, but I will answer it later.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this direct tax having been legally and constitutionally laid, apportioned, and collected, to the extent, at least, of seven-eighths of it, and legally applied, I ask any gentleman here to rise, now or at any subsequent time, and point me to any provision in the Constitution of the United States which authorizes Congress to pass an act to repay it. There are numerous cases, both State and Federal, where taxes illegally and wrongfully collected have been refunded to those from whom they were taken, but where is there a case of taxes legally and constitutionally laid and collected and applied being refunded?

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Will the gentleman allow me, in answer to his request, to state a case?

Mr. OATES. I would like to hear of such an instance, for I do not know of any.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. The revenue which was divided in 1836 among the States——

Mr. OATES. Ah, I will answer that.

Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR. Was collected from the people of the States. It was divided among the States—repaid to them.

Mr. OATES. It was not distributed as your bill proposes to dis-

tribute the money in this case. That was at first proposed; but the President and Congress knew and held that there was no constitutional power to do that, which is the very thing you are seeking to do by this bill.

Finding the Constitution in the way, those who desired to distribute that money were more ingenious than you are; they invented a scheme by which they flanked the Constitution, and passed a law to deposit or loan the surplus to the States, dividing it among them pro rata according to population. There is the law on this subject, which speaks for itself. That was not a refunding act nor one to distribute among the States. The gentleman cites that case as a precedent for this, but it is squarely against him. It was conceded they could not do what is proposed to be done here. There was a surplus then in the Treasury, and there was a desire to "raid" it just as certain gentlemen want to do now; but it was conceded that there was no power to distribute the money in this way. The men of that day had respect for the Constitution and the obligation they had taken to support it. They invented a plan, which, however, was not very creditable to them, by which they flanked that instrument, and loaned that money to the States, or deposited it with them. The money is to-day on deposit with each of those States and belongs to the people of the United States. The people of eleven of the present States of the Union did not participate in that distribution. That money is as much their property to-day as of the other States, and they have an equal interest in it with the States with which the money was deposited. I expect to offer at the proper time an amendment to this bill, requiring the Secretary of the Treasury, if this bill should pass, to treat those deposits as a set-off against the claims under this bill.

Mr. Chairman, touching the question of power I read from the report I prepared and submitted as the views of the minority of the Judiciary Committee, as follows:

The Government of the United States in the exercise of a constitutional power laid and collected this direct tax, and applied it to a constitutional purpose—that of the common defense. Those who paid it, whether States or citizens, have no claim whatever, either in law or equity, for the return of any part of it. It belonged absolutely to the Government of the United States, and hence the reimbursement of the States, Territories, and District of Columbia which the bill proposes, is a pure gratuity; and the Constitution does not confer upon Congress any power to make the appropriation or pass this bill.

No doubt the friends of this measure contemplate the appropriation out of moneys now in the Treasury as one of the many plausible schemes for disposing of the surplus and making generous and wide-spreading distribution thereof, instead of applying it to the payment of the debts of the United States, and thereby diminishing to some extent the $48,000,000 of interest which they are annually paying. But will they assert that Congress has the power now to lay a direct tax of $17,500,000 upon the people of the United States for the purpose of paying the identical appropriation which this bill proposes to make? And yet if this appropriation be constitutional, there is no question about the power of Congress to raise the money by any of the methods and powers of taxation conferred by the Constitution.

Will the friends of this bill claim that it is a rightful exercise of the constitutional power to tax—to lay upon the people a direct tax in this year of 1888 to reimburse the States and Territories for the payment of a direct tax laid in 1861? If so, why may not Congress with equal propriety lay and collect this year a direct tax sufficient to reimburse the States and people who paid the direct taxes laid and collected in 1798, and again about the close of the last war with Great Britain?

Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution empowers Congress to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for three general purposes, namely: (1) to pay the debts; (2) to provide for the common defense, and (3) to provide for the general welfare of the United States. Can it be said with any degree of truth that these taxes which were legally laid, collected, and applied a quarter of a century ago constitute a debt in any sense of that word?

The mere statement of the question is its own refutation. Is this appropriation proposed by this bill for the common defense? Is a single dollar of the money by its terms to be applied to the construction of ships, or purchase of guns and materials of war, or for the erection of forts and providing coast defenses, or to raise, equip, or maintain an army, or in any otherwise to provide for the common defense? Nothing of the kind can be discovered among its provisions. On the contrary, it is "to reimburse these States, Territories," etc., money paid in obedience to lawful requirement and applied to the common defense in actual war twenty-five years ago. It is substantially a proposition to give a large amount of money to a part of the States and Territories of the Union; in the language of the bill, "to reimburse" them for money which they as States and Territories did not pay, but which was paid by the land-owners within their borders.

Next let us inquire if the appropriation proposed by this bill falls within the third grand purpose for which the taxing power of the United States may be exercised, *i. e.*, to provide for the general welfare of the United States. We hold, in accordance with sound interpretation and the fundamental principles of the party to which we belong, that this clause does not confer power upon Congress to do whatsoever the majority wills, but to lace Congress up strictly within the powers enumerated in the Constitution and such implied powers as are necessary to be exercised in order to give force and efficacy to those expressed.

In vain do we look through the twenty-eight express grants of power to Congress in the Constitution to find any to which this bill is applicable, or which in any remote degree, by implication or otherwise, confers the power to pass it. The best informed of the latitudinarian constructionists, who contend that Congress has "the power of appropriation," as they call it, independent of those enumerated in the Constitution, concede that the purpose for which the appropriation is made must be general and not local, and even this stretch, or, as we hold, erroneous assumption, is not broad enough to invest Congress with the rightful power to pass this bill. We use the word "rightful" as the synonym of constitutional, and to distinguish it from *brutum fulmen*.

The powers expressly conferred upon Congress to lay and collect taxes are plenary and unlimited, and if there be no limits to the powers of appropriation the United States is a Government of unlimited power. Such a construction blows up the Constitution as with dynamite, and would change the character of the Government, and in the course of time imperil the liberties of the people. It substitutes the unbridled discretion of Congress for a written Constitution which for one hundred years has maintained a government the most marvelous and successful of any in the history of civilization.

The people of this country are more vitally interested in restricting Congress, in the matter of appropriations, to the powers conferred by the Constitution than they are in any other of the provisions of that great charter, for the reason that these are more frequently transcended and abused, usurpations popularized and disguised by the large amount of treasure disbursed; and thus the money of the people is appropriated by their servants and used for the destruction of their liberties, which the restrictions upon power in the Constitution were intended to preserve. They need not fear the unlimited powers of taxation conferred if the money raised be not misapplied, but appropriated only to the constitutional objects and purposes of the Government. If applied only to these, taxation will soon conform to the necessities created thereby, the burdens of the people will be borne without murmur or complaint, and they will have nothing to fear.

Mr. Chairman, if gentlemen can not find any authority in the Constitution for this distribution, why undertake to pass this bill? I can understand very well how gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber can support the measure and do so consistently with their political professions. According to the traditions of their party and those they have succeeded, they are latitudinarians or loose constructionists of the Constitution; they believe that the General Government is the judge of its own powers. But a man who professes to be a Democrat is not entitled to be considered such if he advocates legislation outside of the Constitution.

Democracy—Jeffersonian Democracy—for I make a distinction—there was such a thing as Democracy in existence before Jefferson—Jeffersonian Democracy rests upon the very mudsill of constitutional government; and according to its principles you must find a warrant in the Constitution, either express or necessarily implied, for every bill you propose to pass. When you disregard this principle and go outside of the Constitution for your authority, you are acting undemocratically and in violation of the creed of Jeffersonian Democracy. When you go outside of the Constitution to legislate you are guilty of usurpation.

I am a Democrat because I believe honestly that the administration of this Government upon Democratic principles is best for all the people. If I did not so believe—if I believed that Republican principles, or the principles of any other party, were better for the people, I thank God I have the courage and the manhood to avow my convictions and act upon them. But as I do not so believe, as I believe that Democratic principles are right, and that when this Government is administered upon them it is infinitely better for the people, I adhere to those principles, and a few dollars for my State or my constituents can not buy me nor induce me to desert them. I am not that kind of a Democrat. The fact that my State will get a large amount or a small amount of money never influences me to violate these fundamental principles nor do my constituents expect me to do so. They know that they can trust me. When there is a matter of sound Democracy and constitutional government involved I propose to adhere to my principles regardless of consequences.

Under the operation of the loan to which I have referred, $4,000,000 were deposited with the State of New York. California never received any part of that loan or deposit. Minnesota, Colorado, Florida, and many other States never received any part of it. The $4,000,000 which New York received and which it has now on deposit is the money of the United States, and these other States have an interest in it just as much as the people of New York. Attached to the printed views of the minority of the committee is a table, furnished at the Treasury Department, as late as February 18, 1888, setting forth the amount that each State received as its portion of that deposit, and the States which never received a dollar are enumerated. My State received a portion.

Gentlemen, if we are going into the question of adjusting inequalities, if that is a motive which warrants a disregard of constitutional limitations, then I insist we ought not to stop at a refund of the direct tax, but we ought to go further and make the adjustment of this loan. And we ought not to stop there. You all know what the cotton tax was. That was a tax laid upon raw cotton. Collections of that tax were made from States and Territories during the war; but very little was collected until after the war, the bulk of the money having been collected under the supplemental act. The gross amount of the collections of cotton tax was $68,072,388.98. Here is the table showing the year and the States in which it was collected. So great an abuse of the taxing power of Congress was never exhibited in the entire history of this country.

In this connection there is one curious fact which is very easy of explanation. If I remember rightly there were thirteen loyal States in which some of this tax was collected, and I believe one Territory. You will find that in the State of New York nearly a million dollars of this tax was collected; in Illinois, half a million; in Massachusetts, many thousands. In the aggregate nearly $4,000,000 of this tax was collected in the Northern States, or the States loyal to the Union.

A good deal of cotton during the war found its way through the lines into the North, and just after the war there was a great deal of cotton shipped thence without prepayment of taxes. The law gave the Government a lien on it and the tax was collected wherever the cotton was found in the Northern States. I intend, Mr. Speaker, at the proper time, if the friends of this bill intend to pass it, bad as it is, to offer this amendment to it. If the House has determined to pass this bill, although I say I am opposed to it for many good reasons, and that if I had the power I would defeat it now, yet if you are going to pass it and thereby take from the Treasury of the United States seventeen and a half millions of dollars and distribute it as the bill proposes, then I intend if I can to bring the deposits of 1836 into hotch-pot, and also to

take into the account the amount of the cotton tax and settle inequalities of taxation all along the line and endeavor to treat all alike.

I would deduct the amount arising out of these deposits from the sums found due to any and all the States. That would be only fair enough and assist in some sort to adjust the existing inequalities which this bill professes to correct, but utterly fails to do.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. I desire to know whether there is not a bill now pending before the Judiciary Committee providing for the refunding of this cotton tax?

Mr. OATES. Yes, there is.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. That is all.

Mr. OATES. And we expect that the same Committee on the Judiciary which reported in favor of this bill will vote against that bill providing for the refunding of the cotton tax.

A MEMBER. Including the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OATES. Yes; I am sure he would be found amongst those voting against it. I would expect nothing better of him.

The amendment I propose to offer is as follows:

Provided. That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to credit and pay to each State a sum equal to the amounts collected therein, respectively, as a tax or duty on raw cotton under the provisions of the act approved July 1, 1862, and the supplementary and amendatory acts thereto; which sums, when so credited and paid, shall be accepted and held by such States to be disposed of as their respective Legislatures elected next after the approval of this act may direct; and an appropriation is hereby made out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act.

You gentlemen who are in favor of the Blair educational bill in order to help the States of the South now laboring under such a burden of illiteracy would do well to vote for this amendment, as it would better enable the Southern people to maintain their public schools without having recourse to an unconstitutional and dangerous piece of legislation for that purpose. Pay your debts and the Southern States can educate their children without aid from the Federal Treasury.

Now, this tax on raw cotton is not upon the same basis as the direct tax in respect to its constitutionality. And why do I say so? Under the Constitution duties must be uniform. The eighth section of the first article of the Constitution empowers Congress to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; first, for the purpose of paying the debts of the United States; secondly, for the common defense; and thirdly, to provide for the general welfare, not of the people at large, but of the United States, using that word in its governmental sense and not in a territorial sense merely.

It provides that all duties laid shall be uniform throughout the United States. Now, this cotton tax was imposed on the raw material, and by its terms was a duty laid on the producer, and it is a fact which is known of all men, it was a duty imposed on an article which could be grown or produced only in one section—that it was a physical impossibility to produce it anywhere except in one section of the Union; and as it was an impossibility, therefore, to produce it anywhere but in one section any tax imposed upon that material could not be a uniform duty.

Mr. DALZELL. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. OATES. Not at this point. In the same connection I will observe that the Constitution prohibits the imposition of a tax or duty on any article of export. In the very nature of things cotton is produced to be exported, and yet this cotton tax was imposed upon the raw cotton grown for the purpose of being exported.

Mr. DALZELL. If I understand the proposition of the gentleman from Alabama it is that because cotton can not be grown in a certain portion of the Union the tax imposed on cotton is in violation of that provision of the Constitution which requires that all taxes which are laid shall be uniform. Do I understand the gentleman aright?

Mr. OATES. I say that, and I also say that it is in violation of another provision of the Constitution.

Mr. DALZELL. Let me ask the gentleman another question; I do not wish to make a speech, but merely to ask a question. I wish to call the attention of the gentleman to a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which is against the position the gentleman has assumed.

A MEMBER. What page?

Mr. DALZELL. It is to be found in 112 U. S., 594.

Mr. OATES. The case referred to by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] holds that the provision in the law laying a tax of 50 cents on each emigrant to this country on their arrival in any of the ports of this country is a uniform tax according to constitutional requirement. That decision does not militate against my position at all. That tax or duty is the same at all the ports of the United States. A decision on that point to the same effect might have been reached by the court on the ground that the duty was a part of our foreign policy, as it is laid upon aliens or persons who are not citizens of the United States. The decision is in nowise analogous to the question of the unconstitutionality of the cotton-tax law for the want of uniformity.

Mr. Chairman, this identical question of the constitutionality of the cotton tax has been before the Supreme Court. It was brought up in a case from Tennessee, when the court consisted of but eight judges in consequence of the inability of Chief-Justice Chase to sit at the hearing, and the eight justices before whom it was argued were equally divided in opinion on the question of its constitutionality, and hence no decision was rendered. That is a fact, whatever the gentleman may find in his Supreme Court Reports.

Mr. LONG. Will the gentleman's argument apply to sugar and ice?

Mr. OATES. Oh, no.

Mr. LONG. Why not to sugar and ice?

Mr. OATES. Because both can be produced in more than one section of the Union. They can be produced in nearly every latitude of the Union.

Mr. DALZELL. Well, is the tax on tobacco unconstitutional?

Mr. OATES. No. Do not you produce tobacco in Connecticut as well as in Virginia and Florida?

Mr. BAYNE. But not in Maine.

Mr. GEAR. Nor in Iowa.

Mr. OATES. Perhaps not, but they are not large enough to change the rule. One or two States would not, I apprehend, be a sufficient exception to destroy the rule.

I stated, Mr. Chairman, in the views of the minority of the Committee on the Judiciary that the question of the constitutionality of this cotton tax had never been decided by the Supreme Court, and therein gave my views, as I have attempted here to do orally, why I believe that the tax imposed was unconstitutional and ought to be returned to those who paid it. I have not time now to enlarge my argument on this question. I quote from the minority report as follows:

It is therefore fair to presume that very little, if any, of this tax burden was borne by persons outside of States in which the cotton was produced. Sixty-four million nine hundred and thirty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-one dollars and fifty-six cents of this tax was collected in the Southern States, either directly or indirectly, from the producers, and that at a time when their fortunes were wrecked, their plantations laid waste, their substance exhausted by a devastating war unparalleled in modern history, and their labor system revolutionized and unreliable. Many millions more, which never reached the Treasury, were taken from these people and embezzled or stolen by collectors and their thieving assistants. Was it not a fitting time to call a halt in collecting the two and a half millions of uncollected direct tax?

We have already referred to section 8 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States as conferring upon Congress the unlimited power of taxation for all the purposes of Government enumerated in that instrument. There is, however, in that section one restriction, one limitation, upon this taxing power which Congress has no right to transcend. It is the last clause in that section, and in these words:

"But all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

The duty laid upon raw cotton could not be uniform throughout the United States, because cotton upon which it was laid and collected could not be raised or produced anywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States except in the eleven Southern States which attempted in 1861 to secede from the Union, usually called the insurrectionary or rebellious States, and to a very inconsiderable extent in Kentucky and Missouri. It was a notorious physical impossibility to raise or produce raw cotton anywhere within the United States except in the thirteen States last referred to. The language of the statute imposing this tax was:

"There shall be paid by the producer, owner, or holder, upon all cotton produced within the United States * * * a tax of ——— cents per pound, etc."

The last and most oppressive of the amendatory acts in relation to said tax was approved July 13, 1666, entitled "An act to reduce internal taxation," etc., but in fact increased the duty imposed upon cotton from 2 to 3 cents per pound. Under its provisions two-thirds of the total amount of the tax was collected. It will be observed that it was not a war measure, but enacted more than a year after the peace.

The constitutionality of the laws imposing this tax has never been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, and hence remains an open question, but one which to our minds and in the light of common sense needs but to be stated in order to be seen. Hon. THOMAS C. MCRAE, of Arkansas, in a very able speech upon this subject, delivered in the House February 14, 1887, used the following pertinent language concerning the duty imposed on cotton:

"As such it should be uniform throughout the United States. The fact that the duty was on raw cotton, which could only be produced in a part of the States of the Union, precludes the idea of uniformity throughout the United States. Of the sixty-eight millions collected under the laws, nearly all was collected from citizens of the Southern cotton States, and the citizens of the Northern States paid no tax corresponding to it. When it was stated in the debates upon the Constitution that under the taxing clause certain States having property peculiar to its climate and surroundings might be oppressed, Mr. Madison very promptly and emphatically repudiated the idea, and declared that the Constitution did not admit of it, and insisted that either in the rule of apportionment or of uniformity all States and their interests would be protected. If the cotton tax can be sustained, then the rule of uniformity has utterly failed of its purpose and imposes no restrictions on Congress whatever."

Section 9 of Article I of the Constitution declares, among other things, that:

"No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State."

When this clause was under consideration in the convention which framed the Constitution, Mr. Ellsworth said:

"There are solid reasons against Congress taxing exports: First, it will discourage industry, as taxes on imports discourage luxury. Secondly, the produce of different States is such as to prevent uniformity in such taxes. There are indeed but a few articles that could be taxed at all, as tobacco, rice, and indigo, and a tax on these alone would be partial and unjust. Thirdly, the taxing of exports would engender incurable jealousies."

We believe that the cotton tax was unconstitutional on both the grounds above set forth. To say the least, in the language of Mr. Ellsworth, this cotton tax was "partial and unjust."

I will do all I can to defeat this bill, but if you are going to pass it over my objection I will insist on an amendment which I will offer to refund the cotton tax to the States in which it was collected to be disposed of as their respective Legislatures may see proper to direct, because the Legislature is the representative and reflects the will of the people in the State. No doubt the Legislatures of all the States would say, return the money to those from whom it was taken so far as practicable, because that would be just.

Now, gentlemen will observe that if they are determined to pass this bill or repay this seventeen and one-half millions of dollars the coupling of this amendment to which I have referred does not reduce the amount of direct tax their States will receive, but is in addition to what thirteen of the States of the North would receive of the direct tax, because a part of the cotton tax was collected within them.

The State of New York, which would, under this bill, receive of the

direct tax about two and one-half millions of dollars, would receive, if the amendment to refund the cotton tax is coupled with it, $867,942.68 in addition, and so of all of these other Northern States to which I have referred, except those in which no cotton tax was collected.

But, Mr. Chairman, it is only from the necessity of the case that I will attempt the solemnization of the bans between the cotton tax and the direct tax, as one is legitimate and the other illegitimate. I believe that Congress has no power to return the one; while it has power to return the other. I would stake the claim for a refund of the cotton tax on a decision of the constitutionality of the law imposing it by the Supreme Court. If the $68,000,000 collected from Southern farmers on their cotton since the war was a constitutional and legal tax, I would not vote to return a single dollar of it, nor would a single one of those who paid it desire me to do so, notwithstanding it was unfair and burdensome for them to pay it.

Money collected by lawful taxation for the use of the United States belongs to the United States, and no tax-payer, whether State or individual, has any claim to it, either legal or equitable. The repeal of the law imposing the tax on raw cotton prevented a decision on its constitutionality. I challenge the friends of this direct-tax refunding bill to pass an act allowing a test case to be made through the Court of Claims, by which a decision may be reached on the cotton-tax law. I favor obedience to law and will keep sacred the oath I have taken to support the Constitution of the United States.

I have heard it said that this direct-tax refunding bill is a peace offering; that it is a necessary measure of peace and reconciliation between the Northern and Southern States of the Union. That is an old saw. It has been repeated to me so often during the last twenty-seven years that it makes me doubt whether I will ever live long enough to completely wash the imaginary smell of Confederate brimstone from my garments. I never was as badly whipped as some Southern men were who never got any nearer the front than I did. I was whipped just sufficiently to observe the terms General Grant had the magnanimity to extend to us. I laid down my arms in good faith and returned to the Union and Constitution, which I cherish as mine and the only Government I ever expect or desire to have for myself and those who come after me. I have no other acknowledgment to make to any one.

I and the people of my section for twenty years after the close of the war did everything you told us to do for peace and reconciliation except to vote the Republican ticket, and I supposed that reconciliation had been reached on everything else; but it seems that I was mistaken. The demand breaks out in a new place, and I hear from some of my timid neighbors the old cry of peace and reconciliation. I have lost about all the respect I ever had for it. The demand may be honest. I have heard of a Jersey legislator who asserted that his colleague was honest. How, it was asked, can he be honest when he accepts a bribe? The response was, "Because he will stay bought." I am not disposed to reconcile any more, because you will not stay reconciled. I am going to do just whatever I conscientiously believe to be right without regard to whether it reconciles or pleases any one else. I understand that to be the privilege of every American citizen.

Refund of Direct Tax of 1861.

SPEECH

OF

HON. LUCIEN B. CASWELL,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 14, 1888.

On the bill (S. 139) to credit and pay to the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by the act of Congress approved August 5, 1861.

Mr. CASWELL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: On the 5th of August, 1861, Congress, in the exercise of a constitutional authority, levied upon the people of the several States and Territories a tax of $20,000,000, and apportioned it according to population. The tax was made a lien and collectible through the Internal Revenue Bureau. The act of Congress authorized the States and Territories to assume the tax. Pursuant to this delegated authority the Legislatures of twenty-nine States passed laws assuming the tax, though full payment was not made in some cases for many years; and the State of Georgia never voluntarily paid any portion of it. Her act of resumption was at a late period, and soon after the act of resumption she denied her own authority as a State to make the payment. Large portions of this tax were collected by way of offset of claims found due from the United States, and in many instances by withholding moneys due the States as a part of the proceeds of the sales of public lands.

At the time of the levy in 1861 several of the Southern States were in open rebellion, and the tax could not be enforced within their dominion. But at a later period, as possession was gained by the Federal Army, collections in parts of a State were made, some by voluntary payment and some by actual sales of property; nearly all of Beaufort County, in South Carolina, was sold for the tax, and great hardship resulted to this portion of the State, while other parts escaped altogether, and the tax remains still uncollected. In 1868 Congress directed a suspension of efforts to collect the tax for the time-being, and since then none has been made except by offset of claims, which has been done down to a very late period.

But it has been recently held by the Supreme Court that the tax was a levy, not against the State in its municipal or political character, but against the people owning property therein, and that without an assumption of the tax no liability whatever existed against the State as such, and that offsets against such States could not be enforced. Actions were brought against the United States by Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi, and judgments recovered to the amount of $131,124.08 for claims which had been thus offset and applied on the tax.

The whole amount collected in cash and by way of offset up to the 2d day of March, 1888, amounts to $15,227,633.03; $2,206,985.67 has been credited to the States on account of commissions allowed for the assumption and payment of taxes. There remains uncollected $2,562,401.29.

The bill under consideration proposes to refund to the several States and Territories all sums which have been collected, either by offset or otherwise; and it also proposes to cancel that which is not collected.

Prior to the decisions which held the tax to be against the people, and not against the municipality, the Treasury Department had treated the tax as debt and credit with the States upon the books, and the uncollected portion stands charged in account against the delinquent States, but without authority to enforce collection, except it may be in the way of offset with such States as have assumed the tax, and in such cases great doubt is entertained as to the right of offset, as the tax was not against the State.

Owing to the great inequality in the levy as well as in the collections which have been made, and the embarrassments attending further and a complete execution of the law, and the fact that, in some of the States, a part of the citizens were compelled to pay, or did voluntarily pay, while a part have escaped, and the fact that some of the States have paid in full, while others have paid only in part, and some not at all, and that as the accounts now stand large balances appear upon the books of the Treasury Department against such of the States as have not paid, it is believed this bill should pass, and restore to the States and to the people, so far as possible, the money received from them.

I submit a letter from the First Comptroller, dated March 2, 1888, giving information as to the condition of the account and also the statement referred to in his letter:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, FIRST COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., March 2, 1888.

SIR: Your letter of the 27th ultimo to the Secretary of the Treasury has been referred to this office.

In reply I have to state that the report of the committee appointed to examine the direct-tax accounts was approved by this Department, and adjustments have been made as recommended, as shown in the inclosed statement, and which gives all balances due to the United States on account of direct tax uncollected. The accounts of the States and Territories not therein named are balanced and closed. From an estimate made in this office it appears that to pay back the direct tax proper to the several States and Territories, after deducting the amounts credited under acts of Congress and amounts paid back under appropriations for the 15 per cent. and the amounts of the judgments for certain set-offs obtained in the Court of Claims, there will be required (approximately) $15,035,000.

An estimate of the amount required to pay the amounts collected by the direct-tax commissioners, incidental to the tax, namely, penalties, interest, costs, and the amounts involved in the sales and redemptions of land, etc., would involve months of labor and would require the examination of many hundred claims for the refund of money collected under the direct-tax laws that have been passed upon during the last twenty-five years.

Respectfully yours,

M. J. DURHAM, *Comptroller.*

Hon. L. B. CASWELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Statement in relation to direct tax.

Name of State or Territory.	Amount of direct tax charged.	Amount of tax collected by direct-tax commissioners from citizens.	Amount collected from the State by set-off of amount due to the State.	Total amount collected and credited.
Alabama	$529,313.33		$22,520.24	$22,520.24
Arkansas	261,886.00	$154,701.18		154,701.18
Florida	77,522.67	4,766.26		4,766.26
Georgia	584,367.33	82,427.47	35,555.42	117,982.89
Louisiana	385,886.67	314,500.84	71,385.83	385,886.67
Mississippi	413,084.67	69,584.55	43,740.11	113,324.66
North Carolina	576,194.67	377,452.61		377,452.61
South Carolina	$363,570.67	$222 396.36		$222,396.36
Tennessee	669,498.00	392,004.48		392,004.48
Texas	355,106.67	180,841.51		180,841.51
Virginia	729,071.02	442,408.09		442,408.09
Wisconsin	519,688.67		*454,944.84 †73,153.26	528,098.10
Colorado	22,905.33			22,189.16
Utah	26,982.00			
Washington Territory	7,755.33			4,268.16

Statement in relation to direct tax—Continued.

Name of State or Territory.	Balance of tax uncollected and due to the United States.	Balance overpaid and due to the State.	Amount of judgment recovered in Court of Claims on account of offsets.	Balance due the United States after said judgments are charged back in direct tax account of the State.
Alabama	$506,793.09		$18,285.03	$525,078.12
Arkansas	107,184.82			
Florida	72,756.41			
Georgia	466,384.44			
Louisiana	Balanced.		71,385.14	71,385.14
Mississippi	299,760.01		41,453.91	341,213.92
			131,124.08	
North Carolina	198,742.06			
South Carolina	141,174.31			
Tennessee	277,493.52			
Texas	174,265.16			
Virginia	286,662.93			
Wisconsin		$8,409.43		
Colorado	715.37			
Utah	26,982.00			
Washington Territory	3,487.17			

*Collected from State. †Credited, equal 15 per cent.

I have carefully computed the amount which will be refunded to the States and Territories under this bill, the amount of commissions allowed, and the amount unpaid and which will be canceled, and I submit the statement for the use of the House:

States and Territories.	Amount levied.	Amount collected and to be refunded.	15 per cent. commission allowed.	Balance due to be canceled.
Alabama	$529,313.33	$22,520.24		$506,793.09
Arkansas	261,883.00	154,701.18		107,184.82
California	254,538.67	222,955.41	$31,583.26	
Colorado	22,905.33	22,189.96		715.37
Connecticut	308,214.00	261,981.90	46,232.10	
Dakota	3,241.33	3,241.33		
Delaware	74,683.33	70,332.83	4,350.50	
District of Columbia	$49,437.33	$49,437.33		
Florida	77,522.67	4,766.26		$72,756.41
Georgia	584,367.33	117,982.89		466,384.44
Illinois	1,146,551.33	974,568.63	$171,982.70	
Indiana	904,875.33	769,144.03	135,731.30	
Iowa	452,088.00	384,274.80	67,813.20	
Kansas	71,743.33	60,981.83	10,761.50	
Kentucky	713,695.33	606,641.03	107,054.30	
Louisiana	385,886.67	385,886.67		
Maine	420,826.00	357,702.10	63,123.90	
Maryland	436,823.33	371,299.83	65,523.50	
Massachusetts	824,581.33	700,894.14	123,687.19	
Michigan	501,763.33	426,498.83	75,264.50	
Minnesota	108,524.00	92,245.40	16,278.60	
Mississippi	413,084.67	113,324.66		299,760.01
North Carolina	576,194.67	377,452.61		198,742.06
South Carolina	363,570.67	222,396.36		141,174.31
Missouri	761,127.33	646,958.23	114,169.10	
Nebraska	19,312.00	19,312.00		
Nevada	4,592.67	3,903.77	688.90	
New Hampshire	218,406.67	185,645.67	32,761.00	
New Jersey	450,134.00	382,614.83	67,519.17	
New Mexico	62,648.00	62,648.00		
New York	2,603,918.67	2,213,330.86	390,587.81	
Ohio	1,567,089.33	1,332,025.93	235,063.40	
Oregon	35,140.67	29,869.57	5,271.10	
Pennsylvania	1,946,719.33	1,654,711.43	292,007.90	
Rhode Island	116,963.67	99,419.11	17,544.56	
Tennessee	669,498.00	392,004.48		277,493.52
Texas	355,106.67	180,841.51		174,265.16
Utah	26,982.00			26,982.00
Vermont	211,068.00	179,407.80	31,660.20	
Virginia	729,071.02	442,408.09		286,662.93
West Virginia	208,479.65	181,306.93	27,172.72	
Washington Territory	7,755.33	4,268.16		3,487.17
Wisconsin	519,688.67	446,535.41	73,153.26	
Total		15,227,632.03	2,206,985.67	2,562,401.29

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] denies the constitutional authority of Congress to pass this bill, on the ground that the tax was legally levied, and by a strict construction of the Constitution no authority can be found for refunding it. But he claims if we are to pass the bill we should amend it so as to include a refunding of the tax, $68,000,000, which was levied upon raw cotton by the act of July 1, 1862. He asserts that this tax was unconstitutional and unjust, because cotton was raised only in the Southern States, and that Congress should restore the money to the States in which the collection was made. He insists that the direct tax of $20,000,000 which we propose to refund, so far as collections were made, was constitutional, and can not be refunded, while the cotton tax was unconstitutional and should be refunded. He does not see how Democrats can vote for the first proposition, believing, as they do, in a strict construction of the Constitution, while it would be consistent for Republicans to support it because of their well-known custom of loose construction.

It may be, sir, that we have not in our interpretation of the Constitution so limited its meaning as to destroy its usefulness.

Certainly we did not agree with the Democratic Attorney-General, Mr. Black, in 1860, when he advised the Executive of the United States that there was not authority in the Constitution to coerce a State or compel her to remain within the Union. And, as a result, the great strong arm of the National Government remained paralyzed and was not raised till State after State took its departure and rebellion was fully organized. And had there not been at this juncture an Executive elected by a party that could see some authority in the Constitution for the preservation of the Union, and who succeeded to power, secession and permanent dissolution of the Union would have certainly followed.

I believe, sir, the implied powers of the Constitution are sufficient to enable Congress at all times to enact needful laws for the preservation of the Government, and to adjust its taxes, its finances, and the equality of its burdens among the States. While I would not violate its express provisions or do that which would conflict with its spirit and purpose, I would not withhold the administration of justice in cases where Congress had already assumed jurisdiction in its acts for our common defense. But, sir, I invite the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] and the House to a consideration of this bill in the light of strict construction which he chooses to apply.

It is now the settled law beyond all question that this tax was a levy upon the people and not upon the States; and what authority, I ask, if we look for express authority, can there be found in the constitution of any of these States for the assumption and payment of the tax levied upon its people, and what authority had Congress to provide that a State might assume and pay the tax? Certainly no such provision can be found in Federal or State constitutions. Then it follows by the rule of strict construction, which the gentleman invokes, that the whole transaction of assumption and payment was without warrant or constitutional authority.

This being so, it is difficult to see why Congress should not refund the money received and reimburse the treasury of each State for the money we had taken from it without constitutional authority, and which amounted to little more than a loan, for the time-being, to the General Government, and especially should the money be refunded now while there is a surplus in the Treasury of the United States, which, it is universally admitted, should be put in circulation.

Again, it is equally clear, under the same rule of construction, that the offset of claims which the States held against the United States was without authority. A large portion of the amount collected was by the offset of these claims, and we *should now pay the money we have* in that way confiscated and applied in liquidation of the tax account.

In some of the States the tax was collected only from a part of the people, and remains uncollected as to others. By what principle of equity should the United States retain the moneys collected of part of the people, and forgive the others of the tax levied upon them?

In any possible view of the questions involved in this discussion, equity and fair-dealing require that we retrace our steps so far as we can, and refund the moneys paid by the States from their general fund, and that we also pay to the States in which levies and collections were made from the people, in trust for them, all that was realized in such proceedings.

It is conceded that the levy of this tax was legal, but while that was so, it does not follow that the methods adopted for its enforcement were also valid. In reference to the repayment of the cotton tax I have this to say to the friends of the measure: If we should consent to it, and amend this bill accordingly, one of two things would as surely follow as the sun is sure to rise and set. Either such action would defeat the passage of the bill in the Senate, as well as in the House, or, if enacted into law, it would put the party to which they belong out of power at the first election. Whether such payment would be right, or whether it would be wrong, such would be the result.

I am not surprised that gentlemen who represent the cotton States should press this measure upon Congress. It seems a great hardship to them, no doubt, to be obliged to contribute in any way to the cost of the Federal Government in its defense against the war for the dissolution of the Union. It is true they were very much impoverished, and they suffered untold disasters. In fact, history can never record the full extent of the sufferings and deprivations consequent upon the great war by the Confederates as well as by the loyal people, and this should be a warning for all time to come to all who might contemplate another overthrow of the General Government. But those who were beaten are in no worse condition than the defeated party who enters the courts of justice recognized in all parts of the civilized world. He who suffers defeat is often compelled to pay the expense. So in the great wars of other countries, the vanquished are often compelled to contribute to the victors. But no such exaction is here proposed. We simply seek to refund to the States fifteen and a quarter millions of dollars which we, in the hour of need, collected from them, but which we do not now, with an overflowing Treasury, need.

I will say to the friends of the cotton tax, you can never claim its

repayment on the ground of its illegality. The rule is too well settled that the validity of a tax levied upon specific articles does not depend upon the universality of the article taxed, but upon the uniformity of the tax upon the article wherever found. In this case the tax was collected in twenty-six different States. It is true the greatest part of it was from the States engaged in the rebellion, but that does not affect the rule of taxation so as to avoid the levy. It may have rested heavier upon some portions of the country than upon others. Such is always the effect of specific taxation. In the Northern States taxes were collected from articles rarely produced in the South. So it is with the tax upon tobacco, and even spirits; a distillery is almost unknown in some of the States, while in others they are very numerous.

We are not discussing the injustice of the tax levied upon cotton, but the validity of the tax, for that is the issue raised by the gentlemen who insist the cotton tax shall be made a part of this bill. There are always great inequalities in the levy and collection of taxes. A specific tax is always so. The article may be found in large quantities in some localities and not at all in others; but it is quite evident the effort will never be made again to collect from real estate a tax for the support of the General Government, either in the time of war or in the time of peace.

It is said the people now residing in many of the States have moved away and would not be benefited by the repayment of the tax. It should be remembered that in twenty-six States the tax was assumed and treated as a State liability, and that it was levied upon real estate which still remains to receive any benefits which may inure to it from the payment of money into the treasury.

Besides, emigrants from one State to another only exchange places, giving and taking such benefits as are incident thereto.

The Mills Tariff Bill and the Confederate Constitution.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BISHOP W. PERKINS,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 14, 1888.

Mr. PERKINS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is not my purpose in the little time that I may occupy now to pay much attention to this Indian appropriation bill; but I wish to notice briefly the speech which was made by my friend from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] when this bill was last under consideration. My friend made what was termed by many a free-trade speech; and it seems to have been popularly indorsed by the free-trade organs of the country; yet in that speech he took occasion to say that he believed in the doctrine of protection; and I think there can not be given to his language the construction that has been given to it by the members of the Cobden Club, of the country, and the free-trade organs. I say this in justice to my friend who declared, as I have had occasion to say, that he believed in the American doctrine of protection; and in that we agree. We may differ in details; we may differ a little as to how proper protection to American industries is to be consummated or secured, but we agree in believing that that doctrine is best for our country.

The gentleman in his speech took occasion to call the attention of the House to the fact that more than $500,000,000 worth of farm products were exported from this country in the year 1887. He did not, however, suggest that the value of the farm products that year, including live-stock, butter, cheese, milk, etc., aggregated $5,000,000,000, or substantially that. He did not call attention to the fact that the exports were but 9 or 10 per cent. of that which was grown and raised by the farmers of our country. Nor did he call attention to the fact that if the factories and manufacturing industries of our country were prostrated and the five millions of laborers employed therein were discharged and set adrift to engage in agricultural enterprises, to put their labor as producers in competition with the farmers of the land, there would necessarily be imposed upon the farmers the duty of sending abroad for a market not only the $500,000,000 worth of their products, but perhaps five times that amount each year, and thus greatly suffer for the want of a home market. Neither did the gentleman suggest to this House, as I desire to suggest to it, that this market in which the American farmer sells more than 90 per cent. of what he grows is more important to him than the market in which he sells but 10 per cent.; and that for this reason it is important that our Government should guard with jealous care this home market, in which our American farmers find the opportunity to sell so much, and in which the American laborer finds the opportunity to earn so much and to be such an excellent consumer.

Mr. Chairman, my friend had read to this House some letters received by him from constituents and friends in the State of Minnesota. I desire to have read, somewhat in answer to those, a letter which I have received from a farmer in my own State.

The Clerk read as follows:

MOUND VALLEY, KANS., *December* 18, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR: What will the Democrats and Mugwumps do with the tariff this session of Congress? As you know, I am a farmer and quite an old man, and I have lived in this country a good many years when we had Democracy and free trade, and I know what they are. In those days I drew wheat from my farm in Indiana to Vincennes, a distance of 45 miles, and sold it for 33 cents a bushel, and took calico at 35 cents a yard, and very common brown sugar at 14 cents a pound, and, as is generally known, there is much sand in Vincennes, and the merchants were troubled with optical delusions, and could not tell the difference between common brown sugar and yellow sand, and, as a result, when we would get home we would find our sugar badly mixed with sand. Remembering all this, I say, as an old farmer, may the good Lord deliver us from Democracy and free trade.

Can't you send me some documents?

[Laughter.]

I am yours, truly,

W. H. HARPER.

Hon. B. W. PERKINS, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. PERKINS. This, Mr. Chairman, tersely calls the attention of the country to our wonderful progress as a nation with protection, and puts in vivid contrast our condition as a people in the days of free trade and dependence upon Europe for our manufactured goods. The letter is an argument in itself, and briefly recalls our marvelous growth and development under the magic of protection.

But, Mr. Chairman, I desire to have read from the message of the President of the United States to Congress at the opening of this session an extract, as I desire to devote a little attention to it.

The Clerk read as follows:

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty.

So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I did not request the reading of this extract because the reasoning was new or the proposition novel or logical, but in order to call the attention of the House to the fact that it presents the old argument that the tariff necessarily increases the price of every protected article, and adds to the cost of living and to the burdens of consumers to the extent of the duty imposed. If that argument is true, and accepting it as logical and correct for the purpose of my suggestion, I desire to call the attention of my friend from Minnesota, who presumes to speak for the farmers of the Northwest, to the fact that this tariff duty adds annually to the value of the farm products of the land over $1,200,000,000. I have here a list of farm products for 1887, with the tariff upon each article and item; and according to a statement furnished quite recently by Senator BROWN, of Georgia, the duty imposed on these farm products for the year 1887 would aggregate the grand sum I have suggested—$1,203,954,994. Thus, if the tariff adds to the cost and price of all protected articles, as is argued by the President and others, to the extent of the tariff duty imposed, then we find that the consumers pay to the American farmers annually $1,203,954,994 for their farm products more than they could realize for them under other circumstances, and that much more than they could sell them for were it not for Republican protection. I furnish a table showing the amount of the leading farm products of the United States and the profit resulting to farmers from the application of this rule, which must apply to farm products as well as to manufactured articles:

1885.	Corn produced	bushels...	1,936,176,000
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$193,617,600
	Wheat produced	bushels...	357,112,000
	Gain at 20 cents per bushel duty		$71,422,400
	Rye produced	bushels...	21,756,000
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$2,175,600
	Oats produced	bushels...	629,409,000
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$62,940,900
	Barley produced	bushels...	58,836,000
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$5,836,000
	Potatoes produced	bushels...	175,029,000
	Gain at 15 cents per bushel duty		$26,254,350
	Hay produced	tons...	44,731,550
	Gain at $2 per ton duty		$89,463,100
	Tobacco produced	pounds...	562,736,000
	Gain at 35 cents per pound duty		$196,957,600

Duty at 35 cents to $1 per pound.

1887.	Cattle raised, 33,511,750 head	value...	$663,137,926
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$132,627,585
	Horses raised, 12,496,744 head	value...	$901,685,755
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$180,337,151
	Sheep raised, 44,759,314 head		$89,872,839
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$17,974,569
1880.	Wheat flour made		$315,394,385
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$63,078,877
	Cheese made	pounds...	243,157,850
	Gain at 4 cents per pound duty		$9,726,314
	Butter made		806,672,071
	Gain at 4 cents per pound duty		$32,266,882
	Molasses made	gallons...	46,811,523
	Gain at 4 to 8 cents per gallon duty		$3,745,081
	Sugar made	pounds...	124,516,685
	Gain at 1.40 to 3.50 cents per pound duty		$4,358,084
	Provision—meats	value...	$303,562,413
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$60,712,482
	Hops raised	pounds...	26,546,378
	Gain at 8 cents per pound duty		$2,123,710
	Rice raised	pounds...	110,131,373
	Gain at 2½ cents per pound duty		$2,477,965
	Wool clips	pounds...	240,681,751
	Gain at 10 per cent.—per pound 2½ to 12 cents—duty		$24,068,175
	Pickles, etc	value...	$2,407,342
	Gain at 35 per cent. ad valorem duty		$842,569
	Beans and peas	bushels...	9,594,027
	Gain at 10 per cent. ad valorem duty		$959,002

RECAPITULATION OF SUPPOSED PROFITS.

Corn	$193,617,600	Cheese	$9,726,314
Wheat	71,422,400	Butter	32,266,882
Rye	2,175,600	Molasses	3,745,081
Oats	62,940,900	Sugar	4,358,084
Barley	5,836,000	Meats	60,712,482
Potatoes	26,254,350	Hops	2,123,710
Hay	89,463,100	Rice	2,477,965
Tobacco	196,957,600	Wool	24,068,175
Cattle	132,627,585	Pickles, etc	842,569
Horses	180,337,151	Beans, etc	959,002
Sheep	17,974,567		
Wheat flour	63,078,877	Total	1,203,954,994

Yet it is suggested that a system which gives this aid to the farmers of our land is not a good system, but is one which, in the language of the President of the United States, is to be denounced as "vicious, inequitable, and illogical."

Mr. Chairman, it is a system that has encouraged the wonderful growth that we have made as a people since the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, on the 4th day of March, 1861. It is scarcely necessary, I apprehend, that I should spend the time of this committee to speak of the condition of this country at that time, of its wealth, its resources, its development, its manufacturing industries, and all of those things which go to make up the material greatness of a nation, and which gives employment to labor and finds opportunity for the investment of capital. Yet I might properly call the attention of the committee to the fact that up to that period the whole wealth of the nation, in round numbers, all its earnings and accumulations, aggregated but $16,000,000,000.

Dating the first settlement of our country at Plymouth in 1620, and following its growth and development until 1861, a period of two hundred and forty years, with the legislation that had prevailed up to that time, we find that we had accumulated an aggregate capital of but $16,000,000,000, and yet, sir, when the Republican party stepped aside on the 4th day of March, 1885, and Grover Cleveland was inducted into the Presidential chair, the aggregate wealth of this nation had reached in round numbers the sum of $50,000,000,000. We had in twenty-four years under the legislation and policy fostered and given to the people by the Republican party sustained our country against civil war, paid our debts, redeemed our promises, advanced our credit, pensioned our soldiers in part, and faithfully observed our obligations to the people, and grown from a country of $16,000,000,000 to the enormous wealth of $50,000,000,000.

Two hundred and forty years of growth and legislation had given us but $16,000,000,000, while twenty-four years of Republican government and Republican legislation more than trebled the amount; and yet the system of legislation and administration which enabled us to do all this and to give to the world this matchless exhibition of government is denominated by the present Executive as vicious, inequitable, and illogical. It gave us more than $32,000,000,000 in the twenty-four years of its existence, and has made us the richest and most powerful nation of the world, and because upon this side of the Chamber we stand here and point to it with pride and say that it is evidence of good legislation, that it is evidence of wise administration, we are charged with favoring all that is pernicious and bad in government.

But, Mr. Chairman, some say that this wonderful growth and development of the country is not to be ascribed to that system of legislation; some say that no part of it is to be ascribed to the administration of the Republican party of this Government, and perhaps, briefly, my friend from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] has suggested that. They would suggest as the reason for that growth and development that it is because of our great rivers, our great harbors, because of our immense area of public lands, our rich mines, our productive prairies, our great mountains, and magnificent bays. All of these natural advantages, coupled with a productive soil and genial climate, are assigned as the reasons for this growth and development. But, Mr. Chairman, will that answer the argument which is advanced in support of this system of American protection? I ask were not these natural advantages here from our first settlement and during all the years we were climbing up to the possession of an aggregate capital of $16,000,000,000?

Did the Republican party cause the rain to fall, and create God's sunshine, the fertile lands, the great rivers and harbors, and the inviting prairies? I am willing to concede that all of these were here for all the decades before the Republican party came into the control of the Government. But with Republican legislation and Republican administration these natural advantages which we had were made to contribute to our growth, development, and prosperity, until we had trebbled the wealth we had been theretofore two hundred and forty years accumulating, and gave to the world an exhibition of growth and prosperity the like of which had never been seen in the annals of time nor in the entire circuit of the sun. But permit me to call attention to this significant language in the message of the President:

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the workingman nor the lessening of his wages.

Why this language, Mr. Chairman, except it is an admonition from the President of the United States to his free-trade colaborers that they must take notice of the stubborn, irresistible, incontrovertible, and eloquent fact that the Republican system of protection opens to the American workingman opportunities for employment and adds to his compensation given in exchange for his industry and his toil?

Mr. Chairman, it is not necessary nor have I the time to call the attention of this House to the conditions existing in other nations and with other people, and put them in contrast with the conditions existing here. It is an oft-told tale. But I may be pardoned for calling the attention of the House and the country to this bill which is reported from the Committee on Ways and Means. I have it now in my hand, and I find on an examination of it that almost every article raised by the American farmer is put upon the free-list, while that which is the product of labor, and labor alone, popularly called "raw material," is stricken down in almost every instance, and put in competition with European pauper labor, while what little protection is left for our country by the provisions of the bill is left exclusively for capital.

Is that remarkable, Mr. Chairman, when we come to remember the circumstances of propagation and gestation under which the bill was given to the House? Is it remarkable when we come to remember who considered the bill; who framed the bill; who reported it to the House? I have here, sir, in my hand, a list of the Committee on Ways and Means. I find the first name upon the committee is ROGER Q. MILLS of Texas, the second name is BENTON MCMILLIN of Tennessee, the third name CLIFTON R. BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas, the fourth name W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky, the fifth name HENRY G. TURNER of Georgia, the sixth WILLIAM L. WILSON of West Virginia, the seventh WILLIAM L. SCOTT of Pennsylvania, and the eighth WILLIAM D. BYNUM of Indiana. Then follow the names of the five Republican members of the committee.

But as is well known and is publicly understood, the Republican members, the trained and experienced legislators from the North and East, of the committee had no voice, no part, no lot whatever in the preparation and make-up of that bill; and as is also well known to the House, the Representative from Pennsylvania named as a member of that committee was most of the time elsewhere. His duties called him from the House and from the meetings of the committee. And so we find that the great manufacturing States of the land and all that great territory of the Union north of the Ohio River and east of the State of Indiana had no voice, no part whatever in the preparation of the bill. We find it was considered and reported to this House by the Representatives of these Southern States; and when we remember the antecedents of these gentlemen, and the convictions they have heretofore entertained, is it remarkable that we should find they have made no provision for labor or the products of the field? Why, Mr. Chairman, we all remember that it was but a few years since when these men contended that capital should own its labor, should lash its labor, and sell it to the highest bidder; but a few years since the farmers of the great North were called the "mud-sills of society" and our laboring people were scorned by the governing classes of the South and insulted as "greasy mechanics."

The antecedents of the men who reported this bill are known to all, and of course no attempt has been made to conceal their convictions. But in considering legislation it is always well to study the convictions and antecedents of the men who enacted the same, and so think I in the study and contemplation of this bill.

I have here, Mr. Chairman, the constitution of the Confederate government, and I shall ask to have read two or three passages from it.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Article IV, section 2, clause 1.]

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired.

[Article IV, section 2, clause 3.]

No slave or other person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or lawfully carried into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labor may be due.

[Article IV, section 3, clause 3.]

The Confederate States may acquire new territory, and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States lying without the limits of the several

States, and may permit them at such times, and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory the institution of negro slavery as it now exists in the Confederate States shall be recognized and protected by congress and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.

Mr. PERKINS. Now I ask the Clerk to turn forward and read a prior section which I have marked.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Article I, section 8, clause 1.]

The congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid, to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform thoughout the Confederate States.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. What Democratic platform is that from?

Mr. PERKINS. I have had these sections of the Confederate constitution read for the purpose of showing what the men who have reported this bill but a few years ago believed. They were no doubt sincere in their convictions, and so zealous were they that they were willing to take swords and guns in their hands and upon the battle-field struggle if necessary to strike down this Government, so that those convictions might be fastened and perpetuated in the States of the Confederacy for all the years to come.

I am not denouncing these men or quarreling with them because they entertained those convictions. As brave men I respect them, and I know how with swords and fire they battled for those convictions and imperiled life and limb that no other government should be given to their people. These convictions were their pillar of fire by night and their pillar of cloud by day; and, entertaining them, is it remarkable that they should have reported to this House the bill they have?

Having no respect for the ordinary farmer and believing that capital should own its labor, and that no encouragement should be given to the American manufacturer, and that no duty whatever should be imposed upon imported products, could they do otherwise than they have in the bill presented? Are they not to be commended for their liberality rather than condemned for their un-American predilections?

Representing the governing side of this House, they were by the action of the Speaker given the power to prepare and report this bill, and, in keeping with their convictions, they have performed their duties. Possessing the power, is it remarkable that they should refuse a hearing to the farmers, to the laborers, and to the American manufacturers, and report a bill that would give to the country the conditions they contended for upon the field of battle as nearly as our changed circumstances would permit?

The bill they give to this House for its consideration is of the character and kind I have suggested, and must result in striking down the products of the field and in putting the laborers of America in competition with the laborers of the Old World, except perhaps that they propose to give an additional bounty to the rice grown on Southern fields, and to give to those engaged in pressing and baling cotton the iron bands or ties they require free of duty, while the Northern farmer engaged in baling hay or the Northern manufacturer engaged in hooping barrels must pay the import duty imposed on the iron that he uses.

Mr. Chairman, in the limited time allotted me I can not go over this bill as I would like to do, nor can I give attention to many questions that are important to be considered in connection with this proposed legislation, But I suggest the hope that in the debate that we are to be favored with there will be no jugglery. I hope that the mask of hypocrisy will be stricken off, and that the hideous face of free trade will be exhibited in all its brazenness. I want these men to talk their convictions. I know in the years gone they have been admonished to keep quiet. While the Townsends and Springers and others have indulged in their empty platitudes [laughter] these men have been admonished to keep still, and for prudential reasons to take back seats. But I trust that day has gone. These men are men of ability and of convictions, and they have the right to be heard. They are the important, the governing factor in the Democratic party. They give to the Democratic organization 153 electoral votes, and they have the right to be heard. Whether they do this by fraud and violence is, perhaps, not for me to say, but without the electoral votes given to the Democratic party by these men it would be a bantling scarcely worthy of attention. Hence we see them honored with these important duties, and consulted as the oracles of the party. Let them talk, and let them exercise their power as they did quite recently. Perhaps it was but right that they should filibuster against a Democratic House, the report of a Democratic committee, and the business of a Democratic Congress for eight days to defeat a bill which proposes to pay to the loyal States of the country $17,000,000 advanced to the General Government to aid it in putting down treason and rebellion. Remembering their fealty to the Democratic party and their distinguished services in its behalf, it perhaps was but right that a Democratic House should surrender to them, after eight days of filibustering tactics they had given the people of the country to understand that money could not be taken from the public Treasury to reimburse the loyal States for such expenditures. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, upon this side of the House we believe in the dignity and honor of labor, and believe it entitled to good legislation. It has always been the doctrine of the Republican party that the boy who is employed to till the fields, to cultivate the corn, to mow the hay, and to hold the plow, if he is honest, if he is sober, if he is industrious and law-abiding, is just as much entitled to our honor and good-will, to our favorable consideration and respect as is the man who owns the farm and gives him employment; and it was this doctrine of the Republican organization that made a rail-splitter President of the United States and a canal boy its chief Executive and most distinguished citizen. [Applause.] Here, Mr. Chairman, we join issue with the men who report to this House the Mills tariff bill.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. PERKINS. I desire to have printed in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, the letter which I send to the reporters. It is a letter from a workingman and an old soldier.

There was no objection.

The letter is as follows:

WEIR, CHEROKEE COUNTY, KANSAS, *March* 20, 1888.

HONORABLE COMRADE: With intense interest the people are watching the Senate and House of Representatives. Grover's free-trade message has awakened our farmers and miners. We see plainly the value of iron and steel imported into this country last year is immense. We have none too much money in the country; none too much work for our laboring men. We have paid to English and German molders and rail-makers large amounts which should have been distributed among men bearing the burdens of our Government, buying the grain, meat, and coal of our fertile soil, and sharing with us all the duties, responsibilities, and glories of an American citizen. The men to whom we have paid these large sums of money do not do anything for us; they buy little from us, they have shut out our grain and meat, they are not helping our institutions, but theirs is in antagonism to ours. The nearer we come to manufacturing every ounce of iron and steel we need the more prosperous will the country be. We protest against any reduction of the revenue. The country is generally prosperous, and this prosperity has come by wise adjustment of all branches of business production and manufacture to each other. It has taken many years of costly experience to establish it, and any fooling with that will be injurious, cause enormous losses to all classes, while under the present revenue system the country has grown richer quicker than during any previous period of its history, and more rapidly than any other nation in the world. There is more work for our people to do, there are better wages paid than there ever was before; their wages will buy more of the comforts of life than ever before, and more than any other people can buy for a day's wages. In this world, with such results before our eyes, it would be very wrong to change the system because some demagogue asks it, who is striving to make personal or political capital, deluding the people, pretending to relieve burdens which were never felt, and relieving hardships which are imaginary. Does the so-called Democracy want to fill the nation with tramps and outlaws, to cripple the power of the Government to pay the honest debts of the nation to the men who saved it at the expense of their lives, health, and strength, and the men who hold the Government bonds? To destroy the Government's power to pay these debts to the men who depended on its honor is bad faith, ungrateful, and is criminal repudiation, and one which will be certain to bring about serious results. We protest against such a course with all our power, and we call on our Representatives and Senators to make this protest effective,

I am, very truly, yours,

WM. H. VINCENT,
Weir, Cherokee County, Kansas.

To Hon. B. W. PERKINS,
Washington, D. C.

The Direct Tax and the Cotton Tax.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH WHEELER,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, April 3, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (S. 139) to credit and pay to the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by the act of Congress approved August 5, 1861—

Mr. WHEELER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: When the vote was had this morning upon the motion of the gentleman [Mr. FORAN] representing the Committee on Appropriations that the House proceed with the bill making the necessary annual appropriations for pensions, I interposed an objection to the motion to dispense with the reading of the names. It seemed to me that on so important a measure it was best to give an opportunity for reflection during the few moments so occupied.

The question before the House was this: Shall we proceed to consider a bill which appropriates money to pay the pensions awarded by law to the wounded and disabled soldiers of the Republic, or shall we push the soldiers' claims aside to proceed with a bill which seeks to give $17,000,000 to wealthy property-holders and to rich and prosperous States?

After waiting until the last moment for the motion to come from the other side I changed my vote and moved a reconsideration. It was my hope that a sufficient number of our friends of the other party would

come to the rescue of the soldier and reverse the action by which they had ignored, or at least postponed, his legal rights.

The appropriation bills have been unusually delayed this session—from causes for which the Democratic party is in no way responsible—and notwithstanding our efforts we have as yet been unable to secure consideration of the annual bill which provides the means to pay pensions to the soldiers of the country, and I felt warranted in the belief that it was much more in keeping with the professions of the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle to consider the just rights of the soldiers, many of whom are poor and decrepit, rather than to devote their efforts to rushing through a bill, the only effect of which will be to make rich men richer, and which, in its best aspect, is of conjectural expediency, of questionable propriety, and of extremely doubtful constitutionality.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will the gentleman allow me a moment? At what time would the money become available for the "poor and decrepit soldiers" if the pension appropriation bill had passed to-day.

Mr. WHEELER. It would become available at the time fixed by law.

Mr. GROSVENOR. When is that?

Mr. WHEELER. In reply to the gentleman I will ask him a question—whether a Democratic Congress has ever allowed the 3d of April to arrive without considering that measure; and I will also ask if it is consistent for his party to cast a solid vote against taking up and passing the bill?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Do you think the bill is endangered now by being postponed?

Mr. WHEELER. Unless Republicans continue to vote against its consideration, I do not think it is in any serious danger; but for every Republican in the House to vote against the bill twice in one day might justify some apprehension. With profound respect for those who differ with me and vote for another course of procedure, I shall adhere to my view that it is more proper to take up appropriation bills of that character which appropriate money to the Federal soldiers of the country, who, by laws already enacted, are entitled to the money, in preference to taking up a bill like this, which appropriates money to rich States who have no shadow of a legal claim to the gratuity which in this manner is sought to be taken from the Federal Treasury.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Is there not plenty of money being paid out every day to meet all the demands of the Pension Office?

Mr. WHEELER. Under the excellent management of a Democratic administration, there is.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Could a dollar of the money appropriated by the pending pension appropriation bill be available until after the 30th of June next?

Mr. WHEELER. I do not think it would. But that is not the question I wish to discuss.

Now, Mr. Chairman, when I moved to reconsider the vote by which the House declined to consider that bill, it was in the hope that gentlemen on the other side would reconsider and change their votes, and I have deep sympathy for the awkward position in which they are placed by their failure to avail themselves of the opportunity. And although I have very little time, I would be inclined to yield a considerable portion of it to those of my Republican friends who wish, before it is too late, to apologize to the soldiers for their votes this morning. If any of them are not sufficiently contrite to make apologies, I will even yield them time for explanations. [Laughter.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. We will give you opportunity to vote on pension questions.

Mr. WHEELER. I have no doubt you will—after you have had your way in voting money into the pockets of the rich and prosperous.

The explanation I have endeavored to make has been to show that my dilatory motions, and motion to reconsider, were not made for the purpose of filibustering to prevent the discussion of this bill—for I am very anxious to have it fully discussed—but with the object of securing what I considered the proper order of business in this House, impressed as I was from my own observation, and what I have seen in the press, with the fact that we are further behind in regard to appropriation bills than at many preceding Congresses.

THE PRINCIPLE INVOLVED IN SUCH LEGISLATION.

I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, that I regard the bill before the House as containing legislation more pernicious than any ever introduced in Congress. The bill involves this startling principle: that Congress, exercising the power under the Constitution to tax, may, in one Congress, levy a tax for the purpose of refunding a tax levied by a preceding Congress. When that is admitted as one of the principles to govern the legislation of this country, there is no limit to our power in this respect, and no limit to the evil which may arise from the establishment of such precedents. If one Congress may levy a tax to pay back what another Congress has levied, less, of course, all deductions resulting from expenses of collection, refunding, etc., it would be in the power of Congress to treble and quadruple the officials of our country, though our party is pledged as far as possible to reduce them, and thereby reduce the burdens upon the people.

Why, Mr. Chairman, if we establish the precedent some gentlemen are now contending for, let me ask where shall it be stopped? If it be equitable and lawful to refund this tax upon the ground that the Southern States did not pay their full portion, why should we not also refund the internal-revenue tax on whisky and tobacco collected in the North during the years in which the same tax was not collected in the South? By the same reasoning it could be contended that we should enact a law to refund the income tax because during some years it was paid in the North and not paid in the South. We must pause before committing ourselves to the dangerous and indefensible principle which underlies this bill.

DIRECT-TAX LAWS BY CONGRESS.

Again, Mr. Chairman, the tax proposed to be refunded is a tax which has been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be constitutional. The first law which I can find embodying a direct tax was passed in 1798; and we find running through all the opinions of the Supreme Court, from 3 Dallas down to 112 United States Reports, decisions asserting that this character of tax is constitutional. By examination of the statutes I find that prior to 1861 but four direct-tax laws have been enacted by Congress. These laws were: First, the act of July 9, 1798, which was amended February 28, 1799, January 2, 1800, May 10, 1800, May 13, 1800, and January 13, 1805; second, the act of July 22, 1813; third, the act of January 9, 1815, amended March 3, 1815; and fourth, and last prior to 1861, was the act of April 27, 1816, which was amended several times, the last amendment being that of April 28, 1828, which extended the time allowed for the redemption of land sold for direct taxes.

It appears that these direct-tax laws have been passed upon by the Supreme Court. I have before me numerous decisions affirming their constitutionality, among them being the cases *in 9th* Cranch, 4th and 5th Wheaton, 9th and 12th Wallace, 99th, 102d, and 110th United States Reports.

We all know that, even if not expressly called on to do so, an appellate court will assume of its own motion to pass upon the constitutionality of any law before it which involves the right of the Government to collect its revenue.

In what position do we stand before the country? We are proposing to pay back a constitutional tax, while we have constantly refused to pay back a tax which the Supreme Court of the United States has in effect declared to be unconstitutional. At the proper time I shall propose an amendment providing that all moneys collected by virtue of the tax called the cotton tax shall be refunded to the States from which said money was received after the cessation of hostilities in the war of 1861–'65, and my amendment will also provide that this shall be done in accordance with the provisions of House bill No. 1189, introduced by myself in this Congress, and which is in these words:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to ascertain what amounts were paid to the United States as a tax upon cotton by persons then residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the States of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, California, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Indian Nation, or Indian Territory, and the amounts ascertained to have been paid by said persons, or collected by persons authorized by an officer or officers of the United States to make said collections from persons then residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in said States and Territories, respectively, shall, by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, be paid to such officer as the Legislature of each of said States and Territories may by law designate; that is to say:

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Illinois the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the State of Illinois.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Indiana the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the State of Indiana.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Ohio the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the State of Ohio.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Virginia the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of West Virginia the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Arkansas the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of California the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Tennessee the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislsture of the State of Texas the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who shall be designated by the Legislature of the State of Missouri the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Florida the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Alabama the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Georgia the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of South Carolina the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Kentucky the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Maryland the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons then residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the State of Delaware the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons then residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the said State.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the Territory of Arizona the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in cotton-raising in the Territory of Arizona.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the Legislature of the Territory of New Mexico the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the Territory of New Mexico.

He shall pay to the officer who may be designated by the council of the Indian nation the amount which was paid by virtue of said law by persons residing in or who were engaged in raising cotton in the Indian Territory or Indian nation.

SEC. 2. That when cotton was shipped from one State to another and the tax paid was paid by the person to whom it was shipped, or by any other person in a State other than the State in which said cotton was grown, such sums shall be included in the amounts paid by the persons residing in the States where said cotton was grown; and said amount shall not be included as an amount paid by persons residing in the State to which said cotton was shipped before the said tax was paid thereon.

I introduced a similar bill in the Forty-seventh Congress, and it slept the sleep of the just. I repeated the effort in the Forty-ninth Congress, and again failed to secure consideration of the measure.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. If the gentleman is opposed to levying a tax, as I understand him to say he is, for the purpose of refunding to the States the direct tax, why does he propose to levy a tax to refund the cotton tax? What difference is there between the two?.

Mr. WHEELER. There is a very great difference. I think the gentleman will agree there would be much more propriety in refunding a tax collected under the provisions of a law which was repugnant to the Constitution, and therefore was collected illegally, than in refunding a tax collected pursuant to a law which was unquestionably constitutional.

A VITAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE LAWS.

There is another difference between the two proposed laws. The effect of the cotton-tax law would be to pay money back to those from whom it was wrongfully taken.

It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to return the money to those by whom the direct tax was actually paid, under the bill now being considered, as most of the $17,000,000 was paid by the States.

Again, those States whose population and wealth have increased since 1861 would be losers, while a State which has not been so fortunate would gain if the direct tax were refunded. In discussing the equity of questions like these we must assume that the $17,000,000 proposed to be paid must be collected in some way from the people, and we must further assume that States pay taxes, substantially, in proportion to their population and wealth. Proceeding under these assumptions, Maine, for instance (if we except Vermont), has changed less than any State, her population being about 3 per cent. greater than in 1860, while the population of Nebraska has increased about 3,000 per cent. Again, the assessed value of property in Maine has increased about 72 per cent., while in Nebraska the increase in the assessed value of property has been more than 3,500 per cent., now surpassing Maine in both wealth and population.

Nebraska's part of the direct tax was $19,312, while that of Maine was $420,826. Maine would get twenty dollars for every one received by Nebraska, and yet the amount Nebraska would have to pay to make up the $17,000,000 would exceed that which would be contributed by Maine.

There is much in the measure now under consideration, and in the method by which it was forced upon us, to excite distrust. When in the Senate, the bill was in this language:

Be it enacted, etc., That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to credit to each State and Territory of the United States and the District of Columbia a sum equal to all collections made from said States and Territories and the District of Columbia, or from any of the citizens or inhabitants thereof, or other persons, under the act of Congress approved August 5, 1861, and the amendatory acts thereto.

SEC. 2. That all moneys still due to the United States on the quota of direct tax apportioned by section 8 of the act of Congress approved August 5, 1861, are hereby remitted and relinquished.

SEC. 3. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to reimburse each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia for all money found due to them under the provisions of this act; and the Treasurer of the United States is hereby directed to pay the same to the governors of the States and Territories and to the commissioners of the District of Columbia: *Provided*, That where the sums or any part thereof, credited to any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, have been collected by the United States from the citizens or inhabitants thereof, or any other person, either directly or by sale of property, such sums shall be held in trust by such State, Territory, or the District of Columbia for the benefit of those persons or inhabitants from whom they were collected, or their legal representatives: *And provided further*, That no part of the money collected from individuals and to be held in trust as aforesaid shall be retained by the United States as a set-off against any indebtedness alleged to exist against the State, Territory, or the District of Columbia in which such tax was collected.

While the bill was being discussed in the Senate, Senator BUTLER proposed an amendment which was adopted, and which was in these words:

And provided further, That no part of the money hereby appropriated shall be paid out by the governor of any State or Territory, or any other person, to any attorney or agent, under any contract for services now existing or heretofore made between the representatives of any State or Territory and any attorney or agent.

THE PEOPLE'S INTEREST DISREGARDED.

Singular as it may appear, this important amendment was stricken out by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House. It would certainly be very interesting to learn what influence accomplished this result. If there was a redeeming feature in the bill it was this proviso, which sought to secure the money to the people. It is asserted that all or nearly all the States have contracts with agents which stipulate that a certain pro rata of the $17,000,000 shall be paid to persons who stand at the door of this Hall and urge the passage of the bill. I ask, was it not in their interest that the proviso was stricken out which exacted that all the money should be returned to the people? Is it possible that any other interest could have secured the amendment?

Again, why was the bill forced upon our consideration to-day?

For the first time in the history of legislative proceedings, so far as my experience extends, the Committee on Rules undertook to dictate what particular bills reported by the several committees should be considered. To our surprise the arrangement of days for bills from the Committee on the Judiciary appeared in these words:

That Tuesday and Wednesday, April 3 and 4, immediately after the reading of the Journal, be set apart for the consideration of Senate bill 139, to provide for refunding the direct tax levied in 1861, and after the consideration of said bill is completed the remainder of said time is set apart for the consideration of any other bill or bills designated by the Committee on the Judiciary.

IMPORTANT LEGISLATION POSTPONED.

This unfortunate order subordinated to the bill under discussion much important legislation which has been considered by the Judiciary Committee. I recall first, the bill to reorganize the judiciary system of the United States; second, the bill to restrict the ownership of real estate in the Territories to American citizens; third, the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting polygamy; and fourth, a bill to limit the jurisdiction of the district and circuit courts of the United States.

If we enact this direct-tax bill into a law we inaugurate a new and novel idea of administration, the purpose of which in this case is to appropriate $17,000,000 with the apparent intention of allowing a large portion of these millions to be given to the lawyers and agents who are said to have instigated and urged on the bill.

The political party which brings up this bill, by its action in 1866 and 1867, declared that the Southern States were no part of the Union during the period when this tax was collected, and during that period, as a matter of fact, those States were denied representation in Congress. This is shown by the reconstruction acts and the restoration of those States to the Union by the various laws of Congress.

PROTECTION AND TAXATION GO TOGETHER.

If they were correct in the position they assumed at that time there is no ground upon which they can justify the claim sought to be set up, that the direct tax due and collected in 1862 can now be demanded.

From the beginning of time no civilized government has ever sought to enforce such a hardship.

When Germany acquired the department of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871 would she have been justified in saying to the people of those provinces, "You were a part of Germany for centuries, and remained so until Louis XIV forcibly annexed you to France by the treaty of Ryswick. We did not willingly acquiesce in the claim of France, but have always insisted that you rightfully belonged to and were liable to pay taxes to Germany. We could not make you pay taxes when you were under the dominion of France, and we will therefore now proceed to assess and collect taxes according to German laws for all those years;" and if France should now recover back those provinces would she require the people to pay taxes to France for the seventeen years they had been under the dominion of Germany?

The principle upon which taxes are levied is that it is payment for the benefits conferred and for the protection afforded. If a government is not in a position to protect, it is not in a position to tax.

When Alsace and Lorraine were protected by France they paid taxes to France, when protected by Germany they paid taxes to Germany.

When Alabama was protected by the Federal Government it paid taxes to that Government; when the Federal Government gave no pro-

tection, and was supplanted by the Confederate Government, Alabama paid taxes to that sovereigntv.

It may be said that the cases are not similar, because the French provinces were forced to recognize German authority and accept German protection; but it must be remembered that the Federal Government contended that the greater part of Alabama and Tennessee unwillingly submitted to Confederate power, and if that be true then the inability of the Federal Government to protect that portion is an inhibition to any claim or right of taxation during the period in which she abdicated in favor of the Confederacy.

BUT ONE SOVEREIGN CAN TAX.

To be brief, there is but one safe rule in such matters. No people ought to be required to pay tribute to two sovereigns. If they could be compelled to do so, then any sovereign who has the power arising from temporary occupancy, coupled with a claim of right to possession, could collect taxes for the period when the unfortunate province was governed by and paying tribute to another sovereign, and therefore such people might pay full taxes to three, four, or more sovereigns for the same period. To obviate such injustice protection has always been regarded as a prerequisite to taxation.

In our Government, representation is also insisted upon as a prerequisite. Alabama was denied both during all the time the direct-tax law was in force, and in no sense was that State liable to its provisions.

A portion of this tax was collected in the South in 1865, after President Johnson's proclamation of restoration. All of these States had duly-elected Senators and Members of Congress standing at the doors of these halls, but nevertheless all these States were denied representation.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Will the gentleman allow me to ask another question?

Mr. WHEELER. Most certainly. What is it?

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Does the gentleman from Alabama propose to refund the cotton tax by imposing a tax and raising the money for that purpose?

Mr. WHEELER. I thank the gentleman for his suggestive inquiry, as that is the very question I wish to put at issue.

Four justices of the Supreme Court declared the law under which the cotton tax was collected to be in violation of the Constitution, and therefore null and void. I contend that it might be eminently proper for us to enact a law to refund money collected as taxes pursuant to an unconstitutional law, while it would be very questionable legislation to refund money collected under a law which is in strict conformity to the Constitution.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the Supreme Court has decided that this tax was unconstitutional?

Mr. WHEELER. The law was held by four justices of the Supreme Court to be unconstitutional.

THE COTTON TAX IN COURT.

The case was first tried in the United States circuit court for the district of West Tennessee, on the suit of William M. Farrington against Rolfe S. Saunders, collector of internal revenue, on the plea of trespass on the case, H. F. Cooper, assistant assessor for the Eighth collection district, State of Tennessee, having assessed, and said Saunders, as collector of internal revenue, having collected a tax of $2,005.74 on 148 bales of cotton under the act of July 13, 1866.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the Supreme Court had decided that the cotton tax was unconstitutional?

Mr. WHEELER. I stated how the court stood. I stated that four judges held the law to be unconstitutional and four judges were of the opinion that the unconstitutionality of the tax had not been established.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Then it was not decided to be unconstitutional?

Mr. WHEELER. No. When the case was tried but eight judges participated in the hearing, and the court was evenly divided. I was going on to explain how the cause got before the Supreme Court, and why it was that no opinion was published in the reports.

When the cause came to trial in the United States district court at Memphis, Tenn., it was agreed between the plaintiff and defendant that it should be tried by the court without a jury, upon a statement of facts setting forth the assessment of the tax, the threat of the collector to seize the 148 bales of cotton in default of payment of the tax so assessed, that the plaintiff thereupon paid said tax under protest, and appealed to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue at Washington, demanding that the amount of the said tax be refunded to plaintiff; that the appeal was rejected, and suit was at once entered to recover from the collector of internal revenue the amount of said tax upon the ground that the law under which the defendant claimed to have acted in assessing and levying said tax was unconstitutional and invalid, for the reason that it was, in effect, an export duty or tax, because three-fourths to five-sixths of all the cotton raised in the United States was exported.

Upon consideration of the cause the circuit court held that—

The said act of Congress of the 13th of July, 1866, imposing an internal-revenue tax of 3 cents per pound upon cotton grown and produced within the United States is constitutional and valid, and that the law of the case upon the facts agreed is with the defendant.

APPEALED TO THE SUPREME COURT.

To this opinion of the court plaintiff excepted, and appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

It will be observed from the record that in order to get the cause before the Supreme Court the plaintiff accepted a decision by the circuit court affirming the constitutionality of the law, and therefore on appeal the burden rested upon plaintiff to show why the decision of the circuit court should be reversed.

The cause was argued before the Supreme Court on the 7th and 8th February, 1871, Justices Nelson, Clifford, Swayne, Miller, Davis, Field, Strong, and Bradley sitting. Mr. Chase, the Chief-Justice, was ill, and did not participate in the hearing.

Notwithstanding the extreme sectional feeling prevailing at that time and the aversion to questioning any law of Congress enacted for the purpose of raising revenue to meet the obligations of the Government, and notwithstanding the fact that twelve days intervened between the close of the argument and the final action of the court, but four justices of the Supreme Court of the United States were willing to acquiesce in the opinion of the court below, while the other four members of the court contended that the law was unconstitutional and void.

Such a result under such circumstances was regarded as being equivalent to an admission of the justice of the case of appellant. Suppose the Government had entertained the same confidence in the strength of its position as was manifested by the plaintiff, and had consented to an adverse judgment in the lower court for the purpose of obtaining a final decree from the Supreme Court, the burden of proof would have been shifted, and by the division of the highest judicial tribunal in the Republic the cotton-tax law would have been *officially* declared unconstitutional, null, and void, and that such a decision would be sound law I think there can be no question.

ANOTHER ELEMENT OF UNCONSTITUTIONALITY.

In addition to the admissions in the record in the case of Farrington *vs.* Saunders, it will be admitted here that the cotton tax was not uniform in its application, because no one can question the fact that cotton is a staple, the production of which is confined to particular and limited localities.

The assumed authority for the proceedings I have recited was called the first cotton-tax act, which is to be found in section 4 of the act approved March 7, 1864, pages 15 and 16, volume 13, Statutes at Large, and is couched in these words:

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passage of this act, in lieu of the duties provided in the act referred to in the first section of this act, there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon all cotton produced or sold and removed for consumption, and upon which no duty has been levied, paid, or collected, a duty of 2 cents per pound; and such duty shall be and remain a lien thereon until said duty shall have been paid, in the possession of any person whomsoever. And further, if any person or persons, corporation or association of persons, remove, carry or transport the same, or procure any other party or parties to remove, carry, or transport the same from the place of its production, with the intent to evade the duty thereon, or to defraud the Government, before said duty shall have been paid, such person or persons, corporation or association of persons, shall forfeit and pay to the United States double the amount of said duty, to be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction: *Provided*, That all cotton sold by or on account of the Government of the United States shall be free and exempt from duty at the time of and after the sale thereof, and the same shall be marked free, and the purchaser furnished with such a bill of sale as shall clearly and accurately describe the same, which shall be deemed and taken to be a permit authorizing the sale or removal thereof.

The records of the Treasury show that a considerable portion of the tax on cotton was collected in cities outside of the Southern States in which the cotton was produced. The tax paid at such cities was levied and collected under the further provisions of the same act, which I will now read:

Whenever any cotton, the product of the United States, shall arrive at any port of the United States from any State in insurrection against the Government, the assessor or assistant assessor, under the act referred to in the first section of this act, shall immediately assess the taxes due thereon, and shall, without delay, return the same to the collector or deputy collector of said district, and the said collector or deputy collector shall demand of the owner or other person having charge of such cotton the tax imposed by this act.

ADDING TO THE BURDEN.

In 1866 this act was amended, and the tax on cotton was increased to 3 cents per pound. I read the law as amended. It is to be found in section 1 of the act approved July 13, 1866, page 98, volume 14, Statutes at Large.

Be it enacted, etc., That on and after the 1st day of August, 1866, in lieu of the taxes on manufactured cotton, as provided in "An act to provide internal revenue to support the Government, to pay interest on the public debt, and for other purposes," approved June 30, 1864, as amended by the act of March 3, 1865, there shall be paid by the producer, owner, or holder upon all cotton produced within the United States, and upon which no tax has been levied, paid, or collected, a tax of 3 cents per pound, as hereinafter provided: * * * and no drawback shall, in any case be allowed on raw or unmanufactured cotton of any tax paid thereon when exported in the raw or unmanufactured condition. But no tax shall be imposed upon any cotton imported from other countries and on which an import duty shall have been paid.

I have prepared a table (which will be printed with my remarks) showing at a glance the aggregate amount of the tax assessed and the amount collected under the cotton-tax act and under the direct tax of

1861, the amount paid by each State, and the amount claimed to be still due or remitted, which I will read:

Table showing the amount of the direct cotton tax and direct land tax assessed and the amount of cotton and land tax collected, and the balance claimed to be due the United States or remitted.

States and Territories.	Direct cotton tax assessed.	Direct land tax assessed.	Aggregate cotton and land tax collected.	Amount claimed to be due the United States or remitted.
Alabama	$10,388,072.10	$529,313.33	$10,410,592.34	$511,028.30
Arkansas	2,555,638.43	261,886.00	2,739,720.61	77,780.82
California	430.04	254,538.67	254,968.71	31,583.26
Colorado		22,905.33	22,189.96	715.37
Connecticut	193.64	308,214.00	264,175.54	46,232.10
Dakota		3,241.33	3,241.33	
Delaware		74,683.33	70,332.83	4,350.50
District of Columbia		49,437.33	49,437.33	
Florida	918,944.98	77,522.67	962,474.79	33,992.86
Georgia	11,897,094.98	584,367.33	12,015,077.87	477,404.16
Illinois	379,144.42	1,146,551.33	1,353,713.05	171,982.70
Indiana	92,727.22	904,875.33	861,871.25	135,731.30
Iowa		452,088.00	384,274.80	67,813.20
Kansas	286.15	71,743.33	71,029.48	10,761.50
Kentucky	553,327.45	713,695.33	1,159,968.48	107,054.30
Louisiana	10,098,501.00	385,886.67	10,484,387.67	117,371.55
Maine		420,826.00	357,702.10	63,123.90
Maryland	51,349.52	436,823.33	422,649.35	65,523.50
Massachusetts	66,679.30	824,581.33	767,573.44	123,687.19
Michigan		501,763.33	426,498.83	75,264.50
Minnesota		108,524.00	92,245.40	16,268.60
Mississippi	8,742,995.93	413,084.67	8,856,320.59	311,367.63
Missouri	592,098.36	761,127.33	1,239,056.59	114,169.10
Nebraska		19,312.00	19,312.00	15,030.40
Nevada		4,592.67	4,592.67	688.90
New Hampshire		218,406.67	185,645.67	32,761.00
New Jersey	3,656.42	450,134.00	386,271.25	67,519.17
New Mexico		62,648.00	62,648.00	62,648.00
New York	867,942.68	2,603,918.67	3,081,273.54	390,587.81
North Carolina	1,959,704.87	576,194.67	2,345,899.32	190,000.22
Ohio	447,127.12	1,567,089.33	1,779,153.05	235,063.40
Oregon		35,140.67	35,140.67	5,271.10
Pennsylvania	78,535.06	1,946,719.33	1,733,246.49	292,007.90
Rhode Island	2,421.73	116,963.67	101,840.84	17,544.56
South Carolina	4,172,420.16	363,570.67	4,550,381.46	*14,390.63
Tennessee	7,873,460.71	669,498.00	8,265,475.19	281,763.69
Texas	5,502,401.24	355,106.67	5,683,242.75	225,098.61
Utah	1,375.34	26,982.00	1,375.34	26,982.00
Vermont		211,068.00	179,407.80	31,660.20
Virginia	825,856.87	729,071.02	1,341,426.59	213,501.30
West Virginia		208,479.65	181,306.93	27,172.72
Washington		7,755.33	4,268.16	3,487.17
Wisconsin		519,688.67	454,944.84	25,397.40
Total	68,072,386.72	20,000,000.00	83,665,354.90	4,721,815.52
Deduct amount overpaid by South Carolina				14,390.63
				4,707,424.89

*Overpaid.

There was allowed to California, deficiency act July 7, 1884	$31,583.26
There was allowed to Kansas, deficiency act August 5, 1882	10,761.50
There was allowed to Nevada, deficiency act July 7, 1884	688.90
There was allowed to Delaware on compromise	4,350.50
There was allowed to Nebraska under act August 7, 1882	15,030.40
There was allowed to New Mexico under act July 1, 1862	62,648.00

And, singular to say, the amount collected from South Carolina on the direct land tax was $14,390.63 in excess of the assessment.

WHEN TAXATION IS PROPER.

Since the dawn of civilization no one has contended that a government can not exercise the power of drawing from its citizens the means requisite to the proper administration of its affairs. This has always been done by taxation, and no question has exercised the thought and attention of the greatest minds of the world to so great an extent as has "What property shall be taxed, and how shall the tax be collected?" No tax law deserving the name has ever been enacted that did not at least pretend to be rigorously and impartially just, and by universal consent no tax law can be just which is not uniform.

The great men and exalted patriots who framed our Constitution were deeply impressed with this idea, and consequently we find that that instrument empowers the Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises," but qualifies this grant of power by the express limitation: "All duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

At that time property was pretty nearly equally divided between the citizens; that is, we had no class which owned great wealth and no class which was extremely poor. Nearly all owned some property, and very few could be found who owned nothing. Therefore it seemed to be just and quite consistent with this very proper idea of uniformity in taxation to provide that—

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

The debates in the constitutional convention show that the fathers were extremely solicitous to establish this principle of uniformity beyond the possibility of peril, as the necessity for such restrictions upon and limitations of the taxing power had been made manifest by the experience of ages, as recorded in history.

THE OLDEST TAX LAWS.

The Institutes of Menu probably present the oldest tax regulations of which we have any record.

The learned oriental scholar, Sir William Jones, in the preface to his translation of the Institutes of Menu, uses these striking words:

It is a maxim in the science of legislation and government, that laws are of no avail without manners, or, to explain the sentence more fully, that the best intended legislative provisions would have no beneficial effect even at first, and none at all in a short course of time, unless they were congenial to the disposition and habits, to the religious prejudices, and approved immemorial usages of the people for whom they were enacted.

These, and other considerations, which he specifies, led him to study and finally to publish—

That system of duties, religious and civil, and of law in all its branches, which the Hindus firmly believe to have been promulged in the beginning of time by Menu, son or grandson of Brahma, or in plain language, the first of created beings, and not the oldest only, but the holiest of legislators; a system so comprehensive and so minutely exact that it may be considered as the Institutes of Hindu law.

Sir William Jones then discusses the probable date when the Institutes were given to man, and, after an intricate astronomical calculation, concludes that the Hindoo account would probably fix the period at about the close of the twelfth century before Christ, but after comparison with the Védas, he concludes:

The original of this book must have received its present form about eight hundred and eighty years before Christ's birth.

The Institutes are given in chapters divided into paragraphs, or, it might be more exact to say, arranged in the original, inmetrical stanzas, consecutively numbered. The first three stanzas of the first chapter are in these words:

1. Menu sat reclined with his attention fixed on one object, the supreme God, when the divine sages approached him and, after mutual salutations in due form, delivered the following address:

2. "Deign, sovereign ruler, to apprise us of the sacred laws in their order, as they must be followed by all the four classes and by each of them in their several degrees, together with the duties of every mixed class.

3. "For thou, lord, and thou only among mortals knowest the true sense, the first principle, and the prescribed ceremonies of this universal, supernatural Véda, unlimited in extent and unequaled in authority."

The sages are then instructed in the duties of the several classes, and in the seventh chapter, "on government and public law," I find these words:

80. His (the king's) annual revenue, he may receive from his whole dominion through his collectors; but let him in this world observe the Divine ordinances; let him act as a father to his people.

124. Of such evil-minded servants as wring wealth from subjects attending them on business, let the king confiscate all their possessions, and banish them from his realm.

127. Having ascertained the rates of purchase and sale, the length of the way, the expenses of food and of condiments, the charges of securing the goods carried, and the neat profits of trade, let the king oblige traders to pay taxes on their salable commodities.

128. After full consideration, let a king so levy those taxes annually in his dominions that both he and the merchant may receive a just compensation for their several acts.

129. As the leech, the sucking calf, and the bee take their natural food by little and little, thus must a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

130. Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king; of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth, according to the difference of the soil and the labor necessary to cultivate it.

131. He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruit,

132. Of gathered leaves, pot-herbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone.

137. Let the king order a mere trifle to be paid, in the name of the annual tax, by the meaner inhabitants of his realm, who subsist by petty traffick:

138. By low handicraftsmen, artificers, and servile men, who support themselves by labor, the king may cause work to be done for a day in each month.

139. Let him not cut up his own root by taking no revenue, nor the root of other men by excess of covetousness; for, by cutting up his own root and theirs, he makes both himself and them wretched.

There is a world of justice and wisdom in the works of Menu, and it would be well if lawmakers of to-day would show as much consideration for the poorer classes.

I can not agree with Menu in all his views. He was not justified in taking a sixth or an eighth, or even a twelfth of the grain; and it would have been quite proper to take much more than a fiftieth of "gems, and gold and silver added to the capital stock." It is possible there is an error in translation from the Hindoo, and that fiftieth should read fifth. I read from a book printed in London in 1807, and if it is correct our Hindoo compiler of three thousand years ago was not inspired with the Democratic idea of light taxes on necessities and heavy taxes on articles of luxury.

EGYPTIAN AND ATHENIAN LAWS.

From the history of ancient peoples we learn that taxation generally included a contribution of gross products. The Egyptians contributed to their rulers one-fifth. Tithes of the fruits of the earth and of the in-

ecrase of cattle were reserved by the Hebrews for the priesthood. At a later period the Jewish kings exacted a larger tribute, and the taxation ultimately became so burdensome that the ten tribes seceded. These taxes consisted mainly of conscripted labor, "a contribution personelle," and a capitation tax upon some of the classes.

In Athens the population appears to have been divided into four classes, according to the value of the property owned by the citizens, the lowest class, or that owning but little or no property, being entirely exempt from taxation. From Grote's History of Greece (John Murray's London edition, volume 3, page 155 *et seq.*) we learn that Solon's method of levying taxes is thus explained:

Solon distributed all the citizens of the tribes, without any reference to their gentes or phratries, into four classes, according to the amount of their property, which he caused to be assessed and entered in a public schedule. Those whose annual income was equal to 500 medimni of corn (about 700 imperial bushels) and upward, 1 medimnus being considered equivalent to 1 drachma in money, he placed in the highest class; those who received between 300 and 500 medimni or drachms formed the second class; and those between 200 and 300 the third. The fourth and most numerous class comprised all those who did not possess land yielding a produce equal to 200 medimni.

(It seems from this work that a medimnus was about equal to 2 bushels of American measure.)

The writer then says:

Each of these three classes was entered in the public schedule as possessed of a taxable capital calculated with a certain reference to his annual income, but in a proportion diminishing according to the scale of that income, and a man paid taxes to the state according to the sum for which he stood rated in the schedule; so that this direct taxation acted really like a graduated income tax. The ratable property of the citizen belonging to the richest class (the Pentakosiomedimnus) was calculated and entered on the state schedule at a sum of capital equal to twelve times his annual income; that of the Hippeus, or Knight, at a sum equal to ten times his annual income; that of the Zeugite at a sum equal to five times his annual income.

Thus a Pentakosiomedimnus whose income was exactly 500 drachms (the minimum qualification of this class) stood rated in the schedule for a taxable property of 6,000 drachms, or 1 talent, being twelve times his income. If his annual income were 1,000 drachms he would stand rated for 12,000 drachms, or 2 talents, being the same proportion of income to ratable capital; but when we pass to the second class, or Knights, the proportion of the two is changed. The Knight possessing an income of just 300 drachms (or 300 medimni) would stand rated for 3,000 drachms, or ten times his real income, and so in the same proportion for any income above 300 and below 500.

Again, in the third class, or below 300, the proportion is a second time altered: the Zeugite, possessing exactly 200 drachms of income, was rated upon a still lower calculation, at 1,000 drachms, or a sum equal to five times his income; and all incomes of this class, between 200 and 300 drachms, would in like manner be multiplied by five in order to obtain the amount of ratable capital. Upon these respective sums of scheduled capital all direct taxation was levied. If the State required 1 per cent. of direct tax the poorest Pentakosiomedimnus would pay, upon 6,000 drachms, 60 drachms; the poorest Hippeus would pay, upon 3,000 drachms, 30; the poorest Zeugite would pay, upon 1,000 drachms, 10 drachms. And thus this mode of assessment would operate like a graduated income tax, looking at it in reference to the three different classes, but as an equal income tax, looking at it in reference to the different individuals comprised in one and the same class.

All persons in the state whose annual income amounted to less than 200 medimni or drachms were placed in the fourth class, and they must have constituted the large majority of the community. They were not liable to any direct taxation, and, perhaps, were not at first even entered upon the taxable schedule, more especially as we do not know that any taxes were actually levied upon this schedule during the Solonian times. * * * Such were the divisions in the political scale established by Solon, called by Aristotle a Timocracy, in which the rights, honors, functions, and liabilities of the citizens were measured out according to the assessed property of each.

THE ROMAN SYSTEM.

Among the Romans taxes were laid according to a census of the different tribes and their property (*res mancipi*), and a *tributum* was exacted from each individual member of the tribe according to the assessment. Colonists upon the lands "distributed" (conferred upon the occupants) paid taxes (*vectigalia*) in kind, amounting to one-tenth of the wheat and one-fiftieth of other products. When paid in money (as they sometimes were) these taxes were called *stipendiarium*. Besides these there were at different times (*protorium*) imposts and taxes on successions, bachelors, etc.

Niebuhr says that in the property embraced in the census as *res mancipi*, money, houses, tracts of land with the rights attaching thereto, buildings and implements upon them, and beasts of burden and draught, and horses were included.

I read from the seventeenth chapter of Gibbon's Decline and Fall giving an account of the system of taxation in vogue in the Roman Empire under Constantine:

An ingenious philosopher (Montesquieu, L'Esprit des Lois) has calculated the universal measure of the public imposition by the degrees of freedom and servitude, and ventures to assert that according to an invariable law of nature it must always increase with the former and diminish in a just proportion to the latter. But this reflection, which would tend to alleviate the miseries of despotism is contradicted at least by the history of the Roman Empire, which accuses the same princes of despoiling the senate of its authority and the provinces of their wealth. * * *

Whatever was honorable or important in the administration of the revenue, was committed to the wisdom of the præfects, and their provincial representatives; the lucrative functions were claimed by a crowd of subordinate officers, some of whom depended on the treasurer, others on the governor of the province; and who, in the inevitable conflicts of a perplexed jurisdiction, had frequent opportunities of disputing with each other the spoils of the people.

The laborious offices, which could be productive only of envy and reproach, of expense and danger, were imposed on the Decurions, who found the corporations of the cities, and whom the severity of the Imperial laws had condemned to sustain the burthens of civil society.

A foot-note of the author, supplemented by one by M. Guizot, says:

The title concerning the Decurions is the most ample in the whole Theodosian Code, since it contains not less than one and ninety-two distinct laws to ascertain the duties and privileges of that useful order of citizens.

The Decurions were charged with assessing according to the census of property prepared by the *tabularii*, the payment due from each proprietor.

This odious office was authoritatively imposed on the richest citizens of each town; they had no salary, and all their compensation was to be exempt from certain corporal punishments, in case they should have incurred them. The Decurionate was the ruin of all the rich. Hence they tried every way of avoiding this dangerous honor; they concealed themselves, they entered into the military service, but their efforts were unavailing; they were seized, they were compelled to become Decurions, and the dread inspired by this title was termed impiety.

The historian then returns to the subject we are considering:

The Decurions were mutually responsible; they were obliged to undertake for pieces of ground abandoned by their owners on account of the pressure of the taxes, and finally to make up all deficiencies.

The whole landed property of the empire (without excepting the patrimonial estates of the monarch) was the object of ordinary taxation. * * *

An accurate census, or survey, was the only equitable mode of ascertaining the proportion which every citizen should be obliged to contribute for the public service; and from the well-known period of the indictions there is reason to believe that this difficult and expensive operation was repeated at the regular distance of fifteen years. The lands were measured by surveyors who were sent into the provinces; their nature, whether arable, or pasture, or vineyards, or woods, was distinctly reported; and an estimate was made of their common value from the average produce of five years.

The number of slaves and of cattle constituted an essential part of the report. An oath was administered to the proprietors, which bound them to disclose the true state of their affairs, and their attempts to prevaricate or elude the intention of the legislator were severely watched and punished as a capital crime, which included the double guilt of treason and sacrilege.

A large portion of the tribute was paid in money, and of the current coin of the empire gold alone could be legally accepted.

THE FEUDAL EMPIRE AND FRANCE.

During the long period of the feudal empire taxation assumed the form of occasional aids, and services incident to tenures terminable at the pleasure of the lord, the principal being aids, reliefs, primer seizin, wardship, and marriage. In addition to this taxation by the imperial government each feudal lord extorted from his vassals whatever portion of the fruits of their industry and any personal service he chose to exact.

The first general tax in France was called *taille*, and was levied in 1644, the professed object of which tax was to provide for the support of a regular force to relieve the lands from the depredations and oppressions of the feudal militia, and was laid upon all the property in the kingdom, except that of the nobility and the church.

In 1790–'91 the *taille* was abolished, and a system of taxation adopted which was in the main in accord with what are now almost universally accepted as the true principles of political economy. The distinction was then made between direct and indirect taxes, and all taxes of the latter class, except imposts, were abolished, and the difference between the two kinds of taxation is thus explained in 6th Merlin Répertoire, 307:

Direct taxes are levied upon property, upon faculties, and upon persons. Property was divided into real and movable. *Indirect contributions* are taxes on the manufacture, the sale, the transportation, and introduction of objects of commerce and consumption—taxes of which the amount is usually advanced by the manufacturer, merchant, or carrier, and is borne and indirectly paid by the consumer.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXES DEFINED.

The indirect taxes which were suppressed at that time, were duties for entrance into cities, towns, or burghs; upon sales in gross or by retail; upon liquors, stamps, playing-cards, and other similar taxes that were under the charge of the régie. All the ancient taxes were abrogated; and in their stead there were substituted direct taxes designated contribution foncière, contribution mobilière, contribution personnelle, and patents (licenses).

Dalloz, in his Répertoire Méthodique et Alphabétique de Législation de Doctrine et de Jurisprudence (volume 27, pages 215 *et seq.*), defines or designates these taxes as direct, and all taxation not included in these are indirect. The word *impôt*, he says, on page 399, is no longer employed in the language of finance or the budget (*dans le langage financier ou budgetaire*), having been replaced by the word *contribution;* and contributions are divided into direct and indirect. The latter are so designated because they are exacted in an indirect manner, and without a determination of the person who is to pay them, and the difference between the two is that in direct contributions the person is designated and he is the person to pay them.

The distinguished writer on political economy, J. Stuart Mill, adopts the French classification in his Political Economy. He says:

A direct tax is one which is demanded from the very person who is expected and desired to pay it. Indirect taxes are those which are demanded from one person in the expectation and intention that he shall indemnify himself at the expense of another, such as the excise and customs.

Dr. Wayland defines a direct tax as a tax upon every one in proportion to the property he possesses. An indirect tax is a tax upon commodities during their passage from one person to another.

In France the contribution foncière, ever since its establishment in 1790, has been a tax upon land, upon principles of proportional equality, except where a departure from the rule was demanded by the interests of agriculture. It is assessed without reference to the annual net revenue, the net revenue being regarded as the residue after expenses of cultivation, support, seeds, and harvest are deducted, and the assessment is made after a comparison of the products for a series of years, by which comparison the mean product is obtained.

The contribution mobilière is a similar contribution levied upon personal property, salaries, etc.

The patent is a privilege to pursue a particular vocation.

These internal indirect taxes are known in France as régie; in Belgium, as accises, and in Great Britain as excises. In neither country are they levied upon the raw products of agriculture. No doubt there are exceptions, but the general and nearly universal rule is that the excise is upon consumption, and upon commodities that have passed beyond the first stage of production.

THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PLAN.

In Great Britain the ancient form of taxation upon property was by the grant of subsidies and by aids. The land tax was an assessment of the various counties according to the valuation of the land, and was collected from the subjects according to the entire amount of the property.

In the colonies and States of North America there was, in general, no mode of taxation other than direct taxation before the adoption of the Constitution. Massachusetts and Connecticut levied an excise tax. Several of the States imposed import duties, but the principal source of revenue was by means of direct taxes, taxes on real and personal property.

Mr. Madison, in his report of the debates in the constitutional convention, says that Rufus King made the direct inquiry, "What is the precise meaning of direct taxation?" But it does not appear that any member of the convention volunteered an explanation, but in the thirty-sixth number of the Federalist there is a reference to the division of taxes into direct and indirect, and it is there stated in general terms that taxes on houses and lands are direct, and that import duties and excises are indirect, but no attempt at definition is made. As a member of the Virginia convention Chief-Justice Marshall defended this direct-tax clause of the Constitution, maintaining that there was no reasonable ground to apprehend improper assessments and extraordinary expenses of collection. In this speech Judge Marshall alludes to lands, slaves, plantation stock, and a few other articles of domestic property as objects of direct taxation, the speaker probably having in his mind a Virginia farm of that period. Mr. Madison commends this speech in 2 Elliott's Debates, 185.

The first instance in which the clause of the Constitution conferring the power of taxation upon Congress was subject to judicial construction was that of Hylton *vs.* The United States (3 Dall., 171). In this case the court held that a tax upon carriages was an indirect tax.

REPRESENTATION AND TAXATION INSEPARABLE.

One striking feature of the opinions in this case is the assertion that the underlying principle of the Constitution upon this subject was that representation and taxation should be co-extensive, and the chief difficulty was in deciding what should be considered as population in determining the subject of representation.

I find also that it is very clearly shown by the debates in the convention that it was conceded as unquestioned that taxation and representation were to go together, and that the number of the population, as ascertained in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, was to afford the rule of apportionment. The proceedings also show that the convention was agreed upon the proposition that the entire wealth of the State was a proper subject of taxation.

WHAT THE CONSTITUTION FRAMERS THOUGHT.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, on the 12th of July, 1787, moved to amend the taxing clause by empowering the Legislature to vary the representation according to the principles of wealth and population by a proviso that "taxation shall be in proportion to representation."

Later in the same day Mr. Morris said:

Some objections lay against his motion, but he supposed they would be removed by restraining the rule to direct taxation. With regard to indirect taxes on exports and imports and on consumption, the rule would be inapplicable.

Mr. Wilson held the principle to be sound, but could not see how it could be applied unless limited to direct taxation. The objection was that indirect taxes could not be ascertained. Thereupon Mr. Morris amended his motion by inserting the word "direct," and as amended it read:

Provided always, That direct taxation ought to be proportioned to representation.

From this it is clear that the word "direct" in this clause of the Constitution was contradistinguished from indirect taxes, and that the only powers of taxation under the Constitution must be classified as a power to lay direct and indirect taxes, and that a direct tax not apportioned to representation is not authorized.

The opinions of Justices Chase, Patterson, and Iredell in Hylton *vs.* The United States (3 Dall., 171) all agree that a direct tax, to be constitutional, must be laid in proportion to numbers as ascertained by the census.

It has been contended by some writers on political economy that a tax upon the raw product of land is a tax upon the land itself. This would no doubt be true for spontaneous products which require no labor, and it therefore follows that a tax on the products of land is at least in part a tax upon the land itself, and that to strictly conform to the Constitution such taxes should be assessed in proportion to population.

The citations I have made from the systems of taxations of various peoples—from the Hindoos down to Great Britain—all show that land has always been taxed through its products. And the debates in the constitutional convention show that a tax upon land was agreed to be a direct tax. The underlying principle of all taxation to which there was no dissent was that, so far as practicable, all should contribute to the necessary expenses of the Government in proportion to the amount of protection afforded to person and property; that protection for the person being universal, every one should pay for it, and that protection for property should be paid for only by the owners of property; and finally, that direct taxation should be proportioned to representation.

In debating the repeal of the stamp act in 1766, Lord Camden, formerly Chief-Justice Pratt, used these words:

My position is this, I repeat it, and will maintain it to the last hour: taxation and representation are inseparable. The position is founded in the law of nature—it is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own it is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent; whoever attempts to do it does him an injury; whoever does it commits a robbery.—*Bancroft's History*, volume 5, 446–448.

THESE VIEWS AND THE COTTON TAX INCONSISTENT.

What protection did the cotton-producing States enjoy during the period this pretended tax law was in force?

Let the history of the infamous carpet-bag era answer.

What representation did these States have in the Congress that assumed the right to impose this tax, which was neither proportioned to the number of the population nor uniform in its effect throughout the entire country, but was avowedly levied upon only a portion of the people engaged in a particular agricultural industry in a defined and limited locality?

It can not be argued that a tax upon all raw cotton, wherever it may be produced in the Union, is an equal tax, because there are a number of States in which its production is a matter of impossibility.

One can not imagine a condition of affairs in which such a tax would fall upon the citizens of Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Maine, New York, Vermont, or some twenty other States I might mention.

It is not in the power of any court to alter the meaning of words, nor is it in the power of Congress. A tax upon an article exported is in violation of the Constitution, whether it be levied as an export tax or not.

If this were not so, why the provision in the law imposing a tax upon distilled spirits and fermented liquors, under which such spirits or liquors may be exported without tax, whereas the tax must be paid upon all consumed? And it will be remembered that this law was enacted at a time when one of the most prominent leaders of the party in power declared that the Constitution had been laid aside, and another leader, equally prominent, that it had been buried.

Under the cotton-tax law the State of Mississippi paid as much tax as did Georgia, which State (had either State been allowed the representation to which each was entitled) had twice the representation, and paid three times as much tax as Tennessee, which had more than double the representation to which Mississippi was entitled.

Not one dollar of the whole amount of the cotton tax collected was paid by a man who had a voice in its imposition.

The tax was in no way proportioned to the value of the product upon which the tax was laid. The lowest grade of "stained uplands" paid as much as the highest grade of "New Orleans" or the long-staple "Sea-island."

It was strictly and avowedly sectional.

THE BURDEN ON THE PRODUCERS.

A planter of more than usual skill asserted that—

In 1867 he had 230 acres in cotton; made 126 bales, averaging 427 pounds. His working force was fourteen hands and eleven mules. The aggregate value of the cotton crop was $8,750, and the direct money expenditure in making it was $7,980, leaving a nominal profit of only $770. The tax was $1,325, leaving an actual loss of $555, allowing nothing for interest on capital invested or wear and tear of land and implements.

The same planter said further:

Such lands as he cultivated sold at (in 1867) from $2 to $3.25 per acre. His average tax was $5.75 per acre of cotton, the best acres paying $15 each. The freedmen working for him had a joint interest in the crop. The average tax falling on a full hand was $16; on a woman $10.75. One freedman, with a family, paid $57.50; another with a wife and seven children, the oldest too small to plow, paid $27.50.

All the State, county, and corporation taxes he had paid during a period of fifteen years, prior to 1861, were not equal to the cotton tax imposed upon him in the single year 1867.

The tax paid on cotton by Elijah (a freedman) in 1867 was greater than his (the planter's) average State tax when owning over 2,000 acres of land and sixty negroes, besides other property.

COTTON CROP OF 1867.

Bales produced	2,240,282
Bales exported	1,657,015
Consumed in United States	583,267
Consumed in cotton States (estimated)	60,000

Leaving 2,180,282 bales actually exported, if we accept the rule laid down by the court in Almy *vs.* California, 24 Howard, 169, which declares that an article conveyed from one State to another State of the Union is an article exported, within the meaning of the Constitution.

THE QUESTION IN THE CONVENTION.

The most strenuous opposition to the adoption of the Constitution was provoked by the fear that the taxing power it conferred upon the

Congress might be arbitrarily exercised. This opposition was only quieted by demonstrating that the power had been most carefully guarded. This may be illustrated by the reply of Alexander Hamilton:

Where is the difficulty? Where is the evil? They never can oppress a particular State by unequal imposition, because the Constitution has provided a fixed ratio, a uniform rule by which this *must* be regulated.

Again, in the Federalist, we find the express declaration by Alex. Hamilton:

The taxes intended to be comprised under the general denomination of internal taxes may be subdivided into those of the direct and those of the indirect kind. * * * It declares the latter to embrace duties and excises on articles of consumption.

As to which the writer is at a loss to conceive what can be the nature of the difficulties apprehended.

Regarding direct taxes, the same writer says:

Let it be remembered that the proportion of these taxes is not to be left to the discretion of the National Legislature, but is to be determined by the numbers of each State. * * * The abuse of the power of taxation seems to have been provided against with guarded circumspection. In addition to the precaution just mentioned, there is a provision that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be UNIFORM throughout the United States (No. XXXVI.)

A FORCIBLE ILLUSTRATION.

In discussing the adoption of the clause conferring upon the Congress the general power of taxation, Hon. George Ticknor Curtis, in his History of the Constitution, says:

The practice of taxing the products of a country, as they pass out of its limits to enter into the consumption of other nations, can be beneficially exercised only by a government that can select and arrange the objects of such taxation so as to do nearly equal justice to all its producing interests.

If, for example, the article of wine were produced only by a single province of France, and all the other provinces produced no commodities sought for by other nations, an export duty upon wine would fall wholly upon the single province where it was produced, and would place its production at an unequal competition with the wines of other countries. But France produces a variety of wines, the growth of many different provinces, and therefore in the adjustment of an export duty upon wines the Government of that country, after a due regard to the demand for each kind or class of this commodity, has chiefly to consider the effect of such a tax in the comepetition with the same commodities produced by other nations.

At the time of the formation of the Constitution of the United States there was not a single production, common to all the States, of sufficient importance to become an article of general exportation. Indeed, there were no commodities produced for exportation by so many of the States that a tax or duty imposed upon them on leaving the country would operate with anything like equality even in different sections of the Union. In fact, from the extreme northern to the extreme southern boundary of the Union the exports were so various, both in kind and amount, that a tax imposed on an article the produce of the South could not be balanced by a tax imposed upon an article produced or manufactured at the North. How, for example, could the burden of an export duty on the tobacco of Virginia, or the rice or indigo of South Carolina, be equalized by a similar duty on the lumber or fish or flour of other States. * * *

However theoretically correct it might have been, therefore, to confer on the General Government the same authority to tax exports as to impose duties on imported commodities, and the argument for it drawn from the necessities for revenue and protection of manufactures was exeeedingly strong, the actual situation of the country made it quite impracticable to obtain the consent of some of the States to a full and complete revenue power. Several of the most important persons in the convention were strongly in favor of it.

Washington, Madison, Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and Dickinson are known to have held the opinion that the Government would be incomplete without a power to tax exports as well as imports. But the decided stand taken by South Carolina, whose exports for a single year were said by General Pinckney to have amounted to £600,000, * * * probably led the committee of detail to insert in their report of a draught of the Constitution a distinct prohibition against laying any tax or duty on articles exported from any State. (Volume II, pages 282-285.)

A DIRECT TAX MUST BE APPORTIONED.

In the case of Hylton *vs.* United States (3 Dallas 171), the four justices who heard the arguments and decided the case held that the tax on carriages was an indirect tax, and therefore constitutionally levied, the reason assigned for the finding being that it was a tax on consumption or expense.

Chief-Justice Ellsworth, having just been sworn into office, and not having heard the whole of the argument, declined taking any part in the decision of the cause. Justice Chase said:

It seems to me that a tax on expense is an indirect tax, and I think an annual tax on a carriage for the conveyance of persons is of that kind, because a carriage is a consumable commodity, and such an annual tax on it is on the expense of the owner.

In expressing his views Justice Patterson used these words:

The question is whether a tax upon carriages be a direct tax? If it be a direct tax it is unconstitutional, because it has been laid pursuant to the rule of uniformity and not to the rule of apportionment. * * * In answer it has been observed that the sum and not the tax is to be apportioned; and that Congress may select in the different States different articles or objects from whence to raise the apportioned sum. The idea is novel. What, shall land be taxed in one State, slaves in another, carriages in a third, and horses in a fourth, or shall several of these be thrown together in order to levy and make the quotaed sum? The scheme is fanciful. It would not work well, and, perhaps, is utterly impracticable. * * * All taxes on expenses or consumption are indirect taxes. A tax on carriages is of this kind, and, of course, is not a direct tax. Indirect taxes are circuitous modes of reaching the revenue of individuals who generally live according to their means. (3 Dallas, 180.)

In support of his opinion, Justice Patterson quoted from Smith's Wealth of Nations:

The impossibility of taxing people in proportion to their revenue by any capitation seems to have given occasion to the invention of taxes upon consumable commodities; the state not knowing how to tax directly and proportionately the revenue of its subjects, endeavors to tax it indirectly by taxing their expenses, which it is supposed, in most cases, will be nearly in proportion to their revenues. Their expense is taxed by taxing the consumable commodities upon which it is laid out. (Volume 3, page 331, London edition, 1789.)

Blackstone, after describing the several species of taxes that existed in early times, speaks of their substitution, in the reign of Richard II and Henry VI, by the new system of "subsidies." This system of "subsidies" was, he asserts:

A money tax on persons, levied in proportion to their wealth; lands being valued according to their rental or production. * * * These personal assessments, the subsidies which preceded them, and the more ancient scutage, hidage, and taillage, were, to all intents and purposes, a land tax, and were sometimes expressly called so.

So Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, says:

Taxes upon the production of land are, in reality, taxes on rent. (Volume 3, 274.)

THE PRACTICE IN CONGRESS.

From the organization of our own Government down to the year 1798, when the first direct tax was laid, by that name, and up to within a comparatively recent period (between 1816 and 1861), no internal taxes were ever levied in the United States that could not be classed as taxes on consumption or expense, or the manufacture of articles for consumption. During all these years there was not a tax on personalty that operated in the same manner as a tax on land, and yet was laid without regard to apportionment. There were duties (taxes) on distilled spirits, stills, licenses, carriages, snuff, and refined sugar, on some auction sales, and stamp duties.

In an essay, published in Harper's Magazine for August, 1866, Hon. George Ticknor Curtis asserted:

It may therefore be said that prior to 1861 the Congressional construction of the Constitution has been as follows:

First. That a tax on land and houses, and a capitation tax, are direct.

Second. That taxes on specific articles of consumption or expense are indirect.

Third. That an ad valorem tax on personal property, without reference to consumption, is of the same character as an ad valorem tax on land, both being direct.

If this is a correct presentation of the views of Congress regarding the taxing power conferred upon it by the Constitution—and I believe the best Constitutional lawyers concur in that view—it must be admitted that this cotton tax, levied as it was, directly upon production, without reference to its consumption, was in fact a direct tax which, under the Constitution, could only be levied by the rule of apportionment.

IT WAS AN EXPORT TAX.

The framers of the Constitution had also during the existence of the Colonial Government been impressed with the inequalities and difficulties attending duties exacted upon the products of a colony when transmitted beyond its borders, and after considerable discussion the convention agreed upon the provision that—

No tax or duties shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

In the agreed case I have referred to it was admitted that three-fourths to five-sixths of the cotton raised in the United States was exported. Therefore on all such cotton the tax of 3 cents per pound was in effect an export tax.

It will be admitted here that in 1866 and 1867 substantially all the cotton raised in certain States which was not exported beyond the sea was exported from the State in which it was grown.

To illustrate, I will refer to the States of Alabama and Arkansas. At that time they were almost without cotton mills, and all cotton grown in those States was transported either to Europe or to the mills of the North and Northeast. At periods in 1867 and 1868, when the greater part of the $68,000,000 was collected, cotton was sold by the producers as low as from 7 cents to 10 cents per pound. During the period when that low price prevailed the effect of the law was to exact that cotton raised in Alabama could not be exported from that State until an amount equal to more than one-fourth of its value was paid as tax to the Federal Government.

Now, when we consider that all cotton grown in Alabama was solely for export to other States, or to foreign countries, we can not resist the conclusion that the tax referred to was a tax "laid on articles exported from a State."

I think it will be admitted that no fact connected with the agriculture of the United States is more clearly established than that the quantity of cotton consumed in the States where it is grown is but an insignificant fraction of the total product, the great bulk of it being exported to other States in the Union.

The cotton-tax law has no precedent in the history of our Government, and certainly we can not find any warrant for such legislation in the Constitution.

It has certainly been clearly shown to be a direct tax, and if it can be established that such a tax can be imposed by Congress without reference to the rule of uniformity and apportionment, then all the objections made in the convention to the grant of the taxing power to the General Government are shown to have been well founded, and all the arguments by which those objections were answered have been falsified.

THE EXPORT TAX IN THE CONVENTION.

Let us see how doubtful the members of the convention were as to the advisability or propriety of conferring this power upon the Congress.

From the debates of the convention we learn that when the proposition to grant a general power of taxation was presented, Mr. Mason urged the necessity of coupling with it the prohibition: "no taxes shall

be levied on exports." He was most emphatic in the expression of his unwillingness to leave the question to be governed by a special article. Note these words:

He hoped that the Northern States did not mean to deny the Southern this security. He acknowledged his jealousy for the productions of the Southern, or, as he called them, the staple States.

Mr. Ellsworth said:

There are solid reasons against Congress taxing exports. First, it will discourage industry, as taxes on imports discourage luxury. Secondly, the product of the different States is such as to prevent uniformity. There are, indeed, but a few articles that could be taxed at all, as tobacco, rice, indigo, and a tax on them alone would be unjust. Thirdly, the taxing of exports would engender incurable jealousies.

Mr. Williamson asserted that the approval of such a measure by the convention—

Would destroy the last hope for the adoption of the plan.

Mr. Butler was emphatically opposed to the grant of the taxing power, holding it to be—

Unjust and alarming to the staple States.

Mr. Gerry held that the grant of the taxing power—

Would enable the General Government to oppress the State as much as Ireland is oppressed by Great Britain.

Mr. Madison, who favored the proposed grant of the power to lay general taxes, proposed that such power could only be conferred by the "consent of two-thirds of the Legislatures," but the proposition was negatived, and the provision as it now stands adopted.

VIEWS OF CONSTITUTIONAL WRITERS.

Commenting upon this restriction or limitation of the general grant of the taxing power conferred upon the Congress, Justice Story says:

The obvious object of these provisions is to prevent any possibility of applying the power to lay taxes or regulate commerce injuriously to the interests of any one State so as to favor or aid another. If Congress were allowed to lay a duty on exports from any one State, it might unreasonably injure, or even destroy, the staple productions or common articles of that State. The inequality of such a tax would be extreme. * * * The power is, therefore, wholly taken away to intermeddle with the subject of exports.

It surely can need no argument to satisfy any one that an inhibition applied to one State loses any of its force when applied to several States. When the learned justice says that the Constitution prohibits the laying of a tax upon the exports from "any one State," he certainly desires to be understood as applying the same rule to all or any group of the States united in one government.

In considering the restrictions on the powers of Congress embodied in the text of the Constitution, the learned Dr. William Rawle, in his treatise on the Constitution, says:

The general principle on which it (the Constitution) is constructed being declared and manifest throughout, it follows that to no purpose inconsistent with or extending beyond that principle can its power of legislation be carried. Yet it was expedient in some instances to introduce positive exceptions; in some to qualify powers enumerated or implied, and in others to secure by explicit declarations both the Republican foundation and the equality of the States in all points within the sphere of the General Government. * * *

It has been repeatedly observed that the leading principle of the whole Constitution is uniformity in respect to the several States, as far as it can be obtained. The natural or artificial products of States are different. To lay a general duty on the exports of rice or cotton or tobacco would affect only the Southern States; on flour or grain, principally the Central States, and on the domestic manufactures would operate chiefly on the Northern and Eastern States engaged in them, yet without this restriction perhaps it might be done. (Pages 115, 116.)

It will be observed that this distinguished writer had even at that early day anticipated this very question, and alludes to the effect on the Southern States of an export tax on rice, cotton, and tobacco.

THE ACT ITSELF SHOWS ITS ILLEGALITY.

The act of Congress under which the cotton tax was imposed is sufficient in itself to show that the tax was unconstitutional. The fifth section proposes to inflict the penalty of fine and imprisonment upon—

any person or persons who shall convey or attempt to convey from any State in which cotton is produced, to any port or place without the United States any cotton upon which the tax has not been paid—

and to guard against the possibility of misunderstanding or misconstruing the intent and purpose of the act it was provided in the first section of the bill:

No drawback shall in any case be allowed on raw or unmanufactured cotton of any tax paid thereon when exported in the raw or unmanufactured condition.

While in the sixth section it is provided—

That upon articles manufactured exclusively from cotton, when exported, there shall be allowed as a drawback an amount equal to the internal tax which shall have been assessed and paid upon such articles in their finished condition, and in addition thereto a drawback or allowance of as many cents per pound upon the price of cotton cloth, yarn, thread or knit fabrics * * * as shall have been assessed and paid in the form of an internal tax upon the raw cotton entering into the manufacture of said cloth or other article.

These several provisions of the law certainly constitute a distinct and positive legislative declaration that no raw cotton shall be exported until it has paid a tax, and certainly no one will contend that this was not an export tax because it was not so designated or because it is expressly called an internal tax. Such a contention would involve the assumption that Congress had the power to change things by merely changing their names.

In the case of Brown *vs.* Maryland (12 Wheaton, 419) the court decided that an act of a State requiring importers to take out a license for which they shall pay $50, is repugnant to that provision of the Constitution which declares that—

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any impost or duty on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws.

Chief-Justice Marshall says:

In performing the delicate and important duty of construing clauses in the Constitution of our country, which involve conflicting powers of the Government of the Union and of the respective States, it is proper to take a view of the literal meaning of the words to be expounded, of their connection with other words, and of the general objects to be accomplished by the prohibitory clause, or by the grant of power.

And in considering the arguments of counsel, that it was within the power of a State to tax occupations, and that the tax of $50 on the wholesale dealers in imported goods was nothing more than the exercise of their power, Justice Marshall used these words (page 444):

But if it should be proved that the duty on the article itself would be repugnant to the Constitution, it is still argued that this is not a tax upon the article, but on the person. The State, it is said, may tax occupations, and this is nothing more.

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves that this is varying the form without varying the substance. It is treating a prohibition which is general as if it were confined to a particular mode of doing the forbidden thing. All must perceive that a tax on the sale of an article imported only for sale is a tax on the article itself.

Chief-Justice Taney delivered the opinion in tha case of Almy *vs.* State of California (24 Howard, 169), which decided that—

A stamp duty imposed by the Legislature of California upon bills of lading for gold or silver, transported from that State to any port or place out of the State, is a tax on exports, and the law of the State unconstitutional and void.

In delivering the opinion Mr. Taney said:

We think this case can not be distinguished from that of Brown *vs.* The State of Maryland, reported in 12 Wheat., 419. That case was decided in 1827, and the decision has always been regarded and followed as the true construction of the clause of the Constitution now in question.

And in replying to Mr. Benjamin's argument, by which he endeavored to show that the prohibitory clause of the Constitution only applied to articles actually shipped, the learned jurist said:

But a tax or duty on a bill of lading, although differing in form from a duty on the article shipped, is in substance the same thing.

ITS EFFECT PROVES ITS CHARACTER.

If we should designate an appropriation bill as a means of raising revenue the appropriation bill would nevertheless remain an authority to expend money, even though it were officially called a bill to raise money.

But the law not only undertakes to impose, and did impose, a tax which is distinctly and expressly prohibited; it goes a step further and discriminates against the producer of the cotton and favors the manufacturer at the expense of the agriculturist. Raw cotton exported must pay a tax of 3 cents per pound, but manufactured cotton exported is relieved of the tax previously laid upon the raw product. It will thus be seen that the Government exacted 3 cents per pound from the producer of the cotton, and then the 3 cents per pound paid by the planter was donated to the manufacturer when his product was exported.

The law was violative of both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution in almost every sense. It proposed to levy a tax which the organic law, under which the Congress possesses all its powers, expressly says shall not be levied; it was neither apportioned to the States according to numbers nor uniform in its effects, as all such taxes are required to be; it was oppressive to one great industry while stimulating and protecting another. And to conclude, it was a tax upon a people who by force were denied representation in the Federal Congress from November, 1865, to June, 1868, the period during which nearly every dollar—quite nineteen-twentieths—of the cotton tax was collected.

It has been argued that the decision of the Supreme Court in Hylton *vs.* The United States (3 Dallas, 171) justifies the imposition of the cotton tax, but those who fall into this error fail to observe that carriages are articles of use and consumption, that they are found in all the States, and are presumably distributed with substantial equality in localities where wealth approximates to uniformity in distribution, and notwithstanding this marked difference many eminent lawyers have held that the decision in the 3 Dallas case was erroneous.

MR. MADISON'S VIEWS.

Mr. Madison, who probably knew as well as, if not better than, any man in the country the intent and purpose of every phrase and word used in the Constitution, speaking of the case, declared that the tax on carriages succeeded "in spite of the Constitution" (Works, volume 2, page 14); that the proposition laid down by the court "struck at the Constitution" (*ibid.*, page 160), and that there never was a question on which his mind was more satisfied.

If Mr. Madison, the father of the Constitution, and one of the first lawyers of his time, not only questioned but actually took issue with the Supreme Court in the Hylton case (3 Dall.), how emphatic would that distinguished jurist have been in denouncing the absolute unconstitutionality of the cotton tax, and how appropriate would be this language of Chief-Justice Marshall, in 12 Wheaton, page 144:

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves that this is varying the form without varying the substance. It is treating a prohibition which is general as if it were confined to a particular mode of doing the forbidden thing.

In support of Mr. Madison's position it should be observed that the

court itself did not appear to be altogether certain as to the correctness of their construction, and while stating that they did not think the tax on carriages was a direct tax, they coupled the opinion with a doubt as to the power of the Supreme Court to declare an act of Congress void on the ground of its being contrary to and in violation of the Constitution. This is expressed by Justice Chase in these words:

As I do not think the tax on carriages is a *direct* tax, it is unnecessary *at this time* for me to determine whether this court *constitutionally* possesses the power to declare an act of Congress *void* on the ground of its being made contrary to and in violation of the Constitution; but if the court have such power I am free to declare that I will never exercise it *but in a very clear case.*

This, I believe, was the first hearing in which Justice Chase participated, and the doctrine announced by him regarding the power of the court is very different from the usage of the court in later years.

LAW AND EQUITY OF THE CASE.

If the constantly repeated decisions of the Supreme Court are to be regarded as binding upon us, we must admit that the direct tax was a constitutional and valid exercise of the taxing power conferred upon Congress.

If we accept the ordinary significance of a divided tribunal of the dignity of the Supreme Court of the United States, we must admit that the cotton tax is of questionable validity. If we consider the last-named tax in reference to the uniform practice of Congress in imposing direct taxes, we must confess that the cotton tax was illegal, and therefore all money collected under its pretended authority was improperly extorted, and, applying the language of Lord Camden, the attempt to enforce it did the South a wrong. I refrain from using the strong language of this great jurist.

Lord Camden said it was robbery. I say it is unjust.

I believe no one who has spoken in favor of the bill has pretended that the direct-tax law in any way infringed the Constitution, nor do they contend that it was unjust in any respect.

The strongest argument in favor of the bill seems to be that we have a surplus in the Treasury, and that its distribution would be beneficial.

I believe it is admitted that every State has its agent urging the passage of the bill, and I think it is also conceded that before the measure was introduced they had made contracts with their respective States quite satisfactory to themselves, in some instances the percentage to be paid the attorneys being from one-third to one-half the amount sought to be refunded.

In both equity and law the cotton tax stands upon a very different basis. The people who paid it have unceasingly contended that it was illegal. All admit that it was imposed upon a people who were refused the right of representation in the Congress of the United States, and by special laws were denied any participation in the affairs of government.

Our opponents concede that it was not uniform in its operation, and that it was not apportioned according to population; and the history of the case shows clearly that it was a tax upon an article exported from a State. There can be no doubt as to the duty of Congress in matters so clear and plain as these.

I have discussed this question to show the great propriety of so amending the bill as to give us an opportunity of voting at the same time upon the proposition to return the money collected by the Government under the direct tax and the cotton tax, and I think all will admit the justice and equity of the proposition.

MARVELOUS ADVANCEMENT OF THE SOUTH.

I was glad to hear the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HEARD] speak of the wonderful prosperity of his great and powerful State, and it is with almost inexpressible gratification that I view the well-nigh unexampled progress and marvelous development throughout that great section called the Southland of our Republic. The eyes of all the world are fixed upon that highly-favored land, and all peoples are learning of our well-nigh boundless but until recently almost hidden wealth.

The capitalist, the men of industry, energy, and enterprise, the skilled mechanic, the ambitious youth, and the hopeful laborer, are all coming among us to find a hospitable welcome and happy homes, and enjoy with us the advantages and blessings which God has showered so lavishly upon us.

The next census will show a changed condition in the South as compared with the last, which is certainly highly gratifying. I learn from incomplete reports of governors and commissioners of agriculture that the assessed value of property in certain of those States has increased $970,000,000 in less than seven years. The addition to the railroads is reported at 17,300 miles, a gain of 89 per cent. The value of farm products has increased $170,000,000, while live-stock has increased $182,000,000, and there has been a gain of more than 50 per cent. in the value of the grain produced.

In 1880 we mined 6,000,000 tons of coal, whereas we now mine 17,000,000 tons, an increase of nearly 300 per cent.

States which seven years since yielded 332,000 tons of pig-iron now produce nearly 1,000,000 tons, an increase of 300 per cent., and while the public press informs us that mortgages and debts are increasing in alarming proportions among the farmers and artisans of the West, it also tells us that obligations of this character are steadily decreasing throughout the entire South; that while labor and capital throughout the North are arrayed against each other in an apparently interminable and relentless warfare, boycotts, strikes, and lock-outs being of almost daily occurrence, such things are unknown in the South, where the employer and the workman move on in harmony and peace, happiness, prosperity, and contentment being the almost universal rule.

ALABAMA'S TRIUMPHANT PROGRESS.

Alabama, which in 1879 was the tenth State in the Union in the production of pig-iron, now leads all the States of the South, and with one exception, will soon exceed all other States both North and South.

The best of steel is now made in Alabama by a process of recent invention.

Manufacturing cities are springing up as if by magic.

Glass-works, iron-works of all kinds, cotton-mills, mammoth car-works, and other industrial enterprises are being erected in the mineral belt and beside the clear waters of the beautiful Tennessee. Silent and uninhabited wastes of a few years ago are now the busy homes of the artisan, and the honest farmer, who but yesterday watched the sun sink below the golden horizon, now beholds a cloud of smoke by day and a pillar of fire by night, telling him of the great transformation which has taken place, and of the triumphs of progress and material advancement.

The Tariff—Mortgages and Millionaires.

SPEECH

OF

HON. A. M. DOCKERY,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 25, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of revenue—

Mr. DOCKERY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I confess that it is with some degree of embarrassment that I attempt at this time a discussion of the principles involved in the pending bill, for the reason that I am the first one of the "militia" forces to follow the "regulars" of the Ways and Means Committee.

In this great country, with its teeming population, its vast area, its great diversity of soil, climate, and production, there are necessarily conflicting and clashing interests; but there is no conflict, real or imaginary, which can not be satisfactorily adjudicated if we but apply to its consideration the spirit of patriotism, moderation, and prudence.

Let us invoke this spirit in the conduct of the debate, and endeavor to reach a conclusion that will subserve the best interests of the whole people.

Before proceeding, however, it is of paramount interest and moment to recognize the fact that a tariff is a tax.

A revenue tariff is a tax designed to meet the current needs of the Government, administered upon an economical basis. A protective tariff is a system in virtue of which a partial and discriminative bonus is affixed to certain industries to the disparagement of others, vastly transcending the uses of governmental expenditures, and in the teeth of the equitable maxim that "all taxation should be levied for public purposes."

Let us assume that every patriot is willing to contribute his fair quota to the maintenance of the Government. Does not the assumption imply his right to demand that the distribution of the burden shall be rigidly impartial? An obligation is reciprocal in its very essence; a governmental obligation, therefore, must be commensurate with the nation, and must exclude the idea of class, section, or distinction of party.

Mr. Chairman, the great question of tariff abatement is exigent; it is to-day the dominating issue in American politics, and it is therefore the part of wisdom to admit its vital importance, as there are none so poor, none so lowly, none so down-trodden from whom the heavy hand of the present tax is ever lifted. The unabated rate of war taxation increases the cost of nearly every necessary of life, and is severest where the article is most imperative and most universal. Among the four thousand articles subsidiary to this enormous revenue there is in this system, supposed to be of the people, for the people, and by the people, scarcely a single article of absolute necessity from the cradle to the grave that eludes the insatiate clutch of the Federal tax-gatherer or the more inordinate greed and grasp of the home manufacturer.

But, sir, aside from the ethics of the question, shall we disregard the experience of the past, the dangers of the present, and the menace to the future business of the country, and stubbornly pursue a policy which is annually piling into the coffers of the Treasury superfluous millions, legitimately and imperatively needed in the channels of trade? Let us rather, Mr. Chairman, try to meet the issues of this great argument and seek to discern the inferences of duty and of safety.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION.

Municipal, county, and State governments are usually maintained by

a system of direct taxation, based either upon the value of real or personal property, or the incomes of corporations and individuals. This method of raising revenue is in thorough accord with the genius of our institutions, exacting, as it does, the greatest amount from the rich and prosperous, and laying the lightest burdens upon the struggling poor. Whatever theoretical criticism might find wherewith to reproach the system, it has this even-handed justice in its right hand: the tax-payer can reckon with unerring exactness as to the precise amount of his contribution, and receive therefor a receipt in minutest detail, both as to item and aggregate.

The Federal Government employs both the direct and the indirect systems of taxation. By the latter it gathers in its greatest store of revenue, laying as it does tribute upon foreign manufacturers the market for whose wares and merchandise is within our borders. This scheme of taxation is indirect; for, whereas the importer pays the impost tax to the Government at our ports of entry, he presently reimburses himself to that extent by adding the duty to the selling price of the goods, the simple and last analysis of the transaction being that the consumer pays both.

The tariff, therefore, increases the cost of every imported article consumed by the people. It is true that the Government receives this added tax or impost; and the objection, therefore, does not lie against the system, but only against its prohibitory features which operate disastrously by diverting the revenue derived under it from the vaults of the Treasury to the pockets of the home manufacturer. To illustrate the correctness of this proposition it must be remembered that the average duty on imported goods is 47 per cent. If, therefore, an article of foreign manufacture is valued at $1 it must pay a duty of 47 per cent. before it can be sold in our market, and the cost to the consumer will be $1.47. The home manufacturer of a like article of course either raises the price of the article by the addition of the impost, or more usually lowers the price upon the commodity, only so far as to undersell the foreign producer and exclude him practically from competition. For it goes without saying that foreigners can not be expected to ship us merchandise for mere amusement and lose money at the same time. The virtual result of the system is, therefore, prohibitory as to foreign imports; turning over our home market to the tender mercies of our home manufacturers, who are thus "protected" to the extent of the duty.

Sir, the present system is fundamentally wrong in its operation, and fundamentally ridiculous in the pleas set up for its continuance. If I may be pardoned a momentary digression to anticipate the order of my argument, and advert to one of these many sophistical and spurious pleas, I would remark that the plea of "infant industries" would be so grotesquely ludicrous, were it not fraught with such serious results, that the refutation would be involved in its statement. If these giant monopolies are mere infants what manner of person, think you, would be a mature and bearded industry?

But to resume; the President in his annual message made the following pertinent remarks in this connection:

> But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty.
>
> So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

LOCAL FISCAL MANAGEMENT.

It would seem, Mr. Chairman, that the same business principles are involved in determining the rate of Federal taxation that prevails in the management of the fiscal affairs of States and municipalities. In these local administrations, where the revenue accrues from direct taxation alone, we find the entire population, irrespective of party, insisting upon the lowest rate of such taxation consistent with the public needs. The Republican here goes hand in hand with his Democratic neighbor in the earnest advocacy of low taxes and economical expenditures. Both, properly, demand the most efficient administration at the smallest practicable cost.

If the school-house, complete in its appointments, is paid for, and the rate of taxation is found to be greater than the educational needs of the community, taxation is reduced at once by "unanimous consent." If the municipality has liquidated its indebtedness, after having erected adequate public buildings, and furnished other needful equipment, the rate of taxation is diminished without dissent, and such is the case in the higher functions of the State itself, as well as the subordinate and minor affairs of the counties, whatever party may hold the helms which steer them all.

Mr. Chairman, the Democratic party of Missouri was entrusted with the conduct of the affairs of that great Commonwealth a little more than fifteen years ago; and within that time and in harmony with these principles has reduced the State debt from $23,000,000 to less than $10,000,000. This creditable result has been attained, whilst at the same time the scale of taxation has been reduced; and the Republican party has given its thorough assent and approval to both the reduction of the debt and the diminution of the tax.

And so, sir, we are confronted with the manifest anomaly, that whilst the people are in entire accord in regard to the fiscal policy of State, county, and municipal affairs, yet when we approach the question of national finances, we find the views of the two great political parties widely divergent.

The Democratic party, consistent with its record as to local taxation, has been unswerving in its demand for taxation for national revenue, whilst the attitude of the Republican party has been hitherto unshaken in its clamor for a protective tax.

Let us examine for a moment the salient pleas in their argument; and as preliminary it may be well to submit an exhibit of the condition of the Treasury, so that we may definitely discern whether or not the necessity for tariff reform actually exists.

PUBLIC DEBT AND SURPLUS.

The interest-bearing bonded debt on the first day of the current year (after deducting the Navy pension fund, $14,000,000) amounted to $1,027,761,742. Of this sum, $230,544,600 bears interest at the rate of 4½ per cent., payable September 1, 1891; $64,623,512 mature March 19, 1895, to January 1, 1899, inclusive, bearing interest at 6 per cent.; and $732,442,100 mature July 1, 1907, this last installment bearing 4 per cent. interest. The Government has no "option" on any part of this indebtedness, having no prerogative of redemption prior to the maturity of the bonds.

The annual receipts, expenditures, and surplus of the Treasury for the fiscal years 1886, 1887, and 1888, and the estimated total surplus at the close of the current fiscal year are shown in the following table:

Year ending—	Revenue.	Expenditures.	Surplus.
June 30, 1886	$380,388,150.01	$330,982,604.81	$49,405,545.20
June 30, 1887	420,240,887.05	364,673,037.51	55,567,849.54
June 30, 1888 (actual and estimated)	436,242,036.02	370,059,821.50	66,182,214.52

Total surplus for three years	$171,155,609.26
Average annual surplus	57,051,869.75
Surplus in Treasury April 1, 1888	104,573,930.34
Estimated surplus June 30, 1888	155,000,000.00

And so, Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that in the last three years we have garnered up a superfluous accumulation, which to a sober and reflective apprehension is simply startling, to the enormous sum of $171,155,609.26 in excess of the total expenditures of the Government. An average annual surplus of $57,051,869.75! This wanton drain upon the resources of the people, supplemented by the accumulations of prior years, it is estimated, will augment the surplusage in the Treasury to the startling exhibit of $155,000,000 at the close of the present fiscal year, June 30, over and above the reservation of $100,000,000 for the redemption of greenbacks, in compliance with the requirements of the law.

Mr. Chairman, shall we, in the light reflected from this picture, illuminating as it does the imminent dangers of financial disturbance, continue the policy of overtaxation? Both of the great political parties have solemnly pledged themselves to revise the tariff and reduce this appalling surplus, and, sir, the people inexorably clamor for the speedy redemption of these pledges.

The President, commenting upon the plethoric condition of the Treasury, remarks most pertinently and pungently that—

> When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deductions as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

Mr. Chairman, this constantly augmenting surplus of useless and idle money is a reproach to our financial policy, and it has also, sir, the graver aspect of being a menace to the industrial interests of the country. The President has emphasized our present posture by declaring that "it is a condition which confronts us, and not a theory," and that it is the high behest of the people's representatives to devise an effectual and speedy change in this untoward and disastrous condition.

DISPOSITION OF SURPLUS.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the question remains, What disposition shall be made of the surplus now in the Treasury, and in what manner shall we reduce taxation so as to prevent its recurrence?

Prior to the beginning of the present fiscal year the Treasury Department applied a portion of the surplus to the redemption of United States bonds which were subject to call at the pleasure of the Government.

There being now no bonds payable at call, and none maturing until September 1, 1891, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to purchase outstanding bonds to the full extent of the surplus that may accumulate prior to the close of the present fiscal year.

However, this means of restoring to the channels of healthful circulation the money now producing congestion by lying in the Treasury may involve the payment of premiums, and however, in some lesser degree, in itself objectionable, yet, sir, does it seem the only practicable escape from the present accumulation.

Mr. Chairman, the Democratic party is acquitted of any responsibility whatever for the condition of our fiscal affairs requiring the purchase of bonds and the payment of premiums. It was a Republican Congress and a Republican Executive that passed and approved the refunding-tax act of July 14, 1870, under which the bonds bearing 4½ and 4 per cent. were issued, and the date of their payment deferred until 1891 and 1907, respectively. The Democratic administration is therefore compelled to purchase these bonds at a premium to reduce the surplus.

Not only this, Mr. Chairman, but the Republican party is solely responsible for that condition which compels the American people to pay an excessive rate of interest on their bonded indebtedness. As tersely stated by the eloquent gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] in a recent debate:

> The difference between 2½ or 3 per cent., the rate at which we could borrow money, and 4 and 4½ per cent. that we are paying on these bonds—a sum easily calculable—is the precise sum that the American people are annually paying for the glorious privilege of having had Mr. JOHN SHERMAN as Secretary of the Treasury during the interregnum of Mr. Hayes.

Again, Mr. Chairman, the danger of a surplus in the future may be avoided by extravagant appropriations, by reduction or abolition of internal taxation of whisky and tobacco, or by lowering the schedule of tariff taxation.

I trust that the first suggestion, as embodying a practicable device for the attainment of surplusage reduction, will be accorded but poor favor by either branch of Congress. The disfavor with which it will be greeted by the Executive has already been anticipated by his recent utterance:

> Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, besides the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government.

The revenue derived from the taxes on whisky and tobacco entails no hardship upon the people and should remain undisturbed. As a measure of compromise I might be willing to concede the reduction or abolition of the tobacco tax, but, sir, I am unalterably opposed to any lowering of the tax on whisky. If we are to credit the intimations of our friends on the other side, whisky is essentially a Democratic luxury [laughter], and, in this view of the case, I had supposed, of course, our Republican friends would unite with us in demanding the retention of the tax upon this product. Upon this proposition, however, there seems to be some doubt, as the distinguished leader on the other side [Mr. KELLEY] has already declared himself in favor of abolishing the whisky tax, and is re-enforced in this demand by another eminent Republican leader [Senator WILSON, of Iowa], who expresses his views in the RECORD of April 6, 1888, page 2871, in the following terms:

> Mr. President, we are still confronted with our annual surplus revenue of about $60,000,000. Is there no way by which we can get rid of it without disturbing our true industrial conditions? It seems to me that there is a way which is both short and clear. We have one public tax the gross yield per annum of which more than equals the reduction of revenue we are called on to make. The tax on intoxicating liquors is the one to which I refer. This is where I would make the reduction.

It therefore appears, Mr. Chairman, that two of the great leaders of the Republican party have boldly taken position in favor of striking off the whisky tax. The Democratic party accepts the issue tendered and is quite willing to take the judgment of the people upon the proposition. In my opinion the country is not yet prepared to accept cheap whisky and high-priced clothing as a proper measure of tax reform. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Upon this point I quote again succinctly from the Executive:

> Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public Treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal-revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessaries; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

Mr. Chairman, from whatever point we view this question of excessive Federal taxation our ultimate and inevitable determination must be the schedule of the tariff tax; upon this point must revolve the substantial reduction.

Sir, I trust that I can safely assume that no diminution whatever will be made in the tribute upon whisky. Upon tobacco for the last fiscal year the tax aggregated $30,108,067.13, of which amount the sum of $12,682,137.19 was derived from cigars, cigarettes, cheroots, and snuff, and yet if, in the spirit of concession, the entire amount be stricken off, there will yet assail us the exigency for a reduction of at least $45,000,000, as per the tariff schedule.

If, however, as is probable, the tax on manufactured tobacco alone, amounting, in round numbers, to $18,000,000, be stricken off, there must still be a reform in the tariff schedule of about $60,000,000.

DOES PROTECTION BENEFIT LABOR?

It now seems, Mr. Chairman, that we are prepared to advance to the scrutiny of the arguments used against this scheme of reduction, and in favor of a protective tariff.

Mr. Chairman, the so-called "protective" system operates in placing $5 in the hands of the manufacturers for $1 which finds its way into the vaults of the Government. The inequality and injustice of the system are as patent as the motives of the advocates of its continuance are apparent. The guise in which the thought is dressed is a flimsy one indeed—the protection of the laboring man. Sir, the simple resolution of this issue might be reached by the unvarnished assertion that business *per se*, under whatever name, is grasping and exacting; is dominated by no instinct of philanthropy, but by the law of supply and demand in open and competitive market. This law fixes the wage rather than the profit upon the manufacture.

A protective tariff can only benefit labor by increasing its demand, and this is practically limited to the home market, as shown by the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. It there appears that in 1880 but 9.65 per cent. of the manufactured product was sold abroad. The tariff is, therefore, rather a hindrance to the laborer, limiting him, as it does, to the degree of employment necessary to supply the demands of the home market alone and leaving him to drift idly upon our shores when such demands shall have been fully met. The salient features of protection, in so far as they relate to labor, may be succinctly summarized.

First. It is insisted that the great body of our people shall pay taxes to the manufacturers, in order that these shall be thus enabled to pay higher wages to the laborers.

Second. The taxes collected under the system are paid by one portion of our population for the assumed benefit of another portion, such tax being in no wise a contribution in whole or in part by foreign nations.

Third. It is manifest, therefore, that the integrity of the entire superstructure of the system lies in the good faith of the manufacturers, and their intent and willingness to dispense some of this enormous bonus to their laborers. With this view of the case before us, let us in a brief space ascertain where the money actually goes, and we may then discover that we have in reality been "protecting" the wrong man.

COST OF THE TARIFF.

By the census of 1880 it appears that the entire manufactured product of the United States aggregated $5,369,579,191, and of this amount 10 per cent., in round numbers, was sold to foreign countries. Deducting this amount of exportation, $536,957,919, from the total product, we find the consumption by the home market amounted to $4,832,621,272, or an annual per capita average of $277 for the 17,392,099 persons who are engaged in the various avocations and who maintain the rest of the population. Estimating that of this domestic consumption only 20 per cent. of its value, instead of 41 per cent., was added by the tariff, we yet find the increased cost to the people of the United States to attain the enormous aggregate of $966,524,254, an average per capita tax of $19.27.

Mr. Chairman, the great State from which I hail, with her population of 2,168,380, contributed of this amount $40,784,682.60, whilst the people of the district I have the honor to represent on this floor were taxed to the extent of $3,047,571, the items of taxation, being in detail, by counties, as follows:

Counties.	Population.	Amount of tax.
Caldwell	13,646	$262,685
Clay	15,572	299,751
Clinton	16,073	309,405
Daviess	19,145	368,541
De Kalb	13,334	256,679
Gentry	17,176	330,638
Harrison	20,304	390,852
Ray	20,190	388,657
Mercer	14,673	282,455
Worth	8,203	157,908
Total	158,316	3,047,571

I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that the advocates of protection insist that this estimate of the increased cost of the manufactured product by reason of the tariff is excessive. But, sir, the very fact of the manufacturers' unwillingness to abate their present profits, or if they be willing to concede the necessity for reform, their insistance that the reduction shall not fall upon their products, is conclusive of their emoluments under the law.

As affecting the further proposition, that the present rates are necessary to the maintenance of present wages, let us scan for a brief space the statistics which ascertain the profits of the manufacturers.

PROFITS OF THE MANUFACTURER.

The census of 1880 showed the capital invested in manufacturing to be $2,790,272,606. The value of the manufactured product was $5,369,579,191; the cost of the materials $3,396,823,549, and the wages paid, after deducting those paid to tailors, plasterers, milliners, masons, carpenters, butchers, blacksmiths, bakers, and agricultural implement makers, not in any wise protected, amounted to $799,358,445. To ascertain the profit of the manufacturers we have only to add the cost of wages and materials and deduct this total from the total value of the product, and by this means we have a profit determined of $1,173,397,197, or 42 per cent. of the capital invested. To further emphasize the exorbitant profit received by the manufacturers let us ascertain the capital embarked in certain lines of industry which produce some of the necessaries of life.

By the census of 1880 it appears that the capital employed in the manufacture of woolen goods was $96,095,564; the total product $160,606,721; cost of materials $100,845,611; and wages paid $25,836,392. A net profit in this industry of $33,924,718, or 35 per cent. upon the capital invested.

By a similar computation we have the net profit on worsted goods of 29 per cent., on cotton goods 22 per cent., and on boots and shoes of 45 per cent.

From a careful review of these tables the conclusion is inevitable that the manufacturers are receiving excessive bounty, not warranted by the legitimate needs of their respective industries and which is only enjoyed by the 44,019 owners of manufacturing establishments. Conceding for the argument's sake any reasonable accessories of expenditure in the way of supervision, risk, and wear, and interest upon the original capital, the profit yet realized by the manufacturer is vastly in excess of that realized in any other legitimate investment.

The manufacturer claims that this profit is largely for the benefit of the laboring man.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if I was a manufacturer possibly I might come before Congress like the others with this sort of plaintive appeal, but whenever I find any business man asking a legislative body for some favor in the interest of the "poor workingman" I always feel like tightening the strings on my pocket-book. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. KERR. Why do you not quit the banking business and go into this profitable business of manufacturing?

Mr. DOCKERY. Why, my friend, I remain in the banking business for the same reason that these other gentlemen remain in the manufacturing business—because it pays. [Laughter.] We do not, however, ask for legislative aid, as we are organized under a State charter and can not possibly be advantaged by legislation; but I never would appear before any legislative body asking aid for myself or for my business, masquerading behind the interests of the "laboring men." [Applause on Democratic side.] The Republican party has been the special friend and champion of the banking interest, and in the Forty-seventh Congress removed the tax from bank capital, bank deposits, and bank checks, while it left the taxes on the necessaries of life. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Again, Mr. Chairman, manufacturers have a supplementary element of protection in 3,000 miles of ocean, a balance in their favor of freight, insurance, etc., in addition to the absolute and intrinsic bounty wrung from domestic consumers.

Against this picture are the naked outlines of the one presented by the pursuits of my people. These men, worthy as the best, are inexorably destined, with the meager exception of the owners of 182,369 sheep, as shown by the census of 1880, to undergo day in and day out, year in and year out, the bitter cold of winter and the weary heat of summer with no kind of governmental aid whatever.

Sir, I have the pleasure and honor of representing one of the most progressive and enlightened agricultural districts in the United States; and I am unwilling that this people who receive, perhaps, but 4 per cent. net on their farming investments should be further taxed for the benefit of less than fifty thousand favored manufacturers. Equal and exact justice should be rendered unto every man who is sheltered under the broad ægis of the American flag.

The business of the manufacturers with only $2,790,272,606 of capital yielded a profit of $1,173,397,197—42 per cent; while the farmers with an investment of $12,104,081,430, were able only to realize a product valued at $2,213,402,564, which, after deducting labor and other legitimate expenditures, will amount to less than 5 per cent. on the capital invested. And now, Mr. Chairman, having traced the people's money collected under this system into the pockets of the manufacturers, it becomes a question of grave moment; what account do they render of this enormous tribute? For, under any rational system of protection to labor, they are only themselves the custodians of this trust, because after they shall have allowed themselves the reasonable profit designed, they must disburse the residue to their laborers.

Sir, I wage no contest with the manufacturer, as to his just gain and recompense. I desire to see his enterprises progressive, prosperous, and stable, and that the General Government shall foster them to this extent. But that the rest of this great nation should endure excessive taxation, that he alone should reap excessive gains, I raise my earnest protest.

WHAT LABOR GETS.

From its frequency there should be some plausibility at least in the claim that a high Federal tax secures American labor against competition with the pauper labor of Europe. This claim, however, is only tantamount to the assertion that the profits of the manufacturer are entirely adequate to such guaranty, and manifestly this ability can only result from the increase which accrues to the manufactured product by reason of the tariff. The proof of this inheres in the statement. The sole question, then, is, who guarantees the manufacturer? or whether this access of profit goes bona fide to the laborer or is quietly absorbed by the manufacturer. Upon the decision of this point the interest of the laborer must revolve.

And again, manifestly, the laborer in manufactories is primarily concerned in this decision. Sir, I am willing to go as far in the direction of the genuine interests of American labor as any member upon this floor, although none of my constituents are directly benefited by this system, unless it be, as is claimed, the small number of those engaged in growing wool. I am, moreover, sir, entirely willing to support the system if it does veritably uphold the hand of labor throughout the land, and so contribute to the happiness and well-being of our whole people.

Labor is the foundation of national prosperity, and the absolute basis upon which must repose the fabric of our national wealth. It should therefore be our object, as it is our privilege, to contribute to its stability, advancement, and contentment in so far as these lie within the domain of legislative authority.

And, Mr. Chairman, I utterly repudiate the allegation that the party of which I am an humble member do not have these just considerations at heart.

Let us, however, investigate the main question and determine whether, of this immense gratuity to the manufacturer, the laborer has received any increase of pay deserving of the name.

To quote once more the census of 1880, we find that 17,392,099 persons are engaged in the various avocations of life; and that of these 7,670,493 are agriculturists; 4,074,238 are engaged in professional and personal pursuits; 1,810,256 in trade and transportation; 1,214,023 in mining and mechanical occupations, and the residue, after deducting plasterers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other like pursuits in no sense protected, amounts to the ridiculously disproportionate showing of 2,623,089. It is conclusive that protection only can protect this last class.

Mr. Chairman, after several years of study and reflection upon the injustice of our tariff laws, I am forced to assert that the worst pretense in the whole system is that wanton sophistry by which a few cents of increase in daily wages is made to outweigh the grievous wrong and cheat to the laborer in the spoliation of his goods by the enormous tax on everything he is compelled to have in order that he may be housed, fed, and clad in the humblest manner.

The same inevitable census shows that, after deducting classes not really protected, the 2,623,089 so-called protected laborers received as wages in 1880 the amount of $799,358,445, an average annual wage per capita of $305—the preposterous "protection" of 97 cents per day, all told.

This, then, is the grim exhibit as far as it goes. But, sir, to continue, the manufacturers of woolen goods paid the same year $298 per annum, or 93 cents by the working day. In the department of worsted goods the pay per year was $302, the daily wage being 96 cents. The great moneyed manufacturers of cotton goods doled out the same year to their "protected" employés the annual pay of $240, or the significant protection of 77 cents per day. And, Mr. Chairman, you may run through the entire list, and you will find the same sham of augmented wages to the laborers under the entire scheme of protected industries.

Sir, this exhibit is momentously significant, as it explains the presence in the corridors of the Capitol at this moment of the representatives of less than fifty thousand protected manufacturers. They are here to-day, as they have been in all the years that have preceded, claiming the continuance of governmental aid, ostensibly in the interest of labor; but the people have wearied of the cant and insincerity of this plea.

Aid and security to American labor is the premise upon which every vicious and fallacious theory of protection is grounded. In further elucidation of the intrinsic helplessness of these theories when confronted with the light, I ask the privilege of subjoining a collated table

giving the manufacturers' profits, laborers' wages, and the value of the product of each laborer for the consecutive census reports of 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880:

	Annual wages paid laborer.	Manufacturers' profit.	Value product of each laborer.
1850	$244.00	42 per cent...	$1,063.00
1860	288.00	47 per cent...	1,438.00
1870	377.00	45 per cent...	2,060.00
1880	305.00	42 per cent...	2,047.00

From 1846 to 1861 the tariff on imports averaged 19 per cent., while from 1861 to 1880 it averaged not less than 50 per cent. The increase of wages for ten years of low tariff was 16 per cent., while in twenty years of high tariff it has been only 6 per cent.

The table readily discloses the reason for the insignificant advance in wages, to wit, the increased productive power of the laborer. Such increase has fallen far short of the increased value of the laborer, for his productive value has increased from $1,063 in 1850, when labor received $244 by the year, to $2,047 in 1880, when the laborer was paid only $305. In other words, the productive capacity of the laborer in thirty years, because of the inventive genius of the people, fostered by wise and generous patent laws, has increased 92 per cent., while his wages show the beggarly advance of 23 per cent.

The table further reveals the fact that while manufacturers have prospered under low and high tariffs, this interest has enjoyed no greater degree of prosperity than during the low tariff from 1850 to 1860. Nevertheless, the standard of wages in high or low epochs, in season and out of season, has eternally had its neck under the galling yoke of supply and demand, which is never abrogated nor even abated, whatever may be the specious logic of the manufacturer, he receiving, as these tables show, the lion's share at all times. The laborer, the efficient factor in their unparalleled bounty, has, from the manufacturer, in no instance, received a single dollar beyond his competitive valuation in the market, which only establishes, by invincible evidence, that "protection" has all along been protecting the wrong man.

Mr. Chairman, the manufacturers talk glibly of the interests of American labor, and yet many of them have repeatedly starved it into subjection, or driven it into other pursuits when it has dared to syllable their harsh injustice; and, in this way, American labor has, in manifold instances, been supplanted by the pauper labor of other countries. So frequent has been this occurrence that Congress has been compelled to forbid such further importation, under the severest pains and penalties. The imminent need of this action has this startling confirmation from the census reports. Of the total number of laborers employed in manufactures in 1880, 819,069, or 33 per cent., were persons of foreign birth, whilst only 2,615,578 foreigners, or 17 per cent., were employed in other avocations. One-third of the whole number of manufacturing laborers were thus foreigners; and yet the specious and seductive cry of "protection to American labor" is as rampant and pervasive as it has been from the first.

Now, sir, I accord, as does the Democratic party, a generous welcome to every citizen of foreign birth who seeks our shores with the genuine purpose of identifying himself with our institutions and promoting our welfare; but I enter an earnest protest against the destructive policy which, under the guise of protection to native labor, is disintegrating and expelling it in favor of the "pauper contract labor" of Europe and other countries.

Can there be any further doubt that the whole issue of "protection" is in the aggrandizement of the manufacturer and the detriment of American labor?

Sir, the discontent and unrest of our laboring people have never been so pronounced as under this protective tariff, devised, as it is claimed, in their behalf. Strikes, and even violent manifestations of the unsatisfactory conditions of labor have become so frequent as to call for the most serious regard and concern. Why, sir, it has only been a few weeks since 82,000 laborers were driven from their employment in Pennsylvania in midwinter by the exactions and oppressions of their employers. And this, Mr. Chairman, was in Pennsylvania, where, we have been told, year in and year out, that the voice of the turtle is ever heard in the land; that the state of the laborer is one of benign satisfaction, and that his comforts are, indeed, enviable. And right here that same laborer is compelled to strike for the bare means of sustenance.

MANUFACTURING VS. AGRICULTURAL STATES.

To further illustrate, Mr. Chairman, the comparative results of high and low tariffs upon the wealth of the manufacturing and agricultural States, I invite especial attention to the subjoined table, showing the total wealth, population, and average wealth per capita for the nine manufacturing States of Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania for the census years 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880, as contrasted with the wealth of the remaining States and Territories:

Years.	Wealth of nine manufacturing States.	Wealth of remaining States and Territories.	Total wealth.	Population of nine manufacturing States.
1850	$3,130,989,851	$4,004,790,377	$7,135,780,228	8,626,851
1860	5,591,607,424	10,568,008,644	16,159,616,068	10,594,268
1870	15,290,032,687	14,778,485,520	30,068,518,507	12,298,730
1880	19,630,000,000	24,012,000,000	43,642,000,000	14,507,407

Years.	Population of remaining States and Territories.	Total population.	Wealth per capita of nine manufacturing States.	Wealth of per capita of remaining States and Territories.
1850	14,565,025	23,191,876	$363.00	$275.00
1860	20,849,053	31,443,321	529.00	507.00
1870	26,259,641	38,558,871	1,243.00	562.00
1880	35,648,376	50,155,783	1,353.00	673.00

Mr. Chairman, an examination of this table reveals such startling discriminations in favor of the manufacturing States by the operation of a high tariff as to make any comment or criticism unnecessary.

Under a low tariff wealth was equalized, so that we find the agricultural States keeping steady step in increase of wealth with the augmentation of the population. In 1860, for example, after sixteen years' rule of a low tariff, the wealth of the manufacturing States, with a population of 10,594,268, amounted to $5,591,607,424, or an average rate per capita of $529.

For the same period the remaining States and Territories, with a population of 20,849,053, increased their wealth to the aggregate of $10,568,008,644, or to a per capita wealth of $507.

And now, Mr. Chairman, let us note the changes which twenty years of high tariff have wrought. In 1880 the population of the nine manufacturing States was 14,507,407 and the wealth $19,630,000,000, or an average to each person of $1,353.

The remaining States and Territories for the same period increased their population to 35,648,376, whilst their wealth was augmented to but $24,012,000,000, or an average individual wealth of only $673.

Sir, these figures are taken exactly from the census, and are outside of controversy. They declare in the open light of day that under a low tariff the wealth of the whole common country was normal, was equally distributed, and that its increase went hand in hand with that of the population, knowing, in Mr. Webster's words, "No North, no South, no East, no West."

The wealth of the agricultural States, moreover, from 1850 to 1860, ten years only, increased 163 per cent., while in the ensuing decades from 1860 to 1880 the increase of wealth was only 127 per cent.

This result, which always follows when the natural laws of trade have full sway, unhampered by tariff restrictions, was reversed during the next twenty years under these odious discriminations, and in consequence we find the wealth forsaking the West, Northwest, and South and driven to its legitimate center in the nine manufacturing States of the East. And so, sir, we are met with the incongruous results, that these twenty years, far from recording the same wholesome increase, growing out of the wholesome conditions obtaining from 1850 to 1860, wherein the manufacturing wealth grew in ten years 78 per cent., are forced to chronicle the enormous increase of 251 per cent. in these States.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. DOCKERY. Certainly.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Do you want to transfer all these manufactories to Europe? Why do you not also build manufactories in your midst?

Mr. DOCKERY. There is no danger of their removal to Europe. The Democratic party favors legislation which will afford all the incidental protection under a revenue system which these manufactures need to enable them to grow and prosper, but we do not propose to continue a system which levies an enormous tribute upon the agricultural States for the benefit of the manufacturing States. [Applause.]

Mr. BOUTELLE. Will the gentleman from Missouri be good enough to repeat the names of the nine manufacturing States to which he has referred?

Mr. DOCKERY. Maine is amongst the number. They are Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I understand the gentleman to say, then, those are the States against whose interest it is the part of the Democratic party to legislate?

Mr. DOCKERY. I want to say to my friend from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE] that the Democratic party opposes class legislation, desires to obliterate sectional lines and enact such laws as will redound to the common interests of the whole country. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I rejoice at the prosperity of the State of Maine, and desire to see her industrial enterprises progressive and stable; but in considering this tariff question we should exclude the idea of class or sectional distinction.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Will the gentleman allow me?

Mr. DOCKERY. I can not yield further, as my time is limited.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri declines to yield.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I am sure the gentleman will yield for a moment. I understood the gentleman to say—I may have misunderstood him—but I understood him to enumerate a number of States, including the New England States and some others, which he stated had been particularly advantaged in their material resources by the present tariff system, and that it was the policy of the Democratic party to put a stop to the advantages enjoyed by these States.

Mr. DOCKERY. Oh, no; the gentleman could certainly not have so understood me.

Mr. BOUTELLE. That was the impression made upon my mind.

Mr. DOCKERY. No, the gentleman seems to have misapprehended the scope and meaning of my observation.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Then I wish the gentleman would state what he does mean.

Mr. DOCKERY. I have only to reiterate the statements of a few moments since. I oppose all class or sectional legislation, but am quite willing that the manufacturers of Maine, with those of the other States to which I have alluded, shall have all the incidental protection that can be secured under a good sound revenue tariff, but no excessive bounty at the expense of the agricultural States. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, it may be insisted that the comparison I have made between the agricultural and manufacturing States, so far as they relate to wealth, is not fair and just, for the reason that it necessarily includes States of the South whose people were impoverished by the civil war. To anticipate this objection I desire to submit a comparative statement of the population, assessed valuation, and per capita wealth of two States, the one manufacturing and the other agricultural, Illinois and Massachusetts. Both of these States have enjoyed whatever benefits accrued from this protective system, and have followed with unflagging zeal the standard of the Republican party.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. And they are going to follow it.

Mr. DOCKERY. I am afraid that the statement of my friend is about correct.

In 1860 Illinois had a population of 1,711,951, and an average per capita wealth of $227. In 1880 Illinois had a population of 3,077,871, while the average per capita wealth was but $255. In 1860 her average per capita wealth was $227, and after twenty years of high tariff——

Mr. ROWELL. Do I understand you to say that in 1880 the per capita wealth in Illinois was $500?

Mr. DOCKERY. Oh, no; $255.

Mr. LONG. How much in 1860?

Mr. DOCKERY. It was $227; the total assessed valuation of the property in that State being $389,207,372, while in 1880 the assessed valuation was $786,616,394.

Mr. ROWELL. Are you adopting the assessment tables prepared by the assessors of the State, or do you take your figures from the census returns?

Mr. DOCKERY. I quote from the census returns as they appear in the compendium of the census taken in 1860 and 1880.

Mr. HEMPHILL. What was the per capita wealth of Illinois in 1880?

Mr. DOCKERY. Two hundred and fifty-five dollars. There had been an increase of but $28 per capita in twenty years of high tariff. Now let us examine the statistics so far as they relate to Massachusetts; and my Kentucky friend [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] thinks Massachusetts leads the country. She certainly leads it in the profits received under this system. In 1860 she had a total population of 1,231,066, assessed valuation of real and personal property of $777,157,816, while her average per capita wealth was $631. In 1880 her population had increased to 1,783,085, the value of her real and personal property was $1,584,756,802, while her individual wealth had increased to $888. Massachusetts increased her per capita wealth in twenty years of high tariff $257, while Illinois, the agricultural Republican State of the West, showed an increase of but $28.

Mr. ROWELL. Do you not know that in 1880 Illinois was the fourth manufacturing State of the Union?

Mr. DOCKERY. I am aware of that; but her manufacturing wealth is included in the total valuation which I have given.

Mr. BRUMM. Has the gentleman shown the percentage of increase in population relatively in these States?

Mr. DOCKERY. I have but five minutes' time remaining, and I must beg to be permitted to proceed without further interruption. I do not wonder that our Republican friends are becoming somewhat excited and nervous over these figures. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The area of Illinois amounts to 56,650 square miles; that of Massachusetts is 8,310 square miles. Illinois has six times the area of Massachusetts and almost twice the population, and yet her per capita average is $255, while Massachusetts is $888—Massachusetts having $633 more individual wealth than Illinois.

Mr. DUNHAM. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him one question?

Mr. DOCKERY. If I am given further time I will yield with pleasure.

Mr. DUNHAM. We will give you more time. I want to know if the gentleman is aware that in Illinois the assessment is from one-third to one-sixth of the value, whereas in Massachusetts it runs from a half to the full value?

Mr. DOCKERY. This valuation is ascertained by a Federal census, and I presume has the same basis in all the States. In my own State the assessment is usually made upon the basis of one-half or one-third of the value of the property, except money, which is assessed at its full value.

Mr. DUNHAM. Is money assessed there at its full value?

Mr. DOCKERY. Yes, it is in Missouri. In this connection I desire to call the attention of gentlemen to another fact of some considerable importance. The manufacturing States not only have this enormous disproportion of individual and aggregate wealth in their favor, but as a matter of fact they own a large part of the property accredited to the States of the West and Southwest. Ninety-five per cent. of the shares of stock representing the real value of the railroad property of Illinois, amounting to perhaps $600,000,000, belongs to the citizens of the manufacturing States. The railroad property of my own State—whole real value is about $250,000,000—finds its ownership in New York and Boston, so that you not only have this wealth in the manufacturing States——

Mr. LONG. How important it is for you that we have the wealth!

Mr. DOCKERY. I concede that very readily, and do not object to Eastern capital which finds its way to the West, because it aids us in developing our material resources; but my objection lies against that system of taxation which compels the people of that section to pay tribute to the manufacturing States and thus enable their citizens to acquire fortunes of almost fabulous proportions.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana. I move that the gentleman's time be extended.

By unanimous consent the time of Mr. DOCKERY was extended until 5 o'clock p. m.

Mr. DOCKERY. I thank the gentleman from Indiana and the House for the courtesy extended.

Mr. WADE. May I ask my colleague a question?

Mr. DOCKERY. I yield to my colleague, although I know he has a habit of asking difficult questions.

Mr. WADE. If we are in that condition as a State, and here is a plan by which other people have got wealthy, as the gentleman says, why can not we apply that system to Missouri, and pay those debts? [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. DOCKERY. Well, my friend, if this policy is to be considered simply as a question of who can secure the greatest bounty, I might be willing to claim a share of the profit for Missouri.

If this protective system is to be continued I want to notify Massachusetts and the other New England States now——

Mr. WADE. Are you not as smart as a Massachusetts Yankee? [Laughter.]

Mr. DOCKERY. I am willing to compete in any market in the world with anybody except a Massachusetts Yankee. [Renewed laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I was about to observe that if this system is to continue, now that we have the interstate-commerce law, the New England States had as well begin to look to foreign countries for their market, for they will soon be seeking a protective tariff against Alabama, Missouri, and other States of the South and West. If the profits of agriculture are still to be "tolled" in the interest of manufactures, we may be compelled to adopt a policy aggressively defensive.

Mr. Chairman, we are now prepared to appreciate the import of the President's declaration, when, in words ringing with the power of truth, he stigmatized the present tariff as "vicious, inequitable, and illogical." In view of the wanton aggressions which I have shown that this tariff makes against the agricultural States and Territories, the question spontaneously arises: How can such a system by any possibility of sanity receive the support of any Western farmer or any laborer outside of the circle of the manufacturing States?

When the census shows that the great West, until 1860, was waxing strong in wealth and numbers, until at that date her per capita wealth was $507, as against $529 in the manufacturing States; and the same census shows that in 1880 the conditions had become shamefully reversed, and that in the nine manufacturing States the average wealth had swelled to $1,353, whilst that of the other States and Territories had shrunken to $673, I confess, sir, I am at a loss to understand how any one fully cognizant of the facts can uphold such an inequitable scheme of taxation.

MORTGAGES AND MILLIONAIRES.

Mr. Chairman, if there is one thing about which a Republican Representative from the West is more sensitive than another it is the discussion of that phase of the tariff which reveals the startling aggregation of wealth in the manufacturing States, and the equally startling

number of farm mortgages in the agricultural States. A few days since, as a result of a declaration by my colleague [Mr. BLAND], there was some question raised in the House as to the value of the mortgaged property in the State of Iowa, and in that discussion the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], recently governor of that great Commonwealth, stated that the assessed valuation of the real estate was, in round numbers, $360,000,000, but claimed in the same connection that the farm mortgages only amounted to $70,000,000. [Laughter.]

I quote from the RECORD of March 22, 1888:

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. What did the gentleman say was the assessed value of the Iowa lands?
Mr. GEAR. Three hundred and sixty million dollars.
Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. And the mortgages are $70,000,000?
Mr. GEAR. Seventy millions. Of course the assessed value is not the real value. The gentleman knows that very well.

In the course of the same debate the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WEAVER] made the following statements which ought to arrest the attention of every farmer in the United States:

I wish simply to say a word in reply to my colleague from Iowa, Governor GEAR. I am very familiar with the condition of affairs in my State; and when my colleague asserts, on the authority of the governor of the State, that the mortgages will not amount to more than $70,000,000, although that is a very large sum, it is not, in my judgment, large enough by one-half; $150,000,000, according to my best judgment, will not cover the mortgage indebtedness of Iowa.
With regard to the number of farms mortgaged, I say it would be an accident if a man traveling from the south line of Iowa to the north line, or from east to west, should happen to step upon a farm that was not mortgaged. In my remarks awhile ago I said that 62½ per cent., at least, of all the farms of the whole country are mortgaged. This per cent., I again assert, will hold good throughout the Union. It may be less in some States and more in others. In the State of Missouri it is as large as in Iowa; in the State of Kansas much larger, in my opinion.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWNE] also presented his views, from which it appears that he concedes that in the ten States of the Ohio and Missouri Valleys there is a mortgage indebtedness amounting to $1,093,000,000. A vast sum, certainly of sufficient proportions to suggest inquiry, and the necessity for remedial legislation. General BROWNE says:

We have heard from the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] more than once that the mortgage indebtedness on farmers in ten States of the Ohio and Missouri Valleys equals in the aggregate the immense sum of $3,500,000,000. He no doubt received his information from the partisan press of the country. The truth is, from the investigation made by Mr. Atkinson, a free-trader, I believe, certainly a gentleman of distinction, and when it comes to matter of statistics eminently fair, instead of this indebtedness aggregating $3,500,000,000, it is one thousand and ninety-three millions, or less than a third of the tremendous sum which has been paraded before the country in this House.

Again, Mr. Chairman, according to the report of the commissioner of labor for the State of Michigan for 1887, it appears that 47 per cent. of the farms in that State are mortgaged.

I will not trespass upon the courtesy of the House to pursue this question further, but will state in conclusion upon this point that it may be fairly estimated from the most reliable data at command that the manufacturing States have secured a mortgage interest amounting to at least $2,000,000,000 on the farms and cities of the West and Southwest, and that the ownership of almost the entire railroad and telegraph system of that portion of the country is held in the same quarter. Sir, this condition of affairs should challenge and engage the attention of every thoughtful man. The monetary legislation of the last quarter of a century, with the aid of the protective tariff, has built up an aristocracy of wealth which bodes no good to the future of the country. Why, sir, I remember well, when quite a boy, that millionaires were so few that the school histories made mention of them; and they might have been numbered before the war upon the fingers of both hands. To-day they are numerous in the favored sections of the country, and some of them control fortunes estimated at $200,000,000.

This enormous aggregation of capital in the hands of a few men has assumed such proportions as to give occasion for the most serious concern and apprehension. Within the last twenty-four hours I have heard a distinguished Republican on the other side of the House repeat on the authority of a well-known statistician the statement that if we continue at the same rate to aggregate wealth in the hands of the few we shall in the course of ten years reach a point where 90 per cent. of the entire wealth of the country will be under the control of 1 per cent. of its population. I know that my Republican friends are just as much interested in the consideration of this question as we are, because they have a common interest in the glory, development, and perpetuity of our institutions, and therefore I warn them of the dangers that threaten. To-day the cloud may be no larger than a "man's hand," but if this untoward condition is unchecked the hour may come when monopoly shall throttle the Government and in the name of capital strike down the liberties of the people.

Sir, standing as we do within sight and under the very shadow of that stately monument which consecrates the memory of the immortal Washington, let us in this connection heed his words of wisdom and warning and sternly discountenance "all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character," which would upbuild and aggrandize one section to the detriment of another section of our common country.

To further exemplify the intrinsic hardship, injustice, and inequality of the present system, I submit the following comparative statement of the duties levied upon certain articles of luxury and necessity, which I will ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

DUTIES ON LUXURIES.

	Per cent.
Jewelry of all kinds	25
Diamonds	10
Wine, in bottles	29
Satins and velvets	50
Furs	20

Average duty, 27 per cent.

DUTIES ON NECESSARIES.

	Per cent.
Flannels	67
Woolen clothing	70
Agricultural machinery	45
Salt in bulk	85
Crockery	55

Average duty 64 per cent.

Mr. DOCKERY. Mr. Chairman, it will be readily seen that the average duty upon the commodities necessary to the maintenance of the humblest living is more than twice the average duty upon luxuries.

THE HOME MARKET.

Mr. Chairman, the second proposition upon which the advocates of protection chiefly rely is based upon the delusive assumption that a high tariff is essential to the prosperity of our manufacturing interests, and that without such high tariff manufacturers could not prosper; that by reason thereof they do prosper, and thus in the employment given to labor furnish a market for the products of our farmers. I have shown conclusively that the profits of manufacturers under the low tariff that prevailed from 1846 to 1861 were in every rational respect satisfactory to the interest concerned, and certainly in excess of the profit realized in any other legitimate branch of industry, the profits in 1850 being 42 per cent. on the capital invested, and in 1860 47 per cent.

The conclusion, therefore, must be reached that high tariffs are not essential to a remunerative return on the capital invested. If this conclusion be conceded, and from it there seems to be no legitimate escape, the result then necessarily follows that there is no better market furnished by a high tariff than a low one, for neither rate of Federal taxation exerts any substantial influence upon the consumption by the manufacturing employés, except, of course, in so far as they may respectively operate to reduce or increase wages.

A high tariff not only fixes a limit to the market for our farm products, but at the same time decreases their profits.

Commerce between countries is but an exchange or barter. If, therefore, in spite of the "Chinese wall" of Federal taxation, foreign manufacturers bring their products to our market to exchange for articles produced by our agriculturists, they must add the import duties to the value of their goods before obtaining the privilege of making the exchange.

If, for instance, the foreign manufacturer willingly exchanges a woolen hat for a bushel of wheat, the farmer receives in exchange for the wheat a necessary article of wearing apparel; but when the foreign manufacturer of the woolen hat is compelled at our ports of entry to pay a duty of 54 per cent. on the article, he must of necessity add the amount of the duty to the original cost of the hat, and the farmer pays such duty in the increased amount of wheat required to effect the exchange. This example illustrates the operation of the tariff in its effect upon the entire commerce of the country, which in the fiscal year just closed aggregated $1,408,502,979.

I am advised by the statistician of the Agricultural Department that no sufficient data have as yet been collected to show the amount of agricultural products required by the nine manufacturing States in addition to their own production. It is estimated, however, that they consume annually about 80,000,000 bushels of wheat, of which amount they produce 26,000,000 and purchase 54,000,000 from the remaining States; while the exportation of wheat from the entire country has averaged during the last six years 126,000,000 bushels annually.

The exportation of agricultural products is practically confined to cotton, wheat, meats, and corn, the remaining items of agricultural exportation being very few in number and insignificant in value. Of the entire exportation from this country during the last four years, the agricultural products have averaged about 73 per cent., the manufactured products about 15 per cent., and the products of mines and fisheries about 12 per cent. I regret that there are no reliable statistics upon which we can estimate with absolute certainty what per cent. of agricultural products consumed by the manufacturing States are purchased from the agricultural States; but from statistics furnished me by the statistician of the Agricultural Department it is manifest that the exportation of corn, wheat, and meats has increased under a protective tariff, while the home consumption exhibits a marked decrease. In 1860 only five-tenths per cent. of corn was exported, while in 1880 5.7 per cent. was exported; in 1860 9.2 per cent. of wheat only was exported, while in 1880 39.2 per cent. was sold abroad, and in 1860, while the exportation of meats was only 3 per cent., it had grown to 12 per cent. in 1880.

The market for home products, as shown by this table, has decreased in every one of the great items that constitute the agricultural exports,

except the one item of cotton. By the census exhibit for these respective years it must be conceded that the requirements of the home market show a marked and unsatisfactory decrease.

By the operations of the tariff, therefore, the manufacturer finds a home market for his entire production, save perhaps 10 per cent., while the farmer furnishes the products which constitute 75 per cent. of our foreign trade, and is compelled in European markets to compete with the "pauper labor" of the world without any protection whatever. The tariff, therefore, reduced to its ultimate analysis, gives the home market to the manufacturer and the foreign market to the agriculturist.

TRUSTS.

Moreover the "home market" is too often a home monopoly; too frequently "cornered" and controlled by "trusts" and other agencies, which conspire to increase the cost of the necessaries of life.

I sincerely regret that I have not time to present in detail the history of the operations of one of these trusts—the great "cattle trust" of Chicago—which in 1887, according to the Stock Grower, purchased and sold fully two million head of cattle. The membership of this "trust" consists of Nelson Morris, Swift, Armour, Hammond, and Libby, McNeil & Libby. If the two million head of cattle handled by them had been purchased and sold with reference simply to a fair basis of profit, the farmers of the West would have been many millions gainers in the transactions; but these gentlemen constituting the trust "pooled their issues," as appears by the Stock Grower, and under the lead of Nelson Morris forced down the price of cattle, so that it is estimated by this journal that the profits of the "trust" over and above a legitimate return for 1887 amounted to $54,642,210. This, Mr. Chairman, is one of the results incidental to a system which aggregates capital and fosters monopoly.

The President, in this connection, fittingly observes:

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exists a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

WAGES AND COST OF PRODUCTION.

And right here I would simply, and for a single moment, advert to the disingenuous and evasive plea made yesterday by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] that a high tariff is conducive to the benefit of the laborer in the lowering of the cost of the staples of consumption.

If I understood the argument of the distinguished gentlemen, it amounted to a declaration that "the higher the tariff the lower the goods." Well, I suppose that statement is possibly correct, the only thing, however, that stands in the way of its immediate acceptance on my part is probably deficient early education and surroundings. [Laughter.] Out in the West we used to have to go to the old-fashioned grist-mill with our corn and take regular turns in getting it ground. In those early days it was the understanding of the community that the more toll the miller took the less meal we had left. Now, when the gentleman from Michigan can satisfactorily explain our primitive misunderstanding of the situation so that we can readily understand that the more toll the miller gets the more meal there is remaining, then I will be ready to accept, without further cavil, the proposition he gravely presents that "the higher the tariff the lower the goods." [Laughter and applause on Democratic side.]

The truth is, Mr. Chairman, that manufactured articles are cheaper than they were in the primitive times, not because of the tariff (for the effect of the tariff is to increase the price), but because of the improved facilities for transportation, and, as heretofore stated, that inventive genius which has brought forth labor-saving machinery, and greatly augmented the productive capacity of the laborer, so as to make it easy for him to compete in any market of the world if you will but lower this excessive rate of Federal taxation.

As conclusively establishing the correctness of this proposition, Mr. MILLS, the very able chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, in a recent discussion, makes the following statement:

Fifty years ago, Mr. Edward Atkinson shows, it required five persons, two carders, two spinners, and one weaver, working by the old methods, to make eight yards of cloth in one day. They got 20 cents a day; a dollar for the whole five. The labor cost of the cloth was 12½ cents a yard, and calculating 300 working days in a year the whole product of these five cheap laborers was 2,400 yards of cloth; but when coal and steam and machinery were harnessed together to produce cloth, five persons to-day in New England produce 140,000 yards of cloth. The labor cost of the cloth is 1.08 cents per yard. The wages of labor, instead of being $60 a year, or 20 cents a day, is $287 per annum for each.

The result of the labor-saving machinery used was an enormous increase in productive capacity. The result of that was an increase in the rate of wages, and the further result was a great decrease in the cost of production. The old hand-wheel and the old methods of labor have had to depart before the all-conquering march of coal and steam and machinery. They had to go because the small amount of product of the article drove them out of the field. It is not the rate of wages, it is the article which the labor makes and the cost at which that article can be produced—the lower cost—which drives the rival article out of the market. Such is the history which has been written in our country in the last half century.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Edward Atkinson, one of the clearest thinkers and writers on political economy of the present day, in his little book on The Distribution of Products, lays down the principle that high rate of wages means low cost of product, and low rate of wages means high cost of product. He says that "the cheapest man is the one who works the greatest amount of machinery with the least stops." I read a paragraph from his book, on page 44:

"In any given country like the United States, where the people are substantially homogeneous, where the means of intercommunication are ample, where there are no hereditary or class distinctions, and where there is no artificial obstruction to prevent commerce, high rates of wages in money will be the natural and therefore necessary result of low cost of production in labor."

Again, on page 46, he says:

"Hence, it follows that although the total production of any given thing may not be concentrated at the very best point, it will yet be found to be true that where the conditions are the best, the cost, measured in terms of days of labor, will be lowest, and the wages, measured in terms of money per day, will be the highest, the high money wages being the necessary consequence of the low labor cost. Conversely, low rates of money wages are the natural and necessary result of a high labor cost of production."

Now, then, "it follows," he says, on page 56:

"That the nation which has diminished the quantity of human labor in greatest measure by the application of machinery produces goods at the lowest cost, and by exchange with the hand-working nations, who still constitute the majority of the people of the world, is, by way of such exchange, enabled to pay the highest rate of wages in money, because their goods are made at the lowest labor cost."

INDIRECT TAXATION.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion the indirect methods by which the Federal taxes are collected furnish the explanation for the support of the protective system by the Republicans of the agricultural States. Under this system the merchant and the shop-keeper are the tax-gatherers in disguise. The manufacturers' bonus and the Government tax are added to the original price of the article, and paid by the consumer without an adequate realization of their amount. Let us use the illustration of the tribute paid by the consumer to governmental support in the various incomes derived from customs duties, internal revenue, and postal receipts, and even here, where there can be no question as to the amount of the tax, we yet find a frequent and characteristic failure to apprehend the full measure of the burden.

In the fiscal year just ended the Government received from customs taxation $217,286,893; from internal taxation, $118,823,391, and from postal taxation, $48,837,609, making the total revenue from these three sources of taxation $384,947,893. Estimating our annual increase in population since 1880 to have been 3 per cent., we ascertain the present population of the United States to be 60,688,497. It will therefore appear that the average tax for each person amounts to $6.33. Missouri's present population upon this estimation is found to be 2,623,740, which would make her quota of revenue to the Government for the past fiscal year aggregate $16,657,020, or an average for each one of the one hundred and fourteen counties of $146,114. The cost to the people of the ten counties I represent, estimated on the same basis, would be $1,213,650, or in detail by counties, as follows:

Counties.	Population, 1887.	Cost.
Caldwell	16,512	$104,576
Clay	18,842	119,333
Clinton	19,448	123,171
Daviess	23,175	146,775
De Kalb	16,134	102,182
Gentry	20,782	131,619
Harrison	24,568	155,597
Mercer	17,754	112,442
Ray	24,429	154,417
Worth	9,985	63,238
Total	191,629	1,213,650

Mr. Chairman, that we may appreciate the exact significance of the tariff in all of its phases, let us add to the $217,286,893 of bona fide tariff received by the Government for customs duties the $966,524,254 of protection or the cost of the tariff incidentally as we have heretofore shown it to be in the increased profits of the manufacturer; and the result is found to be a total annual tax of $1,183,811,147. The average tax for each person by reason of the customs duties alone is $4.33 and that on account of the manufacturer's profit $19.27, making a total per capita tax of $23.60; or a total annual tax upon the people of the ten counties of the district I represent of $4,261,021.

Mr. Chairman, I have sought to present candidly and truthfully the real cost of this system. The only element in the discussion about which there can be any degree of uncertainty is the estimated bounty to the manufacturers. I have placed it at 20 per cent. of the total tariff rate. This is unquestionably reasonable and fair, and I am confirmed in the correctness of this view since, at the close of a quarter of a century of its existence, nearly one-half of the entire wealth of the United States is found to be collected in the nine manufacturing States that have less than one-third of the whole population.

Sir, if for the brief period of a single day we could substitute for the indirect system the direct one of collecting Federal revenue, and the tax-payers be thus enabled to realize the actual amount of the tax, it

would render unnecessary any further argument of the whole issue on this floor. Tariff reform would sweep the country as with a cyclone's power, and the granite hills of Vermont itself would tremble with the pulsations of the mighty revolution.

FREE TRADE.

Mr. Chairman, notwithstanding the avowed pledges of both political parties to revise the tariff and reduce the surplus, the Democratic party is confronted on the threshold of every attempt to redeem its faith by the almost united opposition of the Republican Representatives in Congress, who seek to justify their opposition by the gratuitous claim that the Democratic party is in favor of "free trade." Their almost unbroken ranks have hitherto prevented even the consideration of any measure looking to a reduction of the surplus; and this, sir, although the country is fully advised that every item of every tariff bill is subject to amendment or to be entirely stricken out.

The following utterance of the President would seem sufficient to effectually dispel the phantom of "free trade:"

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

Again, Mr. Chairman, it will be apparent from a very cursory examination of the fiscal affairs of the Government that free trade is impossible unless some system of direct taxation be devised in lieu of the modes by which the Government is now maintained. No politician or political party favors such a change in the manner of collecting the national revenue.

Sir, it is estimated that at the least $384,000,000 will be required for the support of the different functions of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889. This amount includes the appropriation required by the sinking-fund act, as well as a sufficient sum to pay the interest on the public debt.

There is no reasonable probability that within the scope of this generation any item involved in this total expenditure will be reduced, save the appropriation for the interest on the public debt. The probabilities indicate an annual increase of the sum total of the appropriations rather than a decrease. Moreover, the appropriations for the Navy and for the support of the pensioners of the Government are especially liable to increase, notwithstanding the impression prevalent in some quarters that the latter appropriation would be materially curtailed upon the advent of the Democratic party into power.

NAVY AND PENSIONS.

When, on March 4, 1885, Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated President, the Navy of the United States was found to consist of but 87 vessels, of which number 37 only were seaworthy. In the brief time in which the Democratic party has controlled the executive department and one branch of the national legislature, it has authorized the construction of 22 war ships, and by the date at which Mr. Cleveland's second term will have concluded, we expect the Navy of the United States to be fully rehabilitated and restored to the "old-time strength" it had when it was the pet and pride of the Democratic party.

Again, Mr. Chairman, on the 30th of June, 1885, we find that there were on the pension-rolls the names of 244,161 Army and Navy invalid pensioners. At the beginning of this year the roll had increased until it then numbered 308,284, thus showing an actual net increase of pensioners of the late war of 64,123. Moreover, Mr. Chairman, there was expended of the pension appropriation for the year ending June 30, 1885, $56,102,000, while the appropriations for the current fiscal year amount to $83,152,500. It therefore appears that since the Democratic party has directed the affairs of the Pension Office the names of 64,123 pensioners of the late war have been added to the roll, and that appropriations for the support of pensioners have increased $27,050,500.

In the course of a recent discussion the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] said:

I beg to assure all those who may have an affrighted fancy that in so far as American industries are concerned, they are not to-day in any danger.

The gentleman gave no reasons for the statement, but might well have added that there is no danger to these industries because no American is hostile or unfriendly to their legitimate needs and requirements.

In the light of these exhibits and statements, therefore, it does not occur to me that we are likely to be confronted with the question of "free trade," except as it may appear once in four years for campaign purposes only.

And now, Mr. Chairman, until we enter upon the consideration of this bill by paragraphs, I shall refrain from a discussion of any of the items that it carries, and will content myself at this moment with the single observation, in reply to a suggestion from a Republican friend, that the "logic of the measure" is the reduction of $78,000,000 of unnecessary and burdensome taxation.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not further trespass upon the attention and indulgence of the House. The President has boldly presented in his recent masterly address the distinctive issue which marks the dividing line between the two great political parties. Upon this paramount question the contest is to be joined for the ensuing control of the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government. The doctrine he declares can neither be obscured by compromise nor confused by considerations of mere expediency. It is not novel, nor yet is it startling, as it was enunciated by Jefferson, the great founder of the Democratic party, and illustrated by his successors to the Presidency. This doctrine was fundamental and indefeasible throughout the long and splendid careers of so many Democratic Presidents.

The American people will be called upon in November to decide whether they will continue the policy of overtaxation, or whether they will return to the letter and spirit of the Constitution as interpreted by a long line of Democratic statesmen; whether a needless, restrictive, and inequitable system shall continue, or there shall be the salutary reduction of Federal taxation to the needs of the Government economically administered. Upon this proposition, so ably and clearly outlined by the President—this compendium of first principles—will be fought to its finish the coming Presidential contest.

A little more than a century ago our fathers declared themselves against the injustice of discriminative taxation, and for three-quarters of a century after the organization of the Government no political party presumed or ventured to demand from the people a greater tribute than was required for Governmental purposes, and it was reserved for the leaders of the Republican party to insist upon a higher rate than the Government needed. As their course is without precedent, so it seems to be actuated largely by a purpose of contributing enormous bounties to a favored class.

Sir, the principles of the Democratic party are grounded in justice and equality, and in opposition not only to the monopoly of high tariff, but to all monopolies created and fostered by it. The Democratic party consistently and characteristically believe that the highest interests of the people can best be subserved by limiting the scope of the taxing power to the actual necessities of the Government [applause]; that so far from transforming the public Treasury into a great banking establishment its sole legitimate sphere and function is, in the phrase of the President, "as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate object of expenditure."

During the long period of Democratic domination economy was enforced—how? By affixing a rate of taxation only sufficiently high to maintain the Government simply and frugally administered. The brilliant and gifted leader of the Republican party, Mr. Blaine, when discussing this characteristic of the Democratic party is obliged to pay a well-chosen tribute to the leaders who so long formulated its policies. Speaking of these, he says:

Too often ruinously lavish in their personal expenditures, they believed in an economical Government, and throughout the long period of their domination they guarded the Treasury with rigid and unceasing vigilance against every attempt at extravagance, and against every form of corruption.

Mr. Chairman, such a policy could not have been successfully accomplished in the presence of superfluous millions, and therefore, under this leadership, so strongly commended by Mr. Blaine, there were no enormous accumulations withdrawn from the channels of business, lying inoperative and useless in the public Treasury and constantly tempting to extravagance and its necessary and inevitable sequence, corruption.

Mr. Chairman, as an American I take especial pride in noting the progress which the century has wrought in nearly every department of effort. The genius and prowess of our people are the wonder and admiration of the world, and the marvelous growth and development of this young Republic is the very romance of history. And yet, sir, while I recognize with intense satisfaction these splendid achievements, I can but consider that the departure we have made from the fiscal policy of the founders of the Government is in every essential particular discriminating, unwise, and deplorable.

Sir, let us speedily return to fundamental fiscal principles; principles as enduring and unchanging as the everlasting hills; principles which declare the just and equal rights of men; principles which seek to uplift the hand of labor and stifle the spirit of monopoly in all its guises and disguises; principles which, in the equality and uniformity of their operation, unhampered and unfettered by restrictive enactments, conduce to the sturdy, self-reliant, and remunerative development of the three great handmaids of industry—agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

Mr. Chairman, let us lower this wall of Federal taxation, which not only hinders importation, but limits exportation as well; let us unhand and unshackle the genius and enterprise of our people, and thus permit them to regain the commercial supremacy they once enjoyed when the American flag was a familiar sight upon all the waters of the globe and in all the harbors of the world. [Great applause.]

APPENDIX.

[Extract from President's Message on wool tariff.]

The farmer and the agriculturist who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears, and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased.

They of course are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woolen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow-farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman.

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks, numbering from 25 to 50. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield is 10 cents each pound if of the value of 30 cents or less, and 12 cents if of the value of more than 30 cents. If the liberal estimate of 6 pounds be allowed for each fleece the duty thereon would be 60 or 72 cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty.

Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep and $36 that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one-third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it until it reaches the consumer.

When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the mean time the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woolen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return in the way of increased prices his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then perhaps lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which, when he sold his wool seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman, and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

[Extract from remarks of Hon. R. Q. MILLS.]

During our late civil war the expenditures required by an enormous military establishment made it necessary that the burdens of taxation should be laid heavily in all directions authorized by the Constitution. The internal-revenue and direct taxes were called into requisition to supplement the revenues arising from customs, to aid the Treasury to respond to the heavy demands which were being daily made upon it. The duties on imports were raised from an average on dutiable goods of 18.84 per cent. in 1861, to an average of 40.28 per cent. on dutiable goods during the five years from 1862 to 1866, inclusive. This was recognized at the time as an exceptionally heavy burden. It was stated by the distinguished gentleman who then presented to the House the bill so largely increasing the duties, and which to-day bears his honored name, that it was demanded by the exigencies of war and must cease on the return of peace. In his own words he said, "This is intended as a war measure, a temporary measure, and we must as such give it our support."

More than twenty years have elapsed since the war ended. A generation has passed away and a new generation has appeared on the stage since peace has returned to bless our common country; but these war taxes still remain; and they are heavier to-day than they were on an average during the five years of the existence of hostilities. The average rate of duty during the last five years, from 1883 to 1887, inclusive, on dutiable goods amounts to 44.51 per cent., and during the last year the average is 47.10 per cent. Instead of the rate of taxation being reduced to meet the wants of an efficient administration of government in time of peace, it continues to grow and fill the coffers of the Government with money not required for public purposes, and which rightfully should remain in the pockets of the people.

After Congress had so largely increased the duties on imports, and thus bestowed most liberal and generous bounties on our manufacturers, a light internal tax was imposed on the products of domestic manufacture to help the Government meet the heavy demands of war. The internal tax imposed on home manufactures was but a tithe of the heavy burden imposed on the people by the increased duties on foreign goods. It brought to the Treasury in 1866 $127,000,000—a sum which was less than 5 per cent. upon the value of the manufactured product of that year. It was thought not to be unreasonable to require this small contribution from those whose bounty Congress had increased from 18 to 40 per cent. in the price of their products.

But, Mr. Chairman, that tax is gone. It could not be retained. It was a tax on wealth. It came out of the pockets of the manufacturer. As soon as the war was ended complaint was made that this tax was a war tax, that it was no longer necessary, and it was repealed. Congress imposed a tax on incomes, too, to help the Government to meet the expenditures of the war. It brought to the Treasury, in 1866, $72,000,000. The official reports showed that four hundred and sixty thousand one hundred and seventy persons out of the whole population had incomes above the exemption, and they had $707,000,000 of net annual income, while the balance of the people had nothing beyond what was required for annual support. Yet scarcely had the war ended until this tax was declared to be exceedingly odious, inquisitorial, and oppressive; and Congress was asked to repeal it, and it is gone.

Congress thought it was unjust to require 460,170 persons who had an annual income of $707,000,000 to pay anything to support the Government, and they hurriedly swept that "odious" measure from the statute-book. Besides these there were taxes on the receipts of railroad companies, taxes on insurance companies, taxes on express companies, taxes on bank capital, bank deposits, and bank checks, but they are gone. Congress lent a willing ear to the demands of wealthy corporations and individuals and took all the burden from them, but the war taxes on clothing, like the poor, we have always with us. These taxes were given up at a time when our interest-bearing debt of more than $2,000,000,000 was staring us in the face and demanding from the Government more than $140,000,000 annually to meet its interest.

With these facts before their eyes they made haste to roll all the burdens of taxations off the shoulders of the wealthy and lay them upon the shoulders of those who could only pay as they procured the means by their daily toil. Could not that $127,000,000 contributed by the manufacturers from the rich bounties which the Government had given have been retained until the war debt was paid? Could not the $72,000,000 from incomes been held for a few years longer? Could not the tax on the receipts of the wealthy corporations have been continued for one decade?

If these taxes had been kept ten years longer we would to-day have no national debt, and in addition to the moderate reductions now proposed we could give back to the people the hundred millions now required to pay its interest and sinking fund. Upon what economic principle or principle of justice were these taxes repealed and the whole burden laid on articles going into daily consumption, and which must be obtained by the labor of mind and muscle?

Was the tax of 3 per cent. on the domestic blanket paid by the manufacturer more oppressive then than the tax of 79 per cent. on both foreign and domestic blankets paid by the people?

Was the tax of 3 per cent. on a wool hat paid by the manufacturer more oppressive than the tax of 73 per cent. on both paid by the consumer? Was the tax of 3 per cent. on women's and children's clothing paid by the manufacturer more oppressive than the tax of 82 per cent. on both foreign and domestic goods of the same kind paid by the consumer? Was a tax of 3 per cent. on railroad companies, banking companies, insurance companies, express and telegraph companies, more oppressive than an 88 per cent. tax on woolen shawls? Was a 3 per cent. tax on incomes more oppressive than an 80 per cent. tax on a woolen shirt?

The party then in power certainly thought so, for the taxes on wealth are gone, but the war tax on clothing, the war tax on food, the war tax on the implements of labor still remain with us, and the war against our prosperity, our labor, and our commerce is still being vigorously prosecuted—a war that is exhausting in its destructive invasions on labor, whether it is employed in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, or mining.

[Extract from remarks of Hon. BENTON MCMILLIN.]

Table, compiled from Tenth Census, showing value of various manufactured products, per cent. of labor cost, rate of duty existing and proposed.

Industries.	Value of product.	Labor.	Percentage of labor.	Present tariff.	Proposed rate.
				Per ct.	*Per ct.*
Carpets	$31,792,802	$6,835,218	21.5	47	30
Cotton goods	210,950,383	45,614,419	21.6	50	40
Bolts, nuts, etc	10,073,330	1,981,300	19.7	59	35
Nails and spikes	5,629,240	1,255,171	22.3	43	34
Iron pipe, wrought	13,292,162	1,788,258	13.5	70	35
Oil, castor	653,900	44,714	6.8	194	97
Oil, linseed	15,393,812	681,677	4.4	54	21
Screws	2,184,532	456,542	20.9	50	35
Wool hats	8,516,569	1,893,215	22.2	54	40
Woolen goods	160,606,721	25,836,392	16.1	70	40
Worsted goods	33,549,942	5,683,027	16.9	68	46

It will thus be seen that while the labor in carpets, leaving off fractions, is 21 per cent. of the cost, the tariff is 47 per cent. In cotton goods the labor is the same and the tariff 50 per cent. In wrought-iron pipe, labor is 13 per cent. and the tariff 70 per cent. In castor-oil, labor 6 per cent. and the tariff 194 per cent. In wool hats, the labor is 22 per cent. and the tariff 54 per cent. In woolen goods, labor is 10 per cent. and the tariff 70 per cent. In worsted goods, labor is 16 per cent. and the tariff 68 per cent. I do not blame manufacturers and capital for wanting to form a partnership with the laboring man when such a small per cent. of all the cost is labor when compared with the rate of duty imposed.

TARIFF RATES.

	Per cent.
Present rate of dutiable goods	47.10
Proposed rate on dutiable goods	40.00
Present rate on articles affected by bill	54.16
Proposed rate on articles affected by bill	33.36

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. WILSON,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 3, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It has been said by every gentleman who has spoken against this bill that it raises the issue of free trade or protection in our revenue system. It would disclose a better understanding of its very moderate provisions, as also a better knowledge of the recent fiscal history of the country, to say that it is an effort of the people to recover the lost right of taxing themselves.

The great rule that those who pay taxes, and they alone, should impose taxes may, always and everywhere, be accepted as the test of free government. But after a quarter of a century of protection in this country, private interests are so strongly intrenched in our tariff and have so overgrown public interests, that they regard it as their exclusive domain and resent the intrusion of the people as that of trespassers.

In this tone and in this assumption they speak in their communications to Congress. In this tone and in this assumption they speak

through the powerful press they control, and even through their able and enthusiastic advocates on this floor.

Already in this debate gentlemen have explored the census to ascertain how many private interests are represented by the members who framed this bill, in order thereby to test their right and gauge their fitness to deal with a system of general taxation.

But, sir, these are not new ideas in this House. Six years ago, when there came from the people such a demand for reduction of burdens that not even a Republican Congress could turn a deaf ear to it, we saw a sight as remarkable as any that could be witnessed in a free government. We saw the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means come into the House, not with a bill to reduce the people's taxes or to stay the unneeded flow of money into the Treasury, but with a set and elaborate argument to prove that the people's Representatives were incapable of framing such a bill.

That Congress responded to his argument. It turned humbly to the great protected interests enthroned in the tariff and said, "We, who represent nothing but the people, will not presume to deal with your superior rights. We will hand over this whole subject to a commission, and when you have named a majority of that commission, and through it made known your wishes to us, we will do our duty by enacting them into law." But privilege grows with what it feeds upon. It is ever assuming a higher tone. The time was when the test of loyalty to the country was devotion to the Union in the struggle for its preservation. Lately, at the other end of this Capitol, the highest official of a great political party has declared that even a McClellan and a Hancock were allies of the Confederacy because they were disloyal to that party. But in this House and in this debate another test has been set up. We have heard the name of an American citizen, who stands before the world as the foremost living representative of American literature, who has an honorable and unsullied record of public service, and whose words, in days past, like Luther's words—were "battles" for freedom we have heard his name, sir, coupled with that of Benedict Arnold, because he refuses to bow down before the fetich of protection.

My colleague on the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], whose speech naturally gave great satisfaction to his party associates, inveighed with more warmth of language than accuracy of statement against this bill and against the manner of its preparation. Indeed, he was swept so far out on the current of his eloquence from any shore-lines of actual fact, as to proclaim that this bill comes into the House without acknowledged paternity, that it is a bantling, a *nullius filius*, secretly laid at the door of the Committee on Ways and Means, and by the majority of that committee transferred to the Calendar of the House.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has no warrant for any such statement. Neither in the committee nor elsewhere, neither now nor at any other time have the majority members refused to assume whatever responsibility belongs to the preparation and presentation of this bill, from its enacting clause to its closing sentence. They do not offer it to the House as a bill so perfect in all its details that thorough debate and consideration here may not show cause for amendment or change.

Least of all do they offer it as a discharge of their full duty to the people, but as the best they could do under existing circumstances. When the gentleman from Michigan and his associates seek to discredit this bill because of the alleged manner of its preparation I am tempted to remind them of the history of the existing law, for whose defense they stand so stoutly to-day.

Mr. Chairman, there was a time, doubtless, when the highest statesmanship was to get money into the Treasury as quickly and as abundantly as possible. There was a time when the highest patriotism was to pay taxes as promptly as possible and ask no questions. Under this pressure an internal-revenue system grew up that in a single year brought over $300,000,000 into the Treasury. Under this pressure the tariff rates went up from an average of less than 19 per cent. to an average of more than 48 per cent. It would have been strange indeed, contrary to all experience, if the greedy interests that are always seeking a lodgment in a national budget or a national tariff had missed this rare opportunity. That they were fully improving it was well known to those who had charge of the several revisions and increases of the tariff during the war, for they lulled the people with the promise that as soon as peace returned they would revise and establish it on a basis of justice to all.

Yet for years after the war, and as long as the attention of the people was strained to other matters, the tariff was kept open for any interest or industry that wished to become a parasite on the Treasury. Such interests were not only allowed to name the bounties they exacted from the public, but permitted to write the very laws by which their bounties were secured to them.

"I know what that law means," said Mr. Joseph Wharton, testifying before the Tariff Commission in 1882, as to the statute that raised the duty on nickel, of which he was about the only producer in the country, from 15 per cent. ad valorem to 30 cents a pound, "because I wrote the words of it myself." In like manner owners of the copper-mines of Michigan came down and dictated their tariff rates over the veto of President Johnson; and other interests exercised the same privilege without challenge and without hinderance. But, say gentlemen, "We have had a revision of the tariff since then." What kind of a revision was it, Mr. Chairman? It is true the Tariff Commission in 1882 reported in favor of substantial reduction, and accompanied its report by schedules which professed to reduce from 20 to 25 per cent. I will not inquire into the truth of that profession, for the House threw aside those schedules and attempted to frame a tariff bill of its own. It became lost in the effort; it plunged into the—

Serbonian bog,
* * * * * * *
Where armies whole have sunk,

and finally abandoned the attempt and at the same time its own constitutional right and duty. It took up a tariff bill which the Senate had attached to a House bill reducing internal revenue. The right of the Senate to originate such a measure is more than doubtful; but constitutional questions could not weigh against the necessity of having the tariff revised by the "friends of protection." The friends of protection in that House were smarting under the lash of popular chastisement. They had already been overthrown at the polls by a verdict of the people so spontaneous and crushing as to evince not only disapproval but even disgust. In a few days more a Democratic House was to succeed them. Whatever was to be done must be done quickly. The standing rules of the House were changed so as to permit the Senate bill to be taken up, not for debate or consideration, but to be thrown into a conference committee. The key to the whole proceedings is to be found in the fact that a conference committee is a secret conclave. No Democratic Senator was willing to serve upon that conference, and all the conferees, with the exception of one member of the House, who was present to observe, not to participate, were of one party. Into the deliberations of that conference no voice of a tax-paying people could penetrate, but other voices were heard and obeyed. Rates of duty which both Houses had agreed upon were raised. Rates which the two Houses had placed at different figures were increased over both. The duty on steel rails was put higher than the House in open session had dared to place it, higher than the Senate in open session had dared to place it. The conference report was made in the closing hours of the Forty-seventh Congress. The bill was never read in the House, was but slightly debated, and was hurried upon the statute-book as almost the last act of a House going out under the brand of a people's displeasure.

There is all the distance, Mr. Chairman, which even the rich vocabulary of my colleague from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] could measure between a bill prepared in secret, if he will so have it, and then sent out to all the people on the wings of the press and subjected to months of discussion in both Houses of Congress, and a law huddled up in the secret recesses of a conference room and transferred without discussion and without examination by the people to the statute-books of the country. [Applause.] And thus, Mr. Chairman, the so-called revision of 1882, instead of being an argument against the present bill, is a burning reason in its favor. It is instructive only as it shows how great a sham and how desperate and audacious a jugglery a revision of the tariff necessarily becomes when committed to the "*friends of protection.*" The effort to reduce taxes became a contest among the captains of industry for higher bounties. The poor, patient, expectant people got no relief. The saddle was readjusted more skillfully to their back, the girth was tightened, and the rider more firmly seated than ever.

But the minority of our committee in their report boast that the Republican party has taken more than $300,000,000 of taxes from the people since the war. That may be true, sir, and still be not the least in the catalogue of sins of that party against the great body of the people. It is true they have reduced taxes; it is true they have abolished taxes; but it has been done in the manner described by my colleague from Texas [Mr. MILLS]. They have taken off taxes that bore on the property of the country. They have taken off taxes that tolled the income of the prosperous or the dividends of corporations. They have removed taxes on articles whose use is unnecessary or hurtful, and they have released taxes whose entire amount went into the Treasury. By such legislation in the first ten years of peace the immense burdens of this great Government were steadily shifted from the shoulders that ought to bear them and are able to bear them to shoulders that ought not to bear them and are not able to bear them. In this manner, sir, we have seen the pressure of taxation in this country removed from its income, removed from its property, removed from its luxuries, and fastened upon those articles of general consumption that meet the primary wants of all the people. You have fastened your system of taxation as a parasite upon that consumption which for the wage-earner means nine-tenths and frequently ten-tenths of all his earnings, until you have built up a tariff which is well entitled to say, "Whoever else escapes my exactions, the poor I have always with me." [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, there is nothing in the world that so vexes the soul of a genuine protectionist as a tax that goes into the public Treasury. If he can not devise a law by which to transfer a large part of it from the pockets of the man who earned it to somebody's pocket who did not earn it, he never rests satisfied until he has wiped it from the statute-book [applause]; and that is the way in which our friends on the other side have proceeded in their so-called reductions of taxes since the war.

It is not my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to discuss the details of this bill

at the present time. That discussion will more properly come at another stage of its consideration. Sir, I adopt the language of the President in his recent message, that it is not so much a theory as a condition that confronts us to-day, although I avow myself a believer in the words which old Patrick Henry wrote into the Virginia bill of rights, enjoining on the servants of the people a "frequent recurrence to first principles." It is a condition of prolonged, excessive taxation; of a surplus flowing into the Treasury which can be gotten out again only by using it to buy the bonds of the Government at the market premium; of a surplus that by the end of the present fiscal year, without such purchase, will drain away from the channels of trade and commerce, one-tenth part of all the money usually in circulation among the people.

That, sir, is the condition which confronts us to-day, and, as in the past, so now there is no statesmanship on the other side of this House that can meet it. Acknowledging an allegiance higher than that which they owe the people in framing a tariff system, they stand helpless before the great task of tariff reduction. Even in their debates here they are "many men of many minds."

Some would untax the whisky of the drunkard and put heavier taxes on the scanty clothing of his wife and children. Others would give untaxed cigarettes to sap the manhood and drain away the brains of our young men, while they would raise the taxes on the workingman's dinner-pail and the cans that contain his winter fruit and vegetables.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY], after pleasantly alluding to his Democratic associates on the committee as "Bourbons, who neither learn nor forget," by a singular lapse of memory only a few moments afterward, announced that he would deal with the surplus "in accordance with the principles of Colbert and of his illustrious disciple, Napoleon Bonaparte."

Why, Mr. Chairman, Colbert was the great minister of the greatest of all the Bourbons, and neither Colbert nor Napoleon is a teacher to whom the citizen of a free republic can turn for instruction either as to laying or expending taxes. It was Colbert, sir, who built up the navy of his royal master by chaining thousands of innocent Frenchmen to the galleys, just as protection has built up privileged classes and monopoly in this country by chaining millions of American workingmen and farmers to its service. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And, sir, it was Colbert who defined the art of taxation "to consist in so plucking the goose as to get the largest amount of feathers with the least possible amount of squealing." [Laughter.] Never in the history of economic discussion has there been an apter or a more complete definition of a protective tariff. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

But I say to my friend from Pennsylvania that the goose is squealing at last, and we mean to keep the goose squealing until every faithless and sleeping sentinel on the Capitol is awakened to drive back the Gauls of monopoly. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Sir, protection, as it speaks to us from across the aisle, does not reason; it prophesies. I have listened to many of its advocates, and I have heard scant argument and much prophesy. There is nothing original in this. Privilege was never yet summoned to release a tribute paid to it by the people that it did not assume the role of Cassandra and prophesy unutterable woes if the industries of the people were released from its grasp and remitted to the laws of trade and the wisdom of Providence. [Applause on the Democratic side.] These gentlemen who would blot out the sun, moon, and stars from our industrial firmament if this bill becomes a law might quiet their fears if they would read a few chapters in the economic history of this country and of England.

More than sixty years ago, when England entered upon that career of industrial emancipation which she faithfully pursued to its full and final issue, she began by removing her prohibitory tariff on manufactures of silk and reducing duties. A member of the House of Commons, amid just such ringing applause as greets similar utterances in this debate, said that if the authors of that bill were prepared to sacrifice half a million of people to an abstract theory, their strength of purpose only showed the depravity of their hearts. But, sir, the manufacture of silks did not die. In the ratio in which duties were reduced, in that ratio the manufacture grew and flourished, and when finally duties were entirely abolished and it no longer cowered behind a protective tariff, it went boldly forth and contended for the markets of the world. When, as a further step in that progress, the time came for England to put wool on the free-list, there were prophesyings that would stir the envy of the wool politicians of Ohio in our day.

It was solemnly foretold that if that measure became a law the wolf and the panther would roam unhindered over the hills then dotted with peaceful flocks. But, sir, the wool industry refused to die. With free wool it assumed new life and vigor. The price of wool increased and the wages of the shepherd doubled.

But when a little later England was about to declare for untaxed bread for her people, then prophecy rose to its highest strain, and declared that the "abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet" was about to blight the green fields and prosperous homes of England. An English statesman, Sir James Graham, replying to a deputation that pleaded for free corn, said:

If the corn laws were repealed great disaster would come upon the country. The land would go out of cultivation, the church and state could not be upheld; all institutions would be reduced to their primitive elements, and the people we were exciting would pull down our houses about our heads.

But England put corn on the free-list; and agriculture, which with all the doctoring of thirty years of protective statesmanship had languished and weakened, took up its bed and walked—flourished as it had not flourished since the Napoleonic wars. The price of land went up, the farmer prospered, and the wages of the farm-laborer increased.

So, also, Mr. Chairman, when the protectionist comes down from the mount of prophecy and attempts to deal with the facts of history (for certainly there are some chapters in our economic history that are made up), he deals with them in the same free and irresponsible manner.

We have had twenty-five years of protection in this country and the fruits of it. We have had fifteen years of revenue tariff and the fruits of it. The last quarter of a century, as every one knows, has been noted beyond any other period in the history of our race, for the general advancement and diffusion of knowledge, for the march of science, for the progress of invention, for the subjection to man's control of the great powers of steam and electricity, for the cheapening of the processes of manufacture, and for the immense increase in the facilities of distribution. Whatever we have gained of ourselves, or in common with other enlightened nations of the world; whatever addition to national wealth or individual comfort has come from this march of progress, from the application of science to the arts and industries, and especially of the science of chemistry, which has become the handmaid of manufactures, which discloses to us the secrets of nature's workshop, dissolves and recombines her elements, and finds in the waste products of manufactures sources of beauty and sources of wealth; whatever the inventive genius of our people has done to substitute labor-saving machinery for human drudgery; whatever of wealth has come to us from our own industry and enterprise, and the settlement of a new continent by men coming from other lands to live under free government; the products of our mines and forests—all these protection calmly claims as its own, although it has had nothing more to do with them than with the motion of the planets or with the tides of the seas. [Applause.]

But those peculiar features in the economic history of our country during the past twenty-five years, for which it is just to hold protection fully or partly responsible it conveniently puts aside and ignores.

Proposing to be a policy for the making and maintenance of wages, it tells us nothing of the growing antagonism between labor and capital, that has marked the recent history of our country; of the unsatisfactory relations between employer and employed; of the long industrial depressions; of the twenty and odd thousand strikes, and the twenty and odd hundred lockouts in our industrial establishments during the past six years alone, with the resulting loss of $60,000,000 in wages to labor; of the building up of great wealth by favoritism, which tries to hold on to its privileges by corrupting the ballot-box and intimidating voters; of the centralization of manufactures into a few great corporations, and the recent combination of these into trusts. Of all these, Mr. Chairman, we hear nothing in our discussions.

We hear nothing of its compelling Congress for years past to legislate in the presence of an overflowing Treasury until the traditions of frugality which are a part of our institutions are relaxed and our Calendars are filling with schemes for extravagant and useless expenditure. It imposes humiliation upon its most faithful defenders, for it compels the party on the other side of this House, which held control of every branch of the Government for ten years after the war, and again for the period of the Forty-seventh Congress, to admit that in all that time it failed to enact just and liberal pension laws, and that such laws yet remain to be passed.

It seeks to sap the independence and stifle the rising power and willingness of the South to maintain its local schools by offering largesses from the public Treasury.

It seeks to frighten our great cities on the seaboard with three thousand miles of water before them and sixty millions of defenders behind them, to clamor for great fortifications, lest they be laid in ashes by the nightly visit of some ironclad from Chili, Patagonia, Afghanistan, or Beloochistan.

It urges the restoration of our merchant marine, which it has helped to sweep from the seas, by subsidies, that word of evil omen in a republic, contact with which has never failed to bring shame upon Congress and a stain upon our national honor.

Such, Mr. Chairman, are some of the fruits of twenty-five years of protection; such are some of the ideas with which it is educating our people; such is the career of profligate expenditure along which it is urging us in order to escape any reduction of taxes which may work a lessening of its bounties.

Thus, also, sir, when it comes to deal with the fifteen years of our revenue tariff, it does not hesitate to represent the period from 1846 to 1861 as one of languishing industry and halting growth. In so doing it contradicts the most incontestable facts of our industrial history, and it falsifies that careful record which the country itself makes every ten years of its own growth and prosperity.

Senator MORRILL, of Vermont, whose name is associated with existing tariff systems, in his speech in the Senate on April 11, said:

There is no one who now rises to do reverence to the tariff of 1846.

But Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, whom his party friends in that State have just put forward with much enthusiasm as their candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, once a leading member of the Committee on Ways and Means in this House, and as well qualified to judge of our revenue legislation as any man in his party, gave it as his deliberate judgment, in a debate in this House March 24, 1874, that—

The tariff of 1846, although professedly and confessedly a revenue tariff, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any we have ever had.

Such, sir, I believe will be the judgment of every man who believes that in tariff, as in other legislation, the great interests of the country and the general welfare are to be considered in preference to special interests and individual welfare. [Applause.] Mr. MORRILL further said:

It—

Meaning the tariff of 1846—

left manufactures without encouragement and without hope, the wages of labor were reduced, and much capital suddenly destroyed.

But the census of 1860 shows an increase in the decade of the Walker tariff of 90 per cent. in capital, 60 per cent. in wages, and 85 per cent. in product, as against an increase of 32 per cent. in capital, 22 per cent. in wages, and 27 per cent. in product, for the decade ending with the census year 1880, under the present tariff.

Moreover, Mr. MORRILL himself, on January 24, 1867, in plain conflict with his recent argument, speaking of the year 1860, said:

And that was a year of as large production and as much general prosperity as any in our history.

Mr. Chairman, it was not after fifteen years of languishing industries and general bankruptcy that the two sections of this country sprang into the arena of 1861 for the dread grapple of the civil war.

My colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] used the same argument in his recent speech, and said that twenty-five years of protective tariff lifted the country out of the national bankruptcy into which it had been thrown by the revenue tariffs of 1846 and 1857. Sir, I say to him, in the name of a tax-burdened people, in the name of the languishing industries of this country, get out of our sunshine, and let us again plunge into ten years of bankruptcy that will increase the general wealth of the country 126 per cent. [applause]; that will increase manufactures 87 per cent.; that will increase agriculture 95 per cent. [Applause.] We have had no such prosperity since his ideas controlled tariff legislation, and we never will as long as those ideas hold sway in our revenue laws.

Mr. Chairman, I come to the claim put forward with most earnestness in this debate that the tariff is the defense of American labor, and the one guaranty of good wages and prosperity to the American laboring man. This is an honorable claim and deserves serious consideration. I should deem myself guilty of a flagitious crime if I entertained any views in private or sought to embody any principles in legislation, that would harden the lot or impair the opportunities of American labor.

But how do the advocates of high taxation support this claim? Why, sir, they stand up in this House, day after day, and paint in glowing colors, which I am sorry to say do not always portray the real facts, the high estate and happy condition of the American laborer, his good and steady wages and ready accumulation of wealth, and his easy path upward to influence and prosperity; and then they draw with greater exaggeration of detail their gloomy pictures of foreign labor, its degradation, scant wages, and almost unendurable destiny, and exclaim, "Behold what the tariff does for American labor!"

Sir, it is true, and I thank God it is true, that the American laboring man is born to a higher and a better destiny than the laboring man of any other country in the world. [Applause.] It is true that there is no pressure of ignorance or poverty so great that an ambitious American youth can not break through and rise to any position to which his worth entitles him. It is true that we have never yet had a separate wage-earning class in this country. It is true that we can see to-day a man who has risen from orphanage and poverty to the Chief Magistracy of sixty millions of people; that in the past men have so risen from the weaver's loom, the tailor's bench, and the canal-boat; and I rejoice as an American citizen that the same inspiring career is still open to ambition and merit. But, Mr. Chairman, they did not owe this to any such antiquated and medieval device as a protective tariff. [Applause on the Democratic side.] They owe it to the bounty of Almighty God and to the institutions of a great and free country. [Renewed applause.] They owe it to the manhood, the pluck, the ambition and virtue with which their Creator endowed them and to the unequaled field for their display which the institutions of their county secure them. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I should but follow with limping gait the vigorous and masterly steps of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, were I to detain the Committee of the Whole with an attempted discussion of the question of wages. His opening speech embodied a careful and complete discussion of the whole subject. I shall aspire to nothing more than the statement of a few general principles, and their confirmation by an authority or two. Wages are better in America and will remain better in America, not by reason of a protective tariff, or any other kind of a tariff, but because the workingman himself earns more than the laborer of any other country. [Applause.] Some of the reasons for this are that he brings to his work a more vigorous body, a more cheerful and ambitious temper, a higher order of intelligence and of skill, and because he surpasses all other men in his constant efforts to invent labor-helping machine whereby the products of his labor are indefinitely multiplied. This last is a matter of common observation among ourselves, and of constant wonder to other people. The Superintendent of our last census has said:

The American invents as the Greek chiseled, as the Venetian painted, as the modern Italian sings.

The commissioner-general of the United States at the last Paris exposition reported that the new labor-saving inventions in our machinery gallery "were a constant surprise and delight to the visitors from other lands."

The whole argument on the other side is based on a comparison of daily wages. It is not a question of daily wages, but of the cost of production which is to determine our ability to compete with other nations in our own markets or those of the world. It is not the hours of labor, but the productivity of labor, if I may use a word I do not altogether like, that is the vital element in the discussion. American labor, as a rule, is able to produce more, and for that reason does receive more wages than other labor, but this does not imply that with us the labor cost of production is higher than elsewhere.

Wages have increased in this country, but not in the ratio in which the productive power of labor has increased. These propositions are abundantly confirmed by those who have most thoroughly investigated this subject. I shall cite the testimony of but one or two.

I am aware, sir, that it is part of the tactics of our friends on the other side to discredit every man who tries to reach general principles as a theorist and doctrinaire. To attempt to apply general principles in every other field of legislation is commended as statesmanship, but in the great field of taxation it becomes, in their eyes, mere theory and college professorism. There is no gentleman, in my judgment, more entitled to a hearing upon this phase of the wage question than Mr. Edward Atkinson. Mr. Atkinson is a man of almost infinite industry, who to the capacity for gathering the most minute details adds a power of generalization that is broad and masterly. Moreover, he has spent his whole life in immediate contact with the processes of production on a large scale.

It is from the data thus gathered that he exposes the fallacy of the reasoning on the other side, that a comparison of the rate of wages in different countries will ascertain the cost of production of any given article, or that low rates of wages are necessary to low cost of production, and establishes the fact that almost invariably high wages accompany a low cost of production.

That labor—

He says—

has in fact proved to be the cheapest by which the largest product for each dollar expended was assured, and that has been the highest paid labor.

General Francis A. Walker, whose discussions of the wage question are perhaps more satisfactory than those of any of our American economists, confirms Mr. Atkinson by saying:

That as a general rule low cost of production is accompanied by high wages to the workingman.

I have here a little book by Mr. Thomas Brassey, of England, on Work and Wages. His conclusions are founded upon the experience of his father, the great railroad contractor, who doubtless beyond any man that ever lived was a hirer of labor in all parts of the world except in America, and who even in the unskilled work of building railroads found the English navvy as cheap at 3 shillings a day as the East Indian at 3 pence. I quote but a sentence or two:

But I maintain unhesitatingly that the daily wages are no criterion of the actual cost of executing work. * * * On my father's extensive contracts carried on in almost every country of the civilized world and in every quarter of the globe the daily wage of the laborer was fixed at widely different rates; but it was found to be the almost invariable rule that the cost of labor was the same, that for the same sum of money the same amount of work was everywhere performed.

Sir, the wages of labor are the laboring man's share of the joint product of labor and capital. The larger that product is the larger his wages are. Why, sir, my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. ALLEN] made a speech in this House yesterday in which, with his usual eloquence, he gave us a beautiful picture of the operatives at Lowell. I venture to say nine-tenths of the operatives at the Lowell factories are not Americans. They are foreigners who have taken the places of former American operatives, because the American operative has better wages and a better position.

Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts. Suppose, for the sake of argument, it is admitted those operatives are not American, and have succeeded in their position as operatives to those of American birth, the statis-

tics will show that the people formerly employed in those factories are now employed in more useful avocations, and have been able, under the protective system, to accumulate sufficient savings while they were employed in those industries to go into other business. The gentleman from West Virginia surely does not object to that? The accumulated savings of those whom the gentleman denominates foreigners aggregate $14,000,000, almost equal to the aggregate capital employed in those corporations. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. The very point I was making was that American labor, by its higher capacity, had found more lucrative employment [applause], and that you have been obliged to send abroad into Canada and elsewhere to get labor to fill your factories.

Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts. The American operative found that employment under the same protective tariff which has brought the others into this country, as shown by the statistics of the gentleman from West Virginia, and the fact of those people coming in from abroad in large numbers indicates the collective judgment of individuals as to the welfare of this country under a protective tariff.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I do not intend to go further into this discussion, but I desire to read the picture of the Lowell operative under the Walker tariff, and then a picture of the Lowell operative under the protective tariff. I have here in Dickens's American Notes [laughter on the Republican side] a description of a pleasant visit he paid to Lowell:

I happened to arrive at the first factory just as the dinner hour was over, and the girls were returning to their work. Indeed the stairs of the mill were thronged with them as I ascended. They were all well dressed—and that phrase necessarily includes extreme cleanliness. They had serviceable bonnets, good warm cloaks, and shawls. They were healthy in appearance, many of them remarkably so, and had the manners of young women, not of degraded brutes of burden.

The rooms in which they worked were as well ordered as themselves. In the windows of some there were green plants, which were trained to shade the glass; in all, there was as much fresh air, cleanliness, and comfort, as the nature of the occupation would possibly admit of. Out of so large a number of females, many of whom were only just then verging upon womanhood, it may be reasonably supposed that some were delicate and fragile in appearance. No doubt there were; but I solemnly declare, that from all the crowd I saw in the different factories that day I can not recall or separate one young face that gave me a painful impression; not one young girl whom, assuming it to be a matter of necessity that she should gain her daily bread by the labor of her hands, I would have removed from those works if I had had the power. I am now going to state three facts, which will startle a large class of readers on this side of the Atlantic very much.

First, there is a joint-stock piano in a great many of the boarding-houses; secondly, nearly all these young ladies subscribe to the circulating libraries; thirdly, they have got up among themselves a periodical called The Lowell Offering, "a repository of original articles, written exclusively by females actively employed in the mills," which is duly printed, published, and sold; and whereof I brought away from Lowell four hundred good, solid pages, which I have read from beginning to end.

A MEMBER. Will the gentleman give the date of that?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. That was under the Walker tariff of 1846. Now, I hope our friends on the other side who started to laugh when I began to read from Mr. Dickens will resume their laugh. That was the condition of the operatives in the factories at Lowell when Mr. Dickens visited this country under a revenue tariff.

I have here the work of another English traveler who has been at Lowell under the protective tariff, when American laborers have gone out of the mills and other laborers have been marched in to take their places. It is from a book entitled "Old World Questions and New World Answers, by Daniel Pidgeon, fellow of the Geological Society:"

But if "Little Canada," the French-Canadian quarter of the town, be an example of operative homes, then the Eden of forty years ago has indeed departed. Its streets are narrow and unpaved lanes; its rickety wooden houses elbow one another closely and have no gardens, scarcely even back yards. They are let out in flats, as at Holyoke, but are far inferior to the tenement houses of that city, which, if they shelter squalid folk, are at least well built and convenient. Within these wretched dwellings, whose erection ought never to have been sanctioned by the authorities, the Canadians crowd, as they do in Holyoke. Peeps into interiors disclose dirty rooms and families pigging together at meals, or slatternly women and unkempt men leaning from the window-sills. The uncleaned streets are resonant with dirty, ragged, and bare-legged children, as true gutter-birds as any to be found in Europe. The picture speaks of nothing but barren, hopeless lives for the adults and certain degradation for the children.

Look at this picture of your Lowell operatives under a revenue tariff, and at that picture under your protective tariff. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts. I suppose the gentleman from West Virginia wishes to be perfectly fair, and in order to give him some trustworthy information on that subject, which, as he seems to have access to English authorities only, I should think he would gladly welcome, I should like to tell him something about the city where I was born and where my whole life has been spent, and to present the refutation of the statement which the gentleman reads here, a statement evidently written by a free-trader for the purpose of supporting free-trade theories.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. The gentleman in his speech yesterday gave his picture, and as there is no necessity for his making it over again, I can not yield my time to him.

Mr. LODGE. Will the gentleman from West Virginia yield to me for a moment?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I will yield for a moment.

Mr. LODGE. I wish to ask the gentleman a question. I am sure that he wishes to be accurate.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the passage which he has quoted from Dickens applies to Lowell under the Walker tariff?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. It was about that time, 1846.

Mr. LODGE. Dickens's "Notes" were published in 1842, four years before the Walker tariff came into existence. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I have not the exact date of the publication of Dickens's "Notes," but the tariff rates of 1842 were not half so high as those of 1888. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. LODGE. The book was published in 1842, and appeared before the tariff of that year could have come into existence.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Well, this was the condition which existed at and about that time.

Now, as my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has interrupted me, I want to stir up his pure mind a little by way of remembrance. It has been customary in this discussion to try to take shelter under the great names of Henry Clay and Alexander Hamilton. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] before he got to be a politician, and even since, I believe, has been a distinguished member of the guild of literature. As such he wrote the life of Alexander Hamilton, and I want to commend to his recollection now, and to all those gentlemen on the other side of the House who are constantly quoting Hamilton, the following extract, written by him before politics got hold of him:

In the year 1791, with all nations protecting their manufactures, Hamilton was a protectionist, favoring the protection of nascent industries. At the present day he would probably be foremost in urging a revision of the tariff.

[Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. LODGE. I am glad the gentleman has read that passage, because I have not changed my views. I am still in favor of a revision of the tariff, but not by the methods of the Mills bill. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia (continuing to read):

At the present time he would probably be foremost in urging a revision of the tariff and a gradual reduction of duties where it could be safely done. In other words, he would now be a moderate protectionist, as he was when he sent in his report, but not one of those who support a heavy duty in order to furnish to industries already firmly established a protection which accrues solely to the benefit of the manufacturers, and of no one else.

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

That was written since 1842. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have been led away from my argument by these interruptions——

Mr. LODGE. May I ask the gentleman a question? Will he kindly state the date of the publication of that book from which he has just quoted?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Eighteen hundred and eighty-three.

Mr. LODGE. Is that the date of the copyright or the date of that particular copy?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. The copyright is dated in 1882.

Mr. LODGE. That was before the tariff revision of 1883. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. When that was written, Mr. Chairman, the average tariff rate in this country was 42.65 per cent., now it is 47.10 per cent. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

But, Mr. Chairman, if, as my friend from Lowell and the other gentleman from Massachusetts contend, the protective tariff makes wages, what I can not understand is how a law of Congress should operate so unequally and so unevenly. I have here in my hand an address delivered before the Home Market Club, of New England, by Senator FRYE, of Maine, on what he saw in Europe, in which, with the good old-fashioned protection logic, he pictures the wretched condition of European labor. Now, the Home Market Club is composed largely of gentlemen who derive dividends from the present tariff, and who, naturally, do not want it disturbed.

Mr. MORSE. Exclusively.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. The preface of the address has a statement to show "the vast interests New England has in a protective tariff," and it gives the manufacturing statistics of all the New England States except Rhode Island. I do not know why they left her out unless it was because she had a Democratic governor at that time. [Laughter.]

According to this statement here, the capital invested in those five States is $548,652,118, the number of employés 584,495; but when it comes to wages I find the average wages of an employé in the State of Maine to be $257 a year, whereas in the State of Massachusetts he gets $364, and in the little State of Connecticut $385. Now, what I can not understand is this: If a tariff, a law of Congress, makes wages, why does it operate so unevenly as between the employé in Maine and the employé in Connecticut, and why is the Maine man worth only two-thirds as much as the Connecticut man? And when we come to Vermont, the State of our venerable friend at the other end of the Capitol, I find that the average employé gets only $303.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] has expired.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from West Virginia may be permitted to conclude his remarks. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, if a tariff does make wages, then the protective tariff is the most ungrateful thing that ever existed in the history of the world. Why should it give to the fellow-citizen and compatriot of the last Republican candidate for the Presidency only $257 a year, while it gives to the operative in the good old State that voted for the author of the last Presidential message $385 a year? And why should it give to the fellow-citizen of the author of the tariff, Mr. MORRILL, but $303 a year? That genial old Senator, who is in the habit of spicing his annual speech on the tariff with delightful scraps of poetry, ought to take as the motto for his next speech—"How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless"—tariff! [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. BOUTELLE. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from West Virginia yield?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I will yield for a question.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I would like to ask the gentleman from West Virginia whether the calculations which he gives us as to the rate of wages in different States are based upon the aggregate of all the wages paid, without any reference whatever to the number of people occupied in the different branches of industry, the number of skilled operatives, etc.?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. These are the figures of the Home Market Club. They show the number of manufacturing establishments, and I presume the branches of industry in these different States will average about the same.

Mr. BOUTELLE. The gentleman ought to understand that there is a great difference in the character of the labor in the different manufacturing establishments.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I can not yield further.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I want to ask one further question.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I can not yield. If I continue to allow these interruptions I shall never get through.

Mr. BOUTELLE. The gentleman ought not to decline to yield after making a statement such as he has just made.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Very well; go on with your question.

Mr. BOUTELLE. In this connection, while the gentleman is commiserating my State in regard to the amount received by operatives and laborers, I want to ask whether he will tell me the average wages of farm laborers in West Virginia to-day. I want a candid answer.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Well, they are not as high as they would be if we had the burden of the protective tariff off our shoulders. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BOUTELLE. I want a candid reply to my question.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I can not yield further.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Then I want the gentleman to retreat ignominiously.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I can not yield to the gentleman for a speech; but I will accept him as a full explanation why the Maine man is worth only two-thirds as much as the Connecticut man. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. BOUTELLE (before order had been restored). I repeat my question: What are the average wages of farm laborers in West Virginia?

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee of the Whole will be in order.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. But, sir, the statistics of the Home Market Club are exactly in line with the figures embraced in the report of the Commissioner of Labor. After careful inquiry into many industries in this country Colonel Wright says that "An examination of these reports will show that there is no such thing as an American rate of wages." For example, in the manufacture of agricultural implements a blacksmith gets 15 per cent. more in Illinois than in Indiana, while a foreman gets 50 per cent. more in Pennsylvania than in New York, and a painter nearly 70 per cent. more in Pennsylvania than in Maine. In the boot and shoe industry a buffer gets $2.50 in Pennsylvania and only $1.40 in New York, which would clearly dispose of the Presidential boom of our late esteemed colleague [Mr. HISCOCK], did we not find that a button-hole maker in Pennsylvania, if a woman, gets 78 cents, while New York pays $1.04. When it comes to heelers, New York gives $2.56 and Massachusetts only $1.72. But there is still hope for my friends from Massachusetts [Mr. LONG, Mr. LODGE and Mr. ALLEN] for the Presidential nomination, for Massachusetts pays her packers $1.95 while New York neglects hers with a cold $1.08.

Mr. FARQUHAR. I suggest to the gentleman that "heelers" are always high in the State of New York.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. So when we come to the table of cotton goods we find that Great Britain pays mule-spinners $1.57, Massachusetts $1.25, and Vermont only $1.20, and that the average rate of wages paid in the cotton industry in Great Britain is $1.17 per day, while in Vermont it is only $1.15; so that, when Senator MORRILL became so alarmed for fear that his fellow-citizens were going to be reduced to the level of the pauper wages in England, it meant simply that they were going to be kicked upstairs from $1.15 to $1.17, the average wages in the cotton industry in England.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman from West Virginia allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I think I have already taken up as much time as I ought to, and I wish to get through.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts. If I heard the gentleman correctly, I understand him to say that the wages of mule-spinners in Massachusetts were a dollar and a quarter a day. Am I wrong?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Yes, I find it stated here at $1.25 a day.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts. I state it as a fact that they are $11 a week, on an average, throughout Massachusetts.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Ask him to state his authority.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts. Why, of my own knowledge.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I take the statement from the report for 1885 of our Commissioner of Labor, a gentleman who has investigated the subject in the industrial establishments in Massachusetts and is supposed to be particularly a high authority in that State.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. He is a Massachusetts man himself.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts. What is the gentleman reading from?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I am reading from his annual report of 1885.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts. I speak of the wages of to-day.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Mr. Carroll D. Wright was the Massachusetts statistician of labor. He held that place in the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, my venerable colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY], whom I am sorry not to see in his seat, was one of the conference committee in the Forty-seventh Congress which constructed the present tariff. In that committee they put up the duty on iron ore from 50 cents a ton, at which it had been fixed by the Tariff Commission, by the House in open session, and by the Senate in open session, to 75 cents a ton, and all of course in the interest of and for the benefit of the American laboring man.

Now, I have here Pennsylvania Legislative Documents for 1884–'85, volume 2, in which I find the twelfth annual report of the bureau of industrial statistics, by Joel C. McCamant. Speaking of the wages of the iron-ore miners, he says:

> The mining of iron ore does not afford constant employment, the average amounting to but thirty-six weeks per annum. This allows scarcely sufficient wages per week, for the run of the year, to maintain a single individual; how those wage-workers having families to maintain can accomplish that difficult task is a problem in social economics that can be solved only by those who have been in similar circumstances. Many miners wear belts instead of suspenders to support the weight of their pantaloons; and one of these, in reply to the question asked him relative to his ability to buy food, replied: "Lord bless you, we do not always eat when we are hungry, we just tighten our belts."

[Laughter and applause.]

Now, what has become of the 75 cents a ton which was secured for the American miner of iron ore in that conference? Why, up to that date, May 1, 1885, more than two years afterward, had it not reached him? Is it lost, strayed, or stolen? [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Stolen.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I suspect it has found its way into the literary bureau of the American Iron and Steel Association, and has been expended in the publication of tracts to prove to the miner what a good thing a protective tariff is for him. [Laughter and applause.] I would say to that philanthropic association, give your miners less tracts and better food under their belts. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. How much do you reduce iron in your bill?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. We do not disturb iron ore.

Mr. CANNON. Why not?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. How could we, my friend, with such a picture before us?

But, Mr. Chairman, I must hasten on. I fear I am already speaking beyond all reason. There is one great element in this question of wages that is carefully kept out of view. Gentlemen compare the wages and the condition of the American workman with those of his foreign competitor as if they stood upon an equality in other respects. They ignore the fact that in the labor market, as elsewhere, the law of demand and supply is the great regulator of prices. Where labor has many opportunities for employment wages are high; as these opportunities diminish wages are lessened. Now, contrast the position of the laborer in these United States with his position in the other countries of the world. Sir, the sixty million of people that now inhabit this country are but the vanguard of that mighty host which is destined to find homes, comfort, and prosperity here.

Not until the sixty millions become six hundred millions, not until the six hundred millions grow into a thousand millions will men crowd each other here in the fierce struggle for existence and wealth as they do in Great Britain to-day. [Applause.] And, sir, small as Great Britain is, one-fifth part of her soil belongs to her House of Lords. Not

one foot of land can her laborer hope to acquire as his own. He is to a large extent a dependent on his employer. When discharged from her factories and mills he may well exclaim, "Me miserable! which way shall I fly," for a home of his own he can seldom hope to acquire. But the vast territorial extent of our country, the cheap and accessible lands, the free homestead, these are the charter of freedom of our laborers against any dependence on any employer. You can not compel the American workingman to toil for starvation wages as long as these avenues of escape are open to him—and if I were framing an indictment against the party on the other side of this House, I would say that the greatest crime against American labor that could be perpetrated was its taking from the workingman his heritage and the heritage of his children, the homestead offered by the laws of his country, and bestowing it upon railroad corporations. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Sir, the countries with which gentlemen compare us are those of the Old World, crowded with population, burdened with debt, devoured by standing armies, and stratified by social distinctions wrought into their laws or into unyielding customs. Centuries of class government have massed into privileged hands most of their wealth, of their lands, of their honors. Employment is in most cases a boon to the laborer, which he is expected to receive with due humility and thankfulness. Ours is a new country of free men under equal laws. Ours is a country in the making, where enterprise is always alert to achieve wealth and employ labor, where railroads are building—12,000 miles in a single year—cities are springing up; where there are mines to explore, rivers to bridge, mountains to tunnel, forests to fell, and lands to subdue. Everywhere we behold the energy and activity that belong to such an era in the life of a people, with all the demand and opportunity for labor that accompany it, and above all with that genuine respect for labor that is born of equal citizenship.

No other people enjoy the same variety of climate and production, the same freedom of exchange and of movement over a great area. Sir, it is unfair, it is unpardonable, it is scarcely less than criminal for the beneficiaries under our tariff system to seek to intimidate the laboring men of this country into a support of their bounties, by telling them that they owe their superior condition not to these natural and moral advantages of their country, but to the protection of the tariff.

But, sir, there is one class of our laboring men as to whom these advocates of protection clearly see the difficulty and weakness of their position, and that is the American farmer. Where does the farmer get any benefit from protection? He is the patient beast of burden upon whose broad shoulders you have shifted down the chief burdens of supporting a Government of sixty millions of people. [Applause on Democratic side.]

Where is the benefit to him under the tariff? My colleague from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] meets the question with the bold reply:

The farmer is not hurt. The consumer does not pay these taxes.

And warming up with indignation because the President had advanced a contrary idea in his message, declared with much emphasis and iteration that it was not true. Why, Mr. Chairman, the mere child who stands behind a store box and sells candy for pins knows that if he does not get as much as it cost him he is in a losing business and will quickly give it up.

The duty that is paid on a foreign article to get it into this country is as much a part of its original cost to the American consumer as the cost of its manufacture or of its ocean freight. No matter who the importer be, foreigner or fellow-citizen, if he does not get that duty back in its sale he is in a losing business, as much as if he failed to get back any other element of cost. Trade stops at once if it brings no profit. Moreover, the amount thus added to its cost by the duty saves the home producer of a like article from having to compete with it at the cost it bore before the duty was added. Sir, I commend to the gentlemen on the other side the utterances of some of their party leaders on this point.

Senator SHERMAN is an active candidate for the Presidency to-day, and I am glad to know that he has a higher idea of the intelligence of the farmer than my friend from Michigan, for he has said in this House:

I said it, and I stand by it, that as a general rule the duties paid upon imports operate as a tax upon the consumer.

Senator EDMUNDS, of Vermont, in the February number of Harper's Magazine, in replying to Mr. Watterson, argued at length that the larger portion of import duties is borne by the foreign producer; but Senator EDMUNDS, speaking on the tariff question, January 4, 1883, made a much more correct statement when he said:

In the main all these taxes come out of the consumer, particularly internal-revenue taxes, perhaps all of them substantially.

And I particularly commend to his colleagues on this floor the emphatic language of Senator PLUMB, of Kansas, on the 11th January, 1883, spoken with a directness and earnestness that showed an impatience of any contrary suggestion:

Who pays these taxes? When the manufacturer of iron comes to the Senate and says "I can live, or I can make a profit, if a certain duty is imposed," what is he saying? He is simply saying "If you give me a certain duty you put it in my power to charge over that duty as an additional tax on the farmers of the United States."

Sir, the mere statement of this question, it seems to me, is its conclusive argument, and I should not further refer to it but that the gentleman from Michigan so sharply criticised the President for expressing views like those of Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. EDMUNDS, and Mr. PLUMB, and in one of his most eloquent periods and with the applause of his party associates exclaimed that the very insensate pen with which the President wrote this folly should have said: "I am cheaper by one-half than before the duty was imposed." And, Mr. Chairman, the very midnight oil of which the speech of the gentleman was so redolent might have responded: "I am a thousand per cent. cheaper than I was twenty years ago;" and has a protective tariff done that?

Mr. BAYNE. Oh!

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. My friend says "Oh!" I can cite the gentleman here to the very paragraph in the New York Tribune where it says coal-oil has come down from 70 cents to 7 cents a gallon.

Mr. BAYNE. How could it be even a hundred per cent. cheaper if it sold for anything at all?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Well, I am beginning at the other end. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to read a specimen of a protectionist's argument. Senator FRYE, in this speech, which the Home Market Club is spending so much money to circulate, says:

We have some wonderful advantages in this country of ours in this matter of manufacturing over any I saw; I believe over any in the wide world. In the first place, we can feed a billion more men on our land than we do to-day, and suffer no harm either.

Then again, we have an enormous seacoast and rivers and lakes which the Almighty planted just exactly right for us to use for our purposes to make cheap freights all over the country. Then again, we have more railroads than all the rest of the world combined, and to-day our freights are cheaper in the United States of America than in any other country on this earth. On our through lines the rates are not one-half what they are on the through lines in England. That is a great advantage. Again, we raise our own cotton and a part of England's. We can raise all the cotton the world needs if we please. Texas alone can produce every pound of cotton you use to-day and England purchases from us, and yet not be exhausted at all. Again, we can raise all the wool we need in this country without the slightest difficulty, unless the free-traders get it on the free-list. [Laughter.]

Again, we have iron in twenty-four States and Territories, piled up in mountains now and then, like those in Missouri, with 500,000,000 tons in their bosoms, accessible, more accessible than the iron of any other country.

Again, we have inexhaustible coal fields accessible, too. Again, we have—for I have seen it—mountains of salt; I saw one in Louisiana where with a pick you could pick the salt out in blocks. Mountains of sulphur, granite, sandstone, marble, lime-rock, slate, supplies of borax, gold, silver, copper.

Every conceivable thing that we need to make us a great manufacturing nation is spread out here for our use, ninety one-hundredths of it to-day lying as untouched as when planted there in the earth by the finger of the Almighty. Again—and this meeting here to-night illustrates this—we have the most active, earnest, vigorous business men that are to be found on the earth. Why, abroad they will go to sleep while a man in America is making a fortune [laughter]; open their stores at ten o'clock, close them at four; idle behind the counter, seeking no trade. Again, we have the most ambitious, hopeful, reasonable, intelligent laboring people that are to be found.

We all know that this is substantially true, that it is scarcely an overdrawn picture of the natural and other advantages which the American manufacturer enjoys over those of other countries, and would you not suppose, Mr. Chairman, that when he had reached this point in his speech, for very shame he would turn to the millionaires around that banquet table and say, "Gentlemen, for generations you who possess all these advantages have prevailed on the Government to tax the farmer for your benefit and building up. From his scanty earnings you have been drawing an unearned dividend to insure your prosperity and pile up your wealth. It is time now, under these favorable conditions over your competitors, so much greater than he enjoys, for you to renounce your bounties wrung from his toil, and, thanking him for his long endurance, step down and fight your own battles in the industrial ranks beside him."

But, sir, he does nothing of the kind. Like the stag in the fable that was so enamored with the beauty of his horns, but at the first sound of the hunter's bugle fled ingloriously away, so Senator FRYE, after all these swelling words and this boasting of the advantages possessed by the members of the Home Market Club, at the first suggestion of a diminution of their bounties, scuds away on cowardly legs and never rests until the "embattled farmers," three ranks deep, stand between him and English competition. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

But, my friends, if this protective tariff is such a good thing for the American farmer, why is he to-day the least prosperous of all American citizens? Why is it that land is going down in all the older States? Why is it that the American farmer with the best facilities at his command, with all his energy, thrift, and sobriety is fighting a hard and ofttimes a losing battle?

My friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] excited some criticism on the other side of the House by his statements as to the mortgages on the farms in this country. I do not wish to make any statement that is not sustained by the facts, and so I have obtained the last report of the labor bureau of the State of Michigan, which covers an investigation into the mortgages upon Michigan farms, and which presents some striking figures. I stand here to-day and say that I have not the slightest doubt that the Michigan farmer is as industrious, as hard working, as intelligent as the farmer in any other section of the country, and yet this official volume shows that 47.4 of the farm lands in Michigan are covered by mort-

gages, and that the mortgages are 46.8 per cent. of the assessed valuation of the farms mortgaged. Compare the condition of the unprotected Michigan farmer with the condition of the protected owner of copper mines in Michigan, the one piling up dividend upon dividend, million upon million, out of the privilege granted him by Congress to tax the people of this country, and the other working early and delving late and piling up mortgage after mortgage upon his estate. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Will the gentleman from West Virginia yield for a question.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I will yield for one question, and no more.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Will the gentleman from West Virginia tell the House whether there is a petition in his committee-room, signed by a farmer of the State of Michigan, asking for the passage of the Mills bill; and on the other hand, will he not find hundreds of petitions (if he will open them) signed by Michigan farmers asking that the Mills bill be not passed? We know enough in which to take care of ourselves and to pay our debts.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, the farmers have neither the time nor the money to come here and besiege Congress about these matters. They are chained to the plow, to their daily labor. They can not come here to look after their own interest; but the owners of the copper mines, and the other industries that are protected and subsidized, are here at all times in your lobbies urging measures for their own benefit. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, if protection is such a good thing for the American farmer, why, I ask again, is the value of American farmlands depreciating? Why is it that in the magnificent Shenandoah Valley, situated between the beautiful Blue Mountains, and so faithfully represented here by my friend before me [Mr. O'FERRALL]—why is it that that valley, with as noble a population as can be found anywhere under the sun, with natural advantages unsurpassed by any section of the country—why is it the people of that valley are fighting a hard and cheerless fight to-day? Why is it, as Mr. David A. Wells tells us in the last number of the Popular Science Monthly, that in New England—

Agricultural lands not remote from large centers of population can often be bought for a smaller price than fifty years ago would have been regarded as a fair appraisal, and even less than the cost of the buildings and walls at present upon them?

Mr. BOUTELLE. This would be a good place for the gentleman to state the average rate of farm wages in West Virginia.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Farm wages in West Virginia are quite as good as in Maine, and a little better, I have no doubt.

Mr. BOUTELLE. Will the gentleman let me read the figures?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, if protection is such a good thing for the American farmer, why is it, I repeat, that land in the most populous and prosperous States of this country is depreciating in value? Why is it that since the last decennial census lands in the State of Ohio, with probably better diversified industries than any other State of the Union, have gone down from 25 to 50 per cent.?

Mr. McCULLOGH. Will the gentleman allow a question?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I can not. If I continue to yield I shall never get through.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I do not make this statement on my own authority——

Mr. McCULLOGH. If the statement just made by the gentleman is true, will he tell me why farming lands in England have depreciated to a greater extent?

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I deny that they have depreciated to a greater extent. There is at present a depreciation in England, as there is in Germany, protected Germany, as there is in France, protected France. But Germany, England, and France have stationary populations, while this country is filling up, not only by natural increase, but by heavy immigration, so that the farm values with us ought to be going up.

Mr. KERR rose.

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. Now, Mr. Chairman, I can not yield any further.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from West Virginia declines to yield.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I desire to put to the Chair this parliamentary inquiry: When the time of a gentleman has been extended indefinitely, so that he may occupy a week if he sees fit, is not the extension granted with the tacit understanding that he shall yield long enough to allow questions to be put and answered? [Laughter.]

Mr. WILSON, of West Virginia. I appeal to the candor of my friends on the other side whether I have not been more than liberal in submitting to interruptions. I have been led far away from the line of my argument time and again. I can not abuse the courtesy of the House and must hasten on.

The statement I have made as to the farm lands of Ohio was not made upon my own responsibility. I have here, to support me, the exact words of Governor Foraker. In his inaugural address, January 1, 1887, he said since the last decennial assessment of real estate in 1880:

There has been a heavy decline. Farm property is from 25 to 50 per cent. cheaper to-day than it then was.

That is good authority for our friends on the other side.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have heard on this floor time and again the "old, old story" of the "home market." I have here the great speech made by Mr. Clay in 1832, when he was urging upon the farmers of the country what the opponents of this bill would denounce as free trade, but what he supposed to be a protective tariff. He says, in substance: "I rest the whole case on two grounds." One of these was that the protective system would build up a home demand for the products of the farm, and thus maintain or advance the price of those products.

Mr. Chairman, whatever force may have been in that argument when used by Mr. Clay is entirely dissipated to-day. Mr. Clay spoke to a country without railroads, without telegraphs. There were no steamships traversing the ocean, no cables under the ocean. He spoke to a country whose farmers, with the exception of those adjacent to its Eastern rivers and seaboard, sought a market for their produce in the nearest town, to which they hauled it in their own wagons; when the value of a bushel of wheat was exhausted by a haul of 300 miles, and that of a bushel of corn by a haul of 100 miles. It was a day when "manufacture" meant something very different from what it means to-day. As late as eight years afterward Mr. Webster described American manufactures as "a little capital mixed with manual labor." At that time the neighboring village or town, with its woolen mill, its hat factory, its shoemakers, its varied industries, was flesh and blood to consume the farmer's products and wear the clothing made from his wool and cotton.

The world has been created anew since Mr. Clay made that speech. To-day we have a railroad system of 150,000 miles, extending into every corner of this country where population or product invites it. To-day we have instantaneous communication with every section of the country, with every portion of the world. You can order a cargo of tea from China and it will be loaded on the ship before night. An order for wheat from Liverpool to San Francisco will outstrip the lagging sun and get there hours before him. You can transfer millions of dollars in the twinkling of an eye from the money market of Calcutta to that of London or New York. The whole world with the construction of railroads, with the building of steam-ships, with the laying of cables has been drawn into one family. The price of the farmer's products is no longer decided in the market of the neighboring village, but in the great market of the world. The price of the farmer's cotton, his wheat, his meat, and dairy products is no longer decided even in his own country, but by the free, untrammeled competition of the markets of all the world.

During all that time the progress of invention has been displacing human labor by machinery. To-day one man in a factory, and frequently a child, tending some great mechanical invention, produces what in Henry Clay's day would have taken the labor of ten or even twenty men.

In the first annual report of the Bureau of Labor we have some striking illustrations of this displacement of labor by machinery. In a manufactory of agricultural implements 600 hands do the work that formerly required 2,145. In the manufacture of boots and shoes one hand does the work of five, and will produce enough shoes in a year to supply a thousand men. In the manufacture of carpets one hand with the improvements in machinery does the work that required from ten to twenty; in spinning, the work of from seventy-five to one hundred. In the manufacture of some kinds of hats one man is equal to nine. In a large establishment in New Hampshire improved machinery, even in the past ten years, has dispensed with 50 per cent. of human labor in the making of cotton goods. By the use of improvements and inventions in the past ten or fifteen years, in hammers used in the manufacture of steel, there has been a displacement of employés in the proportion of nearly 10 to 1. In the manufacture of paper, a new machine for drying and cutting, run by four men and six women, will do the work of one hundred persons. In the manufacture of wall-paper the displacement has been 100 to 1. Equally striking facts as to the woolen and other industries might be given, but I will call special attention to this general statement. The mechanical industries of the United States carried on by steam and water represent the labor of 21,000,000 men. On our railroads to-day 250,000 men do the work which when Mr. Clay spoke would have required 13,500,000 men and 54,000,000 horses.

To do the work now done by power and power machinery in our mechanical industries and upon our railroads would require men representing a population of 172,500,000 in addition to the present population of 55,000,000.

And it is just in the protected industries of the country, employing altogether, according to the estimate of the late Secretary Manning, not more than 5 per cent. of the labor of the country, that the chief displacement of human labor by machinery has occurred; and yet, Mr. Chairman, we all know that while Mr. Clay was willing to compro-

mise on a tariff of 20 per cent. to protect flesh and blood, the demand to-day is for 47 per cent. to protect machinery! [Applause.]

To-day American manufactures no longer mean as they did to Daniel Webster, manual labor mixed with a little capital. They mean great capital mixed with a little manual labor. Moreover, as our transportation system has been perfected, we have witnessed the gradual disappearance of local manufactures and their massing in immense industrial establishments at particular points. They are to-day sufficient and more than sufficient to supply all the demands of our home consumption, and yet the farmer has to look abroad for purchasers of his surplus products.

Two-thirds of our cotton, nearly one-third of our wheat, immense quantities of other farm products must be sold to foreigners for lack of home consumers, and yet the argument is daily addressed to the farmer, "Tax yourself still longer to diversify industry and build up purchasers for your products." Why, Mr. Chairman, our surplus wheat crop last year would feed thirty millions of people. Is there any device of taxation by which the farmer could build up a home demand for that? You say to the Minnesota farmer, complaining that he gets but 60 cents a bushel for his wheat, "Continue to uphold the tariff; it will start up other industries in your State to buy your wheat." But the farmer, if he is intelligent, knows that there is a cry of overproduction from our manufacturers to-day; that we already have more than we can find a market for; and as long as there is free trade among the States of this country there is no taxation to which he can submit that will necessarily bring these industries to Minnesota aside from such natural advantages as would bring them there without such taxation.

But suppose you give him a rolling-mill capable of supplying all the steel rails needed for the railroads of his State, a sugar-refinery capable of supplying all the sugar consumed in his State, and a boot and shoe factory sufficient for the demands of the entire population of Minnesota, there will not be human labor enough in any one of them to consume the wheat crop of a single large farm. With all the families dependent upon them they would add not one mill to the price of his wheat, and little, if any, to the price of his other products.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for the home-market idea. It is but a snare and a delusion to the American farmer. His surplus products sent abroad determine the prices of those he sells at home. Without such foreign market they would sell still lower at home. But to the gentlemen of the Home Market Club of New England the home-market idea is a most solid and profitable reality. It means for them a population of 60,000,000 shut in by a benevolent Government and forced to buy of them at prices which the Government is seeking to stimulate 47 per cent. higher than they would be if subjected to the same competition under which the farmer sells his staple products.

But one further remark, Mr. Chairman, and I will relieve the patience of the committee. The other argument used by Mr. Clay was that industries, once established by protection, would gradually by their free competition among themselves, give to the farmer their products as cheaply as he could buy them elsewhere. Mr. Clay dwelt with much force and variety of illustration on the "beneficent principle of competition," which was to bring the consumer his reward for any temporary sacrifices he was subjected to. He said:

> Of all human powers operating on the affairs of mankind none is greater than that of competition. It is action and reaction. It operates between individuals of the same nation and between different nations. It resembles the meeting of the mountain torrent, grooving by its precipitous motion its own channel, and ocean's tide. Unopposed, it sweeps everything before it; but counterpoised, the waters become calm, safe, and regular.

Statesman as Mr. Clay was, he could not look far enough into the future to see that a time might come when the mountain torrent and the ocean tide, instead of opposing their great forces so as to produce this safe and calm counterpoise, would deliberately unite them to sweep all obstructions from their path.

He never dreamed that the great industrial establishments, fostered and built up under a protective system on the implied condition that they would honestly compete among themselves so as to give the cheapest products to those whose bounties had built them up, would combine into the modern trust to despoil and pillage their benefactors. He did not see what George Stephenson early saw, that where combination is possible competition is impossible. All this he did not look forward to, but we are seeing it with our own eyes and suffering it in our own experience. I know that gentlemen on the other side are quite sensitive on this point. I know they are ready to exclaim: "Why, surely you do not mean to argue that these industrial monsters which are springing up on every hand, so full of portent to the welfare of the people and the purity of our Government, are born of our tariff." But, sir, that is exactly what I do maintain.

What is a trust, Mr. Chairman? It is a combination, more or less secret and confidential, as its name implies, to form a monopoly for controlling the production or the sale of some article of necessary or general consumption.

There may be a natural monopoly where the supply or production of an article is confined to local limits, as the anthracite coal fields to Pennsylvania, as the oil fields of this country, in which cases the owners may unite to control supply and regulate prices. There is also an artificial monopoly where the law steps in and confers special privileges on certain parties, whereby they may wholly or largely dictate their own terms to consumers; and this is exactly what our present tariff does.

The Government says to the protected industries, "I will add 47 per cent. to the value of all articles made abroad and thus shield you against competition from without;" and the protected industries are now saying, "Let us combine to shield ourselves against all competition from within. The Government will permit us to sell our products to the people at anything less than the price of like foreign products with 47 per cent. added. Let us see that we come as little below that limit as possible."

Sir, I had intended, but for the diversions from my line of remarks, to develop this subject in some detail. I will point to a single specimen, and that a mere infant, a Hercules in the cradle, the great sugar rust, as uncovered by the Committee on Manufactures. Sixteen of our large sugar refineries, furnishing the bulk of all the sugar consumed in this country, joined in a trust a few months ago, with a capital of $50,000,000. Almost simultaneously with their combination five of these refineries shut down and cease to produce. One is sold for a city park; another, one of the largest, is dismantled. Almost immediately the margin between the price of raw and refined sugars begins to widen. At one time it had reached a cent a pound! When the testimony was taken before the committee it was five-sixteenths of a cent! We consume three thousand million pounds of sugar in this country yearly. One cent a pound above ordinary profits would mean $30,000,000; five-sixteenths of a cent would mean nearly $10,000,000.

Sir, similar trusts are springing up constantly in the articles protected by your tariff and beneath its favoring shelter.

I have quite a list here which a friend has gathered from the columns of a single great paper, the New York Times, but I have no time to read them to-day.

Need I dwell upon the effects of such combinations? To the producers of their raw material they dictate prices, for there is but one purchaser. To the consumers of what they sell they dictate prices, for there is but one seller.

They limit and lessen the demand for labor, for they lessen the supply of their products in order to force up the price in the markets. With the North River refinery in New York turned into a park, and the Oxnard refinery in Brooklyn dismantled, labor is thrown permanently out of employment. Sir, it was the misery of banishment from Rome that Rome was the whole world. It is the misery of labor turned out of any one of these refineries that one is all and all is one. If the labor organizations of the country have found it hard to contend with the great corporations standing alone, what will their prospects be when these corporations melt into one? Mr. Chairman, can we shut our eyes to the influence of such organizations on public morals? Will our legislatures, our judiciary, our ballot-box escape defilement when corporate power and corporate wealth thus grasped by a single and often a hidden hand come to demand special privileges under the law?

Sir, I acknowledge the courtesy of the House in extending my time and listening so patiently to my somewhat disconnected remarks. This is a momentous question. None could be more so unless it involved the existence of the nation. It does not take many weeks' service for even the humblest member of the Committee on Ways and Means like myself to get new and sobering ideas as to the greatness of this conflict. When the eyes of the prophet's servant were unsealed he saw camped around the prophet mighty hosts and chariots of fire, invisible to other eyes. So when the servant of the people comes to deal with the tariff question he sees, with a clearness of vision not granted to others, those mighty hosts, the powers of wealth and combination, of monopoly in all its odious and defiant forms, great corporations and monster trusts, all formed in linked phalanx around the protective system. [Applause on the Democratic side.] If he is awed by the greatness of the struggle, he is also nerved by the greatness of the stake. Sir, this fight will go on. There will be no industrial peace in this country until our tax laws are fixed upon a basis that is just to all. [Applause.] We will keep the country rocking from ocean to ocean until we have secured just and equal rights before the law for all its citizens.

You may strike down that tribune of the people at the other end of the avenue, who, putting behind him all counsels of prudence, spoke out that ringing summons that rallied the people as nothing else ever did. You may strike down the leaders in this fight as you struck them down in the last Congress and the previous Congress. Those who hold the standard may fall, but other hands will take it up and move forward. The spirit of our intelligence is behind us. The spirit of liberty is behind us. All we can hope for the future greatness of this country hangs upon the issue; and in the sentiment and somewhat in the words of Mr. Speaker, whoever may falter and whoever may fail, the people of the country mean that its glorious destinies shall be preserved; that they shall be transmitted unimpaired to posterity; that the country shall not belong to monopolists on the one hand or to communists on the other, but shall be as it was designed to be, a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. [Great applause, and cries of "Vote! Vote!"]

The Tariff.

The taxing power of the Government is essential to its existence, but when used for purposes, otherwise than its economical support, it is the most dangerous.

SPEECH

OF

HON. L. W. MOORE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 5, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. MOORE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The two great political parties of the country are preparing to join issue upon a great economic question, the Republican party affirming that our tariff should be so constructed that in addition to levying taxes for the support of the Government it should be sufficiently excessive to secure protection to all our industries against competition from other countries. The Democratic party insisting that such taxes should be levied solely for the support of an economical administration of the Government, but so apportioned in its rates as not to embarrass or injure any of our industries. The former are pleased to style their system "tariff for protection;" the latter, "tariff for revenue only."

The issue thus presented is sharp and incisive. There is no mistaking it.

Yet, Mr. Chairman, how unequal the contest. There are 4,000 interests embraced in the present tariff schedule. For twenty-five years they have used the great power of the Government in the levying of taxes for their own private gain, associating some of the greater industries with powerful forms of capital engaged in transportation, and yet other great syndicates and trusts, that now, united by the cohesive power of public plunder, they view any attempt to force them to relax their grasp upon the public Treasury as an invasion of their prerogatives, and treat with derision and scorn the other industries and interests of our country not embraced in their pool.

Themselves thoroughly organized and united, supported and maintained by great combinations of capital and trusts, they but too well understand that the great masses of our citizens affected injuriously by such unparalleled exactions, disunited and disorganized, may not dislodge them. It is the unorganized, undisciplined militia engaged with regulars entrenched in their strong works.

Sir, the great common masses of our citizens view this contest with great solicitude; never before have they manifested such interest in this discussion as now. With a faith that knows no doubting, a courage without faltering, and a public conscience and integrity that yield to no bribes, we believe there will be a public verdict that will command a reduction of taxes and reform of our tariff.

TARIFF FOR PROTECTION.

Framed as it was to meet the expenses of our late civil war, it still stands after twenty-three years of peace, yielding, in connection with the internal revenue and some other sources, comparatively small, for the present fiscal year $150,000,000 in excess of all expenditures of the Government.

Every trade, every enterprise, every industry, every laborer feels this injury of withdrawing so much of their earnings from them. Slowly and steadily do we behold this circle of fire drawing nearer and nearer to our people! It is but a temporary relief to invest this surplus in the purchase of the bonds of the Government. Periodically it does and will recur. We must stop this inflow of money into the Treasury. Diminish the taxes is the only solution.

This surplus invites all sorts of schemes of peculation, encourages extravagance and waste of the public moneys, corrupts and pollutes our public service.

A protective tariff that protects all our industries and increases the wages of our laborers in uniform proportions, in fact, would protect none. Its exact and equal benefits would be its destruction and exemplify its own folly. It would be likened to an effort to make all equally rich, whose only effect would be to make all poor, for the weight of such a costly structure would break it down by the constant collection of taxes from all for its support. The only defense of such a system as we have now is that it protects certain special interests of manufacturing and mining which are of such general and public importance as that a corresponding benefit accrues to all other interests. How false this claim is will be seen when we think of the extent of our country to which such a principle is sought to be applied.

It is as vast in its extent almost as the whole of Europe—reaching from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico and thence to the Pacific—embracing a continent by latitude and longitude. All the arts, sciences, industries, trades, occupations, and professions have their mighty development here. All the climates, seasons, soils, and productions are here. What would be protection to one industry would be injurious to another. What would be protection to the industries upon the Eastern seaboard could but injure those in the great West and upon the Gulf.

So we can not avoid the conclusion we have a system whose only merit is it fosters, builds up, and makes profitable the business of the few to the great injury of the many.

OUR COMMERCE.

We can not fail to see the effect of protection upon our commerce. In 1860 our imports in American vessels were $228,164,855, while in 1887 they are but $121,365,493. Our exports in American vessels in 1860 were $279,082,733, while in 1887 they are only $72,991,253. American ships in 1860 carried 66.9 per cent. of our trade, while in 1887 they carry but 13.80 per cent. To-day no foreign-built ship can carry our flag. You are not allowed to purchase one, and such as you build each and all its parts must pay a high protective duty.

Here is protection that no man can misunderstand. Forty years ago we disputed supremacy of our merchant marine upon all the seas with all nations. Our white flags were seen carrying our imports and our exports upon these highways and in all ports. Protection and our illiberal navigation laws have driven them from the seas.

What would the great Webster, whose eminent services were more illustrious in pleading for our commerce than in any other public service he rendered, say if he were to witness this decay in our commerce? If we look at our tonnage the decay is no less remarkable. In 1860 our tonnage engaged in foreign trade was 2,399,396 tons; in 1887 it was 989,412 tons.

Mr. Chairman, I have shown this decay in our American shipping only to indicate more clearly the effect upon its handmaid, agriculture. For without commerce what would become of the boast of our mighty productions of soil?

AGRICULTURE.

We come now, Mr. Chairman, to inquire into the magnitude of agriculture and the effect of our tariff upon it.

It is to agriculture that must be attributed our great and phenomenal progress as a nation. It has brought more peace, comfort, health, and wealth to our homes than all other causes combined. The value of our farms, 1887, was $10,197,096,776; value of cereals produced, $2,700,000,000; cotton, $325,000,000. Strike these down, our manufactories would disappear, our commerce perish. The protectionists to deceive us praise our home markets. What are the painful facts upon which this pretense and fraud are based? Our farmers indeed have such a market as our protectionists offer for purchasing their manufactures at such prices as they dictate, without any competition, but they offer no market for their agricultural products. You can buy from us, but you can not sell to us, they say. There is produced of all agricultural products $600,000,000 surplus. This must be sold in foreign countries in competition with the labor product of the poorest paid labor in the world. The product thus sold forms 74 per cent. of all our exports, while the single item of cotton forms $202,000,000. Two-thirds of all our cotton must be shipped to foreign countries to find a market.

I have some knowledge of the cultivation of this crop, its labor and its expense. No other production of our soil requires so much of continuous labor and length of time for its production. It takes all the days of the twelve months, and I but give voice and tongue to the experience of all the men engaged in it: Handicapped by the extra cost of this tariff upon all the lumber they use, all the iron, the plows, the wagons, the chains, salt, clothing, and articles of necessity without number, adding in the aggregate an average of 47 per cent. to their cost—they can not bear these burdens. The Egyptian was not less merciless when he commanded the Israelites to make bricks without straw. Our crops are discounted before they are planted. We appeal to this Congress to relieve us of this great war tariff and strike down this industrial slavery imposed upon our agriculture.

Let me give you this practical illustration: A laborer produces five bales of cotton. He ships it to Liverpool, the real and only market for this product. It is then sold, and sufficient of its proceeds invested in such necessaries as will enable him to be clothed and furnish him with such supplies as he needs upon his farm for the purpose of his labor. It arrives at Galveston, and there a custom-house officer says pay me 47 per cent. to be added to the invoice price thereof. For what? To support the Government? No; to protect the manufacturers in this country against competition, and to enable them to pay the enhanced price of labor here.

This man answers: "Am I not a laborer?" And there comes an answer from 7,000,000 of agricultural laborers saying: "Are we not all laborers? Why should we be taxed 47 per cent. upon our necessaries of life to support and maintain others?"

TARIFF AS AFFECTING LABOR.

It is claimed by protectionists and those who are now resisting a reduction of our tariff, that by reason thereof the wages of the laborer have been increased and his condition improved. If this be so, then the matter commands the most serious attention; for, Mr. Chairman, if

I thought by any system of taxation the wages and profits of the laborer could thus be increased, his burdens lightened, and his condition improved, I would give my heart and head to the reform. It should have my voice and my vote; for all just reforms and relief should begin with the humble and the poor. They are the mudsills of this social fabric; our house is builded upon them. If they are contented, frugal, prosperous, and happy, then, indeed, will this house of ours, this temple of liberty stand; our country will yet become greater, happier, and freer.

But we can not afford to speak in deception and hypocrisy upon this great labor question.

In the midst of these protected interests, yea, the very laborers engaged in them, are constantly disturbed. They are not contented; they do not believe they are receiving their just share of the profits of production. When they are not striking the mills are shutting down. You have been teaching that this tariff was to enable the manufactories and mining interests to pay larger wages.

But have they been paid? No. Their wages, it is true, are higher than in England; but their consumption or cost of living is higher, and they earn for the manufacturers for the same money 30 to 40 per cent. more than any foreign labor.

What is poverty? Why are there so many healthy, strong, intelligent, sober, industrious, and economical men with their wives and children poor? It is because the ratio of their expense to their wages is too great. You increase his wages, but increase by the same ratio his expense; you have not relieved him.

Consumption is a terrible term; as applied to disease it means death; as applied to the laborer's wages it means poverty, and if projected a little further it means pauperism, and herein is found the worst wrong of this present tariff. It is but a tax on consumption. It is not a tax on property, as is usual and right. The more you use or consume the greater your tax. A rich man is not a consumer in proportion to his property. A tax upon his consumption as to some things is not more than a poor man's, and upon others it is even less.

The very poorest laborer with a large and dependent family may pay, and does often pay, a heavier tariff duty than the richest man, for he may consume more of the articles embraced in the schedule and which are necessaries. Suppose instead of an indirect bonus to our manufactories we pay them a direct bonus, proportionate in each case to the amount of their products, for the purpose of compensating them for the higher wages paid the laborer. Would he receive one cent; could he, upon any business principle? Would not other laborers rush in for this extra bonus? And finally their wage would be the bonus, less the regular wage; and if this bonus was equal to the average wage this would be all he could receive. The Government then and not the employer would be paying his wages. In other words, the employer would thus receive the entire benefit of this bonus. This is what he is doing now.

If this protective tariff has, indeed, beneficently raised the wages of labor, then tell me why the same labor employed in the same protected industries, in the different States contiguous to each other, are so unequal? This occurs to me is a full and complete denial that tariff regulations and taxes increase the wages of labor, and certainly it demonstrates that its benefits are without uniformity.

But upon what principle can it be contended that a protective tariff benefits other industries and the labor engaged in them? It appears from the census of 1880 that there were 17,000,000 people engaged in gainful pursuits in the United States. Not more than one-twentieth of our people are engaged in the protected industries; 7,670,402 are engaged in farming, or nearly one-half of all engaged in gainful pursuits.

Are these and those engaged in other labor and industries to be taxed for the benefit of the few? Such a doctrine is un-American. It builds up wealth, power, and splendor of the few at the expense of the many. Relieved of the humane and wise provision of God's great law of competition, it speaks in the several protected industries as one man; governed by the sole power of greed, it lays tribute upon others. It closes furnaces, determines their output, fixes the amount of their product, and even the price of fuel to protect us from cold. It shuts down the mills, measures out to the American people our quantity of clothing, and determines its price. It fosters and encourages trusts in that it accumulates vast wealth in the hands of the few, and thus dictates to the American people the price of all the articles of necessity.

Protesting against the competition of their products with that produced in foreign countries, it enters all foreign marts to employ its labor, and turns out of employment the American laborer to be substituted with foreign; so that to-day a large part of such labor is foreign.

I do not pretend that the present bill for the reduction of tariff taxes is what I would wish. I would reduce further the tariff on the manufactures of iron, wool, and cotton. I would give the people to whom these things are a necessity cheaper prices. I would make free the farming implements, tools, and machinery with which the tillers of the soil are feeding and clothing the world. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, chattel slavery has forever perished in this land; its manicles are stricken off. Now strike down this industrial slavery, and then will we be free.

National Control of State Railroads.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN A. ANDERSON,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 14, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9600) to declare the duties, enforce the obligations, and regulate the service of railroad companies as carriers of interstate commerce, and for other purposes.

Mr. ANDERSON, of Kansas, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: As preliminary to legislation upon the railroad question, and because the tariff will for many weeks exclude all other business, I desire in this way to call the attention of gentlemen to H. R. 9600, chiefly for the reason that it proposes a different plan of action from any before considered. At present I shall only discuss the legal questions involved. The bill seeks "to declare the duties, enforce the obligations, and regulate the service of railroad companies as carriers of interstate commerce." It differs from the law regulating interstate commerce enacted last year, first, as to the ground respectively covered by the two measures, and, second, as to the fundamental power upon which they rest.

The design of that law is simply to prevent railroad companies when carrying interstate traffic from doing certain things. The design of the bill is to compel them, so long as they engage in that business, to perform all their duties as carriers faithfully and regularly. The law only covers specific evil practices of the roads, and is silent as to their obligations. Under its provisions a company may, with total impunity, suffer its tracks to become dangerous, its bridges to rot, and its trains to be handled by incompetent men. It may keep its employés on continuous and sleepless duty for days, and as a necessary result slaughter passengers by an alleged "accident." Or it may, for effect upon stock speculations, or to exhibit the heroic pride of an arrogant management squandering other person's money, force employés to strike, and thus for months suspend train service, in utter disregard of its charter obligations and of the public welfare. Against these and countless other evils the people have no protection except the uncertain rulings and slow processes of the common law as distinguished from statutory law.

The design of the bill, on the other hand, is by statute to declare the duties and enforce the obligations of railways, and to provide vigilant protection to the public by a swift enforcement thereof in every emergency. It practically says to the company: "The railroad you operate is a public highway built for the public benefit; and so long as you possess a monopoly of its use you shall keep it in proper condition, shall regularly run all necessary trains, shall faithfully perform all the other obligations of your charter, and shall be punished whenever you fail therein." And it charges the Interstate Commerce Commission with the duty of enforcement. So that the bill covers wholly different ground from that embraced by the act of 1887.

The two measures also differ as to the fundamental power on which they rest. The act is exclusively based upon that clause of the Constitution which vests in Congress the authority "to regulate commerce among the several States." The scope of this act can not be greater than the scope of that authority. But it happens that a State also has authority over commerce within its territory, and that doubts as to exact jurisdiction often arise. Just where the authority of Congress and that of a State may begin or end as to certain freight, is a more troublesome question in practice than it is in the courts. And just what power Congress can exercise over a corporation chartered by a State and operating a road wholly within that State, is a perplexing question both in practice and in law.

As a case in point, take the recent Reading lockout. That company was chartered by Pennsylvania, and its main line is within that State. Besides being a carrier of coal to New York and Boston, which is interstate commerce, it is also the owner and worker of the larger part of the Schuylkill coal region. Suppose that, as a carrier, it had been ready every day to haul and deliver the usual supply of coal to these cities, which was not the fact; but that, as a mine-owner, for the exact purpose of reducing miners' wages and also of raising the price of coal, it forced its miners into a "strike," practically locked them out, and thus stopped the supply of coal for its trains. Query: While Congress undoubtedly has jurisdiction over the Reading as a carrier of interstate traffic, has it any jurisdiction, derived from the commerce clause, over the Reading as an owner of mines in Pennsylvania?

It is easy to see that by a combination, which at times has certainly existed, between the Reading and the few other coal roads, which are also chief owners of the remaining anthracite fields, these carriers would be able to force a coal famine that might, if continued, sacrifice more lives than were lost in any American battle. One would think that Congress must have some power, somewhere and somehow, to prevent such an absolute destruction of interstate commerce; but the question

is whether it actually has power, under the commerce clause, over the Reading as a private owner of mines, and not as a carrier of interstate freight?

For the sake of brevity, I shall designate as a "State" company or road one which is chartered by a State and which operates a railway wholly within that State, as distinguished from a company chartered by Congress, or from one which has a road in two or more States, and shall sometimes use the word "national" in lieu of "interstate" as applied to commerce, and "road" in place of "company."

All commerce originates in some State, and it remains State commerce until a carrier, either by contracting to deliver it in a different State or by hauling it into another State, makes it interstate traffic. Clearly, then, it is virtually in the power of the State roads to prevent much, and on one theory all, traffic from becoming interstate commerce by simply refusing to accept it as anything more than purely State freight. Under an interpretation of the commerce clause that is frequently accepted, so long as the traffic remains State freight the roads would be solely responsible to their State governments and outside the jurisdiction of Congress.

But it is also evident that the great bulk of interstate commerce is handled by State roads. Its four greatest carriers are the New York Central, Erie, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore and Ohio, each of them a State road. Suppose that all State companies, by a subtle and intangible understanding, should each for itself refuse to accept any but State freight; and if the practice were universal no one road would be at a disadvantage with its competitors. They would thus be in position to do one of two things, either to subject the public to the expense of reshipment at every State line, or else place an embargo upon the commerce of the United States vastly more rigid and disastrous than any that the combined nations of Europe could enforce by war. So that either Congress must obtain and exercise an effective control over the State roads, or else it will be found sooner or later to have but little if any actual power over interstate commerce, or any real ability to protect the people against the piracy of the railways.

The great puzzle in the railway problem has always been the one created by the double or divided jurisdiction of the nation and of the States, and by this ability of State roads to refuse to convert State traffic into interstate commerce. It is the jurisdictional puzzle—one which all men must concede as a potent and perplexing factor in practical legislation. When so grave a difficulty really exists, and one as to which the best men may honestly and fairly differ, it is quite certain that the railway corporations, with their exhaustless wealth and brains, and through their lawyers, writers, and secret agents, will intensify the trouble and exert every effort to prevent the enactment of laws that would subordinate them to a controlling power.

The bill proposes a solution of this jurisdictional difficulty. It is based upon these propositions:

That a State can not authorize a railroad company to carry interstate commerce.

That Congress alone can grant this authority.

That in making such a grant to a State company Congress may require, as a condition precedent, that the company shall agree to waive all rights as against the jurisdiction of the United States which it might otherwise possess, and to concede and accept the plenary power of Congress over it as a carrier of interstate commerce during its public engagement to so carry.

And that, by such agreement upon the part of a State company, Congress may acquire and exercise over State roads whatever control it shall deem necessary or expedient for the general welfare.

It will be observed that the foundation of the bill, so far as it relates to State companies, is simply that of an ordinary contract between two parties. The constitutional power of Congress to regulate commerce has nothing to do with this contract one way or another, except in so far as it compels the company to obtain from Congress the legal authority to carry. The transaction is merely the grant of a privilege for a consideration, exactly as is a grant of money for the building of a ship. It only comes within those rules that apply to ordinary contracts between individuals, and is not in the least affected by the character or degree of the power of Congress over commerce; not a bit more than is a contract to erect a public building; and in this respect the basis of the bill differs from that of the act of 1887.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the expediency of acquiring jurisdiction over State roads by this method, there will be none as to the legal correctness of the above propositions.

That a State has no power whatever to authorize a railroad to carry interstate commerce would be true even if the Constitution had not assigned this power to Congress. Take the broadest view of a State's sovereignty, and concede its power over commerce within its borders to be plenary and absolute, still the scope of that power is bounded by the lines of its territory. Assume that Kansas had supreme authority over all freight upon its soil, evidently Missouri and Colorado would possess equal sovereignty in their territory. Undoubtedly Kansas may charter a company to built a road from Wallace to Kansas City, but it can not authorize it to built one in Missouri, having no jurisdiction in that State. Missouri may charter a company to build from St. Louis to Kansas City, and the rails might be only a tenth of an inch from those of the Kansas road, still neither State possesses the ability to cross the line between them. Each can go to it, but neither can go beyond it. The whole power of a State, be its sovereignty what it may, is cut off squarely and completely by this line.

Hence it can not have any power over persons or property beyond the line, because these are subject to another State. Suppose that the Constitution did not exist, and that the States held the same relation to each other that great nations hold. In that event could Kansas, by its own right, cross into Missouri and take persons and property out of it, or put other persons and property into it? By its own right could it possibly have any legal relation to or any control whatever over commerce in Missouri? The most that Kansas might do, either then or now, would be to permit the entrance of Missouri commerce, but it could not itself cross the line and transfer such commerce. Its ability as an independent sovereignty must terminate with its territory. Hence if it possesses any other ability, as one of the United States, such ability must be conferred by the Constitution. But it expressly vests in Congress plenary power over interstate commerce, and by so doing prohibits it to the States; so that neither as a natural sovereign nor as a member of the nation can a State possess any power over such commerce.

And what a State can not itself perform it can not authorize another to perform. It can not give a thing which it does not possess. It can not empower a company to cross the line or to handle interstate traffic. The ability of a road chartered by a State stops and ceases with the jurisdiction of the State. So that, as a legal truth, no State road can or does obtain by its charter the power, the *vires*, either to carry into another State or to receive commerce therefrom. Nor does any State charter in fact contain a grant of that authority. Yet the whole ability possessed by a corporation is precisely such and such only as the charter gives. That charter is the full measure of its powers. In Thomas *vs.* Railroad Company, 101 United States, 81, Justice Miller held that—

> The powers of a corporation organized under a legislative charter are only such as the statute confers; and the enumeration of them implies the exclusion sion of all others.

He said:

> We take the general doctrine to be in this country, though there may be exceptional cases and some authorities to the contrary, that the powers of corporations organized under legislative statutes are such and such only as those statutes confer. Conceding the rule applicable to all statutes, that what is fairly implied is as much granted as what is expressed, it remains that the charter of a corporation is the measure of its powers, and that the enumeration of these powers implies the exclusion of all others.

Therefore a Kansas company must either obtain the legal ability to cross a State line elsewhere than from its charter or remain utterly devoid of such ability. Adjacent States can not grant it, for their ability is no greater than that of Kansas. They may, as an act of comity, authorize the company to transact business in their territory after it gets there. But from whom is it to obtain the ability to get there?

Just here the Constitution steps in. By its provisions a State line, though purely an imaginary one, is yet as real and masterful as is the sovereignty of the nation. Like the flag, it represents the authority of the United States as distinguished from that of a State. It represents "commerce among the several States" over which Congress is given plenary control, as distinct from that commerce in Kansas or Missouri over which its legislature has jurisdiction.

It is as a hidden wire intensely charged with the electric power of a mighty nation, across which nothing can pass without being flashed out of the sovereignty of a State and up into the exclusive sovereignty of the United States. The very act of passing freight over it, or of an agreement to pass freight over it, changes the traffic from State into interstate commerce. So that from Congress alone can a State road obtain, not merely the permission to cross the line, but, what is far more, the very strength itself by which alone the company becomes legally able either to cross or to carry interstate commerce. For this service, until Congress has breathed into the road the spirit of national life, the nation's *vires*, it is as dead and powerless as were the dry bones in Ezekiel's vision. In the recent case of Hamilton *vs.* Dillon, —— U. S. ——, Justice Bradley said:

> It is conceded that in many cases the power to make rules and regulations on a particular subject is a limited power, having respect to mode and form, and time and circumstances, and not to substance. But it also must be conceded that in other cases the power is much more extensive and substantial. Thus in the Constitution, the several powers "to regulate commerce," "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization," "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," are understood to give plenary control over those subjects. The power to regulate commerce has been held to include the power to suspend it (1 Kent, 432), and the power to make rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States has been held to include the power to legislate for and govern such territory, and establish governments therein. (4 Wheat., 423; Story Con., 1, 328.) The extensive effect given to these clauses is undoubtedly largely due to the character of the instrument and that of the donee of the powers, to wit, the legislature of the United States, to whom the grant of power means the grant of a branch of sovereignty. It shows, however, that the rule of construction depends, at least in some sort, upon the nature of the subject-matter. In the case before us the power of the Government to open and regulate commercial intercourse with the enemy was intended to be conferred upon the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. The power of regulation in such a case is to be taken in the broadest sense, and, in our judgment, includes the power to impose such conditions as the President and Secretary should see fit.

The proposition will not be disputed that, if Congress sees fit to make any grant to a State corporation of this ability to carry, it may pre-

scribe the conditions upon which alone so valuable a privilege shall be enjoyed. As the guardian of the public welfare and the trustee of the nation's power, Congress, being charged with the duty as well as the authority to regulate commerce, is under no conceivable obligation to impart to a few grasping adventurers, holding a charter from a State, the ability to fleece the whole people by carrying national traffic when they please, how they please, and upon such rates as they shall extort. It might confer this privilege upon certain roads, and refuse it to others, as it does a mail contract. It might demand heavy bonds and impose criminal penalties, or charge a royalty, or fix the rates, or prohibit discriminations of every sort, or require competition between all such carriers. I am not discussing the expediency of certain conditions, but the power of Congress to affix any condition at all. It clearly has this authority; because the ability to make a grant is also the ability to refuse to make it, or to make it in whole or in part, or with or without conditions.

And in this case the privilege to be granted is one of incalculable value to the roads and interest to the people. Its possession by a single corporation would speedily enable it to control every road on the continent and to acquire a fortune the greatness of which is beyond finite comprehension. To say that the people's trustee must bestow such a privilege—a very Aladdin's lamp—upon a few individuals, without conditions, without safeguards, without requirement for the performance of duties, is to be guilty of an impertinence so lofty and an arrogance so sublime that only a corporation attorney can attain thereunto.

The authority to prescribe any condition makes Congress the sole judge as to the object, character, or expediency of the terms upon which it will make the grant.

It may have as an object the raising of national revenues, regularity of service, cheapening of rates, or the removal of all legal doubts as to its jurisdiction; and it certainly may adapt the conditions to accomplish the object. So that by this method it may properly and fully obtain a control over the deeds of State companies, which, under the commerce clause alone, it might not so clearly exercise, if at all. Thus it could prevent the gross evil of an ultimate ownership of all anthracite coal mines by a few State roads, by saying to the Reading and all other companies, "It is immaterial whether our commerce power extends so far as to warrant us in prohibiting you from mining coal in Pennsylvania. But we alone can authorize you to carry national commerce, a business worth millions of dollars annually. You can only have this authority upon the condition that you will neither directly nor indirectly engage in any business except the strict and legitimate business of a railroad company as such."

There would be neither hardship nor duress in the case, because the Reading has no possible claim upon Congress for a grant of the privilege. It is one which Congress may make or refuse at will, and one which the Reading may freely accept or reject. The question of profit between the interstate traffic without mining, and mining without that traffic, would solely determine its action and be the consideration. The question of protecting labor in the mine, and protecting the pockets of those who use anthracite would be the consideration to Congress. Each party has something which the other wants, and they trade or not at will. The transaction would be as free, fair, and proper as any business dealing between individuals can possibly be.

In 1866, by the act "to facilitate communication among the States," Congress granted, without conditions, the authority to all railroad companies to carry interstate traffic; and under it they have ever since derived and exercised their legal ability so to do. The State roads are therefore barred, by a practice of almost a quarter century, from now disputing either the authority of the United States to make the grant, or the equity of exercising the authority. It provided that "Congress may, at any time, alter, amend, or repeal this act." So that whatever rights or benefits the roads have acquired under it, they took and hold with full notice of modification or withdrawal "at any time." Hence they neither have nor can have any "vested" rights in or under the act, or any just ground for complaint, if Congress, in order to protect the public, shall now amend it by prescribing conditions. The words of the late Chief-Justice Waite are exactly to the point. In the celebrated Granger case, 94 United States, 124, he said:

> But a mere common-law regulation of trade or business may be changed by statute. A person has no property, no vested interest in any rule of common law. That is only one of the forms of municipal law, and is no more sacred than any other. Rights of property which have been created by the common law can not be taken away without due process; but the law itself, as a rule of conduct, may be changed at the will or even at the whim of the legislature, unless prevented by constitutional limitations. Indeed, the great office of statutes is to remedy defects in the common law as they are developed and to adapt it to the changes of time and circumstances. To limit the rate of charge for services rendered in a public employment or for the use of property in which the public has an interest is only changing a regulation which existed before. It establishes no new principle in the law, but only gives a new effect to the old one.

The bill modifies the grant by prescribing certain conditions, and so amends the act of 1866 as to restrict its privileges to those companies alone which accept the conditions.

It is not my present purpose to discuss these conditions either as to their character, necessity, or advantage to the public, except as legal propositions. Suffice it to say that they have been vigorously denounced by corporation papers as demagogical, as grossly unjust to the roads, and generally unrighteous! To the best of my belief, and as the author of the bill, I aver that every one of its material propositions is to-day either the common law of England and America, or else a fair application of its established principles; and as such has been judiciously affirmed by our highest courts, and is so declared by the standard legal text-books. From this statement I of course except provisions that are amendatory, or that relate to machinery of execution and matters of that sort. There can not be a wider difference than that which exists between American railway law as it really is and the practice of American railways, and those who deduce their opinions as to the former from the latter will be sadly deceived.

The bill is simply a statement of the substance of railway law in the United States to-day. And before Wall-street editors can show its injustice they must first show the injustice of that common law under which alone the roads were built and have always been operated, and also of those great principles of righteousness which have been accepted by all civilized nations since the days of Moses. It will puzzle them to do it. Righteousness is not their specialty. And they can not do it at all by simply making faces and spluttering. Illustrating by the words last quoted respecting the "office of statutes," the aim of the bill is not "to remedy the defects" in the common law, but rather to condense and embody its leading principles in a single statute, with such specific application as is fairly required "by the change of circumstances" during half a century.

The great and important difference between the bill and the common law is that it provides a surer remedy and a speedier mode of enforcement, through the Interstate Commission and by summary action of the courts, than is possible under existing law. This fact is the strong argument in its favor, and the imperative necessity for its enactment. At present no officer of the United States or of any State, I think, is charged with the duty of setting in motion the legal machinery that compels a performance of duty by the roads or punishes a violation of obligation. When train-service is suspended, though for months, what officer or agent of the United States is required to start the law? Even Congress can only "investigate" through committees practically without power to compel testimony. What is nobody's especial business is never done.

Private citizens, particularly if engaged in business, can not afford the expense or consequences of litigation with rich and revengeful corporations. And, as a fact, the common law is never enforced against the roads, except when one fights another. Practically there is no law governing them, because there is no enforcement of law. A dead statute is no statute. So that those provisions of the bill which empower and require the commission to enforce the law and which prescribe penalties, really make just the difference between actual law and no law at all for American railways. And it is exactly this fact which so "harrows up" the corporation soul and causes their paid shriekers to howl. All criminals oppose the execution of law.

Will any one show why the railroads should virtually be free from law or practically above law? Is their business, conduct, or temptation of such character and relation to the people as to warrant the absence of legal restraint? The question provokes a smile, but it is not ironical.

In 1830 there were but 23 miles of railway in the United States. To-day there are 150,000 miles. The companies have an alleged investment of $8,000,000,000, of which probably one-third is a bookkeeper's juggle and another third is certainly a weeping and watery lie. They collect from the people about $900,000,000 annually, or a sum almost equal to the public debt, and they kill or wound an average of five persons a day. Their net earnings are about $300,000,000, or a greater sum than the annual appropriation bills passed by Congress.

They are the dominant, corrupting, and fateful power in American business circles, politics, legislation, and courts. They respect nothing but superior strength, are governed by nothing but self-will, and are as dead as Shylock to the simplest notions of humanity and of the public welfare. What is a soul in man is in them a griping ache of greed, a convulsive spasm of avarice, and their god is gold! They habitually violate both national and State laws and pitilessly trample upon justice; but Wall street alone takes public notice of their crimes, which year after year remain unpunished and unprevented.

In view of their opportunities, power, and rapacity, is it not a little singular, perhaps mysterious, that while we have in twenty-five great volumes national statutes providing minutely for the government of almost everybody else and thing, yet there is not a single United States statute for the government of railways, except the negative and partially prohibitory one of last year? Probably this bill is the first affirmative proposition to define their duties or to enforce their obligations. Only in recent years have the States begun to legislate upon parts of the general subject, and then but in a negative way with an air-brake attachment controlled by a commission.

For these mighty and combined corporations, for this enormous commerce that springs out of every village and moves as broadly and ceaselessly across the continent as do the clouds, you have nothing but the common-law rulings and processes that governed wagoners and stages in England centuries ago!

The mere statement of the fact is startling. Everybody realizes the

necessity of statutory and enforced law over the roads, and the wonder arises whether it can now be enacted against their influence. Is it too late?

A potent reason for the adoption of the bill also exists in the fact that American railway law has been made by the courts, and in some instances by corporation judges, rather than by Congress or a Legislature. Sixty years ago there was no occasion for such law, because no railways. When these came they simply took the place of country roads, turnpikes, and canals as public highways for the transportation of travel and traffic. Necessarily they were built and operated under the common law relating to highways and carriers.

Being an agency distinctively different from any before known, new and doubtful questions arose that often required prompt action. Naturally the parties resorted to the courts. So that these questions, instead of receiving settlement by the Legislature, were determined by the courts, which extended or applied the established principles of common law, as the peculiarities of the new agency or the rights of the public required. Hence our railway law to-day is substantially a growth and bundle of judicial decisions, and not at all a legislative enactment. It is common as distinct from statutory law.

This very fact challenges attention, because it is a gross neglect or abnegation by Congress of its constitutional duty. The power to make laws is prohibited to the courts by being expressly vested in Congress. That the courts, in the absence of statutes, should enforce common law is eminently proper and vital; but this does not relieve Congress. And that it, during a half century teeming and bristling with developments, should suffer the courts to really make the specific law now governing a system so immense and a service so fateful to the Republic as is that of our railways, was simply a gross dereliction of duty. There was no excuse for it and certainly is none for its continuance. If nothing more be done, surely it is high time that the essence of the widespread and cumbersome mass of varying judicial decisions be at least embodied in a precise statute, and that specific penalties be imposed.

And in determining what that statute shall be Congress is no more to be bound by these decisions, made in the absence of statutes and under common law, than it is by those of England two hundred years ago. Circumstances have changed. Competition is giving way to unified combination, and equity to rapacity. Forces more cyclonic and dangers more vengeful than any known to American history sweep up and spread as a black cloud in the heavens. Upon Congress rests the responsibility and duty of making the law what it ought to be, irrespective of any opinion which a corporation judge may have twisted out of vague common law for the protection in a particular case of a master behind the bench. It might well happen that a statute enacted by the agents of the people and for the protection of the people, should be quite different from a web of decisions virtually spun by the corporations acting through judicial weavers. That the great majority of our judges are pure, upright, and free from corporation influence I have no possible doubt, and gladly say so. Their decisions amply prove both personal integrity and learning. But that others were under this baneful influence I have equally no doubt; the decisions justify it. And I now say so for the purpose of emphasizing the necessity that when taking current railway law as a standard of judgment we should ever remember how it was formed, and the interest of the corporations in its formation, should be always on guard against a judicial exercise of their power and be swift to strike its effects from existing law. The true question for Congress to decide is not what the courts have held in the absence of statutes, nor what a particular decision may have been, nor what *obiter dicta* may have been injected, but is, what do the necessities of to-day and of the future, the welfare of the people, and the safety of the Republic demand that American railway law ought to be? That is the point.

The question may fairly be asked: Since the jurisdiction of the bill depends upon a voluntary acceptance by the State companies of the amended act of 1866, and since the conditions embodied might be distasteful to them, why would they not refuse their consent; and if they did, what would be the situation?

They would not decline, for three controlling reasons: First, they would have everything to gain by accepting, and second, everything to lose by rejecting the amended law; and third, its enactment would have so changed the present posture of affairs that they dare not decline.

First. Prior to acceptance they could not carry a dollars' worth of interstate travel or traffic, the penalties being amply sufficient to prevent them. They would see that the bill only required a regular performance of their charter duties and a faithful execution of existing obligations. Also, that the profits of their business wholly depend upon exactly the same things. It is their true financial and corporate interest to do daily precisely what it says they shall do. Their own pockets demand everything that it demands. Suppose that the Erie accepted and the Pennsylvania declined? The former would increase its business and profits, say, to the extent that the latter lost national traffic. It would enlarge its territory, multiply the value of tonnage, rapidly increase its wealth, and expand its power; while the latter would contract, sicken, and soon be captured by the former. Or suppose a combination of all trunk lines should be mooted, but that one of them, being heartily willing as well as able to perform all its duties regularly, should realize the advantage of carrying the whole national traffic; would it join the "combine," or accept the act? It would take the traffic! But an acceptance by one would compel an acceptance by all.

Second. Suppose, however, that a perfect combination of all the railroads in the United States were effected, then what would be the situation? The State roads would be amenable to their own Legislature, and so far as the bill is concerned might continue to haul State freight. Those chartered by the United States, as were the Pacifics, would be directly responsible to Congress under statutory law. Those operating a road in more than one State would be subject to the constitutional power of the United States, and to prosecution by it both under that authority and under common law. Hence all of them, except for the present the State roads, would face a legal conflict with a government able to bear the expense, and to enforce the decrees of its courts, as to the nature of which decrees no lawyer could entertain a doubt. In addition, they would face the certainty of national legislation compelling their service as interstate carriers.

Section 7 of the act of 1887 prohibits combinations to prevent the continuous carriage of freight from place of shipment to place of destination, under penalty; and all roads are subject to the act. Say that a car from Chicago to New York reached the Pittsburgh depot. If the Pennsylvania, as a State road, declined to receive it, the commission would secure summary action by United States courts enforcing the act of 1887 and backed by a nation. At the same time the company would be on trial by the State court, as a common carrier, for refusing Pennsylvania freight destined to another State, and would be before the Legislature to save its charter from forfeiture for abuser or non-user. Every railroad in America would jeopardize its charter by refusing interstate freight.

The alternatives, then, that would present themselves to all the companies would be these: On the right, steady business, regular profits, peace, and a clear conscience, as a reward for the performance of charter obligation; on the left, loss of business, shrinkage of profits, shriveling of stocks, bonds, and property, legal and legislative war with the United States, forfeiture of charters by the State, and the deserved fate and remorse of a criminal. And in the event of forfeiture, as was long ago decided by the supreme court of Pennsylvania, the road would remain just where, what, and as it always was—a public highway; and the franchise of operating it would either be directly exercised by the State through a receiver, or indirectly by another corporation, to whom the Legislature would grant that franchise by the same power that the original grant was made.

Perhaps this eminent court in 1856 was as disinterested and learned in the law as is the average railroad attorney of to-day; and perhaps Judge Jeremiah Black, as a writer of English, forging great truths into terse sentences, like an intellectual trip-hammer, might at least equal a Wall-street editor. A sample is appended, which contains the essence of corporation law on the matter of forfeiture. So that having everything to gain by consenting, and everything to lose by rejecting, the roads would accept the amended act of 1866. But neither their wishes nor course should be in the least regarded by Congress in prescribing the conditions embodied. The design of law is not to please offenders, but to restrain them, and by so doing to protect the public.

Third. The enactment of the bill would thus squarely have raised the issue between the power of the United States to enforce law and the ability of the railways to evade law. On the one side would be the National and State Legislatures and courts, vigorously upheld by an intent and resolute people; on the other a handful of directors and salaried officials, dependent upon the will of stockholders whose capital was tottering on the brink of a precipice. And the sole issue at controversy would be whether the roads should submit to executed law. The corporations would then vividly realize what now they forget in the pride of their leaping power, namely, that everything they have, enjoy, or can do, hangs like a plummet to its cord, upon law alone; and that law derives its strength solely from the will and obedience of a great people. They would then realize what they ought to realize now, that not a rail, car, stock, bond, or charter has any security whatever save from the public will as expressed in law, and chiefly from that tender homage and reverence which radiates from the glowing hearts of our liberty-loving millions as does the light from the sun.

These men, too, have rights—a right to business, to profits, to property and power; and necessarily their individual interests differ and clash. Yet each man yields to the law as being the standard and embodiment of the public good, and *en masse* they uphold and enforce the law. And when the issue was squarely made as to whether the corporations should obey the law, every musket in America would of itself jump into serried and countless ranks were there need. The cowardice of the corporations is only equaled by their arrogance. They are brave in spending other people's money in hiring detectives to hound a brakeman or miner—he is poor and defenseless. But let their presidents face a criminal trial leading to a felon's cell, and a rabbit before a pointer would not be a comparison. There is not a corporation in America that would dare to reject the amended act.

It is strange that the capitalists who control roads and especially the men who manage them do not see the inevitable result of their

present methods, and that ultimate security can only be afforded by the enactment of such a law as this bill. They are their own worst enemies and as blind to their surroundings as is an oyster to the ocean. By their habitual violations of law; by respecting it only where they can use it as a cat's paw in snatching a chestnut from the fire; by doing through their own rifles in the hands of Pinkerton under their pay, that which the State alone through its officers or militia has the right to do in enforcing law; by corrruptly influencing elections and Legislatures, State and national, for the express purpose of preventing the enactment of laws restraining their own license; by malignant efforts to bull-doze men whose duty it is to make or enforce law, but who neither shield corporation rotteness nor fear their power; by prostituting the press when they can; by gagging with threats of vengeance merchants and shippers; by wrenching out of the traffic all that it will bear, in pitiless disregard of the right of the farmer and mechanic to the profit of his labor; by weary years, each more crowded than its predecessor with their evasions, trangressions, and contempt for law, the corporations are not only destroying law, but what is far worse, that respect and homage of the masses which are the very strength and life of law.

They are chafing the cord on which alone hang their franchises, profits, and existence. By greed and grind they are arousing and enraging, not merely a few employés in the grip of their power, but the millions of a continent, whose power is that of a cyclone. No other people are so patient, so long-suffering, so slow to avenge; but when they do strike it is as swiftly and surely as the lightning from God's clouds.

If Wall street wants a whole year of Black Fridays and the silence of a tomb it can be accommodated. Colossal rascalities are not the pride of the American masses; nor is a plea of the statute of limitations in bar of a fair trial the jewel of American honor. Corporations have power—terrible power—but it is only as a dew drop to an ocean compared with that of the whole people. This bill is simply a proposition to exert that power in a salutary and constitutional way over the corporations. It is reasonable, fair, just, and imperatively demanded by the public welfare. It raises the square issue between railways without or above law, and railways controlled by law. They can pass it, perhaps they can defeat it; but some day they will be curbed and subjected, as are all other persons, by the public will. It may be through a statute simply embodying existing common law, or it may be through the lightning's flash and the cyclone's sweep—but it will be.

[Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Erie and Northeast Railroad Company vs. Casey, 26 Pennsylvania State Report, 307.]

Black, J. Contracts between the State and corporate bodies can not be implied from anything but plain words; and those words must be spoken by the General Assembly, and enrolled in solemn form among its acts. * * *

The charter was repealed at the last session of the Legislature, and the governor was authorized to appoint some qualified person to take charge of the road which the company had built, and keep it in good running order and repair for the use of the public.

The authority given by the act of October, 1855, to the defendant to take possession of the railroad is asserted by the plaintiffs to be an act of confiscation—a taking of private property for public use without compensation. If this be true, the injunction ought to be awarded; for no legislature can do such a thing under our constitution. When a corporation is dissolved by a repeal of its charter, the Legislature may appoint, or authorize the governor to appoint a person to take charge of its assets for the use of the creditors and stockholders; and this is not confiscation, any more than it is confiscation to appoint an administrator to a dead man, or a committee for a lunatic. But money or goods or lands, which are or were the private property of a defunct corporation, can not be arbitrarily seized for the use of the State without compensation paid or provided for.

This act, however, takes nothing but the road. Is that private property? Certainly not. It is a public highway, solemnly devoted by law to the public use. When the lands were taken to build on they were taken for the public use; otherwise they could not have been taken at all. It is true the plaintiffs had a right to take tolls from all who traveled or carried freight on it, according to certain rates fixed in its charter, but that was a mere franchise, a privilege derived entirely from the charter, and it was gone when the charter was repealed.

The State may grant to a corporation, or to an individual, the franchise of taking tolls on any highway, opened or to be opened, whether it be a railroad or river, canal or bridge, turnpike or common road. When the franchise ceases by its own limitation, by forfeiture, or by repeal, the highway is thrown back on the hands of the State, and it becomes her duty, as the sovereign guardian of the public right and interest, to take care of it. She may renew the franchise, give it to some other person, exercise it herself, or declare the highway open and free to all the people.

If the railway itself were the private property of the stockholders, then it remains theirs, and they may use it without a charter as other people use their own, run it on their own account, charge what toll they please, close it or open it when they think proper, disregard every interest except their own. The repeal of charters on such terms would be courted by every railroad company in the State, for it would have no effect but to emancipate them from the control of law and convert their limited privileges into broad, unbounded license. On this principle a corporation might be rewarded but never punished for misconduct. Repeal of its charter instead of bringing it to a shameful end would put "length of days in its right hand and in its left hand riches and honor."

But it is not so. Railroads made by the authority of the commonweaith upon land taken under her right of eminent domain, and established by her laws as thoroughfares for the commerce that passes through her borders, are her highways. No corporation has any property in them, though corporations may have franchises annexed to and exercisable within them.

Such a franchise the plaintiffs had, but they have it no longer. The right to take toll on a road is an incorporeal hereditament, which may be granted to a corporation or to an individual, and the grantee has an estate in the franchise. But what estate? The estate endures forever if the charter be perpetual; for years if it be given for a limited period, and at will if it be repealable at the pleasure of the Legislature. This corporation, after its privileges were abused, had an estate at will, and the Commonwealth chose to demand repossession. That terminated the estate as completely as an estate for years would be terminated after the expiration of the term. The grant was exhausted, the corporation lived its time out. Its lease of life was expressly limited, at the day of its creation, to the period when the Legislature should dissolve it for misconduct. When the legislative will was spoken its hour had come.

Having no right to keep the franchises any longer, it would be absurd to claim compensation for taking them away. To say that the stockholders have a right to compensation for the franchises because they are wrongfully taken, and that they were wrongfully taken because they have a right to compensation, would be reasoning in a very vicious circle. If the stockholders had a right to retain the franchises the charter could not be repealed at all, with or without compensation. If they had no right to retain them, they have no claim to compensation.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. H. MARTIN,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 8, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. MARTIN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is with great diffidence that I rise to address the House this evening, but this is an occasion fraught with interest, coupled with the seriousness of the question now under consideration—a question which involves the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the Government. The question of a revision of our tariff system is one that necessarily requires close and careful study.

It is a broad and important question, which I approach with hesitation. I trust I may be pardoned for trespassing upon the time and patience of the House in attempting to speak on a subject where so many interests are involved.

This is the first time I have had the honor of addressing this body. I am free to confess I am not sufficiently equipped with information to discuss before this House the great tariff question, which has been the subject for consideration by some of the most learned and able men of this generation. This is a new place and a new situation for me. I am not schooled in the arts of oratory, and have had limited experience in the halls of legislation. Strange as these surroundings may be to me, I have the same right as others whose faces are familiar to these walls, made so by years of service in this Chamber. I owe it to myself and to my constituents who have honored me with a seat upon this floor to give my voice and vote in support of this bill, which in my humble opinion is for the benefit of the people whom I represent.

I am a member of that party which has always advocated the principles of reform, and to relieve the oppressed and overtaxed millions of laboring men and women of this grand and growing Republic. My allegiance to the party under whose banner I am proud to march tells me I must do what I can to bring about that reform in the tariff system to which the Democratic party stands pledged to the sixty millions of American people. I am for the passage of the bill under discussion, commonly known as the Mills bill, because it is Democratic, and I believe it to be right! [Applause.] I have no apology to make for the position I take upon this matter. I do it from a conviction of duty and right, and no matter who may say so, my vote for this bill is not a vote to cripple any of the "infant industries" of this country. [Applause.]

An industry that can not prosper with as high a rate of duty as is authorized by this bill ought to be abandoned. In his message to Congress President Cleveland struck the key-note of future prosperity and sounded the death-knell of a robber protective tariff, by which the manufacturer is made richer and the grand army of laboring people reduced year by year to poverty and almost starvation.

Who does protection protect? Not the farmer; nor the man or woman in the factory; not the plow-boy nor the bricklayer; not the man at the forge nor the woman at the loom. I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, who it protects. It protects the rich; it protects the manufacturer, whose millions are made by the sweat and muscle of the laboring people, who bear the burden of taxation and to whom we must all look for the further perpetuity of this Union. The man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow is, in my opinion, the grandest work of God. He is honest, he is fearless, and he is brave.

Who is it that has been here for months swarming about the halls and corridors of this Chamber asking for protection, asking that the robber tariff be continued as one of the perpetual institutions of this Government? Has it been the farmer with his plow-shoes hammered full of hobnails, dignified by the virgin soil upon his hands, whose tread we have heard upon the marble floors of this Capitol? Has it been the artisan from the workshops and manufactories, with oil and grease upon his clothing, deep furrows upon his brow, bearing the sign of years of labor, weighted down by the tax of protective tariff on almost everything he consumes? I ask my Republican friends if they have seen any of this class attempting to batter down the doors of Congress that protection may live. May I ask the gentlemen upon the other side of the House if they would know this class if they chance to meet them?

From the manner in which their interests are neglected and trampled under foot by the other side of this House I doubt exceedingly if a delegation of these honest and toiling people were to be met in the middle of Pennsylvania avenue by the entire Republican membership of this body, with brass bands in the front and banners in the rear, there would not be one of you who would know, without inquiring from this side of the House, who and what this strange body of people were and from whence they came. [Applause.]

No, we have seen none of this class here. Their voices were heard in the great battle fought in November, 1886, when they sent their representatives to this floor instructed by the voice of their toiling millions to reduce taxation on all the necessaries of life. In the battle to be waged this year there will come a charge from the great body of working people which will be made on the second Tuesday of next November, and so terrific will it be in its force that you protectionists will fall before it like grass before the scythe.

The day of the protectionist is fast drawing to a close. We are entering upon a new epoch in the history of our country.

Mr. Chairman, I will tell my Republican friends who have been from the day Congress convened until the present hour asking for the continuance of the protective tariff system. You all know him well, you have smoked his three for a dollar cigars and drank his sparkling champagne. You have felt the touch of his soft, velvety hand and seen him drive from one end of the avenue to the other in his satin-lined carriages and English dog-carts drawn by bang-tailed horses, driven by swell young men who for style, pomp, and glory rival the choicest selection of modern dude. This is the class of men we bump up against and fall over from day to day in and about the corridors of this building. Men who have grown rich by protection, who think this Government was established for their particular benefit. This is the manufacturer who says "Give us protection or down goes your infant industries."

A system of protection which protects the few at the expense of the many is a species of class legislation which is a blot upon the fair name of American liberty. It is a fraud and a farce, and has served to encourage and build up an aristocracy more dangerous than that which has so long disgraced the history of the Old World.

From the official report I find the revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887—

amounted to $371,403,277.66, while our expenditures for the same time, including interest and sinking fund for the public debt, amounted to $315,835,428.12; leaving a surplus of $55,567,849.54 over and above all requirements for current expenditure. The receipts for the current year up to March 1 amounted to $253,905,890, and the estimates for the remaining four months are $136,094,110; making total receipts for the year $390,000,000. The expenditures for the current year to March 1 amount to $180,594,915, and the estimates of expenditure for the remaining four months amount to $129,405,085, making a total of expenditures of $309,000,000; leaving a surplus of $81,000,000.

The bill now under discussion reduces in general the rates of taxation. It reduces the amount of tariff on articles upon which the tariff is assessed. The law upon which the Republican party is standing embraces in its schedule 2,000 articles. Among those 2,000 articles there are between 175 and 200 which pay a higher tax than the remaining 1,800; but these 1,800 articles, bearing a lighter measure of taxation, are those consumed by the wealthy. Among those other articles upon which the heavier taxation falls there are embraced many necessaries of life which must be purchased for the purpose of consumption by the humbler and harder-working classes of the country.

The bill reported by the Ways and Means Committee places most of these articles of necessity upon the free-list. This is done in the interest of labor, for the protection of the poor. While many of these articles are by this bill placed upon the free-list, most of the articles are reduced as to the amount of tariff imposed. Why is this? It is for the purpose of meeting the exigencies of the times. Had I the power I would apply the ax to the root of the tree. I would permit each State to arrange its own commerce and its own taxes. But I am not in the forum where it would be proper to advocate a policy of that character.

But, sir, under our system protection creates different classes among the people. We live in a free and enlightened land, where classes and distinctions are by such systems of taxation encouraged.

The total amount of the surplus in the Treasury on the 1st of next July will, it is estimated, exceed the sum of $150,000,000. These are immense sums of money to be drawn from the people in the shape of taxes, and of which the farmers of this country pay a very large percentage.

Day by day, week by week, month by month, and year by year the circulating medium of the country through this system of excessive taxation is being drawn from the people—from the channels of trade—until there is not enough money in circulation with which to carry on the legitimate business of the country. The doors of the Treasury are fairly bulging out and breaking from their hinges, so great has become the surplus—the money of the people drawn from their pockets through this infernal system of taxation known as "protection." A Government like ours should tax its people for the purpose of raising revenue sufficient to carry on the expenses of the Government, but no more. What right has the Government to take from its people the circulating medium, which is the property of the people, and lock it up in the vaults of the Treasury, where it remains idle, and neither the people nor the Government is made the beneficiary?

What is the result of this? A stagnation in business resulting in failure after failure, to be followed with bankruptcy, ruin, and general demoralized condition of commercial affairs. This is what our system of protection is doing. There is no longer any use of disguising the fact that a financial crisis is staring us in the face, and I predict now that unless the burden of unjust taxation is lifted from the people it will come only too soon.

The passage of the Mills bill will do much to avert the coming danger, unless the crisis is so nearly arrived that there is no escape. As I have already stated, the bill under discussion reduces the whole tariff schedule, and at the same time provides sufficient revenue for an economical administration of public affairs. No calamity can follow its adoption. All classes will be treated alike and every avenue of trade will be fairly dealt with. There will be no injury to commerce and no injustice done to any citizen in any part of this great Republic.

I am opposed to the protection policy of our Government. It is an enemy of the people who toil. It takes from them what is justly theirs and places it in the pockets of the rich and favored few, who flourish in splendor because the laboring people, who constitute the great majority of consumers, must by the system of protection pay tribute to the aristocratic manufacturer.

The policy of protection as advocated by the Republican party is a menace to the progress and prosperity of the millions of farmers and other laborers from one end of the country to the other.

I come from one of the richest agricultural districts in the great State of Texas. I know, as all must know who are the least familiar with the customs and hardships of those who dig from the soil the products of the country, that they are unjustly taxed. I am myself a farmer and know whereof I speak.

Who of all the people in this Republic are more industrious than the farmer? Who contributes more to the support of the Government? And yet who derives less benefit from its national council? They work both early and late. It is true their ways may be simple and their wants few, yet the necessary articles for their consumption are precisely the same as those who are blessed with the smiles of fortune and live in affluence and luxury.

There are few articles of necessary consumption which the people of my district are compelled to have and do have that are not subject to taxation under the present system of protective tariff. There is little if any quality of clothing which is not taxed. The cost of almost every article which goes to make up the various pieces of machinery and implements with which to cultivate and carry on the farm, is increased because of protective-tariff taxation.

Every mowing-machine, plow, wheat-drill, cultivator, wagon, buggy, trace-chain, harrow, ax, ax-handle, hoe, hoe-handle, and hundreds of other necessary articles are found stamped thereon the mark of protection. Is there any wonder why the great majority of people are complaining and threaten to rise in just indignation while laboring under the burden of the protective-tariff policy? The people are looking to you and to me as members of this Congress to furnish them the necessary relief, and if we do not give it to them they will send Representatives here who will.

The farmer is confronted with innumerable obstacles which make his path the harder to travel. There is hardly a State in the Union, and particularly in the West and South, where farm lands have not depreciated from 30 to 50 per cent. within the last ten years.

It matters little how much improvement may be placed upon the lands by the farmer, the land year by year depreciates in value. As the land depreciates taxes increase. It is said there are but two things in this world of which we are absolutely certain. One is death and the other is taxation, and taxation seems to be more certain than death, at least it comes more often. [Applause.]

Almost every article consumed by the farmer is taxed, while that which he produces is not taxed.

The heaviest of protection is imposed upon the poor man. It is not the poor man of Germany, it is not the poor man of England, it is not the poor man of Denmark, it is not the poor man of France, but it is the poor man in your own midst upon whom you set the heaviest weight for the purpose of your protection. [Applause.]

While the lands of the farmer are depreciating in value, as is also his hogs, his cattle, and his sheep, taxation grows higher and higher until it takes about all he produces with which to pay taxes and keep out of the clutches of the sheriff, whose duty it is to sell him out when he becomes delinquent in the payment of his taxes.

What is the condition of the landed interests? I mean the small farms of the poor man. Go to Iowa, to Kansas, to Michigan—in fact, to any of the States of the West and South. Money is scarce; farmers scarcely able to run their farms without assistance. Does the assistance come from the enormous surplus in the Treasury? No; it comes from the banker who lends money well secured for as high a rate of interest as he can get.

The farmer gets his assistance, but how often is it but temporary, to be swallowed up finally by the banker, who has become his creditor, and in a little while all is gone.

Take, for instance, a man who owns a small farm which, according to

the last assessment, was valued at $1,000. The farmer has gotten in debt, and there are thousands of ways by which this may happen without any fault of the frugal farmer. He has a wife and two or three children. Perhaps sickness, followed by death of one of the dear little children, has visited the quiet little home of the industrious farmer. The family physician, who has been daily in attendance upon the sick one from the day that disease became apparent until death laid its icy hand upon the sufferer, is soon at the door of the humble farmer asking that he be paid for his services. Later comes the undertaker, who too must be paid promptly. The doctor's bill and funeral expenses are paid, and upon every dose of medicine given to the sick child there is a protective-tariff taxation. On the plain little coffin in which is incased the remains of the pure and innocent child there is your protective-tariff taxation, every inch of it is plastered over with protection, and over one-half of the price paid for this unwilling purchase is chargeable to the cause of protection.

The system of protective-tariff taxation is about the first thing which greets the child on the day of its birth, and divides honors with the mother in its attention from the cradle to the grave. With these afflictions coming upon the farmer, the doctor's bill, the funeral expenses, the result is indebtedness which he can not clear himself from. He seeks assistance from the banker. With his heart full of woe, grief upon his face, and financial disaster threatening his ruin, he goes to the dignified and oftentimes haughty banker and humbly asks for assistance, with which he hopes to tide himself over the threatening storm. "I want to borrow some money," says the farmer.

"What security have you to offer?" replies the banker.

"I own a small farm which the assessor has valued at $1,000."

"Your farm is perhaps worth that much money, but you know it is not the custom of banks to lend money for any length of time; we prefer to lend it for sixty or ninety days. I do not want to buy your farm, but if you will show me the title, and if it is as you represent it, I think perhaps I can let you have four or five hundred dollars to be secured by a first mortgage."

The farmer, who needs money at once, sees no other way by which he can extricate himself from his financial difficulties.

"Yes," says the farmer, "I will 'pawn' my thousand-dollar home for $500, and agree to pay you all the interest you demand, and upon any terms you may indicate. I am in debt, and I must have money."

The title is examined, the mortgage executed, and the farm "pawned" for one year. The farmer goes to his home and pays the bills of the doctor and the undertaker, and thinks of his dead child who sleeps forever in the little country graveyard over the hill.

It is the spring-time; the plow of last year is worn out. He must have a new one. He goes to the nearest agricultural store and buys a new plow. It is just from the factory, and the steel of the share and mold-board glisten like bayonets in the sunlight. It is ironed from the tip of the beam to the gorgeously painted handles. There is not a spot in the entire structure that is not covered by protective-tariff taxation.

The wife and children want new clothes. They are taken to the country store and fitted out with clothing for the summer. Every article which is purchased to clothe their bodies from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet bears the imprint of protective-tariff taxation. The crop is about to be harvested; the old mowing-machine, which ought to have been in the scrap pile years ago, will not hold together any longer. A new one is necessary. Upon this, too, are the weights of protective-tariff taxation almost as heavy as the machine itself. The crop is harvested, the autumn is passed, and the blasts of winter wrap the little house and farm in the mantle of whiteness. The family must again be clothed with winter garments. Off to the merchant they are again taken and fitted out with shoes, hats, coats, shawls, and, in fact, everything necessary for wearing apparel, and upon these also is standing out in a most conspicuous place protective-tariff taxation.

Weighted down by these burdens the farmer goes through the dreary days of winter, and just when the flowers begin to bloom and the birds rattle their music to the rising sun, when all nature is jubilant, there comes driving up the road in a handsome carriage, drawn by thoroughbred horses, the banker, who halts at the gate leading to the little cottage, over which is entwined the vines of sadness and sorrow; for just one year ago there was borne away to the little "city of the dead" the precious form of a dead loved one. As the farmer sees the banker walking up from the road the past rises before him like a dream.

"You have not paid my interest," says the banker, "and I have been compelled to leave my business in the city and come out here for it."

"I know," replies the farmer, "that the interest has not been paid; but the truth is I have been unable to pay it. I have had so many things to purchase with which to carry on my farm, clothe my family, and keep the wolf from the door that I have not made the interest money. If you will let it run until I raise my crop I will pay you out of the first money I receive."

"I will consent to that," replies the banker, "providing you pay me a higher rate of interest; otherwise I will have to foreclose the mortgage."

"As I do not want to lose my little home, I will pay any rate of interest you may name."

The bargain is made, the usury exacted, and the banker drives proudly back to his city home, where luxury and splendor reign supreme.

The farmer harvests his crop, which, for illustration, is his wheat crop, which is drilled with a protective-tariff drill, reaped with a protective-tariff reaper, thrashed with a protective-tariff thrasher, measured with a protective-tariff half-bushel, placed in protective-tariff bagging, carried to market in a protective-tariff wagon, weighed on protective-tariff scales, carted into the mill on a protective-tariff truck, emptied into protective-tariff machinery, ground upon protective-tariff rollers, bolted upon protective-tariff cloths, packed by a protective-tariff packer into protective-tariff barrels, and last, but not least, the crop sold to a protective-tariff manufacturer. [Applause.]

It is doubtful if the amount received from the entire crop will be in excess of the amount the farmer has paid to protective-tariff taxation upon the machinery he was compelled to use in raising, harvesting, and taking the crop to market.

The interest, however, is paid upon the mortgage note, though the little family had to make the clothing of the year before do them the second season.

The second interest year comes around and the farmer is again delinquent. The rate of interest is again raised and he is given another year in which to meet the mortgage payment. The third year comes; the interest has been compounded until it almost equals the amount of the principal. It runs a fourth year, and all this time he has paid in protective-tariff taxation for his necessaries of life twice or three times the amount of the interest on the mortgage note. Weighted as he is under the tariff for protection, he sacrifices his little farm, the mortgage is foreclosed, the sale is made by the sheriff, and the little homestead that was loved so well passes into the hands of the banker.

The husband takes the wife and children, leads them from under the roof which has protected them from the storms of winter and heat of summer, out into the road—the public highway—when the wife and mother, with tears in her eyes, looking back through the vines and trees, taking the last farewell from the scenes of her happiest days, where love and devotion were kissed by every flower and blossom; with her heart almost breaking, looking up into the eyes of her brave and honest husband, exclaims, "What is this?"

"This, my dear," answers the husband, "is protection." [Prolonged applause.]

There are thousands of farmers all over this country who are situated as I have described. By virtue of our excessive protective tariff taxation the farmers and laboring people in general are ground to the very earth with so much taxation that they are not able to meet their obligations and supply themselves with the absolute necessities of life. This is especially true as applied to the cotton-planter, for he is dependent upon one crop only every year, and it is not infrequent that for two or three years consecutively his crops are failures.

The conductor, fireman, engineer, and brakemen on our great railroad systems, though they own no land, are alike sufferers from protective tariff taxation. In fact, the entire laboring population of this country are situated the same as the farmer—all victims of a vicious system with which to support, as is said, the Government, that out of justice to this class should be forever wiped from our statute-books.

Gentlemen upon the other side of this House may speak with such force of eloquence that the decorative glass covering this Chamber may be lifted from its resting place regarding the beauties of protection afforded labor under our present tariff system, but let me say to those who eulogize with such grace the beauties of protection that labor has no protection whatever under our present system of tariff taxation.

Look back, if you will, for two or three years just passed and see to what means the laboring people have been compelled to resort against a system of taxation which compels them to pay almost double for their absolute necessities of life.

Was there ever a time in the history in this Government when labor was more unsettled?

The manly fight the laboring people have made against corporations, which by the protective tariff system have been granted the greater portion of benefits, and I might say all the profits, of their labor, has commanded my most earnest admiration.

These uprisings of the people—poor and helpless laboring people—have been, I believe, beneficial, though it is, indeed, a sad commentary upon our system of government to contemplate such a condition of affairs, when, in order that the laboring people may enjoy the rights justly due them, they are compelled to resort to the extreme measures which it seems have been a necessity.

It has been wisely said "that labor has no share in the wealth it creates." Neither has it that protection against the power of the employer to reduce wages. People tell us that with a less rate of tariff the country will be thrown into a great financial revolution. According to my opinion we are threatened with this unless the present Congress adopts a lower rate of tariff.

When we had the highest tariff rates ever known in this country we had the most disastrous panic, a panic which sent to the wall thousands and thousands of the richest and most enterprising business firms and industries that the world ever saw.

There has been a greater number of strikes and lockouts during the three years just passed than was ever before known in five times the same period of years.

When the people of this country are fully aware of the enormous percentages they are paying in the shape of protective-tariff taxation upon the necessaries of life, I can not imagine they will ask that the system be continued.

How many farmers and other laboring people of this country do you suppose buy from year to year the worst kind of shoddy goods, and at the same time pay the required protective tariff taxation? Take, for instance, blankets, which contain as much and perhaps more hair than wool, and boots and shoes, the soles of which are made from pasteboard.

It matters little how great the fraud is in trade, protective-tariff taxation is never lessened. These are but few of the many impositions inflicted upon the poor man by the manufacturer, and at the same time the toiling consumer pays for the privilege of this "beautiful protection" which our Republican friends would make believe is the corner-stone of our Government. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I can not better illustrate the condition of the farmer and the burdens he is forced to bear under our present protective-tariff system, and the amount of taxes he pays annually to the support of protection and to his own ruin than by quoting from a speech delivered in this House a few days ago by Mr. STEWART, of Georgia:

Schedule under act of 1883—present law.

I insist that the farmers of this country, although in numbers the largest, are not benefited by a high tariff, but, on the contrary, are shamefully discriminated against, and it is not so strange that their farms are heavily mortgaged when we come to understand how the tariff affects them.

Under the present law let us see what an ordinary family on a farm has to contribute to the Government. I submit a schedule of articles mostly used by a family as an illustration, and the duty on them, and also showing the reduction proposed under the Mills bill.

	Value.	Duty.	Gain.
		Per cent.	
One cook-stove	$35.00	47= $16.45	
By Mills bill		31= 10.85	$5.60
One set crockery	12.00	55= 6.60	
By Mills bill		35= 4.20	2.40
One set cheap glassware	4.00	56= 2.24	
By Mills bill		41= 1.64	.60
One set cheap cutlery	2.00	50= 1.00	
By Mills bill		35= .70	.30
Two carpets, $12 and $15	27.00	47= 12.00	
By Mills bill		30= 8.00	4.00
Sugar	20.00	60= 12.00	
By Mills bill		50= 10.00	2.00
Molasses	10.00	47= 4.70	
By Mills bill		35= 3.50	1.20
Salt	3.00	40= 1.20	
By Mills bill		Free-list.	1.20
Two suits each for father and two sons, six suits, $14	84.00	54= 45.36	
By Mills bill		45= 37.80	7.56
Two suits each for mother and two daughters, six suits, $14	84.00	82= 68.88	
By Mills bill		40= 33.60	35.28
Twelve pairs shoes, $2.50 each	30.00	30= 9.00	
By Mills bill		15= 4.50	4.50
Six wool hats, $1 each	6.00	73= 4.38	
By Mills bill		40= 2.40	1.98
Six fur hats, $2.50 each	15.00	52= 7.80	
By Mills bill		40= 6.20	1.60
Six ladies' hats, $3 each	18.00	70= 12.60	
By Mills bill		40= 7.20	5.40
Six bonnets for ladies, $3 each	18.00	70= 12.60	
By Mills bill		40= 7.20	5.40
Farming tools, including plows, gear, hand-saw, ax, draw-knife, chains, etc	60.00	47= 28.20	
By Mills bill		34= 13.60	14.60
Medicines	20.00	*48= 9.80	
By Mills bill		30= 6.00	3.80
Thread, needles, thimbles, scissors, etc	12.00	35= 4 20	
By Mills bill		20= 2.40	1.80
Four pairs blankets, $3 each	12.00	70= 8.40	
By Mills bill		40= 4.80	3.60
Two umbrellas, $2.50 each	5.00	40= 2.00	
By Mills bill		30= 1.50	.50
Cotton hosiery, undershirts, etc	8.00	45= 3.60	
By Mills bill		30= 2.40	1.20
Window-glass	2.00	60= 1.20	
By Mills bill		43= .86	.34
Starch	4.00	94= 3.70	
By Mills bill		47= 1.88	1.82
Rice	$10.00	*Per cent.* 113= $11.30	
By Mills bill		100= 10.00	$1.30
Total cost under present tariff	501.00	189.27	
Under Mills bill		104.98	84.29

*Average.

From the foregoing calculation it will be seen that the entire amount of goods purchased at the prices named amounts to $501, that the present duty on these articles amounts to $189.27, and the duty as proposed by the Mills bill would amount to $104.99, which deducted from the rate of duty under the present law would be a net gain of $84.29.

A farmer or any other laboring man has but to read the above statement to show him in the most convincing manner how himself and family are being robbed from year to year by our protective-tariff system.

At this rate, as will be seen, there is a saving under the Mills bill of $84.29 a year, which in five years at the same rate would amount to $421.45, which would go a great ways with a poor family toward buying a piece of ground or building a little home.

This is a country of the people; they are its rulers, and they are always awake to what they believe to be the best interests for themselves and for the Government. There does not a day pass that I am not in receipt of numerous petitions from the various granges and farmers' alliances in my State asking that Congress do something to prevent the accumulation of the surplns which contracts the currency, which increases the value of money, but decreases the value of land and labor. The people see it and the people feel more than we imagine the hardships of this contraction of currency, which they say to us should be so disbursed as to increase the circulating medium and stimulate a healthy state of trade throughout the whole country.

In the same petition comes the earnest plea that taxation be equalized, and that all existing laws which tend to favor any class to the detriment of the whole people be repealed. These people know what they are talking about, and they know what is to their interest. Their petitions are just and fair; they are not unreasonable, and we, as the representatives of the people, should listen to the voice of those of whom we are the servants. I say, Mr. Chairman, it is idle to go to the statistics of foreign nations upon the subject of labor and consumption while we have statistics for the country in which we live.

How idle it is for statesmen to throw away time in discussing European statistics when this country is teaching you lessons that never can be forgotten. But the depreciation of value in land, in horses, in cattle, and in labor does not appear in the statistics of the census of 1880. The suffering and the toil and the trials of the people of this country do not appear there. Nor are they enumerated among the foreign statistics. Then, why are you wasting the time of Congress quoting those statistics in the discussion of a question like this for the benefit of the people that live in this great and glorious Government? I say such a course of proceeding is idle and foolish. [Applause.]

I have before me, Mr. Chairman, an article that appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat some time ago. It contains the statistics collected by the grange lodges of the great West and of the southern portion of this nation, especially the granges of Missouri and Kansas.

Mr. BLAND. Those appeared in the St. Louis Republican, not the Globe.

Mr. MARTIN. They are very good statistics. In all those great States the depreciation of value and the burden of government are most felt. It is there where the people have to be carried through by banks if they need assistance; and if they get assistance it is by mortgaging their property. Now, what is the amount of mortgages in those States?

The following I take from the St. Louis Republican, regarding the mortgage question, which I have referred to:

WHO OWNS THE WEST?

All the advocates of high protective tariff have one refrain to their songs, speeches, magazine essays, and sermons—the vast wealth of the country. "We are the richest country on the globe," they assert, "and the protective tariff has made us so;" and then they present us with a bewildering array of figures towering up into the billions to show how prosperous the land has been under the protective policy of the last twenty-six years. In 1862 we had only 32,000 miles of railroad; now we have 150,000. In 1860 we had only $200,000,000 deposits in savings banks; now we have $1,100,000,000. In 1860 we had 2,044,000 farms; in 1880 the number had increased to 4,008,000, and at the present time it can not be less than 5,000,000. All this they tell us has been brought about by the protective policy—as if the industry, enterprise, and patient hard work of the people had nothing to do with the matter.

It may be admitted that the country is rich, and growing more rapidly in wealth than any other country on the globe. But the people have made it so, not the tariff. It has thrived in spite of protection. That policy has drawn enormous wealth from the twenty-nine agricultural States and concentrated it in the nine favored industrial States; and it is in the latter the affluence that excites the admiration of the high-tariff advocates is most conspicuously illustrated.

But they tell us the agricultural States have grown rich, too. They also have prospered under protection. See how farms have multiplied in the West and Northwest, and see how railroads have been built in Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, even to the Pacific, and how this vast region has been subdued to settlement.

All true. But who owns these farms and railroads in the Western States? In one word, who owns the West? The people of the West, it might be answered. But the answer would not be true, as few indisputable figures will sufficiently prove.

First, as to farms. In 1880 there were 138,500 farms in Kansas, 256,000 in Illinois, 194,000 in Indiana, 247,000 in Ohio, 185,300 in Iowa, 154,000 in Michigan, and 131,300 in Wisconsin, making a total of 1,309,100 in the seven States named. Recent statistics collected by granger associations and printed in farm journals make the following exhibit of farm mortgages in these same States:

Kansas	$235,000,000
Illinois	1,000,000,000
Indiana	635,000,000
Ohio	1,227,000,000
Iowa	567,000,000
Michigan	500,000,000
Wisconsin	357,000,000
Total	4,521,000,000

These figures are so startling in their enormity as to seem incredible. We do not vouch for their accuracy. They present the 1,309,100 farms in seven Western States as encumbered with an aggregate of four and a half billion mortgage indebtedness, or an average of over $3,400 for each. The assessed valuation of property in these States in 1885 was as follows:

Kansas	$275,500,000
Illinois	797,000,000
Indiana	793,000,000
Iowa	625,000,000
Michigan	850,000,000
Wisconsin	496,000,000
Ohio	1,671,000,000
Total	5,507,500,000

It will be seen that the reported mortgage debts cover about four-fifths the assessed value of the farms; and the bulk of these mortgages are held in the Eastern industrial States.

Next, as to railroads. In the seven Western States named there were, in 1885, 37,000 miles of railroad with a stock and bond account and net earnings as follows:

States.	Stocks and bonds.	Net earnings.
Kansas	$195,700,000	$9,440,000
Illinois	740,000,000	16,000,000
Indiana	320,000,000	5,700,000
Iowa	105,000,000	2,180,000
Michigan	214,000,000	5,000,000
Wisconsin	236,000,000	6,900,000
Ohio	767,000,000	12,300,000
Total	2,537,700,000	57,520,000

These 37,000 miles of railroads, having a nominal value of $2,537,000,000 (over two and a half billion dollars) and yielding annual net earnings of $57,520,000, are put down in the statistics of the day as part of the property of the States in which they lie. But it is a notorious fact that only a very small fraction of their values are owned in these States. The last report of the Iowa railroad commissioners states that only one out of forty stockholders in Iowa roads lives in the State, and only one-seventieth of the capital stock is held in the State. In Illinois a similar condition of things prevails. The official report of the railroad commissioners does not state what proportion of the aggregate capital stock of the Illinois roads is held in Illinois, but the location of the capital stock of the leading roads will assist us in forming an estimate. The Illinois Central has $29,000,000 capital stock, only $685,000, or less than 3 per cent., of which is owned in Illinois. Of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, about 5 per cent. of the capital stock is owned in Illinois; of the Ohio and Mississippi stock, only one-half of 1 per cent.; of the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute, less than one-half of 1 per cent. Taking these figures as a guide we may safely estimate that of the 19,000 miles of railway in Illinois, valued in stock and bonds at $740,000,000, the people of Illinois own 5 per cent.; the other 95 per cent. is owned in the rich industrial States of the East.

As Illinois is called the most prosperous and one of the richest agricultural States of the West, it may be inferred that the other States are in no better condition than it in the matter of railroad ownership, and therefore it may be broadly asserted that practically all the railroads in the seven States named, valued at $2,537,700,000 (two and a half billion dollars and over), are owned in the industrial States. The industrial States are therefore drawing a pretty round sum of money for one thing and another from the seven Western States named every year. The items may be stated as follows:

In protective taxes	$150,000,000
In interest on mortgages	270,000,000
In railroad net earnings	57,000,000
Total	477,000,000

The Western States are, in fact, being bled to death. Western farmers are actually becoming poorer and poorer every year. As a body they do not make a living, and the convincing proof of this fact is that their farms are fast passing under mortgage to the money-lending manufacturing States of the East.

Twenty-five years ago these mortgages were few in number and small in amount; now they number millions and cover an aggregate value of thousands of millions, and all bear 6 to 8 per cent. interest.

The West does not own itself. It is owned by the industrial States. Twenty-six years of the malign, sectional, and oppressive policy of high tariff has done the work and done it effectually. The industrial States of the East, enriched beyond estimate by the annual tribute of $600,000,000 exacted for a quarter of a century from the other States under the false pretense of building up home manufactures, own all Western railroads, telegraph lines, and bridges, and hold mortgages on nearly all farms, their cities, and towns.

So it goes all along the line of States where property is mortgaged. The men in those States and Territories own lands which are under mortgage, and soon they will have to leave their homes and carry their families with them by force of the mortgage when it matures, and the husband, wife, and children are driven out doors. It is so in the Southern and Southwestern States. And it is protection, Mr. Chairman, that does this.

What are we drifting to? [Laughter.] I discuss the question, gentlemen, as I see it, and I want to present it to you in a plain light. I repeat, What are we drifting to? While the manufacturer lives in his lordly castle in pomp and splendor, I see the men who are at the loom, at the spindle, in the forges, and in the workshops are merely the tenants—not a single one of them owning a foot of land. This is a protection for the manufacturing establishments. These men who have become rich by protection are the men who own the lands—the princes that live in splendor, while the serfs that are under them are without home and without shelter.

The great railroad interests through this country have absorbed a very large portion of the public lands. Yes, all the public domain between this and the Pacific coast nearly is taken up by men who are princely in their fortunes and have gotten rich under protection. These men establish their banks in the West and in the South and are becoming the owners of all the land that is now being held and occupied by the citizen.

If the Republican party votes against this bill it votes to build up a monster which is an enemy of the people, which will continue to increase the already large surplus in the Treasury. This bill is a step in the right direction, and one that should have been taken before this. The Republican party can not afford to vote against this bill, and those of you who do cast your votes against it will be the chief mourners at you own political funerals. [Applause.]

But, Mr. Chairman, we have a glorious epoch opening and dawning upon us. We have a campaign that is to be conducted for the right and for the people by the great Democratic party. That campaign will be conducted upon the principles of tariff reduction and a vigorous fight against protection. [Applause.]

We will hoist at our masthead the name of the glorious Cleveland, and in fighting the battle for the Presidency we will go to the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, California, Kansas, Minnesota, and the other Western States, which we will carry against protection and in favor of the reduction of tariff. [Applause.]

The people of those States see the fallacy of the protective-tariff system, and they are wise in asking its discontinuance, especially under the present high schedule.

On the plains, on the prairies, in the valleys and the gorges of the Rocky Mountains, and everywhere through the great West and South you will find men, Democrats and Republicans, who have their little homes, many of which are mortgaged, asking that Congress relieve them of oppressive taxation which results from protection.

Go to California, for instance. She has her industries which she would like to have protected; but, upon the altar of a common Democracy, her people will make an offering for their special local interests and ask that this bill be passed. [Applause.]

Yes, Mr. Chairman, and upon that platform we will carry the great nation for Grover Cleveland, the next President of the United States. [Applause.]

It is he who had the wisdom to recommend to this body that tariff taxation be reduced. He forced the issue upon the Republican side of this House and the people of this country are with him. They will be with him on the second Tuesday of next November also.

Upon the banners of the Democratic party there will be inscribed in the largest kind of letters, that all may read:

Reduction of taxation, equality and justice to the poor man, and better times for all.

And on the 4th day of next March Grover Cleveland will be reinstalled as President of this Republic for another four years. [Prolonged applause.]

The Tariff.

Why should wool be free and sugar taxed? Is it because sugar votes the Democratic ticket and wool does not? Why protect rice and destroy salt? Is it because one grows on Northern soil and the other in the Southern swamp? Why strike down the products of the North and enhance the value of those of the South? Is it because the "solid South" is the friend of the Democratic party?

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 30, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the revenue—

Mr. GROSVENOR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I recognize the embarrassment that I must suffer in attempting to address the House of Representatives, and indirectly the country, upon the great questions involved in this measure, after the addresses to which we have listened from so many distinguished gentlemen on both sides of the House; and I am not unconscious of the fact that others are to follow me much more competent to present the issues involved than I am. I hope the House will pardon me if I deviate from the established usage here, and if I commit blunders in matters of detail and statistics, from the fact that

I have not committed my speech, or any part of it, to writing, I hope I may be allowed the liberty of revision to the end that I may stand right before the country. It is not always safe to rely upon figures taken at second-hand from others.

In the first place I wish to refer to the statement so often heard in this debate that this is an attempt of the Democratic majority of this House, stimulated thereto by the message of the President of the United States, to repeal and get rid of war taxes. We hear on every hand that the protective tariff system of this country is a system born of the war for the suppression of the rebellion. It is constantly being said that at this long distance from the war period it is proper to repeal the measures which the exigencies of war forced upon the country, and to come back again to principles of taxation applicable to a time of peace.

Now, my argument will tend to show that we have no war taxes left upon our statute-books save and except the system of internal-revenue taxation, which was, in this country, what it has been in many other countries, a resort to which the country was driven by the exigencies of war for the suppression of a great rebellion; and which ought to have been the first monument of war taxation to be stricken down and removed. But, strangely enough, the Democratic party everywhere, on the stump and in Congress, inveighs against war taxation, and yet holds on to the internal-revenue system and refuses to repeal it. After a little I shall try to show why it is that Representatives here, representing certain constituencies, turn to this tariff taxation with a sort of intuitive horror and opposition and denounce it as "war taxation."

For the present let us consider the attitude in which the Southern and dominating wing of the Democratic party and its Northern superserviceable allies stands toward a system of taxation it in years gone by denounced as outrageous and oppressive.

It is surprising to me that the Democratic party has so solidly arrayed itself under the leadership of its amateur statesman, the President of the United States, in defense of the internal-revenue system. It seems strange to me that suddenly the Democratic party has become the especial champion of such a system. For twenty years the gentlemen representing the Southern States of the Union in Congress, and speaking for those outside, have not only denounced the general system of internal-revenue taxation, but have denounced all the efforts of the Government to enforce the law, and so thoroughly had they educated the masses of the people in many sections of the South into the idea that the internal-revenue system was oppressive and tyrannous, that they had brought the people of the South to endeavor to destroy the internal-revenue system by fraud, violence, murder, and bloodshed. They had brought them to assert the right of revolution against the so-called tyrannous enactments that were being enforced by the Government against the people of the South. It was a conspicuous argument all over the South why Mr. Cleveland should be elected, to the end that the internal-revenue laws should be repealed, or if not, then not enforced.

And so it came about that the moonshiners of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, West Virginia, and other States looked upon themselves as discharging a duty to the great principle of self-protection and human liberty when they invoked the spirit of revolution in justification of the wrongs and violations which they committed against the internal-revenue laws. And, Mr. Chairman, it was only in the last Congress that gentlemen representing some of those Southern constituencies undertook to cripple the internal-revenue department by eliminating from an appropriation bill the money which was intended to carry into force and execution those laws enacted to prevent frauds upon the internal-revenue system. But now we find the Democratic party, inspired and directed by the message of the President, suddenly ordaining that the most sacred monument, the most sacred feature, of the laws of this country is now, and must be in the future, the internal-revenue system of taxation.

My friend on this side, the wandering, if not the lost sheep of the Republican "House of Israel," from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON], heads his very eloquent speech, as published, with the statement that he proposes to put up free wool, free lumber, and free salt against free whisky and free tobacco. The gentleman, when he undertakes to put the Republicans on this side who favor the repeal of the internal-revenue laws and the wiping out of all those specifically war taxes into the category of favoring free whisky, makes an egregious mistake.

The proposition, as I understand it, involved in the repeal of the internal-revenue tax upon whisky and tobacco is to remit to the States the right to tax not only the liquor traffic (as many of them are doing now), but, ultimately, the manufacture and wholesale dealing in liquor, and to permit the States of the Union, in that respect, to take the place of the General Government, and to deal exclusively and exhaustively with the whole subject, either by taxation, restriction, or prohibition, as the people of the several States may decide.

But, Mr. Chairman, I was proceeding to show that this system of tariff legislation of which we are now charged with being the promoters was not, as has been alleged here, a system of war taxation. There ought to be no misunderstanding among the representatives of the people at the end of thirty years about the history of a great sytem of taxation like this. The original Morrill tariff bill, which was the foundation stone upon which the structure of protection was reared, was not a war measure, and I want to call the attention of the younger members of this committee who desire to be right upon the subject of the historic character of this system, to the fact that the original Morrill tariff bill was introduced into Congress and passed by the House of Representatives before Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President of the United States.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, the superstructure that has been builded upon that foundation, and shaped and fashioned upon its plans, is denounced here in the opening paragraph of nearly every speech on the other side of this chamber as a "war measure" which was necessary at one time for the support and protection of the Government, but which ceased to be valuable, or important, or desirable, when the measures, the incidents, the facts that brought it into existence passed away.

The Morrill tariff bill was passed in the House of Representatives on the 11th day of May, 1860, by a vote of 105 yeas to 64 nays. Of the men who voted against that bill there remain in this House, so far as I am able to recall the personality of the Thirty-sixth Congress, but one man, who voted on the passage of the bill. I understand, indeed, that the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COX] was a member of the Thirty-sixth Congress, but I do not find his name recorded among either the yeas or the nays upon the passage of the bill. I do, however, find the able and distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] recorded as having voted "no" upon the passage of that bill, and, as I have already said, so far as I am able to ascertain with the imperfect *data* at my command, he is the only member who voted against that bill and who is now a member of this Congress.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I did not hear distinctly the allusion which my friend from Ohio made to me.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I said, Mr. Chairman, that of the present members of the House of Representatives I identified but two who were members of the Thirty-sixth Congress—Mr. COX, of New York, and Mr. HOLMAN, of Indiana—and that I did not find the name of Mr. COX recorded as voting either yea or nay upon the passage of the Morrill tariff bill at that time.

Mr. COX. I will say to my friend that the most elaborate tariff speech I ever made in my life was against that bill.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I have no doubt of that, and that is saying a great deal for that speech.

Mr. COX. And I think it could be reproduced to-day to some advantage. I happened to be on the committee of conference that was appointed, I think, by Mr. Speaker Blaine.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Blaine had not entered Congress at that time.

Mr. COX. The Morrill tariff bill was passed during the war.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I beg the gentleman's pardon; I am talking about a Morrill tariff bill which was passed by the House on the 11th day of May, 1860; and upon the principles of which our whole protective system has been since builded.

Mr. COX. That was before the war.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Certainly it was; and I am trying to show that this system of taxation, this Morrill tariff bill, was not, as is alleged so often here, a war measure, but was a political measure which came about in a way which I shall presently try to trace.

Mr. COX. We never called it *moral* in those days. [Laughter.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. And right here, Mr. Chairman, let me say, that if the speech which the gentleman made at that time in opposition to the bill was, as he thinks it was, the best speech he ever made in his life, I hope it will not be repeated, at this late hour, to the discomfort of gentlemen on this side of the House. [Laughter.] I beg that we be spared that.

That Morrill tariff bill went from the House to the Senate, and there it was defeated by a process of parliamentary opposition led by the representatives in the Senate of the States which soon afterward went into rebellion.

No vote was taken on the bill until a point of time which I will indicate, and it is a very interesting fact in the history of the times that the men who defeated that Morrill tariff bill in 1860, and whose absence from Congress in 1861 made it possible to pass the tariff bill, represented the same States that are represented by the gentlemen who, a week or two ago, for nine long days, in direct violation of the spirit of the Constitution, in direct revolution against the powers and principle of government by the majority, stood in the way of and defeated the passage of a measure for the equitable re-adjustment of one of the financial questions that followed and grew out of the war. The Morrill tariff bill was finally taken up for passage in the Senate on the 20th of February, 1861, and it was passed by a vote of yeas 25, nays 14.

And, Mr. Chairman, at this point I want to call the attention of the country to a fact which rendered its passage possible at that time. That fact was that certain gentlemen had vacated their seats in Congress, although war had not yet begun. This "war measure" was signed by President James Buchanan. This measure of tariff taxation that established the principle of "robbery," as it is said, in this country, as we hear it denominated on the other side—this measure, which laid the foundation upon which the mighty structure of American prosperity and American glory has been builded, was

signed by James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, on the 2d day of March, 1861.

The men who voted for it were Anthony of Rhode Island, Baker of Oregon, Bigler of Pennsylvania, Bingham of Michigan, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Chandler of Michigan, Clark of New Hampshire, Doolittle of Wisconsin, Durkee of Wisconsin, Fessenden of Maine, Foot of Vermont, Foster of Connecticut, Grimes of Iowa, Hale of New Hampshire, Harlan of Iowa, King of New York, Morrill of Maine, Stewart of New York, Simmons of Rhode Island, Sumner of Massachusetts, Ten Eyck of New Jersey, Trumbull of Illinois, Wade of Ohio, Wilkinson of Minnesota, and Wilson of Massachusetts—25.

It became possible to pass that bill, Mr. Chairman, because when the roll was called, South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas (with a single exception), Virginia, and North Carolina, with the exception of one Senator, failed to answer to their names. I again call attention, Mr. Chairman, to the singular historical circumstance that the representatives of those States vacated their seats in that day in violation of their constitutional obligation, and in furtherance of a treasonable conspiracy to destroy the Union and break up the Government, while the representatives of the same States in the present Congress have resorted to a species of revolution, made possible by the rules of this House, but as offensive and as obnoxious to constitutional government by the majority as was that action of their predecessors in the Senate of the United States.

The bill was finally passed on the 27th of February, 1861, and three days later it received the signature of the President of the United States and became the law of the land, became the foundation of the "robber" tariff that is now so bitterly assailed on this floor. The gentleman who presided in the Senate when the bill was passed and who affixed his signature to the bill, the Vice-President of the United States, who within the next ensuing five days was a beneficiary under that enactment, crossed the Ohio River once, and then again, and then recrossed it no more until, as a defeated lieutenant-general of the Confederate army, he came back to his State, which had never seceded, to join the loyal men of Kentucky in the discharge of some sort of duty that he supposed he owed to the Government which he had not been able to destroy.

The Morrill tariff bill was signed by John C. Breckinridge, as Vice-President of the United States, four days before he laid down his office, and it is the very irony of historical fate that to-day one of the men who inveighs against it most strongly and who denounces it in the most eloquent language, is the accomplished son of that gentleman, who, as I have said, was a beneficiary of the act, at least as to the $10,000,000 which the bill provided that the Government might borrow in advance of the receipts under the law to pay the salaries of the officers and defray the current expenses of this country. So much for the history of this tariff legislation.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have no time to discuss the great questions of principle involved here. I want to say, however, as I go along, that I have no anxiety about the surplus in the Treasury. The uneasiness that is manifested on that subject is born of a political nightmare; it is a mirage that has grown up on the political desert, and which has attracted and held the attention of our friends on the other side and misled them in regard to the present condition of the country. Take every dollar of the alleged permanent surplus, and, if the United States would to-day pay its honest debts, there would not be a dollar of it left. The custodian of $30,000,000 in a single item which the Government received more than eighty years ago, and which still remains in the Treasury, held on to by the same process by which the robber holds on to his victim's purse, stands in no position to be complaining about the plethora in the Treasury of the United States. And yet to-day, sir, when the claimants for French spoliations, who have a claim against this Government just as honest as though they had loaned their money to the Government and taken its promissory notes for repayment, when they come here and ask for their rights, they are baffled session after session and year after year, while the Democratic party keeps up the cry about the enormous surplus in the Treasury.

There are $17,000,000 of surplus in the Treasury, paid into it by the loyal States of this Union under a war measure assessing a special tax, and there are $3,000,000 which should be there, represented by the unpaid taxes of the States that went out of the Union. There are obligations to officers and soldiers who have been defrauded by the unjust rulings of the Department out of their back pay, and there are claims innumerable against the Government which ought to be paid, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] told the simple truth when he said in the last Congress that if any business man in the country should be found guilty of such dishonorable practices as the United States Government was constantly guilty of "he would be consigned either to infamy or the penitentiary." So, when you take out of the Treasury the amount of money which the Government honestly owes to its creditors, you will find that there is no such surplus as we hear talked about upon this floor, no surplus that need give anybody any uneasiness. With fifteen thousand men who fought to save the Union and make this wealth possible in the almshouses of the country and their families in the charity institutions, or growing up in rags and ignorance, it is no time to talk of a surplus; with the dark cloud of ignorance resting like a pall upon many sections of the Union, there is room for the use of all the surplus. And there are more uses for it than I have named in considering how taxation may be reduced.

But, Mr. Chairman, we are met by the road forking here on the question of the principle upon which the reduction of revenue is to be made. Speaking not now about the present surplus in the Treasury, but looking forward to the future, we are all of us in favor of reducing the aggregate of taxation in this country and limiting taxation to the necessities of the Government, economically administered.

The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. HEMPHILL] the other day brought to the attention of the House the foundation stone upon which the true and thoroughly honest supporters of this bill stand. That gentleman, in the very opening of his speech, spoke of the great constitutional question of levying taxation for the purpose of building up one industry in this country at the expense of another. As I understood him, he raised the question of its constitutionality. I doubt not he was inspired by, and was merely reiterating in substance and effect, the very principle which was placed in the constitution of the Confederate States, the language of which the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PERKINS] quoted in his former speech.

I do not mean to say the gentleman from South Carolina, in the speech which he was making, was aware he was saying anything like that or that he had any respect for this enactment, which is no longer a constitution, if it ever was at all; but he did say something on that subject which was clearly in hostility to the Constitution of his own country, and which seems to be consistent only with a heresy which had been taught more than forty years before by the great expounder of free trade in South Carolina, himself a protectionist converted to free trade. He has merely raised the constitutional question which the distinguished and eloquent representative from the same State raised for the first time at the period I have indicated, and which nearly caused revolution then, and which brought from Andrew Jackson his immortal declaration that he would hang a certain leading nullifier of South Carolina as high as Haman if he did not cease his nullification.

Mr. HEMPHILL. I am glad to know that my argument in reference to the Constitution of the United States is strictly in accord with the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States as delivered by Justice Miller, who is recognized, I believe, as the leading jurist in this country, and whose Republicanism is not questioned by anybody so far as I know. [Applause.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. When referring to a crisis of tariff legislation, drawn from the modern history of this country, I was struck with the fact that the gentleman was merely stating the same things which the great expounder of his doctrine of free trade uttered as far back as 1832. I was referring to the gentleman's speech only to emphasize the fact that a little later on he has merely reproduced some of the famous utterances of the famous expounder of free trade and secession in South Carolina. [Applause.]

Mr. HEMPHILL. It is some satisfaction to know that a man as eminent as Justice Miller agrees with South Carolina forty years ago.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I can not turn aside to discuss the question of the constitutionality of tariff taxation. If your law is unconstitutional and there is anything in the waiver of the rights of the people, the people who have been paying taxation under it since 1861 ought not to have a standing in court to-day. To show the law is constitutional I leave to gentlemen who are to follow me to analyze the decision of Justice Miller on that question. But I wish to put into my speech on this point, as marking the line of demarcation, just two things. In the first place, I will ask the Clerk to read section 8, paragraph 1, of the constitution of the Confederate States.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States.

Mr. GROSVENOR. And the next thing I wish to ask the Clerk to read is a paragraph from the Republican platform of 1860, upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency, and under whose administration the Morrill tariff went into effect and amendments were placed upon the statute-book.

I do this to show that the protective policy was declared by the Republican party at its advent to power, and that it met a counter-declaration, not only from the Democratic party of that day but from the so-called Confederate States in the constitution of that treasonable conspiracy.

The Clerk read from the Republican platform of 1860:

SEC. 12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Mr. GROSVENOR. These two paragraphs, one from the utterance

of a political party and the other from the utterance of an alleged constitutional convention, illustrate the difference of opinion to-day that exists in connection with this tariff question; and, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina needs no commendation from me. He commends himself to this House when he stands up here and makes an argument that, carried to its legitimate and necessary consequences, would abolish every custom-house in the country, repeal every tariff law, and remit the country to the same source of revenue that for so many years the statesmen of South Carolina demanded that we should look to for governmental revenue, that is, direct taxation.

For, Mr. Chairman, if the present tariff law of this country is "robbery," how can you change the quality of it by reducing the amount of money to be drawn under it? You denounce the quality without looking to the character of the enactment; but the question of its constitutionality, the question of its propriety in every direction must rest simply and alone upon the ground that in your judgment it is excessive; and that being so, I claim that the ordinary, logical, and legitimate results of your argument require that it should be repealed altogether. If the "robber" seizes me (and I am using the language now current on the other side of the House)—if the "robber" seizes me, takes me by the throat, and takes from my pocket $50, all that I may have, it is robbery. If he takes but $10 and leaves me $40, is the character of the act changed? The quality of the act is the same. The sum taken does not change the quality.

Mr. HEMPHILL. If the gentleman will allow me I will state that I said distinctly in the opening of my remarks that I did not contend that the raising of revenue by the custom-house system, so far as it was necessary for the legitimate expenses of the Government, was robbery or unconstitutional; and the word "robbery" I got from the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a decision on this very question.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I am using it in the same intelligent manner that the gentleman from South Carolina used it.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Yes, but my position is that all that is collected over and above the actual necessities of the Government is robbery.

Mr. KERR. Do you know anybody else who does not hold the same position?

Mr. HEMPHILL. I know a good many who do not act upon it.

Mr. KERR. You are mistaken in that.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Let us see, then, how the gentleman comes out according to his own theory. If he votes to repeal the internal-revenue laws by which we receive annually $120,000,000 into the Treasury, and then can point out customs taxes that are excessive and beyond the wants of the Government, he will stand in a position to say that it is robbery, but not until then.

While the law draws from one source $120,000,000 of revenue the gentleman is estopped from saying that there is an excessive draft in the other direction beyond that which is necessary for the maintenance of the Government. If the quality of the customs taxation is to be gauged by the necessities of the Government, then that which the gentleman calls "robbery," with the internal-revenue taxation going on, will be made legitimate by its repeal. One system is a war tax; the other is a system combining revenue and protection. If one must go, I for one favor the repeal of war taxes.

But while on this point, and I hope the gentleman from South Carolina will not feel that I am giving him any annoyance in this manner, I look upon his speech as the thoroughly logical and inevitable position of a friend of this bill. But when he talked about the burden we are heaping upon labor here, and made an elaborate illustration, I venture to say he did not himself even appreciate the grand force of the argument he used; and I could not help, on hearing that argument, being carried back again to the ancient history of the question. When he admitted—and I want to refer to the force of his argument—he said that we were very anxious, in the interest of the laboring men, to so adjust the tariff that the operators of the country could pay high wages to their operatives, and called upon us to say why it was that we were constantly legislating against the accumulation of money in the treasuries of the great railroad corporations by which they could become enabled to pay high wages to their employés. That is the strongest argument made on the floor of Congress against the position which demagogery demogy has sought to carry out with reference to these corporations of the country. I look upon the men as short-sighted statesmen who stand upon the floor of Congress and with one hand legislate to put money into the pockets of manufacturing corporations, on the plea that it is to enable them to pay high wages to their operatives, and at the same time strikes at the railroad corporations with the other hand. And the gentleman's argument is a strong one against them. But it falls harmless at my feet. I am not guilty.

But in that connection the gentleman made an admission which recalled to my mind the ancient days of the Democratic party. He said he was in favor of the great idea that we should buy where we could buy cheapest and sell where we could sell highest. And there upon, when the question was asked him whether that rule would not apply also to the employer of labor, he candidly admitted that it would.

That admission from one of the best exponents of the true principles of the Democratic party suggests its history for half a hundred years. The suggestion again brings to the front all that is left of the old idea of slavery and the ownership of men. And thereupon, Mr. Chairman, I remembered that it was from the same State of South Carolina in days gone by, when, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness in 1856, we heard that the laboring men of the North were simply "small-fisted farmers and greasy mechanics" and "mudsills of society"; and that voice of Hammond, as it were, crying out of his grave is heard again with tenfold elegance and eloquence from the eminent young Representative from South Carolina, in this day enunciating the same doctrine that free trade in commodities brings its inevitable and logical sequence: Free trade in the labor of men. It comes as the outspoken, even if latent at times, sentiment of a great party in a great section of the Union.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Will the gentlemen permit an interruption?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEMPHILL. I do not desire to be misrepresented, and I do not presume the gentleman desires to misrepresent me. I did not hold certainly the position that any man in this country owned his employés. I have as much respect for the laboring man, the honest operative, no matter what his station in life may be, as any other man, and it is immaterial to me how he makes his living, so it is done honestly. Therefore I do not desire to be put in that position which the gentleman would seem to wish to put me in.

While I am on my feet I may say too that there is in my mind quite a distinction between the hiring of labor at a cheap price and that which you can get by the introduction of people into this country who are simply laborers and without the qualifications of good citizens. I have always maintained in my own State and here that when you introduce people into this country who are laborers, who make their living with their hands, there are other things to be considered besides the cheapness of their labor.

Mr. GROSVENOR. The gentlemen has lived under a Republican Administration for twenty-four years in this country, and one of the greatest achievements the Republican party boasts of is the education and enlightenment of the people of the South; and it is to the great credit of the people of the South that they select their most intelligent men to come here to represent them to-day. So much for this question.

The logic of the gentleman's argument is not relieved by the disclaimer of the gentleman himself. The logic is the inevitable result of his position. The disclaimer is born of the heart and is better than the cold logic of his position. I should like to know why, if the rule is that it is the function of statesmanship to make it possible to sell where you can sell dearest and buy where you can buy cheapest, I would like to know at what point of time legislation has the right to interfere and say that the producer shall not hire his labor at as low a price as others are hiring it. I condemn without qualification the doctrine which the gentlemen has announced. It is heterodox in the political church I belong to. I do not believe that it is the true mission of statesmanship in America to buy where we can buy cheapest and sell where we can sell dearest. I do not believe in that doctrine, because conditions that surround the laboring classes in this country are widely different from the conditions that surround the laboring men of other nations; and we should be false to the position we have taken if we did not draw a line of distinction between the men of other countries and the men of this country. The laboring men of America, whether farmers, miners, mechanics, or operators, are not to be judged by any standard of comparison brought across the water.

The wisdom of statesmanship at this day should be directed not so much in the direction of making money. I admit when gentlemen on the other side, as one of them did the other day—I can not do him the justice to cite him now—claim that we were piling up enormous wealth in the pockets of the manufacturers of the country—I admit if that were true and there was no proper distribution of that wealth going on our position would not be tenable. But I am relieved of much of my anxiety by the declaration of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], a member of the Ways and Means Committee, that legislation in the way of high tariffs is breaking up the manufactures of the country. He pointed to the number of spindles that were standing still and the great number of chimney stacks out of which no beacon lights were flashing. I leave the two gentlemen on the other side to reconcile their positions; one that we are creating monopolies of wealth in the hands of Pennsylvania and New England manufacturers, and the other that we are breaking up manufacturrs in this country.

Mr. STEWART, of Vermont. How about the savings-banks?

Mr. GROSVENOR. The savings-banks of New England contain the savings of her industrial classes, and the sums of money deposited in them show how absurd the statement is that New England does not pay her labor.

In this conneetion, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that the general idea that the laboring men of the United States are illy paid and are poor, and are suffering and are oppressed, and all that sort of thing, which we hear daily, is born of the mistaken notions of men. It is the same sort of talk as that which annoyed us here so fear-

fully during the delivery of the series of fifteen and twenty minute speeches by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND]. These speeches were ostensibly in opposition to the passage of public building bills and an appeal to Congress to reduce the tariff to save the farmers of his district from bankruptcy.

Upon this labor question, Mr. Chairman, I believe that the true mission of statesmanship in this country is to see to it that the laboring men shall have higher wages than the laboring men of other countries—a great deal higher wages than the laboring men of other countries; and there are many reasons that justify the proposition, many of which I can not enumerate now, but one is the fact that the laboring man of this country is a part of the Government, an integral part of the Government itself. He is charged with the duty of maintaining and upholding the Government. In Ireland, in Germany, and in Italy it is not so to any important extent.

Every laboring man in this country should educate himself, and for the manifest reason which I have given. The Russian laborer delving in the mines or working in the forests of that country, governed by a despotism, is not charged with any duty except to make a living; he is not called upon to aid in the legislation or policy of the imperial government of the Czar. The Italian laborer who has to struggle with his 10 cents a day to keep his body and soul together does not occupy the position towards the Government of Italy that the laborer in America does.

Free Italy has done something in the direction of habilitating the Italian workingman with the qualities of citizenship, but they are far behind the people of the United States. For not only does the laboring man in this country take a direct, prominent, and active part in the politics of the country, but the men who work with their hands are rearing a generation which, in a short time, will be a majority of the people of this country and will control its destinies.

The laboring men of this country understand this whole question, so far as it operates upon them, better than we. Here is what a mammoth convention of laboring men in New York has said of this bill:

Whereas the so-called Mills tariff bill, now under discussion in the House of Representatives, by placing on the free list many articles that come into competition with the products of American labor, and by sweeping reductions in the duties upon others, menaces the ruin of many of our industries, and would, if enacted into a law, entail great loss of employment and widespread suffering among working people; and

Whereas the workingmen of this country have been contemptuously denied a hearing by the majority of the Ways and Means Committee, which framed the bill; and

Whereas it is now apparent to every workingman that the prevailing agitation of the tariff question and the proposed reduction of duties are destroying confidence in business, reducing wages in some occupations, and stopping altogether the wages in others:

Therefore we, the workingmen of the city of New York, in mass meeting assembled, earnestly protesting against the passage of the Mills tariff bill and against any and all measures of a similar character which threaten the labor and industry of our country and propose to lower the American standard of wages, do hereby declare and proclaim the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we demand of the Representatives in Congress from this city that they do not only vote against this most recent attack on the prosperity of American labor, but that they use their utmost endeavors to secure its defeat.

Resolved, That we protest against a bill which puts raw material on the free list when that so-called raw material is the product of American labor.

Resolved, That we protest against a bill which would break down the barrier which defends American labor from competition with the pauper labor of Europe and Asia, and aims to reduce our families to the foreign level of cheapness and poverty.

Resolved, That we demand that the internal-revenue war taxes be repealed, and that protection to American labor be maintained and made more effective.

Resolved, That we call upon our fellow-workingmen in all parts of the land to rise up and denounce the Mills tariff bill as a menace to our welfare and to our rights as citizens, which threatens to deprive us of the opportunities of education afforded by the American system of high wages, and we denounce as a fraud the free trade argument that the cost of living in this country is increased in proportion to the rates of duty on imports—except as we choose and are able to live better here than our unfortunate rivals in foreign countries.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President and to every member of Congress.

This is a good answer to the speeches we have heard here. Hence, we must so legislate as to make it possible that he shall have higher wages and better wages than the laborers of other countries. In order to do that we must secure a market for the commodities which the laboring man produces. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to put into the RECORD some contrasts between the situation of the farmer of to-day and the condition of the farmers in days gone by. During the first two months of this session I heard so much said about the distresses of the American farmer that I began to be afraid that it was just possible that, although I had been reared on a farm and knew more about it than any other industrial pursuit, I might have overlooked my suffering agricultural constituents. I came to have that feeling under the influence of the constant wail of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], who has wailed here on that subject with the regularity and persistency of a hired wailer.

Mr. LONG. Mourner.

Mr. GROSVENOR. No, I don't say a mourner. That is putting it too moderately. I want it a wailer—one of those persons about Jerusalem who used to go out and put their heads against the wall and wail. [Laughter.] I have looked into this subject somewhat and I have some personal knowledge of it, and I want to speak of it now with reference to some of the minor matters connected with the work of the farmers of this country. My first knowledge of farming was under a Democratic administration. It was on the soil of Ohio, a State which has to-day more comparatively wealthy farmers than any other State in the Union.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Except Michigan.

Mr. GROSVENOR. And fewer poor farmers, poor in any sense of the word. I want to call attention, first, to how we used to do things on the farm in those good old Democratic times when nobody was protected. We raised wheat, among other things, for a living, and we sold it at Democratic prices under a Democratic free-trade, or substantially free-trade, administration. We sold it at from 30 to 35 and 40 cents a bushel, but we did not sell it for cash, because there was not cash enough in the country to justify the purchase of any considerable amount of wheat at that price. The farmers of Ohio and of all that western country sold their surplus products by way of barter. A man who had a little more of one thing than he wanted to consume found another who had a little more of something else than he wanted to consume, and they traded with each other—swapped. We exchanged our wheat at from 30 to 40 cents a bushel and took our pay, one-third of it, in salt at $2 a barrel. The same salt can now be bought in the same market for 75 cents a barrel.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Can't you buy better salt now for that price?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Yes; a great deal better salt, made under a greatly improved process. We traded our wheat for calico at 15 and 20 cents a yard, and for muslin at 30 to 40 cents a yard. That is the way the farmers did in those times. And for everything a farmer bought—everything he could not raise—we paid more than double, and in very many instances more than three times, the present prices for like commodities. Our products brought less by about an equal ratio, and yet we find people crying out that the farmers are suffering. I do not believe they would suffer if we had no Mills bill hanging over us.

And, Mr. Chairman, whenever I think about the changes that have taken place in this country I always think of the production of wheat in the old times in Ohio. There is nobody here, except myself and a few others, old enough to remember the exact details of the manner in which it was produced for market. We thrashed it out with a flail, a machine made of two pieces of wood fastened together by a piece of leather; the operator swung the flail over his head and it was as dangerous to his own head as it was to the heads of wheat that he was aiming it at. [Laughter.] We separated the wheat from the chaff by an artificial agitation of the atmosphere, produced by a bag, or something of that kind, held by two men, one at one end and the other at the other, with a third pouring out the wheat at the top.

Not very long ago I stood on the shore of the Pacific Ocean away down south of San Francisco and there I saw a machine propelled by the power of steam running in a field of many thousands of acres of wheat. On the side of that machine was branded the legend "Ohio," and on examination I discovered that it had come from the town from which comes William McKinley, jr., the able advocate of protection from Ohio. That machine ran right along by the side of the standing wheat and gathered it, and thrashed it, and separated it, and dropped it off in rear of the machine in bags. As I stood there and looked at the operation I thought of the old flail process in Ohio, and I said to myself, those two machines mark the difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties of my country. [Laughter.] There goes the type of the development that is the result of Republican legislation in this country, the development which that legislation has made possible, and away back there in Ohio in I can see, in my mind's eye, the swinging of the old Democratic flail. [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, in those days many of the small products of the farm were for any purpose of cash payment wholly worthless. In those days eggs sold for 2 cents a dozen, chickens about 10 cents a pair, and butter in the same ratio, all in exchange for high-priced goods. When I come to compare the present condition of the American farmer with his condition then, I find that the poultry, the butter, the eggs, the cheese, and the milk of this country yielded in 1887 $590,000,000. I undertake to say, sir, that never under a Democratic administration did all the farmers of this country sell for cash $1,000,000 worth of those articles; but in 1887 the farmers produced and sold—this is a record not of what the farmer consumed but of what he sold—$590,000,000 worth of those products. That is more than the wheat crop of 1880, which produced but $314,000,000. It is more than double the cotton crop.

You gentlemen on the other side used to talk about cotton being king, but the farmers of the North and of the West sell eggs, butter, cheese, and chickens to-day for cash to the amount of more than twice the value of the whole cotton crop of the country. The hay crop was only $353,000,000. All the grist-mills in the United States produced only $505,000,000. The iron and steel industries, that we are so tenacious about here, produced a little over one-half of the amount of these small farming products which have become cash articles, salable at remunerative prices under the Republican administration, which has brought the farmers of the country to the position which they occupy to-day. I here give a letter received by me from the statistician of the United States Agricultural Department, from which most of the foregoing facts have been drawn. No estimate is made in this letter of milk sold by the producers.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., March 26, 1888.

SIR: I am in receipt of two letters from the Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR, dated March 20, and addressed to the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, and through you referred to me. I answer his queries as far as possible in the order asked.

1st. The census of 1880, in its returns of poultry products, gives only the number of fowls on hand June 1, with the product of eggs during the previous year. The figures given are: poultry 125,507,322, and dozens of eggs 456,910,916. This is very incomplete, not even including the spring hatching of fowls of 1880. After a careful study of all available data I estimate the total value of the poultry products of the United States as follows:

1860	$75,000,000
1880	180,000,000
1887	190,000,000

As a result of the same investigation, I estimate the value of the butter and cheese product for the same years as follows:

Year.	Butter.	Cheese.
1860	$80,000,000	$12,350,000
1880	189,000,000	28,500,000
1887	200,000,000	33,000,000

2d. The census first returned the number of farms in 1860, and in 1870 gave the estimated value of all farm productions, including betterments and additions to stock. This statement as far as available is as follows:

	Number of farms.	Value of products.
1860	2,044,077	.....
1870	2,659,985	$2,447,538,658
1880	4,008,907	2,212,540,927

The values for 1880, as given above, represent only the total of the items enumerated in the census and is not the aggregate value of all farm productions. It included the total of most of the arable crops and does not include meats of all kinds, most of the fruits, and many other minor products. After an examination of all available data of production and values I have estimated the total net value of all agricultural productions for 1860, 1880, and 1887, as follows:

1860	$1,676,000,000
1880	3,726,000,000
1887	3,871,000,000

3d. The following statement will show the gross value of manufactured products in 1860 and 1880 and the net value of the same products after deducting the value of materials used. This net value would thus represent labor and profit:

	Gross value.	Net value.
1860	$1,185,861,676	$854,256,584
1880	5,369,579,191	1,972,755,642

4th. The census returns have never included any statistics of numbers or amounts of farm mortgages or any records of private indebtedness. I send herewith a copy of the March report of this Bureau, which contains (page 78) the results of a necessarily superficial and incomplete investigation into the question of farm mortgages, and the results are not given as infallible or the results of a census.

5th. The estimated value of corn, wheat, hay, and cotton for 1886 is thus shown:

Corn	$610,311,000
Wheat	314,226,020
Hay	353,437,699
Cotton	256,295,326

Very respectfully,

J. R. DODGE,
Statistician.

Hon. NORMAN J. COLMAN,
Commissioner.

I may add that the sawed and planed lumber product was only $270,000,000—only a little over one-half the product of these small items which the farmer sells, and the manufactures of wool, about which we are constantly talking and about which our friends on the other side are so anxious, were only $267,000,000, against the $590,000,000 worth of the small farm products which I have enumerated.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in reply to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], who tells us that the farmers of the country are all breaking up, I send to the Clerk's desk, to be read as part of my speech, a report made to the Manufacturers' Record, of Baltimore, only last week, showing the situation in many of the States of the South and of the country at large.

The Clerk read as follows:

BALTIMORE, April 25.—Nearly five pages of this week's Manufacturers' Record will be filled with several letters from the governors and agricultural commissioners of the Southern States, upon the financial condition of the farming interests of the South and the general progress of that section. In every case the farmers are said to be more prosperous than for many years, and proof of this is given in the great decrease in the number and amount of mortgages and crop liens. Farmers are less in debt than at any time since the war, and are buying more liberally of improved labor-saving agricultural implements.

In Alabama Governor Seay and Mr. R. F. Kolb, commissioner of agriculture, unite in reporting a decreased indebtedness on the part of farmers and a steady improvement in their condition all over the State, with very marked improvements in buildings, fences, etc. In Arkansas, Florida, and the Carolinas the same report of increasing prosperity is made. Hon. S. A. Jonas, writing of Mississippi, which is a fair sample, says:

"There has never been a time since the war when Mississippi farmers were as nearly out of debt as at present. There is not to-day one farm mortgage where there were twenty ten years ago, and in fact it may be confidently asserted that the small farmers are in many parts of the State entirely free from debt. The crop of 1887 paid tens of thousands of our farmers out of debt and left them in splendid condition to enter upon the new year."

The growth of the South in other lines is shown by an increase from 1880 to 1887 of $977,000,000 in the assessed value of property, notwithstanding the fact that an immense amount of property, including railroads, new factories, etc., is exempt from taxes and hence is not included in these figures. During the same time there was an increase of 17,305 miles of railroad, a gain of 89 per cent., while the increase in the rest of the country was 69 per cent. The value of the South's agricultural products in 1887 was $171,000,000 greater than in 1879; the increase in the value of live stock during the same time was $182,283,000. The yield of grain was 626,305,000 bushels against 431,074,000 bushels in 1879. In 1887 the output of coal was 16,476,785 tons against 6,049,471 tons in 1880. The production of pig-iron was 929,436 tons against 397,301 tons in 1880.

And I send to the Clerk's desk to be read as a part of my remarks an extract from the Chicago Inter-Ocean of recent day, and put these statements up against the assertion, so often made in this debate, that our farming interests are suffering from the tariff:

WORDS OF WISDOM—TO WHICH THE FREE TRADERS WOULD DO WELL TO LISTEN—SOME INTERESTING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE EFFECT OF A REDUCTION OF THE TARIFF ON THE FARMERS OF THE COUNTRY AND THEIR INTERESTS.

[Chicago Inter-Ocean.]

"Who will speak for the farmers?" Having asked this opinion, the Cobden Club's Chicago Tribune proceeds to mourn the absence of any spokesman for the farmers in the discussion of the tariff question. Let the Dearborn street Jeremiah cease from his lamentation. The farmers can speak for themselves; and some very effective facts can they produce. They can say that when the Tribune was an American newspaper, advocating protection to American industry, working for the growth of American factories and the development of American mines, which are followed by the growth of American towns and cities, and, therefore, by an increased home market for American products, it published a weekly edition to which thousands of farmers subscribed, and they can say that when it became a British newspaper, published in Chicago, and devoted to the advocacy of a policy which would make farmers dependent upon a foreign market for the sale of their grain and for the purchase of their clothes, the farmers ceased to subscribe for it, and it perished for lack of circulation.

They can say that they are not half as ill-informed as the Cobden Club's Tribune thinks them to be; they can say that they know that, despite of the ever-increasing production of grain, meat, and other farm products, the increase of population in trading and manufacturing centers has more than kept pace with the increase of their productions. They can say, too, that nine-tenths of all things which they have to sell are consumed in this country.

They can say that they know that a very few years of free-trade folly would reverse this condition and make it so that nine-tenths of what they produce would have to be consumed abroad. They can say that they partly know, and partly can imagine, the fall in prices that would follow if they were absolutely dependent on Liverpool as an arbiter of value. They can say that they would be ruined by enforced competition with the pauper ryots who grow grain in India, and with the cheaply produced mutton and beef, wool and hides of Australia and the Argentine Republic. They can say that if grain and meat and wool were reduced in value by one-half they would be benefited by a 10 per cent. reduction in the price of clothing and blankets. And they can say that a 10 per cent. reduction is the very utmost they could expect in cloth and blankets from a free-trade policy; for they can say that they are now able to buy for $5.25 per pair exactly the same quality of American-made blankets as are sold in England, and of English make, at $4.45, wholesale. They can say that they have sense enough to know that retailers' profit, plus cost of transportation, plus insurance and risk, would make the English blankets reach very near to the present American price. They can say they are now able to buy as good a suit of clothing for $10 or $15 in any American store as can be bought in any English one for $9.25 or $14. They can say that free trade or "even radical reduction" in tariff duties would make common woolen goods very little cheaper than they now are, and would greatly lessen prchasing power.

They can say that they understand and thoroughly despise the motive of the Cobden Club's Tribune when it asks concerning the Western Republicans in Congress, "Do these gentlemen propose to discuss the tariff question solely from the standpoint of Eastern manufacturing interests?" They can say that were it as true as it is false that "Eastern manufacturing interests" are hostile to Western manufacturing interests, it yet would be well to fix the limit of the East at the Atlantic coast of the United States. Manufactures must be purchased from some source, and if from an Eastern one, better from no farther east than Massachusetts than from as far east as England, which suggests that the free traders are the champions of "Eastern interests." They go far east of our coasts to find their love and, it may be, their lucre. But the farmers can also say that they are aware that manufacturing interests are no longer exclusively "Eastern." Every State of the West is filling up with towns and cities, each of which has its factories, forges, and foundries. They can say that they buy their mowers and reapers and thrashing-machines more cheaply than they can be bought in France or England.

Above all, they can say that while farming lands are increasing in value in protected America, they are decreasing in free-trade England.

They can say that while capital is eager to be loaned to men who want to buy new or improve old farms in America, it shuns investment in English farm mortgages. It can say that so great is the inducement which farming enterprises offer in America that our National and many of our State governments have found it needful to pass laws prohibiting the ownership of land to all but citizens of this United States. After reading this it may occur to the Cobden Club's Tribune that there is a great deal to be said for the farmers, and also that they are capable of saying it themselves.

And I add a statement which is the result of a condensation of the facts given in several thousand letters from farmers in all sections of the Union. The great majority of these letters express the conviction that the tariff, notwithstanding defects and omissions, has contributed powerfully to the growth and welfare of agriculture. Few are hostile or indifferent. An overwhelming majority of the writers realize that the protective system, by building up other industries, has enormously enlarged the demand for agricultural products. While increasing the demand, it has greatly diminished the number of those who would otherwise have been forced, for lack of other employment, to crowd into agriculture and compete with each other in supplying that demand. It has helped to bring to this country nine million immigrants since its adoption, and during the past fifteen years not one in twelve of them have been farmers, farm labor-

ers, or shepherds; out of six million, more than five million five hundred thousand have been of other occupations. It has especially aided the development of manufactures and mining near the farms, so that the safest and most profitable of all markets for farm products has been enlarged.

Thus in the ten great farming States of the West, the increase in acres of improved land in farms from 1860 to 1880 was 160 per cent. A growth so remarkable could not have occurred without disaster to farmers; indeed, it would have been utterly impossible, if there had not been a far more rapid growth of other branches of industry. For during the same years, and in the same great farming States, the hands employed in manufactures increased 251 per cent., the wages paid to them increased 303 per cent., and the material used in manufactures, bought mainly from farms, increased 389 per cent. The wages which manufacturing hands in these States had to spend, mainly in buying farm products, averaged $1.10 for each improved acre in 1860, and had risen to $1.71 for each improved acre in 1880. The value of materials purchased for manufacture in these States, mainly from farms, averaged $4.02 for each improved acre in farms of those States in 1860, but had risen to $7.58 for each improved acre in farms in 1880. The following tables, prepared from census reports, verify these statements:

States.	Farms—acres improved land.		Manufactures—hands employed.	
	1880.	1860.	1880.	1860.
Ohio	18,081,091	12,625,394	183,609	75,602
Indiana	13,933,738	8,242,183	69,508	21,295
Michigan	8,296,862	8,476,296	77,591	23,190
Illinois	26,115,154	13,096,374	144,727	22,968
Wisconsin	9,162,528	3,746,167	57,169	15,414
Iowa	19,864,541	4,792,792	28,372	6,307
Minnesota	7,246,693	556,250	21,247	2,123
Nebraska	5,504,702	118,780	4,793	336
Kansas	10,736,566	405,468	12,062	1,735
Missouri	16,745,031	6,246,871	63,995	19,681
Total	135,691,906	52,306,584	663,013	188,651
Increase	160 per cent.		251 per cent.	

States.	Manufactures—wages paid.		Manufactures—value of materials used.	
	1880.	1860.	1880.	1860.
Ohio	$62,103,800	$22,302,989	$215,334,256	$69,800,270
Indiana	21,960,888	6,318,335	100,262,917	27,142,597
Michigan	23,313,682	6,735,047	92,900,269	17,635,611
Illinois	57,429,085	7,637,921	289,843,907	35,558,782
Wisconsin	18,814,917	4,268,708	85,795,178	17,137,334
Iowa	9,725,962	1,922,417	48,704,311	8,612,259
Minnesota	8,613,094	712,214	55,660,681	1,904,070
Nebraska	1,742,311	105,332	8,208,478	237,215
Kansas	3,995,010	880,346	21,453,141	8,612,259
Missouri	24,309,716	6,069,916	110,798,392	23,849,941
Total	232,008,465	57,553,225	1,028,962,530	210,490,328
Increase	303 per cent.		389 per cent.	

The farmers see that the rapid increase of agricultural production here, which has been the wonder of the world, could not have occurred without ruining farm-owners and degrading farm labor, had not the still more rapid and more wonderful development of other industries been encouraged by protection. But the letters urge with great unanimity that farm as well as other labor needs direct defense, and for the same reason. For all American labor has in common the responsibilities and burdens of citizenship to bear. There is no justice in forcing it to compete at any point with the labor of serfs or slaves, crofters or coolies. The American worker rightly claims, with his position as a self-governing citizen, a measure of independence in his industry, of comfort in his home, of respectability in his circumstances, of education for his children, of time for acquiring information. These are rights. Their denial tends to undermine intelligent and self-respecting citizenship, and threatens the safety of the nation. The defense of every home against the conflagration which may destroy a neighbor's dwelling is not more clearly a duty than the defense of the nation's industry as a whole, against the industrial and commercial conflagrations which in modern times threaten the welfare of many nations at once. As voters we cannot insure the wisdom of government in England or Germany; therefore as workers we are not bound to share calamities which mistakes made there produce. Recognition of this first duty of a nation to its labor has caused protective tariffs to be multiplied and strengthened, until nearly all civilized nations strive to guard their producers against external calamities, and even British colonies protect themselves against Great Britain. It would be strange indeed if this policy, which the splendid growth of this country has won other nations to imitate, the United States should now abandon. But the farm-workers, since they are nearly as numerous as all other classes of workers together in this country, know that no loss or degradation can come to them without affecting all other labor as well.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. HOLMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended.

The CHAIRMAN. How much additional time does the gentleman from Ohio require?

Mr. HOLMAN. I hope there will be no limit fixed.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Not to exceed thirty minutes.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Chairman, one of the propositions which has been made here, and which has been reiterated so frequently that it seems to require some reply, is that the arms of the Western country are burdened by mortgages to such an extent as to indicate that the prosperity of the farmers is not real. The answer to that is that the farmers of the country are intelligent enough to know when they are prospering and when they are not prospering, and I undertake to say now that there have been ninety-five farmers' names sent to this House in opposition to the Mills tariff bill for every five that have been sent here in favor of its passage.

The aggregate number and amount of the mortgages resting upon the farms of the Western States, which have been so absurdly exaggerated by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], do not indicate that the farmers of that region have been growing poorer. People who are connected with the loaning of money to the farmers of the Northwest and the West will state very promptly to any gentlemen who inquires of them that 90 per cent. of the money which they loan is loaned either for the purpose of improving property already owned by the borrower, or for the purpose of buying out his neighbor, who has decided to go west and settle in some of the great Territories west of the Missouri River. A man in Ohio, owning 80 acres of land with every foot of it paid for, is suddenly taken with a fever—not a very wise one in my judgment—that he ought to go to Oregon or to Washington Territory or to Montana, or he may be attracted away down over the mountains into Southern California, that country from which every mail brings to the people of Ohio and of all the older States such glowing reports of the fortunes that have been made there in real estate and in other ways.

Mr. HERMANN. It is a very wise move to go to Oregon. [Laughter.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. The Ohio farmer taken with this fever decides to sell his farm and does sell it. Now, who buys that farm? I undertake to say that of the farms sold under such circumstances in the great agricultural States of this country during the last ten years 98 per cent. have been bought by other farmers, either adjoining or in the immediate neighborhood, and in order to pay the money "cash down," so that the emigrant can have it on hand to speculate or to buy a home with when he reaches his destination, the purchaser borrows the money and places a mortgage upon both farms, and pays it off at his leisure.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] is no doubt thoroughly imbued with the idea that the farmers of his district are in a suffering condition, that his whole section of country is bankrupt, that it is a place where nobody ought to go to, that it is a place where everybody ought to go away from, but I should like to have that gentleman, who undertook to give us so much information on this subject, bring in one additional item of statistical information. Let him tell us how many farms have been sold under foreclosure of the mortgages which he complains of. That will furnish a vastly better criterion to an intelligent man than all this talk about the amount of the mortgages on the farms of the West.

I shall avail myself of the liberal order of the House to put into my speech a statement of the growth and development of the farms of the great agricultural States west of the Ohio River, which shows that not only have the farms increased in number, but that the farm improvements have quadrupled in value, and that the present value of the farming plant of the country is better by all odds than it ever was before, but for one single fact, which I wish to put on record now. A given amount of the farm products of this country in 1887 was worth less in the market than the same amount was worth in 1884, as appears from the reports of the Bureau of Statistics, by the enormous extent of $238,000,000; showing that under a Democratic administration, with the constant threat of free trade, the constant menace here of the "Morrison bill" and the "Mills bill," we reached a point in 1887 where the same quantity of surplus farm products had fallen in value in the short space of three years to the amount of $238,000,000. Why was that? Simply because the market had decreased in certain localities.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] talked about the closing up of the industrial interests of the country. He can not show where any of them have closed up, except for one of two reasons, either mismanagement, defalcation, something that depended upon the management of the institution, or else the influence of the fear that hangs to-day like a mighty pall over the industries of this country, resulting from the presence in this House of a Democratic majority and the presence of a Democrat in the chair of the President of the United States.

The business interests of the whole country are standing in dread of this infatuation embodied in the bill. The doubt, the uncertainty which envelops the future makes capital timid and enterprise hesitate. But for this our industries would thrive, and all this is due to the presence here of a Democratic majority in this House.

You talk about the industries of this country having grown grea in spite of the protective tariff. Why did not they grow great in the period between 1840 and 1860? I have a table in the letter from Mr. Dodge, which has been read, showing the increase in farms, the increase of products between the great periods of the country under Democratic administration, from 1840 to 1860, and then from 1860 to 1880, and the ratio of growth has been as if based on a new system of commercial prosperity.

And sir, it went on. It never was checked until the Morrison bill

menaced the industries of the country, and that check, that disaster, is being quadrupled now by the presence in Congress of the bill which is now under consideration. There is not a member of Congress, believed to be fair minded toward the varied and innumerable interests of the country, who has not received protest after protest from all those industries, insisting that the passage of the Mills bill will destroy the industries to which the writer belongs.

Not only that, sir; but, in addition, the fear of ultimate destruction to these great interests is sending into bankruptcy, at this time, many of these industries. For men will not invest their money in raw material to carry on a business which next year may be turned over to the competition of the cheap labor of Europe. Men will not mine ore to-day which next year may be made worthless by a free-trade bill passed by Congress.

So then, Mr. Chairman, this great injury has come to the industries of my country by the presence of this Mills bill in the House of Representatives, and I hold the Democratic party and its Administration responsible for the degree of evil which we have.

Now, I have not time to discuss the subject of comparative wages in this country and in Europe. It has been done exhaustively on this as well as on the other side of the House, and I append a table of comparative wages in this country and in England which I copy from the speech of Hon. BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH, delivered at Boston, and which is vouched for as correct. The statement shows the rate of wages paid weekly, unless it is otherwise stated. It is as follows:

Occupation.	England.	United States.
Book-binders	$6.00	$15.00 to $18.00
Brush-makers	6.00	15.00 to 20.00
Boiler-makers	7.75	16.50
Brick-makers	3.54	11.86
Brick-layers	8.00	21.00
Blacksmiths	6.00	13.30
Butchers	6.00	12.00
Bakers	6.25	12.75
Blast-furnace keepers	10.00	18.00
Blast-furnace filers	7.50	14.00
Bolt-makers	6.50	16.50
Bolt-cutters	3.00	10.00
Coal-miners	5.88	13.00
Cotton-mill hands	4.60	6.72
Carpenters	7.50	15.00
Coopers	6.00	13.25
Carriage-makers	6.75	13.00 to 25.00
Cutlery	6.00	12.00 to 20.00
Chemicals	4.00 to 6.00	13.00 to 16.00
Clock-makers	7.00	18.00
Cabinet-makers	7.00	18.00
Farm hands	3.00	7.50 to 9.00
Glass-blowers	6.00 to 9.00	25.00 to 30.00
Glass (partly skilled)	6.00 to 7.00	12.00 to 15.00
Glass (unskilled)	2.00 to 4.00	7.00 to 10.00
Glove-makers (girls)	2.00	6.00 to 9.00
Glove-makers (men)	4.50	10.00 to 30.00
Hatters	6.00	12.00 to 24.00
Iron-ore miners	5.50	12.00
Iron molders	7.50	15.00
Iron, per ton (finished)	2.00 to 3.00	5.31 to 8.71
Heaters and rollers	10.00 to 12.00	20.00 to 30.00
Instrument-makers	7.00	18.00 to 20.00
Laborers	4.10	8.00
Longshoremen	8.00	15.00
Linen and thread (men)	5.00	7.50
Linen and thread (women)	2.35	5.22
Machinists	8.50	18.00
Masons	8.00	21.00
Printers (1,000 ems)	.20	.40
Printers, week hands	6.65	13.40
Pattern-makers	7.50	18.00
Painters	7.50	15.00
Plumbers	8.00	18.00
Plasterers	7.50	21.00
Potters	8.67	18.30
Polishers	7.00	18.00
Paper-makers	5.20	12.00 to 24.00
Puddlers, per week	8.00 to 10.00	18.00 to 20.00
Quarrymen	6.00	12.00 to 15.00
Rope-makers	5.25	9.00 to 12.00
Railroad engineers	10.00	21.00
Railroad firemen	5.00	12.00
Shipbuilding—		
Boiler-makers	7.00	14.00
Machinists	7.00	14.15
Coppersmiths	6.50	16.50
Platers	8.00	18.00
Drillers	6.00	12.00
Riveters	8.00	17.40
Riggers	5.50	11.00
Pattern-makers	8.00	24.00
Salt-makers	6.00	9.00 to 10.50
Silk (men)	5.00	10.00
Silk (women)	2.50	6.00
Scarf-makers	1.50 to 2.25	6.00 to 9.00
Servants (month)	5.00	15.00
Shoe-makers	6.00	12.00
Stationary engineers	7.50	15.00 to 18.00
Soap-makers	5.00	10.50
Tinners	5.00	8.00 to 10.00
Teamsters	5.25	12.00 to 15.00
Upholsterers	8.00	18.00
Watch-makers	8.00	18.00
Wire-drawers	11.00	22.00

Mr. Mulhall, whose statistics are regarded as authority by some free-traders, furnishes a table of average wages paid in various countries, together with the relation between wages and cost of food.

From this table I obtain the following comparative statement for the United States and Great Britain:

Country.	Average per week.			Ratio.		
	Wages.	Food.	Surplus.	Wages.	Food.	Surplus.
United States	$11.66	$3.88	$7.78	100	33	67
Great Britain	7.53	3.40	4.13	100	45	55

It will be seen that while the American workingman pays more for his food he gets far better wages than his brother across the sea, and at the end of the day comes out ahead, not only with a much larger surplus than the Englishman, but with 22 per cent. more of his own higher wages saved than the other has of his lower wages.

I should like to ask some gentleman to tell me why it is the wages of common laborers in the South bear about the same difference as between the wages of the North and the wages of labor in Europe.

Somebody has put on my desk an interrogatory I would like to put, not knowing the exact answer, and not knowing exactly as to whether the fact stated is so or not; but the one who propounds this interrogatory wants to know why $7.50 is the maximum wages given for the same class of labor in South Carolina, while the Northern laborer receives $26 a month? I think I could give an answer to that question if the facts would bear me out.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Certainly.

Mr. HEMPHILL. In the first place, I do not think that is true, and in the next place I would like the gentleman to answer this question: We are told the operations of the tariff system are the same all over the country. Now why, if that be true, does not the tariff keep up wages in the South as well as in the North? There is but one answer to it so far as I know, and that has been that the money has been taken from the South and brought to the North.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I can make an answer to that question, but it would be an unpleasant one for gentlemen of the South to hear. It would be unpleasant and I have no disposition to make it.

Mr. HEMPHILL. What is it.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I say that I can make an answer that would be satisfactory to myself, but as it would be unpleasant to others I have no disposition to make it.

Mr. PERKINS. They have not availed themselves of the opportunity by establishing diversified industries, of employing their laboring man, and for that reason the wages are lower than they are in the North.

Mr. HEMPHILL. On the contrary the statistics show there has been more advancement in industrial enterprises there and that more capital has been invested.

Mr. PERKINS. But where does it come from?

Mr. HEMPHILL. It comes from the North, a great deal of it.

Mr. GROSVENOR. May I propound a question to the gentleman from South Carolina?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Certainly.

Mr. WARNER. Is it not true that the laborers on farms in South Carolina receive, as wages, $8 per month, one bushel of meal, and a gallon of molasses?

Mr. HEMPHILL. I do not remember now the exact wages; but I will say this, that you can not tell what the laboring men on farms get in the South, for the reason that they do not all work for wages; a great many of them work on shares; and in other instances they have their rations, they have their house rent free, and they have their firewood, their garden patches, as they are called, and other allowances which in the North laboring men do not get as a part of their wages.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Allow me now to ask the gentleman from South Carolina a question.

Mr. HEMPHILL. One moment, if you will permit me.

I would like to say right here, *just in* that connection, that the great staple, as we all know, of the South is cotton, and the wages paid there is as much as they can possibly pay according to what we get out of it, and what we have to pay for the articles consumed on the plantations to produce it.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Now, may I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Certainly.

Mr. GROSVENOR. How much of the labor of the South is engaged in manufacturing establishments throughout the South—engaged in the production of lumber, coal, iron, and all of the other manufacturing industries of the South?

Mr. HEMPHILL. I am not in a position to give the gentleman the figures.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Then answer this question: Is there not a large proportion of the labor of that section engaged in these pursuits?

Mr. HEMPHILL. No doubt there is; but by far the largest proportion, in my judgment, is engaged in agriculture.

Mr. GROSVENOR. But there would be a reduction in wages of agricultural labor if there was no employment in these other branches of business?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Well, there might be some reduction of wages; but if the laborer even with less wages can buy twice as much for his wages as he gets now, I think he would be bettered by it.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Does the gentleman believe that you would have had any of the material increased in the industrial resources and development and enterprises of the South, such as we have seen in the last few years, had it not been for the protective system?

Mr. HEMPHILL. There can be no question about that. If the people of the North can not make money out of their manufacturing enterprises without protection, let them carry their mills down to the Southern States, and they will find that they can make them profitable without the need of such aid. The mills in South Carolina, of which I have some personal knowledge, have made in the last few years percentages ranging from 18 to 23 per cent., and yet they have paid the heavy price of 40 per cent., I believe, in order to get their machinery. Now they sell their products to Japan and China and other foreign markets, which shows very conclusively that we do not get that advance in our manufactured products which the tariff is believed to give.

Mr. GROSVENOR. How many hours per day is labor worked there?

Mr. HEMPHILL. I do not know.

Mr. GROSVENOR. And you say they pay 40 per cent. on their machinery; what do you mean by that?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Well, I mean the tariff upon the machinery that they use.

Mr. McMILLIN. It is about 40 per cent.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Can not you buy your machinery in the United States to-day cheaper than you can buy it in England, less the transportation on it?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Well, if that be true, 40 per cent. too much is being paid in this country on what we must consume.

Mr. GROSVENOR. It is not a question of 40 per cent., but whether you can not buy it here as cheap as you can on the other side without any reference to 40 per cent.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Why, your own side have been arguing that the sole effect of the tariff is to depress prices.

Mr. GROSVENOR. That is not my idea.

Mr. HEMPHILL. That was clearly set forth in the argument of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BROWNE), and was argued also by a distinguished Senator from Connecticut, who tried to show why my constituents should be taxed for the benefit of his. As he showed, the people of the North who had their moneys invested in this character of business were not making the ordinary percentage for which money could be loaned. Now, I do not see any great benefit to these people or the country in inducing them to invest their money where they know, and politicians and statesmen tell them, in fact, they can not make even the ordinary interest upon the investment. What benefit is there, then, in the tariff if it depresses everything; gives less than the usual interest on money?

Mr. GROSVENOR. That which I have been trying to say for some minutes is that you in the South, as appears from the statement of the gentleman from South Carolina, make heavy profits because you pay only less than half the wages to your laborers that is paid in the North. This can not endure. You must level up, or we shall find your cheap labor invading us and leveling down.

The gentleman asks a question which I answer as follows:

That is the rock upon which my friend and all of his friends have always wrecked their vessel.

Proceeding with my argument, for I think this is a good point to go on from a little, the tariff is beneficial to the industries of the country because it makes it possible for them to establish themselves and grow and prosper and develop the industries and enterprises of the American people in the production of these commodities on this side of the water; and it keeps away from them the power that has been exercised more than once to crowd the industries of this country first and then advance prices until it becomes an outrageous oppression. Break down our high-labor establishments, sink the capital and bankrupt the owners, and then the cheap-labor manufacturer sees his way to extortion and high prices. Thus it has been. Thus it ever will be.

Mr. HEMPHILL. I have no apprehension on that score. But let me ask the gentleman if competition here is a good thing, why is not competition good with all the rest of the world?

Mr. GROSVENOR. Answer me this question: How did it happen before the late war, before the tariff began to have its effect, we all admit that you did not have such industries in the South?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Because the South was built upon an entirely different system. They did not have the same way of doing business that you had up North. That, I think, had a great deal to do with it.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Yes, and I believe that is the truth. It is probably the best answer that the subject is capable of.

Mr. HEMPHILL. But do not you claim credit for the prosperity there as being due in any sense to the tariff; because, according to our faith, and statistics show it, it is not due to it but is in spite of it.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I will put in my speech here the comparative growth of the cotton-producing industries in this country, and with that before him the intelligent reader will see at once that there is no stronger argument than that which is worked out through the statement and admissions made by the gentleman from South Carolina himself. And going a little further and answering him more fully, I do not think foreign competition a good thing, and I am amazed that any one should. Foreign competition cuts down the price of labor first, then that of commodities; then the laboring man must live cheaper, and drift back toward the condition of the European laborers. Competition at home will not be pushed to an extent so baneful in its effects upon labor; and the lowest possible price at which things can be made here, and yet yield fair returns to labor and capital, is what we want.

Wholly unimportant, apparently, is the question of the presence in the South of the manufacturing industries so far as the money that is made out of them is concerned. But it appears by the figures here that the production of cotton has grown up steadily from a point away back in 1877, when there were less than 3,000,000 bales produced, until it has reached the enormous development of almost 7,000,000 bales. And my argument is it is because the cotton is in demand. It is exactly the illustration I undertook to make about the small farm produce. There are a number of people in South Carolina and all over the United States engaged in producing cotton. And that is so because there is a demand for it.

Mr. HEMPHILL. There are two reasons for making a big crop. If it sells well and we get a good price it is all right, and we make a large crop from the profit. But if it does not sell well, we have to make twice as much in order to get even a living. So it is necessary, in order to prove the prosperity of the South, to show, not that they make a big crop, but that they make money out of it; and before you claim credit for protection you must show that our cotton finds a market in this country, while statistics show that 77 per cent. is sent abroad.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I will make a suggestion which I think is perhaps as valuable here as at any other point in my speech. The gentleman says that 77 per cent. finds a market abroad. He means the markets of the world. So it turns out that 77 per cent. of the cotton of South Carolina, being an unprotected raw material, has found the markets of the world. That is not true of the products of New England. For some reason or other you have some better way of finding the markets of the world than our New England friends.

Mr. HEMPHILL. If it be a good thing to sell at home why not protect cotton? And I will ask the gentleman to answer another question.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Let me give you a question: If free raw material will aid the American manufacturer to find the markets of the world, how is it that only 8 per cent. finds a market and about the same amount of the raw material of woolen manufactures; cotton being free while wool is protected? I want the gentleman to answer that question squarely.

Mr. HEMPHILL. I will endeavor to do so. I never have pretended that when you get the markets of the world you are to sell the whole of your product there. You sell it wherever you get the most for it. If wool will sell for more there, all right; and if cotton will sell for more there, all right.

Mr. GROSVENOR. If the manufacturer and farmer of my country can sell all their products at a fair price, and thereby can afford to pay a fair price for labor, I am content with the situation without hazarding the substance of their prosperity by grasping after the shadow of the markets of the world.

But to proceed. A citizen of the United Kingdom wears $3 worth of woolen goods in a year; a citizen of the United States expends $6 a year in woolen goods. We find the manufacturers of this country with free cotton, unprotected from competition with the spindles of Europe and at the same time in competition with protected wool; and the markets of the world absorb our product in the same proportion, not to exceed 10 per cent. in the case of either one of the commodities. That is the solution of the whole question. We pay higher wages than they do in Europe. When the manufacturer here is able to run his machinery at the same cost as the manufacturer of Europe there will be no trouble about free raw material.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Do I understand the gentleman to say that we sell 77 per cent. of our wool abroad?

Mr. GROSVENOR. No, sir; I said we sold 10 per cent. of our woolen manufactures abroad.

Mr. HEMPHILL. That is a different thing from the sale of 77 per cent. of our cotton abroad. I ask the gentleman this question: Why should you pay a man who raises sheep an extra amount of money and refuse it to a man who hoes and plows and raises cotton? According to some statements made here, the laborer in the South gets $8 a month. Why not give him something more? Why give the higher wages to a man who is engaged in raising sheep and refuse it to a man who is engaged in cultivating cotton? Why tax the man who raises cotton to add to the profits of the man who raises sheep?

Mr. GROSVENOR. If you put a tariff on imported cotton goods I have no objection.

Mr. HEMPHILL. I do not believe in that; but you do. And if you believe in it, why do you not do something for the laboring man of the South?

Mr. GROSVENOR.. You told us that because of your monopoly of the cotton you are making enormous profits.

Mr. HEMPHILL. On the manufacture of cotton we are making profits, but not on the growing of it. I never have seen a manufacturer, North or South, who distributed his money when he could hold on to it. I think the very fact of the enormous number of strikes and lock-outs you have in the northern country, compared with what are in the South, is a good showing in favor of the contentment of the Southern employé in the factories.

Mr. FARQUHAR. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio has one minute of his time remaining.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I ask for such extension of the gentleman's time as will correspond to the time that has been occupied in the colloquies.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's time has been already extended.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I ask that it be extended for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSVENOR. This is the sort of an argument which is, at least with the exception of one speech made here, a novelty; I think I shall be entitled to the credit of having drawn the fire of the other side of the House. But I do not object to this. Fair discussion is what we seek and what we tender to others. The people will discriminate, and judge and decide.

Mr. Chairman, there are certain special matters in this bill about which I want to speak.

I want to show that this bill is sectional in its proposed operation, and that it discriminates for and against certain articles of American production, and I want, moreover, to point out some wrongs in existng law. And first I will discuss

THE TARIFF ON SUGAR.

Mr. Chairman, no more glaring exhibition or demonstration of the sectional and unjust character of this bill can be found than in the schedule which gives to sugar 80 per cent. at least of its present unwarranted protection. There is no principle of protection that justifies this tariff, this tax, or any other tax upon sugar. Mr. Chairman, what is the ground-work upon which we rest our claim of right to protect these industries? We say to the world we have here in the United States the soil or the crude material, as the case may be, the natural capacity to produce this commodity, and the labor, and the skill, and the money, and the enterprise to produce it. Therefore, we say, protect this labor, this skill, this capital, this enterprise from the cheaper labor, cheaper skill, cheaper capital, and cheaper enterprise of the old countries, and we will produce of this commodity all that the people of this country want, and when once protected, domestic competition will relieve the consumer of extortion in the matter of prices. Thus it is that we have been enabled to show that of all the protected industries of this country their products have been cheapened.

I shall not encumber my speech with needless exhibits of figures, but I want to show in good round numbers that there is not one article that enters into the daily life of a family that we produce in this country in sufficient quantities for the demands of our people that has not been cheapened by the direct influence of protected industries and stimulated enterprise and competition. Let the farmer of to-day take his dollar and set down and figure what he can buy with it, the things he wants and must have, and then let him take a table of prices under a good old Democratic administration, and he will discover what I have long ago discovered, that there is not one article that has not been cheapened. But, Mr. Chairman, how does this logic and argument apply to the duty on sugar? We tax the people of the United States about $60,000,000 a year for the tariff tax on sugar; that is one dollar a head for every man, woman, and child, black and white, bond and free, great and small—the average tax upon each is a dollar. And now for what it is a tax, Mr. Chairman, for revenue only, or to be absolutely accurate about it, nine-tenths of the money thus received is a tax for revenue only and has no protective quality about it whatever. It is not justified; no man can justify it. We have stimulated the production of steel rails in this country by a protective duty and are able to show to the world to-day that we can make the steel rails for every railroad in America and export them, if need be, to the Old World.

We ask for protection on wool, and demonstrate to the world that America can produce all the wool that America can manufacture and have a surplus of the raw material to export. This is justifiable taxation. This is taxation within the scope and principle of the policy of protection. But what about sugar?

I append a table showing the quantities of sugar and molasses produced in the State of Louisiana during the years named below, and which I undertake to guaranty to be as accurate as statistics of this kind can be made, and it appears that in 1861 the products of sugar in the United States amounted to 459,419 hogsheads; that of molasses in the same year, 34,216,000 gallons. In the years 1886–'87 the production of sugar had fallen to 145,986 hogsheads; and at no time since the war did it reach 250,000, and the ratio has been downward, right downward.

The table is as follows:

Statement showing the quantities of sugar and molasses produced in the State of Louisiana during the years named below.

[From data furnished by A. Bouchereau, esq.]

Years.	Sugar.	Molasses.	Years.	Sugar.	Molasses.
	Hhds.	*Gallons.*		*Hhds.*	*Gallons.*
1818	25,000	.....	1855–'56	231,429	15,274,140
1823–'24	30,000	.....	1856–'57	73,296	4,882,380
1824–'25	32,000	.....	1857–'58	279,697	19,578,790
1825–'26	30,000	.....	1858–'59	362,296	24,887,760
1826–'27	32,000	1,604,250	1859–'60	221,840	17,858,100
1827–'28	30,000	2,255,750	1860–'61	228,753	18,414,550
1828–'29	45,000	4,398,250	1861–'62	459,419	34,216,000
1829–'30	71,000	2,300,090	1862–'63	.....	7,619,000
1830–'31	88,000	3,900,900	1863–'64	76,800	2,303,000
1831–'32	48,000	3,650,000	1864–'65	10,387	765,000
1832–'33	70,000	.....	1865–'66	18,070	1,128,000
1833–'34	75,000	.....	1866–'67	41,000	2,570,000
1834–'35	100,000	.....	1867–'68	37,647	2,800,000
1835–'36	30,000	.....	1868–'69	84,250	5,636,920
1836–'37	70,000	.....	1869–'70	87,090	5,724,256
1837–'38	65,000	.....	1870–'71	144,881	10,281,419
1838–'39	70,000	.....	1871–'72	128,461	10,019,958
1839–'40	115,000	.....	1872–'73	108,520	8,898,640
1840–'41	87,000	.....	1873–'74	89,498	8,203,944
1841–'42	90,000	.....	1874–'75	116,867	11,516,828
1842–'43	140,000	.....	1875–'76	144,146	10,870,546
1843–'44	100,000	.....	1876–'77	169,331	12,024,108
1844–'45	200,000	.....	1877–'78	127,753	14,237,280
1845–'46	186,000	.....	1878–'79	213,221	13,218,404
1846–'47	140,000	.....	1879–'80	169,972	12,189,190
1847–'48	240,000	.....	1880–'81	218,314	15,255,029
1848–'49	220,000	.....	1881–'82	122,982	9,691,104
1849–'50	247,923	.....	1882–'83	241,220	15,716,755
1850–'51	211,201	.....	1883–'84	221,515	15,277,316
1851–'52	237,547	.....	1884–'85	170,431	11,761,608
1852–'53	321,934	25,700,000	1885–'86	231,290	17,863,732
1853–'54	449,324	31,000,000	1886–'87	145,986	.....
1854–'55	346,635	23,113,620			

NOTE.—No data for years left blank.

But I append another table, with equal assurance of its correctness, which shows the amount of sugar and molasses produced in the United States during the years from 1852 to 1886, inclusive; and this shows a gross production in 1861 of 528,321,500 pounds of sugar in Louisiana, and 11,509,000 pounds in all the other Southern States; with 34,216,000 gallons of molasses in Louisiana, and 3,502,000 gallons in all the other Southern States. And in 1885–'86 the production of sugar in Louisiana was 286,626,486 pounds, and in all the other Southern States 16,128,000 pounds. And in the same years the production of molasses was 17,863,732 gallons, and in all the other Southern States 3,645,000 gallons, while away back in 1853 Louisiana produced 31,000,000 gallons of molasses, almost double her product of 1885–'86.

Statement showing the quantities of sugar and molasses produced in the United States during the years from 1852 to 1886, inclusive.

Year.	Sugar.		Molasses.	
	Louisiana.	Other Southern States.	Louisiana.	Other Southern States.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1852–'53	368,129,000	18,173,000	25,700,000	1,260,000
1853–'54	495,156,000	29,998,000	31,000,000	1,956,000
1854–'55	385,227,000	29,498,000	23,113,620	1,406,000
1855–'56	254,569,000	22,000,000	15,274,140	1,320,000
1856–'57	81,373,000	5,987,000	4,882,380	360,000
1857–'58	307,666,700	14,203,000	19,578,790	795,000
1858–'59	414,796,000	18,298,000	24,887,760	1,080,000
1859–'60	255,115,750	11,534,000	17,858,100	736,000
1860–'61	265,063,000	9,661,000	18,414,550	1,394,000
1861–'62	528,321,500	11,509,000	34,216,000	3,502,000
1862–'63	96,840,000	6,200,000	7,619,000	381,000
1863–'64	84,500,000	560,000	2,303,000	217,000
1864–'65	10,800,000	400,000	765,000	85,000
1865–'66	19,900,000	740,000	1,128,000	172,000
1866–'67	42,900,000	7,500,000	2,570,000	430,000
1867–'68	41,400,000	10,120,000	2,800,000	570,000
1868–'69	95,051,225	5,750,000	5,636,920	764,000
1869–'70	99,452,940	5,380,000	5,724,256	876,000
1870–'71	168,878,592	9,426,000	10,281,419	619,000
1871–'72	146,906,125	9,446,000	10,019,958	681,000
1872–'73	125,346,493	9,486,000	8,898,640	601,000
1873–'74	103,241,119	5,399,000	8,203,944	507,000
1874–'75	134,504,691	7,736,000	11,516,828	674,000
1875–'76	163,418,070	9,062,000	10,870,546	1,380,000
1876–'77	190,672,570	8,688,000	12,024,108	876,000
1877–'78	147,101,941	11,940,000	14,237,280	913,000
1878–'79	239,478,753	11,402,000	13,218,404	1,005,000
1879–'80	198,962,278	8,915,000	12,189,190	1,211,000
1880–'81	272,982,899	12,320,000	15,255,029	1,704,000
1881–'82	159,874,950	11,200,000	9,691,104	2,308,896
1882–'83	303,066,258	15,680,000	15,716,755	3,250,000
1883–'84	287,712,230	15,232,000	15,277,316	3,118,000
1084–'85	211,402,963	14,560,000	11,761,608	2,892,000
1885–'86	286,626,486	16,128,000	17,863,732	3,645,000

NOTE.—The data as to the production of Louisiana are from the Louisiana Sugar Reports, by A. Bouchereau, and the data of the products of other Southern States were furnished by Mr. A. Noel Blakeman, manager of the New York Shipping and Commercial List.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we hear the advocates of the special interests of personal friends occasionally telling us that the sugar production in the South is going to improve and increase, and that the product of sugar is the great staple product of Louisiana.

I here append a little table, taken from the official figures, which shows the agricultural condition of Louisiana for the year ending December, 1887, and by that it will be seen that the cotton of Louisiana was worth $21,115,150, while the sugar was worth but $14,831,936; or, in other words, the sugar crop was worth only two-thirds in round numbers of the cotton crop of Louisiana, while the corn crop was worth nearly $11,000,000. It appears, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that Louisiana is abandoning the production of sugar as an important factor in her prosperity. The acreage in sugar-cane is growing annually less, while the acreage in corn and cotton and the other cereals of that splendid agricultural region is growing annually, indicating that the people in Louisiana understand perfectly well that the sugar industry has had its day and is going out. The following is the table:

During the past agricultural year, ending with December, 1887, Louisiana produced the following crops, which bear evidence to the inexhaustible fertility of its soil:

Products.	Acreage.	Yield.	Value.
Cotton.....bales..	1,025,300	468,802	$21,115,150
Sugar.....barrels..	177,044	1,059,424	14,831,936
Molasses.....gallons..		16,243,490	4,548,577
Rice.....pounds..	72,686	61,930,831	3,046,888
Corn.....bushels..	973,142	19,927,323	10,963,364
Oats.....do....	36,861	498,600	263,940
Potatoes, sweet.....do....	19,462	1,895,622	812,297
Potatoes, Irish.....do....	6,710	257,168	307,402
Hay.....tons..	28,200	71,200	1,078,000
Fruits.....	8,000	.....	360,000
Other agricultural products, forage, etc....	10,000	.....	3,775,000
Total.....	2,357,414	.....	61,102,584

Now, Mr. Chairman, while these figures are true as to the production, they are equally true as to the consumption.

I here append a table showing the amount of sugar consumed in the United States from 1877 to 1886, inclusive:

Statement showing the quantity (in tons of 2,240 pounds) of sugar consumed in the United States during each year from 1877 to 1886, inclusive.

[Data mainly derived from the New York Shipping and Commercial List.]

Calendar year.	Imported cane sugar. *a*	Domestic product.						Total.	Consumption per cap. ita of population.
		Manufactured from imported molasses. *b*	Of cane in Louisiana.	Of cane in other Southern States.	Of maple.	Of beet root. *c*	Of sorghum and other.		
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Lbs.*
1877..	603,750	35,500	85,121	3,879	12,000	446	1,554	745,250	36.0
1878..	649,872	40,000	65,670	5,330	11,000	223	1,377	773,472	36.2
1879..	664,196	44,900	106,910	5,000	10,000	357	1,443	831,896	38.1
1880..	765,370	50,617	88,822	.....	10,000	357	1,943	917,109	40.9
1881..	832,616	39,949	121,867	5,500	9,000	629	.....	1,009,561	43.9
1882..	917,120	64,456	71,372	5,000	20,000	446	.....	1,078,394	45.7
1883..	962,871	40,722	135,297	7,000	18,500	536	.....	1,164,926	48.2
1884..	1,053,790	50,000	121,443	7,000	25,000	737	313	1,265,283	51.0
1885..	1,069,539	47,259	94,376	6,500	25,900	600	1,400	1,245,274	48.8
1886..	1,162,609	72,613	127,958	7,200	18,000	754	.....	1,389,125	53.3

a Includes such amounts of beet sugar as may have been imported.

b Leading refiners state that little or no sugar is manufactured from domestic molasses.

c Now manufactured in California only.

While the production has been going steadily but rapidly downhill, the consumption has been going steadily and rapidly up-hill. By the combination of these figures it will be seen that the largest amount produced in the United States in one year was from 1861 to 1862 when it aggregated nearly 540,000,000 pounds, while in 1885 the total product exceeded but a trifle 300,000,000 pounds. But in 1886 we consumed 3,111,640,000 pounds of sugar, being more than ten times the quantity produced in this country. Therefore nine-tenths of that product on which we collect $60,000,000 is the same kind of a tax in quality and essence as would be a like tax levied upon tea and coffee.

There was in 1886 seven hundred fewer establishments than there were in 1861, and yet our population is rapidly increasing and the individual consumption of sugar also. In 1877 we consumed 36 pounds of sugar per annum per capita. In 1884 it reached 53.3 pounds, and last year it is estimated at 55 pounds to every human being. The duties paid in 1886 amounted to $50,265,538, and last year to $56,507,495.

So, Mr. Chairman, this sugar duty can not be maintained. It is a tax for the benefit of a few to the injury of the many. The tax is levied upon the same principle as was the war taxes upon sugar and coffee. The Republican party made haste over the opposition of the Democratic party to give to the people of this country, the rich and poor alike, free coffee and free tea. Its mission will not be ended in this direction until it has made it possible to sweeten the coffee and the tea with untaxed sugar. The movement is on foot, the cry has gone up; with an over-burdened treasury there is no reason why this tax should stand, and he who gets in the way of this car of progress will find himself crushed under the indignation of a free people. "And whosoever shall fall upon this stone shall be broken; but on whomsover it shall fall, it will grind him to powder."

THE RICE TAX.

How about rice? Was there ever a greater outrage than the tax of 132 per cent. on rice? In 1840, 1841, and 1842 rice was admitted free, and I may say here, Mr. Chairman, that it illy becomes our Democratic opponents on this floor to talk about dear food, high-priced living, while they are putting a tariff of 132 per cent. on a prime article that enters into the consumption of millions of families in the United States. It is the food of the poor colored man in his little cabin at the rice swamps in the Carolinas and Georgia, and the little pickaninnies rely upon it as their substantial subsistence. It enters into the food of the rich man in the North, and the common laborer of the North depends upon it as a staple article of family consumption.

In 1840 the rice product of the country was 63,000,000 pounds and the price was from 2¾ to 4 cents. But I append a table giving the rice crop before the war and since the war, and the various tariffs and prices; and I do it to show that it is a product overprotected, unreasonably and irrationally protected, and to point out the sectional character of this bill I class it with sugar as one of the overprotected industries of the country and which marks the sectional character of this bill. It comes from the sunny South, it comes alike with sugar from the sunny South, from the States that produce not only cotton and sugar and rice, but which quadrennially produce 153 uncontested, uncontaminated Simon Pure Democratic electoral votes.

Why should wool be free and sugar taxed? Is it because sugar votes the Democratic ticket and wool does not? Why protect rice and destroy salt? Is it because one grows on Northern soil and the other in the Southern swamp? Why strike down the products of the North and enhance the value of those of the South? Is it because the "solid South" is the friend of the Democratic party?

Why should the product that comes out of the same earth that God has given to us all, and which rears its head towards the stars in an atmosphere all redolent with the perfume of Southern flowers and amid the atmosphere of Southern spring-time and bursting summer, be protected by an unreasonable tax, while the product that struggles for growth in the severe atmosphere of northern farms and fields go unprotected?

The following table shows the rice crop of the United States before and since the war:

Rice Crop.

Years.	Pounds.	Price per pound.
1840	63,948,000	2¾–4
1845	71,492,400	2⅝–4½
1850	112,237,800	2½–3⅝
1855	70,872,000	2½–5½
1860	119,344,800	3 –4½
1865	5,000,000	9½–14
1870	52,892,400	5½–9½
1875	85,000,000	6½–8½
1880	122,000,000	5½–8
1885	150,000,000	3½–5½
To-day		4½–6½

TARIFFS.

1840. Free.
1841. Free.
1842. Free.
1846. 20 per cent. ad valorem (average ⅝ cent per pound).
1857. 15 per cent ad valorem (average ½ cent per pound).
1861. Cleaned, 1½ per cent.; uncleaned, 1 per cent.
1864. Cleaned, 2½ per cent.; uncleaned, 1 per cent.; rough, 1½ per cent.
1883. Cleaned, 2½ per cent.; uncleaned, 1½ per cent.; rough, 1½ per cent.
Duty at present: cleaned, ad valorem (2½ cents equal) 90 per cent.; uncleaned, ad valorem (1½ cents equal), 75 per cent.
Duty as proposed: cleaned, ad valorem (2 cents equal), 80 per cent.; uncleaned, ad valorem (1½ cents equal), 97 per cent.
Duty, 1861 to 1864,* cleaned, ad valorem (1½ cent equal), 45 per cent.; uncleaned, ad valorem (1 cent equal), 33 per cent.
Duty before the war (highest 20 per cent).

Yearly consumption per head, England (1866), ten and three-quarters (10.76) pounds. Yearly consumption per head, United States (1866), four (4.02) pounds.

Rice at three (3) cents per pound, cleaned in New Orleans, nets planter on plantations as follows: 44 bushels (10 barrels clean) per acre, low yield, $22; 60 bushels (16 barrels clean) per acre, average yield, $36; 80 bushels (20 barrels clean) per acre, not unusual yield, $48.

I add to my comments upon the rice tariff a letter which I have received from one of the most prominent rice dealers of the country, a gentleman who would be at once known and recognized were I to publish his name; and, inasmuch as he has not authorized me to do so, I merely give his letter.

It is as follows:

HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, M. C., *Washington, D. C.:*

DEAR SIR: I beg respectfully to call attention to the inclosed, which sets forth rice as it was and is. In seeking to reduce the revenues, it is presumed that the true legislator considers those articles which can best stand any disturbance of existing conditions. Pre-eminently rice is among that number. I think this assertion is warranted by the facts set forth. The prices of rice before the war were lower than to-day, and yet the crop steadily increased year by year; from which one would naturally argue that the crop must have yielded a satisfactory remuneration to the planter.

Since the war, even when there have been sudden enlargements of crop, prices have never fallen as low as the lowest before the war. During such mentioned years, while there was some complaint in the Atlantic coast States, there was none heard in Louisiana, where the larger amount of crop is now produced. In fact it occurs to me as I write that, when speaking of the unusually low prices of those years, I was assured by residents, who were planters as well as capitalists, that rice could be profitably raised and sold, cleaned, at 3 cents per pound, and pay fair intermediary charges, *i. e.*, to commission merchant and miller. I have no reason to doubt the assertion, for Louisiana rice can be raised as cheaply as any other cereal and the average yield per acre is an item larger than wheat.

Another reason why I can but think the margin must have been reasonably satisfactory is, that other crops are discontinued and the culture of rice steadily extended. This is true in a lesser degree of the Carolinas, but doubly true of Louisiana.

Prior to the war the culture in Louisiana was but a few thousand barrels of Creole or red rice. But in 1885 and 1886 it produced over 400,000 barrels, equal to 90,000,000 pounds of rice, that vied with Carolina for excellence. I do not wish to be understood as striking at any needed barrier, but if the duty on rice is not required for protection, or by the Government for revenue, then I would like to see it abolished or reduced to some point approximating to that which prevailed before the war.

As will appear by the card the duty on rice six years prior to 1861 was 15 per cent. ad valorem, equal to less than one-half cent per pound. Rice is a cheap food product and more largely used in all other countries of the same climate than in our own, and undoubtedly would be used to the same extent were not its prices so far above those of other cereals, of which number it actually is.

In closing I venture to suggest for your consideration a duty on cleaned rice of one-half cent per pound, or 15 per cent., or 20 per cent. ad valorem; and that "rough rice" and "uncleaned rice," being a "raw and unmanufactured article," be placed upon the "free list."

From this, Mr. Chairman, it will be seen that there never was a greater or more systematic scheme of hypocrisy than this pretense of aiding the people of this country by cheaper living. Rice is taxed beyond all reason, sugar is taxed without any justification, cotton is protected, and whisky is the one sacred element in this country that the Democratic Committee of Ways and Means dare not disturb. But they strike at salt.

THE ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE INDUSTRY OF SALT-MAKING.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there is another matter intimately connected with my own Congressional district, and to which I desire to call the attention of the committee. The salt industry in the United States is assailed in this bill. The manifest purpose of the framers of this bill—a remarkable document—is to destroy the business of manufacturing salt. They can have no other purpose. They shall not screen themselves behind the pretense that they are seeking either to cut down the revenue or cheapen the production of salt. Salt is an article which goes into the consumption of every family in the land; that I agree to. It is a commodity without which no table is properly equipped for the health and comfort of mankind. It is an indispensable necessity for the rich and the poor alike. For however different in degrees the human palate and the human taste may be or become, there is no human taste or human palate that ignores or disregards the necessity of salt. Is that attack upon salt anything less than that which I have stated? And there is no better article to illustrate the fallacy of the whole argument of these free-trade people than this very item of salt.

In January, 1888, the salt manufaturers of New York appointed a committee to prepare a statement concerning the salt industry of the country, and especially of their own section of the country, and I desire to place in this connection a table, showing the rise and progress, growth, and development of the salt industry of the United States, beginning back of the tariff and coming on down to the present day. The gentlemen who prepared the table state the arguments in favor of free salt are as follows:

The principal arguments that have been offered in favor of the removal of the duty on salt may be briefly summarized:

1. It is asserted that, owing to the protective duty, the price paid for salt by the American consumer is too high.

2. It is asserted that American dairy salt is not so good for butter-making as the English salt, and that to produce the best grades of butter it is necessary to use the latter.

3. It is asserted that it is requisite to use foreign salts for the packing of meat, as American salt will not keep the meat as well as the other.

4. It is asserted that the salt-makers of this country have organized a monopoly or trust for the control of prices, and that the same are thereby maintained at an artificially high standard.

These assertions we take the liberty of replying to, seriatim.

1. Until about twenty-five years ago, America possesed but a limited salt industry, chiefly confined to the environs of the city of Syracuse, in the State of New York, the salt fields there located being the property of the State and not of individuals. At that time the country depended almost entirely on the products of this field, together with a pretty large quantity of the imported article, and the price, owing to the limited domestic competition, was high. About the year 1860 the manufacture of salt was commenced in the State of Michigan, and in a few years developed with surprising rapidity, so that by 1866 the price of salt had fallen from a very high figure to the then low price of $1.80 per barrel for "common fine" salt, this grade constituting the main bulk of American salt. As these fields became further developed and competition more active, the price of salt fell during succeeding years, the average price being, for—

1867	$1.77	1877	$0.85
1868	1.85	1878	.85
1869	1.58	1879	1.02
1870	1.32	1880	.75
1871	1.46	1881	.85
1872	1.46	1882	.75
1873	1.37	1883	.81
1874	1.19	1884	.73
1875	1.10	1885	.70
1876	1.05	1886	.61

About the year 1883 the discovery of salt in Western New York, distant about 125 miles from the Syracuse field, led to an extensive development of this industry in that region, and with the result that standard common fine salt was freely offered during 1886 and 1887 as low as 55 cents per barrel (barrels worth 25 cents included), being equivalent to 6 cents a bushel for the net salt.

Domestic competition has been the chief factor in reducing the price of salt, and we believe that the figures just given should be sufficient refutation of the assertion that the price of salt is artificially high, and that the remedy lies in the removal of the present duty.

2. In reference to the claim that American dairy salt is not equal to the English, and that fine grades of butter can not be made with it, we will simply state that the organization known as the National Butter and Cheese Association, representing the whole country, appoints judges to examine and pass upon the exhibits of butter and cheese made at its annual meetings. At the meeting held at Manchester, Iowa, in November, 1887, fifteen premiums were awarded on butter, of which thirteen were taken by butter salted with American salt. At the annual meeting of the association held in Chicago in 1886, the majority of prizes for butter and cheese were taken by users of American salt. The most noted producer of creamery butter in the world, the Elgin Butter Company, uses American dairy salt exclusively. As their butter commands the highest market price, they would certainly employ English salt if it were in reality of better quality than American. We conceive that assertion No. 2 needs no further refutation.

3. The assertion that meats preserved in brine made with American salt will not keep so well as those in which foreign salt is used, is met by the fact that the principal packing houses of this country, situated at Cincinnati, Chicago, Saint Louis, and Kansas City, rely almost exclusively on American salt.

Here, then, is a statement which shows that, beginning way back in 1867, salt had begun to fall under the operation of a protective tariff and American competition, so that from $2.50 a barrel before the war it reached $1.77 in 1867, and while the Republican party has continued this "robber tariff," about which these gentlemen prate so loudly, in 1886 we find the price of salt 61 cents a barrel in the New York market, and in 1877 it was being produced and sold as low as 55 cents a barrel, packed in a barrel worth 25 cents, or the salt was being sold at an equivalent of 6 cents a bushel for the net salt; and yet these people propose to strike a deadly and fatal blow at the salt interest.

The same committee makes the following statement in regard to the practical effect of the removal of the duty on salt, assuming, as they do, for the purposes of their argument, that the removal of the duty would reduce the cost of the salt in this country at a corresponding ratio.

The following is their statement:

Fine salt for dairying purposes comes from England in sacks holding 224 pounds and pays a duty of 12 cents per hundred pounds, equal to about 27 cents per sack. The best quality of this salt sells in New York for about $2.25 per sack, or say 1 cent a pound. One pound of salt is usually added to 16 pounds of butter, so the salt in each pound of butter costs in this market $\frac{1}{16}$ of a cent. If, now, the duty of 27 cents a sack be removed and the market price correspondingly fall, there will be a saving to the butter maker of about one-eighth of the present cost, equal to about $\frac{1}{128}$ of a cent for each pound of butter made. In other words, removal of the 12-cent tariff on dairy salt will save the creamery and dairymen 1 cent for every 128 pounds of butter made.

Is this saving to the butter maker or the consumer of butter worth the sacrifice of the dairy salt-making interest of the United States?

But this statement and this suggestion have no force in the light of events. I undertake to say, and I say it with a full knowledge of the exact condition of the salt business in the United States, that the removal of the duty on salt would have just two effects: First, to close, or substantially close, all the salt manufactories of the United States. It would obliterate the capital now invested therein. It would drive the persons employed to seek other employment, and crowd the other occupations, and cheapen the reward to be given. Thereupon, the industry being destroyed, this country, with its sixty-odd millions of people, every one of whom uses salt, would be at the mercy of the foreign producer and importer. Then we should have salt again where it stood prior to the war; we would then be back to the good old *ante bellum* Democratic times, and in case of war be helpless.

There are no "trusts" in the manufacture of salt, no combination, except to cheapen the outlay of the manufacturer in putting his salt into the market. It is an article of American production, and while it yields but a trifling revenue to the Government, it affords remunerative employment to a large number of people. As to whether or not the removal of the duty would destroy the industry, I subjoin a further statement from the salt manufacturers of New York.

It is as follows:

Salt imported for packers' use and commonly known as "Liverpool ground," usually comes in bulk and pays a duty of 8 cents per hundred pounds, equal to $1.60 per ton of 2,000 pounds. If the market price of salt in the United States should be reduced to the extent indicated by these figures, it is clear that the domestic manufacturer would receive but 65 cents a ton for the salt that he makes.

*Foreign rice much higher than now, hence specific duty was less per cent. on value.

As fuel required for making a ton of salt costs a little over $1, the salt manufactories of this region, and in fact of all the salt-making regions of the United States, must inevitably close. With the salt-works of this country closed and the plants dismantled, the market would be in the hands of English manufacturers and prices would probably reach, if not surpass, those of twenty-five years ago. We trust that such a condition of affairs may be averted.

It is true now, and I admit it, that the blow would fall heavier at first upon the New York manufacturers than upon the manufacturers of Michigan or my own district; but it would be equally finally fatal to the manufacturers of salt everywhere. I adopt and make a part of my speech the following letter from one of the most intelligent men of my district, so far as the knowledge of the salt industry is concerned, a gentleman who has been with and of the salt industry or the Ohio and Kanawha Valleys to my certain knowledge for more than twenty-five years; has grown with its growth, participated in the struggles of that industry, was with it when it was a magnificent enterprise, stood by it in its zenith of prosperity, and has struggled to uphold it when, under the pressure of domestic competition and assailed by foreign competition, it has grown to be a smaller and less lucrative enterprise—Col. George McQuigg, general agent of the Ohio River Salt Company, the headquarters of which is located at Pomeroy, in my district. He gives an intelligent statement of the inevitable effect of the removal of the remaining duty on salt.

OFFICE OF OHIO RIVER SALT COMPANY.
Pomeroy, Ohio, February 3, 1888.

DEAR GENERAL: Yours was received some days ago, but I have been sick with cold, which is the reason of delay in answering. You understand the situation here, and I can only refresh your memory with few of the arguments.

The consumption of salt now is about 60,000,000 bushels, or an equivalent of 1 bushel for each inhabitant; one-third of the supply is foreign salt and the balance domestic production. It is sold at about 12 cents per bushel so that the *great oppression* upon the people amounts to about 12 cents annually. Domestic salt is sold here at substantially the same price that Liverpool salt is sold at Liverpool. Foreign salt supplies almost the entire seaboard from Galveston, Tex., to Bangor, Me., and inland on line from Galveston to Little Rock, Ark., thence to Nashville, Tenn., and thence to Bangor; and it supplies that territory for the reason that they have cheaper freights into all that territory than can be had for the domestic salt, even after paying the 4 cents per bushel duty, and free salt will give to the foreign importer just that much more territory to supply that the $1.60 per ton duty off will carry it from the line where it is now met further inland.

We have made no money for ten years in the manufacture here. Immediately after the war, when the entire Southern country was bare of such by reason of the blockade of the Southern ports, we, unfortunately for us, made some money on salt, and the war tariff still being on to help meet the necessities of the Government, the industry then paying a heavy internal tax, induced a large amount of capital to go into the manufacture, but so soon as the tariff was reduced our industry languished, and plants that cost $100,000 have been sold for what the wreck would bring, in one instance $2,500 for furnace that cost over $100,000. We have in this country now, including Michigan, New York, Ohio, and West Virginia, capacity to make all the salt that the demand in the whole country requires.

As already shown, we only supply two-thirds of the required demand now, with free salt the English importers would soon be masters of the situation, and then, with the domestic industry crushed out, they can name their own price, and, further, in case of any future troubles, so that the supply would be cut off, we are left in as bad condition for the whole country as the South was during the war. The whole industry is the result of labor, except small royalty for the coal consumed in its manufacture, and also small royalty for the timber in the forest, of which the package is made, and the money expended in the industry will, when we are paralyzed by free salt, go into the pockets of English makers instead of being distributed here.

Yours, truly,

GEO. McQUIGG.

I need add no more, Mr. Chairman. I have seen the growth and development and decline of this industry myself. I have seen the encroachment of domestic competition coming legitimately from Michigan and circumscribing the territory in which our own salt was sold. That was the result of legitimate enterprises by American citizens, and against it no word of clamor was raised. But now that this industry is narrowed down to the *minimum* of profit, when it is being operated for the laboring man more than for the capitalist, I want to raise my voice, without hesitation, in solemn protest against the removal of the only barrier that stands between the absolute destruction of this industry and its present scarcely remunerative condition.

There are in my district quite a large number of laboring men who depend upon this industry for their support. Their wives and children look to it for their daily bread, clothing, and education. These hardy men erected their homes and raised their roof-trees in the Ohio and Kanawha Valleys in view of the profit to them of employment in this industry. They have by their sturdy attention to business and their honest industry cheapened the American production of salt in the ratio which I have already mentioned. Now, without any reason but the cold-blooded hostility of the southern free-trader to northern labor and northern laboring men, they see impending over them the sword of destruction. I appeal on their behalf that this blow shall not fall; I demand that my people shall be protected from this outrage. Standing here in my place, as their representative, I protest on their behalf that this wrong be not done.

BUT WHAT OF WOOL?

If I believed that Mr. Cleveland, in his message to the people of the United States, was not actuated by any feeling of resentment toward the people of the North, who never did, and, thank God, never will vote for him for President, I could discuss his position on the wool question with a greater degree of equanimity, and I suppose that I am bound by that Christian charity which ought to actuate us all to give to Mr. Cleveland the benefit of the doubt as to his actual feelings and motives.

It seems passing strange, however, that he should attack the industries of a section of the country that did not vote for him, and yet pass over without assault a line of industries standing upon the same footing by every consideration of justice and policy. If any man can tell me upon what different basis for the purposes now under consideration the wool of Ohio stands from the rice of South Carolina, I would like him to do it. If any man can point out to me wherein the salt product of the struggling little industry of my district differs in essence and quality for this purpose from the sugar product of Louisiana I would like to have him do it, and when he has done it successfully, I confess, Mr. Chairman, that my mind will be relieved of a grave and most unpleasant suspicion.

The attitude of the President towards these industries is shaped and molded by the election returns of 1884 and the prospective election returns of 1888. And in this connection, while I am wonderfully glad that coal and iron ore are not on the free-list in terms, although I fear they are there by indirection, I would be glad if some gentleman would show me the difference in quality for this purpose between iron ore and coal, and salt and lumber and wool. The distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] in his opening speech, when interrupted about the principle upon which the Ways and Means Committee had framed this bill in this respect, and when driven to answer why they did not put coal and iron ore on the free-list, he said:

"Some things you can do and some things you can't do."

Ah! Mr. Chairman, the men of Ohio and Michigan and Illinois and Iowa were not permitted to go before that committee and demand the protection of their staple products, but the States of Alabama and Georgia were heard to threaten the Democratic solid column if they dared with ruthless hands to strike a blow against the magnificent development going on to-day in Alabama and Georgia in the development of iron and coal; and I thank God for that. The men of my district, of my State, and of my section are greatly interested in these two staple products of the country, and I was glad when I learned that these men dared not strike at these commodities. They will wish they had been more cowardly; they will wish that the element of cowardice had entered more largely into their consideration and judgment; they will wish that when they turned and fled from the threats of the coal men and the iron men of Virginia and Georgia and Alabama and other southern constituencies they had also fled from the wrath of the wool men and the salt men and the lumber men and the flax men and the pottery men, and the tens of thousands of other men of the industries of the country whose rights they have trampled in the dust.

But, Mr. Chairman, I was speaking of wool. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], candid man that he is, brave man as he is too to fight the industries of his State, destroy the best products of her magnificent growth in order that he may keep step with the reactionary Democracy, fell into the same mistake that so many have fallen in regard to the effect that the changes of the tariff have had upon the wool production of the country. And, Mr. Chairman, I append here a statement which exactly illustrates the difficulty into which my friend fell. I give the table and will comment upon it:

FACT AND FICTION ABOUT WOOL.

The following tables are from the Pittsburgh Post, and are intended to show that sheep-raising in the States named has declined after twenty years of high tariff:

1860—Low tariff:	
Sheep in Pennsylvania	1,631,540
Sheep in Ohio	3,546,767
Sheep in New York	2,617,855
Prices—fine	56 to 60 cents.
Prices—medium	45 to 50 cents.
Prices—coarse	40 to 42 cents.
1887—High tariff:	
Sheep in Pennsylvania	1,094,323
Sheep in Ohio	4,562,913
Sheep in New York	1,579,866
Prices—fine	33 to 34 cents.
Prices—medium	37 to 38 cents.
Prices—coarse	33 to 35 cents.
Some of the results:	
Decrease of sheep in three States after twenty years high prices	559,060
Decrease in prices—fine wool	23 to 26 cents.
Medium wool	8 to 12 cents.
Coarse wool	7 cents.

Now the facts are exactly the reverse, if the cunning arithmetician of the paper had put them in their proper place, as follows:

	Low tariff, 1860.	High tariff, 1883.	Low tariff, 1888.
Sheep in Pennsylvania	1,631,540	1,803,336	984,891
Sheep in Ohio	3,456,767	5,050,541	4,106,622
Sheep in New York	2,617,855	1,732,332	1,564,067
	7,706,162	8,586,209	6,655,580

In 1883 the tariff was reduced so as to allow the yarn and goods (viz, worsted), which require the wool of these particular States for their production, to come in at a lower figure than we can make them at home.

SOME OF THE RESULTS.

Increase of sheep in three States after twenty years of high protection. 880,047
Decrease of sheep in three States after four years reduced tariff..... 1,050,582

If worsted yarns and wools were restored to their position under the law of 1867, their importation would stop, our home mills get to work, and the wools of these three States be again in demand, at such prices as would make sheep-raising profitable and result in a very great increase of their flocks.

The decreased price was caused by the decreased demand. The reduction from 1860 to 1883 was a natural result of increased production under a high tariff, and sheep growers were satisfied with the prices, or they would not have added to their flocks. As a result of the tariff of 1883, however, the price declined to the ruinous figures which caused the decrease in the clip, and to that reduction only is the decrease due, and not to twenty years of high tariff, as claimed in the article quoted.

He avails himself of the figures which show the number of sheep in 1860 in certain of the sheep-growing States. Then he takes the figures of 1887 and gives prices, etc., but he forgot to divide this scope of time from 1860 to 1887 into three periods, and thereby hangs an absolute demonstration of the fact that figures will lie. It appears that under the low tariff the total number of sheep in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York was 7,706,162, and that under the high tariff up to 1883 they had increased to 8,586,209. Then, following the reduction of 1883, which was the first blow delivered upon the sheep-growing interest of this country by the Democratic party, the sheep fell down to 6,655,580. This straightens out my friend's figures and relieves him from the singular position that he got himself into. I append here the prices of wool under three classifications as given by George W. Bond & Co., of Boston, under the tariff of 1868 to 1883 and then from 1884 to 1886, inclusive:

Average prices under the free tariff.

Year.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Average.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1868	37	36	35	36
1869	37	35	30	34
1870	36	35	33	35
1871	43	42	41	42
1872	64	62	58	61
1873	64	56	52	57
1874	49	47	41	46
1875	48	48	41	46
1876	42	43	37	41
1877	40	37	30	36
1878	45	48	31	43
1879	34	35	31	33
1880	47	47	43	46
1881	45	46	38	33
1882	42	45	35	41
1883	42	44	35	40

Average prices under the reduced tariff.

1884	37	34	30	33
1885	34	32	28	33
1886	34	35	35	35

These figures tell the whole story, and demonstrate the fact that figures, while they may be made to lie, nevertheless very often spoil the force of the most impetuous argument. The wool-growers of this country are intelligent people, and they are not petitioning Congress at this time to restore the tax of 1867 without knowing what it is they are talking about. The effect of the reduction of 1883 upon the wool industry is better shown in the table which I now append, which shows the number of sheep in each group of States from 1880 to 1887 and the rise and fall of the industry. The States are grouped, first, reading downward, the whole United States, then the Western States, then the Southern States, then the Pacific coast, then the Territories and the Middle States, then the New England States. And this table, Mr. Chairman, exhibits in language more eloquent than I can use the effect that the tariff of 1867 had in stimulating the wool industry and the reduction of 1883 had in prostrating it.

Table showing the number of sheep in each group of States, 1880–1887.

	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.
Total United States	40, 765, 900	43, 569, 899	45, 016, 224	49, 237, 291
Western States	12, 212, 600	12, 728, 939	13, 845, 938	15, 638, 829
Southern States	9, 922, 200	10, 872, 938	11, 916, 911	12, 973, 860
Pacific coast	8, 911, 900	8, 670, 297	8, 685, 506	9, 067, 837
Territories	4, 019, 600	5, 426, 460	5, 351, 247	6, 320, 000
Middle States	4, 174, 000	4, 292, 203	3, 830, 976	3, 848, 513
New England States	1, 525, 600	1, 579, 062	1, 385, 646	1, 388, 252

	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.
Total United States	50, 626, 626	50, 360, 243	48, 322, 331	44, 759, 314
Western States	15, 630, 760	15, 244, 052	15, 131, 912	14, 332, 538
Southern States	12, 950, 761	12, 468, 301	11, 534, 652	9, 241, 449
Pacific coast	9, 616, 092	9, 370, 617	9, 745, 058	9, 892, 652
Territories	7, 245, 450	8, 495 039	7, 577, 787	7, 087, 558
Middle States	3, 792, 675	3, 498, 425	3, 083, 594	2, 968, 032
New England States	1, 384, 888	1, 283, 809	1, 249, 328	1, 237, 085

The rate of increase, as shown by this exhibit, from 1878 to 1888 was 7 per cent. per annum. Projecting that ratio of increase through the years 1883 to 1887, we should have had for 1884 52,300,000; for 1885, 56,000,000; for 1886, 59,900,000; for 1887, 64,000,000; while, in fact, Mr. Chairman, the total number of sheep in 1887 was but, in round numbers, 44,000,000; a loss, as compared with the undoubted situation had the change not taken place, of 20,000,000 of sheep. Thus the small reduction of the tariff revenue has depleted the wool industry to the extent of 20,000,000 of sheep. And if that be true, what will be the effect of putting wool on the free-list?

There are 700,000 flock-owners in the United States. In 1850 we had but 21,000,000 of sheep in the United States. In 1860, after ten years of Democratic administration, we had but 22,000,000 of sheep. In 1870 we had 29,000,000; in 1880, in round numbers, 44,000,000; in 1883, 50,000,000, or more than double what we had in 1860. This industry furnished employment for 1,200,000 men. It employed more than $500,000,000 of capital, and was producing a product of about 3 per cent. net. Strike down this industry, and you destroy $500,000,000 of the wealth of the country only in so far as the carcasses of the sheep reduces the grand aggregate of destruction.

Mr. Chairman, under a Democratic administration, with wool on the free-list, substantially, I have seen in my own district thousands and tens of thousands of sheep slaughtered in the fall of the year for their hams and pelts. They were worth but a little over 50 cents a head, and there was but little profit on them at that price. I have seen this industry spring up as though touched by the lamp of Aladdin; I have seen intelligent farmers of my district search the world for improved breeds of sheep, and I have seen the flocks dotting the hillsides, grazing in the valleys, thriving and prospering everywhere. There was music in the friendly appeal of the sheep as it came "dumb before her shearers" and deposited in the treasury of the farm her fleecy contribution to the general prosperity of the country. I have seen this tide of industrial prosperity checked; it rose no higher; it stood still; it began to ebb, but it reached a point where if it could be let alone the farmer could live; the farmer could do something with it. But I have seen the ruthless Democratic party, instigated thereto, as I am compelled to believe, by a spirit of envy and hostility to the section where the sheep industry has grown and prospered, lift its vandal hand and hold over the industry a sword more threatening than the fabled sword of Damocles. I have seen these flocks growing smaller and smaller, in many instances fading away; I have seen the farmer with blanched cheeks read of the assaults upon his industry by the Chief Magistrate of this nation, who was under an oath to God to administer his mighty office in the fear of the Almighty and for the benefit of the people of the whole country, and as I speak to-day, Mr. Chairman, the representatives of millions of dollars of this kind of property stand with their ear, figuratively, at the telegraph, as in the olden days when listening to ascertain how far north the flood of rebellion was coming, how near to Nashville the army of Hood had made its bloody track, how near to Cincinnati and Louisville the columns of Bragg and Kirby Smith had proceeded, how far into Pennsylvania the great army of Lee had come. So stand these farmers listening, listening, and their question is, How near to the farms of Ohio has the free-trade column of destruction advanced? Where is Mills, with his spirit of destruction? How near is this vandal horde, with their weapons of inevitable disaster to the flocks in the fields of the wool-growers of the country?

Business is paralyzed, nobody will buy wool, nobody will raise sheep, nobody will trust in the hands of the Democratic party an industry so delicate, so grand, so intimately connected with the best interests of the agriculturists of this country as this. But pass this bill, Mr. Chairman, and I will tell you what they will do. The spirit of 1861 is not dead north of the Ohio River, and they will accept your assault upon that industry as a declaration that, with the Democratic party permanently in power, the people of the North are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the benefit of the people of the South; that the old cry to which I adverted in the early part of my speech, that our people are "small-fisted farmers and greasy mechanics," the "mud-sills of society," is again the dominating voice of the Democratic party. They have a weapon in their hands, and they know how to use it. That weapon in the hands of the freeman comes down—

> "As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
> But execute the freeman's will as lightnings do the will of God."

They will drive from power this Democratic party, and they will reestablish the old Republican party that, through its benign legislation, built up these industries and made this land blossom like the rose.

RAW MATERIALS.

Mr. Chairman, the advocates of the Mills bill have placed themselves in the most humiliating position by the course they have taken upon the subject of what the theorist in this country is pleased to call "raw material." The first assault upon the protective system of the country was based upon the specious and attractive claim that all raw materials used in the manufactures in this country ought to come into the country free of tariff taxes; and the unintelligent statements of the President have made this same idea the watchword and the rallying cry of the free-traders of the country. No greater misuse of words, no greater confusion of ideas ever emanated from man than just what has grown out of this argument. What is free raw material? The people of my State do not produce it. We have no free raw material in any just or proper sense. If there is such a thing as free raw material produced in this country, it strikes me, and I think it must strike everybody else, that iron-ore is about the best type of free raw material. It is the original product that enters

into all the manufactures of iron and steel—think of it—trace the iron product backward or trace it forward, as you like, see the wonderful journey over which it travels.

But, Mr. Chairman, is iron ore raw material? How came it there by the mountain side, piled up, stacked up ready for shipment, and rusting? The royalty upon a ton of it, as it lay buried in its raw condition in the mountain side, was only a trifle per ton. But labor attacked the mountain side, and under the blows of labor the mountains travailed forthwith and produced the offspring, iron-ore. It is cheap, it is coarse. You do not have to put a guard over it as it lays there. No man can steal enough of it to be profitable. You need not shelter it from the rains and storms, for it cannot be injured. But follow it as labor takes hold of it, transports it to the blast furnace, the rolling-mill; and follow it along the shining pathway that it travels until it makes its appearance in the hands of the watch-maker in the form of the main-spring of the watch—a substance so refined, so beautiful, so wonderful that it is worth more per penny-weight than the finest gold—and yet the magnificent transformation of the crude ore at the mountain side is but the result of the combination of labor and capital—twin coursers, harmonious allies—and the transformation spoken of in the fable of Aladdin's lamps was not more wonderful than has been this transformation. The iron ore was the finished product of the miner. It was not raw material to him. The pig-iron was the finished product of the furnaceman; so it is every step of the way until it reaches the watch-maker in the form of the finished product of the steel-spring maker.

Take wool. The farmer clears the land, pays the taxes on it, earns the money by the sweat of his face for that purpose, pastures his sheep, raises the corn and the hay for their food during the winter, erects the sheds and sheep-cots for their protection from the storm and inclemency of the season, herds and cares for the sheep, nurses and rears the lambs, shears the wool, prepares it for market, and carries it to the purchaser; his money is in it in the form of interest on his investment; his labor is in it; the product of his farm is in it, and when he disposes of it, it is his perfected, completed, forever finished product. What right has the manufacturer to call the wool of the farmer raw material in this great sense for the purposes of this inquiry, in a degree greater than the farmer has the right to call the product of the loom raw material, because it is not yet made into clothing? The policy of protection extends to all the labor of the country; it recognizes no such thing as raw material, if that material is produced in America, and is the product of the labor and capital, and the genius and enterprise of the American producer.

The talk here is about protected industries; what does that mean? To me it is a sound and nothing more, "Like a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Our position is that there are no industries in this country that produces anything that are not protected, if not directly then indirectly. Gentlemen talk about discrimination. The true policy of protection is to protect by tariff taxation the industries of this country which come in competition with the industries of the old countries, to the end that they may produce the articles necessary for the comfort of the American citizens primarily and the purchasers of our commodities wherever found, and that in so doing we protect and stimulate and build up and make profitable every industry in this country which produces anything that the American citizen or his neighbor abroad buys and uses.

Mr. Chairman, there are several items here which I would like to have spoken about, but time would fail me to attempt to notice all the inconsistencies and unjust discriminations in this bill of abominations.

The general result of my argument is, that the country under the administration of the political party to which I belong has grown in wealth and prosperity in a ratio never before witnessed in the development of any country on earth; and it has not been shown on the other side, and with all due respect to the very able men who are to follow in defense of this bill, it will not be shown here why it is that under their administration and under the operation of the laws which they are proud of, this country stood still or retrograded in the great march of progress.

Mr. Chairman, I protest against the passage of this bill. I protest against it because the men engaged in the industrial pursuits of this country, which are absolutely akin to the great farming interests of the country, and upon which the farmer depends for his market and for the profits upon his agricultural productions, are almost uniformly opposed to this measure. There is nothing to be gained by it. There is no reason for it. The Republicans on this side of the House will present, doubtless, if not in the form of a bill, certainly in the form of more than one amendment to this bill, a substantial method by which the difficulties complained of, so far as they exist, can be gotten rid of. There is no argument which I have heard that justifies a tax upon sugar. There is no argument which I have heard that justifies a tax upon rice. There is no argument in favor of free raw material that justifies leaving the protective duties upon iron, iron ore, and bituminous coal, and at the same time striking down the Northern products of wool, lumber, and salt, and, generally, the protected products of the country. Not only have the friends of this bill started out upon a principle which long ago was the turning point in the great commercial controversy when they sought to wreck the nation, but they have followed it up by framing a bill so sectional in its character that it appeals to every Northern man to stand like a wall of fire against its passage.

Mr. Chairman, I look with an eye unswerving in faith and a confidence born of intelligent study of the whole situation to the re-entering into power and place in this Government of the Republican party—a party that, coming back to the old familiar position it occupied for almost a quarter of a century, will find the beautiful traces of its handiwork not yet quite fully obliterated from the commercial map of the nation by the untrained and inexperienced Democratic rulers—the old party of liberty, conscience, of equal rights and justice to all men, that laid deep and strong the foundation upon which this mighty superstructure of a free and prosperous government has been builded. It will come back wiser, and by its observations of the failure of its opponents, by the assaults made upon its industrial system by those seeking to drag the prosperity of the country down, coming back re-ordained by the popular voice of the people of the country to again rescue the nation, it will be able to refurnish and rebeautify the magnificent structure it created, and which has been the pride and glory of American citizenship; it will lay the foundation of commercial prosperity deeper, and it will build the beautiful temple broader, higher, more glorious. I see in the uprising of the people everywhere against this monstrous system of cheap labor and cheap production the omens of coming victory. I hear the advancing notes of a triumphant song of free labor, well-paid labor, educated labor, remunerative capital, fair and just distribution of burdens and profits, and an era of prosperity, both commercial and political, such as neither this Government nor any other government ever experienced before on earth.

There is a rainbow in the sky
Above the paths where lightnings trod.
'Twas written by a hand on high,
It is the autograph of God.

[Loud applause on the Republican side.]

Bureau of Animal Industry.

REMARKS

OF

HON. PRESTON B. PLUMB,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, May 3, 1888.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (S. 2083) to provide for the establishment of a Bureau of Animal Industry, and to facilitate the exportation of live stock and their products, to extirpate contagious pleuro-pneumonia and other diseases among domestic animals, and for other purposes—

Mr. PLUMB said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: It was to be expected that there would be some difference of opinion, and perhaps a very radical one, about some of the provisions of this bill, and it may be that, as asserted by the Senator from Michigan, that difference of opinion arises from a lack of appreciation of the danger liable to result from the existence and spread of contagious diseases among domestic animals. The importance of this subject certainly should not be underrated by the Senate.

It was gone over in 1884, and yesterday the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. PADDOCK] argued the case very strongly, and I think very conclusively, in regard to the propriety and absolute necessity of some effective legislation on this important subject. It affects not alone the interests of owners of cattle but also all the people, because it relates to the food supply of this country, and to some extent of the world. That this country should ever be seriously short of food seems to most people an unfounded proposition, but it may occur at any time, and from no quarter is there so much danger as from the spread of contagious diseases among our domestic animals.

As population becomes more dense, precautions against the spread of infectious and contagious diseases among persons becomes more necessary, and with increasing density of population comes of course greater numbers of animals, their greater proximity, and a consequent greater danger of the incurrence and spread of disease. This danger is still further increased by the more active and constant transit of cattle from one portion of the country to another, arising from the opportunities presented and by the necessities of the situation. This greater danger must be met by legislation corresponding thereto.

It was one thing to have a population of ten or fifteen million people, with an immense area of virgin territory beyond and all about them, with communities and individuals separated by such distances that, whatever there was of disease, however epidemic in its character, the results were practically sporadic, and entirely different to have on the same territorial space 60,000,000 people, increasing at the rate of perhaps 2,000,000 each year, and in the mean time intercourse immensely quickened.

The disease of pleuro-pneumonia, with which this bill mainly

deals, is an importation coming, I think, according to common consent, from the Channel Islands. It is not only swiftly epidemic, but insidious and deadly. It sometimes takes as much as nine months for the disease to manifest itself after exposure. During all this period of time the diseased animals may be transported from place to place, spreading the contagion; and I have no doubt it has happened that many a cattle-owner has yielded to the temptation to sell for shipment when he knew or had reason to believe that his animals had been exposed, in order that the loss which he fears may result therefrom may be unloaded upon other and innocent persons. This bill has a provision in it covering cases of that kind, which is of great value, and which, if adopted, will alone be worth all the discussion and agitation which have ensued.

Mr. President, great loss has already occurred to cattle producers of the Eastern and Middle States by reason of the ravages of pleuro-pneumonia, not only on account of the death of animals, but on account of the interruption of trade.

The Senator from Missouri (Mr. VEST) mentioned a moment ago the great excitement which existed in the State of Kansas in 1884 by reason of the supposed outbreak in a herd of cattle there of foot-and-mouth disease. The damage by reason of the fear of the people on that subject was as great as though the disease had actually existed.

If there had been at that time ample machinery on the part of either the State or the National Government or both, not only to act promptly in investigating the character of the disease and settling it beyond controversy, but also to have prevented its possible spread, there would have been little or no fear, there would have been comparatively no interruption of traffic, and therefore practically no loss. It is not alone to guard against the spread of the disease that legislation is necessary, but it is to give the strongest possible assurance by means of known and sufficient agencies that the Government is ready, willing, and able to suppress the disease whenever and wherever it occurs, and thus prevent its spread, and enable it to be stamped out so that there may be no fear or as little as possible, and therefore no unsettling of values and no interruption of trade beyond that which the known situation requires.

In the midst of such a scare as occurred in Kansas in 1884 and as has come since in Missouri, Illinois, and elsewhere, liable to be repeated at any moment, the individual man, whether dealer or producer, is helpless. He may feel that his own herds are sound, but he can not tell how soon they may become infected by reason of the movements of cattle over which he has no control, and he is at once cut off from certain markets by reason of which the value of his cattle is largely reduced. And the remedy is beyond his reach. This makes an emergency which can only be met by the exercise of power in a summary way, and almost inevitably this power must be that of the General Government. Unless all the States should be acting upon the same line at the same time and in full accord the remedy might prove inadequate. As this could not be expected, the only recourse is in the authority of the National Government.

Complaint has been made through the medium of a letter read in this debate from a cattle-drover in Virginia, of the fact that Kansas had quarantined against the cattle of that State. It has been only a few days since the quarantine declared by the governor of Kansas against the cattle of Illinois has been removed. While that quarantine existed, of course cattle could not be taken from Illinois to Kansas; they could not be taken through the State, and so a great traffic was interrupted at the loss of large sums to the community and to individuals. It is possible that if all the facts were known, the quarantine was not justified, and yet so great are the interests involved, so great the possibilities of damage, that the governor of Kansas, as well as of any other State, is justified in acting upon suspicion merely, and thereby guarding against the possibility even of the introduction of diseased cattle within the limits of the State of which he is executive by the exercise of all the power conferred on him by the law.

It may be, as has been often stated, that the actual danger of the spread of disease is overestimated. Grant it; yet after all, if it does break out, as it did in Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri, the damage is not only immense, but it creates a fear which is ever present, which often magnifies trifles, and the effect of which can not be wholly eradicated. All the more the necessity of having at hand machinery so ample and in such hands that the cattle owner and producer may have the greatest possible assurance of safety, and therefore not yield to fear.

It was my fortune to have been in charge of the bill which passed the Senate in 1884, known as "the animal industry bill," which was the first recognition by national statute of the existence of the disease of pleuro-pneumonia and of the necessity of serious efforts to exterminate it. There was no lack of opposition to the bill, within and without Congress. But the most virulent came from the stock yards at Chicago—from the men who sell stock on commission—and from the dealers and packers of that great city. They not only telegraphed to every Senator, saying that there was no pleuro-pneumonia in the country, but they filled the newspapers with denunciations of the bill, and employed an attorney of national reputation, paying him $25,000 as a fee, to come to Washington and urge its defeat. By reason of this opposition the bill was shorn of some of its most valuable provisions and passed in a much less acceptable shape than it should have done. But it was better than nothing, and in connection with ample appropriations since made has resulted in much good.

It was somewhat of a surprise when a couple of years later a delegation appeared here headed by the leading stock-yards commision man of Chicago, and one who had done more effective work publicly and privately against the animal industry bill than any one else, demanding that legislation of the most drastic character should be adopted for the suppression of pleuro-pneumonia; accompanying it by a denunciation of the Agricultural Department, and insisting that the work of extermination should be placed in the hands of an independent commission.

It soon became apparent that the legislation was the minor thing, and that what was chiefly desired was a commission which should have full and complete control of the question of quarantine transportation and of all other things having to do with the suppression of pleuro-pneumonia. This was to some extent accounted for by the fact that the offices of commissioners, etc., had already been parceled out, and the delegation embraced chiefly those who hoped to thus get upon the Government pay-roll. But this desire for office was soon found to be only a part, and not a large part, of the plan involved in the proposition for a cattle commission.

Mr. President, the most powerful, the most unscrupulous, combination that exists to-day in the United States is the combination of beef and pork packers, having their headquarters at Chicago, with branch organizations at Kansas City and Saint Louis. There is no trust or combination, whether it be the oil trust, the sugar trust, the copper trust, or a trust of any other name or kind, which has had so powerful or so baleful an influence as this combination of packers.

For years the price of cattle to the producers has been going down. The average decline during the past four years has been fully 25 per cent., and during that period of time the price of beef to the consumer has been kept up. Every dollar of loss to the producer has gone into the pockets of the Chicago combine. The members of this combine have alone benefited by a decline of prices which has broken up many and seriously damaged all the producers of beef cattle in the United States. So perfect is the organization and so complete its system that it knows in advance not only how many cattle will arrive in Chicago each day, but also the names of shippers, where shipped from, etc. Every morning an agent of the combine inspects the cattle in the stock-yards and fixes a price upon them, which is the price they must be sold for unless the combine chooses to make a reduction. There is no competition for purchase. None is permitted. No commission man would dare break the prices fixed by the combine by bidding over them. It would be the last business he would do about the stock-yards. Occasionally, when the number of cattle coming in is light, prices are raised a fraction. This stimulates shipments, and before the cattle reach Chicago the prices are put back to the old level or lower.

Under the operations of this combine the price of cattle has declined unnecessarily more than $10 a head. It has been put at even more than twice that by good judges, but it is safe to say that on every steer of three years old and upwards, produced west of the Mississippi River, during the past four years the actual market value has been reduced by means of this combination not less than the amount named. The damage to the State of Kansas alone during that period of time has been more than $40,000,000, and this sum has gone into the pockets of the combine. Their profits last year are stated to be over $50,000,000, which represents that amount of loss to the producer.

It would seem that profits of this amount would soon satiate those who receive them. No, Mr. President, power of that kind, and I guess of all kinds, grows by what it feeds on, and the man who (and there is more than one of them) has made $50,000,000 out of this business wants another $50,000,000—yea, another $100,000,000—as bad as he wanted the first $50,000,000.

So, Mr. President, the idea was conceived by these men to help themselves to increased profits by getting control, by law, of the entire cattle business of the United States, and it was in pursuance of that purpose that they sent a committee down here last year and the year before. It was in pursuance of that purpose that they have had a representative here during the present session to get Congress to provide for a commission with enormous powers, which they expected to control.

See how useful the powers of such a bill as they proposed, administered by a commission under their control, could be made to the cattle ring. The power to declare quarantine is the power to stimulate or repress shipments—the power to determine over what lines of road cattle should be shipped and to what places, and where unloaded in transit. Under this power Chicago could be made the only Western market for cattle. The administration of the powers of the bill they proposed would put other millions of money, drawn from the impoverished producers of cattle, into their already overfilled pockets. It was a scheme for dominion, and they could afford to employ and pay plausible and unscrupulous agents to promote it, and to spend other sums to get control of cattle organizations, whose resolutions they could thereby manipulate. The result to be achieved was so stupendous that they did not hesitate to bring to their aid the most unscrupulous misrepresentations, to resort to personal defamation, to make sure of it.

So powerful a combination was bound to have allies. It has had

them, with or without constraint, in the railroads which center at Chicago, and to some extent perhaps in other railroads as well. The cattle ring controls vast shipments. The railroads knuckle to them for business. Chicago is a great cattle mart. But not content with handling the cattle brought there, and deriving profits from them alone, the cattle ring levied contribution from the railroads on all the cattle shipped by—not through—Chicago on their way east. Fifteen dollars per car was the amount of this tribute taken from the cattle producer, so that it did not make any difference whether all roads led to this new Rome or not, because the cattle transported upon roads which went elsewhere had to pay tribute.

Their allies, the railroads, have enabled them to break down small packers and also to a great extent local butchers in a great radius around Chicago, so that cattle can not be butchered except they are sent to Chicago. From there they are sent in the shape of carcasses back to the localities from where they were shipped to be sold at retail. The country is fast coming to a condition where it can only eat its breakfast by permission of the cattle ring. It can do so now only by submitting to what is practically extortion. Prices to consumers remain as they did when the producer got 25 per cent. more than he does now, and meanwhile the number of cattle in the country has been proportionately greatly reduced.

It may seem strange to many that the railroads should have been drawn into an alliance against the producers of cattle, whose prosperity would seem to be a part of the prosperity of the roads themselves. It was not the work of the railroad stockholders.

It is one of the mysteries, and miseries, too, of railroad management, that those who are in most absolute control are not the men who own the stock. There probably is not a freight agent or a general manager of a railroad in the United States, who has anything more than a mere nominal interest, if even so much, in the road which he controls. He puts rates up or down, he gives to one man at the expense of another at his own sweet will, with little or no care for the permanent interest of the property which is under his control.

If railroads were managed by the men who own them and by men living along the lines, and therefore in a condition to appreciate local conditions and needs, they would not be under the ban of an intelligent public opinion as now.

As those who manage the roads have no financial connection with them, and therefore no hope of any direct return for services rendered except in the shape of salary, it is not to be wondered at perhaps that they should be drawn into speculations in which the only capital they furnished was their official place. At all events they have become interested in stock-yards and in various enterprises connected with the roads they managed, and the cattle combine no doubt found other ways to make them useful to their projects.

In this and in other ways railroads have been perverted from the purpose of their creation, until they have become in effect the allies of wrongful combinations and the instrument of illegitimate private gain.

A great strike occurred over in Pennsylvania a few months ago, embracing 30,000 or 40,000 employés of one of the most powerful railroads of the country. I do not believe that there is any observing man who has not come to the conclusion that the misfortunes of that railroad company, which have been visited upon its employés, grew out of the fact that it departed from its legitimate business of transportation, and entered upon the production of coal, the owning, the holding, the controlling of immense areas of coal land, with a view to the final control of the price of anthracite coal; and because the great scheme fell through, having been extravagantly undertaken, it finally became necessary, in order to save the road from the great and illegitimate burden which the wreck of its coal scheme produced, to charge the losses to the wages of employés, and they struck in consequence.

I yielded with some reluctance to the qualified provision found in this bill providing for a commission. It was a compromise, as the whole bill has been; and yet I view that provision even now with some suspicion. Giving all due credit to the President of the United States for the faithfulness which he might be expected to observe in the appointment of the commissioners, I know that the railroads and this cattle ring, through the agencies they control, extending to the banks, the railroads, and through all the ramified industries and interests of this entire country, have avenues of approach to that official, as to all officials, which no other combination of men can have; and that they would have one hundred chances where the cattle-owners would have not a single one to impress themselves upon the President and secure a commission which would serve them implicitly at the expense of the public.

The administration of the proposed law will involve large outlay The amount can not probably, with even the exercise of economy be less than half a million dollars per annum. This is a large sum of, money, but the interest to be protected is an immense one. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. PADDOCK], in his admirable speech of yesterday, estimates the cattle of the United States to be worth more than $1,500,000,000. This great interest is to be protected from disease, and to be measurably at least under the control of this commission provided for in the bill. The money is of the smallest concern. The safety of the cattle interest would be cheaply obtained at an expenditure of five millions a year.

The main thing is the fidelity, the honesty, the capacity of the commission. I am not prepared to pass final judgment upon the work of the present Bureau of Animal Industry, carried on under the supervision of the Commissioner of Agriculture. I neither accuse nor defend; but the Consolidated Cattle Growers' Association, at its last convention in Kansas City, indorsed the work of the Bureau, and I have no reason to disbelieve the Commissioner when he states that great progress has been made and that the dread disease of pleuro-pneumonia is in process of extinction. The Commissioner is at the head of an important and permanent department of the Government. Whatever becomes of him the department goes on. Its main functions are exercised in plain view of Congress and the country and under a sense of responsibility which, in my judgment, no commission could have unless that commission were a part of the machinery of the department itself.

The present Commissioner of Agriculture came to his position with the reputation of being a practical agriculturist and an honest, able man. He has shown himself intelligent and zealous in his high office, and has at least fairly justified his appointment. I believed well of him when he was appointed, and have seen no reason to change my good opinion. I believe he has conscientiously done his best in expending the large sum of money given him by Congress for the suppression of pleuro-pneumonia. He has had widely extended agencies under his control. They may have been perverted at times. I do not expect a pure civil-service reform at the hands of this administration any more than the Senators on the other side of the Chamber do. I know the men who are to exercise the functions provided in this bill, as those existing heretofore, measurably at least, where the appointments are not of experts especially, will be from members of the Democratic party, made upon the recommendation of leading and official Democrats. This is to be expected. I shall not oppose needed legislation because it will be administered by Democrats.

I believe that the Commissioner of Agriculture will do as well with the powers named in this bill, if it shall become a law, as we are likely to have done by anybody else. I believe there is general confidence in him on the part of those whose interests are affected; and whether he be good or whether he be bad, I would trust him much sooner than I would trust any one of this Chicago cattle combine, which has done so much to oppress the cattle industry, and which, from the declaration that there was no disease in the country at all requiring legislation to extirpate, came down here to say that the country was overwhelmed with it, and that they must be put in control of legislation desired to stamp it out. The Greeks bearing gifts are to be distrusted.

Mr. President, this is aside from the main question as proposed by the bill. I have already called attention to one provision which is entirely new to our legislation on this most important subject, and which is worthy of being embodied in a separate bill if need be. It is the provision which puts a direct responsibility upon the owners of cattle for their sale and transportation after they have been exposed to contagious disease.

When it comes to be known that every owner of a herd of cattle is responsible for the exercise of a sound discretion and judgment as to whether his herd is infected or not or has been exposed, and that if with knowledge of such exposure or such infection he sells cattle for shipment he will be punished, a large portion of the dangers which the country now fears from the transportation of cattle from one portion of the Republic to another will disappear.

That portion of this bill which seems marked for opposition on account of alleged infringement upon the rights of the States is not without warrant in what Congress has heretofore done in other directions. Some years ago there was an outbreak of yellow fever at New Orleans, or in that vicinity, and also at Memphis. The effect was disastrous to those communities, and disaster was threatened to all the Southern States. An emergency was presented of the gravest character. The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS], prompt to look after the interests of the community which he so ably represents, introduced legislation, which passed, constituting a national board of health, and gave it powers as drastic, as far reaching, and as subversive of the rights of States so called as anything found in this bill.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. PALMER] well said that, in the presence of emergencies such as that which existed last year affecting the cattle industry, Congress would make haste to do pell-mell what at other times it would not do at all. Perhaps the danger is not so imminent as it has been. It is therefore the best time to agree upon legislation to be enacted as a matter of sober judgment preparatory to future emergency, liable to come at any time, and thereby prevent being hurried into unwise and perhaps into unconstitutional and certainly arbitrary action under the impulse of great danger.

Therefore I think every Senator ought to feel it to be his duty to assist in perfecting this bill. I do not want, any more than any other Senator, to take away from the States what is properly their due in the matter of authority. I want the National Government to do that, and only that, which it can not only do better than the States can do, but which is within the purview of its constitutional authority; but I want that authority to go to the farthest verge, because I can see in this unification of power, this singleness of action, this com-

bination represented by the Federal Government, that which will not only give the greatest assurance to the people of present safety, but also make sure of the future.

We need to get through and beyond the personal contention which has centered around this bill, away from the denunciation of the Commissioner of Agriculture by those who would usurp his function in order to accomplish a nefarious purpose, and away from the sentiment expressed in petitions and protests presented here from day to day from those who fear this bill may be a blow at the Department of Agriculture, something designed to rob it of its proper primacy.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. PADDOCK] calls my attention to the fact that the protests against this bill were largely begotten from a belief that the bill was designed to degrade the Department of Agriculture. I have been for years an advocate of building up that Department. I believe it ought to be put upon an equality with all the other Executive Departments of the Government, and I believe that the man whom the President appoints as the head of it he ought to take into his Cabinet.

In France and England important functions relating to vines, to food, and so on are committed to men holding higher relative rank than the head of our Department of Agriculture holds. The bill as originally proposed was designed, by the malign influences I have spoken of, to prevent the Commissioner of Agriculture from having control of the agencies for the suppression of pleuro-pneumonia because he could not be relied upon to act in the interest of the Chicago cattle ring. But as now reported the control of the Commissioner is measurably preserved, although not as fully as it should be.

I believe not only in giving chiefly and with as little limit as possible the powers of this bill to the Commissioner of Agriculture, but I believe in adding to the dignity of that Department in still other ways. I would not, I am sure, consciously vote for any provision which I thought would detract from the dignity or the power of that Department. If it has not the right man at the head of it, one can be found. It is not a question of men, it is a question of agency.

The agriculturists of the United States feel that the powers of the Department ought to be enlarged; that it ought to cease to be the foot-ball of patronage or of politics; that it ought to be put upon the highest possible plane, with a strong, wise man at the head of it and with ample agencies under his control for the disseminating of information, and for the bettering of the condition of those engaged in this most useful calling.

This bill is the result of a compromise. I did not agree to it as originally introduced, because I thought it was too arbitrary and in some respects unconstitutional. I believe in it as it stands to-day as reported, with the single exception of whatever objection I may make to the constitution of the commission.

My objection to that is qualified largely by the fact that the Commissioner of Agriculture is to be *ex officio* the president of the commission. Still I can not fail to see that to some extent, at least, we may set up in regard to this very important matter a divided jurisdiction. The power to be exercised by this bill, and especially that which is objected to, is arbitrary, and must necessarily be so. It is summary. As the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] said, many things are to be done without trial, relying upon the judgment of the officer to execute, leaving after consequences to take care of themselves. The home of the citizen may be invaded to some extent, his property taken possession of in the name, of course, of the public good; but it is a power that is liable to be abused.

I would, therefore, put it as closely as possible into the hands of one man. I would have it in such a shape that abuses could be detected, and that responsibility for them and for all administrative acts could be located. I would give it to the Department of Agriculture in some shape or other, because it is a great Department of the Government, one, as I said, to be magnified and not to be depreciated; a Department for to-day and to-morrow and for all time; a Department here under our scrutiny; a Department under daily scrutiny in all its machinery, more responsible to public opinion than any commission could possibly be.

Mr. President, I am not willing to say that in detail, and perhaps to some extent in matters of substance, this bill is not open to just criticism; but I hope that Senators will not fail to recognize the magnitude of the interest involved; that because they object to single provisions they will not oppose the entire bill, but that every one will address himself to the question of amending, if he deems amendment necessary, and of changing if he thinks changes should be made, in such a way as to make it, if not all the stronger, at the same time more nearly in accordance with what he thinks it ought to be, always having in view the work that is to be done.

I know that the Senators from Texas have some jealousy upon this subject. That is a great State. It has got innumerable corns on its toes. That is one of the penalties of greatness. It has a great cattle industry, and the Senators from that State, and I think properly, insist that Texas cattle have a right to be diseased if they want to be, and they know, I think, that nearly all of them are diseased.

Notwithstanding that fact Texas cattle are a great and necessary item in the commerce of the country, and it ought not to be rudely touched; but if pleuro-pneumonia should ever break out upon the plains of Texas, the people of that State would see the difference between it and the splenetic disease with which all Texas cattle are affected, and which is communicated to all northern cattle, and especially to those of high grade, with such fatal ease that the trail of Texas cattle driven through Kansas, Missouri, or other northern States can be traced as easily as the track of a prairie fire by the dead animals which line the route.

Every cow or steer which pastures where Texas cattle have passed, or drinks from pools where they have drank, is doomed.

This disease does not injuriously affect the Texas cattle themselves, singular as that may seem; and according to the report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of a few years ago, it is more or less common to all cattle raised south of a certain line, say the extension of the north line of Texas. It is to some extent what Mr. Walker once claimed the slavery question to be, an isothermal question.

But if pleuro-pneumonia should ever break out among the cattle herds of Texas, the people of that State would be the first to realize the difference and ask protection—when probably it would be too late; and there is the trouble, the shadow that constantly haunts the Western cattle men. It is not so with the man who owns a handful of cattle around New York City, or with the owners of the comparatively small herds in the East. The disease can easily be circumscribed there.

But where cattle have wide range, if you put one animal infected with pleuro-pneumonia in a herd the loss that would ensue, beyond any power to prevent, would be numbered by hundreds of millions of dollars and a practical destruction of half the food supply of the United States. Yet communication is so free, traffic is so unrestricted, that the animal which to-day browses along the banks of a New Jersey stream, afflicted with this disease, four days later may be in the heart of Montana or in western Kansas. It may never happen, and yet to the man who has got his all invested in this business it is an ever-present fear; it is a fear which the Government can do much to allay; it is a fear the foundation of which the Government can destroy.

More than all that, this and kindred diseases affect our foreign trade. As long as it exists our cattle are excluded practically from the markets of the old world. They are not allowed to be shipped there or on foot, or, if shipped at all, they are required to be butchered within twenty-four hours after their arrival, and before they have a chance to recover from the fatigues and the natural depletion of the long journey, destroying thus a large portion of their value.

Mr. President, I do not believe to-day, scanning our calendar, that there is anything more important that Congress should do than to give as nearly as possible absolute security to this great, to this most important, industry. Perhaps this bill will not effect it. If it will not, then it is the duty of every Senator, having in mind the magnitude of the interests involved, to address himself to the perfection of the proposed legislation. It is not to be put aside with a sneer, and any portion of the measure, whatever it may be, which seems to those who are sensitive to be an infringement of the rights of the States, ought to be carefully scrutinized to see exactly where the proper line is between Federal and State authority, and if there be odds, give it to the exercise of Federal authority, because in that direction lies safety.

It is in this spirit, Mr. President, that I hope the Senate will continue the consideration of this bill. It may not be twelve months, we may not meet here again, till every Senator may reproach himself for his share of that negligence which allowed this measure to go unacted upon, whereby a great emergency could not be satisfactorily met by reason of lack of authority.

If we can not crush out the wrongful combinations which have oppressed and well-nigh destroyed the cattle industry of the United States, we can at least protect it from the threatened ravages of a disease which unless suppressed may, and probably will, take what is left.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS R. STOCKDALE,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 5, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. STOCKDALE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have listened with earnest attention to this extended discussion of the revenues, which more than any other question has the solicitude of the American people.

I have tried to comprehend the bearing of the vast and varied array of statistics and historical facts brought under review and handled with consummate skill by the orators of this debate, with the view to

understand the arguments adduced and appreciate the force of the conclusions sought to be established thereby. I will not be understood, environed as I am by this brilliant display of learning and logic, as assuming the rôle of critic in such a presence when I say I have not been able to escape the conviction that the two great parties have not met face to face on the real merits of this great controversy; that the issue before the country, and which the people are most anxious to decide, has not been fairly joined nor discussed in this House. That the present law which forces the citizens to pay into the Treasury over sixty millions of money annually more than the Government, with all its extravagance, can use or waste should be revised is admitted on all hands, declared in the platforms of both parties, and by speakers and writers for the last decade.

The Committee of Ways and Means of this House has, with great care and labor, formulated and presented a bill setting forth in detail and with reasonable clearness the mode by which it is proposed to accomplish that long-promised and much-desired result.

It is a plainly drawn and distinctly stated declaration of a proposition for reduction by the party desiring revenue reform, reported into the House, printed and distributed, and notice served on the opponents of the measure to appear and answer on a day certain.

The committee and the House and the country had the right to expect a frank and honest response, either concurring in the passage of this bill, or showing some other and better plan by which reduction can be accomplished.

But instead gentlemen of the opposition, with an unanimity that can not be casual, have resorted to a system of skillful special pleading for the purpose of preventing any change in the present law, and thereby availing themselves of the advantages of a system of taxation which they have acknowledged to be vicious and unjust in its discriminations, and which they dare not openly support before the American people. There is not a member on this floor who dares to openly advocate and commit his party to the support of the present tariff laws of this country. But to escape the condemnation of the people protectionists battle against a phantom of their own creation, which they call "free trade," a thing that no member on this side has advocated or hinted at. Afraid of the real issue before the country gentlemen on the other side raise and discuss an issue that is not now and has not been in Congress for a quarter of a century.

Mr. WEBER. Will the gentleman from Mississippi allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I will, if the gentleman from New York will ask the question without going into an argument and consume my time.

Mr. WEBER. The question I wish to ask the gentleman from Mississippi is, whether it was not the evasion of that issue which brought success to your party?

Mr. STOCKDALE. Where?

Mr. WEBER. In New York. And was not SAMUEL J. RANDALL sent to close protection States of the North whom you now declaim against on this floor, and that it was Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL who saved your party?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I do not know what power Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL has in New York. If he saved the Democratic party I desire to do him honor.

But I take this discussion here on this floor as voicing the sentiments of the two great political parties on this question, and we need not go to New York or elsewhere to ascertain what they are.

The people know as well as we can tell them what parties have done, and will pass upon it; but the eyes of the country are upon us, anxious to know what we are going to do at this session of this Fiftieth Congress. Shall the present revenue laws of the United States continue on the statute-books as they are, with all their evil consequences, or shall they be revised and modified so as to remove from the Government the odium of oppressing its own people and to withhold the vandal hand of legalized plunderers from the pockets of the working people and the wealth-producing people?

This side of the House and the Democratic party say, "Change the laws and make the iniquitous burden lighter." You say by your actions you do not desire any change and will have none if you can help; and this is the present issue between the parties. At the same time I undertake to say to that side of the House that you dare not openly advocate that doctrine and commit your party to it. No member has done it; none will have the temerity to do it. The honest yeomanry of your party would recede from a policy that shocks the common honesty of the country.

Constituencies who reap the profits of this unjust law may require their Representatives to prevent a change, and leave it to them to adopt such skillful methods as they can to accomplish that result, and at the same time rescue their party from the responsibility of defeating what it has solemnly proclaimed ought to be done.

I do not intend to speak invidiously, but I have the right to interpret reasonably men's actions. The leading politicians of a great party do not act with such unanimity without an object, and that, too, well understood among themselves. The Mills bill was pressed upon the attention of this House by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in a most forcible and logical argument, and was responded to by an exhaustive argument on the subject of slavery prepared and read by the venerable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY], who was born and raised in the then slave State of Pennsylvania, which held human beings in bondage until 1784, and then grudgingly freed them, not promptly as Christians throw off an evil, but by gradual emancipation. By that law it was wrong to hold a man in bondage and sell him if he were under twenty-eight years of age; but if he were over that it was accounted as righteousness to hold him till he died. The time between the dates when slavery ceased to exist in Pennsylvania and in the South is very short, and for aught I know some of my colored constituents may be descendants of men owned by the ancestors of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. The minority of the Ways and Means Committee demanded and obtained ten full days for the Republican side to discuss this pending bill. Nearly half the time has been consumed, and while they have not dared to say that reductions should not be made, and dare not discuss the issue pressed upon them day by day by members on this side of the Chamber, they must needs do something to convince the country that they are valiant soldiers in the great tariff contest. Therefore, not daring to fight this bill and oppose reduction, they have fashioned and shaped a man of clay, and set him up and paternally and affectionately christen him "Free Trade," a thing conceived and born in their own household. And then, Mr. Chairman, the knight of the sorrowful countenance never made a more valorous attack than did these gentlemen with trumpets and with flying banners move their phalanxes upon and proceed to demolish that child of their loins just to show how well they could fight free trade if anybody should advocate it.

The working people may well view with alarm the possibility of the return to power of a party whose recognized leaders denounce with bitterness and vehemence as a free trade-scheme a bill that reduces the present oppressive import duties only about $56,000,000, and will itself produce revenues over $200,000,000.

The Democratic party is willing to levy imports to an amount that will pay the expenses of the Government, but there is a limit that the people can see. But where is the limit to protection for protection's sake? No limit except to fill the rapacious greed of the men who get the money. God has set bounds to the sea, but He has never pretended to bound human avarice.

This debate has shown that the real issue between the parties is, shall the Democratic doctrine that the Government shall tax the people so as to raise revenue enough to meet the proper expenses of the Government, and no more, prevail? Or, on the other hand, shall the Republican doctrine prevail, that the Government tax without limit, for the benefit of a privileged class, and that privileged class are to say by their votes how much will satisfy their pockets? Let me ask those gentlemen, Mr. Chairman, where will this doctrine lead us? When and where will the demand on the people who are not manufacturers end? Is it not reasonable to suppose that where great profits are made that new enterprises of the same sort will spring up, and that the tariff must be raised to protect them. And then still others, and still more and more voices are added to the clamor for protection; more laborers are brought from Europe; more votes for high tariff, and there will be no end until the American farmers will have to support the whole pauper population of Europe, and but for the vigorous opposition of the laboring people of the Pacific States, China as well. American capital does not object to the importation of Chinamen; it would like to have them as "American labor," and American capital to oversee them, and both protected by compelling American farmers to buy their products.

I desire to expose some features of this tariff scheme that have not appeared in this debate, so far as I remember, and may therefore indulge in a very few calculations.

First. The surplus in the Treasury, that will reach the fabulous sum of $150,000,000 by July unless it be curtailed by purchase of bonds or by this bill, is not the result of some fortunate venture, but the fruits of an indirect tax on our own people. This money was put in circulation by the Government. How did the Government get it? It issued its bonds at 4 and 4½ per cent. interest to get the bullion and the bank currency, and the people are now paying interest on that surplus at an average rate of about 4 per cent., perhaps a little less. Who pays that interest? Not the bondholder; he gets it.

The Republicans are willing to take it out of the Treasury by all sorts of extravagant schemes, because the people need it for circulation and clamor against the double injustice. But these same Republicans want to put an equal amount back there next year. Why? Let us see. I submit a short table, Mr. Chairman:

The imports into the United States in 1880 were valued at	$656,262,441.00
Upon that the Government levied impost duties to the amount of	186,522,065.00
About 30 per cent.	
The were manufactured in the United States in 1880, merchandise valued at the enormous sum of	5,369,519,191.00
The material to make these manufactures cost the sum of	3,394,340,027.00
The wages paid to make these manufactures was	947,919,674.00
Total cost	4,342,259,701.00
Not including wear and tear and insurance, etc.	
The capital invested in these manufactures was $2,790,223,506.	
Allow 3 per cent. on that for wear and tear	83,706,705.00
Total cost	4,425,966,406.00

Deduct that amount from value, and it leaves difference between cost and value	943,553,787.00
Deduct from this 10 per cent. for reasonable profit	94,355,378.70
And we have clear profit to the manufacturer	849,198,408.30

That is the result of high tariffs.

So that the Government, in order to collect for itself $186,522,065, made the people pay to adjoining States the sum of $850,000,000 in round numbers.

The people have stood that; but now let us return to the surplus. The revenues are now $217,000,000 in round numbers, and the manufactures $6,000,000,000 in round numbers. Imports in 1887, $692,319,768, say $7,000,000,000 in round numbers, about 30 per cent. on the price of the goods, and of course the manufacturer will raise the price of his goods accordingly.

We have seen that the proportion of imports to home manufactures is about $700,000,000 to $6,000,000,000; deducting the amount of home manufactures exported and not consumed here, the ratio will be about 1 to 8.

Therefore, while we now pay $217,000,000 duties to the Government on foreign goods, we pay eight times that, or $1,136,000,000, to manufacturers on the goods we consume of their make, and which pay nothing into the Treasury.

Now, when the surplus shall have reached $150,000,000 let us see what it will cost the people to get it into the Treasury:

Principal	$150,000,000
Interest at 4 per cent	6,000,000
Amount compelled to pay to manufacturer on other goods in proportion of 8 to 1	1,200,000,000
The cost to the people	1,356,000,000

To prevent that amount accumulating in the Treasury saves to the people thirteen hundred and fifty-six millions of money annually. That is what the Democratic party wants to do. The Republican party want it to go in annually, by which they will get the larger share of the twelve hundred millions, and then deftly insert their educated fingers into the Treasury and extract the one hundred and fifty millions. There can be no doubt that they are the party of progress.

As to the conscience of it, that is a purely local question, and I am told amid the luxurious comforts and social charms and overawing influence that great wealth brings to its possessors scant audience is sometimes given to the still small voice that otherwise might prevent crime, and I am constrained to say it is as much of a shame to the intelligence and manhood of the people who submit to these wholesale extortions as it is to the conscience of those who perpetrate them; and we on this side must yield something to each other's views in order to avert the greater evil. I may offer amendments to the bill to avoid a disproportionate reduction affecting my constituents, but am willing to act in a spirit of compromise.

But, Mr. Chairman, when this subject is pressed home to these gentlemen, they, with the polished adroitness of courtiers, would lead you away from a disagreeable subject; discourse with seeming earnestness to the effect that the country has prospered for twenty years and more under a protective tariff. They have invaded the Bureau of Statistics and precipitated upon this House an avalanche of figures to prove that prosperity came to the country under a protective system. And, Mr. Chairman, it is always a dangerous thing to commence figuring with New England people; if you do you are gone—they are inspired cipherers.

Mr. Chairman, will it be seriously maintained in such a presence as this that because two things are contemporaneous in the same place, one causes the other? The Northwest and New York prosper under blizzards, Texas under droughts, Virginia under internal-revenue tax, the South under yellow fever and carpet-bag reconstruction, and these unexampled tariff extortions, England under her debt, Russia under Nihilism, and this whole country did prosper under the scourge of Republican rule, and that is the most wonderful instance of them all. That word "under" comes unbidden to all the gentlemen who talk in that strain. It prospers under protection as under a cloud, as a strong man under a burden, as runs the sinewy racer under weight, like a good ship makes the voyage under a head wind.

In my county a small man, Mr. Martin, fought with a large man, General Cain, who was not in the rebellion. The general bore him to the ground and punished him. Martin related afterwards that he fought under General Cain.

Is it not more reasonable to maintain that prosperity produces high tariff, called protection? People will submit to greater extortion when they are prospering than when adversity comes.

Mr. KERR. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. STOCKDALE. Yes; but please look at the clock while you are asking it.

Mr. KERR. I understood the gentleman to say a moment ago that all your side, or your side were all in favor of protection.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I do not remember of saying anything of that sort. [Laughter.]

Mr. KERR. Are you opposed to it?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I am just telling you now what I am in favor of and what I am opposed to, and if you will be quiet I will tell you all about it. I am perfectly willing—not wishing to evade the gentleman's question—that the country may have all the incidental protection that grows out of this bill. Now, whether that bill itself will be just all the country thinks it ought to be, or whether it is too high or too low on some articles, is a question for future consideration.

The elements of prosperity with which God has blessed us, the thousands of accessions to our population, great inventions, great discoveries, abundant crops, and the teeming wealth that flows out from the mines in a thousand hills, and the boundless energies of the South, who have nearly doubled the cotton crop, the only crop that saves the balance of trade in our favor, in spite of and in the very teeth of protection have forced prosperity upon the country.

I admit that protection for protection's sake prospers the favored class, just as corners in provisions bring prosperity to the manipulators of the markets, as trusts prosper the perpetrators of that infamy, but it is tough on the poor who pay double price for provisions and oil and other articles.

Banks prosper with their 40 per cent. profit. Extortionate freight tariffs prosper railroads. Wars prosper contractors, camp-followers, and sutlers. Stock-jobbers prosper when they by skillful manipulation transfer large sums of money from other men's pockets to their own, and protectionists prosper when they can so shape legislation as to compel fifty millions of people to pay tribute to the other ten millions, and when those prosperous classes assemble at great dinner feasts around tables groaning with delicacies from the four quarters of the globe, with iced wines at every plate, as the various toasts go round complimentary to the great operators in these various departments, the gilded hall resounds with applause.

But when you undertake to speak to that other audience, composed of the victims of the stock-jobber, the poor whose scant purse was drained by jobbers in provisions and high freights, and the victims of protection, these same toasts would elicit sorrow and often tears. So much is the difference on which side of these operations we are and on which side of protection we are. It is the difference between a smile and a tear, between a laugh and a sigh, between a shout and a groan, between wealth and poverty.

Protection means that some one is protected against some body else. Protectionists say it is against foreigners. I say it is against agriculturists. Any American citizen may go three marine leagues from shore and board a vessel and purchase what he please. Let him try to bring it home, and a revenue cutter will soon run him down, and he will land in prison for even an attempt to defraud the revenues, and he must pay 47 per cent. on his goods for the privilege of landing them. I imagine it would be hard work to convince him that the pauper labor of Europe paid that 47 per cent. or that the pauper laborer of Europe was in jail and not he.

But it is said here with lugubrious seriousness that all this is to protect American labor. Does it? Where is the evidence of it? Will some gentleman answer in the future? My friend from Missouri said the other day that there were mortgages all over the West owned by Eastern people, largely in New England; that the great railroads and great improvements in the West were owned by Eastern people. He said he did not object to it. Certainly not, because they made the contract. But how came it there? How came these people to own that property so vast in amount and extent and in controlling influence? Their soil never produced it. Labor produced it, as they admit, and as the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] said in his speech a few days ago, the manufacturer controls nothing but labor. He can not control the markets for the purchase of his raw material. If he could he would not be here wanting free raw material. He can not control the markets for sale. He controls labor and only labor, and out of labor those manufacturing communities have accumulated those great fortunes.

Who owns this fabulous wealth that labor has created in these nine manufacturing States? Do the laborers own it? Ah, no. A sad tale of woe comes up here from those States to tell us who are the owners of that mass of money that has been made by the toil of the workingmen. And by the skill and the cunning of the capitalists they manage to divide on the same basis that the white man divided the game, consisting of a turkey and a turkey-buzzard, with the Indian.

The capitalists manipulate the labor and the machinery and they realize colossal fortunes, while the laborer is pinched to live at all. Mansions rise over the owner and luxury abounds within; obsequious servants do his bidding and glittering equipages await his pleasure, while his operatives barely live in their crowded tenements or incommodious, miserable houses. No laboring man in New England or in any of the nine manufacturing States owns any mortgages west of the Ohio or elsewhere. Laboring men own no railroad stocks, no bonds; but there comes up here from the hills and from the valleys of those States a wail from the laboring men asking for bread and for work.

Gentlemen get up on the other side of the House and complain with vehemence of this side because we are opposed to the existing tariff system, and say that the laboring men are suffering in the East and at the North, and that American labor needs protection. I say yea and amen; it does need protection; but against whom? From the owners of this great mass of wealth who crowd their laboring men into the merest huts and pay them scanty wages, and whenever they dare to

ask for a pittance, for even a small share of the spoils derived from these great wealth-producing enterprises, they are turned out of their huts to seek employment wherever they can find it. Let the workingmen ask for one dime more than their scanty wages and that is how they are served by these kings of fortune. And in speaking of these men of great fortunes I do not wish to denounce or criticise them harshly, because I am not here to wound men's feelings, but I speak of them as a part of society, as figures in the great political arena of this country.

I say that when their workingmen ask for a little larger share of the profit that is produced by their labor, the masters answer: "These are our premises; these are our houses and our mills; you can go." And then, having turned out those American citizens, those American workingmen, they send to Europe and bring in hordes of "pauper labor" and crowd it into the same huts and into their same mills and mines, and then begin again to cry out for "protection to American labor," when probably not one of their "American" laborers can speak the English tongue. In common with other Congressmen I have from time to time received letters of instruction from these gentlemen as to how I should vote on this question, and I have taken the trouble to write to them occasionally in return, asking: "Is it true that you have at any time turned out American citizens and employed European labor because you could get it cheaper?"

And, Mr. Chairman, not one has denied that he has done it, though in some cases apologies have been made. And under these circumstances if the workingmen undertake to resent these outrages or to make any trouble about it, the word is whispered over the wire, "Pinkerton detectives;" and soon come a lot of minions, hired at the rate of $10 a day, it is said, out of the money the laborers made, and these American workingmen, these American citizens who have produced the wealth, are turned out of their huts at the point of the revolver and the musket in the hands of hired ruffians. If we are to protect anybody, I say, for God's sake, let us protect American labor, because American capital can protect itself.

Mr. BRUMM. Is it not true that the very men who have employed the Pinkerton men in all these coal strikes are free-traders, headed by Mr. SCOTT, of this House; Mr. Corbin, of New York, and Mr. Cox, of Pennsylvania, all free-trade Democrats?

Mr. MCMILLIN. Does the gentleman charge that Mr. SCOTT has done so? Does he assume to say that he has?

Mr. BRUMM. I assume to say that he has, and I am responsible for that statement and am ready to prove it.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Well, you and he can settle it between you. He says it is not true.

Mr. BRUMM. Mr. SCOTT, Mr. Corbin and Mr. Cox, Democratic free-traders——

Mr. STOCKDALE. Mr. Chairman, I was about to say in reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] that I am neither the guardian nor the guardian *ad litem* of Mr. SCOTT and the other gentlemen. I regard them as amply able to take care of themselves. But I do know by history that this was done by American capital. I do know that it was American labor that was at the muzzle of the gun and American capital at the breech. No laboring man ever called for a Pinkerton detective. No laboring man in the coal-mines or elsewhere ever called upon Pinkerton's men to protect them. That was done by American capital, and in that way American workingmen, American citizens, were put out and European paupers were put in their places. Now, Mr. Chairman, it makes no difference to me who the individuals are. I would not care if SCOTT and Corbin and a dozen more were among them. I speak what I believe to be the truth and apply it directly. I know what it is to be a laboring man. I was raised to my present height at the handles of the plow. I know the hardships, the wants, the privations of a farmer's life, and I yield to no man, be he Democrat or Republican, or member of the Labor party, in disapproval of such proceedings.

Mr. Chairman, I notice one peculiar feature about these strikes. There is always an investigation asked for, and by whom? The employers never; they do not want investigation, but resent it. It is always the laborers that want it. Strange that the innocent want to cover their tracks and the guilty want the light thrown upon theirs! They treat Congressional committees with royal disdain; despise the laws of common humanity. The laborers may shiver in the winter's blast; their wives may cry, and the tears may freeze as they flow on the unlighted hearthstone; their children may plead for bread; but nothing on the earth, in the heavens, or under the earth can move the hearts of these men, if they have any. And this is American capital that we are to protect for protection's sake, just to have such righteousness among us for God's sake! Why not investigate this condition of things? Why do not these great property-holders come here so that we may hear them say, "We do not oppress these people; it is a mistake to suppose that we have turned them out. We want to protect them and we want you to protect them; and we court investigation so that we can show to the world that we deal justly by these people."

The laboring men of the country come here for protection—for investigation, rather; they need no protection. I am sorry that that word "labor" was ever introduced. As expressing a class of people, "American capital and American labor" is a glib phrase among employers and owners as though it expressed two things to be used and bartered on equal terms. Perhaps the common law of these protection districts will soon be that American labor will pass in the conveyance of the plant "without special mention." I would have a Department of Industry instead of a Bureau of Labor. I would consider together the interests of the mechanic, the farmer, and the wage-worker, generally—the interest of every man who makes his living by the exertion of his two hands. I would group them all and create a Department of Industry, and make its head a Cabinet minister. Let these wage-workers be heard, not through their oppressors, but, together with their friends, the great working masses of the country, constitute a Department of the Government with a Cabinet officer to represent them, not to beg favors, but to assert their rights. Then add to the Post-Office Department a Government telegraph system and bring quick transit of news within reach of their means; but give them these measures of scant justice and you will not hear them clamoring for protection. I tell you, sir, that the men in this House who have interested themselves in framing laws to protect these people have earned their gratitude; and the name of O'NEILL will go over this land and be a household word in every working family from now until he dies.

The people who work with their hands (I address them at home as fellow-citizens and gentlemen with as much pride and respect as I upon this floor say gentlemen of that side or of this side of the House), I say they must rescue this Government from the grasping hand of a purely money power, always cold and cruel to the poor.

Mr. Chairman, as I was interrupted I did not finish what I was about to say on this subject of protection.

A MEMBER. Protection, so called.

Mr. STOCKDALE. The gentleman says "so called;" but it is protection. It is protection to those people who have mines and factories, but to the agriculturist "it is such protection as vultures give to lambs." As the fable has it, the doves asked for protection and got it.

A farmer can get along well in the world as long as he tills the soil, and no one thinks of protecting him; but just let him discover a coal mine or iron mine on his farm and Congress must rush to his rescue at once.

American writers and orators boast of the wealth of our mines, and yet they are the only pieces of ground we have where men can not live without help. The sturdy pioneer goes bravely into the burning deserts of the great West. He smites the side of the mountain with the trident of his genius and the waters pure and sparkling come to his feet from its cleft side. He stamps the earth and the arid waste blossoms around him and the unwilling lands yield abundant harvests at his bidding; but let him find a coal or iron mine and he is paralyzed and throws himself upon the mercy of Congress and cries out, "Gentlemen, protect me; I am now American capital; send me a cargo of paupers, convicts, anarchists, or any other late brands of 'American labor,' and then prohibit these infernal agriculturists from purchasing from anybody else and I can live."

How have the mighty fallen! In my youth I read with profoundest awe of a wonderful race who, with the courage of a lofty ambition, launched their frail barks upon the wild waves of the almost unknown ocean, and with boundless faith and songs of triumph set the compass for the shores of the New World, there to commune with God and freedom.

The story of their daring, their sufferings, and their triumphs loomed up in the horizon of American history as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to beckon the ambitious and patriotic on the way to glorious achievement. They grew into a mighty people, and the wilderness and the savage receded from the presence of the dauntless Anglo-Saxon whom frightful wars failed to subdue.

To-day the descendants of these great vicegerents of civilization and prowess who assumed for generations to teach mankind the art of success in business, as well as in the graces, we see all over the same land, surrounded by all the modern improvements, holding up their hands and crying in a loud voice, "We can not cope with other people; give us protection or we will become paupers; save us, or we perish. Let Congress vote us aid and enact laws compelling the great masses to pay tribute for our sustenance."

Will this be accepted as a true chapter in history? Ah, no; it will not. These gentlemen will indignantly repell it, and say we are the peers of any other people in business capacity, and that is true. They can and do compete successfully with the world, and give daily evidence of it.

It may be safely assumed as axiomatic that New England will not long pursue a business that does not pay. And it is a fact that they manufacture goods and ship them abroad and sell them in the very markets where they say goods are made so cheap that their introduction here will ruin our industries unless a tariff raises the price; and they export and sell in foreign markets—in competition with free-trade England, so much denounced—the very same goods that they make us pay from 25 to 36 per cent. more for at home. That is to say, an American citizen can go to foreign ports and buy goods there that were manufactured in America cheaper, by the amount of the tariff, than he can

buy them here. And the exporting of articles of domestic manufacture in the United States has been increasing all the time while the present exorbitant tariff existed, until it reaches many millions now. In 1887 American manufacturers exported iron and various articles manufactured from iron amounting to $15,958,502. They also exported agricultural implements, such as are in daily use by American farmers, to the value of $2,138,398. These were sold in foreign markets at a profit, after adding the freight across oceans or seas and without any protection whatever or any benefit of tariff.

I have a table here showing a list of articles manufactured in the United States of iron and steel alone, and sold in foreign markets in 1877:

Iron and steel, and manufactures of, 1887.	Quantity.	Value.
Iron ore.....tons...	2,509	$5,254
Pig-iron.....do.....	7,801	142,949
Band, hoop, and scroll iron.....pounds...	388,733	12,302
Bar-iron.....do.....	2,131,025	56,887
Car-wheels.....number...	12,598	98,865
Castings, not elsewhere specified.....	.....	267,160
Cutlery.....	.....	136,546
Fire-arms.....	.....	664,253
Ingots, bars, and rods of steel.....pounds...	134,208	10,624
Locks, hinges, builders' hardware.....	.....	1,357,332
Machinery, not elsewhere specified.....	.....	4,607,714
Nails and spikes.....pounds...	11,575,918	317,675
Plates and sheets of iron.....do.....	2,162,517	65,106
Plates and sheets of steel.....do.....	564,080	14,183
Printing presses, and parts of.....	.....	162,754
Railroad bars or rails of iron.....tons..	524	18,396
Railroad bars or rails of steel.....do.....	2,241	74,330
Saws and tools.....	.....	1,305,706
Scales and balances.....	.....	225,564
Sewing-machines, and parts of.....	.....	2,212,853
Fire engines.....number...	3	9,083
Locomotive engines.....do.....	58	373,245
Stationary engines.....do.....	219	213,060
Boilers and parts of engines.....	.....	281,790
Stoves and ranges and parts of.....	.....	200,658
Wire.....pounds...	9,612,005	386,759
Other manufactures of iron and steel.....	.....	2,742,708
Total iron and steel manufactures.....	.....	15,958,502
Leather manufactures.....	.....	$10,436,138
Vessels sold to foreigners:		
Steamers.....tons...	87	40,343
Sailing vessels.....do.....	1,568	30,437

Now, by our tariff law, if an American farmer goes to Europe, in the same foreign markets where these American articles were sold, and buys there the same article of foreign make at the same price the American got for his, that farmer would be compelled to pay a heavy duty for the privilege of bringing it in. Why? For protection to American manufacturers. The farmer will say, "You do not need protection; you sell these articles abroad, after adding freight, 40 per cent. cheaper than you will sell to me at home. I ought to be as good as an Englishman or other foreigner." If the American manufacturer gives an honest answer to this it will be, "I have not the foreigner in my power, but I have you in my power perfectly, by virtue of the American tariff laws, and I will grind out of you the last cent you can pay. I admit that I can sell to foreigners, and do sell to them for exportation, cheaper than I sell to you, and I could sell to you cheaper and make money; but thanks to the infernal folly of the American Congress you can not help yourself, and I have no God before mammon."

Now, to show that he can do what is here attributed to him, I submit some figures from a work that no human being dare dispute. It was written in Boston by a Boston man. I copy from J. G. Martin's Stock Fluctuations, Boston, 1871–1882. He puts down the dividends of leading concerns from 1870 to 1881. I take a few examples:

Lowell Machine Shops (capital invested, $900,000):

	Per cent.
In 1877 it yielded a regular dividend of.....	10
And a special dividend of (February, 1877).....	30
In 1879 a regular dividend of.....	10
And an extra dividend (August, 1879).....	20
In 1881 a regular dividend of.....	10
And an extra dividend (September, 1881).....	50
Total.....	140

In these three years the concern paid back to the stockholders all the investment—$900,000—and $360,000 beside.

Hamilton Woolen Manufacturing Company, capital $1,000,000: In 1880 it paid a dividend of 10 per cent., besides an extra dividend (July, 1880) of 33⅓ per cent.; 43⅓ per cent. in one year.

Lancaster Manufacturing Company, in 1880, paid a dividend of 17½ per cent., besides an extra dividend (in November) of 50 per cent.—67½ per cent.

That is what American capital got out of protection. What American labor got this eminent statistician failed to report. Perhaps he reported, in short, that there were, say, two hundred head of American labor with the plant. That would be in keeping with the manner of this man towards the workingmen.

Mr. Chairman, the devotees of protection on this floor, feeling and knowing that such is the logical sequence of the actions of their constituents engaged in these immense operations, when their guardian angel, "Protection," has been shelled out from every refuge, incensed at the exposure of the great wrong by which a favored few take to themselves the earnings of the oppressed people, they labor to distract the attention of the country from the contemplation of a great national economic question by interposing the oft-repeated, vituperous, political ritual of abuse of the rebel brigadiers and the solid South, and proceed to exhume wrathfully the long-buried corpse of slavery. Such a course, it seems to me, is an ignominious confession that the scheme of protection, beyond what incidentally arises from the levy of imports for the needs of the Government, as protection for protection's sake, and thereby accumulating a dangerous surplus in the Treasury, is wholly indefensible in equity and good conscience, is utterly without constitutional authority, and therefore without any authority, and differs from the business of the highwayman only in the methods.

The gentleman from Michigan boasts, not invidiously, that the 26,000,000 of farm lands in New Jersey and New York are worth more than the 200,000,000 of farm lands in the late Confederate States, and claims that protection did it. He makes no allowance for the fact that property in the South was destroyed by the ravages of war—more than all the farm lands of New York and New Jersey are worth now; and that protection takes the money from those States that should be expended in improvements and transfers it to New York, New Jersey, and New England. Besides, his argument proves too much from his standpoint. If he will look at free-trade England, lands there are worth many times the value of New York and New Jersey lands. Therefore protection has injured values in New York and New Jersey.

I desire now to speak of my immediate constituency of both races, and more particularly of the colored race.

I promised the colored man to exert myself as best I could towards removing from his patient shoulders the *burdens* that have been laid upon him by his new task-masters, which he regards as unduly heavy and grievous to be borne. The cotton-planter has received but little attention in this discussion, and it is the favorite and chief industry of the colored race.

Whatever burdens in the shape of tithes to other industries it may be deemed necessary to lay upon the white population of those States, who in the qualities of heroic manhood are the greatest people of the world to-day, surely the negro should not be held longer in servitude to those gigantic industries from which he derives no benefit and to which he is under no obligation.

He needs not to be told, and thrice told, that he was held in slavery, and that gratitude should bind him forever to his deliverers. He has not forgotten that the soil he now possesses, together with his own person, once belonged to the men with whom he now works side by side in the great struggle of life, under a panoply of a common interest, in peace and harmony. He knows the whole story from the time the first great gun sounded the tocsin in the startled ears of the nation until the Confederacy and slavery fell together to rise no more forever. In this he is far in advance of and a better historian than gentlemen who talk of him as a slave, sensitive as to how he votes, but oblivious to his interests and prosperity.

He remembers his masters as a joyous, comparatively idle race, and was astounded to see them, without preparation, leap into a war that is without precedent or parallel in history; saw a government as by magic rise into existence with the limbs of a giant, writhe in the grasp of war for four fearful years and then go down forever. He has not forgotten the story of the last chapter, when giants grappled in the final struggle, then the meeting at Appomattox, when the last gun had been fired, the last tattoo had been sounded, the last flag had been furled, the book was written, the cause was lost, and his emancipation accomplished and peace restored.

The experience was short and terrific, and by the genius of Southern soldiers the science of war had been revolutionized, the navies of the world rendered obsolete, and as a result a race of four millions of people had been born into freedom and citizenship.

The victorious soldiers divided rations with their fallen foes, and the two great armies parted without hatred toward each other—the Northern man, with light and bounding step, back to homes of plenty and a land of teeming prosperity amid the *adulations* of his people; the Southern soldier, exhausted and impoverished, pushed his solemn marches back to where his home had been. New conditions of society surrounded him and he was in the presence of a problem that was without precedent in history and which he must solve at once.

The two races who had parted as master and slave amid joyous prosperity and boundless wealth, now met again amid a desolation vast and appalling. The deposed master and the enfranchised slave, without hesitation, joined hands in mutual confidence to solve this great problem of their new life.

The crops that had been planted by slaves for masters were finished by them as freemen and partners and equitably and satisfactorily divided by them when matured. Then the new year of 1866 was ushered in. The colored people, now fully realizing the great change that had come into their lives, set up for themselves. Cotton was the ideal bonanza of the colored man, and he bent what energies he had almost exclusively to its production.

When spring had melted into summer and summer's hot breath had softened into the autumn breezes his glad eyes rested upon his whitening fields, the recompense of his toil. When the frosts had come and his little provision crop was housed and his cotton gathered, counting over and over again the dollars it would bring, all his own, he wended his way to market, he made his sales, had his account for supplies estimated and his money laid out before him, enough to pay his debt and a little to spare. His heart swelled as he contemplated the joy he would carry home to his little cabin, but, at that juncture, to his consternation a revenue officer appeared with a brass tag, that he did not want at the price, and he was compelled to hand over from his little fund $13.50 for every bale for the privilege of shipping his crop to market. That or the prison. That left him in debt. This was his first venture as an American citizen. The next year the balance against him increased. After several other years of toil the more thrifty of the colored people began to save a little money. Little by little it was gathered into the Freedman's Savings Bank and Trust Company, where it still is. In the mean time he was cajoled out of his earnings by many a saintly trick, perpetrated by the Freedman's Bureau and the carpet-bagger, whose history has not been written, and the story of whose life has not been told—which is well for the credit of humanity and of decency. When he had been freed from these plagues, more grievous than the plagues of Egypt, and become better informed, he inquired after this mysterious character called "protection," from which he had been taught to expect abundant prosperity, and learned, to his cost and great disgust, that through all those years he had been paying, as a sacrifice to that unknown god, 25 to 75 per cent. more than he ought to have paid for the necessaries of life, amounting, according to the calculation of my friend from Georgia [Mr. STEWART], to ninety or a hundred dollars a year. Then, when his crop is ready for sale, and he had to contend in the open markets of the world for a buyer, he is impressed with the wisdom of the old colored man in my county, who said:

'Pears to me I'se on the wrong side o' dat protection.

During all these vicissitudes of the colored race in their new relations, their former masters have provided schools for their children and labored assiduously to elevate them in the scale of intelligence. The white people have taxed themselves to support these schools. It is safe to say that the colored people pay less than 10 per cent. of the taxes that are expended in the support of schools. Is it marvelous, gentlemen, that these people, the most intelligent of them, decline to vote your ticket and vote with their only friends? The scheme of creating and fanning animosity and distrust between the races succeeded for a while and both races suffered sorely; and if the plan of salvation be broad enough, I hope the perpetrators of that villainy may be forgiven.

But I tell you the last card that can be drawn from the sleeve has been played against the negro since he discovered that the representations of danger to his freedom or his rights were a deception and a sham; and he will not be cajoled into voting against his own interests by the quadrennial exhibitions of solicitude by the Republican party just before the voting time, and their tirades against the solid South. It will not avail any longer to tell the negro that Southern white rule means danger to his liberties or his rights. They sit on juries together; have their cases tried before mixed juries; colored men against white, and *vice versa* as litigants and no complaints are made. The colored men smile in derision of the frantic orators who talk such gibberage. They know now that it is all false. If the colored people were treated as the radical 4th of Julie orators say, strange they do not leave the South and step across the line into the North, where they can enjoy all the fabled blessings of freedom. You can not persuade one of them away from among the Southern people. The Kansas and Indiana exodus was an antidote to all that. People usually stay where their friends are. But, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say to gentlemen what they perhaps already know if party discipline would permit its avowal, in presence of the representatives from the South, believing that they will indorse the utterance, that sectional feeling has no agency in producing the political condition sometimes denominated the solid South, that no hostile feeling towards the North contributes to that result. It results from the difference in the principles of the two great parties.

From the first Democratic national convention after the war, in 1868, of which I had the honor to be a member, until this hour, the South has not asked for a place on the Presidential ticket, but the Southern States have simply exercised with unanimity their right of choice between Northern men aspiring to the Presidency. They care not for the spoils of office; they want to be allowed to live and keep what they make. The interests of the Southern States being similar it might be expected that they would act with unanimity with the party best calculated to promote their prosperity.

The policy of the Democratic party to reduce taxation and lighten the burdens of the people is in strong contrast with the methods of the Republican party to maintain the present high rates which the South is unable to bear.

The Democratic party is strongly in favor of encouraging the development of the South and refrains from denunciation of her people to discredit them abroad. The Democratic party is opposed to the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race by any other race regardless of color or previous condition. I will say further in this presence, with full knowledge that what I utter will be read and passed upon by the South, that the Southern States are to-day as loyal to the United States Government as any other States or State, and far more loyal to constitutional liberty than those who use the legislative power of the Government without authority of right to take from one class and give as a gratuity to another, thus making the Government into a trust far more powerful and dangerous than those private trusts of which we have heard so much on this floor.

If the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] will go South, first letting the scales fall from his eyes, he will see evidences of it. A whole population—white and black—including Confederate soldiers, maimed and crippled and scarred—yea, and rebel brigadiers—all harmoniously working together with might and main to make an honest living, to pay the war debt, to pay pensions to Union soldiers, and all the expenses of the Government without complaint, see the white people of their own means providing schools for the colored people, and churches everywhere. Would he or his party rejoice to see the two races thus harmoniously struggling to restore prosperity to their homes? Would he inquire what he could do to advance them in the great work?

Ah, no; his pig-iron interests would loom up before him, and with bated breath he would hurry back and tell his party there is too much harmony between the races in the South; we will lose the colored votes, those infernal rebels are educating the negro, and when he finds out that he wears taxed shoes, taxed hat, pants, and coat, drives an unprotected mule, with taxed reins hitched to a taxed plow by taxed chains, the very blinds that keep his mule from seeing how to kick him is taxed; and when he finds out that he digs his potatoes with a taxed hoe, and with taxed ax cuts the wood to cook them in a taxed pot and a taxed fire, and takes them out with a taxed spoon, puts them in taxed plates, eats them with taxed knives and forks, and gets up and goes to a taxed bucket for a drink of water, he exclaims with a sigh of relief, at last I find one, only one, thing untaxed, and drinks from a gourd, and now comes the crowning infamy of it all a direct tax on his cotton-seed product. I tell you the gentlemen will, when they read that schedule and find that not a thing they make is protected, they will vote solid with the rebels. Blow your trumpets, curse the rebels, and scare the negro, or protection is gone. I want to test the affection of the Republican party for the colored race and see whether they will relieve five million people from tax on agricultural implements or retain the tax for the benefit of five hundred making those implements.

And, Mr. Chairman, the scheme that is said to be in incubation to compensate for all these hardships on his necessities by giving him free whisky is hardly the thing; it is not a good substitute for bread or clothing. I tell you, Mr. Chairman, there is more lamentation in the Republican party over one colored man who votes with his friends to escape New England taxation than over ninety and nine who die. Draughts may afflict them, floods may overwhelm them, New England will send them tracts on transubstantiation, but if one votes out of the church whose god is protection the legislation of the United States Government pauses, and thousands are spent to know why that negro voted that way.

It is neither to our interests nor in accordance with our tastes to indulge in criminations and recriminations in which there is no good to either side, and Southern Representatives are not here with that desire—prompted by no animosity towards any section, but simply battling for the interests of a struggling, heroic people to prevent a blight from being blown over their growing prosperity, which seems by not unfair interpretation of their actions to be the object of the Republican party. And therefore the sentiments of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] are extremely refreshing, coming from there, and which I believe came from his heart; and—while I dissent from his logic—is not to establish the result he desires. I respond promptly and with earnestness to the invocation for prosperity upon the South, when he said:

Her heavens are aglow with the break of a new day, and when the sun shall reach the zenith of that glorious day the North and the South, cemented in the indissoluble bonds of commercial and fraternal unity, will stand together under the banner of protection to American industries and American labor and move to grander industrial triumphs.

These sentiments are not new to me—leaving out the "banner." I believe I made the first public utterances in that line in the United States after the war, and under far different circumstances from these surroundings. In the heart of the South, in 1875, when the North erroneously supposed that disloyalty was the prevailing sentiment; when the fangs of persecution were deep in the flesh of the new body politic; and animosity kindled by wicked hands and fanned by unholy breath was prolific of evil to both races, and seemed to portend the humiliation of the Southern people and the utter destruction of prosperity in that stricken land. Believing as I did that the nobler sentiments of the Northern people, and particularly the great soldier element, did not intend to destroy prosperity in the South nor to humiliate her people, I spoke to a reunion of Confederate soldiers, after recounting the evils under which we suffered—I said what I now ask to have read as extracts from that speech—parts which I have marked:

The Clerk read as follows:

I have thought long and anxiously upon this subject, and am fully persuaded that there is a remedy, practical, ample, and complete, if we will have the courage to apply it, and it is of this I desire to speak to-day, and I speak with an

impulse stronger than a desire to please or to avoid offense. I speak for the rising generation, your children and mine, and for the children of our brave comrades who fell by our side. And I thank God that I address men who have been tried in the fire, and ennobled to that liberty of soul that rises above prejudice and passion to the higher plane of reason and truth. I speak what I do believe when I say there is a remedy at hand ample for the ills that afflict this nation. It is reconciliation between the estranged sections of the country, honest, thorough, and full reconciliation between the people of the North and the people of the South. It must not be in pretense, but in honor and in truth.

I have spoken of the characteristics of the true soldier for the purpose of showing here how reconciliation may be accomplished.

The estranged sections must meet, if it all, through agents who have the confidence of their people and confidence in each other. Such agents are found only in the soldiery of the opposing armies.

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The soldiers of the North and the soldiers of the South should come forth once more in the power of their might, not in strife nor with arms, but with the olive branch; not divided, but united, in one common cause—the cause of reconciliation and peace.

Mr. STOCKDALE. From that day forth I have never ceased to hope for the full enthronement of that auspicious event. I would rejoice to hear going up from all the altars in this land, at early mass and the evening vespers, the invocation, "Let us have peace" and thorough and complete reconciliation. Let the waves of oblivion roll over the mistakes and wrongs of the past, and commercial and industrial prosperity flow over the whole land, sweeping out of existence sectional animosities and sectional lines, so that the words "North" and "South" shall have no more political significance than East and West; so that a chord of patriotism touched at the Lakes will vibrate to the Gulf, and ocean will speak across to ocean in language of national friendship, of national unity, national greatness, announcing that the grandest race of the world has arisen once more in perfect reunion in her pride and in her glory to take her rightful place in the advance of the present civilization, and that the star of empire again moves towards the zenith. I will say to the gentleman from Michigan that however much I dissent from his doctrine of protection as a means of putting the South on the highway to the the glorious achievements he predicts for her, I appreciate his utterances as manifesting a manhood to be admired, and rejoice to have seen them favorably commented upon at the opposite end of the Capitol.

The gentleman says eloquently:

He rejoices that there is a new South, a new industrial South, full of hope and full of courage, she stands to-day with uplifted brow facing the dawn of a mighty future.

And if I could I would bring an amen down from the skies to the sentiment. And I would say to those other gentlemen who suggest that capital and prosperity will flow South when her people manifest a proper spirit, that the tide-flow has already set in that direction; let them look out for the ebb; and if it had not, I would not have the South cringe even for so great a boom.

Her own manhood has brought her out of a desolation that would have been despair to any other people. Her sublime faith in the right brought her through the slough of despond. Her matchless skill and dauntless courage guided her bark over the maelstrom, created for destruction, back into the harbor under the ample folds of the Stars and Stripes, and she will go out no more alone; she will sail with the fleet, but proposes to sail and not be towed.

Gentlemen who assume to sit upon thrones erected by protection and withhold property from the South until her people make obeisance before them, must remember that God's providence is grander and stronger than men's animosity and the nation's gold.

That while He has sorely afflicted the South, and made her tread the wine-press alone and pass through much tribulation, she bends the knee to none but Him.

We are here under the broad panoply of the Constitution, with all its amendments acquiesced in; here of right by the voice of a great and free constituency; here on business, not to apologize or ask favors. The great chivalric heart of the nation does not demand it.

The great warriors who restored the Union and unfurled the flag again over all the States do not demand it. They imposed no conditions then, they ask none now. They who could be terrible in war can be magnanimous in peace. Those scarred veterans who slept under the stars and marched to the music of artillery on an hundred hills, whose eyes blazed in the battle line, whose cheeks did not blanch in the hot breath of the cannon's mouth, whose hearts did not quail when the surging columns dashed together, would not have it. They won their laurels because they overcame and brought back with them to the Union a mighty race of warriors and statesmen, and you tarnish their glory when you would belittle the South.

They would despise a faltering foe in this arena of brains as they would have done on the field of battle.

A true knight never breaks a lance on an insignificant shield, and never decries the valor of his foe and thereby detract from the renown of his victory.

There is no human being that a Union soldier should hiss from his presence so promptly as the man who undertakes to detract from the greatness of the Southern people. What were a million and a half of Union soldiers doing for four years? How did they perform such valorous deeds as to cause monuments to be reared all over this city and over the country if there was no formidable people to overcome?

We say they are great soldiers because they overcame a great people. We have no animosity because we believe they fought with an honest purpose. We are now one nation, under one Government, float the same flag, and will defend its honor with fervor and with blood, if need be. My last sentence on this occasion, standing in the marble halls of the nation's Capitol—a nation too great to harbor revenge against her citizens—by virtue of a commission from a people as brave and true as walk the earth, is to express the hope that when time shall have removed the present year into the past, and the coming centennial year of constitutional liberty shall have come and passed to full ripeness, and spread plenty over the whole land; when the proud Anglo-Saxon race shall assemble in the capital city of the greatest nation of the world to emphasize the great event; when the pendulum shall have swung the arc of a century, and the hundredth stroke shall peal out over the heads of the assembled multitudes of American citizens, and bound to the lakes, to the golden shores, to the gulf, and all along the Atlantic's teeming coast, it will be the eternal requiem of all sectional animosity and herald a peace that shall have no end. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY G. TURNER,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 10, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

The CHAIRMAN said: The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Georgia be allowed to speak without limit.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I am greatly obliged to my honorable friend from Ohio for this unexpected courtesy on his part; but I hope to occupy not more than the usual time.

Mr. Chairman, if there is anything new under the sun, I have not been able to find it in the general subject of the tariff. I had hoped that our able colleagues on the committee who differ with us would have tendered us some measure of relief for the people and the abatement of public burdens, in order that we might have some choice between two new schemes of taxation.

Whatever expectation may have existed as to the purpose of the Republican minority to propose such a measure suited to our present conditions, that expectation has been disappointed. We have had nothing on the other side but an effort to attaint the pending bill and some of its authors, and to defend the general policy of protection. It is therefore, Mr. Chairman, a question between the bill under consideration and our present system of taxation.

The concerted movement made to cast odium and contempt upon the origin of the bill must be intended to divert attention from the history of the present law. That law was never framed nor considered by any committee of the House, was never submitted to the Committee of the Whole House, and was passed without being read in the House, by a revolution in its time-honored rules of procedure.

Mr. Chairman, the origination of this bill may be very briefly stated. Certain Democratic Representatives, actuated by a sense of responsibility to the country and to their party, and not pretending to be a committee of the House, conferred together for the purpose of reconciling their own differences and agreeing upon a consistent plan for the reduction of taxation. Republican gentlemen complain that they were not admitted to these private conferences. They might just as well take offense because they were not invited to the conference of our party last night.

This complaint is not worthy of the self-respect of the gentlemen who make it, and I shall not dignify it with further notice. After the bill had been prepared in this way it was submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, and became an official proceeding. Then the Republican members of the committee had a right to be consulted in regard to it, and not before.

Let it also be borne in mind that Republican leaders have very generally insisted that the tariff should be revised only by its friends, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] is reported in the public press to have said that it was no part of the duty of the minority of the committee to prepare any bill on this subject. These statements sufficiently show that our Republican colleagues have not favored a policy consistent with our duties and obligations.

But, sir, we have been arraigned because we said that we would not as a committee hear oral statements and arguments from gentlemen not members of the committee, and to that complaint some reply may be proper.

There are many thousands of people and corporations in this country besides importers and consumers interested in the policy of protection. To have heard a full and adequate discussion by representatives of all these interests would not have been possible during a session of Congress, and to have given audience to some interests and not to others asking the same privilege would have given just cause of offense.

But it is due to us to say that as individual members of the committee we never refused to hear any persons who chose to apply to us for that purpose. We also examined the petitions and memorials referred to the committee relating to the various details with which we were charged in connection with the tariff and internal-revenue laws, and we were accessible at all times to written and printed communications through the mails; and, finally, we had on the committee some of the ablest advocates which protection has in this country.

Mr. REED. That is, they have allowed private hearings, but refused public ones.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I did not hear the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. REED. The observation I made was that you say you allowed private hearings but refused public ones.

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED] may have refused to hear gentlemen who applied to him, to examine the memorials referred to the Committee on Ways and Means by the House, and to read the arguments that came to the members of that committee through the mails, and, in that event, perhaps, we ought to have sat as a committee for his accommodation in this regard; but lack of time prevented.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman allow me to make an interruption?

Mr. TURNER, of Georgia. I will.

Mr. REED. The observation which I made and which the gentleman requested me to repeat was not intended as an interruption to him, but I desire to say now, with his permission, that the objection which we make to what I call private hearings as compared with public hearings is that a public hearing gives an opportunity for examination and cross-examination, while a private hearing does not. The gentleman is too thorough a lawyer not to understand that the truthfulness of statements unsubjected to cross-examinations is not something to be relied upon, and therefore the private hearings of which the gentleman has spoken do not seem to us to be a satisfactory method of eliciting the truth.

Mr. TURNER. These private hearings were given to the advocates of protection in the room of the committee and at other convenient places about the Capitol and at our private rooms. And these gentlemen, perhaps, underwent cross-examinations.

Mr. REED. I do not think the House will have any difficulty in understanding what both of us mean after the explanation the gentleman has given.

Mr. TURNER. I presume this doctrine of protection to which the gentleman from Maine has dedicated his life finds in him as able a champion and as accomplished a representative as it would have in any gentleman who is engaged in the actual business of manufacturing.

It is said that we resisted all motions of its enemies to amend the bill when it was submitted to the committee. These propositions were to strangle the bill in its infancy, to rend it limb from limb—in short, to "out-Herod Herod" in regard to it. And as usual, persecution endeared it to its friends. A principle can not be crucified. And now the bill is in the Committee of the Whole House, where every citizen and every interest is represented, with the fullest liberty of discussion, and where every statement made can be subjected to examination and cross-examination. And it is in that other grand committee of the whole country, where its provisions are undergoing the scrutiny of all the assemblies and all the conventions of all the people.

But, Mr. Chairman, the bill has been denounced because some of its authors represent districts in which slaves until recently were held as property. Slavery was an institution of greater antiquity than one generation. It may have been bad; but those who bought the negroes and paid for them and fitted them for the high estate of freedom and American citizenship, certainly deserve no greater obloquy than those who brought them to our shores beneath the decks of their ships and sold them on the wharf like bales of merchandise. If we deserve reproach, Mr. Chairman, those who sold us the negroes ought not to throw the first stone.

But, sir, I have no disposition to indulge in recrimination. The times have changed. Those who brought slaves here through the horrors of the "middle passage" have changed their opinions, and so have we. But if we are unfit on account of our relation to slavery to consider public measures proposing to reduce the burdens of the people, might I not with equal propriety say that those who enslaved the African can not be trusted with the task of revising the privileges of freemen. [Applause.]

Let us deal charitably with each other. Let us suppose that the African slave trade was a great missionary movement, and that pious people, actuated by that spirit of broad benevolence which characterizes a certain section of the Union, by means of this traffic, undertook to bring the heathen to Christianity. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Chairman, against taxation to provide for the general welfare under the Constitution, so levied as to help rather than to injure American industries, no Democrat will complain. But taxation so devised as to prevent revenue to the Government and to yield revenue to individuals, or so extended as to produce more revenue than the Government needs and maintained for the benefit of a class or section at the expense of all other classes and sections, is contrary to good morals and subverts the Constitution. Against this exaction, known under the specious name of protection, I protest to-day. I impeach protection of high crimes and misdemeanors. Let it answer before the bar of justice.

When war was flagrant and the Treasury was empty, and the population of the entire country, including the Southern States, was but little more than 31,000,000, the tariff then framed to meet the most extraordinary emergency that ever arose on this continent, imposed during the first year of its operation an average rate of 36 per cent. After twenty-three years of profound peace, with a Treasury full to repletion, struggling with an accumulated surplus over the largest wants of the Government of $150,000,000, with a population of over 60,000,000, the tariff now levies an average rate of 47 per cent. This surplus has arisen notwithstanding an immense increase in our annual expenditures, and is itself a constant temptation to wasteful extravagance. And it is not only a mischievous influence in public affairs, but it measures the extent to which the Government has contracted the currency, to the imminent peril of every private interest. The people need more money than they have hitherto had; and to take from them this immense sum which the Government does not need, and which is so indispensable to the business of the country, is indefensible extortion. Heavy taxation of a people having an adequate currency is bad enough; but unnecessary taxation of such a people is a crime.

Our aggregate circulation of gold, silver, and paper money, including the funds in the Treasury, is estimated to amount to about $1,500,000,000. The people paid to the Government in tariff taxes $217,000,000 and in excise duties one hundred and seventeen millions, making a total taxation of $335,000,000 last year. This immense tribute is over 22 per cent. of all the money in the country. We have only $25 in cash for each man, woman, and child in the country, and on each man, woman, and child is levied an average tax of over $5.50, or $27.50 on each family of five persons.

Now let us consider the incidental taxation which is collected under the tariff by the manufacturers. The total value of all the manufactured products of the United States returned according to the last census amounted to $5,369,667,706. Our dutiable imports last year amounted to $450,000,000 in round numbers, on which we collected over $217,000,000. As our duties are laid confessedly for protection, it is very probable that on the immense aggregate of our domestic manufactures, in competition with which our taxed imports are sold, an addition of value is placed equal to many times the income of the tariff to the Government.

But taking $217,000,000 as the measure of the bounties paid last year to our manufacturers, let us commute protection into an annuity, computed at the Government rate of 3½ per cent.; the principal of that annuity would amount to $6,200,000,000. That annuity is the interest on a sum greater than the cost of the war! And the moderation of this estimate of protection no man will deny.

The enormous taxation which I have endeavored to outline is so contrived as to bear lightly on the rich and prosperous and heavily on the poor and unfortunate. To those who do not need, it is a largess and benefaction; to those States and their people that are cramped by narrow and scant means, it is a hindrance and oppression. To the latter it is a deduction from the comforts and necessaries of life, from the education of their children; a burden upon the offices of religion and charity; a tax on school, on church, and on home.

When I heard the other day the splendid inventory of New England's wealth presented with so much pride by the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], and reflected on the system under which that wealth has been drawn from other sections, and on the beggarly reductions of taxation which our bill proposes, I felt like exclaiming, like Lord Clive before a committee of Parliament: "By God, Mr. Chairman, I am astonished at my own moderation!"

The tariff, sir, is a tax on consumption. It is not laid on the taxpayer according to what he has, but it is levied on his wants. It is apportioned among men, not according to their means, but according to their necessities. It is an income tax, graduated not accord ng to what men make, but according to what they buy. It is therefore hardest on those who have to spend all that they make.

But, Mr. Chairman, inequality is the foundation of the system of protection, and the only inducement for its preservation. If a scheme of protection could be devised by which each citizen could tax his neighbor just as much as his neighbor could tax him it would be equality, but it would meet with scant favor. The present system is worse, because it is brigandage without reciprocity.

Let us expose some of the profits of protection according to its own returns made during the last census year. The capital invested in

manufactures then amounted to $2,790,272,606; materials used cost $3,396,823,549; wages, $941,953,795; total product, $5,369,579,191. It can be easily seen from these figures that manufacturers made enormous gains, amounting in clear net profits to more than four times the income of the Government from the tariff.

But it is said that protection advances wages. If this is not mere pretension, then wages ought to keep pace with protection. Let us see. In 1860 the average tariff rate on the dutiable list was 19 per cent., which has been frequently denounced as free trade. And yet during that year labor received over 20 per cent. of the total product of our manufactures. In 1870, when the average tariff rate was two and a half times as high as in 1860, amounting to 47 per cent., labor received less than in 1860, or a little over 18 per cent. of the total product of our manufactures. And in 1880 labor received 17½ per cent. of its entire products.

These figures seem to demonstrate that the increase of protection is not accompanied with an increase in wages.

The chief argument for protection is founded on the assumption that wages are higher in this country than in Europe. Seventeen and a half per cent. of the value of our manufactures covers the entire cost of wages paid for their production. We levy 47 per cent. to pay for the difference between this cost of our labor and the cost of labor on the other side! If labor in Europe cost nothing at all, we could put our manufactures on the same footing as to labor with a tariff rate of seventeen and a half per cent.!

Mr. Chairman, I propose to show that Democratic policy has fostered wages and protected labor in this country. That policy began first when Virginia gave to the Union her great northwestern territory, and Georgia added that splendid domain which stretches from the Chattahoochee to the Mississippi River. Louisiana and Florida were purchased, Texas was acquired by annexation, and magnificent areas of land were obtained by treaty with Mexico. By these Democratic additions to our territory, acquired in spite of uniform opposition from New England, we established our border on the Gulf, and extended our heritage of freedom to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1826, when John Quincy Adams was President, his Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Rush), in his annual report, took the position that a diffusion of population hindered the accumulation of wealth. In 1832 Mr. Foote, of Connecticut, introduced in the Senate a resolution to suspend the surveys and sales of the public lands, on which took place the famous debate between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hayne.

We sent out the surveyor with his chain and compass to mark out these lands for the homes of freemen. [Applause.] And then when a man in New England aspired to be a freeholder rather than to accept unsatisfactory wages, he joined in that mighty movement which has expanded thirteen little States into thirty-eight great commonwealths. [Applause.] What a magnificent field for labor and independence! The free homestead, abundant and cheap lands, and the marvelous development of the great West have furnished labor in this country its only defense against oppression. In Italy and other countries of Europe the land is all occupied; and there the landless have no alternative but to accept dependence and any wages offered. In this country we have emancipated labor by a free offering of a home and the opportunity for every citizen to work for himself. [Applause.]

My honorable colleague on the committee [Mr. BURROWS] the other day seemed to insist that protection has established the balance of trade in our favor. This is a curious instance of an effort to make the facts do duty on the wrong side of the argument.

This balance of trade consists in the excess of our exports over our imports. Protection has undoubtedly restricted our imports by arbitrary exactions; but protection has not furnished a dollar to our exports. These are contributed by the unprotected classes. Last year we sent abroad $204,000,000 in cotton, $30,000,000 in tobacco $92,000,000 in provisions, and $165,000,000 in wheat and breadstuffs. The products of agriculture constituted three-fourths of our exports and the rest was supplied by manufactures which can compete abroad upon the basis of free trade. That balance of trade, therefore, so far as it is a triumph of energy and progress, is due to free trade.

This policy of restricted importations and free exports has provoked defenses against it by those from whom the balance comes. Our beef and pork products have encountered restraints and restrictions. Our great silver resources are shut out of the commercial countries of Europe by demonetization; and England is trying to grow her cotton and wheat in her own provinces. The balance of trade in our favor in 1885 was $164,000,000; in 1886 it had fallen to $44,000,000, and last year it fell to $23,000,000. Trade can not long endure without reciprocity, and this shrinkage in our trade balance means a shrinkage in the value of our agricultural products, caused by the defenses abroad to which I have referred.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], in endeavoring to illustrate the effectiveness of protection, compared it to the dike system, by which he averred the people of Holland keep out the ocean. He evidently meant to say that this wise end is accomplished by means of a dam. It is a peculiar license of fine rhetoric not to call things by their right names. [Laughter.] But, sir, that barrier erected by the noblest exemplars of freedom was built not so much to keep out the ocean as that they might get near to the ocean and receive its mighty co-operation. It was the ocean that these people plowed and cultivated and planted; and it brought back to them on every tide and on every breeze the richest harvests that any people had ever enjoyed since the world began. And by that same system they secured a means by which, when the occasion arose, they could let in the ocean and overwhelm oppression within.

If the gentleman desires a just and instructive illustration of the policy of protection he can find it in that long-tried system of narrow exclusion and restriction which has brought down on the Chinese the contempt and execration of all mankind. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

It has been claimed in this debate that protection saved the Union. The money with which the soldiers were paid, with which the great armies and navies were provided and maintained, was paid, not by protection, but by those who are its victims. The only office of protection in this business was to tax for its own benefit those who did save the Union. It charged two prices for the clothing the soldiers wore, for the shoes in which they marched, for the blankets under which they slept, for the comforts and necessaries required by their wives and children, for the powder and lead with which they met and defeated the foes of the Union, and now puts a tax of 47 per cent. on the pensions of their widows and orphans!

The chief mission of protection during the struggle was to establish itself, not the Union, to feather its own nest, to put money in its purse, and while the brave and patriotic were fighting the battles of the Union protection bound them hand and foot.

Protection can not face a competitor, much less an enemy. It shivers at sight of a rival, and if one appears in our ports it pleads infancy and begs the power to tax its own customers as a defense against invasion. And now, to perpetuate its pensions, it says to the old soldier, "Give me that flag; get behind me; I saved the Union!"

Twenty years ago, when the soldiers of the Union returned from the South, after they had received the surrender of Lee and Johnston, they marched by the Capitol, stacked their arms, and, like American citizens, dispersed to their homes, battle-scarred and empty-handed, while the garrisons of protection were gorged with the spoils of war. It was an example of duty and loyalty for the imitation of mankind. Opening, then, campaigns against the wilderness, and subduing the desert, they have added immense areas to the home market, and now offer four new States to the Union and to the tariff. But the old guard of protection never dies nor disperses.

And, sir, what has become of that other army? Having lost their cause and their fortunes they went back to labor in the South. Their homes were in ashes; their States unroofed and despoiled. They have gone through subjugation, reconstruction, pauperization, and servile domination; but they have emerged from that flood of wreck and ruin, and begin to feel that desolation is behind them.

With patient and patriotic devotion, in the face of unsurpassed difficulties, they have rebuilt sixteen States, and have proudly reinstated them in the Union. The men who sought to establish an independent government have, in fact, restored the Union. It is not a "new South" added to a new Union, but it is the old South rehabilitated and added to the Union of our fathers. [Applause.] New and glad prosperities are beginning to appear. The energies of a brave and patriotic people are finding scope, and seek a fair field. They begin to feel the blessings of good government now and to hope for better things in the near future. Love of country is returning, and pride in the State and in the Union is being taught to our children.

In this new era, as one of the representatives of the South, I do not ask you to help her, but to release her from oppression.

Reduction of Taxes.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JUDSON C. CLEMENTS.
OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 10, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. CLEMENTS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: That condition of American citizenship which revels in sectional hate and spite, which enthralls the citizen in whom it lives and moves to such an extent as has been demonstrated here to-day, is the object of pity rather than of resentment. I will not take the time of this committee in making any reply whatever to it. The measure before the committee is one of national importance. It is one which affects the interests of all classes of people in all sections; and we come here, at least in theory, as the trustees and the representatives of the

American people. We ought to accept that trust in a spirit of fraternity, in a spirit of patriotism which looks to the building up and not to the tearing down of any section, and to the prosperity of the whole.

The propositions to revise and reduce tariff and internal-revenue taxes and to simplify the tax-collection laws embodied in the pending bill are practical business questions.

Upon a wise and just determination of these questions depend in a large measure the prosperity and happiness of the sixty millions of people that Congress has the honor to represent.

This decision must affect in greater or less degree, either for good or evil, all classes of the people, whether poor or rich, of whatever profession or occupation, and of whatever political persuasion. Therefore these propositions should challenge our highest wisdom, and should call into exercise our most conscientious care. They should command our deepest sense of justice, that we may not be guilty of injustice to any, and at the same time our broadest patriotism, that we may look well to the prosperity of all. The discussion and consideration of the measure should be candid, and with a view to the greatest good and not merely party antagonism or political advantage, for the country is greater than any political party, and the country's welfare is more important than the success of any party. Again, that party serves itself best which serves the country best. The people ask now as they have asked before for substantial relief, and when they ask for the "bread" of even-handed justice they will not be content with the "stone" of mockery and delay. Those who have opposed the pending bill have all, so far as I remember, without exception, devoted their time largely to a discussion of the general and abstract doctrine of free trade. To this extent it seems to me the debate has been irrelevant. It is not a question of free trade.

Gentlemen on the other side of the House have seen proper to discuss from the beginning of this debate down to this time the Confederate constitution and the abstract and general principles of free trade. Why, my friend from Maryland [Mr. McCOMAS] a few days ago talked about the new South and his great love for her, and among other affectionate words, said:

To-day every old soul-driver of the South is a free-trader.

That is the way a practical business question is met by the representatives and trustees of the people. I will not take the time to go from one gentleman to another who have spoken upon the floor about the Confederate constitution and free trade and make fitting response on this question. We do not live twenty-five years ago. Slavery has been settled and abolished. There is no question of free trade before this House.

As was suggested by the President of the United States in his message, he presents for your consideration a condition, not a theory; not an abstract proposition of free trade or of protection, but a condition which must be met.

What is it? An overflowing surplus in the Treasury of $150,000,000 over and above all the needs of the Government for any purpose; and for the last three or four years the figures show that this has been increasing year after year. It is greater this year than it was last year, and greater last year than the year before. The public debt is being paid off, and the interest account is being diminished, and therefore there is need for less money instead of more of it in the Treasury. That is the condition, and not only that but the entire circulating medium of the country, both in the Treasury and out of it, counting the paper money of all kinds for circulation as money, is only about $1,400,000,000, or about $23 per capita of the people of the United States. About one-fourth of it all is locked up in the Treasury, and a great deal more is locked up in the banks of the country. So that the actual circulation of money amongst the people is far less than the total amount I have named.

Now, we will have within this year an accumulation of about $75,000,000.

That is excessive and unnecessary taxation amounting to about $1.25 to every man, woman, and child in the whole country. It is contributed to the vaults of the Treasury this year beyond the needs of the Government and beyond the legitimate purposes of appropriation to spend it and pay it back among the people, where it can fulfill its proper and legitimate functions as money. Allowing five people to a family, that amounts to about $6.25 for each head of a family, taken in one year absolutely from his earnings by the power of the Government beyond its necessities.

This is the condition of which the President speaks, and with which the country is now confronted. Financial disaster last year was averted by the wise policy of purchasing the bonds at a premium, by which a sufficient amount of the hoarded surplus was again put in circulation to avert temporarily the threatened disaster, but the cause of the evil remains. This policy ought not to be forced upon the Administration of paying, not only principal and interest, but a premium on the indebtedness of the Government, simply because we have money in the Treasury and it must be put in circulation. Let the policy be adopted of reducing the revenue so that this surplus money shall not come into the Treasury, but shall be left to circulate among the people, retaining only that amount of revenue which is necessary to support the Government economically and honestly administered. Then there will be no danger of a financial panic. There is not sufficient circulating medium in the country. If we had none of it locked up there would not be enough for the demands of this great country, with its constantly and rapidly increasing population, expansion, and development of business. What we need is less taxation and greater volume of money—circulation.

The present condition of affairs is one which it takes no prophet to foretell will certainly lead to financial trouble in the near future if persisted in. It is simply a question of time under the present policy, when a sufficient amount of the currency of the country will be locked up in the vaults of the Treasury to cause general panic and disaster in all parts of the country. If you start and continue the process of withdrawing from the human body, however slow the process, its life-blood, we all know what must be the certain result. The body must succumb and perish. The result to the business interests of the country of the process of absorbing its circulation is no less doubtful or uncertain—it is only a question of time. If we will not, as I believe we should, increase largely the volume of money or that which represents it, let us at least revise the tax laws so as to leave what there is beyond the actual wants of the Government among the people to perform its proper functions.

The policy of paying a premium upon our bonds in order to discharge them before due can only be justified upon the ground of the existing surplus. Would it be good business policy for an individual to make great sacrifice in order to raise money to pay the principal and accrued interest in full and a premium besides to discharge a note before maturity? By reason of the unwise legislation of the past most of our outstanding bonds are not payable until the year 1907—nineteen years. It is not pleasing to him who admires even-handed justice to all to see the favors that have been shown the few at the expense of the many in relation to the bonds of the Government. First, the non-interest-bearing greenbacks, worth not more than 60 cents on the dollar, and for which the Government did not receive more than that in actual value, were funded in interest-bearing bonds, non-taxable. Then the interest was made payable in coin. Then silver was demonetized so that the interest became payable during the period of demonetization in gold. And now when the Government desires to pay off any of the bonds before maturity, so as to put into circulation part of this surplus so necessary to the business of the country, it can only do so by paying principal and accrued interest and premiums. The true business policy is to cease the collection of excessive revenues, and then the necessity for paying premiums will cease—pay the bonds, principal and interest, only as they mature and not before.

Shall we then blindly go on and quibble over the question whether the Democratic majority in this House or the Republican majority which gentlemen on that side hope will be in the next House shall perform this duty? Why shall we not all of us, as American citizens, not as partisan politicians, engage in this patriotic work and do our duty as the trustees of the American people?

A few days ago the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. O'NEILL], an honorable and distinguished member of this House, admitted in his place on this floor that the tariff needed revision and reduction, and that the work of revising and reducing it ought to be done. But the partisan spirit which seems to actuate that side of the House as a party of antagonism is fairly illustrated in his remarks, from which I read:

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I do not favor what is called the review of the tariff to-day. I want to review the tariff and revise it when we have a Republican President and a Republican House of Representatives. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. CATCHINGS. We would have to wait too long for that.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I want to have it done in a House of its friends, not in a House of its enemies. [Applause on the Republican side.]

You condemn President Cleveland for recommending that which in a large measure was recommended by President Arthur. Secretary Folger and other Republican officials have repeatedly made recommendations very much in the same direction. In the tariff debate in the Forty-seventh Congress many Republican Representatives admitted the necessity of revision and reduction. The Tariff Commission, a majority of whom were Republicans and who were appointed by President Arthur, after traveling over the United States and hearing from all classes of people, the beneficiaries of protection as well as others, under oath, and a very careful and intelligent study of the whole question, recommended a reduction of about 20 per cent. In the Republican national platform of 1884 there appears the following promise:

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

You taunt us with the charge of incapacity to reduce and revise taxation, and yet in the face of repeated official utterances and platform pledges and in the face of your present admission of the necessity of such legislation you seem content to propose nothing yourselves and only find fault with the President and the pending bill.

The Democratic majority is only seeking to carry out the Democratic pledge and to reduce the unnecessary burdens that bear not on Democrats only, but upon all the people, and which keep constantly on hand the great and demoralizing evil of a surplus inviting extravagant and

profligate legislation and expenditures. Republican Representatives in this House are not without responsibility, though they are in the minority.

Mr. Chairman, is it not possible for gentlemen to meet the actual situation? Can they not forget the Confederate constitution and slavery and dead issues and deal with this vital question affecting the interests of all the people of this country. The Republican party is pledged to a policy of this sort. The Democratic party is trying to redeem its pledges. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BREWER] said in his speech the other day that—

For three years the executive department of the Government, as well as this House, has played fast and loose upon this great question until the necessities of the Government have compelled the administration to take some position upon the tariff question.

The gentleman forgot to read the plank in the Republican platform of last year, in which—

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus.

In reply to the gentleman from Michigan, who charges that the President has "played fast and loose" on this question, I would ask him to read the messages of the present Executive. The recommendation for revision and reduction of the tariff has found a place in each one of those messages. There has been no "playing fast and loose" on this question or any evasion of it. Now, will gentlemen come up and fulfill their pledges made to the people in their platform prior to the last Presidential election? Mr. Chairman, if it were possible for gentlemen to forget to what political party they owe allegiance and that there is some possible hope of securing political advantage on questions of this sort, we might have a patriotic, careful, conscientious disposition of these propositions and a decision in the interest of the whole country.

But let me return to the charge made by the gentleman from Michigan to show that the President has consistently urged upon Congress the necessity of action from the beginning of the Administration.

I read from his first annual message, of December 8, 1885:

The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue received by the Government and indirectly paid by the people from customs duties. The question of free trade is not involved, nor is there now any occasion for the general discussion of the wisdom or expediency of a protective system.

The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the Government justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. Our Government is but the means established by the will of a free people by which certain principles are applied which they have adopted for their benefit and protection, and it is never better administered, and its true spirit is never better observed, than when the people's taxation for its support is scrupulously limited to the actual necessity of expenditure, and distributed according to a just and equitable plan.

Now hear what he said in the second message, of December 6, 1886:

There is also a suspicion abroad that the surplus of our revenues indicates abnormal and exceptional business profits, which, under the system which produces surplus, increase, without corresponding benefit to the people at large, the vast accumulations of a few among our citizens, whose fortunes, rivaling the wealth of the most favored in anti-democratic nations, are not the natural growth of a steady, plain, and industrious republic.

Our farmers, too, and those engaged directly or indirectly in supplying the products of agriculture, see that day by day, and as often as the daily wants of their households recur they are forced to pay excessive and needless taxation, while their products struggle in foreign markets with the competition of nations which, by allowing a freer exchange of productions than we permit, enable their people to sell for prices which distress the American farmer.

* * * * * * *

The income of the Government, by its increased volume and through economies in its collection, is now more than ever in excess of public necessities. The application of the surplus to the payment of such portion of the public debt as is now at our option, subject to extinguishment, if continued at the rate which has lately prevailed, would retire that class of indebtedness within less than one year from this date. Thus a continuation of our present revenue system would soon result in the receipt of an annual income much greater than necessary to meet Government expenses, with no indebtedness upon which it could be applied. We should then be confronted with a vast quantity of money, the circulating medium of the people, hoarded in the Treasury when it should be in their hands, or we should be drawn into wasteful public extravagance, with all the corrupting national demoralization which follows in its train.

It is needless to remind gentlemen of his last annual message, against the truth and force of which they are vainly striving; but I will read a few sentences from it:

This condition of our Treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster.

Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, beside the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances—a congested national Treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

What becomes of the charge of inconsistency on the part of the Executive in the face of these repeated recommendations?

But gentlemen say that the reduction of taxes proposed in the pending bill will destroy American industries. This is the wail that is always heard when the effort is made, not to destroy property or interfere with a right, but simply to diminish the special advantages of the few enjoyed at the expense of the many.

It is amusing to hear some of the doleful predictions of the calamities that are to befall the country, particularly the South, as it is beginning to bud into prosperity by manufacturing, etc. We are told that if we tear down this system of protection we will bring ruin on these new industries.

I want, as a sample of these prophecies, to read a few lines of a speech delivered in the Forty-seventh Congress on the question of quinine, which had been put on the free-list in 1879. When a Republican Congress was trying to revise the tariff, or at least pretending to do so, in the Forty-seventh Congress, there was a proposition to put 10 per cent. back on quinine. In the discussion of that question Mr. KELLEY said:

All that is said in general about cheapening these vital drugs I assent to; but I say to the gentlemen on this side their whole theory in reference to protection, as has been said on the other side, is a sham, a snare, and a delusion, for moderate protection will give you pure quinine and cinchonidia and keep down its price.

I say to gentlemen on that side of the House who prate of a revenue tariff that we are entitled to some revenue from these costly and important drugs. The letters from druggists already read hold that this duty distributes over four hundred and thirty-five grains to the ounce, can not be felt by the consumers, and it is merely transferring the guaranty, so the manufacturer may have a chance in his own market, for the retailer who buys at whatever price he can buy sells at the same rate, because no coin will measure the reduction of duty.

Now I will read the prophecy of Mr. BINGHAM on that occasion:

We have fostered this industry until it is almost able to stand alone and compete with other countries. This bill recommends but 10 per cent. duty. The gentleman's amendment would strike out this small protection, and by so doing strike down a manufacture that has grown and developed and been fostered for sixty years under our generous laws, and thus destroy and throw aside all that has been gained. Under the protection given, cinchonidia—now 40 per cent., but by the bill fixed at 10 per cent.—is included in the gentleman's amendment to wipe out. In consequence of this limited protection upon cinchonidia the five American houses have been enabled to run about half time or half capacity. If the amendment prevails I announce with regret that every American manufactory will be compelled to close.

Hear what George K. Hopkins & Co., dealers, at St. Louis, said:

ST. LOUIS, *January* 26, 1883.

DEAR SIR: Allow us to call your attention to the bill soon to come before the House in regard to the duty on quinine and cinchonidia. We believe that a 10 per cent. duty on quinine and the present duty of 25 per cent. on cinchonidia and thin salts are no injury to the consumer and only just to the manufacturers of this country. We believe that putting them on the free-list will eventually destroy the manufacture of them in this country, and we shall be at the mercy of European manufacturers, and prices will be higher than with a duty to protect our home manufactures. Also in case of a war with any European power, our supply will be cut off and we will be great sufferers without it. We ask your influence to maintain the duty of 25 per cent. on cinchonidia and its salts and have a duty of 10 per cent. placed on quinine.

Respectfully,

GEORGE K. HOPKINS & CO.

Hon. J. H. MCLEAN,
House of Representatives, Washington City.

This sounds very much like a great deal of the argument that our mails are daily loaded with now, from the parties specially favored by existing laws, and who desire to retain their advantages. Mr. Alexander H. Jones, of Philadelphia, interested in the manufacture of quinine, said, while before the Tariff Commission, July 25, 1882:

I do not know a class of manufacturers in the United States who would say that they would be willing to submit to a duty of 20 per cent., if they could get a higher rate. They would say that they could not live on that rate of duty. We went before the Ways and Means Committee and said that we were willing to accept 10 per cent., that that was better than nothing. There was such a howl all over the country, that we said make it 10 per cent. But they did not make it anything.

This was rather a frank admission. I suspect it is true that the favored interests will accept all advantages that the law will give them.

That was a sad state of things pictured by the leading protectionist Representatives on this floor, representing districts in which the manufacture of quinine was carried on to a larger extent than anywhere else in the country. Now, what has been the result of the reduction of the duty? At the time it was put on the free-list, quinine was worth $3.50 or $3.60 per ounce. To-day it is worth, I believe, about 55 or 60 cents an ounce. The year before it was put on the free-list, 1879, the amount produced was said to be a little over a million ounces. The amount produced now is 2,200,000 ounces. So we see that the production has been increased more than 100 per cent., while the price has been cheapened to the consumer until the money that then would buy 1 ounce will now buy 6.

And all this has followed in the face of these predictions that the whole business would have to be closed out in this country, predictions made by the ablest and most distinguished representatives and advocates of protection on this floor. The laborers employed in its manufacture receive as high wages now as they did before. The argument to the people of this country by those who insist upon this prohibitory tariff is the protection of labor. That is their cry everywhere. Now we all know how that has been heretofore. Aggregated capital, under these tariff laws adopted in past years, has sought protection in every possible way that it could.

At the same time the capitalists have gone into the cheapest markets of the world for their labor; they have imported it under con-

tract, and they have employed it when it did not come in under contract, until they have brought a large percentage of the pauper labor of the Old World into this country in order to have cheap labor here; yet all the time they have been asking the American Congress to keep up a prohibitory tariff for them, and even going as far as the gentleman who spoke last [Mr. BRUMM], who said he would have the iron that was produced in England dumped into the sea rather than have it brought here to deprive the American laborer of his wages. Yet, as I have said, notwithstanding all these protestations, we find these gentlemen getting their labor as cheaply as they can, by contract or otherwise. The employer gets the cheapest labor he can, even if he has to employ armed detectives to keep the labor-union men of America from revolting against his exactions. That is the practical illustration of these protectionist professions of sympathy for labor.

The following statements contained in press dispatch show how American laborers are dealt with by and the sympathy they receive from one of the great establishments which is protected for the sake of labor:

MR. CARNEGIE AND THE KNIGHTS—THE GREAT MANUFACTURER PREPARING TO RUN HIS STEEL WORKS AT BRADDOCK.

[Special.]

PITTSBURGH, *April* 20.

When the Carnegie Steel Works at Braddock start up on Monday there will be 100 armed guards on hand to prevent any interference by strikers with the non-union men who return to their places. The manager, Captain Jones, completed all arrangements with the sheriff this afternoon. While no actual violence is feared, it is deemed best to adopt these measures. The Robinson House, a vacated hotel at Braddock avenue and Thirteenth street, has been rented by the firm. This will be fitted up with cots for the use of the employés. The firm to-day appointed Corbin Francis to have charge of the house, and will employ cooks to-morrow. The guards will escort the men to work from the hotel every day. Everything indicates Mr. Carnegie's determination to run his mill in spite of the strikers.

All last night the bosses of the different departments were making their rounds among their former men and requesting them to return. In response to this call about two hundred men turned out to-day and are now at work.

The report that four hundred men were at work to-day is denied by Captain Jones, though he says he can have that many the moment he calls them. The Knights of Labor are as firm as ever and threaten to have all of Mr. Carnegies Pittsburgh mills called if the Edgar Thomson is started with non-union men. At their meeting last night the following circular was prepared and is to-day posted on every prominent corner of the town:

"All persons formerly employed at the Edgar Thomson works and furnaces are requested to stay away from there until the difficulty between them and the company is settled."

Captain Jones was asked to-day whether one thousand new men were to be brought from New York, Philadelphia, and Johnstown. He replied, "I do not know what Mr. Carnegie may have done personally, but I have made no special effort to bring men from other cities. It is not necessary, because the news that our big steel works are about to start up is known all over the country, and steel-workers will gather at Braddock from all points of the compass by the hundreds. A large number of these may come from Johnstown, for all I know. There is one thing certain, there will not be any trouble about securing any number of competent men.

Mr. Carnegie, I am informed, has a magnificent castle in Scotland. I believe, also, that Mr. Blaine, the late Republican candidate for President, had very recently enjoyed a somewhat protracted stay with this gentleman at his Scotland home when he fulminated his protective platform in the professed interest of labor last winter in the shape of an interview on the subject of the President's message.

Again, Mr. Chairman, all this discussion about the benefit of the tariff to labor has been confined to those classes of laborers commonly known as mechanics and those who work in the mines and in the various workshops. The great millions in the fields and upon the plantations, not only in the West and Northwest, but in the South, are forgotten in this great race for profit and for wealth. In order to shut out foreign goods, to enhance the price of American goods, you will keep upon the American farmer, North and South, a tax of five or six dollars for each head of a family, producing a surplus over and above that which he pays for the legitimate expenses of the Government and also the four or five times that amount which, by reason of the prohibitory tariff, he contributes to the manufacturers. It is not the amount which is taken by the Government and which it needs of which he complains; for, I repeat, it is the four or five times that amount which he is compelled to pay from day to day upon the necessaries of life, and which goes into the pockets of the manufacturers.

Therefore, the farmer, the laborer of this country, stands as the guarantor, as the insurer to the manufacturer of clear and handsome profits. But where is the guaranty, where is the insurance to the man who toils, who cultivates the ground, who depends upon the rain of heaven and the sunshine and his own work for his living? Who insures profits to him? He is brought in competition with the cheap products of the whole world when he goes to sell the products of his farm. Gentlemen talk about labor unions and organized labor being peculiar to the North and being unknown in the South. Why, gentlemen simply show that they are uninformed as to the facts when they talk in that way. There is being organized everywhere throughout the South the "Farmers' Alliance" and, in some parts of the country "Farmers' Federations," and we have had labor unions of one kind and another there. These organizations are the necessary and natural outgrowth of the condition in which the American farmers and laborers are placed to-day under the existing system of taxation. They rise up everywhere.

They are not peculiar to one section. They are peculiar to the cause of the discontent and distress that surround the laboring people of this country. The working people of the country are seeking in these ways and in every possible way that human ingenuity can devise, to improve or at least to palliate their condition. Are they not entitled to a free and equal race in life? Are they not entitled to a fair and living chance in the struggle for existence and for profits?

Many misleading tables of figures and comparative statements have been presented in this debate. For instance, the tariff is credited with the admitted fact that many goods are cheaper now than before the war under a lower tariff, allowing nothing for the unparalleled growth of inventions, the unexampled improvement and use of labor-saving machinery, etc., in the manufacture of goods, whereby one person now does the work of many persons then. The case of steel rails, which have fallen from $139 a ton to about $31 under the tariff, is cited as an argument for protection; but this great reduction in price is due to the reduction in cost of manufacture by reason of the discovery of the Bessemer process. It is no more just to credit the tariff with this than it would be to credit the removal of the tax from quinine with the entire fall in the price of that.

It is insisted that protection stimulates investment and manufacture and causes overproduction, and consequently cheap goods. But the great interests built up and fostered by the process of absorption of the products of others combine against the very competition which their friends say protection will stimulate and cause cheap goods.

Thus they form the trust, so called, to protect themselves against protection. The rapid multiplication of trusts is one of the threatening evils of this age. Why they should be given that name "trust" I do not know, unless upon the idea that every scheme of evil should take a good name for a disguise. Thus, tariff taxes are called duties. The process of transferring the earnings of one man to another by law is called protection, and the conspiracy of combined interests of the same kind against the whole people to prevent competition, limit production, increase prices, and put labor out of employment in order to make the full profits demanded is called a trust. The people need more competition in many respects, less restraint upon trade, and a greater volume of circulating medium. What is the character of relief offered in this bill? It is estimated to reduce taxes about $75,000,000. Articles now dutiable and producing a revenue of about $22,000,000 are put on the free-list. These are salt, hemp, flax, wool and woolen goods, blankets, etc., cotton-ties, tin-plate, soap, and many other articles of universal and daily use among all classes of people.

The effect of the bill, if it passes, must be to cheapen all these articles and reduce the revenue to the extent named. Then there is a reduction of the tariff on the dutiable list from 47 per cent., the present rate, to 40 per cent. This is surely conservative and not radical. It is estimated that this will dispense with nearly $30,000,000 of the revenue, and it would beyond doubt cheapen all the goods of the kind affected by it, whether manufactured in this country or abroad. To illustrate, there was imported last year cotton-ties, or hoops for baling purposes, $345,997 worth; the duty, 35 per cent., amounted to $121,098.95; this is paid by the importer, and of course is added to the cost of production, the cost of shipping, and the profit he must make, so that the cotton-planter pays it all. If it is removed he will be relieved to this extent and will be able to buy cheaper ties. It is persistently contended that the farmer sells his ties by weight with the cotton in gross and therefore receives for it the same price per pound that he does for his cotton. This is not true; nothing could be more absurd or ridiculous than this statement. The buyer of cotton in Liverpool, where the market is fixed that governs our markets, knows what the average weight of the ties and bagging to each bale of cotton is, and estimates those as dead weight, and fixes such price as he can afford to pay for the net cotton, and the farmer receives nothing whatever for the ties and bagging.

The tax on bagging also is reduced, but I can not enumerate the many articles affected by the reduction. Then the entire tobacco tax is reduced by the bill, except on cigars and cheroots, amounting to about $24,000,000, so that the farmer, dealer, and manufacturer, as well as the consumer, will be unmolested by the internal-revenue laws except as to cigars and cheroots. The bill is a compromise. There can be no legislation upon this subject affecting so many interests in this great family of States, among so many conflicting views, except by concession. Various schemes have been suggested. One says repeal the whole internal-revenue system. To do this would leave a deficiency of about $60,000,000, and would require an increase of taxes on the necessaries of life. Some would increase duties, and thereby prevent importation and diminish the revenues; but this would make higher goods and increase the bounties paid by the consumer to the manufacturer.

This bill reduces both the tariff and the internal revenue, and contains important provisions preventing abuses in the destruction of stills and other property by internal-revenue officers without process of law as heretofore practiced. Should the bill pass it will, in my opinion, demonstrate in a short time the feasibility in the near future of further reduction or partial abolition of these taxes. Much has been said of the needs of the South and what protection will do for her. Has she not been under the same tariff laws all these past years that have applied to the whole country? Have they enriched her? No; they have helped to retard the general prosperity there by withdrawing the money necessary for business and by taking daily a part of the earnings of the people

to insure the prosperity of Northern and Eastern manufacturers. It is true that there is rapid progress in diversified business pursuits in the South. This is due to several plain causes, and is so not by virtue of but in spite of the present burdensome taxation. Immigration has filled up the Northwest. Lands are high there, while in the South lands have been cheaper and the climate is more genial.

But the recent advance in the prosperity of the South is due mainly to the establishment of confidence in the security of property, business, and investments there since the disgraceful military and reconstruction policy of the Republican party towards the South has passed away. What the people need is protection in the possession and enjoyment of that which they earn. They ask no bounties or favors. They demand even-handed justice, and no more. What the country needs is equal taxation, and that limited to the honest needs of the Government, and that the policy of favoritism, discrimination in favor of the few, and profligacy in expenditures be abandoned—a policy which has squandered the public domain and put it in the control of railroads and syndicates, foreign and domestic; a policy which impoverishes the many to build up the few, and which has created oppressive trusts and enables a few men to make corners, so called, upon the necessities of life. This all tends to the establishment of a comparatively small but strong creditor class and a large debtor class—not a desirable or justifiable state of society in this Republic.

Mr. Chairman, I ask the Clerk to read a paragraph which I send to the desk, embracing some figures with reference to the mortgages upon the farms in this country. The publication referred to in the article is the New York Times—good authority on this subject. I know that my friends on the other side will say "That is mugwump authority," but everything which does not accord with their theory of protection is discredited in some way.

The Clerk read as follows:

THE FARMERS' PROTECTION.

Lexington Transcript: Twenty-five years of very high protection have had anything but a good effect upon the farmers of the country. The New York Times, which is good authority upon such subjects, computes the mortgages upon the farms in the ten most prosperous farming States—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri—to amount to $3,422,000,000, on which more than $200,900,000 is required to meet the annual interest. It would seem that the farmers have had about enough of this kind of protection.

I do not object to the incidental protection afforded by necessary taxation, but the present high and prohibitory tax is leading to the aggregation of money in the hands of a few, which is not production of wealth, but simply the transfer of it. The laborer, the man who toils and takes wealth out of the earth, is the man who produces it. It is not produced by a system of transfer, absorption, and accumulation. Yet this is pointed to as evidence of thrift and prosperity, because it results in great manufactures at particular places, forgetting that the masses of the people from whom it has been taken are lingering and struggling along for a bare subsistence. What is the effect? The result is that we have already inaugurated in this country a system which will make the debtor class, in the North as well as in the South, dependent alike. Money is loaned upon mortgage on real estate through money-loaning associations all over the country. The rate of interest, large itself, is doubled by commissions paid to men who negotiate the loans. These mortgages rest upon men who have little farms without other means than their labor to pay the indebtedness, and who, under this system of protection, get deeper and deeper in debt each year as the interest accumulates. The result will be that this class will be turned out homeless, and the real estate of the country, as well as the money, will be largely aggregated in the hands of the favored few through a system of oppression upon those who will become pauper tenants like the tenants in Ireland. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. C. R. BUCKALEW,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 15, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. BUCKALEW said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In any revision of the existing tariff legislation of the United States it is my desire, as a Representative of a great State, that the particular interests in which the people of that State are interested shall have fair play. Undoubtedly all bills of this character have a double aspect. First, they are to be considered with reference to their effect upon the general or common interests of the United States, not only as to the revenue to be derived from them, but as to their influence in reference to lines of public policy which from time to time are adopted in the legislation of the country. From another point of view bills of this character are of local interest, as they may bear upon or affect particular States or sections or the occupations of people in particular localities of the United States. Therefore a Representative on this floor has a double duty when he comes to the consideration of such a bill. He will consider, in the first place, and mainly, what the effect of the measure will be upon the country as a whole. Will it give to the Treasury that adequate revenue without which the Government can not be properly conducted and administered? Will it also promote what I have described as those lines of policy which wise statesmanship and wise administration have adopted or which may be proposed for adoption? The pending bill ought to be mainly interesting to members of the House from this point of view, namely, its general effect and operation upon the public and common interests of the whole people and upon the revenues which are derived from the two great sources of taxation with which this bill deals, namely, duties upon imports and internal taxation. It is only in a subordinate or secondary degree that gentlemen on this floor will look to their own immediate neighborhoods and States and consider what will be the effect of the bill upon the particular interests there located. All that they ought to ask in this respect for the local interests with which they are particularly identified as Representatives is, that those interests shall have fair play; that no injustice or oppression shall characterize the bill in its application to them. But no member has a right to ask that the particular interest with which he is identified, which he represents, shall receive special favor, undue advantages, privileges, or immunities from the scope and effect of general, uniform, and just legislation.

In considering this bill with regard to its effect upon my own State, I find no serious cause of complaint. Upon the one topic on which I intend to address the committee I conceive that this bill will be largely advantageous to the people of my State; and I shall give my reasons for that opinion. As to the other questions arising on the bill, regarding local interests in my State, I shall leave them to the discussion of others.

Certainly, they are subordinate to the great question of taxation upon wool and woolens, which relates to a common necessity for the whole country, and is equally as important to the good people of Pennsylvania as to their fellow-citizens everywhere else.

This bill deals gently and tenderly with the metal duties. It does not abolish the duty upon iron ore, which is one that is fairly open to debate; nor does it abolish the duty upon soft coal, with which incidentally the great production of anthracite coal is connected. Now, before I go to the main point of my argument, I desire to say this:

It was inevitable, when the necessity for a reduction of the revenue came upon us, that there should be dispute, and earnest dispute, no matter in what direction we attempted to reduce existing taxation, as to the mode of doing it. If we struck at one article upon the tariff schedules complaint would be made. If we chose an alternative and went to another, complaint would equally be made. If, passing over the tariff schedules, we went to the internal-revenue system—no matter where we struck, objection would be encountered. Now, I take it for granted that by the common sense and common judgment of the people of the United States we would have been justified in accepting this proposition in the outset, namely, that we should take off two-thirds of the proposed reduction of revenue from duties upon imports, and one-third from the receipts from internal revenue—the revenue from duties upon imports being last year, I believe about $217,000,000, and from internal-revenue sources about half that amount.

The ordinary judgment and common sense of the people, without going into the subject profoundly, would have been satisfied, therefore, in my opinion, with a reduction of two-thirds from the larger and one-third from the smaller source of our public income.

Well, now, sir, this bill—the Mills bill—approximately reaches that result; and therefore, at the first blush, it is not open to the special objection that it strikes wholly at one source of revenue, leaving the other untouched. I desire to make another preliminary remark, and it is this: that if this bill were much more objectionable than it is, if more provisions contained in it were doubtful and open to debate, I would still vote for it, and for two reasons. In the first place, the necessity upon us for a reduction of the revenue is an overwhelming necessity. We can not disregard it; we can not put it aside; it presses upon us with infinite force. We must reduce the taxation upon the people in order to save this Government from demoralization; in order to save the business interests of the country from panic and distress; and in order that the hand of industry, instead of being checked, may be upheld in all the channels of production; and that trade everywhere may be prosperous, active, and satisfactory to all our people.

We can not resort permanently to the device which the Treasury is now practicing and which we authorized by a solemn vote recently, the device of buying in our bonds not yet due. We can not depend upon it for relief to any considerable extent. It is only a slight palliative; it does not reach the seat of the disease. The amounts purchased do not, I understand, even equal the amount of surplus income which

reaches the Treasury through the sources I have mentioned, and it is only a hard resource, at best, for the Government, when it goes into the market and pays 26 or 28 per cent. premium upon its own debt in order to redeem it, thereby paying the interest for seven years at 4 per cent. in advance of the lapse of time within which that interest would accrue, giving to the holders of our bonds the opportunity to raise their demands month by month and year by year during the interval before the bonds become due, making to the holders of the bonds enormous, illegitimate, and improper gains and inflicting upon the Government, as a debt-paying Government, inevitable sacrifice and loss.

I say we can resort to this device only for a little while, and to a limited extent, and we must regret that we are compelled to resort to it at all. What other course is proposed or possible, then, except to reduce taxation, to reduce it heavily, to reduce it with a firm hand, without shrinking from the task? Therefore, sir, if this bill were much more defective than it is, if it were much more open to objection and to complaint, as to its provisions, I would still vote for it, because the necessity for reducing taxation is so pressing upon us that we can not resist the demand for legislation. And I have another reason for saying this. I know whatever bill may pass this House affecting the revenues of the Government has to pass another branch of Congress, and challenge searching debate and examination there; and I am perfectly convinced, as most gentlemen doubtless are, that ultimately any bill which shall pass both Houses will be a compromise bill. The House will be obliged to yield upon some points, perhaps, and the other branch upon others; and ultimately, by a patriotic effort, on consultation between the two Houses, we will get a tax-reduction bill that I hope will relieve us largely from present burdens and remove from the public Treasury that accumulation of money which is a public peril and menace to the business of the country.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the vital point of this bill, the very heart and life of this bill, so far as regards the reduction of tariff taxation, is the wool and woolen goods reduction. In my State the growing of wool has been substantially abandoned as a leading business enterprise. During the last decade the number of sheep in the State has decreased. It has been said that the reduction last year was at least 10 per cent. As the State becomes more and more settled, as the waste lands are taken up, as agriculture encroaches upon the forests, there is less and less room for sheep walks and pastures, and naturally enough the production of wool becomes more and more costly. Carried on in connection with the raising of sheep for the slaughter-house for food to supply the necessities of the interior and of cities and towns, it may go on and doubtless will go on indefinitely in the future; but as a great industry, as a leading industry of that Commonwealth, it is impossible that it should exist or at least increase in the future.

It is estimated by the Philadelphia Times that in my State the amount expended every year upon woolen goods is no less than $60,000 000. What does this bill do? Taking wool and woolens together, it reduces a taxation of 69 per cent. down to 40 per cent.; not so much upon woolen goods alone, but by the abolition of the wool duty and taking wool and woolens together. The reduction is, therefore, 29 per cent. And it is estimated that upon a purchasing expense of sixty millions a year a reduction of 20 per cent. at least will result. That gives for the State of Pennsylvania a saving of no less than $12,000,000 in connection with the wool industry, cheapening by that enormous amount the yearly outlay which our people pay, or will pay, for the clothing which they use and for the other uses to which woolen products are applied.

Compare that with the bill to refund the direct State tax which we had here in the early part of the session and about which some people in my State were greatly interested, perhaps are deeply interested yet. Why, sir, that tax to be refunded, as far as Pennsylvania is concerned, was less than $2,000,000; while here upon the products made from wool Pennsylvania will save $12,000,000, not once for all, but yearly, next year, the year after, and in future years; so that those who are coming on the stage of action as well as we who are now occupying it will enjoy the advantage of this beneficent change in our revenue system.

I speak advisedly, then, when I say that my State is deeply interested in this bill as a State which purchases the goods to be cheapened by it in the line of woolen-manufacture production; and I assert also that the woolen manufacturers of the State, whose affiliations heretofore in business life and in political association for a time have kept them silent on this subject, will enjoy great advantage and most salutary results in their industry by means of this bill, which gives to them free wool.

Mr. JACKSON. Will my colleague yield to me for a question?

Mr. BUCKALEW. I must once for all decline to yield to any conversational discussion on this occasion.

Mr. JACKSON. Does the gentleman decline to yield?

Mr. BUCKALEW. I do, generally.

Now, sir, passing from my own State—I do not care to linger longer upon it—let us consider this subject of the abolition of the duty upon wool and the reduction of the duties upon woolen goods in connection with other States of the North, particularly the State of Ohio, from which we have had, not in the present year only, but in former years, warm and earnest appeals in favor of protective duties upon wool. Can anything in the view of an intelligent man well informed about the industries of our country and with the slightest power of penetrating the future be more clear than that the Northern States of our Union are not by nature adapted to the production of wool, to produce those supplies which will be necessary for the manufacturing industries in our country, much less to those increased industries of wool manufacture which may be expected to arise in the future?

Why, sir, one of the gentlemen from Ohio on this floor [Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR] has told us that the wool-producing industry of that State is now, under the existing law, greatly depressed, and that little or no profit is being made by those engaged in it. He imputes, in part, this state of things to certain decisions of the Treasury Department under the existing law, which he conceives to be unfavorable to the wool industry, although the presumption must be that the Treasury Department has made reasonable and just decisions on questions under the law, and beyond all doubt that law was passed by men friendly to the wool-growers of the Northwest. However this may be, the wool industry of Ohio, we are informed, is not profitable, nor is there any promise of prosperity to it in the future. In fact, those concerned in it, who were represented here in the Wool-Growers' and Manufacturers' Convention last winter, made a most preposterous demand upon Congress to increase the wool and woolen duties. Their manifesto, which ought to have excited surprise, was laid before Congress and the country. They say they can not go on without increased duties. Is not this proof positive that the industry is not adapted to the location; that under the natural conditions which exist it can not be carried on with success and with profit; that even the present legislation made by its friends is found inadequate and must be enormously increased in order to continue the production of this article in that section?

What is the explanation of all this? It is furnished by a single word. It is the word "winter." Nature has interposed a barrier against indefinite wool production in Pennsylvania or in Ohio or any other Northern State with similar climatic conditions.

Therefore the present state of affairs is fully explained. The farmer devotes his rich cultivated lands to raising different kinds of produce during the spring and summer months, which he gathers in the fall and stores in barns, sheds, and cellars, and then he places his flock of sheep under shelter and he feeds them five months of the year merely to continue their existence.

What an enormous cost this is! Nearly half the time his animals are a burden to him for their support. They can not gather their food in the open fields or upon waste lands. He must care for them precisely as he cares for his horse or his cow, those valuable animals with whose services he can not dispense. In competition with countries without winter, those regions can not produce wool. They can not produce it in competition with places where winter does not scourge the earth. Still, as in the case of my own State, the people of Ohio and the people of other Northern States will continue to grow large numbers of sheep, but they will grow them for human food, for home consumption to a large extent, and for sale to the slaughter-houses that will supply the towns and cities that are growing up rapidly all over the North.

Sheep will continue to be raised in the North for that purpose, and, of course, the skin and the wool upon the skin will be additional elements of value to the sheep-grower. This, Mr. Chairman, I believe to be the law of the future.

Now, if we are to adapt our revenue system upon lines of protective policy, is it wiser to adapt it to industries that can be maintained or to industries that must inevitably fail? To those sources of supply of trade and commerce which will swell and increase and prosper in the future, or to those which are doomed to remain stationary or to retrograde? This, from my point of view, is the wool problem in the Northern States.

But, sir, there is another section of the Union where wool can be produced, and no doubt produced with profit, at least for the present.

In California and in the States and Territories which adjoin her large numbers of sheep can doubtless be raised for the purpose of producing wool. Why? Most of us, I presume, have received lately a strong circular from California explaining to us that the Government does not survey the public lands with sufficient rapidity; that they are kept out of the market; that settlement is thereby checked; that waste lands are basking there under the California sun which might be peopled by industrious immigrants and settlers. I do not know whether this complaint against the Government is true or not; but however that may be, there is undoubtedly a vast amount of Government land yet unsettled there. The fruit-growers have not invaded those lands; the agriculturists have not extended their improvements over them; so that settlers in California may well pasture their sheep upon the public lands. In that climate there is no rigorous, severe winter, except in the highest mountain regions. The sheep there is not a burden during half the year for its entire support upon the farming industries of the State. Therefore for the present, and for some time in the future, sheep can be raised and wool produced without a contest against the laws of nature. The same remark applies to a certain extent to Arizona, New Mexico, and the higher portions of Texas, and perhaps to a part of Oregon.

These are the portions of our country, and the only portions, where

wool can be grown at a profit. It can not be produced in our Southern States to any considerable extent. The climate is too warm. The sheep tells us by his very covering that he is a cool-country animal. Nature gives him a covering which shows that he is intended to resist cold; but he needs an equable climate, one where he can roam freely the year round and take his food from the surface of the earth, as he did and still does in his native countries under Asiatic skies. Wool can be produced, I repeat, in some portions of the Southwest, but it is an industry that can not have indefinite expansion, because as the public lands pass into the hands of private owners and are brought under cultivation, as the ordinary pursuits of industry intrude upon the waste spaces, the sheep-walks will be contracted and sheep-raising decline. I can not, therefore, as an independent observer, pronounce that California and the adjoining States and Territories which can now produce wool will be able to produce it in large quantities and indefinitely in the future. But while the present condition of things exists, while these waste lands are open and available for pasturage, wool can be produced there, and I for one am not disposed to deal harshly or hardly with any section of our common country with reference to any local interests in which they may be concerned.

What I would say to our friends in that section of the country is, do not tie yourselves up for the future to an act of Congress; do not connect any of your interests with legislation which may change in the future; with interests which will be in perpetual peril while depending upon the changing whim and pleasure of men who make laws at Washington, who may disregard you in future because they will be pursuing lines of policy alien to your own. To the people in that portion of our country, those who talk and speak and think upon this particular subject, I would say, above all things establish manufactories for yourselves; do not undertake to raise wool and ship it to New England, to the Atlantic seaboard, or any other point remote from your own territory. Establish your own manufactories, make your own goods, and, as far as you can produce material for the purpose, God speed you in its production!

But suppose that be accomplished, you will even then be obliged to buy a large part of your manufacturing wools from abroad. Wool goes by grades. On the higher grades of wool our present law imposes a tax of 12 cents a pound; on good or medium grades, 10 cents a pound; and on the coarse carpet wools which approach the character of hair—wools taken from unimproved breeds of sheep—the duty goes down as low as 2½ cents per pound. So in California, when you have set up your manufacturing establishments in connection with the wool growth, you will buy from abroad grades of wool other than your own, and buy them largely. You will require wool from South America and from Australia in addition to your own. Remember, your section will not produce the wool necessary to supply the manufactories in the United States, even if you attempt it, nor, as I have already pointed out, will your own product supply all your needs at home, if you will turn to manufacturing as you ought. "But," says some one, "you must find us a market; you must tell us where we shall sell our woolen goods when we have manufactured them." Why, is not the Northern Pacific open to trade? Can you not send your woolen goods North? Can you not send them to the islands of Japan, to Corea, and to Northern China? Do not the people of the North Pacific and the Asiatic countries, with their unnumbered millions and their indefinite demands, call upon you to supply what they want and what you can produce? Look to yourselves and not to Congress, and you have a future of your own, not dependent upon the shifting scales of legislation.

You can have a market also for your woolen goods in South America. Why should you not have a steam line of your own down the west coast from San Francisco to Valparaiso, instead of relying upon an English line most of the way? You will have such a line when you have something to send by it, and you can send something by it when you have arranged for reciprocal trade. Take off, for instance, the stupid prohibitory tariff-tax of 4 cents a pound on copper and you can buy some copper from Chili and send her your manufactured goods in return.

Do not stand shivering away back in the past of fifty or sixty or even thirty or forty years ago. We are living in a new age. The iron and the steel rail have come among us, and they are threading our country from ocean to ocean. Great inventions and improvements have come among us year by year, until, in many pursuits, one man can do the work which was formerly done by twenty. The electric telegraph has come to us, so that we can put our finger on a key and in a few moments talk with remote portions of our own country; nay, we can with like speed, send to and receive messages from remote countries.

We are not living in that former period when Government was to aid "infant industries," the period of 1824 and 1830, when the argument was that Government should temporarily assist the industries to which we were naturally adapted to locate themselves.

You gentlemen of California need trade with your neighbors of South America in connection with manufactures on your own coast. Australasia sent to this country last year $931,000 worth of raw wool, and we sent her over $1,400,000 worth of wool and woolen goods. This trade in raw wool from foreign countries pays well, as the figures produced by the gentleman from California [Mr. MORROW] prove.

Yes, I repeat, the United States bought from the several countries of Australasia during the last year $931,620 worth of raw wool, and exported of wool and woolens to those countries—nearly all being manufactures of wool—$1,440,596 worth.

In like manner do we not want to buy wool from the Argentine Republic—that great country of the south, beyond Brazil, in a temperate climate, where sheep thrive? Why, sir, on the pampas of Argentina there now roam, according to the best estimate I have from credible sources, 90,000,000 sheep, 14,000,000 horned cattle, and six or seven million horses. There is a railroad from Buenos Ayres westward toward Chili, which is already completed to Mendoza, at the eastern base of the Andes, 600 miles across the pampas; and the Andes are being bored in order to establish railroad communication with Chili. Four or five years will be occupied in boring through that monstrous mountain barrier, and then Santiago will be reached, 80 miles from Mendoza, and near by is the port of Valparaiso, so that the productions of Argentina can come to you by way of Chili and the western coast.

From that section of South America you can bring wool, hides, and all animal products in full supply to your own doors. In those South American regions animals need no food stored up; they live upon the plains from year's end to year's end. Nothing is necessary upon the pampas except the sinking of a few wells, which may be artificially worked by wind power, as in Spain and Portugal, for an occasional time of drought. Thus, with slight cost innumerable masses of animal products are now obtained, and vastly more will be hereafter obtainable and thrown into the channels of the commerce of the world.

Where does the wool of that country now go? It goes mainly to Germany and England. Those countries are the customers of Argentina. They buy of her a great part of what she has to sell and sell to her three-fourths of what she buys. Even our tobacco reaches there by way of Germany, where it is manufactured. Germany and England have lines of steamers running to that country, and handle most of her export and import trade.

About sixteen years ago what occurred? Our tanners and leathermen came to Congress and they were influential in securing a law for the importation of hides into this country duty free, thereby exciting the same character of clamor against free hides that we now hear against free wool. Why, the farmer was to be ruined, the butchers were to be ruined, by taking off $1.25, on an average, from the value of every animal slaughtered in the United States; our industries were to be very greatly injured by decreasing the market value of domestic hides. But Congress passed the law for free hides. Now our exports of leather and leather manufactures are eight or ten times greater than they were before the passage of that law [applause], and the farmers and butchers are not injured, because they buy cheaper boots, shoes, and other articles which they need. Everybody is benefited by the change.

That is the result of buying free hides down in Argentina, which are brought here and worked up, and the products of which not only supply in part our home demand, but go out into the commerce of the world under the American flag wherever there is one. [Laughter and applause.]

The city of Buenos Ayres, which in 1855, when I was there, had but forty or fifty thousand population, has now 450,000. The town of Rosario, on the Parana River, which was then a village with three or four thousand population, has now 80,000.

Now we buy some cheap carpet-wool, produced in the province of Cordova and shipped at Rosario, which comes to Boston under a 2½-cents-per-pound duty. There we stop. Why? Because our tariff prevents us buying pampa wool; we can not buy a dollar's worth under it.

The congress of the Argentine Republic at their last session repealed their export duty on wool. They had a small export duty, but they found, as all nations under similar circumstances will always find, that it was an improvident tax; therefore they repealed it. But we can not buy any portion of the good wool of Argentina; it is beyond our reach. You impose a duty of 10 cents per pound on Pampa wool imported. When scoured that wool yields 32 per cent. of clean wool. Australian wool, with the same duty of 10 cents per pound, when scoured produces 48 per cent. of clean wool. Therefore our merchants and manufacturers can not buy Argentina wool; it is excluded from our market by the specific duty imposed upon it by our laws.

Take off this duty on wool from Argentina; buy from her and send her what she wants. [Applause.] Trade with her and you will both prosper.

If you shut up your ports, as China did in former times, and shut yourselves off from the world, you become stationary and stagnant amongst nations. You have a future before you if you will reach out and seize it. You ought to abandon the old obstructive methods of the past and look on the face of the world as it is, with all the industries of all the nations spread out before you.

I would not lift the barriers of commercial taxation absolutely. I would consider existing conditions in my own country, and along with my party I would accept the doctrine that duties should be levied so as to equalize the cost of articles from abroad, so far as labor is concerned, with those produced at home—a doctrine to which the Democratic party is pledged, and which is maintained substantially by the provisions of the present bill. [Applause.]

EXTENDED REMARKS.

The future commercial relations of our country with South America is a subject of high importance and merits all the attention which has

been given to it in recent years, and all the interest which it continues to excite in commercial circles and among public men. I propose now to speak of those relations as they may be established or promoted by land communication; to point out a railway enterprise which will unite the two Americas by bonds of mutual interest, securing to both immense development in production and prosperous trade.

Our main lines of internal communication being already established, including three railways to the Pacific coast, there is the greater reason for turning our attention to the countries south of us and seeking that connection with them which is invited by natural conditions, by similarity of political institutions, and by commercial interest. Already our railway communication with the city of Mexico is an accomplished fact, and a line from that city to the capital of Guatemala is about to be constructed, and its extension through the Central American states and the Isthmus of Panama to the heart of New Granada ought not to be long delayed. The engineering difficulties of this enterprise will in a great measure disappear upon an examination of the route to be followed, and the great expediency of it will become manifest to any one who will consider the natural capacities for production of the countries to be passed through and the certainty of trade and commerce to be reached by it in the far South. The line will follow the uplands of Central America throughout, far removed from the unhealthy coasts east and west of it, where dense populations can be maintained and various and valuable articles of commerce be produced. I will pause only to cite official proof upon these points relating to San Salvador, one of the Central American states:

[From report of L. J. Dupré, consul at San Salvador, to State Department, dated December 13, 1887.]

To avoid detention at the seashore in hot latitudes ships must anchor at wharves in land-locked harbors, whence passengers may be transported instantly by railways to the mesa, or elevated plateau, from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea level and extending from one to the other ocean. * * * There is perfect immunity from climatic diseases the instant the traveler reaches an elevation of 1,000 feet above the sea.

According to him the climate of San Salvador is one of great equability of temperature; "the thermometer never falls below 70, or rises above 80 degrees."

San Salvador is also a populous state, and its productions abundant and valuable. He estimates the population along a line of proposed railroad, from La Union on the Pacific to a port on the Mexican Gulf, at 100 to the square mile, 92 per cent. Aztecs and 8 per cent. Spaniards. They toil industriously, and produce rice, tobacco, indigo, sea island cotton, coffee, sugar, cocoa, India rubber, and Peruvian gum.

The railway would regenerate the Central American States, Guatemala, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica, establishing among them solid and enduring peace; stimulating industry, and securing rights of property, improved education, and prosperous trade.

But it is the great continent beyond the isthmus and the importance of our intimate connection with it commercially in future times to which I desire to direct particular attention. In that division of the globe are located future markets for our surplus productions, and there also will be found most valuable sources of supply for our manfacturing industries, and for many things which we shall greatly need but can not ourselves produce.

Now, after a railway shall reach the southern continent in New Granada, a line carried eastward will reach Venezuela and open an immense region to improvement and progress. But the main line of extension has its proper course defined for it by nature—toward the south. Passing the valley of the Cauca, it will enter the great valley of the Andes and traverse that valley its entire length into Upper Peru, and thence extend to Sucre, in the Republic of Bolivia. At that point it will gain sure connections with Chili, with the Argentine Republic, and with Paraguay. Already a railway of 500 miles, projected to lead from Sucre to the capital of Paraguay along the Pilcomayo River, has enlisted the support of foreign capital, and its construction in the near future may be assumed.

The Andine Railway which I have indicated will be a trunk line, with many connecting roads leading to it from the Pacific coast and from points east and south, thus commanding a great part of the trade of that continent with Central America, with Mexico, and with the United States. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. McCREARY] hopes for a railway connection with South America by way of Central America within twenty or twenty-five years. Perhaps he contemplates a consideration of the subject by the representatives of all the countries concerned, including our own, when they meet for consultation in this city in April, 1889, under the recent act of Congress. But we can not afford to wait twenty or twenty-five years. We have waited too long already in taking steps to secure trade and intercourse with our neighbors of the South.

We should now move promptly and resort to all legitimate means to secure this prime object of national policy. A readjustment of our tariff duties will greatly aid in securing Southern trade; steam lines upon the Pacific and Atlantic coasts will naturally follow, and a great railway line leading to and threading the Andes will complete the work. Everything else may be left to the sure operation of causes with which government need not interfere.

At first view these remarks may be thought to be irrelevant to the present debate. Not so; they lead directly to my object, which is to point out the Andine countries as the future home of the sheep—as among those best fitted by nature of all known regions of the earth for the permanent production of wool.

Take the long stretch of high land from upper Peru northward into Colombia, along the course already mentioned for railway location, and particularly that part which holds the great valley of the equator—hundreds of leagues long—within its embrace. The valley is itself greatly elevated, rising from seven to ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, with a width of 10 to 20 or 25 miles, and bounded east and west by gigantic masses of mountain, upon which at irregular intervals rise mighty peaks known to geographers as Chimborazo, Cotopaxi, Antisana, Cayambe (cut by the line of the equator), and many others. The snow line on the highest peaks comes down to 16,000 feet, but on the great ranges, as well as in the valley, there is complete exemption from severe cold. The temperature at Quito (9,500 feet above sea) changes but 20 to 22 degrees during the year, ranging from 45 or 47 to 67, with an average of 58. There is perpetual spring, and there is no more healthful region known.

In the time of the Incas, before the Spanish conquest, a stone road extended over 1,000 miles between the two Inca capitals, Quito and Cuzco; and at intervals along it were erected tambos for refreshment and repose in times of royal progress from one capital to the other. No data exist for computing the Indian population of the mountains in those days, but it must have been immense.

The Indian of the Andes is a natural herdsman—hardy, patient, temperate, persevering; loving out-door life, and trustworthy. Perhaps his very virtues have made him contemptible in the eyes of his haughty masters, but they give promise of an honorable future for him when peonage shall be abolished in his native mountains, and the earnings of his labor shall be thoroughly made his own.

The uplands upon both sides of the great valley are of immense extent, consisting of the mountain slopes and of broad table-lands, grass-covered throughout the year, affording natural pasturage without practical limit for the support of animal life. The plateau of Antisana, visited by Humboldt in 1802, which is upon the eastern cordillera or range of mountain, with an elevation of thirteen to fourteen thousand feet, may be mentioned by way of illustration. It is an immense, irregular plain, without forest, and grass-covered throughout.

Being above the limit of cultivation, no plow will ever vex the surface nor human pursuit ever encroach upon the pastoral domain. It is devoted by nature forever to the herder, to the shepherd, and to the thousands of animals they shall have in charge.

Upper Peru and the adjacent countries north and south of it in the mountains have native animals suited to the climate and to all surrounding conditions. There are found the llama, the alpaca, the guanaco, and the vicugna. I will call them the congeners or fellows of the sheep, for they, like sheep, flourish best on open, enduring pastures in a cool but equable temperature, and most of them, like the sheep, contribute the hair or wool of their bodies for the clothing and comfort of man.

The Andine mountains and valleys have been almost shut off from communication with the outside world. From most lines of approach the traveler is repelled by the difficulties of the way—great heights to scale, ravines to cross, forests to penetrate, and everywhere rude, primitive roads or paths. Even the Inca highway in the high valleys has been suffered to go into dilapidation and decay.

But all those difficulties in the way of intercourse will speedily disappear. A Peruvian railway already penetrates the interior from the coast, and other improvements will follow; civil wars will cease, industry will waken to life, population will increase, and all the natural resources which there exist will be brought to light and made available for the production of wealth and the progress of civilization. And among the results in the near future, an immense wool production in Bolivia, in Upper Peru, in Ecuador, and in Colombia will be certain to come. The crook of the shepherd will be seen in all the Andine valleys and upon all the *paramos*—the uplands or table-lands of those great mountains. From the highlands of Colombia that overlook the waters of the Caribbean Sea to Potosi in the far south, everywhere nature invites the wool-bearing wanderer from Asiatic lands, after many migrations, to a delightful and enduring home.

THE WHISKY TAX.

There is involved in this debate, as an alternative to the reduction of customs duties, the question of the repeal of the internal taxes on spirits and beer, that on whisky being the most considerable.

I am of opinion that the internal-revenue taxes should be reduced, but not abolished; and this is no new opinion with me, begotten of recent debate, but one long entertained and (I may add) deliberately formed.

We need a more stable, uniform, and reliable support to Government credit than is afforded by customs duties, which fall off and partially fail when most needed, in times of panic and public distress. Importations decrease at such times, for the people are unable to buy and mer-

chants afraid to import, and as the customs revenue becomes greatly reduced Government credit suffers and new devices of taxation must be resorted to for its support.

Now, at such times, the consumption of whisky, beer, and tobacco will not be much diminished, and consequently revenue income from them will be maintained at nearly the ordinary amount, furnishing a basis for loans on fair terms or for a temporary issue of Treasury notes. An income of fifty or sixty millions from such internal taxes is therefore a proper object of Government policy and may be properly maintained in future. Besides, as war taxes for war outlays, they will subserve their original purpose so long as a war debt remains and heavy war pensions are to be paid. But, in my opinion, the whisky tax of 90 cents per gallon is very greatly too high. To tax at that rate an article which costs the maker but 20 or 30 cents to produce is unreasonable if not unjust, and the tax may be fairly described as excessive and exorbitant. Vast quantities of spirits are used in manufactures, in the arts, in compounding medicines, and for other uses, besides that consumed as drink.

The tax is so high that it causes evasions of the law and some illicit distillation, and, what is still more important, it produces monopoly in production and sale. The influence and power of whisky manufacturers and holders of great stocks have been no doubt greatly exaggerated, but it is plain that the enormous whisky-tax requires large capital to carry heavy stocks on hand and makes necessary combinations and control of the market. The plain and effectual remedy for this evil is to reduce the tax and bring it within reasonable limits.

But it is equally clear that this remedy can not be suddenly applied. That would be utter ruin to those who have stocks on hand, and therefore when the change is made it must be accompanied by a system of drawback or by some other device to prevent intolerable wrong. But as a plan of drawback is one of great difficulty in practical operation and its complete application perhaps impracticable, it appears to me that we could best invoke for our purpose the salutary but effectual operation of time.

Let the act reducing the tax take effect at a future date—long enough removed to permit stocks on hand to be worked off in the natural course of sales and consumption. So great is the amount on hand that the interval of time between the enactment of the law and the date for its taking effect would have to be a considerable one; but by interposing such an interval the change of rate would go into operation without disturbing any right of property or producing any inconvenience in the channels of commerce and trade.

One inevitable effect of this arrangement would be that no tax would be paid to the Government during the interval. If deposits in bond were permitted, with deferred payment of tax, no taxes would be paid until the time when the reduced rate of tax would come into operation. The Treasury would be without incoming whisky-tax moneys during the interval, unless from stocks in bond, on which payment should be coerced.

It will be seen, then, that the reduction of this tax can not reasonably be accomplished by an amendment of this bill which shall simply reduce the tax rate. There must be in connection with any repeal or reduction careful provision made as to the time and manner of carrying out the change proposed, so as to save existing interests from ruinous loss and to adapt the change to the revenue demands of the Government during the transition period to the lower rate.

At present the whisky tax will not be repealed or reduced in rate; but I think the question of reducing it will come up for consideration in the next Congress or at the next session of the present Congress. For I apprehend that there will be no sufficient reduction of revenue provided for at the present session, and that the subject will recur until all necessary reduction shall be made.

Some gentlemen have proposed that spirits used for manufacturing, medicinal, and scientific purposes shall be exempt from tax. He will be a wise man who shall frame a law to discriminate in taxation between spirits to be used as a drink and spirits to be used for the purposes just mentioned, and he will be a still wiser one who shall devise convenient and effectual means for the enforcement and execution of such a law.

Again, some gentlemen favor the turning over of this source of revenue to the States, to be drawn upon by the States for purposes of local expenditure. In other words, they propose that we shall repeal our taxes upon the manufacture of spirits and beer, and allow the States to impose such taxes in addition to the license taxes now imposed by them upon sales. But taxes paid upon the production of spirits pass into prices of sale, and are borne by those who use or consume the spirits taxed; in other words, the consumer virtually pays the tax. But in the case of whisky, a few States—Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania—produce the greater part, perhaps three-fourths of it, and might get a like proportion of the whole revenue derived from its taxation by the States. If the States in which it would be produced should tax its manufacture at the same rate, an equal, uniform rate, this result would be inevitable.

It is equally clear that while the revenues from the whisky taxes would go to the States of production, the burden of those taxes would be borne by the States of consumption, that is, by all the States. It follows that when whisky is taxed by the United States the revenue derived from it inures to the common advantage of all the States in which whisky is consumed or used, but when subjected to State taxation the certain result is injustice and wrong.

I will conclude by saying that, for the reasons I have stated, I am in favor of reducing the whisky tax to 40 or 50 cents per gallon, and for retaining it at such reduced rate as a permanent source of income to the Government of the United States.

At the expiration of the hour allowed to the speaker by the rule of the House, an extension of time was proposed but declined, as follows:

Mr. BLAND. If the gentleman from Pennsylvania desires to occupy further time, I ask unanimous consent that he be permitted to proceed.

Mr. BUCKALEW. I must decline to occupy further time. I could speak much longer upon this subject, but would feel most uncomfortable in doing so, as I would know I was encroaching upon the time of others. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 15, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: At the beginning of the present session of Congress the President of the United States, in the performance of a constitutional duty which requires that he shall "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," communicated to the two Houses what may be called his annual message.

This paper is remarkable for the reason that it refers to only a single subject-matter, and that in it the present occupant of the Executive office omitted to give full information of the state of the Union and the relations which our Government sustained with other nations of the world. No satisfactory reasons for this exceptional and extraordinary course were given by him, and up to this time no Senator or Representative in Congress has either seen fit or been able to explain or defend it.

No President preceding him has ever omitted in an annual message to give full information of the state of the Union. A long line of illustrious predecessors for a hundred years, in following as they thought the mandates of the Constitution, had never failed to communicate to Congress full information concerning all the Departments of the Government and our relations as a nation with other nations of the earth. This was done alike in times of prosperity and commercial depression, during the many years of peace that blessed our land and in the darkest days of all our wars. But at almost the end of the third year of its existence this Administration has but one matter worthy of giving information about. The message to the present Congress refers alone "to the amount of money exacted" from those who import foreign goods into our country, and which is accumulating in the Treasury to an amount which exceeds the sum "necessary to meet the expenses of the Government."

This is a full statement of the substance and facts of the communication, if we omit the very brief reference made to moneys going into the Treasury from internal taxes levied on tobacco and liquors, and about which taxation the President says "there appears to be no just complaint."

We have, therefore, before us in considering this message the single question of protection by the imposition of tariff duties. I am not unmindful of the great importance of this question, and how intimately connected it is with the welfare of all our people and the prosperity of the whole country. But as the subject is not a new one and has been under discussion and consideration at almost every session of Congress, from the administration of Washington to Arthur, I am the more surprised that the present Executive considered it the only question necessary to give information about.

We seek in vain for any condition of affairs, either in the commercial business of the country or in the national Treasury, to justify the singling out of this one question for a message. It is true there is a surplus in the Treasury beyond an amount needed for current expenditures. But the Government is still in debt and previous administrations, without any additional legislation, had made use of much larger sums in a most satisfactory manner in payment of the liabilities of the Government. Our tariff laws, under which the money is being paid into the Treasury, have been on the statute-book for many years, during

which time the country made great advances in wealth and population and the people enjoyed unusual prosperity and happiness.

Mr. Chairman, there is but one meaning to be taken from the President's message. He is opposed to our system of protection and desires to see it abandoned, and that we shall adopt in the place of it a system of free trade. It is plain that the leaders of the party that elected him have determined on this new departure in politics, and that he and they are in accord on this subject.

The honorable gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARLISLE], who has for so long a time presided with great ability and fairness over the deliberations of this House, is a leading member of the President's party, and, as is well known, is on intimate, friendly terms with him.

The day before this message was received, he, on being re-elected Speaker, made an address which he himself characterized as "somewhat out of the usual course." In that address, as you will well remember, he fully anticipated the recommendations of the Executive and announced that he was ready for a change in our protective system.

Under our form of government the Speaker, by the authority given him to appoint committees and control the deliberations of the House, has more power to influence and determine legislation than any other man, not excepting even the President.

No one was therefore surprised, when the Speaker announced the committees of the House in the present Congress, to find that he had appointed a majority of the Committee of Ways and Means, to which all matters relating to revenue and protection must be referred, of gentlemen who were well known to be opposed to protection.

The result of the deliberations of that committee is the bill now under discussion, popularly known as the Mills tariff bill. This is the remedy for the evils set forth in the President's message. This is the new industrial policy Congress is asked to adopt—a policy not in the line of protection, but a new departure with free trade for its destination.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Does the gentleman regard the Morrill tariff act of 1861 as a free-trade tariff?

Mr. JACKSON. So far as its provisions are for protection, it can not be called a free-trade tariff.

Mr. MCMILLIN. That is not the question I asked. Do you regard the Morrill tariff act as a free-trade law?

Mr. JACKSON. Any tariff which embodies protection to the leading industries of the country, as the Morrill tariff acts do, can not be called free trade. It may not go as far in favor of protection as I would be inclined to go.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Then you do not say that that tariff act is a free-trade law?

Mr. JACKSON. Not in and of itself; it contains protective provisions.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Then if that was not a free-trade tariff how is it that the bill now pending in this House, which gives higher rates of duty than the Morrill tariff did, is a "free-trade bill?"

Mr. JACKSON. It is a free-trade bill because the men behind it propose to reduce the tariff. It is a free-trade bill for the very reason that its authors want to strike down our industries and are against protection, and have framed it with that end in view.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Then our opinion of a measure of this kind is to be formed not by an examination of the act itself, but by observing the men who are behind it?

Mr. JACKSON. We may learn much of the purpose of legislation in this way. The gentleman and I do not seem to understand the Morrill tariff bill alike. I am quite sure it protected many things this bill puts on the free-list. I think it has been denounced here within two weeks by advocates of the Mills bill as a high-tariff bill. But it is not so important what other bills have been as what is the present bill.

We can all understand how a tariff passed at one period of time might greatly increase prior duties and thus be a tariff for protection, and the same rate of duty twenty or thirty years afterward might lower the then existing rates and be in the direction of free trade. You have avowed here the policy that you propose of cutting down duties. You say you are opposed to the whole theory of a tariff for protection. You expect eventually to dispose of all of it, I have no doubt. One of your leading speakers here, when interrogated on this point, said it would not do to go all the way now. Another said, if protectionists are not content with this bill, they will get one millions worse for them in another year. That is your purpose; you go now as far as you possibly can, and call it only a step in the right direction. [Applause on the Republican side.]

By this bill a distinct issue is made up that the people must finally determine. It is free trade against protection, and no amount of sophistry or declamations by the advocates of the Mills bill can change this. Let the Democratic party whose President and leaders have given us this measure stand up and meet the issue squarely. I know that in the debate on this floor advocates of the bill deny that it is a free-trade measure. This is done from motives of policy to reconcile the people to its passage, but such statements ought not to deceive any one. Every free-trader in Congress is its friend and advocate, and every free-trader out of Congress, so far as heard from, urges its passage.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY], who is so ardent a free-trader that he speaks of the American system of protection as a "hobby" by which legislation has "been controlled to the prejudice of the people," says this bill is "not all he wants, but that it is a movement in the right direction." Then he at once proceeds to eulogize the bill and enumerate the blessings that he thinks will follow from putting wool and many other articles on the free-list. He says that under this bill, however, the contest is not between protection and free trade, but between a high tariff and a reasonable tariff.

If, then, this bill which threatens so many industries of our country with injury is still a reasonable tariff, and only a movement in what he calls the right direction, I should like to know if the next step in that direction will not land us in full and absolute free trade?

Mr. Chairman, so far as I recollect not a single advocate of this bill upon this floor has announced himself as being in favor of a tariff for protection, and most of them take trouble to say they are not. For different reasons they generally reluctantly concede that we must, for the present, have some kind of a tariff bill. They will allow one for revenue only, and I believe the gentleman from South Carolina gave as a reason for the Mills bill not going further in direction of free trade that it would not do to destroy certain industries. None of them go further than to favor a tariff for revenue only. Then their President says we do not need any revenue, and it follows logically that we shall have free trade just as soon as their party is able to force it upon the country.

The animus and feeling of these gentlemen toward the American system of protection is well shown in the extreme and harsh language in which they are accustomed to speak of it, as "robbery, oppression, injustice;" "taxes wrung from the poor," and such like expressions.

Mr. Chairman, it is well known that England is the great champion of free trade, and has long desired that our tariff laws should be repealed that she might fill our markets with her goods, manufactured with her poorly paid labor. Let us see whether her people consider the President's message and the Mills bill as a movement in the direction of free trade, and whether they think that free trade is the policy of the leaders of the Democratic party.

I quote a few extracts from her leading papers of recent date:

[From the Saturday Review.]

It may be taken for granted that the President has not acted without previously consulting the leaders of the Democratic party and securing their approval. He and they have taken up again the old free-trade policy of the South Carolina politicians, unconnected with what, in the jargon of American politics, was called the sectional question.

[From the People's Journal, Dundee.]

A great sensation has been created by President Cleveland's message, and if the policy which it indicates be carried out it will produce almost as much effect in this country as in America. The tariff reform which the President recommends goes as far, at least, as the abolition or reduction of the duties on raw materials. Should Congress give effect to this proposal, its immediate result would be an enormous stimulus to English industry.

[From the Haddingtonshire (Scotland) Courier.]

This much is certain, that another fierce contest is pending in America over the principle at issue. If it terminates, as it may be hoped it will do, in the direction of a relaxation of those imposts that now so vexatiously hamper commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the United States, we may look to an impetus being given to our home trade that will go far to make up for the depression of late years.

[The London Iron and Steel Trades Journal.]

The facts set forth in the President's message, though by no means new, are now brought so prominently under the notice of the American Congress and of American citizens that a violent stimulus must be given to the party which advocates entire freedom of trade.

[From "A member of Parliament" by cable to the free-trade New York Herald.]

To convert the United States is indeed a triumph. The Cobden Club will henceforth set up a special shrine for the worship of President Cleveland, and send him all its publications gratis. Cobden founded free trade; Cleveland saved it. Such is the burden of the song all through England to-day.

THE DEATH-KNELL OF PROTECTION.

The New York representative of the London Daily News telegraphs: "Reports from Washington are increasingly favorable to the passage of the tariff-reform bill. It is to be reported to the House early this week, and its passage without material modification is now generally expected. The sentiment in favor of tariff reform is steadily growing in all parts of the country. A notable demonstration will be made here on April 13, when the Reform Club, organized after the message was published, will open the temporary club-house. Mr. James Russell Lowell has accepted an invitation to preside at a public meeting and make the principal speech. The club has over six hundred members. Its sudden growth is only one of many signs that American intelligence is at last awake. Nothing in American politics is more obvious than that Mr. Cleveland's message has sounded the death-knell of protection."

We find the foregoing in the Iron and Coal Trades Review, of London.

There is no doubt that the President's message is hailed with delight in England, for the very reason that it threatens destruction to American industries; and if English manufacturers had the power the Mills bill would soon become a law.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the Mills bill. I am a protectionist; or, if you like the expression better, I am in favor of a high tariff to protect all the industries and labor of the people of the United States. The gentlemen who favor this bill want the opposite, and the opposite of what I have stated is free trade. Then, gentlemen, be candid, accept the name you ought to bear, and fight under your true standard. You can not long deceive the people of this country. Your policy means now, or very soon at farthest if you succeed, free trade; it means a change in our entire system of development, manufactures, and enterprise.

It is a proposition to govern our 60,000,000 people under ideas and theories which originated in the cotton States, and were born of a system of human slavery.

I desire to call the attention of the country to the fact that it is only because of the accidental success of the Democratic party that this bill is brought before us. I go further and say were it not that the Democratic party is, in its organization and officials, controlled and directed by that same section of the country to which I have referred, the old slave States, no one supposes we would have ever heard of the Mills bill.

Take from the Committee on Ways and Means the members that came from the old slave States, and this bill could not be reported to the House. Take from its supporters on this floor the members who come from the same States, and it could scarcely muster sufficient advocates to compel a calling of yeas and nays on its passage.

I regard this, Mr. Chairman, as a contest between two systems of labor and civilization as marked and well-defined as the contest between freedom and slavery. I had hoped that the new South we have heard so much about recently would have shown a disposition to abandon her old ideas, to diversify her industries, to develop her rich resources, to improve the condition of her laborers, and to enter upon an era of prosperity that only free and well-paid labor can give her. We have satisfactory evidence that many of her people do desire this, but unfortunately for her and for the whole country the politics of that section is controlled by a comparatively few, who stand by the old traditions.

For more than half a century the cotton-growing States have favored free trade. They have done this knowingly and expecting it to have the same effect upon the country that I believe it would have. They wanted and still want everything cheap and low priced in this country. They want to sell cotton abroad and buy everything cheap at home. They want cheap grain, cheap pork, cheap clothing, and cheap manufactured articles. They have always known as well as I do that that this means inevitably cheap and poorly-paid labor. But they had slaves with "unrequited toil" and could more than compete with the pauper labor of Europe. Their slaves are gone, wrested from them by force, but I regret to have to say that there is not much evidence that the ruling classes of the South desire to have the laboring freedmen elevated much above their former condition.

I fear too many yet think the colored man will be easier managed and controlled if kept poor and humble on low wages. They do not comprehend or feel like the people of other sections of the country, that the prosperity of a nation depends on the prosperity of its laboring classes.

I regard the poorly-paid, degraded laborers of these States, whose toil is brought in close competition with all the labor of our country, as the greatest menace and danger we have to the rights of laboring men. If Mississippi had as intelligent, well-paid laborers as Ohio, she would have as few representatives in Congress favoring free trade. That cheap labor and free trade go hand in hand was well shown when the cotton-growing States undertook to found a confederacy whose corner-stone was based on human slavery. They at once placed in their constitution a section forbidding their congress to ever enact a tariff law for the protection of any industry in the so-called Confederate States. Their highest conception of a country was to make the South one vast plantation, dotted with huts for slaves, with here and there a mansion for the owner who owned and drove them.

Mr. Chairman, it is occasionally said that free trade is theoretically right, even if it is found to be practically wrong in its effects; but I am not willing to admit this proposition. All natural rights under a civilized government require the protection of positive laws. Governments are formed "to promote the general welfare," and I regard it as the first duty of a government to provide for the welfare of its own citizens. Self-preservation demands this, and Christianity inculcates the duty of first caring for those of our own household.

I recognize the duty of government to deal honestly and fairly with all nations, but the first and highest duty of Congress is to legislate so as to promote the welfare and best interests of the people of the United States.

I have also heard it said that the tariff is a local question, but I do not believe this is true. I consider it a national question, and one that can alone be defended on the broad ground of being for the general welfare. There is a plain, simple rule by which we should be guided in the enactment of tariff laws. It is this: Protect every industry and product of the United States that can by development be made to reasonably supply the people of the United States. Follow this maxim and you aid all, and the system of protection is national and a blessing to all the people. The protection of any one industry or product coming within the description I have given is a benefit to all, but we can only enjoy the full advantages of the system by making it general.

All necessary and useful articles that are not found or can not reasonably be produced in the United States sufficient to supply the demand should be admitted free, and if any one can point out any such articles not now on the free-list I will agree that they shall be put there.

Mr. HERBERT. Are you in favor of cutting down anything embraced in the present tariff?

Mr. JACKSON. I do not know of anything. If the gentleman will mention anything we can not produce here perhaps I may agree with him as to a reduction of duty. But I do not know anything under our present tariff that I would reduce.

Mr. HERBERT. I can not tell you of anything that you are in favor of cutting down. I do not believe your party intend to relieve the country of tariff taxation in any respect, notwithstanding they stand pledged to it in their platform.

Mr. JACKSON. I have given you my rule. If there be anything that we can not produce in this country in sufficient quantities to meet our reasonable needs I will agree to reduce the tariff on such an article or put it upon the free-list. But the free-list is now very large. For years the Republican party searched carefully for articles that might go on the free-list without injury to our own industries. The Republican party never pledged itself to a reduction of tariff. It promises when it gets again full control of the Government to revise the tariff so as to lessen the income from tariff. But with very few exceptions it will do this by making the tariff higher and by protecting some industries that are now neglected.

Mr. HERBERT. I wish you would tell me of something as to which you favor a reduction.

Mr. JACKSON. At present I can not name anything. Lower duties, it is well known, increase imports, and would of course increase the money in the Treasury. You say you do not want that. But lower duties also mean the injury of our own industries, and I am opposed to that. It is the free-trade men who are trying to strike down these duties; I am on the other side. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. HERBERT. That is your proper place.

Mr. McMILLIN. You think, then, that there should be no reduction in cottons that bear a 200 per cent. duty?

Mr. JACKSON. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. McMILLIN. Why not?

Mr. JACKSON. Because I think that competition here will give us cotton goods as cheap as they ought to be, and that we ought to make all our own cotton in this country. [Applause on the Republican side.] I am opposed to the theory of economics that sets up as a standard for a workman the old slave labor of the cotton-field in this country, and can not look beyond that. I want when we legislate to think of the laborer as an intelligent citizen, a skillful mechanic, and a prosperous farmer. I want when we legislate to keep in view the fact that our laborers are skillful enough to make anything we need, and that they are deserving of good enough pay to support themselves and families in comfort. That whilst there are no cotton-mills in my immediate neighborhood, it is an industry important to other portions of the country.

Mr. McMILLIN. Does the gentleman know the fact that according to the census report the entire labor cost in cotton goods is but 16⅔ per cent. in price; and does he think that the Government ought to grant a subsidy of 50 to 200 per cent. to protect that?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, sir; I think the duty in that respect is exactly right, and why? Because I want to keep every yard of foreign-made cotton out of the United States. [Applause on the Republican side.] I want our own people to make every yard that we use.

Mr. McMILLIN. Then, after all, your consideration and anxiety do not seem to be so much for the laboring man, and your party's protest is not true?

Mr. JACKSON. Ah! I do not say that. I say it is true. Labor gets by far the greater part of the advantages of protection in this country. It gets this because the principal cost of every manufactured article is the toil of the laborers who produce it, and I want them to have every fair advantage that can be given to them by law. [Applause.]

Mr. McMILLIN. Then you ought to be willing to make a fairer division of the profits.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, to follow up somewhat my answer to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN], who said that there was only 7 per cent. of labor in the manufacture of cotton——

Mr. McMILLIN. I did not state that.

A MEMBER. Sixteen per cent.

Mr. JACKSON. Sixteen per cent., was it?

Mr. McMILLIN. In some grades 16, and in none over 20. In woolens the percentage is 16 and a fraction. In some classes of iron it is from 20 to 22 per cent., and in no class of cotton goods, according to the report of Mr. Seaton as I now remember it, does the proportion exceed 20 per cent., although we are called upon to give 50 per cent. protection.

Mr. JACKSON. Again I am compelled to differ with the gentleman as to the facts. He seems to have some system of cheap labor where they manufacture at small cost as to labor. I think there is a much larger part of the cost of manufacturing cotton goods attributable to labor than he does.

Does the gentleman think Mr. Edward Atkinson is a man of repute as a statistician?

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Atkinson is a great statistician, but I give my statistics from the official report made by Mr. Seaton as Superintendent of the Census, and I give them for the census year 1880.

Mr. JACKSON. Then I will give you what Mr. Atkinson says on this subject.

Mr. Atkinson says, in his Margin of Profits, page 23, that of the $1,100,000 of product of a cotton-mill the division of the proceeds of the product would be substantially as follows: 91.62 per cent. goes to the laborer, 7 per cent. to the owners, and 1.38 per cent. to the payment of taxes.

Mr. McMILLIN. I spoke of the entire labor cost. I did not propose to follow it any farther, and did not do so; but what the gentleman gives there is the profit.

Mr. JACKSON. No; the gentleman is mistaken. It is the proceeds of the product. I give the quotation as I find it, and the authority is a good one the gentleman has admitted.

Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt that in the old cotton-growing States, and possibly in some portions of the State the gentleman represents, you can find people who still cling to the opinion that wages had better be low, because a laborer is easier managed when poor than when well paid and in good condition.

Mr. McMILLIN. That is because my friend does not know anything about it.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, I claim to know something about it. I have been through your country as often as you have been in mine.

Mr. McMILLIN. Hardly, perhaps, for I have been in the gentleman's town.

Mr. JACKSON. And I have been in the gentleman's part of the country, and more than once. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I think I am pretty well acquainted with the State of Tennessee; at least I crossed it in a good many directions, and spent considerable time in it.

Mr. Chairman, the trouble with the gentlemen on the other side is they think it will be best for them to have almost everything cheap. They want cheap cotton; no, I will take that back; they do not want cheap cotton, nor do they want rice and sugar cheap. But right there they draw the line. They would like to have bacon low in price. They want pork and all kinds of grain low, for they need to buy it. They do not raise sufficient of these things for themselves, and they want to get what other people raise at the lowest possible figure. They have but little to sell except cotton, rice, and sugar raised by cheap and poorly paid labor. They do not expect to be able to manufacture iron, nails, glass, and such things, and of course they would like to buy them cheap. They want to get them at the least possible cost, and hence it is we find them taking the ground they do here.

Mr. McMILLIN. I know my friend from Pennsylvania would not misrepresent facts if he knew it.

Mr. JACKSON. Certainly not. But does the gentleman deny the statements I have made?

Mr. McMILLIN. Does the gentleman not know that my State is making pig-iron and selling pig-iron in Pittsburgh by the thousands of tons? Did he know that fact when he spoke of our not manufacturing iron?

Mr. JACKSON. Certainly. I know that portions of Tennessee and several other of the old slave States have latterly made great advances in the way of manufactures. In my own town at home the hot-blasts, ovens, and stationary engines for a large number of furnaces have been made and sent into these States. It is also true that these furnaces can supply Pittsburgh market with some grades of iron.

But all that is yet done rather proves these sections an exception to the rule. And I would remind my friend that it is these enterprising localities alone of all the South that favor protection.

Mr. McMILLIN. Well, then, you knew the fact when you stated that we were not making iron?

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman knows very well that my statement is correct; that the old slave States, especially the cotton-growing States, never made any pretense of engaging in manufacturing; that with but few exceptions their representatives during this debate have said they are still agricultural States; that they give this as a reason why they are opposed to protection.

The manufacturing to which the gentleman refers is not yet large enough to make any great change in their character. I have also an impression that it is mostly done by Northern capital, and not by native citizens.

Mr. McMILLIN. I say it is. Our people are making it themselves. There are Tennessee people engaged in it, making it of Tennessee ore with Tennessee capital.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, are not those men in favor of protection?

Mr. McMILLIN. Some are; some are not. They have their own opinions about it.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, the advantages of protection are twofold. First, it encourages the development of our own resources, and gives a diversity of employment to our own people. Second, it preserves our markets from the foreign competition of poorly paid labor, and enables our own labor to secure better wages and more steady employment. I consider that the preservation of our own markets for our own people is now the most important question that can come before Congress.

To give a foreigner who pays neither taxes nor wages in this country the same right to sell in our markets that we give the man who builds his works in our own country, pays taxes to the town, the county, and the State, and pays wages to people here, is unfair and unjust to our own citizens.

That all portions of our country have not fully accepted the advantages of protection is the fault of the people and not of the system. It is a matter of history beyond dispute that it has only been by the aid of protection that our manufacturing industries have been built up. By manufactures the nation has been made stronger, and millions of our people have been given employment at good wages and made happier.

Without manufactures we would be a nation of agriculturists, selling only grain and raw materials to Europe at low prices, and buying wares and merchandise from foreigners at high prices. No nation can be strong and independent that does not have a large diversity of employment for its people. This is so apparent that a marked difference can be seen in our own country between different localities in that respect. Land is more valuable and farming pays better where there are manufacturing establishments near than where there are not. Every one knows that the building of a shop, a factory, or a furnace in a neighborhood adds at once to the value of the property in it, and gives every man, no matter what his trade or business may be, a better chance to make a living.

There are no stronger advocates of protection in Pennsylvania to-day than the farmers, mechanics, and others not directly engaged in manufacturing pursuits. The farmer and gardener knows that his best purchasers are the employés of the mills and factories. The mechanic knows he gets the best wages and most certain employment where manufacturing is most flourishing. The professional man, the laborer, and the tradesman know that their pay and income depend very largely on the men in the mills, works, and factories getting good wages. All are bound together by a common interest, and each contributes to the prosperity of the other.

The friends of this free-trade bill in all their speeches on this floor have insisted that protection only benefits the capitalist and owners of the factories, and that the employés and all other citizens get no good from it, and are in fact opposed to it. How often have we heard it asserted here in the last two weeks that protection does not raise wages. The men who make these assertions, if sincere, are entirely mistaken. They are certainly not much acquainted with the class of laborers that live in the manufacturing portions of our country.

The Congressional district, composed of the counties of Beaver, Lawrence, and Washington, in the State of Pennsylvania, which I have the honor to represent on this floor, has within its bounds probably a larger number and greater variety of interests than can be found elsewhere in the same amount of territory in this country or in any other. It has a mild and healthy climate, is well supplied with railroads, good water, and a fertile soil, and has the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers for transportation. More wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, apples, peaches, small fruits, dairy products, grass, and vegetables are raised than are consumed by all the inhabitants, including the towns and cities. It has for years furnished fine and thoroughbred sheep, cattle, hogs, and horses to many of the States in the Union, and has in a single year grown over 4,000,000 pounds of wool. It is rich in minerals, such as coal iron ore, and limestone, furnishing the larger part of the limestone for the blast-furnaces of Pittsburgh and the Shenango and Mahoning valleys, and ships immense quantities of coal by boat and barge down the Ohio River and by rail to the Great Lakes. It has one of the greatest oil fields in the world; and no territory for supplying natural gas for fuel has been discovered superior to it. The amount of its production of pig-metal, bar and sheet iron, nails, steel, and glass is only exceeded by a few districts.

It has manufactories of steam-engines and other machinery, saws, stoves, pottery, fire-brick, tumblers, cutlery, flax, twine, plows, chains, shovels, and other industries such as are generally associated with these, many of them extensive works and all worthy of mention. It has five colleges, a large number of select schools and academies; a good system of public schools; is well supplied with churches, and publishes twenty weekly and five daily newspapers. The citizens are to a large extent native-born, many of the farms having been in the same family for three or four generations, and an unusually large number of the workmen about the mills and factories own their homes. Most of the manufactories I have named have been established for from fifteen to twenty-five years, and quite a number of them much longer. The schools, colleges, and churches were established at an early day, and it is no exaggeration to say that the people in point of morals and intelligence will compare favorably with those of any part of the country. Those who have come there from a distance seeking homes and employment have generally been intelligent, skilled workmen, who have made the best of citizens.

Mr. Chairman, I have made these statements for the purpose of showing that if it were true that protection is only a benefit to the owners of factories and mills, it is probable that the thousands of laborers of the Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania district would know it; that if the tariff robs and oppresses the farmer that that community ought to have discovered it; that if labor gets no advantage in increased wages by

it, the men I have described would likely be heard from on the subject.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, the laboring men of my district are the kind of men to make themselves heard when their rights are being interfered with. And I say to you if the Ways and Means Committee had given the people of my district an opportunity to be heard before them all classes would have protested against the passage of the Mills bill. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers would have sent men of their own number here, intelligent, well-informed men, men who could have debated these questions the equal of any man on this floor. They would have demanded a tariff for protection against the pauper labor of Europe, one that would secure them a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. The glass-workers would have sent men here who would have informed you that the tariff on window-glass was now so low that one-fourth of the window-glass used in the United States was imported, when we had men and materials sufficient to make it all at home. They would have told you that since the reduction of the tariff in 1883 they have been compelled to work at low wages. They would also have told you that if the proposed Mills bill, still further reducing the tariff, should become a law, with the low wages in Europe, and the cheapness of ocean freights, there will be no other alternative for the American workman but to accept a reduction in wages or surrender our own markets to the goods imported from abroad.

Men from the numerous other factories, works, and shops would have sent representatives here who, without a dissenting voice, would have protested against the passage of this bill. The wool-growers and sheep-breeders of my district would have shown by conclusive arguments the surpreme folly of putting wool on the free-list. The men who are now making a good living and supporting their families by their labor in the twine and flax mills would have informed you that this bill would deprive them of their occupations and compel them to seek other employment.

The farmers through their associations would have informed you that this was a move in the wrong direction, and would work them irreparable harm. But, Mr. Chairman, hearings, as you well know, were denied the men most interested and most affected by this bill. I was compelled to inform these people that contrary to past practice and custom the Ways and Means Committee refused to hear them. Why was this, Mr. Chairman? There can be but one answer. The President and leaders of the Democratic party had determined in advance to make this move in the direction of free trade. They did not want to hear this bill discussed by men opposed to it, and least of all did they want to hear from the people most affected by it.

The citizens of my district, denied an open hearing before the committee having this bill in charge, availed themselves of their constitutional right, and have petitioned against its passage.

All classes and callings have by numerous petitions presented their protest against this bill. I have, as you well know, from time to time presented these petitions to Congress.

Mr. McMILLIN. Yes, I believe I recognized the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. JACKSON. I acknowledge the courtesy with which I have always been treated by my friend from Tennessee when he occupies the Speaker's chair, as well as his uniform fairness at all other times.

Mr. Chairman, here again I call the attention of members to these petitions, believing they represent the sentiment of the whole people of my district. I say the whole people, for, outside of a few men whom Government patronage may control, with us it is not a party question, and it ought not to be anywhere. No speaker of any party has ever advocated in my district the free-trade principles of this bill. In the very last Presidential campaign the burden of Democratic speakers was trying to prove to our people that the Democratic party was as much in favor of protection as the Republican party. They quoted the public writings of Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson, all in favor of protection; and as these distinguished men have the reputation in our country of having been Democrats, I think they made out a pretty good case. They could do more; they had a way of reading and inflecting Democratic platforms that they seemed to at least favor protection, or, in fact, rather inclined to the high tariff and war taxes that our friends on the other side have such a dread of.

But the decree has gone forth from those who are to-day the real masters of the party that Democrats must support the free-trade bill, willing or unwilling. As the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] says every Democratic knee must bow to the bill; and I await with some anxiety to see what Democratic speakers will say in Pennsylvania this fall. I have no doubt the plan of 1884 to deceive the people will be again attempted. In fact, it is already openly avowed as the policy in leading Democratic papers, as will appear by the following extract which I will ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

THE DEMOCRATIC SITUATION.

[From the Atlanta Constitution.]

President Cleveland is the inevitable—indeed, as matters now stand, the only possible—candidate of the Democratic party in 1888. In his person, his prestige, his ability, and his record are to be found the elements of victory in the coming campaign. And they are to be found nowhere else.

He will be nominated by the Democratic convention not in response to his own seeking, but through the clear and admitted necessities of the party. This being true, he should undoubtedly have the power to dictate the platform upon which he makes the race thus forced on him. No thoughtful Democrat will press his personal views to the embarrassment of a convention that has so narrow and plain a duty, or a candidate who must take the brunt of the battle or desert his colors.

The Constitution disagrees with the tariff policy laid down by the President in his message. We do not believe there is sound, economic, or political sense beneath it. It endangers success in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, where success was certain, and lends only the highest hope for gains in Minnesota and Wisconsin, where success is hardly possible under any circumstances. It will check, if it does not permanently stop, the industrial growth of the South, without which the South can never have even or general prosperity. These are our views earnestly and profoundly held. Whenever and wherever there is opportunity to promote them without endangering more essential interests we shall give all that in us lies to their promotion. But if by a single word we could convert the Georgia Democracy to our views on the tariff we should decline to do so. To send the Democracy of any State into the national convention with instructions sharply dissenting from the expressed and emphatic views of the only possible standard-bearer would be to embarrass the party and to send it into the next important political campaign of our history torn and divided. What is good in our convictions on the tariff will strengthen with time, and, we very much fear, will be evolved from political disaster or wrought in national panic. In the mean time, as always, these opinions are subordinated to the clear necessity of party union and enthusiasm. When President Cleveland, wisely or unwisely, wrote his tariff message the Democratic party was committed beyond recall, for this campaign at least, to the views therein expressed. We shall not, though inducements to do so multiply, breed factional bitterness out of personal pride of opinion.

The free-trade New York World stated four years ago that Mr. Samuel J. Randall saved New York to the Democratic party; that it was his personal influence and speeches that brought victory out of disaster. Mr. Randall performed this duty earnestly and heroically at the beseeching of the national committee, which had taken the former precaution of keeping Watterson, Morrison, and their crowd carefully out of New York. He will be called on to bear the brunt of battle again this fall in the great central field of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, where the issue must be lost or won And he will do it while the men who have denounced him as an ally of the Republicans will be lying low in the swamps and by-ways with the hope of repairing by absence and silence the ruin they have invoked.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I can not at this time point out all of the particular provisions of this bill that I consider wrong. When it is taken up for consideration by sections I hope to avail myself of the opportunity to speak farther in that direction. There are some features of the bill, however, that with your indulgence I desire at this time to call attention to.

WOOL.

So far as the great wool industry of the country is concerned the Mills bill is not a movement towards but has actually reached absolute free trade and, wool is placed on the free-list. That free wool means the practical destruction of that industry, and that sheep-raising and wool-growing will be abandoned in most of our States and Territories is so apparent and has so often been demonstrated it needs no argument. No nation can be independent and prosperous that does not raise its own clothing. Woolen clothing is a necessity to the health and comfort of our people in peace, and essential to our defense in time of war. We can all remember that in 1861, at the breaking out of war, woolen clothing and blankets were in as much demand by the Government as guns and ammunition, and almost as hard to get. Our country is well adapted to this industry, and with proper protection we can readily grow all the wool we need. Yet here is a bill that deliberately proposes that we shall make ourselves dependent on foreign nations at all times for our supply, and also it must be remembered at prices to be fixed by them after our own people are driven out of the business. In time of war, with the ocean in control of our enemies, this would be a calamity. In peace it would operate as a hardship and injury to all the people of the country as must readily appear from an examination of the facts. There are over one million persons in the United States engaged in sheep husbandry, either as owners or masters of flocks. No important industry of the country is so evenly and generally distributed throughout the States and Territories. The very fact that it is so distributed, whilst it is a strong argument in favor of its protection, renders united action on the part of wool-growers more difficult, and is, I have no doubt, the principal reason why free-traders have selected it as one of the first industries to be doomed to destruction. They consider that wool-growers are so evenly distributed through the country that they can not have many representatives in Congress specially interested in their welfare, and that having few friends they can afford to make this attack. The gentlemen who in the last two weeks on this floor have so freely denounced the wool-growers of this country, and have spoken of their industry so often in jest, will allow me to say to them that the wool-growers of this country are an intelligent and very independent body of men. There is coming a time when they will be heard. A million of such men smarting under the wrongs of a Mills free-trade bill may yet determine the election of a President and a majority in this House who will pay more respect to their interests.

Wool-growing in the United States can not be made fairly profitable in open competition with Australia, South America, and some other countries. The cheap lands, mild climate, and especially the cheap labor of those countries enable them to raise wool much cheaper than we can, and if our markets are left free and open to them, they can flood them with wool at prices that will drive our own people out of the business.

The importance of protecting this industry was recognized by the framers of our Government, and among the very earliest acts passed

by Congress was one levying an import duty on foreign wool, both recommended and approved by Washington himself. This friendly legislation was of great use, and sheep soon increased in number, and from year to year additional attention was given to their breeding, herding, and care.

Congress from time to time passed different laws protecting this industry, varying it with an occasional unfriendly act that did great harm.

The tariff act of 1867 was the most favorable to sheep-raising of any that has been placed on the statute-book. Acting under its beneficent provisions, and relying on the expectation of its being permanent, great attention was given to this industry. The business prospered as it had never done before except under the stimulus of war prices.

The revision of the tariff in 1883 took away a part of the protection from wool, and since then this industry has been on the decline. Many men have already sacrificed their flocks and abandoned the business.

The repeal of the act of 1867 was unjust to the men who, relying upon it, had invested their time and money in sheep-raising, was bad policy for the Government, as it crippled the industry, and in the long run a great injury to the people.

Free wool would no doubt at first make wool cheaper in the United States, but it would be but a short time until sheep-raising would be practically and generally abandoned in the United States; then foreigners, having control of the market, would put up prices to suit themselves, and in a few years, even in peace, we would pay dearer for wool than if we sustained the industry among ourselves by protection. The abandonment of sheep-raising means a loss of the flesh for food, and higher prices for other kinds of meat, and worse living for all the laboring people of our country. It is a great mistake to suppose that sheep-raising and wool-growing is an industry that can readily be taken up again if once abandoned. There is no industry, not even the finest and most delicate manufacture, that requires more special care and special facilities for its success. Sheep require the tender care of the shepherd, and great outlay of money in buildings for their shelter that can not be used for any other purpose. But more than all, it has taken long years of the most careful experiment and breeding to produce the flocks we now have. Wool is not raw material. No one ever heard of a flock of Merinos, Southdowns, or Black tops in a natural state. Nature gave us the little Mexican ewes and the kind of sheep owned by the Hottentots in Africa. But it has taken a hundred years of the most expensive and careful breeding to advance the breeds of sheep from the common variety we had here in the time of the Revolution to the fine breeds now owned in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Vermont.

Pass this free-trade bill and send the flocks we now have to the slaughter-pen, as it certainly would, and I assure you that it will take the full time of a generation of protection to put the industry in the condition it is in to-day in this country. On the other hand, what are we to gain by putting wool on the free-list? We are told it is to give our manufacturers cheap wool from abroad so they can manufacture and sell to foreigners. The manufacturers know there is nothing in this and do not want free wool as they informed the Treasury Department of this administration in reply to a letter sent them. They understand very well that with wool free we can not get it any cheaper than other countries, and before we can manufacture and sell abroad we must reduce the wages of our laborers below what they are paid in foreign countries. More than that, most of the countries abroad have protective tariffs, and we would need to put our labor still lower so we could afford to pay the tariff and still undersell foreigners at their own homes after we have paid for bringing the wool here and also for sending the manufactured articles abroad. We have free cotton, raise it at home, yet foreign countries buy our cotton, and with their cheap labor can manufacture and sell cheaper than we can, and the result is they almost monopolize the foreign markets in cotton goods, and we only export about 5 per cent. of what we manufacture, and actually import more than we export even with our protective tariff.

After the President's message was sent to Congress the buyers and growers of wool met in convention at Washington and mutually agreed that wool should be protected. They published together an address protesting against putting wool on the free-list, and indignantly repudiated the reason given by the President for recommending that is should be done. I take the following statistics as collected by associations of wool-growers and manufacturers:

In 1880 there were 1,020,728 owners of flocks of sheep in this country. Their flocks were valued at $119,902,706, and their other investments in property required in their industry at $408,291,200. The change in the tariff laws made in 1883 has reduced by 5,867,312 the number of sheep; whereas, on the basis of increase under the tariff of 1867, there should have been an increase of 6,000,000. This, then, makes a loss to the country of about 12,000,000 sheep, and a loss of wool of 48,000,000 pounds, worth $14,000,000. In 1882, the year before the existing tariff went into effect, the imports of wool were $67,861,744. In 1887 they were $114,038,030, an increase of $46,176,286, when under fair protection there would have been a decrease of $40,000,000.

Under efficient protection the production of wool rose from 60,000,000 pounds in 1860 to 308,000,000 pounds in 1884, the year after the change of duty. It has since declined to 285,000,000 pounds in 1886, and according to estimates of the Agricultural Bureau to 265,000,000 pounds in 1887. Meanwhile the stocks of domestic wool unsold at the close of 1887 are greatly increased; 31,974,000 pounds are on hand, an increase of 6,620,157 pounds at Boston alone. To the mischief done by reduced duty there is added, first, the great fraudulent importation of Donskoi and other washed wool, under pretense that it is unwashed, a systematic fraud by which the United States consul at Odessa reports to the State Department that the Government has been defrauded for years, and of more than $15,000,000 in duties. Each pound of foreign wool thus fraudulently imported, already scoured and shrunken, takes the place of two to four pounds of American wool in natural condition.

The wool-growers have especial reasons at this time to appeal to their brother farmers for support. At a time when their industry is depressed as it hardly ever has been before by foreign competition, permitted by a reduction of duties in 1883, by Treasury rulings since, and by systematic frauds in foreign ports, the President proposes in his annual message the repeal of all duties on wool.

From these facts we can see what a loss the country sustained by the reduction of the tariff in 1883, and can estimate what is in store for the wool-growers when all protection is removed. Instead of putting wool on the free-list we ought as an act of justice and good policy to restore the tariff of 1867. We ought to legislate so that the million flock-masters should be able to continue in their honest calling, instead of forcing them to seek other industries which are already overcrowded. Better encourage our people to raise all the wool we need than force all farmers to raise grain, of which there is already more raised than can find good markets at fair prices.

FLAX AND HEMP.

The linen industry of the United States is small to what it should be, but it is safe to say that the passage of the Mills bill will practically end it, and close all the factories, unless it may be a very few on the seaboard. By this bill flax, hemp, and kindred fibers are placed on the free-list, and duties on manufactured articles are greatly reduced. Much of our country is well adapted to the raising of flax and hemp for fiber, and we ought to raise and manufacture all we use. This industry never has been adequately protected; it is not now in a prosperous condition, and it goes without saying that with the passage of this bill it will be abandoned.

In 1885 we produced 12,000,000 bushels of flax-seed. The fiber of this seed, amounting to 150,000 tons, and that ought to have been worth to the farmers $34,000,000, was burned up. Why, do you ask? Because it requires a large amount of skilled labor to treat the fiber and manufacture it, and without protection sufficient wages can not be paid to obtain it. Here is an industry that if protected should give employment to thousands of skilled laborers and would enable the farmers of the West, and especially the Northwest, to farm their lands with more profit than they can in wheat and corn.

There is in my district an establishment for the manufacture of twine and yarns from American hemp and flax, commenced on a small scale many years since, and enlarged from time to time until it now employs 200 hands. The workmen get good wages, are a contented and happy community, most of the men with families, owning their homes. But I say to you that the bare possibility of the passage of this bill is regarded by both owners and operatives of this mill with dread and apprehension. They very well know that if it becomes law the mill must stop and they must seek other employment, they know not what; that it will utterly ruin their business, and that under its effect not a pound of flax or hemp will be grown in the United States; that 200 hands will be thrown out of employment, and the savings of two generations invested in buildings and machinery would be rendered worthless. I give this as one of many instances that might be cited in different parts of the country of the evil effects of this free-trade legislation.

To manufacture linseed or flax-seed oil there are over eighty mills in the United States, mostly in the Western States, representing an investment of over $5,000,000. This bill puts flax-seed oil on the free-list, and England can manufacture oil from seed obtained in the East Indies and sell it here so low that all our own mills will be driven out of the markets and our farmers must abandon the cultivation of flax for the seed.

Our free-trade friends delight to quote England as an example, and I will call their attention to something they are not likely to speak about. England protected and encouraged her flax and linen industries by bounties and tariffs far higher than any one ever asked in this country. The British Government published in 1783 a volume of some three hundred pages, entitled "A Collection of the Acts of Parliament now in force relating to the Linen Manufacture." Among the laws therein contained I find the following: One passed in 1743, granting additional duties on cambrics imported, and allowing a bounty on linens exported; one in 1745, allowing additional bounties on linens exported; in 1748, one prohibiting the wearing and importation of foreign cambrics and lawns; in 1750, one containing bounties on exportations of linen and appropriating money to pay the same; still later, an act granting the king additional duties on linens imported, and to establish a fund for encouraging the raising and dressing of flax and hemp.

As an example of the purpose of these acts, which are numerous, I quote the preamble of a few of them. One is as follows:

Whereas the advancement of the linen and hempen manufactures in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland (which are now under great discouragements) will not only employ great numbers of poor, but will be a general good to the United Kingdom by adding to the wealth of the realm.

Another is:

Whereas the encouragement of the cultivation of hemp in the Kingdom of Ireland, and the importation thereof from thence, will be a means of furnishing this Kingdom with sail-cloth and cordage, so essentially necessary for the supply of His Majesty's royal navy, as well as for ships employed in the merchant

service, and be a means of introducing trade, manufacture, and industry by employing many of His Majesty's subjects: Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc.

This is as good protection doctrine as I want, and I commend it to the gentlemen on the other side. As a further illustration I quote from a historical paper on the subject, prepared by Mr. Abram Bentley, of Pennsylvania, the following:

ENGLAND'S PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION.

As early as the reign of Ethelred the idea of protection was entertained and certain laws were enacted providing for payment of customs on imports, either in money or in part of the cargo. The German merchants of that time, "worthy of being treated with favor," were not only required to pay "dues," but "were not to forst all the market to the prejudice of the citizens."

From the most ancient record, which presents a general view of the foreign trade of England, the amount of customs in 1254 is shown to be a little more than $400,000 of our money.

Of these imports mentioned, woolen cloth constituted a very considerable part, and was required to pay the heavy duty of £6 per piece, containing from 40 to 60 yards each.

An act of Parliament made in 1504 regulated the importation of silk and its manufacture. All persons were prohibited from bringing into the realm to be sold, "Any manner of silk wrought by itself, or with any other stuff, into ribbons, laces, girdles, cauls, or points."

Parliament enacted in 1678 that no French wine, brandy, linen, cloths, silks, salt, grapes, or other product or manufacture of the dominions of the King of France should be imported into any part of England; and that the importation or vending of any such French goods should be adjudged to be a common nuisance to this kingdom in general and to his majesty's subjects thereof.

In the earlier part of this period duties were imposed on foreign cambrics, linen imported from Russia, and French lawns, but finally the importing or wearing of such materials was entirely prohibited.

Before the revolution of 1688 there was little other than brown paper made in England. The war ensuing and duties being laid from time to time on foreign paper, it gave such an encouragement to the paper makers that most of them began to make white paper fit for writing and printing.

There is no doubt that a variety of resources strengthens the independence and unity of a people. A nation which would have peace and harmony, both at home and abroad, must adopt a policy which shall develop the infinitely various faculties of its people—the plow, the loom, and the anvil working together, each for the welfare of all others.

History proves that the nation which depends on the export of raw products and is dependent on other nations for its regular supplies of manufactured fabrics becomes a comparatively poor nation.

It is said that one cause of the prosperity of manufacturing industries in Great Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries is that they stand in no apprehension of unfriendly legislation from their respective governments; that they can arrange their plans for the future, knowing that before any laws will be passed affecting them the legislative bodies will consult and advise with the persons interested.

We do things rather differently in this country, where the greatest danger to an industry arises from the fact of Congress being in session. And it is even said that bills vitally affecting great industries of our country are sometimes referred to legislators not particularly acquainted with the subject, and who further qualify themselves for their duties by utterly refusing to hear suggestions from the parties most interested. It is a sad commentary on our legislation that all industries materially affected by this bill are without exception, so far as I know, protesting against its passage. And there is the further fact that this bill is principally advocated by members who represent districts that have little or no interest in those industries.

Mr. Chairman, if time permitted I could point out other industries than those I have already named, of great importance, that this bill will either greatly injure or entirely destroy. We ought to make all the window-glass we use, but since the reduction of the tariff in 1883 we import large quantities, and this bill proposes a further reduction that will make its manufacture at fair wages to the laborers an impossibility.

The establishment of plate-glass factories in this country in a few years broke up the foreign monopoly in that article; but this bill will again turn us over to their tender care. We have the material and the skilled labor ready to supply all the tin-plate needed in this country, but this bill puts it on the free-list for the benefit of British manufactures and to give their workmen employment whilst our own remain idle. We shall have in addition, under various pretexts, an importation of all kinds of sheet-iron free, which means the closing of every sheet-mill in the United States. So I might continue almost indefinitely, but I reserve the opportunity of calling further attention to other industries injuriously affected until the bill is taken up by sections.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has only one minute of his time left.

Mr. JACKSON. I only wish to occupy a few minutes longer.

Mr. OWEN. I am entitled to the floor to follow the gentleman, and will yield out of my time whatever he may need to conclude his speech. You can take fifty-nine minutes out of my time, if you please.

Mr. JACKSON. I thank the gentleman and will occupy a part of the time he offers me, but do not expect to use it all.

PROTECTION TO LABOR.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, the principal part of the cost and the real value of every manufactured article is made up of the wages paid to produce it. Coal, iron-ore, and limestone in the ground are the raw materials and they cost nothing; they are the gift of the bountiful Creator of the universe. What makes the change?

They are uncovered, mined. and quarried by labor. By the strong arms and willing hands of labor they are wheeled, carted, and transported to the furnace. By labor the furnace is charged and heated, the mill is run, and the iron is puddled, rolled, and finished for market. You may follow this product from the crude metal, worth fifteen or twenty dollars per ton, through every change till it becomes the most useful bars, the finest steel, serviceable nails, or the most costly and delicate machinery, and it is labor that constitutes every change and every addition to the value of the article, and it is the man who bestows that labor who should receive and enjoy the fruits of it.

Mr. Chairman, there is one reason why we should have protection, that in my judgment is over and above all others, and it is that the laboring men of America may be saved from competition with the poorly-paid and pauper labor of Europe and Asia. We can not make iron, nails, glass, pottery, and machinery as cheap as foreign countries where labor is paid less than half, and in many cases less than one-fourth the wages paid to American laborers for the same class of work. Without speaking of the fearfully low wages of the starving millions of Asia that steam-ships, telegraphs and railways are even threatening to bring in competition with our people, there is sufficient in Europe to create the greatest alarm, when we contemplate the fact that free trade means eventually to reduce our mechanics and laborers, so far as wages and manner of living is concerned, to a level with those of other countries. Our Government, for the last twelve years or more, through its consuls, has from time to time collected and published statistics of foreign countries, showing the pay and condition of their laborers.

These facts are accessible to all and not to be disputed. From them I learn that to-day you will find in England her streets thronged with a badly fed, poorly clothed, and destitute people seeking a few hours' work to buy bread for hungry wives and children. In Germany, Italy, and Switzerland you will find women who are wives and mothers working with their husbands at the hardest and most laborious work in the fields, about furnaces, in quarries and mines, wheeling clay and stone at the merest pittance of wages. They are driven to this from necessity, to obtain sufficient food to keep them alive. The very last number (No. 89) of the consular reports published by our Government in February of this year, says that there is of late a great increase in the percentage of women that in Germany are compelled to work at industrial pursuits. From this work, which is largely a copy from the report of inspectors made to their own governments in Europe, I quote a few extracts for the purpose of showing that there is in those countries a large body of laborers ready and eager for the hardest kind of work at the very lowest wages—wages that will barely support life.

GERMANY.

The inspector for the Dresden district gives the following as the average wages paid in his district:

		Cents.
Hand-workmen	per hour	3¾ to 5
Factory operatives	do	5 to 7½
Female workers	do	2½ to 3½
Young persons, fourteen to sixteen years old	do	1½ to 2
To a child twelve to fourteen years old	do	½ to 1

At piecework 20 to 25 per cent. more is made.

These wages he considers are ample for them, as is evident from the kind of food they live upon and the character of their clothing.

The factory operatives are said to be better compensated than working people who labor in the house industries, that is, making things at home, who live and work in low and small rooms, badly ventilated and poorly lighted, for trifling wages.

The committee report shows that it is customary in a very large number of establishments for work to be done on Sundays.

The result is that a very considerable part of the German working people get little rest on Sundays. The inspector for the Oppeln district says that in 98 works in his district belonging to these industries, including ore-raising, there are 24,818 persons employed, of whom 20,517 are males and 4,301 females, and that 32 per cent. of all the women are employed in the zinc furnaces, and at certain seasons of the year as many in the raising of ore, while in the iron and steel works and furnaces 23 and 17 per cent. are found. At the zinc works they are used in different ways. The kind of labor rendered by the women is attendance on the "blende" and clay-mills, bringing of ore and coal to the furnaces, and removal of the ashes from the ash-canals under the furnaces. In some furnaces women are used in taking the zinc from the receivers, and in taking out the ashes that remain in the molds after the termination of the distillation processes, which takes place between the hours of 3 and 11 in the morning.

In the vicinity of Oppeln and Gross-Strehlitz 677 females are employed in the manufacture of cement and lime. They carry limestone to the kilns and heavy loads of bricks from the presses to the drying-rooms, which is entirely too trying for them. They also work in the clay and sand pits.

The inspector for the Potsdam-Frankfort on the Oder district calls attention to the manner in which women are employed in railroad construction. He says they can be seen, with their legs bare and their dresses tucked high up, pushing wheelbarrows in mud and wet sand.

Female work in the brick-kilns is objected to, because it is hard, and because the women have to work with their lower limbs bare.

In one respect, at least, is the workingman, unfortunately, badly off, and that is in the lack—yea, the great lack—of suitable dwellings. The poorer people live wretchedly crowded together, and have to pay out a large percentage of their earnings for unfit and disgraceful habitations. A sad tale could be rehearsed on this subject. The workingman who has two rooms all to himself and family seems to be a fortunate individual. The factory women of Baden are said to be much more poorly fed than the men. Very many of them have at their different meals only some bad coffee with bread or potatoes. The men suffer less in this way, especially in their food, because they either get a better and nourishing meal once a day at least from their homes or in the eating-houses.

The same condition of working people is shown to exist in Italy, Switzerland, Austria, and many parts of Great Britain. The ordinary condition of working people in these countries is such that meat is a luxury, and the idea of saving money to own a home is unheard of.

The most they hope to do is to save enough money to carry them to America. They are most appropriately described as pauper laborers.

Are the American people willing to reduce this country to a condition similar to that of European countries, where labor is so poorly paid and where the pall of poverty hangs over the land so that wives and mothers go with their husbands to the hardest kinds of labor, working for 12, 15, 18, or 20 cents a day, wheeling clay in the brickyards, carrying ore and coal at the furnaces in baskets upon their shoulders or their heads, working at still lower wages in still more servile employment, where women are hitched up with dogs, compelled to associate with the coarsest and roughest of men in the coarsest and roughest labor? This is the feast to which gentlemen on the other side are inviting us.

Mr. SPRINGER. The countries to which the gentleman is now referring are highly protected, much more so than our own.

Mr. JACKSON. My friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] is not perhaps aware that a country may have protection and still be poor. There may be many causes making it poor. I do not claim that protection alone makes this country what it is. We have a goodly land, a rich heritage given to us. Our land is wealthy in minerals, in soil, in climate, in everything that should make a people happy and contented. But I do claim that it is the protective tariff which has enabled us to enjoy the benefits of this country—to develop our industries, to give higher wages to labor than those that obtain elsewhere; it has enabled us to save for ourselves our own home markets. Under this beneficent policy of protection, our country with its constantly developing resources should be enableed for years and years to be happy and contented.

My purpose in pointing out the poor wages paid in Europe and the scarcity of work there is to show that if we will allow them to be sold free in our market, Europe can manufacture goods so cheap that our people must quit the business or manufacture as cheap. As labor is the principal cost of every manufactured article, that of course means cheap labor.

Mr. Chairman, the advocates of the Mills bill say we must have free trade and free material so we can manufacture iron, nails, glass, and woolen and cotton goods so cheap that we can carry them abroad and sell them cheaper than goods manufactured by the pauper-paid and pauper-fed labor I have described.

Foreign trade in this sense is a delusion and a cheat. I sincerely trust necessity may never compel us to make goods on wages so low that we can undersell these countries.

Our own home markets are what we need, and should be preserved for our own citizens. They are always the best, and with but slight exception they are sufficient for us. We never have exported one-tenth of our farm products in any year and never need expect to.

We have exceptional productions we can export, like anthracite coal, coal oil, cotton, and lumber; but importing free would not help us to sell these any more than our buying tea from China and Japan helps us to sell our goods to those nations. Some few things, the superior skill and intelligence of our people will enable us to make and send abroad, because they are better than can be made elsewhere.

We can for a while export wheat and meat, but our farmers can not long rely on a foreign market for these. Our exports of wheat are falling off rapidly, and Russia and far-off India with its cheap labor, by reason of their newly-built railroads, are supplanting us in the foreign markets, as the following tables will show:

Total American wheat exports yearly since 1879.

Years.	Bushels.	Value.
1879–'80	153,252,795	$190,546,305
1880–'81	150,565,477	167,698,485
1881–'82	95,271,802	111,929,718
1882–'83	106,385,828	119,879,341
1883–'84	70,349,012	75,026,678
1884–'85	84,653,714	72,933,097
1885–'86	57,759,209	50,262,715
To December 6, 1887	43,604,883	36,775,228

Wheat exported from British India since 1879.

Years.	Bushels.	Value.
1879–'80	4,109,495	$5,396,491
1880–'81	13,896,168	15,952,105
1881–'82	37,078,571	41,871,765
1882–'83	26,402,893	29,534,467
1883–'84	39,118,791	43,202,651
1884–'85	29,550,741	30,703,430
1885–'86	39,312,969	38,943,436

If we had enough of our citizens employed in manufacturing and mining to supply the needs of all our people, the farmers would find at home better markets than they will ever get abroad. Some assert we are overproducing now, but that is a mistake easily answered. Last year foreigners paid millions of dollars of tariff duties for the privilege of getting to our markets, and then imported and sold us many million dollars' worth of iron nails, glass, cotton, and woolen goods, and even wool and farm products, all of which we could just as well have supplied at home. With free trade or lower duties these imports will largely increase. Our mechanics and laborers must have better wages than are paid those of any other country, for they are a different kind of people. They will not be content, and they ought not to be content, unless they receive wages that will enable them to support themselves and families in comfort. I want to say to the gentlemen from the cotton-growing States, who are advocating this bill, that in my district many of the men they call laborers are among the most intelligent men in the community. They own their homes, they educate their children, they see their wives at church well dressed, and their daughters are refined, intelligent women. Without protection the labor of these men comes in competition with the pauper-paid labor of foreign countries and their wages would go down. The welfare, and in fact the stability, of this Government depends on the happiness and prosperity of the laboring people. That they can not be happy and prosperous without a fair day's pay for a fair day's work is too plain for argument.

The men who assert on this floor that the benefits of the tariff all go to the capitalists and do not increase wages are evidently not familiar with the subject. They do not seem to know that the wages in the great industries of our country to a large extent are fixed by mutual agreement from time to time; that many have a scale fixed by agreement in which the wages are regulated by the selling price of the commodity; that in most if not all of the associations of skilled laborers there are men as well informed and familiar with the cost of production as the owners of the works. Gentlemen, I assure you that if iron, nails, glass, and other manufactured articles bring a good price next year the Americans who perform the labor in producing them will get better wages than if they bring a poor price. It is true that labor often does not get as large a proportion of what it produces as it should. That is a difficulty that has always existed the world over. But I can safely say that American labor at the present day, by reason of its intelligence and enterprise, and very largely, I believe, by reason of its associations of workingmen, is in better condition to assert its rights and to get a fair share of its production than any laborers in any other country ever have been.

Another assertion frequently made on this floor, that owners of factories and mills have all grown rich under protection, has no better foundation. Some few have grown rich and a large number have made a living and accumulated a moderate return on their investments. But the statistics will show that manufacturing is a hazardous business, requiring a high degree of care, ability, industry, and foresight, and by far the larger part of the men who have invested their capital in it have lost money and failed. This I know to be the case during the last thirty-five years in the iron, nail, and glass industries, and I am assured that it is true of other industries.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Have you any millionaire laborers in your section of the country?

Mr. JACKSON. No, sir; nor millionaire manufacturers either. We have quite a number of both pretty comfortably situated so far as this world's goods are concerned. Manufacturing is more hazardous than mercantile pursuits, and the statistics show that by far the larger part of merchants fail. The first bar-iron made in Pennsylvania west of Pittsburgh was made in my town of New Castle about seventy years ago, by John Carlisle Stewart. More or less has been made there ever since, and for many years last past it has been our most important industry. It is considered a desirable point to unite the iron ore, limestone, and coke used in its manufacture, yet without doubt the larger part of the men who have invested their capital in the business have lost money. Some few have accumulated money.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Your industries have failed notwithstanding protection.

Mr. JACKSON. No, sir; not failed. They have been a great success, notwithstanding the fact that much capital invested in them has been lost. I was simply referring to that as an answer to the oft-repeated speeches made on your side, that protection was simply to make wealthy capitalists and enrich the owners of mills and furnaces.

But I can tell the gentleman how our industries have been a success. They have given employment to our people; they have paid good wages for labor; they have enabled our laborers to support their families comfortably and educate their children; they have enabled many of their employés to lay by a little, to save some money, to get good homes. There are many of the employés of the mills, factories, and works in my town that out of their wages have saved money, and own houses good enough for either the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN] or myself to live in.

We count a man a good citizen who will put $50,000 or $100,000 in a furnace or other kind of works and employ a hundred laborers and give them a good living for themselves and for their families. They are the real benefactors of a community. We want men who are good citizens of that sort. [Applause.]

I can assure you that men who spend their lives about such industries are not only prosperous but well-informed, patriotic men. It

made them familiar with the question of protection long before the President's free-trade message was ever heard of.

Mr. BRUMM. And make them all voters.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; makes them intelligent men, and of course you can then have a pretty good idea which side they vote on.

The gentleman from Tennessee seems to think the laborers of the country up there are not in favor of protection. He does not read the petitions sent down here. No, I know he does not read them, nor does his committee permit them to be read.

Mr. McMILLIN. Right there let me ask the gentleman this question on the subject of iron and steel. To-day's paper announces that the iron and steel works in the gentleman's own State have given notice that they will reduce wages 10 per cent. Now, you say the laborer is well taken care of and that this is a matter of mutual concession. Have the laborers agreed to that?

Mr. JACKSON. I do not know the particulars of the case of which the gentleman speaks, nor whether the reduction is a just one or not, but, judging on general principles, when he asks, why has such a notice been given? I should answer, simply because there is danger of the passage of this Mills bill. [Applause on the Republican side.] They are afraid of its paralyzing effects upon business, which threatens bankruptcy and ruin. And all over this country owners as well as laborers are standing in dread of this measure and the threat which the offer to pass this bill holds over them. They know there is grave danger.

Mr. McMILLIN. But this notice has been given and the bill has not yet been passed; it has not even been considered yet.

Mr. JACKSON. But they dread the possibility of its passage, and the uncertainty concerning it has already done great harm to the business of the country. There may be no real danger of the passage of this bill, but it is possible that it might pass; and this great calamity come upon the country. If the gentleman's party had full control they know this bill would likely be forced through. They see the power of the party lash. They know what it has done here when it whipped men into the party traces, and they feel as it is, some natural apprehension of the result. They have heard prominent leaders of your party say in course of this debate that if manufacturers can not run with the Mills bill a law let them stop, and that if this bill is not accepted without complaint a far worse one will be offered next year. They have nothing to hope for if your party succeeds. The reduction of wages you speak of is but a slight indication of the hard times we may expect if this bill becomes a law.

Mr. Chairman, the difference between free trade and protection, so far as our country is concerned, may fairly be stated in this way. The free-trader says, let us buy where we can buy the cheapest, that is, from foreigners. To pay for it we must send our money out of the country, or, so far as they will take them, we can exchange cotton, meat, and grain. The effect of this must of course be to stop manufacturing unless we are willing to manufacture at lower rates and cheaper prices than foreigners. The money we send away will not come back, and every year the country must get poorer and poorer. The President says that locking up one or two hundred million dollars in our own Treasury withdraws money from circulation, makes times hard, and may bring on a panic. What, then, must be the effect if we send that much to foreign countries every year to buy goods and never get it back? Is the surplus so dangerous we want to send it to Europe and Asia to get it out of the road? Is that a good way to dispose of it? The protectionist says anything we buy abroad that we can produce or make at home is dear at any price. We have coal, limestone, and ore; let us build furnaces and rolling-mills, employ our own people, make our own iron, and keep our money at home. It is better for the farmer to sell his wheat, potatoes, and meat to his neighbors who are making the iron than to have to pay railroads and ships for carrying it thousands of miles to find a foreign market.

Some of our people would rather work at making cotton and woolen goods, glass, nails, pottery, saws, and machinery than farm. Let us encourage them in what they want to do. We have the necessary material for all. Our people are skillful and can make the best of everything, and we will buy from them. The men employed in manufactures at good wages will be good customers for the farmer, mechanic, professional man, and tradesman. To diversify our industries and develop our own country will make us strong and independent as a nation and our people intelligent, happy, and contented. This question of a diversity of industries is important now, but will become more so every year. The great difficulty of old nations is to find employment for their people. This is fast becoming a serious question even in the United States. What good will it do a man to have foreign goods offered to him cheap if he has no means of earning money to buy them? Other nations have considered it wise statesmanship to devise new employments for their people, but here is a bill whose effect must be to lessen the number of industries in our country. Our people have so prospered during the last twenty years under a protective tariff that our sixty millions buy and consume as much as two hundred millions in Europe.

Let us keep our people in this condition and we shall have at home the best market in the world. England is a small island full of workshops and densely populated. To her it is a necessity to have markets abroad. She can not sell at home what she manufactures. The United States is a continent in itself. Our climate, our resources, our productions, and our materials are almost as varied as all Europe combined. Between the different States composing our Union we can and do have the freest trade, for no matter how the balances stand between the different States the money is always kept within the nation, and protection is only a defense against foreigners.

If this country adopts free trade, and prices of labor and all commodities become lower, as they certainly will, the burden will fall heaviest on the poor and debtor class. Debts will not become smaller but it will be harder to raise the money to pay them. When you reduce the currency of the country you make debts harder to pay, and this result will follow a general reduction in prices and values. This will suit the bankers of the country, for their money will remain the same, whilst a dollar of it will buy twice as much as it does now. The farmers of the Northwest whose lands are mortgaged, as well as all other debtors, will feel this increased burden as one of the effects of free trade. This administration combines the cotton-growing States, the great corporations of the country, and the money of New York City, to control the Government. To secure just laws for all the people, the farmers, the laborers, the friends of the Union soldier, and all interested in protecting the industries of the country, should unite against it.

Our Democratic friends seem to take a great pleasure in calling the tariff a war tax, referring to the war for suppressing the rebellion, and insisting that the war tax must be removed. Just why they give it the name of war tax it would be hard to tell. For Washington in his administration not only recommended protection, but approved tariff bills passed by Congress. During three-fourths of the time the Govment has existed we have had tariff laws for protection to a greater or less extent, and it is perhaps well in this connection to observe that when the tariff was materially lowered we suffered with financial panic and disaster. The great panics of 1837, 1857, and 1873 were each preceded by a large reduction in the tariff. The tax on alcohol and tobacco was for the express purpose of raising money to carry on the war, and yet our friends on the other side always speak of it in the kindest terms, because to retain it furnishes them an argument against protection.

There is a sense in which the tariff is a war tax. It was the tariff that developed and sustained the industries of our country, that to a large extent enabled the Government to subdue the rebellion. It enabled our loyal people to bear the great loss and exhaustion of the war, and actually to come out of it stronger and in greater industrial prosperity than when it began.

Possibly, however, the easiest way to explain the bitter hostility of the other side to tariff laws is on the ground that they consider them war legislation. For it is their purpose, as stated by a distinguished Democrat, now the junior Senator, then a member, from Kentucky, on the floor of this House in 1879, to wipe from the statute-book the last vestige of Republican war legislation. What is meant by this threat and declaration in the light of what has already occurred under the present Administration it is well worth while for the people of the loyal North to inquire.

SURPLUS.

Mr. Chairman, whilst it is evident that the President wants the tariff laws repealed or duties lowered because he is opposed to protection, he gives in his message as a reason why it must be done that there is too much money accumulating in the Treasury.

I do not believe there is anything like so large a surplus above the wants of the Government as he assumes. That part of the question has been but little argued in this debate, and in my judgment too much has been conceded on this point.

We have bonds coming due in 1891, amounting to $228,000,000. that our surplus revenues can scarcely be made to pay, and if reasonable appropriations should be made in the mean time other means must be devised for their payment. But if there be those who think that there is more money coming into the Treasury than is needed; the amount can very well be reduced by repealing the internal-revenue taxes on tobacco and on alcohol used in the arts, and the special tax on druggists. If you want more taken off, which I do not think is necessary, remove all taxes on liquors and let the tariff alone.

But, Mr. Chairman, this surplus is but an excuse; and so far as it really exists, it has been created for a purpose. This Administration, instead of trying honestly to avoid an accumulation of money in the Treasury, has taken the very opposite course. It wants a surplus to urge as an argument for free trade. The Democratic Executive and the Democratic majority in Congress have been the cause of retaining much money in the Treasury that should have been paid out. Let me call your attention to some facts. A Democratic Postmaster-General refused to contract and pay out $400,000, appropriated by the Forty-eighth Congress, for carrying foreign mails. A Democratic House of Representatives deliberately neglected to pass a deficiency appropriation bill at the last session of Congress. Just and reasonable pension laws have been vetoed. For two years our rivers and harbors were almost neglected. We have no navy worthy of the name. Our coast cities are sadly in need of defenses. A Democratic majority in this Congress filibustered for many days to prevent the passage of a bill to justly refund loyal States the direct tax. They have repeatedly voted

to dispense with private-bill day, whilst hundreds of just claims against the Government were pending and could not be paid without the passage of private bills. They have refused to repeal the tobacco tax, which a large majority wanted done, and which would reduce the revenues thirty millions a year. They have refused to make reasonable appropriations in aid of common schools. They have neglected to do justice to the Union soldiers.

I firmly believe, as I said on this floor in February last, that—

If this Government will promptly pay its honest debts; will pass laws to do justice to the soldiers and dependent relatives of those who, under God, saved its existence in its time of peril, and will make proper and reasonable appropriations for needed public improvements, I can promise you that at the end of the year, without either waste or extravagance, there will be no surplus in the Treasury to complain of.

On the contrary, I have no doubt that if the income of the Government was reduced the very same men who are giving the surplus as a reason for repealing our tariff laws would then oppose reasonable appropriations and all pension legislation on the ground that the Government could not afford it.

It is true that this bill is not free trade for all things, but its sectional character and Southern origin are well shown in its selection of articles to be first sacrificed. We do not make the one-tenth of the sugar we consume, and its protection can scarcely be justified. It is an article of necessity in every family, yet it is protected by a high tariff. Rice is imported in large quantities, and it has the benefit of protection and the duty on it largely increased by this bill. Even the peanuts of the Carolinas are protected.

But the Northern farmer is treated with wool, flax, flax-seed, potatoes, and most kinds of fruits and vegetables on the free-list. Whilst the Northern farmer is shut out of Canadian markets by a tariff, this bill allows the Canadian to send to our markets most of his products free.

Mr. Chairman, during the course of this debate it has occasionally been said and frequently intimated that a tariff for protection was a Pennsylvania invention; that it was especially in the interest of Pennsylvania, that had too long enjoyed its benefits, and it was time to give other States a chance. I admit that the passage of this bill would be a great injury to Pennsylvania, and that all our people would suffer greatly from it, but Pennsylvania is so situated that in the long run all the other sections of our country must suffer more. The blight of free trade would seriously injure most of the great industries of Pennsylvania, but whilst it was doing this the same industries would be utterly destroyed in most other States.

The grand old Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is an empire within herself. There is no spot on earth that can at all compare with her in all those things that give material wealth and strength to a people. In the East she has the greatest deposits of anthracite coal in the world, the value of whose output exceeds annually that of all the gold, silver, and copper mines of the United States. In the West are mines of bituminous coal that for ages will supply all her own people and enable her to sell to the millions of the South and West. In twenty years the product of her oil wells have sold for more than sufficient to pay off the national debt. To her wonderful supply of coal nature with a lavish hand has added for fuel the mysterious supply of natural gas, that places her in manufacturing absolutely beyond competition. She is favorably situated near the ocean and Great Lakes, and has water ways connecting with the great rivers of the West and South. She is near the great center of population of the country, and no State is so well supplied with well-equipped railroads, which traverse every valley and reach every hamlet and village in her borders.

She has iron-ore, limestone, building stone, fire and pottery clay in abundance, forests of timber, plenty of fruits, good water, and a most productive soil. If Pennsylvania will turn her attention to agriculture she can raise all the wheat, corn, rye, oats, and potatoes that her five million of people need to consume, and to some extent, at least, by reason of her favored situation as to transportation, compete with the great West for supplying the markets of the seaboard. One county of Pennsylvania, Lancaster, produces agricultural products of greater value than any other county in the United States. Another county, Washington, has more money invested in sheep and houses and lands for their pasture and shelter than any other in the country.

Whilst in many things Pennsylvania is so favorably situated as to be beyond competition, yet she is not selfish. She says let all the industries of our country—North, South, East, and West—have the benefits of protection.

Mr. Chairman, it is possible, though I think not probable, that this country may for a time be subject to free trade, but it can not be long. In the mutation of politics a party may temporarily get power that is false to the great American system of protection, but a very few years' experience of free trade and its injurious effects will determine the question in favor of protection for many generations. This would be a costly price to learn what we ought to know now, and I still have confidence that the intelligence of our people will enable us to settle it without the experience of panic and disaster, which will assuredly follow in the wake of the passage of a free-trade bill. I think it worthy of comment that the advocates of this bill have never urged its passage on the ground of the general welfare. No one has even claimed that it would tend to develop our country; make it stronger or better, diversify our industries, or give greater employment to our people. The arguments in its favor, as you will bear me witness, have been sectional and full of appeals to the selfishness of portions of our people—appeals that by reason of its passage certain classes of people would be able to get some things cheaper—complaints that, by reason of protection some parts of the country that had engaged in manufacturing had grown strong and rich and powerful, whilst others, who had depended on agriculture alone, had not done so well.

But, Mr. Chairman, it is a complete answer to all this, that under thirty years of protection to manufactures they have so developed and multiplied that competition has greatly reduced the price of all manufactured articles. On the other hand, manufacturing has given such good markets to the farmer that the products of agriculture have in the same time increased in price.

It is true we can not manufacture and sell as low as they can in Europe, but that is because we pay labor better wages. I have not the least doubt that if wages were as low here as in Europe that the superior skill and enterprise of our people would enable our manufacturers to produce goods cheaper than anywhere else in the world. We invent machinery to save labor that is used the world over.

Mr. HERBERT. Before the gentleman takes his seat will he allow me to say a word?

Mr. JACKSON. With pleasure.

Mr. HERBERT. I understood the gentleman to say that he never heard a Southern man say he was glad that slavery was gone.

Mr. JACKSON. I said I never heard a Southern man say he wanted slavery to go.

Mr. HERBERT. I have said I am glad slavery is gone. I have said that often on the stump in my own district.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you have said in 1860 that you wanted it to go?

Mr. HERBERT. Oh, no; but I say now I am glad it is gone.

Mr. JACKSON. Nor would you have said it in 1863.

Mr. HERBERT. But I say it now.

Mr. JACKSON. You are resigned now because you have to be. [Applause.]

Mr. HERBERT. I understood you to say that we were not glad now that slavery was gone.

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman misapprehended me. I used the expression "you did not want it to go." That was my expression. And if any gentleman on the other side can rise and say that in 1861 or thereabouts he wanted slavery to go I will give him the opportunity to rise and make that statement. I will add further that I have never heard any Southern man make any admissions on this floor that he thought slavery wrong.

Mr. HERBERT. It seems I misunderstood you entirely.

Mr. JACKSON. A good Democratic Senator the other day was understood to state that in 1860 he wanted slavery got rid of; but when it was brought to his attention, he repudiated the sentiment and said, like you, he only meant he was now glad it was gone.

As no gentleman rises to say he ever wanted that "sum of all villainies" removed before it was blotted out, allow me to add that I did not expect any one would. But I am not complaining of this. I do not want confessions. What I complain of is that you do not accept the new situation and legislate in the interest of free labor. Is it because the slave code made it a crime to teach black men to read that you will not accept an appropriation in aid of common schools? Twice the Senate has sent to the House a bill giving such aid; it is believed a large majority of this House favor the measure, but you control the proceedings and will not even allow it to be voted on. But after education has changed the character of your illiterate laboring people and made them happier, better citizens, then I presume you will be willing to say you are glad of it. By and by your people will develop their industries, labor will receive better wages, and rejoicing in the general prosperity that the American system of protection gives all your people, I have no doubt you will then be willing to say you are glad of it. But you will never be able to say that you aided or helped on the good work. History will record that all these things were accomplished against your protest and with your strongest opposition.

Mr. HERBERT. Right here let me say another thing in that connection. The gentleman made the statement that we want all these things cheap. Now, as in the slavery time, we are compelled to sell our cotton abroad, and to compete there with the labor of the world; just as the West is compelled to sell its surplus wheat and surplus provisions abroad and to compete there with the labor of all the world. Inasmuch as our free labor to-day is compelled to do that just as the free labor of the West is compelled to compete with all the labor of the world abroad, we think we ought to be relieved a little from unnecessary tariff taxation.

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman from Alabama and I do not agree at all. I do not want our labor to compete with the labor abroad. I want our labor protected from that competition. The South and West both want to look more to our home markets. You ought not to depend so much on raising cotton. You have wonderful resources of coal and iron. If you would manufacture much that you now buy you

would grow rich, and it would greatly improve the character, intelligence, and happiness of your laboring people. There is no reason why it should be compelled to compete with foreign labor.

Mr. HERBERT. I can not help that.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes you can if you want to. One of you gentlemen said he wanted to get his labor where he could get it the cheapest. I do not agree with that sentiment. I am in favor of high-priced good things. If we employed all the labor we could in this country and did not import so much from abroad we could use much more of the food we raise and you could sell much more of your cotton at home; and we could send the surplus only of food and cotton abroad and get pay for it in money. We would not need to trade it off as we do now.

Mr. HERBERT. And the price abroad regulates the price of your wheat.

Mr. JACKSON. Rather the supply regulates the price. You gentlemen in the South have got the labor and the materials; why do you not manufacture more?

Mr. HERBERT. We do manufacture a great many things. The South sent over 100,000 tons of iron North last year.

Mr. JACKSON. I am glad you are proud of that, although that is a small quantity to what you ought to make. I wish you were proud of doing a great deal more. I wish to see your country develop. I think it would be better for all of us. I wish you had in your district a few thousand laboring men—skilled mechanics—such as work in the factories, shops, and mills in my district. If you had, your people would be as much in favor of protection as we are; not as a matter of theory merely, but because of its good effects. You would then feel that protection is the very life-blood which gives vitality to all the industries of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I do not claim that protection alone has been the cause of the prosperity of this country. Many other things have contributed to it. We have a goodly land, favorably situated and richly endowed with natural wealth. Our fathers were an industrious, economical, and God-fearing people, who transmitted to their children at least some of their virtues, and much of the enterprise and love of liberty that brought them to the new world. We have lived to reap the reward of their toil in reclaiming the country from the wilderness, and to enjoy the benefits of their foresight and wisdom in establishing this great and good Government. But I do claim that the system of protection has enabled us to secure and enjoy the benefits and advantages of our land and Government: that without it we could never have prospered as we have done. Its blessings have fallen upon our people so mildly, so gently, so universally that they are scarcely appreciated. But the question of the continuance of this policy of protection is now in issue. Of one thing I am glad, the issue is squarely made.

The Democratic party, through its leaders and representatives, has placed itself in opposition to this policy and on the side of ultimate free trade. As the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH], one of its leaders and spokesmen, said in this debate, that to the doctrine of opposition to protection every Democratic knee will be made to bow. The power of the Administration, the influence of offices and patronage, the hope of political preferment, are all to be used to compel every doubting and protesting Democrat to accept the doctrine of free trade. On the other hand, the Republican party stands by the policy of protection, and submits the issue thus made up to the decision of the voters of the United States. It claims protection to be the policy that has converted the wilds of the forest into fruitful fields and happy homes; a policy that has opened the mines and given us the treasures of the earth; a policy that has kindled the fires of thousands of furnaces, mills, and factories; a policy that made us strong in war and prosperous in peace; a policy that has raised the wages of labor above those of any other people; a policy that invites our country to a grand and glorious future of still greater prosperity.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD P. ALLEN,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 16, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I shall not try to traverse ground so ably occupied during the three weeks this discussion has been proceeding. It would be monotonous thus to do, and I call attention to one or two matters not so fully dwelt upon.

The excitement occurring in this Hall at times during this debate is but a small reflection of that now broadcast in the land. People are running to and fro and inquiring, "What is the matter?" One man is evidently frightened because another runs; and, as a result, the whole crowd is running together. At such times as these cool-headed men stop and inquire what is the cause of this? Does the cause justify the effect so far produced? I inquire, first, who is it that began this stampede? and, secondly, having begun it, whether he is a sufficient guide to let the people know when they ought to run? Who fired the shot upon the picket line? Who is it that exclaimed, so that the American people heard, "There is a lion without; I shall be devoured?" It was the President of the United States. He, by his warnings, as he calls them, attracted attention to dangers that he thought he saw and aroused the present state of public excitement.

If this had been the first time the President had warned us, and correctly, we would be inclined to give more heed than we shall do to-day; but it is the third or fourth occasion that he has notified the people that they were in the presence of impending dangers; yet they did not materialize, and seem to have been forgotten by himself and every one else.

What was the first lion the President met in his path? He met him before he was elected, in the shades of the woods of Central New York, when he wrote his letter of acceptance. Right then and there, in the jungles of the Empire State, he crossed the pathway of the then candidate for the Presidency. I desire to bring to the attention of the House his description of that lion. I ask the Clerk to read from a book which I have here, published by authority of the national Democratic committee in 1884, entitled "The Political Reformation." This book contains the President's letter of acceptance, and in order that nobody shall make any mistake, it is divided up, like the Bible, into chapters and sections, and each chapter or section has a head-line indicating what follows. I ask the Clerk to read a portion of this letter, which is headed, by authority of the national Democratic committee, "No Second Term." [Laughter] Please read it, Mr. Clerk, with your accustomed vigor. Remember, Mr. Chairman, that this is lion No. 1.

The Clerk read as follows:

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust, instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, the President, in the recesses of the woods of New York, when he saw that lion cross his path, must have had in mind Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln, and Grant, the only men who have ever been re-elected to the Presidency. Yet the methods of their re-election were not such as to justify the fears he so earnestly expressed.

But, sir, what have we to-day? Exactly that state of things existing in this country which the President prophesied would occur if a President undertook to use his high office to re-elect himself. There has not been a State convention in the United States from Maine to California to send delegates to St. Louis that the Federal office-holders appointed by the President have not come up and devoured everything before them like the locusts in Egypt. To-day, in every State of this great Union where conventions have not been held, these men are manipulating the wires and deciding who shall be delegates, in the main regardless of the wishes of the Democratic masses.

To show you, sir, how to-day the deplorable dangers seen by the writer when that letter of acceptance was penned are in full view to every eye that will look, I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read an extract from the Washington Critic, and to follow it by having read an editorial from the Post, the Washington organ of the Administration.

The Clerk read as follows:

INFORMATION FOR THE INNOCENT.

Four weeks from to-day Mr. Cleveland will be renominated for the Presidency. Whatever his views may be as to the propriety of accepting the candidacy of his party for a second term or as to the expediency of adopting a constitutional amendment making the Chief Magistrate ineligible for re-election, he will consider the unanimous call of a national convention as peremptory and obligatory.—*Washington Critic.*

This is great rubbish. Mr. Cleveland is a candidate for the renomination—an earnest, eager, anxious candidate, armed and equipped at all points and possessed of all the advantages of a great number of friends and a powerful machine.

And why should he not be a candidate? He likes his office and he is satisfied that he has made a good President. And does not his party need him just now? He knows it does.

Look out for the Cleveland machine, fellow-citizens. You may hear of it in Georgia to-day and in Maine to-morrow, but wherever it is you will find it in beautiful order and working as smoothly and as effectively as a Corliss engine. It has yet to meet an obstruction, and the delegates are pouring out of the hopper at all hours of the day and night. When they get to St. Louis they will make the nomination unanimous. They will have nothing else to do.

This being the truth, why not proclaim it? There is no mystery at the White House. The gentleman in possession there knows a good thing when he sees it as well as the rest of us.—*Post*, May 10.

[Applause on Democratic side.]

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. My friends on the other side clap their hands with joy. Now I am not going to denounce them. I love them as David loved Jonathan, but I wish to ask them quietly and honestly whether they think the picture of the letter of acceptance set over against the picture in the print just read does not show a falling off somewhere and somehow of that sterling virtue which in 1884 possessed the soul of our good President? And would not every Mugwump be entitled to bring an action against him for obtaining his virgin vote under false pretenses?

Mr. Chairman, I am not an artist, but if I could suggest a picture for Puck to publish, a full-page cartoon, it would be this: I would picture the candidate in the woods, up in the wilds of York State, seated and penning that letter of acceptance. He would be surrounded by the three graces. His face would shine like that of John at Patmos, and as he indicted those words warning the American people of the danger of allowing a man even to think of being re-elected let him be painted with the pencil of a Raphael. But on the other side of the page, in view of the editorial of the Post, I would suggest to the artist to put a large-sized gentleman with his carpet-bag in his right hand marked "St. Louis," and in his left a streamer with the legend, "Preaching against practice." [Laughter and applause.]

I have no idea Puck will publish any such picture as that, however, and evidently the second-term lion has taken to the jungles.

A MEMBER. But Judge will.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. The second lion the President met, Mr. Chairman, was in December, 1885. He then discovered a lion which overshadowed all others, and he took the shape of a silver dollar, aye, the Bland silver dollar. Why, Mr. Chairman, the President devoted scarce twenty lines in his message of 1885 to the question of the surplus. He dismissed it with a sentence almost, and nearly the entire message was taken up with the danger that threatened the country because of the coinage act coining $2,000,000 of silver a month. He used strong language. Listen to it. my Democratic brethren:

Nothing more important than the present condition of our currency can claim your attention.

No "second-term" lion about that.

His argument for the suppression of silver coinage sounds exactly like the speeches of our Democratic brethren on the other side of the House to-day in favor of the abolition of the tariff, although the "lions" sought to be hunted down have no possible resemblance. It is a clear case of opposite texts for the same sermon. He says, referring to the disaster threatened by continued coinage of the silver dollar:

That disaster has not already overtaken us furnishes no proof that danger does not wait upon a continuation of the present silver coinage. We have been saved by the most careful management and unusual expedients, by a combination of fortunate conditions, and by a confident expectation that the course of the Government in regard to silver coinage would be speedily changed by the action of Congress.

Prosperity hesitates upon our threshold because of the dangers and uncertainties surrounding this question. Capital timidly shrinks from trade and investors are unwilling to take the chance of the questionable shape in which their money will be returned to them, while enterprise halts at a risk against which care and sagacious management do not protect.

As a necessary consequence labor lacks employment, and suffering and distress are visited upon a portion of our fellow-citizens especially entitled to the careful consideration of those charged with the duties of legislation. No interest appeals to us so strongly for a safe and stable currency as the vast army of the unemployed.

But, sir, the "labor" that "lacks employment" never has and does not now ask for a repeal of the silver-coinage act. On the contrary, the great army of laborers in this country would vote to-morrow for a law compelling the coinage of double the amount now authorized. The law was not repealed or modified, hence it became necessary to find another scape-goat upon which to load calamities seen and unseen, and in due time the third lion appears in the shape of a sheep; and the President makes his onslaught upon the surplus in the Treasury by taking the farmers' sheep as a text.

In 1886, I ought in justice to the President to say, the message was nearly silent upon the great questions before discussed, though neither had been settled. It went into details as to our relations with the entire world. I can see no reason why these questions were then avoided unless it be in the fact that the House of Representatives had then been reduced from seventy Democratic majority to a beggarly thirteen, and three of those were brevet Democrats only. I am inclined to think that changed condition of affairs had some effect. But now a word as to the facts about the surplus. The President tells us it is estimated that it will amount at the end of this fiscal year to $113,000,000. The facts of the case, as I draw them from the reports of the Treasury, are as follows (let me premise by saying that the surplus is what is left after paying all of the lawful demands against the Government): On June 30, 1885, this surplus was $17,859,735.84. In 1886, June 30, the surplus amounted to $49,405,545.20, and June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of $55,567,849.54. The estimated surplus on June 30, 1888, in round numbers, is $66,000,000, and for the year ending June 30, 1889, $56,000,000.

Now, Mr. Chairman, instead of being $113,000,000 the estimated surplus on June 30, 1889, will be less than $60,000,000, as this report shows, and there will not be a dollar if we continue to pay our honest debts. But how did the President, as he says, avert the calamity impending in 1887, because of this great surplus? He says:

During the six months prior to June 30, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accumulations, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people would so affect the business of the country that the sum of $79,864,100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the 3 per cent. bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option of the Government.

Indeed! Why, it is actually true that the President took the surplus and paid a part of the public debt that was then due. What other way would you take to reduce the surplus? What business have we with a dollar of surplus as long as we owe a debt? Is not that the only possible way of reducing it, by paying what we owe and shall owe? And instead of being frightened on account of the surplus in the Treasury, we ought to thank God that we have the money there to pay our debts. We have a law authorizing the payment of bonds with the surplus at any time. It has been upon the statute-books for years, a dead letter. This House, at this session, passed a resolution saying that in its judgment the law was sufficient to take the surplus to pay our bonds. But we made no new law, and gave no additional power to the Treasury Department. Yet since the passage of that resolution, which at the best was but an extra-judicial opinion by a body without exclusive jurisdiction of the subject-matter, the Secretary has bought and canceled millions of dollars' worth of bonds and thus reduced the surplus by paying what we owe. Had this been done during the last three years our bonds could have been purchased at a premium not exceeding the interest saved, our debt made so much the less, and our surplus wiped out.

But in addition to that resolution the House passed a bill which went to the Senate, and was there amended by the Senator from Kentucky, providing that every dollar of the national banks which is retired and kept retired for a period of thirty days, shall be substituted by a round silver dollar; and that bill with the amendment is now smothered by a committee of this House, and why? Because if it is passed and the President signs it the gold-bugs will be upon his back; whereas if he vetoes it the men of the West will rise in their might and smite him at the polls.

Mr. BYNUM. In regard to the statement of the gentleman that this bill has been "smothered," permit me to say that he does not understand the facts. Nothing of the kind has been done.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I venture the prediction that that bill will never be brought to a vote here. If it is I am going to vote for it.

Mr. BYNUM. The gentleman does not state the facts; and that is all I desired to say.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I have stated exactly the facts.

Mr. MASON. Has the bill been reported by the committee?

Mr. BYNUM. It has been referred to a subcommittee, and will be reported in due time.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I repeat to my young and good-looking friend from Indiana that that bill is now smothered and is being smothered; and whether they will ever let air enough into it to revive it, I think is not altogether likely. I think it sleeps there permanently.

Mr. BYNUM. I desire to say that that statement is not true.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. It lies there undergoing the process of dissolution.

Mr. BYNUM. The gentleman need not give himself any concern. We will take care of that when we come to it.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Yet, sir, in view of the power under law to have reduced the surplus to nothing, we are told that the situation (too large a surplus) "still continues with aggravated incidents more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster." Have we not seen during the last forty days how easy it is to avert a "disaster" by simply going into the market and buying our bonds and thus paying our debt before due?

Mr. Chairman, the unwillingness to buy bonds and the steady refusal of the Treasury Department to do so until the threatened Beck silver amendment passed the Senate, together with the fact that $228,000,000 of our bonds become due in a little over three years from now, leads me to believe that the purpose exists to refund those bonds, thus perpetuating the national debt for an indefinite period.

Sir, a national debt is a standing menace to a republic. We want none of it here. The ship of state is sailing upon calm seas to-day, to-morrow it may be tempest-tossed, and our safety in danger is in freedom from debt and an unlimited credit. If national banks can only exist by continuing the national debt, the banks must go. If Wall street and the vast army of bondholders must still have them in order that they may "buy and sell and get gain," then the people who owe those bonds will insist that they be paid when due. If we pay our debts there will be no "surplus" and the money will return to the people, where it belongs.

But, sir, this can be done, and at the same time the tariff be modified so as to deal fairly with all interests and not precipitate the confusion and disaster that lies just ahead of the "Mills bill" should it become a law. Its unfairness to different interests and partiality to sections are so manifest that "he who runs may read." I propose to point out a few of these further on.

Mr. Chairman, in opposing this bill I am trying, first, to conserve the interests of my own district, as is my right and duty. I want, however, before going further, to read to you what kind of a district mine

and similar ones are in the estimation of one of the leading free-trade journals of this country, the New York Evening Post, a paper that is supporting the Mills bill with an energy only equalled by its ability.

The Post, in commenting editorially and favorably on the speech of my young and brilliant colleague [Mr. FORD], proceeds to tell the farmers of the West how mistaken they are, and how little they know about what is really good for them, closing with a free-trade estimate of their common sense in the following gem:

> Yet we find clubs of greenhorns in the rural districts still holding weekly meetings and passing resolutions in favor of a higher tariff on potatoes and hops and garden vegetables and two or three other things of which we import a small quantity now and then when we have an unfavorable season and a short crop at home. To these self-deluded grangers the tariff debate in Congress will prove helpful, since it can not fail to put the other side of the case before them and compel them to read it and talk about it in their neighborhood meetings.

I represent a district of farmers mostly. They are the men that the editor of the Post describes as "greenhorns in the rural districts" and "self-deluded grangers." And yet that district, containing only four counties, and over which you can ride in one day, has a population of 160,000 people and casts more votes at a Congressional election than a half-dozen of those free-trade districts whose members are depended on to carry the Mills bill through. In it is the University of Michigan, with 1,700 pupils. There are students at that great school from every State and Territory of the Union and from nine foreign countries, 40 per cent. of whom are the sons and daughters of "greenhorns in the rural districts" and "self-deluded grangers." It has the Michigan State Normal School, with 800 pupils, 80 per cent. of whom are right off the farms of the State of Michigan. It has, besides, two great colleges. It has twenty-five union or graded schools, where the pupils range in numbers from 250 to 1,500. It has twenty-eight granges and a dozen farmers' clubs. And my district is made up largely of these "greenhorns from the rural districts" and "self-deluded grangers," such as the editor describes.

Why, sir, it is the grossest nonsense to suppose that a district with only these lights to aid its intelligence should know as much as the free-trade editor of the New York Evening Post. Within rifle-shot of the office of the Evening Post there is more ignorance, squalor, and crime than you can find in all the rural districts of the State of Michigan combined. [Applause.]

But who is it that calls my constituents "greenhorns in the rural districts and self-deluded grangers?" It is needless to say he is a free-trader and favors the Mills bill. The editor, or at least one of the editors of the paper is Mr. E. L. Godkin, a gentleman of great ability, whose writings I have been familiar with for years—a man who wields a pen that is as sharp as a scimeter. He belongs to the Cobden Club of England. The motto of the Cobden Club is, "Free trade, peace, good-will among nations; God save the Queen." Moreover, he is a member of the New York free-trade club which holds, among other fundamental principles, the following:

> That the only commercial policy which is in its nature permanent and unchangeable, and which, therefore, assures stability in all kinds of business, is free trade between nations as between the States of the Union.

A paper edited by men who subscribe to these tenets can not influence the "greenhorns in the rural districts and the self-deluded grangers" of Michigan. They read and think for themselves, and do not believe that free trade with the world is the best thing for them.

I come now to the question especially raised here, the question of the manner of reducing the surplus. The President recommends in his message that the surplus shall be reduced by reducing largely the duties on manufactured articles and raw materials, and especially the farmer's wool he would relieve from all duties, making it entirely free. He holds that the farmer who believes the protection to his wool aids him is laboring under a delusion.

I have a high regard for the President, but I do not believe he knows as much about what is best for the farmers as the farmers know themselves. Neither his early education nor his profession would lead him to that knowledge, and with his statement they take direct issue.

And I now and here charge that not a single petition from a single farmer in all the United States can be found in the room of the Committee on Ways and Means asking for the passage of the "Mills bill" or for "free wool." In the silence of that committee-room to-day, unread, "unwept, unhonored, and unsung," are petitions signed by thousands of farmers asking that this bill be not passed, or at least that the tariff on wool be not removed. These petitions have gone there, and there they slumber. They have not been heard of here officially as yet. These "greenhorns in the rural districts" and these "deluded grangers" have sent their petitions, innocently supposing they would be read and that some attention would be paid to them; but, in the language of Patrick Henry, the petitions and the petitioners have been "spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne."

And here let me remind the Ways and Means Committee that while the "spurning" the great Virginian denounced was done a hundred years ago, it was speedily followed by a change of administration, and history repeats itself. [Applause on the Republican side.]

But the Committee on Ways and Means in its majority report, in order to convince the farmers and manufacturers that they are mistaken, tells them:

> We say to the manufacturer we have put wool on the free-list to enable him to obtain foreign wool cheaper, make his goods cheaper, and send them into foreign markets and successfully compete with the foreign manufacturer.

Sir, if he gets his wool cheaper from the farmer, does the farmer make or lose money? If the manufacturer makes his goods cheaper, it must be, first, at the expense of the farmer who produces the wool, and, secondly, at the expense of the men who work in the mills, and especially, if he is going into the "markets of the world" to sell his goods, he can only do it when he can make his goods cheaper by getting cheaper raw material and cheaper labor than they have abroad. Unless he does that, the "markets of the world" will laugh him to scorn. Mr. Chairman, how can you control the "markets of the world" unless you offer as good an article at a cheaper price? And how can the American manufacturer, even with cheap raw material and by cutting down the wages of his operatives, compete with the manufacturers of Europe in the markets at their own doors?

Sir, why do you pay attention to the markets of Europe when you have here a market so grand, so profitable, that the whole world is trying to break in upon it and capture it from you?

"The markets of the world" are a "Will o' the wisp," a delusion and snare offered the American people in exchange for permission to make this the dumping-ground of the products of the pauper labor of Europe. So well is this fallacy shown by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] that I make his words delivered in this Hall mine:

> Can we sell glass in Belgium; silks and fine cloths in France; cutlery in Sheffield; cottons in Manchester; iron goods in Birmingham; or ships in Liverpool or Glasgow at our present rate of wages? We can as well reach that El Dorado of the free-trader's dreams, the market of the world, with our tariff on as off if we can sell needed commodities cheaper than others. We may stand in that market-place and cry our wares in vain in any case, unless we can sell as cheap as any. We may take our duties off iron and steel, woolens and fibers, but will England buy our cereals at greater prices than those of Russia and India cost her? Will kindly feelings control her on 'change, and will sentiment govern her bargains?

But the Ways and Means Committee further tell us that sheep culture will be more profitable under free wool than now. Facts do not warrant this statement. The tariff on wool was reduced in 1883, and in four years the number of sheep decreased by four and one-half millions, or nearly 10 per cent. This unfriendly legislation crippled and injured our sheep-owners to the extent named, and now it is proposed to strike down every barrier between the home and foreign product. Such sheep as our Michigan farms produce can not stand that competition which "free wool" means.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee never saw the flocks of Michigan and Ohio, I presume, and he may have had in mind the sheep of Texas. Now, sir, it costs money to raise sheep. The farmer has to give the best part of one-half the year in one way and another to his flocks. He has to care for them in the summer, and in the winter, house, feed, and carefully watch over them, and it takes time and money.

When I speak of valuable sheep, sir, I am not talking of the bare-legged fence-jumpers of Northern Texas, animals so wonderfully constructed that the naturalist can not tell where the sheep ends and the calf begins [laughter]; but I am speaking of the sheep that Michigan and Ohio produce upon their farms worth seventy and eighty dollars per acre. In Texas, while you will find some good sheep, they are for the most part of the kind I have described, roaming over the plains or browsing off the cactus. We do not have any such sheep nor any such pasture in our country. If we had, the wool would be very much cheaper, I suppose.

And just here let me say a word in answer to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. RUSSELL]. He says, "You can not compete with land worth 21 cents an acre down in the Southwest." Of course we can not, and we do not want to, either. That 21-cent-an-acre land in the Southwest is under the same flag and the same laws that cover the farms of Michigan, and the Republican party does not propose to allow any discrimination anywhere under the flag. But we are not willing to compete with the 21-cent-per-acre lands on the pampas of South America, where the lazy shepherd has only to lie in his hammock, swung to the nearest tree, while his flocks feed upon "no man's land." Nor do we propose to compete with "the plains of Judea," "where shepherds watch their flocks by night, all seated on the ground." Neither our climate nor the price of our lands will admit of this; hence we draw the line of free competition at the boundary line of this country, and nowhere outside of it. Mr. Chairman, the intelligent farmers of Michigan demand that, instead of putting wool upon the free-list, the duty shall be restored to where it was in 1867, and political calamity will overtake the man or party refusing to the farmers of this country their just protection from foreign competition.

But, sir, the glaring inequalities of the bill as between different classes of farming are enough to condemn it in the minds of all fair-minded men. Wool, sheep—absolutely indispensable adjuncts to successful farming in the North—are struck down with ruthless contempt for the sufferers and absolute ignorance of the consequences, while rice, cotton,

and sugar—the great staples of the Southern farmer—are cared for with tenderness, and in utter disregard of the millions discriminated against. To prove this let us examine briefly the facts. There were 110,000,000 pounds of rice raised in this country in 1880, of which 100,000,000 were produced in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. In the years 1885, '86, '87 we imported 304,500,000 pounds, upon which the duty was over $3,000,000.

Because of the narrow area in which it can be grown, it is impossible to raise here half the rice the country consumes. There are not to exceed five thousand farmers engaged in its culture. The crop is ready for the market within five months after the first stroke of work. It is produced by negro labor at an average expense of 50 cents per day. And yet this food, indispensable to millions, is so protected by this bill as to cost the consumers of this country at least $1,000,000 per year. Even "paddy," the rice in its hard, siliceous shell, is protected by a duty, no work having been done to bring it to this stage save threshing it from the straw with flails in the hands of cheap negro laborers. And yet, in the judgment of this sagacious committee, this slight labor takes it out of the list of "raw materials," while wool remains; the one to be protected by a duty, the other to be free.

If we examine the sugar schedule in this bill we find the partiality to the few at the expense of the many still more glaringly apparent. Sugar is one of the indispensable necessities of life. It is alike food to the infant and octogenarian. It is produced in a very narrow area, for the most part in the State of Louisiana. Not to exceed twenty thousand persons are engaged in it. In 1886 the State of Louisiana grew 165,000,000 pounds of sugar, while the country consumed over 300,000,000. From 1883 to 1887, five years, we imported 13,400,000,000 pounds, upon which the duty averaged over $50,000,000 per year. This vast sum is for the most part taken from the people direct, for, unlike wool, the domestic product can by no possibility supply the demand; hence there can not be that domestic competition that goes so far to regulate the price of commodities produced in abundance and over wide areas.

The value of the entire sugar "plant," including the soil, does not exceed $80,000,000, and the duties the people pay upon imported sugars in two years would more than pay for the whole industry, while the wool industry of the country, with an invested capital of $350,000,000, is, by this bill, to be compelled to face the competition of the world by making wool free and saving (?) to the consumer five and one-half millions. If anything deserves to go upon the "free-list" in this bill it is sugar. If we should place it there and pay the planter a fair bounty, still the country would save over $40,000,000 per year in the transaction.

Mr. Chairman, the gross inequalities with which the different agricultural sections of the country are treated in the Mills bill condemn it at the outset. And yet the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, the authors of this bill, acted with fairness and honesty—as they were given to see those virtues.

Latitude rather than fitness had to do with the composition of the committee. "He that provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel;" and the gentlemen of the majority have taken precious care of their own. And why not? Are they not to elect the next President, and do not the spoils belong to the victors? If no benefit is to come from solidity then they may well ask "What are we here for?" "Barren idealities" are all right in their place, but our friends of the committee have not been indulging in them to any alarming extent. With them it has been a matter of business, and they believe that the section which has the most "reform" votes in the next electoral college shall have the most of the preliminary dividends. From their purely party standpoint they are right, and I acquit them of any intentional wrong; but I appeal from them to their colleagues upon that side of the House to help us right the great injury threatened to the industries of that great section of our country which I have the honor in part to represent.

Mr. Chairman, this bill was framed by the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means. No man has a higher regard for these gentlemen personally than have I. I give them the credit of being what I claim for myself—honest in purpose. But when we examine the bill in its details and find, as we do, that its tendency—denied by few and proclaimed by many in this debate—is directly toward a free-trade haven, and that, too, by ways that are illogical and unjust to sections and interests, then I insist that it is within the province of legitimate criticism to inquire about their antecedents and ability, from previous training and belief, to handle so great a subject as is involved in this bill, affecting as it does, the industries of a nation.

I am safe in saying that the genial and determined gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS], the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, had much to do with it; that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN], who ranks him in suavity and fairness, had something to say about it; that the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] was not a silent partner in its composition, and that the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] brought garlands of scentless flowers and gems of altitudinous rhetoric to the committee-room to relieve the dullness.

They are all gentlemen of ability and worth, and this bill, so far as it leans toward free trade, is the natural result of their previous training. What did they and their fathers believe? What have been the teachings given to these gentlemen from their earliest infancy? Not a "tariff for revenue," not "incidental protection," but free trade, pure and unadulterated. The economic beliefs and teachings of these gentlemen were epitomized and placed forever on record in the fundamental law of the Confederate States of America in section 8, paragraph 1, of their constitution:

> Nor shall any duties or taxes on imports of foreign goods be allowed to promote or foster any branch of industry.

This section, sir, is the essence of what was taught to three generations in that section of our country from whence my friends, the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, come. That is not all. Each of these gentlemen had the courage of his convictions. As the soldiers of the Union fought for the Constitution as it is and the integrity of the national life, so these men each fought to establish a new government having as one of its basic principles the free-trade section I have quoted. Each imperiled his life for that principle because he believed it right. They bravely followed their States into rebellion in defense of it, except the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], who, when his State refused to follow in the mad dance, joined the Confederate and free-trade side. They did what they supposed to be right. I do not question their motives. I believe they were sincere, and certainly they dared risk their lives in defense of their belief. It is but natural that this belief should dominate all economic legislation under their control, and they now undertake to shape legislation upon this great question for that part of the country which never did, does not now, and never will be the friend of free trade.

But, Mr. Chairman, the remedy for a redundant surplus proposed here, a wholesale reduction of the duties, upon some things far more than others, is not a new one. It was tried under Franklin Pierce. He was elected President of the United States in 1852. That campaign was watched eagerly by our British brethren, and they had comments to make upon it You have heard the favorable comments of the British press upon the recent message of the President. I will send to the Clerk's desk to be read three extracts from the comments of the same press thirty-six years ago, when Franklin Pierce was a candidate for President against Winfield Scott. They were for free trade then—they are for free trade now, and know and command their allies here.

The Clerk read as follows:

> The triumph of the candidate of the Democratic party brought forward by the men of the South will secure, probably forever, the ascendency of liberal commercial principles.
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> In this respect and on this point we take General Pierce to be a fair representative of the opinions of Mr. Calhoun, and as such a valuable practical ally to the commercial policy of this country.—*London Times*, 1852.
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> As regards England, public sympathy, it is needless to say, is enlisted in favor of the Democratic candidate. Not that General Pierce is considered the better man. Far otherwise. He is merely accepted as the nominee of the great party in the Union who desire to push the principle of free trade to its utmost limits.—*Wilmer & Smith's Liverpool Times*, 1852.
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> The two parties of the Republic, Whig and Democrat, that is, conservative and progressive, protectionist and free trade, appear to have marshaled their forces and selected their candidates for the coming election. Every Englishman of almost every class rejoices in the expectation of success for the Democratic, free-trade party.—*London Dispatch*, 1852.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Mr. Pierce was elected President of the United States; and in his message to Congress in December, 1855, speaking of the surplus in the Treasury, which was then $16,000,000, he used the language I am about to read. He had discovered a lion:

> I think the exigency for such a reduction is imperative, and again urge it upon the consideration of Congress.

Congress heard what he said. This was in December, 1856. March 3, 1857, a new tariff law was passed, taking effect July 1, 1857, greatly modifying the law of 1846; and six months after the country was bankrupt; men were committing suicide because of despair over the loss of their property; everywhere there was suffering and sorrow. What was the result? In 1858, when Congress assembled, Howell Cobb, then Secretary of the Treasury, recommended—what? Here is his language:

> How shall we stop this panic? How shall we revive business?

Secretary Cobb said in his report that the deficiency in the running expenses of the Government would be about $8,000,000 by July 1, 1860, and added that—

> In view of the impending danger a revision of the tariff of 1857 and the imposition of additional duties is the only remedy.

But his advice was not heeded, and though the country was in profound peace, things went from bad to worse until ruin seemed to stare both the people and Government in the face, and the latter was compelled to issue bonds to pay its running expenses, negotiating them at a discount of from 12 to 15 per cent.

The surplus was reduced indeed! When the Republican party obtained control of Congress the Morrill tariff, so called, became the law of the land, and, with modifications, has remained the law ever since. Under its benign influence the nation has gone from strength to

strength, until to-day there is more wealth and less poverty, more universal comfort and less individual want than God ever before, from the foundation of the world, granted to any people. It made the prosecution of the war for national life possible and successful, although at a cost of untold millions in treasure and the supremest sacrifice of a million patriots, who to-day—

Sleep beneath their low green tents
Whose curtains never outward swing.

Mr. Chairman, who asks for the changes that the Mills bill contemplates? Do the farmers? I challenge you to produce their petitions. Do the manufacturers? They have been begging and beseeching that you will not strike this fatal blow at their industries. Do the laboring men? You will find from all parts of this country petitions signed by laboring men, as such, protesting against the passage of this bill. Does Texas ask for it? No, sir; even Texas does not demand that this Mills bill shall be passed, at least so far as concerns the district which is represented by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS], if the voice of the people as expressed in a convention held in his own district is any criterion. Listen to one resolution from the gentleman's own constituents:

Forsaken by our Representative, we urge upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to work against the Mills bill, and we call upon all good men from other States to protect Texas, if her own Representatives fail to do so.

Mr. Chairman, in considering this question it would be suicidal not to watch and thwart the wishes and hopes of our business and commercial rivals. As thirty-five years ago England looked for the dawning of free trade under Pierce, so to-day she is watching and waiting for the passage of this bill with great hope. Canada is waiting also with great expectations. What the Dominion expects and hopes for in this bill would affect disastrously my own State at least. I hold in my hand the daily journal of the Canadian Parliament, labeled:

House of Commons Debates, second session Sixth Parliament, 51 Victoria. Official report of the speech of Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, G. C. M. G., C. B., Minister of Finance of Canada, and one of Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries at the Washington fishery conference on the fishery treaty; delivered in the House of Commons of Canada, April 10, 1888.

I am too much of an American, Mr. Chairman, to know just what all these abbreviations stand for; there are enough letters there to teach a child the alphabet; but I do know the gentleman to whose name they are attached is one of the leading men of Canada; that he is a statesman, a profound statesman. I know that he has the confidence of the people of Canada, and is worthy of all respect in every way. This gentleman made a speech on the date I have given in regard to the Mills bill; for this is not the only forum where the Mills bill is being discussed. It is being discussed by our neighbors in Canada quite as much as here, and perhaps more ably. In this speech Mr. Tupper, in answering to Parliament for his doings at Washington, explaining the concessions made to the United States and why made, said:

We have made concessions, as I have said, but we have made them with the avowed object of placing all our people, not only the fishermen, but the agriculturist, the lumberman, every man in this country, in a better relation with the United States than he was before. What is the result?

He then seems to put these words into the mouth of the Secretary of State for the United States:

As I have said Mr. Bayard told us, the American plenipotentiaries told us that there was but one way of obtaining what we wished. "You want greater freedom of commercial intercourse. You want relaxation in our tariff arrangements with respect to natural products in which you are so rich and abundant. There is but one way to obtain it. Let us by common concession be able to meet on common ground and remove this irritating cause of difficulty between the two countries out of the way, and you will find that the policy of this Government, the policy of the President and of the House of Representatives, the policy of the great Democratic party of the United States, will at once take an onward march in the direction you propose, and accomplish steadily that which you would desire, is the only way by which it can ever be attained."

Mr. Chairman, the "onward march in the direction you [they] propose" is straight in the direction of free trade with this country in all the products of mine, forest, and farm that Canada has to spare. This fully appears in the quotation following.

Continued Mr. Tupper:

Those were not empty words; those were the sober utterances of distinguished statesmen, who pointed to the avowed policy of the Government of the United States as the best evidence of the sincerity of what they said.

Then with joy at thought of the fulfillment of the free-trade promises, he said:

What has happened already? Already we have action by the financial exponent of the Administration of the United States—I mean Mr. MILLS—the gentleman who in the United States Congress represents the Government of the day, and stands in the position most analogous in the United States to the finance minister in this House, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, who propounds the policy of the Administration in the House. How is he selected? The Democratic party, sustaining the Government, selects a man as Speaker of the House of Representatives who is in accord with the policy of the Administration for the time being, and Mr. CARLISLE, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, nominates the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and all the members of the committee; and therefore the chairman of that committee occupies the position of representing the Government in bringing forward such bills as will represent the views and sentiments of the Democratic party in the United States supporting the Administration. What have we seen? The ink is barely dry upon this treaty before he, as the representative of the Government and chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, brings forward a measure to do what? Why, to make free articles that Canada sends into the United States, and upon which last year $1,800,000 of duty was paid.

If the consumer pays the duty, do you think the finance minister of Canada would rejoice in the fact that $1,800,000 his people pay to us in duties is to be removed by the Mills bill in return for some concession in regard to the fisheries? They understand it over there.

But this is not all Mr. Tupper said. He continued:

I do not intend to insult both the great political parties of this country, who have since 1854, and long before, maintained that the interests of Canada, the interests of British North America, were intimately bound up in obtaining free intercourse with the United States for our natural products; I do not intend to insult the two great parties in this country by telling them that they were fools; that they did not know what they were doing. Down to the present hour we have adopted the policy on both sides of the house, and we have pledged ourselves to the people to do everything that lay in our power to obtain a free market for the natural products of our country with the United States, and I say you must answer me the question as to whether that was an act of supreme folly or whether it was wise statesmanship on the part of both parties in this country to adopt that policy before you ask me such a question as "who pays the duty?"

I say that under this bill, which has been introduced, and which, I believe, will pass, for it does not require two-thirds of the Senate, where the Republican majority is only one in the whole House, to pass this bill; it requires a majority of one only, and I am very sanguine that this bill will pass during the present session. Modified it may be, but I am inclined to think the amendments will be still more in the interests of Canada than as the bill stands to-day. If this is the case, I think we may congratulate ourselves upon securing the free admission of our lumber, upon which was paid during the last year no less than $1,315,450. On copper ore, made free by the Mills bill, we paid, or there was paid to make it meet the views of the honorable gentleman opposite more correctly—$96,945. On salt $21,992 duty was paid. This is rendered free by the Mills bill. I am sorry to find, as I hoped would be the case from the first copy of the bill that came to me, that potatoes were not included amongst vegetables. I am sorry to find there is a doubt as to whether the term "vegetables not specially enumerated" will not exclude potatoes.

That is the only thing about the bill the finance minister of Canada does not approve. The only criticism our brethren in Canada make to this bill is that it is not certain whether potatoes are included in the free-list. How easily it can be gotten over! Let the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means send a soothing telegram to Mr. Tupper stating they regret exceedingly that any action of theirs should cause him and his people so much pain, and that potatoes shall go on the free-list, "by the eternal," in the language of General Jackson.

The finance minister of Canada continued:

Of wool we sent last year 1,319,309 pounds of one kind, and a variety of other kinds, upon which a duty was paid to the extent of $183,852. Now, as I say, on articles of prime importance and interest to Canada the removal of duty by the Mills bill amounts to no less than $1,800,193.

Will my brethren on the other side, who say that the consumer pays the tax or duty, tell me why the finance minister of Canada and the Canadian Parliament should rejoice together in the fact that $1,800,000 duties their own people had paid last year is to be paid no more forever after the Mills bill becomes law? [Applause.]

What a grand thing it would be for Michigan, for instance, to have free wool and free potatoes. My district is tributary to Detroit, and only the grand Detroit River separates Michigan from the province of Ontario, one of the finest belts of land on the planet. In that province the farmers pay their hands only about 90 per cent. of what we pay ours. They support their families for not to exceed 75 per cent. of what it costs the Michigan farmers to support theirs. Our Michigan farmers built railroads to Detroit, so that after supplying their own hamlets, villages, and cities the surplus might be shipped to the commercial emporium of that State; but if you give Canada the right to ship and bring in her wool, potatoes, and other farm products free of duty, I wish to ask you, do you think it the right way to enhance the interest of the men of Michigan who live and toil upon farms? Sir, so far as my district is concerned, we prefer to keep the bars up along Lake Huron and the Detroit River.

They are stubborn upon this point, too, even in the face of the alleged facts, charged by free-traders and the members of the Cobden Club, that they do not know "what is good" for them, and are only "greenhorns" from the rural districts, and "deluded grangers."

Mr. Chairman, when I use those words I put quotation marks about them; they are not mine; they could only spring from the brain of a free-trader, and instead of deserving their intended sting I challenge you to find a more intelligent, industrious, and patriotic people than live in those same rural districts of Michigan, Ohio, the great States of the West, and in the State of New York. They are farmers, too, for the most part. For them I more especially speak. They do their own thinking, and join issue with the idea that placing wool upon the free-list will inure to their benefit.

My friend from New York City [Mr. FITCH], who talked about the farmers, represents a great and rich district in the heart of the city of New York. He represents for one class the great importers of that city. They are the men who want a commission out of the farmers of this country, and not only do they want that, but they want to say how much that commission shall be. Every dollar these importers pay is so much taken from their profits. They can not add it to the cost to the consumer, because of the competition of the domestic article which is free of a duty charge. Hence the great body of importers, naturally and honestly, because their interests lie in that direction, are free-traders.

Mr. Chairman, the tariff is no magician's wand by which poverty can be turned into riches or beggars to millionaires. It is a business proposition embodied into law. It virtually says, as between the products

and labor of this country and any other, that where they compete, our own shall be cared for first, and as far as justice to all will allow. But if men and States refuse to take advantage of it by utilizing the opportunities and agencies around and beneath them, it will bring no aid. Our different commonwealths, so unequally prosperous, vividly illustrate this truism. All under one law, yet in States where brain and pluck and work have been utilized, we see marvelous prosperity. And in States where these factors have lain dormant and discouraged, we see the opposite.

To illustrate this fact let me compare three States: Texas, West Virginia, and Kentucky combined, with Michigan alone. The three first-named suffered the least from the war and are among the most prosperous of the States affected by the war. Comparison with those swept by the conflict would not be just.

The population of the three States combined in 1880 was 3,858,896. That of Michigan was 1,636,937, a difference in favor of the three States of 2,221,959.

The total number of manufacturing establishments in the three States was 10,699, in Michigan 8,873, or only 1,826 less in number than the three combined.

The wages paid out in the three States in these establishments was, in round numbers, $19,000,000. In Michigan alone $25,000,000, a difference in favor of Michigan of $6,000,000.

The number of hands employed in the three States in manufacturing was 63,901. In Michigan 77,591, a difference of 13,690 in favor of Michigan.

These workingmen in the three States received upon the average $302 per year. In Michigan $326 per year.

The three States were for the most part engaged in one industry, agriculture. Michigan took advantage of the tariff laws and diversified hers, as is shown by the following comparison:

The three States in 1880 had 68,470,769 acres in farms; Michigan had 13,869,221 acres.

The average value per acre in the three States was $8.80; in Michigan, $35.98.

In the three States where one person was engaged in manufacturing there were 61 persons engaged in other callings, while in Michigan for every person so engaged there were but 21 engaged in other pursuits.

Of persons over ten years of age in 1880, in the three States, 30 per cent. were engaged in farming; in Michigan only 20 per cent.

I have not the data for comparison between these three States and Michigan since 1880. If the speakers upon the other side have they have kept them scrupulously hidden. But as for my own State, her progress from 1880 to 1884, the date of our last census, was simply marvelous. The number of persons engaged in manufacturing there rose from 77,591 in 1880 to 128,986 in 1884, an increase of 51,395 in four years, or at the rate of 1,000 per month. The wages paid during the last year named was $44,000,000, and the average rate paid rose from $326 in 1880 to $342 in 1884.

During the same time the farm lands of Michigan increased in value by the sum of $81,000,000, and the farm personal property by the sum of $17,000,000, making a total increase in this industry of $98,000,000.

The entire wealth of the State rose from $1,800,000,000 in 1880 to $2,000,000,000 in 1884, or nearly $1,000,000 per week! Sir, this comparison answers the question so often asked in this debate, "If the tariff is such a good thing, why does it not benefit all parts of the country alike?" It does in any and all parts where industry and thrift take advantage of the protection it offers against foreign competition. It will take more than the gentleman from Texas to convince the farmers of Michigan that these ten thousand workshops with their hundred thousand workmen right at their doors, whose robust limbs are to be clothed and hungry mouths fed, are not better customers for them than "the markets of the world" with an ocean to cross to find them. And not even the President can convince them that they will be better off with the barriers that have made their prosperity possible removed or in any considerable degree changed. To the people of my State at least the tariff has not been that "iniquitous," "blighting," "unjust," "robber" so fearfully painted by our friends upon the other side of this question.

It is true, sir, and I state it in connection with this comparison that many farms in Michigan are mortgaged. But of nine-tenths of them it may be said they stand for either part of the purchase price of the land, farm improvements, like buildings, or have been given by one of several heirs, who buys their interests and keeps the farm. It is not true, as has been asserted here, that 47 per cent. of the farms of Michigan are mortgaged, but it is true that of the whole number not to exceed 19 per cent. are thus encumbered, and those for the most part for the sufficient reasons above given.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. PAYSON). The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I ask for but two minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [Cries of "Go on!"]

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I want but two minutes, if there be no objection, to conclude my remarks.

Mr. Chairman, the comparisons I have made have not been invidious, and are for the purpose of calling a halt to our friends upon the other side and spurring them to "go and do likewise." Sir, no man has a profounder regard or more heartfelt desire for the welfare of all the people of this country than I have, and my desires in this regard are those of my State. The men of Michigan to the number of 100,000 would to-day, if necessary, march to the defense of Mississippi or any other Southern State. But I want them to keep pace with us in the march of improvement. That is all I ask. The tariff will not make them rich, but the opportunity the tariff gives will make them rich if they will but accept it; and when that time comes, when their great farms shall be cut up and cultivated, their mines developed, their vast forests made into lumber, when they have villages, cities, and hamlets thickly strewn amongst them, as have Michigan and other Northern States, when the last vestige of everything provincial shall have departed, then will prosperity indeed and in fact be a reality to every man within the borders of this great confederacy. [Applause.]

In that swift-coming day of perfect union and brotherly love the sons of the sires who fell with Warren at Bunker Hill will stand hand in hand and see eye to eye with the sons of the sires of South Carolina, where rang the shouts of Marion's men, and followed quick the crack of the avenging rifle as they drove the alien enemy into the swamps and sea. In that day the Mississippi River will carry unvexed to the ocean the burdens of the great Northwest, an empire within a Republic.

The limpid waters of the great lakes will be united with those of the Father of Waters, a silver cord helping to bind the Union together forever, while bands of steel will unite the North to the South and the East to the West, and over and above all will float the banner of the nation which we all now love, and none other than which our children shall ever know. That banner with its red and white and azure blue shall stand for the power, for the courage, for the justice of this nation, and a beacon of hope and inspiration to the oppressed of all climes, to the wronged of every land. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

Protection to American enterprise and American labor against the rest of the world.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JACOB ROMEIS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. ROMEIS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The people of the Tenth district of Ohio, who have twice honored me by an election to this House, are no strangers to the tariff question The beauties of free trade have been pictured to them in glittering colors by that great word-painter, my predecessor on this floor, who is one of the high priests of the philosophy of the Cobden Club. They have passed judgment on that picture, however, and while at first they were deluded by the splendid rhetoric and the deceptive arguments of that gentleman, they have finally perceived their fallacies and recognized the fact that the doctrine of free trade is inimical to all the best interests of our country. Instead of continuing in Congress the gifted advocate of free trade they have sent here a plain and unassuming Republican, a believer in this truth, that the protection of American industries against the free competition of the underpaid labor of the whole rest of the world is the corner-stone of the prosperity of our people.

The Tenth district of Ohio contains a number of cities and towns which flourish chiefly by their industries. Before the war Toledo was a city of 13,000 inhabitants. Now it has a population of more than 80,000. This wonderful growth is due almost entirely to the establishment of factories and workshops which employ many thousands of artisans and wage-workers, and to its splendid water and railroad facilities. The other cities and towns in the district owe their present size and prosperity also to the industrial establishments located within them, and their people recognize their value so fully that they are always ready to offer substantial aid in land and money to those who desire to establish new factories within their limits. The farmers of the district likewise understand that to be near industrial cities and towns with well-paid laboring populations means the very best home market for them, and so fully and thoroughly are they convinced of this, that while I have received numerous petitions from them for the preservation of the protective system, not one of them, Republican or Democrat, has ever asked me to vote for the bill now before us.

As all the petitions from my district were referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, which, I understand, never looked at them, I tried to have one of them inserted in the RECORD, but even that poor consolation was refused, and for that reason I now desire to incorporate in my remarks a copy of a memorial to Congress, sent to me from all parts of my district, so that the views and demands of my people may become known to the members of this House.

Mr. Chairman, the pending bill clearly discriminates against the North and in favor of the South. It proposes to abolish the duties on nearly all products which the Northern farmer raises, while it leaves protected Southern rice and Southern sugar, both as much articles of food and necessaries of life as any other product of the soil. Why shall the South have protection and the North have none? Because the bill is a sectional one, conceived in the spirit of sectionalism, and born of a sectional majority of the Ways and Means Committee, assisted in its labors by a couple of Northern midwives.

We have heard a great deal about "protection robbery" since this debate began, but none of the gentlemen who have inveighed against it have had a word to say against the tribute which the Southern "robber" exacts from the whole people of the North by means of the tax on rice and sugar. I am a protectionist, not for one section, but for the whole country, North and South, East and West. I am in favor of protecting every legitimate industry of the country against the unfair competition of the outside world.

The free-trade advocates demand the right to buy in the cheapest markets. This is the same old cry of the South that has led to so much sectional feeling and contributed no small part to the animosities that led to the war of the rebellion. To buy in the cheapest markets of the world and to import the purchased articles free of duty means either the destruction of the industries of this country or the reduction of the wages, and consequently of the condition of the workingmen to those of the workingmen not only of Europe, but of Asia also.

The people of the South, or their leaders at least, are still laboring under the delusion that the industrial prosperity of the North can be safely destroyed, or the wages of the Northern workingman can without detriment to the welfare of the whole people be reduced to those paid the labor of Europe or the cheap black laborers of the South without injury to themselves. They are grievously mistaken. The prosperity of the South depends upon the prosperity of the North. The interests of all the sections of this great country, as diversified as they are, are still common, bound indissolubly together, and none of them can be injured without injuring all. The South never knows her true and best interests so long as she believes that she ought to buy what she needs in England and Europe and that she has no interest in the welfare of the North. Southern orators have declaimed against the Republican doctrine that a home market is the best, but they themselves do not practice what they preach, for they believe in a home market for all such of their products as have the competition of foreign countries. Sugar and rice prove it. They want to secure to themselves a good home market for these articles, so that they may be protected against the pauper labor of the West Indies and China. And as the natural resources of the South are developed, as they must and will be, even though some of her statesmen almost weepingly regret that her mountains are rich in ore and her forests abound in useful timber, so will her industries multiply and increase, and with them the desire to protect them against the unfair competition of cheap labor, in order that the home market may remain for them.

The gentlemen who support this bill well know that our manufacturers can not compete with those of Europe if this bill becomes a law. The European manufacturer has cheaper capital and cheaper labor at his command, and also a government back of him that supports the ships which carry his freight to foreign countries, and in some instances even pays him a bounty on the goods he exports. What, then, is to become of our workingmen when the factories are closed? The country yet has a large and unsettled public domain, homesteads for millions of citizens, you may say. No doubt many of them would be compelled to become farmers, and the result would be that from consumers they would become producers of wheat, corn, and other products of the soil. What benefit would the farmer North and South, East and West derive from such a change? It would increase the overproduction of everything the farmer raises, and must cheapen the prices. The farmer would grow poorer, just as the workingmen who would remain in the industries and work for such low wages as would enable the manufacturer to compete with his foreign competitors.

You gentlemen on the other side talk about opening to us the markets of the world. How? They will be no more open to us after the destruction of the protective system than they are now, unless you mean that our workingmen will, after the destruction of our home market, be compelled to work for even lower wages than those of other countries, so that we may be enabled to underbid foreign manufacturers in their own countries. And England and such other countries as now buy our wheat and corn will pay us no higher price for these articles if we have free trade, with which my friend from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] threatens us if we do not accept this bill, than they pay us now.

The proposition to put wool on the free-list and to still pay a duty of about 40 per cent. on manufactured woolen goods is a cunning device to arraign the wool-grower and the manufacturer of woolens against each other. To the manufacturer this bill holds out the inducement to enrich himself at the expense of the wool-grower, but only for a while. If the manufacturers of woolen goods are no fools, they will see that free wool is only a bait for them, for their support of the Mills bill. If they should be foolish enough to swallow the bait and help to make wool free of duty, they would at once cause all farmers who grow wool to clamor for the repeal on all woolen manufactures, and that is precisely what the cunning managers of the free-trade party desire. The latter seek first to kill off wool-growing with the help of the woolen manufacturer and then to kill the woolen industry with the help of the farmers who can no longer raise wool in competition with foreign countries.

The woolen blanket has long had to do duty as a free-trade argument in this connection, but only by perversion of the facts. If there really was as much profit in manufacturing woolen blankets, as well as everything else, as these free-trade philosophers claim, everybody would want to go into the business and help "rob" the farmer and laborer. The fact is that the poor people in this country had no blankets until we had protection and commenced manufacturing them here, while now everybody has them, and at low and reasonable prices too. Since blanket-making was made possible by a protective tariff we have manufactured them and they are now being sold at much lower prices than they could be purchased for when no duty was paid on them. The same holds true of carpets; they are now so cheap that but few people are so poor as not to be able to carpet their floors. The same is also true of everything else, and there can be no truer saying than that the protective tariff has, by stimulating competition at home, reduced the prices of all commodities of life so that they are within the reach of everybody.

You gentlemen who advocate free trade, or, being ashamed of that term, claim to be in favor of a low tariff, have no appreciation of the condition of the working people in Europe, and of the doleful influence their miserable condition has on everything there. You know they come here by thousands and by hundreds of thousands every year to better their condition; still you will not take warning, but try to inaugurate the same conditions in this country that drove those people from their native lands. If you will go there and study the situation, see what free trade or a tariff that is not protective, but for revenue only, has done for them you will surely return with your free-trade philosophy all knocked out of you, unless you belong to that class that never learns or forgets anything.

How do the people live there? Look at the consular reports published by the State Department and you will find their chief articles of nourishment to be potatoes, bread, and thin soups. Meat with them is a delicacy, and those things which we call delicacies here are unknown to them even by name. To reduce our people to that condition, while this country is rich in resources and fertile, would be a crime indeed. History knows no people who have ever enjoyed as great prosperity as the people of this country have done and now do under the beneficent system of protection, which gives America to the Americans.

Mr. Chairman, the very formation of the Government of the United States, the adoption of the Constitution, were brought about by a desire, or, rather, the necessity of having free trade between the States and protection against the rest of the world. I have no time to relate how the young States of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were compelled to take steps to form a tariff union to be able to protect their infant industries as well as their revenues arising from that protection. And as it was then, so it is now, and will ever be. In Germany, while free trade or a tariff for revenue only prevailed there, the industries languished and the manufactures of that country, under the competition of all surrounding countries, had become so cheap as to be noted also for their worthlessness. The German commissioner to our Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia even said in his official report that to the exhibits of his country must be applied the censure, "Cheap and poor." Now, that has all changed since 1876 in Germany.

Since then the German Government, following our example, has enacted a protective tariff; the quality of German manufactures has been improved wonderfully, the quantity has increased, wages have steadily risen, and to-day the condition of the working classes in Germany is 50 per cent. better than ten years ago, as even free-trade consuls of the United States in that country testify.

I want to add to my remarks here what Bismarck said on the American tariff:

BISMARCK ON THE AMERICAN TARIFF.

On the 14th of May, 1882, Bismarck, speaking in the German Reichstag, uttered this indorsement and admiration of the American policy of protection:

"The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern time. The American nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward disbanded its Army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is due to its system of pro-

tective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States."

The surplus in the United States Treasury is the great bugbear of orators to-day. Well, the Treasury had no surplus under Democratic rule. The conditions which have created the surplus are to be found in the general prosperity of the people, and to do away with the surplus the Democrats think it necessary to remove those conditions and with them destroy that prosperity.

The surplus can readily be disposed of. Remove the tobacco tax, the tax on spirits used in the arts, and on wholesale and retail liquor establishments, so as to allow the States to tax such establishments. Then repeal the duty on sugar, and a premium equal to the amount of duty taken off should be paid to encourage the production of sugar in all parts of the country. Germany, France, and other countries have given premiums until the production in those countries is larger than the consumption.

Then our 12,000 miles of sea and lake coast, including Alaska, ought to be put in a condition of defense. The Secretary of War reported to this House last December that he had no new gun with which to drill the cadets, or officers, and men; that they had to practice with the old guns, and which, in case of war, would be obsolete. What a condition the Democratic party is in on account of a surplus which it fears to use, even in defense of the country; not one modern gun with which to educate its future or present officers and men and with which to defend it shores. Our Navy, too, should be increased to at least decent size; and to provide a reserve for it we ought to encourage the building of ocean steamers which carry our trade and our mail in times of peace and guns in times of war. This could be done by reasonable expenditures; but whenever the proposal is made the howl of "subsidy" is raised. Plans for such ships should be drawn in accordance with the requirements of the Navy Department and with its approval. This would help to build up our merchant marine, and the ships that would carry our mails would also carry the Yankee drummer, who would soon be known in all the markets of South America and the east, if not in Europe. Care for the soldier, who needs protection from the poor-house and starvation, and keep on paying off the debt of the country, and when all these things are done, as wisdom and patriotism dictate, there will be no surplus, and with the surplus the pretext for free trade will have disappeared.

If our people would be more patriotic, and not so much English, you know—if they would patronize their own industries and import less—there would be still more employment for American labor. We purchase annually about $600,000,000 worth of commodities in Europe, at least one-half of which represent articles which can be and are being manufactured in the United States. But many people take more pride in boasting of wearing imported clothes, eating off imported china, and drinking imported wines and liquors out of imported glasses than becomes an American citizen, who should take the greatest pride in patronizing American industries.

Free-traders claim that if we would buy more of Europe, Europe would buy more of us, and they point especially to Germany and France, which countries have prohibited the importation of American pork, saying that it we purchased more there they would again admit our pork. This is foolish; they prohibit our pork for other reasons, and it Americans were really desirous of getting even with France and Germany on that point, all they had to do would be to drink no more German and French wines and liquors, for which we pay millions of dollars every year. There is nothing very enticing about most of these wines and liquors, as our consuls in those countries report in their descriptions of the adulterations of these articles of drink which are exported to the United States. French wines, for instance, are largely adulterated with German potato spirits, the vilest spirits made; and French brandies, for which immense prices are paid, are chiefly made of these same potato spirits. The residue of the potatoes from which the spirits are made, which go to fortify French wine and brandies, is fed to the hogs, and make the German pork.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SPRINGER. If the gentleman from Ohio wishes for a little more time I hope there will be no objection.

Mr. ROMEIS. I thank the gentleman from Illinois. I only wish to say in conclusion that the charge made by the other side of this Chamber about the farmer and laborer being "robbed" is, in my judgment, all bosh. To that class I claim to belong. I have and pay the expense of a farm in Ohio since 1869, and I know that I pay less to-day than I did in 1869 for every thing used about and on the farm. I paid $2 a barrel for salt in the spring of 1869, and now I can buy better salt for 60 cents a barrel. When my people use a pound of salt in making butter, for which they pay say one-quarter of a cent, and sell the salt in the butter for 18 or 24 cents, where is the loss? And if the manufacturers are all "robbers," as some gentlemen on that side try to make us believe, why do you want to give them free wool and 40 per cent. protection, and so make them richer and the farmer poorer?

I want to print with my remarks what Hon. Thomas H. Dudley, of New Jersey, said to the farmers of Lancaster, Pa., in February, 1887 in answer to Hon. Frank H. Hurd.

First, we want protection in the cases where we can compete so as to keep the manufacturing industry of all these commodities here in our own country in order to give our laboring people the benefit of making them. We want our own people to be employed so they can receive the wages. We think it more important that these wages should be paid to our own people than that they should be paid to the English people. We manufacture in the United States, one year with another, about $7,000,000,000 worth of commodities, and pay the laboring people each year who are directly employed in making them about $1,500,000,000. Now, if these goods are made in England these wages would be paid to the English work-people there, and not to our people. It is just a question whether they shall be paid here at home to our own people, or whether they shall be paid to the work-people over there.

But there is another reason why we require protection where we are competing: we do not want our country to be made the dumping ground for the overproduction of Europe.

PETITION FOR MORE EFFECTUAL PROTECTION OF AGRICULTURE.

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

The undersigned respectfully pray that agriculture may be more effectually protected—

By preventing fraudulent importation of cattle on pretense that they are for breeding only;

By a duty of 20 cents per bushel on barley, with proportionate increase of duty on malt;

By duties of 25 cents per bushel on potatoes and onions, $2 per hundred on cabbage, $3 per ton on hay, 10 cents per pound on hops, 20 cents on beans and peas, 5 cents per dozen on eggs, 30 per cent. on fowls and poultry and on "vegetables in their natural state or in salt or brine, not otherwise provided for," with no removal or reduction of duties on market-garden products now dutiable;

By such increased duties on flax and on linen goods as will effectually encourage the preparation of fiber and manufacture of goods;

By abolishing all duties on sugar, with a bounty to home producers;

By preventing imports of leaf tobacco suitable for wrappers at a duty imposed on other leaf tobacco, and repealing all internal taxes on tobacco; and

By restoring to wool-growing the substantial protection enjoyed under the tariff of 1867, so modified as to meet the later forms of foreign competition and evasion.

The undersigned represent, respectfully, that they are practical farmers of this locality.

Department of Agriculture.

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. H. ROGERS,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 21, 1888,

On the bill to enlarge the powers and duties of the Department of Agriculture and to create an Executive Department to be known as the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. ROGERS said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I send to the Clerk's desk to be read a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Arkansas, approved January 23, 1887:

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas, recognizing the fact that agriculture is the chief feature of all American industries; that the farming classes comprise a majority of the voters of the United States, pay more than half the taxes, and cultivate 300,000,000 acres of land, valued at more than $10,000,000,000; that upon the proceeds of the soil our Republic is dependent almost entirely for her prosperity and the support of government; that the census of 1880 reveals the fact that of the entire exports of this country, 81 per cent. come from the farms, forests, mines, and fisheries, whilst only 16 per cent. is the product of machinery; that the cotton of the South and the grain of the West hold a dual control over our material prosperity; and

Whereas we believe that agriculture should be better fostered and more encouraged by the General Government, and that the Department of Agriculture should be elevated to the dignity commensurate with its great importance to the nation: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Arkansas in General Assembly, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested and urged to support the bill now pending in Congress to make the Commissioner of Agriculture a Secretary of Agriculture and Labor and a member of the President's Cabinet; also to favor the increase of appropriations to that Department to such an amount as to render it of more value to the people and the Government.

Resolved further, That the secretary of the senate be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution (after its passage by both houses) to each Senator and Representative in Congress from this State.

Approved January 23, 1887.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, but for that resolution I should content myself by voting against this bill, as I did in the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses, without comment; but respect for the members of the Legislature requires, I think, that I give my reasons for non-compliance with their request. I shall not be understood, therefore, as supposing that these reasons, when assigned, will change a single vote or impede the passage of this bill any longer than the time I shall occupy the floor. And I confess that in the discharge of this duty I feel a sense of loneliness and reluctance. It would be far more agreeable for me to vote with the majority and let this bill go through without a word of discussion.

Mr. Speaker, in all candor I confess to some apprehension in mentioning the written Constitution in this presence. The most painful experience of my brief public life has been the witnessing of the repeated violations of that instrument. True, in times of high political excitement it was denounced as a "league with hell and a covenant

with the devil," and a party in this country sometimes denominated "the party of great moral ideas" has, I believe, at all times been disposed to treat it as subordinate to what has been termed the "higher law," which, correctly understood, means that whenever the Constitution did not authorize the doing of anything which in its opinion should be done, it was to be disregarded, or, to put it in a milder form, so construed as to authorize the thing to be done.

But the Democratic party for nearly a century adhered to the idea that the Constitution was intended by those who framed it to be, within the scope of the powers delegated by it to the Federal Government, the highest law of the land. It persistently repudiated the assumption, not always avowed, but not unfrequently acted upon, of the existence of any law in this country higher than the Constitution.

It also repudiated the idea that the Federal Government could rightfully exercise any power not expressly or by necessary implication delegated to it by the Constitution.

In Martin *vs.* Hunter's Lessee, Judge Marshall said:

On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that the sovereign powers vested in the State governments by their respective constitutions remained unaltered and unimpaired, except so far as they were granted to the Government of the United States. These deductions do not rest upon general reasoning, plain and obvious as they seem to be. They have been positively recognized by one of the articles in amendment of the Constitution, which declares that "the powers not delegatad to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The Government, then, of the United States, can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the Constitution, and the powers actually granted must be such as are expressly given, or given by necessary implication.

So said Judge Marshall.

Turn, then, to the Constitution and put your finger on that clause wherein the "power" is "expressly given," or wherein it is "given by necessary implication," for Congress to create an executive department of agriculture.

I have read with care the debates on this subject, and with one single exception no gentleman, so far as I know, has had the temerity to try it.

True, the idea that the power does not exist has been flippantly ridiculed by one, its existence has been boldly asserted by others, and the idea that Congress is to be bound by the written Constitution that we all take an oath to support and defend almost repudiated by another. Such was the character of the speeches in which the advocates of this scheme indulged in the Forty-ninth Congress.

What is the object, then, of this bill? Avowedly it is to make the Agricultural Department, which is now not an executive department, an executive department, and to create the office of secretary of agriculture and make him when appointed a Cabinet officer.

Mr. Speaker, to begin with, there is no such thing as a "Cabinet officer" known to our laws or Constitution. The words "Cabinet" or "Cabinet officers" are not to be found in the statutes or the Constitution of the United States.

True, for the sake of convenience, the Presidents from an early day called the heads of the several Executive Departments together from time to time for consultation upon grave matters of state, and custom or common parlance recognizes these officers, when assembled for such purpose, as the "Cabinet" and these heads of Departments as "Cabinet officers."

In point of fact, for some time after the Constitution was framed there was no uniform custom of assembling the heads of Departments for the purposes of consultation.

In a letter written by Thomas Jefferson, found in volume 4 of his correspondence, touching differences which had sprung up between the heads of the Departments at that time, he said:

The ordinary business of every day is done by consultation between the President and the head of the Department alone to which it belongs.

For measures of importance or difficulty a consultation is held with the heads of Departments, either assembled or by taking their opinion sseparately in conversation or in writing.

The latter is most strictly in the spirit of the Constitution, because the President in weighing the advice of all is left free to make up an opinion for himself. In this way they are not brought together, and it is not necessarily known to any what opinion the others have given. This was General Washington's practice for the first two or three years of his administration, etc.

In his Commentaries on the Constitution Judge Story says:

The next provision is as to the power of the President to require the opinions in writing of the heads of Departments. It has been remarked that this is a mere redundancy, and the right would result from the very nature of the office. Still it is not without use, as it imposes a more strict responsibility and recognizes a public duty of high importance and value in critical times. It has in the progress of the Government been repeatedly acted upon, but by no President with more wisdom and propriety than by President Washington. (2 Story on Con., sec. 1493.)

Mark the language of the Constitution:

He (the President) may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officers in each of the Executive Departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, etc.

Not that he may require the opinion of either or any of the heads of Departments otherwise than in writing, or upon any subject relating to any of the duties of any one or about anything other than the duties of his own office.

So that neither the Constitution nor the laws of the land recognize any such thing as a Cabinet. It is unknown to both, and is the creature of custom and custom only.

The President may, if he choose, never hold another Cabinet meeting, or he may, if he elect, hold them at his pleasure, and decline to have present either or any of the present heads of the Executive Departments. And why? Because the language of the Constitution is, "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." Not the President and the heads of Departments, but in him and him only, is the executive power vested.

And if the Constitution has vested the executive power in him, who shall say that another shall share with him without his will the responsibility for the correct exercise of that power?

Is it provided in the Constitution that the heads of the Executive Departments shall exercise any executive power? Let us examine this. The word department is mentioned but three times in the whole instrument.

Section 2 of Article II provides that—

The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, etc.

This is the second mention made of a Department in the Constitution. It is called not a Department, but an "Executive Department."

The connection in which it is used is deeply significant. The head of that Department, "its principal officer," is made to answer in writing the requirement of the President. But that requirement must relate, not to any subject that the whim or caprice of the President may suggest, it must relate to the duties of his office. Whose office? The office of the "principal officer" of the particular Department. But what is the character of duties these Departments perform? They are Executive Departments, and manifestly their duties are executive duties, or perhaps they may be more properly called "political duties." True, Congress may, where it has the constitutional power to enact the law, impose ministerial duties on Department officers. Such duties are not "executive" or "political," and, therefore, not under the exclusive control of the executive, but under the control of public law. (Kendall *vs.* United States, 12 Peters, page 609.)

But this bill provides for the creation of an executive department, and manifestly its duties are executive duties. Certainly they are not legislative nor judicial duties, for section 1, Article I, of the Constitution tell us that—

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

And section 1, Article III, tell us that—

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

It must follow, therefore, that the functions and duties performed by the Executive Departments are executive functions or duties. But we have seen that the executive power of the Government is vested in the President. Manifestly, then, these Departments act under his direction, subordinate to him, and as instrumentalities merely, though provided for in the Constitution, to aid him in the execution of the powers vested in him by the Constitution. And what power can he exercise rightfully as the Executive that is not delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution? Let Judge Marshal answer that question. I repeat it:

The Government of the United States can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the Constitution, and the powers actually granted must be such as are expressly given or given by necessary implication.

In what provision of the Constitution is any power expressly given over agriculture? In what provision is any power given by necessary implication over agriculture? Unless it can be shown that such power is given in either one or the other of the ways mentioned, Judge Marshall tells us, the Government can not claim it.

Mr. Speaker, have these Executive Departments any executive power not vested in the President?

This brings us to the third provision of the Constitution, in which the Departments are mentioned. Paragraph 2, section 2, Article II, provides that—

Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of Departments.

Certainly there is no power given in this provision over agriculture, and these Departments acquire nothing by it except to appoint such inferior officer as Congress may think proper to authorize them by law to appoint.

But if power has been granted to Congress to legislate in regard to agriculture, the Executive must enforce such legislation. This leads us to inquire, what power Congress has over agriculture.

Article I, section 8, of the Constitution contains eighteen distinct grants of power to Congress. It is not necessary to enumerate them now. The eighteenth grant is in these words:

The Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or officer thereof.

This is the first mention of a Department in the Constitution. It will not be contended that any power has been vested in any Department or officer thereof, other than those named. If there is any power

over agriculture in any one of the seventeen preceding grants, will some advocate of this bill name it; specify which grant it is? There are some other grants of power in the Constitution, notably those in Article IV, but there is no pretense that they relate to agriculture.

Where, then, is this power to be found?

I have endeavored to show that the Departments contemplated by the Constitution are Executive Departments; that their duties are executive duties; that their functions are executive functions; that their powers are executive powers.

Mr. Speaker, what is agriculture? Is it the transportation of agricultural products from one State to another, or from one country to another? If so, by this process of reasoning, the man engaged in shipping cotton from Memphis to New Orleans, or from New Orleans to Liverpool, by this vocation becomes an agriculturist. The man likewise engaged in shipping the manufactured goods between the same points becomes a manufacturer.

Mr. Speaker, this is commerce, and is subject to the regulations of Congress under the commerce clause of the Constitution, but it is not agriculture, nor is it manufacturing.

In Telegraph Company *vs.* Texas, 105 U. S., page 464, Chief-Justice Waite, delivering the opinion of the court, said:

> A telegraph company occupies the same relation to commerce as a carrier of messages that a railroad company does as a carrier of goods. Both companies are instruments of commerce and their business is commerce itself.

We can not deceive ourselves, then, by trying to find the power to create this Department in the commerce clause. It is not there.

What is agriculture? It is defined by the lexicographers to be "the art or science of cultivating the earth." Who will pretend that this is a function of the Federal Government?

Mr. Speaker, the ablest gentleman, who by his vote and voice has advocated this measure, scrupulously avoided committing himself to pointing out the clause of the Constitution which confers any such power in Congress. But he did say:

> I do not understand that agriculture is a function of government.

What does he mean by the word "function?" It means "employment, office, occupation, duty, power." His real meaning then is that the art or science of cultivating the soil is not the employment, office, occupation, duty or power of government. I agree to this definition. I agree to the conclusion he reached, namely: "That agriculture is not a function of government," and I regret that at this point we must part company.

But let us analyze this sentence:

> I do not understand that agriculture is a function of government, and therefore entitled as a matter of right to be represented by a Cabinet officer, nor is this measure based upon any such assumption.

Transpose this sentence and it reads: "To be entitled to be represented by a Cabinet officer as a matter of right, agriculture should be a function of government; but I do not understand that it is a function of government, and therefore it is not entitled to be represented by a Cabinet officer." That is the logic of the position, and yet its author advocated the bill on the grounds stated.

But, Mr. Speaker, does the fact that the carrying the mails is a function of government entitle it as a "matter of right" to be represented by a Cabinet officer? Not at all. In point of fact, for years after the postal system was established the Postmaster-General did not attend Cabinet meetings, and never, until invited by President Jackson, though that Department was created contemporaneously with the others. The fact is, there is no such thing as a "Cabinet," legally speaking, and no function of government is entitled as a matter of right to be represented in the Cabinet meetings, as they are called.

The whole matter is summed up in the constitutional provision—

> That he (the President) may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

The President may do this, or not do it, and no one as a matter of right can demand access to his counsels. No such right was ever asserted, and I do not think that any such constitutional heresy was ever announced before.

Mr. Speaker, another gentleman ascribed the power to create this Executive Department, to the "general welfare clause" of the Constitution. It is as follows:

> Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

From the power here named—the taxing power, not the general welfare clause—sprung the Treasury Department. Why? Simply because some means had to be provided to collect, preserve, and disburse the finances of the Government, and Congress thought the Treasury Department an appropriate method for the execution of that power.

But it is said that this provision also empowers Congress to provide for the "general welfare of the United States," and therefore Congress may create an executive department of agriculture as an appropriate means of providing for the general welfare of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, if the agricultural department may be created under the general welfare clause of the Constitution, why might not all the other departments, the Treasury as well, and as many more as Congress shall see fit, and on as many subjects as it may see fit, be created under the same clause? And if all might have been created under this one clause, pray what fools our forefathers were to delegate any other power to the General Government than the general welfare power. Why did they delegate the power to regulate commerce, to establish post-offices and post-roads, to promote science and the useful arts, to create courts of justice, to declare war, to raise armies and navies? Do not the exercise of these powers all relate to the "general welfare" of the United States? Why was not Congress left to do all these things and anything else it chose, under the general welfare clause of the Constitution?

Mr. Speaker, I need not discuss what is meant by the words "general welfare." Suffice it to say they convey no independent, substantive power, unless it be to appropriate money, and I do not concede that. I insert on this point a remarkably clear and strong exposition of the general welfare clause of the Constitution, which, though not directed to this subject, bears with great force upon it.

> The Senators alluded to base themselves on what they call the "power" "to provide for the common defence and general welfare;" and claim wide discretion under "the sovereignty of the national government." Not only is there no such "*power*," but the very phrase in which it is said to be couched, was actually considered by the convention of 1787, to refer alone to the *purposes* for which the "power" was to be delegated. And the Journal proves this statement; while the Federalist, and Jefferson and Madison always so stated the matter, as I shall proceed to show.
>
> I will begin by quoting from the original Constitution in the Secretary of State's office, "the power of taxation," as the Convention in its proceedings characterized it.
>
> "Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts, and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
>
> To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;
>
> To regulate Commerce * * *;
>
> To establish an uniform rule of Naturalization * * *;
>
> To coin money * * *."
>
> Here is an ocular demonstration that "to pay the debts," and "to provide for" "defence" and "welfare" were understood as *purposes*, for which the power of taxation was delegated. The paragraph opens and closes with "the power of taxation," and the rest is, so to speak in parenthentical relation to it. *Noscitur a sociis.* Special authority for such purposes was not needed, for all the specified powers were intended to effect them.
>
> Now let us see how the matter appears in Madison's "Journal of the Debates of the Convention;" and in the official "Journal of the Convention."
>
> On August 5, 1787, the committee on detail reported the Constitution, with eighteen specified powers delegated to the legislature, the first being "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises" [V Ell. Deb., 378].
>
> On August 25, Mr. Sherman moved to add these words: "*For the payment of said debts, and for defraying the expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence and general welfare*" [*Ibid.*, 476; also I Ell. Deb., 264]. The addition was then deemed unnecessary; but on September 4 Mr. Brearly, from the committee of eleven, reported the section with the suggestion of Mr. Sherman added [*Ibid.*, 506], with a slight change of phraseology, and none of meaning.
>
> And finally, the Convention, on the 14th of September, near the close of its work, removed all possible doubt, as follows:
>
> "Article I, sect. 8. The words '*but alll such duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.*' were unanimously annexed to THE POWER OF TAXATION." [*Ibid.*, 543; also I Ell. Deb., 311.]
>
> The phrase under consideration, then, merely states the purpose and use of the revenue to be raised, but gives no hint of delegating power [*Ibid.*, 560]. Now after the Convention has characterized the authority delegated as "the power of taxation," can there be right, or propriety, or truth in calling it a *power of defence and welfare*, especially as there is no ambiguity or doubt in the language, justifying a resort to construction?
>
> It is this very idea that Madison signally refuted in No. 41 of the Federalist—an idea that was then *a charge by foes* to defeat the Constitution, and it was so treated by Madison, Hamilton, Jay. He treats of the so-called construction thus: "It has been urged and echoed that the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, amounts to an unlimited commission to exercise every power which may be alleged to be necessary for the common defence or general welfare. No stronger proof could be given of the distress under which these writers labor for objections, than their stooping to such a misconstruction. Had no other enumeration or definition of the powers of the Congress been found in the Constitution than the general expressions just cited, the authors of the objection might have some color for it. * * * But what color can the objection have, when a specification of the objects alluded to by these general terms immediately follows, and is not even separated by a longer pause than a semicolon. * * * For what purpose could the enumeration of particular powers be inserted, if these and all others were meant to be included in the preceding general power? Nothing is more natural or common than, first, to use a general phrase, and then to explain or qualify it by a recital of particulars."
>
> He winds up by characterizing as an "absurdity" this assumption or pretended construction, so suspiciously agreed on by ancient foes and modern friends.
>
> It has been intimated that Mr. Madison's views were afterwards modified; but this can not be so, because, late in life, while preparing his "Debates in the Federal Convention" for publishing, he reiterated the same view, and supported it by citations [see V Ell. Deb., 560, foot-note—very important].
>
> A single sentence from Jefferson will suffice: "To consider the phrase 'to provide for the general welfare,' as giving a distinct and independent power to Congress to do any act it pleases, which might be for the good of the Union, would render all the preceding and subsequent enumerated powers completely useless." See the whole passage in Jefferson's Works, vol. 4, page 525.
>
> I conclude, then, that as the words and ideas of the defense-and-welfare phrase equally suit each and all of the eighteen specified powers, the relation, meaning, *and intent* of them (the intent being the vital point) can be best shown by a slight change of the collocation of the phrase, while keeping the words and punctuation without change. It is thus made to read as follows:.
>
> Section 8. The Congress, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, shall have power
>
> To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
>
> To borrow money * * * ;
>
> To regulate commerce * * * ;
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> This argument is factual—made up of historical truths and records, and in no wise doctrinal; and I am confident that this statement exhibits the belief of all the original friends and defenders of the Constitution, so far as they reflected on the special point. For example, Jefferson thus expressed himself: "*Certainly*

no such universal power was meant to be given them. It was intended to lace them up straitly within the enumerated powers, and those, without which, as means, these powers could not be carried into effect." [4 J's Works, 525.]

Fortunately the advocates of this bill show how unlimited for mischief such Congressional action can be. They claim that in taxing the people and spending the revenues, they act by virtue of "the sovereignty of the government"; and have no other limit in expenditure than their judgment of "the common defence and general welfare." Jefferson said, as to this alarming claim, "they reduce the whole instrument to a single phrase, that of instituting a Congress with power to do whatever would be for the good of the United States, and as they would be the sole judges of the good or evil, it would also be a power to do whatever evil they pleased."

Note now Senator EVARTS's expression: "It is constitutional to devote every dollar in the Treasury to the purposes of this bill; and then it is constitutional, by your next taxation, to raise the money" "to supply the void" "thus created."

And Senator EDMUNDS says, the clause which prohibits the drawing of money from the Treasury except "BY LAW," (which phrase means, of course, constitutional *law*), does not limit the power of appropriation, or confine it to the specified powers and purposes of the Constitution.

These gentlemen and their coadjutors all seem to agree that they can vote federal money out of the Treasury for purposes which the people have actually kept out of the Constitution, and assigned to other agents; and they all seem to forget that their sovereigns and masters have premonished them that *all* "*powers not delegated* * * * are reserved," *i. e.*, kept back for other disposal.

Moreover, they seem not to consider what that plenary right of government, called sovereignty, is, and where it is. Daniel Webster said: "Sovereignty in government is unknown in North America. It dwells in the people." Said James Wilson, the greatest statesman of Pennsylvania: "The supreme, absolute, and uncontrollable power is in the people *after, as well as before*, a constitution is made. It never leaves them." No eminent "father" ever said or thought otherwise, because our form is entirely republican.

These Senators hold and wield "powers," not sovereignty; and they hold them in trust to use for the people. The single phrase of Article I, "All legislative *powers* herein *granted* shall be *vested*," etc., taken with the fact that the said powers can but be "*delegated*," should show them that the sovereignty is above them, and in their masters, the people; that they never do or can hold and wield it; that they are always subject to it as agents; and finally, that their authority is always derivative and never inherent.

The Bills of Rights of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, which are made up of universally accepted and everlasting principles, show the *status* of all whom the people choose for service, to be "substitutes and agents," as Messrs. BLAIR and HOAR can inform them. And they can read in John Jay's address to the people of New York in 1788 that they have "business to manage" as "*agents* and *overseers* for the people." And the great triumvirate, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, cap the climax in the Federalist [No. 45], by saying that "*the federal and state governments are different agents and trustees of the people.*"

Finally, the *onus* of proving the "*power*" rests on these Senators. If it exist they can show it. If they leave it in doubt they fail, for no President can approve or court sustain the statute, because the doubt must be solved for the sovereign.

This is to me a painful subject. As one of the people who never held or desired office, I protest against "undue administration," and the use of "powers" we have withheld; and I pray for the Federal Union and strict construction, considering them as vital to American institutional liberty.

With great respect, yours truly,

B. J. SAGE.

Mr. Speaker, some of us profess to be Democrats, some of us profess to adhere to the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, but I assert that Alexander Hamilton, so far as I can find, never claimed any such Federal power as this bill contemplates.

In his report as Secretary of the Treasury in 1791 on manufactures, in discussing the general welfare clause of the Constitution, he said:

It is therefore of necessity left to the discretion of the National Legislature to pronounce upon the objects which concern the general welfare, and for which, under that description, an appropriation of money is requisite and proper. And there seems no room for a doubt that whatever concerns the general interests of learning, of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce, are within the sphere of the national councils so far as regards an application of money.

The only qualification of the generality of the phrase in question which seems to be admissible is this: that the object to which an appropriation of money is to be made must be general, and not local; its operation extending in fact or by possibility throughout the Union, and not being confined to a particular spot. No objection ought to arise to this construction from a supposition that it would imply a power to do whatever else should appear to Congress conducive to the general welfare. A power to appropriate money with this latitude, which is granted in express terms, would not carry a power to do any other thing not authorized in the Constitution either expressly or by fair implication.

I commend this language to the friends of this bill.

President Monroe, who it is now fashionable to quote from on this and kindred subjects, gave an emphatic negative of any such construction as is contended for now, of the general-welfare clause of the Constitution. He said of it:

That the second part of this grant—

Meaning the general-welfare clause—

gives a right to appropriate the public money, and nothing more, is evident from the following considerations.

He then proceeds to give the reasons, which I omit.

Mr. Speaker, another gentleman has said in substance that if we can spend millions of money to construct and maintain a costly library in the District of Columbia, it would seem that we could create an executive department of agriculture. That is a convenient method of discussion, but it is neither argumentative nor a fair way of dealing with a great constitutional question.

If there was no authority to construct and mantain the Library, does it follow that there is none to create this department? On the other hand, if there was authority to construct and maintain the Library, does it follow that there is authority to create this department? But I will let the able and distinguished Senator from Maryland [Senator WILSON] answer that proposition.

In a great argument recently delivered in the Senate he said:

Again, sir, I never supposed that any Senator could have any difficulty over the right of Congress "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever" over the District of Columbia, even to the extent of establishing a great library worthy of Congress and of the seat of government for 60,000,000 of people, or of erecting monuments therein to the memory of the Father of his Country, or of other illustrious dead. Nor could I doubt the power of Congress to grant pensions to men disabled in the Army or Navy service, even after a war is over, and without any previous express contract.

I believe that such laws, as well as those erecting monuments to great and heroic commanders, have a tendency to cultivate a wholesome military spirit, and to greatly aid Congress in executing its power "to raise and support armies." The Constitution only enumerates the powers granted to the Government, but does not attempt the vain task of defining everything that can be done under any one of them.

* * * * * * *

But, Mr. President, doubtless many other acts have been cited for which no sanction can be found in the Constitution, and probably least of all in a "general-welfare clause," if such a one could really be discovered in that instrument. Very many of them, to use the words of an old Revolutionary patriot, can only be properly cited to illustrate "the enormities towards which precedents travel." Congress has the ability, rightfully or wrongfully, to expend the people's money whenever and for whatever she pleases. But I am not one of those who believe that Congress, like an English king, can do no wrong.

Beyond question, Congress has spent millions of money in modes and for purposes not only utterly wasteful, but without any constitutional warrant. Having the ability and with no tribunal to restrain them, it would have been a miracle, indeed, if they had not done so. And it seems to me a dangerous and not a very patriotic act for a statesman of distinction to stand up in this Senate and quote many of these acts as done in the promotion of the general welfare, and thus attempt to implant in the Constitution a manufactured power, from which they would be as far removed as pole from pole.

Mr. Speaker, these words suggest again the leading case of McCullough *vs.* The State of Maryland, in which Judge Marshall said:

This Government is one of enumerated powers. The principle that it can exercise only the powers granted to it, would seem too apparent to have required to be enforced by all these arguments which its enlightened friends, while it was depending before the people, found it necessary to make. That principle is now universally admitted.

It is then universally admitted to be a government of enumerated powers.

What is meant by this word "enumerated?" It means "to mention; to count; to number; to compute; to tell; to relate."

It must not be lost sight of now, that it is the "power" over agriculture in the Federal Government that we are now in search of, and not the means to execute that power. For I concede that if the "power" exists in the Government to exercise any control over agriculture that the means of executing that power is a mere question of appropriate action by Congress. Judge Marshall tells us again that "that instrument (the Constitution) does not profess to enumerate the means by which the powers it confers may be executed." But it does enumerate the powers. I challenge and defy any man to point out any power enumerated in the Constitution over agriculture. I do not deny that in the exercise of the taxing power agriculture may be promoted or destroyed. The protective tariff system, which I believe to be the lawful mother of this and numerous other measures now pending, has cruelly taught us that lesson, *so that we shall never forget it.*

For the basis of that cruel system is the wanton and flagrant abuse of the taxing power of the Constitution, as the basis of this is the insidious perversion of the same instrument.

I do not deny that the products of agriculture may be affected by legislation under the commerce clause of the Constitution, as it may be under every other clause, to a greater or less extent. But the same is true of every other industry. And is it contended that the Federal Government has constitutional power over all the industries of the country? What then becomes of the States? What powers do they, or can they, rightfully exercise? What becomes of our educational system? What becomes of home rule? What becomes of our boasted local institutions? What is the office and what are the functions of our State governments? What is meant by that amendment to the Constitution which tells us that—

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

What are these reserved rights? If this bill be constitutional, who will enumerate the powers reserved to the people, or to the States?

Sir, I can not vote for this bill. I am bound by the terms of an oath that forbids it. I am not unconscious or indifferent to the political peril which my action involves; I believe this measure has much popular strength everywhere; but I believe that sentiment behind it has been largely manufactured and is wholly erroneous. I believe with Judge Story, that—

It is a just observation that the people commonly intend the public good. But no one but a deceiver will pretend that they do not often err as to the best means of promoting it. Indeed, beset, as they are, by the wiles of sycophants, the snares of the ambitious and the avaricious, and the artifices of those who possess their confidence more than they deserve, or seek to possess it by artful appeals to their prejudices, the wonder rather is that their errors are not more numerous and more mischievous.

But if I am wrong it is a consolation that neither my speech nor my vote can affect this bill. It will pass, as it has always done, and as most measures do that are thought popular, and without much consideration as to the constitutional authority or the pernicious results.

Mr. Speaker, I turn for a moment to another aspect of this matter.

If this department were needed, who would most likely feel that need first? All these Executive Departments are but instrumentalities created by Congress, the better to enable the President, in whom, under the Constitution, the executive power is vested, to discharge his duties. Has he requested any new department to aid him in his work?

And pray, what aid will this proposed secretary give? About what duty or power or function of government will he be consulted? Will it be of taxation? That is referable to the Secretary of the Treasury. Will it be of pensions, lands, patents, or Indians? These are referable to the Secretary of the Interior. Will it be of war? This goes to the Secretaries of War and Navy. Will it be of foreign affairs? This goes to the Secretary of State. Will it relate to the judicial establishment? There is the Department of Justice and the Attorney-General. Will it be of the weather or the crops? If so, what executive power can the executive bring to bear?

Mr. Speaker, this Secretary is a voluntary tender by Congress. It is a suggestion that Congress understands better than the executive what he needs and what he must have. Nor is it a mere question of comity between the President and the law-making power. It may well be designated as the first message by Congress to the President on the state of the Union, but especially as to the scope and extent of his executive power. I know of nothing in the history of the Republic that illustrates so well, so truly, what Judge Story said of the veto power as this bill. Said he:

> In the first place, there is a natural tendency in the legislative department to intrude upon the rights and to absorb the powers of the other departments of government. A mere parchment delineation of the boundaries of each is wholly insufficient for the protection of the weaker branch, as the executive unquestionably is; and hence there arises a constitutional necessity of arming it with powers for its own defense.

Again he says:

> The tendency of the legislative authority to absorb every other has been already insisted on at large in the preceding part of these commentaries, and need not here be further illustrated. In governments purely republican it has been seen that this tendency is almost irresistible. The representatives of the people are but too apt to imagine that they are the people themselves, and they betray strong symptoms of impatience and even disgust at the least resistance from any other quarter. They seem to think the exercise of its proper rights, by the executive or the judiciary, to be a breach of their privileges and an impeachment of their wisdom.

I submit that it is forcing upon the Executive the consideration of a question involving in a peculiar degree his own constitutional rights and powers. I have examined as best I could into the history of the creation of the Executive Departments, and I find no precedent for any such action. Moreover, if it shall finally become law, I have no faith that agriculture will realize what its advocates anticipate. I warn gentlemen now that if it becomes a law it will only be a few years when this department will become, as the Interior Department did and still is, the great reservoir of innumerable other interests, interests having no affinity with agriculture, until the Agricultural Bureau, now devoting its energies and concentrating its powers for the promotion and education of agriculture alone, will be smothered by other things, its individuality lost, and its present independence destroyed.

It will pass from a scientific and industrial to a political department of the Government, and the simple, unostentatious commissioner, presumed, at least, to know and care something for agriculture, will at once merge into a full-grown statesman, supposed to be able to bring political power and influence to the administration and hedged about by all the paraphernalia of political distinction, not to say the "Poo Bah" ceremonies and inviolable conventionalities of high public office.

Straggling along, one by one, into this department will be commerce, railroads, mines and mining, education, manufactures, the Signal Service, and other things, each struggling in the great conflict for ascendancy and recognition, and all save agriculture organized for successful work. Who can not foretell what the result will be in this unequal struggle?

Mr. Speaker, the great conservative force of the Republic in peace and in war is the American farmer. Attached to home, devoted to the family circle, loving honesty and virtue, contented and happy in their enjoyment, independent in his own Heaven-imposed sweat, loving his ancestry, proud of his race, his personal liberty, and his country, he has contributed more to its purity, to its patriotism, to its progress, its development, and its civilization than all other classes combined. Chief among all these contributions has been his independent self-reliance, always expressed in his steady, persistent adherence to home institutions and local self-government, and his unwavering opposition to the slightest invasion thereof.

He is the reserve force and the hope of the Republic. I am bowed down when I witness this first tendency to turn his back on home rule, local self-government, and domestic institutions, and to join the innumerable throng whose eyes are all fixed on the spire of the Capitol. I know whence comes this tendency. This Government, intended to be purely a political fabric, empowered to perform certain great functions of government, enumerated and well understood, has been gradually transformed during the last three decades into a paternal government, so far as nearly all classes, save the farmers, are concerned. They alone have been left as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." They alone have been the neglected, hardworked, ill-fed, and cheated "step-children" of the Republic. They see it, they know it, and turning about for relief and protection they grasp at this shadow of an agricultural department as the panacea for all their ills.

Vain delusion. It will give them a fine secretary, with a high salary, in lieu of a plain and unpretentious Commissioner. It will give them an assistant secretary and numerous clerks and attaches. Will it reduce taxation? Will it take off any burdens? Will it revise our revenue system? Will it wipe out this infernal system of paternalism that robs all classes for the benefit of one? If so, I would strain the timbers of the Constitution to create it. This "protective system" is not the only evil from which they suffer. But it is the prolific mother of them all. It dissipated the happy dream and that beautiful realization of the fathers, that this political structure of ours, the people's own creation, would secure equal rights to all. It has robbed honest toil in every industrial walk of life and multiplied millionaires to revel in corrupt licentiousness. It has crushed out the hope and the confidence of the people in themselves and their local governments, and endangers their liberties by the maintenance and encouragement of monopolies. It takes from toil its earnings and hoards it in the Treasury. The public mind is debauched by its presence, and the dishonest and unscrupulous scramble to get it out, that room may be had for the continual accumulations, readily consents to recklessly squander it in wasteful extravagance or schemes and jobs devised by the devilish ingenuity of those who profit both by the perpetuation of the system and the illegal purposes for which the revenues derived by it are expended.

Mr. Speaker, that public man is indeed blind who can not see that we are frittering away the splendid inheritance of our fathers. Oh, that the farmers of America could realize that their safety, the safety of the Republic, the preservation of all liberty, is in an observance of the Constitution. It is the last refuge for individual liberty and protection. It is the only hope of the minority. It is the only guaranty for just and equal laws. Its abuse gave birth to the burdens which agriculture bears; its perversion has driven our merchant marine from the high seas; obstructed our commerce, filled our statute-books with class legislation and the country with tramps; built up monopolies and classes at the expense of the many, and well nigh shaken the faith of thinking men in the perpetuity of our form of government.

Everywhere unrest, disquiet, a spirit of change is visible. We are in the midst of a gigantic struggle to overthrow these abuses, to return to the simple practices of the fathers, to reinstate just and equal laws, to disenthrall honest labor, to enfranchise agriculture, to revive commerce, to overthrow class legislation. The last hope of the Democratic party in its unequal conflict with its organized and intrenched arch-enemy, "protection per se," is in the American farmer and his devotion to civil and religious liberty as guarantied by the Constitution, which is indeed the very ark of the covenant.

This bill is the enemy of that instrument. I love my party and its principles, for it and they were present at the birth of that sacred instrument which I have sworn to support and defend. I will never desert that party until it deserts the Constitution, and I can never support this bill until some man can point out in that instrument the power which authorizes Congress to pass it. I profoundly respect the will of the Legislature of my State, and I esteem the farmers of America, from the ranks of whom I sprung and in which my ancestry and all my kindred have dwelt; but I should despise myself and merit their endless contempt if I outraged my own conscience to secure their approbation or their support. I am done.

Department of Agriculture.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD GUENTHER,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

On the bill (H. R. 8191) to enlarge the powers and duties of the Department of Agriculture, and to create an Executive Department to be known as the Department of Agriculture—

Mr. GUENTHER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am heartily in favor of this bill. I hold to the opinion that the vast agricultural interests of our country are not only entitled to the recognition this bill gives them, but that in time it will prove to be of great practical and material benefit to the farming industry. I do not purpose to sing the praises of the farmers on this occasion, and to deliver myself of a speech reviewing the great importance of their industry. I know that the farmers of my State are in favor of this bill, and I believe that they know what is good for them, and that they never come to Congress with unreasonable demands.

I am in favor of turning the weather bureau over to this new department. The weather is of much more importance to everybody else in this country than it is to the professional soldier. I am in favor of taking everything out of the hands of the military branch of this Government that pertains to civil life.

I feel confident that if the chief of the Department of Agriculture will be a Cabinet minister, participating on an equal footing with the other members of the Cabinet in all discussions concerning the welfare of our people, the interests of the agricultural population will receive better, closer, and more intelligent consideration than they are now receiving.

I am glad to have a chance to cast my vote in favor of this bill—in favor of the farming community of the United States.

The Tariff.

The ambition which leads me on is an anxious desire and a fixed determination to * * * persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid Government supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments that they will find happiness or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce.—*Andrew Jackson.*

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH WHEELER,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 4, and Saturday, May 5, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of revenue—

Mr. WHEELER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The gentleman who has just taken his seat [Mr. GUENTHER] devoted the latter part of his speech to a eulogy of the party to which he belongs, and to which he said he intended to adhere; and asserted that its legislation had been in the interests of the laboring people of the country.

I can not at this time enter into a general discussion of the recent past, but I may be permitted to say that while the Republican party were in power and responsible to the people they exempted those who had annual incomes exceeding $5,000 from the income tax, which some years brought into the Treasury more than $40,000,000. They also enacted other laws by which the wealthy and prosperous were relieved of various internal taxes, amounting in the aggregate to over $160,000,000. Not satisfied with that, they arranged the tariff so as to place substantially the entire burden upon articles which are used by people who work, and almost to exempt from taxation those luxuries which are bought only by the few who are wealthy.

The reform attempted to be accomplished by the bill under consideration is so important, and the benefits it seeks to confer upon our people are so far-reaching, that it should be approached with deliberation and caution. The discussion of a question involving the interests, and therefore the happiness and prosperity, of the great mass of the citizens of a free Government, should be characterized by calm and judicious impartiality and intelligent and conscientious sincerity of purpose to secure the highest possible good to the whole country. The conclusions to which I have been led as the result of my investigations are very clear that the present tariff laws are unequal and oppressive, and the statistics and other evidence which I have before me tend strongly to establish—

1. That a revision of our tariff laws is necessary to the best interests of all our people, including those engaged in manufactures.
2. That a prohibitory tariff creates and fosters trusts and combinations of capital.
3. That Republicans oppose tariff reduction in the interest of privileged classes.
4. That all their tax laws have benefited the rich and victimized the poor.
5. That Mr. Cleveland is sustained by the messages and public utterances of all our Presidents.
6. That his views regarding free wool have been entertained by the most prominent Whig and Republican leaders.
7. That for forty years the platforms of all parties have advocated revenue reforms which Mr. Cleveland now demands.
8. That the labor of the United States, though better paid, is the cheapest labor on earth.
9. That the United States should, and under proper laws can, control the cotton trade of the world.
10. That a protective tariff sometimes injures the very industries sought to be benefited.
11. That tariff reduction will re-establish our merchant marine and give us a large export trade.
12. That during the century preceding the establishment of our present Government, and before a tariff law was conceived, the colonial manufactories so successfully competed with those of England as to cause that government to prohibit their maintenance.
13. That Alexander Hamilton in his report to Congress contended that an ad valorem tax of from 7½ to 10 per cent. was ample to foster and protect American industries, and that even such a tariff should be only temporary.
14. That our products exceed our home markets by nearly $5,000,000,000, and that revision of the tariff is essential to secure a foreign market for the surplus.
15. That under the ad valorem revenue tariff of 1846 and 1857 we nade our greatest strides in prosperity.
16. That the United States is nearly equal to Great Britain in the production of coal and iron-ore and pig-iron, and exceeds that country in the production of finished iron and steel, and that the two countries together produce two-thirds of the coal and nearly two-thirds of the iron and steel made in the world.
17. That under proper tariff laws the United States would control the trade of the world and become the center of wealth, power, and civilization.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

President Cleveland in his message of December 7, 1887, informed us that—

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

He stated that during the year ending June 30, 1887, the taxes collected from the people were more than $55,000,000 in excess of our entire expenditures, including the annual sum used for the sinking fund, and he estimated that for the year ending June 30, 1888, this excess would reach the enormous sum of one hundred and thirteen millions. The necessity of reducing taxation and thus relieving the people of unnecessary burdens was clearly manifested.

In discussing the methods to be adopted in reducing taxation, President Cleveland says:

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer.

We are, however, admonished by him to approach this important matter with caution. He says:

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Mr. Cleveland's statement as to the effect of high tariff upon prices is criticised and questioned. Several gentlemen have endeavored to show that many articles highly protected are now made in the United States and sold cheaper than they can be bought in Europe. There is no doubt that in many instances this is correct. This was predicted by Democratic Presidents forty years ago. The reason is that the manufacture of these articles was so stimulated that the supply far exceeded the demand, and prices have fallen, in many cases, lower than in foreign markets.

TARIFF REVISION NECESSARY.

The very fact that this condition often obtains, and that it exists today with regard to many articles on which there is a heavy duty, is an unanswerable argument in favor of revision of the tariff laws. If any article is made and sold cheaper in this than any other country our manufactures in that line do not need protection. In answer to those who say that tariff on those articles does no harm, I would suggest that such laws are sometimes made a pretext of by other nations to justify them in enacting laws which impose similar duties, under which our trade with those countries is restricted, and in many instances destroyed.

I recollect illustrating this while speaking on tariff in the Forty-seventh Congress. I opposed a duty on cotton-seed oil, a Southern production, and showed that France and Italy, which countries prior to 1882 bought nine-tenths of our exports of that article, had retaliated and put a tax amounting to about 1 cent a pound upon it, and in one year we lost three-fourths of our exports.

Again, common cotton cloth can be made in this country for less than the same quality can be made anywhere else on earth, and yet we have put a duty on this cotton cloth from 50 to 100 per cent., and possibly patterning after us, those peoples who ought to be our customers have subjected this class of goods to import duties which in some cases are almost prohibitory, while England, our great rival in that line, seems to have reciprocal relations with those countries by which her goods are entered much cheaper than ours.

I have taken some pains to investigate the duties of our sister states of the American continent. They are generally specific; the metric system is often adopted, and their laws are quite complicated. The ad valorem equivalent upon cotton goods I find runs from 25 to 200 per cent., and I think I am correct in saying they average at least 70 per cent.

TRUSTS DEMAND HIGH TARIFF.

It may be inquired why is it that manufacturers come here and ask for the retention of high duties amounting to almost prohibition on ar-

ticles which can be made and sold cheaper in this country than elsewhere? During the last twenty years manufacturers have combined in more or less compact organizations, the purpose of which has been to prevent low prices by limiting production. During the last ten years we have frequently seen notices that the nail or some other association had met and agreed to shut down all their works for a certain period of three or four months, the object being to stop the manufacture of articles which have been produced in excess of the demand.

These organizations have more recently taken the form of trusts. They seek to monopolize and absolutely control the business in which the members of the organization are engaged. By mutual compact they can limit production in this country, and in a measure control the price, but when they have run it above the cost of importation they are met with competition from abroad. It is to prevent this competition that they ask for high tariff, and if their request is granted we will place everything in their hands. The sugar-trust combination have already raised the price of sugar about 1 cent a pound. This takes $30,000,000 every year from the people and gives it to the "trust." The lowest duty on sugar is now 56 per cent., the highest is 90 per cent., and the average is 82 per cent. Maintain the present duty and the "sugar trust" will have it in their power to again raise the price, and the poople will be compelled to submit.

We constantly hear of new trust combinations. The most prominent of these trusts are the coal-oil, sugar, salt, gas, beef, coal, rubber, lead, copper, lead-pencil, potato, cotton-duck, steel, whisky, cotton-seed oil, military arms, envelope, oil-cloth. The power of these organizations can be estimated by their wealth. The $90,000,000 capital of the Standard Oil Trust is worth $1.40, making the total over $125,000,000. The Sugar Trust is reported at $50,000,000. The weakest of any of these trusts has sufficient strength to crush competitors, and it is done with unfaltering hand. Already most of the necessities of life are controlled by combinations of this character. Their power and influence exceed that of the nobility of all monarchical governments. It was plain to the President that something must be done for the people. In his message he asks us to lighten their burdens, and this Congress must not adjourn until the work is accomplished.

I think I shall be able to show that the recommendations of Mr. Cleveland have been sustained by all our Presidents in their messages to Congress, by all our political parties in their declarations of principles, and by all the great statesmen to whom we point with pride, and who, during the century of our country's existence, have adorned its history. If I prove to be correct in my conclusions that the wisdom of such suggestions as are contained in the President's message has not been questioned, we must seek in some other direction the reason which causes nearly all the Republican members of this House to combine in denouncing, not the message alone, but also the distinguished author.

WHY REPUBLICANS OPPOSE TARIFF REDUCTION.

The reason for this needs no explanation. It is thoroughly understood by the country at large. A party, which controlled this Government for a quarter of a century, are directed by their great leader, Hon. James G. Blaine, to adopt this question as an issue in the impending struggle for supremacy.

A question like this, so purely economic in its character, and directly affecting, as it does, the prosperity of our country and the welfare of all the people, should be considered with calm deliberation and the highest order of statesmanship. Instead of this, a determination appears to have been arrived at by the Republicans to abandon their oft-repeated expressions and make this their battle-cry, regardless of the weal or woe of a confiding people.

For political purposes it was, very probably, necessary for them to differ from the party in power, and, therefore, notwithstanding their doing so places them in direct opposition to their oft-repeated pledges and against the expressed convictions of many of their greatest leaders, they obey the order in the hope that the false cry of English free trade will call back some of their former adherents who have left their dissolving ranks, and are espousing the principles, and the great cause of the people.

If Mr. Cleveland had only advised an entire repeal of the tax on whisky and tobacco, what a godsend it would have been. Then they would have had an issue which their able leader, Mr. Blaine, could have used with terrific and overpowering force.

We would not have heard anything about free trade, but from eloquent tongues denunciations would have been poured upon us.

BLAINE VERSUS CLEVELAND.

Mr. Cleveland suggests a moderate reduction of taxation on the necessities of life. Mr. Blaine characterizes this as free trade, and recommends instead that tobacco be relieved from taxation.

Mr. Cleveland recommends a less tax upon wool, which enters into nearly every article of clothing worn by the people. This is denounced by Mr. Blaine, although in doing so he is antagonized by Presidents Grant, Garfield, Arthur, and such great men as Webster, Sumner, Wilson, and Seward.

Mr. Cleveland reminds us that the present law imposes a burden on those who consume domestic produce. Mr. Blaine seeks to construe this as an assault upon the manufacturing interests of the United States.

The Democratic party accepts the challenge, and will fight the battle upon the field chosen by its adversaries.

Combined capital, under the guise of trusts, on one side, and an army of honest toilers on the other! Cheap whisky and cheap cigarettes are offered by the Republicans; cheap sugar, cheap salt, cheap clothing, cheap blankets, cheap farming implements, and cheap necessaries of life are promised by the party of the people.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

I would be very glad to see all internal-revenue taxes abolished, including the tax on tobacco; but I can readily see that if we should do so it would be quite impossible to make other reductions which are more to the benefit of the people at large.

To perpetuate the American idea of advancement we must make our laws all tend toward the production of the highest type of civilization; and the history of our country gives abundant proof that the log cabin and plain country house have produced substantially all the men who have made our annals glorious.

The honest, industrious man who supports his family by daily labor is entitled to the highest consideration, and in framing laws we should endeavor to so lighten his burdens as to enable him to clothe, feed, and shelter those dependent upon him, and also to educate the children God has committed to his care. We have already reduced the tax on tobacco, and much as we may desire its total abolition—inconvenient and annoying as the tax may be—all will admit there is much force in the argument that before this is done we should reduce the tax on clothing, blankets, salt, sugar, medicines, trace chains, and other articles which make up the daily life of such a worthy and exemplary family.

Tobacco is no doubt a great comfort to some persons, and there are people to whom it has become an actual necessity; but even they are not put at a disadvantage by a tax on this article when the tax on tobacco enables them to reduce the tax on other articles which they are compelled to purchase.

The internal tax on tobacco is as follows:

Chewing and smoking tobacco	$15,995,019.46
Cigars	11,364,916.83
Special tax	1,430,909.48
Cigarettes	792,319.60
Snuff	524,942.50
Total	30,108,107.87

It will hardly be contended that any of these articles are necessaries of life, and all will admit that some of them are so injurious as to have received the condemnation of a large part of the medical profession.

I contend that the first step towards a repeal of the internal-revenue laws should be to exempt from taxation the product of the personal toil of the farmer and his immediate family. Early in this session, in order to carry out this view, I introduced the following bill:

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act any farmer who raises tobacco by his own personal labor, or by the aid of the personal labor of his wife or children, shall be permitted to sell said tobacco without paying any tax thereon; and any such farmer who by such labor produces spirits from fruits raised by him shall be permitted to sell such spirits without paying any tax thereon.

This bill was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and will have their careful consideration. It is in line with the law we have already enacted to exempt tobacco raised by farmers to the amount of $100 worth. The principle of this bill is democratic and just, and no one will question its wisdom and propriety. To those who insist that all the reduction of taxes should come from the internal revenue, I would suggest that Congress has already reduced internal-revenue taxation from $309,226,813 in 1866 to $118,823,391 in 1887, while during the same period the tax on imports increased from $179,046,652 to to $217,286,893, and the general sentiment of the country now insists that some of the reduction should be on imports. The bill as reported by the committee makes a reduction of $24,455,607 on internal revenue, and they estimate the reduction will be $53,720,447.22 on customs.

TRIUMPHANT BOAST OF REPUBLICANS.

In presenting to the House the tariff bill now under consideration, the Republican members of the Committee on Ways and Means, Messrs. KELLEY, BROWNE, REED, MCKINLEY, and BURROWS, made a separate report, in which they enumerate the internal-revenue taxes which have been abolished while the Republican party was in supreme and unhampered control of every branch of the Government.

They are studiously careful not to inform us exactly what character of taxation their party has reduced, or what class of tax-payers have been thus relieved of their burdens. To inform myself upon this interesting point I have investigated the acts under which this boasted enormous lightening of the loads of the laboring poor have been effected, and have prepared a table which will be found very instructive as an exemplification of Republican sympathy with, and concern for, tax-burdened workingmen.

The table shows the character of the tax, the amount collected by virtue of the tax, and the year in which it was so collected.

Year.	Character of tax.	Amount.
1866	Income tax	$72,982,159.03
1868	Gross receipts, express companies	671,949.62
1866	Gross receipts, railroad companies	7,614,448.13
1867	On gross receipts of premiums or assessments made by insurance companies	1,326,014.38
1866	Gross receipts other than express, railroad, and insurance companies	1,832,490.00
1882	On deposits of State banks and private banks and bankers	4,096,102.45
1882	On capital of State banks and private banks and bankers	1,138,340.87
1882	On deposits of national banks	5,521,927.47
1877	On capital of national banks	660,784.90
1870	On legacies and successions	3,091,825.00
1867	On articles of luxury	2,116,674.00
1870	Stamp taxes	16,544,043.00
1866	Special taxes other than those relating to spirits, beer, and tobacco	14,144,418.00
1870	Sales other than those of spirits, tobacco, wines, etc	8,837,395.00
1866	Passports	31,149.00
1866	Tax on manufacturers, which was paid by capital	64,827,165.70
	Total	205,436,886.55

The last item of $64,827,165.70 is obtained from the records of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in this manner.

In 1866 there was a law which imposed a tax upon manufacturers, which that year amounted to $104,827,165.70. This law has been repealed. It may be contended that the repeal of the law was of some benefit to laboring men. Some people estimate the benefit to them as high as $10,000,000, but to do my Republican friends no injustice, let us admit that it benefited them four times that amount, or $40,000,000, and the balance $64,827,165.70 inured to factory owners, making a total reduction of this character of $205,436,886.55.

It is to be hoped that the oppressed toilers of the land who have been so generously relieved of this $205,000,000 will be duly grateful for the boon conferred upon them by their friends of the Republican party.

REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION ANALYZED.

The first item in the table is $73,000,000 income tax, for which only those were liable who rejoiced in annual net incomes, less interest on debts and various other deductions, of $600 and over. If any laboring man has been benefited to the value of 1 cent by this reduction in taxation, I hope the Republican party will file proof of the fact before the 6th of November.

The next four items were taxes upon railroads, express and insurance and other companies, and the aggregate tax reduction was about $12,000,000, all of which, I presume, our Republican friends would have us believe was taken from the pockets of the wage-workers of the country.

The next four items, aggregating nearly $12,000,000, comprise the taxes paid by banks and bankers and those who have to build banks to have safe places in which to keep their surplus millions. It was very kind in the Republican party to relieve these poor workingmen of these $12,000,000 of burdensome taxation.

The next item is $3,000,000 taxes upon legacies and successions. Of course the Republican orators will insist next fall that every cent of this was paid by stevedores, hod-carriers, poor miners, and other toilers.

The next item represents the taxation, amounting to over $2,000,000, which was paid in 1867 on articles of luxury. I suppose it will be asserted that fine paintings, yachts, gold and silver plate, pianos, statuary, diamonds, expensive jewelry, etc., were all owned by poor seamstresses and day laborers. If this be true, then taking off this tax was a benefit to day laborers.

The next three items represent the taxes derived from stamps, special taxes, and sales other than those relating to spirits, tobacco, wines, etc., amounting to within a fraction of $40,000,000. I suppose no one will deny that most of this was paid by corporations and business establishments.

These items represent a portion of the taxes which these five distinguished Republican leaders boast that their party has abolished. The aggregate amount of this taxation was over $205,000,000, and the persons relieved of this burden were, it seems to me, those whose protection and relief is the special mission of the Republican party.

I have seen some of these tax-burdened protégés of the Republicans. They live in palaces in the winter; their summers are spent in seaside cottages, whose splendor and lavish luxury would have mortgaged the estates of Antony and Cleopatra. Sometimes they sail in fleets of yachts; sometimes they visit Europe, and I see that in 1866 they paid over $30,000 for passports, and even this expense has been taken from the shoulders of these poor creatures (?).

These are the poor laborers who cut coupons from their untaxed bonds, and whom the Democratic party has repeatedly demanded should be forced to pay a fair proportion of the expenses of government, but which demand has ever been thwarted by the Republican party.

It is almost inconceivable that such legislation was possible in a republic; but it must be remembered that the Republican party was then intoxicated with power. It seemed to consider itself above and not responsible to the people. Its political capital was the boasts of the part borne by its leaders in the war, despite the fact that it was Democrats who did most to give the country its victories and its war triumphs. With the star-spangled banner in one hand and the bloody shirt in the other, it forgot what was owing to the laboring people of the country.

With the negro politically enslaved, the Republicans were confident of perpetual power in all the Southern States, and with the factory hands apparently subjected to the dictation of their employers, they reasonably supposed that all the manufacturing States of the North would be equally subservient to their political behests. It is therefore not surprising that the leaders of the then dominant party concluded that wealth had the power to control the votes of all the every-day people to an extent sufficient to enable them to perpetuate their control of the Government, and this expectation accounts for their pandering to capital by the enactment of these unjust laws.

Men who by their talents, energy, or inventive genius have acquired fortune and fame are worthy of the esteem of mankind, and are generally accorded a full meed of admiration, and they should be scrupulously protected in the possession and enjoyment of their gains. Most of the wealthy men of to-day have accumulated their fortunes by pursuing their avocations with industry, foresight, and good judgment, and we are indebted to many of them for the marvelous developments which have characterized the history of our country during the last score of years.

They are, to the youth of the country, living examples of the advantages our institutions afford to human endeavor, guided and controlled by energy, foresight, and prudence.

> The heights by such men reached and kept
> Were not attained by sudden flight,
> But they, while their companions slept,
> Were toiling upward in the night.
> —*Longfellow.*

These men did not ask Congress to pass laws for their benefit. They have never asked nor desired legislation which shifted burdens from their shoulders to those of the laboring people of the country. Nearly all of them were once poor themselves and would never have been parties to such unjust measures. They have always been willing to pay their full and just share of taxation. Such men can not fail to distrust the wisdom and integrity of a political party which has relieved them of all the burden of government at the expense of those who are so illy able to bear this taxation.

THE WORKINGMAN VICTIMIZED.

When this annual tax of $205,000,000 which had been paid by the rich was abolished an equal amount was placed upon the honest, worthy toilers who fight the battles of the country in war and struggle for daily food during periods of peace.

The Republicans abolished taxes on incomes and made it up by taxing sugar, rice, and salt, an average of 100 per cent. They swept away the taxes on banks, insurance, express, and railroad companies, and replaced the deficiency thus created by levying a tax of from 70 to 200 per cent. on every dress, and coat, and blanket which shielded the poor man's family from the cold of winter.

They repealed the tax on bankers and bank deposits, and imposed an equal amount on farming and mechanical implements. They took the tax from legacies and successions, and in place thereof taxed every coffin and shroud.

They repealed the laws which taxed articles of luxury and collected stamp duties, and filled the gap thus occasioned by collecting taxes on every article which is found in the cottages and tenements of the people who work.

This is the party which comes here and denounces Democrats because they seek to relieve the actual laboring people from a portion of the burden imposed by harsh and unequal legislation, for which the Republican party is alone responsible.

> Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey
> The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,
> 'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
> Between a splendid and a happy land.

A land with a few princely edifices in which millionaires reside may impress with its splendor those who do not see the miserable hovels where vast populations are striving to eke out an existence; but a land covered with neat, cheerful homes is a happy land, and such can exist only where laws are equal and just and therefore democratic.

It may be contended that the result of the Presidential elections since most of these un-American laws were enacted shows that this has been condoned by the people. But the facts do not justify this conclusion.

Assuming the statement to be correct that the colored vote was so influenced by sentimental devotion to the governing party, or was so controlled by Republican officials and party machinery that it in no wise expressed either approval or disapproval of the methods of taxation, the white vote alone is left to afford us any guide as to the opinion of the people on this important question.

Although the Republican party availed itself of the eminent services and consequent exceptional popularity of that great soldier, General Grant, as its standard bearer in 1868 and 1872, Governor Hayes, whose career, military and civil, had been so blameless that censure or criticism were hardly attempted, to lead their hosts in 1876, and Garfield, equally popular as a general in war and a statesman in peace, in 1880,

and had the Knight of the White Plume to magnetize and electrify the popular mind in 1884, the vote cast by the white people was as follows:

Year.	Presidential candidates.	Democratic.	Republican.
1868.....	Seymour and Grant.....	2,709,613	2,525,719
1872.....	Greeley and Grant.....	2,834,079	2,796,401
1876.....	Tilden and Hayes.....	4,284,757	3,197,297
1880.....	Hancock and Garfield	4,442,035	3,640,310
1884.....	Cleveland and Blaine.....	4,911,017	3,979,275

I do not think that any one will question the proposition that every Democratic vote of this large majority of the white voters of the country should be accepted as the voluntary expression of the preference of the citizen. But this statement can not be said to apply to the bulk of the votes which make up the white voting strength of the Republican minority. The proof is too conclusive to be doubted that in the manufacturing districts the practice prevailed of giving the employés to understand that unless they voted as their employers desired their services would be dispensed with.

GOVERNMENT NECESSITATES TAXATION.

All admit that a government can not exist without taxation, and all should admit that there is nothing which so directly and forcibly affects the prosperity of a people as this important subject.

Laws may be enacted and maintained which, upon their face, appear to be wise and just, but which in their practical operation gradually sap the very foundations of general prosperity, and finally so classify and divide a free people that we find the masses toiling for daily bread on the one side, while on the other the beneficiaries of these laws are accumulating millions of money, together with power at once irresponsible and most dangerous.

To understand this intricate matter it is of the first importance that we should carefully examine the operation of such laws during the period our country has existed. We should also learn what laws have been to the advantage of the people and what character of laws have operated to their detriment.

While it is impossible to discuss so extensive and momentous a subject very fully, yet I feel that so far as I am able I should briefly allude to the declarations of the great political parties as enunciated in the platforms they have promulgated when asking the suffrages and confidence of the people.

I may be pardoned, I hope, if I also refer to the recommendations on this subject which our several Presidents have made in their messages to Congress; and lastly, I may with propriety, I trust, speak of the numerous laws which have been enacted for the purpose of regulating tariff taxation since the establishment of our present form of government.

WASHINGTON ON TARIFF.

The first tariff law under the Constitution was enacted July 4, 1789. Under this law, books, cabinet-ware, clothing, gloves, iron, leather, paper, and tea were taxed an ad valorem duty of 7½ per cent. China-ware, shoe and knee buckles, and gunpowder paid 10 per cent. Raw sugar paid 1 cent per pound, and all cotton goods and raw wool were free.

There was no tariff tax on necessaries above 7½ per cent., and the tax on luxuries was sufficiently high to make the average tax on all dutiable commodities something less than 15 per cent. The duties were both specific and ad valorem, the latter ranging from 5 to 15 per cent.

On January 8, 1790, Washington sent his first annual message to Congress, in which he used these words:

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation; but I can not forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home.

On August 10, 1790, and on March 2 and 3, 1791, May 2, 1792, June 5 and 7, 1794, and January 29, 1795, the tariff laws were somewhat amended, the average tax on all goods, dutiable and free, being about 11 per cent. The act of August 10, 1790, made changes in the rates, the ad valorem rates under the law being from 3 to 15½ per cent. The act of March 3, 1791, seemed to be designed to change the tax on spirits. It materially increased the tariff tax upon spirits and wines, all of which were required to pay a specific duty ranging from 12 to 40 cents per gallon. The act of May 2, 1792, increased the tax on many articles, so that under the bill the ad valorem duty ranged from 7½ to 15 per cent. The act of June, 1794, raised the duties so that the duties ranged from 10 to 20 per cent. ad valorem on dutiable goods. The act of January 29, 1795, affected only a very few articles, the duties imposed being both specific and ad valorem.

On December 8, 1795, Washington in his seventh annual message, congratulated the country on the unexampled prosperity of the Union under light taxes, in these words:

Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prosper beyond example. * * *
Every part of the Union displays rapid and varied improvement, and with burdens so light as to be scarcely perceived. * * *
Is it too much to say that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equaled?

TARIFF OF 12 PER CENT. FOSTERS MANUFACTURES.

And with the average import taxes still as low as 11 to 12 per cent., Washington, on December 7, 1796, transmitted his eighth annual message to Congress, from which I read these words:

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures.

I desire to specially impress it upon the comprehension of those who oppose tariff revision that Washington told Congress that an average tariff tax of 11 to 12 per cent. had successfully encouraged manufactures.

And I desire also to call their special attention to the fact, which they have studiously ignored in all their quotations from his writings, that the Father of his Country, while properly solicitous for the judicious encouragement of commerce and manufactures, earnestly insisted upon the superior importance of agriculture as an agency whereby the general prosperity was to be promoted. In this same message we find this significant language:

It will not be doubted that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population or other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage.

Let me ask, if the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle are sincere in their professed anxiety to follow in the footsteps of the immortal Washington, why do they not prove it by bestowing some thought upon the welfare of the agricultural industry of the country instead of making it, as they have done, abjectly subservient to the prosperity of the millionaire mill-owner and railroad magnate? Do they suppose that Washington would ever have approved of or sanctioned a system of legislation which has the effect of increasing the price of everything the agriculturist must buy and simultaneously diminishing the value of everything he must sell?

On March 3 and July 8, 1797, and May 13, 1800, further changes were made in our tariff laws, increasing the import duties to about 16 per cent. The acts of March 3, 1797, and May 13, 1800, changed the tax on only a few articles. That of July 8, 1797, increased the tax on salt from 12 to 20 cents a bushel.

Mr. Adams, in his four messages to Congress, avoided any direct expressions on the subject of tariff, except its incidental bearing towards commerce and the fisheries—industries in which the people of New England were very much interested. In his first annual message, November 23, 1797, in speaking of commerce, he said:

Our agriculture, fisheries, arts, and manufactures are connected with and depend upon it.

JEFFERSON ON TARIFF.

The platform adopted in Philadelphia at the Congressional Caucus which named Mr. Jefferson as the candidate of the Republican party laid down as a cardinal principle of the party, "free commerce with all nations."

December 8, 1801, Mr. Jefferson, in his first annual message, said:

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are the most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise.

It will be observed that Jefferson also gives agriculture the first place in enumerating the agencies upon which we must rely to establish our prosperity. Note, too, the early enunciation of the sound Democratic doctrine that all the agencies of prosperity will thrive in proportion as they are unimpeded by legislative interference. Upon the very threshold of his Presidential career he deprecates any legislation designed specially to discriminate in favor of any of the interests upon which so much depends. He does not wish any one of them to be abnormally stimulated by governmental protection and assistance, but would have each and all of them developed by the intelligence, sagacity, and enterprise of the citizens just so fast as their individual wisdom and foresight satisfies them such development will be profitable.

The sentence immediately following that which I have just read is in these words:

Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be interposed.

This expression from Mr. Jefferson clearly expresses the views which were entertained at that time.

WHEN PROTECTION IS ADMISSIBLE.

It clearly admits that protection may be justifiable, but the admission is very guarded. He holds that it may be permissible, but for what purpose? Not to create or foster any special industry or enterprise at the expense of another, but only to shield and guard established interests against "casual embarrassments." It is not to be a continuous and persistent system, but the questionable remedy may "sometimes" be resorted to in emergencies, and it can be "reasonably" resorted to only in extreme cases, and then merely as a means of "protection from casual embarrassments."

The succeeding sentence of the same message is sometimes quoted as justifying the statement that Mr. Jefferson was an advocate of the protective theory. This sentence is in these words:

If in the course of observations or inquiries they should appear to need any aid within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention.

Note carefully the express limitation within which the question of legislative aid is to be considered—"within the limits of our constitu-

tional powers." And what is the power to impose taxes conferred upon the Congress by the Constitution? What is the limit of that power? Clearly to raise the revenue necessary to the economical administration of the Government. Any tax, whether a tariff tax, a direct tax on land, or a capitation tax, that does more than this is levied in defiance of constitutional limitations of the taxing power.

Thus did the great founder of the Democratic party lay down and expound the doctrine of tariff taxation which the Democratic party to-day is striving to re-establish and enforce; and that very doctrine is the underlying principle of this bill. Protection by the National Legislature may sometimes be resorted to as a means of guarding established enterprises against "embarrassments," but the tariff tax designed to afford such protection must be levied under constitutional limitations, and those limitations require that taxes shall be imposed only for the purpose of raising revenue, and that the necessary revenues should be raised in such a manner as to afford incidental protection to the individual industries and enterprises in our midst which it may affect.

If our Republican friends can derive any comfort from Jefferson's position on the protection policy, they are welcome to it, and if they would only agree to enforce it with the limitations to its exercise which he recommends, this bill would pass without opposition.

On March 26 and 27, 1804, other changes were made in our tariff laws, the "Mediterranean fund" being created, which added 2½ per cent. to the duties on many articles.

JEFFERSON OPPOSES DUTY ON NECESSARIES.

Mr. Jefferson was not slow to perceive that the tax on salt was a burden upon the poorer classes, and in his sixth annual message, December 2, 1806, he urged the abolition of the duty. I will read an extract from that message:

The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease by law at the end of the present season. Considering, however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund instead thereof.

Gentlemen will observe that the first Democratic President insisted in 1806, as do his followers to-day, that Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power to levy taxes for revenue, should impose such taxes on luxuries and suppress or abolish the duties on the necessaries of life.

The justice of the President's views was recognized by Congress, and for the first time since the establishment of the Government under the Constitution salt was admitted free of duty by the tariff laws of March 3, 1807, and March 4, 1808.

It would appear, however, that Jefferson was not satisfied with this announcement of the Democratic principles of taxed luxuries and untaxed necessaries, and as if he feared that Congress might not fully understand it in its full meaning and widest scope, in the same message he recurs to the subject, and emphasizes the idea that taxation should be governed by the consideration that—

the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them.

And this is the identical principle for which the supporters of this bill are contending; that, so far as practicable, the necessaries of life, which every one, rich and poor, must have, be relieved of taxation, and the luxuries which they consume or do without, at the option of each individual, be made to supply the revenue required by the Government.

MADISON ON TARIFF.

Following in the footsteps of Washington and Jefferson, we find that Mr. Madison also ascribes to agriculture the leading part in securing the prosperity of the country, but mentions manufactures as of equal importance. In Madison's second annual message, December 5, 1810, we find these words:

I feel particular satisfaction in remarking that an interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. To a thriving agriculture and the improvements relating to it is added a highly interesting extension of useful manufactures, the combined product of professional occupations and household industry.

During the year in which the President wrote this our imports amounted to $61,008,705, the import duties collected on which aggregated $8,583,309, making an average tariff tax levied on the people of only 14 per cent., and under this low rate of tariff taxation Mr. Madison tells Congress that there has been an "interesting extension of useful manufactures."

The war of 1812 necessitated high taxes of all kinds, direct as well as import, as is shown by the laws of July 1, 1812, which imposed doubled duties known as "war duties," and the laws of February 25 and July 29, 1813, by which the tax of 20 cents a bushel on salt was restored. Immediately upon the return of peace, however, the duties upon many articles were reduced by the act of March 3, 1815, and the imports during that year reached the large sum of $106,457,924, yielding a customs revenue of $7,282,942, an average of something over 6 per cent.

MADISON ADVOCATES INCIDENTAL PROTECTION.

Mr. Madison's seventh annual message, December 6, 1815, is emphatic in its advocacy of a tariff for revenue, so arranged as to give incidental protection to our manufactures, as will be seen from the language I will now read:

In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration.

Mr. Madison was then known and referred to as the "Father of the Constitution," and he probably comprehended the widest scope of the powers conferred by that instrument as understood and intended by its progenitors more thoroughly than any man who assisted in framing it, and he assumes that in "adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue" Congress had unquestioned authority to so arrange them as to foster and protect our manufactures.

That was sound Democratic doctrine then, it has been sound Democratic doctrine ever since. That was in substance the doctrine announced in the Democratic platform of 1884, and this is the principle of taxation which has met the approval of the people.

There is, however, another clause in this message to which I desire to allude.

A year had elapsed since the signing of the treaty of peace, during which there had been very little to restrict imports, and, with the exception of one year, they were greater during 1815 than they were again for a period of twenty long years; and yet those free and unrestricted imports had not apparently checked the growth of our factories to any serious degree, as in this same message Mr. Madison uses this language:

Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress and exhibited an efficiency which justify the belief that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become at an early day not only safe against occasional competition from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth and even of external commerce.

The war of 1812 and the difficulties then experienced in procuring many articles necessary for defense had deeply impressed the people, and Mr. Madison says:

In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures for articles necessary for the public defense or connected with the primary wants of individuals.

Cotton was then beginning to be an important agricultural staple, owing in a great measure to the improvement of the cotton gin, and Mr. Madison says:

It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures when the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and consequently impart and insure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence an encouragement which can not fail to be rewarded.

CALHOUN, CLAY, AND WEBSTER.

Mr. Calhoun was fully understood at that time to support Mr. Madison in his recommendations that in adjusting the duties for revenue the influence of the tariff on manufactures should be considered.

Mr. Clay went further, and insisted that the question of protection should no longer be secondary to revenue, but should be regarded by Congress as a matter of primary importance.

It has been stated that the position of Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Calhoun on this subject was in some degree influenced by the action of England in imposing heavy duties upon raw cotton.

Singular as it may appear Alexander Hamilton's advocacy of the tariff was then quoted by Southern statesmen, while Mr. Webster supported the opposite view.

The laws of February 5 and April 27, 1816, had materially changed the tariff duties, the latter law fixing the ad valorem rates at from 7½ to 30 per cent. But, notwithstanding this, imports continued to be large, and on March 5, 1817, Mr. Monroe delivered his inaugural address, in which he said:

Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the Government. Possessing as we do all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on supplies from other countries.

The necessity for this policy seemed still to continue, as in his first annual message on December 2, 1817, he used these words:

Our manufactories will require the continued attention of Congress. The capital employed in them is considerable, and the knowledge required in the machinery and fabric of all the most useful manufactures is of great value. Their preservation, which depends on due encouragement, is connected with the highest interests of the nation.

The average per cent. of duty on all imports during the three years 1816, 1817, and 1818 was less that 26 per cent., and as this was denominated a protective tariff we see that views upon protection were very different then from what they are to-day.

Mr. Lossing, in his History of American Arts and Manufactures, says:

The policy was defined in his [Alexander Hamilton's] report of December, 1791, on the manufactures of the country, in which he proposed a tariff for revenue so high that it would operate practically as a tariff for protection. It was not, however, until 1816 that a tariff was established avowedly for protection.

It is a singular fact, which I submit to the consideration of this House, that this paper of Alexander Hamilton recommended a tariff of 5 per cent. on many articles, 10 on a few, and 12½ per cent. on one single article. And this is the tariff referred to by Mr. Lossing as an avowedly protective tariff.

TARIFF FOR REVENUE PRIOR TO 1816.

All the tariff acts passed prior to 1816 were for revenue. Mr. Lossing says:

In the spring of the year [1816] the first of a series of tariffs for the protection of American manufactures was established under the sanction of President Madison. It was the progenitor of all the subsequent protective tariffs.

Mr. Greeley, on page 247 of his work on Political Economy, speaks of the law as "unquestionably a tariff for protection." In discussing it he used these words:

The tariff of 1816 was made undeniably and stringently protective in its duties on cotton fabrics and on some manufactures of iron.

Mr. Webster certainly understood the law of 1816 to be protective. In referring to it in a speech in the House of Representatives in 1824, he said:

We hear of the fatal policy of the tariff of 1816, and yet the law of 1816 was passed avowedly for the benefit of manufacturers, and with very few exceptions, imposed on imported articles very great additions of tax, in some important instances, indeed, amounting to a prohibition.

Mr. Greeley also said that the bill of 1816 was framed by John C. Calhoun, and that the protective features of the bill were such as to justify him in speaking of Calhoun as advocating protection while a member of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Blaine, in speaking of the tariff of 1816, says:

New England was radically hostile to high duties, for the reason that they seriously interfered with the shipping and commercial interest in which her people were largely engaged.

Mr. Blaine also says that—

Mr. Clay, from an extreme Western State, was urging a high rate of duties on cotton fabrics, while his chief opponent was Daniel Webster, then a Representative from Massachusetts.

On page 190 Mr. Blaine explains Mr. Webster's position in these words:

Mr. Webster's opposition to protection was based on the fact that it tended to depress commerce and curtail the profits of the carrying trade. The tariff of 1816 was termed "moderately protective," but even in that form it encountered the opposition of the commercial interest.

When Mr. Webster became a protectionist and felt called upon to explain his conversion to that theory, he made a speech in Congress in which he gave his reasons for his advocacy of protection, and in doing so he quoted very freely from Mr. Calhoun's speech of 1816, many of the citations being in harmony with the position Mr. Webster had so recently taken. The latter, in closing, turned to Mr. Calhoun, and said:

Mr. President, in all this I may be wrong and in error, but if so there sits my seducer.

The law of April 20, 1818, rearranged the duties on a few articles paying specific duties, and also on a few other articles paying ad valorem rates, and increased the duties on some articles, notably on iron, glassware, and cotton goods, but reduced the tariff tax on raw cotton to the old rate of 3 cents per pound, the law of the year previous having fixed that tax at 6 cents per pound.

The law of March 3, 1819, effected a material reduction in the duty on wines and spirits.

THE TARIFF IN CONGRESS, 1824.

The question of tariff taxation and its relation to the protection of American industries was very freely discussed in Congress during the winter of 1823 and 1824.

The debates were largely devoted to constitutional construction, one side contending that the right to impose taxes for the purpose of protection was not among the granted powers, but even they admitted that since the first tariff of 1789 protection had been incidental to the exercise of this power. The opposite side, under the lead of Mr. Clay, who formulated what was known as the "American system," was ably supported by many distinguished speakers. Daniel Webster and John Randolph were among the leading speakers against the idea of protection and vigorously contested the propriety of high or prohibitory duties to stimulate industry and manufacturing enterprises. Especially did Mr. Webster insist that such laws were not necessary in the active and intelligent state of the world which characterized the civilization of that period.

Mr. Blaine says (page 191):

The act of 1824 was avowedly protective in its character, and was adopted through the influence of Mr. Clay, then Speaker of the House of Representatives. * * * Mr. Webster again appeared in the debate arguing against the "obsolete and exploded notion of protection," and carrying with him nearly the whole vote of Massachusetts in opposition.

The distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] quotes an expression from Mr. Clay, which I will read:

If I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present Constitution which exhibited a scene of the most wide-spread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly that term of seven years which immediately preceded the establishment of the tariff of 1824.

These few words are put before us so tersely that one would expect that during those years the most terrible condition prevailed and that the entire country was aroused; that the messages of our good President, Mr. Monroe, would have treated principally of this subject.

I hunted up this distinguished gentleman's messages, and nerved myself to peruse the heart-rending passages. I first read his message of December 3, 1822, thinking that surely the wide-spread dismay alluded to by my friend from Michigan must then have been about to culminate, and as the gentleman was speaking specially of manufactures I felt that they would certainly be the central figures and principal victims of this almost universal destruction and desolation which he and Mr. Clay asserted then existed.

MONROE COUNSELS CAUTION.

But, Mr. Chairman, what was my surprise to read these words:

From the best information that I have been able to obtain it appears that our manufactures, though depressed immediately after the peace, have considerably increased and are still increasing under the encouragement given them by the tariff of 1816, and by subsequent laws. * * *

Satisfied, however, I am likewise that the interest of every part of our Union, even those most benefited by manufactures, requires that this subject should be touched with the greatest caution, and a critical knowledge of the effect to be produced by the slightest change.

But, fearing I may have been mistaken, I looked forward to the message of 1823, but was unable to find any allusion to a lack of prosperity. I then looked further on to the very year mentioned by Mr. Clay, and I read these bold words from Mr. Monroe's message of December 7, 1824:

Our revenue under the mild system of impost and tonnage continues to be adequate to all the purposes of the Government. Our agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and navigation flourish.

These distinguished gentlemen certainly could hardly be right in their word-picture of the desolation of the country during the seven years from 1817 to 1824. I do not understand why my friend from Michigan has been so anxious to impress the House with the idea that the period from 1816 to 1824 was one of depression; it would be better for his high-tariff theory to take the opposite view. I think I have shown that it was during these years that we were for the first time in the history of our country testing the efficacy of moderate protection.

It seems to me the test was in its favor, but the distinguished gentleman [Mr. BURROWS] would have us believe that the first protective-tariff law enacted under the Constitution brought about wide-spread dismay and desolation. But my friend from Michigan makes another assertion, and I can not do better than quote his exact language:

But this era of protection was followed by the tariff of 1824 and 1828, which enthused new life into our languishing industries and brought to the country a period of marvelous prosperity.

My friend then attempts to sustain himself with another quotation from Mr. Clay, so decided in its language as to make it almost audacious to question it. The extract from Mr. Clay's speech is in these words:

If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824.

Let us now look at this seven years of great prosperity, which is so forcibly described.

Certainly here we shall read expressions of no doubtful significance.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

John Quincy Adams was then President, and I could readily imagine the glowing and exultant tones in which he would announce this intensified prosperity.

But, alas, we are doomed to disappointment. Instead of prosperity, I read this desponding expression from the second annual message of Mr. Adams, which he transmitted to Congress December 9, 1826:

In adverting to the present condition of our fiscal concerns and to the prospects of our revenue, the first remark that calls our attention is that they are less exuberantly prosperous than they were at the corresponding period of last year.

The tariff law of May 22, 1824, so much extolled by the gentleman from Michigan, had been in operation two years and a half, and, to put the matter in its best light, its fruits were of a very unsatisfactory character. This law exacted duties which were specific, compound, and ad valorem, the latter being from 12 to 50 per cent. It is quite true that two years later Mr. Adams speaks of prosperity, but unfortunately for the gentleman's argument Mr. Adams attributes it to causes very different from high tariff. It is a matter of history that the prosperity of that time was due almost solely to the famine in Europe, and the consequent demand upon us for provisions, which enhanced the price of our exported agricultural products.

The act of May 19, 1828, increased the duties so that the ad valorem tax ranged from 20 to 50 per cent., and that of May 24, 1828, only affected wines and spirits, increasing some and decreasing others.

In his message to Congress of December 2, 1828, Mr. Adams especially attributes our prosperity to the famine. He says:

It has happened in the vicissitudes of the seasons that the harvests of all Europe have, to the late summer and autumn, fallen short of their usual average.

The President then refers to our exports, and says:

This new element of prosperity to that part of our agricultural industry which is occupied in producing the first article of human subsistence is of the most cheering character to the feelings of patriotism. Proceeding from a cause which humanity will view with concern, the sufferings of scarcity in distant lands, it yields a consolatory reflection that this scarcity is in no respect attributable to us.

After alluding to this dispensation of Providence, Mr. Adams says—

that in pouring forth from the abundance of our own garners the supplies which will partially restore plenty to those who are in need, we shall ourselves reduce our stores and add to the price of our own bread.

RECIPROCITY NECESSARY.

It is very clear that our statesmen of that time had perceived that some reciprocal relations of trade were essential to our prosperity. It was apparent to them that nothing but absolute wants, caused by the scarcity of provisions, had forced England to relax the inhibition which had been imposed in retaliation for what that country regarded as undue discrimination against her manufacturers.

Mr. Adams certainly felt the force of these conditions, and he alludes to the laws of England and says that the legislation of one nation is sometimes intentionally made to bear heavily on the interests of another.

Mr. Adams then says:

That legislation adapted, as it is meant to be, to the special interests of its own people, will often press most unequally upon the several component interests of its neighbors.

Thus, the legislation of Great Britain, when, as has been recently avowed, adapted to the depression of a rival nation, will naturally abound with regulations of interdict upon the productions of the soil or industry of the other which come in competition with its own; and will present encouragement, perhaps even bounty, to the raw material of the other State, which it can not produce itself, and which is essential for the use of its manufacturers, competitors in the markets of the world with those of its commercial rival.

These and other considerations caused our wisest statesmen to hesitate in acceding to the demands of the extreme protectionists; and others beside the President opposed prohibitory tariff laws. Mr. Adams proceeded with his message in these words:

Such is the state of the commercial legislation of Great Britain as it bears upon our interest. It excludes, with interdicting duties, all importation (except in time of approaching famine) of the great staple productions of our Middle and Western States; it proscribes with equal vigor, bulkier lumber and live-stock of the same portion, and also of the Northern and Eastern part of our Union. It refuses even the rice of the South, unless aggravated with a charge of duty upon the Northern carrier who brings it to them.

Mr. Adams had been a student of the political and fiscal history of the world, and he saw very clearly the baneful effect of such laws upon the profitable exchange of our surplus commodities. He asks if there is no power to counteract the bias of this foreign legislation; if the self-protecting energy of the nation is so helpless—

that the growers of grain must submit to this exclusion from the foreign markets of their produce; that the shippers must dismantle their ships, the trade of the North stagnate at the wharves, and the manufacturers starve at their looms, while the whole people shall pay tribute to foreign industry, to be clad in a foreign garb; that the Congress of the Union are impotent to restore the balance in favor of native industry, destroyed by the statutes of another realm?

PREVAILING INFLUENCES, 1824 TO 1831.

All this does not sound like a period of "marvelous prosperity," as pictured by the gentleman from Michigan, nor, to use the language of Henry Clay, the period—

of the greatest prosperity which the people have enjoyed since the establishment of the present Constitution.

It seems to me this period abounded in apprehension, and that this apprehension arose from the very law which the gentleman from Michigan speaks of with so much commendation; and it also appears to me it was clearly admitted that such prosperity as was enjoyed arose almost entirely from the misfortunes of others whose crops had failed, and who, to avoid starvation, were compelled to buy the surplus products of our farms.

Mr. Adams was regarded as an advocate of protection, and I wish to commend to the opponents of this bill some of his views as expressed in his message, which I will read:

In our country a uniform experience of forty years has shown that whatever the tariff of duties upon articles imported from abroad has been, the amount of importations has always borne an average value nearly approaching to that of the exports.

Mr. Adams also said:

The extent of the prosperous commerce of the nation must be regulated by the amount of its exports.

The events preceding the year 1828 had evidently convinced Mr. Adams that unless our agricultural interests were prosperous other industries would necessarily languish.

In his message of that year he used these words:

The great interests of an agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing nation are so linked in union together that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others.

It will be observed that Mr. Adams's messages show that the prosperity he alludes to was in spite of the increase of tariff, and he does not in any way claim that the change in the tariff has caused the prosperity.

When we come to examine the changes which were made in the law of 1824, it is quite apparent that Mr. Clay's speech was not well considered, but was a mere *ad captandum* remark by a man who was at that time a candidate for the Presidency against the regular nominee of the Democratic party.

HENRY CLAY'S UNACCOUNTABLE MISTAKES.

The mistakes of Mr. Clay, into which the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] has naturally fallen, illustrate the fact that when men attempt to argue that protection, carried to the extreme of prohibition, can benefit the country, they are compelled to adopt erroneous premises in order to reach a conclusion which appears to support their theories.

Mr. Clay was generally very accurate in his statements of fact, and was never betrayed into error except in arguments designed to uphold his pet theory of prohibitory protection; and even in that particular kind of argument he has always been much more accurate than any others who have espoused these extreme views. I will therefore take this speech of Mr. Clay as the nearest approach to exactitude which has been reached in this class of argument.

The speech in question was delivered in the Senate February 2 and 3, 1832, and the extracts quoted by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] are found on page 440, volume 1, Colton's edition of Clay's Speeches.

Mr. Clay's evidence of the existence of dismay and desolation during the seven years prior to 1824 is stated by him to be—

1. The people were oppressed and borne down with an enormous load of debt.
2. The value of property was at the lowest point.
3. That a deficit in the public revenue existed.
4. That our commerce and navigation were threatened with a complete paralysis.

With regard to the first two assertions, as to the state of affairs then existing, it must be remembered that the war with Great Britain terminated in 1815, and the history of all countries shows that the inflation in some industries caused by war and the stimulation in others, which always occurs just after the return of peace, is necessarily followed by depression and reduction in values. It is therefore evident that the condition depicted in these two statements, even if they were literally exact, can not be justly attributed to the effects of our tariff laws, high or low.

Had the distinguished statesman examined the archives of the Government he would have found that his last two statements regarding a deficiency in the revenue and the decline of commerce and navigation are directly contradicted by the records, as will be seen by these figures.

The receipts of the Government from 1816 to 1823, inclusive, aggregated $196,997,798, and the expenditures, civil and miscellaneous, war, Navy, Indians, pensions, and interest, during the same period, only amounted to $156,560,030, which shows a clear excess of receipts over expenditures of $40,437,768, an average annual excess of $5,054,821, instead of a deficit, as stated by Mr. Clay.

The figures I give include eight years, so it can not be said that a deficit was brought over from the preceding year; but as I take the average, and show that during all those years the average annual receipts were more than five millions above the expenditures, it is difficult to account for Mr. Clay's statement that a deficit existed, and still more difficult to realize how he could contend that the tariff of 1816 could have tended to bring about such a result.

The tonnage of our shipping in 1816 was 1,372,219; in 1824 it had increased to 1,389,163, and in 1825 it had further increased to 1,423,111 tons. We therefore see that our commerce and navigation, instead of being paralyzed, actually made substantial gains.

On page 441 Mr. Clay exultingly gives as his proofs of the great prosperity which, he says, existed during the seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824:

1. The vast amount of revenue produced by that [Mr. Clay's] system;
2. Every branch of navigation has increased;

and, 3, he devotes nearly a full page to showing an increase in the wealth of New York from $52,000,000 to $95,000,000.

In reply, I will state that the records of the Government show that the receipts of the years 1825 to 1831, inclusive, were $169,914,850, an average of $24,273,550, and the expenditures during that time were $110,993,063, an average of $15,856,152, showing an annual excess of $8,417,398.

Here is a small increase, but it is not due to the tariff, as the records show that during the first period, prior to 1824, the payments for interest averaged over five millions a year, and pensions one year were as high as $32,000,000, while during the second period, from 1824 to 1831, the interest ran below two millions, and pensions averaged only about one million a year. It appears, therefore, that the little surplus in the Treasury was not in any way due to the tariff.

Now, as to commerce: The tonnage of our shipping, which was 1,423,111 in 1825, instead of increasing, as contended by Mr. Clay, actually decreased, and was only 1,267,846 in 1831.

Mr. Clay is no doubt correct in his assertion that under a high tariff there was some concentration of wealth in New York City, and most probably the same was true of other large cities. One of the effects of a high tariff has usually been to concentrate wealth, and that is one of the arguments we make against that system. What Democrats want is diffusion of wealth and many happy homes. The exports of domestic products constitute another element of commercial prosperity and are intimately connected with the welfare of our shipping, and in this matter also the figures are fatal to Mr. Clay's assertions.

Our exports of domestic products for the seven years which Mr. Clay depicts as years of widespread dismay and desolation aggregated $385,529,796, an annual average of $55,095,685. During the seven years from 1825 to 1831, which Mr. Clay characterized as the period of the greatest prosperity which the people have ever enjoyed, our domestic

exports amounted to $406,031,094, an annual average of $57,003,887, hardly any greater than the exports during the former period.

But we must consider that during the first period our population, according to the census of 1820, averaged about 9,633,822, while during the second period, according to the census of 1830, it was 12,866,020, an increase of one-third.

Now, the prosperity ought to have increased as the population increased, and as it did not we find that every assertion put forward by Mr. Clay to establish the superiority of the tariff of 1824 in its effect upon our revenue, commerce, and navigation is actually opposed to the facts of the case when tested by the official reports and figures of the Government.

ERRORS EVEN MORE GLARING.

Astonishing and glaring as these errors are, they are mild and inconsiderable when compared with the phenomenal inaccuracies with which we are now confronted by many persons in their arguments in support of protection by prohibitory tariff.

The tariff law of 1824 put a tax upon beef, bacon and hams, oats, wheat, butter, and oils, all of which had previously been free of duty. These were articles of which we produced a large surplus and desired to export in large quantities; and it is difficult to see how putting on this tax could have any beneficial effect, while it is clear beyond question that our doing so enabled European nations to use such action as a pretext to enact similar tariff laws regarding their imports, and thus of necessity operating very seriously to our detriment. It was probably such laws which Mr. Adams had in his mind when he penned his message of December 2, 1828, in which he said that the legislation of Great Britain, when—

adapted to the depression of a rival nation will naturally abound with regulations of interdict upon the productions of the soil or industry of the other which come in competition with its own.

RETALIATION.

Now, bear in mind that only four years had elapsed since the law was enacted placing a tariff duty on provisions, and already it appeared that Great Britain had opened a vigorous retaliation.

Mr. Adams also informed Congress that Great Britain excluded, with interdicting duties, the great staple productions of our Middle and Western States, lumber and live-stock of the same section and of the Northern and Eastern States, and even the rice of the South.

I think it can not be doubted that the feature of the law of 1824 which placed a duty upon provisions had much to do with the retaliation of which Mr. Adams so bitterly complained. It had become apparent even before that early date that injudicious and indiscriminate tariff taxation was attended with evil. Mr. Monroe feared that a tariff on some articles would not bring about any good to the country or to our industries, and that in some instances it was injurious to the very interests it was intended to foster.

The sagacity and foresight of Mr. Monroe caused him to anticipate such results, and it may have been this consideration which led him to warn Congress against such legislation. He told the country there were strong reasons which imposed upon us the obligation to cherish and sustain our manufactures, but in doing so he explained that to attain advantageous results required that the subject should be treated with caution. In his message to Congress December 3, 1822, Mr. Monroe said:

Satisfied I am, whatever may be the abstract doctrine in favor of unrestricted commerce, provided all nations would concur in it, that there are other strong reasons applicable to our situation and relations with other countries which impose on us the obligation to cherish and sustain our manufactures. Satisfied, however, I am, likewise, that the interest of every part of our Union, even of those most benefited by manufactures, requires that this subject should be touched with the greatest caution and a critical knowledge of the effect to be produced by the slightest change.

It is very clear that the foresight and admonitions of Mr. Monroe were not fully regarded by the Congress which enacted the tariff laws of 1824, and that the evils which he anticipated as a result of such legislation came upon us with even greater force than he apprehended.

The tariff laws enacted by Congress February 11, 1825, and May 19 and 24, 1828, were not framed with such sagacity and knowledge of the subject as to produce an amelioration or mitigation of the evils entailed upon the country by the law of 1824.

The law of 1828 imposed a specific duty upon many articles which had previously been subject only to an ad valorem tax. This law decreased the tax upon many kinds of wine, but augmented the tariff upon articles manufactured of iron, lead, and also upon hemp, indigo, carpets, blankets, and some other articles.

These changes in the tariff-tax law do not seem to have been very material, as, after careful examination, I can not find that the tax upon any of the articles named in the schedule was increased or dimished to any great extent. In support of this view I would mention that the records of the Treasury show that the average tariff tax for the last half of 1828 and the whole of 1829 was not substantially greater than it was prior to the passage of the act of May 24, 1828.

LAW OF 1828 NOT BENEFICIAL.

The history of the period clearly shows that this law did not operate beneficially upon any part of the country, and it appears to have proved decidedly unsatisfactory to those for whose special benefit it was enacted. This was admitted, and inferentially deplored, by so staunch a protectionist as Mr. Adams, as will be seen by a portion of his last annual message, which I will now read:

The tariff of the last session was, in its details, not acceptable to the great interests of any portion of the Union, not even to the interests which it was specially intended to subserve.

Let me ask the uncompromising and persistent advocates of the theory that the greatest prosperity follows the highest tariff to consider carefully this significant official assertion as to the failure of their views when reduced to practice in this instance. This law, says Mr. Adams, benefited no part of the Union, and was not even advantageous to the interests which it was specially designed to promote.

But Mr. Adams did not stop with the bare assertion of such failure of the law in question to accomplish the beneficial effects which were expected to have inevitably followed its enactment; he proceeded to specify the disastrous results it had entailed in the direct and unequivocal terms I will now read:

Its object was to balance the burdens upon native industry imposed by the operation of foreign laws, but not to aggravate the burdens of one section of the Union by the relief afforded to another.

Is it not clear from this language that Mr. Adams, one of the earliest as well as one of the foremost and ablest advocates of the protective theory, regarded a law that relieved one industry at the expense of others as unwise and pernicious?

He saw very plainly that it was impossible to maintain the healthy prosperity of the country by the operation of laws which had the effect of adding to the burdens borne by any important enterprise that others might be benefited.

He then calls the attention of Congress to the necessity of revising the tariff act of May 24, 1828, so as to remove the inequalities to which he had referred. In making this recommendation to Congress he used these emphatic words:

If any of the duties imposed by the act only relieve the manufacturer by aggravating the burden of the planter, let a careful revisal of its provisions, enlightened by the practical experience of its effects, be directed to retain those which impart protection to native industry, and remove or supply the place of those which only alleviate one great national interest by the depression of another.

"OLD HICKORY."

During the campaign which resulted in the election of General Jackson the question of tariff taxation formed a prominent issue. Like his predecessor, General Jackson was deeply impressed with the necessity for such a revision of the tariff laws as would make them, so far as practicable, equally beneficial to all the great interests of the country in their effects, and in his inaugural address he expressed those views in these words:

With regard to a proper selection of the subjects of impost, with a view to revenue, it would seem to me that the spirit of equity, caution, and compromise in which the Constitution was formed requires that the great interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures should be equally favored.

Let me now recall to your remembrance the fact that on December 3, 1822, President Monroe in recommending a revision of existing tariff laws insisted that "this subject should be touched with the greatest caution and a critical knowledge of the effect to be produced by the slightest change." After the lapse of seven years, imbued with the same spirit and animated by the same purpose, President Jackson tells Congress that the tariff laws must be revised in a spirit of equity, caution, and compromise. Caution was the admonition of the thoughtful and painstaking Monroe, "caution" was the key-note of the policy upon this important question recommended by the impetuous and dauntless Jackson, and "caution" is now insisted upon by President Cleveland.

On December 8, 1829, President Jackson sent his first message to Congress, and comments upon the effect of the tariff laws in these words:

No very considerable change has occurred during the recess of Congress in the condition of either our agriculture, commerce, or manufactures. The operation of the tariff has not proved so injurious to the two former or as beneficial to the latter as was anticipated. Importations of foreign goods have not been sensibly diminished, while domestic competition, under an illusive excitement, has increased the production much beyond the demand for home consumption. The consequences have been low prices, temporary embarrassments, and partial loss.

"Caution" had not been observed in framing these tariff laws, and the President informs Congress that so far from being beneficial to the manufacturers for whose special advantange they had been enacted, the opposite effect had resulted, and these very establishments had been subjected to "temporary embarrassments and partial loss."

Let me again ask my eloquent friend from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], where does he find in this picture the evidence of that marvelous prosperity which he claims was the result of the tariff laws of 1824 and 1828?

Reiterating the idea that caution is indispensable in dealing with this delicate and important question of a revision of the tariff laws in the interest of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, President Jackson, in this same message, goes on to say:

To regulate its conduct so as to promote equally the prosperity of these three cardinal interests is one of the most difficult tasks of government. * * *
Under these impressions I invite your attention to the existing tariff, believing that some of its provisions require modification.

JACKSON INSISTS UPON CAUTION.

But General Jackson seems unwilling to leave the subject without again emphasizing the necessity of caution in legislation of this character, which he does in these words:

When we reflect upon the difficulty and delicacy of this operation it is important that it should never be attempted but with the utmost caution.

President Jackson shared the views entertained by Washington and Jefferson relative to the superior importance of our agricultural interests as compared with commerce and manufactures. This will be evident from the passage in this message I will now read:

The agricultural interest of our country is so essentially connected with every other, and so superior in importance to them all, that it is scarcely necessary to invite to it your particular attention. It is principally as manufactures and commerce tend to increase the value of agricultural productions, and to extend their application to the wants and comforts of society, that they deserve the fostering care of the Government.

In the same message the President dwelt upon the importance of reducing the tariff tax upon articles of necessity, and specially recommended a reduction in the tax on tea and coffee. In speaking of articles upon which he recommends a reduction and which do not come in competition with our own products, he says:

Of these tea and coffee are the most prominent; they enter largely into the consumption of the country, and have become articles of necessity to all classes. A reduction, therefore, of the existing duties will be felt as a common benefit.

TARIFF REDUCED ON NECESSITIES.

Probably it was pursuant to these recommendations that Congress passed the tariff laws of May 20 and May 29, 1830. The act of May 20, 1830, is found in volume 4, page 403, of the Statutes at Large. It reduced the duty on coffee from 5 cents to 2 cents per pound, and provided that after December 31, 1831, it should be but 1 cent per pound. This act also increased the discrimination in the duty on teas imported in American vessels. The general purpose of the law appears to have been to fix the duty on teas imported from China or other places east of the Cape of Good Hope in American vessels at about two-thirds the tax imposed upon the same article if imported from other places or in foreign bottoms.

One act of May 29, 1830 (*ibid*, page 419), reduced the tax on molasses from 10 cents to 5 cents per gallon, and another act, approved the same day, reduced the tax on salt from 20 cents to 15 cents per bushel, and after December 31, 1831, to 10 cents per bushel.

The price of coffee at that time was about 11 cents per pound; molasses was about 30 cents per gallon, and salt was selling at about $2.50 per sack. All of these commodities fell in value after the new duties went into effect.

In the famous veto of the Maysville road, read in Congress May 27, 1830, President Jackson referred to the tariff-tax law of 1828, and asserted that—

many of the taxes collected from our citizens through the medium of imposts have for a considerable period been onerous. In many particulars these taxes have borne severely upon the laboring and less prosperous classes of the community, being imposed on the necessaries of life.

In his message of December 7, 1830, General Jackson asserts that the power to adjust duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry is conferred by the States on the General Government, but holds that the then existing law "is considered by almost all as defective in many of its parts." He therefore recommends that it be revised, and states—

that the difficulties of adjustment, although great, are far from being insurmountable.

In the same message he further considers the effect of the tariff laws then in force, and concludes that it is—

doubtless overrated, both in its evils and advantages.

JACKSON ADVISES INCIDENTAL PROTECTION.

Jackson also says:

While the chief object of duties should be revenue, they may be so adjusted as to encourage the manufacturers.

But he strictly adheres to his demand for light taxes on necessities, and tells Congress that—

the present tariff taxes some of the comforts of life unnecessarily high.

And in discussing the adjustment of duties so as to afford protection he said:

I am well aware that this is a subject of so much delicacy, on account of the extended interests it involves, as to require that it should be touched with the utmost caution, and that while an abandonment of the policy in which it originated—a policy coeval with our Government and pursued through successive administrations—is neither expected nor desired, the people have a right to demand, and have demanded, that it be so modified as to correct abuses and obviate injustice.

The act of July 13, 1832, sought to carry into effect the convention, between the United States and France, and provided that the tax on French wines should be 6 cents per gallon on red, 10 cents on white in casks, and 22 cents per gallon on all sorts in bottles.

On the following day a general law was enacted (Statutes at Large, volume 4, pages 583–594) which was designed to be a general revision of the tariff. It imposed specific, compound, and ad valorem duties, the latter running from 5 to 50 per cent.

On March 2, 1833, three tariff laws were approved which affected but a few articles paying ad valorem duties.

The important feature of the tariff legislation of that session was the enactment of what was called the compromise act of March 2, 1833. (Statutes at Large, volume 4, pages 629–631.) Section 1 of this act provided that all duties exceeding 20 per cent. should be reduced by annually striking off one-tenth of the excess, and after 1841 one-half of the residue should be deducted, and after 1842 the other half shall be deducted.

AGAINST MONOPOLY.

President Jackson was so strenuously opposed to any system which might by any possibility tend to establish monopolies that on April 15, 1834, he used this forcible language:

The ambition which leads me on is an anxious desire and a fixed determination to * * * persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid Government supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments that they will find happiness or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce.

Is not this the true, the only method by which we can hope to realize the idea of "a people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people?" Under such a government the citizens can not be subjected to the rule either of aristocrats or plutocrats, but a happy people, protected in their liberties, under an unpretentious and unostentatious system of government would select their rulers from their own body, thereby securing protection to all and granting favors or special privileges to none. Under such a system the unavoidable burdens of Government would be proportionately, if not equally, distributed according to the benefits derived from it. Protection to the person being enjoyed by all alike, the burdens of that protection would be equally borne by all, while the protection to property would fall most heavily upon those most benefited by it; that is, the citizen would be called on to contribute to the Government in proportion to the amount of the property he owned.

General Jackson still adhered to the principle that protective duties should be levied on luxuries, and the necessaries of life be left untaxed. And in his message of December 6, 1836, he admonishes Congress in these words:

The duty on salt was laid as a war tax, and was no doubt continued to assist in providing for the payment of the war debt. There is no article the release of which from taxation would be felt so generally and so beneficially.

It will be observed that the bill now before the House conforms to this view of the taxing power, as it places this article (salt) of prime necessity on the free-list for the first time since the Democrats surrendered the administration of the Government nearly thirty years ago.

THE POOR SHOULD NOT BE BURDENED WITH TAXES.

In the same line of Democratic policy of guarding and protecting the more necessitous classes of our people from the oppressions of taxation which must prove more burdensome to them than to their more fortunate fellow citizens, the President continues:

To this may be added all kinds of fuel and provisions. Justice and benevolence unite in favor of releasing the poor of our cities from burdens which are not necessary to the support of our Government, and tend only to increase the wants of the destitute.

And in his last official utterance, in his farewell address to the people of the United States, this great statesman, this eminent and steadfast Democrat, this true friend of the mechanics and laboring men of the country, again urges the idea upon the attention of the country in these words of wisdom:

The tax imposed on goods enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer, and as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity, which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imposts is drawn from their pockets. Congress has no right, under the Constitution, to take money from the people unless it is required to execute some of the specific powers intrusted to the Government.

And in the same address, as if to caution the people, he points out that only certain classes of the community can be anxious for a different system of taxation. I will read his words:

The corporations and wealthy individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments desire a high tariff to increase their gains.

On the 4th of September, 1837, Mr. Van Buren sent his special message to Congress, in which he treated the double evil of heavy taxation and a surplus revenue in these words:

To burden the country with increased taxation when there is in fact a large surplus revenue would be unjust and unwise.

PARTY PLATFORMS.

With the exception of the demand for "free commerce with all nations," formulated by the Congressional caucus which in 1800 named Mr. Jefferson as the candidate of the Republican party, the platforms of all parties were silent on the subject of the tariff up to 1840. The only approach or pretension to a platform on this question is to be found in the resolutions adopted by a ratification meeting held in Washington May 11, 1832.

In 1840 the Democratic platform expressed the principles of the party on the tariff in these words:

Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another.

On this platform Van Buren carried the manufacturing State of New Hampshire by 6,386 and Pennsylvania went for Harrison by a majority of only 2 votes.

It is well known that Van Buren's defeat was occasioned by causes entirely different from the tariff, and this is evidenced by the fact that the same words regarding the tariff were incorporated in the Democratic platform of 1844, and upon that platform Polk was elected, carrying by large votes the following States, whose Representatives here to-day are almost unanimous for protection, namely, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maine, defeating the great Sage of Ashland upon a platform which demanded—

A tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country.

In 1848 the Democratic party platform reiterated the tariff views of 1840 and 1844, and repeated these words:

Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one industry to the detriment of another.

and asserted further that:

The fruits of the great political triumph of 1844 have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846.

In this campaign, though opposed by General Taylor, the hero of Monterey and Buena Vista, the Democrats carried Ohio and Maine, and Taylor's clear majority in Pennsylvania was only 3,074 votes.

In 1852 the Democracy reaffirmed the tariff resolutions of 1840, 1844, and 1848, and with General Pierce as their candidate they carried Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Maine, Delaware, and Connecticut.

In 1856 the Democratic party again, and for the fifth time, incorporated the anti-protection sentiments of the platforms of 1840, 1844, 1848, and 1852, to which they added this forcible and impressive declaration:

Resolved, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world by solemn manifestations to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

And, mark you, it was on this platform that they elected Mr. Buchanan, carrying the manufacturing States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

From 1834 to 1842 the imports of goods on which no duty was collected—namely, goods on the free-list—was almost equal to the importations of goods on the dutiable list.

TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO.

President Harrison died before transmitting any message on the tariff, but President Tyler, like all of his other predecessors, discussed the tariff laws, and in his special message of the 1st of June, 1841, we find this language:

The act of the 2d of March, 1833, commonly called the Compromise Act, should not be altered, except under urgent necessities, which are not believed at this time to exist. One year only remains to complete the series of reductions provided for by that law, at which time provisions made by the same law, and which then will be brought actively in aid of the manufacturing interests of the Union, will not fail to produce the most beneficial results.

Notwithstanding this earnest and urgent objection to any alteration of the tariff laws then in force, Congress did change them, and we find that on the 11th of September, 1841, President Tyler approved a tariff act which imposed a duty of 20 per cent. on all commodities then on the free-list, as well as on all goods the duty on which was then below 20 per cent., excepting, however, a lengthy list of articles which were specified in the act.

This law does not appear to have been satisfactory to Mr. Tyler; for in his first annual message, submitted to Congress on the 7th December, 1841, he takes up the subject again, and announces his acquiesence in the theory of a tariff for revenue, with incidental protection, in these words:

In imposing duties, however, for the purposes of revenue, a right to discriminate as to the articles on which the duty shall be laid, as well as the amount, necessarily, and most properly exists.

TYLER FOR INCIDENTAL PROTECTION.

He then goes on to show that the Government would be greatly hampered if this right is not admitted, and says:

So also the Government may be justified in so discriminating, by reference to other considerations of domestic policy connected with our manufactures.

And in his tariff veto of the 29th of June, 1842, he discusses the subject again with reference to this particular idea, insisting that Congress had the undoubted right, in arranging the revenue laws, to—

so discriminate as to give incidental protection to manufacturing industry—thus to make the burdens which it is compelled to impose upon the people for the purposes of government productive of a double benefit.

This most of the reasonable opponents of protective duties seem willing to concede, and if we may judge from the manifestations of public opinion in all quarters this is all that the manufacturing interests really require.

The next tariff law was that of the 30th of August, 1842, which effected a general change in the tariff duties, fixing the ad valorem duties at from 1 to 50 per cent. It added 10 per cent. to the duties on goods imported in foreign vessels, and 20 per cent. if imported from places east of the Cape of Good Hope in foreign vessels. (Statutes at Large, volume 5, pages 548–567.)

On the 7th of December, 1842, President Tyler sent his second annual message to Congress, and tells them that Congressional action may be necessary to remedy the defects in the law I have just referred to, consequent upon its hasty and hurried passage, and after urging that such action should be undertaken in a spirit of moderation and wise discrimination which should cause the "people everywhere to feel and to know that the Government is careful of the interests of all alike," he puts the Congress on its guard in this forcible declaration:

Extravagant duties defeat their end and object.

And in his last message, the 3d of December, 1844, President Tyler again discusses the subject of taxation in this unpretending but forcible language:

This important power of taxation, which, when exercised in its most restricted form, is a burden on labor and production, is resorted to under various pretexts for purposes having no affinity to the motive which dictated the grant.

He then points out the evil consequences of the injudicious exercise of the power, and concludes:

It may be laid down as an axiom founded in moral and political truth, that no greater taxes should be imposed than are necessary for an economical administration of the Government, and that whatever exists beyond should be reduced or modified.

What was morally and politically true in 1844 can not be untrue or unsound in policy in 1888, and the underlying principle of the bill now under consideration is reduction or modification of the present system of unnecessary, excessive, and oppressive taxation.

POLK ADVISES INCIDENTAL PROTECTION.

President Polk, having been triumphantly elected on the platform of principles, including the part relating to the subject of tariff taxation, which I have already quoted, it was to be expected that he would address himself to this important question, and in his inaugural address he quotes as the true doctrine in the matter the official declaration of his party in 1840:

Justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another.

And proceeds to explain his individual views upon the question in these words:

I have heretofore declared to my fellow-citizens that, "in my judgment, it is the duty of the Government to extend, as far as it may be practicable to do so, by its revenue laws and all other means within its power, fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce, and navigation."

To this he added his express sanction or approval of the present Democratic doctrine of a tariff for revenue, with incidental protection. On this point Mr. Polk said:

I have also declared my opinion to be "in favor of a tariff for revenue," and that "in adjusting the details of such a tariff I have sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and, at the same time, afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry," and that I was "opposed to a tariff for protection merely, and not for revenue."

He then considers the question of taxation in its constitutional aspects, and says:

In executing this power by levying a tariff of duties for the support of government the raising of *revenue* should be the *object* and *protection* the *incident*. To reverse this principle, and make *protection* the *object* and *revenue* the *incident*, would be to inflict manifest injustice upon all other than protected interests.

He then argues that a properly adjusted tariff for revenue will inevitably afford all the protection government can justly confer on any industry, and shows how injustice would result from the opposite practice.

The largest portion of our people are agriculturists; others are employed in manufactures, commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts. To tax one branch of this home industry for the benefit of another would be unjust. No one of these interests can rightfully claim an advantage over the others, or to be enriched by impoverishing the others. All are equally entitled to the fostering care and protection of the Government. In exercising a sound discretion in levying discriminating duties within the limit prescribed, care should be taken that it is done in a manner not to benefit the wealthy few at the expense of the toiling millions, by taxing lowest the luxuries of life, or articles of superior quality and high price, which can only be consumed by the wealthy, and highest the necessaries of life, or articles of coarse quality and low price, which the poor and great mass of our people must consume.

If Mr. Polk's life had been prolonged to this time he could not have portrayed the injustice wrought by the law which the bill under consideration seeks to modify or amend more graphically than he did in this pre-vision of how such a law would inevitably operate. The very system of taxation which Mr. Polk tells Congress should be carefully avoided has been arbitrarily forced upon the country with just the results that were foreseen.

LUXURIES, NOT NECESSITIES, SHOULD BE TAXED.

In his first annual message, sent to Congress on the 2d of December, 1845, President Polk again endeavors to impress upon the National Legislature the necessity of equity, justice, and caution in exercising, the taxing power, to the end that all interests be equally guarded by the Government. Mr. Polk said:

The terms "protection to domestic industry" are of popular import, but they should apply, under a just system, to all the various branches of industry in our country. The farmer or planter who toils yearly in his fields is engaged in "domestic industry," and is as much entitled to have his labor "protected" as the manufacturer.

Attention is then called to the inequalities of the taxes exacted by the law of 1842, of which the President says:

They are prohibitory on some articles and partially so on others, and bear most heavily on articles of common necessity, and but lightly on articles of lux-

ury. It is so framed that much the greatest burden which it imposes is thrown on labor and the poorer classes, who are least able to bear it, while it protects capital and exempts the rich from paying their just proportion of the taxation required for the support of the Government.

I can imagine no more accurate description of the wrongs perpetrated by the present tariff-tax law which the Democratic party has for many years been trying to amend and modify.

And the President goes on with his merciless exposition of the enormities of the law of 1842. He says further:

Articles of prime necessity or of coarse quality and low price used by the masses of the people are, in many instances, subjected by it to heavy taxes, while the articles of finer quality and higher price or luxury which can be used only by the opulent are lightly taxed.

As in 1845 so in 1888 the Democratic party, the real party of the people, seeks to correct the flagrant iniquity of making the workingman pay heavy taxes on the common blankets and clothing he and his family must use, while the diamonds, the laces, the silks, and the satins of the capitalist have to pay a tax which, in comparison, is merely nominal.

Then, as now, the Democratic party disclaimed any hostility to the manufacturers. On this point, in the same message, Mr. Polk said:

In recommending to Congress a reduction of the present rates of duty, and a revision and modification of the act of 1842, I am far from entertaining opinions unfriendly to the manufacturers. * * * The advantage under any system of indirect taxation, even within the revenue standard, must be in favor of the manufacturing interests, and of this no other interest will complain.

RECOMMENDS AD VALOREM DUTIES.

The President then recommends the adoption of ad valorem duties as the most equitable system of indirect taxation which can be imposed. His views upon this point are thus explained:

By the ad valorem principle all articles are taxed according to their cost or value, and those which are of inferior quality or of small cost bear only the just proportion of the tax with those which are of superior quality or greater cost.

There can be but little doubt the opinions and recommendations of President Polk were largely instrumental in inducing the Twenty-ninth Congress to prepare the famous tariff-tax bill of 1846, which was ably, and in some instances acrimoniously, debated by the more prominent of the great men who then guided the destinies of the country.

July 25 and 27, 1846, Daniel Webster spoke upon the great tariff bill which became the law three days later. He explained his position on the tariff question, and defended himself from the charge of inconsistency. He said:

I have said many times, and it is true, that up to the year 1824 the people of that part of the country to which I belong, being addicted to commerce, having been successful in commerce, their capital being very much engaged in commerce, were adverse to entering upon a system of manufacturing operations. Every member in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, with the exception of one, I think, voted against the act of 1824.

Mr. Webster then explained that the bill of 1824, which increased duties, was passed principally by the people of the Middle States, but the enactment of the law induced New England to erect factories and that:

She went into the manufacturing operations, not from original choice, but from the necessity or the circumstances in which the public councils had placed her; and for one I resolved then, and have maintained that resolution ever since, that, having compelled the Eastern States to go into these operations for a livelihood, the country was bound to fulfill the just expectations which it had inspired.

Mr. Webster was, however, very moderate in his expressions. He said Mr. Clay's speech, which ushered in the bill of 1824, was called by him a speech for an "American system." He said he had investigated the subject and studied the Constitution, and—

the sentiments of the great men who framed it; I hope I have studied with more care the condition of the country when the convention assembled to form it, and yet I do not know that I have much, sir, to retract or to change on these points.

It thus seems that on the general question of tariff Mr. Webster had not materially altered his views since 1824, when he and his Massachusetts colleagues had voted side by side with the representatives of Virginia, the Carolinas, and other Southern States.

He dissented from the views of some of the opponents of the bill, who, he said, seemed—

to argue the question as if all domestic industry were confined to the production of manufactured articles; as if the employment of our own capital and our own labor in the occupations of commerce and navigation were not as emphatically domestic industry as any other occupation. * * *

One man makes a yard of cloth at home, another raises agricultural products and buys a yard of imported cloth. Both these are equally the earnings of domestic industry, and the only questions that arise in the case are two: The first is, which is the best mode under all the circumstances of obtaining the article? The second is, how far this question is proper to be decided by Government, and how far it is proper to be left to individual discretion. There is no foundation for the distinction which attributes to certain employment the peculiar appellation of American industry, and it is in my judgment extremly unwise to attempt such discriminations.

DALLAS'S VOTE CARRIES ACT OF 1846.

It would seem from this that Mr. Webster agreed with the Democratic idea that the manufacturer was not the only citizen whose pursuit could properly be distinguished as domestic industry. But notwithstanding his own unanswerable reasoning upon this point, Mr. Webster voted against the bill, and the Senate was evenly divided (28 to 28), which left the decision of the question with the Vice-President, Mr. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, who voted for the bill, thus passing it by the vote of a leading Democrat of the great manufacturing State whose Representatives, with one or perhaps two honorable exceptions, now clamorously demand the perpetuation of the inequalities and hardships which the tariff-tax laws now enforce.

The tariff law of the 30th of July, 1846, imposed ad valorem duties only, and as it thus taxed articles in proportion to their cost or value, its practical effect was to enforce the Democratic doctrine of a low tax on the coarser and cheaper articles consumed by the great body of the people and a heavier tax on the finer and higher-priced articles (luxuries), which none but the opulent could afford to buy.

In Mr. Polk's second message, sent to Congress on the 8th of December, 1846, he states that the tariff law of that year not having gone into effect until the 1st of December, no opportunity had been afforded to form an opinion of its probable effect on the revenue and the business of the country, but he proceeds to contrast the principles established by the recent law with those of the act of 1842, of which latter he said:

By it the taxes were imposed, not for the legitimate purpose of raising revenue, but to afford advantages to favored classes at the expense of a large majority of their fellow-citizens. Those employed in agriculture, mechanical pursuits, commerce, and navigation, were compelled to contribute from their substance to swell the profits and overgrown wealth of the comparatively few who had invested their capital in manufactures. The taxes were not levied in proportion to the value of the articles upon which they were imposed, but, widely departing from this just rule, the lighter taxes were, in many cases, levied upon articles of luxury and high price, and the heavier taxes upon those of necessity and low price consumed by the great majority of the people.

MANUFACTURERS BENEFITED.

Elsewhere in the same message the President predicts that another beneficial effect of the new law will be the permanent establishment of the system for the reason that capitalists who have made or shall make investments in manufacturing enterprises will be satisfied with the results, and will know what they can rely upon. This, he insists, could not be the case under the old system, because—

High protective duties, from their unjust operation upon the masses of the people, can not fail to give rise to extensive dissatisfaction and complaint and to constant efforts to change or repeal them, rendering all investments in manufactures uncertain and precarious.

The demand now resounding throughout the country for the modification of the existing oppressive system of high duties gives emphasis and point to this cogent reasoning.

By the opening of the Thirtieth Congress the law of 1846 had been in operation for twelve months, and the results had more than justified the expectations of its authors, and in his third annual message, transmitted to Congress on the 7th of December, 1847, President Polk refers to what it had accomplished in these terms of reasonable exultation:

Its effects are visible in the great and almost unexampled prosperity which prevails in every branch of business. While the repeal of the prohibitory and restrictive duties of the act of 1842, and the substitution in their place of reasonable revenue rates levied on articles imported according to their actual value, have increased the revenue and augmented our foreign trade, all the great interests of the country have been advanced and promoted. The great and important interests of agriculture, which had been not only too much neglected but actually taxed under the protective policy for the benefit of other interests, have been relieved of the burdens which that policy imposed on them, and our farmers and planters, under a more just and liberal commercial policy, are finding new and profitable markets abroad for their augmented products. Our commerce is rapidly increasing, and is extending more widely the circle of international exchanges.

The message then calls attention to the fact that the reduced taxation has been advantageous to the manufacturing as well as to other industries, and I think, Mr. Chairman, those who oppose the bill we are now considering on the ground that it will prove injurious to our manufacturing interests will do well to ponder the lessons of experience under a low-tariff law as taught in these words:

While the interests of agriculture, of commerce, and of navigation have been enlarged and invigorated, it is highly gratifying to observe that our manufactures are also in a prosperous condition. None of the ruinous effects upon this interest which were apprehended by some as the result of the operation of the revenue system established by the act of 1846 have been experienced. On the contrary, the number of manufactories and the amount of capital invested in them are steadily and rapidly increasing.

PRICE OF LABOR AUGMENTED.

Another point to which I wish specially to call the attention of those who profess to be the peculiar champions of labor is forcibly touched upon by Mr. Polk in these words:

While capital invested in manufactures is yielding adequate and fair profits under the new system, the wages of labor, whether employed in manufactures, agriculture, commerce, or navigation, have been augmented. The toiling millions whose daily labor furnishes the supply of food and raiment and all the other necessaries and comforts of life are receiving higher wages and more steady and permanent employment than in any other country or at any previous period in our own history.

I propose to consider this feature of the subject under discussion more fully at another part of my argument, but in passing I ask the self-appointed and vociferous friends of labor to note the fact that the tariff law of 1846—the embodiment of the idea of a "tariff for revenue, with incidental protection"—gave increased wages to labor in manufactories as well as in every other branch of "domestic industry."

The experience of the ensuing year fully vindicated the confidence of the Democrats in the wisdom and justice of the tariff-for-revenue law, and in his fourth annual message of the 5th of December, 1848,

President Polk again calls attention to the gratifying results of the law, in these words:

While by the repeal of highly protective and prohibitory duties the revenue has been increased, the taxes of the people have been diminished. They have been relieved from the heavy amounts with which they were burdened under former laws in the form of increased prices or bounties paid to favored classes and pursuits.

The President then points out that experience has falsified the predictions of the high-protective theorists. On this point Mr. Polk said:

Agriculture, commerce, and navigation are prosperous, the prices of manufactured fabrics and of other products are much less injuriously affected than was to have been anticipated.

TAYLOR INDORSES INCIDENTAL PROTECTION.

Dissensions in the Democratic party wholly disconnected with its policy on the tariff enabled the Whigs to elect their candidate, General Taylor, in 1848, and in his inaugural address the newly elected President declared:

It shall be my study to recommend such constitutional measures to Congress as may be necessary and proper to secure encouragement and protection to the great interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

And in his first annual message, December 24, 1849, he said:

I recommend a revision of the tariff and its adjustment on a basis which may augment the revenue. I do not doubt the right or duty of Congress to encourage domestic industry, which is the great source of national as well as individual wealth and prosperity.

Educated as a soldier, and never having bestowed any great study or reflection on political or economic questions, it is well-known that General Taylor was largely under the influence of certain leaders of the Whig party who had always been opposed to the doctrine embodied in the tariff-for-revenue law of 1846, which readily accounts for this recommendation to return to the policy of the law of 1842.

But his early death elevated Mr. Fillmore, a learned, thoughtful, and conservative adherent of the Whig school of politics, to the Presidential office, and in his first annual message of the 2d of December, 1850, he cautioned Congress against a return to the old system in language as plain and unmistakable as had been used by Mr. Polk. He said:

A high tariff can never be permanent. It will cause dissatisfaction and will be changed. It excludes competition, and thereby invites the investment of capital in manufactures to such excess that when changed it brings distress, bankruptcy, and ruin upon all who have been misled by its faithless protection.

FILLMORE OPPOSES A PROHIBITORY TARIFF.

In his third annual message, of the 6th of December, 1852, he reiterates his opinion as to the advisability of a protective tariff, but repeats his former caution:

Duties, however, should not be fixed at a rate so high as to exclude the foreign article, but should be so graduated as to enable the domestic manufacturer fairly to compete with the foreigner in our own markets, and by this competition to reduce the price of the manufactured article to the consumer to the lowest rate at which it can be produced.

With the triumph of the Democracy in the election of 1852 there was a marked change in the feelings and opinions of the Executive, and in the second annual message of President Pierce, of the 4th of December, 1854, we find these words:

I therefore renew my recommendation for a reduction of the duties on imports. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury presents a series of tables showing the operation of the revenue system for several successive years, and as the general principle of the reduction of duties with a view to revenue, and not protection, may now be regarded as the settled policy of the country, I trust that little difficulty will be encountered in settling the details of a measure to that effect.

This recommendation was renewed in the succeeding message (December 31, 1855), and the position of the country on the question of tariff taxation is thus stated:

It is now so generally conceded that the purpose of revenue alone can justify the imposition of duties on imports that in readjusting the impost tables and schedules which unquestionably require essential modifications, a departure from the principles of the present tariff is not anticipated.

The Congress to which the message containing these expressions were transmitted enacted the tariff law of March 3, 1857.

This law was exclusively ad valorem, the rates running from 4 to 30 per cent., and the free-list was extended so as to embrace many articles which under previous laws had been subject to duty. Under the operation of this law the average tariff taxation upon all dutiable goods was about 20 per cent., and upon the total net importations it averaged about 15 per cent. The vote in the House of Representatives was 122 for the bill and 72 against it. In the Senate the vote was 33 for the bill and only 8 against it. This vote was taken upon the bill as reported by the conferees of the House and Senate.

The shadow of impending events had already absorbed public attention to an extent which, in a measure, excluded matters of a purely economic character; but, nevertheless, neither of the platforms in 1860 were silent upon the tariff question.

PLATFORMS OF 1860.

Section 12 of the platform of the Republican convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln expressed the views of that body upon the tariff in these words:

That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Let me ask my Republican friends who now denounce the doctrine of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection, as disguised free trade, if they can find in this first authoritative utterance of their party upon the tariff—the Philadelphia platform of 1856 being absolutely dumb upon the question—let me ask them, I say, if they can find in these words any possible interpretation other than that protective duties should be levied to provide for the support of the General Government? What is it that has converted sound Republicanism in 1860 into free-trade heresy since that time?

Both the Democratic conventions of 1860, which nominated Breckinridge and Douglas, reaffirmed the declaration of principles adopted by the Cincinnati convention of 1856, thereby adopting and asserting the tariff principles which had governed the party since 1840.

In 1864 the platforms of both parties were silent upon the tariff, both organizations being absorbed in the struggle to secure the triumph of the Union arms, but in 1868 the question was again made a prominent one in the platforms of both parties.

The tariff acts of August 5 and December 24, 1861; June 30, 1864; March 3, 1865; March 16, June 1, July 28, 1866; March, 1867; February and July, 1868; February, 1869, July 14 and December 22, 1870; May 1 and June 6, 1872, were all enacted at a time when revenue was the absorbing question of the Government, and the influence of certain sections was such as to get tariff laws framed for their benefit. The effects of these laws were very unequal and they were not always in the interest of labor.

PLATFORMS OF 1868.

The demands for reform were so manifest that the Chicago convention of 1868 seemed to regard some pledges upon this subject as advisable, and probably it was due to this we find that the fourth resolution of the Republican platform upon which General Grant was nominated and elected declares:

It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

The difference between Republican professions and performance was never more strikingly exemplified than in this instance. In the platform the party professes to be solicitous for the reduction of taxation in the interest of labor, but when the workingmen had been gulled and duped by this high-sounding and fair-seeming profession, and the party was firmly intrenched in power, the systematic discrimination in favor of the rich and against the poor was at once inaugurated, and I feel justified in charging that it has been stubbornly persisted in ever since. One of the first enactments after the above declaration was to double the value of the bonds held by the wealthy and so arrange the scheme of taxation that the burden of their payment should fall only on the labor of the country. From the time this deceptive utterance was promulgated, to this date, the Democratic party has zealously but uselessly striven to force the Republican party to redeem its professions. They point now, with an effrontery that is almost sublime, to their reductions in taxation, and call upon the laboring men of the country to unite in their exultation, but when their boasted achievements in this matter are examined and analyzed, it is found that almost every tax reduced or removed has in effect relieved the wealthy classes of something of their fair share of the burdens of government, and the load laid upon the poor has been proportionally increased.

Let us turn now, Mr. Chairman, from this surprising example of unfulfilled political promises to the simple, straightforward, and upright course of the Democratic party upon this very question.

In May, 1868, the Republicans secured the support of the people by the profession I have quoted. In July of the same year the Democracy declared in favor of—

a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal-revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of the country.

And ever since that declaration the Democracy, in a feeble minority in Congress and without a single Federal office, as in the majority in this Hall, and in possession of the administrative branch of the Government, has steadfastly and persistently endeavored to enforce this policy, and has been uniformly thwarted by the solid Republican opposition.

GRANT ADVISES MODIFYING THE TARIFF.

Probably the same conditions which impressed the Chicago convention influenced General Grant to make recommendations on this subject. In his first annual message, dated December 6, 1869, he says:

It may be advisable to modify taxation and tariff in instances where unjust or burdensome discriminations are made by the present laws.

At that time nearly every imported article was subject to duty, the reports of the Treasury Department showing that but 4 per cent of the importations of the preceding year were free from duty; and in his third annual message General Grant recommended that articles of consumption which were not produced at home shall be admitted free.

In 1872 the Liberal Republican platform, which was subsequently adopted by the Democratic party, declared:

We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, * * * and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

In the same year the Republicans adopted a platform which declared—

That revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

What a falling off is here! In 1872 the Republicans expressly stipulated that part of the necessary revenue should be derived from taxes on tobacco and liquors, and now, sixteen years later, they have the boldness to refuse the general demand for reduction in taxation upon the necessaries of life, and they propose to win the confidence of the people by promising a reduction in the tax upon luxuries.

In his sixth annual message, dated December 7, 1874, General Grant said:

I would suggest to Congress the propriety of readjusting the tariff.

Those articles of manufacture which we produce a constituent part of but do not produce the whole, that part which we do not produce should be entered free also. I will instance fine wools, dyes, etc. These articles must be imported to form a part of the manufacture of the higher grades of woolen goods.

The tariff acts of June 22, 1874, February 8 and March 3, 1875, July 1, 1879, June 14, 1880, May 6 and December 23, 1882, and March 3, 1883, are so recent that most of the members of the House are quite familiar with the features of those laws. None of them were of any relief to the people, and in 1876, towards the close of General Grant's administration, there was an earnest and general demand for reform.

PLATFORMS OF 1876.

The Democratic platform of 1876 forcibly and vigorously asserted:

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas; it has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

And on this masterly and unequivocal declaration of hostility to the system of governmental taxation for protection the Democratic candidate, Mr. Tilden, received a majority of a quarter of a million of the popular vote, and, in all probability, a million majority of all the Caucasian votes cast at that election.

The Republican platform of 1876 is remarkable in one feature, at least. It is the first authoritative utterance of the party in which one can find even an insinuation of the doctrine of tariff taxation solely for protection. But the new departure of the party on this question is not boldly announced; it is, as I have said, only insinuated, as will be seen by these words:

The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

Four years later, however, they had become slightly bolder, and in the platform of 1880 the Republican party asserted:

We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor.

It will be observed that it is still admitted that duties are to be levied for the purpose of revenue, but it must be admitted that this party declaration is susceptible of the construction that the raising of revenue should be subordinated to the protection of favored enterprises.

Contrast this with the direct and positive declaration of the Democracy in 1876:

We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue—

which demand that party renewed in 1880, in the brief, explicit, and comprehensive formula—

a tariff for revenue only—

and we see at once one of the essential antagonisms between the two parties. The one party, the Republican, by dubious utterances which admit of different constructions, induced the working classes, the wage earners, who cast the majority of the votes, to intrust them with power which has been exercised only to advance the selfish interests of certain favored classes and to secure advantages for the party. The other party, the Democratic, avows its objects in positive and unequivocal language, moves directly to the accomplishment of that object, and employs whatever power it obtains to advance the welfare and prosperity of the whole country.

GARFIELD FAVORS AGRICULTURE.

The demand for reduction in tariff had now become intense, and the farmers were demanding a revision which would give them some relief from the burdens to which they were subjected. Mr. Garfield seemed to appreciate their just demands, and in his inaugural address said:

The interests of agriculture deserve more attention from the Government than they have yet received. The farms of the United States afford homes and employment for more than one-half of our people, and furnish much the largest part of all our exports. As the Government lights our coasts for the protection of mariners and for the benefit of commerce, so it should give to the tillers of the soil the best lights of practical science and experience.

Preparatory to a general revision of the tariff the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress enacted a law creating a Tariff Commission, and this body, after a most thorough investigation of the character of the changes which were necessary to the best interests of the industries of the country, made a most elaborate report, in which they recommended a reduction of the tariff of about 20 per cent. After this, President Authur presented his message of December 4, 1882, in which he used these words:

The present tariff system is in many respects unjust. It makes unequal distributions, both of its burdens and its benefits. This fact was practically recognized by a majority of each House of Congress in the passage of the act creating the Tariff Commission. The report of that Commission will be placed before you at the beginning of this session, and will, I trust, afford you such information as to the condition and prospects of the various commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, mining, and other interests of the country, and contain such suggestions for statutory revision as will practically aid your action upon this important subject.

This advice of President Arthur, and the recommendation contained in the report of the Tariff Commission seems to have absorbed the attention of the Forty-seventh Congress in its second session. The influences against reform were, however, so powerful that the results were far from satisfactory, and the law enacted March 3, 1883, so far from reducing, actually increased the burdens of the people.

HOW THE TARIFF AFFECTS LABOR.

And this has been the peculiar and distinctive characteristic of Republican tariff legislation throughout the last twenty years. Their orators and political writers have vied with each other in their efforts to proclaim that they only sought the welfare and prosperity of the poor wage-worker.

The credulous mechanic, artisan, and farmer have been too easily duped and beguiled.

The absolute groundlessness of their assertions has been most clearly demonstrated in an address of Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, delivered in Detroit, January 11, 1883, from which I read these words:

The highest tariff taxes upon iron that were ever known in this country were levied from 1828 to 1840. During that period, as the manufacturers testified before a protectionist committee of Congress, they made no increase of wages whatever. Between 1840 and 1842 the duties on iron were reduced, with no perceptible effect upon wages. In the middle of 1842 the duties were more than doubled, and remained high until December, 1846. Official inquiries being made in the autumn of 1845, not one manufacturer pretended that he had increased wages.

The author of the address from which this extract is taken is a life-long Republican, and one of the leading lawyers of the New York bar.

Note the significant fact that from 1828 to 1846, a period of 18 years under high tariff, made higher in 1842, there was no advance of wages to the laborer. But I read further:

In December, 1846, the duties were cut down about one-third, and so remained until July, 1857.

The manufacturers during that period very largely *increased* wages in the iron trade as well as in every other. There never was before, and there never has been since, so rapid an advance in the wages of manufacturing workmen of all classes, estimated in gold value, as between 1846 and 1860; during which time the tariff taxes were lower than they have ever been at any other time since 1812.

Will the gentlemen who now overwhelm us with their eloquent, if not vindictive, animadversions upon all who dare assert the advisability of at least trying a lower rate of tariff taxation, please tell us how they reconcile the fact that wages did advance largely under the low tariff of 1846 with their pretensions? Again I read:

The census of 1880 shows conclusively that the highest wages are paid by those employers who are not, and can not be, benefited by protection, and that the lowest wages are paid by the protected classes. The average annual wages of all the persons employed in manufactures were $346. The average wages of employés in the protected cotton manufacture were $244, in the protected woolen manufacture $293, and in the protected silk manufacture $292, all being below the general average. On the other hand, the average is raised by the high wages paid in innumerable other branches of manufacture, all of which are oppressed and dragged down by the heavy taxes which the tariff lays upon their raw materials.

If our friends, the enemies of equal taxation, can answer the assertion and the logic of Mr. Shearman in this extract, why have they not done so during the five years it has been before the public? He says further:

Even in the iron manufacture, where women and children can not be employed, and where, therefore, wages average higher, the census shows that the average wages of iron workers were only $1.25 a day, while the unprotected carpenters all over the country earned from $1.50 to $2.50, and even farm hands earned an average of nearly $1.50 per day.

Here is "confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ" of the verity of the Democratic position that high wages can not be secured by subjecting the people to high taxation. And the proof is clinched in these words:

Thus the census returns (which, it must always be remembered, are made up from statements of the manufacturers themselves, whose interest it is to show a different state of facts) clearly establish that the more protection is given to any class the less wages that class pays to its workmen.

WAGES HERE AND IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Apparently satisfied with the wreck he has made of the pretension that a high tariff increases wages in this country, Mr. Shearman goes on to demolish the cognate argument that, at least, wages are higher here than in England because of the beneficent operation of the tariff.

Upon this point he says:

But it is constantly said that, at any rate, wages in this country are higher than in England, and that this is due to protection.

Now, nothing can be more clear than that protection never helped to make wages higher in this country than in England, because it is a fact, perfectly well established, that there was more difference between mechanics' wages in England and in this country *before* we had a protective tariff than there is to-day. In a statement made to the tariff commission by a strong protectionist, who manufactures the same goods both in Ireland and New Jersey, he admitted that, under our present stringent protective system, the wages of the workmen whom he employs in his American factory have been steadily going down, while the wages of the workmen whom he employs in his Irish factory have been steadily going up.

How is this, gentlemen of the high taxation idolatry? The same employer admits that in the same industry wages are going down in America and simultaneously going up in poor oppressed Ireland, whose very name has become a synonym of poverty, privation, and hardship.

Having disposed of the idea that protection increases wages generally, Mr. Shearman discusses some special industries.

Regarding the cotton and woolen manufactures he says:

An official report on these manufactures, issued by the State Department in October, 1882, states that the wages paid on average in England, compared with those paid in America for the same number of hours' work, shows the following result:

Wages paid for fifty-two weeks of sixty-four hours each.

	In England.	In America.
Cotton manufacturers	$286	$244
Woolen manufacturers	294	293

Thus it will be seen that already protection has attained its greatest triumph, and accomplished the purpose for which, in fact, it was intended, that of cutting down the wages of the American operative to a point lower than that of the Englishman. But even these figures do not show all that has been accomplished, for they show the English wages in 1881 and the American wages in the spring of 1880; since that time American wages have been reduced and English wages have been raised. An English expert, who examined the whole subject carefully in 1879, found that American workmen in cotton mills did about 25 per cent. more work than English workmen did for the same money. Surely protection has been an incalculable blessing to the poor working people in the cotton and woolen factories of New England.

HOW TO INCREASE THE PRICE OF LABOR.

There is but one practicable method to increase the price of any article, and that is to increase the demand for it. When the demand for provisions or any other article is active, we all know that the market price of that article advances.

Demand and supply have controlled and regulated the market value of every exchangeable commodity since men began to trade and barter with each other.

This is a rule to which there is, there can be, no exception. The value of any article or commodity is valuable in proportion to the prevailing desire to obtain it. No elaborate disquisition upon political economy or the value of exchangeable commodities can be needed to demonstrate the infallible truth of this proposition. It is self-evident—known to every man from his individual experience.

When the immediate demand for any article or commodity exceeds the available supply, its value or price rises; when the supply exceeds the demand, the price falls—just as inevitably as the tides flow and ebb.

Nothing on earth is so absolutely subject to the operation of this rule as labor.

Ninety-nine hundredths of the laborers of the civilized world are compelled to sell their labor each day for the best price they can get for it. Women and children need food daily, as does the laborer also, and the head of the family—the husband and father or the brother—having no accumulated capital to exchange for the necessities of daily life, as the bread-winner, must put his daily labor on the market for what it will bring. If the demand for such labor as he can perform be greater than the immediately-available supply, he will be well paid for his day's toil; if the supply of such labor be greater than the existing, the immediate, demand, he must accept what the employer of labor chooses to pay that day.

This is an inexorable law, which no legislation can alter or affect.

If a high-tariff law can insure high wages to the workingman regardless of this inflexible law of supply and demand, which regulates the values of all exchangeable commodities, why is it, let me ask, that miners in Pennsylvania work for 65 cents per day; why is it that strikes, boycotts, and lockouts are of almost daily occurrence, and these labor troubles are more frequent in the "protected" industries than in those not protected?

OUR DUTY TO THE WAGE-WORKER.

I feel, Mr. Chairman, that I can say there is no man in all this broad Republic more anxious than myself for its prosperity and happiness.

If it were true, as claimed by the advocates of a prohibitory tariff, that the beneficial results would follow which are insisted upon, I would be willing to submit to the hardship and expense which have been shown to be always attendant upon such legislation.

There is probably no subject upon which there have been such contradictory statements as upon the relative pay of labor in England and America. The wages paid boys and girls in England have sometimes been compared to wages paid to skilled adults in America. Weekly wages paid to persons who only work three days during the week in England have been put side by side with those paid the American workman who works six days. In 1879 our American consul wrote that it was currently reported that factory operatives in Manchester were receiving higher wages than American operatives.

Mr. BUCKALEW. Consul, where?

Mr. WHEELER. Consul at Manchester, England. This and other reports caused careful investigation, and the Hon. James G. Blaine, in his "Report on the Cotton Goods Trade of the World," gives an extended discussion to the subject. He quotes from Consul Shaw, who then represented our Government at Manchester. I read from page 95:

In commenting on the strikes then imminent in Manchester, Consul Shaw says:

"The plea that the factory operatives in Manchester are now receiving higher wages in proportion to the time they work than American operatives is urgently made by manufacturers here, and this, together with the increasing financial distress among mill-owners, is gradually allaying the discontent among operatives.'

Mr. Blaine appears to have appreciated the difficulties to which I have referred in obtaining accurate information about wages in England. On page 98 he says:

Owing to the different arrangements of the English and American tables of wages, it is difficult to give comparative analyses thereof which would show at a glance the difference in wages of the operatives of both countries.

BLAINE, FRELINGHUYSEN, AND EVARTS.

The demand for labor in England has at times been such that workmen were induced to leave this country and accept employment in English factories. The American consul at Bristol, England, presented a report upon this subject, and states that no laborer should be enticed to leave the United States to make his home in England, and that those who have been induced to do so have become dissatisfied.

In the report he says:

A number of such laborers, and also some mechanics, have, during the last two years, called upon this consulate for help to get back to the United States, cursing the day when they left America for Europe, where neither milk nor honey is flowing. *Compared with Europe the United States is a paradise for a sober and faithful workingman.*

In consequence of these varying reports, the State Department, with the aid of American consuls, commenced a thorough and exhaustive investigation of this subject. Numerous and detailed reports were received, carefully compared and verified. Mr. Blaine presented them to Congress, with his comments and recommendations. In this valuable and interesting paper Mr. Blaine gives most elaborate tables, showing the actual pay given to operatives in cotton mills both in England and the United States; and on page 98 he sums up in these words:

The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week:

Spinners: English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.

Weavers: English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of 10 per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employés in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3,08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are 56, in the Massachusetts mills 60 per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually 66 to 69 per week.

SECRETARY BLAINE'S CONCLUSIONS.

An analysis of these figures shows that the average wages paid men in Massachusetts cotton mills is $8.30 per week for sixty hours' work, while in England the average wages paid to men in cotton factories is $8 per week for fifty-six hours' work. Therefore, according to this official report, factory hands get 14 cents and a fraction per hour in old England, and for the same work in protected New England they get 13 cents and a fraction per hour.

In the same report, pages 98 and 99, Mr. Blaine uses this language:

Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman allow me a question? Owing to the noise and confusion incident to the crowded condition of the chamber, I was not able to ascertain the publication of Mr. Blaine from which the gentleman read.

Mr. WHEELER. I read from a document called the "Cotton Goods Trade of the World." It was published by the Department of State, and is dated June 25, 1881.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Compiled by whom?

Mr. WHEELER. Prepared by Hon. James G. Blaine; signed by him as Secretary of State.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Was it written by him?

Mr. WHEELER. I presume Mr. Blaine writes all his books and prepares all the public documents to which he puts his name. I believe he is never happier than when using his facile pen.

Mr. BUCHANAN. But I was endeavoring to ascertain whether this publication was simply compiled by subordinates, under Mr. Blaine's direction, or was a work of his own.

Mr. WHEELER. It is signed by him; and the fluent, elegant language clearly shows it was written by him.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Blaine is generally able to express himself with force and elegance.

Mr. WHEELER. He has, in this case, expressed himself with great force and great truth. This document, which Mr. Blaine put before the country, stands as a monument to the foresight of that profound politician.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I appreciate the gentleman's appreciation of Mr. Blaine.

Mr. WHEELER. In the same report, backed by elaborate statistics, Mr. Blaine estimates that the British mills consume 1,220,000,000 pounds annually, and that American mills consumed in 1880 724,800,000 pounds.

He estimates the output of piece goods that year in British mills at 5,439,645,000 yards, and the output of piece goods in American mills at 2,131,580,000 yards. He estimates that the British mills employed 500,000 operatives, while the mills of the United States only employed 181,000 operatives. And he puts the number of spindles in the United States at 10,920,000, and the number in Great Britain at 40,000,000.

Mr. Blaine then gives the relative value of the English and American cotton manufactures, and makes this gratifying assertion:

From these returns it is seen that every American spindle consumes 66 pounds of raw cotton, while each British spindle consumes only 32 pounds, or less than one-half the American consumption per spindle.

It thus appears that each American operative works up as much raw material as two British operatives, turns out nearly $1.50 worth of manufactures to the British operative's $1 worth, and even in piece goods, where the superior quality and weight of the American goods are so marked, the American operative turned out 2.75 yards to 2.50 yards by the British operative.

SECRETARY FRELINGHUYSEN ON LABOR.

I have also before me volume 25, miscellaneous documents, Forty-seventh Congress, which contains a report from Mr. Frelinghuysen, President Arthur's Secretary of State. On pages 43 and 44 are some tables showing the rates of wages paid for weaving printing cloth in some of the principal districts of England and America.

The report thus refers to them—

As one of the latest and fullest comparisons between English and American manufactures, I believe the following tables and remarks from his pen will be found reliable.

I present these tables without any comment, except that they go far to refute the many erroneous impressions which have been created regarding English and American factory labor.

The following is the rate of wages paid for weaving printing cloth in some of the principal districts of England and America:

England.

Description of cloth.	Ashton-under-Lyne.	Blackburn.	Stockport.	Hyde.	Average.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
28-inch, 56 reed, 14 picks (60 by 64), 58 yards	24.68	25.04	25.04	25.28	25.00
28-inch, 60 reed, 16 picks (64 by 64), 58 yards	27.70	29.06	29.48	29.30	28.88

America.

Description of cloth.	Rhode Island.	Providence.	Fall River.	Lowell.	Average.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
28-inch, 56 reed, 14 picks (60 by 56), 58 yards	16.82	17.26	19.96	19.96	18.50
28-inch, 60 reed, 16 picks (64 by 64), 58 yards	Unknown.	22.30	23.20	23.20	22.90

Summary of cost of manufacturing printing cloth.

Places.	Wages.	Sundry expenses.	Rent, interest, and depreciation.	Total.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Fall River	6.907	3.111	4.1183	14.1363
Lowell	6.882	2.723	4.1183	13.7233
Rhode Island	6.422	1.834	3.7437	11.9997
Pennsylvania	6.44	5.04	4.1183	15.5983
England	6.9624	2.6256	2.572	12.16

The report goes on and says:

Your readers will gather from the figures given in the foregoing table of costs that, in the matter of wages, America is as cheap as England.

SECRETARY EVARTS ON LABOR.

I will now quote from another distinguished Republican Secretary of State.

On May 17, 1879, the Hon. William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, transmitted to the Forty-sixth Congress a report upon labor statistics, giving rates of wages, covering, as he says—I read from page 1—

the labor question in all its aspects in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Italy, Holland, Spain, and Switzerland (which, with the United States, may be said to comprise the world of educated and progressive labor).

After giving numerous and most elaborate reports and various kinds of evidence, Mr. Evarts says, page 35, paragraph 1:

The rates of wages in the United States, roughly estimated, are more than twice those in Belgium; three times those in Denmark, France, and Germany; once and a half those in England and Scotland; and more than three times those in Italy and Spain.

But another important and gratifying point is brought forward by Secretary Evarts. I read from page 36, paragraph 9:

That the average American workman performs from one and one-half to twice as much work in a given time as the average European workman. This is so important a point in connection with our ability to compete with the cheap labor manufactures of Europe, and it seems at first thought so strange, that I will trouble you with somewhat lengthy quotations from the reports in support thereof.

Mr. Evarts quotes a number of authorities to sustain this statement, and then says:

For the first time our manufactures are now assuming international proportions. At a time of universal depression we have met those nations which held a monopoly of the world's markets, met them in their strongholds, and established the fact that American manufactures are second to the manufactures of no other nation, and that, with a proper and patriotic understanding between capitalist and laborer, we can command a fair share of the buying world's patronage, and command that patronage with larger profits to the capitalist and higher wages to the laborer than can be made or paid in any other country.

Mr. Evarts then speaks of the superior individuality and inventive genius of the people of the United States, and says, page 37:

One workman in the United States, as will be seen from the foregoing extracts, does as much work as two workmen in most of the countries of Europe; even the immigrant from Europe attains this progressive spirit by a few years' association with American workmen.

I desire to call special attention to this important and well-known fact, that immigrants, under the influence of our free institutions, soon become Americanized, become imbued with our progressive spirit, do twice as much work as they did in their native land, and thus rapidly acquire competence. The difference between the American workman and the foreign peasant is then expressed by the honorable Secretary in this terse language:

We have no oppressed and stupid peasantry, little more intelligent than the tools they handle. All are self-thinking, self-acting, and self-supporting.

In fact, our people more than any other appear to realize the idea of Carlyle that—

Without labour there were no ease. * * * Labour, wide as the earth, has its summit in Heaven.

And to appreciate Channing's idea of its beneficence:

Labor is discovered to be the grand conqueror, enriching and building up nations more surely than the proudest battles.

OTHER PROOFS OF AMERICAN SUPERIORITY.

This idea of the superiority of American workmen was most strikingly and forcibly confirmed by a statement made in this Hall last Saturday by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. RUSSELL]. It will be remembered that the gentleman took issue, and not only questioned but denied the assertion that the laborers, the workingmen, the people of his State, required or requested to be "protected" to enable them to compete with the labor of any part of the world. And he gave us an absolutely convincing illustration of the correctness of his position. He told us how one of the great inventors of his great State had perfected a device for a sewing and heeling machine that turned out the finest boots and shoes that could be made, and automatically registered all the work done upon it. He told us that the inventor, having protected his invention by letters patent all over the world, refused to sell his machines, but leased them out upon a royalty of a stipulated amount to be paid for every pair of boots or shoes made upon them; that some of the machines were so leased for use in Great Britain and in Germany, and at the end of the year the owners were greatly surprised to learn from the returns rendered by the lessees in Great Britain that they had turned out only 47 per cent. of the amount of work done by the same machines in Massachusetts. Knowing that the machine must register all the work it performed, they suspected they were being defrauded, and sent a competent expert to investigate the matter and report the facts. The expert returned and reported that they were receiving honest returns, and that the secret of the apparently fraudulent returns of the work turned out by the machines was that the best labor in Great Britain could not possibly turn out more than 47 per cent. of the amount of work turned out by the ordinary labor of Massachusetts.

Mr. RUSSELL, of Massachusetts. The Englishman either could not do it or would not do it if he could. He hadn't the ambition.

Mr. WHEELER. There is something in our method of education and training, something in the spirit of our institutions, something in American civilization which makes our people superior to all

others in energy, genius, courage, manhood, and individuality. This is an element which is not sufficiently considered in making comparisons.

EVIDENCE OF A PROTECTIONIST.

In further proof of American superiority to the English workman I again quote from Mr. Shearman. On this point he says:

But, as usual, the most conclusive answer to the whole claim made for protection on the wages question is to be found in the statement of the protectionist organs. The New York Industrial League, the largest protectionist organization outside of Pennsylvania, employed Mr. Charles S. Hill, of the State Department, to prepare statistics and an address for the Tariff Commission. In this document, which was indorsed by the league, and triumphantly published by their organ, The American Protectionist, it is explicitly stated that the workmen employed by American manufacturers produce, on the average, 100 per cent. more than those employed by English manufacturers, man for man.

The exact language of Mr. Hill's report I read from page 1638 of the Report of the Tariff Commission, which is found in House Mis. Docs., second session, Forty-seventh Congress, volume 3:

One point further in regard to labor in Europe *vs.* America. Here are some figures that show a remarkable, but what seems to be an irrefutable fact, or let him who questions it produce further evidence. The following comparison speaks louder than any other argument:

Manufacturing industries.

Description.	United States.	Great Britain.
Hands employed	5,250,000	5,140,200
Value of product	$8,000,000,000	$4,000,000,000

Here is the positive proof that American mechanics in the aggregate accomplish exactly double the result of the same number of British mechanics. They are therefore very justly paid double in wages.

Bear in mind this is a statement furnished to the Tariff Commission, a body of gentlemen selected because of their known sympathy with the high protection theory, by an avowed and uncompromising protectionist, who had held the responsible position of statistician of the State Department under the administrations of Presidents Grant and Hayes. Mr. Hill probably had better facilities for collecting such information than any person in the United States. All the reports of our foreign consuls had been for years, and were at that time, at his disposal, and these consuls were all of them Republicans—most of them Republican politicians—who seemed to think their principal duty in preparing their reports was to furnish their party friends at home with only those facts that could be advantageously used in protection speeches. At least all who have read these reports will admit that they are arguments designed to sustain the political dogma of protection.

WAGES IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA COMPARED.

But to return to Mr. Shearman, who mercilessly exposes the fallacy of the great protectionist organ in these words:

It is not claimed, even in this paper, that American wages average more than 50 per cent, higher than English wages, all 'round; and not only do the facts already stated show that there is no such difference, but even the report of that packed and bigoted protectionist body, the late Tariff Commission, admits that the difference between English and American wages in cotton, woolen, linen, and silk manufactures, is very small. No one can honestly claim that manufacturing wages are, on the average, more than 25 per cent. higher here than in England. If then, our workmen produce, man for man, even 50 per cent. more than the English, is it not clear that wages are practically 25 per cent. cheaper here than in England?

There is no doubt that this conclusion, startling as it may seem, is entirely correct. This is a country of hard work. The average hours of an English workman are fifty-four to fifty-six a week; the average hours of American workmen are sixty-four to sixty-nine a week. The same class of merchants that in England attend at their offices on an average six or seven hours a day, with a half holiday on Saturdays, will be found at their offices in America every day, Saturday included, for ten hours in the dull seasons and fifteen hours in the busy ones. All classes of business men here, whether employers or employed, work harder and faster than the same classes in England. The very same man who in Manchester can not be persuaded to run more than three looms at once will manage five in Lowell, and he who in Lancaster runs five looms will run eight in Fall River. For this increase of 60 per cent. in their work they get, at the utmost, 20 per cent. advance in their wages. It is a well known fact that, a few years ago, bricklayers in Lancashire were forbidden by their trades-unions to lay more than one thousand brick per day, and that the same men came to New York and laid easily three thousand brick per day. Their New York employers paid them double their old wages, and even then got their work practically 30 per cent. cheaper than the English employers.

The error of the assertion that a high tariff inures to the benefit of the American mechanic or workingman, which is put forward by the Republican party to justify their patent-right device for augmenting the fortunes of the wealthy manufacturers of the country, is still further illustrated by Mr. Howard Mudge Newhall in an article entitled "A Pair of Shoes," published in the January (1885) number of Harper's Magazine, p. 259, who, from his own knowledge as a practical shoe manufacturer, asserts that—

American ladies' shoes wholesaling at $1.50 per pair cost for labor of making 25 cents. English ladies' shoes wholesaling at $1.50 per pair cost for labor of making 34 cents. American men's shoes wholesaling at $2.60 per pair cost for labor of making 33 cents. English men's shoes wholesaling at $2.60 per pair cost for labor of making 50 cents.

The duty on the English ladies' shoes is 45 cents, and on the English men's shoes it is 72 cents—more than double the entire amount paid the American workmen for making similar articles.

I shall now refer to an eminent English writer, who, as might be expected, fails to consider the superiority of Americans.

MULHALL ON LABOR.

Probably the most exhaustive investigation of this question is that of Hon. Michael G. Mulhall, Fellow of the Statistical Society, in his History of Prices, published in 1885.

To fully understand his tables, let us recall some of our schoolboy definitions of "unit of force," "foot-pound, foot-ton, and horse-power." They are used to express a definite amount of work conventionally fixed upon for the purpose of comparison.

A unit of force combines two elements—force acting and space through which it acts—and is the product of a unit of force and a unit of distance.

A foot-pound is the work or energy expended in raising 1 pound the height of 1 foot. I do not recollect ever having seen the word "foot-ton" until adopted by Mr. Mulhall, but we may assume that he uses it to express relatively the same idea as is expressed by the term "foot-pound."

Horse-power is the power which a horse is capable of exerting, and is used as the unit of force. It is equivalent to the work done by continuous exertion at the rate of 33,000 pounds raised 1 foot in one minute.

Mr. Mulhall states that the steam-power of the world had increased sixfold since 1850. At that time it amounted to 6,315,000,000, and in 1885 he puts it at 35,100,000,000. In 1885 this total of 35,100,000,000 horse-power was used to drive 71,000 locomotives, 9,200 steamboats, and 43,000 fixed engines. As steam can work by day and night, requiring no rest for sleep or food, its actual power is three times greater than if the work was done by horses; 10,540,000,000 horse-power was credited to the United States, 9,740,000,000 to Great Britain, and 14,820,000,000 to continental Europe.

Mr. Mulhall sums up the work accomplished daily among all nations by hand, by horse, and by steam power between the industries of agriculture, mining, manufactures, transportation, etc., that is to say, he allowed 300 foot-tons of energy to each able-bodied male, 3,000 to each horse, and 4,000 to each horse-power of steam-engines, and from this data he presents these figures as an expression of the sum of the industrial power of mankind:

	Million foot-tons daily.				Foot-tons per inhabitant.	Percentage of steam.
	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.		
United States	3,480	32,100	42,160	77,740	1,440	54
Great Britain	2,310	8,700	38,960	49,970	1,380	78
France	2,970	8,500	16,150	27,620	720	58
Germany	3,330	10,100	19,800	33,230	716	60
Russia	6,300	48,600	6,340	61,240	710	10
Austria	2,850	11,300	5,800	19,950	520	29
Italy	2,160	2,040	2,220	6,420	230	34
Spain	1,260	1,980	2,210	5,450	340	41
Portugal	360	210	280	850	205	34
Switzerland	210	330	1,300	1,840	670	71
Belgium	420	850	3,410	4,680	880	73
Holland	300	840	920	2,060	502	45
Scandinavia	630	2,900	1,830	5,360	630	34
Total	26,580	128,450	141,380	296,410		
Average					802	48
Great Britain	2,310	8,700	38,960	49,970	1,380	78
United States	3,480	32,100	42,160	77,740	1,440	54
European continent	20,790	87,650	60,260	168,700	610	36

These figures show that the steam-power of the United States is greater than that of Great Britain, that it constitutes nearly one-third the steam-power of the world, and in foot-tons per capita it excels all other nations.

Mr. Mulhall also takes the number of able-bodied men, putting their wages at the current rates of each country, he adds to this the cost of feeding the horses, puts the daily cost of steam at one shilling per horse-power, and thus estimates the total sum of daily expenditure for industry, and the cost of 1,000 foot-tons of energy in each country. From these figures this table is deduced.

Countries.	Daily cost of industry.				Cost of 1,000 foot-tons energy.	Workman's wage, daily.
	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.		
					Pence.	*Pence*
United States	£1,950,000	£1,360,000	£527,000	£3,837,000	9.8	40
Great Britain	970,000	360,000	487,000	1,817,000	8.4	30
France	1,105,000	350,000	202,000	1,657,000	14.2	26
Germany	920,000	420,000	247,000	1,587,000	11.6	20
Russia	1,040,000	2,100,000	80,000	3,220,000	12.6	12
Austria	800,000	470,000	70,000	1,340,000	16.1	20
Italy	360,000	85,000	30,000	475,000	17.8	12
Spain	205,000	80,000	30,000	315,000	13.8	12
Portugal	60,000	10,000	5,000	75,000	21.2	12
Switzerland	60,000	10,000	15,000	85,000	11.2	20
Belgium	120,000	35,000	43,000	198,000	10.1	20
Holland	80,000	35,000	11,000	126,000	14.7	20
Scandinavia	130,000	120,000	23,000	273,000	10.2	15
Total	7,800,000	5,435,000	1,770,000	15,005,000		
Average					12.0	21
Great Britain	970,000	360,000	487,000	1,817,000	8.4	30
United States	1,950,000	1,360,000	527,000	3,837,000	9.8	40
European Continent	4,880,000	3,715,000	756,000	9,351,000	13.3	16

This estimate is made by putting wages in the United States at one-third more than Great Britain. Should investigation develop that they are about equal, and also that the cost of food and fuel is less, it would become quite clear that the cost of energy as applied to useful industries is less here than in any other country in the world. Even with these figures it is but a fraction greater than in Great Britain, and they show that the cost of industrial energy in the United States is less than three-fourths the average cost on the Continent of Europe.

The rapidly-increasing development of steam will in a short time put us in this regard far ahead of all the other nations.

Since 1850 energy of work by horse has increased 33 per cent., energy by hand 39 per cent., and energy by steam 557 per cent.

THE COTTON QUESTION.

I read from Alexander Hamilton's report, made by him in compliance with an order dated January 15, 1790, from the First Congress, under the Constitution, found in his works, Vol. III, page 207. Speaking of the cotton mill invented in England in 1770, he says:

To this invention *is to* be attributed, essentially, the immense progress which has been so suddenly made in Great Britain in the various fabrics of cotton.

In the report to the Forty-seventh Congress, giving an account of the cotton goods trade of the world, some extracts from which I have read, in speaking of the immensity of the cotton manufactures of England Mr. Blaine said:

The British cotton manufacturing industry fills a larger space in commercial activity and history than any other single manufacturing industry of that or any other country. Taking into consideration the capital invested and the labor employed, the genius which it has evoked and the honors which have crowned that genius, the endless steam marine, the number of merchants, clerks, and sailors engaged in its world-wide distribution, and the British impress which it has left everywhere, and it is not too much to say that it has done more for the commercial greatness and supremacy of the United Kingdom than all other manufacturing industries combined. Hence it is regarded as peculiarly a British national industry.

If Mr. Blaine is correct in his statement that cotton manufacturing has done more for the commercial greatness of the United Kingdom of Great Britain than all other manufacturing industries combined—and there can be no doubt but the statement is correct—it is certainly our duty to do everything in our power to encourage the same kind of industry, and thus build up the commercial greatness and supremacy of the United States.

Mr. Blaine then says:

In the two prime factors which may be said to form the basis of the cotton manufacturing industry, namely, raw material and labor, we hold the advantage over England in the first, and stand upon an equality with her in the second.

I call special attention to the fact that Mr. Blaine here states that we stand upon an equality with England in the question of labor, and we all know how great our advantage is over her in the question of raw material. On this subject Mr. Blaine says:

Having the raw material at our doors, it follows that we should be able to convert it into manufactures, all things else being equal, with more economy and facility than can be done by England, which imports our cotton and then manufactures it in her mills. The expense of handling, transportation, and commission must be an important item in this regard, as compared with our turning in the fiber from the cotton fields to our mills and shipping it in the advanced form of manufactured goods. Add to this the secondary fact, that it costs us no more to handle and manufacture the same than it costs in England, and we stand on an undoubted equality thus far in the race of competition.

Mr. Blaine also says:

A question of the utmost importance, therefore, is to find out wherein the British manufacturers possess advantages over us, and then to ascertain whether we can offset them so as to produce that general equalization which will enable us to meet our competitors on even ground in the markets of the world.

And with regard to the effort which must be made to share this trade with England in the foreign markets Mr. Blaine says:

The manufacturers of the United States must be prepared to meet an opposition, in any serious effort which they may make for a division of this trade, which will be sustained by almost unlimited capital and directed by great ability and well-bought experience.

Mr. Blaine then mentions some of the advantages possessed by the British manufacturers.

1. Possession of the world's markets.
2. A system which has belted the world with *entrepôts*.
3. A steam-marine which covers every sea and gives direct and speedy communication with every port, and whose management and direction are solely in the interest of the British export trade, and against all competing trade.
4. Vast capital.
5. A far-seeing and far-reaching spirit.
6. An industry which has passed through its experimental and speculative stages.

I read from the same report:

In considering the trade of the United Kingdom, it is found that after supplying its home demands it has cotton manufactures for export, the output of 35,000,000 spindles and 410,000 operatives; more spindles than are run by the remaining manufacturing nations combined, amounting to $310,000,000 annually, an amount nearly equal to one-third the total domestic exports of the kingdom.

In order to more fully illustrate the character and extent of English cotton manufacturers, I have, with the assistance of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, prepared a table showing the quality and value of manufactured cotton exported from Great Britain during the years from 1880 to 1887, inclusive:

Quantities and values of British and Irish manufactures of cotton exported from the United Kingdom during each year ending December 31, *from* 1880 *to* 1887, *inclusive.*

[From the trade and navigation of the United Kingdom.]

Articles.	Unit of quantity.	Quantities and values.							
		1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.
Cotton, manufactures of:									
Yarn and twist	Pounds	215,544,800	254,939,900	238,254,700	264,772,000	270,904,600	245,809,900	254,331,100	251,037,200
Piece goods:									
White or plain	Yards	3,058,965,900	3,361,298,600	2,959,882,500	3,136,180,200	3,095,353,700	3,149,905,600	3,497,866,100	4,904,109,200
Printed, checked, or dyed	Yards	1,416,348,200	1,386,337,500	1,349,874,700	1,379,932,200	1,321,645,500	1,224,423,800	1,351,976,700	
Of mixed materials	Yards	20,330,900	29,637,200	39,633,800	22,776,100	*a*280,800	*a*187,100	*a*367,700	
Stockings and socks	Dozen prs.								1,730,499
Thread for sewing	Pounds								20,358,900
Cotton, manufactures of:									
Yarn and twist		$57,919,248	$64,067,731	$62,606,116	$65,745,110	$67,221,344	$57,742,454	$55,903,379	$55,378,264
Piece goods:									
White or plain		169,135,923	180,885,454	162,880,159	166,197,463	154,999,660	148,746,894	156,884,680	251,108,837
Printed, checked, or dyed		108,899,471	103,338,643	102,227,923	101,374,846	96,388,240	86,166,916	87,219,622	
Of mixed materials		2,655,002	3,405,134	4,704,231	2,684,712	*a*42,855	*a*25,505	*a*56,140	
Laces and patent net									10,995,112
Hosiery:									
Stockings and socks		1,955,642	2,384,182	3,026,540	2,609,977	2,770,717	2,527,397	2,371,825	2,160,045
Other kinds									2,000,808
Thread for sewing		10,088,892	11,252,876	11,723,890	11,490,380	12,056,223	11,514,129	12,588,492	14,489,566
Other manufactures		17,078,300	19,555,183	21,693,373	21,920,789	20,550,232	19,219,726	20,056,890	8,478,484
Total of cotton manufactures		367,732,478	384,889,203	368,862,232	372,023,277	354,029,271	325,943,021	335,081,028	345,311,116

a Previous to 1884 large quantities of goods in which wool predominated were erroneously included in cotton mixed-goods. American money is calculated at the rate of $4.8665 to the pound.

OTHER FACTS FROM MR. BLAINE.

I will now return to the admirable report by Mr. Blaine. He says:

According to a recent English publication, the value of the cotton manufactures of the world is given as follows:

Of the United Kingdom	$561,170,000
France	97,200,000
Germany	106,920,000
Russia	102,060,000
Belgium and Holland	63,180,000
Austria-Hungary	63,180,000
Italy	24,300,000
Spain, Switzerland, etc	63,000,000
The United States	233,280,000
India	34,020,000
Total	1,348,310,000

The English publication referred to by Mr. Blaine, from which this was taken, was prepared by Hon. Michael G. Mulhall, and the title of the work is Progress of the World.

The foregoing estimate does not include the cotton goods manufactured on hand-looms, which is still extensively carried on by the Chinese, Persians, Africans, Japanese, and Arabians.

It is estimated that the Chinese supply themselves with cotton goods made in this primitive manner to an extent of over 7,300,000,000 yards annually.

In referring to this, Mr. Blaine says:

There is a very large field for the development of machine-made goods, for, as those isolated people are brought under the beneficent influence of advanced civilization, the primitive modes of manufacture must yield before the more modern methods. Therefore, those who fear that the supply will become greater than the demand should take into account the hundreds of millions of people who are

awaiting the advent of European and American civilization to avail themselves of our more perfect appliances for their daily wear; they should also take into account the increased ability to purchase, which every new invention creates, by bringing what were theretofore considered luxuries within the circle of ordinary consumption.

The product of raw cotton, which passes through commercial centers, and therefore is included in the reports, is given in Mr. Blaine's report, as follows:

The cotton product of the several countries is estimated at about 3,500,000,000 pounds, viz:

	Pounds.
Product of the United States	2,770,000,000
Product of the East Indies	407,000,000
Product of Egypt, Smyrna, etc	269,000,000
Product of Brazil	44,000,000
Product of the West Indies, etc	16,000,000
Total product	3,506,000,000

These figures show that cotton-manufacturing nations are largely dependent upon this country for their supply of the raw material.

Hamilton, in his report to Congress (page 243 of his works), states that the wool of Virginia is of better quality than that of any other State, and that—

the climate of the South is also better adapted to the production of silk.

He then proceeds to speak of the culture of cotton in these words:

The extensive cultivation of cotton can, perhaps, hardly be expected but from the previous establishment of domestic manufactories of the article.

He also says, page 273:

The present duty of 3 cents per pound on the foreign raw material is undoubtedly a very serious impediment to the progress of those manufactories.

It therefore appears that Hamilton assumed that we could not compete with cotton planters of Brazil and the West Indies in the markets of the world, and that in order to enable our planters to raise cotton the previous establishment of cotton factories would be necessary.

TARIFF NOT ALWAYS BENEFICIAL.

It is gratifying to observe how we have exceeded any estimate of that time in cotton production, and as raw cotton bears a relation to cotton mills that raw wool bears to woolen mills, it is interesting to see that Hamilton's idea of free raw cotton in 1791 was based upon reasoning quite in harmony with Mr. Cleveland's advocacy of free raw wool ninety-eight years afterward. Congress disregarded Hamilton's advice, and until 1846 they maintained an import tax of not less than 3 cents, and at one time 6 cents, a pound on raw cotton. Its repeal did not lessen our crops, but on the contrary, during the next thirteen years our net production of cotton increased 260 per cent., and is now four times what it was when encouraged, aided, and fostered by a protective tariff.

In 1846 we raised 2,100,537 bales, of 411 gross pounds each, and in 1860 the crop was 4,861,292 bales, of 461 gross pounds each.

Not only did the product increase, but the price was also enhanced. In 1846 the average price in New York of middling upland was 7⅞ cents per pound. It rose the next year to 11¼ cents per pound, and the average price of 11 cents per pound was maintained until 1861. This remarkable increase of cotton production has been reached under adverse circumstances and adverse legislation. The American cotton planter is taxed on every article used by him, from the moment he starts his 100 per cent. taxed plow until he rolls out his cotton bale covered with almost as heavily taxed iron ties and bagging. Extraordinary measures have been adopted by the British Government to increase the cotton product of their eastern possessions, but with very little beneficial effect. All our information tends to prove that the efforts made to stimulate the culture in India have not met with the encouragement which the English spinners anticipated.

The assistant secretary to the government of India, in his report upon the resources of that empire for the five years from 1874 to 1879, which was published by both houses of Parliament, says:

The most we can expect is that our cotton will be taken because its cheapness as compared with American cotton will maintain a demand for it for purposes for which American, Brazilian, and Egyptian cotton is too dear, for the weaving of coarse cloths, for lamp-wicks, for quilting and stuffing, for which purpose (quilting and stuffing) it is extensively used in China, and other ordinary purposes.

The assistant secretary in the same report says:

The average yield per acre for the whole country may be taken, if the local returns are to be trusted, at about 50 pounds to the acre. For 1877–'78 it was stated in Madras at 49 pounds; in Bombay, including the natives States, at 50¾ pounds; in the Northwestern Provinces, at 29; in the Punjab, at 58; in the Central Provinces, at 43; in Berar, at 71; in Nigam's country, at 61. At the general rate of 50 pounds to the acre the outturn would have been rather less than 4,000,000 cwt.

To facilitate the comparison of the productiveness of the cotton lands of the two countries, I have, from reliable data, prepared this table, showing the acreage and product per acre of cotton in British India and the United States, for the years ending June 30 for India, and August 30 for the United States, from 1880 to 1884, inclusive:

Years.	Acreage planted in the United States.	Pounds produced in the United States.	Average net pounds per acre in the United States.	Acreage planted in India.	Pounds produced in India.	Average net pounds per acre in India.
1879–1880	12,680,000	2,615,600,000	206⅛	10,708,002	586,638,640	54⅘
1880–1881	16,123,000	3,038,645,000	188⅜	11,204,630	569,152,528	50¾
1881–1882	16,851,000	2,455,221,600	145⅝	12,924,196	735,230,072	56⅞
1882–1883	16,276,000	3,266,075,290	200⅝	13,851,179	809,535,104	58⅓
1883–1884	16,780,000	2,639,498,400	157½	13,352,536¼	500,925,600 5/16	37⅝

From Mr. Blaine's report I find that in 1880 Turkey imported $20,000,000 of cotton goods and yarns; Russia, $15,000,000; Italy, $13,000,000; Roumania, $9,980,000; Belgium, $8,500,000; and Austria and Hungary, $8,000,000. France imported $21,000,000, but exported $11,500,000. The report also shows that included in the exports of English piece-goods were:

To Africa, $17,979,000; to America, $57,458,000; to Asia, $135,193,000; to Europe, $61,505,000; to Australasia, $6,565,000; not designated, $1,400,000; total, $280,100,000. It may be safely asserted that not more than $60,000,000 worth of these exports were pure goods, the remainder being low-priced goods into which adulterating materials entered more or less extensively.

It being admitted that English cotton goods are very far inferior to those made in America, it would seem strange that they are taken in preference to ours. This is explained by Mr. Blaine in these words:

The fact, however, that British manufacturers have held possession of those markets, and all the avenues leading thereto, for years, and that, in the words of the consul-general at Calcutta, "although American goods are decidedly superior, it would be no easy matter to substitute them for the British goods, since the importers and native middlemen are almost able to dictate to the poor consumer what he shall buy," must be taken into consideration in all calculations concerning these markets.

BRITISH INDIA'S COTTON GOODS.

In this connection I desire to call attention to the remarkable development of the exportation of manufactured cotton goods from British India.

In order to manufacture to the extent indicated by these figures India was compelled to import largely of long-staple cotton to work with her inferior grades.

The figures which I now read should be an admonition to Americans of what our superior facilities should enable us to do in this industry.

Values of exports of manufactures of cotton from British India for the years ending March 31, 1867–'87, *inclusive.*

[From British statistical abstract of India.]

Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.
1867	$5,634,726	1878	$11,169,002
1868	6,985,656	1879	12,564,442
1869	6,520,239	1880	13,324,068
1870	6,320,401	1881	15,125,209
1871	6,861,828	1882	16,231,169
1872	5,799,325	1883	19,308,374
1873	6,898,566	1884	20,969,920
1874	7,763,868	1885	22,320,854
1875	7,934,103	1886	24,773,055
1876	8,297,154	1887	20,840,811
1877	9,417,641		

I listened with great interest to the great speech of the leading Republican protectionist, delivered in this House April 15, 1884. This being a leading speech in behalf of a protective tariff, I expected, when the speech appeared in the RECORD, to read something upon that subject, but as others who have read that speech in the RECORD will remember, the first dozen pages are devoted to a very interesting account of the gentleman's tour in Europe. The gentleman's observations were so pleasantly and clearly presented, and the letters of his highly-intelligent and accomplished *compagnon de voyage* were so interesting that I forgot that the speech purported to be upon the tariff until I abruptly stumbled upon the subheading "India's wrongs."

PROTECTION SOMETIMES DETRIMENTAL.

The gentleman [Mr. KELLEY] here commenced discussing tariff questions. He says:

For many years the Indian tariff imposed a duty of from 3 to 5 per cent. on cotton goods imported in that country and admitted raw cotton free.

Under this system, Mr. KELLEY says, India mills were beating Lancashire. The gentleman further on says:

The viceroy, by an arbitrary edict, abolished the duty.

Now you will expect me to inform you that Mr. KELLEY next asserts that this action of the free-trade viceroy caused the mills to stop and bankruptcy of mill-owners to speedily follow. You will be certain of this when I say that the paragraph I am reading commenced with this assertion:

No measure that promised to prevent the diversification and restrict the quantity of Indian manufactures to which their powers might be extended has been omitted by either the British or the Anglo-Indian Government.

Now here are the English and Anglo-Indian Governments combining their power "to restrict the Indian manufactures." No power, says Mr. Kelley, was omitted by these powerful instruments to destroy or restrict Indian manufactures, and he also tells us that the cause of this abolition of the duty on cotton goods was doubtless to be found in instructions from the Home Government to the viceroy. In other words, it was done by one of these agencies at the suggestion of the other. The gentleman's speech would lead us to believe that these two great agencies devoted their talents and efforts to destroy the cotton-goods industry in India, and thus enable English spinners to increase their shipments to that country, as well as to China and Japan, which nationalities had been the principal purchasers of India goods. It would certainly be contended by Republicans that when India abolished the duty on cotton goods that country would have become flooded with English goods, and yet the statistics show that from that time English shipments to India decreased, while the exports of India cotton goods increased from $5,634,726 in 1867 to $7,934,103 in 1875.

Other means were now proposed by the Lancashire spinners. The inferior cotton of India can not be worked by itself, and the India spinners are compelled to import long-staple cotton from Egypt and other countries. Mr. Kelley tells us that pursuant to the demands of Lancashire spinners the viceroy imposed a duty of 5 per cent. on all raw cotton imported into India, and this was done against the protest of every chamber of commerce in that country. Now, in spite of this burden we see the exports of cotton goods increased 300 per cent. in eleven years, from 1875 to 1886. Substantially all this export went to China and Japan and displaced English trade, and is it not reasonable to suppose that the act of India in removing the tax on cotton goods and other articles aided that country in effecting reciprocal relations of trade with China and Japan which brought about this wonderful result? It would be well to give this matter careful investigation.

Possibly we might be able to establish reciprocal trade with those countries which purchase so largely of the kind of cotton goods we manufacture.

The figures of cotton production given by Mr. Blaine were for the single year 1880. I will now read a table showing the cotton crops of the United States, the supply of other countries, the total crop of the world, and the total consumption of cotton for the several years from 1866 to the present time, the bales being reduced to an average of 400 pounds each.

Years.	Crops.			Total actual consumption.
	United States.	Supply of other countries.	Total crop.	
1866–'67	2,230,000	2,178,000	4,408,000	5,085,000
1867–'68	2,718,000	2,107,000	4,825,000	5,058,000
1868–'69	2,652,000	2,564,000	5,216,000	4,979,000
1869–'70	3,431,000	2,113,000	5,544,000	5,259,000
1870–'71	4,733,000	2,025,000	6,758,000	5,820,000
1871–'72	3,241,000	3,036,000	6,277,000	6,312,000
Average	3,167,000	2,337,000	5,504,000	5,419,000
1872–'73	4,283,000	2,083,000	6,366,000	6,425,000
1873–'74	4,597,000	2,320,000	6,917,000	6,632,000
1874–'75	4,216,000	2,269,000	6,525,000	6,656,000
1875–'76	5,171,000	2,018,000	7,189,000	7,082,000
1876–'77	4,933,000	1,897,000	6,830,000	7,140,000
1877–'78	5,425,000	1,506,000	6,931,000	7,272,000
Average	4,771,000	2,022,000	6,793,000	6,868,000
1878–'79	5,637,000	1,398,000	7,035,000	7,223,000
1879–'80	6,536,000	1,894,000	8,450,000	8,081,000
1880–'81	7,519,000	1,837,000	9,356,000	8,646,000
1881–'82	6,073,000	2,510,000	8,583,000	9,035,000
1882–'83	8,058,000	2,350,000	10,408,000	9,499,000
1883–'84	6,485,000	2,434,000	8,919,000	9,290,000
Average	6,721,000	2,071,000	8,792,000	8,629,000
1884–'85	6,420,000	2,007,000	8,427,000	8,597,000
1885–'86	7,480,000	2,100,000	9,580,000	9,352,000
1886–'87	7,450,000	2,300,000	9,750,000	9,718,000

It will be observed by the above table that in 1886 the crop of the United States was nearly four times as great as that of all other countries on earth, while by looking back twenty years, to 1867, we find that at that time the crops of other countries were nearly equal to that of our own.

While other countries seem to have made but little change in their products of cotton, it is gratifying to observe the gradual and steady increase in the United States.

I also present another table of great interest and value. It shows the consumption of cotton from the year 1866 to 1887 in Great Britain, on the continent, and in the United States. The consumption in the United States is divided in two columns so as to show the progress of the cotton industry in the North and in the South. It is gratifying to see the surprising growth in this industry caused by the constantly increasing demand for cotton goods.

It will be observed that the increase of consumption during these twenty years was about 50 per cent. in Great Britain, about 100 per cent. on the continent, and about 250 per cent. in the North, and 600 per cent. in the Southern States.

AMERICA SHOULD LEAD.

Gratifying as this picture of the progress of the South is to the country, it is only a beginning of the great development which we have every reason to expect within the next ten years. These figures are not the takings of mills, but represent the actual consumption. For convenience the bales are all reduced to an average of 400 pounds.

[Consumption—bales 400 pounds.]

Years.	Europe.			United States.			Total world.
	Great Britain.	Continent.	Total Europe.	North.	South.	Total United States.	
1866–'67	2,560,000	1,703,000	4,263,000	746,000	76,000	822,000	5,085,000
1867–'68	2,369,000	1,730,000	4,099,000	894,000	65,000	959,000	5,058,000
1868–'69	2,465,000	1,461,000	3,926,000	965,000	88,000	1,053,000	4,979,000
1869–'70	2,663,000	1,584,000	4,247,000	913,000	99,000	1,012,000	5,259,000
1870–'71	2,805,000	1,906,000	4,711,000	1,009,000	100,000	1,109,000	5,820,000
1871–'72	3,015,000	2,057,000	5,072,000	1,108,000	132,000	1,240,000	6,312,000
Average 6 years	2,646,000	1,740,000	4,386,000	939,000	94,000	1,033,000	5,419,000
Percent. 6 years*	†17.8	†20.8	†19.0	†48.5	†76.3	†50.9	†24.1
1872–'73	3,084,000	2,032,000	5,116,000	1,157,000	152,000	1,309,000	6,425,000
1873–'74	3,128,000	2,064,000	5,192,000	1,299,000	141,000	1,440,000	6,632,000
1874–'75	3,088,000	2,240,000	5,328,000	1,169,000	159,000	1,328,000	6,656,000
1875–'76	3,176,000	2,403,000	5,579,000	1,344,000	159,000	1,503,000	7,082,000
1876–'77	3,183,000	2,378,000	5,561,000	1,418,000	161,000	1,579,000	7,140,000
1877–'78	3,038,000	2,509,000	5,547,000	1,558,000	167,000	1,725,000	7,272,000
Average 6 years	3,116,000	2,271,000	5,387,000	1,324,000	157,000	1,481,000	6,868,000
Percent. 6 years‡	§1.5	†23.5	†8.4	†34.7	†9.9	†31.8	†13.8
1878–'79	2,843,000	2,596,000	5,439,000	1,615,600	169,000	1,784,000	7,223,000
1879–'80	3,350,000	2,750,000	6,100,000	1,779,000	202,000	1,981,000	8,081,000
1880–'81	3,572,000	2,956,000	6,528,000	1,884,000	234,000	2,118,000	8,646,000
1881–'82	3,640,000	3,198,000	6,838,000	1,931,000	266,000	2,197,000	9,035,000
1882–'83	3,744,000	3,380,000	7,124,000	1,993,000	382,000	2,375,000	9,499,000
1883–'84	3,666,000	3,380,000	7,046,000	1,865,000	379,000	2,244,000	9,290,000
Average 6 years	3,469,000	3,043,000	6,512,000	1,845,000	272,000	2,117,000	8,629,000
Percent. 6 years‖	†28.9	†30.2	†29.5	†15.5	†124.3	†25.8	†28.6
1884–'85	3,433,000	3,255,000	6,688,000	1,608,000	301,000	1,909,000	8,597,000
1885–'86	3,628,000	3,416,000	7,074,000	1,890,000	388,000	2,278,000	9,352,000
1886–'87	3,707,000	3,588,000	7,295,000	1,972,000	451,000	2,423,000	9,718,000

* This line gives the increased percentage in the consumption of 1871–'72 compared with the consumption of 1866–'67.

† Increase.

‡ This line gives the increased percentage in the consumption of 1877–'78 compared with the consumption of 1872–'73.

§ Decrease.

‖ This line gives the increased percentage in the consumption of 1883–'84 compared with the consumption of 1878–'79.

As it might be interesting to know what countries furnished this vast amount of cotton to Europe, I will add a statement showing the amount exported to Europe from the principal cotton-growing countries during the years 1884, 1885, and 1886:

	1884.	1885.	1886.
United States	4,170,150	3,850,760	4,417,570
Brazil	315,390	234,330	223,960
Egypt	425,160	482,340	419,870
West India, etc	141,970	148,210	124,050
East India	1,617,510	967,720	1,332,550
Total	6,670,180	5,683,360	6,518,000

It will be seen that we furnished nearly three-fourths of the cotton exported to Europe, while at the same time our mills worked up one-third as much cotton as was consumed by all the cotton industries of Great Britain and the continent.

That we have it in our power to become the great cotton manufacturing country of the world and to supply a full share of the demand for cotton goods in all the markets of the world there is not a shadow of doubt.

The world needs cotton goods annually to an amount of $2,000,000,000. It is estimated that each individual consumes from 20 yards to 60 yards a year. Take the lowest figure, 20 yards, and China requires 7,300,000,000 yards, India 5,000,000,000 yards. This is greater than the entire out put of all the mills in the world. The deficiency is now being supplied with hand-looms. Up to this time the Chinese, Persians, Africans, Japanese, Arabians, and many other nationalities supply their wants in this way, but when they can purchase machine-made goods they will do so. Our little experience

in this trade with all those countries has been most satisfactory. They like honest American cloth, and Mr. Blaine says, p. 104:

All our consular reports bear evidence of the fact that both India and China are growing tired of British adulterated goods.

Mr. BRUMM. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question for information?

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly, I will yield with pleasure to the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. BRUMM. Will the gentleman tell me why it is we do not supply China with cotton goods?

Mr. WHEELER. There are two or three reasons why we do not. The principal one is the evil of the present tariff. It taxes machinery 45 per cent. and thus increases the cost of manufacture. It restricts our commerce and trade with all nations. Our shipping has been driven from the ocean, and if we send our goods abroad it must be done in foreign ships. England has her ships in every port, with her sailors, her captains, and her pursers whose special mission is to praise English and condemn American products.

THE REMEDY.

What we want is a revision of our tariff laws. We want our shipping restored. Under the tariff for revenue of 1846, as high as 77 per cent. of our imports and exports were transported in American ships, and under that law it never fell as low as 66 per cent., while under the tariffs enacted by Republicans the shipments of both our exports and imports in American ships has fallen until last year it was only 13¾ per cent., while 86¼ per cent. was carried in foreign vessels. Let us revise the tariff. Let us have laws so that we can ship our products in our own vessels, officered and manned by Americans, and we will defy every nation on the earth.

There are many things which should be done to bring about this desired end. We should reduce the tax on machinery, so that mills could be established at less expense; we should reduce the tax upon all necessaries of life; we should encourage reciprocal relations with all the nations whose trade we desire to obtain, so as to induce them to enact friendly tariff laws instead of the retaliatory measures now on the statute-books of those countries, some of which were provoked by unnecessary and unwise discriminations in our laws; we should build up our merchant marine, and have American sailors upon every sea and in every foreign port. The sailors of our country are its commercial missionaries; they meet the persons who are to handle, purchase, and use our goods in their own country and at their own homes. We must have American sailors in every port to uphold and defend our merchandise.

As it is now, even if we succeed in getting a bale of cotton cloth into a foreign port, there is no one to speak favorably of it and reply to the unfavorable comments and criticisms of those who seek a market for goods that are often vastly inferior to ours.

It is almost mortifying to do so, but nevertheless I will present a table showing the value of manufactured cottons which we have exported during the last twenty-two years:

Values of cottons of domestic manufacture exported from the United States from 1866 *to* 1887, *inclusive.*

Year ending June 30—	Colored.		Uncolored.		Other manufactures of.	Total.
	Yards.		*Yards.*			
1866	405,908	$88,742	3,041,715	$718,006	$973,427	$1,780,175
1867	674,426	139,964	6,020,731	1,142,451	3,325,820	4,608,235
1868	2,979,275	531,669	10,839,177	1,551,339	2,788,046	4,871,054
1869	----------	----------	----------	----------	5,874,222	5,874,222
1870	6,064,715	1,035,469	8,276,384	1,345,988	1,405,825	3,787,282
1871	5,083,923	724,841	14,832,931	1,776,694	1,056,601	3,558,136
1872	2,844,888	458,998	8,859,191	1,317,719	527,613	2,304,330
1873	3,585,629	596,912	10,187,145	1,655,116	695,500	2,947,528
1874	4,625,180	668,781	13,247,142	1,681,209	745,850	3,095,840
1875	7,593,723	929,061	21,224,020	2,313,270	819,551	4,071,882
1876	16,488,214	1,455,462	59,319,267	5,314,738	952,778	7,722,978
1877	29,601,304	2,484,131	76,769,147	6,437,223	1,314,489	10,235,843
1878	37,765,313	2,959,910	88,528,192	7,053,463	1,425,287	11,438,660
1879	45,116,058	3,209,285	84,081,319	6,288,131	1,356,534	10,853,950
1880	37,758,166	2,956,760	68,821,557	5,834,541	1,190,117	9,981,418
1881	68,184,293	4,983,312	80,399,154	6,624,374	1,963,701	13,571,387
1882	29,525,672	2,326,319	114,994,402	9,351,713	1,544,947	13,222,979
1883	34,066,292	2,648,278	103,634,459	8,629,723	1,673,144	12,951,145
1884	35,441,296	2,579,866	99,750,450	7,503,361	1,801,984	11,885,211
1885	32,738,123	2,230,567	114,806,595	7,919,670	1,686,354	11,636,591
1886	51,293,373	3,149,091	142,547,980	9,231,170	1,579,673	13,959,934
1887	67,793,013	4,003,772	136,809,074	9,256,486	1,669,084	14,929,342

From this table it is evident that we export much less manufactured cotton than we should, and I hope measures will be promptly taken to investigate this important matter and that means will be adopted by which this neglected industry may be put on a proper basis.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir; I would be glad to answer any interrogatory suggested by the gentleman from New Jersey.

THE EFFECT OF TARIFF ON SHIPPING.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I understand one part of the answer of the gentleman from Alabama to the question of my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] was that we on this side had destroyed our shipping. Will the gentleman be kind enough to give me the date of the navigation laws?

Mr. WHEELER. Many of our navigation laws were enacted in the early days of our Republic, and while many changes are advisable it can not be said that these laws destroyed our shipping. When they were enacted we had 123,893 tons of shipping engaged in foreign trade, and under these laws it increased until in 1861 it was 2,496,894 tons, an increase of over 2,000 per cent.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Was not there a law passed by the gentlemen on the other side of the House prohibiting the importation into America of foreign-built ships? And is not the law the same now substantially as it has been since the foundation of the Government?

Mr. WHEELER. The navigation laws have not been the serious obstacles. The difficulties we encounter have resulted from the tariff laws enacted upon your side of the House. In addition to the other troubles to which I have alluded those laws have rendered it impossible for us to compete with other nations in building iron ships, the kind now in vogue, and as wooden ships have gone out of use we have but little connection with distant foreign ports except by foreign vessels.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Then does the gentleman lay the whole difficulty on the tariff laws, rather than on the navigation laws?

Mr. WHEELER. I think the greatest trouble arises from injudicious and ill-considered tariff laws. The gentleman knows that under tariff laws which were in accord with our views of the Constitution, our shipping, foreign and domestic, rose from nothing in 1783 to 5,539,813 tons; and he also knows it has constantly decreased under the operations of the tariff laws enacted by his party. This unfortunate condition of our commerce can not be attributed to the war, because our largest decrease has been since its close.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The present navigation laws prohibit the importation into this country of foreign-built ships. Does the gentleman propose to repeal those laws?

Mr. WHEELER. We are not considering shipping matters, but I will say here and now that I am so impressed with the paramount importance of this question, that I will go so far in advance of most of my friends in advocacy of any constitutional measure to rehabilitate the shipping interests of our country——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Are you in favor of free-trade in ships?

Mr. WHEELER. That is not in the bill. [Laughter.] I am discussing the tariff bill now. I am in favor of any and all proper measures to put American shipping on a proper basis. I shall examine the ship bill before it comes up in the House. I will endeavor to give it my best and most intelligent consideration, and if I should conclude that it will re-establish our flag on the high seas, and restore our lost commerce I will certainly favor it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I know it is not in the bill, but I wanted to ascertain whether you were governed by any principle in the matter.

AN ECONOMIC BUSINESS QUESTION.

Mr. WHEELER. I regard this as a great economic business question, one which affects nearly every American interest. In such matters I am governed by the highest principle. My effort has always been to advocate laws which will add most to the prosperity, happiness, and glorious progress of our country.

I can not see the objection to the bill which some gentlemen urge, especially since its amendment regarding coastwise, lake, and inland trade. I am certainly in favor of reducing taxation on everything that enters into ship-building. For many years it has been the policy of all parties to extend to ship-builders the benefits and privileges which are recited in the second section of the bill. This was the purpose of section 2513 of the Revised Statutes, and this bill merely enlarges its provisions, so as to adapt it to the changed conditions of ship-building, and thus carry out what was intended.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I asked that question simply because I understood that the gentleman was not in favor of admitting to American registry foreign-built vessels.

Mr. WHEELER. That is a question upon which I have never voted. I have as much desire as any one to see our ship-yards again active with the busy hum of joyous workmen, and I believe if you will aid us in a revision of the tariff this much-coveted result will be attained.

ALABAMA AND IRON SHIPS.

I believe we can then build ships cheaper than it can be done on the Clyde. I know it can be done in Alabama. The advantages of our Gulf coast over the Clyde are manifold and unquestioned. Coal and iron are cheap; timber for masts and spars abundant and immediately at hand. The mild and uniform climate permits work to be continued all the year through, which is not the case in the large ship-building centers of this day.

There is no reason why we should not surpass all other peoples as ship-builders. In 1790 Alexander Hamilton asserted—

Ships are nowhere built in greater perfection than in the United States.

Our superior excellence in this particular industry was fully maintained up to 1861, and there is no reason why, with the vast resources at our command, supplemented by the superior skill and ingenuity of our artisans, we should not establish a like pre-eminent excellence in the construction of iron vessels. That is, there would be no reason why we should not do this if we had just, equitable,

and reasonable tariff laws. That the ship-yards of the North can not do so under the prevailing system has been demonstrated. I believe that, with cheap Alabama iron and the other advantages I have mentioned, the South can do all I have indicated despite the obstacles. Correct the irregularities of our tax laws, and I am confident the United States will speedily become the ship-builders of the world. While I can not concur with all the views expressed by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] in his speech of April 17, I fully agree that in speaking of the South, and particularly of Alabama, he was right in referring to it as a "fertile empire," and he was also right in his statement that—

The utilization of its exhaustless supply of minerals for manufactures promised great wealth—

Greater, perhaps, to use the language of the venerable leader, than was—

Dreamed of in the palmy days when they counted their acres by thousands and their slaves by hundreds.

I am very glad the eminent Pennsylvanian has visited our country and learned from personal observation the extent and character of our resources.

It has been contended by more than one of the opponents of this bill that Southern men who once owned slaves or who lived in States where slavery existed should not be intrusted with the revision of the tariff. There is one very prominent Republican who appears to entertain a different view of Southern men. I read from Mr. Blaine's book, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. 1, pp. 45–'6.

With one-half the Senate under the control of the slave-holding States, and with the Constitution declaring that no amendment to it should ever destroy the equality of the States in the Senate, the Southern leaders occupied a commanding position. Having before them the example of Jefferson, of Madison, and of George Mason in Virginia, of Nathaniel Macon in North Carolina, and of the Pinckneys and Rutledges in South Carolina, they gave deep study to the science of government. They were admirably trained as debaters, and they became highly skilled in the management of parliamentary bodies.

As a rule, they were liberally educated, many of them graduates of Northern colleges, a still larger number taking their degrees at Transylvania, in Kentucky, at Chapel Hill, in North Carolina, and at Mr. Jefferson's peculiar but admirable institution, in Virginia. Their secluded mode of life on the plantation gave them leisure for reading and reflection. They took pride in their libraries, pursued the law so far as it increased their equipment for a public career, and devoted themselves to political affairs with an absorbing ambition. * * * They were almost without exception men of high integrity, and they were especially and jealously careful of the public money. Too often ruinously lavish in their personal expenditures, they believed in an economical government, and throughout the long period of their domination they guarded the Treasury with rigid and unceasing vigilance against every attempt at extravagance and against every form of corruption.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman will pardon me. I was simply desirous of ascertaining whether he held the same views here which he had expressed before other public bodies.

Mr. WHEELER. I have never changed my views on this subject. I have steadfastly adhered to the advocacy of laws which would give us back the glorious prestige which we enjoyed during every year of the existence of the ad valorem tariff of 1846 and 1857. My latest utterance on this subject was this letter to the New Orleans shipping convention:

A BENEFICENT COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 9, 1888.

To the Presiding Officer National Convention American Shipping League, New Orleans, La.:

DEAR SIR: I deeply regret that pressing official duties here will deprive me of the pleasure I should have in participating in the proceedings of your convention, and becoming, if possible, more deeply imbued with sentiments of devotion to the cause in which you are engaged.

The re-establishment of our former supremacy as a maritime people I regard as one of the most important questions now demanding solution at the hands of American statesmanship and enterprise.

The successful accomplishment of the object to which our league is devoted means not only the saving of scores of millions of dollars now being annually paid to foreigners for carrying our exported goods, but it means also useful and profitable employment to thousands of our artisans; and the advantageous investment of capital now lying idle and comparatively unproductive.

It means greatly increased activity in nearly every one of the vast number of our diversified industries now languishing or declining for want of favorable opportunity to compete on equal terms with those of other countries. When the sails of American ships shall again whiten every sea, and the smoke of American merchant steamers ascend to the arching clouds in every accessible part of the globe, the dire and deplorable struggle between underpaid labor and unproductive capital now going on around us will have passed away forever, for then we shall supply the markets of the world with our surplus products instead of having their sale limited to the consumers within our own borders.

To accomplish this vast and incalculably beneficent revolution in the commerce and industry of the country is the lofty and noble purpose of our League. Our success will insure contentment and happiness to our noble army of workmen, and satisfactory returns to our active, vigilant, and enterprising capitalists. Let us achieve the purpose we have in view, and prosperity, peace, plenty, and contentment will prevail throughout our land—along the shores of the gulf, as on the borders of our northern lakes; upon our Atlantic sea-coast throughout its whole extent as upon the Pacific.

To bear any part, even the humblest, in promoting the success of a design, the results of which promise such comprehensive and enduring benefits to the people of our whole country, might well satisfy the ambition of a far more aspiring man than myself, and I shall eagerly seize every opportunity to contribute to that end.

The statistics bearing upon the subject will be presented to you by gentlemen far more competent than I to deal with them, but I can not refrain from saying that already there are gratifying evidences of the advantages resulting from such an organization as our League, in the renewed interest in our ship-building industry, and the newly aroused sense of the importance of our foreign trade, which is perceptible throughout the country.

With renewed expressions of regret for my inability to be with you, and with implicit confidence that the result of your deliberations will be of great immediate benefit to the League, and ultimately to the country, I am, sir,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOS. WHEELER.

Mr. WHEELER. The printed report of the proceedings then says:

This letter was listened to with close attention and heartily applauded.

It seems from this that those most interested in American shipping approved the ideas I expressed.

Mr. KERR. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERR. Is it not a fact that the Democratic party when it was in power always raised every dollar of the public revenue by a tariff?

Mr. WHEELER. Not every dollar. We received considerable money from public lands and other sources. In 1836 the receipts from public lands were in excess of the customs duties.

Mr. KERR. Well, during the last fifty years, while it was in power?

Mr. WHEELER. That is substantially so, and a well-arranged, fair, judicious tariff is a very proper method of raising revenue.

A MEMBER (on the Democratic side). And that is what we propose to do.

Mr. WHEELER. It is evident that something must be done to find an outlet for the country's surplus productions. Certainly that will benefit all of our industries.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. KERR. I move that the time of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER] be extended.

The CHAIRMAN. The hour fixed by order of the House for the recess has arrived.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. In view of that fact I move that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

SATURDAY, *May* 5, 1888.

Mr. MILLS. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of bills raising revenue.

The motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, Mr. SPRINGER in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is now in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering the bill the title of which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. WHEELER. Before resuming my remarks of yesterday I desire to thank the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. KERR] for his courteous motion for the extension of my time, but in response to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. CASWELL] I wish it to be understood that the friends of revenue reform will not object to any interruptions or interrogatories from the advocates of high and oppressive taxation. The principles we champion for our revenue system stand upon too high ground to be affected by any possible action of its enemies.

The opponents of this bill have very nearly exhausted their copious vocabulary of derision and scorn in execrating England, England's laws, and England's methods. But I doubt not that those who have in this matter assailed her most virulently will agree with me that, whilst there is a great deal we can not admire in that Government, there is yet much that must command our cordial commendation.

REPUBLICANS' AND ENGLAND'S TAX LAWS.

While laws enacted by Republicans tax the working-man's sugar 90 per cent., his salt 85 per cent., his rice 120 per cent, his blankets 200 per cent., and many other necessaries of life in like proportion, England gives all these things free of tax to her people. Her internal revenue is almost entirely collected from the incomes of the rich and the luxuries they consume, and not a dollar of duty is collected upon imported articles of necessary daily consumption. In almost every breath we hear of the English free-trade laws, until the impression has been created that England is a country of absolute free-trade, while in fact, since the enactment of her revenue laws in 1845, which Republicans denominate as a free-trade system, England has collected $4,510,759,630.20, an annual average of $104,901,386.75, while during the same period the United States has collected for import duties the amount of $4,964,155,502.84, an annual average of $115,445,476.81.

The Government of Great Britain has uniformly exerted its power to extend her trade and to enable her to dominate the commerce of the world.

It has been said, and the statement is figuratively, if not literally, true, that every ship-load of calico which leaves England is convoyed by one of her men-of-war. When Mexico refused to pay a few dollars for English goods, England's navy knocked down the walls of their castle of San Juan D'Ulloa. When the people of Egypt failed to pay the interest due English holders of their bonds, an English

force promptly bombarded the city of Alexandria and forced a settlement. When China declined to recognize or admit the validity of a register granted by an English consul, English armed vessels immediately resented the indignity, enforced an apology, and compelled the Chinese to open their ports to English commerce.

I refer to these arbitrary acts to illustrate how English statesmen have subordinated everything to enhance national wealth and commercial supremacy. The same idea is exhibited in her economic laws which govern the domestic affairs of the nation, and their taxing the luxuries and incomes of the rich rather than the necessities of the poor, is because they find such laws bring to a country the greatest prosperity. When we consider what that little island, which, when compared to our country, is but a barren waste, has accomplished, what a field of inviting thought is presented for our contemplation.

In considering what kind of laws the highest wisdom would suggest, it is interesting to examine the early history of manufacturing industries in this country; and we find there that we possess unequaled and unrivaled advantages in soil, mineral wealth, and other resources, which, under proper laws, should enable us to compete in the markets of the world with any manufactures on the globe.

OUR EARLY MANUFACTURING TRIUMPHS.

As early as 1645 manufactories were established in the American colonies. Mr. Bishop, in his History of American Manufactures, on page 476, says, that on May 6, 1646, Mr. Jenks was granted a patent for fourteen years for making engines for mills and for the making of scythes and other edged tools by his newly invented saw-mill, and in 1655 he was granted another patent for seven years for making scythes.

The navigation laws passed in Cromwell's time were very detrimental to American industries. In 1650 it was enacted that all productions of the colonies should be sent to English ports, and in 1669 a law was enacted—

that no wool, yarn, or woolen manufactures of the American plantations shall be shipped thence, or even laden, in order to be transported, on any pretense whatever.

At that time the colonies had established furnaces, foundries, and rolling-mills. They also manufactured sheet-iron, tinware, nails, and many varieties of articles made of iron and steel. From the same work we find that the earliest colonists maintained cotton, woolen, and linen factories. Cotton was imported from the Barbadoes and Smyrna.

Mr. Bishop says, on page 309, the use of cotton in textile fabrics has existed in this country from as early a date as in England, and the system pursued in the two countries also and the description of cloth made were not dissimilar. On page 329 he refers to a report to the board of trade reciting efforts—

to divert Americans from going on with the linen and woolen manufactures.

And in the same connection he says all cloth for clothing, except fine and expensive qualities, was manufactured in the colonies, and on page 331 he speaks of considerable improvement in the year 1719 in the culture of flax and manufacture of linen by Protestant people from Ireland; and on page 630 he states that the cheapness of fuel, the fine qualities of American iron, and the dexterity of Americans in the manufacture of scythes, axes, and nails had caused apprehension of a dangerous rivalry with British iron interests. It is further stated that American articles of this character were superior to those of Germany or France.

In the same year, 1719, the English Parliament passed a resolution that—

the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tends to lessen their dependence upon Great Britain.

But this was not the serious difficulty with which England had to contend.

Mr. Bishop, on page 626, says that iron manufacturers in the neighborhood of Sheffield were apprehensive that their expensive works would be ruined, the laborers rendered destitute, or forced to emigrate to America. In 1742 a report was filed by London traders with the Parliament which states that woolen, linen, and paper mills were being established in America, which—

interfered with the profits of British merchants, and was prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain.

Parliament also passed a law prohibiting in general terms the exportation of any manufactured articles from the colonies which interfered with like articles in England.

In 1750 Parliament provided by law that pig-iron could be exported from the colonies to England because it was necessary to English manufacturing interests, but at the same time it was enacted that from and after June 24, 1750—

no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel shall be erected, or, after such erection, continued in any of His Majesty's colonies of America.

COLONIAL IRON INDUSTRIES AND EXPORTS.

In 1771 2,222 tons of bar iron and 5,303 tons of pig-iron were exported from the Colonies to England.

During the Revolutionary war there was a large increase in all kinds of manufactures, in some classes of goods to a greater extent than was needed upon the return of peace. The depression in some manufacturing industries which took place in 1784 has been erroneously attributed to excessive imports. By referring to the statistics we find that the importations into the country that year amounted to $17,845,214. In 1785 the imports were $11,193,911, and in 1786 the importations were only $7,776,805. These imports were certainly not excessive. After the tariff law of 1789 went into operation the net imports of the United States were $22,460,844 for the year 1790, and for the succeeding ten years the net imports averaged $40,000,000. The duties collected during the existence of the Confederation were very small, and were mostly confined to wines and products of the West Indies.

In a history of Brazil, published in 1848, it is stated on page 213 that in 1784 cotton manufactories were carried on to such an extent that the Portuguese merchants made complaint to the home government that this industry was interfering with their business, and on January 5, 1785, a decree from the King of Portugal was sent to the officers of the crown in Rio Janeiro directing them to extinguish all factories of silk, linen, cotton, and woolen goods, and, if it should become necessary, to confiscate the looms.

Notwithstanding this, a Jesuit missionary, João Daniel, when visiting the Spanish missions west of the Madeira River, in 1797, says that the Indians there—

learn various trades, and manufacture very fine and valuable cotton cloths.

This demonstrates conclusively that the New World, in both North and South America, has always possessed advantages which made the new settlements formidable rivals of the mother countries in the matter of manufactures.

HAMILTON ON THE TARIFF.

For additional information on this subject I shall now read some statements and conclusions of Alexander Hamilton, which I find in his report made in compliance with an order from the House of Representatives of January 15, 1790, upon the means of promoting manufactures.

And it must be borne in mind that for many years Alexander Hamilton has been exultingly claimed by the Republican party as the great originator and apostle of the protective theory in American politics, and his eminent abilities, distinguished services, and lofty character have all been seized upon to sanction their most extravagant demands for a prohibitory tariff.

I will read from page 192:

The expediency of encouraging manufactures in the United States, which was not long ago deemed very questionable, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted. The embarrassments which have obstructed the progress of our external trade have led to serious reflections on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of our domestic commerce.

He states (page 193) that the arguments against the enactment of laws for the purpose of encouraging manufactures are:

In every country agriculture is the most beneficial and productive object of human industry. This position generally, if not universally true, applies with peculiar emphasis to the United States, on account of their immense tracts of fertile territory uninhabited and unimproved.

Another argument is that—

To endeavor, by the extraordinary patronage of Government, to accelerate the growth of manufactures is in fact to endeavor by force and act to transfer the natural current of industry from a more to a less beneficial channel. Whatever has such a tendency must necessarily be unwise; indeed, it can hardly ever be wise in a Government to attempt to give a direction to the industry of its citizens.

And that (I read from page 194)—

If, contrary to the natural course of things, an unseasonable and premature spring can be given to certain fabrics by heavy duties, prohibitions, bounties, or by other forced expedients, this will only be to sacrifice the interests of the community to those of particular classes.

General Hamilton then says:

This mode of reasoning is founded upon facts and principles which have certainly respectable pretensions.

He then goes on and assumes that general theories admit of numerous exceptions, and that most theories blend error with the truth they inculcate; therefore, in order to arrive at a proper judgment (page 195)—

it is necessary to advert carefully to the considerations which plead in favor of manufactures, and which appear to recommend the special and positive encouragement of them in certain cases, and under certain reasonable limitations.

The next paragraph reads:

It ought readily to be conceded that the cultivation of the earth, as the primary and most certain source of national supply, is the immediate and chief source of subsistence to man—

Hamilton also says that the cultivation of the earth—

has intrinsically a strong claim to pre-eminence over every other kind of industry. But that it has a title to anything like an exclusive predilection in any country ought to be admitted with great caution.

He then enumerates many kinds of manufactures which had been in successful operation, and in speaking of protective duties, he says (page 245):

Duties of this nature evidently amount to a virtual bounty on the domestic fabrics; since by enhancing the charges on foreign articles they enable the national manufacturers to undersell all their foreign competitors. * * * Indeed, all the duties imposed on imported articles, though with an exclusive view to revenue, have the effect in contemplation, and except where they fall on raw materials, wear a beneficent aspect towards the manufacturers of the country.

On page 235 he also alludes to this question in these words:

But though it were true that the immediate and certain effect of regulations

controlling the competition of foreign with domestic fabrics, was an increase of price * * * when a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a competent number of persons, it invariably becomes cheaper.

PROHIBITORY TARIFF PREVENTS COMPETITION.

In referring to prohibitory duties, he says (page 245):

This is another and an efficacious means of encouraging national manufactures; but, in general, it is only fit to be employed when a manufacture has made such progress, and is in so many hands, as to insure a due competition and an adequate supply on reasonable terms.

With regard to pecuniary bounties he states (page 246):

This has been found one of the most efficacious means of encouraging manufactures, and is, in some views, the best. It avoids the inconvenience of a temporary augmentation of price.

And as another of the advantages of bounties (page 247):

Bounties have not, like high protecting duties, a tendency to produce scarcity. An increase of price is not always the immediate, though, where the progress of a manufacture does not counteract a rise, it is, commonly, the ultimate effect of an additional duty.

He concludes, however, that the practice of aiding manufacturing enterprises in this way should be confined to new undertakings. Upon this point, on page 248, I read:

The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must almost always be of questionable policy; because a presumption would arise, in every such case, that there were natural and inherent impediments to success. But, in new undertakings, they are as justifiable as they are oftentimes necessary.

On page 250 he discusses the Constitutional right to levy protective tariff duties, and singularly enough rests his entire case on the grant of power "to promote the general welfare."

The principles upon which he would base a system of protective taxation having been very copiously discussed, General Hamilton then addresses himself to a designation and consideration of the raw material entering into the several manufactures he would have protected, the first article treated of being iron, as it is regarded as entitled to "pre-eminent rank" for its manufactures.

I read from page 260:

Iron-works have greatly increased in the United States, and are prosecuted with much more advantage than formerly. The average price, before the Revolution, was about $64 per ton; at present, it is about $80, a rise which is chiefly to be attributed to the increase of manufactures of the material.

On the same page steel is referred to in these words:

Steel is a branch which has already made a considerable progress, and it is ascertained that some new enterprises, on a more extensive scale, have been lately set on foot.

After further consideration of other manufactures in which iron is a chief ingredient, the conclusion is reached, on page 261—

It seems equally safe and prudent to extend the duty, ad valorem, upon all manufactures of iron, or of which iron is the article of chief value, to 10 per cent.

And steel manufactures are dismissed with a similar generalization on page 262:

Manufactures of steel generally, or of which steel is the article of chief value, may, with advantage, be placed in the class of goods rated at 7½ per cent.

Two facts are very significant in connection with Hamilton's views as to the advisability, if not necessity, of a protective tariff tax on manufactures of iron and steel—confessedly "entitled to pre-eminent rank." First, the tax is proposed to be levied ad valorem; and second, that this early and great champion of the theory of protection concludes that the rather trifling duty of 7½ and 10 per cent. will be amply sufficient to accomplish the end had in view.

HAMILTON'S DISCIPLES MISREPRESENT HIM.

Bearing in mind that Hamilton insists that bounties and protection to manufactures should only be temporary, I should like to ask in passing, how gentlemen professing to be followers of his politico-economic theories and principles—after the iron and steel industries have enjoyed more than a century of protection—can justify their demand for a permanent tariff tax of from 45 to 114 per cent. on these articles of common consumption—an average ten times greater than Hamilton declared to be amply sufficient.

Copper is next considered, and he says:

The manufactures of which this article is susceptible are also of great extent and utility.

Brass, of which copper "is the principal ingredient" is also regarded as important, and it is asserted (pages 263, 264):

An additional duty on brass wares will tend to the general end in view. These now stand at 5 per cent., while those of tin, pewter, and copper are rated at 7½. There appears to be a propriety, in every view, in placing brass wares upon the same level with them.

Republicans now demand 45 per cent., and we are denounced as "free-traders" because we support this bill which fixes the duty at 35 to 40 per cent.

Of lead it is said on the same page:

There are numerous proofs that this material abounds in the United States, and requires little to unfold it to an extent more than equal to every domestic occasion. * * * The duties already laid upon the importation of this article, either in its manufactured or unmanufactured state, insure it a decisive advantage in the home market, which amounts to considerable encouragement.

The tax which Hamilton said was sufficient for lead's protection was equivalent to an ad valorem rate of about 7 per cent. Democrats are now called free-traders because they propose to reduce the present tax, equal to 60 per cent., to 40 and 45 per cent.

Coal, or as General Hamilton designates it, "fossil coal," is regarded as an important instrument of manufactures and navigation, and on page 264 is referred to in these words:

It is known that there are several coal mines in Virginia now worked, and appearances of their existence are familiar in a number of places.

In considering the article of sail cloth, made of flax and hemp, Hamilton, on page 271, says:

A flourishing manufactory is established at Boston, and very promising ones at several other places. It is presumed to be both safe and advisable to place this in the class of articles rated at 10 per cent.

Republicans now demand 35 to 40 per cent., and the supporters of the bill under consideration are stigmatized as free-traders because they propose to reduce the tariff on flax and hemp to 25 per cent.

On page 275 Hamilton recommends a duty of 7½ per cent. on all cotton goods, and speaks of this industry, as it then existed, in these terms:

Manufactories of cotton goods, not long since established at Beverly, in Massachusetts, and Providence, in Rhode Island, * * * seem to have overcome the first obstacles to success. * * * Other manufactories of the same material, as regular businesses, have also been begun at different places in the State of Connecticut.

I beg to call the attention of the House specially to the fact that when the manufacture of cotton was truly an infant industry in this country the most prominent protectionist of his day thought it was effectually shielded from the competition of the mother country by a duty of 7½ per cent., while after its having been continually protected during a century, the Republicans of to-day clamor for the perpetuation of a tariff tax of from 40 to 75 per cent., and, with hands upraised in holy horror, declare that our effort to reduce the tax to from 35 to 40 per cent. is a "free-trade heresy."

HAMILTON SUGGESTS TEN PER CENT. ON WOOL.

The wool industry is regarded as highly important, but the only definite suggestion as to protection which Hamilton makes, is (page 277) that a fund from which to pay premiums for improving the quality of native and bounties for the introduction of fine foreign wool, might be secured by the

addition of 2½ per cent. to the present rate of duty on carpets and carpeting.

The duty on carpets and carpetings at that time was 7½ per cent., and the proposed addition would therefore have raised it to 10 per cent. Republican legislation has increased this duty on the various grades to an equivalent ad valorem tax of 47, 59, and 73 per cent. Democrats are held up to obloquy as free-traders because they propose to fix this duty at 30 per cent.—three times what Hamilton said was sufficient.

As to the condition of the manufactories, we learn from page 276 that—

Hats of wool, and of wool mixed with fur, are made in large quantities in different States.

And with an adequate supply of materials there would be no difficulty in supplying the demand. And in another place it stated,

A promising essay towards the fabrication of cloths, cassimeres, and other woolen goods is likewise going on at Hartford, in Connecticut. Specimens of the different kinds which are made, in the possession of the Secretary, evince that these fabrics have attained a very considerable degree of perfection.

On page 277 we are told that—

The production of silk is attended with great facility in most parts of the United States.

But the high-tariff idolators of to-day will probably learn with a good deal of surprise that the only suggestion for the encouragement of silk manufacture submitted to Congress by the protectionist, Alexander Hamilton, is that raw silk be placed on the free list. In his own words, page 277:

An exemption of the material from the duty which it now pays on importation, while the bill under consideration, which they classify as a free-trade abomination, leaves the duty on silk and silk manufactures just at the duty fixed by the act of 1883, that is at about 50 per cent

HAMILTON'S TARIFF ON GLASS.

Regarding glass Hamilton says, page 277:

The materials for making glass are found everywhere,

and there is no deficiency of these materials in the United States. On the next page he says:

Different manufactories of glass are now on foot in the United States. The present duty of 12½ per cent. on all imported articles of glass amounts to a considerable encouragement to those manufactories.

This is the only article on which the duty at that time was as high as 12½ per cent. Since that day Republicans have so increased the tax on various kinds of glass, that now the tax on some kinds of glass is as high as 152 per cent., and the average tax is about 90 per cent. We are denounced as free-traders because we propose to fix this tax at about 85 per cent., a tax seven times greater than Hamilton thought necessary.

On page 278 we are informed that:

Manufactories of paper are among those which are arrived at the greatest maturity in the United States, and are most adequate to national supply,

and that such manufactories are already protected by a competent duty on similar articles imported from abroad.

At that time paper was taxed at 7½ to 10 per cent., and Hamilton thought this was "competent." Republicans have increased this tax to 25 per cent., and Democrats are denounced because they pro-

pose to fix it at 20 per cent., double the rate which Hamilton thought was sufficient.

HAMILTON'S REAL TEACHINGS.

The somewhat lengthy citations I have made from this elaborate and comprehensive report of the most prominent of those who first advocated the protective policy, may have been somewhat tedious, but carefully considered they will be found highly instructive on two or three important points:

1. That the politico-economic school of which Hamilton may be regarded as the founder held that it was good policy to foster and encourage struggling manufactures by protective duties or bounties—he uses the terms convertibly—but that such protection should only be temporary.

2. That an ad valorem duty of the low rate of from 5 to 10 per cent. would suffice to accomplish the object in view. He, however, thought it permissible to retain the existing duty of 12½ per cent. on glass.

3. That during the earliest period of our governmental history the manufacturing industries of the young Republic were able to compete, upon comparatively equal terms, with those of the Old World.

4. That no people can become commercially prosperous and independent unless its fiscal and economic policy be so adjusted as to secure, in the markets of the world, an outlet for its surplus products. And this last point is peculiarly impressive and specially significant at this time, when the official statistics of our financial and industrial condition shows that our present production is largely in excess of our possible consumption.

WE MUST HAVE A FOREIGN MARKET.

We learn from the census of 1880 that our population was 50,155,783 and that 17,392,099 persons, or 34½ per cent. of the population, were engaged in some kind of occupation. These included many children and many females. The highest paid were those engaged in factories, their average being $346.90.

Most elaborate statistics recently prepared by the Government show that farm labor without board in some States is paid as low as $12.25 per month, and children on farms, factories, and other vocations frequently work for $50 a year; and when we consider that in many occupations workmen are not employed more than two-thirds to three-fourths their time we find that the general average paid persons of all classes who work is about $200 a year.

In 1866, with a population of 34,000,000, the income tax showed but 460,170 persons who had incomes above $600. If the persons having such incomes increased in the same ratio as the population in 1880 they would have numbered 670,255. Therefore in 1880 the persons engaged in occupations may be divided as follows:

Those with incomes above $600	670,255
Those with incomes less than $600	16,721,844

The latter class averaged $200 a year, and could only purchase to the amount of $3,344,268,800; the incomes upon which tax was collected in 1866, amounted to $865,946,421; and, admitting an increase in proportion to population, the total income over $600 in 1880 would have aggregated $1,260,919,631. Now, again admitting, for the sake of argument, that this enormous sum is all spent to purchase articles of consumption, and we see the total amount of income of all kinds in the United States in 1880, which could be used to purchase products, was $4,515,189,431. To this we add $167,683,912, which was the excess of our exports over imports, and it aggregates $4,682,873,343. By the census of 1880 the products of our factories were valued at $5,369,667,706, and the products of our farms were $2,264,278,718, amounting together to $7,633,946,424.

We thus see that the products of our farms and factories in 1880 were, in round numbers, $3,000,000,000 in excess of the full measure of our home markets.

At this time the discrepancy is greater. Incomes are estimated at $6,000,000,000, factory products at $8,000,000,000, and farm products at $3,000,000,000.

Therefore to-day we have a product of $5,000,000,000 for which there is no home market. We are, however, surrounded by people who wish to buy of us, but the impolicy of our laws shuts us from the trade of the world almost as hermetically as China has been isolated by her laws, which we call relics of barbarism.

We all know that the Republican idea of increased tariff taxation will not, can not, give us improved trade relations with the rest of the world. In the report from which I have already read some extracts Alexander Hamilton says (page 248):

> It can not escape notice that a duty upon the importation of an article can not otherwise aid the domestic production of it than by giving the latter greater advantages in the home market. It can have no influence upon the advantageous sale of the article produced in foreign markets—no tendency, therefore, to promote its exportation.

Our sad experience has fully vindicated the wisdom of Hamilton's philosophy on this point. It has done more, for it has shown that not only will duties not create an export trade, but will crush out what had already been gained.

HIGH TARIFF LIMITS EXPORTS.

The resounding oratory of Republican declaimers insisting that all we have to do to build up our country is to keep on increasing the tariff tax until it reaches the point of prohibition, has betrayed a confiding people into the error of disregarding the voice which comes from every foreign land, saying they can not buy of us unless we will buy of them; that much as they would like to establish commercial relations, they can not send ships for our goods unless we buy something to make a cargo to this country.

And what has been the result?

Our rivals have habitually taken our place in what, for years, had been our best markets.

Many of our articles of export are decreasing, while countries whose rivalry we have been accustomed to hardly consider are rapidly supplanting us.

Germany has gradually raised its tariff on our wheat, and our exports have fallen from 122,000,000 bushels, worth $130,000,000, in 1879, to 102,000,000 bushels, worth $81,000,000, in 1887.

British India increased her export of wheat from 4,000,000 in 1879 to nearly 42,000,000 in 1887.

I have prepared a table, showing at a glance the wheat exports of these two countries during the last nine years:

Exports of wheat from British India during the years ending March 31, 1879 to 1887, inclusive.			Exports of wheat from the United States during the years ending June 30, 1879 to 1887, inclusive.	
Years.	Cwts. of 112 pounds.	Value in pounds of $4.85.	Bushels.	Value in dollars.
1879	1,056,720	520,138	122,353,936	130,701,079.00
1880	2,201,515	1,124,267	153,252,795	190,546,305.00
1881	7,444,375	3,277,942	150,565,477	167,698,485.00
1882	19,991,005	8,869,562	95,271,802	112,929,718.00
1883	14,193,763	6,088,814	106,385,828	119,879,341.00
1884	21,001,412	8,895,801	70,349,012	75,026,678.00
1885	15,850,881	6,319,018	84,653,714	81,267,565.44
1886	21,069,519	8,002,350	57,759,209	51,395,696.01
1887	22,263,348	8,625,876	101,971,949	81,577,559.20

The Argentine Republic by opening business relations with Europe increased her export of wheat from substantially nothing in 1880 to over 4,000,000 bushels, while Russia in Europe increased her exports from 36,000,000 to nearly a hundred million bushels.

In 1869 we imported cotton-seed oil to the amount of $779. The wise protectionists saw here an opportunity to accomplish the double purpose of raising revenue and protecting their infant industries, and they imposed upon it a duty of 30 cents per gallon, equal to about 86 per cent. ad valorem. We were struggling to build up this new industry, and with great difficulty we had found a foreign market, three-fourths of which was with Marseilles, Trieste, and other Mediterranean ports.

I am informed that France and Italy were finally induced to put an import duty on our cotton-seed oil, and our exports, which in 1880 reached 6,997,796 gallons, fell in four years so that in 1883 it was only 415,611 gallons. In 1883 these facts were presented to Congress, but the best we could do was to get a reduction of duty to 25 cents. It is true we have since built up our export trade with the Netherlands and other countries. I give this as an illustration of the impolicy of injudicious protection.

This unsatisfactory condition of our export trade, produced by this policy, should have been expected. Presidents Monroe, John Q. Adams, and Polk warned us against this special danger, and long before their time Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, in his report on manufactures, speaks of the hostile legislation of foreign countries regarding American products. He says (page 215) the United States—

> experience numerous and very injurious impediments to the emission and vent of their own commodities. Nor is the case in reference to a single foreign nation only. The regulations of several countries with which we have the most extensive intercourse throw serious obstacles in the way of the principal staples of the United States.

He also says:

> If Europe will not take from us the products of our soils upon terms consistent with our interest, the natural remedy is to contract, as far as possible, our wants of hers.

Again: To show how determined England was, and continued to be, in maintaining this spirit of a retaliatory tariff—by which she discriminated against American products—I will here call attention to the action of Great Britain regarding American rice.

The laws of Great Britain imposed a duty of two shillings and six pence sterling per bushel on all foreign rough rice imported into the United Kingdom. This tax bore heavily upon American growers of rice, but we did not complain, because all rice producers with whom America had to compete in the British markets were placed upon the same basis of taxation.

But by the act of the British Parliament, of August 13, 1836, the duty was reduced to one penny per quarter (of eight bushels) on the rough rice "imported from the west coast of Africa." Illustrations of this point might be multiplied indefinitely, but what has been cited will suffice to establish the proposition that we can not close our markets to other peoples' without losing nearly every outlet for the surplus products of our own industry and enterprise.

It has been contended that enhancements of values in land and other property is due to a high tariff. This assumption requires much modification.

Just so far as a high tariff encourages manufactures just to that extent does the congregation of hands to operate them cause a demand for building sites, and therefore an increase in value; but when the tariff is so injudiciously arranged as to discourage manufactures and make them unprofitable the reverse takes place. Factories cease to run, the operators seek other employment, and their houses are left to decay or, as is frequently the case, become destroyed by fire.

I must ask permission now to refer to some errors of gentlemen who have spoken against this bill.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], after describing the condition of the country for the seven years succeeding 1828, says:

But this brief period of prosperity was quickly followed by the revenue tariff of 1846 and 1857, which brought to the country another era of industrial depression.

I am surprised that my friend should have referred to the period following 1846 as one of "industrial depression." The impressions I have from my recollection and investigation are diametrically opposed to this assertion.

PROSPERITY UNDER DEMOCRATIC TARIFF.

From 1846 to 1861, under the tariff law my friend denounces, the tonnage of our shipping engaged in foreign trade increased from 943,307 tons to 2,496,894 tons, an increase of almost 300 per cent.; and from 1861 to 1887, under tariff laws which he commends, our shipping gradually decreased until, according to the last report, we have but 989,412 tons of shipping engaged in foreign trade, showing a loss under Republican rule of two-thirds of our foreign tonnage.

Again, in 1861 American vessels carried 65 per cent. of our exports and imports, while to-day but 15 per cent. are carried in American vessels.

Our exports of domestic merchandise were only $101,907,734 in 1846; in 1860 they were $316,242,423, an increase of more than 300 per cent.

We had but 4,930 miles of railroad in 1846, and in 1861 we had 31,286, an increase of more than 600 per cent. The history of our country shows that our manufactures flourished between 1846 and 1850, but I can give no accurate data. The census of 1850 and that of 1860, however, gives accurate information of the marvelous increase of that industry during that period, under a strictly ad valorem tariff. The capital invested in manufactures was $533,245,351 in 1850, and $1,009,855,715 in 1860, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

In 1850 the materials used in factories were valued at $555,123,822; in 1860 the consumption of material amounted to $1,031,605,092, an increase of 100 per cent., and the products of these establishments was $1,019,106,616 in 1850, and $1,855,861,676 in 1860, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. The assessed value of all property in the United States was $6,024,666,909 in 1850, and $12,084,560,000 in 1860, an increase of more than 100 per cent. The value of farms in the United States in 1850 was $3,271,575,426, and in 1860 they were worth $6,645,045,007, another increase of more than 100 per cent.

I insist that the history of no country, at any time, can show such unexampled per centage of progress, and yet this is the period selected by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] as one of "industrial depression."

This fearful error is one into which our Republican friends have frequently fallen. Last Monday my friend from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] made the same mistake. In speaking of the tariff law of 1846 he said:

The Southern leaders in 1846 insisted upon the repeal of the tariff law of 1842. Almost immediately a decline was witnessed in our productive industries. * * * This condition of things, to a greater or less extent, continued until the accession of Republicans to power in 1860.

The statements of the gentlemen from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] and New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER] are but fair samples of the errors upon which Republicans base their arguments.

Is it possible that the enemies of the bill are unable to find any better illustration than this upon which to predicate their theories?

If we should eliminate all the incorrect statistics and exploded doctrines from the Republican speeches on tariff they would be reduced to the most meagre proportions, and the little left would be hardly more than a conglomeration of inconsistencies and unwarrantable conclusions.

THE LABORER WAS PROSPEROUS.

This remarkable prosperity is not at all surprising. The tax laws during that period were more equal than at any other time in our history; they were just to all people and to all pursuits.

The duties were all ad valorem, that is, a certain per cent. upon imported articles, and, therefore, those of a cheap character paid duty only in proportion to their actual value. To illustrate: Sugar was taxed 30 per cent. under the law of 1846, and 24 per cent. under the law of 1857. Sugar which cost in Cuba 2 cents per pound, was, under that law, taxed less than half a cent; expensive sugar which cost 10 cents was, under this law, taxed five times as much.

The Republicans have persistently opposed the ad valorem system, and have demanded specific duties; that is to say, they taxed such articles by the pound, not according to value. During Republican supremacy sugar was taxed as high as 4 and even 5 cents a pound. Under this kind of law sugar which cost 2 cents is taxed 200 per cent. and that which cost 12 cents is taxed only 33 per cent. The laboring man buys the cheaper article, while the finer quality is purchased by the rich and prosperous.

Under the law of 1846 and 1857 blankets were taxed 15 to 20 per cent.; therefore a cheap blanket, which cost $2, was taxed 30 cents, while the tax would be $3 on a very fine blanket costing about $20. Under Republican supremacy blankets were no longer taxed ad valorem, but by weight, the tax being as high as 50 cents a pound. A cheap, coarse blanket weighing 8 pounds, and worth about $2, would, under such a law, be taxed $4—200 per cent. on its cost. A fine, handsome blanket, made of very superior wool, might possibly weigh only 2 pounds, and under such a law this blanket would be taxed $1, although the original cost may have been $20.

It may be said that I have cited extreme cases, but an examination of the entire schedule of the tariff shows that under laws enacted since the repeal in 1861 of the tariff laws of 1846 and 1857, the grossest hardship and injustice have been inflicted upon the laboring and poorer classes.

By one system or another the Republican party contrived to place from three to five times as much tax upon the necessaries of life and cheap articles used by the poor as upon the luxuries and fine articles purchased only by the rich and prosperous. Not satisfied with taxing the poor man's blanket by the pound, they at one time taxed it by the square yard. By this character of taxation they have made the rich man richer, and, with the exception of isolated cases, have kept laboring men from the possibility of accumulation.

All this was different under the Democratic law of 1846. Under that law the poor man paid the same percentage of tax and had the same chance as the rich; the consequence was, the laborers of the country were happy, prosperous, and contented. Their expenses were not so heavy; they had means to purchase the comforts of life, and thus created a demand for the products of our manufacturing establishments. This in turn created a demand for labor, which was, of course, followed by an increase in the price of labor. The result of all this was an infusion of life into all the avenues of trade and into the various industries, and was followed by an era of great prosperity.

MR. BLAINE SUSTAINS US.

But I need not have taken the trouble to give these overwhelming statistics, as the history of those times utterly refutes the statement of my eloquent friend from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] that—

The revenue tariff of 1846 and 1857 brought to the country another era of industrial depression.

I could quote without limit, but will confine myself to authority no one on the Republican side of the House will question.

Nearly four years before Mr. Cleveland wrote his message of December 6, 1887, Hon. James G. Blaine published his book, in which he says a word on this subject.

On page 105 Mr. Blaine says:

The free-trade tariff of 1846 was passed.

And I will now read an entire paragraph on page 196:

The Whig victory of 1848 was not sufficiently decisive to warrant any attempt, even had there been desire, to change the tariff. General Taylor had been elected without subscribing to a platform or pledging himself to a specific measure, and he was therefore in a position to resist and reject appeals of the ordinary partisan character. Moreover, the tariff of 1846 was yielding abundant revenue, and the business of the country was in a flourishing condition at the time his administration was organized. Money became very abundant after the year 1849; large enterprises were undertaken, speculation was prevalent, and for a considerable period the prosperity of the country was general and apparently genuine. After 1852 the Democrats had almost undisputed control of the Government, and had gradually become a free-trade party. The principles embodied in the tariff of 1846 seemed for the time to be so entirely vindicated and approved that resistance to it ceased not only among the people but among the protective economists, and even among the manufacturers to a large extent. So general was this acquiescence, that in 1856 a protective tariff was not suggested or even hinted by any one of the three parties which presented Presidential candidates.

I beg to call special attention to Mr. Blaine's assertion that the principles embodied in the tariff of 1846 were approved not only among the people but among the protective economists and manufacturers. Mr. Blaine then proceeds:

It is not surprising, therefore, that * * * the Democratic Congress, in the closing session of Pierce's administration, enacted what has since been known as the tariff of 1857. By this law the duties were placed lower than they had been at any time since the war of 1812. The act was well received by the people, and was indeed concurred in by a considerable proportion of the Republican party.

Among the prominent Republican Senators who voted for the bill of 1857 I will mention Senators Hamilton Fish and Seward of New York, Senators Sumner and Wilson of Massachusetts, Senator Bell of New Hampshire, and Senator Foster of Connecticut.

It was also supported by Mr. Toucey, the Democratic Senator from Connecticut, and, to use the words of Mr. Blaine—

In the House the New England Representatives generally voted for the bill.

This, bear in mind, was the bill which reduced tariff taxation to a lower figure than the one which Mr. Blaine denominated as the "Free-trade tariff of 1846," and also lower than any law since those enacted during the administrations of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson.

MR. BLAINE'S MISTAKE.

Mr. Blaine was not correct with regard to the position of Senators Seward and Allen upon this bill. He says, page 197, that Mr. Seward voted against the bill and that Senator Allen, of Rhode Island, voted for it. The facts are just the reverse. Mr. Seward voted for the bill and Senator Allen against it. It is true that when the bill was being considered in the Senate on February 26, 1857, Mr. Seward and

Mr. Allen voted against each other upon four separate propositions to amend it; but on March 2 the vote was taken on the bill as reported by the conferees, which was the final action on the bill, and we find that these two gentlemen reversed their positions, Mr. Seward voting for the bill and Senator Allen against, and not for it, as stated by Mr. Blaine. The action of Mr. James, of Rhode Island, was the same as that of Mr. Allen; he voted with his colleague upon three of the amendments, and is not recorded upon the fourth. He also voted with him upon the final passage of the bill.

Mr. Blaine states, on page 197 of his book, that—

Mr. Seward represented the protective tendencies of the country districts of New York.

He also says that—

Senator Allen, of Rhode Island, was the direct representative of the manufacturers of that State.

And yet we see that upon this bill both these distinguished gentlemen were so undecided as to the wisdom of a tariff bill which reduced the tariff lower than any law ever enacted since the year 1804, that during the evening of Thursday, February 26, they voted one way upon this great measure, and upon the following Monday, March 2, they changed their views and again voted against each other; Mr. Seward voting for the bill and Mr. Allen voting against it.

UNDECIDED SENATORS.

I have carefully examined the votes of these distinguished New England and New York Senators to see, if possible, by what principle they were actuated in their votes upon this question. I find that Senator Wilson offered an amendment to a committee amendment, his purpose being to reduce the tax on wool. Senators Sumner and Wilson voted for it, Senator Allen against it, and it was not carried (Congressional Globe, February 26, 1857, page 351). The amendment of the committee was then voted on. Mr. Allen voted for it, Messrs. Seward, Sumner, and Wilson voted against it. The motion was carried (page 351).

Mr. Collamer, of Vermont, then offered an amendment, the purpose being to change the duty on certain kinds of wool from 8 to 23 per cent. Mr. Allen voted for it, Messrs. Seward, Sumner, and Wilson voted against it; and the motion was carried (page 357).

Mr. Douglas proposed an amendment, the purpose of which was to admit all wool of less value than 20 cents per pound free of duty.

This was carried by a vote of 33 to 9; Allen, Seward, Sumner, and Wilson voting for it (page 357).

On Mr. Hunter's substitute, which was a change in both substance and phraseology of sections 1, 2, 3, and 4, Mr. Allen and Mr. Sumner voted for it, and Mr. Seward voted against it. And on the final vote on the bill, as before stated, Mr. Seward voted for the bill, and Mr. Allen voted against it.

I must confess that I can not find any evidence of decided convictions on the part of Senators Seward and Allen upon the great tariff question of that time. It seems to me their minds were by no means fixed upon all the points in the bill. But I specially call the attention of the gentlemen on the other side, who are demanding a high tax on wool, to the fact that their political fathers, Sumner, Seward, and Wilson, were directly opposed on that subject to the views Republicans now advocate on this floor.

No doubt Mr. Blaine presumed Mr. Allen voted for the bill, as in the discussion upon it in the Senate it was argued that the reduction on wool was specially demanded by the New England woolen manufacturers.

This was the contention of Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, and others equally distinguished.

Senator Pugh said:

Under the act of July 30, 1846, manufactures of wool and wool unmanufactured were subjected alike to a duty of 30 per cent. * * *

But the Senator now proposes to reduce the duty on woolen goods, manufactured, from 30 to 23 per cent., and the duty on wool, unmanufactured, from 30 to 8 per cent.

Senator Pugh also said that the Secretary of the Treasury had recommended "free wool," and asserts that—

a few manufacturers of woolen goods in New England and New York have seized upon it, and perverted the whole enterprise into a scheme for sacrificing the wool-grower of the West to their own aggrandizement.

After further discussion Senator Pugh said:

I appeal, therefore, to the representatives of the agricultural States, whether in the North or the South, to restrain these woolen manufacturers within some reasonable limit.

I know, sir, that the Senator from Virginia believes this reduction will be of ultimate advantage to the wool-grower.

But he went on to say, with all his ability and eloquence—

he never can persuade the wool-growers of the United States that they ought to be burdened for the mere aggrandizement of woolen manufacturers.

As near as I can ascertain, the bill as it passed put a large proportion of raw wool on the free-list, the remainder being taxed 24 per cent. The wool manufactories increased very largely, as predicted: but all the predictions regarding disaster to wool-producers were in error, as that element of industry increased also. In round numbers our production of wool was but 52,000,000 pounds in 1850; in 1860 it was 59,000,000 pounds; and now it is five times that amount.

How much it was affected by the tariff I can not say, but it is clear to my mind that free raw wool of the quality we do not raise, and which is needed to mix with the American wools, is quite as essential to the wool-growers as it is to the manufacturers.

FREE WOOL ENRICHES NEW ENGLAND.

These gentlemen had before them the census of 1850, and a knowledge of the condition of the wool industries in 1857. At that time New England produced two-thirds of the wool manufactures of the United States.

Massachusetts was far in the lead, and Rhode Island came next. New York was the principal wool manufacturing State outside of New England and came next to Rhode Island in the value of this product. In Rhode Island the wool manufactures increased from almost nothing in 1850 to an invested capital of over three million in 1860. They continued to increase rapidly until 1870, but between 1870 and 1880 they remained almost stationary.

It may not be out of place to mention that the product of all the manufacturers in that State almost doubled under the tariff of 1846 and 1857, from 1850 to 1860, and that they have actually decreased from 1870 to 1880 under the war tariff which we are now seeking to amend. That some judicious change is imperatively needed there certainly can be no doubt.

If the bill which I introduced to create a tariff statistical bureau becomes a law I trust it will go very far towards solving these intricate problems. Its purpose is to establish a tribunal whose duty it shall be to enter upon and carry out exhaustive investigations and examinations of all questions affecting our tariff laws, and render intelligent opinions as to the advisability or propriety of amending or modifying the same. The bill is in these words:

Be it enacted, etc., That a bureau, in the Treasury Department, is hereby created and established, which shall be known as the Tariff Statistical Bureau, which shall consist of one chief tariff statistician and four associate tariff statisticians, who shall be selected with special reference to their familiarity with the general subject of tariff taxation, and their ability to collate, classify, and tabulate the results of their statistical investigations, all of whom shall be appointed by the President.

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of this bureau to secure, and keep constantly on file, the tariff laws of all countries; also, as far as practicable, to investigate, collate, and compile information showing the effect of said laws upon the general prosperity of the countries by which they are enacted, their effect upon the labor and industries of those countries, and especially their effect upon the general prosperity, the labor, and manufacturing, and other industries of the United States.

SEC. 3. That any citizen or corporation of the United States shall be privileged, either in writing or personally or by counsel, to submit to and urge upon the attention of said bureau propositions or suggestions as to any amendments to, or modification of, existing tariff laws, and it shall be the duty of said bureau to receive and properly file all such written or printed propositions or suggestions, and when submitted in writing, or by oral argument, all such propositions or suggestions shall be duly considered by said bureau, and their conclusions as to the probable effect of such amendments to, or modifications of, the tariff laws upon any special enterprise or industry, as well as the probable effect upon the labor and general industries of the United States, which conclusions shall be reported to the Secretary of the Treasury.

SEC. 4. That the business of the bureau, and its modes of procedure, shall be subject to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may think best calculated to secure the prompt and efficient dispatch of business, and, upon his request, the bureau shall aid the Secretary in preparing such rules and regulations, and when adopted they shall be printed and a copy thereof furnished to every person having business with the bureau.

SEC. 5. The chief of said bureau shall receive a salary of five thousand dollars per annum, and the four associates shall receive a salary of four thousand dollars per annum; and the bureau shall be authorized to appoint a secretary, who shall receive a salary of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, and to employ, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, such clerks as may be required to insure the prompt and efficient dispatch of the business of the bureau.

SEC. 6. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to cause suitable and convenient rooms, in the city of Washington, properly lighted, furnished, and heated, to be assigned to said bureau, and to cause the necessary stationery and other articles to be supplied and the necessary printing to be done for the said bureau.

I should have mentioned that there was another tariff bill, beside the one which I have discussed, which was approved March 3, 1857; but it was very brief, and the Journals do not show how any member of the Senate or House voted upon it, no yea-and-nay vote having been taken.

On March 24, 1870, while Hon. WILLIAM B. ALLISON (who is the choice of many Republicans as their candidate for President) was serving his fourth term in the House of Representatives, he spoke in favor of tariff reduction.

I read from page 192, Congressional Record, second session Forty-first Congress. Mr. ALLISON said:

The tariff of 1846, although confessedly and professedly a tariff for revenue, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any that we ever have had. If any interest was depressed under the tariff of 1846 it was the iron interest. I do not believe that this interest, as compared with other interests, had sufficient advantage under that tariff; yet, when we compare the growth of the country from 1840 to 1850 with the growth of the country from 1850 to 1860, the latter decade being entirely under the tariff of 1846, or the amended and greatly reduced tariff of 1857, we find that the increase in our wealth between 1850 and 1860 was equivalent to 126 per cent., while it was only 64 per cent. between 1840 and 1850, four years of which decade were under the tariff of 1842, known as a high protective tariff.

Mr. ALLISON then compared the tariff rates of 1842, 1857, and the existing rates, and says:

Our industries were generally prosperous in 1860, with the exception, possibly, of the iron industry. This was the statement of Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, on this floor during the discussions of the tariff in 1864.

The gentleman then read from a memorial presented to Congress by steel manufacturers, which contained this statement:

It was reserved to Pittsburgh to bring about the first substantial and enduring

success in the year 1860, and, encouraged by our example, numerous establishments have sprung into existence, as already indicated in this paper.

Mr. ALLISON then said:

This shows that under the revenue tariff of 1857, which imposed only an ad valorem duty of 12 per cent. on steel, a substantial success was achieved in the steel manufacture in 1860. I have read the language of the memorial.

RUSSELL VS. RUSSELL.

Hon. JOHN E. RUSSELL, of Massachusetts, in a speech made here last week, said:

The list of the bankruptcy courts for the last ten years in reference to the woolen manufacturers of Massachusetts will show how many of them are being paralyzed.

When the tariff commission bill was being discussed in 1882, and the present tariff law was being considered in 1883, both being in the Forty-seventh Congress, it was contended that the remedy was a high tariff on goods made of wool, and Hon. William A. Russell, of Lawrence, Mass., demanded a tariff which was absolutely prohibitory.

I remember his speech and with what satisfaction it was received by those who could see no prosperity in America except under laws which tended to isolate our people from the balance of the commercial world. Mr. Russell said:

There is no protection in a strictly revenue tariff—that is, to an American manufacturer; for if a revenue is to be derived from an imported article it must be imported, which certainly involves its manufacture elsewhere, and the rate of duty must be so fixed as to invite its importation. Therefore a tariff can not be adjusted on a single article to serve the double purpose of revenue and protection. It must be either at a point to check importation and thus protect, or it must be at a point low enough to admit importation and thus produce a revenue. That is, when fixed at a revenue point it ceases to protect, and when fixed at a protective point it ceases to yield a revenue.

This Mr. William A. Russell (not the Mr. RUSSELL who is with us to-day) represented a district largely engaged in wool manufactures, and in his speech dwelt largely, almost entirely, on wool and its great need of protection.

WOOL AS AN "INFANT INDUSTRY."

I find, in reading the speeches of Clay, Prentiss, and other great protectionists, that the theory upon which such laws were demanded was that it was proper to protect infant industries. The argument was that moderate protection should be extended to them until they had time to get established. Will some one who demands high tariff on wool tell how he now applies such a theory to that industry?

Our earliest histories tell us that the wool industry was in a flourishing condition before the flood. We read that Abel was a "keeper of sheep" when he was killed by his brother. In later years the flocks of Jacob and the other patriarchs are continually referred to in the Bible as sources of their great wealth. Ancient mythology tells the wonderful story of Jason's voyage in search of the Golden Fleece. At the dawning of Christianity we read of shepherds "watching their flocks by night."

Certainly, there are few industries which can boast of a higher antiquity than this.

Mr. Russell and his friends succeeded in retaining a high tariff on wool, and the law enacted at that time (March 3, 1883) has done much to depress the wool-manufacturing industry of his State. Some of our most eminent men have insisted that a low duty, or even free wool, would go very far towards re-establishing our factories of this character, and some insist that it would more than double the use of American wool and thus enhance its price.

Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, in an address upon the tariff, says:

The manufacture of woolen goods affords another illustration. It has always been grievously injured by a heavy tax on wool. Woolen goods are "protected" (that is, taxed) by a duty of 50 to 100 per cent.; but wool is also taxed at about the same rate, and machinery used in the manufacture is taxed 45 per cent. Now, it is impossible to manufacture first-class real woolen goods without mixing in them more or less of foreign wool. American wools will answer for a limited class of purposes, but for some other purposes they are, taken alone, of no good at all. The one great reason that has always been advanced for protecting our woolen manufacturers is that we ought to keep out English shoddy goods. The result of protection is that the woolen manufacturers of this country, being hindered by protection from getting real wool, use more shoddy and cotton in place of wool than any other manufacturers in the world. Real woolen goods are almost unknown here. First-class cloth is not made here at all. For every pound of wool in American woolen goods there is an average of three-quarters of cotton and shoddy.

Mr. David A. Wells, in speaking of the effect of the high tariff duty on wool, quotes a letter from Mr. George William Bond, of Boston, who is, he says, the highest authority on wool in this country.

Mr. Wells states:

Mr. Bond begins his letter by saying, "that high duties on wool are now maintained as a bounty to States which raise comparatively a small part of the clip, for the rest do not require it. The oft-repeated claim that the United States should raise all the wool she consumes is folly. You ask 'at what point does any tariff on wool begin to affect the price of the domestic clip?'" I should say at that point which shuts us out from the competition of the world, so that we are restricted in the range of our manufacturers. Our fine wools have always been higher, other things being equal, when we were able to import the wools of other countries at a low duty, or at no duty at all. When the tariff of 1857 was passed fine wools became virtually free, so that we went into full or nearly full competition with Europe.

What was the effect? Wools advanced immediately in the markets of production abroad 25 to 33½ per cent., so that we got them no cheaper than before, and the prices of domestic wools advanced. Now, this was an advantage to our manufacturers, as it enhanced the cost to the foreign manufacturers, so that ours could well afford to pay the advanced prices. Reduced to gold, the average prices of wool have been lower under the tariff of 1867 than they were under that of 1857, and I believe that, if wools were to be made free to-day, there would be no material decline in the value of our fine American wools.

Thus we see that, by enacting a duty which shuts us out from competition in the world's markets, we give our competitors the raw material enough lower to materially lessen the protection afforded by the duty on the manufactured article.

GRANT AND ARTHUR ON WOOL.

Although these views are vigorously contested by the Republicans who oppose this bill, yet we find that they are in full accord with the ideas and utterances of some of the most distinguished men of their party. President Grant, in his annual message to Congress, of December 7, 1874, maintains this idea in the words which I will read:

The introduction, free of duty, of such wools as we do not produce would stimulate the manufacture of goods requiring the use of those we do produce, and therefore would be a benefit to home production.

Congress having disregarded the recommendation of General Grant, eight years later President Arthur felt called upon to recall the subject of tariff reduction to its attention as a matter of urgent importance, and in his second annual message of December 4, 1882, we find this language:

It will be remembered that I urged upon the attention of Congress, at its last session, the importance of relieving the industry and enterprise of the country from the pressure of unnecessary taxation.

If the tax on domestic spirits is to be retained, it is plain, therefore, that large reductions from the customs revenue are entirely feasible. While recommending this reduction, I am far from advising the abandonment of the policy of so discriminating in the adjustment of details as to afford aid and protection to domestic labor.

But the present system should be so revised as to equalize the public burden among all classes and occupations, and bring it into closer harmony with the present needs of industry.

Without entering into minute detail, which, under present circumstances, is quite unnecessary, I recommend an enlargement of the free-list so as to include within it the numerous articles which yield inconsiderable revenue, a simplification of the complex and inconsistent schedule of duties upon certain manufactures, particularly those of cotton, iron, and steel, and a substantial reduction of the duty upon those articles, and upon sugar, molasses, silk, wool, and woolen goods.

I now read from the address before referred to, by the distinguished Republican, Thomas G. Shearman, of New York:

While it is true that wages generally are higher in this country than in England, it is not true that they are in all the protected industries. On the contrary, one of the results of the twenty-two years of steady protection which the cotton and woolen manufactures have had has been that the employers have finally succeeded in cutting down wages in this country below the rates paid in England.

I call special attention to the statement of Mr. Thomas G. Shearman that, at the time to which he refers, January, 1883, wages in the woolen manufactories in this country were below the rates at that time paid in England.

Why was it that in January, 1883, labor in woolen mills had fallen until it was lower than in England? It was not low tariff on woolens that brought about this condition of labor. The duty on wool at that time was at its height, and it is clear to any investigating mind that this unreasonably high duty on raw wool was the main and controlling reason for the unfortunate condition of labor in American woolen mills.

SENATORS WILSON AND ALLISON ON WOOL.

It is not necessary to repeat so clear a proposition. In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Lawrence, of Ohio, asked Mr. ALLISON with some sarcasm how a reduction of duty on wool could benefit the wool-growers. I will read a few expressions from Mr. (now Senator) ALLISON's reply. He said:

As the law now is the tariff upon fine wools of a character not produced in this country is 100 per cent. upon their cost.

* * * * * * *

Before the tariff of 1867 our manufacturers of fine goods mixed foreign fine wools with our own domestic product and thus were able to compete successfully with the foreign manufacturer of similar articles.

Mr. ALLISON then explained that the law of 1867 being prohibitory, these fine goods could not be produced so cheaply as in other countries; and—

Consequently mills that were formerly engaged in producing those goods have been compelled to abandon business or manufacture the coarser fabrics. If they could afford to manufacture those fine goods they would make a market, which we do not now have, for our fine wools to be mixed with other fine wools of a different character from abroad. This want of a market, as I understand, is the reason why our fine wools now command so low a price; there is no demand for them at home, and we can not export them in competition with fine wools grown in other countries.

All through the records of Congress I find the most enlightened Whig and Republican Senators and Representatives of New England have taken the same view with regard to wool that has been adopted by the Committee on Ways and Means. On February 26, 1857, Senator Wilson, in speaking on the tariff bill which was enacted on March 3 of that year, was very emphatic in demanding free wool for the benefit of the wool-growers as well as for the benefit of the woolen manufacturers.

Mr. Wilson said:

The manufacturers, Mr. President, make no war upon the wool-growers. They assume that the reduction of the duty on wool, or the repeal of the duty altogether, will infuse vigor into that drooping interest, stimulate home production, diminish the importation of foreign woolen manufactures, and afford a steady and increasing demand for American wool.

I would like to read the whole of Mr. Wilson's speech, as it bristles with facts and ideas which I commend to every gentleman on the Republican side of the House. I will, however, read one more paragraph. I read from page 343, Appendix, third session Thirty-fourth Congress:

Since the reduction of duties in England, since wool was admitted free, her woolen manufactures have so increased, so prospered, that the production of native wool

has increased more than 100 per cent. The experience of England, France, and Belgium demonstrates the wisdom of that policy which makes the raw materials duty free. Let us profit by their examples.

In the discussion and votes on the amendments to the tariff bill of March 3, 1857, I find that Mr. Wilson was fully supported by those distinguished Senators, Seward of New York and Sumner of Massachusetts. They seemed to fully concur with Mr. Wilson, that raw wool should be either free or subjected to a low tariff.

OTHER MANUFACTURERS DEMAND LOW TARIFF.

It appears that wool does not stand as an isolated instance of the advantages of reduction or abolition of duties.

A prominent manufacturer of shoes, in explaining the baleful effect of a high tariff upon his business, said:

If the materials used to make a shoe go up in price, labor always has to go down. Strikes result, as that seems to be the only way the laborer can protect himself from the encroachment of the employer. In a general strike in a shoe manufacturing center the operatives often gain temporary advantage, but with a supply greater than the demand it can not long continue.

Gentlemen, do not blame the manufacturer for trying to meet the market, or blame the operatives for resisting a reduction in wages. It all goes to show that the supply is greater than the demand, and that our market is not large enough.

This manufacturer then goes on to explain how the cost of shoes is increased by duties on the articles used in their manufacture:

I will mention two or three articles specially and speak of the others generally. Take, for instance, serges or lastings. The average duty on the serges or lastings used in the manufactures of shoes is 85 per cent.

Cotton, nails, tacks, buttons, threads, all have to be used in the make-up of a shoe, and they are protected. The iron from which we make our machinery is protected. If, as facetiously said, we make shoes of paper, that is protected too. In short, you have paid a duty on nearly every component part of the shoe which you are now wearing on your foot.

A removal of duty from all articles used in the manufacture of a shoe would be an advantage to employer and employed.

He then states as a fact within his own knowledge that Canada imposed an import duty of 25 per cent. on shoes, hoping thereby to be able to compete with the superior skill and the greater efficiency of the workman in the United States.

In June, 1872, hides were put on the free-list, and it was asserted that it would make them so cheap that farmers could not sell them for enough to repay the cost of curing and shipping. But this proved to be a mistaken prediction, as there has been no material change in the value of leather, while our exports of sole-leather have increased so decidedly that they are now twenty times what they were when hides were put on the free-list.

Mr. McCULLOGH. Will the gentleman yield for a question at this point?

Mr. WHEELER. Certainly. I would like to accommodate the gentleman.

Mr. McCULLOGH. Do I understand the gentleman to say that there is an 85 per cent. duty on wool?

Mr. WHEELER. I said that there was an 85 per cent. duty on the materials used in making shoes. But since the gentleman has asked the question, I will state that the tax on some wool exceeds an ad valorem duty of 85 per cent.

In fact, on the cheaper grade of raw wools the tax even exceeds 85 per cent. And it is this almost prohibitory tax which has prevented the woolen mills of New England from making money. The tariff tax made imported wools so high they could not be used profitably, and as American wools require to be mixed with foreign wools, the mills either had to run at a loss or suspend operations.

The gentleman then says that though they (the shoe manufacturers of the United States) are obliged to pay a high duty on every article that enters into a manufactured shoe, and contend against the Canadian import tax as well, they furnish as many shoes to Canada as ever. He then goes on to show what his craft could do were the burden of the duties on materials used in making shoes removed, and adds to the already accumulated mountain of proof which shows that it is the superior skill and greater productive power of our workingmen which secures them a higher rate of compensation than is paid for the character of work in other countries, and that this superior skill and greater capacity for production is actually weighted down by a high tariff. These are his words:

This alone proves what our shoe-manufacturing industry is capable of achieving if it can have a chance. There is no other country knows how or could make shoes as fast and as cheap as the Yankees, and all we need is one end of the bargain. If we are able to sell our goods when protected and protected against, if half the disadvantage we now stagger under were removed we could soon fix ourselves into a place where the world's buyers could not afford to purchase from any other market.

Mr. McCULLOGH. Then you are in favor of the New England States?

Mr. WHEELER. I am in favor of the New England States. I am in favor of the whole country. I will vote for a law to promote every interest of New England if it be possible.

But the tax on wool, since the gentleman has mentioned that point, I will state is easily ascertained. The selling price in Europe has run down as low as 10 cents a pound for the lower grades and the tariff is specific under the present law, and since 1883 has been 10 cents a pound. That is a hundred per cent.

Mr. McCULLOGH. The tariff on wool as it exists, as I read it from a comparison furnished us by the Committee on Ways and Means, is 40 per cent., as the gentleman will find by reference to page 32.

Mr. WHEELER. By the law of 1883, raw wools valued at 30 cents or less per pound are put down at 10 cents a pound.

The gentleman must be mistaken. He commits this error: He must have before him the clause which refers to woolen cloths, or manufactured woolens, the average rate of duty on which the committee propose to fix at 40 per cent.

Mr. McCULLOGH. I understood the gentleman to say 85 per cent.

Mr. WHEELER. I did not say the tax was 85 per cent.; I stated it was 10 cents per pound on one class of wools, and that it amounted to an ad valorem tax of 85 per cent.

COAL AND IRON ORE.

While it is undeniably true that the reduction or abolition of the duties may be most beneficial to the manufacturer and working-man engaged in the production of certain goods, the same argument will not apply to all our industries.

This is illustrated by the condition of our country regarding iron ore. Our deposits of this important mineral surpass in extent and quality those of any other country on earth, I might almost have said all other countries taken together. We mine our ores with great facility. Last year we produced the enormous amount of 11,300,000 gross tons of iron ore. The countries which seek to compete with us in this industry are Spain, Elba, Algeria, and Cuba. They have the cheapest slave and peon labor; they work out the ore at little cost and send it as ballast upon vessels which ply between those countries and our sea-ports, 90 per cent. of that product being entered in Baltimore and Philadelphia; and notwithstanding our present tariff of 75 cents per ton, our importations were about one-tenth our domestic product. They were 390,786 tons in 1885, 1,039,433 tons in 1886, and 1,194,301 tons in 1887.

The rapid development of the iron industry in the United States, particularly in the South, is attracting the attention of the world. We recovered from the slight depression of 1883 and 1884, and the total production of pig-iron for the last three years is reported as follows: In 1885, 4,529,869 tons; in 1886, 6,365,328 tons, and in 1887, 7,187,206 tons.

COST OF PIG IRON.

I have not been able to procure the data from which to ascertain what it costs on the average to make a ton of pig iron in the United States, but I find in the report of the Senate Committee on the Relations between Labor and Capital, made in 1885, the tables which I will read, as to the cost of a ton of pig iron at the mines at Birmingham, Ala. I read from the evidence of J. W. Sloss, on page 300, vol. 4:

Estimated cost of a ton of pig iron, based upon a run of twelve months.

2½ tons ore, at $1.60	$3.60
1.4 tons coke, at $2.90	4.06
½ ton limerock, at 90 cents	.30
Fuel for boiler	.20
Sand, water, supplies	.30
Repairs, taxes, and interest	1.19
Labor and salaries	2.25
	11.90

Estimate of labor on the foregoing.

Ore	$2.25
Coke	2.13
Limestone	.17
Fuel	.14
Repairs and materials	.77
Labor and salaries	2.25
	7.71
Total freights on stock to ton of ore, $1.50, two-thirds of which, we think, would be labor	1.00
	8.71

Our ore contains lime, which is the reason for the light amount used.

It will be observed that in both of these estimates the salaries of superintendents, etc., are included, as well as the item of repairs, taxes, and interest.

These estimates were made three years ago, and there is abundant evidence that at this time pig-iron can be produced in Alabama at a much lower price.

This witness said, page 96, that they paid $2.90 to $3 per ton for coke, while Pittsburgh furnaces got coke for $1.40 to $1.50.

He also said they were paying 25 cents more for coal than they could get it for if they mined it themselves.

Now, Mr. Sloss is a man of scrupulous integrity, and could never be induced to make a statement the accuracy of which could be questioned; but it is evident he was put before the committee by emphatic protectionists, because it was thought his evidence would have a favorable effect upon the Senators and be material for an argument against a reduction of the tariff on iron; and it must be admitted that he put in every conceivable element of cost which by any possibility could enter into the manufacture of this article, including sand, water, supplies, repairs, taxes, interest, labor, and salaries.

The tariff was then more than 57 per cent. on the cost, and he testifies that the reduction of 28 cents per ton had no effect on iron interests. His exact words were (page 293):

Q. What was or has been the effect of the slight reduction made in the tariff last winter?—A. I don't think that reduction has had any effect. It was not enough to amount to anything.

General Willard Warner, formerly a United States Senator, in his testimony before the committee, on pages 264, 265, and 266, gives quite an interesting account of his experiences in iron-making in Alabama. He said that the iron-making in Alabama, like all other new enterprises, had been going through a period of waiting, suspense, and trial which would test the nerves and try the pockets of the strongest. He said at that time (1883):

After ten years' experience I feel that I am only half equipped for the business.

In reply to inquiries regarding his views upon the tariff, he said (page 256):

I am very proud to say that I am and have always been a protectionist and willing to be called by that name, for I believe in the old Clay and Webster doctrine; I was raised in that school and I am a Whig yet. I say that the protectionists of the country, the intelligent protectionist sentiment of the country, does not ask that you shall raise more revenue by a tariff than is necessary for the legitimate expenses of the Government.

These are the opinions of one of the most prominent Republicans and avowed protectionists in the Southern States. His views, however, seem to coincide with those of the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means who formulated this bill.

I now read further evidence before the committee (vol. 2, page 19):

NEW YORK, *September* 7, 1883.

THOMAS M. MILLER, sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You are the general manager, I believe, of the Atlas Works in Pittsburgh?—Answer. I am.

Q. What do you manufacture there?—A. Rolling-mill machinery, glass-works machinery, and other kinds of heavy machinery.

And on page 24, in reply to a question, he testifies:

I am a manufacturer, and I believe in the tariff, but I believe only in such a tariff as will properly develop the country without making any class of capitalists too wealthy. I think our tariff on steel rails is about right; the tariff on iron is about right, but not properly placed. * * * I think the time is coming very rapidly when we can do without a tariff and can defy foreign competition; we probably could do it largely now.

The opinion of this Pittsburgh iron manufacturer upon the question of tariff is in striking contrast with those professed by Republicans on this floor. Both he and General Warner have the intelligence to see that the enduring prosperity of our country requires an export trade and foreign markets, the desirability of which has been so contemptuously alluded to by the opponents of this measure.

In order to give other approximate ideas of the cost of pig-iron I will state that on page 105, volume 2, of the same report, I find that the late John Roach, the noted ship-builder, testified upon this point in these words:

Q. What is the cost in England of a ton of pig-iron?—A. About $13.50 to $14,

and on the next page he added:

From that up to $15 a ton.

Q. Where is pig-iron made the cheapest in this country?—A. I have an interest in North Carolina where it can be made for $16 a ton. I have an interest in Virginia * * * where they are going to make it for $14 a ton.

I find the average invoice cost of the pig-iron imported last year to have been $15.58 a ton, the duty on which was $6.72 a ton, making the total cost to the importer, not including freight or any other expenses, $22.30 a ton. I also find that the average price of "No. 1 anthracite foundry pig-iron" in Philadelphia for January, February, March, and up to April 16, has been $20.56 a ton.

No eloquence of words can add one iota of weight to the lesson taught by these impressive figures.

The recent developments in the Alabama iron district are remarkable. In 1887 this State produced 292,762 tons; and Alabama and other Southern States are but just beginning this industry. Within two years they have commenced the erection of more than thirty large blast-furnaces, only eight of which were completed at the beginning of this year, four of which were in Alabama.

In January, 1888, twenty new furnaces were in course of construction in Alabama, three in Tennessee, two in Maryland, and one in Virginia.

The New York Sun of last week in speaking of this says:

Down in the South there is a whirlwind of new industries and potent speculation. No revival—no restoration of commercial strength and prosperity—but the birth spontaneous and tremendous of a new people. No longer the sluggish cultivation of the earth, the hand-to-mouth acquirement of life's sustenance by the many, and selfish affluence of the few; but a new and tumultuous life, irresistible, self-multiplying, overwhelming. Alabama is like a vast Leadville of activity and excitement, only her foundations are more enduring than the richest mines of gold and silver.

In 1887 we produced 120,146,739 tons of coal, and exported but a trifle over 1,000,000 tons, about 1 per cent. The coal we export is sent to Canada, the West India Islands, and adjacent ports. In 1887 England produced 162,119,812 tons of coal, and in addition to that shipped in British steamers for their own use she exported 24,454,607 tons, about 15 per cent.

In 1887 England produced 14,110,013 gross tons of iron ore and imported 3,762,931 gross tons. In 1887 England produced 7,441,927 gross tons of pig-iron against 6,417,148 gross tons (valued at $121,925,800) in the United States; but Great Britain exports iron and steel to the amount of $125,000,000, nearly eight times as much as is exported by the United States. In the production of steel the United States has exceeded Great Britain for the years 1886 and 1887. During the last year we produced 3,339,071 gross tons, valued at $103,811,000, while Great Britain produced only 3,145,507 gross tons.

The total value of the iron and steel produced in the United States in 1887 in the crude state, or first stage of manufacture, and excluding all duplications, was $171,103,000. I have prepared a table giving, so far as I am able to do so, the world's annual production of coal, iron ore, pig-iron, finished iron, and steel. For the Continental countries of Europe, except Russia, the figures represent metric tons of 2,204 pounds; for all other countries, including Russia, Great Britain, and the United States, the figures represent gross tons of 2,240 pounds. As the difference between the two tons is so small it is not necessary for purposes of comparison to change them in this table. The product is given for the latest date attainable, and all are for the year 1887, except where other years are indicated in the foot notes. The column headed "Finished iron" does not include castings, the product of foundries, as this class of products is not accounted for in the United States statistics; the column therefore refers only to the products of rolling mills and forges, such as bars, rods, iron rails, plates, sheets, structural iron, axles, nail plates, etc.

Country.	Coal.	Iron ore.	Pig-iron.	Finished iron.	Steel.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
Great Britain	162,119,812	*14,110,013	7,441,927	1,701,312	3,145,507
United States	120,146,739†	†11,300,000	6,417,148	2,311,160	3,339,071
Germany (including Luxemburg)	*73,637,596	9,299,500	3,907,364	1,507,100	1,685,400
France	*20,014,597	†2,600,000	1,580,851	774,270	440,956
Austria-Hungary	*20,779,441	†2,000,000	679,224	318,978	276,920
Belgium	19,216,031	†200,000	754,481	532,103	206,390
Russia	*14,650,000	†1,500,000	‡498,400	‡291,500	‡225,140
Spain	*†1,000,000	†6,000,000	§159,225	†75,000	†10,000
Sweden and Norway	†300,000	*872,479	*442,457	*†250,000	*78,231
Italy	‖220,000	*220,014	*12,291	*161,633	*23,760
All other countries	†7,000,000	†2,000,000	†160,000	†125,000	†35,000
Total	429,084,216	50,102,006	22,053,368	8,048,336	9,466,375
Percentage of the United States	28	22	29	28	35
United States	120,146,739	11,300,000	6,417,148	2,311,160	3,339,071
Great Britain	162,119,812	14,110,013	7,441,927	1,701,312	3,145,507
Total all other countries	146,817,665	14,691,993	8,194,293	4,035,864	2,981,797

* 1886. † Estimated. ‡ 1882. § 1885. ‖ 1884.

This tabulated statement should be encouraging to every American.

It shows that the United States makes more steel and more finished iron than any other country on earth. It shows also that, excluding Great Britain, we make more steel than is made by all the rest of the world combined. It also shows that of each of the articles, coal, iron ore, and pig-iron, we produce almost as much as Great Britain, and, if we omit Great Britain, our production of each of these articles is nearly as great as the combined production of all the other peoples on earth; and it may also be noted it thus appears that our situation to the rest of the world in coal and iron production is very similar to our position regarding cotton, and yet last year we imported iron and steel to the amount of $56,420,607.

Notwithstanding our wonderful resources and our unlimited supply of coal and iron, it is painful to see that our exports of manufactured iron have steadily decreased during the last six years. In 1882 they were $22,348,834; 1883, $22,716,040; 1884, $19,290,895; 1885, $16,622,511; 1886, $14,865,087, and in 1887, $16,235,922. They consist chiefly of finished articles, such as locomotives and other steam engines, boilers, stoves, machinery, car-wheels, castings, fire-arms, printing-presses, hardware, axes, saws, shovels, scales, sewing-machines, and similar finished products. Last year we exported 55 locomotives. In addition to the above we export an average of about $2,000,000 worth of agricultural implements.

In 1887 we exported 1,323,701 tons of coal, mostly to Canada, Mexico, and the West India Islands.

It must be evident to any thinking person that the problem before the American Congress is to devise some means to find an export trade for our immense iron manufactures.

Immediately south of us we have Mexico, the Republics of Central and South America, and Brazil, whose people annually buy $600,000,000 of the articles of which we produce more than we can consume. We should endeavor, by any and all reasonable modifications of our laws affecting trade with foreign countries, to establish trade relations with these people so as to furnish them these $600,000,000 of the surplus results of our industrial and mechanical superiority to the rest of the world. They need our manufactured articles and, in turn, we need their gold, silver, coffee, and various other products.

DUTIES COLLECTED SINCE 1791.

Prior to 1821 the amounts of dutiable goods imported were not kept separate from those which were free of duty, and it was not until 1867 that separate accounts were kept of the quantity and value of each kind of imported commodities entered for consumption, with the respective amounts of duty collected thereon.

I now call attention to a table showing total imports for each year

from 1791 to 1820, the total duties collected, and the average ad valorem rates of duty, based upon the aggregate net importations. This does not include imported goods which were afterwards exported.

Net imports and duties collected thereon from 1791 to 1820.

Year ending—	Value of net imports.	Amounts of duty collected.	Average ad valorem rates of duty.	Year ending—	Value of net imports.	Amounts of duty collected.	Average ad valorem rates of duty.
Sept. 30—			P. ct.				P. ct.
1791	$28,687,959	$4,399,473.09	15.34	1806	$69,126,764	$14,667,698.17	21.22
1792	29,746,902	3,433,070.85	11.54	1807	78,856,442	15,845,521.61	20.09
1793	28,900,428	4,255,306.56	14.68	1808	43,992,586	16,263,550.58	37.22
1794	28,073,767	4,801,065.28	17.10	1809	38,602,469	7,257,506.62	18.80
1795	61,266,796	5,588,461.26	11.21	1810	61,008,705	8,583,309.31	14.07
1796	55,136,164	6,657,987.94	12.02	1811	37,377,210	13,313,222.73	35.62
1797	48,379,406	7,549,649.65	15.60	1812	68,534,873	8,959,777.53	13.07
1798	35,551,700	7,106,061.92	19.99	1813	19,157,135	13,224,623.25	69.03
1799	33,546,148	6,610,449.31	19.70	1814	12,819,831	5,998,772.08	46.79
1800	52,121,891	9,080,932.73	16.42	1815	106,457,924	7,282,942.22	6.84
1801	64,720,790	10,750,778.93	16.61	1816	129,964,844	36,306,874.88	27.94
1802	40,558,362	12,438,235.74	30.67	1817	79,891,931	26,283,348.49	32.90
1803	51,072,594	10,479,417.61	20.52	1818	102,323,304	17,176,385.00	16.78
1804	48,768,403	11,098,565.33	22.76	1819	67,959,317	20,283,608.76	29.81
1805	67,420,981	12,936,487.04	19.19	1820	56,441,971	15,005,612.15	26.52

The following table shows the net value of imports for each year from 1821 to 1866, inclusive; the articles which are free of duty and those dutiable being in separate columns. The table also shows the total amount of duty collected; the average ad valorem rates upon goods which are dutiable, and the last column shows the average ad valorem rates upon the aggregate importations, whether dutiable or free.

Net imports and duties collected thereon.

Year ended—	Value of net imports.			Amounts of duty collected.	Average ad valorem rates of duty on—	
	Free.	Dutiable.	Total.		Dutiable.	Free and dutiable.
Sept. 30—					Per ct.	Per ct.
1821	$1,730,725	$41,965,680	$43,696,405	$13,004,447.15	30.99	29.76
1822	3,554,146	64,841,527	68,395,673	17,589,761.94	27.13	25.71
1823	2,626,639	48,684,106	51,310,736	19,088,433.44	39.21	37.20
1824	3,083,408	50,763,159	53,846,567	25,516,966.48	50.21	47.65
1825	3,707,960	62,687,762	66,395,722	31,683,096.15	50.54	47.72
1826	4,650,373	53,002,204	57,652,577	26,108,254.74	49.26	45.28
1827	2,890,130	52,010,978	54,901,108	27,962,145.43	53.76	50.91
1828	4,012,196	62,963,309	66,975,505	29,966,472.23	47.59	41.75
1829	3,481,946	51,259,625	54,741,571	27,769,769.03	54.18	50.71
1830	3,511,586	46,063,513	49,575,099	24,417,055.96	53.09	49.25
1831	5,508,094	77,300,016	82,808,110	36,623,270.48	47.38	44.22
1832	6,996,732	68,330,956	75,327,688	29,356,056.74	42.96	38.98
1833	20,211,675	63,258,392	83,470,067	24,196,103.67	38.35	28.96
1834	39,724,515	47,248,632	86,973,147	18,987,952.77	40.19	21.82
1835	57,796,380	64,211,594	122,007,974	25,931,233.16	40.38	21.25
1836	70,120,705	88,690,687	158,811,392	30,991,510.93	34.94	19.53
1837	50,977,428	62,333,143	113,310,571	18,191,605.31	29.18	16.50
1838	38,161,583	48,391,015	86,552,598	19,998,861.98	41.33	23.09
1839	65,188,174	80,682,642	145,870,816	25,631,888.13	31.77	17.57
1840	42,110,829	44,139,506	86,250,335	15,178,975.46	34.39	17.83
1841	57,078,044	57,698,265	114,776,309	19,941,090.29	34.56	17.47
1842	23,346,171	64,650,147	87,996,318	16,686,341.92	25.81	18.95
June 30—						
1843a	11,571,486	25,722,643	37,294,129	7,508,627.19	29.19	20.13
1844	16,684,902	79,705,646	96,390,548	29,395,762.56	36.38	30.40
1845	15,664,548	89,934,993	105,599,541	30,978,558.44	34.45	29.33
1846	18,647,378	91,401,481	110,048,859	30,484,716.34	33.35	27.68
1847	15,838,500	100,419,095	116,257,595	28,137,922.86	28.02	24.23
1848	14,946,012	125,705,826	140,651,838	33,034,306.09	26.28	24.19
1849	13,710,610	118,854,498	132,565,108	31,027,772.46	26.11	23.40
1850	15,982,458	148,051,575	164,034,033	40,181,813.04	27.14	24.49
1851	17,910,930	182,565,378	200,476,308	48,626,600.08	26.63	24.25
1852	21,649,731	173,737,583	195,387,314	47,577,633.19	27.38	24.38
1853	24,732,613	225,424,532	250,157,145	58,467,814.85	25.93	23.34
1854	22,552,835	253,535,495	276,088,330	64,931,607.09	25.61	23.51
1855	29,913,974	201,736,366	231,650,340	54,119,676.91	26.82	23.34
1856	49,603,470	246,047,468	295,650,938	64,084,400.56	26.05	21.33
1857	49,942,107	283,569,188	333,511,295	63,664,863.56	22.45	19.04
1858	55,292,929	187,385,484	242,678,413	42,046,722.31	22.43	17.33
1859	66,856,406	249,966,964	316,823,370	48,894,683.55	19.56	15.43
1860	68,391,038	267,891,447	336,282,485	52,692,421.02	19.67	15.90
1861	67,421,022	207,235,303	274,656,325	39,038,269.16	18.84	14.21
1862	49,842,947	128,487,253	178,330,200	46,509,214.66	36.20	26.70
1863	30,026,756	195,348,524	225,375,280	63,729,203.24	32.62	28.27
1864	38,162,565	262,950,757	301,113,322	96,465,957.27	36.69	32.04
1865	40,097,208	169,559,317	209,656,525	80,635,169.78	47.56	38.44
1866	57,121,369	366,349,277	423,470,646	177,056,523.27	48.35	42.46

a Nine months.

I now present a table which shows the net value of imports entered for consumption for each year from 1867 to 1887, inclusive; the articles which are free of duty and those dutiable being in separate columns. They also show the total amount of duty collected, the average ad valorem rates upon goods which are dutiable, and the last column shows the average ad valorem rates upon the aggregate importations whether dutiable or free.

Imports entered for consumption and duties collected thereon.

Year ended June 30—	Values.			Amounts of duty collected.	Average ad valorem rates of duty on—	
	Free.	Dutiable.	Total.		Dutiable.	Free and dutiable.
					Per ct.	Per ct.
1867	$17,033,130	$361,125,553	$378,158,683	$168,503,750	46.67	44.05
1868	15,147,618	329,661,302	344,808,920	160,532,779	48.63	46.26
1869	21,692,532	372,756,642	394,149,174	176,557,584	47.22	45.04
1870	20,214,105	406,131,905	426,346,010	191,513,974	47.08	44.92
1871	40,619,064	459,597,058	500,216,122	202,446,673	43.95	40.47
1872	47,683,747	512,735,287	560,419,034	212,619,105	41.35	37.93
1873	178,399,796	484,746,861	663,146,657	184,929,042	38.07	27.88
1874	151,694,834	415,748,693	567,443,527	160,522,285	38.53	28.28
1875	146,465,463	379,795,113	526,260,576	154,554,983	40.62	29.36
1876	140,561,381	324,024,926	464,586,307	145,178,603	44.74	31.24
1877	140,840,149	298,989,240	439,829,389	128,428,343	42.89	29.19
1878	141,339,059	297,083,409	438,422,468	127,195,159	42.75	29.01
1879	142,550,159	296,742,215	439,292,374	133,395,436	44.87	30.31
1880	208,049,180	419,506,091	627,555,271	182,747,654	43.48	29.12
1881	202,557,412	448,061,588	650,619,000	193,800,880	43.20	29.78
1882	210,721,981	505,491,967	716,213,948	216,138,916	42.66	30.17
1883	206,913,289	493,916,384	700,829,673	210,637,293	42.45	30.00
1884	211,280,265	456,295,124	667,575,389	190,282,836	41.61	28.28
1885	192,912,234	386,667,820	579,580,054	178,151,601	45.86	30.58
1886	211,530,759	413,778,055	525,308,814	189,410,448	45.55	32.08
1887	233,093,659	450,325,322	683,418,981	214,222,310	47.10	30.61

These tables will be found of great value to the student of the important question of tariff taxation, as they will enable him to see at a glance the amount of our imports from foreign countries annually since a very early period in the history of our Government under the Constitution, together with the amount of the duty collected, and the ad valorem rate of that duty. They will also be found instructive in that they show how steadfastly the Democratic party has been the party of low taxation, and that the highest taxation has always been enforced when the antagonists of the Democracy were in power.

WHAT INJUDICIOUS PROTECTION EFFECTS.

I have attempted, Mr. Chairman, to indicate a few instances of the evils of the principle of protection when carried to the point demanded by the Republicans of this House, but the deplorable consequences of the unlimited application of that principle to the practical affairs of life have been so forcibly depicted by a great master of broad generalization, whose unfinished work stands to-day an uncompleted monument to his industry, erudition, philosophical spirit and genius, that I can not do better than quote him. I read from Buckle's History of Civilization, Vol. I, pages 438, 439.

Referring to a proposed inquiry into the causes of the striking difference in the fortunes of England and France, he says the inquiry will show:

> That in politics, no certain principles having been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency, and concession. It will show the utter helplessness, even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connection between knowledge and liberty; between an increasing civilization and an advancing democracy. It will show that, for a progressive nation, there is required a progressive polity; that, within certain limits, innovation is the sole ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and movements of society, unless it not only repairs its structure, but also widens its entrance; and that, even in a material point of view, no country can long remain either prosperous or safe in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and, so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the state. * * *
>
> The cause of this difference (between England and France) is to be sought in the existence of that spirit of protection which is so dangerous and yet so plausible that it forms the most serious obstacle with which advancing civilization has to contend. This, which may be truly called an evil spirit, has always been far stronger in France than in England. Indeed, among the French it continues even to the present day (1857) to produce the most mischievous results. * * * It is this which induces them to retain restrictions by which their trade has long been troubled, and to preserve monopolies which in our country a freer system has effectually destroyed. It is this which causes them to interfere with the natural relation between producers and consumers; to disturb the ordinary march of industry, and, under pretence of protecting their native laborers, diminish the produce of labor by diverting it from those profitable channels into which its own instincts compel it to flow.
>
> When the protective principle is carried into trade these are its inevitable results. When it is carried into politics there is formed what is called a paternal government, in which supreme power is vested in the sovereign or in a few privileged classes. When it is carried into theology it produces a powerful church and a numerous clergy, every opposition to whom is resented as an insult to the public morals. These are the marks by which protection may be recognized.

Who would have the industry, the politics, and the society of the United States exhibit these badges of oppression and inequality?

THEY SEEK THE LAND OF LIBERTY.

Thousands of ships spread their white sails to the winds and speed across the ocean bearing brave men with strong arms and stout hearts, flying from the Old World to the New.

They leave a country where the tyrannical dominance of family is

maintained by place and title, manor and earldom, and the autocratic power of crown and kingdom.

They fly from harsh and cruel rulers, who are

Fierce in their native hardiness of soul,
True to imagined right above control—

They come here where all are freemen, where our nobility, the nobility of America, are men measured by intellect, honor, and integrity, and not by lineage. That, Mr. Chairman, is the kind of nobility which it is the duty of the party controlling this Government to perpetuate.

Why do these people come to our shores? It is not a question of higher wages in America. It is because—

Here shall patriot Truth her glorious precepts draw,
Pledged to Religion, to Liberty, and Law.

It is because here they can acquire and be protected in the enjoyment of their own homes, where, surrounded by their families, they can dwell in peace and comfort. They come because this is a land of liberty and freedom. It is for that the people of the Old World flock by thousands and hundreds of thousands to great, grand, free America.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee, I sing.

All the world loves liberty; all people love liberty. Everything endowed by our Creator with animated life loves to be free. The great father of the Democratic party said:

The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time.

which idea has been thus versified by the poet—

The love of liberty with life is given,
And life itself the inferior gift of Heaven,

The eagle who soars to the starry heights and looks down upon the peaks of the lofty mountains, loves liberty. The fierce Nubian lion, monarch of the forest where he dwells, loves nothing as he loves liberty. The three hundred Spartans who lie buried at Thermopylæ, gave up their lives for the sake of liberty. The soldiers of all ages who have fallen while leading the front of battle, or who died gloriously contesting the enemy's onslaught, gave up their lives in the cause of liberty.

And the graves of the dead, with the grass overgrown,
May yet form the footstool of liberty's throne.

The oppressed of monarchies and imperialisms break from the restraints endured during ages of despotism and come to the New World because here they find liberty of conscience, liberty of action, liberty of person.

On the light of Liberty they see arise the light of Peace.

Through the mountain fastnesses of Italy there often rings the echo of a Neapolitan song—

We'll leave this land where despots reign
And sail across the sea,
And over there sing the refrain
Of lasting liberty.

They come to us because here they find no titled nobles to consume the fruits of honest labor, and upon reaching these shores they stand before all equal to all, and their hearts swell in triumph at the lofty idea:

Thine, Freedom, thine the blessings pictured here,
Thine are those charms that dazzle and endear.

Even though poor and humble, their offspring may aspire to a dignity and honor far above the proudest and most powerful monarch under the canopy of heaven. They seek homes in this country because, whether they possess millions or are patient toilers of the field, they are bound by no caste nor class, owe homage to no prince nor prelate, and call no man master. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE D. WISE,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, May 9, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. WISE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The President in his last annual message makes a clear and forcible presentation of the condition of our national finances, and urges upon the attention of Congress the necessity of some remedial legislation. He tells us that—

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

Not less explicit was the language of his predecessor, who, when addressing himself in his second annual message to the same subject, said:

I heartily approve the Secretary's recommendation of immediate and extensive reduction of the annual revenues of the Government. It will be remembered that I urged upon the attention of Congress at its last session the importance of relieving the industrial enterprises from the pressure of unnecessary taxation.

But the condition which confronts us is more fully exhibited by the Secretary of the Treasury in his statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Government for the last and the current fiscal year. From this source it appears that the revenues from duties imposed on commodities imported into the country for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1887, amounted to $217,286,893.13; from internal taxes to $118,823,391.22, and from all other sources to $35,292,993.31, making as the aggregate of receipts from all sources, $371,403,277.22. For the same period the ordinary expenditures, including the interest on the public debt and the requirements of the sinking fund, were $315,835,428.12, leaving a surplus of $55,567,849.54. For the current fiscal year the revenues, actual and estimated, are $390,000,000, while our expenses, actual and estimated, amount to $309,000,000, the excess of receipts over expenditures being $81,000,000. It is estimated that at the end of the present fiscal year the surplus in the Treasury will exceed $150,000,000, which, with future accumulations, if applied to the reduction of the debt and the payment annually of the interest thereon, will be sufficient for the extinguishment of all the outstanding 4½ per cent. bonds at the date of their maturity in 1891, and still leave over sixty millions.

If existing laws be continued in force by which such a vast surplus is being annually taken into the Treasury, it is apparent that the result will be disastrous to all the industrial and commercial interests of the country. Ruin and bankruptcy are the inevitable consequences of persistence in the policy which we are pursuing, and if we remain in a state of inaction a financial crisis will come more withering and blighting in its effects than the cyclone. The fact stares us in the face that the circulation of the country, to the great injury of its business, is being needlessly withdrawn from the channels of trade and from productive enterprises, "threatening financial disturbance and inviting schemes of public plunder." The people of the country are bearing a burden of taxation for which no justification exists and no excuse can be rendered. However vigorous may be our disputes in building up and tearing down theories, there is not a Representative here who will dare proclaim himself in favor of the continuance of needless exactions and the avoidance of the consequences of such a policy by an increase of expenditures. The people demand relief, and our lingering will be pursued with a whip of scorpions.

In the consideration of the question of the reduction of revenue and taxation we come in contact with conflicting opinions, some favoring the accomplishment of the object by a revision of the tariff and others by the abolition of internal taxes. The pending bill is the result of compromise, and embraces both a reduction of tariff and internal taxes. I propose to speak of each of these sources of national revenue in turn, and to present such views as the occasion seems to call for.

The tariff is an old question, and from the foundation of the Government has been the principal issue in the division of the people of the country into opposing parties. It is the question in which our constituents are more deeply interested than any other, because it has the closest connection with their interests and affairs; and when we reflect that not only the revenues of the Government, but as well the wages of labor and the interests of capital may be affected by changes in the existing tariff, the thought should cause us to appreciate the gravity of the responsibility resting upon us.

Touching the reduction of revenue by changes in the rates of duty imposed upon importations, we are met by two opposing theories, entertained respectively by the advocates of a tariff for revenue and a tariff for protection. The champions of the restrictive system assert that manufactures are dependent upon its maintenance for their existence and that we are indebted to it for a diversification of our industries.

And in continuation of this line of argument the attempt is made to persuade the farmers that protection is beneficial to them because it affords a home demand for agricultural productions and surplus agricultural labor. These assertions are opposed to the teachings of the most profound writers on political economy and are contradicted by the evidence derived from experience. The division of labor and multiplicity of employments arise from natural causes, and are not dependent upon governmental action. It is true that you may by legislation encourage the investment of capital in enterprises, which otherwise would not receive attention; but industry, forced out of its natural channels, flows to less advantage. It is not one of the functions of government to control thei nterests of its citizens, and the attempt to give direction to the employment of capital and labor is opposed to the dictates of wisdom.

In the first Congress which assembled under the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Madison, of Virginia, when addressing himself to the subject of restrictions upon commerce, used this very strong and forcible language:

That if industry and labor are left to take their own course, they will generally be directed to those objects which are most productive, and this in a more

certain and direct manner than the wisdom of the most enlightened legislature could point out. Nor do I think the national interest is more promoted by such restrictions than that the interest of individuals would be promoted by legislative interference, directing the particular application of its industry. All are benefited by exchange, and the less the exchange is cramped by Government, the greater are the proportions of benefit to each. The same argument holds good between nation and nation and between parts of the same nation.

The surplus arising from the application of his talents and energies to that pursuit for which he is best adapted enables an individual to obtain larger supplies of the necessaries and comforts of life than could be procured by the attempt to produce them himself. In this respect national does not differ from individual economy.

Some of the fathers of the Republic favored the encouragement and protection of manufactures as one of the elements of national strength, believing that the safety and interest of the people required independence for essential supplies. But this principle has been pushed to the very verge of folly, until it has found its annunciation in the false dogma that every article is to be prohibited from entry into the ports of the United States which can be produced at home. However unequal may be the conditions surrounding the cost of its production in this as compared with foreign countries, they must be overcome by bounty and tribute. The wealth and prosperity of the country are promoted by fair exchanges, and if you will tear down the walls of exclusion erected around our coast, and let in the fresh breezes of ocean, languishing commerce will soon be revived by its invigorating influence. [Applause.]

Manufactures existed and flourished in this country long anterior to the date of the passage of the first national tariff act.

Bishop, in his History of American Manufactures, speaking of the colonial period, says:

> These qualities, so necessary to success in all practical arts, were conspicuous in the American character. A varied and dexterous mechanical industry was almost universal. Upon this basis had been long growing up a comprehensive scene of domestic household manufacture from native materials of great aggregate value, which had materially lessened the annual balance against the colonies and had promoted the comfort of all classes.

And again he says:

> Even at the present day many countries which were reckoned elders in the family of nations ere the ring of the ax was heard in the forests of America are essentially less independent in regard to some products of manufacture than were the American colonies at the period of the Revolution.

He gives an account of a glass-house established at Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1608, and Beverly, in his history of that State, tells that—

> A salt-work was set up at Cape Charles, on the eastern shore, and an iron-work at Falling Creek, in Jamestown River, where they made proof of good iron ore and brought the whole work so near a perfection that they writ word to the company in London that they did not doubt but to finish the work and h .ve plentiful provision of iron for them by the next Easter.

Bishop, speaking of the progress of cotton, woolen, and linen manufactures in the Northeastern and Middle Colonies, says:

> It may be questioned if the people of that day were not as really independent of other countries for such necessaries as their descendants at present.

As to whether manufactures can flourish under a tariff levied for revenue only we are not without experience. The "Walker tariff," which was enacted in 1846, and continued in operation for a period of fourteen years, was emphatically a revenue tariff. During that period in our history the wealth of the nation increased 126 per cent., whereas from 1840 to 1850 the increase was only 64 per cent.; from 1830 to 1840, 42 per cent., and from 1820 to 1830, 41 per cent. Our agricultural products increased 95 per cent. from 1850 to 1860, and our manufactures 87 per cent., being in both cases nearly double any preceding ratio of increase. This statement I take from a letter addressed by Hon. R. J. Walker, in 1867, to the people of the United States. During the decade from 1860 to 1870, under a high tariff, the national wealth increased on estimated values 87 per cent., and on assessed values only 16 per cent. From 1870 to 1880 the increase was only 20 per cent.

One has but to read the history of American manufactures from the earliest period to become convinced of the falsity of the pretense that they can not exist in this country without the aid of high or protective duties. But the advocates of this system rely mainly upon the difference in the rate of wages in this and competing countries as a justification for its continuance, and our laboring classes are told that a reduction of duties must be followed by a reduction of wages. This argument is very captivating to the workingman. He is made to believe that the comforts of his home and sufficient sustenance and clothing for his family are dependent upon the maintenance of the system.

The Democratic party is under the obligation of a solemn pledge that the necessary reduction in taxation shall be effected—

> without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

The wage-earners of the nation should be the special objects of our care and consideration, and they shall be deprived of none of the advantages which they enjoy by any action of mine. I shall strenuously resist every such change in our fiscal system as will, in my opinion, entail upon them the loss of employment or diminish the rewards of their industry.

But I can not give my consent to the proposition that the wages of labor are regulated by or dependent upon the existence of protective duties. That they are higher in this than in other countries I am ready to concede; but our workmen are indebted for this advantage to other causes than the tariff—chiefly to the abundance of cheap and fertile lands. In the language of another, "wages in the States are determined, not in the factory, but on the farm." By the expenditure of a very small sum of money a man can obtain a sufficient quantity of rich and productive land, upon which, with moderate effort, he can dwell with his family in plenty and peace. The rewards of steady and frugal industry will be sufficient to supply all the necessaries of life, and many of its luxuries. Besides, every man feels a peculiar pride in the thought of ownership of the soil upon which he dwells.

The citizen and immigrant can only be lured from this tempting prospect by the bait of very remunerative wages. I have neither the time nor the inclination to take a flight among theories; but the most satisfactory illustration of the principle for which I am contending is furnished by the fact that ordinary wages during the colonial period were higher here than in Europe. It is clearly shown by statistics that they have steadily advanced in this country from 1830 to the present day, through all changes in our fiscal system, with now and then slight fluctuations; and this steady movement towards an increase was not interrupted by the Walker revenue tariff. In Great Britain, where there is a nearer approach to free trade than in any other country, the toiling masses have experienced an improvement in their condition no less gratifying than that which has been witnessed in this country.

In another connection I propose to give some data in confirmation of this assertion, but will insert right here the statement, that in some tables prepared by George Lord, president of the Manchester Board of Trade, it is shown that wages in Great Britain, in a few of the most important industries, averaged an advance from 1850 to 1883 of over 39 per cent.

But the inability of our workingmen to occupy the fields of industry without the aid of defensive duties is not to be inferred from the fact that they receive higher wages than their foreign competitors. Other conditions are to be taken into the account before that conclusion can be adopted. The efficiency of labor is an important factor in the determination not only of the rate of its compensation but of its ability to maintain a successful competition. In considering the question of the cost of production the distinction between wages and the cost of labor is not to be overlooked. The idea involved in this proposition is so clearly presented in the sixteenth report of the chief of the bureau of statistics of Massachusetts that I will give it in full:

> The sharp competition of the present day renders it necessary for employers to watch carefully that important element in production, the cost of labor as represented in wages; and in considering the question of labor cost the rate of wages is generally taken as the standard. We venture the suggestion, however, that it is the sum of wages, and not the rate, which constitutes the true money standard of cost of labor, and we carry this suggestion to its logical outcome in the following proposition: In proportion as capital, through machinery, becomes more effective, the relative number of laborers is decreased in proportion to product, the rate of wages is increased, and the sum of wages is reduced; that is, lower cost is compassed by way of higher wages.

And to the same effect is the following, from a recent work on political economy by Francis A. Walker:

> It is probably true that as a rule the highest paid labor is that which costs the employer least. This is evidenced by the two facts that, generally speaking, employers when they reduce their force discharge their lowest paid laborers first, and that, generally speaking, it is in the countries where the lowest real wages are paid which feel the necessity of imposing commercial restrictions to keep out the products of others. Thus India, where the cotton spinner gets only 20d. a week, is flooded by the cottons of England, where the spinner receives 20s.

And he gives it as a rule without exception that—

> That country in which the higher wages are paid offers its products at lower prices than the competing products of other countries where the lower wages are paid.

The lands in South Russia are as rich and fertile as those in any part of the world. They are cheaper than in this country, and the cost of labor per day there is scarcely one-fourth of the cost here, and yet with these undeniable advantages in favor of the Russian, to which must be added an additional advantage in the cost of transportation of his grain, the American holds and occupies the London market against him. In this competition the pauper succumbs to the high-priced labor.

The whole story is told in the following, taken from an address by Mr. Moore before the Tariff Commission:

> The competition is between a state of intelligence and abject ignorance; between the employment of skill and science against a semi-state of barbarism; between a class whom labor elevates and makes the peer of the proudest of the land against a class whom labor degrades. By the aid of science the land in our Western States is made to yield its fullness. By the aid of skill and employment of labor-saving machinery, an outlay of money on a thrashing-machine, two men in Illinois will do the work of perhaps one hundred men during twenty-four hours who still employ the traditional flail of four thousand years ago. Is it, therefore, a wonder that our farmers can compete in grain in London with South Russia? The eventful and doubtful competition that our farmers may dread is not that of the pauper wages of Russia, Turkey, and Egypt, but of the still higher wages paid in Australia than in America. From that portion of the world, whose inhabitants are of the same race as our own, who have the means of employing science and skill, a more dreaded competition will spring up, and the only advantage we have is a nearer market.

But for the sake of the argument let it be conceded that the manufacturer is entitled to receive a certain amount of protection to neutralize the difference in the cost of production occasioned by the higher

rate of wages prevailing in this country. I undertake to say that investigation will show that no such rates of duty as are at present imposed on importations are required for the purpose indicated, and in proof of this I take the following extract from a speech delivered by Hon. JOHN G. CARLISLE, in March, 1882:

According to the statistics of the production of iron ore, as given us by the census of 1880, the amount paid for labor of all kinds was $1.35 for each ton produced. It requires 2 tons of ore to make 1 ton of pig-iron, so that the cost of labor in the quantity of ore necessary to make 1 ton of pig-iron is $2.70. According to the same authority, the blast-furnaces in the United States produced during the last census year 3,781,021 tons of pig-iron, and paid for services of all kinds the sum of $12,680,703, or $3.35 for each ton. It takes 1.3 tons of pig to make 1 ton of bar-iron, so that the total cost of labor in the pig necessary to produce 1 ton of bar is $4.35. The various products of the rolling-mills are so intermingled in the census reports that it is impossible to ascertain from the tables what it costs for labor to produce a ton of merchant bar-iron by itself, but during the present session of Congress, when the committee appointed by the New York tariff convention came before the Committee on Ways and Means they were accompanied by a gentleman who stated that he was the president of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers' Association of the United States, a labor organization, and, in response to a question put by me, he said that the amount paid to labor for making 1 ton of merchant bar-iron was $13. Accepting that as a correct statement, we have the following figures:

Cost of labor in 2 tons of iron ore	$2.70
Cost of labor in 1 ton of pig-iron	4.35
Cost of labor in 1 ton of bar-iron	13.00
Total cost of labor	20.05

Now, Mr. Chairman, the duty on merchant bar-iron under the existing law is $33.60 per ton, or $13.55 more than enough to pay the cost of all the labor expended in its production from the time the crude material leaves the earth until it is sent from the mill as a finished article. And, besides this, there is a duty of 20 per cent. on the ore, equal to $1.10 for 2 tons, and a duty of $7 per ton on the pig, making the aggregate duty upon all these forms of product $43.80.

In this calculation no account has been taken of the advantage enjoyed by home producers over foreign rivals in consequence of ocean freight and insurance.

Taking the figures furnished by the census of 1880, we find that the labor cost of every $100 worth of finished product of woolen fabrics was $22. Assuming the cost of the so-called pauper labor of Europe to be one-half of our own, it is apparent that a duty of 11 per cent. would be amply sufficient to equalize the cost of production. Under the existing tariff the duties on woolen cloths—hawls, range from 50 to 80 per cent. and from 80 to 115 per cent., according to quality; on cotton-warp dress goods, from 60 to 73 per cent.; on all-wool dress goods, from 70 to 88 per cent.; and on ready-made clothing, from 49 to 85 per cent.—in almost every instance placing a greater burden upon the poor than upon the rich. These figures are enough to kindle the fires of indignation in the hearts of the consumers of the country. This foul wrong, Republicans, you conceal under the name of "protection to American labor."

In concluding what I have to say on this point, I venture the assertion that by the application of the same test to all the dutiable articles embraced in the schedules of the existing tariff it will be found, in a very large majority of cases, that the duties imposed are not required to compensate manufacturers for any difference in the cost of production occasioned by the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

(For comparative cost of production, including the cost of labor therein, in a ton of coal and pig iron, respectively, in Great Britain and several of the States of the Union see appended tables furnished by the Commissioner of Labor.)

Mr. Blaine, in his letter accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1884, tells us that in 1860 the true value of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to $14,000,000,000, and that its value, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of $44,000,000,000. He attributes this wonderful and phenomenal growth during the period between 1860 and 1880 to our present revenue system. John Bright addressed a meeting of his admirers in Birmingham, England, just one year prior to the publication of this letter from the pen of Mr. Blaine. On this occasion this ardent advocate of free and unrestricted intercourse between the nations spoke of England's rapid growth in industrial wealth, and her advancement in all the elements of national strength and greatness. He showed that the wages of labor had steadily advanced, and that the condition of the workingman was in every respect better than it had formerly been.

In confirmation of these assertions I will here present a description of the comparative condition of England in 1840 under protection and in 1878 under free trade, published by Augustus Mongredien in 1881.

POPULATION.

In 1840 the population of the United Kingdom was 26,487,000; in 1878 it was estimated at 33,799,000. Increase, 7,312,000. In the former year London contained 1,700,000 inhabitants; in the latter 3,800,000; increase, 2,100,000. So that the growth of London during the last thirty-eight years alone largely exceeded the total growth it had attained during the previous thousand years. In 1878 the emigration of British subjects to America, Australia, and all other places comprised 112,902 persons. The number who embarked at our ports for those places was much greater, but it consisted largely of emigrants from Germany and other continental states, who took their way through this country for the convenience of passage. On the other hand, the number of emigrants in 1878 was 77,951, many of them being returned emigrants; so that, on the balance, the yearly exodus from the United Kingdom is much smaller than is generally imagined.

TRADE.

In 1840 the foreign trade of the United Kingdom (combined exports and imports) amounted to £172,133,000, equivalent to £6 9*s.* 11½*d.* per head of the population. In 1878 it amounted to £614,255,000, or £18 3*s.* 6*d.* per head, a marvelous rate of increase! In the United States the proportion of foreign trade to the population is £4 13*s.* per head; in France it was, in 1876, £8 3*s.* per head; in Russia it was, in 1876, £1 9*s.* per head.

REVENUE.

The public revenue for the year 1840 was £51,850,000; for the year 1878, £81,598,000; and the latter sum presses far less heavily on the people now than did the former sum on the people then. The income tax in 1843 (the first year of its incidence) yielded, for every penny in the pound, £801,000. In 1878 the taxable incomes had so increased that every penny in the pound of income tax yielded £1,947,000.

Consumption per head of the population of the United Kingdom in 1840 *and* 1878 *of the undermentioned articles.*

Articles.	1840.	1878.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*
Tea	1.22	4.66
Sugar (raw)	15.20	48.56
Coffee	1.08	.97
Rice	.90	7.50
Currants and raisins	1.45	4.49
Tobacco	.86	1.45

"The immensely improved condition of the working classes of this country is clearly shown by the above table, for the wealthy and middle classes must have consumed nearly as much per head of tea, sugar, etc., in 1840 as they do now, and therefore it is chiefly among the wage-receivers of the community that the largely increased consumption has been distributed."

Wealth.—An eminent statist, Mr. R. Griffen, has by a series of elaborate calculations arrived at the conclusion that in 1875 the total capital of the people of the United Kingdom might be reckoned as a minimum at £8,500,000,000. "This," he says, "is the capitalized value of the income derived from capital, using as far as possible the data of the income-tax returns as the basis of the estimate, and with the addition of an estimate of the amount of capital in use not yielding an income."

By a similar process he has made out that the total capital of the country in 1865 was £6,100,000,000, and consequently that during the intervening ten years the national estate had improved at the rate of £240,000,000 per annum. In 1875 the amount assessed to the income tax was £571,000,000; in 1865 it was £396,000,000. Now, in 1843, when the income tax was imposed, the amount assessed to it was only £251,000,000. Let us, then, take the proportion between the taxable income and the national capital, as given by Mr. Giffen, for the two periods 1865 and 1875, and apply it to the £251,000,000 taxable income of 1843, and we shall find that it gives £3,880,000,000 as the total capital of the country in 1843. This, of course, is only an approximate valuation, but it can not be far wrong, and it leads to the conclusion that the capital of the country has far more than doubled since 1840, while the increase of the population has only been 28 per cent. This enormous mass of wealth makes our national debt an easy burden compared with its pressure in 1840, and the process of accumulation is still going on at the average rate of at least £200,000,000 per annum.

Commercial marine.—The fluctuations in our progress under this head are curious and characteristic. In 1840, the tonnage of the registered vessels of the United Kingdom was 2,571,000 tons. In 1849, when our protective navigation laws were repealed, the tonnage was 3,096,000, an increase, under the old system, of 525,000 tons in nine years. In 1849 our trade was thrown open to the shipping of all the world, and our ship-owners and ship-builders were told that they would be swept away by the compe ition. What happened? In 1858, nine years after the repeal of the navigation laws, the tonnage of the registered vessels of the United Kingdom was 4,325,000, an increase of 1,229,000 tons over the tonnage of 1849. So that while during the nine years of protection that preceded 1849 the increase was 525,000 tons, the increase during the nine years of unrestricted competition that followed 1849 was 1,229,000 tons; and the expansion of the mercantile navy has been going on ever since. In 1878 the tonnage of the United Kingdom was 6,236,000, and the greatest part of the entire international trade of the world is conducted in British bottoms.

To afford some insight into the present distribution of the carrying trade, we may state that the total tonnage of the vessels that discharged and reloaded cargoes in 1878 at the various ports of the United Kingdom was 42,900,000 tons, of which 30,297,000 were British and 12,603,000 were foreign. These 12,603,000 tons of foreign shipping were distributed as follows:

	Tons.
Norwegian	2,444,000
German	2,270,000
Swedish	1,133,000
Danish	1,058,000
United States of America	988,000
Italian	981,000
All other countries	3,729,000
Total	12,603,000

Thus we have taken stock, as it were, of the material condition of the people of England at the two periods referred to, namely, 1840 under protection, and 1878 under free trade. The progress that the nation has made in wealth and prosperity during those thirty-eight years seems almost incredible, and one is tempted to think that the picture that has been traced of that progress is the work of a heated imagination. But, no, the statements made rest on the solid foundation of attested facts and the unimpeachable testimony of official records. Their truth may be tested by every one who chooses to inquire.

Mr. Bright told his hearers that all these marvelous results were due to the adoption of the policy of free trade.

With becoming diffidence, in differing with such distinguished and powerful leaders of thought in their respective countries, I dare to say that both were right in their statements of facts, and both wrong in their deductions from them. In the two countries, although under commercial systems essentially different, we have witnessed similar results. In each there has been a steady advance in wages and improvement in the condition and comforts of the workingmen. But in both there have been periods of depression, when the abodes of industry were filled with silence and gloom. Neither free trade nor protection has been able to prevent them.

In the flattering picture which the artist drew of the national development during the twenty years between 1860 and 1880 there is not wanting any shade or coloring to please the sight of the beholder. But giant Monopoly, with horrid front, should have been placed in the fore-

ground, holding in his greedy grasp the accumulations of these years of national prosperity, and Labor should have been represented as a manacled slave under his whip and lash. The Republican candidate for the Presidency did not stop to give an account of the pauses in this grand march of progress, nor of the sufferings and trials which at times befell the wage-earners of the country.

The honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] has supplied the omission. In a speech delivered in this House, January 18, 1868, he said:

The loom and the spindle, no longer able to yield to their proprietors, stand idle; the fires are extinguished in forge and furnace, and the rolling-mill does not send forth its hum of cheerful and profitable industry. On one day of last month 1,800 operatives in the glass factories of Pittsburgh were deprived of the privilege of earning wages by honest toil at the trade in which they were skilled; the establishments in which they worked are closed. In the absence of productive employment for men or machinery the smaller holders of bonds are selling them to save themselves from bankruptcy if they are proprietors of establishments, or to feed themselves and families in involuntary idleness if they are laborers whose hard-earned savings have been loaned to the Government in its exigency. Look where we may, to any section of the country, we hear of shrinkage in the value of manufactured goods, or reduction of wages or of the hours of labor, or factories running on part time or closed or to be closed. I present no jaundiced or partisan view of the case.

We have also testimony from other distinguished advocates of protection to the same effect. During the same year Mr. MORRILL, a Senator from Vermont, spoke as follows:

Look at the industries that are at the present moment unusually depressed. Take, for instance, the entire woolen interest. There is not an establishment that is not losing money to-day. Take the wool-grower; not a pound of wool raised last year that will bring 10 cents per pound of its cost. Take the cotton interest. The whole circle of manufactures are in no better circumstances. Look at the value of their stocks. For instance, take the Bates manufacturing stock of Maine. * * * And so I might go on almost through the whole list. They all suffer. Take the West—Ohio, Illinois, or Iowa. Look at their hog crop. Why, if they had given away all their hogs, or if they had slaughtered them a year ago and thrown them away, they would have been better off to-day. They have absolutely lost their hog crop by feeding out grain to them which unfed would have brought more than all their pork.

It is a fact within the experience of every member of this House, that for a number of the years since 1870, the country has been filled with "tramps." Since I have been a member of Congress we have been called upon repeatedly to inquire into the causes of strikes and lockouts. During the progress of the Presidential campaign in 1884, the fires in the furnaces in my district were extinguished, the doors of the cotton factories were closed, and the wheels of industry were silent. The working people whom I have the honor to represent upon this floor walked the streets of Richmond in idleness, while their wives and children were suffering in penury and want. The condition of the workingman in other States was no better than in my own. The causes which had produced that result in Richmond were not confined in their operation to that locality.

The letter of acceptance of the Republican nomination by Mr. Blaine was penned July 15, 1884. By a strange coincidence that date marks the beginning in this country of a series of strikes on the part of the laboring classes, alleging as their justification the inadequacy of wages to provide the necessaries for the subsistence of their families. I have been permitted to examine some of the advance sheets of the report of the Commissioner of Labor, exhibiting strikes by States, years, and industries. I have here the tables showing that in some instances men were required to work for $1.24 per day of ten hours, and women for 50 cents. When the Republican nominee made his triumphal tour in a palace car through the Hocking Valley, in Ohio, his ears were greeted with sounds with which they were not familiar. The people who hailed his coming with their loud acclaims uttered them in a language which he did not understand. He did not hear them in the tongue wherein he was born. And there did not appear unto them, as in the day of Pentecost, cloven tongues, like as of fire, filling them with the Holy Spirit, and causing them to speak with other tongues. They, who rejoiced, were Hungarians, Polanders, Swedes, and Italians, introduced under the infamous contract system, while American toilers, disconsolate in their degradation, remained sullen and silent. Our Republican friends claim everything for their system. They say that the country is made richer, grander, and more prosperous by taxation. With what cunning tongue and linked sweetness doth monopoly speak.

The movements of the workingmen in combinations and strikes give evidence of a spirit of discontent, and show that they are not entirely satisfied with their condition. I do not charge that all these evils have been produced by the protective system, but it can not be denied that it has not been able to prevent them. Even if they are not the legitimate results of that system, they are here in spite of it.

The Hon. R. J. Walker said, forty-two years ago, that—

When the number of manufactories is not great the power of the system to regulate the wages of labor is inconsiderable; but as the profit of capital invested in manufactures is augmented by a protective tariff there is a corresponding increase of power, until the control of such capital over the wages of labor becomes irresistible. As this power is exercised from time to time we find it resisted by combinations among the working classes, by turnings-out for higher wages or for shorter time, by trades-unions, and in some cases, unfortunately, by violence and bloodshed. But the Government, by protective duties, arrays itself on the side of the manufacturing system, and by thus augmenting its wealth and power soon terminates in its favor the struggle between man and money.

The "combinations among the working classes," of which he spoke, have come. The "turnings-out for higher wages and for shorter time;" which he predicted, we read of daily in the papers, and it is not too much to say that these proceedings have at times been accompanied with "violence and bloodshed."

But while I can not give my consent to the extravagant claims of the advocates of a system by which monopoly and not labor has been fostered and protected, I am not a free-trader as I understand the meaning of those words.

From the foundation of the Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue, and such they must continue to be.

I am in favor of placing the heaviest burdens upon the shoulders of the strong, and requiring the fewest sacrifices from the weak. While firmly rooted in the belief that the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises" was given to enable the Government to raise the amount of revenue required for the objects specified in the Constitution, I am unwilling to go to the extent of saying that in its exercise we may and should not discriminate in favor of American interests. While favoring a reduction of taxation, believing it to be demanded by the conservative sentiment of the country and conducive to the general welfare, it is my belief that that should be accomplished in such a manner as not to "injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth." I am satisfied that any sudden withdrawal of all the advantages which have been enjoyed by certain manufacturers would be attended by ruin and disaster, and that the consequences would be felt, not only by those immediately interested, but by those engaged in other pursuits.

For more than a quarter of a century we have been living under the shadow of a high protective tariff, and this fact is not to be lost sight of in the discussion of the question of the reduction of revenue and taxation. We are not here to fix, but rather to make changes in, a settled policy. I have not the figures to show the amount of capital invested in the protected industries, but it is very large, and certainly wise statesmanship demands that we shall not proceed in the work of revision of the tariff without due consideration for them. The business and pursuits of a large number of our fellow-citizens are conformed to it, and may and probably will be injuriously affected by sudden and violent changes. The interests of labor as well as those of capital are involved in the treatment of this question, not because the wages of workingmen are regulated by the tariff, but because the loss of employment may be the result of a sudden reversal of the policy we have been pursuing. When the movements of business and enterprise in their accustomed channels are rudely interfered with, and disturbance of existing adjustments occurs, the shock is felt throughout the whole circle of industries. When dealing, then, with the present situation I am satisfied that all our steps in the opposite direction must be slow and conservative.

As an indorsement of this view I quote from a speech of the honorable Speaker of this House in a former Congress. He said:

I can not expect to see incorporated in a single measure all that in my opinion ought ultimately to be done; and if the absolute power to dispose of this great question were in my own hands to-day, I would not make radical changes at once, but would be disposed to proceed by cautious and conservative methods to relieve the people from taxation, and to reduce the revenues of the Government without injuring or alarming the industrial interests of the country. We must all recognize the fact that large interests have grown up under the existing system; that they have been fostered and encouraged by it, and that they have so adjusted themselves to it as to become in a large measure dependent upon the assurance that it will not be suddenly swept away.

Under these circumstances, while I would strenuously insist upon actual and substantial reductions, I would be willing to accept very reasonable and moderate measures as satisfactory indications of a fixed purpose to relieve the people at large without embarrassing special interests. The business of the country will soon adjust itself to any reasonable change that may be made; but it must be more or less injured by he agitation which inevitably results from persistent refusals to settle our revenue system upon a just and permanent basis.

The people demand justice and stability in tariff legislation, and when these essentials shall be secured the manufacturing industries of the country will no longer require the interposition of the Government to force prices up and give them the control of the home market, but will become self-reliant and self-sustaining. Then, sir, all our great industrial interests will grow and prosper together, and we will go on developing our wonderful resources and augmenting the wealth and power of the country through all time.

These utterances have my most hearty concurrence.

There is nothing more hurtful to the business interests of the country than continual agitation. They demand a settled policy.

And the President, in his annual message communicated to Congress last December, spoke to the same effect when he declared that—

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

He recognizes the fact that the entire withdrawal of such advantages as those engaged in the protected industries have enjoyed should not be contemplated, and in this position he is in harmony with the declaration of the platform of the Democratic party that—

Many industries have come to rely on legislation for a successful continuance, so that any change in the law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject, in the execution, to this plain dictate of justice

I am opposed to extremists on both sides of this vexed question, as well to those who see monopoly in every encouragement of American

industry as to those who would levy duties solely for the sake of protection and without regard to the needs of the Government. In dealing with the present situation the discussion of the theories of free-trade and protection is irrelevant. While the people demand relief from the burden of taxation, they expect that this shall be accomplished without disturbance or injury to the manufacturing interests, upon whose prosperity depends, in some degree at least, that of the whole country. Though I believe that the pending bill, in the main, has been framed in accordance with those conservative principles which should be observed in making changes in existing laws, I do not approve of all its provisions, and shall hold myself at liberty at the proper time to offer and urge amendments. It is difficult to discover a good reason for the action of the committee in remitting the tax upon chewing and smoking tobacco and retaining it upon cigars, cheroots, and cigarettes. That is an unjust discrimination against the tobacco grown in certain States of the Union, and is certain to create murmurs of discontent.

INTERNAL TAXES.

The first act in the creation of the present system of taxation, known as the internal revenue, was passed in 1862, when the country was in the throes of a gigantic civil war, nearly fifteen months after its commencement. Even then, when the requirements of the Government for money were most urgent, and when a sufficiency of it for the equipment and supply of troops could not be obtained from other sources of revenue, this method was resorted to with reluctance and hesitation. It was feared that direct or internal taxation would create such discontent as to interfere with the vigorous prosecution of the war. The existence of this apprehension was natural when it is remembered that excise taxes had never failed in the history of our country to arouse opposition, on one occasion so violent and demonstrative as to require an armed force for its suppression. Experience has shown that they are not compatible with the spirit and temper of our people, and opposition to their levy and collection is in harmony with the record of the Democratic party from the foundation of the Government to this day.

However gentlemen may differ as to the necessity for the retention of the tax on distilled spirits and fermented liquors, there can be no question as to the propriety of the entire abolition of that on tobacco. By its repeal we know that a reduction of revenue and taxation will be accomplished to the extent of at least $30,000,000 per annum. We can proceed in no other direction with such a feeling of certainty as to the result of our action. By lowering the rates of duty upon certain articles towards the revenue standard the immediate effect would be an increase of importations and the consequent enlargement of the volume of revenue. On the other hand, by the increase of duties on certain other articles towards the point of prohibition importations might be diminished or entirely prevented; but it is to be considered that no relief would thus be afforded the people. It is true that a reduction of the income of the Government would certainly be the result of the transfer of articles from the dutiable to the free list, but a resort to that course, except in some few cases, might and probably would inflict great injury upon the industries involved. I am unwilling that the process of reform shall be attended with such ill effects as would inevitably result from the pursuit of that policy.

We are committed to the observance of this plain dictate of justice, "that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital involved," and by me that pledge is held as a solemn obligation.

It is estimated by the Committee on Ways and Means that the income from customs will be reduced to the extent of $54,000,000 by the pending bill if it shall become a law. On the contrary, it is the opinion of many intelligent and well-informed gentlemen that its effect will be to largely increase it. Without claiming to be in possession of information that enables me to speak with certainty upon this subject, I do not hesitate to make the prediction that the above estimate will not be verified by the result. If in the event of the passage of this measure by Congress a surplus shall confront us, our labors will have been in vain. With an overflowing and redundant Treasury the same dangers as at present will menace the welfare and prosperity of the country, and the demands for relief will be as loud and deep as they have been in the past. Nothing will have been settled, and the business interests of the people will have to endure another period of agitation, so hurtful and deleterious in its effects.

The imposition of internal taxes has never received popular approval, and I am unalterably opposed to their retention as a permanent feature of our financial system. During the course of this debate we have been frequently asked, "Shall we have free whisky and tobacco while the necessaries of life are being taxed?" This is an attempt to present a false issue. If there be any force in the question, it would be as pertinent twenty or thirty years hence as it is to-day. If it means anything, it is to be interpreted as an expression in favor of excise taxes over imposts. No one is in favor of free whisky and tobacco. They can and will be taxed for the support of State and municipal governments, and thus will great relief be afforded the farmers and other taxpayers in the several States. There is no room for an issue between the repeal of the internal revenue and the revision of the tariff. The dispute arises as to the method and not the subjects of taxation. The question is whether our national income shall be derived from customs, as it has been principally from the foundation of the Government, or from internal taxes, or from both.

Mr. Madison, in a speech delivered in the beginning of the First Congress, when addressing himself to the subject of a national revenue, said that "the system must be such a one that, while it secures the object of revenue, it shall not be oppressive to our constituents. Happy it is for us that such a system is within our power; for I apprehend that both these objects may be obtained from an impost on articles imported into the United States." From this distinct expression of his position on this subject there was no dissent in either branch of Congress, and the policy of relying upon customs for the support of the Government was then established, and has since been steadily adhered to.

Presidents Jefferson and Monroe, in messages to Congress, made recommendations in harmony with this view, declaring that sound principles did not justify the retention of internal taxes upon the people and their industries, when the emergencies which required their imposition had passed. Quotations to the same effect from other distinguished writers and statesmen might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary. As before said, this system is in opposition to our past policy, and to the teachings of the fathers of the Republic.

Tobacco is the chief money-crop of the State which I have the honor in part to represent on this floor, and it is the only product of agriculture which is taxed by the Government. The farmers engaged in its cultivation are subject to restrictions, burdens, and restraints from which others are exempt. By existing statutes they are limited in the disposition of their crops to licensed dealers, except that they may sell, at the place of production, at retail, directly to consumers, to an amount not exceeding $100 annually. They are forbidden even to issue, as rations or supplies, to their laborers or employés, tobacco of their own growth and raising in excess of 100 pounds in any special-tax year, without having paid the special tax of a dealer in manufactured tobacco. These restrictions work a great hardship to the tillers of the soil, and should not be continued when there is no necessity for them. They are especially injurious to the small farmers, who should be the objects of the fostering care of the Government, instead of being subjected to unfriendly and repressive legislation.

Their condition was so well described by the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] in a speech delivered several years ago that I will take the liberty of quoting his exact language. He says:

> There are many thousands of these people for whose small crop there would be a ready market in the neighborhood, whose entire production is too small to pay for its transportation to a distant center of trade, or even to invite visits from traveling purchasing agents. These poor men must therefore barter their crops at the neighboring store at such prices as the single customer will offer, and for such goods as he is prepared to give in exchange.

No citizen, except when the emergency may be such as to require the exercise of extraordinary power, should be deprived of the right to dispose of the products of his toil and labor as he pleases. And if this internal-revenue system can not be maintained without interfering with the right of control of private property, that fact is the best argument against its perpetuation.

I have obtained from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue a statement showing that the receipts from that source in Virginia, from July 1, 1865, to February 29, 1888, amounted to the enormous sum of $111,000,000 in round numbers, $95,000,000 of which were paid by tobacco. It thus appears that during the twenty-three years since the termination of the war nearly $5,000,000 have been collected annually by Federal tax-gatherers in my State. In the selection of the chief product of her soil to bear this heavy burden, not imposed upon the products of other States, the action of the Government is unjust and discriminative, and the principle of equality in taxation is violated.

We are told that the consumers paid that tax, and not the people of Virginia. To a certain extent that is true, but not entirely. I will insert here what I have from the pen of an intelligent gentleman of my own State, who is a dealer in tobacco, and who has an accurate knowledge of the subject:

> The tax by raising the price shuts off a part of the consumptive demand. Now the elementary proposition is that the market value of all articles is regulated by the cost of production and supply and demand. To diminish the demand, therefore, will drive down the prices to a new lower point, to which the cost of manufacturing and the price of the leaf will have to be adjusted. The planter will have to sell his leaf lower or stop making it, or both, in part.

And the honorable John R. Tucker, formerly a distinguished member of this House, spoke to the same effect when he said:

> But this tax presses on the producer. It is true the consumer ordinarily pays the tax. If it is a low tax, he may be said always to do so. But as the tax becomes higher the producer, in order to hold on to the market, will have to abate his price, thereby paying the tax in part. But when the market can no longer be retained without a loss the production will cease wholly.
>
> And this has been the result in parts of Virginia where the low-priced tobacco is raised. Production has ceased. You have taxed the planter out of his right to use his own land and impaired his title.

During the period of which I am speaking the tax has ranged from 24 to 8 cents per pound, remaining constantly so high as to produce the results so forcibly stated by the gentleman from whom I have quoted.

There is another view which ought to be presented in this connection, and it is that this tax is paid chiefly by those who are least able to bear it. Tobacco may be a luxury, but it is in general use by the

laboring classes, and they will not be without it if it can be had. The enormous sum of $30,000,000 per annum is raised from that source, and the greater part of this burden falls upon the wage-earners of the country. To the extent that its cost is increased to them is their ability to purchase the necessaries of life diminished.

But the tendency of the internal-revenue system to create monopolies, against which have been hurled such bitter and eloquent denunciations, constitutes the chief ground of objection to its continuance. It increases the power and influence of capital, and makes those conditions which are most conducive to the existence of trusts and combinations. Its effect unquestionably has been to concentrate the business of manufacturing whisky and tobacco in the hands of a limited number of persons, and to give them entire control of the markets.

In a memorial to Congress from the Leaf-Tobacco Trade of the city of New York the statement is made that, although there are now about nine hundred establishments for the manufacture of chewing and smoking tobacco, "less than a score produce nearly all of the entire output of the country."

The wholesale dealers in and manufacturers of tobacco and cigars of the city of Baltimore tell us that—

The fostering care of the Government in levying the tax on tobacco has ruined the great bulk of the small manufacturers and aided in building up a few gigantic factories which are striving to monopolize the business, and in a great measure they have succeeded. One renowned factory of smoking tobacco, not in Baltimore, turns out millions of pounds a year, on which they have a profit of 20 cents a pound, or about 75 per cent. on cost of production. This is accomplished through the internal-revenue tax law, as it turns the business into a sort of patent. The poor consumer buys on account of the picture on the package and the windy advertisements of the factory, as he is not permitted to open the package to examine the goods. The law says if the stamp is broken it is illegal to sell it—so, in every case, he must buy his pig in the bag, sight unseen.

Since the internal-revenue tax has been levied the tobacco business of Baltimore has constantly decreased in importance. Formerly there were twenty to thirty smoking-tobacco factories located in Baltimore; now there are but five or six. The plug-tobacco commission business, once the pride not only of Baltimore, but the largest in the country, has been comparatively wiped out.

The sale of plug tobacco for export has been about abandoned at this port on account of the internal-revenue tax. Vessels can not wait a week or ten days to get the tobacco from the Virginia factories, and tobacco in store can not be sold for export, because it is stamped, without the loss of the costs of the stamps.

This is the testimony of gentlemen who have a thorough knowledge of the subject, and whose utterances should receive respectful consideration.

Prior to the war, in the county of Louisa, in my State, there were several prosperous factories, which furnished a ready and reliable market for the tobacco grown on the neighboring farms; but now, under the existing system, they are closed. These establishments, formerly the abodes of industry, are now occupied by bats and owls.

Many such instances of the ill effects of this nefarious system might be given, but I fear to weary the patience of the House. In every direction its tendency has been to close out the small dealers and manufacturers, and to give to the rich advantage over the poor.

In behalf of the manufacturers of and dealers in tobacco it is proper to say that they ask no special privilege from the Government, but desire that some settled policy shall be adopted. Heavy losses have resulted to them by reason of the long-continued agitation of the question of the repeal of the tobacco tax. In the language of their own petition to Congress, it has prevented "the planter from realizing the full benefit of his labor, forced the dealer to carry his stock at great expense or to submit to heavy sacrifices, relegated the manufacturer to idleness, and thrown out of work thousands of operatives or greatly lessened their pay."

Patriotism summons us to the duty of placing our financial system upon a firm and sure basis, with equal justice to all, and we should come to its performance without partisan bias or prejudice. Let us strive for such a solution ot the difficult poblem as will promote the welfare and prosperity of the whole people.

*Pig-iron.**

State.	Description of unit.	Amount of unit cost.				Per cent. of unit cost.			
		Labor.	Materials.	Other.	Total.	Labor.	Materials.	Other.	Total.
Great Britain	One ton run of the furnace pig-iron	$0.96842	$10.90971	.....	$11.87813	8.16	91.84	.....	100
Alabama	One ton run of the furnace foundry pig-iron	1.8700	6.9200	$2.700	11.4900	16.28	60.22	23.50	100
Tennessee	do	1.8300	10.010	.790	12.6300	14.49	79.26	6.25	100
Virginia	do	1.2820	9.010	1.3720	11.6640	10.99	77.25	11.76	100
Pennsylvania	do	2.0000	13.750	.250	16.000	12.50	85.94	1.56	100

* Rate of duty, three-tenths of 1 cent per pound, or $6.72 per ton.

*Coal.**

State.	Description of unit.	Amount of unit cost.			Per cent. of unit cost.		
		Labor.	Other.	Total.	Labor.	Other.	Total.
Great Britain	One ton run of the mine bituminous coal	$0.67728	$0.1980	$0.87528	77.38	22.62	100
Pennsylvania	One ton (2,000 pounds) run of the mine bituminous lump coal	0.89500	0.2325	1.12750	79.38	20.62	100
Maryland	One ton (2,240 pounds) run of the mine bituminous coal	0.51000	0.3500	0.86000	59.30	40.70	100
Alabama	One ton (2,240 pounds) run of the mine bituminous coking coal	0.74000	0.2000	0.94000	78.72	21.28	100

* Rate of duty, 75 cents per ton of 2,240 pounds.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE M. THOMAS,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. THOMAS, of Kentucky, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In the remarks of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] yesterday in this House, he stated that the three Republican members of the House from that State lived in "pauper counties." The fact that three members on this floor from that State who are Democrats also live in "pauper counties" does not seem to have occurred to the honorable gentleman. Now I know that my colleague, who is an amiable man, did not intend to make a false impression by the use of the remark. He took it for granted that members of this House understand what is meant by "pauper counties." But in this he is mistaken; for quite a number of members have come to me and inquired what was meant by the expression "pauper counties." The gentleman gave as an excuse for the remark that he was replying to the speech of the venerable member from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] who, he claimed, had made an attack upon the State of Kentucky. Now, the gentleman from Pennsylvania did not make an attack upon the State. He was giving us some good advice as to the best course to pursue in order to develop the vast mineral resources of our State. I heartily agree with that gentleman when he says if the vast sums now invested in that State in whisky were invested in great industrial enterprises it would be much better for the State, and when the tax of 90 cents per gallon is taken off whisky (which the whisky men do not demand) the amount of money invested in that business will go into other industrial enterprises which will be of more benefit to the people than the whisky business. I want to break up the whisky trusts and the whisky combination, and this can only be done by repealing the whisky tax. Whisky can be produced for 15 to 20 cents per gallon. The tax is 90 cents per gallon. A large sum can not be invested in whisky at 15 or 20 cents per gallon, but you add 90 cents tax and then it takes five or six times the amount of the original cost to handle that product and put it upon the market.

Now as to the pauper countries. The State government of Kentucky is supported by an ad valorem tax now fixed at 42½ cents on the $100 worth of taxable property. Of this 42½ cents 22½ cents is used for school purposes, and I think I am safe in saying that few States if any levy a higher tax for school purposes than Kentucky. All the expenses of the State, including pay of all the officers, and the costs of all prosecutions for felony in the courts, including fees of sheriffs, jailers, clerks, and police officers, all public records and furniture in public offices, and the pay of petit jurors and grand jurors and wit-

nesses in felony cases summoned for the State, are paid for out of money in the treasury. The sheriffs of the various counties collect the revenue and pay it into the treasury. The auditor of state keeps an account with each county in the State and credits each county with the amount of revenue paid in by the sheriff and charges each county with all the expense of prosecutions in felony cases, including witness fees, sheriffs, constable fees, etc., in such cases, also the fees of jailers for keeping persons charged with felony. The counties are charged with the costs of the public records furnished each county, books and furniture for the public offices, and the pay of the petit and grand juries.

The superintendent of public instruction ascertains the number of children in each county of the school age, that is, from six to eighteen, and after finding the total number of children in the State, white and black, within the school age he makes a disposition of the money in the treasury raised by the imposition of the 22½ cents tax by dividing the same equally, that is, per capita, among all the children in the State, white and black alike.

The money is distributed to each of the counties according to the number of children within the school age in the county. The principle adopted by Kentucky is that the property of the people should be taxed to educate the children. The State is just as much interested in the education of a child in a poor county as a child in a rich county. A county paying $20,000 school tax into the treasury with 2,000 children within the school age receives no more money from the school fund than a county paying $2,000 school tax into the treasury with 2,000 children within the school age.

Now suppose that the county paying $2,000 school tax into the treasury receives $5,000 from the school fund, and the county paying $20,000 also receives $5,000, the county receiving the $5,000 is charged with that sum and credited with the $2,000, and is then called a "pauper county."

As a matter of fact all the property of the State is taxed to raise money to pay for educating all the children of the State. It is one great fund, not raised to educate a favorite class of children, but to educate all the children of the State, white and black.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES N. BRUMM,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 10, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. BRUMM said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The wealth of a nation, like that of an individual, is measured by the amount and utilization of useful productions it possesses or can acquire and control, while the prosperity and grandeur of the nation and the happiness of the citizen depend upon the distribution of this wealth among the people, the equal enjoyment of its franchises, and the equal share of its burdens. Hence, the fundamental elements of material greatness being production and distribution of useful commodities, the great problem of political economy is how to foster the greatest amount of useful productions and the most universal method of distributing them.

In the solution of this problem are involved the questions of land and its utilization, labor and its rewards, transportation and its control, and the medium of exchange—commonly called money—and its circulation. While it may be true that you can not directly create values by law, yet it is the great lever of civilization by which we may facilitate the creation, destruction, utilization, and distribution of all values, material as well as social, moral, and political; and as the power of taxation is one of the most efficient functions of law, the question of tariff looms up to paramount importance in the solution of this great problem.

Sir, this great power is not given to the Government simply to sustain the Government as a government, or merely for the purposes of paying the expenses of "running the machine," or, as you free-traders put it, "for revenue only;" but it is given to the Government to benefit and protect the citizen like other fundamental powers (as declared in our Constitution), namely, "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States;" not the Southern States alone, but "the United States of America." Therefore the creature must be brainless indeed, even though he be a President, who in our day and generation would urge the superannuated Bourbon doctrine that the people can levy taxes upon themselves "for revenue only," without any discretionary power as to their own interests or good; *i. e.*, that the people have delegated to themselves the power of contributing for the good of the whole, but have forever parted with the privilege of enjoying any of the benefits that may flow from such contributions. [Applause.]

Yet this is the dogma that is solemnly proclaimed by Grover Cleveland, acting President of the United States; and what is most surprising is that there are some good men who give him credit for having a great deal of courage, forgetting that often—

> "Man, proud man,
> Dressed in a little brief authority,
> Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd,
> His glassy essence—like an angry ape—
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
> As make the angels weep."

This is especially humiliating when we reflect that it is but the spawn of the cotton combine, the stock gamblers of Wall street, and the whisky sharks of Kentucky. I therefore dismiss this ridiculous objection to our constitutional right of self-preservation with the contempt it deserves.

Let me assure you, sir, that as our Republic is isolated from the rest of the world, politically and generically as well as geographically, we can progress in the solution of this economic problem only in proportion as we are socially and commercially isolated and free from foreign alliances and entanglements. In other words, to be eminently successful we must become as distinctively American in our commercial independence as we are in our political systems and geographical position.

Sir, when our fathers created this Government they made such a radical departure from old-established systems that even precedents and examples of other nations became of but little value to us. Old and accepted theories were exploded, a new and more practical civilization was born, and the narrow-minded fossils that still lingered in the dark realms of "passive obedience" and "the divine right of kings" were subdued in the throes of the Revolution, as the votaries of free trade, class legislation, and slavery will be eternally crushed by the inevitable results of their own wicked and unnatural rebellion. [Applause.]

Sir, the higher and stronger you build the bulwarks of protection to American industry the more efficient and potential you make the American man and the more firmly you establish American liberty and equality; for by protection only can you secure stability of prices at fairly remunerative wages to labor when subject only to the fluctuations incident to American competition uninterfered by cheap labor, the products of cheap labor, cheap money, and the surplus dump of despotic and barbarous nations. Therefore, my cry is still for the American idea of protection for American labor, and against class legislation in the interest of cotton, whisky, and Great Britain. [Applause.]

But our free-trade friends (and by that term I include any man who favors putting on the free-list anything we can make here in sufficient quantity, or lowering the duty to such an extent as to place the article under control of the foreign manufacturer) say that tariff duties raise the price of the product and rob the consumer, while not enhancing wages; that they foster monopoly, shut us out from the foreign market, ket, and produce overproduction. Herein is the whole gospel of free trade. Now, let us consider these dogmas *seriatim*.

First, they allege that the tariff raises the price of products and robs the consumer. While this is false, as I shall show hereafter, yet if it were true that it raises the price, this in itself would not of necessity be an evil, for if, under a homogeneous Government, a thorough system of protection would raise the value of one or more products of labor, it would, if not interfered with by a cheaper commercial system, raise all products of labor and all wages of labor; for in a locality or country of diversified interests and resources like ours, where the people rule, all wages and products of labor, if protected against extrinsic factors, would relatively adjust themselves to a common level, unless of course, affected by some special element, as patent right, limited quantity, or area.

But under a system of free trade, while the price of the manufactured article would be raised, as will be shown hereafter, wages and the farmers' products would always be reduced to the lowest world-standard, because farm products are generally the result of individual labor segregated and widely distributed all over the world, and therefore not so much the subject of combination and monopoly in the interest of the producer, but only the jobber. Moreover, the farmer can not suddenly increase or reduce his product at will, for he must sow and reap at times, or in seasons over which he has no control. He can not so readily adjust his product to the supply and demand of the market as can the rich foreign manufacturer. His crops are perishable, and must generally be gathered and sold when they are ripe; and while his cattle and live-stock must always be fed, they can not always be held, but must be slaughtered without regard to the rise or fall of values. Moreover, the elements, the weevil, the grasshopper, the cut-worm, the hog cholera, pleuro-pneumonia, and a thousand other pests, have often more to do with the quantity and quality of his products than the farmer himself has; and as his products fructify at certain periods well known to the blood-sucking speculator, this commercial free-trader has more to

do with the price of the farmer's product than has the farmer. Therefore I repeat, sir, that free trade will always pull the farmer's product to the lowest world-standard, while it will raise the price of manufactured articles just in proportion as they can drive out home manufactures and establish an exclusive foreign monopoly of these products.

There are, however, a few exceptions to the above rule as to farm products, and among them are cotton, rice, and, as yet, sugar. These differ from other farm products mainly in this, that they are not as perishable and can be held a reasonable time to await a rise in the market. They consume nothing, and they are purely local and very limited in their supply, yet they are in universal use, especially by the masses, and being the product of cheap negro labor, which is not represented in this Government, the planters themselves are the speculators that would make the farmers and the laborers of the North and West pay for their product just what they choose to ask, and for that purpose want free trade to enable them by combination with the foreign monopolists and despotisms to dictate the prices of all products and become the commercial lords of the world. Come, Brother NELSON, and I am sorry he is not in his seat, are you willing to have the farmers of Minnesota crushed under this cotton, rice, and sugar Juggernaut?

While I said it was not necessarily an evil to have products of labor dear, I now say that it were much better to have them dear than not to produce them at all, for every production of any article by labor means the consumption of more or less of all articles of labor, and especially of farmers' products.

Take for instance a pen. You can not produce a pen unless you consume relatively an amount of iron and steel, and a certain amount of wear and tear of machinery, and a certain amount of labor. That labor must be fed, it must be housed and clothed. Those engaged in the labor of manufacturing it, as well as those who manufacture the materials out of which it is made, consume the products of the farm, and in that way sustain our home market and reduce the surplus of our agricultural products which are sent abroad.

The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means is not here, but in a speech made for home consumption stated that 60,000,000 of Americans consumed more than 200,000,000 of Europeans. If you will give us the chance to make all the iron and all the steel and the manufactured articles which are consumed in this country we will guaranty there will be no longer any surplus of farm products to be sent abroad and subjected to foreign manipulation.

Moreover, you must remember that wealth does not necessarily consist of the mere possession or ownership of a product or thing (for the article may often be a monstrous white elephant to the owner and a curse to the community), but it consists of or in the utility of a product or thing.

Neither is the utility or wealth of an article limited to its use or consumption, but also to its production. Indeed, many things are of greater utility and produce more wealth in process of creation than in their existence, use, or consumption. In fact, many are only useful by reason of the process of their creation, and are a positive evil in their existence; that is, bad books, unwholesome food, etc. Hence the nation that gets them is always the loser.

But why all this, when the fact is that a protective tariff lowers the price of manufactured articles to the cost of production at high wages and keeps the cost of farm products to the cost of production at the same high wages—for by destroying the home production you reduce the world's supply, enable the foreigner to monopolize the entire production, and fix his own price, while protection stimulates home production and home competition, creates supply to the maximum of demand, and by coming in competition with the foreign product breaks monopoly at home and abroad and reduces the price to the minimum of cost. This is the logic, and it is borne out by the fact that all products that have been sufficiently protected have fallen in price, and many are now sold for less than the duty; for example, cotton goods, steel pens, etc.

A gross of steel pens which once cost $35 can now be bought for 8 cents. This statement may sound surprising, but, as the Iron Age says, the casual reader may fail to catch its full significance. It illustrates the blighting influence of the terrible protective tariff. The duty upon steel pens is 9 cents per gross. Under tariff protection American producers have reduced the cost from $35 per gross to 8 cents, or 1 cent less than the tariff charge upon the imported article. Of course every accountant and school-boy realizes the oppressive taxation he is subjected to by the operation of a tariff capable of working such results.

And, sir, there is not a thing in this country which by the nature of its production can not be interfered with by foreign competition, that is not made cheaper and better in this country than it is anywhere else in the world. You may take photographs, daily newspapers, railroad fares, or anything which can not be interfered with by the foreign monopolists, and it will be cheaper and better than anywhere else.

But, the fluctuation of prices created by the foreign bushwhackers on our commerce is more injurious to our people (consumers as well as producers) than an absolute prohibitory tariff would be; for by their cheap labor, low money, accumulated idle capital, they can close the factories of any undeveloped country which has high wages and dear money.

Why, sir, the question is not one even of what it costs. I wish to show from what I said before that the protectionists as a rule do not go half far enough when they say all we require is protection sufficient to cover the difference in wages, as English products are sent to this country and sold for less than they cost in England. They do this to keep their surplus product from lowering their home market. Therefore it is not forced upon their market, but is dumped down upon our market. America, with its enormous resources, with its industries of every description, is the country which England wishes to preserve as a dumping-ground for its surplus products, regardless of the price.

Will any gentleman on the floor say that a failure in crops does not raise the price by reducing the surplus? And if so, must he not acknowledge that if our capacity for consuming the crops is increased by fostering manufactures we will relatively reduce or entirely wipe out the surplus farm products, and thus raise them to a fair American price of cost with fair American wages?

But they say wheat is lower than it was. Ah! I want to say a word to my silver friends. Since the agitation of the tariff by the introduction of the Morrison bill there has not been a word said either by my friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] or the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] on the subject of silver. Before their master's edict on tariff was issued they attempted to make this country believe the great evil we were laboring under was silver alone; that the depreciation in the price of silver caused the depreciation in the American market, especially for corn, wheat, cotton, and such products as could be produced in India and other silver countries; but now they have forsaken their silver god and are worshiping their party idol, free trade.

Why, sir, I would not want to call it cowardice, but when I see a man running away from a fight I have my opinion as to what started him running; and I find the Democrats who since Cleveland issued his anti-silver proclamation before his inauguration made a desperate fight for free coinage are in this Presidential year lashed like curs away from silver into the free-trade manger of the master where their only yelp is tariff, tariff, tariff. They have followed their dictator and abandoned all pension legislation, telegraph, railroad, land, pleuro-pneumonia, convict and contract labor, money and currency, ship-building, harbor defense, gun-making, admission of States, Hennepin Canal, Private Calendar, civil-service reform, interstate commerce, eight-hour law, anti-monopoly, Chinese, Mormons, fraud in refunding bonds, and Oklahoma. You have abandoned all other legislation, and have made everything subservient to this one dogma of free trade.

Gentlemen are complaining about the surplus. I do not believe we have a surplus if it were properly used, but if we have a surplus would it not be better that surplus should remain in the vaults of the Treasury than that you should send it abroad to manipulate the silver in the markets of the world?

Mr. BLAND. The gentleman has referred to me by name, and I ask him whether he will yield to me?

Mr. BRUMM. Certainly I will yield to the gentleman if it is not taken out of my time.

Mr. BLAND. Without reference to production or non-production, suppose we coin silver and pile it up in the Treasury, what good will it be unless we reduce taxation?

Mr. BRUMM. I will explain to you how you can take that surplus out of the Treasury, and what good it will do to coin your silver. Pass the resolution that Mr. PLUMB offered the other day exposing the forgery committed in changing the law authorizing the issuing and redemption of our bonds at option of the Government and at par. Why is it, sir, that your committee chokes down this investigation? Let the facts be brought out; bring them upon the floor of the House if you dare; let a yea-and-nay vote be taken, and I venture to assert that not one of you, or not a half dozen at most, will dare to vote against that resolution. [Applause.] That is the way you can get the money out of the Treasury and redeem your bonds without paying one cent of premium. But there are other ways of reducing the surplus, to which I will call your attention.

But proceeding with the line of argument I had mapped out, you say it does not enhance wages. My dear sir, labor is a commodity like anything else. Wages are enhanced or decreased by the same law that operates in all cases under the law of supply and demand.

I remember very well, in my own town, when the commercial travelers—drummers as we call them—would come around. They would look for some man to carry their trunks. When there was an active demand for labor and the men were at work they would have to hunt for some time to get a man, and when they would find a man one of them would say, "John, I want you to carry my trunks; what will you charge?" "Why, I will charge you a half dollar." The other would say, "Hold on, John, carry mine first and I will give you seventy-five cents." The first would say, "No; I want your labor; I will pay you a dollar."

That is an illustration of the law of supply and demand of labor—the supply limited and the demand great. The result is you have two employers bidding against each other. But, Mr. Chairman, you go to that town to-day and under the present depression you will find there are a number of people ready for any job to earn an honest penny. Now the question is not "What will you pay, sir?" but under the tyranny of such men as SCOTT, Cox, and Corbin you make these laboring men bid against each other, underbid each other; not saying "How much will you pay?" but "Please let me carry your trunk and you may pay me just whatever you may see fit."

That is all there is in the question of supply and demand as applied

to labor. That is all there is in the question of tariff raising wages. When you give us a chance to manufacture all we consume, you make a demand for labor, and the employers must bid against each other and the workingman sells his labor to the highest bidder; but close your factories, make the supply of labor greater than the demand, and you make the workingmen bid against each other, and the one who will bid the lowest will get the job.

But, sir, notwithstanding we have had this tariff that you so much delight to condemn, I ask you to point me to a country that is situated as we are—a country that you can compare with us anywhere in Europe. Let us see. I find that Europe has more than twenty-five millions of men who are under arms, or rather who are capable of doing military duty.

M. Gervais, a French authority, says there are men capable of bearing arms—in Germany 5,000,000, in France 4,500,000, in Austria-Hungary 1,800,000, in Italy 2,000,000, in England 800,000, in Russia 6,000,000, and in all the other European States 4,000,000. That gives a total of 25,000,000. Of that number 10,000,000 are trained soldiers.

Of this number 10,000,000 are drilled and trained soldiers. Now, sir, you take 10,000,000 men out of the consuming population and throw them upon the producing population, and what is the result? Starvation, famine, such as China and India never have seen.

Bring that condition of affairs home. Let us take from the labor market a number of young men compared with our population equal to the ten millions of men under arms in Europe; take them from the labor market, make soldiers of them as you did in the war, and with a high tariff wages will be enhanced in the market 50 to 100 per cent. Nay, more; Europe absorbs the best of her producing blood in her standing armies, nobility, etc., taking it out of the labor market and adding it to the consumers; still wages are much lower than here, where all are producers competing against each other in the labor market.

What country in the world could stand the absorption of such a mighty immigration as this country? We have in one century moved on from three millions of people to sixty millions. What nation, what system in Europe could ever have absorbed such a mighty immigration? And still they come, and, like water, find their level under this protective system. We absorb them as fast as they come, and if you stop the Chinese and those sent here under the contract and convict labor system, we will be able to absorb the honest workmen intending to make their homes among us. I have a little article here which I shall read as an illustration of the condition of the Australian workman.

PAUPERIZED LABOR—AUSTRIAN WORKMEN WHO ARE PAID ONLY THIRTY-SIX CENTS A DAY.

[Special cable dispatch to the Press.]

VIENNA, *June* 9.

The pitiful condition of the labor market in Austria is shown by a strike of blacksmiths and farriers which has just begun at Pesth. The strikers demand only that they shall be allowed to rest on Sundays, that twelve hours shall constitute a day's work, and that their pay shall be seven florins ($2.81) per week. At present they are required to work fourteen hours per day and half time on Sundays, and receive as wages only about 36 cents per day.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. Where is that?

Mr. BRUMM. In Austria. Compare these wages with those that are paid under our protective system, then tell me what is the cause of it. How is it that under the protective system the carpenter, and the plasterer, bricklayer, mason, etc., get better wages than they do in Europe? We do not protect the carpenter or the bricklayer or the plasterer. We do not import houses or walls or pavements, yet all get better wages. Sir, it is simply because we protect the manufactured article enough to enable us to make them here, and thus create such a demand for artisans and laborers as to raise the wages of all classes.

And in this connection the following extract may be of some interest:

It is probable that the diversity in the rate of wages in different sections of this country is not generally familiar even among the workers themselves. The National Builder for April contains a statistical table showing the rates of wages in all the branches of the building trade, a compilation that is of interest not only to the workingmen but to all students of the labor question. The list includes nineteen cities, among which are New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Salt Lake City. For example, the pressed-brick mason receives $6.50 a day in Kansas City, Mo.; $6 in Portland, Oregon; $5 in Boston, $4.80 (eight hours) in Chicago, $4.50 in Cincinnati, $3.75 in Jacksonville, Fla., and $3.50 in Richmond, Va. Carpenters receive $3.50 a day in New York, $3 in Boston, $2.50 in Richmond, $2.25 in Buffalo, and $2 in Detroit. There is a like variance in the rates of wages in different cities in all branches of the building trade. Common laborers receive $2 per day in Chicago and Salt Lake City, $1.75 in Philadelphia and Boston, $1.50 in Richmond, $1.25 in Jacksonville, and $1 in Chattanooga, Tenn. While there is thus presented a quite material variation, the fact remains that even the lowest rates are substantially higher than the highest paid for like work in Europe. In the worst of times and in the most unfavored localities, this is the country for the poor man and the wage-worker, and it will continue to be so if the efforts of the free-traders can be successfully resisted.

You say, sir, that the protective system fosters monopoly. I point you to coal-oil, the telegraph, the railroad; to anthracite coal, to block-tin, to whisky. Which of these interests is protected? Whoever heard of laying an impost duty on a telegraph, railroad, coal-oil, anthracite coal? Show me a monopoly that is more exacting than any other, more powerful, more damnable in its evil effects than any other, and I will show you that it is of a product that is not imported at all, and therefore not subject to any tariff duty.

No, sir! Wall street, with its stock-jobbing; the railroad combines of the country, with their transportation tyrannies; the unlimited franchises and unbridled license of corporations, and the internal-revenue monster are the sources of your monopolies. But, sir, if we are to have monopoly, let it be our own, within our reach, under our own laws, and of our own kith and kin, rather than under the merciless heel of the foreigner, beyond our reach, not under our control, not subject to our laws, not interested in our welfare, sharing none of our blessings, bearing none of our burdens, enjoying none of our greatness, fearing our competition, antagonizing our progress, and hating our free institutions. If we must have a devil, let it be one we know and that we may in time subdue, rather than one we do not know and that is entirely beyond our reach and control.

But you say it shuts out the foreign market. Sir, we need not buy of other nations in order to sell to them, as no commerce is transacted by governments, but always by individuals. Carriers do not swap; they are not traders as the skippers of old. Other countries buy nothing of us except what they must have, while we buy of them almost exclusively luxuries and such things as we could make cheaper and better than they can if you would only make them keep their hands off.

Why, sir, when an American lady buys her silk or woolen goods she does not ask the question of the merchant whether the Frenchman that sent them interdicts American meats. When the Englishman eats the American hog he asks no question as to whether the American butcher drinks English ale. He buys the pork because he is hungry and he can not get it anywhere else. We buy silks, woolen goods, etc., because you will not allow the American to make his own goods. And so on it ramifies all through the schedule.

We buy largely from the South American States and China, but there is no reciprocity of trade. The balance of trade is against us very largely. You say we shall seek the foreign market. That means that you seek the foreign market of 2 per cent. and lose our home market of 98 per cent. That would be like grasping for the shadow and losing the bone, meat and all. Make all the iron and steel in this country and it would furnish a home market for all our agricultural surplus and overproduction. We will then absorb every bushel of grain the farmer may raise in this country, and will pay him a good solid American price for it. Moreover, exchange of commodities, whether of equal market value or not, does not necessarily benefit both parties to the exchange; for both parties may not acquire equal wealth, as the one may get articles of necessity and permanent utility while the other may get luxuries only or perishable or even deleterious articles. Hence the one is the gainer or loser of wealth in proportion to the utility or necessity to the individual or community of the articles acquired.

Our importations are generally luxuries, things we can produce; our exports are necessaries. Moreover, the nation that gets the balance of trade in its favor must be paid in money, the medium of exchange, and to that extent it absorbs the oil and lubrication of commerce, domestic as well as foreign; for while we continue to ape the foreign barbarous idea of barter, by making money out of commodities under your system of free trade, we will be the commercial slaves of foreign nations, for they will always have the balance of trade in their favor.

And here I want to say a word to my Greenback friends who are free-traders, as long as we have this commodity money, and we can not get the Government to increase the issue of the Treasury note. Shall we stand by and let them still further contract the existing medium of exchange by sending our gold and silver out of the country to foreign nations to settle the balances in their favor? Why not stand by the system that keeps the balance of trade in our favor, and if you will not give us the Treasury note, let us utilize the silver and gold that we mine by keeping it in the country as a circulating medium to keep up the prices of farm products and of labor, and make it the harder for the gold-bugs to sustain their free-trade monopolies?

Mr. BLAND. I wish the gentleman would explain upon his theory how it is that Great Britain imports five hundred millions more than she exports, and yet is not drained. If the gentleman's theory were true, that ought to drain away all her circulating medium.

Mr. BRUMM. Yes. I know the gentleman's point; he made it the other day; but the gentleman forgets to reckon the amount that England receives for transportation; he forgets to count what she gets in the shape of interest; he forgets that the railroads built in this country with English iron have been paid for by bonds sent to England.

Mr. BLAND. We should now be in the same condition in that respect that England is in only for this tariff.

Mr. BRUMM. Oh, no, let us have protection as long as England has had it. Let us protect our shipping industries by favorable laws and liberal bounties as England has done, until we become as thoroughly developed as England is, and we will be in better condition than England ever was notwithstanding the sweat and blood her colonial slaves have been forced to contribute to her commercial tyranny and supremacy.

But, Mr. Chairman, brother NELSON says that the tariff has nothing to do with high wages, but that cheap lands make high wages. How about Africa, South America, Texas, Canada, etc.? He wants wages dear and everything else cheap, including farm products or food, but how he is going to bring it about he does not explain. He wants free sugar, though this bill does not; he says nothing about wool, though this bill does.

He is the friend to the farmer, yet he forgets that farm products, even under the blighting curse of the transportation and whisky mo-

nopolies, have maintained their prices, and that we pay more for our own flour and other products here than they do abroad. There are eleven thousand farmers and shepherds engaged in raising wool. Besides, nearly every farmer has some sheep. Destroy this industry and these people must turn their attention to some other farm products.

The duty on wool is not $6,000,000; lower it and you increase the revenue; strike it off and you absolutely destroy it. Decrease the wool supply, deprive the poor man of his mutton, and not only raise the price of wool to the consumer, but also of mutton, beef, and pork, while the farmer will get no benefit from the increased price, as it will all go to the speculator and foreigner.

But the strangest thing about the position of these would-be friends of the farmer and the foreign market for his product is the fact that upon the only two original American farm products, native to the soil, these farmers' friends want to place so high a tax as to nigh prevent their exportation. I mean tobacco and Indian corn made into whisky and alcohol. From these farm products are exacted one-third of all the taxes; yet these farmers' friends have not a word to say against this "legalized robbery," although nearly every penny of it is paid by the American producer and consumer, while all the purely protective duties are paid by the foreigner. Gentlemen, why will you insist on retaining this last relic of your bloody rebellion on the statute-books? Nothing but war would justify such a tax.

There is no tax so oppressive to the individual and obnoxious to a free man as this; none so destructive of commerce, none so effective in demoralizing politics, debauching government, and contaminating society as this. Sir, it has not only wrapped its venomed coil around the legislative, executive, and judiciary of our country; but it has stolen like the midnight assassin into marts of commerce and robbed trade of honest competition; it has ruthlessly levied its tribute on the hearthstone of every Northern and Western farmer; it has thrust its withering sting in every vine and fruit tree, and has left its damning blight on every tobacco, rye, wheat, and corn field in the land. [Applause.]

Sir, by the whisky tax you have wiped out all the local distilleries and have forced the farmer to sell his cereals and his fruit crop at the prices fixed by the whisky and cattle feeders' trust. It has destroyed fruit raising in many localities entirely.

Farmers can not sell green corn any longer, but must lose 18 pounds per bushel. It prevents local competition in grain and fruits and reduces prices. It absorbs the profits of the farmer in transportation. It prevents shipment of his products in the condensed form of distillation. It compels the farmer to retain it in perishable condition and forces him to ship it on a glutted market to swell the general surplus, and enables the jobber to speculate on the necessities of the consumer, and to gamble on the sweat and blood of the producer!

Nay, more; to complete this monopoly you take charge of the whisky lords' warehouses, you guard their product by the strong arm of the Government, and you loan them from $80,000,000 to $100,000,000 annually without a penny of interest that they may the more effectually take advantage of the rise and fall of the market and enslave the farmer. But no barn or granary is provided for the farmer, no guard is placed over his cereals and fruit, no money loaned or tax allowed to be retained by him to enable him to profit by the fluctuations of the market. Yet pretended friends of the farmers stand up here and defend this outrageous infamy.

Sir, why is it that the very men who must pay this tax in the first instance are so desperately anxious to preserve it as a national tax? Are they influenced by philanthropic motives toward the Government at large or the people? Who else is so anxious to pay a tax, duty, or tariff as these very honorable gentlemen? Sir, what motive have these men in so willingly paying tribute to Cæsar, if it is not by bribery and corruption to prostitute the Government to the maintenance of their vile monopoly? And what answer do we get? Simply that their product is a luxury. Even this is false. That portion which is used in the manufactures, in the arts, and in medicines is a necessity. Only that portion of this product which is used in wholesome moderation as a beverage is really a luxury, while all the rest is anything but a luxury, as every consistent member of the Democratic party well knows by experience. Yet the very evil which flows from this product you are maintaining and aggravating by raising the price to the tempting point of adulteration.

Thus you bring about *mania potu*, you engender disease and distress, by offering an inducement to doctor the very liquor which you tax up to that poisoning point. Why, sir, a drummer who came into my county some time ago said, in discussing this whisky tax, "If you take the tax off whisky, I will go out of business." I wish I had time to illustrate how this matter operates. Why not let the States alone tax this product, if it is a luxury, or treat it by police regulations as a mixed or total evil as well as a subject of revenue? Sir, although I believe that the sale and use of intoxicants should be under wholesome legal regulations, I am not a prohibitionist. I do not believe in sumptuary laws. Yet I say to you anti-prohibitionists that you are driving your best friends away from you when you force moderate and liberal-minded men into antagonism with you by your support of this red-robed harlot.

But again, why have two systems of revenue laws, when one is more than enough to meet all wants? If the internal system is right, wipe out the custom-houses; if impost duties are right, wipe out the internal system. They are not equally just or equitable. One or the other should fall. Which shall it be? I say the infernal internal system; for it is contrary to the genius of free institutions. It is inquisitorial in its operation, unjust in its application, and the money raised by it comes entirely out of the pockets of our own consumers. Besides, its abolition would be a straight cut to the desired goal, as it would just about produce the proper reduction of the surplus, according to the estimate of the Democratic Administration. I hope my friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] is answered. This would simplify matters. We would be rid of one-half the complication; and we could sit down and reason over the simple proposition of a fair adjustment of the customs duties. Then if the country wants duties levied with a view to protection, it should have that system; if for revenue only, it should have that policy. To make that issue square you should eliminate the internal system and relegate it to the States. This would make a positive reduction and would be proceeding on honest business principles.

But in your effort to straddle and trim, you continue to demonstrate your utter incapacity to deal with great questions, and in the lamentation of your dilemma, you cry aloud, "Oh! Lord, what shall we do to be saved?" And as the prayers of the iniquitous are an abomination, and therefore not answered, you think you can cheat the country by again masquerading as reformers, and seeming to do something to relieve the crying wants of our people. Yet, with all your boasted promises, you have produced, after three years of labor, this ghastly abortion, and hope it may be the saviour of your party. But, sir, it is the last kick in the dying struggle of Bourbonism. It is cowardly in its birth, sectional in its essence, partisan in its purpose, and destructive in its effect. It was conceived in disloyalty, delivered in envy of the prosperity of your brothers of the North and West, cradled in the interest of Wall street. The whisky ring, Great Britain, and the aristocracy of the South, nursed at the malicious breast of conquered rebellion, and, serpent-like, it strikes with venomed fangs at the innocent children of the fathers that punished your treason. I give you credit for "practical politics" in the South. On this topic I had intended to speak somewhat lengthily, but I find my time will not permit.

But, sir, who can imagine the gall that must be possessed by any one who can stand up and claim that the Democratic party is and has always been the friend of the laborer, when the entire party, as a party, endeavored to destroy our Republic in an effort to have capital own labor, the only issue, and to-day the party is owned by the same element that controlled it then, and that element in the solid South have reduced their labor to more abject slavery than they ever were in the palmiest days before the war? Then you had him properly labeled "slave;" to-day you add insult to injury by calling him a "free man," and disgrace him by placing him side by side with the convict hired out to a merciless contractor, and you shoot him down like a dog if he dares to protest in the name of organized labor, and you prohibit him from voting or cheat him if he does vote, or fail to count it.

While the anthracite miner is crushed by the railroad corporations, which are both miners and carriers, yet public sentiment is in his favor, and the public recognizes his right to organize, to educate and protect each other, while down in your country the laborer is shot by authority of law and the whole community is against him. You make him pay taxes, but give him no voice in levying the tax or making the laws.

In support of this I cite from an article in the American and the Press:

The Southern difficulty between black and white has entered upon a new phase within the year. After an effective suppression of the negro as a voter, the whites seem to have undertaken the work of suppressing him as a trades unionist. First in South Carolina, and now in Louisiana, the blacks have been notified that the right to associate for the control of their wages and hours of labor is not one of those secured to them by emancipation. In South Carolina this result was reached by organized intimidation. In Louisiana the negro resistance appears to be more determined, and it has been found advisable to shoot down a number of them "in order to encourage the others."

The trouble grew out of a strike on the sugar plantations, where falling prices for the product have had the usual effect of producing friction between labor and capital. Vague charges of insubordination followed, but not a single act of violence has been charged distinctly. The State militia was sent to the chief focus of the excitement, and then we heard by telegram of a "collision" between whites and blacks, in which, as usual, only black men were hurt. It now appears that the crowd of blacks dispersed peaceably when commanded to do so; but a few lingered in the neighborhood and one of them was seen to put his hand behind his back "as though" to draw a pistol. His object, no doubt, was to shoot down the whole militia company in their tracks.

At any rate the militia at once began a general fusiliade upon every black man in sight, and some seven or eight were shot dead and others wounded. As always is discovered after these murders, the killed were all persons of desperate character. But that a single shot was fired or a pistol drawn on the other side in this "collision" does not appear.

It remains to be seen how Northern workmen will regard this treatment of the Southern workman, and whether they will extend their support to the party which stands in the way of all redress. And it is notable that Republicanism has maintained its hold best upon the public where it has pressed the question of the political and industrial rights of the colored men of the South, as was done in Ohio, instead of shrinking from handling what are falsely called "the issues of the War," as the New York Republicans to some extent did.

CONVICT-MINED COAL—BLOODHOUNDS FED ON RAW MEAT—WAGES 30 CENTS A DAY.

Francis H. Banks, of Philadelphia, who has been on a business trip to the

South, talks to a Philadelphia Press interviewer regarding convict labor in Alabama:

"Early one morning, about two months ago, I set out from Birmingham to visit the Mary Pratt Mine, 6 miles to the southwest. A path was pointed out as the way to the mine. This was not much trodden, for it was not very well defined. At long intervals I encountered clearings with rickety cabins, the poor habitations of wretched negroes or more wretched whites, who barely subsist in a kind of way on the meager products of the soil. After a laborious trip I came upon a larger clearing than usual, and this I guessed, rightly as I afterward learned, was the mine.

"But nothing visible indicated a mining settlement or the workings of a coal mine. In a small level place was an inclosure about four acres in extent. About it towered a fence fully 20 feet high, and over this could be seen from without a whitewashed building.

"I knocked at the gate and was admitted. Then I became aware for the first time of the nature of the place. The attendant who admitted me wore the striped white and black convict garb, and the idea at once flashed through my mind that I was present at a works operated by convict labor. On this point I was given decided assurance when I entered upon the grounds by the sight of a pack of bloodhounds which were lounging lazily about here and there, particularly where fence or shed afforded shelter from the hot rays of the meridian sun.

"I descended into the mine, accompanied by the superintendent, or boss, who, by the way, is a life convict for murder. He, like all the others, wore the stripes. He was a negro, light in color, and his features approached the Caucasian. This boss was a rather intelligent man and before his life-burial in this prison mine he was in excellent circumstances. The murderous deed for which he was spending his life in this place was done in drink.

"There are altogether two hundred and eighty convicts working here, nearly all of them below the surface. The men were divided into gangs, each of which were overlooked by a foreman, who was a convict. These men daily mine about 1,000 tons of coal, which is a fair day's work. Indeed, their work compares favorably with the work of the free laborers at other mines of Alabama, yet the State receives only 30 cents per day for each man and the same is paid for the worst as for the best labor.

"The bloodhounds at the surface are fed with raw beef by a convict bearing the terribly significant title of 'the huntsman,' and are kept in training by an occasional chase of one of the colored convicts. The man is given a fair start, the bloodhounds are loosed. To escape being torn to pieces the man takes to a tree and is captured. Capture is unavoidable if the flight is discovered in time. In the years that the mine has been operated by the convicts one man has escaped. That was several years ago. The fugitive had a good start and threw the hounds off the scent by following for some distance a small brook which wanders through the sands. He got as far as the railroad and boarded a train, which by chance was passing, and was never overtaken. Many others have taken flight, but are run down by the dogs and either treed or torn by them."

LABOR TROUBLES IN ALABAMA.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., *May* 5.

The 500 coal-miners and 200 coke-drawers at the Pratt mines quit work Thursday rather than accept a reduction of wages. The company employs 600 convicts and 500 free miners. The former will, of course, have to remain at work. It is rumored that the miners at Wheeling, Blue Creek, and other mines will also go out.

Mr. BLAND. What did your people do in Pittsburgh when the laborers struck?

Mr. BRUMM. I will tell you if you will only extend my time.

But what do you do whenever there is any legislation proposed in this House in favor of labor? You kill labor bills by smothering them in committee, by prohibiting them from the floor of the House through your steering committee, and by overloading them with amendments, and by filibustering against them. Your rules are so tyrannical and unjust that no man or no measure that your Bourbon ring is opposed to can have a hearing on his floor.

Sir, we have made repeated efforts to do some legislating in the interest of labor, and yet under your despotic rules you crush us out; you will not allow us to bring the matter up, because you know that if you would give us a chance we would carry them by an overwhelming vote, for even many of you who are choking our labor bills in the dark would not dare to vote against them on a recorded vote on the floor of this House. All we ask is fair play, and if you beat us, then we must submit until the people of this country will send men here who will not be whipped against labor in the dark chamber of the Bourbon caucus and then play the demagogue on this floor by proclaiming themselves as the great champions of labor.

Sir, I protest in the name of outraged humanity against this cowardly assassination of labor bills by hypocrites who masquerade as friends of labor. [Applause.]

Let me for a moment refer to some of the black rot which some of your men attempt to palm off on the people. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means stated that the cost of labor to produce a blanket was 30 cents, while the tariff was $1.50. Here there is nothing said about the cost of material, nothing about the cost of labor in material, etc. I could have given him a far better example. Take dressed beef, for instance, which costs eight or ten dollars a hundred. Now, the cost of killing that beef is only 10 cents per hundred, and, according to the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the butcher's work is all that is to be considered as labor. Only constituents like yours could be gulled with such nonsense. [Laughter and applause.]

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DOCKERY] referred to the rapid increase per capita in manufacturing States; but nothing is said about the increase of population. He took Massachusetts and Illinois as examples, but he forgot to refer to the fact that Massachusetts is an old State while Illinois is a new State, to which immigrants are constantly going from Massachusetts as well as from other States.

He also said the interstate-commerce bill will make Pennsylvania plead for protection against Missouri. Even if that be true, we will not rebel if we do not get it. And if we find that we can do better in your State than our own we will go down to Missouri, and if you do not do better than you have been doing we will crowd you out.

Now, in reply to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. HEMPHILL], who said "there is no protective tariff where there are no votes;" that is to say, the more despotic the government is, the more there is of free trade. No doubt that accounts for South Carolina always having been in favor of free trade, for with her the employers only are permitted to vote.

But you say you are not free-traders; if so, you are not in harmony with your President. If you are not free-traders, you can not honestly vote for this bill.

But what of that? What does a Bourbon care for consistency?

How much time have I left, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has one minute remaining.

Mr. BRUMM. We have been referred to the strikes at the North. Strikes, Mr. Chairman, are but the skirmish line in this great battle, the organization and education of labor will make the main fight, and they will conquer all the Scotts, Corbins, Coxes, and other tyrants. They may drive back the skirmish line, but when the real conflict begins and the laboring men assert their rights as they are now learning them, they will not give up the fight until the cause of humanity is victorious.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Virginia. Will the gentleman let me ask him a question?

Mr. BLAND. Why do you not refer to Mr. Blaine's friend, Mr. Carnegie, and the strike of his laborers?

Mr. BRUMM. Who?

Mr. BLAND. Why, Mr. Carnegie, the man with whom Mr. Blaine is stopping in Scotland.

Mr. BRUMM. I have but a minute, and I wish merely to say in conclusion that you can not successfully stop the organization of labor in the defense of its undoubted rights.

Labor is marching on hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, elbow to elbow, and is solving this great problem. They must win in this great fight for humanity, or our Republic will fall. Sir, in this great struggle we stand isolated and alone. There is but one America in this world. The great problem of life must be solved here or nowhere.

During the Revolutionary war we solved the problem of the divine right of kings and passive obedience. During the rebellion we solved the problem of legalized ownership of labor by the master; and now we must solve the problem of industrial and commercial emancipation with free labor; and I hope you will assist us, and that the glory of the American nation may shine over the whole world and into its darkest recesses, and show other nations the pathway to greatness and a higher civilization. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Revenue Reform demanded by our Agricultural Industries.

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEVI MAISH,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. MAISH said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: One point at least in this controversy has not been disputed. All are agreed that the country is profoundly stirred up on the question of the proposed tariff reduction.

Never in the history of this country, excepting perhaps the slavery question, has a civil policy aroused such intense interest.

It is a question that is confined to no locality, but everywhere the people are to-day wholly absorbed in the contemplation of this great problem. Why is it that so profound an interest is taken in this question? Are the minds of a great people aroused to such a degree by merely trifling and transitory causes?

Deep-seated and substantial abuses alone could produce the state of feeling that now exists in the country.

The conviction among a large majority of the American people that our present system of Federal taxation is fraught with injustice, inequalities, and cruel wrongs is the foundation for the situation now witnessed in the Republic. This conviction commenced more than a score of years ago, and year by year has been steadily growing and extending. It will not stop until the question is settled.

To satisfy the public demand for a correction of the alleged evils of taxation convention after convention of both parties, national and State, has made the most explicit and emphatic declarations that our tax sys-

tem shall be modified and reduced to the requirements of the Government.

At a time like this it is the duty of every Representative to take his stand. This is my apology for participating in the discussion that has already been so protracted.

When the Representatives of the Fiftieth Congress assembled here in December last they were not ignorant of the great concern of the American people upon this question, and when the President sent his message to Congress he did not overestimate the importance of the subject when he devoted it exclusively to a discussion of the tariff and urging upon us the necessity of immediate action.

The Constitution wisely charges upon the President the duty of giving to Congress from time to time information of the state of the Union, and to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient. It was in pursuance of this constitutional obligation that the President called our attention to the anomalous condition of the Treasury, and recommended the measures suggested in his message.

Repeated attention had been called to this subject, and as repeatedly did the Congress adjourn without remedying a great public evil.

Owing to conflicting interests in large part, combined with a lamentable apathy to the interest of the country, the legislative branch of the Government has heretofore utterly failed to perform its duty.

The President, recognizing the imminent danger of the situation and the almost certain crisis that a continuation of the evil would invite, in a most pointed and vigorous manner again directed the attention of Congress to the subject and recommended a policy of reduction which in my judgment is most wise and patriotic.

The country has heard the alarm which the President has sounded, and the people's Representatives can no longer dodge the responsibility which he has so emphatically thrust upon them. There is no room for misapprehending the situation.

The evil that confronts us is an enormous surplus in the Treasury. Few have been bold enough to deny that this is an evil that demands a prompt and efficient remedy. Besides withholding from circulation a vast sum of money sorely needed by the people to transact their business, it invites a lavish expenditure of money, it stimulates schemes without number for its dissipation, and it is the parent cause of all kinds of jobbery and corruption. This surplus is the result of unwise legislation, for which the Republican party is responsible. After discharging a large part of the public debt, for which the present tariff laws afforded abundant means, and funding the remainder so that it could not be paid until after the expiration of many years, they allowed the revenue laws to stand unchanged, so that a rapid accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury was inevitable.

The only alternative thus far left to the Administration to release to the people a portion of these accumulated taxes was to go into the open market and purchase undue bonds at such prices as their holders choose to demand, the Government having to pay as much as 26 per cent. on these transactions. Perhaps this was a part of the statesmanship of the Republican party, which seemed in its past history to be peculiarly friendly to holders of the country's bonds.

Lacking the wisdom themselves to form a wise fiscal policy, the Republicans have, up to this time, been mainly employed in obstructing every effort that has been made by the Democratic party to correct the blundering statesmanship of the Republican party.

The Administration is entitled to great credit for making the effort to reduce this surplus.

Another course, which would have been more in conformity with the practices of the Republican party, would have been to continue the laws and dissipate this sum by extravagant and useless appropriations under the "general-welfare clause" of the Constitution—which, like charity, has covered such a multitude of political sins.

The surplus, we are informed, has already reached the enormous sum of $140,000,000, and this will continue to grow at the rate of at least $60,000,000 annually if the influx is not checked by legislation.

The President very clearly indicated how this reduction should be consummated. His views upon this subject were clearly presented in his message, and scarcely less clearly were they presented by him in a speech delivered at Newark, N. J., before his election.

The country therefore understood his views upon this subject when he assumed the duties of his office, and they knew that he would at all events do what he could to redeem his own pledges and the pledges of his party.

The gist of his plan of reduction is set forth in his message, as follows:

> The taxation of luxuries presents no feature of hardship, but the necessaries of life, used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

This is a statement so clear, so plain, and so self-evident that it leaves no room for cavil or misconception. It is replete with wise statesmanship and the noblest humanity. It is a policy upon which this Congress should have united irrespective of party. If carried out in accordance with his recommendation it would endanger no invested interest. It would jeopardize no industry. It does not threaten the manufacturing interests of the country, but, on the other hand, points out a sure, direct, and simple remedy for an existing danger, and at the same time promises a blessing to the household of every laboring man in the country.

In full accord with the views of the President, the Committee on Ways and Means of this House reported a measure which is so moderate, so reasonable, and so just in all its provisions that it can readily be accepted by all the friends of true tariff reform.

This measure has in reality been but little discussed by the Republican members of this House. They have employed their time in endeavoring to show that the policy of the Democratic party is that of free trade, and having set up this man of straw, they proceeded, with wonderful unanimity, to knock him down again by discussing the advantages of protection.

It can be easily shown that this bill affords as ample protection to our manufacturing industries as any law that has been distinctly enacted for that purpose in the history of the country.

In the multiplicity of protection ideas that have been advanced on the other side, one idea more conspicious than the rest seemed to pervade the whole discussion, and that was that the tariff should be reformed by them in the interest of protection. This, I submit, does not promise a speedy relief to the country, for the people will not soon again, in my judgment, intrust them with power. They had the opportunity for many years to redeem the pledges they made to the country, but they either lacked the disposition or the wisdom to do it.

It seems to me that a party that claims the privilege from the American people to reform the revenue laws of the country should have, at a crisis like this, presented to Congress some tangible plan of what they would do if they had the power.

For a month they have been discussing the questions of protection and free trade, and the country knows no more about the intention of the Republican party to-day than it did at the last Presidential campaign.

It is evident that they have been unable to reconcile the greedy interests which they represent.

If now they are unable to formulate a plan of tariff reduction, their ability to do so when clothed with power would be infinitely more perplexing. In plain terms, they have demonstrated to the country their utter inability to grapple with the subject. The country must understand by this time that if it depended upon the action of the Republican party the tariff laws would remain as they now are, yielding a constantly increasing surplus, which would be disposed of by wasteful and excessive appropriations; and if this method would prove ineffectual, that then it would be distributed among the States as proposed by the last Presidential candidate of that party. The course of the party in this House fully warrants this conclusion, but we are not driven to circumstantial evidence alone. Some members of the party have had the candor to avow the policy I have suggested. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in an article in the March number of the North American Review, in speaking of the surplus used the following language:

> Never was there a situation in which the Earl of Aberdeen's advice is more appropriate than now. In regard to taxation after his cabinet had discussed the various means of solving a supposed problem, which, like the surplus, had only an imaginary existence, he asked, "Why could we not let it alone?" and that proved the true solution of the difficulty. It is so now with us. Why can not we let it alone?

The surplus, he declares, has only an "imaginary existence," and we are asked why this myth can not be let alone. He is one of the principal beneficiaries of the present tariff and also a prominent and influential Republican. He doubtless reflects the views of his class, and they would dictate the policy of their party in the future as they have done in the past.

The effort of the Republicans to show that they are *par excellence* the friends of the laboring classes will always remain one of the memorable features of this debate. In their desperate endeavor to maintain monopoly, in all the insolence of its power, they have the temerity to pose before the country as the champions of labor. The position is an impossible one. James Parton, in a recent article in the Forum, correctly stated the position of the two parties. He says:

> In all legitimate human strife the real antagonists are interest and principle, or, in truer words, the supposed interests of a part and the real interest of the whole.
>
> The Republican party has honestly and boldly taken in charge the supposed interest of a class, leaving to its antagonist the conquering force of principle, which is the interest of all.

But actions speak louder than words. Let us examine the conduct of the Republican party towards the workingmen of this country.

In 1864 the Republican party enacted the following law:

> That all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries in conformity with the regulations that may be established by the Commissioner of Emigration, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term of not exceeding twelve months to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States or of the several States and Territories, and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract, and the contract be recorded in the recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the homestead law where the title is consummated, or on property otherwise acquired, until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States, or creating in any way the relation of slavery and servitude.

This remarkable statute authorized the importation of foreign pauper labor under a contract that the wages of the emigrant shall belong to the party with whom he made the contract for a period of twelve months, and the strong arm of the courts of the United States could be invoked to enforce its stipulations. It authorized a lien to be put upon any land that the emigrant might acquire, and having thus put the badge of servitude upon him, we were coolly asked to hold that nothing in this contract shall be taken or deemed as creating "in any way the relation of slavery or servitude." The concluding paragraph of this statute betrays the guilt of its framers. What relation does the contract create if it does not create that of slavery and servitude? The only differences between the slavery thus sanctioned by the Republican party and that which was overthrown by the late war is that this was limited to a period of twelve months and the yoke was put upon white men.

This consuming solicitude of the Republican party for the workman found its fruit in my own State in the enactment of laws hardly less odious than the one just cited. On February 27, 1865, was enacted the following law, which, on April 11, 1886, was followed by the annexed supplement:

1. Any corporation owning or using a railroad in this State may apply to the governor to commission such persons as the said corporation may designate to act as policemen for said corporation.
2. The governor upon such application may appoint such persons or as many of them as he may deem proper to be such policemen, and shall issue to such person or persons so appointed a commission to act as such policemen.
3. The provisions of the act of February 27, 1865, entitled "An act empowering railroad corporations to employ police force, be, and the same are hereby, extended to embrace all corporations, firms, or individuals, leasing or being in possession of any colliery, furnace, or rolling mill within the commonwealth.

It is superfluous to comment upon these statutes. Their object is self-evident. The laborers of my State have not merited this tyrannical legislation. The effects of these statutes is to place into the hands of private individuals the highest power of the commonwealth, to be exercised at their will and pleasure. Was ever absolute power placed in the hands of one man that he did not use it to oppress his fellowman? Pennsylvania does not afford an exception. Can any one doubt that its purpose was to give to employers the power to subjugate their employés?

In conformity with the professed anxiety for the American laborer the Republicans have affected to be greatly exercised over the effect that the pending bill would have upon his condition, contending that it would bring him upon an equality with the pauper labor of Europe. This contention is based upon the idea that tariff raises wages, and that consequently a reduction of the tariff would lower his wages. In the first place, this proposition is wholly untenable, as has been repeatedly shown in this debate. In this country many of the industries that enjoy the highest protection pay the lowest wages, and many that are not protected at all pay higher wages than those that are.

But if the position of the Republicans were true it would show the hollowness of Republican professions.

The total number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits in the United States over the age of ten years in 1880 was 7,670,493, whilst the number over the same age at the same time engaged in manufacturing mechanical, and mining pursuits was 3,837,112. The value of the agricultural products exported for that year was $685,867,737, which was 83.24 per cent. of the total domestic exports.

In 1887 there was a slight decrease, the value being $523,073,774, as against $136,735,105 manufacturing products exported, the agricultural products being 74.41 per cent. of the entire domestic exports for 1887. This enormous surplus of the productions of our farmers was sold at the prices paid in the European market, where it was brought in competition with like productions of Austria, Hungary, Russia, and the degraded races of Egypt and India. If, therefore, the position of the Republican party is correct, then by far the largest and best portion of our workmen have been pauperized by competition with the pauper labor of the Old World.

This, however, has not pauperized the farmer, but, as I will presently show, it has been the inimical policy of the Republican party that has greatly crippled him, and, if persisted in, it will eventually place him upon the degraded level of the down-trodden laborer of the Old World.

Agriculture is the first and best pursuit of man; all other industries depend upon it and its prosperity. The farmers are pre-eminently the class of our citizens who should at all times have had our first and highest consideration. The normal condition of our country is that of agriculture.

This teeming globe presents no other country so highly favored by all the natural advantages of climate, soil, and navigable rivers, supplemented by unsurpassed artificial improvements.

Our farmers are mainly American citizens. Their pursuits are ennobling, and their homes afford the highest development of the domestic virtues. There may be found the true nursery of religion and patriotism. The farmer is the bulwark of our country, and when he falls it will be found, like Samson and the temple, that the Republic will be lying in ruins around him.

Now let us examine what the effect has been upon this meritorious class of our citizens. The statistics are calculated to startle even the most ardent protectionist, for even he is not so short-sighted as deliberately to compass the ruin of his best and almost only customer.

The following table shows the quantity and value of wheat exported from this country from 1879 to December 6, 1887:

Years.	Bushels.	Values.
1879-'80	153,252,795	$190,546,305
1880-'81	150,565,477	167,698,485
1881-'82	95,271,802	112,929,718
1882-'83	106,385,828	119,879,341
1883-'84	70,349,012	75,026,678
1884-'85	84,653,714	72,933,097
1885-'86	57,759,209	50,262,715
1887 (to December 6)	43,604,883	36,775,228

These official figures show that from 1879 to December 6, 1887, there was a falling off in the exportations of wheat of 95,483,586 bushels, representing a value of $140,283,906.

I claim that this was the direct result of our policy of non-intercourse. We can not hope to sell if we do not buy. Our foreign customers will gradually grow fewer as our purchases from them grow less. But what will our poor farmers do with their redundant crop? As has already been shown, it exceeds many millions of bushels the demand for home consumption. There can be but one result, and that, the figures just quoted incontrovertibly show, is rapidly being realized. Agriculture is slowly but surely retrograding. It will ultimately be reduced to the home demand for the farmer's products, and then he will be reduced to the condition that will make him the sport of the monopolist. How descriptive, then, would be these lines:

Here landless, laborers, hopeless toil, to strive,
To taste no portion of the sweets they hive.

If further proof of the destructive influence of our tariff policy were needed, the tables I shall presently present will, I am sure, convince the most obdurate protectionist.

Our farmers once had control of the wheat market of the world. There was a ready demand for all the products we could produce; but when we entered upon the policy of attempting to sell without purchasing in return the governments of the Old World were forced to open up new grain fields to supply their demands. England penetrated her India possessions with thousands of miles of railroads and laid under tribute the lands and labor of that distant country, to take the place of our productions. Now, how has this enterprise flourished? The following table shows that as our exportations decreased those of British India steadily increased.

Years.	Bushels.	Values.
1879-'80	4,109,495	$5,396,491
1880-'81	13,896,168	15,592,105
1881-'82	37,078,571	41,871,765
1882-'83	26,402,893	29,534,467
1883-'84	39,118,791	43,202,651
1884-'85	29,550,741	30,703,430
1885-'86	39,312,969	38,943,436

Here we have an exhibit that illustrates the supreme folly of our policy of isolation. This rival which we have ourselves set up we can never remove. The best that can be done now is to give our farmer a fair chance, and not hold him back whilst his competitor is calmly preoccupying the field, throwing up trenches and making himself impregnable.

How has this policy affected the agricultural industries of my own State? It can be stated in a few words and in a manner that can not be misunderstood.

In 1870 her farm lands were valued at $1,043,481,582; in 1880 they were valued at $975,689,410. Thus in ten years the farmers of my State have lost $67,792,172 in the decline of their property.

In 1870 there were produced in my State 19,462,405 bushels of wheat; in 1887 there were produced only 11,165,850 bushels, showing a falling off in seventeen years of 8,007,117. Doubtless the next census will show a continuous decline in the value of real estate, so that the loss in these two items of the Pennsylvania farmers may fairly be estimated at $100,000,000 in seventeen years.

In 1880 there were engaged in Pennsylvania in agricultural pursuits 301,112 people over the age of ten years, and in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining pursuits 528,277, whilst the amount of capital invested in manufactures in the same year was $474,499,993, as against $975,689,410 invested in farm lands. No account is taken of cattle, horses, or agricultural implements, as there is not of the value of the materials of the manufacturers. Now, even in my State, so highly favored by protection, it is shown that there is a class of our people that have suffered almost calamitous injuries by the invidious system of tariff taxation, and by reason of its enormous invested interests it is entitled to fair play, which as one of their representatives I here demand.

The Republican party, the more effectually, it would seem, to de-

stroy agriculture competition and promote the power of monopoly in this country, early entered upon the policy of giving away our public domain. Monopoly could not long flourish in the midst of a vast and prosperous agricultural country such as ours was destined to be.

After enabling the great railway corporations to draw from the Treasury about $180,000,000 in solid cash, that party bestowed upon them 296,000,000 acres of land, exceeding in area the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana, which constitutes a little more than one-tenth of the entire area of the whole United States, exclusive of Alaska. It has given away to four of these favored corporations more territory than is embraced in all of the British Islands. The Northern Pacific alone has received more land than is contained in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

By this means the Republican party has fastened upon the people the most arrogant monopolies of the country, who, by their exorbitant demands upon the farmers, absorb nearly all the profits our protective system has left them. It has deprived millions of our people of the opportunity to secure homes upon the fertile lands of the far West. The public domain thus robbed from the people, whose birthright it was, has largely fallen into the hands of alien owners, and to-day vast areas are held in fee-simple by capitalists of England. By means of the wealth thus accumulated by the gratuity of the Government these gigantic monopolies are in large part enabled to dominate the States through which they run by securing the election of their favorites to office, and thus they control the legitimate powers of government.

A favorite argument of the Republican party in support of the policy of protection is that, under the present tariff system, the country has enjoyed an amazing prosperity. To assert it, however, is not to prove it. It can not be denied that our country has rapidly grown in wealth. She has outstripped that of any other country; but how can it be shown that we would not have been more prosperous if the protective policy had not prevailed? As we have not lived under a modified system of our tariff laws, such as is proposed by this measure, that question can never be answered.

The country has been prosperous in spite of unwise legislation, but it would have been more prosperous had our restrictive laws allowed an equal expansion of the agricultural resources of the country.

Had the farmers of the country had an equal chance, they would have drawn enormous wealth from other countries of the world and in which even the other industries of our country would have largely participated.

I stand here not to speak against the manufacturing industries of my State. They are amply provided for in this bill. It is my belief that they will be immensely benefited by its passage, and at the same time the agricultural industries will be lifted out of the "slough of despond," into which they have been plunged by unwise legislation, and started upon a career of great prosperity. Under the existing condition of affairs a policy of free trade is simply impossible. The Democratic party does not intend to strike down the props which have for so many years sustained the manufacturing industries of the country. In my judgment they would have consulted their best interests, looking not exclusively to present benefits, but also to the advantages of future permanent policy, had they given this measure their support.

Nature has recently given to them an advantage far outstripping the fallacious dependence of protection. The natural gas which flows spontaneously to their furnaces and furnishes them the best and cheapest fuel in the world makes them masters of the situation. Nature has here furnished them a protection secure against foreign competition and foreign pauper labor.

A careful examination of the Mills bill shows that it is extremely moderate, and drawn not only in the interest of the consumers, but very materially in the interest of the manufacturers.

The following editorial from a leading Republican journal will go further to vindicate the bill against the charge of antagonism to our native industries than anything I could say:

MODERATE TAX REDUCTION.

It is understood at this writing that the tariff debate will be resumed in the House to-day and continued through the week. This is just the time, therefore, when the reader who is interested in the discussion and its outcome—and everybody ought to be—will be glad to get a clear idea of the thing that our statesmen in Washington are talking about. We all know in a general way that they are talking about what is known as the Mills bill. But what is that? Those who are resisting with all their might all reduction of taxation except on such interesting necessaries of life as tobacco, beer, and whisky persist in representing it as a bill which, if it should become a law, would ruin and utterly obliterate all the infantile industries that depend for their gains largely upon the license they hold from the Government to collect tribute from other industries. Or, as they prefer to state it, the bill is intended to destroy the system of "protection to native industries," and is sure, if it becomes a law, to accomplish that diabolical purpose, and to ruin utterly not only those industries themselves, but to sweep all other industries to destruction along with them. It is desirable, therefore, before the debate proceeds further, to look at this bill and see whether it is conceived in a spirit of malignant hostility to "native industries," as its opponents assert.

So far as it relates to the tariff it may, for the purpose of clear presentation, be divided into two parts: That which transfers to the free-list articles now taxed and that which reduces the taxes on articles without transferring them to the free-list. In choosing articles to transfer to the free-list the authors of the bill were guided by the principle accepted and acted upon by all enlightened governments, that the materials entering into domestic manufactures should be free from taxation. They did not by any means follow this principle to the extent of placing all materials on the free-list. They did not go half so far in this direction as they might have gone with advantage to the industrial interests of the country. What they actually did may be gathered from the following table, which shows the classes of articles transferred to the free-list, with the values imported and the taxes collected on them last year:

Articles.	Value.	Duty.
Wood and lumber	$6,679,202.12	$1,039,207.35
Salt	1,355,946.96	676,865.50
Wool	18,206,987.97	6,390,054.73
Textiles	15,166,965.40	2,922,842.02
Chemicals	6,515,378.31	1,836,435.93
Metals, etc	18,497,275.20	6,096,101.86
Provisions	6,078,702.87	1,592,084.24
Sundries	8,149,018.50	1,860,699.38
Total	80,649,477.33	22,414,291.01

A word or two of explanation should be added. It is only rough or unworked wood and lumber that is passed over to the free-list. Planed lumber, or wood worked beyond the rough, is left in the list of taxables. The textiles passed to the free-list are only those of the coarsest kind, such as are used for bailing, etc., and mostly for packing products that are largely exported. All the finer fabrics are left on the list of taxables. The chemicals passed to the free-list are such as are largely used in connection with manufacturing processes; no others are freed. Among the metals passed to the free-list, tin-plates are the most important. Out of the $18,500,000 worth of metals freed by the bill, on the basis of last year's imports, nearly $16,900,000 worth was tin-plates. Tin-plates are the material of the packages of one of our most important lines of export industry—the canned-goods line. Since we have no tin-plate industry in this country, the passing of them to the free-list can not, of course, hurt any existing industry, while it will greatly benefit the canning industry and all persons who have use for tin-plates in this country. That is, it will benefit everybody, because there is not a family in which tinware is not used. The other additions to the free-list are all materials or articles of food. There is nothing dangerous or destructive in the additions to the free-list. The only fault to be found with the bill in this respect is that it does not go far enough. The question of free wool has been discussed heretofore, and does not demand special attention in this connection.

Passing on to articles on which taxes are reduced by the bill, we have the following exhibit of the reductions, estimated on the basis of last year's importations. The table shows the different classes of articles on which reductions have been made, the amounts of the tariff taxes collected on them last year, and the estimated amounts of the proposed reduction:

Articles.	Duties in 1887.	Estimated amount of duties remitted.
Chemicals	$1,688,200.49	$719,859.57
China and glass	6,392,372.14	1,697,650.37
Metals	9,937,574.48	1,123,827.53
Woodenware	300,716.66	42,959.55
Sugar	56,507,495.57	11,316,707.98
Molasses, etc	8,106.10	1,874.78
Tobacco	21,567.00	11,502.40
Provisions	1,711,805.92	331,480.38
Cotton	1,233,599.57	277,610.29
Hemp, jute, etc	6,207,936.53	1,838,671.62
Woolen goods	29,256,442.30	12,332,211.65
Paper	13,982.25	2,624.90
Sundries	4,960,363.43	1,039,302.54
Total	118,240,162.44	30,821,283.56

The guiding principle here is similar to that which governed the selection of articles to be passed to the free-list. The articles on which the reductions are made are largely those which have to be further manipulated before they are ready for consumption, or which are used exclusively or mainly in processes of production. But another principle also enters in. Where materials are freed from taxes the finished products made from those materials will bear a reduction of taxes without diminishing the protection enjoyed by the manufacturers. Thus, with wool and certain chemicals used by manufacturers of woolen goods transferred to the free-list much lower taxes on the finished products will protect the manufacturers just as much as the high taxes protect them now. According to the testimony of many woolen manufacturers who have placed themselves on record on the subject at different times, they would be abundantly protected by duties averaging 30 per cent. on finished goods if they could have their wool free of tax. But the pending bill gives them 40 per cent. or more of protection, and not only gives them free wool, but free chemicals. There is, therefore, nothing ruinous about the woolens schedule of the Mills bill.

And so it is from beginning to end. The reductions are exceedingly moderate throughout—far too moderate to suit tariff reformers who have faith in commercial liberty. There is nothing about them that need alarm the most timorous of our industrial infants. The most that is now proposed is, as Puck's cartoonist suggests, to reduce to some little extent the fat which encumbers most of the infants and impedes their movements and impairs their health. They would be all the stronger if a much more heroic dose of anti-fat tariff reduction were administered.

The Tariff Commission appointed in 1882 to revise the tariff was undoubtedly right when it said that—

Excessive duties are positively injurious to the interests which they are supposed to benefit. They encourage the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises by rash and unskilled speculators, to be followed by disaster to the adventurers and their employés, and a plethora of commodities, which deranges the operations of skilled and prudent enterprise.

The members of this commission were all protectionists but one, and their opinion was not, therefore, biased against protection. Experience, however, has abundantly sustained the views quoted from their report.

I maintain, therefore, that the modification of the tariff laws proposed in the pending bill will redound to the great benefit of the man-

ufacturing industries of the country as well as those of all others, besides remedying the evil for which purpose it was presented.

The Democratic party, occupying the power in two of the co-ordinate branches of the Government, will not fail in its duty. The Executive has already done his in no uncertain way.

As the sun,
Ere it is risen, sometimes paints its image
In the atmosphere; so often do the spirits
Of great events stride on before the events,
And in to-day already walks to-morrow.

The Tariff and the Surplus.

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY J. SPOONER.

OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. SPOONER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Although I may be inclined to distrust the sincerity, the disinterestedness, or the intellectual acumen of the authors of the "Mills tariff bill," I must concede their surprising political dexterity. I include in this compliment the Administration as well as the free-traders and their allies on the other side of the House, who have combined to create a "condition" which might afford a pretext for their predetermined assault upon our protective tariff system. Like the quack doctor who was "death on fits," they must first throw their patient into "fits" to furnish occasion for the administration of their specific.

In the light of the present, at least, no one who has followed the course of the Administration and of the controlling majority of the Democratic party in this House during the last three years can fail to discover the method and purpose which have directed their adroit manipulation of events.

Almost the closing official act of the last Republican President was the approval of the bill providing for the appointment of a board to "examine and report at what ports fortifications or other defenses are most urgently required," which bill became law by the approval of President Arthur March 3, 1885, the day preceding the expiration of his term of office.

Pursuant to the provisions of that law President Cleveland appointed such board, consisting of the present Secretary of War, the Chief of Ordnance, and another officer of the Ordnance Corps, the Chief of Engineers of the Army, and another officer of the Engineer Corps, two naval officers and two civilians—a board thoroughly competent to intelligently investigate and pass judgment upon the great questions submitted to their consideration.

It may be fair to assume that in that opening day of official power the plan of campaign subsequently entered upon had not been clearly defined or determined.

The report of that board was made to Congress in January, 1886, and presented a startling picture of the utterly defenseless condition of our coast. Let me quote briefly from that report. It says:

The coast fortifications, which in 1860 were not surpassed by those of any country for efficiency, either for offense or defense, and were entirely competent to resist vessels of war of that period, have, since the introduction of rifled guns of heavy power and of armor-plating in the navies of the world, become unable to cope with modern iron or steel-clad ships of war, far less to prevent their passage into ports destined for attack.

* * * * * * *

It is of no advantage to conceal the fact that the ports along our seacoast—a length of about 4,000 miles, not including Alaska—invite naval attack; nor that our richest ports, from their greater depth of water and capacity to admit the largest and most formidable armored ships, are of all the most defenseless.

The property at stake exposed to easy capture and destruction would amount to billions of dollars, and the contributions which could be levied by a hostile fleet upon our seaports should be reckoned at hundreds of millions.

It is impossible to understand the supineness which has kept this nation quiet—allowing its floating and shore defenses to become obsolete and effete—without making an effort to keep progress with the age, while other nations, besides constructing powerful navies, have not considered themselves secure without large expenditures for fortifications, including armored forts.

Our nearest neighbor, though reasoning from the past, she should have no occasion to dread a naval attack from us, has nevertheless constructed armored forts at Halifax and Bermuda, both as a refuge for her fleets and as outposts for offensive operations.

In the mean time we have acquired great riches and apparently dreamed that prosperity should inspire friendship and not envy in less favored peoples—forgetting that riches are a temptation, and that the plunder of one of our seaports might abundantly reimburse an enemy for the expenses of a war conducted against us.

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Unfortunately the immense labor of novel constructions must be undertaken, under circumstances where careful workmanship is required and haste would be impossible. Under the most favorable conditions a long period would be required to place the defense upon a secure basis, and who shall guaranty that this can be effected free from complications with foreign powers? The Gun-Foundry Board has estimated that it would require at least three years to establish proper plant for the construction of modern guns. It would in all probability require two years more to get out and prove the first 16-inch gun. That there may be no delay in mounting the guns as fast as completed, the work upon the extensive foundations for the gun emplacements, as well as magazines, shell-rooms, engine-rooms, and other constructions necessary for the service of the guns, should be commenced at the earliest moment.

The board designated twenty-seven ports as requiring provisions for their necessary defense, including the principal ports along the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard and on the Lakes, and particularized as the ports where "fortifications are most urgently required" New York, San Francisco, Boston, the Lake ports, Hampton Roads, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Portland, and the Rhode Island ports in Narragansett Bay. After an exhaustive consideration of the kind and character of defenses, armament, and appliances required, they concluded with their estimates and recommendations.

The entire cost of providing the defenses required was estimated by the board at $126,377,800; of which amount they recommended that $21,500,000 should be appropriated for the first year, and $9,000,000 annually thereafter, emphatically declaring that "the above-named amounts should be appropriated by Congress without delay," and that "nothing less will suffice even for a beginning."

Would not every patriotic citizen suppose that both the President and Congress would have united in cordial co-operation to provide for the national defense? Yet, though we are far advanced towards the close of the third annual session of Congress since that report was presented, and notwithstanding the earnest efforts of the Republican Senate and the Republican minority in the House to secure appropriations for the commencement of the work, the Democratic House has persistently refused concurrence; and consequently the thirty-nine and one-half millions of dollars, which within the last three years should have been devoted to that important work, have been permitted to lie idle in the Treasury.

Reasonable payment for the carrying of foreign mails by American steam-ships—proportionate to the payments made for carrying domestic mails—has been repeatedly refused; and even the appropriation provided in part therefor has been withheld by the Democratic Postmaster-General; whereby the extension of our foreign trade and commerce has been prevented, while the amounts (large in the aggregate), which should have been devoted to that purpose, have been retained in the vaults of the Treasury.

The river and harbor bill of the last session, carrying an appropriation for many important works necessary for the protection of our commerce and to facilitate its operations, and the deficiency bill of the same session, with its appropriations of general and national consequence, were permitted to fail by the House and the President, and some fourteen millions of dollars thereby retained in the Treasury to add to the growing "surplus."

The "dependent pension bill," passed in 1887, and designed to relieve the utterly destitute and totally disabled veterans of the Union Army and their immediate dependents—*the wards of the nation*, was vetoed by our Democratic President, whereby, although ten thousand defenders of this Government were left in the almshouses of the country, about six millions of dollars annually (10 cents per capita to our people yearly) were preserved to swell the "surplus."

The purchase of its bonds by the Government, which had long afforded a safe and speedy means of relief for an overflowing Treasury—paying the nation's bonded debt as opportunity offered—was stopped upon the pretence that the law authorizing the purchase was of questionable validity, because, forsooth, it was enacted as a section in a general appropriation bill, although our hypercritical Executive should have known that very much, if not the larger part, of the general legislation of many years past has been enacted in identically the same manner, in general appropriation bills, the binding force and validity of which have never been questioned outside of the present Administration.

Through a week and a half of this session of Congress the valuable time of the House has been wasted by the Democratic obstructionists on the other side of the Chamber in preventing the consideration even of the bill to equalize the direct tax of 1861 among the States, by refunding said tax to such of the States as had paid the same into the national Treasury and relieving the States which had not paid the tax from the burden of the obligation; until finally their Southern commanders, by methods similar to those now employed to solidify the Democratic vote upon the pending bill, forced their party generally into line, consigned the direct-tax bill to the uncertainties of consideration in the distant future, and prevented not only an equitable adjustment of Governmental demands and obligations, but also a threatened reduction of some $17,500,000 in that dangerous "surplus!"

In brief, this Democratic Administration and Democratic House have neglected few opportunities to withhold appropriations and legit

imate and proper expenditures, whenever not demanded by party exigencies, that they might enlarge the alleged surplus in the Treasury and prepare the "condition which confronts us."

Truth and historical accuracy seem to demand this plain recital of facts, together with an indication of their necessary results—clearly foreseen and foreordained by the controlling forces of the party in power, and justifying the assertion that if the just claims of the Republic and her citizens had been recognized and their legitimate interests properly cared for the surplus in the Treasury would not now exist in its present threatening proportions. Indeed, if I were disposed to enter that field of inquiry I might well ask, is that a "surplus," much of which has been withheld from the pressing needs of the country and the just demands of its citizens and the States to increase the accumulations of an already overflowing Treasury? Or, quite as pertinently, what constitutes a "surplus" in a Treasury, with a public debt outstanding of more than $1,700,000,000, of which over $228,000,000 are redeemable within less than three and one-half years?

But it is unquestionably true that, by reason of the admirable economic and financial policy established under Republican administration, our national credit is so high and our available sources of income so prolific that, if that policy be continued, and the prosperity and productive and consumptive ability of our people be preserved, the retirement of our bonded debt, or its refundment at even lower rates of interest, as speedily as occasion and sound discretion may require, need occasion little apprehension. If, however, the policy promulgated by the President, and in which the bill under consideration is "the first firm step," is to prevail, we may well fear that the future condition of our Treasury, as well as of our people and their industries, is one of much uncertainty.

The message of the President and the pending bill have brought us to the point where the roads necessarily divide upon questions of fundamental principles; and the debate upon this floor has presented the issue unmistakably between the English system of free trade and the American system of a protective tariff. I want no quibbling over terms. I use "free trade" and "tariff for revenue only" as interchangeable and synonymous terms, as they are universally used in modern discussion.

The differences between the systems of "free trade" and a "protective tariff," and the principles upon which they are founded are radical, and the results flowing from their practical application widely at variance.

Free trade, when levying taxes upon foreign imports, seeks revenue only, and prefers to collect its tariff taxes from those products, like tea and coffee, which are not produced in this country, ignoring the policy of apportioning and applying such taxes with a view of encouraging and protecting home labor and home industries.

A protective-tariff policy, on the other hand, would admit free of duty (in so far as the needs of Government for revenue permit) all useful foreign products which can not be produced within our borders at all, or can not be produced here with the reasonable expectation of satisfactorily supplying the wants of our people by home production.

Upon foreign imports, similar to those successfully produced by our own people, it levies tariff taxes (or duties) sufficient at least to equalize the labor cost employed in their production with the labor cost engaged in producing similar products, whether of the farm, the mine, the mill, or the workshop in our own country; thereby, while raising necessary revenue for the Government, at the same time protecting our home labor and home industries from ruinous competition in our home markets with the products of the cheap, or pauper, or even convict labor abroad.

The protective policy recognizes the superior and happier condition of our people and their greater productive ability when, in a country presenting the varied opportunities here afforded, they can engage in diversified industries, each enabled to select that pursuit best adapted to his capacity, his inclinations, and his taste.

It believes that in a country of such vast extent of territory, with such variety of soil and climate, and possessing such immense and varied natural resources for the development of agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and commercial wealth, a free people can best attain the highest degree of general prosperity and perform the high mission committed to their charge by diversifying their industries, developing the abounding resources they possess, and achieving and maintaining their industrial independence, the staunchest ally of political freedom.

It believes that the United States can be and should be self-supporting, furnishing by the labor of its own people, and, in so far as possible, from its own productions, all the necessaries and as many as practicable of the luxuries used or consumed by our people, relying upon competition and the operation of well-recognized principles of political economy to so regulate prices that the laborer and the producer of such merchandise shall receive reasonable recompense and the consumer obtain the same at a reasonable cost.

The intelligent advocate of the protective system does not claim that the imposition of tariff duties upon foreign imports, sufficiently high to protect our home labor and industries from such undesirable competition as I have referred to, immediately or inevitably lowers the price of similar products manufactured or produced here to the price of the foreign production, as is sometimes charged; but it is claimed and demonstrated by actual results that the energy, skill, inventive genius, and competition which are brought into efficient exercise among our people by securing to them our own great home markets for the greater part of their products, as a protective tariff, properly applied, necessarily does, reduce the cost of production, and consequently the price of such products, lower, as a general rule, than they would have been if the foreign producer had continued to control our market; and with the lapse of time, increased capital and experience, and the enforced competition of the foreign producer straining to enter our market over the partial barrier of the tariff, all contributing toward the same result, the selling price of such merchandise falls as low as just regard for all our home interests involved permits, and frequently lower than the price of similar foreign products in the country of their production, and this without disturbance or even with an increase in the wages of the labor here employed.

These facts, easily ascertained by observation, inquiry, and investigation, are illustrated by the experience of this country during the past quarter of a century under a protective tariff, and by the present comparative prices of many articles of domestic and foreign production in their respective home markets, and verified by the exportation during the last fiscal year of our manufactured products alone of the value of nearly $137,000,000, which necessarily competed in the foreign markets to which they were sent, and largely in Great Britain, France, and Germany, with similar merchandise of foreign manufacture.

The chief object and effect of a protective tariff, beyond the raising of required revenue, is to preserve and enable a country and its people to profit by such advantages, natural or acquired, as they may possess.

The discreet and sagacious statesman will endeavor to shape and direct legislation with special and practical reference to the conditions and necessities affecting that country and its people, whose interests are committed to his charge. Legislation relating to taxation is essentially a business question, involving considerations of existing circumstances, situation, and surroundings, as well as of policy and sound principles, and the wise adaptation of its application in detail to the end of securing the most desirable and advantageous practical results.

The effect of a free-trade policy in Great Britain, or of a protective tariff in Germany, or of a wall of prohibition in China, can at best serve only as indications of the probable result of similar policies adopted here; and viewed in that light even can be properly suggestive only in so far as existing circumstances, situation and surrounding, are similar.

As times and circumstances change the wisest policy of to-day may not be the wisest policy in the not distant future. Even those who claim that English free trade is the best economic policy for Great Britain to-day can not but admit that her long-continued adherence in the past to a protective policy, amounting at times and in many respects to absolute prohibition of foreign commerce, afforded the opportunity and the cause of the development and perfection of her immense and diversified industries, the accumulation of her vast capital, and her present ability, through those advantages, to compete so strongly in manufacturing with the other countries of the world. Great Britain did not enter upon her career of free trade and open her markets to general foreign competition until she found herself able, as she believed, to compete in cheapness of production with the nations of the world. In that respect at least we may well profit by her example.

I charge that this bill is a free-trade measure, because it ignores and seeks to overthrow the protective tariff "system." It is not an assault, as military men would say, "all along the line," but an attack "in detail," with the evident hope and expectation of separating the forces of protection and preventing their combined and co-operating resistance.

One may well estimate its character from a knowledge of its authors, its supporters, and its friends, none of whom entitle it to the confidence of those who believe in a protective policy. It was framed under the leadership and to the satisfaction of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS], who has long been an undisguised enemy of protection; and its provisions are believed to have been inspired, if not dictated, in many respects, by that active agent of the English importers, the "Parsee Merchant," who, during the opening speech in this debate of the leader of the Democracy, beamed so gaily upon him from the Speaker's gallery.

Both the President's message and the pending bill have been hailed with delight by the free-trade press of England, already largely quoted in this debate, and by free-traders in and out of the Cobden Club, at home and abroad.

Listen to the voice of the Standard, the avowed free-trade organ of that dangerous theorist, Henry George. It characterizes the speech of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] in support of the bill as "a manly, vigorous, and most effective free-trade speech." And referring to the argument of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. MCMILLIN], it says:

> This is not talking tariff reduction. It is talking free trade.

And in further reference to the situation developed by the bill and the pending debate:

> It is now certain that protectionists like Messrs. Charles A. Dana and SAMUEL J. RANDALL will ere long have to "eat crow" or go over formally to the Republican party.

And again:

The debate on the Mills bill is going along bravely in the House, Democrats and Republicans speaking alternately. Or rather, it should be said free-traders and protectionists alternate, for it is evident in the House, as through the country, that political distinctions that for some time have meant nothing are passing away, and that the real political contest this year is to be between protection and free-trade. Mr. FORAN, of Ohio, is the first so-called Democrat to break away in the debate from the tariff policy of his party.

The bill under consideration, moreover, is grossly discriminating, partisan, and sectional. Prepared in secret session by the partisan majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentlemen from Texas, Tennessee, Arkansas, Kentucky, Georgia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Indiana; without consultation with their colleagues upon that committee; all hearings refused; the right of petition practically denied, and the voice of New England and the great North and Northwest insolently silenced; framed upon no definite theory except with the purpose of striking the most effective blow at the protective system which circumstances would permit; and pushed, as it continues and will continue to be, by the "log-rolling" method of making all needful concessions to obtain a Democratic majority sufficient to secure its passage, the bill is a "vicious, inequitable, and illogical" aggregation of inharmonious provisions and principles. Compare the treatment extended by this incongruous bill to some of the great products of the country, and tell me, if you can, any just reason for these monstrous discriminations. Has not wool been put upon the free-list because it had no defender among the majority of the committee; while soft coal and iron-ore, in which the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], a member of that majority, is so largely interested, is to remain protected by an ample tariff duty? Does it not propose to remove all duty from salt, the product of New York and Michigan, and to retain a protective duty upon sugar, the special product of Democratic Louisiana? And can any gentleman tell me of any instance in which the rule I have indicated has been reversed?

Salt, perhaps as satisfactorily as any of our productions, illustrates the result of protection in developing an industry and cheapening the cost of its product to the consumer.

The salt product of Michigan in 1860 was only 4,000 barrels, and it sold for $2.35 per barrel, the barrel costing 20 cents. Protected by a duty upon imported salt, the quantity of salt produced in Michigan constantly increased, while its price as continuously diminished, until in 1887 its product amounted to 4,200,000 barrels, selling for 58 cents per barrel, including the 20 cents which the barrel cost!

The propriety of retaining a protective duty upon sugar, considered from the standpoint of a protectionist, is regarded by many protectionists as questionable; for although our sugar-producers have had the opportunity afforded by many continuous years of protection they have as yet utterly failed to supply any considerable part of the sugar consumed by our people.

In this respect they are sadly in contrast with the producers of salt and protected products generally.

During the last fiscal year less than one-tenth of the sugar required for home consumption was of domestic production, and consequently sugar was imported in that year of the enormous value of nearly $69,000,000, import duties upon which were collected by the Government amounting to over fifty-six and one-half millions of dollars, a tax of over 82 per cent. ad valorem to the consumers, and contributing that immense sum toward the increase of what is called the surplus in the Treasury.

Is it surprising that the inquiry should be frequent as to the propriety of continuing protection to an industry which has so feebly illustrated its claim to be included within the principles upon which the system and policy of protection are founded; and as to why any necessary reduction of the surplus revenues might not well begin with the removal of the duties on sugar, thus relieving our people from a tax upon such enormous imports of one of the most common and necessary articles of food, consumed in every household?

I freely confess that, in my opinion, the protective duty upon sugar has been one of the least defensible of any within the tariff schedules. I say "has been;" for the recent results of continued experiments seem to indicate, and perhaps make certain, that the practical and economical manufacture of sugar from sorghum is nearly or quite an accomplished fact; and the ability to satisfactorily manufacture beet sugar in this country has been recognized by no less an authority than Mr. Claus Spreckles, who is already preparing to establish a plant and enter upon its manufacture in California. Both sorghum and sugar beets can be raised throughout large areas of our territory and in many of the States; and the present outlook is exceedingly promising for the production within the United States, at no very distant period, of sufficient sugar to supply, at a low price, the entire demands of our people.

Guided by the information now at my command, I am not prepared to concede that the sugar industry is not now entitled to continued protection, either by the retention of protective duties or, which might be better and more economical to our people, by the payment of a bounty upon domestic sugar—a policy adopted by both France and Germany, and resulting there in securing immense production at an extremely low cost.

Protectionists at least should appreciate the value and importance of establishing such great industries, not only increasing the diversity of our occupations and affording employment to those directly engaged in the manufacture, but also furnishing employment to all the artisans, mechanics, and laborers engaged in the erection of suitable buildings, preparing the required facilities, and constructing the necessary machinery for the manufacture; to the farmer and those from whom he obtains his additional labor and supplies needed for the preparation and tilling of his land, planting and gathering his crop, and furnishing the sorghum cane and beets for the manufacture, and to those numerous trades and occupations which are benefited by the establishment of new industries and the profitable employment therein of those who must procure from them the necessaries and luxuries of home and food and clothing and the numerous articles which are required for comfort and convenience.

As a protectionist, and having faith in the system of protection and its beneficent results when properly applied in accordance with the principles upon which it is based, I would not willingly see any American industry which can exhibit just claims to be included within its principles refused the reasonable and needed protection which that system should properly afford.

My intention, therefore, in criticising the preservation by the pending bill of the protective duty on sugar is rather to direct attention to the discrimination exhibited in favor of a product of Louisiana utterly inconsistent with the alleged principles upon which the bill was framed, and in significant contrast with its removal of all duty from salt and other Northern products.

The same course of dealing is illustrated in the provisions of the bill concerning hoop-iron and cotton-ties, a duty being retained upon hoop-iron, while cotton-ties, made of hoop-iron and exclusively used by the cotton planters and packers of the South, are to be admitted free of duty. And Southern rice, now protected by a duty ranging from 71½ to 134½ per cent., remains highly protected, but Northern potatoes, beans, and peas are placed upon the free-list.

I have been persuaded by this debate, more fully than ever before, that the confession of General Hancock, which at the time excited some amusement, that "the tariff is simply a local issue," is literally true from the average Democratic standpoint! It has been abundantly exemplified during this debate.

No more earnest argument, perhaps, in favor of protection has been made during the debate than in the speech of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DIBBLE]; but it was entirely devoted and applied to the necessity of a protective duty on rice, the local product in which his constituents were specially interested. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILKINSON] was earnest, argumentative, and pathetic; but his powers were entirely expended in advocating a protective duty on sugar, the local product of his own section, that the great industry of his State might not be destroyed. And, in the same manner, I might specify the efforts of other gentlemen on the Democratic side of the House, each recognizing the justice and necessity of protecting, by the imposition of proper tariff duties, his own local products, but unable or unwilling to understand the applicability of the same principles to other products of other localities!

Come up higher, gentlemen! From this broad Republican platform on which I stand, you will be able to see and appreciate this magnificent Republic of ours, large enough and grand enough in territory and population and resources and material interests to demand a comprehensive national policy and administration of her affairs, free from the influences of petty selfishness and narrow partisanship, born of local jealousy and sectionalism.

What I argue, and what I insist upon is that some principle should govern the provisions of a bill regulating a great system of national taxation, and that legislators competent to deal with the subject, and exercising wisdom and sincerity in the performance of that duty, would not stultify themselves by presenting to this House a bill teeming with propositions so "vicious, inequitable, and illogical" as those which stare at us from the pages of the bill now under consideration. If the principle of protection is wrong and ineffective for the purposes claimed by its advocates, as has been fervently insisted by so many of you orators upon the Democratic side, why do you cling to it with such unrelaxing tenacity, supporting your claims by "protection" arguments for the protection of your own local, pet industries? And if the principle is patriotic, correct, and right, what do you mean that we should understand by your support of such a bill as this?

Have you not the courage of your convictions; or have you no convictions?

I have said this bill is an attack "in detail" upon the protective system. The removal of any stone from a properly constructed edifice impairs the stability of the structure; tear out the keystone, and the self-supporting arch falls.

Wool was selected for the free-list, not because it is less entitled to protection than soft coal, iron ore, rice, or sugar, nor because it has not abundantly justified its claims to be included within the protective system, for under the stimulus of that system the production of domestic wool has steadily increased while its quality has continuously improved, until we have grown to be the second only among the wool-producing countries of the world; but because it was believed that the scattered sheep-farmers could scarcely concentrate to defend their industry; that by such fallacious arguments as have been here urged, the people might be led to consent to the proposition; and, perhaps,

above all, for the reason that it was imagined that the woolen manufacturers would eagerly seize the bait of "free wool" and unite in the attack, and that thereby the just and practical line of defense of the protective system would be irrecoverably broken. It was a cunning scheme, and manipulated with much dexterity, but it will fail of its purpose.

Woolen manufactures are among the largest and most important industries of my State, and I may properly claim to represent them here. There are some forty-odd woolen manufacturers in Rhode Island, all of whom, with the exception of four or five, have united in a communication to our Congressional delegation in earnest opposition to the removal of the protective duty on wool, and I am assured that they correctly express the sentiments of the woolen manufacturers generally throughout the country.

Gentlemen of the Democracy, you must seek elsewhere for allies in your campaigns against American industries and the system under the protection of which they and the country with them have attained their present growth and prosperity.

In this connection, let me also inform the supporters of this bill that their endeavors are not agreeably appreciated by the farmers of my State, who strenuously object to the placing upon the free-list the foreign agricultural products which are imported to compete with the products of their farms; and that I have received their petitions, not only demanding a protective duty on wool, but also on potatoes, onions, barley, cabbages, hay, hops, beans, peas, eggs, poultry, and other agricultural productions. The intelligent farmers of our country, as fully as any portion of our people, recognize the benefits flowing from the enforcement of a protective policy, and appreciate the advantages of an economic system which has prevented the overcrowding of the ranks of agriculturists and has given them a home market for more than 90 per cent. of their crops.

A studious effort has been made during this debate, both by the advocates of this bill in the House and by the partisan Democratic press of the country, to obscure the direct issues necessarily presented and to confuse the public mind concerning the two great systems of taxation from which the revenues of the Government are derived, and their purposes, application, and results, or it might be unnecessary for me, in this representative assembly of the nation, to state and discuss so largely, as that course of dealing with the questions involved compels, the details and elementary principles to which I feel obliged to refer.

Our two great systems of taxation, the principal sources of our national revenues, are the tariff and the internal revenue. The tariff duties are levied only upon goods and merchandise imported from foreign countries, being the taxes imposed by our Government upon foreign products for the privilege granted them of entering our home markets. During the whole course of our history, the revenues required for the support of our Government have been chiefly derived from such tariff duties.

If the foreign producer or importer reimburses himself wholly or in part (as he is not always able to do) for the taxes he is compelled to pay as tariff duties, he must do so by adding the amount of such taxes, or so much of the same as the market will admit, to the price at which he sells his goods here; and the whole or part of such taxes, so added, is usually (but not always) paid by the consumer of such foreign goods. But no goods or merchandise produced within the United States are subject to any tariff tax or duty, and consequently no consumer or purchaser of domestic productions pays thereon any tariff tax. The prices of our home products of all kinds are regulated here by competition, the rivalry in which is so keen that such products can seldom, for any considerable period of time, command a price in excess of what they should fairly receive and closely approximating to their actual cost.

The charge so frequently heard from the free-trader that the same percentage of tariff duty which is levied on foreign-made blankets, cloths, and other imported articles is also added to the price here of similar products of home manufacture (which, remember, are subject to and pay no tariff duty whatsoever), and that such addition to the price is paid by the purchaser and consumer of such articles of domestic manufacture, is but reckless assertion and wild declamation, too frequently refuted in this debate to require further serious attention.

No sensible man who looks about him and compares the prices in our home markets of similar foreign and domestic goods believes or finds reason to believe such a charge.

The internal-revenue system is of an entirely different character and deals with an entirely different method of taxation. Internal-revenue taxes are levied entirely upon home products and domestic interests, and at present include taxes upon spirits and fermented liquors, tobacco, and oleomargarine produced and manufactured in this country, and upon bank circulation; and during the last fiscal year such taxes amounted to nearly $119,000,000, of which about ninety-six millions were derived from spirits, fermented liquors, and tobacco, all of domestic production.

Imported spirits, liquors, and tobacco, including imported cigars and cigarettes, pay taxes, when imported, under the tariff laws, in the same manner as other foreign imports; and their cost would be affected in no respect by changes or repeal of the internal-revenue laws.

The internal-revenue taxes imposed by existing laws are the remnant of that immense system of internal-revenue taxation, under which the enormous sums were collected from taxes upon manufactures, incomes, banks, professions, and almost every industry and possible object of taxation, to supply the Government with the vast revenues needed for carrying on the great war for the Union.

Under Republican administration, and during the years succeeding the war, while that party controlled the affairs of the Government, the burden of these war taxes was removed as speedily as circumstances permitted from the business and industries of the people, and that party now believes that a certain reduction of our surplus revenues could be most judiciously effected by a further removal of internal-revenue taxation. If the revenue therefrom is not required for the purposes of the Government, I know of no good reason why the internal-revenue taxes on tobacco grown by our own farmers, manufactured by our domestic industries, and sold by our home merchants, should not be free from taxation. An absolute reduction in our annual revenues of $30,000,000 could be made by repealing the laws imposing internal-revenue taxes on tobacco.

Alcohol is largely used in the arts and manufactures; and its cost therefore is a matter of material consequence, affecting many interests.

We must not permit ourselves to be confused by the introduction of the temperance question; for, in the first place, the leaders in the temperance cause believe that their cause would be promoted by the removal of all internal-revenue taxes from spirits and liquors, thereby withdrawing from the liquor manufacturers and liquor dealers the protection and support which, it is claimed, the internal-revenue taxation affords; and secondly, and more pertinently to the question under consideration, free alcohol for the arts and manufactures is one thing, and free spirits and liquors for a beverage, or "free whisky and free rum," quite another and a very different one. The taxes paid during the last fiscal year on alcohol used in the arts and manufactures (adopting the estimate of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue) amounted to $10,620,000, a very considerable burden upon our industries and an entirely unnecessary tax of about 600 per cent. ad valorem upon such alcohol, unrequired by the Government, and which could be safely remitted by a judicious amendment of the internal-revenue laws without in the slightest degree assisting toward the supply of "free" or untaxed "whisky and rum" or any other spirits or liquors.

I think I should also correct an error which appears to be prevalent among those who carelessly draw their information, or perhaps I should say misinformation, from unauthentic sources. I refer to the incorrect and misleading statements which have been promulgated as to the pledges of the Republican party, in their national platform of 1884, touching the tariff and the surplus.

Here is the declaration. It speaks for itself, and in no uncertain language:

> The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious, indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the productive interests of the country.

Like all Republican pledges, it means what it says, and is the same patriotic declaration of adherence to the protective-tariff principle which its representatives upon this floor continue to reiterate.

The "irregularities of the tariff" should be corrected and the surplus reduced; but the tax-payer can not be relieved "without injuring the laborer or the productive interests of the country" by the passage of any such bill as is now before us.

The surplus would be reduced by a correction of the "irregularities of the tariff," of which the discrimination in favor of imported worsteds is a notable instance, and by the removal of internal-revenue taxes from domestic tobacco and alcohol used in the arts and manufactures; and some changes in rates of duty upon imported merchandise, and some additions to the free-list, without violation of the principles underlying the protective system, might well be made with advantage to all interests concerned. But the bill under consideration, framed and pressed by the enemies of protection, is of a widely-different character, and, as I have already urged, threatens the perpetuity of a system upon which our industrial prosperity and the advantageous employment of our labor are founded.

It is extremely doubtful, moreover, whether the pending bill, if enacted into law, would effect any reduction in the revenues of the Government, while it is very certain that the increased importation resulting from reduced tariff duties upon many classes of merchandise would largely increase the sum received in tariff duties from such classes of imports, and to that extent increase the revenues and tend to the increase of the surplus.

I admonish my Democratic friends, bewildered by the sight (so unusual to Democratic eyes) of an overflowing Treasury, that the only safe, proper, and judicious method of effecting any required reduction in the surplus is within the lines and subject to the broad and patriotic policy which I have indicated.

You of the Democratic majority who are now attempting to force upon the country undemanded legislation, inimical to American labor and American industries, may not be converted to the doctrine which I advocate; but if not, I am confident that a majority of your successors, sent in your place by intelligent constituencies, will assist in repairing any injuries you may have inflicted upon our system of American protection, and will unite with us of the present minority in controlling

legislation for the preservation of those important interests you so inconsiderately assail.

I am confident that we who in the past have fought the battles of protection will no longer fight our battles alone. An intelligent appreciation of the importance of our cause is alive and alert in localities heretofore controlled by the dogmas and theories which wisdom and larger experience have disproved.

No mine has been opened, no furnace, mill, or factory put in operation; no great industry started and developed in those localities which has not afforded a practical demonstration of the advantages and necessity of our protective system. From the industrial centers of the new South come the same earnest demands for the preservation of that system as are heard from the busy, flourishing industries of the North.

The venerable Senator from Georgia [Mr. BROWN], wiser and more farseeing than his colleagues in this House, catching the inspiration borne to him from the industrial sections of his own State, pleads for the system through which prosperity is promised to his people.

The cattle-men of Texas, more sagacious than their Representative here, who they assert fails to properly represent his district or his State upon the questions at issue, at their recent convention at Waco, Tex., passed resolutions condemnatory of his course, from which I quote:

Forsaken by our Representative, we urge upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to work against the Mills bill, and we call upon all good men from other States to protect Texas, if her own Representatives fail to do so.

And—

Protection on raw wool is purely a protection to the producer, the farmer, as well as the sheepman, and should be maintained.

Sympathizing with an unrepresented constituency, I cheerfully respond to the call of the cattlemen of Texas, and assure them that I will endeavor to assist in protecting the interest of their State, in common with the interests of every State, from the application of the dangerous theories of men, of whom it is charity to admit "They know not what they do."

From the same State I have also received a "political tract," by C. L. Edwards, esq., of the Ellis County bar, an ex-Confederate—an earnest, able, and exceedingly interesting advocacy of the American protective system, giving assurance that the free-traders will not hereafter hold undisputed possession of the Texan field.

The message of the President, the pending bill, and the present debate have clearly developed the issue upon which the approaching national campaign will be contested. The opposing lines are being distinctly drawn and the antagonistic forces marshaled.

"Protection to American industries and American labor" will be the inspiring motto upon the Republican banner; and to its support must gather all patriotic citizens, irrespective of former political affiliations, who believe in maintaining our protective-tariff policy, in preserving American wages for our own labor and the American markets for our own producers; whose plan of reforming the tariff and reducing the surplus contemplates no impairment of the system or principles of protection. We can hope for no reform or reduction, within the limitations of that wise and sagacious policy, from those who have prepared and are advocating the passage of this "vicious, inequitable, and illogical" bill.

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

The work of revision can be safely intrusted to the friends only of a protective-tariff system. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chairman, if I have any time remaining I yield it to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ROMEIS].

Admission of Dakota.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM WARNER.

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 28, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9377) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. WARNER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: On Tuesday last, during the general debate on this bill, the chairman of the Committee on Territories [Mr. SPRINGER] addressed the House in reply to the speeches of the gentleman from New York [Mr. BAKER] and the gentleman from Dakota [Mr. GIFFORD] on the admission of Dakota. In his remarks he claimed that in the consideration of the claims of Dakota and other Territories for admission as States he was uninfluenced by partisan considerations; that to all appeals and suggestions of a partisan character he "turned a deaf ear;" that although tempted he stood firm on a non-partisan plane in these Territorial matters.

Being a plain, ordinary man, of like prejudices of other men, it may be impossible for me to rise to the gentleman's non-partisan platform. Should I claim to do so, as many at least would believe in my sincerity as did in the gentleman's.

That which the gentleman claims for himself I have no right to question, but when he claims that the Democratic party is in favor of "the admission of Dakota into the Union at this time as a State," I must take issue with him and question the sincerity of the statement. He said:

So far as regards the admission of Dakota into the Union, I want to call the attention of both sides of the House to the fact that the only party in this House or in the Territory of Dakota that is favoring the admission of Dakota into the Union at this time as a State is the Democratic party.

The accuracy of this statement can be successfull challenged. They action of the Democratic party in this and past Congresses controverts the gentleman's claim for it. If it be true that the gentleman and his party are in favor of the "admission of Dakota into the Union at this time as a State," why, I ask, did he strangle the bill he introduced for that purpose? Why did he let his bill for the admission of Dakota as a State die, that the "omnibus" bill, making the admission of Dakota at this time depend upon the admission into the Union as States at this time the Territories of Montana, Washington, and New Mexico, might live? Why link her claims for statehood with the claims of three other Territories? Why did he not report back to the House with a favorable recommendation the bill which he introduced, which would have given members an opportunity to vote upon the question of the admission of Dakota as a distinct and independent proposition.

The Democratic party stands pledged by caucus resolution to refuse consideration of any bill for the admission of Dakota unless Washington, Montana, and New Mexico are yoked to her.

Further on the gentleman contended with much earnestness that the Democratic party in Dakota was not in favor of the division of that Territory and that it had so recorded itself. I then asked him this question:

Did it not appear before the Committee on Territories that the Republican and Democratic conventions which nominated Delegates to Congress passed resolutions in favor of the division of Dakota?

And received from the gentleman this answer:

The Democratic convention of 1886 passed a resolution in favor of submitting the question of division to a vote of the people.

It might be inferred from this answer that the resolution named contained the record of the Democratic party of Dakota on division, while the facts are that every convention of that party from 1871 down to and including 1886 placed a plank in its platform favoring division. If the gentleman's statements that the Democratic party in Dakota does not favor division be true, then that party stands convicted of disingenuousness. No convention of that party in Dakota, including the one that assembled a few weeks since, has ever passed a resolution against division. Let the record of the Democratic party in Dakota speak for itself.

In its convention in 1886 to nominate a Delegate to Congress the leading candidates were Day, an open, earnest advocate of division, and Johnson, the recognized champion of the one State men. The issue joined was the division of the Territory. Upon this issue the lines were drawn. The contest resulted in the nomination of Mr. Day by a pronounced majority. The convention then adopted the resolution referred to by the gentleman from Illinois. It reads:

That we favor the submission to a vote of the people of the whole Territory the question of the division of the Territory.

The convention had nominated a candidate in favor of division, and asked an expression of the people on that issue.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DOCKERY was recognized, and yielded his time to Mr. WARNER.

Mr. WARNER. The fact is, Mr. Chairman, that both of the great political parties in Dakota are pledged by platform after platform to the cause of division. The Democratic party of that Territory, with characteristic modesty claim to be the "originator, fosterer, and promoter of division." They have asseverated and reasseverated this from one end of the Territory to the other. The history of the Democratic party in Dakota is one in direct opposition to the position taken by the gentleman from Illinois. I send its record to the Clerk's desk to be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF DAKOTA ON DIVISION—VOTES OF ALL THEIR CONVENTIONS—DIVISION AN ORIGINAL DEMOCRATIC MEASURE.

[From the Huron Herald-Democrat (Democratic).]

Inasmuch as the question of division of the Territory of Dakota is now before Congress, and as Ordway, Johnson, and other self-constituted leaders of the Democratic party here are endeavoring to make Congress believe that the Democrats are opposed to the division of the Territory, and in favor of admission as a whole, the Democrat proposes to give the attitude of this party upon this important question in the past, so that all may be informed on the subject.

At the Territorial Democratic convention which assembled at Bon Homme July 18, 1872, and which nominated Moses K. Armstrong for Delegate in Congress, who was afterwards elected to his second term, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That a division of the Territory should be made, giving to the settlement of Dakota a separate and distinct Territorial government north of the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude."

At the Territorial Democratic convention held at Elk Point, August 20, 1874,

in which W. A. Burleigh was nominated for Delegate in Congress, the following resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That we believe the best interests of the public demand the erection of a new Territory out of that portion of Dakota lying north of the forty-sixth parallel, and we pledge the influence of the Democratic party to secure the organization of such new Territory."

At the Territorial anti-monopoly convention held at the same time and place, and which also nominated Dr. Burleigh for Delegate, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the organization of a new Territory out of the northern portion of Dakota at the earliest possible day."

The Territorial Democratic convention held at Yankton, July 6, 1876, which nominated Hon. S. L. Spink for Delegate in Congress, adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we earnestly favor the organization of a new Territory out of the northern part of Dakota, and believe that such organization will largely tend to enhance the interests of the people of both sections

In the Territorial convention which nominated Bartlett Tripp for Delegate in 1878 no expression upon the division question was made. In the convention of 1880, which nominated M. L. McCormack for delegate, it is asserted by those who were present that a division resolution was passed, but the record is not available.

In 1882 the Democrats of Dakota assembled in Territorial convention at Mitchell, and after nominating W.E. Steele, of Deadwood, for Delegate, adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the division of Dakota on the forty-sixth parallel and retaining the present name of Dakota for the south half.

In 1884, at Sioux Falls, where the Territorial Democracy in convention assembled nominated John R. Wilson, of Deadwood, for Delegate, the resolutions adopted embraced the following:

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the division of the Territory on the seventh standard parallel, and appeal to the Democratic members of Congress to favor such division."

At the last Democratic Territorial convention, held at Aberdeen September 30, 1886, in which Hon. M. H. Day was nominated for Delegate in Congress, plank No. 7 in the platform of principles adopted was as follows:

"That we favor the submission to a vote of the people of the whole Territory the question of the division of the Territory on the seventh standard parallel."

This is the consistent, outspoken attitude of the Democratic party of Dakota for fourteen years upon the question of division. This party has been the originator, fosterer, and promoter of division. The unselfish, thoughtful Democrats who have resided here for years, and who have studied the needs and wishes of the whole people of this Territory, have pronounced time and again for division. The last Democratic convention elected its chairman upon the issue of division, nominated its candidate for Delegate upon the same issue, and came very near electing him. Every man who attended the Aberdeen convention of September 30, 1886, remembers that W. I. Quigley was nominated by the one-State men for temporary chairman. The divisionists put up Hon. John R. Wilson, who was elected by an overwhelming majority. When it came to the selection of a candidate for Delegate the same question was presented. It was a trial of the strength of the divisionists and anti-divisionists. What was the result? On the informal ballot L. G. Johnson, who represented the one-State men, received 70 votes; M. H. Day, who represented the two-State men, received 204 votes; and D. W. Maratta received 69 votes. On the formal ballot Mr. Day received 228 votes, D. W. Maratta 76 votes, and L. G. Johnson 4 votes, most of the Johnson men voting for Maratta.

Thus it will be seen that every time this question has been before the Democratic party of this Territory, in whatever form, the party has pronounced emphatically for division.

When the resolution favoring the submission of the question to a vote of the people passed the Aberdeen convention every good and true Democrat was bound to stand by the result. And what was the result? In favor of division by nearly 5,000 majority.

Mr. WARNER. "This," says the article just read, "is the consistent, outspoken attitude of the Democratic party of Dakota for fourteen years on the question of division." I commend to the careful consideration of the gentleman from Illinois this further extract from Democratic authority: "'The unselfish, thoughtful Democrats who have resided here for years, and who have studied the needs and wishes of the whole people of this Territory have pronounced time and again for division." And also the following: "When the resolution favoring the submission of the question (division) to a vote of the people passed the Aberdeen convention every good and true Democrat was bound to stand by the result." They invited an expression of the people as to division, the people by their votes answered by a pronounced majorityagainst the one-State men and in favor of division. Common fairness and every-day honesty would seem to say to Democrats in Congress and Dakota, stand by the result. Yet the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] bitterly opposes the will of the people of Dakota oft expressed, and attempts to justify his opposition on the ground that the people of Dakota are against division. In this he is certainly mistaken. If human evidence can establish any given fact, it has settled the question as to the wishes of the people of Dakota on the division issue.

To ascertain public sentiment—the will of the people—we go to party platforms, to legislative enactments, and to the ballot-box. From each of these sources of information unmistakable evidence is obtained that the people of Dakota favor division—evidence that can not be overcome by the mere dicta of any gentleman in or out of Congress.

In January, 1871, Dakota, through her Legislative Assembly, unanimously memorialized Congress for a division of the Territory. Similar memorials were passed by her Legislature in 1872, 1874, 1877, and 1881. In 1885 her Legislative Assembly again passed a memorial asking for division, giving reasons therefor. This I send to Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

To the honorable the Congress of the United States:

The Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota respectfully represents: That the people of this Territory earnestly desire the passage of the bill now pending in the House of Representatives, providing for the admission of the southern portion of Dakota as a State and for the creation of a separate Territory from the northern portion thereof, dividing the same on the seventh standard parallel, according to Government survey, or the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude, in the discretion of Congress.

The desire for division is so universal, and the reasons for it so apparent, that the people of this Territory have believed and still believe that this measure of justice can not be refused them.

The probable division of the Territory has been considered in the Territorial conventions of both political parties at every meeting for the last thirteen years, and these conventions, in almost every instance, without a dissenting voice, have universally declared in favor of division.

The Legislative Assembly of the Territory has repeatedly memorialized your honorable bodies for division.

Public institutions have been located and built with a view to division.

Conventions have been held in each section to promote division, and delegations have been appointed to go to the capital of the United States to labor for division. The people of the Territory have employed every possible form of respectful petition for division.

The population and area of the Territory justify division, and refusing it leaves both sections in an unsettled condition and operates to the serious disadvantage of both. The area of the Territory is greater than the united areas of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland.

The population of the Territory, as shown by its vote, by the public lands occupied, by its postal and internal revenues, and by its banking and other interests, is not less than 450,000, and there is good reason for believing it amounts to 500,000.

The population of the southern portion, for which admission is asked, can not now fall much short of 300,000, and will very soon exceed that figure.

The climate, surface, and soil of the Territory are as well adapted to agricultural pursuits and the ordinary industries of the North as are the climate, surface, and soil of Illinois and Iowa.

The people of the Territory have as great regard for the rights of others, and smart as keenly under a sense of injustice, as those of any other Territory or State.

The revenues paid into the United States Treasury by the people of Dakota, and all statistics attainable, prove that the population and material interests of the Territory are sufficiently great to justify this consideration at your hands.

No difficulty can arise as to the apportionment of the public debt of the Territory, as it was wholly created for the erection of public buildings, and the bonds clearly show for what purpose issued. Those issued for public buildings in that part of the Territory south of the forty-sixth parallel should be paid by the southern division of the Territory, and those issued for public buildings erected north should be paid by the northern division of the Territory.

The union of the two sections in one State would be unnatural, and would lead to endless difficulties.

The division prayed for is wise. It will quiet unrest, prevent difficulties and misunderstandings, which will arise if it is not granted, and will promote the interests of both sections.

And although the people of all Dakota are earnestly in favor of the admission of the southern half as a State, still they will hail with joy division only; and if asking for admission of the southern half as a State will in any manner delay division, then we earnestly request division without the admission prayed for, at the earliest possible time.

And for your favorable consideration hereof your memorialists will ever pray.

Approved February 2, 1885.

Mr. WARNER. Is it not strange—passing strange—that in the face of all this evidence, any one should have the hardihood to claim that the people of Dakota are opposed to division? To do so is to impugn their honesty or question their intelligence. They have given expression to their wishes in every way possible, at the ballot-box, in legislative resolutions and memorials, and in the platforms of both the great parties year after year they have declared in favor of division. Yet we are seriously told they do not want division, that the opinions expressed in party platforms, legislative action, and at the ballot-box misrepresent the real wishes of the good people of Dakota. I wish to introduce a bit more evidence. The Forty-ninth Congress—that is the Democratic House—having failed to act on the bill to admit Dakota into the Union, either as one or two States, the last Legislative Assembly of that Territory adopted the following joint resolution:

Be it resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota, That the proposition to divide the Territory of Dakota on the seventh standard parallel is hereby indorsed, and that the oft-repeated expressions of the representatives of the people of Dakota of adherence to the cause of division are hereby renewed and reaffirmed.

That each half of Dakota is entitled to membership in the Federal Union and should be admitted without further unnecessary delay, the southern half bearing the name of South Dakota and the northern half of North Dakota.

This is the appeal of the Legislative Assembly of Dakota on behalf of a long-suffering people, asking for division and admission. With them the necessity for Territorial government no longer exists. The people of Dakota are the equals in intelligence, energy, thrift, and morals of the people of any State of the Union. They have demonstrated their fitness for and ability to maintain State government. Why longer deny them the right of "home rule?"

Sir, it is not my purpose at this time to enter into any extended argument to sustain the just claims of Dakota to be admitted into the Union as two States. This question has been fully covered in an exhaustive and learned argument by my colleague on the committee from New York [Mr. BAKER]. Hereafter, when the so-called "omnibus" bill comes up for consideration, I shall avail myself of submitting some remarks on that question. At present I have neither the disposition nor the time to do so.

I now return to the assertion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] that the Democratic party is in favor of admitting Dakota as one State.

This broad assertion is not justified by the action of the Democratic majority of the Committee on Territories. If this charge were made against that party by its bitterest enemy no evidence could be produced to sustain it. I venture the assertion that the gentleman is not in favor of admitting Dakota into the Union either as a whole or when divided into two States. If the gentleman is in favor of admitting Dakota, he is present and will certainly correct me.

Mr. SPRINGER. I will correct you. I am in favor of the immediate admission of Dakota into the Union as a State.

Mr. WARNER. Will the gentleman vote for the Senate bill to admit Dakota, or for any bill for that purpose without tacking some other Territory to it?

Mr. SPRINGER. I will vote for any bill that admits Dakota into the Union as one State, either now or hereafter at any time.

Mr. WARNER. I am glad that the gentleman has made that statement, but his action in this House does not bear it out.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have reported a bill for the purpose.

Mr. WARNER. The gentleman is always sincere, and he is just as sincere in the declaration he has just made as he was in the one he made the other day when he stated that he rises above mere party in these matters of admitting new States into the Union. He says he has reported a bill for the admission of Dakota. Is not the gentleman mistaken?

The fact is he has not at this session reported favorably to the House as an independent proposition any bill for the admission of Dakota either as a whole or as two States. The bill reported by the majority, through the chairman [Mr. SPRINGER], is the "omnibus" bill. This bill makes the admission of Dakota conditional and dependent upon the admission of three other Territories as States at the time Dakota is admitted. Under this bill as reported you can not vote for the admission of Dakota without at the same time voting for the admission of Washington, Montana, and New Mexico. It is to the support of this bill that the Democratic majority of the House is bound by caucus resolutions. It is not proposed to permit a separate vote on whether or not Dakota shall be admitted. The proposition of the gentleman and the majority of this House to the friends of Dakota is that she shall not be admitted unless we admit into the Union with her New Mexico and two other Territories.

Mr. STRUBLE. All Democratic.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois, was recognized, and yielded his time to Mr. WARNER.

Mr. WARNER. I am under obligations to my friend [Mr. HOPKINS].

Mr. Chairman, in the Committee on Territories, as the reports will show, there was no division of opinion as to Washington Territory, there was no division of opinion as to Montana. A part of the committee did believe that Dakota should be admitted as one State, another part believed that it should be divided as asked for by her people and admitted as two States. As to New Mexico, the Delegate from that Territory was a member of the committee. No bill for the admission of New Mexico as a State of this Union was offered by him. The governor of New Mexico and delegations of leading citizens from that Territory were before the committee asking legislation on various matters, but the idea of its admission as a State at this time seemed never to have entered into the mind of man until the distinguished chairman conceived and reported the "omnibus" bill to this House, and, as far as the committee know, nobody in the Territory of New Mexico asked for it.

While Dakota, Montana, and Washington Territories were earnestly pressing their claims for admission into the sisterhood of States New Mexico was silent. She neither asked for nor did she give any reasons why she should be admitted at this time. Yet she is joined in the "omnibus" bill with the Territories named. What other reason than a purely partisan one can be given for this action? Certain it was not to secure early or even favorable action upon any bill for the admission of Dakota, for which the distinguished chairman [Mr. SPRINGER] assures the House and the country he is so anxious. Was it to secure statehood for either Montana or Washington? No; for there was no opposition to the admission of either of those Territories. No member of the committee demanded or even requested that action on either of them should depend upon the admission or rejection of any other Territory. This although each of those Territories was supposed to be Democratic, being represented on the floor of this House by Democrats.

The action of the Republican members of the Committee on Territories demonstrated that at least they were as fee from partisan consideration as the distinguished chairman [Mr. SPRINGER.]

The reason for yoking New Mexico and Dakota together is, I fear, not a non-partisan one.

These Territories have but little in common. It is unjust to thus link them together. It does not advance New Mexico, but amounts to a denial of justice to Dakota.

It is difficult to conceive of two communities whose claims for admission into the Union are more dissimilar than those of Dakota and New Mexico. Yet the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] would have us believe that the yoking together of those Territories is to insure the consummation of his eager desire for the early admission of Dakota as a State. To believe this is a severe strain upon our credulity. In intelligence, agriculture, and other industrial pursuits, in short, in everything that makes a people great and prosperous, Dakota is fully abreast with the leading States of the Republic. Her best friends will not claim as much for New Mexico.

New Mexico, with her sparse population, a large percentage of whom belong to a different race, speak a different language, who are but just awakening from their primeval methods and customs, should not be coupled with the young giant of the nineteenth century—Dakota, whose citizens are imbued with American enterprise.

It is true that each of these Territories is an empire in area—Dakota containing 150,932 square miles, New Mexico 122,460, each larger than Great Britain.

New Mexico was organized as a Territory in 1850, having a population, Mexicans, of over 61,000, whose ancestors had occupied the lands for hundreds of years. Now she has a population of about 150,000, over two-thirds of whom are natives of that Territory. The younger Territory of Dakota was organized early in 1861, with a population of less than 5,000 Americans. Now she has over 600,000, composed of hardy, energetic, intelligent young men and women of the older States of the Union.

What has been the progress of these two Territories since their admission? What signs of promise for intelligent and prosperous statehood do the past history and present condition of each as a Territory give? What showing do they make in agriculture, the greatest of all industries, an industry in which the inhabitants of each are largely engaged?

Compare the yield of each in wheat, corn, and oats, the three leading products of the Western farm. Of forty-six States and Territories in 1886 Dakota ranked sixth in her wheat harvest, producing 30,704,000 bushels. New Mexico in the same year ranked thirty-fourth, yielding but 921,000 bushels, not one-thirtieth of the amount produced in the great Territory of Dakota. Take corn. In the same year Dakota ranked twenty-second, producing 15,805,000 bushels, while New Mexico ranked thirty-sixth, producing only 937,000 bushels. Dakota ranked twelfth among the States and Territories in the production of oats, her product being 20,651,000 bushels, while New Mexico ranked thirty-ninth, producing only 528,000 bushels. These figures are persuasive evidence of the injustice done Dakota in making common cause between her and New Mexico for admission into the Union.

Sir, it is evident that reasons other than the agricultural resources of New Mexico led the committee to dump her with Dakota into an "omnibus" bill.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. DOCKERY obtained the floor, and yielded his time to Mr. WARNER.

Mr. WARNER. I am obliged to the gentleman [Mr. DOCKERY].

Sir, of the three great agricultural staples, wheat, corn, and oats, Dakota in 1886 produced the enormous amount of 67,160,000 bushels, while the aggregate yield of New Mexico in that year was less than 5 per cent. of that of Dakota.

If we take the estimate of the productiveness of the soil of New Mexico, as given by the Delegate of that Territory who so ably represents it on this floor, and cut it nearly in two, we will find that 30 bushels of wheat, 40 of oats, and 50 of corn is below the average yield of the land cultivated in his Territory. But the trouble is that but an infinitesimal percentage of her vast area of 78,374,400 acres is cultivated.

I send to the Clerk's desk to be read an extract from the speech of the Delegate from New Mexico [Mr. JOSEPH]. In this he paints it a land of plenty. After you shall have listened to his glowing description you will wonder why it is that this, the oldest of our Territories, whose soil has been cultivated by her native farmers and their ancestors for centuries, is the laggard that she is. The Clerk will please read.

The Clerk read as follows:

It is strange, Mr. Chairman, in our day, when steam and electricity have canceled distance, when four days' travel introduces us to every mile of our continent and half-hour telegrams whisper from ocean to ocean, when our bureaus give us the climatic diagnosis of every area and monthly statements of every crop, when New Mexico is as near to you practically as is New York—I say it is strange in our day to find such want of information as is printed in a Congressional paper on this very question of admitting New Mexico as a State. I quote:

"There is claimed for it [New Mexico] an excellence of soil and climate, which, however, is substantially, or in great degree, refuted by official and other reports on that region."

"Region?" Were they considering the Congo country? Is New Mexico midway of your continent as unknown as the mazy geography of the Nile? Is a Territory of this Government so remote that this same paper must further say:

"A general belief exists that much mineral wealth may be found in the otherwise forbidding country."

There is no excuse in our day of printing-presses for such feigned ignorance of the agricultural and mineral wealth of New Mexico. What are the facts?

New Mexico, lying south of Colorado and east of Arizona, embraces an area of 122,000 square miles, or about 78,000,000 acres of land. The Territory is three times as large as Ohio, thrice as large as all New England. The country is well watered by the Rio Grande, Pecos, San Juan, Red, Taos, Mora, and the Puerco Rivers, besides many other smaller streams. The valleys on both sides of every river have rich alluvial soil as deep and as fertile as the world can show. The statistical reports show that her arable lands yield from 27 to 35 bushels of wheat, of corn 60 to 85 bushels per acre, and the other cereals in like proportion; vineyards show a yield of 1,360 gallons of best wine to the acre. But to be more particular, let me quote from one of the authentic publications of the Territory for

last year, the Bulletin, which gives the average grain production in one of New Mexico's valleys:

Corn	bushels per acre	75 to 100
Wheat	do	30 to 60
Oats	do	50 to 75
Barley	do	40 to 50
Rye	do	30 to 45
Pease	do	25 to 35
Alfalfa, 2 tons per cutting tri-annually.		
Potatoes, sweet	do	75 to 100
Parsnips	do	175 to 275
Mangoes (weighing from 30 to 40 pounds each)	do	500 to 800
Beets	do	175 to 400
Carrots	do	175 to 300
Cabbages	weighing pounds per head	5 to 30
Tomatoes	weighing pounds each	½ to 1
Cucumbers	do	1 to 6
Squash (hubbard)	do	10 to 25
Squash (marrowfat)	do	30 to 75
Pumpkins	do	10 to 25

Mr. WARNER. This is the picture of a country "where every prospect pleases." Its broad acres, we are assured, are well watered. Its "deep and fertile" soil needs only to be tickled by the hand of the husbandman to richly repay its tormentor.

He is surprised that it is not known of all men that his Territory is just as it is painted in the extract read. He is indignant that there should be published in a "Congressional paper on this very subject of admitting New Mexico" misinformation as follows:

There is claimed for it [New Mexico] an excellence of soil and climate which, however, is substantially, or in great degree, refuted by official and other reports on that region.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CANNON obtained the floor, and yielded his time to Mr. WARNER.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has drawn another and very different picture of his Territory. His hand and pen drew dark shades over that "region." In the early part of this session a bill was introduced appropriating $50,000 to each of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico.

Upon this bill the gentleman [Mr. JOSEPH] made the following report, which I send to the Clerk's desk to be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on the Territories, having under consideration bills H. R. 1980 and 6166, ask to report in lieu thereof the substitute contained in the report made herewith.

Your committee recommend the passage of said bill for the following reasons:

From the census of 1880 it appears that the Territory of Arizona embraces an area of 112,920 square miles, or 72,268,800 acres of land, of which vast area less than 2,000,000 are susceptible of cultivation for want of water, and even this small area is entirely dependent on irrigation, thus leaving utterly without water supply and without any means of irrigation the enormous body of over 70,000,000 acres of land, which, under the present land laws, must forever remain unfit for the habitation of man unless a supply of water can be obtained by artificial means.

The same conditions exist in the Territory of New Mexico, which embraces an area of 122,460 square miles, or 78,374,400 acres of land, of which, as appears by said census, only 5½ per cent. is susceptible of cultivation, for the reasons already stated, leaving 94½ per cent., or 74,063,808 acres, forever unfit for human habitation unless water can be obtained to irrigate the same.

The Territory of New Mexico was organized in 1850, and in thirty years thereafter it had a population of only 119,565 souls, or less than one person to the square mile, and its population during the two decades preceding 1880 only increased 26,000, all of which increase occurred after 1870, and consisted largely of persons connected directly or indirectly with the construction, maintenance, and operation of railroads leading through said Territory to the Pacific Ocean. While population increased as above stated, and also by reason of large mining enterprises, yet, as shown by said census, there has been an actual decrease of the agricultural element—the number of farms in 1880 being actually less than in 1860. This can be accounted for only on the fact of scarcity of water for agricultural purposes.

Mr. WARNER. "Look upon this picture, then upon that."

Mr. JOSEPH. Will the gentleman permit me to explain?

Mr. WARNER. My time is short; the gentleman must excuse me. I will do him no injustice. Certain it is, he can have no cause to complain. I have called the attention of the committee and the country to two descriptions of New Mexico given by the gentleman, one bright, the other dark. The dark one is based, as stated in the report just read, upon official statistics. Certainly no one will say it was made to slander the Territory of New Mexico. It fully justifies all and more than is contained in the quotation cited by the gentleman from a "Congressional paper," which he is pleased to characterize as "misrepresentation," and as displaying unpardonable ignorance of the agricultural resources of New Mexico.

From his report we learn that in the twenty years from 1860 to 1880—two decades of unparalelled prosperity in agriculture—his Territory went backward; that it actually contained a less number of farms in 1880 than in 1860, and that 94½ per cent. of its 78,374,400 acres of land "are forever unfit for human habitation unless water can be obtained to irrigate the same." Is it not passing strange that this Territory should be tacked to the great agricultural empire of Dakota—whose wondrous growth is the marvel of the age—in her struggle for admission to Statehood? This may be non-partisan, certain it is that it is not fair play.

"Every tub should stand on its own bottom." Let us deal justly by New Mexico, at the same time do no injustice to Dakota or the other Territories. While in New Mexico there "has been an actual decrease of the agricultural element from 1860 to 1880," to use the gentleman's [Mr. JOSEPH'S] language, Dakota under her civilization has yielded an abundant harvest, increasing from year to year. Her wheat crop in 1860 was 945 bushels; in 1870, 170,662 bushels; in 1880, 2,830,289 bushels; while in 1887 it reached the enormous quantity of 62,253,499 bushels. Her yield of corn in 1860 was but 20,269 bushels; it sprang to 2,000,864 bushels in 1880, and last year it jumped to 24,511,726 bushels. In 1887 she produced 43,267,478 bushels of oats against 2,217,132 in 1880, and 2,540 in 1860. Her aggregate crop of rye, barley, and buckwheat in 1860 was insignificant, only 815 bushels; in 1887 she produced of these cereals 6,814,384 bushels. In 1860 she cut from her prairies 855 tons of hay; in 1870, 13,347; in 1880, 308,036; in 1885, 1,527,987; while the estimated crop for last year was 2,500,000 tons. Her potato crop shows the same astonishing ratio of increase. It sprang from 9,489 bushels in 1860 to 3,868,860 bushels in 1885.

Dakota's live-stock in 1870 was valued at $779,952; last year it had increased to over $43,000,000; exceeding in value 40 per cent. the vast flocks and herds that roam the plains of New Mexico. The value of her farms was but $96,445 in 1860, $2,085,265 in 1870, $22,401,084 in 1880, and $156,767,918 in 1885. The value of her farm implements increased from $15,574 in 1860 to $2,390,091 in 1870 and $13,867,687 in 1885. These figures speak volumes for the thrift, energy, and enterprise of the citizens of Dakota who have so long been denied admission into the Union. They reproach, stronger than speech, any and all attempts longer to disfranchise that people, as contemplated by the "omnibus" bill.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. GEAR obtained the floor and yielded to Mr. WARNER.

Mr. WARNER. While thanking the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], I shall crave the indulgence of the committee a short time longer, although I have occupied more time than I had intended.

In his report the reasons given by the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. JOSEPH] for the "decadence" of agriculture in his Territory—why the hand of the dial of progress among his people turned backward in the two decades from 1860 to 1880—are:

This can be accounted for only on the fact of scarcity of water for agricultural purposes.

This, Mr. Chairman, may in part account for the wide difference between the showing she makes and that of Dakota; but there are, I apprehend, other causes that have impeded her progress, that have dwarfed her growth, that have made her the laggard among the States and Territories of this Union. The fact is that she has clung too long to another civilization and to the customs and manners of past centuries. Let us examine into some of these causes.

Governor Wallace in his report for 1879, as governor of New Mexico, uses this language:

Agriculture in New Mexico is yet in its primitive condition. The wooden plow of the Mexican fathers holds preference with the majority of farmers.

Then adds:

Development is barely sufficient to serve anticipation.

In his annual report for 1881 Governor Sheldon, of Utah Territory, says:

There is sufficient agricultural lands, if cultivated, to supply the home market.

Then, in line with the report of Governor Wallace, adds:

The present methods of cultivation are primeval and do not properly indicate the productiveness of the soil.

There are, I am pleased to say, signs of abandonment of the "primeval methods of cultivation" that existed in New Mexico in 1881. Her present governor (Ross), in his report to the Secretary of the Interior, dated September 13, 1887, says:

Marked progress has been made in the agricultural industries during the last year. Not only have many thousands of acres of land been brought under cultivation, and the industry systematized by the introduction of the improved methods peculiar to American immigration, but with a large part of the native farmers there has been manifest a spirit of improvement in the abandonment of the primitive ways that have so long prevailed among them.

The wooden plow, the sickle, the thrashing stockade, and the winnowing fork are being discarded, and in their places are coming the improved machinery that has made a successful science of American agriculture. Once ventured these people are quick to see the disadvantages of their old ways and the advantages of the new to enable them to successfully compete with the newcomers.

In this we have an earnest that the "native farmers" of New Mexico are awakening from their Rip Van Winkle sleep of the ages. Yet, Mr. Chairman, she needs to do more than discard "the wooden plow, the sickle, the thrashing stockade, and the winnowing fork." She should lose no time in entering within the pale of the public-school system of America. The intelligence of the masses is the bulwark of "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Of all the Territories New Mexico is the most backward in her public schools. The gentleman who so ably represents her in a recent speech assured Congress that his Terrirory is making great educational strides. He points with seeming pride to the fact that for the year ending December 31, 1887—

Over $53,000 were received in the hands of the proper officers in New Mexico for school purposes during 1887, and that at the end of 1887 there was on hand some $20,000.

This when her children of school age (five to twenty years) num-

bered 36,435! In 1886 her total expenses for school purposes was $28,973. "The greatest want of New Mexico is a proper school system" was the language of the governor of that Territory in his report of September, 1883. This want has not been supplied.

He then adds:

In fact, there is no system embracing the entire Territory that is uniform or effective.

In the same report Governor Sheldon says:

In my judgment, under the present system and management the money paid by the people for schools is in large part practically thrown away.

This official further informs us that—

The law—

Of New Mexico—

contemplates compulsory attendance upon schools for five months in the year, but it is not executed.

The public-school system was adopted in New Mexico in 1871, yet, in September, 1883, her governor in his official report says:

Probably three-fourths of the population are natives of the country and speak the Spanish language.

From the report of this official in 1881 we learn that—

only a few of the natives can understand or speak the English language.

In 1880 this, the oldest inhabited part of the Union, showed the greatest percentage of illiteracy. Out of a population of 87,966 over ten years of age, 57,156, or 65 per cent., could not read and write. Of these 46,329 were natives of the Territory. In view of these alarming facts I am anxious to give full credence to Governor Ross, of New Mexico, when, in his report of September 13, 1887, he says:

There has been a marked improvement in the educational affairs of the Territory during the past year. There is a growing appreciation among the native people of the necessity and advantages of acquiring an education in the English language and in the American methods of thought and of business and general affairs.

Yet with this marked improvement for the year ending December 31, 1887, she only raised by taxation for the support of her public schools $45,157.98, and only expended in the payment of the teachers the insignificant sum of $33,312.85. Yet the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. JOSEPH] points to these figures as an evidence of "the zeal of the people in fostering the school system." He then asserts that his Territory appropriates to the support of her public schools "a larger share of her taxes than any other State or Territory in the Union."

He further tells us that the "law provides for general levy of 3 mills on the dollar for school purposes." If this amount is levied and collected, where does it go? Certainly not into the public-school fund. Her "aggregate assessment of taxable property for 1886 was $56,000,000," 3 mills on the dollar on this amount would be $178,000, while the official figures given by the gentleman [Mr. JOSEPH] shows the meager sum of $45,147.98 actually paid into the public-school fund. Not one-third of the school-tax was collected, or if collected, it never found its way into the treasury. Of what good is a statute providing for a general levy of "a tax for school purposes" if through the indifference of the people it remains unexecuted?

Evidently there is but little vitality in the public schools of New Mexico. She established them seventeen years ago in an old community, yet to-day their "advancement is barely sufficient to serve anticipation." The amount she expends for their maintenance is totally insufficient. She has but forty-one public school buildings, one to every 3,000 square miles of her Territory. Under her laws (Revised Statutes, 1884) the text-books used in her public schools may be in the Spanish language. It is not strange that, in view of these facts, her Revised Statutes adopted in 1885, containing her Territorial laws and the Constitution of the United States, are printed one page in the English and the other in the Spanish language from the first to the last page. Yet it is decreed by the majority of this House that Dakota shall not be admitted as a State unless New Mexico comes into the Union with her. There is a wider difference between these Territories in their educational advantages and progress than in their agricultural resources.

The population of Dakota in 1880, over ten years of age, was 99,849, only 4,821 of whom were not able to read and write, less than 4 per cent., against 65 per cent in New Mexico. From the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1885-'86 we learn that in that year the total expenses of New Mexico were $28,973 for the maintenance of her public schools for the education of her youth, against $1,917,259 for the same purpose expended in Dakota. Last year New Mexico expended $37,018, Dakota $2,600,000. The value of public school buildings for the year 1887 in New Mexico was but $68,204, while it was $3,265,590 in Dakota. Of forty-six States and Territories Dakota ranked seventeenth, New Mexico forty-sixth. New Mexico has but two public buildings, a state-house and a penitentiary. Dakota, aside from these buildings, has two universities, two normal schools, a school of mines, an agricultural college, a school for deaf mutes, two hospitals for the insane, and a reform school—all Territorial institutions, costing nearly a million and a half of dollars, yet her claims for admission under the "omnibus" bill are disregarded, unless those of New Mexico are recognized as entitling her to statehood. She must remain out of the Union until New Mexico is admitted. The facts given should convince all who are not blinded by partisan politics of the rank injustice done Dakota.

I have dwelt at some length upon the interest the people of these Territories have manifested by their deeds, not words, in the upbuilding of the public school, for in it the masses of the people must obtain an education, if at all.

It is in the public school that the son of the poorest citizen lays the foundation of knowledge that fits him in after years for any position within the gift of the State or nation. It is in the public school that the people are educated—fitted for the duty of self-government, fitted for the responsibility of rulers. From it comes the intelligent citizen, the just judge, the incorruptible legislator, the wise executive. It makes the ballot-box register the will of the many rather than the decree of a privileged class.

That incomparable soldier, model citizen, and wise statesman, U. S. Grant, voiced in terse and eloquent sentences the sentiments of the American people regarding the public school, when he said at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1875:

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign, and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence.

The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation. If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason's and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on one side and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other.

Now, in this centennial year of our national existence, I believe it a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundation of the house commenced by our patriotic forefathers one hundred years ago at Concord and Lexington.

He then adds:

Resolve that either the State or nation, or both combined, shall support institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan, or atheistical tenets.

To these sentiments every patriotic citizen says, amen.

The citizens of Dakota, Mr. Chairman, took with them to their Western homes, "where the mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea," all the devotion of their fathers to the American free school. They carried to their new homes a fixed determination that amid sunshine or storm, amid plenty or privation in their onward march to empire, the public school should be their pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. They have fulfilled the prophesy.

We cross the prairies as of old
Our fathers crossed the sea,
To make the West as they the East
The homestead for the free.

The majority of the Committee on Territories urge as one of the reasons why New Mexico should be admitted at this time her mining resources. Yet her output of gold and silver in 1886 was less than that of Dakota. The hay the people of Dakota cut from the prairies in 1887 exceeded in value many times the value of the precious metals mined in New Mexico. I do not underestimate the value of her mines. They are but in their infancy; but mines and mining camps of any Territory should be one of the minor considerations upon the question of its admission into the Union.

I am led to believe that the citizens of New Mexico, those who only look to her interest, do not desire her admission at this time.

The assurance is given of the dawn of a new era upon New Mexico. Under the influence of emigration, aided by the whip and spur of electricity and steam, her native population is being revolutionized. The Spanish-Mexican civilization to which they have clung for centuries is giving way to American civilization.

Aid it, paper; aid it, type;
Aid it, for the hour is ripe.

No member of this House will go further to aid her in this struggle than I. Believing as I do that it is the first duty of the Government "to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education," if New Mexico, by reason of her sparse population or any other cause, is unable to discharge this duty, I stand ready by my vote to appropriate all the money necessary to aid her. I am led to believe that her vast arid plains can be reclaimed by irrigation if Congress will make the necessary appropriation to aid in sinking artesian wells or the storing of water. Thus shall her waste places be made to yield an abundant harvest.

I am willing to aid as a member of this House by all the means in my power the early enactment of the necessary laws to settle the Spanish-Mexican grants that now cast a cloud over the title of large portions of the Territory, sealing it against settlement and development. Much of this, I trust, may be accomplished in the near future. When accomplished I shall be found an earnest advocate of admitting New Mexico into the sisterhood of States. Then, and not until then, she will be prepared to discharge the duties and assume the responsibilities of statehood.

My objection to her admission at this time is free from either sectarian or partisan considerations.

It is claimed by the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. JOSEPH] in his remarks printed in the RECORD of April 18, that the report of the minority of the committee cast an imputation upon the religion of the people of New Mexico. He would create the impression that those who

oppose the claims of New Mexico are in some degree influenced by religious prejudices. For one I disclaim any such feeling. I yield to no man in my condemnation of religious bigotry or intolerance, take what shape it may. Nor do I believe that there is a sentence or a line in the report of the minority, aside from certain quotations therein contained from the writings of Professor Bliss and ex-United States Attorney Davis, that by any fair construction will bear such an interpretation.

Mr. STRUBLE. Davis was a Democratic official.

Mr. WARNER. I care not whether he was a Democrat or a Republican. I do not indorse his statements. I further know that while the minority of the committee favored the admission of North and South Dakota, Washington, and Montana, they were opposed to the admission of New Mexico, and certain it is that their judgment in favor of or against the admission of either of them was not, as far as I know, in the slightest degree influenced by the religion of the people of either. I never saw or read the quotations from the parties named until after the gentleman from New Mexico made his speech. I make the statement here in my place that whatever is contained in those quotations that cast an imputation upon the religion or chastity of the people of New Mexico I most emphatically repudiate. In this I reflect the views of every member of the committee.

I believe in "unfettered religious sentiment;" in keeping church and state forever separate; in the right of every citizen to the free and unmolested enjoyment of his religious belief and forms of worship so long as he obeys the laws of the land. Any sentiments contrary to this I repudiate.

In our country there should be "perfect security of free thought, free speech, a free ballot, and a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiment, and of equal rights and privileges to all men."

To secure "free thought, free speech, a free ballot, and a free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men" before the law, should be the highest ambition of every citizen. The man who would take away one of the least of these from the humblest citizen, aims a blow at the liberties of the people.

[Here the hammer fell].

Sale of Convict-Made Goods.

"We have a principle which is safe for the States and safe for the Union. We are relieved, as we ought to be, from clashing sovereignty; from interfering powers; from a repugnancy between a right in one government to pull down what there is an acknowledged right in another to build up; from the incompatability of a right in one government to destroy what there is a right in another to preserve." (Chief-Justice Marshall in McCullough *vs.* State of Maryland *et al.*)

REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. ROGERS,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 22, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 8716) to protect free labor and the industries in which it is employed from the injurious effects of convict labor by confining the sale of the goods, wares, and merchandise manufactured by convict labor to the State in which they are produced—

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That every person who knowingly transports, or causes to be delivered for transportation, from the State or Territory in which they are in whole or in part manufactured, any goods, wares, or merchandise, in whole or in part manufactured by convict labor in any penitentiary, prison, reformatory, or other establishment in which convict labor is employed, to or into any other State or Territory, or into the District of Columbia, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court, and such goods, wares, or merchandise shall be forfeited to the United States.

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of the several United States district attorneys to prosecute all violations of this act by any person making the complaint under oath, and the same shall be heard before any district or circuit court of the United States or Territorial court holden within the district in which the violation of this act has been committed.

SEC. 3. That this act shall take effect at the expiration of sixty days from and after its passage.

Mr. ROGERS said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I approach this question with all the gravity that it deserves; and indeed it is a most important question. I owe the House an apology for not having arranged in some sort of system the observations which I desire to make, but I think I can demonstrate by adjudicated cases the absolute unconstitutionality of this bill, and in my effort to do so the House will contribute much if I can have its earnest attention and good order.

Mr. Speaker, the committee base the authority for the passage of this bill upon the commerce clause of the Constitution, which reads:

Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.

It will be observed that these three powers are grouped in one clause of the Constitution, and any one reading that clause, at the first glance would suppose that each of these three powers could be exercised to the same extent; that is to say, that whatever Congress might do with reference to foreign commerce it might do with reference to the Indian tribes, and that whatever it might do with reference to the other two it might also do with reference to commerce among the States; but I think that is an error.

I desire to be as brief as I possibly may, and therefore I proceed at once to the inquiry presented by this bill—the inquiry whether or no the Congress of the United States, under the commerce clause, may pass a non-intercourse act between the States of this Union. I assert the negative of that proposition. Why did the States confer the power upon Congress to regulate commerce between the States? That question has been adjudicated over and over again. I hold in my hand the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Bowman and Bowman, plaintiffs in error, against the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company, in which the court proceeded to discuss the power of the Legislature of Iowa to prohibit this railroad company from carrying spirituous liquors into the State of Iowa for sale. In that decision, and it is an able decision, they discussed this whole question in almost every direction. I quote from that decision; and I quote now, it will be observed, in response to the question as to what was the purpose of the States in conferring the power to regulate commerce among the States upon Congress. The Supreme Court say:

"It can not be too strongly insisted upon," said this court in Wabash, etc., Railroad Company *vs.* Illinois (118 U. S., 557, 572), "that the right of continuous transportation from one end of the country to the other is essential in modern times to that freedom of commerce from the restraints which the States might choose to impose upon it, that the commerce clause was intended to secure."

In other words, lest the States of this Union might legislate against each other in their commercial transactions, in the formation of the Union under the Constitution the commerce power was delegated to the United States, so far as the States were concerned, in order that the United States might prohibit non-intercourse laws between the States. The decision proceeds:

This clause, giving to Congress the power to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations, as this court has said before, was among the most important of the subjects which prompted the formation of the Constitution. (Cook *vs.* Pennsylvania, 97 U. S., 566, 574; Brown *vs.* Maryland, 12 Wheaton, 419, 446.) And it would be a very feeble and almost useless provision, but poorly adapted to secure the entire freedom of commerce among the States, which was deemed essential to a more perfect union by the framers of the Constitution, if, at every stage of the transportation of goods and chattels through the country, the State, within whose limits a part of the transportation must be done, could impose regulations concerning the price, compensation, or taxation, or any other restrictive regulation interfering with and seriously embarrassing this commerce.

It will be observed in reading this that the court are passing upon a State statute; but they give the motive and principle upon which the States delegated this power to the Federal Government, and cite as the reason for it the last clause of this opinion from which I have read. In a former page of this opinion they say this:

Commerce with foreign countries and among the States, strictly considered, consists in intercourse and traffic, including in these terms navigation and the transportation and transit of persons and property, as well as the purchase, sale, and exchange of commodities.

Persons and property—

That is what they define commerce to be—

as well as the purchase, sale, and exchange of commodities.

For the regulation of commerce as thus defined, there can be only one system of rules, applicable alike to the whole country; and the authority which can act for the whole country can alone adopt such a system. Action upon it by separate States is not, therefore, permissible.

In this connection I quote from the dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan in the same case, since he states well the position of Judge Marshall in Gibbons *vs.* Ogden, as to where the States got the right of intercourse with each other, as well as what is meant by the word "regulate."

In Gibbons *vs.* Ogden it was said by counsel that the Constitution does not confer the right of intercourse between State and State, and that such right has its source in those laws whose authority is acknowledged by civilized man throughout the world. Chief-Justice Marshall said: "This is true. The Constitution found it an existing right, and gave to Congress the power to regulate it." (9 Wheat., 211.) In the same case he said that this power is "the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed." (Page 196.) It may be said, generally, that free commercial intercourse exists among the several States by force of the Constitution.

It is here seen that "regulate" does not mean destroy, but means the rule by which commerce is to be governed.

The court, in the same case, while discussing the reasons why certain acts of Congress were passed, say:

These acts were passed under the power vested in Congress to regulate commerce among the several States, and were designed to remove trammels upon transportation between different States which had previously existed, and to prevent a creation of such trammels in future and to facilitate railway transportation by authorizing the construction of bridges over the navigable waters of the Mississippi, and they were intended to reach trammels interposed by State enactments or by existing laws of Congress. * * * The power to regulate commerce among the several States was vested in Congress in order to secure equality and freedom in commercial intercourse against discriminating State legislation.

I remark at this point, if the States intended by the commerce clause of the Constitution to grant the power to Congress to prohibit the products of one State going into another, they also conferred the power under the decision just read to prevent the citizens of one State going

into another; because commerce includes persons as well as goods and merchandise in transportation.

Finally, mark this language in the same opinion:

In view of the commercial anarchy and confusion that would result from the diverse exertions of power by the several States of the Union, it can not be supposed that the Constitution or Congress have intended to limit the freedom of commercial intercourse among the people of the several States.

That is all I contend for. The Constitution never intended any such exercise of power. The States, in delegating the commerce power, intended to secure freedom of commercial intercourse among themselves, and not to confer power upon the United States to prohibit commerce among the States.

I have now shown, I think, Mr. Speaker, what the object and purpose of the States were in delegating this power to the Federal Government. I concede, of course, that so far as the power over interstate commerce or commerce with Indian tribes or foreign countries has been delegated, that power is exclusive in Congress. Now what is that power? To what extent does it go?

My friend from Illinois [Mr. PLUMB], who prepared and submitted the minority report, builded wiser than he knew. He says in this report:

It is a direct attack upon State laws and State institutions. Suppose, in antebellum times, Congress had prohibited the transportation of cotton and sugar from one State to another because produced by slave labor, what would have been said as to the constitutionality of such an act of Congress?

The precise question suggested in that report I do not mean to say has been decided; but a question closely kindred to it was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States; and I now proceed to call attention to that, which I think is absolutely decisive of the question at issue. I read from 15 Peters's Reports. It is the case of Groves and others against Slaughter. I begin on page 505. I wish to state, however, first, in substance, the facts on which this opinion was delivered. By the constitution of the State of Mississippi the introduction of slaves into that State for merchandise or to be sold was prohibited. But the same constitutional provision allowed the citizens of the State to go and purchase slaves for their own use and bring them into the State.

Under this constitutional provision of the State of Mississippi this case grew up, and in reading this decision I shall read only so much of it as relates to the point at issue here. I ask the careful attention of the House to this, because in order to understand it correctly it must be carefully considered. The Supreme Court of the United States had discussed pretty fully the power of Congress to lay embargoes or to pass non-intercourse laws so far as foreign commerce was concerned, and at this point that is to be conceded, that Congress has the power, if it chooses, under two different provisions of the Constitution, to lay embargoes upon foreign commerce—at least that is settled so far as this case is concerned.

Now to proceed:

Under the power to regulate foreign commerce Congress impose on importations, give drawbacks, pass embargo and non-intercourse laws, and make all other regulations necessary to navigation, to the safety of passengers, and the protection of property. Here is ample range, extending to the remotest seas where the commercial intercourse of our citizens shall go, for the exercise of this power.

That is foreign commerce. Now listen:

The power to regulate commerce among the several States is given in the same section and in the same language, but it does not follow that the power may be exercised to the same extent.

That is what I said in the beginning. One would at first suppose that the extent and scope of that provision of the commerce clause of the Constitution were equally broad as to Indian tribes, as to foreign commerce, and as to commerce between the States; but not so, say the Supreme Court.

Mr. LONG. You admit that we may put a prohibitory embargo upon foreign goods?

Mr. ROGERS. Oh, yes; and you may also prohibit the introduction of liquor among the Indian tribes, but that comes under another power, which I shall discuss later. I read further:

The transportation of slaves from a foreign country before the abolition of that traffic was subject to this power.

The opinion proceeds:

An exception to a rule is said to prove the existence of the rule, and this exception to the exercise of the commercial power may well be considered as a clear recognition of the power in the case stated. The United States are considered as a unit in all regulations of foreign commerce.

It is one people so far as foreign commerce is concerned. There are no State lines. As to foreign commerce the United States are a unit, say the Supreme Court.

But this can not be the case where the regulations are to operate among the several States. Law must be equal and general in its provisions. Congress—

Mark this language, for here is the pith of the whole case—

Congress can not pass a non-intercourse law as among the several States, nor impose an embargo that shall affect only a part of them.

Mr. LONG. A part of what?

Mr. ROGERS. A part of the States.

Mr. O'NEILL. Where do you find that decision?

Mr. ROGERS. In 15 Peters.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Missouri. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. ROGERS. I would rather that the gentleman would not interrupt me at this moment.

Mr. LONG. Could Congress lay an embargo that would affect them all?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, sir; that is what the opinion says; and the last paragraph read—I mean the words: "nor impose an embargo that shall affect only a part of them"—applies to foreign commerce only. Congress may lay an embargo on all the States, but not on a part only; and if on all, then why not on a part only? Because it is provided in the Constitution that—

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Hence it is all regulations of foreign commerce must apply to all the States alike, or rather to the United States as a unit. This is made doubly manifest by the next provision of the Constitution, which says that—

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

No State, therefore, can, as a State, have any binding or constitutional relations with any foreign power. Foreign powers must deal with the United States. But why elaborate this? The language of Judge McLean is plain:

Congress can not pass a non-intercourse law as among the several States.

I turn now for a moment to see what the Supreme Court meant when using the terms "non-intercourse." I hold in my hand a volume of the collated opinions of Chief-Justice Marshall; and that learned judge in the case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden, defines the meaning of those terms. I read from page 290:

Commerce undoubtedly is traffic, but it is something more; it is intercourse.

Commerce, then, is intercourse. What is non-intercourse? It is the absence of commerce—no commerce.

It describes the commercial intercourse between nations and parts of nations in all its branches, and is regulated by prescribing rules for carrying on that intercourse.

Not for stopping it, but "for carrying it on;" not laying an embargo on it, not preventing it, not excluding it, but "carrying it on," is the language of Chief-Justice Marshall.

The universally acknowledged power of the Government to impose embargoes must also be considered as showing that all America is united in that construction which comprehends navigation in the word "commerce." Gentlemen have stated in argument that this is a branch of the war-making power, and that an embargo is an instrument of war, not a regulation of trade.

The learned judge then goes on to discuss these questions relating to foreign commerce; but it will be seen that it was thus decided at that early day what "intercourse" is and what "embargo" is.

But I will read another paragraph from Groves *et al.* *vs.* Stoughton, 15 Peters:

Could Ohio in her constitution have prohibited the introduction into the State of the cotton of the South or the manufactured articles of the North? If a State may exercise this power it may establish a non-intercourse with the other States. This no one will pretend is within the power of a State. Such a measure would be repugnant to the Constitution and it would strike at the foundation of the Union. The power vested in Congress to regulate commerce among the several States was designed to prevent commercial conflicts among them. But whilst Ohio could not proscribe the productions of the South nor the fabrics of the North, no one doubts its power to prohibit slavery. And what can more unanswerably establish the doctrine that a State may prohibit slavery, or in its discretion regulate it, without trenching upon the commercial power of Congress?

The committee in its report quote from an opinion in 93 United States Reports (United States *vs.* Forty-three gallons of whisky *et cet.*), with which I am familiar, and which I think does not sustain their views of this question.

The committee say:

Congress, under this constitutional power, may not only prohibit the unlicensed introduction and sale of spirituous liquors in the Indian country, but extend such prohibition to territory in proximity to that occupied by the Indians.

That question was also decided by Chief-Justice Marshall in the case of the Cherokee Nation against the State of Georgia, 5 Peters, page 1, and also in Worcester *vs.* The State of Georgia, 6 Peters, 515. It is upon those decisions that the Supreme Court of the United States, in 93 United States Reports, base its opinion, wherein the doctrine laid down by Chief-Justice Marshall is reaffirmed. I want to refer to this decision to show that it has no sort of application, so far as commerce between the States is concerned, but relates, on the contrary, to intercourse with the Indian tribes, a question entirely distinct, so far as constitutional interpretation is concerned, from that of intercourse between the States. I read the language of the Supreme Court in 93 United States Reports:

Chief-Justice Marshall, in these cases, with a force of reasoning and an extent of learning rarely equaled, stated and explained the condition of the Indians in their relation to the United States and the States within whose boundaries they live; and his exposition was based on the power to make treaties and regulate commerce with the Indian tribes.

Not among the States. I have conceded that Congress has the absolute power to lay embargoes as to foreign nations; and I will now con-

cede the absolute power so far as the Indian tribes are concerned. The opinion continues:

Under the Articles of Confederation the United States had the power of regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of a State within its own limits be not infringed or violated. Of necessity these limitations rendered the power of no practical value. This was seen by the convention which framed the Constitution, and Congress now—

Mark the language—

Congress now has the exclusive and absolute power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes—a power as broad and as free from restrictions as that to regulate commerce with foreign nations.

But not a word about commerce between the States. He compares the power to regulate commerce "with the Indian tribes" to that which authorizes Congress to regulate commerce "with foreign nations," but he is careful not to compare it with the power to regulate commerce "among the States." Why? Because the extent of the power to regulate commerce with "foreign nations" and the "Indian tribes" went to a greater extent. And this shows that Judge McLean followed in the footsteps of Judge Marshall.

So that now I have shown three things: first, that Congress has absolute and exclusive power so far as commerce with foreign nations is concerned; second, that it has the same power with reference to the Indian tribes; and third, that so far as regards the States, it has no power to pass a non-intercourse law in regulating commerce among the States.

Mr. PLUMB rose.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Illinois desires now to resume the floor in his own right.

Mr. PLUMB. I wish to yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BUTTERWORTH].

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Before I take the floor I would like to ask if the gentleman from Arkansas has concluded?

Mr. ROGERS. I had desired to go on a little further, but of course as the time yielded to me has expired, I must yield the floor.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I am only insisting that the gentleman be allowed to conclude his remarks. This is not so inconsequential a question that we should be remitted to a very few brief moments, while if it was the consideration of a bill providing payment for a horse we would probably devote a whole day to it.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is entirely within the power of the gentleman from Illinois, who controls the floor at this time.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Missouri. I would again ask unanimous consent that if the business of the committee is not completed at 5 o'clock we take the recess asked for.

Mr. WASHINGTON, Mr. WILKINS, and others objected.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I make a request to the House that the gentleman from Arkansas may be allowed unanimous consent for such number of minutes as he may desire.

Mr. ROGERS. I was almost through with my remarks. I desire to say but a word or two more.

Mr. STRUBLE. Let unanimous consent be given.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the gentleman from Arkansas continuing his remarks, not to be taken out of the time of the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I have no desire to object if the gentleman will indicate what time he will occupy. Would ten minutes be sufficient?

Mr. ROGERS. Oh, ample.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Then I have no objection.

Mr. ROGERS. I will not undertake to discuss the folly of this measure, or the annoyances, expenses, and tyranny its passage would impose upon innocent people. No man would be safe if it were held to be sound law. It applies with equal force to property already owned as well as to that which may be hereafter purchased. The Arkansas farmer who now owns a wagon manufactured in the Tennessee penitentiary could not drive down into Texas or Louisiana on business or pleasure without subjecting it to forfeiture and himself to fine and imprisonment; and so of all other property manufactured by convict labor. Cotton, wheat, or sugar raised by convict labor could not be sold, or, when manufactured, the goods shipped out of the State. And this is to become law, without reference to the pending arrangements of the States in relation to their convicts. To me the proposition is simply monstrous. I leave others to discuss this phase of the matter.

Another significant fact is this: So far as I know, this is the first act ever proposed to the American Congress prohibiting commercial intercourse among the States of the Union. It must be admitted that it proposes opening a new chapter in the history of our legislation. It is a wide field. The mind's eye can not sweep its horizon now. We have traveled a long way already under this commerce clause of the Constitution. Is it to be the highway to the centralization of the Government and the destruction of the States? I hope, Mr. Speaker, that we shall call a halt and draw the line on this bill.

A few more words and I am through. Mr. Chairman, it must not be considered, because gentlemen entertain views antagonistic to those of the honorable committee which reported this bill, that we are enemies either to the manufacturers or to labor. We are here the representatives of co-equal districts in this great Union. We are charged by public law, the organic law of the land, with the discharge of our duties, in conformity with our oaths to support and defend the Constitution. We are derelict, Mr. Speaker, if at any stage of our public career, whatever may be our surroundings, whatever may be our political peril, whatever may be the results of our voices or our votes upon these public questions, if we truckle to any sentiment or refuse to march squarely up to and support and defend the Constitution whenever and by whomsoever it is assailed. And, Mr. Speaker, so far as I am concerned, conceding to these gentlemen the highest and most honorable motives, and the greatest capacity for the framing and presentation of measures to Congress, I claim that we must be left in our representative capacity to discharge our public duty according to the dictates of our own consciences. I have endeavored to discuss this question purely in its constitutional aspect. There are other questions involved of the very gravest public moment which address themselves to the American people and to this Congress. Sir, for years I have been the open and avowed advocate of the working of the convicts of this country within the penitentiary walls, where they may be treated with that humanity which is in keeping with the civilization of the age.

As I read the newspapers of the country in this the nineteenth century, I am compelled to admit that the treatment of convicts in many of the States of this Union is out of harmony with true Christian civilization, and unworthy of us as a people. I wish to see every convict placed within the walls of a penitentiary; and my reasons may be stated in a single word. It will be found that a large majority of the convicts in this land are persons who have not been accustomed to the pursuit of any honest industry, to daily labor, and have no trade or calling. If these people were placed within the walls of a penitentiary they would have not only ample time to repent and become better men, but they might there be taught what is meant by having a trade, what is meant by daily labor and the discipline and aspirations that spring from it, so that when they are liberated they may have better opportunities and greater capacity for making an honest living in the great struggle of life in which all good men must take part in this world. Hence, Mr. Speaker, moved not only by considerations of humanity and of high public policy, but moved likewise by reverence for the Constitution, the only safeguard for the perpetuity of our institutions, I have submitted in a desultory way these reflections. Acknowledging the courtesy of the House in giving me its kind attention, for which I owe my thanks, I now apologize for having detained it so long.

The Tariff.

REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. BOUTELLE,

OF MAINE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. BOUTELLE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] on two occasions has undertaken to enlighten the House in regard to the enormous and exorbitant profits upon the manufacture of lumber. In order to do so he in the first place paraded yesterday figures from the census, in regard to which he assumed that the aggregate amount paid to the laborers in the lumbering business in certain States indicated the amount of earnings of those laborers for the year. Of course the fallacy of that assumption is obvious to any one at all acquainted with the subject; and the fact that the gentleman's statement was due to unfamiliarity with the subject rather than to an intention to misrepresent has been demonstrated by his expressing a little while ago his belief that the saw-mills of the country run throughout the entire year. Now, Mr. Chairman, in my section of the country the saw-mills can not run throughout the year. They are largely water-mills, and can not run more than six months in the year. Suppose you were undertaking to make a computation of the amount of money paid to men engaged in cutting ice on any of our great rivers. Would it be a fair computation to take the aggregate amount paid in a year for cutting ice, divide it by the number of men, and then say "that is what those men earn in a year," the fact being that the cutting of ice is merely an exceptional employment for a short period? In my district and in my State, Mr. Chairman, lumbering operations are largely carried on by the farmers. The cutting of timber in the winter is done by men who till the farms in the summer. There is an alternation of employments.

The gentleman from Ohio and other members, if they desire to get an exact understanding of the relative profit of the manufacturer and the workingman, could better find it by consulting the actual facts and figures. Is it true that the men who work in lumber in the State

of Maine and other parts of New England are paid at a rate equivalent to only $170 a year? The statement is absurd.

I hold in my hand a comparative statement, very carefully made up from what I believe to be reliable sources, of the relative wages paid in the lumber industry in the State of Maine and in Canada. Before reading this statement I will say that in addition to the amounts which these men are paid by the month and by the day, it costs a large percentage more to supply the men in the lumber camps of Maine than it does the men in the provinces, because our men insist upon better food and more liberal provision.

The following rates of wages have been furnished me as a fair average of the pay of workingmen in the woods and in the lumber mills in New Brunswick and in the State of Maine:

Woodsmen.

	New Brunswick.	State of Maine.
	Per month.	*Per month.*
Sled tenders	$18.00	$22.00
Choppers	18.00	26.00
Teamsters	18.00	26.00
Swampers	15.00	18.00
Cooks	26.00	30.00
Two horses, teamster, sleds, and chains	30.00	45.00

Millmen.

	New Brunswick.	State of Maine.
	Per day.	*Per day.*
Head edger	$1.40	$2.50
Second edger	1.20	1.75
First gang sawyer	1.35	3.50
Second gang sawyer	1.20	2.00
First rotary sawyer	2.40	4.00
Second rotary sawyer	1.35	2.25
Pilers	1.25	1.75
Common laborers	1.00	1.50

The gentleman from Ohio undertakes to say that men who are getting $2.50 a day in Maine as against $1.40 a day in Canada are receiving none of the benefits of the legislation which seeks to protect the lumber business in Maine and other parts of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I presume that in my State the fair average stumpage of spruce would be from $2 to $2.25. A fair estimate of the value of the log when it has been chopped and hauled to water, and driven down the stream, and brought to the tail of the mill, is about $9 per thousand; and of the $9 in value per thousand represented by the log at the mill about seven-ninths stands for wages paid to labor.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Home Rule in the Territories.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. CAREY,

OF WYOMING.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 29, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9377) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for other purposes—

Mr. CAREY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I desire to offer an amendment to that paragraph.

The amendment was read, as follows:

Amend by adding to line 14, page 64, the following words:

"*Provided*, That the governor, secretary, and judges of the supreme court of each of the organized Territories, except Alaska, shall hereafter be appointed from the bona fide residents of the Territory wherein they are to serve."

Mr. FORNEY. I make the point of order on that.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, upon this amendment I ask the attention of the House for a few minutes. We hear all over this country expressions in favor of home rule. Every true American believes that home rule should be adopted for Ireland. Many have so placed themselves on record. Every member on the floor of this House that I have ever talked with has professed to be in favor of home rule in the several Territories of the United States. In offering this amendment I am aware that it is subject to the point of order under the rules of the House, but we are conscious of the fact that probably three-fourths of all the bills that are passed in the House of Representatives are passed under a suspension of the rules or by unanimous consent.

There is nothing to prohibit this House, if it chooses to do so, from placing upon this legislative bill this amendment. I do not ask it for the Territories as a mere courtesy to be extended to them, but as a matter of justice and simple right.

The amendment is not broad and sweeping in its provisions. We only ask for a small part now of the rights denied to the people of the Territories. If it were adopted it would not confer the right upon the Territories to select their own officers. This privilege they should have. If adopted the power would remain to select officers of the same political faith as that of the party that may from time to time be in power. It only applies to governors, secretaries, and judges. These officers and their appointees execute and administer the Territorial laws and disburse much of the money raised by taxation by the people of the Territories. The amendment does not affect the appointment of officers connected with the Land Department or Indian service of the Government. The adoption of the amendment would not interfere with any officer heretofore appointed or prevent his reappointment at the expiration of his term if he had become a bona fide resident.

I hold in my hand the declarations which were made four years ago by two representative bodies of American citizens. Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, now a leader in this House, as chairman of the committee on resolutions in the Republican convention which met in Chicago in 1884, reported this resolution, which was adopted without a dissenting voice:

Resolved, That the appointment by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

If you look over the list of men who were voted for before that convention as candidates you will find they are among the ablest and the greatest men that this Republic has given to the world.

I turn over only a few pages in this political manual and I find the following resolution, which was reported to the national Democratic convention which met in the same city six weeks later by Hon. William R. Morrison, then a member of Congress, a man who is universally esteemed throughout this country:

Resolved, That the selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

If you will look at the list of those who were balloted for before that convention you will find among them the names of some of the most illustrious men in America. The name at the head of the list is that of Grover Cleveland, who brought victory to his party for the first time in a quarter of a century; then comes Mr. Bayard, the distinguished Secretary of State; then Allen G. Thurman, "the noblest Roman of them all;" then SAMUEL J. RANDALL, an honored member of this body, and JOHN G. CARLISLE, the present able Speaker of this House.

Mr. Chairman, there will assemble again in a few days two representative bodies of the American people. While they will not elect the President of the United States, every one may safely predict that either the man who shall be named at the St. Louis convention or the man who shall be designated by the Chicago convention will be the President of the United States after the 4th of March next. This is an ominous time for Congress to act in this important matter. Though late, there is yet time to fulfill the terms of the pledge that was made to the people. These great political conventions that assemble quadrennially in the United States are the grandest of all bodies of men that come together on the face of the globe. They are composed of the ablest and best. They come directly from the people. They are the index of the people's wishes. They yield to the throbbings of public sentiment. These conventions have given heed in the past to the demand for home rule in the Territories. I believe the conventions soon to assemble will declare in favor of the principle of the admission of new States and home rule in the Territories.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. BURROWS. If I can obtain the floor, I will yield to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. CAREY].

Mr. FORNEY. I trust the gentleman from Wyoming will have permission to print the residue of his remarks. I have already yielded to him, and I must now insist on my point of order.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. That motion is not in order now; there is a point of order pending. The Chair sustains the point of order. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BUCHANAN] is recognized.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I move to strike out the last word, and I yield to the gentleman from Wyoming.

Mr. CAREY. I thank the gentleman from New Jersey for his courtesy.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that President Cleveland intended to carry out the spirit of the resolution of the last Democratic convention. Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur by expressions, and often in practice, though not directed by a political platform, proclaimed the wisdom of appointing the officers for the Territories from actual residents.

I have no doubt President after President in his daily prayers and

meditations has said over this matter, "Lead me not into temptation," "Give me power to resist the importunities of politicians, of Senatorial delegations, of delegations from the House of Representatives, who insist on my sending out among the people of the Territories strangers as officers to govern them." The qualifications should be prescribed by law, and not left in the discretion of the President.

Of the twenty-five States admitted under the section of the Constitution providing for the admission of new States, Maine and West Virginia were each organized out of a part of the territory included in one of the original thirteen States, and the Republic of Texas became a State under the terms of her annexation to the United States. These three had represented in whole or part old political jurisdictions. This table of the remaining twenty-two new States shows that there has been no rule established or followed with reference to the amount of population required at the date of the admission of a new State.

Table of new States, not including Maine, Texas, and West Virginia.

States.	Date of admission.	Representative ratio on previous census.	Estimated population when admitted.	Population by following census.
Vermont	1791	33,000	85,425	154,446
Kentucky	1792	33,000	73,677	220,955
Tennessee	1796	33,000	67,000	105,602
Ohio	1802	33,000	45,365	230,760
Louisiana	1812	35,000	76,556	152,923
Indiana	1816	35,000	63,897	147,178
Mississippi	1817	35,000	35,512	75,448
Illinois	1818	35,000	34,620	55,162
Alabama	1819	35,000	40,000	127,901
Missouri	1821	40,000	66,557	140,444
Arkansas	1836	47,700	52,240	97,574
Michigan	1837	47,700	65,000	212,267
Florida	1845	70,680	64,000	87,445
Iowa	1846	70,6 0	78,819	192,214
Wisconsin	1848	70,680	180,000	305,391
California	1850	93,423	92,597	379,994
Minnesota	1858	93,423	120,000	172,023
Oregon	1859	93,423	50,000	62,705
Kansas	1861	127,381	107,206	364,399
Nevada	1864	127,381	40,000	42,491
Nebraska	1867	127,381	100,000	122,993
Colorado	1876	131,425	100,000	194,640
Total			1,638,471	3,644,655

Average population at date of admission	74,476
Average population at the following census	165,666

There is no rule, and probably never will be, as to what is required for a Territory to obtain admission as a State.

Senator Douglas on this question, speaking of the admission of Kansas, said:

This objection in regard to the want of population was not deemed quite conclusive and insuperable when we passed the bill for the admission of Oregon here two years ago.

My colleague thought it was very wrong to admit Oregon with so small a population. My answer was that while it was a good rule to require the ratio requisite for a member of Congress yet we had never adhered to that rule.

* * * * * * *

I helped to admit Florida into the Union when she had a population of 48,000.

* * * * * * *

I suppose two-thirds of the States of the Union have been admitted with less population than Kansas now has. I doubt whether more than two or three ever had as much. Ohio had nothing like it, probably not more than half. Indiana had about half, Illinois about half, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Alabama, and Louisiana about half. While I think it is not right to admit new States with too small a population—thirty or forty or fifty thousand—yet it has ever been done, and certainly, if the objection was not well taken to a population of forty or fifty thousand, it is not an insuperable objection when there are 109,000. Under these circumstances I think we had better waive these small technical objections and treat this question on its merits.

A table before me makes a remarkable exhibit for the eight organized Territories. The population given is not based upon an actual census, but the estimates are made upon information which appears to be reliable.

Territories.	Act organizing Territory.	Area of the Territories.		Estimated population.	Assessed valuation of property.
		Square miles.	Acres.		
New Mexico	Sept. 9, 1850	122,580	78,451,200	175,000	$60,000,000
Utah	Sept. 9, 1850	84,970	54,380,800	200,000	35,000,000
Washington	Mar. 2, 1853	69,180	44,275,200	170,000	50,000,000
Dakota	Mar. 2, 1861	149,100	95,424,000	600,000	157,000,000
Arizona	Feb. 24, 1863	113,020	72,332,800	92,000	26,313,000
Idaho	Mar. 3, 1863	84,800	54,272,000	97,000	21,000,000
Montana	May 26, 1864	146,080	93,491,200	170,000	60,200,000
Wyoming	July 25, 1868	97,890	62,649,000	100,000	33,000,000
Total				1,604,000	442,513,000

This table shows an average population for each of the eight Territories of 200,500, against the average of 74,500 population in each of the twenty-two States named at the date of their admission.

Make two Dakotas and the average population would be 178,000.

Omit Dakota with her large population and we will still have an average population for the remaining seven Territories of 143,000, or nearly double that of the average of the population of the States alluded to at the date of their admission.

Notwithstanding the rapid growth that has usually taken place in a new State immediately after its admission, the facts show that the States of Illinois, Mississippi, and Florida had each been a State for at least ten years before it could claim a population of 100,000; and that Oregon owing to her remote situation from the line of immigration was a State for fifteen years before her population numbered 90,000.

The results attained by the admission of new States have justified Congress in its action making their statehood possible. If this action has proven wise, there can be no doubt that the people of the eight existing Territories are not only entitled to home government but that the people in each would be justified in asking for State government.

The wealth of the Territories justifies home rule and shows that all the obligations imposed by statehood would not be a burden to either of them.

The assessed valuation of the property in the tables before me is based upon the last official figures obtainable, and is believed to be comparatively accurate. This valuation does not probably represent one-third of the actual valuation of the property. In several of the Territories railroad properties are not assessed and taxed, except on net or gross incomes. The same may be said of the property of mining companies and some other classes of corporations.

Assuming an average levy in the several Territories for Territorial, municipal, and school purposes of fifteen mills, and we find that the large sum of $6,637,000 is annually contributed for the support of governments and schools in the Territories. For all purposes affecting the government in these Territories Congress does not make annual appropriations that aggregate more than $300,000, or less than 5 per cent. of the amount raised by taxation in the Territories.

Wyoming Territory expends annually for the purposes named about $600,000. Congress contributes to that Territory for the support of government in each year less than $30,000.

I did not, Mr. Chairman, offer the amendment as a reflection on the Territorial officers of the several Territories. It would be an ungraceful act on my part to do so. As long as the law stands as it is now and the practice continues the same it is the right of all to seek and obtain these appointments. Many excellent men have been appointed and have filled and are now filling the offices in a conscientious and creditable manner. I would be false, however, to my convictions, formed after a residence in a Territory continuing through nearly a score of years, if I did not say that each Territory has citizens better qualified to fill every office therein than any who may be selected outside of the Territory interested, and who must have their first experience under a Territorial system after their appointment. It is not in disparagement to the many good men holding office in the Territories to say that each Territory has men of affairs who have shown such capacity in business and professional life as qualifies them to fill any executive or administrative office, and lawyers who have been indorsed time and time again by the entire bar, without regard to party for appointment to the judgeships whose private and public life are above reproach, men of long practice under the Territorial system, and whose legal abilities are of such high order as to well qualify them for the judicial office. None have been more willing to condemn the present system than those who have accepted office and have become acquainted with the true condition of the Territories.

Nearly every American statesman who has given expression to his views on the subject has declared that the present manner of selection of Territorial offices outside of the Territory in which they are to serve is wrong in principle and unjust to the people. These appointments are not made with the consent of the governed. The system is obnoxious to the principle that the American is taught from his very infancy that the right of self-government is inherent.

In the first few years of a Territorial existence, before the communities therein have become fixed and homogeneous, there may be some excuse for the appointment of non-residents, but when these Territories have grown in wealth and in law-abiding population, no good reason can be given for the continuation of the system. There are in these Territories as well organized communities as any that exist in the United States.

The Territories have time and time again asked that they might be permitted to select their own officers. Bills presented for this purpose never get beyond the committee-room. The change would take away a little political patronage from Washington, but it would lift the people of the Territories out of their anomalous condition of being freemen, living in and being citizens of the United States, without the power of self-government. These people have long been patient and law-abiding.

Those who framed the American Constitution could not, from the very condition of things at that time, look forward and comprehend

the existence of the great Territories of to-day. These Territories are several times as large in area as the thirteen original States. They contain half as much population as these States did when they achieved their independence. Little did the fathers of the Republic think that such grand provinces would be governed by non-resident officers appointed at the capital of the nation, which is on an average nearly as remote from the people governed, so far as miles are concerned, as the British Crown was from the American Colonies.

The people of each of these Territories, in their petitions and memorials to Congress setting forth the wrongs done them, could use the language of the Declaration of Independence, with slight changes, as most applicable to their condition, and declare:

"The United States has refused assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for our public good.

"The United States has made judges dependent upon her will, and for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"They have from time to time superseded our own Legislature and declared themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatever."

The Territorial system is an abnormal one. It should be short-lived, and no excuse should be made to prolong it a day longer than absolutely necessary to qualify a people for statehood.

Mr. Madison, and there can be no higher authority in the discussion that took place over the admission of Tennessee, said of the Territorial condition:

> The inhabitants in that district were in a degraded situation; at present they were deprived of a right essential to freemen—the right of being represented in Congress. Laws were made without their consent, or by their consent in part only. An exterior authority appointed their executive, which was not analogous to the other parts of the United States and not justified by anything but an obvious and imperious necessity.

Sixty years later, in the Senate of the United States, in discussing the Kansas question, Mr Collamer, of Vermont, said:

> The Territorial condition is not one which it is desirable to extend. It is an unnatural condition in our Government—that people have never yet had the advantage of choosing their own government, their own executive, or having their own judiciary. * * *
> They desire to be enabled some time or other, and they consider this the proper time, having the population, to have the privilege of governing themselves in this country as other people do.

Kansas had then been a Territory only six years, and no claim was made at that time that her population exceeded 100,000.

Can not the people of these Territories be trusted? They are the sons and daughters of the various States of the Republic removed only to the Territories. The people have for a hundred years been educated for republican institutions. The Republic is the wonder of the world. It has been made possible by the trust it has reposed in its own people. At the laying of the corner-stor e of the Catholic University in this city a few days ago Bishop Spaulding used these eloquent words:

> Above all, who could have believed that a form of government rarely tried, even in small states, and when tried found practicable only for brief periods, would here become so stable, so strong, that every hamlet, every village, is self-poised and manages its own affairs? The achievement is greater than we are able to know; nor does it lie chiefly in the millions who, coming from many lands, have here made homes and found themselves free; nor in the building of cities, the clearing of forests, the draining of swamps, the binding of two oceans, and the opening of lines of rapid communication in every direction.
> Not to numbers or wealth do we owe our significance among the nations, but to the fact that we have shown that respect for law is compatible with civil and religious liberty; that a free people can become prosperous and strong and preserve order without king or standing army; that the state and the church can move in separate orbits and still co-operate for the common welfare; that men of different races and beliefs may live together in peace; that in spite of an abnormally rapid increase of population and of wealth, and of the many evils thence resulting, the prevailing tendency is to sanity of thought and sentiment, thus plainly manifesting the vigor of our life and institutions; that the government of the majority, where men put their trust in God and in knowledge, is in the end the government of the good and the wise.
> We have thus helped to establish confidence in human nature; to prove that man's instincts, like the laws of nature, are conservative; to show that the enthusiasts who would overturn everything, destroy everything, have no abiding place or influence in the affairs of a free people, as volcanic and cyclonic forces are but transitory and superficial in their action upon the earth. We have shown, in a word, that under a popular government, where men are faithful and intelligent, it is as impossible that society should become chaotic as that the planets should dissolve into star dust. It is difficult to realize what an advance this is on all previous views of political life, how full it is of promise, how accordant with the sentiments of the noblest minds in every part of the world.

Mr. Chairman, we all agree that the best government of all governments is that which is derived directly from the people. The best models under this Republic are those of the New England States. The people there carry out to perfection the town and county idea. The towns and counties, as well as the State, select their own officers. These towns make the county and the counties the State after the manner that the States make the Republic. In this way all are trusted; all the people, the lowest and the highest, are called upon to take part in selecting the smallest town officers as well as in the selecting of persons to fill the most exalted places.

Our people—I mean the people of the Territories—are restricted in their powers in this regard, for the reason that they do not under the organic act have the power to fill by election any Territorial offices that may be created by a Territorial statute. The only officers that they are authorized to select at a Territorial election are the Delegates they send here to represent them on this floor. It is true that they are permitted to select county and district officers, but all the Territorial officers must be selected by the governor, who may be a non-resident, and confirmed by the council. What condition of things by reason of these restrictions do we find? Take Dakota, for example. The governor of that Territory has the selection of over one hundred Territorial officers. Not one of these officers expend a cent of Government money or perform a duty under a United States law. The legislative body, including both council and house, consists of only seventy-two members.

If the governor should be so inclined he could accomplish almost anything that he might desire in the way of legislation through the medium of the patronage afforded by these appointments. He is not responsible to the people over whom he has been called to govern. What might be true in Dakota might also be true to a greater degree in the other seven Territories, for in each of these the Legislature is only half as large as that of Dakota.

If the rule suggested in the following extracts from a speech delivered by the late Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, could be followed, the question of home rule would not be long denied, as each Territory would soon take its proper place in the list of American States.

Senator Howe, on the bill for the admission of Colorado, said:

> We have no general law which determines when our children, the children of the Republic, shall become of age and shall have the right to set up for themselves. We have been in the habit of fixing that time as each individual child came forward to claim it. Another child is here to-day asking to be emancipated from parental authority, so to speak, of the United States; willing still to be a child, but wanting, like other emancipated children, the right to guide herself.
> I have but one test by which to judge for myself when this thing we call a State ought to be admitted or not. Whenever I find a community friendly to the United States and able to pay the expenses of their own government, defray the charges of their own control, if they say they are willing to do it I am not the man to forbid them. If my own judgment is not quite in accord with theirs, if I find a pretty spirited and a pretty plucky people saying that they are equal to the work of self-government, when I am not quite satisfied of the fact myself, I rather yield my own opinion to theirs. I would rather encourage a little ambition of this kind than discourage it.

These Territories are growing rapidly. The people are moving forward and are taking advanced steps in that class of legislation that protects all in the enjoyment of equal rights. There is no discrimination on account of race or color. All who choose to make homes within their borders receive a most cordial welcome.

The American idea that public schools prepare children to grow into liberty-loving men and women, and fit them for republican institutions, has been put into actual practice. Without a permanent school fund and without Government aid large sums are expended each year in the maintenance of schools for all children of the school age. Wyoming spends $28 annually per capita on the average attendance of the children in her public schools, Arizona nearly double as much, Dakota $26, and each of the other Territories nearly or quite as much. In addition to the public schools, universities, agricultural colleges, and industrial schools are maintained in several of the Territories. The various religious denominations vie with each other in the establishment and support of churches and educational institutions.

The Territories are populated with an enterprising people. They have accomplished more in a score of years than was thought possible in a century. The sixteen hundred thousand of intelligent people living in the Territories, the thousand millions of dollars of accumulated wealth, the railroad systems measuring nearly 15,000 miles, half as great as that of the entire United States in 1860, and the other great business enterprises of these Territories demand home rule, and a more comprehensive government than that afforded under the Territorial system.

The oldest of the Territories, New Mexico and Utah, have remained in the Territorial condition for nearly forty years, the youngest, Wyoming, nearly twenty years. Children, since their organization, have been born and grown to manhood and womanhood. If it were in my power before this Congress, so crowded with business, adjourns, the two Dakotas and the seven other Territories would be offered acts under which they could become States. Each has served a full apprenticeship of preparation; each is ready for State government. There should be no exception made in any case if the people of each Territory should show a willingness to comply with the conditions that might be required. Unfortunately history shows that no new State has been admitted because of its own preparation. Then States were admitted in pairs to maintain the balance of power between slavery and freedom, in the annexation of new territory, as war measures, or to give a party in power additional political strength.

The Territories will probably be required to wait for admission until one political party has control of the President and both branches of Congress, or until by a system of legislative jugglery they may be made to balance each other on a political teeter-board. I had hoped until the opportune time arrived for their admission the small concession towards self-government proposed by the amendment would be granted without an objection. It is the old story: a power once exercised is rarely surrendered without objection.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLIFTON R. BRECKINRIDGE,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: When the President of the United States in December last communicated his regular annual message to Congress it was found to be devoted exclusively to the subject of war rates of taxation and to the surplus revenues which were being steadily accumulated in the Treasury. For some years these have been the chief questions in the minds of men and in the platforms of political parties. The Democratic party has steadily urged the reduction of the surplus by a reduction of taxes upon the necessities of life; and the Republican party has promised to reduce the surplus, without, however, clearly defining the mode. On few occasions, perhaps, in the history of our country has a communication from its Chief Executive been greeted with such extravagant denunciations as hailed this message from the Democratic President. Those of our people who consider themselves benefited by reason of the taxation upon imports filled the land with clamor, and the chief representative of that class of our countrymen, although traveling ostensibly for pleasure in a foreign land, saw fit to meet the message of the President with a special communication from the city of Paris.

But, sir, when the people came to consider the message of the President they found it a reasonable document. They could see nothing unreasonable in the proposition to reduce the surplus in the Treasury, and to do so by a reduction of taxes upon the necessaries of life, especially when the degree of reduction recommended would still leave taxes on imports, with a prudent regard for our present conditions, higher than they were at past periods in our history when they were said by these people to be sufficiently protective and when the differences between us and our foreign competitors were far greater than they are now. Therefore, upon the "sober second thought" of the people, the message of the President met with great favor. So marked was this that our political opponents soon sought some new point of attack along the Democratic line; and the chief of the opposing forces, who had rushed so valiantly into the fight, sent a letter which was practically a letter of resignation, withdrawing altogether from the contest for that position which previously he had seemed to covet.

In the due course of events the Committee on Ways and Means, to which the President's message and recommendations were referred, brought into this House the bill now under consideration proposing a reduction of taxes. This latterly has been made the occasion of violent assaults and of most extravagant assertions. But since the people have had an opportunity to examine the bill and meditate upon it, they find that it is a bill which falls far short of even the conservative recommendations of the President. The President rightly expressed the desire of the Democratic party that surplus taxes should be reduced at this time solely by a lowering of taxation upon the necessaries of life: but as a concession at this juncture from our professed preferences we have incorporated in the bill now before the House a reduction of nearly $25,000,000 of the internal-revenue taxes—that part of our war taxes which has been the chief subject of reductions in past years. And we find that the people, having approved of the message of the President, are now beginning all over the country to approve of the bill proposed by the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means—a measure which, as I stated, is even more conservative than the propositions of the President.

The contest we are having is mainly over the tariff part of the bill, and it is well for us, Mr. Chairman, to consider for a moment the composition of our present tariff law. It consists of three strata. It consists, first, of the revenue tariff, which was adopted in 1857. Added to this we have the combined revenue and protective tariff increase adopted in 1861. This was professedly higher than was then needed for protective purposes alone. That was before the adoption of the homestead law, and at that time the Government had been relying for its revenues largely on the proceeds of the sales of the public lands; but that source of revenue had measurably failed for the time being, falling from $11,000,000 and $8,000,000 a year to less than $1,060,000 by 1861. The great prosperity of the people had led to extravagant speculation in land, and the short panic of 1857 led to a cessation of investments of this kind. Our deficiencies during these years just prior to 1861 just about equaled the falling off of the receipts from this source. The increase of these receipts in 1856 and 1857 had led Congress to think that the reduction of taxes made in 1857 could be safely and permanently made.

Then, after the tariff increase of 1861, there came our civil war, and by successive acts the tariff was increased strictly for revenue purposes. Most of these increases were to enable the manufacturers to stand the internal taxes laid during these years upon their products, and to compensate also, so long as such taxes should last, for those taxes which were laid upon incomes, occupations, etc.

Now, long after all the internal war taxes have been taken off of the manufactured goods, long after the war taxes have been taken from the incomes of our manufacturers and others, and when there is no longer any tax on the occupation of any citizen except in the business of tobacco and spirits, we yet find that substantially in all these branches of business in which the war increases of the tariff afford protection and advantages the rates of taxation continue as high and have even been in many cases made higher than they were in 1862, 1864, and 1866. If the internal taxes of 1866 were still in force our receipts now would be, at the rate then paid, over $900,000,000 per annum. If this were needed we could not complain. If the tariff increases were needed to offset the nearly $220,000,000 that this would embrace of direct taxes upon manufactured products alone we could not complain. But when there is not a cent of those and other taxes remaining to offset which the present rates on competing imports were laid, when they were not even professed to be needed for protection, as I will fully show later on, and when now only the small remaining remnant of internal taxes are now spoken of as "war taxes," and these war-tariff taxes are sought to be retained for purposes of monopoly, I solemnly protest against it. It is this part of the tariff that we seek to reduce just a little, and so little that it will unquestionably show, if our opponents reject it, their devotion, under whatever pretense they may assume, to monopoly pure and simple.

Sir, when a contest is made over a reduction of this character, over a reduction of this part of the present tariff system, it truly involves a great principle, as stated by my esteemed and distinguished friend from Ohio [Mr. BUTTERWORTH]. It will not do to pitch the fight, as the gentleman does, upon the ultimate aims and wishes of any part of the great mass of people who demand the passage of a bill like this. Of course any reduction of excessive rates of tariff taxation is in the "direction" of free trade. I do not seek to conceal my own belief in the wisdom of the greatest possible freedom of trade from all hindrances and restrictions. But the question is, are you in favor of any freedom of trade? You are friendly to the tariff, but are you friendly to a reduction of the tariff? Are you willing even at this late day to repeal even a part of the war part of the tariff increases? We are not going to increase the internal taxes. Sir, for many years our tariff taxes must furnish revenues for at least $50,000,000 annually in excess of all of our ordinary civil expenditures. How can we have free trade? If we untax raw materials to help our laborers and consumers we must tax finished products. Shall we restrict trade, even home trade, in order to oppress our own people and to keep up a wretched political combine which is but a business trust? To oppose this bill because of a contest that ultimately may and will arise when the public debt is paid and the pensions are all paid and but little revenue is needed is to evade the present issue. Here is where the gentleman [Mr. BUTTERWORTH] states the case wrongly, and by so doing and by acting as his side seems determined to act, they are doing all that lies in the power of man to force the people to choose sharply between free trade and our present most unconscionable system of monopolies.

Sir, there are three kinds of protection. There is what may be called a rational system of protection. That was the protective part of the tariff system practiced by our fathers at the close of the Revolutionary war when they felt the temporary need of some industrial defense as a war measure to encourage and secure certain industries necessary to supply us with a few indispensable articles. Washington pointed out that either Government had to conduct them or they had to be encouraged as pursuits of the people; but he warned his countrymen against "forcing" anything. We are lacking in industrial data of that period, but when we see how much higher the interest on money and the rates of wages are now in the new States and in the Territories than they are in the older States, we may safely conclude that the differences between the cost of production in this country and in Europe was much greater then than they are now. What rate was considered adequate then? At that time and under those circumstances rates of protection of from 5 to 10 per cent. were considered adequate. The idea was to enable manufacturers to pay their workmen the standard of wages that existed in this country (and certainly no laws can increase the standard) and to equalize the difference in the charges for the use of money. Dangerous and faulty as such a beginning may be, yet, if confined to this limit, it left no margin for monopoly. It formed no basis and afforded no temptation for a "trust," and we had none. It enabled the people to possess the necessary industries without enabling the industries to possess the people.

Then, sir, there is another idea of protection, which is not one of defense or of independence; but which may be called the commercial doctrine of protection. It is employed for the establishment of a variety of industries whether the country needs them or not, and in the face of the fact that we can for the time being procure their products more cheaply by exchange than we can by domestic production. This doctrine

of protection generally pretends only to foster those industries which we are naturally adapted to sustain. Like the former doctrine it only asks to cover the difference in the cost of production, and until recent years it has never claimed that the protection should be more than temporary.

The trouble with this is twofold—first, in due time a nation will get the diversity of industries naturally suited to it without the cost of premature fostering; and second, the beneficiaries of this legislation, like all recipients of class legislation, are never satisfied with their first demands or with the satisfaction of their real needs, but they continue to clamor for more, they never say "enough," and they soon begin to look around for allies to help them to continue and to increase their exactions. This is, at its beginning, a foolish policy of protection; and it soon becomes the third and last species of protection, which is a policy contended for by the privileged classes for purposes of monopoly.

This is the kind of protection we have to-day—a policy under which the privileged industries enjoyed great advantages until production caught up with consumption; and then, in order to prevent competition they began, with that wonderful capacity of our people to combine for a common purpose, to enter upon the era of combinations and trusts. This, Mr. Chairman, is not only a foolish but it is a wicked policy of protection that it behooves a people to prevent or to escape from. That we are in this condition to-day is so plain a fact that no fair and rational man will question it for a moment.

Sir, in dealing with these questions or with these different phases of the protection question the two great political parties have always as now shown their true animus and principles. At this time we recognize that some industries are more or less dependent for existence upon the maintenance of a certain degree of protection. We are dealing with an existing system and we have proceeded with great caution in such cases as these. The idea, however, that rates are to be apportioned as favors, or as salaries are equalized, as if the manufacturers were rendering a public service instead of following a private business—an idea quite prevalent among them—this idea has been disregarded, and as a rule luxuries have been left high and necessaries of life have been prudently reduced. But whatever the question or the period of time, the tendency of the Republican party is to make rates as high as the people can be persuaded or hoodwinked to stand, and the tendency of the Democratic party is to make them as low as the people need to stand. The inherent tendency to centralize wealth as well as power characterizes our political opponents, and the opposite tendency steadily characterizes ourselves. These propositions are, in my opinion, thoroughly shown by the present law, the bill, the committee reports, and by the speeches upon the respective sides.

Sir, in America there is no public or political necessity for the industrial and social blight of a privilege-giving and monopoly-breeding system of excessive tariff taxation as is supposed to exist in some of the foreign countries. We can understand how, among the crowding and hostile nations of Europe they may build up high tariffs as blind expressions of their animosities. We can understand why Germany with her peculiar populations recently united, and composed of discordant elements, for the purpose of strengthening the throne by the creation of a great privileged class, with the idea of making the throne a source of privilege and power, should make concessions and grant subsidies. We can readily understand how Italy may pursue the same policy, and with millions of men under arms they need also to utilize every possible source of revenue. But in America the conditions are different. Our people and institutions are homogeneous, our Treasury is bursting with surplus revenues, and never in our history was our country so fraternally united as now. The continued unification of our people, and the perpetuity of our Government will be best promoted by giving privileges to none, by enacting fair and equal laws, and by building upon the everlasting basis of justice and equality. [Applause.]

We need no such props or systems as are required to sustain emperors and kings. We need no classification of our citizens. But, sir, our Republican friends are contending for this part of the protective system and we are contending against it. It is altogether an erroneous system of statesmanship; and whatever may be the basic principles upon which the Democratic party may be established, certainly nothing is more fundamental or true of that party than that it is opposed and has always been opposed to all forms and phases of privilege and inequality.

In seeking to bring our commercial and fiscal affairs back to the economical and moderate conditions suited to peace we adopt the cautious and prosaic methods of reform.

It is one of the characteristics, Mr. Chairman, of those who engage in the defense of a bad cause to indulge in abuse and extravagant statement. Sir, one of the first statements that were promulgated by our opponents in this discussion was that the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, with an imperiousness unprecedented, voted not only against granting "hearings" to the representatives of the various industries of the country, but that we even denied the people the great constitutional right of presenting petitions. Every one of the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee have sought to prejudice public sentiment against this bill by signing a report containing these statements, dressed up in lurid colors. I first consider the latter one.

Sir, how strange it must seem to the people of this country when they learn, as is the case, and as I have the record here to show, that the proposition to admit petitions was never brought into question. How strange it must seem when they learn, as I have the record here to show, that the proposition that was brought up before the Committee on Ways and Means was an entirely different one, and that upon this wholly different proposition our associates deliberately found a most opprobrious charge.

I see my distinguished friend, a member of the Committee on Ways and Means [Mr. KELLEY], moving uneasily in his seat, and I will read the gentleman's own record upon this subject before I get through.

Mr. KELLEY rose.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I do not yield to the gentleman now. He can answer after I finish my statement.

There was a proposition made, as if to lay the basis of a charge for political advantage, as to an order of proceeding in committee. This proposition sought to dislocate petitions entirely from the subjects to which they related, and to this the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee objected. We insisted, instead, that petitions should be read, if gentlemen needed to call them up, in the order of the consideration of the subjects to which they related. Here is a resolution offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE]:

Resolved, That various requests having been made to the committee by persons representing themselves to be interested in industries which may be affected by the provisions of the bill under consideration, "to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue," asking to be heard orally before the committee, the committee now determines that it will receive such written or printed communications as any one may desire to file, but it declines to hear orally any one not a member of the committee; and the clerk of the committee is hereby directed to notify those who have requested, or may hereafter request, oral hearings of this resolution.

To this resolution the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] moved the following amendment, which is the proposition we voted down:

And that at the opening of each session of the committee the clerk shall proceed to read to the committee the statements and protests received during the interregnum.

It will be clearly seen that the only question presented by the amendment is one relating to the order of business. The question was whether the statements, arguments, and petitions should be considered by the committee as a body before we reached the subjects to which they related and be used as a block and obstruction to our ever getting to the various subjects at all. The Democratic members of the committee voted against their being thus read and used before reaching the place and topics to which they related. Were they to be read first and then not read subsequently? This would leave the impression faint and vague on the mind. Were they to be read first and also subsequently? This would needlessly consume time. I submit that what we voted down was simply a question of the order of procedure, upon which question our proposition was to give to these papers their proper position and their full force and effect, while the proposition of our opponents was to dislocate the papers from the subjects to which they might relate, to destroy their real force and effect, and to use them simply as instruments of obstruction to all progress with the subject of tariff reform in the committee.

I now yield to my friend from Pennsylvania if he desires to make a remark.

Mr. KELLEY. I ask the gentleman from Arkansas whether any counter-proposition of any kind was tendered to the minority when they asked that the appeals made might be brought to the attention of the committee.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Yes, sir; you were told that they would be entirely welcome. I with general assent told you so myself, and that we only desired you would bring them in in connection with the subject to which the particular petition was intended to relate. We gave you a cordial invitation to do that.

Mr. KELLEY. The gentleman from Arkansas may have condescended——

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. There was no condescension; it was entirely proper.

Mr. KELLEY. But the chairman of that committee, its organ, offered no opportunity to bring to the ears of that committee the petitions, memorials, and remonstrances that were committed to our care.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Why, the resolution adopted is a distinct invitation. At no time was a paper called for or produced in going over the bill and the slightest objection offered. We even had them classified for you, and in order to give the gentlemen of the minority an opportunity to consider all these matters, this bill, brought into committee on the 1st or 2d of March was not taken out of the committee until the 1st or 2d day of April; and we offered to hold night sessions to consider petitions and memorials and everything connected with the bill. We asked leave to sit during the sessions of the House and your side objected to it.

Mr. KELLEY. Does the gentleman not remember that the regular meetings of the committee were abandoned and were fixed to be held only when the chairman should summon the committee together? Not merely from Tuesday to Thursday or from Thursday to Tuesday passed, but weeks passed consecutively in which the minority had no opportunity of meeting officially.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. No, sir; I do not. I remember distinctly, Mr. Chairman, that no postponement ever took place except at the request of the gentlemen of the minority and to serve their expressed convenience. They wanted a statement printed when there had been submitted to them on the 1st of March, the day they got the bill, a statement of the whole effect upon the revenue. This statement in detail and in full was also indorsed by the Secretary of the Treasury on the 14th of March; and the gentleman from Pennsylvania had the candor to apologize to the committee for his complaints and to admit that for ten days or a week he had kept that statement and never opened its leaves. [Applause.]

Mr. REED. Before the applause subsides I want to suggest that the pamphlet was put into our hands with a statement that the figures were going to be verified by the Treasury Department, and, therefore, until they were verified, we all laid them aside; and if the gentleman undertakes to say to the House that in the Committee on Ways and Means petitions were read at the time the items were considered, if he undertakes to say there was any consideration of this bill in the Committee on Ways and Means, if he undertakes to say that there was any explanation of facts or reasons for the changes proposed in the bill, he is mistaken.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I can not yield to the gentleman for a speech.

Mr. KELLEY. And I desire to say I made no apology for not having read a pamphlet which I was told was incomplete.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Ah, Mr. Chairman, I will not get up a dispute with my friend from Pennsylvania. It may not have been strictly an apology, but the gentleman will remember that he made an acknowledgment that he had had the statement all the time, and had forgotten all about it.

Mr. KELLEY. I had it, but had not read it, because I was told it was to be substituted by a pamphlet, the figures of which the Treasury Department would have verified. I was waiting until the majority gave us the official information in that form.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Why, sir, it may not be worth while to devote time to these matters, but the record is very plain, and it is the reverse, and I say it in no offensive sense, of the statements of the gentlemen. The "pamphlet" that the gentlemen speak of in a slighting way is a full and complete statement, compiled for the committee in the way always observed, exclusively from official data, and by the chief clerk of the committee, Mr. Talbot, who, as every member will gladly admit, is one of the most competent, skilled, accurate, and responsible men ever associated with this branch of the public business. After the almost innumerable calculations had been gone over by the experts of the Treasury Department, the Secretary of the Treasury says:

> With the exception of a few unimportant errors, these tables, as printed, appear to be arithmetically correct.

And I think the chances are even, Mr. Chairman, that in these "unimportant particulars" the Department experts were mistaken.

As further evidence of the mere captiousness of the representative elements of the other side of the House—of their willingness to do anything and to say anything to prevent the slightest progress in the way of a reduction of the tariff—I will refer briefly to their statement that they were without information to guide them in the consideration of the bill. Sir, this might have been said by diligent men in 1866, but it can not be said now. In that year we established the Bureau of Statistics for the special purpose of providing such information. The imports, rates of duty, cost of foreign articles, are all given. Our exports and selling prices are all given. This and much other data is tabulated as to countries, ports, and in various other ways. In 1883 this data was all tabulated down to date, topically, by the Treasury Department in Evans's Imports, etc., and subsequent reports bring the data down to the present date. We have the very able report of Hon. David A. Wells, discussing this whole question of tax-reform. We have the "hearings" and report of the Tariff Commission, and since that time the census report of 1880 has been completed. The volume on manufactures embraces over twelve hundred pages. That on agriculture embraces about as much, and the volume on labor amounts to some eight hundred or nine hundred pages. Other volumes give relevant and important information. We have consular reports almost without number. The Agricultural Department has become far more statistical than formally. The Bureau of Labor, presided over by a statistician of great ability and experience, has been created and has furnished us with masses of data. The "hearings" extended by the Ways and Means Committee in the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses—both Democratic—are in print and at command. The archives of the committee contain papers and arguments upon almost every question involved. But more information is wanted and no action. We are wanted to hear and wait and hear until the privileged classes shall consent to a reduction of tariff taxes. As Secretary Folger said, their consent will never be given. The only trouble is that we have more data now than any living man can fully utilize, and no willingness or disposition on the part of our opponents to take a single step or to permit one to be taken to keep even their own former pledges to relieve the people. They have finally left the people and yielded fully to the most preposterous demands of the monopolies, and by this system of fanciful and extravagant statements they are seeking now, as in times past they have sought by these and other methods, to divert the minds of the people from the true state of affairs. There was sure to come a time when you had to go back at least to simply protective rates of tariff taxation, or yield to the monopolies and refuse to go back. That time finally came in 1883, as I will fully show later on, and then you became, gentlemen, a new party from the old Republican party, or at least different from its professions and promises from 1861 to 1883. You had been the party of protection. You are now the party of monopoly. The protective principle has led to its final and worst consequences and conclusions, and the question now is, shall they continue without abatement?

Gentlemen say that we shall embarrass the administration of customs laws by confusing terms and provisions. They know that the administrative part of the bill is substantially the former Hewitt administrative bill that they all approved of, and that every administrative feature in this bill has the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. He discusses the matter without complaint in his letter of March 14, printed with the statement we furnished you and given also in the report of the majority of the committee. With a month given to you to point out defects, you never once even attempted to show such defects, and yet gentlemen make such statements in general terms, still avoiding specifications, and seek to prove them by complaining that we refused to take up their time in consideration in committee.

Boasting that for years you have stood here like a stone wall obstructing and preventing all reductions such as are now proposed, you yet profess, by reproaching us, whose earnest and repeated efforts you have defeated, that such failure is reprehensible, lightly regarding the fact that you have steadily prevented the subject from going to the Senate, which you have controled and do now control, in the only way it can reach that body, namely, as coming from the House, where you would have that entire charge of the subject which you have said and now say is all you ask in order to formulate your views. If the control of both bodies is a logical prerequisite to the formulation of a measure, we could have so pleaded, as you now do.

If the control of only one body imposes that duty you have been so situated during all these years of obstruction. Judge us frankly, gentlemen, by your own standard of judgment and submit yourselves to the same rule. For now three Congresses we have met the issue by formulating tariff bills, and you have avoided it by refusing to let your own Senate get control of it. Again we throw down the gauntlet to you, and again we ask you to let the subject pass over to the Chamber you control, or to offer some substitute of relief here. We might have objected to the subject going into the hands of a Republican Senate, but, gentlemen, with what grace, propriety, or reason can you object to that?

I now pass, Mr. Chairman, to the consideration more particularly of the reckless statements made by the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House about the rates fixed by the bill. The minority represent in their report that all the schedules are affected. They say, on page 18 of the report, in speaking of the bill:

> It undertakes to revise our entire revenue system; substantially all of the tariff schedules are affected; both classification and rates are changed.

The present law is a substitute for all of our former tariff laws, and it was passed only five years ago. At the very beginning of the act it declared that—

> The following sections shall constitute and be a substitute for Title XXXIII of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

There has scarcely been a Republican platform from that day to this that has not complained of the "inequalities" of this act, of its awkward, blundering, and "incongruous" provisions, and said that it should be "revised." It will be noted that they always speak of "revision" instead of "reduction;" but it wou d seem from what the Republicans themselves say of the clumsy character of the present law that it were no sacrilege to touch it. On the same page of their report the minority, in speaking of the bill, say:

> If enacted into law it will disturb every branch of business, retard manufactures and agricultural prosperity, and seriously impair our industrial independence.

They further say:

> The bill is a radical reversal of the tariff policy of the country. * * *
> It does not correct the irregularities of the present tariff; it only aggravates them.
> Its construction takes no account of the element of labor which enters into production, and in a number of instances makes the finished or advanced product free or dutiable at a less rate than the materials from which it is made.
> "The poor man's blanket," which the majority has made a burning issue for so many years, is made to bear the same rate of duty as the rich man's.
> It is marked with a sectionalism which every patriotic citizen must deplore.

Here are enough charges, Mr. Chairman, to kill the bill if only true in part, and I submit that they leave the gentlemen who make them in very bad shape if they are not true. Most of them are simple questions of fact, about which there is no excuse for error. Others are matters of opinion about which gentlemen are liable to differ.

Let us consider first the statement of fact that all the schedules are affected and the entire revenue system revised, both as to rates and classifications, and along with this the opinion expressed that all the industries in these respective schedules are thereby condemned to serious injury if not to ruin.

Sir, our tariff is divided into fourteen great schedules, and if we include the free-list it makes fifteen. These schedules are:

Schedule A.—Chemical products.
Schedule B.—Earthenware and glassware.
Schedule C.—Metals.
Schedule D.—Wood and woodenware.
Schedule E.—Sugar.
Schedule F.—Tobacco.
Schedule G.—Provisions.
Schedule H.—Liquors.
Schedule I.—Cotton and cotton goods.
Schedule J.—Hemp, jute, and flax goods.
Schedule K.—Wool and woolens.
Schedule L.—Silk and silk goods.
Schedule M.—Books, paper, etc.
Schedule N.—Sundries.
The free-list.

These are the schedules the minority say have been thrown into great disorder, making no exceptions; and under these are assembled the industries which they say this bill would consign to a common ruin. The statements made in the report of the Republican members of the committee have been repeated, embelished, and attempts have been made to enlarge upon them by nearly every gentleman who has spoken upon the opposite side of the House. These statements are made by gentlemen who pose before the country as men of information and as the special guardians of great public interests. I aver, without fear of successful contradiction, that an examination of indisputable facts of record will show that our opponents are characterized by a recklessness, not to say a wantonness of statement that accurate and prudent men do not indulge in, that no cause can justify, and that no good cause can inspire.

Take Schedule L, that of silk and silk goods, and let us examine into the changes we have made and the ruin we have wrought here, as alleged by the minority of the committee. Sir, under this head there were 382 productive establishments in 1879, as shown by the census of 1880. There is subject to ruin a capital of over $19,000,000; over 9,000 men, 16,000 women, and 5,000 children, a total of 31,335 hands, are to be deprived of employment that "adds to our national wealth" over $41,000,000 of products every year—the business is larger now—and their earnings were $9,146,705. What happy homes are destroyed! What a doleful picture we have of the hum of industry hushed and the great factories standing, grim monuments of disaster and of Democratic folly. Why, sir, we have not changed a classification or lowered a single rate. We have not touched the schedule. In the matter of gloves made of silk, and that might have been involved elsewhere, we took particular pains to keep them at the 50 per cent. rate laid upon the general merchandise of this schedule.

I will not say that gentlemen knew that we had not changed this schedule when they said we had done so. I infer that in their blind opposition to any tariff reduction they just struck out without reading the bill and studied only the art of making extravagant assertions and of charging ignorance upon their Democratic associates. We could have made reductions greatly to the relief of the buyers of silks and to the relief of the labor employed in making the goods. Our imports last year were over $30,000,000, and our rate of duty was 49.71 per cent. This is more than enough to cover the difference in the cost of production here and abroad and it is a serious embargo upon the consumption of silk goods of domestic as well as of foreign manufacture. It is more than twice as much as all the labor there is in the goods; but we must have revenue, and we prefer to keep a high tax on silks. It is a hardship on labor to have a high tax on the products of their labor, but in this case they must stand it. These mills consumed in 1879 $22,000,000 and a little over of material. This includes cost of capital and excepts wages. We legislated into their pockets, as shown by their receipts and returns, some $10,000,000 over and above all this and above what they paid their hands. The Republicans say they did this for the laborers. But they made no provisions for the hands to get it. They left the giving of it to the discretion and humanity of the manufacturer. The returns show that he kept every cent of it in his pocket. He simply put up the price of the goods to approximate tariff prices and kept the money, as all do who can, and this lessens consumption and hence lessens the demand for labor. So we are pretending to help labor by having free trade in labor and putting a tax on its products that more than offsets the wage he can possibly get, thus limiting his market. But I will not dwell further upon this matter.

I wish to call the attention of the committee to another schedule that we are said to have mutilated and to other industries that we are said to have pickled for an evil day. There is Schedule H, relating to liquors. The industries under this head exist or cease to exist under our "home rule" system of government as the people in the respective States prefer. When a State permits its people to make or consume such products they are subject to Federal taxation, and the Democratic members of the committee are very partial to taxing these products rather than the necessities of life. This schedule embraces distilled, malt, and vinous liquors and some other products, such as ginger ale, etc. A great many working people are employed in these industries. Without going into a complete summary, I may say that in 1879 there were over 3,000 establishments producing distilled spirits, malt liquors, and vinous products. They gave employment to more than 32,000 people, and the wages paid exceeded $15,000,000. The capital employed was nearly $120,000,000. Apart from any question of merit, our Republican colleagues on the committee unite in making this schedule no exception in their general statement of ruin. They do not specify the particulars. We can not blame them for that, Mr. Chairman. We can only blame them for making the statement at all, for the schedule is not touched.

Then there is the tobacco schedule—Schedule F—one of the great schedules, and covering one of the great lines of industry of the people. Foreigners will buy up our tobacco, ship it to Europe for say three or four dollars a ton, ocean freight, work it into the various forms fit for use, having pauper labor, and under the destruction of rates that we are said to have made they will ship it back here at a less rate of freight, for return freight is all "ballast," and they will deprive our people of this work. Seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-four establishments are going to ruin; $40,000,000 of capital will be idle to supplement the surplus in the Treasury; 87,587 hands, including 20,000 women and more than 11,000 children, who now find honest and cheerful employment manufacturing the gay brands of tobacco, are going to be sent to the poor-house. It is a terrible state of affairs. The changes we have made in this schedule and affecting these industries will stop the current of $25,000,000 of yearly wages now dispensed. It makes a man who loves his country—and only Republicans love our country—shudder. The $17,000,000 internal-revenue tax on tobacco that we repeal will help the industry. They all say that. Giving the cigar-makers Sumatra wrappers at 35 cents a pound instead of 75 cents a pound tax will help them. They all say that. Then so far we have helped them by universal consent. The last feature is a tariff change. What are the changes which are going to produce the stated ruin? Our Republican colleagues do not specify them; they only cry out "*Ruin!*" They say "All the schedules are so mutilated that all the industries will be ruined," and they make no exception of this one. They do well, Mr. Chairman, not to go into particulars, for not another feature in the schedule is touched. There is nothing so necessary for gentlemen who have made up their minds to adhere "through thick and thin" to the most extravagant features of a system as to fail to acquaint themselves with any of the facts which it would be inconvenient to admit.

Gentlemen may say that the reduction on Sumatra wrappers will lessen the protection to our producers of wrapper tobacco. This is true, but where does it leave them? A pound of Sumatra wrappers is equal in wrapping capacity to 3 pounds of domestic or Cuban wrappers. It is not a pleasant tobacco, and it is used mostly for medium and low grade cigars. It is easy to work, and this is the chief saving. The tax as proposed in the bill is 35 cents a pound for unstemmed wrappers. The stemmed wrappers are unchanged from $1 a pound tax, although I expect it ought to be somewhat reduced. The unstemmed Sumatra tobacco is worth, say, 91 or 92 cents a pound, exclusive of freight, etc. This makes the equivalent of a pound of American wrappers equal to, say, 30 cents; one-third of the tax is, say, 12 cents a pound. Good domestic wrappers were worth some time ago 14 cents a pound. The value may be more or it may be less now. Twelve cents is a bounty of nearly 100 per cent. that we leave to this class of our citizens, every cent of which we give them leave to tax other citizens for, if they limit production or in any way corner the market. We must do this for revenue so long as we tax imports for consumption at anything like present general rates. It is a restriction upon our commerce with the Netherlands, which country with its colonies is a large consumer of our products, and in common decency it is bounty enough.

That the issue as presented by this bill may be more fully comprehended, I now pass to the consideration of the schedules that we do touch, although about them as about the others the statements of gentlemen upon the opposite side of the House are utterly reckless.

Let us take schedule A—that of chemicals. This is the most intricate and difficult schedule that we have. It covers a multitude of industries of the most scientific character. By the census of 1880 we had 592 manufacturing establishments with a capital of nearly $30,000,000. They employed 9,515 people. They paid $4,157,163 in wages, and their product was $38,173,658. Sir, the wage per cent. of their product is 10 per cent., and we leave on the articles that we touch an average duty of over 22 per cent., which is more than twice as much as all the labor there is in them; and yet the gentlemen of the minority fail to omit the chemical schedule from their prediction of the general ruin which they say this bill will inflict upon every industry in the country. Why, sir, look a moment further at the chemical industry. I have given the wages and the product. The cost of material in 1879 was $24,380,566, making $28,537,729 for labor and material. Take this from the product, and we have a net profit of $9,535,929. In these figures, given by the manufacturers themselves, interest on capital, cost of maintaining plant, and every form of expense has been included. Here, then, is a profit of 33 per cent. in their sales over and above all this. Our rate of duty on all dutiable imports of chemicals last year was 35 per cent. In 1879 it was within a small fraction of 32 per cent. They collected from the people and retained in the pockets of the proprietors every cent of the protection and 1 per cent. of profit on top of it, which, according to the usual mode of computation, is the net profit, as I have just set forth, that they would have

made if there had been no protection. They would have made more than 1 per cent. under free trade after paying the wages they did pay, for many articles taxed were of the nature of raw material to them.

Here is a clear instance of the domestic product being enhanced in price by the tariff, and not a cent of the subsidy went to the laborer. The only effect was, as it is now, to subsidize the proprietor and to restrict the market for the products of labor. I do not mean to say that every chemical product could stand free trade; but I believe that the exceptions are few, as shown by the record; and I think it certain that just in proportion as we reduce these duties down to a very low rate do we increase consumption of most of these products; we compel the manufacturer to look to a large output at a moderate profit for his gains, and thus increase the demand for labor and increase the wages of the laborer. No well-informed friend of the working people and of consumers can find fault with this bill as regards this schedule, except upon the ground that we do not go far enough. We have proceeded with great caution. We have almost without exception left untouched those articles into the manufacture of which alcohol enters, because we do not reduce the tax upon that article. Mindful of the extremely technical character of this schedule we have conferred very carefully with manufacturing chemists, and I want to say that we have found them a very frank and candid set of people. They do not assume the wretched pretenses that so often mantle our protected classes, nor have they practiced the wretched sophistries that deceive no one but those who practice them. They say they have a good thing, and that they like it and want to keep it.

We gave the chemical schedule to the firm of Powers & Weightman with the request that they criticise it and give us the benefit of their opinion of its effects, etc. We take off, say, one-fifth of the estimated receipts from chemicals. This may fairly be called its full share in view of present conditions to which we need to accommodate the legislative proposition embodied in this bill. I hold in my hand a letter from Mr. A. H. Jones, of the firm of Powers & Weightman. He calls attention to the clause relating to essential oils, alkaloids, salts, etc., now on the free-list, and he gives some very strong reasons to show that this feature is wrong. It will receive very careful and respectful attention. He has some fears about the scope and meaning of several other clauses that are simply amendatory. He fears that they may go further than we think they do or intend them to go. This can be very easily guarded against if there be the slightest ground for doubt, and I may say that no reason for doubt will be left if we can possibly prevent it. Beyond this there is a nominal matter of 5 per cent. upon cerates, conserves, etc.; and this is the only danger that this eminent and interested critic can see. Yet how different is his talk from that of gentlemen here upon the floor and upon the committee who are talking for political effect.

I wish to cite only two or three points in relation to the earthenware schedule. This business, too, according to gentlemen on the other side, is to be consigned to ruin by this bill. It is an industry of very considerable importance. The data respecting this schedule is not consolidated, nor can it well be. We can, however, consider representative features of it without going too much into detail. As shown by the census returns of 1880, the per cent. of labor in the drain and sewer pipe business was 23; in brick and tile, 40; in stone and earthen ware, 40; in glass, cut, stained, and ornamented, 27, and in other glass, 43. We leave 49.21 per cent.—far more than all the labor there is in any branch of the business. The basket clause of the bill is 40 per cent., whereas under the act of 1861 it was only 30 per cent. Those are the general facts relative to this industry. We leave room for the manufacturers to charge extra to the consumers under this schedule more than all that is paid out for wages, and yet our friends on the other side of the House say this will not cover the difference between wages paid here and abroad.

I pass next to the consideration of the metal schedule. In 1880 there were in the foundry and machine-shop business (which they say we are going to ruin) 145,000 hands; the wages paid were over $65,000,000; the product over $214,000,000, the wage element being 32 per cent. of the product. If we had left 16 per cent., or the half of 32 per cent., perhaps it would have covered the difference between the cost of production in this country and in foreign countries; but out of abundant caution we have left over 43 per cent., which is 11 per cent. more than all the labor in the business. Yet gentlemen have the boldness to say that this does not cover the difference in wages.

In the iron and steel industry (separated in the returns from the foundry and machine-shop business) there were employed 140,000 hands, and there was disbursed $55,000,000 in wages. The average per cent. of labor in the product is 18; and we leave over 43 per cent., leaving still enough to permit an immense embargo upon the consumption of the products of labor, a heavy burden upon workers in iron and users of iron. Gentlemen take a weak position, weak in every sense, when they say they only want enough protection to cover the difference in wages in a particular industry. Every one can see that the rates we have are generally far in excess of all the labor in the particular industry. The product of one industry often constitutes the base or raw material of another industry. The first product is raised in price by the protective tax laid for it, and especially if the tax be specific a higher rate must be laid upon the latter or subsequent product. To admit this is to admit what our opponents absurdly deny, that protection does not enhance the price of the domestic-made article. If the first tax does not raise the price, why do you place the subsequent tax so far beyond the entire cost of the labor in it?

In the tinware industry the wage per cent. is 22; and we leave over 43, with free tin, and yet gentlemen say that there is not left room for the laborer to get his hire. I think it certain that with free trade in tinware, to prevent combinations, the workmen would do more and get more than they now do.

As to the wooden and woodenware schedule, a fair index is to take the furniture business. In that industry there were in 1880 59,000 hands, to whom were disbursed more than $23,000,000 in wages. The product was roundly $77,000,000 of goods. The wage per cent. is 30; and we leave a 30 per cent. rate of protection, which, in covering all the wages paid, certainly covers every difference of wages between this country and foreign countries.

In planed lumber we leave precisely the rate of protection that exists under the present law, simply taking off that upon the rough lumber.

It should be remembered also that in these bulky products distance and freight alone constitute adequate protection, as is shown by their extensive existence in the West, where wages are high, while often in the Eastern States wages are much more below the Western standard than in Europe they are below our Eastern standard.

I wish to pass rapidly to a brief consideration of the general features of the sugar schedule. The sugar-refining industry is an important one. In 1880 there were, exclusive of plantation refining, 49 establishments in that business in this country, with a capital of $27,000,000, with nearly 6,000 hands, and a disbursement of nearly $3,000,000 in wages.

The labor is only one-eighth of 1 per cent. of the product. The question is, as we have a duty upon raw sugars, whether we leave a sufficient margin between the tax on the raw sugar and the tax on the refined grades of sugar to cover the differences between the cost of refining in this country and the cost abroad. Under the present law the tax on sugar not above No. 13 Dutch standard of color and 65 degrees of saccharine strength is 1.40 cents per pound. For each additional degree the tax is .04 of a cent per pound. What is called the working base in the sugar-refining industry is No. 13 sugar, or sugar below 13, with 90 degrees of saccharine strength. The present tax on that is 2 cents a pound. The present tax for the first grades of refined sugar, those between 13 and 16, is now 2 cents per pound; between 16 and 20, a higher grade of refined sugar, the tax is 3 cents a pound; above 20 (and at 20 you reach about the grade of granulated sugar) the tax is 3½ cents a pound.

The margins now allowed for refining sugar, as will appear from what I have just said, are respectively 75 cents a hundred, $1 a hundred and $1.50 a hundred, from No. 13, of 90 degrees' strength to the upper grades. The highest cost stated for refining sugar was $1.90, which was the estimate stated by Mr. Havemeyer, of New York, as covering all the cost—labor, fuel, interest on capital, the integrity of the plant—and this presents it without possibility of loss, available for the market. Mr. Spreckels, in his testimony before the Committee on Manufactures, puts it as a considerably less sum, and other gentlemen put it still lower than Mr. Spreckels does, if I remember rightly, but none of them put the cost of refining at as high a figure as Mr. Havemeyer did.

The question still remains, what is the difference in the cost of refining here and abroad? We know that in the last fiscal year we exported some ten or eleven million pounds of refined sugar. For many years we have been exporting similar quantities of this sugar. Our refined sugars get a drawback of 1 per cent. less than is paid upon the raw sugar they are made of, and upon this basis they have for years been shipping refined sugar to England and Scotland and underselling the refiners of those countries at their own doors. It is possible, of course, that to run on full time and to keep their hands together they may have sold these sugars at a small loss; but I think it reasonably questionable whether the difference in the cost of refining as between this country and foreign countries amounts to much, if anything. If we reduced the sugar tax in a strictly horizontal way it would save the people only the tax and not lessen the margin of profit of the refiners. The existing sugar trust is a combination on the part of about two-thirds of the refiners to get the full margin of artificial profits that the present margins between the grades of sugar from raw to refined are intended to give them. The one central point of importance about this industry, and I may say this trust, as about all of our protected industries, is not that they consolidate, but do they oppress? Consolidation may be very necessary in certain businesses, but oppression is never necessary for the public good. If we take the world into our range of competition then the sugar-refining business will be abundantly regulated by competition. If we prevent the world from competing with this class of our business people, then just to the extent that our tax isprohibitory of imports to that extent do we give them a legislative warrant to tax the public for their private gain. Until production catches up with consumption they have not only the warrant but also the power to so tax the people at large without combining.

The condition then commands the tax for them upon domestic products as truly as it does to the Government upon similar imported prod-

ucts. They mingle in the markets at the same price. When production exceeds consumption then they may have only the warrant to tax the people, but not the power. Of course our legislative responsibility and duty are to be measured by the warrant we grant; and if, under the later condition of excessive production, the proprietors have wit enough to form an association, a trust, or something of that sort, they will continue to exercise the power which formerly they had through the law and the partially expanded state of production. Now they would possess and exercise that power through the law and the regulated or restricted state of production.

These simple facts are becoming more manifest to the "wayfaring man" and more difficult of concealment or defense to the believers and defenders of subsidies and of legislation restrictive upon commerce by which subsidies are artfully conveyed from the many to the few. The "trust" and "association" feature is bringing out the facts in great object-lessons to the people. Resolute as our intentions of reform may be, yet resentment is allayed by the reflection that we could hardly expect these people not to combine to continue that which the representatives of the people by their votes have been telling them they ought to have. Did you expect them to weary of these business pensions before you wearied of paying them?

But I must not dwell too long upon this feature. We have sought to reduce the sugar tax, say, $11,000,000. The reduction is a little more: and then by more largely reducing the margin of the refiners we have sought to also reduce what I may call the subsidy tax. Of course the tax on raw sugar affords a subsidy to the Louisiana sugar-planters. They will lose about $2,500,000 of their subsidy. But while the margins to the refiners are at present 75 cents, $1, and $1.50 a hundred for refining, we make them in this bill in this way: We take off 20 per cent. instead of merely twenty points from each grade. This makes a deeper cut in the higher grades. No. 13, of 75 degrees, is proposed a 1.15 cents, and each additional degree .032 cent. This makes No. 13, of 90 degrees, taxed at 1.63 cents. From No. 13 to No. 16 it would be 2.20 cents. Between No. 16 and No. 20 it would be 2.40 cents. Above No. 20 it would be 2.80 cents. This leaves margins respectively of 57 cents per 100 pounds instead of 75 cents, 77 cents per 100 instead of $1, and $1.17 instead of $1.50; or reductions of margins of 18, 23, and 37 cents per 100 pounds for refining.

Now, what cut does this make into the trust? Estimate consumption upon the basis of granulated sugar, and we cut their margin or profit say $1 a barrel. This means about $11,000,000 saving to the consumers of the country independent of and added to the saving by the reduction of the tax on raw sugars. We take off, say, $11,000,000 of the possible profits of the trust and other refiners, and yet leave them the margins of production that I have given, which I am sure is fully double what they need, if they need anything to cover the difference in cost of production here and abroad. If anything we have been too cautious. We want at least to lessen the limit and power of the trust and other refiners to oppress the people, and yet when we attempt even this gentlemen on the other side ask the people to rebuke us for it. We submit that while moving upon the trust we are not rash as respects the safety of the industry.

I now ask the attention of the committee while I briefly analyze the cotton schedule. It may be well for me to state that in making this analysis of the bill I seek to cover ground midway between that which is usually covered in general debate and in the five-minute debate. Generally only the bare outline of a bill and the largest totals are given in a speech at this stage of debate, or, if details are given, they are in illustration of a particular point or of local interest only. This is perhaps the correct theory; but I have been requested to depart from it and to group in one speech such explanations of the schedules as I am now giving. I know it makes a dry sort of a speech, but I partly share in the opinion of others that some member of the committee should do this work. It is perhaps of real importance in making plain the issue as presented, not upon our abstractions, but by this bill.

Now, sir, the cotton schedule deals with a very important part of our domestic industries. According to gentlemen on the other side, we are going to ruin them all. We had in 1880 1,005 cotton mills in this country; capital, $219,000,000; hands, 180,000; wages, $45,000,000; product, $210,000,000; and the average rate of wages was 82 cents a day, counting three hundred working days to the year, and the wage per cent. of the product was 21 per cent.

According to the prophecies and assertions of our friends on the other side we have made rash proposals about this industry. We are going to level down all these cotton mills; we are going to destroy this capital, and we are going to put all these people into the poor-house. I do not know what per cent. of the product labor is in foreign countries, whether 21, as here, or less. It is the boast of our opponents that it is less both in amount and in per cent. They also say, except when a bill proposes to reduce taxes, that only the difference needs to be covered; but now, even if we more than cover all the labor, they swear we do not cover the difference. There is not a rate in the schedule lower than 35 per cent. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that 35 is greater than 21, however stoutly the other side may deny it, and I also submit that 35 is greater than some figure less than 21, which is what they now tell the House and the people is not true. If the House will believe that 35 is greater than 21, and also greater than some sum less than 21, then the question as to the safety of the proposed rate is settled.

But much stress is laid by the other side of the House upon the fact that we change some specific rates to ad valorem, and they charge that we produce hurtful inequalities by taxing a lower manufacture at a higher rate than we do the product above it that is made out of the lower article. Substantially, all of the first part of this charge finds its foundation in what is proposed in this schedule. Let us look at this.

Yarns are now taxed partly ad valorem and partly what is called "compound"—that is, one form of compound; for instance, yarns valued at not exceeding 25 cents a pound is taxed 10 cents a pound; valued at over 25 and not exceeding 40 cents a pound, 15 cents a pound, and so on until we get to yarns valued at over $1 a pound, which is the final classification, and here the tax is fixed at 50 per cent. ad valorem. All this is as it is now fixed by law. You observe the last class is ad valorem only. The other classes are virtually ad valorem, for if an importer can undervalue his goods he can drop from one class to a lower one and thus escape the simply apparent specific tax fixed for high-priced goods, and get a low specific on costly goods, thus lowering the rate paid. Hence when we make all yarns ad valorem we virtually make no change in form or affect. Then again, if plain ad valorem is adequate for high yarns, which have the maximum of labor, why is it not adequate for low yarns, which have the minimum of labor?

But the need of some change is the more apparent when we consider the inequalities of the present rates. You observe that 10 cents tax is just 40 per cent. on 25-cent yarn. Lower yarns are also now taxed 10 cents a pound, which is more than 40 per cent.; 15 cents is nearly 38 per cent. upon 40-cent yarn, and it is nearly 58 per cent. on 26-cent yarns, and so on through the list, while the present rate on lower grades of hosiery made of these yarns is only 35 per cent. This is an inequality under the present law. Now we leave such hosiery at 35 per cent., and put the yarns to make them at the same rate, instead of leaving them higher, and for this we are denounced as doing an unequal and an unjust thing. Higher yarns are now taxed at 40, 50, and 54 per cent., as, for instance, 61-cent yarn is now taxed 33 cents a pound, which is over 54 per cent., while the finer hosiery and cloth made out of it is now taxed at the uniform rate of 40 per cent. ad valorem. We leave the latter tax just as it is, and put these yarns at the same rate and in the same form. I do not well see how else we could correct these inequalities. This is not only afair sample, but it is substantially all the basis there is for what we have seen and heard of the changing of the forms of rates.

One more illustration from this schedule, and it completes in fact the statement of all that we recommend in it. The tax now on costly cotton cloths, laces, etc., is 40 per cent. ad valorem. We leave it just as it is. The rates, however, on cheaper cloths are specifics. I hold in my hand samples of crinoline cloths, low-priced goods, involving but little labor compared with the cloths taxed 40 per cent., and that enter into the dressmaking industry, and these goods are taxed under the specifics at from 68 to 137 per cent. We correct this inequality and injustice to consumers and dressmakers and put the tax at the same rate as it now is upon fine cloth—40 per cent. Dresses are taxed at from 35 to 50 per cent. now by law; that is, cotton and silk. Should we leave their material taxed 137 per cent.? Some dress linings are now taxed 158 per cent. Here are mulls and tarltons. The cheaper goods are taxed as high as 110 per cent. Manufactures out of them are taxed 35 per cent. This inequality has, we are told, destroyed the ruffling industry here; and whether it has or not, it is unjust to the people employed in it and unjust to consumers. We make the rate the same as now fixed by law for fine goods—40 per cent. Here are sleeve linings taxed 70 per cent., the raw material of made-up goods taxed 35 per cent. and along there. Is this just? What inequalities do the other side propose to correct, and how, when they have the boldness to denounce us for proposals like these?

I may add that we make spool-thread 40 per cent. now specific and higher. We make it harmonize with other cotton products.

I repeat, Mr. Chairman, that it is the expensive cloth that has the largest per cent. of labor in it, and if that needs only 40 per cent. why should higher rates be imposed on the lower articles which need less protection?

We have brought, therefore, the lower grades of cotton goods down to precisely the same rate and to precisely the same form as the spinners now say is ample and adequate in rate and in form for the higher grades of goods.

I recognize the merits as well as the evils of specific and also of ad valorem forms of taxation. The former is always in favor from an administrative point of view. The danger is from overtaxation if prices decline and undertaxation if they advance, and this applies to both the revenue and the protective features of taxation. It is difficult to make it at all just to consumers and subsequent users of the products if the line or schedule be at all complicated. I consider silks, woolens, and cottons too complicated for its application. I may qualify the latter by saying that it would at least have to be elaborated much more fully than it is in the present law, somewhat as the French do, to make it scientific and just, and if this can not be done then the evils are

greater than the benefits. Under complicated conditions you can more safely trust to intelligent inquiry at the time than you can to cast-iron rules made here to force rather than to fit all the delicate changes and conditions of commerce.

The people engaged in the cotton-manufacturing business have impressed me as being a most substantial class of people and as men of great integrity of character. This is one of our oldest industries, and some branches of it would be far better off to-day under absolute free trade than under any form of protection that can be devised. This does not apply to the finer grades of goods. The latter grades are becoming the sole lines of New England manufacture. It is idle to contemplate the time when our revenue policy will not tax these finer goods as highly as the manufacturer can reasonably ask. The gentlemen in this industry met the tariff commission frankly, and they stood a good share of reduction at that time. They are timid now about their finer grades of goods and about the coarser ones as being upon the flank, as it were, of the finer goods. New England is in a transition state. The South is the place where the coarser goods are to be made for America and for the world. We are growing rapidly in this way in the South. We would grow more rapidly if we had free trade; but it would be a harsh and forcible transplanting of capital and operatives from New England to the South. A gentler course is the wiser. We are mindful of all these things. Our present bill, so largely made up by Southern men, if you please, shows it, especially when taken in connection with the language of our New England people when they had no unnecessary fears, as I hold their fears are now.

Mr. ALLISON in 1868, in a speech on the 4th day of June, said:

I remember in the year 1866, when we had under consideration a general revision of the tariff, the cotton manufacturers told us they did not want any increase of duties.

Now, what was the rate of duty on cotton goods at that time? Sir, the higher grades of goods at that time, although we had a direct tax upon the manufacturers products, was 35 per cent., and we leave it in this bill at 40 per cent. with no direct tax upon the products.

Cotton bags were taxed at 35 per cent., and bobbinets at 35 per cent.; we leave both at 40 per cent. Laces and insertions were then 35 per cent.; we leave them at 40 per cent. The "basket clause" is as high in this bill as it was then. I think, Mr. Chairman, these plain facts make absolutely ridiculous the reckless statements of gentlemen about this schedule.

Now, sir, there are some manufactures in the provision schedule which the minority prophesy will be ruined by the pending bill. There is very little upon that schedule that we touch. There is starch and mustard, with two or three other products in their natural state. In the starch industry, which substantially covers the ground, our capital in 1880 was a little over $5,000,000. They employed 3,119 hands; their wages were $919,197; their product was $7,477,742. The per cent. that labor got of the product was a little over 12. We leave rates of 40 and 47 per cent. We then leave a subsidy on starch sufficient to pay all the laborers now get nearly four times over, and yet gentlemen say room is not left to pay them. This is on a level with their other statements. Why, sir, our exports of starch last year were over 7,000,000 pounds. We sent over 1,000,000 pounds to England, and over 3,000,000 pounds to the Netherlands, and over 300,000 pounds to Germany. It will appear from this that here in this country, at the seat of the supply of corn and potatoes, the raw material for this manufacture, we are at the place to make starch cheaper than anywhere in the world, and certainly we would not export these vast quantities abroad were it not that we can undersell the foreign maker on his own grounds.

Now, Mr. Chairman, touching the hemp, jute, and flax schedule, our imports in 1887 were over $21,000,000, our receipts over $7,000,000, and the rate of duty over 34 per cent., and our average rate now, as proposed by this bill, is 24 per cent. In the linen-goods branch of this business the per cent. of labor is 27. In order to protect this labor we need to cover the difference between the 27 and some lesser amount that is received in competing countries. We leave 25 per cent. As we give them free flax and leave them 25 per cent., we believe that the protection is not only adequate to take care of the labor, but also, if it be charged in full by the manufacturer, to constitute a serious restriction upon the sales of the products of labor. In the matter of collars and cuffs we leave the present rate of 35 per cent. This is an industry that has been discriminated against by the high rate of taxation heretofore upon the cheaper grades of cotton goods. That inequality has been wholly or substantially removed, and we put this industry upon a fairer basis than it has occupied heretofore. It may be mentioned that the rate in the linen-goods industry up to July 14, 1862, was 30 per cent., but at that time they had a tax of $15 a ton on flax dressed and undressed. Now we give them the rate, as stated, at 25 per cent. and remove the tax off of the raw material. In the linen-thread industry, with a tax of $15 a ton on flax, there was a rate of protection of 30 per cent. We now give them free flax and 25 per cent.

I need not go on into many details about the woolen schedule. Its present form makes the solution simple and brief upon the basis of raw wool free. In general terms the rate now, except upon carpets, is said to be 35 per cent for protection and the balance, which is specific, is now said simply to offset the tax on the wool that enters into the cloth. We have nothing less than 40 per cent., the same in form and upon the basis of present professions higher and more truly protective than the present rates. If we can couple this with a substantial reduction in the aggregate to consumers we do not object to it. We certainly have no feeling of hostility toward any man. We are trying in a cautious, kindly way to give some relief to the masses of the people, and captious objections now urged argue no friendliness to this purpose.

I want to read for the information of our friends upon the other side of the House, who insist that we are reckless in our legislation, that this is going to ruin the woolen industries, what the representatives of those industries said in regard to rates in 1867, when they needed protection more than they need it now, but had not advanced to the high demands which now seem to characterize them. They said, through their committee, in their communication to the Internal Revenue Commissioner in 1866:

The provisions proposed by the committee and rendered necessary by the proposed change of the duties on wool aim to accomplish two objects: first, to fix the specific duties at rates which shall be simply compensatory for the duties on wool and other material, and secondly, to establish an ad valorem duty which, besides providing for the revenue tax on manufactures, shall leave the importer simply the net protection of 25 per cent. With some exceptions, the reasons for which will be specially explained hereafter, the ad valorem duties on manufactures of wool and worsted goods are fixed at 35 per cent., 10 per cent. being fixed as an equivalent for the internal-revenue tax of 6 per cent. on manufactures and on articles consumed in manufacturing, and 25 per cent. as protection to the manufacturer. That 10 per cent. is not more than an equivalent for the 6 per cent. revenue tax will appear from considering that the customs duty being levied on the foreign value, and the internal tax on the home value a larger percentage of the former than of the latter will be required to make a given sum.

To state a case for illustration, quite closely conformable to present home and foreign values: A yard of cloth sells now in our market for $2.50, which would cost abroad only $1.50. In that case exactly 10 per cent. customs duty would be required on the latter sum to equal the 6 per cent. internal tax on the former.

In the case taken the 10 per cent. would not be a whole equivalent for the internal-revenue tax, for such tax must also be paid on articles used in manufacturing.

Now, sir, what does this show? It shows that in an earlier state of the infancy of this ancient industry the manufacturers themselves declared that all the protection they needed was 25 per cent. The balance of the tax that was laid upon the imported goods they then said was simply to offset the direct tax upon the domestic manufactures and the tax upon raw wool entering into them. Yet to-day when there is not a dollar of direct tax upon domestic manufactures, not a dollar of tax upon the incomes or the occupation of these people; when we leave them, not 25 per cent., but in no instance less than nearly twice and in some instances exactly twice that sum; yet I say under these conditions we find gentlemen declaring that we are engaged in rash, inconsiderate, and destructive legislation, and that we are reducing the duties to such a stage as to utterly ruin these industries and they are here actually asking for higher rates of taxation. It is selfish, it is blind, it is scandalous, it is devoid of reason and humanity, it is bad faith. You, gentlemen, are the ones who are rash. I am almost ashamed of the greatness under such conditions of our moderation. Your true friends are those who regard the people, keep the faith, and advocate reform. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, I have now substantially completed an analysis of the pending bill. There is nothing in the two schedules relating to books and paper and to sundries that calls for special mention. In a debate truly remarkable for its ability and evidence of research we have had discussions of the issue as drawn between the doctrine of free trade and protection, high taxes and low taxes. I have sought to present it more strictly as formulated by the message of the President and by this bill, which means practical legislation suited to present conditions, regardless of the ultimate aspirations of any particular school of thought. Two things, however, are always salient; first, that the President and the Democratic party do not believe in class legislation under any guise or in any form, and secondly, that he and the party supporting him are in all things eminently cautious and conservative.

In the early part of my remarks I spoke of objection the Republican members of the committee made to the mode in which the majority proceeded to formulate the bill; and now, having answered from the bill itself their reckless statements about its industrial character and effects, I wish to call attention to the charge of sectionalism. Very many Northern industries are not touched, and because some Southern industries are similarly treated they say the bill is sectional. The item touched that they lay the most stress upon in this connection is wool. They say we put Northern wool on the free-list and lightly touch Southern rice. Let us look at the sectional character of the wool tax.

In the Southern States, including Maryland, the Virginias, Kentucky, and Missouri, and all the country south of these States, and not going farther west than Arkansas and Texas, there are 876,560 square miles. In 1875 the number of sheep in this vast territory was 5,420,000. In 1887 the number was 9,428,953; showing that in this section of our country the sheep had increased nearly 100 per cent. Those of us who are familiar with the climate and soil of this vast area of our country know that it is peculiarly well adapted for stock-raising, and especially for raising sheep. Far the greater part of our mountain area east of the Rocky Mountains is in this section. An area varying in width from 100 to, say, 300 miles, and extending from Virginia to Mexico, lying between the mountains and the seacoast, is mostly of a sandy character, and the people are finding it too light a soil to utilize other than for stock-

raising. To show how little of this southern part of our country is really utilized it may safely be said that every bale of cotton and every bushel of corn it produces—and these are the principal crops—could be produced in the single State that I in part represent. I need hardly assert, then, that land there suited for sheep-raising is both abundant and cheap there. There is then a great future for the wool-producing business in this part of our country. Our recent growth shows the tendency.

Now let us compare this with the States that we are said to have dealt with in an unfriendly spirit.

The Northern States most frequently mentioned in this connection are the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio. They have a combined area of 209,590 square miles, a great deal less territory than there is in the single State of Texas alone. In these Northern wool-growing States there were in 1875, 9,830,100 sheep. In 1887 they had 8,580,526 sheep, showing a falling off of nearly 1,000,000 in number, or more than 10 per cent., while our Southern part of the country showed an increase of over 4,000,000, or nearly 100 per cent.

Where is the future of the wool industry? Not in these States of stiff soil suited to other purposes; not where land is high in value and the climate severe, and where through long periods of time this industry has showed itself to be on the decline; not in a country where the total territory is far less than the territory even of the State of Texas alone, but it is in that vast region of our country south of us, where the climate is genial, where there are lands suited to it, and lands to be got almost for the asking. And when gentlemen from this section offer free wool to the people of this country, instead of its being a sectional proposition it is rather a generous offer and a sacrifice. Who is sacrificing a growing industry? Certainly not those who are abandoning the pursuit and want wool only to manufacture it and thus give employment to their wage-workers.

But, sir, there is also another feature. To get our foreign wools cheap means cheaper clothing for the people. Cheapening in this way means more employment and better wages for the factory hands. So, if we assume that domestic wools will decline in price, yet our neighbors get benefits thereby from which they are now hindered. Even the wool-grower gets his cloth cheaper. But who is the wool-grower who wears woolen cloth? Who is dependent upon woolen cloth for clothing? What wool-grower needs it and must have it, and whose immediate neighbors are to gladden his eyes by being warmly clad in good wool, and whose increased prosperity is to add to the consumption of garden products and such things in the vicinity in which they live? The mills are not in the South. Our climate is mild and we consume but little woolen cloth, and never will consume much as compared with our people of the North. Substantially none of these compensations come to us or to any class amongst us when we surrender this protection upon our growing industry. You, gentlemen, surrender nothing here except that from which you are already turning your attention away. We surrender what we are just fairly turning our attention to. With superior and lasting facilities for this industry we may reasonably expect to speedily reach the number of sheep to the square mile that you possess under unfavorable conditions, and then we shall have over 35,000,000, or nearly as many as are now in the entire Union. The incidental advantages also go to you and not to us; and yet you seize upon this with a blind and reckless spirit of carping, misrepresentation, and complaint, and say it is sectional and unfriendly.

Yes, gentlemen, the future of this industry is in the South and in the West, where land is cheap and the climate favorable. The climate in the far Northwest, say well west of Minnesota, is far milder than it is from there east. Our far West, with the south current and winds of the Pacific, has the climate of Western Europe. In the middle and eastern section we have the climate of Eastern and Central Europe. What is the West? Gentlemen do not seem to know what the West means. Missouri is not in the West. Missouri is well advanced in the eastern part of our country. My own State of Arkansas is not in the West. Arkansas is in the eastern part of our country. Half of the State of Kansas, even, is in the eastern part of our country. In that part of our country west of the western borders of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas, and beyond the borders of Texas, excluding even the State of California, which will not long grow wool, there is a territory of 1,401,900 square miles. This portion of our country which hardly fills a part of the mind's eye of gentlemen when they speak of our country, is roundly one-half of the entire country. It is just beginning to fill up, and it is filling up with sheep, the first, primitive, pastoral pursuit of the people of a primitive country.

This part of our country had in 1875 little more than two sheep to the square mile. It had in 1887 over nine sheep to the square mile. There were 179,000 sheep in that vast territory in 1875; and while New England and New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania and Ohio were losing 1,000,000 of their sheep, and the South was gaining nearly 5,000,000, this region was leaping forward from 179,000 in 1875 to over 13,000,000 sheep in 1887.

But I do not say take free wool while you can get it. I take no stock in your arguments. It seems to me that nothing could be more suicidal than for our people to fail to see that we shall produce and are now producing more of our qualities of wool than there is any demand for, and that we must have wools of foreign production, of different qualities, to mix with ours, in order that we may secure for ourselves not only a large home market, a fit line of product for home consumption, but also to extend our manufactures and the consumption of our wool and woolen goods in foreign countries.

You may well find a parallel, gentlemen. Wool is a product that is used to make clothing, and so is cotton. We import, roundly, $1,000,000 worth of cotton every year to supplement the deficiences in the quality of our American cottons, and I do not believe there is a gentleman here to-day from a cotton-growing State who would vote for a tariff upon cotton. We all remember very well the clamor that was raised when it was proposed to take off the tariff-tax on cotton and when it was taken off in, I believe, 1867; but we find that the importation of a million dollars' worth of foreign cotton annually is an unmitigated blessing to the American cotton-grower. It enlarges the consumption of our cotton goods. Do you suppose that we would destroy the production of wool in this country in a blind and ignorant devotion to some supposed interest of cotton? Cotton occupies its own natural field, and by being mixed with wool it is enabled to encroach upon the other fields and to swell and enlarge its domain. There springs up a great intermediate body of consumers. So it is with wool. Does the wool-grower ever say that he would destroy if he could the production of cotton which enters to such an important extent into the manufactures of mixed fabrics? He knows perfectly well that the cotton production in this country is not only enough to offset the wool crop, but that it is some three billion pounds—more than ten times the wool crop (if I state the figures correctly, somewhat off-hand). Free wool will help our wool-growers just as free cotton helps our cotton-growers.

There is nothing so utterly blind as selfishness. It does seem to me the most purblind thing men when our friends from New England raise a protest against free wool. New England is New England no longer, New England is now Old England. Standing out far to the Northeast, a commercial peninsula, with a tariff barrier along the Canadian border across which she can not trade, washed on the other side by the Atlantic Ocean, which is sealed against her by a tariff embargo, she is thus remote from us and isolated from the world. There has sprung up every species of manufacturing far to the west of her, and we depend upon her no longer. Sir, her future is to trade with the contiguous territory to the north of her, to trade down the seaboard to the uttermost point of our continent, and across the ocean with other climes and peoples. Her future development must be in the line of higher products of manufactures for us, and of products out of those raw materials which she can not afford to haul over long lines of railroad, but which can be brought to her cheaply by sea.

Stop this wretched "combine" for political purposes of taxing crude products as well as finished articles. Freight is adequate protection for crude and bulky products, and we seek by large appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors to make even this lower than it is. Why countervail this by laying high taxes? Why "grind the seed-corn" of the people by taxing crude products that constitute the base for making, through various mutations, the final crop of finished articles fit for consumption? We are like the horse, unrestrained by bridle or reason, that enters the spring corn and destroys all hope of autumn and winter forage. With raw products free we have only the finished products left to tax. Why should New England fear that the removal of one tax means the removal of both? Her thinking men, all thinking men, know that the double tax in combination is so unwise, so oppressive to consumers that only in case they can not be separated is there danger of a repeal of both.

Who says free raw material means free finished products? Not the Democracy, who want enlightened taxation and good faith instead of a wretched "combine" to extort that which can not stand upon the basis of reason and fair play. These appeals to selfishness are unwise and unpatriotic. No man with good and reasonable purposes needs to go into them, and all reasonable and good men should oppose them. What we propose endangers no home market. It expands and confirms the home trade. It is a question of a good home market as opposed to a bad home market. And in this way only can we also expect to enjoy a fair share of the foreign trade. A few manufacture all that the many consume. We now manufacture in excess of our wants. We need to manufacture more largely still. We can not, as we are now doing, increase the ratio of consumption at home. We need to improve our home conditions and to open up trade with those parts of the world that are consumers and not producers of our products. It is a question, then, between two good markets as opposed to our handicapped, burdened, trust-ridden market, with consumption restricted by every conceivable restriction upon cheap production. This comes of holding that the burdens of war are the blessings of peace.

Gentlemen can not talk two ways and be right in both. I do not hold to their doctrine of the benefit to the wool-grower of the tax on wool. But by their reasoning we of the South make a sacrifice when we offer free wool. Then they need not cry sectionalism. But I will say, and I say it heartily, that the interest of New England is dear to me as a part of our common country. I admire the people of those grand old Commonwealths, their history, their genius and culture, their method and thrift, and their sturdy virtue. They and my an-

cestors have fought in field and forum many a hard fight upon oppos ing lines. The differences are past to return no more. I trust they will develop a policy equal to this growing crisis in their affairs, and they can rest assured that there is no privilege or prerogative which many here contend for that we will not gladly yield for their weal and the common good. [Applause.]

It is said that we are sectional in making cotton-ties free, and that no item ought to be selected from a schedule and made free. I deny that taxation to be effective needs to be universal. Some articles can be selected from any schedule, like quinine from the chemical schedule, and be made free without a particle of disturbance to any other item or line of items in the schedule. Of course there are many items that can not be taken out in this way. The only question where it can be taken out in this way is the one of public interest. The making of cotton-ties is only an incident in the iron industry. The same men and the same machinery turn from it to other lines of band-iron at any time. In 1880 there were only six concerns that considered themselves engaged in this business. Their combined capital was just $70,500. They employed 131 hands, and the wages paid were $38,-069. They then had over 77 per cent. of protection, but, like the tin-plate industry, our metal-workers preferred to do something else, and it is an article that enters into the further occupations of our people, and can be released with practically no complications or distress to anybody.

Such an article is not, ordinarily, a fit article to bear a tax. Like tin-plate, the cotton-tie is a dead loss to the trade. Say three men working together will turn out four hundred bundles of ties a day, as an incident in the general product of a mill. I think it safe to say that less than four hundred men in a good mill, doing nothing else, could do all the work from ore to tie that would give us the one million or more bundles we need. As it is we tax the consumers nearly $400,000 on first cost to pay out $38,000 of wages. We tax millions of people to provide for a capital of $70,000 that can do other things, and to provide for one hundred and thirty-one people who can make other band-iron. This does not confuse the band-iron trade. A cotton-tie is not like a bucket or a barrel hoop that enters into something like permanent use. It is a loss with the using, and a new supply has to be bought every year. At the present price of $1 a bundle in England it means 35 cents compounded and lost on every bundle of ties—on every five bales of cotton—so that, including the profits of dealers, it is about 10 cents a bale that the repeal of this tax will save the people. And who are the people who stand this loss? The planter collects his rent or his share of the crop—and we do not work much upon the wage system—the planter collects his share in cotton already baled. The loss falls on the colored people and on the white people of small means who work in the fields as tenants or upon their own small farms. It is for these hard-working people of limited means that I plead, and upon such a showing our Republican opponents denounce us and say we are sectional. Are not these people a part of our whole people? Should we permit any class to be bound in the bondage of so unequal and unjust a tax as this?

You say he gets his money back when he sells his cotton. Why, there is not a colored man in my State who does not know that the spinner does not pay him for the refuse. They know the spinner is not a fool. Cotton is quoted in Liverpool net. We quote gross, but we always allow for the tare. If the price is, say, 10 cents for a certain grade of cotton in Liverpool, it means home weight with 24 pounds knocked off for tare. Freight and such charges are, say, half a cent a pound, and tare is, say, half a cent a pound. This means 1 cent a pound off if we are to pay upon gross weight. We buy by gross weight and sell by net weight. We provide in our price for the freight and tare that we know is charged up against us upon the foreign account of sales and proceeds. So we just take off 1 cent and make the price 9 cents a pound gross weight. If the bale were all cotton and could be shipped clean and in good order without bagging and ties, we would pay 9½ cents a pound, and thus knock off for only such charges as freight.

But we can not do that, so the farmer has to buy bagging and ties as a wrapping for the cotton. He pays out money for it, part of it being this 35 per cent. tax or bounty, as the case may be. It is a dead loss to him just as much so as the freight. You say he has sold it for 9 cents. Yes, he has sold it for 9 cents by selling 9½-cent cotton for 9 cents, so as to make up for the bagging and ties that are in the weight when cotton is bought at gross weight.

Mr. Chairman, in the early part of my remarks I spoke of the extreme attitude of the Republican party at this time upon the question of protection, and I promised to go more fully into the subject. I wish to show first that they are no longer to be relied upon for a general reduction of the present rates of tariff taxes. All of their promises have been for "revision" and not for "reduction," and we had as well understand clearly that by revision they mean simply an adjustment of present and of even higher rates of protective taxation and the permanent fixation of such rates as a permanent policy upon the country.

As evidence that our opponents propose to make these war rates perpetual, I call attention to their remarks on page 18 of the report of the minority. They say:

> The bill is a radical reversal of the tariff policy of the country.

Also, sir, upon page 20 of the report, they say:

> The majority gravely inquire in their report, "If Congress grants the request of the wool-growers, what are the people to do for woolen clothing?" We beg to suggest that the people of this country wore woolen clothing during the existence of the tariff of 1867—and the tariff proposed by the wool conference is substantially that tariff—and the people were never better clothed and never better able to buy them.

This report of a recent conference of the wool-growers and woolen manufacturers, which is here advocated by the minority, not only maintains the present rates of taxation, but it goes to far higher rates. They say, also, on page 29:

> If it be the purpose of the majority to reduce the income of the Government from customs sources, we beg to remind them that that purpose will not be accomplished by the scaling down of duties, as proposed in the bill.

It is very evident, Mr. Chairman, that no measure to reduce the surplus or to reform the tariff that they contemplate will take off a single tier of brick from the high wall of protection erected during the war for revenue purposes.

I wish to call attention briefly to what they suggest as a proper mode and measure of relief to the country as a substitute for tariff reduction.

In their report the Republican members of the committee say:

> If "the absolute peril" to the business of the country described by the President in his message last December as resulting from an existing and increasing surplus was imminent and well founded, how easily he could have averted it by the purchase of outstanding bonds with the surplus money in the Treasury a power which he possessed clear and undoubted under the act of March 3, 1881.

Sir, the Republicans were not so bold in 1881 and 1882. They know that every dollar expended in this way must be to buy bonds at a premium. To place the Government in this attitude is a kind of service to the holders of the public securities that I thought they would not dare attempt again. We now see how final and complete was the surrender in 1883 to the classes when they lightly suggest to the President that it is better to pay them high premiums for our bonds not yet due than it is to reduce taxes upon the necessities of life.

Then, on page 30, they further say, as if they wish to give emphasis to their intention to never scale down tariff taxes:

> If the House had even then appreciated the situation, how promptly and easily it could have, in part at least relieved it. It could have been done in the first week of December by abolishing the entire tobacco tax, amounting to $30,000,000 annually.

Here is another feature, Mr. Chairman, of their theory of relief wholly disconnected from a reduction of any of the present rates of tariff taxation.

And upon page 32 they further say:

> The President has for three years failed, while having the power, to avoid the financial condition he now complains of.

The only failure, Mr. Chairman, that the President has been guilty of has been that he has not bought bonds at such rates of premium that the holders might see fit to exact, instead of giving time for the Republicans in Congress to assent to some small relief in the line of his recommendations that taxes be reduced and the surplus be left in the pockets of the people. The gentlemen know that the sinking fund more than absorbed the call bonds.

And they say upon the same page that they will assist the majority in every "direct and practicable way." We have seen enough from past proceedings and quotations to know what they consider a "direct and a practicable way," and to make it perfectly clear that any reduction which involves a scaling of the present war rates of tariff taxation is not in their opinion "direct," nor do they intend that it shall be "practicable."

This sentiment is again voiced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], on page 3 of his speech, in which he says the Republican party insists that our present protective system shall not be disturbed except "in so far as it may be necessary to correct its incongruities and harmonize its provisions." Here the gentleman distinctly aligns himself upon the proposition to maintain not simply the present principle of protection, but also the present rates of protection; and any and every effort that is made to abate or to abridge these rates of protection to the subsidized industries is treated by the other side of the House as an attack upon an integral part of an established system.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY], speaking upon this floor of the course of his party, said:

> Since the 4th of March, 1883, the House of Representatives has been dominated by the present majority, a period of five years, and no taxes have been reduced and no curtailment of the revenues has taken place. * * *
>
> If it be claimed that for the most part during the Democratic control of the House the Senate was dominated by the Republican party, and therefore the responsibility of failure to reduce the revenues should be alike shared by them, we answer that under the Constitution of the United States the House alone can originate bills to reduce taxation, the Senate having no jurisdiction of the subject until it is given to it by a bill which passes the House, and that during all these years no such bill has gone from the House to the Senate, and therefore the sole responsibility for failure rests with the present majority in the House of Representatives.

They not only refused to concur in any reduction, but they stood like a stone wall to prevent the question even from going to the Senate, which was and is under the control of their party.

But, sir, it is not alone in Congress that we should look for evidence that the present attitude of the Republican party is one in defense of the present rates of tariff taxation. That is what they mean now by protection. I hold in my hand a recent communication from the Eastern Pig Iron Association, in which they say:

The excuse for this bill is the existence of an alarming surplus. It is designed to reduce revenue.

Again they say:

Abolish the duty and you reduce the revenue from it. Make a duty high enough to prohibit importations, and you reduce the revenue.

They know we do not propose to "abolish" the duties on finished products to any general extent, and that it can not be done. We ought to reduce, then, to a proper revenue point, but they propose to limit revenues by making taxes so high as to exceed the ability of the people to consume goods at the prices the import tax would raise them to. Then the domestic "association" could put up the domestic products "as high as the country can stand."

Again they say:

Why this reduction of duties? Revision of the tariff is necessary to adapt it to the changes, amounting in some instances almost to a revolution in business, which have taken place since the tariff law of 1883. But *revision* is not *reduction*. A consistent and logical revision of the tariff would increase many of the present rates.

Sir, the bill may be faulty in some of its details, and doubtless it is, and no bill will ever be proposed that will be absolutely perfect in every particular, but it involves the principle of reduction of taxes as opposed to the principle of prohibitory taxes; of necessary taxation as opposed to unnecessary taxation. No tax will stop imports unless it is so high that our people can not sell their own goods at the advanced price it permits. As it is not a question of detail, so it is not a question of faction. This measure of guarded reduction is the general average of reform sentiment and purpose.

I will give the position of the Republican party in the recent past directly; but as further evidence of its present position I quote from the recent speech of Senator SHERMAN before the Home Market Club, in Boston. He said:

Wherever any industry which can be conducted in this country with reasonable success needs a moderate *increase* in duty for its protection, to give it, and in *this way* to check foreign importations and *lessen the revenue*.

He also said:

The direct taxes upon American productions levied by our internal-revenue laws which interfere with the industry of our people should be modified or repealed. In *this way* the revenues of the Government should be reduced so as to supply only enough revenue to pay the expenses of the Government wisely and economically administered, and to carry out the provisions of the sinking fund for the gradual reduction of the public debt.

The language, upon the same occasion, of the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY] who serves on the Ways and Means Committee with us here, and who is worthy of the highest honors his party can bestow, was substantially the same. This is what they all mean by revision and reduction now: To revise higher and to reduce the taxes on spirits and tobacco only while they retain and increase the war rates upon the necessities of life reached through the tariff. I may observe that I italicize certain words in the quotation just read.

Gentlemen seem to forget that these demands are false to all the old demands and doctrines of protection. The present accepted creed, which dates, as I will show, from 1883—only five short years ago—is a new crusade and a new departure. It is protection dictated by the protected classes solely, and it is protection run mad. What thought Mr. Clay about the permanency of protection. In the Senate in 1838 Mr. Clay said:

No one, Mr. President, in the commencement of the protective policy ever supposed that it was to be perpetual. We hoped and believed that temporary protection extended to our infant manufactures would bring them up and enable them to withstand competition with those of Europe. If the protective policy were entirely to cease in 1842, it would have existed twenty-six years from 1816, or eighteen from 1824—quite as long as, at either of those periods, its friends supposed might be necessary.—*Benton's Thirty Years' View*, Volume II, page 113.

What have we now. These periods have all expired and we have had a run of nearly thirty years since 1861, and now we hear that protection must be perpetual, and at even higher rates than those imposed in war, and to countervail the then existing direct taxes on manufactures and incomes.

I will pause for a moment in this historical review to show the difference between the taxes laid and the taxes paid. The returns show our average rate of taxes paid to be 47.10 per cent. on the dollar on dutiable imports. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], in speaking upon this subject, on page 17 of his speech, says:

To illustrate: The duty of cognac oil is 533 per cent. If everything else were admitted free of duty—if after the close of the war we had put all else on the free-list—it would be literally true that the average rate on dutiable goods would be 533 per cent., and greater now than during the war.

This duty is about prohibitory. Our imports of cognac oil last year were just 16 ounces, valued at $12. The tax was $64, or, say, 533 per cent., as stated. Now, in this same class of volatile or essential oils there is, after several special enumerations, the item of "all other essential oils and combinations of." On these the rate of taxation is 25 per cent.

The interests of the protected classes have been looked after under the specifications. The last rate permits imports. We brought in $131,867 under the last clause, and collected duties amounting to $32,966.75. Now, the remarks of the gentleman would lead us to suppose that we add these two rates of taxation together, divide them by two, and thus get the average rate as expressed in the 47.10 per cent. general average. This would give us, if we taxed only these two items, a rate of 279 per cent. But that is exactly what is not done. The total imports, namely, $131,867 and $12 are added together, making $131,879. This is divided into the tax received, namely, $32,966.75 and $64, making $33,030.75. The total imports are divided into this and we have the average of tax paid, namely, less than 25.0001 per cent.

The big tax does not show in the returns, as there are little or no returns under it. It was meant, as such taxes are, to be for "protection." Suppose the $12 of cognac oil had not come in and only these two taxes existed. The returns would show the rate of taxation paid 25 per cent., while the actual average of the tax laid would be 279 per cent. Sir, the whole tariff is like unto this. Take the list the gentleman made his selection from. See how forcibly it illustrates the difference between the tax laid and the tax paid. Being a tax upon consumption, its worst features are concealed by somewhat lower prices being charged for many local products than that of the foreign product plus the tax, and hence no imports and no revelation in the returns of the tax laid and in large share collected by the private citizen for his personal and private benefit and use. The average tax paid in this list of six articles is 25 per cent. I leave off fractions of less than 1 per cent. The taxes laid upon these articles are as follows:

	Per cent.
Oil of bay leaves, $2.50 a pound	= 58
Cognac ether, $4 an ounce	=533
Fruit ether, oils, or essences, $2.50 a pound	=229
Fusel oil, 10 per cent	= 10
Rum oil, 50 cents an ounce	=400
All other essential oils and combinations of, 25 per cent	= 25
Total	1,265

Divide 1,265 by 6, the number of articles in the list the gentleman cited from, and we have 210 per cent., the average amount of the tax laid upon the list while the imports show a rate paid of 25 per cent., most of the rates being prohibitory. He and his party now discuses the question of high taxes, and cite 25 per cent. here and 47 per cent. upon the whole tariff as the measure of our burdens.

I now resume the historical review of the present tariff. The base of this tariff is the low tariff of 1857. The act of 1857 received two to one of the votes of New England. It received the sanction of every vote in the House from Massachusetts and from Maine. You do not need to go to the Confederate constitution for the economic doctrine of a revenue tariff and of the low tariff of 1857. What you contend for now is not found in any constitution, nor, except for the last five years, in the doctrine of any political party.

When the higher tariff of 1861, the Republican tariff, was adopted, Mr. MORRILL, who had charge of the bill in the House, used the following language:

There are no duties proposed on any articles for the simple purpose of protection alone. The highest duties in the bill are proposed for the purpose of revenue. The manufacturers might get along with lower duties, but we require the revenue. (May 8, 1860, page 1974.)

This is the same bill that failed to become law until after the Southern members largely withdrew and the Senate became Republican. The House was already Republican.

Sir, the degree of protection extended in 1861 was apologized for then, and the statement was made by the father of the present war tariff that it exceeded even in that day the needs of the protected classes. As I stated before, we had been getting eight and eleven millions of dollars a year revenue from the sales of public lands. The great prosperity of the country since 1846 had led to excessive speculation in land. The sharp panic of 1857—the result of this—and lasting only a few months, had the effect, however, of showing the people that this kind of property had been unduly stimulated, and capital sought new channels. This caused these receipts to fall below $1,000,000 a year and to continue very small. We needed revenues, and the tariff of 1861, though confessedly protective, as all tariffs upon competing imports are, was more for revenue that was needed than for protection that was not needed. We see, however, how the protection is held on to.

In 1862, under the exigencies of war, there was brought in another tariff bill which read as follows:

TITLE.

[Second session Thirty-eighth Congress, 1862.]

A bill (H. R. 531) increasing temporarily the duties on imports, and for other purposes.

This bill was approved by Mr. Lincoln July 14, 1862.

This bill was not for protection in the sense that its rates are now contended for. The present doctrine was not the doctrine of LINCOLN and MORRILL. The only protective feature or purpose in it was to compensate for the time being for the internal taxes that were cotemporaneously laid upon and against these industries. And yet, Mr. MORRILL,

obeying the behests of the privileged classes who still contend for the continuance of these restrictions upon trade for the subsidies they get from them, now seeks to perpetuate them, and even the shade of the great and good Lincoln is invoked for this unholy purpose, so at variance from all that he ever said or did. The rates were for revenue for the Government, and went beyond the rates of 1861, which, as we have seen, went beyond the needs of protection. Now they are not needed by the Government for public purposes, nor by the classes for private purposes, yet they still contend for them, although they are bloated by the long continuance of such high rates.

Mr. MORRILL, in introducing this bill, on June 27, 1862, said:

The bill, however, has been prepared for the purpose of making additional revenue, and for the purpose, when it is possible, of giving compensation for the internal-tax bill.

In debate, at the same time, June 27, 1862, the following occurred:

Mr. TRAIN. I would inquire of the gentleman from Vermont whether it has not been the understanding of the Committee on Ways and Means all along that wherever a manufactured article was affected by the excise bill that article should be protected by this bill correspondingly?
Mr. MORRILL, of Vermont. That has been our idea.

The clear understanding and purpose was further expressed June 27, 1862, as follows:

Mr. DE LANO. If there is anything that the Committee on Ways and Means have endeavored to inculcate in the House it was that where internal tax was imposed to raise internal revenue they would make it up or compensate for it by a corresponding duty upon foreign importations.

And upon the same date the following was said:

Mr. MORRILL. I would not propose any additional duties in time of peace, and they only grow out of the extreme necessity of the hour—a necessity for more revenue——
Mr. LOVEJOY. If I understand the gentleman from Vermont, this tariff is for the purpose of protection, and not for the purpose of revenue?
Mr. MORRILL. Certainly not.

Mr. Lovejoy was suspicious. He wanted the matter clearly understood. I submit that all doubt was cleared away, so far as language could possibly do so. Yet the maintenance to-day of these rates and of subsequent increases, and the concession of still higher rates upon the necessities of life, and that, too, after all the direct taxes upon these manufactures have been long ago repealed, is made the test of latter-day Republicanism. They want, not a Government tariff and the whole people's tax, but a rich man's tariff and a poor man's tax. Would that we could get something like back to the tariff that was confessedly too high in 1861.

Sir, what were the expressions of the administration, speaking through the illustrious Secretary of the Treasury, afterwards Chief-Justice Chase, during these times. Mr. Lincoln confined himself in his messages to questions of the war, leaving to his Secretary of the Treasury to voice what was necessary and right as to commercial and fiscal matters. We know that in all things Mr. Lincoln was conservative, and selfish clamor would no more cause him to yield to the extravagant demands of the privileged classes to-day than perils moved him then.

On July 4, 1861, Secretary Chase, speaking of himself in the third person, said:

He ventures to recommend only such modifications of the existing tariff as will produce the principal part of the needed revenue.

In his next message, on December 9, 1861, the Secretary saw no need of any change but for revenue. He said:

Reflection has only confirmed his opinion that adequate provision for taxation for ordinary expenditures for prompt payment of interest on the public debt existing, and for the gradual extinction of the principal, is indispensable to a sound system of finance.

Beyond this he did not go.

But, sir, at a later day Mr. Chase saw that there were those who were prospering greatly out of the calamities of their country. He saw that they would seek to perpetuate those conditions, however they may have arisen and by whatever pledges they may have been obtained, which were contributory to their wealth. Nearly every ill wind blows somebody some good, and we usually find these beneficiaries advocates of ill winds. The incidental industrial bounties were being reaped by the few. They began to preach the doctrine that the whole Republican party was destined to adopt in 1883—just twenty-one years later—that war rates of tariff taxes upon the necessities of life make a good permanent peace policy; that when you impose internal taxes and put tariff rates to countervail as against the competitor abroad it is good to repeal the internal tax and keep up that of the tariff, which by its restrictions upon trade yields a bounty until domestic production catches up with domestic consumption; and then you can still be protected, as a special favor, from the regulation of international competition, and you can form a trust. So, on December 4, 1862, Secretary Chase sends this significant note of warning:

The Secretary does not yield to the phantasy that taxation is a blessing.

How well does this comport with the opinion of that other calm and wise man of that day (Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts), who certainly would not to-day be found urging that taxation is a blessing, even when viewed in the novel garb given it by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BUTTERWORTH], who calls it "a commercial regulation." Call high taxes "a commercial regulation" and you are all right. Sir, the outer coating is sugar, but the inner contents are weakening drugs to those who take the pill. The only man strengthened by it is the man who sells the medicine.

I have clipped the following from the New York Evening Post, which we know is accurate and reliable:

This is what Henry Wilson said in one of his latest speeches in the United States Senate on the question of tariff revision, and we do not believe that he would have changed his opinion now for the sake of a mistaken political policy:

"Men who have looked with hungry eye upon a Treasury overflowing with surplus millions do not wish to see the sources from which those coveted millions are derived dried up. Now, as in times past, political ambition is not unwilling to sacrifice the business interests of the country in the hope to win political power. * * * I think American labor will be best protected by taxing all the necessaries of life lightly; placing the raw materials which enter into our manufactures on the free-list; raising revenue to support the Government upon articles that come in competition with our manufactures and upon the luxuries of life, which are consumed by the more wealthy classes of society."

Sir, this bill is in the line, but far short of doing all that Mr. Wilson said ought to be done. It will take several bills like this to meet the views he expressed. But, sir, look at the attitude of the latter-day Republicans. See what a change has come over the leaders here. I charge nothing in a harsh spirit, but I submit that they are like men who have forgotten all that they ever swore by in the past, except for five years past. They have thrown themselves into the arms of the manufacturers, and say "Keep all, wipe out the pledges, spurn past doctrines; don't bother about the people; they forget and don't think; we need organization and money; you manufacturers are organized and rich; state your terms; write out the tax laws; we will deny even the right and decency of the representatives of consumers to seek to advise about or to formulate legislation fixing the taxes the people shall pay."

Again, Mr. MORRILL said on January 19, 1864, when a still higher tariff tax was made to offset the internal-revenue taxes laid upon manufactured products:

I suppose that our object in levying a tax at this time is to obtain revenue—

In the same debate, on January 21, 1864, Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, said:

I am for any revenue bill that will raise money enough to vigorously carry on the war.

Upon the same bill Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, on February 15, 1864, said:

The committee is of opinion that no man will complain of the amount of tax which is laid on him, if it be necessary for the purpose of revenue.

Thus Mr. Stevens also shows that the purpose of this increase was to raise revenue for the Government and not to meet any real or supposed need of the manufacturers and mine-owners for protection.

It is interesting to note that at this time the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] did not deny that these tariff increases raised the price of the necessaries of life, as his present devotion to a war policy for times of peace leads him to extenuate or deny. Neither did he think it other than one of the calamities and prices of war. His friends are those who made money, and they and he now seek to keep up this part of the hardship of the more common lot of men. On January 21, 1864, he said:

The increased cost of the necessaries of life is but the price armed treason is compelling them to pay for the preservation of the unity and Constitution of the country to which they are so devoted.

"Armed treason" is gone; but these same tariff taxes upon the necessities of life are left. Why is this?

Then we come to the tariff bill of 1866. Further increases were made. What was the purpose? Was it for the Government or for the manufacturers? How long were these increases, like the others, to endure? Were they also to be temporary or were they to be permanent? Let us see. On June 28, 1866, Mr. MORRILL, having charge of the bill, said:

The present bill is not likely to suit everybody, and I regard it only as a temporary measure, fit to be introduced because of the imperious necessities of our present condition.

The Government was sorely pressed for money. It had had to pay off the armies, and had come to the end of temporary expedients.

How different the views of leading Republicans then from now. How different the test of Republicanism upon these economic questions. Will the people follow the new departure of the last five years? We have no dispute under existing conditions with men who propose to keep the former pledges of the Republican party. The day when dispute would arise over measures proposed for adoption would be at least several Congresses and several administrations ahead. Democracy can always be relied upon, when conditions and equities permit it, for ultimate free trade. But the contest of the next five or ten years is to get back to even a protective tariff, as formerly and properly so called. We are perfectly honest and frank with the people.

What exasperates the other side of the House is that we refuse to be hasty, foolish, rash, or unmindful of the needs and equities of those industries, well placed, which have been brought forth prematurely by protection and can not as yet fairly stand reductions. Such honest claims in fair and honest measure have nothing to fear from us. Their only peril lies in being used by those who seek to put the tariff to oppressive uses and to practice bad faith with the people. If every feature must "stand or fall together," then it is a contest as to which

shall exist—the people or the tariff. In that event the tariff will go with a crash.

In speaking upon the tariff bill following the report of Secretary McCulloch, and in the line of the quotation I have just made, Mr. MORRILL, on June 28, 1866, said:

Although our present tariff, in ordinary times, would be likely to be denounced as prohibitive, yet we find it practically productive beyond all precedent, yielding for the year ended June 30, 1866, nearly one hundred millions more in gold than was ever before realized, or about $170,000,000.

While the present bill is indisputably to preserve the aggregate of our internal revenue, it will not be likely to diminish, even if it does not increase, the revenue from imports.

Speaking in the same connection, he expressed the hope—

That a better time is coming, when labor will be more abundant, taxation less onerous, and when our paper money shall be good for its entire face value. God speed the day.

On December 3, 1866, Secretary McCulloch, in his report, said:

You—

in stating his views to Hon. David A. Wells, special commissioner of the revenue, appointed to investigate the question of taxation—

will therefore endeavor first to secure for the Government a revenue commensurate with its necessities, and, secondly, to propose such modifications of the tariff laws now in force as will better adjust and equalize the duties upon foreign imports with the internal taxes upon home productions. If this last result can be obtained without detriment to the revenue, by reducing taxation upon raw materials and the machinery of home productions rather than by increasing the rates of imports, it would, in my opinion, be decreasing the cost of production and increasing the purchasing power of wages and greatly promote the interest of the whole country.

Again he says, in speaking of taxation:

Always a complex and difficult question, it is particularly so at the present time. Prior to the rebellion it had no relation to internal taxes, for this form of Federal taxation was then unknown to our people. It had little connection with the currency, for until the year 1862, although the banks had repeatedly suspended specie payments, specie was the only legal recognized standard.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, with all of these utterances and with all of these facts showing that this was a temporary measure, the principle and the rates then embodied for the Government are held to-day by the Republican party as a claim of need and right for the manufacturers, and the highest rates as a permanent and lawful prize of protection; and to assail them is to assail an idol that they are now ready at any and at all times to defend.

Mr. KELLEY. Will the gentleman permit me a moment?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Certainly.

Mr. KELLEY. I am ready to admit that I have learned something since 1864. Does not the gentleman believe that one may learn something in that time?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I understand the gentleman very well. I think his reply is a very honest one. That is about what I would expect from a man of his known integrity of character. The gentleman admitted fairly and squarely that these taxes, laid in time of war, with apologies and pledges from every leader of the Republican side, who stated at the time that they were temporary and for a temporary and special purpose, and that they had raised the cost of the necessaries of life; he admits that these pledges are now all spurned and that these rates are now part and parcel of the fixed and permanent creed and policy of the Republican party. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And I submit that if the people of this country desire anything like a reduction of taxes from the high war rates then imposed, they must look to the Democratic party and to that party alone for such action. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. KELLEY. I beg the gentleman's pardon; he failed utterly to understand me. I beg of you to understand me to say that I plead guilty to having learned something since 1864; and I stand upon my opinions in this year rather than upon the views that I held twenty-four years ago. My friend may not have learned anything in that time, but I would not like to make such a confession for myself.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I trust the venerable and distinguished gentleman may long live, and that as long as he lives he may learn, and that in his learning he may yet come back to the best conclusion of his more vigorous manhood, that no people on earth can ever hope to enrich themselves by high taxation. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLEY. I was a free-trader until 1857.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I think we have about exhausted this point; but I do not wish to appear discourteous to the gentleman from Pennsylvania by seeming to cut him off.

Mr. KELLEY. Nor do I wish to be discourteous. I had not had time to fully digest protectionist views.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Let us come to a later period. A gentleman, now a distinguished candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination—but hardly upon the basis of the sentiments I quote from—Mr. ALLISON, in his very able speech in this House on the 24th and 25th of March, 1870, said:

I desire to call the attention of the committee to the growth of the present tariff. In 1861, at the close of the Thirty-sixth Congress, the policy of the Government was changed by the passage of what was called the "Morrill tariff;" a tariff prepared in the interests of protection, and distinguished from the tariff of 1846 and of 1857 by the imposition of heavy duties upon articles manufactured in this country, and by admitting free of duty many raw materials used in such manufactures. This tariff was modified twice during the year 1861 for the purpose of increasing the revenue, but upon leading articles remained substantially the same until July 14, 1862, when a thorough revision of the tariff of 1861 was made. By this revision the tariff was increased generally to compensate for the internal-revenue tax, and upon a few articles for the purpose of increasing the revenue. Mr. Stevens, in debate, said that the principle adopted was the one that was mentioned when the tax bill was under consideration, namely, the additional duty was fixed as nearly as possible at the same rate as taxation, except in a few cases, where necessary to correct errors in the present tariff.

* * * * * * *

Mr. Shellabarger, then a member from Ohio, rose in his seat and asked Mr. MORRILL if there was any increase of duty over and above the tariff of 1861, save and except the compensating duty made necessary by internal-revenue taxes. Mr. MORRILL said in reply that there was no increase except for that purpose, or for the purpose of revenue upon articles not produced in this country.

Mr. ALLISON added:

At the close of his speech Mr. MORRILL made this pledge:

"This is intended as a war measure, a temporary measure, and we must give it our support as such."

Again, he speaks of it as "a war measure, imposed by the necessities of the Government, the scarcity of laborers, and the enormous direct taxation."

And further on in that speech Mr. ALLISON said:

This large internal-revenue tax was made the excuse and the cause of the advance of the tariff of July 14, 1862, and June 30, 1864. I quoted the language yesterday of the then chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in 1862, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, himself a protectionist, and certainly in favor of the protection of the great interest of Pennsylvania, iron. He made a pledge upon this floor in 1862 that those additions of duties upon manufactured articles imported in this country were made necessary because of the internal-revenue taxes. Both he and Mr. MORRILL, subsequently chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, declared that the act of June 30, 1864, was a temporary measure, a war measure, and was not intended as a measure which should remain upon the statute-book as a protective tariff in the time of peace.

Then yielding the floor for a moment to Mr. COX, who had been a member of the conference committee of the two Houses, that gentleman said:

I desire to say, in addition to what has been said by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON], that I was on the committee of conference upon the tariff of 1864. The reason why that conference report was made as it was made, the reason given by Mr. MORRILL and Mr. Fessenden, was that the internal tax had been raised, but that the moment that tax was reduced they would be in favor of reducing the custom duties. That was understood when the report was made upon the tariff of 1864; it was one of the conditions leading the conference committee to report that measure.

Then Mr. ALLISON resumed the floor and said:

It is admitted by all that the increase of the tariff was commenced and carried on upon the basis of the protective duties of the Morill tariff of 1861; the increase of direct taxation, added to the price of domestic manufactures, rendered an increased tariff neecessary in order to prevent our country being flooded with cheaper foreign productions. Certainly, then, upon the decrease of internal taxation the tariff may be, and ought to be, decreased in proportion, the danger being no longer in existence which was sought to be averted by these increased duties.

But I may be asked how this reduction shall be made. I think it should be made upon all leading articles, or nearly all; and for that purpose, when I get the opportunity in the House, if no gentleman does it before me, I shall move that the pending bill be recommitted to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report a reduction upon existing rates of duty equivalent to 20 per cent. upon the existing rates, or one-fifth reduction. Even this will not be a full equivalent for the removal of all internal taxes upon manufactures. It will not be difficult to make a reduction upon this basis.

Now, as to the amount, again, of the direct tax, long since all repealed, to offset which the present compensatory or equivalent tariff duties still retained were laid, I quote from the same speech of Mr. ALLISON. He said:

The total of this domestic tax amounted in the fiscal year 1865-'66 to the enormous sum of $310,000,000; and upon domestic goods alone to the sum of $128,226,784.

All of this domestic tax of over $128,000,000 has long since been repealed.

But let us look at some still later utterances about the "compensatory" part of the present tariff. Mr. MORRILL, on May 9, 1870, said:

At the same time it is a mistake of the friends of a sound tariff to insist upon the extreme rates imposed during the war if less will raise the necessary revenue.

How must this sound to those who object to the present bill upon the ground that it will not reduce the revenues and that this bill is unjust to manufactures? And in the same speech he says:

Whatever percentage of duties were imposed upon foreign goods to cover internal taxes upon home manufactures should not now be claimed as the lawful prize of protection when such taxes have been repealed. There is no longer an equivalent.

* * * * * * *

Protection has here no legitimate claims, and it may be taken off whenever direct taxes are repealed and less revenue is desired.

It was under some sense of obligation to the people that at that time, 1870, a reduction of the small extent of 10 per cent. was made in the tariff. This was only a very partial keeping of the pledges that had been given. The love of money was stronger than every consideration of humanity and of honor. Only this much was done, and even this was not permitted to stay, for in 1875 the 10 per cent. was restored back to the tariff and to the manufacturers, as I previously stated.

What said Senator SHERMAN in 1868? In his report on an International Monetary Standard, June 9, 1868, page 180, he says:

Every advance towards a free exchange of commodities is an advance in civilization; every obstruction to a free exchange is born of the same narrow, despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce; every obstruction to commerce is a tax upon consumption; every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and production, and promotes civilization. Nothing is worse than sectionalism within a nation,

and nothing is better for the peace of nations than unrestricted freedom of commerce and intercourse with each other.

Is this from the Confederate constitution? How does this comport with the present test of Republicanism? Your party was founded upon opposition to bodily servitude. That is settled. You had the principle of liberty then, and in that particular our party was in a position false to our own principle. The paradox was unavoidable. It was settled for us centuries before and at the formation of our Government. But you must have an issue. You have abandoned the principle of liberty, which you were never really founded upon, except as the expediency of the day dictated, and now you yield to us our natural estate. You have an issue. You have the desire of your hearts; but it brings leanness to your souls.

What did Mr. SHERMAN say in 1872? On pages 348 and 349 of the Congressional Globe of that year Mr. SHERMAN expressed himself as follows, in the Senate:

The income tax expires with the collection of the tax of 1871, which, on personal incomes, is assessed during the present month. The public mind is not yet prepared to apply the key to a genuine revenue reform. A few years of further experience will convince the whole body of our people that a system of national taxes, which rests the whole burden of taxation on consumption and not one cent on property or income, is intrinsically unjust. While the expenses of the National Government are largely caused by the protection of property, it is but right to require property to contribute to their payment. It will not do to say that each person consumes in proportion to his means. This is not true. Every one must see that the consumption of the rich does not bear the same relation to the consumption of the poor as the income of the one does to the wages of the other. As wealth accumulates this injustice in the fundamental basis of our system will be felt and forced upon the attention of Congress.

No words can be truer or wiser than those also that he utters on pages 353 and 355 of the same speech. He says:

It must be remembered that the present duties, taken together, are far in excess of what they were before the war, and that they have been three times largely increased since the passage of the Morrill tariff act of 1861. * * * Such excessive protection not only ceases to diversify production, but forces labor into protected employments. If the present rates of duty were high enough during and since the war, when home industry was burdened with heavy internal taxes—with stamp duties, income taxes, and high rates on raw materials—then surely they are now too high when all these taxes are removed. * * *

I have listened with patience, day by day, to the statements of gentlemen who are interested in our domestic productions. I am a firm believer in the general idea of protecting their industries, but I assure them, as I assure their representatives here, that if the present high rate of duties, unexampled in our country, and higher by nearly 50 per cent. than they were in 1861, are maintained on metallic and textile fabrics after we have repealed the very internal taxes which gave rise to them, and after we have substantially given them their raw materials free of duties, we shall have a feeling of dissatisfaction among other interests in the country that will overthrow the whole system and do greater harm than can possibly be done by a moderate reduction of the present rates of duty. And I am quite sure that intelligent men engaged in the production of various forms of textile and metallic fabrics feel, as I do, that it is wiser and better to do what is just and right, to make a reduction on their products at least to the extent of the reduction in this bill on their raw materials, rather than to invite a controversy in which I believe they will be in the wrong.

If the Republican party were to adhere to their pledges we should be put to it for a forcible issue with them for years to come. How did Mr. Garfield stand? He said, speaking in this House in 1866, and he repeated the same language here on April 1, 1870:

We have seen that one extreme school of economists would place the price of all manufactured articles in the hands of foreign producers by rendering it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them; while the other extreme school, by making it impossible for the foreigner to sell his competing wares in our market, would give the people no immediate check upon the prices which our manufacturers might fix for their products. I disagree with both these extremes.

I do not share Mr. Garfield's concern that we could not command the market at least to the extent of nine-tenths of our manufactured products. He further said:

I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the price as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily we shall year by year approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade.

Again Mr. Garfield said:

Mr. Chairman, examining the possibilities of the situation, I believe the true course for the friends of protection to pursue is to reduce the rates on imports wherever we can justly and safely do so, and accepting neither of the extreme doctrines urged on this floor, endeavor to establish a stable policy that will commend itself to all patriotic and thoughtful people.

You observe, sir, that General Garfield does not say to all patriotic and thoughtful Republicans merely, but to all such "people," which includes reasonable men of all schools of thought. If we were at the begining of things, if we were proposing to lay taxes for the first time, instead of dealing, as we are, with conditions grown up under a policy of high protection, I say frankly that I for one would fight every protective feature offered. But we must be reasonable; we must be "thoughtful;" we must recognize dependencies and equities; we must be just. We are at the concluding end of a policy, not at its inception. This is the inception of repealing of rates, not of establishing rates. Under these conditions there is no element of conflict between this bill and this line of policy laid down by General Garfield. There is no such conflict as respects the position taken, I may say, by a single gentleman on this side of the House. The only conflict is with the new position now and here in the last five years maintained by the other side of the House. There is no future prospect of any conflict between us and the position laid down by General Garfield. But you have left that position, so wise, progressive, and conservative, so suited to our revenue and commercial requirements.

You now contend for every high rate, and on that, too, as the "permanent policy of the Government," in order that "our manufacturers * * * can regulate the price as they please." Being unable to sustain yourselves by demonstration or reason, you take refuge in all manner of extravagant statements in trying to conceal your past professions, and in crying out "patriotism," as if we do not love our own country and ourselves and all of our countrymen. But this is in every age the custom of Bourbons and of men with selfish purposes.

During all this period the surplus revenues could be used in paying bonds subject to call, and not, in consequence, at a premium to the Government. The monopoly wing of the Republican party used this for all it was worth. They said: "Pay your matured debts with your surplus money. This is what a prudent business man would do. If the bonds were not matured, and if they commanded a premium, it would be another thing." This was the position of the monopoly wing who held for their own purposes to the "phantasy that taxation is a blessing" to the masses.

What did the great war governor of Indiana, Governor Morton, say at this time? On April 30, 1872, Governor Morton in the Senate said:

Now, I wish to say to the Senate that I am strongly convinced that we should go further, and reduce the tariff in material respects upon many other articles. * * * The country expects a large reduction, the country knows that it can be made, the country has been promised this reducion, and the dominant party here is responsible to the country for this reduction, and will be held responsible if it is not made.

Here, also, is what was then (April 22, 1872) said by our venerable friend from Pennsylvania, who had not quite completed his studies; at least he had not fully learned that his manufacturers would never abate one jot or tittle of their privileges:

Mr. KELLEY. Here is a bill for the reduction of taxes and duties covering sixty-three pages, in which there are items sometimes of only a line, on which a whole day of debate would be spent under the five-minute rule. If we adjourn on the 29th of May we shall have repealed no tax or duty, and the people will ask us in every paper and at every corner why we have continued the system of taxation, so largely in excess of the demands of the Government and the reduction of the public debt, at the rate of $50,000,000 per annum outside of what is already provided by law. On neither side of the House can justification be found, nor do I believe apologies, for having hastily adopted a resolution of adjournment which will prove entirely satisfactory to the tax-payers, who are loaded at every point and whose profits are absorbed in the excessive Treasury of the Government.

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that these statements make very interesting reading to a man inquiring after truth. We have no bonds subject to call now. Now you say "buy them anyhow," and that "this is what a prudent business man would do." Only the greenbacks can be paid without a premium. Do you mean to force their retirement? Do you prefer this to a repeal of taxes?

Surplus taxes were used in paying off bonds subject to call until 1880, when such bonds were all paid up. Then, as now, a premium had to be paid upon bonds to get rid of the surplus. So it was, also, in 1881; the amounts of premium were respectively $2,795,320.42 and $1,061,948.78. The amount of premiums paid up to December 5 of the present fiscal year was $2,852,015.88. The people were so exasperated in 1880 and 1881 at having to buy bonds at a premium that the manufacturers and the Republican party became alarmed, and they hastened to make new promises. In 1882 the Tariff Commission was created. The manufacturers said and showed that they could stand a reduction of from 20 to 25 per cent. of the protective duties, and the commission so recommended to Congress. Several hundred millions of bonds, however, were maturing. Here was a fresh outlet for surplus taxes.

The manufacturers and other protected classes soon repented, like Pharaoh, of their promises. The Republican party tried once more and for the last time to keep faith with the people. They shut out the lobby. They took up the bill of the Tariff Commission and refused "hearings" and all that kind of mere pressure by which the privileged classes, pretending to be the nation and the support and virtue of the nation, beset the representatives of the people to gain their special ends. They were beset by the same calumny and abuse that we are now. See how they were attacked. The chief fugleman was Henry Carey Baird, of Philadelphia. In the Philadelphia Inquirer of December 26, 1882, he first seeks to discredit his own Tariff Commission. He said:

The Tariff Commission was a body wholly irresponsible to the American people, and was forced by the law under which it was constituted to rush hither and yon about the country and scramble through with its work, and report on the assembling of Congress; and the claim of the Committee on Ways and Means that the evidence was all presented to the commission, and all that the committee has now to do is to pass upon it, will not answer. The evidence is not all in, and furthermore the members of the committee, unlike those of the commission, are responsible to the people who sent them to Congress, and must and will be held to a strict accountability for any disastrous legislation which flows from their ill-judged action. Let the chairmen of both committees, then, if they would relieve themselves of this responsibility at once and in a decisive manner, call a halt, each of his committee, and thr ow open wide his doors, which should never have been slammed in the faces of the American people.

Then he rallies the cohorts of monopoly and works for a "combine" in the following fine style:

[From the Philadelphia Press, December 30, 1882.]

PIG-IRON MANUFACTURERS AND THE TARIFF.

To the editor of the Press:

SIR: An Associated Press dispatch, given in the papers of to-day, is as follows:

"PITTSBURGH, *December* 27.

"The pig-iron manufacturers met here to-day and formed a national protective association. The committee appointed to go to Washington reported that hard work would be required to maintain a fair duty on pig-iron, as an effort was to be made by the free-trade element to have the duty of $6, recommended by the Tariff Commission, reduced to $5."

The only safety to the pig-iron manufacturers in the present crisis is to join hands with the Book Trade Association, of Philadelphia, in demanding that the Committee on Ways and Means shall open their doors to all those who have grievances to complain of in the proposed tariff of the Tariff Commission. Let the people have a hearing, and daylight will be put through this bill, and the committee will be so enlightened on the subject and in regard to the feelings of those interested that they will not report it to the House. Let all the industries stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of the rights of each other, and the bill will be promptly and readily killed, as it should and must be.

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

NEW YORK, *December* 28, 1882.

He then pretends that we love high taxes, and abuses poor Mr. John L. Hayes and others for their temerity in temporarily questioning it, in the following manner:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, January 1, 1883.]

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TARIFF COMMISSION AND THE TARIFF.

To the Editor of the Inquirer:

SIR: In a Washington dispatch in the Inquirer of to-day I find the following: "Mr. John L. Hayes, president of the Tariff Commission, said to-day that the Committee on Ways and Means is doing just what the commission would have done had the time permitted. They are putting in an article here and there and completing the classification rather than materially changing the rates recommended by the commission. 'The changes made,' he said, 'are no reflection whatever; the work being done by the committee is quite necessary and proper.'"

This tariff bill is raw, disjointed, and wholly unfit to be enacted into law, and before it can be put into proper shape "the representative men of various interests" must make their "comments and suggestions," which can only be properly done by meeting the committee face to face. For the committee to persist in their refusal to meet these representatives is little short of criminal, and will endanger the prosperity and happiness of the American people.

Just here let me say that there has been no real demand for a radical change in the tariff, unless it has come from the other side of the water. The people, having now had a rest from the torments of their Government since January, 1879, when the Treasury Department ceased operating on the currency, simply desire to be let alone, and there is nothing they more fear than the assembling of Congress, when alone their peace and happiness are threatened. "Never since this world was peopled," writes a valued correspondent in the West, "was there so vast a body of human beings in one nationality enjoying so much of real liberty and independence and abounding comfort and prosperity as was realized by the American people on the beautiful Christmas morning." "To realize for one moment," he adds, "that all this great prosperity and happiness is now in danger of being destroyed by the weakness of Hayes and other professed or pretended protectionists on the Tariff Commission is enough to blanch the cheek of every patriot in the land. It is a crime against humanity of the most stupendous character, and every man in high place or low who aids or abets in the work will cover himself with infamy."

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 30, 1882.

Was there ever such bigotry and insolence since the world was made? Yet it is just such stuff as we hear here every day.

He throws out a clumsy bait to the South in this style:

The fact is that some of the New England manufacturers, especially of cotton goods, are more inimical to protection than are the Democrats of the South, because they are instinctively monopolists, and feel that they have less to fear from foreign competition than they have from the growing manufacturing industries which are now assuming such grand proportions among the cotton-fields of the South.

I repeat what I substantially said in the earlier part of my remarks that we have no feeling of hostility toward the New England people or toward any people, either at home or abroad; but while we are friendly we need not be fools. The South is the place for making coarse cotton goods for fifty years to come. We make and sell them now at free-trade prices, and some of our mills sell exclusively in foreign markets. Free trade, then, can not reduce our prices for goods. It would only give us cheaper machinery, cheaper freight, and cheaper facilities for exchange of money. It would be an unmixed blessing to us. Some others can not stand it just now. We are willing to stand shackled with these selfish, feudal restrictions upon our trade until the mushroom industries can fairly stand the blessed air and sunlight of liberty.

As further evidence of the kind of "fire in the rear" that made the Republicans finally throw up their reduction bill, I now read a quotation Mr. Baird made with marked approval on January 9, 1883. Here they are pitching into the Finance Committee of the Senate:

The action of the Senate Finance Committee in so promptly reporting a tariff bill was a general surprise. The committee did its work quietly and secretly, and the representatives of the various industries interested, who have been arriving here in large numbers, find they have come a day after the fair. The Senators consider themselves sufficiently familiar by this time with the questions involved in an alteration of tariff rates, and are tired of hearing the same arguments repeated year after year by interested advocates. This year the Finance Committee declined to hear any such pleas orally, though they announced their willingness to receive any such arguments which might be made in writing.

He then gets very close to our venerable and good friend, Judge KELLEY. I suppose this was one of the times when the Judge "learned something." He spoke as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, January 20, 1883.]

APPLICATION OF THE GAG IN THE TARIFF DEBATE.

To the Editor of the Inquirer:

SIR: The Committee on Ways and Means having, after the manner of the famous and tyrannical Council of Ten of Venice, which tried and convicted men without permitting them to appear before it, refused to hear any one in defense of the thousands of industries which are imperiled by proposed tariff legislation, it was eminently proper that Judge KELLEY, the chairman, should offer a resolution in the House of Representatives in which it was proposed that "general debate upon the pending bill (H. R. 7313) reported from the Committee on Ways and Means be limited to one day, to be equally divided between the friends and opponents of the bill." Indeed, it seems a great piece of condescension that he or his committee should voluntarily propose to permit any general debate upon the measure at all. * * *

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 19, 1883.

This was a hot time for our Republican friends. They have never forgotten it. So vivid is their recollection and so distorted their imagination that now they abuse us when we are far more indulgent than they were and swear that we are exceeding in enormity anything ever heard of. They learned, as Secretary Folger said, that if you wait for the manufacturers to consent to a reduction of the tariff you never will reduce it. What followed you well know. The party yielded. It threw up the bill and brought in a bill from the conference committee granting higher duties than either the Senate or the House had authorized them to grant, and higher than had ever been known. It was passed under gag law and was not even read in the House. The tariff was reduced from 42 per cent. to 47 per cent. and there it stands to-day. This satisfied such reformers as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and not a voice save two is raised from the opposite side of the House in all this debate to deny that the yoke of the manufacturers is heavy, that the burden upon the people is light. This ends the chapter. The issue is drawn. It is finally made up. The Democratic party may not go fast. It may go slow. This much, however, is beyond dispute, that it is the Democratic party alone that proposes to go at all. The people must choose between the policy of China and the policy of Christendom, between a policy for peace and a policy apologized for even in time of war.

I have spoken, Mr. Chairman, of the equities which exist under the tariff. In addition to this our people who desire a revenue tariff are not in favor of a tax on tea and coffee, which would have to be taxed to procure a free-trade revenue tariff. I think the time will come when they will favor this tax; but that time is certainly years and perhaps many years hence. I think this demand is likely to come first from certain classes of our manufacturers in order to displace taxes upon articles they use. This brings us, then, apart from the question of stability of income, to a tariff upon a broad base rather than to one upon a few articles. The reasonable and honest wants of protection can not possibly suffer in this case. This makes the fixed contention of the protected classes utterly selfish and unreasonable to my mind. They reject reason and justice and stability for a system unreasonable, unjust, and hence necessarily unstable. The way they imperil all by acting in a grab spirit indicates that they really do not think that they would be seriously hurt if the whole system were wiped out. But be this as it may, we must have revenue and we can not afford to absolutely wipe it out. Substitute taxes upon incomes, occupations, etc., could be laid; but this will not be done unless the people are forced to revolutionary fiscal legislation. Gentlemen, you have seen the railroad power tried in a fight like this. The people won.

The people will win now, and I believe they will win in a wise and salutary way, and that when it is all over you will see how exacting and unreasonable you have been.

You can not excuse these rates of taxation by crying "labor." You cite the daily and weekly wage here and in Europe, and you know it means nothing. In Europe the able-bodied men are in the army, or they come here to escape military service. The lame, the halt, the old men, and the women and the children get those wages. You can hire such people at the same wages here. Why do you not do it? Simply because it does not pay. Vigorous men at higher wages are cheaper to you. You do not deny this. Do you mean to say that on the other side of the water it pays to hire these feeble people? This is what you in reality do say. It is absurd. We have the best paid labor because we have the best labor, and hence we have in reality the cheapest labor in the world. Labor suffers by the embargo upon the consumption of the products of labor caused by the high prices the tariff fixes upon goods.

You say prices are lower than they were once. Of course they are, and you beg the question. Are they not lower also elsewhere? It is the disparity in current prices that hurts and that shows the effect.

You tell the farmer that he has a home market. He would have a larger and a better home market but for these restrictions upon labor and upon consumption. What is the feature of a home market? Does your war policy lessen exports, and hence lessen our dependence upon foreign consumption? If so, how does it work? In 1850 we exported roundly $13,000,000 in grain and breadstuffs. In 1860 it was $24,000,000. This was under a low tariff. You said shocking! See the increase! Let us consume all this at home. Let us hire people to eat our grain and flour. Some foolish farmers thought it a good plan to hire people to eat their stuff, so they put high prices on the goods they had

to buy so as to increase their own consumption of such goods, and thus hire a new lot of men to come here to make the extra goods. Of course this made consumption and production relatively less than ever. It then impaired relatively the home market for grain and flour, and hence made exports greater than ever. It cut the farmer both ways. By 1870 the exports of grain and breadstuffs was $72,000,000. It was bad enough for exports to grow nearly 100 per cent. upon $13,000,000 from 1850 to 1860, but how is this that it grew upon the larger base of $24,000,000 over 400 per cent. by 1870? Nothing can abash a "home-market" philanthropist who is getting a subsidy, so he got off some miserable sophistry and asked the farmer to wait for ten years longer and see how it would work. By 1880 these exports were $288,000,000; and so it has continued. Now tell me, gentlemen, when are we to expect you at this rate to give us a home market sufficient to keep your pledge to consume our grain and breadstuffs?

We depended upon Europe to consume $16,000,000 of provisions in 1860. In 1880 we had to send out $127,000,000 worth. Of live animals we sent out less than $2,000,000 worth in 1860. In 1880 we had to send out nearly $16,000,000 worth. We had to ship, say, $1,598,000 worth of tallow in 1860. In 1880 we had to ship off $7,689,000 worth of tallow. We had to ship $600,000 worth of seed in 1860. In 1880 we had to ship $2,776,000 worth. In 1860 we had to ship $32,000 worth of hops. In 1880 we had to ship $2,575,000 worth of hops. And so it goes. Are you improving? Are you not making the home market relatively worse and worse? Mr. Chairman, it never pays to hire people to consume your goods. The trader and the customer soon becomes the proprietor under such a "protective" system as this.

Gentlemen, your latest sophistry is to tell the farmer that he gets a better price here than he does abroad. You "point with pride" to the 20 cents a bushel protection on wheat, 10 cents on corn, 2 cents a pound on bacon, and 2 cents on lard, and tell the farmer to "see that." We export these things, but how about the prices? I have figures here from the Department of Agriculture. In reducing the prices to our money I have taken English weights of grain, treated a penny as 2 cents, and a shilling as 24 cents. This makes the figures in error by a minute fraction, as you all know, but so very small that it is generally disregarded in calculation.

No. 2 red wheat was worth 96.75 cents a bushel in New York April 28 last. Freight was 1 cent a bushel. This makes 97.75 so far to Liverpool. You tell us it is higher here in New York than it will net in Liverpool. Price of same wheat in Liverpool same date, 6*s.* 8*d.* per 100 pounds. This is equal to 99.6 cents per bushel of 60 pounds. This is 1.87 cents a bushel higher net in Liverpool than in New York. Of course there are some other small charges to take up part of this. But fill them in, and now say whether you are keeping your promise as to price, or if wheat is protected. The farmer has to fall back on the "home-consumption" theory, which I have just gone over. You are feeding him on wretched theories that are right in the teeth of facts and reason.

But look at corn—No. 2 mixed. I take the same dates. Freights are of April 2; but they vary but little, and I take the highest rates of freight and the lowest quotations in Liverpool and the highest in New York. Prices are all of same date. This corn was 69.50 cents a bushel of 56 pounds in New York, freight 1 cent to Liverpool, making 70.50. Quotation in Liverpool 5*s.* 9*d.* per 100 pounds, equal to 75.60 a bushel of 56 pounds, or 5.10 cents higher net than in New York.

How about bacon? Take long clear sides. New York, 8.25 cents, freight to Liverpool 10 cents, making 8.35 to Liverpool. Price in Liverpool, 38*s.* 9*d.* per 112 pounds, making 8.64 per pound, or .39 higher net than in New York.

Lard and cotton figure out the same way, as of course everything else does that we produce a surplus of and that can not be put into a trust.

Mr. Chairman, our friends on the other side of this House have so often stated that the growth of the country is due to high taxation that they are beginning actually to believe it. The question is not, has the country grown, but has it been retarded in its growth? Have we, by reason of high taxation, grown more rapidly than we would otherwise have grown? Has such taxation upon consumption, with its great and inevitable incidents of class benefits and class burdens, caused an artificial, forced, and unfair distribution of wealth? These are the questions to answer.

That such taxation will retard the growth of a country, though it may not wholly prevent it, is too plain a truth to require demonstration. That it will convey benefits to the protected classes and thus unduly increase their earnings at the expense of others is equally plain. These truths are the plainest and safest convictions of enlightened and thinking men. Let us not reason about so plain a matter, so strangely denied by interested parties who at the same time contend for the present rates and system, but let us look at a few results which can not be denied and which speak with absolute precision and with the utmost force. Let us take data of so broad a nature as to include every element in the case, and of so proven a character as to be far beyond any conceivable stage of experiment.

See the wonderful wealth and power that we were shown to possess in the great conflict from 1861 to 1865. Take that shown upon both sides and put them together, and do they show that our country had grown feeble and poor under a policy of low taxation from 1846 to 1860? Was the North with high-priced free labor less wealthy and less powerful than the South with not simply pauper labor, but with actually slave labor? Is either of these things true? And yet gentlemen say that low taxation will ruin us.

Let us compare the results of the two systems and see if our growth has not been retarded by war taxes, and if by our class legislation the current of wealth has not been measurably changed from one class to another. Let us take States fairly agricultural and a State having the protected industries, and see the results. In 1850 our per capita wealth was $388. In 1860 it was $514. The average gain was $206 per capita, or 66 per cent. In this decade Iowa gained $243 per capita, or 197 per cent.; Illinois gained $316 per capita, or 172 per cent.; Indiana gained $187 per capita, or 91 per cent.; Pennsylvania gained $174 per capita, or 55 per cent.

It will be observed that the new States, rich in soil and vigorous in population, gained under a fair and equal system more than the older States. The new States would be expected to exceed the national average and the older ones to fall behind it.

Now leave the per capita basis of calculation and go to State wealth: Iowa's grew betweeen 1850 and 1860 from $23,714,638 to $247,388,268; an increase of $223,613,630, or 970 per cent. Illinois' grew from $156,265,006 to $871,860,282; an increase of $715,595,176, or 458 per cent. Indiana's grew from $202,000,000 to $528,000,000; an increase of $326,000,000, or 161 per cent. Pennsylvania's grew from $722,000,000 to $1,416,000,000; an increase of $694,000,000, or 96 per cent. The national growth during this decade was from $7,135,780,228 to $16,159,616,068; an increase of $9,023,825,840, or 126 per cent.

Gentlemen will observe the greater rate of growth in the States more favored by nature and as yet not unduly discriminated against by our tax laws. It may be remarked, too, that both in this case and in the former the manufacturing State calculates upon a larger base, and hence the matter of per cent. might seemingly count against her and not so in reality. This will make these facts the more striking if the per cents are reversed in spite of Pennsylvania's calculating upon a larger base. But before I go to that I will remark that the gain in the agricultural States was, as you observe, more in actual dollars per capita than it was in Pennsylvania between 1850 and 1860.

Now, take the first decade under high and discriminating taxes and under what may now be called "the new doctrine." From 1860 to 1870 the nation grew in wealth from $16,000,000 to $30,000,000, an increase of $14,000,000, or 87 per cent., a rate 39 per cent. less than that of the previous record. This shows that war and the attendants of war retard the growth of wealth. But how as to the different States? Iowa grew from $247,000,000 to $717,000,000, a gain of $470,000,000, or 190 per cent. Illinois grew from $871,860,000 to $2,121,680,000, a gain of $1,249,820,000, or 143 per cent. Indiana grew from $528,000,000 to $1,268,000, a gain of $740,000,000, or 140 per cent.

Now, mark Pennsylvania. She grew from $1,416,000,000 to $3,808,000,000, a gain of $2,392,000,000, or 166 per cent. Pennsylvania was harassed by war; she was disturbed in every way; but she possessed the subsidized industries. See how she now runs ahead of the average growth of the nation. See how the agricultural States have fallen in the scale of progress and how the wealth poured into the pockets of the mine-owners and mill-owners of Pennsylvania has caused the census returns from that State to swell.

Now take the per capita record for this decade. The increase in the nation was from $514 to $780, equal to $266, or 52 per cent. Iowa gains from $366 to $871, equal to $505, or 138 per cent. Illinois gains from $509 to $835, equal to $326, or 64 per cent. Indiana gains from $392 to $601, equal to $209, or 53 per cent. Pennsylvania gains from $487 to $1,081, equal to $594, or 122 per cent.

Now, sir, take the decade from 1870 to 1880. The national growth was from $30,068,000,000, to be exact, to $43,642,000,000—a gain of $13,574,000,000, or 45 per cent. I give only the final figures now. Iowa gained $697,356,000, or 97 per cent.; Illinois gained $971,000,000, or 45 per cent.; Indiana gained $231,000,000, or 18 per cent.; Pennsylvania gained $1,585,000,000, or 41 per cent.

As to the per capita changes during this decade: The national gain was $90 per capita, or 11 per cent. Iowa gained $169, or 28 per cent.; Illinois gained $170, or 19 per cent.; Indiana gained $3, or .003 per cent.; Pennsylvania gained $178, or 16 per cent.

I leave it to some one else to trace, in connection with these facts, the relation between the growth in wealth and in population. If a State or a class is growing more rapidly in population than in wealth it is growing numerically poorer. Its course is downward. Others may be prospering and growing stronger, but the masses of this State and of this class are getting left in the race of life.

I contend, Mr. Chairman, that the rate of increase from 1850 to 1860 would have been maintained but for the war and for war taxes. We had just fairly reached the great and fertile plains of the West where growth was easy and which even now we only partially occupy. We perhaps do not occupy one-fourth of their vast area.

We were building railroads at a far more rapid per cent. of increase than we have done since. Railroad building material is as heavily taxed

as almost anything in the list. We had applied all the great inventions which have since only been perfected in details. Our rate of issues of patents exceeded what we have had since. Had we continued to do, as for ten years we did do, for ten long, practical, and well-tried years, our wealth in 1880 would have been, not the $43,642,000,000 that we point to with pride, but it would have been exceeding $81,272,000,000, fairly and justly distributed as it was being earned and was being distributed, instead of unequally and artificially distributed as our wealth of diminished growth has been by the new system. It is in the face of reason and in the face of facts like these that the subsidized classes and their apostles here tell us that high taxation has not retarded our growth in wealth, and that by high taxation and by class legislation we must expect to best promote happiness, justice, and prosperity among our people.

Mr. Chairman, one word in conclusion, and I will not longer tax the indulgence of the committee which has listened to me so patiently and kindly during the lengthy exposition I have attempted to make of the pending bill, of its probable effects, and of the positions of the two parties at this time. The contest we are now engaged in will be protracted, and it will, I fear, grow in fierceness. Our party is under the conservative leadership of the President of the United States. The conspicuous feature about the President and about his administration of public affairs is the confidence he imparts to all classes of the people. Business men feel no real alarm, but privileged classes will contend to the uttermost for the retention of their privileges.

The good and the honor of this country are not to be advanced by class legislation, whatever may be its form, guise, or pretense. The time has come for us to gradually eliminate such features from our laws. The condition of the Treasury no longer requires the present high rates of taxation upon the necessaries of life. The conditions of trade never required them in full, not even when under our internal-revenue system every article now protected bore a direct tax, when gold was at a premium and labor was very scarce. This bill, I have before remarked, is even more conservative than the recommendations of our most conservative President. Our political opponents offer nothing that they have not condemned before and that all good men ought to condemn now. In a strange, almost unaccountable fatuity the proprietors of the protected interests have forced the Republican party to go beyond all of its former positions, to abandon the people, and to abandon the principle of liberty. We do not ask that the foreigner may sell to us; but we do ask that we may be permitted to buy from him if our home manufacturer seeks to extort from us. If it be called unpatriotic in us to want to buy from the foreigner if necessity compels us, I submit in all fairness that it is equally unpatriotic in the proprietors of our protected industries to want to extort from us when there is no necessity for it whatever.

Sir, the condition of affairs does not permit of this question assuming a sectional phase. There was a time when the development of the portion of the country from which I come was limited by the institution which then prevailed, but which I am happy to say is gone forever; but now, under free labor, we are developing in every way, like the other parts of our country. This is a class question. It is a national question. It is a question of equal laws and of equal rights, and it is for our people to determine whether they will now take the first step, as proposed by this bill, and regardless of petty details, toward a return to something like a peace establishment in our system of taxation, or whether they will adopt new doctrines and make these high rates of war taxes upon the necessities of life a permanent part of our peace policy and permit a vast system of subsidies to permanently obtain in the business methods and regulations of the country. [Prolonged applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. TIMOTHY E. TARSNEY,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

May, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. TARSNEY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I approach the consideration of the subject embodied in the bill with marked hesitancy and trepidation, knowing as I do that the questions embodied in this measure are vital to the welfare of over sixty millions of American people, and reaching in their ramifications to every portion of the civilized world. Almost ever since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States Government the question of taxation has been mooted by the ablest minds and the greatest statesmen that this Republic has produced. Therefore, to some it may seem presumptuous of me to even attempt to enter upon a discussion of this important and now all-absorbing question. But when I consider that every citizen in this broad land is interested in the matter, and that the two hundred and fifty thousand people who sent me here are deeply concerned in it, I hope that I may be pardoned for reflecting what I believe to be the views of my constituency, and of a majority of the Commonwealth from which I come.

If every individual in the world had learned, believed in, and practiced the golden rule, there would be no necessity for organized government of individuals. Each individual would, under that condition of affairs, become a government unto himself, interfering with none of his neighbors, and his neighbors not interfering with him. Jealousy and avarice, as they exist unfortunately throughout the world to-day, would be eliminated. But it is because people who may have learned the word, but never imbibed the spirit of that rule, and who, either openly or by deception, by fraud or by robbery in one form or another, obtain for themselves the property, the earnings, or the rights of other people without paying them therefor a just compensation, that the thing we call civil government became necessary. Therefore nations are established and laws are promulgated, not so much to teach what is right, but to provide a punishment for the transgression of the laws that are violated, and to maintain and support, and to provide for the common good, the peace, order, and safety of the community, so that one citizen may be placed upon an equality with every other citizen, and a tribunal, judicial or quasi judicial, may be placed within the reach of the citizen for the redress of grievances occasioned by the transgression of his rights by others.

Thus it is for the general good order of society that we find in this great Republic a community of governments, each under the Constitution of the United States, and also of its respective State, with its powers clearly defined in the fundamental law. Thus we have the General Government of the United States, with its seat of administration at the city of Washington. Its powers and its jurisdiction are fixed by the Constitution of the United States, and it is a Government of delegated and limited power. It is evident that such was the intention of the framers of that Constitution, for it was provided by the tenth article that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people." Therefore when we seek the limit of power of the Government of the United States, we refer to that Constitution; and reading it from the four corners, we ascertain the power that Congress may properly exercise.

The framers of the Constitution were aware, as we are, that the machinery of Government provided under the Constitution must, in some manner or another, be supported. Supported how, and by whom? The people, whose Government it is, support it through the medium of taxation, fixed and determined by the wisdom of the law-making power, and the purposes for which national taxes shall be levied are likewise clearly defined by the Constitution. Section 8, Article I, provides that—

The Congress shall have the power to lay and to collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

There would seem to be but little room for construction by implication of the language above quoted. In other words, it specifies the purposes for which Congress shall have power.

With reference to Article X, above referred to, it has no other power except by a forced or strained meaning of the Constitution.

Therefore, in the opening of my remarks I asserted that the only power that resides in Congress to levy duties, taxes, etc., is that which is necessary for the proper support and maintenance of the Government of the United States for the purposes set forth, and not one dollar beyond for any other purpose. In other words, taxation for necessary revenue was that which was intended by the framers of the Constitution.

So it is that we find that with the reserve power of the States. They may exercise any powers, assess taxes, and perform all functions of government not inconsistent with nor prohibited by the Constitution of the United States. States, in turn, have counties, townships, cities, villages, and school districts, each within itself exercising the power conferred upon it, or not prohibited to it within its respective field, and all for the general welfare of the people and for the support and maintenance of these several governments; each within its own sphere, acting within its own functions, like the planet wheels of a horse-power, without friction, combined to make a great harmonious whole.

States and municipalities resort to their own methods of raising the necessary revenue for their own needs, as by the assessment of real and personal estate, and upon the callings or occupations of their citizens. The General Government to raise these revenues has resorted to a different plan, namely, the collection of its revenues through taxes upon imports and the internal-revenue system.

Many people on the floor of this House to-day, and throughout the country, maintain the opinion that the Government may go further, and incorporate with necessary taxation a further element, and that is the so-called protective idea which has, for the past quarter of a century in particular, taken such a strong hold upon the minds of the American people. Here I much differ with the gentlemen who belong to that school of politics. I do not believe in the doctrine of protection

for protection's sake, but I do believe that in this respect the functions of government exist purely and simply for the purpose of raising necessary revenues to maintain and support the Government economically administered. In other words, that taxation should be the object, not the incident; and if we are to have any such thing as protection, it comes as the incident, but not the object, of taxation.

What is protection? The meaning of the word is a shield or a barrier against some other nation or individual. Upon the line above indicated I find that the two great political parties in the United States, through their public declarations in their platforms, divide. There are individuals in either party who do not in all instances follow the general party teachings; but I am speaking of the history of both organizations and the public declarations as shown by the majorities of both. I find by a review of the history of the last quarter of a century that in every national Republican platform and the Republican platforms in most of the States, and by the legislation placed upon the statute-books of the country by the representatives of that party at a time when the three departments of the General Government were exclusively controlled by the Republican party, that public declarations were made, the ideas incorporated into the laws, the purposes of the organization for protection openly promulgated from the stump, until the word protection has become a war-cry of the Republican party.

Protection is a beautiful word, but when we come to analyze it, the purposes for which that word is used by our Republican friends, we can not avoid the reflection that they have but stolen the livery of the Lord in which to serve the rapacious devil. My Republican friends have rung it into the ears of the American people that their purpose was to protect, first, the American laborer; second, the American farmer; and third, the American manufacturer. Pardon me if for a brief while I analyze these different claims and present some views in relation thereto which my observation and study lead me to believe that I am warranted in doing on this occasion.

I make the bold assertion here and now, my Republican friends on the other side of this House, that never under your so-called protective system did you ever protect a laboring man one dollar's worth in the world, while on the other hand, from the beginning to the end of your policy of protection you have degraded and impoverished the very laborer you pretended to assist, but never did. I call your attention to the fact that employed in the mills, in the factories, and in the mines, and in every other avocation of employment where the product of labor is protected by a tariff or duty of from 40 to 100 per cent. that the entire profits of protection enter into the coffers of the employer and not into the pockets of the employé.

Time after time within the last fifteen years, when that labor which you pretend to protect, feeling that it did not receive its fair share of the earnings of the brain and the hand, the bone and the muscle—when bold enough to assert their rights and ask for a better condition of things, they have been thrown out of employment and others have been substituted in their place. From England, Ireland, and Wales, from Italy, ay, even from far-off China have been imported, either by contract or upon a promise of a better condition of things, a foreign people to take the place in the mills, the work-shops, the factories, and elsewhere of the very American labor which you have pretended to protect. And that labor, so invited and so employed, when it reached the custom-house docks at Boston, New York, or Philadelphia on the east, or at San Francisco upon the west, unlike the product that is protected, which can not pass without the payment of the duty upon it, these foreign laborers walk across the docks of our custom-house, bidding good morning to the customs officers, but pay no duties, and enter into the United States in free and open competition with the American labor which came to make this country their home. And the necessaries of life used by the laborer, by his wife and children, are taxed for the purpose of paying tribute, not to the Government, but to the manufacturer.

One illustration will serve to demonstrate this point. The coat that I now wear—I know not where the cloth was manufactured, but suppose it to have been in England or France—was imported into the United States. It could not come through the custom-house of New York or elsewhere without having a duty paid on it of about 59 per cent. That duty so paid was added to the invoice, and the goods were sold by the importer to the wholesale dealer in New York, the cost to him, then, being the original cost, with the rate of transportation and duties and the profits of the importer added. To that in turn are added the profits of the New York wholesale merchant, and then the goods were sold to our clothing people up in Michigan. They in their turn paid all these charges, and when I, as an humble citizen, came to pay for this coat in Saginaw, I am charged up with all these incidental charges before mentioned, and in this event I have paid to the Government of the United States 59 per cent. upon the coat I wear.

Suppose, now, that these goods are the product of the mills in Massachusetts or of Connecticut. The New England manufacturer, possessed of all the innate selfishness that is common to humanity, and with that natural desire to make what he can out of his surroundings, knows that his foreign competitor can not bring his goods in competition with him in the United States without paying the rate of duty I have indicated. Therefore, the New England manufacturer, irrespective of fair and legitimate profits, raises the price of his goods to 45, 50, or 55 per cent., enough to prevent his foreign competitor from sending his goods to this market, and he, the New England man, sells to the merchant at my home, and I buy the goods. In the one instance I have paid my taxes to the Government of the United States, and in the other I have paid my taxes to the New England manufacturer. And so it is with all the commodities within the protective range from the swaddling clothes in which we wrap the infant, the shirts we wear, the clothing for our wives and our babies, all, all is taxed; and the laborer who produces the goods that bring to the manufacturer his 40 and 100 per cent., when he purchases the necessaries of life and his clothing or the material, he pays to that manufacturer the tribute exacted through the medium of protective laws. And so it is that labor, instead of being benefited by the protective system, is, in fact, robbed under the pretext of protection. Therefore, I reassert that labor receives no protection.

We hear many things said about the pauper labor of Europe, much sympathy expressed by the protection classes with our mechanic and laborer, and much solicitation lest they should be compelled to compete with what the protectionist calls the foreign pauper labor. Yet, according to the report of the Massachusetts bureau of statistics and labor for 1885, we find that the total average earnings of a Massachusetts family with five workers, including children, is $803.47. A like family in Great Britain receives $517.47. The average total expenses of the family of mechanics in Massachusetts is $754.42; that of the family in Great Britain is $508.35. So we find that the Massachusetts mechanic, after working a year in the protected industries and supporting his family, has a net saving of $49.05, and the annual savings of the family in Great Britain is $9.12 And so we get the great benefits of protection to the American mechanic over his foreign competitor, which is a net result of $39.93. God save the Queen! This looks like a protection for both.

But, say my Republican friends, we must maintain this protective theory in order that the American farmers may be protected.

According to the last census there were 7,070,492 inhabitants of the United States engaged in agriculture. A fair estimate to-day would place that number at nearly if not quite 9,000,000. How, then, is the farmer protected? My Republican friends will smile at my apparent simplicity, and will smilingly answer, "wool." Yes, my Republican friends, you have been pulling the wool over the eyes of the American farmer for a full quarter of a century, blinding him and attempting to make him believe that your protecting arm was about him. But I call your attention to the fact, indelibly recorded in history and upon the record of this House, that whatever protection the American farmer had upon the clippings of his flock prior to the 3d of March, 1883, you struck down with one fell blow. Your tariff bill of 1883 reduced the duty upon the farmer's wool that you were pretending to the farmer that you would protect.

I call your attention to the existing tariff law, and I also call your attention to the yea-and-nay vote taken in this House, as it appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date, and I find some of the loudest talkers upon the protective ideas here upon the floor of this House, whose names were recorded "aye" upon the vote to reduce the duty upon the farmer's wool. I only refer to this at this time for the purpose of pointing out to you that your practice, my Republican friends, has not been in accord with your precepts or your pretenses. While I am not now criticising your action in your vote, I do criticise, as I have a right to, and to protest against your falsely representing to the agricultural interests that you are their friends, when your every act has been to strike down instead of to build up the agricultural interests of this country. You say to me, as it is broadly said throughout the country, "You must have a home market for your home products." Let us examine the result of this home-market theory. I need not demonstrate to you, for you know it, that in this country we raise more wheat than we can eat, more corn than we can consume, more oats than to supply the home market, and other products of agriculture, and when we have satisfied the American appetite we can do no more unless we can find a market for our surplus. And to-day we find the business of our agriculturists paralyzed throughout the country, with our granaries overflowing with the product of the farmer. And still we find the mortgages of the farmer increasing; that he can not, with all the blessings that Providence can bestow upon him, with good seasons and good crops, keep pace with the world.

We find that the products of our farmers can not be sold at remunerative rates, and why? Remember that the prices we receive for surplus product abroad regulate in every instance the domestic price at home. Liverpool and London regulate the price of wheat in New York, Chicago, or Minneapolis.

It is but a few years ago that the United States supplied Great Britain and many other of the European nations with their breadstuffs. It is not true to-day, and why? Nations are much like individuals; in fact they are but combinations of individuals, after all. If you will not trade with me, I will not trade with you; and if you place such restrictions upon your dealings as to render it impossible for me to deal with you, I will turn my attention elsewhere and deal with others. Now, my protection friends, mark the result of your protective policy as it affects the agriculturists of America. By your restricted and in many instances prohibitory tariff, you have refused to deal with the nations of the world, and they in turn have turned their attention elsewhere.

European nations, instead of relying upon America for their breadstuffs, as they did in years gone by, have now turned their attention to Russia and Egypt, ay, they have penetrated the jungles of India with their long lines of railway, and there have builded up one of the greatest wheat-growing countries upon the face of the globe, producing in 1884, 252,000,000 bushels of wheat, which means four bushels of grain for every man, woman, and child within the limits of the United States. This in conjunction with the wheat coming from other foreign countries in the Liverpool market, where it meets our surplus and regulates the general price. Therefore we find that the American farmer, purchasing everything he uses upon his farm, the clothing that he wears, the necessaries of life outside of what he raises himself to maintain his family, is thrown in a free and open competition with the so-called pauper and serf labor of Europe, Africa, and India. We may talk about protecting American farmers as much as we please, but the facts stand so bold staring us in the face that nearly nine millions of American agriculturists are selling the product of their labor, their sweat, and their toil in competition with the cheap labor of these countries. Wherein, then, lies your protection to the American farmer?

Remember, too, another thing, that your so-called protective system has, to a large extent, forced this condition of things. It is but a little while ago since France and Germany placed an embargo upon our products, and at this time an American hog can not enter the German Empire even with a passport from the Secretary of State. Why? It is not that American pork is not as good as German pork, but it is because these restrictive and prohibitory duties have been placed upon the products of Germany that they are unable to send to us the surplus of their product, and have therefore acted upon that spirit which has been in the human family from its origin, *lex talionis*. Even Canada has her retaliatory duties; and while I can picture to you in the commonwealth from which I come one of the most beautiful cities in this broad land, upon the banks of the rippling, the blue, and the pure Detroit River, and as I stand upon the banks and look only a mile away I find another nation; in that beautiful expanse of water, and in the middle of the stream, there is a barrier, invisible to the eye, it is true, but felt in the pocket, and felt in the reciprocal and commercial relations with that country. So that Detroit—and I use it only by way of illustration—is a commercial city with one side only to draw from.

I likewise find by an examination of statistics that before the present pretended protective theory was adopted the products of the farmer brought a higher range of prices than they have at any time since the system was adopted, except the abnormal period during the civil war, which can not be counted in the estimates.

Lowest and highest prices of farm products during ten years of revenue tariff before the war, and twenty years of protection after the war, omitting the abnormal period during the war.

Year.	Wheat, per bushel.		Pork, mess, per barrel.		Wool, per pound.		Oats, per bushel.		Corn, per bushel.	
	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.	Lowest.	Highest.
1852	$1.03	$1.15	$14.62	$19.75	$0.26	$0.42	$0.75	$0.86	$0.62	$0.78
1853	1.22	1.80	13.00	19.75	.38	.44	.41	.52	.64	.82
1854	1.75	2.50	12.12	16.00	.25	.40	.45	.75	.76	.98
1855	1.96	2.80	12.50	23.00	.24	.34	.42	.82	.93	1.15
1856	1.30	2.17	16.25	21.00	.30	.38	.35	.50	.48	.94
1857	1.25	1.95	16.50	25.70	.30	.44	.40	.66	.71	.98
1858	1.20	1.50	15.35	19.00	.27	.32	.40	.53	.58	1.03
1859	1.30	1.65	14.60	18.12	.34	.45	.36	.58	.76	1.05
1860	1.35	1.70	16.12	19.75	.34	.40	.37	.47	.64	.95
1861	1.20	1.60	12.25	18.00	.22	.45	.30	.47	.48	.74
1867	2.30	3.40	18.90	24.10	.25	.37	.67	.94	1.00	1.40
1868	2.05	3.25	21.10	29.50	.34	.37	(*)	(*)	1.01	1.41
1869	1.45	2.18	26.50	33.37	.32	.35	.62	.84	.75	1.16
1870	1.40	1.90	20.00	30.00	.34	.45	.52	.69	.76	1.15
1871	1.45	2.00	12.85	23.00	.32	.63	.42	.70	.65	.90
1872	1.65	2.10	12.80	16.00	.45	.67	.42	.57	.61	.80
1873	1.55	2.25	13.00	19.00	.35	.57	.42	.58	.50	.77
1874	.93	1.35	13.85	24.25	.36	.48	.38	.53	.53	.84
1875	.92	1.37	18.00	22.75	.38	.48	.30	.64	.49	.76
1876	.84	1.27	15.70	22.37	.25	.43	.28	.35	.38	.49
1877	1.06	1.85	11.75	17.37	.32	.43	.22	.46	.41	.58
1878	.83	1.31	8.25	13.00	.20	.33	.29	.45	.45	.60
1879	1.10	1.56	7.80	12.75	.27	.50	.31	.50	.44	.64
1880	1.03	1.59	10.50	18.00	.25	.45	.36	.49	.48½	.61
1881	1.14	1.56	12.75	20.00	.21	.47	.42	.52	.48	.76
1882	1.03	1.43	16.25	24.00	.31	.48	.37½	.72	.63	1.09
1883	.95	1.24	11.50	20.00	.37	.42	.36	.51	.55	.70
1884	.74	1.05	12.00	19.00	.33	.38	.32	.42	.45	.66
1885	.88	1.05	9.00	14.50	.28	.54	.27½	.41½	.40	.57
1886	.83	.95½	10.00	12.50	.30	.34	.30½	.39	.43	.55

*Nominal.

It will be remembered that the prices received by the farmer before the war for his products was on the basis of 100-cent dollars; that for the years succeeding the war up to 1878 the price of all commodities was regulated by the Treasury-note dollar, which was worth very much less than the gold standard, as will be seen by an examination of the following table:

Highest and lowest prices of gold in New York, 1867–1878.

[Compiled from the Commercial and Financial Chronicle.]

Years.	Highest.	Lowest.
1867	146¾	132½
1868	150	132
1869	162½	119½
1870	123½	110
1871	115¾	108¾
1872	115⅝	108½
1873	119½	106½
1874	114⅜	109
1875	117⅜	111¾
1876	115	107
1877	107⅝	102¼
1878	102⅝	100

Therefore upon this branch I assert that the farmers of our country are not protected in the slightest degree in any of the commodities which they produce, but are selling to the world upon free-trade rates, and paying protective prices, paying not only taxes to the Government of the United States upon imports, but tribute to American manufacturers upon domestic products, and this I can not avoid characterizing as no more or less than legalized robbery, for it never was contemplated by the Constitution or our theory of government that the earnings of one of our citizens should be transferred from his pocket to the pocket of another without just compensation being paid therefor.

Who do you protect, my Republican friends? You answer: "Our pet class is the manufacturers of the United States." I agree. How many? According to the best data obtainable there were within the limits of the United States at the last census 44,019 institutions, not individuals, but institutions, that were manufacturing products protected under the American system, and 60,000,000 people are paying tribute to the few and favored class known as the American manufacturers.

I have already demonstrated, or attempted to, that the labor employed in these factories is not protected. I have never yet seen or heard of one of these employers drawing the line of distinction between the American workingman and the imported foreigner. It requires not profound statesmanship, it requires not the patient study of the statistician, it requires not the profound knowledge of the philosopher to observe that the dissatisfaction, the discontent, the strife and turmoil between capital and labor in the United States which promises to imperil the stability of our republican institutions, originated in nine cases out of ten in the protected employments. Why, then, should you, under the power of law, enrich the owner of the factory while you pauperize the employé who produces his wealth. In fact, I question whether even to the protected class itself are the protective laws a benefit. It is certainly not to the great mass of the American people. You ask, "Why not to the manufacturer?" Because the manufacturer, like the farmer in this country, with its boundless resources, where everything that can be mentioned that enters into the products of our mills, our factories, and our manufactured products generally, can be produced from our own soil. We find as a matter of experience that our manufacturers, taking advantage of the markets, will keep their mills and factories in operation until they have glutted the markets with their products, and then will close down their mills, cease the manufacture of the product, bank their fires, stop the wheels of industry, and throw out of employment the labor which they pretend to protect, caring not from whence it came or where it may go, only looking to their own coffers. Would it not be better, then, if we could find a market abroad, not only for the product of the farm, but for the product of the factory; and would it not be a better policy for the American people to deal with the world, not upon free, but upon fair terms?

Sir, I hope to live to see the day when the producers of our country, the farmer and the manufacturer, can find a good market at a fair price for the surplus products of their labor and their skill.

Would it not be better for us, with all our boundless resources, with the highest skilled labor that the world produces, with the quick intellect of the American mechanic and the American laborer, and the strong arm and willing hand to keep the wheels of industry in motion for twelve months of the year, and after satisfying the home consumption sell the surplus to foreign nations and take in exchange, not money necessarily, but some of the products of other countries which we need and can not produce?

Another element which enters into the consideration of this problem is the ship-building and navigation between the United States and foreign countries. By an examination of statistics it appears that the progress of American ship-building was continuous and rapid from the organization of the Government down to 1861. The time was when, under a revenue tariff, the United States was almost mistress of the seas. Her flag could be found floating in the ports of every commercial nation on the globe. The American clipper ship was the prod-

igy of the world; built of American material by American workmen, and manned by American officers and American seamen. Our merchant marine was the pride of the country. But "O! how has the mighty fallen!" Go with me to-night to the city of New York and stand on Brooklyn bridge and look down the river to the bay; go through the harbor and amongst the thousands of spars, and the flags that float from the mastheads, you will not find one in five hundred that floats the stars and stripes, and these few are coasters. Not one line of ships engaged regularly in the transportation of commerce to foreign countries. Why all this? Our materials are in existence, the brain and the sinew of the American builder and the sailor are not lost. The indomitable spirit that will brave the tempest and the storm is with us still. But why this falling off in shipping? The time was when in American bottoms we sent to foreign nations 77 per cent. of our exports under the American flag The order is reversed, and now it is less than 12 per cent.

Table showing the total foreign tonnage and total American tonnage cleared from seaports of the United States for foreign countries, from 1858 to 1887, inclusive:

Year.	Total foreign.	Total American.
	Tons.	*Tons.*
1858	1,308,635	3,127,746
1859	1,552,101	3,315,325
1860	1,755,871	3,501,465
1861	1,536,205	2,873,720
1862	1,637,168	2,567,763
1863	2,076,892	2,266,312
1864	2,616,951	1,662,282
1865	2,450,201	1,710,330
1866	3,131,077	2,029,755
1867	3,230,392	2,270,096
1868	3,186,200	2,625,031
1869	3,612,138	2,502,200
1870	3,832,030	2,529,598
1871	4,282,961	2,634,841
1872	5,141,147	2,597,611
1873	5,940,849	2,574,021
1874	7,096,947	2,961,103
1875	6,279,345	3,061,354
1876	6,802,096	3,037,362
1877	7,345,436	3,043,158
1878	8,647,080	3,196,491
1879	10,545,403	3,071,287
1880	12,217,973	3,077,724
1881	12,754,453	3,039,514
1882	11,910,956	2,935,512
1883	10,669,945	2,895,077
1884	9,340,610	2,845,109
1885	9,087,700	2,808,575
1886	9,606,976	2,896,259
1887	10,740,017	2,770,518

You ask the cause. Some attribute it to our navigation laws with some of their restrictions. True, this may, to a certain extent, enter into the result, but the chief cause, and the principal one which I desire to present to this House to-day, is the fact that we have not that free and unrestricted commerce with the world that we had in the days of a tariff for revenue only, when our ships could go out laden with the product of our own country, and go to the port of any nation of the world and bring back in exchange their product. Therefore I say to this House that the policy of this country should be to so revise the tariff laws that we will bring ourselves to the base line of necessary taxation for governmental purposes honestly administered; discourage the idea of local protection for the benefit of a few favored individuals, and legislate for the common good of our population. When we do this, and upon fair and reciprocal relations with the world, we will find that American ingenuity, American pluck, and American skill will once more launch upon the high seas a merchant marine which will make our flag respected in every nation of the world where to-day it is sneered and scoffed at because of our commercial weakness. Furnish the incentive, then, to build and man ships and ships will be builded and manned by Americans. Then, and not till then, will come the necessity for rejuvenating our Navy for the purpose of protecting our merchant marine; instead of doing, as we are to-day, pretending that we desire to build an American navy to protect the merchant marine which does not exist except in the imagination of individuals. Then, and not till then, will the United States, the greatest nation upon the face of the globe, take her rank among the commercial nations of the earth, and stand at the head of the class. Abolish all class distinctions, abolish all laws that seek to favor and enrich the few at the expense of the toiling, suffering many.

But you ask, how shall this be done? My answer is, pursue the pathway that the Democracy of the country has always pointed out. Collect your taxes, be liberal if you please, but let the sole and only object of taxation be the support and maintenance of the Government.

But we find ourselves in this position to-day, and confronted by this system of so-called protection, based upon selfishness and based upon favoritism, as is clearly discernible by an examination of more than four thousand four hundred articles upon the tariff list, has grown upon us for a quarter of a century, and we who are here to-day considering it are confronted by this system and the evils that it has wrought, and the question is, how shall we bring ourselves back to that safe anchorage ground from which you, my Republican friends, have drifted us, to a harbor of safety, a harbor of refuge, where our ship may float safely and a general equalization be obtained?

Mr. Chairman, it so happens that I have the honor to be the only member upon the floor of the House who assisted in making the national platform upon which the first Democratic President in twenty-four years was elected. I had the honor, sir, of representing the commonwealth of the State of Michigan on the committee on resolutions of that memorable convention held in the city of Chicago in 1884. The committee on resolutions labored earnestly and diligently to frame that platform. We certainly said what we meant, and we meant what we said. In that platform you will find that we declared in favor of a reduction and a revision of the existing tariff laws, but we did not declare in favor of the destruction of any industry that had builded up even upon a false basis. Wrong though the theory may be, damaging to the great masses of our population as it is, we still recognized the fact that many people had invested their money—and in many instances their entire fortune—upon the basis of the law as they found it upon the statute-books. To this class of people we said: We propose to revise, not to destroy, but to revise the existing tariff laws, bring them down to the base line of necessary revenue for the support of the Government. But in doing this it shall be done with a careful hand so as to do the least injury possible to the people; in other words, a fair modification of the tariff laws, compelling the classes to yield for the time-being until we could adjust ourselves to the line which we have always believed to be the only comprehensive theory and method of taxation.

Therefore we say to-day, and I call the attention of the honorable members of the Ways and Means Committee to this, that instead of at once and by a sudden revulsion of the policy which we are not responsible for, let us go about this revision slowly, carefully, fairly, and equably, and where we find those industries which have builded up upon this false basis, instead of cutting them off at once by a sudden shock, paralyzing or injuring the industry, give them a gradual and a sliding scale, by an annual reduction of a fair percentage on their products, until such time as we may reach the common level, which I hope will be soon, and from which I hope we may never again depart.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to call the attention of this House, and particularly of the honorable Committee on Ways and Means, to the industries of the State which I have the honor in part to represent.

The district from which I come is the center of the great salt and lumber producing district of the State of Michigan. The following table will show the amount of lumber produced from 1851 to 1887, inclusive, upon the Saginaw River alone:

Year.	Lumber cut.	Total on dock December 1.	On dock, sold, December 1.
	Feet.	*Feet.*	*Feet.*
1851	92,000,000	.....	.....
1852	90,000,000	.....	.....
1853	96,000,000	.....	.....
1854	100,000,000	.....	.....
1855	100,000,000	.....	.....
1856	110,000,000	.....	.....
1857	113,700,000	.....	.....
1858	106,500,000	.....	.....
1859	122,750,000	.....	.....
1860	125,000,000	.....	.....
1861	120,000,000	.....	.....
1862	128,000,000	.....	.....
1863	133,580,000	.....	.....
1864	215,000,000	.....	.....
1865	250,639,340	44,453,000	22,362,000
1866	349,767,834	44,415,700	14,211,000
1867	423,963,190	69,969,771	17,435,571
1868	451,395,225	67,401,017	13,402,990
1869	523,500,830	93,231,614	14,562,000
1870	576,726,605	130,422,190	47,862,000
1871	529,682,878	75,559,511	33,576,000
1872	602,118,980	152,822,553	40,928,200
1873	619,877,021	222,071,665	30,893,000
1874	573,632,771	213,152,663	27,135,000
1875	581,558,273	223,202,168	26,595,578
1876	583,950,771	244,546,657	30,000,000
1877	640,166,231	245,935,522	23,511,666
1878	574,162,757	247,572,383	18,640,280
1879	736,106,000	221,864,595	85,647,837
1880	873,047,731	295,870,633	92,103,596
1881	976,320,317	281,990,929	118,605,117
1882	1,011,274,905	300,079,999	105,073,000
1883	938,675,078	376,037,075	134,042,692
1884	978,497,853	458,066,848	51,550,000
1885	728,498,221	329,013,030	68,427,508
1886	798,826,224	315,029,650	59,775,100
1887	779,661,265	339,565,951	64,230,195

The quantity "sold" December 1 is included in the total amount on dock.

In addition to this the following table will show the product of shingles for the period from 1867 to 1887, both inclusive:

Statement of the shingle product.

1867	90,983,000	1874	208,489,500	1881	304,925,500
1868	104,104,500	1875	124,030,240	1882	295,046,500
1869	119,843,500	1876	204,346,725	1883	242,126,000
1870	178,570,000	1877	167,806,750	1884	261,266,750
1871	187,691,000	1878	153,989,750	1885	222,953,000
1872	159,001,750	1879	218,934,000	1886	227,463,000
1873	218,394,550	1880	241,075,160	1887	196,983,000

COMPARATIVE.

Following is a comparative statement of the lath manufactured by the Saginaw River mills since 1866:

	Pieces.		Pieces.
1867	63,870,875	1878	53,236,075
1868	61,478,910	1879	65,969,000
1869	51,754,221	1880	65,663,833
1870	61,287,500	1881	65,983,750
1871	62,850,900	1882	94,703,800
1872	76,951,800	1883	106,132,490
1873	87,330,400	1884	127,316,000
1874	73,675,950	1885	80,931,400
1875	73,209,255	1886	100,119,400
1876	72,703,660	1887	89,873,550
1877	72,514,999		

In 1887 we manufactured 38,722,008 staves and 1,633,743 sets of heading.

The following table shows the amount of the various grades of salt inspected in Michigan since 1869, the first year of the establishment of the State inspection law:

Comparative table.

Year.	Fine.	Packers'.	Solar.	Second quality.	Common coarse.	Total.
1869	513,908	123,908	15,264	19,177	.....	561,288
1870	568,326	17,869	15,507	19,650	.....	621,352
1871	655,923	14,677	37,645	19,930	.....	728,175
1872	672,034	11,110	31,461	19,876	.....	724,481
1873	746,702	23,671	32,267	20,706	.....	823,346
1874	960,757	20,090	29,391	16,741	.....	1,026,979
1875	1,027,866	10,233	24,336	19,410	.....	1,081,856
1876	1,402,410	14,233	24,233	21,668	.....	1,462,729
1877	1,590,811	20,839	22,818	26,818	.....	1,660,997
1878	1,770,361	19,267	33,541	32,615	.....	1,855,884
1879	1,997,350	15,641	18,020	29,027	.....	2,058,040
1880	2,589,037	16,691	22,237	48,623	.....	2,676,588
1881	2,673,910	13,885	9,683	52,821	.....	2,750,299
1882	2,928,542	17,208	31,335	60,222	.....	3,037,317
1883	2,828,987	15,424	16,735	33,526	.....	2,894,672
1884	3,087,034	19,308	16,957	38,508	.....	3,161,806
1885	3,230,626	15,480	19,849	31,428	.....	3,297,403
1886	3,548,731	22,221	31,177	71,235	3,893	3,677,257
1887	3,198,070	19,385	13,903	73,905	173,378	3,944,309
Total						38,040,778
Salt manufactured prior to 1869						3,282,117
Total amount of salt produced in Michigan to date						41,322,895

Year.	Average price per barrel.	Year.	Average price per barrel.
1866	$1.80	1877	$0.85
1867	1.77	1878	.85
1868	1.85	1879	1.02
1869	1.58	1880	.75
1870	1.32	1881	.83⅓
1871	1.46	1882	.70
1872	1.46	1883	.81
1873	1.37	1884	.75⅓
1874	1.19	1885	.70
1875	1.10	1886	.66
1876	1.05	1887	.57 1/16

The product in the Saginaw Valley was shipped almost exclusively by rail.

Notwithstanding the immensity of these products, and notwithstanding the rates of duty as they appear in the existing tariff law imposed upon wood and the products thereof, and upon salt, I stand here to-day as the representative of 250,000 people, and say to this House and to say to the country that our people recognize the absolute necessity of a revision of the existing laws of taxation, and as becomes good citizens they are willing to bear their fair share of a fair reduction.

When we come to consider that the rate of taxation by means of custom-house collections and the internal revenue is $1,000,000 a day absorbed from the people, and nearly $500,000 per diem in excess of the actual needs of government, and that this money is being withdrawn from circulation and hoarded up in the vaults of the national Treasury, we realize the necessity of reduction. I presume that there are other sections of the country similarly situated to the favored region from which I come, and which are likewise affected by the provisions of the bill now before us.

I appeal to my Democratic colleagues to exhibit their true democracy to the country, and demonstrate to the people that we have made no promises that we did not fulfill, and that we will faithfully and honestly carry out the pledges which we have made in our declarations of principles that gave to us the first Democratic administration in a quarter of a century, the first to indicate to the people that it intends to relieve the people. Therefore let us equalize the laws of taxation. Let us by a gradual scale reduce the taxes upon the necessities of life, until we come down to that base line of necessary revenue which, as I have indicated, is the only true idea of taxation. Then place your taxes lowest upon the necessaries of life and highest upon life's luxuries, so that the burdens of taxation shall be borne by our people in proportion to the taste, the whims, or the wealth of those who consume the luxuries of life, and lighter burdens upon those who are content with the necessaries of life. In other words, let us have dear diamonds and silks, and cheaper shirts.

The Question of Free Lumber.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GALLINGER,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 31, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. GALLINGER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Other duties will prevent me from participating to any considerable extent in the lengthy debate which will doubtless be had on this bill under the five-minute rule. Indeed, if I could have assurance that a yea-and-nay vote will be taken in the House, as a separate proposition, on the question of putting lumber on the free-list, I would be satisfied not to say a word and content myself with recording a vote against it; but that assurance can not be given, and for this reason I will ask the attention of the committee while I briefly state the position I hold as a Representative of a New England district on this question of free lumber.

A DEMOCRATIC PROPOSITION.

This proposition seems to have the unanimous support of the Representatives of the Southern States. Indeed, it is claimed that it has, with one or two exceptions, the unanimous support of the Democratic side of this House. At first glance it seems strange that the South, with her great forests, is in favor of removing the duty on lumber, as they are so largely engaged in its manufacture and sale. But reflection will show that there is a wide difference in the circumstances which surround them as compared with the Middle and New England States. For instance, a portion of my district, heavily timbered, adjoins Canada. It is separated from that country by an imaginary line. Now, I submit to the gentlemen from the South who are clamoring for free lumber, that if a foreign country joined their borders they would very likely entertain different views on this question from those which have found expression in the Mills bill. In no contingency can they be brought into competition with Canadian lumber, their product being largely of a different kind, and the item of transportation practically excluding the foreign production from their markets.

ONE KIND OF PROTECTION.

The great lumber king of New Hampshire is a Democrat. He probably does more lumbering than any other ten citizens of the State, and is withal a shrewd and a sagacious business man. When asked recently what he would do in the event of the Mills bill becoming a law he is reported to have said: "Mr. MILLS has not caught me. I have gone over to Canada and bought a large tract of timber, and thus protected myself." But others in the business, with less capital, can not protect themselves in that way, and they have a right to be heard on this floor in defense of their interests.

CANADIAN LABOR.

Certain gentlemen who have participated in this discussion insist that Canadian labor is brought into the United States to work in this industry, and that it comes in competition with American labor; hence a reason why lumber should be free. I beg to say, Mr. Chairman, that the Canadian labor which comes to us is mostly of the lowest grade, and does not injure American labor interests. They are employed in the woods on timber in its crude form, which is not protected by our tariff laws. But go into the great lumber-mills in any New England State and you will find that the skilled workmen are Americans almost without exception. You will find, too, that the protest against any interference with the tariff on lumber comes not only from the manufacturers, but also from the men who are earning good wages in those mills. If this bill becomes a law it will practically wipe out the lumber industry of New Hampshire and do incalculable harm, not

only to those who are engaged in its manufacture and sale, but also to the large class of laboring men to whom this industry gives remunerative employment.

NO COMPENSATING BENEFIT.

There is neither sentiment nor poetry about this thing. It is simply the logic of common sense and business intelligence. If lumber is placed on the free-list it will strike a serious blow to some of the industries on which the prosperity of New Hampshire and other New England States depends without any compensating benefit. I know it is claimed that the removal of the duty will lessen the cost of the article to the consumer, but there is no assurance that any section of the country will be benefited in that respect by the proposed legislation, for when Canadian lumbermen have taken possession of our markets they will fix the price of the product at a point not lower than the present ruling rates.

WAGES VS. CLIMATIC CONDITIONS.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN], in undertaking to show that it is not a higher rate of wages which attracts Canadians to the United States, said that they came to New England for climatic reasons. How absurd that is. The climatic conditions of Northern New England and Canada are substantially the same. They come not for their health, but to do the hard work in our forests and because they get higher wages than at home. That is all there is to it. That they come is not a reproach to our enterprise, but rather a tribute to our institutions and an added reason why American industries should be protected by proper tariff legislation.

Mr. FORD. Does that protect American labor?

Mr. GALLINGER. It does, unquestionably. Every man in New Hampshire who is willing to work finds ready employment, and in addition we give work to many who come to us from Canada. Our diversified manufacturing industries enable us to do this and they enable us to pay higher wages than we otherwise could do. It does no harm to our own people if our tariff laws also enable us to pay higher wages to Canadian laborers than they can get at home. We want tariff laws, primarily, to protect our own people, and if those who emigrate to our shores, whether from Canada, Ireland, or any other country, share in their benefits, no one should complain.

NOT LEGISLATING FOR CANADA.

If this question of free lumber, divorced from all the other provisions of this bill, were submitted to the people of New Hampshire and of Canada there would be a practically unanimous vote in Canada in favor of it, and a practically solid vote in New Hampshire against it. For my part I am not legislating for Canada. Too much has already been done in that direction since the advent of a Democratic Administration. I believe I voice the sentiment not only of Republicans, but of a large majority of the Democratic party of my State when I say that they are opposed to putting lumber on the free-list or disturbing the duties fixed by existing tariff laws, believing as they do that such legislation will benefit foreign dealers to the great detriment of American manufacturers and mechanics.

WOOD PULP.

Closely allied to the lumber question is that of wood pulp. This is becoming an important industry in this country, and the Mills bill proposes to put that also on the free-list. The entire wood-pulp product in 1880 was $2,225,000, the capital invested being about $1,000,000. New England's share in this industry was about one-half of the whole, while the Southern States had practically no interest in it; and being a Northern industry, they propose to strike it down. During the past eight years the manufacture has greatly increased, and now it is gravely proposed to destroy it. The duty on this product represents just about the difference in cost of manufacture between Canada and the United States, and is in the nature of protection to American labor. If put on the free-list it will either transfer the industry across the line or necessitate a reduction in wages to the Canadian standard. One or the other is inevitable, and either will be a detriment to American interests.

TIMBER CULTURE.

It is argued by some that it is necessary to put lumber on the free-list so as to protect the American forests. To sustain this view it is said that unless the timber supply comes from abroad our forests will soon be utterly despoiled and the supply exhausted. Nothing more ridiculous than this has ever been advanced. It is mere theory, and yet it is used as one of the staple arguments for free trade in lumber. The simple fact is that American timber lands are not being materially lessened, and the rapidly-increasing consumption of coal, which now reaches the smaller towns of the country, is greatly lessening the drafts upon our forests. Notwithstanding the doleful predictions of a few men who have assumed the rôle of public benefactors, and whose dire manifestoes are periodically issued to the country in the shape of appeals in behalf of American forestry, the fact remains that there is no appreciable diminution of timber lands in the United States, the supply being sufficient for all time to come. Indeed, it is a probable fact that if our forests were left undisturbed for ten years greater losses would come to them by the ravages of fire and natural decay than they now suffer by the ax. The removal of the larger trees gives opportunity for the others to grow, increases for them the sustenance from the soil, and in from twenty-five to thirty years a second crop of timber is produced, which would be almost wholly lost if the large trees were allowed to remain until destroyed by the natural process of decay.

TRUSTS.

Again, it is said that a great trust or combine controls the lumber industry of the country, and that lumber must be put on the free-list to destroy this trust. What arrant nonsense that is! It is denied as well as asserted that there is a lumber trust; but, even admitting its existence, what proof is there that it will be broken up by the removal of the duty? One of the most ridiculous schemes ever entered into is the effort to prevent business combinations by Federal legislation. It can not be done. So long as mankind looks with longing eyes upon the accumulation of wealth, just so long will combinations of capital be formed outside of and beyond Federal interference, and it is the cheapest kind of demagogy to talk about preventing it by Congressional action. But if lumber must be put on the free-list to break up the lumber trust, why not put sugar on the free-list to break up the sugar trust? Everybody admits that there is a sugar trust. Why is that overlooked by our revenue reformers? Is it because sugar is a Southern product and the Ways and Means Committee is dominated by Southern men? It certainly looks like that. If a Northern interest is to be destroyed because it is alleged to be controlled by a combination of capital, let the blow fall impartially upon all interests similarly situated. Unless this is done the sectional purpose of the Mills bill will be emphasized, and Northern manufacturers will have notice served on them by the South that their interests are to be sacrificed, while Southern interests are to be protected.

But even admitting that the lumber trust, if one exists, can be broken up by this legislation, will that prevent the formation of a Canadian lumber trust; and if not, what will be gained by the operation? Of course if these trusts are so used as to affect interstate transportation they can to that extent be regulated, but for Congress to undertake to prevent the combination of capital in the States will be as futile as it will be ridiculous. Indeed, it is almost as absurd as the staple and stale statement from the other side that the tariff promotes trusts, when it is a well-known fact that trusts exist in England and that they also exist in this country for the purpose of controlling the production and sale of certain articles on the free-list.

MILLIONAIRE LUMBERMEN.

When the advocates of free lumber tire of talking about lumber trusts, they invariably begin to declaim against the men who, according to their statements, have made great fortunes in the lumber business, and this, too, is given as a reason why lumber should be put on the free-list. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. WILSON] has been especially severe in his strictures on millionaire lumbermen, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. OUTHWAITE] has presented what he claims to be statistics from the census of 1880, showing the immense profits which come to those engaged in lumbering. The most casual examination will convince any unprejudiced man that the statistics are utterly unreliable; but nevertheless they are urged as a reason for free lumber. So far as New England is concerned, the profits to those engaged in the lumber business have not been excessive, and the talk about millionaire lumbermen is absurd. That some men have made fortunes in the lumber business admits of no doubt, but such men would make fortunes under almost any circumstances. Fortunes are being made every day by shrewd and bold operators in products now on the free-list, such as coffee, and there are also millionaire operators in sugar, a protected industry. If the millionaire lumbermen are to be dealt a blow because they have accumulated fortunes, why withhold the blow from the millionaire sugar men? Perhaps the Southern men, who control the Committee on Ways and Means, will answer the question.

THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD.

Eloquent appeals are made on this floor in favor of opening the markets of the world to American products; but when that time comes the mills of Manchester, Dover, Great Falls, Rochester, Suncook, Franklin, and other places in my State will be as silent as the linen mills of Ireland are to-day, and the "hum of countless industries," now heard on the banks of the Merrimac, will be as silent as the grave. A "free and open market" means competition with England, China, Australia, and Canada. It means either that they will possess our markets and destroy our industries, or else that our mechanics and workingmen will accept the wages and live in the same manner that the people of these countries do. It means that the prosperous and thrifty mechanics of New England, who own pleasant homes and have many of the luxuries of life, will be reduced to the condition of the workingmen in some of the large cities of England, where, according to English testimony, not a single workingman or mechanic owns the house which covers his head. There is no other alternative, however cunningly the Democratic party may try to make it appear otherwise.

THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY.

Mr. Chairman, I took occasion to speak on this floor a short time ago for the industries of New England in a general way, and desire now to simply put myself on record against this provision of the bill, which I consider one of its most mischievous features. I trust the House will

reject the proposition and allow the tariff on lumber to remain as it is, but there is little to encourage that hope, as the Democratic policy seems to be to despoil the section of the country which furnished the men who fought the battles of the Union cause, and which give Republican majorities to-day.

WHY REMOVE THE DUTY?

Under existing rules of duty our American lumbermen are fairly prosperous, wages are good, and lumber is being sold at a reasonable price. Why strike down this industry by removing the duty? Why destroy the prosperity of honest and industrious artisans? In my district there are towns which almost entirely depend upon this industry, and which have grown with marvelous rapidity. Money has been invested in the belief that the tariff on lumber would remain. Why take it off?

The proposition is a grave one. It is fraught with infinite danger to a large and growing industry, and if the blow now aimed by the South, and assisted by the votes of Northern men, is destined to fall, the day of reckoning will come when the voice of the people will be heard above the din and clamor of revenue-reform advocates; and that voice, potent with the energy of a just cause, will in time create a sentiment which will strike down those who betray American interests into the hands of European and Canadian capitalists.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. OWEN,

OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May 15, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. OWEN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Can a national industrial system assist the prosperity of the people? This is the issue before the American people at this time. We ask for a continuance of the American policy. Gentlemen on the other side of the House denounce its operation and ask its overthrow.

England furnishes an important example of the influence of a national industrial system. For four hundred years she operated a protective tariff and cherished every industry within her borders. Considering the age during which it was operated it is the highest tariff in history. In time it made England the world's producing nation.

A political party sought to break down the system, but the bluff, practical Englishman had a head of his own and saw that if he manufactured everything he used and sold his surplus goods abroad he was getting rich, but if he bought his goods from other people, every dollar expended was a dollar taken from his own shores, and in the end he would be the poorer. He was wise enough to understand that a people must be able to control their own markets before they can capture the markets of the world. He saw if he paid $325 for a machine when he could purchase an imported one for $300 that, apparently, he lost $25; but when he saw that $200 of the money was expended in wages to men who worked through its various processes of manufacture, and as $100 of that $200 wages was over and above what would be received in a foreign country, his country was really profited $75 by the manufacture of that machine at home. So for four hundred years he resisted the pleas of the free-trader, and as a result grew a manufacturing and commercial development under the influence of which England dominated all nations, became the mistress of the seas, and extended her territory until the sun never sets on her dominions.

Her distinguished statesmen in the House of Lords proclaimed that when a nation developed manufactures to a competitive standard with her, they should flood goods upon that people below their cost price; and when their industries had been crushed and their manufactories driven into bankruptcy she could then advance prices and recoup losses, and in time make a large profit. This thing Lord Brougham dictated to the House of Lords, and this thing English manufacturers really did with us in 1815. Our industries having prospered wonderfully under the protection of 1812, it became necessary within three years for England to take steps for their overthrow, and as a result of this combine of English trusts on American industry, 65 per cent. of our factories were thrown into a condition of bankruptcy.

When the protective policy had so skilled and trained the manufacturers of England that they could produce goods cheaper than any other people, it was found other nations were profiting by the example. Then it was England first declared protection to be illiberal and unfair; then it was it imposed heavy taxes on the people; then it was it hindered manufacturing industry; and then it was, as a "great humanitarian nation" that never had any other mission than to serve in an unselfish fashion the interests of mankind, she proposed to abolish the protective policy, and in the generous comity of universal love would count of one blood all nations, and proceeded to inaugurate a free-trade system. Her protection was abolished in 1846, since which time she has spent her spare energies in warning other nations against the prostrating effects of protection. She has especially warned us that this industrial system is not adapted to us, and last year her Cobden Club, through its honorary members in this country, distributed twelve millions of her free-trade pamphlets amongst our people.

The undisputed greatness of England was won, not by the prowess of arms, but by that greater prowess, an active common sense in business affairs.

Alongside of England nestles Ireland with a civilization older than England. Her round towers tell of an industry that was ancient enough to have ruins when Cæsar ruled in Rome. Even after the tyrannous confiscations of her best estates by Cromwell and the impoverishment of her people, so great was her recuperative force that by the co-operation of the field and workshop within one hundred years her farms blossomed and prosperity abounded in her workshops. When her surplus products were again shipped abroad they attracted the rapacity of English statesmen, who declared that Ireland must cease to manufacture and become a food-farm for England. Accordingly the "restrictive trade laws" were laid on that land, and free-trade ultimately forced upon her. Within twenty-five years almost every vestige of her industry had disappeared, Irish linen alone remaining. She was reduced to an agricultural condition. Ireland repeated the history of the ages that no purely agricultural people were ever prosperous or rich.

The field and the factory are each interdependent. Each has a want the other must daily supply. Divided, the farmer fails and the factory hand becomes a pauper. United, they prosper; and out of this union come wealth and happiness. If England had permitted Ireland's protective policy to remain it would not have been possible for landlordism to dominate that land and reverse the order of population and surrender as emigrants to America the flower of her sons.

There they stand side by side, England and Ireland. England, dominated by her protective policy at home for four hundred years, and forcing free trade on Ireland. The one the pauper among nations, the other the prince among empires.

The history of England and Ireland finds parallel in the protective and free-trade or "tariff-for-revenue" eras in this country. Every season of protection has been one of active business, increased wages, and growing wealth, and every free-trade or tariff-for-revenue era has been one of declining wages, of receding wealth, and business depression. To-day, after a quarter of a century of what our friends call a robber-tariff, the day's wages of a workingman will buy more goods than in any day of the world's history before.

Up to 1860 the entire wealth of the United States was but $15,000,000,000; to-day it is $50,000,000,000.

Let us get some conception of the large ratio of benefit that labor has received under this increase of wealth, for this estimate does not include his capital; an employed day is his capital. The laborer's capital has increased from 80 cents a day to $1.20 a day. This is the average wage. It has increased 85 per cent. We can not compute the value of his increased capital as we can of merchandise, but his returns from his capital are just as plain. His return on his increased capital is $245,000,000 a day, or $1,100,000,000 a year more than in 1860. The average return on capital in 1860 was 4 per cent.; in 1885 it was 4⅞ per cent. The average day earnings of labor in 1860 was 65 cents; in 1885 it was $1.20. The returns from investments have increased 12 per cent., and from labor 50 per cent.

PURCHASING POWER OF A DOLLAR.

I addressed a letter to John W. Wimer, Burnettsville, Ind., who has been a merchant since 1856, and asked him to give me from his books the price of certain domestic articles in 1858, and the price of the same quality of goods at this time, I naming the articles. I submit the list and prices:

Articles.	Worth in 1858.	Worth in 1888.
One pound Rio coffee*	$0.16⅔	$0.18
One pound good brown sugar	.08½	.06½
One yard prints (calico)	.12½	.07
One yard wide sheeting	.10	.07
One yard jeans, 6 ounce, wool filling	.65	.40
One yard flannel, 4½ ounce, twilled	.40	.33⅓
Five-pound blanket, all wool	5.00	4.00

*See the reason for the advance in price of coffee elsewhere.

The price of the necessaries of life is 30 per cent. cheaper in Indiana than they were in 1858. After twenty-seven years of a protective tariff the laborer gets his goods 30 per cent. cheaper than under free trade, and also gets higher wages. The result is, he lives 80 per cent. better under protection than he did under free trade.

The Mills bill is a medly of protection, free trade, and politics, con-

structed without reference to the general welfare, and with the sole purpose of getting votes enough to pass it. When I gaze on it, and then tune my ear to the low gutteral growl of the special pleas known in politics as Democratic harmony, I am reminded that Hancock uttered a Democratic truth when he said the tariff was a local issue. There is my friend from Ohio [Mr. SENEY], who is dreadfully displeased with free wool. He says it is ruinous to the farmers. Mr. SENEY'S district is full of sheep. Senator MCPHERSON wants free trade throughout the nation, but says it is a necessity to protect the porcelain and pottery worker of New Jersey. Mr. PUGH, of Alabama, another leading Democratic Senator, is a bold reformer with an iron-ore attachment. He strikes for free trade except in Alabama; there he says iron must not be touched. He says it would cripple the development of one of the greatest industries in the United States. Mr. DOUGHERTY, of Florida, demands a high tariff to protect his orange constituents. A request has just come from the 35,000 lumbermen of California which puts the Democratic members as well as the Republican members of that State for the protection of lumber. Mr. TARSNEY, of Michigan, is an earnest advocate of the bill, but he proposes to put lumber and salt back on the protected list.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] demands reductions on iron, but insists with vehemence that the tariff on glass must not be "cut down so much." There seem to be glass factories in his district. My friend from Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] pleads eloquently for the bill, but when Judge KELLEY says it means free coal, my friend forces the chairman of the committee [Mr. MILLS] to his feet to give public pledge that if the bill is interpreted to mean free coal he will have it changed. The 75 cents a ton on soft coal therefore stands undisturbed by agreement. The Rhode Island woolen cloth manufacturers want the tariff taken off wool, but want the manufactured article protected to the fullest extent; while BERIAH WILKINS, who has the largest Democratic majority of any Ohio Congressman, demands an increase in the wool tariff. What a mix they are in!

Mr. Chairman, there is no middle ground on this question. Such a claim is a mere pretense. A man is a free-trader or a protectionist. If a free-trader, as far as the revenue is raised by tariff, he wants it levied without reference to protecting industries. If he is a protectionist, he wants it levied with special reference to its industrial benefits; and when an industry is self-supporting, or experiment has proven it incapable of development, he withdraws the protection. The lines that separate them are as widely separate as the poles and as clearly defined as any different policies of government. The tariff reformer is a politician, a citizen who is not anchored to any governmental principle. He is a speculator on political chances. He is an industrial mugwump, who, when you scratch his back you find a man who reforms every one else, but wants to protect the industries in his own district.

For me to defend and protect an industry in my own district, and support the free-trade policy against other industries elsewhere, shows me as really acknowledging the value of protection, but that as a politician I am willing to join my party in a crusade against others. It is of seed such as this that trouble is brought to governments.

WHOSE FAULT?

More than $100,000,000 of surplus will be in the Treasury vaults on the 30th of June. The piling up of this money is a crime. The party now in power, charged with all the duties of governmental administration, has neglected its promises to the people, and stands after five years of control in this House, in which such measures can alone originate, without having reduced taxation one dollar. Their proposed measures on this subject have been so partisan in character and unfair in operation that they did not dare call a caucus to put them through as party measures. Now they come on to this floor and say that their measures have not passed heretofore because of opposition from this side of the House. When 153 tariff votes count more than 168 free-trade votes, then can we defeat your passing a bill. You have 15 majority in this Congress. You had 43 in the last, or Forty-ninth, Congress, and more than 70 in the Forty-eighth Congress, and yet you charge us with defeating your bills to reduce the revenues. It is an amazing spectacle to see the Democratic side of this House confess itself a majority of incapables. There has not been a day in these five years that an equitable measure of tariff reform could not have been overwhelmingly passed.

There has been a steady increase in surplus since the 4th of March, 1884. There were nine millions of available surplus when Mr. Cleveland became President. It is a well-known fact that not a dollar was paid on the national debt for eleven months after he went into the White House, and a resolution had ultimately to pass this body demanding the Secretary of the Treasury to use the surplus on the national debt before a dollar was paid. For twenty-four years his predecessors had taken the available surplus in the Treasury, and each month applied it on the debt.

On the 30th of June, 1887, all the national debt then due was paid. Since that time the surplus has gone on increasing. In the mean time the people are paying the oppressive gold-bearing interest on the bonds due in 1892, amounting to millions of dollars each year, when there is an express provision of law which declares that when all bonds due are paid the Treasurer may go into the market and purchase the unmatured bonds, and thus save the people the interest, and put the stagnant surplus into circulation. This is the right England reserves on her bonded debt, and so stipulates in her laws.

The President gives to light but one reason for his refusal to execute this law. He said it was passed as an amendment to an appropriation bill, and he has some doubts as to its legality, but the best lawyers in the land have no doubt about it; his Secretary of the Treasury has no doubt about it; his Comptroller of the Treasury has no doubt about it; the Treasurer of the United States has no doubt about it; this House has no doubt about it, for the other day, when we had up the bill to redeclare that this is the law, it was disclosed that every member recognized it as the existing law. I am, therefore, forced to believe the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY] was right when he said the surplus was piled up in the Treasury for the purpose of tariff ammunition.

The Democratic party has been in power in this House since 1874, except in 1881 and 1882. In each campaign the issue has been a reformation of the tariff and reduction of the revenue, and yet in all these years they have not reduced the revenue one dollar or passed any general tariff bill. The only reformation and reduction we have had in these fourteen years was passed in the Republican Congress in 1882, when we made an estimated reduction on the tariff of $44,000,000.

Why has not the Democratic party done something? At last forced to take some action on the tariff, they have refused to execute the law for the redemption of the Government bonds, to the end that the people may believe that so much idle money can only come from unnecessary taxation, and therefore demand tariff reduction.

AMERICA OR EUROPE, WHICH?

It is claimed that we can manufacture more than we can consume. We have the machinery and materials and can manufacture almost every article we need and millions of surplus for export. Notwithstanding this we imported $700,000,000 worth of goods last year, and every $2 worth makes an American laborer lie idle one day. A factory closes because somebody puts goods in a store-room across the street and sells below its price. But the American is as smart as any business man in the world, and if he can not get a good profit he will be content with a small one. He consequently reduces his price to that of the foreigners. Neither one of these men is going to run his business at a loss. Ordinarily men do not do business for the purpose of bankruptcy. Now, if the foreigner cuts his price again, the American must meet it or he can not sell his wares. But if that new price is below what the American can do the business for he must retire from the field and close his factory.

ILLUSTRATION.

The Spiker-Harrison Company is not going to keep the price way up and let Studebaker come in with a lower-priced wagon and capture the market. The company will put its wagons at the lowest possible living profit first; but if Studebaker can sell the same quality of wagon for $10 less the Spiker-Harrison Company must go out of business. Seven hundred millions of dollars' worth of foreign goods sold in America last year was because they could be brought here, pay the import duty and the special commissions, and yet be sold cheaper than the American goods. In the presence of the price at which these goods could be imported and sold our merchants were helpless, and went to the wall. If this can be done when these goods must pay an average tariff of 40 per cent. to come into our country, what would be the result if the Mills policy is inaugurated?

If such misfortune is in store for us, these gentlemen will early gaze on the ruins of an industrial system the most patriotic and prudential the world ever saw. If to the dictates of a party theory that ought only to be a reminiscence of its past, this Mills bill proposes to sacrifice the commercial possibilities of our country and the dignified independence of our laborers, it will be painfully demonstrated that Mr. Cleveland uttered a great truth when he said, "It is not a theory but a condition that confronts us."

A CONDITION.

We have thrown into juxtaposition two conditions, one European, the other American. One is old, sullen, despotic; the other fresh, untrained, and liberal. In the overcrowed marts of Europe human life is cheap. Man is only a machine. It is the old days of Lycurgus, when to the question, "Why was man created?" the answer was, "For the state." In the other, our country, the state was created for the man, and as a citizen he is a sovereign. It is the country of Washington and Lincoln where laws are crimes if not made to help the citizen on his way. The one is a land of caste, where the masses are oppressed, where they are strangers to hope and only ask to live. In the other, the plow-boy expects to own the farm shortly, and the clerk means to be the proprietor of the store; a land where there is no aristocracy but brains, no wealth but vigorous manhood, and all he asks is a fair chance in the race of life. The one is a mummyized civilization that has existed since caste ruled, and labor meant serfdom and ignorance. The other is American—a new incarnation, the instinct of honest aspiration that asks to develop the country's resources and make her self-sustaining; that says the man at the office or forge or in the mine shall labor, and from his wages his wife shall be able to pass in society, have a comfortable home, his children receive an education, and his son by

dint of tact and toil may become the Chief Executive of the land. The success of the one means for us to deteriorate and ultimately drop into the helpless groove of the past. The victory of the other means all that is glorious in national life. It is a condition that confronts us, and I am in favor of the American condition.

FILIBUSTERERS AND THE LOYAL TAX.

We have recently witnessed the defeat of the refunding of the direct tax. When the opening of the rebellion found the nation penniless a direct tax was laid upon all the States for money to prosecute the war. The loyal States promptly paid their assessment, amounting to $16,000,000. The rebellious States did not pay theirs. There has been no disposition since the war to force these States to pay their proportion, and equality in the sisterhood of States required that the sixteen millions should be returned to the loyal States. With the money in the Treasury, what loyal man will say it should not be refunded, and how can any rebel that has become loyal oppose it? But the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] with his contingent blocked the business of the House for eight days.

This splendid Alabamian drove the party into a caucus and snapped the whip of the solid Southern vote, which is a majority, over the party head, and the next day on this floor voted every Democrat except one just as he had planned. They had balked a little, as is frequently done, but the master brought them to time in the end as he always does.

THEY DO NOT TOUCH THE SURPLUS.

We need appropriations for coast defenses. All confess we need a navy and a foreign mail service, and above all we need the passage of a proper pension bill for our soldiery and the repeal of the arrears act, and not one of these measures will receive attention. All are to be ignored in order to create a surplus so that a demand may made for the reduction of the tariff.

REDUCTION OR DEVELOPMENT?

It is estimated that if we are to have no pension legislation we can reduce the annual revenues from seventy-five to one hundred millions of dollars.

We have an expansion of territory covering industrial possibilities capable of producing nearly every article needed in our civilization. Whoever seeks to enlarge all this is a good citizen. In their development is the strength of our nation and the prosperity of our people, and I am for that man because he is for his country. When one asks that we shall sell in the world's dearest market and buy in the cheapest he has so far lost sight of the peculiar condition, and also of the overcrowded marts of the Old World, that he would place us where in a large measure we would buy everything, and have no market in which to sell our wares. He would remodel our industrial system, fill it with stagnation and poverty, and call it reform.

We had a right to suppose the President's message would be so conservative in suggestions and so patriotically active in American affairs that it would quiet the anxiety in business circles, and stimulate the volume of trade, but instead thereof he has quieted the anxiety in English circles, and stimulated the volume of English trade. Every English journal has complimented the President's message, and states that while he asserts that he is not a free-trader he uses all the arguments known to free-trade.

In the last analysis of livelihood man is driven back to mother earth, and the surplus unemployed population must take to the farm for a living. With an increased number of producers in the country and a decreased number of consumers at the factories, and the fatal decline of prices that will follow, the farmer will realize that the protection on the factory that gives him a market is as much his protection as it is the factory's. The free-trade policy is, each for himself. The American policy is, each for all.

MR. MILLS INCONSISTENT.

The distinguished chairman of the committee says not protection, but coal, steam, and machinery are the cause of high wages in this country. If this concrete trinity rules wages, then give us plenty of this coal, steam, and machinery. Why not strike the duty from coal and break its infamous trust? Why not shovel it, free, into the furnace, so as to create the steam which runs the machinery? Can the gentleman afford to go before the country with this triune combination, which he claims demonstrates the valuelessness of protection, when the first factor in that combination, coal, does its business by aid of a protective tariff, and while the last factor, machinery, is in almost every case a protected article, and when the middle factor, steam, only exists as a useful quantity, as a result of the union of the other two!

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Whenever from a given amount of manual labor there comes a largely increased product you have increase of value of the labor. When, therefore, industries are systematized and production is in its best form the average wage is high but the cost of the product low. This result is as old as political economy, but we are the first people who have ever approached its realization. The time is rapidly coming when America will, while paying the highest wage in the world, sell to her consumers the cheapest-priced goods in the world.

American cutlery, whose day laborer gets from $1.25 to $2.75 per day, is now selling in English markets, and driving out the Sheffield cutlery, whose workmen get less than half the American wages. Heretofore statesmanship has given itself to diplomacy and war, but has now in America given itself to industry, and labor is learning that it has better victories than war, and better fruits than our diplomacy.

With our superior facilities for production we could, if our workers would accept the English scale of wages, enter the markets against the world. Already in this debate has the distinguished English free-trader, Mr. J. E. Cairnes, been quoted, but I will quote again. Discussing the rate of wages in this country he says:

> How happens it then that, enjoying industrial advantages superior to other countries, they are yet unable to hold their own against them in the general markets of commerce?
>
> What it means, and what it only can mean, is that they are unable to do so consistently with obtaining that rate of remuneration on their industry which is current in the United States. If only American laborers and capitalists would be content with the wages and profits current in Great Britain, there is nothing that I know of to prevent them from holding their own in any markets to which Manchester and Sheffield send their wares.

At last the cat is out of the bag. According to Mr. Cairnes—and he is an authority as great and as distinguished, let me say it with all due deference, in my opinion as the gentleman from Texas—according to Mr. Cairnes there is nothing to prevent us from holding our own in any market to which Manchester and Sheffield send their wares, provided our capitalists and laborers are content to take the wages and profits paid and received in Great Britain. Could this proposition be more tersely stated? It can be and it is more tersely stated by the same author in the same chapter. Speaking of the inability of America to compete with the pauper labor of Europe, he says:

> They can not do so and at the same time secure the American rate of return on their work. The inability no doubt exists, but it is one created, not by the drawbacks, but by the exceptional advantages of their position. It is as if the skilled artisan should complain that he could not compete with the hedger and ditcher. Let him only be content with the hedger and ditcher's rate of pay and there will be nothing to prevent him from entering the lists, even against this rival.

Now, that is the truth about the whole matter. The American workman can compete with any artisan in the world. Give them both the same wages and the American will drive him out of the field. We can to-day take the English markets if our men will be content with English wages. Pass this bill and the American workman must come in unrestricted competition with English workmen and submit to English wages, or starve.

THE TWO WAGE-RATES.

I asked our colleague, Mr. WEST, of New York, who is there known rather as the Ballston paper manufacturer than as Congressman, to furnish me the list of wages paid in his mills, and also, if he could, give me the English wages in like mills. "Why," he answered, "I have paper mills in both countries, and," pointing to an addressed envelope, "there is a letter to my son, who is manager of the mills in England." Here is his scale of wages, written by his own hand, even the reducing of the English money to our standard, so I could better understand it. He says he pays—

Occupations.	In America, per day.	In England, per day.
Masons	$3.50	$0.93
Machine-tenders	2.00	1.00
Engineers	1.50	.75
Carpenters	2.50	1.00
Helpers	1.50	.66
Machinists	2.50	1.20
Teamsters	1.50	.66

I then asked our distinguished fellow-member, who was also a wage-worker in other days, if I could safely use this list as representing the general wages of the two countries. He answered, "In some cases they may be higher or lower, but that list represents in all occupations the average wages of labor in both countries."

I next inquired the difference in the cost of living. He answered, "If they lived the same way the cost here would be 5 to 10 per cent. the higher." How do they live? "They have a bare subsistence," he said, "and they are without comforts and are in wretched poverty. Usually the mother and children must work out to help support the family. Here the laborer has substantial comforts. My per cent. of profits is about the same in both countries, but I prefer to do business here, for our laborers live like citizens; over there they live like serfs."

POPULATION AND WAGES.

Let us examine the declaration that the cause of low wages in Europe is the overcrowded condition of their great centers. New York is our overcrowded center, and yet it pays the highest rate of wages in this country. Throughout our country the more overcrowded a section the higher the rate of wages.

But gentlemen exclaim, "If protection creates high wages why higher wages in New York than elsewhere; has New York more protection than elsewhere?"

Well, yes, New York has more protection than elsewhere, as there is a larger gathering of producing interests at New York than elsewhere. The aggregating into one center of those forces which increase

wages will in that locality tend to stimulate the wages above the ordinary level. It is a folly assumed by no protectionist that protection alone is the arbiter of wages. A thousand forces, seen and unseen, play with accurate and important value about this pivot, around which centers humanity's struggle for subsistence.

Were one-half of the men in Indiana, by some fatal stroke, to die this night, wages would advance to-morrow, and continue to advance until common labor would be worth $2 per day, and so remain for a time; but it would not be accurate to say that the wages of Indiana were fixed by death. It would be the largest element in creating the existing rate, but not the sole one. If no one should die in that State for five years, and no one remove, there would still be a rate of wages. As with motives in men there is always a master, so in this sensitive and sentient index of human prosperity there is a greatest influence, and that master power which, superior to all others, lifts our breadwinner clearly beyond and unapproachably above the toiler of other lands is his protection by the tariff.

PROTECTION THE LABORER'S FRIEND.

The protective system demands duties on imported goods high enough to make sure of preventing ruinous competition with our people by the poverty wage-workers of Europe, and it rests on the broad principle that all industries in the United States—agriculture, manufacture, transportation, and all other employments—are so interlocked that they can not be separated, the prosperity of every one of them depending upon good living wages for all. Protection is the keystone of the American industrial arch.

Such earnings can not exist if the products of the poverty wages of Europe are permitted to enter into competition here. Such competition must come if the tariff on imported goods is reduced to conform with the theories of our revenue reformers. It should be understood that under present conditions every act of Congress to regulate or revise the duties on imported goods is a law either to protect or encourage American industry and the wages of American workers or a law to imperil or diminish them. We know what protective duties do for their encouragement, and for the other side we have only theories, with the condition of the wage-worker of the countries living under free trade as living illustrations.

In other countries a people who have no comforts of life and subsist on the bare necessities must, in the degrees of humanity, be rated as serfs or slaves. There can not be any general progress among any people who are "only able to live."

The progress possible to a people is in the gratification of tastes and aspirations in things above food and clothing. The saving or possible saving from wages is the best measure by which to estimate the improvement they will make, and the possibility of saving becomes a stimulus to save and to grow into a superior character.

A man earns double as much in America as in England and the purchasing power of a dollar is very nearly equal. The total cost of supplies for a family in America is about 5 per cent. more than in England. The official statistics show that the price of ordinary family supplies are not more than 5 per cent. in the excess here. Now you do not comfort a worker greatly to tell him that if he will vote for you he can buy for 95 cents what now costs him a dollar, especially if you "tell the truth" that at the same time instead of getting a dollar for a day's work he will get 50 cents. He is too good at figures to surrender 50 cents in order to save 5 cents. Now, this 5 per cent. more that a man's family costs him here than in England can be paid for the entire year by the extra American wages he receives in two weeks. That is, in two weeks' work the amount of wages he receives above what he would get in England pays the 5 per cent. extra expenses for one year. For the other fifty weeks in the year he can save his extra wages and still furnish his family the same things that it would require the whole of his wages to supply if he lived in England. In other words, if the families live just the same, the American wage-worker will at the end of the year have fifty weeks of the extra American wages in his pocket. The English workman will not have a dollar.

Because these things are true men leave Europe and come to America to live; because they are true men never leave America and emigrate to Europe. This man, on whose face stands the sweat of toil, and across whose muscle fate has laid ten hours of work a day, because they have hearts that love and home to rear, and aspirations to gratify, never emigrate the wrong way. They have coal, and steam, and machinery over there, the MILLS wage regulator, but they leave it all and come here, where the Government has written protection across the hand of toil. The instinct of these men is greater than an argument. Their reared homes, and schooled children, and clothed families tell the story of what the American condition is better than tongue can speak it.

As no progress can be made toward a betterment of the condition, except on the surplus of wages above the absolute necessities of family, so we must conclude that the actual condition of our people is as far above that of other countries as is the ratio of their wages above what they get in other countries.

The average possible earnings of a wage-worker in America are twice as much as in England, not that these extra earnings are always put in a savings-bank or a home; but it means that this surplus above Europe is spent in things that lift to a higher plane in life the American citizen.

Free-traders are compelled to acknowledge that free trade is a necessity to a nation of slaveholders because slavery is in opposition with industrial development. Hence our Southerners have always been free-traders. Therefore the amount of protection you extend to free labor becomes a measure of the laborer's progress.

HOW IT WORKS.

As a confirmation of all this let us raise the curtain and look on one scene. It is a warm summer Sunday evening in any town in America. Down the streets the people are moving. It is a stroll of pleasurable recreation. Lawyer, clerk, mechanic. Neither by the cut of the hair, or the shaving of the beard, or the fit of the clothes, or their quality, nor by the style of the man, nor his conversation, can you tell which is lawyer, or clerk, or contractor, or laborer. They are citizens of a common country. It is the only country in the world where such a scene can be witnessed. Conditions which permit such scenes as this had better not be tampered with.

WOOL.

The central feature of the Mills bill is free wool. At one sweep every vestige of protection is stricken from wool and the fleece put on the free-list. It is claimed that free wool is the backbone of the bill, and if it should be omitted, its distinguishing character as a Democratic measure would be gone.

Now, the entire revenue from wool last year amounted to but $5,000,000. That is about 11 cents to each citizen, and yet our friends take a spasm every time they see a sheep. Carolina and Mississippi can not endure a sheep. Calhoun always detested them, and John Randolph said whenever he saw a sheep he wanted to kick it. Until I read the statistics, I concluded the tariff on wool amounted to about $700,000,000 a year; but I find that it is $5,000,000, and amounts to 11 cents to the citizen. What is the cause of this antipathy to wool? It is not the tariff there is on it. It can not be that it is because they want the poor man to have a free blanket, for they would also want him to have a free sheet and a free shirt, and whoever heard a demand for a free sheet and a free shirt? The hours of Democratic oratory that have been spent here in pitiful pleading for the poor man's blanket have been innocent of any request for free cotton, for a free sheet and a free shirt. Why does this tariff reform in behalf of the poor man's covering stop at a blanket?

What reason is there for putting wool on the free-list that does not apply as well to coal and rice? Why shall wool go on the free-list to relieve the humble home from the cost of living, and the sugar tariff be retained? The tariff on wool is five millions a year; that on sugar fifty-eight millions a year. Would not free sugar in a larger measure lessen the cost of living in the humble home? Do sugar, rice, iron ore, and coal have greater claims for patriotic care than wool?

If this bill is passed our farmers must compete with the wool from India, South America, and Australia. The annual clip is 1,000,000,000 pounds. A boy and a dog may tend a thousand sheep the year round on their hillsides, which are unfit for cultivation and not worth 50 cents an acre. Before such a competition American sheep would disappear.

It has been suggested that the value in raising sheep is in the mutton. Why, then, when the wool tariff was reduced in 1883 did 6,000,000 sheep disappear in three years and the wool-clip shrink 43,000,000 pounds? When wool was free sheep were worth 50 cents apiece, and now they are worth $3. The capital is the sheep, the fleece is the interest-bearing bond, which is clipped every spring. Pass this bill with its free-wool and its free-animal importations and how long would it be until the slaughtered 25-cents-a-head sheep of the La Plata, in refrigerator ships, would be landed at $1 apiece in New York? I quote the figures showing the extent of this labor and the labor and capital employed:

For the year 1884 official statistics show:

Number of sheep in the United States	50,626,626
Pounds of wool-clip	368,000,000
Value	$91,168,000
Pounds of raw wool imported	87,703,931
Value	$13,593,299
Value of manufactures of wool imported	51,484,872

The statistics of 1880, as to domestic woolen manufactures, show:

Number of establishments	2,689
Capital invested	$159,091,869
Hands employed	161,557
Wages paid	$47,389,087
Value of product	267,252,913
Cost of material used	164,371,551
Value of sheep	119,902,709

These statistics do not include the value of lands, barns, sheds, and implements employed in sheep-raising, which is estimated at $408,000,000.

Sir, more than 1,000,000, or nearly one-twelfth of the voters of the United States are flock-owners, and the wool product is more valuable than pig-iron and than the combined output of our gold and silver mines. It exceeds in value our unmanufactured tobacco by $34,000,000, is of one-half the value of our coal mines, while woolen manufactures exceed in value those of cotton by more than $50,000,000.

The above table shows the value of the product at two hundred and

sixty-seven millions; the wages paid at forty-seven millions. Of course we all understand that in manufacturing statistics the wages estimated are those paid in the factory where the goods are made. This is termed the last process of manufacturing. The cost of material used is $164,000,000. This is the raw wool, the coloring, and a thousand other things that are used in the various processes of manufacturing, and all the labor that goes into the goods to prepare them for the last manufacture. The raw material has thus, by the processes in the first stage of manufacture, reached a value of $164,000,000 when it comes into the factory for its final manufacturing for consumption. In this factory $47,000,000 of labor are added to it, and the product when put on the market yields $267,000,000. This makes the raw goods and the labor placed upon it $211,000,000 and the product $267,000,000. There is an invested capital of one hundred and ninety millions, for which legal interest must be allowed, and we have 80 per cent. for goods and labor and 20 per cent. for the capitalist.

Wool is purely an agricultural industry. The President belittles it because the farmers have but from twenty-five to fifty sheep on an average. That is a special reason why we should have an interest in it. I would care very little if the sheep were in the hands of a few vast herders. The industry thus spread among the farmers gives the largest returns for the money invested of any other farm venture, and is capable of expansion until in a few years we can grow every pound of wool that we use.

We had 1,263 woolen mills with a capital of $30,000,000 in 1870, and they employed 43,000 people, and paid them $10,000,000 in wages. Ten years afterward we had 2,689 factories with $159,000,000 of capital and 161,000 employés, and $47,000,000 wages paid. The free-traders got up a pressure against wool in 1883, and the Republicans foolishly yielded and reduced the tariff. But for that fateful folly we would, in a few years more, have been growing all the wool used in this country. This very year by the ending of next June we will have imported of wool and woolen manufactures $65,000,000, every dollar of which goes to foreign wool-growers and manufacturers. Would it not have helped us if it could have been paid to our farmers and workmen?

Hon. George L. Converse, a Democrat, formerly a Representative of Ohio, in a recent address in this city, speaking of this industry, said:

> The production at home of wool and woolens, in quantities sufficient to supply the wants of the American people, is necessary for our defense in war and our independence and comfort in time of peace. Successful military campaigns can not be carried on without woolen clothes for the soldiers. More soldiers die from exposure than are killed in battle. Neither of these great industries, once destroyed, can be again restored within a short time. Their restoration would require many years, and the men who by legislation would knowingly destroy them here and remit them to the keeping of foreign nations can not be classed among the friends of the Union.

Our friends urge the necessity of competing with the foreign markets. I append an extract from the speech of my colleague [Mr. BROWNE] upon the value of the foreign market. He says:

> We are told that we need above all things to capture the foreign markets for our manufactures of wools; that to get these markets we must produce these goods more cheaply than they can be furnished by any other manufacturing nation. This means that the cheapest possible labor and material must be employed in these manufactures, for these are the chief elements of their cost. Can we afford to obtain these markets at such a cost? In the struggle this policy invites with the cheap wools of South Africa, South America, and Australia, and the cheap wages of Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, and Great Britain, we may not only fail to secure this wider market, but lose our own. And what are the markets of the world, and how do they compare in value and extent with our own? The five countries exporting woolen goods with the value of their exports last year are as follows:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Austria-Hungary | $10,935,541 |
> | Belgium | 15,381,328 |
> | France | 71,702,919 |
> | Germany | 51,701,216 |
> | England | 113,048,557 |
> | Total | 262,769,561 |
>
> Of the above the United States bought $45,000,000. Deduct this, and there is left of the world's market $217,000,000, while our own market is worth annually quite $300,000,000. Our home market is worth more, by nearly one-third, than the entire "world's markets, if we could capture them all."
>
> Protection has made our market for wool and woolens one-third larger than that of the markets of all the other countries combined. Wisdom suggests that we strengthen and widen this American market until it becomes in fact the best market of the world.

Last year I had a suit of clothes made, for which I paid $25, and I had occasion to ascertain how much I was being ruined by this robber tariff that the farmers were holding over me. There were 5 pounds of wool that went into the suit of clothes. The tariff on that wool was 10 cents a pound. If the duty is added to the price, then the increase of price of my suit is 50 cents. Now, if the duty was off and the 50 cents was not in the cost of the suit, how much cheaper could I have bought it? Every business man knows that a reduction of 50 cents in the producing cost of a $25 article never affects the price. The maker of the cloth, the mechanics, and the dealer absorb all such fractions.

A nation is not assuredly great that can not clothe and feed her own people. Yet this bill proposes to repeal the tariff where it protects one of the fundamental industries of the country, and flood our markets with the wool of South America, India, and Australia, and the consumer will not be benefited by it one cent, and the manufacturing dealer will receive all of the 50 cents.

Likewise, these gentlemen demanded a free breakfast-table, and the duty was taken off of coffee. It was said that $5,000,000 annually would be saved to the people, but in less than four months from that time Brazil, from whom we import nearly our entire supply of coffee, put on an export duty. Every pound of coffee leaving her shores since that time has paid a duty. Instead of the duty being paid at our own port and going into our own Treasury, where it is still our money and pays our national debt, it now goes into the Brazilian coffers and helps to pay the Brazilian debt. Brazil now receives from us $3,000,000 annually as an export duty on coffee. This is one of your ways of helping the poor man.

Did we get the article any cheaper? A syndicate took hold of it, and at this hour coffee is 40 per cent. higher than it was when the duty was removed.

We have had so much talk about the poor man's blanket that I will quote the words of the distinguished ex-governor of Iowa [Mr. GEAR], for he clearly exposes the folly and falsehood of this cry. The distinguished gentleman said:

> I was very much interested the other day when I heard the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee [Mr. MILLS] speaking in regard to the great burden in the shape of a tax which was placed on "the poor man's blanket." He talked so pathetically in regard to this subject that I wondered whether what he said could be true. I recollected that we had out in my State a woolen mill or two, and I concluded to send out to that State for a pair of blankets. I have those blankets here, and I ask that two of these page-boys take those blankets out into the area in front of the Clerk's desk that members may see them. [The blankets were exhibited in accordance with Mr. GEAR'S request.] Sir, there is a pair of blankets as good as can be made in England or anywhere in America. They weigh 5 pounds and 2 ounces, and it required for their manufacture 11 pounds of wool. They are made of Iowa wool in an Iowa mill by Iowa employés.
>
> The gentleman from Texas spoke of $2.50 as the cost in one case and $2.70 as the cost in another case of a pair of 5-pound blankets; and remember, each of these blankets is just 5 pounds. The gentleman from Texas said that the duty on those blankets would be $1.90 per pair, and that this was the amount which the manufacturer put in his pocket. Now, sir, to manufacture this pair of blankets which the House has before it took 11 pounds of wool, at 27 cents a pound. Now, 11 pounds of wool at 27 cents per pound would be $2.97; to that add 61 cents, which the gentleman from Texas says is the cost of making, and the amount will be $3.58; add to that the duty on blankets, $1.90, and the amount is $5.48. Now, if it be true that the amount of the tariff duty is added directly to the cost of the American blanket, the cost of these blankets should be $5.48; and, allowing the retailer a fair profit, they should sell at $6 per pair. But, sir, I have a certificate from the manufacturer certifying as to the quality and price. The wholesale price is $4.50, and the retail price at any store in Iowa is $5 per pair.
>
> I want to call attention to the fact that my friend from Texas in his illustration does not give the price at which the American blankets he talked about are sold—not at all; and I want to call attention also to the fact that the majority of the Ways and Means Committee, when they revise the tariff, and, as they say, take the tax off "the poor man's blanket," do not take off one penny in favor of the poor man. They impose an ad valorem tax on all kinds of blankets, and "the poor man's blanket" pays the same ratio of taxation that the rich man's blanket does. Yet our Democratic friends are posing around this country as the sole and only friends of the poor man.
>
> The manufacturer of those blankets, who lives in my district, is a gentleman who does not vote the Republican ticket; he is a good, old-fashioned Democrat.
>
> Mr. WARNER. But he will vote the Republican ticket hereafter.
>
> Mr. GEAR. I do not know, but one of the most prominent Democrats in my town told me this morning that if the Mills bill should pass no Representative in Congress from the State of Iowa who voted for it could come back to Congress. I ask the Clerk to read the letter and accompanying bill which I send to the desk.
>
> The Clerk read as follows:
>
> "[Office of Isaiah Meek, successor to Meek Bros., proprietor of Bonaparte Woolen and Flouring Mills, and dealer in wool and grain.]
>
> "BONAPARTE, IOWA, *May* 4, 1888.
>
> "This is to certify that I sold to JOHN H. GEAR blankets as per bill attached; that they are all wool; that at present the wholesale price is 90 cents per pound and retail price $1.
>
> "ISAIAH MEEK."
>
> "BONAPARTE, IOWA, *May* 4, 1888.
>
> "Mr. JOHN H. GEAR, Washington, D. C., bought of Isaiah Meek, successor to Meek Bros., proprietor Bonaparte Woolen and Flouring Mills:
>
> "One pair blankets, 5 pounds, $1 ..... $5.00
>
> "Received payment. ——— $5.00
>
> "ISAIAH MEEK."

It is true that the custom-house records show that almost no cheap woolens are imported here. The millions of dollars' worth of imported woolen products are high-grade goods, the kind of goods worn by the members of the Ways and Means Committee. These goods, having a large per cent. of hand-labor in them, are made cheaper in Europe than here, but they pay the tariff duty and can be sold, and have largely ruined the competing factories of this country. A gentleman's dress-suit that costs $65 here, can be bought in England for $35; but the workingman's suit that costs $10 here will cost him $9 there. Cheap goods are only 5 to 10 per cent. cheaper there than here. Hence it is these goods can not be profitably imported. Now, will it benefit us to strike down the 5 per cent. and let these goods in free, when every $2 worth imported keeps an American laborer idle one day? The commonest day-laborer gets here $1 a day. Ten days' work will buy him a suit of clothes. The same grade of labor in England gets 65 cents a day, and he must work 14 days to get the same suit of clothes over there.

A country so rapidly developing and so ever-changing in its commercial interests needs the details of its industrial laws closely watched

and frequently readjusted. Hence I regard with great favor the utterance of my party in Indiana in 1886:

We favor the reduction and readjustment of the tariff from time to time as circumstances may require. The duty should be reduced as low as will be allowed by a wise observance of the necessity to protect that portion of our manufactures and labor whose prosperity is essential to our national safety and independence.

In the light of this sound statement on the tariff let us examine the

MILLS BILL.

The title of this bill is, "A measure to reduce revenues." But if the purpose is to reduce the income of the Government, it can not be accomplished by the scaling down of duties. It is a well-known fact that a reduction of the tariff increases foreign importations and thereby increases the revenue. If any goods are imported under a tariff, it is plain that if you reduce it the importations will increase. For illustration, if there is a 2 per cent. tariff on glass, and we import from Belgium 50,000,000 pounds per year, it is evident if we reduce that tariff 25 per cent. Belgium will increase her sales to us. Now, we did decrease the glass tariff 25 per cent. in 1883, and last year we imported 61,000,000 pounds, and the revenues collected were $200,000 more than under the old law. On this point the minority in their report say:

The duty on braid, plaits, laces, and trimmings was reduced by the act of 1883 from 30 to 20 per cent. ad valorem, and the sum paid in duties in 1887 was $114,482.76 more than in 1883. The reduction on tin-plate under the act of 1883 was one-tenth of a cent per pound, while the duty collected in 1887 was $715,468.57 greater than in 1883. Bronze in powder was reduced by the law of 1883 from 20 to 15 per cent., yet the sum received by the Government for duty in 1887 was $14,000 more than was received from the same source in 1883. The duty on writing paper was reduced from 35 per cent. to 25 per cent. ad valorem. The receipts in 1883 under the higher duty were $19,406.87; under the reduced duty in 1887 the receipts were $242,216.27, showing an excess of duties of $222,000 in 1887 over 1883. The duty on wool was reduced by the act of 1883, and the increase of importations and revenue is probably the most striking of any in the schedule. The importations in 1882 were 63,016,769 pounds; in 1887, 114,404,174. The duty collected in 1882 was $3,854,653.18; that in 1887, $5,899,816.63.

These illustrations clearly demonstrate that a simple scaling down of duties from 20 to 30 or 40 per cent., more or less, will only increase revenues and therefore augment the surplus.

The only way to reduce the revenue is to make the tariff higher and thus more effectually shut out importations, or to take off the tariff altogether and let the goods come in free. The Mills bill will increase the revenue.

DISCRIMINATIONS.

The Mills bill is the first tariff measure in the legislation of our Government that has been open to the criticism of sectionalism. It places every article grown in the North and Northwest on the free-list, and retains the tariff on every article grown in the South. Hoop-iron or wire, when used to bale cotton, is imported free, but when used to bale hay pays 1½ cents duty per pound. Wire for fencing, an article unused in the South, but everywhere used in the North and West, pays the highest duty on the list.

Lumber, copper, salt, and wool, are placed on the free-list, while coal and iron ore, in which Virginia and Alabama are interested, are carefully cared for under the wing of protection. Rice is handled with gloves, and South Carolina retains 113 per cent. tariff on it. Louisiana, whose six Congressmen were going to fly the track and vote against the bill if sugar was molested in its 82 per cent. protection, is placated by readjusting the proposed 20 per cent. reduction in a way that is quite satisfactory, and the vote of the Louisiana delegation remains solid.

The bill is partisan, sectional, and unfair. It runs a dividing line through the country, and takes Pennsylvania in with the lower section because it is a necessary incident to Virginia and Alabama coal and iron ore. Any student of American history can discover that at least seven of the nine Representatives who formed this bill were in that generous environment where the demand for protection from one section received consideration, but where the pleadings from another section were unheard.

I know of no Democratic orator or paper that does not quote from the Chicago Tribune with vast approval, and I agree with many of the Tribune's conclusions, but have been obliged frequently to disagree with its line of reasoning. The Tribune has uttered a few vigorous sentences on the Mills bill which, not seeing quoted, I fear has escaped the notice of our friends, and for their benefit I append an extract from an editorial of March 3, 1888:

The Ways and Means Committee have blundered characteristically and agreed upon a bill which, unless it shall be amended in important particulars, has not and should not have any chance of adoption. But MILLS and his colleagues appear to have given their time day and night for some months to devising a scheme of tariff revision that would bear light on the solid South and heavy on the Republican sections of the country. Surrendering themselves to partisan and sectional influences the Democratic tariff reformers of the Ways and Means Committee gave full weight also to personal interests, as was shown by the refusal to put coal on the free-list—a refusal which shows how Congressman BILL SCOTT, one of the bosses of the Pennsylvania coal ring, got in his work as a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Coal, of course, is not used either for heat or power in the South to anything like the extent of its consumption in the North, and the committee held that New England manufacturers might as well continue to pay a virtual tax on their power in the form of revenues to the Government, or rather bounties to BILL SCOTT's coal ring. There can be no chance to get such an article as coal on the free-list for the reason, apparently, that such a change would not particularly benefit the South nor specially discriminate against the North.

The bill proposes a reduction of $78,000,000. The President has said no just complaint should be made of internal-revenue taxes—that is, the tax on whisky and tobacco; and yet one-third of this reduction is made on tobacco. When the President says nothing is so well able to bear the burdens of taxation without hardship why do these gentlemen fly into his face and make $24,000,000 reduction on this article? And the assurance is given in advance that it will meet with Presidential approval. Is it because the Virginia and North Carolina committees came here and demanded that the internal revenue on tobacco should be taken off or their States would go out from the party on a strike?

Some gentlemen, filled with "sectional hate," have charged this as the real cause of the Presidential conversion, and the party, being a professional reformer, has made its first reform after an administration of three years by doing what it has been abusing the Republican party for wanting to do. Every man knows that if Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had contained the tobacco industry, this tax would not have been repealed. I was in favor of the repeal of the tobacco duties, but I am indifferent now. I shall vote for it or against it, as the interests of the country may be best conserved on other questions involved. I am with tobacco as Stephen A. Douglas was with the negro in his debate with Mr. Lincoln—I do not care whether it goes up or down. For instance, if the repeal of the tobacco tax was joined with a measure to give us free sugar, lumber, coal, and salt, I would vote for it. You could scarcely construct an omnibus bill containing free sugar, lumber, coal, and salt, that I would vote against. But on the single proposition to repeal the tobacco tax I will vote no.

PROTECTION PAYS LABOR.

Du[illegible] the past year the amount of wages paid to our employés, in the last process of manufacturing, was $1,400,000,000. To produce the same amount of merchandise in England they would pay $784,000,000. These facts show the following result: We pay in this country $616,000,000 more to our wage-earners who produce a given product than would be paid in England for the same amount of product. The entire revenue collected by us on all importations during the year ending June 30, 1887, amounted to $218,000,000. If the wage-earners paid all of this amount, they would have a balance of $398,000,000 more than they would have if they were receiving English wages.

The manufacturers of this country are suffering to-day because there is an impression in England that the party in power here has started on a crusade that means free trade, and their mill-agents are flooding this country by the hundreds with styles and kinds of fabric that have never been offered in our markets before. It is estimated that the number of English salesmen soliciting orders in this country to-day, in comparison with 1884, is as 12 to 1.

THE WORKMEN THE MILLS BILL WILL HELP.

The Mills scheme of reducing the tariff will benefit England at the expense of America. When the Morrison bill was defeated in the Forty-ninth Congress, the London Daily Telegraph in an editorial said:

A bill to establish in America what the English call free trade has just been defeated in the House by a narrow majority of 4. The measure was of enormous importance to English manufacturers, as it would have enabled them to export goods to the States without the crushing tariff now imposed, and its fate was watched with intense interest by Englishmen. Were it passed, it would have been worth $500,000,000 per annum to British manufacturers.

If the Morrison bill would have added $500,000,000 to the trade of British manufacturers, the Mills bill, if passed, will add a thousand millions. On this estimate, made by Englishmen themselves, the wage-workers of this country would lose five hundred millions the year after the Mills bill passes. No man or party is entitled to the suffrage of our people who invites such a result.

IS DUTY ADDED TO THE PRICE?

It is claimed that the tariff duty is always added to the price of the article imported. Hence it is asserted that the $218,000,000 which we receive from import duties are taken from the pockets of our consumers. I will show this position to be erroneous presently, but for the present let us accept it as true.

"The tariff is always added to the price of the goods" is a fundamental doctrine with our opponents, and as I want you to have the highest authoritative statements on this subject, as it with wages forms the kernel of the industrial question, I will quote from the President's message. He says:

But our present tariff law, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty.

So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to

the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

The President is treating the subject from a broad standpoint, and he affirms as a principle of protection that the tariff is added to the price of the goods. He does not wish to be misunderstood. It matters not whether the goods are made here or in Europe, the tariff is a bounty for production. Every consumer has to pay that much on account of the tariff. It is, as ex-Senator McDonald describes Governor Gray, of Indiana, "a horse-leech, always present and always sucking."

Every opponent of protection unites on this, and if it is not true the strongest argument is knocked out of their opposition to protection.

THE FARMER BARON.

We will make the computation on the farmer, for above all other persons these gentlemen have been pleading for the poor and unprotected farmer all through this debate. One-tenth of his product is sold abroad; he must take what he can get there. But nine-tenths of his products are sold here, so that nine-tenths of the time he stands in uninterrupted receipt of whatever protection may place on his productions. I have a list of the farm products of this country of last year, and I find that the tariff adds to the farmers of this country $1,200,000,000. I have the list, and it may be verified by official statistics; and if you will take off the tariff imposed on each item of farm products you will find that, whatever the natural price may be, the tariff thus added makes the vast aggregate of $1,200,000,000. This sum lacks only $200,000,000 of being as much as the factory workers of the nation earned last year. Thus, if the tariff adds to the price of protected articles to the extent of the duty imposed, then the consumer pays to the American farmer $1,200,000,000 for his products more than that farmer could sell them for if there was no Republican protection. I here submit a list of our farm products in detail, the value of each article produced, the protective-tariff duty on it, and how much extra price the farmer gets because of it:

1885.	Corn produced	bushels...	1,936,176000,
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$193,617,600
	Wheat produced	bushels...	357,112,000
	Gain at 20 cents per bushel duty		$71,422,00
	Rye produced	bushels...	21,756,000
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$2,175,600
	Oats produced	bushels...	€29,409,000
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$62,940,900
	Barley produced	bushels...	58,836,000
	Gain at 10 cents per bushel duty		$5,836,000
	Potatoes produced	bushels...	175,029,000
	Gain at 15 cents per bushel duty		$26,254,350
	Hay produced	tons...	44,731,550
	Gain at $2 per ton duty		$89,463,100
	Tobacco produced	pounds...	562,736,000
	Gain at 35 cents per pound duty		$196,957,600
	Duty at 35 cents to $1 per pound.		
1887.	Cattle raised, 33,511,750 head	value...	$663,137,926
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$132,627,585
	Horses raised, 12,496,744 head	value...	$901,685,755
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$180,337,151
	Sheep raised, 44,759,314 head	value...	$89,872,839
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$17,974,569
1880.	Wheat flour made		$315,394,385
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$63,078,877
	Cheese made	pounds...	243,157,850
	Gain at 4 cents per pound duty		$9,726,314
	Butter made	pounds...	806,672,071
	Gain at 4 cents per pound duty		$32,266,882
	Molasses made	gallons...	46,811,523
	Gain at 4 to 8 cents per gallon duty		$3,745,081
	Sugar made	pounds...	124,516,685
	Gain at 1.40 to 3.50 cents per pound duty		$4,358,084
	Provision—meats	value...	$303,562,413
	Gain at 20 per cent. ad valorem duty		$60,712,482
	Hops raised	pounds...	26,546,378
	Gain at 8 cents per pound duty		$2,123,710
	Rice raised	pounds...	110,131,373
	Gain at 2½ cents per pound duty		$2,477,965
	Wool clips	pounds...	240,681,751
	Gain at 10 per cent.—per pound 2½ to 12 cents—duty		$24,068,175
	Pickles, etc	value...	$2,407,342
	Gain at 35 per cent. ad valorem duty		$842,569
	Beans and peas	bushels...	9,594,027
	Gain at 10 per cent. ad valorem duty		$959,002

RECAPITULATION OF SUPPOSED PROFITS.

Corn	$193,617,600	Cheese	$9,726,314
Wheat	71,422,400	Butter	32,266,852
Rye	2,175,600	Molasses	3,745,081
Oats	62,940,900	Sugar	4,358,084
Barley	5,836,000	Meats	60,712,482
Potatoes	26,254,350	Hops	2,123,710
Hay	89,463,100	Rice	2,477,965
Tobacco	196,957,600	Wool	24,068,175
Cattle	132,627,585	Pickles, etc	842,569
Horses	180,337,151	Beans, etc	959,002
Sheep	17,974,567		
Wheat flour	63,078,877	Total	1,203,954,994

Why do these gentlemen attack a system that on their own showing yields to the farmer such a splendid revenue? Why do you denounce as inequitable and illogical, and try to take from him, this only boon, without which he would be ruined? You put his every product on the free-list. Instead of 18 per cent. of his farms being mortgaged, you want to reduce him to the condition of the English farmer, in whose country 58 per cent. of the farms are mortgaged.

I think the charge that the tariff duty is added to the price of goods is the most effective made by our opponents, and I have halted long enough to cite the farmers' list to show you that if this is really the operation of the protective principle the farmer is enormously the gainer thereby.

A WORD ON HYPOCRISY.

So much has been said about "trusts" and business "combines" in connection with this bill that I ought to give it a word of notice; but in view of the fact that I shall be heard on the question at another time I need only say that I have a joint resolution before a committee looking to the repeal of the tariff on every article where an injurious trust has been formed. The indications are that Gabriel's trumpet would not be able to awaken the committee to act on that measure. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] have similar resolutions before different committees, and either one of them, if passed, would result in the death of trusts and business combinations, whether protected or unprotected, and the overthrow of monopoly.

The reason for a lack of action on these resolutions is apparent, for, if passed, they would destroy the Standard oil, the cotton-seed oil, the coal, and the sugar trusts. You do not dare to pass either of them. Oil, coal, and sugar have your party by the throat. You may speak against trusts, for that is only an impotent rage, but you will not report and pass either of these resolutions. The managers of these trusts are a power in this House. You will not destroy them; they are necessary to your political existence. You attack protected trusts, and the greatest trusts in the land are anthracite coal, cotton-seed oil, and Standard oil. Neither of them are protected by a tariff. Sugar is the great protected trust, and you refuse to reduce its tariff an honest 10 per cent. A law that will reduce the iniquity of the trust in every form, whether protected or unprotected, you steadfastly refuse to pass. This House will adjourn without a law on this subject, and you will march into the campaign, valiant defenders of the oppressed people, and from every stump denounce the robber trusts with an oratory that will be hair raising. "Shall the thief become a saint because he cries 'stop thief' the loudest?"

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS.

The supporters of the Mills bill have taken up a new line of attack on the tariff. Heretofore they attacked the manufacturers, but they discovered that the wage-worker knew that he was indissolubly connected with the proprietor, and if the manufacturer was stricken down, he was struck also. So they have changed front; they have reformed, and become the friends and assistants of manufacturers. I am glad they have, for the guileless simplicity of the arguments they now make in behalf of the manufacturer shows them to be sincere, if it does lack intelligent manifestation.

MANUFACTURERS NOT THE MILLIONAIRES.

It is a fact long known to most people in this country that the vast fortunes and stupendous aggregations of wealth which our free-trade friends attack as having been amassed by protected manufactures are largely a myth. The manufacturers of this country are not its millionaire class. The robber barons at whom these stupid demagogues rage have won their fortunes out of conditions wholly separated from the tariff. Bradstreet reveals the fact that our millionaires are the bonanza kings, the railroad magnates, and the stock and real estate speculators! Are Mackey, Flood, O'Brien, Fair, and their like, manufacturers? Are WILLIAM L. SCOTT, member of the Ways and Means Committee, Deacon WHITE, also a member of this House, and LELAND STANFORD of the Senate, the Jewetts, the Pullmans, Potters, Jay Gould, and their like, manufacturers? Are Hutchinson and Potter Palmer, of Chicago, Sage, Field, Smith, and their like, manufacturers? These men and those dealing as they do, comprise the millionaire class of this country.

Some manufacturers make fortunes, as along every avenue of life some men strike fortune; but as a rule they receive only fair returns from their business. Edward Atkinson, a free-trader, from whom all quote as an authority, in a recent article said:

Our manufacturers clear less than 10 per cent. profit annually.

Abram Hewitt, the present great Democratic mayor of New York and proprietor of the Cooper & Hewitt iron and steel mills, offered this year to lease the plant to any one who would pay 6 per cent. on the investment. The facts are, business has so multiplied in this country, competition has cut margins so close, that large investors in manufactures receive only the current interest on their money—6 per cent.

At last our opponents cease their railing against manufacturers and have come to regard them as objects of commiseration and have presented here a bill, a part of whose pride and boast is that it gives to the poor, down-trodden manufacturer free raw material.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee [Mr. MILLS] even travels through the manufacturing districts of New England to describe to the waiting crowds with all the vigor of his picturesque style, adorned with the red lights of Texas eloquence, the manifold blessings that

will come to them when he unchains material and gives it to them raw.

FREE RAW MATERIAL.

They now claim that the tariff on the raw material is the American difficulty. If we could only remove that tariff, then we could produce against the world. If raw material is of such fundamental consideration that it would solve our industrial troubles, it is certainly an intrinsically valuable quantity. But I read in political economy that such is the beneficent provision of nature that her raw materials are almost valueless—of only a nominal worth when alone, but when the human hand touches them and lifts them from nature's inertia they begin to take on their first real value. As they progress from the raw, natural state, by the fashioning hand, they grow in worth until finally the completed product stands forth a suit of clothes, a builded house, a mowing-machine, a grand piano, so incarnate by the creative touch of toil that it seems instinct with life, and the raw material from which it sprang seems as inconsiderable to him who has formed it as clay to Deity when He had fashioned man. Nature intended to have it this way. There is no considerable value in anything except it has been put there by human toil. Nature is the first and most steadfast friend of labor.

PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

There is an easy way to come to the apprehension of this truth. Who will put the measure of value on a ton of coal somewhere down in the earth? Twenty-five cents would be a high price. I am informed there is not a mine in the world, when it is worked on shares, that the owner receives 25 cents per ton. A ton of copper in the Lake Superior mines is worth little more. How valueless a ton of iron ore slumbering in the mountain! How cheap a tree waving in the forest! Statistics say it takes $1.12 to land a ton of coal on top of the ground in Illinois or Indiana. It takes a like sum of money to deliver it on a side track in Chicago; that is $2.24. The teamster charges 75 cents to deliver that ton at the home of the citizen. He can deliver but five loads a day on the average. That makes $2.99, and the consumer pays $3.50 for the coal. No one has ever quarreled with that price. The cheapness of material while in the state of nature, and the fact that value attaches to it just as labor is applied, is the solemn lesson this country is trying to teach the free-trader. That labor creates all values is an economical truth so apparent that all men, even men on the other side of this Chamber, ought to understand it.

Take another illustration. Twenty tons of iron ore asleep in the hillside; $5 is its full value. Here are 4 tons of coal in another hill; that is $1. Now, we have $6 invested, and I will let the Pennsylvania Railroad shops at Altoona build a steam-engine from raw material. They build it properly, so as to get the best service, and when that engine is completed and on the track for us it has cost $4,000. Six dollars' worth of raw material and the manufactured product worth $4,000! Not made for sale, but cost to the company from its own raw material to the hour of putting the engine on the track an expenditure of $4,000. This is their own cost, and it is one of the most conservative and thoroughly business-like organizations in the world. Six dollars is the value of the raw material; $3,994 is the dominion of labor.

There stands a 50-foot tree in the pineries. It is raw material. What will you take for it? Ten dollars is a big price. I cut the tree down and haul it 5 miles to a mill. When I lay it at the mill door it is worth $25. What makes it worth $25? Plainly the labor I put into it. But a saw-log is raw material. No, it is not; anything the human hand touches ceases to be raw material, and has started into the process of manufacture. To cut down that tree and haul the logs to the mill is as necessary a part of manufacturing as planing the weather-boarding or framing the door of the house. The very first step of labor in the process of production, cutting down the tree and delivering the logs at the mill, has added 150 per cent. to the value. Ultimately from this raw tree we have 4 bureaus worth $15 each; 4 bedsteads at $10 each; and 20 kitchen tables at $5 each; 25 desks for school children worth $4 each. Here labor's work has fashioned $390 worth of value out of $10 worth of raw material. The cabinet-makers and wood-workers are no distant manufacturers; they are located in our little towns all over the country. Coal, lumber, etc., are as cheap here as elsewhere, for where civilization has long ruled, an inexorable law has made raw materials of near the same value.

The free-trader says, let us relieve the manufacturer by giving him raw material so that he can make goods cheap. If he had it he could only make a fraction of a cent on the dollar. In view of the small amount made, it is certainly a cheap reform.

The only thing of value that can be gained is to let these articles be imported free; but we have seen we can not import raw material, because labor must needs fetch it, and the instant that labor has touched it you have added to its value from 150 to 500 per cent. Who receives the largest share of money for this increased value? The entire increase is labor.

Now, if these articles can be brought from other countries cheaper than we can get them to our mills, it is not because there has been a change in the value of raw materials, but because there is a difference in the price of the labor that has moved the raw material through the first process of manufacture. In foreign countries the men who do this first and crudest work add by their wages but 50 per cent. to value. As incoming vessels are glad to bring this raw material almost free of charge, in many instances having to load their holds with sand-bags for ballast, the foreigner is able to put these goods at the doors of our factories as cheaply as at the door of his own factory.

This so-called raw-material scheme to help manufacturers and workingmen puts the crudest and lowest-priced labor of this country still lower down by placing it in unrestricted competition with Europe's poorest-paid workers. The labor organizations have already discovered that the only effect of free raw material is to reduce the wages of the men who first give their hands to the process of production. He is no true knight in labor who does not stand by his brother, although he works in production's crudest form.

PROTECTION AND FOREIGN MARKETS.

Our opponents meet us with the statement that the protective system keeps us from selling goods in a foreign market. This is a strange proposition. They assert that a defensive wall around our shores keeps us from getting into the undefended territory of other countries. Their theory is that an army occupying a walled city is incapable of attacking and capturing an unwalled city. When they go out against the unprotected city some hidden and mysterious force transplants their own wall around the defenseless city, and makes it impregnable before them. This is the last resort and final argument of free trade. Most people will regard it as driveling folly. What country have we been driven out of by reason of our home tariff? Is it England, or Germany, or France, or South America, or China? Not out of any of these. The legislative body of no nation in the world ever dreamed of doing such a thing.

THE FOOLISH THEORY DISPROVED.

I cite an exhibit of our foreign exports from 1846 to 1880 to show what effect tariff laws have upon export trade. In what is called the free-trade era, from 1846 to 1860, our exports per capita were $9.94; in the protective era, from 1866 to 1880, it was $14.33 per capita. Our exports for each citizen of the United States were 50 per cent. more under protection than under free trade. The truth is, our foreign commerce never grew as rapidly as it has since we have had a protective policy. The increase of our foreign trade in 1846 to 1860 was 70 per cent., but from 1866 to 1880 it was 300 per cent. Our foreign commerce, imports and exports, in 1866 was $400,000,000; in 1880 it was $1,500,000,000.

Consult the last report of the Bureau of Statistics on commerce, and you will find that our exports to each foreign country do not have the slightest reference to our imports from that country. I find that the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] cites that we exported last year to Great Britain productions to the value of $363,000,000, but imported from that country only $165,000,000. We imported from the West Indies $70,000,000, but exported only $24,000,000.

Have these gentlemen heard of any one in this country who proposes to stop buying sugar in Cuba because she buys so little of us? We imported $53,000,000 from Brazil, but Brazil bought of us only $8,000,000. What becomes of a doctrine that we can sell only as we buy in the light of such facts as these?

The charge that the tariff keeps us from selling our goods in foreign countries is, by the commercial reports, so clearly shown to be untrue that we need not pursue the subject further.

THE FARMER.

I had supposed this bill would consider the farmer with peculiar care. Every speech on the other side has plead for him except when explaining how the bill was going to help the manufacturer, and I never was more astounded than when I read what the bill had done for the farmer. It places every article produced on the farm on the free-list.

The Republican party put a protective tariff on the farmer's products, as follows:

Wool, from 2½ to 12 cents per pound; potatoes, 15 cents per bushel; butter, 4 cents per pound; cheese, 4 cents per pound; wheat, 20 cents per bushel; rye and barley, 10 cents per bushel; Indian corn, 10 cents per bushel; honey, 20 cents per gallon; milk, preserved, 20 per cent. ad valorem; hams and bacon, 2 cents per pound; beef and pork, 1 cent per pound; lard, 2 cents per pound; pickles, 35 per cent. ad valorem; vegetables, 30 per cent. ad valorem; vinegar, 7½ cents per gallon; flax, $20 per ton; hemp, $25 per ton.

These duties should be increased, and particularly on rye, wheat, and potatoes, cabbage, and other vegetables, but the pending bill, instead of strengthening the farmer's protection, weakens it by putting such important farm products as wool, hemp, and flax on the free-list. And to these are added garden-seeds, beans, peas, meats, game, poultry, beeswax, and fresh vegetables.

Canada sells 3,000,000 bushels of rye into our country every year. In 1887 we imported 18,000,000 dozen eggs and 4,000,000 bushels of potatoes. In spite of the farmers' tariff we last year imported $57,000,000 worth of his products. The present bill proposes to strike down his protection and leave him defenseless before competition. Every one of our farm products is fenced out of Canada by her protective laws, but this bill proposes to let all of her goods enter our ports free. I enumerate a number of the farm products, with the Can-

adian tariff, the United States tariff, and the proposed rating by the Mills bill:

Articles.	Canadian rate.	United States rate.	Mills rate.
Potatoes	10 cents per bushel	15 cents per bushel	Free.
Beans	15 cents per bushel	10 per cent	Free.
Pease	10 cents per bushel	10 to 20 per cent	Free.
Tomatoes	30 cents per bushel	10 per cent	Free.
All other vegetables, including sweet potatoes.	20 per cent	10 per cent	Free.
Plums	1 cent per pound	1 cent per pound	Free.
Currants	1 cent per pound	1 cent per pound	Free.
Peppermint and other essential oils.	20 per cent	25 per cent	Free.
Blacking	25 per cent	25 per cent	20 per cent.
Bricks	20 per cent	20 per cent	Free.
Brooms	25 per cent	25 per cent	20 per cent.
Brushes	25 per cent	25 per cent	20 per cent.
Flax (raw)	$20 per ton	$20 per ton	Free.
Flax (hackled)	$40 per ton	$40 per ton	Free.
Tow	$10 per ton	$10 per ton	Free.

Rice is a farm product, just as hay, wheat, corn, oats, and potatoes. Can any one tell me why these latter should go on the free-list? The laborer in the rice-field of the South gets $8 a month. The labor cost of rice is less than 5 per cent. of its product, and yet, in the face of the protestations of the majority that there is already too great a difference between the amount of the tariff duty and the wages paid the laborer, the duty on rice is increased by this bill.

I will tell you how this extraordinary duty was placed on rice. Representatives of that interest came to the majority of the committee and said it would never do to put it on the free-list; that it would ruin them. As one of them said, "For God's sake, keep the protection on us." The rice-grower was heard and the protection was kept on. The representatives of the Farmers' Alliance received no hearing before this committee. Why was the rice-grower heard and the other plea unheard?

THE DOOR SHUT IN THE FACE OF LABOR.

The representatives of the labor unions begged to be heard on points wherein the bill would seriously affect labor wages, but they were not even admitted to the committee-room. Then they sent in a petition setting forth wherein labor was injured, pleading "For God's sake to keep up the protection." The gentleman from Maine moved that their petition be read, but the gentleman from Arkansas moved it be referred without reading, and his nine Democratic associates voted with him, the five Republicans voting against him. So the laborers' petition went into the pigeon-hole unread.

In England the farmer has free trade. She has a million paupers and seven millions on the verge of pauperism. Her unemployed masses attack Haymarket and demand work or bread. The wages in England have been declining these ten years; a million acres of her wheat area have passed out of cultivation within ten years. There is no profit on the wheat they grow, nor on cattle, hogs, or sheep. The farm laborer gets from 1 to 2 shillings per day.

GOOD SENSE.

Now, if instead of free trade, as this bill proposes for the farmers, you will keep on the tariff, so as to keep out his competing products and let our farmers sell us that $57,000,000 worth which is now imported, he will soon diversify his crops and every bushel he raises will be consumed at home.

When in spite of our farm protection fifty-seven millions of their products are annually imported, does any man question if the duty is taken off importations would spring to a hundred millions the first year?

If we strike down protection to the farmer, then before the year 1900 vessels loaded with the surplus wheat of India, which England can not consume, will drop anchor in New York Harbor with 30-cent wheat. But if we maintain our tariff, then will the farmer rejoice that his country has a party whose principle is to protect American interests against 7-cent wages. I am opposed to the Mills bill because it puts the farmer on the free-list.

WHAT TO PROTECT.

Let us consider the item of sugar. We all agree that sugar is one of the most important items in this bill. It is now protected by an 82 per cent. tariff, and this must be conceded a very considerable tariff on a necessary of life. No other article is so universally in use as sugar. Woolen clothing is discarded in the South during the summer and cotton is little used in the North during the winter months, but sugar is on every table every day the year round.

I do not see how any good citizen can complain of the tariff on an article of such general use, unless it fails to increase the production. If an article is in slight use, the tariff on it is of slight consideration; but when the article is one of every-day necessity, sound public policy demands that we produce our own supply; hence, protect that article to the utmost. There are some things that we can not raise here, because of our climate, soil, and for other reasons. We are unable to grow India rubber and quinine. We have also experimented with tea, but it has not proven a success. We ought not, therefore, to put any duty on these articles. What we can not produce in this country, or grow successfully as elsewhere, should be imported duty free. We should not have a tariff on any article that can not be produced successfully in this country, but protection should be applied to every article that can be produced here. If we can not ultimately, under the developing influence of protection, produce an article here as cheaply as in any country in the world, considering the extra wages we pay for labor, then the protection on that article should be withdrawn.

SUGAR.

An examination of the growth of the sugar industry is discouraging. It does not reveal any development. I am at a loss to locate the difficulty with this industry. It is not because the tariff is not high enough, because 82 per cent. on an article averaging 6 cents a pound is pretty near all of it.

Only one section of our country appears to be adapted to cane-growing, and it is claimed that even there it is not profitable. Some say that the failure is due to the lack of enterprise in the section of the country where it is grown. Whatever the facts may be, the Government reports show that sugar-growing has not developed here. I am surprised by an examination of the statistics of the sugar product covering a series of years; and I append a table which shows the amount of sugar and molasses produced in the United States during the years from 1852 to 1886, inclusive; this shows a gross production in 1861 of 528,321,500 pounds of sugar in Louisiana, and 11,509,000 pounds in all the other Southern States; with 34,216,000 gallons of molasses in Louisiana, and 3,502,000 gallons in all the other Southern States. And in 1885–'86 the production of sugar in Louisiana was 286,726,486 pounds, and in all the other Southern States 16,128,000 pounds. And in the same years the production of molasses was 17,863,732 gallons, and in all the other Southern States 3,645,000 gallons, while away back in 1853 Louisiana produced 31,000,000 gallons of molasses, almost double her product of 1885–'86.

Statement showing the quantities of sugar and molasses produced in the United States during the years from 1852 *to* 1886, *inclusive.*

Year.	Sugar.		Molasses.	
	Louisiana.	Other Southern States.	Louisiana.	Other Southern States.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*
1852–'53	368,129,000	18,173,000	25,700,000	1,260,000
1853–'54	495,156,000	29,998,000	31,000,000	1,956,000
1854–'55	385,227,000	29,498,000	23,113,620	1,406,000
1855–'56	254,569,000	22,000,000	15,274,140	1,320,000
1856–'57	81,373,000	5,987,000	4,882,380	360,000
1857–'58	307,666,700	14,303,000	19,578,790	795,000
1858–'59	414,796,000	18,298,000	24,887,760	1,080,000
1859–'60	255,115,750	11,534,000	17,858,100	736,000
1860–'61	265,063,000	9,661,000	18,414,550	1,394,000
1861–'62	528,321,500	11,509,000	34,216,000	3,502,000
1862–'63	96,840,000	6,200,000	7,619,000	381,000
1863–'64	84,500,000	560,000	2,303,000	217,000
1864–'65	10,800,000	400,000	765,000	85,000
1865–'66	19,900,000	780,000	1,128,000	172,000
1866–'67	42,900,000	7,500,000	2,570,000	430,000
1867–'68	41,400,000	10,120,000	2,800,000	570,000
1868–'69	95,051,225	5,750,000	5,636,920	764,000
1869–'70	99,452,940	5,380,000	5,724,256	876,000
1870–'71	168,878,592	9,426,000	10,281,419	619,000
1871–'72	146,906,125	9,446,000	10,019,958	681,000
1872–'73	125,346,493	9,486,000	8,898,640	601,000
1873–'74	103,241,119	5,399,000	8,203,944	507,000
1874–'75	134,504,691	7,736,000	11,516,828	674,000
1875–'76	163,418,070	9,062,000	10,870,546	1,380,000
1876–'77	190,672,570	8,688,000	12,024,108	876,000
1877–'78	147,101,941	11,940,000	14,237,280	913,000
1878–'79	239,478,753	11,402,000	13,218,404	1,005,000
1879–'80	198,962,278	8,915,000	12,189,190	1,211,000
1880–'81	272,982,899	12,320,000	15,255,029	1,704,000
1881–'82	159,874,950	11,200,000	9,691,104	2,308,896
1882–'83	303,066,258	15,680,000	15,716,755	3,250,000
1883–'84	287,712,230	15,232,000	15,277,316	3,118,000
1884–'85	211,402,963	14,560,000	11,761,608	2,892,000
1885–'86	286,626,486	16,128,000	17,863,732	3,645,000

NOTE.—The data as to the production of Louisiana are from the Louisiana Sugar Reports, by A. Bouchereau, and the data of the products of other Southern States were furnished by Mr. A. Noel Blakeman, manager of the New York Shipping and Commercial List.

We produced 540,000,000 pounds of sugar in 1861, and but 300,000,000 pounds in 1885. Yet in 1885 we consumed more than 3,000,000,000 pounds. We consume more than ten times the quantity produced in this country.

FREE SUGAR.

In view of these facts, I believe the duty on sugar ought to be removed. Having failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was levied, the tariff ought not to be continued longer. The continuance of this tariff is not for the good of the country. It has become an enormous robbery. After twenty years of trial the industry is not increasing, but is decreasing; when it produces only one-tenth of what we consume its further continuance is unprofitable. The sole beneficiaries of this tariff are 17,000 planters.

Now what does the Mills bill propose to do? It offers a 20 per cent. reduction. This is so manifestly an injustice to the country that no one has appeared on the floor justifying it; and even this 20 per cent. is a pretense for the following reasons: The sugars imported are rated into classes called Dutch grades, just as cattle are graded prime, fair, and middling. Sugar is graded Dutch standard No. 13, Dutch standard No. 16, and so on. This bill juggles its 20 per cent. on the grading. It reduces the duty 20 per cent., but it changes the grades upon which the reduction is made, so that it puts the duty so high on sugar which is refined for table and cooking use as to practically prohibit its importation, while the low grades are reduced. Then the planter, who is in league with the sugar-trust refiners of New York, can sell his commercial sugar at a high price, and the sugar trust that refines imported low grades can also get the same high price.

A SAMPLE.

Two vessels load with standard island sugar at Cuba. It is a black tsuff unfit for use and worth 1 cent a pound; only after it passes through the refiners' hands can it come to our tables. One of these vessels lands in England and the other in the United States. When the Englishman gets his sugar from the refineries he gets it for 2 cents a pound less than we have to pay when we get it from our (sugar trust) refinery. To reduce the sugar tariff 20 per cent is trifling, but then to juggle the grades in the interest of the refiners' trust so that raw sugar will not be reduced 5 per cent. is the most infamous feature of this vicious and unfair bill.

THE COAL TRUST.

I hold the copy of an Indiana paper which speaks of a citizen's recent trip east. He speaks of the extortionate price of anthracite coal and the consequent suffering of the people last winter. Whereupon the editor denounces "these war-tariff taxes," and says in substance that Republican monopolists, by the votes of Republican Congressman, keep the hateful tariff tax of 75 cents per ton on this necessary of life and says the time has now come when any Congressman that is a friend to the coal monopoly must be beaten.

Now, these men speak with all the assurance of knowledge and all the confidence of ignorance. The fact is, there is no tariff on anthracite coal, and has not been for eighteen years. The people have been outraged and plundered by the anthracite-coal trust, and you Democrats continually assure them that it is the result of the protective tariff.

There is a tariff of 75 cents a ton on bituminous (soft) coal. When asked if a certain word in the bill would not put soft coal on the free-list, the distinguished chairman [Mr. MILLS] declared it would not, and the tariff on it should continue as it is. This is as I anticipated.

In my campaign in 1886, having previously voted against consideration of the Morrison bill, every opposition paper in the district charged I had voted in the interest of the Pennsylvania coal barons, in the interest, for instance, of my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], who is a member of this committee. They had taken it for granted that such a necessary of life as coal was of course made free by the Morrison bill, but not having read the bill, they were not aware that it kept on the "old war tariff tax" that it has borne for twenty years. Like the man in the show, I did not say a word. I knew that at this session a tariff bill would be reported again, and I knew the tariff on coal would be continued, and I would have the opportunity, as I now have, on this open floor of declaring against this oppressive burden which is being kept upon us by the Democratic majority and placing myself on record in favor of free coal.

I will tell you why this tariff is kept on coal. It is because Kentucky has more coal than England, estimated by the geological survey. Missouri is full of coal and iron ore. Tennessee and Arkansas have vast deposits. Alabama and Virginia have measureless coal-fields and ore-beds. They are just now being touched by the impulse of an industrial life; they begin to see that the States believing in protecting industries have manifested their faith and are becoming giants in enterprise, while they, believing in free trade or the "tariff-for-revenue" principle, have manifested their faith and are without development—laggards in the race of the States. And hence they keep protection on coal. If there was no coal in your States this bill would have it on the free-list.

We have more coal than Great Britain and all Europe. It costs 8 cents more to put a ton on top of ground in England than in the United States, the reason being the vast depth of their mines and the necessary expense in running them. Our mines, so to speak, are on top of the ground. The coals mined in Indiana and Illinois are not affected by the tariff. After paying the rate agreed with labor it is confessed to be sold at a moderate compensation. But that which comes to us from the East bears a burden with it which is imposed by the barons, and no part of which does labor receive. One way to oppose the trust which has been built up in these coal-fields is to take off the tariff.

If you keep up the trust and extortionate prices after the tariff is off, as you are now doing with anthracite coal since its tariff is off, we will continue to demand that the Committee on Manufactures shall report the Rayner resolution, which prohibits the carrying of products beyond the limits of their respective States, the price of which is controlled by trust combinations.

LUMBER.

Lumber is placed on the free-list in order, it is claimed, that the people may have cheaper homes, but it is not probable that it would reduce the price 1 per cent. The chief import of lumber is from the British provinces (Canada) north of us. They are not a manufacturing people, and vast multitudes of their citizens gain a livelihood by felling trees in the forest. Their men are employed at 50 per cent. below our wages, and really they can pay import duties and sell their lumber at the fair American price.

I believe we should have free lumber, but for a very different reason from that of the committee. We have the most rapidly developing country in the world, and the destruction of our forests has proceeded at such a fearful rate that forestry associations have called attention to the fact, and Congress has passed an act to encourage timber culture. Shortly we will be practically denuded of timber, the result of which will be a great change in our climate, and we would also be placed at the mercy of the lumber dealers of the North. As a protective policy means the best conservation of all our forces, which includes our best interest for to-day and for to-morrow also, we ought to open our ports to all other forests, as it works no hardship now and avoids a hardship in the future. I agree with gentlemen for free lumber. Like Judge Chase, who sometimes renders his decisions but declines to give his reasons on the ground the decision might be correct and his reasons wrong. so it is my duty to agree with the committee, or any one else, when they have arrived at correct conclusions, and not disagree with them because their reasons happen to be fallacious.

SALT.

I am in favor of free salt.

A FEW ITEMS CONTROL.

I need not go further into the examination of this bill, as a few principal items control all tariffs; for instance, there are four thousand articles on the schedule with only eight hundred annually imported, and beyond a dozen articles all are of minor importance, although as a whole they make up a nation's commerce. I doubt if, with the exception of one man, the "father of the House" [Mr. KELLEY], any of us are capable of discussing a tariff bill in all its ramifications, and give the facts on each article. It requires an expert to do so. If the same singular attention to American interests attends all the items in this bill that is apparent on the articles here discussed, the darkness of Egypt was only a fog compared to the gross darkness of the measure, and the quicker the people can have it discussed before them and a vote on it the better for the country.

The most noticeable thing in the discussion of the Mills bill is the steadfast neglect of its friends to discuss it. They come to the issue with the bill hidden behind their backs and plead for tariff revision and for reduction; but it is the Mills bill we have to vote on. There is no difference on the reduction of the revenues, and no disagreement on the necessity of tariff revision; we are all agreed on this. I believe every article in the schedule ought to be gone over article by article and considered intelligently and practically, and each article revised or readopted. I advocated this in 1884 and again in 1886, and I desire at this session of Congress to vote for some proper measure of tariff revision.

The difficulty is, the Mills bill is presented as a reform of the tariff, when it is such in no proper sense. Yet because we refuse to vote for it you affirm that we are opposed to tariff revision. Because we refuse to vote for the most sectional and partisan tariff bill ever presented to Congress; you say we are against tariff legislation. Your impudence exceeds the unfairness of your bill. If you will not get frightened; if you will not amend this bill unless it be in items in close Democratic districts; if you have the courage to pass it just as you have reported it to this House, and as it has received the indorsement of the majority of your State conventions pending the new nomination of Mr. Cleveland, we will throw down to you the glove in the campaign, and overthrow you at the ballot-box in November.

Members have frequently referred to their own districts during this discussion. Now, sir, I believe the policy of the fathers in giving a member of Congress to every certain number of voters was that that Representative should on this floor express the sentiment and interest of the immediate constituency he represents, and that the aggregate result would be to the best interests of the entire country. It is a member's duty to thus act except when some national question overtops all local considerations. The district I have the honor to represent has five woolen-mills, one oil-mill, an iron and steel mill, and vast brickyards, in addition to the ordinary factories incident to a prosperous people. Seventy-five per cent. of its population are farmers. We are not cursed with millionaires, nor damned with poverty. Ninety-five per cent. of the people are what are denominated wage-workers. The district is a full type of American life. My opposition to the Mills bill, and support of the bill I propose, represents their best interests.

Let the candidate of the opposition in that district this fall not dodge the issue, as you have sought to do here, but support this measure fairly and defend its great leading features. I will take the leading features of the revision which I support, and which meets the approval of almost every Representative upon this side of the House, and I will have

an abiding confidence as to what a typical American constituency will do.

AN HONEST REVISION.

I heartily indorse the position taken by my colleague [Mr. BROWNE] in his splendid argument upon this floor, and especially on the revision he suggests. There is my friend from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] who has introduced a tariff bill. I can cheerfully support his measure with the exception of free rice, and substantially my proposition follows his. I would not put rice on the free-list.

Without reference to any of the small matters that we can not consider in a speech, but for those items upon which we must go before the country for a final decision, I would make the following free-list:

Table showing amount of sugar, molasses, salt, coal, and wood and lumber imported, amount paid for duty, and per cent.

	Amount imported.	Amount of duty.	Ad valorem rate.
			Per cent.
Sugar	$68,882,884	$56,507,496	82.04
Molasses	5,336,730	1,496,863	28.05
Salt	1,455,385	676,866	49.92
Coal	2,811,158	683,728	24.32
Wood and lumber	8,223,505	1,503,185	18.28
Total	86,709,662	60,868,138	*64.78

* Total average.

All the foregoing figures are for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887.

This gives us the free breakfast table about which we have heard so much, but the highest-priced article of which, sugar, our opponents propose to continue on the tariff-list, and I also cook that breakfast with a free fire.

With the exception, possibly, of salt, there are substantial reasons from a protection standpoint why these products should be free. This measure is not vicious nor inequitable nor illogical, but it is prudent, fair, in harmony with the principle of protection, and brings a needed relief to all our people.

Mr. Chairman, I have now expressed my views on tariff revision, but in addition to all this, I am opposed to the passage of the Mills bill until we have voted on the pension bill. If the Mills bill passes there can be no general pension legislation. The leader of the House [Mr. MILLS] and the chairman of the Pensions Committee [Mr. MATSON], who is Democratic candidate for governor of my State, have control of the situation. The one reported the tariff, the other the arrears bill. They can have a vote on either of these measures as they choose. What will you do, gentlemen?

Mr. Chairman, twenty-seven years of the American system have given us a prosperity without parallel in the history of nations. The party in power has brought us to a crisis, and we are to decide whether this splendid procession of increasing greatness shall continue or whether it shall here stop. Gentlemen on the other side have said that wool and farm products shall go on the free-list this year, and a general scaling of protective duties; and if the Democracy are returned to power this fall it would be the indorsement of the policy entered upon, and at the next Congress the entire protective system shall go.

I know not what the decision at the ballot-box will be. I do know what it should be. I do know if we withdraw the nation's arm of defense from our industries it will put in peril all our proud advancement. It will bring to the foreigner who has come hither to rear his family all that dread ruin he fled from Europe to escape. It will lift from the tired back of toil those magic words, "The nation protects you," and without which we are not a Government for the people. It will turn the home of comfort into a tenement of one room, and the children from school into the factory. This step once taken will be difficult of recall. The decreased earnings of the father and the wan face of the mother will tell the story of the American industrial system overthrown. Such a calamity should be averted.

We have started to build up distinctively a new nation. I gaze upon her limitless resources, her patriotic and honest citizens. I see the oppression that capital forever seeks to put upon labor opposed by a well-nigh universal voice, the nation avowedly legislating in behalf of toil, and wages double what they are in any other government. Public sentiment and legislation will still further crowd capital until a recompense from the profits of production more adequate and fair shall be given to labor. I see our people producing at home every necessary of life, and no tramp on our soil, and bright hope and sweet content shall lighten every step of toil. Our industrial system is the precursor of all that is triumphant in national life. Caste is breaking down and we are rising to the rule of the people. We have removed the tent of tribes and are building on these shores the temple of nations. Within it legal wrong, ignorance, and inequality are being overthrown, and we are filling it with the paradise of happy homes, intelligence, and prosperity. Slowly, it may be, but surely, we are solving the great problem and framing our nation into a mould of precious shape, where all her institutions shall be blessings, her laws liberty, and her people a citizenship grander than royalty. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. O. S. GIFFORD,

OF DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, June 9, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. GIFFORD said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I desire to favor in substance the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWNE], striking from the free-list "flax-straw."

The reason why I do this is obvious enough. Our people in Dakota raised nearly 4,000,000 bushels of flaxseed in 1887, and I have received thousands upon thousands of petitions from the farmers of Dakota praying for the retention of the present duty upon flax and flax products.

These petitions have all been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and it seems to me, inasmuch as they set forth fully the facts, that some consideration should be given them.

I venture to say that this bill, if it becomes a law, will take from the pockets of the farmers of Dakota from three-quarters to a million of dollars. That it will take from the pockets of the farmers, "prairie farmers" pure and simple, who reside in Dakota, Northwestern Iowa, Minnesota, and Northern Nebraska (an area of about 250,000 square miles), more money than any "manufacturing trust" ever extracted from the pockets of a like number of people upon the American continent.

No doubt the tariff concerning flax products needs revision. The present duty on flaxseed is 20 cents per bushel, specific duty. The duty on linseed-oil is 25 cents per gallon, specific duty.

One bushel of seed makes two and one-half gallons of oil; therefore it will be seen that a bushel of seed crushed into oil is protected to the extent of 62½ cents per bushel as against foreign oil, but the producer, the farmer, is only protected, when he puts his product upon the market, to the extent of 20 cents per bushel as against Russian and India flaxseed, where farm labor scarcely averages 25 cents per day in the former country, and not 7 cents per day in the latter country, board and all expenses included.

This unequal duty is not just to the farmer, and the duty on flaxseed should be raised to at least 40 cents per bushel instead of being placed upon the free-list, and the duty on linseed oil should be lowered. We have heard a great deal about this being intended to break up trusts and monopolies in the interest of the farmer. Right here is an example of how this is done. The product of the farmer is free of duty absolutely. Everything in the shape of raw product, flax straw, flax not hackled or dressed, flax hackled known as dressed line, tow of flax or hemp, and flax-seed, are all on the free-list.

The farmers who are striving to develop the bleak prairies of the Northwest, with but few manufacturing industries among them, must ship the raw material from their farms to the mills of other sections and to the markets, there to compete for a price with the raw products of other countries entered duty free, put upon the market by labor which does not average 20 cents per day, and when the farmer buys back this same product in the shape of oil, linen, or whatever it may be, he finds that the manufacturer is protected in his interests, in the production of this completed article to the extent of from 25 to 40 per cent. against foreign pauper labor.

Take every farm product of the Northwest, except wheat, and this same fact exists regarding it.

How long will the Western farmer be protected at his own home, upon our own shores, in the wheat he raises against the Hindoo wheat farmer if this bill should become a law? Certainly but a brief period. Wheat is produced in Russia and put upon the market for 10 cents per bushel; in India for from 5 to 7 cents. It only costs 1 cent per bushel more to place Russian or Indian wheat upon the markets of New York than it does at Liverpool. Potatoes and other vegetables imported from foreign countries have been constantly upon the tables in every city from New York to Galveston during the past winter.

We have heard a great deal said about this bill protecting the farmer, and having been framed in his interest. But whenever any farm product is under discussion we are told that there is a "combine" in the House to reduce duties wherever it can be done. Not a voice has been raised upon the Democratic side in favor of a single industry of the Northwest; not a farm product of that region is to be protected except wheat, and were it not for the winter-wheat raisers of the South this protection would be wiped out. Meat, beans, peas, and a vast number of farm products are added to the free-list. The natural and best markets of the Western farmer are the manufacturing districts and the Southern planter.

How are the interests of the Western farmer cared for? His hogs and cattle and all meats and hides therefrom unprotected.

The shoes and clothing he buys are protected to the extent of 40 per cent. He must sell his flax, potatoes, and all vegetables in an unprotected home market, and buy sugar and farm machinery protected in the amount of 35 to 60 per cent.

The Southern farmer is protected in the rice he raises and the sugar he produces to the extent of sixty millions at present, and estimated under this bill to the extent of fifty millions, a reduction of about 16 per cent. In the case of the Northern farmer, the reduction is 100 per cent. The material used by the Southern farmer in baling his cotton is absolutely free.

The Dakota farmer pays for nearly the same material used in baling hay a duty of from 40 to 60 per cent. This is what you call working for the interest of the Western farmer, is it?

In the abundance of your kindness what does this bill give the Western farmer, any way? You start out with a few sticks of Canadian lumber, not enough to build a pig-pen; then you propose giving us a few bundles of English shoddy, you pretend to give us a spoonful of salt, and do really give us one-sixth of a teaspoonful of sugar to sweeten the dose.

I do not believe this hook is baited right to catch "prairie suckers" successfully.

He must pay the freight both ways, lose the protection upon what he sells, and pay the protection upon what he buys.

The Western farmer believes that a reform and a reduction of the tariff upon some manufactured articles and products is desirable and necessary.

What reason is there for the American people paying fifty millions to protect a sugar industry only worth all told about six millions per annum? What justice is there in the Northern farmer or stock-raiser paying the rice-raiser or cotton-grower a tribute and getting nothing in return? We see here the result of "the combine to reduce taxation." This "combine" simply proposes, in its supreme selfishness, to strike down the weak and bolster up the strong, as represented in this House.

The Northwest are denied representation upon this floor, and at the other end of the Capitol by that same "combine to reduce taxation" to a considerable extent 600,000 people in Dakota are denied a single vote upon a proposition which affects their products to the extent of more than $1,000,000 per annum. It is not difficult to take the tariff from the products of a people who have no vote in this House. The gross injustice and absolute tyranny of the Government towards Dakota strikes deep and hard through this measure.

If raw material and farm products are to be imported into this country free of duty the Southern planter can well afford to have the duty upon his products reduced 7 per cent., as proposed under this bill, so long as he is still protected over 40 per cent.

Look again at flax.

The following is the duty upon raw flax:

The present duty on flax straw is $5 per ton; on flax tow, $10; on flax not hackled, $20, and on hackled flax, $40, a percentage respectively of 10.73 on flax straw, of 9.05 on unhackled flax, and of 7.06 on hackled flax, as shown by the importations and values last year. These percentages are very low, and certainly, if the growers and dressers of flax are to have any protection at all, as low as can reasonably be asked. The importations for the ten months ending April 30, 1888, amount to $1,404,722. For the year ending June 30, 1887, they amounted to $1,908,845.

The farmers of Dakota are now beginning to find a profitable market for their tow, and tow mills are being operated in many sections of our territory. But the protection upon tow and flax straw is altogether inadequate now, and to place it upon the free-list simply means that this portion of the product becomes absolutely worthless. Scarcely no product of our country is so poorly protected as raw flax.

The average duty to-day is but 8 per cent. upon raw flax products. This product is the poor man's crop. He can raise it the first year that he breaks the prairie, and with the proceeds can procure the necessaries for his family.

A few dollars protection in this is worth more to him and of greater value to the country than thousands to some other industries. This proposition appeals squarely to the hearts as well as the pockets of the American people. If he who is striving single-handed and, often in poverty, to develop the agricultural resources of a new and strange climate and soil can not be encouraged by this little protection, then abolish your custom-houses and let us have absolutely free trade.

Do you suppose that you can convince the farmer of the West, in the light of experience and history, that absolute free trade is best for him and his interests? What town or community upon our prairies would not give a bonus to secure a factory of some sort in its midst? What farming community would say no to the proposition that would place twenty-five, one hundred, or a thousand workmen near them to purchase their garden and farm products?

Talk about "combines" in Congress to reduce the tariff wherever it can be done! It must result in free trade for Western farm products and protection to those of the South and East.

A third of a century ago, or more, the British manufacturing establishments entered into a combine to establish free trade.

They reduced the wages of their workmen to the starvation and pauper limit. The child of the workingman there must go to the shop instead of the school-room, be it boy or girl, and earn the bare necessaries of life.

These manufacturers paid the Cobden Club alone more than a million of dollars a quarter of a century ago to establish free trade. They expended untold millions upon millions in underselling and driving out manufacturing establishments in this and other countries. The British Government lent its aid directly to the enterprise by paying enormous subsidies to steam-ship and transportation lines to insure transportation for the goods. The object accomplished, the competing and home factory closed, the British manufacturer at once places the price of his wares where they will net him a handsome profit, after paying him for all losses, and the poor lamb that has been cajoled by the foreign wolf must pay the price he asks or go without.

The first cry for free trade in England was made precisely as is now presented in this bill—free raw material and a slight reduction in manufactured goods. The average reduction in the duty on goods in this bill is 7 per cent., and 40 per cent. is retained, while nearly all raw material produced on the farm is duty free.

The moment this policy was adopted in England the farmer there commenced to suffer. Rents were reduced and tenants would not meet the reduction even. Millions of acres were turned into pasture or other grounds, simply because the farmer could not sell his product "in the free markets of the world" for sufficient to pay expenses. The misery in Ireland resulting from free raw material became oppressive and intolerable, and in England the farmers and peasantry became so reduced financially that their condition is no better than the "shilling-per-day hand" in the coal-pit.

This bill proposes to retain a high duty upon coal and iron-ore and protect amply the sugar trusts and rice interests. It proposes to place farm products upon the free-list and protect manufacturing interests to the extent of more than 90 per cent. of the present duty. It even places nearly every ingredient used in the manufacture of beer and other malt liquors and cheap rotgut whisky upon the free-list, including barley, a farm product, and taxes alcohol, which is used in the preparation of every medicine, nearly, and which is an absolute necessity in thousands of arts and many things a farmer and mechanic uses.

Castor beans and oil, a Southern product, is protected amply; Northern beans and peas are duty free, upon the principle, I suppose, that babies can not tell the difference between high-priced oil and cheap peas and beans.

My own impression is that a sight of this bill is sufficient to give a Northern baby the colic without the aid of cheap peas.

Does the American farmer desire to try the experiment of the English farmer? It is certain to follow under this bill. The Republican party has reduced taxation and reduced the tariff hundreds of millions of dollars since the war. The Democratic party has had a majority of the Lower House of from fifteen to seventy in Congress for the last twelve years, except one Congress, and have passed no measure through the House looking to any reduction of taxation. The Republicans revised and reduced the tariff in the Forty-seventh Congress (six years ago) many millions without disturbing the business interests of the country.

The Republicans, were they in power, would again revise and reduce the tariff, but it would be done in the interest of the Northern as well as Southern farmer, as well in the interest of the Western agriculturist as the Eastern manufacturer.

Farm products and raw material would not go upon the free-list. The Dakota farmer would not have the duty stricken from his flax-straw, tow, and other flax products, and be compelled to pay in return a duty of 40 per cent. upon his fence wire (which is a fact under this bill) and twine used in binding his grain. He would not sell his hay in the "markets of the world" almost free of duty and pay a tax of 40 per cent. upon the wire used in baling it, and a higher duty upon all the farm machinery used in connection with it from the time the grass sprouts from the ground until he gets the money for his crop. He would not pay 90 per cent. of the present duty upon sugar, 100 per cent. on coal, and more than 100 per cent. on rice, while competing in the "free markets of the world" with his meat and other products.

He would not pay a duty upon his clothing, his "warm blankets," his plow, his hoe, his wagon, his harness, his mower, reaper, the spoons and cutlery he uses, and the crockery in his "cupboard," while competing in the "markets of the world" with his wool, his dairy products, and every conceivable thing nearly that he produces.

I want to say a word about trusts. We are constantly told that high tariff produces and creates trusts. Let us see about this. The most gigantic and merciless "trust" to-day is the coal-oil trust. There is no duty upon coal-oil; therefore the tariff does not protect the trust. But it is proposed under this bill to aid this trust by the tariff. The Standard Oil Company uses more tin than any other company in the world, and the tin interests of Dakota and every other section of the country must be sacrificed upon the altar of the Standard Oil Company. Tin is made free of duty under this bill.

The next largest trust in the world is the "sugar trust," and it is

proposed to continue this by retaining nearly the present duty and compelling our people to pay each year about $50,000,000, or eight times more than the yearly product of the United States is worth, for that purpose. This trust is protected squarely by the tariff, and is the only one that is squarely protected, and the Mills bill continues the protection, as is well known.

The "coffee trust," which raised the price of coffee in this country a short time ago, had no duty to aid or protect it.

The richest grain and pork "trusts" are purely speculative and the tariff does not affect them.

It is said that linseed-oil is controlled by a trust. If so, it must have been to a very small extent indeed, because linseed-oil has declined in price continually, with a brief exception, from $1.40 in 1864 to about 50 cents in 1888.

The farmer gets from 80 cents to $1.10 per bushel for his seed (flaxseed). Who complains of any "trust" in this business? Does the farmer or mechanic? No one except a few pretended friends of the farmer, who want to see all farm products competing in the "markets of the world," and the farmer, who now gets but little remuneration for his toil, reduced to the same level as the pauper tenant farmer of Europe.

The farmers of the West want to see the tariff revised, and in this revision want to see the interests of American labor, American manufactures, and American farm products cared for.

The farmer wants a home market. He does not wish to be placed in competition with 10-cent-per-day labor in a foreign market, neither does he ask it of anybody else. He can not be cajoled into the belief that free salt, which while protected is only worth now 60 cents per barrel at the works in Michigan, for package and all, will induce him to cheerfully pay a duty on coal.

The removal of $2 duty per thousand feet put on lumber, when it is conceded this will not lessen the price, will not satisfy him for paying a duty to the sugar trust and woolen mills and rice growers.

If a Dakota farmer wants to invest in a flock of sheep, he must understand that his wool goes out into the "free markets of the world" under this bill, and comes back in the shape of cloth protected. He exchanges his meat and other products in the "markets of the world" free of duty, and receives farm machinery, fence wire, implements, etc., protected in the sum of 40 per cent.

Verily, I say, this hook will not catch "prairie farmers" to any extent.

Protection of American Fishermen.

REMARKS

OF

HON. NELSON DINGLEY, JR.,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

June 5 and 6, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

The Clerk read the concluding paragraph of the lumber schedule, as follows:

Provided, That if any export duty is laid upon the above-mentioned articles, or either of them, by any country whence imported, all said articles imported from said country shall be subject to duty as now provided by law.

Mr. DINGLEY. I move to amend by adding to the paragraph just read the sub-proviso which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

And provided further, That all said articles shall be subject to the same duty as now provided by law when imported from any country which denies in its ports, to fishing or other vessels of the United States authorized to touch and trade at foreign ports, the same commercial privileges, including the right to buy provisions, bait, and supplies, and to transship any portion of cargo, as are granted to similar vessels of such country in the ports of the United States.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Chairman, the House in committee has decided, contrary to my own judgment and vote, to place all kinds of manufactured lumber on the free-list. Whatever view any gentleman may take as to the effect on our own interests of legislation admitting Canadian lumber to our markets free of duty (for no lumber will come to us from any other country than Canada), it can but be conceded that the action of the Committee of the Whole on the lumber schedule, when consummated in law, will be a great boon to the Dominion.

So great a boon is it regarded by our Canadian neighbors that for more than forty years they have been seeking it by every means at their command. In 1854 they gave us for this boon free admission into their markets for many of our own products. After they had enjoyed the advantages of our markets for their lumber and fish for twelve years, and we had become satisfied that the advantages given us by the treaty of 1854 were far less than those we received, the people and Government of Canada stood ready to give us still larger compensation for the benefits which they received from the free entry into our markets. From the day the reciprocity treaty was abrogated in 1866 to the present hour the government of Canada has been seeking to again secure the advantages of our markets for her lumber and other products and has stood ready to render some equivalent.

In view of these facts it might be supposed that the Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee, after having adopted the policy of adopting free trade as to manufactured lumber, would have taken measures looking to the consummation of this scheme through an arrangement with Canada by which she would have given the United States an equivalent for so great a boon. But instead of doing this they have reported a proposition, and the Democratic majority of the House in committee have adopted it, giving Canada the benefit of free lumber, and asking nothing in return from the Dominion except the pitiful pledge that they will not impose an export duty on lumber sent to the United States.

What makes this proposition peculiarly amazing is the fact that at the time this great boon is tendered Canada, fishing vessels of the United States authorized to touch and trade at foreign ports are denied in Canadian ports those commercial privileges which every other civilized country freely grants to the vessels of other nations and which we freely give to similar Canadian vessels in our own ports, privileges which are ours of right under the reciprocal maritime agreement of 1830.

Mr. Chairman, while I strenuously oppose placing lumber on the free-list as a grave injustice to our citizens engaged in this industry, it seems to me as if even the gentlemen on the Democratic side, by whose votes this has been done, should be willing, nay should insist, that Canada shall not have this boon so long as she denies to American fishing vessels the commercial privileges, including the right to buy supplies, provisions and bait for a fishing voyage and the right to transship fish in bond, which we freely grant to similar Canadian vessels, and which Congress one year ago unanimously affirmed belonged to us as of right.

I need not present any evidence that the Canadians regard this proposition as a great boon to them, for every gentleman in this Hall is familiar with the efforts which they have made to secure it.

The interview with the United States consul at Ottawa, which I read a few days ago when the lumber schedule was taken up, brings out the fact that the timber lands of Canada are owned by the Government, and that only permits to cut timber are sold. In view of this the United States consul said that in his judgment, and the judgment of well-informed men in Canada, the effect of placing lumber on the free-list in the United States would eventually be to simply increase the revenue which the Canadian Government would receive for permits without giving the people of this country a dollar's benefit.

Evidently Sir Charles Tupper, the Canadian minister of finance, takes the same view, for in his recent speech in advocacy of the fisheries treaty in the Canadian Parliament he said:

Already we have action by the financial exponent of the Administration of the United States—I mean Mr. MILLS—the gentleman who in the United States Congress represents the Government of the day, and stands in the position most analogous in the United States to the finance minister in this House, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, who propounds the policy of the Administration in the House. How is he selected? The Democratic party, sustaining the Government, selects a man as Speaker of the House of Representatives who is in accord with the policy of the Administration for the time-being, and Mr. CARLISLE, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, nominates the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and all the members of the committee; and therefore the chairman of that committee occupies the position of representing the Government in bringing forward such bills as will represent the views and sentiments of the Democratic party in the United States supporting the Administration. What have we seen? The ink is barely dry upon this treaty before he, as the representative of the Government and chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, brings forward a measure to do what? Why, to make free articles that Canada sends into the United States, and upon which last year $1,800,000 of duty was paid.

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I say that under this bill, which has been introduced, and which, I believe, will pass, for it does not require two-thirds of the Senate, where the Republican majority is only one in the whole House, to pass this bill; it requires a majority of one only, and I am very sanguine that this bill will pass during the present session. Modified it may be, but I am inclined to think the amendments will be still more in the interests of Canada than as the bill stands to-day. If this is the case, I think we may congratulate ourselves upon securing the free admission of our lumber, upon which was paid during the last year no less than $1,315,450. On copper ore, made free by the Mills bill, we paid—or there was paid, to make it meet the views of the honorable gentleman opposite more correctly—$96,945. On salt $21,992 duty was paid. This is rendered free by the Mills bill. I am sorry to find, as I hoped would be the case from the first copy of the bill that came to me, that potatoes were not included amongst vegetables. I am sorry to find there is a doubt as to whether the term "vegetables not specially enumerated" will not exclude potatoes.

Indeed, it is because the Canadians are so anxious to obtain our markets free of duty for their lumber and fish that they have resorted to such extreme measures, even to a denial of commercial privileges to our fishing vessels, in the hope that they might by these means force us to compliance with their wishes.

It is for these reasons, Mr. Chairman, that I have offered my amendment in the form of a proviso to the free-lumber schedule already adopted, in the hope that the Democratic majority may at least say to Canada, "You shall not have the privilege of entering our markets with your lumber without paying duty until you deal justly with our fishing vessels." [Applause on the Republican side.]

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THE FREE-FISH AMENDMENT.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from Maine.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment will be read.

The amendment was read, as follows:

And provided further, That whenever the said commercial privileges, including the right to buy provisions, bait, and supplies, and to transship any portion of cargo, are granted to the fishing and other vessels of the United States by the Dominion of Canada, then mackerel, herring, salmon, and other fish, smoked, dried, salted, pickled, or preserved, except anchovies and sardines, or other fish preserved in oil, shall be free of duty: *And provided further*, That whenever the Dominion of Canada admits products, wares, and merchandise grown, produced, or manufactured in the United States free of duty, then the products, wares, and merchandise grown, produced, or manufactured in said Dominion of Canada shall be admitted free of duty.

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Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise to oppose the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky. The original amendment, which I offered as a limitation to the free-lumber schedule, already adopted by the House in committee, provided, in effect, that manufactured lumber should not come in free of duty from Canada so long as the Dominion Government denies to American fishing vessels the commercial privileges to which this Government holds they are entitled.

The amendment to my amendment, offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], provides that when the Dominion of Canada shall grant to our fishing vessels commercial privileges all kinds of fish, except fish preserved in oil and fish-oil, imported from Canada, may come into our markets free of duty.

Inasmuch as all kinds of fish products, except "fish, fresh, for immediate consumption," are on the dutiable lists in our present tariff, the proposition which the distinguished representative of the Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee makes is to buy from Canada the privileges which for many years, and up to the fatal hour in February last when the recent fisheries treaty was signed, we have constantly claimed belonged to our fishing vessels as of right, by giving to the Dominion the right to send her fish into the United States and sell them in our markets free of duty, in competition with the products of our own fisheries and our own fishermen.

THE FISHERIES TREATY OF 1888.

I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that the unfortunate treaty concluded in February last between our Government, represented by Secretary Bayard and Messrs. W. L. Putnam and J. B. Angell, and Great Britain, in behalf of Canada, represented by the British minister, Mr. West, and Messrs. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper, proposes to surrender the privileges for which we have so long contended for our fishing vessels in Canadian ports, to wit, the right to buy provisions, supplies, ice, bait, and other merchandise for a fishing voyage, and to land fish in Canadian ports, to be sold on payment of duty, or to be transshipped and sent in bond to the United States, privileges which we freely grant to similar Canadian vessels in our ports.

I am aware also that one of the articles of that treaty provides that fishing vessels of the United States may have these commercial privileges when the United States shall admit Canadian fish free of duty; and that a *modus vivendi* submitted by the British commissioners and appended to the treaty proposes to extend these privileges to American fishing vessels for the term of two years, unless the treaty shall be sooner ratified, on the payment of $1.50 per ton burden of vessels per annum.

The fifteenth article of the treaty is as follows:

Whenever the United States shall remove the duty from fish-oil, whale-oil, seal-oil, and fish of all kinds (except fish preserved in oil), being the produce of fisheries carried on by the fishermen of Canada and Newfoundland, including Labrador, as well as from the usual and necessary casks, barrels, kegs, cans, and other usual and necessary coverings containing the products above mentioned, the like products, being the produce of fisheries carried on by the fishermen of the United States, as well as the usual and necessary coverings of the same, as above described, shall be admitted free of duty into the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland.

And upon such removal of duties, and while the aforesaid articles are allowed to be brought into the United States by British subjects, without duty being reimposed thereon, the privilege of entering the ports, bays, and harbors of the aforesaid coasts of Canada and Newfoundland shall be accorded to United States fishing vessels by annual licenses, free of charge, for the following purposes, namely:

1. The purchase of provisions, bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits.
2. Transshipment of catch, for transport by any means of conveyance.
3. Shipping of crews.

Supplies shall not be obtained by barter, but bait may be so obtained.

[Until this treaty is adopted, not to exceed two years, Canada, by the protocol attached to the treaty, agrees to give these privileges to fishing vessels of the United States on payment of $1.50 per ton.]

But this treaty has not been ratified by the Senate; indeed, I am confident, will not be ratified by the Senate, so that the rights of the United States remain the same as they were before this unfortunate document received the signatures of Secretary Bayard and his commissioners, although seriously weakened, I am bound to say, by their unfortunate surrender.

I can not better state what this Government has steadily claimed for our fishing vessels up to the signing of this treaty—a position which the people of this country do not propose to abandon—than by reading from the correspondence of Secretary Bayard and Minister Phelps with the British minister and British secretary for foreign affairs in 1886 and 1887.

SITUATION PREVIOUS TO 1871.

Before reading from this correspondence, however, a brief statement of the history of the fisheries question will materially contribute to an understanding of the merits of the controversy.

By the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain the citizens of the United States were recognized as entitled to equal rights with the people of Canada in the shore as well as deep-sea fisheries adjacent to British North America. Great Britain claimed that the war of 1812 abrogated this treaty. The counter claims of the two countries led to the treaty of 1818, by which the United States renounced the right of our fishing vessels under the treaty of 1783 to enter certain territorial waters of British North America (within 3 miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors) for the catching of fish or for any other purpose than shelter, repairs, wood, and water. When this treaty was made no vessel of either the United States or Canada was entitled to enter the ports of the other country on equal terms with national vessels. Therefore at that time our fishing vessels were given privileges which no other American or foreign vessel possessed. In 1830 Canada (through Great Britain) and the United States entered into reciprocal maritime relations whereby it was agreed that the vessels of either country should be accorded the same commercial privileges as national vessels in the ports of the other country—the coasting trade alone excepted—and from that time Canadian fishing as well as other Canadian vessels have been freely given full commercial privileges in all ports of the United States.

While the Canadian authorities have since 1830 maintained in correspondence that the reciprocal maritime arrangement of 1830 did not extend to fishing vessels, and that the letter of the treaty of 1818 still measured their privileges in Canadian ports, yet the United States has maintained to the contrary, and the fishing vessels of the United States have, up to 1886, continued to exercise the privilege of buying supplies, provisions, and bait for deep-sea-fishing voyages, and, with one or two exceptions (and those not sustained by the Canadian courts), the Canadian authorities have not undertaken to seize American fishing vessels for exercising commercial privileges. Seizures have been made for alleged illegal fishing or for alleged violation of the Dominion customs laws. The following from a communication from United States Minister Phelps to Lord Roseberry, the British secretary for foreign affairs, dated June 2, 1886, so clearly presents the status of American fishing vessels in ports of Canada just before the treaty of 1871 and after the abrogation of the fishery clauses of the treaty in 1885 that I accept it without comment. Says Minister Phelps:

The practical construction given to the treaty of 1818 down to the present time has been in entire accord with the conclusions thus deduced from the act of Parliament. The British Government has repeatedly refused to allow interference with American fishing vessels, unless for illegal fishing, and has given explicit orders to the contrary.

On the 26th of May, 1870, Mr. Thornton, the British minister at Washington, communicated officially to the Secretary of State of the United States copies of the orders addressed by the British admiralty to Admiral Wellesley, commanding Her Majesty's naval forces on the North American station, and of a letter from the colonial department to the foreign office, in order that the Secretary might "see the nature of the instructions to be given to Her Majesty's and the Canadian officers employed in maintaining order at the fisheries in the neighborhood of the coasts of Canada." Among the documents thus transmitted is a letter from the foreign office to the secretary of the admiralty, in which the following language is contained:

"The Canadian Government has recently determined, with the concurrence of Her Majesty's ministers, to increase the stringency of the existing practice of dispensing with the warnings hitherto given, and seizing at once any vessel detected in violating the law.

"In view of this change and of the questions to which it may give rise, I am directed by Lord Granville to request that you will move their lordships to instruct the officers of Her Majesty's ships employed in the protection of the fisheries that they are not to seize any vessel unless it is evident and can be clearly proved that the offense of fishing has been committed and the vessel itself captured within 3 miles of land."

In the letter from the lords of the admiralty to Vice-Admiral Wellesley of May 5, 1870, in accordance with the foregoing request, and transmitting the letter above quoted from, there occurs the following language:

"My lords desire me to remind you of the extreme importance of commanding officers of the ships selected to protect the fisheries exercising the utmost discretion in carrying out their instructions, paying special attention to Lord Granville's observation that no vessel should be seized unless it is evident and can be clearly proved that the offense of fishing has been committed, and that the vessel is captured within 3 miles of land."

Lord Granville, in transmitting to Sir John Young the aforesaid instructions, makes use of the following language:

"Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that your ministers will agree with them as to the propriety of these instructions, and will give corresponding instructions to the vessels employed by them."

These instructions were again officially stated by the British minister at Washington to the Secretary of State of the United States in a letter dated June 11, 1870.

Again, in February, 1871, Lord Kimberley, colonial secretary, wrote to the governor-general of Canada, as follows:

"The exclusion of American fishermen from resorting to Canadian ports, except for the purpose of shelter, and of repairing damages therein, purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, might be warranted by the letter of the treaty of 1818, and by the terms of the imperial act 59 George III, chapter 38, but Her Majesty's Government feel bound to state that it seems to them an extreme measure, inconsistent with the general policy of the empire, and they are disposed to concede this point to the United States Government under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent smuggling, and to guard against any substantial invasion of the exclusive rights of fishing which may be reserved to British subjects."

And in a subsequent letter from the same source to the governor-general, the following language is used:

"I think it right, however, to add that the responsibility of determining what is the true construction of a treaty made by Her Majesty with any foreign power

must remain with Her Majesty's Government, and that the degree to which this country would make itself a party to the strict enforcement of the treaty rights may depend not only on the literal construction of the treaty, but on the moderation and reasonableness with which these rights are asserted."

I am not aware that any modification of these instructions or any different rule from that therein contained has ever been adopted or sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

Judicial authority upon this question is to the same effect. That the purchase of bait by American fishermen in the provincial ports has been a common practice is well known; but in no case, so far as I can ascertain, has a seizure of an American vessel ever been enforced on the ground of the purchase of bait or of any other supplies. On the hearing before the Halifax Fisheries Commission in 1877 this question was discussed, and no case could be produced of any such condemnation. Vessels shown to have been condemned were in all cases adjudged guilty either of fishing or preparing to fish within the prohibited limit; and in the case of the White Fawn, tried in the admiralty court of New Brunswick before Judge Hazen in 1870, I understand it to have been distinctly held that the purchase of bait, unless proved to have been in preparation for illegal fishing, was not a violation of the treaty nor of any existing law, and afforded no ground for proceedings against the vessel.

That Minister Phelps stated the situation correctly and in accordance with the views of the Administration is shown by the letter of Secretary Bayard to Mr. Phelps, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the minister's communication from which I have quoted, in which the Secretary says that—

The views and arguments you [Mr. Phelps] adduce are fully in accord with the instructions already sent you.

TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

So many difficulties had arisen in consequence of the seizure of American fishing vessels for fishing in waters which the Canadians claimed were within the 3-mile limit, which, in several cases, they undertook to maintain should be determined by drawing a straight line from headland to headland of great bays—although this construction was never sustained by any court or even by the British Government—that when the treaty of Washington for the settlement of differences growing out of the operations of Confederate cruisers was under consideration in 1871, an agreement was reached for the settlement of the fishery differences on the basis of the admission of American fishermen and fishing vessels to the privilege of fishing in Canadian-shore fishing grounds on the one part, and the admission of Canadian fish into our markets free of duty on the other part, a commission and an umpire in case of disagreement to determine whether the privilege of fishing in Canadian waters was worth more than the privilege of our markets, and if so how much more. This settlement met the views of most of the fishermen at that time, because they regarded the Canadian fishing grounds as much more valuable than they proved to be. Nothing was said in the treaty about commercial privileges for American fishing vessels in Canadian ports for the very good reason that they were not denied, and our Government took the ground then, as we continued to maintain till last February, that we are entitled to these privileges as of right in return for similar privileges granted Canadian vessels. And during the fourteen years in which the fishery clauses of the treaty of 1871 were in force American fishing vessels continued to buy provisions, supplies, and bait without any question being raised in any quarter. The only difficulty that arose during this period grew out of the attempt of Newfoundland to hedge in our right of fishing in her waters by restrictive legislation, culminating in the Fortune Bay outrage on our fishermen in 1878. Secretary Evarts, however, promptly demanded the maintenance of our rights and reparation for damages, and Great Britain favorably responded and paid the bill.

The outrageous award of five and a half millions by the Belgian umpire to whom finally it fell to determine whether the United States should pay anything as the difference in value between the use of the Canadian fishing grounds and free admission of Canadian fish to our markets, led to a careful investigation of the actual value of the former, when it was found that the duties remitted on Canadian fish were much greater than the entire value of our catch in Canadian waters, to say nothing of the disastrous results to our fishermen of Canadian competition in our markets.

These facts led Congress in 1883 to unanimously request the President to give the required two years' notice to terminate the fishery clauses of the treaty of 1871. This notice was given by President Arthur, and July 1, 1885, these clauses of the treaty were terminated.

By a temporary arrangement the right of our fishing vessels to fish in Canadian waters was extended through the season of 1885, under a promise exacted from President Cleveland by the British minister that the former would recommend to the Senate the appointment of a commission to negotiate a new fisheries and trade treaty, the well-understood object of the Canadians being to use the fishery question as a lever to secure the free admission of Canadian fish and other products to American markets. But the Senate by more than a two-thirds vote disapproved of the project early in 1886.

Thus on the 1st of March, 1886, the fishery question stood precisely as it did before the treaty of 1871 was negotiated.

CANADA'S OUTRAGES IN 1886.

Thereupon, on the 5th of March, 1886, the Canadian authorities, for the evident purpose of forcing Congress to admit Canadian fish and Canadian lumber free of duty—two objects which Canada had been earnestly seeking for forty years—issued a proclamation notifying American fishing vessels that they would not be permitted to enter Canadian ports for any purpose except the four named in the old fisheries treaty of 1818, to wit, shelter, repairs, wood, and water.

At the opening of the fishing season of 1886 the Canadian authorities began to seize, harass, and warn off American fishing vessels which entered Canadian ports for the purchase of supplies. May 8, 1886, they seized the American fishing schoooner D. J. Adams, of Gloucester, Mass., for purchasing bait for use in deep-sea fishing.

I need not refer to more than a hundred other cases of seizure, detention, refusal to purchase supplies, or warnings of American fishing vessels during the fishing season of 1886. I will mention only a few of the instances set forth in the long list furnished Congress by the Secretary of State.

James A. Garfield.—Gloucester, Mass. Threatened, about June 1, 1886, with seizure for having purchased bait in a Canadian harbor.

Martha W. Bradley.—Gloucester, Mass.; J. F. Ventier, master. Warned off at Canso, Nova Scotia, between June 1 and 8, 1886.

Eliza Boynton.—Gloucester, Mass.; George E. Martin, master. Warned off at Canso, Nova Scotia, between June 1 and 9, 1886. Then afterwards detained in manner not reported, and released October 25, 1886.

Thomas F. Bayard.—Gloucester, Mass.; James McDonald, master. Warned off at Bonne Bay, Newfoundland, June 12, 1886, and refused privilege of buying bait.

James G. Craig.—Portland, Me.; Webber, master. Crew refused privilege of landing for necessaries at Brooklyn, Nova Scotia, June 15 or 16, 1886.

Novelty.—Portland, Me.; H. A. Joyce, master. Warned off at Pictou, Nova Scotia, June 29, 1886, where vessel had entered for coal and water; also refused entrance at Amherst, Nova Scotia, July 24.

N. J. Miller.—Booth Bay, Me.; Dickson, master. Detained at Hopewell Cape, New Brunswick, for alleged violation of customs laws, on July 24, 1886. Fined $400.

Rattler.—Gloucester, Mass.; A. F. Cunningham, master. Warned off at Canso, Nova Scotia, June, 1886. Detained in port of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where vessel entered seeking shelter August 3, 1886. Kept under guard all night and released on the 4th.

Caroline Vought.—Booth Bay, Me.; Charles S. Reed, master. Warned off at Raspebiac, New Brunswick, and refused water, August 4, 1886.

Alice M. Jordan.—Refused permission to buy bait, June 5, 1886.

Mascot.—Gloucester; refused permission to buy bait, June 10, 1886.

Julia Ellen.—Booth Bay, Me.; Burnes, master. Boarded at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, August 9, 1886, and subjected to rude surveillance.

Mollie Adams.—Gloucester, Mass.; Solomon Jacobs, master. Warned off into storm from Straits of Canso, Nova Scotia, August 31, 1886.

Jennie Seaverns.—Gloucester, Mass.; Joseph Tupper, master. Refused privilege of landing, and vessel placed under guard at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, October 20, 1886.

Cynosure (schooner).—Booth Bay, Me.; L. Rush, master. Was obliged to return home before securing a full cargo, not being permitted to purchase provisions in Nova Scotia. (From statements from S. Nickerson & Sons, owners, Booth Bay, Me.)

Lottie E. Hopkins (schooner).—Vinal Haven, Me.; Emery J. Hopkins, master. Refused permission to buy any article of food in Canadian ports. Obtained shelter in harbors only by entering at custom-house. (From statement of Emery J. Hopkins, owner and master, North Haven, Me.)

Cora Louisa (schooner).—Booth Bay, Me.; Obed Harris, master. Could get no provisions in Canadian ports and had to return home before getting full fare of fish. (From statements of S. Nickerson & Sons, owners, Booth Bay, Me.)

Eben Dale (schooner).—North Haven, Me.; R. G. Babbidge, master. Not permitted to buy bait, ice, or to trade in any way. Driven out of harbors, and unreasonable restrictions whenever near the land. (From statements of R. G. Babbidge, owner and master, Pulpit Harbor, Me.)

Charles Haskell (schooner).—North Haven, Me.; Daniel Thurston, master. Obliged to leave Gulf of St. Lawrence at considerable loss, not being allowed to buy provisions. (From statements of C. S. Staples, owner, North Haven, Me.)

Willie Parkman (schooner).—North Haven, Me.; William H. Banks, master. Unable to get supplies while in Gulf of St. Lawrence, which necessitated returning home at great loss, with a broken voyage. (From statements of William H. Banks, owner and master, North Haven, Me.)

Nellie M. Snow (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; A. E. Snow, master. Was not allowed to purchase provisions in any Canadian ports, or to refit or land and ship fish, consequently obliged to leave for home with broken trip.

Gertrude Summers (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; N. S. Snow, master. Refused privilege of purchasing provisions, which resulted in injury to voyage.

Charles R. Washington (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; Jesse S. Snow, master. Master was informed by collector at Ship Harbor, Cape Breton, that if he bought provisions, even if actually necessary, he would be subject to a fine of $400 for each offense. Refused permission by the collector at Souris, Prince Edward Island, to buy provisions, and was compelled to return home September 10, before the close of the fishing season.

John M. Ball (schooner).—Provincetown, Mass.; N. W. Freeman, master. Driven out of Gulf of St. Lawrence to avoid fine of $400 for landing two men in the port of Malpeque, Prince Edward Island. Was denied all supplies, except wood and water, in same port.

Zephyr (schooner).—Eastport, Me.; Warren Pulk, master. Cleared from Eastport, May 31, 1886, under register for West Isles, New Brunswick, to buy herring. Collector refused to enter vessel, telling captain that if he bought fish, which were plenty at the time, the vessel would be seized. Returned to Eastport, losing about a week, which resulted in considerable loss to owner and crew. (From statements of Guilford Mitchell, owner, Eastport, Me.)

Abdon Keene (schooner).—Bremen, Me.; William C. Keene, master. Was not allowed to ship or land crew at Nova Scotia ports, and owner had to pay for their transportation to Maine. (From statements of William C. Keene, owner and master, Bremen, Me.)

John Nye (schooner).—Swan's Island, Me.; W. L. Joyce, master. After paying entry fees and harbor dues was not allowed to buy provisions at Malpeque, Prince Edward Island, and had to return home for same, making a broken trip.

Asa H. Pervere (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; A. B. Gore, master. Entered harbor for shelter; ordered out after twenty-four hours. Denied right to purchase food.

Nathan Cleaves (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; P. E. Hickman, master. Ran short of provisions, and, not being permitted to buy, left for home with a broken voyage. Customs officer at Port Mulgrave, Nova Scotia, would allow purchase of provisions for homeward passage, but not to continue fishing.

Frank G. Rich (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; Charles A. Gorham, master. Not permitted to buy provisions or to lie in Canadian ports over twenty-four hours.

Emma O. Curtis (schooner).—Provincetown, Mass.; Elisha Rich, master. Not allowed to purchase provisions, and therefore obliged to return home.

Pleiades (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; F. W. Snow, master. Driven from harbor within twenty-four hours after entering. Not allowed to ship or discharge men under penalty of $100.

Charles F. Atwood (schooner).—Wellfleet, Mass.; Michael Burrows, master.

Captain was not permitted to refit vessel or to buy supplies, and when out of food had to return home. Found Canadians disposed to harass him and put him to many inconveniences. Not allowed to land seine on Canadian shore for purpose of repairing same.

The above are only specimens of more than a hundred instances of refusals to accord our fishing vessels privileges in Canadian ports, daily accorded in our ports during the same season to Canadian fishing vessels—refusals often accompanied with grave indignities.

SECRETARY BAYARD'S PROTESTS AND DEMANDS.

May 10, 1886, Secretary Bayard wrote to Sir Lionel West, the British minister, protesting against the seizure of the D. J. Adams and the detention of the schooner Joseph Story. After discussing the treaty of 1818, which describes the fishing waters exclusively reserved to Canada, and provides that fishing vessels of the United States may enter these reserved Canadian waters "for shelter, repairs, purchasing wood, and obtaining water," and contending that the reciprocal maritime arrangement made by the United States with Great Britain in behalf of Canada in 1830 had widened these privileges for all vessels of the two countries in each other's ports, Secretary Bayard said:

I ask you to consider the results of excluding American vessels, duly possessed of permits from their own Government to touch and trade at Canadian ports as well as to engage in deep sea-fishing, from exercising freely the same customary and reasonable rights and privileges of trade in the ports of the British colonies as are freely allowed to British vessels in all the ports of the United States under the laws and regulations to which I have adverted.

Among these customary rights and privileges may be enumerated the purchase of ship-supplies of every nature, making repairs, the shipment of crews in whole or part, and the purchase of ice and bait for use in deep-sea fishing.

In the same communication Secretary Bayard also said:

To prevent the purchase of bait or any other supply needed in deep-sea fishing, under color of executing the provisions of the treaty of 1818, would be to expand that convention to objects wholly beyond its purview, scope, and intent, and give to it an effect never contemplated by either party, and accompanied by results unjust and injurious to the citizens of the United States,

As this first communication made by Secretary Bayard to Minister West clearly and ably stated the American position on the rights of American fishing vessels in Canadian ports—the position unanimously maintained by the American people without distinction of party—up to the unfortunate day of February last when the fisheries treaty was signed, I ask the attention of gentlemen to the Secretary's language.

The Secretary declares—

First. That American fishing vessels, authorized by our laws to touch and trade, are entitled to the same privileges in Canadian ports as are freely allowed to similar Canadian vessels in our ports, to wit: the purchase of ship-supplies of every nature," "the shipment of crews," and the purchase of ice and bait for use in deep-sea fishing.

And he subsequently adds "the transshipment of catch of fish."

Second. That for Canada to attempt to prevent American fishing vessels from exercising these privileges in her ports, "under color of executing the provisions of the treaty of 1818, would be to expand that convention to objects wholly beyond its purview."

SECRETARY BAYARD REPEATS HIS DEMAND.

But, Mr. Chairman, Secretary Bayard's position and demands up to the time the commission assembled last November do not rest on one communication, but on many running through the season of 1886 and up to July, 1887. I ask the attention of gentlemen while I read many other communications from him embodying the same demand.

June 7, 1886, Secretary Bayard again wrote as follows to Minister West:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, June 7*, 1886.

SIR: I regret exceedingly to communicate that report is to-day made to me, accompanied by affidavit, of the refusal of the collector of customs at the port of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, to allow the master of the American schooner Annie M. Jordan, of Gloucester, Mass., to enter the said vessel at that port, although properly documented as a fishing vessel with permission to touch and trade at any foreign port or place during her voyage.

The object of such entry was explained by the master to be the purchase and exportation of "certain merchandise" (possibly fresh fish for food, or bait for deep-sea fishing).

The vessel was threatened with seizure by the Canadian authorities, and her owners allege that they have sustained damage from this refusal of commercial rights.

I earnestly protest against this unwarranted withholding of lawful commercial privileges from an American vessel and her owners, and for the loss and damage consequent thereon the Government of Great Britain will be held liable.

I have, etc.,

T. F. BAYARD.

Here was an American fishing vessel that had been refused permission to enter a Canadian port to buy supplies or bait, and Secretary Bayard, on the 7th of June, 1886, wrote to the British minister "earnestly protesting"—against what? Against something that the United States had no lawful right to ask for? Not at all, but against "the unwarranted withholding of lawful commercial privileges." And Secretary Bayard himself declares, in this communication that the commercial privilege in this case "unlawfully" denied was that of buying bait.

It was the right of an American fishing vessel to buy bait as well as supplies for a fishing voyage which Secretary Bayard demanded in 1886, and the Secretary not only demanded this right, but went further, and notified Sir Lionel that—

For the loss and damage consequent thereon [*i. e.*, on the refusal to allow the purchase of bait] the Government of Great Britain will be held liable.

June 7, 1886, Secretary Bayard wrote to Mr. George Steele, of Gloucester, Mass., in reply to a letter reciting the circumstances of the seizure of the fishing schooner Alice M. Jordan, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, June 7*, 1886.

SIR: I have to-day received your letter dated the 5th instant, accompanied by the affidavit of the master of the fishing schooner Alice M. Jordan, of Gloucester, Mass., alleging the refusal by the collector of customs at the port of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, to allow the entry of said vessel, duly documented as a fishing vessel, with permission to touch and trade at any foreign port or place during her voyage, the object of such entry, as stated by the master of the schooner, being the purchase of certain merchandise.

Although not disclosed by the affidavits, I suppose the merchandise in question was fresh fish for use as bait in deep-sea fishing.

I have made instant representation, accompanied by earnest protest, to the British minister at this capital, of this unlawful withholding of commercial rights from an American vessel and her owners, and of the loss and damage thereby sustained, for which, as I have informed him, the Government of Great Britain will be held responsible.

I have, etc.,

T. F. BAYARD.

GEORGE STEELE, Esq., *Gloucester, Mass.*

On the 13th of July Secretary Bayard wrote to Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury, of Boston, a well-known Democratic jurist and statesman, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, July 13*, 1886.

SIR: Your letter dated July 7, with twelve affidavits of Gloucester fishermen alleging their long-continued custom of purchasing bait in places and ports in Nova Scotia to be used in deep-sea fishing, has been received, and shall be placed on file for future reference in connection with claims for compensation, growing out of the unlawful prevention of this usage by the Canadian authorities.

I am, etc.,

T. F. BAYARD.

SECRETARY BAYARD INSISTS FISHING VESSELS HAVE RIGHT TO TRANSSHIP FISH.

The distinguished Secretary of State continued to iterate and reiterate his declarations of May and June, 1886, to the effect that American fishing vessels are entitled to such commercial privileges in Canadian ports. July 10, 1886, Secretary Bayard again wrote in indignant protest to Minister West, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, July 10*, 1886.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I am in receipt of a report from the consul-general of the United States at Halifax, accompanied by sworn testimony stating that the Novelty, a duly registered merchant steam-vessel of the United States, has been denied the right to take in steam-coal, or purchase ice, or transship fish in bond to the United States at Pictou, Nova Scotia. * * *

Against this treatment I make instant and formal protest as an unwarranted interpretation and application of the treaty by the officers of the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Nova Scotia, as an infraction of the laws of commercial and maritime intercourse existing between the two countries, and as a violation of hospitality, and for any loss or injury resulting therefrom the Government of Her Britannic Majesty will be held liable.

I have, etc.,

T. F. BAYARD.

I ask the House to note Secretary Bayard's "instant protest" of July 10, 1886, against the denial of the right to purchase supplies and ice and transship fish "as an unwarranted interpretation and application of the treaty" of 1818, and "as an infraction of the laws of commercial and maritime intercourse between the two countries."

SECRETARY BAYARD'S VIEWS, NOVEMBER 15, 1886.

I ask the House also to attentively consider the position occupied by Secretary Bayard and the President four months later, November 15, 1886, when the Secretary wrote to Minister Phelps to suggest what then seemed to him to be a "just, honorable, and satisfactory" plan for the settlement of the fisheries question, one provision of which was as follows:

United States fishing vessels are to have in Dominion ports the same commercial privileges as other United States vessels, including the purchase of bait and other supplies, subject to the ordinary port charges.

And the Secretary added:

Such facilities can not with any show of reason be denied to American fishermen in deep-sea fishing grounds in the localities open to them equally with other nationalities. * * * No construction of the convention of 1818 that strikes at or impedes the open-sea fishing by United States fishermen can be accepted; nor should a treaty of friendship be tortured into a means of such offense, nor should an end be accomplished by such indirection. Therefore, by allowing commercial rights to fishing craft we propose to prevent a ban from being put upon the lawful and regular business of open-sea fishing.

SECRETARY BAYARD'S VIEWS IN JULY, 1887.

When, on March 24, 1887, Lord Salisbury, replying to this *ad interim* arrangement proposed by our Government, stated that by the Canadian construction of the treaty of 1818 these commercial privileges were renounced by the treaty of 1818, and could not be allowed American fishing vessels, Secretary Bayard promptly responded:

The treaty of 1818 related solely to fisheries. It was not a commercial convention, and no commercial privileges were renounced by it. It contains no reference to ports, of which it is believed the only ones then existing were Halifax, and possibly one or two more in the other provinces, and these ports were not until long afterwards opened by reciprocal commercial regulations to vessels of the United States engaged in trading. * * * The purchase of bait and other supplies by the American fishermen * * * is not regarded as inconsistent with any of the provisions of the treaty of 1818. * * * Neither the treaty of 1854 nor of 1871 gave commercial privileges; yet during the existence of these treaties no question was ever made of the right of American fishermen to purchase bait and other supplies in Canadian ports.

And in July, 1887, Secretary Bayard sent copies of this letter to Minister Phelps to show the position of our Government at that time.

POSITION OF MINISTER PHELPS.

During all this time, Mr. Chairman, Minister Phelps, at London, was pressing the same views on the British secretary for foreign affairs.

June 2, 1886, Mr. Phelps wrote the British secretary protesting against the seizure of the D. J. Adams for purchasing bait in a Canadian port, and in his letter said:

It seems to me impossible to escape the conclusion that this and other similar seizures were made by the Canadian authorities for the deliberate purpose of harassing and embarrassing the American fishing vessels in the pursuit of their lawful employment. And the injury, which would have been a serious ones if committed under a mistake, is very much aggravated by the motives which appear to have prompted it.

I am instructed by my Government earnestly to protest against these proceedings as wholly unwarranted by the treaty of 1818, and altogether inconsistent with the friendly relations hitherto existing between the United States and Her Majesty's Government; to request that the David J. Adams and the other American fishing vessels now under seizure in Canadian ports be immediately released, and that proper orders may be issued to prevent similar proceedings in the future. And I am also instructed to inform you that the United States will hold Her Majesty's Government responsible for all losses which may be sustained by American citizens in the dispossession of their property growing out of the search, seizure, detention, or sale of their vessels lawfully within the territorial waters of British North America.

The real source of the difficulty that has arisen is well understood. It is to be found in the irritation that has taken place among a portion of the Canadian people on account of the termination by the United States Government of the treaty of Washington on the 1st of July last, whereby fish imported from Canada into the United States, and which so long as that treaty remained in force was admitted free, is now liable to the import duty provided by the general revenue laws, and the opinion appears to have gained ground in Canada that the United States may be driven, by harassing and annoying their fishermen, into the adoption of a new treaty by which Canadian fish shall be admitted free.

It is not necessary to say that this scheme is likely to prove as mistaken in policy as it is indefensible in principle.

And on the 18th of June Secretary Bayard, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of Minister Phelps's note to the British secretary, said:

I have received and read it with much satisfaction.

What will the distinguished minister say when he is informed that the distinguished gentleman who represents the Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee has introduced a proposition to place fish on the free-list, in the face of the prediction of the distinguished minister that "this scheme is likely to prove as mistaken in policy as it is indefensible in principle!"

What did our distinguished minister think when he heard that the Secretary of State had united in a treaty which surrendered the essential rights for which he had so ably and convincingly argued, and provided that our fishing vessels could have these privileges only by consenting to have Canadian fish admitted free of duty—the very thing which Minister Phelps, on the 2d of June, 1886, said the Canadians were striving to bring about by harassing our fishermen?

SECRETARY MANNING SAYS REFUSAL OF PRIVILEGES TO FISHING VESSELS IS UNJUSTIFIABLE.

Mr. Chairman, it is not simply Minister Phelps, but the late lamented Secretary Manning and every member of this House who voted for either the so-called retaliation bill presented by my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BELMONT], or the bill which finally became a law (and every member of the House at the last session of the Forty-ninth Congress favored either one or the other bill), all of whom one year ago maintained the position that American fishing vessels have the right to purchase supplies and provisions for a fishing voyage and to transship fish in Canadian ports, who are now required to abandon that position and concede the correctness of Canada's contention in order to support the fisheries treaty negotiated by Secretary Bayard and the proposition of the gentleman from Kentucky to place fish on the free-list.

Following the line of argument maintained by Secretary Bayard throughout the fishery correspondence, Secretary Manning in reply to a House resolution of inquiry, January 10, 1887, discussed at length the justice of the claims of our fishing vessels to the privilege of buying supplies, provisions, and bait and transshipping fish in Canadian ports, and gave expression to the policy which then received the unanimous support of the American people, in the following patriotic language:

During the past summer, while American [fishing] vessels regularly documented have been excluded from the hospitality and privileges of trading in Canadian ports, Canadian fishing vessels have been permitted to enter and use American ports along the New England coast * * * While this Department protects Canadian fishermen in the use of American ports, the Dominion of Canada brutally excludes American fishermen from Canadian ports.

So it seems that January 10, 1887, Secretary Manning maintained with Secretary Bayard that American fishing vessels had the same privileges in Canadian ports that we freely accord to Canadian fishing vessels in our ports.

If he were living to-day I doubt not he would still maintain that position, and condemn any treaty or any proposition like that proposed by the gentleman from Kentucky, which proposes to surrender these rights.

MR. BELMONT AND HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEMAND SAME PRIVILEGES.

My friend from New York [Mr. BELMONT] in his report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs to the House January 18, 1887, on the North American Fisheries, referring to the Canadian claim that American fishing vessels have no right to enter Canadian ports for trade, purchase of supplies, or provisions and transshipment of catch, said:

The treaty of 1818 furnishes no more excuse for the exclusion of a deep-sea fisherman from the port of Halifax or any other open port of the Dominion of Canada than for the exclusion by the Secretary of the Treasury of a deep-sea fisherman from entering the ports of New York, according to the forms of law and for the ordinary purposes of trade and commerce.

And again, continued Mr. BELMONT:

The British crown has denied to American fishing vessels commercial privileges accorded to other national vessels in Canadian ports. The motive and purpose of such denial have been openly and plainly avowed by Canada to be, first, the punishment of such vessels, because the United States levies a duty on Canadian fish not "fresh for immediate consumption," such as the Government levies on all such fish not the product of American fisheries and imported from any foreign place whatever; and, secondly, to coerce the United States to exempt such Canadian fish from all customs duties, and to enter into other new reciprocal customs relations with the Canadian Dominion and Newfoundland. It is a policy of threat and coercion, which, in the opinion of your committee, should be instantly and summarily dealt with. The circumstances will warrant and require, in the opinion of your committee, not only non-intercourse with Canadian vessels bringing Canadian or Newfoundland fish to our ports, but an exclusion of such fish from entry at our ports, whether brought by railway-cars or by any other vehicle or means.

Brave and patriotic words from the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs!

Surely he does not propose to swallow those words and indorse a treaty or vote for a proposition which surrenders what but little more than a year ago he declared was ours by right.

Surely my friend from New York [Mr. BELMONT], who declared January 18, 1887, that "the motive and purpose of such denial (to American fishing vessels of commercial privileges in Canadian ports) have been openly and plainly avowed by Canada * * * to coerce the United States to exempt Canadian fish from all customs duties," and who patriotically added that "in the opinion of your committee it is a policy of threat and coercion which should be instantly and summarily dealt with," will not fail to repeat his brave and manly words, now that just such a policy as that he so stoutly denounced has been embodied in a treaty and laid before the Senate!

CONGRESS UNANIMOUSLY INSTRUCTS PRESIDENT TO MAINTAIN THESE PRIVILEGES FOR OUR FISHING VESSELS.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to call the attention of such members of the present House as were members of the last House to the fact that every one of us, as well as every member of the Senate, voted for a so-called retaliatory bill, one provision of which read as follows:

Whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any American fishing vessels or fishermen having a permit under the laws of the United States to touch and trade at any port or place in the British Dominion of North America are or then lately have been denied the privilege of entering such port or place in the same manner and under the same regulations as may exist therein applicable to trading vessels of the most favored nation, * * * or shall be prevented from purchasing such supplies as may be there lawfully sold to trading vessels of the most favored nation, * * * it shall be the duty of the President of the United States, in his discretion, by proclamation to that effect, to deny vessels, their masters and crews, of the British Dominions of North America any entrance into the waters, ports, and places of or within the United States, and also to deny entry into any port or place of the United States of fresh or salt fish or any other product of said dominions.

Here was a unanimous declaration by Congress that American fishing vessels have the same commercial privileges, including the purchase of supplies in Canadian ports, as regular trading vessels, and a direction to the President to withdraw similar privileges to Canadian vessels in our ports in case the Canadians deny such privileges to our fishing vessels.

DECLARATIONS OF PROMINENT DEMOCRATS.

Are gentlemen who one year ago supported this bill and its declaration of the rights of American fishing vessels prepared to admit that they were wrong? Are they prepared to now concede that Canada was right in refusing to give American fishing vessels privileges which we freely concede to Canadian fishing vessels?

Some of the gentlemen who are before me will remember that in the discussion which took place in the House on this bill, the only question which arose was as to whether we ought not to substitute a bill which went further than the one that finally passed—a bill which also authorized the President to stop railroad trains from running between the two countries—in case Canada continued to deny American fishing vessels the right to buy provisions, supplies, and bait for a fishing voyage, and to transship fish in Canadian ports.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CLEMENTS] favored the stronger measure of retaliation because, as appears in the RECORD, he thought that a denial by Canada of these privileges to our fishing vessels was so outrageous a procedure that absolute non-intercourse with Canada was not too severe a punishment for her. Surely he will be as earnest as ever in opposing a complete surrender of those privileges.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], who has since been promoted to the Senate, also thought that the severer measure should be passed, and eloquently dwelt on the wrongs to which our fishermen had been subjected, saying that "the injury to one of them is an injury to the country and all its citizens which can not be dealt with as a mere scrimmage about fish." Surely the distinguished Senator still feels as keenly as he did one year ago the dishonor which would come to the nation if we should surrender the rights of our fishermen in Canadian ports.

My friend from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY], who, in this debate one year ago, declared that "we are claiming for our [fishing] vessels commercial and trading privileges which are ordinarily accorded by one civilized nation to another, and such as we have conceded for many years in American ports to Canadian and British vessels," and who said further that the retaliation bill was "an announcement to our people and to the people of Great Britain that the Government of the United States pro-

poses to maintain its dignity and protect its citizens," of course still stands by his guns and refuses to surrender convictions so pointedly expressed, because the Secretary of State has surrendered.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. REAGAN], who has since been transferred to the Senate, where, of course, his voice will be heard in defense of the rights of American fishing vessels in Canadian ports, seemed to appreciate the danger we were in from the skillful diplomacy of Great Britain, when he said in this House May 27, 1886, soon after the first seizure of our fishing vessels by Canadians:

There is no one who has examined the treaties between the United States and Great Britain on the Canadian fisheries but must feel humiliated by the fact that we have always been cheated. The Canadian Government, or the British Government if you please, now puts the pressure upon us in engaging in diplomacy, of putting our fishermen's vessels at a disadvantage and of holding that pre-sure on them to get the advantage in any future diplomatic arrangements that may be made for a full settlement of this question. I trust—

He added—

that Congress will show to the Executive Department of the Government and to the British Government that we mean to insist on equal privileges and equal fairness between Canadian and American vessels. If we become so diplomatic as to help to unnerve the Executive Department and strengthen the aggressiveness of the British Cabinet on this subject, we may expect another treaty in which we shall again be cheated.

RESULTS OF FAILURE OF PRESIDENT TO ENFORCE THE LAW OF 1887.

Mr. Chairman, Congress did give the Executive Department full power to place the fishing vessels and the fish of Canada at the same disadvantage that Canada had placed ours, in order that both parties might enter upon negotiations on equal terms, as Mr. REAGAN contended we should; but the President declined to exercise that power. The result was that when negotiations with Great Britain opened the representatives of the United States were under a pressuré to conclude some kind of a treaty to which the representatives of Great Britain were not subject. The latter could prolong the discussion and take their own time to secure their ends, because Canadian vessels were receiving full privileges in all our ports. The former were, as they mistakenly believed, constrained to accept whatever they could most readily obtain, by the fact that American fishing vessels were not only deprived in Canadian ports of the privilege of purchasing supplies, provisions, and bait, and transshipping fish in bond—which the Canadians contended we had no right to do,—but even the privileges of shelter, repairs, wood and water, which the Canadians conceded to us, were purposely illegally and unjustly hedged about so as to seriously interfere with their exercise.

The result under such unequal conditions is that we have come out of the negotiations practically defeated. With great skill the British and Canadian negotiators have made it appear that they were making concessions to the United States in granting American fishing vessels the exercise of the admitted rights of shelter, repairs, wood and water without obstruction, and such slight privileges as the right to unload and transship a catch of fish where it is necessary for a vessel damaged by a storm to do so in order to repair, and the right to buy provisions for a homeward voyage—privileges which I have already said a nation of barbarians would not deny.

Because we started in conceding to Canadian fishing vessels in our ports not only those privileges which humanity exacts of every nation, but also other commercial privileges, Messrs. Chamberlain and Tupper were able to make it appear that our negotiators must meet the Canadians with a surrender of all the real points in issue as an offset to Canadian concession of points not really in issue; whereas if we had entered upon the negotiations denying to Canadian vessels and fish precisely what Canada denied to American vessels and their catch of fish, then we should have been in a position to say to Canada we will arrange our differences by restoring to your vessels and your fish in our ports the same commercial privileges that you will give to us.

Instead of this fair and just compromise, we have come out of the negotiations conceding to Canadian fishing vessels the privilege of entering our ports not simply for purposes demanded by the claims of humanity, but also for purchase of provisions, supplies, bait, and landing and selling and transshipping fish, while American fishing vessels are refused the privilege of entering Canadian ports for the same commercial privileges unless we will either pay Canada $1.50 per ton or else put imported Canadian fish on the free-list. And the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] now proposes that Congress shall complete the surrender by placing fish on the free-list.

Mr. Chairman, no gentleman of discernment can have any difficulty in seeing that this is not a just compromise, but a complete surrender without compensation.

PRESIDENT'S VIEWS OF THE FISHERIES TREATY.

The President and the Secretary of State, who are responsible for this treaty, however, do not seem to regard it as a surrender of the rights which they sought, but, surprising as it seems to me, insist, in the language of the President in his message transmitting the document to the Senate, that it "will be found to contain a just, honorable, and therefore satisfactory solution of the difficulties which have clouded our relations with" Canada. "Especially satisfactory," the President adds, "the proposed agreement will be found by those of our citizens engaged in open-sea fisheries adjacent to the Canadian coast and resorting to these ports and harbors under treaty provisions and rules of international law." And further on the President says: "The right of our fishermen under the treaty of 1818 did not extend to the procurement of bait and distinctive fishery supplies (*i. e.*, provisions, ice, nets, etc.) in Canadian ports and harbors, and one item supposed to be essential, to wit, bait, was plainly denied them by the explicit and definite words of the treaty of 1818."

SECRETARY BAYARD'S EXPLANATION OF THE TREATY.

Secretary Bayard is even more explicit and more jubilant over what he styles the "successful result of his negotiations." In an interview with the Washington correspondent of the Boston Herald, published in that paper February 20, 1888, speaking of the fisheries treaty, the Secretary says:

It gives us everything I demanded in my correspondence with Great Britain on the fisheries question.

Summing up what had been secured by the treaty in addition to the delimitation of the 3-mile limit (and I do not stop to discuss the loss of fishing territory to which we are subjected by the reservation to Canada of bays under 10 miles in width at their mouth, instead of the 6-mile width, which we have always contended for), the Secretary said:

Hereafter the rights secured to us by the treaty of 1818—of shelter, repairs, wood, and water—are to be freely exercised without any such friction as the vexatious customs regulations of Canada have produced. * * * Nay, more, United States fishing vessels under stress of weather or other casualty may unload, transfer, or sell all fish on board in a Canadian port; may replenish outfits, provisions, and supplies damaged or lost by disaster; may ship men to supply vacancies arising from death or sickness, and may purchase supplies for a homeward voyage.

Adding that—

If such a treaty as this had been in force during the past three years we would have never had a complaint from our fishermen.

And then, as if conscious that the material rights demanded by our fishermen had been overlooked, the Secretary continued:

But, say the critics, the treaty does not secure us the right to buy bait and other fishing supplies unless we admit fish, and fish, whale, and seal-oil free of duty as a consideration. How else, I would ask, could we get that right? It was expressly excluded from the treaty of 1818.

* * * * * * *

What Canada does say is that, if she becomes our partner in the fishing business, supplying us with bait and seines and other fishing supplies, she shall be allowed to share the market with us. But this is all over and beyond the real and substantial advantages secured to us by the treaty.

After which the Secretary jubilantly closed in the following strain:

I do not believe the country will see a peaceful and honorable settlement, promoting good neighborhood, the object of all treaties, set aside by a little knot of partisans for political ends. I do not believe the country wants to see our northern border lined, first with custom-houses and then with forts, our intercourse with Canada broken up, and our fishermen absolutely excluded from Canadian waters.

And in a letter to the Canadian Club of New York City, March 1, 1888, regretting that he must decline to accept an invitation to be present at a dinner given to Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary Bayard further said:

The treaty has been framed in a spirit of just and mutual conciliation and advantage, and I earnestly hope that the blindness of partisanship or the influence of local selfishness or ignorance may not be suffered to deprive the two countries of its great benefits. Its defeat would be a great public calamity which I hope patriotism may arrest.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN MORE THAN SATISFIED.

At this dinner of the Canadian Club Mr. Chamberlain, the British commissioner, was the principal speaker, and in his speech he used substantially the same terms as those employed by Secretary Bayard in describing the "success" of the negotiations, evoking cries of "Hear!" "Hear!"—and no wonder—as he glowingly announced the advent of the first millennial triumph in the following words:

I say that in this treaty both sides have substantially gained what they contended for.

The distinguished British commissioner, in a burst of eloquence, described what had been gained by the United States by the general phrase of "the claims of humanity," which when analyzed means simply the concessions which the pirates of the Formosa coast would grant. He was explicit, however, in his statements as to what Canada had declined to concede, using this language:

The treaty of 1818 declares in express terms that the fishing vessels of the United States shall have access to the harbors and ports of Canada for four purposes—for wood, water, shelter, and repairs—and for no other purposes whatever. It is impossible for language to be plainer. And yet at the present moment we find the opponents of the present treaty ignoring altogether the provisions of the treaty for which it is a substitute, and they try to construe the words of the convention of 1818, "for no other purposes whatever," as though they were for every other purpose whatever. ["Hear! hear!"] * * * Canada declines, and always has declined, to allow her ports and harbors, which Providence has placed in close proximity to the fisheries of the banks, to be made the base of operations for competitors who rigidly exclude her from their markets, but these facilities are offered freely in return for an equivalent. As long as this equivalent is denied Canada feels justified in declining these facilities.

SECRETARY BAYARD AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN AGREE.

It will be seen, Mr. Chairman, that both Mr. Chamberlain and Secretary Bayard agree that the proposed treaty embodies the following basis of settlement:

First. That the treaty of 1818 and the commercial arrangements between Great Britain and the United States entitle American fishing vessels, authorized by our laws to touch and trade and employed in deep-sea fishing, to enter Canadian ports only for shelter, repairs, wood, and water. This has been the contention of Canada since 1886.

Second. That the United States concedes that American fishing vessels have no right to enter Canadian ports to purchase supplies, provisions, or bait, to ship men for a deep-sea fishing voyage, or to ship fish; and Canada offers to grant these privileges until the treaty is ratified—not to exceed two years—to such of our fishing vessels as will purchase the privilege by paying a license tax of $1.50 per ton per annum, and subsequently without such license tax if this country will admit all Canadian fish free of duty.

Third. That Canada engages to give American fishing vessels without obstruction the four port privileges of shelter, repairs, wood, and water, and also, in the interest of "humanity," to allow American fishing vessels to enter her ports (1) to unload and transship fish where the vessel has been so badly damaged by any casualty as to necessitate repairs, (2) to buy supplies to take the place of those lost or damaged in a storm, (3) to ship a man to supply the place of one who has died or is ill, and (4) to buy provisions enough to last on the homeward voyage.

This proposed treaty, according to Mr. Chamberlain, "gives to both sides substantially all that they contended for;" and according to Secretary Bayard, "gives us everything I demanded in my correspondence with Great Britain on the fisheries question."

I can understand, Mr. Chairman, how a victorious diplomat, conscious that his triumph would be incomplete without a ratification of his treaty by the Senate of the United States, would regard it as simply in line with the shrewd diplomacy which had already gained half the battle to tickle the vanity of the people of this country with smooth diplomatic words, which when closely examined are seen to be meaningless, for it is impossible that substantial antagonistic claims of two countries can be adjusted so as to give both all that they claimed.

TREATY COMPARED WITH SECRETARY BAYARD'S DEMANDS.

But I do not understand what Secretary Bayard can mean when he says:

The treaty gives us everything I demanded in my correspondence with Great Britain.

If the Secretary has secured "everything he demanded" in his correspondence, then I do not wonder that he declares that those who oppose the ratification of the treaty are either "narrow partisans, locally prejudiced or ignorant"—because, so far as I know, not only every member of Congress and every American citizen concurred in the view that the distinguished Secretary, and especially Minister Phelps, presented the claims and demands of our fishermen in an able, satisfactory and convincing manner.

For myself, Mr. Chairman, and I think I may add for other gentlemen who object to the proposed treaty, I am willing to stand by the position taken by Secretary Bayard in this correspondence, which I have read and to which I appeal for justification or condemnation, as the communications of the distinguished Secretary may require. If the treaty "gives us everything I [Secretary Bayard] demanded in my correspondence with Great Britain," it will appear from a comparison of the Secretary's demands in his letters to Minister West, and his statement of what he has secured by the treaty, from both of which I have read.

ILLUSTRATED BY THE CASE OF THE D. J. ADAMS.

Take the most conspicuous seizure—that of the fishing schooner D. J. Adams, seized by the Canadian authorities May 8, 1886, for purchasing bait for a deep-sea fishing voyage.

May 10 Secretary Bayard wrote to the British minister protesting against the seizure, saying that—

To prevent the purchase of bait or any other supply needed in deep-sea fishing under color of executing the provisions of the treaty of 1818 would be to expand that convention to objects wholly beyond its purview, etc.

June 7, 1886, Secretary Bayard protested against the refusal to allow a fishing vessel to purchase bait as an—

Unwarranted withholding of lawful commercial privileges from an American vessel, and for the loss and damage consequent thereon the Government of Great Britain will be held liable.

But Secretary Bayard and the President now say that fishing vessels of the United States never had any right to buy bait and supplies in a Canadian port for a fishing voyage; and the treaty concluded concedes this.

Does not the case of the D. J. Adams, then, clearly present an instance of a demand made by the Secretary of State, to wit, the right to buy bait, which has been given up? Possibly the Secretary may undertake to avoid this conclusion, as some of his defenders have, by insisting that the D. J. Adams was seized and held nearly two years for a violation of the Dominion customs laws.

It is true that after the Adams was seized for buying bait an additional charge was made against her for violation of customs laws in not reporting. This subterfuge of the Canadian authorities was clearly exposed by Minister Phelps in his communication of June 2, 1886, in which Minister Phelps said:

The occupation of the vessel [the D. J. Adams] was exclusively deep-sea fishing, a business in which it had a perfect right to be employed. The ground upon which the capture was made was that the master of the vessel had purchased of an inhabitant of Nova Scotia, near the port of Digby, in that province, a day or two before, a small quantity of bait to be used in fishing in the deep sea, outside the three-mile limit.

The question presented is whether, under the terms of the treaty and the construction placed upon them in practice for many years by the British Government, and in view of the existing relations between the United States and Great Britain, that transaction affords a sufficient reason for making such a seizure, and for proceeding under it to the confiscation of the vessel and its contents.

I am not unaware that the Canadian authorities, conscious, apparently, that the affirmative of this proposition could not be maintained, deemed it advisable to supplement it with a charge against the vessel of a violation of the Canadian customs act of 1883, in not reporting her arrival at Digby to the customs officer. But this charge is not the one on which the vessel was seized, or which must now be principally relied on for its condemnation, and standing alone could hardly, even if well founded, be the source of any serious controversy. It would be at most, under the circumstances, only an accidental and purely technical breach of a custom-house regulation, by which no harm was intended and from which no harm came, and would in ordinary cases be easily condoned by an apology, and perhaps the payment of costs.

Indeed after the Canadian authorities had secured from Secretary Bayard the treaty of last February, the Dominion Privy Council voted to release the D. J. Adams and the Ella M. Doughty to their owners, the substance of the order of surrender being as follows:

OTTAWA, ONTARIO, *February* 27, 1888.

Upon the recommendation of the Minister of Justice, the Privy Council has authorized him to discontinue proceedings in the cases of the David J. Adams and the Ella M. Doughty, the United States fishing vessels which were libeled in the Admiralty court at Halifax for purchasing bait within the territorial waters of Canada. The Government takes the ground that as these seizures were made to assert and establish the right of Canada to prevent the purchase of bait or supplies, or the shipping of crews in her territorial waters, under the convention of 1818, and inasmuch as those rights have been recognized and established by the recent convention at Washington, it is unnecessary that the proceedings should continue.

Can there be more conclusive evidence of the fact, first, that the D. J. Adams was seized and held for buying bait in a Canadian port; second, that Secretary Bayard protested against her seizure, and demanded that our fishing vessels be given the privilege of buying bait and other supplies; and third, that the treaty which the Secretary has negotiated surrenders the right of our fishing vessels to buy bait, provisions, and supplies for a fishing voyage, and provides that these privileges can be exercised only on condition that Congress puts fish on the free-list, although the *modus vivendi* graciously tendered by Canada for the term of two years unless the treaty shall be ratified previously, allows an American fishing vessel to purchase these privileges by paying $1.50 per ton burden annually?

And this is the treaty which the distinguished Secretary avers "gives us everything I demanded," and of which he says, "had it been in force during the past three years, we would have never had a complaint from our fishermen."

Pray, how could the D. J. Adams, the Ella M. Doughty, and scores of other fishing vessels have obtained bait or supplies, or transshipped their catch of fish in Canadian ports under this treaty without paying $1.50 per ton burthen of vessel?

And even this privilege of obtaining commercial rights for our fishing vessels on the payment of $1.50 per ton is to terminate the hour the treaty is ratified—the only mode provided by the treaty for obtaining these rights after ratification being by putting fish on the free-list—and in no event is the *modus vivendi* to continue longer than two years.

THE "SATISFACTORY" MODUS VIVENDI.

This is the treaty which the President says "will be found especially satisfactory by those of our citizens engaged in the sea fisheries."

"Especially satisfactory!" for men who incur so great labors and dangers to earn small wages to be obliged to pay $1.50 per ton ($150 for a small vessel of 100 tons) for the privilege of entering a Canadian port to buy supplies or bait or transship cargo, when Canadian fishing vessels are given all these privileges freely in our ports, and after the Secretary has again and again declared that we are entitled to such privileges in Canadian ports as of right. The fact that fishing vessels are paying this toll for these privileges in Canadian ports is by no means evidence that it is "satisfactory" or decent. It is simply proof of the shameful neglect of our Government to secure to our fishermen privileges to which they are entitled as of right without the payment of tribute to Canada. "Especially satisfactory!" to our fishermen to be able to obtain these privileges after the treaty is ratified only by admitting all kinds of Canadian fish free of duty. If the Administration had had no intention of insisting on the right of our fishing vessels to buy provisions, supplies, and bait in Canadian ports for deep-sea fishing, how much better off we should have been to have accepted the offer which it is understood was made by Canada before the commission met, to extend the fishery clauses of the treaty of 1871 indefinitely, without compensation, thereby securing to our fishermen the right to fish in Canadian waters, in addition to the commercial privileges in Canadian ports which had always been accorded in exchange for free fish; for now, if the treaty be ratified, we can obtain only commercial privileges for free fish.

In the face of the fact that Congress in 1883 unanimously voted to direct the President to give the two years' notice required to terminate the fishery clauses of the treaty of 1871, for the reason that we had reached the conclusion, after twelve years' trial, that even the liberty to fish in Canadian waters, in addition to the commercial privileges always accorded, was not a sufficient compensation for the admission of Canadian fish free of duty (although in 1871 our fishermen favored the fishery arrangement made by the treaty of Washington), it is amazing that the present Administration should have thought it wise in 1888 to

enter into another treaty which surrenders the privilege of buying supplies, provisions, and bait for fishing voyages, and the right to transship fish in bond to the United States, and provides that we can have them permanently only by placing fish on the free-list.

It is all the more surprising that the right to transship fish in a Canadian port should have been surrendered, because of the fact that the treaty of Washington secures the right of transshipment of merchandise in each other's ports to both Canada and the United States; and Canada depends largely upon such a use of our ports in the winter season for communication with Europe. A suggestion that this Government would withdraw this transshipment privilege in our ports for Canadian goods unless American fishing vessels should be allowed to exercise the same privilege in Canadian ports would have brought Canada to terms.

THE EXCUSE THAT FISHERMEN SAID THEY DID NOT WANT THE PRIVILEGES.

But it is said in justification of this arrangement that the fishermen themselves said they did not care for the commercial privileges which have been surrendered.

When, where, Mr. Chairman, did they ever make this declaration?

A quotation is made from the testimony of several fishermen before the Senate committee of inquiry, when, speaking of bait, they declared that they could get along without going into Canadian ports to buy it, and did not care for the privilege at the cost of surrendering our markets to Canadian fish by putting it on the free-list. That was the bargain then proposed, and it was with reference to such a bargain that the fishermen all affirmed that neither the privilege of buying bait, nor supplies, nor provisions in Canadian ports was to be considered as of any consequence to the fishermen as compared with the value of proper duties imposed on Canadian fish. The fishermen always regarded the privilege of buying bait and supplies in Canadian ports as of some value, because it rendered a less expensive outfit practicable, but of no more value than the privileges freely given Canadian vessels in our ports.

But all through the controversy the fishermen have insisted that under our reciprocal arrangements with Great Britain, we are entitled to the same privileges in Canadian ports that Canadian fishing vessels receive in our ports; and Secretary Bayard all through the correspondence with Great Britain insisted on these rights, and protested as strongly against their denial to our vessels as did our fishermen.

To attempt to excuse a surrender of these rights by quoting the expressions of our fishermen when comparing the value of these rights with Canada's offer to no longer withhold them if we would place Canada on the free-list, is to add insult to injury.

THE CHAMBERLAIN SUGGESTION.

Mr. Chamberlain, in his after-dinner speech, referred to the fact that a few Canadians condemn the treaty as an offset to the grand chorus of disapproval with which it has been received in this country, and as evidence that on the whole it must be an adjustment which ought to satisfy fair-minded men; and some Americans have adopted Mr. Chamberlain's ingenious appeal.

No one who has carefully followed the Canadian programme will be deceived by the objections made to the treaty by those Canadians who fully expected that by withholding from our fishing vessels commercial privileges they would drive us to what they call trade reciprocity. The Canadians have expressed disappointment that a reciprocal trade treaty was not concluded, but not a single Canadian, so far as I have read the debates in the Canadian Parliament or the comments of the Canadian newspapers, has expressed an opinion that so far as the treaty went—so far as the controversy over the rights of fishing vessels was concerned—the Canadians had not obtained a recognition of all that they claimed. A few Canadians have condemned Sir Charles Tupper for not obtaining a trade treaty also.

The Montreal Gazette, in summing up the results of the treaty, justly says:

We secure every right for which we have contended in the correspondence of the last two years. The Americans are debarred from the "touch and trade" and transshipping privileges. We have obtained everything we ever claimed—the right to deny trading privileges to American fishing vessels, to prohibit the purchase of bait, ice, seines, lines, tackle, and other fishing outfit, the transshipment of cargo, and the shipping of seamen.

A correspondent of the Boston Journal, who interviewed the leading Canadian fishermen at Halifax, quotes them as follows:

S. S. Forrest, one of the largest lobster packers, thought that the treaty was a splendid one for Canada. Joseph Wood said that Canada had secured a settlement of two dangerous questions—headlands and three-mile limit—by conceding the courtesies of humanity by allowing vessels short of provisions to purchase supplies upon their homeward voyages only, and by allowing vessels putting into our ports in distress or for repairs to transship of their cargoes. "Pending the ratification of the treaty all American vessels are given the right to purchase bait and supplies and transship cargoes, but only upon payment of $1.50 a ton liscense fee, which would be a tax of $100 to $150 to each American vessel and protection to Canadian fishermen to that extent. Under the treaty they are to get free bait for free fish. But if we do not get free fish the Amecans will find that our concessions amount to very little. Under the treaty the rights of Canada are fully and explicitly reserved and conserved." E. D. Tucker said: "The more the treaty is looked into the more favorable it will appear for Canada." Albert Gayton, a member of the Legislature for Yarmouth and direct representative of the fishermen, thought the treaty and free fish for free bait would give a large degree of satisfaction to the Canadian fishermen.

The London Times put the truth in a nutshell when it said in a leading article a few days after the treaty was made public:

The more carefully the treaty is studied the more it will be seen that it is a shrewd and satisfactory settlement.

"Shrewd" certainly on the part of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper. "Satisfactory" to the Canadian fishermen, but unsatisfactory in the highest degree to American fishermen and their friends, and calculated to awaken grave solicitude for the future of American fishing interests.

DIFFICULTIES GROWING OUT OF THE TREATY.

The grave difficulty is that, if ratified, the treaty surrenders all the important privileges which we claimed in Canadian ports, and leaves a lever which will be industriously worked until fish is put on the free-list and the finishing blow given our fishing industry. Indeed, the presentation by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] of an amendment placing fish on the free-list shows that the Canadians did not overestimate the value of this lever. Even if rejected, as of course it will be, it will be almost impossible to regain the position we occupied before the treaty was entered into, because the fact that the present Administration have conceded that our fishing vessels have no right to enter Canadian ports to purchase supplies or provisions for a fishing voyage, or to transship fish, will always stand in our way. The St. John (New Brunswick) Sun clearly sees this, and says of it:

The advantages of our present position will be sufficiently evident when the next controversy arises, which will be when the first American fisherman is prevented from doing something he wants to do. Should he be prevented from purchasing bait, forwarding supplies, or shipping a crew on our coast, the usual outcry will be raised, charges of brutal treatment and of uncivilized conduct will be made, and the President will be invited to retaliate by proclaiming non-intercourse. It will then be open to Mr. Foster to remind the Secretary of State that he has himself admitted the right of Canadians to do these things, and has agreed to a formal treaty recognizing that right. Nor will it be longer open to Mr. Bayard to use the language which he has rather freely employed heretofore, and which more clamorous politicians and less responsible men of his nation have used more freely than he. The President may retaliate, but if he does he will be retaliating to a nation which is doing what the President and his Cabinet and the President's chosen commissioners have admitted to be within the right of that nation to do.

A year and a half ago the country was united in demanding commercial privileges for our fishing vessels in Canadian ports as a right; the members of the Administration and the Democratic leaders in the Senate and House vied with Republicans in insisting that Canada should permit our fishing vessels to buy provisions, supplies, and bait and transship fish in Canadian ports, and that if she refused Canadian fishing vessels should be shut out of our ports and Canadian fish excluded from our markets; Secretary Bayard was vigorously demanding of the British Government a prompt concession of these demands and courageously notifying the British minister that Great Britain would be held responsible in damages; Secretary Manning was sending a communication to Congress calling attention to "the brutal exclusion of American fishermen from Canadian ports;" the House Committee on Foreign Affairs was unanimously reporting through Mr. BELMONT that Canada was trying "to coerce the United States to exempt Canadian fish from all customs duties" by excluding American fishing vessels from her ports, "a policy of threat and coercion which," as Mr. BELMONT and the unanimous Foreign Affairs Committee then said, "should be instantly and summarily dealt with."

"Alas! how are the mighty fallen." Within eighteen months after the President and Secretary Bayard were making these demands on Great Britain they sent a treaty to the Senate surrendering what had been demanded, accompanied with communications affirming that they had concluded "a just and satisfactory" settlement of the differences with Canada. And promptly most of the political friends of the Administration, who have adopted the mistaken view that it is their duty to follow wherever the Administration goes, ignore their words and acts of but a few months ago, "right-about face" on this important question, and become advocates of a policy which they then earnestly condemned.

And now, if I may judge from the unanimity of the utterances to which I have listened, the Democratic members of the House propose, with but few exceptions, to give the Canadians the benefit of their vote for the amendment submitted by the gentleman from Kentucky, which proposes to place Canadian fish on the free-list if the Dominion will only graciously permit American fishing vessels to exercise in Canadian ports the commercial privileges which we are freely granting to similar Canadian vessels in our own ports, and which the Administration and every member on this floor fifteen months ago said were ours as of right.

And so potent have been the influences which emanate from the White House that in my own State of Maine the Democratic State convention has praised this summersault of the Administration on the fishery question as a feat of statesmanship, and made the treaty a part of the Democratic faith, in the following glowing terms:

Resolved, That we most cordially approve the course of the President of the United States and the Secretary of State, who, in accordance with the ancient policy of the Democratic party, in protecting the interests of our fisheries have now offered the Senate of the United States a treaty which thoroughly secures to them the peaceable pursuit of their dangerous and poorly-paid occupation, and also affords a reasonable hope of terminating the controversies which have heretofore caused a sacrifice of our fishing vessels, and unjustly driven them from Canadian waters, without their receiving at any previous time practical protection or redress, and we especially applaud the President for refusing to yield to the demands of those selfish monopolies which have clamored for the use of the Federal power, even to the extent of endangering our general commerce, for the purpose of compelling facilities for shipping in foreign ports aliens to man our fishing fleet in competition with our own citizens.

THE WAR DODGE.

We are gravely told, Mr. Chairman, that gentlemen who object to

the surrender of the privileges in Canadian ports which we demanded as ours of right one year ago, contemplate the alternative of non-intercourse and war; and dismal pictures are drawn of the consequences of an appeal to arms against the august power of Great Britain.

Such talk as this hardly rises to the dignity of decent nonsense. The alternative to a surrender of the commercial privileges which we claim for our vessels in Canadian ports is neither non intercourse nor war, but that contemplated by the so-called retaliation act, which was intended to authorize the President to withdraw from Canadian fishing vessels in our ports and Canadian fish products seeking to enter our territory precisely the same privileges as the Dominion refuses to accord to us, and not to go further than Canada has gone. In other words, it is the application of the rule of maritime reciprocity in precisely the same manner as we applied the rule to Spain less than two years ago when she undertook to discriminate against American vessels in Cuban ports. The President by proclamation withdrew from Spanish vessels in our ports privileges denied to our vessels in Spanish ports. Nobody then thought that this was non-intercourse or provocative of war. The result showed how easily a prompt and firm withdrawal from another country of privileges which she attempts to deny to us secures a peaceable remedy, for in less than a month Spain reconsidered her action, restored the privileges withheld, and the President withdrew his proclamation.

Why can not we have the same firmness and promptness in applying the rule of maritime reciprocity to Canada, even if she is backed by the power of Great Britain, that was shown by the President when little Spain was the aggressor? Surely no one is so weak as to suppose that if the President had exercised the power given him by the last Congress to issue his proclamation withdrawing from Canadian fishing vessels in our ports and Canadian fish seeking to enter our markets the same privileges which Canada denies to our fishing vessels and our fish, it would have led to war. Canada had no fears of war when she issued her proclamation denying these privileges to American fishing vessels and fish. Pray, why should we fear to do what Canada has done?

"A FEW FISHERMEN!"

But it is said with a sneer that this Government does not propose to go to war for "a few New England fishermen."

Mr. Chairman, I remember that in the discussion which took place in the last House, when the so-called retaliatory bill was passed, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL], since promoted to the Senate, said that "the injury to one fisherman is an injury to the whole country and all its citizens, which can not be dealt with as a mere scrimmage about fish." And the declaration was applauded by the House.

Surely if the rights of one fisherman seemed one year ago to be a subject of such concern, what shall we say of the rights of 131,426 fishermen in the Unitad States, 37,043 of whom are in New England, who use in their hazardous calling 6,605 vessels, and the product of whose industry in 1880 reached $43,046,053? They ask only the same protection that the nation affords to citizens in other callings. They ask that the nation shall see to it that their vessels receive the same consideration and the same privileges in the ports of Canada that American vessels engaged in other business receive, and the same that similar Canadian vessels receive in ports of the United States. They ask that the products of their industry may be protected against the imported products of Canadian fishermen, which are sustained by a large Dominion bounty, by the same duties as are imposed upon other imported products coming into competition with home industries. Under existing laws these duties are too low, and even this low protection is seriously impaired by the Treasury decisions which admit free of duty fish preserved by ice and other artificial means as "fish, fresh, for immediate consumption."

Instead of removing all protection against the bounty-fed fishermen of Canada, as the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky proposes, a policy which, if adopted, would surely destroy the American fishing interests, Congress should increase this protection by increasing the duties, and especially by correcting the decision which last year allowed Canadian fish to the value of over $1,000,000 to come in free of duty under the guise of fresh fish for immediate consumption. Instead of abandoning the hardy fishermen of the country, the men upon whom the country must rely to man its cruisers in time of war, the nation should imitate the example of other maritime nations, which have given bounties from their treasuries to encourage and maintain an industry which they have justly regarded as a nursery for the training of seamen and an invaluable resource for the navy in time of need. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, the heroic deeds of the fishermen of the United States, the fishermen of New England, if you please, as recorded in the history of the Republic, ought to awaken in the halls of Congress as well as in every patriotic breast a determination to stand by their interests. [Applause.] It was the fishermen of New England who in large part officered and manned the armed vessels which sailed under John Paul Jones and bore so gallant and conspicuous a part in our war for independence. It was the fishermen of New England who contributed a generous quota to the gallant crews of the naval vessels which won such conspicuous laurels in the war of 1812. It was from the fishermen of New England that the nation drew liberally to man our blockading fleet in the late civil war. Surely such men as these are deserving not only of the protection but of the gratitude of the Republic. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONAS G. HOWARD,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. HOWARD said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: There is now a surplus in the United States Treasury of about $100,000,000, and daily receipts into the Treasury are about one million and a quarter, making about seventy-five millions a year, or a quarter of a million a day taken from the people and the channels of business, in excess of the needs of the Government, and locked up in the vaults of the Treasury. This bill proposes to so modify the tax laws as will insure a reduction of revenue to the basis of the needs of the Government, economically administered, and relieve the labor and industries of the country from the burdens of unnecessary taxation. The present high protective tariff not only causes large sums to be drawn from the avenues of trade and kept from the use of the people, but it greatly increases their cost of living, and tends to restrict and diminish our trade with foreign countries, much to the injury of the American producers. It is manifest that in the last quarter of a century our foreign trade has not kept pace with the growth and development of the country. In 1860 our exports were equal to the exports of England. In 1887 England exported, of her manufactured products, nearly $2,000,000,000 in value, while the United States during the same year exported of her manufactured products but a little over one hundred millions.

In 1887 England exported into Mexico (our next-door neighbor, and whose trade ought to belong to us) more than $750,000,000 in value of her productions, while the exports of the United States into Mexico during the same were less than fifty millions. Hence we see that the export trade England now has with Mexico alone is almost as great as the export trade the United States has with all the world. England has also monopolized the trade of South America—a country with a population of 55,000,000—very nearly as great as the United States. But our Republican friends claim that this loss of foreign trade is more than compensated by securing our home market for our own producers; they insist that a high protective tariff will so stimulate and diversify our industries that our sixty millions of people will furnish an adequate market for all our productions. Under such a theory the main question is not, what can we produce, but what can we consume? If we can produce more than we can consume, then the producer will have to suffer. And in that event the farmer is more injured than any other class of producers, for this reason, that he can not regulate and gauge his productions to simply meet the demands of a limited market as the manufacturer can do, by putting out his fires, stopping his mills, and discharging his labor until his supply is exhausted. But if the farmer can not find a market abroad for his surplus after the home market is supplied he is ruined. It is a fact that can not be successfully contradicted that in no like period in the last forty years have the farmers suffered more from depression in the price of their productions than in the last five years; nor has there been a time in the last forty years with less encouragement to the farmer than the present, although we have had a high protective tariff continuously for the last twenty-seven years.

The fact is a high protective tariff has not done, and can not do, for the country what its friends claim for it. A high tariff can not furnish a home market for the vast productions of this giant country with its inimitable resources. Nature never designed that a nation like this, embracing every variety of climate and soil, unparalleled in mineral and other resources, watered by mighty rivers and inland seas, and surrounded by great oceans, free highways for our commerce to the homes and habitations of more than a thousand millions of people, should be limited in its productions to the consuming capacity of sixty millions.

No; the restrictive home-market theory of the Republican party is not adapted to our country, and will not do, and the farmers and manufacturers are finding it out. The experience our industrial enterprises have had for the last fifteen years under a high protective tariff has been of some value to the country. The manufacturer has learned that under a high protective tariff his industry may languish, and that it will not, as his Republican friends have promised, furnish him a home market for all his productions. The farmers have likewise been admonished.

No financial and industrial depression ever caused in this Government greater distress and more widespread dismay and desolation than were witnessed from 1873 to 1879 and from 1882 to 1886. Our ability to produce is so much in excess of our capacity to consume, large portions of our manufactured and agricultural productions are annually left on

the hands of the producers for want of a market. Our farmers have to seek a foreign market for more than 20 per cent. of their surplus productions and 45 per cent. of the surplus of their wheat, and where it has to be sold in competition with the wheat raised by the cheap labor of India, Russia, France, Hungary, Spain, Italy, and Turkey, and where the price is fixed upon every bushel of wheat raised for market in the United States. Thus, while the farmer is compelled to sell his surplus wheat in the cheap markets of the world, he is not permitted to buy such articles as he may need to operate his farm or for the comfort of himself and family, but is forced to purchase all such necessaries in the home market at an increased price of 45 per cent. on the dollar.

This is called protection to labor, and sometimes our Republican friends go even so far as to call it protection to the farmer; but it is now generally believed that the farmer has had about enough of this kind of protection. To limit the farmers in this country to the home market would work their utter ruin. In 1880 the United States produced over 500,000,000 bushels of wheat, nearly half as much as was produced in 1887 in all Europe, with a population of nearly 400,000,000. In that year the United States exported 190,000,000 bushels of wheat, being over 60 per cent. of the surplus of the wheat production of that year, while at home we found a market for only 135,000,000 bushels, or about 40 per cent. of his surplus. Yet in the face of these facts our Republican friends have the audacity to advise the farmers to rely upon the home market, to vote for the continuance of a high protective tariff, which tends to destroy their foreign market, upon which they chiefly rely, and without which they would have to limit their production to the consuming capacity of 60,000,000 people, when they have the ability to produce enough to supply the wants of 150,000,000.

There is another objection to the farmers and manufacturers relying upon the home market, which is, that our ability to produce in excess of our capacity to consume will increase from year to year, as new farms are opened and new enterprises developed, and as inventions and improvements in machinery progress. So marvelous have been the improvements in machinery in the last thirty years that now with its aid one man can do the work of five and five the work of twenty-five, and so on, thus constantly increasing our ability to produce and diminishing our demand for labor, until it begins to appear that the time may come when the work done by machinery will be so far in excess of the work done by hand that the latter may cease to be a factor in the cost of production in our industrial enterprises. Under such a condition of things what chance will there be in this country for the farmer or lacorer, if we are restricted to the home market? None whatever. And a high protective tariff will aggravate rather than mitigate the evil.

In discussing this subject President Arthur, in his last message to Congress, in December, 1884, said:

> One of the greatest of the problems which appeal to the wisdom of Congress for solution is the ascertainment of the most effective means for increasing our foreign trade, and thus relieving our industries from the depression under which they are now languishing.

If President Arthur was right in saying that our labor was depressed for want of employment, and our industries were languishing for want of a market, and that the only remedy for the evil was to be found in the increase of our foreign trade, then our Republican friends who try to belittle the importance of our foreign market, and insist upon the continuance of the high-protective, restrictive, home-market policy are wrong. If Arthur was right, then it is suicidal to restrict our farmers and manufacturers to the home market of 60,000,000 people for their production sufficient to supply the wants of more than 100,000,000.

Again, in December, 1884, Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury under the Arthur administration, in his last report to Congress said:

> The demands of the Government during the late civil war for nearly all kinds of manufactured goods and the high tariff greatly stimulated production. After the war stimulus was found in railroad building and extravagant speculation induced by a superabundant currency; and the time has now come when the manufacturing industries of the United States are in dire distress from a plethora of manufactured goods. Some manufacturing companies have been forced into bankruptcy, others have closed their mills to escape; few mills are running on full time, and as a consequence a very large number of operatives are either deprived of employment or are working for wages hardly sufficient to enable them to live comfortably or even decently.
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> Nor are the manufacturers and their employés the only sufferers by the present depression of our manufacturing industry. So large and widespread has this industry become, so interwoven is it with other industries, so essential is it to the welfare of the whole community, that it can not be seriously depressed without injuriously afflicting the business throughout the Union. The important question, therefore, is, how shall the country be released from the plethora of manufactured goods, and how shall that plethora be prevented in the future? It is obvious that our power to produce is in excess of our present or any probable future demand for home consumption. The existing iron, cotton, and woolen mills, if employed at their full capacity, could meet in six monts, perhaps in a shorter time, the home demand for a year.
>
> It is certain, therefore, unless markets now practically closed against us are opened, unless we can share in the trade which is monopolized by European nations, the depression now so sorely felt will continue, and may become more disastrous. The question, how shall our foreign trade be increased? is the question which now comes to the front and demands prompt and careful consideration. If the duties on raw materials is an obstruction those duties should be removed. If the duties upon other articles are an obstruction, they should be modified. Whatever may be required to increase our foreign trade, whether it be a repeal or a modification of existing duties, should be demanded by the manufacturers themselves.

Here we are told by this Republican Secretary of the Treasury, under the sanction of his official oath (after we had been living nearly a quarter of a century under a high protective tariff), that our manufacturing industries were in dire distress; that many manufacturing companies had gone into bankruptcy, and that others had closed their mills to avoid it, and but a few were running on full time, and as a consequence many laborers were out of employment or working for wages inadequate for a decent support, and because there was no market for their productions.

Under this high protective tariff we have seen in the last ten years the price of the farmer's wheat go down from $1.15 per bushel to 65 cents per bushel, and his other productions in the same ratio; and his farm lands have depreciated from 25 to 40 per cent. in value. Now, how can a high protective tariff remedy these evils which are found to exist under it?

This question will not be easily answered. Under a high protective tariff the condition of the farmer and the laborer has been constantly growing worse for the last fifteen years, and they are demanding a change of treatment. They are getting tired of being burdened and oppressed by high taxation for the benefit of a favored class. They know that where one man who labors finds employment in tariff-protected industries fifteen are laboring in non-protected industries. They know that the protected industry does not pay any higher wages than the non-protected industries. They know that not a single laborer is protected by the tariff who works in a car factory, a foundry, a ship-yard, a cooper-shop, a machine-shop, a wagon-maker's shop, a blacksmith shop, a carriage-shop, a carpenter's shop, a tin-shop, a paint-shop, a brick-yard, a rock-quarry, on a railroad or in its construction, on a turnpike, in building and repairing streets, at teaming, at boating, on a farm, and many other classes of business too numerous to mention. They can not see the justice of taxing the fourteen men who work in these various non-protected industries for the benefit of the one who works in the protected industry, even though the tax accrued to his benefit; but when it turns out that it does not, and the tax is for the sole interest of the manufacturer, the injustice becomes more apparent.

Notwithstanding this great injustice, the Republican party is in favor of continuing this burdensome and oppressive taxation upon the great body of the people for the benefit of a favored class; and that the people may the more readily give their necks to the yoke, the very moment the Democratic party proposes or attempts to remove those burdens from the people by a reduction of taxation, the Republican party and every tariff-protected manufacturing company in the country raise the cry of free trade and the pauper labor of Europe, knowing at the same time that no political party in this country ever favored the abandonment of the present system of raising the revenue to support the Government by laying and collecting duties on imports, and no party can be a free-trade party that supports or favors such a system for raising the necessary revenue to support the Government. Our Republican friends know well when the charge is made that it is false. But it is made with the hope that the people will be humbugged and deluded into the belief that a reform in the tariff is a strike at their interest.

President Arthur, in his message to Congress in December, 1882, but a little over five years ago, said:

> I urge upon Congress the necessity of relieving the labor and industries of the country from the burden of unnecessary taxation.

Now, what did President Arthur mean by such a statement? Did he not mean that the then existing high tariff, instead of helping labor was depressing it? Did he not mean that the then existing high tariff instead of aiding our manufacturing industries was depressing them? He certainly did so mean. Now, let the advocates of a high protective tariff answer how the continuance of a policy which depresses can give relief.

Much has been said upon the other side of the House during this discussion in censure of President Cleveland's recommendations in his late message to Congress in regard to the surplus in the Treasury and the reduction of taxation. For the benefit of all those critics on the subject I here insert an extract from the annual report of Hon. Charles J. Folger, Republican Secretary of the Treasury under the Arthur administration, to Congress in December, 1882, and commend it to their careful consideration:

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

The Treasury Department was created by act of Congress, Chapter XII, of the year 1789. By the second section it was made the duty of the Secretary "to digest and prepare plans for the improvement of the revenue." The word "improvement" meant enlargement. The need was for more revenue, and the lack was of subjects from which it might be taken. In that sense that duty is now without care. The times have changed. What now perplexes the Secretary is not wherefrom he may get revenue and enough for the pressing needs of the Government, but whereby he shall turn back into the flow of business the more than enough for those needs that has been drawn from the people.

There are now in the Treasury unused assets to a large amount, and the daily receipts into the Treasury from customs and internal-revenue taxation are about a million and a quarter.

It is plain from this, and the statement with which this report begins of the estimated expenditures for the next fiscal year, that the receipts from revenue are, and are likely to be, in excess of the needs of the Government.

From the inequality between daily large receipts and comparatively small daily disbursements there comes an evil effect upon the business of the country. The collections by Government are taken out of the money market in sums and at dates which have little or no agreement with the natural movement of money, and are returned to it with the same inadaptation to commercial or

financial requirements. Occasionally the large disbursements of the Government have created a plethora of money; more frequently its large and continued withdrawals of money have caused such a scarcity of floating capital as to check the proper movement of legitimate business.

It is not only that the amount in the Treasury is so much kept from the use of community; the fact becomes an incentive and an aid to men who for their own ends conspire to keep from that use other large sums.

We have believed that the laws of the States against primogeniture, the entail of estates, and the accumulation of personal property stood in the way of heaping up wealth in single hands, and gathering in single hands the power over others that great wealth gives. But so it is, that to-day there are men so rich that by conspiring together they can at will put and hold hand on near as much money as Government can lay hand to, save by the use of its credit. The power thus had is used from time to time. It results that violent and sudden contractions and expansions afflict the business community, and the Government is an unwilling aider and abettor therein.

It has come about that the Treasury Department is looked to as a great if not a chief cause of recurring stringencies, and the Treasury is called to for relief. Every Secretary of the Treasury for years past has had it brought clearly to his mind, and official expedients have been used to remedy the evil. Little of lasting value has been accomplished thereby.

And the radical cure for the evil is the reduction of taxation, so that no more money will be drawn from the people than the needs of the Government require.

The foregoing statements of the learned Secretary of the Treasury ought to be read and studied by every voter in the United States. He shows how the Government, by the abuse of its taxing power, has become an unwilling aider and abettor in the schemes of the rich to plunder the poor; how by class legislation men have become so rich in this country that by combining together they can at will control the market value of the productions of all our industrial enterprises in their own interest. They can and do fix the price of the farmer's wheat, his corn, his pork, his beef, his lands; in fact, of everything of value he possesses.

This power, concentrated in the hands of a few men over the industrial and financial interest of the country by reason of vast wealth, is certainly alarming. The value of all the property in the United States is estimated at $50,000,000,000. It is also estimated that there are five thousand men in the United States who are worth one-half said amount, or $25,000,000,000. If this be true, is it any wonder that individual enterprise is being crushed out and trampled under foot everywhere in this country and given place to gigantic monopolies and combinations which control the price of labor, the price of productions, the price of lands; in fact, the price of everything that is placed upon the market? Much of this vast wealth has been accumulated by the aid of class legislation, unwarranted by the Constitution. Governmental powers are held in trust for the whole people and can not be rightfully used to advance the interest of one class of citizens at the expense of another class; and as there is a constant conflict between power and the rights and privileges of the people, the latter should remember that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and should never permit their public servants to go one step beyond the limitations of power. They should promptly repel every attempt of the Government to overleap those limitations, no matter what may be the pretense; for, in the language of Chief-Justice Story, "If you permit one step to be taken in violation of the Constitution," "that step will invite another and another until, while the form of the Government will remain, the spirit will have departed."

The Tariff.

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRED. T. DUBOIS,
OF IDAHO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, June 14, 1888.

Amend by striking out "lead ore and lead dross, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound."

Mr. DUBOIS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In behalf of the Territory I represent, I desire to enter my protest against this section of this bill. The fact that one hundred thousand people living in Idaho have no vote upon this measure, the fact that millions of dollars, in labor as well as in cash, would be affected by its provisions if it should become a law, ought to add weight to the protest that I now make.

The development of Idaho has been carried to just that extent that great lead and silver mines have been opened, and enormous sums invested in the machinery necessary to develop them. The Territory has just started upon a career of unexampled prosperity. But the mines of Idaho, those that are now attracting the most attention and contributing most to the growing wealth of the country, are low-grade silver-lead mines, that need the fostering care of the Government. Their wealth consists in large bodies of ore that, with the present price of lead and silver, may be worked at a profit. Destroy the price of lead and you simply annihilate the two great industries of Idaho. A blow at lead is a stumbling-block, well-nigh insurmountable, in the path of our progress.

The elaborate theories of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] exemplifying the beauties of great tariff reductions, the broad philanthropy of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. GAY], and of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. TARSNEY], who are willing that their constituencies shall be injured a little for the common good, are pretty and romantic.

I can not raise myself to that exalted pitch of patriotism, however, that I can submit to the destruction of every industry in my Territory because the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] guesses that somebody somewhere may be benefited by it.

If you will examine the signal maps in the Hall you will discover that no place in the United States has so good a climate the year round as Idaho. By examining the statistics you will find that the ratio of mortality in Idaho is the lowest of any State or Territory. We have the most abundant supply of water of any Territory, and as much agricultural land as there is land in the State of Indiana. While our population in 1880 was 32,000, to-day it is more than 100,000. Rich mines in great numbers have been discovered, which employ many men at good wages and expend many thousands of dollars for machinery. Ranches have been taken up by the hundred. Flourishing towns have sprung up by the dozen to supply the demands of these mines. Practically no produce is shipped out of the Territory, nor can it be for some time to come.

As I have said, you paralyze every industry when you strike down lead and silver. Our miners will be compelled to leave the Territory; the merchants who supply the trade produced through the mines will be compelled to close their houses; the railroad companies will be compelled to raise their freights, and the farmer to consume what he produces and pay double for what he buys. We have every element to make us a great and prosperous State, but at present, and until railroads and population crowd our country, our prosperity depends on our mines. All we ask (and it is little enough) is to give silver its rightful place. Let us deposit our bullion in the nearest assay office and get silver certificates for it, and protect our lead from competition with the lead produced by the pauper labor of Mexico and the Old World.

This debate has given rise to wonderful exhibitions of selfishness.

The President's message proposes to reduce the duty on wool, but is friendly to the sugar industry. No single article is more universally used by the people of all classes than sugar. Now, by some strange coincidence, all the Southern men talk about is wool, and if they live far enough from the iron districts of the South they occasionally give iron the benefit of their views. A Senator from Texas, only the other day, spoke for sugar and against wool. Well, I would speak for lead and against sugar if I were to pursue the same policy.

As I ask for protection to lead, I would be willing to give the same benefits to other interests. If we could purchase our steel a little cheaper it would be very desirable; but if our steel is to be cheapened at the expense of a profitable market for our lead; if in return for buying sugar at a little better rate our great industries are going to suffer, and the splendid era of development upon which we have entered be checked, if not stayed altogether; if in return for a cheaper pair of blankets we must witness the disappearance from our mountain sides of the vast flocks of sheep that industry, economy, and the fostering hand of the Government have collected there, then, I say, ten thousand times over, let us pay the old price, but let not the onward march of progress be stayed.

The selfishness which would protect one section of the Union and let another section suffer, is a doctrine too monstrous to be entertained by this House. Yet, thus far, it has been the keynote of the debate.

Before reducing the tariff on lead, let us examine the subject a little.

While there has been a steady increase in the production of lead in the United States, which will continue at a rapid rate unless checked by hostile legislation, the price has steadily decreased, as will be seen by the following tables:

Production of lead in the United States from 1830 *to* 1887.

[In tons of 2,000 pounds.]

Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
1830	8,000	1850	22,000	1870	17,330
1831	7,500	1851	18,500	1871	20,000
1832	10,000	1852	15,750	1872	25,883
1833	11,000	1853	16,800	1873	42,540
1834	12,000	1854	16,500	1874	52,080
1835	13,000	1855	15,800	1875	59,640
1836	15,000	1856	16,000	1876	64,070
1837	13,500	1857	15,800	1877	81,900
1838	15,000	1858	15,300	1878	91,000
1839	17,500	1859	16,400	1879	92,789
1840	17,000	1860	15,600	1880	97,825
1841	20,500	1861	14,100	1881	117,085
1842	24,000	1862	14,200	1882	132,890
1843	25,000	1863	14,800	1883	143,957
1844	26,000	1864	15,300	1884	139,897
1845	30,000	1865	14,700	1885	129,412
1846	28,000	1866	16,100	1886	135,629
1847	28,000	1867	15,200	1887	144,980
1848	25,500	1868	16,400		
1849	23,500	1869	17,500		

The price is now so low that the profit is narrowed to the point where no further reduction can be sustained.

The world's production of lead for the past few years has been as follows:

[In short tons of 2,000 pounds.]

In 1880, 372,527 tons, of which in United States, 97,825 tons.
In 1881, 448,701 tons, of which in United States, 117,085 tons.
In 1882, 479,574 tons, of which in United States, 132,890 tons.
In 1883, 516,040 tons, of which in United States, 143,957 tons.
In 1884, 492,225 tons, of which in United States, 139,897 tons.
In 1885, 519,947 tons, of which in United States, 129,412 tons.
In 1886, 517,536 tons, of which in United States, 135,629 tons.
In 1887, 144,980 tons.
Total tons, 3,346,450, of which in United States, 896,695 tons.

While the imports into the United States have been:

[In pounds avoirdupois.]

Fiscal years ending June 30—	Ore and dross.	Pigs and bars.	Sheets and shot.
1880	.....	6,723,706	1,120
1881	5,981	4,322,068	900
1882	21,698	6,079,304	1,469
1883	600	4,037,867	1,510
1884	419	3,072,738	.....
1885	4,218	5,862,474	.....
1886	.....	11,005,083	24,087
1887	814,142	11,148,211	19,260

Of the 144,980 tons produced in the United States in 1887, only 25,148 tons were non-argentiferous. Of the 144,980 tons produced in the United States in 1887, at least 20,000 tons, or one-seventh, was produced in Idaho.

The mining experts state that one-sixth of the entire production of the United States will come from Idaho in 1888.

My statement in regard to the lead output of Idaho is very conservative. The producing capacity of the Cœur d'Alene's can not even be estimated. I read the following clipping from a newspaper in regard to the Cœur d'Alene mines alone:

In view of the present fluctuating price of lead, arising from the tariff-tinkering of this Administration, it will be well and wise for the mining men of the Cœur d'Alene to take the following extract from a correspondence of the Pioneer Press and paste it in their hats:

"The output of the Cœur d'Alene mines to-day is about 2,700 tons per month, worth about $100,000, or at the rate of nearly $1,200,000 per year. A. M. Esler, of Helena, than whom no one is better posted in the resources of the Cœur d'Alene, estimates that next season the output will be 300 tons per day, or between 8,000 and 9,000 tons per month. Assuming that the Cœur d'Alene ores will average 70 per cent. in lead, the yield in lead, on the basis of A. M. Esler's computation, next year will be 300 tons per day, or 75,600 tons per year. Whitney and Casney estimate the gross output of the United States and that of the world at 444,000 tons per year. So that the Cœur d'Alene next year should produce one-half as much as the present output of the United States, and one-sixth of the gross output of the world."

Nearly all our lead is desilverized. The silver-bearing ore carries 65 per cent. per ton of lead, at the lowest.

What does this mean? It means simply and plainly—so plain that any one who is at all fair can understand—that a reduction of the price of lead, to any extent, means the shutting down of our low-grade silver mines.

The production of lead in the United States is about one-quarter of that of the world. The world's production in 1886 was 517,536 tons, of which 135,629 tons came from the United States. As I have said, nearly all our lead is argentiferous, and the margin of profit is so narrow that any material reduction, such as $15 per ton, proposed in this bill, would practically destroy the industry.

I append the prices of lead in New York City for the past few years:

Year.	Average price.	Year.	Average price.
1870	$7.18	1879	$4.18
1871	6.80	1880	5.05
1872	7.14	1881	4.80
1873	7.20	1882	4.90
1874	6.67	1883	4.32
1875	6.72	1884	3.73
1876	6.74	1885	3.95
1877	6.74	1886	4.63
1878	3.64	1887	4.47

For the past five years the average price has been $84.40 per ton at New York; $40 per ton of this goes to the transportation company.

Our miners get from $2.50 to $4 per day. This is not a high price to pay for labor in the mountains, because of necessity the cost of living is higher there than in agricultural communities or in places nearer to market.

Since this tariff debate commenced the greatest producing mine in Idaho was compelled to shut down, because of a considerable rise in freight. What would they do if you lowered the price of lead $15 per ton, as contemplated in this bill?

The importation of lead has steadily increased since 1884. With their cheap labor in Austria, Italy, Spain, Germany, Great Britain, all lead-producing countries, to say nothing of Mexico, they can almost compete with us now. We are as far from the market as they are, and it costs us as much to get our production on the market. Can you not see the one inevitable result of the passage of this bill?

The States of Nevada and Colorado and the Territories of Idaho, Montana, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona gave to the world $29,000,000 of silver in 1887. The profit in these silver mines in Utah, Montana, and Idaho especially is in the lead. There are 150,000 American citizens engaged in this industry. They not only give these precious metals to the world, thus aiding the cause of struggling humanity everywhere, but they give employment to thousands of others in the mountain regions.

Were it not for our mines our farmers would have no market for their produce. The more productive the mines are, the more mines found, the more agricultural communities spring up to supply their wants. Ninety per cent. of the trade of our mercantile houses in Idaho comes directly or indirectly from the mines. The mines are the greatest source of revenue to the transportation companies. Six hundred and thirty thousand tons of freight were shipped last year by the Union Pacific Railroad Company alone into Utah, Idaho, and Montana, the direct product of the mines.

The Northern Pacific and Denver and Rio Grande shipped as much. Take from these companies the freight which they carry to these Territories to supply the trade produced by the mines, and they would be compelled to double their freight rate in order to live, and our people would pay the added freight.

I believe that four-fifths of the people of Idaho are dependent on this industry for a living, and I believe the reduction of the tariff contemplated would deprive them of that living. And what good purpose would be subserved by it? Who would be benefited?

It would not even permanently benefit a few lead refiners and manufacturers in the East, and I can think of no other class who would be benefited at all.

I am curious to hear some sound reason given for the proposed reduction. It seems to me that in their eager zeal to reduce the tariff the free-traders struck blindly and unadvisedly at lead.

I am not speaking for political effect, nor as a Republican, but in behalf of the people of my Territory. There is no difference of opinion among them. There is not a Democratic newspaper nor an intelligent Democrat in the Territory who does not condemn this proposed reduction. Their partyism does not carry them to the point where they will advocate ruin for themselves and section in order to demonstrate their blind obedience to their ill-advised party leaders. There is not a Democratic Delegate on this floor, for they all come from mining Territories, who does not know this reduction means a fatal blow to his people. I challenge any one of them to indorse this part of the Mills bill. Their efforts for justice to their Territories have been so futile that they will probably keep silent now.

Gentlemen of the House, and countrymen, you have seen the Delegates on this floor, unitedly, without regard to party, make a vain fight for better mail facilities and surveys of our public lands in the Territories, and for our brave people generally. You have seen every proposition voted down which they have made, tending to aid these pioneers, these bold, energetic, ambitious, and superior Americans in their struggles to subdue the forces of nature. Not once has our cry for recognition been heeded, and now you come forward, against our protest, with a proposition to destroy the industry upon which our prosperity depends.

And this is not all. The Secretary of the Treasury by a ruling has put lead on the free-list if silver is the component of chief value. The law is plain enough that all lead ore is subject to duty, whether it contains silver or not. The ruling of the Secretary is in direct violation of law. His evasion, when he says, "The ore, if it is more valuable in silver than in lead, the value to be determined in Mexico, shall come in free," is striking terror to the lead miners of the Pacific coast. Considering that Mexico is as near the market practically as the Territories, it is placing our miners on precisely the same plane as the peons of Mexico.

Give us the assistance which every other portion of the Union has enjoyed, and we will grow in strength and wealth and power as we are doing, until you will gladly refer to the Territories of the great Northwest as sisters; give us the shield under which Pennsylvania, indeed all the East and New England have grown rich, powerful, and prosperous, and the Union will be proud of the Northwest. We have no vote upon this bill; we are at your mercy; we are protected only and entirely by your sense of justice and your disposition to investigate our needs. Therefore, in the name of justice and in behalf of those whose mouths are sealed while their future trembles in the balance, I beseech you to protect our Territory from this assault upon its youthful industries.

Taxation.

"The world is governed too much."

REMARKS

OF

HON. W. S. HOLMAN,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 1, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. HOLMAN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: With more than $109,000,000 lying idle in the Federal Treasury, and a system of taxation in full force that increases that enormous sum daily, even while the Government, in the effort to restore this accumulation of wealth to the proper channels of industry, is paying as high as 27 per cent. premium on its 4 per cent. securities not due, is certainly a state of affairs that should arrest the attention of the American people.

And this is the final outgrowth of our financial policy of the last twenty-five years! A public debt created on the basis of paper money, greatly inflated by the exigencies of war, being paid at an enormous premium in gold before maturity to restore the surplus money collected by unnecessary taxation to its proper employment in the business and industries of the country! With such legislation is it a matter of surprise that an unexampled centralization of the wealth of this country should have occurred?

We are therefore confronted by two of the greatest evils that can afflict a people, excessive taxation and a surplus of money in the Treasury. The former discourages industry, "takes," in the language of Jefferson, "from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned," and, more than all, destroys the equality in the condition of the people, for no power yet devised can so effectually increase the wealth of the few and impoverish the many as heavy and prolonged taxation.

The whole volume of money in the United States on the 5th day of last November, gold, silver, and paper, was $1,806.817,165, and there was in the Treasury, independent of bullion, $440,404,816, reducing the available money in the United States to about $1,366,512,349; and yet during the last fiscal year, as shown by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, our people paid taxes into the Federal Treasury to the enormous sum of $371,403,277.66.

If labor cries out that the Government has no need for so much money, the answer is, the law compels its collection. Taxation never lets up; it gives no respite. Year after year labor pays this money into the Treasury; the whole working force of over sixty-five million of people are called upon for this tribute. If this money went back again in any form to these sixty-five million people it would be all right, but it never goes back to them. It goes to a few hundred thousand instead of sixty-five million. It creates or enlarges the estates of a small number. It crystallizes into a few large estates. It never again reaches the labor by which it was amassed, except in a small degree in the form of wages grudgingly paid by those who have secured it through the countless channels of taxation. This exhaustive taxation goes on without pause. Our fathers escaped it by frugal government, and gloried in the contrast between the tax-oppressed people of monarchies and those of free America. The school-boys of thirty-five years ago read in their school-books with astonishment the story told of British taxation. Yet are we not drifting into the old taxing methods from which our fathers believed they had forever rescued their posterity?

The vastness of this sum of $371,403,277.66 is only seen fairly by comparing it with the entire actual currency of the United States, that is, $1,366,512,349, so that our people, on the basis of $1,366,512,349 of money in actual circulation, pay Federal taxes to the amount of $371,403,277.66. The single payment of so vast a sum of money on some great emergency would not materially affect so great and fortunate a people as ours, but this $371,403,277.66 under our present system of tariff and internal-revenue taxation must be paid into the Federal Treasury every year. It is as remorseless as death. With every revolution of the seasons this $371,403,277.66, or substantially that sum, if the labor of the country can bear it, must be paid into the Treasury.

The last report of the Secretary of the Treasury presents the following statements of the volume of money in circulation in the United States on the 1st day of July, 1886 and 1887, and of money and bullion in the Treasury at the same dates:

CURRENCY CIRCULATION.

The increase and changes in the circulation among the people of money and its representatives, and of money and bullion in the Treasury since July 1, 1886, have been so extensive and interesting that it is well to here give the following tables:

Comparative statement showing the changes in circulation from July 1, 1886, *to November* 1, 1887.

	In circulation July 1, 1886.	In circulation Nov. 1, 1887.	Decrease.	Increase.
Gold coin	$358,790,428	$392,585,770	.....	$33,795,342
Standard silver dollars	52,469,720	62,934,625	.....	10,464,905
Subsidiary silver	46,156,256	51,290,051	.....	5,133,795
Gold certificates	76,044,375	99,684,773	.....	23,640,398
Silver certificates	88,116,225	160,713,957	.....	72,597,732
United States notes	323,812,700	331,419,950	.....	7,607,250
National-bank notes	304,475,950	267,883,223	$36,592,727	.....
Totals	1,249,865,654	1,366,512,349	36,592,727	153,239,422
Net increase	.....	.....	.....	116,646,695

Comparative statement showing the changes in the money and bullion held by the Treasury from July 1, 1886, *to November* 1, 1887.

	In Treasury July 1, 1886.	In Treasury Nov. 1, 1887.	Decrease.	Increase.
Gold coin	$189,529,603	$182,342,103	$7,187,500	.....
Standard silver dollars	181,253,566	214,175,532	.....	$32,921,766
Subsidiary silver	28,904,681	24,468,135	4,436,546	.....
United States notes	22,868,316	15,261,066	7,607,250	.....
National-bank notes	4,034,416	4,157,980	.....	123,564
Gold bullion	43,308,520	120,202,502	.....	76,893,982
Silver bullion	3,092,198	4,721,996	.....	1,629,798
Trade-dollars as bullion	.....	6,961,036	.....	6,961,036
Totals	472,991,300	572,290,350	19,231,296	118,530,346
Net increase	.....	.....	.....	97,299,050

The people of this country can well afford to pause and consider this extraordinary state of their affairs.

It is true that this $440,404,816 of money actually in the Treasury, excluding gold and silver bullion and trade dollars, includes the $100,000,000 in gold held for redemption of greenbacks, and includes large sums held for actual and possible liabilities of the Government; leaving on the 1st day of November, 1887, the sum of $49,459,361.77 as an absolute and admitted surplus, which had increased to $55,258,701.19 on the 1st day of December, 1887, and now exceeds a hundred and nine million.

In 1884 the extraordinary accumulation of money in the Treasury was made a matter of public boast by gentlemen who had favored the legislation which produced this result!

Now, sir, let us consider the annual taxation borne by the people of the United States for the support of their Federal Government alone.

The revenues of the Government from all sources for the fiscal year 1887, as reported by the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress, were as follows:

From customs	$217,286,893.13
From internal revenue	118,823,391.22
From all other sources	35,292,993.31
Total	371,403,277.66

So the fact is that in the fiscal year 1887, with $1,366,512,349 of money in actual circulation, the people of this country paid a tax for the support of the Federal Government of $371,403,277.66, or nearly 25 per cent. of the whole.

Comparing the expenditures of our Government with those of other governments, if the tax paid by the people of the United States for the support of the Federal Government was the only taxation to which they were exposed, the showing would be reasonably favorable to us. It would well illustrate the value of republican institutions in the care the people themselves display in forbidding unnecessary appropriations of their labor for the pretended needs of Government.

But the truth is that our fathers in forming the Federal Union contemplated only a Government of limited powers, organizing the States of the Union into one nation representing them in all foreign affairs and regulating commerce between the States and between them and foreign nations. Its powers of taxation were carefully limited. The taxing power is defined by section 8, Article I, of the Constitution.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

Confined to the purposes for which our Federal Union was formed, the range of taxation, except as to obligations incident to war, would be severely restricted.

But one of the misfortunes incident to republican institutions is that the principles of the greatest value are the most readily perverted. In organizing our system our fathers sought to place all the proceedings of government, as far as was possible, under the immediate supervision of the people; hence our admirable system of local governments, the germ of which on this continent was the town meetings of New England. In considering, therefore, the subject of taxation in the United

States and other governments we are compelled to confront the fact that, while in other governments the national budget expresses in the main, and in most instances completely, the entire taxation and expenditure, with us it expresses only the taxation and expenditure of the Federal Union, while the States of the Union possess the powers—except as to Army and Navy—out of which naturally the greatest necessities for taxation arise.

Professor Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, a gentleman of marvelous attainments in every field of intelligence, has published in the American Almanac and Treasury of Facts for the present year the following table:

Debts, revenues, expenditures, and commerce of nations.

[Compiled from official documents. The figures are for the latest attainable years as to each country.]

Countries.	Public debt.	Revenue.	Expenditures.	Imports.	Exports.
Argentine Republic	$158,829,650	$46,172,645	$46,151,387	$117,123,120	$77,418,611
Australasia	716,200,003	117,531,200	131,504,565	298,663,465	227,046,185
Austria-Hungary	1,647,726,000	55,832,499	63,148,850	277,438,950	332,268,845
Austria proper	331,328,365	250,000,000	250,538,647	(*)	(*)
Hungary proper	504,803,800	129,120,000	137,930,000	(*)	(*)
Belgium	420,464,275	64,079,485	62,830,000	283,650,000	267,841,340
Bolivia	21,925,000	3,766,425	4,477,115	6,150,000	9,381,983
Brazil	565,035,000	100,364,124	115,133,240	103,601,240	115,143,260
Canada	273,914,341	33,177,640	39,011,612	104,424,561	85,251,314
Chili	129,543,691	35,064,350	50,073,183	52,888,846	68,061,093
China	39,446,000	121,500,000	110,230,400	142,153,500	125,462,940
Colombia, U. S. of	21,589,527	5,100,400	3,960,000	12,504,000	14,857,000
Denmark	54,369,325	15,421,150	16,136,420	58,781,508	46,318,504
Ecuador	16,109,500	1,693,950	2,219,695	6,000,000	6,193,641
Egypt	518,625,840	45,016,470	47,613,705	40,250,000	51,946,750
France	8,142,907,564	755,515,300	755,658,630	846,872,600	660,046,000
Germany	147,345,525	184,360,490	156,562,940	942,744,112	701,029,410
German States	1,813,623,148	282,439,697	471,501,549	(†)	(†)
Great Britain	3,681,393,440	453,863,790	449,983,760	1,749,317,360	1,343,335,085
Greece	125,360,225	16,265,000	17,060,000	21,150,345	23,692,160
Hawaii	962,285	2,962,035	2,937,115	4,053,355	9,224,345
India, British	872,620,505	372,320,985	366,329,615	355,668,862	424,947,510
Italy	2,246,903,485	327,685,420	332,845,730	515,368,950	267,680,450
Japan	334,264,030	76,428,360	76,286,500	32,660,390	40,729,910
Mexico	162,737,650	30,625,000	26,390,324	40,285,360	51,982,290
Netherlands	452,000,000	48,641,140	49,362,820	453,627,340	361,982,615
Norway	30,062,341	12,695,446	12,305,000	37,642,920	26,941,364
Paraguay	4,581,730	1,200,000	1,205,000	1,308,420	1,428,340
Persia	No debt.	10,500,000	9,550,000	19,250,000	11,300,000
Peru	242,500,000	7,750,000	9,600,000	10,563,448	7,458,328
Portugal	476,440,328	35,758,640	42,426,350	37,749,380	24,026,390
Roumania	140,053,648	27,655,220	17,141,650	59,640,000	36,948,000
Russia	3,660,944,394	694,415,128	662,843,950	304,496,528	394,194,110
Servia	52,550,000	8,821,430	10,468,255	10,218,885	8,125,815
Siam		6,150,000	5,940,000	6,200,000	11,200,000
Spain	1,299,500,000	176,437,910	176,278,170	111,737,910	126,170,140
Sweden	68,000,000	23,770,000	22,958,681	94,452,760	68,408,645
Switzerland	6,540,210	10,025,751	10,045,635	197,630,185	156,494,845
Turkey	744,839,018	73,681,000	76,662,148	87,272,845	58,272,475
United States	1,700,771,948	371,403,277	267,932,180	752,490,560	752,180,902
Uruguay	62,330,491	8,181,020	7,414,815	25,275,349	25,253,600
Venezuela	21,833,180	6,102,885	7,855,675	17,256,389	19,641,920
Total debts	31,919,975,459				

*In Austria-Hungary. †In German Empire.

It will be seen from the examination of this table that there are five nations with larger debts than ours, France, the German states, Italy, Russia, and Great Britain; and five with larger revenues, France, the German states, Great Britain, India, and Russia; and five with larger expenditures, France, Great Britain, the German states, Italy, and Russia.

But the $371,403,277 which the above table shows to have been the revenue of the United States in 1887 does not fully express the extent of taxation of our country. The last census shows that the sum of $312,750,721 was collected under State and local taxation during the year preceding the taking of the census, and there is no public statement showing that since the census was taken the aggregate of our local taxation has been reduced. Adding this $312,750,721 of local taxation to the $371,403,277 of Federal taxation the aggregate certainly ought to arrest attention.

It is clearly seen that our admirable system of State and local government "home-rule" opens an almost unlimited field of taxation. This, however, is no argument against our system of local governments, for it is unquestionably the best that human wisdom can devise; but it suggests the imperative duty that rest upon the citizen to resist the ever active tendency in governments of every form to increase the burden of taxation.

Professor Spofford, in his admirable work to which I have referred, issued for the year 1879, says:

"The problem of taxation, always of commanding interest in the policy of any government, becomes peculiarly so from an American point of view. In this country the divided jurisdiction between the Federal Government and the government of States renders the whole question of taxation a remarkably complex one. The citizen of the United States who is taxed to maintain the central government which manages foreign relations and legislates for commerce and navigation, public lands, pensions, patents, copyrights, currency, and other interests of national consequence, owes also allegiance to a State government which taxes him to maintain a large body of legislative, executive, and judicial officers, an extensive public-school system, many institutions for the care and maintenance of the unfortunate classes, for the punishment of crime, and frequently for a system of public and internal improvements of great extent, besides numerous collateral objects of expenditure.

But the taxation does not end here. After the citizen has contributed his share to the two hundred and forty millions of national expenditure, and has added to it his contribution to the millions of State expenditure, he is still further required to contribute his quota to the county expenditure, including highways, and the administration of justice, besides, in frequent cases, taxes for public buildings, bridges, or other objects of county necessity or ambition. But even here the much-taxed citizen does not rest; for after he has discharged his obligation to the United States, to the State in which he lives, and to the county in that State to which he belongs, he is still further subject to taxation, frequently very onerous, to maintain a city or town government in the place of his immediate abode.

It sometimes happens, too, that the ambitions or extravagance of municipal government far exceeds, in its demands upon the resources of the taxpayer, the combined drafts of all the other tax-gathering governments, national, State, and county, combined. Nor can the much-plundered tax-payer lay the flattering unction to his soul that, although his pocket is depleted and his means of living curtailed by these complicated contrivances to support what is called government, he has, nevertheless, the satisfaction of bearing an influential part in making the laws which tax him.

It has too often happened in the experience of communities, even in Democratic America, that so far from the public authorizing the expenditure which piles up debt, interest, and taxes mountain high, such expenditure has been created by irresponsible bodies in the most flagrant abuses of trust and in defiance of the most wholesome restraining laws. It is eminently true in regard to the abuses and excesses of power by legislators or executive officers that to the tax-payer eternal vigilance is the price of exemption from oppression. Unless citizens everywhere take a zealous personal interest in the conduct of government, and watch with continual scrutiny the levying and expenditure of taxes, whether national, State, or local, they will too often find themselves the unwilling victims of unjustifiable and avoidable extravagance."

The American citizen will find in this article on taxation much food for reflection, for the very excellence of our system—the divisions of political power—leaves it more exposed to the ingenious methods by which the property of the citizen who bears the burden of taxation is transferred to those who reap the profits of taxation than any other system of government.

In our country, as well as in all other civilized governments, I fear the new force that will seek to control the world will be the power of taxation.

With the mighty advance, in our era, of intelligence, feudalism has disappeared; the present generation will see the end of human slavery in civilized nations. Under the old order of things direct force divided the world into the favored few and the oppressed multitude.

But the growth of the national debts of the world as presented in the foregoing table ought to alarm all men who feel an interest in the question of labor. There are but two well-defined and active forces in the field of government—capital and labor. The table shows that the aggregate debts of the civilized nations amounted in 1887 to the prodigious sum of $31,919,975,459. The magnitude of this can only be measured by comparison. The wealth of the United States and the Territories, by the last census, the value of all property, real and personal, of this, the foremost of all the nations and occupying the most favored portion of the globe, was placed at $43,642,000,000.

But even this enormous sum does not fully express the indebtedness of the nations, for in the foregoing table the actual indebtedness of the United States of $1,700,771,948 is alone stated, while the last census shows that the total bonded debt of the States and Territories, counties and cities, towns and townships, etc., of the United States amounted to $1,117,585,546.

This indebtedness of the nations is represented by bonds—public securities—largely, as in case of the United States, exempt from taxation.

Nor should the fact be overlooked that this whole system of public debts and public securities is the creation of the present century, and its effect on taxation and the burdens of government is a matter of the highest moment. The aggregate public debts of all nations was, in 1870, $17,730,000,000, and in 1883, $27,423,074,682, in 1887, $31,919,975,450. How rapidly are the demands growing that will oppress the labor of the world!

I have called attention to these facts in this discussion of tariff and internal-revenue taxation to arrest, if possible, attention to the fact that the underlying forces of all existing political systems threaten through this new agency of national debt and taxation to reinstate the old order of things (even in our own favored country) in which the few appropriate to themselves the profits of the labor of the many.

National debts, public securities, mean taxation, for they are valueless without it. The judicial tribunals of all nations and all the forces of Government are remorseless in their determination that the integ-

rity of public securities shall be maintained. There are in every nation high motives in the value of public credit that this rule shall be absolute, hence the only escape from these burdens is in the determination of those who must bear the burden that such securities shall not be issued.

Increased public expenditures, increased public indebtedness, all men know, means increased taxation. I need hardly assert that taxation, whether direct or indirect, falls almost exclusively on the productive labor of a country in the field and the work-shop, and on the tangible property employed. To illustrate this as to State and local taxation, under ordinary circumstances the real estate and personal property, as shown by writers on political economy, of a State, including money and all forms of capital, would be about equal in value. Yet investigation has clearly shown that real estate as a general rule in this country bears three-fifths of the burden or more. In Indiana in 1879 (and I am certain the same relation still exists) the assessed value of real estate for taxation was $638,246,860, and the personal property, money, credits, public securities, and all were appraised for taxation at $222,362,781. So that real estate in Indiana bore 74 per cent. of the burden of taxation, and personal property, money, bonds, credits, and all bore only 26 per cent. of the taxation.

Besides all this, it is manifest that the great mass of public securities issued by States, counties, cities, towns, townships, and parishes, as well as by railroad and other corporations, almost entirely escape taxation; they readily evade the eye of the assessor; but in addition to that a vast amount of these public securities are held by men who almost cease to be American citizens, living in the capitals of Europe in such opulence and vulgar display of wealth as to dishonor their country, and this, too, on public securities that entirely escape taxation.

It is true that our people with unexampled wisdom have persisted in the reduction of their public debt, but it must be remembered that the value of the bonds representing this debt, long after they were issued, was enormously increased in value by an act of Congress, and the burden on the tax-payers of the United States correspondingly increased, including the extraordinary act which demonetized the silver coinage of the United States. The two acts, one declaring that bonds the principal of which was payable in lawful money (greenbacks for which they were issued) should be paid in coin, the other striking silver from the coinage of the country, are certainly measures without precedent, and it also should be remembered that this debt of ours, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, was still on the 1st day of this month $1,706,833,377.17, and that the interest on the same last year was $47,741,577.25, and sinking fund $47,903,248.15.

I feel therefore justified in calling attention to the extraordinary state of public indebtedness and of public securities in America and Europe, and the vast burden of taxation this new employment of the powers of government will impose on productive labor. I think it is obvious that if the intelligent laborers of the world shall consent that the governments shall continue to enlarge this new basis for taxation as displayed during the last quarter of a century in all nations, the struggle of the laboring man for competency and independence will soon be as hopeless as it was in the darkest period of the feudal age.

THE SURPLUS IN THE TREASURY.

But the taxing power becomes absolute tyranny when it draws into the public Treasury from the countless fields of industry money not required for the support of Government and hoards it up. Every dollar of this useless hoard expresses the reduced comforts of some home, the scrimping of some care-worn mother, the wretchedness of some fireside! A surplus in the Treasury! Money of the people drawn from their pockets by remorseless taxation and not required for the public good! Injustice can go no further! It has done its worst!

This surplus not only cripples industry, impoverishes the people, embarrasses trade and enterprise, but it does more, it inflicts an evil on Government by provoking extravagance and profligate expenditure, which in a Government like ours can only be palliated by an uprising of the people demanding reform, but never can be cured. The example for evil is everlasting.

The presence of the surplus in the Treasury, now exceeding $109,000,000, and daily increasing, notwithstanding large purchases of the public bonds at enormous premiums, is fatal to good government and prudent legislation.

Ten years ago the current ordinary expenses of the Government, deducting the pension-list of $27,963,752.27, was $107,326,433.07.

In 1887, last year, the ordinary current expenses of the Government, deducting the pension-list of $75,029,101.79, was $145,161,500.93, an increase in ten years of $37,835,067.32, a sum nearly equal the entire expenses of the Government thirty-eight years ago, and yet I assert with perfect confidence that the Government was better administered in 1878, with an expenditure of $107,326,433.07 (pensions excepted) than in 1874, the year of the great increase of salaries, when the current ordinary expenses of the Government (pensions also excepted) were $165,080,570.34, yet the difference in the burden upon the people was $58,580,870.46, a sum greatly exceeding the entire expenses of the Government only thirty-five years ago.

In 1878 you had no surplus in your Treasury.

But I cite this example only to show that a surplus in the Treasury renders honest government impossible. Neither the heads of the Departments nor Congress can resist the countless schemes of expenditure, public and private, always specious and plausible, generally without merit, working their way into the Treasury, and the member of Senate or House who objects to organized systems of public plunder becomes in the nation's Capitol and public press a subject of ridicule and denunciation. Statesmanship in this condition of affairs is lavish expenditure; economy and honest government is cheese-paring and contemptible!

So much, sir, as to the existing and ever-growing surplus in the Treasury.

If we are to have honest government the revenues must be heavily reduced. If the countless corrupt schemes now organized to reach the fruits of the labor of our people are to be defeated, taxation must be reduced, the money not actually needed by the Government must remain in the pockets of the people.

How shall the revenues be reduced? Both parties agree, as all parties have in the past history of the country, that in a time of peace like the present the revenues should be mainly raised by tariff duties; it is an indirect tax on our people and easily collected; but experience has demonstrated that an excise tax, derived from articles of luxury which are not indispensable to the comforts of home, such as the articles embraced in our present internal-revenue system from which the following taxes were collected last year:

From distilled spirits	$65,829,221.71
From tobacco	30,108,067.13
From fermented liquors	2,245,456.20
From oleomargarine	723.948.04
From banks not national	4,288.37
From penalties, etc	22,978.70
Total	118,837,301.06

is cheaply and readily collected.

Surely if taxation is to be imposed on anything these are legitimate objects of taxation. But in all our history Federal taxation must be a matter of compromise. The friends of tariff protection insist that all taxation shall be imposed on imported goods; that the tax on spirits, tobacco, beer, banks, and all shall be abolished. I admit that only extreme protectionists demand this.

For myself I would only consent to exclude tobacco from the list. It stands on different ground from any other article we tax for Federal purposes. It is a raw product of land, a farm product; the producer is harassed in disposing of his crop. He can only sell to licensed dealers. If he sells in the open market he is subject to fines and penalties. Surely this is un-American. Besides, tobacco, if a luxury, as is assumed, is about the only luxury of the great mass of our laboring people. It is an article (whether beneficial or injurious) of almost universal use. I am very willing that our native tobacco shall be relieved from Federal taxation, but I admit I am in favor of a high tax on imported tobacco as an article of luxury; but I feel sure that no considerable portion of the intelligent people of this country will consent that the other articles now subject to internal-revenue taxation shall be exempt from taxation for the purpose of keeping up or increasing the tax on the prime necessities of our homes.

THE TARIFF.

Both of the great parties of the country have promised the people to revise the tariff. No fair-minded man pretends that a tariff in a time of peace should be kept up on the basis of the inexorable demands of war. And yet we are considering in a time of peace the revision of a tariff exacting a higher rate of duty on dutiable imports than was ever before with rare exceptions exacted in our history. The average duty on dutiable goods under the present tariff is 47.10 ad valorem and would be under the pending bill 40 per cent. ad valorem. Surely this is a moderate reduction.

It is well to keep in mind the rate of duty on imported goods from the beginning of our Government. I present the following tables of rate of duty ad valorem by decades from 1791 to 1881 and on to 1887. The first table, extending from 1791 to 1811, presents, according to the form in which the records were then kept, the average ad valorem rate on both free and dutiable goods. The other table shows the ad valorem rate on all importations of free and dutiable goods, as well as dutiable alone, in separate columns down to 1887. I am indebted to General WHEELER for these tables.

Net imports and duties collected thereon from 1791 *to* 1887.

Year ending September 30—	Value of net imports.	Amounts of duty collected.	Average ad valorem rates of duty.
			Per cent.
1791	$23,687,959	$4,399,473.09	15.34
1801	64,720,790	10,750,778.93	16.61
1811	37,377,210	13,313,222.73	35.62

Net imports and duties collected thereon—Continued.

Year ended—	Value of net imports.			Amounts of duty collected.	Average ad valorem rates of duty on—	
	Free.	Dutiable.	Total.		Dutiable.	Free and dutiable.
					Per ct.	*Per ct.*
Sept. 30—						
1821	$1,730,725	$41,965,680	$43,696,405	$13,004,447.15	30.99	39.76
1831	5,508,094	77,300,016	82,808,110	36,623,270.48	47.38	44.22
1841	57,078,044	57,698,265	114,776,309	19,941,090.29	34.56	17.47
June 30—						
1851 a	17,910,930	182,565,378	200,476,308	48,626,600.09	26.63	24.25
1861	67,421,022	207,235,303	274,656,325	39,033,269.16	18.84	14.21
1871	40,619,064	459,597,058	500,216,122	202,446,673.00	43.95	40.47
1881	202,537,412	448,061,588	650,619,000	193,800,880.00	43.20	29.78
1882	210,721,981	505,491,967	716,213,948	216,138,916.00	42.66	30.17
1883	206,913,289	493,916,384	700,829,673	210,637,293.00	42.45	30.00
1884	211,280,265	456,295,124	667,575,389	190,282,836.00	41.61	28.28
1885	192,912,234	386,667,820	579,580,054	178,151,601.00	45.86	30.58
1886	211,530,759	413,778,055	525,308,814	189,410,448.00	45.55	32.08
1887	233,093,659	450,325,322	683,418,981	214,222,310.00	47.10	30.61

a Nine months.

It will be seen from these tables that, beginning with an ad valorem duty in 1791 of 15.34, we had reached in 1887 an average ad valorem rate duty of 47.10; dutiable the exact rate, however, is 47.6.

All parties agree that the revenues shall be reduced. I am free to say that in my judgment the free-list ought to be enlarged. Lumber, coal, salt, and sugar should be placed on the free-list; these are prime necessities of the homes of our people, but even here compromise is inevitable. The majority of the House Committee on Ways and Means in their pending bill reduce the duty on sugar 20 per cent. I think it should be reduced 50 per cent; I should vote the more freely to place it on the free-list. A tax of 82 per cent. on sugar ad valorem, an article of universal use, is, in my judgment, indefensible. The tax paid last year by our people on this article used in every home was the enormous sum of $58,016,686. I am willing to compromise at a reduction of 50 per cent. on sugar, but I think that sugar, like lumber, salt, and coal, should be free.

The pending bill which proposes an ad valorem rate of tax on dutiable goods of 40 per cent., proposes to put certain other articles on the free-list, among others paintings and statuary. I am unalterably opposed to this. These articles are special luxuries and only found in the homes of the rich. There are now in Europe multitudes of gentlemen who have amassed imperial fortunes in our manufacturing industries and through enormous subsidies we have granted to railroad corporations, gentlemen who, after acquiring fortune, spend much time in Europe hobnobbing with the European nobility; these gentlemen, as is well known, adorn their homes in this country with costly paintings and statuary imported from Europe. Are not such articles proper subjects for taxation? Surely they are, and the present tax of 30 per cent. is a moderate tax, and I hope will be maintained. Wealth, which so largely controls our Government ought to bear a just portion of the burden. A reasonable income tax would be wholly just and honest, and the time will come when labor will demand it.

RAW MATERIAL.

An important feature of the pending bill is the proposition to place the raw materials that enter into manufactures on the free-list. It will be remembered that during the late war the exigencies compelled extraordinary taxation. The imported raw materials entering into the manufacture of goods were heavily taxed. The manufacturers were compelled to pay a heavy internal-revenue tax on the goods they manufactured. This almost double taxation operated heavily on the manufacturer, and he, with a fair show of justice, demanded a corresponding increase of protection. This was especially true of the woolen, iron, and steel manufacturers, hence the enormous increase in the tariff taxation of woolen goods, iron, and steel. Since the war the internal-revenue tax on manufactures has been abolished, and it is believed that the abolition or reduction of the tax on imported raw materials which enter into the manufacture of goods, will justify a large reduction of the duties on imported goods, especially woolen goods, the cheapness of which is of such especial importance to all classes of our people.

It is a curious fact that wool was at a higher price during the revenue-tariff period from 1846 to 1860 than at present. The great wool-producing sections of this country in the early future must be New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California, and perhaps Western Texas. The high-priced lands of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and other States can not successfully compete with the free mountain ranges of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California or the cheap lands of Western Texas—lands and climate especially adapted to sheep-raising, especially in the production of coarse wools.

I visited the Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona two or three years ago, and was surprised to find in that arid region vast flocks of sheep. Those Indians claimed to own four millions of them; they were inferior Mexican sheep, for the Indian is not a very good farmer or herdsman, but their enormous flocks indicated the capacity of that vast region of country for sheep-raising. In that section of the Union you find flocks of many thousands of sheep, each flock under the charge of a single shepherd and his dog, pasturing upon the free mountain slopes—the shepherd generally a Scotchman and the owner of the flock an English or Scotch capitalist.

When you consider the vast extent of this region of country, specially adapted to sheep-farming, it is clear that in the early future the larger portion of our wool, especially our coarse wool, will be produced in that section of the United States. The wools which are imported are the coarse, cheap wools, and now protected at the rate of 2½ cents per pound. The higher-priced wools, bearing a higher duty, it is clear, will not be affected by giving the manufacturer free raw material; and yet it is equally clear that every family in the United States will be largely benefited by the large reduction in the cost of woolen goods that must follow.

But with free raw material or reduced duties on wool the duty on woolen goods ought to be reduced largely. I am not satisfied with the proposed duty of 40 per cent. on woolen goods. Nineteen years ago, when the tariff was under discussion, there being at the time several large establishments for the manufacture of woolen goods in Southeastern Indiana, I received a letter from the president of the company controlling the largest establishment, urging the policy of cheap raw material and the reduction of the duty on woolen goods to 25 per cent. ad valorem. "I deem it," said this gentleman, a leading Republican, "of vital importance to the woolen manufacturing interests of the country that the duties on wool, dye-stuffs, and olive-oil be reduced, or, indeed, wholly removed, and a general reduction of the duties on manufactured woolen fabrics of every description to 25 per cent. ad valorem. Some Congressional action of this kind must be had soon, or the looms of the woolen mills of the country must lie idle."

Such were the views of a leading woolen manufacturer of Indiana nineteen years ago, a gentleman who believed in the policy of protection, but who clearly saw the necessities of the times. He saw that countries where everything is taxed heavily could not compete with countries where the raw material was free. He saw that our heavy taxation of raw materials, cheap wools, and the like, drove them into the European markets, where they were sold at an almost nominal price, which enabled the European manufacturers to under sell our manufactured products in our own markets and everywhere else. His prediction was verified, for within a few years the woolen manufacturers of Southeastern Indiana went down in hopeless bankruptcy.

But I am not satisfied with wool on the free-list and woolen manufacturers protected to the extent of 40 per cent. ad valorem, as proposed by the pending bill. It is true that 40 per cent. is a heavy reduction on the present enormous duties on woolen goods, but still 40 per cent. is an unjust protection to the manufacturer if the producers of wool in the interest of cheap woolen goods are not protected at all. If woolen goods are still to bear a tariff tax of 40 per cent, I will feel it my duty to vote for a reasonable tariff on wool, especially if coal and iron ore are not placed on the free-list. We of the West must insist that there shall be no discrimination against the producers of wool.

LUMBER.

I have said it was not my purpose to consider the tariff in detail. It has been done already with a bewildering display of figures. But to illustrate in a single instance the unjust burdens imposed on productive industry, and the effects of our system of favoritism in legislation, I take the single article of lumber.

We impose a tariff tax of $2 a thousand feet on rough pine-boards. This tax can not benefit labor for it will be readily seen that labor will cross and recross the line wherever the best wages can be secured, for our great forests of the Northwest bordering on the Great Lakes and westward as well as eastward are opposite the great forests of Canada, Ontario and British Columbia. We granted in former years to railroad corporations without price and sold to capitalists for a mere nominal price all of the great forests of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and westward, and now tax every laboring man who builds a house, or a barn, or a fence, $2 a thousand feet on the lumber he uses, for the exclusive benefit of the few men we have permitted to monopolize our timber lands.

The loudest demand for protection of lumber comes from the Pacific coast, and from Michigan and Wisconsin, from the land grant and railroad corporations, and from men who have monopolized the public lands in vast tracts at $2.50 per acre under existing laws, when it is fully established that the timber on the larger portion of these lands is worth from $50 to $100 per acre. Surely these men who have secured under our system of legislative favoritism a monopoly of the most valuable portion of our timber lands as Congressional gifts, or at a nominal price, ought not to be permitted to add to their wealth by taxing every man who uses lumber, an article so necessary and indispensable to the comforts of human life.

This lumber taxation is an admirable exemplification of our whole system of taxation. We have granted to railroad corporations a large

portion of the most valuable forests in the United States, or in the world—millions upon millions of acres now worth $50 to $100 per acre for the timber alone. These railroad grants of pine forests in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—strips of timber country from 10 to 20 miles in width and hundreds of miles in length, as they appear on maps of those States, present the appearance of a vast checker-board!

Ingenious gentlemen who understood the coming value of these immense forests seized upon the period of railroad land-grabbing when our people in the fervor of patriotism were watching the movements of armies instead of the law-making power at this Capitol, and readily obtained grants of millions of acres of this public wealth, and then these successful lobbyists insisted on and secured the tax on imported lumber at the rate of $2 a thousand feet, thus taxing the whole Northwest, indeed the whole people of this country, to increase the value of their imperial possessions.

Let us see how this tariff of 1833 promotes in this field alone the special interests of capital at the expense of labor. This tariff of 1883 imposes a tax of $2 a thousand feet on common pine lumber of universal use. But by this same tariff of 1833, now in force, you provided specially for three interests in this matter of lumber. "Woods, namely, cedar, lignum-vite, lace-wood, ebony, box, granadilla, mahogony, rosewood, satin-wood, and all cabinet woods, unmanufactured," come in free of tax. So that all the woods that are used in the manufacture of articles of luxury and taste are admitted free. In the next place "logs, round, unmanufactured timber not specially enumerated or provided for in this act, and ship-timber and ship-planking" are placed on the free-list; and again all "railroad cross-ties" are placed on the free-list. So, under the present tariff law of 1883 all wood used in the manufacture of articles of taste or luxury are admitted free. All "ship-timber and ship-planking" manufactured by the pauper labor of Canada for the benefit of the ship-builders of the Eastern coast are admitted free of duty. All "railroad cross-ties" sawed or hewed by the pauper labor of Canada are admitted free of duty. But when we propose that the farmers and all workingmen of this country who build houses or barns or fences shall have their rough boards also admitted free of duty there is a burst of indignation from the ship-builders of the Eastern coast, who get their lumber free, from the railroad kings, who hold millions of acres of your pine forests as a free gift from Congress, and who, under the present law, import their cross-ties, sawed and hewed by Canadian labor, free of tax, and from the English and Scotch capitalists who in the States of California and Oregon and Washington Territory have monopolized vast bodies of your timber lands on the Pacific coast at nominal prices, and others who are annually shipping from the Pacific coast millions of feet of the products of your forests to the ports of Europe—from all these and all other great timber-land owners comes a fierce and fiery protest against the effort of the farmers and other laboring men of the Northwest and elsewhere to get rid of this tax of $2 a thousand feet on the rough boards they use in their industries!

I am glad this clear issue is presented at the very threshold of the consideration of this bill. No one subject can better illustrate the real position of the great parties as represented on this floor, the Republican party, as ever, standing by special interests, the interests of the few, the interests of monopoly and corporate power, the Democratic party by the interests of the whole people!

What a commentary this tariff taxation of lumber is on the remorseless cupidity of wealth, what a display of the merciless grasp of capital on the labor of mankind even in our great Republic! Lumber! An article of universal use, yet more employed by the men connected with labor than by men of wealth; a free gift of a beneficent Providence to the human race, indispensable to the comfort of human life. Specially and heavily tax lumber! This article of universal use must be protected by remorseless taxation for the benefit of the wealthy men who by gift of Congress or at a nominal price, have monopolized your magnificent forests! Where are we drifting to in this great Republic?

But beyond all this, will the American people encourage a policy that will rapidly exhaust our forests? These forests of ours, under our protective policy, are disappearing with fearful rapidity. Have gentlemen considered the effect of those forests in regulating the rainfall, atmospheric changes and their influence on the health of our people, and the regulating and beneficial influence of those forests on the flow of our great rivers? And shall we pay a bounty of $2 a thousand feet to secure their early destruction? And yet you are expending this very year $10,000 to ascertain how your forests can be preserved! If the forests of Canada or of any other portion of the globe can aid us in postponing the evil day when our forests will be consumed, should we by giving bounties for their destruction prevent it?

But the truth is, and the misfortune to the country is, you have to stand by the wealth that demands protection to lumber in the Northwest and on the Pacific coast, for if you do not they will desert you in protection elsewhere!

AGRICULTURE.

The census of 1880 put the number of persons engaged in the principal occupations in the United States at 17,392,099. Those engaged in agriculture, 7,670,493; in professional and personal services, 4,074,238; in trade and transportations, 1,810,256; in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining, 3,837,112; in all, 17,392,099. So that agriculture is still, as it always has been, the leading employment of the American people. Manufacturing industries have steadily grown since the organization of the Government, but the greatness of our Republic, our unexampled progress and development as a people, must be attributed to our vast domain of fertile lands, salubrity of climate, and variety of production. It must be considered fortunate that agriculture holds so important a place in our Government, for no employment is so independent and conservative, while the other great industries, especially that of manufactures, are entitled to high consideration, and ought to have the fostering care of our Government, surely that of agriculture, which is the foundation of all, can not be overlooked in any system of taxation.

I have already shown that in our State and local taxation, direct taxation, lands bear more than three-fifths of the burden, and it is clear that under the present tariff system the farmers bear the greatest burden without any corresponding benefits. The cost of every article the farmer consumes or employs in his industry (except tea and coffee) bear heavy taxation, salt, lumber, sugar, every article of iron, steel, or tin, crockery, clothing, boots, shoes, ropes, and everything else pays its tax into the Treasury. In all these instances with only rare exceptions the tax falls directly on the consumer, and those exceptions only occur when there is overproduction stimulated by the tariff tax; and then (a most unfortunate but natural result of our system) comes in the trusts and pools of the manufacturers to stop overproduction, and workingmen are mercilessly turned out of employment.

The condition of things in this country is anything than encouraging to the farmer. I have already shown that more than three-fifths of all the taxes for the support of State and local governments fall on real estate, when in fact it ought not to exceed one-half.

But when we come to tariff taxation, the inequality is still more apparent. Every article used by the farmer, every implement used in his industry is subject to a high protective duty, and yet the products of his labor must compete with the industries of the world, the price of his wheat, corn, beef, pork, and all others of his product must depend on the prices paid in the general markets of the nations, for the price of his commodity will be fixed in Chicago and New York by the price at European ports, by the foreign demand.

A large part, a very large per cent., of the products of the farms of this country will of course be consumed at home and in the United States; but the price of the surplus will always control the price at which the products of the farm will be sold in this country.

The exports from this country last year to foreign markets amounted to the enormous sum of $703,022,923; of which $523,073,798 was product of the farm. It had to go abroad for a market, else the reduction in price would have been enormous.

So that while the farmer pays a heavy duty on every article he uses, every implement and machine he employs, no matter what, he must compete with the markets of the world for the price of his commodities. The prices of wheat, pork, beef, cotton, or whatever product the farmer may produce, will be regulated, as all men know, by the price of the surplus of production in the current markets of all nations.

Is it therefore a matter of surprise that the farming interests of the West are depressed? This indirect tax can not materially increase his home market, for the manufacturers claim that the home market for manufactured products is already oversupplied; hence pools and trusts to stop production and keep up prices.

With local taxation resting so largely on the farmer, paying as he does a high tariff tax on every manufactured article he uses of wood, iron, steel, leather, wool, cotton, hemp, or flax, or in any other form his home or industries require, for the benefit of protected industries, is it remarkable that farming is unprofitable?

He sells in a market where values are fixed by the current demand and supply of all the nations that export or import commodities, but purchases every article his farm requires on the basis of a tariff averaging 47.6 per cent. Of course he can not be prosperous. Farming as a matter of course is unprofitable.

It is no satisfaction to the farmer of the West that he hears of an enormous increase of deposits in the savings institutions of the Eastern States, of the general prosperity of the manufacturing districts, of the vast investments in railroad enterprises and extension of the railroad system by which the general wealth of the country is increased; the fact remains that the great body of the farmers of the West are not prosperous under the present system of taxation, tenants are struggling for life, and the farmer who controls his own farm can hardly make the ends of the year meet.

The fact is that under the present order of taxation the farmers of the West are falling behind and the money-lenders of the East are absorbing the life-blood of the West. Can anything account for this except the effects of high taxation with no corresponding benefit? It is well known that the capitalists of the East have made extraordinary investments in the West not only in railroad enterprises but in direct mortgage investments on farming lands.

As to the direct investment of Eastern capitalists by way of mortgage on Western farms, it is impossible to speak with certainty. The New York Times estimates these investments in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska,

Kansas, and Missouri in the aggregate at the enormous sum of $3,422,000,000. The St. Louis Republican estimates these mortgages in the aggregate at $4,531,000,000. It is alleged that these statistics have been gathered up by the grangers of the Western States. One of these reports, and the lowest estimate, places the mortgaged indebtedness of Indiana farmers at $398,000,000. It seems to me impossible, or at least improbable, that this should be correct; the sum named would reach so large a per cent. of the value of the farms in that great region of our country as to render these estimates of indebtedness appalling.

All of these estimates of the indebtedness of the Western farmers I hope and believe are greatly exaggerated, but the fact remains that farming under the present state of taxation, State, local, and Federal, is unprofitable. The farmers are not getting ahead. A man who has lived all his life as I have done in the midst of a farming community can fully appreciate the effects of heavy taxation on the freeholders of small farming estates.

Thirty years ago these farmers felt no anxiety about taxes; the small, direct tax, almost nominal, was readily paid without materially affecting the income of the farm, and the moderate tariff taxation was scarcely felt in the slightly increased cost of the articles purchased, so that after the great financial crash of 1839–'40 and until 1860, there was a steady development and advance in all the industries of this country, including agriculture, without any example in our history. Our statistics and census reports of 1850 and 1860 fully confirm this. It was a period of moderate taxation, State, local, and Federal, the Federal Government depending alone on tariff taxation for its revenues. The progress of our people and the development of our resources during that period were in perfect harmony with our institutions; wealth steadily increased everywhere in all of the communities of the Union, and it nowhere centralized into great States. It was a period of general, not special prosperity, of increased comforts for all, not of great estates for the few.

History will point to the period of time between 1845 and 1860 as a period of unexampled prosperity and solid progress of a whole people, and will note that it was a period of moderate taxation, State, local, and Federal, and all this notwithstanding the financial crisis of 1857, an event that did not even interrupt the general prosperity of the country. The friends of moderate taxation may well point to that period and place it in contrast with the high taxation, State, local, and Federal, of the last twenty-five years. These twenty-five years have witnessed an enormous enlargement of the wealth of this country, but high taxation, State, local, and Federal, has centralized this augmented wealth into great estates. During a part of this twenty-five years high taxation for Federal purposes was the inevitable result of a great war; our people met its demands, as became a patriotic people, without a murmur, but high taxes, whether in peace or war, lead to one result in all nations, great estates and an impoverished people.

But when the exhaustive period of inflation incident to the war passed, the State and local governments, following the Federal example of lavish expenditure, continued, with the Federal Government, high taxation. The natural effects began to appear in agricultural regions. With taxation ever remorseless as death, and every article needed on the farm raised by high tariff legislation above the natural order of things, the farmer with a short crop must borrow money from his friends to meet his local taxes, and if crops still fail, or the price of farm products happen to be low, or the accidents so often incident to human life involving unusual expense occur, he becomes the debtor of a bank.

How soon interest and excessive taxation, State, local, and Federal, each remorseless in their demands, bring on the desperate struggle of the farmer to save his home, then comes another failure of crops and hopeless despair, then the court and the sheriff, and the once independent freeholder, a wife careworn and old even in her youth, with children happily only half conscious of their misery, turned out of a once happy home to find shelter at best in the cheerless cabin of a tenant! Such are the fruits of high taxation. If this picture is true, and surely it is, who can defend the wickedness of taxation that draws from labor more than a hundred million dollars to lie idle in the Treasury? State and local taxation, oppressive as they are, have at least the manly quality of making their open demand on the citizen.

Indirect taxation exhausts his resources by stealth, but both direct and indirect taxation equally exhaust his ability to support his wife and children. "The world is governed too much." The truth is, government, to which our people and all people pay such deference, is being used as a method of taxing the whole people for the benefit of the few. If the only purpose of government was to secure the proper administration of justice, protect the feeble, educate the children, suppress wrong, carry out in good faith its obligations, and do justice to citizens who have imperiled their lives in its defense, the taxes which enrich the few and turn the unfortunate freeholder, his wife and children into the public streets would be unknown.

WAGES.

As to the wages of American workmen in the manufacturing industries, the wonder is that their wages are so low, not that they are higher than the wages of the less favored nations; and the most melancholy part is that while in all our manufacturing districts during the last twenty-five years princely fortunes have been made by manufacturers, the great body of laboring men, whose skill, intelligence, and labor have built up these excessive fortunes, have remained comparatively poor, not even with independent homes in multitudes of cases for their wives and children. Does this speak well for the system?

It is said that protection has reduced the price of manufactured articles in iron, wood, and everything else; if so, how could reduced prices increase the capacity of the manufacturer to pay better wages—even if it were true, which it certainly is not, that the capacity of the manufacturer to pay better wages secured better wages; for if that were true how could it happen that the manufacturers in countless instances in our past experience acquire overgrown estates, while the skilled workmen remain comparatively poor?

The fact is that the productive power of labor by the increased intelligence of laboring men and the marvelous inventive skill of American mechanics and the enormously increased facilities of transportation has immensely reduced the price of manufactured goods, not only in the United States but throughout the world. I am not entering into detail; but to illustrate the astonishing increase of the productive power of labor and the corresponding decrease in the price of manufactured commodities, I take a single article as reported by your Bureau of Statistics. It simply illustrates the difference between hand production and that of skilled labor with machinery:

Relative production, value of product, and earnings of a spinner using hand and power machinery.

Industry.	Year.	Description of unit.	Product of one spinner per week.		Earnings of one spinner per week.		Hours of labor per week.
			Amount.	Value.	Highest.	Lowest.	
			Pounds.				
Cotton yarn	1813	No. 10	3	$2.25			60
Do	1880	No. 10	3,000	450.00	$9.30	$7.20	60

With such results of inventive skill, increased intelligence of laboring men, reduced cost of transportation, the wonder is that labor is not better paid and that the cost of manufactured goods is not more greatly reduced. Who, then, gets the profit of the inventive skill and increased intelligence of American workmen? Not the workmen, for they are still poorly paid. No, sir; the skillful capitalists, not skilled labor, under our system monopolize the profits which ought to inure to labor.

All men see that there is something radically wrong in the present order of things. The intelligent skilled workmen in the United States turn out vastly more products than the workmen of any other country. This is clearly established. They are entitled to far better wages than are paid elsewhere, yet whenever a body of American workmen strike for fair play and reasonable wages, new men, often undoubtedly brought into the country in defiance of a law inaugurated by a Democratic House of Representatives making such importation a penal offense, are made to partially supply their places, defended by an armed force; combinations, trusts, and pools are formed in every field of manufacturing industry to reduce production and keep up prices, turning multitudes of men out of employment and inflicting untold misery on their wives and children; and the labor employed in agriculture, the greatest of American industries, is unprofitable and the laborers in its great field poorly paid. Labor nowhere fairly participates in the measure of prosperity it creates.

And yet great private estates are multiplying in our manufacturing districts.

But it is claimed that high taxes will give the farmer a home market for his products by increasing the number of consumers. But this is for the present period manifestly delusive. Manufacturers in every field of the manufacturing industries are even now complaining of overproduction, and organizing trusts and pools on every hand to limit production and keep up prices, and yet the number of farmers steadily increase. Every year witnesses the opening up of vast regions of the virgin lands of our great Territories into productive farms.

The farmers can not form trusts or pools to limit production; the men engaged in an employment so dependent on the blessings of Providence, happily for mankind, can not resort to artificial methods of regulating production. Their numbers are too great to justify combination; their dependence on the forces of nature and the favor of the Father of mankind is too great to justify methods which would control and regulate the production of food for the human race. Providence and human industry must combine in agriculture, and Providence gives no countenance to trusts and pools to enrich the few and impoverish the many!

Besides all this, the farmer is and always has been his own master. His farm supplies the wants of his family, and the price of the surplus, the measure of his gain, must as a general rule depend on the supply and demand for his commodity in the markets of the world. I therefore submit that the farmer, who bears the greater burden of State and local taxation, who is a large consumer of the products of manufacturing industries, the price of whose products is regulated and controlled

by the demand and supply of agricultural products in the general market of all countries, who can only secure at best after years of patient labor a modest competence, ought to be considered in arranging any system of indirect taxation. The tariff tax on lumber, salt, farming implements indispensable to his farm, woolen and cotten goods, boots, shoes, and sugar for his family certainly ought not to be greater than the demands of his Government economically administered may require. None of these articles of prime necessity should be taxed merely to enlarge the fortunes of men engaged in more favored industries. Yet all of the articles I have named bear a taxation never known in this or perhaps any other country for any considerable period, in a time of profound peace.

It is an extortion and robbery to compel that large portion of our people engaged in agriculture to pay a tax not required by the necessities of their Government, to promote the prosperity and enlarge the wealth of men engaged in more remunerative employments than their own.

This country of ours has become one of the wealthiest of all countries. Its natural resources are such as to render it absolutely certain that the wealth of the American people will at an early period greatly surpass that of any nation of ancient or modern times. With this wealth well diffused the future would be secure. During the first seventy-five years of our Government under just and equal legislation there was a steady and wholesome increase of wealth; it was displayed in the steady increase of happy and prosperous homes; no opportunity for great estates could be found in such legislation, but during the last twenty-five years the exigencies of a great war demanded extreme legislation for the most patriotic purpose that could inspire a people, the life of a republic.

Under the shelter of this uprising of the people for the Union began the legislation which has changed completely the condition of our affairs. The advantages to wealth secured under the vast demands of that period have been maintained until the present hour; and more than that, by way of illustration, the income tax which in 1866 reached the sum of $72,982,160, and taxes on manufactures and corporations have been entirely repealed, relieving capital interests entirely from Federal taxation, leaving the burden to rest on productive labor. During this period a form of wealth to which I have referred, almost unknown in former years, was developed, public securities, Federal, State, and local, and it should be added the vast body of securities recognized by the courts as public securities, issued by the great corporations of this country. All of this wealth which enters so largely into the increased aggregate wealth of the nation in the census of 1880 is a form of wealth in direct antagonism to the current wealth of the nation, as expressed in former years, for it is a wealth that rests directly on labor, and ceases to be wealth unless upheld by labor.

Of the thousands of American citizens of princely fortunes, now residing in Europe in elegant luxury, I am sure you will not find a single American farmer, and shall the American farmer be excessively taxed to enlarge their overgrown estates? Among those gentlemen of princely estates you will find the men who have skillfully and in most instances unscrupulously monopolized your magnificent forests, land grants, salt and sugar productions, and great manufacturing industries. Under the present order of things the men who labor, whether on the farm or in the workshop, hardly keep the wolf from the door, while the men who enjoy the profits of the system riot in excessive wealth.

Taxation and land monopoly are the two forces which in all the centuries have in Europe destroyed the natural equality of mankind and filled the land with palaces and huts. The taxation in our country necessary to support an honest and frugal government and enable it to meet all of its obligations never has and never will oppress our people. Confined to such purposes, even with the most just and liberal recognition of the claims of citizens who have imperiled their lives in the public defense and their widows and orphan children, equitably and justly applied, with wealth on the one hand and labor on the other bearing a fair and reasonable portion of the burden, the taxation necessary to support this Government would be unfelt; it would scrimp the comforts of no home, sadden no fireside.

But the American people now stand face to face with the fact that within the period of a single generation a great change has occurred in the forces that control their public affairs; that forms of property almost unknown in former years, stocks and bonds of powerful corporations, public securities of Federal, State, and local governments, property which, resting for its value directly on all the productive industries of the country in a very large degree, escapes all forms of taxation, now constitute a vast portion of the aggregate wealth of the United States; that the issue now upon us is whether this Government shall represent the powerful corporations and great private estates into which this form of wealth naturally centralizes or the republican simplicity of the great masses of our people. The former encourages the dazzling embellishments, the extravagance and luxury in government which are always incident to great estates, because all these tend to strong government, under the shelter of which overgrown estates only feel secure; the latter demand the dignified simplicity of republican institutions, that the greatness of the nation shall be seen in the happiness and prosperity of its people, and not in the splendid establishments which only express the measure of taxation labor is compelled to endure.

Every friend of his country and of mankind will cling to the hope that the ever-growing intelligence of the American people will be found more than sufficient to counteract the unfriendly forces which have grown up in our midst of excessive wealth and great estates, hitherto in all the history of the world fatal to republics.

But it is absolutely certain that in the midst of the carnival of luxury and extravagance incident to the vast accumulation and centralization of wealth which our legislation has encouraged during the last quarter of a century, with their natural allies, corporate power and great special interests ever seeking to bend legislation to their own ends, if the American people intend to maintain the supremacy of their free institutions they must at least see to it that by compelling moderate taxation and reasonable expenditure their Government remains honest and frugal.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN H. ROWELL,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 20, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. ROWELL said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It has been a favorite war-cry of the Democracy to accuse the Republican party of a friendship for monopolies and to pretend an exalted regard for the common people; and yet every Democratic candidate for the Presidency since 1860 has been taken from the State of New York, and with express reference to obtaining the friendship and support of the money power of that State. Its chances for success in a national campaign depend upon the vote within twenty miles of Tammany Hall, a vote now, as in the past more under the control of monopoly power than all the remaining votes in the entire Union.

It is an open secret that the party is now in executive control of the nation because of the friendship of the money powers of New York City for its candidate, or rather for the Secretary of the Treasury selected before the election.

It is current history no longer open to dispute that every important executive act of the present Administration has been in the interest of this same moneyed power.

Your President-elect sounded the alarm and proclaimed impending disaster from the further coinage of silver before he had taken upon himself the obligation of his high office in the interest of this same power, in whose ranks only was there any demand for action. In the same interest there was a cessation of payment of the interest-bearing debt of the Government for ten months after the Administration came into power, in order that the accumulations in the Treasury, including the $100,000,000 gold reserve, might be used for paying off and canceling the greenback currency of the country according to the recommendation of the Administration through the Secretary of the Treasury.

In its interest was the value of national bonds enhanced as a security for Government deposits by order of the Administration.

In its interest came the suggestion of doubtful power to purchase bonds and the deposit of $60,000,000 Government currency in the national banks, upon deposit of this security, so enhanced in security value, and so increased in market value, by direct act of the Administration.

In the interest of this same power the will of Congress has been ignored and defied in the refusal to exercise the authority granted by Congress to settle the fisheries question and to use the surplus in purchasing our outstanding interest-bearing debt.

In the reclassification of imported articles so as to lower the duty, or transfer to the free-list, the same interest has been consulted.

Even in dealing with the cattle-men occupying Indian lands, and in neglecting all efforts to secure for settlement the Oklahoma country, this same interest has been tenderly guarded. In hostility to all pension legislation, the Administration has listened only to the voice coming from the great money centers, and has turned a deaf ear to the cry which has come up from every other section of the country. To cover the tracks which all lead to Wall street, this new cry about trusts is raised by the President and dinned into our ears by his subservient followers.

Now, the only trust which existed in this country prior to the advent of this Democratic Administration was the Standard Oil Trust, a trust which need fear no attack from the national Administration until the

present Cabinet is reconstructed and the chief adviser in the kitchen Cabinet is deposed.

With the advent of this Administration came a brood of trusts. Why just at this particular period I do not know, unless it was because of a knowledge that the Treasury would furnish an unlimited amount of money to sustain them, and that at least one Cabinet minister would watch carefully after these interests.

It is a coincidence that they have come and that they appear to flourish, and that the only attempt to put an end to them has come from Republican Legislatures.

Now, in my judgment there is no more direct connection between the tariff and trusts than there is between the tariff and the weather.

The true, most powerful trusts in this country are admittedly outside of any tariff influence. Success in the oil trust without a tariff demonstrates the possible success of every other kind of trust without reference to tariff, and demonstrates the other fact that human ingenuity has discovered a new method of defrauding the people, which requires of State Legislatures vigorous criminal laws to punish the perpetrators of the fraud, and that is all there is of the question.

In this country, as in all others, selfishness is always trying to erect barriers against the sharp competition which cheapens prices and lessens profits. Combinations of some kind are as old as civilization, but inasmuch as combinations to enhance prices and limit production are against public policy, and therefore not enforceable at law, they have never been able to maintain existence for any considerable time. As fast as formed and in working order, enterprise and new competition breaks them up, force the discovery of cheaper methods, and lead to cheaper prices, except in cases where there is the protection of patents, or in railway transportation lines having exclusive control of a section of the country.

The other exception is in great lines of imports, where competition can not so readily enter; and so it has always happened that the people always pay exorbitant prices for imported goods which do not come into competition with domestic production.

These modern trusts are simply a new discovery of a way to prevent members of the combination from drawing out when self-interest otherwise would induce them to do so.

By transferring the ownership of the property to trustees the individual owner abdicates power over his own. It no longer remains a matter of free will to remain in or go out. The pool becomes self-operating, and avoids the dangers of going to pieces, which have characterized all other attempts at combination; and hence the danger and the requirement of vigorous law to break them up and restore the era of competition.

But it does not lie in the mouth of a free-trader to oppose them. Hands off! is his war-cry. Let men do as they please with their own. No interference of the law to direct the course of trade or to encourage the development of industries.

Let nature's law work out our salvation, is the demand of the free-trader as it is the cry of the trust-builder.

They ask for no corporate franchise, because that would necessitate legal limitations. All they ask is that the law should keep its hands off.

Why may I not convey my property to a trustee to be operated for my benefit, or why may not all others having a like kind of property, if it is no public concern what I do with my own—where I buy and where I sell—or whether those great industries upon which the comfort and happiness of the people depend flourish in one country or another?

We who believe in protection believe in it for all the people for whom we have power to legislate, and that means protection from being driven out of business by unequal competition from foreign countries or from unequal competition by trusts, whether foreign or domestic, and therefore we believe in the efficacy of law to accomplish the end sought.

We say to the foreign competitor, "You shall pay for the privilege of entering our markets when our own workmen are capable of supplying those markets," and we say to the builders of trusts who seek by a combination of capital to keep all others out of business that "your act shall be declared a crime against the people."

Custom-houses for our foreign rivals and jails for our domestic enemies of free participation in all the privileges of a free country is Republican doctrine, by which we will abide and appeal to the intelligence of the people for our vindication.

The language of the platform upon which we go to the people will not need an interpreter nor a declaration that the words we use do not mean what they plainly say, but have an occult meaning only to be interpreted by the man whom we have consented to consider infallible.

When we charge our shortcomings upon a minority, as you of the other side of the House are constantly doing, and as your national convention has recently done, it will be time for us to acknowledge our inability to understand and provide for the needs of the Government; but until then it ill becomes the majority of the House to charge upon us and the principles we advocate friendship for trusts and monopolies, for this charge will deceive nobody. As you are free-traders and we protectionists, let us have a fair contest before the people, and abide the result.

The Tariff and the President's Message.

Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

* * * * * * *

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.—*Message of Grover Cleveland, December, 1887.*

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL DIBBLE.

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 11, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. DIBBLE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The line of my special duty in this House has not led me to an investigation in detail of all of the various items proposed in tariff legislation. In the first instance that task is imposed upon the Committee of Ways and Means, and the great body of the members of the House have the opportunity of passing upon their action when the bill is read by paragraphs and sections in Committee of the Whole. But the subject of tariff reform is one which commands the serious attention of every American citizen, and in common with my fellow-members of this body I have devoted to it much of reflection and observation in the past as well as in the present Congress. And I am gratified to observe, from the attention which has been given to this debate by the representatives of the people, that the American Congress regards it, and justly so, as the vital question of the hour. I trust, Mr. Chairman, that this great issue will be considered and decided when we come down to the details of the propositions before this Committee of the Whole; not in a partisan or sectional spirit; not simply for the sake of manufacturing campaign documents to send out amongst our constituencies to influence their votes pending an election; but let us hope that it will be treated in that broad spirit of statesmanship which befits the representatives of the American people assembled to discuss and decide grave issues affecting the prosperity of our common country from one end of it to the other.

There are various responsibilities, sir, in relation to this subject. The Executive, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative, has communicated his views upon it to the Congress in a message so clear and precise in every expression that I have been startled and surprised at the way in which its contents have been misinterpreted in the debate upon the floor; and if the limited time allotted me permits I will submit for the consideration of this committee some of the remarks of the President in his message which cover its salient points and indicate unerringly his position, which has met with so favorable a response in every section of the Union.

HOME INDUSTRIES NOT ASSAILED.

But our duty in the consideration of a proposition to reduce taxation is a very different one from his. Under the very first clause of the Constitution "all legislative power" is vested in Congress, and it becomes our responsible prerogative, in view of the peculiar circumstances of emergency which now surround us, to bring forward, to discuss, to amend wherever necessary, and finally to pass a tariff bill during the first session of the Fiftieth Congress. And while there is no measure covering so wide a field as a general revenue bill which may not be improved in some particulars in the Committee of the Whole, composed of all of the members of the House and representing every part of our broad land, yet I can not see how any one can fail to support the general proposition upon which the present bill is based—that the tax reduction to be made is not to inflict any material injury upon any home industry nor destroy any of the infant or aged manufacturing enterprises of the American people.

We have heard to-day, in the eloquent and carefully prepared address of my distinguished friend from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], who has just preceded me, a historical recital of the policy of this Government on the tariff question as he interprets it; and he has endeavored to bring up as a precedent for our present guidance the action of Congress in the early days of the Republic, when we had just secured the right of self-government and had wrested our political independence from the grasp of British tyranny, but were weak in resources and at the mercy of foreign powers for almost every manufactured article of prime neces-

sity. He refers to the fact that one of the early acts of the first American Congress was for the encouragement of manufactures by a tariff law. Why, Mr. Chairman, what were the conditions then as compared with the situation now? Then the manufacturing enterprises of the country were not even in their childhood; they had not yet been born; they had not yet become infant industries. What is the condition to-day? We find factories all over this broad land, so prosperous and thriving that not only are they able to stand alone, but, sir, under the operation of the present tariff law, these industries are drawing from the people by indirect taxes larger amounts than are necessary to sustain them.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Speaking for myself, Mr. Chairman, I may as well say here that in levying taxes under our Constitution there is ample room for such incidental protection as our manufacturers actually require under the provisions of a strictly revenue tariff; that a tariff levied for revenue only, if you please, has room in it for all requisite incidental protection, so heavy are the demands for the ordinary maintenance of the Federal Government. And neither does the President in his message nor does the Committee of Ways and Means in its report propose to strike a blow at American industries or to imperil American manufactures. Let us see what the President says. In speaking of the tariff he uses these words in his message:

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income, and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests.

And a similar tone pervades the entire message. In discussing the questions of labor and of wages, when ascertaining from the statistics of the last census that out of seventeen millions of laboring population there are but little more than two millions and a half who enjoy the benefits of the protection which the tariff affords, he distinctly states that there should be no disposition to press the argument that because protected workingmen constitute a minority of labor they should give way and be sacrificed for the greater number of laborers who have no such protection. On the contrary, he uses these words, which are plain and emphatic in their meaning:

There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view.

But the President does say in his message that under the operation of the present law, instead of such protection as arises incidentally from a revenue tariff, such as secures to capital and labor engaged in manufacturing, or farming, or other industry, that reasonable profit which the citizen should have in return for his toil or his investment, there is given undue and exorbitant advantage of one industry over another, and there have been excessive profits derived from capital invested in overprotected enterprises; and the objection to those enormous profits is that they have been unjustly taken from the pockets of the consumers of the country. That position is distinctly taken, and is sustained by existing facts. For while under this system the Government has not paid any bounties directly to these industries from the Treasury of the United States, yet our fellow-citizens who are consumers have been required to pay directly to manufacturers prices largely in excess of reasonable profits on their several industrial products, because high duties prevented any competition from abroad.

THE AMERICAN CAPITALIST, THE AMERICAN WORKMAN, AND THE AMERICAN CONSUMER.

In fact, sir, there are three parties interested in the rate of duty to be imposed on any article imported, whose interests we should care for in our legislation. They are the capitalist at home, the home workman, and the home consumer. The capitalist should have a fair return for his investment, the workman should have good wages for his labor, and the consumer should have protection from overcharges by means of speculative combinations and corners, or by reason of such obstructions as shut off all foreign competition. And where duties imposed are higher than the difference of wages here and abroad, and any other disadvantage which stands in the way of the domestic producer in comparison with the foreign producer, then all of the excess is solely in the interest of the home capitalist, at the expense of both the workman and the ordinary consumer, for the capitalist does not share his speculative or extra profits with his employés. Therefore, wherever such duties exist they should be reduced simply to such a figure as will cover the difference of cost of production here and abroad. As to established industries, this is the practical rule invoked by the President in the clearest and most unmistakable terms. I read again from the message:

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the workingman nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employés either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation.

THE SURPLUS.

And now, sir, let us consider the surplus. Not only are consumers required to pay bounties to the manufacturers, but the effect of these extravagant duties is to accumulate money in the Treasury faster than it can be paid out, and the Government becomes a miser, hoarding the money that should be in circulation, as the medium of exchanges from day to day, and stringency of the money market is the result. And yet, Mr. Chairman, with this disastrous effect upon the country, with the surplus accumulating in the Treasury, and the consequent reduction and diminution of the currency available for circulation from hand to hand among the people, to stimulate the business of the country, with the necessity for reducing these duties and removing this inordinate protection, it is not proposed by the Committee on Ways and Means to say to those industries which have been thus overfed and overprotected, "You have had too much in the past; the consumers and the country at large have suffered by it; now because you have had too much in the past you shall have too little in the future." Not at all. Such is not the spirit of the President's message; such is not the proposition of the bill submitted by the Committee on Ways and Means.

THE MILLS BILL NOT A FREE-TRADE MEASURE.

The proposition now pending permits the manufacturer to retain the excessive profits already acquired, and neither by legislation nor otherwise is it proposed here that any one of these favored ones be brought to penury or bankruptcy; and yet with all this forbearance the cry is echoed and reiterated from the other side of this House that a crusade is made against the manufacturing interests of the country. I have been amazed, sir, to hear gentlemen of the Republican party, gentlemen whose attentive industry leads me to believe that they have read the President's message carefully—I repeat, sir, I have been astonished at hearing them speak of the President's message as a free-trade document; and I have thought, Mr. Chairman, that they would hardly have the temerity to publish as an appendix to their speeches the document they have so misconstrued, and let their constituents judge for themselves. Let the President speak for himself. This is his language:

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

And, sir, the spirit of the Mills bill, as the proposal of the Committee on Ways and Means is called, and the disposition of the Democratic party in this House furnish no justification for the assertion that it is proposed to pass a free-trade measure. We must realize, Mr. Chairman, as all business men must realize, that the country has been under a policy of protection, and whatever may be the individual views of members of this House, whatever theories may be entertained about "free trade" or "protection," whatever private views may prevail on the constitutional and economic questions in the abstract, there is a proposition upon which all can heartily agree, and it is this: that in a measure affecting the industries of the country, steps taken in correction of existing evils must be gradual and moderate, so as not to produce shock and consequent disasters. It must be borne in mind that we are not originating a policy for a government at the beginning of its career. We are simply taking the country as it is to-day, with regard to the present adjustment of its economic relations; and true statesmanship, in my judgment, consists in always approximating to something better, while we are trying to get, step by step, a perfect system.

REPUBLICAN PROPOSITIONS.

Such is the proposition of the majority as it is submitted to this Committee of the Whole. Let us compare it with the proposition which has been developed in this debate by the other side. What is their proposition? While they have not introduced a bill, their programme has been fully outlined in the remarks of one after another, showing that there has been consultation and the resulting concert of action; and yet it seems to me that it does not command their own united support, for I observe that their speeches may be divided fairly into two classes—first, those speeches which are full of tirades against the President's message and the Mills bill on the mistaken assumption that they are free-trade measures; and, secondly, those speeches which propose such details as the most of the gentlemen on the other side agree to as the proper legislation on this subject. Let us consider, then, the only legislative proposition advanced by the Republican side of the House. It was dwelt on yesterday by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. YARDLEY], and to-day by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], who preceded me. First, a reduction of the internal-revenue tax. Well, so far as that is concerned, the proposition of the majority also embraces a reduction of the internal-revenue tax of between twenty and thirty millions, as well as a reduction of tariff duties.

WHO ARE FRIENDS OF THE TARIFF?

And perhaps it may be proper just here, before proceeding further in the comparison I am pursuing, to notice a remark that has been heard frequently in this discussion, that the tariff should be revised only by its friends. I for one am not willing to concede to gentlemen of the

other side the position they have always so boastfully claimed of being the only friends of the tariff system. I am one of those who believe that a tariff is to be, and ought to be, the main source of the Federal revenue. I have been educated in the school of strict construction of Federal powers, and when I find that the Constitution of the United States forbids the States from levying customs duties without the consent of Congress, and provides that the net proceeds shall be paid into the Federal Treasury, the conclusion is irresistible to my mind that the fathers, when surrendering customs duties to the exclusive control of the General Government, intended that in all other fields of taxation the concurrent jurisdiction of the several States to raise revenue for local purposes should never be impaired by the methods of raising money for Federal purposes.

THE INTERNAL REVENUE.

As a States-right Democrat, I hold that the States have need of the other sources of revenue, and especially the impoverished States of the South, and that the General Government should exercise its power in this direction only in times of great emergency, such as war or public calamity. But, Mr. Chairman, the entire abolition of internal taxes is not proposed by either party. If we were going to lay taxes anew, who would now propose to levy a direct or internal-revenue tax? But the same principle applies here as is applied to reduction of the customs. We find a condition of affairs existing in which this tax is already upon us. If it is to be reduced or abolished, it should be done by steps. The Committee on Ways and Means have tendered to us a reduction of internal-revenue taxes, in accordance with this principle, which, in my humble judgment, is the statesmanlike way of dealing with this subject. It is probably enough to meet present requirements, and it leaves room for a moderate and substantial reduction of customs duties, to correct crying evils which bear much more heavily upon the consumers than the internal-revenue taxes. So that, so far as the reduction of internal revenue is concerned, it is merely a question of degree.

Mr. BUCKALEW. And of time.

Mr. DIBBLE. Methinks, Mr. Chairman, that possibly the gentlemen on the other side of the House may ask for a larger reduction of the internal-revenue side of this tax business, not simply for the sake of getting rid of internal taxation, but because that method of tax reduction will leave less room for us to correct the evils of overtaxation arising under the present customs laws. They desire to take more of the internal revenue away, in order to get the surplus reduced without taking away any of the excessive protection enjoyed by the over-favored industries under the tariff.

THE REPUBLICAN SCHEME SECTIONAL.

But, Mr. Chairman, after this digression, let us return to the proposition of the other side, for tax reduction. I have shown that both parties favor a reduction of internal taxes; now let us see what is the policy of the Republican party in regard to tariff reduction. They say that they will reform the tariff also, and let us consider their proposition for such reform. Where do they propose to touch the customs? Do they touch anything that will affect all parts of the country alike? Do they select some industry, which is wide-spread, extending from Maine to Texas, from Oregon to Florida? It seems not, Mr. Chairman. I have heard from the Republican side of the House suggestions as to reductions in the revenue derived from the tariff, but I have heard such suggestions only in relation to Southern products—the sugar of Louisiana and the rice of the Carolinas and Georgia. Is that the proper spirit, I ask in all kindness, is that the spirit in which, actuated by motives higher than mere partisan bias, we should approach a great economic question?

Suppose I concede, for the sake of argument merely, that these industries are overprotected. I do not concede this in fact; and if time permit I think I can show to every unprejudiced member of this House that these industries are not excessively protected; and I shall endeavor to do so in print, under the indulgence of the House, if I find I have not time to do so on the floor; but admitting, for the sake of the argument, that they are overprotected industries, are they the only favored ones in the country? Are they so exceptional in this respect that the suggestion should be gravely made by gentlemen on the other side of the House that the protection on the sugar and the rice of the South is the only protection that must go? I think that upon reflection gentlemen will consider such a suggestion to be unworthy of this brightening day, so far removed from the animosities of the past. I think that possibly, instead of claiming the proposition of the majority to be adapted only to a former period of our history, they will see that this suggestion of theirs belongs rather to the time when they levied the cotton tax, entirely sectional in its character, by which sixty-eight millions were taken from the Southern people—a tax which four out of eight judges of the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced unconstitutional.

Let us come to this work as citizens considering the good of the whole country, and let every section share alike in this reduction of taxation. Let us not array ourselves on sectional lines. In this connection, Mr. Chairman, an appropriate thought occurs to me. I can not refrain from expressing my profound admiration for that intense regard which my Republican friends affect here for the laboring men of this country, and especially for the freedmen of the South, a large number of whom are part of the constituency which I have the honor to represent upon this floor. The Republican members of the House have laid down as an incontrovertible proposition—a proposition which on their theory admits of no dispute, and which they have attempted to elevate to the dignity of an axiom—that if you take one cent of duty from a protected article, that cent does not affect the pocket of the capitalist, but must inevitably reduce to that extent the wages of labor. I confess I am surprised that, when they present here a proposition which, according to their theory and argument, must result in reducing the wages of the daily toil of workingmen, the only objects they can find upon whom to inflict that alleged reduction are the negroes who dwell in the humble cabins by the rice fields of the South, and those who cultivate the sugar plantations of Louisiana!

Mr. KERR. May I interrupt the gentleman a moment?

Mr. DIBBLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. KERR. Has not the proposition to which the gentleman refers as having been made on this side of the House always been accompanied with a proposition to protect that labor by an equivalent bounty?

Mr. DIBBLE. I have heard the word "bounty" in connection with sugar. I live in a country where these colored constituents of mine raise some sugar-cane for their consumption at home, and sometimes make a little molasses out of it. But I have not heard anything of a bounty on rice. And the gentlemen on the other side very well know that in proposing a bounty they are making a proposition which is impracticable. They know that the majority of this Congress is not prepared to give a bounty; and I think I might safely say if the other side of this House had the majority they could hardly rally their party to it. The proposition, therefore, amounts to this: Take off this duty, and we shall be willing to put on something that we know is not going to be put on.

Now, I say to my friends who have been so anxious to make the negro believe that the Republican party contains all the philanthropists and negrophilists in the country, that the schoolmaster has been abroad in the land. In those humble cabins around the rice-fields and about the sugar plantations there is the schoolmaster to-day; and the negro is not as ignorant a being as he has been in the past. He has the understanding to discriminate and to see when his interests are affected.

RICE.

Mr. SPOONER. Will the gentleman give way for a question?

Mr. DIBBLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPOONER. I desire to inquire whether it is not the fact that the production of rice at the present time is a very remunerative employment.

Mr. DIBBLE. I will say to my friend from Rhode Island [Mr. SPOONER] that I have some statistics on that subject, which I will print. But for the fact that I have only fifteen minutes of my time left I would inflict them on the House upon the gentleman's suggestion; but I shall publish them with my remarks, and I commend them to his attention. The substance of what they show is that the rice industry is not very remunerative when you take it from year to year in connection with the expenses attending it.

Mr. SPOONER. I shall examine the gentleman's statistics with a great deal of interest. I would like to ask him another question. Does he not think it is a discrimination quite different from anything urged on this side of the House, when a protective duty of 113 per cent. is maintained on rice; and is such a duty necessary to protect wages, which I understand, as paid by the planter in South Carolina, are only $7 a month?

WAGES OF RICE LABORERS.

Mr. DIBBLE. In regard to the wages of labor on the rice plantations of South Carolina and Georgia, I may as well give the information here, though I have not quite reached that part of my remarks.

The rice planter furnishes to his hands a cabin, a garden spot, fuel, an acre of seeded rice to each adult, and half an acre to each half hand, free of charge. He then pays wages of labor to half hands and full hands ranging from 35 cents a day up to $1, and sometimes, in the emergencies attending rice-culture, $1.25 a day. I have here among my papers a statement of the ordinary wages of labor, and that compensation exceeds $7 a month.

From a letter recently received from a prominent rice-planter of Georgetown County, South Carolina, Mr. William Miles Hazzard, I submit the following table:

RATE OF WAGES PER DAY FOR RICE-FIELD LABORERS, EIGHT HOURS, IN SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, AND LOUISIANA.

Women, per diem, 40 cents to 60 cents; house, fuel, garden lot, and 1 acre rice land free.

Men, per diem, 40 cents, 60 cents, to $1; house, fuel, garden, and 1 acre rice land free.

Boys, per diem, 25 cents to 35 cents; with parents, one-half of an acre of rice land free.

Girls, per diem, 25 cents to 35 cents; with parents, one-half of an acre of rice land free.

From a recent report of a committee to the Rice Association of Savannah, Ga., I beg leave to submit the following extracts on the subject of wages:

Since the emancipation of the slaves the cost of agricultural labor in the South has been greatly increased. In the rice districts of the Carolinas and Georgia

field labor ranges from 40 to 60 cents, and the best expert (not mechanical) labor to $1 per diem, this without the efficiency to be expected from free labor. The laborers frequently refuse to undertake tasks, easy under a sterner system, and essential to rice cultivation. A day's labor is commonly reduced to six hours instead of ten. For such reasons great waste attends the harvests, which, from the peculiar conditions required in curing this grain, do not as yet, despite the efforts of invention, admit the horse-reaper and are still conducted with the sickle.

But, as to the value of labor in the rice-fields of China, we learn from a report of the United States minister at Peking (United States Consular Report No. 83, September, 1887, page 489) as follows: The average wages of an able-bodied young man is $12 per annum, food, straw shoes, and free shaving.

In Japan, field hands receive their food and lodging, with wages from $8.60 to $12.96 per annum. The wages of females are about $6 per annum. (See United States Consular Reports No. 48, December, 1884, page 732.)

In British India, we learn from the British Indian Famine Report, 1871 to 1881, that, in Delhi, occasional labor is paid, for males, per diem, 6 cents; for females, 1½ cents; for children, 1 cent. In Kurnal, the highest permanent wages, with or without one meal per diem, is per month 50 cents. In Borat, men employed by the year, get from 80 to 100 pounds of grain per month, and from 44½ cents to $1.98 per annum. In Bombay and Madras, laborers are paid from 6 to 12 cents per diem, and when employed throughout the year, if furnished food, 22½ cents per month, and without food, 50 cents per month.

EXPENSES OF RICE CULTURE.

But let us look into this rice industry (and the sugar industry is in the same category in principle). I feel satisfied that those gentlemen on the other side, who have made an attack upon rice, and speak about this heavy percentage of protection, have done it under misapprehension of the state of that industry, and of the conditions that surround it and make it exceptional in its expenses and its vicissitudes. There are several of these to be taken into consideration.

Ordinarily, the farmer buys his land, clears it off, puts in his plow, and cultivates his crop with machinery, and then expects the rains of heaven to fertilize it, and harvest time comes, and he gathers it in. But the rice crop of South Carolina and Georgia is raised upon lands which are reclaimed from the swamp. In the first place, the swamp, over which the waters are accustomed at certain seasons to flow, is to be reclaimed from the timber upon it, and from the dense undergrowth. Then there is to be built a dam around it, protecting it like the levees of the Mississippi River. Then the plantation has to be checked off in squares by similar embankments and by ditches through it for the purpose of irrigation.

I have a statement in this connection which I will print with my remarks. It is an extract from an address delivered by Col. John Screven, of Savannah, before the Georgia State Agricultural Society in 1884, and published in the report of their proceedings for that year:

In order that the character and extent of the embanking and drainage system may be understood in a general way, I will venture, before concluding, the statement of a few facts in regard to these, the chief extraordinary burdens of a rice plantation.

The storm flood of 1854 rose about 11.5 feet above mean low water in the Savannah River. This would make the still-water level of the flood over the fields 4.8 feet. The storm flood of 1881 was about 6 feet maximum over the fields, or 1.2 feet higher than that of 1854. No rice-field embankments exist which could repel such storms as these. If any were constructed high enough to reach the still-water level of the flood, its waves which surge like those of the ocean and to a height quite double the elevation of that level, would roll over such embankments and submerge the field as effectually as if no such protectives existed. No effort, therefore, has yet been made to bar off extraordinary cataclysms like those of 1854 and 1881, and the rice-planter raises only such embankments as will defend his fields against ordinary storm floods.

The exterior embankments of a rice plantation are usually originally constructed 4 feet wide on top, 5 feet in height, with a base of 10 feet. On insular plantations—and, in fact, all rice plantations are practically insular, because each is necessarily self-dependent—these dimensions are carried entirely around the property. Unless creeks and other surface irregularities increase the quantities, these embankments contain 6,845.5 cubic yards per mile. Thus the exterior embankments of a plantation of 640 acres, 1 mile square (which is used here for easy estimates), would be 4 miles in length and contain 27,378 cubic yards, or 44 cubic yards to the acre. Such interior embankments as are thrown up along canals or are used for roadways exceed the exterior embankments, and may be assumed as 6 miles in total length, and in solid contents to measure 49,284 cubic yards, or 77 cubic yards per acre. If, now, this plantation be divided into 36 squares of, say, 17.5 acres each, the divisions, which are called check banks, will roughly be 8 miles in length, with contents of 34,417 cubic yards, or 53 cubic yards to the acre. It should be stated that on many rice plantations the squares or fields will average less acreage than is here assumed. As a rule the area of the fields is in some measure governed by the character of the surface of the land, the more irregular the surface the smaller the area and the more numerous the check banks. But summing up the statement of embankment, its gross length is 18 miles, its contents are 111,079 cubic yards, or 174 cubic yards to the acre.

But the drainage of the rice-fields and its annual maintenance is a servitude more burdensome than their embankments. It is, however, also true that while the rice plant of the tidal lands is aquatic, or perhaps more correctly, amphibious, it is paradoxical in demanding the most thorough drainage for its successful growth. * * * Interior embankments not necessary to the safety and convenience of the fields may demand no more than perfunctory renewals, but the drains imperatively require to be not only thoroughly excavated in the origin, but to be constantly kept down to their original depth, and, as the land settles, to be lowered to the same relative depth.

A properly arranged plantation of 640 acres, looking to the best control of flowing water and to thorough drainage, would require four parallel canals, each 20 feet in width and 5 feet in depth. The total length of these would be 3.33 miles. Each would require a flood-gate at its extremity on the river, so arranged as to admit or bar the tide-water at pleasure. Along these canals, one on each side of each field, or two to the field, are laid small flood-gates, commonly called trunks, by which the watering and drainage of each field is independently regulated. The main flood-gates of the canals are frequently true locks, so that canal and river navigation may be united. The four canals mentioned call for the excavation of 48,889 cubic yards, or 76 cubic yards per acre.

In addition to these canals, which are the great arteries of the rice-fields, each square or field must be surrounded by a main or margin ditch, cut 6 feet wide by 4 in depth, and parallel drains, called quarter drains, must be sunk through the fields from 1.5 to 2 feet in width, by 3 feet in depth, usually 75 feet apart, but in some instances still nearer. If now, for easy computation, we throw off spaces not actually cut through margins and embankments, which would not seriously affect the result, it will be found that the lineal measurement of this drainage will be 94 miles, and the excavation 157,226 cubic yards, or 246 cubic yards per acre.

To sum up for this illustrative rice plantation, we have—

	Lineal miles.	Cubic yards.
Embankment	18.0	111,079
Drainage	97.3	206,115
Total	115.3	317,294
Total to the acre	.18	496

This illustrates a plantation of 640 acres, having over 18 miles of embankment, exceeding 100,000 cubic yards in contents, and having 97 miles of canals and ditches, requiring the excavation of over 200,000 cubic yards of earth. It may as well be stated here that these embankments and canals are not only necessary for protection from freshets, and for drainage, but for the purpose of irrigating the growing crops, which require to be flooded with fresh water, introduced by means of trunks and gates erected in the outer and inner embankments, from three to four times at intervals during the season, the ground at such times being entirely submerged to a depth varying, according to the height of the plant at the time, from a few inches to over a foot of water; a rice-field at this stage of its cultivation presenting the appearance of a series of small ponds, striped with rows of light green rice-shoots, rising a few inches out of the water.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question for information simply?

Mr. DIBBLE. Certainly.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Is not the cultivation of rice in countries which compete with South Carolina—say Japan, for instance—attended with the same outlays and expenses; and in Japan do they not even have to depend upon irrigation?

Mr. DIBBLE. In Japan labor, which is the element which makes ditching and canal-building expensive as well as raising the crop—the labor used in rice culture in Japan is paid as low as the rate of 50 cents per month. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. I do not want to occupy the gentleman's time, but I would like to ask him the question whether it is not wrong, according to his view, for the Government to protect, to the extent of 132 per cent., that single product, instead of allowing us to go and buy it where we can buy it the cheapest? [Laughter.]

Mr. DIBBLE. My friend will understand this, that the rice industry is the only industry for which that section of the country is available.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Yes.

Mr. DIBBLE. They have tried other industries. They have attempted, in view of these expenses and outlays in cultivating rice plantations, to raise other productions, but it has been found at last that this is the only industry which is available to them.

There is a settled population there to-day, a population of laborers who have been reared in that industry, and those laborers would be thrown out upon the community, and they would have to abandon that section, and it would become a waste if the cultivation of rice were to cease.

Now, as has been said before, we are not dealing with theories; but on the contrary, we are dealing with conditions. I am not, nor is the Democratic party, nor is the President advancing upon any free-trade theory.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will not the gentleman——

Mr. DIBBLE. The gentleman will permit me to answer him before I yield further. I say further, the protection of the rice-planter and of the laborer who cultivates rice is not a burden to the consumer of this country under this alleged protection of 113 per cent., which is an exaggerated estimate; that it is not a burden upon the consumers of the country, as is the case with some other articles which are in universal use.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Now, just a word——

Mr. DIBBLE. In a moment. The industry of rice-planting, or, rather, the product of that industry, is an article of daily food in the section of country where it is produced; but in the other sections of the country where it is not produced it is not an article of daily food.

Every man in the country, whether he lives North or South, wears a coat upon his back, and that coat and the clothing for his family—for men, women, and children all over the country—are affected by the operation of the tariff. But other cereals furnish the common food of the masses, and are the choice of the people in every section where rice is not cultivated; and rice is really, outside of the immediate region where it is cultivated, rather an article of luxury than of daily food.

WOOL.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will you not allow a further question in the line of the argument you have been pursuing? There are thousands of acres of land in the North that are totally unfitted for any species of farming, or, in fact, for any purpose except possibly the grazing of a few sheep, and perhaps they raise a few berries on them.

Ought they not to be protected, under the argument of the gentleman from South Carolina, as well as the rice lands of the South? The gentleman says the rice swamps would not be worth anything for any other purpose. These lands to which I refer are worth nothing for any other purpose.

Mr. DIBBLE. I doubt whether the condition of things exists where land could graze sheep and nothing but sheep; and as far as the sheep industry is concerned I have not heard a word of argument to show that there is anything in free wool that is going to hurt the sheep-raiser. I have heard the sheep men themselves, in speaking to me in private conversation—owners of sheep, raisers of sheep—say that in their judgment they will not be hurt by free wool; and I am speaking in favor of it from the producer's standpoint.

SUGAR AND RICE.

Mr. WEBER. Will the gentleman permit me to ask if it is true that the sugar lands—and I ask the question for information—are unfitted for any other purpose?

Mr. DIBBLE. I am not familiar with the sugar-culture in Louisiana. The sugar-culture in my State is limited to the culture for plantation use. They raise the sugar-cane for that purpose, grind it, and use the product, as well as the sirup made from it, for home consumption.

Mr. WEBER. I asked the question for the reason that the information the gentleman has given, so far as the rice fields are concerned, is entirely new to me, and I was glad to know the fact. I should also be glad to know if the same condition applies to the sugar lands.

Mr. DIBBLE. I am satisfied that the members of the House generally, without respect to party, looking at the question from a business point of view, will see that the rice industry (and my information is that the sugar industry is equally expensive) is not one that produces the enormous profits which have been spoken of in connection with it.

I know from my own experience a great many planters who have been bankrupted by putting the little capital they possessed into rice-culture. I presume the number of those who have failed to succeed in rice-culture in the last twenty years will equal those who have made even a moderate fortune from it. It is subject to many varying conditions. It is subject to freshets; it is subject to the danger which arises from the possible breakage of the embankments, like the breakage of the levees of the Mississippi; it is subject to heavy annual expense for the repairs of the dikes and the dams; and the contingencies of the seasons affect it very seriously. Some seasons the rice-planter makes a good crop and realizes a handsome profit; but possibly the next year he may make no profit at all, and the next year a disaster may come upon the crop, either from drought or freshet, and he may lose all the profits of the previous years.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

And again, Mr. Chairman, there is another point for consideration. The industries of the South, so much are they dependent upon climate, come into competition, not with Caucasian labor, but they come into competition with the very cheapest organized labor on the face of the earth.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I understand the gentleman to mean, then, that he believes in protecting American labor?

Mr. DIBBLE. I believe in protecting American labor from such competition as will make it unremunerative. I have no other doctrine. But I believe also that under the provisions of a revenue tariff such protection can be virtually obtained without the objectionable features exhibited in the operation of the tariff to-day, which will continue to exist unless it be amended, and which give to the capitalist who invests in special branches a bounty he does not require, a bounty above a reasonable profit; and by the operation of the tariff law that bounty is not paid out of the Treasury of the United States, but by the consumer directly to the capitalist, who has the money invested in the protected industry.

CLASSIFICATION OF RICE.

In this bill a reduction is proposed in the duty on rice. It is proposed on the three great classes of rice, according to the classification adopted by those who produce the article here; and it is also the classification by which the foreign article is rated where it is purchased for shipment to this country.

I have here with me some samples of rice. This [holding it up] is what we call paddy, which is rice with the hull on it; and there, you may say, the planter's production of the rice ends as a purely agricultural process. That is Carolina paddy, and a very fine sample of it. I was not able to procure a sample of foreign paddy, because rice is not largely imported in that condition.

Each grain of rice has on it a very coarse hull, which has to be removed by machinery. It has, besides, an inner cuticle, which is a film over the grain of the rice. I have in my hand a sample of rice imported for the Charleston market, and I will read the particulars of its importation from the label upon the vial containing it. It was furnished to me by the collector of customs at Charleston, and was sealed up and labeled in his office.

The label is as follows:

> Uncleaned rice,
>
> ex S. S. Bengloe, 14,135 bags from Hiogo, Japan, to New York, March 2, 1888.
>
> In bond to Charleston, S. C., March 23, 1888.
>
> Pr. schs. Geo. R. Vreeland ..... 6,180 bags.
> Jno. A. Griffin ..... 4,733 bags.
> Benj. F. Lee ..... 3,222 bags.

This is the uncleaned rice of commerce, shown by a sample of actual importation, being rice with the outer hull off and the inner cuticle still on the grain.

[Here the hammer fell; but Mr. DIBBLE, under the general leave granted to the members, extended his remarks as follows:]

I have another sample, in a similar vial, showing some of the same cargo of rice after it has undergone the cleaning and polishing processes. The cleaning process removes the inner cuticle from around the grain, but leaves a flour or dust, which is brushed off; and this brushing off is called "polishing." The polishing process gives luster and beauty to the grain, but is not an essential process for rendering the grain suitable for use as food; for every good cook washes rice before cooking it; and the washing of it by the cook will remove the dust or flour from the grain. So that we have three distinct grades for the classification of rice, as follows:

1. Paddy, or rice having the outer hull on.
2. Uncleaned, or rice free of the outer hull and still having the inner cuticle on.
3. Cleaned, or rice free of the outer hull and inner cuticle.

In addition there are—

4. Rice flour, which is the flour or dust which is brushed off from the grain in the polishing process.
5. Rice meal, which is produced by actually grinding the grains into meal.
6. Granulated rice, which is an article used by brewers, in coarser granules than rice meal, and which has been defined by a decision of the Treasury Department, with the concurrence of the growers, millers, and brewers, all of whom agreed upon the standard adopted, which was a sample from a cargo imported in 1885.

REDUCTIONS OF DUTY ON RICE.

The duty on cleaned rice at present is 2½ cents per pound; the Mills bill proposes 2 cents per pound—a reduction of over 11 per cent.

The duty on uncleaned rice is 1½ cents per pound; the Mills bill proposes 1¼ cents per pound—a reduction of over 16 per cent.

The duty on paddy is 1¼ cents per pound; the Mills bill proposes 1 cent per pound—a reduction of 20 per cent.

BREWERS' RICE.

There is an error of classification in the change proposed concerning rice imported for brewers' use, in proposing No. 10 brass-wire sieve as a standard test with aperture seven hundred and eighty-seven ten-thousandths square. An aperture of this size—nearly one-twelfth of an inch square—will easily pass half grains of most of the rice imported now classified as cleaned and uncleaned, and an article entirely distinct from the granulated rice used by brewers. The standard sample of the Treasury for granulated rice is properly tested by a brass-wire sieve, known commercially as No. 14, made of brass wire No. 25, according to Stubs's wire-gauge.

I have ascertained this by actual trial of such wire sieve, with a part of the standard sample furnished by the Treasury. In this particular the bill should be amended, either by striking out the clause relating to a sieve altogether, or by designating a No. 14 sieve, of the size of wire specified, which exactly defines the present standard of the Treasury Department, well understood by importers, brewers, millers, and rice-growers. It is needless to say that in specifying the sieve it is requisite to name the size of the wire of which it is composed, as well as the number of meshes to the running inch each way, in order to define exactly the aperture through which granulated rice will pass, for granulated rice is tested by size of granules.

PRICES OF RICE.

The production of rice during the last twenty years has been gradually increasing, as the owners of the abandoned rice-fields have become able to reclaim them from the dilapidation into which they had fallen during the late war, and as the labor employed in the cultivation of the grain has become more efficient than it was during the period of misrule and anarchy, extending as late as twelve years ago in some sections. So that we find in the crop year of 1886–'87 the total domestic production was 155,707,060 pounds, while the consumption of the article during the same year was 244,175,060 pounds. The annual importation of rice from foreign countries is about 90,000,000 pounds, nearly three-eighths of the consumption. In 1873–'74 the domestic production and the importations were about equal in amount, but since that year the domestic production has exceeded the importations.

A reference to the table (in the American Almanac of this year) of highest and lowest prices of rice in the New York market shows that in 1873, when the consumption of rice in this country was only one-half the present consumption, and was supplied equally by domestic production and by importation, the wholesale prices of rice at New York were from 7 to 9½ cents per pound, while in 1886, when the consumption of rice was double that of 1873, and five-eighths of the supply was from domestic production and only three-eighths was from importations, the wholesale prices of rice in the New York market were from 3 to 5 cents per pound.

We find therefore that the consumer of rice has been benefited by a reduction of prices to one-half during a period of thirteen years just past, in consequence of the domestic supply increasing 158 per cent., while the foreign supply increased 50 per cent. These figures show that the healthy competition between the domestic and the foreign producers of rice under the existing tariff has inured to the benefit of the American purchaser, and demonstrates that the present rate of duty is not only not prohibitory but that it gives the consumer the option of purchasing from the home or the foreign producer, thus insuring minimum prices and preventing monopoly by combinations either at home or abroad.

It is therefore questionable whether a reduction of the duties on rice will benefit the consumer in lower prices, as the present duties leave our markets accessible to foreign rice on such terms as occasion increased importations; and this circumstance demonstrates that rice-planting at the South can not be fairly considered to be one of the over-protected industries; nevertheless, in view of the large surplus in the Treasury, rice has been subjected to a reduction of duty in common with articles much more highly protected in comparison.

But I have digressed from the line of my argument, and have said much more in relation to rice than I had intended, because the questions of the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. SPOONER] indicated that some members of the House did not understand the true condition of the rice industry in the South, and the interest manifested by him and by other gentlemen on the subject has induced me, at the expense of a large part of the hour allotted me, to attempt to make it clear to them.

At the time of my digression I was comparing the Mills bill with such propositions for revenne reduction as have been offered by gentlemen on the other side of this debate; and I had expressed my surprise that the Republican members of the House had found no place for tariff reduction except in the rice and sugar schedules affecting only Southern producers and laborers, especially when these gentlemen all maintain that tariff reduction causes reduction of the wages of labor; and this being their view, their attack upon the rice and sugar schedules is entirely inconsistent with their avowed friendship for the negro laborer of the South; for according to their theory they are attacking his wages. But I forbear to press this dilemma upon them further.

THE RICE AND SUGAR CONSUMERS.

And now, sir, aside from sectionalism and mere partisanship, I invite this Committee of the Whole to consider with me the effect of their proposals for free rice and free sugar. As I have already stated, there are three interests which the Congress should endeavor to guard equally when bringing an excessive tariff down to a revenue standard, and these are the American consumer, the American capitalist, and the American laborer. All these are home interests. I think I have demonstrated as to rice that the consumer is not a sufferer by the existing law; and as to sugar, the prices are very low, and there is also the fact that the wealthy use it so much more extensively than people of moderate means that the burden of the duty, so far as the consumer bears it, presses upon the rich rather than the poor. So much, therefore, for the consumer.

THE RICE AND SUGAR PLANTERS.

As for the Southern rice or sugar planter, a brief retrospect as to the condition in which he was placed at the close of the civil war may be useful in considering his interests as an American capitalist. His ancestral home was, in most cases, destroyed. The rank semi-tropical vegetation of the swamp had taken possession of his fields and turned them into a wilderness, and the vicissitudes of the seasons, with freshet and hurricane and other violent natural causes, had converted the costly improvements of the plantations into ruins, or they had been laid waste by the devastating hand of war. The entire labor system of the South had been overturned in the abolition of slavery, and had not yet been succeeded by any substitute. With no resources but his lands, without the money to engage in the work of restoration, in a section where there was no money to be borrowed, and with no disposition of capital in any other section to invest in an attempt to revive these prostrate rice and sugar industries, the outlook was discouraging, even to the most earnest and resolute.

Added to these obstacles, the period of war was followed by years of tyrannical and corrupt local governments, which clogged the wheels of enterprise and interrupted the avocations of peace with constant outbreaks and disturbances, the natural consequences of oppressive misrule. Look at this picture, in that broad, impartial, non-partisan spirit, in which I believe Republicans and Democrats alike are capable of viewing it, and then inquire of yourselves, my fellow Representatives, whether the men who, by their courage in disaster and energy in emergency, have overcome such obstacles, do not deserve your consideration.

Men of the North, when the war was over your past developed, under the impulse of victory into a present of glorious prosperity, and the vista opened towards a future of progress and wealth unexampled in the history of civilization. Our past was buried in a sepulcher, with nothing but an epitaph. Our orderly condition of society was succeeded for a time by chaos, and the lessons of life, which had been the oundati on of our civilization, the very axioms of our political and economic organization, had to be unlearned. The irrepressible conflict was over which has had no parallel save in the days when Scipio and Hannibal marshaled the warrior hosts of Rome and Carthage in the struggle for the mastery of the world. But with the close of the conflict the parallel ceases. From the ashes of Carthage no phenix arose; but from the ruins of a desolated South her vanquished children, refusing to despair, are restoring her arable fields and are causing her waste places to blossom as the rose. I submit to the candid and patriotic judgment of this Committee of the Whole whether these efforts for recuperation should be obstructed, and these Southern industries should be the only ones selected for tariff reductions.

THE RICE AND SUGAR LABORERS.

But it is admitted by all that the American laborer should have full consideration, as well as the consumer and the capitalist. The laborer in the rice and sugar industries is the Southern negro, now elevated from slavery to the condition of a free citizen of the Union. Let us for once look upon his condition as it is, calmly and without prejudice. It is beyond dispute that he requires aid from us to help him to become fit for his new position, which has responsibilities far greater than he is yet capable of realizing. And I make no unreasonable claim when I assert that the white men of the South, from their immediate relations with the negro, from their knowledge of his character in its brightest as well as its darkest aspects, from their direct interest in his welfare as a part of their political and economic systems, are in a better position to deal properly with the problem of his material, moral, and mental improvement than those who, living at a distance from him, form their opinions from hearsay testimony through partisan, prejudiced, or venal witnesses.

There is no better illustration of this than is furnished by the history of the injudicious plans which were devised for the benefit of the negro by those who attempted the amelioration of his condition without the co-operation of the white people of the South. It is only necessary to contrast the state of the mass of the negroes during the period of those experiments and their condition to-day. It may be said that this is merely evidence of their progress due to their emancipation; but the answer to this is, that the mass of the negroes made no progress at all during the years when they were the dominating political factors in the South, and shaped its legislation, assisted and guided only by white men from other sections; but they began immediately to improve their condition as soon as the Southern whites were in control ot the Southern States, and have done so ever since, under the operation of judicious and beneficent laws, based upon the true theory, that the two races should co-operate in developing the material prosperity of the South, under intelligent home leadership. And I am glad to say that material assistance has been rendered to us by the people of the North in their contributions to the education of the negro, and in their liberal donations in times of calamity and misfortune from freshet and pestilence and earthquake, at which period the negro, as the poorest class of the community, was the most helpless sufferer.

But while the negro is now making satisfactory improvement in his material condition, evinced by his being less illiterate, better clad and housed, more expert in his labor, more careful in his habits, yet there is much yet to be done by him and in his behalf. The superficial observer who visits the South to-day and sees the colored farmer driving into town with a sleek and well-fed horse or mule, with a good buggy and harness, and remembers that ten years ago, after thirteen years of freedom, the same freedman appeared driving a gaunt, starved bunch of bones in front of a patched-up cart with a cotton plow-line for reins, imagines that the task of his regeneration is complete. But to the student of this problem, who is conversant with the entire situation in all of its details, there is much yet to be solved.

As I have just remarked, we of the South who are in daily contact with this question are the ones who are most intensely interested in it; but there is an obligation on the part of the people of the Union to throw no obstacles in the way of the freedman struggling to better the condition of himself and his family. And when you strike at the sugar and rice industries of the South you need to be reminded that if you make them so unprofitable as to be abandoned by the whites, who furnish the lands and the money capital, while you may impoverish the owners of the plantations you simply drive to other occupations men who have been already schooled in the field of adversity and are of that indomitable Caucasian blood which will not yield to despair however discouraging the prospect. But the negro has not yet the equipment of intelligence and energy to enable him to retrieve his loss of employment, and you consign him to a condition lamentable indeed. Knowing no other kind of labor but the peculiar agricultural work in which he has been trained; attached as the negro always is to the

locality where he has passed his days and the social circle in which he has always moved, you will find that he will remain near the abandoned rice and cane fields, eking out a precarious subsistence and retrograding all the time, if he does not actually relapse into a savage state. Those who are not acquainted with these sections and their colored population may regard this picture as overdrawn, but I can tell them that in many instances communities of negroes in those parts of the South, prior to the rehabilitation of the rice and sugar industries by the whites, had already gone back into a savage condition nearly as abject as that of their ancestors in Africa. And I submit, Mr. Chairman, that their situation is exceptional and should not be judged by the same rules that apply to normal conditions elsewhere. And yet gentlemen here who are eloquent in reciting the glories of emancipation and in asserting their great concern in the advancement of the freedman are the ones who are ready to strike this blow at his means of subsistence.

FREE WOOL AND FREE LUMBER NOT SECTIONAL.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, the cry raised by the gentlemen on the other side that the Mills bill is sectional because it proposes free lumber and free wool and does not propose free rice and free sugar has no foundation in reason. They forget that the South has more forests, and in some States more sheep than the North, while rice and sugar are not grown at the North at all. And while I am not specially wedded to the doctrine of free lumber or free wool, being content, as a tariff reformer, with a material reduction of the duties on these products in common with others, yet when I hear gentlemen from Northern States, where the lumber and wool of my own and other Southern States are marketed to-day, inveighing against free wool and free lumber as sectional legislation against the North, the conclusion is irresistible that they have confined their conceptions of the subject within absurdly narrow limits, and have forgotten that in this country many trees grow in other places, and many sheep bleat in other fields than those of their immediate constituents.

FEDERAL AND STATE TAXING POWERS.

Mr. Chairman, I have dwelt long on these propositions of the other side of this House, because they have been advanced by many Republican members upon this floor, and with much pertinacity and vehemence. But there are other branches of this subject which I desire to discuss briefly ere I close.

The Federal Government, from the foreign trade of the country, must secure its necessary and ordinary revenue. Under the Confederation at the close of the Revolutiouary war, and prior to the adoption of the Constitution, the General Government was dependent on the States for their contributions for its support, a precarious and unsatisfactory method of getting funds, and in practice a failure. It made the United States, as to credit and resources for carrying on the Government, too weak to be respected at home, and without credit or power abroad. This state of affairs led to the formation of the present Union under the Constitution, in which the States transferred to the General Government the exclusive control of the customs, as the prime source of revenue, and in addition gave the United States general taxing powers, such as the States themselves exercised.

But in doing so, the States did not anticipate that the Federal authorities would ever exercise any of these powers of taxation held in common with the States, in such a manner as to render it impossible for the States to use them for raising money for State purposes; and Congress should never levy any direct or excise tax to such an extent as to leave no room for the States to levy a similar tax if any of them should wish to do so. And whenever Congress enters upon this common ground of taxation, and levies a tax so burdensome as practically to leave no room for similar State taxation, the spirit of the Constitution is manifestly violated. For this reason, such a tax as the 10 per cent. tax on the circulation of State banks being prohibitory, prevents such circulation, and thereby deprives the States deriving revenue from taxing such circulation should they wish to do so, and is therefore clearly unconstitutional. And so far as the same principle can be applied to taxes on oleomargarine, tobacco, and spirits, the conclusion is inevitably the same. Of course, in periods of war or other great peril of the country, all these taxing powers can be exercised for the safety of the Republic to their full extent; but in time of peace it is otherwise, and the balance of power between the Federal Government and the State governments in matters of taxation should be religiously maintained inviolate.

THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

Hence, Mr. Chairman, the tariff should be the principal source of revenue. But as in other modes of taxation all rights not expressly granted are reserved to the States so, in the tariff system, in which the States have no reserved rights, there are certain rights reserved to the people.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.—*Constitution, amendment X.*

The people did not expressly grant to Congress the right to make unjust discrimination in fixing customs duties, so as to benefit one American citizen at the expense of another. There is, therefore, no power in Congress to enrich the producer at the expense of the consumer, nor to ruin the producer for the benefit of the consumer. And whenever Congress attempts, by tariff legislation, to give certain home producers a monopoly, and deprive consumers, by prohibitory duties, from enjoying their right to buy where they please, it exceeds its prerogative; and it does likewise when it endeavors to favor certain home consumers by admitting free of duty articles of foreign production, whose introduction will prostrate or destroy established American industries. We should therefore reduce existing duties in all cases where we see producers growing suddenly rich by reason of excessive profits which they are enabled to enjoy because they are protected against fair foreign competition, and thus can charge the consumer more than he ought to pay, but in so reducing the tariff we should leave such duties as will enable the American producer to pay his workingmen proper wages, and have for himself a reasonable profit on his capital. The adjustment of this is a matter of detail, and the object to be aimed at is to let the duty represent the difference of cost of production here and abroad.

A TARIFF FOR REVENUE.

For example, an American consumer desires an article which the foreign seller can with reasonable profit place in the port of New York, outside of the custom-house, for $5; but the home producer can not sell the same article and make a fair profit for less than $6. In this case a duty of $1 puts the American and foreign seller in fair competition, prevents monopoly, and gives the American consumer the advantage of choice of sources of supply, thus insuring low prices, enables the American capitalist to make a fair profit on his investment and to pay proper wages to the American laborer; and the foreign seller buys some American product for his return cargo, thus stimulating some other American industry and increasing our commerce. After a while the American producer, under the stimulus of competition, invents improved machinery or utilizes improved methods of transportation or exchange, and is able to put his article on the market for a little less than $6; and the foreigner, in order not to lose a foothold in the American market, is compelled to do likewise to the further benefit of the consumer.

A TARIFF FOR PROTECTION.

But suppose, in this instance, where the foreign seller can offer the article at $5 and the duty, and the American producer can not profitably sell for less than $6, the duty were placed at $2. The American consumer is no longer able to buy from the foreign producer; and the American producer, instead of being content with the $6, which gives him a fair profit, charges $6.50, making an excessive profit, and enjoying still a monopoly, since the duty excludes the foreign product, which at $5 and the duty would cost $7. And as the foreign producer does not send his goods here, there is no return cargo of American products sent abroad. For a short period the American monopolist makes excessive profits, but this attracts capital to the same field, and then follows overproduction, and the home competition reduces prices to the $6, and temporarily below $6, perhaps. But as soon as prices go down from a surfeit of the market, the capitalist begins to call on his wage-workers for a corresponding reduction of wages, for capital does not part with even its excessive profits, if it can shift the loss of profit upon labor. The only alternative to this result is the formation of a combination or "trust" to keep up prices at the expense of consumers, and the crushing out and destruction of all competitors who decline to enter the "combine." This is the second phase in which the tariff presents itself, and is the working of a tariff for direct protection.

FREE TRADE.

Another illustration supposes free trade. The article which the foreigner can ship to our shores for $5 is admitted free to drive out the home product, which can not be profitably made for less than $6. The result is that the home producer quits a profitless field, and capital is withdrawn from the industry assailed, and the operatives are sent adrift to learn some other way to get their living. Either this, or starvation wages. The consumer during the struggle gets cheaper prices, but after the conflict ends then becomes dependent on foreign producers, who speedily fix prices to suit themselves and take advantages of the distance of the supply to corner the market whenever practicable. Can any sensible, fair-minded consumer consider such a condition desirable? In this last case it is true that there is an opportunity for return cargoes of American products, and there is a stimulus of commerce, which is not the case in the instance of a protective tariff; but I see on the whole nothing else to make this free-trade policy more desirable than a protective policy. Both of them fall short of the advantages afforded by a tariff for revenue such as is recommended by the President in his message.

PROTECTIVE DUTIES UNFAIR.

Our tariff to-day follows no rule or system. It was adapted to exigencies when greater revenues were required, at a time when all the resources of the country were strained to the utmost to meet the expenditures of the civil war. In 1883 it was modified to some extent, but without removing many of its incongruities. Under its operation at present capital invested in certain industries which are extravagantly protected from outside competition returns immense profits, and the owners of this capital make sudden fortunes at the expense of consumers. It was Daniel Webster who eloquently inveighed against a condition of society which enabled a favored class to accumulate inordinate wealth, while the masses struggle for the ordinary necessaries of life. Such is our condition now, and it demands immediate action by the representatives of the people. A government resting on uni-

versal suffrage can not hope to be sustained by an intelligent body of voters if it fail to adjust its necessary burdens so as to fall equally on all classes of citizens.

OVERTAXATION UNFAIR.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, the General Government now controls the circulating money of the entire country. By the prohibitory effect of the 10 per cent. tax on the bills of State banks the States are deprived of the power of meeting local demands for currency and of giving that elasticity to the volume of money within their respective borders which is necessary to a healthy condition of finance. This being the case, the entire responsibility rests upon the Federal Administration to keep the people of the United States, in every section, supplied with all moneys not needed in the Treasury for current demands. But if the revenue is greater than the expenditures, the surplus of a fund collected from the people at large can never be returned to them in the proportion in which they have respectively contributed it. In a distribution of such surplus some persons and sections will get too much and others too little, or none at all. Hence great care should be taken that no more shall be raised than is needed in the first instance.

Besides this, the currency of the country, like its railroads and its water ways, is a common carrier of trade; and it is like reducing the number of trains on a railroad when you lessen the supply of money for the people to handle; and when you accumulate it in the Treasury, there to remain idle, it is like gathering the locomotives in the round-house, there to stand unemployed, instead of hauling trains with them. And this contraction of the circulation affects the poor man in the most direct manner, because the rich man can draw his check upon his bank account, but the poor man has no similar substitute for actual currency. In view of these facts I submit for the consideration of the Republican minority whether they should not co-operate with the majority in relieving the masses of the people from this impending scarcity of money, arising from the ever-growing surplus.

PROTECTION'S TRIBUTE TO FOREIGN LANDS.

Mr. Chairman, there is another evil resulting from a protective tariff, of which we have notable examples to-day. Foreign capitalists, who have no permanent interest in our prosperity, bring their capital here inside our borders, and import their labor, easily evading our contract-labor laws, in order to enjoy the immense profits realized in overprotected industries, and carry those profits abroad to be enjoyed by their owners in their foreign homes. A few years of excessive profits, drawn from American consumers, suffice to return the entire capital invested, and after this is accomplished all future profits thus carried out of the United States are a direct drain upon the resources of our country. And the same is true in cases of domestic capital invested whenever the accumulations are spent in foreign lands. And when I hear of princely establishments abroad, owned by those who are interested in American factories, I can not but think that each American consumer of the fabrics which they manufacture is paying tribute, not simply to benefit some one else in our own land, but is really paying it to add to the accumulating resources of foreign countries.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Shall not these evils I have depicted be remedied? Shall not the American Congress in these matters legislate to give relief to the whole people rather than to maintain a plutocracy created by the operation of unjust laws? Sooner or later the issues now before the people of the Union will cease to be clouded with specious sophisms, and will stand forth clearly, so that all may understand them, and if we are not ready to be leaders in the reform demanded by the occasion we are not equal to the duties assigned us by our constituencies.

Let us, therefore as the representatives of the people, exercise our prerogative of legislation so as to correct abuses whereby the people suffer, and let the burdens of war no longer oppress the country in the days of peace.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ORMSBY B. THOMAS,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. THOMAS, of Wisconsin, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The matters under discussion and to be settled by this bill involve, as I believe, the welfare and prosperity of this great nation. I believe, sir, that if this bill as it comes from the hands of the committee shall be adopted and become a law it will strike down with a most cruel, vicious, and unnecessary blow the industries of a large portion of the people of this land, will permanently cripple the enterprise and prosperity of the country, and eventually bring ruin and bankruptcy upon the nation.

This bill is a most crafty, insidious, and determined effort to ingraft upon our revenue laws, so far as the great industries of the country are concerned, the doctrine and ideas of free trade, ideas long since exploded and abandoned in nearly every civilized land and maintained fully in only one, England, on account of the peculiar situation and circumstances surrounding that nation.

And, sir, I will say right here that the inspiration that is animating those who are so persistently attempting to foist free trade upon this country is beyond question derived and imbibed from that nation, a nation that has expended millions upon millions of British gold to break down the protective system of the United States, and that has attempted to poison the public mind through its Cobden clubs and the organizations formed by its manufacturers and importers, who have been looking with longing and greedy eyes upon the vast and rich fields waiting ready at their hands if they could only break down the barriers that now and have for over twenty-five years kept them out—twenty-five years of protective tariff, twenty-five years and more of protection to the laborer, the mechanic, the farmer, the manufacturer, and to all classes that, notwithstanding the great and terrible destruction of property and values, as well as human life, caused by the most gigantic civil war during that time that the world ever saw, a war prolonged and aided to our great and irreparable injury by these same British free-traders—I say, notwithstanding all this, during this period of protection to American industries the country has prospered to such an extent as it never prospered before; prospered during that time as no other country has ever prospered; has grown and prospered by reason of and under its protective system until to-day.

Sir, we are the wealthiest and the mightiest nation on the face of the earth. A nation, sir, so prosperous that the great and all-absorbing question to-day is, in what manner shall we reduce the vast and accumulating surplus in the national Treasury? While all other nations, not excepting the great English free-trade nation, whom our friends on the other side desire to pattern after and be controlled by, are seeking in every conceivable way how to increase the revenues of their governments, we alone are cudgeling our brains as to the best method of reducing the revenues. This is the condition of this country under a system of protection, and any attempt to make it appear either at home or abroad by the free-trade element of the country that this great and general prosperity is due to other sources and causes than protection has utterly failed, and must of necessity fail, because it is in fact untrue.

It becomes a matter of some importance to know to what amount we are required to reduce the revenue by this or any other bill in order to know what we are really required to do. The Secretary of the Treasury tells us that it will require for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1888, the sum of $326,530,000 to meet the demands of the Government. The amount derived from all sources other than taxation is $35,000,000, which will require the sum of nearly $292,000,000 to be provided for by taxation. At the present rate of taxation now provided by law, the amount, including internal revenue and customs duties, amounts to $348,000,000, of which sum $228,000,000 are derived from customs, thus showing an amount above the requirements of the Government of something over $56,000,000—put it in round numbers $60,000,000. But in these estimates there is no adequate provision for our coast defenses, for the building up of such a navy as should be maintained by a great nation like ours, and no provision for the payment to our soldiers of such pensions as we in justice ought to pay them.

These gentlemen upon the other side, who are so terribly frightened at the prospect of this surplus, at the last session of Congress, when a proposition was seriously made by this side to do what we justly and reasonably might for the soldiers, voted it down, except upon the condition that a special tax on incomes should be levied to meet any such expense. When we pointed out to them that this surplus existed and that it was unusual and unnecessary thus to make special provision, they made no other answer than an insistance upon the income tax; and now, sir, at this session, when we have urged, as we have most persistently, that pension legislation should have a day, it has been so far denied, and undoubtedly if we insist upon this demand the same proposition as was made at last session will be insisted upon at this, which will in my judgment be an insult to the soldier and an injustice to him. Sir, it is not so much the surplus that troubles our free-trade friends as it is an anxiety on their part to put in practice in this country the free-trade notions with which they are imbued.

I have noticed with surprise that many of the advocates of this bill deny with great vehemence that they are free-traders or that the bill is draughted upon that idea; but, sir, the honorable chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, whose name has been given to the bill, and who presented it to the House, said in his speech in favor of the same (RECORD, page 3330):

If we had no tariff, if all the custom-houses were torn down and the Government was supported by direct taxation, not more than 10 per cent. of all the manufactured products consumed by all the people would be imported into the country.

Now, if this means anything it means that a tariff, so far as the interests of the people are concerned, so far as the manufacturers, the laborers, the mechanics, the farmers are concerned, is of no benefit what

ever. If this is not free trade in its broadest sense, then I fail to understand the meaning of language. To more strongly emphasize the fact that he is a free-trader, he further says:

Nine-tenths of all the manufactures consumed in the United States can be produced more cheaply here than in England.

He further adds this question:

What use have our manufacturers for the tariff at all?

Of course the chairman of the committee expresses the sentiments of the majority who have framed this bill. This fact will appear more fully and conclusively by the remarks of another member of that committee, the learned and eloquent gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON], who cites with approbation the action of England, and extols that nation for entering upon what he calls "that career of industrial emancipation which she faithfully pursued to its full and final issue." He says, referring to England's history on the subject of free trade:

In the ratio in which duties were reduced, in that ratio manufactures grew and flourished, and when finally duties were entirely abolished, it went boldly forth and contended in the markets of the world.

And so, sir, I could go through the speech of each gentleman upon the other side and show that the foundation of the argument presented as a reason why this bill should be passed by this House is that free trade is the true policy of this great nation, and that protection is in violation of the natural rights of man, and in theory and practice is detrimental to the interests of the people of this country. For instance, the honorable gentleman from South Carolina took occasion the other day to make an elaborate argument in favor of the doctrine of free trade, in which he claimed with great earnestness that it was the right of every freeman to make his purchases, without any restraint or imposition or tax, where his taste inclines him or his judgment dictates. I think that if anything can be determined by the utterances of gentlemen who prepared this bill, there can be no doubt whatever that it is and was intended as a long stride towards free trade in this country.

I am a sincere believer in the system of protection. I believe it vitally affects the interests of the farmer, the laborer, the manufacturer, the merchant, and every class of the community. Their prosperity depends upon its continuance. It increases the rate of wages; it diversifies labor; it furnishes consumers at the door of the producer; it creates a home market for the farmer; it stimulates production so as to induce competition, thereby reducing the price of the manufactured article below the price that would be imposed by the foreign manufacturer if he had a monopoly of the market. It is what has made our country what it is to-day, the grandest, the wealthiest nation in the world; that has caused it to bound with such prodigious strides in every good direction—in wealth, refinement, education, in everything that is to be most desired in the greatest, the most powerful, and the most civilized nation on earth.

It is a common thing in this discussion to sneer at these claims, and while admitting all we claim for our country and its position amongst the nations of the world, to contend that the tariff has nothing to do with it. To such, argument and proof are useless.

The equally sneering charge that labor gets none of the benefits of protection is unjust and without the semblance of foundation. Now I could cite innumerable facts and figures to prove that labor, in consequence of protection, is higher here than elsewhere; but fearing that I may be doubted I bring as my witness to this fact the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of this House, who admits that the laborer's wages are higher in this country than in England. While he does not give as I think the correct difference, he does admit the fact that the rates of labor are higher in this country than in England. He says (RECORD, page 3332):

Twelve per cent. higher in cotton manufactures, 25 per cent. higher in the manufacture of woolens, 26 per cent. higher in iron and steel, and 128 per cent. higher in boots and shoes.

These he gives as illustrations. If he had pursued his inquiry further he would have found it to be the fact in relation to every other protected industry in this country.

He contends, however, that the reason that wages are higher in this country than in England is that the manufacturers have seized upon coal, steam, and machinery, the three powerful agents, as he contends, that multiply the product of labor and make it more valuable, his idea being that by improved machinery a vastly greater quantity of the manufactured article is produced in a given time than formerly, and as an illustration he says:

In 1830 the total number of yards of cloth produced by each operative was 4,321 per annum, while in 1884, mainly by the aid of improved machinery, it had been increased to 28,032 yards. The cost of the labor per yard was 1.9 cents in 1830 and but 1.07 cents in 1884.

The central idea being in this whole argument that though the laborer gets less on each yard manufactured than formerly, the increased number of yards made per day give him a larger amount of wages, and that this is due entirely to coal, steam, and improved machinery, and that the tariff has nothing whatever to do with it. He further contends that it is only necessary to take the tariff off of machinery and from raw material and we can successfully compete with England.

Now this is the entire scope of the reasoning of the leading champion of this bill in its favor. First, he admits that American workingmen receive better wages than the wage-workers of England. He accounts for that from the fact, as he contends, that we use better machinery, so that with the aid of coal and steam we can manufacture a greater quantity within any given time than can be done in England. His remedy is to take the tariff off of machinery and raw material. This, he contends, would make us successful competitors with foreign countries without interfering with the rate of wages. In answer to that I ask, can not England use the same kind of machinery? Will not her coal, steam, and machinery be as effective, if necessary, as the American? I should like to know what would prevent England, if it should be found necessary to do so, from using the same machinery as the American uses? Then with her coal, steam, and machinery, and her free raw material and her pauper labor, what would prevent her from manufacturing cheaper than the American could with his high-priced labor? Upon such arguments and such alone are we asked by the leader of the House to vote for this bill. Mr. Chairman, I contend that all these visionary speculations should be put aside and that a question of this character should be regarded from a standpoint not of party or of theory, but of sound business principles.

Is it well, in a business point of view, to place our wage-earners on a level with the pauper laborers of Europe? Will the American laborer submit to such an imposition? Will he not at once insist that he must have the higher wages to which he has been accustomed, or that he will go upon the vast domain where a home and land are freely granted to him by the Government? If the manufacturer complies with his reasonable demands he becomes bankrupt, for no one can pay wages greater than the business will admit of and make a financial success. The inevitable consequence must be the closing up of our own factories and the driving of a vast majority of our own people into agricultural pursuits, and, as a further necessary consequence, compelling us to depend entirely upon foreign manufacturers. We have prospered immensely by diversifying our labor, so that while a part are engaged in agriculture, others are consumers.

Would not the farmers of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, if their Representatives should by their votes destroy their home market, have a right to complain? Now nine-tenths of the productions of the farm are consumed in this country. Destroy that home market and add to the force that is now producing by driving the manufacturer to the field and farm, and productions are vastly increased without any increased demand from abroad, and I think we shall have succeeded by this meddling in also destroying the prosperity of the farmer. It is said we should have an increased demand from abroad for our farm productions. If they need our productions what prevents us from sending them now? The fact is we furnish them all they will take of us. It is said, further, that the farmer is compelled to-day to be governed by the quotations from the foreign market; that, for instance, the Liverpool market governs the price of wheat in this country. This may be true, but if sufficient of our people were consumers to use 100 per cent. of our farm production, instead of 90 per cent., would this not produce a shortage in the foreign market to the extent to which we have heretofore supplied them, which would increase the price, and, on the other hand, would not the destruction of our home market throw such a surplus upon the foreign market as to greatly decrease the price? I think these illustrations amply answer the objection that we are at the mercy of a foreign market.

There is another thing that interests the farmer as much as it does the manufacturer. Suppose, as gentlemen suggest, we have no tariff and that the custom-houses be torn down—and this bill is really the initiatory step toward that policy—would not the European manufacturer have a clear field? History tells us what would be the result in such a case. The importer, having the market to himself, would not only make us pay what the American manufacturer now charges, but having broken down competition here he would charge all that the trade would bear—the history of our country shows this to be a fact, a fact, too, that has caused, whenever it has been tried, bankruptcy and ruin in the land—for in such a case every manufactured article is higher in price; this would be felt by the farmer more than by others; the sheetings, calicoes, woolens, and everything the farmer and his family use would be dearer, while, being at the mercy of a foreign market, his own having been broken down, he would get absolutely less for everything he produces.

The great fallacy in the argument against protection is that the amount of duty imposed is added to the price of the article, whether purchased of the home manufacturer or the importer. This is false in fact, and has not a shadow of foundation in truth. Protection is properly applied to only such articles of commerce as we can produce in sufficient abundance in this country to supply the demand. As soon as that is done the law of competition begins to take effect; mills and factories spring up on every hand; their productions come into competition; this spurs inventive genius to create new methods and less expensive ways in order that the price may be brought down to the lowest possible figure, and the consequence is that the manufactured article is sold for as low a price as it can possibly be afforded, so that in actual truth every article that is protected is lower to-day under such a system than it has ever been before, and vastly cheaper than it would be if not protected. The self-evident reason for this is that if protection had not been given, the competition would have been wanting, the factories and

mills would not have been established, and the manufacturers abroad would have had control of the market, and, having that, would have put the prices to such a figure as the trade would bear. The effect of this would have been and always has been to destroy home industry and make us dependent upon the foreign market.

There is much said in this discussion about pools and monopolies, but the people will find, if they are delivered over to the tender mercies of the foreign manufacturer and the importer, that there has as yet been no trust or monopoly established in this country that has been able to oppress them and to suck the life-blood from their veins with the same dispatch as these. As far as trusts are concerned, they should be prohibited by law, whether upon protected or unprotected articles. Most of these trusts are upon articles not affected by the tariff. All of the trusts upon protected articles in this country are duplicated in the free-trade countries upon a much more gigantic scale, as I am informed. It is thought by many that manufacturing is a very profitable business, and that these people are growing unduly rich out of their business, and that for that reason they should no longer be protected. The error and absurdity of this proposition is shown by referring to the fact that millions, yes, hundreds of millions, of money are now waiting for investment in any surely profitable business. The Government could to-day borrow a thousand millions of dollars at 3 per cent. per annum. Any sum almost could be raised to invest in a business paying 6 per cent., and if the money was exhausted in this country as much would be supplied from Europe; but the fact is that manufacturers find their business precarious and often unprofitable, and failures are frequent, so that the charge so often paraded here, that this tariff protection was in the interest of monopolists, is without foundation. It is in the interests of and for the benefit of the people. Its destruction would be the destruction of the prosperity of the people. To this condition of destruction it would appear the Democratic party—a party controlled by its Southern wing—is anxious to bring us. Free trade will not affect the South as much as the North. Their labor to-day is much like the pauper labor of Europe. The South has but few manufacturing establishments where intelligent labor is employed, and its leading men have been educated in free-trade schools. It is believed by them that the building up of a foreign commerce, even at the expense of our own, will open a vast field and increased demand for the cotton of the South, which is now king there as much as in the days of slavery. This might after a time be disastrous, even to the cotton interests. After you have destroyed the cotton mills and factories of this country your masters from abroad might dictate terms to you.

The fact is, a wise, far-seeing policy would discover no conflict in interest between the different sections of the country; we should all be really interested, North and South, in the prosperity of this great country, and of the whole of it, but unfortunately the committee have seen fit to strike down Northern manufacturers and Northern productions and to protect Southern. It proposes to retain a protective duty upon sugar and rice, soft coal, and iron-ore, for the benefit of the South, and put wool, salt, lumber, and other Northern productions upon the free-list. Is there any justice whatever in such legislation? Sugar is protected for the benefit of a few thousand Louisiana planters. The principle of protection has ceased to apply in this case, for the reason that the section where the sugar-cane can be raised has been fully occupied and the utmost production that is possible has already been fully developed. It is an admitted fact that over nine-tenths of all the sugar consumed in this country is imported from abroad; $60,000,000 per annum are paid into the Treasury, derived from the duties on sugar. What argument has been or can be used in favor of putting lumber, salt, or any other Northern production on the free-list that is not applicable to sugar? If it were a Northern production is there the least doubt it would have been put there?

Rice, an article of universal consumption throughout the country, and of which the production is not one-half the consumption, is also heavily protected in this bill, higher than it was during the war.

If these two articles were placed on the free-list, the reduction in the revenue would be sufficient to almost entirely do away with the surplus, and would at the same time benefit every family in the land by cheapening the price of these articles, as the protection in these cases does not lessen but increases the price, as they are articles that we can not produce in quantities to meet the home demand. This bill upholds, protects, and fosters every distinctively Southern interest that was protected by what gentlemen are pleased to call the war tariff of 1861, while every Northern industry receives in the bill a most merciless free-trade treatment. If there is no desire to favor the South at the expense of other sections of the country, what is the objection to furnishing cheap food for the people by abolishing the duty upon sugar and rice, and thereby taking off the revenue to the extent of sixty to seventy millions of dollars and lessening the surplus to that extent? Why are the farm and garden productions of the people who may be brought into competition with the producers of the Canadian Dominion put upon the free-list and these Southern productions so heavily protected? Why is wool, that nearly every farmer produces in the North, put upon the free-list?

The duties collected upon the importation of wool are less than five and a half millions of dollars. There are about one and a quarter millions of persons engaged in sheep-raising in this country; the capital invested is between three and four hundred millions of dollars. Protection is absolutely necessary for this industry, and in that respect differs from the sugar and rice industries. Under protection the two last productions have decreased in quantity and importation has increased, whereas, by reason of the protection offered before the reduction of the tariff of 1883, the number of sheep increased in the period of about fourteen years nearly 100 per cent., and by reason of the reduction of the tariff in 1883 the number of sheep in this country have decreased in the short space of four years about 14 per cent.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would in all sincerity inquire whether good judgment, sound business sense, as well as the dictates of justice, would not require, in case the protective feature is to be retained at all in this bill, that wool instead of sugar and rice should be protected. But as I have said, and repeat, this bill puts wool on the free-list, thereby reducing the revenues but little, but striking a fatal blow at sheep-raising, and at the same time retains and imposes a heavy protective duty on sugar and rice, that if put on the free-list would not seriously injure the producers and would reduce the surplus sixty or seventy millions. What must be thought of a party that insists upon taking a tax of $30,000,000 off tobacco, and at the same time insists upon taxing the people $50,000,000 on sugar? What must be thought of a party that indirectly repeals the tax on the distilling of whisky, as is done by the Democratic party in this bill, thereby depriving the Treasury of vast millions, but insists upon taxing the necessaries of life required by every person in the land? This bill, by its provision in relation to illicit stills, opens the door to frauds which will in effect repeal the internal-revenue laws to an extent that will amaze the people. It is cunningly done, and if adopted will have its intended effect.

If this bill had been framed in the real interests of the people, and had put upon the free-list sugar, rice, salt, coal, and such other articles and necessaries of life as are in general use among all classes of people, and omitted the slashing and cutting of duties upon the great manufacturing industries of the country, and which are so done with the evident intent of breaking these industries down, there could have been no just complaint of its sectional character or free-trade tendencies.

Besides being sectional and oppressive, there are a vast number of incongruities and illy-digested provisions. In many cases the raw material has a heavy duty attached and the manufactured article is on the free-list; but there is a general and systematic endeavor to so reduce the tariff as to greatly embarrass, if not destroy, the leading manufacturing interests of the country. This attempt to go back to free trade or to break down protection in this country we have been warned against by our own history; the country has always prospered under a protective system, and under the free-trade or tariff-for-revenue policy it has been the exact opposite—poverty, bankruptcy, and distress attending all such legislation.

There is another thing that ought to be noticed: the pretended necessity for this bill is that the surplus must be reduced. The danger to the country from this surplus has been the theme of Presidential message and Democratic oratory in this House, yet, sir, there is no prospect of securing a reduction of revenue under its provisions; the reductions are so great that foreign importations will be immensely stimulated and the revenues will thereby be increased; this is the effect beyond question. Heretofore such radical reductions have produced an increase instead of a decrease of revenue, and there is no reason why the same thing should not occur now. Thus the pretended object to accomplish which this bill is brought forward fails, but its real object, the destruction of protection, will be accomplished.

I believe the interests of the people require me to vote against the bill, and I am sure that if the people of this country have an opportunity to express their opinion at the polls they will most emphatically declare against it.

Admission of New Mexico.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ANTONIO JOSEPH,

OF NEW MEXICO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 28, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9377) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. JOSEPH said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. WARNER] in his remarks upon the admission of New Mexico as a State has made certain comparisons between Dakota and New Mexico, which are intended by him to be greatly to the disadvantage of the latter Territory. It is a pleasure to find that this gentleman, who stands so high in the esteem of all who know him, has left the low and vulgar plane of scan-

dalous abuse, adopted in the minority report of the Committee on Territories, to which his name is signed, and now by use of argument seeks to enforce his views rather than by the use of scandal, unworthy alike of so honorable a gentleman and of the records of this House. Upon this plane of argument it gives me gratification to meet him, for it is as easy to show the error of his deductions from the few one-sided and misleading facts presented as it was to expose the scandalous untruth of the minority report. The gentleman has done himself the honor and the people of New Mexico the justice to publicly apologize for the language and positions of that report, and I do not doubt that he will make equal haste to withdraw his misleading though ingenious collation of facts, when a full statement of all the facts in their true light demonstrates that his argument is that of an ingenious advocate of a partisan policy rather than that of a representative of the people of the United States, whose only wish is to deal justly with the advance guard of civilization in the far West, whose interests are confided to the kind treatment of a body in which they have no vote.

The chief argument advanced by the gentleman to show that New Mexico is not fit for statehood is that Dakota surpasses her in the production of wheat, oats, and corn. He stated that Dakota ranked sixth, twelfth, and twenty-second in the order of States and Territories in the respective production of these grains, while New Mexico ranked far below. From this he would have us infer that New Mexico is not entitled to statehood. It is not my purpose to follow the gentleman in the thankless task of belittling the production of wealth of any State or Territory. The enormous wealth and wonderful natural resources of Dakota challenge my heartiest admiration; it is a striking sign of the greatness of our Union to see Dakota and New Mexico joining hands with Montana and Washington to demand that share in the National Government to which their population and resources entitle them. Those hardy pioneers of Dakota who brave its inhospitable climate and withstand the perils of snow, ice, and blizzards of the Dakota winters and the hardly less dangerous floods, cyclones, and hail of its other seasons demand my heartiest applause in their happily successful efforts to produce grain for the hungry multitudes of the East. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." The hardy pioneers of the West are among our country's noblest heroes. But all this affords no reason for refusing justice to New Mexico.

The gentleman's argument is much too broad; its fallacy is self-apparent. If the correct criterion of fitness for membership in this Union is the number of bushels of wheat raised in the Territory of Dakota, then there are no States in the Union fit for membership except Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana, California, and Iowa, for Dakota surpasses all but these in yield of wheat. If Dakota's annual crop of oats is the fit criterion, then California must be excluded, and Illinois, New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska may be added to the elect named above, for Dakota surpasses all but these in yield of oats. In corn the criterion is easier. Dakota's crop of this great staple, whose total annual value in the United States exceeds by $100,000,000 the combined value of the wheat and oats, being more than one-fifth in excess of these, places her below all but fifteen States, these including all New England and some of the cotton States. Must we conclude from the gentleman's reasoning that all the New England States, as well as South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, are wholly unfit for the Union because so far below Dakota in these three great staples? Or that the only States who by force of merit deserve their places in the Union are those five great States whose wheat crop surpasses that of Dakota? Yet the argument can not be applied to New Mexico unless capable of this application also.

The partisan purpose of this fallacious argument is clear when it is remembered that the minority of the committee, of which the gentleman from Missouri is one, do not propose the admission of Dakota as one State, but its division into two States, one of which is largely in advance of the other in population and resources. What the annual production of North Dakota is in these three staples I do not know. The figures given by the minority in their report (page 56) state that in North Dakota alone five million more bushels of wheat were raised in 1887 than were raised in the whole of Dakota in 1886, as shown by the report of the Commissioner of Agriculture (page 376).

When figures present such results as this we are tempted to question the old adage that "figures won't lie." But the minority also join in recommending the admission of Washington and Montana. If the annual production of wheat, oats, and corn in the whole of Dakota is the test of fitness for admission it needs no knowledge of arithmetic to prove that both portions can not be more than half fit for admission, and it needs but the slightest examination to show that Montana is far below the standard so fixed.

The corn crop of North Dakota for 1887 is stated by the minority in the exaggerated figures referred to at 1,000,000 bushels, and it is safe to say that this is at least one-fourth exaggerated, while the official figures show that the corn crop of 1886 of Montana was but 19,580 bushels. If the annual production of corn is the true test of fitness for admission as a State, how can the minority be found recommending the admission not only of North Dakota, but of Montana, while they recommend the exclusion of New Mexico, which in 1886, according to the official figures, produced 797,860 bushels of corn? I protest against any such false and irrational criterion as the annual production of wheat, oats, and corn to show the fitness of a Territory for admission. But even by this standard New Mexico, while not competing with the young giant of the Northwest, Dakota, a Territory so large that the minority proposes to divide it into two parts, nevertheless holds her own in comparison with many States with whose presence in the councils of the nation we could not well afford to dispense, although their yield of wheat, oats, and corn may be far below that of Dakota. In the yield of corn during the year 1886 New Mexico surpassed the States of Oregon, Colorado, Rhode Island, and Nevada, and nearly equaled that of Maine, surpassing the latter State in the quantity of merchantable corn, while it far outstripped all the Territories besides Dakota. In the quantity of wheat raised in the same year New Mexico surpassed Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Mississippi, and Nevada; and while the average yield in the United States during the period from 1880 to 1886 was 12.1 bushels of wheat, New Mexico, by the method of irrigation, succeeding in reaching an average of over 20 bushels.

But I see no reason why I should not be equally privileged to select a criterion by which the eligibility of a Territory for admission to the Union should be judged.

The beet supply of the Union now comes, to a large extent, from west of the Mississippi River, and the cattle of the country lying around the base of the Rocky Mountains are one of the greatest sources of the wealth of the West. Why can not I choose cattle as the truest test of fitness for statehood rather than wheat?

Again, what staple is more important to the people of this country than wool? No one will sooner admit its value and necessity than the farmer of Dakota, who owes to the sheep industry his protection from winter's cold. Then I am as free to select wool as a standard of comparison as the gentleman from Missouri to select oats.

Taking the two great wealth-producing industries of cattle and sheep raising, let us see whether in these New Mexico does not hold a high enough rank to entitle her to a place in the Union.

According to the report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1886, New Mexico surpassed in number of cattle within its limits every State and Territory except seven, Dakota possessing little more than half the number of cattle of New Mexico. The number of cattle in New Mexico exceeds those in the whole of New England, or the combined numbers in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, or Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

The supremacy of New Mexico as to sheep is almost unquestioned. In 1886 she was surpassed only by Texas, California, and Ohio, and in the case of the latter State by a very small number. The number of sheep in New Mexico in 1886 is officially stated at 4,328,755. The increase in this number has been so great that it is not unfair to say that she is now the greatest sheep-raising State or Territory in the Union. The number of sheep now in New Mexico is estimated at 5,000,000. Against these enormous figures Dakota's 253,372 seems small. Yet I do not say that Dakota is poor in these sources of wealth in which she is so far surpassed by New Mexico. Her wealth of cattle and sheep is great, but that of New Mexico is pre-eminent. Stating these facts with a full acknowledgment of the greatness of Dakota and her fitness for statehood, I ask the gentleman from Missouri by what right does he assume to say that the world-wide celebrated staples of Dakota afford a better criterion of fitness for statehood than the flocks and herds of New Mexico?

The gentleman has seen fit to quote from a report made by me on the subject of irrigation in the Territory of New Mexico, showing that of all the land in the Territory but a small portion could be cultivated without irrigation, and he has sought by his remarks to intimate that land requiring irrigation is necessarily desert land, or less fit for agriculture than those prairies which are watered by the rain from heaven. Does the gentleman know that half the agricultural world uses irrigation as an aid to agriculture? Has he never heard of the vast expenditure of the British Government in India for irrigation, with such success that India to-day is the sole menance of our Southern States in the cotton markets of the world? Has the gentleman never heard of irrigation in Spain or France or Italy? Has he never heard of the wonderful results attained in Southern California by a judicious system of irrigation? Or does he not know that the agricultural prosperity of Western Kansas and of Colorado is largely dependent upon an artificial supply of water to the fields? And lastly I would ask the gentleman, who has sought to deride the people of New Mexico by a reference to their religion, whether he has so far forgotten the sacred history which he learned at his mother's knee as not to remember that the wonderful and unexampled fertility of Egypt was due to the periodic overflow of the Nile, and that in that wonderful seat of early civilization agriculture received no aid from the fall of rain?

The Department of Agriculture has recently made an exhaustive study of irrigation in the United States, and in the report thereon refers (page 150) to the antiquity and prevalence of systems of irrigation, in these words:

> Irrigation of land is an art that existed for many centuries previous to any authentic written history. The traditions of the Chinese people are very ancient, and irrigation is mentioned in their earliest history as extensively practiced. In Egypt, Syria, and the ancient kingdoms of Eastern Asia agricult-

ure depended almost wholly upon irrigation, and still so depends in those countries where the people have survived the political changes of thousands of years. The irrigation of gardens, vineyards, and fields is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures; one of the earliest books speaks of it, and one of the prophets refers to "furrows of the plantation." * * * *

The enormous sums expended by the British Government in India in irrigating works and the profit derived from them will serve to sustain the arguments put forth by Mr. Cole and others, that while Great Britain is engaged in India not only in the construction of reservoirs for the storage of the waters and streams, but for gathering in the rains and dews for the purposes of irrigation, spending millions annually in such works and in keeping them in repair, our own country, possessing vaster domains than any nation of the world, and of incomparable value, has only to enter upon her own possessions, and, by trenching her mountain sides, beget reservoirs as enduring as the foundations of the earth.

I commend that report to the attention of the gentleman from Missouri, whose long residence in that wonderful, growing city on the Missouri River has unfitted him for the discussion of agricultural questions. The reading of that report must convince any critical mind that, notwithstanding the increased expense of ditching in order to bring the water to the fields, the increased certainty of a good and regular crop year after year renders agriculture by irrigation far superior to dependence upon the fall of rain. The farmer who cultivates his land without irrigation is absolutely at the mercy of the season. Two weeks' drought at a critical period may destroy the ripening fruits of the most industrious labor, while too heavy rainfalls may beat down his standing grain or mildew his newly-harvested crop. What farmer would not rejoice to enter upon a system of agriculture where these uncertainties are unknown, and where every year produces alike a bountiful crop under a system guarantying a regular and gentle supply of water which can be graduated to the need of the crop? Those who have studied the subject of irrigation agree, too, that the water thus brought to the land not only refreshes the growing crops, but is the best fertilizer in existence. Every stream of running water holds either dissolved or suspended vegetable matter of different kinds brought down from the higher regions from which the stream flows that forms the most efficient stimulant to the growth of the crops. This fertilizer, renewed every year without expense, possesses all the advantages of those expensive artificial fertilizers upon which the farmers of our country are relying more and more every year, while land subjected to its gentle and natural influence increases its productive capacity instead of wasting under the burning influence of artificial fertilizers.

The report before referred to, in speaking of irrigation in Colorado where the conditions are substantially the same as in New Mexico, uses this language:

> Such a thing as a drought is not dreaded by the agriculturist of Colorado. The cultivation of the soil is subject to a condition different from those which prevail in the East. Irrigation, although a necessity, bears with it some of the greatest blessings.

The report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1886 shows that the average production per acre throughout the United States from 1880 to 1886 was, of wheat, 12.1 bushels, and of oats, 26.7 bushels. Yet by the system of irrigation the figures for Colorado are thus officially stated:

> The average yield of crops in 1885, where agriculture is exclusively carried on by irrigation, is estimated as follows: Wheat per acre, 27 bushels; barley, 33; oats, 55; potatoes, 150 to 200; onions, 250.

The same holds true of New Mexico, surprising as these results may seem, even to those who have been accustomed to the wonderful soil of Illinois or Dakota. I have seen fields in New Mexico, established by history to have been under cultivation for from two to three hundred years, in which wheat had been raised for from ten to fifteen successive years, and then averaging from 25 to 30 bushels to the acre, and frequently exceeding this amount. A double crop of oats can be cut from many of our irrigated fields in one year, the second crop springing up without additional sowing after the first has been gathered, while from three to five crops of the wonderful alfalfa or Lucerne grass can be mowed in a single year, averaging from 2 to 4 tons an acre at each mowing, and this grass is of such a nutritious character that stock can be fattened upon it instead of being fattened upon grain. It is the part merely of ignorance to say, because New Mexico depends upon irrigation for her agriculture, that she will never become a great agricultural State. I venture to assert that when the extravagant modes of agriculture now prevalent in many of our Western States and Territories have by far diminished the fertility of those wonderful prairies, New Mexico, by her self-fertilizing system of irrigation, will be steadily proceeding on an upward scale in agriculture.

The people of New Mexico are thoroughly alive to the value of common-school education. The Territory has entered upon the settled policy of building a school-house and establishing a school at every point where a sufficient number of children of school age can be gathered to form a school, and the Territorial school tax of 3 mills on the dollar is as large as if not larger than that of any other Territory. The New Mexicans regard popular education in the same light as the people of the Eastern States, and there is a strong determination in the Territory of New Mexico that the public schools shall be steadily built up and that every year shall mark a decided increase in the number of schools, in the length of the school year, in the accommodations, and in the character of instruction. In spite of the great difficulties arising from the vast extent of New Mexico, her schools have steadily improved, and no people hold more dear than the people of New Mexico this essential element to the success of popular government.

New Mexico became a part of the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, made on February 2, 1848 (9 Stats., 108). The eighth article of that treaty contains the following provisions:

> Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.
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> In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

Article IX reads as follows:

> Mexicans who, in the territory aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the mean time shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.

Article XI contains the following provisions:

> Considering that a great part of the territories which by the present treaty are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States is now occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the exclusive control of the Government of the United States, and whose incursions within the territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States whensoever this may be necessary; and that when they can not be prevented they shall be punished by the said Government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted, all in the same way and with equal diligence and energy as if the same incursions were meditated or committed within its own territory against its own citizens.
>
> It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two Republics, nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians.

The people of New Mexico on becoming citizens of the United States had a right to expect that all these provisions of the treaty should be kept inviolate. They properly believed that the Government of the United States would carry out in every particular the agreement into which it had thus solemnly entered. A large proportion of the inhabitants of the Territory held their lands under lawful grants by the Spanish and Mexican Governments, and they had a right to demand that some mode should be established by the Government of the United States whereby these titles could be preserved and confirmed and the ownership made so secure that transfers of land could take place with the same celerity and security as in the States of the Union. It is now over forty years since that treaty, and up to the present time but seventy-one of the Spanish or Mexican land grants have been confirmed, out of over one thousand claims presented. Thousands of land-owners throughout the Territory to-day find themselves, by reason of the failure of Congress to legislate on the subject, in the possession and ownership of lands which intending settlers will not buy because of the want of definite confirmation of title, while the development of the whole Territory has been kept back through the inattention of Congress to the matter of securing the title to the lands to those who wish to settle in New Mexico. With titles still unsettled in spite of this treaty pledge, the people of New Mexico may well think themselves the subjects of grievous neglect at the hands of the Government of the United States.

The provisions of Article XI above quoted fall very little short of an absolute guaranty by the United States of the citizens of New Mexico against losses by the depredations of Indians, yet how sadly this pledge has been broken is shown by the fact that over $5,000,000 of losses by depredations have occurred in the Territory of New Mexico, and that these still cry for payment with seemingly no early prospect of satisfaction.

No definite time was set by Article IX of this treaty for the admission of New Mexico as a State, but it is evident that the people of New Mexico regarded this article as intending immediate statehood. So definite was this expectation that in the year 1850 New Mexico elected two Senators and a Representative to the Congress of the United States and sent them here, only to be confronted by the act organizing New Mexico as a Territory. Certainly Article IX of this treaty, viewed in the light of this contemporaneous understanding of its meaning, can not be considered as binding New Mexico to wait for over forty years before admission. The Congress of the United States more than fourteen years ago awoke to this fact, and in 1874 both Houses passed an act to enable New Mexico to enter the Union, which failed of approval only by differences between the two Houses on questions of non-essential detail. The Senate in 1876 again passed a bill for New Mexico's admission.

Thus New Mexico has three grievous wrongs to complain of, each in violation of the spirit, at least, if not of the letter of the stipulations of the treaty under which she became a part of the United States. Her land titles are still unsettled, her citizens have been left to the depredations of savage Indians, and their claims for losses are still unpaid, and her rightful demands for admission as a State have been for forty years unheeded. Certainly in view of these facts she is entitled at least to the utmost consideration and the most absolute courtesy. Yet

what has occurred in this very Congress? The minority of the House Committee on Territories, the distinguished gentleman from Missouri being one, in denying to New Mexico admission to the Union, accompany this declaration by adopting and approving the most scandalous utterances against the whole of the people of the Territory which have within my knowledge befouled the pages of the public record. I do not believe that the official utterances of the responsible branches of this Government from its foundation until the present date contain anything surpassing in foul abuse those pages of the minority report on the bill to admit certain Territories into the Union, which deal with New Mexico's right to admission. The people of New Mexico resent such treatment as forcibly as possible. I quote the following from one of the papers of the Territory, giving the resolutions adopted at one of the numerous mass-meetings held by the people of New Mexico in consequence of this report:

ALBUQUERQUE SPEAKS.

At the mass-meeting held in Albuquerque the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas the majority report of the Committee on Territories of the national House of Representatives on the bill to authorize certain Territories, including New Mexico, to admission into the Union as States, basely and outrageously vilified and slandered the people of our Territory: Therefore be it

Resolved, That all of that portion of said report which in any manner reflects upon the character of the entire population of New Mexico is false and slanderous in the extreme, and we denounce the authors as ignorant, malicious calumniators or the base tools of such.

Resolved, That as loyal, law-abiding citizens, the people of New Mexico will compare favorably with the people of any State in the Union, and as American citizens, irrespective of party, knowing our rights, we demand of Congress decent and respectful treatment when any subject comes before it directly affecting our Territory; and we respectfully, but firmly, request that all of the said slanderous report which refers to our people, being totally false, be expunged from the records; and be it further

Resolved, That said minority report reflecting upon New Mexico is an abuse of the privilege of a committee of the National Legislature in thus falsely slandering the entire population of the Territory, and that we court investigation to prove the malicious falseness of the sentiments expressed by said report; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully request our Delegate in Congress, Hon. ANTONIO JOSEPH, to demand that said slanderous matter be expunged from the records, and we earnestly appeal to every honorable, fair-minded member of the House of Representatives to so expungate said report, and in so doing correct a great wrong and injustice upon 200,000 American citizens, who are deprived of proper representations in Congress.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, and chairman of the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives and to the delegate from this Territory.

This report endeavors to make party capital out of the fact that a large proportion of the people of New Mexico are adherents of the Catholic Church. No doctrine is more strongly intrenched in the American Constitution than the independence of church and state, and no principle is more strongly held by the American voters than that religion is a matter not to be introduced into political discussion. In the field of politics we meet not as Catholic or Protestant, Christian or infidel, but as American citizens. But the partisan fervor of the signers of the minority report so far outran their discretion that they have sought to make party capital through religious prejudices. They seek to prevent the admission of New Mexico on the ground that a majority of her citizens are devout members of the Catholic Church, a church which numbers among its followers thousands of the most patriotic of American citizens. The Protestants of New Mexico are unwilling even to have the semblance of approving the sentiments of this minority report; the presbytery of Santa Fé promptly repudiated its sentiments by the following vigorous and praiseworthy resolutions:

[From the Las Vegas News, April 7, 1888.]

RESOLUTIONS TO THE POINT.

The Santa Fé Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in New Mexico passed the following resolutions, which speak for themselves:

"Whereas in a recent report of the minority of the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, upon a bill pending in favor of the admission of New Mexico as a State, there were inserted the following and many other kindred statements and charges against the people of the Territory of New Mexico, to wit:

"1. That the people of New Mexico have retained all the vices and none of the virtues of their ancestors.

"2. That the practice of the two sexes living together out of wedlock, and raising families in this unholy connection, is the almost universal custom.

"3. That the custom of carrying fire-arms is so common that when the people repair to the house of God they go better prepared to resist the assassin than to worship their Maker; and

"Whereas the above statements have been printed and published officially in the records of Congress, and also by a large part of the public press of the United States: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we, the Presbytery of Santa Fé, of the Presbyterian Church, representing the entire Territory of New Mexico, and composed of ministers, evangelists, and ruling elders from all parts thereof, and being now in session at Las Vegas, N. Mex., do hereby express our sincere regret that such untruthful and slanderous statements should be used by our Congressmen and be officially published by them and the public press, to the great injury of the fair name of our Territory and her citizens and the cause of Christ in the Territory.

"*Resolved*, That we solemnly declare that such a state of affairs, or anything approaching it, does not exist in our Territory now, nor do we believe that such a state of affairs ever did exist in said Territory since its organization, unless possibly in small and isolated spots, and, in our opinion, such statements originated in the fertile, but sensational, brain of some person who was probably never nearer the Territory of New Mexico than his statements are to the truth.

"*Resolved*, That, as a refutation of such charges, we, as a presbytery, declare that the Presbyterian Church is making rapid progress in said Territory. Churches have been and are being erected in all parts of the Territory and the membership rapidly increasing, both from our American and native population; that it is our belief that other denominations of the church are making rapid progress also; so that all Christians coming to said Territory can find a home in the church of Christ, and be as free from harm or molestation as in any State in the Union: that the cause of education is making rapid progress everywhere, and that the majority of our people will compare favorably, in point of morals, with those of any other Territory and many, if not all, of the States.

"*Resolved*, That we declare the statement to be false that it is the custom of people to carry fire-arms to church, but, on the contrary, we point to the fact that we have on our statute-books a rigid law against the carrying of deadly weapons at any time—so rigid, indeed, that a stranger or other person carrying a concealed weapon to a town or village must disarm himself within fifteen minutes after his arrival therein; this law is in advance of the laws of the States. And further, we believe that the Territory of New Mexico is about if not the only Territory or State in the Union that punishes train robbery with death.

"*Resolved*, That we call upon our people and all Christians, as well as the public press, both sacred and secular, to denounce publicly such false and injurious statements, and in that way set us right before our countrymen and Christians everywhere, as far as can be done in this way, since it is justice we ask, and nothing more.

"*Resolved*, That if the author of said statements is still living, we desire to call vividly before him the case of Ananias, and also express the hope that God may have mercy on his soul.

"J. M. McGAUGHEY, *Stated Clerk*."

The following letter, from one of the leading business men of Albuquerque, who served with honor during the war in the Second Kansas Cavalry, and was subsequently governor of Kansas, and is now engaged in developing the resources of New Mexico, well illustrates the feeling of all the people on this subject:

OFFICE OF THE AZTEC COAL COMPANY,
Albuquerque, N. Mex., April 10, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: The people of New Mexico are very indignant, and justly so, over the minority report of the House Committee on Territories on the question of the admission of New Mexico into the Union. I have not seen the full report, but only extracts from the newspapers, but from what I have seen I must say that a more shameless, outrageous prostitution of the privileges of a committee of Congress I never heard of. A more lying, slanderous report was never uttered, and it should consign its authors to everlasting infamy. I am confident, Mr. JOSEPH, that you will treat the report and its authors as they deserve when the opportunity occurs, and you certainly will have the support of all honorable members of Congress and the thanks of a grateful constituency at home.

I have several personal friends in Congress, and I have written several of them on the subject, and I wish you would ask Hon. JOHN A. ANDERSON, Hon. E. N. MORRILL, Hon. E. H. FUNSTON, and Hon. THOMAS RYAN to, as a personal favor to me, denounce these vile slanders as they properly deserve. That the sayings of a vile blackguard, of thirty-five years ago, should be incorporated in a report to Congress against as loyal, law-abiding people as in the United States is one of the greatest outrages ever perpetrated by any community, and Congress owes it to an outraged people and its own dignity to expunge the report from the records and discharge the members from all committees promptly. The people of Bernalillo County and Albuquerque desire to thank you most cordially for your faithful services in their behalf, and will long remember you for your faithful services.

Very respectfully,

E. S. STOVER.

Hon. ANTONIO JOSEPH, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Both parties alike are indignant at this report. The Republicans of New Mexico feel that in the face of such language as this no party lines can divide them from their Democratic brethren. The following telegram, found in one of the St. Louis papers, shows that all the inhabitants of New Mexico, without regard to politics, are united against such slanders:

NEW MEXICO POLITICS.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., *April* 21.

Democrats and Republicans held their county conventions in this city to-day. The Democratic delegates were instructed to vote for the renomination of Grover Cleveland. The Republican delegates were uninstructed. Both conventions denounced in scathing terms the minority report of the Committee on Territories. The people of New Mexico, regardless of politics, are in favor of statehood. This feeling has been intensified of late by the numerous slanders concerning the Territory which have been industriously circulated in Washington.

The truth of this matter seems to be that the gentlemen signing this minority report felt themselves free to speak as they liked of a Territory which to their minds seemed so far away as New Mexico, represented on the floor by a Delegate without a vote. How could the people of New Mexico affect their interests? How could an action of libel be sustained when the libel was committed upon a whole people? How could their political prospects be clouded by the indignation of the New Mexican people? With this sense of utter irresponsibility these gentlemen have far surpassed legislative rules, and have assaulted the people of New Mexico with a partisan fury which broke into utter recklessness. Happily, however, the people of the United States are animated with a sense of fairness, and know that there are some rules setting limits even to the wide extent of political discussion. One of these rules that can not be disobeyed is that questions of religion are not to be brought into politics. The citizens of Missouri are not willing that this rule should at all be relaxed, and the voice of the Missouri Republican, published at St. Louis, brings home to the gentleman from Missouri the knowledge that he can not thus wantonly assault the people of New Mexico without bringing upon himself the condemnation of his own justice-loving people.

[From the Missouri Republican, April 22, 1888.]

RELIGION IN NEW MEXICO.

Delegate JOSEPH, of New Mexico, has presented to Congress a number of documents refuting the charges against the people of the Territory, made by Hon. WILLIAM WARNER, of Missouri, and other Republican members of the Committee on Territories in their minority report. The charges made in this minority report were that the New Mexicans are mostly Roman Catholics, dissolute, ignorant, vicious, violent, and superstitious. Congressman WARNER and his associate Republicans supported these charges with quotations, the general tenor of which may be judged by the following:

"In times gone by the church conduced much to this state of things; a majority of the priests themselves lived in open prostitution, and the most abandoned characters retained their standing in the church if they were regular at the confessional and paid the customary dues without fail.

"As a race, the people of New Mexico are extremely superstitious, and which prevails to a greater or less degree among all classes, the intelligent as well as the most ignorant. They have an abiding faith in saints and images, and with

the mass of the inhabitants their worship appears no more than a blind adoration of these insensible objects. The second summer of my residence there there was a severe hail-storm in the month of June, when the people, in order to protect their crops, stuck up crosses in their fields; and it is no uncommon thing for them to have their fields blessed by a priest after the seed is put into the ground, in order that they may bring forth good crops."

The publication of this report caused no small excitement in New Mexico—as well it might, for a more extraordinary document was never submitted to Congress since Congress was organized under the Constitution, which guaranties religious liberty. Indignant protests were adopted, and among the number of these which Delegate JOSEPH has read to Congress is one from the Santa Fé presbytery, contradicting the Warner report at all points. The resolutions of the presbytery bearing on the Republican objection to admitting the Territory on account of the prevalence in it of the Roman Catholic religion are as follows:

"*Resolved*, That we solemnly declare that such a state of affairs, or anything approaching it, does not exist in our Territory now, nor do we believe that such a state of affairs ever did exist in said Territory since its organization, unless, possibly, in small and isolated spots, and in our opinion such statements originated in the fertile, but sensational, brain of some person who was probably never nearer the Territory of New Mexico than his statements are to the truth.

"*Resolved*, That as a refutation of such statements, we, as a presbytery, declare that the Presbyterian Church is making rapid progress in said Territory, churches have been and are being erected in all parts of the Territory and the membership rapidly increasing, both from our American and native population; that it is our belief that other denominations of the church are making rapid progress also; so that all Christians coming to said Territory can find a home in the church of Christ, and be as free from harm or molestation as in any State in the Union; that the cause of education is making rapid progress everywhere, and that the majority of our people will compare favorably in point of morals with those of any other Territory and many if not all of the States."

Another charge of the report was that when a certain New Mexican was very ill his family brought a small altar into the room and "performed some ceremony" which the minority's witness did not understand, but which seemed to him to be "a semi-heathen incantation." This was, perhaps, a recitation of the prayers for the dying, or the administration of the communion. The resolutions of the presbytery cast no light on this point, and as the general denial applies to the spirit and not to the minute details of the charges, it may be true that the reverence of New Mexican Catholics for the cross and other symbols of their religion may have manifested itself in ways which, though simple and touching to those in sympathy with their simplicity, might strike a Republican Congressman as evidences of fetishism and blind superstition.

Clearly, however, the Presbyterians of the Territory take no such view of it. They dissent from the Republican opinion that the Territory should be kept out of the Union on account of the religion of its people. The fact that Presbyterians disuse a great part of the symbolism of the Roman Church does not blind these liberal Christians to the falsity or the enormity of the charges of the minority. Not only do they protest as Presbyterians, but they "call upon all Christians, as well as the public press, both sacred and secular, to denounce publicly such false and injurious statements."

Mr. JOSEPH has done well in making these documents a matter of public record. Everything bearing on the Republican attempt to class New Mexico with Utah as a Territory unfit for statehood on account of the religious belief prevailing in it is a matter of great public interest, and these documents will be valuable for reference.

To the honor of the gentleman from Missouri it is to be said that he has apologized for these slanders, and to some extent relieved himself of their opprobrium. It is to be hoped that the constituents of all those who signed this infamous report will join in similar expressions of dissent, to the justice of New Mexico and to the confusion of these gentlemen, and then perhaps these gentlemen, too, will awake to the fact that their self-respect demands like apologies from them.

In spite of the long-continued neglect by Congress of the people of New Mexico, they yield to none in attachment to the Government of the United States. They have been for forty years citizens of this country—a longer period than the average of the citizens of many parts of the West which have been settled by European immigration. At the outbreak of the war, when the Confederate forces invaded New Mexico, her people, who had been but thirteen years under the American flag, promptly responded to all calls upon them for aid in repelling the invasion. More volunteer troops were raised in New Mexico than in all the other then existing Territories combined, including the present States of Nebraska, Nevada, and Colorado. These troops were in greater part commanded by persons of Spanish descent, and the ranks were filled by the same race, people who had but thirteen years before been citizens of a different country. Their allegiance was rendered to their new country as though they had been lifelong citizens of the United States.

Among the officers of the New Mexican volunteers appear the names, all showing their Spanish descent, of Col. José Maria Valdez, Col. Diego Archuleta, Col. Manuel Chavez, Col. Facundo Pino, Col. J. Francisco Chavez, Col. Francisco Abreu, Maj. José D. Sena, Maj. Rafael Chacon, and many others equally well known. These fought side by side with such men as Col. Christopher Carson, who commanded the First Regiment of New Mexico Cavalry, and Col. Ceran St. Vrain, an officer who came to New Mexico from St. Louis and cast in his fortunes with the people of that Territory. The people of New Mexico look with pride upon the achievements of these noble heroes. In the storm of battle they proved their title to American citizenship, and having then responded so nobly and so freely to the call of patriotism, it is now too late, after forty years of American citizenship, to dispute the devotion of the New Mexican people to the American Constitution and the American Government.

New Mexico, the oldest in settlement and civilization of all the States or Territories of the United States, desires to prove her devotion to these principles by an equal share with her sisters in the responsibilities of the nation. Statehood accomplished, the wonderful resources of New Mexico will be understood and developed, and her inevitable rapid increase of population and wealth will soon place her among the most brilliant of the stars of the American Union.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES E. HOGG,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

June, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. HOGG said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Two systems of taxation may be employed by the Federal Government to raise the revenues necessarily required to carry on its operations. One of these two methods, the indirect, has always been used by us, and at no time in the history of our country was ever an effort made to abandon it entirely. This indirect mode of taxation imposes a duty upon foreign merchandise brought here, and was offered by Mr. Madison in the first Congress that sat under our Federal Constitution, and was considered by him the more desirable because the people would pay the taxes thus raised without the presence and annoyance of Federal tax-gatherers whom, in point of fact, they had no voice in choosing, and to whom in most instances, perhaps, they were total strangers. And for the further reason that the tax thus paid would to some extent, at least, be in the nature of a voluntary payment.

This system is now known as "the tariff," and was called by Mr. Clay the American system, and was devised solely in the interest of the Government. It was adopted to raise money to enable us to carry on the necessary operations of the Government. Its chief and distinctive characteristic was revenue. It had no protective features in the sense in which the term protection is now understood. The people would never have given their assent to a system whose only effect would be to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

Nothing was ever said about giving protection to American manufactures, so far as the debates of this House are concerned, until after the war of 1812, when we found ourselves with a depleted Treasury and a heavy debt as a consequence attendant upon the prosecution of this war.

When the tariff was revised in 1816 it was for the purpose of raising the necessary revenue for the uses and purposes of the Government, although the increased revenues were so distributed as to give some encouragement to American manufactures.

This was a mere incident of the law, and by no means its prime object. It has always been the policy of the people in the past history of this country to endeavor as much as possible to fix the rate of duties upon a scale commensurate with the actual demands of the Government. When this scale was too low it was raised, and when too high it was lowered.

This has been the case from the days of President Jefferson down to the present time. In proof of this I here call the attention of the House to several extracts bearing on this point, taken from various Presidential messages, and which I will insert in the RECORD as a part of my remarks:

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES BEARING ON TARIFF TAXATION.

[President Jefferson.]

Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expenses to the ultimate term of burden which the citizen can bear, it behooves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge; that it may never be seen here that after leaving to labor the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard.

[President Madison.]

To impose taxes when the public exigencies require them is an obligation of the most sacred character, especially with a free people. To dispense with taxes when it may be done with perfect safety is equally the duty of their representatives.

[President Adams.]

If the tariff shall be found by experience to bear oppressively upon the interests of any one section of the Union, it ought to be, and I can not doubt will be, so modified as to alleviate its burden. To the voice of just complaint, from any portion of their constituents, the representatives of the States and people will never turn away their ears.

[President Jackson.]

It is desirable that arrangements be adopted to relieve the people from unnecessary taxation. In the exercise of that spirit of concession and conciliation which has distinguished the friends of our Union in all great emergencies it is believed that this object may be effected without injury to any national interest.

Under our present revenue system there is every probability that there will continue to be a surplus beyond the wants of the Government, and it has become our duty to decide whether such a result be consistent with the true objects of our Government.

To retain it in the Treasury unemployed in any way is impracticable. It is, besides, against the genius of our free institutions to lock up in vaults the treasure of the nation.

[President Van Buren.]

To burden the country with increased taxation when there is in fact a large surplus revenue would be unjust and unwise.

[President Tyler.]

The Government under which it is our happiness to live owes its existence to the spirit of compromise which prevailed among its framers. Jarring and discordant opinions could only have been reconciled by that noble spirit of patriotism which prompted conciliation and resulted in harmony. In the same spirit the compromise bill, as it is commonly called, was adopted at the session of 1833. While the people of no portion of the Union will ever hesitate to pay all necessary taxes for the support of the Government, yet an innate repugnance exists to the imposition of burdens not really necessary for that object.

[President Polk.]

One of the difficulties which we have had to encounter in the practical administration of the Government consists in the adjustment of our revenue laws and the levy of the taxes necessary for the support of Government. In the general proposition that no more money shall be collected than the necessities of an economical administration shall require all parties seem to agree.

[President Fillmore.]

A high tariff can never be permanent. It will cause dissatisfaction and will be changed. It excludes competition, and thereby invites the investment of capital in manufactures to such excess that when changed it brings distress, bankruptcy, and ruin upon all who have been misled by its faithless protection. What the manufacturer wants is uniformity and permanency, that he may feel a confidence that he is not to be ruined by sudden changes.

[President Pierce.]

The principle that all moneys not required for the current expenses of the Government should remain for active employment in the hands of the people, and the conspicuous fact that the annual revenue from all sources exceeds by many millions of dollars the amount needed for a prudent and economical administration of public affairs, can not fail to suggest the propriety of an early revision and reduction of the tariff of duties on imports.

[President Arthur.]

In view, however, of the heavy load of taxation which our people have already borne, we may well consider whether it is not the part of wisdom to reduce the revenue.

[President Cleveland.]

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than 4,000 articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate, by adding them to the free-list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessaries of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guaranties to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. The wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens or partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free-trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers.

No nation or country can rightfully call upon its citizens to surrender more of their substance than is actually necessary to conduct the legitimate operations of the Government. This is a principle founded not only upon reason and justice, but also upon the great laws of trade and business. The disregard of so wise a rule in political economy as this must always disturb the business of the country and ultimately be a detriment to the peace and harmony of the citizens.

To permit the accumulation of money in the coffers of a government beyond any use to which it can properly be applied is a flagrant violation of this rule, and one to which our people can not submit and the consequences of which they can not endure.

The reason for this is that it takes from the arteries of trade and commerce the money which is so much needed by our labor and business interests, and the very interests, too, which money is designed to conserve. Money is the measure of values, and when it is taken from the people and hoarded in the vaults of our Government its volume is unnecessarily lessened, and this injures all persons except him who deals exclusively in money; that is, the money-lender and he who has his capital invested in interest-bearing securities, and to some extent it is even a disadvantage to these two classes of business.

This contraction of the volume of our currency by its withdrawal from commercial and business uses and keeping it idle in our Treasury is more dangerous and ruinous in its consequences than its real and actual contraction by express enactment of laws, because the operation of this withdrawal of currency from business is insidious and continuous, and the money market becomes each day more and more difficult to reach and its offers more and more restricted. It is needless for me to say that this affects all, the farmer and the merchant, the laborer and the mechanic, alike. It makes the farmer's corn cheaper and the laborer's toil less valuable.

We now take from our people every year about $213,000,000 under our present system of tariff taxation, to say nothing of the vast sum in addition to this derived from other sources. If this were needed by the Government the American people in their patriotism would bear this burden without a murmur. They have never yet refused to meet every demand made upon them by their country, even to the extent of laying down their lives upon the field of battle. Mothers give up sons and wives husbands for the love of a common country. But this is not asked except when the imperious demands of the country require it. We should take nothing from our citizens except that which the Government actually requires. We should not curtail their natural liberty except so far as the good of society and government require.

This is the very foundation and corner-stone of our Republic, and we should not attempt to disturb the repose and happiness of our people by unjust, unequal, and oppressive taxation.

How is the present tariff system operating to day upon our people? It is driving them into business distress and bankruptcy. Furnaces are shut down because labor demands a just compensation for its toil while struggling to obtain the necessaries of life. Mines are closed because the miner, who exposes himself to the dangers of dark, damp entries under ground, demands an adequate compensation for his labor. The farmer sees his home sold under his very eyes because he is unable to raise the money to pay the annual interest of the debt which he in good faith contracted. The farmer's land has decreased in value, his products have lowered in price, and ofttimes he can not find a market for them at any price, and he is compelled to borrow the money required to pay his taxes. The laborer sees his wages declining year after year and employment becoming every day more difficult to obtain. Fair compensation for a day's work and steady employment is all the laboring man of America asks, and this is what he should have. He knows to his sorrow that under the present tariff law he does not obtain this. If this be due to the present law, is it not the part of good statesmanship to revise it? Is it not high time to make an honest attempt, at least, to bring about a healthful change in the present condition of affairs?

The present law at the time of its adoption was passed to meet the exigencies of war. I say this because, in my judgment, its modification in 1883 did not materially change its operation or eliminate its vicious features. Furthermore, it was without practical operation in those States then constituting the Confederacy.

These States and the people who participated in the work of secession took no part in framing this law, and yet, after they have surrendered and laid down their arms and renewed their allegiance to this grand and glorious Union, bear their share of the burdens of taxation and have met the gallant Federal soldiers upon the plane of peace in fraternity and love, they are not to be permitted to join in revising a law that is paralyzing their industries and destroying their material interests. The reason of this is because the bitterness of hate toward them lingers in the Republican heart.

The true reason really is because the devotion of these people to democratic principles and democratic methods constrain them to adhere to the Democratic cause, and to break the effect of this our Republican friends pretend great friendship to the workingman.

This war accomplished the abolition of African slavery, but under the present system inaugurated by the Republican party the white man is now doing double the work that the Southern slave performed, and that, too, at less than a living rate of wages. Besides all this the corporations and monopolies that have fattened upon his toil do not clothe his children, care for and treat him in sickness, and provide him with that comfortable home which his manhood and honor entitle him to.

In this situation of affairs the Democratic party say there ought to be a revision and a change in the tariff laws with a view to ameliorating the condition of labor, and in this way not enable the monopolist to lord it over his employé, the laboring man. Since this law was enacted the Confederate States have come back in good faith to us to bear their share of the burdens of taxation and to maintain and protect this Union, and hence there is on this score a strong reason for lowering the rates of taxation, as there is much more wealth and population added to the Government to contribute to our revenues than when this law was passed, and hence the rates should be lower, as these are always accommodated to our wealth and population; and as a certain amount is to be raised, the greater the wealth the lower the rate must be. However, our Republican friends seem to think that a Southern Confederacy still exists, and that this law only operates upon the States that were always loyal.

With all their professions of love and devotion to our loyal brethren,

they still insist upon protecting (?) them by an exaction of high-tariff taxes. It is protection in name, but oppression in fact.

But now that the Democratic party is endeavoring to keep its promise made to the people that it would reduce taxation by modifying the existing tariff law and reducing the rates of duty upon imports, we are met by the charge from certain Republican members of Congress that we are free-traders. When they make this assertion they know it is ill-founded. There can, in the very nature of things, never be any free trade in this country until we adopt the system of direct taxation—a system to which the Democratic party is unalterably opposed and to which we shall always remain opposed. Then as we must raise an immense revenue to carry on the operations of the Government and ultimately to pay off the public debt, whose liquidation I am heartily in favor of at the earliest practicable day, and as we must raise the means from our internal-revenue system, small sales of public lands, and our tariff system, upon what ground can there be free trade with us as between ourselves and foreign countries?

There is a wide difference between tariff reform and free trade. Every intelligent voter knows what tariff reform means. He knows it does not mean anything like free trade. It can have no such meaning. It simply denotes that the evils of the present tariff law shall be eradicated so far as it is possible to do so by removing the inequalities existing therein and by lowering present rates when they affect the necessaries of life and by making a slight increase in the free-list.

What we now propose is no new measure offered to the American people. The tariff law has been revised time and again in the past to adjust it to the then existing condition of affairs. The people now demand a revision of the tariff. Both parties have declared for this in their various State and national platforms.

As I have just remarked, this matter of revising the tariff is no novel scheme proposed by us on this (the Democratic) side of the House. It is only a remedy proposed by us for existing evils. The first tariff law that was enacted (1789) remained in force with some slight modifications until 1816, when it became necessary to revise it, and this second law remained in effect until 1824. The duties under these two acts were very low as compared with existing rates.

Then we had a compromise act of 1833, and this remained without substantial changes until 1846, when the Congress of the United States revised the tariff, and gave to our people what is to-day known as the "Walker tariff."

This last act greatly reduced the rates of duty indeed in some instances, making marked changes, and the enemies to this wise and beneficent measure predicted dire evils as a consequence of its enactment. They declared our industries would languish and perish; that labor would go without employment; that poverty and hunger would become his unbidden companions; that the farmer's field that had once been the source of his prosperity and happiness would spring up with thorns and thistles.

But these political prophets were not true prophets. Instead of their predictions being verified, the very reverse was the case.

Our industrial enterprises went marching on, flourishing as they had never done before; labor was employed, well paid, happy, and contented, and the farmer's field blossomed as the rose and the plowman's song was merrier than it had been before.

No one would have dared attempt to raise the duties upon imports, as was done in 1861, but for the existence of a great civil war, in which eleven States had withdrawn from the Union, and an urgent necessity at hand for men and all the munitions of war required to put down a great rebellion.

It is true the consequences of this civil strife entailed upon us results in the form of pensions, a public debt and its interest that required heavier taxation than was needed prior to its inauguration, and yet all this has been met in a spirit of true patriotism, and still there is an immense surplus locked up in the Treasury vaults of the United States, amounting in the aggregate to the vast sum of $150,000,000, with a threatened increase this year of nearly $80,000,000. This has been accumulating after the payment of the net ordinary expenses of the Government, the payment of a vast sum of money to rebuild and equip our Navy, after paying the interest on the public debt and also paying a part of the principal, and also paying about $75,000,000 to our deserving pensioners, though this year it reaches over $80,000,000 in pensions to our Union soldiers.

After paying all the ordinary as well as extraordinary expenses of our Government we have left in the form of an annual surplus about $80,000,000. That is, we take from our people this amount of money every year for which we have no use at all, but simply take it from their business and hoard it up in the Treasury.

To make the statement plainer, we require every man, woman, and child in our great Republic to pay in the form of taxes at least $1.25, for no purpose whatever except to sink it in the vaults of the Treasury, there to lie idle and unemployed.

Assuming that our population in West Virginia is 800,000, it can here be stated with perfect truth that our State pays into the national Treasury for no purpose whatever not less than $1,000,000 annually. Suppose our State government required her citizens to pay into the State treasury $1,000,000 more than is needed for the purposes of our State government?

Would our citizens not demand a change in our local tax laws? To be sure they would, and any man or party who would oppose such revision would be consigned to everlasting oblivion, contempt, and condemnation, and justly so.

Now, then, the bill under consideration proposes to save to the citizens of the whole country the enormous sum of $80,000,000 a year, and to the State of West Virginia not less than $1,000,000 annually.

Can any man, without regard to party, decline to give his assent to such a measure? I think not. I for one, as the humble representative of a great people, shall support this bill with all my energy and what little ability God has endowed me with. Furthermore, I stand on my party platform as to this, and I believe my people will sustain me in this course. If they do not, I shall be utterly surprised, and will be constrained to confess that in my association with them, which has been long and intimate, I have signally failed to appreciate their sentiments and interests.

I am here to represent them, and speak to and vote for those measures which will best promote their true interests. This I intend to do, looking to God and my country for the full vindication of my acts.

But in doing this I am confronted with the charge that I am not in sympathy with American labor.

This is utterly unfounded and false. I am now, always have been, and am resolved to remain a friend to the laboring man of this country. He is a free, independent American citizen. He asks no more protection than you give to others. In the eloquent language of my eloquent friend from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER], he made you and made the Government, and gave you all that money that now lies bursting the coffers of your Treasury. Where do you get the money from with which you propose to grant your protection? It comes from the laborer. He does not want your protection, because it does not protect. All the protection he asks is that which every other citizen has a right to demand—protection from high and unnecessary taxation. Do not take our money unnecessarily, for it is labor that makes money. It is the thews and the muscles, and the sinews and the blood, and the bone and the brain of the laboring man, whether it be the labor of the head or hand that does it and makes money.

So far as I am concerned I am in favor of giving all the protection to the laborer that it is possible to afford him. But I do not believe that a high-tariff tax does or can protect him. I believe he is already awake to the truth that a high tariff does not protect him, but, on the contrary, robs him and consigns his family to want and discontent. I can never give my assent to a system that robs and impoverishes the laborer. I can appreciate his struggles, his toils, and his sacrifices. What does your high tariff amount to when he is compelled to work at the price dictated by the capitalist or else yield his place, with his little one crying for bread, to the pauper labor imported from Europe by the capitalist who, with his plethoric pocket filled with ill-gotten gains, can defy his demands? Gentlemen, you must change this law now bearing down upon labor. All he asks is equal rights, and until you concede them to him he will bang at your doors for admittance until they swing open to him and the welcome voice is heard, "Come in and share with us the justice of equal laws for all, made alike for the rich and the poor."

This is what the laborer demands and nothing else. He does not ask you to do for him what you would not do for others, but he does insist that you shall not make him bear all the burdens and pay all the taxes. There is said to be a great difference between the pay of an American laborer and one who resides in England. This is in part true, and I am proud of it. The American laborer ought to receive more than the English laborer because he works a greater number of hours, is more intelligent, more skillful, and, above all, he is a free citizen and one of the noblemen of earth and as good as a king. He has something to live for. He is the father of a family in which he takes a just pride. He knows that nothing can be denied his children that may be within the reach of any citizen. Why should he not be better paid than English labor? But this is not owing to the tariff. He commands better wages in spite of the tariff. He makes his way here and bears his burden of taxation when he is ill able to afford it.

The Republican party has pretended great friendship for American labor; but in these professions they have been insincere and untrue. Take, for instance, the law that was passed in 1864, whereby an American capitalist could take his money and go into the pauper fields of Europe and bring into this country the degraded element of the laboring classes of Europe and place them in competition with the noble and high-minded laboring man of America. Thousands and thousands of prosperous workingmen of this country were crowded out of employment and consigned to want because of this unjust and unwise measure. This was an act of the Republican party, and it is needless for me to say that its repeal originated in a Democratic House of Representatives. It originated with a party that has always been the friend of the laboring man, and who is to-day his sincerest and staunchest friend—a party that comes to him with no false pretenses of interest in his welfare, but a party that does and acts in his behalf.

They say that to put salt on the free-list will crush the interest of the salt-maker. This is not true. The tariff has nothing to do with the price of salt. It is placed there simply to remove the restrictions of trade just as removing the revenue from leaf-tobacco permits the pro-

ducer to deal with the article of his labor and production at home and abroad without let or hindrance.

What has been the conditions of our salt interest under a tariff? Take for illustration the furnaces in the Kanawha and Ohio valleys. Where once the hum of industry was heard under every shed and the smoke-stacks belched out their heated volumes of smoke and fire, and the cooper made the shop ring with the music of his industry, there is nothing now but rotten timber and rusty, idle machinery. The miner that was employed at fair wages about these furnaces in supplying them with fuel has had to hunt other fields of labor or seek new avenues for employment. The price of labor has gone down, and homes that once smiled with plenty and happiness have become the abodes of poverty and discontent. How can the tariff be said to help this industry in the light of this business experience? Every laboring man knows that the tariff has not helped this industry; he knows to place salt on the free-list can not affect it in the least. There is but one thing that can affect any business interest, and that is the great law of supply and demand, and it is as impossible to escape the operation of this law as it is that of the great law of gravitation, and this truth is as susceptible of demonstration as any problem in Euclid.

We are told by the enemies to tariff revision that to place wool on the free-list will destroy the wool-growing interest in this country. This is not the case, as political economy discloses the fact that the tariff does not in anywise affect the production or price of wool. This can be shown by a well authenticated schedule of prices of this article for nearly three-quarters of a century last past in this country; and so well is this established that it is needless for me to incumber the RECORD with a recital of this schedule here. So true is it that it can not be successfully gainsaid or denied. Our wool-growers are aware of this, and in consideration of the great reduction made on the necessaries of life by this bill they are willing that this article may go upon the free-list. This provision of the bill will stimulate industries as regards the manufacture of woolen goods, will give steadier and better employment to labor in this line, and, in my judgment, stimulate the wool market. I do not like to go into details with reference to this bill, but I will insert here a clipping which I have taken from a current journal, which illustrates in a very forcible manner the burdens which the workingman has to bear under the present tariff law, and which is well worthy of his careful perusal. It is a true tariff story:

The American workingman returns at night from his toil clad in a woolen suit taxed 55 per cent., stockings and undershirt taxed 75 per cent., a cotton shirt taxed 45 per cent., a woolen hat taxed 75 per cent., and, perchance, a pair of gloves in winter taxed 75 per cent.

He carries in his hand his tin dinner-pail taxed 45 per cent., and greets his wife with a cheery smile as she looks at him through the window pane taxed 60 per cent., from which she has drawn aside the curtains taxed 40 per cent.

After scraping his boots on a scraper taxed 45 per cent. he wipes them on a mat of bagging taxed 40 per cent.; he lifts the door-latch taxed 45 per cent., steps in on a carpet taxed 63 per cent., and gives a kiss to his wife in a woolen dress taxed 70 per cent. She has a needle taxed 25 per cent. in her hand with which she has been mending, with thread taxed 46 per cent., an alpaca umbrella taxed 50 per cent.

It is a small brick house which they have bought with their hard earnings of a building association. The bricks were taxed 20 per cent., the lumber taxed 16 per cent., and the paint 54 per cent. The wall-paper, taxed 25 per cent., makes the room brighter, with its plain furniture taxed 35 per cent.

Hanging his hat on a brass pin taxed 45 per cent., he hangs his pail on a steel pin taxed 45 per cent., and proceeds to get ready for his supper. He washes his hands with castile soap taxed 20 per cent. in a tin basin taxed 45 per cent., and wipes them on a cotton towel taxed 45 per cent. He then goes to the looking-glass taxed 45 per cent. and fixes his hair with a brush and comb taxed 30 per cent.

He is now ready for his supper, which his wife has cooked on a stove taxed 45 per cent., with pots and kettles taxed 53 per cent. The table is spread with the commonest crockery, taxed 55 per cent., and he drinks his water out of a cheap glass tumbler, taxed 45 per cent. His meal is a frugal one, because hard times have cut his wages down, and he is saving every cent he can to pay the next installment due on his house.

With an appetite worthy of an ampler meal he takes up his knife and fork taxed 45 per cent. and begins to eat a piece of salted fish taxed 25 per cent. He pours on it a little vinegar taxed 36 per cent. Upon his boiled potatoes, taxed 40 per cent., he sprinkles salt taxed 80 per cent., and eats a small pickle taxed 35 per cent. He ends his meal with a pudding of rice taxed 112 per cent. and an orange taxed 20 per cent.

After supper he smokes a pipe and enjoys the happiness of his wife, who has this day bought a woolen shawl taxed 65 per cent., a black silk dress taxed 50 per cent., and a pair of scissors taxed 45 per cent.

There are few persons who have ever thought of the iniquities that are thus heaped upon the masses of the people by the present tariff law. However, it is becoming so apparent that the inequalities of this law should be removed; that further delay of action is not only unwise but dangerous. From a national and commercial standpoint we must revise our tariff system and to some extent remove the restrictions that it now imposes upon American commerce. We have an extent of territory, a variety of soil and climate, and a diversity of industries that challenge the admiration of the world. There is no reason why we should not stand at the head of the list of the world's commerce, as we evidently do in all things else. The flag of our merchant ships should wave in proud distinction in every seaport of the globe. Our manufactured articles, from the lowest to the highest, are everywhere in demand. Why hamper our trade with unnecessary restrictions? The great bulk of our commerce is now carried in foreign bottoms, for which we pay annually the enormous sum of $150,000,000. This is due to a very great extent to trade restrictions imposed by our present tariff law. Why not remove these retrictions and thus stimulate American commerce, open up new fields of industry, widen the scope of labor, and place in market everywhere the products of our labor and enterprise?

The life of every nation and its stable prosperity depend upon its commercial interest. The greatness and prosperity of Athens began with its commercial enterprises. Rome flourished as her foreign trade extended. Carthage, hard by the great sea, became great and powerful as her ensign floated into foreign ports over the argosies of her industries. Great Britain asserted herself as the proud mistress of the seas when she opened up, by liberal legislation, the avenues which lead to foreign commerce. The history of trade admonishes us to throw aside the narrowness of selfishness and bids us go abroad and assert our commercial supremacy. The broad fields of the West, nodding with their golden grain, say to us by signs unmistakable in their beauty and abundance that they can vie in fertility of soil and geniality of climate with those of India. The cotton-fields of the South in their blossoming whiteness speak with a mute eloquence that surpasseth speech that they can compete with any lands in the world. The stock-raisers of the whole country are ready to enter all markets of the world, after supplying those at home, and turn into money the products of their labor and superior intelligence. The manufacturer everywhere, with his skill and genius, can stand along by the side of the foreign producer and by the superior excellence of his article outsell his foreign competitor the world over.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BENJAMIN F. SHIVELY,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, May 16, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. SHIVELY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I acknowledge my obligation and tender my thanks to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MONTGOMERY] for yielding me a portion of his time. It were vain, however, to suppose that in these few minutes anything substantially new could be thrown into the current of this debate. Four weeks of almost continuous discussion might well be supposed to exhaust the resources of a subject even more complex than that under consideration. I shall therefore content myself with a few brief general observations on the bill now before the House, and a few suggestions relative to its application to the interests of my own immediate constituents.

At every point, Mr. Chairman, in this controversy we are confronted by the fact that every political party in this country stands pledged to a revision and reformation of the present tariff. In such revision and reformation the vast and complicated interests of 60,000,000 people are involved. It is to these interests, and to these people that the solemn assurances of national conventions have been given. These assurances are found in the national platforms of 1884 in plain, direct, unequivocal propositions. The sincerity of parties is to be determined by their affirmative efforts to redeem these pledges. That party which, now unmindful of its own promises, contents itself with systematic opposition to every proposition of relief presented by its more courageous competitor, chooses its position at the bar of public opinion as a defaulter to its obligations, and a trifler with the public conscience. [Applause.]

The hour is past, sir, when the American people will accept elaborate disquisitions on impossible theories as compensation for broken promises and violated faith.

Official statistics show that there is $120,000,000 surplus in the United States Treasury. Official estimates indicate that by June 30 this sum will reach $140,000,000. Millions are too large for human comprehension. The imagination is bewildered that attempts to grasp a million. But $140,000,000 is over $21,000,000 more than the entire net ordinary expenses of the United States Government for the first twenty-one years after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is more than ten times the net ordinary expenses of the first year of Andrew Jackson's administration. It is four times the net ordinary expenses of the Government for the year 1850, and over three times the gross expenditures of the Government for the same year. It is more than twice the net ordinary expenditures, and nearly twice the gross expenditures, of the Government for the year 1860, and $5,000,000 more than the net ordinary expenditures of the Government for the year 1878. These comparisons are based on the official statistics of the Treasury Department, found in the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and give but a modest idea of the monstrous exactions that have been forced from the people under the color of taxation.

This vast and rapidly accumulating surplus lies in the public Treasury, the prolific parent of threatening evils. It has already hatched a vast brood of lobbyists, who view it as their plunder and the tax-payers as their victims. It leads to a distribution of favors among preferred corporations, to the prejudice of a pure administration of public affairs. It suggests new and questionable schemes of Federal expenditure. It breeds reckless and improvident innovations on the settled and accepted functions of the Government. It invites extravagance and spoliation. It corrupts the public morals by tempting the public virtue. It destroys patriotism by its conclusive and ever-present evidence of unjust and excessive taxation. It undermines good citizenship by destroying self-reliance and personal independence. It places industry, skill, enterprise, and thrift at a discount, and idleness and mendicancy at a premium. It represents the confiscation of $140,000,000 of the tax-payers' property. It not only represents confiscation, but deprives the country of this amount of circulating medium. It is congestion of the life-blood of commerce. It adds to the burden of every debt, of every mortgage, of every bond, of every item of local and general taxation. Its baleful influence, subtle, silent, and unseen, reaches through every channel of trade, over every field of labor, into every department of enterprise, around every branch of industry, and draws each closer every hour to the brink of panic and disaster. As the surplus of $140,000 flows each day into the public Treasury, the lines of credit throughout the country are drawn with constantly increasing tension from manufacturer to wholesaler, from wholesaler to retailer, and from retailer to consumer. This increasing strain can not endure, and unless relief is furnished from the constant drain on the energies of the nation, and the debt-paying power of the people, the fabric of credit must break down and the country be plunged into bankruptcy and distress. In view of these plain and undeniable facts, Mr. Chairman, how admirably the President comprehends the situation when he says that "it is a condition that confronts us, not a theory." [Applause.]

Legislation is compromise. Especially is this true when it touches questions of taxation. The bill before us is not perfect. Its authors do not claim the attribute of infallibility. It is a composite measure, looking toward concrete justice. The right of amendment exists, and I reserve the privilege of exercising it. But, sir, in its general scope and features this bill responds to the oft-repeated demands of the people for a careful, just, and equitable revision of the tariff and reduction of taxation. Do gentleman imagine the country can be deceived by the cry of "Free trade?" Why, Mr. Chairman, the average rate of duty under the Hamilton tariff of 1795, when our industries could truthfully plead infancy, was only 11.21 per cent. The war tariff of 1812 averaged only 32.76 per cent. The average rate on all imports under the tariff of 1832 was 28.99 per cent., and on dutiable articles 38.25 per cent. Under the "Compromise Tariff," of 1834, the average rate was 19.25 per cent. Under the Whig tariff of 1842, which was then considered radically protective, the average rate of duty on imports was 26.92 per cent., and on dutiable articles 33.49 per cent. Under the Walker tariff of 1846 the average rate on all imports was 23.20 per cent., and on dutiable articles 26.22 per cent. Under the tariff of 1857 the average rate was 15.66 per cent., and on dutiable articles 20.12 per cent. Under the "Morrill war tariff" of 1861 the average rate on all imports was 34.74 per cent., and on dutiable articles 40.74 per cent. Under the schedule in the pending bill the proposed average rate on dutiable articles is 40 per cent. The English tariff schedule contains only sixteen dutiable articles. The Morrill tariff schedule of 1861 contained less than fifteen hundred dutiable articles, while the Mills bill now under consideration embodies a schedule of over thirty-five hundred dutiable articles!

Sir, there is vastly more protection in this bill than there was in any of the various American tariffs previous to the late war, and even more protection than in the war tariff of 1861. In view of these incontrovertible facts, what possible grounds are there for the long list of hysterical prophecies about destruction to American industry, with which we have been entertained during the past four weeks? Do gentlemen, who for four years have slept on broken promises, imagine that the common sense of this nation can be deceived by their stale, hackneyed, irrelevant dissertations on British free trade? The whole question goes to the public conscience. All this antique eloquence about the Cobden Club, and British gold may answer as mere vocal exercise, but will scarcely be accepted as compensation by the millions of American people who demand relief from contraction of the currency, derangement of business, destruction of values, and confiscation of property by excessive taxation.

In my district, sir, there are over one thousand manufacturing establishments, large and small. The prosperity of these industries is bound up with the prosperity of the whole country. Were the pending measure of a violent, reactionary, or revolutionary nature, I, acting under a primary obligation to my constituents, should oppose it. But, sir, it is not such; while on the other hand the exactions of excessive taxation, and the burdens of unequal laws, fall with peculiar weight on a vast majority of my people. We have the largest wagon, carriage, and plow factories in the world. On these articles there is a duty, but it affords no protection commensurate with the exactions collected from these manufacturers in way of increased cost of raw material. Plows manufactured in South Bend, Ind., are to-day turning the soil in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. After paying increased prices for iron, steel, lumber, and paint, our manufacturers carry their product into a free-trade market and defy the pauper labor of the world. [Applause.]

I challenge any gentleman on this floor to indicate wherein the tariff protects either those manufacturers or their employés. Like the duty on the farmer's wheat, the duty on wagons and plows may humbug some people into the support of "trusts" which swindle the farmer, the manufacturer, and the workingman, but it adds not one farthing to the profit on the capital invested, nor one cent to the wages of the labor employed. [Applause.] These duties, however, shall remain, sir, as a matter of grace, until you give us freer iron and steel, and release other raw materials from the control of the combine, and give them to our manufacturers at competitive instead of monopoly prices.

I this day received a letter from a prominent manufacturer of fine carriages and harness in my district, in which he says: "Reduce the tariff on iron, steel, oils, and paints, and we can successfully contest for any market in the world." And he adds that his firm is "now carrying its products into Germany, Mexico, and a number of the South American States." Think you that the law which increases the cost of the raw material which these men use is beneficial to their industry or in any sense contributes to widen their market?

Again, sir, I am in receipt of a communication from another gentleman in my district, who is connected with one of the largest and most prosperous fine vehicle factories in the United States, from which I take the liberty of quoting as follows:

The following is a comparison of prices showing what we are obliged to pay for the finest Parisian vehicles and what they can be produced for in any first-class factory in this country:

No. 756. Duc (ladies' driving phaeton):	
Cost in Paris, 2,680 francs, equal to	$536.00
Same can be duplicated here for	475.00
No. 764. Phaeton (mail):	
Cost in Paris, 3,050 francs, equal to	610.10
Same can be duplicated here for	550.50
No. 183. Coupé (Brougham):	
Cost in Paris, 3,800 francs, equal to	760.00
Same can be duplicated here for	725.00
No. 766. Landau (full leather top):	
Cost in Paris, 5,000 francs, equal to	1,000.00
Same can be duplicated here for	850.00
No. 184. Mylord (cabriolet):	
Cost in Paris, 3,000 francs, equal to	600.00
Same can be duplicated here for	550.00
No. 186. Victoria (an eight-spring):	
Cost in Paris, 5,100 francs, equal to	1,020.00
Same can be procured here for	950.00

I might extend the list indefinitely, but the above will suffice, as the vehicles mentioned are representative ones of their class.

Following is a schedule of wages paid to the mechanics in this country who are employed in the construction of the vehicles named above:

	Per day.
Body-makers	$3.00 to $4.00
Blacksmiths	3.25 to 3.50
Finishers	2.00
Helpers	1.50
Trimmers	3.00
Painters	2.00

You will not fail to notice that our mechanics are quite liberally compensated, and notwithstanding this we are able to produce vehicles which are in every respect equal to those we buy in Paris, which latter are supposed to be produced by pauper labor. It is all a mistake to suppose that the tariff controls in fixing our rate of wages. We have to pay the market price for our labor, and skill determines largely what that shall be. I might add that the only reason any carriages are imported from Paris is to satisfy the whims of some of the trade and discover any little novelties in fittings, etc., which may be brought out by the foreign designers.

Mr. Chairman, the writer of this letter differs from me in politics, but being a man of convictions, with large commercial experience and good practical business sense, he declines to humbug himself, deceive others, or hazard the welfare of the country to subserve the selfish purposes of any political party. The Republican tariff commission of 1883 recommended a 20 per cent. reduction of the tariff. President Arthur and Secretaries of the Treasury Folger and McCulloch, all Republicans, recommended a revision, reformation, and reduction of the present tariff. The Republican national convention of 1884 solemnly promised the people a revision and reformation of the tariff. Is it at all strange that many of the best men in the party believe that there was reason, sense, and patriotism in those recommendations and virtue in those promises, and now therefore utterly repudiate the proposed panacea of cheaper tobacco and freer delirium tremens? [Applause.]

Thanking the committee for this extension of time, permit me to observe that attention has been called to the wagon, carriage, and plow industries, more particularly for the purposes of illustration. Admitting all that the most ultra "trust" tariff advocate claims, the benefits of the tariff can not follow our products beyond our own shores. In other words, the advantages of the tariff stop with compelling our own people to pay higher prices for our own products. On the other hand, the disadvantages of the tariff, if any such there be, follow our products into every foreign market they seek.

For instance, our plows go into the British Isles and into many countries of continental Europe. It is safe to say that some product of American manufacture may be found for sale in every city of Europe. To my knowledge, vehicles manufactured in the city, in which I have the honor to reside, may be found to-day in Cape Town, South Africa, on the streets of Sydney, and Melbourne, Australia, in all the principal cities of Mexico, and even in Persia, to say nothing of the South

American trade. Now, will it be claimed that a tariff which increases the cost of the lumber, iron, and steel in these vehicles to our manufacturers does not place the latter at an absolute disadvantage in every foreign market where their products are offered for sale? Are not these clear cases where American enterprise, American pluck, and American skill have pushed their products into the markets of the world, not by virtue of, but in spite of, obstructive legislation?

A "trust," Mr. Chairman, is a combination of substantially all of the manufacturers of the country engaged in any single industry. The purpose of such combination is, first, to limit the product, and, second, to advance or keep up the price. When the limit of the product fixed by the combine is reached, the laborer may seek work elsewhere or starve by the roadside, while the consumer is plundered by the increased price. The formation of a "trust" is only possible, first, when this country contains a substantial monopoly of the natural products entering into the manufacture, or, second, when the tariff shuts out all foreign competition, and thus protects the domestic combination in its monopoly of the market. George Stephenson once said, "Where combination is possible, competition is impossible." The tariff is essential to the "trust," as it removes the element of competition and holds up the hands of the American people while the combination goes through their pockets.

I herewith submit a list of a few American trusts, and couple with each the average rate of protection, the amount paid to labor, and the amount of profit which each trust reserves for itself:

Name of trust.	Protected by duties averaging, per cent.—	Adjusted to guaranty a bonus in each $100 of product amounting to—	Their whole expense in $100 worth of product being—
Salt trust	50	$33	$25
Earthenware trust	56	36	40
Bessemer-steel trust	84	46	9
Plow-steel trust	45	33	29
General steel trust	45	33	29
Nail trust	45	33	22
General iron trust	45	33	25
Copper trust	24	22	22
Zinc trust	52	28	25
Lead trust	74	43	65
Glass trust	55	36	45
Soap trust	26	19	8
Linseed-oil trust	54	35	5
Rubber-shoe trust	25	20	24
Envelope trust	25	20	11
Paper-bag trust	35	26	15
Cordage trust	25	20	12
Average	.....	30	24

This list was prepared by Henry J. Philpot, of Des Moines, Iowa, evidently with much study and care. To it might be added many other trusts, which are laying the millions of consumers in this country under contribution to secure colossal fortunes to the few.

In an equity suit brought by some of the stockholders of the Jackson Iron Mining Company, in the Lake Superior region of Michigan, in 1883, the secretary of that company was put on the witness stand, and under oath admitted that from the organization of the company in 1863 up to that time, they had declared a sum total of dividends of 1,785 per cent.; that the original capital stock was $300,000; that the dividends declared amounted to $5,355,000; that the plant was in 1883 worth $1,500,000. An average annual dividend of 89½ per cent. for twenty years, and an addition of 400 per cent. to the value of the original plant in the same time, shows the languishing condition of an "infant industry," which all this time was clamoring for protection against the pauper labor of Europe.

The Quincy Copper Mining Company, of Michigan, paid an average annual dividend of 50 per cent. for the ten years preceding 1881, and the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company paid in dividends last year $2,250,000 on an investment of less than $1,000,000. It will be remembered in this connection that copper had a war tariff of 2 cents per pound, and now enjoys a peace tariff of 4 cents per pound. A member of the Edgar A. Thomson Steel Works, located at Braddock, Pa., admits to a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of this House that he drew out of that establishment as dividend in a single year the sum of $1,500,000, or $5,000 per day, to say nothing of the undivided profits. This firm is protected by a tariff of $17 per ton on steel rails, and $27.50 a ton on steel beams, and yet their works are at this hour surrounded by a cordon of Pinkerton's brass-buttoned mandarins to protect imported foreign labor inside, shoot the life out of struggling American workingmen outside, and guaranty absolute free trade in labor!

Illustrations might easily be multiplied, Mr. Chairman, but these will suffice. How well such beneficiaries of our present tariff can afford to overwhelm Congress with tons of white paper and barrels of ink, worked into literature by their paid agents, and used by their retained attorneys, and subsidize a thousand newspapers besides in their efforts to hoodwink, cheat, and deceive the American people into resisting any interference with a system that yields to them such princely incomes. There is not a pound of iron, of copper, or of steel used in my district, nor in any other district of the country, either in the form of machinery in the factories, or as material to be worked into machinery for use on the farm or in the household, the price of which has not been increased to pay these vast dividends.

The Jackson Mining Company charges the increased price to the jobber, the jobber passes it along to our manufacturer, our manufacturer must subtract a portion from the wages of labor, perhaps lose a portion himself, and pass the rest along to the man who buys the plow, the wagon, the grain-drill, the sewing-machine, or the cook-stove. The market is the objective point toward which all the energies of the manufacturer are directed. The elements that determine his ability to enter the market are, first, the cost of his plant; second, the cost of his raw material; third, the cost of labor, and, fourth, the cost of transportation. The price that he pays for his plant, or for his raw material, or for transportation, is each determined by others. The cost of these he can not control. The cost of labor, alone, he measurably determines for himself. If to compete in the market it becomes necessary to reduce the cost of his finished product, labor is the first to suffer.

In brief, sir, it is susceptible of mathematical demonstration that our high tariff on raw material, first, increases the cost of such raw material to our manufacturer; second, it increases the cost of the manufacturer's plant; third, it decreases the wages of labor; fourth, it depletes the home market by decreasing the purchasing power of wages and of farm products; fifth, it narrows our foreign market by reducing our power of successful competition, and finally, as a natural sequence of the foregoing, it lessens the employment, wastes the energies, and destroys the opportunities of American workingmen.

Why can not 80,000 skilled American workingmen be employed in making copper wire, copper bolts, copper screws, copper kettles, copper boilers, and a hundred other articles of copper-ware to supply our own market and those foreign markets now monopolized by the British? Simply because American manufacturers are charged double prices for raw copper produced in this country, while the same copper is actually sold to the British manufacturer, after paying transportation, at rates much cheaper than to our own. Our 4 cents a pound duty shuts out foreign copper, doubles the price of domestic copper, discourages and prevents domestic manufacture leaves American labor in idleness or to seek employment in other trades, while foreign capital and foreign labor control the market and laugh at the monstrous stupidity that shuts American capital and American labor out of foreign markets, and destroys their power at home. We put up a tariff against the copper ores of South America, and Brazil, and other South American countries retaliate by shutting out American flour. The American manufacturer, the American mechanic, the American consumer of copper goods, the American farmer, and the American miller are swindled by the operation of the law, and yet the attorneys of the mine owners insist that this tariff must be kept intact under the delusive cry of protection to American labor! Freer raw material means more employment, better wages, larger opportunities, cheaper goods, wider markets, and increased individual and general prosperity.

Much has been said, Mr. Chairman, in the course of this debate about a "home market." It is sought to give to this empiricism the strength and respectability of a theory. Considered as a theory, reduced to its last analysis, it finds its neatest application in the case of the savage, who builds his own hut, clothes himself with the skin of the wild beast, constructs his own canoe, hunts his own game, and declares perpetual non-intercourse against his dusky neighbors. He is his own home market. To him commerce is a swindle. Producing all the articles he consumes, he improves in the production of none. But he bravely maintains his commercial independence. He scorns the servile dependence of the civilized dupe who surrounds himself with abundance of food, clothing, and shelter, and hundreds of articles which administer to his physical, intellectual, and moral wants, each article having been made by a different workman in a different part of the world, and for each of which articles he has given the product of his own labor in return. To this savage every friendly approach of his neighbor is a cunning and insidious assault on his "infant industries."

In view of the fact, sir, that there are to-day at least thirty-five trusts in this country, lessening production and keeping up prices, the theory of a home market for our manufactured products scarcely requires notice. Thirty-two of these trusts are directly protected and largely maintained by the tariff. Their first function is to limit the production of the very articles that are to go to the market. This is creation of a home market by prevention of production. Their second function is to keep up and even advance the price of the article in trust. This is creation of a home market by destroying the capacity of consumers to go into the market and buy. I refer particularly to those industries now organized in trusts, because they illustrate directly the abuse of the power of taxation which it is the duty of Congress to correct and reform.

But it is to the American farmer that the home-market argument is

addressed with peculiar fervor and assurance. We have had twenty-seven years of high protective tariff. In 1860 our farmers sold 90 per cent. of their products at home; in 1870 they sold 80 per cent. of their products at home; in 1880 they sold only 70 per cent. of their products at home. Thus the farmer's home market has each year been proportionately decreased instead of increased. Thirty per cent. of his product must go abroad and compete with the markets of the world. This 30 per cent., which goes into the free-trade market of the world, fixes the price of the 70 per cent. that remains at home. For if his product would bring one cent more at home than abroad, not one dollar's worth would be sent abroad. The American farmer to-day buys everything he has to buy in a protected market at protected prices and sells everything he has to sell at prices fixed in a free-trade market.

In 1884 our farmers furnished 72 per cent. of our total exports, while manufactures furnished less than 17 per cent. The non-protected farmer furnishes nearly three-fourths of our exports, while other industries furnish the remainder. So when American obstructive legislation breeds hostility abroad, the American farmer is the first victim of retaliation. American trusts demand and secure a high protective tariff against France, and France gets even by shutting out the American "hog product" and breadstuffs. We declare war against the products of Germany, and Germany shuts out American meats, breadstuffs, butter, cheese, and other farm and dairy products. Within the past three years there has been a gradual proportionate decrease in our agricultural exports, traceable in a large degree to the retaliatory measures of other nations against the United States. The farmer is presented with the red-hot end of the tariff poker at every point along the line.

Why, Mr. Chairman, there is not a trust in this country but that finds the farmer its best subject for plunder. The mine owners may divide their millions in dividends each year; who pays them? These millions attach to the metal, and follow it into the plow, the wagon, the nail, the barbed wire, the stove, into every article containing iron, steel, or other metal on the farm or in the household. These increased prices, which pay vast dividends, can be passed from the mine owner to the jobber, from the jobber to the manufacturer, from the manufacturer to the wholesaler, from the wholesaler to the retailer, and from the retailer to the farmer, but there they are fastened. The bill is charged up against the farmer—tariff, bounty, profits, and all—and he has no possible escape from it. Yet the farmer is appealed to to resist a revision and reformation of the tariff.

Permit me to observe, sir, with becoming modesty, that I enjoy the distinction of having worked on a farm until I reached my majority. I know something of the struggles of our agricultural classes. Constituting nearly one-half of our population, their interests are entitled to the most serious consideration. When it is said that the American farmers, as a class, have prospered commensurately with the improvements in the means of production I repudiate the assertion as utterly without foundation. The sickle, the cradle, the reaper, the marsh harvester has each been swept aside by the inventive genius of the age, and the self-binder is in the field. Where twenty men gathered the harvest with the sickle, three do it now with the self-binder. Other improved forms of farm machinery have supplanted the old and ruder patterns. The farmer, who has thus multiplied his productive power in every direction, works long hours, practices close economy, makes sacrifices of personal comforts right and left, and yet the great body of American farmers are engaged in a desperate struggle to keep even, and a large percentage are fighting their battles along the very border-line of subsistence. According to the last report of the commissioner of labor of Michigan 42 per cent. of the farms of that State are under mortgage. There are over $175,000,000 of mortgages on the farms of Indiana. Many of the other Western States are still more heavily incumbered. The exactions of excessive taxation, and many of the millions of dollars which go each year to the trusts and the combines, are extorted from the farmer in a hundred ways, subtle and unseen, but the mortgage which these exactions force on his home is the living fact that follows him from day to day, and month to month, as an ever-present shadow. The present tariff supports the farmer as the rope supports the criminal. [Applause.]

With the further indulgence of the committee, Mr. Chairman, I invite attention to a few facts touching the distinctively labor feature of the tariff question. If the tariff protects labor, American workingmen, after twenty-seven years of protection, should be universally prosperous, contented, and happy. Yet the third annual report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, shows that in the six years ending with 1886 there were strikes in 22,336 establishments in this country. Of these, 18,342, or 82.12 per cent., were ordered by labor organizations. During the same period there were lock-outs in 2,182 establishments. Of these, 1,753, or 80.34 per cent., were ordered by combinations of managers. Of the strikes, 16,692, or 74.74 per cent., and of the lock-outs, 1,981, or 90.8 per cent., were in the States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, where protection is said to have showered its blessings on the laboring man. These facts point like index-fingers to the terrific struggle between the trusts and the combines for their millions of dividends on one hand, and the millions of wage-earners battling against poverty, hunger, and starvation for themselves, their wives, and children on the other. At every point in this struggle the fact stands out that the tariff is the combine's protection and the laborer's tax. [Applause.]

Why, sir, it is notorious that it is in the protected districts of Pennsylvania that occur our frequent carnivals of strikes, lock-outs, reduction of wages, and insolent and brutal treatment of labor. It is from there that the red prophecies of danger are flecked athwart our industrial horizon. It is there that the State militia is called into requisition to overawe and terrorize workingmen. It is there that Pinkerton's thugs compel labor to contract under the duress of the bayonet or starve by the roadside. It is there that, while the Government by the tariff holds up the hands of the people while the trusts go through their pockets, all the powers of the State are invoked to secure absolute free trade in labor.

It has been asserted with constant repetition during this debate that reduction of the tariff always means panics and consequent widespread distress to labor. This assertion is a perversion of history. It has not even the force of coincidence, to say nothing of the strength of cause and effect to sustain it. With equal and even greater consistency it might be said that a high protective tariff leads to panic and bankruptcy. It was under the present tariff that our country suffered the most terrific and widespread commercial collapse in its history. From 1873 to 1879 there was a continuous succession of financial disasters; the nation was strewn with the wrecks of sixty thousand bankruptcies; enterprise was paralyzed, labor crushed, and a million men on our public highways as tramps. Men and women by the thousand went to the verge of starvation, and children cried for the crusts of charity. Our courts were filled with litigation, our poor-houses with paupers, and our penitentiaries with criminals. The red flag of confiscation was flaunted from every court-house in the land, and homes passed by the thousand under the hammer of the auctioneer. I do not attribute all these disasters to the protective tariff, but rather to a reactionary financial policy that involved a monstrous crime against the American people. But the tariff did nothing to mitigate the evil, and to the extent, sir, that it unbalanced the forces of production, distribution, and consumption, it aggravated and prolonged it.

Comparisons, Mr. Chairman, are often misleading. Especially is this true of comparison of wages between countries in which the conditions of production are radically different. Density of population, dearness of land, vast standing armies, and expensive aristocracies are among the conditions in European countries. In England the population numbers 400 to the square mile, in the United States only 15. If instead of 60,000,000 there were 600,000,000 population in the United States the conditions between the latter and European countries would not even then be equal. But, aside from these considerations, comparisons may suggest too much for the comfort of the ultra protectionist. Under the same tariff the Massachusetts farm hand gets $15 per month and the California farm hand $35 per month. The gentleman from Philadelphia [Mr. O'NEILL], himself a Republican and protectionist, admitted on this floor only a few days ago, that the average wages in New York City were 40 per cent. higher than in Philadelphia. Wages in free-trade England are 40 per cent. higher than in protected Germany, 50 per cent. higher than in protected Austria and Italy, 75 per cent. higher than in protected Spain, and at least twenty times higher than in China, with her thousand years of protection. Now, no single one of these facts by itself proves anything; but all taken together show the folly of the assertion that a protective tariff always means higher wages, and that different systems of taxation account for the different rate of wages in different countries. Indeed, sir, the only plain truth which comparisons among European countries where conditions are similar disclose is, that low wages and protection are there found together, while the highest rate of wages prevails in free-trade England.

Not the labor which subsists on least, but that which produces most in a given time is the best able to take and hold the market. When building railroads in India, Brassey found high-priced English labor more profitable than 12 cents a day native labor. The $3 a day labor which produces $4 worth per day for the employer is cheaper than the $1 a day labor that produces $1.10 worth per day for the employer. I know a builder of large experience who testifies that the American bricklayer is cheaper at $4 per day than the French bricklayer at $2 per day. By a consular report recently issued from the State Department it is shown that the average labor cost for weaving per day in Switzerland is 49 cents, in England 65 cents, while in the United States it is from 80 cents to $1.12. But the average cost for weaving per 100 yards in Switzerland is 60 cents, in England 55 cents, and in the United States 40 cents. So $1 of wages in the United States pays for the weaving of 250 yards, while in England it would pay for the weaving of less than 190 yards, and in Switzerland less than 167 yards.

The productive power of labor determines its competing power, and in this American labor leads the world. Both Mr. Evarts and Mr. Blaine, when Secretary of State, claimed that by reason of his superior intelligence and skill the American mechanic produced from two to three times as much in a day as the average European mechanic. Then why the constant dread of European competition? The American workingman is to-day selling his labor in a free, competitive market, and buying his subsistence in a tariff-protected monopoly market.

But they tell us that the nation under our tariff has grown rich. Yes, intelligence, skill, genius, industry, and pluck have multiplied

our productive powers and added to the wealth of the nation. This wealth is the creation of labor, not the child of legislative legerdemain. Legislation may confer power on the few to accumulate vast fortunes from the labor of the many, but can guaranty labor no compensation for the loss it thus sustains. Many years ago, in the month of September, the ague almost shook us Indiana people out of the windows; those chills have long since subsided. The school fund of our State is the largest in proportion to population of any State in the Union, and our agricultural product the greatest. There would be the same measure of economic wisdom in ascribing our splendid school fund and our large agricultural product to the stimulating effects of the ague, as to attribute our increase in wealth as a nation to the tariff. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, to force labor to contend against adverse natural conditions is no kindness to labor. But to lay all other departments of labor under contribution to make up the loss which such unprofitable labor sustains is positive injustice. Not the amount of employment, but the productivity of that employment determines its profit or loss to labor. The product of labor is the natural reward of labor. If labor engages in unproductive employment, such labor is waste instead of gain. Rice culture in Canada would furnish vastly more employment than in South Carolina. But would not all other forms of industry have to be taxed to pay the bounties that alone could make rice culture in Canada possible? Productive labor would thus be taxed to make up losses to unproductive labor.

The most consistent protectionist of whom we read was Robinson Crusoe. With Robinson labor was an end, not a means. Were he alive to-day he would probably be president of the "Boston Home-Market Club." For the edification of his disciples on this floor, I invite attention to Robinson's philosophy and its practical application in the administration of the affairs of Desert Island, as set forth by Frederick Bastiat, the French economist, as follows:

"Do you recollect how Robinson Crusoe, having no saw, set to work to make a plank? Yes. He cut down a tree, and then with his ax hewed the trunk on both sides until he got it down to the thickness of a board. And that gave him an abundance of work? Fifteen full days. What did he live on during this time? His provisions. What happened to the ax? It was all blunted. Very good; but there is one thing which perhaps you do not know. At the moment that Robinson gave the first blow with his ax he saw a plank which the waves had cast up on the shore. Oh, the lucky accident! He ran to pick it up? It was his first impulse; but he checked himself, reasoning thus: 'If I go after this plank it will cost me but the labor of carrying it and the time spent in going to and returning from the shore; but if I make a plank with my ax I shall in the first place obtain work for fifteen days, then I shall wear out my ax, which will give me an opportunity of repairing it; and I shall consume my provisions, which will be a third source of labor, since they must be replaced. Now, labor is wealth. It is plain that I will ruin myself if I pick up this stranded board. It is important to protect my personal labor, and now that I think of it, I can create myself additional labor by kicking this board back into the sea.'

"But this reasoning was absurd! Certainly. Nevertheless, it is that adopted by every nation which protects itself by prohibition. It rejects the plank, which is offered it in exchange for a little labor, in order to give itself more labor. It sees a gain even in the labor of the custom-house officer. This answers to the trouble which Robinson took to give back to the waves the present they wished to make him. Consider the nation a collective being, and you will not find an atom of difference between its reasoning and that of Robinson. Did not Robinson see that he could use the time saved in doing something else? What 'something else?'

"So long as one has wants and time one has always something to do. I am not bound to specify the labor that he could undertake. I can specify very easily that which he would have avoided. I assert that Robinson, with incredible blindness, confounded labor with its result, the end with the means, and I will prove it to you. It is not necessary. But this is the restrictive or prohibitory system in its simplest form. If it appears absurd to you thus stated, it is because the two qualities of producer and consumer are here united in the same person.

"Let us pass, then, to a more complicated instance. Willingly. Some time after all this, Robinson having met Friday, they united and began to work in common.

"They hunted for six hours each morning and brought home four hampers of game. They worked in the garden for six hours each afternoon and obtained four baskets of vegetables. One day a canoe touched at the Island of Despair. A good-looking stranger landed and was allowed to dine with our two hermits. He tasted and praised the products of the garden, and before taking leave of his hosts, said to them: 'Generous islanders, I dwell in a country much richer in game than this, but where horticulture is unknown. It would be easy for me to bring you every evening four hampers of game if you would give me only two baskets of vegetables.'

"At these words Robinson and Friday stepped one side to have a consultation, and the debate which followed is too interesting not to be given *in extenso:*

"Friday: Friend, what do you think of it?

"Robinson: If we accept we are ruined.

"Friday: Is that certain? Calculate.

"Robinson: It is all calculated. Hunting, crushed out by competition, will be a lost branch of industry for us.

"Friday: What difference does that make if we have the game?

"Robinson: Theory. It will not be the product of our labor.

"Friday: Yes, it will, since we will have given vegetables to get it.

"Robinson: Then what shall we make?

"Friday: The four hampers of game cost us six hours' labor. The stranger gives them to us for two baskets of vegetables, which take us but three hours. Thus three hours remain at our disposal.

"Robinson: Say rather that they are taken from our activity. There is our loss. Labor is wealth, and if we lose a fourth of our time we are one-fourth poorer.

"Friday: Friend, you make an enormous mistake. The same amount of game and vegetables and three free hours to boot make progress, or there is none in the world.

"Robinson: Mere generalities. What will we do with these three hours?

"Friday: We will do something else.

"Robinson: Ah, now I have you. You can specify nothing. It is easy to say something else, something else.

"Friday: We will fish. We will adorn our houses. We will read the Bible.

"Robinson: Utopia! Is it certain that we will do this rather than that?

"Friday: Well, if we have no wants we will rest. Is rest nothing?

"Robinson: When one rests one dies of hunger?

"Friday: You are in a vicious circle. I speak of rest which diminishes neither our gains nor our vegetables. You always forget that by means of our commerce with this stranger nine hours of labor will give us as much food as twelve now do.

"Robinson: It is easy to see that you were not reared in Europe. Perhaps you have never read the Moniteur Industriel? It would have taught you this: 'All time saved is a dear loss. Eating is not the important matter, but working. Nothing which we consume counts if it is not the product of our labor. Do you wish to know whether you are rich? Do not look at your comforts, but at your trouble.' This is what the Moniteur Industriel would have taught you. I, who am not a theorist, see but the loss of our hunting.

"Friday: What a strange perversion of ideas! But——

Robinson: No buts. Besides, there are political reasons for rejecting the interested offers of this perfidious stranger.

"Friday: Political reasons!

"Robinson: Yes. In the first place, he makes these offers only because they are for his advantage.

"Friday: So much the better, since they are for ours also.

"Robinson: Then, by these exchanges we shall become dependent on him.

"Friday: And he on us. We need his game, he our vegetables, and we will live in good friendship.

"Robinson: Fancy! Do you want I should leave you without an answer?

"Friday: Let us see; I am still waiting a good reason.

"Robinson: Supposing that the stranger learns to cultivate a garden and that his island is more fertile than ours, do you see the consequences?

"Friday: Yes. Our relations with the stranger will stop. He will take no more vegetables from us, since he can get them at home with less trouble. He will bring us no more game, since we will have nothing to give in exchange, and we will be then just where you want us to be now.

"Robinson: Short-sighted savage! You do not see that after having destroyed our hunting by inundating us with game, he will kill our gardening by overwhelming us with vegetables.

"Friday: But he will do that only so long as we give him something else; that is to say, so long as we find something else to produce which will economize our labor.

"Robinson: Something else—something else! You always come back to that. You are very vague, friend Friday; there is nothing practical in your views.

"The contest lasted a long time, and, as often happens, left each one convinced that he was right. However, Robinson having great influence over Friday, his views prevailed, and when the stranger came for an answer, Robinson said to him: 'Stranger, in order that your proposition may be accepted, we must be quite sure of two things: The first is that your island is not richer in game than ours, for we will struggle but with equal arms. The second is, that you will lose by the bargain. For, as in every exchange, there is necessarily a gainer and a loser, we would be cheated if you were not. What have you to say?' 'Nothing, nothing,' replied the stranger, who burst out laughing, and returned to his canoe."

Banana-culture, Mr. Chairman, on the Laurel Ridge of Pennsylvania, would require vastly more labor, and hence furnish more employment than banana-culture in Florida. Fig-culture on the shores of Lake Superior would furnish much more employment than fig-culture in Cal-

ifornia. Carving Hebraic statutes on tables of stone amid the thunders of Mount Sinai would furnish more employment than printing protection statutes at the rate of 100,000 per hour on an improved power-press. Walking from the Atlantic to the Pacific would furnish more labor than sweeping across the continent in a palace car. Then why not devise a system to protect the Pennsylvania banana against the Florida banana, the Lake Superior fig against the California fig, the stone carver against the printing-press, and the pedestrian against the steam-engine? True, the statute could amend no law of nature. The natural conditions would remain, as before, against Pennsylvania, Lake Superior, the stone-carver, and the pedestrian, and in favor of Florida, California, the printing-press, and the steam-engine. The law, however, might succeed in forcing labor into unprofitable employment, and lay the great mass of American people under contribution to make up for the waste of labor, capital, and natural resources. Pennsylvania bananas thus protected ought to be worth at least $1 apiece, the Lake Superior figs $10 a pound, and the census-takers would find that we were rich!

It occurs to me, sir, that the fundamental error underlying this controversy is the evident misconception of the real question involved. It is no longer a question of production. The problem of production has been solved. Its solution has been accomplished, not by statute, but by the 250,000 inventions that have leaped from the human brain. [Applause.] By the intelligent application of the forces of nature the productive power of the American people has been multiplied from ten to a thousand fold. With such swiftness has our power of production increased that we to-day behold the spectacle of combinations on all sides to arrest its progress and keep up prices against the cheapening force of American skill and invention.

The great question which now confronts this country and the world is the problem of distribution. Toward the solution of this problem we have tunneled mountains, spanned rivers, and bound up the continent with railroads and telegraph lines. Millions are spent each year to break down the barriers of nature, improve our rivers and harbors, and liberate internal commerce. Appropriations of the public moneys are made to blow out the rocks at Hell Gate and remove obstructions from the highway of nations. By American genius, in its intelligent application of electricity, time and space are eliminated from human calculation and the nations of the earth brought face to face. But against all this stands obstructive class legislation fortifying the privileges of the few against the processes of natural justice to the many.

In spite of all these improvements and expenditures the powers of production surpass the powers of distribution. Back of the obstructive statute the centripetal force of production outruns the centrifugal force of distribution, and draws all forms of productive industry each hour nearer the vortex of universal monopoly. Back of the statute are intrenched the trust, the pool, and the combine, gathering splendid fortunes for the tens from the labor, the sacrifices, and the misfortunes of the millions. Of what avail, sir, is the infinite superiority of the American mechanic if he is denied a foreign market for the product of his labor and subjected to the caprice and exactions of the combinations at home? Imitating our example, with a justificatian we have not, the fellah of Egypt, the ryot of India, the serf of Russia, the mongrels of Central America, the pygmies of Terra del Fuego, as well as the more advanced and civilized people of the earth, can intrench themselves in parchment to the teeth and laugh at the superior genius, skill, and natural resources of America.

Already are the European and the South American states throwing out their hostile lines in retaliation on our external trade and narrowing our foreign markets. The doctrine of international obstruction, like Macbeth's "bloody instruction, which, being taught, returns to plague the inventor," is bearing its fruits in a restricted market to our farmers and limited employment to our labor. On all sides the "ingredients of our poisoned chalice are commended to our own lips." American genius, American skill, American energy, American pluck, American courage, and American perseverance place America in an overwhelming majority against the world. But in the rivalry of nations, in the domain of obstructive legislation, the weakest and meanest people under the sun may print their parchment and defy our power.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, no one need be deceived. The issue is broad, plain, and distinct. The Government must have money to pay its expenses, its debts, the pensions to its soldiers. A large proportion of this money must be raised by customs taxation. Sufficient taxes must be thus collected, added to our internal revenue, to defray all the expenses of the Government economically administered. Within these limits I favor a discriminating tariff. At every point I would give American labor the benefit of the doubt, but let a measure of the regulating power of competition loose among the American combines, and compel them to allow freer raw material to our manufacturers and cheaper necessaries of life to our consumers. Reduce the surplus in the public Treasury, and leave the present excess of taxes in the pockets of the people.

Opposed to all this stand the privileged combinations of the country to whom has been farmed out the power of taxation. They are arrayed in solid phalanx in favor, not of protection to infants, but monopoly for giants; not in favor of keeping up the price of what labor has to sell, but of what labor has to buy; not in favor of moderate taxation and economic government, but in favor of excessive taxation and profligate expenditures; not in favor of that fundamental principle of equal justice to all, which forms the very substructure of this Republic, but in favor of the principle of special privileges to the few, which corrupts government and destroys the welfare of the many. On such an issue, and with such a cause, we confidently appeal from the clamor of greed, of privilege, and of power on this floor to the millions on the farms and in the workshops of the country, on whose shoulders at last fall the burdens of government, and in whose hearts at last rests the safety of our institutions. [Prolonged applause.]

APPENDIX.

[From report of Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury under President Arthur.]

First. That the existing duties upon raw materials which are to be used in manufactures should be removed.

Second. That the duties upon the articles used or consumed by those least able to bear the burden of taxation shall be reduced.

[Secretary of the Treasury Folger, 1882.]

It is believed that the time has arrived when a reduction of the duties on nearly all the articles in our tariff is demanded and feasible.

[Message of President Arthur to Congress.]

I recommend an enlargement of the free-list so as to include within it the numerous articles which yield inconsiderable revenue, a simplification of the complex and inconsistent schedule of duties upon certain manufactures, particularly those of cotton, iron, and steel, and a substantial reduction of the duties upon those articles, and upon sugar, molasses, wool, and woolen goods.

[Hon. James A. Garfield, House of Representatives, March 10, 1871.]

I was surprised at a remark of the distinguished gentleman from Michigan. He asserted that there is no item in the whole tariff that can stand alone on its own merits, but that all must be taken in a lump in order to stand. That coal must take salt by the hand, and they, too, must take something else by the hand; and thus all interests unite with all forces before they can make a stand before the country. If this remark be true it strikes a blow at the whole tariff system, a blow I am not willing to strike. I am unwilling to admit that bad taxes must be tied to good ones and thus be kept afloat.

[Report of Republican Tariff Commission, 1883.]

Early in its deliberations the commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded, not by the mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defenses. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the commission regards not only as due recognition of a public sentiment and a measure of justice, but one conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction. No rates of defensive duties except for the establishment of new industries which more than equalize the conditions of labor and capital with those of foreign competitors can be justified. Excessive duties or those above such standard of equalization are positively injurious to the interests which they are supposed to benefit.

* * * * * * *

If the reduction reaches the amount at which the commission has aimed and if there is any truth in the allegation of the opponents of the present economic system, that a duty on articles such as are produced in this country, whether in manufactures or agriculture, enhances the price to the consumer, not only of what is imported but of the whole domestic production, to an amount of which the duty is the measure, the reduction proposed by the commission would benefit consumers to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars.

[Hon. JOHN SHERMAN, June 9, 1868.]

Every advance toward a free exchange of commodities is an advance in civilization; every obstacle to a free exchange is born of the same narrow, despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce; every obstruction to commerce is a tax upon consumption; every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and productions, and promotes civilization.

[Hon. PRESTON B. PLUMB, United States Senator, January 11, 1883.]

Who pays these taxes? When the manufacturer of iron comes to the Senate and says "I can live, or I can make a profit, if a certain duty is imposed," what is he saying? He is simply saying "If you give me a certain duty you put it in my power to charge over that duty as an additional tax on the farmers of the United States."

[Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, United States Senate, 1857.]

Since the reduction of duties on raw materials in England, since wool was admitted free, her woolen manufactures have so increased, so prospered, that the production of native wool increased more than 100 per cent. The experience of England, France, and Belgium demonstrates the wisdom of that policy which makes the raw material duty free. Let us profit by their example.

[Hon. Ralph Beaumont, chairman of the National Labor Legislation Committee.]

For twenty-five years we have had this "protection" Mr. Blaine offers us, and we have made more millionaires and more paupers under that system than were ever made in a civilized country on the earth in the same time before.

[Resolution adopted at a mass meeting of workingmen at Philadelphia, April 19, 1888.]

Resolved, That we emphatically protest against petitions to Congress that have been or are being signed in the mills and factories, either under the direction of the foreman or otherwise, being accepted as the free expression of the sentiments of workingmen, as the manner in which these signatures are procured is but a species of slavery.

[Andrew Jackson's message to Congress.]

The ambition which leads me on is an honest desire and a fixed determination to * * * persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid Government supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratical establishments that they will find happiness or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce.

[Grover Cleveland's message, December, 1887.]

When we consider that the theory of our industries guaranties to every citi-

zen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

Restoration of Certain Public Lands Contained in the Parishes of East and West Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, St. Helena, St. Tammany, Tangipahoa, Livingston, and Washington, in the State of Louisiana.

REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL M. ROBERTSON,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 18, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 6115) restoring to the Florida parishes of the State of Louisiana certain public lands as compensation to the people thereof for lands disposed of by the United States Government at the Montpelier and Greensburgh land offices in said State, now pending before the House Committee on the Public Lands.

Mr. ROBERTSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The interesting incidents surrounding the origin of the claim upon which this bill is founded will demand investigation of the diplomatic correspondence upon the question of the purchase of Louisiana, and the treaties preceding that event between the powers under whose jurisdiction the extent of this country had been.

On November 3, 1762, by secret treaty, France ceded Louisiana to Spain. According to the cession Louisiana lay west of the Mississippi River, including, on the east side, the island of Orleans.

The boundary of this island, which was somewhat triangular in shape, began at the mouth of the river Iberville, now called the Manchac, the mouth of which was closed by General Jackson in the war of 1812, down the middle of the Iberville to the Amite, down the middle of the river Amite, through the middle of Lake Maurepas and Lake Pontchartrain to the Gulf.

In 1763 a definite treaty was entered into between France, Spain, and England. The secret treaty of 1762, in so far as Spain and France were concerned, was, in relation to the boundary of the country ceded to Spain, ratified by them; and France did then cede to England all of her possessions east of the Mississippi and north of the island of Orleans, which included the provinces of East and West Florida. This treaty was concluded on the 10th of February, 1763. In 1795, by a treaty between the United States and Spain, the thirty-first degree of latitude was fixed as the northern boundary between the United States and Spanish possessions.

During the occupancy of England the territory ceded by France was divided into two provinces, East and West Florida. The boundary of the latter extended from the Mississippi to the river Perdido. The remaining province comprised that portion of the cession east of the Perdido. These names were well established and well known to France, England, and Spain, and particularly to the United States, being always named in diplomatic correspondence and elsewhere as the Floridas.

In 1779, about eighteen years after the treaty in which the Floridas had been ceded to England, Spain took forcible possession of West Florida by passing her troops over the mouth of the river Iberville and establishing a garrison. In 1783, in a treaty between England and Spain, the Floridas were ceded to Spain by the former. Spain took actual possession and held these provinces in so far as she was concerned until the treaty of 1819, when she ceded the Floridas, East and West, by name to the United States. During a portion of that period, and, in fact, to as late as 1810, she exercised the right of domain over them; disposed of the land, by grants and otherwise, to the inhabitants of the country, which have long been the subject of controversy in the courts of the United States and in Congress.

By the very secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, entered into in 1800 between Spain and France, the former ceded to the latter the province of Louisiana in the following words:

His Catholic Majesty promises and engages to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the stipulations herein relative to his royal highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaty subsequently entered into between Spain and other states.

The text of this treaty, beyond what is here stated, was not made known to the world, not even to our negotiators in 1803. In 1803, on the 30th day of April, at Paris, France ceded Louisiana to the United States by treaty, after long and continued anxiety and discussion and a severe diplomatic battle as to boundaries, France being represented at that time by M. Barbé Marbois, who is so well known to the country as the author of the History of Louisiana. Louisiana by name was ceded to the United States without a definite understanding as to the boundary or extent of the territory ceded in terms of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, with a change of the word "retrocede" to the word "cede" in the American text. Notwithstanding the great difference of these two words, "cede" and "retrocede," in meaning, they were treated as synonyms by the American translation of the treaty and gave rise to a long-continued controversy in the interpretation of the terms of the treaty.

Not only was there no doubt on the part of France that under this treaty the Floridas were not ceded, but it was clearly and emphatically stated to Mr. Livingston, our minister to France during the negotiations, that they had not been ceded in the treaty of St. Ildefonso, and were still the provinces of Spain.

The great anxiety on the part of the United States to gain possession of the uninterrupted commerce of the Mississippi River, and particularly to preclude all possibility of the acquisition or the control of the commerce of this river by England as a consequence of the wars then pending in Europe, caused our Government to buy property at that time with indefinite description and doubtful boundary, with the hope of acquiring by strategy that which they were unable to purchase for money or proffered commercial advantages. The name "Louisiana" was applied to country varying in extent in different periods of history. Colonial possessions were at the time of the early settlement of the country bounded by imaginary lines which were always a cause for dispute between the three powers of Europe as to the extent of their possessions, the matter frequently being referred to the arbitrament of arms. The war of 1756, in which France lost her Canadian provinces, had its origin in this fruitful source of controversy.

But, sir, at the time of its purchase in 1803, there was no doubt in the mind of Spain and France, as well as England, each of which had possessed it, that the Floridas formed no part of Louisiana, which had in 1762 been ceded to Spain, and it included the French possessions west of the Mississippi and the island of Orleans only. This matter is so clearly stated by Mr. Webster in an argument before the Supreme Court, in a very interesting case, that I quote from it the following extract:

How did the parties understand the treaty of 1763?

The letter of L'Abbadie, 1 Laws United States, 442, shows that it was considered that the whole of Louisiana was the property of Spain; and then, 1763, it was admitted that the whole of Louisiana lay west of the Mississippi; and in 1783, Spain, recovering the left bank from England, received it as Florida. It may be emphatically inquired whether it is reconcilable to sound principles to go back to the times of uncertain and contentious claims, or to the time of fixed and acknowledged rights. A contemporaneous exposition of the treaty of St. Ildefonso is obtained from the acts of the parties to that treaty. When, on the 30th of November, 1803, Spain delivered Louisiana to France, she delivered nothing on the eastern side of the river.

In support of the truth of the assertion that the United States had full knowledge of the difference between the Floridas and Louisiana it will be necessary to quote a portion of a letter from Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, to Mr. Livingston, the minister to France, dated September 28, 1801, concerning the pending negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana:

In the next place it will deserve to be tried if France will make over to the United States the Floridas not included in the cession to her from Spain, or at least West Florida, through which several of our rivers, particularly the important Mobile, empties into the sea, etc.

In a letter from Mr. Livingston to the Secretary of State, dated April 24, 1802, I find the following:

The business most interesting to us, that of Louisiana, still remains in the state it was. The minister will give no answer to any inquiries I make on that subject. He will not say what their boundaries are, what their intentions, or when they are to take possession, and what appears very extraordinary to me is by a letter which I have just received from Mr. Pinckney we find that he still supposes that the Floridas are not included in the cession, and he writes me that he has made propositions to purchase them, which lies before the minister with whom he is to have conference.

Mr. Pinckney was at that time minister to Spain. In another letter from Mr. Livingston to Chevalier d'Azara, dated May 28, 1802, it is stated:

It is generally understood that Spain has made a cession of Louisiana to France.

And then in another part of this same letter he states:

I take the liberty to ask, sir (if the Floridas are included in the cession to France?), what stipulation the cession contains securing to the United States this important privilege?

In answer to that portion of the letter which relates to Louisiana, Chevalier d'Azara says:

I want to inform you that the affair concerning which you have addressed me, not having passed through my hands, I am unable to give all the information which you desire. It appears certain, however, that the treaty ceding Louisiana has been concluded, but I am of the opinion that the Floridas are not comprised in the cession.

In a letter from Mr. Livingston to Mr. Madison, dated November 2, 1802, is the following:

Florida is not, as I before told you, included in the cession.

The primary object of these negotiations with France was not for the

purpose of obtaining the whole of Louisiana, but simply for the purpose of obtaining New Orleans and the Floridas. Showing still further that Louisiana was not considered to include the Floridas, I quote the following:

The French Republic is understood to have become the proprietor, by the cession of Spain in the year , of New Orleans as a part of Louisiana, if not of the Floridas also. If the Floridas should not have been included in the cession, it is not improbable that they will have since been added to it.

So continues the doubt about the acquisition throughout the entire diplomatic correspondence, both France and Spain emphatically stating that in the cession made at St. Ildefonso of Louisiana, Spain did not transfer the Floridas, and they were the proper authorities to interpret their treaty of 1800. On the 20th of May, 1803, twenty days after the signing of the treaty ceding Louisiana, Mr. Livingston writes a letter to the Secretary of State, from which the following are extracts:

The subject of this letter is too important to admit of delay.

* * * * * * *

I informed you long since that, on inquiring whether the Floridas were within the cession of Spain, I was told by M. Marbois that he was sure that Mobile was, but could not answer further. I believed his information incorrect, because I understood that Louisiana, as it then was, made the object of the cession; and that since the possession of the Floridas by Great Britain they had changed their names.

* * * * * * *

I accordingly insisted, with M. Marbois, at the time we negotiated, that this would be considered as within our purchase. He neither assented nor denied, but said that all they received from Spain was intended to be conveyed to us.

I asked him what orders had been given to the prefect; who was to take possession; what orders had been given by Spain as to the boundary in ceding it? He assured me that he did not know, but that he would make the inquiry and let me know. I asked the minister what were the east bounds of the territories ceded to us? He said he did not know; we must take it as they had received it. I asked him how Spain meant to give them possession? He said according to the words of the treaty. But what did you mean to take? I do not know. Then, you mean that we shall construe it our own way? I can give you no directions; you have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it.

Now, sir, the sum of the business is to recommend to you in the strongest terms, after having obtained the possession that the French commissary will give you, to insist upon this as a part of your rights, and to take possession, at all events, to the river Perdido. Your minister here and at Madrid can support your claim, and the time is peculiarly favorable to enable you to do it without the smallest risk at home. It may also be important to anticipate any designs that Britain may have upon that country. Should she possess herself of it and the war terminate favorably for her, she will not readily relinquish it. With this in your hand East Florida will be of little amount, and may be yours whenever you please. At all events, proclaim your right and take possession.

This preceded the consummation of the treaty of 1803. Subsequently, on the 31st of March, 1804, nearly a year after, Mr. Madison wrote the following to Mr. Livingston:

In mine of January 31st I informed you that Louisiana had been transferred by the French commissioner to our commissioners on the 20th of December; that nothing officially passed on the occasion concerning the boundaries of the ceded territory; but that M. Laussat had confidentially stated that it did not comprehend any part of West Florida; adding, at the same time, that it extended westwardly to the Rio Bravo, otherwise called Rio Del Norte.

"Orders were accordingly obtained from the Spanish authority for the delivery of all the posts on the west side of the Mississippi, as well as on the island of New Orleans. With respect to the post in West Florida, orders of the delivery were neither offered to nor demanded by our commissioners."

In faithful keeping with the terms of the treaty of 1803, France began arrangements to put the United States in possession of her newly acquired territory. It must be known that Spain still held possession of Louisiana, the island of Orleans, and the two Floridas, delivery not having been made under the treaty of St. Ildefonso. It therefore became necessary for this power to put France in possession; hence she became an extremely important factor in the interpretation of the terms of that article of the treaty of St. Ildefonso which was incorporated in the treaty of 1803.

Let us see if there was any act at any time between 1800 and 1803, before the treaty of that year, which would in any way indicate what Spain had sold to France. The order of the King of Spain for the delivery of the colony and dependencies of Louisiana was issued at Barcelona, October 15, 1802. It instructs that France be put in possession of—

The colony of Louisiana and its dependencies, as also of the city and island of New Orleans, with the same extent that it now has, that it had in the hands of France when she ceded it to my royal crown, and such as it ought to be after the treaties, etc.

Don Manuel de Salcedo, governor of Louisiana and West Florida, and Marquis de Casa Calvo were appointed commissioners to make the delivery. They announced the fact of the cession, in which they stated that the treaty was to be—

Executed in the same terms that France ceded it to His Majesty, in virtue of which the limits on both shores of the river St. Louis, or Mississippi, shall remain as they were irrevocably fixed by the seventh article of the definite treaty of peace, concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763, according to which the settlements from the river Manchac, or Iberville, to the line which separated the American territory from the dominions of the king are to remain under the power of Spain, etc.

The act of transfer took place on the 30th of November, 1803, and on the 20th of December, 1803, France made delivery to the United States. But of what? The letter of Mr. Madison to Mr. Livingston shows conclusively that West Florida was not delivered, nor was this territory delivered by Spain to France.

It was coveted by our Government. It was always spoken of in diplomatic correspondence during the negotiations as most to be desired. It is true that this question has been ably reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States, but the gist of the reasons for judgment can not be construed to mean anything more than that which was stated so clearly by Chief-Justice Marshall, that—

In controversies between two nations concerning national boundary it is scarcely possible that the courts of either should refuse to abide by the measures adopted by its own government. There being no common tribunal to decide between them, each determines for itself on its own rights, and if they can not adjust their differences peaceably *the rights remain with the strongest.*

In this last expression the strength of the title of the United States rests, or would rest had she not by the treaty of 1819—a most solemn compact—acknowledged the ownership to Spain by accepting from her by name East and West Florida.

Article II of this treaty reads:

His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, in full, property and sovereignty, all the territories situated to the eastward of the Mississippi, known by the name of East and West Florida. The adjacent islands dependent on said provinces, all public lots and squares, vacant lands, public edifices, fortifications, barracks and other buildings which are not private property, archives and documents which relate directly to the property and sovereignty of said provinces are included.

The said archives and documents shall be left in possession of the commissaries or officers of the United States duly authorized to receive them.

It has been clearly shown above that France, in keeping with the terms of the treaty of 1803, put the United States in possession of all she had sold, and in accepting this construction of the extent of the country ceded by so receiving it, the people of the Florida parishes claim that she was estopped by all the rules of equity, justice, and law from taking possession, seven years after, of the country not delivered, and which they had gained by their blood and private means without yielding to at least a part of the terms which they of right demanded. To understand this more clearly it will be necessary to review the facts as they existed preceding the heroic uprising and struggle of the oppressed people who inhabited that section of the present State of Louisiana now known as the Florida parishes, including the parishes of East and West Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, St. Helena, Tangipahoa, St. Tammany, Livingston, and Washington. Spain never having sold or delivered it to France, still held jurisdiction over it, governed it as she had previously done in every respect and particular, until the people threw off the Spanish yoke in 1810.

She had her posts and armed garrisons; her governor and all the usual officials properly accredited, and clothed with regal authority. Many emigrants from the territories adjoining had settled within the province. One of the most prosperous settlements was at St. Francisville. These people suffered Spanish oppression and wrongs until their self-respect and heroism impelled them to rise in their might and rend the shackles of despotism which the local Spanish authorites were fast riveting upon them. Mustering all the forces they could, gathering volunteers along the route, they proceeded to Baton Rouge, the most important post of West Florida, and demanded its capitulation.

On the 23d day of September, 1810, this little band of heroes stood in front of the gates of the fort, and in the face of the Spanish forces made up their minds if necessary to die for freedom's sake.

Young Louis Grandpré, the gallant Spanish officer who commanded the fort, refused to surrender it. He had been left there by the Spanish governor of the province, who was temporarily absent from the fort, and the noble blood in his veins made him prefer death to surrender. Commanded by that gallant old soldier, General Philemon Thomas, the oppressed and struggling heroes marched into the Spanish fort, with that spirit which alone inspires true bravery, the hope of freedom and the right of self-government. The struggle was short and decisive. The commander of the Spanish forces, refusing to surrender, met his death with determined resolution at the head of his forces. Having taken the fort the remaining portion of the town soon capitulated, and thus the last vestige of Spanish authority at this post crumbled into atoms before the determined valor of an oppressed people. After the capture of Baton Rouge the people, in a convention composed of the best citizens of the province, declared their independence. The instrument in which this declaration is made can be found at length in the Annals of the Eleventh Congress, third session, page 1255. I quote it in full, as showing more completely than could otherwise be expressed the condition of the people and the reason for their revolt.

By the representatives of the people of West Florida in convention assembled:

A DECLARATION.

It is known to the world with how much fidelity the good people of this Territory have professed and maintained allegiance to their legitimate sovereign while any hope remained of receiving from him protection for their property and lives.

Without making any unnecessary innovation in the established principles of the government we had voluntarily adopted certain regulations in concert with our first magistrate for the express purpose of preserving this territory and showing our attachment to the government which had heretofore protected us. This compact, which was entered into with good faith on our part, will forever remain an honorable testimony of our upright intentions and inviolable fidelity to our king and parent country while so much as a shadow of legitimate authority remained to be exercised over us.

We sought only a speedy remedy for such evils as seemed to endanger our existence and prosperity, and were encouraged by our governor with solemn promises of assistance and co-operation. But those measures which were intended for our preservation he has endeavored to pervert into an engine of destruction, by encouraging, in the most perfidious manner, the violation of ordinances sanctioned and established by himself as the law of the land.

Being thus left without any hope of protection from the mother country, betrayed by a magistrate whose duty it was to have provided for the safety and tranquillity of the people and Government committed to his charge, and exposed to all the evils of a state of anarchy, which we have so long endeavored to avert, it becomes our duty to provide for our own security as a free and independent State, absolved from all allegiance to a government which no longer protects us.

We, therefore, the representatives aforesaid, appealing to the Supreme Ruler of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do solemnly publish and declare the several districts composing this territory of West Florida to be a free and independent State; and that they have a right to institute, for themselves, such form of government as they may think conducive to their safety and happiness, to form treaties, to establish commerce, to provide for their common defense, and to do all acts which may, of right, be done by a sovereign and independent nation; at the same time declaring all acts, within the said territory of West Florida, after this day, by any tribunal or authorities not deriving their powers from the people agreeably to the provisions established by this convention to be null and void; and calling upon all foreign nations to respect this our declaration, acknowledging our independence and giving us such aid as may be consistent with the laws and usages of nations.

This declaration, made in convention, at the town of Baton Rouge, on the 26th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1810, we, the representatives, in the name aforesaid, and on behalf of our constituents, do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to support with our lives and fortunes.

By order of the convention.

JOHN RHEA, *President.*
ANDREW STEELE, *Secretary.*

Having proclaimed themselves a free and independent State, the people chose the Hon. Fulwar Skipwith, father of Hon. Henry Skipwith, of East Feliciana, governor, and passed such ordinances for the government of the State of West Florida as would secure them that freedom and self-government which they had so long cherished as a dream scarcely to be realized.

On the 10th of October, 1810, John Rhea, by order of the convention of West Florida, transmitted a long communication through Governor Holmes, of Mississippi Territory, to Hon. Robert Smith, Secretary of State for the United States. After reciting the fact of the previous transmittal of the act of independence, he says:

We therefore make this direct appeal through you to the President and General Government for the American States, to solicit that immediate protection to which we consider ourselves entitled.

The claim which we have to the soil or unlocated lands within this commonwealth will not, it is presumed, be contested by the United States, as they have tacitly acquiesced in the claim of France or Spain for seven years, and the restrictions of the several embargo and non-intercourse laws might fairly be construed, if not as a relinquishment of their claim, yet at least sufficient to entitle the people of this commonwealth (who have wrested the government and country from Spain at the risk of their lives and fortunes) to all the unlocated lands.

Mr. Speaker, I could dwell for hours upon the incidents of this epoch in the history of the people of this section of the present State of Louisiana, so replete is it with the trials and troubles which always beset a struggling people. It is an historical fact that they had no voice in forming the first constitution of the State, under which she was admitted into the Union in 1812.

But before deviating it may be necessary to mention the manner in which the United States extended its authority over this Territory. When the request of the people through John Rhea was submitted to the President he issued a proclamation in which he ordered Governor C. C. Claiborne, Territorial governor, to take possession of this Territory, stating that—

Considering that in the hands of the United States it will not cease to be a subject of a fair and friendly negotiation and adjustment.

This promise "of a fair and friendly negotiation and adjustment" has never been redeemed, and I stand here to-day on behalf of the people of this part of the district I represent, demanding a redemption of this promise by a just acknowledgment of their claim to the public land of the Territory, which has been pending before the Committee on Public Lands of this House, to which it was referred in 1810 by Governor Poindexter, of Mississippi Territory. I claim in the name of these people that by their efforts they rendered it possible for our Government to take possession of this Territory without war with a foreign power; that the Territory was a Spanish dominion at the time of their revolt against its authority; that it never had before been possessed by the United States, and that for seven years after the treaty of 1803 they bore the oppression of Spanish tyranny; that when they had gained their independence and declared it at their own expense and risk of their lives, they appealed to our Government for protection; that they did not resist the authority of Governor Claiborne or General Wilkinson when they planted the stars and stripes on their newly acquired soil at St. Francisville, but welcomed it as a harbinger of the generous protection of a glorious nation.

Mr. Speaker, the claim of the people of the independent State of West Florida was pending before this House and Senate when the Republic of Texas declared its independence in 1836. Ten years after she was admitted into the Union, and her claim to the public domain was recognized and granted. Will any one deny that this Territory was a part of the purchase of 1803? Yea! sir, it was even delivered as a part of the purchase on December 20, 1803. In Mr. Madison's letter of March, 1804, in speaking of the delivery of Louisiana, he said:

Mr. Laussat has confidentially stated that it did not comprehend any part of West Florida, adding at the same time that it extended westwardly to the Rio Bravo, otherwise called Rio del Norte.

Is not this river to-day the boundary line between the State of Texas and the Republic of Mexico? Can the recognition of the right of the people of Texas to the public land of that State be looked upon in any other light than the price of their valor in wresting it from a foreign power? These are significant questions, sir, and I propound them in the name of the descendants of the citizens of the once independent State of West Florida.

The people of this portion of Louisiana, the Florida parishes, achieved their own independence, and are entitled to all the benefits that should follow from the successful and patriotic efforts they made. France in 1803 did not surrender these lands as a part of the Louisiana purchase, because she recognized that they still belonged to Spain. Spain could not surrender or sell them in 1819, because nine years before these brave settlers had thrown off her yoke and set up a government of their own. France, I say, did not pretend to sell this territory, and Spain could not sell what was hers no longer.

These brave men welcomed, it is true, the stars and stripes as their standard, and offered strong hands and brave hearts to uphold that standard. But they did not surrender and never have tendered the lands which these strong arms had won for themselves. They relied on the proclamation of the President, that their rights would be the subject of a "fair and friendly negotiation and adjustment." I regret to say, sir, that their rights have been utterly ignored from that day to now.

It may be said that it is late now to appeal for justice, which has been so long denied; but, sir, the fault is not with these people; they demanded it in 1810, and have continued to prosecute it. It is not too late to be just. It is not too late to give back the lands which France did not sell and Spain could not bestow, but which brave men, animated by a love of liberty, had achieved the possession of by their valor and their own patriotic and unassisted efforts, and which this Government has no equitable and no honorable right to continue to deprive them of.

Improvements of Monongahela River—National defense.

SPEECH

OF

HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 17, 1888.

The House having under consideration a resolution introduced by Mr. McMILLIN to authorize the expenditure of money in improvements of the Cumberland River—

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BLANCHARD], chairman of the River and Harbor Committee, certainly will not claim that this work is any more important than other public works of improvement in precisely the same condition, and why not wait for a general bill? If, however, he does claim that it is necessary to have instant action, why not bring in a general bill covering all these cases?

Mr. BLANCHARD. A general provision will be placed, I take it, by the River and Harbor Committee in the legislative portion of their bill covering such cases as this; but that bill is not likely to become a law until next July. In the mean time the improvement of the Cumberland River, appropriated for two years ago, is stopped because of the fact that no law permits the officials in charge of the improvement to acquire one or more small pieces of land necessary to the erection of the improvement works contemplated.

Mr. JACKSON. What public necessity is involved there that this should be made a special case over all other public works?

Mr. BLANCHARD. The gentleman's question might be answered and his wish subserved by a bill reported from the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, making an appropriation immediately available for the improvements of the rivers and harbors of the country; but that is a different question from the one we have now before us.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me inquire of the gentleman from Louisiana, chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, whether there is not a large number of Government works in process of construction and only partially completed, and where money already expended is liable to be lost if we fail to do what is asked for in this case. Are there not cases which need your help just as much as this proposed improvement does?

Mr. BLANCHARD. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunately true that the failure of the river and harbor bill at the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress has resulted in serious detriment to the various Government improvements throughout the country; but that has nothing to do with this matter.

Mr. MCMILLIN. I have demanded the previous question.

Mr. JACKSON rose.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. For what purpose does the gentleman from Pennsylvania rise?

Mr. JACKSON. To submit a few remarks upon the pending proposition.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Tennessee demands the previous question.

Mr. McMILLIN. I do not like to cut off any one, but as I demanded the previous question before the gentleman rose, I will ask him how much time he desires.

Mr. JACKSON. Not exceeding ten or fifteen minutes.

Mr. McMILLIN. Then I will yield to the gentleman that length of time.

Mr. JACKSON. I do not know, Mr. Speaker, that I could give any good reasons why the money of the Government should not be expended in this improvement as provided in the resolution offered by the gentleman from Tennessee; but I would like to call the attention of the House to the facts, and to let it be known by the House and by the country that this proposed improvement is but one of very many public works, the most of which are of much greater importance than the improvement of the Cumberland River, which are suffering for want of reasonable appropriations.

I want it to be known that it is by the neglect of the majority of the House and the present Administration that these public works are suffered to go without proper appropriations. It can not be pretended that we are unable to do what is necessary and proper, for the money is lying idle in the coffers of the Treasury.

Mr. Chairman, as I have already stated, there are many public improvements under the care of the Government, of much more importance than this one, suffering for lack of appropriation. Some of these are in the State which I have the honor in part to represent upon this floor, and others situated in different parts of the country. The commerce of the country is largely dependent on the condition of these works. They are improvements of vital importance, affecting great interests. I will only undertake to name a few of them, and at the same time suggest some other subjects worthy of Government care that have been entirely neglected. It has frequently been urged upon the attention of Congress that our coasts and seaboard cities are greatly in need of defenses which the country is fully able to provide at this time, and yet the gentleman's party has not seen proper to appropriate the money to expend in that direction. Take for instance the improvement of the Monongahela River, in my own State. The river and harbor bill did make a small appropriation for the improvement of that river, but it could not reasonably and profitably be used until the Government has acquired the property of a private corporation, and but little effort was made in that direction. But what little was done by Congress failed to become law for want of the President's signature. The Monongahela River has a much larger commerce than the Cumberland, to which the resolution of the gentleman from Tennessee alone refers. In fact, it is many times larger, and so far as tonnage is concerned the Monongahela River is not exceeded by any river or harbor in the whole country.

The number of people interested in the coal industries along this river and the still greater number of people dependent on it for their supply of fuel makes its improvement one of national importance.

It is also the most important public highway that has been occupied by a private corporation under authority of local law. Whilst it was an unfortunate policy that permitted a private corporation to acquire rights upon this grand and historic river, yet having acquired these rights they should be compensated for their property. This compensation should be fair and reasonable. But I insist that it is the duty of Government to reclaim this highway for the free use of the people for all time.

Our water ways are the great competitors with the railways, and if we will only preserve and improve them it will do much to solve the question of fair transportation.

Mr. Chairman, I do not speak of this improvement because it is situated in my own State. Pennsylvania is the friend of public improvements in all parts of our country, just as she favors the protection of all the industries of the United States. I ask to have printed as part of my remarks the following paper:

Address of Capt. John F. Dravo, president of the Chamber of Commerce and member of the Coal Exchange of Pittsburgh, Pa., before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House of Representatives, February 12, 1886, in behalf of the free navigation of the Monongahela River.

To the River and Harbor Committee:

GENTLEMEN: In view of the pressing claims upon your time, and recognizing the courtesy which grants me a hearing, I will endeavor to compress what I want to say into the briefest words possible, even at the risk of not making my case as plain as it might and ought to be made.

To the end that my plea may be fairly understood, allow me to say that through the generous aid of the Government in providing a system of locks and dams for the Kanawha River and making the navigation of said river free, the great coal deposits of the Kanawha Valley have been opened to the markets of the South and Southwest, and the shipments from this comparatively new coal field have so rapidly increased as to aggregate the past year 30,000,000 bushels.

We make no complaint. Contrariwise, we think Congress did exactly right in making this river a free navigable highway for the people of the various States directly interested.

But long before the Kanawha coal was opened by the aid of the National Government the Monongahela valley, under the auspices of individual enterprise, had furnished the manufacturing industries and warmed and lighted the homes that line the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Cincinnati, Covington, Louisville, New Albany, Cairo, St. Louis, Memphis, Natchez, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Mobile, and a full score of lesser cities drew their supplies from the coal-fields of this valley, as did the cotton-presses and sugar-mills of the South.

During these years of individual enterprise a vast amount of capital has been invested in coal lands and mining plants, in steam towing tugs, in vessels for carrying coal to market, so that the coal tonnage of Pittsburgh equals, if it does not exceed, the tonnage of New York. Hundreds of hard-working miners, by industry and economy, have secured homes for their families, which will be rendered of but little value by the loss of trade. These living facts deserve grave consideration.

The waters of the Monongahela, like those of the Kanawha, are subject to great variations. For long periods during the year they are too scant for boating purposes. To provide water of sufficient depth for handling heavily-ladened crafts artificial means had to be devised to make up for the deficit of nature. Hence the system of locks and dams.

Those on the Kanawha were built by the Government, and are toll-free. Those on the Monongahela were built by a private corporation, and impose toll charges. That is the radical difference. The Government creates industries in one State and virtually destroys individual enterprise in another. It is the old law of competition, the weak succumbs to the stronger. Government is stronger than the individual. The combination of capital and the resulting sharp competition have reduced the margins of profits so small that the toll charges of the Monongahlea Navigation Company endanger the coal trade of the Monongahela valley, involving the loss of immense capital and the ruin of thousands of homes, as the entire valley from Pittsburgh to the State line, a distance of 90 miles, is entirely dependent upon the coal trade.

The toll charged may seem small. The Navigation Company, in their forty-fifth annual report, claim that these charges only amount to 4½ cents per ton. Four and one-half cents per ton is a small charge when compared with the producing cost of coal, but it is the feather which breaks the camel's back. These are times when small charges are determining factors in business. Trade is carried on upon extremely narrow margins. A difference of one-sixteenth of a cent a pound in the price of cotton decides whether a factory shall make a loss or profit. On some of our great railroads the cost of moving 1 ton of freight is figured down to the one-hundredth part of a cent. The day of war-inflated prices is past. Even fractions can not be ignored. Four and one-half cents toll per ton pays the Navigation Company good dividends, but it annihilates the dividends of the shipper. For while the coal trade has not for the past two or three years paid a dividend of 1 per cent., the Navigation Company keeps along all the while paying 12 per cent.

The revenue of the company, as per report, is stated to be $207,202.97, and is classified as follows:

From coal and coke	$139,509.78
From freights, empty crafts, timber, and steamers	62,758.94
From passengers	3,924.25
Total	207,202.97

Now, the items of freight, empty crafts, timber, etc., are made up of the necessary supplies connected with the operations of mining, and even the tolls derived from passengers come from travel appertaining to the trade; so that virtually the entire revenue of the Navigation Company is a direct tax on coal shipments. The toll charges, as published by the company, per thousand bushels, are for—

Pool.	Per 1,000 bushels.	Equivalent per acre to—
No. 1	$0.90	$0.90
No. 2	1.38	1.38
No. 3	2.94	2.94
No. 4	3.18	3.18
No. 5	3.42	3.42
No. 6	3.66	3.66

Taking on an average double the price of coal per acre in the hill, and on the upper pools four times the original price.

The coal in the lower pools is being rapidly exhausted, and therefore forcing the trade into the upper pools, subject to the higher rates of toll. In view of these vital and unquestioned facts, is it any surprise that I am before you pleading for an oppressed trade?

The fact is, the toll charges are equal to 7 cents per ton, as set forth by the memorial of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, copies of which I leave with the committee.

On the principles of simple equity we ask this great and rich Government to do for the Monongahela valley, in the State of Pennsylvania, what it has done and is now doing for the Kanawha valley, West Virginia. We are as good citizens in Pennsylvania as our brethren in West Virginia, and ought to be as well cared for. But Pennsylvania is not alone interested; the great States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, purchase our coal, and will be as much benefited as the State of Pennsylvania. Cheap fuel is a prime necessity for domestic and manufacturing purposes in these days of sharp competition and natural gas.

Let me call your special attention to another phase of the question, a somewhat remarkable fact. Some 4 or 5 miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio River, the Government has constructed the Davis Island dam, backing the water to the depth of 5 or 6 feet at the mouth of Lock No. 1, of the Monongahela Navigation Company, on the Monongahela River; and commencing at the State line between Pennsylvania and West Virginia, at the point where the Monongahela Navigation Company's improvement terminates, the Government has and is now constructing a system of locks and dams, which, when completed, will pool the waters to Morgantown, W. Va.

Thus it so happens that on this natural highway there is wedged in between these Government improvements a private corporation taxing the commerce of these national waters, an absolute barrier to interstate traffic. The products of West Virginia are as much compelled to pay duties in passing beyond the limits of State lines as if entering the ports of a foreign country; in fact, and we emphasize the fact, all the tax on coal passing through these locks is in the nature of an export duty, as all the coal so passing is exported to other States.

It seems to me that this anomalous condition of affairs constitutes an unanswerable reason why this wrong should be corrected at once. Allow me to say, in my judgment, the water ways of the nation should be improved, and made free, that they may serve as highways of trade and travel for the people, and as a protection of the people against the human tendency (not humane) of corporate highways. I say nothing against railroads; we need them all; I wish them well; I would extend to them all possible consistent aid, but Congress owes it to the people that the highways of nature should be improved that they may hold in check the tendency of all corporate authorities to undue exercise of power and excessive taxation.

Railroads belong to corporations; the rivers and lakes to the people. The

free water ways represent the democracy of nature, the largest freedom and the most unrestricted privileges; the "go-as-you-please" system of trade and travel. In this connection I beg to say the people do not object to the expenditure of the national money—if it is honestly done. If there is no job in it, I repeat the people do not and will not complain of the honest outlay of money. Beautify this city, improve our rivers and harbors, and see that it is honestly done, and there will be no complaints, and I would like the privilege of saying that there is one Department of the Government that in the main has preserved itself from reproach in the expenditure of public funds. I refer to the Engineer Department.

The experience of the last two years, the close margins, and the rapid development of the coal trade in the Kanawha, have demonstrated that the coal trade of the Monongahela Valley, under existing circumstances, can not long live, and hence I represent parties who have invested all they are worth, their life-earnings, in coal lands and mining plants, who will be bankrupted if this trade is forced to other fields. I represent the owners of thousands of humble homes, created by industry and economy, which will be rendered valueless if the occupants are forced to seek employment in distant fields of labor. No class of the people are taking a more lively interest in the solution of this question and watching more closely the legislation of Congress than the laboring element of our section of our county, especially that large class of workmen who by honest toil and economy have secured humble homes.

But you are asked for large appropriations for other points—millions for the Mississippi, large sums for the Ohio, etc. I have not one word in opposition. I only beg to suggest the importance and wisdom of first taking care of the waters where the freight originates, the points of developments which make the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi necessary. It is due to truth to say that the Monongahela Navigation Company, in the years gone by, has been a great benefit to the coal trade, a trade which has so largely added to the prosperity of the great cities on the Ohio and Mississippi waters, from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and cheapened manufacturing processes in almost all sections of the Union. For this they are entitled to just consideration. We do not ask that their property be confiscated. They should be fairly compensated. But justice to others, to the thousands who depend on this trade for a living and who have invested their all in it, as well as the general good, righteously demand of you the same helping hand which you have extended to others. The good deeds of the company can not be allowed to continue a system which by the changed condition of affairs has become a destroying burden.

I dare not presume upon another moment of your time, but must say, gentlemen, this is a clean matter—there is no set up, no drawbacks. It is simply the cry of an oppressed trade for relief, the plea of humble homes to be saved from ruin, and I am fully persuaded, in view of the facts so briefly presented for your consideration, and yet so conclusive because they are facts, you will do all and more than we ask, and thus secure the benedictions of a grateful people while you benefit a great empire touched by 20,000 miles of possible inland navigation, at the head of which the city of gas and coal is fortunately located.

Gentlemen, I thank you for this hearing.

JOHN F. DRAVO.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, the present Administration on coming into power found the national Treasury well supplied with money, and laws on the statute-book that have since brought in a revenue more than sufficient for ordinary expenses.

Yet with plenty of means provided by the Republican party when in power, this Democratic Administration has neglected to appropriate money for some of the most urgent and needed public matters.

Our seaboard and coast cities are left in a defenseless condition that actually invite attack.

We have no navy worthy of the name. Fortification bills have been treated by this House with neglect and contempt. If the country was suddenly threatened with war the lack of modern artillery and plants for producing it would be a great source of weakness. We have utterly abandoned the maxim that the time to prepare for war is in peace.

We need not flatter ourselves that complications with other nations will never arise. We know they are liable to arise at any time. We have found that we can do well without standing armies, for our brave, patriotic people can always be depended on to respond to the call of the country on the shortest notice. But men without arms, without modern cannon, without modern war vessels, are helpless, and these munitions can not be produced on short notice. If you were to commence the plant now it would require more than a year to produce a single steel gun of modern make. Our seaboard should have works to shelter the brave men who would rally to its defense, and these require long time for their construction. These things should not be done hastily. To prevent improvident expenditures they should proceed gradually year by year.

We must recollect that whilst we are a long distance from the great nations of the earth our country is surrounded on sea and land with naval and military establishments. Our situation in this respect is well set forth in the report of the Navy-Yard Commission of December 1, 1883, in these words:

Nor are we so completely isolated. On the contrary, we are environed by the naval stations of a country that but a few short years ago would have rejoiced to see the dismemberment of the Union. This has been repeatedly brought to the attention of Congress. Kingston, Canada, one of the strongest military posts of this continent, can, at the very commencement of hostilities, launch gunboats upon the upper lakes, where American citizens have property to be reckoned only by millions. Halifax, with ample resources for supplying a war fleet, is but thirty-six hours' steaming from Boston. Bermuda, with her fine dry-dock and arsenal, is but sixty hours from the capes of Virginia, commands the entrance to the Chesapeake, and, as a consequence, the navigable rivers of Maryland and Virginia.

Nassau would be a rendezvous for British cruisers, as it was a refuge for her blockade-runners during the late civil war. The magnificent harbor of Kingston, Jamaica, with its fine navy-yard at Port Royal, is but four and a half days' steaming from our Gulf ports; and San Francisco is within three days of the British naval station of Esquimalt. Not only this, but France has a navy-yard at Port of France, Martinique, and Spain holds Cuba. Havana is but eight hours from Key West, the key of the Florida Channel and the Gulf of Mexico, and only sixty hours from the rich and populous city of New Orleans. From these stations modern war ships, of which we have no representatives, could fall upon our coast, paralyze our commerce, penetrate our harbors, and destroy such navy-yards as we now possess.

To defend against such force we have scarcely anything to offer. We are in fact more helpless than many of the third and fourth rate powers of the world.

Mr. Chairman, in addition to the failure to make appropriations for new works, the Democratic party has most negligently managed public works in process of construction. Work as I am informed has been commenced on many improvements, and large sums expended, which is practically lost for want of appropriations to continue the work. We have in this way many half-built works going to premature decay, and furnishing abundant proof of the incompetency of the party that now has temporary charge of the Government.

I cheerfully favor the improvement of the Cumberland River, and do not wish to be considered as opposing it in any way. I oppose this resolution for other reasons. There should be general legislation on this subject. This particular work has no claim to be favored whilst many others are neglected. The gentleman from Tennessee seeks by this resolution to put himself right with his constituents and to satisfy the locality in the neighborhood of this improvement. But the odium that should attach to the neglect of his party, to the neglect of this Congress and the neglect of the Administration to make proper appropriations for needed public works can not be so readily disposed of. I am opposed to this resolution, because no good reason can be shown why this particular work should be selected for favoritism and this small locality alone relieved from the inconveniences imposed upon it by the neglect of the Democratic party in Congress and the Democratic Administration.

Telephone Litigation.

[Investigation of the Pan-Electric and Bell Companies.]

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. OATES,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 22, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1889—

Mr. OATES said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I rise for the purpose of again urging the adoption of the amendment which I offered, to increase from $10,000 to $40,000 the appropriation to be used in the employment and compensation of special assistant attorneys to the district attorneys in very important cases to which the United States are a party.

In addition to the important cases I have heretofore mentioned, that against the Nevada Lumber Company, in San Francisco, and the telephone case before the Supreme Court, my friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] has read a long list of cases wherein the employment of able assistant counsel has been found to be necessary. When officers are charged with the duty of executing the law and invested with a discretion, the presumption is that they exercise that discretion wisely and well until the contrary is shown; and it is incumbent upon those who maintain the contrary to bring proof of their assertions.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SOWDEN] has complained and reiterated his complaint that too much money has been paid to the assistant counsel in the telephone suit. He complains that Mr. Lowrey has been paid a most exorbitant sum by the Solicitor-General, who acts as Attorney-General in that particular case.

The gentleman simply asserts that the sum paid was too large, that it was extravagant, but he has submitted no proof to the committee that such is the fact. Even if he had submitted it that amounts to nothing but a criticism of the conduct of the officer who so ably and well performs the duties of Attorney-General in respect to this particular case. A gentleman, too, from his own State and of his own party in politics, a gentleman whose integrity and ability are unquestioned, and one who, according to the showing made here, has exhibited a commendable economy.

I think my friend from Pennsylvania fails to take in the situation and fails to comprehend the magnitude of the litigation. If I were disposed to wager, I would stake any amount in reason that the corporation against which this suit was brought, the Bell Telephone Company, paid its counsel for the defense of the case four times as much as the United States paid the counsel employed by the Solicitor-General to bring and prosecute their suit.

If too much money was paid to Mr. Lowrey is that any reason why we should refuse to the Solicitor-General the amount necessary to carry

on and prosecute to a final termination the suit in which I believe the Government will be successful?

Mr. RANDALL. I am afraid that case has gone beyond remedy.

Mr. OATES. My friend from Pennsylvania does not profess to be a lawyer, and yet in reference to ordinary legal matters coming up here he seems to be as ready as any lawyer on the floor. But I think in this matter the gentleman is sadly mistaken. He does not comprehend the gravity and importance of the questions involved in that litigation. The decision which the Supreme Court recently made in the cases of Drawbaugh and others was in favor of the Bell company, but they were suits involving incidentally only the issues presented in the case of the United States against that company; and the decision was made by only a majority of the judges who sat in the argumentation of the case.

The suit of the United States which was heard in the circuit court of the district of Massachusetts, and dismissed on demurrer, and which is now before the Supreme Court on appeal, seeks the annulment and cancellation of Bell's patent mainly upon two grounds, that he was not the original inventor and that he obtained his patent by fraud. If either of these be true it is the duty of the Government of the United States in the interest of the people at large to compel the cancellation of the patent of this tremendous monopoly, a corporation whose stock is now capitalized at near $200,000,000. It is also claimed by that corporation and denied by the United States that the Bell patent covers the entire field of the transmission of speech by electric current, thus appropriating by patent one of the great forces of nature regardless of the instruments or inventions by which it may be applied or used. No Government, however strong or powerful, can rightfully appropriate or authorize any man or corporation to appropriate and monopolize to its own exclusive use the free gift of God to all His creatures. The decision of the Supreme Court on this question was in favor of the Bell Company, but with all due respect to the opinion of the late Chief-Justice and his associates who concurred with him, I am constrained by every sense of duty, conscientious conviction, and opinion of the law, to prefer the reasoning and conclusion of the judges who dissented therefrom, and I do not believe that the decision of the court will stand as the law, but that on a review of the question which will be before the court again in the Government suit, if the patent is sustained, it will be held not to cover so broad a field. The claim is contrary to natural justice, and can not be within the spirit of the Constitution which secures for a limited time to inventors and authors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

The men who framed and adopted that bulwark of the liberties of the people of this country never intended that clause to be so abused as to confer any such right as is claimed by the Bell Telephone Company upon any man or set of men. I have great respect for the decisions of the Supreme Court generally, but I must confess that I have none at all for a decision which maintains such a conscienceless and monopolistic claim as this. Upon this very question a few years ago arose the conflict and controversies between the Bell company and the Pan-Electric and other telephone companies. The latter undertook the transmission of speech by electric current, but with different instruments for transmitting and receiving than those owned and used by the Bell company; whereupon that company, exhibiting the utmost greed of gain of soulless corporations, brought suits and enjoined the other companies on the ground of infringement of the Bell patent. The gentleman who is now at the head of the Department of Justice, with other gentlemen, some of whom were then in official life, became, in the year 1883, corporators or members of a joint stock company known as the Pan-Electric Telephone Company, which, when it began to do business, was, like others, enjoined by the Bell company.

In the summer of 1885, soon after the present Administration had been inaugurated, Mr. Van Bentheuysen, as president of the National Improved Telephone Company, made application to the Attorney-General to direct a suit to be brought in the name of the United States for the cancellation of the Bell patent. Mr. Garland, the Attorney-General, utterly declined the request, and refused to have anything to do with it—even to hold conversation on the subject—on the ground, which he stated at the time, that he was a stockholder in the Pan-Electric company, and hence disabled by interest from having anything to do with it. In September following, when he was absent on his summer's vacation and at his home in Arkansas, an application was made by Van Bentheuysen, Huntington, and several other gentlemen individually, but who were really interested in the National Improved Telephone Company, through McCorry, the United States attorney for the western district of Tennessee, to Hon. John Goode, Solicitor-General and then acting Attorney-General, for permission to bring a suit in the United States circuit court for Tennessee, in the name of the United States, to have annulled and canceled the patent of the Bell company. Goode granted the request, and also gave permission to Young, Gantt, and other attorneys to appear with the district attorney and prosecute the said suit, but without fees or compensation from the United States. These attorneys were interested in both the National Improved and Pan-Electric Telephone Companies, which accounts for the fact that although able lawyers they were willing to engage in the prosecution of the Government suit without fees or compensation from the United States.

This suit was commenced, and soon afterwards, upon the suggestion of one J. Hale Sypher, well known in Louisiana and Washington City, especially in political circles; a man named Hill, a carpet-bagger from Arkansas, and then a claim agent and jobber who occasionally wrote for the newspapers, a Republican in politics, who has figured conspicuously in several Congressional investigations of alleged uncleanliness, wrote an article, as he admitted, for sale to the newspapers, in which he charged that this Government suit was brought by the connivance or sanction of the Attorney-General to use the name, prestige, and money of the United States to break down and destroy the Bell company, by which means he hoped and believed that his stock in the Pan-Electric would be made so valuable that he would at once become a millionaire. This article was sold to Major Clark, the correspondent of the New York Tribune, which, with some change of phraseology and perhaps of substance to make it the more effective and sensational, was published in that paper. This was the beginning of the unparalleled newspaper war which was most relentlessly and unjustly waged against the Attorney-General and nearly every one else in official life who was in any wise connected with the Pan-Electric company. Encouraged by the success of his first article, Hill wrote another and more elaborate one, which he characterized as "The history of the Pan-Electric Telephone Company."

In this he extended his charge of a purpose to use the Government for private gain to a number of gentlemen, all of whom were citizens of the Southern States of the Union and members of the Democratic party. In this, as in the former, he made the Attorney-General the central figure, and so artfully grouped together the various circumstances detailed by him and his allegations of fact as to make his statement as a whole appear to be truthful throughout when it was not. This article, after many fruitless negotiations which he undertook with others, he finally sold to the correspondent of the New York World, and it was published in that paper. Before this last-named publication was made the matter came to the attention of the President, who directed the Solicitor-General to dismiss the suit because the preliminary formality of sending the application to the Interior Department for examination and advice had not been complied with. The suit was accordingly dismissed. The application was immediately thereafter renewed, when the Solicitor-General, again acting as Attorney-General in this matter on account of the disqualification from interest of that officer, referred the application and accompanying papers to the Secretary of the Interior, who thereupon gave notice to the Bell, the Pan-Electric, the National Improved, and all other telephone companies and persons interested, that he would hear evidence and argument touching the matters alleged against the Bell company. He associated with him the Assistant Secretaries, Muldrow and Jenks, and Judge Montgomery, the Commissioner of Patents, and heard at great length the evidence and arguments for and against the patent of the Bell company.

After the hearing the Assistant Secretaries and the Commissioner, without consultation or comparison, rendered opinions *seriatim*, each one of whom held that there was sufficient evidence to justify it and advised that a suit be brought to test the validity of Bell's patent. The then Secretary, now Justice, Lamar, of the Supreme Court, sent his opinion to Solicitor-General Goode, holding that while the evidence of the originality of Bell's invention and the alleged fraudulent obtainment of his patent was not conclusive beyond question, yet it was sufficiently strong and convincing to justify the bringing of a suit in the name of the United States to test the validity of the patent. And just here I wish to state as matter of well-settled law that while a rival telephone company could bring a suit against the Bell company, or the latter could sue the Pan-Electric or any other rival company for an infringement of its patent or trespass upon its patent rights, and might establish in that case beyond question that Bell's patent was a fraud, or that he was not the inventor, yet the decision of the court would be binding only between the parties to the litigation and their privies and would not annul the patent except in that case. The patent can not be annulled nor canceled except in a suit by the United States as grantor against the patentee. There is, therefore, in the case of a patent fraudulently or wrongfully obtained from the Patent Office, no way under existing law to protect the public from imposition by the use of such patent except a suit by the United States for its cancellation.

Solicitor-General Goode, upon receiving the opinions of the Secretary of the Interior and his assistants, as I have stated them, duly appreciating the magnitude and great responsibility of bringing and properly prosecuting a suit against such a rich and powerful corporation, with several of the ablest lawyers in the United States already retained as its counsel, employed as his assistants Mr. Lowrey, of New York; Messrs. Hunton & Chandler and Whitman, of Washington, and Judge Thurman, of Ohio, on as reasonable terms as he could obtain their services. I suppose that my friend from Pennsylvania thinks that so many lawyers should not have been employed; that one assistant to the district attorney at a fee of one or two thousand dollars would have been ample; but, sir, every lawyer at all acquainted with such litigation and capa-

ble of appreciating the weighty issues involved or the number and ability of the counsel engaged for the defense of that mammoth corporation will not regard the number employed as too great nor the fees charged by them as excessive, except perhaps in the case of Mr. Lowrey, the items of whose account in some instances remind me of a lawyer I once heard of, who stated as one of the items in his bill against his client, "For waking up in the night and thinking about your case, $50." His services in the further prosecution of the suit have been dispensed with.

I will state here, as I am giving a brief history of the entire matter, that the suit which was brought in Ohio on the hearing was dismissed for the want of jurisdiction of the court. It was renewed in Massachusetts, and was heard there and dismissed on demurrer, from which it has been appealed to the Supreme Court.

Now let me call attention to another part of the history of this telephone business. Early in the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress Mr. Hanback, a Republican Representative from the State of Kansas, introduced into the House resolutions reflecting upon the Administration and censuring the Attorney-General, and calling for an investigation of the alleged corruption and improper use of the name of the Government for the private gain of those interested in and connected with the Pan-Electric Telephone Company. The resolution was amended and adopted by the House and a special committee raised, consisting of five Democrats and four Republicans, who were instructed to make a thorough investigation of all the matters alleged against officers and employés of the United States. The committee sat for about four months and examined all the witnesses and record evidence which was supposed to throw any light upon the matters involved and every person and thing remotely connected therewith or incident thereto. A large volume of over 1,300 pages of closely-printed matter attests the work done by the committee. I am the only member of that committee who is now a member of this House, and I assert that an examination of that volume will bear me out in stating that that investigation was agitated, begun, and prosecuted by the Republicans for partisan purposes, and was an effort to make capital for their party against the present Administration; but all of their efforts proved a dismal failure. The examination of the testimony will prove conclusively the perfect integrity of Garland, Goode, Johnston, Atkins, Harris, and every official in any wise connected with the Pan-Electric company or the suits brought against the Bell company.

Mr. Goode testified substantially:

That he was appointed Solicitor-General on the 4th day of May, 1885. That on the 26th day of June he went to British Columbia to represent the Government in the extradition case of Isaac N. Hibbs. That he returned to Washington on the night of the 19th of August. That the Attorney-General left Washington on the night of the 27th of August on a visit to his home in Arkansas. That prior to the departure of the Attorney-General he gave no special instructions to the Solicitor-General about the business of the Department. That no conversation was held between them with regard to the Bell Telephone Company or the Pan-Electric Company, and that he (Mr. Goode) did not know that Mr. Garland had any interest in the Pan-Electric or any other telephone company until after the criticism upon him had been commenced in the newspapers. That under the law he became Attorney-General in the absence of Mr. Garland, and while acting in that capacity he received on the morning of the 2d of September, from H. W. McCorry, district attorney for the western district of Tennessee, an application to use the name of the United States in a suit against the Bell Telephone Company to test the validity of their patent. That this application was accompanied by a memorial signed by several citizens, and by various affidavits and exhibits. That it came to him in the regular way, and he treated it as a matter of routine business. That he took it up for examination, and spent the day and night until 11 o'clock in reading the papers submitted to him. That, after a careful examination of the law and the papers referred to, he became satisfied that the Government had the power to institute the suit, and that a *prima facie* case had been made out; and accordingly on the next day (the 3d of September) he wrote a letter to the district attorney granting the desired authority. That since the organization of the Department of Justice there have been not less than ten precedents for the institution of such a suit; and in giving direction for the suit in this instance he followed the usual practice, except that he did not refer the application to the Interior Department. That he did not make the reference in this case for the reason that the letter of the district attorney brought along with it the file wrapper and contents relating to the application of Mr. Bell, which furnished the information to be obtained at the Patent Office. That supposing he had all the information that the Patent Office could afford, he did not deem it necessary to consult the Interior Department about the questions of law involved.

Mr. Goode further testified that prior to the departure of Mr. Garland on the 27th of August no person whatever had spoken to him about any probable litigation respecting the Bell telephone patent, and until Senator HARRIS and Hon. Casey Young called upon him at the Department of Justice on the morning of the 2d of September he had never heard that such litigation was contemplated. As to this interview of Messrs. HARRIS and Young with Mr. Goode, attention is called to the testimony of the latter on pages 422, 427, and 428 of the record, as follows:

Q. Had any other person spoken to you prior to the departure of Mr. Garland about probable litigation, or in any way respecting probable litigation of the Bell Telephone Company with the Government?

A. None whatever. That matter came to me in the regular course of business. I will say here—I think it is proper to say it—in answer to your question that this communication of Mr. McCorry, the district attorney, reached me on the morning of the 2d of September. That morning, before I received it, Senator HARRIS, of Tennessee, and Mr. Casey Young came into my office, and I think Senator HARRIS held something in his hand, a letter or telegram, and asked me if a communication from the district attorney had been received from the western district of Tennessee in regard to a suit against the Bell Telephone Company. I replied that no such communication had been received. He then said that he had information that it had been forwarded. I rang the bell and sent a messenger to inquire from the clerk if there was any such communication there, and I received answer that there was none. Those gentlemen, I do not think, even took their seats. They said they were confident that such a communication had been sent, and then left the room. Not long after they left (they were there early in the morning, between 9 and 10 o'clock), I suppose about 11 o'clock, or perhaps earlier, the communication from the district attorney came to me with other mail, and I saw it then for the first time and proceeded to examine it.

Q. Had any person spoken to you with reference to the matter before this conversation with Senator HARRIS and Mr. Young?

A. No, sir.

Q. That was the first information you had?

A. Yes, sir; I never had heard of such a suit or contemplated suit. I did not really know about the existence at that time of these various telephone companies in the country. I never had heard of any controversy or anticipated controversy in regard to it. The first intimation I had of it was in this conversation that morning with Senator HARRIS and Mr. Young—the morning of the 2d of September.

Q. You say the application did come to you the same day?

A. It came to me in less than one-half hour after they had left the room.

Q. What did you do with it when it came to you?

A. I proceeded to examine it, as it was my duty to do under the law. I read the letter of the district attorney, in which he went on to state the reasons why the use of the name of the Government should be permitted in the suit; and he stated, among other things, that he had in his possession one of the Reis instruments; that he had personally experimented with it; knew personally that it could talk; and sent along with his letter a memorial signed by Watson Van Benthuysen, New Orleans, La.; C. P. Huntington, Mississippi; J. R. Beckwith, New Orleans, La., and George R. Gantt, Memphis, Tenn.

Q. Did you give this application preference over other business in your office?

A. No, sir; I think not. I do not remember everything that was done that day; but I treated it like ordinary routine business. I know I examined the papers pretty carefully, and worked upon them that night.

Q. Had you been requested by any person to make a speedy decision upon the application?

A. No, sir.

Q. I believe you have stated that you had no conversation with any one before that.

A. I had no conversation or intimation from any one that there was such a suit in contemplation, and no human being ever spoke to me about it until that morning, when Senator HARRIS and Mr. Casey Young came in and asked me if I had received such an application.

Q. Can you recall another visit from Senator HARRIS, a second visit?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you state what occurred at that time?

A. On the next day, according to my recollection now—I am sure it was the next day, the morning of the 3d—Colonel Young came into the office first and asked me if I had received the application from the district attorney. I said "Yes," I had received it and acted upon it. He did not take a seat, but turned around and immediately left. Shortly after he went out Senator HARRIS came in and said "I have just met Colonel Young, who tells me that you have given directions to the district attorney to bring suit." I said "Yes." I got up and met him part of the way in the room and asked him to take a seat. He said "No, I will not sit down," and asked me if he could see a copy of the letter. I told him it was down stairs with the clerk, to be sent off in the regular mail, and he might go there and see it, but that I could tell him that it was simply a direction to the district attorney to institute suit.

How was this direct and positive testimony of Mr. Goode treated by the minority of the committee? Did they undertake to show that there was any conflict between his testimony and that of the others who have been examined upon the matters in issue? On the contrary, they knew that his testimony not only stood entirely uncontradicted, but that it was fully corroborated and sustained by Attorney-General Garland, Senator HARRIS, and Mr. Young, who testified about the same matters. If Mr. Goode is not to be believed, not only he, but the other gentlemen referred to, have deliberately stained their souls with the crime of perjury. Is there anything in the character or antecedents of any one of them which can justify or excuse such a suspicion for a moment? We have fallen upon evil times, indeed, if just and fair-minded men can be found who, at the bidding of a greedy monopoly, or for the supposed interests of party, will tolerate such an aspersion upon the good name and the fair fame of honorable gentlemen who have heretofore enjoyed to an unlimited extent the respect and confidence of their countrymen. The minority of the committee did not charge in terms that Mr. Goode is not worthy of belief, but they attempted to destsoy his testimony by artful innuendoes and adroit suggestions as to the accuracy of his recollection. They said:

There are a number of facts and circumstances, however, which leave it beyond doubt that Mr. Goode's recollection is so seriously at fault as to a large part of what took place that it can not safely be relied upon in any portion.

What are those facts and circumstances?

First. Mr. Goode testified that during the week intervening between the time of his return to Washington and Mr. Garland's departure they had no conversation about any business in the Department. The minority said in the most oracular manner "Mr. Goode must be mistaken about this." Why should he be mistaken? Was it a very remarkable circumstance? The testimony shows that at that time there was

an almost entire suspension of business in the Department. There was little or no current business to talk about; and as to matters which might arise during the absence of the Attorney-General the Solicitor-General was entirely independent. The Attorney-General, during his temporary absence, has no control whatever over the Solicitor-General. Mr. Garland himself said (page 653):

It was not worth while for me to talk with Mr. Goode, because he would have to act upon his own responsibility and upon his own sense of duty.

Secondly. The majority said in their report:

Mr. Goode's testimony is very explicit that he did not confer with the chief clerk or any one about the request of Mr. McCorry or the subject of it. It is not certain whether he is mistaken about this or not.

Why is it not certain? What is there to suggest a doubt about it? Mr. Goode said he did not confer with the chief clerk or any one about the request of Mr. McCorry or the subject of it. Does the chief clerk contradict him? Does any one else contradict him? If he had conferred with the chief clerk he would have learned what he knew before, that under section 347 of the Revised Statutes—

In case of a vacancy in the office of the Attorney-General, or of his absence or disability, the Solicitor-General shall have power to exercise all the duties of that office.

He would have learned that there was an established practice in such matters, and that such established practice was in strict accord with his own action in the premises. He would have learned that since the organization of the Department of Justice it has been the uniform practice for the Attorney-General, in proper cases, to direct the institution of suits to test the validity of patents issued by the Government, and that the records of the Department show that many suits of that character have been brought by the authority and with the sanction of the Attorney-General. He would have learned, what he knew before, that while such applications had been usually referred to the Interior Department for report, it had not been the invariable practice to do so, and that there were instances in which such suits had been ordered without a reference. He would have learned probably that it was unnecessary to refer this application to the Interior Department for the purpose of obtaining information which had already been furnished under the hand and seal of the Commissioner of Patents, and that it was not usual for the Law Department of the Government to send questions of law to any other Department for solution.

Thirdly. The minority said in their report:

It is evident also that his examination was not so careful as he now says it was.

To sustain this allegation reference was made to the memorandum of authorities cited by Mr. McCorry in his application. An examination of those authorities will show that they have been misapprehended by the minority and not by Mr. Goode. Let us see.

In the case of United States *vs.* Gunning *et al.* (18 Fed. Rep., 511) Judge Wallace, of the circuit court for the southern district of New York, decided that the Government has the right to vacate patents for inventions when obtained through fraud, and that the proper remedy is by a bill in equity on behalf of the United States. In Mowry *vs.* Whitney (14 Wall., 434) Mr. Justice Miller, speaking for the court, says:

We are of opinion that no one but the Government, either in its own name or the name of its proper officer, or by some form of proceeding which gives official assurance of the sanction of the proper authority, can institute judicial proceedings for the purpose of vacating or rescinding a patent which the Government has issued to an individual, except in the cases provided for in section 16 of the act of July 4, 1836.

In United States *vs.* Stone (2 Wall., 525) the Supreme Court declared—

That the United States may properly proceed by a bill in equity to have a judicial decree of nullity and an order of cancellation of a patent issued by itself ignorantly or in mistake for lands reserved from sale by law and a grant of which by patent was therefore void.

In Rubber Company *vs.* Goodyear (9 Wall., 788) it was decided that, as regards the point here under consideration, there is no distinction between a patent for lands and one for an invention or discovery. As to the case of United States *vs.* Frazier (22 Fed. Rep., 106) it will be seen from an examination of the facts in that case that it was not such as authorized the institution of a suit in the name of the United States. The decision is placed expressly upon the ground that the suit was really in the interest of private parties, who had given bond to indemnify the Government from the costs of the suit. It was a contest between private individuals, in which the Government and the public generally had no interest whatever. It is a fact worthy of note in this connection that while the learned judge (Blodgett) seems to argue against the power of the Government to institute suits of this character, he has not so decided. On the contrary, he says, in the conclusion of his opinion:

I do not intend to be understood as holding that a bill in chancery will not lie in any case to annul a patent obtained by fraud, but only that this bill does not, in my opinion, make such a case as requires or authorizes the United States to allow the use of its name to fight out a contest between these individuals.

The other case referred to, that of the Attorney-General *vs.* Rumford Chemical Works (2 Bann. & Ard., 299), does not decide the question as to the power of the United States to institute such a suit, but it decides that the Attorney-General has no power to do so. Judge Shepley, in his opinion, expressly defers the decision of that question until the time when such a case shall arise.

Besides the cases mentioned, and which were referred to by Mr. McCorry in his memorandum accompanying his application, it appears from the testimony that Mr. Goode examined other authorities before reaching a conclusion as to the power of the Government to institute such a suit.

Fourthly. The minority said in their report:

He testifies that he never heard that there had been any litigation about it (the validity of the patent). The Adams compilation, before him among the other papers, disclosed the prior litigation.

In reply to this statement it is sufficient to say that there is no evidence in the record to show that the "Adams compilation" was ever seen by Mr. Goode. On the contrary, he said distinctly, in reply to a question by Mr. Ranney, that he did not remember that document as among the papers which he examined. But it is unnecessary to pursue the matter further. The foregoing extracts have been taken at random from the report of the minority as specimen bricks in the superstructure which they have reared, and as examples not only of the *suppressio veri*, but of the *suggestio falsi*.

In view of the testimony adduced before the committee, I affirm that the minority exhibited an utter disregard of every principle of justice when they declared that—

The conduct of the Solicitor-General is most easily accounted for on the assumption that he understood the matter in advance, and had predetermined upon his course of action.

There is nothing in the record or in his character and antecedents to justify or excuse such a grave imputation. He had no motive for any sin of omission or commission in the matter under investigation. He had no stock in any telephone company. He had no interest of any kind to be affected by the suit. He had no knowledge of Mr. Garland's connection with the Pan-Electric company, or of any previous application for the institution of the suit. He directed the institution of the suit because after a careful examination of the law and the papers presented to him he believed that he had the power to do so, and that it was his duty to exercise it. Upon both propositions he has been sustained by Secretary Lamar and his Assistants after a thorough investigation and exhaustive argument by able and distinguished counsel. I submit that Mr. Goode did nothing in this matter which should have subjected him to censure in the estimation of any just or fair-minded man.

Attorney-General Garland's testimony was in perfect harmony with that of Solicitor-General Goode. He testified that he never at any time before the bringing of the suit had any conversation or correspondence with Goode touching any telephone matter whatever, and that he never gave any sanction, intimation, nor expression of desire, directly nor by innuendo, to Goode that he desired any suit brought of the kind or character ordered by Goode.

The hypothesis upon which the Republican members of the committee based their minority report was that both these gentlemen, Goode and Garland, swore falsely, and that there was an understanding between them that the former should order the suit brought in the name of the United States for the benefit of the latter and his associates in the Pan-Electric Telephone Company; and that, in pursuance of the understanding, Mr. Garland absented himself from Washington until the thing could be accomplished. Is there an honest man in the United States who believes that either of these well-known and highly honorable gentlemen would prevaricate in the least about anything? If there is anything in the maintenance for half a century of the most unblemished character for integrity, no one can doubt their testimony. Yet such was the desire to bring something out of that elaborate investigation for partisan use that the minority of the committee had the temerity to assume that the denial of all combination was false, and presented a garbled and unfair statement of the circumstances to prove it.

Before any consultation of the full committee was ordered—even before the testimony had entirely closed—Mr. Ranney had proposed the report of the minority, and at the consultation of the full committee he announced that the Democrats could take such action as they saw proper; that he and his Republican colleagues had already signed the report he had prepared, and which they intended to present to the House, and they did present it. It was cut and dried; fully prepared and signed by or before the close of the testimony taken by the committee. The Democrats constituting a majority of the committee, after duly considering at several consultations every phase of the evidence and all the circumstances, differing somewhat among themselves as to the form of a report, finally agreed upon a resolution and reported it to the House in the following language:

Resolved, That a full, fair, and exhaustive investigation has failed to adduce any evidence which tends to show that Attorney-General Garland, Solicitor-General Goode, Secretary Lamar, Indian Commissioner Atkins, Railroad Commissioner Johnston, or Senator HARRIS (they being the officers named in the Pan-Electric publications of the newspaper press which gave rise to this investigation) did any act, officially or otherwise, connected with the matters investigated which was dishonest, dishonorable, or censurable.

The publication of the reports and this resolution, although never reached on the Calendar for discussion and action by the House, effectually silenced the pen and tongue of slander and satisfied the public of the innocence of the gentlemen who had been so persistently and unjustly assailed.

Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BINGER HERMANN,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 5, 1888,

On the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes.

Mr. HERMANN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The people of my State are largely interested in the pending measure. Several land grants are located there. The main line of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company is on the north side of the Columbia River, and for about 214 miles claims each alternate section for 40 miles on the south or Oregon side, embracing in round numbers a total of 4,000,000 acres. This area is coterminous for the larger part with the uncompleted portion of the Northern Pacific Railroad. No part of the main line from Wallula to Portland has ever been completed. Its construction has not even been commenced within these terminal points. No excuse, legal or equitable, is now or has ever been offered in defense of the company. No assurance, sir, is given even at this late day that construction will be entered upon. Much valued land is embraced in this portion of the grant. Settlers have entered upon them. Valuable improvements have been made in their settlements. For years these people have insisted upon a restoration of this unearned grant. Their titles have been held in abeyance, their homes are involved in the issue, and patiently they have waited and watched for some definite action in their behalf on the part of Congress. The general public are also interested, inasmuch as the doubtful status of these lands retards the settlement of the country, discourages immigration within this belt of 214 miles, withholds the power and means of obtaining revenue for the building of roads and bridges, the support of schools, and the erection of necessary public buildings for the public use. Widespread discontent prevails. Political conventions have pledged the political parties of my State to a forfeiture of this unearned grant with others, and the Legislature has also memorialized Congress to the same end. I can no better express these sentiments than by submitting as a part of my remarks the memorial presented to Congress by my own State, as follows:

To the honorable Senators and Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, respectfully represent:

That the land grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad, coterminous with and adjacent to the Cascade branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad, extends over and covers a large area of valuable and fertile lands in the northeastern portion of the State of Oregon;

That the land grant coterminous with and adjacent to the proposed Columbia River branch of said Northern Pacific Railroad, extending from Wallula in Washington Territory to Portland, Oregon, extends over and occupies an immense tract of valuable lands in the northern portion of the State;

That in many cases so-called "railroad land," that is, land claimed by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company and held from claim or settlement under the acts of Congress, extend 50 or 60 miles or more from the line where said road or either branch thereof has been located;

That the said Northern Pacific Railroad Company has never built a road or branch thereof between Wallula and Portland, or any part thereof; that said route is occupied and used by a railroad built without a grant of land; and that there is no prospect nor necessity of the building of said road between Wallula and Portland by the said Northern Pacific Railroad Company;

That under the act of Congress by which said lands were granted to said company they were long since forfeitable, and as a matter of simple justice to the people should have been long since forfeited;

That poor settlers, who in poverty and in a strange land seek to obtain title under the laws to 160 acres or at most 320 acres of Government land, are held to a strict observance of the law, and required to perform fully all its conditions upon penalty of losing both their claims and their rights; but this railroad corporation, having been given an immense domain of the people's heritage, has been permitted to retain its hold upon large portions thereof for years, without a shadow of right or title, in violation of their charter and the terms of the grant, and to the great detriment and annoyance and injury of settlers and private citizens;

That in consequence of this illegal and unjust claim, or pretended claim, of said company to said lands or a large portion thereof, settlers already upon tracts thereof are in a state of great doubt and uneasiness as to the final disposition of said lands, and are thereby hindered and prevented from making improvements and building such homes or living in such peace and security as they might and would do if this question were set at rest; they are constantly annoyed by conflicting reports, and harassed and plundered by unscrupulous attorneys and real estate agents; besides, settlement and development of the country is greatly retarded, and large quantities of land that ought before this to have been in cultivation and occupied by prosperous farmers is lying unoccupied or held in large tracts in consequence of contracts or agreements with said company, and is not subject to taxation; that in many cases partial payments for tracts of said land have been made to said company by persons who are continually annoyed by the doubt whether such payments are necessary or valid; that, in short, the condition of people occupied and adjacent to these lands is one of incessant vexation and distress;

Wherefore we, your aforesaid memorialists, most respectfully and earnestly ask:

First. That all unearned lands heretofore granted to railroad corporations, and especially to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, be declared forfeited.

Second. That especially the lands of said company coterminous with and adjacent to the proposed Columbia River branch of said road, namely, between Wallula, Wash., and Portland, Oregon, be declared forfeited without delay.

Third. That the forfeiture of said last-mentioned portion of said grant be not made conditional upon the forfeiture of other portions between Bismarck, Dak., and Wallula, Wash.; but that in case Congress can not agree upon the forfeiture of all unearned lands west of Bismarck, they shall nevertheless declare forfeited said lands coterminous with and adjacent to said proposed line between Wallula, Wash., and Portland, Oregon.

Fourth. That in case speedy forfeiture of said lands is not possible, such legislation will be had as will require the location and public announcement to settlers of a definite boundary line of said grant, so that lands beyond legal and proper bounds can no longer be kept from entry and sale in consequence of the present undefined claims of said company.

Adopted by the senate January 21, 1887.

J. C. CARSON,
President of the Senate.

Concurred in by the house January 21, 1887.

J. T. GREGG,
Speaker of the House.

Our people, and by these I mean most especially those honest, industrious, and persevering settlers who have sought homes and embarked their all on the lands involved—they more than all not only ask, as they have been doing for years, but they demand, as they have the right to do, that this great fraud upon their privileges shall be eliminated and swept from the statutes of the nation and they be guarantied a confirmation of title to their humble firesides. They insist on practical esults. Theories may do for others and long speeches may console, but this period has gone by with these people, and they now demand such remedial and practical legislation as shall place in their possession the prize so long sought, a home for themselves and their posterity. The same may be said as to other grants. For several sessions of Congress practical legislation has failed, and only because of the zealous, stubborn, and yet hopeless effort to secure greater results than were possible to obtain. It was then truthfully predicted by the most earnest friends of a radical forfeiture that such was the temper and such the judgment of the co-ordinate branch of the Congress that the measure recommended by the majority of this House could not and would not be realized. To successfully legislate both branches of Congress must concur. Repeated failures to accomplish what has been insisted upon by this House in this respect are of record and before us. Corporations reaped the benefit. In the mean while the settlers, the most interested of all, have looked on in anguish and despair.

Now, what shall we do? What course, in view of our past experience and of the continued situation of affairs as to the sentiments of both branches of Congress, is now feasible? Which of the pending measures before us will produce positive, immediate, practical, and beneficial results? For one I favor a restoration of every acre of the public domain now claimed by corporations and not earned by them. They have no greater claim or right to that which they have not earned than the humblest citizen in the private walks of life could have. There is no distinction as a matter of principle. All stand equal before the law. The question, however, now before us is one as to practical results. It is not as to how much land we are entitled to forfeit, but how much we can agree, as between the two Houses of Congress, to forfeit. Restore what we can now, and then look to the future with equal earnestness, patience, and zeal for such further restoration as may be then practical, and as to that which now or hereafter remains subject to forfeiture. This view appeals to me, as a business man, as a practical man, and as the friend and representative of the settler and the landless, as the wisest and best course at present to pursue.

I am especially invited to adopt this course because in addition to what I have observed in its favor it also protects the rights of settlers and bona fide purchasers, and it saves and protects the rights of the Government, whatever may remain, as to any unearned lands still remaining. The language of the bill in this latter respect is:

That nothing in this act shall be construed to waive or release in any way any right of the United States to have any other lands granted by them, as recited in the first section, forfeited for any failure, past or present, to comply with the conditions of the grant.

This course is also in consonance with the propositions submitted through the Legislature of my State, which enunciate the public wish that the forfeiture of the Northern Pacific grant between Wallula and Portland—

Be not made conditional upon the forfeiture of other portions between Bismarck and Wallula.

Believing that Congress can not agree in this session any more than was done in the Forty-ninth Congress upon the forfeiture of all unearned lands west of Bismarck, I should prove recreant to the best interests of my State and should act in violation of my own judgment, should I now oppose what I conceive to be the most practical remedy at present possible. The unchanged sentiment on the question of land-grant forfeitures between the two Houses forbid any hope at this time of consummating greater results than such as are contemplated in the bill before us. The last days of this session are nearing a close. It is vain to expect any measure more satisfactory from some arbitrament through conferences. These require time. Much controversy and further deliberation will necessarily follow and in the end we shall be no nearer the accomplishment of forfeiture, great or small.

We shall only repeat the idle ceremony of the last session. Great losses occurred to the Government and the people by reason of that inaction. This I am unwilling to repeat, but shall aid to secure what I can now,

and hope at another time to further effect what may be found practicable, just, and right. Should, however, the less radical measure be voted down, I shall then vote as a last resort for the passage of the committee bill, hoping that in a deliberate and consciencious regard of the public interests the House and the Senate in conference may in the end arrive at such determination of the conflicting propositions as shall insure at this session the enactment of some measure restoring to the people a portion, if not all, of the public domain now wrongfully held by corporations to which they are not entitled.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES B. WHITE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. WHITE, of Indiana, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The tariff question now before us, and which is taking up so much of our time, is not a new question; neither have all the discussions that have been presented given us any new light on the subject, and if it goes on for a year there can be nothing further evolved from it in the way of newly-discovered information. Nations from time immemorial have adopted it, some in one form, some in another, but all with one and the main object in view, namely to build up their own industries and protect their people as against their neighbors. A glance at the world of to-day will convince the thinking mind that no such thing as absolute free trade prevails in any country, and yet that is, or should be, the primary condition of mankind as well as nations, freedom in everything, in commerce and in politics, in religion, and on this theory I believe a man ought to have the right to load his wagon or his ship with such goods as he pleases and drive or sail to the uttermost parts of the earth with them and sell them as he pleases, without let or hindrance from any man or nation; but no such freedom exists, never has, and is not likely to.

Then the next best thing for a nation to do is to adopt a policy that will bring the most comfort and prosperity to its own people by encouraging all the industries and pursuits it can profitably create in its midst, thereby reaping the benefit of that commercial exchange which otherwise would go to foreign nations. Commerce, remember, is not a field of love or friendship either among nations or individuals; it is a keen, watchful, earnest struggle for the mastery, and often kept up in a terrific war of extermination. This you will find in the ordinary retail trade of this or any other country; you will also find it in the great manufacturing interests, and also in the wholesale merchants' trade and jobbers' trade. No department of trade is free from it, and it also extends on the same principle as nation against nation; although in all cases the hand of friendship is extended, yet underneath all this the kind of planning and scheming for the masterly prevails, and the war of secret extermination goes on surely and generally silently yet none the less certain. So that it ends often as Darwin states it, in the survival of the fittest. If this is not true, then how do you account for the vicissitudes in trade, the breaking up and destruction of immense accumulated fortunes. If all a person had to do was to freight a shipload or goods or consign a great consignment to a house or foreign market and make a profit, or establish a manufactory of some kind or other either in iron or wood or cotton or woolen and make a profit, or open a retail store in dry goods, boots or shoes, or groceries and make a profit, then things would go on swimmingly, there would be no breaking up, all would prosper. But this is not the case, and it is just here where the keen hand of competition comes in, and it enters all the fields spoken of, and no one is safe against it, and while it is the life of trade, yet is often the death of the competitors.

Therefore, it stands to reason if we open our markets to European manufacturers, they with their cheap labor will compel our manufacturers here, in order to compete with them, to either cut down the wages of our workman or go out of business. There is no alternative, and this brings us face to face with the question, are we ready to adopt that kind of a system? If we are, then free trade is the thing; if not, then protection is what we want to stick to. Now, we often hear of Great Britain being prosperous, and that she is a free-trade nation. Now, the fact is if you will look into and examine her condition she is neither free trade nor protection; and all that she is in the line of free trade is purely and simply adopted from her selfish commercial ideas and not one particle of it from the laudable notion of aiding other nations or of benefiting them. In the first place, let us examine into her character as a commercial people. It does not go back many centuries, and her prominence as a political as well as a commercial power dates from the union of the crowns of Scotland and England. Previous to that there was no free trade, even with Scotland and England. Not even a mechanic could go from one country to the other to find employment. So strict were both sides in protecting their interests that even intermarriage was at times forbidden and in fact prohibited, and the parties punished. So that their tariff was much more exacting than ours. Theirs was prohibitory, ours is not.

And this to a great extent was the condition of all countries at that period—after their union. Scotland and England they had free trade amongst each other, both external and internal, but did they extend that blessing which they talk about to others? For the proof of that look into the history of Ireland? No, she was kept under the heel of oppression, her manufactures legislated against and so cramped by the acts of Parliament that they were in a manner suppressed, and her people forced to a great extent to live by tilling the soil and exchanging their product for goods manufactured in Great Britain. This was the blessing extended to Ireland, and it was just the same in the colonies. All they were expected to do was to till the soil, raise tobacco, wheat, cotton, rosin, turpentine, and such products, and exchange them with the mother country for her manufactured goods, and, in fact, this was the system adopted and practiced. Establishing of manufacturing industries were forbidden and not permitted. True a different state of facts exists now with the Canadian colony; but that was brought about simply because Great Britain was afraid of losing her; afraid Canada would join the United States or set up for themselves; hence a liberal policy is pursued with them, but that is not out of love for Canada, but in fear of her.

So now the policy of Great Britain's pretended free trade is all from pure selfish motives, brought about by several surrounding circumstances and causes; and one of the main causes was the fact that since the discovery of the steam-engine Great Britain made a great and rapid advance of all others nations. The inventions that followed the application of steam were so great and valuable that she shot way ahead of all competitors; and then when she found she could beat all countries in the world manufacturing, she generously makes it known, and says, "Now, since we know we can beat you all, we want to be liberal and enter into a more generous relation with our fellow man. We now offer to you to let you ship your products free to us and you permit us to ship our manufactured goods free to you." Now, this is simply a master-stroke of generous selfishness; for every one knows that the manufactured products outvalue the raw materials four or five to one. And no nation at that time could ship her manufactured goods, for the reason she was way ahead of them in invention and steam application. This is not so much the case now, for other nations in the last thirty years have adopted the same plan as Great Britain and became manufacturers themselves and made rapid strides in invention, also in application of steam. And at this time many of the European nations are well up with Great Britain in that respect and are now—for instance, Germany is—competing with her for a great deal of foreign trade and also is now invading Great Britain with her manufactured wares. So much so is this the case that our British brethren are now crying out against it and talking fair trade in place of free trade. Even her monopoly in iron-ship building no longer prevails. The French and Italians now build almost all their own vessels, and also furnish them their own steam-engines. Great Britain used to have most of this under her control. And it is just so in our country. The rapid development of steam and machinery has placed us in the front rank of manufacturing nations; and with our improved machinery and great natural resources we could really live without any European trade. But that is not desirable. We want to foster trade with our fellow men, but not to our own injury; and protection is the safe policy in that line, for then our domestic manufactures are protected, and those few who want the European goods can have them; and in this way we encourage trade as well as raise the revenue, and that revenue comes from a class who can stand it, namely, the rich; for it is they alone who purchase the bulk of the imported goods.

But this now brings us to the President's position in his message. He says: "The objections to the revenue or tariff is that it advances the price of the imported goods the amount of the tariff, and at the same time advances the price of the home-made goods an equal amount to the tariff, and this extra amount goes into the pockets of our manufacturers." Well, if this was true, then the tariff ought to come off, every cent of it; but our worthy President has not well considered this question; if he had he never would have made such a statement. Let us, for instance, take calico; there is a duty on that of 3 cents a yard. Now, you can go to the factory at Lowell, Mass., or Rhode Island and purchase calico at 2½ cents a yard. Consequently, if these manufacturers kept up with the President's ideas they would add the tariff of 3 cents to the price, and that would make it 5½ cents a yard you would have to pay for it. Well, you may ask how is this? Well. it is simply this: the keen, cutting competition of the home manufacturers for the trade is so great that they sell the goods even lower than the amount assessed as a tariff. So it is clear from the above illustration that the President is wrong in his conclusions, and it is just so with any other class of goods—for instance, all wool cassimere; the tariff on that is 50 per cent. So that on a piece of all-wool goods costing in Europe $1 a yard, a tariff of 50 cents more is added.

Well, any one knows you can purchase the very best of home-made, all-wool cassimers for $1 yer yard. And if the President is correct, then our woolen manufacturers would have added the duty of 50 cents a yard, and the people at home would have had to pay this 50 cents into the pockets of the manufacturers. Now, this is clearly the President's theory, for he plainly says so, which is a great mistake. Yet you can not blame him; he has had no commercial experience, and simply went off on this line like thousands of others, believing that was the true system without giving it due investigation; and, in fact, all people are apt to be caught that very way unless they examine into it, for certainly on first thought it looks as if the manufacturers here would add the amount of the tariff or nearly so to the price of his goods; and so they would, if they did not have competition. They are selfish enough to do it, you need not fear that; but the other competitors are all equally anxious for the trade, hence the fierce competition sets in and goods are at times sold lower than they are in Europe without the tariff.

In order to verify that, a few years ago our Eastern manufacturers shipped millions of dollars' worth of calico to Manchester and Glasgow. No doubt they lost money on them, but they also lost money at home. Certainly, had our manufacturers a monopoly—that is, no one else permitted to go into the business—then the tariff would be a boon to them for they could regulate the price and charge well up to the tariff. But no such state of affairs exists, and can not exist in merchandise. The only thing it can exist in is a patent, and that would be only for fourteen years; but in no free industry could such a thing be possible, for whenever profits are good in any line of trade others will rush into it and reduce them. And that is the very reason why the tariff has not advanced the price of goods. Yes, but you will say some of these goods you speak of, calico and woolen goods, are shipped here and pay the duty and our people buy them. Then you say they must be better goods than our home made goods. No, not at all; you pay 15 cents for an imported cigar; I pay 10 cents and get a better article—a home-made cigar. It does not follow because a thing is imported and pays a duty that it is better than the domestic.

But you see in this country as in all others we have a class of people who are rich and well-to-do and they want something in their mind different from other people, and they are willing to pay for it; and why not let them do it? In this way we collect of them a good revenue which we could not otherwise get, because their wealth is generally in securities or stocks or bonds, and the tax-collector never finds them, but our revenue officers find the goods at the custom-house, hence it is no hardship to let them pay this extra as long as they are bound to buy the foreign goods; and it is just so in their silks, satins, jewelry, feathers, laces, and bric-a-brac, also foreign wines and liquors. Let them have them; we make better and purer wines in California than in Europe and is sold much less, yet these well-to-do people want the European; then why not let them have it? This revenue we need, every dollar of it, to distribute amongst the soldiers in paying them pensions, for it was the sacrifices they made to save the country that made it possible for these people to accumulate their immense wealth, for had not the Union arms succeeded our great wealth of Government bonds that are now worth $1.28 on the dollar would have been to-day selling like the Confederate bonds at so much a bushel.

So it is best they should not begrudge the soldiers their little pensions of $8 per month which they are claiming; it is all they ask and is a small matter to this great Government, and should no longer be withheld. Yet, strange to say, it is these well-to-do or wealthy people who are the most strenously opposed to it and fighting it off. All the great papers of the country are against it; the President is against it. And who is for it? I will tell you the yeomanry of this great land is for it; the working classes are for it, and all of them would freely vote for it if that would determine it. But that will not do it. This Congress has to do it. The Forty-ninth Congress, to their credit, passed a liberal pension bill. It was not all that was wanted, yet it was much better than the state of affairs that exists now. In that bill all dependent soldiers were to have pensions, no matter how their disability came about. This would have taken care of a great many of the soldiers who can not, under the existing laws, procure a pension because they can not trace their disability to the service. Hence they have to go without, even if they served three or four long years, and always fit for duty, never sick, and this is against them; for in consequence of always being on duty they were never in a hospital, hence have no hospital record, so that now it is a misfortune to them to know that they were good soldiers and always fit for duty. The man who enlisted and served three months, two months, may have been in the hospital, got discharged for disability, has no trouble in securing his pension, draws it regularly, while his unfortunate brother who served three years can not get a cent. This may be fair play, but it does not strike the soldiers that way.

Now, no one has a word against those who were so unfortunate as to have to go to the hospital and were discharged and are now drawing pensions; on the contrary, it is well they are getting their pensions and it is hoped they will receive more if they need it. But why not call attention to this loose, unfair system of not recognizing the veterans who did the hard marching, stood the hard fare, slept in the mud and rain, and did the fighting, never complaining; that now the Government says to them, Well, boys, you are in a bad fix; we know that, but you see it is all owing to yourselves; you do not take care of your money; you are to blame for being poor, also for being sick; you had no sickness when you were discharged; so you must shift for yourselves. True we remember and know that you that were well did the fighting and put down the rebellion; still you were paid for that; you know we paid you $13 a month and the money was then worth 60 to 70 cents on the dollar; and besides, the war is over and a new generation is coming along, and they do not feel as if they owe the soldiers anything; of course if you get so sick you can not work, you see we have erected a nice home for you at Dayton and other places; there you can go and end your days and be buried in a pauper's grave, if you choose to."

This is indeed the experience a great many of our comrades are having meted out to them. They do not clamor for a fortune, but this little $8 a month would be a great boon to thousands who now have much trouble in making ends meet. Every Congressman has just such soldiers in his district who have served through the war, been never in the hospital, are poor, deserving men, working at $1 and $1.25 a day as laboring men, often out of work, and have great difficulty in earning a decent living. Eight dollars a month will not make them millionaires, so give it to them before this Congress adjourns. This will empty the Treasury and will be so distributed that not a Congressional district but what will have a share of it. Even the South will get a portion; but even if she does not get as much as the North, she has no right to complain and ought to stand in with the North and vote the measure, for she receives the benefits of the Mexican pension bill; it goes mostly to the South. Then surely, when the nation could pension the Mexican soldiers, which is proper enough, yet why, then, not pension the Union soldiers? In this the President committed another great error; for if it was proper for him to have vetoed the Union soldiers' bill, then consistency ought to have told him to veto the Mexican soldier bill. He either ought to have approved both or rejected both, and he has no excuse for not knowing, for both bills were in his hands at the same identical time.

But now I will get back to the tariff. I merely mention this to show to those who are clamorous for a reduction of the revenue in consequence of our overflowing Treasury that we have not a dollar more revenue than we need. All we want to do is to apply the revenue and not hoard it up by vetoing public bills that Congress has passed for the expenditure of the revenue. And yet the President says Congress is to blame for the surplus, because they will not cut down the tariff, when in truth and in fact the President is solely at fault, because he held back the surplus by his vetoing the bills Congress passed for its distribution, but he is bound to force his free-trade theory on the ground that it taxes our poor people on the necessaries of life. He does not define any one article, only says our people pay the enhanced price the tariff puts on foreign goods. Now I will give him another illustration which will come nearer home to him. Suppose he had the power to put a tariff on boots and shoes coming into the District of Columbia, say of $2 per pair, and he proclaimed that the law should go into effect at once, according to his theory, the goods would cost our people that $2 extra.

Well, I propose showing him they would not cost our people one cent extra. How so? Just in this way: The moment the tariff would go into effect the Boston manufacturers would be here with their machinery and workmen, and in less than thirty days the competition would be so keen amongst them that the prices of boots and shoes would not be any higher; the only party who would suffer would be Boston, and we here in the District would build up a home industry in boots and shoes, a thing we do not have now; and this would benefit our home people, of course at the expense of Boston. And this is just what protection is in everything the whole country over. We are building up our home industries at the expense of Great Britain, France, and Germany by making and manufacturing our own goods, just as the District of Columbia would its own boots and shoes; and it is just that system that has made calico, woolen goods, silk goods, shawls, blankets, and everything we make cheaper than if the tariff had never been put on.

Then you ask, if that is so then, what use is the tariff? Why, it is, as already stated, to raise a revenue from those people who will not use our home-made goods. They are so nice in all things that nothing but the European markets will suit them; therefore let them pay for them. Why, there are some of them so nice that they will not even eat our Western Reserve cheese or New York factory cheese; they must have that old green musty Stilton cheese that our ordinary people would throw out. Then why not let them pay the tariff on it? Certainly if you reduce it they would get it so much cheaper, but then the Government would get that much less revenue. And it runs this way though all the tariff goods. No necessary is tariffed against that the people purchase. Just so with Mr. MILLS'S wool blankets that he speaks of being taxed or tariffed against $5 a pair—a great hardship on the poor man. Why, the poor man does not touch the imported blankets any more than he does the imported cheese. He can get American-made blankets for less than the tariff price. I sell them now, good all-wool blankets, at $4.50 and $5 a pair, so that if the manufacturer in this

country added the tariff to his price I would have to sell them at $9.50 and $10 a pair. Then, truly, the tariff would be a tax on the poor man, and whenever such a state of affairs would be possible I would be one of the foremost in advocating the abolition of the whole tariff—for any part of it would be an injury to the poor; but as it is now it protects the poor by controlling the home market for ourselves. But now we come to the only weak spot in protection, and it is the club that the opponents to it wield with the most severity. It is this: Well, how about protecting the laborer? You do not do that; you let the emigrant come in here and take away the job from a native American, and also you permit your factories, furnaces, and corporations to cut down the wages so that now the workingman in this land is no better paid than the pauper-paid labor in Europe; and to some extent this is true. Yet if you have free trade will that put a stop to such evils? Certainly not; it will only aggravate them.

Therefore we had better endeavor to remedy the evils we have than fly to those that will clearly be worse, for if free trade is adopted it stands to reason our markets would be deluged by foreign goods, and it would follow by a closing up of our factories, a shutting down of our furnaces, and thousands of men and women thrown out of employment; therefore our only safety is to stand in for protecting our industries just as we are doing, and then look around and adopt some other measure that will remedy the evil complained of and which all will admit exists—that is, low wages. We do not need to look far to find the injustice and cruelty practiced in this form, and unless legislation steps in and regulates the evil it will continue to exist, for capitalists will not, and in fact they can not, remedy it, for one over-reaching capitalist or manufacturer will make another hundred well-meaning men act as cruel as he does himself and cuts wages down when they do not want to, and would much rather not have done so, but in sheer self preservation they are compelled to. If we glance at the nations of the world we find free-trade Great Britain, protective France and Germany, protective Turkey, Russia, Austria, Spain, and other nations.

Has free trade lifted up the laborer in Great Britain to comfort and plenty? Not a bit of it. True, there are some employments there reasonably well paid, and the people fare tolerably well, but the great bulk of them is doomed to a life of penury and destitution. The wages in most of the manufacturing industries are so low and meager that the poor creatures scarcely have enough of the bare necessaries of life and often go hungry to bed. Yes, and this not amongst bad, evil-minded or evil-acting people, but pure, moral, righteous, religious, and well-meaning, respectable people. Thousands of them scarcely know from a day in advance how they will get their daily bread. And yet we are told to imitate this people and follow their commercial methods. I hope not. Then Germany, France, and these other countries. Do we want to follow them? True, we do in the protection plan, but we make a different application of it, and we want to make a better application yet; for it is true if protection was the only panacea required to make a people prosperous, happy, and contented, then these nations would be, for they have adopted it and worked it into their political system most thoroughly, so much so that you can not take a valise across the line into either of these countries without having it searched, and if a few extra cigars or a bottle of wine is found it is sure to be confiscated. And the same law is in Great Britain. Just try and land your valise in Liverpool or Glasgow with a little lot of American tobacco in it and you will see how quick it is seized. And yet she is termed a free-trade country.

So on tea and coffee. The tariff on that in Great Britain is over 100 per cent. So it is clearly to be seen that neither free trade nor protection protects and keeps up the price of labor. Yet protection is the plan and system that labor can be fully protected on; with free trade it can not, and the remedy is legislation, for without legislation on labor the workmen of this country will in the end go the way of all the other nations, and that is, be ground down between the upper and nether mill-stones, no matter which he adopts. But in this country he is safe if he will only exercise his prerogative, and this is the ballot. With this weapon he can accomplish anything in this country he has a mind to, and it is fair to say he wants nothing wrong, but he wants fair play, fair work, and fair wages. If these are provided him he is contented. No people are more easily managed than the working classes. All their aim and hope in this world is to earn an honest living, and all they ask is a chance to do it with fair wages to support their wives and little ones. Give them this and there will be no trouble with the working classes, and this much they are entitled to and ought to have, and legislation must step in and see that they get it. Well, then, how can you remedy that? Well, the plan is this: Let Congress enact a law fixing a minimum price for wages all over this land, from one corner to the other, north, south, east, and west, for men, women, and boys and girls. This being done it will be forever a beacon light to all working people that thus far they can go but no farther. I am safe from being cut below this point. This would be a great blessing to our working classes, and the only measure that will ever give them safety from the oppression of the avaricious manufacturers or capitalists. The great error this generation and all others seem to have, and have had, is that they consider labor is merchandise, and should be treated like any other commodity, when it is plenty it will be cheap and when scarce it will be dear. This view is altogether wrong and never should have existed; yet it is the maxim of all theorists on political economy, and is a dangerous and sad delusion. Labor is not merchandise; it is something higher, nobler, and purer; it is flesh and blood, and as such deserves the full protection of the State; and if the State adopts this plan in its own affairs, why should it not extend it to the nation? It can be done if we only apply ourselves to it. To illustrate: Take the Government employés here in the city of Washington, only one Department, if you please, and that will apply to all the other Departments—say the Treasury Department, for instance; in it they employ over two thousand employés, some receiving ten hundred, some twelve hundred, some fifteen hundred, and others two thousand up to thirty-five hundred a year.

Now, if it is true that labor is merchandise and ebbs and flows with supply and demand, how does it come that if you go to the Secretary of the Treasury and inform him that you will contract to furnish him two thousand employés who will take the places of those he now has, all competent, respectable citizens, and will do the work for just half what he is now paying; that labor is plenty, and that at this price your people are glad to take the job, what would the Secretary of the Treasury say. Do you think he would accept your offer and say, Bring along your men and women, they shall have the places? No indeed, he would not; yet he would be under obligations to do so if there was any reason in the theory that it is every one's duty to employ labor where he can get it the cheapest and that labor is merchandise, for the Government, like all other individuals advertising for merchandise advertises for it and takes it where it gets the lowest and best offer; but in place of this, the Treasurer would say to you: My dear sir, I can not listen to your proposition; if you brought men and women here to take the places of my work-people and do the work for nothing it would make no difference; I can not discharge the workmen on any such a proposition; their wages are fixed by law, by legislation, not by competition, and do not fluctuate with the dull times or the abundance or plentifulness of labor; that we have nothing to do with; that we recognize in purchasing stationery or supplies for the Army or Navy or other Departments, but in no case do we apply it to labor or to those who are employed; if we did, we would never know when or where to stop, for the competition would be so keen to get the places that there would be no telling where it would end, and the Government will not be a party to breaking down wages. Our wages are fixed by law.

Now on this head rests all the labor problem, I mean the competitive part of it, where it is treated on the theory of merchandise, and that the employer has the right to hire as cheap as he can. Well, in answer to that, if that theory is right, then our Government is wrong. I claim if it is right for the Government to adopt this system in the protection of its employés, the same system should be extended all over the land, and a minimum price fixed for labor, that no cruel, overreaching, hard-hearted task-master could overreach; not that all wages should be fixed, but that those who can not protect themselves should be established on a minimum basis. Then let them pay as much as they please over and above this, and while this would be a protection to the working people it would bring no hardship to the employer or those who hire labor, for all would be on an equal footing just the same as work by the day—a day constituting or meaning ten hours' work, and it would be a guaranty to the honest, industrious workman that he would for all time hereafter have a fair wage for his day's labor. Such a movement will of course be bound to meet with severe opposition, but more for a lack of examining into it than from any evil it will entail, for, on the contrary, it will work great good and not in the least disturb any class in the land. It merely is to be a help to that great portion who can not help themselves, and are a continuous prey to the overreaching, who take advantage of their helpless condition, and by this means break the price of labor down to a point that it is almost starvation to accept it, yet they have to do it, accept it or starve, and this is all practiced under the vile system that prevails that labor is merchandise. The well-meaning merchant or business man needs no law to persuade him to do right by his employés, and to their credit there are thousands of them who deeply regret to cut wages and often hesitate long before they do it. But you take one mean, cold-hearted employer in a line of trade where a hundred other employers are and he will compel that hundred to follow him by his commencing the cutting of wages. This is where the evil comes in, and this is where the law would protect the workman and do no injustice to the employer, and would in fact benefit in place of injuring all society. For instance, if by such some plan the wages of the working classes could be advanced, say, on average only 25 cents a day, just think what a ponderous amount of purchasing power that would make—for the working people spend all they make. There is on average something over six million working people who work for wages in the United States. Now, at 25 cents a day extra would make one million and a half a day to go into active circulation for dry goods, groceries, and all the necessaries of life, equal to an increase of five hundred millions of dollars a year, an amount more than the total value of the whole wheat crop of the country.

Just think of this immense sum being expended. It would soon use

up the surplus of merchandise in the country. It would soon empty all your overstocked warehouses, and the great consumption and increased demand from goods would set the whole manufacturing industries in motion—yes, and keep them in motion for all time afterwards—because the work-people would always be assured of having the purchasing power to buy with, and this cutting of wages cripples that power, and the more it is crippled the duller and more stagnant trade will become; and from this comes what is termed over-production, when in fact it is simply under-consumption—a depriving the people by low wages of the power to purchase. And if European governments would adopt such a system they would not need to hunt our markets so anxiously for their manufactures, for then their own people would have some money to buy their own goods with; but as it is, they have not; they simply receive wages enough to purchase the bare necessaries of life, and have little or no money to spend for what is termed the comforts of life, either in food, wearing apparel, or household goods; hence their manufacturers have little trade at home in consequence of the poverty of the people, and therefore seek our markets all the more assiduously; hence it is all the more necessary we should keep up protection by high tariffs, either to limit their consignments or shut them out altogether.

And in order to sustain protection amongst the people we must protect the laborer as well as protect the product of his labor. When we do this, then we will have a firm rock to stand on; and unless we do, that the adversary can continuously point to the fallacies of protection. As to protecting the workman, in some cases it does, but in the majority it does not, and this we want to remedy. And it will also benefit the farmer, an advance in wages, for then these people, who now get a scant living, from their increased income, would be the more able to purchase more of the necessaries of life, such as the farm products of chickens, butter, cheese, milk, and vegetables. In this way the farmers would in turn receive more for their products, could repurchase more of the merchants of his dry goods, groceries, hats, boots, crockery, etc. An increase of this kind would stimulate all the avenues of trade. I do not mention a higher price for wheat, corn, oats, and pork, for supply and demand do not regulate them. They would not be affected either way. Gambling in them is the ruination of the prices, and until that is checked or stopped the farmers' property in these respects will be at their mercy, and the farmer kept in a state of almost dependence on moneyed men in consequence of low prices being fixed on their produce by the gamblers in Chicago.

This also Congress can remedy, and there is a bill now before the House for that purpose, and it is to be hoped will soon become a law, eradicating this evil and establishing the minimum price of labor, say, at $1.50 for men, $1 for women, and 75 cents for boys and girls; this would change and greatly benefit the distressed portion of the people, give a uniform standard of wages, and result in giving better prices for farm produce all over the land and at the same time elevate the whole social fabric of society by giving a spirit of contentedness to all classes in consequence of a betterment of their condition in life by having and being placed in a position where they would have better wages, better prices, and more money to spend in purchasing their necessary comforts; and in support of the necessity of such a law being enacted please let me read an extract from the Washington Republican, February 9, 1888, in relation to the condition of the Lehigh coal miners and their wages, which average them $1 per day:

FRIENDS TO THE MINERS—INDORSING THEIR COURSE AND GIVING THEM FINANCIAL AID.

The meeting called for Grand Army Hall last evening to allow a committee from the strikers in the mining regions of Pennsylvania to present their side of the case was very fairly attended, but was not what one would expect in a city containing over ten thousand Knights of Labor and Trades Unionists. Inquiry developed the fact that the trouble between the Knights of Labor and the Federation of Labor was the cause of the lack of interest. The meeting of last night was under the charge of the professional labor leaders in the Federation, and the Knights generally remained away and expressed their sympathies with the strikers through the medium of their order.

Paul T. Bowen called the meeting to order, announced its object, and, without waiting for the action of the meeting, appointed M. D. Rosenburg and J. M. Boice secretaries and E. W. Oyster, Jesse Lawson, W. H. Stickel, John Suter, and J. J. Foley a committee on resolutions.

Hugh McGarvey, one of the striking Lehigh miners, was the first speaker, and he entertained the audience with a most thorough and concise statement of the many wrongs done to the anthracite miners from 1867 until the present. In nine years the wages of these people suffered a reduction of 40 per cent., and when they remonstrated they were locked out. In fact, they were nothing but slaves. They had repeatedly sent committees to their employers asking for arbitration and offering to allow them to appoint both the arbitrators and referee, but all their offers were ignored and the strike was the result. "In fact," said the gentleman, "we look upon their action as simply being a part of a huge conspiracy to starve us into submission. There are no other anthracite fields, and we can not go elsewhere to look for work. But we are fighting for a principle, and do not intend to give in."

Daniel Duffy, representing the Schuylkill miners, was the next speaker, and bore similar testimony as that of Mr. McGarvey. "They are trying to starve us into submission," said he, "and our condition has for the last ten years been but a little above that point. The average wages of the anthracite coal miners, according to statistics, is $360 per annum, and they are determined to reduce it. The coal operators state that there is no money in that business. It is false. In 1886 the value of the anthracite coal mined was $120,000,000, and they paid wages amounting to $33,000,000. Look at those figures and judge for yourself."

Joseph P. McLeer and J. H. Gleason, in behalf of the Reading Railroad strikers, then told how they were brought into the strike, after which Representatives BRUMM and BOUND, in whose Congressional districts nearly all of the striking miners live, made short addresses approving the cause of the strikers and pledging their assistance.

Resolutions denunciatory of the wrongs done the strikers, urging them to hold out, and pledging moral and financial support were then adopted. The hat was passed for subscriptions, and on motion the chair was authorized to appoint a committee to call upon the business men for contributions.

Also let me read an extract from the Irish World on the same subject, which places the wages of sewing women in New York at $2.50 to $5 per week.

THE LABOR FIELD—WHERE PHILANTHROPY FAILS.

The truth of the patriot's charge,

"Who would be free themselves must strike the blow,"

finds many an illustration outside of wars and revolutions. It is seen in every condition of life and field of effort where any one element of society is dependent upon another for the means of subsistence or the determining of its rights. The good-natured interference of philanthropists may direct a temporary attention to the existence of a wrong, but unless the sufferers by that wrong themselves assume an attitude of resistance and protest against the injustice done them they need expect but little benefit from the sympathy of the disinterested. The world is too engrossed in its conflicting selfish interests to pause to examine conditions where the machinery does not creak and where no complaint is heard. It is only where there is evidence of friction endangering other interests, when resistance is made so positive as to interfere with the public convenience, that the people are roused sufficiently to investigate and regulate the wrong.

The gradual reduction of the hours of labor, the increase of wages in well-organized industries, the recognition by employers of rules submitted by their associated employés, all those gradual modifications of the methods governing our industrial system are the result of organized and preconcerted efforts of the wage-workers in those industries in which the great body of the employés act as a disciplined organization and press their cause upon public attention with intelligence and persistency. The contrast between the conditions prevailing in those industries which are thus organized and in those in which competition is allowed full sway amongst the wage-workers without any restraint of common interest is so glaring as to leave no room for doubt as to the advantages of organization.

There are upwards of forty thousand saleswomen in New York City whose hours of labor average from ten to fifteen per day, whose compensation is from $2.50 a week and upwards, and who are, as a class, subjected to humiliating and oppressive rules and fines which to many make life a burden, but who are fearful of making their grievances known lest their discharge would immediately follow. They have no organization. There is apparently an inexhaustible army of competitors anxious to take their places if they were to attempt any resistance. Their immediate needs are so pressing, and their wretched wages leaving no margin upon which to subsist if deprived of employment, that they find themselves practically helpless under the stress of existing circumstances, and feel that they have no alternative but to accept such terms as unthinking, heartless, or avaricious competitors employing them may see fit to offer. Thus it is that the average pay of the saleswomen who must support themselves in the great metropolis is about $5 a week and for thousands of them only half that figure.

The philanthropist shudders at the contemplation of the great wrong done this oppressed class and the awful moral dangers necessarily attending such conditions. But of what avail is the pity? The employers claim that they are forced by competiton to reduce the wages and that at those figures an abundance of labor is begging to be employed. The public are searching for the cheapest product regardless of the fact that the needlewoman or saleswoman may be hungry. And so the cry of the sentimental reformer is forgotten and the girls must for 40 cents a day stand ten hours behind the counter selling shirts for which the needlewoman has been paid less than 2 cents for stitching.

It is obvious that something more than tears of sympathetic observers are required for the solution of a problem such as this. It calls for an active public agitation of the questions involved in these grievous conditions. It is encouraging to note that recently a workingmen's organization has been founded and a beginning made in the work of practical self-help by the sufferers themselves, and the Irish World extends to the organizers of the movement its congratulations and assurances of cordial support in all well-directed efforts to bring to their relief the support of an organized and powerful agitation.

It furnishes an opportunity for the various organizations of workingmen, and especially for the management of District Assembly 49 of the Knights of Labor, with its powerful machinery of agitation, to render a service to the labor movement and to the public. The actual facts could be ascertained without making necessary the identification of the workwomen making them known, and a vigorous discussion in the public press could be forced by the organizations and a public sentiment aroused which would compel a readjustment of conditions and a recognition of the rights of those female wage-workers who are now practically helpless in the most abject conditions.

The machinery necessary for arousing such an agitation and making it practically effective is already possessed by the workingmen's organizations, provided they have only the co-operation of the workingwomen. The Irish World would be pleased to see such an honorable and praiseworthy movement undertaken with a will, and were the suggestion acted upon it would not be a mere spectator, but would lend the agitation its cordial support.

Also, please let me read an extract on American pauper labor, so called, from the Washington Post, April 2, 1888, showing the urgent necessity of protecting labor; and if not done, we will soon be as bad here as in Europe:

AMERICAN PAUPER LABOR—MRS. MARGUERITE MOORE'S COMPARISON OF IRELAND AND AMERICA.

The Anti-Poverty Society held an open meeting last night in Grand Army Hall. The room was packed and the applause was loud and long. Mrs. Marguerite Moore was the first speaker. After reviewing briefly the struggles and sufferings of the Irish peasantry against hard and merciless landlords, she paused and said: "Don't look at Ireland; look to your land theories at home. The land robbery of Ireland is growing rapidly in America to-day. Labor in America is being crushed by landlordism just as it is in Ireland. Sewing women in New York are making underwear at 75 cents and less a dozen, and American-made underwear is being sold to such an extent in London and throughout England that the press over there are talking about shutting out the products of American pauper labor."

Miss Hulda B. Loud, a small, nervous, typical Yankee schoolmarm, with a sweet, engaging face, followed in a talk which she described as a "butterfly ramble." It was more of a bee's busy flight, for wherever her thoughts carried her her tongue picked out a kernel of truth. "I have no particular pride in Massachusetts," said she. "I am proud when she does anything worthy of pride, but I fear she is lagging hopelessly in the rear of economic reform. I believe in Henry George's plan of taxing land values, not because I believe it to be a cure-all, but because I regard it as the first necessary step. I am not afraid of a name. I am an anarchist in so far as I believe in the individual and in individual action. I am a socialist in so far as I believe that man must help his brother and is dependent on his brother."

Also, I desire to read an extract from the Washington Republican,

February 24, 1888, giving an account of how the miners in the coal regions live and their wretched condition:

HOW THE MINERS LIVE—ONE OF THEM TELLS OF THEIR WRETCHED CONDITION UNDER COMPANY RULES.

HAZELTON, PA., *February* 23.

D. M. Evans, a practical miner, was examined by the Congressional investigating committee this morning. He referred to the strike in the Lehigh regions and the demands made in August, the refusal to arbitrate, which resulted in a strike. He related the pitiable condition of the miners, saying they were obliged to trade at the stores of the company, and some never saw a dollar in cash. They were unable to get sufficient to eat, and could scarcely buy a calico dress for their wives. The average earnings of the miners would not exceed $30 per month, and out of this the miners took $1.95 annually for taxes. The men were charged $2.10 per ton for coal, and were obliged to pay for a certain quantity whether they used it or not. Married men were taxed $9 and single men $6 per year for the company's doctor. Rents were from $5 25 to $7.50 per month for houses worth not more than $250 or $300. When there was a birth in a family $7 or $8 in addition to the regular tax was deducted for the physician.

He then discussed the company-store business, saying the miners were charged 10 to 15 per cent. more for articles than at individual stores. There was no compulsion to purchase at the company's stores, no threats of discharge if they did not, but there were other methods of coercion. A miner, for instance, when his breast of coal was worked out would find no more work for him and would be compelled to return to the grade of an inside laborer. Of late, however, the men were getting out of that serfdom, and the evil of the store system did not extend as universally as theretofore. Evictions were not unusual. Accounts were submitted showing that after working for months for the company the men were still in debt to the operators. On cross-examination he said that $1.30 would be more rather than less what it would cost to mine a ton of coal. The cost of transportation was $1.80. He then spoke of the great exodus of miners from the region. The next witness was James Broderick, whose evidence was substantially on the same line.

I also desire to read you an extract from a New York paper, to show the contrast of living in this our land of boasted equal rights.

COACHES IN PARADE—SEVEN IN LINE IN PROCESSION THROUGH THE PARK.

The New York Coaching Club had its annual parade yesterday, making the start at 5.10 p. m. in the central drive at Central Park. Hugo Fritsch, formerly Austrian consul, was the first to arrive, with his bay and roan leaders and brown and bay wheelers in front of a yellow-bodied carriage. On the coach with him were Mrs. Fritsch, Mr. and Mrs. Elliott Roosevelt, Hamilton Carey, and Miss Gibert. E. M. Padelford and his "stag" party, including T. H. Howard, F. O. Beach, A. T. French, Center Hitchcock, and E. C. Porter, were the next ones to pass into the park through the Eighth avenue entrance. The other coaches were: Col. William Jay, on which were the Colonel and Mrs. Jay, A. Thorndike Rice, and Mrs. Burke-Roche; Prescott Lawrence's, carrying Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, Woodbury Kane, Miss May Brady, Frank Griswold, and Miss Florence Griswold; Fairman Rogers's, which bore on top Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, and Mr. and Mrs. Evans R. Dick, of Philadelphia, Walter R. Furness, and Mrs. Nicholas Fish; Dr. W. Seward Webb's, on which were Dr. and Mrs. Webb, Louis Webb, Miss Hall, and Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Sloane; and Secretary Frederic Bronson's coach, bearing Mr. and Mrs. Bronson, Mr. and Mrs. Gerald L. Hoyt, W. P. Wetmore, and Miss H. Beckwith.

The drags were drawn up in line about a length apart, in this order: President Jay, Dr. Webb, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Fritsch, Mr. Padelford, and Mr. Bronson. They stood still long enough for two photographers to flash their cameras at them, and then started. The string of four-in-hands went up the central drive to the Webster statue, when they turned into the west drive and tooled it to the north end of the park, back along the east drive, and separated at the lower end of the mall. About forty covers were laid in the big dining room of the Brunswick at the club's annual banquet in the evening.

Also, please let me read an extract from a New York paper, February 25, 1888, on "Sons of Rich Men."

SONS OF RICH MEN.

We have hundreds of men in this city whose fathers idiotically provide them with spending money galore.

What do they do with it?

Well, as a rule they spend their time sucking alternately the end of a cigar and the knob of a cane. They wander vapidly about the streets, looking in at this theater or that, play billiard in cafés, and drink themselves into early graves. Suggest to these New York dudes a life of athleticism. They are too retired. Open up to them the enjoyment possible to a genuine club life. Let them see what genuine hospitality means. Show them how much better it is to spend an evening with intelligent men discussing matters of interest, new discoveries, new appliances, new forces, than it is to spend it with a first-rate hoyden on a third-class spree.

Do you think they would understand you?—*New York Graphic.*

Now, Mr. Speaker, while there is no law and never can well be a law to regulate man's industry or his right to accumulate means as he pleases so long as he does no injury to his fellow-man, yet, such being the case, where such glaring contrast is possible in the midst of this glorious Republic, where all are considered free and equal, is it not all the more demanding of us as the people's representatives that some means should be adopted and a law enacted that, while it will not remedy or regulate all the evils of society in the wage system, will at least be a protection to that great and well-meaning class who can not help themselves? On this question, Mr. Speaker, I look with more anxiety and concern than all the other public questions put together, and I have taken the liberty of introducing a bill to endeavor to meet this great question, and all I hope is its defects will be pointed out and remedied by those who are wiser on the subject than I am and the proper method laid out and adopted that will meet the end for which the bill is desired. Certainly something ought to be done that will bring peace, plenty, and contentment not only to the working people of this great land but the world over; and in place of our attempting to compete with the world in reducing wages in order to control the trade of the world, let them on the other side strive rather to follow us in adopting such wise measures as we may enact in the elevating of their own people and raising their standard of wages by following us up in place of us following them down. In this rests all the tariff question.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONAS G. HOWARD,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

June, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. HOWARD said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The vast area of our country, its rich soil, its variety of climate, its inimitable mineral and other resources, its paucity of population, for so extensive a territory, and the wonderful improvement and utilization of machinery in the last twenty-five years in all the industrial enterprises of the country, render our ability to produce largely in excess of our capacity to consume. With the aid of machinery one million men can now produce as much as five millions could without such aid a few years ago. Hence the manufacturers and farmers are able to produce enough to supply the demands of the home market with one-fifth the number of laborers it required in former years. This results in cheapening the production but lessens the demand for labor. All the work now done in the United States could be performed with one-third, perhaps with one-half, less laborers than we now have, if constantly employed. All the labor troubles that have afflicted the business community from time to time, during the last fifteen years, are traceable, in the main, to the fact that the supply of labor is largely in excess of the demand for its services, and this excess of supply over the demand is constantly increasing, notwithstanding we have been living for the last twenty-seven years under a high protective tariff. We would have no trouble with labor if there were plenty of work at good living wages to keep all employed.

Every instinct of humanity and self-preservation demands that whatever can should be done to ameliorate the condition of labor in this country. Labor produces all the wealth, supports the Government in time of peace, and fights its battles in time of war, and the voice of the laboring class is more potential at the polls than all others. Hence the greater the necessity that the laborer be kept as near as possible upon the plane of independent citizenship, for as is the spirit of our people so will be that of our Government. Hence it is to the interest of all that the laborers be furnished with steady employment at good living prices. The last fifteen years have demonstrated beyond peradventure our inability to give steady employment to all our labor so long as our industries limit their productions to the demand of the home market, which they can supply and remain idle half the time. If our home market was what our Republican friends claim for it this condition of things would not exist. What, therefore, is needed most is a market for everything and all that we can produce in this country.

If we had such market we could keep constantly employed every man in the country. But such a market can only be had by increasing our foreign trade; and our foreign trade can not well be increased without a very material modification in the tariff. In suggesting a remedy for the then existing condition of things, President Arthur, in his last message to Congress, said: "One of the greatest of the problems which appeal to the wisdom of Congress for solution is the ascertainment of the most effective means for increasing our foreign trade, and thus relieving our industries from the depression under which they are now languishing." And Hon. Hugh McColloch, Republican Secretary of the Treasury, in his last report to Congress, in December, 1884, said: "The time has now come when the manufacturing industries of the United States are in dire distress from a plethora of manufactured goods; that the existing iron, cotton, and woolen mills, if employed at heir full capacity, could meet in six months, perhaps in a shorter time, the home demand for a year. It is certain, therefore, unless markets now practically closed against us are opened, unless we can share in the trade which is now monopolized by European nations, the depression now so sorely felt will continue, and may become more disastrous. The question, how shall our foreign trade be increased? is the question which now comes to the front and demands prompt and careful consideration."

If the duties on raw material are an obstruction, those duties should be removed. If the duties on other articles are an obstruction they should be modified. Whatever may be required to increase our foreign trade, whether it be a repeal or a modification of existing duties, should be demanded in the interest of the manufacturers themselves. This vigorous assault by a Republican administration upon a tariff system which has practically destroyed our foreign trade and stands as an impassable barrier to its restoration, has caused increased effort on the part of the protectionists in defense of their favorite policy. This is manifest by the organization of "Home Market Clubs" in certain districts, and composed in the main by the owners of protected industries. Boston has a "Home Market Club," but no "Home Market Club" will be found in the great West among the farmers who have to sell

their corn at from 12 to 18 cents per bushel and their wheat from 40 to 60 cents per bushel. The principal mission of the "Home Market Club" is to magnify the importance of our home market, and to try to convince the people of the impracticability of increasing our foreign trade.

The protectionists know that an increase of foreign trade means a modification of the tariff. They know that the present high-protective tariff and a remunerative and profitable foreign trade can not exist together. Hence the Home Market Club's hostility to any measure looking to an interference with the tariff, or a repeal or modification of any of its provisions. In February last Senator SHERMAN addressed the Boston Home Market Club, and in the course of his remarks said that the annual value of our agricultural productions is over $8,000,000,000, and that less than 7 per cent. of the same found a market abroad. Though doubtless through inadvertence, these statements of the Senators are incorrect and calculated to mislead. The annual value of our agricultural products is less than $3,500,000,000, instead of $8,000,000,000 as the Senator stated, and at least 26 per cent. of the farmers' surplus has to find a market in foreign countries or rot in the bins.

About two-fifths of the farmers' productions in this country are consumed by themselves. They and their families comprise about 30,000,000 or one-half our population. The other three-fifths, which is $2,100,000,000, constitute the surplus the farmers have to put upon the market, of which they sold in foreign markets in 1887 $522,000,000, and in the home market $1,577,000,000, which latter amount is only three times greater than the amount sold in the foreign market. I invite the attention of the farmers and manufacturers to a careful consideration of the foregoing statements, and call upon them to answer whether they are willing to be restricted in a market for their productions to 60,000,000 people, or will they demand the right to go with their productions into the markets of the world, in which there are 1,400,000,000 people, and to whose homes and habitations great free natural highways have been provided for our commerce?

Under our tariff system in force for more than twenty-five years last past England has monopolized the trade of the American continent outside of the United States. She annually sells to Mexico of her productions more than $750,000,000, while the United States sell less than $12,000,000, sixty times less than England, whose trade with Mexico alone is almost as large as that of the United States with all foreign nations. This condition of things is now existing, and has for a long time past, while the products of our farmers have been rotting in the bins, and many of our manufacturing establishments are and have been running on half time for want of a market for their productions. Is there a farmer who desires a continuance of this policy which has reduced him to a hewer of wood and drawer of water in the interest of the favored few? Hence it is to the interest of both the farmer and manufacturer that the tariff should be so modified and readjusted as to encourage the increase of our foreign trade, and that the industries and labor of the country be relieved from the depression under which they are now languishing.

Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN H. ROGERS,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, July 6, 1888,

On the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROGERS said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I voted yesterday, as the RECORD shows, against the passage of the substitute of the majority of the Committee on Public Lands for the Senate bill forfeiting certain land grants. The roll-call disclosed the fact that no quorum was present, and the House adjourned. To accommodate my friend from Florida, who favored the bill, I paired with him, and therefore did not vote on the passage of the substitute this morning. Had I voted I should have voted in the negative to-day.

On yesterday I voted for the Payson amendment, which forfeited all land not coterminous with constructed roads. That amendment I believe, after careful examination, to be the law upon the subject of forfeitures. My views are fortified by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Schulenberg *vs.* Harriman (21 Wallace), by the opinions of two Attorneys-General of the United States, by the repeated action of both Houses of Congress, and by the uniform action of the Executive Departments of the Government, including the present Administration, notably in the case of the Backbone Railroad in Louisiana, determined when Mr. Justice Lamar was Secretary of the Interior. No one expects the Senate bill as amended by the House to pass the Senate or to become law, and I am not willing, in view of these facts and where important interests of the people are involved, to surrender my convictions upon a matter of principle unless better reasons can be given than have been assigned.

If this Senate bill, as amended by the House, should become law, it will, in my opinion, be an unfortunate piece of legislation. In my humble judgment it can only result in endless litigation, widespread disturbance of titles long since settled, the retarding of the future development of many sections of the country, where settlements have begun on the basis of the law as settled by the courts and the Executive Departments of the United States, and the repeated action of Congress, to the great annoyance of many people, and that no good can come of it not obtainable through the Payson amendment, which avoided all these objections and accomplished all that the United States can now accomplish by forfeitures or otherwise in regard to these grants. I have never voted to give a railroad company one acre of land. I have always been opposed to that policy. I am ready now, as the Payson amendment proposes, to forfeit every acre of "unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party," as provided in the platform of the Democratic party in 1884, and steadily adhered to by it ever since.

I regard it as unwise that we should defeat the forfeiture of the unearned lands, as contemplated by the Payson amendment, which we all agree can be done and should be done, by a fruitless effort to do what we can not do, and never have done in a single instance in the history of this land-forfeiture legislation. If these unearned lands be not forfeited by this Congress, another Congress will find many of these roads constructed, and the lands now forfeitable will have become non-forfeitable, and the people's rights forever gone. These being my convictions, my duty as a legislator impels me to vote against the substitute offered by the Committee on Public Lands for the Senate bill, and to express the hope that when this bill goes into conference its conferees will recede, and thereby secure the immediate forfeiture of all the forfeitable lands now, while we may, and before the power to do so shall be lost by the construction of the roads.

My duty is made doubly clear, because the third section of the Payson amendment reserves the right to forfeit hereafter the lands which are coterminous with the constructed roads. If that can be done at all it can be done hereafter, and hence there is no sound legislative or business reason for not adopting the Payson amendment now and dealing with the other question, if it shall be decided that we can do so, hereafter, when we shall run no risk of losing the lands covered by the Payson amendment.

Forfeiture of Lands Granted to Railroads.

REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 5, 1888,

On the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes.

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: There is without doubt need of legislation on the subject of forfeiting grants of public lands that have at different times heretofore been made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads.

Having served in the Forty-ninth Congress and also in the present Congress on the Committee on Public Lands, it is a subject to which I have given some considerable study.

I was present when the committee considered and discussed the present bill, but was unavoidably absent when the reports were made. Whilst I favor legislation on the subject the proposed bill of the majority is not satisfactory to me. The bill offered by the minority, Mr. PAYSON and others, is a better measure although not perfect, and I will vote for it as the matter is now presented. I wish to say that no matter which bill may be adopted by this House, on final passage I will vote for it. Not because I think the bill proposed by the majority of the committee is what it should be, but in order that the subject may go to a conference committee.

If the matter goes to a conference committee I would expect a more satisfactory measure, and in any event we would have opportunity to vote upon it again.

Some of the land grants were improvidently made, and have been the cause of large bodies of public lands passing into the hands of a few parties. They have not tended to an occupancy of the lands by actual settlers. They were all severally made on condition that certain public works should be made and completed. In all cases where there has been no substantial compliance with the conditions we should now avail ourselves of the provisions in the granting acts and reclaim the lands for the Government.

Some of the companies have done little or nothing toward the works

in aid of which the lands were given. In such clear cases we should at once forfeit all. Others have partly built their lines and we can readily make a division of the grants. I am opposed to the proposition, even if we have the power, to forfeit lands where the roads are now actually completed as required by the granting acts, even if partly completed out of time.

But, as I understand the decisions of the United States courts, Congress has now no power to forfeit grants where the roads have been completed, even out of time, and inspected and accepted by the Government. For this reason I can see no use of discussing extreme measures, such as have been proposed.

There are rights of third parties in all these causes that should be carefully guarded. The railroad companies have sold lands to innocent purchasers who have settled upon them and improved them, believing the company could make good title. I can see no justice or policy in forfeiting such lands; especially as the Government would allow 160 acres to be taken free as homesteads as soon as it would recover the land.

In all such cases the rights of actual settlers should be carefully guarded, and I am satisfied there are many cases of purchasers in good faith who are not settlers who deserve consideration. I consider this only in line with the policy of preserving our public lands for actual settlers and treating with the greatest liberality all citizens who improve them for homes.

In our desire to recover lands for the people we should always bear in mind that it is best policy to deal justly with all, and I would apply this alike to the companies to which the grants were made as well as innocent purchasers and actual settlers. One thing more: I consider it important that we should pass some bill this session. Delay loses the power of Congress to forfeit lands. A moderate, reasonable bill, such as should have been passed in the Forty-ninth Congress, would have saved several millions of acres of land to the Government that are to-day beyond our reach. Next session we will have less power than now.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONAS G. HOWARD,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 7, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. HOWARD said:

Mr. SPEAKER: If our Constitution grants the power to lay and collect taxes on imports for the sole and direct purpose of aiding and encouraging private and individual enterprise, and such power is only limited by legislative discretion, as is claimed by our Republican friends, then indeed does it fail to protect the people from the most dangerous power that ever tempted human ambition. But we deny the existence of any such power. The first clause of the eighth section of the Constitution declares that the Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. It has never been claimed that the power in question existed or could be exercised under this clause, inasmuch as the Constitution is one of limited and enumerated powers, and none of them can be rightfully exercised beyond the scope of the objects specified in those powers. But our Republican friends maintain that Congress have constitutional authority to regulate commerce for the purpose of aiding and encouraging private and individual enterprise.

Now, does any one believe that if the framers of the Constitution had intended that Congress should exercise such power, they would have withheld an express grant of such power, when in the convention an attempt was made to introduce into the Constitution a power to encourage manufactures? And is it reasonable to presume that the framers of the Constitution, after withholding an express grant of such power, could have intended that such power existed by construction, or implication, in that clause of the Constitution which authorizes Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States, a subject so remote from and foreign to that of regulating manufactures? The truth is, power to tax the whole community for the private benefit of a few has no warrant in the Constitution, and it has no other foundation for its exercise than that dangerous plea of necessity, a plea which recognizes necessity as the measure of the power of the Constitution, and those who exercise the power as the judges of the necessity—a principle antagonistic to free government and the rights and privileges of the people; a principle that through all the ages has made the government the master and the people the subjects.

The tendency of power has ever been to overleap the limitation placed upon it and intrench upon the reserved rights of the people. Our Government was formed by the people. They are the creators; the Government is the creature. All governmental power is derived from the people, and is held in trust for the sole use and benefit of the people; and so long as their public servants, in the execution of this public trust, obey the limitations placed upon power, so long will the liberties of the people be secure and no longer. It is to the abuse of power that the downfall of every free government is traceable. It is in the main by the aid of legislation that about five thousand men have heaped up wealth in their own hands amounting to $20,000,000,000, half the entire wealth of a nation of 60,000,000 people. This vast wealth could not have been thus massed into the hands of so few without governmental aids; yet in the name of labor, much of this wealth is still clamoring for governmental protection and aid in their individual enterprises, which can only be given at the expense of the great body of the people. The old maxim that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" should admonish the people that they are the guardians and custodians of their own liberties, and that nothing more seriously menaces those liberties than the permission and exercise of unwarranted power which alone their vigilance can avert.

Irrigation of the Arid Region of the United States.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH K. TOOLE,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10340) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. TOOLE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The statesmen of this day and generation, with commendable zeal and variability, are engaged in the solution of the important problem of how to prevent an accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury beyond the amount necessary for an economical administration of the Government without impairing our home industries and without injuriously affecting American labor. The proper solution of the problem is of the highest concern to this Republic. There is a wide divergence between the two great political parties upon this question, with no possibility of an agreement before another election.

Holding this view and desiring to mitigate in some degree an existing evil, as well as to promote and encourage a well-considered scheme, I venture to bring to the attention of the House a meritorious and altogether feasible plan of disposing of a considerable amount of the money already accumulated in the Treasury, and by which new life and prosperity will be infused into a section of our common country hitherto largely neglected. I refer to a system of governmental irrigation in the Territories of the United States by means of dams and reservoirs, whereby the 1,000,000 square miles of land now absolutely sterile and worthless and which needs only water to be rendered productive will be reclaimed for the use of the citizen. Many of you, indeed I may say all of you, with a few exceptions, come from localities where the rainfall is sufficient to secure the growth of crops without irrigation, and I think for this reason I may fairly infer that the subject is not a familiar one to you. The amendment proposed by me and just sent to the Clerk's desk, is intended to give to the Director of the Geological Survey a comparatively small amount of money with which to initiate the enterprise, and is as follows:

For the purpose of investigating the extent to which the arid region of the United States can be redeemed by irrigation, and the segregation of the irrigable lands in such arid region, and for the selection of sites for reservoirs and other hydraulic works necessary for the storage and utilization of water for irrigation, and to make the necessary maps, including the pay of employés in field and in office, the cost of all instruments, apparatus, and materials, and all other necessary expenses connected therewith, the work to be performed by the Geological Survey, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, the sum of $250,000.

I beg the indulgence of the House while I read an extract from an interesting pamphlet published by Mr. Charles D. Parton, late commissioner of the United States in Asia, upon the subject we are now considering. What he says of California, Arizona, and Mexico is true of a large part of Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Dakota.

Irrigation existed in Egypt before the pyramids were erected. It has fed the millions of Asia since the creation of the world. It nurtured Rome into existence, and was practiced in America before Columbus discovered the New World, and yet the people of the United States east of the Mississippi River know but little about it and care less.

The Moors introduced irrigation into Spain, and the Spaniards imported an imperfect system of irrigation into Mexico, Texas, California, etc. The Valley of the Nile has yielded its fruitful abundance from irrigated lands for countless ages, and Cato wrote learnedly advocating its introduction into Italy; but the greatest achievement of modern times has been the improvement of the system of irrigation in the East Indies by the British Government of India. Irrigation in the East Indies antedates all history; the Great Mogul gave it a grand impetus during the magnificence of his reign.

When the British Government (after the Sepoy mutiny) took over the control

of more than two hundred and fifty millions of subjects in India, the first duty of statesmanship was to provide labor and food for the people, and this has been accomplished by the extension of a system of irrigating canals unequaled in the world. Famine in India is rendered impossible, as long as the Himalayas give their melted snows to fructify the Indian valleys. The Ganges Canal, with its branches, is 3,500 miles long.

Among other duties in the service of the Government of the United States, it was a pleasure, nearly twenty years ago, to investigate and report upon the system of irrigation throughout Asia; and in this service I learned much in Japan, China, India, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt; and subsequently observed much on the subject in Italy and Spain. In California, as early as 1850, it gratified a youthful curiosity to follow the irrigating ditches which those primitive people had made, and subsequently the grand irrigating canals in Arizona and Northern Mexico excited a lively interest in a lost and perished race, who have left little or no other evidence of their existence upon earth.

It was my fortune, or misfortune, to traverse the Rio Grande nearly a third of a century ago, where I found a thriftless, lazy class of people basking in the opulence of eternal sunshine, and deriving their meager subsistence from the richest soil in the world by the most primitive methods of agriculture, and when I left the Rio Grande in May last there was scarcely a perceptible improvement in agriculture. The people are too lazy to turn over in bed; and with a soil that will produce onions, emitting no more smell than a turnip, I will solemnly swear they were importing onions from Spain.

While the people of California have built an empire on the Pacific which is the admiration of the world, and the great West goes marching on, the people on the Rio Grande plow with a stick, dig fuel with a hoe, and cut hay with an ax. They irrigate nothing but their throats. In fact, since enterprising people have built railroads to their doors, they have ceased producing anything and import everything. The advance in real estate enables them to occupy a fundamental position—waiting for strangers to come along and buy lots. The grapes of the Rio Grande are of a different quality and flavor from those grown elsewhere, and what little wine they make is consumed with avidity in the valley. They have ceased to grow wheat, and import flour. (They used to sell flour to the Government at 12½ cents per pound.)

WATER, WATER, EVERYWHERE! AND NOT A DROP TO IRRIGATE.

The greatest prerequisite to success in agriculture, fruit raising, etc., in the Western States and Territories is water. A constant and abundant supply of water is the true key to Western progress and development. In nearly all of that country the rainfall is totally insufficient, and not to be relied upon; hence Western people have been forced to study the problem of irrigation. Having been forced to look into this question, we naturally try to trace up its origin and history.

The system found in California and in this country has been bequeathed to us by Mexico, and was inherited by them from Spain. Looking further back, we find that it was one among the many good gifts which the Moors gave to Spain when they overran that country in the eighth century. Whether the Moors obtained it direct from the Arabs, or took it from the Egyptians, we are unable to determine at this late day. But in inquiring after its still more ancient origin and source, we must not stop this side of the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. If we start here, in the dim and shadowy ages of antiquity, beyond which even tradition becomes unintelligible, we will find that, with few exceptions, the highest types of civilization and the brightest examples of progress and prosperity have been located, sustained, and nurtured by systems of irrigation.

ANCIENT IRRIGATION.

The glory, grandeur, and wealth of royal Babylon, of Nineveh, Thebes, Bagdad, Cairo, and Memphis, around which, as common centers, the civilization of great periods of time hung and radiated, were all attributable to and dependent upon the agricultural perfection surrounding them, and made possible by irrigation. We might go further and say that it has been the support and sustenance of the civilized world long after the cessation of Roman sway. For none will fail to recognize that the Nile country alone supported what was known as the Roman world, and that Egypt was also regarded as the granary of the empire. The Egyptian people were overthrown and vanished, but their system of irrigation survived and gave sustenance to civilization, and remained intact throughout all the vicissitudes and changes. If anything, irrigation was better in the days of Semiramis than in the days of Boabdil, although, like the other concomitants of the beautiful Alhambra, orchards, vineyards, and meadows, as then seen along the banks of the Guadalquiver, speak of a splendid development, both material and intellectual. The Moors obtained from their Arab progenitors a taste for astronomy and some inclination towards practical mathematics, and to some extent we find applied mathematics in its crude state assisting in making large portions of their country bloom and blossom as the rose by the ingenious devices which the Moors had of supplying water to the gardens, orchards, vineyards, and beautiful meadows which dotted old Hispania during their occupancy.

It is a fact which can not be controverted that after the reconquest of Spain and the expulsion of the Moriscoes Spain began to decline. The splendid schools of Granada and the numerous manufactories of Valencia and other places gradually faded away and left Spain without any support save that which she gathered by the sword, for she had neglected almost entirely her irrigation system; and the apology for one which we have, and which was found in California when that State was acquired, is the system handed down by the successors of those Spaniards who vanquished and expelled the Moriscoes from Spain.

PROGRESS REQUIRED.

It is my purpose now to show the inadequacy of this system, and the present results of it, as compared with the capabilities and possibilities of a new system which the progressive American demands and will have. We have touched but very briefly upon its antiquity, for the reason that four-fifths, we might even say nine-tenths, of English-speaking people are practically unacquainted with this system. Their civilization, comparatively speaking, is in its infancy; it is still jejune, and has grown up in a climate of moisture and regular rainfall, and operating upon what might be termed virgin soil, and until recently the people of the United States had no necessity of irrigation. But times are changing and the time will come when four-fifths of the population of America may be dependent upon irrigation in their agricultural pursuits. Then, we say, we will do well to look into this question, and when the American idea once takes hold of it systems new and prolific will evolve wonderful results.

Having brought the reader down to the consideration of this point, we make the broad statement that the results of irrigation in California, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico show, in a large majority of instances, an increase of 100 per cent. over results dependent upon rainfall alone in the Eastern and Middle States. The history of the West proves this statement to be correct. This once admitted, then in the valley of the Rio Grande the soil, the climate, and the water must cause the reader to stop and investigate with renewed and eager interest the conditions and statements which are placed before them.

THE AMERICAN NILE.

Our Rio Grande is the American Nile. The similarity is complete—the analogy remarkable. The Nile has its source in the interior of Africa, in the lakes of Herodotus, of Livingston, and of Stanley, the Alps of Abyssinia, many of which are covered in their winter-time by heavy masses of snow. The lower portions of the great plateau are visited during April by perfect deluges of rain, such as only tropical countries can produce. The accumulation of these torrential rains and the melting of the Alpine snows cause the river to rise with almost clock-like regularity between the 1st and 5th days of May, and by the end of that month it is booming and bank full. The turbid floods go tearing their way through rough defiles and deep cañons that fissure a volcanic country, the formation of which, travelers tell us, is very much like that of Colorado, with limestone, granite, and occasional vast trachyte formations predominating. The waters become thoroughly charged with a combination of mineral ingredients, which contain in themselves all the elements of fertility. When the turbid floods reach the great valley of Nubia and Egypt they are of a slimy consistence, and about the beginning of June, just before the annual planting time begins in that country, they commence to overflow their banks and spread over the valley lands, which have been in a state of cultivation ever since Abraham's time and probably long before. Whatever the crops of the preceding year may have abstracted from the soil is more than restored by the abundant deposit of fertile mud which the river leaves behind when its period of boom is over. The lands are found covered with a crust of stiff slime, containing lime, potash, chlorides, ammonia, and various other valuable ingredients. Into this rich slime the Egyptian fellah casts his seed, and in an incredibly short time, with scarcely any cultivation, and only such subsequent and additional irrigation as the reservoirs filled during the river's rise will allow, he reaps more than a hundred-fold. No manure is ever applied, but the soil is constantly getting richer, and bears at the present day, after a thousand years of neglect and mismanagement, better crops than in the days of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies.

THE RIO GRANDE.

High up on the interior plateau of Southern Colorado, in the legendary country of San Juan, among wild crags and heaven-aspiring battlements covered with eternal snow, rises the Rio Grande, or as the Spaniards, who must have seen it first some time in May or June, 1538, called it the Brave River of the North. It rises in the great porphyritic formation of the San Juan, near Ouray and Lake City, and is fed by the immense snow masses that almost constantly cover that inhospitable country. It tears its way out like a young giant, grinding the rocks to pieces as it goes along, and becomes surcharged with their mineral constituents, identically the same that the waters of the Nile contain, and only adding an immense quantity of aluminoid detritus, which makes it muddier even than the Missouri itself.

The similarity of the chemical constituents of the two kinds of water has often been noted by scientific travelers and experts. Both, after being allowed to settle, show a liquid of limpid purity, and of remarkably pleasant taste and wholesome character. But in their native turbulency both are equally muddy, and leave the same thick sediment of slimy mud behind after their waters recede from an overflow. This takes place with our Rio Grande usually in May and June, when the immense snow masses of the San Juan country begin to melt. Then the river plays some fantastic pranks, occasionally overflowing its banks from foot-hill to foot-hill.

These amiable eccentricities will have to be curbed when the population of the valley becomes denser and more Americanized. Judicious rip-rapping at exposed angles, and a general planting of the banks with willows and Bermuda grass, and the building of the great canal, will prevent overflows except by means of the irrigating channels.

This annual rise of our Rio Grande begins at the very time when irrigation becomes necessary—immediately when ready for the plow and the seed. It continues during June and July, and usually lasts long enough to tie on to the rainy season of July and August.

The system of ditches is at present badly planned and very inadequate for the purpose intended. The acequia madre which supplies Paso del Norte with water, is about as good a specimen of an irrigating ditch, planned and executed by Mexican labor only, as we can find in the valley. There is at present scarcely any systematic attempt along the whole course of the river, from the northern boundary of New Mexico down to where the cañon country below the mouth of the Concho River commences to construct suitable dams below the points where it is intended to take out acequias, and thus obtain a full head and a constant supply of water at a comparatively trifling expense. All these points will come to be better understood and executed after awhile, when a pushing and energetic American population occupies the valley and converts its fertile but now unused lands into vineyards and orchards.

The construction of a great irrigating canal, such as is in contemplation at the present time, demands naturally a large outlay of labor and material. To repay this outlay, all the waters so taken out must be used to advantage, and large tracts of land must thus become dependent upon the one great canal. No single farmer, and no single neighborhood, can undertake such a task.

Much has been written of great value upon the subject of irrigation, which I would like to present but which I reserve for a future occasion when it shall be discussed as an independent proposition, but enough has been shown to demonstrate the absolute certainty of prolific crops aided by the proposed system of irrigation. They are not dependent upon nor subject to the vicissitudes of rainfall. The fear of droughts does not alarm the farmer nor lessen his faith in the quantity or quality of his crops.

The water used for irrigation is living water, coming from the mountains and plateaus freighted with the richest fertilizing materials derived from decaying vegetation and the soils of the upper region, which are spread by the water used in irrigation over the cultivated lands. Observation and experience has demonstrated in the Western States and Territories that all lands upon which water can be supplied by artificial means are capable of being reduced to the highest state of cultivation, so far as the cereals are concerned, and as before suggested, enjoy complete immunity from the vicissitudes of scant or excessive rainfall. The opinion is fast gaining ground that too much attention has heretofore been paid to the chemical composition of soils, and too little to those physical conditions by which moisture and air are supplied to the roots of vegetation.

While the West has contributed largely in building up the enormous surplus now in the Treasury and has received very slight corresponding benefits in the way of public expenditures, I do not wish to be understood as invoking Governmental aid on that account or as a bounty or gratuity. It is not the section but the subject to be fostered and encouraged. Agriculture lies at the foundation of our national prosperity and is justly entitled to a fair share of the fostering care of the Government. Other industries are fostered and encouraged. Agriculture should be stimulated and promoted.

After all your golden dreams
Of golden fountains and golden streams,
The sweat of patient labor seems
The true Pactolian water.

But, Mr. Chairman, above and beyond these considerations is the important fact that the system proposed will return in the years to come, when a surplus may be needed, a large revenue to the Government by the increased value of lands now non-productive and worthless and still a part of the public domain, and without which the citizens and the Government are alike the sufferers. It is estimated by Mr. Powell, of the Geological Survey, that the extent of the region in which agriculture depends on irrigation is about 1,300,000 square miles. We are informed by him that the general survey, topographic and geologic, to serve as a basis for the classification of the public lands, is being made by the Geological Survey with such rate of progress as appropriations permit; but that gentleman insists that for the proper discrimination of irrigable from pasturage lands requires such careful consideration of details that special local surveys are needed for this purpose.

Perhaps there is no person in this country so well fitted by education and special training to speak upon this question and its inestimable benefits to this country as Professor Powell. I quote what he has recently said in a report made by him on the 3d of May last to the Secretary of the Interior, with a firm conviction that he has underestimated rather than overestimated the results to follow from a system of governmental irrigations by the means proposed:

As estimated above, the area of the arid region is about 1,300,000 square miles. Of this, about one-fifth is too rugged or too elevated to admit of cultivation under any condition of agriculture likely to arise for a century to come. A smaller fraction consists of playas, or drainless desert plains, so flat that it is impossible to wash the salts from their soils. There remain about 1,000,000 square miles of land which need only water to be rendered productive. At the minimum price of public land, $1.25 per acre, a price greater than its value for pasturage, this land has a valuation of $800,000,000; at $30 per acre, a moderate estimate of its value when irrigated, it would be worth $19,200,000,000. For the irrigation of this area we have the annual precipitation upon 1,300,000 square miles of mountain, valley, and plain. This ranges from 5 inches or less on the driest plains to 30 inches on the mountains, and even 75 to 100 inches on the highest peaks, and the average for the whole region is not far from 15 inches. If all this could be applied to the land suited by configuration for cultivation, it would afford about 20 inches of water annually for the whole area, or nearly double the amount which need be applied to crops during the growing season. The water which falls in the arid region would therefore fully meet the agricultural needs if only it could be stored until the proper season and then conveyed to the proper land. Unfortunately, many causes conspire to render impossible the full realization of so desirable a result.

Of the precipitation, which has the form of snow, a large fraction is returned to the air by evaporation without going through the process of melting. Of that which falls as rain, a large part is received by the soil and evaporated from it without gathering in streams, and the only portion of such unconcentrated rainfall serviceable for agriculture is that which falls on the farming land during the growing season. Of the water from rain and melted snow which gathers in channels and forms streams, only a portion has such relation to arable land that it can be utilized; the remainder flows too low or at such distance from the land as to be beyond the economic limits of conveyance. Moreover, a comparatively small portion of the stream water is furnished during the farming season, and that which must be stored in reservoirs in order to utilize it necessarily suffers material loss by evaporation.

Under such adverse conditions it is manifest that only a small portion of the rainfall of the region can be made to serve the farmer, and that there is no solid foundation for the opinion sometimes expressed that the greater part of our arid West will ultimately be reclaimed. In 1880 less than 1 per cent. of its arable portion had been supplied with irrigation water, and it is not believed that with the most elaborate irrigation works this can be increased to more than 20 per cent. On the other hand, an estimate based on such data as are available leads to the anticipation that when all the larger streams have been brought under control, and the storage of water has been carried as far as it may be economically, there will be redeemed about 15 per cent. of the region, or 150,000 square miles, the whole comprehending an area which exceeds one-half of the land now cultivated in the United States. At $30 per acre this will add $2,880,000,000 to the wealth of the nation.

The establishment of a general system of irrigation on a comprehensive plan is of immediate importance, because the agriculture of the arid region, now in its infancy, is rapidly developing, and its development without suitable regulation constantly involves the use of temporary plans which interfere with and obstruct the adoption of those necessary to the fullest utilization of resources. The most important cases of interference are those in which a large stream traversing the center of a valley receives small affluents from the lateral slopes. It is matter of experience that when irrigation is commenced without regulation, the small streams, being most readily controlled, are first utilized, and their water is conveyed to low-lying land adjacent to the stream. In a comprehensive system this land is served by the water of the large stream, and the water of the small streams is used on higher-lying land, to which that of the large can not economically be conveyed. But the utilization of the small streams in connection with the low lands creates vested rights which stand in the way of subsequent regulation in the interest of the entire district.

In view of the magnitude of the interests involved, and of the great loss entailed by delay, the surveys necessary as a basis for the establishment of a comprehensive system of irrigation should be pushed with all the rapidity consistent with economy in their conduct. The Geological Survey is prepared by its organization and equipment, and by the special training of many of its engineers, to begin this work efficiently on a limited scale; but if the scale were made too great for the first year due economy could not be secured.

But there is another view of this proposed new departure which I am not now prepared to discuss, but which deserves a passing notice. It has been confidently asserted and plausibly maintained that the judicious construction of reservoirs or a system of reservoirs in the Northwestern States and Territories in the deep cañons, while serving to irrigate and reclaim the arid regions of those sections would prevent the great overflows in the Mississippi Valley, which annually call for millions of dollars from the public Treasury. It is the vast country drained by the Missouri River that contributes to the destruction and disaster consequent upon these overflows. They occur just at the season of the year when the waters thus drawn off into reservoirs are most needed for agriculture. I have examined the question enough to have some faith in it, and regard it with sufficient favor to advocate a fair appropriation for its thorough investigation by competent authority.

From the observations hastily presented I think it is apparent—

First. That agriculture can be promoted and made certain on what are now sterile lands and thereby add 50 per cent. to the area of agricultural lands of the United States.

Second. That the irrigation and reclamation of this vast domain is beyond the possibility of private enterprise and a proper subject for governmental control.

Third. That the increase in the value of the arid lands, thus reclaimed and now worthless, will more than justify the expenditure involved.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 10, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I simply desire to enter my protest against any reduction on the duty on starch. In the first place there is no demand for any such reduction. It is merely the whim of the committee. Starch was never so cheap as it is now, and I do not know why any reduction should be made at this time. The average sale of starch at the factories during the past year was not more than 4 cents per pound. Whatever was paid beyond this by the consumer was paid to the men who handled the starch, and was not received by the manufacturer. As a bushel of corn will not yield more than 28 pounds of starch, it is readily seen that there can be little or no profit in manufacturing starch. The price of corn alone will usually make the starch cost 2 cents per pound, as corn is usually worth at the place where starch is made as much as 56 cents per bushel; and at this price there can be but a small profit to the manufacturer, as the plant is expensive and insurance rates very high.

If imported starch were made of corn or were as good as the starch made in this country, a reduction of the tariff would not be so important, but imported starch comes from Germany and is made from potatoes, and although it is an inferior starch, it comes in competition with starch made of corn and is used as a substitute for it. Its use is deceptive and will be followed by a loss to innocent parties who will not know whether starch made of corn or starch made of potatoes has been used.

There is no business in this country in which the competition has been sharper or the prices lower, but if potato-starch is to be admitted at 1 cent per pound, as is proposed in this bill, potato-starch will be used in sugars, candies, and in the other manufactures in which starch made of corn is now used, and if you prefer to eat German potatoes rather than American corn, vote for this bill. I do not know whether rotten potatoes are used in potato-starch or not, but I do know that only good, pure corn can be used in making corn-starch.

The German papers show that potato-starch is worth in Berlin and Hamburg less than 2 cents per pound, and I learn that it can be carried to New York for 12 cents per hundred, so that potato-starch can be laid down in New York, Philadelphia, and in Baltimore at about $2 per hundred, and if it is only to pay a duty of 1 cent per pound it can be sold in this country at a very little over 3 cents per pound, and it will undersell our starch made of corn and will reduce the American product and destroy at least some of the American factories. The extent of this industry shows that it is worthy of all the protection it now has, and if the German potato-starch is to take the place of American corn-starch the result will be that the value of a great deal of property will be destroyed.

There is now invested in twenty-four starch factories in the United States $10,000,000; and the men who invested this money did so when starch had a duty on it of 2 cents per pound; and as they did so with this understanding and with this protection, is it fair to them to depreciate the value of this plant or to destroy this business? Is it fair to destroy an industry that furnishes to the farmers a market of 40,000 bushels of corn per day? Is it fair to the farmer to destroy a yearly market for his corn of 12,480,000 bushels? Is it fair to break down an industry consuming the yield of corn which can be grown on 480,000 acres of land, at 26 bushels per acre?

Is it fair to the farmers to take away from them the employment of 14,400 men, counting 3 men for every 100 acres of corn? Is it fair to cripple an industry that adds to American production 361,920,000 pounds of starch of the value of $12,476,800? Is it wise to destroy an industry that furnishes the farm employment for 14,400 farmers, and in the factory 3,500 employés? Is it a commendable thing just now, when so many persons are out of employment, to destroy an industry

that pays out annually to its employés $1,638,500? Is it wise to destroy an industry that pays to its employés $1.50 per day, and give the employment to German factories where but 60 cents per day are paid?

This is what is proposed in this bill, and these are the results which will most certainly follow. If we are to import starch instead of manufacturing it, $12,000,000 and more will go out of the country every year, and its value in starch will come in, and we will be made this much poorer each year. This much money will be permanently withdrawn from the channels of trade and from the business of the country.

If you make this reduction of 1 cent per pound, as is now proposed, and if it reduces the price of starch 1 cent per pound, as is claimed in the President's message and by the other side of this House, not a pound of starch can be, or will be, made in the United States after this change. I happen to know that starch manufacturers are not making money now, but have been losing money during the past year. And if the price goes down the industry itself will go down. And when the industry has been destroyed the price will go up. This is experience and history, and I warn you against the change now proposed.

The Public Domain.

REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM McADOO,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 5, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes, and amendments thereto—

Mr. McADOO said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I sincerely trust there will be no vote cast on this side of the House against the majority report made by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN]. Up to June 8, 1880, the following land grants had been made to transcontinental roads alone. The other grants are numerous and princely in extent:

	Acres.
Northern Pacific Company	57, 920, 000
Union Central route	41, 458, 904
Atlantic and Pacific	51, 840, 000
Southern Pacific	11, 967, 488
Texas Pacific	18, 000, 000
Total	181 186 412

At that date these companies had constructed sufficient railroad to have actually earned under the terms of the grant only 52,246,357 acres. The rest was either forfeitable or rapidly approaching that condition. A prompt and vigorous policy in Congress would at that time have reclaimed over 100,000,000 acres of the land of the people of the United States from these corporations. These lands at that date, and they have of course been increasing in value ever since, were on the average valued at $4.25 per acre. At the above date the sale of a comparatively small portion of these lands, namely, 8,563,627 acres, netted them the sum of $36,383,765; and yet people wonder how a few men should revel in the possession of imperial fortunes. In Europe and America the main beneficiaries of this grant and loan system to railroads excite the wonder and envy of mankind. The impoverished, idle, debauched, and utterly ignoble so called nobility of the Old World craves entrance into this golden circle. In our own land their magnificent establishments rival those of the old feudal system. They receive with open arms the hungry landlords of Europe as land purchasers in America, regardless of the effect on the future of the country at whose expense they have enriched themselves. It would be humiliating to speak of their influence on our politics. They have intrenched themselves or their followers on the high places of the land and debarred a wronged people for successive Congresses from getting back at least a portion of their lands or money.

Look at the effect of this exercise of wealth in public affairs. Boldly it pushes its way against independent poverty through conventions and polling booths up to legislative halls and executive chambers. The union of politics and business has brought about the union of wealth and politics for profit or honor. Under such a system the great mass of the poor and thrifty are excluded from participating in government. One hundred and eighty-one million acres of land and over given to corporations. Giving to each homestead one hundred and sixty acres, 1,131,790 families of landless people are thus, as it were, disinherited. To realize what this means to us, both in an economic and political way, go down to the entrance to the great harbor of New York on one of these summer days and see the long procession of huge foreign transatlantic steamers coming up that magnificent bay swarming with immigrants to these shores.

Where is the outlet for these discontented people? Go in the teeming overcrowded precincts of our great cities on these hot summer days, where unwholesome, painful surroundings threaten body and soul alike, and realize what nearly 200,000,000 of acres of free land mean to these toiling, struggling, suffering, landless, and partially homeless multitudes—what to them and to their children born or unborn. Then say, if you can, that this question of the public lands is not one of the most important now before the country and is not worthy of the best efforts of honest, patriotic men who love their kind and are anxious for their country. "Oh, but it is," as Shylock says, "written in the bond"! I can hear this day, torrid in its temperature, the cry of pained labor crying out against the iniquitous compact that tears from its worn, wearied and oppressed body with remorseless, cruel talons this pound of flesh.

I can see little children pale, emaciated, drooping like tender flowers in the alleys and slums of the great cities, whose cheeks would bloom and whose dulled eyes would sparkle in the breezy health-giving prairie of this public domain. I can see the father coming back to his wretched quarters in the crowded, sickening tenement after a vain quest for employment, sick at heart, when his strong arm on those free acres might have made him free, happy, and independent. I see the sewing-women, who only see a small patch of God's great sky from their dingy, deathly, unwholesome, squalid rooms in the towering, awful tenements, where they toil, sewing away their lives in the never-ending seams of the garments of wealth for such a pittance as makes vice almost allowable, and I think of these 200,000,000 acres covered with blossoms and aromatic shrubs and waving grass, and surrounded by the wonders of God and the beauty of nature; and as I think of these things my heart grows sick, and my wonder increases of how blind men can be under popular government to the misdoings of those who should be their servants and faithful guardians.

I look to Europe and see men, women, and children in Ireland, England, Scotland, Germany, France, Russia, and in all Eastern countries fighting famine, nakedness, and oppression and heroically struggling for a patch of soil to live. Give us land! cry men and women; Give us land! wail the children, for land is life. The multitudes, the starving, soon to be exiled multitudes, are beating in vain against the cruel walls of the game preserves and princely domains. The deer and the pheasants, and the rabbits, and even the sheep must be preserved, but man must die or emigrate. I see the hard, cold, indifferent, selfish, heartless landocracy of these lands, irritated by this tumult, coming here to our free land, and, under our too indulgent laws, getting enormous estates, the future homes of American who will be tenants and not freeholders, which means in truth freemen. Add to these principal grants the other great railroad grants. Consider also how this great domain was acquired.

It is to the everlasting glory of the great Democratic party of which I am an humble member that while by the foresight and patriotism of Jefferson and his successors, it acquired most of this great heritage, it never gave an acre directly by grant to these corporations. In the Forty-seventh Congress the Republican party refused to take back a rood from the railroad, while in the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses, so far as the House, being Democratic, was concerned, they declared forfeited 50, 482, 240 acres, and under committee amendment to pending bill add to this 54, 323, 996 acres. These figures and facts make the issue clear and unequivocal. I append to this statement the well digested tables of that faithful friend of the people, the honored chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, Mr. HOLMAN, of Indiana.

		Acres.
Ceded to the United States by Virginia and other States east of the Mississippi		259, 171, 787
Acquired under Democratic administrations:		
The Louisiana purchase, April 30, 1803	756, 961, 280	
East and West Florida, February 22, 1819	37, 931, 520	
By treaty from Mexico, February 2, 1848	334, 443, 520	
By treaty from Mexico, December 30, 1853	29, 142, 400	
Total under Democratic administrations		1, 158, 478, 720
Under Whig administration:		
By purchase from Texas, November 25, 1850		61, 892, 480
Under Republican administration:		
Alaska, March 30, 1867		369, 529, 600
Grand total		1, 849, 072, 587

But, Mr. Speaker, what an extraordinary result followed! Within nine years afterward grants of public lands to an extent unexampled in the history of any country were made to corporations by the same Congress. How does the account stand? I have before me a statement from the General Land Office. The grants prior to March 4, 1861, are as follows. Let us see the result by comparison.

All grants made up to this time for military service and education are as follows:

	Acres.
Military services, Revolutionary war	2, 165, 060
Military services, war of 1812	4, 930, 192
Military services, war with Mexico, act of 1855	61, 028, 430
Total for military services	68, 123, 622
Granted to States and reserved for Territories for school purposes	67, 893, 919
Universities	1, 165, 520
Agricultural colleges, act of July 2, 1862	9, 600, 000
Total for education	136, 783, 061
Grants made to States prior to March 4, 1861, to aid in constructing railroads and wagon-roads	29, 824, 032
	165, 607, 093

GRANTS AFTER MARCH 4, 1861.

	Acres.
To States to aid in the construction of railroads	19,240,883
To corporations	163,643,944
For wagon-roads	2,781,733
Grand total since March 4, 1861	185,666,733

It appears, therefore, that while it was not thought proper on February 22, 1862, to grant bounty lands to the soldiers of the Union Army on account of its tendency to land monopoly, yet beginning with July 2, 1862, with a grant of 28,000,400 acres to the Union Pacific Railroad corporations, Congress within ten years gave directly to corporations and to States for corporations 185,666,560 acres of land, a territory eight times greater than the State of Indiana. All this in ten years! While from the year 1787 down to this day all the grants made by Congress for common schools, the foundation of the grandest system of education the world has ever seen, including the sixteenth section of every township of the public domain down to the formation of the Territory of Oregon, and the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections in every township of every State and Territory organized since, including also all grants for universities and colleges, and all grants for military services in all the wars from the Revolution down to the war with Mexico, aggregate 136,783,061 acres. Add to this all grants to States for railroads and military wagon-roads (none were made to corporations) prior to March 4, 1861, namely, 29,824,032 acres, and the entire aggregate is 165,607,093. This aggregate of 165,607,093 for education. Military internal improvements covers the grants of our entire history, except the period covered since the Republican party came into power, and in ten years only that party gave to corporations and States for corporations 185,666,560.

As to grants prior to March 4, 1861, and subsequent to that date under all parties, Democratic, Whig and Republican, to aid in the construction of railroads and military wagon-roads, I submit the following table, prepared at the General Land Office. A glance will show the extraordinary contrast between the policy of the Democratic party and the Whig party and all other parties on the one hand and the Republican party on the other in relation to the public land, the most valuable wealth a nation can possess.

Statement showing land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads and wagon-roads prior and subsequent to March 4, 1861.

[Compiled from the official records of the General Land Office.]

Names of companies.	State.	Mile limits.	Date of granting act.	Estimated area of entire grant.*	Area certified or patented up to June 30, 1888.
Grants to States prior to March 4, 1861.					
				Acres.	*Acres.*
Illinois Central	Illinois	6 and 15	Sept. 20, 1850	2,595,053.00	2,595,053.00
Mobile and Ohio River	Mississippi	do	do	1,004,640.00	737,130.29
Do	Alabama	do	do	230,400.00	419,528.44
Hannibal and St. Joseph	Missouri	do	June 10, 1852	781,944.00	603,186.34
Pacific (Southwest branch)	do	do	do	1,161,235.07	1,161,164.51
Cairo and Fulton	Missouri and Arkansas.	do	Feb. 9, 1853	1,178,411.05	1,178,411.05
Little Rock and Fort Smith	do	do	do	550,584.09	559,534.09
Memphis and Little Rock	do	do	do	438,646.00	127,238.00
Burlington and Missouri River	Iowa	do	May 15, 1856	948,643.66	388,934.08
Mississippi and Missouri [Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific]	do	do	do	1,261,181.00	697,461.68
Iowa Central Air Line [Cedar Rapids and Missouri River]	do	do	do	1,298,739.00	1,032,363.28
Dubuque and Pacific	do	do	do	1,226,163.00	1,155,956.54
Florida, Atlantic and Gulf [Pensacola and Florida]	Florida	do	May 17, 1856	1,568,729.07	1,304,963.70
Florida, now Atlantic, Gulf, and West India Transit	do	do	do	290,183.28	290,183.28
Alabama and Florida	do	do	do	165,688.00	165,688.00
Do	Alabama	do	do	419,520.00	394,522.99
Tennessee and Coosa	do	do	June 3, 1856	132,480.00	67,784.96
Coosa and Chattooga	do	do	do	144,000.00	.....
Wills Valley and Northeast and Southwestern (now Alabama and Chattanooga)	do	do	do	897,920.00	649,676.98
Mobile and Girard	do	do	do	840,880.00	504,145.86
Tennessee and Alabama Central [South and North Alabama]	do	do	do	576,000.00	438,905.99
Alabama and Tennessee Rivers [Selma, Rome and Dalton]	do	do	do	481,920.00	457,215.37
Bay de Noquet and Marquette (now Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon)	Michigan	do	do	128,000.00	128,000.00
Marquette and Ontonagon	do	do	do	331,509.15	262,446.78
Ontonagon State Line [Brulé River]	do	do	do	217,916.95	.....
Marquette and State Line, afterwards known as the Chicago, Saint Paul and Fond du Lac [Chicago and Northwestern].	do	do	do	360,000.00	240,000.00
Amboy, Lansing and Traverse Bay	do	do	do	1,052,469.19	743,609.36
Grand Rapids and Indiana	do	do	do	852,960.12	852,960.12
Detroit and Milwaukee	do	do	do	355,420.19	30,998.75
Port Huron and Milwaukee	do	do	do	312,384.00	6,468.68
Flint and Pere Marquette	do	do	do	586,828.72	512,337.03
La Crosse and Milwaukee, afterwards Madison and Portage	Wisconsin	.....	.....	3,550.00	1,115.38
La Crosse and Milwaukee, afterwards Farm Mortgage Land Company	do	.....	.....	230,546.88	228,661.43
La Crosse and Milwaukee, afterwards West Wisconsin	do	.....	.....	297,654.32	296,654.32
St. Croix and Lake Superior, now Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha:					
Main line	do	.....	.....	495,047.24	495,047.24
Bayfield Branch	do	6 and 15	.....	319,962.89	319,962.89
Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac [Chicago and Northwestern]	do	do	June 3, 1856	565,575.76	545,575.76
Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas (now Vicksburg, Shreveport and Pacific)	Louisiana	do	do	610,880.00	353,212.68
New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western	do	do	do	967,840.00	51,452.03
Southern [Vicksburg and Meridian]	Mississippi	do	Aug. 11, 1856	404,800.00	198,028.41
Gulf and Ship Island	do	do	do	652,800.00	.....
Minnesota and Pacific, afterwards St. Paul and Pacific	Minnesota	do	Mar. 3, 1857	749,183.37	750,627.68
Minnesota and Pacific [St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba]	do	do	do	885,000.00	388,223.09
Southern Minnesota and Minnesota Valley [St. Paul and Sioux City]	do	do	do	606,000.00	688,133.11
Minneapolis and Cedar Valley [Minnesota Central]	do	do	do	386,041.80	107,823.97
Winona and St. Peter	do	do	do	846,000.00	1,006,072.39
Southern Minnesota	do	do	do	59,619.45	59,619.45
Total to States prior to March 4, 1861				30,470,920.25	23,105,467.98
Grants to States subsequent to March 4, 1861.					
Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston	Kansas	10 and 20	Mar. 3, 1863	800,000.00	69,104.95
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé	do	do	do	3,000,000.00	2,934,522.86
Union Pacific, Southern Branch, afterwards the Missouri, Kansas and Texas	do	do	do	1,520,000.00	712,895.18
St. Joseph and Denver City	do	do	July 23, 1866	1,700,000.00	462,573.24
Portage, Winnebago and Lake Superior, Wisconsin Central	Wisconsin	do	May 5, 1864	1,800,000.00	785,193.63
La Crosse and Milwaukee, afterwards West Wisconsin, now Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha.	.....	.....	do	624,843.21	478,321.03
St. Croix and Lake Superior, now Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha:					
Maine line	.....	.....	do	291,799.26	287,644.64
Bayfield Branch	.....	.....	do	144,399.51	142,692.24
Lake Superior and Mississippi, now St. Paul and Duluth	Minnesota	10 and 20	do	920,000.00	828,581.00
Sioux City and St. Paul	Iowa	do	May 12, 1864	524,800.00	341,852.88
McGregor Western	do	do	do	1,536,000.00	324,014.07
Grand Rapids and Indiana	Michigan	do	June 7, 1864	852,960.00	852,960.12
Southern Minnesota and Minnesota Valley	Minnesota	do	May 12, 1864	404,000.00	458,755.41
Bay de Noquet and Marquette [Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon]	Michigan	do	Mar. 3, 1865	.....	.....
Marquette and Ontonagon [Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon]	do	do	do	221,606.10	164,964.52
Peninsula [Chicago and Northwestern]. (*See* Marquette and State Line)	do	6, 15, and 20	July 5, 1862 / Mar. 3, 1865	240,000.00	207,130.24
Minnesota and Pacific, afterwards St. Paul and Pacific	Minnesota	20	do	590,000.00	258,815.39
Do	do	do	do	499,455.58	500,418.45
Minneapolis and Cedar Valley [Minnesota Central]	do	do	do	257,361.20	71,882.65

*The figures of this column are approximately correct, being based on the estimate of the annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office of 1875.

Statement showing land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads and wagon-roads, etc.—Continued.

Names of companies.	State.	Mile limits.	Date of granting act.	Estimated area of entire grant.*	Area certified or patented up to June 30, 1888.
Grants to States subsequent to March 4, 1861—Continued.					
				Acres.	*Acres.*
Winona and St. Peter's	Minnesota	20	Mar. 3, 1865	564,000.00	670,714.92
Southern Minnesota	do	do	July 4, 1866	735,000.00	454,562.38
Hastings, Minnesota and Red River of the North, now Hastings and Dakota	do	do	do	550,000.00	312,770.77
Total				17,775,624.86	11,360,307.57
Grants to corporations subsequent to March 4, 1861.					
Union Pacific		20	July 1, 1862 July 2, 1864	12,000,000.00	2,616,258.08
Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western:					
Denver Pacific		20	July 1, 1862	1,000,400.00	164,721.51
Kansas Pacific		do	do	6,000,000.00	963,714.02
Central Pacific and Western		do	July 1, 1861 July 2, 1864	9,000,000.00	1,040,210.59 447,768.03
Hannibal and St. Joseph [Union Pacific, Central Branch]		do	do	781,944.83	218,250.08
Sioux City and Pacific		10	do	60,000.00	41,398.23
Burlington and Missouri River		No limits	July 2, 1864	2,441,600.00	2,373,290.77
Northern Pacific		20, 30, 40, and 50	do	47,000,000.00	1,037,359.21
California and Oregon [Central Pacific]		20 and 30	July 23, 1866	3,500,000.00	1,362,433.61
Oregon Central [Oregon and California]		do	July 25, 1866	3,500,000.00	322,062.46
Atlantic and Pacific		20, 30, 40, and 50	July 27, 1866	42,000,000.00	959,206.87
Southern Pacific		20, 30, and 50	do	9,520,000.00	1,040,430.03
Oregon Central [Oregon and California] forfeited		20 and 25	May 4, 1870	1,200,000.00	
Southern Pacific, branch line		20 and 30	Mar. 3, 1871	3,520,000.00	187,719.65
New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Vicksburg		do	do	3,800,000.00	679,287.64
Texas Pacific		20, 30, 40, and 50	do	18,000,000.00	
Stockton and Copperopolis		10 and 20	Mar. 2, 1867	320,000.00	
Total				163,643,944.83	13,454,111.02

Land grants made by Congress in aid of the construction of military wagon-roads prior and subsequent to March 4, 1861.

Route of road.	State,	Mile limits.	Date of granting act.	Estimated area of entire route.*	Area certified or patented up to June 30, 1888.
Grants for wagon-roads prior to March 4, 1861.					
				Acres.	*Acres.*
From the Lower Rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie to the western boundary of the Connecticut reserve.	Ohio		Feb. 28, 1823	49,177.45	49,177.45
From Columbus to Sandusky	do		Mar. 2, 1827	31,596.09	31,596.09
From Lake Michigan, via Indianapolis, to some convenient point on the Ohio River	Indiana	One section per mile.	do	170,580.24	170,580.24
Total grants prior to 1861				251,353.78	251,353.78
Grants for wagon-roads subsequent to March 4, 1861.					
From Fort Wilkins, Copper Harbor, Mich., to Green Bay, Wis	Michigan	3 and 15	Mar. 3, 1863	221,013.36	221,013.36
Do	Wisconsin	do	do	302,930.96	302,930.96
From Saginaw to the Straits of Mackinaw	Michigan		June 20, 1864		
From Grand Rapids to the Straits of Mackinaw	do				
From Wausau to Lake Superior	Wisconsin		June 25, 1864		
From Eugene City, Oregon, to the eastern boundary of State [Oregon Central military road].	Oregon		July 2, 1864	720,000.00	402,240.67
Do	do		Dec. 26, 1866		
From Corvallis to Yaquina Bay	do	3	July 4, 1866	76,885.98	76,885.98
From Albany, Oregon, to eastern boundary of said State [Willamette Valley and Cascade Mountain].	do		July 5, 1866	548,749.53	548,749.53
From Dalles City to Fort Boisé	do	3 and 10	Feb. 25, 1867	556,800.00	126,910.23
From Coos Bay to Roseburgh	do	3 and 6	May 3, 1869	104,000.01	104,000.01
Total grants subsequent to 1861				2,530,379.84	1,782,730.74
Grand aggregate				2,781,733.62	2,034,084.52

* The figures of this column are approximatly correct, being based on the estimate of the annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office of 1875.

Recapitulation of land grants made by Congress to States and corporations for railroads and wagon-road purposes prior and subsequent to March 4, 1861.

Grants.	Acreage granted.	Acreage certified or patented.
Prior to March 4, 1861.		
TO STATES.		
	Acres.	*Acres.*
Grants for railroad purposes	30,470,920.25	23,105,467.98
Grants for wagon-road purposes	251,353.78	251,353.78
Total	30,722,274.03	23,356,821.76

[No grants to corporations were made by Congress during the above period.]

Recapitulation of land grants made by Congress to States and corporations for railroads and wagon-road purposes, etc.—Continued.

Grants.	Acreage granted.	Acreage certified or patented.
Subsequent to March 4, 1861.		
TO STATES.	*Acres.*	*Acres.*
Grants for railroad purposes	17, 775, 624. 86	11, 360, 367. 57
Grants for wagon-road purposes	2, 530, 379. 84	1, 782, 730. 74
Total	20, 306, 004. 70	13, 143, 098. 31
TO CORPORATIONS.		
Grants for railroad purposes	163, 643, 944. 83	13, 454, 111. 02
Total	183, 949, 940. 53	26, 597, 209. 33
Excess in acres of grants to States and corporations subsequent to March 4, 1861	153, 227, 675. 50	3, 240, 387. 57

I appeal to this side of the Chamber. With this glorious record before you, no gentleman on this side of this aisle at least can or will falter. We are the party of the whole people and they look to us to save them from corporate rapacity. As men and Democrats let us stand by the banner of popular rights here and now. Honest men on both sides of the House will unite and this bill will pass.

These railroad companies were granted lands for the purpose of building roads into an unknown or desert country. After an extension of the time in which they were to build their roads, they have waited until the population would have justified any company in building the roads without one acre of subsidy. Not only, therefore, have they forfeited their legal right, but they have not a scintilla of equity in their behalf. I do trust, therefore, as I have said, that this side of the House will be practically unanimous in favor of the majority report. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES T. JOHNSTON,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 10, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I do not propose to confine my discussion to the amendment now pending before the committee. There has been a very general discussion of this bill, and much valuable time devoted to it. I therefore beg the indulgence of the committee for a short time while I give some of the reasons why I shall oppose the passage of this measure. First, I want to announce that I am in favor of the protection of American labor, believing, as I do, that it brings happiness and prosperity to the laboring classes of this country. I have been greatly amused at the course of this debate.

We find men upon the other side of this chamber advocating the passage of this bill and assigning very different reasons for voting for and supporting the same provisions thereof. To illustrate, Mr. MILLS, the chairman of the committee, justifies his course in putting wool upon the free list by boldly asserting that it is enriching the manufacturer at the expense of the people and doing the farmer no good, and that it is adding an extra cost to the goods worn by the laboring man.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. RUSSELL] justifies his support of that provision of the bill by boldly asserting that it, the tariff, is an injury to the manufacturers of woolen goods, and is absolutely forcing establishments of that kind into bankruptcy, and both asserting that it will increase the price of wool.

Now I can not conceive how both of these gentlemen can be right. If further notice that the men from the Southern States, who at the beginning of this Congress claimed to be protectionists and gave us every assurance that they would vote against any measure that attempted to destroy the protective system of this country, suddenly become enthusiastic supporters of the Mills bill, and persistently vote against any attempt to amend it. Now this may appear strange to one who has not investigated the facts and arrived at the true reasons thereof. Upon an examination of the bill, it will be seen that the sugar schedule has been changed very materially since the bill was originally introduced, leaving the present tariff on sugar at 68 per cent., ad valorem.

This, as a matter of course, satisfies the sugar-planter of Louisiana and other Southern States. And if he can get his particular interest protected he loses interest in every other industry in the country; and *that* he calls protection. We further find, by the provisions of this bill, that rice and other necessaries of life that are grown in the South are left upon the list at a high rate of duty, and the language of the schedule is so changed as to leave a greater duty upon rice than existed under the tariff of 1883. This satisfies the gentlemen from South Carolina and Georgia and other Southern States, who are interested in the growth of rice, and they suddenly forget their professions of protection and become enthusiastic supporters of this measure.

It is a very notable fact that when we reach these items in the bill, and amendments are offered reducing the tariff one-half, that these men, with all the rest of the Democratic members, vote solidly against the amendments, and we are left to draw but one conclusion, that they have formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the absolute free-traders, and that their interests are to be protected if they will assist in crippling the industries of the North.

I shall not charge that this is done for sectional purposes or sectional reasons, as that is very offensive to some of the gentlemen composing the Committee on Ways and Means. But I must confess that it is very hard to account for this condition of affairs upon any other theory.

I have been an attentive listener to this debate, and I make the assertion now that if the gentlemen favoring the passage of this bill are honest in their assertions they are absolute free-traders. I make this assertion because each and every man who has attacked protection asserts that a tariff levied upon an article that is manufactured in this country puts an amount equal to the tariff into the pocket of the manufacturer, and increases the price of the manufactured article to that amount, and does not increase the wages of the laboring man 1 cent.

Now, if this be true, there is but one true way to support the Government, and that is by levying a revenue tariff upon articles that we do not manufacture, or by collecting our revenues by direct taxation on the people, and that is free-trade, pure and simple.

I shall not take up the time of the committee in refuting the charge that a protective tariff does not, by means of internal competition, reduce the price of every article we consume that can be successfully manufactured in this country, because every intelligent man in the land knows to the contrary. Nor shall I quote statistics to prove that the laboring men in this country—particularly in the Northern States—are better paid, better clothed, and live better than the laborers of any other nation in the world. To prove the proposition that they are better paid, you have but to refer to the thousands of men who have left the Old World and come here to make their homes with us. They know, and the laboring men generally know, that the assertion that their wages are not higher by reason of tariff is not true.

Now perhaps it is not charitable to accuse the Democratic party of being in favor of free-trade, inasmuch as their speakers out of Congress, in protective districts, assert that they are not. But I will submit a few facts, and leave the people to draw their own conclusions. In the Forty-eighth Congress, where the Democratic party had a large majority, the opposing candidates for Speaker before the Democratic caucus were the Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania, a protectionist, and Mr. CARLISLE, of Kentucky, an avowed free-trader. Mr. CARLISLE was elected and Mr. RANDALL defeated. In the Forty-ninth Congress, Mr. CARLISLE was again elected, although Mr. RANDALL, an experienced parliamentarian, was a member of that House. In the present Congress the same state of facts exist.

I will now submit a proposition that in itself may appear sectional, but if it does the fault lies with the leaders of the Democratic party and not with us. As is well known, the Committee on Ways and Means is considered the leading committee of the House. They have the sole power of drafting revenue bills to raise the money upon which the Government is to be supported. The chairman of that committee, by reason of his position, is assigned to the leadership of

the majority. We can well suppose the Speaker selected that committee for the purpose of having a revenue bill drafted, voicing the sentiment of the Democratic party, as he understands it. That committee is made up as follows:

Democrats—ROGER Q. MILLS, of Texas; BENTON MCMILLAN, of Tennessee; CLIFTON R. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas; W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky; HENRY G. TURNER, of Georgia; W. L. WILSON, of West Virginia; W. L. SCOTT, of Pennsylvania; WILLIAM D. BYNUM, of Indiana.

Republicans—WILLIAM D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania; THOMAS M. BROWNE, of Indiana; THOMAS B. REED, of Maine; WILLIAM MCKINLEY, Jr., of Ohio; JULIUS C. BURROWS, of Michigan.

Eight Democrats and five Republicans. It will be observed that six of the Democrats are from Southern States, having no particular interest in the manufactures of the country.

They come from a section where its politicians were schooled under the teachings of John C. Calhoun with his free-trade and nullification doctrines. Mr. MILLS, the leader of the House and chairman of this committee, is on record as follows:

> God grant that the day may soon come when American ships, freighted with American commerce, shall again go to sea under the shadow and protection of our own flag. But if that day is to come, it must be preceded by a reversal of the policy of commercial restriction.
>
> We must remove, both by legislation and diplomacy, every hindering cause that prevents the free exchange of the products of our labor with all the markets of the world. We must unfetter every arm and let every muscle strike for the highest remuneration for its toil. We must let wealth—the creation of labor—grow up in all the homes of our people. Then every industry will spring forward at a bound, and wealth, prosperity, and power will bless the land that is dedicated to free men, free labor, and free-trade.

This is a quotation from a speech made by that gentleman in the Forty-eighth Congress. Again he says:

> Our policy should be to take the smallest amount of tax that we can, by customs; and we should gradually decrease the amount until our custom taxes come alone from non-competing articles entering our custom-houses.

These quotations will surely convince any candid man that Mr. Mills is a free-trader. Now let us see how far we can convict the other members of that committee of being in favor of free-trade. In the constitution of the so-called Confederate States you will find this provision:

> No bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid, to promote or foster any branch of industry.

This provision of the Confederate constitution becomes important when you consider the fact that a majority of the Democrats upon this committee were in the Confederate service. I do not make this quotation or allusion for the purpose of stirring up sectional feeling or sectional strife; I hope that is buried forever. But I am simple enough to believe that if a man will voluntarily enter an army and risk his life, and fight to maintain and establish a proposition, that he is certainly in earnest and believes he is right. And I further believe that should he ever be placed in power he will naturally seek to enforce his views by legislation. And inasmuch as none of these gentlemen have ever confessed that they were wrong in fighting to establish the Confederacy, with the constitutional provision above quoted, I have the right to infer that they are free-traders to-day; and no man can read the speeches they have made upon this bill without being convinced that I am justified in making the assertion. And we certainly have the right to infer, from the character of this bill, that they are seeking to carry out their views. I have before referred to the fact that for the purpose of getting votes they have protected the interests of the farmers of their own section. What do they seek to do with the farmer of the North? They put his wool upon the free list and bring him in direct competition with the cheap wools of foreign countries, and urge as a reason therefor that it is raw material. While doing that they protect the iron ore of this country—pig-iron and coal—which is also raw material.

This, I boldly charge, is not because they are in favor of it, but because it became necessary to appease the Pennsylvania Democrats and get their support of this measure. I deny the proposition that iron-ore or coal is raw material after it has been mined. The moment the miner applies his labor to the mining of these articles they become as much a manufactured article as steel rails and are entitled to equal protection. The proposition is equally true when the farmer applies his labor to the raising of his flock, and through the long and tedious summer, by his daily toil, prepares the food that is to sustain them during the cold and bleak winter. Day after day he feeds them, sheltering them from the cold and bleak winds, and by his watchful care protecting them from the ravages of their inveterate enemy, the dog. Then, when the spring day comes, and he shears the wool and prepares it for the masket, it is as much a manufactured article, and an article for protection, as the sugar and rice raised by the planters of the South.

Now as an offset for this, they give the farmer, as they say, free lumber and free salt. So far as the free lumber is concerned, the tax is but light and it does not affect the farmers of my district, and is no compensation for the loss of their tariff on wool. Besides, we have abundant forests of our own. As to the question of free salt, it is an absolute insult to an honest farmer to say to him that *that* is a compensation for his losses. I was amused at the speech made by the honorable gentleman from New York [Mr. COX], in favor of free salt. He actually grew poetical in pleading for the poor down-trodden dairymen, that he should have free salt to put in his butter. And I must confess that he so played upon my sympathies that I was inclined to think that he was right.

But when I got out from under the influence of the gentleman's oratory I proceeded to make a calculation to see where the great injustice was done the dairyman, and I arrived at this result: It takes 1 pound of salt to salt 16 pounds of butter; say the butter is worth 25 cents per pound before it is salted. After the salt goes in we have 17 pounds of marketable article. That 17 pounds is still worth 25 cents per pound. The salt used cost the dairyman half a cent, or to be liberal, say 1 cent; he sells his butter for 25 cents per pound, and has an absolute profit of 24 cents upon the pound of salt. I say to my friend that it will take a great while to bankrupt the dairymen in that way.

Mr. DUNN. Why not make it all salt, then?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Nevertheless, they still want to put salt upon the free list. Let us see how that will appeal to the farmer, whom you have robbed of his protection on wool, and how it will compensate him for his losses. I am informed by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. TARSNEY] that he will to-day sell salt at 30 cents per barrel, barrel and all.

Mr. TARSNEY. No; 30 cents for 280 pounds; 9 pounds and 4 ounces for 1 cent.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Nine pounds and 4 ounces for 1 cent. It would actually cost 1½ or 2 cents to buy all the salt that a man wanted for his personal use in a whole year. Out of consideration to the farmer, it certainly looks like salt should be placed upon the free list. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

If you think the average farmer is going to be satisfied with this you are presuming a great deal upon his ignorance; and I say to you now, that when you encounter him in the North you will find him an intelligent, reading, thinking man; and when he realizes the fact, which he knows to be true, that under the free-trade doctrines of the Democratic party in former years he paid $2.80 for the same amount of salt that he now purchases for 30 cents will he not truly say you are offering him valuable inducements to surrender the protection he now has, that induces him year in and year out to look after and care for his flocks?

What further inducements do you offer to the farmer? President Cleveland in his message virtually admits that his policy, and the policy adopted by this bill, will, to some extent, reduce the wages of the laboring man, and attempts to console him by assurances that he will have a compensation for that loss in a corresponding reduction in the cost of his living. It needs no argument to convince the average man that the principal cost to the laboring man for the support of himself and family is his bread and meat, the marketing the farmer raises, and his groceries.

Now, if his cost of living is to be reduced, if you think you can convince the farmer that it won't cause a corresponding reduction in the price of his wheat, his corn, his beef and mutton, in fact everything he raises on his farm to sell, you greatly underestimate his intelligence. Some one is to be fooled by this argument. But, you say that the farmer must ship his surplus wheat abroad and there come in competition with the wheat raised by the poorly paid labor of the Old World. That is true, and this proposition is also true, and the farmer knows it well, that the more manufactories that are established in this country the more laborers we will employ in carrying them on, the more of his produce will be consumed at home, and the less will have to be shipped abroad; and as supply and demand controls the price he will thereby get a better price for what he ships.

The farmers of my district know well that they have as good agricultural land as is in the world. They also know that the farmers of the East make more money off inferior land than we do in the West. The reason is that the farmer of the East has the manufacturing establishments in his midst. He sells his products to support the laborers, while the farmer of the West must pay the transportation to the East on the surplus he raises. Knowing this they are in favor of encouraging manufactories, bringing them to the West, and thus save this cost of transportation.

We have heard a great deal in this debate about trusts, and the charge is made and reiterated that the profits made by a tariff for protection go into the pockets of the manufacturer and the trust, and not to the laboring man. I for one believe that the man who invests his money in manufacturing interests should have a reasonable profit in return, and that we should protect him in his manufactures, so he may be able to pay his employés liberally. It is better for us all. I have no fear but that by means of the labor organizations of this country the laborer will be able to protect himself against the oppression of the manufacturer, if he is disposed to oppress him. And to that end I would encourage these organizations by means of all necessary legislation.

I would legislate against trusts, and then if the operator is not willing to do what is right by the laboring man, I would by necessary laws, rigidly enforced, compel him to do justice by the men who must make every dollar that is produced in this country by honest toil. It is a well known fact—admitted by the candid men representing the South—that their laborers are not so well paid as in the North. And as an excuse for that, they say their labor is not so intelligent, and consequently worth less. This explanation would be entirely

satisfactory were it not for the fact that they resist every effort to educate and enlighten their laborers, so they may demand and receive better wages.

When we propose to pass a bill establishing schools in which the poor may be educated, under the rules of this House, adopted by the majority, the Speaker exercises his one man power and appoints a committee that utterly refuses to report to this House the "Blair educational bill," that is in the interest of all laboring men who are unable to school their children. Then when we take the further declarations made by these men—or some of them—that they of the South would be able to live under a tariff that would starve the labor of the North to death, we can but conclude that they are satisfied with their own labor and want to keep it in the condition it now is. They are willing to force a measure through this House, the tendency of which will be to reduce the labor of the North to an equality with their own.

The difference between the propositions is this: We upon this side of the Chamber are in favor of a leveling-up process, while the men who prepared and are pressing the Mills bill to a final vote are in favor of a leveling-down process; for the tendency of their measure would certainly be to reduce the labor of the North to an equality with the poorly-paid labor of the Old World and the negro labor of the South to-day. I for one want to see the day come, and that speedily, when every man in this broad land, from lake to gulf, and from sea to sea, can get honest wages for honest labor. I believe our present protective system will bring this about, and I believe the Mills bill tends in the opposite direction, and I shall therefore oppose its passage.

There is one other feature of this debate that is exceedingly amusing and sometimes reaches the point that almost excites the contempt of a man who is in favor of honest legislation and fair dealing. The President in his message—and I mention him first because he opened the debate—says, "it is a condition that confronts us and not a theory," and devotes his entire message to a revision of the tariff, basing it upon the ground that it is producing a surplus in the Treasury. Now, I understand there can be no surplus in the Treasury so long as the Government owes honest debts. I understand that a man can have no surplus so long as he owes his neighbor as many or more dollars than he has in his pocket. And I very much fear that the President has so acted as to create an apparent surplus for the sole purpose of forcing his free-trade notions upon the country.

In the first place his administration refused to pay the outstanding indebtedness of his Government until his own party leaders in this House thought it necessary to bring forward a resolution compelling him to do his duty. All this time he was hoarding the money that should have gone to pay honest debts. There was passed through the Senate a bill granting liberal compensation to the disabled and dependent soldiers of the country. It passed this House by at least a two-thirds vote. The President, unwilling that this surplus should be reduced in that way, saw fit to veto the bill, and returned it with his emphatic disapproval.

This was in the Forty-ninth Congress.

We attempted to pass the bill over his veto. Then it was that the free-traders of that House came to his rescue, and we were unable to command the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution for the passage of the bill. The President, again fearful that that surplus might be somewhat reduced, has vetoed bill after bill granting pensions to disabled soldiers and to the widows and orphans of such as are dead, in order to maintain this surplus. When he has thus acted, and refused to let a former Congress apply this surplus in the payment of pensions to our soldiers, has he now any right to use that surplus as an argument to force free-trade legislation, and curtly say that "it is a condition that confronts us," when by his unkind acts toward these unfortunate people he has assisted in producing that condition?

Let us examine further. What condition confronts us to-day?

You may turn to the Calendar of this House and you will find upon its pages one thousand bills reported from its different committees, asking the Government to pay the honest debts she owes to the citizens in whose behalf these bills have been introduced. Go, if you please, to the records of the Committee on War Claims, and there you find in the neighborhood of seven thousand bills introduced by members of this House, to pay the debts due our citizens for damages done to and property taken during the war, many of them in behalf of poor soldiers or their heirs for services honestly rendered. You may go to the Committee on Claims, and there you will find upon their files thousands of bills introduced in behalf of men who have just claims against the Government.

Many of these men have been knocking at the doors of the Treasury for twenty years asking that their claims be adjusted. And Congress after Congress your committees have reported that the debts were honestly due, but we have assiduously avoided passing the bills for their relief. And still the men upon the other side of the Chamber, who are in favor of this free-trade measure, continually put it upon the ground that there is a surplus in the Treasury, when the majority of this House, by its own acts has created this surplus by refusing to pay the honest debts of the Government and are now using it as a pretext to attack our industries. Nor is this all. If you gentlemen have the time, and want to inform yourselves as to the true "condition," go to the Committee on Invalid Pensions of this House.

Examine its records and you will find that there has been introduced and referred to that committee three thousand five hundred and fifty-five private bills to grant pensions to soldiers who are unable to make their proof before the Department. If you will prosecute your investigation further you will find that there has been one thousand and eighty bills of a similar character introduced into the Senate, making a grand total of four thousand six hundred and thirty-five such bills introduced in this Congress, asking the Government to pay a debt that we honestly owe. Now turn to the last report of the Commissioner of Pensions and you will find that there is about one hundred and fifty thousand pensioners to-day, who are drawing less than $8 per month from this Government; and that after they have proved that they have received injuries and contracted disabilities in the service of their country.

There was a bill introduced into the Forty-ninth Congress by myself, and I re-introduced it into this Congress, which, if passed, would have placed all of these men on the pension-roll at $8 per month. It provided that all men drawing pensions less than that amount should be advanced to $8 per month. Can any conscientious man say that a soldier who has received wounds in the service, and contracted disease and disability therein, should be compelled to take less than $8 per month for a pension. And still you men stand in the position of denying them this just form of legislation while you claim there is a sufficient surplus in the Treasury to justify you in your unwarranted course in attempting to pass this bill.

There has also been introduced into this Congress and referred to that committee one hundred and ninety general pension bills, seeking to do justice to our soldiers, and you refuse to consider them, fearing, I suppose, that it may somewhat reduce the surplus, for it would be unjust to insinuate that you are unfriendly to the soldier while you make such loud professions of friendship.

On the 8th day of March last a bill passed the Senate with this title: "An act granting pensions to ex-soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to relatives of deceased soldiers and sailors." That bill was reported to this House, and still remains upon our Calendar unacted upon.

It is assumed by the gentlemen who should know what they are talking about, that this bill will place upon the pension-rolls one hundred thousand soldiers, many of whose claims are now pending in the Department. It would take every soldier out of the poor-houses of the country and place them in a position where they would no longer feel that they were paupers.

You deny them this right, and still claim there is a surplus in the Treasury. Members of this House have introduced eighteen different bills providing for the payment of the arrearages of pensions, and on the 14th day of May last the Committee on Invalid Pensions reported House bill 9961 as a substitute for all such bills providing for the payment of arrearages of pensions to all soldiers who filed their claims prior to the 1st day of July, 1888.

The introduction of these bills is conclusive evidence that there is a widespread feeling among the soldiers that this debt is justly due them, and the introduction of the substitute by your committee, and their report recommending its passage, is evidence that upon mature deliberation they are satisfied that this act of justice should be passed. Your committee say in their report that it will take $250,000,000 to pay this honest, just claim, and that it should be paid; and they represent a majority of this House. This bill went onto the House Calendar, an there it remains. The friends of the soldier have been more than anxious that this bill should be put upon its passage, and have insisted that this bill, with other measures for the relief of the soldier, should be considered before the bill under discussion was brought to a vote. For you can readily see that if these bills are to be passed there is no surplus in the Treasury and no necessity for the passage of the Mills bill. On the 21st day of May last I offered the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas the Committee on Invalid Pensions of this House has reported House bill No. 9961, by Report No. 2120, entitled "A bill relating to the arrears of pensions," with recommendation that it do pass; and

Whereas said committee in said report estimate that said bill, if passed, will cause the expenditure of $250,000,000; and

Whereas all political parties profess to be in favor of granting to the Union soldiers of 1861 to 1865 liberal pensions for service rendered; and

Whereas on the 9th day January last, House bill No. 3345, granting a pension to all such soldiers, was referred to said committee; and

Whereas it is important that said several propositions should be disposed of before any bill is passed materially reducing the revenues of the country: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Invalid Pensions be discharged from the further consideration of said House bill No. 3345, and that said bill, and said bill No. 9961, reported by said committee, be made a special order for Friday, the 25th day of May, and that the consideration thereof shall continue from day to day until they are disposed of.

This resolution, asking that these bills should be considered, was, by the ruling of the Speaker, sent to the Committee on Rules, and, strange to say, since the introduction of that resolution there has never been a report from that committee, although Mr. CANNON, of Illinois, representing the minority of the committee, stated publicly upon this floor that the Republicans composing the minority had gone to the Speaker, who is ex-officio chairman thereof, and requested

that the committee be called together for the purpose of taking action thereon, and further stating that there had been no meeting of the committee.

Fearing that the Speaker, in the multiplicity of duties that are crowding upon him, had overlooked the matter, I again, on the 9th day of June, offered the following resolution—

Resolved, That Wednesday, the 13th day of June, after the morning hour, be set apart for the consideration of House bill No. 9961, granting arrears of pensions and providing for the payment thereof; and that the consideration thereof shall be continued from day to day until the same is disposed of—

which also went to the Committee on Rules, and which has suffered the like fate of its predecessor.

Now, the friends of the Mills bill place themselves in this attitude of resisting the consideration of these bills, and they can be prompted by but one of two motives. That is, that they are not the friends of the soldier, or they propose to deny him his rights until after they have placed the Treasury of the country in such a condition that it will be impossible to do him justice unless we levy additional taxes and thereby ultimately defeat all legislation looking to the giving him his rights. You can take whichever horn of the dilemma that suits you best.

In the Forty-ninth Congress there was a proposition introduced and reported from the Committee on Rules, providing that whenever a bill was introduced granting pensions to soldiers, that it should be in order to offer an amendment providing how the revenue should be raised to pay the pensions. When that measure was under discussion, on the 26th of June 1886, the following took place between my colleague from Indiana [Mr. MATSON] and myself. My colleague had the floor in support of the measure and the following appears from the record of that date:

Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana. Would it not be just to the soldier to pass the pension bills first, to get him on the pension-roll, and then pass the tax bill to raise the money?

Mr. MATSON. I think, on the other hand, the Republican Senate, for not carrying out the party pledge and passing the arrears act, has only one excuse, and that is, that the House has not raised the money. The prudent, honest thing is to always be able to pay before you promise.

We are now able to pay, and the present tariff will raise the revenues to discharge this honest obligation of the Government. Still I find my colleague working assiduously with these men to reduce the revenues so this debt can not be paid, thereby seeking to do by indirection, what he failed to accomplish two years ago by direct legislation.

During the war, in order to raise money for its successful prosecution, there was a law passed levying a direct tax on the different States. Under that law the people of the States that remained loyal paid some $20,000,000. This included some small amounts collected from some States that had been in rebellion. At this session of Congress the Senate passed a bill to refund this money back to the States and the people who had paid it. It came over to this House. Upon its passage it was resisted by the members from the seceding States by every means known in parliamentary tactics, producing thereby the famous deadlock of this Congress.

Under this bill Indiana would have gotten nearly $1,000,000 as her proportion. Still the friends of the Mills bill, by a party caucus, postponed the further consideration of the measure, as we have a right to infer, for the sole purpose of keeping this money in the Treasury that they might use it as an argument for their unjust attack upon our present protective system.

With all of these just demands outstanding against the Government, the men who are pressing this measure bar the doors of the Treasury, and are continually harping about the surplus.

Mr. Chairman, there is one other consideration that causes me to look with alarm upon the final passage of this bill. We have a class of men in this country who forsook their homes, wives, families, and friends and went to war to save the life of this nation from the attacks of some men who are now attempting to force the passage of this measure. It was a contest in which the life of a nation hung in a balance. These men, with bleeding breasts and shattered constitutions, went down into the very jaws of death and hell itself, to save this nation.

They made it possible for us to have a Government to-day with a Treasury; by their bravery they maintained the policy that has put this pretended surplus in the Treasury. It is theirs; they won it by their valor. And they now ask that they be treated as well as the soldier of the Revolution was; as well as the soldier of the war of 1812 was; and as well as we have treated the Mexican soldier. If the Mexican soldier who fought one year is to go on the pension-roll at sixty-two years of age, why should not the Union soldier who fought for three years go on the pension-roll now?

These brave men at the end of the war agreed that the Confederate soldier should be re-invested with all of his political rights. They by their consent made it possible that many men now occupying seats on the other side of this Chamber could do so. We expect but little from the men from the North who are favoring and pressing the passage of this bill. But we have a right to expect and demand of every Confederate soldier, as a partial return for the favor and leniency the Union soldier had shown you, that you will stand with us and insist that he shall have absolute justice done him before this bill passes. Help us do him justice while the Government is able to pay.

Now, sir, I stand here for one, willing at all times to vote for a reduction of the tariff when it can be done without injury to the industries of my country. But there are two things I am not willing to do. The one is, to degrade the man who by his honest toil makes a living for himself and family. I am not willing by my vote to transfer the surplus of this country to the laborers and manufacturers of the Old World.

Secondly. I am not willing, by my vote, to put it out of the power of the Government to pay the men who, by their bravery and endurance, made it possible for us to have a Government, and a surplus, if such we have. And I say now, and challenge successful contradiction, that the man who by his vote seeks to dispose of this surplus without considering the payment of the honest obligations we owe to our country's defenders is no true friend of the soldier. If every dollar of this surplus was paid out in the shape of pensions that we admit we honestly owe it would not leave the nation one dollar poorer. It would every dollar enter into circulation, and would be much more just and more patriotic than the course that has been proposed by this administration, that of placing this surplus in the national banks and the moneyed corporations of the country to be loaned to the people at a high rate of interest, the Government exacting no interest from the holders of the fund.

Upon this proposition I am willing to appeal to my constituents. I know they are just. I know them to be honest.

In conclusion, allow me to say that by no vote of mine will I stab the industries of this nation or do my comrades the injustice that would follow by the passage of this bill.

Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS R. STOCKDALE,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 5, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes—

Mr. STOCKDALE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The bill under consideration, and which passed the Senate a few days ago, provides for the forfeiture to the United States of all lands heretofore granted to any State or corporation to aid in the construction of a railroad lying opposite to and coterminous with the portion of any such road not now completed and in operation, for the construction or benefit of which lands have been heretofore granted.

The effect of this bill, if the House concur in it and it becomes law, will be to forfeit to the Government and restore to the public domain such portions of said grants through which no railroad has been constructed at the date of the passage of the bill.

The bill reported by the majority of the Committee on Public Lands as a substitute for the Senate bill under consideration provides for the forfeiture to the Government of all lands heretofore granted by Congress to any State or any corporation to aid in the construction of a railroad, or a railroad and telegraph line, opposite to and coterminous with the portions of any such railroad not constructed and completed within the time specified in the act making the grant for the construction and completion of the whole of such railroad. And if this substitute shall become a law it will have the effect to forfeit and restore to the public domain that portion of the grants through which no road was constructed until after the period fixed in the granting act for the completion of the said railroad.

The proposition reported and advocated by the minority of the committee is in effect the same as the Senate bill and would have the effect to forfeit lands only where no road has been constructed and completed.

The amendment proposed to the substitute of the majority of the committee by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. STONE] and the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE] will have the effect, if concurred in, to so change the substitute that if it shall become a law so amended to forfeit all the lands granted to States or corporations for railroads where the company failed to complete the whole road within the time fixed in the granting act for its completion.

There certainly can be no objection to the Senate bill so far as it goes, but the large majority of this House, as I have reason to believe, think the Senate bill does not go far enough. That was the opinion of the majority of the committee, and therefore this substitute was reported. The two members of the committee, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. STONE] and the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE], think that neither the Senate bill nor the substitute goes far enough, and they therefore submit their amendment. The minority of the committee

think that the forfeiture of lands opposite unconstructed portions of the roads is all we can get, and they in effect adhere to the Senate bill.

The House has these three propositions before it, and it may adopt any one of them or reject all of them.

Each of these propositions saves, as it should, to bona fide settlers and innocent purchasers their lands, and the right of way to the railroads and side tracks and depots to the companies.

Mr. Speaker, it will be admitted that the Government of a great nation, nor any branch of it, can not afford to perform any act that would savor of bad faith or that would warrant a suspicion well-founded of bad faith with its citizens, but should and must always occupy the high ground that an honorable man will assume, where, if he must be the arbiter between himself and another, would rather yield a doubtful point than incur the suspicion of having awarded to himself that to which his title was not clear.

No matter that the Government may have the power, no matter that by the strict rules of the common law it may recover, if by any means it has become so involved that in equity and good conscience it ought not to proceed, or if it is in doubt as to whether it can take hold with clean hands, then it should neither handle nor touch the article.

The American Congress, in every bill that it has passed forfeiting lands, has acted on this principle and declined to disturb bona fide settlers and innocent purchasers. The complete and absolute good faith of the Government must remain untarnished. When this character of legislation commenced the construction of a railroad was an arduous enterprise, requiring much time and energy, and was always encouraged by the people.

Then the public domain was immense and the leading American idea was to have it settled and extend civilization and government as rapidly as possible. It was supposed that a settler would prefer to have half the amount of land for a homestead with a railroad at his door than the full amount without transportation, and the scheme of granting half the lands and raising the balance to double price within near distance of a line to States in aid of railroad building in order to extend means of transportation among frontier settlements, and thus accomplish the policy of the Government without loss to the Government or injury to the settler.

In some localities not on the frontier there were areas of land not fertile and far from transportation and that would not likely be occupied for half a century, and to entice railroads through such regions for the benefit of the few inhabitants already there and to induce others to go and settle there such grants were made.

From 1850, commencing with the Illinois Central Railroad, to 1857 grants were made to thirteen States for the construction of about forty-seven railroads, and if my colleague on the committee [Mr. STONE, of Missouri] will allow me I will use his formulated table of those grants which he used in his speech to the House on this subject this morning. I will thereby economize time and space rather than set them out *in extenso* by referring to each act. I thank the gentleman from Missouri for this table. It is as follows:

Statement showing land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads and wagon-roads prior and subsequent to March 4, 1861.

[Compiled from the official records of the General Land Office.]

Names of companies.	State.	Mile limits.	Date of granting act.	Estimated area of entire grant.*	Area certified or patented up to June 30, 1888.
Grants to States prior to Mar h 4, 1861.					
				Acres.	*Acres.*
Illinois Central	Illinois	6 and 15	Sept. 20, 1850	2,595,053.00	2,595,053.00
Mobile and Ohio River	Mississippi	do	do	1,004,640.00	737,130.29
Do	Alabama	do	do	230,400.00	419,528.44
Hannibal and St. Joseph	Missouri	do	June 10, 1852	781,944.00	603,186.34
Pacific (Southwest branch)	do	do	do	1,161,235.07	1,161,164.51
Cairo and Fulton	Missouri and Arkansas.	6 and 15	Feb. 9, 1853	1,178,411.05	1,178,411.05
Little Rock and Fort Smith	do	do	do	550,584.09	559,534.09
Memphis and Little Rock	do	do	do	438,646.00	127,238.00
Burlington and Missouri River	Iowa	do	May 15, 1856	948,643.66	388,934.08
Mississippi and Missouri [Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific]	do	do	do	1,261,181.00	607,461.68
Iowa Central Air Line [Cedar Rapids and Missouri River]	do	do	do	1,298,739.00	1,032,363.28
Dubuque and Pacific	do	do	do	1,226,163.00	1,155,956.54
Florida, Atlantic and Gulf [Pensacola and Florida]	Florida	do	May 17, 1856	1,568,729.07	1,304,963.70
Florida, now Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit	do	do	do	290,183.28	290,183.28
Alabama and Florida	do	do	do	165,688.00	165,688.00
Do	Alabama	do	do	419,520.00	394,522.99
Tennessee and Coosa	do	do	June 3, 1856	132,480.00	67,784.96
Coosa and Chattooga	do	do	do	144,000.00	.....
Wills Valley and Northeast and Southwestern (now Alabama and Chattanooga)	do	do	do	897,920.00	649,676.98
Mobile and Girard	do	do	do	840,880.00	504,145.86
Tennessee and Alabama Central [South and North Alabama]	do	do	do	576,000.00	438,905.99
Alabama and Tennessee Rivers [Selma, Rome and Dalton]	do	do	do	481,920.00	457,215.37
Bay de Noquet and Marquette (now Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon)	Michigan	do	do	128,000.00	128,000.00
Marquette and Ontonagon	do	do	do	331,509.15	262,446.78
Ontonagon State Line [Brulé River]	do	do	do	217,916.95	.....
Marquette and State Line, afterwards known as the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac [Chicago and Northwestern].	do	do	do	360,000.00	240,000.00
Amboy, Lansing and Traverse Bay	do	do	do	1,052,469.19	743,009.36
Grand Rapids and Indiana	do	do	do	852,960.12	852,960.12
Detroit and Milwaukee	do	do	do	355,420.19	30,998.75
Port Huron and Milwaukee	do	do	do	312,384.00	6,468.68
Flint and Pere Marquette	do	do	do	586,828.72	512,337.03
La Crosse and Milwaukee, afterwards Madison and Portage	Wisconsin	.....	.....	3,350.00	1,115.38
La Crosse and Milwaukee, afterwards Farm Mortgage Land Company	do	.....	.....	230,546.88	228,661.43
La Crosse and Milwaukee, afterwards West Wisconsin	do	.....	.....	297,654.32	296,654.32
St. Croix and Lake Superior, now Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha:					
Main line	do	.....	.....	495,047.24	495,047.24
Bayfield Branch	do	6 and 15	.....	319,962.89	319,962.89
Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac [Chicago and Northwestern]	do	do	June 3, 1865	565,575.76	545,575.76
Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas (now Vicksburg, Shreveport and Pacific)	Louisiana	do	do	610,880.00	353,212.68
New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western	do	do	do	967,840.00	51,452.03
Southern [Vicksburg and Meridian]	Mississippi	do	Aug. 11, 1856	404,800.00	198,028.41
Gulf and Ship Island	do	do	do	652,800.00	.....
Minnesota and Pacific, afterwards St. Paul and Pacific	Minnesota	do	Mar. 3, 1857	749,183.37	750,627.68
Minnesota and Pacific [St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba]	do	do	do	885,000.00	388,223.09
Southern Minnesota and Minnesota Valley [St. Paul and Sioux City]	do	do	do	606,000.00	688,133.11
Minneapolis and Cedar Valley [Minnesota Central]	do	do	do	386,041.80	107,823.97
Winona and St. Peter	do	do	do	846,000.00	1,006,072.39
Southern Minnesota	do	do	do	59,619.45	59,619.45
Total to States prior to March 4, 1861				30,470,920.25	23,105,467.98

* The figures of this column are approximately correct, being based on the estimate of the annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office of 1875.

The grant was made to the State of Mississippi to aid in the construction of a railroad from Brandon, Miss., to the Gulf of Mexico, August 11, 1856, to be known as the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad. Alternate sections for six sections on each side of the line, and when the line should be definitely fixed the State would be entitled to indemnity lands for 15 miles on either side; and the lands unsold were to revert to the United States if the road should not be completed in ten years.

On account of the disasters of war and subsequent years, which I have not the time nor inclination to enumerate here, the State was unable to complete the road within the time, nor even to commence it. Since that time a railroad has been constructed from New Orleans, La., to the city of Meridian, in the State of Mississippi, known as the New Orleans and Northeastern Railroad, and crosses the proposed line of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad about 75 miles north of its southern terminus on the Mississippi Sound.

The Gulf and Ship Island road has been graded most of the way from the Gulf to this point where it intersects the New Orleans and Northeastern Railroad, at Hattiesburgh, a beautiful and thriving town built within a few years, with fine schools and churches and a cultured population. The iron has been laid and the road put in operation for 20 miles or more from the Gulf northward toward Hattiesburgh, and it can be completed to that point by January 1, 1889. That will put the town of Hattiesburgh and a large surrounding country in direct communication with the far-famed Mississippi Gulf coast, one of the most healthful and pleasant summer resorts, and perhaps the most attractive winter resort in the United States. It puts them in communication with deep water at the Great Ship Island Harbor.

The State of Mississippi has had this enterprise in contemplation for many years. Her convicts are now employed upon it, and to wipe out the enterprise now with the year half advanced and throw these convicts out of employment will force the result of keeping them in idleness or putting them in competition with honest labor.

I am asked if building railroads is not honest labor. I know of nothing dishonest about it, but the country through which this road runs is an agricultural and timber country; there is no floating population there, and agricultural people and people engaged in logging do not leave their employment to excavate railroad beds, and that employment takes the convicts practically out of competition with the honest labor of the country there.

And gentlemen who, as well as myself, desire to prevent convict labor from coming in competition with honest labor should support this amendment. I do not ask any departure from principle. I am not urging you to vote to take this road out of the forfeiture bill and thereby make a break that will be disastrous to the passage of the bill, as the chairman of the committee seems to apprehend. I am simply asking that the bill be made not to apply to the Gulf and Ship Island road until January 1, 1889, and that whatever portion of it shall be built by the 1st day of January, 1889, be exempted from forfeiture, which will enable them to connect with the New Orleans and Northeastern road at Hattiesburg.

You gentlemen who come from States and districts where your people have had the benefits of these grants can with propriety relent to that extent without compromising any principle or making an inconsistent record on this subject. I am in favor of forfeiting land grants. My constituents are in favor of it wherever it is proper and right that it should be done. I voted in the committee for this bill now under consideration as a substitute for the Senate bill and joined in the report of the majority. I will vote for its passage in the House, as I believe with their approval; but while I can safely say that my constituents favor forfeiture of land grants when it is right and proper to be done, I can as safely say that when it is not right and proper to be done they would not favor it.

They would not soil their own hands by doing an inequitable thing, and would not have their representative favor nor their Government perform an act of questionable honesty or that would inflict unmerited hardship on innocent people, and I therefore voted for in the committee and will support here the provisos in the bill, excepting from forfeiture the right of way, depot grounds, side-tracks, turn-tables, etc., of any railroad company heretofore granted, even through the remainder of the route, and exempting from forfeiture lands held by bona fide settlers and purchasers for a valuable consideration and in good faith, and confirming such titles to said purchasers, notwithstanding that they may have purchased from the State or corporation to which the grant was made long after the time for completing the road had expired and up to January 1, 1888.

Now, the States and corporations to which these grants were made have in law no better title to the right of way and depot grounds and grounds for machine-shops than they have to all the other lands, and if they had no legal title the purchasers from them got none by their purchases. They could get no better title than their vendors had. We declare by this bill, that from the day the time specified in the granting act for the completion of these roads expired and the roads not completed, the States and corporations to which the grants were made forfeited all right to said lands so granted; and if that is not correct then we are wrongdoers in taking from these States and companies lands upon which they have some claim, and doing it without due process of law or compensation.

If it be true that these States and corporations did forfeit all right and claim to said lands when the time prescribed for the completion of the roads expired, the roads not being completed, then they could not confer title on anybody.

Why, then, it may be properly asked, do we in this bill not only except from forfeiture the right of way and depot and machine-shop grounds to the States and railroad companies, but go further and by affirmative act confirm to purchasers from these corporations titles to lands purchased after the right of the corporations to sell had expired?

The answer is easy and is now in every man's mind: purely because it would be a hardship on the settlers and purchasers who had gone on these lands in good faith and performed labor there or paid their money, an act that a government will always decline to perpetrate upon its citizens. I would be ashamed to go home to my constituents with the record preceding me, showing that I had voted for this bill without such provisos and restrictions in it. For that would be to dispossess people who have gone upon these lands in good faith, supposing their title was good, although they were mistaken; dispossess them not only of their lands but of the improvements that cost years of labor, and at the same time provide a way by which land-jumpers and jayhawkers could avail themselves of that land and that labor. The people in some portions of the district I represent despise a man who will enter a home from under the man who has improved it as heartily as the Irish do an informer.

Now, these people went to work in good faith to build the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad. They commenced at the Gulf and worked northward. They have 20 miles or more of the road completed; the grading three-quarters done to the town of Hattiesburgh, on the New Orleans and Northeastern Railroad. If they get there they can utilize what they have done. If they do not get there they will lose all they have done. I am informed that the iron is partly on the ground and partly on the way to finish the road to Hattiesburgh.

Farmers all along the route have changed and are changing their business. People are going in there and have made investments with a view of engaging in business that will be worthless without the railroad, particularly fruit and vegetable culture. And all these enterprises can be accomplished and set on foot by exempting this road as to what can be built by January, or they can all be wiped out by defeating this amendment. I put it on the high and equitable and just ground of hardship that the Government ought not to inflict on her own citizens.

It will do you no good, it will do the country no good; the lands along that part of the road, the southern part of it particularly, will not be settled without the road, and it would not be gratifying to any one to see that work decay and the enterprising settlers compelled to move out. In reply to the suggestion that these people had notice, constructive notice, by the law that the time had expired, I answer that all these settlers and purchasers from railroad companies had the same notice, and yet we not only exempt from this forfeiture the lands purchased by them in the face of the same notice but confirm their titles, and which I heartily approve, because it is right; but their case is no stronger than the case I make here, and I have but to state the facts to convict every gentleman who votes against it of inconsistency.

That the land-grant system has been shamefully abused and that in some instances legislation in that line has been disgraceful needs no evidence to establish. It stares the country and the people in the face. The statute-books furnish the bold confession and honesty blushes at the frauds perpetrated under the guise of law. But those stupendous and shameless transactions by which Government and the people were defrauded of their inheritance and that vast and magnificent domain in the great Northwest went into the possession and ownership of corporations can not be corrected nor atoned for by inflicting a hardship and a wrong on this 75 miles of poor country from Hattiesburgh to Gulf Port, and upon people along the route.

This amendment ought to pass. It will not delay the action of the House on the pending bill, which I believe so amended will pass the House by a very large majority within the hour.

Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants.

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEWIS E. PAYSON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 5, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes—

Mr. PAYSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope to make myself understood in at most thirty minutes in this discussion, and will be under obligation to the Chair if I am notified at the expiration of that period.

I had assumed, sir, that the object of a discussion on any bill was to enlighten those who were to be called upon to vote on it as to its merits or demerits; in other words, that the object of discussion was explanation; and without indulging in any criticism not warranted by what has been said, I would be entirely accurate in asserting that there is not a member of this House who has sat here for the past two hours and who is not familiar with the details of this bill by reason of his own investigation and study who has received from this debate the first idea of the details of the bill of the majority or why it should be supported.

I regret that the chairman of the committee, the distinguished gen-

tleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], felt it his duty in presenting the bill of the committee to the House to entirely disregard in the debate its provisions, and entertain the House with a political discussion and lengthy suggestions as to the policies of the two political parties of this country with reference to general land legislation in the past.

Mr. Speaker, politics have nothing to do to-day, nor have they ever had anything to do, with reference to this question; and I do not propose at this time to go into this subject, although at some later stage in the session it will be my pleasure to do so and to refer somewhat in detail to the general question of land legislation, and who has been responsible, where responsibilities have attached, or who is entitled to credit where any credit shall have obtained for what has been done in the past thirty-five years in connection with land legislation in this country. Whether the Democratic party or the Republican party is entitled to the credit that grew out of the introduction of the homestead law is a matter of no importance here. Whether or not Democrats have divided with Republicans upon this question in times past is a matter that has no possible importance in connection with the subject now pending before this House.

The question is, what action shall the House take with reference to certain lands formerly granted by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads, which roads were not completed within the time required by law, and some of them not wholly completed now?

That is the question, and the only one; and I submit that it is of no possible concern what the position of parties or individuals has been on the question of policy as to the grants themselves.

Action here ought to be intelligent, the result of consideration of facts and the law of the land; and I repeat, sir, that I regret that so far in this debate there has been scarcely a reference to a fact involved in the bill before us.

I trust that a brief statement of the situation will be of assistance to gentlemen who have not made a study of the details of this question.

Beginning in a general way in 1856 the policy was adopted by the General Government of aiding the construction of railroads in the newly settled parts of the country by grants of public lands.

These grants were made in the early history of the policy to the different States for that purpose, and later on to the corporations direct.

All these statutes provided for inspection by sections, usually of 20 miles, of the several roads by the State officials or commissioners appointed by the President, as the grants were to the States or direct to the companies, and if found to be constructed in the manner required, then for the approval and acceptance of the road, and the confirmation to the company of the lands earned by the construction of such section. In some cases patents were provided for to be issued on approval by the commissioners; in others a certification by the Secretary of the Interior, and in some cases the matter rested purely on the conveyance made by the law itself.

All the granting acts contained provisions as to the time within which the several roads should be completed, and with all of them this time has now expired.

I call attention to the table presented in my report which shows at a glance the condition of these roads as to construction, which, with some explanatory statements I shall make later, will make the matter, I trust, intelligible.

This table shows the name of all the other companies not fully complying with the law; the length in miles of the road; the number of miles built within time; the number of miles unbuilt at the date of the expiration of the time limited; the number of miles built since, and accepted by the Government; and the number of miles not now constructed, if any, as to the several roads:

No.	Name of road.	Length.	Built in time.	Unbuilt at expiration of grant.	Built since.	Not now built.	Remarks.
		Miles.	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	*Miles.*	
1	Florida, Atlanta and Gulf Central	370	189	181	181	None.	
2	Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit	237.65	85	152.65	132.65	20	
3	Tennessee and Coosa	36.5	None.	36.5	None.	36.5	Gadsden to Guntersville.
4	Coosa and Chattooga	37.5	None.	37.5	None.	37.5	Gadsden to Georgia State line.
5	Mobile and Girard	223.6	54	169.6	30	139.6	Troy to Mobile.
6	Alabama and Tennessee River	167.35	100	67.35	43.93	23.42	Jacksonville to Gadsden.
7	Marquette and Ontonagon	96	52	46	None.	46	L'Anse to Ontonagon.
8	Ontonagon and Brulé River	75	None.	75	20	55	Rockland to Wisconsin State line.
9	Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw, and Amboy, Lansing and Traverse Bay.	341.37	188.10	153.27	133.27	20	Jonesville to Amboy.
10	Port Huron and Milwaukee	90.5	30.5	60	60	None.	
11	La Crosse and Milwaukee	39	None.	39	39	None.	
12	St. Croix and Lake Superior	243.9	None.	243.9	243.9	None.	North Wisconsin, now Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha.
13	Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas	190	94	96	96	None.	
14	Gulf and Ship Island	170	None.	170	None.	170	
15	Minnesota and Pacific	445.8	208.19	237.61	232.24	5.37	Now St. Paul, Minneapolis, Manitoba, and St. Vincent extension and Brainard Branch St. Paul and Pacific.
16	Southern Minnesota and Minnesota Valley	215	190	25	None.	25	Now St. Paul and Sioux City. St. Anthony to Shakopee not built.
17	Southern Minnesota (act March 3, 1857)	76.5	18	58.5	None.	58.5	Houston to Rochester. But 22.5 miles of this is built by Southern Minnesota under act July 4, 1866.
18	Portage and Winnebago	341	248	93	9	84	Now Wisconsin Central.
19	Sioux City and St. Paul	83.16	56.25	26.91	None.	26.91	Sioux City to Lemars.
20	Northern Pacific	2,262.81	530.5	1,732.81	1,507.31	225	Portland to Wallula.
21	Southern Minnesota (act July 4, 1866)	279.51	149.35	130.02	130.02	None.	
22	Hastings, Minnesota and Red River of the North	202.1	74	128.1	128.1	None.	Hastings and Dakota Railroad.
23	Oregon and California	360	197	163	163	None.	
24	California and Oregon	304	152	152	152	None.	
25	Southern Pacific of California	556	232	324	240	84	Mileage, San José to Needles. San José to Tres Pinos, 50 miles, and Huron to Mohave, 182 miles, in time. Mohave to Needles, 240 miles, after time.
	Total	7,445.61	2,847.89	4,598.22	3,541.42	1,056.8	

When the time expired within which all these roads should have been completed thirty-seven aided roads were not completed as required by law.

Of these, indeed, no part has been built of nine of them, leaving twenty-eight that have been built in part, or all "out of time."

Of these grants, twelve have been declared forfeited, leaving twenty-five to be acted on, as shown by the table I have referred to.

Of these twenty-five roads, nine have been constructed, examined, and accepted by the President and executive officers, though partly "out of time;" leaving sixteen partly constructed, a portion unbuilt, and the constructed portions, with but a single exception of a 20-mile section, as I am advised, likewise accepted by the proper officers.

The unconstructed portions of the sixteen roads cover 1,056.8 miles, and involve some 7,000,000 acres of land.

The length of road built "out of time" and accepted is 3,541.42 miles.

Now, the bill of the committee proposes to forfeit the title to all lands opposite roads constructed "out of time," as to all roads protecting bona fide purchasers, etc., with other provisions I do not deem it necessary to notice here.

The substitute which I offer proposes to forfeit the title to all lands lying opposite the line of unbuilt road, saving the right of settlers, and reserving to the Government all rights to declare other and further forfeiture for any failure of the company, past or future, to comply with its contract.

This is the substitute:

A bill to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby forfeited to the United States, and the United States hereby resumes the title thereto, all lands heretofore granted to any State or to any corporation to aid in the construction of a railroad opposite to and coterminous with the portion of any such railroad not now completed and in operation, for the construction or benefit of which lands have heretofore been granted; and all such lands are declared to be a part of the public domain: *Provided*, That this act shall not be construed as forfeiting the right of way or depot grounds of any railroad company heretofore granted, or lands included in any city, town, or village site.

SEC. 2. That all persons who, at the date of the passage of this act, are actual settlers in good faith on any of the lands hereby forfeited and are otherwise qualified, on making due claim on said lands under the homestead law, within six months after the passage of this act, shall be entitled to a preference right to enter the same under the provisions of the homestead law, and this act, and shall be regarded as such actual settlers from the date of actual settlement or

occupation; and any person who has not herteofore had the benefit of the homestead or pre-emption law, or who has failed from any cause to perfect the title to a tract of land heretofore entered by him under either of said laws, may make a second homestead entry under the provisions of this act.

The Secretary of the Interior will make such rules as will secure to such actual settlers these rights.

SEC. 3. That nothing in this act shall be construed to waive or release in any way any right of the United States to have any other lands granted by them, as recited in the first section, forfeited for any failure, past or future, to comply with the conditions of the grant.

Resuming now, Mr. Speaker, the history of the matter, until the expiration of the time for construction there was little difficulty in the administration of the affairs of these grants; but when the time expired, and roads were not completed, then the question arose as to what were the rights of the companies in the land thereafter, if any.

What the condition of the title was then and there; whether, the time having expired, the road had the right to go on and construct, have the road accepted, and receive patents from the General Government—that was the question presented. It presented this question of technical real-estate law: What the condition as to time was in the act of Congress making the grant to the railroad company; whether it was a condition-precedent, as known in the law, or a condition-subsequent. If it was a condition-precedent, then all lawyers agreed that before the railroad would be entitled to an acre of land there must be full performance within the time limited in the act. If it was a condition-subsequent, then it was equally clear that the title passed when Congress passed the act, and by the act; that the railroad company was vested with a present interest in and title to the land subject to the condition; and that that interest and title—and I use the term in as strong a sense as it can be used—which was then in the railroad company could not be divested except by an affirmative act of Congress or by a judicial proceeding authorized by act of Congress.

The first case presented that went to the Supreme Court of the United States, where that question was decided, was the case of Schulenberg *vs.* Harriman, reported in 21 Wallace. The opinion is found on page 63. The case begins on page 44.

I pause here to notice the statement made by the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], the chairman of the committee, in which he asserted, as I understood him, and I think the RECORD will bear me out, that no court had decided that, where the provision in the grant as that unless the road should be completed within a given time no further sale should be made and the lands unsold should revert to the United States, there was any permission to sell after that. I stated in interrupting him that the Supreme Court decided exactly the reverse; and I state now in my own time that not only had the Supreme Court decided exactly the reverse of the doctrine stated by the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, and to which I will refer presently, but that decision of the Supreme Court has never been reversed. It has never been modified. Three opinions of the Attorney-General of the United States have been given in consonance with that doctrine, and it has been the settled law of the Government of the United States from 1879 down to to-day in the Executive Departments of this Government. It was so held by the Hayes administration. It was so held in the Garfield and Arthur administrations, and is the settled doctrine of this Administration to-day. It has never been disputed in Executive circles. The President of the United States, within the past few days, has appointed commissioners to examine a section of the Northern Pacific Railroad, with a view of giving patents for the railroad constructed within the last year, long since "out of time." The Supreme Court of the United States in passing upon this question as a matter of technical law, and in speaking of this very state of case to which I have referred, after referring to the act, and deciding that the grant was one conveying title *in presenti*, and that the condition was "subsequent," say:

The prohibition in this section against further sales, if the road be not completed within the period prescribed, adds nothing to the force of the provision. A cessation of sales in that event is implied in the condition that the land shall then revert. If the condition be not enforced the power to sell continues as before the breach, limited only by the objects of the grant—

Namely, the building of the railroad—

and the manner of sale prescribed in the act.

That is the language of the Supreme Court in the case of Schulenberg *vs.* Harriman. I do not debate whether the Supreme Court was right or wrong, but quote from the opinion of the court, and it will be seen that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] is entirely in error as to the decided law.

At this point, in reply to an inquiry made quietly of me by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. COBB], as to whether there is any difference between the grants which were made to the States and the grants which were made directly to corporations, I say that there is no difference whatever. There never has been an instance known where the State has done other than to convey the land to the railway company, and the cases all go—and I will take pleasure in showing the gentleman a half-dozen of them at my leisure—the cases all go to the extent of holding that, in the grants to the States, the State is simply the trustee for whatever beneficiary it may choose to give the land to later on. This has never been questioned to my knowledge. In some of the acts of Congress the corporation was named, in some the corporation was not named, but the grant was made direct to the State, and the State has always been held to be a trustee to convey the lands to the railway company as the different sections of construction progressed.

Mr. COBB. Is the language similar in both cases?

Mr. PAYSON. Exactly the same in all cases. There is, however, a difference in the reservation of the right of forfeiture. In some the reservation applies to unsold lands, in others to unpatented lands, in others to lands that have not have been certified; but the general proposition of conveyance is identical in all these grants.

Now, Mr. Speaker, to resume: When the time expired within which these roads should have been constructed and they were not constructed, the question was presented to the Interior Department as to what course it should take with reference to them. The first case presented was that of the Southern Minnesota Railroad. At that time Attorney-General Devens delivered an elaborate opinion, which I hold in my hand but will not now take the time to read. That was followed by an opinion by Attorney-General Brewster. There have been in all four different opinions upon the question, all of them of the same purport and all holding that as to every one of these grants without exception, until Congress shall have affirmatively interfered by asserting a forfeiture of the grant or authorizing a judicial proceeding to work a forfeiture, the railway company has the right to go on and construct the road "out of time," and if the road so constructed was accepted by the General Government then the company was entitled to the land for constructed road. I can not make it any more explicit than that, and I assert here—referring to these two opinions of the Attorneys-General cited in the minority report which I make—I assert here that there can not be found any authority in the executive department anywhere that is, even in the most shadowy way, against that proposition.

That the House may be fully advised, I quote from the opinion of Mr. Attorney-General Devens, to which I have referred. After citing the Schulenberg case, and reasoning the matter, he says:

In direct answer to your inquiry upon this point I therefore reply that the Department is authorized by law to issue patents to the State of Minnesota for lands opposite that portion of the road constructed in sections of 10 consecutive miles since February 26, 1877, the date at which, according to the fourth section of the act of July 4, 1866, it was provided, in the event the road was not completed, the lands not patented should revert to the United States, and this for the reason above stated, that no act, legislative or judicial, has been taken to revest the title of the United States.

And in the A. and P. case, page 576, volume 18, Opinions Attorney-General:

I am therefore of opinion that the grant to the railroad has not been forfeited by its failure to build its road within the time named in the act, no action by reason of the failure to perform the conditions having been taken by authority of Congress.

It having then a present grant, even if it be treated as one liable to forfeiture, it still has a right to proceed to construct the road, and until, in some form, advantage shall be taken of the breach of the conditions, it would be the duty of the Executive Department to give it the benefit of the grant.

As I have said, sir, this has been the settled law of the executive department of the Government, acquiesced in by Presidents Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, and Cleveland, and now being administered by the latter, and all of the Secretaries of the Interior and Attorneys-General during the different administrations named.

Mr. Speaker, I cite these authorities, not to indorse them, but to show that opinions adverse to those I have entertained and expressed with such force as I could command have been entertained by those whose opinions are entitled to respect and who have opposed in the House and in the Senate forfeiture bills based on the principle of the committee's bill.

I have always taken, as the House knows, broad grounds on the question of power on the part of Congress to declare these forfeitures, and I stand by what I have said on these questions as to individual cases of railroads on the question of power. In all our investigations of statutes, principles, and decided cases I have always, as I do now, given the Government the benefit of the broadest construction possible, but in none of the decided cases in the Supreme Court was the status of lands lying opposite constructed road in express terms defined and fixed, nor in any United States circuit court decision until the recent case of Denny *vs.* Dobson in the Oregon circuit, recently decided by Justice Field.

I premise what I am about to read by the statement that this is a case in which the opinion was delivered by Mr. Justice Field holding a circuit court in Oregon, and the precise question was presented as to what was the status of land lying opposiste road which was constructed, but constructed out of time, as between the railroad company and a party claiming it under the town-site law.

And I desire to say further that until this opinion was promulgated there had never been an opinion by the Supreme Court which covered in precise terms that exact question, and in this case, without stopping to read the entire opinion, I state to the House the substance of what it decides. The decision is, in effect, that when the railroad is constructed, although out of time, if it is accepted by the Government, then the title to the land becomes absolute in the railroad company, and the power of declaring a forfeiture on the part of Congress is absolutely

gone. This case has been before the Committee on the Public Lands, and the members of that committee are familiar with it. It settles the law of the question, provided it shall be affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. The party in interest claiming under the general land law and against the railroad company did not appeal from that decision, and so it remains a decision of the United States circuit court as to the law of the case, but I am authorized to say (the information coming to me from gentlemen high in authority) that before this opinion was promulgated by Judge Field it was submitted informally to the other members of the Supreme Court, and concurred in informally by them. So much of the opinion as I think important in connection with this question I add here.

The case is reported in volume 32, Federal Reporter, page 889.

In that, the court holds that the grant was *in præsenti*; that the title to the land passed by the grant, under condition; that—

"While a legal title to the sections described, as distinguished from a merely equitable or inchoate interest, passed to the railroad company by the act, it was not a title that could be disposed of by the company without the consent of Congress, except as each 25-mile section of the road was completed and accepted by the President, so as to cut off the right of the United States to compel the application of the lands to the purpose for which they were granted, or to prevent their forfeiture in case of the company's failure to perform the conditions of the grant."

Speaking of the construction, acceptance by the President (and issue of patent where the statute provides for patent, but which, all the committee agree, does not make additional title), the court says:

"They would identify the lands which are coterminous with completed road; they would be evidence that the grantee, in the construction of that portion of the road, had fully complied with the conditions of the grant, and to that extent the grant was relieved of the possibility of forfeiture for breach of its conditions.

"The lands were granted to aid in the construction of the road.

"The road opposite the premises in controversy having been completed and accepted, the title however imperfect, whilst incumbered, if it may be so termed, by the uses to which the lands were to be applied, has become perfect and indefeasible; and the costs of surveying, selecting, and conveying the lands having been paid, the only remaining obstacle to their sale, or other disposition, has been removed."

This opinion is directly in point and against the committee's bill; but I do not base my action here upon that, or upon the direct question of power at all.

As this question is presented, it is not necessary to discuss the question of the power of Congress to declare the broad forfeitures proposed, but one of practicable legislation as I hope to show.

I am in favor of our substitute because it is practical, because it forfeits every acre of land about which there is no contest or dispute as to power, because these lands lying opposite unconstructed road can be, by the concurrent action of the House and Senate, restored to settlement as public lands, and without any discussion of disputed questions of power, and I present it solely on the ground now of policy.

The Senate has for years, with almost entire unanimity, adopted the view of the law as to power that the Executive and the Department has held; it has repeatedly and almost, if not absolutely, unanimously refused, time after time this session, as well as past, to forfeit any lands lying opposite constructed road; and therefore I am for this substitute, because we can pass it; and, as I verily believe, it is all we can pass, and therefore it ought to pass. Especially as no right of the Government is lost; all its rights are preserved as to the balance of the lands.

Let this be remembered: every right to declare further forfeitures is expressly reserved, and by no possibility can the Government lose a right or advantage by the passage of our substitute.

On the other hand, if the House pass the committee's bill the Senate will as certainly reject it; and if both Houses stand by its action, nothing will be accomplished.

The railroads go on constructing; the Administration accepts the road; the title is clouded by the accepted claim of the company, to say the least, and if the Department rule shall be ultimately held to be the law, then the land which could be saved is lost, and we give away what we could save simply to tender an issue to the Senate. I am not for that; and base my action here solely on the ground of policy, and what I believe I know is for the best interest of the Government, the saving of several millions of acres of land beyond the possibility of loss, and without yielding a principle, nor, indeed, having the necessity of discussing the principle.

I trust I make myself fully understood in this. There is not a gentleman here, no matter how radical his views may be, but that can vote for this substitute, for it yields nothing and takes all that is not debatable.

I desire practical legislation that can be accomplished without a sacrifice of principle. And I do not forget, and I beg gentlemen to remember, that in all the forfeitures made since this agitation began, aggregating over 50,000,000 acres, there has never been an acre forfeited lying opposite constructed roads, because the Senate has adopted and insisted on the view taken by the Attorneys-General and adopted by the Presidents, respectively.

Mr. McRAE. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. PAYSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. McRAE. If the gentleman's position is correct, why make the reservation of the right to make the forfeiture?

Mr. PAYSON. For the reason that the House of Representatives can then act with reference to those grants which it thinks ought to be forfeited, and leave the responsibility with the other end of the Capitol, as we did last year; and we have bills as to individual roads pending now in the House presenting that very question.

Mr. McRAE. Why not do it now?

Mr. PAYSON. Is the gentleman serious in that question? The gentleman has asked me a question and I have answered; let him answer me one in all seriousness. Will the gentleman say to this House that he harbors the thought that the amendment which he reports will ever be passed at the other end of the Capitol, or in this House, even?

Mr. McRAE. I think it will if this House sends the bill there by a strong vote.

Mr. PAYSON. Does the gentleman say that in good faith?

Mr. McRAE. I do.

Mr. PAYSON. That is all. The gentleman asserts to this House that as a member of the House he believes that a bill declaring a forfeiture of the entire railroad land grant made by Congress in cases where part but not all the road was completed within the time prescribed would pass the Senate of the United States. When the gentleman says that I leave the matter with him.

Mr. McRAE. Do you mean to say that a Republican Senate will not do it?

Mr. PAYSON. I do not say "Republican Senate" or "Democratic Senate," but I do not think any Senate or any House will pass such a measure. I do not think this House will, or ought to. Why is it that the gentleman always wants to bring politics into this question? This bill which has passed the Senate passed there without a division.

Mr. McRAE. But the Senate is Republican.

Mr. PAYSON. There was no division in the Senate on this bill, and there was never any suggestion there on the Democratic side in favor of the proposition that the gentleman asserts and supports here; there has never been such a suggestion made there to my knowledge, and the gentleman knows that there is no question of politics made on the measure there or here.

Mr. McRAE. I think the gentleman is mistaken about that.

Mr. PAYSON. I know I am not in error as to that. But that is neither here nor there. We do know, as a matter of practical business, that this bill of ours, the minority bill, which will forfeit between seven and eight million acres—gentlemen over there say about 5,000,000 acres, but that is a mistake—can be passed. There is no question about it either as to power or policy. If we pass this bill we get that amount of land back. If we fail to adopt this measure and pass the bill of the majority of the committee, if that should meet the approval of the House (though I do not believe it will), what is the effect? The measure dies for this Congress. What will be done then? These railroad companies will go on constructing their roads under the decisions of the executive department, under the appointment of commissioners made by the President of the United States, and earning the lands section by section, as held by the Executive, so that two years from now, when the question shall come up again, a large portion of this land, which is now free and clear, which nobody is claiming, which we can forfeit as easily as we can turn our hand over, is either clouded by a claim on the part of the railroad company or the title has absolutely passed to them by decisions of the courts.

I am opposed to the committee's bill. I do not believe in passing on these questions where there are disputes and differences in an omnibus bill.

Involved in every case of partly constructed road there are always two questions, one the question of power, the other of policy, and each case should stand on its own merits and be determined by itself.

For instance, I have always insisted as a matter of policy, as a matter of countervailing equity, no matter what the technical rule of law might be, that whenever a railroad was constructed and accepted under the rule held by the Government, and especially before any hostile legislation was reported against it, Congress ought not to interfere. I have held this in numerous cases, and stand to it to-day.

Again, I have favored entire forfeiture of grants where a part of the road had been constructed and accepted, especially where I believed that the construction was only colorable, as in the case of the Ontonagon and Brulé River road in Michigan.

And in this committee bill, which deals *en masse* with all defaulting roads, treating all alike, and because, as I shall presently attempt to show, many of them ought not to be interfered with in the showing made, I am opposed to it.

I have always so insisted——

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Will my colleague allow me a question?

Mr. PAYSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. In the Forty-seventh Congress, when my colleague and I were both members of the Judiciary Committee, did he not join in signing a report in relation to the forfeiture of the grant to the Northern Pacific Railroad——

Mr. PAYSON. Oh, yes; and my colleague ought to remember——

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Allow me to finish my question. Did not the gentleman sign a report declaring that it was within the power of the

Government to forfeit every acre of the land granted to that company which was not earned before the 4th day of July, 1879; that we had the right to do so?

Mr. PAYSON. Of course; and I say so now. If the gentleman will come over here and sit "under the droppings of the sanctuary," I will try to give him an idea or two with reference to this question. I take the same position now, and shall adhere to it until driven from it by judicial decision. But can not the gentleman understand the difference between power and policy? If we have the power to take, is it therefore the policy always to do so?

Mr. TOWNSHEND. But my colleague——

Mr. PAYSON. I will meet the question the gentleman has asked. I have asserted that Congress has the power to do many things that it ought not to do. I am not referring now particularly to the Northern Pacific Railroad grant. I will come to that.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. My colleague will allow me to correct him. He then declared not only that Congress had the right to make that forfeiture, but that it was the duty of Congress to forfeit all lands not earned by that company prior to the 4th of July, 1879.

Mr. PAYSON. I will repeat what I said; and I hope that during the remainder of my time my colleague will not interrupt me again. I repeat that wherever a road has been constructed in the absence of hostile legislation, that road ought not to be interfered with. In the case of the Northern Pacific Railroad a bill looking to forfeiture has been pending ever since I have been in public life. Do I make myself understood by my colleague? There is a difference between that case and many others. I will refer to one. I do not see the gentleman from Florida [Mr. DOUGHERTY] in his seat now, who gives me the information; perhaps his colleague [Mr. DAVIDSON] will verify what I am about to say as to the case. This majority bill declares a forfeiture of the road leading from Jacksonville to Pensacola, calling it the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad, which, when this official report of the Land Office which I hold in my hand was written was divided into two sections—one portion being the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central, the other, the Pensacola and Atlantic. The grant was made to the State of Florida, was divided and conferred on the two roads. All of the eastern division from Jacksonville to Quincy, and 130 miles in addition to the west, were built within the time named by the act, and accepted by the General Government. The prosecution of the building of that road, as appears in the official records, was interfered with by the late war. The Confederate government took possession of that line of road as well as the one leading south, tore up the rails and carried them off to be used for military operations in other portions of the Confederacy.

No further steps were taken with reference to the building of that line of road until after the war, when some capitalists took hold of it under an assurance from the Interior Department that they should be recognized if they built the road. The balance, 181 miles, was built and accepted. There was never any measure of hostile legislation proposed in reference to that until long after its completion. It has been carrying the mails at the reduced rates of compensation fixed in our appropriation bills for years as a land-grant road, ever since its acceptance. Yet, under the doctrine of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MCRAE], that entire grant would be forfeited, and under the bill reported by the chairman of the committee those 181 miles would be declared forfeited.

Does the gentleman from Illinois, my colleague [Mr. TOWNSHEND], see any difference on a question of policy between such a case and the other? And would his vote and action be the same in both cases, if the rule of law was even the same when applied to both? And would he say he would forfeit the entire grant? I would not. I have always stood by that policy. So has every administration since this agitation began.

An instance of similar character was the case of the New Orleans Pacific in the Forty-eighth Congress. That road was built entirely "out of time," and there being a question raised as to the validity of the title to its lands, because of this Mr. Secretary Lamar specially called attention to it in his annual report to Congress and recommended the passage of a bill prepared in the Department to confirm expressly the title to the lands. The bill passed and President Cleveland approved it, and it became a law, because it was the proper thing to do.

Mr. OATES, of Alabama. Will the gentleman permit me to make a statement.

Mr. PAYSON. With pleasure.

Mr. OATES. On a divided report from the Public Lands Committee as to the forfeiture of the grant to the Louisiana Backbone road, the New Orleans Pacific properly, the legal question was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and a report was made through its able chairman, thirteen members agreeing that Congress had no right to forfeit that grant under the circumstances of the case, two members only dissenting. Afterwards, upon full debate in this Houte, the proposition to forfeit was voted down, and yet under the bill reported by the majority all of that grant would be forfeited.

Mr. PAYSON. The chairman of the committee to whom the gentleman has referred was the distinguished gentleman from Virginia, John Randolph Tucker.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Illinois has now occupied twenty minutes of his time.

Mr. PAYSON. I will occupy a few minutes more, because I am on a subject upon which I desire to complete my statement.

I am opposed to the committee bill, because of the proposed action as to the Port Huron and Milwaukee grant. It proposes a forfeiture of 60 miles of grant for road built "out of time," when Congress, by the act of March 3, 1879 (20 Stat., page 490), has expressly relinquished to the State of Michigan all the interest the General Government has or had in the lands for the benefit of the road, all the lands that remained.

Take the St. Croix and Lake Superior, now the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha, 243 miles in length. The grant was to the State; it was finally made to this company; not a rod of road was built in the time named in the act, but it was all built, and "out of time," and accepted by the President, and is doing the public service at the reduced rate, and no hostile legislation has been proposed as against it till very recently and long after all was done, and yet the committee propose to forfeit its entire grant, validating sales as a favor.

So with the Hastings and Dakota; 74 miles were built in time; the State extended the time, and within that extension the road was completed, accepted by the Government, and burdened with the obligation of a "land-grant road," which it is still performing; 128 miles are "out of time" and never attacked till this year, though all the above was years before this.

Again, the Southern Pacific, from Mojave to the Needles, on the Colorado River, was authorized to meet the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad there for a route from that point to San Francisco. Its route from the latter city to Yuma, where it was to meet the Texas Pacific, was constructed to Yuma in time, but the Atlantic and Pacific was badly behind in reaching the Needles; and, although the Southern Pacific was nearly a year in advance of the Atlantic and Pacific at the meeting point, and no business to be done till the latter company did reach there, as the Southern Pacific route was, for the 240 miles over the Mojave Desert, then and still a desert in its broadest sense.

It was constructed and accepted before any business could possibly come to it, and this would be forfeited by the committee substitute.

Again, take the case of the Minnesota and Pacific, now the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad; 208 miles was built in time, and 232 "out of time," all constructed and accepted in 1879, and since then carrying the burdens of a land-grant road, and its right never questioned till now to my knowledge. Yet the entire grant is proposed to be forfeited by the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri, and the 232 miles by the committee bill. I am opposed to this.

These are only samples. You may run all these bill through, and I will not take the time of the House to refer to them all, and there are sixteen of them in that condition where the roads have been constructed; and all the obligations of land-grant roads have been imposed upon them and borne by them; and yet this majority bill proposes to forfeit these grants. That bill can never pass the Senate. We all agree to that. No one has ventured to assert a belief that it can pass the Senate. People differ as to this question, and differ honestly, basing their judgment on the cases and opinions I have cited. Gentlemen are as sincere in their opinions in this matter as I am in mine. We entertain opposite views as to the question of power. But I am not speaking of or discussing the question of power at all, for it is not necessary on the substitute I present. In it I am presenting a practical proposition by which we can reclaim beyond question somewhere between 7,000,000 and 9,000,000 acres of public lands which are clearly subject to forfeiture, and all agree can and should be forfeited, and this will relieve the situation of all lands about which there is no dispute, leaving the other question as to broader forfeitures, and about which, both as to power and policy, there is dispute, to further action by Congress.

It is a practical, practicable proposition and should have the approval of this House. If this bill should fail, and the Northern Pacific road should go on and construct that line of road down the Columbia River valley, it is evident that under the recent decisions of the court that railroad company would be legally entitled to the benefit of the provisions of the act and get that land—some four or five millions of acres.

Mr. HERMANN. Let me suggest to the gentleman from Illinois that 2,000,000 acres of the public lands have been already lost by reason of similar neglect.

Mr. PAYSON. Certainly; and I am very glad the gentleman from Oregon has called my attention to the fact. We attempted during the last Congress to pursue the course in reference to legislation as far as the Northern Pacific road was concerned, in the line of the committee's bill, which failed. I was one of the conferees appointed to meet the Senate conferees with reference to that bill. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. COBB] and myself were two, and I have forgotten the other, though perhaps it was Mr. STONE, of Missouri; no, it was the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Strait. We insisted in that conference com-

mittee that we would not yield from the principle of the committee's bill.

They proposed to declare substantially as they do now, an act for the forfeiture of the land along and opposite the unconstructed portions of the road. There was an unconstructed branch across the Cascade Mountain range, I think 114 miles in distance, involving near 3,000,000 of acres; and the Public Lands Committee and the House of Representatives stood by the House bill for the broad forfeiture which failed, and the result has been, sir, that since the last Congress the Northern Pacific Company has constructed this road across there, and the question as to the title to these 3,000,000 acres of land is, to say the least of it, clouded and probably lost to the Government.

Mr. PETERS. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. PAYSON. Certainly.

Mr. PETERS. Will the forfeiture of the land proposed in your bill at all prejudice action upon the remainder of the lands not included in it?

Mr. PAYSON. Not at all. I have stated before and called the attention of the House to the fact that this does not abridge or interfere with in any manner the right of Congress to declare a further forfeiture to the extent of the unearned lands in regard to any individual roads. And more than that, we have reported from the Committee on the Public Lands various declarations of forfeiture in individual roads, which are in the hands of the individual members of the committee to be reported for action singly at the proper time, and on the principle of the committee's bill.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman allow me a question? If I understand him properly, he claims that the majority of the committee insist upon doing that which they can not accomplish. Or, at any rate, they seek to accomplish that which prevents them from doing what it is admitted they have the right to do and the power to accomplish; and in so failing, are they not in fact fighting the battle of the railroads as against the interests of the people, to whom these public lands belong?

Mr. PAYSON. That is a matter of inference which each must settle for himself.

Mr. Speaker, there is another factor in this case which is of great importance.

For many years past, since the expiration of the time fixed for the completion of the roads named, and they were not completed, settlers have been going upon these lands, in some cases by permission of the land officers, and in others on advice by attorneys, all in the belief that they could make title sooner or later under the homestead law, but who are prevented from so doing by the technical condition of the title and the failure of Congress to act.

Notably this is so in the Ontonagon grant in Michigan. Hundreds of settlers are upon these lands there, all asking for action by Congress, that they may make their proofs and perfect their entries.

The Senate bill or any substitute is favored by them all. I have received numerous letters from their representatives asking for early action, which will be effective, and can pass.

It should be remembered that a bill to forfeit this grant for the benefit of settlers was the very first bill of that kind reported to Congress; it came from the Judiciary Committee in the Forty-seventh Congress, and was reported by Mr. E. B. TAYLOR, of Ohio.

Year after year—and later mainly because the bill attempted forfeiture of land opposite constructed road—it has failed of passage, and the settlers are to-day where they were eight years ago, without substantial aid, still hoping for some action.

Now, why should not the other side of the House join with us and pass this substitute, which will pass the Senate, and relieve these settlers and save this land for them?

Understand me, Mr. Speaker, I am in favor, if I can secure it, of a total forfeiture of that grant, and will do the best I can to secure it, but I do not believe it can be. I know this partial forfeiture can be had if gentlemen on the other side will aid, and so these settlers be saved.

A large number of settlers on the Gulf and Ship Island are in like condition, and I warn gentlemen, if this substitute is defeated and the committee's bill adopted, and a conference fails, the railroads go on building, and the President accepting, these lands go to the railroads, and the settlers must buy from them.

I divest myself of all responsibility as to that by my action here to-day, and insist that it is our duty to restore what we can and take such action as to disputed questions as we shall be advised is best later on.

I am anxious to avoid the experiences in the past with the Senate where disputes over questionable House legislation has caused failure of all results.

I do not question the sincerity of members of the other body. I speak only of the situation, and as the adoption of the substitute I offer involves no yielding of principle on the part of any member here, as it will give relief to a vast number of settlers whose rights are now only shadowy under the law, and as it reserves all rights asserted by the committee's bill, to be exercised hereafter as we shall determine, I trust the substitute will be adopted.

Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JUDSON C. CLEMENTS,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 5, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes—

Mr. CLEMENTS said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not believe the conduct and management of the subsidized land-grant railroads towards the Government has been such as to demand any consideration of sympathy beyond their strict legal right. Therefore the limit of the power of Congress to forfeit the lands granted is the only limit which I would consider in my vote. There is no more pressing obligation upon Congress to the people of this country than to pass this bill; and in view of the situation I myself will vote for the largest forfeiture and leave the railroads to secure their rights in the courts, if there be any doubt about the power of Congress.

I will do so the more readily because in each of the propositions pending before the House ample provision is made for the complete protection of all innocent holders and purchasers of any part of these lands. Bad as the policy has been of squandering in the interest of rich, oppressive, and powerful corporations and monopolies this magnificent property of the people, it would not be right now to disturb the bona fide settlers and innocent purchasers who prior to any proceedings to forfeit the grants have invested in, and in many cases built and improved, homes thereon. With all questions of this sort eliminated as they are in all the propositions pending, there remains the single naked question between the Government, the people, on the one hand and these corporations on the other, and between them alone.

Is any principle of law, equity, or good conscience infringed by declaring the proposed forfeitures? In order to justly and intelligently judge of this question it is proper to state the separate propositions upon which we are called now to act and the theory upon which each stands. This I hope to do briefly. I will not, in referring to amounts of land in this connection, speak with exact accuracy as to the number of acres, but will use round numbers approaching accuracy. The legislation from which comes this controversy is found in the acts of former Congresses granting to certain railroad companies, whose lines were to be constructed through certain of the States and Territories comprising public lands, certain definite portions of these lands, upon conditions in each case that the roads should be completed to certain points within specified times named in the grants.

No one of the three propositions now before the House proposes the forfeiture of an acre of such land where this condition was performed within the time named in the conditional grant. All of them propose to deal only with cases where the condition was not performed in time. The Senate bill proposes a forfeiture of about five and a half millions of acres, being a withdrawal only from these grants of that part not yet claimed by the companies, where the lines have not yet been extended to the points designated in the grants, although the time for doing so has long since confessedly expired. To call this a forfeiture is a misnomer. It is simply a withdrawal of a supposed right of these companies to earn these lands by extending their lines, but which I deny is their right now.

The substitute which a majority of the House Committee on Public Lands proposes provides for a forfeiture of about 54,000,000 acres. This includes all of the lands embraced in the Senate bill, and in addition thereto all contiguous to that portion of the roads built out of time, or after the time limited in the grant. The amendment offered by the minority of the committee declares a forfeiture of the entire grant in each case where the road was not completed to the point named in the grant within the time specified in the same. This proposition if adopted would forfeit and restore to the public domain about 74,000,000 acres.

Choosing between these three propositions and looking to the public interest as well as justice to all, I shall unhesitatingly vote for the latter. Then, if that fails, for the substitute offered by the committee. But I will not vote for the Senate bill in any event, for while it withdraws from any claimed right of the companies to yet earn the five and a half millions of acres covered by it, the effect of it is to confirm in these companies the disputed title to the remaining sixty-eight and a half millions. Thus by this wholesale confirmation of title in the railroad companies to lands in dispute, and to which I believe they have neither a just nor equitable claim, the Senate bill would carry more evil than good.

I believe that one of the most unwise and improvident policies of

past legislation has been the wholesale granting of the public lands as subsidies to corporations to hire them to build their own roads for their own profits. I do not believe it was wise or right for Congress to dispose of the public property in this way. But those who justify it upon grounds of public policy and urge that it has benefited the whole country by opening up the great West to settlement and civilization, and say that this was the object of it, must in harmony with this argument admit that in view of that object time was of the greatest importance in complying with the conditions of the grants, which I believe should, in justice to the public, be construed strictly.

If the grants were justifiable upon the ground of such public policy and purpose, it does not follow that the companies had a right to build their lines only at their pleasure and as fast only as they could profit by the ordinary traffic and business, regardless of such public purpose and regardless of time, except so far as time developed the success and gave assurance of the profitableness of their investments in a large degree without reference to the grants, and at the same time hold the Government bound. I do not believe the ordinary rule of law requiring the grantor to enter in order to terminate the conditional grant after a failure on the part of the grantee to perform the conditions can be properly invoked in this case.

The grant carried on its face the plain condition. The Government could not as an individual enter, and it is claimed could only do so by virtue of legislative action. Such action has been too long deferred, but I do not believe the rights of the parties to the grant have been changed by the delay. Be this as it is, able legal minds have reached the conclusion that we have the power to forfeit all the lands where the conditions were not performed within the time required by the grants, but a contention has arisen as to the justice and propriety of such action. Believing it to be just and right to do so, I will so vote. It is interesting to go back into the history of the acquirement and disposition of the public domain. I am indebted to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, for the following table, showing when and how the public domain was acquired, and how and by whom it has been disposed of.

		Acres.
Ceded to the United States by Virginia and other States east of the Mississippi		259,171,787
Acquired under Democratic administrations:		
The Louisiana purchase, April 30, 1803	756,961,280	
East and West Florida, February 22, 1819	37,931,520	
By treaty from Mexico, February 2, 1848	334,443,520	
By treaty from Mexico, December 30, 1853	29,142,400	
Total under Democratic administrations		1,158,478,720
Under Whig administration:		
By purchase from Texas, November 25, 1850		61,892,480
Under Republican administration:		
Alaska, March 30, 1867		369,529,600
Grand total		1,849,072,587

The following shows all grants and their objects up to this time:

	Acres.
Military services, Revolutionary war	2,165,000
Military services, war of 1812	4,930,192
Military services, war with Mexico, act of 1855	61,028,430
Total for military services	68,123,622
Granted to States and reserved for Territories for school purposes	67,893,919
Universities	1,165,520
Agricultural colleges, act of July 2, 1862	9,600,000
Total for education	136,783,061
Grants made to States prior to March 4, 1861, to aid in constructing railroad and wagon-roads	29,824,032
	165,607,093
GRANTS AFTER MARCH 4, 1861.	
To States to aid in the construction of railroads	19,240,883
o corporations	163,643,944
For wagon-roads	2,781,733
Grand total since March 4, 1861	185,666,733

It will be seen that of this magnificent public property nearly all of it, not including Alaska, was acquired under Democratic administration, and by far the greatest part of it, including Alaska. It will be further seen that prior to March 4, 1861, when Republican rule began, the entire amount granted to States to aid in constructing railroads and wagon-roads was less than 30,000,000 acres, whereas since that date there has been granted under Republican administrations for the construction of railroads and wagon-roads over 185,000,000 acres.

It will be further seen that the total grants for military services have been about 68,000,000 acres. Thus, while the grasping corporations found favor with the Republican Congresses of the past, and secured at their hands these great bounties from the property of the people, the veterans of the Mexican and other wars by whose services the same was largely acquired and the power and glory of the American Government was sustained, were long ignored in poverty and want in many cases, while corporate wealth has reveled in the fruits of their sacrifices. A direct and great evil consequent upon these profligate grants is the acquirement of large bodies of them by foreign individuals and syndicates. Already over 20,000,000 acres have passed in this manner into foreign ownership. It has been bought as an investment and for speculation.

It is against the true interests of the American people and the American Government for the public lands to pass in large bodies into the hands of a few individuals or syndicates, foreign or domestic, but especially foreign. Every citizen should be free in our country in an equal race under equal laws to earn a living, acquire property, and pursue happiness, and in all he should have complete protection of law. But a public policy which tends to the aggregation of the lands of the country into the hands of a few tends also to the establishment of a dependent and homeless class—a condition of things repugnant to the interests and happiness of the people of democratic-republican America.

The public domain is a sacred heritage of the people. The hand of the despoiler should be removed from it. It should be closely guarded and disposed of only in small bodies to actual settlers for actual use, and not to speculators, foreign or domestic. The more unmortgaged and happy homes are owned by the people, the poor as well as the rich, though they may be humble ones, and the fewer homeless tenants we have, the happier, the more prosperous and patriotic will be the whole people, and the greater and stronger will be the Government.

Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD W. TOWNSHEND,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 5, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 1430) to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes—

Mr. TOWNSHEND said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I ask the attention of my colleague from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON], through no unkindness to him whatever, but simply to call attention to the fact that in 1886 his position upon this question was diametrically opposed to that which he now occupies, as I understand it. In 1886, when the Northern Pacific land-grant forfeiture bill was under consideration in the House, the gentleman made certain remarks which are published in the RECORD, and which I ask the Clerk now to read, which show that he declared that Congress had the power to forfeit the grant, and that it was its duty to do so, and that the policy was right.

Mr. PAYSON. Permit me to state to my colleague that he will find a much stronger statement of my views upon that same question in the report that I had the honor to submit.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. The statement here is that it was the duty of Congress to declare the forfeiture.

Mr. PAYSON. Certainly, I have always said so, and see no reason to change the opinion.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. I understood you to state in reference to the lands since sold by the road, but not earned, at the expiration of the grants that you are willing to confirm their title.

Mr. PAYSON. I have never said so.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Then I entirely misunderstood my colleague. The gentleman's statement is sufficient without asking the Clerk to read that portion of his former remarks I intended to have read.

Mr. Speaker, I understand the question now before the House to be this: The Senate has passed a bill which only forfeits or restores to the people 5,627,430 acres of the lands which have been granted without compensation to railroad corporations. The bill reported by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], from the Committee on Public Lands, is offered as a substitute for the Senate bill, and it, if adopted, will restore 54,323,996 acres of the lands taken from them by unjust legislation. In other words, the House bill proposes to forfeit and restore to the public domain nearly ten times as much land as the Senate bill.

Sir, I am in favor of the House bill, and sincerely hope it will be adopted. It is a wise and just measure. It restores to the public domain an area of land as large as two such States as Ohio. These lands will provide many homes for those who are now homeless and need them. The Democratic House initiated the measures and have succeeded in forcing their passage in the past two Congresses, which have forfeited and restored to the public domain over 50,000,000 acres. If this bill is finally adopted we will have succeeded in rescuing from the corporations and given back to the people for actual settlement and homes nearly 105,000,000 acres of land, or an area large enough to make four such States as that of Ohio, which, together with what has been restored and recommended for restoration by the General Land Office under Cleveland's administration, will aggregate more than 145,000,000 acres, or an area as large as four such States as Illinois.

As vast as this area is, yet it is but a tithe of the immense domain which was acquired by the wisdom and patriotism of Democratic administrations.

When the Democratic party went out of power in 1861 it left a grand patrimony to the people; homes enough for all the people, the poorest as well as the wealthiest. But, oh, how shamefully, wrongfully, were they despoiled of most of the best portion of that grand patrimony by Republican Congresses under Republican administrations. That party when in power donated 52,000,000 acres to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. Thanks to a Democratic House which came in power afterwards we forfeited and restored to the people most of that grant in the last Congress. And now, if we are not thwarted by the Republican Senate, the Democratic President will sign this bill, which will restore nearly 37,000,000 of the nearly 47,000,000 acres donated by Republican Congresses to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company alone. Sir, it is meet that the Democratic party and its policy should recover the lost homes of the people which had been originally acquired for them by Democratic administrations.

As Democrats we can point with pride to the record of the Democratic party in regard to the public lands. The people will ever be grateful to that party for giving them their homes, and they will detest the Republican party for seizing so many millions of acres and bestowing them as a gratuity upon the Pacific railroads. Not only did the Democratic party when in power give the people their homes, but since its return to power under Cleveland it is patriotically restoring the vast areas lost by the people when the country had passed from under its guardianship.

What is the history of our public domain? Outside of the land embraced in the original thirteen colonies and in Alaska, all the public domain was acquired by Democratic administrations.

The whole of the area of the public domain, including the original thirteen States, at the end of the Revolutionary war amounted to 531,200,000 acres. Since then, by purchases under Jefferson and Monroe and by treaties with Mexico under subsequent Democratic administrations, 1,158,478,720 acres were acquired, which is vastly more than twice as much as all the public domain previously owned, including the thirteen original States. Out of these lands, which were the magnificent gift of the Democratic party to the nation, fourteen great States and ten Territories have been carved.

My friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] has in his excellent speech on this bill accurately stated facts in this connection, which I will quote as follows:

I do not wish to enter into a political discussion over this matter of the public lands, but gentlemen in a recent debate here talked as though the Democratic party had no special reason for championing measures for the annulment of these grants. I think the Democratic party have a special interest in the subject; that party can look back with great satisfaction to the record of its representative men on the land question. When, by the patriotic act of Virginia and other States, the public domain was placed under the control of Congress, it extended from the original thirteen States westward to the Mississippi River. Its whole area, including the original States, was only 531,200,000 acres; while an empire of land extending from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Columbia River and Pacific Ocean, a region of country larger than the whole original thirteen States and their possessions by more than 200,000,000 acres, commanding the Mississippi River and covering our entire Western frontier, was held by a foreign power.

Mr. Jefferson's foresight in acquiring that vast territory was one of the grandest acts of statesmanship in the history of our race. With that territory in the possession of Great Britain, or of any other great power, the peace, progress, and security of the United States would have been continually imperiled; standing armies, as in Europe, would have patroled the borders of hostile states. By the purchase of that magnificent region of country under the administration of Mr. Jefferson the future security and greatness of the United States were absolutely assured. An outlet to the Gulf and a grand frontage on the Pacific Ocean was ours.

During the negotiations of Mr. Monroe, our then minister to France, with Napoleon, he said that whatever nation controlled the Mississippi River and the Gulf would be the greatest nation on the globe.

This being accomplished, it was only a question of time when the Floridas would become a part of the United States, and this was accomplished under Mr. Monroe's administration. By treaties and honest purchase under the administrations of Mr. Polk and Mr. Pierce we established the present boundary between the United States and Mexico, securing a vast extent of country, an enlarged frontage on the Pacific coast, and its magnificent Bay of San Francisco, one of the grandest harbors of the globe. These territorial acquisitions, now divided into fourteen States and eight great Territories, and the Indian Territory of 41,000,000 acres, were acquired under the policy of the party which is now asking that these land grants be declared forfeited and the lands restored to the people. Under the auspices of that party the great State of Texas was added to the Union.

Certainly, sir, a party so related to the public domain would feel an earnest interest in whatever concerns the public domain.

The following table shows the auspices under which the public domain has been acquired (land controlled by the United States):

		Acres.
Ceded to the United States by Virginia and other States east of the Mississippi		259,171,787
Acquired under Democratic administrations:		
The Louisiana purchase, April 30, 1803	756,961,280	
East and West Florida, February 22, 1819	37,931,520	
By treaty from Mexico, February 2, 1848	334,443,520	
By treaty from Mexico, December 30, 1853	29,142,400	
Total under Democratic administrations		1,158,478,720
Under Whig administration:		
By purchase from Texas, November 25, 1850		61,892,480
Under Republican administration:		
Alaska, March 30, 1867		369,529,600
Grand total		1,849,072,587

This vast public domain, with the original thirteen States and Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maine, never a part of the public domain proper, constitute the territory of the United States.

This public domain of virgin lands has been the pride and glory of the United States, and the source of their unexampled progress and greatness. It was guarded with vigilance by our fathers and by all of the old political parties into which the country had been divided for the future freeholds of the ever-growing population. Under the auspices of Jefferson, as expressed in the famous ordinance of 1787, the old feudal tenures, entailments, and rights of primogeniture, which had fostered great landed estates and a nation of vassals in Europe, were swept away, and the public domain was dedicated forever to independent freehold estates. Land monopoly, the curse of the Old World, was abhorred. Never in all our former history, even when our fathers were sorely pressed for money to meet demands incident to the Revolution, were lands ever sold in large bodies, except in two instances—one to the Ohio Company, in 1785, of 822,000 acres, and the other to John Cleves Symmes, of 248,540 acres, in 1787. This policy of our fathers of hoarding the public lands for freeholds of the people substantially controlled the land system under all political parties down to the year 1862.

I also ask leave to quote further from the speech of the gentleman from Indiana in relation to the forfeiture of the Northern Pacific land grant, as follows:

The House proposition covers all of the remaining grants. It would have the effect in the case of the Northern Pacific road and all the others to restore to the people a large body of land, an aggregate of lands double the area of the great State of Ohio, subject, however, to bona fide sales. Is there an absence of power in Congress to do this? Is it inequitable? This House has decided more than once that it was within its power to declare these forfeitures. The most important of these grants, that of the Northern Pacific Railroad, has been under the consideration of Congress before. The House has heretofore passed a bill declaring that the lands not earned within the time prescribed by law should be forfeited and restored to the public domain. Why not? Take the case of the Northern Pacific.

What is in brief the history of that road? I shall refer to it, although it will be more elaborately discussed hereafter. That grant, involving 42,500,000 acres of land, a large portion of it land of great value, with vast coal fields and magnificent forests, the very heart of that fertile region of country stretching westward from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, 2,400 miles in length, was made on the 2d of July, 1864. The grant is 12,800 acres per mile in the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota; 25,600 acres per mile in Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington Territories. That road, according to the terms of the law, was to be completed entire on the 4th of July, 1876. In 1866 you extended the time two years for the commencement of the work. In 1868 you extended the time two years for commencement, when not a shovel of earth had been moved. The law extending the time, on the 1st of July, 1868, four years after the original grant, is as follows:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That section 8 of an act entitled "An act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, on the Pacific coast,' is hereby so amended as to read as follows: 'That each and every grant, right, and privilege herein are so made and given to, and accepted by, said Northern and Pacific Railroad Company upon and subject to the following conditions, namely: That the said company shall commence the work on said road within two years from and after the 2d day of July, 1868, and shall complete not less than 100 miles per year after the second year thereafter, and shall construct, equip, furnish and complete the whole road by the 4th day of July, A. D. 1877.'"

By construction of the several statutes by the Secretary of the Interior the time was extended until the 4th of July, 1879. Yet after these successive extensions of time, a definite location of that railroad or any part of it was not even made until November 21, 1871; and when the time finally elapsed, after all these extensions, this extraordinary favoritism and forbearance on the part of Congress, on the 4th of July, 1879, when the whole railroad was to be completed by the terms of the law making the grant, but 530½ of 2,400 miles had been completed. Can any person say it is unjust to restore those lands to the public domain, subject, of course, to the equities that might arise on behalf of the purchasers of land opposite to completed railroad?

I speak of it as a naked question between that corporation and the people. Is there any possible injustice in declaring the land unearned under the law forfeited? Gentlemen say there is an estoppel here, because the Government did not interpose at once when the time expired. There can be no estoppel where the parties stand upon exactly the same footing and are equally informed of the facts. The laches of the Federal officers can not operate injuriously to the Government. The grantees of this imperial grant were fully informed of the nature of the grant and the conditions on which it was made. Time was expressly made as of the essence of the grant; that it was made on the idea of opening up the country; yet in defiance of the Government and in utter disregard of its obligations, apparently relying on its power to control Congress, it permitted the period to expire within which, by express terms of the law, the whole railroad should be completed.

How then does the case stand? This corporation applied time after time for an extension of its grant before a spadeful of earth had been thrown. Congress, unmindful of public interests, granted the extension from year to year. And yet, acting as if this imperial grant was its own private estate to enrich its stockholders, to be disposed of for its own private benefit, that corporation postponed even commencing its railroad until the country was swarming with a hardy and enterprising people; until a railroad starting from Portland, Oregon, had been constructed eastward 225 miles without a dollar of aid from the Government; until railroads running west from the Mississippi River were opening that magnificent country and industry was on every hand invading that region.

The country was teeming with people and the great land grant increasing in value under their enterprise and labor before this railroad corporation thought proper to even take the first step toward completing in good faith its part of the engagement, to construct this railroad. The facts were known to the corporation as to the nature of their grant and the object for which it was made, as well as to Congress or to the officers of the Government. No laches of Congress or of the Government officers can impair the rights of the people. They have a right to demand that the contract be carried out in good faith or declared void. I think the right and duty of Congress to declare this forfeiture is clear beyond question upon every consideration of law and justice, and I am confident it is sound upon the high consideration of public policy, for the grant was made without justification, to build up private fortunes, and not for the public good.

Indeed, sir, that grant can not be defended. Can any just man defend any of these grants?

* * * * * * *

While your people were watching with patriotic solicitude the movements of your armies, while these the most interested of all men in the public domain were rushing into the ranks of your armies to steady and uphold the tottering pillars of the Union, at that very time ex-governors of States, ex-members of Congress, men of high social and political standing, were here upon this floor lobbying for these grants and securing by the favor of Congress vast portions of your national wealth, your public lands, of especial and inestimable value to the men, the laboring men of the country, who were then imperiling their

lives in the national defense. In that unpatriotic and mercenary spirit these grants were obtained by which the people were robbed of their rights and imperial fortunes were secured.

Congress was engaged in the work of parceling out among mercenary capitalists your public domain when the clash of arms could almost be heard in this Hall!

Are great grants of land obtained under such circumstances to be carefully guarded by Congress and the courts of justice? Will Congress refuse to declare their forfeiture when a just ground for forfeiture is presented? You have a right to declare the forfeiture of these millions of the public land wrongfully granted, and justice demands that it shall be done.

The gentleman from Indiana is right. It is clearly within the power of Congress to forfeit every acre of land granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad which was not earned by it under the terms of the grant prior to the 4th day of July, 1879, and it was the duty of Congress to do so long ago. During 1882, in the Forty-seventh Congress, when this House was under the control of the Republican party, over two years after the unearned lands granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad were liable to forfeiture, bills were introduced and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I and my colleague [Mr. PAYSON] were members. But the majority of that committee decided against the equity and the power to forfeit, and insisted that the road was entitled not only to the lands on the 530 miles constructed, but also on the 1,870 miles unconstructed on the 4th day of July, 1879, when the grant lapsed.

Every Republican member of the committee, except my colleague from Illinois, so held. Only one Democratic member concurred with the majority. When the minority of the committee sought to present a minority report dissenting from the conclusions of the majority, and insisted upon the right and duty of Congress to make the forfeiture, and presented a joint resolution for that purpose, we were, by the ruling of Speaker Kiefer, denied that privilege; but the report of the majority had previously been received and laid on the table in such a legislative position, as held by the Speaker, as to place it where no substitute could be offered to it or any other action whatever could be had upon it. This was just what the friends of the railroad desired, as will be seen by the following proceedings of July 24, 1882, pages 6416, etc., of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Forty-seventh Congress.

Mr. KNOTT. I wish to ask if that report should not be upon the Calendar?

The SPEAKER. What the gentlemen from Illinois and from Kentucky now present are the views of the minority.

Mr. KNOTT. Accompanied with a joint resolution which I think this House would like to consider and discuss. I therefore ask it shall have the opportunity to do so, and that it may go upon the Calendar for that purpose.

Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois. Let the joint resolution be read.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That all the lands granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company under an act of Congress entitled 'An act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, on the Pacific coast, by the northern route,' approved July 2, 1864, which had not been patented to said company on the 1st day of July, 1882, be, and they are hereby, declared forfeited to the United States by reason of a breach of the conditions upon which said grant was made, and that said lands are hereby restored to the public domain and made subject to sale and settlement under existing law."

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Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois. My point of order is this: That it is the right of the committee, or a member of the committee, to move that this joint resolution be placed upon the Calendar; and I make that motion.

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Mr. KNOTT. There were sundry bills referred to the Committee on the Judiciary touching these land grants. That committee made a report to the House in which it recommends no action at all. A minority of the committee—seven out of fifteen members—dissent from the legal views of the majority and present certain facts showing the necessity of action by this Congress. The question now comes up, when the committee has made a report to the House, whether the House is in such condition that it can not consider that report or consider any counter-proposition that may be made by the minority of the committee? In a word, can a committee of this House, by giving its report a peculiar shape, preclude the possibility of the House considering the subject at all?

The minority of the Committee on the Judiciary, dissenting from the views of the majority, which recommend simply total non-action, present a substantive proposition for action of the House. Now, I think it is due to the House, I think it is due to the people of this country who are interested equally with this railroad company in this land grant, that this House should have an opportunity to consider the question and dispose of it, and that it should not be precluded at all by any peculiarity in the report of the majority of the committee.

It does seem to me to be due to the members of this House that the question of this grant should go upon the Calendar, to be reached and discussed in order as other propositions there pending.

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Mr. BLACKBURN. When this House by unanimous consent conferred the privilege in the matter of a report on the minority of the committee, it conferred equal privilege in the matter of reporting a bill or joint resolution, and the minority have a perfect right now to make the motion which my colleague has made, and I know no rule, and I know of no dictum in any author on parliamentary law which will warrant its exclusion.

* * * * * * *

Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois. Only one point further. I wish to say, Mr. Speaker, the point I make is this, and I wish the Speaker to keep that in mind, that it is competent for the gentleman from Kentucky under the circumstances to present his motion, and it is the duty of the Speaker to submit that motion to the House, and it is in the power of the House to determine by a majority of the vote whether the resolution should go to the Calendar or not.

* * * * * * *

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Democratic members to have the report and resolution of forfeiture placed on the Calendar where it might have consideration and action, yet their efforts were resisted by leading Republican members and the Speaker was inexorable, and by his remarkable and unprecedented ruling denied the representatives of the people the privilege of discussing or voting upon a proposition to forfeit the Northern Pacific land grant. This ruling prevented any action whatever upon that subject in that Congress.

Mr. COX, from New York, appealed from that decision. Mr. REED, of Maine, moved to lay the appeal on the table.

I quote further from the proceedings:

Mr. COX, of New York. I make my appeal from the ruling of the Chair, which I understand to be this, that the Chair rules out of order the motion made by the gentleman from Kentucky to refer this joint resolution to the Calendar. From that decision of the Chair I respectfully appeal.

The SPEAKER. And the gentleman from Maine moves that the appeal be laid on the table.

Mr. HOLMAN. I call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. CANNON. I wish to know whether the majority resolution accompanying the report of the committee is now on the Calendar?

The SPEAKER. It is not.

Mr. HAMMOND, of Georgia. That is the trouble; we want to get something on the Calendar.

Mr. COX. of New York. And that is what they are dodging.

The Republican majority sustained by their votes their Speaker, and thereby prevented any action whatever in that Congress. At the next election the people sent a Democratic majority to this House. One of the first acts of that House was the adoption of a resolution demanding the forfeiture of all grants which had not become vested by the terms of the grant, and straightway did the work of recovering the public domain by forfeiture commence and has continued ever since. We have already in that way secured the recovery of fifty million acres. If the people desire the work to continue to the finish, they must not commit the folly of sending a Republican majority in the next House, as they did in the Forty-seventh Congress, or enslaving themselves again to the corporations by defeating Cleveland and Thurman.

These proceedings demonstrate the fact that the only hope for relief from the power of corporations and for a maintenance of the rights of the people lies in a Democratic majority. Republican candidates for Congress often make loud professions of loyalty to the interest of the people when seeking election, but soon forget their pledges when here, and blindly follow the leadership of the friends of monopoly.

The history of the two great parties in Congress in their disposition of the public domain clearly demonstrates that the Democratic is now, as it has ever been, the true friend of the people, and that the Republican is now, as it has ever been, the friend of the corporated monopolies which it has created and fostered.

I introduced several years ago a bill granting a bounty land-warrant of 160 acres of land to all the Union soldiers of the late war, placing them upon the same footing with the soldiers of the previous wars of the Republic. My bill is still pending before the committee, and I trust it will receive favorable action before this Congress adjourns.

In 1862 the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] made the first effort of that kind when the homestead law was then under consideration. I will quote from his speech on this bill a statement of that gentleman relative to his effort and views upon the subject of grants of bounty land to soldiers, which shows how unavailing his efforts were at a time when we had an abundance of land to have given a home to every Union soldier. It demonstrates that the railroad corporations had more power in a Republican Congress than the brave men who were offering up their lives in behalf of the Union. I quote as follows from Judge HOLMAN'S speech:

While the bill was pending in the House on the 22d of February, 1862, I submitted a proposition that the act of 1855, which had secured allotments of public land to the soldiers of every successive war prior to that which was then waging, should be extended to the soldiers of the then existing war for the Union. That proposition was made in view of the uniform policy of our Government in all former wars. The argument against it was that its tendency would be to monopolize the public lands; that bounty-land warrants assignable would certainly produce that result. That was the only argument that could be urged against it; but it was successful, and my provision failed by the action of the gentleman who controlled the bill in the House.

But, Mr. Speaker, what an extraordinary result followed! Within nine years afterward grants of public lands to an extent unexampled in the history of any country were made to corporations by the same Congress. How does the account stand? I have before me a statement from the General Land Office. The grants prior to March 4, 1861, are as follows. Let us see the result by comparison.

All grants made up to this time for military service and education are as follows:

	Acres.
Military services, Revolutionary war	2,165,000
Military services, war of 1812	4,930,192
Military services, war with Mexico, act of 1855	61,028,430
Total for military services	68,123,622
Granted to States and reserved for Territories for school purposes	67,833,919
Universities	1,165,520
Agricultural colleges, act of July 2, 1862	9,660,000
Total for education	136,783,061
Grants made to States prior to March 4, 1861, to aid in constructing railroads and wagon-roads	29,824,032
	165,607,093

GRANTS AFTER MARCH 4, 1861.

	Acres.
To States to aid in the construction of railroads	19,240,883
To corporations	163,643,944
For wagon-roads	2,781,733
Grand total since March 4, 1861	185,666,733

It appears, therefore, that while it was not thought proper on February 22, 1862, to grant bounty lands to the soldiers of the Union Army on account of its tendency to land monopoly, yet beginning with July 2, 1862, with a grant of 28,000,400 acres to the Union Pacific Railroad corporations, Congress within ten years gave directly to corporations and to States for corporations 185,666,560 acres of land, a territory eight times greater than the State of Indiana. All this in ten years! While from the year 1787 down to this day all the grants made by Congress for common schools, the foundation of the grandest system of education the world has ever seen, including the sixteenth section of every township of the public domain down to the formation of the Territory of Oregon, and the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections in every township of every State and Territory organized since, including also all grants for universities and colleges, and all grants for military services in all the wars from the Revolution down to the war with Mexico, aggregate 136,783,061 acres. Add to this all grants to States for railroads and military wagon-roads (none were made to corporations) prior to March 4, 1861, namely, 29,824,032 acres, and the entire aggregate is 165,607,093. This aggregate of 165,607,093 for education. Military internal improvements covers the grants of our entire history, except the period covered since the Republican party came into power, and in ten years only that party gave to corporations and States for corporations 185,666,560.

The Centenary Census: Scope and Plan of Work; Our Resources Estimated; Our Horoscope.

"Take ye the sum of all the congregation . . . with the number of their names."—*Numbers*, I, 2.

"To count is a modern practice; the ancient method was to guess; and when numbers are guessed they are always magnified."—*Dr. Sam. Johnson.*

"People by numbers swarm to us."—*Shakespeare*, 3 Henry VI, act 4, scene 2.

SPEECH

OF

HON. S. S. COX,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, July 11, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1659) to provide for taking the eleventh and subsequent censuses—

Mr. COX said:

Mr. SPEAKER: When the bill for the Tenth Census, which I had the honor to introduce, was reported to the House, by its courtesy I was allowed double the usual time to explain its provisions and advocate the reform which it produced. Inasmuch as its provisions were a departure in many respects from former modes, especially in the selection of the enumerators and in the division of the districts of the United States, it was logically necessary for me to bear the onus of their explanation. This burden was made easy by the fact that General Garfield, who had been chairman of the Census Committee for the Ninth Census, had at that time made an exhaustive investigation of the subject, with a report which was both interesting and voluminous.

The bill for the Tenth Census was taken in its principal features from the bill of General Garfield. His vindication of these features made the onus of its defense light and agreeable.

VALUE OF CENSUS OF 1880.

Still, sir, there was much criticism, as there should be upon all new propositions. But the taking of the census of 1880 amply sustained the wisdom of that new departure, since it has given us the most authentic and valuable statistics of our people and their resources, known to our history, or that of any other nation.

I had then occasion to review the general history of census-taking from the earliest eras. I had occasion also to show that that government was wise and just that based its legislation and administration on an accurate account of the people and the resources which enrich, comfort, and strengthen their energies.

A good census is invaluable. A poor census is worse than none; and therefore it was, sir, that there was greater heed in the preparation of the Tenth Census, as well in Congress as in the bureau, so as to obtain accurate results as to names, ages, civil conditions, occupations, birthplace, mortality, and health, as well as to the boundaries and constituencies which distinguish that census.

BASIS OF APPORTIONMENT.

It is not necessary to state here that our constitutional requirement for the apportionment of Representatives and direct taxes is based upon population. Nor is it necessary, at this stage of the duties of the Committee on Census, to consider the Amendments of the Constitution in reference to disabilities which might affect the aggregate of our population and the consequent scheme of apportionment.

Slavery being abolished, there is no longer the three-fifth representation. The duty, therefore, of apportionment, which can not come before the House until after the census is taken, so far as the enumeration of the people is concerned, is simplicity itself. Nor is it pertinent for any gentleman to raise the question now that we can not go beyond the constitutional requirement as to the enumeration of the people, and collect the various classes of statistics relating to our resources.

RESOURCES OUTSIDE OF POPULATION.

However strictly gentlemen may construe the Constitution, I repeat what I said in 1879, that there is in our fundamental law the incentive and the nucleus, if not the prescript itself, for a larger statistical scope of our varied interests.

Almost contemporary with the Constitution, learned societies, with Thomas Jefferson and Timothy Dwight at their head, urged Congress to take a scientific view of the requirements of the census and to make an important adjunct, so that the Government might take something beyond a mere enumeration of the population.

Of the ten censuses taken since the origin of the system, seven have had various schedules.

We are now in the habit of supplementing this census work and assigning to various bureaus the collection of statistics other than those of population.

The attempt was made, as early as 1810, to obtain the facts relating to manufactures. Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin were then the great lights of "strict construction," and yet they found no obstacle to the enlargement of the census returns.

This attempt was repeated in 1820, under Monroe, and again in 1840, under Van Buren.

The law of 1850, although it provided some very awkward and unofficial means for the collection of data for returns, and though the officials were marshals and deputy marshals, who were unfitted for the business, was a great advance upon previous statutes.

But that advance of 1850 led to further advances in 1860 and 1870. These might have been improved but for the impending civil struggle in 1860 and the consequent confusion of 1870.

It remained for the act of 1879 to accomplish the best results. It was a vast improvement. I have had inserted in the RECORD, from time to time, enthusiastic commendations of these results. They emanated from the best minds of England, Scotland, Austria, Hungary, and Russia. They unite in saying that they can not applaud too much the exhibit of our political and social conditions at the end of the first century of our existence.

It is impossible now, after such success, to return to old methods, or limit the census statistics to an enumeration only.

STRICT CONSTRUCTION AS TO LIMITS OF CENSUS.

If I were to construe the Constitution with such strictness as to limit the census to an enumeration of the people I should be laughed out of this House, for it is as fixed as anything in the form and spirit of our legislation can be, that the people of the United States demand to know, from authentic sources, their own condition and resources, as well as their numbers. As General Francis J. Walker remarks in a pamphlet which he has recently issued—

It has become simply absurd to hold any longer that a Government which has a right to tax any and all the products of agriculture and manufactures, to supervise the making and selling of butterine, to regulate the agencies of transportation, to grant public moneys to schools and colleges, to conduct agricultural experiments, and distribute seeds and plant-cuttings all over the United States, to institute scientific surveys by land and deep soundings at sea, has not full authority to pursue any branch of statistical information which may conduce to wise legislation, intelligent administration, or equitable taxation, or in any other way promote the general welfare.

It by no means follows, Mr. Speaker, that the committee which authorized this report mean to belittle the primary object of the enumeration (which is apportionment) by burdening the census with extraneous matter.

There are, incidentally connected with making the schedule count of the people great facilities and much economy in collecting the facts for certain other schedules as to age, sex, nativity, occupation, and the like.

SUPEREROGATION.

Perhaps the thing we have most to guard against in taking the census is to avoid giving too much labor to the ordinary enumerator, who bears about among the people his portfolio of blanks and instructions.

It would astonish gentlemen who are unaccustomed to this peculiar line of official duty to note the immense quantity and variety of materials which are collected for digestion and scrutiny. It is estimated that when the returns for 1890—the schedules of population—come in, they will exceed in bulk fifteen hundred merchant's ledgers of the largest size; schedules of agriculture three or four hundred volumes more, and the returns relating to manufactures, wealth, debt, taxation, schools, libraries, churches and mortality. They are an immense library. And this repertoire, in all its extent and variety, must be tabulated and compiled by an office in whose execution there is no respite, and whose detail of labor is simply enormous.

PREREQUISITES.

I have often thought, sir, that in order to lessen this labor, it would be well to keep our Census Office open and active, as in other countries, during the entire decennial period. In the absence of such permanency there must, therefore, be a corresponding and timely appropriation for this work. I can only on this occasion give to the House a skeleton of what is its prerequisite.

Since the taking of the Tenth Census inventors have been at work on

tabulating devices, aggregating methods, and kindred inventions. Some of these should be tested thoroughly, and if by some of them original data can be expeditiously transferred to tabular form in half the time required under the old methods, or in a decreased time, they should be adopted.

Two years is none too long a time of preparation for the Eleventh Census. The amount of printing necessary for the enumeration, after all blanks and schedules are carefully decided upon, is enormous. The whole matter of preparation and such printing should be completed months before the enumeration begins. After all preliminary work the supervisors and enumerators may be selected, and with ample time for their proper instruction. Heretofore scant time for preparation was allowed the Census Bureau.

The very small expense that would be necessary for carrying on the work of preparation during two years prior to the actual enumeration, in June, 1890, would be saved tenfold in carrying out the work, while much unnecessary expense resulting from hasty work and the rush of the speedy preparation would be avoided.

Again, ample time should be given the Superintendent of the Census to study the best scientific methods in vogue in other countries for tabular presentation. The simplification of the tables reduces expense, and experience shows that tabular matter can be arranged in such a way as to take up much less room than of old, and at the same time simplify its presentation and increase its value. But such study and examination of the work of different countries can not be undertaken after the practical work of the census begins.

I have before me a volume, published by an expert, Charles F. Pigdon—"A Hand-book of Practical Statistics." It is an useful compendium from a practical source. It shows the advancement of this art within the past quarter of a century.

DETAILS OF CENSUS WORK.

There are three great stages in census work: first, the collection of the material; second, its tabulation and analysis; and third, its publication. The first and second involve the great labor and expense of a census; the first should not be undertaken until the second is thoroughly understood and laid out.

The collection of the material involves all the plans necessary thereto:

First. The division of the country into proper districts of supervision;

Second. A division of supervisors' districts into enumeration districts, of which there should be now at least thirty thousand; and

Third. The preparation of all blanks, instructions, and paraphernalia for the use of supervisors and enumerators.

Under this last point the chief cause of delay heretofore arose largely through tardy legislation; the officer intrusted with the execution of the census law having had but a few months in which to prepare his blanks. A superintendent should have at least two years in which to arrange, harmonize, and justify all the blanks necessary for a census. This may seem an extravagant estimate of the time required, but when the great variety of the industries, business interests, and other data of the country are considered, the statement becomes reasonable. The preparation of blanks for the collection of facts relative to the population only requires little time, but the schedules for the collection of manufacturing, agricultural, mining, and other statistics relating to the material wealth and welfare of the country require not only great care, but consultations with experts in all the various industries involved.

All this preparation should be made under the direct personal care of the superintendent. He should delegate but little of this work to clerical assistants. If time be allowed by law, the superintendent can do this, and the result will be schedules harmoniously constructed with a view to securing the best results. This preparatory work has never been done under any census in this country.

As to the tabulation and compilation of the results of the enumeration, this topic or division of census work should be clearly projected and thoroughly understood when the schedules are used in the collection of material. This is essential even for economy.

Much expense has heretofore been incurred on account of a plan for the use of material not being considered in connection with the collection thereof. All such plans for the utilization of the material of the census should be in perfect harmony with the plan of the collection, and the same mind should pass upon all points; otherwise there will be incongruity, inequalities, and inharmony in the whole work. No superintendent has heretofore had the opportunity, in any complete way, of doing this. Much expense can be saved by careful study in this direction.

In general it may be said that the cost of the enumeration can not be reduced beyond the per capita cost of previous censuses; nor can the printing expense be lessened to any great extent; but much money can be saved in the processes of reducing the facts originally returned by enumerators to tabular form for printing. In this direction a great saving may be effected by carefully experimenting upon new methods of reaching tabular results. These experiments should be conducted in ample time for a complete system to be laid out, so that when the work of the census begins the executive officer may not find himself involved in a great whirl of material without any plan of reducing the same.

APPROPRIATIONS.

This economic measure brings me to the consideration of the appropriation necessary under the bill which I present to the House. The question of cost involves an answer to the harsh and in many instances ungracious and unjust criticisms which have been made on the last census.

LIMITATION OF WORK.

These criticisms pertain to the publication of the reports of experts in connection with our marvelous industrial development.

It may at first sight seem that this work was overdone, but the twenty-two volumes printed remain to speak for themselves. The four remaining volumes not yet printed have been appropriated for in the urgent deficiency bill of this Congress.

I append to my remarks (Exhibit A) an authentic statement of the cost of the several volumes of the last census, of 1880, and the separate cost thereof; also a statement of the subjects and utilities of these volumes; and also the cost of the entire census.

Still, let me repeat that the expense of this census will not be much greater per capita than it was in former censuses.

The bill limits the expense of the Eleventh Census to a maximum of six millions. The cost of the Ninth Census in 1870 was $3,360,000, exclusive of printing and engraving. The per capita cost was 8.71 cents.

The cost of the Tenth Census, making the same exclusion, was $4,853,350. This would be 9.68 cents per capita. The Tenth Census was not, therefore, extravagant in its cost. The increased work had but a slight relative increase of cost.

The Massachusetts census of 1885, which was very similar to the national census as to enumeration, cost 9.47 cents, not counting the printing.

The impression that there was a great lack of economy in the census of 1880 was not produced by the cost per capita of the enumeration. However wrong the impression as to the utility or inutility of the published volumes of the Tenth Census, it has been proven that the agricultural reports were far less economical.

ESTIMATED COST OF ELEVENTH CENSUS.

If I were to be called upon to give an *a priori* estimate of the population in 1890, I should take as the basis the increase from 1870 to 1880, and, inasmuch as I fell below the mark in the estimate I made ten years ago, I am disposed to be a little more liberal in prophecy, and will fix it at, say, 64,000,000. At 9½ cents per capita the cost would be $6,080,000, exclusive of printing. This was about the cost of the Ninth Census, in 1870. If the population be not more than 62,000,000 in 1890, the cost will be $5,890,000. There was quite an increase in the cost from 1860 to 1870, for reasons which members will appreciate. It ran from 6.25 cents in 1860 to 8.70 cents in 1870, and in 1880 the per capita, to be strict, was 9.68 cents.

The cost, per capita of inhabitants, of the last four censuses, exclusive of printing and engraving, was as follows:

	Cents.
Seventh Census, 1850	5.84
Eighth Census, 1860	6.25
Ninth Census, 1870	8.71
Tenth Census, 1880	9.68

The increase from 1860 to 1870 represents: (1) the advance in wages and salaries which took place during the war period, and which, in the main, has never been receded from; (2) the addition of extensive statistical inquiries beyond what had been previously undertaken; (3) the rendering of the familiar matter of enumeration into vastly greater detail, as will appear in the next paragraph.

The increase in wages during the war has not since been lessened. Besides, more was required of the enumerator in 1880, as will appear by the note which is taken from General Walker's statement in the article before referred to:

Thus, in 1860, the distribution of the population, according to ages, was into the following classes: Under 1, 1–5, 5–10, 10–15, 15–20, 20–30, 30–40, and so on, by decennial periods upwards; in all, 14 classes. In 1870, under the demand for more minute information regarding the number of persons of school age, of voting age, of military age, etc., the following classification was adopted: Under 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5–10, 10–15, 15–18, 18, 18–20, 21, 21–25, 25–30, 30–35, and so on, by quinquennial periods upwards to eighty years, and thence upwards by ten-year periods; in all, twenty-five classes.

Even so, the occasions for distributing population according to ages were not considered to have been met, and in compliance with numerous and pressing requests, including resolutions of conventions and public bodies, the ages of the population of 1880 were ascertained by single years, amounting to over one hundred specifications.

Again, in 1860, the occupations of the people were tabulated in the gross solely. In 1870 the occupations reported were distributed among six different classes, according to sex and age. At a score of points a corresponding increase took place in the amount of detail presented. Every such instance adds appreciably, often greatly, to the labor and cost of compilation.

I remember very well taking much interest in the tables and work of the Ninth Census. The cost was not a matter of wrangle, nor is it a matter for the challenge of an intelligent statistician that the increase from 1870 to 1880 was only 1 per cent.

The truth is, considering the work done at the census of 1880, for which so much reproach has been heaped upon the Census Office, there was ample compensation in the results, in the judgment of those who are competent to speak.

NEED OF STATISTICS.

In order to vindicate the value of census-taking, in addition to the constitutional enumeration requirement under the law, I desire, gentlemen, as a preliminary, to recognize the fact that it is now indispensable to gather statistics pertaining to the actual condition of the people, to some extent their nationality, their ages, their physical condition, especially as it relates to permanent infirmities, and their social

condition, which means whether single, married, widowed, or divorced. This is necessary in order that legislation may be properly directed when governments are called upon to provide either for the amelioration of some conditions or the extension of privileges growing out of some other conditions. A special instance might arise in this way: The Government is called upon through philanthropic efforts to establish an insane asylum. The first question that arises is, Is there a necessity for such an institution? The necessity can only be determined by accurate statistics. But the accurate statistics of a single period are not sufficient. The facts must be at hand for an extended period of time, taken at different intervals, so that the legislature may know whether insanity is on the increase or is declining. This illustration covers all others of the same kind.

In nationality we find one of the most important features of the enumeration. The port statistics of immigration can not possibly give the distribution of immigrants. They are counted only at the ports where received, and there the account must end so far as ordinary immigration statistics are concerned.

What becomes of the foreign element coming into the country, how is it distributed among the various industries, in what proportion to manufactures and to agriculture, and in what localities? These questions can only be determined through the enumeration of the population. For example, the census of 1880 showed that of the population of the State of Nevada 41 per cent. were actually born in foreign countries. This is the highest rate of foreign element exhibited in any State. On the other hand, in North Carolina but twenty-seven one-hundredths of 1 per cent. were born abroad.

The statistics of mortality accompanying population returns, while crude heretofore, are the only statistics on deaths for most of the States. The same is true of births and marriages.

When the different States of the Union shall have adopted careful registration systems, like those of England, the vital statistics of the census can and should be dropped. Until that time the death rate in various localities for the purposes of ascertaining sanitary conditions can only be determined through the Federal census.

Are marriages increasing or decreasing, according to the growth of population? This also can only be answered for the whole nation through the Federal census.

As the chief expense of the enumeration of the population is in ascertaining its numerical strength, these various social statistics should be taken along with the enumeration, in order that the Government may have the most value for the chief outlay.

The statistics of manufactures show the progress from decade to decade of the industries of the country. They know what industries have been planted anew, what have gone out of existence, what are declining and what increasing; and with the production exhibited there come the economic questions of the relation of capital to production, the total wages paid, and the number of people employed in the industries of the country.

These are the chief facts to be brought out by an enumeration of the industries of the country. They are constantly brought into use in all discussions of an economic character. In fact, no argument can be made and no article written of an industrial nature which does not incorporate the statistics of manufactures or those of the industry discussed as obtained through the Federal census.

These statistics should be so classified as to show the whole number of people employed in them who are receiving certain wages—as, for example, how many people receive $5 per week in an industry, how many $6, how many $10, etc. Under this method, if the statistics are taken with reasonable care, we should learn the actual composition of our industrial force in a wage point of view, and get rid of the average wages as applied to the whole body of employés. This means in itself not a little.

The intelligent encouragement of industry comes through such statistics. If the growth is reasonable, prosperity is shown, the finances of the country sustained, the credit of the nation increased, and the whole economic work, as exhibited by our industries, fostered. The nature of our industries, and their distribution over the country are, of course, clearly exhibited by such facts.

In agriculture, the reasons for statistical information are still more vital; whether the farms are being consolidated, or whether they are increasing in number by subdivision, or what is their relative production per acre. The schedules should show the distribution of crops, as to locality, climate, and other conditions, whether the aggregate of this or that crop has increased or decreased, and whether the yield per acre increases or decreases. All these facts regarding agriculture every publicist and legislator should know in order to qualify himself to speak intelligently of the fundamental source of our prosperity.

The statistics of valuation, taxation, and public indebtedness, while not absolutely within the census enumeration, can only be secured by a very wide and complete collection of statistics. No volume of the Tenth Census has received so much attention, or been so thoroughly used in every discussion, of whatever nature, having an economic character, as the volume on these subjects.

To ascertain now, whether valuation increases or decreases relatively in proportion to the increase of population, whether taxation increases relatively to valuation, or decreases, and whether indebtedness is a growing feature of municipal and State administration, are questions of the most vital importance. Once in ten years is a sufficiently long interval for the collection of such facts. Perhaps it is the proper period. The chief information under this topic is derived from official sources and is largely a matter of correspondence; it adds but little to the actual cost of the census.

The prosperity of the people may be judged, perhaps, as much by the degree of indebtedness, if one only knows for what the indebtedness was contracted, as by any one item of economic statistics.

The increase of manufactures, mining, and agriculture shows the normal prosperity, or lack of prosperity of a people; but what is done with the created wealth is certainly of inestimable importance. There is no means of knowing through regular official publications the total valuation of the whole country, its taxation in all forms, and its indebtedness and production, except through special provision of Congress.

In answer to any criticism in regard to the dilatoriness displayed in the Tenth Census, I remark that Belgium furnishes a good response, so far as industrial statistics are concerned. Belgium is the only European country that has attempted to collect through its censuses the statistics of industry. An attempt to do this was made by that Government in 1843, but the facts were considered very faulty indeed, although published. In 1866 Belgium again made the attempt, but failed; the results never being published. The Government again undertook the matter in connection with the census of 1880, and the volumes relating to the industrial statistics of Belgium have just appeared. The industrial statistics of the United States, as well as the statistics of population, were published in the Tenth Census very promptly indeed. The delay has been in publishing the volumes comprehending the results of special agents' work.

The House will observe that the publications on these various features which I have enumerated are the indispensable volumes which we have authorized under the provisions of this bill. There are other publications made in the Tenth Census which we propose to omit in the Eleventh. These can well be dispensed with, not only because it will save money, but because they are not required at the present time. The necessity for their publication is obviated in 1890 by reason of their publication in 1880. We do not, therefore, propose to give the same latitude for the publication of the census of 1890 as that given in 1880.

General Walker, in the publication from which I have quoted, gives many reasons why the publications of 1880 were delayed. He makes a very deserved compliment to Colonel Seaton, whose mind broke down in the service. He also refers with regret to the resignation of Mr. Clarence King as Director of the Geological Survey prior to the conclusion of his investigation into the mining industries as another cause of delay. And still, as another cause of delay, he refers to the death of Dr. George W. Hawes, who made an elaborate investigation into the building stones of our country, and which was not completed according to his plan. Still he advocates the utility of the census of 1880 in the extract which I herein present:

In its nature much of the work done from 1880 to 1883 is definitive, or else such as to require only slight additions or corrections from time to time. The magnificent report of Professor Charles S. Sargent on the forest trees and forest wealth of the United States—a work without a superior, if, indeed, it finds anywhere its peer, among the government publications of any country—is of the former character. The two volumes on water-power employed in manufactures and the two volumes on the cotton culture are of the latter character. Much of the work in them has been done once for all; while, though the industrial and economic statements will require to be changed from census to census, a suitable and ample background will have been furnished for them in the geographical and hydrographic studies of Professors Swain and Porter and their colleagues, or in the geographical, agronomic, and chemical investigations of Professor Eugene Hilgard and his corps of assistants, embracing the highest skilled and scientific talent of the Southern States.

In a greater or less degree the same is true of many others of these reports, notably those on tobacco culture, on the grazing interests of the frontier States, on building stones, on petroleum, and on the social statistics of cities, etc. The Tenth Census was more than an enumeration of population, wealth, and industry. It was a survey of the conditions of life, industry, and production, such as can not fail to be of great value to a rapidly growing nation, such as was peculiarly appropriate to the tenth decennial census under the Constitution—a survey which, though lacking something of completeness, by reason of insuperable obstacles in some cases, and by reason in other cases of the loss of some of its chief officers, is yet a work worthy of the nation and of the age.

The well-known names of the hundreds of men of science, economists, and statisticians who contributed to the giant undertaking afford a sufficient guaranty of the thoroughness, the conscientiousness, and the ample scientific knowledge with which their several tasks were performed, while a wealth of graphic illustration brings the results within the comprehension of the least skilled and the least learned.

But while, for the reasons above stated, it is not to be expected that immediately succeeding censuses will be of such colossal magnitude, it is yet, in the judgment of the present writer, not desirable that the presentation of results should ever again revert to the traditional form of bare statistical tables, accompanied only by brief notes and explanatory remarks.

General Walker, in concluding this statement, estimates that eight or ten volumes are not too much to properly set forth the array of facts concerning a nation of sixty or eighty millions, of such vast and varied industry and social interests and concerns, which are published only once in ten years.

ONLY SEVEN PUBLICATIONS.

We propose in the present bill only seven publications. We omit those which related to transportation, forest trees, the production of petroleum, coke, etc., water-power of the United States, social statistics of cities, wages, prices of commodities, etc. All these had their value at the time, because no collection of facts on any general scale relating to them had as yet been made. They not only had a value at the time, but they have a fixed and permanent value. As, for instance,

the admirable report under the Tenth Census on forest trees of North America. It need not be repeated, for that report is and will be good for many years. It constituted one of the most attractive and valuable extra features of the Tenth Census.

So the report on the water-power of the United States need not be repeated, because the water-power of a country is a stationary condition, so far as increase or decrease is concerned, and as natural water-power is considered. Therefore the elaborote report, in two volumes, on the water-power of the United States must and should suffice for some, if not for all time.

If the question be asked whether we have not other bureaus which will discover and discuss problems as to water-power and its diminution by the destruction of forests, or as to the scientific modes (not the product) of our mining industries, it may be answered that the statisticians of the Agricultural and other Departments should show these features.

Two volumes of the Tenth Census were published on social statistics of cities. The original intention in regard to this work was to present the sociological features of cities in a statistical manner. All the conditions of the people, the changes in such conditions since the foundation of the cities up to the time (1880), so far as nationalities, health conditions, sanitary regulations, the introduction of water, of lighting and heating of cities by artificial means—all such matters were to be, and to a large extent were, incorporated in these volumes. But the gentleman in charge of this branch of the census work in 1880 extended the scope to historical features to a greater or less extent, thus bringing that branch of the census into greater elaboration than was originally intended.

These reports are exceedingly valuable, and having been made so recently, they need not be repeated, so far as the historical features are concerned. The schedules would furnish all that is requisite to show the changes in other matters in the population of the great cities of the country.

Other volumes were published, showing the mechanical powers in use—all very valuable material—and giving the statistics and technology of the precious metals, and the mining laws of the United States, and scientific features accompanying mining industries.

All these facts, valuable in themselves, are now subjects placed under the Direction of the Geological Survey and other bureaus, so that there is no necessity of bringing them again into the census work.

An exceedingly valuable volume was published relating to wages, trade societies, strikes, and lock-outs, but the pressure in census work—of securing immediate publication—renders investigation into these matters of less importance here now, when the same topics are investigated by a Department equipped especially for such work. There is no necessity in the coming census of including any statistics of this character, except, perhaps, of the wages, for the purpose already specified under remarks relating to manufactures.

A volume was also devoted in the Tenth Census to newspapers, Alaska, and ship-building. These topics, with the exception of Alaska, which was specially treated, belonged to the statistics of production. Newspapers and ship-building should in this view be classified and treated in the volume on production of manufactures.

THE MAIN OBJECT.

But at last we come back to the main object of the census, namely, the enumeration of the people, upon which I beg to remark with emphasis that the system of enumeration, through supervisors' districts, was an immense advance on all previous methods of enumeration in vogue in this country. General Garfield, I think, did the great work of his life in making that method very explicit in his bill. In this regard, our bill of 1879 followed him.

COMPENSATION.

One fault of the system of enumeration followed in the Tenth Census was that of the compensation of the supervisors. Each was paid a fixed sum, while the duties of one man might be tenfold those of another.

In one instance a supervisor spent seven months of hard work, giving almost his entire attention to the supervising of his district. For this labor his compensation was only the sum of $500. The supervisor of this district had over nine hundred enumeration districts, while another supervisor was paid the same amount for supervising only forty or fifty or it may be one hundred enumeration districts.

That fault has been remedied in this bill by allowing a small fixed sum and then making a compensation per capita. We tried in vain after the Tenth Census to make a supplementary bill about this subject, but there was no feasible way out of the trouble. The proposed compensation does not increase the aggregate sum paid to any great extent. It will not have an appreciable effect on the cost of the census, except that accruing from the increase of the population.

The compensation for enumerators has been adjusted in the light of the experience of the Tenth Census. While the provisions therefor in the Tenth Census were in the main exceedingly well adjusted, they worked unjustly in certain instances, and the superintendent could not avoid it.

Under this bill, this injustice need not occur; and the expense would be no greater, except in the matter of the enumeration of farms, manufactures, and products. The present bill gives a proper increase of pay for such enumeration, in order to secure more complete and perfect results. Under the old rates of compensation for enumeration of farms and manufacturing establishments, an enumerator could not earn enough money to support him for a day; and sometimes he therefore left his work incomplete and badly done, in order that he might take farms enough, or manufacturing establishments enough to secure a fair day's pay for his work.

SPECIAL OBJECTS.

In preparing a measure of this nature it is not possible to comprehend in its provisions all the various details that may be suggested by members who have special objects paramount in their minds.

A member from Texas or Alabama thinks of cotton; a man in Chicago thinks of houses; a man in New Jersey of horses; another of soldiers and pensions, and another of public and private indebtedness. A man of one peculiar bias or faculty will think of mortgages, and desires a return of them for political argument or social discussion. Another man will make insurance prominent, another transportation, another manufactures of a peculiar kind. But it is impossible, in a law of this nature, to do all that is desired, or to do more than give general direction, and leave some accomplished administrator to go as far as he can in the collection of those resources which it is feasible and economical to obtain.

INDEBTEDNESS.

It will be observed by the House that the committee desires full information in reference to the indebtedness of the country; not merely the indebtedness of States and municipalities, but of the people. No more important result of a census, if we must go outside of the stated subjects, can be recommended than this; and we have endeavored to do it by the cheapest mode. It is indispensable for a correct understanding of the condition of the people, as well as for the prosperity of business.

It may be said that the States, through their statistical bureaus, may obtain this information. Many of the States have undertaken it in part. I notice this in the recent return of Mr. Heath, commissioner of labor for the State of Michigan. It is dated February, 1888. It is a lesson for us all. Michigan is a sample of what could be done in other States, and of what may be done by the Federal Government. Michigan is an agricultural State. As the prosperity of all other branches of industry depends upon the prosperity of the farmer, whatever tends to cripple him must react upon the business of the merchant, the manufacturer, and the laborer. When he is prosperous, all kinds of business are remunerative.

In Michigan only fifty-eight one-hundredths per cent. of all the farms were reported. Their valuation was nearly two hundred million. The mortgage indebtedness was about 20 per cent. of the total assessed valuation. The rate of interest was 7.2 per cent., which was $2,701,669 in interest annually. The commissioner estimates all the farms in the State, on the basis of the reports, at an assessed valuation of $335,000,000, and the mortgage indebtedness of $64,000,000, with an annual interest of nearly $5,000,000 on farms alone!

This is a startling exhibit. Nearly one-half of the farms of a great State—a Western State—burdened with mortgage! One can readily see from this where the large percentage of the surplus products of the farm is expended; and yet this does not represent the full indebtedness, for there are debts unsecured to double that amount, and this is but a counterpart of what exists in other States. It represents the changed condition of things. It puts the legislature upon its best caution. Unless crops and prices are better the farmer is destined to cruel disappointment.

Can there be any greater utility of legislation than that which would collect these data with a view to adjust more equitably the liabilities, duties, and rights of all classes in the matter of public burdens, individual indebtedness, and taxation? But, sir, the best to be done on this line will be inexact, uncertain, and expensive. It is difficult to arrange it.

Some States, New Hampshire, for example, have taken a census of the soldiers of the civil conflict, and we are petitioned to collect in a more general and comprehensive way a full return. This we attempt in the general schedule.

The danger-signal is always out when too tempestuous a storm of schedules falls upon the Census Bureau. What subjects to include is the main question. What not to include is a vast *terra incognita* which no census office can survey. Therefore, much must be left to the discretion of the Interior Department or the Superintendent of the Census.

In making his schedules the Superintendent will consult authorities all over the world. In some countries, as in England concerning deaths, there is more to be learned than in our own country, and so on as to other matters in other countries.

The ordinary man who takes up the Census Compendium or the larger census reports and runs over the perplexing tables in reference to manufacturing and agricultural industries, exclaims at the end of his research, "*Cui bono?*" But when he begins to debate questions, such as we have here in Congress, concerning finance, pensions, taxation, and tariff, he seeks with avidity those tables, and draws conclusions which concern the most vital interests and the advancement of our country.

LESSONS OF THE CENSUS.

I asked a distinguished statistician not long since to give me one practical illustration of a good lesson taught by the census. "What department of industry," I asked, "do you think will show the greatest de-

gree of increment during the past ten years?" He replied, "I think that the manufacturing industries have added a great deal to our population, especially in the South and Southwest."

I asked, "Do you think the manufacturing industries have been increased greater, relatively, than the agricultural?" He replied, "In those quarters." He thought that the relative increase between agriculture, mining, etc., was about in the same proportion as in previous decades; but the population engaged in manufacture had increased in some localities and in other localities was keeping up the aggregate.

The recent census of Massachusetts showed an increase from 1875 to 1885 of nearly two hundred millions of product in manufactures. It was an increase in value and quantity rather than in wealth.

Another lesson which he gave me had reference to the distribution of immigration. Upon that subject, this statistician said:

The distribution of immigration is one of the most interesting things to be drawn out of the census. Now, let me give you, personally, the result of a little study. I was asked a little while ago to prepare a little article on the influence of the foreign immigration on the electoral power of the country. It gave me some very curious results. Taking all the States, the popular idea is, you know, where the most foreign-born population is, there you get the greatest Democratic votes, and the reverse. So that out of the 38 States, taking all those above 10 per cent.—there are 20 of them having a foreign-born population of about 10 per cent.—all but 3 of those went solid Republican in the last Presidential election; while the 18 having less than 10 per cent.—pure American—went, with one exception, solid Democratic. And the Irish and the German votes have quite offset each other in the whole business. So that there is no practical influence, through immigration, on the electoral power.

If it be said that we should limit the Federal census to only a few inquiries, and leave the body of our statistics to other Federal bureaus, and to the States, I answer that these are but subsidiary to the Federal bureau. The other bureaus find much of their data in the Federal census. From those data they add to or subtract from, as they make their own auxiliary investigations.

STATE BUREAUS.

It is true that twenty-two States have statistical bureaus. They can not supply the census, but they can relieve. They can not offer any practical auxiliary to the census, but they can aid the census by making certain things unnecessary in a great enumeration.

The State bureaus occupy toward the census another important relation, and that is, they take out of the census returns specific things relating to their respective States in a detailed way. This was done in two cases in the Tenth Census—by Illinois and Massachusetts—the Superintendent of the Census affording the bureaus in those States, at the expense of those States, returns and details that could not properly enter into the Federal reports.

In this respect these bureaus have an important and valuable function as disseminators of information for the respective States. They send a clerical force here, and pay for having taken off the desired information. They lay the foundations for their own work. They get the results without the expense of enumeration; the only expense they have is that of compilation.

POPULAR DEMAND.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that it was impossible, while properly regarding the question of economy, to have any very great reaction from the comprehensive step taken in the act of 1879. My reason for saying this is that there has been a great progress among all classes of our people, and especially among the laboring element, in the demand for statistics. They are not merely interested in the Federal enumeration because of its political relation, but they are interested in the statistical tables, which reveal our social and industrial conditions.

Compare the current newspaper reports and speeches, in and out of this House, with those before 1870. Read the magazines and books, or curriculums of our colleges to-day, and contrast them with the press and the debate and the studies of ten or twenty years ago. You will find that there is a hundred-fold more intelligent demand for statistical information to-day than there was then.*

WHAT NOT TO OMIT.

To omit from our schedules the statistics which show our social condition, our achievements in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and national wealth of every form—is to obscure, if not blot out the United States from the map of the world in matters where we are an ensample and incentive and an attraction to immigration.

The census not only concerns our own progress, especially in the South and West during the past decade, but it concerns our prominence among the nations of the earth.

New homes, vast possibilities for labor, grand developments, marvelous changes, cities which spring up in a night, as if under the touch of some magic wand,—these are a part of that wonderful advancement which can only be properly illustrated by the authentic returns of our Federal census.

THE CENSUS A GRAPHIC PICTURE.

When these vast returns are laid before our bureaus at this Federal capital, then the work of analysis begins. And what a graphic picture comes from the pencil of the analyst! It is a picture of individual as well as of social life. On one side is dependent infancy, on the other helpless old age. In front, bearing his stalwart strength toward the setting sun, is the pioneer with his family, perhaps from the remotest nations of Europe or Asia. Each and every one forms a part of the grand total which makes up our composite commonwealths. Each and every one is counted in the grand aggregate, not only as instrumental in forming the element of civilization, but as a part of that unsceptered empire and uncrowned sovereignty which are the genii of our constitutional polity.

FOREIGN EULOGIES OF OUR CENSUS.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard in this House during this session the eulogies which Gladstone and others have pronounced upon our country. I am not altogether sure that we have perfect immunity from industrial dangers, but as long as our resources are what they are, and our advancement continues upon the march, there can not be to the imagination of the American orator or seer a horoscope of our nation which will equal its reality.

THE NATION'S HOROSCOPE.

Properly to draw our horoscope let me take a few salient features of what we now are, in order to determine what we may be.

I am sure that the House will excuse me for calling upon that distinguished statistician, Mr. Edward Atkinson, who has furnished me not only many statements of the elements of our progress in national wealth and welfare from 1865—the end of our civil war—to 1888, inclusive; but who has also presented these data in charts which illustrate these elements and changes which have made our country what it is.

These charts depict every form of our wealth, and every form of labor, and the amount of wages, traffic, and transportation of our various products. I append to my remarks, with the permission of the House, the letter and statements of Mr. Atkinson. They are worthy of the perusal of men who are studying our social science and political problems. The charts which he has prepared with so much science and skill, and for which the country owes him a debt of gratitude, make easy to the plainest mind a fair comprehension of the resources of our domain, the population and debt, the miles of railway, the corn crops, hay crops, cotton crops, pig-iron products, and other computations of wealth, such as are not easily accessible always in a census. They also show the relative gain in population, production, wealth, and savings from 1870 to 1885, and on some items to 1886. They show what Mr. Atkinson calls the "food providers," which constitute one of the elements of our remarkable prosperity.

They also show samples of reduction in price and cost of labor, the rise and rate of wages, and the increase in the purchasing power of wages. They inform us as to skilled men, average mechanics, and all the operatives inside and outside of certain establishments. They conclude with a table of the price of quantities of the same kinds of food, fuel, and materials for clothing, and the average consumption of products by a good mechanic in the Eastern and Middle States. Whatever may be thought by gentlemen who study these tables and their deductions, they will certainly provoke interesting and studious inquiry; and, coming from Mr. Atkinson, they inspire the highest respect.

I therefore ask that they may be printed in the RECORD for our thought, reflection, and instruction.

REMARKABLE STATISTICS.

From these and other data we gather, among others, the following remarkable comparative facts:

The largest of our States (Texas) in area is greater by nearly 23,000 miles than the Austrian Empire, greater by fifty than the German Empire, and twice as great as Great Britain and Ireland. Russia leads, it is true, in population, having 87,472,900. On the 4th of July, 1887, we had at least 60,000,000 people—nearly 15,000,000 more than the German Empire, nearly twice the population of France or of Great Britain and Ireland, and almost quadruple that of Spain.

The relative population of countries at the dates of the last census taken in Europe and of the United States, June 1, 1886, is shown in the diagram, which I ask leave to publish along with that of the area of our States in comparison with other countries.

THE VISION OF THE FUTURE.

But what a vision there is in the possibilities of our future when we come to consider the product of the United States.

The land in actual use at this time for growing maize, wheat, hay, oats, and cotton embraces 272,500 square miles. It is but a little more than the area of the imperial State of Texas. Texas alone could raise more wheat than the best quality of all the land in the present area of the German Empire.

The cotton factories of the world require 12,000,000 bales of cotton of American weight. Given 1 bale to the acre, the world's supply of cotton could be grown on less than 19,000 square miles, or 7 per cent. of the area of Texas!

Another table displays the arable and pasture land of the United States in actual use for corn and pork, wheat, hay, and oats, cotton

* Statistical science, methods and results: This course is intended to furnish a basis for a social science by supplementing the historical, legal, and economic knowledge already gained, by such a knowledge of social phenomena as can be gained only by statistical observation. Under the head of statistics of population are considered: race and ethnological distinctions, nationality, density, city and country, sex, age, occupation, religion, education, births, deaths, marriages, mortality tables, emigration, etc. Under economic statistics: land, production of food, raw material, labor, wages, capital, means of transportation, shipping, prices, etc. Under the head of moral statistics are considered: statistics of suicide, vice, crime of all kinds, causes of crime, condition of criminals, repression of crime, penalties and effect of penalties, etc. Finally is considered the method of statistical observations, the value of the results obtained, the doctrine of free will, and the possibility of discovering social laws.—From circular as to the study of statistics in Columbia College, New York.

and other fibers. But it gives no idea of the immense domain of mountain and timber land, which is one-fourth perhaps of our whole area.

GROWTH OF POPULATION.

Since 1860 there has been a great increase of our population. We leaped from thirty-one and a half millions in 1860 to 50,155,783 in 1880. The computation of the current decade, running up to 1890 in the future, as the table illustrates it, will probably show sixty-four millions, as I had estimated it, or 64,476,000, as Mr. Atkinson's table estimates it.

NATIONAL DEBT AND DEVELOPMENTS.

After the war ended our debt on the last day in August, 1865, amounted to the enormous sum of little less than three billions, or $84 per capita. Gradually since that time, out of the resources of the people, it has been reduced until, on the 1st day of October, 1886, by the old form of computation, our debt was only $1,274,728,153.

Since the war ended in 1865 our miles of railway have leaped up from 33,908 to 128,967 in 1886. A million of men are occupied to-day in the construction and operation of these railways. The past two years show that the increase of our railways continues.

The grain crops of the United States during nearly the same period, from 1865 to 1885, have nearly trebled. They have kept pace with the increase of transportation, and have given increased product to the Western farmer, and a superabundant supply of food not only to ourselves but to the commercial world. The increase of this product of grain per capita between the same periods has been from 32½ bushels to 52½.

These facts show an enormous, complex, and absolute increase in all the elements that make up the welfare of the people; and though a less proportion of the people may be occupied in agriculture now than in 1865, still, by the invention of agricultural implements, the toil has been relieved and the harvest made more abundant and certain.

The increase of the hay crop has been still proportionably greater.

IRON AND CIVILIZATION.

It is said that the employment of iron is a good test of the civilization from the earliest days to the present. For reasons, not necessary to discuss, the product of pig-iron in the United States has leaped up from 931,582 tons in 1865 to over 6,000,000 in 1887. The consumption of iron is greater in the United States than in any other country. It indicates the many-handed forces which contribute to our comfort and wealth.

FIFTEEN YEARS' PROGRESS.

Glance at one of these remarkable tables and you will observe the relative gain from 1870 to 1885 in population, production, wealth, and savings.

In fifteen years our population has increased 48 per cent.; the production of grain, 85 per cent.; consumption of cotton, 86 per cent.; consumption of wool, 88 per cent.; production of hay, 100 per cent.; production of cotton, 108 per cent.; production of iron, 143 per cent.; and miles of railroad, 168 per cent.

TERRITORIAL GROWTH.

To go back further, commencing with our small area in 1783, when the world acknowledged our independence, with 819,815 square miles, we have since then added the vast Louisiana country, amounting to 877,268 square miles, in 1803; in 1805, Oregon, with 225,948 square miles; in 1812, West Florida and East Florida, 64,030 miles; and in 1819, Texas, 262,290; additional in Oregon in 1846, by treaty, 58,880, and New Mexico and California, 614,439, in 1848; to which add the Gadsden purchase of 1853 and the Alaska treaty of 1867, amounting to 578,739 square miles. Thus we have thus extended our present area to 3,501,409 square miles.

We are in the habit of pointing to the civilization of ancient Rome under the Cæsars as an example for all time of an empire which taught mankind patriotic devotion to law. The Roman code still remains unparalleled for its lessons in equity. But Rome, under the Cæsars, in spite of all its virtues, was but laggard rottenness within, growing more and more corrupt as personal liberty decayed.

OUR STABILITY.

Another and more permanent civilization sprang up in our new hemisphere. Here the people, through their decennial enumeration, become the Cæsar, adding to new principles of government the refinements of jurisprudence and the administration of justice. We have deduced order and prosperity out of the wilderness.

Although during the rule of imperial Rome the nations of the elder world were closely allied, how insignificant such an alliance appears in the present century, and especially since the celebration of our Constitution. Travel has become so easy and so frequent, the means to procure the necessaries and luxuries of life so abundant, and, above all, the checks upon bad administration and legislation so full of journalistic criticism, methodical information, and patriotic meaning, that no one who looks honestly to the future of our country can become a pessimist like Tacitus or a scandal-monger like Suetonius. The seeds of death are not yet sown in our body-politic, and so long as our resources are intelligently used for the regulation of the state there is little danger of our becoming corrupt unto a premature decline and fall.

OUR CIVILIZATION; WHAT MATTHEW ARNOLD THINKS ABOUT IT.

Matthew Arnold published many harsh criticisms upon our country and its institutions. But in all the fault-finding which he indulged, he was compelled to pay a proper respect to our polity.

He sums up our success in solving the political and social problem by the remark that the United States had constituted themselves in a modern age, and that their institutions complied well with the form and pressure of those circumstances and conditions which a modern age presents. Aside from the question of how much merit for this may be due to the wisdom and virtue of the American people and how much to their good fortune, he acknowledges that our institutions do their work well and happily. He uses a homely though apt figure to illustrate the play of our institutions. They suggest the image of a man in a suit of clothes which fits him to perfection, leaving all his movements unimpeded and easy; a suit of clothes loose where it ought to be loose and fitting close where its fitting close is an advantage; a suit of clothes able, moreover, to adapt itself naturally to the wearer's growth and to admit of all enlargements as they successively arise.

So much as to our polity from this distinguished critic, who has just passed away from the stage.

The social problem does not escape his observation. He emphasizes our freedom from the distinction of classes and our singular homogeneity. No division of rich and poor here accentuates the division between man and man. He confesses that our communities use their understanding with the soundness of health, and that they see their way clear and straight in social and political concerns.

Under such favoring conditions, the star of empire still moves on, shining down upon valley, hill, and mountain, under which lie our precious metals, our salt, our coal, and our natural gas, and on rivers which flow amid woodlands and prairies and plateaus and basins of incalculable fertility and richness, until, like another star which led the "wise men of the East," it shall be fixed as the star of our destiny, for the guidance of our "ship of state" amidst all the bewildering currents which our American human nature must master in order to hold the van in the race of progress.

How do we ascertain the position of this "star of empire?" Simply thus: Taking the map of the United States as it were a plane, with dots of equal weight upon it, one for each inhabitant, at what point would such a plane balance? That point has varied with the lapse of time. In 1790 it was on the Chesapeake, south of Baltimore; in 1880, on the Ohio, near Cincinnati. Every decade it moved 50 miles westward, but always on the same (thirty-ninth) parallel. It varied a little to the north in 1870. It returned in 1880. The steadiness of this westward movement is only equaled by the marvelous flood of immigration, with the army of native-born citizens, which, following it, have sought new homes in the West.

In 1880 nearly seven millions of our population were foreign-born, 45 per cent. being Irish, settled mostly in the large cities, and about the same number of Germans and Scandinavians, mostly upon the farm lands.

The movement of these masses of people has had wonderful uniformity, and this movement has been a safety-valve, not only giving comfort and content to those who are left behind in the race of immigration, but adding to the interests imbound indissolubly with millions of lives.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it will no doubt occur to gentlemen that the first census of our country was taken nearly one hundred years ago. We are therefore approaching the centenary census. It will mark most conspicuously the end of a grand epoch in our experience and history,—a cycle whose splendor is unparalleled in the career of nations. Such a cycle of patriotic felicity is fruitful of suggestions as to the value of our public institutions and their effect on our social conduct. Shall not the grand results of this shining cycle inspire us with the hope of a still grander future?

One hundred years ago the Philadelphia convention had already submitted and a sufficient number of the States had approved the fundamental form of our Government. The Articles of Confederation had dropped apart like ropes of sand, unable longer to bind the stalwart thews and sinews of sovereign States in any form of a federative body-politic.

What a contrast with the present is the picture of the political and other conditions of our American life in that initial year of our creation, when our vessel of state was launched. Bounding and rebounding upon an uncertain element, avoiding the Scylla of centralization, on the one hand, and the Charybdis of secession on the other, but always steering by the chart, we sailed securely if not serenely on a halcyon sea, with new horizons opening at every vista and decade.

Many amendments have been made to our organic law in these ten decades, but the fundamental idea, the genius of our liberties, that which concerns person, property, liberty, religion, and life, remains adamantine and permanent in our representative system of government.

The questions that now concern us are comparatively harmless in their issues. Whatever form of settlement they may have, they only touch policy; they do not threaten our polity.

While the nations of the Old World are in process of constant mutation, with one-tenth of their population non-producing soldiery, ready at the beck of autocracy to contend for boundaries and dynasties, and while the peoples of these nations are advancing under Divine Provi-

dence towards the establishment of a new and more liberal order and the enfranchisement of their millions, our Republic remains steadfast as a beacon to all, and as a sure warning and defense against internal turbulence and external attack.

No one element, Mr. Speaker, has contributed more to give us this conspicuous place among the nations of the earth than the system by which, decennially, we readjust upon foundations fixed in popular enumeration and intelligence our representative system. Thus, out of our own capabilities, we light the torch of liberty each decade and illume the stars which shine as States around our Federal orb to give their glory to the Republic without losing one gleam of their own radiance.

After four hours' debate and amendment the bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

APPENDIX A.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CENSUS OF 1880.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BUREAU OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., March 21, 1888.

DEAR Mr. COX: I have yours of the 19th, and have carefully considered the same.

I want to congratulate you on securing concurrent action relative to the printing of the Tenth Census. As you say, that closes the matter.

I have been in consultation this forenoon with Mr. Wardle regarding the possibility of ascertaining the expense of each of the volumes of the Tenth Census, but I find it is utterly impossible, from the manner in which accounts were kept for the Tenth Census, to secure any figure relative to the cost of each volume, except for the printing, and this is secured by getting the total cost of printing all the volumes and adjusting it over each volume according to the number of pages in each; but the clerical cost and other for each volume was so distributed over the whole census work that a statement as to each can not be made. The best available statement on the cost is inclosed herewith.

In regard to your other point relating to the merit of each volume—not merely as contemporaneous with the census of 1880, but as useful during the decade and for the future—I can give you a better reply by speaking specifically of the volumes that have been or will be published. There are twenty-two of these, the number and title of the volumes being as follows:

Vol. 1, Statistics of Population.
Vol. 2, Statistics of Manufactures.
Vol. 3, Statistics of Agriculture.
Vol. 4, Agencies of Transportation.
Vol. 5, Cotton Production in the United States, part 1.
Vol. 6, Cotton Production in the United States, part 2.
Vol. 7, Valuation, Taxation, and Public Indebtedness.
Vol. 8, Newspapers, Alaska, and Ship-building.
Vol. 9, Forest Trees of North America and portfolio of maps.
Vol. 10, Petroleum, Coke, and Building Stones.
Vol. 11, Mortality and Vital Statistics, part 1.
Vol. 12, Mortality and Vital Statistics, part 2 and portfolio.
Vol. 13, Statistics and Technology of the Precious Metals.
Vol. 14, Mining Laws of the United States.
Vol. 15, Mining Industries of the United States.
Vol. 16, Water-power of the United States, part 1.
Vol. 17, Water-power of the United States, part 2.
Vol. 18, Social Statistics of Cities, part 1.
Vol. 19, Social Statistics of Cities, part 2.
Vol. 20, Wages, Prices of the Necessaries of Life, Trades Societies, and Strikes and Lockouts.
Vol. 21, Deaf, Dumb, Blind, Insane, etc.
Vol. 22, Mechanical Reports.

Of the foregoing volumes 17, 19, 21, and 22 are not yet printed. Those which belong legitimately, in my opinion, to the normal census of the United States as it has existed for the past forty years are volumes 1, 2, 3, 7, 11, 12, and 21. These are of very great value, and the results shown in them are properly drawn from the actual enumeration on the three great schedules relating to population, manufactures, mining and other products, and agriculture, with the exception of volume 7, relating to valuation, taxation, and public indebtedness. The facts for this volume must be drawn from separate schedules. The volumes on morality and vital statistics are essential in a census of the United States, because so few of the States make returns of mortality. The census reports on this subject are not and for many decades can not be complete, but they are far better than the lack of statistics on the subject. All the other volumes in the list just given are exceedingly valuable in themselves, but there is no necessity whatever of connecting them with the census, either for the purpose of contemporaneous collection or for future value. Volumes 5 and 6, relating to cotton production in the United States—a very valuable compilation of facts—when they are needed again should be produced under the care of the Department of Agriculture. The same of volume 9. The facts brought out in volume 8 would, to great extent, be included in volume 2 under the production of manufactures. Volumes 10, 13, 14, and 15 take up subjects legitimately belonging to the geological survey. Volumes 16 and 17, relating to the water power of the United States, having treated of those topics, they need not be touched again for many years. Volumes 18 and 19—social statistics of cities—treated more fully of the historical growth of cities than otherwise. The purely social statistics of large cities are fully borne on the population schedules, and should be a part of the regular report on the census. Volume 20, relating to wages, cost of living, etc., deals with subjects which naturally belong to and will hereafter be dealt with by the Bureau of Labor, which was not in existence when the census of 1880 was taken. Volume 21 deals with facts which may be entirely drawn from population schedules, while volume 22 has no particular place in census work.

This disposes of the list, and I see no reason whatever for the eleventh census dealing with any volumes beyond those relating to population; products, both of manufacture and agriculture, as they should be given in volumes 1, 2, and 3, and the facts called for under volumes 7, 11, 12, and 21.

This statement I believe very fully answers your question. The removal, however, of the other volumes from the census would not make so very great a difference in the total expense. How much of a difference it is utterly impossible to say, because on many of the volumes large bodies of clerks were employed without any distinct classification as to the expense.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, *Commissioner.*

Hon. S. S. COX, M. C.,
House of Representatives.

COST OF PRINTING VOLUMES 1 TO 20, INCLUSIVE, OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OF 1880.

	Number of copies published.	Total cost.		Number of copies published.	Total cost.
Volume 1	32,000	$54,000	Volume 12	12,000	$20,400
Volume 2	22,000	37,400	Volume 13	12,000	20,400
Volume 3	32,000	54,000	Volume 14	12,000	20,400
Volume 4	12,000	20,400	Volume 15	12,000	20,400
Volume 5	12,000	20,400	Volume 16	12,000	20,400
Volume 6	12,000	20,400	Volume 17	12,000	
Volume 7	12,000	20,400	Volume 18	12,000	20,400
Volume 8	12,000	20,400	Volume 19	12,000	
Volume 9	12,000	20,400	Volume 20	12,000	20,400
Volume 10	12,000	20,400			
Volume 11	12,000	20,400	Total		446,600

The above statement is the average cost of the editions of each volume, and does not include the printing of the monographs or the compendium. The average is hardly a fair one, because some of the volumes are quite fully illustrated, while others are not; but the figures given above are the result of a distribution of the total cost of the volumes enumerated—that is, from 1 to 20 inclusive.

THE TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE CENSUS OF 1880.

Enumerators	$2,095,563.32
Special agents	625,067.29
Printing reports	678,624.61
Superintendent's office, salaries, stationery, tabulation, clerks, etc.	2,385,999.50
Being a total of	5,785,254.72
To this should be added for printing the sum involved in the urgency deficiency bill	77,495.52
Making the aggregate	5,862,750.24

The total appropriations have been $5,871,466.49.

APPENDIX B.

LETTER OF EDWARD ATKINSON AS TO CHARTS, ETC.

BOSTON, *June 5, 1888.*

MY DEAR SIR: In accordance with your request, and by consent of the Photo-Gravure Company, with whom I had made an agreement for the publication of my charts under copyright arrangements, and reserving all rights, I send you charts Nos. 1 to 8, inclusive, in which I have given the elements of our progress in national wealth and welfare from 1865, the end of the civil war, to 1888, inclusive. In No. 9 I give you the relative elements of the changes which have occurred.

In numbers 10 and 11 I submit a recent study of progress in the railway service. The railways which are included in these tables did last year 35 per cent. of the railway service of this country. You will observe how the volume of traffic continues to increase in the face of falling prices, lesser rates of charge, and diminishing exports of farm products. These twenty-six lines of railway which center in Chicago from East and West, received in the last four years a little less than $340,000,000 for moving food, fuel, materials for shelter and clothing, and other necessaries of life, at the rate of eight hundred and fifty-four one-thousandths of a cent a ton a mile. The charge for the service of these same railways from 1865 to 1873 averaged 2.315 cents per ton per mile.

The reduction in the rate of the last four years has therefore been 1.461 of a cent a ton a mile as compared to the previous period. Had the traffic of these last four years been charged this difference, or in other words, had it been charged what was considered a reasonable rate from 1865 to 1873, the cost of the service in the last four years would have been $1,091,000,000 more than it actually was, or 35 per cent. of the whole traffic of the country.

The reduction in the charge on other lines has been as great or greater than on these great trunk lines, and as they do but 35 per cent. of the whole service we may estimate the saving in four years at $3,200,000,000, or $800,000,000 a year. Now, while this has been the source of some of the great fortunes of to-day, yet how do these fortunes differ in their quality! In some cases every dollar which has been gained by their owners is but a token of the true and honest service which they have returned to their fellow-men; in other cases it may be as truly said that every dollar of the gain of the owners of certain huge fortunes is but a token of theft, fraud, and corruption. Yet, good or bad as may have been the origin of these great fortunes, the railways themselves under the higher law which governs the exchanges of men with each other, and in spite of restrictive legislation, continue to do their work to the benefit of those who consume the products which are moved over them.

In Nos. 12, 13, and 14 I submit to you tables and text showing how all the benefits of science and invention gradually distribute themselves.

In No. 15 you will observe what vast changes in the relations of men to each other these inventions have all worked; the laborers making progress from poverty in the exact measure of their relative capacity, and securing to their own use and enjoyment a constantly increasing share of an increasing product. On the other hand, under the equally inexorable law of the tendency of profits to a minimum, the rate of interest has declined, and as capital has become more abundant and effective it has been able to secure to its use a lessening proportion of the increasing product.

Thus it is that both, through the abundance and increased effectiveness of capital, the workmen in whose service it is made use of, secure its service for a constantly lessening proportion of the joint product.

If you can make use of any or all of these tables in your speech upon the census, I am very glad to place them at your disposal.

In conclusion, permit me to repeat what I think I have written you before. I have come to view with increasing distrust the great average of the census data covering huge totals, and treating of arts which are conducted under different conditions all over this country.

I venture to suggest that a department of the census should be continued throughout each decade, either as a part of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, or as a specific department of the census itself, to the end that typical establishments may be treated year by year through a long period in which the progress of inventions and the effect of the application of science and invention can be more accurately measured than they can be by mere averages taken ten years apart. These data being gained and conclusively proved, may thereafter be used as a check upon the results of the census proper, since by analogy one may judge of the change in the rates of wages by the facts developed by a relatively small population occupied in branches of industry which are continuous.

Very truly, yours,

EDWARD ATKINSON.

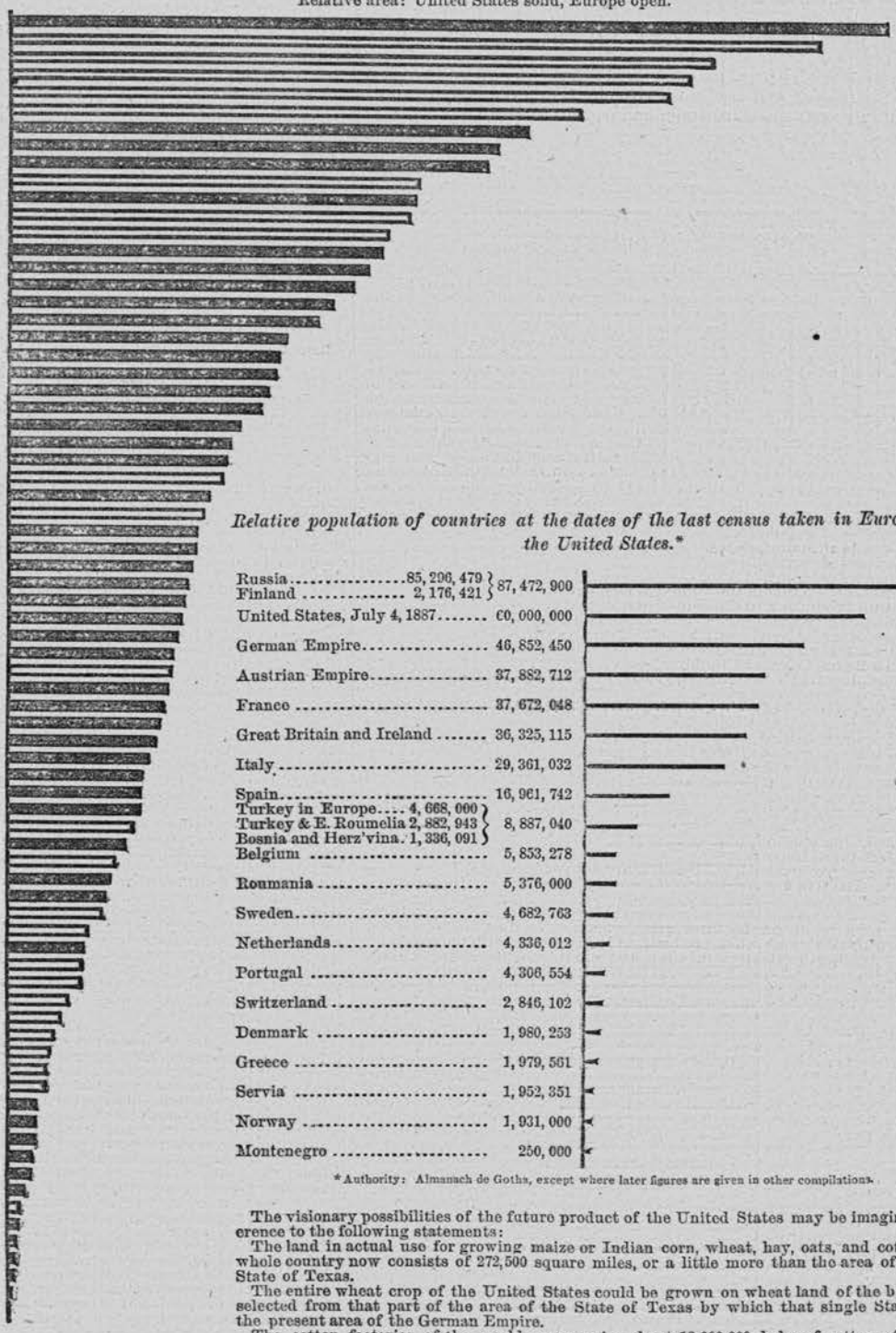
Hon. S. S. COX,
Washington, D. C.

OUR NATIONAL DOMAIN.

Graphical presentation of the comparative areas of the States and Territories of the United States and the countries of Europe, omitting Russia and Alaska.

[Corrected from the revised computations of the United States Census of 1880, and the Statesman's Year Book of 1887.]

Relative area: United States solid, Europe open.



Name.	Sq. miles.
1. Texas	262, 290
2. Austrian Empire	240, 942
3. German Empire	211, 149
4. France	204, 177
5. Spain	197, 767
6. Sweden	170, 973
7. California	155, 980
8. Dakota Territory	147, 700
9. Montana Territory	145, 310
10. Norway	123, 205
11. New Mexico Territory	122, 460
12. Great Britain & Ireland	120, 832
13. Italy	114, 410
14. Arizona	112, 920
15. Nevada	109, 740
16. Colorado	103, 645
17. Wyoming Territory	97, 575
18. Oregon	94, 560
19. Idaho Territory	84, 290
20. Utah Territory	82, 190
21. Kansas	81, 700
22. Minnesota	79, 205
23. Nebraska	76, 185
24. Indian Territory	69, 830
25. Missouri	68, 735
26. Washington Territory	66, 880
27. Turkey in Europe	63, 850
28. Georgia	58, 980
29. England and Wales	58, 186
30. Michigan	57, 430
31. Illinois	56, 000
32. Iowa	55, 475
33. Wisconsin	54, 450
34. Florida	54, 240
35. Arkansas	53, 045
36. Alabama	51, 540
37. North Carolina	48, 580
38. Roumania	48, 307
39. New York	47, 620
40. Mississippi	46, 340
41. Louisiana	45, 420
42. Pennsylvania	44, 985
43. Tennessee	41, 750
44. Ohio	40, 760
45. Virginia	40, 125
46. Kentucky	40, 000
47. Portugal	36, 028
48. Indiana	35, 910
49. Ireland	32, 531
50. South Carolina	30, 170
51. Maine	29, 875
52. Scotland	29, 820
53. Greece	25, 014
54. West Virginia	24, 645
55. Bulgaria	24, 369
56. Bosnia & Herzegovina	23, 570
57. Servia	18, 800
58. Switzerland	15, 892
59. Denmark	14, 124
60. Eastern Roumelia	13, 500
61. Netherlands	12, 648
62. Belgium	11, 373
63. Maryland	9, 860
64. Vermont	9, 135
65. New Hampshire	9, 005
66. Massachusetts	8, 040
67. New Jersey	7, 455
68. Connecticut	4, 845
69. Montenegro	3, 550
70. Delaware	1, 960
71. Rhode Island	1, 085
72. Andorra	175
73. District of Columbia	60
74. Monaco	6

*Relative population of countries at the dates of the last census taken in Europe and of the United States.**



Russia, 85, 206, 479 / Finland, 2, 176, 421	87, 472, 900
United States, July 4, 1887	60, 000, 000
German Empire	46, 852, 450
Austrian Empire	37, 882, 712
France	37, 672, 048
Great Britain and Ireland	36, 325, 115
Italy	29, 361, 032
Spain	16, 961, 742
Turkey in Europe, 4, 668, 000 / Turkey & E. Roumelia 2, 882, 943 / Bosnia and Herz'vina, 1, 336, 091	8, 887, 040
Belgium	5, 853, 278
Roumania	5, 376, 000
Sweden	4, 682, 763
Netherlands	4, 336, 012
Portugal	4, 306, 554
Switzerland	2, 846, 102
Denmark	1, 980, 253
Greece	1, 979, 561
Servia	1, 952, 351
Norway	1, 931, 000
Montenegro	250, 000

*Authority: Almanach de Gotha, except where later figures are given in other compilations.

The visionary possibilities of the future product of the United States may be imagined by reference to the following statements:

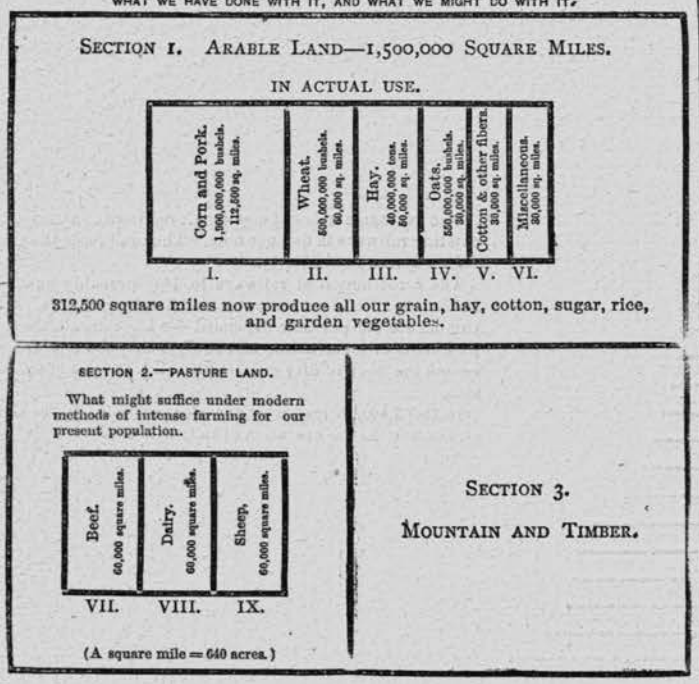
The land in actual use for growing maize or Indian corn, wheat, hay, oats, and cotton in the whole country now consists of 272,500 square miles, or a little more than the area of the single State of Texas.

The entire wheat crop of the United States could be grown on wheat land of the best quality selected from that part of the area of the State of Texas by which that single State exceeds the present area of the German Empire.

The cotton factories of the world now require about 12,000,000 bales of cotton of American weight. Good land in Texas produces one bale to an acre. The world's supply of cotton could therefore be grown on less than 19,000 square miles, or upon an area equal to only 7 per cent. of the area of Texas.

OUR NATIONAL DOMAIN.

WHAT WE HAVE DONE WITH IT, AND WHAT WE MIGHT DO WITH IT.



[Compiled from the records of the Agricultural Department and other sources.]

The public debt of the United States.

The cost, measured in money, of removing the compromise with slavery from the Constitution of the United States, was as follows:

The national revenue collected from April 1, 1861, to June 30, 1868—four years of war and three of reconstruction under military rule—was:

From taxation and miscellaneous receipts	$2,213,349,486
From loans which had not been paid June 30, 1868	2,485,000,000
Total	4,698,349,486
The peace expenditure would not have been over	698,349,486
Cost of the war	4,000,000,000

To the computed cost of the war—$4,000,000,000—must be added by estimate the war expenditures of the Northern States, and the value of the time, materials, and destruction of property in the Southern States, together probably amounting to a sum equal to that spent by the National Government.

The price of liberty in money has therefore been $8,000,000,000.

This comes to $1,135,000,000 per year for a little over seven years. The productive capacity of an average man is now about $600 worth per year. If it was then $500 worth, this sum represents the work of 2,270,000 men for seven years; at $400 each, 2,837,500 men.

The average population during this period was 35,000,000. If we assume one in five an adult man capable of bearing arms, there were 7,000,000, of whom one-third paid the price of liberty in work for seven years, or in life.

I.—*Population of the United States, either as enumerated in the Census or as computed by Mr. E. B. Elliott, actuary of the Treasury Department.*

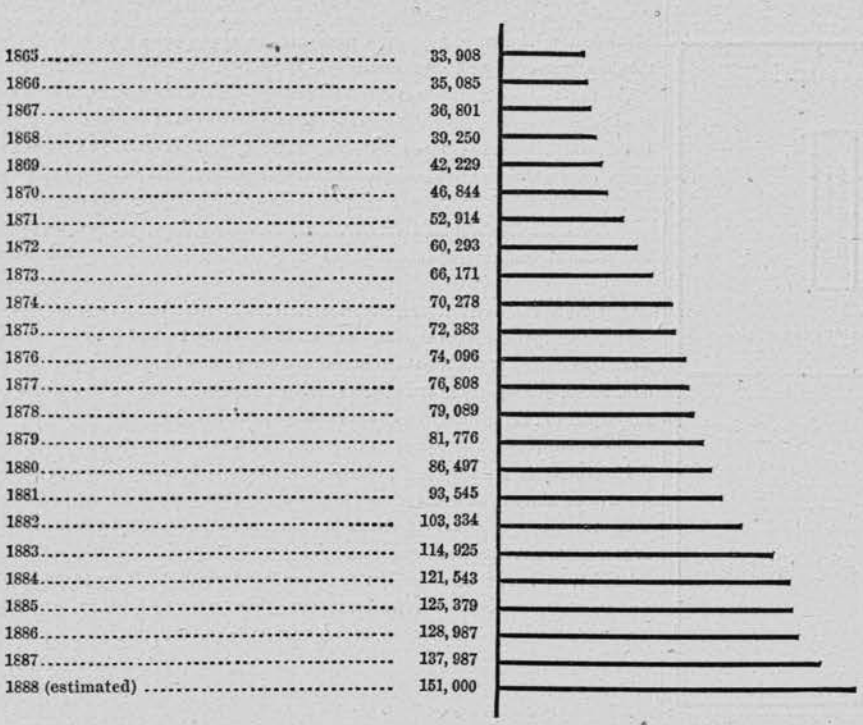
June 1.		
1860	31,443,321	Enumerated.
1861	32,060,000	Computed.
1862	32,704,000	Do.
1863	33,365,000	Do.
1864	34,046,000	Do.
1865	34,748,000	Do.
1866	35,469,000	Do.
1867	36,211,000	Do.
1868	36,973,000	Do.
1869	37,756,000	Do.
1870	33,558,371	Enumerated.
1871	39,555,000	Computed.
1872	40,596,000	Do.
1873	41,677,000	Do.
1874	42,796,000	Do.
1875	43,951,000	Do.
1876	45,137,000	Do.
1877	46,353,000	Do.
1878	47,598,000	Do.
1879	48,866,000	Do.
1880	50,155,783	Enumerated.
1881	51,495,000	Computed.
1882	52,802,000	Do.
1883	54,165,000	Do.
1884	55,556,000	Do.
1885	56,975,000	Do.
1886	58,420,000	Do.
1887	59,893,000	Do.
1888	61,394,000	Do.
1889	62,921,000	Do.
1890	64,476,000	Do.

		Per capita.
July 1, 1860	$59,964,402	1.91
July 1, 1861	87,718,660	2.74
July 1, 1862	505,312,752	15.45
July 1, 1863	1,111,350,737	33.31
July 1, 1864	1,709,452,277	50.21
July 1, 1865	2,674,815,853	76.98
Aug. 31, 1865*	2,997,386,203	84.00
July 1, 1866	2,636,036,163	74.32
July 1, 1867	2,508,151,211	69.26
July 1, 1868	2,480,853,413	67.10
July 1, 1869	2,432,771,873	64.43
July 1, 1870	2,331,169,956	60.46
July 1, 1871	2,246,994,068	56.81
July 1, 1872	2,149,780,530	52.16
July 1, 1873	2,105,462,060	50.52
July 1, 1874	2,104,149,153	49.17
July 1, 1875	2,090,041,170	47.56
July 1, 1876	2,060,925,340	45.66
July 1, 1877	2,019,275,431	43.56
July 1, 1878	1,999,382,280	42.01
July 1, 1879	1,996,414,905	40.86
July 1, 1880	1,919,326,747	38.27
July 1, 1881	1,819,650,154	35.36
July 1, 1882	1,675,023,474	31.72
July 1, 1883	1,538,781,825	28.41
July 1, 1884	1,438,542,995	25.90
July 1, 1885	1,375,352,443	24.09
July 1, 1886*	1,324,512,871	22.67
July 1, 1887*	1,214,805,225	20.08
July 1, 1888*	†1,105,000,000	18.00

Reduction debt per capita.

* New form, less bonds advanced to Pacific Railroad Companies.
† Estimated.

MILES OF RAILWAY IN OPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES.



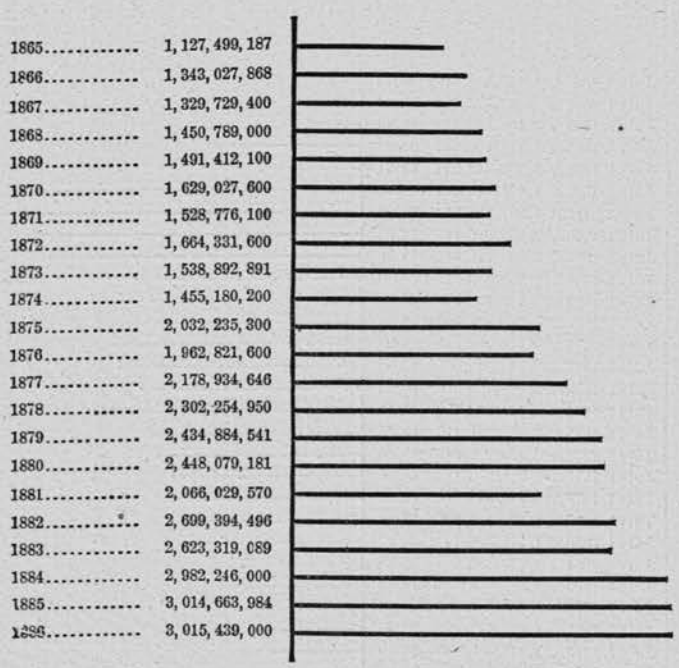
The average number of men employed in the operation of existing railways is five per mile. The total force thus occupied is now about 750,000.

The construction of railways in 1887 probably equaled 13,000 miles, at an estimated cost of $25,000 per mile. Assuming $20,000 per mile expended for labor in all the departments of construction and equipment, each mile represented the work of fifty men, at $400 each; a total of 650,000 men.

In 1887 1,400,000 men were therefore occupied in the construction or in the operation of railways.

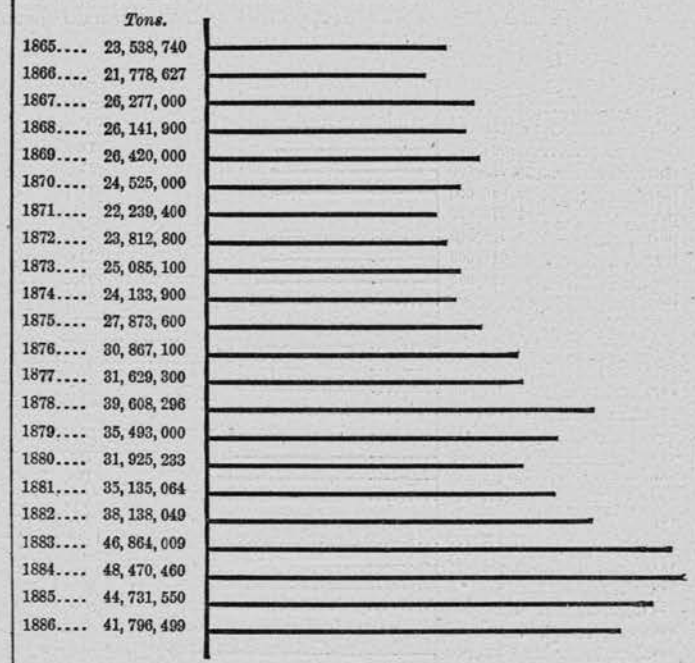
The railway mileage January 1, 1881, was 93,545. In a treatise upon what would be an adequate service, written in that year, the writer said that 117,500 miles should be added in the next fifteen years; but as we should have at least one commercial crisis and railway panic during that period, it might be safer to assign twenty years to the work. Since January 1, 1881, we have had both the crisis and the panic, but we have added 57,455 miles, leaving only 60,000 for the next five to seven years.

GRAIN CROPS OF THE UNITED STATES.



It may be held that by the construction of the railways in advance of the population a great rise in the value of fertile land in the East has been retarded, and the increased product of the Western farmer has been rendered possible; while, under the land-grant system, land which might otherwise have been sold in large parcels has been broken up into small farms by the reservation of alternate sections. Under this influence a superabundant supply of food has been produced by a less proportion of the population occupied in agriculture in 1885 than in 1865.

HAY CROP OF THE UNITED STATES.



The hay crop at the farm is worth much more than the cotton crop at the factory.

Food costs the average family three to four times as much as clothing. The combined value of the poultry and eggs only, which are annually consumed, is computed at $200,000,000. This is more than the value of the product of pig-iron, silver bullion, and the wool-clip combined.

COTTON CROPS OF THE UNITED STATES.

	Bales.
1865-'66	2,228,987
1866-'67	2,059,271
1867-'68	2,498,898
1868-'69	2,439,039
1869-'70	3,154,946
1870-'71	4,352,317
1871-'72	2,974,351
1872-'73	3,930,508
1873-'74	4,170,388
1874-'75	3,832,991
1875-'76	4,669,288
1876-'77	4,485,423
1877-'78	4,811,000
1878-'79	5,073,531
1879-'80	5,757,397
1880-'81	6,589,329
1881-'82	5,435,845
1882-'83	6,992,234
1883-'84	5,714,052
1884-'85	5,669,021
1885-'86	6,550,215
1886-'87	6,513,623
1888 (estimated) ...	6,700,000
	106,602,654 23 crops made by free labor.
1839-1861, inclusive.	61,833,294 23 crops made by slave labor.
	44,769,360 Excess by free labor.

The average weight, per bale, has also steadily increased. The value of 45,000,000 bales of cotton produced by free labor in excess of the product of slave labor can not have been less than $2,500,000,000, or more than the full valuation of all the slaves who were made free by the war. This gain is due not only to the freedom given to the blacks, but to the emancipation of the white men of the South from the indignity of enforced idleness.

PRODUCT OF PIG-IRON IN THE UNITED STATES.

1865	921,582
1866	1,350,343
1867	1,461,626
1868	1,603,000
1869	1,916,641
1870	1,865,000
1871	1,911,608
1872	2,854,558
1873	2,868,278
1874	2,689,413
1875	2,266,581
1876	2,093,236
1877	2,314,585
1878	2,577,361
1879	3,070,875
1880	4,295,414
1881	4,641,564
1882	5,178,122
1883	5,146,972
1884	4,589,613
1885	4,529,869
1886	6,417,148
1887	7,187,206

The production of pig-iron is an arduous and undesirable but necessary occupation, giving employment to about 150,000 men and boys. On the other hand, the conversion and use of iron is one of the surest signs of prosperity. In 1887 the per capita consumption of iron was substantially 300 pounds.

The total quantity of iron and steel consumed in that year, imported and domestic product combined, exceeded 9,000,000 tons.

PROGRESS IN WEALTH.

Years.	Risks taken.
1859	$1,498,569,125
1860	1,345,004,487
1861	1,258,972,728
1862	1,373,766,641
1863	1,612,361,852
1864	2,223,833,544
1865	2,564,112,505
1866	2,945,381,297
1867	3,165,666,666
1868	3,420,490,029
1869	3,778,713,296
1870	4,035,907,596
1871	3,987,386,026
1872	4,529,668,173
1873	5,783,777,818
1874	5,889,403,314
1875	6,039,507,339
1876	5,914,565,904
1877	6,008,976,461
1878	6,229,312,193
1879	6,673,097,069
1880	7,184,511,455
1881	7,949,581,516
1882	8,534,253,737
1883	9,359,423,527
1884	9,736,329,252
1885	10,517,940,175
1886	11,349,685,459
1887	12,230,325,078

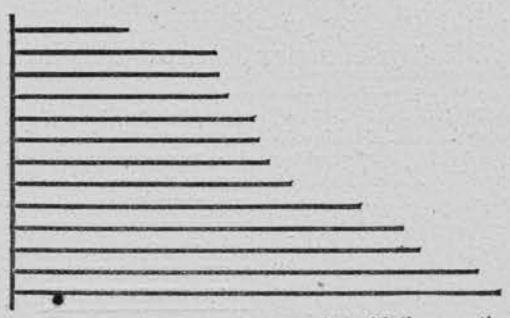
Computations of wealth, such as are given in the census are not of much value. Progress in wealth can, perhaps be measured as accurately by the amount of insurance against loss by fire as by any other standard.

The accompanying table, compiled by Mr. C. C. Hine editor of the Insurance Monitor, of New York, gives the amount of risks taken by all the fire insurance companies which are licensed to transact business in the State of New York.

In the judgment of Mr. Hine, 80 or 90 per cent. of all the insurance taken in the United States is covered by the companies which make an annual report of their whole business in the United States to the insurance commissioner of this State.

The effect of the war may be traced by the apparent reduction of risks during the period in which business intercourse with the Southern States was interrupted.

GAIN IN POPULATION, PRODUCTION, WEALTH, AND SAVINGS, 1870 TO 1885, AND ON SOME ITEMS TO 1886.



In considering these relative gains it will be observed that they represent a constant gain in the means of subsistence over population; that with the exception of the increase in personal wealth, which is indicated by the increase in the amount of property insured against loss by fire, they represent the progress of the million in the means of common welfare rather than of the millionaire in personal wealth, and that they give testimony to the beneficent law of progress *from* poverty.

THE FOOD-PROVIDERS.

ILLINOIS CENTRAL; CHICAGO AND ALTON; CHICAGO AND ROCK ISLAND; CHICAGO, BURLINGTON AND QUINCY; CHICAGO AND NORTH WESTERN; AND CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE AND SAINT PAUL RAILROADS.

Years.	Tons moved.	Tons moved 1 mile.	Charge per ton per mile (in cents).
1865	4,032,166	573,421,459	3.642
1866	4,803,205	576,888,638	3.459
1867	6,303,783	768,171,050	3.175
1868	7,064,305	893,856,974	3.151
1869	8,071,568	1,054,559,835	3.026
1870	8,540,579	1,234,678,291	2.423
1871	9,391,684	1,233,058,058	2.509
1872	10,592,414	1,337,038,063	2.324
1873	11,958,467	1,719,496,690	2.188
1874	12,637,729	1,851,645,825	2.160
1875	12,662,768	1,904,937,377	1.979
1876	13,488,204	1,994,712,255	1.877
1877	13,364,721	2,211,021,475	1.664
1878	15,705,226	2,822,885,886	1.476
1879	18,807,123	3,470,822,877	1.279
1880	24,212,307	4,167,610,830	1.389
1881	27,076,047	4,498,641,431	1.405
1882	29,851,868	5,040,239,952	1.364
1883	31,663,979	5,768,109,279	1.310
1884	32,573,518	6,093,282,749	1.220
1885	34,348,684	6,500,185,261	1.158
1886	35,690,547	6,806,148,918	1.111
1887	40,276,909	7,776,436,486	1.014

PENNSYLVANIA; PITTSBURGH, FORT WAYNE AND CHICAGO; NEW YORK CENTRAL AND HUDSON RIVER; LAKE SHORE AND MICHIGAN SOUTHERN; MICHIGAN CENTRAL; BOSTON AND ALBANY; AND NEW YORK, LAKE ERIE AND WESTERN RAILROADS.

[Graphically compiled from revised figures derived from H. V. Poor's railroad manuals.]

Years.	Tons moved.	Tons moved 1 mile.	Charge per ton per mile (in cents).
1865	11,151,700	1,649,316,859	2.900
1866	14,049,602	2,044,416,231	2.503
1867	15,594,454	2,258,216,174	2.305
1868	17,468,693	2,541,578,620	2.132
1869	20,556,154	3,159,832,217	1.860
1870	21,456,135	3,685,824,803	1.593
1871	25,098,953	4,340,131,068	1.478
1872	28,634,347	5,081,263,127	1.501
1873	32,817,277	5,762,062,724	1.476
1874	32,899,152	5,879,662,649	1.332
1875	32,956,655	5,935,242,397	1.161
1876	36,166,865	6,739,527,502	.985
1877	36,133,676	6,536,997,523	.971
1878	39,124,614	7,855,222,593	.898
1879	48,585,226	9,594,719,603	.706
1880	53,937,403	10,313,656,759	.869
1881	62,816,114	11,560,001,888	.763
1882	64,948,002	11,191,066,104	.764
1883	66,695,608	11,326,271,886	.829
1884	64,397,586	10,719,521,813	.740
1885	66,521,153	11,331,308,298	.636
1886	74,517,207	11,915,435,513	.711
1887	84,754,598	13,543,351,451	.718

The cost of the materials for food, of materials for clothing, boots and shoes, and of fuel probably represents about 70 per cent. of the cost of living on the part of well-to-do mechanics, railway employés, or of other persons in analogous occupations who may be considered in the average position of working people. All these elements of life have declined very greatly in their prices in the period under consideration. In some regions rents have declined, in others they have been stationary; in crowded cities they have either advanced in some small measure or else the apartments hired for a given sum of money have not been equal to those previously occupied. So far as I have been able to compare rents, however, either those paid to a landlord or the rental value of premises owned by the occupant, there has not been, on the average, much variation from the rule affecting commodities in the period under consideration.

The standard portions of food, cloth, boots and shoes, and fuel, which are made use of in the subsequent computation of the purchasing power of a day's or a year's wages, have been established in the following manner:

FOOD.

By comparing data gathered by myself with other data gathered by several State bureaus of the statistics of labor it has been fairly established that the average food supply of mechanics and adult factory operatives in the Eastern and Middle States cost in 1880, 1881, and 1882 substantially 25 cents per day, and consisted of very nearly the proportions of different kinds of food given in Table A.

The consumption of dairy products, sugar, tea, and coffee given is probably greater than in other parts of the country; but if a deduction of 2 cents per day be made for this, it then becomes necessary to add 3 cents per day (probably more) to account for the known average consumption of wine, beer, and spirits. (60,000,000 at 3 cents per day average comes to $657,000,000). Recent computations put the cost of liquor to consumers $700,000,000.

Although the actual consumption of food, cloth, and fuel may not in any single case have corresponded identically with these standards, yet it may be safely assumed that the proportions are correct, and that the variation in the prices of what has been actually consumed will have corresponded to the variation in the prices of these standard articles and quantities.

For convenience in computation the small quantities of the single ration of food have been extended so as to cover 400 portions, which may be taken as the consumption of one year by one adult, 35 rations being added for extras.

Table A.—Standard of a single day's ration, with its average cost in 1880, 1881, and 1882.

Table B.—Standard of 400 rations, or one year's supply for one adult, with 35 extra rations.

It is assumed that the prices of meat, fish, and poultry, fresh or salt, will have varied substantially with the variations in salt and smoked meats, and as the prices of the latter are more uniformly quoted, the prices used in making up the general standard are those given for salt and smoked meats. In the same way the price of potatoes has been taken as a standard for the variation in the price of all green vegetable food or roots.

A.—ONE RATION PER DAY.		B.—400 RATIONS.
	Cents.	
½ to 1 pound meat, poultry or fish, varying according to kind and quality, costing on average	10	200 pounds corned beef. 100 pounds salt pork. 100 pounds smoked ham.
½ to ¾ pints milk	5	100 quarts milk.
1 to 1½ ounce butter		30 pounds butter.
½ to ¾ ounce cheese		20 pounds cheese.
1 egg every other day	½	17 dozen eggs.
¾ to 1 pound bread	2½	1 barrel flour. ½ barrel corn-meal.
Vegetables and roots	2 to 2½	20 bushels potatoes.
Sugar and sirup	2	80 pounds sugar.
Tea and coffee	1	4 pounds tea. 8 pounds coffee.
Salt, spice, fruit, ice, and sundries	1½ to 2	$6 worth assumed at all dates.
	25	$100

Standard portion of cloth for one year: 10 yards medium brown cotton; 10 yards standard gingham; 10 yards 36-inch bleached shirting; 20 yards printed calico; 10 yards 4-ounce woolen flannel or worsted dress goods; 5 yards 16-ounce cassimere; 5 yards Kentucky jean-satinet, or light cassimere.

Standard of boots and shoes for one year: Two pairs men's heavy boots.

Standard of fuel for one year: 1½ tons anthracite coal, or its equivalent in bituminous coal or wood.

In establishing the average cost of a day's portion of the above, the prices given in volume 20 of the United States Census, in ten shops east and ten shops west of Buffalo, 1860–1880, have been averaged for each year designated. These prices have been verified from other sources of information. Prices of dry goods have been verified fully. Prices for 1885 and 1886 have been derived from typical establishments and from market reports. The average of 1885 and 1886 was probably less than the estimate used.

CLOTHING.

By a computation made by the undersigned when engaged in the compilation of the census of the cotton manufacture of the United States in 1880, it appeared that if all the fibers of cotton, wool, silk, and flax, imported or raised, were carried through the factories and then converted into clothing, carpets, and other forms for final use, with the imports of textile fabrics added, the average consumption of textile fabrics by the people of this country in that year was substantially $30 worth per head, of which about $25 worth was for clothing. It being impossible to set up a standard of the exact cost of clothing, certain quantities of cotton and woolen cloth have been taken which are a little above the average consumption of the whole country. In a final computation cloth is converted into clothing at the ratio of three parts materials and two parts for manufacturing and distributing.

In this computation I have made great use of the twentieth volume of the United States Census. It was prepared by Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, and is of the greatest value in statistical research.

The gain in the purchasing power of wages is measured by the number of portions of the materials for food, clothing, boots and shoes, and fuel, which one year's work would buy at different periods: three hundred working days to one year. Each portion consists of the same quantities and corresponds to the daily consumption of mechanics in New England and in the Middle States, as determined by close inquiry on the part of bureaus of labor statistics and of the undersigned.

CLASS I.—*Specially skilled men: Foremen, overseers, boss blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., customarily earning $3 to $5 per day at the present time.*

Year.	Average per day.	Average per year (300 days).	Cost of day's portion.	Purchasing power in number of portions.
			Cents.	
1860..	$2.45	$735.00	30.95	2,374
1865..	3.75	1,071.00	55.69	1,920
1870..	4.34	1,302.00	43.53	3,000
1875..	4.14	1,242.00	38.69	3,210
1880..	1.14	1,242.00	33.24	3,737
1885.. } 1886.. }	(*)	(*)	†30	‡4,000

* Probably higher than in 1880. † Estimated, 30 cents or less. ‡ Not less than 4,000.

The portions consist of uniform quantities of the same kinds of food, cloth, etc., and fuel bought at retail prices. The wages from 1860 to 1880, inclusive, are averaged from a large number of returns contained in Vol. XX of the U. S. Census, compiled by Joseph D. Weeks.

CLASS II.—*Average mechanics, engineers, blacksmiths, carpenters, machinists, and painters connected with establishments reported in Vol. XX of the Census, 1865 to 1880, inclusive.*

Year.	Average per day.	Average, per year.	Cost of portion.	Purchasing power.
			Cents.	
1860	$1.56	$468.00	30.95	1,572
1865	2.34	702.00	55.69	1,261
1870	2.43	747.00	43.53	1,716
1875	2.29	687.00	38.69	1,776
1880	2.26	678.00	33.24	2,040
1885 } 1886 }	*2.40	720.00	†30.00	‡2,400

* Estimated, $2.40. † Estimated, 30 cents or less. ‡ Estimated, 2,400.

CLASS III.—*All the operatives, except foremen and overseers, in 100 establishments reporting the wages of their working people under more than 1,200 separate titles: Bricks, marble, furniture, agricultural implements, tinware, stoves, boots, hats, cars, wagons, flour and saw mills, iron, paper, and textiles, employing men, women, and children, from 20 to 2,000 in each.*

Year.	Average per day.	Average per year.	Cost of uniform portions, food, cloth, and fuel.	Purchasing power in number of portions.
			Cents.	
1860	$1.33	$339.00	30.95	1,290
1865	1.88	564.00	55.69	1,013
1870	1.94	582.00	43.53	1,337
1875	1.77	531.00	38.69	1,372
1880	1,71	513.00	33.24	1,543
1885 } 1886 }	*1.80	540.00	†30.00	1,800

* Estimated, $1.80. † Estimated, 30 cents or less.

CLASS IV.—*Laborers, computed separately, connected with above establishments.*

Year.	Average per day.	Average per year.	Cost of uniform portions, food, cloth, and fuel.	Purchasing power in number of portions.
			Cents.	
1860	$1.01	$303.00	30.95	980
1865	1.56	468.00	55.69	840
1870	1.58	474.00	43.53	1,090
1875	1.38	414.00	48.69	1,070
1880	1.34	402.00	33.24	1,210
1885 } 1886 }	*1.40	420.00	†30.00	1,400

* Estimated, $1.40. † Estimated, 30 cents or less.

It may now be suitable to submit a very few examples proving how the rule of diminishing prices, decreasing profits, and diminishing cost of labor has been consistent with the general rise in the rates of wages and in their purchasing power. This principle would of necessity be deduced from all the tables which have already been submitted; but a few specific examples may be a matter of curious interest, and will fully sustain it.

Examples of reductions in price, reduction in cost of labor, rise in rate of wages, and increase in purchasing power of wages.

STANDARD COTTON SHEETING.

Year.	Price per yard.	Cost of labor per yard.	Earnings per year.	Purchasing power in food, cloth, and fuel.
	Cents.	*Cents.*		
1860	8.17	0.095	$207.00	669
1865	50.61	1.501	234.00	420
1870	14.33	1.425	275.00	632
1875	9.79	1.314	280.00	721
1880	7.40	0.093	260.00	782
1885	6.55	0.095	284.00	1,014

SUIT OF FURNITURE FOR A BED-ROOM.

Year.	Price.	Cost of labor.	Earnings per year.	Purchasing power in food, cloth, and fuel.
1860	$35.00	$12.00	$456.00	1,473
1865	55.00	18.00	678.00	1,217
1870	33.00	11.00	687.00	1,578
1875	28.00	10.00	723.00	1,868
1880	20.00	8.00	723.00	2,175

ONE DOZEN STEEL AXES, DAY WAGE, RATIONS FOOD ONLY PER DAY.

Year.	Price.	Cost of labor.	Day's wage.	Rations food only.
1860	$11.00	$2.28	$1.70	6.25
1865	20.50	3.12	2.27	5.39
1870	14.50	2.93	2.35	6.41
1875	11.50	2.46	2.17	6.00
1880	8.50	2.04	2.26	8.76

In this example the prices of food in the same county have been computed as a standard.

A HORSE-RAKE.

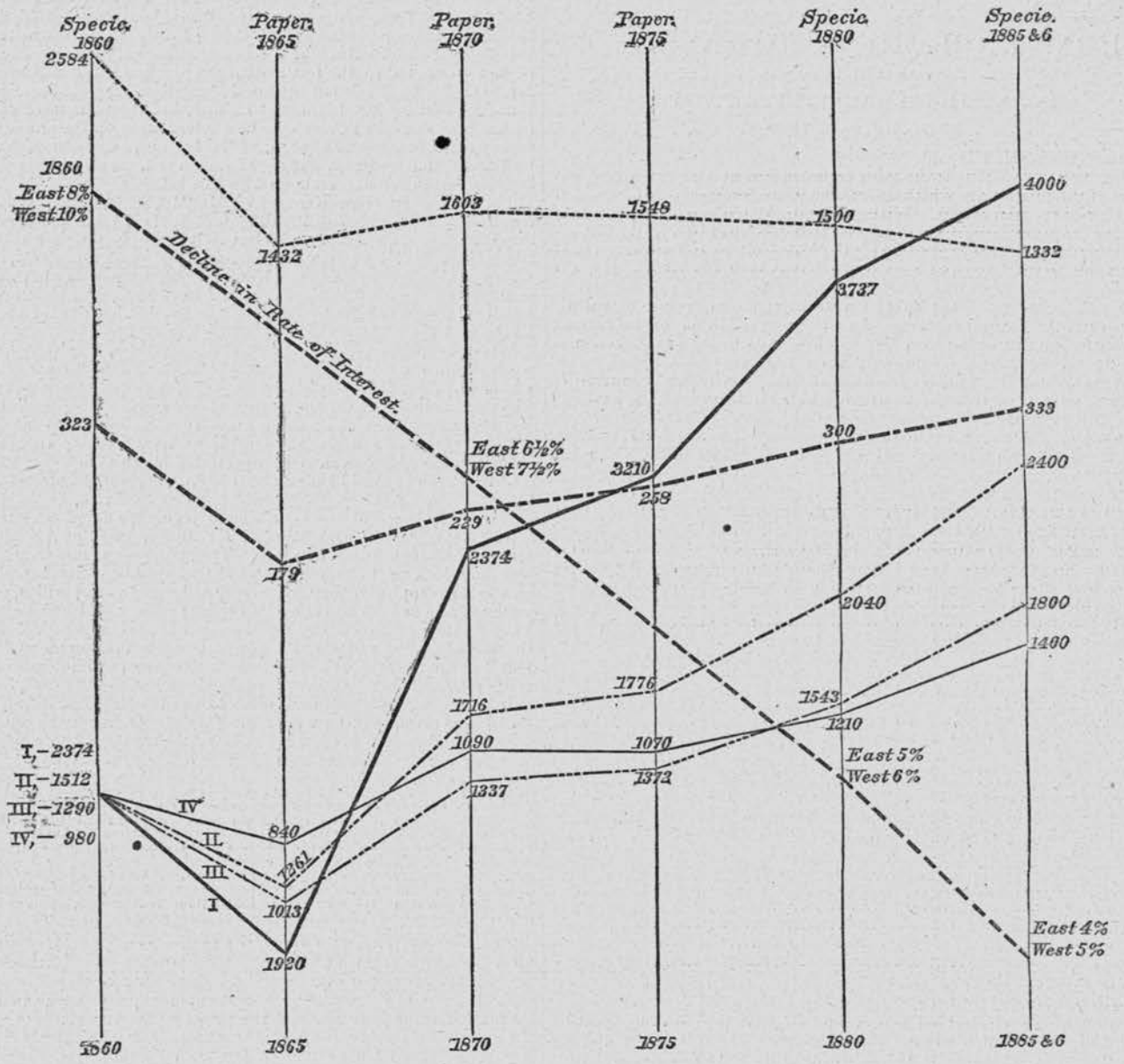
Year.	Price.	Cost of labor.	Day's wage.	Rations food only.
1865	$35.00	$3.36	$1.93	4.53
1870	32.00	2.87	2.12	5.54
1875	28.00	2.53	1.90	5.92
1880	24.00	2.10	1.76	7.01

Compiled from Vol. XX, U. S. Census, by Joseph D. Weeks; computed by Edward Atkinson, and verified by comparison with other authorities.

Could space be spared me, examples of the same kind could be added from almost every industry to which modern machinery has been applied, but these must suffice.

The following table has been computed on the prices of equal quantities of the same kinds of food, fuel and materials for clothing at the different periods corresponding in kinds and quantities to the average consumption of a good mechanic in the Eastern or Middle States.

EDWARD ATKINSON.



Gain in the purchasing power of wages in food, fuel, and materials for clothing.

Class I. 1886 over 1860, 70 per cent.; over 1865, 108 per cent.

Class II. 1886 over 1860, 50 per cent.; over 1865, 90 per cent.

Class III. 1886 over 1860, 40 per cent.; over 1865, 78 per cent.

Class IV. 1886 over 1860, 43 per cent.; over 1865, 67 per cent.

Reduction in the average rate of interest 1860 to 1886 × 6 50 per cent.

Gain in the purchasing power of $100 1860 to 1885 × 6 $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent.

Gain in the purchasing power of $100 1865 to 1885 × 6 46 per cent.

Loss in the purchasing power of the income of $10,000 invested at interests in safe securities, 1860 to 1885 × 6 48 per cent.

American Zollverein or Customs Union of all the Nations in the Western Hemisphere.

This is the most transcendent and far-reaching question of the present age, which affects the peace, prosperity, and general welfare of the New World.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD W. TOWNSHEND,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 18, 1883.

Mr. TOWNSHEND said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This is the most transcendent and far-reaching question of the present age which affects the peace, prosperity, and general welfare of the new world. Without assumption of superior prevision, I have for years earnestly endeavored to direct attention to the advantages and importance of uniting all the independent and sovereign governments on the American continent in a commercial league or customs union.

My thoughts upon the subject were directed by studies of the diversity of the natural resources, climate, and production of the various countries on this continent. When these conditions were taken into consideration, in connection with their proximity to each other and their separation by wide oceans from all other continental countries, I became convinced that the basis for true reciprocity of trade existed, and that some such system as that of the German Zollverein or customs union, which had produced such marvelous beneficial results among the German nations, might be made applicable to the American nations and greatly promote their development, prosperity, and peace.

In order that a movement might be inaugurated for the accomplishment of this object I introduced a joint resolution in this House over four years ago for the establishment of an American zollverein or customs union. I am satisfied it is the first suggestion of such a scheme ever made. Whatever time I could spare from engrossing duties has since been given to the investigation of this subject and to engaging the public mind therewith.

On the 31st of the same month the New York Sun commended the proposition in a leading editorial, as follows:

Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois, has introduced in the House of Representatives a joint resolution, which is inspired by a higher purpose and cut upon a larger pattern than most of the measures that are proposed in our legislative bodies.

"Joint resolution requesting the President to invite the co-operation of the Governments of American nations in securing the establishment of free commercial intercourse among those nations and an American customs union."

* * * * * * *

This proposition has an idea in it that is destined to live long. It would be a great thing if the nations of America could be united in one confederation after the manner proposed by Mr. TOWNSHEND.

The most important and influential journals in all the States soon after approved and strongly urged favorable action on this proposition.

I am now very much gratified at the report just made of the conference committee between the two Houses, which announces that the measure of which my original proposition is the basis has, with some elaboration and additions of other features of kindred nature, been unanimously adopted by both Houses of Congress.

Soon after the introduction of my proposition, January 7, 1884, I urged the adoption of the joint resolution, but Congress deemed it best to ascertain the sentiment of the southern countries upon such a scheme before taking such decided action, and for that purpose the appointment of a commission to visit those countries was authorized, and an appropriation was made in the following July to defray its expenses. That commission performed its duties, visited most of the countries south of us, found a cordial welcome and an earnest desire for the formation of such a union in all the countries except one, which is dominated by English influence.

The commission made an elaborate and able report, which was printed by order of Congress, and may be found in the document-room; extracts from which were published in my speech of June 30, 1886.

In the next Congress—the Forty-ninth—other members of the House and members of the Senate followed up my effort and emphasized their aproval of this idea by introduction of bills more or less elaborating and extending the scope of my original proposition, most of which I incorporated in my amended proposition introduced this session, among which was one introduced and passed in the Senate on the motion of Senator FRYE, which was substantially in the terms and shape of the present bill. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY] became deeply impressed with the importance of the idea and introduced and secured for my proposition a favorable report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs of a substitute which increased its effectiveness by providing an appropriation to defray the expenses of the continental congress suggested in my resolution, and further provided that it should be convened in this city. These efforts failed in that Congress because of the pressure of other business, but were renewed in the present Congress and have finally culminated in the present action, which includes Hayti and San Domingo in addition to the countries in my proposition.

Senator FRYE and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY] are entitled to much credit for the energy and ability with which they have promoted the adoption of this legislation. I have thus specifically stated the origin and purpose of this movement because an examination of the debate in this House which occurred on this bill last March, whilst I was temporarily absent from the city, discloses the fact that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PHELPS] intimated that this "grand and far-reaching" scheme, as he was pleased to designate it, had originated in the fertile brain of the great leader of his party, Mr. J. G. Blaine. I do not believe that gentleman would intentionally claim a credit for Mr. Blaine not his due, and therefore have no doubt he has been misled by those who lack information on the subject. An examination of the whole record of Mr. Blaine, in and out of Congress, will prove that he never suggested such a scheme as embraced in my original resolution and embodied in this bill.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY] was absolutely correct when he denied in that debate that Mr. Blaine had ever introduced such a proposition in Congress, and he might have truthfully added that Mr. Blaine had never suggested such a proposition anywhere; and had my friend from Kentucky been a member here as early as the Forty-eighth Congress he would have been able to remind the gentleman from New Jersey that the first proposition of that kind originated as I have mentioned.

When he was Secretary of State under Garfield, Mr. Blaine did announce himself in favor of a policy towards the southern countries which was then derisively styled by some as a "jingo policy," which was more political than otherwise. It contemplated political alliances and better commercial relations with those countries by reciprocity treaties. But he was not in fact the author of that policy, for just such a political policy had been agitated in this and the southern countries prior to the "Panama Continental Congress," which assembled in 1826.

Those countries did not favor such a policy then and were more offended than pleased with it when Mr. Blaine attempted to revive it under the Garfield administration. They admire our power and greatness and look up to us as an elder sister republic, but they mistrust us when we approach them with political designs and will repel any political schemes for union as dangerous to their political autonomy. They do, however, cordially welcome us when we approach them with the arts of peace, and stand ready to join in any commercial union founded upon a fair basis. They favor the most intimate and liberal trade relations, but will have no political alliances with us.

In truth, sir, the happiness, peace, and prosperity of neither the people of this or the southern countries can be promoted by entangling political alliances. I repeat what I said in my speech four years ago:

This proposition is not political in its character, but purely commercial. I do not believe it to be desirable or beneficial for us to make political conquest in any quarter. The welfare of these countries can be best promoted by the continuance of their separate and independent sovereignties. The territory subject to our political power is already large enough. I would rather see our flag supplant that of England over the commerce of the seas than behold it the symbol of political sovereignty over the whole American continent. We ought not to wish to govern the Spanish-Americans, but to trade with them. They will be unfriendly whenever we approach them with a menace against their independence, but will receive us with open arms when we come with the arts of peace to show them the way and to assist them in the development of their marvelous resources and the promotion of their prosperity.

The reciprocity treaties suggested in the policy of Mr. Blaine and attempted to be formed under the administration of Mr. Arthur would no doubt improve our commercial relations with those countries, but the zollverein or customs union contemplated in this legislation will far more effectually accomplish the object we have in view and give us the almost exclusive control of the foreign trade of those countries, where, if we only had reciprocity treaties with them under the "most favored nation" clauses of existing treaties between the southern and the European countries, the same advantages offered us by reciprocity treaties can be secured by our European rivals, thereby greatly lessening the value of any privileges obtained by treaties.

I confidently believe this action of Congress for the establishment of a customs union will meet with the acceptance of most if not all the nations in the western hemisphere, and that the time is not far distant when all customs-houses and barriers obstructing the freedom of trade among American nations will be entirely removed, and that such an era of peace, commercial prosperity, and internal development will dawn upon this continent as has never been seen on any other.

In my first speech on this subject I said:

This is intended to be an initial step for the formation of a commercial league or trades union of all the independent and sovereign governments of the American continent. It does not include any of the adjacent islands, nor does it embrace any of the provinces of European governments, because I think it best in this scheme to avoid any complications with European governments or interests, and confine it exclusively to American governments.

* * * * * * *

This proposition it will be seen has for its aim the establishment of free commerce among these countries with a common rate of customs duties against

the products of Europeans and others. It contemplates as a basis the same principles as that of the German Zollverein, and would result in bringing about the same freedom of trade on this continent as that which exists among the States constituting our nationality. It would open to our agricultural, manufacturing, and mineral products a free market in these countries, with protection against the competition of England, France, Germany, and the remainder of the world.

Since then a similar union of the Canadian Dominion with the United States has been agitated and favored by many in both countries. I have also received from those authorized by the Government of Dutch Guiana and the Government of the Republic of Independent Guiana to represent those countries urgent request that this bill be so amended as to embrace those countries in the zollverein. From these manifestations of the provinces in the Western Hemisphere I am now inclined to think it will eventually be practicable to include most if not all the provinces on and adjacent to this continent, without opposition or interference from the mother governments. It has, however, been deemed best by Congress at the begining to confine the scheme to the independent governments.

It may seem that my views on this subject have been sufficiently expressed in the speeches which I have heretofore delivered during the past four years, but as I was then in possession of only such statistics and official information as I was able to find in the few accessible official documents of the southern countries, and have lately obtained additional important information, official and unofficial, regarding these countries, I will ask the attention of the House to some further observations I desire to make in relation to the importance of this legislation.

If the statesmanship of Von Stein laid broad and deep the foundation of the Prussian Kingdom, the men who brought about the German Zollverein made possible German unity and the establishment of the German Empire. So long as each German state was hedged about with barriers to commercial intercourse political unity was well-nigh impossible. Moreover, the industrial expansion of the different states was thereby rendered impossible. That which juxtaposition and common aspirations favored, artificial regulations and ancient prejudices prevented. If the people of the thirteen States of our confederation had not wisely determined to have perfect freedom of interstate trade, the permanent Union of the United States would not have been possible. It will no doubt be generally admitted that the unexampled growth of our Republic and the wonderful prosperity of our people are more largely due to the establishment of absolutely free and unrestricted interstate commerce among them than to any other cause. The German Zollverein was nothing more nor less than an attempt to regulate upon the same principle commerce between the German states. Free interstate trade was not practicable, and hence the regulations were somewhat complex, as all artificial contrivances for regulating trade must be. The necessities of different governments, long established and having heavy burdens of indebtedness, had to be respected and provided for. Certain state monopolies had to be preserved, and the one to which the greatest advantage from commercial union would accrue had naturally to make the greatest sacrifices.

The establishment of an American continental zollverein is far more feasible. Its results will be far greater, not only in the benefits which the people of the different countries will derive therefrom, but in the advancement of the cause of peace and civilization. There are no political complications to be overcome; no rivalries of trade to be considered; natural obstacles are not interposed. Climatic differences, by reason of continental locations, conspire to forward this proposed commercial Union.

The present industrial condition of our country is not satisfactory. We have reached a point of development where the problem of the distribution of our surplus products seriously troubles us. This problem is complicated by the attempts of the governments of certain countries of continental Europe to arbitrarily, and upon false pretenses, shut out some of our food products. England is straining every nerve to develop the agricultural resources of her colonies and dependencies and become independent of the United States for her supply of breadstuff. France is encouraging wheat farming by imposing duties on our flour and wheat shipped to her ports. England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Spain are making great efforts to extend their commerce in every direction. Holland and Belgium maintain their ancient activity in trade. Germany, France, and Italy are seeking to establish colonies, in imitation of England, and are bent upon having a fair share of whatever has thus far escaped the clutches of the British lion. Russia is concentrating her mighty energies on the development of her Asiatic possessions, and, while keeping her hand ready to grasp and control the Bosphorus, is preparing to seize whatever she can of China and of the British East Indian empire.

This is an era of wonderful, unexampled commercial enterprise. Ambitious sovereigns, restless European statesmen, with their dreams of territorial aggrandizement, their projects of revenge, their schemes for maintenance of established supremacy, are forced to exact yearly vast sums of money in taxes to keep up their military and naval armaments. They are compelled to stimulate the money-making energies of their people.

The inventive genius of mankind, concentrated upon two grand objects, subjecting natural forces to our behests and overcoming natural obstacles obstructing our progress, has worked marvels. The results of these inventions are most perceptible in increasing and cheapening production and in facilitating distribution. Coincident with these is the spread of general intelligence, the consequent longing of the masses of mankind to improve their physical and mental conditions. The States of our Union have, to a large extent, been benefited by the different causes which set the tide of emigration from Northern Europe to her shores. They have been benefited by the surplus capital of those countries that found opportunity for profitable investment in consequence of the remarkable development which our own energies, supplemented and quickened by new forces, have wrought. But we are now 60,000,000 of people, and so rapid has been our growth, and so wonderful the development of our resources, that we are beginning to experience some of the difficulties which have for ages beset European communities. We have no longer a vast domain of fertile and cheap public lands, a great undeveloped West, where homes can be had for the minimum of labor, whither turbulent spirits can be attracted, and the surplus population of other countries welcomed. The problem that stares us in the face is to provide for the expansion of the natural increase of 60,000,000 of people. Overcrowded cities, and all that is incident to an immense aggregation of bread-winners, compressed within limited areas, dependent on trade for their living, give us cause for serious reflection, and will soon give us something more than "food for thought."

The remedy for the evils which threaten us is to find markets for our surplus productions. But to do this we must compete with nearly the whole of continental Europe and Great Britain. How eager these old communities are to find or create new outlets for surplus productions is shown by the prosecution of discoveries in equatorial Africa, and by the race between Germany, France, and England to hoist their flags over even insignificant unappropriated islands in the Pacific Ocean. By our continental position we should control the commerce of the American continent, notwithstanding the competition of European countries. It is only the regions south of us that we can especially look for that market which we want and must have. Leaving out the islands southeast of our southern seaboard, the countries south of us have an area of 8,118,844 square miles, with a present population of 44,000,000. The aggregate trade of those countries with the rest of the world is $730,000,000 yearly. Our share of that trade in 1887 was only $145,971,709. And, beggarly as this total seems, an analysis of the commerce of the continental countries south of us gives a still worse showing. The imports to those countries was over $340,000,000, and of this the United States in 1887 only furnished $43,729,203, while of the $400,000,000 exported from the same countries we took $102,242,560.

The trade of the West Indies with the rest of the world in 1887 was about $250,000,000. Our share was $95,774,870, our purchases being $70,043,561, and our sales only $25,701,309.

The unsatisfactory condition of our commercial relations with the continental and insular countries south of us becomes apparent when the statistics are studied. During the fiscal year 1887 we imported from Mexico, the Central American States, British Honduras, from the West Indies, and from South America, products to the value of $172,468,526 and exported of our products to those countries to the value of $67,695,742. The balance of trade against us was $104,772,784. In other words we paid to our Southern neighbors, to balance accounts, $104,772,784 in gold.

These trade conditions become still more unsatisfactory as we compare the statistics of 1887 with those of 1868, a period of nineteen years. In 1868 we imported from the same countries their products to the value of $103,679,475, and we exported thereto our products to the value of $56,614,412. That year the balance of trade against us, in our dealings with our neighbors South of us was $47,065,063.

During nineteen years the total trade has increased from $160,293,887 to $240,164,268, and the balance against us from $47,065,063 to $104,772,784! The increase of trade was $79,870,381, and the increase of the balance against the United States was $57,707,721! In nineteen years we increased our sales $11,081,330 and our purchases $68,789,051. The growth of business was nearly $80,000,000, while the growth of the volume of our exports was measured by about $9,000,000—an increase per year of our purchases by $4,210,526, and an increase per year of our sales by $473,684!

Of the total trade of $240,164,268 between the United States and her neighbors to the south $233,119,264 were by the high seas; the balance, $5,002,721 of imports and $2,042,283 of exports, was in cars and other inland vehicles. The values carried by American bottoms were $115,999,776 and by foreign bottoms $117,119,488.

A more detailed examination of our trade statistics with the individual countries south of the United States will make still more apparent the necessity for the improvement of these commercial relations in order that the accounts may, if possible, be made to more nearly balance.

The following table shows the imports from the countries south of us in the years 1868 and 1887, and the exports from the United States to those countries during the same years:

Countries.	Exports.		Imports.		Total imports and exports.	
	1868.	1887.	1868.	1887.	1868.	1887.
Mexico	$6,441,339	$7,959,557	$1,590,667	$14,719,840	$8,632,006	$22,679,397
Central American States and British Honduras	646,347	3,290,379	1,271,351	7,940,934	1,917,698	11,231,313
THE WEST INDIES.						
Cuba	14,675,697	10,546,411	49,774,704	49,515,434	64,450,401	60,061,845
British West Indies	6,742,381	6,647,204	2,765,116	11,569,779	9,507,497	18,216,983
Porto Rico	2,457,536	1,738,492	6,345,639	4,661,690	8,893,175	6,400,182
Hayti	3,247,500	3,230,128	753,866	1,752,537	4,001,366	4,982,665
San Domingo	66,201	1,032,865	83,363	1,380,126	149,564	2,412,991
French West Indies	913,121	1,352,778	218,953	406,625	1,132,074	1,759,403
Dutch West Indies	507,832	539,805	289,573	256,695	797,405	796,500
Danish West Indies	1,170,996	613,626	573,004	500,675	1,744,000	1,114,301
Swedish West Indies	29,699	.....	2,136	.....	31,835	.....
Total	29,900,963	25,701,309	60,806,354	70,043,561	90,707,317	95,744,870
SOUTH AMERICA.						
Brazil	5,695,404	8,127,883	23,595,740	52,953,176	29,291,144	61,081,059
United States of Colombia	3,711,796	6,114,941	2,538,297	3,950,953	6,250,093	10,065,894
Venezuela	961,262	2,871,719	2,368,977	8,261,236	3,330,239	11,132,955
Argentine Republic	2,732,600	6,364,545	4,806,299	4,100,192	7,538,899	10,464,737
Uruguay	821,006	1,567,981	1,179,520	2,818,761	2,000,526	4,386,742
Chili	1,580,999	2,069,138	951,767	2,863,233	2,532,766	4,932,371
British Guiana	1,945,568	1,469,039	2,364,682	2,739,873	4,310,250	4,208,912
Peru	1,666,355	722,829	1,765,397	461,726	3,431,752	1,184,555
Dutch Guiana	465,523	239,634	422,581	482,424	888,104	722,058
French Guiana	36,986	142,712	15,477	1,448	52,463	141,160
All other South America	8,264	1,054,076	2,366	1,131,169	10,630	2,185,245
Total	19,625,763	30,744,497	40,011,103	79,764,191	59,636,866	110,508,688
Grand total	56,614,412	67,695,742	103,679,475	172,468,526	160,293,887	240,164,268

Upon an analysis of the foregoing table it will be seen that the countries to which we sold more than we took in exchange in the years 1868 and 1877 were Hayti, French West Indies, Dutch West Indies, Danish West Indies, United States of Colombia, Dutch Guiana, and French Guiana.

The following table shows the state of trade with those countries at the respective periods of 1868 and 1887:

Countries.	Exports to.		Imports from.	
	1868.	1887.	1868.	1887.
Hayti	$3,247,536	$3,230,128	$755,866	$1,752,537
French West Indies	913,121	1,352,778	218,953	406,625
Dutch West Indies	507,832	539,805	289,573	256,695
Danish West Indies	1,170,996	613,626	573,004	500,675
United States of Colombia	3,711,796	6,114,941	2,538,297	3,950,953
French Guiana	36,986	142,712	15,477	1,448
Total	9,588,267	11,993,990	4,389,160	6,868,933

With four divisions of the West Indies and two southern continental countries the balance of trade in our favor in 1868 was $5,199,107. In 1887 the trade with the same countries was in our favor to the extent of $5,125,057, a loss of $74,050 in nineteen years.

The following table shows the insular divisions and southern continental countries with which our trade in 1868 gave a balance in our favor, but which was against us in 1887:

Countries.	Exports to.		Imports from.	
	1868.	1887.	1868.	1887.
Mexico	$6,441,339	$7,959,557	$1,590,667	$14,719,840
British West Indies	6,742,381	6,647,204	2,765,116	11,569,779
Chili	1,580,999	2,069,138	951,767	2,863,233
Dutch Guiana	465,523	239,634	422,581	482,424
Boliver, Honduras, Guatamala, Ecuador, Nicaragua	8,264	1,054,076	2,366	1,131,169
Total	15,236,506	17,969,609	5,732,497	30,766,445

In 1868 a total trade with one island division and several southern continental countries of $20,971,003 gave a balance in our favor of $9,506,009. In 1887 a total trade with the same countries of $48,736,054 gave a balance against us of $12,796,836. The increase of trade in nineteen years was $27,765,051, and the charge against us was $22,302,845.

The following table shows the countries with which the balance of trade against us has been steadily growing:

Countries.	Exports to.		Imports from.	
	1868.	1887.	1868.	1887.
Central American States and British Honduras	$647,347	$3,290,379	$1,271,351	$7,940,934
Cuba	14,675,697	10,546,411	49,774,704	49,515,434
Porto Rico	2,547,536	1,738,492	6,345,639	4,661,690
San Domingo	66,201	1,032,865	83,363	1,380,126
Brazil	5,695,404	8,127,883	23,595,740	52,953,176
Venezuela	961,262	2,871,719	8,261,236	8,261,236
Uruguay	821,006	1,567,981	1,177,520	2,818,761
Total	25,413,453	29,144,730	84,618,634	127,581,357

With the above seven countries we did a business, in 1868, of $110,032,087, the balance against us being $59,205,181. In 1887 we did a business of $156,676,087, the balance against us being $98,386,627, an increase in nineteen years of $39,181,446. The increase of our imports was $42,912,723, and the increase of our exports $3,731,277.

The two countries which sold in 1868 to the United States more than they bought, and bought more of us in 1887 than they sold to us, are Peru and the Argentine Republic.

In 1868 we sold Peru $1,666,355, and bought of her $1,765,397—making a total business of $3,431,752, the balance against us being $99,042. In 1887 we sold Peru $722,829 and bought of her $461,726, a total trade of $1,184,555, and leaving a balance in our favor of $261,103. But the falling of in the volume of trade was $2,247,197. This does not show healthy conditions. It is accounted for by the fact of Peru's impoverishment—she having very little to sell, and still less to buy with.

In 1868 we sold to the Argentine Republic $2,732,600, and bought of her $4,806,299, making a total trade of $7,538,899, the balance against us being $2,173,699. In 1887 we sold her $6,364,545, and bought from her $4,100,192, the total trade being $10,464,737, and the balance in our favor $2,264,353. Our sales in this case increased $3,631,945 and our purchases fell off $706,107. The falling off in purchases is accounted for by the discrimination against Argentine wool. The interpretation of the tariff of 1883 is to the advantage of Australian wools which compete with those of the Argentine Republic. Here again is an unhealthy condition. It is greatly to the advantage of the United States to encourage trade with the Argentine Republic because it is a field which offers great opportunities to certain of our manufacturers, and under fair conditions the share of trade they have already obtained can be greatly enlarged.

The following table shows that of the products of the countries south of us which we imported during 1887, $94,003,487 worth came in free of duty, while we collected duty on $78,383,027 worth:

Table showing values of products of countries south of the United States imported into the United States during the year 1887, *giving those admitted free and those on which duty was collected.*

Countries.	Free.	Dutiable.
Mexico	$9,928,122	$4,791,718
Central American states	7,195,705	441,946
British Honduras	267,197	36,086
Cuba	2,033,205	47,482,229
British West Indies	2,776,573	8,793,206
Porto Rico	74,367	4,587,323
Hayti	1,740,106	12,431
San Domingo	189,100	1,191,026
French West Indies	24,741	381,884
Danish West Indies	33,058	467,617
Dutch West Indies	226,939	29,756
Brazil	47,076,473	5,876,703
Venezuela	8,248,450	12,786
United States of Colombia	3,934,359	16,954
Argentine Republic	3,347,936	752,256
Chili	2,634,336	228,897
Uruguay	2,381,111	437,650
British Guiana	15,212	2,724,661
Ecuador	1,130,934	225
Peru	450,147	11,579
Dutch Guiana	394,995	87,429
French Guiana	433	1,015
	94,003,489	78,381,027

It is worth while to observe that of this $78,383,027 worth on which we collected duty, $63,587,419 worth came from Cuba, the British West Indies, Porto Rico, and British Guiana; and that the French West Indies, Danish West Indies, Dutch West Indies, Dutch and French Guiana, furnished as of dutiable products $967,701 worth. Of the total $78,383,027 worth of dutiable products of the countries south of us which we imported in 1887, $64,555,120 worth came from the possessions of Spain, Great Britain, France, Holland, and Denmark, with which we do not propose commercial union.

The following tables show the countries of South America and the islands of the West Indies with whom our aggregate trade during 1887 was $145,971,709; of which amount we bought $102,242,506 worth, and sold $43,971,203 worth. And of the $102,242,506 worth which we bought $88,262,839 came in free of duty, and on $13,773,839 we colected duty.

Table showing trade of United States with the countries south of us in 1868 *and* 1887, *with whom commercial union is proposed.*

Countries.	Exports.		Imports.	
	1868.	1887.	1868.	1887.
Mexico	$6,441,339	$7,959,557	$1,590,667	$14,719,840
Central American States	730,714	2,935,447	445,129	7,959,557
Hayti	3,247,500	3,230,128	753,866	1,752,537
San Domingo	66,201	1,032,865	83,363	1,380,126
Brazil	5,695,404	8,127,883	23,595,740	52,953,176
United States of Colombia	3,711,796	6,114,941	2,538,297	3,930,953
Venezuela	961,262	2,871,719	2,368,977	8,261,236
Argentine Republic	2,732,600	6,364,545	4,806,299	4,100,192
Uruguay	821,006	1,567,981	1,179,520	2,818,761
Chili	1,580,999	2,069,138	951,767	2,863,233
Peru	1,666,355	722,829	1,765,397	461,726
All other South American states	8,264	1,054,076	2,366	1,131,169
Total	27,664,440	43,729,203	40,081,388	102,242,506

Table showing values of products of countries proposed to be embraced in commercial union imported into the United States during the year 1887, *giving those admitted free and those dutiable.*

Countries.	Value of products free.	Value of products dutiable.
Mexico	$9,928,122	$4,791,718
Central American States	7,195,765	441,946
Hayti	1,740,106	12,431
San Domingo	189,100	1,191,026
Brazil	47,076,473	5,876,703
Venezuela	8,248,450	12,786
United States of Colombia	3,934,359	16,594
Argentine Republic	3,347,936	752,256
Chili	2,634,336	228,897
Uruguay	2,381,111	437,650
Ecuador	1,138,934	235
Peru	450,147	11,597
Total	88,262,839	13,773,839

As will be seen by the table showing our trade relations in 1868 and in 1887 with the countries with whom we propose commercial union, the general course has been unfavorable to us during nineteen years. In 1868 we bought $40,081,388 worth and sold $27,664,440 worth. The balance of trade against us was then $13,416,948. In 1887 we bought $102,242,506 worth and sold $43,729,203. The balance of trade against us was $58,513,303.

With two of these South American countries, the Argentine Republic and Chili, we can with advantage to ourselves and without injury to a single interest largely increase our trade relations. Both countries are large producers of coarse carpet wools, which our manufacturers require and which are not produced in the United States in sufficient quantity to fill the demand. At present, by some discrimination which I do not understand, Australian wools of the same grade can be sold cheaper in our markets than those of the Argentine Republic and Chili. Both countries are anxious to secure advantages which will enable them to supply the demand here for coarse carpet wools. We already have in both these countries a market for agricultural implements and machinery, for builder's hardware, mechanical tools. There is a growing demand for sugar machinery in the Argentine Republic and for steam-engines in that country and in Chili. We already supply large quantities of railway supplies, and the increase of traffic by affording business for competing lines of steamers will reduce freight charges.

Our trade relations with Brazil are by no means satisfactory. We take more coffee from Brazil than from all the rest of the world; we admit it free, while Brazil imposes an export duty on it, thus increasing the cost to our consumers. Everything we sell to Brazil is subject to heavy duties. There should be some reciprocity. During 1887 we bought of Brazil $36,401,864 worth of coffee. We are not altogether dependent on Brazil for our coffee. Mexico is already a large producer of coffee, and so are Venezuela, the Central American States, and the United States of Colombia. These countries can produce all the coffee we require, and it is in our power to increase their production by favoring trade relations with them. I do not advocate any retaliatory measures, but I do favor reciprocity for favors received. The Empire of Brazil is destined to be of vast commercial importance to us, and it behooves us to have and maintain the friendliest and most favorable trade relations with that country. The disposition on the part of Brazil is to cultivate and encourage commercial intercourse with the United States. It is to her interest to do so. It is equally to our advantage to do the same. Brazil has done, is doing, more to maintain a market here for her products than we are to find and to secure one for our products in Brazil. There can be mutual concessions on both sides, and I am confident that we will find Brazil ready to do her part.

We can not dispense with any of the products of our southern neighbors which we import. They are either necessaries of life or essentials in the way of raw materials to be turned into goods by our manufactures, which we must have. In a very large degree we are so situated by reason of continental position and climate that we ought to be able to supply in turn the things which our neighbors require and do not produce themselves. Moreover, there ought to be other than mere traffic reasons for a continental commercial intercourse, and the United States should lead in a policy which will bring all the countries of the continent into relations which have a fraternal, a sentimental, if you please, as well as business basis. It is said that business is without sentiment, but this familiar saying like many others, is not altogether true. Sentiment is not infrequently more potent than mere mercenary considerations. Some of the grandest movements of the human race sprang from a mere sentiment. The greatest commercial movement of modern times is bottomed in no inconsiderable degree upon sentiment. I refer to the attempt which rejuvenated old Spain is making to reunite to her incommercial bonds Spanish America. There is no continental power exhibiting such marvelous industrial progress as Spain is, and has been doing for years past. Her resources are vast, her climate and soil varied, and her people have latent qualities which once had full scope and amazed mankind, and which, in a different field of enterprise, may again achieve great things.

An industrial revolution is taking place in Spain. The object of her statesmen is to develop the material resources of their country and extend her commerce. They seek to effect by an enlightened, energetic, and peaceable policy another world-wide conquest. Just now Spain is directing her attention specially to enlarging her trade with Spanish-speaking countries of the American continent, and one of her methods is at least novel. She has fitted up a fleet of floating exhibitions, the ships being converted into workshops, and this fleet is to make the voyage to all Spanish countries, as well as to Brazil, and give a free display in every port of the wares as well as of the handicraft of Spain and Spaniards. It is unquestionably a valuable auxiliary to the stationary world's exposition.

If there are no race affinities to be appealed to by us in seeking to bring about more intimate intercourse with the people south of us, there are at least no race prejudices to bar the way. Political interests are common, and the manifest business advantages can not fail to suggest themselves to the intelligent and broad minded, whether of the United States or of the West Indies, of Mexico and of Central and

South America. The United States are not aggressive. We do not dream of territorial aggrandizement. As the eldest sister Republic all our desires, as well as our interests, are centered in the advancement of the family of Republics. We have been the beacon light of liberty, the inspiration, as well as the model politically, and why should we not aspire to the strengthening of these political relationships, and at the same time enlarging and coalescing commercial relationships?

There are no commercial rivalries between our southern neighbors and ourselves. On the contrary, there are manifest reasons for commercial co-operation. It will be mutually advantageous. There is still another reason why the people of the United States should endeavor to cultivate this commercial co-operation. We are fast becoming rich and we will not always be able to find sure and profitable investments for our surplus capital in home enterprises. A nation of sixty millions of people, we will soon be a hundred million, and our rapidly accumulating excess of wealth must look outside our borders for employment. Central and South America offer the field for enterprise and investment. Look at the map of that half of the continent. See the vast area of territory and the little development yet made. A beginning has been made in Brazil—a country exceeding in territorial extent our own, with an inviting climate, agricultural, pastoral, and mineral resources rivaling those of the United States. Greater progress has been made in the Argentine Republic, and a continental railway is about to unite Buenos Ayres on the Atlantic to Valparaiso on the Pacific, but with 2,000,000 square miles of territory that Republic has less than 10,000 miles of railways. The west coast has here and there a short line of railroad, and Venezuela and Central America are practically virgin ground for the railway engineer and constructor.

The old Spanish and Portuguese miners by no means exhausted the precious metals of Central and South America, and countless wealth in the deposits of the baser metals remain to be exploited. It is true that nine-tenths of the southern half of the continent is unpeopled, but the filling of the uninhabited places is not to be postponed long. The generation which was taught in our schools that there was, just beyond the Missouri, a great American desert has not passed away. Forty-one years ago it was not believed that the vast region between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas would afford sustenance to other than scattered savage tribes of miserable Indians. And yet what a transformation has been wrought! The youngest man in business was taught by the text-books that the pampas of the Argentine Republic were fit only for vast pasture ranges, and Sarmiento, greatest of Argentines, was laughed at by his countrymen when, in 1858, he proposed to plant an agricultural colony at Chivilcoi—now almost a suburb of Buenos Ayres. The lands, the pampa herding grounds, which sold a few years since by the square league for a few dollars are now worth from fifty to a hundred dollars an acre.

The vast interior of Brazil, four-fifths of an area of territory 200,000 square miles greater than the United States, excluding Alaska, is an elevated table-land ranging from 2,000 to 3,500 feet above sea-level, with a delightful climate and an inexhaustible, rich soil, having greater and more varied mineral and other natural resources than any like extent of the earth's surface. The natural obstacles, the coast ranges of mountains, which barred access to this interior plateau, have been overcome. Railways have been built over them and are beginning to penetrate the eastern edge of the table-land. There are more than 5,000 miles of railways in operation in Brazil, and yet only two provinces, one diminutive, Rio de Janeiro, and the other San Paulo, of large extent, have made a fair beginning at railroad building.

Chili and Peru have great undeveloped resources, as well as fertile, uninhabited interiors, and all northeast South America practically awaits settlement and development.

That the commerce of the continental countries south of us will be doubled during the next quarter of a century is by no means improbable. That a mighty change is to be wrought there, no one informed as to what has taken place during the last decade, and as to the progress being made, can doubt. The tide of immigration has set in a great, steady stream to South America from the Mediterranean countries of Europe. Already nearly a half million of Italians, Spanish Basques, and Portuguese have found homes in the Argentine Republic and Brazil. Within three years nearly 300,000 Italians and Spanish Basques have migrated to the River Plate countries, and this year it is estimated that 130,000 immigrants will settle in the Argentine Republic. The certainty of the speedy extinction of slavery in Brazil caused an increase of immigration to that country from Italy and Portugal. Over 35,000 settled in the province of San Paulo alone. The arrivals this year are from seven to ten thousand a month.

The abolition of slavery removes the only impediment in the way of an enormous influx of immigrants to Brazil. The way has been made ready for the settlement of the vast interior of that country, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that during the next two decades a development will take place there to a considerable extent comparable to that which we have witnessed in our great West. The world does not afford a more inviting field for immigration. The Italians, Spanish Basques, and Portuguese are industrious, thrifty, orderly people, and make most excellent citizens. In Buenos Ayres the Italians monopolize the trades. They make good agriculturists. The Central Argentine Land Company, an English corporation, bought several years ago 900,000 acres of land in the provinces of Santa Fé and Cordoba, and began to colonize Italians and Spanish Basques. Their capital was $650,000 paid up. They have paid their whole capital back in dividends and 36 per cent. more, and have left 384,796 acres, worth at present selling price $1,923,980, and a reserve fund of $350,000. They paid this year 22½ per cent. in dividends and placed $150,000 to the reserve fund. They have just bought 360,000 acres of land on the Rio Negro, in the southern part of the Argentine Republic, where they propose to plant colonies and repeat what they have done in the north on the Parana River.

It is impossible to convey any adequate idea of the recently remarkable progress which has been made in the Argentine Republic and of the present onward march of development in the short time at my disposal. Neither can I pause to recount to you what has been done and is doing in Brazil. If the people of the United States were more fully acquainted with the vast resources and possibilities of our southern neighbors, a determination would no doubt be aroused to make use of such means as would not fail at an early date to transfer most of the foreign trade of the whole American continent to our flag.

It would be well if the debate over this measure had brought out the principal features of the physical characteristics, material conditions, and the power of expansion of the commerce of all those countries. Such a presentation of statistics and facts exceeds the proper limits of Congressional debates. I will, however, avail myself of the opportunity of appending to my remarks much valuable information concerning the Empire of Brazil and the Argentine Republic, two of the most important of the South American countries, which has been very kindly furnished to me by a gentleman of culture, who has traveled extensively in these countries. His attention having been attracted to the origin and progress of this movement for the establishment of an American customs union, he has prepared and offered me the use of the articles which I will append as an appendix to my remarks.

I also ask that the bill, as it has finally passed both Houses, be appended to my remarks.

The advantages of a commercial union of the countries of the American continent must be apparent to every reflecting man. It may be difficult to accomplish, doubtless will be, but its feasibility and desirability are beyond question. The other subjects which this measure provides for the consideration of by the conference are natural incidents to the main object in view. They were incorporated in the bill which I had the honor to introduce in this House during the last Congress, and are an elaboration of my original propositions introduced four years ago. I do not doubt that we will find our neighbors to the south of us ready to respond to the invitation which we shall extend to them, and fully alive to the great importance of the subjects the conference will have to consider. We have doubtless more to gain at the outset than they, and therefore should be prepared, as Prussia was to make concessions in order to secure the establishment of the German Zollverein. It ought to be far easier for the countries whose representatives are to undertake the formation of an American zollverein to succeed than it was for the German states to agree upon a practical and mutually satisfactory plan. There can be no apprehensions on the part of our neighbors of ulterior dominating political purposes on the part of the United States. We are not a Prussia seeking imperial confederation and rule. We ought not and will not ask that for which we can not give a fair equivalent in return.

It behooves us to contemplate certain events as reasonably certain to transpire in the near future. The rapidly increasing commerce of the world demands water transit across the isthmus connecting North and South America. So pressing is the necessity and incalculable the advantages to commerce it is but a question of few years when one, if not two, canals will be constructed. It is believed by many that the Nicaragua route is the most feasible. I am inclined to the same opinion, and believe that a ship-canal can be constructed across Nicaragua at less cost than on any of the routes which have been surveyed. There is now good prospect that it will be built under American auspices, but we can not close our eyes to the fact that the French Government by its late indorsement of the new lottery loan of the Panama Canal Company has morally pledged itself to the completion of that undertaking. It is true that the Chambers in voting permission for the issuance of this new loan was careful to say that beyond this permission the Government assumed no responsibility. But it is notorious that the downfall of Grévy was more largely due to the influence exerted by the Panama Canal Company than to any other cause. The bonds which represent the enormous indebtedness of that company are almost entirely held by the peasant farmers and tradesmen of France. The bankruptcy of the Panama Canal Company would precipitate a revolution in France, and no political party will dare to alienate the tremendous following De Lesseps has behind him. The greatest undertaking of modern times doubtless will not be completed, as its projector promises, in 1890, and a much larger sum will be required than estimated, but that it will be finished there is little room to doubt. Whether or not it may be necessary for the French Government to directly pledge its credit in behalf of the canal company depends upon the willing-

ness of the French people of moderate means to absorb further lottery loans.

We are bound by treaty obligations to preserve the integrity of the United States of Colombia and to maintain the neutrality of Isthmian transit. We have only recently asserted our authority under this treaty. There is the possibility of some European power becoming the owner of the controlling interest in the Nicaragua or Panama Canal after it is finished, as England secured the control of the Suez Canal.

The union of all the countries south of us in a commercial league with the United States would make the ownership of either the Nicaragua or the Panama Canal by European capitalists or countries of comparatively little consequence. In a matter of such vital interest there would be a common object to prevent political or commercial dominance by any European power on this continent. There are other grave questions affecting the rights and the security of some of our southern neighbors which would become of common interest the moment such a league was established. Great as might be the advantages which the United States would derive from the proposed commercial league, there is not a country south of us which would not be correspondingly benefited politically and materially.

The establishment of frequent and speedy communications between the ports of the United States and those of the South American countries is a subject of the deepest mutual concern. The Empire of Brazil now pays an American company $100,000 a year and gives it the valuable privilege of participating in its coast trade between Pará and Santos. One of its objects is to have competition for freights on coffee between Santos, Rio de Janeiro, and New York. Before this line was established English steamers made the rate of freight on coffee, and competition has reduced them one-half. Unfortunately for shippers from the United States, there is scarcely any competition between our ports and Rio de Janeiro and Santos, or, indeed, to Pernambuco and Bahia. The English steamers go out direct and make the homeward voyage via New York.

The Argentine Republic deems direct trade with the United States so important that it has guarantied 5 per cent. a year for fifteen years on $1,800,000 to an English company which is to establish a monthly line between Buenos Ayres and New York. Within two years railway communication will be established between Buenos Ayres and Valparaiso, on the Pacific coast, and the time between Liverpool and the west coast of South America will be shortened twenty days.

I have earnestly sought for several years to have initiated this scheme to unite in a commercial league all the independent and sovereign countries of this continent, because I believed that the result would be of far-reaching and lasting importance not only to the people of the United States but to the people of every nation becoming a party to it. This league once established will, I believe, eventually embrace the whole continent of America and all its insular divisions. It will not endanger any particular interests of the individual nations, but will tend to develop the special and common interests of all. It will afford a practical, honorable, and impartial method of determining peacefully all disputes and make impossible the interjection of outside influences, whether springing from ambitious motives or from commercial rivalries. With none other than laudable purposes to serve; without dreams of extensions of our territory or of dominating influence in the affairs of others, our invitation to meet us in the proposed conference can not be misconstrued by our neighbors. As I have said heretofore, if the results of this conference should not meet our expectations; if an agreement satisfactory to all can not be arrived at, the foundation of the union may be laid and its benefits in time made apparent to all by the practical working of a plan which is approved by a few. If no agreement is effected, still the meeting, intermingling, and conferring of the representatives of all the countries will undoubtedly be of common advantage and can not fail to be productive of good results.

The largest and most inviting field for enterprise on earth exists in the countries south of us on the American continent. Their natural resources are incalculably valuable, and their trade and commerce are capable of immense extension. Their progress and development until recently have been slow and bear very insignificant comparison with that of the United States. During very recent years, however, much enterprise and energy have been manifested, and such a degree of increase in development has been shown as gives promise of very rapid progress in the future. The importance and value of the trade of that region are appreciated by our European rivals, who are using their utmost exertions to obtain as large share as possible. Notwithstanding the superior energy and enterprise of our people and the natural advantage we have of proximity and otherwise, yet we have been greatly outstripped in the markets of the southern countries by England, France, and Germany.

We should not only have a larger share of that trade than any country, but we should be able to control most of it. It is the only great market left for our surplus products. We can and ought to have it. But in order to meet with the fullest measure of success statesmanship must precede and open the way for the producers, tradesmen, and capitalists of the United States. The most effectual and surest means that can be devised to this end is the establishment of an American Zollverein or commercial union as contemplated in the measure before us.

APPENDIX.

A.

An act authorizing the President of the United States to arrange a conference between the United States of America and the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, Hayti, San Domingo, and the Empire of Brazil.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested and authorized to invite the several Governments of the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, Hayti, San Domingo, and the Empire of Brazil to join the United States in a conference to be held at Washington, in the United States, at such time as he may deem proper, in the year 1889, for the purpose of discussing and recommending for adoption to their respective Governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them, and for considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse and means of direct communication between said countries, and to encourage such reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all and secure more extensive markets for the products of each of said countries.

SEC. 2. That in forwarding the invitations to the said Governments the President of the United States shall set forth that the conference is called to consider—

First. Measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several American states.

Second. Measures toward the formation of an American customs union, under which the trade of the American nations with each other shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted.

Third. The establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American states and the ports of each other.

Fourth. The establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations in each of the independent American states to govern the mode of importation and exportation of merchandise and port dues and charges, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices and the subject of the sanitation of ships and quarantine.

Fifth. The adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and laws to protect the patent rights, copyrights, and trade-marks of citizens of either country in the other, and for the extradition of criminals.

Sixth. The adoption of a common silver coin, to be issued by each Government, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all of the American states.

Seventh. An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented.

Eighth. And to consider such other subjects relating to the welfare of the several States represented as may be presented by any of said states which are hereby invited to participate in said conference.

SEC. 3. That the sum of $75,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the same to be disbursed under the direction and in the discretion of the Secretary of State, for expenses incidental to the conference.

SEC. 4. That the President of the United States shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, ten delegates to said conference, who shall serve without compensation other than their actual necessary expenses, and the several other states participating in said conference shall be represented by as many delegates as each may elect: *Provided, however*, That in the disposition of questions to come before said conference no state shall be entitled to more than one vote.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of State shall appoint such clerks and other assistants as shall be necessary, at a compensation to be determined by him, and provide for the daily publication by the Public Printer, in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, of so much of the proceedings of the conference as it shall determine, and upon the conclusion of said conference shall transmit a report of the same to the Congress of the United States, together with a statement of the disbursements of the appropriation herein provided for.

Approved, May 24, 1888.

B.

SKETCH OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

ITS PRESENT POLITICAL AND MATERIAL CONDITION.

The superficial area of the Argentine Republic is six times greater than that of France and Germany combined. It extends from the twenty-second degree to the fifty-fifth degree of south latitude, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the highest ridge of the Andes. The extent of the territory is about 2,000,000 square miles, and less than one-fifth is unfit for cultivation. Three-quarters of the whole area lies within the southern temperate zone. The climate is delightful. The population in 1884 was estimated at 3,152,160 souls, exclusive of Indians, and during the last three years more than 300,000 immigrants have landed in Buenos Ayres, the great majority of whom were thrifty agriculturists and mechanics.

THE GOVERNMENT

of the Argentine Republic is modeled after that of the United States. The President is elected for six years. The Congress is composed of senators and deputies, the former being apportioned as in the United States, two to each State, and an addition of two to the capital city, and the latter, one to each twenty thousand inhabitants, the capital city having its proportion of deputies. There are fourteen States, each having elective executive officers and a legislative assembly. The judicial system is, like ours, both National and State, and the constitutional guaranties in respect to the rights of person and property, the liberty of speech and of the press, and the freedom of religious worship are, as in the United States, embodied in federal and State constitutions. The civil-law procedure, with the English jury system engrafted thereon, prevails.

The national spirit has been of slow growth in the Argentine Republic. For more than forty years intestine conflicts raged, and every province and city suffered indescribable woes. The guacho element, the semi-barbarous pastoral population, was arrayed against the civilization of the cities, and the struggle finally culminated in a gaucho chief making himself the tyrant of the entire country. It was not until 1869 that a real republican form of government was firmly established, and the remarkable prosperity of the country dates from that period. The city of Buenos Ayres was federalized, and a citizen of an interior province was elected president. Buenos Ayres, being the commercial metropolis, and the province of that name the most populous, had, after the overthrow of Rosas and the downfall of Urugaiza, sought to dominate the government of the republic. The administration of General Roca, which terminated two years ago, established a stable national government and inaugurated an era of most wonderful prosperity. The credit of the republic is very high, and the capitalists of London, Paris, Berlin, and Amsterdam compete for the Argentine securities, whether those of the government or of private enterprises.

There are nine national territories, Misiones, Formoso, and Gran Chaco in the north, and Pampas, Rio Negro, Menquem, Chubut, Santa Cruz, and Tierra del Fuego in the south. By act of Congress of 1884 territorial governments, similar to those created by the United States, were provided for these several

divisions of the national domain. The area comprised within these territorial subdivisions is nearly equal to that of the fourteen States. Formoso, Gran Chaco, and Misiones have semi-tropical climates, and, in large part, are covered by magnificent forests. They are being opened to settlement by the construction of railways and the improvement of their great rivers. The remaining six territories, with the exception of Tierra del Fuego, lie altogether in the southern temperate zone, and are wonderfully rich in all natural resources. Gold has been found in Tierra del Fuego and Santa Cruz. Extensive fields of coal are found in Menquem. Pampas, Rio Negro, and Chubut are agricultural and grazing countries. Lines of railways are projected for the development of Pampas, Rio Negro, and Chubut, and large colonies and many flourishing settlements have been established therein.

DIVERSIFIED SOIL AND CLIMATE.

The Argentine territory has a wonderfully diversified soil and climate. The coast-line extends over 20 degrees of latitude from the mouth of the Rio Plata to the Straits of Magellan. Until the mouth of the Rio Chubut, on the northern confines of Patagonia, is reached, the Pampas begin at the coast and extend to the foot-hills of the Andes, rising with a gradual inclination as you go westward. The coast of Patagonia has a mountain range, and this littoral part is rich in nitrate deposits, but is considered sterile. Back of the coast range the vast interior of Patagonia is exceedingly fertile—a great pasture range—which, both on account of soil and climate is well adapted for diversified agriculture. The fluvial region of the south borders the great rivers Colorado, Negro, and Chubut. The colonies which have been planted there are flourishing in agricultural as well as in pastorial pursuits. The great rivers of the North, the Parana and Uraguay, and their tributaries, drain a region which in diversified products and resources is far more wonderful than our great Mississippi Valley. The Rio Plata is formed by the junction of these two rivers, which have their sources in Southeastern and Central Brazil. The Parana and its principal tributary, the Paraguay, are navigable for more than 2,000 miles. The Vermejo and the Pilcomeyo have their sources in Bolivia, and, before uniting with the Parana, each traverses a thousand miles of Argentine territory and drains a large area of the Gran Chaco, until recently a comparatively unexplored region with a semi-tropical climate, grand forests, interspersed with open savannas.

South of the Gran Chaco, on the west coast of the Parana, lies the State of Santa Fé, the development of which has been wonderfully accelerated by the establishment of colonies and the building of railroads for the convenience of the settlements centering about the capital city, Santa Fé. The States of Santiago del Estero and Salta lie immediately west of the Gran Chaco. The Rio Salado, which rises in the center of Salta, forms the line between Santiago del Estero and the Gran Chaco, and flows into the Parana at the city of Santa Fé, and, with its tributaries, drains the northern half of the State of Santa Fé. Jujuy, north of Salta, is the most northern State, touching at the twenty-second degree of latitude the territory of Bolivia.

THE NORTHERN ANDEAN STATES.

Catamarca, Tucuman, Salta, and Jujuy are the Northern Andean States. They have a civilization older than the Spanish conquest, the rule of the Peruvian Incas having extended over this region. The climate would be tropical but for the great elevation of the mountain ranges and intervening valleys. Agriculture is dependent upon irrigation, which the aborigines had brought to a high state of perfection. The mineral wealth, although comparatively undeveloped, is known to be vast, while the extent of the forests, and the value of their products, are almost incalculable. Petroleum has been found in Jujuy, a large lake of it, which compares favorably with that of the United States and Russia. The national government has built a narrow-gauge railroad from Cordoba to Salta, and the same is now being extended to Oran in Jujuy. This road has recently been sold to English capitalists for the cost of construction. At the ancient city of Cordoba this narrow-gauge system connects with a branch of the broad-gauge trans-Andine from Villa Maria. A branch of the narrow-gauge has been constructed to Santiago del Estero, the capital of the State of that name. The sugar industry of Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, Salta, and Jujuy has, with the opening and construction of three railways, received a great impetus. The most improved French machinery and processes have been introduced and the yield of sugar in these States during 1883 was 24,000,000 kilograms, about half the home consumption, and the product is steadily increasing.

CENTRAL AND WEST ANDEAN STATES.

The State of Cordoba lies west of Santa Fé and south of Santiago del Estero. The northeastern portion is fertile, the surface rising gradually to the westward. The western and southern portions of Cordoba are fertile, but the former part depends chiefly upon irrigation. The capital city, Cordoba, has a population of 60,000, is the center of considerable wealth, the seat of an ancient university founded by the Spanish conquerors, and situated in the midst of lovely scenery, and favored with a delightful climate. It is a charming place.

West of Cordoba lie Rioja, San Luis, Mendoza, and San Juan, the Western Andean States. Railroads from Rosario, on the Parana, and from Buenos Ayres, uniting at Villa Mercedes, in San Luis, have opened a wonderfully fertile country, and the transformation wrought is comparable only to the settlement and growth in population of some of our Western Territories. From Villa Mercedes a railway has been completed to Mendoza, the capital city of that State, and a branch northward to San Juan, the capital of the State of that name, brings those regions into rapid transit connection with the capital city and commercial emporium of the Republic. The extension of the main trans-Andine line from Mendoza across the Andes to a junction at Los Andes with the Chilian railroad from Valparaiso is being constructed by an English company under contracts with the Argentine and Chilian Governments. The distance from Mendoza to the Chilian frontier is only about 140 miles. The route is through the Uspallata Pass, which offers easy gradients and no very difficult work. Within three years railway transit between Buenos Ayres, on the Atlantic, and Valparaiso, on the Pacific, will be an accomplished fact.

Grape culture and wine making in the States of Mendoza, San Juan, Rioja, and Catamarca is now a great industry and the opening of railway communications has given it wonderful impetus. The olive and the fig grow to perfection in these same States. Extensive coal deposits have been found which stretch from the State of San Luis for hundreds of leagues. The quality is said to be excellent.

The government of the Republic two years since appropriated money to experiment with artesian wells for supplying water for irrigation in the States of Santiago del Estero, Cordoba, San Luis, Mendoza, and San Juan. The result has been satisfactory, and now the States are also having wells bored, and are constructing other extensive irrigation works.

European mining engineers of high standing during 1883 visited the Western and Northern Andean States, and their reports represent the Sierras as being very rich in gold and silver veins. About 80 leagues south of the city of Mendoza a large lake of petroleum has been found. The yield is 40 per cent. of pure oil. In the near neighborhood of Mendoza oil flows to the surface in several places, and the supply is said to be constant and in enormous quantity.

THE EMPIRE STATE.

Buenos Ayres is the empire State of the Argentine Republic. Its area is 186,184 square miles, or considerably over the area of all New England, and its population in 1887 was 648,140. This was exclusive of the city of Buenos Ayres, which, with 27 square miles, belongs to the nation, as our Federal capital does. The population of the city of Buenos Ayres in 1887 was 434,600 souls. The State of Buenos Ayres has nearly a thousand miles of coast, including its river front, with several good harbors on the Atlantic Ocean. The capital is La Plata, which, with its port of Ensenada, was in a state of nature in 1882. Now it has a population of 50,000, with splendid public buildings and a magnificent dock, to which ships drawing 21 feet of water come and load and unload. There are 27 miles of street railways and as many more miles of electric lights. The Southern Argentine Railway Company has more than 600 miles of railroad within the State of Buenos Ayres, which pays 10 per cent. annual dividends to the stockholders. The bonds of this company, with the guaranty of the State, are quoted in the London market at 170, and the stock commands a like price.

The first attempt to grow wheat on the pampas was made at the expense of ex-President Sarmiento, at the colony of Chivilcoi, founded by him in the Province of Buenos Ayres. This colony was established in 1858 for the purpose of demonstrating the capabilities of the pampa region for agricultural purposes, the prevailing impression being that the vast plains of the Republic were only fit for pastoral pursuits. Sarmiento had another object also, the breaking up of the vast estates of thousands of square leagues of land which were held by gaucho-owners. Their estates came up to the very city limits of Buenos Ayres, and it was impossible to obtain milk, butter, and garden vegetables for city supply. Chivilcoi was surveyed in 1858, an immense tract of land escheated to the Government, being divided into small farms, and in 1867 a railroad was built to it from Buenos Ayres. Now the settlement consists of 40,000 people, all well-to-do and prosperous. There are miles upon miles of orchards, avenues lined with trees, handsome public buildings, school-houses, and an agricultural community which supplies in part the capital of the Republic with the necessaries of life. Sarmiento furnished agricultural implements, the seed wheat, instructed the colonists in planting and reaping, and the result was to demonstrate that the pampas are among the best wheat-fields of the world. The yield and the quality far exceed the best product of our Red River Valley, and equal the best crops of the famous irrigated lands of Cache County, Utah.

The prosperity of the State of Buenos Ayres is beyond question. The well-founded belief in its future is attested by the fact that its credit stands very high in the money markets of Europe. A loan of $50,000,000 at 6 per cent., authorized by the State, was offered to investors in Germany by the Deutsche Bank of Berlin during the summer of 1886, and the subscriptions therefor amounted to $445,000,000. A system of railways for the development of agricultural colonies, aggregating in length nearly 1,000 miles, has been authorized, and will be constructed during the next two years upon the credit of the State.

THE POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC.

The federalization of the city of Buenos Ayres, the opening of railway communications with the most distant States, the liberal policy of the national and State governments in pushing forward works for the development of every section of the country, have resulted in the firm establishment of stable rule and the evokement of a spirit of patriotism and national feeling which is paralleled only in the United States.

The immigration which has been and is pouring into the Republic from the Mediterranean countries of Europe supplies an industrious and thrifty class of citizens, who are rapidly developing the Argentine Republic.

THE MESOPOTAMIAN REGION.

The States of Entre Rios and Corrientes and the Territory of Missiones lie between the two great rivers Parana and Uruguay, which united form the Rio Plata. This region is known as the Mesopotamia country. For agricultural, pastoral, and manufacturing pursuits they are unrivaled by any of the States or Territories of the republic. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and all the cereals and the fruits of the temperate zone grow to perfection, while those of semi-tropical origin flourish equally well. The surface rises gently from both rivers to a central ridge, with an altitude of about 600 feet. There are numerous streams of water, which afford magnificent water powers. A great portion of Corrientes and of Missiones is covered by pine, cedar, and different varieties of hard cabinet woods.

A system of railways have been authorized and the national Government has granted liberal subsidies to insure the construction thereof. These public works will rapidly develop a region that is capable of sustaining an enormous population. Already many colonies have been established at Entre Rios, Corrientes, and Missiones, and they are prospering wonderfully. Thousands of immigrants from the Basque Provinces of Spain and from Italy are settling in this Mesopotamian region. They are frugal, industrious agriculturists, and the results of their labors is already manifested by the increased exports of Entre Rios and Corrientes. There are many Irish and Scotch settlers in Corrientes who have grown rich with the increase of their flocks and herds.

NEW INDUSTRIES.

The opening up of the vast pine and cedar forests of Missiones will work a great revolution in one branch of trade in the Argentine Republic. Now all the pine lumber used in these States is brought from the United States and Canada. During 1884, the last year yet reported, 8,212,334 feet of pine lumber was received from the above-named countries. The pine and cedar of Missiones grows to immense size and makes a beautiful, durable lumber, which is as easily worked as our white pine. When the Corrientes and Missiones Railway is completed the lumbering business will become a great industry, and wood-working establishments in the city of Buenos Ayres will furnish employment to great numbers. The fine cabinet woods of Missiones, the Gran Chaco, and of Tucuman and Salta are almost endless in variety, and are very beautiful. Ebony is found in Missiones in such size that logs 1 foot in diameter 40 feet from the stump are not rare. Satin and rosewood and mahogany of large size are abundant. In Tucuman and Salta laurel grow to immense size, the trees frequently exceeding 4 feet in diameter. There are several varieties—one yellow, with brown and black veins; another brown or black, with yellow and green veins. The red quebracho is another very durable hard wood, which is largely used for beams and piles. The manduby is in great demand for posts and palings.

Fine furniture is manufactured to some extent in Buenos Ayres, and also fine interior wood-work for the best houses, but machinery is but little employed. The Italians and Basques are excellent cabinet-makers, and there will be a great opening for capitalists who will introduce the best American wood-working machinery and set it going. During 1884 the official valuation of furniture imported was $410,348.

THE CAPITAL CITY.

The city of Buenos Ayres is the national capital and commercial metropolis of the Argentine Republic. It has a population of 434,600, and is growing rapidly. One of its greatest drawbacks has been the want of a safe and convenient harbor, but a partial remedy has already been provided by the improvement of the Riachuelo Canal, just south of the city. Ocean steamers drawing 20 feet of water can now come alongside the quay and unload and load, and commodious warehouses are provided for storage. Formerly ships had to anchor from 8 to 10 miles out in the river and their cargoes were subject to double lighterage. The national Government, not satisfied with the Riachuelo, has made provision for the expenditure of $20,000,000 on most extensive port works to be built immediately in front of the city. The loan for this great work has been placed in London, and the work of dredging and building of breakwaters, piers, and warehouses is now in progress. The largest ocean steamer, when this port is completed, will come up to the city and discharge and take on passengers and cargo.

The city is divided into regular squares, each side being 130 meters, with streets

whose roadways are 10 meters wide. The houses of different ages are splendid habitations, with every luxury and comfort of the age. There are many public squares, the principal one being the Place of Victory, which is ornamented with palms and surrounded by beautiful edifices. Here are the government palace, the post-office department, the department of justice, the cathedral, the Episcopal palace, the Theater Colon, the bourse, and the municipal palace.

The library contains 40,000 volumes, the museum of natural history is rich in collections. The university, the school of medicine, the national college, and the different normal and public schools are large and imposing buildings.

Five tramway companies occupy the city with their different lines, which extend to every quarter and offer perfect facilities for reaching any point. The total length of their tracks traveled in 1884 in 827,509 trips was 149,775 kilometers, and the number of passengers carried amounted to 22,832,325.

Seven railways center in the city, whose aggregate lengths are about 4,000 miles.

The Buenos Ayreans are a gay, fashionable people, as fond of dress and amusements as the Parisians. Club life is very popular. Restaurants are numerous and good, but hotels are rather to be avoided. The shops and stores are showy and do an enormous business. The marked characteristic of the Argentines is their hospitality. Strangers who are introduced are everywhere welcomed. There is no jealousy toward foreigners. New enterprises and new inventions are looked upon with great favor. There is great wealth and corresponding extravagance in living, thus creating a great demand for all the luxuries of life.

A grand system of improvements in the city was begun in 1873 and the under-ground drainage is nearing completion. The whole work will have cost, when completed, about $20,000,000. These improvements, the new port and the new boulevards, which are to rival those of Paris, will make Buenos Ayres one of the healthiest and finest cities in the world.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

The commerce of Buenos Ayres is immense, whether measured by the number of vessels and their tonnage arriving and departing during the year or by the money value of the exports and imports. During 1884 the number of steamers arriving in the La Plata was 5,745, whose aggregate tonnage was 2,278,704 tons. The departures were 5,455, representing 2,263,023 tons. The number of sailing vessels arriving was 5,231, with a tonnage of 753,659 tons, and the departures were 2,732, carrying 589,269 tons. The total arrivals of steam and sailing vessels were 10,976, with a tonnage of 3,012,363, while the departures were 8,187, with tonnage of 2,852,296 tons. The aggregate total being 19,163 vessels, with a carrying capacity of 5,864,635 tons. The foreign commerce of the Republic for the year 1884 was $162,085,980 against $140,643,804 for 1883, and $121,634,984 for 1882. This was an increase of $43,810,099 in two years.

The movements of commerce on the Parana and Uraguay Rivers in 1884 amounted to $44,304,876. Of this sum wheat and flour represented $4,063,904.

The city of Buenos Ayres transacted in 1884 75 per cent. of the entire commerce of the Republic. The next port in importance was Rosario, which did nearly 13 per cent. of the whole commerce. The great bulk of this trade of $162,103,980 was done by Germany, Belgium, France, and Great Britain. These five countries traded with the Argentine Republic in 1884 to the extent of $115,055,467. Great Britain had the decided advantage, her goods selling to the amount of $30,727,694, while she took of the products of the Republic only the sum of $7,211,437 worth. The trade of the United States with the Argentine Republic in 1884 was $11,519,680, of which she bought $4,064,848, and sold $7,454,832. France and Belgium take the largest proportions of the products of the republic, the former buying in 1884, $22,518,371 worth, and Belgium, $14,879,945.

A GROWING PROVINCIAL CITY.

The city of Rosario, on the Parana River, 190 miles above Buenos Ayres, as a commercial entrepôt, is second in importance only to the national capital. It has a population of nearly 60,000 inhabitants and its imports and exports represent 12 per cent. of the whole commerce of the Republic. It is a railroad center, being the beginning of the trans-Andine railway and of that leading to the colonies of Santa Fé. It is now connected with Buenos Ayres by rail. A large grain elevator has been built by a citizen of the United States, and docks costing $2,000,000 are being built by the national government. Santa Fé has sixty-eight agricultural colonies, and its development as a grain-growing region has been really wonderful. In 1882 there were 55,143 colonists, who had under cultivation 900,000 acres of land, and that year 1,000,000 bushels of wheat were exported. Official returns give 16 bushels of wheat to the acre as an average yield, but 25 bushels to the acre is claimed by the Santa Fé colonists. Indian corn grows luxuriously, and 100 bushels to the acre is not considered an extraordinary yield. The area planted in 1883 was nearly 150,000 acres. Peanut culture is extensive in Santa Fé, and another great crop is flax. In 1882, 40,000 tons of flax were exported. There is an opening for the latest improved flax-thrashers and for machinery for manipulating flax fiber. Clemens, in his book on the La Plata countries, says of Santa Fé.

"There* are many points of resemblance between the Province of Santa Fé and the State of Illinois in soil and general configuration, but it lies 8° nearer the equator. The mean temperature at Rosario in 1880 was 63° Fahrenheit, and the greatest extreme of heat was 101.7°. The heat increases in going northward at about the rate of one-half degree of the thermometer for each degree of latitude. The southern part of the province is wholly prairie. A few leagues north of the mouth of the Corcaual River the heavy timber growth that characterizes the plains of subtropical South America makes its appearance along the Parana River and spreads to the west as it continues northward. In the northern part of the province woodland alternates with prairie."

A private letter from Rosario in August last says: "The building that is going on here is astounding. In every street houses are springing up and every one rented before the doors and windows are put in."

THE TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES

with the Argentine Republic is handicapped in several ways. In the first place there is no regular direct steam communications between the two countries. The mails are irregular and slow. Forty-five days is the shortest time in which letters can pass between New York and Buenos Ayres. The mails going via Rio de Janeiro are there distributed, and the result is unavoidable delay and frequent miscarriage. This is especially true of mails from Buenos Ayres to the United States. It will continue so long as there are no through mail pouches between the River Plate and New York. Heretofore British steamers of Lamport & Holt's line have on their return voyage come by way of Brazilian ports and the West Indies to New York and thence to Liverpool. Foreign steamers in the South American trade all go via Lisbon and the Cape de Verde Islands on their outward trip. During December, 1886, two steamers, one German and the other British, departed from New York for Buenos Ayres. Three departures for that port from Baltimore occurred during 1887, and now make semi-monthly voyages. The Argentine Republic has subsidized a line of English steamers, carrying the Argentine flag, to make monthly voyages between Buenos Ayres and New York, paying therefor 5 per cent. per annum on the capital employed, $1,800,000.

But one of the chief obstacles to trade between the United States and the Argentine Republic is the lack of enterprise on the part of our manufacturers. They, with rare exceptions, do not seek this trade. The Baldwin Locomotive Works, the Harlan & Hollingsworth Manufacturing Company, and one or two makers of agricultural implements and machinery have sought trade with South American countries and found it. They sent representatives who could speak the language of the people, who had tact and capacity, and the result has been highly satisfactory. Harlan & Hollingsworth are now filling one order at their works on the Delaware for railway rolling-stock which they secured from the Argentine Republic, amounting to more than $500,000. The Baldwin locomotives are fast taking the place of English locomotives in Brazil and the Argentine Republic. A. B. Farquhar of York, Pa., sent agents to Buenos Ayres and introduced his agricultural implements, and maintains a steady business despite all the disadvantages from want of regular and speedy communications.

WHAT CAN BE DONE.

What has been done by these enterprising manufacturers in their lines can be successfully imitated by manufacturers of other specialties. It is a notorious fact that American cottons are far better than those made in England. Years ago they were well known throughout South America, and so great was the raputation they had that to-day Manchester cottons, flimsy fabrics, filled with sizing, are sold because they have the trade-mark of an American eagle stamped on them and are fraudulently marked "The best American cotton." Within a year or two Georgia manufacturers have been sending sample lots of their goods to Brazil, and without any particular exertion further than this are securing a fair demand for their wares. To succeed fully they must study carefully the requirements of the people, cater to their taste, and must pack their goods first to stand long sea voyages and to admit of transportation in the interior, where, especially in Brazil, they have to be carried long distances on pack-mules or in bullock carts.

Another line of manufacture in which our mechanics excel the world, wagons of every description, can be successfully introduced in the La Plata countries and Brazil. But the manufacturers must incur considerable expense before they can get returns. Samples must be sent out and the people must be instructed in regard to their advantages and excellences.

There is a like good opening for horse-powers and wind-mills of American make. Saw-mills, portable engines, and wood-working machinery will find a good market in the Argentine Republic. The lumber regions of the Gran Chaco are now being opened, and those of Misiones, where pine and cedar are found in great abundance, soon will be opened by the building of the Corrientes and Misiones Railway.

The sugar industry of the States of Tucuman, Salta, and Santiago del Estero has assumed considerable proportions and is growing rapidly. When the Misiones is opened a new sugar field will be rapidly developed. The business of supplying plants for sugar-mills is well worth looking after by our manufacturers.

The following are some of the articles concerning which inquiries are constantly received: Fire-engines of latest design and improvements. Building materials, such as cast-iron columns and fronts for business buildings, rolled-iron girders, encaustic tiles. Brick-making machinery, electric-light machinery, small steam launches, tug-boats, dredging machinery, steam-engines, fixed, semi-portable, and portable. Machinery for making fish-oil, for linseed crushing, for flax breaking, for stone breaking, for sewing socks. Gas-engines, gas-stoves, pumps of simple construction for farm work. Horse-powers and wind-mills and pumps worked by both. Rivets, bolts, chains, bar-iron, tin-plate, wire ropes, sisal ropes, flour-mills on the roller system, soda-ash, palm-oil, siphon-bottles for aerated waters, bags for frozen mutton, kidneys, tongues, etc. Machinery for stamping tins, granite, hollow-ware, stationery, and bookbinding goods, paper for newspapers. The manufacture of paper would be profitable. Straw boards, wood-pulp machinery could be introduced. Builders' and saddlery hardware, mechanics' tools, carriage hardware and fittings are in demand. Cotton-gins, cotton-seed oil machinery.

Large deposits of petroleum have been found in Jujuy and Mendoza, and although undeveloped as yet, these fields will soon furnish opportunities for pipe lines and refineries. Coal fields of vast extent and near railways built or in course of construction have been found in the Western Andean States. They await development.

HARVESTS REAPED BY ENGLISH CAPITALISTS.

The following will show the reward which English investors have met by investing their capital in enterprises in the Argentine Republic. The quotations are those of the London market, December 23, 1887.

Liebig's Beef Extract Company	par...	£20	£54
Central Argentine Lands	par...	1	3
Buenos Ayres Tramways	par...	100	130
London and River Plate Bank	paid...	10	20½
Central Argentine Railway	par...	100	195
River Plate Trust Loan	paid...	2	4
Anglo-Argentine Tramway	par...	100	130
Buenos Ayres Great Southern Railway	par...	100	174
Buenos Ayres and Rosario Railway	par...	100	152
Buenos Ayres Pacific Railway	par...	100	134
Buenos Ayres New Gas	paid...	10	14
Northern Railway of Buenos Ayres	par...	100	147
English Bank of River Plate	paid...	10	13
Buenos Ayres and Ensenada Railway	par...	100	112
Western Railway of Buenos Ayres	par...	100	113
East Argentine Railway	par...	100	118
West Argentine Gold	paid...	1	1½

The average age of the seventeen companies is only fourteen years. The shareholders have received dividends of 8 or 10 per cent. per annum, while their investments have increased in value an average of over 40 per cent.

At the meeting of the shareholders of the Buenos Ayres and Ensenada Port Railway, held in London December 21, 1887, the chairman said in the course of his remarks:

"Have you any idea of the relative traffic of your line and the other lines out there as compared with that on the English lines. Let me inform you. There are twelve main railways in the Argentine Republic. The one that heads the list for earning power per mile—that is the true test—the one whose trains are most filled with passengers, which runs the most frequent trains, and which earns more money per mile than any other company in the Argentine Republic, is the Buenos Ayres Northern, a line 20 miles long. It earns £117 ($585) per mile per week, gross of course. Have you any idea what that compares with? Let me tell you that the Midland Railway in England earns £104 ($520). This railway then has an earning power per mile per week greater than the United Railway. I am taking these figures from last week's returns in the Railway News, Railway Times, and Herapath, which are accessible to yourselves, and you can go and look at them and see whether these are not accurate figures.

"The Buenos Ayres and Ensenada, 35 miles, has a railway earning of £100 3*s.* 4*d.*, or, taking last week, because I do not want to exaggerate, £98—but the avegage is £100 3*s.* 4*d.* Shall we compare that with the London and Northwestern, earning £101, and remember we are earning all this on a single line, while the London and Northwestern has double, triple, and quadruple lines. The Central Argentine, with 264½ miles, is earning £55 per mile per week. The Great Western in England earns £55, and the London and Southwestern £55, and that will give you some idea of the relative traffics. The Buenos Ayres Great South-

*La Plata Countries of South America. By E. J. M. Clemens. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1886.

ern, one of the most magnificent properties in the whole of the Argentine Republic, with 832 miles, is earning £33 per mile per week. I can not find any railway in the English list that will exactly fit it. The Buenos Ayres and Rosario, 341 miles, a young and very energetic railway, earns £26 per mile per week. We have no railway in England that is earning exactly that sum, but the Grand Trunk Canada earns £25 mile per week, which will give you an idea for comparison.

"The Western of Buenos Ayres, a Government line of 604 miles, is earning £24 per mile per week—very nearly the same as the Grand Trunk of Canada. The East Argentine, of 100 miles, is earning £10 per mile per week, the same as the Mid Wales. The Central Norte Tucuman Railway, from Cordova northward 664 miles, earns £9 per mile per week. Few railways in England except branch lines earn so little. The Andine Railway, the Argentine Great Western, and the Buenos Ayres and Pacific have not published their returns, but I have no doubt gentlemen here who are connected with the Argentine press, could obtain the information and ascertain how these railways compare with other railways in this country."

The Central Argentine Land Company bought large tracts of land from the Government ten years ago, binding itself to colonize them. Forty-acre lots, with improvements and stock and implements were sold to colonists upon easy terms, the company defraying the expenses of immigration. The success has been marvelous. The colonists have all prospered, have paid for their property, repaid advances from the company, and in many instances have bought and paid for additional 40 acres of land. The land unoccupied owned by the company has quintupled in value, and 20 per cent. dividends have been distributed to the stockholders for several years.

The Santa Fé colonies is another very successful land enterprise from which the investors have reaped a rich harvest.

BANKING.

The last Congress enacted a national-banking law modeled on that of the United States. One of the discouraging features of the commercial situation in the Argentine Republic has been a depreciated paper currency, the premium on gold fluctuating during the past year between 35 and 45 per cent. Another difficulty has been the want of banks in the interior. By the sale of Government lines of railway the national treasury has gained a large stock of gold, and the national-banking law contemplates the return to specie payments January 1, 1890. An eminent British financier, Mr. George W. Drabble, speaking of this new national-banking law, says that it has been carefully framed and promises well.

The principal banking business of the Republic has been carried on heretofore by the Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres, the National Bank of Buenos Ayres, the Hypothecary Bank, the National Hypothecary Bank, the London and River Plate Bank, the English Bank of the River Plate, the River Plate Trust, Loan, and Agency Company, the Bank of Italy and the River Plate, and the Carrabassa Bank. The Provincial Bank and the Hypothecary Bank are institutions of the province of Buenos Ayres, and the National Bank and the National Hypothecary Bank are national concerns. The others are private banks.

The Provincial Bank has recently been removed to La Plata, the capital of the province of Buenos Ayres. It has a capital of $35,000,000 gold, and its deposits in 1885 averaged $86,631,982, while its operations were $956,039,999. It is a bank of issue; its bills were formerly legal tender in payment of debts. Its circulation in 1885 was $21,640,290. It receives deposits of not less than $16, all drawing interest if not withdrawn before the expiration of sixty days, after which time they bear interest from the day of deposit. All interest not drawn before the end of the year is added to the principal. All deposits at interest are entered in a book which the bank delivers to depositors, and all interest is payable after the 1st of the month or on withdrawing the deposit. The number of its depositors in 1885 was 35,165. Thrice a week the bank discounts bills with two signatures at ninety days' sight, and promissory notes at six days to four months, on condition of payment at maturity. Its discounts up to December, 1885, for the year were $76,727,278. It draws at three days' sight on twenty-four branches at different points in the province. The deposits in these branches, exclusive of La Plata, for 1885 were $15,800,000 and the discounts $20,400,000. The branch at La Plata did a business of $149,500,000. The Provincial Bank sells exchange on all the principal cities of Europe, makes loans to the national and provincial governments, as also to all the industrial establishments planted in the interior with guaranty, and transacts all the fiscal business of the State of Buenos Ayres with Europe. The exchange business of 1885 amounted to $90,323,502.

The opposition party of the Republic, which had its main strength in the province of Buenos Ayres, met with a Waterloo defeat in 1885, when President Celman, a native of Mendoza, was elected. An investigation of the affairs of the Provincial Bank which followed revealed some startling misdemeanors on the part of its political managers. Its franchises have been considerably curtailed since, and the removal of the main office to La Plata deprives it of much of its former prestige. It is still a powerful institution, and the growth of La Plata and its port of Ensenada will be greatly accelerated by its permanent establishment there. It will doubtless become a national bank under the new law, as will also its different branches.

The national bank was chartered by the national government with a capital of $20,000,000, of which the government holds $6,000,000. It is a bank of issue. It does not enjoy fiscal privileges in the Republic, but it is provided that its credits shall not be inferior in point of preference to those of any other banking establishment organized by provincial law. The bills of the bank and all paper issued by it are exempt from taxation or stamp, and the bank and its branches not only act as national depositories, but all judicial deposits, national or provincial, must be made in these institutions. The paid-up capital is $20,000,000, the deposits in 1885 were $253,269,000, loans $412,420,000, drafts and remittances $65,889,000, circulation $33,000,000, reserve $5,112,167. The administration is by a president and eight directors, four elected by the shareholders and four appointed by the President and confirmed by the senate. The savings department has $1,424,654 of deposits. The bank holds treasury bills to the amount of $432,500,000.

The Hypothecary Bank was founded in 1871 by the provincial legislature. According to its statutes it is really a dependence of the Provincial Bank, although it has its own board of directors. Its object is to facilitate and make loans on mortgage, which include the interest, the amortization, and the commission of the bank. Its transactions have already reached to very large proportions. Its operations consist in issuing cedulas, or certificates of credit, which are transferable, based on real estate mortgages made in its favor; in collecting the amounts falling due to the bank from the mortgagor, and in paying the interest falling due to the holder of cedulas. These cedulas are issued in series; all those which bear the same interest have the same per cent. of amortization, and the same times for the payment of interest belonging to the same series. By the terms of the law the interest can not exceed 8 per cent., nor can the amortization be more than 2 per cent. nor less than 1 per cent. The cedulas are made payable to bearer or to order, and in the latter case they are transferable by indorsement. They circulate like other securities, and are bought and sold on the market. In all cases the cedulas bear the same rate of interest that the bank collects from the mortgagee. The value of the real estate mortgaged can not be less than $2,000, nor can the loan be less than $500, and the loans are not permitted to exceed one-half the value of the property mortgaged.

The annual amount which the bank receives is divided into quarterly payments; and the cedulas, which at present the bank is issuing, and are series I and J, which have twenty years and one hundred days to run, 6 per cent. interest, 2 per cent. amortization, and 1 per cent. commission; in all, 9 per cent. or 2¼ quarterly. The mortgagor, however, is at any time allowed to release his property in whole or in part by anticipating the contract. The manner of making the loan is as follows: The applicant makes his request in writing, designating the real estate which he offers to be mortgaged by exact boundaries, accompanied by his title deeds and abstracts, his tax receipts, and the amount of the loan he desires to effect, the bank furnishing the forms and the tables of amortization, and paying the amount of the loan in cedulas. The provincial government is responsible for all the transactions of the Hypothecary Bank. Besides the operations mentioned, it has likewise the following franchises: (1) To make financial arrangements, with the consent of the governor, to facilitate the placing and the payment of cedulas held abroad; (2) to open credits within and without the province, with the consent of the governor of the province; (3) to organize and open a savings department, on such basis as the legislature may sanction; (4) to make loans to farmers and agriculturists on such terms and conditions as the legislature may provide; (5) to open credits for the erection of houses under special conditions and guaranties; (6) to make loans to municipal and other corporations under such guaranties and securities as may be agreed upon; (7) to make loans for the drainage of lands, taking into account the increased value which lands will thus acquire, and under such regulations as the legislature may provide; (8) to establish, with consent of the governor, such branches outside the province as may be deemed necessary.

There are a president and eight directors nominated by the governor and confirmed by the provincial senate, together with an advising attorney, a judicial agent, and a notary.

The cedulas of the Hypothecary Bank are a favorite security on the London market, and since the provincial loan of Buenos Ayres met with such success on the Berlin bourse the Deutsche Bank has made arrangements to place a large amount of the cedulas on that market.

The total issue of cedulas from 1878 to 1886 has been $93,835,000, and the balance outstanding on the 1st of August, 1886, was $70,986,000. The issues were in eight series, from A to I. The price, according to length of time to run, is from 81 to 101.

National Hypothecary Bank: The success of the Provincial Hypothecary Bank led the Congress of 1885-'86 to authorize the establishment of the Argentine National Mortgage Bank. It is to give loans by means of cedulas all over the Republic. The head office will be in Buenos Ayres with administrative councils in each State and Territory. The emission of cedulas will be limited to $50,000,000, unless special law authorizes an excess. The nation guaranties the interest and amortization. There are nine directors named by the President and confirmed by the senate, the chairman alone to receive a salary. The provincial councils are a paid manager and four persons of property in each place. These provincial councils can make loans up to $5,000, and may, with approval of the directory at Buenos Ayres, loan up to $20,000. A monthly report has to be published and also an annual one. The cedulas are either to person or bearer, interest in no case to be over 8 per cent. with 2 per cent. amortization. The interest of cedulas must be same as that of mortgages. No cedulas can be less than $25 or more than $1,000. The bank charges 1 per cent. commission, which must go to the reserve fund. No loan can exceed one-half assessed valuation of property. The bank pays cost of examination of titles. The National Government advanced $2,000,000 to the bank to begin business. An exclusive right to issue cedulas on property in the city of Buenos Ayres and in national territories is given. Every precaution for mutual protection of borrowers and of holders of cedulas seems to be provided.

The Provincial Pawn Office is another institution which was authorized by the Legislature of Buenos Ayres in 1877. It loans money on pledges or pawns, in the discretion of its officers, and according to a classification made periodically. The rate of interest is fixed every six months and must be paid in advance. Two-thirds of the value of articles are loaned for one to twelve months. The certificates given are transferable by indorsement and give the nature, condition, and quality of the article pawned, its valuation, amount of loan, the rate of interest, the time payment must be made. A president and five directors are nominated by the governor and confirmed by the Senate of Buenos Ayres. Public pawn offices can be established in all the cities of the State under the same regulations.

The London and River Plate Bank, under charter in England has a capital of $10,000,000, of which $7,500,000 has been paid up. Its reserve fund is $1,750,000. It added to the reserve fund last year $450,000. Its net profits in 1885 were $582,214, exclusive of its addition to reserve. In 1887 it paid 13 per cent. dividends after writing off £20,000, or $100,000 for bank furniture and increase of building fund, and adding $450,000 to reserve fund.

The English Bank of the River Plate has an authorized capital of $7,500,000 with $5,000,000 paid up. It declared a dividend of 7½ per cent. in 1885. In 1887 it did a business of $11,095,000 compared with $28,750,000 in 1886. Its net profits in 1886 were $425,065, and in 1887 $607,925. It increased its reserve fund $250,000 in 1887 and paid 7½ per cent. dividends.

The River Plate Trust, Loan and Agency Company, limited, is another English banking concern for loaning money on mortgages in Buenos Ayres and advancing on bonds for city improvements. It has loaned about $1,000,000 on real estate and has invested $750,000 in the water-works stock of Montevideo. It declared a dividend last year of 10 per cent.

The Bank of Italy and the River Plate has a paid up capital of $1,500,000 and a reserve fund of $200,000.

The Carrabassa Bank is a private native bank which does an immense discount business, and enjoys a large share of the public confidence.

A French bank with a capital of $2,000,000 is about to be started.

With all these banking institutions you can not buy exchange on New York. There is absolutely no banking business done with the United States. Even our minister and consuls have to draw for their salaries through English banks. The disbursements to our naval force in La Plata waters, the rendezvous of our South Atlantic squadron, have to be through London. You can not remit money to or from South America except by way of London.

SOME NEW RAILWAYS BUILDING.

Santa Fé has authorized the construction of a narrow-gauge railway from its capital city, Santa Fé, to Reconquista colony in the Gran Chaco, a distance of 140 miles. The road will run inland about 40 miles from the Parana River. A railway is also to be built to Tucuman, a distance of 330 miles, which will open up a fertile country.

Cordoba is to have another railroad to connect it directly with Buenos Ayres and bring into market the rich pampa lands of the southern part of the province. This province is destined to be great and prosperous. Its population had doubled in the last fifteen years and with the immigration now pouring into it, the increase of the coming decade and a half will be much greater.

All the fertile pampa country between Buenos Ayres and Mendoza is coming into favor with immigrants by the construction of the railroad which gives a direct line from the national capital to a junction with the Trans-Andine Railway at Mercedes.

The Central Argentine Railway is building a branch from Las Yerbas to Pergamino at a cost of $5,000,000. This is without any Government guaranty, the business of the company warranting the increased mileage. This company paid in 1887 12 per cent. dividends and had a surplus of $324,785.

The Northwest Argentine Railway Company is building an extension from

La Madrid to Tucuman, traversing a fertile country. This enterprise is without Government aid, and the additional capital required was at once subscribed by the Northwest Argentine shareholders.

The Clark Brothers, who are building the Trans-Andine from Mendoza to Los Andes in Chili, are also building about 600 miles of railway in the province of Corrientes and the territory of Misiones. The lines start from Monte Caceros, the termination of the East Argentine on the Uruguay River, one running to Posades on the Parana, opening up for settlement the rich territory of Misiones, and the other to Mercedes and Corrientes—the latter the capital of the province of Corrientes on the Parana just south of the inflowing of the Paraguay River.

The last Congress granted concessions for railways with 5 per cent. guaranties per annum, with the exception of one—the Formosa line, which has 4½ per cent.—as follows:

Railways.	Miles.	Cost.
Buenos Ayres to Cordoba	465	$18,000,000
San Juan to Catamarca	610	35,000,000
Cordoba to Carlota	305	10,000,000
Villa Maria to Reconquista	305	11,250,000
Nueve Julio to San Rafael	455	16,750,000
Buenos Ayres and Limay	740	26,000,000
Chaco Great Southern	610	20,250,000
Rio Bermejo Northwestern	335	10,000,000
Bahia Blanca to Rio Quinto	710	22,750,000
Rio Quinto to Rioja	370	13,000,000
Chaco and Tartargal	560	25,500,000
Formosa to Tarija	465	18,000,000
Chilecito to Famitina	35	1,500,000
San Juan to Chumbicha	180	9,000,000
Entré Rios and Corrientes	300	12,000,000
S. Cristobal and Tucuman	370	11,000,000
Other shorter lines	1,110	32,500,000
	7,925	292,500,000

It is calculated that a traffic of say 10,000,000 passengers and 7,000,000 tons of freight will suffice to earn sufficient to cover this guaranty obligation, which is $14,535,000 a year. These lines will be many years in building, and several of them doubtless will never be built under the guaranty, as English capitalists prefer to take railway securities of Argentine railways without government guaranties when the prospective business gives fair promise of earning fixed charges and operating expenses. The government, so long as it pays guarantied interest, retains control over the lines, regulating freight and passenger tariffs, and continues to do so until all its advances on account of interest guaranties are repaid with 6 per cent. interest. It is a striking fact that the government thus far has lost nothing by its guaranties of interest on railway cost, and those roads built by the government itself have been sold to private companies at a fair profit.

During 1887 the Argentine Republic borrowed in Europe $35,000,000 at 4½ per cent., and Argentine railway enterprises secured $35,000,000 more, and other industrial enterprises obtained $10,000,000 at an average of 6 per cent., most of the latter securities being placed at less than 5 per cent. discount.

The field for enterprise, the opportunities for increased trade and for investment in the Argentine Republic are constantly widening, and it behooves the people of the United States to look sharply after business which awaits their coming, but which will not wait long. The French, the Italians, the Germans, the Belgians, and the English are already in the field, and are reaping a rich harvest. Soon, very soon, they will monopolize the business.

The correspondent of the South American Journal, London, writes from Rosario, under date of September 11, 1886, as follows of the Argentine Republic.

"It is not only a pastoral country, nor a grain-producing country, rich as it is in these respects and great as its future developments in these branches of industry undoubtedly must be. It is rapidly advancing to a prominent position among the wine, sugar, and oil producing countries of the world, and the facilities offered by the government to those who endeavor to promote these very remunerative industries are such as are not to be met with elsewhere. Of course the successful carrying on of these trades demands capital, but they are enterprises which prove, as few things besides are capable of proving, the truth of the saying that capital begets capital and money makes money. It is the very fact that the plant of wine and sugar making establishments is so costly that has kept many who would have been glad to go into the business from doing so, but I have known some who, accepting subordinate positions, with a very small interest, at sugar works in Tucuman and Santiago del Estero, are to-day rich men, and are able to establish works of their own."

C.

A SKETCH OF BRAZIL—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS—PRESENT MATERIAL CONDITION—ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS.

Comparatively speaking, very few people in the United States have an approximately accurate knowledge of the vast territorial extent, of the physical characteristics, of the present material condition, and of the future possibilities of Brazil. The prevailing idea of the country is that of a tropical region, with a very unhealthy climate, a land of malaria and fever, of big alligators and bigger snakes, of a mongrel race, without energy and enterprise, indolent, unintellectual. It is strange in this intelligent age that such misconception should prevail concerning one of our greatest neighbors on this continent, about the most favored portions of the earth's surface. Four-fifths of Brazil is an elevated plateau, with an altitude ranging from 2,000 to 5,000 feet above sea level.

The continent of South America comprises one-seventh of the habitable surface of the globe, and Brazil includes within her borders more than three-sevenths of South America. Extending from the fourth degree of north latitude to the thirty-third degree and forty-one minutes of south latitude, and from the thirty-fifth to the seventieth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, Brazil has an extreme length of 2,600 miles and a maximum width of 2,500 miles. Its seacoast is more than 4,000 miles in extent. Within its borders, according to the best statistical authorities, are 3,287,964 miles. The area of the United States, including the vast territory of Alaska, is 3,501,404 square miles. The area of Europe, including all of Russia, is 3,761,657 square miles. The United States has a population of 60,000,000, Europe 334,000,000, Brazil 14,000,000. The United States, all Europe, Brazil, each have, after eliminating unarrable portions, probably about equal proportions of population-sustaining land.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Brazil is a constitutional limited monarchy. The constitution establishes four powers, the moderating, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial.

The moderating power is vested exclusively in the Emperor, as chief representative of the nation; that he may maintain the equilibrium and harmony of the other powers.

The legislative power is vested in a general legislative assembly composed of senators and deputies. The senators are elected for life, every province having a certain number nominated in triple lists, from which the Emperor selects one-third. The senators are 58 in number, the deputies to the number of 122 are elected every four years. They are chosen by electors who are elected by citizens having an income of $122.50 a year. The session is annual and lasts four months. The deputies have the initiative in taxation and public expenditures, and a vote of want of confidence terminates the life of a ministry.

The executive power is vested in the Emperor and his ministers and secretaries of state, who are responsible to the people's representatives. There are six ministers, one for each of the departments of justice, war, marine, finances, foreign affairs, agriculture, commerce, and public works. One of these is the premier. There is added a council of state, composed of twelve ordinary members, to whom may be added twelve extraordinary associates, all appointed for life.

The provincial governments are intrusted to a president in each, appointed by the executive power, and to provincial assemblies elected every two years by citizens qualified to vote for national deputies.

The judiciary is independent, the judges holding their offices for life, but subject to impeachment. In criminal cases all proceedings are public after indictment. In civil cases arbitrators may be appointed, whose decisions are final, and no civil law suit can be carried on without previous declaration that conciliatory means were tried in vain.

The constitution guaranties the inviolability of liberty, safety, and property of citizens, and of their civil and political rights. Individual liberty is subject only to law, and in the same way liberty of thought and of the press are guarantied. No one may be persecuted on account of religious belief, and every kind of labor or industry is free which does not interfere with public well-being. No one can be arrested save upon lawful authority.

A constitutional monarchy in name, the Government of Brazil is practically a republic with a president for life. The Emperor Dom Pedro II is broad and liberal minded, and lives only for the advancement of Brazil materially and morally. He has reigned since he was fourteen years old, and has been on the throne for more than twenty-six years. He is especially interested in public works of internal improvement, the encouragement of immigration, and the promotion of industry and commerce. There is no privileged aristocracy, only descent from noble Portuguese families, distinguished services, or great fortunes, receiving a tacit consideration. The emperor confers, for life only, titles as reward for services, of marquis, count, and baron. The royal family is a most estimable one, and every member of it is sincerely loved by the whole people.

PROVINCES AND THEIR PRODUCTS.

There are twenty provinces varying greatly as to size and populousness. The six largest are Amazonas, Matto Grosso, Grand Para, Goyaz Minas Geraes, and Bahia. Amazonas and Matto Grosso are sparsely populated. Goyaz has less than one person to the square mile. Grand Para, Bahia, and Minas Geraes are more advanced in development, although their population bears no adequate proportion to their extent and wonderful capabilities. The most populous provinces are, in the order named, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, São Paulo, Minas Geraes, Ceará, Rio Grande do Sul, Parahyba, Maranha, Algoas, Rio Grande do Norte, Piauhy, Sergipe, Goyaz, Sta. Catharina, and Parana. Those which offer the greatest opportunities for colonization are Minas Geraes, Goyaz, São Paulo, Sta. Catharina, Rio Grande do Sul, Parana, and Matto Grosso. The opening of the navigation of the Rios Tocantins and Araguaya, which is now assured, will open for settlement the finest lands and the most salubrious climate in the world.

In 1884-'85, the total agricultural products of sixteen provinces, there being no returns from Goyaz, Rio Grande do Sul, and Rio Grande do Norte, were 274,746,119 milreis, or $187,373,059.50. These values, it must be understood, were in most cases those on which export duties were charged, and returns from some ports are not given. The value of the agricultural products for the year 1885-'86 may be safely put at $250,000,000. The total import and export trade for 1885 of Brazil—the latest complete statistics obtainable—was $218,841,413. The exports were $118,323,551 and the imports $100,525,862.

TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES.

The present importance of Brazil to the people of the United States is very great, and year by year our interests there will increase. In 1887 the trade between the United States and Brazil amounted to $61,024,829. We bought of the products of Brazil $52,953,176, and sold her of ours $8,071,653. The balance of trade against us was $44,881,523.

The total trade of Brazil for the year 1885, the latest complete statistics I can obtain, was $218,849,413. Of this the exports were $118,323,551 and the imports $100,525,862. We bought in 1887 not quite one-half of all Brazil sold, and sold her a fraction more than one-thirteenth of what she bought in 1885.

On the other hand, during 1886 England sold to Brazil $29,953,876 worth of products and bought only $16,843,613. The balance of trade in favor of England was $13,110,263.

France sold to Brazil in 1885 $12,521,623 of her goods and bought of Brazil $19,717,384. The balance of trade against France was $7,195,761.

Germany in 1884 sold Brazil $3,936,520 of products and bought $5,354,458. The Germans bought $1,417,938 more than they sold.

England, France, and Germany took of the products of Brazil $41,915,455 and sold her $46,418,019. The United States bought of Brazil $11,057,721 more than England, France, and Germany, did and sold her $38,340,366 less than those three countries did.

The British public has invested in Brazilian securities and enterprises about $500,000,000. The returns on this annually are quite 8 per cent., or $40,000,000 a year. Therefore England draws at least $53,110,263 of gold due to Brazil every year. In other words, our $44,881,523 of gold, the balance of the account between the United States and Brazil, went to England. More than that, every dollar's worth we sell to Brazil and every dollar's worth we buy pays a toll to English banks and bankers of 1½ per cent., or on $61,024,829 we paid in exchange in 1887 at 1½ per cent. $915,372.

For, notwithstanding our trade with Brazil averages more than $61,000,000 a year—or only $27,302,745 less than that of England, France, and Germany—we have no direct money transactions between the two countries. All exchange is on London. Even our gold eagle and half eagle are unknown coins here in Rio de Janeiro, but every shop-keeper knows the value of an English sovereign!

MODERN PROGRESS.

The progress of Brazil in the last twenty years has indeed been marvelous. This is illustrated by the march of public improvements. In 1867 there were but 410 miles of railways in the Empire. On the 1st of January, 1887, there were in operation, or about completed, 5,742 miles of railroad and in addition partial provision made for 3,115 miles more. Before the end of the present century there will be more than 10,000 miles of railway in operation, and in connection with the navigation of the great rivers of the Empire the vast interior of Brazil will be fully opened for settlement and development.

GOVERNMENT RAILROADS.

The Government has built and is operating 1,059 miles of railroad, which cost $76,206,888.50. The receipts for the fiscal year 1884-'85 were $6,672,300.50, and the expenses $4,007,177.50, leaving a net balance of $2,665,123—or about 3½ per cent. on the capital employed. When it is taken into consideration that these Gov-

ernment roads were built for strategic purposes, and to open for settlement the interior, this snowing is not discouraging. The principal lines are: The Dom Pedro Segundo, 450 miles in length, with net earnings in 1884 of $2,454,766.50; the Mogyana of São Paulo, the completed part of which in 1884 yielded nearly 16 per cent. on its cost. This line is being extended into Minas Geraes at the rate of 1 kilometer a day and will soon reach Uberaba with the object of eventually penetrating Southern Goyaz and Northern Matto Grosso. Every mile of the road is through a fertile, beautiful country, with a delightful climate. The West of São Paulo Railway pays nearly 12 per cent. It is a provincial line. The São Carlos and Rio Claro pays 10 per cent. The Gran Para pays 9 per cent. The Leopoldina, a branch of the Dom Pedro Segundo, pays 9 per cent. The Campos and Carangola pays 5 per cent. The Macahé and Campos pays over 8 per cent.

The English lines are the São Paulo, which pays an annual dividend of 17 per cent., and whose stock is worth 200; the Brazilian Imperial Central Bahia, whose 6 per cent. guarantied debentures sell on the London Exchange at 110 to 111, and the $100 shares at 98½ to 99½; the Great Western of Brazil 6 per cent. unguarantied debentures being worth 119 to 121 and its preferred stock, 7 per cent., 99½; the Minas and Rio, whose guarantied 7 per cent. stock is worth 102 to 103; the Receife and San Francisco, whose 5½ per cent. guarantied stock is worth 102 to 104; the Southern Brazilian Rio Grande do Sul, whose 6 per cent. debenture stock sells for 118 to 120; the Alagoas, whose 6 per cent. debentures bring 104 to 106; the Carpos and Carangola, whose guarantied 5½ per cent. stock brings 101 to 103; Leopoldina, whose mortgaged bonds sell at 101 to 103; the São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro 5 per cent. debentures worth 105 to 107; the Western, of São Paulo, whose debenture 7 per cent. bonds sell for 112; the Conde d'Eu, whose 5½ per cent. debentures are selling at par; Brazil Great Southern, whose 6 per cent. debentures bring 103 to 105.

These quotations are of sales on the London Exchange January 6, 1888.

TELEGRAPHS AND STEAM NAVIGATION.

There are 6,175 miles of telegraph lines with 10,987 miles of wire owned by the Government. The entire coast from Rio Grande do Sul to Para is in telegraphic connection with Rio de Janeiro. It is proposed to connect this Government line at Para with a cable to the United States and for this purpose the Dom Pedro Segundo Cable Company has been organized in New York.

The fluvial navigation is more than 15,000 miles in extent, and employs a large foreign and domestic capital. More than 2,000 miles additional is provided for under contracts with the Imperial Government. The coast navigation comprises more than 10,000. There are two native lines, the Northern and Southern Steam Navigation Companies, with fleets of fine steamers running to all the northern and southern ports from Rio de Janeiro. The United States and Brazil Mail Steam-ship Company is permitted to engage in this coastwise traffic, and finds it very profitable. There are twenty-four lines of steamers regularly engaged in the Brazilian trade. With the exception of the United States, the countries under whose flag these steamers sail contribute to their support by very liberal mail pay and some of them in addition pay a tonnage bounty.

FOREIGN TRADE AND NATIONAL CREDIT.

The foreign trade of Brazil for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, was about $218,000,000. The United States' share was $61,081,059—$52,955,591 being imports from Brazil and $8,125,468 being exports to Brazil. The exports of coffee by Brazil last year were over 6,000,000 bags of 120 pounds each, valued at about $80,000,000. Rubber made about $15,000,000 more. Sugar was a considerable item, 330 tons, and cotton about 100,000 bales, and hides about 24,000 tons.

The year 1887 was generally a prosperous one for Brazil, the advance in the price of coffee and the increase in the value of the milreis counting largely in her favor. Exchange is now worth 24½ pence, bringing the milreis up to 48½ cents.

The credit of Brazil is very high. Its 5 per cent. sterling bonds are quoted on the London Exchange at 103, and her railway securities range from par to 200. Every engagement of the government is scrupulously kept, and there has never been a default in interest or failure to meet the requirements of her sinking fund. Her foreign debt is being gradually reduced, and she is able to borrow money at home at 5 per cent., a domestic loan to refund 6 per cent. securities into 5 percents two years ago, being subscribed several times over. Her paper currency has appreciated more than 33½ per cent. in two years.

The foreign debt is $109,232,889. The internal debt—that is securities held at home, interest payable in currency and not gold—is $219,059,900. The paper currency amounts to about $93,000,000. This paper currency is within 7½ cents of being worth its face in American gold.

RIO DE JANEIRO.

The political and commercial metropolis of Brazil is Rio de Janeiro. It has a population of over 500,000, and its trade is nearly one-half that of the whole Empire. The entrance to the Bay of Rio de Janeiro is quite narrow, only 1,700 yards, almost concealed by islands. The Indian name was Nitherohy, "Hidden Water," and Cabral, the Portuguese discoverer, mistook it for the mouth of a great river, hence the name, "River of January." The harbor, the surrounding scenery, and the city itself are beautiful beyond description. The mountains rise sheer from the water and pointed peaks are in the foreground as well as in the distance. Sugar-Loaf Mountain, a most striking rock formation, stands guard on the south side of the narrow entrance. Gavia and Corcovado seem to overhang the city. The bay is a broad expanse of water with many pretty coves and jutting headlands and picturesque islands. The city is built on and about seven hills—some of them low mountains. There is no spot in the world which in strikingly grand and beautiful scenery will compare with the surroundings of Rio de Janeiro. The city itself is very picturesque: turn which way you may, you catch a different view of some one or other of the prominent features of the mountain landscape or of the bay. The harbor is one of the finest and safest, and the navies of all the world might anchor there.

The streets of the business portion of the city are very narrow and vehicles can not pass; even pedestrians have to take refuge in doorways to escape passing carriages. The residence streets are wider and the suburbs have broad avenues. The architecture is not striking, but the business houses and public buildings have a solid appearance. The walls are very thick, being of concrete, either with tile facings or plastered. There are street railways everywhere, and where, as the natives say, none but Englishmen and dogs walk, these tramways are very profitable property. The public squares are numerous and very attractive with their carefully attended tropical adornments. The streets are well paved and there is a perfect system of drainage, thanks to an English improvement company, which has made a good thing of supplying first-rate sanitary conditions.

During the summer months, from November to April, it is very hot in Rio de Janeiro, but in an hour you can be on the mountains, where it is delightfully pleasant. There are always sporadic cases of yellow fever in the summer, but for several years there has not been an epidemic.

The quarantine regulations are very stringent; while cholera has afflicted the Argentine Republic and Chili during the past two years, Brazil has entirely escaped.

There are many fine residences with ample grounds, some of them costing more than a million dollars. Those located on the high grounds command magnificent views of the whole range of mountain and bay scenery. The two principal suburbs are Botofago and Larangerias, which with their wide streets, handsome cottages, and large, well-kept grounds filled with tropical trees, shrubs, plants, and flowers, are perfect beauty spots.

The city is provided with abundance of water brought by aqueducts from mountain streams. The old aqueduct, built more than a hundred years ago, follows the old drive-way to the Corcovado, and the walk or ride along the road is full of interest, and affords many entrancing views of the city below, of the island-dotted bay, its bold headlands and beautiful coves. There is a railway to the peak of Corcovado, and the ascent by it is far more enjoyable than the ride to the summit of Mount Washington, and the view from the former is altogether grander and more awe-inspiring.

Rio de Janeiro is in every way an interesting city. The harbor is full of the shipping of every commercial nation. The quays and docks are grand works, and the bustle and activity of a great commercial emporium are apparent on every hand. The streets of the business part of the city are thronged, and the shops are interesting with their displays and throngs of customers. In Rua Primero de Marco, street of the 1st of March, is concentrated the commercial business of the port—a business amounting to more than $100,000,000 a year.

Notwithstanding the fact that Rio de Janeiro has the reputation of being an unhealthy place, the death rate per thousand is less than that of New York, London, or Paris. Although yellow fever is popularly supposed to have its habitat along the coast of Brazil, the fact is that consumption claims more victims than fevers do. The mean temperature during a period of thirty four years is 74° 62′. The hottest day in all that time was in January, 1880, when the mercury rose to 99° 50′. The coldest day was in September, 1882—50° 36′.

The foreign trade of Rio de Janeiro for the year 1887 was a little over $100,000,000, nearly half of that of the whole empire. About two-thirds of the coffee crop is shipped from Rio de Janeiro.

The principal native banks of Rio de Janeiro are the Banco do Brazil, Banco do Commercio, Banco Rural, Banco National, Banco Industrial, Banco International. These banks have a paid-up capital of $45,000,000. These are all banks of issue. The English Bank of Rio de Janeiro and the London and Brazilian have an aggregate paid-up capital of $5,000,000 and a nominal capital of $10,000,000. The London and Brazilian has a reserve fund of $1,500,000, and the reserve of the English Bank of Rio de Janeiro is $950,000. The annual dividends are 10 per cent. A German bank, with a capital of $2,000,000, has just been established, the Deutsche Bank of Berlin and the Discount Bank of Hamburg supplying the capital. There is also a strong French bank and nine private banks.

NATIONAL TRAITS, RELIGION, AND POLITICS.

The Brazilians are an affable and hospitable people, very well bred, and, as a rule, decidedly intelligent and quite accomplished. They are fine linguists and excellent musicians. Generally they are under medium size, but you see many splendid physical specimens among the men. The urban Brazilians are French in their manners and dress, and it is rare that you meet an educated gentleman or lady who does not speak French as fluently as their native language. They are domestic in their habits and conjugal infidelity is very rare indeed.

The prevailing religion is Catholic, but there is absolute freedom of religious belief and worship. By law Protestant churches can not have steeples or bells, but that is the only restriction.

The press is untrammeled. The Brazilian writer is not a respecter of persons, and public men and public affairs are criticised and discussed with a freedom unexampled in any other country except the United States. Satire and carricature are favorite weapons in political contests, and even the Emperor does not escape. Journal do Commercio, the Journal of Commerce; and O Paiz, the Country, are the two leading newspapers of Rio de Janeiro.

The National Library is a creditable institution, and literary, scientific, and musical societies are numerous. The leading men are greatly interested in popular education, and there are several organizations devoted to promoting it. The Emperor is the leading spirit in this as in every other scheme for the intellectual and material advancement of the country.

There is an intensity in the politics of Brazil and for several years past the party contests in many respects resembled our *ante-bellum* political struggles. The divisions are into conservatives and liberals. The great issue was slavery, but that question is now a thing of the past. The conservative party opposed for years an anticipation of the normal results of the emancipation laws of 1871 and 1875, which provided a gradual and certain extinction of the admitted evil. But the general conviction that immigration would not be spontaneous and in great proportions so long as slavery exists impelled the conservatives to yield to the pressure for a law declaring immediate emancipation. The Italian immigrants have proved so much more efficient laborers in comparison with the slaves, being perfectly reliable and accomplishing far more, that the economy of getting rid of slavery was forced upon the planters. The system of free negro labor was tried in the coffee districts and proved to be perfectly satisfactory, and a general movement among slave-owners themselves to hasten emancipation followed. The session of Parliament which met May 3, 1888, passed an immediate emancipation measure.

MANUFACTURES.

The manufacturing interests of Brazil, although they have not reached great magnitude, are important and are steadily growing. All Spanish and Portuguese countries depend upon customs revenues for their main source of government incomes. Brazil has a high tariff, and in certain lines the products of native industry are steadily increasing. There are some eighty cotton mills in the Empire and every one is paying. The manufacture of hats on a large scale has been started in Rio de Janeiro and the undertaking has proved profitable. Boot and shoe factories are also starting. A large match works has been established in São Paulo. The German colonies are making beer, and native larger of a good quality can be had in Rio de Janeiro. English capitalists have built large flour mills and elevators in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, and native flour of the roller process is competing with our best brands. The iron industry is beginning to assume importance. The ore is the best in the world, and immigration supplying skilled labor will make Brazil an iron-producing country of the first order. The only possible drawback may be the failure to find coal of the right quality contiguous to the ore and the flux. It is claimed that the coal-fields of Goyaz are in juxtaposition to the iron ore and the limestone.

There is a great want now of skilled machinists, the employés in even the government workshops being imported. This must continue to be the case for some time to come, because the demand will have to be greater before there will be sufficient inducements to attract immigrants of this description.

The lumber business must develop in the southern provinces, where the great pine forests are found, and the wood-working industry ought to become important. The variety and beauty of the cabinet woods of Brazil have attracted great attention and excited general interest at all the international expositions where she has made exhibits.

PHYSIÇAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES.

In outline the physical geography of Brazil is quite simple. The mountain system is comprised in five principal serras. The Serra do Mar, or coast range, begins in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul and skirts the sea line, sometimes rising abruptly from the water, again with a strip of lowland intervening, until the Province of Espirito Santo is reached. The Serra da Mantiqueira apparently breaks off from the Serra do Mar near the city of São Paulo, the capital of the province of that name, and continues northward for some distance as one range, lying back of the Serra do Mar. Northwest from Rio de Janeiro, in the Province of Minas Geraes, the Mantiqueira branches into three prongs; the one tending northeast continues to be known as Serra Mantiqueira, the one running almost due north is called Serra Espinhaço, and the one having for some

distance a due west course is named Serra Vertentes. This last, almost midway of of the breadth of Minas Geraes, turns northwest and joins the great Serra da Mangabeira, which, under different local nomenclatures, runs north and south by west from within 350 miles of the mouth of the Amazon to the fifteenth degree of south latitude, where it begins to trend more to the west till the southern part of the Province of Goyaz is reached, where it makes a great horseshoe curve, and crossing that province and Matto Grosso, joins the highlands of Boliyia. It is this uplift which, striking across the Rio Madeira, causes its great rapids and interrupts the navigation of that magnificent tributary of the majestic Amazon.

There are a great many outlyers, spurs, and offshoots of these different Serras, and the map-makers throw in, more or less hap-hazard, all as abrupt mountain ranges. The Serra do Mar is bold and striking in its outline, and has been wrought into jagged lines and grand peaks, but, save at particular points where there have occurred spasmodic and Titanic upheavals, the ranges represented on the maps as mountains are flat-topped "chapadas," or table-lands. All the geological facts recorded by the many distinguished geologists who have made general examinations of the grand plateau of Brazil show incontestibly that eons of ages ago it was one vast plain, submerged, and has been elevated by successive upheavals and fashioned by various agencies into its present configuration.

Far back of the submergence was the ice age, when the equatorial belt, as well as the rest of the earth's surface, was wrapped in frigid embrace. The melting, moving glaciers triturated, ground, and wore, and plowed, and scraped, and bored their way in divers directions, and rounded and molded the primitive metamorphic rock surface. As they slowly melted they floated, and the *détritus* of metamorphic materials was deposited in a layer over the whole face of the region. This drift, so peculiar to Brazil, which is spread everywhere, a thick stratum of rounded and angular metamorphic gravel, pebbles, and bowlders, with finer triturated materials, cemented by ferruginous admixture, over mountains, ridges, hills, and valleys, conforming even to channels and gouges in the rock basis, Agassiz calls glacial drift. He and his followers insist, and with reason, that water never deposits *détritus* of this description in this way. The erratic bowlders, conspicuous in almost every Brazilian landscape, furnish corroborating evidence of the glacial-drift theory. So also do the masses of pure, almost pure, metal found, like the great mass of copper in Northwestern Bahia, leagues from any copper-bearing locality.

The glacial theory is still further borne out by the fact that over the drift—the "cascalho," as the natives term it—there is always found a clay deposit, such as water does deposit. And, again, over this comes, in places, immense deposits of limestone, and superimposed also enormously thick layers of sandstone. Everywhere you see the remnants of the sandstone formation. In the Amazon valley it is conspicuous in the Ereré chapada, near Monte Alegré and Santarem. In the valley of the mighty Rio Tocantins, along the western face of the Serra Mangabeira, the red sandstone cliffs are grander than those of Southern Utah and Northern Arizona. They stand out bold in the valley of the Rio São Francisco, and the chapadas of Northwestern Bahia and of Northern Minas Geraes, the "tabaleiro," or high table-lands, divides of the tributaries of the Rio São Francisco, of the Rio Mucury, of the Rio Jiquitinhonha, and of the Rio Paroguassú.

The denudation which followed upon the subsidence of the waters and continental uplift has left vast areas of sandstone in the "chapadas" and serras like Espinhaço and Mangabeira. The Serra Vertentes, the water-divide between the tributaries of the São Francisco and those of the Paraná of the Argentine Republic, is simply a rounded ridge, a great "chapada." The Mangabeira where it makes the horseshoe curve in Southern Goyaz, and there called the Pyreneos, is a vast metamorphic uplift with peaks nearly 10,000 feet high.

The highest points of the Serra do Mar, the striking, pointed peaks of the Organ Mountains, forming so conspicuous a feature of the landscape, and adding grandeur to the prospect as you enter the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, are only about 7,000 feet above sea level. The Itatiaiassú, "great flamboyant rock," the apex of the Mantiqueira, in Minas Geraes, is 10,300 feet in altitude. The peaks of Itabira, Itambé, and Itacolumé, of the same range, while of lower altitude, are imposing features of Mantiqueiran landscapes. But the Mantiqueira and Espinhaço, as they approach their northern limits, flatten out into "tabaleiros" or "chapadas." This is the case at Diamantina, Minas Novas, in Minas Geraes, and the diamantiferous region about Lencoes and Sincora, of the Province of Bahia.

The grand plateau of Brazil, with an average altitude of nearly 3,000 feet, is part of the great table lands, which, beginning in Venezuela, extend across Guiana, and, cut by the valley of the Amazon, are prolonged south to Paraguay and west to the foot-hills of the Bolivian Andes. The Amazon basin, at its eastern edge, is really quite narrow. From the summit of the sandstone "chapada," near Monte Alegré, you can look across to the highlands of Guiana. From the Serra da Tumucumaque, the boundary between French Guiana and Brazil, to Serra Tiracamba, on the northeast edge of the Province of Maranham, the distance is less than 500 miles.

HYDROGRAPHIC SYSTEM.

It results from the mountain system of Brazil that there are three general hydrographic divisions, that of the Atlantic coast, that of the Amazon, and that of the vast number of streams and rivers which finally swell by their waters the Uruguay, the Parana-Paraguay, which in turn uniting form the La Plata of the Argentine Republic.

The Atlantic coast watershed really begins a short distance south of Rio de Janeiro. There are but two streams of any size flowing into the Atlantic south of Rio de Janeiro. The Rio Iguapé, of São Paulo, and the Rio Pardo, of Rio Grande do Sul, flow into the Atlantic, and while they drain considerable areas, they are of comparatively little importance. Southwest of Rio de Janeiro the coast range follows the sea very closely, and practically all southwestern Brazil drains into the La Plata through the Uruguay, the Parana, and Paraguay. The great Rio São Francisco falls into the Atlantic; but less than 200 miles of its 2,000 miles of course are through the coast low-lands. The vast area it drains, an empire in extent as well as in natural resources of far more consequence, in mineral wealth, in agricultural and pastoral capabilities, and in superficial extent than the great valley of the Ohio, lies chiefly west of the Mantiqueira Mountains, and forms no inconsiderable part of the great plateau of Brazil. The São Francisco is obstructed about 200 miles from its mouth by the Falls of Paulo Affonso, the Niagara of South America. Above this obstruction the São Francisco, and one of its main affluents, the Rio das Velhas, are navigable for more than 1,800 miles. A line of steamers runs from Bahia to the Lower São Francisco and up it as far as Piranhas. The low lands along the Lower São Francisco are as fertile as those of the Nile, and some of the finest sugar estates of Brazil are found there. The São Francisco forms part of the boundary between the Provinces of Bahia and Pernambuco, and divides Sirgipe from Alagoas, two small provinces at its mouth.

One of the principal rivers of the Atlantic coast watershed is the Parahyba, of the Province of Rio de Janeiro, the region of which is famous for its coffee. This river has its source only about 80 miles southwest of Rio de Janeiro, and running southwest for some distance turns north, and traversing the whole length of the Province, falls into the Atlantic north of Cape Thome. It is not navigable for steam-boats, but serves a useful purpose, in places, by affording barge transportation to coffee planters to and from the railway. The Dom Pedro Segundo Railway follows it for some distance north, as well as south, and the railway to São Paulo runs along it for many miles. The Rio Doce is the great river of the Province of Espirito Santo. Its mouth is obstructed by a bar, but light draft steam-boats run up as far as Porto da Suza. Its sources are in the east slope of the Mantiqueira range, and the country drained by it is wonderfully fertile with a very healthy climate.

The Jiquitinhonha is the next great river to the north. It is famous for the gold and diamond mines on its headwaters. Along the Bom-Successo, one of its source streams, was found the first gold washings of Brazil. This occurred in 1698, but no mining of consequence was attempted until 1720. In 1740 diamonds were found in the Jiquitinhonha, and the whole region was taken into the hands of an officer appointed by the King of Portugal, called the intendente of diamond mining. Gold mining was prohibited, and ingress and egress could only be had by permits issued by the intendente. The region is still rich in gold "placers," but no regular attempt at working them has been made since 1740. Hartt in his Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil speaks of the Jiquitinhonha region as still virgin gold fields.

The province of Bahia has but one navigable stream, the Rio Paraguassú, which falls into the bay on which is situated the city of Bahia, the capital of the province. It is only navigable for a short distance. North of Bahia the provinces of Sergipe and Alagoas are wedged in at the mouth of the Rio São Francisco, which is only navigable 129 miles, to the town of Piranhas. There are many streams flowing into the sea in the provinces of Alagoas, Pernambuco, Parahyba, and Rio Grande do Norte, but not one is navigable, except by canoes. There are many important cities on the coast of these provinces, among them Macio, Pernambuco, Parahyba, and Natal, south of Cape São Roque. These ports are important because of their sugar and cotton shipments. Pernambuco is the third city of Brazil and has over 200,000 inhabitants. It is known to Brazilians as Recife, on account of the reef in its front, inside which is the harbor. This reef extends along the coast south of Cape São Roque for a long distance, and at Pernambuco there is an opening through which ships drawing 19 to 20 feet can pass. North of Cape São Roque the coast falls off rapidly to the west, and the mouth of the Amazon is 838 miles west of the extreme eastern point of Brazil.

The first navigable river northwest of Cape São Roque is the Parnahyba, an immense stream which drains nearly the whole of the province of Piauhy. Ceará, just south of Piauhy, has a great number of streams, and, looking at the map, one would suppose it to be magnificently watered. But it is, unfortunately, subject to long droughts, and the streams not only go dry, but every bit of surface vegetation is parched, and dies. In 1878 a most frightful famine occurred, and a half million people are supposed to have perished. Great numbers of Cearánese have emigrated to the Amazon valley, and have become rubber gatherers. They are thrifty, energetic, and make good laborers. The city of Ceará has about 50,000 inhabitants, and is a place of importance. Agassiz was delighted with the beauty of its situation and general appearance. The province of Maranham has two large streams, navigable for a considerable distance into the interior—the Grajahú and Itapicurú. There is a great future for this province when immigration is turned thither. It is rich in minerals, and its cotton lands can not be excelled for fertility or the staple grown. The capital, Maranham, is a quaint old city, beautifully situated, and when its harbor is improved and new people possess the interior, it will become a great seaport. All this will come some day.

The railways in operation north of the province of Rio de Janeiro are: First, that of Espirito Santo, from Ponte de Area to Santa Clara, 100 miles long. Second, those of Bahia, the Central Bahia, the Bahia and São Francisco, which, with branches, are about 300 miles in length. Third, the Paulo Affonso Railroad about the falls of the São Francisco, and the Alagoas, from Macio to Palmaxes, about 100 miles in all. Fourth, those of the province of Pernambuco, the Receife and São Francisco, which extends from the city of Receife or Pernambuco to Garanhnus, three-fourths of the distance to the São Francisco River, about 150 miles long; the Receife and São Laurenco and Nazareth and the Receife and Caxanga short lines. Fifth, the Natal and Nova Cruz of the province of Rio Grande do Norte, the Parahyba-Independencia of the province of Parahyba, the Ceará-Baturite of the province of Ceará, and the Camorim-Sobral of the province of Piauhy. These railways of the provinces north of Pernambuco, except the Natal-Nova Cruz, are Government roads. The Natal-Nova Cruz is English.

The North Brazil Central sugar Factories were destined to work a revolution in the sugar-growing interests of that part of the empire. The Central factory system is necessary to enable the cane-sugar planter to compete with the beet-sugar product. Factories are established in the center of sugar districts and lines of tramways laid down to the plantations. The factories take the cane of the planters and pay for it according to the yield. The Brazilian Government guarantied 6 per cent. interest on several millions of dollars, and dishonest promoters and contractors came near involving a great number of British investors in heavy losses and destroying the hopes of the North Brazilian sugar planters. The factories were built, but the promoters stole a large part of the money of the investors and the contractors supplied inferior second-hand machinery at exorbitant prices. The result was there was no money for operating expenses, and the old-fashioned machinery and process proved well-nigh useless.

In the face of this misadventure, and while investments in central sugar factories were being vigorously denounced in England, Messrs. Westerndorp, of Amsterdam, brought out, in December, 1886, the project of the central sugar factory for the provinces of Parahyba and Sergipe, and asked proposals for £86,000 sterling in 5 per cent. debentures at 90. They set forth frankly in their circular the result which had attended the British venture in the North Brazil concerns, and gave in plain language the reasons which caused the failure. The Hollanders understood the sugar business, and believed in the great superiority of the diffusion process over the old crushing and extracting process. The result was that Messrs Westerndorp received proposals for 75 per cent. more debentures than they had to sell. The result has not only justified the confidence of the Hollanders, but the British investors, encouraged by the success of their neighbors, made satisfactory arrangements with the Government of Brazil, always liberal and just, reorganized their companies, and spent another million dollars in "diffusion" plant and providing working capital, and are now on the highway to success under capable and honest management. The central sugar factories of the province of Rio de Janeiro are a great success, although the yield of the cane is not as great as that of North Brazil. The Quissamá central factory netted during 1886 $75,000 on that season's operations.

THE SAO FRANCISCO VALLEY.

The Rio São Francisco watershed includes more than one-half of the immense province of Minas Geraes, a large part of the provinces of Bahia and Pernambuco, and the whole of the provinces of Sergipe and Alagoas. The two latter are small and lie along the lower river. The far greater part of the vast region whose waters it carries to the sea is an elevated table-land, blessed with a delightful climate, and having an inexhaustibly rich soil, which produces with a minimum of labor almost every fruit, vegetable, and cereal good for man. Coffee, cotton, sugar, and tobacco yield enormously. Indian corn, potatoes, mandioca, and all garden vegetables require but little cultivation. The wealth of its forests and natural products can not be estimated. Its deposits of iron ore are incalculable, and the richness of the ore and its purity are unequaled. Of gold and diamonds the yield from the infinitesimal area exploited has been fabulous. The gold "placers" and the diamond fields have not been exhausted. Every authority agrees in this. The gold fissure veins have been scarcely prospected. Starting from the sea and following this noble stream for more than 1,800 miles, the traveler undoubtedly passes through

the most wonderful portion of the earth's surface. Probably 2,000,000 of souls are scattered over this region, which would support in plenty—ay, in luxury—20,000,000 of people.

Capt. Richard F. Burton, the great English traveler, spent five months in the valley of the São Francisco and drifting down the river on a raft. He has left, in his "Highlands of Brazil," two volumes of 450 pages each, a most entertaining *mélange* of statistics, history, gossip, description, and reflections. John Mawe, Dr. Gardner, Rev. Mr. Walsh, in their "travels" in Brazil, in the early part of this century, describe different portions of the great São Francisco valley. Dr. Pohl and St. Hilaire covered more minutely the same field, while Count Castelnau trod in their footsteps. Dr. Liais surveyed the river itself and made elaborate maps to illustrate the exhaustive report he wrote. Milnor Roberts, one of our most distinguished civil engineers, was employed for years on like surveys and lost his life while engaged thereon. Mr. Orestes St. John, one of Agassiz's assistants in the Thayer expedition, studied carefully the geology of the region, and Professor Hartt, in his "Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil," summarized the results of his colaborer's work.

The falls of Paulo Affonso, the Niagara of South America, and the rapids above and below, are insurmountable obstacles and obstruct the navigation of the São Francisco for about 216 miles. The Bahia Steam Navigation Company regularly run steamers on the lower river, a distance of 129 miles, as far as Porto das Piranhas, and from thence to Boa Vista the Paulo Affonso Railway connects the upper with the lower river. The navigation of the upper river from Boa Vista to the mouth of the Rio das Velhas, a distance of 792 miles, presents no serious difficulties. The Rio das Velhas, at a trifling cost, can be made navigable at all seasons to Sabara, a distance of 366 miles, and brings you to within 222 miles of Rio de Janeiro. An extension of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railway to Sabara is now in course of construction. From Sabara to Boa Vista the distance is, by the rivers, 1,158 miles.

Captain Burton, having floated down the Rio das Velhas from Sabara, on a raft, in 1867, in speaking of his last night on the river, quotes approvingly from a Brazilian writer, as follows:

"The river, a natural line of navigation, despised by and despising art, rich in a thousand kinds of produce, fertilizing in its sinuous course millions of acres, was full of all but human life; to its silent banks here and there a canoe was tied, and from its waters rose the log which the solitary fisherman makes his perch; while at rare intervals a dwelling-place and clearings that ignore civilized agriculture dotted the forest shore. Such misery and so much want in the old world! Here such neglected wealth and so much that can make life happy! Lands that will fructify every manner of plant and grain cast into their bosom, shoals of fish to feed the poor, a wealth of precious stones and ores, a channel easily connecting with the outer world! But the age shall come, and the day has dawned when men shall flock to these unknown regions, when gardens, quays, and works of art shall adorn the river side, when town and village shall whiten the plain, and when the voices of a happy people shall be heard where the profound solitude and silence are now broken only by the moan of the dove, by the scream of the night bird, and by the baying of the wild dogs."

Of the great basin of the São Francisco, Captain Burton writes as follows:

"As was said of the Upper Amazon, 'here the sugar-cane and the pineapple may be seen growing by the spectator, standing in the barley-field and the potato-patch.' The uplands can breed in any quantities black cattle, horses, mules, sheep, pigs, and goats, while there will be no difficulty acclimatizing the camel. Of mineral wealth, besides diamonds and opals, agates, gold, and iron, we find mentioned by M. E. de la Martiniere and others, platina, argentiferous galena, mercury, copper (near the Seté Lagoas), antimony, arsenic, manganese, cobalt, and various pyrites. Salt and saltpeter, sulphur and alum, have been found in large deposits. Of building materials we notice marble, freestone, and slate, lime generally dispersed and hydraulic cement; silex, grindstones, and potter's clay are also abundant. The land is admirably fitted for the silkworm, and for the cultivation of cotton, which will some day rival its immense fisheries.

"The hop, and to a certain extent the vine, will flourish; amongst the cereals it produces a wealth of maize and rice, whilst barley, rye, and probably wheat, will succeed in the Geraes. Most of the fruits and vegetables that belong to the subtropical and temperate regions may be introduced. A sugar plantation lasts ten years without replanting, although the cane is most inefficiently treated. Coffee grows admirably. The tobacco is some of the best in the empire; sarsaparilla and cochineal cactus, aloes, and vanila grow wild. The lumber trade is susceptible of a vast development; the aroeira, the branna, the candea, the peroba, the canella, and the fine hard woods of Brazil generally await development. Oil plants and tanning barks, basts and fibers, drugs and gums, as the jetahy-capal, the balm of Peru, the copaiba, and the asafoetida, are yielded in abundance, and the same may be said of bees-wax and of the carnuba wax, which is converted into candles at Rio de Janeiro. The dyes are abundant, from indigo to the pau amarello, and of cabinet woods a long list is headed by the jacoranda (rosewood) and the Brazilian cedar. In the presence of such vast and unexploited wealth awaiting the distressed classes in Europe, we may exclaim with Goethe, 'who says there is nothing for the poor and vile save poverty and crime.'"

The province of Minas-Geraes, a large part of which is drained by the São Francisco and its main tributaries, the Rios das Velhas, Pardo, Paraopeba, Paracatú, Unucutá, Jaquitahy, Verdé, and their numberless affluents, is an empire in itself. It covers ten degrees of latitude and seven degrees of longitude, and its superficial area is 450,000 square miles. Lying west of the coast range of mountains it is all plateau land, and the climate is pleasant and salubrious. Captain Burton, who spent five months principally on the Rios das Velhas and São Francisco, says "with alternations of storm and rain, cold wind and hot wind, mists and burning suns, I had not an hour of sickness." The scenery is both pleasing and grand. Its mountain ranges, with peaks towering more than 9,000 feet above sea-level, its wide-stretching, rolling campos, its lovely valleys, present to the eye of the traveler at every turn new features of landscape beauty.

In mineral wealth no region on earth excels, if it equals, it. Its deposits of iron cover thousands of square miles, and whole ranges yield ores that are 76 per cent. pure iron. The Moro Velho gold mine, worked constantly for fifty years, has yielded over $100,000,000. The famous Braganza, Abaeté, and Estrella do Sul diamonds were found in Minas Geraes mines. The Braganza was found in 1741 in the mine of Caithé Mirim, and is one of the crown jewels of Portugal. It is larger than a hen's egg. The Abaeté was found in 1791. The following is the story of its finding: Antonio Suza, José Felis Gomes, and Thomaso da Suza, exiled for offenses to the far west of Minas Geraes, while washing for gold in the Abaeté River, one of the small tributaries of the São Francisco, found this diamond, which weighed 144 carats, or nearly an ounce. Through a priest they secured their pardon upon delivering to the authorities the diamond. The Abaeté is also among the crown jewels of Portugal. The Estrella do Sul was found in 1853 by a negress at Bagagem, in Minas Geraes. It weighed in the rough 254 carats. The ignorant negro woman sold it for $15,000. The Bank of Rio de Janeiro bought it for $150,000. It was reduced to 125 carats in cutting, and was bought by the Khedive of Egypt. It is not perfectly white, but its "fire" makes it one of the finest gems in existence.

Burton compares the work of the searchers for diamonds in Minas Geraes to the scratching of beavers. He says "the rivers have not been turned, the deep pools above and below the rapids where the great deposits must collect have not been explored even with the diving helmet. All is conducted in the venerable old style of the last century, and the fiend routine is here more deadly than red tape in England."

Twenty years ago Minas Geraes was the far interior of Brazil. The Dom Pedro Segundo Railway had not climbed over the coast range, and a fairly good turnpike, which afforded fairly comfortable stage-coach facilities to the borders of the province, was looked upon as a modern marvel. But now well built and equipped railroads are in operation, and are being steadily extended, and the province makes liberal provisions for defraying the expenses of immigrants. There is steam navigation on the Upper São Francisco, and the railroad will soon be at Sabara, the head of navigation on the Rio das Velhas. There is a grand future awaiting Minas Geraes.

Throughout Minas Geraes the traveler finds a succession of interesting objects to engage his attention. In the towns and cities reached by the railroad he can contrast decaying magnificence with the freshness of a new life and a new order of things which attends on the civilizing and progress-inspiring advent of the iron horse. You can form some idea of the enormous wealth yielded by the old gold "placers" when you inspect the solid constructed churches and public buildings. The former were built from the pious offerings of the fortunate gold miners. The private establishments, with provisions for troops of slaves, betoken the lordly state once maintained by the local grandees and magnates. Several causes combined to bring about the long reign of "innocuous desuetude" which is only now giving way to modern progress in the heart of Minas Geraes.

The old Portuguese settlers in the interior of Brazil and their immediate descendants were bold, enterprising, hot-headed fellows. The vice-royal government was oppressive and short-sighted. The exaction of a fifth of the gold mined was wholesale robbery. Its collection was enforced with great severity, but illicit mining and evasion of the royal exaction were notorious. The effect was demoralizing in every way. Lawlessness was the rule and not the exception. The adventurers from São Paulo and the mineiros of Minas Geraes were always at swords' points, and scarcely a mining center but has its tradition of bloody encounters.

When gold-mining was in full progress and the yield at its height, diamonds were discovered in different parts of the province, and immediately vast districts about the diamantiferous localities were taken possession of in the King's name and the intendente of diamond-mining assumed arbitrary sway. Gold-mining was absolutely prohibited and the prohibition was enforced. The royal competition for slaves to work in the diamond washings increased the price of slaves enormously. Ingress to and egress from the diamond regions was regulated by the intendente of diamond-mining. Trade of every kind could only be carried on under permits from the same authority. Every road was guarded and no one could pass, even with a passport, without the most minute examination of all his effects, even his whip handle being split to see if it had been hollowed to conceal diamonds.

Agriculture was always neglected in the Brazilian mining districts. All supplies came from the seacoast, being packed on mules over the coast ranges. The cost of living, of the bare necessaries of life, was fabulously dear. Trade with her colonies was selfishly and unwisely restricted by Portugal. It was late in the eighteenth century before England compelled the mother country to allow a restricted intercourse between English traders and the Brazilians. It was not till the House of Braganza had to flee to Brazil and become a dependent of England that English merchants had the ports of Brazil freely opened to them. Then came the movement for independence, the colony becoming the empire, and quickly following the abdication of Dom Pedro Primero and the minority of Dom Pedro Segundo. The troublous times were intensified in the interior by local seditions and rebellions.

The people of São Paulo and of Minas Geraes have always been republican in their tendencies. They had suffered much from the senseless laws and the crushing exactions of foreign rulers and their representatives. The rich gold "placers" in time were worked out, and diamond mining destroyed all other industries over wide tracts of country. The old miners had no knowledge of deep mining, and exploitation of the richest quartz never was carried below water-level. Those of the interior who had amassed great wealth left for Rio de Janeiro and Bahia or returned to Portugal. Those who remained soon became impoverished, and their descendants, too proud to work without slaves, degenerated into "Matudors," intermarried with Indians, begot offspring in illicit intercourse with negro women, and slowly but surely the race deteriorated. A few families maintained their purity of blood, and their descendants are at last beginning to prove that "blood will tell" in the long run. During the two decades that have passed since Minas Geraes felt the first impulse of modern progress through a turnpike road which brought the seacoast within a few days' journey great changes have been wrought. The provincial government retarded the great work by unwise and extravagant attempts to hasten railroad building. The guaranties voted recklessly to railway companies could not be met, and with credit injured projected lines started could not be completed. But the national government has slowly but steadily pushed on its lines and the new day has dawned. It is yet morning, but high noon is marching on.

THE AMAZON VALLEY.

The mighty Amazon is the conduit which carries off the drainage of a region so vast that the mere statement of the proportions oppress the human mind. The Amazon Valley proper is a bottle-shaped depression, the narrow neck with a funnel-mouth to the east. This funnel-mouth, from the highlands of Guyana to the serras of Maranham, is 500 miles across, gradually narrowing until, 700 miles from the sea, at Monte Alegré, the Amazon Valley contracts to a few miles. Thence westward it rapidly widens, swelling, like a great bellied bottle, till it is more than 800 miles wide. From the sea to the ascending plains of the western shore of Peru in a straight line the distance is over 1,300 miles. Two great rivers of Peru, the Marañon and the Ucayaly, the former having its source in Southeastern Peru and the latter in Bolivia, drain the watershed of the Andes into the Amazon. The Rio Negro, having its source streams in the highlands of Venezuela and New Granada, pours an enormous volume of water into the Amazon. The interlocking headwaters of the Orinoco and the Negro make it possible for canoes to pass from one main stream to the other.

The area of the grand plateau of Brazil, draining into the Amazon through the Tocantins, Xingu, Tapajos, and the Madeira, compares with that of our Mississippi Valley. The Xingu and the Tapajos are obstructed some distance from their mouths by rapids, resulting from serras running east and west; but above these obstructions, although traversing an elevated plain, the banks are low, and in the rainy season the country overflows. The Madeira is a majestic river, and its forests and other natural riches are innumerable. The rapids, 400 miles from its mouth, are insurmountable obstacles to navigation, but above them the Madeira and its great tributary, the Guaporé, are navigable for more than a thousand miles with light-draught boats. The whole western slope of Bolivia, a vast region but little known, is tributary to the Madeira.

The Xingu has recently been explored from its source down by a German scientific expedition which ascended the Parana and Paraguay and spent a year in Matto Grosso and on the Xingu. The report is especially interesting, and is an important contribution to biology as well as to geography and zoology. The Purus, although a larger river, is almost wholly of the Amazon valley proper, drawing little from the Brazilian plateau watershed. The Purus, the Xingu, the Tapajos, and the Madeira are wonderfully rich in rubber, and the rubber gatherers swarm through the forests bordering the streams in search of this article, which is almost as precious as gold. The rubber tree is of several different

varieties, but that which yields the most valuable product, known as the seringuia, is found in greatest numbers along overflowed bottom lands. It does not require great moisture, but the seeds are naturally carried by overflows to low lands where they are deposited by the subsiding water and germinate and grow. The tree is incised, the bark being barely per orated, and the milk exudes and is caught in a tin cup affixed below the incision with a bit of clay. The exudation is coagulated over a fire of palm nuts, and is worth now about 75 cents a pound.

Notwithstanding the Amazon valley is a low, flat plain, lying under the equator, and a great part of it is overflowed for months during the year, it is not unhealthy and the heat is not oppressive. Mr. Edwards, an American in "A Voyage up the Amazon," gives, pages 206-7, the following unqualified testimony as to the climate and healthfulness of the Amazon valley:

"It seems singular that directly under the equator, where, through a clear atmosphere, the sun strikes vertically upon the earth, the heat should be less oppressive than in the latitude of New York. This is owing to several causes. The days are but twelve hours long, and the earth does not become so intensely heated as where they are sixteen. The vast surface of water constantly cools the air by its evaporation and removes the irksome dryness that in temperate regions renders a less degree of heat insupportable. And finally, the constant winds blowing from the sea refresh and invigorate the system.

"According to observations made by Mr. Morris during the months of June, July, and August, at the hours of 6 a. m., 3 p. m., and 8 p. m., the mean temperature for June was 70° 98′ Fahrenheit, the highest 86°, lowest 77°; for July the mean was 80° 54′, highest, 86°, lowest, 77°; for August the mean was 80° 92,′ highest, 86°, lowest, 77°. The mean for the three months was 80° 81′, and variation but 9°. I do not believe another spot upon the face of the earth can show a like result. This heat we never felt to be oppressive, except dining in state in black cloth coats. Moreover, we were never incommoded by heat at night, and invariably slept under a blanket. The reason for this and also for wearing flannel next the skin at all times, is, that in a very few weeks a person becomes so acclimated as to be sensitive to a very slight degree of variation in the temperature.

"This equality of temperature renders the climate of Para peculiarly favorable to health. There is no kind of epidemic disease; people live to a good old age, and probably the average of life is as high as in the city of New York."

Wallace, in his "Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro," says, page 128:

"Here the seasons are so modified as to render the climate one of the most agreeable in the world. During the whole of the dry season scarcely ever more than three days or a week passes without a slight thunderstorm and heavy shower, which comes on about 4 in the afternoon and by 6 has cleared off again, leaving the atmosphere delightfully pure and cool, and all vegetable and animal life refreshed and invigorated. Had I only judged of the climate of Para from my first residence of a year, I might be thought to have been impressed by the novelty of the tropical climate; but on my return from a three years' sojourn on the Upper Amazon and Rio Negro, I was equally struck with the wonderful freshness and brilliancy of the atmosphere and the balmy mildness of the evenings, which are certainly not equaled in any other part of the world I have visited."

Professor Agassiz and his wife were equally impressed, and speak in the following emphatic way about the climate:

"We are very agreeably surprised in the climate here. I had expected from the moment of our arrival in the region of the Amazon to be gasping in a fierce, unremitting, intolerable heat. On the contrary, the mornings are fresh. A walk or ride between 6 and 8 o'clock is always delightful, and though during the middle of the day the heat is certainly very great it cools off again toward 4 o'clock. The evenings are delightful and the nights always comfortable. Even in the hottest part of the day the heat is not dead; there is always a breeze stirring." (*)

Commodore Maury, in "The Amazon and the Eastern Slopes of South America," gives the scientific reasons for the climatic conditions being so favorable. They are due to the physical configuration of the southern half of the continent and the trade winds, which, constantly blowing across wide reaches of the ocean, regulates the rain-fall and moderates the heat.

The value of the commerce of the Amazon Valley was, in 1885, $30,000,000. Of its exports nearly 61 per cent. came to the United States.

THE TOCANTINS WATERSHED.

The Tocantins, usually classed as an affluent of the Amazon, has in reality no connection with the Amazon Valley proper. The physical characteristics of its watershed are entirely different. Ages ago the Tocantins emptied directly into the sea, without mingling its floods with those of the Amazon. But in time the channel, which cut off the Island of Marajo from the mainland, was formed, and a small part of the water of the Amazon found an exit by the Tocantins outlet. The Para mouth of the Amazon, so called, is the old channel of the Tocantins. The Tocantins has almost a due north course from its sources in the Pyrenneos Mountains of Southern Goyaz. It has numerous tributaries flowing west from the highlands of the Provinces of Minas Geraes and Maranham.

In an elevated, grassy plain, midway between the valleys of São Francisco and the Tocantins, two rivers take their rise in the same lagoon, one of which flows east into the São Francisco, and the other west into the Tocantins.

The Mangabeira Serra, which follows the course of the Tocantins, is flat-topped and breaks down in places on its west side, forming red sandstone cliffs resembling those of Southern Utah. The Araguaya, which joins the Tocantins at the fifth degree of south latitude, about 350 miles from Para, has its sources also in the Pyrenneos Mountains, which extend into Matto Grosso. Its course is also due north, and it is separated from the Tocantins by a range of mountains. To the west the Araguaya Valley is, in turn, separated from the Xingu Valley by a serra which traverses Matto Grosso. The Rio das Mortes, one of the principal western tributaries of the Araguaya, is a great river that rises in central Matto Grosso, its principal source-stream springing from a plain where the headwaters of the Paraguay have their origin. It is possible to go in a canoe from Para, 100 miles from the sea, by the Tocantins, the Araguaya, the Das Mortes, to the Paraguay, and down that river and the Parana to Buenos Ayres.

The region drained by the Tocantins, the Araguaya, and their tributaries includes nearly the whole of the Province of Goyaz, large parts of the Provinces of Maranham, Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso, and one-half of the Province of Para. The superficial area of this great watershed can not be far short of 600,000 square miles. Nine-tenths of this area is elevated table-lands, with great mountain ranges, and consequently there is no excessive heat and a perfectly salubrious climate. In every respect it rivals the watershed of the São Francisco, and in many others it is superior. Its mineral resources are as varied and as wonderful. The "chapada" east of the Tocantins, in Maranham and Minas Geraes, rivals the Serra do Mantiqueira in its gold veins and "placers." The Maranham River, which, with the Paranatinga, forms the Tocantins, is more than 500 miles in length, and for this distance traverses a gold field that was worked in spots a century ago by Portuguese miners, and yielded $50,000,000. The Maranham and its tributaries have over 3,000 miles of water courses, and, with scarcely an exception, the lands drained are gold fields of unrivaled richness. The Cayapo, the Claro, the Piloes, the Rio Grande, the Vermelho, the Das Mortes, some of the principal tributaries of the Araguaya, flow through gold and diamond yielding lands. These streams flow through a country which, until recently, were possessed by numerous and strong tribes of Indians. It is only within a decade that these Indians have been brought under subjection and gathered into villages and Christianized. The Brazilian Indians are, unlike our North American savages, susceptible far more quickly to civilizing influences and soon make fair agriculturists. As laborers they, in some branches of industry, are preferable to Brazilians of the interior.

The iron deposits of the Tocantins and Araguaya watershed are equal to those of the São Francisco region. There is scarcely a useful metal which is not found in Goyaz, and, on the headwaters of the Tocantins, a coal field of great extent has been recently discovered. The quality is superior, and it can be transported by water to Para, where it will drive out English coal.

But wonderful as are the mineral resources of this highly-favored region, its agricultural and pastoral resources are far more valuable. Extending from the third degree of south latitude to the twenty-first, the variety of products yielded by the soil can scarcely be enumerated. Good wheat can be grown in Southern Goyaz, and sugar-cane thence northward requires to be replanted only once in eight years. The coffee tree, planted at military posts along the Araguaya a half century ago, now grows wild, and the members of the Government commission, which surveyed the river in 1873, were astonished at the loads of berries on the uncultivated trees. Indian corn, beans, and mandioca yield four crops a year The mandioca is a tuber which, when grated, makes a coarse meal, the favorite substitute for bread among Indians and Brazilians. The national dish of the Brazilian is black beans and farinha, the meal of the mandioca. The juice of the mandioca makes tapioca, which we convert into a favorite dessert.

The Tocontins-Araguaya country is a rolling campos, interspersed with forests, and is a natural pasturage land. Stock breed rapidly, the increase being phenomenal, and the herds of Goyaz are the chief support of the people. The breeds are inferior. They are the deteriorated offsprings of the animals carried to the interior by the miners of the early part of the eighteenth century. What little agriculture there is carried on now is of the rudest and worst description. If there is a plough used it is precisely similar to that of the Romans of the time of Cæsar—a forked stick, not even iron-shod.

The natural products of the forests include every balsam, vegetable oil, drug, and dye-stuff known to Brazil. The cocoanut palm, the castanha, or Brazil nut, supply a part of the articles exported. The best rubber of the Amazon comes from the Lower Tocantins, and the Mangabeira rubber tree is found in great quantities on the Alto Tocantins. From this tree a superior article of rubber for commerce can be made by a new process of coagulation. The cabinet woods are almost innumerable, including rosewood, satinwood, and ebony.

The Imperial Government and the provinces of Para and Goyaz have conferred extraordinary land privileges upon, and granted large subsides to a North American company which is to establish regular navigation on the Tocantins and Araguaya to connect the port of Para with Southern Goyaz. It is believed the development of this region will be greatly accelerated by this enterprise, and the province of Para to encourage immigration, has appopriated $750,000 to be expended by the navigation company during five years. Once the gold and diamond fields of Southern Goyaz and Matto Grosso are rendered accessible from the sea by steam communication, bringing them within a few days of New York, a "rush" like that to California, Australia, and South Africa will very probably follow.

The city of Para, only 100 miles from the ocean, with easy and safe entrance for the largest steamers, is the metropolis of all the region rendered tributary thereto by the water ways of the Amazon, which were estimated by Humboldt to aggregate 45,000 miles, and hence he fitly denominated that grand net-work the Mediterranean of South America. The population of Para is about 80,000. Its trade is that of an empire in extent, while in magnitude of transactions it rivals Rio de Janeiro. The rubber trade is second only to that of coffee.

The province of Para is one of the most prosperous of the empire, and its custom-house receipts come next to those of the port of Rio de Janeiro. Without debt the province of Para shows a million of milreis to the credit side of its ledger.

BRAZIL'S SOUTHERN WATERSHED.

The southern watershed of Brazil includes practically all the provinces of Paraná, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, the greater part of the province of São Paulo, a considerable part of the province of Minas Geraes, about one-sixth of the province of Goyaz, and a quarter of the province of Matto Grosso. An immense number of streams, great and small, pour their waters into the Uruguay, the Paraná, and the Paraguay, and the combined flood finds its way to the sea through the River Plate. The northern part of this immense watershed is the southern side of the great Serra Vertentes. But this Vertentes, which means water-divide, is not in any sense a range of mountains. It is simply, on the south side, a gentle-sloping plain, cut by stream courses. Through São Paulo and Southern Minas Geraes it is "campos" land, with strips of timber along the streams, and sometimes "sertoes," sandy ridges, covered with thickets of scrubby trees. In Paraná, Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul there are great forests of the long-leaf pine—a lumber region *par excellence*. There are also great grass-covered plains in these provinces, and here cattle-raising has flourished on a scale comparable to that of the pampas of the Argentine Republic and Uruguay. New railways are opening communication with the interior from the coast, immigration has set in, and a new era has dawned. Agricultural colonies are established and are forming. A revolution is being silently, slowly, but none the less surely effected.

The province of São Paulo was settled by a sterling, energetic, enterprising race, the best Portuguese blood. Their descendants have been worthy of such sires. The ancient Paulistas were ruthless, even cruel, as all strong races are when planted in a new country. They were gold-seekers and also slave-hunters. They fought Indians with the object of first possessing the land and its hidden treasures, and then to capture slaves who could oe made to work the gold "placers." When Portuguese newcomers, imitating the example of the Paulistas, penetrated to the highlands of Minas Geraes in search of gold they were welcomed to bloody encounters. All through the interior the frequent occurring rivers of death—Rios das Mortes—attested the fierceness of the contest that greed incited. The vice-royal government had a hard time of it keeping the peace and collecting the "royal fifth." Across the grand plateau of Brazil, from the Serra do Mar to the Bolivian Andes, the Paulistas led the way in search of new gold fields. The story, as told in "Relatorios" and "Itinerarios," left by the ancient Paulista leaders, is as exciting and entertaining as the romances of Rider Haggard.

The city of São Paulo, the capital of the province, was the pride of the Paulistas. Fierce and ruthless as the old pioneers were, they did not neglect the cultivation of the gentler humanities, and the university founded has continued the chief seat of belle-lettres in the Empire. The spirit of sturdy independence manifested during colonial days survives unimpaired. The glamour of transplanted royalty, the tinsel and frippery of the court transferred from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, had no attractions for the bold and independent patriots of São Paulo. Their leaders were the first to insist upon independence, and when Dom Pedro Primero, after yielding and accepting a constitutional crown, attempted to wield power unconferred, the Paulistas were foremost in demanding abdication. Dom Pedro Segundo, succeeding upon the retirement of his father to Portugal, was an infant, and a regency reigned in his name. Giving offense, the regency was abolished and Dom Pedro Segundo at fourteen became a responsible sovereign. During all these troublesome times one family of São Paulo, the Andradés, was conspicuous for its patriotism, its fearlessness, and its un-

* A Journey in Brazil, page 142.

comprising integrity. Three brothers, statesmen of great ability and unswerving fidelity to principle, two of them were banished from the Empire and recalled by the demands of the people. They were worthy to be ranked among the world's foremost champions of liberty and the rights of humanity. Intrusted at times with great power, they never profited by their opportunities and died poor. The same virtues have been displayed by their descendants, and the Andradés of to-day, although poor, are universally esteemed, and have been frequently honored by the Emperor.

The province of São Paulo is the most progressive and its prosperity is great. It has more than a thousand miles of railways. It liberally promotes immigration and makes generous provision for the immigrants. One of the first railroads built in Brazil was that from the port of Santos to São Paulo. It was a work of great difficulty, climbing over the coast ridge at an elevation of more than 3,000 feet. The cost was enormous, but the return has been ample on the investment. The railroad from São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro, an English enterprise, has for years netted 17 per cent. on the capital employed. The coffee crop of São Paulo is very large, and plantations are being planted westward in the new lands brought into market by the extension of the Mogyana railway. The port of Santos is second to Rio de Janeiro in coffee shipments. The exports of the province have more that doubled during the last seven years. In 1881 they were valued at $20,172,715.50, and in 1887 at $42,553,222.40. More than 30,000 immigrants came into the province during 1887.

The city of São Paulo has a population of more than 100,000. It is delightfully situated on the eastern edge of the great plateau, and the days are always pleasant and the nights cool. It is well built, the streets paved, and has perfect drainage. Street railways afford accommodation to residents of every quarter. It is a busy, bustling, thriving city, and has a grand future. The extension of the Mogyana Railroad to Southern Goyaz is only a question of a comparatively short time. When completed it will make the fairest portion of the empire tributary to São Paulo.

Parana has a railway completed from the port of Paranagua to Curitiba, 110 miles long. The extension of this line to the interior is being constructed. Rio Grande do Sul has four lines of railway, the Porto Alegeré and Hamburg, the Porto Alegre and Itaqui, the Southern Brazilian Rio Grande do Sul, and the Uruguayana. These are all English enterprises, and although incomplete are giving very satisfactory returns. It is believed by the best informed that it will not be long before Southern Brazil will show a phenomenal development.

THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE RETARDED DEVELOPMENT.

The causes of the long continued undevelopment of the great plateau of Brazil are not difficult to comprehend when the topography of the country is understood. The mountain ranges, hugging the Atlantic coast, the few great rivers extending into the interior, and the obstructions in these have been until quite recently an almost insurmountable barrier to progress westward. The policy of Portugal was restrictive in the extreme, and it was not until the royal family fled to Brazil, upon the overrunning of its European possessions by Napoleon, that England, always Portugal's firm friend, obtained unrestrained trading relations with Brazilian ports. After the independence of Brazil was declared the influence of Portuguese traditions dominated her commercial policy for many years.

Upon the discovery of gold, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the provinces of São Paulo and Minas Geraes, and a half century later in the provinces of Goyaz and Matto Grosso, a rush of gold-seekers followed. But no agricultural development accompanied or succeeded the mining era. The miners were slave-hunters as well as gold-seekers. First the Indians were subdued, and those escaping death were put to work in the "placers." The Portuguese traders to the coasts of Africa brought negroes by the tens of thousands, who were hurried to the mining districts as fast as they arrived. All industry on the seacoast was paralyzed by the drawing away of slaves to wash for gold in the interior. During three-quarters of a century some of the richest gold "placers" of Minas Geraes and São Paulo were systematically worked and exhausted. A limited area of Goyaz and Matto Grosso was explored and great quantities of gold obtained along a few streams. Diamonds were discovered in Minas Geraes, Goyaz, and Matto Grosso, and thereupon the Government of Portugal took absolute possession of the diamantiferous regions, and ingress and egress were solely by permits given by the intendente of diamond mining. Troops guarded every trail and by-way and the penalty of disobedience of the interdicting orders was death. The government worked the diamond mines by slaves and fixed its own price for their hire from their owners. Gold washing was prohibited, and over vast regions of Minas Geraes, beginning in 1740, all industry, save that conducted under government supervision, was stopped. The same thing occurred twenty years later in Goyaz and Matto Grosso.

All communications with the seacoast was by pack-mules. Even the necessaries of life, even the provisions on which the miners subsisted, had to be transported across the Serras do Mar, Mantiqueira, and Espinhaco by mule trains. It was not till 1867 that a fairly good turnpike road was constructed across the Serra do Mar and the Sierra Mantiqueira, and the stage-coach travel between Rio de Janeiro and the eastern edge of Minas Geraes, in three days, made possibly. The exhaustion of the richest gold "placers," the royal working of the diamond fields, the political troubles, beginning in 1800 and continuing until 1830, nearly depopulated the little of the vast interior of Brazil which had been settled during the mining era.

The yield of the limited era of gold "placers" worked, and of the diamond fields, was something fabulous. At least $1,400,000,000 of gold was extracted, and $120,000,000 worth of diamonds. But Brazil was only the poorer therefor. There had been no permanent agricultural development of the interior, and even the progress of the seacoast provinces was not very greatly accelerated.

The Crown exacted one-fifth of all the gold won, and Portuguese adventurers carried off still more. Reckless extravagance was everywhere the rule, and fortunes quickly accumulated were speedily dissipated. The old miners were an adventurous, energetic, reckless, extravagant race. Their descendants, impoverished, without slaves, were too proud to work and too poor to attempt any great mining works. For nearly three-quarters of a century the people of the interior simply maintained a mere existence. There was no attempt at deep mining, and beyond washing along the borders of streams with the "batea" (pan), no "placer" washing was done. Hydraulic mining was unknown to Brazil, and a "little giant" has never been tried in the Empire. Immense areas of Minas Geraes, Goyaz, and Matto Grosso are covered with virgin "placers," and await exploitation. Burton says the whole extent of the Serra Espinhaço is undoubtedly diamantiferous, but, save the Jiquitinhonha region, in Minas Geraes, and Lencoes and Sincora, in Bahia, it has not been intelligently prospected. The mines of Diamantina, in Matto Grosso, yielded in a few years a great number of gems, but, excepting at one or two places in the rivers Claro and Piloes, no regular diamond mining was ever attempted in Goyaz. That was more than a century ago, and hostile Indians compelled the abandonment of the attempt. The region of the Cayapo River, in both Goyaz and Matto Grosso, is rich in diamonds, as the occasional arrivals thence of precious stones in Rio de Janeiro demonstrate, but only a few white men, fugitives from justice, have even visited the locality.

The barrier which the coast ranges presented to the development of the vast interior of Brazil has but recently been overcome. There are now more than 5,000 miles of railway in operation and nearly 4,000 miles in course of construction. Long lines of river navigation in Minas Geraes and São Paulo will supplement the railways of those provinces, but still only the edge of the grand plateau has been fairly opened. The Mogyana Railroad is the only line pushing far westward into the great interior. The navigation of the Tocantins and Araguaya will open more than a thousand miles north and south of the plateau of the central interior. These two great undertakings, the pushing northwest from São Paulo of the Mogyana Railway and the navigation of the Tocantins and Araguaya south from Para, will effect a great change in the material condition of Brazil. They are promoted by the two most prosperous provinces of Brazil, backed by the credit of the imperial government. The treasuries of São Paulo and Para are overflowing and their credit stands high. Senator Prado, late minister of state for affairs of agriculture, commerce, and public works, is the controlling spirit in the Mogyana enterprise, and Senator Sequira Mendes, of Para, the great conservative leader of North Brazil, is the zealous and disinterested champion of the navigation of the Tocantins and Araguaya.

OTHER OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS REMOVED.

As great as the changes are which have been wrought by overcoming the physical obstacles to the progress of Brazil, they are not greater than those which have been effected in Brazilians. Race characteristics, being of slow growth, can be modified only by time and favoring circumstances.

The Portuguese of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were remarkable for their bold enterprise and their tireless energy and ceaseless activity in pushing discoveries and establishing colonies and trade relations. Had their intellectual growth been commensurate with their physical expansion Portugal today would have been the first power of the world. It is not necessary to deal with the causes which led to the decadence of Portugal. They are patent to every student of history. The Brazilian of the eighteenth century promised to far outstrip their progenitors in material and intellectual development. But when we consider the tenacity of traditional influences and the obduracy of race prejudices it was too much to expect the descendants at one or two removes from the old Portuguese stock to develop new lines of polity in even a new theater of action.

The discovery of gold in marvelously rich alluvial deposits, enabling vast sums to be quickly won, while it begot a spirit of daring enterprise, elicited tremendous energy, and superinduced phenomenal development, was nevertheless the cause which by and by worked greater injury than good to Brazil and the Brazilians. The thirst for gold, the passion for acquiring quickly great wealth, dominated and subordinated every other aspiration. All interests of country, of family, of the future were disregarded in the race for gold getting. The rapacity of the Crown, eager for the one-fifth royalty of all gold mined, the selfish greed of the ruling powers of the home government, the corruption of the vice-royal government, all contributed to the same evil end in Brazil. In return for the vast wealth poured into the royal coffers Brazil got nothing. There was no commerce developed, because Portugal would suffer no trading with her colonies except under her flag.

The only labor in the mines was that of slaves. The adventurers who banded themselves together to search for gold always calculated upon capturing Indians to work the "placers" they might find. Those who had capital depended upon slaves brought from Africa, but the Portuguese slave-traders could not begin to supply the demand. The Jesuits humanely endeavored to throw the protecting ægis of the church over the unfortunate Tupi and Bocotudi Indians, but it was in vain. These powerful tribes, treacherously betrayed, were decimated in their efforts to resist enslavement, and those who escaped the speedy death of the mines fled to the inaccessible recesses of the far interior. In Paraguay and Misiones the Jesuits had gathered into communities the Guarani Indians of the River Plate region, and were fast civilizing them. Religious intrigues led to the banishment of the Jesuit fathers by Spain, and the helpless Guaranis were pounced upon by bands of Paulistas from Brazil and tens of thousands led captive, to die under the lash and cruel treatment of mining "bosses" in São Paulo and Minas Geraes. The bloodshed, the misery, the suffering, the woe attending gold-winning in Brazil can scarcely be imagined, much less detailed. Every nobler instinct of humanity was banished by the demoniacal lust for gold. The lowest depths of human depravity were sounded.

All industry save that of gold mining was paralyzed for the want of slave labor. White men would do no work. It was degrading. They trooped to the mines and took their chances in the general scramble. The end came, fortunes vanished, slaves disappeared, and the impoverished descendants of the mining nabobs, too poor to get slaves, and too proud to work, have dragged out a mere existence, have simply vegetated.

For more than a hundred years Brazil and Brazilians have been paying the penalty. It is thus that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations. The decadence which began with the beginning of the nineteenth century and the causes superinducing it have heretofore been detailed. The intervening hundred years have been a long period of pupilage for the Brazilians, but the schooling of adversity has not been in vain. The Brazilian of to-day is liberal-minded. Religious liberty exists in fact as well as by law. Civil marriages can be contracted. The dead Levite can be interred even in consecrated ground. The foreigner is welcomed instead of being tolerated.

A hundred years ago only ships flying the flag of Portugal could enter a port of Brazil. Now Brazil allows steamers bearing the stars and stripes to participate in her coasting trade. In 1853 public meetings were held in the United States to demand of our Government coercive measures against Brazil to compel the opening of the Amazon to free navigation. In 1867 Brazil of her free accord made the Amazon a free highway for all the world. The schoolmaster is a part of the machinery of the state in Brazil. Free schools are, as with us, an institution. A Brazilian lady, one of the distinguished Andrade family, has graduated at the Normal College of the city of New York, and is introducing the normal-school system in Brazil under the special patronage of the Emperor.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Slavery is dead. The gradual emancipation law of 1871, which provided that thereafter all children born should be free, and requiring annual registration of slaves, and manumission of those over sixty years of age, had reduced those in bondage to about one million in 1886. At that time an earnest movement in favor of immediate emancipation began, and a bill providing therefor was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies in 1887 by Affonso Celso, jr., and although it failed to pass, the support it received showed that the day of freedom was nearly at hand.

The impelling cause behind this movement for immediate emancipation was the consuming desire of Brazilians to attract immigration. They saw with envy, not unmixed with alarm, the tremendous impetus the immigration to the River Plate from the Mediterranean countries of Europe had given to the Argentine Republic. A few Italian immigrants had been introduced by coffee planters of the province of São Paulo during 1885 and 1886, and their labor in cultivating and saving that crop had proved far more satisfactory in every way than slave labor.

The Prado family, one of the most progressive and influential of the province, started the practical work of immediate emancipation by calling together their neighbors and proposing to give all their slaves freedom forthwith, and to arrange for a system of free labor. The proposal was adopted and the slaves set free. They remained on the old plantations and, as free laborers, proved to be better and more reliable workmen than they had been while slaves. The Pradós and their neighbors had no trouble in getting their coffee crop to market, and once the news of this movement reached Italy, immigrants began to flock

thence to São Paulo. During 1887 more than thirty-five thousand immigrants came from Italy and Portugal and found employment in that province. The abolition of slavery, so far as São Paulans were concerned, was settled.

The example of the Prados was followed, and during the last three months of 1887 at least 100,000 slaves were manumited. During the first three months of 1888 nearly 30,000 immigrants came into the province, and the large slave-holding provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, Bahia, and Pernambuco began to see that if they did not get from under the incubus of slavery they would be left far behind, and, singular to say, what had not before been generally perceived, the rapid progress the provinces of Parana, Santa Cathirina, and Rio Grande do Sul were making, began to be universally talked about. There were no slaves in these provinces, and as railroads were built a small but steady stream of immigration flowed in; agriculture, which had been largely abandoned years ago for pastoral pursuits was beginning to revive, and the trade of these southern provinces was found to have grown enormously in a few years.

The movement for immediate emancipation which had begun in the province of São Paulo spread to other provinces. The people of Minas Geraes, that immense region so wonderfully rich in soil and mineral wealth and favored with a delightful climate, saw, in the example of their neighbors of São Paulo, their own means of industrial redemption. They not only began to emancipate their slaves, but made liberal overtures for immigrants. Their provincial assembly appropriated large sums to defray the cost of bringing in immigrants, and petitioned the Imperial Government to survey public lands to be given to the newcomers.

The planters of the province of Rio de Janeiro were the only laggards in this great movement. They persisted in decrying it, and insisted that the immediate emancipation of slaves would demoralize the labor system and bankrupt all coffee planters. But they could not stem the tide, and their slaves began to run away to São Paulo and Minas Geraes. The provincial assembly had to act. It authorized the sale of the Leopoldina Railroad, and provided a large fund for the promotion of immigration.

The registration of slaves completed in January, 1888, showed that only about 600,000 remained, at least 400,000 having been set free by the popular movement begun in São Paulo. There is not in the history of any people a more splendid example of magnanimous liberality than that exhibited by the majority of the slaveholders of Brazil.

But while it was settled beyond peradventure that slavery must be unconditionally abolished by legislative enactment, still many politicians feared to undertake the task. They doubted whether a free labor system could be substituted immediately, and feared the consequences which would follow a general demoralization of the entire agricultural industry of the country.

The conservative ministry in power hesitated and failed to grasp the opportunity presented for gaining political immortality. It manifested no disposition to prepare a bill providing for immediate emancipation, and the people began to insist upon a change of ministers. The demand was loud and persistent for Antonio da Silva Prado, ex-minister of agriculture, commerce and public works, who had started the immediate emancipation movement in São Paulo, to be called to form a ministry. But that gentleman was modest, and suggested João Alfredo Correa d'Oliveira for prime minister, who was authorized by the princess regent to form a cabinet. Choosing the post of finance minister himself, Pereira was called to the foreign office, Prado to the department of agriculture, commerce and public works, Ferreira Vianna to the department of justice, Almeida and Silva to the war and navy departments.

It was a strong ministry, and when the general assembly met, May 3, a bill was presented to the chamber of deputies abolishing slavery. It passed as rapidly as the forms to be observed permitted, and went to the Senate. That body, to add to the impressiveness of its action, called a special session for Sunday to consider and adopt the measure. By the 14th of May, eleven days after the meeting of the general assembly, the act of emancipation had become a law by receiving the approval of the princess regent. The Emperor, whose dearest wish was to see slavery abolished, had been compelled last year to seek rest in Europe, and simultaneous with the receipt of the news of the accomplishment of that great work was stricken by paralysis. He has recovered sufficiently, it is hoped now, to return to Brazil and celebrate in the cathedral of Rio de Janeiro, where he was baptized, *Te Deum* for this crowning glory of his long reign.

The abolition of slavery, the great works of internal improvement completed and in course of construction, have prepared the way for the incoming of vast numbers of immigrants, and the development of the immense interior of the empire.

An English writer, entirely competent to speak with authority about Brazil, says:

"When one glances back only a few years, and compares the then utter want of national public enterprise with the present actual state of affairs, it is marvelous to see what has been done by national capital, science, and work in railways, steam-ship companies, tramways, telegraphs, telephones, commercial and industrial undertakings, besides the institution of scientific and art societies. It is an awakening from the great relapse that followed the evanescent and fictitious national prosperity of the old days, a recovery from the crisis that in comparison with that of the slave and the financial questions are mere bagatelles; for it was a crisis that temporarily ruined the country, body and soul. Now look at the long list of undertakings by native capital, by native engineers and builders; and by means of the increased facilities for communication and traveling the people go farther away from the narrow circle of their villages and their ideas become enlarged." *

Why should not the future of Brazil be assured? It is true that the climate of the coast lowlands are hot and fevers prevail in places. But the death rate of Rio de Janeiro is less relatively than that of London or New York. The climate of the coast is more endurable than that of Louisiana. And the climate of the grand plateau of Brazil is delightfully pleasant, and can not be excelled for healthfulness. Four-fifths of Brazil is plateau. It is a vast expanse of rolling "campos," traversed by grand mountain ranges, and cut by the valleys of mighty rivers. The natural resources, whether agricultural, pastoral, or mineral, are incomparably superior to any other like extent of the earth's surface.

It requires no gift of prophecy to foretell that this immense and delightfully situated region will attract an immigration rivaling, to a large extent, that which has so largely contributed to the growth and progress of the United States. It can not be otherwise. This is an age of steam and electricity, of general diffusion of knowledge. The masses of mankind are moving steadily in one direction with irresistible momentum—the improvement of their condition. The tide of immigration from Europe during the past year is unprecedented. What is the impelling cause? The political condition of Europe does not afford a satisfactory explanation. "The face of the poor" has been held closer to the grinding process even in modern times. The iron-shod juggernaut of "military necessity" has been quite as ruthless in the past as it is now, without causing an exodus like that of 1887. The dynamic force is wide-spread general intelligence.

The United States has been the promised land toward which all eyes were turned, but how long will we continue to attract "bread-winners" and "bread-growers?" Already we are becoming circumspect. It is time, because we have a "labor problem" of our own. Moreover, prudence dictates that we take thought of the future needs of our own people. We have no longer an immense public domain to dispose of. The generation born to-day will see one hundred millions of people under our flag. The natural increase of a hundred millions! Think of it! It is not a wild flight of the imagination to picture an expansion within the allotted period of one life, coextensive with the North American continent!

Until within recent years there was comparatively little immigration from the Mediterranean countries of Europe. But during the last decade the tide from Italy and the Basque provinces of Spain began to flow toward the Argentine Republic and Southern Brazil. For the last three years over one hundred thousand Italians a year have landed at Buenos Ayres. The phenomenal prosperity of the Argentine Republic is largely due to this influx of Italian settlers. They come largely from the north of Italy, and are of the peasant-farmer class; are industrious, thrifty, and worthy people. The Spanish Basques are a similar class, and make good citizens. The unwise policy of the Argentine Republic in selling its public land in great tracts by the hundreds of square leagues to speculators has resulted in speculative values for lands in the far interior. It is becoming difficult for immigrants to obtain cheap lands in the Republic, and the tide of immigration is turning to Brazil and the southern countries. During the last six months of 1887 the arrivals of immigrants at Santos and Rio de Janeiro averaged over one thousand a week. The arrivals for the first six months of 1888 have been over forty-eight thousand. Nearly if not quite one hundred thousand immigrants will find homes in Brazil this year. Under wise laws and an enlightened and liberal government the future of Brazil as a great state will be assured.

* Paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, London, February 8, 1886, by James W. Wells, M. Inst., C. E., F. R., G. S.

Pensions.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 12, 1888.

The House having under consideration the special order for July 12 (being numerous private pension bills allowing pensions greater than provided by the general pension laws)—

Mr. CUTCHEON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The special order for this evening exhibits in a striking degree the need of revision and codification of our pension laws.

Ostensibly the highest rate to which any officer is entitled under the general law, even of the grade of a general officer, is $30 per month, and therefore the highest rate to which any widow is entitled. And yet we are constantly passing private pension bills granting $35, $40, $50, $75, and even $100 per month; and we do this without uniformity or system, without equality or equity, without any known or unknown rule or modus, without rhyme or reason, according to the eloquence of the plea, the strength of the written report, or the sympathy of the passing hour. It is against this unsystematic and anomalous procedure of granting pensions that I desire to enter my protest.

I do not claim to be less blameworthy than my brother members, for I have voted for many of these anomalous bills. But it seems to me that the time has come for reform.

If the widow of a brigadier-general ought to have $50 per month, then let us make that the law and send the claimant to the Pension Office.

If the widow of a major-general ought to have $75 or $100 per month, then let us fix that amount by general enactment, and not be pensioning the widows of officers of the same grade all the way from $360 to $2,000 per year.

It was to meet just such an ill-regulated and unregulated condition of affairs that in the early days of the session I introduced the following bill:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Commissioner of Pensions, together with two members of the House of Representatives, to be designated by the Speaker of the House, and two members of the Senate, to be designated by the President of the Senate, shall constitute a commission on revision of pension laws; and it shall be the duty of said commission to carefully collate, compile, revise, and codify all existing pension laws of the United States so as to exhibit clearly all existing classes of pensioners and the rates of pension paid to each class; also all the different rates of pension paid to invalid pensioners, and the nature of the disabilities for which such rates are paid, and the basis upon which the various degrees of disability are computed; also what further legislation is required to make the pension laws systematic, uniform, and just. They shall also report whether any rate for widows' pensions should be established by general enactment higher than $30 per month, and whether the benefit of the pension laws ought to be extended to any class or classes of those who have served, or may serve, in the military or naval service of the United States not at present embraced within the provisions of existing pension laws.

SEC. 2. That said commission shall report at the next regular session of Congress upon all the matters referred to them, and with their report they shall lay before Congress such recommendations as their investigations shall suggest in regard to such legislation as may be required to make the pension laws systematic, uniform, equal, and just.

SEC. 3. That said commission shall employ a clerk and stenographer and such other clerical assistance as may be necessary, and all proceedings, evidence, hearings, and arguments had, taken, or made before them shall be taken down and reduced to writing and reported to Congress with, and as an appendix to, their report.

SEC. 4. That said commission shall have power to sit during the recess of Congress, to require the attendance of persons and the production of papers, and to administer oaths.

SEC. 5. That the sum of $20,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the necessary expenses of said commission, to be paid upon the

requisition and certified statement of the president and secretary of said commission.

I believe that the carefully-considered report of such a commission would be of almost incalculable value in directing the pension legislation of the country, and such special orders as that of to-night would be no longer possible.

But, Mr. Speaker, I desire to take a somewhat wider view of the

QUESTION OF PENSION LEGISLATION;

first, in its underlying principles and equities; second, in its historical development; and third, in its political aspects and the relation of political parties thereto.

The two great questions that confront us at this hour are, first, how shall we dispose of the existing surplus in the Treasury; and second, how shall we prevent its further accumulation?

For the first there is no lack of remedies. There are debts to be paid, public buildings to be erected, water ways and harbors to be improved, coast and frontier defenses to be provided, a navy to be built, and national education to be encouraged and fostered.

I mean to say that there are proper, economical, and legitimate expenditures under each and all of these heads that may be made without waste or extravagance. But there is still another object of legitimate, proper, and patriotic expenditure by which this plethora may be relieved and the highest interests of the country subserved, and that is in the extension of our pension system to honorably discharged, disabled, and dependent soldiers. There is no form of disbursement of public funds that brings so great benefits to the business of the country, alleviates so much suffering, and, upon the whole, accomplishes so much for "the general welfare." It is scattered in small sums into all the remotest parts of the country. It enters at once into circulation among the people and passes through all the channels of trade.

It is like the arterial blood, constantly forced out to the extremities and constantly returning again to the heart; or it is like the vapor that rises from the ocean and is borne upon the wings of the wind to all quarters of the globe and returns again through a million rills and a thousand rivers to its source, making fruitful the fields of agriculture, turning the busy wheels of industry, and bearing the commerce of an empire.

But it is said that our pension-roll is already enormous. If that be so, Mr. Speaker, it is because our Army was enormous, and that was because the rebellion was an enormous rebellion, and the loss of life, limb, and health were enormous; and, moreover, the blessings that these sacrifices brought are immeasureable, and the wealth, both individual and national, that they rendered possible are also immense.

The question is not whether our pension-roll is large; it is whether it is as large as justice and the national honor require.

Any pension system has its drawbacks, which should lead us to exercise care in extending it. Whatever tends to lessen the manly self-dependence, the virility, and the chivalry of a people is, to that extent, an evil. Whatever tends to put a money price upon patriotism is not a blessing. But we can always afford to be just, and overcaution should not lead us to injustice.

Our pension system is the growth of a quarter of a century. It has grown up piece-meal, according to the changing opinions or political inclinations of successive Congresses.

It lacks in symmetry, in logical arrangement, and in homogeniety. The whole system sadly needs digestion and assimilation; but that is a work that should be intrusted to friendly hands, and not to those who would gladly see the system crippled.

But with all its faults and incongruities this is still the most generous pension system, especially to the private soldier, that has ever existed under any government.

This system in

ITS UNDERLYING PRINCIPLE IS RIGHT AND JUST.

It is founded upon the truth that all can better bear the burdens and losses of war than the few.

For instance, a wife gives her husband to the service of his country. She loses her natural supporter and protector. The nation receives the benefit.

It is only right that the nation shall share the widow's loss, by a pittance to keep her from the pinchings of want.

The Government does not undertake to compensate or make good the whole loss, but only to mitigate it to some extent.

A father gives himself to defend his country, and his children are left fatherless. Can not that country for which he died divide with those orphans their loss in support and education better than they can bear it alone?

Or the soldier returns from the war maimed and crippled, or broken in health, to drag out a weary existence through years of suffering. He has become disabled for self-support.

Is it not just and equitable that the sixty millions of people who enoy peace, progress, and prosperity in part through his sacrifice, should, out of an overflowing Treasury, contribute to keep him from actual want?

But suppose that a soldier who has served for not less than two months, and has been honorably discharged, has without fault of his own become incapable of self-support, and yet can not distinctly trace that disability to the service, and is without means of gaining a livelihood. He must either be supported by local charity, or receive aid from the Government which he served. Would there be anything contrary to the principles of our pension system if the Government should say to the keeper of the local almshouse: "This is one of my loyal defenders, this it one of my boys; I will provide for him out of my abundance?"

Would it not conduce to national honor if in the case of men who have worn the national uniform and borne the national flag national aid should take the place of local charity?

We thought so when in our weakness and poverty we cared for the unfortunate veterans of the Revolutionary war. Shall we do less in the days of our greatness and power and wealth for the hapless heroes of the war of preservation? Among "the plain people," as Lincoln called them, the demand for it is almost universal. It is only among the representatives of centralized capital or within the influence of our late antagonists that opposition to this beneficent measure is found. This is the much-needed and much-reviled dependent-pension bill.

AGE DISABILITY.

And it may be well considered whether, as the weakness and infirmity of age come to these men, an age limit may not be established, upon arrival at which the proof of any other disability may be dispensed with. Let that age limit be, say, sixty-two years, as in the Mexican pension bill, and let the amount of the pension be made the same as the pension paid to soldiers of the Mexican war—$8 per month; then as they arrive at that age they would consecutively go upon the pension-roll. The youngest of the soldiers of the war are now about thirty-eight years of age; it will therefore be not less than twenty-four years before the last of them will reach the disability age. Meanwhile the older soldiers will be passing away and vacating their places on the pension-roll as rapidly as the younger ones come on, and the result will not be to largely increase the amount required for pensions, but, on the contrary, it will after a few years rapidly diminish. I have introduced such a bill at this session, but it has not been reported.

Having thus provided for the disabled and the aged and those unfitted for self-support, I would say to my comrades who are disabled neither by age or disease, and who are fully capable of caring for themselves, let us not crowd to the front and get in the way of the crippled, the infirm, and the aged, and those upon whom the shadow of the poor-house has fallen; but let us stand back until our less fortunate comrades have been provided for, and when age or disease or infirmity overtakes us we shall receive the same benefits as they. I would advise my comrades to take as their motto, "one thing at a time, and that the most needed thing."

Sometimes to attempt too much is to fail in all.

Above all, let us not sacrifice the pride and satisfaction of having served our country for the sake of patriotism, and not for pay or pension.

But, Mr. Speaker, I did not rise at this hour solely or chiefly to speak of the beneficence of our pension system, nor of the propriety or wisdom of its enlargement, but rather to say a few words on an issue that has been raised of a

POLITICAL CHARACTER

in regard to pension legislation and pension administration.

During the political campaign of 1877, in that part of the country where I happened to be, I found a Democratic campaign document, in which the attempt was made to prove that the Democratic party was the *par excellence* and simon-pure friend of the soldiers and their pensions, and none others genuine.

It was evident that since attention had been drawn in so great a degree to the subject by President Cleveland's veto during the first two years of his administration of 124 private pension bills, and his refusal to sign 156 more, which became a law without his signature, and by his most significient veto of the "dependent pension bill" in such marked contrast with his signature of the Mexican pension bill, so-called, the leaders of the Democratic party felt the necessity of counteracting the effect of the President's course by making a showing as favorable as possible to the present Administration.

For this purpose, during the recent recess of Congress, a letter was opportunely addressed to the New York Herald, which, as stated in the press, was forwarded to the Pension Office for answer.

The letter, signed "Veteran," calls for a comparative statement of the

PRIVATE PENSION BILLS

approved by the administrations of Grant, Hayes, Arthur, and Cleveland. The letter concludes:

My object is to show the people of this country that the Grand Army of the Republic has no better friend than our present President.

At once, as is alleged, a force is set at work in the Pension Bureau to answer this nameless letter, and, after arduous labor, the following result is arrived at and the following answer made, namely:

During Grant's first administration 321 special acts were approved; during his second, 254. Hayes approved 303 special acts. During Arthur's administration 736 were approved. In the first two years of President Cleveland's administration he approved 836, or 275 per cent. more than during Grant's first term, 240 per cent. more than Grant's second term. and nearly double or 100 per cent.

more than Grant's two terms. President Cleveland has approved 183 per cent. more than Hayes, and over 17 per cent. more than Garfield and Arthur combined.

Therefore we are to understand that Cleveland is four times as good a friend of the soldier as Grant was, twice as good a friend as Hayes, and a better friend than "Garfield and Arthur combined"—though, as poor Garfield never had a chance to either approve or disapprove a single pension bill, it is hard to see what his name is brought in for, unless to delude.

This statement is understood to have been made under the direction of the Commissioner of Pensions, who is a lawyer. He is certainly lawyer enough to understand what constitutes a departure from the issue in pleading. The Commissoner understands perfectly that the issue is not how many private pension bills have been approved by the several administrations, but, so far as that class of pensions is concerned, in what proportion of cases presented to each Executive did he act favorably upon them, and in what proportion unfavorably.

Otherwise it might be said that as Garfield never approved any private pension bill, therefore he was wholly opposed to private pension legislation. But when it is answered that none were ever presented to him for approval, and therefore he could not approve them, it may be replied that he had just as much to do with the number presented to him as any other president had to do with the number presented to him. Commissioner Black is well aware that during the entire period considered, except a portion of Grant's term and two years of Arthur's, at least one branch of Congress and during a part of the time both branches were Democratic, and controlled absolutely the number of private pension bills presented to the President. If President Hayes approved only 303 such acts, it was because a Democratic House permitted only 303 to be presented to him.

If during his term President Arthur approved only 736, it was because that was all that Congress sent him to approve. If during his eight years President Grant approved only 575, it was because he did not have the opportunity to approve more, except in three cases where the proposed pensioners were deserters, and five cases in which the bills were returned for the benefit of the pensioners themselves.

THE ACCOUNT STANDS THUS:

	Approved.	Dis-approved.
Grant	575	3
Hayes	307	.....
Arthur	736	.....
All three	1,614	3

Or three Republican Presidents disapproved 1 in 538.

Now, how stands it with President Cleveland? During the first two years of his administration Congress sent to him for approval 949 acts. The Constitution (Article I, section 7, clause 2) directs that "If he (the President) approve (an act) he shall sign it." Therefore if he does not sign he does not approve.

Of these 949 acts, President Cleveland—

Vetoed and returned	124
Disapproved without returning	156
Pocketed and defeated	1
Total disapproved	281
Approved and signed	668

Or he disapproved 1 act for every 2.37 that he approved, or nearly 1 in 3. Republican vetoes, 1 in 538; Democratic vetoes, 1 in 3.37; in the ratio of 1 to 160. So much for this piece of Democratic special pleading.

In this statement of vetoes I have not included the fifteen Senate pension bills and the thirty-two House pension bills (making forty-seven in all) which President Cleveland has vetoed during the present session of Congress.

During twenty-four years of Republican administration, extending from Lincoln to Arthur, inclusive, there were but eight vetoes of pension bills—all by President Grant—five of which were in the interest of the beneficiary of the bills.

In three sessions of Cleveland's administration the pension vetoes already number 171, without counting the 157 disapprovals where the bills were allowed to become law without the President's signature. Therefore we make this comparison:

Vetoes of pension bills in twenty-four Republican years, 8, or 1 in three years.

Vetoes of pension bills in three Democratic years, 171—171 in three years.

I should think further comment unnecessary.

But, Mr. Speaker,

THE REAL ISSUE

s not so narrow as this. It is very much broader and more comprehensive. The real question is to which of the two great parties, in the light of history and reason, can the soldiers of the Republic most safely intrust their interests. It is an undoubted proposition that any cause can be most safely intrusted to the hands of its friends, not merely those who profess for the time to be friends, but those who are allied by the bands of sympathy and participation in that cause.

My first proposition is that the Democratic party is by its very constitution disqualified to successfully deal with the pension question. In discussing this question it will be necessary to refer to some facts that are not pleasant to recall, but which can not be avoided, because they are facts. In 1860 there was a great schism in the Democratic party. That division was substantially upon sectional lines. The Democracy of the North supported Douglas; the Democracy of the South supported Breckinridge. This schism produced the very result that it was designed by those who created it to produce; it afforded the pretext for secession, and resulted in war. Secession and rebellion in their leadership and in their controlling influences were wholly Democratic. This statement is not palatable, but it is true.

The Democrat who struck secession struck an old Democratic doctrine, proclaimed in the resolutions of 1798; and more than that, he struck his old political associates.

The North was by a vast majority Republican. The South was overwhelmingly Democratic. Then there arose, in the North, a new division among Democrats, and they were classed as "War Democrats" and "Peace Democrats."

The Republicans were all of one kind; they were all for sustaining the Government, and for restoring the national authority in every State and over every acre of land within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Hence

THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES

were by a very large preponderance Republican.

My friend and colleague from Michigan [Mr. TARSNEY], in his remarks pending the passage of the Logan and Blair pension bills, undertook to show that there must have been a very large proportion of the Union armies made up of Democrats, by comparing the Republican vote of 1860 with the number of enlistments during the war. My colleague printed elaborate tables to show that the Republican vote of 1860 was 1,866,352, while the number of enlistments during the war was 2,859,132. The inference he would draw is that there were about as many Democrats as Republicans in the Union Army. Now, no one is disposed to deny that a large number of the "Douglas Democrats" enlisted in the Union Army. But very few "Breckinridge Democrats" did. My colleague makes two fundamental and important errors. First in supposing that 2,859,132 represents the number of persons who enlisted in the Union Army; and, second, in assuming that the number of Republican voters is a measure of the number of Republican soldiers. In regard to the first it may be said that while there were over 2,800,000 enlistments, there were, as near as can be ascertained, only 2,063,000 different persons enlisted. Hundreds of thousands re-enlisted, and thousands enlisted a third, and many even a fourth time.

In regard to the second error, my colleague would not have fallen into it if he had been himself in the Army, or had been old enough at the time to be personally conversant with the facts. In many regiments a majority of the soldiers were under twenty-one years of age, and in nearly all a large proportion were not voters. Because of these two radical errors my colleague's tables are absolutely worthless for determining the point at issue.

We have no complete statistics to determine this question, but we have partial figures which will aid us. In the Presidential election of 1864 twelve States provided by law for taking the

VOTE OF THEIR SOLDIERS

in the field. Michigan was one of these States. She sent commissioners to all her regiments in the field, and, as far as possible, to her voters in hospital. The Democratic candidate for President was General George B. McClellan, a Union soldier of unusual popularity. There can be no doubt that he drew the full Democratic soldier vote.

The result of this vote was as follows:

State.	Lincoln, Republican.	McClellan, Democrat.
Maine	4,174	741
New Hampshire	2,066	690
Vermont	243	49
Pennsylvania	26,712	12,339
Maryland	2,800	321
Kentucky	1,194	2,828
Ohio	41,146	9,757
Michigan	9,402	2,959
Iowa	15,178	1,364
Wisconsin	11,372	2,458
Kansas	3,876	543
California	2,600	237
Total	119,763	34,291

In an aggregate vote of 154,054 the Republican vote was almost four-fifths of the whole. Of course these figures embrace only a small portion of the Union Army: but they constitute the accessible fighting material of these twelve States at that time. At the time of that election

I had the honor to command a brigade composed mostly of Michigan troops; and I know that among them more than three-fourths of the voters were Republican, and I am confident that among the non-voters the proportion was even greater.

These 154,000 voters are sufficient to give us an average of the Union Army.

Assuming this to be a fair average, then, it appears that

LESS THAN ONE-FOUTH OF THE UNION ARMY WERE DEMOCRATS,

and more than three-fourths Republicans. Reasoning *a priori* it would seem apparent that the party to which more than three-fourths of the soldiers of the country belonged would be more in sympathy with them and safer custodians of their interests than the party the large part of whom was in open arms against them and another large contingent opposed to the prosecution of the war.

I beg to be understood that I would in nowise disparage either the numbers nor the spirit of the "war Democrats;" nor do I include them in what I say of the disabilities of the Democratic party on the pension question, except to say that they are in a decided minority, and are the controlled and not the controlling element. Again, when the war was over and the "erring sisters" returned once more to the great national family, it happened that as they had gone out Democratic so they came back Democratic, and they promptly assumed control of the Democratic party, and have continued to control it until this day. In the words of Horace Greeley—

The heart, the brain, the soul of the Democratic party is in the South.

THE "SOLID SOUTH"

has become a familiar expression. Solid as to what? Solid Democratic! Every State that cast its lot with the Southern Confederacy is a Democratic State. Scarcely a single Republican comes from all that vast domain. Call the roll. Alabama has 10 Representatives, all Democrats; Arkansas has 5 Representatives, all Democrats; Florida has 2, both Democrats; Georgia has 10 (elected by about 27,000 votes), all Democrats; Louisiana has 6, all Democrats; Texas has 11, all Democrats; South Carolina has 7, all Democrats; North Carolina has 9, of whom 7 are Democrats; Tennessee has 10, of whom 8 are Democrats; Virginia alone breaks in on this solidity with 3 Democrats, 6 Republicans, and 1 Independent; but in her State government she is solid as the rest. Out of the 170 Democrats in the House 105 are from the former slave States and 65 from the former free States.

The majority of these Representatives served in the Confederate army. They put heart and life and soul into that cause, and no men ever struggled more bravely or more desperately than they. It was their heroic age.

Let us grant for the sake of this argument that the "lost cause" is forever lost. That it is buried beyond all hope, and that its banners are given to the moths. Let us grant that our country is their country, our flag their flag, our honor their honor. Grant that the desolations of war have been outlived and repaired, and the resentments of that strife forever buried.

Yet, I submit that it is too much to ask or expect of human nature to suppose that these men will take the same interest in and have the same sympathy for the men who defeated them as would those who were their own comrades in arms and in full sympathy with the cause in which they fought.

It is contrary to human nature. Yet this same "solid South" is the dominant element in the Democratic party. They made your Democratic President; they control your Democratic House of Representatives.

I am not raising a sectional issue. I am simply pointing out the fact that the Democratic party is so constituted that it is

ORGANICALLY INCAPACITATED

for handling the pension question sympathetically or successfully. But it is said that notwithstanding this incapacity the Pension Office is being administered with energy and liberality.

My colleague [Mr. TARSNEY] says:

I likewise propose to demonstrate that under this Democratic administration the ex-Union soldiers have been dealt with as fairly and liberally, aye, more fairly and liberally than under any of the administrations that we have had in this Republic since the close of the war.

He then proceeds to print voluminous tables showing the number of pension cases pending in the Pension Bureau, and—

the amount of money appropriated year by year from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year.

And he concludes triumphantly, as follows:

Thus year after year Democratic Congresses are making liberal and largely increasing appropriations for the payment of pensions.

And then "caps the climax" with the exclamation:

More than that, during the Forty-ninth Congress we passed more private pension bills, which became laws, than you, my Republican friends, ever passed during any Congress.

To this latter claim I have already made sufficient reply, and it might have taken a little from the triumphant tone of my colleague had he remembered that every one of those bills were passed by Republican votes in the House, and had to pass a

REPUBLICAN SENATE

before they could become law.

He also fails to mention the two hundred and eighty-one bills in that Congress which failed to receive the Presidential approval.

In regard to the amount appropriated, it may be said that it takes two Houses of Congress to make an appropriation, and I have yet to learn that it is any especial merit to make an appropriation to pay an honest debt already ascertained, as are all pension claims when allowed. I think that my colleague must have been for the moment oblivious of the provisions of section 4 of Article XIV of the Amendments to the Constitution, which provides:

The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for *payment of pensions* and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection and rebellion, *shall not be questioned*.

As to the administration of the Pension Office, let us grant that with the greater force at command, and the accumulated work of more than twenty years at his hand, General Black makes a good showing of his administration of that office.

General Black was a gallant Union soldier, a "war Democrat," himself a pensioner, and in full sympathy with Republican ideas in regard to pensions. The greatest praise that can be given to General Black is that he has administered a Republican system of pensions with commendable fidelity and vigor; with too much fidelity and vigor to suit the latitude of St. Louis at the date of the Democratic national convention. But the Democratic disability of which I have spoken pertains not to the Pension Bureau, but to the House of Representatives and the White House.

But, Mr. Speaker, we were told by the Democratic chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions in the last Congress (who is also the chairman of the same committee in this) on the 7th day of July, 1886, that "all the legislation friendly to the soldier that has amounted to anything since the war has been given by a Democratic House of Representatives." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 6636.)

I join issue with the distinguished gentleman from Indiana. I deny the statement in whole and in part. It is not true in substance or in fact, in letter or in spirit, in statement or in intendment.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to examine the truthfulness and accuracy of that statement. I propose from the record to settle the question who has given "all the legislation friendly to the soldier since the war."

The pension system as it now exists

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOUNDED;

that party has enlarged and improved it from time to time; and up to March 4, 1885, has administered it.

We have seen, reasoning *a priori*, from the constitution of the two parties what we might expect would be their attitude on this question, and I now propose to show from the record that it has been what might have been expected. The fundamental law upon which our present pension system was based was enacted July 14, 1862, while the war was still progressing, and while the Republican party had undisputed control of every department of the Government. It provided the most ample and generous system of pensions that up to that time had been enacted into law. It provided for the disabled soldier, and for the widows, children, mothers, and sisters of those who should fall. It was a broad and comprehensive foundation upon which has been erected the entire superstructure of our present system.

From 1862 to 1875 the Congress remained in the hands of the Republicans, and the Executive was also Republican during that period, unless the administration of Andrew Johnson be regarded as an exception.

The principal acts that followed the fundamental act were:

1. Act of April 9, 1864.
2. Act of July 4, 1864.
3. Act of March 3, 1865.
4. Act of June 6, 1866.
5. Act of July 25, 1868.
6. Act of July 27, 1868.
7. Act of July 7, 1870.
8. Act of July 8, 1870.
9. Act of February 1[illegible], 1871.
10. Act of June 8, 1872.
11. Act of March 3, 1873.
12. Act of June 6, 1874.
13. Act of June 6, 1874.
14. Act of June 14, 1874.

There were a number of minor acts which I have not mentioned.

Each and all of these acts were passed by a Republican Congress and approved by a Republican President. None of them took a backward step.

Each of them either established some new class of beneficiaries or else increased the rate or enlarged the remedies of those already existing.

March 3, 1873, Congress revised and consolidated all the existing pension laws and created the pension code, substantially as we have it to-day in the Revised Statutes.

To show how reckless was the statement of the chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, it may be said in brief that every law, section, line, word, and syllable relating to pensions in the Revised Stat-

utes of 1874 was enacted by Republican Congresses, by Republican votes, and approved by Republican Presidents.

I will not now pause, Mr. Speaker, to give in detail the substance of each of these acts, but refer those who desire to see how our pension system has grown up to the Statutes at Large of the several Congresses. I will now only name a few of the more important.

The act of July 4, 1864, extended the limitation of arrears to three years and fixed the pension for loss of both feet at $20, and for the loss of both hands or both eyes at $25 per month A Republican law.

The act of June 6, 1866, increased the pension for loss of both feet, both hands, or hand and foot; also for loss of one hand or foot.

This was also the first law granting pensions to dependent fathers and brothers. This was a Republican law.

The act of July 25, 1868, granted to widow pensioners $2 per month for each child by the soldier under sixteen years of age, and if there were orphan children but no widow surviving it gave the orphans what the widow would have received.

This was one of the most beneficial pension laws ever enacted. Under it about 18,000 widows received immediate increase, and the principle of the law remains in force until now. This was a Republican law.

The act of July 8, 1870, inaugurated a new system of paying pensions, and protected the pensioner from the fraud and avarice of pension cormorants.

No one has ever thought of repealing or dispensing with it. Another Republican law.

The act of February 14, 1871, provided pensions for the soldiers and sailors of the war of 1812, and for their widows. Another Republican law.

All these acts, and many not enumerated, were enacted by Republican Congresses and by Republican votes.

But at the election of 1874 the House of Representatives

PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

and with the exception of the Forty-seventh Congress (1882–'83) it has remained Democratic ever since.

I propose now to analyze the pension legislation since that time, and show what has been done, and by what votes it has been done.

The act of February 28, 1877, allows separate pensions for the loss of both a hand and a foot.

The act of March 3, 1877, allowed pensions to disabled soldiers in certain cases, although they had engaged in rebellion against the United States.

The act of March 9, 1878, amended the Republican law of February 14, 1871, granting pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the war of 1812. It reduced the term of service from sixty to fourteen days. It provided that a widow's pension should cease if she should remarry. But the "milk in the cocoanut" is found in the following:

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed *to restore to the pension-rolls* the names of all persons now surviving heretofore pensioned on account of service in the war of 1812 against Great Britain, or for service in any of the Indian wars, and whose names were stricken from the rolls in pursuance of the act entitled "An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior *to strike from the pension-rolls the names of such persons as have taken up arms against the Government*, or who have in any manner encouraged the rebels," approved February 4, 1862, and that the joint resolution "prohibiting payment by any officer of the Government to any person not known to have been opposed to the rebellion and in favor of its suppression," approved March 2, 1867, and section 4716 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not apply to persons provided for by this act.

Section 6 provides pensions for the widows of persons stricken from the rolls, as above, and who died while their names were so stricken from the rolls. This was a Democratic act.

The act of June 18, 1878, makes the pension of a lieutenant-commander in the Navy the same as that of lieutenant commanding.

The act of June 20, 1878, limits the fee of claim agents to $10.

The act of June 17, 1878, increased the pensions of soldiers and sailors who had lost either both hands, both feet, or the sight of both eyes to $72 per month. These were all receiving $50 per month. It affected about two hundred pensioners.

The act of February 19, 1879, provides for paying three months' extra pay to the officers and soldiers engaged in the military service of the United States in the war with Mexico. A very large proportion of these were in the South.

The act of June 9, 1880, was intended to prevent the reduction of the pensions of certain petty officers in the Navy.

With one notable exception this embraces in detail the entire list of pension measures up to the time when the Democratic party again lost control of the House.

It will be noted that with the exception of the act relating to pensioners of the war of 1812, stricken from the rolls for aiding the rebellion, and the three months' pay to the officers and soldiers of the Mexican war, which benefited almost entirely those residing in the South, they amounted to very little indeed.

They affect but comparatively few cases, and those who were already drawing high rates of pension.

But the most important act of those six years from 1875 to 1881, which constitutes the exception referred to, remains to be considered, It was the act known as

"THE ARREARS ACT."

This was the most important piece of pension legislation ever enacted in this country. This act has been persistently claimed by the Democrats as a Democratic act.

In the Forty-ninth Congress one of the Democratic leaders, Mr. Bragg, of Wisconsin, said that the Republicans enacted the arrears limitation and the Democrats repealed it.

The only foundation for this statement is in the fact that the repeal was passed when the Democrats had a majority in the House, but I will show from the record:

1. That the bill was introduced by a Republican.
2. That it was brought up and put upon its passage by a Republican.
3. That it was passed by Republican votes.
4. That of the 150 votes absolutely necessary to pass it, the Democrats furnished about one-third.

Many people seem to suppose that the payment of arrears of pensions, or, in other words, the commencement of the pension from the date of discharge, was a new and unheard of thing until the passage of the act of January 25, 1879. On the contrary, it was

AS OLD AS THE PENSION LAW.

By the act of July 14, 1862, a limitation of one year was fixed within which the claim should be prosecuted in order that the pension should begin from the date of discharge. This limitation continued in force until the act of July 4, 1864 extended the limitation to three years from discharge. This limitation was re-enacted by the act of June 6, 1866. Before the expiration of this three years, the act of July 27, 1868, extended the limitation to five years from the date when the right to the pension should have accrued.

This five years' limitation became incorporated into the act of March 3, 1873, in which the pension laws were codified, and thence became section 4709 in the Revised Statutes of the United States, of June 22, 1874. Under each of these acts "arrears of pensions"—that is, pensions covering periods prior to the filing of the application therefor—were granted in thousands of cases. But as the period of five years from the date of discharge elapsed, the right to pension prior to date of application was lost until the limit of five years from discharge had been exceeded in all cases.

In this connection it will be interesting to examine the facts as to the passage of the act of July 27, 1868, which established the five years' limitation. In June, 1868, this House passed an act largely extending and liberalizing the pension laws. It was an act of many sections. The fifth section provided that all pensions under that act should—

Commence from the death or discharge of the person on whose account the claim has been or is hereafter granted, or from the termination of the right of the person having prior title to such pension, *provided* application for such pension has been or shall be hereafter filed with the Commissioner of Pensions within five years after the right thereto has accrued, otherwise the pension shall commence from the date of filing the last evidence necessary to establish the same.

This proviso constituted the

"ARREARS LIMITATION."

At the time of the passage of that act through this House, no objection was made to this proviso on any hand. Not an amendment was offered, not a vote was given against it, so far as appears from the record.

The simple record is that "the bill passed."

The bill was taken up in the Senate on July 20, 1868. The bill was amended, new sections added, and some sections changed, but the limitation proviso was not so much as alluded to in the debate. No objection was made, no amendment was offered, and no vote recorded against it. Again, it is recorded that "the amendments were agreed to and the bill passed."

That was in the Fortieth Congress. In the Forty-fifth Congress an attempt was made to repeal this limitation of the arrears proviso, but it never came to final action.

In the Forty-sixth Congress, upon the 19th of June, 1878, Mr. Haskell, of Kansas (Republican), moved to suspend the rules and pass the act introduced by Mr. Cummings, of Kansas (also a Republican). This was House bill 4234, known as the "arrears act." Upon this motion the rules were suspended and the bill passed by a vote of 164 to 61, distributed as follows:

Democrats for the bill	43
Democrats against the bill	61
Republicans for the bill	116
Republicans against the bill	None.

As this bill passed under suspension of the rules it required two-thirds, or 150 yeas, of which 150 the Republicans furnished 116 and the Democrats the remainder.

This bill was taken up in the Senate on January 16, 1879, and after brief debate it was passed by a vote of 43 to 3.

The ayes were 27 Republicans and 16 Democrats, and the 3 nays were all Democrats.

The arrears act was not introduced by a Democrat, was not moved by a Democrat, was not passed by Democratic votes. A majority of 13 Democrats in the House voted against it. Every vote cast against it in either House was by a Democrat.

That act received the approval of President Hayes January 25, 1879, and became a law.

IT REPEALED THE ARREARS LIMITATION ABSOLUTELY

and for all time. It created no new limitation. It was a measure of full relief. It was a Republican law.

But in the closing days of that Congress an appropriation bill was reported from the Democratic committee of the House by Hon. W. A. J. Sparks (Democrat) entitled "An act making appropriations for the payment of the arrears of pensions granted by the act of Congress approved January 25, 1879, and for other purposes." That act contained three sections.

Section 1 made the necessary appropriation for the payment of the arrears; then followed this general legislation.

Section 2 first substantially re-enacts the Haskell-Cummings bill granting pensions from the date of death or discharge, and then adds these words:

If the disability occurred prior to discharge, and if such disability occurred after the discharge, then from the date of actual disability, or from the termination of the right of the party having prior title to such pension: *Provided*, The application for such pension has been or is hereafter filed with the Commissioner of Pensions *prior to the 1st day of July*, 1880, otherwise the pension shall commence from the date of filing the application.

Section 3 repealed section 4709 of the Revised Statutes, which was the five years' limitation.

This act was approved March 3, 1879. Under this law we have been operating to the present time.

It will be seen that the Haskell-Cummings act of January 25, 1879, repealed the limitation on arrears absolutely; and that the act of March 3, 1879, created a new limitation of less than one year and four months, namely, July 1, 1880. *Such is the plain record* in regard to the repeal and the re-enactment of the limitation of arrears of pension.

The statement of the gentleman from Wisconsin was as far from the truth as the statement of the distinguished gentleman from Indiana. Of the

JUSTICE AND RIGHT OF THAT REPEAL

there can be no doubt.

As I have before said, Mr. Speaker, a pension is simply an attempt on the part of the whole people to compensate in part losses suffered by individuals in behalf of the whole people.

This compensation should be, so far as practicable, commensurate with the loss. The service of the claimant having been established, and the loss in the service, why should not the compensation begin at the same time as the disability and loss?

Why should 60,000,000 of people ask one poor man to bear alone a loss incurred in behalf of all? Is it because the pensioner has not claimed his right? Is it, then, to be counted against a man that from motives of patriotic pride he has forborne to claim his right when he might have claimed it, and that he has struggled manfully for years under increasing infirmities to avoid and postpone asking help and compensation for his loss from his countrymen? God forbid.

When we have duly adjudicated in our own constituted tribunal that the claimant has suffered a loss in serving his country, a loss for which he was entitled to a pension if he had asked for it, why should not the pension reach back to the disability? Why should one rule be applied to those who came forward promptly to claim their dues, and another applied to those who have sought to avoid the necessity of claiming the right which the law had given them? Why should we not now repeal the existing limitation, and thereby do an act of justice?

THE FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

With the Forty-eighth Congress the Democratic party once more returned to the control of the House of Representatives, with a majority of more than seventy.

Bills covering almost every possible phase of the pension question were introduced and referred to the proper committees.

There were bills to repeal the arrears limit; bills to pension soldiers in the Mexican war; bills to increase the pensions of widows and orphans; bills to pension prisoners of war; bills to waive proof of prior soundness; bills to dispense with proof of actual dependence of fathers and mothers; bills to increase rates, especially in cases of loss of limb, of sight, and of hearing.

There was a great abundance of material went to the committee, but very little of it ever came to action in the House. But a bill to pension

SOLDIERS OF THE MEXICAN WAR

was promptly reported, and a substitute therefor, introduced by Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois, was passed granting a service pension to every soldier who served for fourteen days in the Mexican war, or was even carried on a muster-roll for that length of time, without any other requirement of age or service or disability or need.

This act repealed so much of the Revised Statutes as prohibited pensions to persons who had borne arms against the United States in the war of the rebellion, and conferred a uniform life pension upon them of $8 per month, regardless of the fact that they might have been subsequently disabled while fighting against the United States.

This bill went to the Senate (which was Republican) and was there amended so as to confer pensions upon honorably-discharged soldiers of the Union who had become disabled for self-support and who were dependent upon their own labor. The Senate amendments also provided for the increase of widows' pensions, and those of dependent parents and children.

It embraced the most meritorious features of the so-called dependent-pension bill afterward vetoed by the President. This bill, so amended, was returned to the House, and in the closing days of the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, July, 1884, three days before the final adjournment, it came up for consideration.

Mr. Hewitt, of Alabama, antagonized these Senate amendments with the original Mexican pension bill, which pensioned everybody in the Mexican war and the Black Hawk war and the Seminole war, but no Union soldiers.

Upon Hewitt's motion to substitute, the yeas were 84, all Democrats, nays 126, of which 87 were Republicans and 39 were Democrats.

The House then proceeded to consider the Senate amendments, but when the sixth amendment was reached, the Democrats, under the lead of Mr. Hewitt, of Alabama, inaugurated a "filibuster," which was maintained up to the hour of final adjournment (July 5, 1884), and so the bill was killed for that session.

A few Democrats, under the lead of Mr. TOWNSHEND, stood steadfast for the bill.

After the reassembling of Congress (January 5, 1885), Mr. Keifer, of Ohio, moved to suspend the rules, take up the bill as amended by the Senate, and

CONCUR IN THE SENATE AMENDMENTS.

To do that would pass the bill. On that motion the yeas were 129, the nays were 85.

Democrats for the bill	57
Democrats against the bill	84
Republicans for the bill	72
Republicans against the bill	1

The one Republican against the bill was Bisbee, of Florida.

So, for the want of the requisite two-thirds to suspend the rules, the bill was lost.

This was the great pension contest of the Forty-eighth Congress, and this most just legislation was defeated by eighty-four Democrats.

The only pension legislation which became law in the Forty-eighth Congress was a petty bill which gave to those who had lost a leg at the hip the same pension as those who had lost an arm at the shoulder, and a three-line proviso on an appropriation bill, inserted by a conference committee, giving the presumption of prior soundness (*prima facie*) to pension claimants.

This Democratic House with its more than 70 majority was a very poor place for pension legislation. The Republican Senate did much. The Democratic House undid it all.

THE FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

The Forty-ninth Congress assembled with the Republicans in control of the Senate by a narrow majority, and the Democrats in a majority of about 40 in the House.

Again bills were introduced covering the entire field of pension legislation, including Mexican war, widows' increase, prisoners of war, dependent and disabled, and repeal of the arrears limitation.

The first contest arose on the "widows' increase bill." That bill came up in the House in regular order on January 21, 1886. Mr. BROWNE, of Indiana (Republican), offered an amendment to repeal the arrears limitation. A vote on the amendment was prevented. On February 2 Mr. MATSON moved to suspend the rules and pass the widows' increase bill (with an amendment relating to date of marriage) and without the Browne amendment. This motion cut off all possibility of General BROWNE'S motion being voted on, just as it was intended and designed to do. The vote was then taken on the bill (to increase widows' pensions from $8 to $12 per month) and it was passed by a vote of 198 yeas to 66 nays, as follows:

Democrats for the bill	80
Democrats against the bill	66
Republicans for the bill	118
Republicans against the bill	None.

All but two of the Democrats who voted against this bill were from the South. The two exceptions were Bragg, of Wisconsin, and Hewitt, of New York.

SENATE BILL 1886.

About the same time in the Senate was passed "Senate bill 1886," to pension disabled dependent soldiers.

It passed by a vote of 34 yeas to 14 nays.

Democrats for the bill	7
Democrats against the bill	14
Republicans for the bill	27
Republicans against the bill	None.

This bill went to the House, and the Democratic majority refused to consider or even report it, and it died in the hands of the Democratic committee.

DEPENDENT PENSION BILL.

As I have before said, the Senate had early in the first session passed a bill in the nature of a dependent pension bill, known as "Senate bill 1886." Petitions poured in from all over the country asking for its passage. The leaders on the Democratic side were in a dilemma. To take up and pass the Senate bill was to give all the prestige of the legislation to the Republican Senate, and that would never do. Thus matters stood until January 10, 1887, when Mr. MATSON, chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, introduced House bill 10457, which,

after being considered and modified in committee, was reported back to the House and put upon its passage January 17, 1887. It was passed under suspension of the rules by a vote of 180 to 76.

Democrats for the bill	66
Democrats against the bill	76
Republicans for the bill	114
Republicans against	None.
Not voting	63
Republicans	25
Democrats	38

It will be seen that almost two-thirds of the affirmative vote was Republican, while 76 Democrats voted against it, and only 66 in favor of it, and 13 abstained from voting, without pairs.

The act now went to the President.

On February 11 the President returned the bill with his objection, or, as it is more commonly expressed,

VETOED.

The veto and the bill were referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and after full and mature consideration that committee reported them back to the House with the unanimous recommendation that the bill pass notwithstanding the President's objections.

Upon this the vote was had on February 24, 1887, with the following result—yeas 175, nays 125.

Democrats for the bill	37
Democrats against the bill	125
Republicans for the bill	138
Republicans against the bill	None.
Not voting	18
Democrats	16
Republicans	2

Every Republican member of the House except two (who were absent, paired) voted, and are recorded for the bill. Of the 125 Democrats who voted against the bill, 96 were from the former slave States and only 29 from the former free States. Of the Democrats voting,

A MAJORITY OF 88 VOTED AGAINST THE BILL;

and so, for the want of the necessary two-thirds required by the Constitution the bill was defeated, primarily by the Democratic President, secondarily by the Democratic House.

It is not my purpose now, Mr. Speaker, to criticise this record, but only to call attention to it.

In order that these votes may be more readily referred to, I here append them in tabulated form.

It will be noted, first, that only in one case (that of the widows' increase bill) were there more Democrats voted for than against any bill; second, that in all these votes there was but one Republican vote against one of them, and that was from the State of Florida. This table, taken from the official record, ought to settle now and forever the attitude of the Democratic party toward pension legislation.

Tabulated statement of votes on pension bills.

Name of bill.	Democrats for.	Democrats against.	Republicans for.	Republicans again t.
Repeal of arrears limitation, Forty-sixth Congress	48	**61**	116	**0**
Mexican pension bill, with Senate amendments, Forty-eighth Congress, first session	39	**84**	87	**0**
Mexican pension bill, with Senate amendments, Forty-eighth Congress, second session	57	**84**	72	**1**
Widows' increase, Forty-ninth Congress	80	**66**	118	**0**
"Senate bill, 1886," Forty-ninth Congress (never re-reported back in the House)	7	**14**	27	**0**
Dependent pension bill, Forty-ninth Congress	66	**76**	114	**0**
Dependent pension bill, Forty-ninth Congress (to pass over President's veto)	37	**125**	138	**0**
On all the bills (aggregate)	334	**510**	572	**1**

Mr. Speaker, I do not think that any poor words of mine can add anything to the force of these figures. They are the mute, dumb mouths that speak louder and more eloquently than any human voice of the utter falsehood of the assertion that "all the legislation friendly to the soldier that has amounted to anything since the war has been given by a Democratic House of Representatives." That statement is worthy of a member of the Annanias fraternity.

But, Mr. Speaker, this review would not be complete without some reference to what has been done, or what has not been done, in the

FIFTIETH CONGRESS.

We stand now in the closing days of the long session of that Congress. Early in the session the Senate passed a well-guarded dependent pension bill, and sent it to the House. It was emasculated by the Democratic majority of the committee, but the House has not been permitted to consider even the poor substitute.

Among others, I had the honor at the beginning of this session to introduce a bill for the unconditional repeal of the limitation of arrears. A bill has been reported to effect such repeal, and is now upon the Calendar. The Republicans of the House stand here challenging you to consider and pass it.

But your Democratic Committee on Rules refuses to allow either this or any other general pension legislation to be considered. The country has not failed to note your insincere attitude.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I have rapidly and hastily reviewed

THE HISTORY OF PENSION LEGISLATION

from the beginning of the war until now.

It has not been altogether a pleasant task. I have dealt with facts; but facts are not always pleasant things. For the facts I am not responsible. The necessity for pensions is a sad one; but for that necessity we upon this side of the House are not responsible.

I would that there were neither sectional nor party lines on the pension question; but I do not suppose that it could be otherwise. The war was a sectional war, and the parties to it were divided largely upon party lines. I do not mention this by way of censure, but rather by way of history.

Because of ancient affiliation, and a certain sympathy of political ideas, the men who sought to sever the Union and establish a Southern Confederacy are to-day, with slight exceptions, in the Democratic party.

By the force of circumstances they are the controlling element in that party and in the Government, and until the ballot is as free and as universal in the South as in the North, they will remain so.

Hear what Bradley Johnson, an ex-confederate general, said in the city of Baltimore on the 6th of June last:

> Many of us might have kept out of that war, but we did not. * * * The South is progressing. She is not dead. *These old Confederate soldiers and their descendants elect ninety out of every one hundred Congressmen, thirty-four United States Senators, and the President of the United States.* [Applause.] The Government of the United States is controlled by Confederate soldiers. It is always the case that when you get into a position to command respect you will get respect. The old Confederate soldiers are not idle. Their work for twenty-six years in government, in railroads, and industrial enterprises of all sorts is making itself felt all over this land. In 1890 Texas will send twenty-five men to Congress. The anxiety will be then, not who can carry New York in the election, but who can win in Texas. [Applause.]

We know only too well how terribly the South suffered from the war; how its wealth was destroyed, its fields wasted, its industries for a time paralyzed.

We can hardly wonder that out of their poverty they do not feel like voluntarily voting to tax themselves to pension the men who marched through their section bringing the ruin and devastation of war.

The magnanimity of the Government which has exacted from them no penalty of disfranchisement, has produced this anomalous condition of affairs, that to-day the conquered are in control of the Government they sought to disrupt and destroy, and sit in judgment upon the rights of the victors.

But our path of duty is plain. It is to

BE TRUE TO MEN WHO WERE TRUE TO UNION

and liberty and law.

We dare not look into the bloody past, with its unequaled record of sacrifice and suffering, and do these men less than justice. We dare not look into the future, with all its thronging years, its crowding generations, and its momentous possibilities, and permit it to be truly said that the Republic has been ungrateful to its defenders.

The great Republican party, which placed Lincoln in the chair of state and stood around him while he called the volunteers from their homes and set their invincible battalions in the field, which sustained the hands of Grant from Donelson to Appomattox, will neither be unmindful of nor unfaithful to its duty. These men were our brothers, our kindred, our comrades.

It was our fight in which they fell. It was their valor and their sacrifice that preserved our country, that assured our future, that conquered our peace. It was while bearing their country's flag in the path of patriotic duty that they met disease, disaster, and death. Theirs was the sacrifice, ours is the fruition. It is easy in these times of blood-purchased peace to speak lightly of their service, their suffering, and their sacrifice!

But in that awful hour of our dire necessity, when the slippery slopes of Gettysburgh blazed with deadly fire and the fate of the great Republic hung in the trembling scales of destiny, the great metropolitan journals had not yet learned to sneer at "the grand army of paupers and mendicants." Then they were patriots. Then they were heroes. Then they were worthy of all praise and reward. Then there was nothing that could be done or promised beyond their deserts. And while the millionaires and the speculators and journalists made merchandise of their heroism, these men bared their breasts to the storm and rolled back the crimson tide of war.

Mr. Speaker, I can respect the feeling of brave men still smarting under the stinging blows of defeat, who hesitate, out of their comparative poverty, to vote pensions to their late antagonists; but I have naught but unmixed and unspeakable contempt for those organs of the piled-up millions of the wealth of the North who have lost all sense of gratitude to the men who made their hoarded millions possible.

Mr. Speaker, others may act as they see fit, but as for myself I shall stand, without evasion, or shuffling, or apology, for generous justice to the men who redeemed the Republic and kept "the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."

Farm Products.

SPEECH

OF

HON. T. H. BAYLY BROWNE,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 28, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue, on the motion to strike out lines 133 and 134 of the free-list, "Vegetables in their natural state or in salt or brine, not specially enumerated or provided for," and to restore the duty thereon—

Mr. T. H. BAYLY BROWNE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In speaking to this amendment to strike from the free-list of this bill these products of the farm I am actuated by no other motive than that of serving the interests of that class of our people who cultivate the soil for a living.

It is a well-known fact that the cereals can not be grown in the Atlantic coast States with profit. The new and fertile fields of the great West, aided by cheap transportation rates, have revolutionized the system of farming almost from Maine to Florida. Many of the people whom I have the honor here to represent and half a million more along the shores of the Atlantic no longer grow grain for sale. It is cheaper in the markets of New York than at their own doors, and the growth of our great cities, the increased number of our factories, and a fuller development of our mines have created a demand for the market-garden product, "these vegetables," so that where once our broad acres waved with golden grain, the potato, the onion, peas, and garden truck generally are seen as the crops upon which the farmer relies for his livelihood.

The present rate of duty, that of Canada, and the proposition of the bill are as follows:

Product.	Canadian rate per bushel.	United States rate.	Mills rate.
	Cents.		
Potatoes	10	*15	Free.
Beans	15	†10	Do.
Peas	10	†10	Do.
Tomatoes	20	†10	Do.
All other vegetables, including sweet potatoes	20	†10	Do.

* Cents per bushel. † Per cent.

From this we see that Canada has a duty aggregating more than ours at present, yet this bill proposes to make ours all free, and there can be no other question before us than the simple, direct one of, "Will we let the farmer of this land feed this people from the products of its own soil, or shall we consent for the foreigner to come here and do it for us?"

Sir, to say that this will not in a large degree be done if these duties are taken off, I have only to refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury showing that for the month ending April 30, 1888, there was brought to this country of—

	Bushels.
Pease and beans	259,734
Potatoes	2,067,282

And for the eleven months ending the 31st of May there was imported into this country of—

	Bushels.
Pease and beans	1,887,104
Potatoes	8,475,182

The value of all vegetables imported for the eleven months ending at that time was $7,058,295, and as against a corresponding period of last year $2,083,159.

And in further confirmation of the statement that our market here will be absorbed by foreign products I will read to you extracts from leading commission men in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the large distributive centers of the country for these products:

BOSTON, *June* 21, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your favor of the 13th instant, we would respectfully report the receipts of foreign or dutiable potatoes in Boston since January 1, 1888, to date, as 1,199,630 bushels. Of cabbages there have been no receipts.

The effect on our market by the heavy importation of foreign potatoes has been to largely reduce the price of our native product. The average price at which this vast amount of foreign stock was sold is about 70 cents per bushel, and had it not been for this heavy importation the product of our New England farms no doubt would have sold readily at $1.50 to $2 per bushel.

Already Liverpool and Glasgow shippers have intimated that with a free *entrée* to American markets they would do a business of much larger magnitude than ever before. Should the duty be removed, and potatoes and other vegetables admitted free, the agricultural interests throughout New England and Eastern Shore of Virginia would be badly damaged.

Trusting these few facts may be of some use to you in defending the interests of your constituents and our friends, with anything more we can do for you, we remain,

Very truly, your obedient servants,

RICE & HOLWAY.

Hon. T. H. BAYLY BROWNE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

[Extract from letter of A. F. Young & Co., of New York.]

* * * * * * *

Speaking of potatoes, which are the only foreign vegetable we (A. F. Young & Co.) receive, there were over 2,000,000 sacks imported to this country during the past season, which sold from $2 to $2.35 per sack, and which price satisfied the importer. Domestic potatoes would have readily brought $5 per barrel if the foreign potatoes were not here.

We have no way of estimating how many sacks would have been received providing there was no tariff; but with the duty of 15 cents a bushel, or 45 cents a barrel, removed it is reasonable to suppose that the imports would be much larger, the result of which upon the vegetable interests in general we leave you to reflect.

Very respectfully, yours,

A. F. YOUNG & CO.

[Extract from letter of G. S. Palmer.]

NEW YORK, *June* 15, 1888.

* * * * * * *

The importations the past season have reached such immense proportions as to cause the native grower to stop and consider and investigate what the future must be to him, provided the present tariff be removed and he is compelled to compete with the cheap labor of Europe, and with the present ocean freights which are in many cases reduced to a nominal sum, where dollars must be had, thus enabling the large shippers to take advantage of the situation and make their own terms.

During the past season they have been brought for $3 per ton from Liverpool, and even less, and which is only about 9 cents per bushel, and as low as $4 per ton from Glasgow; whereas from the section of Accomac County, which you have the honor of representing, and one of our largest producing sections for Irish and sweet potatoes, the lowest rate is 40 cents per barrel, or about 15 cents per bushel. Thus you see your constituents in Virginia are paying nearly double what it would cost our foreign friends to land their product at our wharves in New York, and throughout the North and West, where they are dependent upon still higher priced labor than through the South, yet they continue to labor at a great disadvantage.

As regards the price this foreign product has been sold at there is a wide range, from $1 to $2.25 per sack, according to variety, quality, and condition of the market, but the safest I can average is from $1.50 to $1.75; the lower price, however, is nearer the average. If these prices have proved profitable to the shipper (and we can make no other inference, as they are still coming forward in liberal quantities), are we not safe to conclude that were the duty 45 cents a barrel removed the acreage of production abroad would be largely increased? as they would then be enabled to sell at the same average price, ranging from $1.05 to $1.30 a barrel.

For reasons above stated it is impossible for our American farmers to compete with this price, and the result would be that the lands now under tillage producing this crop would have to lie idle or be diverted into the production of something else, the increase of which would most seriously affect its market value. Our American farmers, our laboring classes, and also our home industries must receive our first consideration, and they appeal to their Representatives in Congress, whom, I am assured, will not see their interests neglected, and trusting that you will lend your aid to the defeat of the Mills bill,

I am, yours very truly,

G. S. PALMER.

T. H. B. BROWNE, Esq., *Washington, D. C.*

And now, Mr. Chairman, it may be asked how is this done? And the answer is perfectly plain. In the first place, the farmer has to pay living wages to the laborer, and wages that are measured by the American standard of living, not that of the foreigner, eking out a miserable existence. Then the great ocean which separates us from this labor has become a short ferry, reducing the time of its transit to a nominal period as compared with the voyages of old sailing-ships; and this class of freight, so far as transportation is concerned, is frequently brought here in ballast, as appears from the letters just read and the following freight bill, taken from the files of a commission merchant in the city of Baltimore:

DONNELL BUILDING,
Baltimore, February 3, 1888.

Messrs. J. E. Bell & Co. Dr. to owners of steam-ship Thanemore, per Patterson, Ramsay & Co., agents.

For freight as under:

Seven hundred and seven bags potatoes, £23 17*s.* 2*d.*; exchange, $4.85; currency, $115.93.

Received payment.

PATTERSON, RAMSAY & CO.,
Per W. BOWIE, JR.

Seven hundred and seven, containing 2¼ bushels to bag; duty, 15 cents per bushel.—J. E. Bell & Co.

From this freight bill it will be seen that a cargo of 707 sacks, holding about the same as one barrel of potatoes, was brought by steamship from Liverpool to the city of Baltimore for about 16 cents per barrel, cheaper than it could be carried from any landing in the State of Virginia for, and even cheaper than from here to Baltimore, a distance of but 40 miles. Then, too, we are taken advantage of whenever there is an exceptionally good year in the foreign countries opposite the Atlantic seaboard by the farmers there shipping to this country in immense quantities, and whenever the freighters can find no paying cargoes they will take this in ballast almost as we have just seen, and coming at irregular and odd times a glut is created to our damage, as was the case a week or more ago when a cargo of green stuff, consisting of potatoes, onions, cabbage, etc., from Savannah, Ga., was taken from the docks of the city of New York and dumped into the sea on account of the market then being overrun by supplies of a like kind

from foreign countries—potatoes from Bermuda and Scotland and onions from Spain and Egypt—and I refer to the following account of it taken from a New York daily paper:

OVERBOARD WITH TONS OF FOOD—THROWING FRESH VEGETABLES INTO THE SEA BECAUSE THE MARKET IS GLUTTED.

A crowd of men and women swarmed about the pier of the Ocean Steam-ship Company at Spring street and the North River, New York City, yesterday, and lingered for hours while stevedores in blue jumpers wheeled load after load of crates of vegetables from the covered pier to a big lighter that rocked at its anchorage alongside. Thousands of the crates were piled high on the lighter's deck before sundown. They all came from the steamer Augusta and contained tomatoes, cucumbers, string-beans, and cabbages, and the orders of the company were to take them out to sea this morning and pitch them overboard, crates and all.

The costly sacrifice was made because of the sudden and tremendous glut of the vegetable market developed in the past few days, which has knocked prices endwise and practically destroyed all demand for the cargoes that arrived on Saturday and Monday.

Onions have come in great quantities from Egypt and Spain, and potatoes from Bermuda and Glasgow, and commission merchants are trying to protect themselves against the prices of the demoralized market by storing them and awaiting a rise in values.

Then, too, we have seen the German Empire supplying her war-ships in the harbor of Norfolk with potatoes, onions, etc., brought directly from that country, because by reason of the duty being taken off, which is a courtesy between friendly powers in such cases, she could do so cheaper than by buying them in the Norfolk market. Then, if the German Government can do this when the tax is off, why not the German farmer? He has the ability, as will be seen by the following from the New York Mail and Express:

In Germany, as in Ireland, everybody eats potatoes. They are not only abundant, but cheap, and are the principal article of food in the laboring man's home. The crop is enormous. The whole country might be dropped in Texas and still leave enough space around the State for a race course, and yet the potato crop for a number of years past has fluctuated between 230,000,000 and 280,000,000 barrels, while that of the United States has ranged betwen 36,000,000 and 46,000,000 barrels.

The exporting of German potatoes to the United States is a comparatively new business, a rather small matter now, but growing, and likely to assume large proportions.

The first shipment was made last September, when 8,000 bushels were sent from Stettin; the results were so satisfactory that a regular business was established and shipments are now made every week.

Having the ability there can be no lack of inclination when the doors are wide open for him to enter and destroy the market in which the home farmer finds a remunerative demand for 90 per cent. of everything he grows. The following table will show in official figures the value of the most important farm products:

Value of products of American agriculture in 1886, *and of the proportion exported in the fiscal year* 1886–'87.

Products.	Production, farm value.	Exportation.		
		Export value.	Farm value.	Per cent.
Breadstuffs:				
Corn	$610,311,000	$20,052,704	$11,790,046	1.9
Wheat	314,226,020	142,666,563	87,668,833	27.9
Oats	186,137,930	635,657	343,659	.2
Barley	31,840,510	853,405	691,809	2.2
Rye	13,181,330	227,971	197,687	1.5
Buckwheat	6,465,120	.....	.....	.....
Rice	5,000,000	29,204	26,284	.5
Total	1,167,161,910	164,465,504	100,718,318	8.3
Meats	748,000,000	78,152,731	62,522,185	8.4
Poultry products	186,000,000	88,970	71,176	.....
Hides, hair, etc.	93,000,000	1,101,203	825,902	.9
Dairy products:				
Butter	192,000,000	1,983,698	1,487,773	.8
Cheese	32,000,000	7,594,633	6,455,438	20.2
Milk	156,000,000	258,971	181,279	.1
Total	380,000,000	9,837,302	8,124,490	2.1
Textile fibers:				
Cotton	257,295,327	206,222,057	177,895,501	69.1
Wool	77,000,000	78,002	70,202	.1
Hemp, flax, etc.	9,000,000	.....	.....	.....
Total	343,295,327	206,300,059	177,965,703	51.8
Vegetables:				
Irish potatoes	78,441,940	318,259	238,694	.3
Sweet potatoes	20,000,000	.....	.....	.....
Peas and beans	13,800,000	562,864	450,291	3.3
Market gardens	68,000,000	427,530	256,518	.4
Fruits	175,000,000	2,669,965	1,601,979	.9
Hay	353,437,699	218,006	130,804	.....
Tobacco	39,082,118	25,637,983	20,510,386	52.5
Hops	3,500,000	54,970	46,725	1.3
Sugar and sirup, including honey	33,500,000	12,976,061	.....	.....
Clover and grass seed	15,000,000	911,898	638,329	4.3
Wines	10,000,000	215,171	129,103	1.3
Totals	3,727,218,994	503,938,476	374,230,603	10.0

Now, what will he get in return for this free market to the foreigner? It is answered he will have cheaper clothing in making his other farm product, wool, free, and cheaper farming implements by reducing the duty on certain classes of raw material, and in this he injures the farmer in the one case directly and in the other indirectly, and no one tells him how much cheaper these articles will be; he knows that they have always been cheaper under a high protective duty than under a low tariff. It is asserted that they will be cheapened to the extent of the duty now imposed, but that sophistry was exposed by the distinguished member from Ohio [Major McKINLEY] so recently I will not repeat it.

Then may I not ask who is seeking this repeal? Surely it is not the farmer, for we are told that there are more than a thousand petitions with hundreds of names signed to them on file in the room of the Ways and Means Committee praying for protection, in substance about as follows:

PETITION FOR MORE EFFECTUAL PROTECTION OF AGRICULTURE.

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

The undersigned respectfully pray that agriculture may be more effectually protected, by preventing fraudulent importations of cattle on pretense that they are for breeding only;

By a duty of 20 cents per bushel on barley, with proportionate increase of duty on malt;

By duties of 25 cents per bushel on potatoes and onions, $2 per 100 on cabbages, $3 per ton on hay, 10 cents per pound on hops, 20 per cent. on beans and pease, 5 cents per dozen on eggs, 30 per cent. on fowls and poultry and on "vegetables in their natural state or in salt or brine, not otherwise provided for," with no removal or reduction of duties on market garden products now dutiable;

By such increased duties on flax and on linen goods as will effectually encourage the preparation of fiber and manufacture of goods;

By abolishing all duties on sugar, with a bounty to home producers;

By preventing imports of leaf tobacco suitable for wrappers at the duty imposed on other leaf tobacco, and repealing all internal taxes on tobacco;

By restoring to wool-growing the substantial protection enjoyed under the tariff of 1867, so modified as to meet the later forms of foreign competition and of evasion.

The undersigned further represent, respectfully, that they are practical farmers of this locality.

Rather, then, than repeal these duties and the direful consequences follow, let us grant these petitions and at the same time fulfill the pledges made to the people in 1884, and reiterated in 1888 by both political parties. The Democratic platform says:

The Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reductions in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather promote their healthy growth.

And the Republican platform delares that—

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus not by the vicious and indiscriminating process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer in the great productive interests of the country.

Then in a spirit of fairness let us revise the tariff, and revise means adjust, not repeal; adjust it in its irregularities, not, as is proposed here, by striking down this "domestic industry," but put them on a competing footing with the foreigner. We see by the figures just quoted that 45 cents per barrel does not protect nor does it reduce the surplus, the duty this year amounting to three times as much as that of last year. Put the rate on potatoes at 25 cents per bushel, and 30 per cent. ad valorem on all other vegetables; you will then accomplish a twofold purpose—protect the farmer and reduce the accumulating surplus. But it is answered that this can not be; these things are the necessaries of life, and should be as free as the water that runs. Then may I not ask why protect the sugar planters of Louisiana or build a wall around the rice fields of Carolina? They are both just as necessary to our existence as anything we consume. Rice is amply cared for by a duty of 100 per cent.

Here we see irregularities deliberately created instead of adjusted—doing the very thing everybody is pledged not to do. And I do not wish to be understood as complaining because the Representatives on the floor of this House and the farmer of South Carolina have been able to so prevail on the Committee on Ways and Means as to secure 100 per cent. protection for his peculiar crop. Nor do I propose to criticise the course of the committee in this regard. I believe they are clearly right on that, and when the paragraph is reached I shall give it a most hearty support. The objection I have is that the duty on the other farm products, just as meritorious, are not put on something like equal terms with the product farther south. The reason for the discrimination is not plain, and there has been no attempt to make it so that I have heard. And further, it may be said that this is not the sort of farmer that should receive such distinguished consideration; he is a mere trucker, and does not measure up to the standard of the great grain growers of the West nor the aristocratic planter of the South; but I take it, he is a farmer nevertheless, he cultivates the soil, and that should be the test, and my eloquent colleague from the Valley of Virginia [Mr. O'FERRALL] makes the first farmer a market gardener. He says in his late speech that—

The Lord God when he made man took him and put him in the garden eastward from Eden to work and to keep it.

And I feel that I have a right to appeal to him to support this motion and stand by this farmer rather than the caucus, for he says in that speech—

In closing, I desire to say for myself that in this contest I am for the farmer.

And further on he prays God to "keep him steadfast to the end," and

I take it he will be steadfast when this vote is taken and stand by the interest which seems so dear to him, and along with him I hope to see my other distinguished colleague, General LEE, who is a farmer himself and knows what their wants are, and my friend, Mr. WISE, too, I hope to be with us, as he admits in his late speech upon the tariff—

That wages in the States are determined not in the factory, but on the farm.

And if that farm be in a foreign land, with nothing in common with ours, what will become, not only of the returns of the farmer here, but of the wages of the farm laborer and the factory hands too?

And now I appeal to those gentlemen of the other side whose bowels of compassion are constantly being moved towards the horny-handed sons of toil to show their faith by their works and vote to strike these articles from this free-list. For the rest of my colleagues from Virginia here and those on this side of the House generally, I can speak confidently that now and all the time they will be found extending a helping hand to the men who labor for their living, whether it be on the farm, in the factory, at the furnace, in the mine, or on the deep blue sea. No alien or foreign product will ever by them be encouraged to come to these shores to supplant the honest toil of this land. They are here always telling you that—

To your own new world's interest contrive to be true,
Keep your ears open wide to the future's first call;
Be whatever you will, but yourselves first of all.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JACOB YOST,

OF VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. YOST said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Bureau of Statistics reports imports of iron ore for the year 1887 at 1,194,301 tons, valued at $2,206,958. It also reports imports of 850,331 tons of bituminous coal, of the value of $2,620,975. Every dollar of this $4,827,963 ought to have been paid to American workmen, and would have been had there been adequate protection. It is to prevent a repetition of this report, to pay this money into the pockets of the laborers of this country, to develop the resources which lie almost within the shadow of this Capitol that I ask this committee to put such a duty on these so-called raw materials as will practically exclude the product of an ill-paid labor.

Each of the great political parties has solemnly declared that in the adjustment of import duties due regard should be had to the interests of the working people. It seems to me that no line of the tariff schedule offers so fair an opportunity to redeem this promise as the one now under consideration. From 80 to 90 per cent. of the cost of these materials is for labor. The importations of iron ore and coal during 1887 took a dollar a day from sixteen thousand Americans for three hundred days of the year. Within 300 miles of the spot on which we now stand were millions of tons of this material piled up in the mountains and thousands of idle hands who would have been glad of the chance to dig it out at even a dollar a day. There was not a pound of this coal nor a ton of this ore that could not have been mined in Virginia alone, to say nothing of the other States. And it would have been mined there had it not been cheaper to employ the labor of Spain, of Cuba, of Elba, and Algeria.

A glance at the statistics for the past eight years shows that notwithstanding an increase of the duty on iron ore the average value of the importations has gradually decreased from $2.80 per ton in 1880 to $1.84 per ton in 1887. Home competition has brought about this reduction, but home competition has reached that point now where it is no longer possible to contemplate further reductions, and as a result we are told that the year 1888 promises to witness a large increase of the importations of Cuban ore.

Can this Congress refuse to interpose here in behalf of American mines and American miners? Why should we allow a ton of this material to enter our ports when we know that it represents just so much taken from the pockets of our own people? The theory that these ores are required for mixing with our native ores in the production of Bessemer steel has long since been exploded. Bessemer ores of the finest quality are known to exist in vast quantities in various localities of this country, at Marquette, Lake Superior, New York, and throughout the Southern States. I have here now a report from Andrew McCreath, chemist to the geological survey of Pennsylvania, an authority accepted by all whose opinion is worth anything, in which he mentions twenty-five localities examined by him in Virginia alone, where the best of Bessemer ores are found in quantity. The maximum of phosphorus allowed in Bessemer ores is fourteen one hundredths of 1 per cent.

Here he gives a long list of deposits, the analyses of the ores of which show from 58 to 65 per cent. of metallic iron, with from .023 to .050 of 1 per cent. of phosphorus. But it may be asked why these valuable ores, so close to the market, are not mined. I can answer that question by quoting from a statement made by Mr. W. H. Patterson, of the Lynchburgh Iron Company. He says:

In a work by J. L. Campbell, LL.D., entitled "Geology and Mineral Resources of the James River Valley," he enters into a long and accurate description of the ores of that valley, and on page 20 he says: "Beyond the southwest limit of the James River district, but within the same broad belt, ores have been extensively mined in Franklin County and the northwest portion of Pittsylvania, and shipped northward for the manufacture of Bessemer steel."

I am familiar with the operations of the Pennsylvania Steel Company in that locality, and state that they took from there and used 60,000 tons of as rich and good a Bessemer ore as can be found in the world. Why, then, do you say, did they cease operations? Because the time when they ceased mining and shipping ores from Virginia was the same time that they invested largely in mines in Cuba, and they abandoned their source of supplies in Virginia because the cheap labor, low ocean freights, and insignificant duties, enabled them to procure these foreign ores cheaper than they could mine in Virginia and transport by rail to Pennsylvania.

Some one may again say: There was no more ore there; the deposits have been worked out. I have been assured by a gentleman who knows of the operations of the Pennsylvania Steel Company in those mines that the amount they took away was insignificant compared to what was left; and I further state that within the last two weeks I made a contract for the Lynchburgh Iron Company for a quantity of Bessemer ore from the same place, guarantied to run 55 per cent. metallic iron, and had to limit the quantity I would take for fear the contractor would send me more than I could use. Does this indicate that the supply is exhausted?

That explains the whole trouble. The Virginia mines are closed, and the output of the Cuban mines is pouring in upon us, because the Virginia miner can not work for the starvation wages paid his Cuban competitor. It is a simple question of wages, for, as I said before, the cost of iron ore, whether domestic or imported, represents practically nothing but the cost of labor.

It lies within the power of this House to remedy this wrong—to throw into the homes of the poor of this land this $5,000,000 annually. By increasing the duty on iron ore and coal you restore to the American miner that which rightfully belongs to him, and do injustice to none. Such an increase will not seriously affect the manufacturer.

He will get his material just as low as it can be produced under our system of labor. With millions of tons of ore swelling the sides of our mountains, and tens of thousands of eager hands waiting a chance to work, competition will limit the cost to a reasonable profit to the employer and a decent living for the employé. No man who is an American should object to this, for no American should want to see the day come when an honest, industrious workman of this country can not make a decent living.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GAY,

OF LOUISIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, July 9, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. GAY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I was about to say when I gave way to the gentleman from Maine, that when the sugar schedule first brought into the House by the Committee on Ways and Means was examined by myself and colleagues representing the sugar industry in Louisiana, we went to the committee, protesting against that schedule. We exhibited samples of sugar which we were making by the direct process upon the plantations in Louisiana, running up as high as No. 20 Dutch standard; not 16 alone, but up to 20; and we explained to the committee that we could not under any circumstances live with the schedule as then proposed by them.

I think it was mainly owing to our representations, and out of deference to our necessities and to the welfare of the sugar interests of Louisiana and of the country, that concessions were made, and that ultimately the schedule was changed. Louisiana, as has been stated before in this House, said to the Committee on Ways and Means that it could not stand any reduction under the existing tariff laws, but we have also said that it seemed to be necessary we should bear our part of the burden to bring about some practical mode of reducing the revenue. We could never have acquiesced, however, in the present bill had the schedule remained as it was at first, because if importations of foreign sugar up to 16 Dutch standard could come in they would come directly in

competition with the high grades of sugar which we are making by means of large investments of capital for the improvement of our machinery and fixtures. We found years ago that we could not live by making sugar to be sold at 2 or 3 cents a pound, and that therefore we must study the mode required to secure a better extraction from the cane, and must greatly improve the quality of the product. This, at large cost and great expense, we have done. Therefore we could not afford, under any circumstances, to allow foreign sugars no better in saccharine strength than those now imported, but appearing by their lighter color to be more desirable for consumption, to be brought into this country in competition with our sugars. Therefore we protested, and I rejoice to say that we succeeded in influencing the committee to make that change.

This would have admitted the weak, bastard sugars of the Scotch and English refiners, which by being washed become sightly to the eye, but are wholly unfit for use in competition with pure sugar.

And now, Mr. Chairman, a great deal has been said about another change made by the Committee on Ways and Means from certain wording of their bill as first proposed, and their second bill, which is now under consideration.

I refer to the provision in the first bill refusing the right of rebate on all sugar exported.

Being familiar with the subject, I used my best endeavors to convince the members of the committee that it would be unjust to allow any prejudice against trusts to deny a right granted to every American manufacturer of duty paid foreign merchandise to a return of the actual tax previously collected when exported, and that there were several refineries not in the trust.

I favored the continuance of an American right to export and to a rebate, restricted to the actual duty which the Government had received from the article.

I had a personal and representative interest in a continuance of the right of rebate, because as a planter and a merchant I had often seen large accumulations of surplus stock in the American markets which depressed prices and affected my interest as well as that of my constituents, and which were relieved to that extent by heavy exportations of refined sugar.

If stocks accumulate beyond the demand for consumption, and no export be possible, then the working force must be discharged.

On the contrary, if without loss to the Treasury, I would be glad if every pound of refined sugar consumed in Canada and Great Britain had to be refined in the United States, in order to give greater employment to the laboring men of this country.

When you strike at capital let it be done with cool consideration, not in the heat of excited prejudice, for there is a power behind capital which you do not wish to wound. This power is the laboring man, in all the grades of intelligence, skill, proficiency, and strength.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen have stated and reiterated on this floor that the production of sugar in this country, instead of giving hopeful signs of increase and of becoming an important industry, has been positively on the retrograde, and that we have, after so many long years, failed to produce as large crops as before the war. Without going into details, I wish to say, sir, that starting in our impoverished condition in 1865 with a crop of 18,000 hogsheads we have gone on with a gradual average increase until in 1887 we reached the production of over 300,000 hogsheads of sugar, and of a quality far superior to any ever made in *ante-bellum* days.

The crop of last year equaled one-tenth the whole consumption of the 60,000,000 people of the United States.

The number of days in the year being 365, this gave a supply for the whole country of 36½ days.

This domestic supply, to that extent, saved to the country the sending abroad to aliens the sum of twenty million of dollars, which was the value of that crop.

The supply from Louisiana exerts an important influence in cheapening the price of sugar, and for a time paralyzes the business of the refining industry.

Our crops are made with borrowed capital, and as soon as ready for market the product must be sold at whatever prices it will bring.

Gentlemen have asked why it is that your production of sugar has not increased more rapidly.

To those who seriously desire a reasonable explanation, I can truthfully reply. The causes are numerous and the reasons are good.

First. The effects of the war and the period of reconstruction demoralized the laborers of that section. They were for several years in a state of vague expectation and unwilling to enter seriously into the common avocations of life for earning a livelihood. Many emigrated to other States, and a largely increased percentage of the negro race may be seen to-day in all the Northern States and Territories. Many were attracted to steam-boating, other large numbers into railroading, and many into politics as a profession.

It required years for them to decide of their own volition that it was the height of manhood and independence to join hand and hand with their white neighbors and employers in building up a common country and in identifying themselves in a united effort to restore the prosperity of the country. The happiest effects have been the result, and in the sugar districts of Louisiana may be found a laboring population possessing the advantage of remunerative constant employment, comfortable permanent homes, a congenial climate, and with all the elements of an advancing citizenship, and to incite in them a laudable ambition in every field of industry and the acquisition of property, and each recurring year improves the situation.

Second. The capital required to prosecute the planting and manufacturing business was scarce and dear. The cost of money to the average planter, interest and commissions, for many years amounted to at least 12 per cent. It was hard and difficult to build up under the weight of such a burden. We were regarded with apprehension by the great accumulations of capital in the North; we could only secure independence by delving it from the ground.

Third. The sugar districts have met with repeated disaster from widespread overflows, by crevasses from high water in the Mississippi River, in some cases destroying all crops for 100 miles in extent and requiring years to re-establish those sections. The people, unable to pay taxes, left the resources of the State powerless to rebuild substantial levees. But the last decade has enabled us to grow in strength, and now a sense of greater security and confidence pervades.

Fourth. We have been confronted with a constant depreciation of prices.

The crops of tropical cane sugar in foreign countries were gradually increasing and assuming greater proportions, while the beet-root sugar industry, which had been carefully nursed in its cradle by the fostering hand of European governments, was assuming the proportions of vigorous manhood, and under wise laws for its protection it came to supply not only the total consumption of their own population but to force out into the world a large overplus constantly growing in volume until the very existence of the cane industry was threatened.

The Louisiana industry required a struggle to exist under the necessity of marketing their products in competition with the tropical product of enforced slave and cooly labor on the one hand and the bounty-paid sugar of Europe.

We had experienced a constant annual decline until from 15 cents we had to come down to 3 or 4 cents.

The wonder is that we could survive at all.

But never was there more indomitable energy and intelligence implanted in the breasts of any people than was possessed by the struggling sugar planter of Louisiana. He saw the deficiency of his machinery and appliances, and was oppressed with the knowledge of his lack of capital.

To survive he must increase the percentage of extraction, and he must radically improve the quality of his product, and simultaneous with that he must go on with his business to make a support and to meet his liabilities.

The sugar industry has two departments—one agricultural, the other manufacturing. These give employment to the laborer in the planting, cultivating, and harvesting the crops, till delivered at the scales of the factory. It requires five tons of cane to plant an acre, worth from fifteen to twenty dollars. The value of the seed and the actual money paid to the laborer for his services through the year and until the delivery of the cane at the mill is not less than $60 per acre. This requires capital, for the laborer must be promptly paid. But the greater outlay required, and before the crops can be utilized, is in the sugar-house—the factory. To cope with the times, and to enable successful competition with the world, this factory is indispensable on every large plantation or in every neighborhood, and requires for each an outlay in buildings, fixtures, machinery, and appliances of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, according to its capacity.

This changed situation and new outlay to enable the production of sugar suitable for the daintiest taste, connected with an increased and annual increase in the yield of juice, is the new era in the sugar production of Louisiana; and while the industry is comparatively old the problem for its practical vast expansion in results is with us but in its infancy.

We have never ceased to affirm that our permanance and success are dependent on protection. Call it by whatever name you will, we must have a discrimination in our favor, so that our tariff laws will shield us from an even competition with the products of other lands enjoying certain peculiar advantages of governmental aid and cheaper labor.

Mr. Chairman, among all our hinderances, none has been more detrimental than continued tariff agitation.

While we need the energy of new men and the use of greater capital, these have been constantly repressed by rumors of instable tariff laws.

My friend from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], who means well, says that our industry is limited, and that altogether we are only cultivating in cane what would amount to a few townships of one county in his great State.

We invite him to come to Louisiana, where he will be welcomed with warm, outstretched hands. We will carry him along the banks of the great Mississippi for 200 miles, where on all suitable soil green fields of cane are in view, on either shore, stretching out as far as the eye can reach. Next we will take him down the beautiful Bayou Lafourche, where for 50 miles in extent he will have spread out before

him on either bank fields of unrivaled fertility. Then we will accompany him to the home of Evangeline, the lovely waters of the Teche, the fair garden of the fruits and flowers of the tropics, that extended and beautiful section of our State which has been specially attractive to our new compeers in the sugar culture coming from Illinois, Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania, shedding a new light by their accomplished energy and capital; and then he would not have gone half the round.

My friend would find it was more than a few townships, and very much resembling in its dimensions a State. When he came to know our genial people and to witness their industry, under disadvantages, I fancy he would be almost willing to cast in his lot with us.

It has been stated here that rains and cold destroy our crops, and that therefore we can never succeed.

Man's necessities point out the remedies, and we have not been sluggards. Deep drainage, which required another heavy outlay of capital, rapidly relieves the lands from the effects of heavy rains, and they soon become dry. Dry lands are warm lands, so that by deep drainage we counteract cold when it comes, and our crops in the average are as regular as the crops of other sections; so that labor, capital, and protection are all we require to make regular crops.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] has said that climatic influences will prevent the possibility of the successful sufficient production of sugar in the United States, and therefore he is in favor of putting it on the free-list.

Now, sir, climatic influences and differences prove the great beneficence of Heaven, and from these come the surety of seed time and harvest to all latitudes.

Cuba has advantages over Louisiana, but Louisiana has its advantages over that island.

We far exceed them in tonnage to the acre of land, because we cultivate thoroughly, while they can not. With them cane must be twelve months' old to give satisfactory yield, while with us but eight months are required. The juices of all crops thicken to maturity with the approach of cooler weather. This is the salvation of Louisiana, but it is denied to the tropics, where the tendency is to continued growth, anc maturity comes only from age.

This principle comes to the relief of the sorghum as well as the beet crop, with a shorter season, and they enjoy the great advantage of inexpensive seed for planting and the opportunity of frequent rotation of other crops on the soil.

The interest of all sugar producers is identical, no matter from what plant or whatever latitude. Each has its peculiarities and each its advantages.

Can my friends tell me of any section or crop that is not subject to vicissitudes and irregularities? How is it with the great West? Have not they suffered failures time and again?

I say, yes; fully as often as the cane crop has failed in Louisiana.

Why should not the legislation of Congress studiously foster this industry as against the policy of crippling and destroying?

What are the advantages which would follow the wide extension of the production of sugar, until the whole consumption can be supplied at home?

What considerations present themselves to the people of this country to foster the sugar industry? Let me call attention to some points which are plain.

We are annually sending abroad to aliens at least $80,000,000 to pay for sugar.

We will soon have a hundred million inhabitants, when the cost now incurred will be increased in amount over 50 per cent.

This is a heavy drain, indeed, and by raising our supply at home we will retain every dollar of it in the hands of the people. Our interests are so intertwined that what benefits one benefits the whole.

Every dollar produced at home is thnt much positive addition to the common wealth.

Could we turn the labor of three hundred thousand men now engaged in other agricultural pursuits, which are overdone, to the production of sugar, a great relief would come to tho growers of grain, and they would find a market for their products among the employés of the new industry.

Ample supplies of sugar produced in the heart of the country where the consumers reside would save large sums in the cost of transportation alone.

This would give independence to the country in this regard, in peace and in war.

This would obliterate the large tariff revenue from sugar, for, no matter how high the nominal rate, each succeeding year of increased production will reduce the amount until the whole will cease.

This is the road to break up existing trusts. A product can be made in every factory of a quality to satisfy the most fastidious appetite.

The machinery and fixtures of the mammoth refineries would be distributed to the factories of the producers throughout the country and their avocation will be gone.

The sugar planters of Louisiana have always stood firmly and honestly for the principle of protection to all industries, and so they stand today.

But to us protection means nothing unless it is protection to us.

In times requiring decision a wise man must choose that which in his discretion seems best for the hour.

We do not propose to be left standing on the shore deserted. The voyage must be made and who is to complain if we find it necessary to take another pilot on board?

If the sugar interest was as fairly under way in Pennsylvania or Iowa or Illinois, even to the extent it is in Louisiana and Kansas, would our friends so ably representing those States vote to throw it overboard?

Let them remember that we are all one people and that we must all stand or fall together.

The Sugar Question, with Certain Allegations on the Subject, Considered.

The just demand of the tax-payer is that the sum of all the taxes collected on all the articles taxed shall not exceed the wants of the Government, economically considered.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THEODORE S. WILKINSON,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, July 9, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. WILKINSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: As this question is one that very largely affects the interests of the State which I have the honor in part to represent on this floor, and as it is also very important in its relations to taxation and revenue, and in view also of the fact that on Saturday last ample time was allowed to the members from those States, Kansas and California, which are likewise specially interested in this question, to make their remarks without being limited by the ordinary five-minute rule, I will request unanimous consent that my time be extended so as to enable me to conclude what I wish to say upon this question.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time does the gentleman desire?

Mr. WILKINSON. That will depend in some measure on what interruptions I may have. Probably twenty-five minutes will be sufficient.

Mr. ROGERS. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed without interruption for thirty minutes.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that in view of the length of time that this debate has run, and the extension of time which has been granted to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILKINSON], that during the remainder of the debate the Chair will, if there be no objection, not insist upon the presentation of formal amendments, but will allow the discussion to run along upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. WILKINSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ROGERS] for his courtesy. I do not propose upon this occasion to go into the theories of taxation, or to discuss the subject of revenue reform, or the question of protection, whether that protection be furnished as an object or as an incident of taxation. I do not desire to go over again all the points that I presented in a speech made two months ago in the general debate on this bill; but it will be necessary to touch briefly on some of them so as to meet and offset some of the charges made on this floor. I spoke then at some length about the sugar tariff in its relations to the tax-payer and the consumer, and I think I showed that this tax, as it is left in this bill, is one that is not burdensome to the tax-payer except as a portion of the necessary burdens of taxation which the Government needed to be carried on.

That it was a tax I did not dispute; that all taxes or any taxes are burdensome I do not and did not deny. I claim for this tax no immunity from the rule that taxes are burdens, but that it is other than a portion of the taxes necessary to support the Government, that it is a needless burden that the tax-payers have to bear, I most emphatically and unequivocally deny. The law that all animated beings require a support—from the snail that is crushed beneath the feet to humanity, the noblest type of life—is as universal as the law of gravitation. This law applies to governments as well as to the individuals who are governed. No millenium has yet come when this or any other government can be maintained without cost.

He who with vehement declamation and uplifted voice prates about the outrage of taxing sixty million of people more than $50,000,000 annually chiefly for the benefit of Louisiana, or Florida, or Texas, or Kansas, or California, or of anybody or anywhere, knows when he says it—for God put reason in his breast which clamor and vehemence and partisanship can not entirely silence—he knows that when he says this that

SIXTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE HAVE TO TAX THEMSELVES MORE THAN FIVE TIMES SIXTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

in order to carry on their Government and maintain their institutions and their civilization. He knows full well that with the taxes reduced generally on a great number of articles, sugar among them, as is proposed by this bill, the revenues that will continue to be raised from sugar will be at least as little burdensome on the people as any taxes that will be left on the whole dutiable list. He knows—as any one may know who will take the trouble to ascertain—that the most civilized and enlightened countries of the world (except Great Britain), and even Canada, and many of the British colonies, have a duty, and most of them a very high duty, on sugar; that the first tariff act ever passed in the American Congress, as I have before said, when there was not a pound of sugar produced in the United States, levied a duty on sugar which has been kept up from the year 1789 until now; that during seven-eighths of that time the average sugar duty per pound was greater than it will be under the Mills bill; that this is the third reduction since the war, and that the average rate of duty per pound proposed in the Mills bill will be a reduction of about 50 per cent. in the rates per pound that prevailed from 1864 to 1870.

And yet, sir, with all this information available, this Hall has rung again and again with denunciations of this tax by professional friends of the tax-payer as if there was something intrinsically wrong, burdensome, and outrageous in it that other taxes did not possess. The vast majority of the civilized world who have thought otherwise—the example of our own country throughout its entire history—tend to show that the maintenance of a duty on this article, in most cases far larger per pound than the present duty with us, is intrinsically proper and wise, and as little onerous as any tax can be, as long as governments exist and taxes endure. The tax-payer is too intelligent to be persuaded that there is any discovered process by which the Government can exist without his contributions, or that he is to be benefited by the shifting of a burden from one shoulder to place a heavier burden on the other. His just demand is

THAT THE SUM OF ALL THE TAXES COLLECTED ON ALL THE ARTICLES TAXED SHALL NOT EXCEED THE WANTS OF THE GOVERNMENT ECONOMICALLY ADMINISTERED,

and when this is done, as this bill proposes shall be done, he can not complain, but will be accorded substantial relief.

Mr. Chairman, I am not upon the floor to-day to plead in behalf of an infant industry. The sugar industry of Louisiana is long past that stage of its existence. It has risen from disaster; it has lived amid dangers; it has triumphed over difficulties. It is a legitimate industry in this country, and it will continue to live and prosper as long as you gentlemen will continue to maintain the economic system on which it so largely depends, which was instituted by Mr. Madison and never in this particular departed from since.

I am not upon this floor, I repeat, in behalf of an infant industry; but there are infant industries in this pursuit. One in Kansas and another in California are infants of special promise. Upon these Louisiana looks much as a young and blooming mother looks upon her tender yet promising offspring, in the consideration of whom the mind is full of thoughts of future achievements in their coming career. These two infant industries—one of them almost certainly—promise to equal and surpass in their fair proportions the sugar industry of my own native State.

The sugar industry of Kansas, small as it now is, has made a start against difficulties which, it seems to me, would have discouraged everything except American industry, American enterprise, and American ingenuity. The sorghum industry is full of hope for the future, but it can not point, as the other can, to the example abroad of promises already fulfilled, and the home wants and more of nations already supplied. The other infant industry, that of the production of sugar from beets in California and elsewhere, belongs to a line which has attained already a commanding position in the sugar production of the world, and has already wrested a great part of the domain from the sugar-cane as the greatest of the sugar-producing plants.

About the further growth of that industry, if it is encouraged, or even if it should be let alone, I have no apprehension whatsoever. I do not propose in the time which has been accorded me to go into a detailed account of the industry which is existing in Louisiana, or of the prospects of the industries which promise to be firmly established in the West and North and South, in other States than Louisiana. But, sir, I have heard so many assertions on this floor that convey erroneous impressions upon this question that I feel called upon to take issue with them. The language that I have heard, not once only, but many times in this debate, has been less interesting, indeed, but hardly more real than the wild tales of the Arabian Nights Entertainment.

I have heard so many assertions which can not be sustained—and in this I mean to make no personal insinuations as to the motives of gentlemen who uttered them, for I think they sprang from lack of information, which is not always easy to obtain on so complicated a question as the sugar question, or from a misconception of certain facts which at first glance seem to sustain their views, but on closer examination have the contrary effect—I say I have heard so many assertions on this subject that can not be sustained that I would have to be deaf and dumb and blind, with memory destroyed and some little acquaintance with a part of the subject utterly obliterated, were I to sit quietly by and assent to all that I have heard.

We were told in the beginning of this debate that the sugar industry was languishing. It languished along last year at the rate of

A PRODUCTION OF ABOUT 340,000,000 POUNDS.

The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] said "the sugar production of Louisiana is going down, down, down." On what does he base his assertion? Is it on our well-tilled fields, that have been made to produce to the acre more than was ever known before the war? Is it on the fact that the production has risen from almost nothing—from only 10,000 pounds in 1864 to nearly 340,000,000 pounds in 1887? On this point I quote from a speech that I delivered in this House on the 10th of May last:

There are two eras in the history of sugar culture in Louisiana. In each of these eras the growth of this industry contradicts the assertion that it has been or is a languishing industry. In the first era of its existence, in the decade be-1831 and 1841, the average product of sugar was 77,200 hogsheads; from 1841 to 1851, 192,327 hogsheads; from 1851 to 1861, 297,462 hogsheads. The second of these decades showed an increase in production as compared with the first of nearly 150 per cent., and the third of these periods showed an increase over the second of over 50 per cent.

But the gentleman seems to think it remarkable that the production now has not reached that of the exceptionally large crops of 1853 or 1861—the largest ever made in Louisiana. I would remind him, sir, that from a crop of only a little over 5 tons in 1864 it increased to 144,881 hogsheads in 1870, or fourteen-fold; that between 1870 and 1880 it increased to 213,314 hogsheads, or more than 50 per cent., and that the crop last year was an increase over that of 1880 of over 60,000 hogsheads, and while that was less than several of the largest of the *ante-bellum* crops, it exceeded those of 1855, 1856, 1859, and 1860. And this rehabilitation of the industry, this new birth and growth to sturdy proportions, has been achieved under such disadvantages that even the most skeptical may well question whether it has stood still or languished or proved a laggard in the industrial race.

The war fell upon it with peculiar hardship and most destructive effects. The cane-fields were not like the farms, where the soldiers, with the horses that had borne them to battle, turned the sod, and scattered the seed, and ripened grain stood ready for the harvest where cannon-balls had plowed the earth and armies had fought and bled only a few months before.

With levees broken and destroyed and fields open to devastation from the floods; with sugar-houses dilapidated or burnt down; with costly machinery broken or destroyed; with ditches overgrown with willows and fields set in weeds, briars, and young saplings; with seed cane scarce and almost impossible to obtain—for remember that it takes nearly 5 tons of seed cane to plant a single acre—it was the work, sir, of years, not months, to get well under way again, even. It took time, I admit, and it took money.

It took strong arms and brave hearts. It took dauntless courage, untiring energy, and arduous toil by night and by day to rebuild this industry, but we have done it. We fought the floods and they have been conquered. We have overcome the ravages of war, and in our factories and our fields have adopted such implements and machinery as American ingenuity has devised and our means have permitted us to adopt. We have contended with reductions in the tariff amounting actually to nearly 40 per cent., with constant threats in each recurring Congress of far more.

We have contended with free trade from Oceanica and indirect bounties from Europe, with productions of Hawaii and Chinese labor pouring in unrestrained on the one hand, and exports from France and Germany artificially stimulated on the other. We have contended with falling markets and furnished to the consumers of this country this season sugar at 5¼ cents for which they paid 15 in 1869.

With these difficulties in its re-establishment, with this reduction in the duties, with this competition with partial free trade and bounty, with this tremendous fall in the market, it might not have been remarkable if it had languished or stood still, or even gone back a little. But, remarkable to say, it not only held its own, not only did not stand still, but actually increased in production during that period—from 1869 to 1887—310 per cent.

The sugar industry was reported to be "languishing" in the beginning of this debate, and as the debate has progressed, if we are to believe the statements made on this floor, it has become sick and shrunken almost day by day. Its smiling fields by bayou and river lie beneath summer suns full of vigor and of beauty, and full of promise for the harvest, regardless of the fact that educated legislators have told of its failing existence. The plows and agricultural machines are making their last rounds up and down the rows in the cultivation of the crop of 1888, and within forty days from now the plows will commence anew to prepare the lands for the crop of 1889. The foundries and mechanics are hard at work building new machinery and repairing that which is already erected, so that the processes shall be a little better, a little more complete, year by year. There, it is well-tilled fields, busy workshops, and ceaseless activity.

THERE THE INDUSTRY IS ALL LIFE AND VIGOR,

but upon this floor it is in the last stages of inanition and decay. And more than that, even, we have been told that its life has at last departed and that it is a corpse. I was shocked to hear the sad news, or I would have been if I had attached full credence to it. My relations with the "deceased" were such that I trust I may be informed when the funeral is to come off, as it is proper that I should attend.

A MEMBER. As pall-bearer?

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes, as pall-bearer. If that industry is indeed a corpse my grief will be great indeed, for it has given me a support—not always a good one, indeed—for the last twenty-five years. But, sir, if it is a corpse it is one full of contradictions as to what a corpse is supposed to be. It is the liveliest corpse that you have had to deal with for a long time, as this debate, if nothing else, has shown. [Laughter.]

We have been told again by other gentlemen that this industry could not be promoted successfully; that it could not increase largely because climatic influences were against it; that the frosts which come every

few years, or the wet weather brings it such disaster as to make it unprofitable. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] says:

No man can raise a sugar crop in Louisiana when the season is adverse.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] goes much farther than this, and speaking of the sugar industry of California, Kansas, and Louisiana (page 6502, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD), says:

I do not believe you will ever make the sugar industry in this country one that will supply the wants of the American people, though you may place the tariff at 4, 5, or 10 cents per pound and pay a bounty as large almost as you can think of, a bounty of 4 or 5 cents per pound. I do not believe it can be done in this country. Why? Because there is a law of nature intervening between that industry and its prosperity in this country which no act of Congress can overrule.

So far as the first part of these statements is concerned the cane crop is no more susceptible of damage by wet weather than any other dry-land crop that I am familiar with, and far less than some that I could name. So far as ruin by frost is concerned, it is damaged by frost occasionally, but notwithstanding this damage it is as free from vicissitudes as any crop grown in Louisiana in a similar area. In the twenty-eight years of my experience in sugar planting in Louisiana I have known a portion of several crops partially damaged by frost, but not a single crop entirely ruined, and only one in all that time injured by that cause as much as one-half. I am satisfied that

THE RECORDS OF AGRICULTURE THROUGHOUT THE NORTH AND WEST WILL NOT SHOW A BETTER RESULT.

Because certain other crops are occasionally injured by early frosts is that any reason why "climatic influences" should prevent their being grown? Early frosts often hurt the corn crop in our northern latitudes. How often is the tobacco crop hurt by the same cause in the fall, or the peach crop in the spring! In certain localities the cotton crop is subject to far greater vicissitudes (especially before the discovery of the use of Paris green) than the sugar crop is or has ever been.

I have known a field of cotton that was expected to give 400 bales to be in one week so destroyed by the army worm as to only give 2 bales instead of 400. I have never known vicissitudes such as that to exist in the sugar crop. But if, for the sake of argument only, I were to admit the force of what the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] says—if I were to admit that sugar-cane to be profitable must be exempt from the vicissitudes of weather that other plants are subject to, how can the disadvantages of climatic causes be set up against beet culture in the United States, which would be included in the sweeping statements that I have quoted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE]? We know this sugar-producing plant is grown successfully in Russia, Poland, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, France, Germany, and in Austria-Hungary, and even the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] admitted, in response to a question by my colleague [Mr. GAY] "that our climate is altogether more favorable" as compared with that of Russia "to the production of the beet and sorghum, and other things also." The ample production of sugar in this country is made impossible by a "law of nature" or "climatic causes" in one part of the gentleman's speech, and in another part "climatic causes" are dismissed with a wave of the hand and scattered to the four winds of heaven when he admits that, compared with the climate of Russia, which is an enormous sugar-producing country, "our climate is altogether more favorable." It is not so surprising that the gentleman should have made this last assertion, but, for the life of me, I can not reconcile it with the first that I have quoted. Sir, his last admission is so evident that any school-boy might bear him out in it by taking a map and tracing upon it the isothermal lines that bound the region of the culture of sugar beets in Europe on the north and south. Any school-boy could trace those lines across the ocean and project them over the map of the United States from ocean to ocean, and could show what magnificent areas of territory lie in our country within those climatic lines which bound the lands in Europe where the beet root attains perfection! Sir, Germany, France, and little Belgium, those three countries alone, without one-quarter of the amount of land that is suitable for beet culture in this country, make more sugar than all the people of the United States consume.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania cites bounties paid as one reason why Europe can make beet sugar successfully.

I will come to the true inwardness of the bounty question later on and will show that there is actually no such bounty system prevalent in Europe as has been held up for our imitation, but will remark here that the levying of high duties on sugar has been a main factor and an essential factor in the development of the beet-sugar interest in Europe.

But the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] attempted to reconcile his last statement with his first—both made in the same speech—one that we did not have the climate and the other that we did (see pages 6502 and 6503 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD) by arguing that our proximity to the tropics and consequent competition from those countries would put us at too great a disadvantage. I quote his exact language:

But it should be remembered that the geographical position of those countries is such that they can not avail themselves as we can of proximity to the island of Cuba and the Sandwich Islands, and points in the South American States, where the cane grows and has long life, and where the saccharine matter can be obtained with infinite less labor and cost.

I do not think, Mr. Chairman, that the reason that is alleged is a sufficient reason why European countries can make beet sugar profitably and we can not. If the proximity to Cuba was such a great advantage, why do not the imports of sugar to this country come into the nearest point in America from Cuba? They ought, if this argument was correct, to come in at New Orleans, for New Orleans is decidedly nearer to the tropical sugar countries of this hemisphere than New York. Yet we find that hardly any of the imported sugar comes to New Orleans. Nearly all goes to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. I have no reliable data to show the comparative difference between the present freight rates between the tropics and New York and the tropics and London, but do not believe there is any large difference between the rates to the two places. But even if there were a great difference in freight rates, of what force would the argument be when we find beet sugar coming across the Atlantic and meeting and selling side by side with the sugars of the tropics at the ports and in the markets of this country?

Another advocate of free sugar, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR], who is sitting before me now, said that—

Sugar was not as cheap here as it is in Europe, and it is almost the only article that goes into the consumption of a family of which that can be said.

But, sir, we do get sugar very considerably cheaper here than in most of Europe. Sugar is decidedly cheaper in this country than it is in the great majority of the countries of Europe. England is an exception. I am informed by Dr. Wiley, the chief chemist of the Agricultural Department, a gentleman of the highest standing and reliability, that when he was in Europe several years ago inspecting sugar methods and machinery, he found the price of sugar in all the countries that he was in—France, Germany, and Spain—largely higher than here. The latest data, however, that I have been able to collect indicate that the price in Germany lately, on account of overproduction, has so gone down that it is a little cheaper there than here, and I desire to make a single exception of Germany from the general assertion, reasserting, however, the fact that the latest data show that the price generally in European countries, and in a majority of them, is decidedly higher than it is here.

I have not time to go through and endeavor to offset all the erroneous statements that have been made, evidently under a misapprehension of certain features of this subject; but perhaps the greatest error—the most cruel cut of all——

Mr. GEAR. Permit me to make an interruption.

Mr. WILKINSON. Certainly.

Mr. GEAR. The gentleman states that sugar is cheaper in England than it is in this country.

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. GEAR. Why is it?

Mr. WILKINSON. Partly because England is the dumping-ground of the surplus sugars of the continent of Europe, and in addition to this, because there is no duty.

Mr. GEAR. That is the reason we want cheap sugar in this country.

Mr. WILKINSON. It is rather a novel sight, Mr. Chairman,

TO SEE GENTLEMEN ON THIS FLOOR POINT OUT THE EXAMPLE OF FREE-TRADE ENGLAND AS AN EXAMPLE TO BE FOLLOWED

in this particular, instead of the example of almost the entire civilized world in levying sugar duties. England admits sugar free, but many of its own colonies, and among them our neighbor across the border, Canada, levies a duty on sugar; and the Canadian tariff in rates and classifications is very similar to the sugar schedules in the Mills bill. The color line or bar is established there at 14, here at No. 13 Dutch standard. The lowest rate here is 1.15, there 1 cent. The polariscopic test commences here at seventy-five degrees, there at seventy degrees. The increase per degree of polariscopic test is here three and one-fifth tenths of a mill, there three and one-third tenths of a mill.

A refining sugar below No. 13 Dutch standard and testing ninety degrees will be dutiable here at 1.63 cents per pound. A refining sugar testing ninety degrees and below No. 14 is dutiable there at 1.66⅔ cents per pound. A different system prevails there on sugars above No. 14, as it does here on sugars above No. 13, Dutch standard. Here it is specific entirely; there it is specific and ad valorem combined. Here it will vary in amount from 2.20 to 2.80 cents; there it is 1½ cents per pound and 35 per cent. ad valorem additional, and under certain circumstances 7½ per cent. additional besides. The Canadian rate on refined sugar figures up greater than the rate that is proposed.

THE MARGIN BETWEEN THE DUTY ON RAW AND REFINED IS GREATER THAN UNDER THE MILLS BILL,

and the consequent advantage to refiners greater also. Notwithstanding these striking similarities in the sugar schedules, there is a striking difference in the privileges that the Canadian legislator has on the subject. On this question he is debarred from one of the most precious privileges of American Congressmanship. He can not lift his clarion voice in denunciation of this "monstrous taxation" that is imposed upon "every man, woman, and child" in Canada for the benefit of a few planters down in Huron, or Simcoe, or Addington, or Stormont, or somewhere else, for there is not a single one of that much-abused class following his pursuit in the whole of Canada, and not a pound of sugar, except, perhaps, from maple sap, produced upon all her soil.

But this is all a digression suggested by the interruption of the gentleman from Iowa. I started to say something about the most remarkable error of all that has been committed, one that gives us, without desiring to do so, I feel confident, the cruelest, the "unkindest cut of all." I refer to the charge made by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HOLMES].

In order that I may quote him with strict accuracy I read his language from the RECORD, page 6502. He says:

Now, sir, I know there are trusts, and every man of ordinary intelligence in this House and throughout the country knows there are trusts gotten up, and there is no more gigantic monopoly than the sugar trust.

Now, here comes the cruel cut. The gentleman from Iowa continues:

It is gotten up for the benefit of twelve hundred planters in the State of Louisiana.

Why, sir, those twelve hundred planters in the State of Louisiana and the people engaged in helping them to make this product—numbering directly and incidentally about four hundred thousand—those people instead of being "in" with the sugar trust

ARE COMPETITORS OF THE SUGAR TRUST,

and instead of helping to put up the price of sugar they help to put it down, and I think I can bring ample testimony to bear me out in this assertion. I quote from late editorials of the New Orleans papers giving the results of past experience and containing extracts from the circulars of those noted market experts, Messrs. Willett & Hamlin, who are high authority on this subject, stating that at certain times the Louisiana crop has a marked effect in lowering the price of sugar in this country.

The Times-Democrat in April last said:

The Republican press and some of the most prominent leaders of the Republican party are constantly complaining that the protection of five or six million dollars, involved in a tariff of fifty or sixty millions on sugar, is purely for the benefit of the Louisiana sugar-planters, who compose an insignificant proportion of the population of this country.

Those party leaders and journals fail to notice the fact that, besides the five hundred thousand souls dependent upon the sugar crop of this State, there are probably as many more who profit by it, as the carriers of our interstate commerce, as dealers in the provision trade of the West, as manufacturers of farm and plantation machinery in several States of the North and South, and as miners of the great coal fields of Pennsylvania.

Any one at all familiar with the bearing of the Louisiana sugar interest on other business in the country knows of the vast benefits it confers upon the people of other States and sections.

Some years ago the chambers of commerce or boards of trade of Cincinnati and St. Louis, recognizing the importance of the fact we have stated, petitioned Congress to let the sugar tariff alone in the face of a threatened reduction of the sugar duties by the National Legislature.

But the beneficial effects we have mentioned cover only a part of the country, a very large and important part, though it be. There is another way in which the 300,000,000-pound sugar crop of this State benefits the whole country, with the exception probably of the States of the Pacific coast.

It saves to the people of the United States annually many million dollars, more than the total amount of protection afforded by this almost purely revenue tariff to the planters of Louisiana. The fact has been noted by Messrs. Willett and Hamlin, the leading authorities in the country on sugar prices and statistics, that for a certain season of the year sugar prices are dependent upon or controlled by the Louisiana crop. The above authorities have frequently called attention to this fact in their published circulars, but, of course, without any political comment on the matter.

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The Louisiana crop comes in to supply the sugar demands of the country for three months, say from October 15 to January 15.

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Now, for nearly two months of this period the people of the country are dependent upon Louisiana for their sugar, and the market of the United States is controlled by this crop. It is produced when the importations of West Indian sugars have fallen off, or when the old Cuban crop has been practically exhausted, and before the products of the new subtropical cane crop begin to arrive in the United States.

Without the Louisia a crop to fill in this blank, caused by the deficiency of foreign sugar supplies, sugar prices would be forced up, in the opinion of the leading sugar dealers, to a point which consumers would find truly oppressive, and they would have to pay more for their sugar in this certain increase of prices than the total amount of all the protection received by the planters of this State.

This is the view of the question taken by some of the most prominent and well-informed members of our own sugar exchange. That it is a correct one there can be no doubt if the laws of supply and demand hold good in this commodity as in others.

The New Orleans City Item, an independent paper, but of strong protection views, which has for some time made a specialty of the sugar question, in an issue of a later date, says:

EFFECT OF THE LOUISIANA CROP ON PRICES.

In an article published three weeks ago the Item gave conclusive figures from the "Statistical Abstract of the United States," to show the effect of the Louisiana crop on the price of foreign sugar. In 1854, when the Louisiana crop was large, the price of foreign sugar fell to 2.87 cents per pound, while in 1857, when the crop was a failure in Louisiana, the price of the foreign article jumped up to 5.47. In other years, according to the table we presented, foreign sugar rose or fell according to the size of the Louisiana crop.

With the decrease of domestic production and the increase of consumption since the war, the proportion of the Louisiana crop to the importation is so much smaller that it is unreasonable to expect an influence on prices as great as that exercised by the *ante-bellum* crops. It is not, however, difficult to show that even now the Louisiana crop has a marked effect in cheapening foreign sugar.

Willett & Hamlen in their sugar circular of December 8, 1887, speaking of the strong statistical position of sugar, said:

"The figures of the sugar position are certainly startling and unprecedented for several years, and were it not for the rapid marketing of our Louisiana crop which supplies the country largely just now, and diverts attention from occurrences elsewhere, our markets would be advancing quite as rapidly as the foreign markets from which we must soon obtain our supplies."

Notwithstanding the continued advance in Europe, the same authority stated on December 22: "Free marketing of the Louisiana crop made a nominal decline of one-sixteenth cent in quotations possible under the peculiar conditions existing, but all the outside conditions have been wonderfully strengthened."

Same papers of January 5: "The rapid marketing of the Louisiana crop through New Orleans also tended to extreme dullness in the four ports, delaying for a time the advance in sugar which should have followed the improving statistical position of sugar."

These quotations taken at random show that the Louisiana crop just harvested held back the advance in sugar notwithstanding the rise in values all over the world.

The two following paragraphs go further than many might be willing to admit, but if we were to judge by the example of coffee, free sugar in the end would not be cheaper sugar.

It is notorious that in previous years the harvesting of the Louisiana crop almost invariably cheapened sugar for four months in the year to the extent of 1 cent a pound.

The stanchest advocates of free sugar admit that were the duty removed the foreign producers would add to the cost of sugar about one half of the remitted duties. As the destruction of the Louisiana sugar industry would cause a rise in price amounting to much more than the other half, it is evident that free sugar would not long be cheap sugar.

The same article says on the subject of the trusts:

The war on sugar seems just now to be largely instigated by animosity to the trust.

The best way to keep sugar at a moderate price and to make sugar trusts impossible is to stimulate domestic production of sugar by adequate protection. With this protection every large sugar plantation would be a refinery, and central factories would be scattered throughout the cane, beet, and sorghum regions. It would be impossible for any combination to control these numerous establishments and the present monopoly would cease to exist.

The present plan of destroying the domestic sugar industry in order to reach the trust is, as the Item has already shown, like burning down the barn to get rid of the rats.

Mr. WEBER. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him by a question?

Mr. WILKINSON. Certainly.

Mr. WEBER. Do I understand the gentleman to say that the crop produced in Louisiana appreciably affects the price of sugar in this country?

Mr. WILKINSON. I most certainly do, and if what I have adduced is not sufficient, will offer further testimony to prove it.

Mr. WEBER. Then taking the years 1883 and 1884 when the crop was cut in two, reduced about one-half, will the gentleman explain how it was that the prices of sugar still went down?

Mr. WILKINSON. In none of the years referred to was there any such reduction in production as the gentleman supposes. On the contrary, in one of the years mentioned there was produced the next greatest crop since the war. In the year preceding the time referred to there was a great falling off of the crop, almost as great as the gentleman mentioned, but sugar was higher then, not lower. It is, nevertheless, a fact that sugar has been falling generally throughout the civilized world since 1881, until within a comparatively recent date when there has been a turn the other way. I do not contend that a short Louisiana crop will stop the fall of sugar throughout the world, but I do contend that a large Louisiana crop will increase that decline or partially check a rise in this country. I do not assert that the Louisiana crop is the only factor in lowering prices in this country; I merely claim that it is one of the factors. The price of sugar in this country is of course very largely affected by the prices in the London market.

Mr. WEBER. It is precisely what I hold, that the sugar product of this country is so limited that it has no appreciable effect upon the price.

Mr. WILKINSON. I am compelled to disagree with the gentleman as to that. I have cited editorials from newspapers containing the opinions of those thoroughly posted on the subject, and quoting from the circulars of those eminent market experts, Messrs. Willet & Hamlin. Now, the Committee on Manufactures, in their investigation of trusts, has already secured information of value, and the assertions that I have made will be fully borne out by the testimony of several of the witnesses that were examined by them.

I hold in my hand the printed record of the testimony given before the Committee on Manufactures, from which I will read certain extracts. I find on page 37 of this record that Mr. Parsons, who is said to be the attorney of the sugar trust, was under examination by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], and I read from the testimony:

Q. Am I to understand, then, from your present reply that the limited advance was due to the large output from Louisiana?

A. I have not said so, and I do not know that that is the fact; yet the fact is as I have stated, that while the advance in London was 1 cent, here it was but half a cent.

On page 38 the same witness was questioned and responded as follows:

Q. You have not explained where Louisiana came in.

A. As I understand it, but for this arrangement (referring to an arrangement to regulate the output) Louisiana would demoralize the market here.

Q. Make it lower, you mean, by demoralization.

A. Yes, and shut up the refineries more or less. Now, I am giving you the best information I have on the subject, but I am not a sugar refiner.

In another place, on page 103, Mr. Havemeyer, in reply to a question by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BUCHANAN] who is now in his seat, spoke of the curtailment in production that was necessary "when the market suffered by the Louisiana crop."

Turning back to page 101, we find the following information elicited in response to the questions of the gentleman from New Jersey, which will still further sustain the views that I have advanced:

Q. Now tell me what the purposes were that were to be subserved by such consolidation, as they existed in your mind?
A. The general benefits arising from what we considered the aggregation of capital.
Q. And what were those general benefits? Please specify them.
A. The most particular one was the influence of the Louisiana crop upon the sugar-refining industry of this country.
Q. Was it a desire to counteract that influence?
A. It was a desire to limit the losses, during the marketing of that crop, to a minimum.
Q. How does the marketing of that crop create losses in the sugar trade?
A. The marketing of the Louisiana crop, representing about 40 per cent. of the consumption of the entire country, during the four months that it is marketed, formerly required a reduction on the part of somere fineries and complete stoppage on the part of others. This arrangement enables the better refineries to continue work and the absolute stoppage of the others. The economy is in the absolute stoppage, representing the tonnage marketed by Louisiana, as against a pro rata reduction of the entire refineries.
Q. I do not understand exactly what you mean by reduction. Do you mean reduction in price or reduction in the production of the refinery?
A. Reduction of the production.
Q. So that your object was, that while the Louisiana crop was upon the market, thus augmenting the supply of sugar, a proportion of the production equivalent to that crop should cease?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Maintaining an equilibrium in the supply all the year around?
A. Yes, sir; instead of the disastrous overproduction which always occurred at that time of the year.
Q. Which disastrous overproduction was disastrous in what respect?
A. All that was left was lost.
Q. Please state what loss, and how accruing?
A. If you carry to market the entire production you break the price.
Q. In other words, the result of the throwing of the Louisiana crop upon the market was a reduction of the price of sugar?
A. To a certain point.
Q. And it was to avoid this reduction of the price that this consolidation was formed?
A. To avoid the loss attending such a reduction. Louisiana reduced the price.

The testimony of one more witness, who was examined by the chairman of the committee [Mr. BACON], ought to be sufficient. During the examination of Mr. William H. Morris, a merchandise broker, especially in sugars, doing business in New York City, the following occurs (see pages 154 and 155):

Q. You are familiar with what is known as the Louisiana sugar crop?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. What portion of the country is that marketed in principally?
A. The local trade contiguous to New Orleans, in the first instance, and after that in the West and Southwest.
Q. And during what season of the year does the Louisiana sugar product enter into and became a factor in that business?
A. From the 1st of December to April or May.
Q. What is the effect upon the quantity of sugar called for by that section of the country?
A. The requirements from the Eastern markets are much less.
Q. What has been the effect, omitting this winter, upon prices during these months?
A. The fact is, when a so much larger supply was upon the market the price was less.
Q. Was that the general effect, taking a series of years back, and omitting this year, that the price on the product of the refineries of New York has been diminished during these months generally?
A. As a general thing, I should say it was; but I can not decide, without reference, what other influences may have come in.
Q. I am not asking about the influences, I am talking about the effect.
A. I would not like to state that as a fact unless I consulted the record.
Q. Without looking to the reasons for it, I ask you whether it is practicable? The prices of sugar have ordinarily diminished during the months when the Louisiana crop was in the market.—A. That would be the natural effect.
Q. Has that result varied usually in the trade?—A. My impression is that it has, but I am not positive about it. Perhaps I can make an explanation and give you some good reasons why I do not want to be positive about it.

By Mr. WILSON:

Q. Do I understand you to mean unless there are some counteracting influences that would be the natural effect of it?
A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. I am asking you if the general rule as you have observed it during fifteen years has been that the price of refined sugar has been less during the months when the Louisiana product is being marketed than it was at other seasons of the year?
A. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If the gentleman will permit me, I will say I am satisfied from the testimony taken before that committee that the "trust" is not at all friendly to the Louisiana producers.

Mr. WILKINSON. I am very glad to have the corroborative testimony of my friend from New Jersey to offset and make atonement for the cruel cut—the unwarranted stab—which was given to us by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HOLMES] when he says of the sugar trust that "it is gotten up for the benefit of twelve hundred planters in Louisiana."

Mr. BUCHANAN. I am also satisfied that the rates on refined sugar in this bill are friendly to the "trust."

Mr. WILKINSON. I am going to discuss that topic later on, if I have time. I do not believe that the framers of this bill desired to crush out a legitimate sugar-refining industry. To say the least, the margins of profit have been very largely reduced in the bill; but of that later on.

I think, Mr. Chairman, the testimony that I have offered demonstrates beyond dispute that sugar was cheapened—as Mr. Havemeyer stated, that "the market suffered by the Louisiana crop."

THE MARKETS DID SUFFER, INDEED, BUT THE COMSUMERS WERE BENEFITED—THE PEOPLE GAINED BY THE LOUISIANA CROP.

Another assertion was that no sugar fit to go into direct consumption could come in at the rates imposed under the schedules of this bill. To offset that statement here are two samples. Under the present rates of duty this sugar [exhibiting sample] pays a duty of 2.20 cents per pound. It is a dark-colored centrifugal sugar, testing ninety-five degrees. Here is another sugar, a lighter sugar, which can come in under the Mills bill and is light enough to go into direct consumption at the same rate at which this other dark sugar, which is only fit for refining, comes in now—2.20 cents per pound. I do not say this will be the effect, for I believe that when this bill goes into operation the price for such sugars will be put down so as to keep out such grades as this lighter-colored sugar that can come in at the same rate as the dark sugar that I have shown. But the effect will be the same so far as the consumers are concerned; for if the price is cheapened it is not material to them by whom it is cheapened. I repeat it, sugars fit for consumption up to 16 Dutch standard can come in under this bill at the same rates as sugars come in now which are only fit for refining.

But a gentleman who is credited with having given this subject a great deal of study, and whose amendment is now under discussion, was the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. He went into details to a large extent, and in doing so drew some conclusions which I can not permit to pass unchallenged. Among other things he advocated a bounty. He expressed his opposition to bounties as a general rule, but favored an exception being made in this case. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 6577.) As a measure of relief to the country his amendment proposes to abolish the sugar duties, except those on maple sugar and an insignificant amount on the high grades of other sugars, and to give a bounty of 2 cents per pound to the producers instead. But how are the tax-payers to be benefited by that?

WHERE DOES THEIR RELIEF COME IN, WHEN THE EVENTUAL RESULT OF THIS PROPOSITION WILL BE TO INCREASE THEIR TAXATION?

The Government, as I said in a speech some time ago, needs and must pay about $320,000,000 annually to be run. The sugar tax, which is provided for in this bill, is a part of that amount and included in it. It is a part only of the amount which will be needed to conduct the Government.

This bill does not propose to increase the $320,000,000 one dollar by any duty on sugar that it provides shall still remain. This bill, I say, does not propose to increase taxation one dollar beyond the necessary Governmental expenses.

The gentleman from Illinois, in his argument that the tax-payers would be relieved by the payment of a bounty, stated (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 6577) that a bounty in the present stage of the sugar industry would only cost $6,000,000 and free sugar would relieve the people of taxation and trust profits to the extent of $90,000,000. Right here let me say that I am not speaking to-day about the sugar schedules as they exist, but as they are reduced and modified in this bill, in which the trust profits receive a severe blow. And suppose that the bounty did cost only that sum and that the system was put in force, then the Government, instead of being run for $320,000,000 annually, would have to pay out $320,000,000 + $6,000,000, or $326,000,000. Are the tax-payers to be relieved or benefited by paying $326,000,000 when $320,000,000 is all under the sun there is any excuse for their being taxed to pay? And then if the sugar industry should be stimulated by this "plan of salvation"—or rather taxation—if it should grow so as to become as large proportionately to our consumption as it was before the war, this bounty instead of being $6,000,000 will rise to $30,000,000; and the cost of running the Government (if not changed in other ways) would be, not $320,000,000, but $350,000,000, or $30,000,000 beyond the legitimate needs of the Government. How will the tax-payers be relieved or benefited by that? I ask again, where does the tax-payer come in? And echo answers, where?

But the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and many others, in recommending bounties to the sugar producers, cite the example of European nations. Why, sir, Europe does not pay any such bounties as he proposes to adopt in this country. Europe does not pay direct bounties to beet-growers. On the contrary, the beet roots are taxed in Germany and France, the extracted juice in Belgium, the capacity of the diffusing vessels in Austria-Hungary, and the manufactured sugar itself in Russia. For the benefit of these gentlemen, who have held up for our imitation an example which does not exist, I quote from the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 6470):

Originally bounties were paid for the production of sugar from the beet—two classes of bounty: a bounty to the farmer who produced the most sugar to the acre, and a bounty to the chemist who produced the most available saccharine matter from the beet. It was only for a short period in the history of beet sugar that either France or Germany paid a bounty for the production of beets or of sugar.

In a few years after the industry was established came the system which prevails now, and to which my friend from Illinois referred, of paying bounty on sugar exported. In order to understand the argument properly the distinction should be borne in mind that bounty on the production of sugar has ceased long ago. It is now a bounty on the export of sugar. There are no bounties except indirect bounties on exports.

On the other hand, the maintenance of high duties has been and is

an essential factor in building up and maintaining the beet-sugar industry in Europe. Mr. Henry A. Brown, the noted expert and ex-Treasury agent, places the average duty levied in eight European countries at 4.17 cents per pound.

The production in excess of home consumption has been stimulated, it is true, by large drawbacks, which operate as bounties on exports. Beets are taxed in Europe as tobacco is taxed in this country. The tax now on beet roots is, I understand, a little over $4 per ton. But on all the sugar that is exported the tax is returned, and a considerably larger amount than was originally paid, operating as indirect bounty on that shipped abroad.

On this question I quote from the report of Mr. James Henry Smith commercial agent at Mayence, January 16, 1888:

In past years they have been very much favored by the sugar tax, and under its stimulation the sugar industry of Germany grew to be a great enterprise, but ultimately a very unprofitable one, through the great stimulus given to it by the export drawback, which brought about excessive overproduction.

It used to be calculated that 12½ cwt. of beet-roots would give 1 cwt. of sugar, and in 1868 a law was passed fixing a tax on the raw material on this basis, by which it was supposed 10 marks ($2.50) would be paid as a tax on each hundredweight of sugar, and to foster exportation a drawback of 9.40 marks on the hundredweight was granted. But improved methods of manufacture and refining obtained 1 cwt. of sugar from 9 cwt. of roots, and even from 8 cwt., and got sugar even from molasses, which the law of 1868 did not tax at all.

The sugar manufacturers, therefore, instead of paying a tax of 10 marks, as contemplated by the law, paid in reality only 7 marks 80 pfennigs a hundredweight, and on exportation got a drawback of 9 marks 40 pfennigs, thus receiving a fine bounty. The large profits realized and rich dividends declared caused lots of people to engage in the industry, and soon great overproduction took place and profits dropped to a minimum, and a general collapse threatened to occur. Germany filled England and other countries with cheap sugars, at the expense of the German imperial exchequer.

Bear in mind that these sugars are sold abroad much cheaper than at home, because shipped abroad the exporter receives the enhanced drawback or incidental bounty, in addition to the price abroad, and sold at home they have to sell for sufficient to pay, at least, the cost of manufacture and the direct tax besides. Mr. Smith continues:

In 1866 the sugar tax was raised from 1 mark 60 pfennigs (40 cents) to 1 mark 70 pfennigs (42½ cents) on each 100 kilograms (220 pounds) of beet-roots, but the export drawback was not touched, because other countries were giving bounties; but the government could not stand the drain made upon it by the drawback, and this year a new tax of 10 marks ($2.50) was levied on each 100 kilograms (220 pounds) of sugar for house consumption, and the tax on raw material reduced by $\frac{1}{7}$, but the export bounty still continues, and, it is thought, will eat up most of the revenue realized by the new tax.

The gross revenues from the direct tax on beets during the fiscal year ending in 1887 was 131,213,410 marks—$31,228,691. The drawbacks on the sugar exported during the same time were 114,181,546 marks—$27,175,286. The Government received from the tax about $31,000,000, and paid back in the shape of drawbacks on what was exported about $27,000,000, and derived as a net revenue from that source something over $4,000,000; so that the total result was not a net bounty, but a net tax.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. I have it officially from Mr. Adee, in New York, what the bounty on the export of sugar is.

Mr. WILKINSON. We are not talking in this House—none of you have been talking about giving the beet-sugar or the cane-sugar bounty on export. You have been talking about a direct bounty upon what we produce in this country, and that is a part of your amendment. You know for years to come, not in your lifetime probably, or in mine, will we become exporters to any extent of sugar of our own production.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman is speaking of the bounty paid in Germany.

Mr. WILKINSON. I am speaking of Germany. There is no bounty except the drawback, which acts as bounty on exports. The gentleman, with all respect for his ability, I think is under some misapprehension about certain features of this question.

Mr. CANNON. Thanking the gentleman, I think I do know what I am talking about.

Mr. WILKINSON. Then give the facts and the figures.

Mr. CANNON. I have the facts and figures.

Mr. WILKINSON. I do not know what facts you may have or what figures, but you have not given any figures and you can not give any to sustain your position and that which other gentlemen have assumed in pointing out the example of Europe for us to follow in paying bounties such as you propose. No such example exists. The production of beets there, as I have said, is taxed as tobacco is taxed here. Beets were taxed last year about $31,000,000. On the large quantities that are exported the tax is all paid back, and more too, in the shape of drawbacks, and this is a virtual bounty on exports. But a bounty on exports is no such bounty as has been advocated on this floor. The fact is the sugar interest in Germany has no bounty except in the shape of enhanced drawbacks on exports, and that consumed at home has no bounty of any kind, direct or indirect. The tax was greater than the drawback calculated as a bounty, and in Germany there was a net tax not a net bounty. It looks like a bounty such as he commends, but it is not.

The gentleman's advice for us to imitate the example of beet culture in Europe, when no such system as he recommends in his amendment exists there, reminds me of a little incident such as is no doubt familiar to many members on this floor.

A disciple of Izaak Walton went out the other day among the mountains to indulge in his favorite sport. He took, along with other bait, some prettily-painted artificial flies. Arriving at the babbling brook where the speckled mountain trout leapt and swam and made their home, again and again the skillful cast was made without success. An artificial fly that looked more real than the rest secured, at last, a victim by its life-like appearance. A great big trout, weighing perhaps a pound and three-quarters, lying under the shadow of a rock, saw the fly dart by as if on buzzing wing—saw the fly that looked so tempting, and seized it to his woe. He was a trout of experience. He had been swimming in those waters a long time, and he ought to have known better than to have become a victim of such a delusion. It looked like a fly, but it was not a fly. Just as this bounty that people talk about and read about in the newspapers—this bounty, as you call it, looks like a bounty to the producer—looks like a direct bounty—but it is not a bounty such as you propose. The production of beets has no direct bounty, but on the contrary has a tax.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILKINSON] will allow me——

Mr. WILKINSON. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. I do not pretend to analyze either his wisdom or his information——

Mr. WILKINSON. I make small claims on either score, but the figures and the facts which I have given I have taken a good deal of trouble to look up.

Mr. CANNON. I also ask to acknowledge the gentleman's courtesy, too, yet I hope he will not lay at my door until I have an opportunity to make the remark that I do not undertake to analyze——

Mr. WILKINSON. You cited the European bounties as a precedent for bounties in this country when there is no such precedent in Europe; certainly not in Germany, or France, or Russia, or Austria.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman will allow me to pay as much tribute to his courtesy as to his knowledge.

Mr. WILKINSON. If my courtesy is to have no larger measure than my knowledge, I will go on with my remarks and not yield further.

Mr. CANNON. Then I merely wish to say that the gentleman misrepresents me. Not intentionally, I suppose.

Mr. WILKINSON. The gentleman certainly knows not intentionally, and I am content to let the RECORD show whether in any other manner.

Mr. Chairman, I now desire to come to another point,

THE DRAWBACK QUESTION,

and ascertain whether any such iniquitous state of affairs is now prevailing as has been claimed by the gentleman from Illinois. On May 10 last (see page 4224, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD) he made certain charges or inferences which seem to have been somewhat modified in his speech of July 6 (page 6523, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD), although I am willing to admit that he can interpret and reconcile his own language better than I can.

In the first speech the gentleman read only one item of a set of drawback regulations, and omitted to read the others in which the rates were lower. I think a consideration of all the items—not of one alone—was necessary to arrive at a just conclusion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. CHEADLE. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended for fifteen minutes.

Mr. GEAR. I ask that the time be extended indefinitely to enable him to conclude his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to extending the gentleman's time as requested by the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. WILKINSON. I thank the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CHEADLE] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR].

Now, before continuing against the point made by the gentleman from Illinois, a few words about the drawback question in general. And right here I wish to say that I think the majority of the Ways and Means Committee did wisely when they receded from the ultra proposition which was first proposed to single out sugar from the general regulation concerning drawbacks. It is not a question that affects sugar alone. It is a law of the United States which I quote (section 3019, Revised Statutes):

There shall be allowed on all articles wholly manufactured of materials imported, on which duties have been paid, when exported, a drawback equal in amount to the duty paid on such materials, and no more, to be ascertained under such regulations as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. * * *

The section further provides for a retention of 10 per cent. by the United States on the amount of the drawback allowed. This retention of 10 per cent. was reduced on refined sugar by act approved March 3, 1875, to 1 per cent. (page 340, section 3, United States Statutes at Large, volume 18, part 3). This law of the United States which permits certain materials that come into this country and have their value enhanced by American labor, and which are then exported, to have

the duty which has been paid on the raw material returned when exported in the way of drawbacks—this general law is in the interest of American laborers and American manufacturers. It gives additional employments to our own people. The general law does not apply to sugar specially, but to a number of articles, something like 40, I believe. Now, tin plates imported into this country and worked up into cans, etc., have the same law applied to them, when the cans are exported, as they are in vast quantities with canned goods, except that a larger percentage is retained by the Government, owing to the cost of collection and the items being in smaller amounts. Out of the sugar drawbacks, 1 per cent. is retained by the Government. So that when you say there is a drawback of 2.60, you mean that it is 2.60 less 1 per cent., or 2.574.

Now, would it be wise to say that

A SYSTEM WHICH ASSISTS IN GIVING OUR PEOPLE MORE WORK TO DO

by manufacturing to ship abroad should be abolished?

After this brief allusion to drawbacks in general, I return to the subject of drawbacks on sugar, which the gentlemen from Illinois has devoted some attention to in two speeches that he has made.

In his speech of May 10th last, he used the following language:

Mr. CANNON. Now, then, the average duty, as I have shown, is 2 cents a pound on the present valuation of sugar. I went to the Treasury Department the other day and said: Under this section of the statute allowing a rebate, where duties have been paid upon articles imported, when they are exported how much do you allow to the refiners? He answered: "Oh, I can answer that question in a minute," and here he hands me a circular, which I have before me, which provides that—

"On and after November 1, 1886, a drawback will be allowed at the rate of 2.60 cents on all refined sugars exported——"

Mr. BUCHANAN. On the pound?

Mr. CANNON. Yes. Now, mark you, 2 cents is what it amounts to when imported; that is the duty; and 2.60 cents is the drawback when exported. I said: "Well, do you not know that they exported eleven millions last year and the same quantity the year before?" He said "Yes." I asked: "How do you explain it; how can they export sugar unless that .60 cent of the drawback rate above the duty amounts to a bounty?" Says he: "I give it up."

In his speech of Friday last, July 6 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD), he speaks further on this same question. I quote:

Now, one further query. Why did that committee strike from this bill the provision prohibiting the payment of drawbacks upon sugar exported? What is the fact about it? Why, sugar which has 100 per cent. of saccharine matter, instead of 95, brings a duty of 2 cents and 4 mills a pound. The law says that upon being exported they shall have the drawback of the duties paid less 1 per cent. Now, what is the drawback fixed at? Two cents and six mills. Two cents and four mills per pound pay the duty on 100 per cent. of saccharine matter when it comes in. Yet when it passes through the refinery and is exported they get a drawback of the duty paid and 2 mills a pound more. "Well," says somebody, "what is that for?" As I said before, I give it up. I do not know. I tell you what the Treasury experts say. They say that there is no loss of saccharine matter in the refining of this sugar. They reported that they were informed and so believe, and I have the report here.

Why is it that after you deduct the 1 per cent. of the money-duty paid they get 2 cents and 6 mills out of the Treasury, but they only paid 2 cents and 4 mills when it came into the country under the law.

If the gentleman will inquire of these same Treasury experts he will ascertain that no sugars such as he alludes to ever test 100 per cent. of saccharine matter, and any reasoning or any figures based on any such assumption is utterly without value.

I think a fair inference from these two extracts is that his charges of the amount of bounty received by the refiner has been cut down since last May from .60 cent, or 6 mills, per pound to 2 mills per pound, or more than two-thirds; that the imposition was just three times as bad last May as it is now, although the regulations have not been changed one whit since then. This is my inference. He may make his, and a different one if he chooses. Other members are at perfect liberty to make theirs. The language is there to speak for itself. If my inference is just, and the gentleman from Illinois keeps on cutting down the benefits that he charged the sugar refiners have been getting under the drawback system, in two months more he will make them out as a much-abused and victimized set.

The circular that the gentleman mentions, and which he does not even quote entire, is only one item of a number of others relating to the same subject, and the omission of the other items makes a very material difference in the consideration of the justice or injustice of the charges he has made. An enumeration of drawback regulations now existing is as follows:

1. On all refined loaf, cut-loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered sugar, stove-dried or dried by other equally effective process, exported on and after November 1, 1886, drawback will be allowed at the rate of 2.60 cents per pound, less the legal retention of 1 per cent.

This is, I suppose, the item partially quoted by the gentleman from Illinois. The following items he did not refer to at all:

2. On refined white coffee sugar, undried, and above No. 20, Dutch standard in color, 2.28 cents per pound.

3. On all grades of refined coffee sugar, No. 20, Dutch standard, and below, in color, 1.84 cents per pound.

4. On sirup resulting entirely from the refining of the above-enumerated imported materials, 4 cents per gallon.

The allowance on sugars will be subject to the deduction of 1 per cent., and the allowance on sirup to the deduction of 10 per cent., as prescribed by law.

Also:

On the exportation of sugar refined from imported molasses, upon which the duty of 4 cents per gallon, prescribed by the tariff of March 3, 1883, has been paid, a drawback will be allowed at the rate of fifty-five hundredths of a cent per pound, less the legal retention of 1 per cent.

All of these rates were established after the passage of the existing tariff law in 1883 under a Republican administration, except the first item, which has been reduced 22 mills per pound below the rate established by Mr. Folger. The only one that he mentions or complains of

WAS ESTABLISHED AT A HIGHER RATE THAN IT IS NOW BY MR. FOLGER—

at 2.82 cents by Mr. Folger and reduced to 2.60 cents by Mr. Fairchild. He asked for an explanation of these things, and although the explanation is simple enough, he said: "I give it up." I do not. The first step towards an explanation is to give the entire existing facts as to the regulations. First give all the law, then omit none of the facts or factors in the problem. The gentleman gave less than one-quarter of the existing law, and omitted to mention some of the most important facts. One essential factor the gentleman has entirely omitted, and that is the element of waste or loss in the process of manufacture. Now, none of our manufacturers or refiners possess any magic process by which this refining is carried on. They own no Alladdin's lamp on which to rub and work some miraculous transformation. They can not even take a hundred pounds or a hundred thousand pounds of this pure and sparkling product—this white sugar [exhibiting a sample]—melt it up, boil it in vacuum pans, and dry it in centrifugal machines, and get the same quantity, the hundred or the hundred thousand pounds, back again. The thing is impossible.

Part of it goes into the air of heaven; part of it sticks to the vessels employed in the manufacture; part of the melted sugar will adhere to the bone-black in the process of bleaching; but wherever it goes, a part of it is lost and never comes back again. And if this is so with a pure white sugar, how much more must the loss in manufacture be on a grade like this? Can the gentleman mean to infer that there is any known process of manufacture by which 100 pounds of dark sugar of the grade which I hold in my hand will produce 100 pounds of white granulated sugar? Or, to go further than this, is there any known process by which 100 pounds of this dark sugar, testing 95 per cent. of saccharine strength, will give 95 pounds of pure white sugar? I ask again,

IS ANY SUCH MAGIC TRANSFORMATION POSSIBLE?

If any man living possesses the knowledge to do this commercially—if any man living owns such a secret, it is of such value to the civilized world that the wealth of a Gould or a Vanderbilt is his for the asking. But the gentleman from Illinois says:

I tell you what the Treasury experts say. They say that there is no loss of saccharine matter in the refining of this sugar. They reported that they were informed and so believe, and I have the report here.

Sir, if these Treasury experts possess such a knowledge and can avail themselves of it, then they are sadly neglecting their opportunities. Instead of the dull routine at desk, of ad valorem percentages, polariscopic tests and such—instead of the poorly paid, if important duties of official life, untold wealth is theirs if they choose to avail themselves of the knowledge. I rather think the gentleman misunderstood the Treasury experts, for most people, with all the objections to such a lot, like to be millionaires when they can.

Besides, a part of the product of that refining will be sirup. There is something about that in this same pamphlet of testimony taken before the Committee on Manufactures on the trust investigation.

I repeat, part of this sugar as thus refined is sirup. Part is a low-grade sugar, and a part of it, and a part only, is white sugar.

Mr. COX. What is the proportion of white sugar? Can the gentleman state?

Mr. WILKINSON. I do not know the proportions; but a gentleman who testified before the Committee on Manufactures, Mr. Havemeyer—recollect, now, that a part is lost, part is sirup, and a part of it, and but a part, is white sugar—Mr. Havemeyer testified that of the sugar product of Havemeyer & Elder's refinery 50 per cent. was hard white sugars, and 50 per cent. the grades below that quality. I presume he knows whereof he speaks.

Now, before 1883—you recollect that the tariff was changed in 1883—before that the drawback on the highest grade of sugar was 3.18. Under Mr. Folger's administration the drawback—with the same tariff that we have now, on the same sugar—was 2.82 and not 2.60. The drawback on the other grades, which Mr. Fairchild left untouched, were, as I have shown, on refined white coffee sugar, etc., 2.28; other grades, No. 20, Dutch standard, and below, 1.84, and on sirup 4 cents per gallon, and on refined sugars from molasses, .55, or a little over one-half cent per pound.

The gentleman from Illinois, however, said nothing about the other classifications left in force by that act, but only cited the fact that the present drawback on imported sugar, when refined and exported, was 2.60.

The British refiners protested against this 2.82 drawback, and said it was too much; that it was a bounty that we gave to the refiners. Our exports interfered with their business so much that they made strenuous efforts to have these drawbacks largely reduced. They claimed that the drawback on the highest grades ought to be cut down from 2.82 to 2.40. Even the British refiners whose business was hurt by our exports admitted that this drawback ought to be 2.40, not 2.60 or 2.80.

Mr. Folger sent this subject to a special commission composed of Mr. John Ayer, jr., Mr. George Keyes, and Mr. James Burt. That was in 1883. Their report can be found, beginning at page 33, Bulletin No. 5, Department of Agriculture, chemical division. This commission decided that the drawback of 2.82 should be maintained; that even at 2.82 the refiners were not getting any bounty.

That is to say, these experts reported in one calculation that when the refiners paid 2 cents in duty that the drawback returned at the different rates named amounted also to 2 cents. In another calculation they estimated that where the refiners paid 2 cents they got under the drawback regulations 2.01 cents returned, or the duty back and one-one hundredth of a cent more than they paid, making a bounty to that extent. These experts, appointed under a Republican administration by a Republican Secretary of the highest standing and ability, made a report to that effect, and after their report Mr. Folger made the provisional drawback, which he had put at 2.82, permanent.

But the present Administration was not satisfied with that decision, and the subject was investigated by the Chief Chemist of the Agricultural Department.

Professor Wiley, of whom I have a very high opinion, reported that he did not agree with the British refiners, but that the rate of 2.82 was too much. He thought that 2.50 was about the proper amount. So Mr. Fairchild, the present Secretary of the Treasury, cut that down from 2.82 to 2.60, or 2.57 net, which was almost substantially the recommendation of this expert, and 22 mills below the recommendation of the others. I tell the gentlemen that a commission, appointed by a Republican Secretary of the Treasury under a Republican administration, said that the drawback of 2.82 was not too much, except to give the refiner a virtual bounty, not of 2 mills, not of 6 mills, but of one-tenth of a mill, their highest calculation; and that the present Administration went a great deal further than that, and not only took away the 1 mill, but took away 21 mills on every pound besides. This is another case where it looks like a bounty, but it is not a bounty at this present rate, unless Mr. Folger's experts estimated very wide of the mark. That the falling off of exports can be attributed to that cause, seems to be a reasonable inference.

Under the old drawback of 2.82 established by Mr. Folger, the exports of refined sugars had run up to enormous proportions, reaching in 1885 over 252,000,000 pounds, valued at over $16,000,000. The eventual result of the reduction of 22 mills on the drawback has been that the exports have fallen off enormously. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the facts that I have cited make it evident that whatever bounty might have been given by a drawback at 2.82 under Mr. Folger has been reduced entirely by Mr. Fairchild's reduction to 2.60.

Mr. WEBER. I am sure the gentleman does not want to make a misstatement.

Mr. WILKINSON. Of course not.

Mr. WEBER. I think you certainly have, if you say the amount of drawback has been reduced to comparatively nothing since that change.

Mr. WILKINSON. I did not say anything about the drawback being reduced to comparatively nothing. The drawback on that grade under the existing law still remains at 2.60. I spoke of the large falling off of the exports that was due to the cutting down of the drawback by Mr. Fairchild, which, I think, was in the interest of the refiners before Mr. Fairchild made this reduction. The Republican experts figured that under the old drawback established by Mr. Folger in 1883, of 2.82 cents per pound on certain grades of sugar, there would be a virtual bounty to the refiners, in one estimate of nothing, and in another of one-tenth of a mill, or one one-hundredth of a cent per pound.

Instead of merely cutting off that one hundredth of a cent per pound his administration has cut off 21 mills besides that which this commission thought they were legitimately entitled to, and brought it down from 2.82 to 2.60, lowering it to such a point that the refiners have complained very bitterly about it.

Mr. WEBER. What is the use of speculating as to whether it is a bounty or not when the facts and figures will show?

Mr. WILKINSON. I say it seems to me that if the views of these experts appointed by Mr. Folger are anywhere near correct they can not get any bounty now. I do not know whether they do or not; but I know these experts said in one estimate they got no bounty at 2.82 cents drawback, and in another estimate only one hundredth of a cent per pound bounty, and that this Democratic administration has taken that one hundredth of a cent per pound away and 21 mills per pound besides; and I know that the exports have dropped off enormously and I think it is safe to infer as a result of that action.

Mr. WEBER. You are mistaken about that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Havemeyer testified they had ceased entirely.

Mr. WEBER. That is not so.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I am only giving you his statement.

Mr. WEBER. I hope to be able to present the evidence to prove it is not so when I have my time.

Mr. WILKINSON. I do not claim that these exports have ceased entirely. I said they have decreased enormously, and I can substantiate the assertion, and I say that it is a fair inference that these exportations have fallen off so largely on account of the reductions made by Mr. Fairchild in the drawbacks. A witness before the Committee on Manufactures, Mr. Havemeyer, I believe, testified to that effect.

Mr. WEBER. He is not correct. The official statistics directly disprove his assertion.

Mr. WILKINSON. Give your statistics.

Mr. WEBER. I will in due time when I have an opportunity to speak upon the reclassification of the sugar schedule.

Mr. WILKINSON. I will give mine to give conclusive proof of my assertion. The exports of refined sugar increased from 26,815,463 pounds in 1883 to 252,579,077 pounds in 1885, when they were larger than they ever have been before or since. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, they were 164,339,967 pounds; for the year ending June 30, 1887, they were 190,672,154 pounds, but for only part of that year were the exports under the reduced drawback regulation which had gone into effect in the latter part of 1886. The only fiscal year in which exports have been wholly under the reduced regulations was that ending June 30, 1888. For that year, which has just closed, I obtained the figures from the efficient chief clerk of the Bureau of Statistics, Mr. J. N. Whitney.

The exports were only 34,449,613 pounds against nearly six times that much the year before. The amount had decreased from two hundred and fifty million pounds and more in 1885 to a little over thirty million pounds in the year just ended, and the values had decreased from sixteen millions (the highest point) to a little over two millions. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that this was an enormous reduction, and will bear out in the fullest manner the assertions that I have made.

Now, Mr. Chairman, about this enormous profit which it is asserted the refiners get. The gentleman from Illinois said they got about $30,000,000 a year—about a cent a pound on all the sugar imported. In the first place, sir,

ALL THE SUGAR THAT IS IMPORTED IS NOT CONSUMED BY THE PEOPLE.

A part of it is exported, at one time over 10 per cent., but very much less now. But leaving that out of consideration, a considerable part of it, as I have already explained, is lost in the process of manufacture, and the gentleman leaves that out of consideration altogether.

But among the witnesses who testified before the Committee on Manufactures was an ex-refiner whose name is Hugh N. Camp, who had been in the business for sixteen years, and he said that the cost of refining when he was engaged in the business was seven-eighths of a cent a pound. He had been told that this cost had been reduced to about 40 cents per hundred since he quit the business in 1870, or to less than one-half; but he did not give any proof of that or even assert positively his belief in the statements he had heard.

I do not know or pretend to know what these profits are. That they are excessive now I have not the shadow of a doubt. That they are now anything like the amount claimed by the gentleman from Illinois I have heard no reason given to believe. If these profits were anything like the amounts alleged the capitalists of the country would be tumbling over each other in their eagerness to go into the business. But we not talking now about existing schedules or existing law. We are talking about what this bill proposes to do. It proposes to cut the refiner's profits down very largely. It proposes to reduce the margin of tariff rates between raw and refined sugars to far less than it has been since 1861; about 40 per cent. less than in the beginning of 1870. It proposes to cut down the highest duty seven-tenths, nearly three-quarters of a cent a pound, and in its determination to strike at the excessive profits of the trust, without destroying the refining interests of the country, it will furnish a substantial relief from the exactions which they now undoubtedly impose upon the people. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The margins between raw and refined sugars in the existing tariff rates are in the interest of the refineries, but what are those margins? I will take a grade which comes in in larger quantities than any one grade—a sugar below 13 Dutch standard and testing ninety-five degrees—like this. [Showing a sample.]

The duty on this sugar is 2.20 cents per pound. The highest duty is 3.50. The margin between these two is consequently 1.30. Now, under the Mills bill the same classes of sugar will pay respectively 1.79 and 2.80, so that the margin, instead of being 1.30, as under the present law, between those grades will be 1.01 cents per pound.

Any one who has had any experience in manufacturing on a large scale knows that any such reduction in margins from 1.30 cents per pound to 1.01 cents per pound might mean the difference between enormous profit and utter ruin. Of course I do not mean to say this reduction will have an effect to any such extent as that, but I unhesitatingly say it is a very considerable reduction, and one which, while leaving sufficient profits to the refining industry, ought at the same time to give decided relief to the consumers of sugar.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I have trespassed upon the patience of this committee far longer than I intended to do. I was anxious to clear up, if I could, some of the misapprehensions which seem to surround this question. I wished to meet and refute some of the aspersions which have been cast upon an industry which I feel confident will continue to grow and prosper long after we are gone. I rose to repel with indignation the startling and unwarranted assertion that the sugar trust had

been gotten up for the benefit of the sugar industry of Louisiana. I desired to state that in Louisiana there are two small refineries in the trust, but about 800 or 900 sugar factories outside of it. I desired to show how our 800 or 900 factories

WERE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST MONOPOLISTIC EXACTIONS,

were the friends not the enemies of the consumers, and that the product of Louisiana, belittle it as some gentlemen may, has proven long a factor in cheapened markets, to offset which has been openly declared to be one of the main objects of the combination about which we hear so much.

While doing this I have been drawn into subjects such as the drawback question, in which the sugar-growing industry of Louisiana has no direct interest, other than a desire to see no needless check on the diversity and magnitude of our manufactured products or the employments of any of our people. In doing this I have endeavored to meet the attacks, wherever they were made, regardless that they did not sometimes assail the direct interests of my own people and my own home.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes; but I dislike to trespass further upon the time of the committee, as I have finished my remarks.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I would like to ask my friend upon what ground he claims that sugar shall be protected by a duty of 68 per cent. or more, an industry which, so far as we know, can produce only a very small proportion of the consumption of this country—how he can claim that protection, and at the same time vote to put on the free-list building-stone, lumber, and starch, articles of which we can produce enough to meet the demands of the country?

Mr. WILKINSON. I do not think that question is very closely allied to the topics which I have been discussing; besides, I can not admit his presentation of the circumstances of the case to start on.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Well it is a question at any rate.

Mr. WILKINSON. I will try to oblige the gentleman. He speaks of the ad valorem rate of duty on sugar. That is a point I expected to refer to, but I did not have the opportunity. I feel sure the ad valorem rate referred to will be reduced to decidedly less than 68 per cent., but the exact rate remains to be seen. The reason the ad valorem rate appears so high on sugar in the statistical reports for the year ending in June, 1887, is that the world's production has so largely increased that the price of sugar has gone down more largely, I believe, than any other great food product, and the ad valorem rate was based on these exceptionally low prices. In 1872 and 1873 the ad valorem rate was only 37 per cent., and yet in 1872 and 1873 the duty on sugar was higher per pound than it is now and decidedly higher than in the Mills bill.

The average specific duty in the Mills bill

IS DECIDEDLY LESS PER POUND THAN THE AVERAGE WILL BE

of all the rates in all the tariff bills of our entire history.

Mr. MILLIKEN. My question is why the gentleman applies one theory to the product of his own section and another theory to our products, especially when his industry is one which produces only a small proportion of the article which is required for consumption in this country?

Mr. WILKINSON. I was coming to that. The gentleman spoke of ad valorem rates, which I wanted to refer to first. I was coming to the rest of his question. My general reply to his question is that it is not a fact that I apply different theories to different sections. But I will go further than that and go into details a little as the gentleman seems to desire. He mentioned three items—starch, building-stone, and lumber. I will not endeavor to explain my vote to put starch on the free-list, as no such proposition is before the House. The duty on starch is largely reduced, but as we have the materials to make it in as abundant supply as any other country, the tariff that will be left on it will still be largely protective. If the gentleman attempts to accuse me of sectionalism in voting to put building-stone and lumber on the free-list, he has been peculiarly unfortunate. He seems to have forgotton that the removal of the tariff on these articles is proposed alike in all the regions and at all the ports of the country These productions are not peculiar to our Northern climes.

The mighty formations of nature, the magic influences of sun and rain and soil, the formation of rocks, the growth of forests did not go on in his end of the country and stop in mine.

THE STATE OF MAINE HAS NO MONOPOLY OF ROCKS AND TREES.

You have only to go to yonder door and 5 miles away lie the blue hills of Virginia, within whose borders building-stone abounds in illimitable quantities. How well do I recollect the magnificent granite beds along the James! Has North Carolina no building-stone, nor Alabama, nor Georgia, nor West Virginia, nor Missouri, nor Kentucky? Why, even Louisiana has her share. And a trip through Tennessee will show it by the hundreds of blocks at the different quarries and at the railway stations awaiting transportation, as fine as any in the world.

And what of lumber?

Is Louisiana a barren waste, or are Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida treeless prairies? Upon your mountain sides rise the spruce and white pine; on our hills and plains rise our yellow pines, and from our swamps our cypresses, not less abundant, not less lofty, not less valuable, not less extensive than yours.

Leaving sections out of consideration, the duty on lumber can not be sustained on the great economic grounds that the duty on sugar can. If the duty on lumber raises the price of the lumber consumed in this country only one-quarter of the tariff rates, it will still make the tax-payer pay $9 for every $1 paid into the Treasury. And in the case of the duty on sugar it is many-fold the reverse.

Sir, this sugar question is a great economic question. On the side of this question which I have advocated are ranged the great mass of the civilized world and the examples of the greatest statesmen that have adorned our history.

IT IS A QUESTION, TOO, IN WHICH PATRIOTISM AND NATIONAL PRIDE SHOULD ENTER IN.

How can we boast of our independence until we can produce our own food? Where is the American with any pride in his land who says we should remit to strange lands for all time to come the production of any article of food necessary to the wants and happiness of our people? Where is the intelligent tax-payer who objects to the payment of a duty which does not increase the contributions that the Government needs from him for its support—which does not cause him to pay out one dollar more for his total taxation than it would if the sugar industry of America were swept out of existence?

What farmer whose agricultural products this industry both diversifies and consumes—what laborer whose sphere of employment it enlarges—what mechanic to whose skill of brain and hand it offers fresh incentives to exertion—what consumer whose markets it cheapens, whose prices it relieves from the exactions and extortions of corporate greed—who of all these, after an intelligent and a thoughtful consideration of this question, will say that its progress shall be arrested, that its steps shall be downward, not upward and onward in its enlarging and beneficent career?

The Surplus a Bugbear!

"The protective system must be maintained."—*Republican platform.*

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH McKENNA,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 7, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. McKENNA said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I, too, am a Republican, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] declared he was; and I, too, for that reason rise to oppose the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. The amendment, Mr. Chairman, has no true basis of fact or true basis of principle. For the reasons urged in support of the amendment every item of the Mills bill can be supported. For the reasons adduced by the gentleman in favor of putting sugar on the free-list every American product can be put on the free-list. The amendment therefore is opposed to the principle of protection; it is distinctly and accurately opposed to the Chicago platform. That platform declares protection to American industries to be the supremest principle of the party. It concedes necessity of the reduction of the revenue, but it distinctly enumerates the means of reduction. Protection is not to be sacrificed. That is clear. It is sacrificed if it is taken from any American industry. Ingenious gentlemen can find and define nice distinctions, but the platform was not made to be read by subtle disputants or to be interpreted by them or to satisfy them. It certainly was not intended to palter in double senses. In the pithy and apt language of Mr. Depew, of New York, it needs no grammar nor interpreter to read it or understand it. It certainly was not intended to be partial. It was intended to gave assurance, trustful assurance, to every industry, to the little as well as to the big, to the growing as well as to the grown, to those from the South as well as to those from the North. It does not invite a scramble for its favor. It gives justly to all, nor entertains nor expresses preference for any. This thoroughness, this universality, this liberality constitute its excellence, and will make its victory if Republicans will not interpret it by amendments like that proposed by the gentleman from Illinois.

Gentlemen may say that when they give bounty they give protection. I do not deny it. But why the exception and application to sugar, and what assurance can they give us of the stability of that form of protection? Are they prepared to give protection in this form

to other industries? Are they prepared to interpret the Republican platform as authorizing a system of bounties to the industries of the country?

Why, Mr. Chairman, the distinction between protection by tariffs and protection by bounty is not a verbal distinction. It is a substantial distinction, as substantial as the difference between a medium course and an extreme course. A distinction too important to be urged upon experienced men. It is a distinction between what the people are accustomed to and what they are not accustomed to. A distinction, again, too important to be urged upon experienced men. And I ask Republicans of this House, is it wise, when the principle of protection itself is submitted to dispute, when they have cast it into uncertain balance, is it wise to cast in one of the scales an odious and objectionable form of it; a form that never has been adopted in this country except in an extreme case, and which has long since been abandoned—a form which is not expressed in the platform. A silence, sir, that is marked with significance, ay, is marked with command? The gentlemen who draughted that platform and the convention which adopted it knew what had transpired in Congress. They knew what the situation was; they scanned it, and they provided a remedy. We find no bounty in it nor free sugar in it. I send to the Clerk's desk to be read a portion of that Republican platform.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes on tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which can not be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

Mr. MCKENNA. I repeat, Mr. Chairman, there is no declaration in favor of bounties. There is no declaration in favor of free sugar. Hence I say that the amendment is distinctly unrepublican, distinctly antagonistic to the last utterance of the party.

But assuming the amendment is justified by the platform, how stands it? Gentlemen, interested gentlemen, may reason themselves into anything. If protection by bounties is identical with protection by tariffs, and either can be indifferently applied as equally good, why the uneasiness and repugnance of Republicans to the amendment? Why, if good to sugar producers, why not to iron, and steel, and wool, and woolen producers? The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] answers, and in so amusing a way, did I not know the sedateness of his mind, I should think he was joking with himself and with the House.

He says the reason why bounties should not be extended to iron and steel producers is that they can supply the home market. If they can do so under tariff protection why not under bounty protection, if the two be identical? The gentleman is not logical or consistent. He has almost floundered into absurdity. If bounties be good, why not take them for the industries he represents? Why refuse them himself, but force them on industries reluctant to receive them because they fear the sense of the country is adverse to them?

The gentleman says the iron and steel producers can supply the home demand.

But Democrats might ask him at what price? And answering for him as they have answered for him and will always answer, using the language of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] against sugar refiners, at a monopoly price—a price that robs—is their fierce declaration, the consumer of $2 to put in the pockets of the manufacturer for every dollar it collects for the Treasury. And, still using the language of the gentleman from Illinois, charging, in addition to the robbery of the tariff the further robbery of a trust.

Mr. Chairman, a gentleman on my right suggests against the gentleman from Pennsylvania his position and speech on tin-plate. A pertinent suggestion, as the House will recognize, but I have not time to elaborate it.

Gentlemen, let us be clear and fair. Adopt bounties for iron as you urge them for sugar. You assert their protection, and there will be no disguise where the burden will fall, if there be burden.

The foreign product will come in free and at its natural price. Your product will be put on the market and at its natural price, and all the world can compare the two, and more and better, every one can buy which product he pleases at such price he pleases, or, rather, at such price only disturbed by impersonal economic forces. If you are candid, gentlemen, you will not refuse trial. To avoid accusation is something, to give content is more. Will you accept bounties, therefore? No; you will not. You know, to use the apt illustration of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BAKER], who sits to the right of me, you might as well try to raise a tropical plant on the summit of an iceberg as to hope to introduce bounties and sustain them on any Western product. [Applause.]

I come to the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON]. He did not put it in the RECORD, so I will have to trust to my own impressions received yesterday afternoon when he delivered it. I do not think the gentleman was exactly ingenuous with the House. He certainly underrates its intelligence and the intelligence of the country. I do not think the gentleman deceives himself. He is too thoughtful and accurate and discriminating not to know that a vicious administration of the law or vicious evasions of it are not a reproach to the law or the principle of it. He could as wisely advocate that honesty be abolished because there is dishonesty; that all walls be prostrated because there are criminal invasions of our premises; just as wisely throw open the front door and leave the spoons in the hall properly labeled because a burglar might, as burglars sometimes do, enter at the window. I almost doubt the gentleman's sincerity, because I can not doubt his intelligence. Besides, he leaves us in confusion as to the object of his hatred—whether the law or the evasions of it.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois has delivered two other speeches on sugar. He appears to be full of free sugar. He was not quite so full of it in the Forty-ninth Congress, when he voted against the Morrison bill. Since then he has become loaded with it. He has endured the awful iniquity for years, though in place and having function to remove it. It worries him now and makes him restless. He takes walks and has chance or intentional encounters with Treasury officials, in whose eyes wicked sugar refiners, he says, have thrown dust, so that they can not tell sand from sugar, and he receives such information from the officials as they in their pitiable state can give, and then the gentleman rushes to the House and declaims for free sugar. Odd remedy for deceived or corrupt or inefficient officials.

The gentleman, confused and disturbed, wanders to the Treasury Department. The awful sugar-refiners, he finds, have abused the law concerning drawback on exports. The Treasury Department does not know how; the gentleman from Illinois does not know how; and so, in a bewildered state of mind, again he rushes to the House and again demands that sugar be put on the free-list.

If, Mr. Chairman, the matter is worth seriously considering, I dare say the puzzle was not great. I do not think the gentleman from Illinois, acute and penetrating as he is, could have found the puzzle great. But whether he could or could not solve the difficulty and reconcile it with protection to sugar makes no difference. The law itself, nor the principle of the law, was in fault.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois on May 12 addressed the House. His speech is instructive. I hold in my hand a pamphlet copy of it. He has adorned the title-page with a motto and with unconscious and solemn irony has associated protection to American industries and free sugar—an instance of politics making strange bedfellows. At that time he was absolutely in favor of free sugar. He criticised the Mills bill for a reduction of 20 per cent., and on page 4225 of the RECORD he uses this language:

I give you notice now that, like the voice of the prophet crying aloud in the wilderness, I will not cease to cry aloud until I get an opportunity to see that 20 per cent. and go you 80 per cent. better.

The gentleman delivered another speech on the 9th of June. It is in some contrast to the other of May 12. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] incensed him. He criticised the gentleman from Maryland for "prancing," as he termed it, "like old Goliah pranced before the armies of the Lord," and he felt and resented the accusation that the protective system created or maintained trusts, and he defied the Democratic side of the House, mark you—he defied the Democratic side to show whereby trusts were created or sustained by reason of the tariff. To maintain a feeble consistency with himself and not to explicitly preclude his position on sugar trusts, as surely he did implicitly preclude it, he said in that speech:

If there is any one trust that is sustained by the tariff it is the sugar trust.

Now, mark the inconsistency. What is a trust, Mr. Chairman? It is a combination to keep up prices. What is a sugar trust? It is a combination to keep up prices. Then the steel trust and the other trusts are com inations also to keep up prices. What was the gentleman's remedy for the steel and the other trusts? Penal legislation, criminal courts, and criminal judges. What is his remedy for the sugar trust? To let in the foreign sugar free. Why, Mr. Chairman, this is simply trifling with the subject. What difference is there between a sugar trust and any other kind of a trust? If the remedy of one trust be the free importation of foreign articles, the remedy for the other must be the free importation of foreign articles. So the gentleman argues as Democrats argue, and must always do so when he tries to put any American product on the free-list. Of course he convicts Democrats of inconsistency, as they are inconsistent when they pursue a course in declared opposition to steel trusts and other trusts and pursue another course which condones or encourages the sugar trust, and that far I concur with the gentleman from Illinois. What I do protest against is the frantic effort to turn the indignation which should be felt and is felt against the sugar trust also against the protection of sugar, and through sugar against the protective system.

Now, sir, I have not anything to do with trusts, and I do not care anything about them as far as the debate goes. If I should express an opinion about them, I should reiterate the philosophical and thoughtful language of the gentleman from Maine. I would not prance with the gentleman from Maryland, nor would I prance with the gentleman from Illinois, in idle and showy denunciation of them; I should feel

confident that whatever the trust be, the steel trust or the sugar trust, that our sovereign power is perfectly competent to handle it, or to destroy it if necessary, and allow fair and free competition in the American market under the beneficent sway of the protective system. I would not attack that system or any part of it, or doubt it or any part of it.

But, Mr. Chairman, I repeat, I have no concern for the sugar trust or interest in it or anything but indignation for it. I would not silence the gentleman's thunder against it. I fear, however, his reckless, random striking. It was because of this fear I rose. I rose in behalf of the beet-sugar industry—an industry which has become important in California; an industry no longer doubtful, as some gentlemen affect to believe, no longer a possibility, no longer a probability, but a fact. Within my district there is a successful beet-sugar factory; within the district of my colleague [Mr. FELTON] there is another and a new one. Others will follow.

The sugar industry never to be a success! Why, sir, the prospect in my State is so splendidly alluring, and the results will be so magnificent, that standing here, one of the representatives of my State, if I could entertain a local or discriminating interest, and could secure the barter, I could almost afford to trade every schedule in the Mills bill to save protection for the beet-sugar industry of California. [Applause.] There is no one industry that has such possibilities of advantage in as the production of beet sugar. One year as another may be selected to illustrate its advantage, and therefore as the figures for the year ending June 30, 1885, are handy to me I shall use them.

The quantity of sugar consumed in the United States for the year ending June 30, 1885, was as follows:

	Pounds.
Foreign sugar	2,442,357,448
Domestic cane	211,402,963
Domestic maple	55,000,000
Domestic beet (refined)	2,134,273

This makes the consumption per capita to be about 50 pounds. The consumption I think has increased to 53 pounds per capita.

The foregoing statement shows the total amount of sugar consumed in the United States to be about 1,355,447 tons of 2,000 pounds.

Germany produced in 1884, from beets, 1,150,000 tons of 2,240 pounds, being only 67,447 tons less than the total amount of sugar consumed in the United States.

This large quantity of sugar was produced from beets raised on about 860,000 acres of land. To produce the 1,355,447 tons consumed in the United States the past year, from beets, would only require 903,630 acres.

California alone, according to the agricultural map of the State prepared under the direction of E. W. Hilgard, Ph. D., professor of agriculture of the State University, has land fit for the cultivation of the sugar-beet greatly in excess of that amount, not taking into consideration Oregon and Washington Territory, whose lands are as well adapted to the production of beets as those in California.

It is evident that a very small portion of the land in the United States that is suitable for raising beets would be required to produce our own sugar.

The following statement will show to some extent the immense benefits to be derived in producing our own sugar from the soil of our country:

In consequence of the natural increase of population, it would undoubtedly require, before the year 1890, 1,500,000 tons of sugar to meet the requirements of the United States. To produce this quantity of sugar from beets would require 1,000,000 acres of land; an average yield of 15 tons per acre would produce 15,000,000 tons of beets, which, at $4 per ton, would amount to $60,000,000. To manufacture and refine the sugar contained in these beets, including all expense incurred in converting this sugar into money, would cost, say, $90,000,000 more, making the total cost of the 1,500,000 tons of sugar to be $150,000,000. This large sum of money would be distributed among the industrial classes in about the following proportions, namely:

Rent of land, at $20 per acre	$20,000,000
Labor, $40 per acre	40,000,000
Cost of manufacture, etc	90,000,000
Total	150,000,000

California's advantages over other beet-sugar-producing countries—and maybe other States of the Union have like advantages—may be summed up as follows:

Beets raised are as rich in saccharine and the yield per acre as large as in Europe.

We have a longer season in which to plant and harvest our crop.

The crop after it is harvested needs no protection from frost.

The climate permits us to work beets fresh from the fields for a period of four months, thus saving the expense of storing and rehandling.

In Europe their crops must all be harvested and stored in cellars within a few weeks after they are matured.

Beets yield the largest percentage of sugar when worked taken fresh from the ground.

In California we plant beets from the 1st of March to the 1st of June; in Europe all the planting has to be done in a few weeks. In Europe, in consequence of frequent rains in summer, great expense is incurred in keeping the beets free from weeds; in California, on account of the absence of rains during the summer months, weeds do not grow. In Europe farmers are put to great expense for fertilizers; in California that expense for many years will be nominal. But the cheap labor in Europe offsets to a great extent the advantages enumerated, and may perhaps enable them to manufacture sugar at a less cost than in this country. The farmers of Europe have had, also, many years of experience in cultivating beets for sugar; our farmers, none.

This enumeration, Mr. Chairman, displays not only the ability of California to produce beet-sugar, but the advantages of California over Europe in producing beet-sugar. But besides, sir, there are dependent industries and advantages on beet-sugar production. Millions of money will be kept at home and spent at home which is now sent abroad and spent abroad. We have capital enough in the country to build a thousand factories, and these can supply all the sugar we can consume.

The local effect of a factory is immense. It gives the following results:

A cheap and abundant supply of butter, milk, cheese, and meat, as well as sugar and grain. It gives employment to a large number of people, requiring both skilled and common labor. A large amount of money is kept in the country and distributed among the producing and manufacturing classes of our own country, instead of being sent to foreign countries to enrich foreign sugar planters. The greater wealth resulting to any community where a beet-sugar factory is located and the beet is grown, instead of the usual cereal crops, will be readily apparent by comparing the relative values of the product of beets and grain. A low average yield of beets is 15 tons per acre, and these beets manufactured into sugar will yield 3,000 pounds, which at 7 cents is worth $210.

An acre of wheat will produce 15 centals, which at $1.75 is worth $26.25; now add one-tenth to manufacture the same into flour, makes a value of $28.87 as the product of one acre of wheat.

Placing the yield of barley at 20 centals, at $1.30 per cental makes a value of $26 to the acre.

A beet-sugar factory of 200 tons daily capacity will require 2,000 acres of land to grow sufficient beets to supply it. Now, as each acre of land, if planted in beets, will produce a value to the community of $210, the 2,000 acres will add to its wealth to the extent of $420,000 annually.

The highest value produced from cereals, as above, is $28.87 for each acre, and for the 2,000 acres it would be $57,740, a difference of $362,260 in favor of growing the beets on that small quantity of land, to say nothing of the increased production from alternating the beets with other crops.

In connection with this subject, I desire to say a word in relation to the relative value of cane and beets as sugar-producing plants:

For centuries mankind has looked to the sugar-cane as the source from which to obtain their sugar; and, until about the first of the present century, that has been almost the only source from which sugar was obtained. It remained for the present century to utilize the beet as an additional source of supply. The quality of the sugar from both these plants is nearly identical; what little difference there is is in favor of the beet. Cane sugar contains more or less glucose—a weak reducing sugar; the beet, when in good, fresh condition, none. An acre of beets will produce as many pounds of sugar as an acre of cane, and can be cultivated at as little cost. It requires over a year for cane to mature; beets mature in five months, consequently yielding quicker returns. The cane has this advantage over the beet: molasses from the cane is valuable for domestic use; that obtained from the beet is not.

For the purpose of reference I name the sugar-producing countries and the quantity of sugar produced by each in 1884 and 1885, compiled from latest authorities:

BEET SUGAR.

	Tons.
Germany	1,150,000
France	315,000
Austria	540,000
Russia	380,000
Belgium	90,000
Holland	50,000
California	1,250
Total product beet sugar	2,526,250

CANE SUGAR.

	Tons.
Cuba	570,000
Porto Rico	60,000
Trinidad	55,000
Barbadoes	60,000
Jamaica	80,000
Martinique	42,000
Guadeloupe	41,000
Demerara	90,000
Reunion	36,000
Mauritius	128,000
Java	380,000
British India exports	45,000
Brazils	220,000
Manila	175,000
Louisiana	94,000
Peru exports	30,000
Egypt	30,000
Hawaiian Islands	80,000
Total cane sugar	2,080,000

From this it appears that there were 446,250 tons more of beet sugar used in the markets of the civilized world during these years than sugar produced from cane.

I have said, Mr. Chairman, other industries are dependent on the production of beet sugar, and will rise with it and flourish with it. I will not tire the House with the enumeration. The prospect might be fabulous if success had not been realized in Europe as it can be realized in California. This, sir, is the brilliant prospect to the country from the sugar industry and protection to it. The gentlemen ought to know it. Why, then, so much shuffling and contradiction. The gentlemen can not believe their proposition can be a settled and permanent policy. I think, sir, they are urged to action from an impulse to do something—a mischievous impulse when not directed or subdued by judgment.

The surplus is the bugbear. This it is that is impelling everybody. But is not there heedlessness somewhere? In the Forty-ninth Congress it was nobody's fear. In the Fiftieth Congress it is everybody's fear or everybody's excuse. It can not be everybody's excuse. Somebody is mistaken. It is just as well to find out now and here who is the somebody that is mistaken.

From whence does the surplus come? Democrats say from taxes wrung from the consumer compensated by no good to him, and every dollar of it represents a robbery. If so, then indeed is the surplus an evil; then indeed is it a sign of great wrong, of unconscionable governmental rapine. But Republicans say that the surplus comes from taxes on foreign producers, and every dollar of it represents prosperity. If so, it is beneficence, not robbery, and why be concerned about it? Why be concerned even though it is accumulating vaults full and mountains high? Why be concerned even if it be a tax on the consumer, if wages are sustained by it, industries protected by it, and the country made happy and prosperous by it? These are the two views; and if we Republicans believe what we say, we can afford to collect and accumulate the surplus even though we should have to shovel it into the sea. We weaken our position; we concede the Democratic position when we whine about the surplus; when we make it a cause to abandon protection to any industry.

In this consideration of the surplus, Mr. Chairman, I have disregarded the internal-revenue taxes as not now concerned in inquiry.

But, Mr Chairman, there is still another bugbear, another "painted devil," which is frightening us from our propriety. The President calls it "a condition." Catastrophe hid in an auger hole may rush on us at any moment, is the Presidential wail. The prediction was made over six months ago and we still survive. The delay should dissipate our fears.

And what, sir, is the great bugbear? It is a depleted circulation. Has any one thought to inquire if there is a depleted circulation? The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BUCHANAN] intimated a doubt of it, but it fell on unheeding ears. This is not surprising. Facts are often ignored or taken for granted by even great men. The ancient scientific world once wondered why it was that a bucket full of ashes held as much water as a bucket without ashes in it. No one tried it and it was accepted as true, and attributed to the absorbing power of the ashes. So with the Presidential fact. No one tries it and it is accepted by the absorbing gullibility of the interested, the ignorant, and the thoughtless.

We no doubt all remember the celebrated problem submitted by Benjamin Franklin to the scientists of Europe, why it was that a 5-pound fish put in a bucket brimful of water would not make the water flow over. That was an awful question to the scientists of Europe; fully as awful as the President's "situation" is to us to-day. They thought about it; they meditated about it; they wrangled about it. They at last got into quarrels about it, and angry disputes spread all over the country. The University of Paris took it up and hurled it across the Channel to London. London hurled it back again; and all Europe engaged in the fiery dispute until some fellow with a Yankee turn tried it and found that the water sloshed over on every side.

Now, sir, that is the case with this depleted circulation. There is not one word of truth in it. Now, mark you, Democrats and Republicans, until you deny the fact I am about to show, roar no more about the danger of the "situation." I hold in my hand a statement of the circulation of this country from July 1, 1881, showing a steady increase up to 1885. From 1885 to 1886 there was decrease but only of $27,000,000. From thence to July, 1887, there was the magnificent spring and advance of $185,000,000. Not a very alarming situation! Allowing, sir, for the addition by reason of deposits in the national banks by the Administration, there was an increase of the circulation of over $45,000,000 from July, 1886, to July, 1887.

The following table will show the amount of the circulation and the yearly increase:

July 1, 1878	$770,211,448
July 1, 1879	802,247,256
July 1, 1880	972,040,739
July 1, 1881	1,117,594,829
July 1, 1882	1,176,441,683
July 1, 1883	1,231,126,497
July 1, 1884	1,238,669,375
July 1, 1885	1,269,615,396
July 1, 1886	1,241,813,607
July 1, 1887	1,326,748,747
January, 1888	1,395,786,698

It will be seen that from July, 1887, to January, 1888, the increase in the circulation was $68,920,119. At the time the President's prediction was made, and while the country was waiting in alarmed expectation for bankruptcy and catastrophe from a depleted circulation the circulation increased over $68,000,000. Presidential predictions ought to be in disfavor. It is very certain if money is flowing into the Treasury through the custom-house, money is also flowing into the circulation through the custom-honse, or from some source; I do not care from where. It is only the situation I am stating and the alarm of it.

I think, Mr. Chairman, this disposes of the "condition" as a terror. The other form of it, the surplus, I have also disposed of for Republicans, at least, if they are sincere. There is no reason to apprehend danger from either surplus or "condition," and no reason to be hurried by either into disproportioned thought or act.

In conclusion, sir, I am sorry—sincerely sorry—that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] offered his amendment. I think it is a blunder. Better judgments than mine think it is a blunder. It assimilates by eminent Republican authority the bounty system to the protective system, or it will be claimed to do so. It mars the fair evenness of Republican policy—a policy only honorable when universal; a policy only respectable when universal; a policy which becomes contemptible when used to build up some industries and destroy others. I hope the amendment, therefore, will not receive even the gentleman's own vote. If it should receive any substantial Republican vote I should go from this House to-day disappointed in my party, disappointed in its sincerity, disappointed in its sincerity in the belief it has always affirmed that the principle of protection must be universal and is as beneficent as universal. As we have affirmed this, let us adhere to it. Let us leave to the Democrats the bad distinction of personal and local politics. Let us declare impersonal and universal principles, and believe me, gentlemen, we shall succeed—better than that, we shall deserve to succeed. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

The tariff question is the labor question.
Free raw materials.
The effect of protection on the production of domestic salt.
Free foreign salt means dear salt for the consumer.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BYRON M. CUTCHEON,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. CUTCHEON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The President of the United States, in his remarkable message to the Fiftieth Congress, in which he treats but one topic as worthy of his consideration and which he confines entirely to a discussion of revenue and the means of its collection, very wisely observes that—

> Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon theories of protection and free trade. * * *
> It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory.

I agree with the President, with a modification. It is a condition and a theory.

The condition is that in the United States exists a state of prosperity and progress wholly unknown in other lands. That here labor is more fully employed at more remunerative wages; that here the condition of the laboring class is more comfortable and more advanced; that capital is better invested at a more profitable return, and that all the machinery of social and political order moves with less friction than in any of the older countries of the world. No possible question of legislation could more seriously affect this "condition" than the "theory," of which this bill is the embodiment.

It is a theory which proposes to substitute national dependence for national independence; to substitute the productions of foreign labor for the handicraft of the American workingman; to substitute a distant, foreign, and uncertain market for a near, domestic, and stable market.

In considering the question of the tariff, and whether it shall be adjusted "for revenue only," or for the purpose of revenue and protection, it is quite impossible to separate it from the question of labor; and, in its ultimate analysis, the tariff question is the labor question.

That we shall always require as a nation a large and ever-increasing revenue is certain. That such revenue will continue, in the future as in the past, to be most largely derived from duties upon imports, from a "tariff," seems to be equally certain.

The question is not, therefore, between a tariff and no tariff—that is settled. Nor is it mainly a question between high tariff and low tariff. There will always be high duties and low duties. Nor is it a question of a tariff for revenue. The total amount of revenue to be raised should be sufficient to meet all the obligations of the Government, whether for the funded debt, pensions, internal improvements, or current expenses, and also to maintain an adequate fund for the redemption of all its demand obligations and certificates.

While we shall always require a tariff it will not affect all imports. There should always be, and will always be, a list of non-dutiable articles, or what is more commonly known as a "free-list." The first question that presents itself in this connection is the division of imports into dutiable and non-dutiable; and here the consideration of the labor question begins.

To my mind the main consideration that should govern in the arrangement of a tariff, as between dutiable and non-dutiable, or between high duties and low duties, is the creation of an adequate demand for American labor, and as a consequence, the creation of adequate wages for the working men and women of America.

In using this expression, "the working men and women," I do not mean, Mr. Chairman, to raise any class distinction between the "working class" and the "employer class," or "the capitalist class." I think that the less we have of these distinctions the better it will be for the American Republic. Such distinctions smell too much of the aristocratic and feudal systems of the Old World, and are neither to be imitated or tolerated on our free American soil. If such distinctions already exist, it is one of the highest duties of American statesmen to see that in so far as legislation can do it, all such lines are blotted out.

I mean by the working men and women of America all who gain their living by their work from year to year, whether that work is strictly manual, or partly manual and partly intellectual, or strictly the labor of the brain, like teaching, or literature, or invention. A laborer is a laborer whether he works with brain or hand, and I know of no law, either God-ordained or man-created that makes one kind of labor more honorable than the other or more worthy of our protection and recognition.

One may be more potent and more far-reaching than the other, and so more valuable to the world.

The brain work of a Watt or a Fulton may equal in productive power the handicraft of millions of common manual laborers.

Brain work always creates hand work. It is impossible to create a new demand for manual labor without at the same time creating a new demand for the use of capital, and for all the concomitants of a new industry, and a new industry always creates a new demand for every kind of labor. Wherever men are to be employed, there will be employers, superintendents, book-keepers, foremen, and laborers; there, too, will be work for farmers and gardeners to supply food, and artisans of all kinds to supply shelter and clothing.

Thus one field of employment creates and multiplies other fields of employment, and a new industrial system arises.

New industries are a boon to every form of labor. Now, in the adjustment of the dutiable and non-dutiable commodities it should be a paramount consideration to foster and create as many new industries as possible, which shall give new employments to American workers.

When, therefore, we find an article which is not and can not be produced in this country, and the production of which in this country can not be fostered or stimulated to an extent somewhat approximating the demand by any amount of tariff, that article should be put upon the free-list, because it can create no labor; unless, being an article of luxury only, it be put upon the dutiable list for revenue only.

No protective tariff upon such articles can give increased employment to labor, or create new industries or make the import duty anything but a tax. Upon all such articles a tariff is a tax.

In this class would come tea, coffee, spices, and many raw materials for manufactures which can not be produced in this country, but which employ a large amount of labor in their preparation and fabrication for use.

It may be stated as a general proposition that we ought not to go abroad for any article which, having regard to the general good of the greatest number, can be equally well produced at home, and the foundation of this proposition is the necessity of affording work for American workers. The workers are always the greatest number, and their interests are entitled to first consideration.

The law of supply and demand is the law of gravitation in the industrial world, and the reward of labor will depend upon the demand for labor. While this is true at all times and everywhere, it is especially important at the present time, when there is a surplus of labor seeking employment in this country. We are passing through a critical and trying period in the history of our industrial system. The great difficulty arises from the fact that under the existing conditions of our modern civilization the supply of days' work is largely in excess of the demand.

This comes about from various causes, but more especially from four, all of which have arisen to magnitude within a single generation. These are, first, the great increase in labor-saving machinery; second, the application of steam to transportation and manufactures; third, the use of electricity in the transmission of intelligence, and fourth, and greatest of all, the abnormal growth of our industrial population through immigration.

While, therefore, a given amount of production or transportation can be accomplished with a third or a quarter of the living hands that would have been requisite fifty years ago, and for that reason the demand has greatly diminished pro rata, at the same time the supply of labor has increased in an unnatural ratio, and a double divergence has taken place.

To aggravate this evil, during the period of recuperation following the civil war a false and hurtful policy was pursued. Instead of discouraging this abnormal influx of the laboring class, we made efforts to increase and stimulate it.

Many of our States sent abroad emigration commissioners to entice and persuade immigrants from almost every country of Europe.

This immigration at another time or under other circumstances might have been a very desirable addition to our population, but coming as it did at the very time when the introduction of machinery, steam transportation, and electricity were making such gigantic inroads upon the demand for labor, it only added to the dislocation of our industrial system.

This heterogeneous and multitudinous immigration was almost wholly from the laboring class. They brought with them no wealth but their boundless brawn and prolific progeny. They brought with them the greatest possible supply of day's work and the least possible demand therefor.

I suppose that there are to-day in the United States not less than twelve millions of people who have themselves emigrated or whose immediate ancestors have emigrated to this country since 1846.

These, as a rule, have been in the highest degree producers and in the lowest degree consumers.

While they offer the maximum of days work in the labor market, they require the minimum of days work from the rest of the great industrial body. Thus the equilibrium of production and consumption, which constitutes true prosperity, when every man is employed at living wages, when there is neither distress from surplus of unemployed labor, nor stagnation from surplus of unemployed capital—this industrial balance was destroyed and the evil doubly aggravated by the simultaneous reduction in demand and increase in supply of labor. Therefore men are idle, wages depressed, strikes are common, and socialism and anarchism flourish. What is wanted are new industries for this new labor—more work and not less. Capital is the employer of labor.

When the supply of days work is in excess of the demand, then labor bids against labor and wages go down and capital commands the situation. If the demand for days work were in excess of the supply, then capital would bid against capital to secure the labor and labor would command the terms of its employment.

The evil then is that production—using the word in its largest and broadest sense—has outrun consumption; that labor is in excess, and something must be done to reduce the dislocation and restore the equilibrium.

The giant Labor, conscious that he is hurt, gropes blindly for the hand that has wounded him, not knowing that the injury is self-inflicted.

Here, as everywhere, the sufferer turns to legislation for relief, as if legislation could change the divinely appointed law of supply and demand or could restore the lost scepter to labor so long as labor must solicit capital for employment rather than capital seek labor for its own utilization. As the evil has arisen through the disturbance of the industrial equilibrium, so the evil must be remedied by the restoration of that equilibrium. This can be done in either one of two ways—first by increasing the amount of work to be done in our country, or, second, by diminishing the supply of workers, or both.

The second is impracticable, for labor, like everything else, will go where it can command the best price, and emigration will not set in from this country to Europe until wages, or rather the net savings of labor in this country have fallen below the corresponding earnings of the like grades of labor in Europe. This, I trust, will never happen.

We may perhaps mitigate the evil by checking the immigration of the most objectionable forms of labor—the Chinese, who do not come to us with the intention of becoming citizens nor to build homes, but simply to gather what they can and return to their distant country; the comparatively degraded laborers of Southern Europe, who are closely allied to the Chinese in that they do not come to this country to remain, but come under contracts previously made to work for a short term of years, with no purpose of becoming American citizens, and therefore not coming in families, but rather in herds, to depress and disastrously compete with real American laborers, with no intention of bearing the burdens as well as to reap the profits of our American institutions. And to these may be added convict and pauper laborers deported by foreign states—people who have "left their country for their country's good." The coming hither of these classes should be prohibited entirely.

We can not afford, nor can our institutions endure, that we should be made the dumping-ground of the refuse populations of Asia and Europe, and especially of the criminal and defective classes, or of pau-

pers and "assisted emigrants," or the dynamiters and nihilists who have sprung up like rank weeds at the foot of despotic thrones and come here to scatter the seeds of social and political disorder and make a chaos of our fair and prosperous country.

But even if we could check or prohibit the ingress of all these classes there would still remain an excess, and the problem recurs, how shall the most employment and the greatest immunity from distress be assured to the working people?

The answer to this is, by the greatest possible diversification of industries and by refusing to employ foreign labor to do anything that can be as well done by American labor.

It is, in a certain sense, a crime against American labor to drive any industry out of this country that might be developed and fostered here.

The American system of protection is based upon a few fundamental propositions, all of which have relation either directly or remotely to the question of the diversification of industries and the more equal distribution of wealth by the payment of liberal wages and otherwise. These propositions may be stated thus:

First. That America is possessed of certain natural advantages which have tended to create a larger demand for labor, and therefore a greater compensation for labor, than exists in the older countries of the world.

Second. That chief among these are the great extent and cheapness of unoccupied lands and the vast extent and variety of natural resources—that is, of raw materials—of the mine, forest, field, and water, to supply almost every possible want of man.

Third. That with these great natural resources we possess superior intelligence and inventive faculty among the people to be applied to the extracting of the raw materials and their manufacture into articles for the use of man.

In brief, it may be summed up that we have a great, new continent to be developed, and a demand for labor correspondingly great, which has established a scale of wages in this country far in advance of that of the countries with which we have to compete in production. The question now is, how shall we maintain the advantage which by the law of position and nature we already have?

That the American laborer is more fortunately circumstanced than his competitors in other lands needs no other proof than the vast influx of immigration, to which I have already alluded. Of course this tends constantly to equalize population, work, and wages, and unless we guard what we already have, those who come after us will witness, in the coming century, that such an equilibrium will have to be established between our people and the people of Europe in the matters of work, wages, and wealth; that we shall have lost all the advantage that nature gave us, and men will be just as likely to emigrate from America to Europe as from Europe to America.

How shall this loss be prevented?

First. By the conservation of the public domain for the people.

Heretofore we have acted as though there were literally no end to our public lands. We have given them away with utter prodigality. We have made it so easy to acquire lands that almost any one could acquire almost any amount. We must reverse this policy.

1. Prohibit by law the acquisition of public lands by aliens.

2. Prohibit every form of acquisition of public lands adapted to agriculture, except by actual settlement.

3. Increase the minimum price at which lands can be taken for cash to something near their actual value.

4. Limit the amount which any one person can take from the public domain, by purchase, to a reasonable amount.

5. At once forfeit and return to the public domain every acre of land granted by the United States in aid of railroads and other public works, which have not been earned in good faith, in accordance with the terms of the grant. This will make a good beginning toward a new land policy.

Second. We must develop and utilize our own raw materials in preference to using the raw materials of other countries. And here, Mr. Chairman, I desire to direct attention to the matter of "free raw material."

The President, in the message already referred to, holds the following language in regard to raw material:

> The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures or its free importation is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessaries; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product as compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material could be accordingly modified. Such reduction or free importation would serve beside to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufactures. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries who cheapen their wares by free material.

So "free raw material" is to be the panacea of our commercial and industrial ills.

Mr. Chairman, I have the honor to represent in part a State that lives by the production of raw materials.

In the production of iron and copper ore, lumber, and salt, Michigan leads all the States, and in wool and wheat is among the foremost.

Of her two million population more than one-half are engaged either directly in the production of the so-called raw material or in the transportation and distribution of such materials, or in supplying and caring for those who are so engaged. Without these industries the greater part of her population would be left without employment.

These vast industries have grown up under a system directly intended and calculated to develop and foster them, and to reverse which would threaten with bankruptcy this great and prosperous Commonwealth.

Upon a former occasion I called the attention of the House to the fact that there is nothing more delusive and misleading than the free-trade idea of raw material. There is no raw material but Mother Earth. All other so-called raw material is simply embodied labor. Lumber and salt are classed by the advocates of free trade as raw materials. With reference to the use to be made of them they are crude materials, but with reference to their present condition their whole value is in the labor that has produced them.

I desire to illustrate this with an actual example. The entire section of Michigan in which I reside is underlaid, at a depth of about 2,000 feet, with a deposit of rock salt about 40 feet in thickness. It is undoubtedly the same deposit that is reached at a much less depth on the St. Clair River and at Goderich, in Canada. I think it fairly certain that a large portion of the lower peninsula of Michigan is underlaid with this rich and valuable saline deposit. And yet it adds no appreciable amount to the value or price of the acreage of the surface.

Men buy and sell thousands of acres of this surface land, which carries with it all the underlying deposits, without so much as a thought of the millions upon millions of tons of salt that they are buying and selling. It has no greater value than if it were ordinary clay or loam or sand.

But labor comes and prepares to reach and utilize this buried wealth. It gets out the lumber for a drill-house and erects it, and furnishes it with the necessary tools for piercing to the salt. Labor constructs engines and implements for drilling; labor reaches down through the superincumbent rock till it finds the crystalline deposit; labor takes the crude ore from the mine from which the pipe is made through which the brine is raised; labor constructs the salt block in which the brine is evaporated; labor lifts the crystallized salt from the vats and places it in the barrels which labor has constructed; and then it is ready for labor to transport it to the market, and every cent of its value is the representative of just so much embodied labor. And yet we are told that it is "raw material."

It may be said that the plant represents a large amount of capital invested. But that capital only represents a certain number of days' work.

Mr. Chairman, it is estimated by Hon. George Hill, our State salt inspector, that this industry in the State of Michigan affords employment to from fifteen to eighteen thousand people and gives a living to not less than 60,000 people. Our annual output is now more than 4,000,000 barrels or upwards of 20,000,000 bushels of salt. Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to know, if the labor employed in the production of Louisiana sugar and Alabama rice and Kentucky tobacco are worthy of the fostering care of the Government, why is not the labor engaged in the production of Michigan salt equally worthy?

It is no more a necessary of life than sugar. Its consumption is less. There can be no monopoly in salt. It is the most abundant raw material (in its native deposits) that the earth affords. Kansas has salt enough to feed the world for a hundred years. Louisiana has literal mountains of it. Texas, Utah, and California have unlimited supplies. We have labor and to spare waiting to take it from the matrix of the earth and prepare it for the use of man.

Why shall this labor be driven from its employment and this work be given to foreigners and its wages disbursed on foreign shores to English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Swedish laborers?

Mr. Chairman, this is one of the industries selected for assassination. Salt is selected by this bill for the free-list. That is to say, it is proposed to bring the labor which is engaged in the production of this article upon American soil into direct and unprotected competition with the product of the foreign labor engaged in its production in other lands.

There can be no cry of "free raw material" here, for the material is so abundant that it is almost as free as air.

This industry is so interlaced and interlocked with other industries, especially lumber, that the destruction of the one would mean to a very great extent the destruction of the others.

The tariff upon foreign salt since 1873 has been 8 cents per 100 pounds in bulk and 12 cents per 100 pounds in packages.

In spite of this protective duty foreign salt to-day has possession of fully one-third of the American market.

Then, I ask, if we have this material in such boundless quantity and an overplus of labor for its production, how does it happen that English salt-makers can drive American salt out of one-third of the American market? As the entire value of the salt consists, as I have said, in the labor embodied in it, it becomes a question of labor only.

The cheapest labor will make the cheapest salt. The number of days' work embodied in the imported salt will be just so many subtracted from the days' work to be performed by American workingmen, and consequently just so much deducted from the wages to be paid them.

That we may see just what that means I append the following table showing the importation of salt by decades since 1830:

Imported salt.

Year.	Bushels.	Price at port of departure.
		Cents.
1830	5,574,046	12.504
1840	8,183,203	12.409
1850	11,224,185	11.023
1860	14,094,227	10.154
1870	13,340,258	10.816
1880	17,213,762	10.674
1881	19,651,971	11.08

I also append the following table, showing the importation of salt, by years, since 1863, with the price per bushel at point of shipment:

Foreign salt imported into the United States.

Years ending June 30—	Number of bushels.	Price, per bushel, at point of invoice.
		Cents.
1863	10,800,189	.0945
1864	8,126,565	10.00
1865	7,319,092	10.36
1866	11,411,780	09.58
1867	8,534,268	11.94
1868	11,134,495	12.42
1869	10,574,494	11.99
1870	13,340,258	10.81
1871	11,388,440	11.01
1872	11,032,226	11.01
July, 1873 (one month)	723,277	

Tariff, 18 cents per 100 pounds in bulk, 24 cents in packages.

In this connection I desire to call attention to the relation of the a riff to the price of salt.

In 1866 the home price of salt was $1.80 per barrel. In 1873, without any change in the tariff, and by force of home competition alone, the price had fallen to $1.37 per barrel, although the price of foreign salt at point of invoice had actually increased. Without a tariff adjusted to protection of our own industry this development of the home competition would have been absolutely impossible, and we would have been dependent entirely upon our commercial rivals for this prime necessity of life, and they would have fixed the price.

In 1873, August 1, the tariff was changed on salt in bulk from 18 cents per 100 pounds to 8 cents per hundred.

The following table exhibits the amount imported each year from 1873 to 1882, the price at point of shipment, the duty, and the price at Saginaw.

Foreign salt imported into the United States.

Years ending June 30—	Quantity.	Price per bushel at point of invoice.	Price in United States at Saginaw, Mich.
	Bushels.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1873 (eleven months)	13,174,469	13.06	27.4
1874	16,595,956	14.09	23.8
1875	14,735,320	12.26	22.0
1876	15,483,703	11.45	21.0
1877	16,093,033	10.31	17.0
1878	15,367,664	10.62	17.0
1879	16,189,559	10.97	20.4
1880	17,213,762	10.67	13.0
1881	19,651,971	10.63	16.6
1882	15,103,141	11.08	14.0

Tariff 8 cents per 100 pounds, or 4.48 cents per bushel.

For purpose of ready comparison I offer the following:

Table of salt produced in the United States.

Year.	Quantity.	Average price.
	Bushels.	*Cents.*
1830	4,447,929	21.031
1840	6,179,174	20.002
1850	9,763,840	22.760
1860	12,717,198	18.007
1870	17,606,105	27.830
1880	29,800,298	16.505
1885	33,501,515	14.003

Average price of salt in bulk at Saginaw, Mich., in 1885, $3.15 per net ton, 44 cents per barrel, 8.8 cents per bushel.

English salt in bulk at works near Liverpool in 1885, $1.22 per net ton, about 3½ cents per bushel.

Turk's Island salt, in bulk at island, in 1885, $2.20 per ton, about 6 cents per bushel.

At the beginning of this period the price of foreign salt at point of shipment was 13.06 cents; duty, 4.48 cents; total, 17.54 cents. Home price 27.20 cents. At the end of this period we find the price at point of shipment 11.08 cents; duty, 4.48 cents; total, 15.56 cents. Home price, as result of domestic competition, 14 cents. Reduction to consumer, as result of home competition, 13⅜ cents per bushel.

A comparison of this table with the last one will show that the reduction of tariff in 1873 from 18 cents per hundred in bulk to 8 cents per hundred made very little difference in the home price of salt, and actually increased the price of foreign salt at the point of invoice.

The average price of foreign salt at point of invoice for the five years prior to July, 1873, was 11.45 per bushel. The average price at same point for the five years following was 12.23.

Without any change of duty the average price per bushel for five years, from 1873 to 1877, was 22.24 cents; for the five years from 1878 to 1882 it was 16.20 cents.

At the end of the ten years from 1873 to 1882, with no change in the duty, the home price at Saginaw was within four-tenths of a cent of the foreign invoice price at point of shipment at the beginning of the ten years.

In order that we may see how little the rate of duty has had to do with the price of salt to the consumer I append the following table, showing the rate of duty from 1807 to 1886:

Duty on salt 1807 *to* 1861.

Dates.	Duty per bushel.	Remarks.
	Cents.	
1807—1813	Free.	
1813—1830	20	
1830—1832	15	
1832—1834	10	
1834—1841	10—7.6	Sliding scale under compromise tariff.
1841—1846	8	
1846—1857	2.43	20 per cent. ad valorem.
1857—1861	1.58	15 per cent. ad valorem.

Duty on salt and average price, 1861 *to* 1873.

Dates.	Duty per bushel.		Duty per 100 pounds.		Price per barrel.	Price per bushel.
	Bulk.	Package.	Bulk.	Package.		
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*
1861–1862	6.22	10.08	12	18		
1862–1866	10.08	13.44	18	24		
1866	10.08	13.44	18	24	$1.80	36
1867	10.08	13.44	18	24	1.77	35⅜
1868	10.08	13.44	18	24	1.85	37
1869	10.08	13.44	18	24	1.58	31⅝
1870	10.08	13.44	18	24	1.58	26
1871	10.08	13.44	18	24	1.32	29½
1872	10.08	13.44	18	24	1.46	29⅛
1873 (one month)	10.08	13.44	18	24	1.46	29⅛

Under tariff of 1873–1887.

Year.	Duty per bushel.		Duty per 100 pounds.		Michigan price per barrel.	Michigan price per bushel.
	Bulk.	Package.	Bulk.	Package.		
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*		*Cents.*
1873 (11 months)	4.48	6.12	8	12	$1.37	27⅜
1874	4.48	6.12	8	12	1.19	23½
1875	4.48	6.12	8	12	1.10	22
1876	4.48	6.12	8	12	1.05	21
1877	4.48	6.12	8	12	85	17
1878	4.48	6.12	8	12	85	17
1879	4.48	6.12	8	12	1.02	20⅜
1880	4.48	6.12	8	12	75	13
1881	4.48	6.12	8	12	83⅓	16½
1882	4.48	6.12	8	12	70	14
1883	4.48	6.12	8	12	81	16½
1884	4.48	6.12	8	12	75	15
1885	4.48	6.12	8	12	70	14
1886	4.48	6.12	8	12	60	12
1887	4.48	6.12	8	12	55	11

The bulk price of salt at Saginaw during 1887 has been $2.75 to $3.15 per ton, or 6.8 to 7.9 cents per bushel.

An inspection of these tables will show that under the tariff of 1866–1873, with the duty at 18 cents and 24 cents, the price of salt fell from 36 cents to 29½ cents per bushel, at which latter price it stood at the time of the change of the duty.

In 1873 the duty was reduced to 8 cents and 12 cents respectively, being less than one-half the former rate, and at the end of the year the price remained at 27½, and without further change in the duty between 1873 and 1887 the price steadily fell from 27½ cents to 14 cents in 1885, and about 8 cents in 1887.

Such has been the force of domestic competition that in 1885 and 1886 bulk salt at Saginaw was less than 9 cents per bushel, or 45 cents for a barrel of 280 pounds.

PRODUCTION OF SALT IN MICHIGAN.

To show the extent to which the industry has grown in the State of Michigan under the system of protection I here append the following tables. The manufacture of salt in Michigan commenced in East Saginaw in 1860. The quantity produced previous to the inspection law was:

Years.	Barrels.	Years.	Barrels.
1860 (ungraded)	4,000	1866 (ungraded)	407,077
1861 (ungraded)	125,000	1867 (ungraded)	474,721
1862 (ungraded)	243,000	1868 (ungraded)	555,690
1863 (ungraded)	466,356		
1864 (ungraded)	529,073	Total (ungraded)	3,282,117
1865 (ungraded)	477,200		

The following table shows the amount of salt inspected in Michigan since 1869, the first year of the establishment of the State salt inspection:

Years.	Barrels.	Years.	Barrels.
1869	561,288	1880	2,676,588
1870	621,352	1881	2,750,299
1871	728,175	1882	3,037,317
1872	724,481	1883	2,894,672
1873	323,346	1884	3,161,806
1874	1,026,979	1885	3,297,403
1875	1,081,856	1886	3,677,257
1876	1,462,729	1887	3,944,309
1877	1,660,997		
1878	1,855,884	Total amount to date	41,322,895
1879	2,058,040		

It will be seen, therefore, that home competition and not tariff is the great regulator of the price of salt.

From a careful examination of statistics we find that the total consumption of salt in the United States in 1885 was as follows:

	Pounds.
Imported from foreign countries	3,298,994
Produced in Michigan	3,279,403
Produced in all other States	3,402,900
Aggregate consumption	9,999,297

If we estimate the population of the United States in 1885 at 56,000,000 the average consumption of salt would be 50 pounds per capita. If we estimate the population at 60,000,000 the consumption of salt would average 46⅔ pounds per capita. At the latter figure 1 barrel of salt of 280 pounds would exactly supply a family of six persons with all the salt they consume, directly and indirectly, in a year.

As the duty is 8 cents per hundred pounds the entire duty on a barrel of salt is 22.4 cents. If this entire duty were a tax upon the consumer it would amount to 3.4 cents per capita per year. But as less than one-third of the salt consumed is imported, the duty would in no case constitute a tax to more than one-third of that amount, or about 1 cent per capita a year, or about 7 cents per year for a family of six persons—about the price of a glass of beer or a poor cigar.

And this is the awful tax under which the American farmer groans, and to escape which he is adjured to rise up and put salt on the free-list, and crush this terrible monopoly.

To corroborate the view which I have taken on the effect of the duty on the price of salt I here quote from a statement of Hon. John L. Hayes, late chairman of the Tariff Commission of 1883.

It is said that the cost of salt to the consumer will be diminished by free trade or reduction. This is contradicted by American experience. In 1807 the duty of 20 cents a bushel which had before been imposed was repealed, and salt was admitted free of duty for six years. Consequently our home works were abandoned, or greatly reduced in production. Domestic competition being withdrawn, the prices of foreign salt which then flooded the markets advanced, being as high as $2 per bushel. When the war of 1812 arrived the foreign supply from England and her colonies was cut off. We had to depend upon the few establishments of our own which had not been driven out of business by foreign rivalry; and it is recorded as a historical fact that "salt was sold in quantities in more than one of our States at $4 per bushel."

While writing this article we were informed by a merchant of Portsmouth, N. H., that a cargo of salt was held in that town during the war of 1812 by speculators, though not actually sold, at $8 per bushel.

In 1872 Congress reduced the duty on salt in bags from 24 cents per 100 pounds to 12 cents, and on salt in bulk from 18 cents per 100 pounds to 8 cents, that is, reduced the duty more than one-half. What was the result? The foreign producers put up the price immediately, and in forty-seven months after the reduction of the duty took effect the average increase in the foreign invoice value amounted to over 8 cents per 100 pounds, or to more than two-thirds of the duty taken off; and the expected benefit of reduction, instead of inuring to our consumers, went into the pockets of foreign manufacturers of salt.

The rise of prices attracted attention everywhere in this country; and the New York Chamber of Commerce, in a report upon this subject in 1873, declared:

"The reduction of duty on foreign salt has not had that effect upon the price of salt that was anticipated by those who advocated its passage. The cost of both ground and fine salt is higher than it was before the duty was reduced."

These facts establish what the American salt producers maintain, that any legislation which would break the growing force of the American competition against the foreigner would be sure to strengthen the foreigner and enable him to exact higher prices, and that the tendency to cheaper salt, now in operation, can be sustained only by maintaining those circumstances which strengthen the power of American competition.

There are at present in operation in Michigan 142 salt blocks, with a capacity of 5,265,000 barrels per year.

The question now is, can this great industry survive under free trade in salt?

As I have said, foreign salt already has full possession of one-third of our entire market, and the cost of freights, added to the duty, prevents it from taking possession of the whole.

The figures will easily decide the question. These figures were obtained during this session from a Baltimore salt importer:

Liverpool common salt, at works, per ton	$0.75
Expense to Liverpool and put on board vessel	1.00
Freight to Atlantic seaboard United States	$1.49 to 1.50
Cost, less duty in port	3.25
Michigan salt at works per ton	2.75
Railroad freight from works to seaboard	$2.75 / 3.90 to 4.50
Cost of Michigan (common) salt at seaboard	6.65 to 7.25
Advantage of English common salt over Michigan common salt at seaboard free of duty	3.40
Deduct duty (8 cents per 100 pounds)	1.79
Advantage of foreign salt with duty paid, per ton	1.61

Which gives English salt control of the market as far inland as $1.61 will carry it at the present time.

Take off the duty of $1.79 per ton and you add a belt of territory to the supremacy of foreign salt as broad as a freight rate of $1.79 per ton will carry it.

That takes away fully one-half of all the market that now remains to American salt, and the American consumer will not get his salt 1 cent on a barrel cheaper than he does now.

The foreigner is going to get the best price he can for his salt, and when once domestic salt is driven out, and our works have fallen to decay, then look out for high-priced salt.

From 1857 to 1861 we had practically free trade in salt, and yet in 1860 the price of salt was 18 cents per bushel, more than twice the price to-day.

We have never had such cheap salt as under the present protective tariff. It is a good maxim to let well enough alone.

Much has been said in condemnation of the rebate on salt used in preserving meats and fish for exportation.

That provision was enacted for the purpose of building up an export trade in meats and other products, when we were bending our energies to turning the balance of trade in our favor, and preparing for the resumption of specie payments. Undoubtedly it had much to do with building up our export trade. It was founded upon the idea that English salt was much better for packing and dairy purposes than domestic salt. But now, when Michigan is producing a dairy salt fully equal, if not superior, to the best English salt, there is no reason why this rebate should be continued, and its repeal would add greatly to the demand for the higher grades of domestic salt.

My colleague [Mr. TARSNEY] in the course of the debate, spoke as if the Saginaw valley was the only salt-producing section of Michigan. But within the last five or six years this industry has grown up at Manistee and Ludington, on Lake Michigan, until now they are turning out nearly a million barrels annually of as good salt as is made anywhere.

The passage of this bill may not destroy this industry entirely, but it will very greatly curtail its production and leave thousands of people without employment.

The "diamond crystal" salt made by my colleague, Mr. WHITING, at St. Clair, under a strictly patented process, and which is a little salt monopoly, is no criterion of the ability of common domestic salt to compete with the cheaper foreign product. Protection has stimulated the manufacture of domestic salt until it has given us the cheapest, the most abundant, and the best salt that this country has ever known.

I have selected this commodity, Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of illustration, because, first, it is one of the great staples of my State and district; second, because it is a raw material that is composed wholly of labor; and third, because the beneficial effects of protection in first developing and then cheapening the product are so manifest.

Mr. Chairman, "free salt" is not a new thing in this country. We had free salt in 1807, and we had it practically free under the tariff of 1857; and free salt has always meant dear salt for the consumer and low wages for the workingmen. You may insist upon trying the old experiment again, but it will not result differently. We have salt enough to salt the world. We have the labor to produce it. It is a crime against American labor to deprive it of its employment, and it is a crime against American nationality to make it dependent upon foreign labor.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. A. J. HOLMES,

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

May 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. HOLMES said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: During the progress of this debate I have been impressed by the absence of well-founded objections or meritorious criticism of the policy of protection.

The champions of free trade aver that we are paying too much for our blankets, our clothing, and a large proportion of the articles that make up the necessaries of life; also, that the excessive price is caused solely by protection. While a portion of the people of this country may be of that opinion, a majority of them are not, and for twenty-five years have not been, so that the issue and the doubt was long ago decided in favor of protection. In this, reduction in price has always been favored and steadily accomplished by building up our own industries.

In the hostility of the representatives of the Democratic party to labor—and they come mostly from the South—they represent their constituents. They offer no inducements to labor; it is ill paid, and as a consequence, while many of the colored people move out owing to insufficient pay or from intimidation and a denial of political rights, few Northern or foreign laborers seek its borders.

Where does the ceaseless stream of immigration that comes to our shores point upon its arrival? Not to the beautiful valleys of Tennessee, with its salubrious climate; not to Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, with their conditions of soil and location almost perfect; but rather to the home of the blizzard, to the more inhospitable regions of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Dakota. Capitalists from the North and elsewhere have attempted to set in motion the wheels of industry, but it is an indisputable fact that for the honest and poor laboring man the great body of the party representing the Mills bill has no inducements to offer, no encouragement to give. Is it a wonder, then, that in its governmental policy it should no more be friendly to labor than in its home policy?

The Democratic party seems to have resolved to make the country homogeneous by striking down industries where they flourish so that regions that have none may not suffer by comparison.

And here I wish to point out briefly and analyze the reasons thae seem to influence the opponents of a protective policy, not in a spirit of derogation, but that we may, if possible, trace the relation of caust and effect.

Mr. Chairman, I affirm that the desire for free trade is influenced mainly—

First. By indifference to the welfare of the laboring classes.

Second. Its advocates come largely from portions of the country not in the highest degree prosperous. Five-sixths of the supporters of the Mills tariff bill come from the Southern States. The curse of slavery was upon that region in the memory of the men of this generation, and to-day, while the condition of the colored race which forms by far the great majority of the laboring class there is better than in slavery, there is yet a great gulf between their condition and that of the laboring classes of the country elsewhere, both in the wages received and the material comforts surrounding them. Could anything better be hoped for in view of the utterance of one of the greatest leaders of the South that capital should own labor, and whose representative men thirty years ago sneered at laboring men of the North as greasy mechanics and Northern mudsills?

When did the Democratic party of the South become the friend of the laboring man, about whom we have heard so much during this debate? Was it in jealously guarding his right to a free ballot and an honest count as a citizen of the Republic? Was it when as a party you opposed to the end the passage of the homestead law; or when in the Forty-ninth Congress, upon the passage of the labor bills, as in the bill to prohibit contracting for convict labor, free-trade Democratic votes were the only ones recorded in opposition?

I have stated, Mr. Chairman, that free-trade advocates are not usually found in the most prosperous sections of the country. It almost invariably happens that when an individual, a section, or a nation is not prosperous a change is sought in existing conditions. Such a change may embrace anything from a slight modification to revolution.

In this desire for change, sir, I do not allude simply to the reduction of the tariff which Republicans and Democrats alike agree is necessary, but to the attempt to strike down the standard of wages, to degrade labor, and destroy our manufacturing and agricultural prosperity. It is all embraced in the difference between "protection to American industries" and "a tariff for revenue only." Where does the cry for free trade emanate from? Is it from the skilled workmen who night and day toil by the furnace fires of Pennsylvania? Is it heard from the countless spindles, the factories, and workshops of New England? Has it been demanded by the Northwest, with its many-handed industries and sleepless energy, whose watchword is progress and whose march is always forward? No, Mr. Chairman; it is from none of these sources.

But, my free-trade friends, do you say that the sections of the country I have named have advantages that you have not? Let us see. Like Pennsylvania you have iron, coal, and limestone. For the rocky soil of New England you have alluvial plains and greatly superior advantages in navigable water ways, While the Northwestern agriculturist and stock-raiser is locked for a large portion of the year in ice and snow, you enjoy a mild and equable climate in which the care of your herds is little more in winter than in summer.

The present Chief Executive is quoted with the statement that Iowa is nothing but an agricultural State; without denying that assertion now, I want to call attention to the fact that although the act admitting Iowa into the Union did not take effect until 1846, and long after the admission of every other State I shall refer to in this connection, yet her development occurred almost wholly since the protective policy was adopted, and since the war.

In 1850 Iowa had 522 manufactures; at the same time Georgia had 1,522; Mississippi, 947; Louisiana, 1,008. In 1880 the manufactures of Iowa numbered 6,921; Georgia, 3,593; Mississippi, 1,479; Louisiana, 1,553. So that Iowa in 1850 having less than one-sixth of the manufactures of the three States I have named, yet in 1880 had more than all of them combined.

But I think I hear my free-trade friend say, "You do not take into account the losses of the war nor how our fortunes were retarded by that calamity."

On the contrary, I have expressly selected Iowa as a State whose practical development began with the close of the war. If the improvements and manufactures of the South had been totally destroyed (which they were not), she would still have commenced the race in 1865 practically even with the extreme Northwestern States.

I am led in part to institute these comparisons because the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] and others from time to time have dilated with apparent gusto upon the alleged mortgaged indebtedness of the individual citizens of Iowa. No reports are rendered of the individual indebtedness of the State, nor am I aware of any attempt having been made to secure such data at any time. Doubtless it is large enough to satisfy the payors. Whatever it may be it will be paid.

But let us turn from the indefinite to that which is fixed and certain and see how the account stands. The Tenth Census shows the following State indebtedness by the States named in 1880:

Iowa	$245,435
Missouri	10,537,000
Alabama	9,133,000
Arkansas	5,108,043
Georgia	8,733,500
Louisiana	11,982,621
North Carolina	13,179,045
South Carolina	6,399,742
Texas	4,237,730
Virginia	29,095,967

The apparent small indebtedness of Iowa was due to the school-fund of the State, on which by law only the interest was payable, and which would doubtless have been paid long prior to that time could it have been accepted. The Republican party has controlled the State government for the last twenty-five years without any interlude of Democratic reforms and mistakes. The State of Iowa never scaled or repudiated her indebtedness. I wish that encomium could be pronounced on all the States of this Union. I commend this showing to the friends of the opposition, and when they have extinguished their millions of indebtedness by absolute payment Iowa may accept commiseration if not advice.

In 1880 the population of the five States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and North Carolina, was 4,865,870; that of Iowa at the same time was 1,624,615. Yet the aggregate wages paid that year by the five States first mentioned was but $8,630,150; during the same period Iowa paid in wages $9,725,962. The number of hands employed during that time by the group of States referred to was 43,016, while Iowa employed 28,372.

From the data given it is plain that if one Northwestern State, which is but a fair sample of the rest, pays over a million dollars more per annum to 28,000-odd wage-workers than five of the older Southern States pay to 43,000, then there must exist among those States an indifference to labor shown in the failure to pay it just or adequate wages and which are easily doubled in other parts of the Union under no more favorable conditions.

Another unavoidable conclusion in this connection is that no people with a moderate valuation in property can be prosperous with but 43,016 wage-workers in a population of nearly 5,000,000 people, most

of whom are alleged to be poor. It is because of this lack of material resources that we are asked to pass the Blair bill.

If I were to show that my Congressional district in 1880 raised more Irish potatoes by 150,000 bushels than the four States of South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, you might reply that that crop was not an especial product of those States. Of orchard products, however, in which the Southern States might be supposad to excel with their superior climate and advantages, Iowa produced in 1880 more than four times as much as Alabama. So that the matter of peculiar adaptation in the products named, as well as in others, does not seem to govern. What I should emphasize in this connection is that these Democratic States, which I have already charged as being unfriendly to labor, and whose industries are in a dilapidated condition, do not improve their opportunities and are not willing that other sections of the country which do should thrive and enjoy the protection that their industry has merited.

Democrats complain that protection is the principal cause of their troubles; on the contrary, legislation can not remedy their unfortunate condition. When our free-trade friends shall pay labor fair and living wages, pay it in cash and not largely in truck, when instead of less than 1 per cent. of her population being engaged as wage-workers in skilled and unskilled labor, they shall employ 4 or 5 per cent., then the new era of the South which we all hope for will come.

THE PRESENT TARIFF BILL SECTIONAL.

Staple products of the Northern portion of the Union go to the wall in favor of the productions of the South. Thus timber, hewn and sawed, sawed boards, planks, staves, pickets, lath shingles, logs, etc., are put on the free-list. Now, as a matter of fact, although the South has a great deal of timber and lumber material in its forests, which it utilizes to but a limited extent, yet it makes little difference to her whether timber is protected or not. She has no competitor near her southern boundary, and none that can cause her uneasiness. Not so with our Northern frontier, however. An industrious and aggressive foreign power, rich in interminable forests that stretch away to the frozen ocean, competes with our people for their own market from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Under these circumstances, therefore, lumber has been placed on the free-list.

Flax seed, flax, and linseed-oil, products of the Northwestern and Middle States largely, have also been put upon the free-list. Iowa, which in the number of its linseed-oil mills ranks third among the States, will be a considerable sufferer should the pending bill become a law. Already a large oil mill in the city of my residence has been obliged to go out of business there on account of the unprofitable condition of the industry, and which will be followed by many others, if not all, in the Northwest should this bill become a law.

The placing of wool upon the free-list is another striking illustration of the manner in which this bill has been made up. The monster petitions from New England, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Colorado, and the great Northwest were as dust in the balance. Not one of them was heard by the Committee on Ways and Means. The majority of that committee alone constructed and formed the present bill. As the bill was to be constructed on a sectional basis, it was not deemed necessary to even consult once with the minority of the committee respecting its provisions; to have done so might have jeopardized its sectional character.

The majority of that committee—composed of the following members, namely: Messrs. MILLS of Texas, MCMILLIN of Tennessee, BRECKINRIDGE of Arkansas, BRECKINRIDGE of Kentucky, TURNER of Georgia, WILSON of West Virginia, SCOTT of Pennsylvania, and BYNUM of Indiana—shows in its formation the interests that were to be considered; six of the eight members are from Southern States. As the Mills bill is the production of the majority of the committee alone, it is evident that the gentlemen from the South, who composed three-fourths of the majority of the committee, could and did dominate its construction. Meanwhile the regions in which are centered the great industries that have given the United States pre-eminence among the nations were ignored, and they were taken under guardianship by the Representatives of States quite guileless of manufacturing industries, with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] following the tail of the committee's hand-wagon.

Notwithstanding the necessity of reducing the duties under the "robber tariff law," important products of the South, like sugar and rice, are still protected with a high rate of duty by the Mills bill—much higher, indeed, than the average rate of duty on other protected articles. Every argument applicable to the justice and propriety of maintaining a protective duty on sugar and rice is appropriate in a still greater degree to its continuance on wool, flax, and other commodities.

This championship of free trade was the same in the South in the days of slavery as now; at that time certainly it did not arrogate to itself the title of defender and protector of free labor; its position ever since the abolition of slavery is the same as before. Indeed, I have heard Southern gentlemen allege that considering the care of their chattels and the expenses and various losses incident to slavery, the labor of the freedmen was now procured at a considerable less cost than in the days of the patriarchal institution.

As illustrating the attitude of the South upon free trade, I here give the votes by section of Northern and Southern Representatives under the different tariff bills that have been enacted since 1841:

Year.	Northern.		Southern.	
	Protection.	Free trade.	Protection.	Free trade.
1842	93	30	10	69
1846	73	56	20	58
1857	70	58	2	60
1861	95	21	7	21
1866	94	48	1	6
1883	137	59	15	57
1884	144	80	15	75
1886, June	146	61	11	79
1886, December	140	62	14	87

I might continue adducing reasons showing the sectional character of the pending tariff bill, but the fact is so apparent that extended argument is unnecessary.

TRUSTS.

The sugar trust and certain other monopolies have, through their representatives, been given audience in a semi-informal manner, and, to use the language of some gentleman on the committee, "matters have been talked over by some of the representatives of trusts with members of the committee." As a memorable coincidence of the sugar trusts' representatives being heard before the committee, and the fact that the great body of the people have not been heard, we find a high protective duty on sugar; this, notwithstanding the fact that after more than a hundred and twenty-five years of experiment it is far from producing any adequate benefits to the people of the country in proportion to the cost of the duty levied to support it; notwithstanding, too, that the gigantic sugar trust and combine have the country by the throat and are masters of the price of that commodity. Since last December, when the sugar trust went into operation, the price of sugar has gone up nearly or quite a cent a pound on the average, which, although simple apparently, results in an aggregate increase on the staple of $30,000,000.

By the operations of the trust some mills are closed altogether, and others are run on a limited capacity, so that there may be only such a supply upon the market that the trust can control the price as well as the output. It has already appeared in evidence before the committee of this House that a sugar trust can not be maintained that seeks to take in the sugar refineries of both this country and Europe. Mr. Havemeyer, the head of the sugar trust, has explicitly testified in that investigation that his firm could probably succeed and make money if sugar were at once placed upon the free-list, although it is fair to say that he affects to doubt whether other firms in that business could do so; but certainly the art of successfully conducting this business in the United States can not, it is reasonable to suppose, be confined to one firm. It is charged, and I think successfully shown, in the investigations before this Congressional committee, that the sugar trust has already in its brief existence controlled, and can in the future control, the price of raw sugar brought here from abroad for refining purposes; while the average duty is high enough upon refined imported sugar to protect the trust and leave it a handsome margin. This trust has refused to answer interrogatories propounded to it by the duly appointed committee authorized by this House to investigate it.

No contempt proceedings were instituted against the gentleman who declined to testify, which renders it quite conclusive that the organization is already above the law. In view of all these facts, it was eminently proper and consistent that the Democratic party should be determined to maintain a high import duty on sugar and thus aid and foster the trust that has and will put so many millions into its pocket at the expense of the American people. More trusts, by several hundred per cent., have been organized and placed upon a successful basis, and corporations and monopolies of all kinds seem to have acquired a firmer grip upon the Democratic party in its three years' administration of public affairs than in a quarter of a century of Republican rule.

SUGAR.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let us examine sugar with reference to this bill, and which may appropriately be termed, if such a comparison is possible, a corresponding industry in the South. Louisiana is the only State in the Union that produces sugar to any considerable extent. In 1861–'62 the sugar product of that State was 459,419 hogsheads, while in 1886–'67 there were produced but 145,986 hogsheads, or little more than one-fourth as much, showing that the industry is not advancing with others in the country, and that there is little development to be expected from it in Louisiana. One great object in the protective policy is to favor industries until they are developed and can sustain themselves; to that end they ought to show enlargement and progress during a series of years, yet this is the picture presented by the sugar planters of Louisiana in their memorial to Congress:

Notwithstanding the hazard, men already engaged in the business have in the last few years invested large amounts of capital in plantation improve-

ments. Yet no sugar property in the State will bring one-half the cost of its buildings and machinery.

Plantations that make annual crops of $100,000 to $150,000 will not sell for one-half the value of the yearly product. This abnormal condition of affairs is not because sugar-planting is unprofitable, for the contrary is the case; but it is because capital is afraid of the tariff menace and unwilling to invest in plantation property on any terms. One of the surest methods of developing the sugar industry would be the establishment of central factories and the cultivation of cane on the small-farm system. But the capital necessary for this purpose can not be secured so long as the threat of a reduction of duties hangs suspended like the sword of Damocles above the sugar industries.

Again say the planters:

Capital is timid. The riches of the East seek investment in the bleak regions of Dakota and in the alkali deserts of Arizona. Capital pierces mountains and digs down into the bowels of the earth. It wars with the elements and conquers nature, content with a small interest as the price of victory.

Is anything stronger needed to enforce my statement? These gentlemen tell us this condition of affairs exists "because capital is afraid of the tariff menace." Undoubtedly that is one reason. But is it not remarkable that these gentlemen should year after year send a Democratic delegation to Congress committed to the free-trade policy of destroying American industries, and while they slaughter all around them demand a high protective tariff on sugar in the interest of Louisiana?

On the item of sugar there is collected more import duty than on any other commodity save one. The tariff tax on sugar amounts to $58,000,000 per annum. This country produces about one-tenth of what we consume. This tax is levied on the theory that we are supporting a home industry; but where such an industry steadily declines and the people are called upon to put their hands in their pockets and pay out $52,000,000 annually to encourage it, besides paying for all their sugar, the Democratic party seems to think it has found the proper industry to protect. One hundred and sixty years ago the growing of sugar cane was commenced in Louisiana, to which State sugar-cane growing is almost exclusively confined in the United States.

In the crop year 1853–'54 she produced 495,000,000 pounds. In 1861–'62 her production was 528,321,000 pounds; in 1883–'84, 287,712,230 pounds.

In the year 1884–'85 she produced 211,402,963 pounds, thus showing a decline in the industry of about 50 per cent. between the crop years of 1853–'54 and 1884–'85. In the crop year 1883–'84 that State had in cultivation 172,420 acres of cane, while in the crop year 1884–'85 she had in cultivation but 118,656 acres. Taking the planting of the largest year even, and we find the aggregate planting of the State to be no greater number of acres than are contained in one ordinary county.

In 1886 the State of Louisiana produced 286,625,920 pounds of sugar. The average specific duty then was 2 cents per pound. The United States that year would have received as duty for the importation of the same number of pounds of sugar $5,732,518. Therefore in order to give Louisiana $5,732,518 worth of encouragement we paid to the importers of foreign sugar $58,000,000. No such costly experiment in favor of protection has been known in the history of the country, none that has proved so stupendous a failure considering the amount expended upon and the encouragement given to it. Estimating the cost of this sugar at 3 cents a pound for the same year, which is of course beyond the cost of foreign sugars, we find the cost of the crop to be $8,598,777.

Evidently, in view of the failure that has attended the culture of the sugar-cane in Louisiana, it would be more economical to maintain that industry "in the Parthenon at the public expense." In other words, to pay annually the amount of three-quarters of a million nearly that the State would be benefited by the tariff, and let it go out of business, saving thereby to the people of the United States $52,000,000 yearly.

So long as there is improvement in any of our industries, or hope for improvement, they should be protected by the fostering hand of the Government; that has always been the policy of the Republican party. The reverse has been the policy of the Democratic party, save where the industry has been in Democratic hands or such a policy has been necessary to Democratic success.

Yet, in view of all these facts, and in spite of the clamor of free-traders against the "robber tariff," as they are pleased to term it, notwithstanding their outcry against protection, they propose to still retain a high duty on the Democratic products, sugar and rice, while they place salt, lumber, flax, wool, and other products of the North and West on the free-list, and would undoubtedly have placed iron in the same class but for the fact that a number of Southern States that were interested would not consent.

But gentlemen supporting the Mills bill plead that the war ruined the sugar industry, and that it will require a still longer time to achieve success. I hardly know what the gentlemen's idea may be of a reasonable time.

I know that in the twenty-three years elapsing since that time the great Northwest has developed from an almost illimitable and uninhabitable waste to be the peer of any portion of this grand Republic—peer in progress, in patriotism, in education, and more than peer in industry. The magic cities that sprang from its plains, the wheels of industry that drove its countless manufactories, the wilderness of nature exchanged for the garden of civilization, wealth created where none existed, agriculture and art supplanting the home of the savage; these are some of the conquests of the West in the twenty-three years since the close of the war.

If the South had had every vestige of her agricultural advancement swept from her soil she would still have been ahead of the West in the era that commenced with the close of the war. Yet the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber affect to think the West very miserable and have with hilarity alluded to the mortgages that cover her agricultural regions, and have promised great relief if she would bow down and worship the Democratic calf. It is true that with bare hands she has rescued the wilderness to civilization, and in so doing she has been obliged to mortgage her farms; not only so, but she pays them. With no system of peonage in which her laborers can compete with the peasantry of Europe, she, on the contrary, treats them as intelligent freemen and pays them the highest wages paid on earth to laboring men.

For herself she demands no Blair bill, because she mortgaged her farms and educated her children, even when she was without money. This is the Western idea of the rights of labor, which has been and always will be at variance with the practice of the Democratic party where that party dominates affairs.

Sir, I have watched with some interest the course and arguments of the distinguished gentlemen from Louisiana, who, while seeking to protect their own industries, are busily engaged in trying to wreck those of others; in short, are the ardent champions of the Mills bill.

Said one of the distinguished Representatives from that State [Mr. WILKINSON] in his remarks on the pending tariff bill as affecting sugar:

I frankly confess, Mr. Chairman, that I am not an impartial judge in this matter. I go further and frankly confess that I take more interest in the maintenance of these duties because under their encouragement so many of my people earn their bread than because they give such revenues to the Government. That is human nature, and human nature is the same in Louisiana as it is elsewhere. My views may be biased by a regard for the welfare of my people before any other considerations; but, sir, before I finish I shall call in the testimony of other witnesses whose judgments have not been biased by such reasons as mine may have been.

The gentleman is frank enough to say that he wants sugar excepted and protected in the general war on industries, because it assists his people to earn their bread; no better reason can be offered by the most eminent protectionist. In brief, he has an industry which he thinks worth preserving. Now, if he had enough Democratic associates in this House with constituencies that had industries they thought worth preserving we should have no trouble with free trade in this country.

But again says the gentleman from Louisiana:

Sir, the gentlemen that I have mentioned, and others of that school as honest, as sincere, as patriotic as they, have been animated by no selfish desire—as I am pardonable in having—to benefit the State of Louisiana. They recognized the fact that sugar duties furnish a greater ratio of revenue to the Government and a less ratio of tribute to the industry than any other article such as is produced in this country which is upon the whole dutiable list. The economists of that school remember the fact that while the Government received $58,000,000 in revenue it increased the price on an amount of home production only one-ninth of the quantity imported under the tariff; that is to say, that for every $9 of revenue it gave only $1 of protection. It certainly did not come within that category which has just been denounced by a State convention in Wisconsin, which creates a dangerous surplus and "at the same time indirectly taxes the producer of the West for the sole benefit of protected manufacturers $9 for every $1 that goes into the Treasury."

Here the gentleman offers as an inducement to maintain a high tariff on sugar and sacrifice other American industries the unblushing proposition that his State produces so little sugar in proportion to the whole amount necessary to supply this country, and the tariff of $58,000,000 is so large that for every $9 of revenue there is only $1 of protection; in other words, the more taxes and revenue and the less protection to an American industry the better.

That our home industries are aided by protection the gentleman admits in behalf of sugar. In view of the fact that we are trying to reduce the revenue instead of increasing it the gentleman's argument means nothing except the destruction of all industries that his constituents and colleagues are not interested in promoting.

If the gentleman's State produced but one-tenth the sugar it now does, and the duty still remained fifty-eight million, the merit of the tariff system he advocates would, according to his statement, be still greater.

No such selfish and vicious political policy can find favor in this country.

The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILKINSON] in further continuance of his remarks upon the pending bill, and very unfortunately, I think for his consistency, saw fit to urge the continuance of the tariff on sugar for the purpose of having something with which to pay the country's obligations to

THE DEFENDERS OF THE UNION.

The gentleman said:

Sir, the war has indeed gone, and its angry thunders have been hushed I trust for all time to come, but the obligations of its plighted faith are here to its creditors on the one hand and to its valiant defenders on the other.

Why, Mr. Chairman, with an overflowing Treasury, and the surplus constantly increasing, the Democratic party in the Forty-ninth Congress through its leader, William R. Morrison, was so hostile to Union soldiers and to the policy of granting them pensions, that it proposed to pass the infamous enactment providing that whenever a bill was introduced having for its object the granting of money in aid of pensions,

provision should be made in the same bill for levying a tax whereby the money should be raised.

This attempt to bring the soldiers and sailors of the Union into disagreeable prominence and emphasize before the country the amount of money that was being paid them, as well as the annoyance of submitting to an income tax, as was proposed by the gentleman on the other side of the House, in order to exasperate the moneyed and business interests of the country, was so apparent and was met with such determined opposition by the Republicans of the House that that infamous project was abandoned.

The intent of the Democratic party of preventing any legislation in the future was here so fairly proved, not only in the provisions sought to be incorporated in the proposed law, but in the further fact that it was extraordinary and beyond the pale of usual legislation, that no argument could make it clearer.

Notwithstanding we had more money in the Treasury than we could use, the Democratic party proposed to bring into being an internal-revenue system with its assessors, collectors, detectives, and other paraphernalia wherewith to raise the amount of money called for by each pension bill.

In view of the fact that gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber have so often and so bitterly denounced the internal-revenue system in all its forms, it is quite evident that in devising this scheme against Union soldiers they supposed they were dealing them a most damaging and fatal blow in connection with pensions.

The gentleman's suggestion of meeting our obligations to the disabled defenders of the Union has, I think, been nowhere more thoroughly repudiated than by representatives of his own State during the last five years that I have had the honor of being a member of this House. During that time at the special evening sessions for the consideration of private pension bills members from the gentleman's own State have been very active in their opposition to many bills, demanding the continuous reading of reports in others, and in such other "constitutional safeguards" as tended in effect to keep down "pauper pension legislation" have exhibited their hostility to the pensioning of Union soldiers. I think, therefore, I may be pardoned, for saying, and I put it in the mildest form, that the gentleman is in error about the desire or willingness of his party either in Louisiana or in the country at large to maintain tariff duties for the purpose of canceling our obligations to Union soldiers.

Sir, if the present Chief Executive be renominated by the Democratic party South, it will be largely on account of his hostility to Union soldiers and his vetoes of their pension bills. When in addition to that it was proposed by him to return the rebel flags captured during the war, he became the idol of the late Confederate States, and even his Democratic opponents in Kentucky affect the kiss of reconciliation.

The platforms of that party have contained some allusion to the soldier until this year, and feeling that it is now firm in the saddle, it proposes to throw off the mask. Thus far it has not been possible at this session to secure any action by this House on general pension legislation. While by indirection and often directly the Democratic party strangles and defeats pension legislation, its press and stump speakers loudly protest their love for the old soldiers. Thousands of soldiers in this country are to-day supported in poor-houses or at home as objects of charity, yet it seems impossble to secure any action for their relief in the present House of Representatives.

The present Secretary of the Treasury, presumably with the assent of the Chief Executive, has loaned out to the banks of the country without any warrant or authority of law whatever, $60,000,000 of the people's money; nor is there any denial of this fact, yet the system of revenue taxation is invoked by the Democratic party for such pension legislation as may be passed in order to procure money for amounts so appropriated.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY A FREE-TRADE PARTY.

It is but a short time since, Mr. Chairman, that the Democratic party did not know which side of the tariff it was on. In its national platform of 1884 it formulated a deceptive and hypocritical utterance that even deceived itself; in a prior Congress and recently we heard the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Morrison] discuss with apparent feeling the question of whether the Democratic national platform of 1884 was for or against the policy of protection. That was the picture then. To-day we have the Mills tariff bill, a bill partisan in its origin and sectional in its ends.

Last Congress quite a different bill was proposed by the gentlemen who are supporting the Mills bill. Then the present law was considered practically correct, except that it was 20 per cent. too high. Many of the industries that were protected by that bill, are now put on the free-list, or reduced so nearly to that condition as to be practically unprotected. What remarkable changes in condition have taken place which make both of these bills proper and right within little more than a year?

There is no change, Mr. Chairman, save the change of front of the Democratic party, made to obtain political power; the variance in these tariff bills is no greater than the altered policy expressed in the tarift plank of the Democratic platform of 1884 and the President's message at the opening of the present Congress.

The present bill seems to have originated under the delusion that the Democratic party is now the whole country.

During the debate upon the pending question several gentlemen on the other side have attempted to deny that the object and purpose of the Democratic party is free trade. Let us examine its record and the utterances of some of its leaders in response to this extraordinary denial.

The following resolution was a part of the Democratic platform in 1848:

Resolved, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844 have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest, and protective tariff of 1846, and that in our opinion it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty.

The Democratic platform of 1856 contained the following resolution:

Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion of our common country.

Resolved, finally, The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world.

Said the present Speaker of the House in the Forty-eighth Congress, in speaking upon the bill providing for the appointment of a commission to investigate the question of the tariff and internal-revenue laws:

Mr. KASSON. Let me ask the gentlemen from Kentucky, then, whether he admits the policy of protection is a legitimate one in the adjustment of the tariff?

Mr. CARLISLE. I say that the duty and the power of the Government extend only so far as to impose a tax for the purpose of raising revenue for public purposes. But I hold at the same time that no tax or duty can be possibly imposed without affecting to a greater or less extent some or all of the industries of the country; and for my part I would rather help them than hurt them.

Mr. KASSON. I think the gentleman hardly appreciates my point, which was whether he admitted the principle of protection as right in the adjustment of the tariff to any extent.

Mr. CARLISLE. If the gentleman means to ask whether I recognize a principle that would impose a duty above the revenue point merely for the purpose of giving what is called protection, my answer is in the negative. If we were called upon now for the first time to declare a principle or inaugurate a policy upon the subject, I should not hesitate to announce my adherence to that creed which demands the largest liberty in trade, that doctrine which opens the channels of commerce in all parts of the world and invites the producer and consumer to meet on equal terms in a free market for the exchange of their commodities, for I sincerely believe that all commercial restrictions are in the end injurious to the interests of the people. I believe that prohibitions and embargoes in times of peace, whatever may be their avowed purposes, are inconsistent not only with the first principles of political economy, but with the spirit of the age in which we live.

Said the distinguished gentleman from Texas [DAVID B. CULBERSON], in the Forty-eighth Congress, speaking upon the tariff:

It is the policy of the Democratic party, as I understand it, to cut out by the roots the protective system and substitute in its stead a tariff for revenue as contradistinguished from a tariff for protection.

In the same speech he further said:

Considerations of a just public policy stay the work of reconstruction of the tariff at the limit fixed by this bill, but the demand of the people who have been so long oppressed by tariff taxation will not be wholly satisfied until the work of reconstruction shall be complete by the substitution of a tariff for revenue for the protective system. This measure, therefore, must serve as notice to all interested that the Democratic party means to advance step by step to the only just and constitutional mode of raising revenue by a tariff.

Said the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Van Eaton], in the Forty-eighth Congress, in his remarks upon the bill to reduce import duties:

But we are told that we have other industries in the South that demand and must have protection. Mr. Chairman, I glory in our Southern industries, factories, mines, and so on, but I undertake to say that in our genial climate they are not the puling infants it seems they are, and must ever remain on the arid hills and under the bleak skies of New England. I have no fears but our people will so adapt themselves to the situation that, as the artificial stimulus of protection is withdrawn, they will grow all the stronger in the natural and healthy air of approximate free trade, and building up their industries, untrammeled by restrictive laws and repressive enactments, allowed to buy, sell, and trade where they will, and according to the great and unchanging laws of commerce, all their industries will not only survive but flourish, and possibly illustrate the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest."

During the present debate the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], while speaking to the pending bill, said:

I am not here for the purpose of voting for a tariff on lead or a tariff on flax or a tariff on anything; but I am here to get the tariff off everything I can. [Applause.]

This, in addition to the utterances of Mr. MILLS in his opening speech upon the tariff and the statements of numerous other gentlemen upon the other side of the Chamber, will hardly require further attention to prove their free-trade animus. When closely pressed the gentlemen attempt to hedge, and seem ashamed to admit what they have frequently stated that the present tariff bill is, to use their own expression, but a step in the right direction. Certainly the present bill is not to remove the barriers and restrictions to trade except in a degree, and the present action is but a forerunner, as some of the gentlemen have remarked, of tearing down the barriers and the inauguration of a system of absolute free trade.

The usual custom of the committees of this House to give the people interested in legislation a hearing has been invaded, and all hearings have been denied by the committee as such. The petitions sent before

the committee have not even been read, nor has respectful consideration been given to the interests that are so materially affected.

Numerous industries have protested in vain that the legislation proposed would destroy or materially cripple them; yet with a sublime indifference to both people and industries, arguments and protests have been denied consideration by a majority of the Committee on Ways and Means.

While the reform part of the Committee on Ways and Means was declaiming against the robbery of New England manufacturers, it was seeking with a step steady as time and relentless as fate to protect its own Democratic strongholds.

It had placed on the free-list flax and the manufactures therefrom, wool, tallow, beans, garden seeds, and potatoes, while a strong protective duty is maintained on sugar, rice, and oranges.

Now the raising of flax is one of the great industries of the Northwest and the State in which I live. Iowa has more linseed-oil mills than any State in the Union save two; the placing on the free-list of flax and linseed-oil will seriously injure these interests.

In locality we are nearer the British possessions on the north than to New York City. With no protective tariff freight rates to the Atlantic seaboard will render it impossible for Western farmers to compete successfully with Canadian and other foreign importers of linseed-oil, flax, and its manufactures. This because not only is labor to produce the raw material here higher than in foreign countries, but the wages paid operatives employed in manufacturing the raw material here are from two to six times as much as in Europe.

The following table shows the wages paid in this country and European countries in the flax-spinning trade:

Average rates of wages paid in the flax-spinning trade, Europe and America.

[Mark equal to 23.8 cents; ruble equal to 50 cents; franc equal to 19 cents.]

Occupations.	Prussia Silesia*		Rhineland.*		Germany.*		Russia, Eastern.†		Russia, Western.*		France.*		United States.‡	Great Britain.
	Per week of 60 hours.	Equal to United States currency.	Per week of 60 hours.	Equal to United States currency.	Per week of 60 hours.	Equal to United States currency.	Per week of 60 hours.	Equal to United States currency.	Per week of 60 hours.	Equal to United States currency.	Per week of 60 hours.	Equal to United States currency.	Per week of 60 hours.	Per week of — hours.
	Marks.	*Dollars.*	*Marks.*	*Dollars.*	*Marks.*	*Dollars*	*Rubles.*	*Dollars.*	*Rubles.*	*Dollars.*	*Francs.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
Sorters	8.34	2.00	15.84	3.75	12.10	2.88	.....	.....	.....	.....	20.00	3.85	12.00	4.86
Roughers	6.67	1.60	12.50	3.00	9.60	2.30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12.00	4.86
Machine-workers	4.60	1.15	7.50	1.78	6.05	1.46	1.60	.80	2.00	1.00	7.00	1.35	5.00	1.46
Spinners	6.67	1.60	9.17	2.18	7.92	1.98	2.20	1.10	2.25	1.12	10.50	2.02	7.00	1.82
Reelers	6.67	1.60	9.17	2.18	7.92	1.98	.....	.....	.....	.....	17.50	3.37	7.00	1.34
Roving	5.84	1.40	8.34	2.00	7.10	1.70	1.28	.64	2.25	1.12	10.50	2.02	5.00	1.58
Carders	5.84	1.40	7.92	1.88	6.90	1.65	.....	.....	2.25	1.12	11.50	2.20	6.00	2.19
Spreaders	5.00	1.20	7.92	1.88	6.45	1.55	1.20	.60	2.25	1.12	10.50	2.02	8.00	1.70
Drawing	5.00	1.20	7.50	1.78	6.25	1.50	1.08	.54	2.25	1.12	9.50	1.85	5.00	1.95
Doffers	3.75	.90	5.84	1.40	4.80	1.15	1.00	.50	1.50	.75	.....	.....	3.50	1.34

* Work 72 hours per week. † Work 81 hours per week. ‡ Work 60 hours per week.

Flax and Hemp Spinners and Growers' Association, 1886.

It requires no argument to show that with this great difference in wages paid, business in the flax-spinning trade in the United States must practically cease or else the wage-workers employed in it must accept the same compensation as continental workers.

The same remark holds true of those engaged in growing the raw material. American labor at $1 to $1.50 a day can not compete with labor in the countries referred to paid but from 25 to 40 cents a day.

Notwithstanding these facts and the protests of those engaged in raising flax, as well as those manufacturing its products, the committee has placed it upon the free-list.

In attacking a party or financial policy it is customary to point out the abuses under that policy—the suffering, the distress. If the theory of protection to American industries is a vicious and false one, what is more proper and logical, and indeed what is easier, than to show its effects; to point to ruined credit, to the general bankruptcy of the mercantile classes, to the decline in values, to the starving poor willing to work but without bread?

I had expected, Mr. Chairman, that our free-trade friends would attempt to show in the course of this debate the destroying effect of protection upon the country politically, financially, and possibly morally. They have shown nothing of the kind. On the contrary, we have as a result of protection and Republican rule the most astonishing success in government that the world ever saw.

In 1860 the wealth of the United States, embracing every kind of property, was $16,150,000,000, and we had been three hundred and fifty years in accumulating it. In 1882 the total property valuation of this country was $64,636,000,000; thus in the first twenty-two years' rule of the Republican party the national wealth was quadrupled. Under the same protective policy the wages of laborers nearly doubled over those paid in the last preceding Democratic administration of James Buchanan.

While poor people and poverty will continue to exist in every nation to a greater or less extent throughout all time, yet I affirm without fear of successful contradiction that the condition of the poorer classes was never so prosperous as under the policy referred to; I could hardly impanel a jury of honest Democrats who would deny this proposition. With a gigantic war forced upon us and the great debt it necessarily entailed we yet find our bonds, although drawing a very low rate of interest, commanding from 25 to 30 per cent. premium, and difficult to get at that.

For this and other magnificent results, too numerous to mention, the gentlemen upon the other side ask us to accept the Democratic dogma of free trade, with its stagnation, its pauper wages, and its sacrifice of everything American to everything foreign. There was a time when some gentlemen of the opposition affected to deny that the wages of skilled and unskilled labor were higher in this country than in Europe; that time has long since passed, and yet they assert as a part of their theory that with raw material of almost every kind as low as or lower in the Old World than it is here, we can nevertheless take off all protective duties, allow foreign goods to be imported without restriction, and that the wages of our laborers will still be as good as or better than they were before, notwithstanding they are competing with men who put their labor into competition for one-half the wages paid here.

Does not the absurdity of the proposition defeat itself, and is it not confessed in the arguments of the gentlemen who support in the Mills bill a protective tariff on sugar, rice, and other Southern products?

But two items enter into the production of either agricultural or manufactured products, namely, labor and material; as a rule labor is about 90 per cent. in value of the entire cost; and the remaining 10 per cent. represents the raw material.

The advocates of free trade never have been and never will be able to explain why it is that with raw material as high or higher than in continental countries, with wages there but one-half the standard paid here, we can yet pay as good or higher wages under free trade to our laborers, and at the same time can get our goods cheaper and maintain our own industries.

The effect of free trade, whenever it has had an opportunity to experiment upon the country, should alone end the argument. Ruined industries, bankruptcy, and business prostration everywhere have marked the adoption of that policy. Facts, however, are better than theories, and I here give data taken from reports of the Bureau of Statistics, giving gold values of the imports and exports of merchandise, the balances against the United States and the average percentage of the tariff to the total imports of merchandise entered for consumption. The average per year is given for the three years preceding each reduction of the tariff.

I also submit a carefully prepared table, taken from a recent compilation, showing the precise wages paid in various industries in this country and in England, and which is more eloquent than any mere theories in showing the relative difference between protection and free trade.

STATISTICS PRECEDING THE REVULSION OF 1837.

[The revulsion commenced in May, 1837.]

Years.	Tariff.	Annual average of merchandise.		Annual average balance against United States.
		Imports.	Exports.	
Before the reduction of the tariff.	*Per cent.*			
1832	37.6	$81,923,634	$70,767,016	$11,156,618
1833	37.6			
1834	(*)			
After the reduction of the tariff.				
1835	18	131,376,646	100,437,106	30,939,540
1836	16			
1837	14.5			

STATISTICS PRECEDING THE REVULSION OF 1857.

[The revulsion commenced in September, 1857, less than six months after the reduction.]

Before the reduction of the tariff.	*Per cent.*			
1854	22.7	$267,764,352	$224,391,807	$43,372,545
1855	22.7			
1856	22.7			
After the reduction of the tariff.				
1857	15.6	†183,733,038	†105,420,659	†78,312,379

STATISTICS PRECEDING THE REVULSION OF 1873.

[The revulsion commenced in September, 1873.]

Before the reduction of the tariff.	*Per cent.*			
1868	42.7	$390,410,644	$307,057,690	$83,352,954
1869	42.7			
1870	42.7			
After the reduction of the tariff.				
1871	38.5	580,247,372	453,973,159	126,274,713
1872	38.5			
1873	26.9			

* The reduction commenced January 1, 1834; the Government financial year ends September 30. In the absence of steam-ship and telegraph there was but little addition to the imports during the nine months of that year; therefore it is classed with the years before the reduction.

† For six months only.

NOTE 1. The revulsions of 1837, 1857, and 1873 were the only revulsions in fifty years, and each one was preceded by the only large reductions of the tariff during the fifty years.

NOTE 2. Large tariff reductions have always been followed by a large increase in imports of merchandise, without a corresponding increase in exports of merchandise, thus resulting in large trade balances against the United States.

NOTE 3. "Balances of trade" against the United States become a debt owed to a foreign country, and have to be paid in coin.

NOTE 4. The gold and silver mines of California were discovered in 1847. From that time to the revisions of 1857, the exports of these metals exceeded their imports by over $270,000,000, and from 1857 to the revulsions of 1873 by over $800,000,000, making a total of over $1,070,000,000, in twenty-six years.

NOTE 5. Even these large payments of coin did not equal the trade balances against us during the years mentioned, consequently there is a foreign debt, estimated by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in 1873 to be $1,200,000,000.

Occupations.	England.	United States.
Book-binders	$6.00	$15.00 to $18.00
Brush-makers	6.00	15.00 to 20.00
Boiler-makers	7.75	16.50
Brick-makers	3.54	11.86
Bricklayers	8.00	21.00
Blacksmiths	6.00	13.30
Butchers	6.00	12.00
Bakers	6.25	12.75
Blast-furnace keepers	10.00	13.00
Blast-furnace fillers	7.50	14.00
Bolt-makers	6.50	16.50
Bolt-cutters	3.00	10.00
Coal-miners	5.88	13.00
Cotton-mill hands	4.60	6.72
Carpenters	7.50	15.00
Coopers	6.00	13.25
Carriage-makers	6.75	13.00 to 25.00
Cutlery	6.00	12.00 to 20.00
Chemicals	$4.00 to 6.00	13.00 to 16.00
Clock-makers	7.00	18.00
Cabinetmakers	7.00	18.00
Farm hands	3.00	7.50 to 9.00
Glass-blowers	6.00 to 9.00	25.00 to 30.00
Glass (partly skilled)	6.00 to $7.00	12.00 to $15.00
Glass (unskilled)	2.00 to 4.00	7.00 to 10.00
Glove-makers (girls)	2.50	6.00 to 9.00
Glove-makers (men)	4.50	10.00 to 30.00
Hatters	6.00	12.00 to 24.00
Iron-ore miners	5.59	12.00
Iron molders	7.50	15.00
Iron, per ton (finished)	2.00 to 3.00	5.31 to 8.71
Heaters and rollers	$10.00 to 12.00	$20.00 to 30.00
Instrument-makers	7.00	18.00 to 20.00
Laborers	4.10	8.00
Longshoremen	8.00	15.00
Linen thread (men)	5.00	7.50
Linen thread (women)	2.35	5.22
Machinists	8.50	18.00
Masons	3.00	21.00
Printers (1,000 ems)	8.50	16.00
Printers, week hands	6.65	13.40
Pattern-makers	7.50	18.00
Painters	7.50	15.00
Plumbers	8.00	18.00
Plasterers	7.50	21.00
Potters	8.67	18.30
Polishers	7.00	18.00
Paper-makers	5.20	12.00 to 24.00
Puddlers, per week	8.00 to 10.00	18.00 to 20.00
Quarrymen	6.00	12.00 to 15.00
Rope-makers	5.25	9.00 to 12.00
Railway engineers	10.00	21.00
Railway firemen	5.00	12.00
Shipbuilding:		
Boiler-makers	7.00	14.00
Machinists	7.00	14.15
Coppersmiths	6.50	16.50
Platers	8.00	18.00
Drillers	8.00	12.00
Riveters	8.00	17.40
Riggers	5.50	11.00
Pattern-makers	8.00	24.00
Salt-makers	6.00	9.00 to 10.50
Silk (men)	5.00	10.00
Silk (women)	2.50	6.00
Scarf-makers	1.50 to 2.25	6.00 to 9.00
Servants (month)	5.00	15.00
Shoemakers	6.00	12.00
Stationary engineers	7.50	15.00 to 18.00
Soap-makers	5.00	10.50
Tanners	5.00	8.00 to 10.00
Teamsters	5.25	12.00 to 15.00
Upholsterers	8.00	18.00
Watch-makers	8.00	18.00
Wire drawers	11.00	22.00

Tax Reduction.

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL W. PEEL,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 21, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. PEEL said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Governments, like individuals, must have money upon which to live. Individuals accumulate means in various ways. Governments, unlike individuals, obtain theirs by levying taxes or contributions upon their people and their property. All governments provide for levying and collecting taxes from their people in some way, generally in their organic law. Some adopt a direct tax upon persons and property, others an indirect tax. A direct tax means to collect annually from the citizen his or her lawful share to support the government, and is paid directly to the government.

This system is admitted to be the most economic, and has been adopted by all the States of this Union for the maintenance of their respective State governments. Each citizen knows to a certainty that once a year he will be compelled to contribute his share of the taxes to run and support his county and State government. This all understand. But how, where, and when he pays his share of the tax to maintain and support the Government of the United States with its vast governmental machinery and army of officers, many do not understand; and that is the subject under discussion—and for a perfect understanding of this vexed and important question it is necessary to understand the organization of the Government itself.

The several States in convention assembled adopted a written Constitution, frequently termed the organic law of the land. This written Constitution was ratified by the several States and thereby became binding upon them as States and upon the people. In this Constitution we find the Government created by it divided into three divisions called the three co-ordinate branches of Government; one is termed the executive, one the judicial, and one the legislative; the latter branch is the Senate and House of Representatives—called Congress. This branch of Government is intrusted with the power to levy and collect taxes from the people to support and maintain the entire Government in all its varied machinery. This power is in the following language:

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

From this language of the Constitution we see that Congress may legally levy duties on imports, which means an indirect tax, or it may levy excise or internal tax, meaning a direct tax, or both. The debates in the constitutional convention show clearly that it was not expected that internal-revenue taxes would be levied and collected for ordinary governmental purposes, and was only intended to be used in cases of emergency; and that revenue for ordinary public purposes was to be collected on imported wares and merchandise, notwithstanding this system is more extravagant and expensive to the people. Our country being weak and poor, it was thought by our fathers to be the best mode, it being a tax levied by Congress upon goods, wares, and merchandise bought and shipped by other countries into our own to be sold to the people; that it would be paid at first by the importer to our collecting officers, and by him added to the selling price of each article sold, and therefore ultimately paid by the man or woman that bought and used the goods in this country.

This is called an indirect tax, a tax that everybody pays that consumes, but whether much or little he does not know, because he can not tell whether the importer who paid the Government duty in the first place collected from his customers when he resold just what he paid out. Or less, or more, however, he can safely guess that he collected more, in many instances three times and often ten times more. Therefore the innocent and unsuspecting consumer is often and most generally imposed upon, and the worst is, he does not know when or how. But when he goes to pay his State and county tax, which is a direct tax, he can look for himself, the books are opened wide, the figures show for themselves, and he knows to a cent what he pays and what it is for.

At the commencement of our Government we had no manufactures in this country, therefore no protectionist; and as long as our lawmakers had no manufactures in their districts to bias and influence their judgment, all duties laid were for revenue only. No one thought of perverting the Constitution and betraying the trust reposed in them by advocating high duties or taxes on imports for the purpose of giving our local manufactures an advantage over those in other countries at the expense of the people. Those who understood our Constitution best knew and declared that Congress had no power to levy a tax on imports for other than for revenue.

As late as 1824 the voice of Daniel Webster, one of the ablest constitutional lawyers that ever lived, was heard in the Senate of the United States to say that a tax levied on imports by Congress for the purpose of protecting home manufactures was unconstitutional and void, yet four years thereafter we find the Massachusetts statesman on the side of protection; the local interest of his own State had seduced him, and so others changed one by one as their local interest became important until it became a great party issue.

Mr. Chairman, I here assert and charge, in the language of Webster, that Congress has no power under the Constitution to levy a tax on the people of this country for any purpose whatever other than for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of Government economically administered, and a tax levied for the purpose of protecting the private business of any one citizen is unconstitutional and void, and a legal robbery of all who are not protected.

This question of constitutional power is not a new one by any means. Old-fashioned, sound Democrats have always said that the Constitution conferred no power upon Congress to levy taxes on imports for the sole purpose of protecting manufacturers in this country against their foreign competitor. True Democracy is to levy taxes for revenue, giving home manufacturers such incidental protection as would necessarily flow from it. Republican or high-tariff doctrine is: levy taxes on foreign imports with an eye single to protecting the home manufacturer, with revenue incidental or secondary.

If the latter theory is the true interpretation of our Constitution Webster had not found it out in 1824, and if correct let some learned protectionist tell the country why did not our fathers, the framers of that sacred instrument, make it speak out and say so. If that had been their object and meaning, why did they not use words to the effect "That Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes on imports and excise for the purpose of paying the public debt, for the public defense, and to protect our domestic manufactures against foreign competition."

From such language all could see and understand their meaning, and as they did not employ any such language, is within itself sufficient and unanswerable argument that they intended no such thing. Again, Mr. Chairman, stop and think. Is it reasonable to suppose that such grand old patriots as composed the convention that framed the Constitution would confer powers upon any one branch of the Government greater than was necessary to perform the functions of Government?

No one has ever contended that extra power or power beyond what was necessary to perform the legitimate functions of Government was conferred by the Constitution upon either the executive or judicial arm of the Government; then, why upon the legislative? To have done so would have unbalanced the grand machine.

One of the beauties of our political system is its symmetry and equilibrium; in other words that each of the three great co-ordinate branches or arms of Government are perfect within themselves as a component part of the whole, and when operated and executed together, each performing its own share, constitute a perfect governmental machine—neither arm being too short or too long. Then let me ask the profound constitutional lawyer where does he find place in the legislative branch of our political structure for tariff to protect one avocation or business against another—in short, to pull money out of the pockets of the agricultural classes of this country and put into the pocket of the manufacturer?

Sir, it is constitutionally wrong, politically wrong, morally wrong, a sin, a crime. Sir, the very word "protection," when used in a business sense between man and man in the great race of life, implies discrimination and wrong. It is odious. Another unanswerable argument against the doctrine of high taxes, or tariff for protection sake, as authorized by the Constitution, is found in the history of tariff legislation itself, and to reach a proper conclusion on this point we only have to adopt the well-known and well-established rule of construction.

When we desire to reach a correct interpretation of the Constitution we must endeavor to find out the intent and object of its framers, the object sought to be accomplished, and in doing that the history of the country at the time, or, in other words, the condition of the country at the time is a proper fact to consider. If this be correct, then let us see. When the Constitution was framed we had no manufactures in this country to protect; the minds of its framers were not biased and blinded by local interest, and their whole object was to make a good and just government; one giving equal protection to life, liberty, and property, and imposing equal burdens upon the people, and it is a slander upon their good name to say that they intended to confer on Congress a power to tax the great mass of the people to enrich a few, and thereby destroy the very object of good government. Again, let us look at the early interpretation of this power of Congress under the Constitution even by the advocates of high tariff or protective tariff. We have already given the declarations of the God-like Daniel, when he said in 1824 that no such power existed. Yet the hum and whirl of Massachusetts spindles, or, more correctly speaking, the local interest of his own State so biased and warped his great brain that in 1828, only four years later, he found it, not as now taught by our Republican friends, but as advocated by Mr. Clay, "for temporary purposes."

Now, if such great minds as those of Clay and Webster and their compeers in those better days could only find warrant in the Constitution to levy taxes on imports for the purpose of protecting our infant industries, and only contended for the execution of such extraordinary power by Congress for temporary purposes and for a limited time, does that not within itself contradict the present theory; in other words, is it not an admission that no such power existed in the Constitution to continue the system for all time to come until all the wealth of the country was concentrated in the protected industries of the country?

If they were right our present protectionist are wrong. And, Mr. Chairman, I defy all New England and each advocate of the protective system to show where either Webster or Clay, or any other man in public life, ever advocated or uttered a word in favor of a tariff for protection purposes as a lasting and permanent system before the late civil war. Sir, it is not to be found. The present Republican party is the first and only political party that has ever existed in this country that inaugurated and advocated protection as a permanent system.

Now, were the statesmen of *ante bellum* days, such as Clay and Webster, more short-sighted or less loyal to American labor and American institutions than those who founded and practice Republican views upon this question? Mr. Chairman, the doctrine of the Democratic party upon this great question is well known and well understood.

The first Democratic platform was made by the members of this House from the various States and promulgated in 1800. In that they speak, and they speak plainly, upon this question; and, sir, in each and every succeeding platform of that grand old party in which allusion has been made to the tariff the same elementary and constitutional principles have been maintained; that is, taxes for revenue to defray the public expenses of the Government, and no more, and the people, who are always right when thoroughly informed, have on more occasions than one sustained this sound and economic doctrine.

In 1832 the issue was squarely made. The issue then, as now, was, shall the taxing power of this Government stop at the limit prescribed by the Constitution, that is, collect only sufficient money from the people by way of taxes to run the Government economically administered, or shall the taxing power be used in the interest of private corporations located in certain places in this country to the detriment of the masses of the people; in other words, shall high taxes be imposed on imported goods, wares, and merchandise to enable the manufacturers of this country to extort from the people large profits and amass colossal and overgrown fortunes?

The people, true to themselves and in the interest of equal rights and good government, spoke in thunder tones for low taxes. They did so again in 1846, and again in 1856, and, sir, unless combined capital and close corporations, pools, and trusts have captured the country, with Grover Cleveland at the head, they will be found on the right side in 1888. The issue is now squarely made.

What farmer would vote for a candidate to his State Legislature that would advocate high taxes on the people, much higher than was necessary to defray the public expenses of his State and county government, with a heavy surplus already in the treasury? I imagine

there are but few sane men of any kind that would do so. Then why vote for candidates for Congress and President who are in favor of more taxes being collected from you than is needed for public purposes, and especially now, when we have near a hundred and fifty million dollars surplus in the Treasury lying dead and idle. The reason is the same. If good in the first instance it is good in the last. Voter, what are you going to do, rob or protect yourself? You will soon have a chance to say.

But our patriotic friends on the other side of the House say that a protective tariff such as we have now helps the laboring people of this country; that it enables the different manufacturers in this country to pay higher wages to their employés. I admit, Mr. Chairman, that it enables them to do it; but do they do it? If they do, then the daily laborer is benefited; but if they do not, then he is not benefited, and the extra profits that the tariff affords go into the private pocket of the manufacturer. Let us see. The statistics furnished Hon. ROGER Q. MILLS, the honored chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, which I take from his speech, show clearly and conclusively that the tariff or import duty goes into the pocket of the manufacturer.

Mr. MILLS says:

Now, another thing. I want to show that the tariff is not for the benefit of the workingman. We will have many appeals made to us for sympathy on account of the workingman. I have taken from the first annual report of the Commissioner of Labor and the report of the census on wages some figures given by manufacturers themselves of the total cost of the product and the labor cost of the articles they are making. I have put the tariff duty by the side of them to show whether in the little reduction we are asking in this bill we have gone beyond that pledge we as a party have made, that we would not reduce taxation so low as to injure our laborers or as not to cover the difference in cost of labor between American and foreign products.

This will show, and I ask your attention to it, that the tariff is not intended to and does not benefit labor. It will show that the benefit of the tariff never passes beyond the pocket of the manufacturer, and to the pockets of his workmen.

I find in this report one pair of 5-pound blankets. The whole cost as stated by the manufacturer is $2.51. The labor cost he paid for making them is 35 cents. The present tariff is $1.90. Now, here is $1.55 in this tariff over and above the entire labor cost of these blankets. Why did not that manufacturer go and give that money to the laborer? He is able to do it. Here is a tariff that gives him $1.90 on that pair of blankets for the benefit of his laborer, but notwithstanding that the tariff was imposed for the benefit of American labor and to preserve high wages, every dollar of that tariff went into the manufacturer's pocket. The poor fellow who made the blankets got 35 cents and the manufacturer kept the $1.90.

Mr. CRAIN. Will the gentleman please state how much the committee has reduced that duty?

Mr. MILLS. To $1 from $1.90.

Take another pair of 5-pound blankets. The total cost is $2.70. The labor cost is 70 cents. The tariff is $1.98. Now, how strange it is that none of these sums that were intended for the laborer ever get beyond the pocket of the manufacturer. Why is it, when the American Congress enacted this legislation for the benefit of our labor, that every dollar of this aid intended for labor stops in the pockets of the manufacturer, who goes into the highways and hedges and hires his laborer at the lowest price for which he can get him in the market and then pockets the tariff benefits that we are told every day is intended for the laborer alone—for the benefit of labor?

Here is another pair of 5-pound blankets. The cost is $3.39. The labor cost paid by this manufacturer, he says himself, is 61 cents. The tariff is $2.55. In the pending bill we have left him $1.35, and we have left the other man $1.08. And we have left all along not only enough to cover the difference, if there was any difference, between the labor cost of production in Europe and the labor cost of production in this country, but we have left enough to pay for all the labor and a bonus besides.

Let us go on a little further. Here is 1 yard of flannel, weighing 4 ounces; it cost 18 cents, of which the laborer got 3 cents; the tariff on it is 8 cents. How is it that the whole 8 cents did not get into the pockets of the laborer? Is it not strange that those who made the tariff and fastened upon the people these war rates in a time of profound peace, and who are now constantly assailing the Democratic party because it is untrue to the workingman, did not make some provision by which the generous bounty they gave should reach the pocket of him for whom they said it was intended? They charge that we are trying to strike down the labor of the country. Why do they not see that the money they are taking out of the hard earnings of the people is delivered in good faith to the workman?

One yard of cassimere weighing 16 ounces costs $1.38; the labor cost is 29 cents; the tariff duty is 80 cents. One pound of sewing silk costs $5.66; the cost for labor is 85 cents; the tariff is $1.69. One gallon of linseed-oil costs 46 cents; the labor cost is 2 cents; the tariff cost is 25 cents. One ton of bar-iron costs $31; the labor cost is $10; the tariff fixes several rates for bar-iron. I give the lowest rate, $17.92. One ton of foundry pig-iron costs $11; the labor costs $1.64; the tariff is $6.72.

From this all can see where the tax goes, and it is this unjust and unequal system of taxation that enriches the manufacturers of this country and impoverishes the consumers. No wonder they and their representatives oppose any and all reduction of tax. They have feasted and fattened on it for years and years until they begin to feel that it is the duty of the Government to tax the balance of the people for their exclusive benefit; they cling to it like grim death. Sir, they are like a big calf in the fall of the year, the longer they suck the harder they are to wean; but the people are aroused upon this question and they intend to wean them, or at least take off a little of their extra milk.

And again our friends upon the other side of the Chamber allege that the farmer is benefited by high taxes. Great God! What assumption, to tell a farmer that it is better for him to pay high for the necessaries of life than to get them cheap is an insult to common sense. But they argue that high tariff on imported goods does not increase the price of goods made in this country; in other words, that our manufacturers do not take advantage of this tax when they go upon the markets with their goods; if not, how in God's name, can they pay higher wages to their workmen that make the goods, if the tariff does not aid them in getting betterprices?

And again, if the tariff has nothing to do with the prices or profits on American goods, why do you gentlemen who represent them oppose a reduction of the tariff? If it does not hurt the manufacturers you represent, why not stop your opposition and let the bill pass, for you all know the Government does not need the money? We have too much now. Our Treasury is overflowing with a large surplus.

Mr. Chairman, such argument is unsound and a mere pretense. The truth is, and the country well understands it, that the tariff is and has been the source of large and powerful profits to the manufacturers of this country at the expense of our farmers. I know of no more clear or forcible way to illustrate how this tariff works between the manufacturer and the consumer than the one given by Bill Arp, the great Georgia humorist.

Bill says that he does not know much about this tariff business, but that it did look to him like a fellow ought to be allowed to buy where he could buy the cheapest and sell where he could get the biggest price; says it works like his old friend's boy's shoe-shop; says there was an old man living in his country that had seven boys and then he had just lots of grandchildren, and all his boys were farmers but one and he was a boot and shoe maker—his name was Bill. When Bill first talked of going into the boot and shoe business his father opposed it; said to him: "William, you are poor; you can not compete with these large boot and shoe factories around you; they are rich and powerful; with their fine machinery and skilled labor they will undersell you and break you down." Well, Bill thought that looked very reasonable, but a boot and shoe maker he was bound to be.

So one day the old man, while reading one of Mr. Clay's speeches on infant industries in this country, solved the question for his son Bill. So he said to Bill, "Now wait until I go round and see all the other boys and all the grandchilden, and if they will all agree to buy shoes from you and no one else and stick to you, then I think you can start and hold up until you grow strong, and then you can compete with the big factories." So Bill waited, and the old man succeeded in getting them all to agree to buy from Bill; so Bill commenced business and they stuck to him faithfully. So in a few years after our humorist (Bill Arp) met the old man and asked him about his son William's boot and shoe business.

Well, the old man said that Bill's kin all stuck to him; that Bill made a right good shoe, but charged $2 a pair for every pair of them, while those big factories sold the same shoe at a dollar and a half; but the kin stuck, and the result was that Bill got rich, but it was h—l-fired hard on the balance of the family. So this protective business is splendid on the manufacturers of this country, but it is terrible hard on the balance of the great American family (the consumers).

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is a serious question, one that involves great economic principles. It is one that every American voter ought to understand, and one that he ought to consider well before he votes. To them I desire to say that high tariff or high taxes means political slavery; in other words, it means unbounded wealth to a few and poverty to the many. It means the toiling millions shall continue to pay tribute to aggregated capital.

It means that through this infamous system all the money of this country is to be piled up in the vaults of the Treasury and into the pockets of our manufacturers. Then let me ask you what will you do? How can you prosper without money, or how could you live with all the blood in your body drawn out? One is as possible as the other.

Why, Mr. Chairman, the financial condition of our country is simply astounding. Here we are with the same high war taxes upon our statute-books that were levied to carry on the late civil war, with twenty years of peace and war debt all paid that is due and over a hundred million dollars surplus in the Treasury and over one million a day daily collected from the people.

Such tax oppression was never known to man, and no other people on earth would stand it a moment. Sir, it is a fact that the surplus in our Treasury is greater than the aggregate surplus of all the civilized countries with whom we deal. What farmer is it that would support his county government or indorse the policy of his county court in collecting from the tax-payers of the county almost twice as much money as was needed to defray the county expenses, and especially with thousands of dollars of surplus money in the treasury?

Suppose your county was out of debt and had $1,000,000 idle money in the county treasury—that much that was not needed to pay county expenses—still your county court or tax-levying court would continue year after year to levy and collect from you several thousand dollars extra over what was needed, and thereby add to and annually increase your idle surplus, would you not think such a court insane? Would you not with one voice cry out against such an insane policy, and demand that your taxes be reduced until no more was collected from you than your county needed for county purposes?

Then if you would, upon the same principle you should stand by President Cleveland and the great reform Democratic party, and help reduce our taxes down to what is needed to defray the expenses of our Government economically administered. No Government has the right to demand or collect more from its people, and when they do it is robbery.

This issue, Mr. Chairman, is squarely before the people; they are the great jury that is to hear and determine this matter, and if they remain true to themselves and render their verdict in November accord-

ing to the law and evidence, high taxes will go down, and go down forever. Sir, the American people are too intelligent, too brave, and too true to themselves and their own children to allow unnecessary millions to be longer forced from them by taxation.

Sir, they will join the great salvation army of reform, and fight on and on under the Cleveland and Thurman flag, until the last cent of unnecessary taxes is removed from their already tired shoulders. In this great battle for economic and honest government we trust in God and the honor and wisdom of the people we represent.

The Tariff—Wool and Woolens.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 12, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the revenue—

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: At no time since the war has there been introduced into the American Congress a bill affecting disastrously so many industries as the present measure; and certainly no industry can be more disastrously affected than the one now under consideration. The motion now pending is to strike out of the bill the paragraph which places wool on the free-list. If this motion prevails the law will remain as it is now; but this motion will not prevail.

The decree of the Democratic caucus which ratified the dark-lantern conspiracy to overthrow American protection and inaugurate an era of free trade is more omnipotent in this House than reason or argument.

In all of these weeks of discussion no motion to amend which came from the Republican side of the House or from the Republican side of the Ways and Means Committee has ever been adopted. Reasons have been given why certain amendments should prevail which no man can answer. Arguments have been made to which no human being can make intelligent reply, and yet every single change proposed by a Republican has been rejected by a dominant, persistent Democratic majority. But we propose to do our duty; we propose to place on record the principles which control the Republican party, and await the decision of a higher tribunal, the congress of the American people, as they gather around the voting precincts in November next.

THE PRICE OF WOOL.

The first inquiry is, what effect will it have on the price of wool to place it on the free-list? The President in his message, the majority of the Ways and Means Committee in their report, and nine-tenths of the Democrats in this House in their speeches declare that wool is to be placed on the free-list for the purpose of giving to the American manufacturer cheaper wool, and to the American people cheaper clothing. This is the admitted object of the present bill by Mr. MILLS, the chairman of the committee, and by all the leaders of the Democratic side of this House. But the Democratic papers of my State and some of the gentlemen who have spoken on this floor say that the effect of placing wool on the free-list will be to increase the price of wool, and that the price of wool will go up instead of going down, in case the duty is removed. If this be true, what becomes of the President's message? What becomes of the report of the Ways and Means Committee? What becomes, Mr. Chairman, of the great cloud of Democratic speeches that have been made on this floor in favor of cheap wool and cheap blankets and cheap clothing? I honor the Committee of Ways and Mean for its frankness in stating to this House and to the country that the object is to reduce the price of wool. This was the object of the President's message, and this is the aim of the tariff committee, and this will be its effect

The assumption of the demagogue that protection does not affect the price of wool because the price went down constantly after the passage of the law of 1867, vanishes in mid air in face of the fact that from 1867 to 1888 the price of wool in the United States has always been as much higher than it was in London as the duty and the cost of transportation, including also the premium on gold prior to resumption. No matter how low the price of wool went down in this country, the reduction in London was just the same, and you can always get the London price of wool by subtracting the duty and cost of transportation from the American price; or you can get the American price by adding to the London price the duty and the cost of transportation. The only exception to this rule is in cases where importers have defrauded the Government out of the lawful revenue, or where the Treasury Department has permitted undervaluation or unjust classification.

The price of wool, like all other prices, was high during the war and for a long time after the war. Inflation affected everything. Finally war prices gave way to peace prices. When resumption came, lower prices came. But the price of wool was affected by an additional cause, the same cause that now affects the price of wheat. The wool product of the world greatly increased, as the wheat crop of the world has greatly increased, and the law of supply and demand had its natural effect. The wool clip in India in 1870 was 30,000,000 pounds and in 1880 it was over 50,000,000 pounds. The wool clip in Australia in 1860 was 55,000,000 pounds and in 1885 it was over 455,000,000 pounds. Several other countries have increased their flocks in about the same ratio, and it is the increase of the world's product that reduced the price of wool in this country as it did all over the world, and if we had no protective tariff wool would go down in price in this country substantially as low as it is abroad. I shall quote a paragraph of the speech that I made on the general discussion of this bill, on the 8th of May, in regard to this claim that the law of 1867 reduced the price of wool:

The answer to this is found in the fact that the prices of wool in London fix the prices of wool all over the world, including the United States. And when the prices of the world fell the prices of wool in the United States fell also, and the prices of wool in the United States would have fallen as low as the price in the markets of the world but for our tariff and the premium on gold. It was because wool declined in London that the American price of wool declined from 70 to 50 cents, and but for the tariff of 1867 and the premium on gold our wool would have gone down from 70 cents currency to 18 cents gold, as it did in London. It was not protection that reduced the price of wool, but the enormous increase of sheep in the Argentine Republic and in Australia, where sheep have increased from 40,000,000 in 1858 to 320,000,000 in 1887; and as this increase of wool progressed the price of wool in the markets of the world declined, the supply of wool rising and the price of wool falling, and in this way the price of wool all over the world, including the United States, was brought down, and but for the tariff and the premium on gold it would have gone still lower.

This is true. Every time the price of wool has gone down in this country it went down because the price had gone down in London; and the only reason that the prices do not go down in this country as low as they do in London is because of the tariff and cost of transportation. London has become the greatest wool market in the world, and the bulk of all the wool grown in the world is shipped there, and the wool markets of the world are largely influenced by the price in London. You may follow these prices all along during all these years and you will see that one is the counterpart of the other and controls it, and if wool is placed on the free-list why should a man pay 25 cents for American wool when he can buy precisely the same kind at 14 or 15 cents a pound in London? All this talk about free wool increasing the price of wool to the farmer is utter nonsense.

I am frank to admit, Mr. Chairman, that my object in opposing this provision of the bill is that we shall not have low-priced wool. I want the price of wool to be increased. I want the law of 1867 restored. I want the price to be higher than it is now. I want it to be commensurate with the labor, capital, and expense in producing it. And I want to say in this connection that the main object of life is not to have things cheap; that the object of a protective tariff is to build up industries, to give prosperity to the country, to equalize values and prices, and to give a just and liberal compensation to all men, and not to grind them down to penury and want. We can not grow wool in this country in competition with the people in Australia, South America, Asia, Africa, Turkey, and other parts of the world, where they have broad acres of cheap lands, where they have pastures which last all the year through, where labor costs but little, and where the masses of the people are only a little more than half civilized. We only grow about one-sixth of the wool grown in the world, and in order to show how utterly impossible it will be for us to compete with the other countries if wool is placed on the free-list I want to call the attention of the House to the following table showing the number of sheep and quantity of wool produced in the principal wool-growing countries of the world. This table shows that unless our wool-growing industry is amply protected it will be destroyed.

Table showing the number of sheep and the quantity of wool produced in the principal wool-growing countries of the world.

Countries.	Sheep.		Quantity of wool produced.	
	Year.	Number.	Year.	Pounds.
Russia in Europe	1882	47,508,966	1884	262,966,000
United Kingdom	1886	28,955,240	1885	135,936,000
France	1885	22,616,547	1882	80,138,000
Spain	1878	16,939,288	1878	66,138,000
Germany	1883	19,189,715	1881	54,894,000
Hungary	1884	10,594,831	1885	43,146,000
United States	1887	43,544,755	1887	265,000,000
Argentine Republic	1885	75,000,000	1885	283,047,000
Uruguay	1884	15,921,069	1884	59,084,000
Australia	1884 1885	78,888,710	1885 1886	455,470,000
British East Indies Turkey and Persia	1877 1878	17,140,757	.....	36,354,000
Cape Colony and Natal	1875 1885	11,815,225	1885	46,605,000

Some of these countries are as highly civilized as our own, but they have cheap labor and do not furnish to their people the comforts of life that every American expects. In the other countries land costs but a few shillings a league and labor but a few cents a day. No vote of mine shall ever be given to place the American wool-grower in competition with the barbarians of the world, where homes and families, schools and churches, comforts and luxuries have no place in the provisions of the shepherd.

The talk that we need foreign wools to mix with ours in order to improve the value of both is the merest twaddle. There is no article worn by the sons or daughters of Adam that can not be made of American wool, as has been shown by manufacturers on this floor. We can grow any kind of wool that can be produced in any part of the world, and we will have no need whatever of imported wool as soon as we are permitted to supply the American demand.

The fact is that American wool, such as is grown in Ohio and in other Northern States where sheep are housed and fed, is the best wool grown anywhere in the world, and it is only mixed with foreign wools as good flour is mixed with bad—to cheapen the product and not to improve the quality. The fiber is stronger and cloth made of it is better and will wear better, and I have no hesitation in saying that our best Ohio wool is worth fully one-third more per pound than the great bulk of imported wool, and if used in carpets even the wear of the carpets would be as much greater as the cost would be greater than the cost of common carpet-wool. The fineness, the softness, and the strength of the fiber of American wool is admitted to be equal, for any and all purposes, to any wool grown anywhere beneath the sun.

CHEAP CLOTHING.

The friends of cheap raw materials profess to have a deep interest in poor people, and to be very anxious that they shall have cheap clothing. They seem to forget that cheap wool is only one, and a very small, factor in the cost of clothing or in the cost of blankets or in the cost of any kind of woolen goods. A suit of clothes will contain from 3 to 5 pounds of wool, and many of the ordinary suits contain much less. At 10 cents per pound the duty on wool could only increase the cost of an ordinary suit of clothes from 30 to 50 cents. The cost of a pair of 5-pound blankets could only be increased 50 cents. But experience proves that while the wool costs a trifle more, clothing has grown cheaper and better as the wool industry has been more and more developed in our midst. Woolen goods were never so cheap as they are now. No people in the world are as well clothed as the people of the United States. What we pay for wool in excess of the price of wool in other countries is more than made up by the superior quality of our wool, by the superior quality of our goods, and in savings made in other directions.

The consumer and producer are brought face to face, agents and middle men are dispensed with, the cost of making is diminished, the use of shoddy and poor materials is prevented, and no fact is better established than the one I have just stated, that clothing has grown cheaper and better as we have increased our production and manufacture of wool.

If gentlemen on the other side want to give to the masses of the people cheaper clothing, why do they not pass the Breckinridge resolution, which was introduced on the 16th day January last, compelling the Secretary of the Treasury to reverse his unjust ruling that worsted goods worn by the rich, made of the finest and best wool in the world, can come in at a less duty than the poor man's blanket, or the day laborers' clothing? If they want to give cheaper clothing to the laboring people, why do they not reverse the ruling of the Secretary of the Treasury that permits, as I shall hereafter show, the poor man's wool to be taxed more than three times as much as the finer qualities of combing wool worn only by the wealthier classes?

The persistent refusal of the present Secretary of the Treasury to require importers to pay the same duty on combed wool that is paid on carded wool makes the poor man, who wears a cheap suit of clothes, pay more than three times as much duty as is paid by the rich man who wears a fine worsted suit, made of the finest combed wool. This is a discrimination against the poor man as well as a discrimination against the wool-grower; and yet the present Secretary of the Treasury has persisted in this ruling in the face of repeated argument and urgent solicitation.

If the consumer complains that he is taxed to the extent of the duty on wool, which is about 10 cents a pound, he should be reminded that the destruction of the American wool industry will not only diminish the wool product of the world, which would increase the price by lessening the product, but it would place the wool trade in the hands of London syndicates and enable them to make the price of wool higher than it has been in this country within the last ten or twenty years.

We would then be entirely dependent on foreigners for our wool and for our clothing, and as soon as the American wool industry would go down the price of wool and clothing would as certainly go up. This is the way it always has been and it will be so again. And it should be remembered that the same amount of labor will buy more clothing in this country than in any other part of the world, which after all is the great matter to be considered. Besides, no American should want cheap clothing at the expense of the independence of his country. Imagine the suffering of our people in case we should be involved in war, by having our wool supply cut off, in case we depend on foreign countries for our wool. James G. Blaine, from whom our friends on the other side quote occasionally, said:

> To break down wool-growing and be dependent on foreign countries for the blankets under which we sleep, and coats that cover our backs, is not wise policy for the National Government to enforce.

Other statesmen no less distinguished have said the same.

THE EXTENT OF THE WRECK.

It seems incredible to me that any party can seriously contemplate such a destruction as is embraced in this scheme to put wool on the free-list. When the idea of free raw materials was first presented to Congress it embraced free coal, free iron ore, and other materials that this bill leaves on the dutiable list. This strange anomaly has not been explained. It is supposed to be based on a political reason. When this bill was first printed and placed on the Calendar it had some things on the free-list that have since been restored to the dutiable list. This has not been explained. It is supposed that this had to be done to get votes enough to pass the bill. Whether this is a proper method of buying votes is somewhat questionable, but it has been done. The amendments agreed upon in the midnight caucus, before any arguments had been made and before any explanations had been given, have been sustained by the automatic machine, and all else has been thrown aside. The vote that now awaits us, like all the others, is recorded in the archives of King Caucus, and when this discussion closes the conductor will pull the rope, the bell will ring, and the train will move ahead on the usual track. The House is entirely innocent of any virtue or vice which this bill contains or shall contain when it is signed by the Speaker.

But I want to call the attention of the House to the extent of the disaster which this bill will entail upon the country if it ever becomes a law. It will destroy an industry in which two millions of people are employed, counting those who handle sheep and wool, and a business in which $500,000,000 are invested. It is an industry that furnishes annually $75,000,000 in wool and $15,000,000 in cheap and healthful food, in addition to the skins and pelts which enter into other industries. It is an industry that improves the soil and enables the farmer to utilize his rough and cheap lands. It is the farmers' money crop, upon which he depends for his taxes, his family expenses, his comforts and luxuries.

One of the best methods, Mr. Chairman, of determining the effect of placing wool on the free-list is to ascertain the effect of the law of 1883, which reduced the duty on wool a little over 2 cents per pound. If reducing the duty on wool this much was harmful what will be the effect of reducing the duty 10 or 12 cents per pound? This is a fair question and an important one. In the campaign in Ohio in 1883 the Democratic State convention denounced the reduction of this duty as "iniquitous legislation," and promised to correct the blunder. In the same year the Democratic State committee flooded every wool-growing county in the State with a pamphlet giving facts and figures showing the loss in each county on account of the diminished value of the wool, the diminished value of the sheep, the diminished value of the land, the loss of employment, the reduction in the price of labor, and divers other losses, occasioned by lowering the duty on wool, which was estimated in this pamphlet at many millions of dollars. The pamphlet promised that the Democratic party would restore the duty.

The result was that the Republican party of Ohio was defeated on account of this reduction of the duty on wool, and the Democrats elected the State ticket, the Legislature, and a United States Senator. In 1884 the Ohio Legislature, which was Democratic, adopted resolutions condemning the reduction of the duty on wool, and requested the Ohio Senators and Representatives to use all honorable means to restore it as it existed prior to 1883. The Ohio Democratic State convention in 1884 that elected delegates to the national convention that nominated Grover Cleveland, and the convention held in 1885, after his inauguration, continued to cry aloud for the restoration of the duty on wool. And in none of these Democratic conventions nor in the Democratic Legislature was there a single Democrat who voted against the demand for the restoration of the duty on wool. In a few months all is changed. The Ohio Democrats who so bitterly denounced what they called the "infamy of the Forty-seventh Congress," the "fleecing of the flock-masters out of $6,000,000 in Ohio," are now keeping step to the music of Grover Cleveland's free-trade message.

LOSS IN ONE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

The pamphlet to which I have referred was issued by the Ohio Democratic committee, and indorsed by the Democratic press and by the Democratic speakers of Ohio in the campaign of 1883, and it contained the following estimate of losses on the wool and sheep of the district which I have the honor to represent. This is the estimated loss on the wool clip of 1883, the year following the reduction of the duty, which was made March 3, 1883:

Table showing wool product, loss in value of wool, and loss in value of sheep in the seventeenth Ohio district resulting from the reduction of duty March 3, 1883, as estimated by the Democratic party of Ohio in 1883.

County.	Wool product.	Loss in value of wool.	Loss in value of sheep.
	Pounds.		
Belmont	737,798	$21,145.30	$163,509.00
Guernsey	864,232	43,211.60	182,431.00
Harrison	953,339	47,666.95	189,116.00
Jefferson	620,069	31,003.45	122,974.00
Noble	418,130	20,906.50	97,929.00
Total	3,594,568	163,934.80	755,959.00

Under the law of 1867, which was in force till March 3, 1883, the duty on all imported wools of class No. 1, valued at 32 cents per pound or less, was 10 cents per pound and 11 per cent. ad valorem, and on all wools valued at over 32 cents per pound at the port of shipment 12 cents per pound and 10 per cent. ad valorem. The law of 1883 simply dropped the ad valorem duties and made the line of division between the two rates 30 cents per pound instead of 32. Hence the law of 1883 was intended to reduce the duty on the wools imported for clothing and like purposes 11 per cent. This, on wool costing at that time in London 20 cents per pound, would only be a little over 2 cents a pound. But in order to make a liberal calculation let us call it 2½ cents per pound; and if the reduction of the law of 1883, which I am placing at 2½ cents per pound, entailed a loss on these counties shown in this table, it is fair to suppose that placing wool on the free-list, which will reduce the duty four times as much by removing the present duty of 10 cents per pound, will make the losses four times as much, and I have prepared the following table, supposing the number of sheep to be the same now as then:

Table showing losses in the value of wool and sheep in the Seventeenth Ohio district which will result from placing wool on the free-list, based on the estimates made by the Ohio Democracy in 1883.

County.	Loss in value of wool.	Loss in value of sheep.
Belmont	$84,585.20	$654,036.00
Guernsey	172,846.40	729,724.00
Harrison	190,667.80	756,464.00
Jefferson	124,013.80	491,896.00
Noble	83,625.00	391,716.00
Total	655,739.20	3,023,836.00

Here is an estimate of losses which no Ohio Democrat dare deny, as it is based on a calculation which seemed to have the approval of every Ohio Democrat in the State in 1883. A loss in a single Congressional district on wool and sheep alone of over $3,000,000. And yet in the face of their own figures, in the face of these enormous losses, and in the face of their own record, the Ohio Democracy immediately change front at the bidding of the President and indorse the Mills bill, free wool and all. And some of the gentlemen who voted for the Converse bill to restore the duty are still members of this House, and how they will explain to their constituents their sudden conversion is more than I can conjecture. They propose in this bill to remove the present duty of 10 and 12 cents per pound when they know that the reduction of the duty 2½ cents per pound in 1883 reduced the number of sheep in the United States from 51,000,000 to 44,000,000, and the wool product from 300,000,000 pounds to 260,000,000, and that if no reduction of duty had been made in 1883, and the increase had gone on as before, we would now have 64,000,000 sheep instead of 44,000,000.

In this last table I have only estimated the loss on the value of wool and on the value of sheep. The loss on the value of land and other losses could be estimated in the same manner. These are the losses which were estimated by the Ohio Democracy in 1883.

While I do not estimate the destruction of the wool industry in any unreasonable manner, I fully concur in the estimates of certain eminent gentlemen who put the actual loss to the wool industry of the United States which will follow the passage of this bill at $350,000,000. The possibility of its passage has already entailed an immense loss. A few years ago the Congressional district which I have the honor to represent had in it 770,000 sheep. The law of 1883 has so crippled the industry that the number now is not nearly so great. Estimate the diminution at 15 per cent. and that would leave the present number about 650,000. Count the loss on the wool and the sheep at the present prices compared with last year's prices, and the loss on wool will be about 50 cents per head, and the loss on sheep will be about $1 per head, and the aggregate loss will be $1,000,000 in this district, an average of over $200,000 to each county. If the possibility of the passage of this bill entails upon the people such a loss as this, what will be the loss if the bill shall actually pass? This is the loss that will be borne by those who sell under the present depressed condition of the market, and if this bill shall succeed it will be borne by all, with all the other losses which it will carry to a million homes and to at least five millions of people.

WHY IS WOOL MADE FREE?

As wool has had a tariff on it continuously for sixty-five years, ever since 1824, is it not very strange that there should come a proposition just now to put it on the free-list? Has President Cleveland more wisdom than all the statesmen of the last two generations? The reduction of the duty in 1883 was made to reduce the revenue, and yet the imports of wool sprang from 64,000,000 pounds to 114,000,000, and the revenue increased accordingly. The increase of the revenue on worsted cloths, yarns, knit goods, ladies and children's wearing-apparel, and on raw wools (on these six articles) for three years after March 3, 1883, as compared with the three preceding years, was $11,465,503. The object therefore can not be to reduce the revenue, for the whole of the revenue derived from imported wool even now is less than $6,000,000, and the reduction of duties on woolen goods, based on placing wool on the free-list, will so increase the imports of woolen goods that this amount, and more too, will be added to the revenues. Nor is it in the interest of the woolen manufacturers, for they oppose it; and I agree with my friend from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] that the wool-manufacturer and the wool-grower must go hand in hand, and that whatever fate befalls the one will most certainly befall the other. The small reduction of duty in 1883 increased the imports of woolen goods more than it did the imports of wool, and swelled the importation of woolen goods this last year to the enormous sum of $45,000,000, and this measure would swell the amount still more.

The only explanation that can be given for placing wool on the free-list is that given by Mr. BUCKALEW, of Pennsylvania, in his reply to my speech in the general discussion, and that is that wool-growing must be abandoned in this country, and that we must buy our wool abroad, because we can buy it cheaper than we can raise it. I admire his argument for its candor and consistency, but I despise the arguments of these men who are neither for one thing nor the other, and never know whether to cry "Good Lord or good devil." A man should either be for protection or against it, and not try how near the wind he can sail on one side or the other. In 1884 certain Democrats saved Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey by insisting that the Democratic platform was for protection, while their brethren in other States construed it to mean full-blooded free trade. This can not be done this year, as the issue is too well defined.

A DANGEROUS CONSPIRACY.

The abolition of the duty on raw wool means the destruction of the industry, and the Mills bill is nothing more or less than a great conspiracy to inaugurate free trade. The framers of this bill must know that it will not reduce the revenue. If this bill should become law the next Congress will be "confronted" with the same "condition" and would be called upon to apply the same remedy.

This bill puts on the free-list wool and various other articles, and gentlemen on the other side expect that in their next effort to reduce the surplus they will have the support of the class they now eliminate. What they have accomplished in this Congress will be used as a lever in the next. This is only the entering wedge, and from step to step they expect to go along until they ultimately reach a revenue or free-trade tariff. This is admitted by the leading members on the other side. Mr. Chairman, I said before and I say again that this bill is a conspiracy to secure ultimate free trade.

The present Administration is a party to it, and is co-operating with the Democratic majority of this House. There is no reason why there should be any surplus in the Treasury to-day. There is no need of it. If the dependent pension bill had not been vetoed, if the river and harbor bill of the last Congress had been permitted to become law, if the Blair bill had been considered, if the appropriation bills had been as large as they ought to have been, if the national debt had been reduced as the President was authorized by law to do, there would now be no surplus in the Treasury.

The President permitted eleven months to pass by after his inauguration before he paid a single dollar of the overdue indebtedness of the country. Why did he hoard that money when there was an overdue national debt? Why did he refuse to pay when creditors were knocking at the doors of the Treasury, until forced by Congress to do so? There was an object, Mr. Chairman. There was then and there is now an object in hoarding this money in the Treasury. The object has been to create an excuse for breaking down our great protective system.

Mr. Chairman, I hold in my hand a sample of wool of which there has been imported into this country during the last year as much as all the wool crop of Pennsylvania. It is called lap waste, and yet it is the finest wool that can be grown anywhere in the world. It is the choice of the fleece, the very best portions of it, with all the rough, coarse wool thrown out; besides, it is partly manufactured, and yet it comes in as waste at 10 cents a pound, and takes the place of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan wool, and the other wools of the country, which, if scoured as this is, would have to pay a duty of 30 cents per pound. I also have here what is called tops, the very finest wool that can be grown, and

it is also partly manufactured. It is equal to the best wool that can be grown in any country. And the present Secretary of the Treasury rules that this wool can come in as waste at 10 cents a pound, while it takes 3½ pounds of the best Ohio wool to make 1 pound of these tops which they call waste. What is the effect of these rulings? It largely diminishes the protection that the wool-grower has heretofore had; it reduces his protection from 10 cents, that which he is supposed to have under the law of 1883, to 2½ or 3 cents a pound. That is one of the methods in which the destruction of our protective system is being accomplished.

The Administration is contributing to it in this way, and is laying the foundation for the utter annihilation of the wool industry and the destruction of a protective tariff. There is a wheel within a wheel, and the whole system of Democratic machinery is set to run in this direction. The Democratic members of this House, the President of the United States, and the Government officials all aim toward the same object.

I have here half a dozen other kinds of wool known as garnetted waste, ring waste, etc., which are made in London, and in various other places in Europe, expressly for import. This wool is partly manufactured also, and under the present law some of it ought to pay a duty of 60 cents per pound. I want to read a paragraph from the present law:

The duty on wools of the first class which shall be imported washed shall be twice the amount of the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed; and the duty on wools of all classes which shall be imported scoured shall be three times the duty to which they would be subjected if imported unwashed. The duty upon wool of the sheep or hair of the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, which shall be imported in any other than ordinary condition, as now and heretofore practiced, or which shall be changed in its character or condition for the purpose of evading the duty, or which shall be reduced in value by the admixture of dirt or any other foreign substance, shall be twice the duty to which it would be otherwise subject.

This law provides that wool imported in any other than the ordinary condition shall pay twice the price of scoured wool, which should be 60 cents per pound, as scoured wool pays 30 cents per pound. If we had an honest administration of the present law this waste and these tops would be charged 60 cents a pound instead of 10 cents a pound.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Does the gentleman from Ohio know that that decision by which such wool comes in at 10 cents is a decision of the Federal court at Philadelphia?

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I am aware that some judge at Philadelphia, to whom the matter was referred, made a decision as to waste; but he did not decide that waste like like this was not obliged to pay 60 cents a pound. That decision does not apply to this provision of the law. The samples I have in my hand ought to pay 60 cents a pound under the last clause of this paragraph I have read. It is not waste as a matter of fact, but is disguised wool. You know and I know, and every man on this floor knows, that this is not the ordinary condition of wool prepared for market, and under the law it ought to be charged a duty of 60 cents a pound.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. If it does not interrupt the gentleman, I will tell him that the very question that was in issue in the case in Philadelphia between the United States and the importer was that the United States appraisers fixed the duty at 60 cents, while the importer claimed that the article was entitled to pay only 10 cents; and upon the trial, under the charge of the judge, the jury found that it was "waste," which should come under the 10-cent clause.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I have seen the case to which you refer. The wool was entered as "waste" at 10 cents per pound, and the duty was paid at this rate. Afterward the collector classified the wool as scoured wool of class 1, and collected 30 cents per pound. The importer sued for the difference and collected it, on the ground that it was waste, because it was "cast off in the different processes through which the wool passes in the manufacture of woolen or worsted goods." The samples I have were never cast off in making any kind of goods, but were made from the best fleece wool.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I will take pleasure in furnishing the gentleman with a copy of the judge's charge, and the testimony also, if he desires it.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I shall be very much obliged to you, but I think I have a correct statement of the case. And now, as the gentleman from Kentucky has interposed here, I wish to ask him what objection there was to having passed by this House what was called the Breckinridge resolution, which was introduced on the 16th of last January by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE]? That resolution was so manifestly just and in the interest of the wool-growers that nobody disputed its propriety. It provided that from the date of its passage, worsted and woolen goods should be considered the same product, and should pay the same duty. It was expected by the country that that resolution would pass immediately without opposition, but somehow or other, notwithstanding the expectations of the people, the resolution seems never to have come before this House for consideration; at least I have never heard of it since it was introduced and referred.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. If the gentleman will permit me, the substance of that resolution is a part of the woolen schedule in the Mills bill.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I am aware of that; but that does not answer my question. The resolution was introduced six months ago; and if it had been adopted it would have protected the farmers for half a year at any rate, and that much good would have been done if no more. It would have saved him the loss on the wool clip of this year, which is very large.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The committee were of the impression that the schedule which the worsted men themselves obtained in 1883, and which turned out to be a misfortune for them, but for which nobody else was to blame, ought to stand until the tariff generally was revised. In other words, the committee believed that the worsted men had no greater right to have the inequalities of the tariff corrected for their benefit than other people who complained of other inequalities had to have those corrected. So we determined to put all the corrections together and embody them in this bill.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. But the evil which that resolution was intended to correct resulted from a false construction of the law made by the Secretary of the Treasury. The resolution was manifestly just, and when you concede that this much was due to the wool-growers, it seems to me that the correction ought to have been made, and made promptly, and if that had been done it would have saved to the wool-grower the immense loss that is now being sustained on this year's product.

Of course the Committee of Ways and Means must have known that this bill would not pass. I do not suppose that any gentleman on that side of the House expects that this bill will ever become a law, but if any gentleman does indulge in that delusion, I take this occasion to tell him that he may rest assured that the Mills bill will never become a law, and that that resolution for the benefit of wool-growers, which was so easily laid aside by the committee, will never do the wool-growers any good as a part of this bill.

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, of Kentucky. We were under the impression that this bill would pass the House of Representatives, and if it did pass the House of Representatives, that was presumptive evidence that it ought to pass the Senate of the United States; and we thought that the worsted men ought to take "pot luck" with all the other persons who were injured by the present tariff, so we put them all in the same bill.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. Did you think this bill would pass the Senate?

Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, of Kentucky. I can not say that I did, because the Senate is Republican, and I could hardly hope that such good would come out of a Republican Senate. [Laughter.] I only hoped that they would see the error of their ways and would do this good thing to the disappointment of both sides of the House. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. If the passage of a bill by the House of Representatives is, as the gentleman says, presumptive evidence that it ought to pass the Senate, then I will ask him whether the fact that a bill passes both Houses of Congress, a pension bill for instance, is not presumptive evidence that it ought to be signed by the President of the United States. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. It is presumptive evidence, but I am sorry to say that so many of the pension bills passed are so bad that the presumption is getting to be an exceedingly small one as to this Congress.

A MEMBER. With a Democratic President.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Yes; with a Democratic President who is so dutiful that he actually reads the records and decides according to the facts of the case, and not according to the number of votes.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. Do you think the President knows what ought to be done after he reads the records? Is he a better lawyer than all the members of this House, and better than all of the members of the Senate? Has he more brains and more ability than the aggregate wisdom of the members of both Houses of Congress?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. That is a question that I hardly feel like answering so long as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR] is a member of Congress, because it might seem invidious to say that our President is a better lawyer than the gentleman [laughter]; but were the gentleman from Ohio not in Congress I would say that the vetoes of the President which I have read seem to me to be better and more carefully drawn than many of the acts which have passed this Congress.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. One other question. Is it your judgment, then, that the President of the United States ought to be allowed to suppress such legislation as the dependent pension bill, and that the Speaker of this House should eternally refuse to recognize anybody to put it on its passage?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I am not sure that I caught the gentleman's question [illegible] I did understand it, I will say that I know of no [illegible] of Representatives or the Congress of the United [illegible] use the word "allow" with reference to the Pres[illegible] States in the exercise of his constitutional power of [illegible] to refuse his approval to bills passed by Congress is constitutional; our power to pass bills over his head is constitutional. I know of no mode by which we can prevent him from vetoing any bill; and I know of no mode by which he can

prevent us from passing any bill over his veto. In regard to the Speaker——

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I simply inquired the gentleman's opinion because I have so much respect for it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Let me finish my statement. So far as concerns the Speaker of this House, I have only to say that, in my acquaintance with him, here and elsewhere, I have seen nothing to diminish the perfect confidence I have always had in his entire and absolute impartiality and integrity.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. While I admit the Speaker's impartiality in the main, it is well known in this House that he will not recognize any member who desires to bring up for consideration the dependent pension bill which passed the Senate early in this session. All general pension legislation is systematically throttled and the cause of the Union soldier is persistently and permanently ignored.

But I want to speak of another thing which this Administration is doing or permitting to be done. There seems to be, as I have said, a conspiracy to break down our protective system, to destroy it, to bring it into disgrace, to defeat and thwart its objects, and I will cite one more instance. Here is what is called carpet wool, and there is no doubt that 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 pounds of this wool are being imported into this country each year, at a duty of 2½ to 5 cents a pound, to be used for purposes other than making carpets.

While this wool can not be used for all purposes, it can be used for many, and when used it comes in competition with goods made from high-priced wool. In this way the woolen manufacturers who do not buy this wool or use it in their business are cheated and wronged and are not permitted the same advantages granted to others, and hence are not allowed a fair chance for the trade of the country. And some of them are to-day on the verge of ruin and bankruptcy on account of these frauds upon the Government and these rulings of the Treasury Department, which are destroying our protective system by letting in cargoes of foreign wool at a mere nominal duty.

I will say to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] that right in his own State, in the city of Louisville, there are several woolen mills engaged in the manufacture of Kentucky jeans that are using imported wool.

Seven or eight years ago they used American wool bought in Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana. At that time they did not use a pound of imported wool. I am informed that substantially all of the wool now used in these mills is imported. They, of course, buy where they can buy the cheapest, and I am satisfied that the importers of this wool do not pay over 2½ cents a pound duty on it. There is smuggling going on somewhere under the shadow of the United States custom-houses. Importers are flooding the country with what they call carpet wools, and it is used for other purposes and takes the place of wool that ought to pay a duty of 10 cents a pound or more. The rule that washed wool pays double and scoured wool triple duty does not apply under the present law to combing wool or carpet wools, and hence scoured carpet wool only pays a duty of 2½ to 5 cents a pound, and it may not be carpet wool at all when it gets out of the custom house.

The gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MCKINNEY], who made a speech to-day in which he declared that, in spite of the admission of free wool, the price of wool will be kept up, did not explain how he could reconcile that statement with the other argument which he made, that free wool would enable the American manufacturer to compete successfully with the European manufacturer; would place the foreign and American manufacturer upon an equal footing, giving them both the same opportunities. The one proposition is a contradiction of the other; but I want to say to the gentleman that he is mistaken. The mere fact that a man can buy free wool, the mere fact that the American manufacturer can get his raw material free of duty does not place him on an equal footing with the European manufacturer.

If every wool manufacturer in this country had free wool, they could not compete with the foreign manufacturer. The American manufacturer has got to pay a higher price for his labor, for his plant, and for everything else that he uses. Free wool is only one of the manufacturer's many expenses, and it does not place him on an equality with the foreign manufacturers who have cheaper materials, cheaper labor, and cheaper supplies of every kind.

The chairman of the committee [Mr. MILLS] said with great emphasis, that if we could only get free raw materials, that our labor was so much more intelligent and our machinery was so much better handled, we could compete with the world in the sale of our goods. This is good rhetoric but bad logic. If this were true why do we not manufacture our own tin-plates? We have the iron-ore, the tin, the lime-stone, and the coal, all free, and yet we do not make tin enough in this country to make a dinner horn.

According to Mr. MILLS we ought not only to make our own tin-plates, but we ought to send them out into the markets of the world. Why can we not make tin-plates? Simply because the labor in this country costs more. The same is true of cotton. The cotton manufacturer gets his raw material free, and yet we import a large quantity of our cotton goods, and there is no manufacturing that involves so little labor as the manufacture of cotton. This beautiful theory will not bear the light of fact.

We need protection as an impregnable barrier against the importation of the products of impoverished labor more than we do forts or fortifications to protect us against the armies of the world. It is the center, the life, the heart of our prosperity, the hope of the Republic and the glory of the American people. It lifts up the downtrodden, elevates the lowly, distributes comforts to the poor, and lays untold blessings at the door of the sons of toil.

Besides, it should be remembered that the United States is the world's great dumping-ground, where all foreign countries bring their surplus and sell it at any price they can get. We do not expect to make a profit on all the manufactured goods that we export. A factory has to run full, and at the end of the year it often has a surplus of goods which it is willing to convert into money at a loss. Some manufacturers pay a bonus to any one engaged in the same business who exports his goods so as to keep down overproduction. A woolen mill can better afford to run full and lose a large per cent. on the value of its product than to stop, as its machinery deteriorates rapidly when not running.

The Government encourages exports by allowing drawbacks and bearing other losses. So it is with exports and imports. They are often sold at a loss. Hence every business needs protection as a shield to prevent this sort of competition. The people of other countries are now sending their surplus here and selling it in our market without regard to price, and if we had no tariff they could sell low enough to stop manufacturing in this country and to wipe these industries out of existence. And when this was once accomplished prices would be higher than they are now.

A member asked a question to-day which he seemed to be anxious to have answered. He wanted to know, if the farmer gets 10 cents per pound more for his wool, whether the man who wears the wool does not have to pay the 10 cents.

Certainly he does if he has it. But suppose the man who was to wear the coat did not have the 10 cents, what advantage could it be to him to have cheap wool? If bread is worth only 4 cents a loaf, what good is that to the hungry man who has no 4 cents to pay for it? What good does it do the half-clad woman, whose naked feet are upon the ground, to know that she can buy calico for 4 cents a yard, or shoes for $1 a pair, if she has no money and can not purchase them?

Mr. OUTHWAITE. Will you answer the question?

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR. I will when I come to it. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] made one of the best tariff speeches that I have heard on this floor, though he professed to speak in favor of the Mills bill, and it should be printed largely and distributed all over this country as a campaign document. He said he was making money now because he could buy his goods directly from the manufacturer, thereby getting rid of middlemen and commissionmen, and he also says that he is able to sell cheaper for this reason. Why, sir, this is the theory of protection. This is the great American idea of encouraging home industries. Producers and consumers are brought together. Each helps and supports the other. The manufacturer supplies his home market with his goods, and in turn he becomes part of the home market for our agricultural products. The reason the consumer in this country has to pay more than in some other countries for some things is because the manufacturer and the producer have to pay more for wages and for everything else they buy, than is paid in other countries, and the man who pays the 10 cents gets his full share of these increased wages, and is able to pay not only the extra 10 cents, but much more, for he gets employment, and has the money in his pocket with which to pay. If the farmer gets more for his wool and more for his cattle, he buys more of the manufacturer, which enables him to pay higher wages, and in this way one helps the other and they all prosper.

As a result of this policy this country has grown with a rapidity that has no parallel in the world's history. And if a policy like this has, during a period of nearly thirty years, given to this country greater wealth, greater growth, and greater prosperity than was ever given to this or any other country in the same time, it seems to me that we ought to tremble at the thought of such a signal change as is now proposed. Our protective system has made us the greatest producer of agricultural and manufactured products in the world. Our national credit and financial standing are not excelled, if equaled, by any people on the globe. The masses of the people are better housed and clothed and fed and educated than the people of any other country beneath the circle of the sun. They have more money, use more, handle more, and spend more than any other people who live, move, or have a being.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the question is now satisfactorily answered.

The gentleman from Massachusetts also said that he lost five times as much in his business twenty-five years ago as he does now. This is another result of the protective tariff. We have brought back by our protective system the eight hundred millions of gold that were mined and minted in California and carried out of the country for foreign goods by a Democratic revenue tariff. When the war came on we had no money; our Treasury was empty. Our gold and silver, under a revenue tariff, had gone abroad for foreign goods, but our protective system has brought it back and given stability and prosperity to our people. Free trade had distributed it among European and Oriental na-

tions, but protection has brought it back. The balance of trade has been in our favor instead of against us, as it was before, and we have grown richer as well as wiser, and to-day our nation is at the head of all the nations of the earth by reason of this policy.

The gentleman from Massachusetts also said that when he came to this country he had nothing, and I infer from what he says that he has grown rich. He has done so under a protective tariff established by the Republican party. He says further that he had to pay when he first went into business from 8 to 12 per cent. interest for money. That is free trade. When I was a boy the lender of money took his 10 per cent. out of the head of the heap and turned the remainder over to the borrower. I remember this very well, for I belonged to the class who had interest to pay. I recently met a New England Mugwump, who said to me: "I am a free-trader." I said: Why are you a free-trader? The answer was, "I have two reasons; one is because it will give me a higher rate of interest for my money, and the other is because it will give me cheaper labor; the help I now employ costs me too much."

These are both valid reasons, and they tell the whole story. If you put wool on the free-list, in a few years you will be sending a hundred millions a year out of the country for wool and woolens, and in this way the bulk of the gold we now have will go abroad, and our wealth will be diminished as rapidly as we accumulated it, and instead of our having a surplus in the Treasury, and the banks of the country, and in the pockets of the people, we will be paying 10 per cent. interest again on money and selling the bonds of the Government at 10 or 11 per cent. discount as we did before the war. And men will labor for 40 or 50 cents a day, as they did under Democratic revenue tariffs. This is the legitimate result of buying more than we sell and thereby diminishing the circulating medium of the country.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] says that political economy is a science and that the true principles of taxation are as definitely ascertained as are any truths not susceptible of mathematical demonstration. If this be true, what becomes of the Mills bill? It must be a very strange science that puts wool on the free-list, a product that is grown in every State and Territory in the Union, and which, if adequately protected, can be grown in sufficient quantities to supply our entire demand, while it leaves sugar, which is only grown in one or two States, and which produces less than one-tenth of the sugar we use in this country, on the dutiable list, to pay 100 per cent. duty, and also leaves rice, that is grown in only two or three States, on the dutiable list, to pay a duty of 68 per cent.

Sugar and rice, which are necessaries of life, and constitute a large part of every man's food, are left on the dutiable list, sugar to pay 100 per cent. ad valorem and rice 68 per cent. ad valorem. And he is anxious to have tin-plate on the free-list in order to reduce the cost of six tin cups 1 cent, and to have salt on the free-list in order that the salt that salts 25 pounds of butter shall be lessened in price a half cent, but is willing to let the people pay $58,000,000 a year to protect the sugar plantations of the South, and he calls this science. He is very much afraid of free whisky, and yet this scientific bill is framed for the express purpose of giving immunity to the moonshiners of the South. A bill that protects the South and punishes the North, a bill that crushes the farmer and enriches the planter, is scientific in his judgment and worthy of support.

If the gentleman's science had been a little more perfect he would have noticed that the bad effects which he says are resulting from the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury are neutralized by the fact that while a surplus is accumulating inside the Treasury, money is increasing outside the Treasury in equal proportions.

And if the President will pay out what is inside, and let our tariff system alone, which increases the quantity outside, we will get along with the greatest satisfaction. But the Democracy of the House are just as careful not to mention the fact that money is increasing outside as they are not to say a word about "incidental protection," an expression much used formerly, but now entirely obsolete in Democratic parlance. There are Democrats, however, who will not forget the events of this session, and though you may count that you lose nothing in Ohio, or in Pennsylvania, or in Michigan, or in Wisconsin, or in Iowa, or in other States, because they are Republican States, or in Texas, because the flocks are large and the voting flock-masters few, the wool-growers will mark an era by their votes this year that will show you that they have not been shorn of their power as completely as you imagine.

THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD.

The argument that we must have free trade in order to build up our commerce with other countries has been repeated over and over again. The Democratic party is offering this country the markets of the world if it will only tear down its protection walls and let all nations bring in their products free of duty. Eighteen hundred years ago the devil made an offer very much like this. He took the Saviour up into an exceeding high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, and said unto him, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." The poor devil did not own a foot of land, and yet he had as much to do with the kingdoms of the world as Democratic free-traders have with the markets of the world. The reply was, "Get thee behind me, Satan." So say we to the Democratic party, get thee hence, for you have nothing to do with the markets of the world.

If protection should disappear to-morrow we could not export a bushel of wheat more than we do now, as the tariff has nothing whatever to do with our exports of wheat, or our exports of any other product. If we should repeal every tariff law on our statutes that would not repeal the tariff laws of Germany, or France, or Italy, or Russia, or Spain, or any other country, and give us access to their ports without paying the usual duty. Do gentlemen suppose that because we adopt free trade that all the other countries of the world will do the same? We tried a few years ago to influence foreign countries in relation to the ratio of gold and silver, but we did not succeed. The fact is, foreign countries will buy of us just when they actually need what we have to sell, and when they can get it no other place in the world cheaper. That is what the markets of the world means, and no more.

Mr. Chairman, there are a good many other things that I would like to say, but inasmuch as the House was kind enough to give me unlimited time I do not feel like occupying but a few moments more. I want to answer an inquiry made by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DOCKERY] in the course of his remarks to-day. The gentleman inquires why we on this side of the House are unwilling to give the Democratic party the credit which he claims it is entitled to, and he pointed out, as the foundation for this claim, the fact that we are indebted to the Democratic party for carrying the Mexican war to a successful termination, and for the vast areas of land that were given to the country under a Democratic administration. He pointed out with earnestness and eloquence the glories of the Democratic party, and wanted to know why we could not give it proper credit. I want to say that in all justice he ought to balance accounts before he declares the result. He stated one side of the account, but did not state the other. He pointed out the glories of the Democratic party and called attention to the monuments it had reared, and to the institutions it had fostered, and to its many other great achievements, but he did not present the other side.

I simply want the other side of the account stated and no more. He did not give you the opportunity to make a comparison. I would like to know what political party in this country brought on the war. Is there any difficulty in answering this question? What party in this country is chargeable with the enormous sacrifice of money, and of human life, in the long and bloody civil war from which we came out victorious only after four years of strife and suffering? Why should not this be taken into account in this calculation? Will not this more than offset any claim the Democratic party may have for what it did in carrying on the Mexican war? What about the Democratic convention held in Chicago in 1864, which declared the war a failure, demanded peace on any terms, wanted the Union army called home, and the Southern brethren allowed to depart in peace? What about the propositions made in Congress by Democratic leaders to divide the Union, and the opposition of the Democratic party to all measures which were intended to suppress the rebellion?

You tread on dangerous ground when you speak of the record of the Democratic party. I should not call this up except as an offset to what has been said on the other side. I want the gentleman to strike a balance. I want to place on one side the statement of my friend from Missouri [Mr. DOCKERY] with all his eloquence, and on the other side I want to place a few suggestions only as to Democratic history. The Democratic party is responsible, and must ever be held responsible for inaugurating the war of the rebellion, and will be so held as long as a monument shall mark the resting place of a fallen hero. As long as history lives it will be remembered that the Democratic party sympathized with rebellion and opposed the Government in its great struggle for union and liberty. I make no charge whatever against the great body of men who vote the Democratic ticket. The masses of all parties are honest and true men. I refer to the leadership of the Democratic party, to the men who hold the reins and crack the whip, and who have so often trailed the banners of their party in defeat and disgrace. I am willing to give to the Democratic party all the honor it is entitled to for anything good that it has ever done. It has done some good things, I suppose. But I do not want gentlemen to forget when they are glorifying the Democratic party that there are still, dark shadows which creep around the homes of widows at sunset, unmarked graves in the wilderness where the scars of war are still seen, deserted homes on the hill side where sorrow still lingers, that ought to remind them of the past, and teach them a lesson of humility if nothing more.

A PLACE FOR THE SURPLUS.

They talk of the surplus. A single remark in regard to that question and I will have done. I am not troubled as much about the surplus as some gentlemen seem to be. Some of them have an apprehension that a full Treasury may lead to liberal pensions, and are anxious to make this impossible by reducing the revenue. They would not admit this, but I believe it nevertheless. I do not want the revenue so reduced as to interfere with liberal pension legislation. I want to see every honorably discharged soldier pensioned, as the Mexican soldiers have been, and every widow whose husband helped put down the rebellion, and every old father and mother who sent their brave boys out to defend the

old flag, never to return. I believe there is no higher obligation resting upon the Government to-day. I believe in liberal pensions because it is right and just and wise, to make ample provision for the brave men who fought the battles of the war, and saved the life of the Republic. The suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union, upon a broad and deep foundation, was the greatest triumph known to civilization in all the ages. And we should not forget how or by whom this grand result was achieved.

Some gentlemen are wont to say when a pension measure is proposed that we have done more for our soldiers than any other nation in the world. I deny it. There are thousands of as good soldiers as ever followed the country's flag who are to-day poor and helpless, who are not receiving a farthing from the Government. One-third of the claims rejected are as deserving as one-third of those which have been allowed. Thousands of the widows of the heroic dead support themselves and their children, by their incessant toil, without any aid from the Government. Two thousand years ago the armies of Pompey and Julius Cæsar were better paid and better cared for than are many of the Union soldiers of the late war. Their pay was doubled in the field, and on their return they were given lands and homes and the trophies of war. They did not have to wait for age or poverty or want. A Roman soldier was a hero and a patriot, deserving of honor and emoluments, and not an object of charity.

The time has not come yet for any great reduction of the tariff. Let part of the revenue be given to the soldiers and we will not be troubled with the surplus. Pay the honest obligations of the Government and it will come back in increased prosperity. Save from stain the nation's honor, and widows and orphans will rejoice. Do justice to the tried and true, and the stars of the old flag will shine out brighter. Gladden the hearts and homes that were in sorrow and sadness during the long years of war, and our country will be stronger and greater. In the name of God and country and home let us do our duty toward the thousands of brave and true patriots whose eyes are turned toward this national Capitol to-day, praying and waiting for a just and generous recognition of their long-neglected rights. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD LANE,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

July 16, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. LANE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: For nearly three months we have been engaged in the debate on the tariff bill. Much has been said pro and con, and I am truly glad that the time for action is now at hand. From the other side of the Chamber it has been one unceasing wail to protect first one American industry and then another until one would be led to believe that American manufacturers were paupers and afraid of the whole world, and therefore must be protected by law. The pretext for all this, Mr. Chairman, these gentlemen would have us to believe is the protection of American labor. The paragraph of the bill under consideration, as well as other paragraphs, develops this feature of the debate. Our Republican friends constitute themselves the champion of labor and constantly insist that labor is benefited by high tariff. It has been proven to them time and time again by this side of the House that tariff has nothing to do whatever with raising wages; that wages are governed by other and different causes, and yet on almost every paragraph of this bill we hear the same falsehood asserted that we must have a high tariff in order to keep up the price of labor. Nay, more than this; it has been proven to those on the other side of the House that a high tariff is a direct cause of low wages, and that wages only raise as the clutch of the tariff is taken off.

Every high tariff cuts down wages, and the higher the tariff the more the wages are reduced. Wages are always highest when importations are largest. Wages, as the figures show them, follow the fluctuations of imported merchandise, rising with the rise of imports and falling with the fall. There is no authority for the statement that the tariff of itself alone has the power to raise wages. The reason assigned for its so doing is always that it excludes foreign products and so keeps our work for the home workman. This simply means, if it means anything, that if we exclude importation, wages will rise; while the very reverse is true. The advance in wages has always been more rapid under low tariff than under a high one. Statistics show that the average rate of wages of manufacturers in 1850 was $247, and in 1860, after ten years of low tariff, $289; in 1870, after ten years of high tariff, it was only $302. So you can see that wages do not range with the high tariff. If the tariff affected the price of wages, then wages would be the same in all the States as the tariff is in all the States. But the fact is that the West pays better wages than the East, nearly one-third more.

A tariff is simply a barrier to exchange, and the effect of all such barriers is to reduce the price of wages. If we purchase a large quantity of foreign goods we must sell a large quantity of goods to pay for them; and as a consequence we must pay labor for producing such goods. If the tariff stops them from coming in it will stop them from going out, and thus stop us from producing these goods. The only excuse here, as our Republican friends assert, is because these goods can be produced somewhere else cheaper than here. Why is this? Simply because our labor can earn more at some other business. What we want most in this country is a flood of goods to come in so that our laborers can buy cheaper, and that they may be employed at good wages manufacturing a flood of goods to be sent out to pay for the goods that come here. If a high tariff makes high wages, then certainly after twenty-seven years of high tariff our laborers should be happy, rich, and prosperous. Is this the fact? No. The third annual report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, shows that in six years ending with 1886 there were strikes in 22,336 establishments in this country. Of these 18,342, or 82.12 per cent., were ordered by labor organizations. During the same period there were lockouts in 2,182 establishments. Of these 1,753, or 80.34 per cent., were ordered by combinations of managers. Of the strikes 16,692, or 74.74 per cent., and of the lockouts 1,981, or 90.8 per cent., were in the States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, where protection is said to have showered its blessings on the laboring man.

Sir, it is notorious that it is in the protected districts of Pennsylvania that occur our frequent carnivals of strikes, lockouts, reduction of wages, and insolent and brutal treatment of labor. It is from there that the red prophecies of danger come to our industrial horizon. It is there that the laborer and his family are housed in a tenement not fit for a brute, and are clothed in rags, and their food such as to insure disease and hasten death. It is there the State militia is called into requisition to imprison labor. It is there that the Pinkerton murderers ply their trade in terrorizing American labor and drive it to starvation.

Now, sir, there is no truth in the statement that protection protects American labor, or that the Republican party is the friend of labor. It is an admitted fact that labor alone creates all wealth. Law does not and can not create wealth. But it does and can under a Republican rule rob the laborer of the fruits of his toil under an iniquitous tariff law and equally wicked monetary system. The wages of labor are transferred from the toiling masses to the rich, the banker and the manufacturer. If labor is the source of all wealth, why is not the labor permitted to enjoy the fruitage of its earnings? Labor creates all wealth. It builds all our magnificent palace cars and Pullman sleepers. But does the laborer ride in them? No. And why not? Labor builds all our palatial residences and stone fronts, but do our laborer and his family reside in them? No. And why not? Labor manufactures all our silks and satins, but do the laborer's wife and daughter wear the silks and satins? No. And why not? There must be some reason for this state of things, and if so what is it? This is the question that now confronts the laboring people and which they are trying to solve.

We are assured that there is great wealth in this country. In 1880 more than $43,000,000,000, we are told by the census, does not express the wealth of the country; and we are equally assured that nearly one-third of this vast sum is held by twenty families in Wall street alone. How did this happen? Is it the result of the labor, of brain, or muscle? No. Our Republican friends tell us it was done by "trade regulation." We say not; but rather by trade robbery. These twenty families neither toil nor spin, but yet, like Solomon, they are arrayed in scarlet and in fine linen every day.

I am willing to admit that they manipulate, intrigue, and contrive and are connected with the national Capitol by a golden wire, where their emissaries and agents (the would-be servants of the people) are, but they produce no wealth and under no system of just laws could they ever acquire the colossal fortunes they possess. Every just man should be willing that labor of head or hand should receive its just reward. But it is neither fair nor equity to allow under the forms of law one man or set of men to become rich and opulent at the expense of the toiling masses. And this is what Republican rule is doing now and has done for the past twenty years, and all the time claiming that they are the friend of the laborer. The Republican party on this floor insist that high tariff makes high wages. But this has been proven false time and time again, and yet the falsehood is reiterated. What are the facts? I quote from the statistician:

Wages paid for weaving 58 yards cotton cloth.

ENGLAND.	Cents.	AMERICA.	Cents.
Ashtop	24.68	Rhode Island	16.82
Blackburn	25.05	Providence	17.26
Stockport	25.04	Fall River	19.96
Hyde	25.28	Lowell	19.96
Average	25.00	Average	18.50

Mule spinners in English cotton mills are paid $1.57 per day; in New York $1.32; in New Jersey, $1.40; in Massachusetts, $1.25; in Vermont, $1.20.

Wool sorters in England are paid $1.20 per day; in North Carolina, $1 per day; in New Jersey they get only 80 cents per day.

Wages, in cents, paid for weaving 1 pound cotton cloth: Fall River, 6.907; Lowell, 6.882; Providence, 6.44; England, 6.962.

Again, I quote from the table of wages found on page 2388, volume 2, of the report of the United States Tariff Commission, which I think conclusively proves that countries which have a high protected tariff do not pay high wages:

Occupations.	Germany. Protection.	France. Protection.	Belgium. Free trade.	England. Free trade.
Bricklayers	$3.45	$4.00	$6.00	$8.12
Masons	4.00	5.00	6.00	8.16
Carpenters	4.18	5.42	5.40	8.25
Painters	4.60	4.90	4.20	7.25
Plasterers	4.35	.....	5.40	8.10
Blacksmiths	3.90	.....	4.40	8.12
Cabinet-makers	4.95	.....	4.80	7.70
Dyers	3.30	.....	.....	7.00
Weavers	3.00	.....	.....	5.40
Grinders in glass-work	4.87	.....	.....	10.92
Common laborers	2.60	.....	3.00	5.00

It is a fact that Germany has a higher tariff than France, yet she pays less wages. France has a protected tariff, yet she pays lower wages than free-trade Belgium. England furnishes the best example in proof that the protective policy is rather injurious than beneficial to labor. Fifty years ago, when England had a high protective policy, her laborers did not receive two-thirds the wages that are paid to-day. If we want more evidence on this point eminent Republicans will furnish it. I submit the following:

As Secretary of State Mr. Blaine made a report on English and American labor, and thus summed up his conclusions:

"Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world."

Hon. WILLIAM M. EVARTS, another Republican Secretary of State, examined the same subject and reached the same conclusion (Report on labor, Forty-sixth Congress, page 37):

"One workman in the United States, as will be seen from the foregoing extracts, does as much work as two workmen in most of the countries of Europe. Even the immigrant from Europe attains this progressive spirit by a few years' association with American workmen."

Finally, Secretary Frelinghuysen, under the Arthur administration, collected and arranged statistics which fully demonstrated the soundness and correctness of the conclusions reached by Messrs. Blaine and EVARTS.

These statistics show that American labor is cheaper and worse paid than the labor of England.

Mr. EVARTS and Mr. Blaine had shown that by exercising greater skill and working longer hours our operatives do "from one-and-a-half to twice as much work as the average European workman." (EVARTS's Report, May 1879, page 36.) Mr. Frelinghuysen declared that "in the matter of wages America is as cheap as Eng and." We quote one of the tables on which he based this conclusion. It gives the amount of wages in cents paid for manufacturing a certain quantity of cloth:

Fall River	6.907
Lowell	6.882
Rhode Island	6.422
Pennsylvania	6.440
England	6.962

This table shows that the average wage paid in England for producing any fixed quantity of cloth is higher than the average wage paid in the manufacturing centers of the United States for doing the same amount of the same work.

Mr. Frelinghuysen also shows that the total cost of manufacturing this fixed quantity of cloth is actually less in Rhode Island than in England, the proportion being Rhode Island 11.99 to England 12.16.

Why, then, can not we compete with England? Why does England shut us out from foreign markets and hold the trade of the world against us? Let General Grant answer the question. (Seventh annual message.)

"I would mention (for freedom from taxation) those articles which enter into manufactures of all sorts. All duty paid upon such articles goes directly to the cost of such articles when manufactured here, and must be paid for by the consumers. These duties not only come from consumers at home but act as a protection to foreign manufacturers of the same completed articles in our own and distant markets."

What could be plainer than this elucidation of the case? We have Messrs. Blaine, EVARTS, and Frelinghuysen to show that our labor is as cheap or cheaper than the labor of England. Then we have President Grant to show that we are protecting English manufacturers by taxing the raw materials used by our own.

But grant that wages are some higher here than in Great Britain. What avail is that when the cost of living here is much higher? We find from the report of the Commissioner of Labor that the average expense of a family of mechanics (family of five workers, including children) in Massachusetts is $754.42. In Great Britain for the same family it is $508.35, or nearly one-third less. What advantage can it be to the laborer to raise wages 10 per cent. when at the same time you raise the expense of living 20 per cent.? No one is insisting that the wages in America are not higher nominally than they are in Great Britain, but the result is what we are looking to. What does the laborer have left at the end of his year's service? is the question to be answered. I submit the following compiled report of the United States consul abroad to be found in the Department of State at Washington, which reads as follows:

Conditions.	United States.	Great Britain.	France.	Germany.	Italy.
	Twelfths.	*Twelfths.*	*Twelfths.*	*Twelfths.*	*Twelfths.*
Ratio of potent food	10	7	5	5	5
Ratio of cost of living	6	12	10	9	8
Ratio of cost of clothing	9	4	3½	3	3½
Ratio in mode of living	6	2	4	2	1½
Ratio in thrift of saving	6	5	6	10	6½

It will be seen by this table that the cost of living in the United States is higher than in either of the other four countries named. These are the facts and figures in the case, and they can not be gainsaid or impeached, but are absolute verities. Now what is the matter with your pauper labor of Europe? But the question is asked, "Why, then, does the foreign labor come to this country if the wages are not higher here than in Europe?" Robert G. Ingersoll, who has a trifle more faith in the Republican party than he has in Christianity, asked this question at a public meeting in New York lately, and the papers stated that the audience cheered.

The following table, taken from the census, shows the number of inhabitants to the square mile in various countries, and will to some extent answer this question:

	Inhabitants to the square mile.
Belgium	482
France	187
Germany	216
Great Britain and Ireland	290
Italy	262
Netherlands	313
Portugal	124
Switzerland	183
United States	14

The crowded condition of Europe as we see by these figures renders it impossible for people to secure homes in the Old World. But I suppose our friends will insist that the tariff is the cause of all this. But the question of immigration can be answered in another way, in the same manner the Irishman answered the question, by "asking another." Why have the thousands of people in the last eight or ten years removed from the East and from the great States of Iowa, Illinois, and Ohio to still other States and Territories farther West? The following figures, taken from the census of 1880, I think will fully answer the question:

	Inhabitants to the square mile.
Connecticut	128.5
Illinois	55.0
Indiana	55.1
Iowa	29.3
Massachusetts	221.8
New Jersey	151.7
New York	106.7
Rhode Island	254.9

The following are the figures in the Western States:

Colorado	1.9
Dakota	0.9
Idaho	0.4
Montana	0.3
Nebraska	5.9
Nevada	0.6
New Mexico	1.0
Oregon	1.8
Washington	1.1
Wyoming	0.2

The very same reason exists for the foreigner coming to our shores that there is for our people to leave the more densely populated States and go further West. "The course of empire westward takes its way," where the mountains are full of mineral wealth and where there are millions of acres of productive land waiting for the plow, and where the homes for homeless millions are to be had for the taking. But I suppose this will all be attributed to the beneficent tariff law. Away with such nonsense; the people are tired of it, and will no longer be deceived. The difference of wages between United States and England is not so great as between States of the Union. Colorado pays wages three times as high as North Carolina, Dakota twice as high as Alabama, California twice as high as Massachusetts, Illinois higher than Virginia.

If there is any truth in the complaint of our Republican friends about high wages, it seems to me that it is time for some of our most prosperous and highly respected States to raise the cry against their less fortunate sisters. The fact is that it is the condition of low wages and not high that needs protection. High-priced labor is often the cheapest, and an industry employing it can take care of itself. Although common labor in India costs only 10 cents a day, yet the cash outlay for constructing a railway is as great as it is in the United States. The iron mines of Russia are worked by serfs at 7 cents a day, and yet it costs as much to make a ton of pig-iron in Russia as in England. In India it takes one day with wages at 10 cents to make by hand one yard of gunny cloth, but in England a loom will make 100 yards in a day, and though the wages there should be $2 a day the cost of labor there is only one-half as great as it is in India.

The fact is that American labor is the most productive in the world and is really as cheap as any labor in the world. The argument then that a high tariff makes high wages and therefore that foreign labor comes to this country is no argument at all, unless you believe in Tom Corwin's axiom in support of protection, "The bigger the fool the better the argument." But I can tell the gentlemen why some of the foreign labor comes to this country. A Republican Congress in 1864 enacted what is known as the "contract labor law," which legalized importation of pauper labor from Europe to compete with American labor and authorized a specie of servitude in our free Republic which was as disgraceful as it was despicable. I read the second section of the act:

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries, in conformity to regulations that may be established by the said commissioner, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months, to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States or of the several States and Territories; and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract, and the contract be recorded in the recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the homestead law when the title is consummated or on property otherwise acquired until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States or creating in any way the relation of slavery or servitude. (United States Statutes at Large, volume 15, 1863-'65.)

A Democratic House of Representatives repealed this entire act in 1885, and a Democratic President approved an amendment to the act repealing it, which made the repealing act more effective in prohibiting the importation of the pauper labor of Europe under contract to perform labor in the United States. But not only this, sir, but when our Republican friends secured protection from foreign competition they at once entered into the free-trade markets of the world to buy their labor. This is proven by the sworn testimony of Gilbert B. Whitman, agent of the Amory Manufacturing Company of Manchester, N. H., an establishment engaged extensively in the manufacture of cotton cloth. These works at the time the testimony was given, in 1883, had only been running three years. This was started as a protected industry. Let me read from the examination as contained in the report entitled Labor and Capital:

Q. What is the character of your employés?
A. About one-third of our help are Canadians; the remainder are of mixed nationalities, the Irish element preponderating. Then come the English, the Scotch, and the German.
Q. What proportion of them are Americans?
A. Out of the eight hundred operatives, probably we have eighty Americans.—*Labor and Capital*, volume 3, page 28.

Volumes of testimony to the same effect can be produced, but I deem this sufficient to silence the hypocrisy of the Republican leaders, who claim that they are the friends of the laborer. No, they are not honest in their claims in favor of American labor, but are in favor of a high protective policy so that a certain class of manufacturers, who generally vote the Republican ticket and contribute liberally to the campaign funds of that party may become rich at the expense of American labor.

Do these protective manufacturers pay better wages for labor than other industries which are not protected. Who ever heard of a manufacturer going out and hunting a high-priced laborer when he could get a low-priced one who would perform the same work as promptly and as skillfully? Have you ever heard of a protective manufacturer calling his laborers around him at the end of the year and dividing with them his enormous profits? No, the millionaire gets his labor in the open markets of the country as cheap as possible, and then spends his ill-gathered gains hobnobbing in Europe, aping the nobility of that country. Yes, these protected manufacturers under this famous tariff law enrich themselves at the cost of labor. But our Republican friends on this floor do not mention this fact. They do not care to tell the other side of the story. They are like the Pennsylvania justice of the peace who said "he only wanted to hear one side of the case as the other side always bothered him."

All manner of subterfuge and argumentation is resorted to by the learned men on the other side of the Chamber to prove that protection makes high wages. They even put their sophistry into a syllogistic form and attempt to prove in that way that protection is the cause of high wages in this country. They put it in this way: "We have protection in America; we also have high wages: therefore protection is the cause of high wages. England has free trade; England has low wages: therefore free trade is the cause of low wages." By this form of logic these gentlemen can prove anything. It is neither philosophy nor logic. I will state a syllogism that will prove the absurdity of it, which I find in one of the old books on logic: "A cat can climb a tree; a squirrel can climb a tree: therefore a cat is a squirrel." Is this true? No, and yet it is as literally true as the two first propositions put by our Republican friends. But I will state it in another form. England has an established church; England has low wages: therefore an established church is the cause of low wages. America has no established church; America has high wages: therefore the absence of an established church is the cause of high wages. This is not true, and yet this is the kind of sophistry these gentlemen are resorting to in order to bolster up the scheme of legalized plunder.

By the census of 1880 we find the number of hands employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries of the whole country was 2,735,595, and the amount of wages paid them $947,953,795, an average of $346 each. Now, it will be remembered that this is under a high protective policy of 47 per cent. The man who gets $346 a year has a wife and family and is obliged to pay out that sum for the support of himself, wife, and family. It is fair to say that the duty on the necessaries of life is 33⅓ per cent. The man, then, who earns $346 a year is obliged to pay out for the support of himself and family $115.33, or one-third of his earnings a year by force of the tariff law. That is, because of the tariff law he is compelled to pay more for the necessaries of life than he would if there was no tariff on the necessaries of life. Yet our Republican protectionists pretend to be the friends of the laborer. And yet they are willing to take from him by an unjust law $115.33 each year. What does this mean to the laboring man? It means robbing him of one-third of his time. He has been a slave in bondage to the law one hundred and four days in the year as much as the criminal serving out his term by breaking stone on the "rock pile."

For that period of time each year he is held in bondage to the law, as much so as ever was a slave in the South. The slave was held by law and was compelled to labor for his master. The tariff law now compels the enslaved laborer each year to work 104 days or till he earns $115.33, and to whom does it go? Why, to the manufacturer. One-third of the laborer's life is not his own. What does the loss each year of $115.33 to the laborer mean? It means so much taken from the support of his family; so much of his life and time owned by others. How much of the comforts of life would this sum buy for his family! How far would it go to educate his children! If he was not robbed of his money—I say robbed, and I mean it—how much better food and clothing could he furnish himself and family! How much better care could he take of himself and his people, and perhaps lay up something for a rainy day! But high tariff, instead of raising wages, pauperizes labor.

Under its benign influence year by year the laborer is compelled to toil on without being able to save a dollar, until old age settles down upon him, when he becomes a pauper, and finally charity furnishes him with a grave and bankruptcy for his winding-sheet. And yet under all this the Republican party is the friend of labor. Sir, I have not overstated this matter. The facts and figures that I give warrant the conclusion. Ah, when will the scales fall from the eyes of the laborer so that he will see his own interest? When will the laborer discover that a protective policy and the Republican party are not his friends? General Harrison, the candidate of the Republican party for President, it is said by the public press, declared in a speech at Indianapolis, when he was assisting the railroad companies in their efforts to pauperize labor, that "A dollar a day is sufficient compensation for a laborer." I do not know whether this is true or not, but as a matter of fact this is all that is paid to a great many laborers in this country. Now, is it possible for a laborer to live on a dollar a day? I assert that it is not, and I know what I am talking about.

I am myself from and of the laboring classes and I have a right to speak in behalf of labor, not of any organized body of labor, but the man who holds the plow and the man who swings the ax and the shovel. For more than a decade I was engaged in these pursuits myself. And I will truthfully say that I have a profound feeling of respect and sympathy for the toiler in the field, on the road, in the mine, and in the shop, and I hope I may never outlive that feeling. And I am now and here in the Congress of the United States prepared to state and to prove that a dollar a day is not a just compensation for labor, General Harrison to the contrary notwithstanding. Mr. Chairman, let us for a moment consider this proposition of General Harrison, if he said it: A dollar a day, three hundred and twelve working days in the year, of which perhaps forty days are rainy or unfit for work. Now, this would leave two hundred and seventy-two days in the year, and if the laborer should be sick it would still make it less. But we will say two hundred and seventy-two days, which would make $272 to support a man, his wife, and children.

As I have above shown, the average tax on the necessaries of live is at least 33⅓ per cent., so here is one-third of his $272, or $90.66, which he is deprived of to protect American industries. This will leave $181.34 for his year's work. Now, he must pay $5 a month rent, or $60 a year. Add to this his fuel and light, which would be $25 a year; meat for himself and family, say at 15 cents per day, would be $54.75 a year. This would make $159.75 per year, leaving him $21.59 to buy clothing for himself and family, all his groceries and provisions, to buy books to educate his children, and other necessaries, all for $21.59.

This sum would not support a pauper in an almshouse or winter a Fiji Islander. Yet this is the condition of things in proud America, where the Republican party on this floor claim that the wages are higher than in any other country in the world, and General Harrison fixes it at a dollar a day, and says that is enough for a laborer. He is now a

candidate for President and asking laborers to vote for him so that he can enact a law that there shall be no strike by laborers and that their wages can be fixed by law. Will the laborers of the country support him? We will see. General Harrison clearly favors pauper labor of Europe that we hear so much about. When he was Senator of the United States, in 1882, he voted fourteen times in one form or another in favor of the immigration of Chinese pauper slave-labor to this country. The wages of labor in this country was too high for him. He voted in favor of the immigration of Chinese labor to this country to compete with our free-trade labor. That Chinese race which is irrevocably devoted to their paganish idolatry, superstition, and practices. They are entirely unassimulated with our people; blind to the progressive spirit of our race; unappreciated of our institutions, and deaf to the demands and influence of Christianity, and their presence among us is only a corruption of society, debasing to morals, and degrading to our labor.

General Harrison tries to explain his vote now on the ground that the act was in violation of existing treaties, and President Arthur vetoed the first act passed by Congress on this question prohibiting the immigration of Chinese labor, which was mainly the cause of his failure to receive the nomination for President at the hands of his party in 1884. And after November that party will wish that they had defeated the nomination of General Harrison on the same ground. On May 6, 1882, the act prohibiting Chinese immigration was approved, which is the law to-day, and we have not yet discovered that it has been in conflict with "existing treaty." General Harrison voted against this act in all stages of its proceedings when present, the history of which will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April, 1882. What was the effect of that act for the passage of which all Democratic Senators voted and a few Republicans? The following table, compiled from the report of the Bureau of Statistics, will show the extent of Chinese immigration to the United States:

	Number.
1881	20,727
1882	35,614
1883	28,381
1884	53
1885	17
1887	3

It will be seen by this table that after the act was passed immigration almost ceased at once. Yet General Harrison opposed the passage of this act so that they might have immigration of this slave race into this country in order to reduce the price of labor, and thus keep the "contract-labor law" of 1864 in force. The Republican party have always favored the immigration of pauper labor to our shores; and when I speak of the Republican party in this connection and other connections I do not mean the rank and file of that party, for I am glad to say that among them I have many warm personal friends whom I hold in the highest esteem and who I personally know are good and true men, and I believe they would not by their vote advance this system of iniquity that I have mentioned, but they are like the person mentioned by the blessed Master in the good book, "they know not what they do." But what I mean by the Republican party is the machine that is trying now and has heretofore run the Government in the interest of monopoly, wealth, and the "favored class." But to return to what the late Republican platform at Chicago calls the "American system of protection." It declares that "the protective system must be maintained." I suppose the Republican party will try to maintain this system, which is the most unjust and nefarious system that could possibly be devised by the mischievous ingenuity of man; a system borrowed from the robber Moorish pirates who lived at a town called Tarifa in the Strait of Gibraltar, which leads into the Mediterranean Sea; a system that can be used for the enrichment of the few and the impoverishment of the many; a system provocative of the crimes of fraud, theft, bribery, and perjury; a system corruptive of officials and debauching to business men, and a system under which the present tariff has degenerated into a mere disgraceful squabble for protected pelf.

The iron lords of Pennsylvania join hands with the merchant princes of Massachusetts, and they with the lumber barons of Michigan, and they with other protected pilferers for the conjoined robbery of labor and all unprotected industries of the country. If there was not a felonious combination between aggregate protected interest, no tariff bill would ever become a law.

It is a system by which wealth, which, as is shown by the last census, amounts to the enormous sum of $43,000,000,000, does not pay one cent for the support of the Federal Government; and a system that a man worth a million of dollars pays no more for the support of the General Government than a man worth $200, provided both eat and dress equally well. And this is what they are pleased to call the "American system." Now, what is the consequence of non-contribution of the countless wealth for the support of the General Government? The result is that the tax for such support falls with unusual severity on the laborer and the farmer. It is a more grievous hardship than any of which our Revolutionary fathers complained. It is an injustice that no other country of the civilized world is guilty of. It is iniquitous, and should be removed. At one time we had a tax on the wealth of this country. The following table will show the character of the tax, the amount collected, and when:

Year.	Character of tax.	Amount.
1866	Income tax	$72,982,159.03
1868	Gross receipts, express companies	671,949.62
1866	Gross receipts, railroad companies	7,614,449.13
1867	On gross receipts of premiums or assessments made by insurance companies	1,326,014.38
1866	Gross receipts other than express, railroad, and insurance companies	1,832,490.00
1882	On deposits of State banks and private banks and bankers	4,096,102.45
1882	On capital of State banks and private banks and bankers	1,138,340.87
1882	On deposits of national banks	5,521,927.47
1877	On capital of national banks	660,784.90
1870	On legacies and successions	3,091,825.00
1867	On articles of luxury	2,116,674.00
1870	Stamp taxes	16,544,043.00
1866	Special taxes other than those relating to spirits, beer, and tobacco	14,144,418.00
1870	Sales other than those of spirits, tobacco, wines, etc	8,837,395.00
1866	Passports	31,149.00
1866	Tax on manufacturers, which was paid by capital	64,827,165.70
	Total	205,436,886.55

These figures are official and the tax was laid on those who could best bear it. But what has become of all this tax? Repealed by a Republican Congress long ago, while the same Congress retains a tax of 104 per cent. on the poor man's blanket; a tax of 91 per cent. on the common cloth that the laborer wears, and an average of 47 per cent. on the necessaries of life. And yet the Republican party claim to be the friends of the laborer. Can any one tell why the taxes mentioned in this table were repealed? Can any good reason be assigned for it, and still retain the tax on labor? The laborer will answer it next November.

I will mention another instance to show that the Republican party is not a friend to the laborer. In the Chicago platform they say "We demand a reduction of letter postage to 1 cent per ounce." What would this mean if it should become a law? The mail service is scarcely self-supporting now, and if such a law were enacted there would be a shortage of nearly a million of dollars to be made up by taxes, that is, by tariff tax and under this tariff system. The putting of $1 in the United States Treasury means the people must pay $6. In other words, the people would have to pay $6,000,000 in order to get $1,000,000 in the Treasury. I have explained how this is done in my former remarks on tariff in the present session of Congress, and have given the figures, and I will not repeat them here. If the postage was reduced who would be benefited by it? The laborer or farmer? No; the manufacturer, the princely merchant, and the banker. Many merchants and bankers send out fifty letters a day each, and the postage at 1 cent each on fifty letters would amount to $182.50 per year, or that much saved to each of them. How many letters does the laborer and the farmer send through the mail? Fifty cents would pay the whole bill for a year. In other words, the farmer would save 25 cents a year while the banker and merchant would save $182.50. But when the tax-collector comes to make up the shortage under the tariff system the farmer and laborer would have to pay just as much as the merchant and banker if they lived and dressed as well. And yet the Republican party is the friend to the farmer and the laborer. Go tell this story to the marines.

Again, the Chicago platform calls this tariff system an "American system of protection." I deny that it is American, and I appeal to history for the truth of what I say. I have neither the time nor inclination to trace the entire history of protection as it has existed among men and nations during all the past. But in some form or other it is as old as civilization itself, generally increasing in amount in every country as it has in this. The first tariff that we had in this country was in 1789, and the average duty was only 8 per cent. to protect our infant industries. In 1789 it was raised to 11 per cent., and two years later to 14 per cent., and now after ninety-nine years of repeated increases we have an average of 47 per cent. to protect our still infant industries. This dear tariff system of ours always takes but never gives; always levies but never contributes.

The first great industry of Great Britain was the wool industry and the chief article of export. The seat of highest dignity in the House of Lords is the "wool-sack," the seat being originally a sack of wool. In 1275 Parliament levied a tax on each sack of wool exported. A later act followed that no wool should be exported or cloth imported, and this continued to 1825. To help this infant industry, in 1678 an act was passed that every corpse should be buried in a woolen shroud. In 1651 the navigation act was passed, by which foreign commodities could only be imported into England in British ships, and prior to that time the law applied to exports. This was to build up the infant industries. In 1824 foreign wheat was totally prohibited from entering the United Kingdom until the price had reached 70 shillings per quarter. In 1815 the corn law was passed, and so indignant were the people that they had to be dispersed by armed force, and the House of

Commons itself had to be protected by soldiery when the bill was passed. I quote from the history of Europe as it is recorded at that time:

In 1817 hundreds of thousands of the working classes were brought to the brink of starvation by wheat at 112 shillings per quarter. In 1821 thousands of farmers were brought to absolute ruin by wheat at 39 shillings per quarter, their rents having been fixed on the basis of high prices.

Yes, sir, you will notice the two classes that suffered then under a high protective tariff of England. The working classes were brought to the brink of starvation and the farmers to absolute ruin. These are the same two classes that suffer here to-day because of high tariff. The historian further says:

Up to the year 1824 our system had been strictly protective. We had all but prohibited the admission of foreign articles of food; we had by excessive import duties discouraged and curtailed the importation of all other foreign commodities; and we had practically by our navigation laws restricted our foreign trade to the use of British ships. By the close of the year 1849 we had adopted a diametrically opposite policy. We had admitted foreign grain free of duty, except a small nominal one for registration purposes; we had abolished import duties on nearly every foreign article; and we had repealed those old navigation laws on which our maritime prosperity had so long been supposed to depend.

The historian further says:

In 1824 the fiscal regulations by which our commerce with the world was controlled and restricted stood as follows: 1. There was hardly an article obtainable from abroad that was admissible here without the payment of import duties, always heavy, sometimes excessive, and in certain cases all but prohibitory. It mattered not whether it was a raw material or a manufactured product, whether it was an article of luxury or of universal consumption, whether it came in masses, like cotton, or in driblets, like orchilla, everything foreign which an Englishman might use was withheld from him till its cost had been enhanced by a customs duty. The tariff-list of the United Kingdom formed a tolerably complete dictionary of all the products of human industry. Under this high protective policy in England at that time—

The historian further states—

the laboring population was reduced to the greatest extremity between the upper millstone of high-priced food and the nether one of diminished employment and falling wages. There were heard riots in both the agricultural districts and the manufacturing centers. One person in every twenty was a pauper, and the annual expense of pauperism, which was paid from the public purse, was very heavy. So hard were the conditions of a livelihood that thousands of children were taken from the sports and occupations proper for youth and driven to exhausting labor for a pittance in the mines and factories. The people refused further to endure these oppressive laws, and under the leadership of Richard Cobden and John Bright in 1846 the corn laws were repealed, and this was the removal of the keystone in the arch of the protective policy.

England to-day has a tariff for revenue only—not free trade—which has existed for thirty years. All duties are collected on sixteen articles only and 98 per cent. of it is derived from only five—fruit, spirits, tea, tobacco, and wine. This tariff yields a revenue of about $100,000,000 annually. Added to this is an excise tax which makes up the total of what the people of England pay in tariff taxes. Thus it will be seen that Great Britain had a protective system that almost amounted to prohibition for hundreds of years, and yet we are told that the protective system is an "American system." This is not the truth. The Revolutionary war was brought to get rid of this system. The soul of war was purely commercial.

In 1651 the navigation laws imposed upon the colonies, requiring both imports and exports to be carried in British ships, and they were compelled to trade with England. That is, they were prohibited from going into the open markets of the world where they could buy the cheapest and sell where they could sell the dearest. This with the stamp act and other matters brought on the Revolutionary war which resulted in American independence, and now, after more than a hundred years, the Republican party in this Government is attempting to enact similar laws. No, sir, this system of legalized plunder is older than our Government. The student of history will find it recorded in the written annals of France previous to the great revolution that for the time being carried the government down in blood.

The royal sovereigns of that oppressed country, in their desperate efforts to raise means to support a corrupt court and wanton wars, were wont to farm out, as it was called, all moneyed interests to certain favorites, made such, generally, by the king's prostitutes. To one man was given the sale of a certain article, and while this creature paid a small percentage to the King, he kept to himself millions wrung from the unhappy consumers. We have precisely the same thing with a difference or variation in our present system. The difference seems to be that the King gave the right to plunder the individual; we give it to a class. In other words, our system is not so much a protective system as it is a system to raise and collect $1 for the Government and $6 for the favored classes, labor always having to pay the tax. The farmer and the laborer are especially the victims of the protective system. The Republican party deceives the one by the words "home market" and terrorizes the other by the words "pauper labor of Europe." Does not the farmer know, if he will think at all, that there can be no home market for all his products? Does he not know that the manufacturing States produce all the breadstuffs they consume? These States do not now, and never have furnished a home market.

Does a single one of these States pay a cent more for a bushel of wheat than it can be sold for at Liverpool? The fact is, and it can not be denied by any one in this House, that the price at Liverpool fixes the price in this country, at San Francisco, New York and Chicago; and strange to say, Liverpool is in "free-trade" England. The morning dispatch from Liverpool to New York fixes the price of every bushel of wheat sold in America that day. These are suggestive facts. We have had a high protection for twenty-seven years. Yet free-trade England fixes the price of the farmer's surplus and that furnishes him the price in the home market. Last year the farmers of this country sold in Europe of their farming products $525,000,000.

Now, suppose these farmers would wish to invest this sum in flannel in England, and bring the goods home with them to be used to clothe their families; what would be the result? When they would return to New York and reach the custom-houses the Government official would meet them and say, "There is a law of the United States which imposes a duty at the rate of 72 per cent. on these goods, and before you can pass through this port, it must be paid." What then? Why, they would have to pay the officer 72 per cent., which would amount to the snug sum of $378,000,000, or would return with the goods to England. It is true, if they paid that amount to the officer, the money would go into the United States Treasury and be used to defray the expenses of the Government. But now suppose, in place of purchasing the goods in England, they bring the money back with them to this country, and then they will be compelled to purchase their flannels here.

But what is the result? Because of high tariff they must pay 72 per cent. for the flannels here more than what they could purchase them in England for, less, of course, the freight. They are compelled to purchase here, for their families must be clothed; and in that case who gets the 72 per cent., or $378,000,000? Not the Government, if they are domestic manufactured goods, but the protected manufacturer—the favored class. Let me prove this in another way: The census of 1880 shows that the manufactured products of this country in 1880 amounted to $5,369,579,191; about 10 per cent. of this amount was exported, leaving $4,832,621,722 to be consumed at home. About 80 per cent. of this was dutiable goods, and 20 per cent. on the free-list. The dutiable then would be $3,866,097,017. The value of dutiable merchandise imported in this country, as shown in the census of 1880, was $419,506,091. Therefore the amount of dutiable goods consumed in this country that year was $4,285,603,108. Now, according to the report of the Bureau of Statistics, the average rate of duty on imported goods consumed by the farmer is 43⅓ per cent., and there was $4,285,683,108 worth of goods. The amount extorted from the consumers by the tariff was $1,299,120,000. Our population is about one-third farmer, so the farmers and their families consume one-third of these goods, which would be $433,340,000.

Any schoolboy can take the report of the Bureau of Statistics, which are official, and figure out the results and show how the farming community is being robbed by this nefarious system which our Republican friends are pleased to call the "American system." By the census of 1880 it is shown that there are about 2,623,089 persons engaged in this country in manufacturing and benefited by the tariff law, and it would be better for the farmers to support these persons in idleness than to submit to the present robber tax. To board this number of persons at $3 a week, country prices, would only amount to $409,201,874, while the way it is now the farmer has to pay to the manufacturer, as I have shown above. The trouble with our farmers is they work too much and think too little. The poet has said what I regard as a truism:

For just experience tells, in every soil,
That those that think must govern those that toil.

In the present case while the farmer and wage-worker are toiling to better their condition, the vampire of wealth is thinking and devising some plans under a cunningly formal tariff to rob them of the fruits of their labor, and by sophistry and false philosophy to delude the one class with the hope of a home market and the other with the threats of pauper labor of Europe, and thus throw sand in the eyes of both classes to induce them to support the protective policy. The home-market idea as addressed to our farmers is purely a myth, and has no foundation in fact whatever. And the pauper labor of Europe is simply a scarecrow, for paupers do not labor here or in Europe, but are kept in almshouses. It is time that the American farmer and wage-worker should say with emphasis that these outrages on their respective callings should no longer exist. That there was neither reason nor justice in the fact that only 2,623,089 people, the pets of protection, should be favored at the expense of 57,376,911, the balance of the people.

I wish now, Mr. Chairman, to speak of certain special industries in the light of official statistics and facts, and see how a high tariff has affected the farmer and wage-worker for the past twenty-seven years.

LUMBER.

We will take lumber, for example. We have had for a long time a protective tax on lumber of $2 per thousand feet. (In the Mills bill it is placed on the free-list.) Now, when we remember the various uses to which lumber is put, to build houses for the poor laborers, barns

and corn-cribs and fences for the farmer, and in various other ways to administer to the comfort of the common people, the iniquity of this tax will be seen. Let us take the figures in the saw-mill business, for example. By the census report of 1880 we find that there were 170,956 hands employed in this industry. The total amount paid in wages was $31,845,000, or an average of $215 per hand, or $1 per day. The cost of material was $146,155,000; the capital invested was $181,100,000, and the total product was $233,268,000. Now let us see what was the net profit to the mill-owner.

Wages paid	$31,845,000
Cost of material	146,155,000
Interest at 6 per cent. on capital	10,866,000
Total	188,866,000

This is the total expense. Let us deduct this from the total product, which was $233,688,000, and we have left a net profit of $44,802,000, or nearly 25 per cent. on the capital invested per annum for the mill-owners. In other words, 147,956 hands employed get $31,845,000 or $215 per year or $1 per day, while the 26,911 mill-owners get $44,802,000, or 25 per cent. A very fair division of capital and labor I suppose our Republican friends will insist. No wonder the mill-owners live in palaces and the laborers in hovels. This shows the enormous profits the favored class get and the pittance paid the laborer. What a beautiful thing this high tariff is to raise the price of wages, and how gloriously it sustains the assertion of the Republican party that high tariff raises the price of labor. But the chief iniquity of this protective industry is not the tax, but it is the premium it pays to destroy our forests. It is a well-known fact that the destruction of forests reduces rainfall and causes drought at one season of the year, and leads to devastating freshets at others, and induces excessive cold in winter and heat in summer. But the Republican party forgets every interest but the interest of the capitalists. They look to great return for capital, as in this case nearly 25 per cent. per annum, and keep the laborer at starving wages, $215 per annum.

IRON AND STEEL.

I will give some figures on this industry, and we will see to what conclusion they lead. In 1879 the duty on pig-iron was $7 per ton. There was manufactured in this country that year 2,301,215 tons. The importation of that year was 87,576 tons. The Treasury of the United States received on this 87,576 tons of pig-iron imported $7 per ton, or the sum of $613,032. But the Pennsylvania iron lord, because of the $7 per ton tariff, sold his 2,301,215 tons of pig-iron for $7 per ton more than he would if there was no tariff, so his bounty was $16,108,505. Will the farmer and laborer see this? And they certainly will if they open their eyes and let the light come in. Here are actual facts given. The Government gets $1 and the Pennsylvania lord $26; and who pays this vast sum to the Pennsylvania manufacturer? Clearly the farmer and the laborer. It might be interesting to know what wages these persons pay for labor who receive this bounty of $16,108,505, for bounty it was. By turning to the census of that year we find the wages paid was $455 per year, or if they would work every working day in the year it would amount to $1.45 per day. Glorious wages! especially so when he was compelled to pay about one-third of it back by reason of the tariff law to the protective industry or some other persons. But I will try another industry.

In 1880 there were 805 iron-ore producing companies in the United States, and their output was 7,006,000 tons, five-sevenths of it in the four States of Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The value of the output was $20,470,000; the value of materials used in producing it was $2,896,000. It took 31,668 men and boys to produce this net value of output, the average being $554 to each laborer. But the total wages paid was only $9,538,000, or an average of $300 to the man; so that the companies made a profit of $254 of the year's labor of every man and boy in their employ. The laborers actually produced each $554 a year, but their protected employers took $254 of it for their share and allowed each man $300, or less than $1 a day, to live on. Now let us see how it was with iron and steel makers. There were 1,005 steel companies in the country, having an aggregate capital of $230,971,000. Their total product was $296,557,000; the value of all material consumed, including ore, was $191,297,000; the number of hands employed was 141,000, and the aggregate wages paid out was $55,476,000. Deduct the cost of materials used from the value of the gross product of 141,000 hands. This is $746 per hand. But the total amount of wages paid was only $55,476,000, or $393 per hand. Each hand actually earned $746, but got only $393, and the companies made, therefore, $353 on the labor of each of their 141,000 hands, and their net profits over all expenses were 19½ per cent. on their total capital of $230,971,000. While the production of iron ore under a protective tariff of 40 per cent. is a good business, therefore the making of iron and steel under a protective duty of 48 per cent. is still better.

I will give one more year. In 1887 the tariff on steel rail was $17 a ton. The price of steel rail in Pennsylvania at that time was $39.50 a ton. In Liverpool it was worth $21.10 a ton, and the charge for freight and insurance between Liverpool and New York would be $2.50 a ton, and to this add the tariff and in New York the price of English rail would be $40.60 a ton. Had it not been for the tariff the English rail could have been sold for $17 less than this in New York, or for $23.60 a ton; so, because of the tariff the home manufacturer made the difference between $39.50, the price it sold for, and $23.60, the price it should have sold for. On an average it would have increased the price $13.53 a ton. The statistics of 1887 show the production of steel rail in that year was 2,049,638. The consumers therefore of steel rail for the year 1887 paid $37,731,602 more for steel rail than they would if there was no tariff, and this vast sum went into the pockets of the protectionists and as a bounty from the labor of the country, for labor pays all taxes. I have not time to give further figures, but you may take any one of the favored industries of this country and then go to the statisticians' reports and find the number of hands employed, the amount of wages paid, the capital invested, the cost of material and the value of the product, and by a simple process of figuring you will readily see that the manufacturer on the investment makes from 20 to 80 per cent., and even more than 100 per cent. in some of them; while the wages paid will average from $280 to $480 per year, just sufficient to keep soul and body together. Is this a fair division by capital with labor? No, I say, a thousand times no; but it is not a question of capital against labor, but a question of labor against robbery; labor against a vicious system that robs labor of its earnings, and the parties so engaged in robbery evade a prosecution under the criminal code of the State under the flimsy plea that it was done under "our American protective system." Away with such a system.

I will mention one other item in the Mills bill, namely, that of wool, which is placed by this bill on the free-list. This is the very soul of the bill, and if it becomes a law its author will be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of the American people. When the President called attention to this matter in his message, the "cry" of free-trade was at once raised. The person who raised this cry knew that it was an unmitigated falsehood.

Neither the President nor any member of the Democratic party in Congress or out of Congress has advocated free trade. Such a thing is impossible as long as we must raise over $200,000,000 per annum as tariff tax to support the Government, and no person has proposed, for the present at least, to change this system. But the most wicked, impudent, and lying statement of our Republican brothers is that a reduction of 40 per cent. will reduce the wages of the hands in the woolen mills. Let us look at the census report again. By the census report of 1880 there were employed in the United States the following number of hands in the woolen manufacture and the duty was 40 per cent.:

Males (above sixteen years)	75,459
Females (above sixteen years)	66,814
Children	19,284
Total	161,557

The wages paid during the year to these laborers were $47,389,087, or $295 each per year, or 91 cents per day. The value of material used was $164,371,551; capital invested, $96,000,000. The total value of the finished products was $267,252,913. Now deduct the wages paid, $47,389,087, from the value of the finished goods, and the labor is $219,863,826, and it is found that the wages are a little over 22 pert cent., while the manufacturer gets over 50 per cent. Let us state it in another form:

Wages paid	$47,389,087
Cost of material	164,371,551
Interest at 6 per cent. on capital invested	5,760,000
Total	217,520,638

This would be the total outlay. Let us deduct this from the value of the finished product, which we see is $267,252,913, and we have as the net profit to the manufacturer the sum of $49,732,275—a little over 50 per cent. clear gain, while they only paid their laborers the enormous sum of 91 cents per day, or $235 per year. Yes, high protection raises the price of wages with a vengeance. Will the farmer and the laborer understand how this favored class of manufacturers make $49,732,275 net in a single year, while the hands employed by them are struggling against starvation at 91 cents a day to support themselves and families? And not only this, but the tariff still robs the wage-worker of the one-third of the 91 cents so earned by having an average tariff duty of 33⅓ per cent. on the necessaries of life, as I have before shown. Nor will there be a decrease in the number of sheep in this country if wool is put on the free-list, as is claimed by protectionists.

By turning to the statistics compiled by Mr. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, we find the highest and lowest prices of wool from 1825 to 1886, inclusive. These figures show the lowest for wool reached since 1849 was 21 cents in 1881 under the highest wool tariff the country has ever known. The lowest price for 1879 was 27 cents; for 1880, 25 cents; for 1881, 21 cents; 1882, 37 cents; 1884, 33 cents; 1885, 28 cents; 1886, 30 cents. It is an incontestable fact that every time the tax on

wool has been lowered a rise in the price of wool has followed. In 1856 the lowest price of wool was 30 cents, and the highest 38 cents. The passage of the free-wool clause in the act of 1857 was followed in 1859 by an increase of the lowest price to 34 cents and of the highest to 45 cents. And as the lowest price since 1849 was reached under the exorbitant tariff of 1868, so after the change in 1883 the highest price in ten years (54 cents) was reached in 1885. Why should not wool be placed on the free-list? It would cheapen clothes, carpets, and blankets and give our mills work, as they have a capacity for 600,000,000 pounds, while we only produce in this country 240,000,000. It would give employment to our laborers and bread to their children. And what would free wool mean to my people in my district whom I have the honor to represent?

In 1880 we had in Illinois 1,037,073 sheep, or about 50,000 sheep to each Congressional district. Under the present high duty (43 per cent. on wool) we could not gain more than 50 cents a sheep because of the high tariff, or $25,000. My people will consume annually at least $5 worth of woolen goods per capita, and assuming that there are 180,000 in my district, which is a low estimate, we pay annually for woolen goods $900,000. Now, free wool would reduce these necessary articles of clothing at least 30 per cent. on an average, which would be $270,000. Now, take from this what the farmer may lose by putting wool on the free-list, as above shown, $25,000, and it leaves a net gain in the pockets of my people of $245,000 per annum. This is much below rather than above the correct amount. Now, who gets this vast sum of money? Any person in my district? No! The manufacturer in the East gets it, and it is supposed by some that they return a part of it to the Republican party for campaign purposes to still keep up this robber tax. No wonder that the farms in Illinois are mortgaged to the enormous sum of $620,000,000; no wonder that industrial paralysis threatens the whole country. One hundred and twenty-nine million dollars of idle money in the Treasury, extorted from the people by unjust laws for purposes of protecting our infant industries, among them the infant industry of wool, which is as old as the world itself!

Moses gives an account of its existence as an industry before his time, and in Exodus (xxii, 1) he says that the penalty for stealing sheep was the restoration to the owner four sheep for each one stolen; but under our tariff law there is a bounty of 43 per cent. offered for stealing wool and no penalties. Now, the account of Moses is not entitled to much consideration with our Republican friends, for their leader, Mr. Ingersoll, speaks to them of the "mistake of Moses;" so they have lost faith in that lawgiver and prophet; but profane history should teach them the antiquity of the wool industry. No, Mr. Chairman, this will not do. This iniquitous law that draws $129,000,000 from the channels of trade and business and holds it idle in the Treasury while the laborers are out of employment and their children are crying for bread should not remain on our statute-books a single day longer, and the party who inaugurated such a system should never be restored to power in this country. We want this system repealed, and in the future we want no Chinese wall placed around this country. In the Bible we find that Israel was most prosperous under King Solomon when he "traded with all nations."

I am for a free and unrestricted interchange of commodities with the whole world (with a tariff for revenue only); and in this way the nations of the earth will become friends and brothers instead, as now, pirates on the commerce of each other, and certain favored classes, by unholy laws, enriching themselves and oppressing the people. I wish to rise to that higher standpoint of the brotherhood of men where labor shall have an open field and a fair fight; where the robbery of the wage-worker by a high protective tariff will be unworthy of any member of the human family. I hope we will see the dawning of that day next November.

Aid the dawning, tongue and pen;
Aid it, hopes of honest men;
Aid it, paper; aid it, type;
Aid it, for the hour is ripe,
And our earnest must not slacken into play.

Mr. Chairman, if this is free trade then I am a free-trader from the topmost hair of my head to the lowest extremity of my feet, in every nerve and fiber of my being, and I will not be driven from it by the taunts of any set of men or party.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have given fact and "official figures," so that a "wayfaring man though a fool may not err therein." And confronting this condition what is to be done? Is it not inevitable serfdom? Must we not change our laws? Let us be careful and make no mistake. The cause of liberty is the same the world over. It is the cause of humanity, and wherever enslaved humanity is to be found there we will have an ally. The man or set of men who command my labor by a cunningly devised law enslaves me; they rob me of my time and labor, and there is no escape from it but by a repeal of the law; and all patriotic hearts and thoughtful minds should seek the accomplishment of this end. And the exalted mission of triumphant democracy, which laid the foundations of this vast Republic, acquired every acre of its public domain, will not be accomplished until it secures to the farmer and wage-worker equal rights with all other classes under the law. [Applause.]

Protection or Free Trade—Which?

SPEECH

OF

HON. NELSON DINGLEY, JR.,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 21, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. DINGLEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: In summing up his argument for the passage of the revenue bill which bears his name, the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee [Mr. MILLS] has laid great stress on the claim that it meets "a condition which confronts us," to wit, a surplus in the Treasury, and will reduce the revenues about $75,000,000, of which $19,758,845 will be on the additions to the free-list, $30,832,791 (it is claimed) on the reductions on the dutiable list, and the balance in the abolition of the tax on tobacco and on dealers.

THE SURPLUS.

There is no difference of opinion as to the desirability of reducing the revenue, although in view of the fact that the present annual surplus of revenue, excluding the amount required to be set apart for the sinking fund, will not exceed $60,000,000, the reduction should not go beyond that amount—especially when it is remembered that in three years nearly $222,000,000 of the 4½ per cent. bonded debt will become due—a debt which the Government should begin to anticipate by purchase while it has abundant means to do so. With a bonded debt of over $1,000,000,000 bearing interest at the rate of 4½ and 4 per cent., there has not been in the past, and there certainly is no excuse now for the Administration to keep a large surplus idle in the Treasury, or to loan it to pet banks without interest, as it is doing, when this debt can be purchased on terms that will yield the Treasury 2½ per cent. for its idle money. Certainly if the Treasury is withdrawing money from the channels of circulation with as great injury to business as the gentleman from Texas asserts, the Administration is to blame for not releasing the surplus by using it in paying the debts of the Government by purchasing its bonds.

MONEY FOR PENSIONS.

There is another reason why the reduction of revenue should not exceed $60,000,000, and that is the just demand for an increased expenditure for pensions for the survivors of the brave men who took their lives in their hands and went forth to defend the flag and the Union; a demand which, I regret to say, has been studiously resisted by President Cleveland and the Democratic majority of the House partly for the reason that they desired the surplus to be as large as possible in order to remain as a lever to overthrow our protective policy. But although President Cleveland by his veto power and the majority who control the House by their supremacy in the committees who practically determine what shall come before this body, may be able during the remainder of this session, and they have thus far, to prevent needed amendments to our general pension legislation, so as to deal more liberally and justly by the veterans who have a right to recognition at the hands of the Government which they saved, yet the time is not far distant when the people of this country by their votes will place at the head of the Government, and in the majority in this Hall, men who will recognize their claims.

THE SURPLUS EXCUSE.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the Administration has unnecessarily retained a surplus in the Treasury when we have outstanding interest-bearing bonds that can be purchased at a saving of 2½ per cent. of interest; in view of the fact that more than a year ago nearly all the Republicans and many Democrats desired to pass a bill abolishing the tax on tobacco, thereby reducing the revenue to the extent of $24,000,000, and Speaker CARLISLE refused to recognize any one for that purpose; and in view of the fact that such a bill could have been passed on any day since the present Congress assembled last December, it is evident that the Democratic leaders who control the House are not so anxious to get rid of the surplus as they are to use it as a lever to overthrow the protective policy of the United States.

While it is true that the bill which bears the name of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] will reduce the revenue to the extent that it abolishes internal-revenue taxes and places articles on the free-list, yet it is certain that the $30,832,791 reduction claimed as the result of this lowering of duties will be largely offset by an increase of importations in consequence of the partial removal of the barrier which keeps out foreign importations and holds our markets for our own industries. I think it may be safely predicted that even if the Mills bill were enacted into law it would not reduce the revenues $60,000,000. And nearly every dollar of the reduction, outside of the amount secured by the abolition of the tobacco tax and the small re-

duction of the duty on sugar, would be obtained at the price of serious injury to our own industries and our own labor.

TWO METHODS OF REDUCTION OF REVENUE.

Mr. Speaker, this brings me to the exact point in issue between the two great parties in reference to revenue reduction. It is not, as the gentleman from Texas seeks to represent, whether there shall be a reduction of the revenue to the amount of about sixty millions—for both parties are in agreement on that—but as to the methods of reduction. On methods of reduction there is only one point of agreement, and that is as to the abolition of the tobacco tax; and if the Democratic leaders had been half as anxious to reduce the revenue as they pretend, they would have seized upon that point of agreement and presented and secured the unanimous passage of a bill reducing the revenue to that extent ($24,000,000) at the opening of this session.

THE REPUBLICAN PLAN.

In general, the Republican or protection plan of reducing the revenue, as indicated by the propositions which have received the almost unanimous support of the Republicans of the House while the bill has been under consideration in committee, embodies these points:

First. Abolition of internal-revenue tax on tobacco and dealers in tobacco, with perhaps the exception of cigars.

Second. Abolition of internal-revenue tax on alcohol used in the arts, manufactures, and medicine, without any reduction of tax on whisky or alcoholic liquors used for other purposes; for it should be remembered that on a motion made by a Democratic member to abolish the tax on whisky every affirmative vote came from the Democratic side.

Third. Such a revision of the tariff as will correct the inequalities which have arisen from decisions, errors in the act of 1883, or changed conditions; such as will place on the free-list articles that can not be produced in this country; and will maintain the American system of protection to home industries and labor, the more important points of which revision should include—

a. The reduction of the duties on sugar one-half, so as to make the duty on raw sugar about 41 per cent. the average of the dutiable lists, instead of 68 per cent. as proposed by the Mills bill.

b. The transfer of wool from the free-list, where it is placed by the Mills bill, to the dutiable lists.

c. The transfer of all other articles which can be produced in this country to the extent of our wants from the free-list, where they have been placed in the Mills bill, to the dutiable lists.

d. The adoption of specific instead of ad valorem duties, so far as practicable; the reduction of duties so far as it can be done without interfering with home industries; and the raising of duties where in any particular case it is found that home industries and labor are being injured by foreign competition.

Unquestionably a bill constructed on this plan of protecting home industry would secure a reduction of the revenue to the extent of $60,000,000—certainly as much as the Mills bill—and would give a dutiable list with an average duty as low as the 42½ per cent. which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] informs us is the average of the dutiable list of the bill which bears his name, and which has received the almost united support of the Democrats of the House; because while the average duty on manufactured articles would be higher in a bill constructed on a protective plan than the average duty on such articles is in the Mills bill, yet this would be offset by the exclusion from the free-list of articles produced here and now bearing a low duty, and by the fact that the protective bill would impose no higher duty on sugar and rice—two articles of food as necessary as flour, of which we produce only a small part of our consumption—than on other articles, instead of the enormous duties of 68 and 100 per cent. provided by the Mills bill.

THE MILLS BILL.

Mr. Speaker, what I have said anticipates in part the serious objections to the Mills bill, which may be properly described as the Democratic plan of reducing the revenue.

The gentleman from Texas protests that it is not a free-trade bill—indeed actually claims that it is a "protective" bill, notwithstanding he and his Democratic associates have stigmatized protection as "robbery" all through the debate,—because the "average" duty of the protective lists is 42½ per cent. He even undertakes to hold up the fact, that the "average" duty which his bill proposes is only 4½ per cent. less than the 47 per cent. of the present law, as a convincing reason why the bill should be accepted as just and wise.

THE "ROBBERY" THEORY.

The distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee [Mr. MILLS], like the versatile gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], whose figures as to the extent of the "robbery" wrought by the duty on imported woolen goods I had occasion to comment on a few days ago, seems to have forgotten that President Cleveland in his message, and he and his associates have been all through this debate denouncing the 47 per cent. duty of the present "tariff" as a tax which increases the burdens of the people to the extent of the duty on both imported and domestic articles. Indeed, I think my friend from Texas has more frequently stigmatized it as "robbery." And now the gentleman from Texas commends his bill to the country because it will "tax," or, to use his more common descriptive word, will "rob" the people within 4½ per cent. as much as the present law does.

The gentleman from Illinois, in an article in the North American Review which has been extensively copied, and which I think the gentleman from Texas has indorsed as a moderate estimate, placed the "robbery" of the present "average" 47 per cent. tariff at $600,000,000 per annum, or $2,000,000 for each secular day. But it seems that the Mills bill, when enacted into law, according to the gentleman's theory, is to continue to "rob" only 4½ per cent. less, or $574,000,000 per annum or $1,910,000 per day.

And yet the gentleman from Texas tells us that his bill, which "robs" the people to the tune of $574,000,000 per annum, is a triumphant response to the "appeals" which came up to him and his Democratic associates of the Ways and Means Committee from the masses "to take the hand of the robbers out of their pockets and let them have the benefits of their own labor and enjoy the rewards of their own toil," an announcement which received loud and prolonged applause on the Democratic side.

And this bill is what the gentleman from Texas sonorously described as a triumphant response to a demand for the stopping of "robbery" in the following glowing language:

> We stand here to-day in the eyes of the American people, and in their name, and demand that the Government shall stop taking their property and giving it to others. * * * And, Mr. Speaker, we intend to do it.

Intend to stop "robbing" by substituting a bill that robs 42½ per cent. for one that robs 47 per cent., one that robs $574,000,000 per annum for one that robs $600,000,000.

Really, gentlemen of the other side, from your point of view of the effect of protective duties, does your achievement justify the loud cheers which greeted its birth?

Do not such figures lead some of you in your reflecting hours to entertain the suspicion that your theory that a duty on an article which can be made here to the extent of our wants, is a tax which increases the burden of the consumer of both the imported and the domestic article to the extent of the duty, is all wrong.

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

Mr. Speaker, the one argument to which the gentleman from Texas, to which all the advocates of the Mills bill finally come in support of their propositions to place on the free-list, or to reduce the duty on imported articles which can be produced here, is that they embody a measure to reduce tariff "taxation." This is the title which the framers of the bill have lovingly applied to it.

Whenever during this debate the suggestion has been made that the reduction of a duty on this or that imported article would increase the revenue, or the placing of it on the free-list would seriously injure the industry and the labor producing or making such article in this country, the stereotyped reply has always been forthcoming from some one of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, "Well, the reduction or change will reduce the burden of taxation imposed on the people." Looking at the bill to the extent that it touches the tariff solely as a "tax-reduction" measure, it strikes me as rather a small achievement to justify the cheers with which its passage was honored on the Democratic side.

The gentleman from Texas said—and he said it with the air of a young father proudly contemplating his first-born—that his bill reduced "taxation" from 47 per cent. to 42½ per cent. Or to use the euphonious phrase of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], that it reduced a $600,000,000 "robbery" under the present law to a $574,000,000 "robbery."

Indeed, looking upon a tariff bill simply as a measure imposing a "tax" upon the people to the extent of the average duty, as the "tax" argument implies, there is no advantage in the Mills bill, which imposes an "average" duty of 42½ per cent., as the gentleman from Texas imforms us, over the protective bill which the Republican votes in the House forecast; for certainly such a bill as the Republicans propose would not give an "average" duty or "tax" exceeding the 42½ per cent. of the Mills bill, and perhaps a little lower. The difference between the two bills is not in the "average" of the dutiable list, but in the distribution of the average.

REVENUE AND PROTECTIVE DUTIES.

The gentleman from Texas, anticipating that the average of the dutiable list of the proposed protective bill will be no higher than his bill, proceeds to argue that the method of reduction carried out in the Mills bill, namely, by reducing the duties on articles which can be produced or made here to the extent of our wants or by placing them on the free-list, diminishes the burdens of the people much more than the protective plan of placing on the free-list articles which can not be produced here, like tea, coffee, jute, etc., and by reducing the duty on articles which can be made here only to a small extent as compared with our consumption, like sugar and rice, especially where such articles are of common necessity.

Defending the sugar schedule of the Mills bill, which imposes a duty of 68 per cent. on raw sugar, the only kind imported, and antagonizing

the amendment nearly unanimously supported by the Republicans of the House to reduce the duty to 41 per cent. (which is about the average of the remainder of the dutiable list), the gentleman from Texas argues that the higher duty should be retained on sugar, and the reduction made on cottons, woolens, and iron manufactures, because nine-tenths of our sugar is imported and the Government receives the revenue from most of the duty imposed on this nine-tenths, whereas in the case of manufactured goods nine-tenths are made at home, and the Government receives the revenue from only one-tenth, while the people (as he contends) pay the duty in increased prices on the domestic product as well as the imports.

This argument of the gentleman from Texas in support of high duties on sugar and rice because we produce so little here (and the same argument would impose duties on coffee and tea) and low duties on articles which we can produce here to the extent of our wants, is the central point of dispute between protectionists and free-traders; for whether those who maintain this view call themselves free-traders, revenue-tariff men, or revenue reformers, whether they move by slow slow steps or at one bound, they accept the free-trade theory.

There is no difference of opinion on either side that a duty on an article not produced here is a tax which increases the cost of the article imported to the extent of the duty.

There is also no difference of opinion that a duty on an article produced here to a slight extent as compared with our consumption, like sugar and rice, is also a tax which increases the cost of the article nearly to the extent of the duty, as the slight production here has little effect on the price.

PROTECTIVE DUTIES NOT A TAX.

But as to the effect of duties on articles which are produced here to the extent of our wants, or which would be readily produced here to that extent with a sufficient duty, there arises the difference of opinion which makes one man a free-trader and another a protectionist.

The free-trader claims that in such cases the duty is added to the foreign cost of not only the imported article, but also the similar domestic product, and that the burden of the consumer is increased to the extent of the duty. This was the claim of President Cleveland in his tariff message. It has been the claim of nearly every speaker on this subject on the Democratic side.

The protectionist maintains that in such cases the price is not the foreign cost plus the duty, but that it is determined by competition among home producers and manufacturers, and is as low as it can be made and pay the wages given labor in this country; and he further maintains that the effect of such protective duties is to so encourage home industries and to so increase the opportunities for labor as to increase the rewards of the wage-earner and all producers, to enlarge the demand for products, and in general to increase the prosperity of all classes and lessen their burdens.

It must be admitted by the candid free-trader that his assumption is in many cases clearly disproved by the facts. On a former occasion I exhibited in the House a sample of common print purchased in Manchester, England, at a cost of 5 cents per yard, and another sample identical with it purchased in Washington at 5 cents per yard. Now the duty on imported prints is 4½ cents per yard, and if the free trade assumption of the effect of a duty on the price of an article made here is correct, then such prints could not have been bought in our market for less than 9½ cents. But they are bought at the Manchester price; so are standard sheetings, so are any common coarse article into which but little labor enters.

The surface method of meeting such facts as these militating against the fundamental free-trade assumption is to ask, "What good, then, does the duty do?" I might answer that it does a valuable service in showing that economic facts are much more reliable than economic theories. But the true answer is that the adequate protection which the manufacturers of cotton have received since 1824 has enabled them to go forward in confidence and perfect their mills and improve their machinery at any cost with the certainty that they would ever have the whole of our markets, and the result has been not only a reduction of 30 per cent. in the cost, but also the ability to make the price as low as such goods can be purchased anywhere in the world. Undoubtedly if the duty should even now be removed, the first effect would be to subject our manufacturers of these goods to disastrous competition, resulting ultimately in a stoppage of many of our mills, discharge of our workmen, and higher prices of goods.

But what about articles that can readily be made in this country to the extent of our wants, into which a large proportion of labor enters, where the price is higher here than abroad—not to the extent of the duty, yet generally higher? In such case, it is asked, "Is not the burden of the consumer increased to the extent, or nearly to the extent, of the duty? If the duty were partly or entirely removed would not the consumer have his burden lightened nearly to the extent of the removal or reduction of duty?"

PRODUCERS AS WELL AS CONSUMERS.

These, Mr. Speaker, are the queries confidently propounded by gentlemen who have spoken upon the other side; aye, triumphantly shouted in effect by the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, as if the concession of the fact that in such cases the money price is higher in this country than abroad settles another and the only really important fact, that the labor price is also greater.

Our friends on the other side who have touched upon this vital point seem to have assumed that our citizens are "consumers" only, and have forgotten that they are "producers" to even a larger extent than they are consumers, for if this were not so there would be no increase of wealth. They seem to have overlooked the fact that all our citizens, except a few men who have fixed incomes, ultimately pay for whatever they buy in labor, service, or the products of labor, and therefore that their real interest lies in the question as to how many days' work, how many weeks' service, how many pounds, bushels or yards of this or that product will buy this or that article, rather than how many dollars may be required.

When, therefore, the gentleman from Texas tells the laborer that a protective duty of 40 per cent. on imported cloth "taxes" him 40 per cent. on his clothing because, forsooth, the money price may be 30 or 40 per cent. higher than in London, he overlooks the real point of interest to the workingman, and that is, whether it takes more days' labor to buy this coat in this country than it does in London. Judged by this test, every laborer knows that he can buy his clothing, his food, and everything else he requires for less days' labor in this country than in any other country on the face of the earth. Coats and many other articles into which labor largely enters cost more here in money because the labor costs more than it does in Great Britain, for the simple reason that our workingmen who make these articles receive higher wages than British workingmen. We can have cheaper coats if we are content to have cheaper laborers under the coats and cheaper manhood.

A CASE IN POINT.

As illustrating this point I recall an incident which came under my own observation. A bright Hibernian, who had been in this country many years and greatly improved his condition, returned to Ireland to visit old friends, and while absent bought a coat. A free-trade friend who had learned that Mike paid $8 for his coat, and that a similar coat would cost $10 here, took occasion to rally him on this purchase, and asked him, as undoubtedly my friend from Texas would if he had been here on the occasion of his glowing speech, if he did not see that our protective policy taxed him $2 on that coat. "I don't see it," quickly replied Mike, "for that coat cost me ten and a half days' work in Cork, and it would cost me but eight days' work here."

I have no doubt that my friend from Texas would reply, "But if the duty on cloth and coats should be removed, Mike could take the ten-dollar proceeds of his eight days' labor here and send to Cork and buy his coat, and have $2 left."

The difficulty with that programme, Mr. Speaker, is the same that the school-boy found—he could not eat his cake and have it to eat at the same time. The workingman would not receive his $10 for his eight days' work in this country if we should adopt the general policy of sending to Europe for our cloth, coats, and other articles now made here, and give up the industries which now furnish remunerative employment to so many laborers. And more than that, if we should give up making these goods, the prices of cloth, coats, etc., would advance in England. Of course we could allow one man or one city or a small class of men to purchase abroad and bring in their purchases free of duty to their advantage, without disturbing wages in this country. But when we allow all persons to do it, then home conditions are changed and wages leveled down to the foreign standard.

But, say our free-trade friends, "We do not propose to give up making these goods here; we propose to simply abolish or reduce the duties on such imported goods, and compel our manufacturers to make them at European prices."

The obvious reply to this proposition is that if our manufacturers are to make these goods at European prices, then, of course, they must employ their labor at British wages. If "Mike" and all other laborers in this country will work for 75 cents per day, instead of $1.25, their coats can be made here so as to be sold at $8 instead of $10; but, unfortunately for the laborers, it will then require ten and one-half days' work to pay for the coat which each now buys for eight days' work.

"But," says my friend from Texas, "supply and demand, and not a protective tariff, make wages, and the conditions here which cause a large demand for labor will maintain wages without regard to tariffs."

It is true that supply and demand have much to do in making wages, and it is for this reason that the increased demand for labor in consequence of the encouragement given manufacturing enterprises by protection tends to increase wages. Close up manufacturing industries (as they must be closed under free trade, unless our laborers work at foreign wages), and send the millions of workmen engaged in them into agricultural pursuits, and we should find wages rapidly coming down, and such a gorged condition of our produce markets as would make farming unprofitable.

In other words, under our protective system, which diversifies industries and provides new employments, the demand for labor is largely increased and wages in every department of industry increased. It

will be noticed that in States where industry is most diversified and advanced wages are highest.

HOW PROTECTION WORKS.

It may be said, it has been said, that a "tax" imposed on any individual can not increase the prosperity of that individual or of the country! It is always a burden.

That is true, and that is why protectionists have constantly urged that a protective duty is not a tax in this sense. In effect, by a protective duty we simply say to the foreign producer or manufacturer, "We propose to impose a duty on goods exported by you to this country which we can produce here, in order to give our own industries and our labor our markets as far as possible, and for the purpose of securing this result we have made this duty so as at all times to cover fully the difference in cost of producing these articles in this country and abroad—a difference mainly produced by the higher wages received by our labor."

Now, what is gained by such a policy on the supposition that it is faithfully carried out. Obviously the articles to which protective duties are applied will be mainly made in this country by our own better-paid labor rather than abroad by cheaper labor. Is there not a gain to the whole country by this? A gain in employing labor which would otherwise be idle? A gain in the saving cost of transportation of materials to Europe and manufactured articles back again? A gain in the fact that our workingmen and other citizens have more money to spend, and are thus larger purchasers of products of the farm and of the workshop? A gain in the fact that in the long run we secure cheaper products? A gain resulting from the increased prosperity which diversified industries bring to any country or State?

Why, to-day the people are purchasing every protected article, from a yard of calico to a steel rail, from 25 to 50 per cent. cheaper than they did under a revenue tariff before the war.

And now, will our free-trade friends tell us what is lost? The gentleman from Illinois will reply that the people have been "robbed" of $600,000,000. How? Has the workingman been "robbed" by a condition of the country under our protective policy whereby he can obtain a coat for eight days' work which would cost him ten and a half days' work in Great Britain? Has the mechanic been "robbed" who can buy 25 per cent. more of anything for a day's service than he can buy in England or than he could buy here under the low tariff before the war? No one has been "robbed," but the whole country has enjoyed such prosperity as never before.

THE FARMER BENEFITED.

Mr. Speaker, it has been frequently asserted that the farmer is not benefited by the protective policy, because, as it is alleged, he must sell his products at foreign prices, as his surplus is shipped abroad.

Outside of cotton and wheat only 8 per cent. of the agricultural products of this country are exported. Obviously the prices of all the agricultural products outside of cotton and wheat are determined almost entirely by the home demand and supply, and the demand is largely dependent on the introduction of manufacturing industries. Farmers always prosper when a home demand is created by the building of mills and workshops.

Farm products are bulky, and when they have to be moved long distances the producer finds the cost of transportation deducted from his receipts. What the Western and Southern farmer needs is to have a home demand for his crops increased by the establishment of manufacturing industries at his doors in order that he may not be obliged to raise so much wheat and cotton, and lose so much of his crops by the cost of transportation.

By raising less wheat and cotton proportionately the surplus for export will be smaller and the prices obtained abroad better; for it must be borne in mind that the price of cotton in Liverpool and of wheat in Mark Lane is determined largely by the extent of the surplus we have to export.

Beyond this the farmer is directly interested in preserving protection against the South American wool and the Canadian general farm products produced by cheaper labor and on cheaper land, which would come into ruinous competition with him if the duties on these articles should be removed, as proposed by the Mills bill.

IS THE MILLS BILL PROTECTIVE?

Surprising as it may seem, Mr. Speaker, after demonstrating to his satisfaction that duties laid on imported articles which can be produced here to the extent of our wants—*i. e.*, protective duties intended to restrict importations and hold our markets for our own industries are doubly burdensome taxes or duties—the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee [Mr. MILLS] has devoted a considerable part of his argument for the Mills bill to prove that the rates of duty provided are "protective"—*i. e.*, that they actually have been purposely left so as to provide a very "high Chinese wall" around our country. As I listened to the bristling figures of "average" duties as stated by my friend from Texas and heard him ask, "If an average duty of 42½ per cent. was not enough protection?" I looked twice to be sure that my venerable friend from Pennsylvania [Judge KELLEY] had not exchanged seats with the distinguished chairman, for previously I had been accustomed to hear from the place where the speaker stood nothing but condemnation of protection or of any duties which restricted imports.

Evidently either the gentleman from Texas has become a convert to protective views or else his figures are marshaled to conceal the real character of his bill and make some voters believe that it is a measure designed to protect American industries. But no one who knows the gentleman from Texas will for one moment suppose that he has deserted the free-trade standard which he has waved for so many years in this Chamber.

How many times during this debate has the point been pressed by gentlemen on the other side that inasmuch as everybody concedes that free trade between the inhabitants of the several States of the Union has worked advantageously therefore free trade between this country and foreign countries would also prove beneficial. To be sure, the conclusive answer has been often given that a nation is organized on the supposition that its people are homogeneous, with substantially identical economical conditions either actually existing or to be brought about, while nations widely differ. This difference is especially wide between the old monarchies of Europe where labor receives so poor reward and a young republic ours, built on manhood suffrage, where it is essential to maintain the highest possible conditions of manhood. This can be maintained only by erecting a tariff barrier to prevent the products of the cheaper labor of foreign countries from coming in and crowding down the wages of our own labor, and if undesirable immigration comes in so as to affect the wages of labor, by legislation looking to the exclusion of elements which are vicious or degraded or ill-calculated to become honored American citizens.

Why, Mr. Speaker, from the beginning to the end of this tariff debate, outside of the utterances of three or four protection Democrats, the scope and basis of every speech on the other side has been the right of every citizen to buy where he can buy cheapest and bring his purchase into this country without the obstruction of tariff duties, imposed to hold our own markets for our own industries, which is the central idea of free trade. The suggestion that a duty should be imposed on an imported article which protects our own industries and labor has been scouted. Only the other day the following dialogue took place in this Hall between Mr. MCCOMAS, of Maryland (Republican), and General HOOKER, of Mississippi (Democrat):

Mr. MCCOMAS. Has any friend of this bill in this debate uttered one sentence in favor of the American tariff system which discriminates in favor of the home producer and laborer?

Mr. HOOKER. No; there was no one, and you will not find any Democrat to utter one.

And no Democratic member expressed any dissent.

COMPARISON OF MILLS BILL AND PRESENT TARIFF.

Yet in the face of the uniform condemnation of the protective duties on the Democratic side, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee tells us that the Mills bill is protective because it reduces the "average" duties on the chemical schedule only 4¾ per cent.; on the earthen and glassware schedule only 7½ per cent.; on the metal schedule only 2½ per cent.; on the cotton schedule only 1 per cent.; on the provision schedule 1 per cent., etc.; and then triumphantly flaunts these figures in the face of the House, and asks if there is any "free trade" in that.

Evidently, Mr. Speaker, these figures are being used to mislead either free-traders or protectionists, and I am sure free-traders are not mistaken in accepting them as a firm step towards free trade.

One needs to be not very deeply versed in tariff legislation to understand that a comparison of two tariffs by the "average" of their dutiable lists, without information as to the distribution of the rates or the extent of the free-list, affords very little information as to the actual character of either. Indeed, to any person who has carefully studied the subject such a comparison between tariffs framed on different bases, entirely ignoring any comparison of the free-lists, or modes of distribution, or extent of specific duties of both, can not fail to create the impression that it is designed to deceive.

THE METAL SCHEDULE.

I can illustrate what I mean by reference to the metal schedules of the tariff of 1883 and the Mills bill. The gentleman from Texas says that the "average" rate of duty of the present tariff is 40.77 per cent., and under the Mills bill 38.47 per cent. Now, if one looks at the free list of the Mills bill he will find there tin-plates, immense quantities of which are imported, cotton-ties, and some other articles which are on the dutiable list and bear a very low rate of duty under the present tariff. Bearing a low rate of duty, they make the "average" rate of duty of the metal schedule of the present tariff at least 2 or 3 per cent. less than it would be if tin-plates, cotton-ties, etc., were not there. So that taking into consideration the effect on the "average" duty of the transfer of these articles from the dutiable to the free list, the actual reduction of "average" duty of the metal schedule is at least 5 per cent., not taking into account further reductions that will ensue through changes from specific to ad valorem duties.

But when it is said that the "average" reduction on hundreds of articles in a schedule is only a small per cent., we get very little idea of the effect until we know on what articles the reduction has been made,

because the "average" may have been preserved by making slight reductions on unimportant articles and heavy reductions on important articles, as has been the case in the Mills bill.

On some articles, and those very important, the changes in the metal schedule mean destruction to the industry, and in nearly all an increase of importations. The placing of hoop-iron in the form of ties on the free-list will inevitably lead to the importation of immense quantities of hoop-iron for all uses. The placing of tin-plates on the free-list will at once bring sheet-iron slightly coated with tin or lead into scores of uses for which domestic iron is now employed, seriously injure establishments in this country making sheet-iron, and deprive many laborers of work.

THE COTTON SCHEDULE.

What I have said relative to the injurious effects of the wholesale substitution in the Mills bill of ad valorem for existing specific duties, a result which does not appear in the comparisons instituted by the gentleman from Texas, will be wrought out by the cotton schedule of the Mills bill, if it should ever go into effect. The tables submitted by the gentleman show less than 1 per cent. reduction of "average" duty in this schedule; and yet at the points where foreign competition comes in, namely, on fine goods, where an increase of duty was needed, the reduction is considerably more; while on the coarse goods used by the masses, where a large reduction might have been made, the reduction is almost nothing. "Average" duty gives us no practical information. The Mills bill will make it almost impossible to make fine cottons, especially printed cottons of fine finish, and will have the effect to largely increase importations of such goods. The duty on coarse cottons is still more than enough to be prohibitory.

"AVERAGE" OF DUTIABLE LISTS.

These illustrations show how misleading is any comparison of tariffs by "average" dutiable lists, especially without a comparison of free-lists at the same time, and a further comparison of the extent of specific duties of each; for it is well understood that in consequence of wholesale undervaluations a specific duty of 32 per cent. affords as much protection in textiles as an ad valorem duty of 40 per cent.

Thus the statement of the gentleman from Texas that the Mills bill gives an "average" of 42½ per cent. for the dutiable schedules, against 47 per cent. for the present tariff, affords little information as to the real character of the former bill.

If sugar and rice alone should be reduced to 40 per cent. in the Mills bill it would carry the whole average down to 40 instead of 42½. And if sugar should be similarly reduced in the present tariff it would carry the "average" of the dutiable lists down to 41 per cent. instead of 47. There are one hundred articles which bear light duties in the present tariff that have been transferred to the free-list. I venture to affirm that if due credit shall be given to these articles, and due allowance made for changes from specific to ad valorem duties, and due deductions made for the fact that the Mills bill places a duty of 68 per cent. on raw sugar and 100 per cent. on rice, thus forcing down the average of other articles, it will be found that the average of the dutiable schedules of the Mills bill is at least 10 per cent. (not relatively, but absolutely) less than the present tariff, and that this reduction comes at points where they will largely increase importations.

Such a practical reduction as this, when even under the present tariff, in consequence of undervaluations, we had last year importations of cotton goods to the value of $28,940,353, $49,293,163 of iron and steel, $44,902,718 of woolen goods, $21,933,028 in linen and jute goods, $11,199,945 of leather and leather goods, and $7,319,895 of glass-ware, ought to make legislators hesitate and ask themselves whether they are doing their duty to these industries, to the large number of workmen interested in them, and to the country at large in reducing duties and encouraging importations by substituting ad valorem for specific duties. For it must be borne in mind that every dollar's worth of imported goods which we can readily produce or make here deprives some laborer of work here in our midst.

The true character of the Mills bill, Mr. Speaker, is to be learned, however, more clearly from its free-list than from its dutiable schedules. This is the central point which its framers kept in view, and to which they have delighted to turn throughout the debate. The bill places fifty-three industries, protected by the present tariff, on the free-list. The farmer's wool, his beans, his pease, his vegetables (except potatoes), his cucumbers for pickles, his mutton, his beef, his veal, his lamb, his milk—all are placed in free, open competition with the products of Canada. Brick, undressed building stone, manufactured lumber, shingles, etc., jute bags, salt, and eighty other articles made by our labor are placed in free competition with similar imported products of cheaper foreign labor. And we were told in the progress of the debate that this is only the beginning. When these industries are committed to free trade then others are to follow. And on all articles placed on the free-list, the reduction of the duty is 100 per cent. instead of the 4½ per cent. heralded by the gentleman from Texas.

And yet there are gentlemen who are trying to make the country believe that there is no "free trade" in this bill.

A PROTECTIVE BILL.

Mr. Speaker, to show still more clearly how misleading any such comparison of tariffs by the "average" of the dutiable list of each, without regard to the free-lists, I have only to say that a thoroughly protective tariff can be framed on the lines which I have indicated as the basis of Republican policy, which shall give no higher "average" of dutiable list than is given by the Mills bill. Yet such a bill would give at least 10 per cent. more protection at the points where most of our importations come in, without making the average higher. This would be brought about by reducing the duty on sugar and rice from the enormous rates fixed by the Mills bill to the average protective rates; by restoring to the dutiable lists all articles placed on the free-list in the Mills bill, when they can be produced or made here; by transferring to the free-list everything that we can not produce or make here; by reducing duties where they can be reduced without inviting importations; by correcting inequalities however they have arisen; and, in general, substituting specific for ad valorem duties.

THE CONTRAST.

This would give us two bills having substantially the same "average" of the dutiable lists; but the one, the Mills bill, so lowering the duties, or substituting ad valorem for specific duties at vital points, and so removing all duties at other points, as to encourage importations, injure or destroy industries, throw laborers out of employment and reduce wages, but at the same time keeping the duty on sugar at 68 per cent. and rice at 100 per cent.; and the other, a thoroughly protective bill, giving all our industries adequate protection, discouraging importations of articles which we can make or produce to the extent of our wants, holding our own markets for our own industries and labor, and furnishing employment for all our people at wages that make them liberal purchasers of our products, and at the same time placing a duty of only 41 per cent. on the sugar and rice which they consume, articles produced in this country to a comparatively slight extent.

The great issue in the present campaign is which kind of a tariff will the people have?

THE CLAIM THAT THE MILLS BILL WILL INCREASE WAGES.

Mr. Speaker, one of the surprising claims put forth by the framers of the Mills bill is that "it will better the condition and increase the wages of our laborers." The gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] loudly asserts that this is the main object, "the central feature of the bill." I am puzzled to understand how the reduction of duties on imported cotton goods or iron, for example, so as to make it easier and cheaper for the foreign manufacturer of these articles to send them here to compete with similar goods made in this country, will "better the condition and increase the wages of our laborers" engaged in these industries.

I listened intently while the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee was rolling from his tongue the assurance to our workmen engaged in cotton and iron manufacturing that their wages would be increased by reducing the duties imposed on the foreign-made goods which compete with them, for some explanation of a result so contrary to logic and experience; and I was somewhat amused to hear him give two contradictory reasons.

THE FREE RAW MATERIAL.

First, the gentleman from Texas said that the Mills bill would increase wages because it would give the manufacturer "free raw materials," *i. e.*, cheaper "raw materials" to work with, and thus enlarge the margin between cost of materials and selling price of product from which the wage earner is paid, and so cheapen the product as to increase our exports and enlarge the demand for labor.

This was said in connection with the abolition of the duty on wool. But inasmuch as wool is a part of the "raw materials" of only one industry, while coal is one of the "raw materials" of all industries, and "iron ore" the "raw materials" of the most important industry we have in this country—iron manufacture—I have been wondering why the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and his Democratic associates should have confined their search for "raw materials" to the farmers' wool, lumber, and agricultural products, and should have failed to discover the much more important "raw materials" of all kinds of manufacturing industries in the shape of coal and iron ore. I am afraid the distinguished gentlemen were searching for "raw materials" for votes rather than "raw materials" for manufactures.

But why, may I ask my friend from Texas, will the free admission of any so-called "raw materials," when produced here to the extent of our wants, cheapen their cost? Now, all "raw materials" not produced in this country are on the free-list. But really "raw materials," *i. e.*, materials as they are found in nature, are as cheap and abundant here as anywhere in the world. When labor is added to these "raw materials" to prepare them for advanced manufactures or for other uses of man, their cost is increased in proportion to the labor employed. Now, if this labor cost is no more in this country than abroad, as the gentleman from Texas has argued, I should be pleased to have him explain how he will cheapen the cost of such "raw materials" by having them imported free of duty?

Is not the argument of my friend that the free importation of "raw materials" which we can readily produce here will cheapen their money

cost, a confession that the labor cost of preparing these materials is greater here than abroad? And is not what he proposes really a plan of cheapening the product by having part of the work done abroad because the labor cost there is not so much as here, and thus turning out of employment all the laborers engaged in producing or making the articles called "raw materials" by the gentleman from Texas, but really completed products of certain industries?

Not to be too inquisitive, Mr. Speaker, will it disturb my friend from Texas if I also inquire why, if it is a good thing to have free trade in wool, manufactured lumber, farmers' products, etc., in order "to cheapen the product" to that extent, it would not be better to have the wholly completed instead of partly completed article made abroad by cheaper labor, in order to save more?

In other words, why should the farmer and laborer who produce wool, lumber, beans, meat, etc., be called upon to make the whole sacrifice for the blessing of cheaper products under the plea that they are "materials," when the iron manufacturer's iron and the cotton and woolen manufacturer's cloth are the "materials" which the grower of wool, the manufacturer of lumber, and the producer of farm products require? Indeed, is not a part of the free-trade plan, after they have placed fifty-three industries on the free-list, to come forward again at the first opportunity and ask the friends of these industries to help put fifty-three more on the free-list? And so on, until free trade is applied to all?

More than this, what reason is there to suppose that free wool, for example, would enlarge our exports of woolen goods to any considerable extent, so long as our labor in manufacturing receives higher wages, when our cotton manufacturers, notwithstanding they have cheaper cotton than English manufacturers, have never been able to export over fifteen millions of cotton goods annually?

So much for "the central feature" of the Mills bill, looking to an increase of wages from "free raw materials."

THE MEDDLING HAND OF GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Speaker, I remarked a short time ago that the gentleman from Texas, in advancing the claim that the Mills bill would increase wages, advanced two contradictory reasons for this surprising result. One, which I have already discussed, was that we would reduce the cost of and the market for our manufactures by having our "materials" prepared by the cheaper labor of other countries and come in free of duty; and the other, which I now wish to consider, that "we are the smartest people on the face of the earth," doing everything at the "lowest labor cost," and "all we want is for our Government to take its meddling hand out of our business," an assertion which so fully met the aspirations of the Democratic side that it was received with rounds of applause and cries of "That's it!"

There are two suggestions, Mr. Chairman, that I will venture to make before considering the main argument involved in this point.

First. If the labor cost of doing anything in this country is as low as it is abroad, how then does it happen that something can be saved by importing free of duty materials prepared by labor abroad?

Second. If a duty on imported articles which can be made here to the extent of our wants cripples our industries and our labor—for this is the only way in which "our Government lays its meddling hand on our business"—then I should be pleased to have my friend from Texas tell the House how the 42½ per cent. of "meddlesomeness" proposed by his bill is to work such blessings when, according to the gentleman, the 47 per cent. of "meddlesomeness" of the existing law has worked such evils in the past, and the 42 per cent. of "meddlesomeness" of a proposed Republican protective measure would work such evils for the future?

I take it for granted, Mr. Speaker, that when the distinguished gentleman from Texas called upon "our Government to take its meddling hand out of our business," in order to allow our "smartest people," who, according to the gentleman, do things at a lower "labor cost than any other workmen," to spring forward to free, open, triumphant competition with the labor of the world, he meant not simply "pass the Mills bill," but "also follow up the free-trade step therein inaugurated until we have abolished all duties on articles that we can readily make here to the extent of our wants"—for any other explanation of his meaning would make nonsense of his utterance and reflect on the discernment of our Democratic friends who so unanimously and loudly shouted "That's so,"—"and then our labor can compete in free, open competition with the labor of Europe."

LABOR-COST IN THIS COUNTRY AND EUROPE.

This, Mr. Speaker, is an assertion which the gentleman from Texas has frequently made as the basis of the whole free-trade argument, and it may be summed up in his oft-repeated statement that the labor-cost of production is no more—he has often stated less—than in Europe.

Before careful official statistics were collected it was frequently asserted by free-traders that wages are as high abroad as in this country. But since Col. Carroll D. Wright, now chief of the United States Labor Bureau, carefully investigated the subject in this country and Great Britain in 1884 the assertion has taken another form. Colonel Wright's comparison of the average wages in Massachusetts and Great Britain, in the industries investigated, was as follows:

Industries, 1884.	General average weekly wages paid to all employés.	
	Massachusetts.	Great Britain.
Agricultural industries	$10.25	$8.45
Artisans' tools	11.80	4.89
Boots and shoes	11.63	4.37
Brick	8.53	4.16
Building trades	14.99	7.21
Carpetings	6.08	4.11
Carriages and wagons	13.30	4.89
Clothing	10.01	6.71
Cotton goods	6.45	4.66
Flax and jute goods	6.46	2.85
Food preparations	9.81	2.72
Furniture	11.04	7.96
Glass	12.28	6.94
Hats—fur, wool, and silk	11.01	5.51
Hosiery	6.49	4.67
Liquors, malt and distilled	12.87	12.66
Machines and machinery	11.75	6.93
Metals and metallic goods	11.25	7.40
Printing and publishing	11.37	5.52
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles	8.67	4.94
Stone	14.39	8.58
Wooden goods	12.19	5.67
Woolen goods	6.90	4.86
Worsted goods	7.32	3.60
All industries	10.31	5.86

Since this official showing that the average weekly wages are 77 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain, while the cost of living on the same scale in this country, outside of rent, is only 6 per cent. more than in England, the free-trade claim has changed its form, and it now appears in the assertion that notwithstanding the weekly wages are higher, yet that the workman works so many hours more here than in Great Britain and works with so much more energy and hope that the labor cost of production in this country per unit of production is no more than in Great Britain.

This is an assertion so contrary to the observation of practical manufacturers who have carefully investigated the subject in both countries, so contrary to the great mass of statistics which have been collected, and so contrary to the every-day experience of workingmen who have labored in both countries, that it was certainly incumbent on the gentleman from Texas to give us something besides theories—something besides the familiar fact that a skilled workman is cheaper at high wages than an unskilled one at low wages—to sustain his position that the labor cost of production per unit is no more in this country than in foreign countries. But we have had nothing but assertions.

It must be admitted that the claim that labor receives no more in this country than in Great Britain for a given quantity of equally skilled labor is contrary to the universal testimony of the tens of thousands of immigrants—laborers skilled and unskilled, cotton and woolen operatives and iron-workers and workers in every department of industry—all of whom have borne evidence by their coming and never returning, by sending for friends, and by their rapidly improving condition that labor receives a much higher reward in this country than abroad.

It is contrary to the testimony of ex-Congressman Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, a Democrat of prominence and fully acquainted with the subject, who stated on this floor a few years ago that the labor cost of production in advanced manufactures in this country is about 50 per cent. higher than in Great Britain.

I am aware, sir, that there have recently appeared what purport to be statistics gathered by a partisan free-trade writer named Schoenhof, who was appointed a United States consul at some place in England, with a roving commission, in which it is claimed that the labor cost of making woolen dress goods in Leeds is greater than in Massachusetts. But unfortunately for that gentleman he gave the details from which he drew this remarkable result, from which it appeared that he represented the cost of dyeing as four times as great at Leeds as in Massachusetts, when the fact is that it costs more in the latter State than in Leeds. Already the complete unreliability of the consul's figures has been shown, and all the returns are not in yet. Gentlemen thoroughly versed in woolen manufactures state that the labor cost of manufacturing woolens, as well as everything else in which labor is an important element, is considerably more here than in Great Britain.

A remark by Secretary of State Blaine, in transmitting, in 1881, a report of United States Consul Shaw, apparently showing that the labor cost of manufacturing coarse cottons was no more in Massachusetts at that time than in Yorkshire, is often quoted as evidence that in this class of goods, in which the labor is a very small percentage of the cost, we had reached the British standard of labor cost. But if as

a matter of fact this was true at that time—which probably a more careful investigation would have shown it was not—more thorough and general inquiries have shown that it is not true now. Indeed, the fact that notwithstanding our cotton manufactures have cheaper raw material than their British competitors, yet we have not been able to increase our exports of coarse cottons above fifteen millions, affords evidence that even in coarse cottons, requiring but little labor and that but partially skilled, our labor cost is not down to the English standard of cheapness; and if not in coarse cottons, certainly not in goods where the labor is a much larger percentage the labor cost is much more.

I had occasion not long since to obtain the labor cost of manufacturing lime at Rockland, Me., and on the St. John's, in New Brunswick—two points scarcely 200 miles separated, although in different countries. The statistics which were furnished me showed that it cost 50 cents per cask to manufacture lime on the St. John's and 73 cents at Rockland, although 10 cents of this difference was made up by the superior quality of the Rockland limestone. I found that it required the same number of men to burn and barrel one hundred casks of lime at Rockland as at St. John, thus showing equal efficiency of labor, but that the Rockland men received $2 and $1.57 per day and the St. John's men $1.25 and $1 per day of equal hours. I also found that the labor cost of quarrying, transporting, burning, and barreling the lime was 10 cents per cask more in Rockland than on the St. John's.

Why is it, sir, that our coastwise shipping, which is absolutely protected by our navigation laws against foreign competition, is prosperous, while our shipping in the foreign trade, which since 1850 has been in free competition with foreign vessels in carrying our exports and imports, has been almost driven from the ocean by this competition since the revolution from wood to iron and sails to steam lost us the advantage we once possessed with our cheap timber?

Is there any other reason than the fact that our labor receives higher compensation for mining ore, making iron, building steam-ships from this iron, and running these steam-ships after they are built than English labor receives for precisely the same work? Allow me to read the following testimony of United States Consul Russell, at Liverpool, published in the February Consular Report:

British vessels in domestic ports can procure crews for from 37 to 32 per cent. lower than those paid on American vessels, which is a serious item in the disbursement account. Then, again, the cost of maintenance on American ships is about 40 cents per day per man against the English 29 cents, or a difference of 27 per cent. in favor of the latter. When it is considered that provisions, such as beef, pork, and flour, which are the principal articles of food consumed, can be obtained in the United States, if anything, at a lower price than in England, it seems remarkable that the crews of our vessels should cost 27 per cent. more per man for maintenance; yet such appears to be the case. It is an acknowledged fact that the living on board our vessels is superior to that of other nations, and it is generally asserted that larger quantities of food are supplied to the crew, the scale of provisions laid down by Congress being rarely, if ever, resorted to.

Now, does the gentleman from Texas pretend to argue, in the face of such facts as these, that the wages received by labor, or the labor cost of producing manufactured articles in the United States, is no more than in Great Britain or Canada, and that if "the Government will only take its meddling hands out of our business," *i. e.*, if it will only abolish duties on such imported articles as we can make here—lime, for instance—then "the condition and wages of our laboring people will be improved?"

Such nonsense is unworthy of intelligent men—to say nothing of legislators.

DOES THE MILLS BILL PROTECT LABOR?

Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, as if conscious of the utter failure of all attempts to establish the fundamental free trade assumption that a protective duty is a "tax" which increases the burdens of the consumer, or the truth of the assertion that the labor cost of production is no more here than in Great Britain, has attempted to show that his bill gives ample duties to offset the difference in labor cost of products between this country and foreign countries, and therefore is really a protective measure. To prove this he gives us the "average" percentage of labor in the total cost of various manufactured products in this country, and shows that this percentage of labor cost is less than the "average" duty of the dutiable schedules which the Mills bill leaves on such articles when imported.

Even if this were true in the case of the dutiable schedules it would still remain that in the fifty-three industries from which the Mills bill removes all duties, like the growing of wool and the production of beans, pease, milk, vegetables, and meat, and the manufacture of lumber, bricks, building-stone, iron ties, jute bags, etc., there is left no protection for American labor and no barrier against the free, open competition of such products of cheap foreign labor with the labor of the workingmen of this country. Certainly as to the workmen engaged in every industry in this country whose products are placed on the free-list it must be confessed that, if the Mills bill should become a law, there can be no pretense that they have any protection against the destructive competition of similar products of cheaper foreign labor. And it is well understood that the free-list is the distinguishing feature of this bill.

But an examination of the dutiable schedules of the Mills bill will show that the reduction of duties must be largely at the expense of our labor. It is well understood that the present prices of all articles that can be readily made in this country to the extent of our wants are as low as they can be made, and in some cases lower, and pay the high wages properly given our labor. Fierce competition prevents on the average anything more than the lowest profits requisite to maintain the business. If there is to be any reduction of cost of such products it must come from a reduction of the labor cost. Cheaper goods means lower wages. Such a reduction of duties on imported articles which we can produce here, as will increase importations and reduce prices, must inevitably displace goods made here, deprive workmen of employment, and tend to reduce wages, in the effort of our manufacturers to resist the successful competition of foreign goods.

ILLUSTRATED BY COTTON GOODS.

The gentleman from Texas says that the present "average" duty on manufactures of cotton, for example, is 40 per cent.; that his bill leaves this "average" 39 per cent.; and that the average "percentage" of labor in cottons is only 21½ per cent. And he triumphantly asks if it is not an imposition for any one to pretend that the reduction proposed by his bill, or even a reduction of 15 per cent. more, would hurt labor when the average duty is left more than the whole cost of the labor!

Now such a conclusion as this may be accepted as a demonstration by persons unacquainted with the subject, but to any one familiar with it the misleading character of the whole argument is apparent.

It is misleading because an ad valorem duty is not laid on the value of the article in this country, as the gentleman's language implies, but on the invoiced value abroad. And the gentleman well knows that this invoiced value is much below even the actual cost abroad.

That is, the 39 cents duty imposed by the Mills bill on every dollar's worth of cotton goods, or any other kind of goods imported, is not imposed on a dollar's worth of goods as valued here, but on a foreign invoice value whereby from one and one-half to two dollars' worth of goods (as valued here) come in on paying 39 cents duty, making the real protection on each dollar of value here not exceeding 25 cents, or at most 30 cents. So that practically under the Mills bill, which substitutes ad valorem for specific duties, the reduction of duties will prove to be nearer 10 or 15 per cent. than 1 per cent., as claimed by Mr. MILLS.

It is misleading, also, because in using the "average" percentage of labor of the whole cotton schedule as a basis the fact is concealed that in the class of fine goods which are imported—and none others are imported—the percentage of labor in the total cost of manufacturing is about 30 to 35 per cent. In averaging the labor cost of all cottons the 14 per cent. of labor in coarse goods is joined to the 35 per cent. in fine cottons and "averaged" as 21½ per cent.

It is misleading, also, because in giving the labor cost of making cottons, or any article, it includes only the cost of the labor in the processes of manufacture of the materials after they have reached the mill and after the mill and machinery are constructed. It ignores entirely the labor cost of preparing the materials, supplies, and dyes for the mill and machinery, of constructing mill and machinery from the prepared materials, of the labor cost of repairs, renovation, and depreciation, and of freighting materials to the mill and goods from the mill to the market. When all these items are added to the labor cost in the processes of manufacture in the mill they more than double, and in many cases treble and quadruple, the percentage of actual labor cost represented in any article.

Take for example a completed machine or ship. The gentleman from Texas, who is in favor of placing completed ships on the free-list, looking simply at the processes in the ship-yard or machine-shop, would say that the labor cost is only 30 per cent. of the aggregate cost of the ship or machine. Yet if he will look further at the labor in preparing the materials and building the shop and its tools, the labor in mining the ore, smelting and making the iron and steel, transporting it to the shop, and the labor in repairs and renovation, and in preparing supplies, he will find that the labor cost is swelled to 90 per cent. of the value of the ship or machine.

So that the excess of labor cost in this country to be protected against the cheaper labor of foreign countries in any industry is not simply the labor in the immediate process of manufacture, but labor all along the line, from the materials in their natural condition to the highly advanced product.

One has but to glance at the official statistics of our imports in the last fiscal year, and to read that even with the present duties there were imported fine cotton goods to the value of $28,940,353, iron goods to the value of $49,293,163, and woolen goods to the value of $44,902,718, to see that even the present duties on these imports are down near to the danger point, and that the reduction proposed by the Mills bill, substituting, as it does, ad valorem for specific duties, will cross the danger point, make large inroads on the protection now given to our laborers, and increase importations in every one of the dutiable schedules, and seriously cripple every industry carried on here which has been placed on the free-list.

INEQUALITY OF MILLS BILL.

Not the least objectionable feature of the Mills bill, Mr. Speaker, is its glaring inequalities and inconsistencies. Some industries are

amply protected and others given up to free trade, or inadequate duties. I have already commented on the glaring injustice of placing on the free-list the completed products of one class of industries on the plea that these products are the "raw materials" of other industries, but omitting such "crude articles" as iron ore and coal, which would be articles naturally selected if the "free raw material" theory has any sound basis to rest on.

The "raw materials" which the Mills bill places on the free-list are such products of farm labor as wool, pease, beans, vegetables, milk, beef, lamb, mutton, veal, etc.; and such products of human industry as brick, undressed building stone, tin-plate, salt, jute bags, hoop-iron, manufactured lumber, boards, shingles, clapboards, etc. When the bill was first reported lime, wood-pulp, glue, etc., were also included in the list of "free raw materials."

What is the defense of the policy which places the farmer's wool on the free-list and gives a duty of 40 per cent. on woolen goods?

Notice the discriminations made in equally advanced industries for political or partisan reasons. Wood-screws, the very article concerning which there has been the most howl about a wrongful "combination," were first reduced to 35 per cent. with other articles; but when it was ascertained that the reduction might defeat a Democratic representative the rate was restored to 45 per cent., while cotton-ties and tin-plate were placed on the free-list.

The bill as reported placed rough marble on the free-list. The gentleman from Texas declared that "a tax on marble was a tax on the decent burial of the dead." But it was discovered that marble was a Georgia product, and marble was withdrawn from the free-list, while Maine undressed granite was placed on the free-list.

The Mills bill as first draughted left the margin for sugar refiners so small that it would have broken the great sugar trust which has been advancing the price of sugar. But Mr. Havemeyer, the head of the sugar trust and a liberal contributor to Democratic campaign funds, was taken into the inner circles of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, notwithstanding hearings had been refused to manufacturers and laborers, and immediately the sugar schedule was changed so as to save the sugar trust. Strange proceeding in the face of the Democratic platform condemning trusts!

No wonder the farmers of the North are inquiring why their wool, lumber, beans, pease, vegetables, milk, meats, etc., are placed on the free-list, when Louisiana sugar is given a duty of 68 per cent. and South Carolina rice 100 per cent., and both specific duties giving 10 per cent more protection than apparently equivalent ad valorem duties.

And the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee points to the 42½ per cent. "average" of the Mills bill—raised to that figure by such enormous duties on articles of food like sugar and rice—and asks the country if such an "average" isn't sufficient protection to the industries of the North placed on the free-list or given lower duties, and ad valorem at that?

Now I doubt not that many of the unjust discriminations in the Mills bill are due in part to the fact that the framers of the measure were obliged to "secure" some Democratic votes for the bill by giving adequate protection to various interests in the districts represented by these gentlemen; and that these framers excuse their indefensible discrimination on the ground that after having applied absolute free trade to fifty-three industries, they will next time have the aid of the friends of these destroyed industries to apply the same policy to the other industries saved this time by the short-sighted selfishness of men who are willing to destroy other interests in order to save their own. It would indeed be retributive justice if some of the gentlemen who are supporting the Mills bill because it protects their industries and slaughters some other industries in order to give the former free "raw materials," whether wool or lumber, if this first free-trade step should succeed, should find in the next step that will surely follow that their industries come next in order for sacrifice on the altar of free trade.

THE CASE SUMMED UP.

Mr. Speaker, the points in dispute may be thus summed up:

First. Two measures for reducing the revenue, each for about $60,000,000, are to be before the American people.

Second. So far as the reduction is accomplished by abolition of internal-revenue taxes, both will agree in abolishing the tax on tobacco. The Republican proposition includes also the abolition of the tax on alcohol used in the arts, manufactures, and in medicine.

Third. So far as the reduction is accomplished by a reduction and revision of the tariff the Republican proposition will reduce the revenue as much as the Democratic proposition contained in the Mills bill, and the reduction of the "average" rate of duty of the dutiable lists will be in each bill about 4½ per cent., leaving the average 42½ per cent. in the Mills bill and substantially the same in the Republican bill; but the method of the revision and distribution of the reduction in the two bills will be based on antagonistic principles.

Fourth. The Republican and protection basis of tariff revision makes the reductions mainly on articles which can not be made or produced here (placing such articles on the free-list) and on articles like sugar and rice, which can not be produced here to any considerable extent, and to the foreign cost of which for this reason the duty is added as a tax, and maintains the duties on articles which can be readily made or produced here to the extent of our wants, because they hold that such duties encourage home industry and labor, and lessen rather than increase the burdens of the people.

Fifth. The Democratic and free-trade basis of tariff revision makes the reductions mainly on articles which can be produced here to the extent of our wants, transferring one hundred such articles to the free-list, and in order to give an opportunity to transfer as many such articles as possible to the free-list or reduce the duties on them it maintains the duty on raw sugar at 68 per cent. and rice at 100 per cent., proceeding on the theory that there should be as little restriction as possible on importations.

Mr. Speaker, it is evident that with the Democratic majority of the House insisting on the latter, and the Republican majority of the Senate on the former method of revising the tariff there can be no agreement this session. If the Democratic majority of the House would consent there could be a bill passed at this session embodying the abolition of the tobacco tax, on which both Houses are agreed, but the indications are that the Democratic majority of the House prefer to keep the surplus as large as possible in order to use it as a lever to overthrow the policy of protection.

In this situation the appeal must be to the people in the approaching elections of Congressmen and electors of President and Vice-President. Unquestionably the decision of the people in the approaching elections, made with the full understanding that the issue is between the maintenance of our American system of protection and the overthrow of that system and the adoption of the Mills bill as the first step towards a free-trade or revenue policy, will determine the economic policy of the American people for the next quarter of a century.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome the issue. On the one side, Harrison stands as the standard-bearer of the American system of protection; on the other, Cleveland stands as the standard-bearer of the free-trade or revenue system which must take the place of the protective system when it falls. Let the issue be met squarely without evasion. As an earnest friend of that economic policy which holds that the system of protecting American industries and labor is wisest and best for the United States and the American people, I confidently appeal from the vote to overthrow it, which is already determined in this House, to that larger, safer, and, in the long run, wiser court of last resort—the American people.

Indian Depredation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BINGER HERMANN,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 21, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 8990) to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations.

Mr. HERMANN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: No State can unite more cordially, earnestly, and gratefully in the passage of the pending measure than the State of Oregon. None of all the States of the Union in their early settlement can claim for their pioneers more critical moments, more intense suffering, more proportionate loss and sacrifice, or more heroic endurance and patience in their conflicts with the hostile savages, while undertaking the peaceful settlement and occupancy of the country, than the Pacific Northwest for those who risked thier lives and fortunes in the then Territory of Oregon and in subsequent Indian wars and hostilities on the frontiers of the present State and the Territories once a part of it. With equal verity it may be asserted that no single people of our country ever acquired so much for the nation through their undaunted courage, patriotism, and privation as these same people.

With further confidence it may be said that none ever contended with more treacherous, stubborn, and unrelenting savages than those of the Oregon territory, and these traits were rendered the more terrible as these savages were all well supplied and disciplined in the latest improved fire-arms, and were provided with abundant ammunition. Later hostilities, as those of 1878 and previously on the Harney, Klamath, John Day, Crooked River, the Umatilla, the Klikitat, the Weiser, the Humboldt, and other portions of Oregon, Nevada, Washington, and Idaho Territories, were only subdued after great loss of precious lives, and much valuable property.

NATIONAL COMPENSATION FOR PIONEER SACRIFICES.

The Government as a political body and posterity as individuals are the gainers through these sacrifices and sufferings. That which was once the frontier is now the rich State and the splendid metropolis. Those who blazed the way for civilization safely to follow, and who

bore the heat and burden of the day, were invariably the last to reap the benefits. But the mission of the pioneer is ended. The frontier itself has disappeared. The war-whoop and the massacre are only read of in romance and history. Though justice has been long delayed to those who have been the heroes in the fight, it is still not too late for a great and generous nation to recognize the inestimable services of these sturdy pathfinders of the past, at least by indemnifying them for their well-earned property destroyed or wrested from them by the merciless savage. We can now well afford to do this. Indeed, the moment may never be so propitious as the present. A portion of the overflowing richness of the country has accumulated in the Treasury until we behold there an almost fabulous sum of gold, silver, and currency in excess of the legitimate needs of the Government. As representatives of the people—as just men, and in grateful remembrance of those who periled their lives and lost their homes and property in the settlement of the frontier of our nation—we are appealed to now for simple justice.

APPEALS LONG MADE TO CONGRESS.

For years and years this same appeal has been heard before successive Congresses.

Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Colorado, Oregon, Nevada, California, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and the Territories of Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and Dakota, have been earnestly memorializing the Government to adjust and make compensation for losses by their citizens sustained through Indian depredations within their respective limits.

Bills are introduced in great numbers proposing relief, and petitions are submitted from the people interested asking for it. Members of Congress are constantly importuned, but with all their efforts there is no avail. In the Forty-ninth Congress not one claim of this class could be reached. A like result is experienced during the session of the Fiftieth Congress.

Over six thousand Indian depredation claims are now on file for consideration of the Interior Department as per reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

TOO MANY CLAIMS FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

As Congress is at present organized three hundred years must elapse before a minimum can be considered by this body. The fact is that our legislative machinery has become so cumbersome by reason of the immense and varied interests before it as to render it practically ineffectual for transaction of all of the public business before it. Sixty millions of people are to be considered. Three hundred and twenty-five Representatives in one Chamber struggle to be heard. Fifty-seven committees report their conclusions upon a multitude of interests and exact a share of the time and attention. Appropriation committees and the Committee on Ways and Means, with sufficient business alone to consume most of the time, have a right of way to the exclusion of others. Every bill must be considered by committee. Often an entire week is occupied in committee on one bill. The Calendar is loaded down today with measures of vital importance both to the public as well as to individuals. Many bills have been there for twenty-five years. Each term they die, and are resurrected in the following Congress, going through the farce each time of another committee examination and report, and incurring vast expense for the printing of bills and reports. Obligations of high and undoubted claim are thus repudiated. Moneys erroneously paid to the Government and covered into the Treasury are wrongfully and inexcusably retained from its own citizens, to whom they belong, for no other reason than that Congress can not be moved to enact a restitution.

GREAT INJUSTICE.

Property furnished and services rendered the Government are likewise ignored. Claimants appear at the Capitol from year to year vainly supplicating for justice. An associate member long in Congress informs me that he has recognized the face of one claimant in the galleries for sixteen years. He comes and he goes as Congress comes and goes. Patiently he watches and waits. From the vigor of middle age he is now in the decline of life. None deny the justness of his claim, for indeed the biennial reports of committees affirm its righteousness. Infinitely more satisfactory would it be for a creditor to hold an honest bankrupt for his debtor than the rich Government of the United States. How long shall this travesty and this denial of justice be continued? Congress can provide a remedy. It can relieve itself of this great responsibility and at the same time amply protect the Government while doing equal and exact justice to its own citizens.

A SPECIAL TRIBUNAL DEMANDED.

The exigencies of the public business have from time to time suggested and indeed at last compelled a resort to auxiliary tribunals and departments. The Court of Claims is the outgrowth of this demand, and while it is unreasonably circumscribed in its jurisdiction, still it has relieved Congress of much labor, and blessed many a just and patient creditor. It has proven highly satisfactory. A like resort is now imperatively required for the consideration of Indian depredation claims. If not soon provided and relief afforded, not one of the long-waiting sufferers will survive to receive the promised aid. Let it come soon or not at all.

By repeated acts of Congress and with annual appropriations the Interior Department has been authorized and required to receive and file all this class of claims and to examine and investigate them and report them to Congress. This has been done. Agents have been sent into the field, have taken evidence, and submitted their findings, and at each Congress there is submitted to us a volume bearing on these claims, and the usual letter accompanying, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D. C., January 2, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor, in compliance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, etc., for the year ending June 30, 1888" (24 Stat., p. 464), to transmit herewith a schedule of Indian depredation claims, in favor of citizens of the United States, and against Indians holding treaty relations with the Government, whose investigations in pursuance of said act were completed on the 1st instant.

Said schedule contains the numbers of the claims, name, and post-office address of each claimant, character of the property stolen or destroyed, the Indians charged with the depredation, when committed, date of presentation, amount claimed, amount allowed, date of action, whether barred, and the "date and clause of the treaty creating the obligation for payment, and also what funds now existing by reason of treaty or other obligation out of which the same should be paid."

Each claim herewith is accompanied by the original testimony, former action had, post-office address of the witnesses, together with a letter, with full abstracts of the whole record in the case, embodying "my opinions and conclusions upon all material facts, and all the evidence and papers pertaining thereto."

Very respectfully,

J. D. C. ATKINS, *Commissioner.*

To the Hon. SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.

But we proceed no further. One volume of reported claims follows another. Claim after claim is recommended for payment, and now the aggregate reported of claims filed amounts to fifteen millions of dollars, and only a small portion considered.

How long shall this farce continue? Even the Interior Department is aroused to the absurdity of this inaction. Its reports and recommendations are ignored by Congress, and no remedy results from careful investigation. Still the claims pile up, and the idle ceremony of filing and considering and reporting goes on. At last the Department in its report to Congress for 1887 is prompted to speak as follows:

Many of these depredation claims have been pending for so long a time that a large number of the claimants are dead and can be represented only by heirs or administrators. The witnesses are scattered and many of them are also dead, and in a few more years, in the ordinary course of events, both claimants and witnesses will have passed away. It has, therefore, occurred to me that if it is the intention of Congress ever to pay these claims—very many of which after investigation I believe are just and should be paid—it should take steps at an early day looking toward their final arbitration and settlement. With that view I would suggest a plan of action which would probably prove effective in disposing of them. If it should be deemed wise and proper the House of Representatives might, by an amendment to its rules, organize a new committee on Indian depredation claims, which committee could investigate and report upon such cases as are recommended by the Interior Department for payment, just as the Committee on War Claims examines and reports with reference to what are known as the 4th of July claims. Every one familiar with the immense pressure on Congress for time to transact the public business knows that these Indian claims can never be considered by Congress *seriatim* except in some such manner as above indicated.

Congress is also awakened to the situation, and in the organization of this the Fiftieth Congress a committee on Indian depredations is provided for with power to "consider all Indian depredation claims."

A COURT FOR INDIAN DEPREDATION CLAIMS.

Within sixty days after the formation of the committee one hundred and sixty-four bills which had been introduced in Congress were referred to it, together with six thousand claims reported from the Department. The committee soon found itself utterly unable to consider them as their merits required, and unanimously concurred in the necessity for the creation of a special tribunal, and with the powers of a court, to consider and adjudicate all Indian depredation claims.

Upon frequent consultations with the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and upon mature deliberation among themselves, the full committee, upon various concessions being made, agreed upon a measure, and then without a dissenting voice and with the hearty concurrence of the Department, reported their bill to this Congress.

That the conclusions shall be as little delayed as possible and reached without the technical restraint of the higher courts, it is provided that:

Such regulations of practice shall be so prescribed as to provide for the expeditious, just, and fair disposition of such claims as may come before the court, without unnecessary technicalities, according to the rights of claimants upon the merits. No claimant shall be required to appear by attorney, and every case submitted by the claimant in person shall receive prompt and careful consideration in its order. But if any claim shall be prosecuted by attorney, notice shall be given by the court, in such form as it may prescribe, to the Attorney-General of the United States, and it shall thereupon be his duty to cause his appearance to be entered on behalf of the Government or of the Indians charged with liability, and thereafter properly to represent and defend the interests involved.

All papers, reports, evidence, and proceedings of record or on file in any division of the Interior Department or in the Department of War relating to any Indian depredation claims shall be at once delivered to this court upon its organization, and shall be considered by it—

And such value awarded thereto as in its judgment is right and proper without limitation by the technical rules of evidence in courts of law.

In addition to this the commission may, where the proofs are deficient or doubtful, send out persons specially appointed to make further investigations.

The amounts so adjudged by the said court shall be a final and conclusive determination of the full and true amounts due the several claimants, respectively, on account of such claims.

The Secretary of the Treasury shall annually submit to Congress an estimate for the payment of the amounts allowed against the United States.

PENDING APPROVED CLAIMS.

The representatives from the West insisted for some measure of relief which should provide for the direct payment of all claims allowed and favorably reported to Congress by the Department.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his last report, was in harmony with this demand. At much expense of the Government each claim has been carefully investigated. It is sworn to by the claimant and corroborated by affidavits of witnesses. The depredating Indians in most if not all cases have been called on by their agents and interrogated as to the facts alleged by the claimant. In many instances parties, to furnish proof as to losses, have traveled long distances to obtain the testimony of widely-separated witnesses, and often have employed attorneys to aid in formulating the proof so as to cover all material points of inquiry as far as possible. With all this, in some cases special agents of the Department have made examinations in the field, as they are still doing in many cases, so as to provide against fraud, collusion, or mistake of fact, and their findings are also on file to add further light in aid of the Department recommendations. Still more. Many of these claims have been carefully considered by either Senate or House committees—often by both—on bills pending and favorably reported on the Calendar. Claimants confidently expected, as they had a right to expect, that the next progress would be the payment and final settlement of claims so examined and reported. The law itself justified them in this belief, when by act of March 3, 1885, and subsequent acts, the Secretary of the Interior was directed to examine and report upon claims filed in his Department.

Still further back the authority was more explicit. By act of Congress approved May 29, 1872, it was enacted—

That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to prepare and cause to be published such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary or proper, prescribing the manner of presenting claims arising under existing laws or treaty stipulations for compensation for depredations committed by the Indians and the degree and character of the evidence necessary to support such claims. He shall carefully investigate all such claims as may be presented, subject to the rules and regulations prepared by him, and report to Congress at each session thereof the nature, character, and amount of such claims, whether allowed by him or not, and the evidence upon which his action was based.

Why do this if payment is not intended? Pursuant to requirement of such regulations, claimants have submitted the facts upon which they rely for their just compensation.

CONGRESS SHOULD PAY DIRECT.

In view of all this on the part of the Government, amounting to a virtual promise to pay the claims found due and favorably reported, the only honest and just course now is for Congress to make the appropriation. Should an individual debtor do less than this society would brand him as a scoundrel, and all honorable men would avoid him on the roadside. But, instead of this straightforward course, it is now proposed to remit these long-waiting people to a commission, and there require a reinvestigation, as to claims favorably reported. In many cases not only the claimant is dead, but his witnesses as well. They can never be recalled. In other cases the parties are scattered hither and thither, and can not be found. Long periods of time have elapsed as to many claims since the original proofs were submitted. These proofs were accepted, and were found so full and uncontroverted as to warrant their allowance and favorable report. To resubmit these is to trifle with the honor of the Government, as well as the rights and just expectations of the people. But fortunately the present bill may avoid much of this trouble.

A COURT FOR CLAIMS YET UNALLOWED.

It is argued on the other hand, that at the best this testimony is chiefly but *ex parte*, that great frauds have been detected, little as the Government is provided in machinery for investigation. The cupidity of some claimants and the systematic dishonesty of others have led to extortionate charges on the one hand and to false claims on the other. The commissioner himself asserts that "but few of these claims are so prepared as to admit of fair and satisfactory determination in the office without the aid of further inquiry through special agents or otherwise." Wherever there shall exist this class of imperfect claims, we concede the necessity for further or continued investigation, but our protest reaches to that class which bear no indications of fraud, or even doubt, but which have been carefully and clearly proven by credible persons, and thereupon allowed and submitted to Congress for appropriation. These, while they may be adjusted on review of the present testimony, still they should not be resubmitted to any tribunal, but should all be included in an omnibus bill, and payment provided for.

THE PROPOSED RELIEF.

In the judgment of the Department, however, the pending bill was the best measure in the interest of all parties it could recommend. It was also found the only practical adjustment upon which the various members of the committee could unite, and hence it is in the nature of a compromise.

The arguments in its favor are:

First. It assures the adjudication of these claims within a fixed period.

Second. The amounts adjudged shall be a final and conclusive determination.

Third. The judgments are included in estimates and submitted through the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress for direct payment.

Fourth. As to all claims on file, whether allowed and favorably reported heretofore to Congress or not, wherein the testimony already or now on hand is sufficient, the commission is authorized to review that, and therefore neither cost, further trouble, or more testimony should be required from such claimant, and it may be assumed will not be required.

Fifth. As to all claims hereafter presented or now awaiting examination, or heretofore disallowed, the present measure is the most perfect, fair, and conclusive mode of adjudication. It is within the reach of all. It may be said to be the poor man's court. In view of the practical impossibility of considering all these claims *seriatim* through Congress, it will be a subject for congratulation among all claimants should they obtain this recognition of their rights, and receive this assurance of a relief close at hand, however much we may have labored and longed for an immediate and outright payment.

THE NATION LIABLE FOR INDIAN DEPREDATIONS.

But, sir, even this measure is opposed by some gentlemen in this Chamber on the ground that the Government is neither legally nor morally under obligation to make compensation to the settlers of our frontiers for property destroyed by depredating Indians.

A brief reference to past legislation will effectually dispose of these objections. Almost coeval with the adoption of our present Constitution our Government has positively and continuously recognized its liability in these cases. Under Washington's administration the law provided: "And in the mean while, in respect to the property taken, stolen, or destroyed, the United States guaranties to the party injured an eventual indemnification." It continues to do so. It has done more. From May 19, 1796, the date of the act of Congress, until February 28, 1859, a period of sixty-three years, these claims were paid directly from the Treasury without any special legislation through Congress.

By act of Congress June 30, 1834 (4 Statutes, page 731), the following provision in the law gave further certainty and emphasis to the liability as well as the mode of payment:

And if the nation or tribe to which such Indian may belong receives an annuity from the United States, such claim shall at the next payment of the annuity be deducted therefrom and paid to the party injured; and if no annuity is payable to such nation or tribe, then the amount of the claim shall be paid from the Treasury of the United States.

Congress was entirely relieved from this legislation. Application was made direct to the Department, and payment made by warrant from the Treasury. There was no supplicating from father to son at the doors of Congress until time itself destroyed both claim and claimants. The Government then adjusted its obligations as an honest and prompt man would do in his own business affairs.

The first change from this policy and just practice was made in the act of Congress of February 28, 1859 (section 8). It did not repeal the existing guaranty of indemnification, but denied the remedy by payment from the Treasury—only allowing this to be made, as usual, by Department when annuities existed, and from this fund alone. A resort to Congress in all other cases then for the first time became necessary. This repeal has been argued by some as a repeal of the original guaranty of the Government, and as a repudiation of any obligations not adjusted, or such as might arise on future claims. But this construction is set at rest by a reference to the joint resolution of Congress of June 25, 1860 (12 Statutes, page 120), which provides that said act of repeal—

shall not be construed to destroy or impair any right to indemnity which existed at the date of said repeal.

The effect was to shift the indemnity from the Department to Congress in the first instance, but not destroying or affecting the legal right to indemnity which had previously been guarantied.

The practice of paying claimants through the Department, where annuity funds existed, continued until the act of Congress of July 15, 1870 (section 4, Revised Statutes), when even this was prohibited, and it was then further enacted as to each class of claims: "And no claim for Indian depredations shall hereafter be paid until Congress shall make special appropriation therefor." This still recognized the liability, but referred the claims to Congress for payment. Following this, and in the act of Congress of May 29, 1872, there was provided the authority in the Department to receive, examine, and report to Congress all depredation claims. At each session Congress makes an appropriation in the Indian bill to defray the expenses of these examinations.

Under the new order committees have reported various private bills to Congress recommending payment for Indian depredations. A few have passed and become laws, but the great number can never be considered in view of the difficulties which I have before mentioned. It is thus perceived that for nearly one hundred years there has been a uniform and uninterrupted acknowledgment on the part of the Government of its liability to these claimants.

We are met with this inquiry: "As a matter of abstract right, is it just and proper that these claimants should receive the relief heretofore guarantied while the same is not conceded nor afforded to another class of sufferers who sustain damages in a time of war by the marauding enemy?" Why, it is asked by the opponents of this measure, should not another class of our own citizens be likewise indemnified? Why, they ask, create a distinction without a difference? The answer is, that

there is a difference, and a most radical one. There is no possible similarity. The relation of the Government of the United States to the Indian tribes is a pecular one. It is that of a guardian to the ward. Recognizing certain rights in the Indians, the Government has assumed certain duties and obligations toward them in consideration for certain relinquishments on their part. It undertakes to protect, as well as to guard them. It places them in an exclusive territory, and draws around the boundary a bold line. Beyond this no Indian can have exit without license, and within it no citizen can have legal access without a permit from the same authority. This is, at least, the assumption of the law, although often relaxed in both instances. These reservations are often termed "cities of refuge." Within their exclusive precincts the municipal law can not enter. It can neither be heard nor felt. Judicial process, so omnipotent and fleet of foot elsewhere in the State, stands dumb and powerless before these mystic gates. Reservations, though in a State, are not subject to its jurisdiction. The United States Government in exempting the Indian ward from the operation of the law assumes all responsibility. It subrogates itself for him, and becomes the security to the citizens whom it deprives of every security afforded by law in other cases.

It is therefore under a continuing obligation to answer for any negligence following its undertaking. It assumes not only the custody of the Indian, but a right to his property also. It renders him incapable either to incur a liability or to discharge one. Against the individual Indian the white man is remediless. He can neither compel him to answer for an honest debt nor punish him for an injury done. The maxim: "For every wrong there is a remedy" is meaningless here. The reservation walls are statutes of limitations. They constitute a bar. An injured citizen under the law can obtain redress for injuries even by a mob or a riot. He can pursue the rioters individually or collectively, or can seek in most cases indemnity from the State. The strong arm of the law can at once be invoked. The Constitution itself provides that—

The United States shall guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion * * * against domestic violence, etc.

That which was once the property of the Indians, whether a mere right of occupancy or a higher tenure, has been appropriated to the exclusive holding of the Government, or is still held in trust for them; and hence it can well afford to devote a small portion of these immense funds as indemnity for the wicked depredations caused by these Indians. We have the precedent in the last session of this Congress in which the Government appropriated $147,000 for depredations upon Chinese property in Wyoming by a mob. And yet when our own brave pioneers, honest, law-abiding, and nation-loving citizens of the West ask Congress for compensation for their homes burned and their property destroyed and carried off by Indian savages at the time in custody of the Government, then it is that every delay is experienced, every excuse made, every legal quibble offered in the denial of the just claims!

The Government owes protection to its citizens and their property, and when through its neglect this protection is unavailable and the citizen sustains injury its consequent liability for indemnity is undeniable. The citizen having engaged himself in the social compact to render allegiance to the State, he has earned the reciprocal obligation of protection from the State. This is a fudamental law.

AN INJURED AND NEGLECTED PEOPLE COMPLAIN.

In the case of the Indian depredators the Government takes them into its care—as one would cage up wild animals—and makes it unlawful for any citizen to pursue them for private satisfaction or redress. It negligently permits them to escape from its official agents and from the designated reservations, and they rush madly and with bloody hands into peaceful communities, massacre their unresisting inhabitants, and pillage and destroy everything of value in their wake. Yet our own suffering people under these circumstances must stand and beg at the doors of Congress like cringing suppliants for a quarter of a century for a poor indemnity for their homes in ashes, while to compensate a few Chinamen we are unwilling that even months shall elapse until we can pay them for their dingy shanties the prices of castles! How much longer shall this halting, begrudging, and ungenerous conduct be practiced toward our own people? It is sad to read the plaintive letters which come to us from old claimants in the Western States and Territories, from the Pacific coast in particular, urging Congressional action on their claims. They chiefly recite their pioneer services, their advanced age, their infirmities, and personal needs. Most of them are without homes of their own and many are penniless. Some will write, "What little the Government owes me I shall not want long;" another will say, "Have the people of the United States forgotten the sacrifices which it cost us on the frontier to drive back the savage foe, and will they continue to deny us the small sums asked in compensation for our destroyed homes?"

Many a constituent after years of letter-writing regarding his claim and its prospects is finally heard from no more. We miss his familiar hand-writing among our mails. He has died. Thus one by one, discouraged, heart-sick, in old age and distress, they drop out of the still waiting but diminishing ranks, and their just claims remain neglected, dishonored, and ignored by the very Government for whose interest their greatest sacrifices were made. We say "Westward the course of empire takes its way," but forget in our boast that this way for the grand march of empire has been found too often in the light of the blazing frontier cabin, in the cries of its massacred inmates, and by the fragments of their scattered and destroyed property.

A SPECIAL LIABILITY—OREGON SAVED FROM ENGLAND.

To those claimants who form a part of the early emigration to what was termed the Oregon Territory, that great area west of the Rocky Mountains and north of California, the Government is under special obligations. These people it expressly invited to go to that most remote and comparatively unknown section of the nation. There was a national policy in this. The country north of the forty-second parallel was still a subject of dispute. It was known to be rich in resources and great water ways, its fish and its fur-bearing animals and its advantage as a part of the nation. The contest was between the English nation and its people who had originally gathered around the Hudson Bay Company's posts and the American Government and its emigrants. The diplomats of the two governments being unable to agree, proposed a truce. A treaty with England of joint occupancy was entered into October 20, 1818, whereby it was agreed—

That any country that may be claimed by either party on the Northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free, and for the term of ten years * * * to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers; * * * nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of said country.

This period was, on August 6, 1827, by convention between the two governments, "indefinitely extended and continued in force." This treaty was unfortunate for us, as it indicated a doubt on our part. In 1842 the whole controversy was revived. Each government expressed an earnest desire for a final adjustment. A war of diplomacy was inaugurated. The British plenipotentiary insisted that the boundary should be drawn—

due west along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the point where that parallel strikes the great northeasternmost branch of the Oregon or Columbia River, thence down along the middle thereof to its junction with the Pacific Ocean.

This was declined by the American plenipotentiary, who, however, would have accepted the forty-ninth parallel westward to the Pacific.

Proposals were again renewed on July 12, 1845, by the United States Government, which then insisted on its title to that portion of Oregon lying between the valley of the Columbia and the Russian line, in 54° 40′ north latitude, which was ceded in the Florida treaty, whereby Spain made over to the United States "all her rights, claims, and pretensions" to any territory west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the forty-second parallel of latitude. Finally, our Government, "with a desire to cultivate the most friendly relations between the two countries," offered in compromise the forty-ninth degree of latitude as a permanent boundary. With much spirit the British minister declined this proposal. The result was that great excitement pervaded the minds of the people of both countries. Public meetings of indignation were held in many of the large cities, and America's claims were asserted with warlike emphasis.

Diplomacy had failed, and war seemed now the only alternative. In the Presidential campaign the Oregon question was made a battle-cry. Everywhere was heard in hostile tones "fifty-four forty or fight." The rights of our nation were discussed in Congress and in the canvass. France had relinquished all her rights in the Louisiana purchase; and the claims of Russia as far north as 54° 40′ was ceded to the United States, and this left Britain as our only competitor. The feeling in England had been previously aroused upon the declaration of President Monroe:

That henceforth the American continents are not be considered as subjects for colonization by any European powers.

An attempt was made in Congress in 1843—

To extend the laws of the United States over the Oregon Territory.

Previously a resolution passed the Senate—

To give notice to Great Britain of our intention to annul the treaty of joint occupancy.

A bill was finally reported to the House which provided—

For taking possession of the whole region west of the Rocky Mountains from latitude 42° to 54° 40′, and extending over it our laws and jurisdiction.

This, had it passed, would have been equivalent to a declaration of war, as the treaty of joint occupancy had not been abrogated.

Senator Benton, that great friend of Oregon, in an able speech in the Senate June 3, 1844, encouraged the peopling of the country as one means of defense. He said:

It is the genius of our people to go ahead, and is the practice of our Government to follow and eventually to protect and reward the bold pioneers who open the way to new countries and subdue the wilderness for their country. They will get protection, both civil, military, and naval, for a government will be established for them, a military force will be sent to them, and ships of war will visit their coast and enter their river. * * * Let the emigrants go on and carry their rifles. We want thirty thousand rifles in the valley of the Oregon; they will make all quiet there in the event of a war with Great Britain for the dominion of that country.

The newly elected President, as we are told, to the delight of all parties, declared positively from the portico of the Capitol, surrounded by thousands of his fellow-citizens, "that our title to this territory is clear and indisputable."

THE NATION INDUCES AMERICAN SETTLEMENT.

During all this agitation and discussion both nations were quietly encouraging the settling of the country by their respective peoples. It was a race for preponderance. An eminent writer, and close with the administration, wrote an address on the "Condition of the Oregon Territory," in which he says:

Emigration should take place instanter; we should people this land * * * and any foreign attack should meet with our prompt and united resistance. We should allow no nation to invade our rights.

On Senator Linn's bill, "To authorize the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of the Territory of Oregon," Senator Benton said he was "for inducing men with families to go to that country, because it would give the strongest bonds which could be given for the faithful defense of the country." He favored giving a greater quantity of land to a man as an inducement, for he said:

That to the man having a family it was the most costly and hazardous to emigrate.

Senator Sevier said:

Strike out the land clause and you would have no settlers there, but on the contrary the country would remain in the possession of the British henceforth and forever.

Senator Henderson said:

The object of the bill is to settle the country, and no settlement can be obtained without this inducement.

While this proposed legislation was not consummated until seven years after, yet it gave an assurance of an ultimate certainty, and with this promise thousands of people emigrated; and it was this promise earnestly pressed which aided largely in securing the donation act of 1850.

Mr. Hugh Burns, in a letter dated Multnomah City, Oregon, October 29, 1844, writes a glowing description of the country, of the Americans already there, and of their prosperity, and urges the importance of the Government acting promptly to save the country to the nation, and therefore the urgency for American emigration. He concludes by saying:

But one thing is wanting, and this our Government should long since have extended to us; I mean its protection.

These appeals all produced the desired result. An American population soon settled the Oregon country and outnumbered the British, and then the Americans demanded the prompt action of the Government in their defense, as well as for the entire country south of the forty-ninth degree of latitude. This aroused the Government at Washington to greater vigilance, and gave it a better knowledge of the great prize at stake, and stimulated it to maintain and assert its claim in defiance of Britain. A treaty was at last concluded; and thus victory was achieved without war, and this immense empire happily preserved to our country. In a memorial to this Congress the Oregon Legislature says of the early pioneers:

That they demonstrated to our Government the value of the country and the practicability of its becoming a part of the American Union of States at a time when the problem was much doubted by officers high in the authority of the Government.

THE DONATION ACT. TO REWARD SETTLEMENT.

As a further inducement to the settlement of that immense region on the Pacific, and especially to encourage American families to emigrate thither, and to reward them for their endurance, privations, and dangers in braving that toilsome and perilous journey of six months over the plains and across the Rocky Mountains, Congress again proposed the land bounty and offered those who settled there prior to September 1, 1850, one section, or 640 acres of land, to husband and wife, one-half in the wife's own right, and 320 acres to a single man; and those who were or should become settlers between the 1st of December, 1850, and the 1st of December, 1853, were granted 160 acres to a single man, and if married, 320 acres, one-half to the wife in her own right. By act of February 14, 1853, the time for settlement was extended to December 1, 1855, when the act expired by limitation. This law is commonly called the "donation act." It was passed September 27, 1850. It was succeeded by the pre-emption act of 1841, which was extended to Oregon July 7, 1854.

When the donation act was under consideration and debated in the Senate in September, 1850, Benton said:

Of all the settlers of new countries that we have had, none have been entitled to so much as the people of Oregon. They went to the country and began the good work when we were contending with a powerful foreign nation for the title to the country. It was their occupancy which forced the decision of the question from which diplomats and statesmen had been shrinking. For more than a quarter of a century diplomats and statesmen had been staving off the question from year to year, but the pioneers of the West went and took possession, and their taking possession forced the decision of the question upon the country. They conquered it from the savage. We may say they conquered it from Great Britain. They conquered it from the supineness and timidity of legislators and diplomats.

Senator Dickinson said:

They went and reclaimed it. They brought it under law and civilization and to the United States. They braved all the dangers of border life, and if there are any people entitled to consideration, and a very liberal one, it is the people of this Territory.

Senator Sam Houston said:

I recollect that when I first came into this Chamber Oregon was then a bone of contention.

Some there were who contended that aid should be extended to Oregon, while others opposed it, and through that or some other cause the Territory has been almost entirely neglected. And at a time when she was most seriously threatened by Indians a regiment raised for her necessary defense was diverted from the object of its creation and marched to Mexico. Thus Oregon has been for years without the benefit of protection from the Government.

The results accomplished by the donation law justified in one sense the policy which prompted it. A great tide of emigration, far exceeding any which had preceded it, poured into the entire Pacific Northwest. Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois were the great mother States. The emigrants at once sought for and occupied the fairest localities, the fertile lowlands and lovely valleys, the grassy foothills, and even the mill sites, town sites, ferry and bridge locations of importance were selected and all covered under the "donation" grants. In five years' time over 2,500,000 acres were claimed under its provisions, and 7,317 certificates issued for Oregon alone. In Washington Territory, which was part of Oregon until the act of March 2, 1853, when it was detached and the donation act continued as to it, there were 290,215 acres covered by donation claims.

THE DONATION ACT A BLESSING AND A CURSE.

While this great transformation and appropriation was in progress another people were looking on in sullenness and anger. These were the Indians, the original occupants of the country. Nor were they without advisers. The Hudson's Bay Company, that rich corporation of British interests, which had been doing for England in Oregon what the East India Company had been doing for England in India, held and governed the country with imperious sovereignty and with uninterrupted power over the Indians, realized that soon their own sway in Oregon must cease and their exclusive monopoly of the rich commerce with the Indian tribes and the fur-traders must come to an end. The gloomy prospect aroused in them feelings of disappointment, opposition, and animosity. Our Government afforded them unconsciously the occasion whereby they could create disaffection among the Indians, for by appealing to the donation law itself they could convince these people that their rights were ignored by the Government, and thus they could arouse their worst passions.

THE RIGHT OF INDIANS TO COMPENSATION.

The policy of the Government toward the Indian tribes had uniformly been to treat them as occupants of the soil. Before attempting any survey or disposal for occupancy it has always negotiated with them through treaty for a cession of the right of occupancy, and then compensated them. They are never recognized as the owners of their lands, hence they are powerless to transfer any rights to the soil. This was early held to be the law by the Supreme Court of the United States. The sovereignty of the United States over and its fee to much of the territory in possession of the Indians was originally acquired from the crown. It held its title by conquest, and transferred its rights to the United States, subject only to the right of occupancy as before, but as to this the transfer also included the absolute right of extinguishment. The British Government constantly asserted this right and title as to all the lands occupied by Indians in the American colonies. In speaking generally on this subject Chancellor Kent says:

It is a settled doctrine with us that all valid individual title to land within the United States is derived from grants from or under the authority of the Governments of England, Sweden, Holland, France, Spain, Russia, Mexico, the chartered and crown colonies, or the Government of the United States and the several States of the Union. (3 Kent, 5; note *a*.)

This right nations originally acquired by the power of the sword. While it is true that a more humanitarian policy appertains in the conduct of the conqueror to the conquered in general with a recognition of certain former property rights, and often of customs and local or municipal laws, yet it was found that as to the Indians, with their savage modes, their wild, untrained, and nomadic life, and their unyielding indisposition to commingle with and be governed by the new society, a different policy was unavoidable. The right, therefore, of eminent domain in the Government, as well as right to the soil, is no longer disputed as to the Indian lands.

With equal authority there is conceded for the Indians the right to compensation for lands peaceably taken, by which we mean for their occupation right.

EXTINGUISH INDIAN TITLE BEFORE SETTLEMENT.

It is thus seen that the right of occupancy in the Indians is not indefeasible, but can be extinguished. This can be done either by conquest or purchase. To divest the Indians of their right of occupancy, and to deprive them of their homes and hunting grounds without either a peaceable purchase in the interest of civilization and the necessities of society and civil government or through the hostile and warring conduct of the Indians themselves, would call upon any government the severe condemnation of the world. The pre-emption act, that first great law of the disposal of the public domain by settlement and purchase, sacredly reserved its operation "from lands to which the Indian title had not been extinguished."

THE DONATION LAW CONFLICTS WITH INDIAN RIGHTS.

In the case of the donation law no such exception was retained, and it marks the first formal deviation of the Government from its old and well established rule and policy. It even authorized under it the settlement of unsurveyed lands, which under the old pre-emption law was not recognized. It was therefore a violation of all precedent, usage, and law, and an evasion of a conceded right of occupancy, and the Government thus by its own act invited the conflict which ensued.

In the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River it was, even at that early period, provided that—

The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded, or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress.

The donation act to Oregon was, in view of this polity of the Government, a flagrant disregard of an acknowledged right. The Indian war veterans of Oregon, in their memorial to Congress for the payment of their long and unjustly delayed claims for expenses in the Indian wars of 1855–'56 in the Pacific northeast, confirms the opinion here expressed in the following language:

In the donation act the Government departed from its usual policy and made no such exception. That this has been a fruitful source of difficulty there can be no doubt. It is well understood from experience with the Indians of other States that they always claimed the land on which they resided.

Again they say:

As far back as 1835 the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains protested against the taking away of their lands by the white race; that this was one of the causes of the murder of Dr. Whitman and family.

INDIAN TRIBES AROUSED TO HOSTILITY.

They justly complained of this conduct in thus divesting them of their rights and appropriating their lands for white man's settlement without the sanction of treaty or negotiation and without compensation, and they bitterly resented the settlements made under such authority. Promises were freely given them that payment would soon be made for their lands taken. Many unfortunate delays occurred in attempts at negotiation, and this only increased their suspicion and added to their animosity. Treaties were finally concluded, but ratification was declined by the Government. This again increased the distrust. Still settlements continued under the laws of Congress.

The lands of the Indians were being taken from them under form of law; treaties made were ignored, and payments promised were not forthcoming. The Indian agents officially notified the authorities at Washington of the growing and imminent danger, and predicted calamitous results unless negotiations were concluded with the tribes without further delays. With no adequate military protection in the country the Government might well have taken notice of the dreadful consequences should war occur between the Indians and the defenseless whites. It had ample notice of the impending danger.

On November 1, 1855, United States Agent Olney notified the governor of Oregon:

That the Cayuses were determined upon war; that they were only waiting for the young men that are out in the buffalo country; that they expected the Nez Percés and Spokanes to join them, when they intended to come down in a mass upon The Dalles. * * * I am more and more inclined every day to the belief that the Spokanes, Nez Percés, and Cayuses will go to war with us as soon as they can fix for it.

On October 3, 1855, General Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reports as follows:

There can no longer be any doubt as to the hostile intention of the Yakimas and Klikitats, nor can there be of Agent Bolan's death, and that he was killed by direction of Kamiokin. He was shot by the son of Owhi, and then by the aid of three others seized and his throat cut. They then shot his horse and made a fire over both and burned them up. Word was then conveyed to all the surrounding bands informing them of what had been done and requesting them to unite with them in hostilities against the whites. * * *

In another part of his report he says:

If our troops should be repulsed, we may expect a protracted war.

As was predicted by the Indian agents, hostilities commenced. The Government was without adequate force, and the commander of the Department of the Columbia and Puget Sound, Major Raines, United States Army, submitted to the Territorial Governors Curry and Mason his requisition for volunteers. The United States Indian agent at Walla Walla officially notified Governor Curry, as follows:

I beg to draw your attention to the fact of all the Indians north and south of the Columbia, this side of the Nez Perces and Spokanes, having either commenced open hostilities upon the whites or are concentrating their forces for that purpose.

In concluding he says:

The regular force now in the country I do not consider sufficient for the protection of the settlers and the chastisement of the Indians. Delay is ruinous; decisive steps must be taken immediately.

By this time the war was general, and had extended to Southern Oregon and along the coast. The major-general commanding the forces on the Pacific reported to the General-in-Chief of the United States Army as follows:

In Washington Territory there appears to be an extensive combination of hostile tribes, which a check unfortunately given to Brevet Major Hallet with a small command may possibly cause to extend yet to other tribes. The Yakimas, Walla Wallas, Klikitats, Des Chutes, and Cayusas are doubtless in arms. They have been excited by fears at seeing their country rapidly filling up with settlers and miners, lest their fate shall be like that of the California Indians, and hope to exterminate the whites at a blow. * * * It will not be safe to move any more of the troops from their present positions, but I shall endeavor to avoid the necessity of recognizing volunteers in the United States service.

GOVERNMENT NEGLECTS TO PROTECT.

The department commander of the Pacific was at that time General John E. Wool. The memorial of the Oregon Legislature to this Congress represents that in no other Indian war on the Pacific coast, and in a few if any others elsewhere in the past half century, have there been any near comparison of the number of Indians engaged that there were in the war of 1855–'56 in Oregon and Washington Territories. The Indian tribes in Oregon and Washington Territories were estimated to number forty thousand, while to protect the settlers scattered over hundreds of miles from California to British Columbia there were not to exceed seven hundred and forty-one soldiers of the regular Army, and stationed at five different forts, none of them within 100 miles of each other. With this meager distribution of his troops in a country where forty thousand Indians were plunging into hostilities and the official agents calling for help, he coolly announces to the General-in-Chief at Washington:

It will not be safe to move any more of the troops from their present positions.

The general admits the further neglect of the Government to protect the property of the people and to defend the settlers when he says:

I am now with my staff actively preparing an expedition. This, however, after a critical inspection of the troops, supplies, etc., I find can not be accomplished as soon as I could wish, owing to the want of a sufficient number of troops, the means of transportation, and the want of clothing for the Fourth Infantry.

Then again he says:

Under such circumstances, before re-enforcements could be received from the East, or authority to call for volunteers, which would occasion a delay of at least two months and a half, the Indians in a general war might inflict an irreparable injury on the country, for it would be utterly impossible with my limited means to guard and protect so extended a country at all points at the same moment.

ITS NEGLECT AND BAD FAITH BRING ON THE WAR.

The act of the Government in the first instance in disposing of the Indian lands to settlers, guarantying patent title in gross contempt of the Indian right of occupancy which had so uniformly and so scrupulously been observed in all former transactions with the Indians, was of itself an aggravation sufficient to incite war. This could well have been foreseen. The Government was therefore criminally in neglect when it invited its citizens under its guaranties to settle in that country with their families and at the same time failed to provide an adequate military force with which to maintain its compact to the settler and protect him from the fury of the outraged Indians whose homes had been without treaty transferred by the Government to its own white settlers and citizens.

The conflicts between the two parties became more frequent. It was common news to hear of pack trains assailed and fired into or robbed, mining camps attacked, property driven off, and many a poor settler found dead in his remote cabin. It was thus that the cloud which had been so long gathering at last burst in all its horrors upon the ill-fated and unprotected settlements. The war cry of the Indians was: "The whites must be exterminated." By preconcert of action hostilities were commenced and carried on all along the coast. Women and children forted up while the men formed in companies to fight the foe who had burned their homes, destroyed their property, and massacred the defenseless settlers.

The entire history, sir, of the Western frontier is indeed but one sad recital of sacrifice and suffering by those who pitched their tents and anchored their future hopes in faith of governmental protection. We recall in my own State many a melancholy instance. None is better remembered than the story of poor John Geisel and his family. Emigrating from their comfortable home in the East they crossed the continent by sea and land, and selected their home on the beautiful prairies, near Rogue River, in view of the surging waves of the Pacific Ocean. Here, on the trail between California and Oregon, they established a cozy home and inn, with far more than the usual comforts of the frontier settler. In the precious sand by the seashore John Geisel delved and washed for the shining gold. On the prairies their horses and cattle peaceably grazed, and in the household the diligent family prepared the meals and lodgings for the dreary wayfarer in his travels along the coast. All was busy, and thrift followed industry. Indians roamed at will, by consent of the Government agent, who assured the white settlers that all was safe. But, alas! when good-will seemed most assured, danger was most to be feared. On the bright moonlight night of February 22, 1856, when John Geisel and family were in sound slumber, they were aroused at the hour of 12 o'clock by loud rapping at the door. Unconscious of danger Geisel arose from his bed and going to the door opened it, when like a flash he was seized by several stalwart Indians, and deadly blows inflicted upon him. His terror-stricken wife rushed to the rescue, but only in time to receive in her arms the falling and mangled body of her dead husband. In vain she struggled with the ruffians—in vain she cried for mercy. A moment more and she was securely bound, placed with her little daughter and tender infant, and admonished to be passive or she should suffer death. One by one her three little boys were led from their beds and, amid her suppliant cries and their heart-rending appeals, massacred in her presence.

Robbing the dwelling of its most valuable contents the captors then applied the torch to its framework, and there in that horrid night and before her agonizing gaze the house with her dearest treasures on earth were all burned to ashes and cinders. The happy home was ended—its joys forever gone! Barefooted and in her night-robe she marched the weary hours toward her place of captivity. Each dwelling along their pathway was set on fire, property destroyed, and when the defenseless inhabitants were at home they were surprised and saf-

fered cruel death and mutilation. Far in the distance could be seen the lurid light of some burning cabin. At dawn of day, foot-sore, heart-broken, fainting, and hopeless, the captive mother, with her children, arrived at the Indian village of the Toot-toot-nas, where, after undergoing unspeakable indignities, exposure, suffering, and terror, they were ransomed by the white settlers who were forted up on the river below. This heroine still survives, esteemed by all who know her. Her petition is before this Congress for aid. The Government can never restore her lost ones; it can never bring back the home in ashes; it can never recall the departed bliss of the once united family; but it can indemnify her for her property destroyed. A favorable committee report is submitted to this House in her behalf. In declining years, in feeble health, in diminished means, she asks for justice. Shall she have it?

Nor need we recite at length, as to another portion of the State, the sad fate of George W. Harris. Busy on his newly-settled farm, he and his son were suddenly attacked by murderous Indians of the Rogue River tribes. Massacreing the boy they inflicted a mortal wound upon the father. He rushed to the house to alarm his family, and falling at the threshold his wife and daughter hastily dragged him within and barred the door, and there, while slowly dying, he instructed them how to load and aim the rifle. Mrs. Harris bravely held the foe in check, waiting and watching for deliverance, which after twenty-four hours happily arrived in the brave volunteers who came to rescue the imperiled settlers. Burying her dead, they hurried from the scene and had barely passed out of view when the Indians emerged from their ambush, near by, and burned the dwelling and barns, and destroyed and carried off the most valuable of the property on the farm. The heirs of Mary A. Harris are also before Congress. They too ask for justice! I have not the time to narrate to the country the numerous other instances of frontier suffering. It is a long list. But the struggles are over; the victims are at rest, and the survivors will soon follow.

The unyielding and desperate courage displayed by the Indians, the murderous atrocities committed, their well-organized and equipped condition, their numbers and discipline for a long time made the result an uncertain one. The Government slowly came to the rescue, although the brave volunteeers organized from among the settlers had already turned the tide of battle, and the close was reached of a struggle which had become famed over the nation, and which for heroic daring, individual gallantry, bitter sacrifices, and tremendous losses in proportion to the people involved is seldom equaled in the great conflicts which have taken place in America in the struggle for the supremacy of the white race over the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Hostilities of later years have also their sad histories and their great sacrifices.

IT MUST PAY THE DAMAGES.

Eastern Representatives have in the past utterly failed to comprehend the justness of these claims for indemnity on the part of the Government, and occasional relief has been granted with a reluctant and sparing hand; but we now cherish a hope that with the light of the accumulated testimony before us payments will be made for all depredations by Indians in States or Territories and that a more just as well as generous sentiment will prevail. The Government is able to pay these claims; it has guarantied to do it; they are just and worthy; and the long-established law and good conscience too all demand that further delays should cease and an honorable adjustment be had, and thereby the integrity of the nation maintained, while even-handed justice is at last done to its deserving and long-waiting citizens.

Pension Bills.

SPEECH

OF

HON. COURTLAND C. MATSON,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 28, 1888.

Mr. MATSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I wish to make some statements relating to pension matters in a very plain way.

The subject is one of interest to all the people, made so by the very large and increasing expenditures in that direction, and is of peculiar interest and importance to those who are now, and to others who hope to be, beneficiaries of our very liberal system.

A great number of new propositions have been urged upon Congress. I shall not undertake to enumerate them, nor to even suggest the scope of their provisions. It is enough to say that they are divisible into two classes—those which undertake to remedy and correct the inequalities and injustice of existing laws, and those which propose additional pensions.

Many of them I would be glad to see placed upon the statute-book, and yet hope that before this session ends they may have the deliberate and respectful consideration which their importance demands, and if they fail to receive this it shall be through no fault of mine.

Chief among them are two great measures. They are known as the dependent pension bill and the arrears proposition.

The history of a recent attempt to relieve the unfortunate soldiers of the Union who are without pensions, and who are so disabled as to render it impossible for them to procure a subsistence by manual labor, is familiar to the members of this House and to the people of the country. It would be unprofitable to go over that well-fought field again or to recur to the dispute as to whether the bill was properly framed and well guarded. It remains to us now as a reminiscence only.

But there is a pending proposition in Congress, and to that we can address ourselves both with profit and I hope with interest.

The bill, which passed both Houses and which was vetoed by the President, was finally disposed of by Congress in the latter part of February, 1887. In the following September the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic met at St. Louis, Mo., and the subject was then carefully and thoughtfully considered. A bill was framed which, in the judgment of that body, would obviate the objections made by the President in his veto message, and it was urged upon Congress at the opening of this session. I wish here to read the section of the vetoed bill relating to dependent soldiers, and also the section of the bill submitted by the Grand Army relating to the same subject.

The second section of the vetoed bill is in the following language:

SEC. 2. That all persons who served three months or more in the military or naval service of the United States in any war in which the United States has been engaged, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or who may hereafter be suffering from mental or physical disability, not the result of their own vicious habits or gross carelessness, which incapacitates them for the performance of labor in such a degree as to render them unable to earn a support, and who are dependent upon their daily labor for support, shall, upon making due proof of the fact according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide in pursuance of this act, be placed on the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive, for such total inability to procure their subsistence by daily labor, $12 per month; and such pension shall commence from the date of the filing of the application in the Pension Office, upon proof that the disability then existed, and continue during the existence of the same in the degree herein provided: *Provided*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under existing laws, or whose claims are pending in the Pension Office, may, by application to the Commissioner of Pensions, in such forms as he may prescribe, receive the benefits of this act; but nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to allow more than one pension at the same time to the same person, or pension to commence prior to the passage of this act: *And provided further*, That rank in the service shall not be considered in applications filed thereunder.

The second section of the Grand Army bill reads as follows:

SEC. 2. That all persons who served three months or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or may hereafter be suffering from mental or physical disability, not the result of their own vicious habits, which totally incapacitates them for the performance of manual labor, shall, upon making due proof of the fact according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive $12 per month; and such pension shall commence from the date of the filing of the application in the Pension Office, after the passage of this act, upon proof that the disability then existed, and shall continue during the existence of the same in the degree herein specified: *Provided*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under existing laws, or whose claims are pending in the Pension Office, may, by application to the Commissioner of Pensions, in such form as he may prescribe, receive the benefits of this act; and nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent any pensioner thereunder from prosecuting his claim and receiving his pension under any other general or special act: *Provided, however*, That no person shall receive more than one pension for the same period: *And provided further*, That rank in the service shall not be considered in applications filed thereunder.

A comparison will readily demonstrate the only substantial difference between these two sections to be that the condition of dependence is eliminated from the Grand Army bill; and that great and most important of all soldier organizations manifestly arrived at the deliberate conclusion that with the dependent condition out of it, it could not be reasonably opposed by any one.

This Grand Army bill passed the Senate on the 8th day of March, 1888, but with the insertion of these words as a condition upon which a pension could be obtained: "and who are without adequate means of self-support," so that the bill was made by the Senate almost in identical language the bill which had been vetoed by the President. And thus it came to the House and was there referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, of which I have the honor to be chairman. A majority of that committee reported to the House a substitute for this proposition, which I wish here to read, and is in this language:

That all persons who have served in the military or naval service in any war in which the United States has been engaged, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now or who may hereafter be suffering from mental or physical disability, not the result of their own vicious habits, which totally incapacitates them for the performance of manual labor, shall, upon making due proof of these facts, according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States and be entitled to receive a pension at the rate per month of 1 cent for each day's service in the military or naval service of the United States during any of the wars in which the United States has been engaged, and all persons who have served as aforesaid, and have been honorably discharged as aforesaid, and are now sixty-two years of age shall also be entitled to be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners as aforesaid and paid a pension for and during their natural lives at the rate aforesaid; and all other persons who have served as aforesaid and have been discharged as aforesaid, and who are not of the age of sixty-two years, shall, upon becoming of the age of sixty-two years, be entitled to be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners as aforesaid, and paid a pension from and after that period, for and during their

natural lives, at the rate aforesaid; and such pensions shall commence from the date of the filing of the application in the Pension Office after the passage of this act; and in cases where allowed for disability, upon proof that the disability then existed and continues during the existence of the same in the degree herein provided: *Provided*, That persons who are now receiving pensions under existing laws, or whose claims are pending in the Pension Office, may, by application to the Commissioner of Pensions in such forms as he may prescribe, receive the benefits of this act; but nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to allow more than one pension at the same time to one person: *And provided further*, That this act shall not be so construed as to repeal, modify, or in any way change the law relating to invalid or service pensions, nor shall rank in the service be considered in applications filed under this act.

The scope of this substitute, it will be seen at a glance, is broader than either referred to before. It gives a pension not only to those who are disabled from earning a subsistence by manual labor, but also to all those survivors of the late civil war who fought for the Union and were honorably discharged who are now sixty-two years of age or over, and to all others as they become sixty-two years old. It is unlike the vetoed bill and the Senate bill in that no proof of a condition of dependence is required, and it is unlike the Grand Army bill only in the rate of pension fixed. It recognizes the per diem rate, that is 1 cent per month for each day's service of the soldier. The gist and the pith of all this class of bills was to relieve against a present disability without reference to the time and place of its incurrence, provided only it is not the result of vicious habits. It was to be given wholly on account of the service of the soldier, and therefore it was believed to be just and equitable to make that pension rate according to his service. So that he who served one year would get a rate of $3.65 per month, and he who served four years four times that sum or $14.60 per month. A uniform rate of $12 per month was fixed by all the other bills referred to without any regard to the length of the service of the soldier.

It can be well remembered by those who observed the contest over the vetoed bill that one of the strongest objections urged against it is that it proposed to pension the short-term, large-bounty men, who enlisted near the close of the war, upon the same basis as those who went through all the hardships and suffering of the greatest and most protracted war of modern times. The per diem rate gives to each soldier according to the length of his service, and if a small pension only was obtained it was solely due to the shortness of his service. The objection to this rating has been made that some would not get enough pension to give full relief, and yet if each is pensioned precisely as all his comrades for disabilities not incurred in the service, and according to his service, could he justly complain?

It must be borne in mind that this pension is not for any disability contracted in the service. If it was the length of service should of course not be considered, for the man who incurred a disability the day after he entered the service is clearly entitled to as much as one who suffered the same disability near the end of a long term. These considerations can be confidently submitted to the candid judgment of a just and liberal people, and I believe will meet the approval of that large body of the survivors of those who defended the Union, who I know believe in even-handed justice between comrades as well as between citizens.

I am quite well aware that some of the most conspicuous of the newspapers assuming to be the organs of the soldiers assailed the rate fixed by the last bill, but subsequently they became clamorous for its passage, and others have maintained its justness from the very beginning of the agitation of this question.

If this principle is established now it is not too much to expect that it will obtain in the universal pension bill, which all admit is fast approaching and sure to become a law.

The condition of dependence was eliminated by the Democratic majority of the House committee and the bill made to apply to all who are disabled, and so that which the great representative body of the ex-soldiers regarded as obnoxious and offensive was willingly remedied; and upon this question the substitute proposed may be fairly considered to be, as far as expressed, the policy of the Democratic party, while the Senate bill, with a condition of dependence necessary to be proven to entitle one to a pension, may be justly said to be the policy of the Republican party upon this great issue.

I say this because such a bill not only met the approval of the Republican Senate, but again was indorsed by all the Republican members of the House committee.

Some corollary and other minor propositions were connected with the one I have discussed, but I have set out here the issue, and the only issue upon this question of relief to the soldiers, and need not weary you by a discussion of the others.

And now, Mr. Chairman, let us consider this great question of the payment of arrears of pensions, from which so many instinctively shrink and at the thought of which some great men seem to fear and shudder for the future of the people. Let us look it squarely in the face. I am for it upon the ground of justice. I place my advocacy of it upon the great underlying American principle of equality. I do not assert that it was part of the contract made with the soldier, for I am aware that there was no statute in force at the time of the service that gave arrears to the date of the beginning of the disability, or to the date of discharge, or in cases of widows and dependents to the date of death.

Indeed, I know there have been varying laws upon this subject ever since the war. so that some pensions began at the date of filing the application, others at the date of filing the last evidence, and still others, as in special-act cases, at the date of the passage of the act. And yet I believe that if a man is entitled to a pension for a disability he is, in all justice and equity, entitled to it during the period of that disability, and that the Government should not prescribe a limitation upon the assertion of his right. This, I think, is only naked, absolute justice. But if the doctrine of the waiver of a right could intervene in such a case, I submit that as the Government by its own act relieved the larger portion of the pensioners by the acts of 1879 it can not now refuse those who have since then established their claims.

I assert that among the two hundred thousand claims filed since the 1st of July, 1880, many of them are for serious gunshot wounds received in battle, and I can recall within my own personal recollection a number of cases of that kind. They withheld their claims for various reasons—some through a false pride, some through ignorance, and others because they had no need of pensions. Shall they now be treated less justly because of these reasons? Are they not entitled to be paid as others have been paid for past suffering and past disability? Where is the justice of a refusal upon our part to deal with them as we have dealt with their comrades? Not only in the acts of 1879, but at this very session of Congress this just principle was again recognized, and it was provided, in the general appropriation bill, that all the pensions of widows should be paid from the date of the death of the husband.

How can we deny to the soldier that which we ourselves have conceded to the widows, that their titles shall continue and not be barred by any statute of limitations upon the part of the Government? Logic, justice, equality, and consistency in legislation demand it. The present condition of the public Treasury justifies it, and public sentiment will uphold it, as it has heretofore every measure based upon right principle and for the benefit of those who have rendered valuable service to the people.

But it has been represented that this bill antagonizes the progress of tariff reform, and that the enactment of this law would be hostile to the Mills bill.

I am now and have been constantly since that overshadowing issue was made a consistent and earnest friend of every measure that has been proposed for relief from overtaxation. I yield to no one in devotion to this cause, for I believe it to be the cause of all the people, and the soldiers are only a part of the great body politic.

I believed when I reported this measure that there was enough money in the Treasury not needed by the Government to pay arrears in all cases adjudicated where arrears have not been paid, and I had learned that the reduction proposed by the bill was not equal to the surplus heretofore collected each year, and so if the bill, wise and conservative as I believed it to be, became a law there would then be probably collected each year a surplus sufficient to pay the arrears upon other claims as they were adjudicated.

But if there should be a deficit when the surplus was exhausted, I had in mind a proposition which was in the last Congress for two days urged by my party upon the House, and against which the Republicans filibustered, intended to create a tax upon large incomes, out of which these extraordinary pension demands might be paid; and I said then, and I repeat here now, that I regard such a movement as eminently just, and that the men who became rich during the war should be made, even at this late hour, to bear their fair share of its burdens.

You will bear with me a lively recollection of how forcibly the great Speaker of this House, almost the original leader of the great movement for a reform of our taxes, said on the 19th of May last:

> When the Government has collected or is collecting more money than it needs, the people, realizing the injustice of a policy which unnecessarily deprives them of a part of their earnings, are almost sure to demand its return in some form or other. And so they do now. The problem of getting rid of the surplus now in the Treasury, and that which is sure to be collected hereafter, is one that must command the best thought of our wisest statesmenship.

Here is an object that I believe is sooner or later to be accomplished, because its demands are based upon justice and equality. There is a precedent for it. It will disburse the money in small sums, and goes directly to the people and quickly reaches all the avenues of trade. It goes to those who will spend it, because they need it. It would go out of the Treasury gradually and so would not unduly stimulate business. Its demands are not a continuing charge, and other needed legislation in the direction of a reduction of taxation could go on, for this deals only with what we have as a surplus in the Treasury and what we should in the interest of the whole people get out again into circulation.

I agree that without this legislation the best use we can make of the surplus is to pay it out on the public debt. But if we are to pay each month nearly five millions in premiums over and above principal and accrued interest under this policy, as it was shown by the speech of the distinguished speaker just referred to was done from the 17th day of April last to the following 17th of May, then before any of our

debt is due we will have paid in premiums to the bondholders, that no one will claim is due them, nearly or quite enough to pay this just debt to the soldiers of the country. The value of the bulk of our bonds was by a simple resolution once increased so that they became of a greater value than before of all the cost of arrears paid or proposed. Having submitted to that, do you believe that this great people will hesitate to justify this payment to their defenders?

I have reported this great measure of relief in both Congresses prior to this one. I abide by my judgment now, and I follow the promptings of my heart, that has always been in sympathy with the just demands of my comrades. I have left nothing undone that I could do to promote this and other measures of pension legislation. And if any gentleman can suggest anything that I can do to further this measure that I have not done I will be obliged to him, and if he can suggest any thing that I can do on the floor of this House since I have reported these bills and put them in the hands of the House that he has not the same power to do, I shall feel further obliged to him.

What is the history of your party, my Republican friends, upon the question of a repeal of the acts of limitation of 1879? At Chicago, on the 5th day of June, 1884, your party in national convention assembled gave to the country a declaration of principles and from that I quote the following:

> The Republican party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears acts of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

Here is a distinct, emphatic, and most solemn promise from the highest authority in your party to the support of this proposition. From that moment to this the Republican party has had a working majority in the Senate of the United States, and its committees are in the control of that party, and yet not a single step has been taken in that body to carry out this important pledge to the soldiers. Such legislation can as well originate in the Senate as in the House, and you will hear loud claims for legislation that has originated there. Other pension measures have passed the Senate, and some have had frequent consideration, but this one has not only not passed, but has never even been reported to the Senate, although one at least of the Senators from my own State [Mr. VOORHEES] has introduced the measure, and probably other Senators have also.

But upon one occasion, and that just one week after the solemn promise of the party made at Chicago, when an amendment intended to accomplish this great object was offered on another pension bill then being considered, under the leadership of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. JOHN SHERMAN] it was stricken down never to rise again. In the course of debate upon this proposition Senator SHERMAN then said, and I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 68, page 5050:

> I think a pension ought to commence when the application is filed; that is the true principle, and I shall vote for that.

And upon the same subject he said:

> The quotation of a political platform will not change my views.

Many other specific promises of this kind relating to arrears and other pension matters have been made in State and local Republican platforms, and how faithfully they have been kept the record of the United States Senate, where that party has held undisputed control, will truthfully attest.

I fearlessly assert, Mr. Chairman, that the whole history of politics in this country does not supply so glaring a case of hypocrisy and inconsistency as is shown by the record of the Republicans upon this question, and to which I have invited the attention of the House and the country.

On the 12th of last month the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] said in a speech to this House that it would not do to point out what had been done for the soldiers under a Democratic administration; that the record of what had been done was not what was demanded, and that no promises were held out to them for the future in the recent Democratic national platform. That may be true, and if so it only shows that their disappointment arises from the fact that they have been taught to rely upon the promises of the Democratic party.

But even the distinguished gentleman from Ohio will not assert that they could rely upon the resolves of his party after it has made such a record upon this question of arrears, and the party at its recent national convention seemed to recognize the futility of attempting to deceive them further, and carefully abstained from any specific promises to the soldier in its national platform of this year.

But really, Mr. Chairman, I submit that a record of substantial benefits accomplished under Democratic rule will be much more satisfactory than a record of fulsome promises, recklessly disregarded by the Republicans, and believing that the honest and deserving ex-soldiers of the Republic desire to know what has been done, and are willing to make up their judgments upon the records of the two parties. I submit here a succinct and clear statement, which gives a comparison of the administration of the Pension Office for three years under the administration of each party.

These figures are taken from the official records and have been supplied to me by the honorable Commissioner of Pensions, and show the work of that office for the last three years under Republican rule and the succeeding three years of the control of that office by the present able, liberal, patriotic, and earnest Democrat, General John C. Black, appointed by President Cleveland in the earliest days of his administration, and since then continuously administering that great trust. And to accompany this as a part of the work of a Democratic administration I submit a statement showing the acts of the present great Chief Executive in his approval of general and special pension legislation. I submit it to the House, to the people, and particularly to the ex-soldiers as proof, and the best possible proof, of the friendliness of a Democratic President and his administration.

Oratory appeals to passion and to prejudice, and the high-sounding resolutions of political conventions are not to be compared to the great facts set out in this statement. They need no comment; they speak for themselves, and are enough to set at rest the fears that some political alarmist may try to awaken for partisan purposes and for use in a hard-fought campaign. Look at these figures and find in them any evidence of the unfriendliness which political opponents are so free to charge. It is easy to make the charge, but where is the proof of it?

And I ask your attention in this connection to the work of the special examination division, a statement of which is given for the last two years under the Republicans and the first two years under the Democrats, and the striking fact that it cost about four times as much to examine a case in the first period than it did in the last. More than that, where is the charge of any partisan use of their places under this administration? There is no whisper from any source of such a charge, while it was shown by an investigation near the close of the Forty-eighth Congress that in the campaign of 1884 this corps of officers was used largely for political work, and the worst outrages upon the rights of the claimants were perpetrated by these sworn officers of the law in order to secure the ends of the Republican party, by whose favor they were placed in office. I attach to my remarks the statement from which I have quoted and mark it exhibit "A."

Mr. Chairman, I would have been glad, if I had time, to have called attention to other matters of interest to the ex-soldiers of the Republic, but I can say in a word that all the measures recommended and urged by the Grand Army of the Republic have been reported to the House and are now upon the Calendars for its action. Let me suggest that whatever defects there may be in the pension laws are the legacies of Republican rule. No party during or since the civil war has had the power to enact any law except the Republican party. From the 4th of March, 1861, to the 4th of March, 1875, there was undisputed sway; and again from the 4th of March, 1881, to the 4th of March, 1883, there was a Republican majority in both branches of Congress and a Republican President was in the executive chair.

At no time since the 4th of March, 1861, has the Democratic party been charged with the full responsibility of Government. The ridiculous rates given in some cases where the fractions of a cent are computed, and of which my distinguished colleague General HOVEY saw fit on the floor of this House recently to complain so bitterly, are the results of laws enacted while the Republican party had full control of the Government. When he holds these up to the contempt he is simply displaying the wrongs done to the soldiers by his own party.

One other subject, Mr. Chairman, and I am done. Much has been said, and some bitterness manifested toward the President on account of his vetoes of private pension bills. There is room for a difference of opinion upon many of these bills, but there is no reason for the abuse and hostile criticism of the Chief Executive so freely indulged in. They allege that the tone of his messages is unkind and unfriendly to the soldiers. I deny it. I have stood in a relation to this matter to be able to know the feelings of the President, and to ascertain the fact that he has given the subjects of our legislation the most thoughtful, conscientious, and deliberate study. He is required by the Constitution which he has sworn to preserve, protect, and defend, to either approve every bill which has passed Congress or to return it with his objections to the House in which it originated.

His objections in cases of private pension bills read very much like the adverse reports of the Pension Committees of both Houses of Congress. If gentlemen who indulge in these harsh criticisms of the President will glance at the adverse reports made to the Senate and the House, many of them made by Republicans, they will find the same tone of expression, kind of language, adverse to the claimant and his case necessarily, which they denounce in the President's vetoes. When a question is submitted for decision and the judgment is adverse the reasons for the decision upon the facts can not be put in a way to be agreeable to the claimant, and the President is required by the Constitution to give his reasons.

Recently I saw in the Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette of the 7th instant an article severely condemning the President for one of his vetoes, upon the ground that he had advertised a major, who had served

honorably, as a drunkard, and had vetoed his bill upon that ground. If you care to look at the adverse reports made to Congress, I will cite you to House Report 2276, Forty-ninth Congress, made by my amiable Republican friend and colleague upon the Committee on Invalid Pensions, the constant and sincere champion of the rights and interests of his comrades upon the floor of the House and elsewhere, Maj. E. N. MORRILL, of Kansas, in which he advertised John Benson, a soldier, not a major, it is true, in the same way; and he did just right, because he could do nothing else, having found in that the ground of his adverse decision.

And so the President in the discharge of his duty, not with malice or ill-will towards the claimant, but with a desire to do his duty only, states the facts upon which he founded his objections. I challenge any of his loud accusers to show any single instance in which he has animadverted unnecessarily against the claimant. When this wholesale charge is made, ask for the specification. Let the case be cited, and the facts and the criticism go together.

All this is for political effect and is intended by those who resort to it to make Republicans out of Democratic ex-soldiers, and to get their votes in the coming election upon a false issue and in which there is no politics, and I say it in all kindness, the soldier-citizen that has no more political principle than to allow his vote to be controlled by such paltry considerations, such base and unfounded appeals to his prejudice, will make a better Republican than he ever was a Democrat.

The fair-minded and intelligent survivors of our late civil war who stood on the side of the Union must well understand this specious and deceitful appeal, and I repeat for the purpose of emphasis that there may be room for a difference of opinion upon some of these vetoed bills, but there is no ground for the reckless charge made by political opponents for the purpose of appealing to the passions and prejudices of the ex-soldiers.

I also wish to publish with my remarks some statements showing the rapid increase of both the number and the rates of pensions paid in the State of Indiana. This, too, comes from an official source, and is attested by the indorsement of the gallant soldier and efficient officer, Col. Charles A. Zollinger, pension agent at Indianapolis.

Read the record I give you, taken from the official files, and say upon your consciences whether this has been an administration friendly to the ex-Union soldiers, when it shows a more rapid increase towards liberality than was ever known before in the history of the Government. I leave it for the fair consideration of those who are willing to be just.

The Democratic party and its present administration need have no fear of the judgment of the impartial historian upon this subject, nor upon any of the great steps it has taken in the direction of reform for the benefit of the whole people.

EXHIBIT A.

LAST THREE YEARS OF DUDLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

Claims admitted, fiscal year 1883:	
Original	38,162
Increase	22,746
Miscellaneous	796
Total	61,704
Claims admitted, fiscal year 1884:	
Original	34,192
Increase	22,517
Miscellaneous	1,221
Total	57,930
Claims admitted, fiscal year 1885:	
Original	35,767
Increase	33,985
Miscellaneous	1,835
Total	71,587
Grand total, claims admitted for three years	191,221

FIRST THREE YEARS OF BLACK'S ADMINISTRATION.

Claims admitted, fiscal year 1886:	
Original	40,857
Increase	113,271
Miscellaneous	2,229
Total	156,357
Claims admitted fiscal year 1887:	
Original	55,194
Increase	32,107
Miscellaneous	2,707
Total	90,008
Claims admitted fiscal year 1888:	
Original	60,173
Increase	35,795
Miscellaneous	17,119
Total	113,087
Grand total claims admitted for three years	359,452

Excess of certificates issued during first three fiscal years of Commissioner Black's administration of the Pension Bureau over the number issued during the last three years of Commissioner Dudley's administration	168,231

NET INCREASE TO PENSION-ROLL.

Fiscal year 1883	17,961
Fiscal year 1884	19,098
Fiscal year 1885	22,369
Total	59,428
Fiscal year 1886	20,658
Fiscal year 1887	40,224
Fiscal year 1888 (approximate)	44,993
Total	105,875
Excess of net increase during first three years of Commissioner Black's administration over that of the last three years of Commissioner Dudley's administration	46,447

FUNDS DISBURSED ON ACCOUNT OF PENSIONS.

Fiscal year 1883	$60,431,972.85
Fiscal year 1884	57,273,536.74
Fiscal year 1885	65,693,706.72
Total	183,399,216.81
Fiscal year 1886	$64,584,270.45
Fiscal year 1887	74,815,486.85
Fiscal year 1888 (approximate)	78,000,000.00
Total	217,399,757.30
Excess of disbursements during first three years of Commissioner Black's administration over the amount disbursed during last three years of Commissioner Dudley's administration	$34,000,540.99

The total number of new names (original certificates) added to the rolls during the last three fiscal years of Commissioner Dudley's administration, which include the names of 15,906 new names added to the rolls by General Black from March 17, 1885, to June 30, 1885, the last three and one-half months of the fiscal year 1885, was 108,121.

The total number of new names added to the rolls during the first three fiscal years of General Black's administration as Commissioner of Pensions, from July 1, 1885, to June 30, 1888, was 156,226. If we add to this 156,226 the 15,906 new names put upon the rolls by General Black from March 17, 1885, the day on which he assumed charge of the Pension Bureau, to June 30, 1885, it makes a total of 172,132 new names added to the rolls since Commissioner Black assumed charge of the Pension Bureau.

GENERAL PENSION ACTS.

Now let us see what President Cleveland, in his official capacity, has done for ex-Union soldiers, their widows, orphans, and dependent relatives.

He approved the act of March 19, 1886, which has increased to $12 per month the pension of 102,568 widows, minors, and dependent relatives of Union soldiers. The total annual increase in money granted to these 102,568 pensioners by reason of his signing this act of March 19, 1886, is $4,923,264.

He approved the act of August 4, 1886, which has increased the pension of 10,092 crippled and maimed Union soldiers of the late war from $24 to $30, from $30 to $36, and from $30 and $37.50 to $45 per month. The total annual increase in money granted to the 10,092 pensioners by reason of his signing this act of August 4, 1886, is $1,089,938.

He approved the act of January 29, 1887, which has placed upon the pension-rolls 21,704 survivors and widows of the Mexican war at $8 per month or $96 per year. The amount in money these 21,704 Mexican pensioners will receive annually is $2,083,584.

He approved the act of June 7, 1888, granting arrears of pensions from the death of their husbands in cases of all widows of the late war whose pensions have been or which may hereafter be granted. This law will favorably affect some ten thousand widows already on the rolls to an amount it is estimated in money of an average of $108 in each case at once, and hereafter will grant to each widow whose claim may be allowed an average of $108 in each case. The amount of money required to pay those already on the rolls it is estimated will exceed $1,080,000, and the number likely to be placed on the rolls during the present fiscal year will swell this amount to over $1,500,000.

So it will be seen that President Cleveland since his inauguration has approved general pension acts which directly and pecuniarily benefit 144,364 ex-Union and Mexican soldiers, their widows, orphans, and dependent relatives, and that the money value of this benefit is over $9,000,000 per annum.

PRIVATE PENSION ACTS.

During the three years and four months that President Cleveland has been in office he has approved, or allowed to become laws by limitation, 1,231 private acts granting pensions, while but 1,524 private pension acts were approved, or allowed to become laws by limitation, during the entire twenty-four years that the Republican party was in power, from March 4, 1861, to March 4, 1885.

Work of special examiners of Pension Bureau under Commissioner Dudley as compared with the work of special examiners for corresponding period under Commissioner Black:

For 1884:	
Examiners in the field	351
Cases investigated	7,452
Reports made	2,187
Depositions taken	18,484
For 1885:	
Examiners in the field	308
Cases investigated	9,831
Reports made	29,224
Depositions taken	189,743
Credibility reports	23,623

Expense account, $514,269.18; of this sum, $343,551 was charged as traveling expenses. Average cost of investing, $52.31 per case.

For 1886:	
Examiners in the field	277
Cases investigated	12,715
Reports made	29,395
Depositions taken	171,380
Credibility reports	23,246
For 1887:	
Examiners in the field	253
Cases investigated	31,010
Reports made	26,399
Depositions taken	140,544
Credibility reports	33,192

Total expenses, $427,404; of which sum $153,180.20 was charged as traveling expenses. Average cost of investigating, $13.78 per case.

Statement showing the number of pensioners on the roll, the net increase of the roll, amount paid pensioners, and the number of pensioners whose rates were increased, taken from the roll of the Indianapolis (Ind.) agency and taken from the yearly and quarterly reports from said agency for the last three years under Republican rule and the first three years under Democratic rule.

Year.	Republican rule.			Year.	Democratic rule.		
	Number of pensioners.	Net increase.	Amount paid pensioners.		Number of pensioners.	Net increase.	Amount paid pensioners.
1883...	20,921	2,116	$5,117,987.48	1886..	29,590	3,156	$5,632,824.36
1884...	23,352	2,431	4,570,228.44	1887..	34,345	4,755	6,402,489.35
1885...	26,434	3,082	5,440,934.71	1888..	39,521	5,176	7,037,132.84
		7,629	15,129,150.63			13,087	19,072,446.55

RATES INCREASED.

Year.	Number under Republican rule.	Year.	Number under Democratic rule.
1883	1,785	1886	4,353
1884	2,289	1887	5,950
1885	3,753	1888	6,584
Total	7,827	Total	16,887

Statement showing the number of pensioners in each county in Indiana and the amount of quarterly payments therein.

Counties.	Number of pensioners.	Quarterly payments.	Counties.	Number of pensioners.	Quarterly payments.
Adams	216	$5,511.75	Lawrence	563	$16,712.25
Allen	500	15,884.75	Madison	398	10,073.00
Bartholomew	635	20,599.50	Marion	1,912	55,049.25
Benton	238	3,696.00	Marshall	360	9,346.00
Blackford	163	3,837.50	Martin	370	11,807.75
Boone	542	13,351.75	Miami	357	8,855.75
Brown	286	9,787.75	Monroe	462	15,343.75
Carroll	277	7,539.00	Montgomery	534	14,863.25
Cass	480	13,792.25	Morgan	535	17,163.00
Clark	342	11,316.75	Newton	123	4,388.25
Clay	578	17,346.75	Noble	362	11,056.75
Clinton	490	13,408.25	Ohio	119	3,313.00
Crawford	547	14,150.25	Orange	423	12,484.00
Daviess	436	11,729.25	Owen	552	17,609.25
Dearborn	244	14,034.00	Parke	273	7,739.50
Decatur	293	16,634.25	Perry	373	10,006.50
De Kalb	394	11,952.25	Pike	467	13,174.50
Delaware	369	9,225.00	Porter	280	6,031.50
Dubois	330	8,907.25	Posey	288	8,048.00
Elkhart	422	12,215.25	Pulaski	247	6,112.00
Fayette	211	5,334.50	Putnam	393	11,716.75
Floyd	338	9,290.75	Randolph	445	11,987.50
Fountain	181	10,322.75	Ripley	476	16,085.75
Franklin	331	9,375.75	Rush	240	6,628.00
Fulton	329	6,176.50	Scott	185	5,211.00
Gibson	383	10,352.00	Shelby	432	12,853.25
Grant	453	12,017.00	Spencer	517	13,090.00
Greene	677	20,277.75	Starke	207	2,833.00
Hamilton	412	11,844.50	Steuben	369	10,612.25
Hancock	326	9,218.33	St. Joseph	314	8,474.75
Harrison	378	19,907.75	Sullivan	554	15,979.25
Hendricks	434	13,062.25	Switzerland	295	8,419.00
Henry	381	10,672.50	Tippecanoe	670	20,258.89
Howard	383	11,355.75	Tipton	366	8,561.75
Huntington	309	7,615.00	Union	79	2,420.00
Jackson	645	20,529.50	Vanderburgh	398	11,109.75
Jasper	194	5,841.00	Vermillion	231	7,031.75
Jay	418	9,777.50	Vigo	698	23,664.50
Jefferson	496	16,249.25	Wabash	341	9,149.75
Jennings	435	13,926.00	Warren	181	4,753.50
Johnson	350	10,921.75	Warrick	318	7,903.00
Knox	427	10,782.50	Washington	421	12,862.00
Kosciusko	383	10,524.75	Wayne	458	13,386.00
Lagrange	228	7,173.00	Wells	225	5,355.50
Lake	183	4,600.75	White	306	8,406.00
Laporte	237	6,160.25	Whitley	284	4,754.25

Department of Agriculture.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS R. STOCKDALE,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, May 21, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 8191) to enlarge the powers and duties of the Department of Agriculture, and to create an Executive Department to be known as the Department of Agriculture—

Mr. STOCKDALE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The bill under consideration undertakes to accomplish the desire of a very large portion of the American people. Its purpose, as I believe, is animated by the highest patriotism and good statesmanship. I believe the interest of the whole people demand its passage, and I desire to occupy a few moments in remarks upon it.

I will address myself briefly to some of the objections that seem to be relied upon to prevent this bill becoming a law.

It is said that the proposed legislation is in favor of a class, and is therefore obnoxious to the Constitution and the spirit of the American theory of government. If it be true that to pass this bill into a law will be legislating in the interests of one class of American citizens and not of the whole people, it would be to me a fatal objection, for I regard that sort of legislation as unwarranted by the Constitution and opposed to the spirit of American institutions. We have had far too much of that sort of legislation.

I do not regard this bill as inaugurating any new feature of legislation. This Government has had a Bureau of Agriculture for years, and I do not know of objection having been made to its establishment or maintenance on constitutional grounds.

There is no new principle announced here. The effect of this bill, if it shall become a law, will be simply to take up the Bureau of Agriculture and extend and enlarge its capacity and powers and advance it to a more dignified place in the machinery of the Government—to make it a coequal branch with other Departments in the Administration—to advance agriculture from a dependency to a power, with a Cabinet minister to preside over it, subordinate only to the President of the United States—not so much to give it dignity and importance, as some of the friends of the bill suggest, and to which the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. OATES] objects, but to provide for it a habitation and position befitting the magnitude and dignity and importance it already has.

If this be class legislation and therefore unconstitutional, our duty is clear, and requires us to repeal the law creating the Bureau of Agriculture.

But is it class legislation at all? We have the Departments of the Navy and of War, each one composed of a separate and distinct class of people, small in number, under separate government, educated and trained at Government expense for those Departments. Each is a complete, absolute despotism within the Republic. They certainly are each a class separate and distinct, but not such a class as is contemplated when we speak of class legislation. They are a class of people selected and trained to their profession and used for the good of the whole people.

And the same may be said of the other Departments.

The provisions of this bill do not propose to organize the agriculturists of this country into an organization, but to provide for a department properly constructed, officered, and manned, whose special duty it shall be to advance and foster and develop the great science of agriculture for the amelioration and elevation of the American people, and I might add civilization and Christianity as well, for it is in history to be read that in all countries and in all ages the purest statesmen come out of the agricultural classes, and the purest religious sentiment exists there.

Just as it is the duty of the War and Navy Departments to advance the science of war and gunnery up into the very vanguard of science and knowledge and invention in that line, that the people may be protected in their liberties and property and the Government guarded against possible danger of attack. As it is the duty of the Post-Office Department to know and adopt all the most skillful appliances for the convenience of the people and to facilitate business transactions.

As it is the duty of the Treasury Department to manage the finances of the Government, so as to keep them on a sound basis, and at the same time employ all the improved methods of this age to facilitate exchanges.

As it is of the Department of Justice to be careful to see that the rights and liberties of the people are protected at home, and of the Department of State to see that they are respected abroad.

It may be said that these Departments are not classes of people in the sense meant in the law; that each Department, while composed of a distinct class of persons, is under the control of the Government and used for the good of the whole people. To which I assent, and

add that the proposed legislation will make another organization consisting of the secretary and his subordinates and employés, to be used in the service of the Government and of the whole people in the advancement of a science, though heretofore neglected, if more important to the American people than any other; and that the Government is under far more solemn and far higher obligations to the people in this than in relation to their protection or convenience. Those are conditions of life; agriculture is the source of life.

If we do not have a complete system of agriculture we would not need an army or navy; we would have nothing worth defending.

There is no class named or designated in this bill; it simply proposes to establish a business department of the Government especially charged with the promotion, elevation, and advancement of agriculture by every possible means that science and learning and skill can command; a scheme in which every man, woman, and child of the 60,000,000 of American people is vitally interested.

We take great care that there shall be a financial department of the Government managed by skillful hands; but if the Agricultural Department should fail we would have no finances to manage. Gentlemen who look upon agriculture as merely a bread-producing industry, which is in itself of the first importance, should elevate their ideas enough to comprehend its relations to this Government, or I might perhaps better say the relations of the Government to it.

A single glance at these relations is all my time will admit of. To secure the balance of trade in favor of the United States has been one of the leading economic questions in our political philosophy, and all efforts to cope with the question have been impotent as those of a child to control the movements of a giant.

To agriculture, and to agriculture alone, we go for the wisdom and power to effect the solution of this great problem. The volume of money in the world is known and measured. Whatever nation or locality controls most of that volume has most prosperity and most power. The great Eastern seaboard cities of America, although they do not create wealth to any considerable extent, revel in magnificence and are more powerful than all the country beside. New York, the Mecca to which money-seekers make pilgrimage, is the nerve-center of American finances, and a shock there may at any time paralyze the system throughout all the States and Territories of this nation.

A telegram from New York can stop and put in motion again half the commerce of America. She has not yet been able to turn the rivers and converge them at New York, but she has stripped their bosoms of their commerce and gathered it to herself by her stupendous system of railways. The secret of her colossal power is in her tons of money. I do not speak in criticism of New York—I may say parenthetically, for the South were among the pilgrims, and had great need to be in her sore distress. The present substantial prosperity that pervades that part of the Union is in a large degree due to the courage and liberality of that emporium of money and brains.

At a time when the last lonesome dollar that lingered in the South had been abducted from her borders, her States and communities left under crushing debt obligations signed by alien hands without consideration to the people; when the air was full of misrepresentaions about the lawlessness of her people, to deter capital; when the thumbs of the world seemed to be all turned down for her exhausted people, the bold and sagacious financiers of New York looked above the stratum of smoke and discovered opportunities for investment. Silently, almost secretly, the current commenced to glide southward, and at the end of twelve months the astounding fact was opened to view that a hundred millions of New York gold had found safe and permanent investment in the South. Soon followed another hundred millions from different portions of the North, and we are all proud of the fact that the volume of money returns to its owners handsome dividends.

By that act New York financiers held up to the world a glittering placard, backed by a hundred millions of gold, branding as false the stories of lawlessness, and that property was not safe in the South. The scarred gladiators came forth from the arena and saluted brave New York.

And yet New York, great as she is, has a commercial master, so much are the nations of the earth interwoven in the lines of commerce. In all the great cities of the West and South the market value of the staple commodities of the country rises and falls every half hour by no other agency than the ticking of telegraphic indicators whose wires converge at New York. Go, then, to New York, the great and still growing commercial metropolis of the New World, and the most sagacious millionaire can only guess what the market value of any great staple of commerce will be in the next thirty minutes until the cablegram from London is laid before him.

London is the autocrat of commerce as well as the clearing-house of the world. While much is due to location London's money is the source of her power. England derives her wealth from her commerce and manufactories, aided somewhat by mines, and depends on them for the balance of trade in her favor. In this country, neither commerce nor manufactories nor mines, except the precious metals, add any considerable amount to the national finances. On the contrary, both mining and manufacture are burdens to the Government in America, for they can not exist without Government aid in the shape of protection, and commerce has dwindled into insignificance, begging with uplifted hands for sustenance from the Government.

We import annually from other countries various articles of use and ornamental to the value of $752,490,563. Deducting from that $73,331,086, the value of goods re-exported, leaves $679,159,477 as the value of the net imports into the United States annually, taking the year ending June 30, 1887, as a criterion, and which must be paid for in gold.

On that amount of imports we pay import duties to about $217,000,000 annually, but that is paid to the Government and does not go abroad, and will therefore not enter into this calculation.

The value of goods of domestic production exported from the United States amounts to about $179,949,149. This includes the products of all our factories and of all products outside of agricultural products.

Deducting this amount from our annual outlay for what we purchase abroad, the balance would foot up against us every year in the sum of $499,215,328, which would have to be paid out of the coin on hand in the United States. The whole amount of gold and silver coin and bullion in the United States is estimated at less than $600,000,000. The coinage is about $57,000,000, so that, with our trade as it is now, the whole volume of coin and bullion would be shipped out of the country to pay for imported goods within two years, and that would, of course, leave the country in financial ruin, with all her great enterprises destroyed.

What do we do in this emergency but call upon agriculture to rescue the nation from bankruptcy, and right nobly does she respond every year. She comes to the front annually with her surplus of more than $500,000,000 of exports:

1887	$523,000,000
1885	530,000,000
1883	619,000,000
1881	730,000,000

These figures show a decrease in agricultural exports, however, while other exports have not increased. And during the same time our imports have remained practically the same. Consequently the balance of trade in our favor is growing less regularly. I have not the time to discuss the causes of this decline in agricultural exports.

I believe it to be because agriculture is not increasing in proportion to the increase of population and needs encouragement. Therefore the sons of farmers abandon that pursuit because unwise legislation has cast burdens upon it without benefits; and a smaller proportion of immigration than formerly are agricultural people. They are mostly wage-workers, trades-people, and shop-keepers and kindred occupations, for which America affords such an inviting field. The home consumption is increasing faster than production is increasing. When agriculture ceases to furnish surplus exports to hold the balance of trade in our favor gold will begin to go out of the country, the circulation will contract, and the people begin to suffer.

I can not see how it is that gentlemen can be indifferent to this matter.

It would be a badly organized army without a complete commissariat. Its inefficiency conquered Napoleon and destroyed his army when Russia had fled before his face.

Famine, gaunt and terrible, has been the Nemesis of the ages, and the government that fails or neglects to provide against it by every means in its power is as unwise as the man who stalks in the midst of malaria and neglects the blood because he is then strong, and blood is neither fist nor foot nor brain for immediate use. He will find that it is more important than either or all of them. Many an incredulous smile will be provoked in the country by what I am saying, and perhaps not one of them has reflected upon the fact that when the time arrives to commence next year's crop there will not be provisions enough in the United States to feed the people one year; and if that one crop should fail all over the lands, as it has frequently done in different localities in this country, there would be such a famine in America as has seldom occurred in the world. The whole food crop will have been shipped except enough for seed and to support the people until the time for the next crop to mature. Localities have suffered for want of food in this land of teeming plenty, and often appealed to Congress for aid. If one-half the country should fail untold suffering would follow. Does not it come to our knowledge daily that our bread crops grow amid swarming enemies, and that food animals are constantly subject to fatal diseases, and how can we say, "Saul, take thine ease?"

In time of peace prepare for war. It is the duty of our Army and Navy Departments to be always ready for action, however profound the peace, and it is far greater generalship to deter and ward off a war than to fight it after it is upon us.

It is the duty of the Government to have a well-organized and well-officered department to investigate all these matters, and many others, in reference to this department more important than all the others.

It is class legislation to give bounties to a class, either directly or indirectly, or to grant special privileges to any class of people over others, no matter how they may be designated—by name or occupation.

It is worse class legislation to impose burdens on one class for the benefit of another class.

It is not class legislation to simply provide a department whose duty it shall be to advance this great science from which is drawn the very blood of the whole system the only source from which the finances of the country can be supplied, the very source of existence itself to both people and Government. There is not a human being on the continent who is not vitally interested in the progress of agriculture—the working people and the poor far more than the rich. Abundant food crops bring health and happiness to every household, while scarcity pinches the poor first, but none are beyond its reach.

The outcast and enslaved son of Jacob became the governor of all Egypt because of his skill in the development and management of her agricultural resources. Canaan journeyed to his feet to obtain that in which all life rests. All the nations bowed before him because he had corn.

Imperial Pharaoh gave all the honor of that management to his "secretary of agriculture" and said unto his people, "Go unto Joseph, and what he saith unto you, do."

The objection that it will create a new office and more officers, and increase the expenses of the Government, is a very small matter in comparison to its importance. A few thousand dollars a year for the better management of the food productions of the country is insignificant.

There can be enough money saved from the proposed expenditures for this inefficient and extravagant city government of Washington to defray the additional expenses of the department over the expenses of the bureau. I will vote for this bill with the religious belief that I vote in the interest of my constituents and of all the people.

Indian Depredation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE G. SYMES,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 21, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 8990) to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations.

Mr. SYMES said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill seems to present the only practicable remedy for settling and paying the long-delayed liability of the Government in regard to these claims. The liability to pay these claims has been assumed by the United States just as legally and solemnly as the payment of any other class of indebtedness. The United States is as legally and honorably bound to settle and pay this class of claims as to pay the United States bonds that have been issued.

By the act of May 19, 1796, section 14, first Statutes at Large, 472, it is provided that such claims should be presented and settled under the direction of the President of the United States. That is, the claims were to be examined into by agents, proof taken, etc. The act then provides:

And in the mean time—

That is during the time of examination and settlement—

in respect to the property so taken, stolen, or destroyed, the United States guaranty to the party injured an eventual indemnification; provided always that if such injured party, his representative, attorney, or agent shall in any way violate any of the provisions of this act by seeking or attempting to obtain private satisfaction or revenge he shall forfeit all claim upon the United States for such indemnification.

The act further provided—

That the President may deduct the sums found due for property taken or destroyed by the Indians out of any annuity which the United States are bound to pay to the tribe.

The object of this legislation is plain to be seen. The Government solemnly guarantied to indemnify citizens from any loss or destruction of property or injury from the Indians, but provided that such right to payment from the Government for damages should be forfeited if the party sought to recover his losses by reprisal or revenge. This was the only way peace could be maintained on the frontier, and continual Indian wars prevented. Different acts also provided for settling and paying any claims for property lost or destroyed by the Indians on account of the acts of white men.

These provisions of law are substantially re-enacted in the act of March 3, 1799, section 14, 1 Statutes at Large, 747; also in the act of March 30, 1802, section 14, 2 Statutes at Large, 143, and also in the act of June 30, 1834, section 17, 4 Statutes at Large, 731. The last act provided, further—

And if the nation or tribe to which such Indians may belong receive an annuity from the United States, such claim shall at the next payment of the annuity be deducted therefrom and paid to the party injured; and if no annuity is payable to any such nation or tribe, then the amount of the claim shall be paid from the Treasury of the United States.

This last act of 1834 authorized the President to order such claims paid direct from the Treasury after they had been examined and the amount found due by special agents of the Government. These acts continued in force until 1859. In the mean time some claims were settled and paid under these general statutes without any special or private bills being passed by Congress:

The act of February 28, 1859, section 8, 11 Statutes at Large, 421, modified the act of June 30, 1834, so far as to prevent the payment direct from the Treasury of such claims—that is, the act of 1834 was so modified, that unless there were annuities due the Indians out of which the President could direct such claims to be paid, it was necessary to apply to Congress for special appropriations to pay them.

This act of 1859 did not repeal the provisions herein above quoted, found in all the acts passed before 1859, by which the Government assumed and guarantied indemnification for all property taken or destroyed by Indians; but it only modified the act of 1834 so as to prevent a direct payment out of the Treasury after the claim had been settled and audited, and the amount found due under the direction of the President, without resorting to Congress for a special appropriation for such purpose.

This act of 1859 has been misunderstood by many. It has been claimed under its provisions that the Government did not any longer assume indemnification to all citizens for loss or destruction of property by Indians. The Government has, since 1796, specially guarantied indemnification in all cases. But since 1859 it has been necessary to ask Congress for appropriations for the payment of these claims.

By the provisions of a joint resolution of June 25, 1860, 12 Statutes at Large, 120, the act of 1859 was modified so as not to apply to any claims which existed at the date of said act. This act had no material effect, because the Executive Department in its policy as a rule ceased to pay these claims, either out of annuities due to the Indians or direct out of the Treasury, before the act of 1859, and left it to Congress to make special appropriations for such purpose.

By the act of July 15, 1870, section 4, 16 Statutes at Large, 360, section 2098 Revised Statutes, it was provided that these Indian depredation claims should not be paid out of moneys appropriated in that act for annuities due to Indians, and that no Indian depredation claim should thereafter be paid until Congress should make special appropriation therefor.

As stated, before the passage of this last act, the policy of the Department had been in accordance with its provisions, and for many years no claims had been paid except by applying to Congress for special appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to impress upon the House that from a review of this legislation the Government has since 1796 specially guarantied indemnity and payment to its citizens for all losses and destruction of property by Indians, on the condition that these citizens would not attempt reprisal or revenge on their own account. But such claims being unliquidated, the statutes were not efficiently enforced when they could be paid directly out of the Treasury under the direction of the President, and since about 1850 no claims have been paid except by private or special bills, and a very few in that way.

By the act of May 29, 1872, section 7, 17 Statutes at Large, 190, sections 445 and 446 Revised Statutes, the Secretary of the Interior was required to publish rules and regulations for filing, examining, and settling these Indian depredation claims, and at the settlement to report such claims to Congress to have specific appropriations made to pay them.

Section 2156 of the Revised Statutes provides how such claims may be presented to the Indian agent of the tribe committing the injury, and under the direction of the President application shall be made to such tribes and payment enforced in such way as in the opinion of the President may be proper.

By the act of March 3, 1885, $10,000 was appropriated to be expended in examining and taking testimony and reporting on these claims. By the act of May 15, 1886, $20,000 was appropriated to the Interior Department to continue the examination and report on these claims.

Most of the acts above referred to also provided for the payment to Indians for all property lost or destroyed by the acts or offenses of white men, and how settlement and payment of such claims should be enforced by rules and regulations under the direction of the President, and provided that the Indians should not be entitled to indemnification or payment for any injuries committed, for property lost or destroyed by acts of white men, if the Indians should make reprisal or seek revenge by their own acts.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has reported that under the provisions of the above acts from time to time since 1850 over five thousand claims have been presented to the Department, many of which have been examined and reported upon, and the reports and papers sent to the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives. The Committee on Indian Affairs have from time to time reported a number of special or private bills to pay a limited number of these claims. They have been unable to examine the evidence and report private bills for any considerable portion of the claims. It has been entirely impracticable for the committee to report on any large number of these claims with the other duties pressing upon them, but a very

few of the special or private bills reported for the payment of these claims have ever passed the House. They go on the Private Calendar, and that, as a rule, practically ends their consideration during that session of Congress.

When one of these bills has been called up for consideration members of Congress have considered it their duty to examine into the justice and merits of the case before voting upon it. Such bills when reported can not, as a rule, be passed on the findings of the amount due by the agents of the Indian Bureau, but it is considered necessary to examine the original papers and the evidence in the case as to the merits and amounts due. This shows the absolute impracticability of ever disposing of the large number of claims by the present method.

It is fair to say that not 1 per cent. of the meritorious claims have been paid by Congress after they have been reported upon by the Indian Bureau, so that the present course practically amounts to an absolute denial of payment of these claims to the citizens holding them and who have suffered the loss of their property, the payment for which the Government has assumed, as above stated, as legally and solemnly as any other liability of the United States.

Many members of Congress have for some years urged some legislation which would practically result in the equitable adjudication and payment of these claims. A large number of them are very meritorious. Some of them have little merit. Many of them are made for larger sums than the statutes justify the payment of. What may be called the judicial work or investigation necessary to adjudicate upon these claims with justice to the Government, to the white citizens, and to the Indians it is impracticable and impossible for committees of Congress or Congress to perform. Hence the necessity for creating some special tribunal to adjudicate upon these claims.

Mr. Speaker, the Select Committee on Indian Depredation Claims have presented this bill. The committee unanimously recommend its passage as the only practicable remedy.

The bill provides that the President shall appoint three commissioners, to hold office until the close of 1891. Such commissioners shall constitute a court, to be known as the "court of Indian depredation claims," and such court shall consider and pass upon all claims now authorized to be presented to the Secretary of the Interior of white men for property destroyed by the Indians or of the Indians for property destroyed by white men. The claims and papers in the Department are to be transferred to this court or tribunal, and claims may be presented to the court by petition stating the facts supported by proper evidence. The court is to make rules and regulations to govern the practice in presenting such claims. The claimants may appear either in person or by attorney. The United States is to be represented when necessary by the Attorney-General. The court is to consider and report upon each claim separately, and make findings of fact and conclusions of law of the amount due, etc. In a word, this tribunal has substantially the jurisdiction and authority of the present Court of Claims applied only to Indian depredation claims. The findings and conclusions of the court are to be reported to the Secretary of the Interior, and by the Secretary to Congress for Congress to make appropriations for the payment of the same.

Mr. Speaker, it is thought by the committee that this tribunal, to be composed of three able judges with authority to have additional testimony taken in cases where necessary, and with special agents or commissioners authorized to take such testimony, will result in a proper judicial investigation and adjudication of these claims with justice to the Government and to the Indians and to the white people. If so, no more meritorious legislation can be passed by Congress.

Many poor claimants who have had their property destroyed; many poor widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers have been murdered and their property carried off or destroyed by Indians many years ago, have filed their claims under the solemn guaranty of the Government that they should receive indemnification and payment, but under the present system of laws there is little or no hope for them. The Government has expended a great many thousand dollars in investigating these claims, and it is practically thrown away unless some such tribunal is created to make such adjudications and make findings and judgments upon the faith of which Congress will make appropriations to pay these claims.

This bill has received the consideration and sanction of the Interior Department. The honorable chairman of the select committee [Mr. WHITTHORNE] and myself were appointed a subcommittee to confer with the Secretary of the Interior upon the subject.

I introduced at the beginning of the session a bill which I had given much consideration. That bill and several others were considered by the committee and the Interior Department, and the present bill, substantially as draughted by the Interior Department, was reported to the House.

The court is to find out of what funds the payment of the different claims should be made; that is, whether out of annuities due the Indians or direct from the Treasury. The Commissioner reports that it would be impracticable to pay many of the claims out of annuities due the Indians, because it would leave the Indians in want and necessitate Congress making additional appropriations to support them. The policy recommended is that the Government pay these claims in accordance with the liability it has assumed and the matter of reimbursement to the United States out of annuities can be properly dealt with by Congress and the Department.

There are about six thousand of the Indian depredation claims. It is estimated that about $5,000,000 would pay the amounts found due on judicial investigation. Much larger sums are claimed. The Congress has appropriated from time to time for many years hundreds of millions of money to pay annuities to Indians, to pay for their lands, to support them when they needed it.

But the Government has failed to redeem its solemn pledge to pay the pioneers for their property taken, stolen, and destroyed by the Indians. The Government has, through its executive department, violated the statutes by paying to these Indians millions and millions of dollars in annuities, when the statutes expressly provide these claims should be paid from those annuities. Mr. Speaker, I appeal to the House to pass this bill and give these claimants at least a tribunal where they can have their claims adjudicated and the amounts found due, so Congress can make appropriations to pay them. It will be nothing more than long-delayed justice.

Land-Grant Forfeitures.

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. L. MACDONALD,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 24, 1888,

In support of the bill (H. R. 8368) to forfeit the lands granted to the Hastings and Dakota Railway Company, in the State of Minnesota, and for the relief of settlers upon the same and certain purchasers thereof.

Mr. MACDONALD said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I rise for the purpose of calling up for present consideration a privileged bill and report—the bill to forfeit the lands granted to the Hastings and Dakota Railway Company, in the State of Minnesota, and for the relief of settlers upon the same and purchasers thereof.

The SPEAKER. From what committee?

Mr. MACDONALD. From the Committee on the Public Lands.

Mr. SPRINGER. I am willing to yield for that bill.

Mr. MACDONALD. I call up for consideration the bill (H. R. 8368) to forfeit the lands granted to the Hastings and Dakota Railway Company, in the State of Minnesota, and for the relief of settlers upon the same and certain purchasers thereof, reported from the Committee on the Public Lands with amendments, and ask that they be read.

The bill was read, and is as follows:

Whereas by an act of Congress entitled "An act making an additional grant of lands to the State of Minnesota in alternate sections, to aid in the construction of railroads in said State," approved July 4, 1866, there were granted to the State of Minnesota certain lands for a railroad from Hastings, in said State, through the counties of Dakota, Scott, Carver, and McLeod, to such points on the western boundary of the State as the Legislature of said State might determine, upon the express condition "that if said road was not completed within ten years from the acceptance of this grant, the said lands thereby granted, and not patented, shall revert to the United States;" and

Whereas by an act of the Legislature approved March 7, 1867, the State of Minnesota accepted the aforementioned grant of lands, and by the same act transferred the same to "the Hastings, Minnesota River and Red River of the North Railroad Company, subject to the provisions thereafter contained, and of the act of Congress aforesaid;" the name of which said railroad company was thereafter duly changed to that of the "Hastings and Dakota Railway Company;" and

Whereas said Hastings and Dakota Railway Company wholly failed and neglected to build, construct, or complete said railroad through the county of McLeod, and beyond, to the western boundary of the State, for many years after the expiration of the time limited by the act of Congress aforesaid, by reason of which neglect and failure the lands so granted to said railway company reverted to the United States; and

Whereas in consequence of the aforementioned failure of the said Hastings and Dakota Railway Company to construct or complete said railroad within the time so limited and specified in said act of Congress, said granted lands, pertaining to that part of said railroad that was not completed in time, reverted to the United States, and became, and was generally believed to be, subject to settlement and entry under the land laws of the United States, and much of it was, in good faith, settled upon by many settlers, who have ever since remained upon said lands, and have made valuable improvements thereon; and others have, in good faith, purchased portions of the same from said railway company; and

Whereas said Hastings and Dakota Railway Company has (in consequence of its having sold and disposed of its said railroad and everything appertaining thereto, except its right to said lands) been, by the supreme court of said State of Minnesota, adjudged and decreed to have forfeited its charter, and to be dissolved; and the same has ceased to exist, except that for a few months longer it is permitted to close up its affairs and dispose of such property as it may have: Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That all the said lands granted to the State of Minnesota by said act of Congress entitled "An act making an additional grant of lands to the State of Minnesota, in alternate sections, to aid in the construction of railroads in said State," approved July 4, 1866, for a railroad in said State from Hastings, through the counties of Dakota, Scott, Carver, and McLeod, to a point on the western boundary of the State, and transferred to the said Hastings and Dakota Railway Company, as hereinbefore stated, except so much thereof as

are adjacent to and coterminous with so much of said railroad as was constructed and completed within the period fixed by the said act of Congress for the completion of the whole road, and the right of way through the remainder of the route, with all the necessary grounds now used by said railroad for station buildings, shops, depots, switches, side-tracks, turn-tables, and all lands which were, prior to January 1, 1888, included within the platted limits of any village, town, or city, be, and the same are hereby, declared to be, and are, forfeited to the United States, and restored to the public domain, because of the failure of the said Hastings and Dakota Railway Company to perform the conditions upon which said grant of lands was made to it: *Provided*, That the title to said lands sold by said company to bona fide purchasers prior to January 1, 1888, and which were not, at the time of such sale, in the actual possession of some person other than the purchaser, is hereby confirmed to such purchasers from said company, and the persons holding through or under them.

SEC. 2. That all actual bona fide settlers upon any of the lands declared forfeited by this act, who settled upon the same as public land, and with the purpose and intention of acquiring title thereto, under the laws of the United States relating to public lands, are hereby confirmed in their rights as such settlers, and permitted and authorized to acquire title to the same (not exceeding 160 acres in any one case) as a homestead, under and pursuant to the laws relating thereto; and, in making proof of such homestead, he shall be allowed for the time that he has already resided upon and improved the same.

The amendments of the committee were read, as follows:

Insert, before the word "except," in line 12 of section 1, the words "and not patented;" also insert, after the words "possession of," in line 29 of section 1, the words "and claimed by."

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to long occupy the time of the House in discussing this matter. I wish merely to explain the necessity for the passage of this bill, and to show that the principles as to forfeitures of this kind adopted by this House by the passage of the general forfeiture bill recently, are embodied in the pending bill and amendments. That our action and that of the Committee on Public Lands (of which I have the honor to be a member) may be correctly understood, I will submit the following facts:

In the early part of the session the Committee on Public Lands reported to the House several bills similar to, and including this one now under consideration. They each referred to, and aimed to forfeit, all lands which had been granted to the company therein named and which had not been earned by that company according to the terms of the grant, namely, lands pertaining to the unbuilt portions of the several roads and the lands pertaining to that part of the road which was built after default. I should have said that one of these bills embraced several small and less important grants.

The consideration and discussion of the tariff prevented the consideration of these bills reported by the House committee, and in the mean time the Senate passed and sent to this House for our action the bill which we recently had under consideration, and which is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby forfeited to the United States, and the United States hereby resumes the title thereto, all lands heretofore granted to any State or to any corporation to aid in the construction of a railroad opposite to and coterminous with the portion of any such railroad not now completed and in operation, for the construction or benefit of which lands have heretofore been granted; and all such lands are declared to be a part of the public domain: *Provided*, That this act shall not be construed as forfeiting the right of way or depot grounds of any railroad company heretofore granted: *And provided further*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed as limiting the rights granted to purchasers or settlers by "An act to provide for the adjustment of land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads and for the forfeiture of unearned lands, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1887, or as repealing, altering, or amending said act, nor as in any manner affecting any cause of action existing in favor of any purchaser against his grantor for breach of any covenants of title: *And provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to except from forfeiture that portion of the grant made by "An act making a grant of alternate sections of the public lands to the State of Michigan to aid in the construction of certain railroads in said State, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1856, or acts amendatory thereof, conferred by the State of Michigan on the Marquette and Ontonagon Railroad Company, lying west of L'Anse, in said State.

SEC. 2. That in all cases where persons are in possession of any of the lands affected by any such grant and hereby resumed by and restored to the United States, under deed, written contract with, or license from, the State or corporation to which such grant was made, or its assignees, executed in good faith prior to January 1, 1886, they shall be entitled to purchase the same from the United States, in quantities not exceeding 320 acres to any one such person, at the rate of $2.50 per acre, at any time within two years from the passage of this act, and on making requisite proofs and payment to receive patents therefor: *Provided*, That in all cases where parties, persons, or corporations, with the permission of such State or corporation, or its assignees, are in the possession of, and have made improvements upon, any of the lands hereby resumed and restored and are not entitled to enter the same under the provisions of this act, such parties, persons, or corporations shall have six months in which to remove any growing crop and within which time they shall also be entitled to remove all buildings and other movable improvements from said lands: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall not apply to any lands situate in the State of Iowa, on which any person, in good faith, has made, or asserted the right to make, a pre-emption or homestead settlement.

SEC. 3. That if it shall be found that any lands heretofore granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company and so resumed by the United States and restored to the public domain lie north of the line known as the "Harrison line," being a line drawn from Wallula, Wash., easterly to the southeast corner of the northeast one-fourth of the southeast quarter of section 27, in township 7 north, of range 37 east, of the Willamette meridian; all persons who had acquired in good faith the title of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to any portion of said lands prior to July 1, 1885, or who at said date were in possession of any portion of said lands or had improved the same, claiming the same under written contract with said company, executed in good faith, or their heirs or assigns, as the case may be, shall be entitled to purchase the lands so acquired, possessed, or improved, from the United States, at any time prior to the expiration of one year after it shall be finally determined that such lands are restored to the public domain by the provisions of this act, at the rate of $2.50 per acre, and to receive patents therefor upon proof before the proper land office of the fact of such acquisition, possession, or improvement, and payment therefor, without limitation as to quantity: *Provided*, That the rights of way and riparian rights heretofore attempted to be conveyed to the city of Portland, in the State of Oregon, by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company and the Central Trust Company of New York, by deed of conveyance dated August 8, 1886, and which are described as follows: A strip of land 50 feet in width, being 25 feet on each side of the center line of a water-pipe line, as the same is staked out and located, or as it shall be hereafter finally located according to the provisions of an act of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon approved November 25, 1885, providing for the means to supply the city of Portland with an abundance of good, pure, and wholesome water over and across the following described tracts of land: Sections 19 and 31, in township 1 south, of range 6 east; sections 25, 31, 33, and 35, in township 1 south, of range 5 east; sections 3 and 5, in township 2 south, of range 5 east: section 1, in township 2 south, of ange 4 east; sections 23, 25, and 35, in township 1 south, of range 4 east of thef Willamette meridian, in the State of Oregon, forfeited by this act, are hereby granted and confirmed unto the said city of Portland, in the State of Oregon, its successors and assigns forever, with the right to enter on the hereinbefore described strip of land, over and across the above described sections for the purpose of constructing, maintaining, and repairing a water-pipe line as aforesaid.

SEC. 4. That nothing in this act shall be construed to waive or release in any way any right of the United States to have any other lands granted by them, as recited in the first section, forfeited for any failure, past or future, to comply with the conditions of the grant, or as forfeiting any lands that have been heretofore earned by the construction of a portion of a railroad under any act of Congress making a grant of public lands: *Provided*, That this act shall not be constructed to prejudice any right of the Portage Lake Canal Company, or the Ontonagon and Brulé River Railroad Company, or any person claiming under them, to apply hereafter to the courts or to Congress for any legal or equitable relief to which they may be now entitled, nor to prejudice any right of forfeiture or recovery of the United States in respect of any of the lands claimed by said companies, nor to the prejudice of the right of any person claiming adversely to said companies or their assigns, under the laws of the United States.

SEC. 5. That this act shall not take effect except as to lands which were entered under the homestead and pre-emption laws and at private entry while the same were held by the Interior Department to be subject to such entry until January 1, 1889, as to a grant of land to the State of Mississippi for the purpose of aiding in the construction of a railroad from Brandon to the Gulf of Mexico, commonly known as the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad, nor as to a grant of land to the State of Alabama for the purpose of aiding in the construction of a railroad from the Tennessee River at or near Gunter's Landing to Gadsden, on the Coosa River, and in all cases where any of the lands excepted as aforesaid in this section have been sold by the proper officers of the United States for cash, or with the allowance and approval of such officer, have been entered in good faith under the homestead or pre-emption laws, the right and title of the persons holding or claiming any such lands under such sales or entries are hereby confirmed.

SEC. 6. The price of the even sections of the public lands not reserved within the limits of the portions of the several grants hereby forfeited, and within the limits of all grants or portions of grants heretofore forfeited, and of all lands hereby and heretofore forfeited, is hereby fixed at $1.25 per acre.

SEC. 7. That section 5 of an act entitled "An act for a grant of lands to the State of Iowa in alternate sections, to aid in the construction of a railroad in said State," approved May 12, 1864, and section 7 of an act entitled "An act extending the time for the completion of certain land-grant railroads in the States of Minnesota and Iowa, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1865; and also section 5 of an act entitled "An act making an additional grant of lands to the State of Minnesota in alternate sections, to aid in the construction of railroads in said State," approved July 4, 1866, so far as said sections are applicable to lands embraced within the indemnity limits of said grants, be, and the same are hereby, repealed; and so much of the provisions of section 4 of an act approved June 2, 1864, and entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act making a grant of lands to the State of Iowa, in alternate sections, to aid in the construction of certain railroads in said State,' approved May 15, 1856," be, and the same are hereby, repealed so far as they require the Secretary of the Interior to reserve any lands but the odd sections within the primary or 6 miles granted limits of the roads mentioned in said act of June 2, 1864, or the act to which the same is amendatory.

SEC. 8. That all actual settlers on any of the public lands in the State of Florda affected by the grants, who made actual settlement on any of said lands, after the time limited in the granting act for the construction of the said road, and before May 1, 1888, shall have the right to perfect their entries respectively under the homestead or pre-emption laws: *Provided*, That the title to the land described in the act entitled "An act granting lands to the States of Alabama and Florida to aid in the construction of certain lines of railway in said States," approved the 17th of May, 1856, which lies adjacent to the part of the lines of railroad built under and in pursuance of the act of the State of Florida entitled "An act to encourage a liberal system of internal improvements in the State of Florida," approved January 5, 1855, within the time limited by Congress in the granting act, and which were granted to any of the said companies by the Legislature of the State of Florida in accordance with said act of Congress, and are held by purchase in good faith from said companies, made before the year 1866, are hereby confirmed to such purchasers: *Provided*, That a mortgage or pledge of said lands by any of said companies shall not be considered as a sale for the purpose of this act.

SEC. 9. That in all cases when any of the lands forfeited by the first section of this act, or when any lands relinquished to, or for any cause resumed by, the United States from grants for railroad purposes, heretofore made to the State of Michigan, have heretofore been disposed of by the proper officers of the United States, under color of the public-land laws, or under State selections in Michigan confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior where the consideration received therefor is still retained by the Government, the right and title of all persons holding or claiming under such disposals shall be, and is hereby, confirmed: *Provided, however*, That where the original cash purchasers are the present owners this act shall be operative to confirm the title only of such said cash purchasers as the Secretary of the Interior shall be satisfied have purchased without fraud and in the belief that they were thereby obtaining valid title from the United States. That nothing herein contained shall be construed to confirm any sales or entries of lands, or any tract in any such State selection, upon which there were bona fide pre-emption or homestead claims on the 1st day of May, 1888, arising or asserted under color of the laws of the United States, and all such pre-emption and homestead claims are hereby confirmed.

On considering this Senate bill our Committee on Public Lands found that its effect would be to declare a forfeiture to the United States of a portion of the grants which are understood to be claimed and controlled by the following named railroad companies mentioned in connection therewith:

First. The Florida Railroad Company; that part of the grant lying between Plant City and Tampa, and that portion of the Cedar Keys branch of said road lying between Waldo and Cedar Keys, a distance of 20 miles of railroad, now unconstructed.

Second. The Tennessee and Coosa Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Gadsden to Guntersville, Ala., a distance of 36 miles, unconstructed.

Third. The Coosa and Chattanooga Railroad Company; that part of

the grant from Gadsden to Georgia State line, a distance of 37.5 miles, unconstructed.

Fourth. The Mobile and Girard Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Troy to Mobile, a distance of 139.6 miles, unconstructed.

Fifth. The Alabama and Tennessee Rivers Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Jacksonville to Gadsden, a distance of 23.42 miles, unconstructed.

Sixth. The Marquette and Ontonagon Railroad Company; that part of the grant from L'Anse to Ontonagon, a distance of 46 miles, unconstructed.

Seventh. The Ontonagon and State Line Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Rockland to Wisconsin State line, a distance of 55 miles, unconstructed.

Eighth. The Amboy, Lansing and Traverse Bay Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Jonesville to Amboy, a distance of 20 miles, unconstructed.

Ninth. The Gulf and Ship Island Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Brandon to Mississippi City, a distance of 170 miles, unconstructed; being the entire line of the road.

Tenth. The Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company; that part of grant opposite to and coterminous with remainder of line uncompleted, 5.37 miles.

Eleventh. Southern Minnesota and Minnesota Valley Company; that part of the grant from St. Anthony via Minneapolis to Shakopee, west of Mississippi River, a distance of 25 miles, uncompleted.

Twelfth. The Southern Minnesota Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Houston to Rochester, a distance of 58.5 miles, unconstructed.

Thirteenth. The Portage and Winnebago Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Ashland to Superior City, a distance of 84 miles, unconstructed.

Fourteenth. The Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad Company; that part of the grant opposite to and coterminous with, a distance of 26.91 miles, is unconstructed.

Fifteenth. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Wallula Junction, Washington Territory, to Portland, Oregon, a distance of 225 miles, unconstructed.

Sixteenth. Southern Pacific Railroad Company; that part of the grant from Tres Pinos to Huron, a distance of 84 miles, unconstructed.

All of which shows the aggregate number of miles of uncompleted railroads to aid in the construction of which lands had been granted by Congress is, according to the report of the General Land Office, 1,049.23 miles.

Now, it will be noticed that this Hastings and Dakota Railroad and grant thereto, with others, is excluded from this list which is embraced in the Senate bill; and the exclusion of these railroad grants from it may, in brief, be said to be the reason why the majority of the House Committee on Public Lands refused to favor it. But not wishing to do anything that would defeat Congressional action upon the subject, they did not insist that action be had upon the bill reported to this House by them, and reported back the Senate bill with an amendment, in the nature of a substitute, which is as follows:

That all lands heretofore granted by Congress to any State or to any corporation to aid in the construction of a railroad or a railroad and telegraph line opposite to and coterminous with the portion of any such railroad not constructed and completed within the time specified in the act making the grant for the construction and completion of the whole of such railroad are hereby declared forfeited to the United States, and the United States resumes title thereto, and all such lands so granted lying opposite to and coterminous with the portion of any such railroad not constructed and completed within the time prescribed by the act of Congress making such grant for the construction and completion of the whole railroad as provided for by such act, is hereby restored to the public domain and declared to be a portion thereof: *Provided, however*, That the forfeiture hereby declared shall not extend to the right of way of any such railroad through the remainder of the route, including the necessary grounds for depots, switches, side-tracks, machine-shops, and turn-tables, or to lands included in any village, town, or city within the limits of the lands hereby declared forfeited.

SEC. 2. That the forfeiture hereby declared shall not extend to lands adjacent to and coterminous with any portion of any such railroad which is now completed which were sold by the State or corporation to which any such grant was made, or by the corporation controlling or owning such railroad prior to January 1, 1888, to bona fide purchasers for a good and valuable consideration, but the title to such lands are hereby confirmed to such purchasers, their heirs or assigns, upon condition that all persons claiming the benefit of this section shall, within one year from the passage of this act, make and file before the register and receiver of the proper land office, subject to an appeal to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, proof of the good faith, consideration, date, and extent of his or her purchase; and after hearing such proofs and investigating each case the register and receiver shall determine whether any alleged purchase was in fact made in good faith, for a good and valuable consideration, prior to January 1, 1888, and shall note the finding in each case on the records of the local land office, and shall thereafter certify the same to the Commissioner of the General Land Office: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to confirm any such purchases of land upon which there were prior bona fide pre-emption or homestead claims, valid and subsisting on the 1st day of January, 1888, arising or asserted under color of the laws of the United States, and all such pre-emption and homestead claims are hereby confirmed: *Provided*, That a mortgage or pledge of any of said lands shall not be considered a sale for the purposes of this act.

SEC. 3. That all bona fide settlers upon any of the land forfeited by this act are hereby permitted and authorized to acquire title to not exceeding 160 acres in each case as a homestead, under and pursuant to the laws relating thereto, and in making final proof of such homestead the settler shall be allowed for the time he has already resided upon and cultivated the same, and if such settler is not entitled to the benefits of the homestead law he or she shall have the prior right to enter the tract settled on, not exceeding 160 acres, at $1.25 per acre.

SEC. 4. That no lands declared forfeited to the United States by this act shall inure to the benefit of any State or corporation to which lands may have been granted by Congress; nor shall this act be construed to enlarge the area of land originally covered by any such grant, or to waive or release in any way any right of the United States to have other lands granted by them, as recited in the first section, forfeited for any failure, past or future, to comply with the conditions of the grant.

SEC. 5. That all lists of lands heretofore certified and all patents issued to any State, or to any corporation, for lands embraced in any grant beyond the portion thereof coterminous with the railroad actually completed within the time prescribed by law for its entire completion are hereby declared inoperative and void except as to bona fide purchasers, as provided for by the second section of this act, and excepting land included in any village, town, or city, and proper proceedings shall be instituted by the Attorney-General to annul the same.

SEC. 6. That all acts in conflict with this act are repealed.

A minority of the Committee on the Public Lands [Messrs. PAYSON, MCKENNA, TURNER, and HERMANN] declined to concur in the recommendation to amend the Senate bill by the adoption of this substitute, and made a minority report and recommended the following as a substitute for the bill or substitute recommended by the majority:

A bill to forfeit certain lands heretofore granted for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That there is hereby forfeited to the United States, and the United States hereby resumes the title thereto, all lands heretofore granted to any State or to any corporation to aid in the construction of a railroad opposite to and coterminous with the portion of any such railroad not now completed and in operation, for the construction or benefit of which lands have heretofore been granted; and all such lands are declared to be a part of the public domain: *Provided*, That this act shall not be construed as forfeiting the right of way or depot grounds of any railroad company heretofore granted, or lands included in any city, town, or village site.

SEC. 2. That all persons who, at the date of the passage of this act, are actual settlers in good faith on any of the lands hereby forfeited and are otherwise qualified, on making due claim on said lands under the homestead law, within six months after the passage of this act, shall be entitled to a preference right to enter the same under the provisions of the homestead law, and this act, and shall be regarded as such actual settlers from the date of actual settlement or occupation; and any person who has not heretofore had the benefit of the homestead or pre-emption law, or who has failed from any cause to perfect the title to a tract of land heretofore entered by him under either of said laws, may make a homestead entry under the provisions of this act.

The Secretary of the Interior will make such rules as will secure to such actual settlers these rights.

SEC. 3. That nothing in this act shall be construed to waive or release in any way any right of the United States to have any other lands granted by them, as recited in the first section, forfeited for any failure, past or future, to comply with the conditions of the grant.

It will be seen that this substitute of the minority is in substance and effect the same as the Senate bill.

To better understand the scope and effect of the Senate bill, or its more brief counterpart, the substitute proposed by the minority, and the bill proposed by our Committee on the Public Lands, which we passed, I submit the following table from that report of the majority:

Name of railroad.	Estimated number of acres which will be forfeited—		
	By Senate bill.	By House bill.	Inevent of forfeiture of entire grant.
Gulf and Ship Island	652,800	652,800	652,800
Coosa and Tennessee	140,160	140,160	140,160
Coosa and Chattooga	144,000	144,000	144,000
Mobile and Girard	536,064	651,264	858,624
Selma, Rome and Dalton*	89,932	258,624	642,624
Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit	76,800	676,000	1,171,200
Pensacola and Georgia	None	679,680	1,178,880
Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas	None	364,800	725,760
Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw	None	176,256	898,560
Marquette, Houghton and Ontonagon	294,400	294,400	627,200
Ontonagon and Brulé River	211,200	288,000	288,000
La Crosse and Milwaukee	None	195,724	235,773
Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha	None	1,446,400	1,446,400
Wisconsin Central	406,880	464,480	1,800,000
St. Vincent extension, St. Paul and Pacific (now St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba)	None	1,113,600	2,009,600
Western Railroad	None	243,712	243,712
Southern Minnesota Railway extension	None	832,115	1,787,955
Hastings and Dakota	None	819,840	1,293,440
Northern Pacific	2,000,000	36,907,741	46,947,200
California and Oregon	None	1,740,800	3,686,400
Oregon and California	None	2,086,400	4,608,000
Southern Pacific	1,075,200	4,147,200	7,116,800
Total	5,627,436	54,323,996	78,503,088

*Lands certified to State for this road prior to May 23, 1872, amounting to 440,700.16 acres, were confirmed to State by act of that date (17 Stat. L., 159), for sole use and benefit of the Selma, Rome and Dalton Railroad Company. The lands so confirmed may not be subject to forfeiture.

When the Senate bill and the substitutes of the majority and minority of the committee came before this House for action recently, it will be remembered that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] strenuously urged the adoption of the substitute recommended by the minority, principally upon the ground that the Senate would not concur in the amendment proposed by the majority; and that notwithstanding this, this House—by an almost strict party vote—rejected the substitute of the minority, and adopted and passed that recommended by the majority.

As predicted by the gentleman from Illinois, the Senate has already

acted upon our substitute and refused to concur in it, and the matter is now in the hands of a committee of conference.

In view of these facts, I am justified in doubting that my constituents—a large number of whom are vitally interested—will get any relief through this general forfeiture bill which we have passed; and by the more specific method of this bill attempting to secure relief for them.

This is my explanation for now urging this bill to forfeit certain lands granted to the Hastings and Dakota Railway Company.

As will be seen by reference to the report of the committee, the principal facts upon which they based their recommendation of the passage of this bill are as follows:

1. The act of Congress making this grant was approved July 4, 1866 (14 Statutes, 87), and was entitled "An act making an additional grant of lands to the State of Minnesota in alternate sections to aid in the construction of railroads in said State;" and it granted these lands "for a railroad from Hastings, through the counties of Dakota, Scott, Carver, and McLeod, to such point on the western boundary of the State as the Legislature of the State might determine," every alternate section of land designated by odd numbers, to the amount of five alternate sections per mile on each side of said road.

2. It was also provided (in section 3) "that the lands hereby granted shall be subject to the disposal of the Legislature of Minnesota, for the purposes aforesaid, and no other;" and the manner and terms upon which they were to be disposed of were prescribed by section 4 of that granting act, which is as follows:

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the lands hereby granted shall be disposed of by said State for the purpose aforementioned only and in the manner following after stating how lands shall be selected and certified: *Provided*, That if said roads are not completed within ten years from the acceptance of this grant the said lands hereby granted and not patented shall revert to the United States.

It will therefore be seen that this grant was made with the express reservation that this road should be completed in ten years from the date of the acceptance of the grant by the State, and that if not, all of the lands not patented to the company would *ipso facto* "revert to the United States."

3. The grant was accepted by the State of Minnesota, by an act of the Legislature thereof, approved March 7, 1867; and by the same act the aforementioned grant of lands was transferred to the railroad company then known as "the Hastings, Minnesota River and Red River of the North Railroad Company," and (section 2) "subject to the provisions therein contained and of the act of Congress aforesaid."

4. Pursuant to an act of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, approved March 9, 1867, the name of said last-mentioned railroad company was changed to that of the "Hastings and Dakota Railway Company."

5. The definite location of the route of this railroad was made June 26, 1867. It extended from Hastings on the east to Ortonville on the western boundary of the State, and is located through the counties of Dakota, Scott, Carver, McLeod, Renville, Chippewa, Swift, and Big Stone, a distance of 202 miles.

6. The road was only completed to Glencoe (the county-seat of McLeod County), a distance of only 74 miles, within the time fixed by the granting act, leaving the company in default as to the remaining 128 miles.

7. After it reached Glencoe, which was in 1873, the company failed to construct any more of this railroad for several years, and during that time Glencoe was its western terminus.

8. After this company neglected and failed to build its railroad beyond Glencoe, and during the years that Glencoe was its western terminus, the public came to the conclusion that the aforementioned act of Congress meant what it said, and that all lands not patented to it on or before March 7, 1876, "reverted to the United States," and that the same were subject to settlement and entry under the public land laws of the United States; and in accordance with that conclusion a great many citizens of the United States did locate and settle upon the above mentioned granted lands coterminus to the then uncompleted portion of said railroad, with a view to acquiring title to the same under our public-land laws.

9. That this company has received and will by this bill have confirmed to it much more than the amount of lands to which it was entitled for the 74 miles of its road which were completed in time, and in fact nearly all it would get under the grant if no forfeiture was declared.

For the 74 miles of railroad which it built within the time prescribed by the grant it was entitled to 473,000 acres, and it has had patented to it 312,771, which by the terms of the grant can not be forfeited because patented.

In addition to this, this company has assumed to own and has sold and disposed of thousands of acres more than enough to make up the 473,000; which sales this bill, to prevent innocent purchasers, without notice by actual occupancy, from being wronged, proposes to confirm.

Bear in mind that after this company had built its road from Hastings to Glencoe, a distance of 74 miles, it suspended operations for several years and ignored entirely its obligations under the grant; that, having so suspended the further building of its road and allowed the time within which it was to construct it to expire, many persons, believing that, in consequence of its failure to build in time, all lands "not patented reverted to the United States," settled upon the same as homestead settlers and have ever since resided thereon, and have been anxiously waiting for their titles to be confirmed by Congress and the Department.

Another important fact, found and reported by the committee, is as follows:

10. About the time of the construction of this railroad from Glencoe to the western boundary of the State (in the year 1880) this company disposed of its railroad, right of way, and all else, except these lands, to another railroad company, the "Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company," and has never operated any part of that railroad since; and because of its having thus disposed of all but the lands, it has been adjudged by the supreme court of the State of Minnesota to have forfeited its charter and is required to wind up its affairs, which it is now doing.

The law of the case is also fully set forth in that report. Now, I respectfully but earnestly submit that the rights and claims of these settlers are entitled to the serious and favorable consideration of Congress, and that in their interest this bill ought to pass.

Mr. LIND. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes, sir.

Mr. LIND. I notice that one of the amendments suggested is that the bill shall apply to the lands not patented. Now, as a matter of fact, these lands are not patented; they are certified to the State for the benefit of the railroad company, and I would suggest to my colleague that he substitute the words "not certified to the State" in lieu of the words embodied in the bill. "Not patented" may possibly be construed to mean the same thing, but if the other is substituted there can be no question.

Mr. MACDONALD. We came to the conclusion that it was necessary to limit the forfeiture to lands "not patented," that being the terms of the grant. This is necessary to respect the rights of the railroad company. My colleague must labor under a misapprehension, for to substitute the words "not certified to the State," in place of "not patented," would so limit it as to render the bill practically valueless. We claim that this forfeiture extends to lands certified as well as not certified to the State. I think that for all purposes the bill in its present form is better.

I demand the previous question upon the bill and amendments.

The previous question was ordered; under the operation of which the amendments recommended by the committee were adopted.

The amendments were agreed to, and the bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Indian Depredation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ANTONIO JOSEPH,

OF NEW MEXICO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 21, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 8990) to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising out of Indian depredations—

Mr. JOSEPH said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I rise to support this bill because I consider it a beginning of justice to the people of New Mexico, as well as to the citizens of all the Western States and Territories, justice which has been long denied them through the absolute indifference of Congress. This measure in itself is imperfect, but I am willing to support it, notwithstanding its many imperfections, because it is the first step in long-delayed relief. But I can not let the bill be passed by the House without putting on record some statement of its imperfections, in the hope that before it becomes a law it will receive such amendments as will enable it to accomplish its objects, the relief of Congress from the pressure of individual claims and justice to the long-suffering claimants.

JURISDICTION OF REJECTED CLAIMS.

After granting jurisdiction to the court, the bill proceeds to destroy a large part of that jurisdiction by these words:

The aforesaid court shall not consider any claim which has been heard and rejected by any Department or officer of the Government authorized by law to adjudicate the same.

It is well known that the rulings of the Department of the Interior upon Indian depredation claims have been exceedingly strict and technical, and that many claims established by legal evidence in the most conclusive manner have been rejected by the Indian Department upon technical grounds. This bill proposes to say to these claimants that

they shall have no relief under its provisions. If the rulings of the Interior Department can be treated as conclusive against the claimants, the Government ought to be willing to accept the same measure for itself, and all awards of the Interior Department made in favor of claimants should be paid without the intervention and delay of a commission. As it is, the Government proposes to require all whose claims have been allowed to submit once more to trial, while claims which have been rejected are to be forever shut out from relief.

I can not believe that the Government of the United States should place its standard of fair dealing so low as to treat its citizens in this one-sided and partial manner. There is another reason why this provision is especially unjust. These claims have been on file for many years and have received more than one decision at different times by different officers under different laws. The same claims have been twice and three times decided, and by successive officers on different evidence in different ways. The language of this provision so restricts jurisdiction that if a claim has been once rejected, though afterward twice allowed, it can not come before this commission. Surely a provision like this can not be honorable or just.

LIMITATIONS.

The question has been often discussed whether any statute of limitation exists preventing the presentation of Indian depredation claims. The Department of the Interior has recently held that any claim not presented within three years of the depredation is barred, but under former administrations a different view was held. The act of 1834 contained such a limitation, but that act has been superseded by section 2156 of the Revised Statutes, which contains no such limitation. It is the opinion of able lawyers who have examined this question that no limitation exists, but I think the new court ought not to be embarrassed at the outset by any such questions. Congress should give the new court a plain, clear law for its guidance, so that it can proceed at once to the disposition of claims presented to it.

There is no justice in a statute of limitations upon claims before this court. The remedy given by existing law has amounted to almost nothing in cases for Indian depredations. Claimants have been privileged to file their claims with the Department of the Interior, and to have these claims considered, allowed, and reported to Congress; but no appropriations have been made to carry these allowances into effect, and an examination by the Indian department has been little more than a mere formality. Under these circumstances, honest claimants whose property has been taken or destroyed by Indians have in many cases not been willing to waste their time and money in preparing their claims and presenting proof in their support. In consequence of this many claims, as justly founded as those on file in the Interior Department, have never been presented. Under these circumstances it would be the greatest injustice to open the doors of this commission to claims which have been presented to the Interior Department and to close its doors to equally just claims which have never been presented. The Government has first discouraged claimants from presenting their claims, and by this bill as amended proposes to discriminate between those presented and those not presented.

The Committee on Indian Depredation Claims recommended that the bill should contain the following clause:

Provided, That in determining the liability of the United States to pay these claims, or any part thereof, the question of limitation as to time and manner of presenting them as prescribed by statutes shall be waived by the court.

But this recommendation has not received the sanction of the House. Before the bill becomes a law some amendment like this is necessary. The American Government ought not to be willing to plead the statute of limitations against its just debts, but should say to all creditors of the Government, "If you prove your debt we will pay it, no matter how old it is." The honesty of the Government should rest on at least as high a plane as the honesty of a business man.

INTEREST.

This bill proposes to pay to claimants the value of the property taken from them, but does not propose to compensate them for the delay in payment. The bill admits the justice of the claims, and in so doing admits that the Government was in duty bound to pay them when they originated, but it does not undertake to assume the full duty of the Government to pay these claimants interest from the date of the depredation to the date of payment. No relief is complete unless compensation is given for the delay. I know that it will be said in opposition to this view that the policy of the Government has been not to pay interest upon claims against it. I can reply to this that this policy is essentially dishonest. The excuse for this policy has been the statement that the Government is always ready to pay its honest debts; but every person of experience knows that this Government is one of the worst of debtors.

Year after year have these claimants come to the Interior Department demanding pay; year after year have these claims been presented to Congress, and year after year have they been put off from one tribunal to another under first one enactment and then another. When finally a step is taken looking to the definite satisfaction of their claims, they are met in their demands for compensation for their delay by the statement that the United States will not pay interest because it is always ready to do justice to its creditors. This great Government should not be placed in such an attitude. I therefore hope that before this bill becomes a law a provision will be placed upon it granting interest to all whose claims are allowed by this commission from the date when the depredations occurred.

The people of New Mexico have for years been exposed to the depredations of hostile Indians. Their stock, their crops, their houses have been destroyed and hundreds of lives lost by Indian raids.

But the Indians are the wards of the Government, and citizens have been forbidden to redress wrongs committed by them. It was the duty of the Government to keep its wards under control, and, failing in this, to pay the losses caused by them. In this obligation the Government has failed. This bill is the first decided step in repairing the neglect of past years, and, as such, imperfect as it is, it is welcome. Its long delay has caused it to fall far short of a full measure of justice. Many claimants who have been despoiled of everything by Indian depredations have died without redress; many witnesses on whom the proof of fact depended have passed where they can give no testimony. Congress has long withheld its hands from this work of justice, but those to whom payment at last comes will welcome it as a recognition, though partial and long delayed, of the just obligation of the Government of the United States towards its citizens.

Decline of the American Merchant Marine.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALEXANDER M. DOCKERY,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, July 13, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9345) making appropriations for the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889—

Mr. DOCKERY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] who has just taken his seat has so well expressed the situation in reference to our merchant marine that it hardly seems necessary to say anything further, and I shall therefore not trespass at length upon the time of the House.

It seems that we have two propositions pending before the House, or a sort of "double-barreled" proposition—one coming to us from the Senate and the other presented by the minority of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads. Upon an examination of the two propositions it appears that the difference between them is one of degree only. The principle involved is the same in each. Both tend in the direction of subsidy; each, in fact, is unquestionably a gift of the people's money—neither having any tendency whatever to establish any new lines of ocean steamers, the gratuity going to lines already in existence.

The effect of the two propositions, or either of them, as has been so well stated by the gentleman from Minnesota, is to discourage the building of additional lines by giving the bounty to existing lines and thereby creating a monopoly. Now, sir, this question of subsidy is by no means a new one. It has been heretofore fully considered in all its relations to the Post-Office Department and to our merchant marine. Prior to the war, Mr. Speaker, it was adopted by our fathers, but was rejected by them after fair trial; and the lines which had been subsidized, declined, decayed, and went down as soon as the policy was abandoned. The subsidy policy was reinaugurated in 1866, and continued until 1877, when it culminated in the Forty-second Congress in the scandals connected with the Pacific Mail. After that exposure, Congress abandoned the system altogether, and it was not again heard of until the initial step looking to its restoration was taken in the Forty-eighth Congress, by repealing the law which required American steamers to carry the mails as a condition precedent to clearance. After the repeal of that law the steam-ship companies came to Congress and asked a subsidy, and in default of that refused to carry the mails of the United States. Since that event the proposition has been presented in various forms.

The first "subsidy" granted by the House under duress was approved March 3, 1885, and provided for the "transportation of foreign mails, including transit across the Isthmus of Panama, $800,000." This law simply "authorized" the Postmaster-General to enter into contracts with "American steam-ships," and the discretion with which he was invested under its terms was wisely exercised by Postmaster-General Vilas in a refusal to make any contracts.

The proposition reappeared in the Post-Office appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, in the following terms:

For the transportation of foreign mails by American built and registered steam-ships, to secure the greater frequency and regularity in dispatch, and a greater speed in the carriage of such mails to Brazil; the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America; the Sandwich, West India, and Windward Islands; New Caledonia, New Zealand, and the Australian colonies; China and Japan, $800,000.

The measure was rejected by the House.

It again appeared in the Post-Office appropriation bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, as follows:

For the transportation of foreign mails by American built and registered steam-ships, to secure the greater frequency and regularity in dispatch and a greater speed in the carriage of such mails to Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and the Republics of Uruguay and Paraguay, $500,000.

This proposition shared the fate of its predecessor.

In all these propositions offered by the Senate "a rate of compensation not exceeding 50 cents a nautical mile on the trip each way actually traveled" was proposed, or a "rate of $1 per mile on each outward voyage."

With a perseverance "worthy of a better cause" the Senate again confronts us with substantially the same subsidy legislation which has been twice overwhelmingly rejected by this House.

It provides $800,000 for "more efficient mail service between the United States and Central and South America and the West Indies;" and—

To promote the purposes of this appropriation the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized and directed to contract with American-built and registered steam-ships for the transportation of the United States mails to such ports in said countries as in his judgment will best subserve said postal service. Said contracts shall be for a period of not less than five nor more than ten years, at a compensation not exceeding for each outward trip $1 per nautical mile of the distance in the most direct and feasible sailing course between the terminal points as shall be found expedient and desirable to secure the ends above set forth.

The Postmaster-General shall cause schedules to be furnished by the contractors stating dates of departure of steam-ships from the United States six months in advance, and in case of unreasonable failure of any steam-ship or steam-ships to depart with mails on the date or dates therein stated, the Postmaster-General may withhold from the contractor or contractors as penalty one-half the contract price for said trip or trips, and in the event of continued failure to depart on dates stated in the schedule the Postmaster-General may annul the contract or contracts, or the same may be terminated by Congress.

In this amendment we have an express provision, which not only "authorizes" the Postmaster-General to contract, but "directs" him to do so; and I challenge the gentleman from Pennsylvania, if I understood him correctly, on any fair construction of the term "direct" to find any warrant for the "discretion" he seems to find in the exercise of this power on the part of the Postmaster-General.

Mr. BINGHAM. You will find in every utterance in the Senate and every utterance in this House that it is a discretionary power.

Mr. DOCKERY. Ah, Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman go to the debates in Congress——

Mr. BINGHAM. Go on a little further and read the modifying clause.

Mr. DOCKERY. Does the gentleman go to the debates in Congress for the construction of a plain proposition which declares the meaning of the phrase "authorized and directed?" Directed to do what? To contract with American-built and registered ships for the transportation of the United States mails to such ports in such countries as in his judgment will best subserve the interest of the postal service.

Mr. BINGHAM. The gentleman is quoting from the Senate amendment; I have submitted an amendment to which I have directed my remarks.

Mr. DOCKERY. I will direct my attention to that "double-barreled" proposition in a moment.

Mr. BINGHAM. I am glad it has "two barrels."

Mr. DOCKERY. It seems that it was framed with the idea of catching either "gwine or comin." [Laughter.] The Senate amendment was perhaps not expected to be received with favor by the House, and we therefore find our friend from Pennsylvania offering this measure. I will not read it, as my time is limited.

Mr. BINGHAM. You had better read it, because it is a good proposition.

Mr. DOCKERY. I will do so, as the gentleman requests it.

To provide more efficient service between the United States and Central and South America and the West Indies, Australasia, Japan, and the Sandwich Islands, $450,000. To promote the purposes of this appropriation the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized and directed to contract with American built and registered steam-ships for the transportation of United States mails to such ports in said countries as in his judgment will best subserve said postal service: and in cases where a contract shall be made in addition to the sea and United States inland postage allowed under section 4009 of the Revised Statutes to register United States steam-ships plying between ports of the United States and Central and South America, the West Indies, Australasia, China, Japan, and the Sandwich Islands, the Postmaster-General may by agreement, with the owners of said steam-ships——

Mr. DINGLEY. May authorize it.

Mr. DOCKERY—

at an equivalent consideration therefor, allow any sum not exceeding three times the sum of the said sea and inland postage to steam-ships running to such of the said countries as are in the Postal Union, and an equivalent sum to steam-ships to such of said countries as are not in the Postal Union, for dispatching their vessels without failure upon certain days to be specified in schedules covering periods of not less than six months, to be agreed upon in advance by the Postmaster-General and said owners or agents: *Provided*, That any failure to dispatch vessels upon a schedule date may subject the owners or the agents to a penalty not less than the sum to which the vessel would be entitled for the conveyance of mails if she had sailed in accordance with the schedule; said penalty to be deducted by order of the Postmaster-General from any sums found to be due said owners or agents.

The amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania having just been offered, I have not had an opportunity to give it a critical examination; but it appears from the reading that it "directs" the Postmaster-General to contract with American-built and registered steam-ships on the basis of sea and inland postage. In other words, it simply reannounces the policy that has prevailed under the Administration of President Cleveland, preference having been given to American steam-ships and allowance of both sea and inland postage. The amendment further provides, after having thus "directed" contracts to be made on the basis of existing law, that the Postmaster-General "may" allow any sum not exceeding three times the amount of sea and inland postage. In its first provision it is mandatory; in its second, discretionary. Let us examine for a moment its practical effect, which can only be an increased compensation to existing lines. Does the gentleman indulge the hope that the limited additional compensation will stimulate the establishment and growth of new lines of ocean steamers?

Mr. Speaker, it can not possibly accomplish such a result, because the amount is insufficient for the purpose. It is a gratuity too small to establish new lines and only amounts to a bonus to the lines already in existence. If the Government is again to launch out on the policy of subsidy the appropriations should be "allopathic" rather than "homeopathic" in amounts.

Mr. BINGHAM. Why do you not state how much it is?

Mr. DOCKERY. The amount is $450,000.

Mr. BINGHAM. What will be the bonus, as you call it, to new lines?

Mr. DOCKERY. I have not had the opportunity of estimating the bonus to each line.

Mr. BLOUNT. There will not be any new lines.

Mr. DOCKERY. I stated, if the gentleman will remember, a moment ago, that no new lines would be established.

Mr. BINGHAM. How do you know?

Mr. DOCKERY. I say so because the amount is wholly insufficient for the purpose, and, as heretofore stated, is a mere gratuity to existing lines. There are twenty lines of American steamers plying between the ports of the United States and Central and South America and the West Indies. These are the countries named in the Senate amendment, and my friend from Pennsylvania has also included by his amendment the lines to Australasia, Japan, and the Sandwich Islands.

WHO ARE THE BENEFICIARIES.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have not had an opportunity to ascertain what number of additional lines would be brought within the provisions of this amendment, but I have examined the original proposition as it comes from the Senate, and I desire that the House should know the beneficiaries under that legislation.

Let us see whether or not they are weak and struggling corporations, entitled by reason of this fact to especial consideration and to the bounty of the Government. Under the Senate amendment, from which our friends of the other side on the committee have run away, twenty American lines plying to foreign ports were included. Those lines had a total sailing last year on their outward voyages of 546,758 miles, and received during that time, under the present law authorizing the payment of sea and inland postage, $39,381.57. The Senate amendment gives them $546,758 for a service that last year cost the United States $39,381.57; or, in other words, they are to receive $507,376.43 in excess of the compensation received for like services during the fiscal year just ended.

Now, who are these beneficiaries? The Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company, running from San Francisco to Panama, would be entitled to $129,600 of the $546,000.

Mr. BINGHAM. Will the gentleman allow me to ask a question?

Mr. DOCKERY. Not just now.

The Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company would also be entitled to compensation for services rendered by its line from New York to Aspinwall to the amount of $76,000. To state the case plainly, Mr. Speaker, of the $546,758 that would be expended under the Senate amendment to the American lines now running from the United States to the countries named the Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company would receive $205,600, or nearly one-half the entire sum. My friend from Pennsylvania, by the amendment he offers, also generously takes in the lines of the Pacific Mail Company, which runs from our Western coast to China and Japan; but I have not had an opportunity to estimate the additional amount they would receive under this proviso. I challenge the House to a critical examination of this measure, in view of the lines that are to be its chief beneficiaries.

Now, who is the Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company? It is the corporation which in the Forty-second Congress debauched the Representatives of the people by the expenditure of $900,000 for the purpose of securing the continuance of a subsidy that it had enjoyed for ten years. The Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company is a corporation owned by Jay Gould, Russell Sage, C. P. Huntington, and other poor laboring men in this country. [Laughter.] Sir, I do not wish to invoke any prejudice whatever in this discussion. Mr. Gould has his rights under the law, and so far as my vote can affect the result they shall be maintained; but I am not willing to give to Mr. Gould or to any one else the public money unless the general interests of the whole people will be subserved by so doing.

INTERFERES WITH POSTAL SERVICE.

Mr. Speaker, I apprehend that it will not be seriously contended that

this measure will in any wise benefit the ocean mail service; for, instead of extending our postal facilities on the ocean, this legislation virtually restricts that service to the twenty lines of American steam-ships. The Postmaster-General has so succinctly and ably pointed out its defects that I will ask to incorporate his views in my remarks, as they appear in the following letter, of date July 2, 1888, to Hon. J. H. BLOUNT, the distinguished chairman of the Post-Office Committee:

It will hardly be claimed for this legislation that it is either demanded or required, or that it can be utilized for the benefit of the postal service merely. The resources and powers of the Department have proved entirely adequate to afford to the citizens of the United States a foreign mail service equal to, and in most cases superior to, that of any nation in the world. Nine-tenths of our foreign letter mail crosses the Atlantic, and the settled policy of the Department has been to employ the swiftest vessels from week to week for carrying the mails. The Department, at the request of prominent merchants, importers, and bankers of the United States having commercial relations with foreign countries, has endeavored to induce foreign postal administrations to adopt a similar policy to promote expedition and security in correspondence.

Under the present system, on routes other than to European ports, mails have been carried in American steam-ships at four times the rates paid for transatlantic service, although no foreign vessel has ever refused or hesitated to accept the sea postage, or one-fourth the rate paid to American bottoms. Under the present conditions the Central and South American letter mail increases at the rate of about 10 per cent. in weight a year, and the number of sailings to West Indian and Central and South American ports from the three ports of New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco increased in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, from 712 to 831. In addition to the compensation paid in money, all common carriers by water are greatly benefited by carrying the mail. Provision for their benefit in Brazilian ports are as follows: Mail steamers are allowed to immediately discharge their cargoes, preference being given them before any other vessel and before they have been entered at the custom-house, both on week days and on Sundays or holidays.

They may sail at any hour, day or night, after they have received the mail, and can not be detained under any pretext whatever beyond the hour fixed for sailing. Similar benefits are provided for mail steamers at other West Indian and Central and South American ports. While the Department in every case has given the preference to American ships at four times the cost of carriage on competing foreign ships as permitted by law, yet in very many cases because of very much greater expedition or because of the absence of proper facilities in American steamers, or because of very great delays, the other ships offering have been given the business at the lower rate on the principle that the first duty of the Department to our citizens under the law was to give them the best, most expeditious, and certain mail facilities within its resources.

If there shall be superadded to the functions of postal administration that of administering a subsidy or a bounty for the promotion of American shipping interests I can readily see why, in practice, these two offices must so conflict that, so far from being of advantage to and promoter of efficient mail service, such a subsidy, with such a purpose, in the hands of the Postmaster-General must antagonize and overbear the primary object of his office, which is to give to the correspondence of our citizens the best expedition and certain transmission. If the bounty or bonus system is to be revived, it should be done without involving this Department in the complications certain to arise from administering it, and without hampering its fundamental rule of action, which is that the mails must go at all events.

While we granted aid to Pacific railroads, with conditions imposed that the mails should be carried for a credit on the debt, yet the Department was left free to employ better or more expeditious routes in its discretion. The proposed legislation will be in effect a mandate to the Postmaster-General to contract with American-built as well as American-registered steam-ships for the transportation of the mails to the ports of Central and South America and the West Indies for a period of not less than five years and with a compensation for each outward trip of $1 per mile.

There is no condition for advertisement, and, indeed, unlike even the British subsidy acts, competition is not contemplated or permitted, as the contracts are to be limited to American ships, and as to these will be practically limited to those now in existence, between whom there is comparatively no competition because of the number which can be employed in the service.

In the present conditions the proposed law might as well have named the few persons to whom this money is to be paid. Even the laws (Revised Statutes, sections 3976 and 4203) under which American ships might be compelled to carry the mails have been repealed (23 United States Statutes at Large, 58), and it goes without saying that the proposed legislation intends the Department to pay the maximum rate provided, *i. e.*, $1 per nautical mile for five years, to these few persons, without troubling them with any negotiations as to terms, and, indeed, as you will observe, without even the lodgment of discretion in the Department to designate from what ports of the United States the mails shall sail. It may be said in passing that presumably the "terminal points" from which sailings will be made, if self-interest, as is usually the case, governs, will be those from which the greatest number of nautical miles may be computed, rather than from those at which the convenience and needs of the service would be suited. It may be noted also that the schedules of sailings are to be furnished by the contractors, and not by the Postmaster-General; altogether, from an analysis of the proposed legislation it would seem to exclude the exercise of any power of any representative of this Government to provide for this mail service in the interest of the people, except after contract, which must be on the carrier's own terms and after the carriers have fixed the schedules according to their ideas of what the mail service should be, to compel them to conform to their own expressed views and decision as to the public convenience and the public interests.

I beg you to believe that in this criticism of the bill I am not commenting unfavorably at this place upon a policy of granting bounties to American ships. I do think, however, that the carrying out of that policy should not be involved in the postal administration. Such gifts should be voted and given directly, if the Government shall determine to pursue a policy of engaging in this branch of private business. With very great respect, however, to the framers of the bill, I do seriously object to that provision of the proposed legislation which places the mail service at the mercy of any firm, individual, or corporation. While, indeed, the susidized lines might be compelled to carry the mails if tendered, yet the Department should be independent, and should at all times be enabled to send the mails by the most expeditious routes and make use of the best facilities afforded for that purpose from among all carriers offering. The Department should be free to take advantage of all sailings, of increased facilities coming from increased business, of changes for the better wrought by time, extension of commerce, and competition, and should not be tied up for a decade to single lines of communication, unstimulated to improvement and all progress by the existence of a settled, inordinate, and certain income.

Herewith I furnish you two tables marked "A" and "B." From them you will see that the mails of this country were carried to Central and South America and the West Indies for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1887, by foreign steamers at a cost of $7,936.27 at the single rate, and by steamers of American register at a cost of $39,381.57. The number of miles sailed by the foreign ships employed was 666,478; the miles sailed by the ships of American register employed were 546,758. It will be seen, on the plan of payment proposed, which is fixed without regard to the amount of mail carried, that the service, which cost us in the fiscal year 1887 $47,317.84, would have cost us, if paid for as proposed, $1,213,206. It is estimated that the weight of mails will be for the next fiscal year increased 20 per cent. over these figures, and from what I have before shown it will be seen that the number of sailings will be increased in about the same ratio over the figures given in Tables A and B. The total cost of the sailings under this bill, predicated upon the business of 1887, can be but an approximate standard by which to estimate the cost under a provision of $1 for every nautical mile for each outward trip.

But without regard to the cost, it is perfectly evident, from an examination of these tables and from the experience of the Department in affording the best attainable service, that "American-built ships" alone, with whom the Department can now contract under this bill, and with which it must contract for a term of years, can not perform the service absolutely essential. Heretofore, as I have said, whenever it has been possible and consistent with the best interests of the public which this Department serves, American ships have been employed to carry the mails at four times the rate paid to foreign ships; yet with this policy steadily maintained, to give proper service at all it has been necessary to employ other carriers, as shown by Schedule A. One of the most serious disadvantages from connecting the proposed subsidy with this Department will be that, even in cases where service is not furnished to certain ports by American ships at all, carriers that might be had will hardly suffer the enormous discrimination in compensation for the carriage of the mails. The conditions would certainly predispose human nature to refuse to perform the service at all.

Again, it will not commend itself to our people if, with this enormous compensation, avowedly for the carriage of the mails, frequency of transmission shall be largely curtailed, even to ports touched by American ships, as must be the case where we pay one carrier about two hundred and fifty times as much as we offer for the same service to another. In my opinion the bill would not be advantageous to the service but the disadvantages would be positive in so far as this Department is concerned. While, if it shall become a law, the Department will of course faithfully administer the fund in accordance with the spirit of the act, I feel confident that such administration will result only in a very great pecuniary benefit to a dozen individuals, at the expense and embarrassment of good service, and of inconvenience, injustice, and material injury to the great body of the people, whose money will be used in the purchase of those results.

Considering this as a subsidy pure and simple, unconnected with the postal service, it becomes a question of general policy with which this Deparment has nothing to do. The subject has been ably and exhaustively discussed in Congress, notably in the Thirty-fifth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, and Forty-ninth. You, sir, and other distinguished members of the Post-Office Committee as at present constituted, have on the floor of the House presented the learning which the history of the subject, political economy, or the experience of legislation can teach. It has been frequently demonstrated by the experience of this and other countries that to enable one line by Government aid to carry more cheaply and thus to destroy competition, does not promote commerce. The most successful ocean steam-ship lines of the Continent—those of Hamburg and Bremen—receive no pay from the government other than the moderate postage rates. The British precedent is not in point and would not be even if Great Britain did not offer her mail service to the carriers of the world. "Her aims are political and not commercial. She must have constant communication with the colonies, and she has spent large sums for this object. She must have an efficient and capable transport service for the protection of those colonies." The views of that Government are stated in Mr. Scudemore's report (Parl. Papers 1867-'68, XII, 113), as follows:

"The question (mail subsidy service) can not be dealt with on commercial principles. * * * For the sake of keeping up such communication with the East as the nation requires they must set commercial principles at defiance, and cost what it may the nation must either pay them what they lose thereby or forego the communication."

Of course England may subsidize lines of ships to open up new markets for her surplus, because she freely exchanges commodities with such markets; and her policy is after establishing the commerce to steadily decrease the subsidy. If the policy of giving bounties to promote commercial relations with other countries be ever adopted again after the failures in our history, it would seem that its adoption should be deferred until closer commercial relations with those countries can be maintained, and are not antagonized by an opposing system of laws.

COMPARATIVE COMPENSATION.

Mr. Speaker, during the last fiscal year the United States employed the services not only of the twenty American lines which ply to South America and the West Indies, but also of the twenty-five foreign lines plying to the same countries. The foreign lines made a greater sailing distance than the American lines, having sailed 666,448 miles and received only $7,936.27, while the American lines under the law of 1858, which gives them both sea and inland postage, sailed only 546,758 miles and received $39,381.57; and yet the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], well informed and usually very fair in the discussion of any question, left the impression upon the House that the Government had virtually discriminated against its own steam-ships. Speaking of the amounts paid to the foreign lines, he said that "the British Cunard line received 65 cents per mile one way for transporting our mails, while the American Brazilian line received but 14 cents." The gentleman's statement is unfair because he does not give all the facts upon which he bases his declaration, and besides is slightly in error as to the amount paid the British Cunard.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, the North German Lloyd Line received 43 cents per mile, the Cunard 50 cents, the Guion 60 cents, and the White Star Line 27 cents. But why? Because they were paid on the basis of services actually rendered to the Government. They received the increased compensation over the Brazilian line because they rendered greater service. If these lines plying to European ports had been American lines they would have been employed by the Government of the United States to carry the mails, and would have received both sea and inland postage. The North German Lloyd, instead of getting 43 cents per mile, would have received $1.36; the Cunard, instead of 50 cents, would have been paid $1.47; the Guion, which received 60 cents, would have been paid $1.75 per mile, and the White Star, that was compensated at the average rate of 27 cents per mile, would have had its compensation increased to the amount of 86 cents per mile.

It is therefore manifest, Mr. Speaker, that the limited compensation

to the South American lines results from the fact that they carry but little mail for the Government. The increased compensation to the foreign lines sailing to European ports, even at the rate of sea-postage only, is explained in the fact of the increased weight of mail.

This is an equitable and just basis of compensation; but the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BINGHAM] in the amendment he submits—as is also the case in the Senate amendment—departs from this universal rule of action which obtains in the conduct of private affairs, and proposes a gratuity rather than a system of "equivalent consideration."

In all Departments of the Government compensation is predicated on the basis of services actually rendered. The Government ought to pay for what it gets and not a dollar in excess.

Mr. BINGHAM. You do it under the law of 1858, under which you are operating now. You leave the discretion to the Postmaster-General, and he gives full sea and inland postage to American vessels three times as much as he gives to foreign vessels.

Mr. DOCKERY. The gentleman did not quite catch my point. I was saying that the basis of compensation ought to be the service actually rendered to the Government, and if the law authorizes such compensation to the American lines as the gentleman speaks of it is because of the service they render to the Government and a desire to discriminate in their favor.

Mr. BINGHAM. That is right—because of a desire to discriminate in their favor.

Mr. DOCKERY. I am heartily in favor of discriminating in favor of American steam-ships. The compensation for carrying the mails is ample, and if there exists any just ground for complaint it must come from the foreign ship-owners.

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF MERCHANT MARINE.

But, Mr. Speaker, let us come to the point at issue. If this subsidy proposed by the Senate amendment or by the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania will have the effect of stimulating the organization of new lines of ocean steamers, I would ask the gentleman to explain why it is that American lines are not now plying between New York and European ports? Under the law, as we have shown, they would receive $1.36, $1.47, and $1.75 per mile for carrying the mails of the Government on each outward voyage; and if the compensation proposed in the Senate amendment ($1) is adequate to build up our merchant marine, and is designed for that purpose, why should there be any necessity for the amount suggested in this amendment, when under the law, as it has stood on the statute-books since 1878, there is a basis of compensation which realizes more for them than this subsidy?

Mr. Speaker, I again desire to emphasize the real point at issue—why is it, in view of the statement I have just made and which can not be successfully controverted, that American lines are not now doing business between New York and European ports? The answer is plain—because it does not pay. In the analysis of the question the next thing to be considered is why does it not pay? It is evident they can not afford to construct lines even when they receive $1.75 per mile for carrying mails, which is 75 cents more than the amount submitted by the Senate amendment.

Mr. BINGHAM. The Senate amendment relates to lines to Central, South American, and West India ports.

Mr. DOCKERY. The suggestion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania only emphasizes the situation which to-day confronts us upon the ocean. If we are to re-establish the American merchant marine, it ought to be under laws general and uniform in their operations, so that the American flag would again respond to the breezes of every sea as it did in the olden time when our ships carried 75 per cent. of the commerce of the United States.

The Senate amendment is a feeble attempt to revive our carrying trade to South America and the West Indies, and in considering it the inquiry naturally suggests itself, why is it that with liberal mail compensation for the trans-Atlantic steamers and with abundant commerce, American lines are not now plying between New York and European ports? The further inquiry logically follows, if with abundant commercial material awaiting transportation, and with liberal mail compensation already authorized, American lines can not successfully carry our trans-Atlantic commerce, what reason have we to expect that the meager amount carried by the Senate amendment will accomplish the purpose for which it is claimed to be intended? It is evident that Americans have relinquished the ocean carrying trade because it is not profitable. Now, let us investigate this question for a moment and endeavor to ascertain the reason why it is not profitable.

Mr. BINGHAM rose.

Mr. DOCKERY. I desire to complete my statement before yielding to further interruptions.

Why does it not pay? I will not attempt to enumerate all the causes which have led to the decline of our carrying trade upon the ocean, but the principal causes may be briefly summarized:

First, it has declined because under the present law the American ship-owner is compelled to pay from $100,000 to $150,000 more for a ship than the foreign ship-owner.

Mr. COX. Now you have got it.

Mr. DOCKERY. Second, it has declined because the daily operating expenses of an American ship are from 25 to 35 per cent. greater than those of the foreign ship, the difference being accounted for in some measure by the higher wages paid to American seamen.

Mr. FUNSTON. Let me say good for that.

Mr. DOCKERY. I did not catch the statement of the gentleman.

Mr. FUNSTON. I was saying there is no fault to find with the fact that we pay higher wages to our labor.

Mr. DOCKERY. We are agreed as to that point.

Mr. FUNSTON. It is all right.

Mr. DOCKERY. If we except the pauper labor of India, I would be warranted in the statement that seamen upon foreign vessels are the poorest paid laborers in the world. They are poorly paid, because as a rule they are a shiftless and irresponsible class of people, managed and controlled with extreme difficulty, and with no place they can call "home," they "tramp" from port to port around the world.

But to continue, our merchant marine has declined for the further reason that in addition to the increased cost of American vessels and their daily operating expenses, foreign governments have granted large subsidies to their steam-ship lines.

These three causes have driven American ships from the high seas.

Mr. Speaker, in view of these causes which I have briefly summarized, let us consider the remedy, if there be a practicable one—as I shall assume that every American citizen is earnestly desirous of the restoration of our carrying trade upon the ocean. How can it be accomplished? If this desirable result is to be attained, it must be reached first by the repeal of all laws which prohibit the American ship-owner from purchasing or constructing his ship as cheaply as do ship-owners of other countries. If this action is not proposed, the increased cost of the American ship must be made good to the American ship-owner by an appropriation from the public Treasury.

Again, the American ship-owner must be compensated by an appropriation from the Treasury for the excess of the operating expenses of his vessel over those of a foreign vessel. Then, Mr. Speaker, after having met these two conditions, we must appropriate a sufficient sum in the form of a subsidy to meet the subsidies granted by foreign countries. When we have done this we shall have placed American steamship lines upon an equal footing with foreign lines, so that they can successfully compete for the carrying trade of the world.

The remedy is heroic perhaps, but at this time it seems to be the only practical solution of the difficulties surrounding us. If the statement be true, then it remains for Congress and the country to determine whether they are willing to make this enormous expenditure for the purpose of rehabilitating and re-establishing the American merchant marine. I confess frankly, Mr. Speaker, that I am not willing to attempt a restoration of the carrying trade to American vessels by the vast expenditure which the logic of the situation seems to require.

A great deal has been said by way of explaining the decline of our carrying trade. Prior to 1860 75 per cent. of the commerce of this country was carried in American bottoms; but at this time with twice the commerce we then had American ships carry but 15 per cent. of it, and why? Simply because the Americans have relinquished the carrying trade.

Mr. BINGHAM. The war did that.

Mr. DOCKERY. Not at all. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] who sits just in front of the gentleman showed a few days ago that the decline in our shipping interests began six years before the war, and the percentage of decline during that period was quite pronounced.

Mr. DINGLEY. Yes, but during the four years of the war that percentage largely increased.

Mr. DOCKERY. That statement is quite correct, but twenty-five years have elapsed since the close of the war; and while we have rebuilt the "waste places" in other directions, this decline has steadily continued until, as I stated a moment ago, only 15 per cent. of our commerce is at present carried in American bottoms. Our sea-faring men have relinquished the sea, because that pursuit is no longer profitable. The sturdy young men who grow up in the State of my friend, the distinguished ex-governor of Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], instead of going to sea in a business arduous and dangerous, and with a meager compensation, have gone into other pursuits yielding more satisfactory returns.

Many of them have followed Mr. Greeley's advice and "gone West"—to Kansas, Missouri, and other States where, under our generous laws, they are permitted to possess themselves of 160 acres of the public domain; and so long, Mr. Speaker, as we continue to people this continent and build up and develop its resources so long will the hardy young men of New England continue to migrate to the great West rather than go out to sea.

The increased facilities for transportation developed during the last quarter of a century have materially assisted in turning the tide of emigration to the West and Southwest.

Prior to 1860 it was not so easy to "go West." To the young man upon the Atlantic seaboard it was a "far-off country," as my friend from Ohio [Mr. BUTTERWORTH], who does me the honor to hear me, well knows.

Mr. Speaker, I can remember quite well myself when the emigrant

who started from Missouri to California called his relatives and friends about him to bid them a tearful good-bye before beginning a journey which required many weary months of toilsome and dangerous travel. All these conditions have been so revolutionized that now the emigrant to California goes on a magnificent train, starting out either from Kansas City or Omaha; whilst instead of occupying four or five months in travel he makes the journey in as many days.

Mr. FELTON. On these roads built up by subsidies.

Mr. DOCKERY. I am obliged to the gentleman for the suggestion, as the observation in no wise impairs the force of my argument. In the one case the railroad is subsidized to assist in its construction, and when so constructed it stands upon a solid business footing, without any further appeal to the bounty of the Government. On the other hand, in despite of the largest subsidies continued for a number of years, the steam-ship lines have declined and ceased to exist the moment the subsidy was withdrawn. The difference is thus made more clearly manifest.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me read for a moment, for the benefit of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BINGHAM], the views of the present Presiding Officer of the Senate on this question, and certainly my friends FUNSTON and PETERS will readily concede that the eminent Senator is at all times good Republican authority. However, let us consider this as a business question, wholly removed from the domain of partisan politics. Senator INGALLS, discussing this question, said, and remember, this was in the last Congress——

Mr. BINGHAM. Not the recent speech? [Laughter.]

Mr. DOCKERY. No; it is not the Chicago utterance [renewed laughter], but was delivered in the Forty-ninth Congress. He said:

The reason for the decay of American shipping, in my judgment, will be found in the fact that American capital can be more profitably employed in some other way than in building ships.

Mr. FUNSTON. He means manufacturing, probably.

Mr. DOCKERY. The gentleman can put the construction on the declaration that seems to him fitting and proper, and he is perhaps correct, as manufacturing has grown to be very profitable since the people have been taxed so heavily to maintain that interest.

Continuing, the Senator said:

I have heard much during the continuance of this argument of the advantages to result by the proposed appropriations to the restoration of the interests of American shipping; but I have listened in vain for some information as to the reason why the men of Maine and the men of Massachusetts do not now build ships if they want them. There is no reason why they should not build ships if they desire them. They have the yards and they have the forests and they have the mines and they have the skilled labor, and if ship-building was profitable, I venture to say that the capitalists of Maine and Massachusetts would build ships; and the reason why they have not done it is because they can make more money by building railroads, and by buying Western lands, and by lending on mortgage at 6 and 8 and 10 and 15 per cent. to Western borrowers.

Mr. BINGHAM. Ship-building, you know, as far as that is concerned, has been transferred to Pennsylvania, and the Delaware River is the ship-building center now for the reason that ship-building is of iron, not of wood any longer.

Mr. DOCKERY. Well, you must settle that difference with Senator INGALLS. It is his own speech, and I have only quoted what he said. He says that ship-building is not profitable, and I am satisfied that the statement is correct.

The Senator further says:

I do not, therefore, Mr. President, feel that this appeal to a patriotic impulse to vote for a large appropriation out of the national Treasury for the purpose of restoring the decayed interests of American commerce has much weight. Very much the same argument applies to the carrying trade of this world. There has been a unanimity of lamentation about the loss of the carrying trade by the United States, and we have been told of the disgrace and the shame that arises from the fact that the United States no longer has the carrying trade of the world. Mr. President, we did not lose the carrying trade of the world; we relinquished it. The reason why we have not the carrying trade of the world is because it is not profitable. Great Britain can afford to conduct the carrying trade of this world at a loss, as she does, because she has an insular position. There is not a point in Great Britain so remote from the seaboard that any product of her fields, that any product of her factories or her mines can not by her railway system be placed in fourteen hours in the dock ready for shipment to any portion of the world. Great Britain has an enormous excess of manufacturing facilities. She wants an enormous amount of free raw material. Therefore, Great Britain and the other continental nations so situated can afford to do what they are now doing, and that is to carry on what may be called the transfer, the transportation business of the world by water at a loss. There is to-day a million tons of English shipping that may be bought for 50 per cent. of what it cost, if anybody wants to buy it.

Therefore the reason why the United States does not do the carrying business of the world is because she can do better. It does not sound reasonable or logical or sensible to rise here and declare that the reason we do not do the carrying trade of the world is because Congress does not vote subsidies for mail pay. Statistics show better; and whenever the carrying trade of the world can be conducted at a profit, the United States of America will have their share of it. But so long as American money can be more profitably employed in railroad transportation at home than it can in water transportation upon the deep, so long it will continue to be so employed, and the voting of $100,000 or $500,000 to one or more lines of steam-ships for service will not prevent it, and will not help it.

We have been told also that to the south of us there is a great commercial empire waiting for the invitation of American commerce. Congress has been appealed to to vote for an appropriation upon the ground that unless it is enacted by Congress the balance of trade would continue to be against us.

There is another reason why we have not got the trade of the South American republics, one that has not been mentioned here, one that deserves mention, because it is not becoming that Congress should be held up here and fustigated and castigated for unpatriotic frugality in failing to making the necessary appropriations, whereby we are unable to secure our share in the millions of South American commerce. The reasons why we do not have South American commerce is because we do not attempt to sell them the things they want to buy. The reason why our merchants and our manufacturers find no market in South America is because the merchants and manufacturers of other countries can offer them a better article at a less price. There is no want of facility of communication; the testimony in the report of the commissioners shows that the means of communication are ample, but that in their dealings with American merchants and American manufacturers they have been flouted, they have been refused credit; they have not been offered the articles they wanted to buy, and when goods have been sold to them by sample they have proved to be entirely out of comparison with those samples both as to price and as to quality.

Mr. Speaker, the Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company, the principal beneficiary under the amendments, realizes 8 per cent.——

Mr. BINGHAM. Let me interrupt the gentleman. They are paid but 5 per cent., and to-day the stock is at $34——

Mr. DOCKERY. I have not time to yield. I will accept the gentleman's statement and say 5 per cent. This particular line is profitable because of certain surroundings not now necessary to refer to; but what do the foreign ship-owners get on their investment? They do not realize, according to Senator INGALLS, 1 per cent., and yet you propose to tax the people for the benefit of the Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company, whose profits you concede to be 5 per cent.

SHIPPING DEPRESSION AND SUBSIDY PERIODS.

Mr. Speaker, the shipping interest of the world is, as stated by the Commissioner of Navigation in his report for 1887, involved in serious depression; and he assigns as the cause of this condition the excess of the supply of ocean tonnage, the result of overbuilding. The policy of subsidy has unduly stimulated it, and as a result we have reached a period of depression that is always consequent upon undue excitement.

In 1881 the tonnage of the whole world built that year was, in round numbers, 1,000,000 tons; in 1882, 1,200,000; in 1883, 1,250,000, and in 1884, 750,000 tons, a decrease of 500,000 tons; in 1885 it was 540,000 tons, showing a still further decrease; and in 1886 it had dropped down to 473,000 tons. So that, as the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] has well stated, the result is that to-day you can purchase any ship in the Old World for 50 per cent. of its original cost.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us briefly examine the results of the subsidy policies that have heretofore prevailed and ascertain, if we can, what effect they have had upon our merchant marine. I submit as a fair proposition, which our friends upon the other side of the House must concede, that if subsidies tend to the development of our merchant marine that effect ought to have been manifest during the period from 1866 to 1877, when that policy prevailed. Will any gentleman controvert the correctness of that statement? I do not think he will. From 1866 to 1877 the United States Government paid in subsidies $7,517,661.22. In 1866, when the policy was reinaugurated notwithstanding its disastrous failure before the war, the tonnage of American vessels registered for the foreign trade was 1,387,756.

In 1877 there was, after ten years of subsidy, an increase of only 100,000 tons, the total tonnage being 1,570,600. In 1866 32 per cent. of American commerce was carried in American vessels; in 1877 only 26 per cent. was carried in American vessels, an absolute decrease in the carrying trade of the country of 6 per cent. during ten years of subsidy, at an annual cost of $800,000.

Mr. BINGHAM. To two lines.

Mr. DOCKERY. The gentleman says "to two lines." What was the effect of giving it to the two lines; and what ought to have been the effect?

Mr. BINGHAM. To sustain the two lines.

Mr. DOCKERY. Very well; the gentleman states that the $800,000 was given for the sole purpose of sustaining two lines. With that understanding there ought not to be any great difficulty in reaching a correct conclusion as to the proper policy of the Government in respect to this question. If the subsidy policy is based upon sound business principles, it ought to have had the effect of doing what? What is the position of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], and what views has he expressed in this debate? He insists that subsidy will develop new lines of ocean steamers and build up our trade with Central and South America. If that is the correct view the result ought to have been to build up the business of these two lines and make it more profitable, so that when the subsidy was withdrawn they would have been able to stand erect, self-reliant, and vigorous without Government aid.

It did not have that effect; but on the contrary the tonnage of vessels built in the United States, which amounted to 336,146.56 in 1866, decreased in the ten years succeeding, until in 1877 it amounted to only 176,591.06, while the tonnage of vessels owned in the United States for the same period decreased from 4,310,778 to 4,242,600, a loss of 68,178 tons. I sincerely regret that I have not time to pursue this matter further. I will only say in conclusion that the American merchant marine has declined because it does not pay; and it does not pay for the reasons I have briefly stated. That is a plain business proposition. So long as the people of the United States can do better on land than they can by going to sea they will follow pursuits on land.

Mr. BRUMM. I ask as a matter of information, has the gentleman any remedy at all?

Mr. DOCKERY. In reply to the inquiry of the gentleman I will state frankly that I have made a very thorough examination of this question and as yet have failed to reach any satisfactory conclusion, so as to be able to suggest a remedy.

Mr. DINGLEY rose.

Mr. DOCKERY. I hope the gentleman will not interrupt me, as my time has almost expired.

Mr. DINGLEY. My point is very important. It is true, as you say, that our merchant marine in the foreign trade does not pay, but it is also true that our merchant marine in the coastwise trade does pay. Why is it that the merchant marine in the coastwise trade does pay and the merchant marine in the foreign trade does not pay?

Mr. DOCKERY. The Government of the United States has given the coastwise trade to American vessels; but unfortunately perhaps for us we can not give to this country a monopoly on the high seas. .The difference is manifest and must be apparent to the gentleman. We have a prosperous coastwise trade because it has exclusive privileges under the law. We have no merchant marine of consequence on the oceans, because there we can not compete, and can not compete for the reasons I have heretofore stated.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I observe that my time has about expired, but I would like a few minutes additional.

Mr. HEARD. I ask unanimous consent that my colleague may have ten minutes longer.

Mr. DOCKERY. Five minutes will do.

Mr. BLOUNT. I have some time still remaining which I will yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. DOCKERY. I do not like to accept the time so kindly offered by the gentleman from Georgia, as he has other uses for it. I will only add a few words.

I desire to say in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that this question is of such vast moment to our people that it ought to challenge the immediate attention of the Committee on Merchant Marine charged with the duty under the rules of the House of considering the whole question, and it ought not to appear under the questionable guise of a "rider" on an appropriation bill. We should approach its consideration, not in a spirit of partisanship, but actuated by a spirit of patriotism, based upon sound business principles. Let us intelligently survey the whole field and if possible remove the causes which hinder and impede our progress.

Mr. Speaker, I earnestly sympathize with every gentleman on this floor who desires to see the flag of our country once more a familiar sight upon all the waters of the globe and the American Republic no longer an inferior power upon the high seas; but I say to you, gentlemen, you can not permanently restore it by subsidies, or if it is accomplished in that way, instead of $450,000 or $800,000—the meager sums you propose—there must be an annual appropriation of from five to eight million dollars to compensate American ship-owners for the differences to which I have adverted.

Sir, I am not wedded to any particular theory or policy which looks to a restoration of American commerce to American ships, but "struggling in the way" in the honest effort to reach the best methods to accomplish this result, I shall hail with joy the hour when American prowess shall again be restored upon the seas. [Applause.]

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. CAREY,

OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, July 18, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the revenue—

Mr. CAREY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It must be evident to every one that speeches have not and will not affect the vote on any one of the various propositions presented in this bill. I desire to call attention only to a few of the industries of Wyoming Territory, which, if they should not be entirely destroyed, would be seriously embarrassed should the Mills bill become a law.

In 1872, then and now an honored member of this House—the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY], then in the prime of a noble manhood—was for a few months a sojourner in the beautiful valley known as the Laramie Plains, Wyoming Territory. While there he lived in a log house within the Fort Sanders military reservation. In sight and under protection of the military post a town site had been surveyed, and after the Western custom called a city, Laramie City. At this particular time "the city" was a village of log cabins and board shanties, with a population of a few hundred people only. It had been made a county seat, and Judge KELLEY delivered the address at the laying of the corner-stone of one of the first court-houses erected in the Territory. On that beautiful summer day, he, true to the work of his life, in his address told his little audience what could be done if they would turn their attention to the development of the various resources, especially the working of the mines and the transforming of the raw materials, everywhere so abundant in the surrounding mountains, into the manufactured products of commerce. The people listened and have since acted. Laramie City is no longer a village. The main public school building of the city to-day is of more value than all the buildings in the village in 1872. The commodious business houses, well filled with merchandise, the beautiful homes, the good schools and elegant churches, tell that the young city is populated with an intelligent and enterprising people, but the crowning glory of the citizens of this beautiful place is the manufacturing establishments which have cost in the aggregate over a million of dollars. Among these are machine-shops, rolling mills, a glass factory, and chemical works.

In an interesting letter from Hon. S. W. Downey, of Laramie City, concerning the manufacturing establishments, he says:

The present capacity of the glass-works is about 30,000 boxes per year, and the proposed capacity at once will be 70,000 boxes per year. There are now about sixty men employed at the glass-works, but next season there will be more than double that number.

The rolling-mills employ 200 men, and the manufactured product is now $50,000 per month. During the past twelve years the average product has been nearly, if not quite, $750,000 per year. Engaged in the shops, rolling-mills, glass-works, and chemical-works in ordinary times there should be employed at least 1,000 men, who, with their families, would constitute 4,000 of our population.

I need not inform you how these important enterprises have been paralyzed by the tariff agitation. We are continually hampered by the distrust of capital, which is extremely coy, over the doubts which hover over the legislation of the country.

With these articles protected, as they are under the present tariff, and with no immediate prospect of immediate hostile action by Congress, I have no hesitation in saying that we would soon have a population of 15,000—about treble our present size.

In this connection I desire to read a letter from a very intelligent gentleman, Clifford Pemberton, jr., the general agent of the Laramie Chemical Works. It is to the point, and is a strong argument why the reductions of the duties on soda and soda products should not be made. The letter is somewhat lengthy, but its contents will justify the space it will occupy:

LARAMIE CHEMICAL WORKS, *Laramie, Wyo., July* 2, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your valued favor of late date, I beg leave to lay before you the following information regarding the manufacture of soda products from the natural deposits of Wyoming Territory:

For the past four years we have been engaged in working up the natural soda from the soda lakes near Laramie and overcoming one after another the many difficulties of the processes. As there are no other like deposits in foreign countries, our work was slow and difficult, as all the information obtainable was confined to what is known as the Le Blanc process, a part of which is in operation at our works, but the proper process adapted to our requirements was only learned after years of experiment and the investment of considerable capital.

Our works, as they are to-day, represent an investment of about $300,000 and give employment to one hundred to one hundred and fifty men. Our products are caustic soda, soda-ash, sal-soda, pure Glauber's salts, dehydrated Glauber's salts (or salt-cake), and concentrated lye, and we have the capacity to supply the Western markets from Chicago to San Francisco. Our products find a ready sale in the various markets, the quality being fully equal to that of foreign goods, although at times we have found it necessary to make a discount in price in order to remove the prejudice in favor of English goods.

The great item of cost in our manufacture is that of labor. The total value of one of our products, caustic soda, is made up of the cost of the raw soda, which is very small, the cost of coal, limestone, and labor; and the labor cost is several times as great as the sum of all other expenses and materials. This additional labor cost in comparison with that of our competitors, who are mainly the alkali manufacturers of England, is as follows: To our yard-men or ordinary unskilled labor we pay $1.80 per day, or $10.80 per week, while our English competitor pays but 14 and 16 shillings per week, equal to $3.50 and $4. To our furnace-men we pay $2.60 per shift, or $16.20 per week, against $6 paid at Widnes, England, for the same work.

These prices paid to our labor are not excessive for this part of the country, nor are they high in comparison with the wages that skilled labor receives in the East; but in comparison with English labor it will be noticed that they are more than double. This difference in cost of labor makes it impossible for us to compete with the alkali manufacturers of England unless our present duties on soda products are retained.

Our position with regard to this competition can best be illustrated by noting the change that has taken place in the selling price of caustic soda in the Denver market.

In December last we began offering our caustic soda on this market and made several large sales at the price of $4.05 per 100 pounds for caustic soda of 76 per cent. strength, this price having been agreed upon as being 5 per cent. below the price at which foreign caustic soda could be laid down at Denver. To-day the price of caustic soda of the same strength, in the same quantities and in the same market, is only $3.30 per 100 pounds, our last sales having been made at this figure—a reduction of over 20 per cent. from the price of eight months ago.

This reduction can be attributed to but one cause. The English manufacturers are confident of the passage of the Mills bill, which reduces the duty on caustic soda one-half cent per pound, and are discounting this reduction to our disadvantage, selling in the Denver market at a price which nets them one-half cent per pound less than they can obtain for the same goods in Liverpool. The figures to substantiate this statement are as follows:

Present cost of 76 per cent. caustic soda per ton in Liverpool, £8 per 2,240 pounds, which equals a cost per 100 pounds of $1.75; present duty, 1 cent per pound, $1; freight to New York, 15 shillings and 10 per cent. 17 cents; freight to Denver (cheapest route), 90 cents; making a total cost of the goods laid down at Denver of $3.82 per 100 pounds, against a selling price of $3.30—an absolute loss of 52 cents per 100 pounds to the English manufacturers.

Without the present duties on soda products the natural soda deposits of this country will never be developed. During the past few years work has been done on the soda lakes of California, at Owen's Lake, at the soda marshes near Schurz, Nev., at Ragtown, Nev., and at Salt Lake City, Utah, in addition to the work on our own soda lakes, and thousands of tons of product, mainly sal-soda, soda-ash, and salt-cake, have been placed on the markets. The manufacture of salt-cake and soda-ash will soon be begun at Gill's Lakes, on the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad, and doubtless before long the extensive Dupont Lakes in

the Sweetwater district of Wyoming will be developed to meet the increasing demands for these goods. All these enterprises, however, depend entirely upon the continuance of the present duties, and I can assert most positively that if the Mills bill is passed, and the duties thereby reduced more than 50 per cent., in less than six months from the enactment of the bill the development of the soda deposits named will stop, and not a pound of product will be turned out until the duties are again restored.

It must be understood that in this branch of the chemical business the competition is with English manufacturers, established more than thirty years, with millions of capital invested and more millions at their disposal, employing labor at almost one-third of the cost of the same labor to us, and to whom the question of reducing the price of their goods in our markets sufficient to cause us to work at a loss, is a simple one and a course often pursued. To continue to ship goods to the United States and sell them at an actual loss for one year, for two or three years, is of frequent occurrence in the chemical business, and a course which seldom fails to bring success to the Briton and failure to the American.

As manufacturers we ask one of two things, either that our labor be given to us cheaper—and this no act of Congress can accomplish—or that we be permitted to enjoy the same protection that induced us to enter into the manufacture of soda chemicals, to invest our money in a manufacturing plant, and to devote four years to the development of one of the great natural deposits of this country.

We consider it a gross act of injustice to legislate against one class alone of all those engaged in labor in this country—the manufacturing class.

Very truly yours,

CLIFFORD PEMBERTON, JR.,
General Agent.

Hon. JOSEPH M. CAREY,
Washington, D. C.

The United States does not require the soda of any foreign country. We have enough soda in Wyoming Territory to supply the United States for centuries. Professor Ricketts, Territorial geologist, says "these deposits of soda found almost pure in great lakes in various places in the Territory are practically inexhaustible." This soda is so abundant at different points in the Territory that the cost of the manufacture of the various products from it may be determined by the interest on the capital invested, the cost of the fuel, and the cost of the labor expended. The crude soda costs but little more than the expense of handling and the transportation from the place of deposit to the place of manufacture.

The present duty on sulphate of soda is 20 per cent. ad valorem. This bill proposes to put it on the free-list. The rate of duty on caustic soda is now $20 per ton. This bill places it also on the free-list. Various other products of soda are to be put on the free-list, or the duties are to be materially reduced.

It is not difficult to see that the passage of the bill will destroy this industry, or the American workingman must take English wages for his labor.

The manufacture of glass in the Territory of Wyoming should become a great industry; its cost may be measured also by the labor and interest on the capital invested in the works. Soda, sand, limestone, and fuel are found in inexhaustible quantities and of good quality in the same localities for the production of glass. There are only a few factories in the extreme West. Nearly all the glass used in the Pacific States and Territories is of foreign manufacture. The present duty can be paid and the glass sold cheaper than it is possible for the American manufacturer, owing to the high price of labor and transportation in the United States, to sell his products.

The superintendent, Mr. Davis, of the Laramie Glass Works, says of the glass-blowers in Laramie City:

These skilled laborers nearly all have families, and are in a condition, generally, from the amount of wages earned by them, to purchase homes and live in a good style. It will be noticed that the workmen employed are so well pleased with the outlook and with our city that nearly all of them are buying property here and managing to build themselves homes in Laramie.

To those who would lower the duty on glass in this country I would commend a comparison between the condition of American workmen engaged in the manufacture of glass with those employed in the same industry in France and Belgium. To further show what the cost of glass manufactured in Wyoming Territory represents, I read further from the same interesting document:

The soda is the natural sulphate, chemically pure, and is used precisely as it is taken from the natural deposit, the only preparation being to calcine it. The sand used is from a bed 3½ miles east of the factory, and is perfectly white, without any trace of iron or any other impurities. Seen under a powerful microscope, every grain appears as a perfect quartz crystal, as clear as the glass itself. The limestone is found in the vicinity of the sand-bed, and is a species of marble of extraordinary purity. It contains nearly 99 per cent. of carbonate of lime, as I learn by analysis, and is used in its natural state, being simply pulverized.

The coal used here is slack, and is undoubtedly the best in the United States for the purpose of making glass. By its use as a fuel the melt is ready for the blowers on an average in twelve hours from the time it is placed in the furnace, while with the coal used in the Eastern factories fifteen hours are required before the melt is ready. This coal produces on the glass as fine and clear a gloss as can be obtained by using wood for fuel.

Recently the Northern, Central, and Pacific Railroad Companies have made large purchases of English steel rails. It is said by the advocates of this bill that the duties are too high on iron and steel used in railroad construction. I believe every pound of iron and steel used in the construction of American railroads should be made from American ores, in American furnaces and mills, and that American and not English wages should be paid at every step from the mining of the ore and fuel to the laying of the tracks. The Western and inland farmer must have a market at home. His cereals will not stand inland transportation to the ocean. Great progress has been made under the existing tariff laws in the establishment and successful management of manufacturing industries in the States and Territories. There are grand opportunities for such establishments in the West, and there is no reason why the surplus cereals of the trans-Missourian States should not be consumed by those who could be employed in the manufacturing industries. The fuel and base metals exist in many districts of the Rocky Mountains. Let the duties be retained on lead and copper and iron ores and on the manufactured products of iron.

There are enough iron ores and fuel in the Rocky Mountains for the manufacture of all the iron and steel that can be consumed on this continent. To illustrate, I need but mention one of these many mineral districts that exist in Wyoming. In the central and eastern part of that Territory, near the Nebraska line and the great grain belts west of the Missouri River, there is a great deposit that could properly be called a mountain, 7 miles long, 1 mile wide, of unknown depth, of red Hematite ore, remarkable for its high percentage of metallic iron and the small percentage of sulphur and phosphorous. All tests made show it to be entirely free from tintanium. The assays have averaged from 66 to 68 per cent. metallic iron, 0.02 to 0.06 per cent. sulphur, 0.04 to 0.08 per cent. phosphorous. The lime to flux the ore is found in the immediate proximity of the ore.

It is estimated that over 15,000,000 acres of the area of Wyoming is underlaid with coal. Examination of these raw materials have recently been made with a view of establishing furnaces; but capital, always timid, now says: "Wait until it can be seen what is to be the fate of the Mills bill." Its passage, with the repeated statement that it will be the entering wedge only for further reductions in the duties and the ultimate destruction of the system of protection, are embarrassing established industries and are deterring the investment of capital in new enterprises.

It is estimated that not less than $150,000,000 are invested in sheep in the United States, and that not less than a half million of men are employed in the care of the flocks. The annual product of wool amounts to more than $70,000,000 each year, and the sheep consumed each year to supply the mutton market amounts to $50,000,000. In Wyoming Territory not less than $6,000,000 are invested in the sheep husbandry. The business gives many men employment. Since the reduction of duties on wool in 1883 the business has not been a very profitable one. It is estimated that within three years after the reduction of the duties took place the number of sheep in the United States was reduced at least six million head. I do not believe there is any demand for cheaper wool. With the existing duties the industry is struggling to live. With proper protection against the cheap labor of Australia and South American states all the wool required in the United States could be produced in this country.

The importation of waste and shoddy through the evasion of the law which competes with wools produced in the United States should be prohibited. Making wool free of duty would seriously affect this branch of agriculture, and would be a direct thrust at the farmer and ranchmen. The sheep of the United States are grazed for the most part on waste lands or lands worthless for other purposes. The sheep are generally owned in small numbers by small farmers. The bill puts the farmer's wool on the free-list, but compels him to pay duty on rice and sugar. Putting wool on the free-list will destroy the sheep industry, and in the end it will not materially cheapen wool. The 350,000,000 pounds of wool now produced in the United States will have to be produced in other countries, and as the industry is destroyed here it will be increased abroad to supply the increased demand for wool in the United States.

The sheep-grower of Australia will be benefited just in proportion as the American sheep-grower is injured. I believe this great home industry of the farmer and ranchman should be protected as long as any article is protected by the laws of the United States. As there is no demand for free wool this industry is to be bankrupted to prevent a few millions of dollars from going into the Treasury of the United States. Far better would it be to expend the revenue derived from this source in building great water-storage basins in the Rocky Mountains to reclaim the arid lands and to protect the Western farmers and Southern planters from the floods that at certain periods overtake them and destroy their fields and growing crops.

I have mentioned a few industries only in the young country which I represent that would be injured if this bill should become a law. The bill will affect mining of silver ore, for in many places the price of lead found in these ores answers the question whether such ores can be profitably worked.

The coal output will be affected seriously should the bill become a law, for its production is largely determined by the demand made by the furnace, forge, and other manufacturing establishments. In my Territory the coal industry, yet in its infancy, represents, when it has reached the consumer, nearly $10,000,000 annually. The development of the copper deposits, the great marble quarries, and the rich oil fields, all so widespread in the Territory, must depend in a great degree upon the maintenance of the American protection system.

The West needs protection more than the East. As we travel west

from Chicago and St. Louis over either of the great trunk lines of railroad, the people of every town and city of importance through which we pass point with pride to the manufacturing establishments built up under the protective system, which have made a home market for the products of the farmer, employment for the artisan, and customers for the wares of the merchant. On the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad and on the lines of the Northwestern and Burlington systems of railroad, now pushing their tracks across my Territory, there are great opportunities for the establishment of manufactories for the transforming of the raw materials there found so varied and abundant into those products demanded by the great agricultural districts east of us.

Much is said of the commerce of Great Britain under free trade. How insignificant is it in comparison with the great inland trade of the States and Territories of the United States, which is eight times greater than the entire export and import trade of Great Britain. There is a demand in our own country for 75 per cent. of all our manufactured products, and of all our agricultural products less than 10 per cent. has to find a foreign market. The great growth and the continued prosperity of this country, I believe, are largely attributable to the system of American defense of our labor and industries against the cheap labor and industries of foreign countries. Wages in the United States averaging so much higher than those of the Old World have enabled our workingmen, with the practice of economy and industry, to at least provide for themselves and those dependent upon them a good support in comfortable homes. The system has made us powerful as a nation and as a people largely independent of the rest of the world.

In all the arid region of the United States, especially in Wyoming Territory, nature has spread with a bountiful hand those raw materials which have done so much to make us great as a manufacturing people. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that Wyoming, with some help from the nation to reclaim her valleys that they may be brought into bearing, with the continuance of the American system, that the products of her great grazing fields may be protected, and that her iron, coal, copper, lead, soda, and oil fields may be developed, will within the life of some of us furnish homes and employment for at least a million of people.

Rice.

And yet of what avail to our laboring classes are laws to keep the Chinese out, and let in practically unhindered, as some of you propose, the products of labor cheap as theirs?

* * * * * * *

We can not raise the requirements of living, the rates of pay of the Asiatic races to the standards which prevail in our land; but God forbid that we should attempt to drag our standards of living and of wages down to theirs, or that we should take away the employment and the livelihood from any of our people to send abroad to them.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THEODORE S. WILKINSON,

OF LOUISIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 10, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the revenue——

Mr. WILKINSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Bread from wheat is an article of such general use as to be popularly called the staff of life. But if we consider the number of lives supported by another cereal, the name belongs as well to rice. Wheat is the great life-supporter of the Europeans and the Americans. Rice fills a similar position of equal importance with the teeming multitudes of Eastern Asia.

These two cereals, wheat and rice, together, support more human beings than do all other articles of food combined. Their growth and use are as old as history.

Wheat is referred to by the earliest Scriptural writers, and—

Rice has been cultivated from time immemorial in tropical countries. According to Stanislaus Julien, a ceremonial ordinance was established in China by the Emperor Chinnung 2,800 years B. C., in accordance with which the emperor sows the rice himself, while the seeds of four other kinds may be sown by the princes of the family.—*Encyclopædia Brittanica*, page 553.

Alike as these two are in the antiquity of their origin, alike in being the great life-supporters of the earth, alike in demanding fertile soils, or soils made fertile for successful harvests—with these points in common, there are most striking points of difference between the two. Wheat can yield its richest harvests on the rolling prairie or the slant of the steep hillside. Rice—I speak of lowland rice, which forms the great bulk of the rice product of the world—rice, I say, can only thrive on level ground, and if the ground is not level naturally it must be made level or cultivated in level areas, no matter what the cost may be to make it so.

Sir Samuel Baker, speaking of rice cultivation in a portion of the East, says:

The system of rice cultivation is exceedingly laborious. The first consideration being a supply of water, the second is a perfect level, or series of levels to be irrigated. Thus a hillside must be terraced out into a succession of flat-forms or steps; and a plain, however apparently flat, must by requisite embankments be reduced to the most perfect surface.

The reason why rice, unlike wheat, can be cultivated only on level areas is that, also unlike wheat, it is not a product of land alone, or of land and the occasional moisture that is afforded by dew and rain, but demands as essentials to its growth and perfection both land and water, and for most of its growth the latter element in enormous quantities and unfailing supply.

IT CAN NOT THRIVE WITHOUT IRRIGATION,

and the land must be level to be irrigated properly. The fields need to be so level, or divided off into such level areas by embankments and flood-gates, that the water can be spread to a similar depth throughout their entire extent.

An abundant, and at nearly all times a certain, supply of water is an absolute essential for a good yield of rice, and this is what causes it to require far more labor than any other of the cereals. It not only needs the water, but its necessities require complete control over it. This element must be under such complete control as to be put on or taken off at will. At certain stages of its early growth a depth of a few inches is just right; a depth of a few inches more will make it stretch its tiny stems in the endeavor to point its tender shoots above the shallow flood in striving after some portion of air and sunlight still. Its life then hangs by a slender thread, a prey to cray-fish and their kind, and when the utmost skill in the management of the water and the control over it is essential to its very existence. A few inches submerged too deep, and the tiny points left under too long, the plants are drowned as surely as human beings are who sink too long beneath the water. A letting off or lowering of the water too much, a fall too fast, and the fragile stems are broken or fall down to be plastered fast in the ooze which does not let them rise. At the second and last stages of its cultivation drainage is as necessary as irrigation. It is a prey to birds by millions in its sowing and in its ripening, at seed time and at harvest, to enemies of the air and enemies in the water.

The softness of the land and the numerous embankments that are requisite to hold the water to a uniform depth greatly interfere with and in many cases absolutely prevent, the use of reaping-machines, and compel the use of the old-time sickle. Without taking into consideration the great expense, such as I have shown unavoidably attends the cultivation of this plant, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. WARNER], in comparing the amount of product of an acre of wheat and an acre of rice, infers that there is a profit in the business of rice growing which the actual circumstances of the case do not warrant. That his conclusions are based on data insufficient, partial, and erroneous, I shall proceed to show. Considering one item at a time, I must dissent from his statement that—

From these figures it will be seen that when the rice is cleaned the net value to the planter is $1.10 per bushel.

In Louisiana the producer sells his rice to the miller as wheat is sold in other sections. The millers, on account of the large number of the mills and the competition among them at present, pay a full price for what they buy, although there have been times when they have combined in the past, and these times may and doubtless will occur in the future. The price in the New Orleans market, according to papers of a late date, is from $2.50 to $3.50 per barrel, or an average of $3 per barrel "rough" or paddy, weighing 162 pounds. A barrel of this is equal to 3.6 bushels of 45 pounds each, the standard in Carolina and Georgia; hence the gentleman's figures are incorrect to start on. Instead of being worth now $1.10 per bushel to the farmer it is worth to-day an average of 83⅓ cents, and that not on the plantation or farm, but sacked and freight paid and delivered at the New Orleans market.

In a comparison of the amount produced on one acre of the two cereals a very essential item, so far as the comparative profit is considered, is

THE COMPARATIVE COST OF PRODUCTION OF THE TWO CROPS.

I am entirely within bounds when I say that the average cost of cultivation, including a fair percentage on the original outlay, is from two to three times as much in the case of rice as in the case of wheat, and one man can cultivate and harvest from two to three times as many acres of wheat as he can of rice.

Mr. WARNER. Will the gentleman pardon me to submit a question which I wish to ask for information? How much does it cost to raise rice in the South?

Mr. WILKINSON. That depends very much on what has to be done——

Mr. WARNER. I supposed so.

Mr. WILKINSON. If the gentleman will not interrupt me I will endeavor to answer his question. That depends, as I was going on to

say, very largely on what has to be done in the way of preparing the land for the crop, in building embankments, digging, flooding, and draining ditches, putting in dams, flumes, and flood-gates. But I suppose the gentleman does not desire an estimate based on these expensive preliminary preparations, but on a field that has been already prepared and has been in process of cultivation for a series of years.

Mr. WARNER. I desire to know the average cost per acre or per bushel of raising rice.

Mr. WILKINSON. I will leave out the original cost of preparing the land for rice before a furrow is run, which in some portions of the South would be fully tenfold greater than the ordinary cost of preparing the fields for the plowing for wheat.

From some experience in the cultivation of rice for a number of years, and up to within a comparatively short period, I estimate the average cost of cultivating and harvesting an acre of rice to be about as follows:

Cost of all items, including seed rice, plowing, harrowing, irrigation, the repair of banks, dams, ditches, and flood-gates, grassing, "water tending," gunpowder, "bird minding," labor of all kinds, and all expenses up to but not including harvesting, per acre, about	$17.00
The harvesting, not including the threshing—that is, the cutting, binding, and shocking—estimating not exceeding one-sixth of the total area in Louisiana harvested to be cut by the reaper and five-sixths of the total by the sickle, say $3 per acre for one-sixth and $5.50 per acre for five-sixths, or average per acre	5.08
The hauling to the thresher, threshing, cost of sacks, and freight to New Orleans, about 12 cents per bushel or 43 cents per barrel, at 10 barrels or 36 bushels to the acre	4.30
Average cost per acre	26.38

The average yield to the acre I estimate, in Louisiana, at about 10 barrels "rough," or 36 bushels; the cost per acre at about $26.38; the cost per bushel (45 pounds) of paddy or rough rice at about 73 cents. I trust that this may be a sufficiently explicit answer to the question of the gentleman from Missouri. The average yields in Carolina are estimated at 30 bushels to the acre, and in Japan, where the fields are highly fertilized and cultivated like gardens, at 40 bushels to the acre. These estimates of yield and cost will vary considerably according to the length of time the land has been in cultivation, as those lands that have been cultivated for a number of years become so set with water-grasses that the pulling up of them adds largely to the cost of cultivation, besides reducing the yield. Those fields on which reaping machines can be used can, of course, be harvested more cheaply than the others, but I think the figures I have given will be fair averages. The cost of irrigation also varies very largely. At times when the rivers do not rise above the surface of the lands to be flooded, or where, after having risen, they fall below the required level, as is often the case,

THE WATER MUST BE PUMPED UP BY STEAM MACHINERY.

Some of the steam-pumps used in Louisiana have a capacity of 500,000 gallons per hour, and are run constantly at those times day and night for every hour of the twenty-four.

Mr. KELLEY. Will the gentleman permit a question for information?

Mr. WILKINSON. Certainly.

Mr. KELLEY. Is it not true that upland rice is largely supplanting the rice produced by the methods just now described?

Mr. WILKINSON. No, sir; it is not true, for this reason: While the upland rice is produced without the expense of irrigation, its yield is so much less that as a consequence comparatively little is raised. I do not think that there are figures to give the exact statistics of the production, but it is quite a small amount and cuts an exceedingly small figure in the rice product of the country. There may be a trifling amount produced in Louisiana, but, although born and reared in the rice regions, I can not now recollect ever having seen a stalk of upland rice growing in that State.

Mr. KELLEY. I learned in Florida in many rice-fields and on examining the rice-bins on the farm at St. Cloud, that upland rice was gradually supplanting the old process of making it. I may have been misinformed, but that was the information I got.

Mr. WILKINSON. In Florida, Mr. Chairman, there is little rice grown.

Mr. KELLEY. Oh, no.

Mr. WILKINSON. The chief and largest rice-producing States are Louisiana, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

Mr. KELLEY. But——

Mr. WILKINSON. I can not, Mr. Chairman, yield any further time to interruptions. In answer to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY], I said that in Florida there was but little rice grown. The last census reports the total Florida rice product at 1,294,677 pounds, or only a little over 1 per cent. of the total product of the rice-producing States at that time. And while Florida may have increased her production since then, I doubt if much relative increase has taken place as compared with the total product. And even if the gentleman from Pennsylvania was correctly informed that a portion of this 1 per cent. was being changed from one system of cultivation to another system, it would have but a small bearing on the statement at issue that the cost of irrigation was a large element of cost in the production of rice.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. Does the gentleman from Louisiana——

Mr. WILKINSON. I decline to yield any further. I will come directly to consider the source of some of the information which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HOPKINS] has depended on to support his arguments on this floor. I have been surprised, Mr. Chairman, to find on what flimsy support have been principally based the arguments of the gentlemen who have advocated these amendments, and who have assailed these schedules and this industry, not only to-day, but months ago in this House. Their conclusions do not seem to have been based upon the views or the testimony of men familiar with this culture, but far the greater portion of the figures that have been given and the statements that have been made have been taken from a letter largely circulated among members of this House, and signed by John L. Many, rice broker. This furnisher of alleged statistics has evidently provided most of the ammunition for the attacks that have been made against this schedule. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HOPKINS] had evidently loaded up, in part at any rate, from that magazine when he said:

> Now, in view of the fact that rice can be cultivated at a profit when the cleaned rice brings 3 cents a pound, the net profit at 60 bushels per acre would be $36 an acre. That is the net profit as given by parties who are familiar with the cultivation of rice.

And who are the parties who have given this information? Who besides Mr. John L. Many, rice broker, have furnished such statements as these, or statements like these in any respect? Name one witness that is familiar with the subject; furnish one credible and capable authority to substantiate the unsupported assertions of this individual.

Other gentlemen have made use of the allegations made in the letter that I have referred to. As early as April 30 last the letter was quoted entire (see page 4647, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD), without giving the authorship, by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], who speaks of him as—

> One of the most prominent rice-dealers of the country, a gentleman who would be at once known and recognized were I to publish his name.

I do not know what his prominence is, but I recognize the misleading statements that he wrote down in almost every speech against the schedules now under discussion. It is difficult to find the proper language with which to denounce those who utter reckless and unfounded statements as to facts on subjects with which they pretend to be familiar. They who do this are guilty of the attempt to poison the wells and springs of public information. Although falsifiers of fact, their statements come arrayed in the semblance of accuracy and truth, and are scattered broadcast in this House, and, alas! but too often are seized upon and made use of by members who do not stop to inquire fully into the veracity or capacity of knowing of such informants.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to denounce as untrue, and made through ignorance or malice, and perhaps both, the following statements made by this would-be guide of American legislators, who claims such familiarity with an industry in distant States:

> First. That 60 bushels of rice to the acre is an average yield.
> Second. That 80 bushels to the acre is a not unusual yield.
> Third. That since the war, when there have been sudden enlargements of the crop, while there has been some complaint about prices "in the Atlantic Coast States, there was none heard in Louisiana, where the larger amount of the crop is now produced."
> Fourth. That he "was assured by residents, who were planters as well as capitalists, that rice could be profitably raised and sold, cleaned, at 3 cents per pound, and pay fair intermediary charges—*i. e.*, to commission merchant and miller."
> Fifth. That Louisiana rice can be raised as cheaply as any other cereal.

I challenge the gentleman from Illinois or the gentleman from Missouri to produce any competent witness or any fact to prove that such average yields as their informant alleges are true.

They can find not a single reliable witness to show that there have been no complaints of low prices in Louisiana during the period of greatest production. They can not furnish one jot of testimony to bear out the assertion that rice can be raised, milled, and put on the market profitably at 3 cents per pound; and finally, they can not, any one of them, prove, by any living man familiar with the business, who has any pretensions to veracity, that a crop demanding the extensive and costly preparations, the arrangements for both irrigation and drainage, the almost constant supply and control over water—furnished often by costly steam machinery—in which there is the difficulty, and in most places the impossibility of using reaping machines, on account of the softness of the land and the number and closeness of the banks and ditches—none of these gentlemen, I say, can produce a single trustworthy witness, that knows whereof he speaks, to show that a crop with such costly requirements as I have named can be produced in Louisiana, or in America, as cheaply as any other cereal!

Sir, this last assertion relating to the cheapness with which rice could be raised as compared with other cereals is made regardless of the fact that rice culture in all the countries in which it is grown requires such care and such labor as is required by none of the other cereals. In Japan, where nearly five times as much rice is raised as wheat (180,000,000 bushels rice, 38,000,000 bushels wheat), why is it that the price of rice has been reported as nearly twice as high per pound as the

price of wheat? (See Consular Reports on Labor in Foreign Countries, 1884, volume 3, page 339.)

This increased cost as compared with other cereals, not only in America, but in the East, is due chiefly to the labor that it requires.

Sir Samuel Baker, in the work which I have already quoted from, says, speaking of Ceylon—

The system of rice cultivation is exceedingly laborious.

Consul Jones, in his report of April 26, 1888, from Chinkiang, China, says:

The cultivation of rice from beginning to end is accompanied with great labor.

Consul Webb, in a report from the Philippine Islands, dated Manila, May 15, 1888, says:

The most potent reason probably for this state of affairs—

referring to large importations of rice—

is the fact that it requires more labor and care to raise and harvest a crop of rice than are necessary for any other food product.

I can not but be surprised, Mr. Chairman, that the author of such statements as have been paraded on this floor should have found members so ready to accord full credence to assertions so utterly unsubstantiated and so at variance with facts as his have been.

Gentlemen have spoken of the large ad valorem tariff on certain portions of the rice schedules under existing law, singling out only certain items that suited their argument best. It would be well to remember that the average rate of the entire rice schedules under the existing law was about 62 per cent., and the present bill proposes to lower the rate on every single item of the list. It were well to recollect that the Ways and Means Committee in framing this bill have not started anew to make a tariff law. Their duty has been not to ruthlessly destroy, regardless of existing conditions in our industrial system. They have been charged with sectionalism in not making greater reductions in these schedules, but yet they have reduced decidedly the tariff on rice, placed there by Republican Congresses, and

HAVE NOT TOUCHED OR LOWERED ONE WHIT THE DUTY ON POTATOES, OR THAT ON WHEAT, OR BARLEY,

or other cereals grown mostly at the North. The duty on wheat, some gentlemen may say, is a nominal one, and has no practical effect, yet I noticed some time ago that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON] was unwilling when interrogated on that point to have it removed or reduced.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to touch on another point—

THE DESCRIPTION OF UNCLEANED RICE—

about which so much discussion has arisen. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HOPKINS] says that—

For more than forty years the schedule of rice has been found to work well in this country. The decisions of the Treasury Department have been uniform. But since this bill was first reported to the House several cargoes of rice were stopped at the port of Savannah and other Southern ports, and this question was raised; and in view of that fact, this question having been raised by the Southern rice-planters, the interpolation was made in the bill and an entirely new classification was presented, such as we now find presented for our adoption here.

I have watched these tariff proceedings quite closely. I have also tried to keep posted as far as was in my power concerning the action of the Ways and Means Committee on these schedules; but I now have heard for the first time this new charge made. No interpolation, such as is charged, was made in this bill after it left the room of the Ways and Means Committee and was presented to the House. To verify this statement I refer to the language of the bill itself reported by Mr. MILLS from the Ways and Means Committee on April 2 last. The only change that I have heard of being made in this bill after it left the committee was a change in the rice-flour and rice-meal rate, restoring the old language and lowering the duty from 20 to 15 per cent. As to the alleged interpolation about uncleaned rice, the gentleman can find that the bill as first presented to the House contains the exact language which is now under dispute. The bill was presented to the House by the committee unchanged in that particular in one letter or one word, as the bill itself will show, and has remained so since.

The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Maynard, recommended a more explicit definition of the different grades of rice, "in view of the many questions which have heretofore arisen between importers and officers of the customs" on that subject.

But the gentleman from Illinois says that the present schedules have been found to work well for forty years, and yet he could have found if he had taken the trouble that disputes have risen almost without number on these very schedules. This matter has been a source of endless trouble, vexation, and cost to the Treasury Department in the very particular which this bill proposes to remedy in the future. The gentleman from Illinois says the decisions of the Treasury Department have been uniform when they have been directly opposite before and after 1877. He intimates that this question was first raised on account of the arrival of certain cargoes at Savannah and elsewhere since this bill was reported to the House, when, in point of fact, it

WAS RAISED AT THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO MORE THAN TWENTY-THREE YEARS AGO,

when the Treasury Department decided "that Patna rice, of which the hull and inner cuticle had been removed, was subject to classification as cleaned rice." This decision was practically reiterated by the Department again and again, until the importers obtained in the lower courts a decision in their favor by means of testimony of interested witnesses, and when the officers who were charged with looking after the interests of the Government failed to take the matter up to the Supreme Court of the United States.

There are at this time exactly contrary rulings by different appraisers as to what constitutes uncleaned rice at the different ports on and near our seaboard. It is to settle these clashing views, it is to stop in great measure these unending disputes that this grade of rice which has been the source of so much controversy has been accurately defined in this bill.

The division of rice into three general classes is a natural and a reasonable one:

First. Paddy or "rough" rice is the grain from the thresher with its hard outer husk or hull, consisting largely of silica, not removed.

Second. Uncleaned rice is that which has had this outer husk removed, but on which a close-adhering inner skin, like that which surrounds a grain of wheat or barley, still remains.

Third. Cleaned rice has this inner skin removed also, and is then in proper shape for food. It is ordinarily polished besides, as a picture is varnished after it is painted, but the polishing process, while giving it a pleasing appearance, is not essential to its use as food.

The milling of rice consists of several processes to which I will briefly refer, appending as a matter of interest in this connection the reports of Consul Waller and others concerning the milling of rice in Europe. The removal of the outer hull or husk is the first process after certain screenings, etc., have been undergone. This hulling process is done by millstones set close enough only to take off the outer hull without breaking the grain itself.

The next and most difficult and expensive process is the removal of the inner skin or cuticle which adheres to the grain with great tenacity. This is done by friction, ordinarily in pounders or mortars. A by-product of this process (being fine particles of the inner cuticle and also of the grain itself) is known as rice flour or bran, and is used for cattle food, and the finer particles by manufacturers of face powder. After this process of pounding and after the bran or flour is separated from it, it is cleaned, so far as suitability for food is concerned. Without going into the details of fanning, screening, etc., one of the last processes, and among the quickest and the least costly, is the process of polishing. This is done by brushing the rice with cylinders covered with sheepskins with the wool on. This last and inexpensive process gives the rice the pearly and polished appearance which makes its finished product the most beautiful of all the cereals. The rice on which this last process has been omitted is virtually "cleaned" if "unpolished," and the widest limit a controversy as to its actual condition could possibly justly take would be whether it was entirely cleaned or only nine-tenths cleaned.

Those claiming that in this condition it is not ten-tenths cleaned, but admitting that it is nine-tenths cleaned, set up the unreasonable demand that it should be classed when imported in this condition as "uncleaned," and these unreasonable demands the classification in this bill does not attempt to satisfy. It seeks to preserve the classifications which have been thought to be just and reasonable by repeated unbiased constructions of the law by the Treasury Department for a number of years.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Missouri, prompted I believe by the erroneous information that has been furnished on this question, proposes to go much further in the reductions in these schedules than the Ways and Means Committee have done, but the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAYNE] has been more ultra still in his proposition. He proposes to cut the tariff on "cleaned" rice down from 2¼ cents to one-half of 1 cent per pound, and on "uncleaned" from 1½ to one-quarter of 1 cent per pound. Where is his consistency? He has declaimed day after day about

THE CAUSE OF AMERICAN LABOR AND AMERICAN INDUSTRIES, AND NOW ATTEMPTS TO STRIKE A BLOW AT BOTH.

The laborers in the rice fields of Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana are a long way from Pennsylvania, it is true, but whatever benefits the levying of a tariff brings should be received as well by them as by the laborers in mill and mine in the gentleman's own State. Pennsylvania is a great State, but can the gentleman not look beyond its borders?

There are certain regions in Lower Louisiana where rice is almost the exclusive support of the people. In these regions the farms are usually small, many of the fields being not over fifteen acres in area. These regions are the homes of a people with an industry and an energy which go to show that enervating lives are not necessarily bred by Southern climes. In most cases in this region this crop is the farmer's all. Upon its success depends the support of wife and children, the comfort and happiness of fireside and of home; with its failure come want and distress and debt to overhang the coming years. There we

watch the rise or fall of the Mississippi much as the Egyptians watched the Nile of old. The vicissitudes of weather, the east wind which brings in the destructive tides from off the Gulf, or the north wind which sends them back, the harvest time of sunshine or of rain after all the months of toil, are viewed with solicitude as bearers of happiness or misfortune.

When I go through the West and see the farmer riding his improved plows, his cultivator, or his reaping machine, from seed-time until harvest, which American ingenuity has devised to alleviate so much of the toil of farm life, I think of the scenes in the rice fields of Lower Louisiana, where no such realization of farming-made-easy has yet been attained except in very partial degree. As a contrast, I am reminded how often I have seen the rice farmers and rice laborers—and not only seen, but been with them—over knee-deep in mud and water, pulling out the water-grasses until the hands were cut and sore; how often upon the harvest field, with mud beneath and the fierce blaze of an August sun overhead, seen the cutting, binding, and shocking or stacking go on as if no such thing as heat or fatigue could slacken their labor or arrest their indomitable energy.

And yet the gentleman from Pennsylvania and other gentlemen upon this floor advocate an amendment which if adopted would remove the scenes of this industry in great part from American fields to India and Siam, to Java and Japan. They would turn over the growing of this food supply to the East Indian, the Japanese, and others of their kind—would take the employments away from our own people, from white and colored both, and give work and bread to them instead.

THE WAGES OF THE LABORERS IN THE RICE FIELDS OF THE EAST

in some localities are as low as 5 cents per day, and vary from that to an extreme of 20 cents per day, according to late authorities. Our lands are as good as any in the world for rice production. The rice fields near the Atlantic coast are as well adapted to that cultivation as those near the Indian Ocean or those of the islands around the Yellow Sea. The delta of the Mississippi is as fertile as those of the Ganges and the Irrawaddy, but our farmers and our laborers can not compete in the open market with labor such as theirs. The enormous labor cost of this crop I have alluded to at length already.

MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS OF THE COST OF THIS CROP IS LABOR.

The tariff rate that this bill proposes does not more than span the difference between the labor that produces it here and that which produces it abroad. In the case of wheat, agricultural machinery and cheapened processes for harvesting go to span that gap, but in the case of rice, with the great amount of labor which is required, a tariff at least as great as that which is now proposed is required to bridge the difference over. This difference in labor cost both parties are positively pledged to maintain. The Democratic platform said in 1884 and reiterated in 1888:

> The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

The Republican platform of 1884 pledged itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff—

> by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

Do members of that party claim that the platform of 1888 relieves them from that pledge?

If political platforms are not made to be utterly ignored, then how can members of this House introduce and support these amendments?

When gentlemen on the other side take this position what has become of the greatest argument of the protectionist which they seem at will to stand by or ignore as suits them best?

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THAT CHEAPENING PROCESS

which home production brings to the consumer? Is rice to be made an exception to the rule? Look at the prices and the home production since the war; see how the price has gone down as the home production has gone up in all these years, and then answer, if you can, why you place rice outside the law.

There was a time when the rice industry was practically wiped out of existence.

About twenty-five years ago the races of the Orient had the rice markets of this country (except a small area) all to themselves. The home production was practically cut off by war, and virtually none of it found its way to the great Northern markets. Money went over across the Pacific in millions of dollars, and the plains of India and Siam and the level terraces of Japanese hillsides had demands for their products such as has never been known here before or since. The farmers and laborers of the East and the importers of Europe

HAD A MONOPOLY OF OUR MARKETS.

With the Southern crop entirely shut off, consumers paid far more for rice than they do now, and prices in this country rose to a higher point than at any time in our history.

There is a law apart from the ordinary tenets of protection or of revenue reform which will stand whatever theories of taxation may prevail in the end. It is a law cherished in the hearts and demanded by the welfare of our laboring men and the great masses of our people—a law written in part only, but one which politicians and statesmen may not care to disregard. This law demands that our institutions shall not be overthrown, our enlightenment shall not be clouded, our civilization shall not be contaminated by the influx of hordes of the Asiatic races. And yet of

WHAT AVAIL TO OUR LABORING CLASSES ARE LAWS TO KEEP THE CHINESE OUT AND LET IN, PRACTICALLY UNHINDERED, AS SOME OF YOU PROPOSE, THE PRODUCTS OF LABOR CHEAP AS THEIRS?

They are alien to us in their wants, alien in their habits, and our people like them best when a great ocean flows between. They can live in comfort when our own people would well-nigh starve, and they can produce in plenty at rates with which our people can not compete.

We can not raise the requirements of living, the rates of pay of the Asiatic races to the standards which prevail in our land; but God forbid that we should attempt to drag our standards of living and of wages down to theirs, or that we should take away the employment and the livelihood from any of our people to send abroad to them! We need all our employments. We need all our industries; and the day we remand any of them to the East Indian, the Japanese, or the Chinaman will be a day when the folly of such an action will only be less than the crime! Our granaries should all be here, not across the Pacific Ocean, and the fields to fill them from should be tilled and sown and harvested by our own people.

I append to my remarks some statistical tables and extracts from consular reports relating to the cultivation and milling of rice. Some of these reports have not yet been published and I am indebted for original copies of them to the courtesy of Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of State.

APPENDIX.

The following statistical tables were taken from a report by a committee from the Rice Association of Savannah, Ga.:

Table showing domestic production, importation, exportation, and consumption of rice, commencing with 1865–'66.

Years.	Domestic production.	Domestic rice exported.	Domestic rice consumed.	Foreign rice imported.	Foreign rice exported.	Foreign rice consumed.	Total consumption.
	Pounds.	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*	*Pounds.*
1865–'66	11,592,600	639,080	10,953,520	60,407,756	7,998,996	52,408,760	63,362,280
1866–'67	12,206,729	2,212,901	9,993,819	75,514,064	8,656,060	66,858,004	76,851,823
1867–'68	14,602,600	1,394,007	13,208,593	44,782,223	4,676,082	40,106,141	53,314,734
1868–'69	26,790,200	3,074,043	23,716,157	59,140,707	11,908,953	47,231,754	70,947,911
1869–'70	53,937,000	2,232,833	51,704,167	53,065,194	8,868,664	44,196,530	95,900,697
1870–'71	47,348,000	2,133,014	45,214,986	43,123,939	15,212,833	27,911,106	73,126,092
1871–'72	39,625,990	445,842	39,180,148	64,655,820	10,212,920	54,442,900	93,623,048
1872–'73	52,634,400	403,835	52,230,565	74,642,631	12,251,959	62,390,672	114,621,237
1873–'74	62,900,380	276,637	62,623,743	83,755,225	20,202,774	63,552,451	126,176,194
1874–'75	68,241,400	558,922	67,682,478	73,257,716	25,840,877	47,416,839	115,099,317
1875–'76	72,360,800	277,357	72,083,443	59,414,744	12,352,330	47,062,414	119,145,857
1876–'77	81,391,800	439,991	80,951,809	71,561,852	16,610,614	54,951,238	135,903,047
1877–'78	77,240,400	1,306,982	75,933,418	64,013,064	14,483,645	49,529,419	125,462,837
1878–'79	84,739,200	631,105	84,108,095	47,489,878	9,656,593	37,833,285	121,941,380
1879–'80	86,996,800	178,534	86,818,266	57,364,848	8,793,395	48,571,453	135,389,719
1880–'81	117,766,000	150,451	117,615,549	68,739,409	10,819,867	57,919,542	175,535,691
1881–'82	95,512,800	143,289	95,069,511	79,412,841	6,855,056	72,557,785	167,727,296
1882–'83	107,171,125	186,140	106,984,985	96,673,080	2,312,068	94,361,012	201,345,997
1883–'84	107,086,630	163,519	106,923,111	106,630,523	10,146,154	96,484,369	203,407,480
1884–'85	108,128,760	168,827	107,959,833	81,077,410	8,630,960	72,446,550	180,406,383
1885–'86	151,102,920	256,311	150,848,609	97,562,353	6,591,090	91,391,263	242,239,872
1886–'87	155,707,060	644,384	155,063,476	93,950,357	4,858,769	89,111,590	244,175,060

Lowest and highest prices of rice per 100 pounds in each year in the New York market from 1825 to 1886, inclusive.

[From the American Almanac for 1888.]

Year.	Lowest.	Highest.	Year.	Lowest.	Highest.
1825	$2.00	$4.00	1856	$3.62	$4.87
1826	2.00	3.87	1857	3.25	5.37
1827	2.50	4.00	1858	2.75	3.75
1828	2.50	4.00	1859	3.00	4.50
1829	2.50	3.75	1860	3.00	4.62
1830	2.00	3.50	1861	3.00	7.25
1831	2.50	4.00	1862	6.62	7.75
1832	2.75	4.25	1863	3.75	8.50
1833	2.75	3.75	1864	7.00	15.50
1834	2.25	3.62	1865	9.75	14.00
1835	2.75	4.50	1866	11.50	15.25
1836	3.00	4.25	1867	8.50	12.50
1837	3.12	5.00	1868	8.25	11.25
1838	3.25	5.37	1869	7.25	10.00
1839	3.00	5.06	1870	5.50	9.50
1840	2.75	4.00	1871	6.75	9.75
1841	2.87	4.12	1872	7.50	9.50
1842	2.00	3.31	1873	7.00	9.50
1843	1.87	3.00	1874	6.75	10.00
1844	2.25	3.62	1875	6.50	8.50
1845	2.62	4.75	1876	5.00	7.50
1846	2.87	4.50	1877	5.00	7.00
1847	8.25	13.75	1878	5.50	8.00
1848	7.75	13.00	1879	5.50	7.25
1849	2.25	3.50	1880	5.50	8.00
1850	2.25	3.37	1881	5.00	7.75
1851	2.75	3.12	1882	5.25	8.50
1852	2.75	5.00	1883	4.00	7.25
1853	3.37	4.50	1884	4.50	6.50
1854	4.12	4.62	1885	3.25	5.38
1855	2.50	5.87	1886	3.00	5.00

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF CONSUL-GENERAL BONHAM, RELATING TO RICE IN INDIA.

While exact statistics of the production and consumption of rice in British India are not available, yet enough is known to warrant me in saying that the quantity is very great. When we take into consideration the fact that rice is the principal article of food with the native population of British India (estimated at 250,000,000), and that each adult will consume during the year about 500 pounds of rice, and that the entire population will use on the average probably from 200 to 250 pounds each, an approximate idea may be formed of the vast quantities of that staple food cereal which are consumed by these people, in fact, "rice and curry," as you are probably aware, is a standard dish in this country with the European population also.

METHODS OF CULTIVATION.

Rice is cultivated entirely, as far as I am able to learn, by the native farmers or "ryots," as they are called here.

The zemindar or landlord is often an extensive land holder, but the tiller of the soil is, as a rule, the tenant of a small patch of ground only. He plows his land at least twice (or scratches over it) with a very rude and small East Indian plow, which has but one handle, and costs about $1, and is constructed somewhat like the old fashioned "bull-tongue" plow of early times in the United States.

Two crops of rice are raised during the year, but on the same ground.

The "ans," or early rice as it is called, is sown in the latter part of April and in the month of May, the time of sowing being controlled to some extent by the rainfall. This crop ripens and is harvested in the latter part of the following August and the first part of September.

But the principal rice crop is the one that is sown during the rainy season in August and September and ripens in the following December and January. The rainy season proper in this part of India usually extends from about the middle of June until the middle of October.

The greater portion of the rice crop in this country is pulled up and transplanted (on other ground) by hand when the plant has grown to the height of 12 or 15 inches.

This occurs during the rainy season, and the stalks are set out in small bunches 6 or 8 inches apart.

The rice cultivator depends principally upon the natural rainfall, and a drought is usually followed by a failure of crops and often a famine amongst these poor and improvident people.

* * * * * * *

EXPORTS.

Besides the vast quantities of rice required for home consumption in India as I have already indicated, it is also an important article of export, as the following figures will show:

For the year ended March 31, 1887 (the latest reported), exports were as follows: Rice in the husk (paddy), 418,772 cwt; value, 720,117 rupees. Hulled rice, 26,460,500 cwt.; value, 87,648,089 rupees.

The above exports are credited as follows:

	Cwt.
Bengal	5,902,278
Bombay	638,787
Sindh	139,511
Madras	1,564,053
Burma	18,215,871
Principal countries to which above exports were sent:	
United Kingdom	8,108,021
Malta	1,119,230
Germany	128,316
Egypt	4,370,150
Mauritius	1,222,757
France	89,280
Italy	63,597

I notice that a few trial consignments of East Indian rice have been sent to the United States during the past quarter. The Government of India levies an export duty on rice (hulled and unhulled) of 3 annas—a fraction over 6 cents—per maund.

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B. F. BONHAM, *Consul-General.*

UNITED STATES CONSULATE-GENERAL,
Calcutta, April 23, 1888.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF RICE IN CHINA.

[Report of Consul Jones.]

Rice is the chief product of the soil of China, as it is also the chief article of food of the people.

The two varieties of the rice plant known as the "upland" and the "lowland" are both cultivated in this district, but the great bulk of the production is the "lowland" rice.

The tribute sent to Peking for the imperial use is for the most part of the "upland" variety. This is grown on high, dry ground requiring little or no irrigation. The labor of producing upland rice is less than half, probably a third, of that required for the lowland. The soil is prepared by the plow after having been thoroughly manured. The seeds are sown in March and the soil is dug up between the drills from time to time to keep it loose and free from weeds. During the growth of the plant liquid fertilizers are applied to the roots three or four times. It is harvested in September. Soil which will produce wheat and barley will grow the upland rice. A good yield is about 30 bushels to the acre. The weight of a bushel of this rice, hulled and cleaned, is about 60 pounds. As the upland rice is nearly all sent as a tribute it does not come on the market and I can give no quotations as to its price.

LOW-LAND RICE.

The low-land rice requires an abundance of water in its cultivation and is grown in the plains and valleys.

The Chinese are rather gardeners than farmers; the farm lands being small in size, rarely more than 2 or 3 acres in extent.

Their agricultural implements are few and simple, of the rudest and most primitive pattern, the same they have used for centuries, without improvement. The farmer makes up, by hard labor and constant manuring, for any lack of knowledge and the disadvantage of poor implements.

They use the hoe more than any other implement. It has a broad wooden blade, with an iron edge and a long, stout handle. It is used to dig as well as to break the sod by a blow. Its weight makes it effective.

The plow is made of wood, guarded with iron, which makes a furrow 5 or 6 inches deep and about as broad. It is drawn by a buffalo, which is attached by a rude gearing and guided by a line through his nostril.

The harrow is a heavy stick, furnished at one end with a single row of wooden teeth set in a sort of frame-work of bamboo.

Cradles, scythes, and implements generally in use in America are unknown to the Chinese. They have no modern or labor-saving machinery for cleaning, hulling, or thrashing rice.

The fields, or, more correctly speaking, the plats of ground devoted to the cultivation of rice are separated by raised pathways, which serve the purpose of a fence, path, and water way.

Preparations for sowing the rice begin early in March. The ground is broken by the hoe or the plow, when the water is turned on to the depth of 2 or 3 inches. A few days after it is harrowed and made level, all lumps of earth being carefully broken. Then it is ready for planting.

Several weeks previous to this, however, a small patch of ground is broken up and flooded, when the seed rice, which has been soaked in water for a short time, is thickly sown on it. In a month this has taken good root and stock and is ready for transplanting. The farmer then takes this growing rice, wading in the mud for this purpose, divides it carefully into small bunches, tied with a piece of rice straw, and transplants it in the ground prepared for it, a few spears together in rows a few inches apart. The women of the farm do much of this work. The plats are constantly supplied with water for about two months, when they are drained off and allowed to dry. In September the rice is ripe and ready to be gathered, which is done by hand, with an implement something like an old-fashioned reaping-hook or bill-hook.

The cultivation of rice from beginning to end is accompanied with great labor. The yield per acre is about 500 pounds from 75 pounds rice sown, gross—that is, unhusked rice, about 25 bushels.

For thrashing the rice they have what are called thrashing-floors, a level space smoothed over, with a layer of mixed lime and sand, with cement added, and well pounded. The surface of this floor is a little inclined, and has a raised curb around it. The thrashing is done by unshod oxen, or with flails.

Husking rice is done by means of a stone roller revolving in a stone mortar, and has to be gone over five or six times. Five piculs of unhusked rice yield 2½ piculs of clean rice. About 5 piculs can be husked by one man per day. The husks are used for fuel.

FERTILIZERS.

Fertilizers, which are repeatedly used in the early stages of the cultivation of rice, are made from night soil mixed with earth. Thousands of people are engaged in gathering the night soil from cities and towns and transporting it to the country. This is done, when at a distance, by donkeys, with a covered tub slung on each side, and generally by coolies, with buckets slung on each end of a pole, across the shoulder. The droppings of horses and cattle are carefully gathered also for this purpose. Bean-oil cake is also used as a fertilizer. The farmers provide large tanks as receptacles for this manure.

IRRIGATION.

To maintain a water supply for the rice fields the farmers usually club together and make large pools to receive the rain for common use. It is then, when required, supplied to the fields by pails, sometimes by water-wheels, worked by treading with the feet. Where a natural streamlet exists it is utilized by conducting it through ditches or bamboo pipes to the fields. The Chinese have no system of irrigation, as in Japan, where it is elaborate and complete, and has been established for centuries.

The cost of the ground or lease per acre is from $7 to $10 per annum. The laborer in the rice field, for hoeing, manuring, and harvesting, is paid 20 cents per day. The consumption of rice per family of five persons is about 5 pounds per day. The present price of good rice is $3.00 per picul of 1,331 pounds. It has ranged during the last ten years from $2.50 to $4.50 per picul, but does not vary much during the year. Three kinds of rice, exclusive of the upland, are grown in this consular district in the following proportions:

Sienmi, ordinary eating rice, seven-tenths.

Nomi, fermented and distilled into wine and spirits, one and one-half tenths.

Wanmi, for cakes and soup, one and one-half tenths, same as ordinary rice.

Rice is brought to this port mainly by water, by the river and through the canals. Powdered quartz (limestone) and water are frequently mixed with it by the dealers to increase the weight.

The freight from Chinkiang to Canton or Tientsin, the principal consuming markets, is about 12 cents per picul.

It is usually packed in straw bags, containing 100 pounds.

Rice pays an inland revenue tax, very variable, according to distance, direction, etc., about 15 to 18 cents per picul.

I have no data as to the quantity or value of the total rice crop of the district.

By imperial decree it is forbidden to export rice to foreign countries.

Sugar is not cultivated in this district.

A. C. JONES, *Consul.*

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *Chinkiang, April 26, 1888.*

RICE CULTURE IN NINGPO.

[Report of Consul Petters.]

Rice is cultivated to a large extent. In the early part of April a small patch or bed of ground is prepared by being richly fertilized and thoroughly plowed to a depth of 6 inches, then raked or harrowed, so as to leave the soil without lumps, perfectly smooth, and well saturated. Rice seed is then sown thickly, after which care is taken to keep the soil covered with fully 5 inches of water until the young shoots appear. In fifteen days the shoots are ready to trans-

plant, having in that time attained a height of some 7 or 8 inches. They are then transplanted to the fields which have been prepared.

The preparing of a field for transplanting requires a great deal of care and labor. By the 15th to 25th of April, when the work commences, the rice-fields have a rank growth of wild clover. This is cut down with a crooked knife, something like our brier-hook, then the land is dampened by water from the canals (a wooden chain pump is placed in the canal and worked by an ox, thus throwing water rapidly into the fields) and the field well plowed; then the clover which has been cut is thickly scattered over the field and plowed under; then water is again pumped on the soil.

Then the soil is perfectly prepared by a rake with iron teeth, some 10 feet wide, pulled by an ox, causing the soil to become so very soft that the man and ox have to walk knee-deep in mud. The harrowing finished leaves the land prepared for transplanting the rice from the seed bed.

The shoots of the first crop are planted, set out 8 inches apart in rows 16 inches apart.

Twenty days after the second crop is set out between the rows, water to the depth of 2 or 3 inches above the soil is pumped from the canals until about a month before the ripening of the rice; the water fertilizes and keeps down the growth of weeds. In four and five months' time from the transplanting the rice has ripened, and is cut with a small straight knife with a handle at right-angles with the blade. A variety called the Lomi is set out about the 1st of June and ripens late; about the middle of November from this samsha (wine) is made, also a cake much relished by the natives.

Poppy is planted about the 1st March and taken off about 1st June, the field is then prepared and set out with rice. After the rice has been cut and gathered, it is then dried in the sun. As soon as well dried, it is thrashed out in a box, by beating it on the side of the box, the hinder or back part of the box being 2 feet higher than the front. The rice being beaten out is again thoroughly dried in the sun and then run through large sieves (made of bamboo) worked by hand so as to clean it of small straws and dirt. The rice or paddy is now ready for sale or cleaning. It is not cleaned by small farmers; they may now and then attempt to clean a small portion for immediate use, but it does not pay. It is more profitable to sell the paddy and buy rice.

Rice cleaning is a trade which persons learn and follow as a life business, and is attached to all nice hongs or shops, some of these giving employment to twenty hands, a few employing many more. The hongs employ skillful purchasers, who go into the country and buy the paddy of the farmers, forwarding it to their hongs. All large rice dealers are more or less speculators, so grain corners sometimes occur.

The cleaning of the paddy by small dealers is to place the paddy in a large stone mortar, using a stone pestle to beat it clean. Larger dealers have a circular machine of stone, some 10 or 12 feet in diameter; on the extreme outer circle the stone is grooved or hollowed out so as to fit a stone wheel (which is 5 feet in diameter and 6 inches thick) having a rounded edge; the paddy is placed in the groove and crushed or cleaned by the wheel running over it. This work is done by an ox, which patiently circles around, pulling on a lever attached to the circular stone crusher. A picul (133⅓ pounds) of paddy will turn out about 75 pounds of clean rice, the balance being the husk, tailings, dust, chaff, and broken rice.

The paddy, or rice, is generally sold by small farmers to the rice-dealers, who clean it.

Hull—Used with mortar for plastering houses and fires for cooking.

Tailings—Used to feed ducks, geese, etc.

Dust and chaff—Used to feed pigs and poultry.

Broken rice—Ground into flour and sold to confectioners.

Production—The yield per mow (one-third of an acre) in ordinary seasons is about 8 piculs of paddy, or 1,066⅔ pounds.

Average consumption—A family of six, man, wife, and four children, would consume about 6 pounds of rice per diem, as it is their principal food, which at the present value of rice would cost 10 cents per diem.

Cost of cultivation—This is hard to find out. In this immediate district the farms are small, owned by large land owners, rented to the smaller farmers on shares, the land-owner furnishing tools and fertilizers, the renter furnishing ox labor, etc.; also gathers the entire crop and pays the land-owner one-half of the entire production for rent. Consequently the renter and his family work the land. There are no supply merchants, but a farmer can borrow money if he has stock. A middle-man is consulted; he arranges with the capitalist, who takes a pledge on the stock; the middle-man is witness and security; he is paid brokerage; the farmer pays the capitalist 2 per cent. per month for the money he procures, but very few borrow; they support themselves by sale of poultry, eggs, and vegetables. Day laborers for the farm can be procured for 10 cents a day—including their meals. There is no expense for fences; the country lays open; stock is kept off, not permitted to interfere with growing crops.

As an article of commerce—The amount of rice produced in this part of the province being insufficient to supply the consumption (as cotton is grown to a considerable extent), consequently a large quantity is imported from Chinkiang in junks. Tribute, in lieu of rice, is paid in bullion.

Freight—Through to Canton, by junks, 23 cents per bag of 200 pounds.

Value.—The present value of rice is $3 per 200 pounds, this being the price for the ordinary rice raised by the native farmers. The extra cleaned full grain, such as used by foreigners, is worth more, being imported from Canton, about 5 cents per pound. There is but little fluctuation in the price during the year, except a short crop, in that case the speculator makes his corner and advances the price from 25 to 50 per cent., according to the wants of the consumer.

The money values, as given in this report, are based on the Mexican dollar, which is the currency here.

THOS. F. PETTERS, *Consul.*

UNITED STATES CONSULATE, *Ningpo, 1st May*, 1888.

[Extracts from a report on rice-culture and rice-cleaning machinery in Japan by Consul Jones, of Nagasaki.]

* * * * * * *

Rice is the chief product of the soil of Japan, as it is the chief article of food of the people. In the early days the treasury of the government consisted of granaries of rice, and in the absence of a monetary system rice was the standard of value. All taxes were paid in this grain. Military and civil officers received hereditary incomes from the government in rice. Its cultivation was therefore of the first importance.

IRRIGATION.

As water was of prime necessity in its cultivation (rice being sown, transplanted, and grown under water), the early rulers encouraged, by edicts and examples, the building of canals and water sluices that irrigation might be carried on to the fullest extent. Mountain streams have been thus conducted to the lower grounds and distributed through canals and ditches over many miles of country. In very many places on low lands, at the base of mountains, vast reservoirs have been constructed and drawn from at the proper seasons as often as desired. Lakes above the sea level have been tapped and the water carried through paved conduits to the plains below. This work was done centuries ago by a succession of rulers, and has been maintained through all the years to the present time.

The rice lands in the plains and valleys are divided into small plats and gardens, for, as I have observed, there are no fields in the broad sense of fields, and are without fences, bounded only by water courses, fences being unnecessary from the absence of any ranging live-stock. The mountains are terraced into rice plats or gardens in like manner.

CULTIVATION AND PRODUCTION OF RICE IN JAPAN.

[Report of Consul Jernigan.]

The Japanese rice farmer devotes great attention and care to the selection of good, sound seed. This is a consideration of primary importance, and no one is regarded by the Japanese as a skillful farmer who sows his land with inferior seed.

HOW SEED ARE SELECTED.

The experienced farmer is guided in selecting seed by his experience, but the young farmer must be governed by general principles until taught by practice, and the general principle is, to carefully watch the rice plant as it matures, and when the stock assumes a perfect green color the time has come to make the selection. At this stage close examination will show that some parts of the rice head or ear are of a very light yellow color, though other parts remain more of the color of the stalk. It is this latter that the Japanese farmer thinks better suited for seed and which he culls out. The seed should not be selected from plants grown on low, boggy land, nor on land of superior fertility. A medium grade of soil is preferable. Great care should also be exercised in curing the seed, and they should never be stored away in a damp place. To do so will impair their vitality and consequently lessen the yield.

Another important consideration is to have the seed in a proper condition when the season for sowing has come. The preparation for this is commenced about the middle of January. The seed intended for sowing are put in a bag which is sunk about one foot and a half in water. When possible the bag should always be placed in running water, which is always fresh, and supposed to be more susceptible to climatic influences. If sunk too deep the seed would not be so sensibly affected by such influences, and consequently the sprouting will be slow. To secure uniformity in sprouting the bag should not be too full of seed, and it is advisable to put a bundle of straw-rope in the center of the bag in order to prevent the seed from lying too thick. It must not be understood that bags containing rice for seed should always be sunk on the sunniest side of a stream.

Nature, when courted to extreme, is never so sure to confer as substantial rewards as when our demands are conservative. Five or six days before the seed are to be sowed the bags should be taken out of the water. It should remain in the same condition as when taken from the water for one night, to let the water pass off. On the second day the ropes around the bag should be loosened, the rice stirred well, and then bind the bags again with ropes, and sprinkle water over it. On the third day the rice is dried in the sun for an hour or two, and water sprinkled over it again. This process is repeated until about seven or eight seed out of every ten begin to bud, and now it is ready for sowing.

Another way the Japanese have of preparing rice seed for sowing purposes is to bury the bags containing the seed in the ground, the end in view being similar and the agricultural principle being the same. Sandy soil is preferred and the hole should be about one foot and a half deep. The bags, when put into the hole, should be covered with earth about 6 inches thick. If a sunny spot is selected for burying the bag the hole should be somewhat deeper, and *vice versa* if a shady spot. If the farmer has no sandy soil his best remedy is to dip the seed in water for a few hours, mix sand with them and so shape the hole that he can keep the soil light by the frequent use of water.

PREPARING LAND FOR RICE SPROUTS.

The Japanese rice farmer commences to prepare his ground about the latter part of March. He first marks out as much as he intends to sow for rice sprouts, which should be in an open space, unshaded, and where the air circulates freely, and builds around it a small embankment to hold the water with which the land, later on, is to be flooded. If the soil is sticky he will turn it to the depth of about five inches with an instrument like an American spade, and, after the clods have dried in the sun for two or three days, break them with the back of the spade and apply the manure (described further on). Most of the farmers, for their holdings are generally small, use the spade to "break up" their soil. If the farmer, however, can afford it, he owns a pony or bullock which he hitches to a dagger-like plow and breaks up the soil. After the soil has been leveled and everything removed from it that could obstruct the growth of young sprouts the land is flooded with water from four to five inches in depth, and, at this stage, the farmer again hitches his bullock to an instrument like a harrow and plows through the water, mixing it and the soil until the latter becomes as mortar.

In this boggy state the soil is ready to receive the seed, and the farmer, walking around on the little embankments or standing ankle-deep, scatters them on the surface of the water.

It requires special attention in order that the seed may not be sown too thick, for the roots of the sprouts should have room to spread before the sprout grows too high or else its vigor is weakened. The good judgment of the farmer will guide him here.

The seed are sown about the middle of April and within sixteen days from this date the young sprouts will grow from 4 to 6 inches, according to the fertility of the soil. When about the height mentioned the sprouts are large enough to take up and set out. The soil to receive them must also be in good condition, and the interval between the sowing of the seed and the growth of the sprouts the farmer utilizes in preparing it. The Japanese thoroughly "break up" the soil and work it into as good condition as possible before planting or sowing. This saves labor after the seed are up, and enables the plant to "grow right off." Their wonderful success in producing two or three different crops year after year on the same piece of ground is no doubt due to the habit of thoroughly preparing the soil in the beginning, which obtains so universally among them.

The fields or patches of ground intended to receive the young rice sprouts are similar in appearance to the patches where they are grown. They all resemble squares in an old-fashioned Southern garden, and the majority of them are not any larger. The little embankments are around these also, for water is necessary to the successful cultivation of rice, and the sprouts are set out while the fields or patches are covered with water 2 or 3 inches deep.

MANURE AND HOW APPLIED.

The manure mostly prized by the Japanese consist of human and animal deposits. This is mixed with urine, or a little water when necessary, and applied while in a putrid and liquid state by dipping it from large wooden buckets and pouring it on the plants. When the water is removed from the soil where the seed for rice sprouts have been sown, a manure consisting of ashes from burnt straw, grass, husks, and bamboo leaves, as well as rich dirt mixed and by the aid of a sieve spread as so much powder over the soil.

Straw is often spread over the soil containing the seed to protect them from the ravages of birds. When this is done care should be taken to select straw in a decaying state, for, otherwise, the roots of the young plants would twine around it and make it difficult to remove. But the Japanese farmer is so skillful in the chemical analysis of manure that it requires an adept in the science of chemistry to follow him intelligently, and I must content myself by adhering to general principles while on this part of the subject. If his farm is near the sea, he uses seaweed and fish as manure, but, as stated, his main reliance, especially near cities, is night soil and urine, which, with the American farmer, nearly all runs to waste. About the farm-house everything of this kind is care-

fully preserved. In the cities the water-closets are unknown, and every night the vaults and urinals are emptied and the contents taken to the country many miles away. All this material is poured into vats placed in the fields to receive it and covered with straw awnings to keep off the hot sun and rain.

There it lies for months till it has thoroughly fermented, when it is ready for use. It is then dripped out in buckets, carried to the growing crops and carefully sprinkled about the young plants. This process is repeated several times during the season. Sometimes piles of rice straw or chaff or old leaves are saturated with the mixture and left to rot, when this product is used as the American farmer sometimes puts stable manure under a hill of corn. It is this economy of material and the application of it in the way pointed out that has enabled the Japanese farmer to gather as many as three profitable crops, year after year, from the same acre of land so far back that the memory goes not to the contrary.

IRRIGATION.

The rainfall in Japan is very heavy, varying, according to locality, from 60 to 100 inches annually. Along the ocean shores, on the alluvial plains, the average amount of precipitation is about 60 inches. At the foot of the mountain ranges it is 70 to 75 inches, and on the great mountain sides it will reach 100 inches.

Notwithstanding such a rainfall irrigation is an important feature in Japanese agriculture, and has been practiced with marked success for more than a thousand years. The Government records show the decrees of the Emperor Sujin, who reigned in the country before the Christian era, regulating irrigation, and his son and successor ordered the construction of eight hundred irrigating canals in different parts of the empire. The traveler finds in all parts of Japan, especially the rice districts, large irrigating works, massive and costly in their character, and from a distance looking like double-track railways.

In addition to such large reservoirs for holding water the mountain streams are taken from their beds and carried in ditches, winding around the hills until they pour their contents on some narrow terrace or flood some rice-field in the plain. By such means the supply of water to the farmer is equalized through the whole year, and the health of the irrigated districts for plants and people is also conserved. Some of the most illustrious names in Japanese history are the names of mikados who won their way to the hearts of their subjects by instituting and perfecting elaborate plans for the amelioration and advancement of the agricultural classes, among which is the system of irrigation briefly described, and the necessity for which is more and more attested by subsequent experience.

CULTIVATION.

I reserved for this heading an account of how rice plants are set out and cultivated. As indicated, the sprouts or plants are set out while the soil is covered by water to the depth of 2 or 3 inches. This office is usually performed by women or young girls. When the soil is very good from three to five sprouts make a bunch, and about thirty-six bunches are set out to every tsubo (6 feet square). If the soil is not so good then sprouts make a bunch and about sixty-four bunches are set out to the tsubo. The sprouts should not be set in the ground too deep, but shallow as possible to secure a firm hold.

When set too deep the roots will sprout and interfere with the growth of the new crop. To ascertain what space should exist between, dig one up in autumn after the rice has been cut and measure the roots. If they are as long as 6 inches the space should be 12 inches, the idea being that the roots should not touch or interlace.

The first working of the plant takes place about two weeks after it has been set out. This is done with an instrument called karyume (made like a rake, has four iron teeth, each one-tenth inch thick, one-half inch wide, and 5 inches long) by digging between the bunches. After the first working the soil appears rough or cloddy, and in this state it is allowed to remain about ten days when the uneven surface is leveled with the same instrument. It is thought better not to remove all the water but let it remain on the surface in small quantities so as to facilitate the leveling of the soil. The water also contains a manure which reaches the roots of the plant quick, and carries with it the influence of the temperature, which is very beneficial to the growth and strength of the plant. About thirteen days after the soil has been leveled the third working takes place. At this working it is usually found that small roots have grown on the top part of the ordinary roots. These absorb the manure without protecting or benfiting the growth of the plant; they should be cut off. About the time of this third working a small egg may be found which produces the Seni-mushi, a small insect destructive to the rice plant. Care should be taken to remove the eggs and they should be searched for diligently, or else the farmer sees his rice plants later on wither, although he is industrious in working and manuring them. The rice plant requires five different workings; this is the general rule in Japan, but I suppose the condition of the soil has much to do in determining the number of workings necessary.

When the ear of the rice shows a light yellow color it is important that the water be drawn off in order that the soil may dry. By thus drying the soil the best quality of rice can be produced.

The rice plant is not, strictly speaking, a water plant, though it is fond of the water, the application of which is necessary to aid nature and man. The time it requires water most is between the time of replanting, or resetting out, and its heading. The water during this time will be let on or drawn off according to the apparent needs of the plant, but it should never be suddenly drawn off, as the manure may flow out with it, nor should it be let on in too strong a volume.

HARVEST.

About the last of August and the first of September the rice farmer puts his reap-hook in order. The yellow golden color of the ear or head of the rice plant will best tell him when to enter his field and cut down what, for the past several months, has been the object of his greatest care. I have not seen any mowing machines since I have been in Japan such as are used in the United States for cutting wheat and other cereals. The way in which the fields are divided off and the small area included within each division would render the use of such machines impracticable, though there are many level plains in Japan, wide and extended. The instrument used for cutting rice is a small crooked blade fastened to a short wooden handle, and can easily be wielded by a man with one hand.

The rice, when first cut, if the weather looks favorable, is often spread on the ground and left to dry. This is supposed to be the better plan; but if the weather is unfavorable it is tied into bundles as fast as cut and carried home to dry by hanging the bundles on a long pole supported by forks, which is sometimes done in the field where cut.

The fruit is separated from the straw by a very simple process. The farmer will make an ordinary wooden bench and drive iron pins into one side of the wood forming the seat, then take a bundle of rice and draw it through the iron pins or teeth. The fruit is by such a process successfully separated and falls on a straw matting prepared to receive it.

The fruit is separated from the hull by a process equally as simple as that employed in separating it from the straw. After being separated from the straw it is poured on a straw matting spread on the ground and beaten with a flail until hulled.

Now it is necessary to free the fruit from all chaff. To do so the fruit is put into a basket and then poured on a matting or cloth spread on the ground. The chaff is blown off and the fruit falls on the cloth. It is then taken and run through a machine similar to a hopper. But the most peculiar machine for cleaning rice is known as the Usu, a large wooden or stone mortar, the pestle being fastened to the end of a beam, fixed on a pivot and put in motion by a man treading on one end of the beam. Sometimes the pestle is worked by means of water power, and there are some mills near this city for cleaning rice with twenty or thirty pestles all moved at the same time by water power. Modern machinery is now being introduced into Japan for the purpose of cleaning rice. There is a large mill in this city with such machinery.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.

A very interesting official report of the principal articles of food in Japan has recently been published, and the following statistics and comparisons are compiled from it:

The principal articles of food in Japan are rice, wheat, barley, etc., and next to these come all other cereals and potatoes. Besides these, seaweed, fruit, and vegetables are consumed. Dividing these into six divisions, namely, rice, wheat, other cereals, sweet potatoes, potatoes, and other articles, the percentage of consumption will be as follows: rice, 51; wheat, 28; other cereals, 13; sweet potatoes, 5; potatoes, 1; and all other articles not enumerated, 2 per cent. This computation is only approximate, but if the rate be apportioned between the population of Japan—37,778,705—according to the census of 1886, we find that 19,267,140 persons eat rice, 10,578,037 persons wheat, 4,911,232 persons other cereals, 1,888,935 persons sweet potatoes, 377,787 persons potatoes, and 755,574 persons greens, seaweed, fruit, etc.

If the amount of rice, wheat, etc., consumed for a year be estimated at the above rate, the amount of rice consumed will be 21,097,518 koku (1 koku = 5.13 bushels), or 3 go (about 5.1 ounces = 1 go), per day for one person, and wheat, etc., 11,582,951 koku. The aggregate produce of rice in 1886 was 37,191,424 koku, and the amount imported from abroad was 3,926 koku, making a total of 37,195,350 koku. Of this, 21,097,518 koku is used for food, 1,961,076 koku for saki brewing, 554,976 koku for export abroad, and 2,995,932 koku for cakes. Deducting these amounts from the above-named total, there remains a surplus of 10,585,848 koku. The wheat produced in 1886 amounted to 16,023,960 koku, and the import from abroad was 127 koku, which makes a total of 16,034,087 koku. Of this, 11,582,951 koku were consumed as food and 657 koku were exported, leaving a balance of 4,450,478 koku which is supposed to be consumed in other ways.

The aggregate export of rice for the last nineteen years, from 1868 to 1886, inclusive, was 3,221,135 koku, valued at 18,531,313 yen (now 73½ cents in gold is equal to one yen), while the import during the same period was 3,572,842 koku, valued at 23,914,067 yen. The amount imported in 1870 was especially large, as it constituted about 60 per cent. of the aggregate of the nineteen years. If we compare the exports of that year with the imports there is a balance in favor of the latter of 5,382,754. But since 1877 the export has been gradually increasing, the export for 1886 totaling a little over 550,000 koku, valued at 3,300,000 yen. If the export is continued at this rate the balance will be equalized in two or three years. Below is given a comparative table of the import and export and of the original value of rice, wheat, etc.:

Foreign trade in rice, wheat, etc., from 1870 to 1886.

Articles.	Imports, original value.	Exports, original value.	Excess imports.	Excess exports.
	Yen.	*Yen.*	*Yen.*	*Yen.*
Rice	23,914,067	18,531,313	5,382,754	.....
Wheat	69,621	2,728,677	.....	2,659,056
Flour and other grain	1,208,926	259,841	949,085	.....

Rice is now selling in Japan at 6 yen per koku. The demand is fair and steady. The facilities for shipping are good, and the charges (freight) to New York range from $10 to $22.

T. R. JERNIGAN, *Consul.*

UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
Osaka, Hiogo, Japan, June 1, 1888.

POUNDING AND POLISHING RICE IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

POUNDING AND POLISHING RICE IN ENGLAND.

[Report by Consul-General Waller, of London.]

It is interesting to notice that in a pamphlet published in London in 1701, "On the importance of British plantations in America," it is mentioned as a recent circumstance "that a brigantine from the island of Madagascar happened to put into Charleston, S. C., having a little rice seed left, which the captain gave to a gentleman named Woodward. From part of this he had a very good crop, but he was ignorant for some years how to clean it. It was soon dispersed over this province, and by frequent experiments and observations they found out ways of producing and manufacturing it to so great perfection that it is thought to exceed any other in value." The seed of which the pamphlet speaks soon became famous. It was exported to Java, Italy, Spain, and other countries, and now the finest East Indian rice is grown from this seed.

In the early part of the present century Great Britain was principally supplied with this grain from the States of South Carolina and Georgia.

This trade, for a variety of reasons, has practically ceased, and now England exports to the United States about 250,000 cwt. of rice annually.

THE MANUFACTURE.

The manufacture—the pounding and polishing—of rice is nearly all done in England, in the cities of London and Liverpool. The following table of customs statistics shows the sources and amounts of supply in the year 1884:

	Cwt.
Germany	117,180
Holland	145,735
Italy	12,120
Austrain territories	13,035
British India	5,338,082
Straits Settlements	65,261
Java	9,970
Siam	250,714
Cochin China	486,041
Japan	131,553
Other countries	9,767
Total	6,579,458

Nearly all of this was received, as usual, in a condition requiring preparation for the market, and about one-half of it will be consumed here.

PROCESSES.

The details of treatment may differ, but the general system of rice pounding and polishing in the mills of England is substantially the same.

* * * * * * *

In describing these processes and the machines employed it may be observed

that for the sake of accuracy the technical and identical language of experts and authorities on rice milling is often used in preference to my own.

1. Rice is generally elevated first to the top story of the mill, where it is blown or aspirated to get rid of the dust that would otherwise soon glaze the shelling stones and spoil their work. It is then sieved, either through a six-sided wire screen, or preferably through a long sieve supported on wooden springs and worked transversely off a crank, to get rid of sticks, straws, stones, etc.

2. This being done, shelling-stones, resembling ordinary wheat-stones, are used for removing "paddy" or husks. This is sometimes accomplished, however, by passing the rice over a common form of sieve having a jumping action or tapping motion at the bottom of it. In Burmese rice mills, it is said, they use artificial stones made of emery and magnesian cement. Four parts by weight of No. 18 emery are added to one part of ground calcined magnesite (a rock carbonate of magnesia), and tempered with a saturated solution of chloride of magnesium. This mixture is laid about 1 inch thick on the iron plates made specially for the purpose. It sets in a few hours and becomes hard enough for use in a few days. It is far more durable than the best mill-stone, and it always keeps a sharp face, owing to the difference in hardness between the emery and the cement that agglomerates it. Shelling-stones covered with cork have been tried and given up in England. In Italy a surface of hard wood set on end is sometimes used, like the Burmese native hand-mills, and they are being gradually superseded by the common shellers, either of cement or stone. The shelling-stones generally used in the mills of London and Liverpool * * * are of the texture of "peak," not "burr." They are from 5 to 6 feet across, having a "swallow" or cut in them of about 2 feet 6 inches, and a "skirt" or plain surface of about 2 feet 6 inches. They are set horizontally, and usually about three-sixteenths of an inch apart. This, however, varies according to the size of the grain to be treated. They work at about 120 revolutions per minute. The centrifugal force impels the grain towards the periphery, and as it passes through the narrow space at the working face the grain is tipped up on end and the husk is cracked off. When the stones run true, with good rice, the breakage is about 3 per cent. In some mills the rice is shelled twice and winnowed twice.

3. In the process of shelling a meal or flour is made from the crushing of the rice paddy and the three pellicles which, inside of the paddy, inclose the grain. This meal is separated by a common screen scourer or meal machine. Within the last year, however, an improvement has been made in this part of the process, not used, it is said, and perhaps not known, in the United States. It is called the "conical flapping brush," an invention of Mr. I. W. Gray, of Trinity Square, London. The cone of this machine is covered with a wire case, through the meshes of which the meal, by the operation of the flapping brushes, is made to pass.

4. The rice is now left with only the husks and the pellicles that still adhere to the grain; otherwise it is perfectly clean. The husks being separated by the action of a common blast or exhaust, the pellicles are removed by the use of mortars. Ordinary mortars have been used many years both in England and America. Recently the "Gray mortar" has come into use. It has an inner coating composed chiefly of emery. The coating, it is said, adds to the activity or motion of the grain in this cleaning operation, and greatly lessens the time required for it. The rice passes from the mortars by valves at their base.

5. The rice is again winnowed by flapping cone brushes or blasts, and the chaff that has escaped previous operations is finally got rid of, and the grain is now ready for milling.

6. Milling is generally done by the ordinary machine known as the barley mill. The objection is made to this mill that its rotary motion breaks the germ end of this brittle grain, and so alters its natural shape and lessens its market value. It is being superseded here by a mill that has an emery drum, with fans at its base to keep the grain cool, and that is worked horizontally. I regret my inability to give a plan of this machine. The inventor, with whom I conversed, reluctantly refused it, and admission to the mills where it is used is not obtainable.

7. The rice is now again screened or subjected to flapping brushes, the meal made in the last process removed, and it is now ready for polishing.

8. Polishers generally consist of a sheep-skin-covered drum, that revolves, inside of a fixed wire casing, about 1,800 feet to 2,000 feet per minute at the periphery. The form mostly used is that of an inverted frustum of a cone.

* * * * * * *

The skin of a Southdown sheep is preferred for a cover, because of its thickness of wool. Sometimes the rice, as it passes into the polisher, is subjected to an infusion of indigo toned down with rice flour to a pale blue. This gives the rice a bluish tint that is liked better in England than the natural creamy whiteness of the grain itself.

9. On leaving the polishers the rice is usually again blown or aspirated, and then separated into whole rice, broken rice, and rice of different sizes.

10. Recently, for certain markets—the English included—rice is pressed through an oiling machine to give it a smoother and glossier surface.

In London there is a representative journal for almost every trade and manufacture. The Miller, published at 24 Mark Lane, is the name of the one devoted to the interests of rice millers and brokers.

THOMAS M. WALLER,
Consul-General.

UNITED STATES CONSULATE-GENERAL,
London, August 29, 1885.

POUNDING AND POLISHING RICE IN GERMANY.

[Report by Consul Loening, of Bremen.]

In reply to your communication of the 25th ultimo, directing me to obtain information in regard to "the method of pounding and polishing rice in Germany," I have to say that the information desired is very hard to obtain, as the rice millers here closely guard the secret of their process of cleaning and polishing rice, and have heretofore allowed no one to visit their mills.

I have, however, been permitted to visit several rice mills, and witnessed the cleaning and polishing, etc., of rice; but as lucid explanations of the several processes have not been given me, I can only give you a description of and report on what I actually have seen. My being no practical rice miller will no doubt excuse all technical mistakes I may make. I shall endeavor to treat each process separately, beginning with

PRELIMINARY CLEANING.

The crude rice is almost all received here from India, and is of a quality about 75 per cent. free of shell or husk.

This rice is passed through a mill (for cleaning and separating the shell or husk from the rice) consisting of two* circular stone grinding-wheels, 6 feet in diameter by 6 inches thick, revolving horizontally and reversely upon each other.

The rice (shell and substance) product of this grinding process is conducted on to a flat horizontal sifter 10 feet by 2.

The rice, shell, and husk, after being sifted of all fine dust, etc., fall off this sifter onto a short trough or conductor, that empties them into a bin or receiver; as the rice falls off this trough or conductor a strong blast of wind blows the shell and husk away from the rice; there are also, at the end of this trough or conductor, magnets (inlaid in the wood), to attract all particles of metal that may be in the rice.

* In some mills only one stone grinding-wheel is used.

CLEANING RICE.

Rice, after being separated from the husk or shell and all extraneous substances, by the process of "preliminary cleaning" and sifting aforesaid, is subjected to a process of cleaning, which is done in a machine consisting of a circular wheel (either of fine stone or composition) about 6 feet in diameter by 15 or 20 inches thick, fitting closely into and revolving horizontally inside a mill (box) lined on the top with smooth steel and on the sides with smooth perforated steel.

The rice enters this mill at the top and is turned out cleaned of the yellow mealy coating common to all rice.

The rapid motion of this "wheel" while grinding and rubbing the rice against the perforated steel sides of the mill forces out the fine meal, dust, and scrapings.

This process of cleaning is repeated several times until the rice is sufficiently clean and white.

As the process of shelling and cleaning is by forcible grinding, some of the grains of rice are unavoidably more or less broken and crushed.

These broken grains or granules must therefore be separated from the rice by a process of

SIFTING.

This is done by means of a horizontal revolving cylinder sifter about 4 feet in diameter by 10 feet long, slightly inclined.

The sieves in this cylinder are of steel wire, divided into four or five sections or sizes. Thus as the rice enters this revolving sifter the smallest granules or particles of broken rice fall through the first section of sieve (which is of the smallest size), and are collected separately; then the next larger grains are sifted through the next following section, gathered separately; and so on through four or five different sections and sizes of sieve until the whole grains only remain, fall off the sifter, and are gathered separately.

By this process of sifting rice four or five different grades and classes of broken rice or so-called granulated rice is obtained.

POLISHING RICE.

Polishing is the finishing process of cleaning rice.

The rice obtained from the cleaning and sifting processes before mentioned is carried into a "polishing machine," consisting of a roller (truncated-cone shaped) covered with soft sheep-skin, fitting closely into and revolving horizontally in a cylinder the same shape, lined either with smooth skin or finely perforated smooth steel or very fine "gauze sieve."

The rice entering one end of this cylinder machine is turned out at the other beautifully polished.

A fine quality of transparent rice is also produced here by a chemical process and application of fine oil, presumably done by the same process as polishing rice, with only the addition of oiled and chemical substances.

ALBERT LOENING, *Consul.*

UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
Bremen, August 6, 1885.

GRANULATED RICE IN GERMANY.

[Report by Consul Loening, of Bremen.]

I have been requested by the consul-general at Berlin, under date of July 25, to "obtain information in regard to the method of pounding and polishing rice here in Germany," and I reported on that subject under date of August 6.

In addition to and in connection with the above-mentioned report I have the honor to report to the Department on the subject of "granulated rice," a commodity sold here in the market as *Bruchreis* (broken rice), or, so called, granulated rice, used here entirely by brewers and starch manufacturers, and of which large exports have been lately made from here to the United States.

As I have said in my report to the consul-general, rice is shelled, cleaned, and polished by a process of forcible grinding, in which grinding operation some of the grains of rice are unavoidably broken more or less fine, and are afterwards sifted through sieves of various sizes, thus producing different grades and classes of *Bruchreis* (broken rice) or granulated rice.

As far as I have been able to observe in the rice mills here, I find no special grinding process for manufacturing "granulated rice," although it can be easily done, and a prominent rice miller here proposes that if the United States Treasury Department "object to his *Bruchreis* (broken rice) as granulated rice, in the sense of the term, to submit it again to a supplementary grinding process, although that would not materially alter the appearance of the broken rice, as it had already been broken and granulated by a special forcible grinding process" in the shelling and cleaning aforesaid.

Some rice millers here claim that their process of cleaning rice is at the same time intended as a special process of granulating rice.

I also have the honor to forward herewith to the Department fifteen tin boxes containing samples of rice, numbered, marked, and labeled as follows, with explanation and description of each:

No. 1. Raw rice as received from India, about 75 per cent. free of shell.
No. 2. Rice after the grinding process of "preliminary cleaning" or shelling.
No. 3. Rice after the "cleaning" process (half polished).
No. 4. Polished *mittel* (middle) table rice.
No. 5. Polished table rice.
No. 6. "Transparent" or oiled table rice (finest quality).
No. 7. *Bruchreis* (broken rice) or granulated rice, classed here as Nos. 2 and 3 (smallest).
No. 8. *Bruchreis* (broken rice) or granulated rice, classed here as No. 1 (small).
No. 9. *Bruchreis* (broken rice) or granulated rice, classed here as No. 0 (coarse).
No. 10. *Bruchreis* (broken rice) or granulated rice, classed here as No. 00 (very coarse).
No. 11. Husks (shells) the result of shelling and sifting.
No. 12. Rice meal or flour obtained in cleaning process, classed here as No. 3.
No. 13. Rice meal or flour obtained in the cleaning process, classed here No. 2.
No. 14. Rice meal or flour obtained in the cleaning process, classed here as No. 1.
No. 15. "Rice-meal flour," a special manufacture from the broken or granulated rice.

There are four rice mills in Bremen, and large capital is invested in the business.

I am told that the profit in rice milling is in the advantageous disposal of the "waste," such as broken or granulated rice, rice meal, flour, etc.

The cost of cleaning and polishing rice is such as to allow very little, if any, margin of profit on "table rice."

ALBERT LOENING.

UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
Bremen, August 10, 1885.

POLISHING RICE IN HAMBURG.

[Report by Consul Lang, of Hamburg.]

I have the honor, in response to your letter of the 28th of July, 1885, to present herewith such information as to the method of pounding and polishing rice in Germany as I have been able to gather.

At present the "Nagel" mill is most in use in Hamburg, although several others are in activity. This system is constructed by a Hamburg engineer, Mr. Nagel, jr.

It comprises all manipulations needed to clean the raw rice, to pestle, shell, and polish, and to assort it.

1. The cleaning is done by exposing the grist to a moderate current of wind, caused by a ventilator, and by passing it over or through a system of sieves.

2 The cleansed grist is now shelled and partly broken by running it through two systems of grinding or mill stones. One of the latter is cylindrical, and contains a hard millstone of 6 feet or 6 feet 7 inches diameter. Through this operation a quantity of rice flour is received, and therefore the whole mass has to be sieved again.

3. The most important process of polishing the rice is done very differently, and every manufacturer has his own system, which he keeps secret. The general principle, however, is a wooden cylinder revolving in a wooden mantle, between which the rice has to circulate and to be rubbed. The Nagel machine does it in the following manner:

The mantle is made of wire work, thus offering a rough surface, in order to retard the grains on the way downwards; the revolving cylinder is furnished with brushes, which clean and polish the rice. Some millers color their rice with fluid indigo, by suspending a basin containing the fluid over the cylinder and allowing it to drop slowly into the cylinder of rice.

In other mills the mantle is made of wood and the cylinder filled with small pieces of sheep-skin nailed on its surface, or the mantle is made of stone and the cylinder of wood without any cover on the surface.

4. After leaving the polishing cylinder the rice passes over a system of shelves, which assorts the grains as follows: Full grains and broken grains; and the latter into small, middling, and coarse broken grains. A Nagel machine cleans and polishes 5,400 kilograms within twelve hours.

WM. W. LANG, *Consul.*

UNITED STATES CONSULATE,
Hamburg, August 20, 1885.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD W. TOWNSHEND,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

July 11, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 10233) making an appropriation for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes.

Mr. TOWNSHEND said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Last year the people of the United States paid for sugar $142,707,103.06 in addition to a large profit to lines of transportation, refiners, and merchants who handled the same, which probably amounted to at least 20 per cent. more, or over $28,000,000. Add this to the prime cost of the article and the tax and it will be seen that the grand total of $171,248,523 was paid by our consumers for sugar. Of this amount only 181,123,872 pounds were produced in the United States, and 3,136,443,240 pounds were imported from foreign countries. It will be observed that we imported from foreign countries over seventeen times as much as we produced in our own country. The consumers of sugar paid an average tax on what they used of nearly 2 cents per pound, or about $66,000,000.

Now, sir, if we could make sufficient sugar at home to supply our wants not only would the price of sugar be made much cheaper to the consumer, but many millions we pay into the pockets of foreigners for sugar would go into the pockets of our own people, and to that extent the country be enriched. The question is, can this be done? I am convinced that it can, not by the cultivation of the ordinary Louisiana or West India sugar-cane—it requires a tropical or semi-tropical climate to produce that kind of sugar-cane abundantly and profitably—but, sir, I am convinced that the process has at last been discovered by which sorghum-cane juice can be converted into as good sugar as that which is produced in the West Indies or elsewhere, and that every farmer within the vast belt of our country where sorghum is produced can not only produce from his own farm sugar enough for his family, but that he will find that the most profitable use to which his land can be applied is in producing sugar for the market, and that this country, instead of importing sugar for consumption, can supply the demands of our own people and export a large surplus abroad, thereby greatly adding to the wealth of own people, increase the value of our farms, and greatly promote the prosperity of our farming classes.

It was not demonstrated until within the past two years that sugar could be profitably manufactured from the sorghum cane. Years before experiments had shown that sugar could be produced from that cane, but the methods through which that was accomplished were so imperfect and expensive that the sugar produced could not be sold in competition with the Louisiana or West India sugar. The greatest difficulty encountered was that a sufficient quantity of saccharine matter could not be extracted from the cane to make it profitable. Only 55 per cent. of the saccharine matter could theretofore be extracted. Later experiments by means of the process of diffusion have resulted in extracting over 97 per cent. of the saccharine matter; and whilst before only about 59 pounds of sugar were obtained to the ton, these experiments secured over 100 pounds to the ton, and in addition thereto from 15 to 25 gallons of sirup per ton, and have clearly demonstrated that good quality of merchantable coffee-sugar can be profitably produced from the sorghum sugar-cane grown abundantly in many States of our Union.

Before proceeding further I desire to present the evidence furnished by the officials of the Agricultural Department.

Private enterprise having failed after repeated and expensive experiments to discover the process by which sorghum-juice could be converted profitably into merchantable sugar, the American Congress, fully realizing the importance of this question to the agricultural interest and the consumers of sugar in this country, authorized the Agricultural Department to make experiments for this purpose, and placed under the control of that Department appropriations to defray the expenses of such experiments. The sum of $50,000 was appropriated in 1885, and the sum of $94,000 the next year.

The experiments were conducted under the supervision of experts and officers of the Agricultural Department at Fort Scott, Kans., at Rio Grande, N. J., and at Lawrence, La. As the experiments at Fort Scott were the most extensive and nearest the section I represent, I shall confine my attention to those made at that point during last year. I will first quote a portion of the report of Mr. Swenson, the Government expert in charge of the experiments at the works of the Parkinson Sugar Company, Fort Scott.

The Clerk read as follows:

REPORT OF M. SWENSON.

Previous to my appointment to take charge of the experiments in the manufacture of sugar from sorghum cane at Fort Scott, Kans., all attempts to make sugar from this source in paying quantities had failed. This was due to many difficulties, of both a mechanical and a chemical nature, in the manipulation of the cane and juice. The most important problems to be solved were the proper cutting and cleaning of the cane, the prevention of inversion of cane sugar in the diffusion battery, and to find a cheap and effective method for treating the diffusion juice.

Owing to the fact that we were unable to secure a sufficient supply of cane, the work progressed very irregularly. Only twice during the entire season was the battery kept in operation continuously for twenty hours, and during the sugar-making season the diffusion battery was emptied sixty-two times. This entailed no inconsiderable loss, amounting to from 1 to 2 tons of clean cane each time a stoppage occurred.

CANE WORKED FOR SUGAR.

The total amount of cane worked for sugar was 2,610 tons. In this is included all that was used for experiments in filtration and defecation during the first part of the season. I have no record of the exact amount lost in this way. The total amount of first sugar made was 235,476 pounds. This sugar was all washed, and polarized on an average 96 per cent. The total amount of molasses produced was 51,000 gallons.

TRIAL RUNS.

In order to ascertain as nearly as possible the average yield of sugar per ton of cane two trial runs were made.

FIRST TRIAL.

On September 15 a strike was made from 133 tons of clean cane. In order to obtain a better grain 2,600 pounds of sugar were added to the juice after it had been defecated; 2,200 pounds of juice were drawn from each cell.

The following is a record of this experiment:

Sucrose in mill, juice from chips	10
Glucose in mill, juice from chips	3.41
Solids not sugar, juice from chips	3.20
Ratio of sucrose to glucose	2.94
Co-efficient of purity	60.03
Sucrose in diffusion juice	7.91
Glucose in diffusion juice	2.60
Solids not sugar, diffusion juice	2.59
Ratio of sucrose to glucose	3.04
Co-efficient of purity	60.04
Sucrose in defecated juice	8.34
Glucose in defecated juice	2.4
Solids not sugar, defecated juice	2.46
Ratio of sucrose to glucose	3.47
Co-efficient of purity	63.6
Total weight of first sugar ..... pounds	17,608
Sugar added to juice ..... do	2,600
Total yield of first sugar ..... do	15,008
Total yield of second sugar ..... do	2,330
Total yield of molasses ..... gallons	2,220
Yield per ton:	
First sugar ..... pounds	113
Second sugar ..... do	17.5
Molasses ..... gallons	15.5
First sugar polarized	93
Second sugar polarized	88.7

Temperature in battery was between 75° and 80° C.

SECOND TRIAL.

Eighty-six tons of clean cane were worked, 54 tons on October 1 and 32 tons on October 2. All was boiled in one strike. No analyses were made on October 2, and unfortunately the complete data can not therefore be given. The juice was not enriched as in the previous trial.

The following are the results:

Yield of first sugar ..... pounds	9,292
Yield of second sugar ..... do	1,988
Yield of molasses ..... gallons	1,462
Yield per ton:	
First sugar ..... pounds	108
Second sugar ..... do	23
Molasses ..... gallons	17
First sugar polarized	97
Second sugar polarized	88

AVERAGE YIELD OF SUGAR.

Making fair allowance for cane and juice lost in experiments during the first part of the season, the average yield of first sugars will be fully 100 pounds per

ton, polarizing 97. A strike of average molasses boiled to string proof yielded 12½ per cent. of the weight of the *masse cuite* in sugar, containing 88 per cent. of sucrose. This is at the rate of 28 pounds per ton of cane. Had the entire crop been boiled for seconds the average yield per ton of cane would not have been less than 128 pounds of sugar and 16 gallons of molasses. From a financial standpoint, the advantage of working for seconds depends entirely on the sirup market. In my judgment it would not have paid this season, as the market is better than for years past. The entire product of 51,000 gallons has already been sold at a good price.

AVAILABLE SUGAR.

It is at once apparent that the old method of calculating available sugar must be abandoned. According to this rule there would be but 61.6 pounds available sugar per ton of cane in the diffusion juice of the first trial, when, as a matter of fact, 130½ pounds were obtained. It would therefore seem that instead of preventing an equal weight of cane-sugar from crystallizing, the glucose and other solids not sugar in the juice prevented only two-fifths of their weight of cane-sugar from crystallizing. This is also borne out by the data furnished by the analysis of the juices during the entire season.

* * * * * * *

CONCLUSIONS.

In reviewing the work the most important point suggested is the complete success of the experiments in demonstrating the commercial practicability of manufacturing sugar from sorghum-cane.

2. That sugar was produced uniformly throughout the entire season.

3. That this was not due to any extraordinary content of sugar in the cane, but, on the contrary, the cane was much injured by severe drought and chinch-bugs.

4. That the value of the sugar and molasses obtained this year per ton of sorghum-cane will compare favorably with that of the highest yields obtained in Louisiana from sugar-cane; and, taking into consideration the much greater cost of the sugar-cane, and that it has no equivalent to the two bushels of seed yielded per ton of sorghum-cane, also our much cheaper fuel, I say without hesitancy that sugar can be produced as cheaply in Kansas as in Louisiana.

M. SWENSON.

Now I call attention to the report of Mr. Parkinson, the manager of the works:

To the Board of Directors Parkinson Sugar Company:

GENTLEMEN: I respectfully submit for your consideration the following report of the operations of the works of your company for the season just closing:

It is provided in our contract with the United States Department of Agriculture that certain experiments in sugar-making shall be made by the Department with certain machinery of its own and at its own expense, using the company's plant and machinery. * * *

As you are aware, the crop of cane contracted for last spring was very much less than the capacity of our works to consume. It was considered prudent to limit our danger from loss, by reason of the experimental nature of the work, and at the same time to have sufficient cane to determine thoroughly the value of the work on a practicnl manufacturing basis. This has been done, though it is now apparent that had the crop been twice as large, the expenses for working it would have been relatively much less. Indeed, a crop double the size of the one just finished could have been worked in about the same time, and at a comparatively trifling additional expense.

The plans, methods, and processes which have made the work of the season successful beyond our most sanguine expectations were adopted early in the season, so that the risks incident to experiments taken into account when contracting for a crop were reduced to the minimum. The fact that at least a portion of these highly successful processes were not tried and adopted last season was no fault of your company, nor of any one connected with this season's work.

To arrive at the cost per ton of cane worked, let us take the working of a single average day, when in full operation, and apart from the cost of experiments referred to.

The capacity of our factory, aside from deficient centrifugals, is limited to the capacity of the diffusion battery. Working twenty-two hours per day, this battery can comfortably handle 135 tons of chip or cleaned cane. This represents a capacity of field cane, or cane with seed to s and blades, of about 170 tons. To handle this, aside from curing and handling seed, cost us per day of twenty-two hours, when running regularly, as follows:

1 weighmaster, at $2	$2.00
1 team, pulling cane onto storage racks, at $2.50	2.50
5 men, unloading and getting cane to cutters, 22 hours, at 12½ cents	13.75
1 man, cutting machine, at 15 cents	3.30
1 man, cleaning machine, at 12½ cents	2.75
1 man, grinder, etc., at 15 cents	3.30
1 man, oiler, at 15 cents	3.30
3 men, diffusion battery, 1 at car and 2 above, at 12½ cents	8.25
1 man, diffusion battery, director of battery, at 20 cents	4.40
2 men defecating, at 15 cents	6.60
2 men, double effects, at 15 cents	6.60
1 man, strike-pan, at $5	5.00
1 man, hot room, at 12½ cents	2.75
1 man, barreler, at 12½ cents	2.75
2 men, centrifugals, at 15 cents	6.60
1 man, machinist, at $3	3.00
2 men, engineers, at 20 cents	8.80
5 men, firemen, at 15 cents	16.50
2 men, roustabouts, at 12½ cents	5.50
1 man, water-boy	2.00
1 man, night watch	1.50
2 men, foremen, at $2.50	5.00
Total cost of labor	111.75
Oil, etc	2.50
Coal, 23 tons slack, at 90 cents	20.70
Total	134.75

This makes the cost of working a ton of cleaned cane, with a factory of the capacity of ours, about $1 per ton for labor and fuel, or 90 cents per ton of field cane. The cost per ton for salaries, insurance, wear and tear, etc., must depend, of course, not only upon the size of the salaries and other general expenses, but the number of tons worked. This plant, rated as above, is capable, in seventy days, of working 9,450 tons of chips, or 11,900 tons of field cane. There is necessarily considerable expense in preparing for the season's work, and again in closing up. Allowing liberally for this and for the proper management and control of the works, we may still bring our total expenses, outside the cost of labor and fuel, at $1 per ton upon the above basis. Add to this the cost of labor and fuel, and we have $2 per ton as the total cost per ton of working cleaned cane.

These figures are fully verified by our pay-rolls, coal bills, and other expenses while working to our capacity during the season, separated from expenditures in the completion and changing of machinery directly connected with experiments made. And to work a factory with a capacity at least one-half greater than this one would require very little additional expense except in the matter of fuel, and that would be relatively less. It seems to me a very conservative basis, with a factory of the capacity of ours, to place the actual cost of manufacture at $2 per ton of cane; and with such a factory as I have indicated, and with a season of, say, seventy days, it is safe to place the cost of manufacture at considerably less than that sum. It requires but little figuring upon this basis, and with the cost of cane at $2 per ton, and the yield of cane and product secured this year, to show that we have here developed a business of great interest and profit to our State and nation.

To run a factory at the maximum profit it must be operated constantly during the working season. The loss this season by reason of the irregular operation of the factory for the want of sufficient cane was very considerable. During the whole season the factory was operated but three whole days of twenty-two hours each. Some idea of the loss from this source may be gathered from the fact that not less than 2 tons of chips were lost at each break in the operation of the diffusion battery. Sixty-five such breaks or stoppages were made while running for sugar. With a larger crop of cane and better arrangements for delivery upon the part of the larger contractors, but little or no difficulty from this source need be apprehended in the future.

	Tons.
Total cane bought	3,840
Total seed-tops bought	437
Total field cane	4,277

This represents the crop, less about 30 tons of seed-tops yet to come in, from about 450 acres of land. There were something over 500 acres planted. Some of it failed to come at all, some "fell upon the rocky places, where they had not much earth, and when the sun was risen they were scorched;" so that, as nearly as we can estimate, about 450 acres of cane were actually harvested and delivered at the works. This would make the average yield of cane 9½ tons per acre, or $19 per acre in dollars and cents. * * *

Of the total cane worked, 162 tons were consumed in experiments with our cutters and cleaning machinery before the cane was ripe enough for use for either sirup or sugar. No product whatever, not even seed, was saved from this, nor from 10 tons additional brought in since the factory closed down. About 300 tons of mostly down and inferior cane was worked in the early part of the season on the crushers, and without diffusion. The only product from this was molasses, and of that but a small quantity. About 375 tons were also worked for molasses only on the diffusion battery. This, with the exception of 50 tons at the close of the season, and which came in too irregularly to be worked for sugar, was worked before the sugar season began, and comprised such down patches and poorer quality of cane as could be gathered, mainly on the lands belonging to the company. It was an open question whether very poor cane could be worked successfully, even for sirups, on a diffusion battery. Nothing in this direction had hitherto been attempted. The total yield of molasses from this source, and from which no sugar has been taken, is 4,157 gallons. From this are sold 3,157 gallons, for $726.71 net. The remaining 1,000 gallons are still on hand, and are worth 25 cents per gallon.

	Tons.
Deducting from total tonnage, less seed	3,840
Amount not worked for sugar	897
We have total cane and leaves for sugar	2,943

The total number of diffusion cells worked for sugar is 2,643. The weight of a cell of chips is 1,975 pounds. With this as a basis there was worked by diffusion for sugar 2,610 tons of clean cane as it entered the cells. Deducting this from 2,943 tons of cane with leaves and blades, and we have 333 tons of leaves and blades. The latter are to us a dead loss. A small portion has been hauled away by farmers for feed, but the bulk of this large tonnage is now fit only for manure. This waste was considerably increased by the failure of our separating-machines, especially in the early part of the season, to properly discharge their duties. This whole subject was new; machines had to be devised, and their adjustment, which is not yet perfect, caused considerable loss of cane. The weight of blades and leaves will not be far from 10 per cent. of field cane. For either feed or fuel, especially where the latter is much of an object, the blades can be utilized so as to at least cover their own cost. At present we figure the loss from this source to seed account.

SEED.

There have been delivered of seed tops 437 tons. As nearly as we can estimate, there are yet to be delivered 30 tons, making in all 467 tons. From the best calculations we can make, and judging from our experience in former years, seed yields about 70 per cent. of the weight of heads, as brought in over the scales, in cleaned seed. Putting it at 60 per cent., and with 56 pounds to the bushel, we shall have 10,000 bushels of cleaned seed. A portion of this, estimated at 1,000 bushels, has, at considerable additional expense, been picked over by hand, head by head, tied into small bundles, and hung up in the dry. This has been done to provide ourselves with pure seed of the different varieties for planting and to supply a probable want in the same direction from others. For this hand-picked seed we expect to get not less than $2 per bushel. The cost of handling the seed has not been kept separate from the cost of running the factory. The total cost of curing, stacking, and hand-picking will not be far from $700, fully $200 of which has been expended in securing pure and perfectly cured seed for ourselves and others willing to pay the extra price. To thrash and prepare the seed for market the seed will cost about 6 cents per bushel additional. I estimate that we shall get for our seed crop $7,000 net. There will be left of seed tops, after thrashing, fully 100 tons. These are good for feed and fuel.

SIRUPS.

The bulk of our sirups are stored in the large cistern or cellar under the warehouse. The amount on hand we estimate at 50,000 gallons. This includes the whole crop, except the 3,157 gallons sold in early part of season. Of this we have sold, to be delivered within thirty days, and one car-load of which has already gone, 250 barrels, or about 12,500 gallons, at a price that will net us here 20 cents. This sale includes the bulk of our poorest sirups. I think we can safely estimate our sirup product, exclusive of packages, at $10,000. Considering the condition of our factory for work in cold weather, and the limited capacity of our centrifugal machinery, I recommend their sale, without boiling for seconds.

* * * * * * *

W. L. PARKINSON.

I quote further, as follows, from the report of the Commissioner of Agriculture upon the subject:

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INDUSTRY.

The experiments in making sugar from sorghum, which, as above shown, have been in progress for several years at the expense of private capital and the United States Department of Agriculture, have this year reached so favorable results as to place the manufacture of sorghum sugar on the basis of a profitable business.

The success has been due to, first, the almost complete extraction of the sugars from the cane by the diffusion process; second, the prompt and proper treatment of the juice in defecating and evaporating; third, the efficient manner in which the sugar was boiled to grain in the strike-pan. That these results may be duplicated and improved upon will be readily understood from the showing made in Mr. Parkinson's report, and the descriptions of methods and processes used, and the discussion of the same as they appear in the subsequent pages of this paper.

* * * * * * *

THE YIELD OBTAINED AT FORT SCOTT.

The actual yield obtained was 234,607 pounds of first sugar, from 2,501 cells. If, now, the cell be taken as a ton, the yield of first sugar was 234,607 + 2,501 = 93.8 pounds. Enough of the molasses was reboiled for a second crop of crystals, and the sugar separated, to ascertain that 15 to 20 pounds per ton of cane represented could be obtained. Calling it 15, we have for the entire yield 93.8 + 15 = 108.8 pounds per ton of cleaned cane. This is a larger yield than is obtainable according to the heretofore accepted theory. There is some uncertainty about the weight of a cell, which may account for the discrepancy between the theoretical and the actual results. It is possible, however, that the theory may need reconstruction. In any case the yield actually obtained is most gratifying.

I have made no mention in the above of the exceptionally large yields of some special strikes made during the season. One strike gave 109 pounds of merchantable sugar for each cellful of chips. The seconds from this would doubtless have brought the yield up to 130 pounds. But the general reader and the prospective manufacturer are more interested in average than in special results. It seems safe to assume that a mean of 100 pounds of sugar and 12 gallons of molasses can be made from each ton of cleaned sorghum cane of average richness.

Science suggests several methods for the complete separation of the cane sugar from the grape sugar and the "not sugar," and further experiments in this direction should be the work of the near future. As yet almost nothing has been done towards the development of methods of separating the grape sugar from the not sugar. This subject presents a most inviting field for the chemist.

THE FUTURE OF THE SORGHUM-SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The sorghum-sugar industry now seems to have an assured future. The quantities of sugar and molasses and other valuable products obtained from each ton of the cane and from each acre of land well remunerate the farmer for his crop and the manufacturer for his investment and the labor and skill required to operate the factory.

An acre of land cultivated in sorghum yields a greater tonnage of valuable products than in any other crop, with the possible exception of hay. Under ordinary methods of cultivation, 10 tons of cleaned cane per acre is somewhat above the average, but the larger varieties often exceed 12, while the small Early Amber sometimes goes below 8 tons per acre. Let 7½ tons of cleaned cane per acre be assumed for the illustration. This corresponds to a gross yield of 10 tons for the farmer, and at $2 per ton gives him $20 per acre for his crop. These 7½ tons of clean cane will yield—

	Pounds.
Sugar	750
Molasses	1,000
Seed	900
Fodder (green leaves)	1,500
Exhausted chips (dried)	1,500
Total	5,650

The first three items, which are as likely to be transported as wheat or corn, aggregate 2,650 pounds per acre.

Sorghum will yield 7½ tons of cleaned cane per acre more surely than corn will yield 30 bushels or wheat 15 bushels per acre.

In the comparison, then, of products which bear transportation, these crops stand as follows:

Sorghum, at 7½ tons, 2,650 pounds per acre.
Corn, at 30 bushels, 1,680 pounds per acre.
Wheat, at 15 bushels, 900 pounds per acre.

The sugar from the sorghum is worth, say, 5 cents per pound; the molasses, 1½ cents per pound; the seed, one-half cent per pound.

The products give market values as follows:

750 pounds of sugar, at, say, 5 cents	$37.50
1,000 pounds molasses, at, say, 1½ cents	17.50
900 pounds seeds, at, say, one-half cent	4.50
Total value of sorghum, less fodder	59.50
The corn crop gives 1,680 pounds, at one-half cent	7.40
The wheat crop gives 900 pounds, at 1 cent	9.00

Thus it will be seen that the sorghum yields to the farmer more than twice as much per acre as either of the leading cereals, and as a gross product of agriculture and manufacture on our own soil more than six times as much per acre as is usually realized from either of these standard crops.

In order to use to the best advantage the services of the specialists of the business, it has been proposed to establish at convenient places auxiliary factories which shall carry the processes so far as to prepare sirup for the strike-pan. This sirup will be stored in suitable tanks or cisterns and worked for sugar after the close of the season for handling cane. In this way the working season for the central factory may be prolonged to occupy almost the entire year. The auxiliary factories will cost about one-half or two-thirds as much as the complete factory, capable of taking care of the same amount of cane. As thus arranged, the central factory will, in addition to its own regular season's work, take care of the sirup from two or three of these sirup factories.

OUTLINE OF THE PROCESSES OF SUGAR-MAKING.

As now developed, the processes of making sugar from sorghum are as follows:

First, the topped cane is delivered at the factory by the farmers who grow it.

Second, the cane is cut by a machine into pieces about 1½ inches long.

Third, the leaves and sheaths are separated from the cut cane by fanning-mills.

Fourth, the cleaned cane is cut into fine bits called chips.

Fifth, the chips are placed in iron tanks, and the sugar "diffused"—soaked out with hot water.

Sixth, the juice obtained by diffusion has its acids nearly or quite neutralized with milk of lime, and is heated and skimmed.

Seventh, the defecated or clarified juice is boiled to a semi-sirup in vacuum pans.

Eighth, the semi-sirup is boiled "to grain" in a high vacuum in the "strike-pan."

Ninth, the mixture of sugar and molasses from the strike-pan is passed through a mixing machine into centrifugal machines, which throw out the molasses and retain the sugar.

It may not be inappropriate to add the definition of diffusion as applied to this process which I find in the Agricultural report, and which, with much of the foregoing, is taken from the report of Mr. E. B. Cowgill.

WHAT IS DIFFUSION?

The condition in which the sugars and other soluble substances exist in the cane is that of solution in water. This sweetish liquid is contained, like the juices of plants generally, in cells. The walls of these cells are porous. It has long been known that if a solution of sugar in water be placed in a porous or membranous sack and the sack placed in water, an action called osmose takes place, whereby the water from the outside and the sugar solution from the inside of the sack each pass through until the liquids on the two sides of the membrane are equally sweet. Other substances soluble in water behave similarly, but sugar and other readily crystallizable substances pass through much more readily than uncrystallizable or difficultly crystallizable bodies. To apply this property to the extraction of sugar the cane is first cut into fine chips, as already described, and put into the diffusion cells, where water is applied and the sugar is displaced.

The statement of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PETERS] made in this debate confirms the truthfulness of these official reports. He says:

But this was overcome last year, and the diffusion process was more thoroughly tried and experimented upon, and as a result, instead of securing only 55 per cent. of the saccharine matter from cane, we secured by the diffusion process 97 per cent., and instead of securing from this saccharine matter about 56 pounds of sugar to the ton, we secured over 100 pounds of sugar to the ton in addition to the sirup that was also made from the same matter, from 15 to 25 gallons per ton.

The works at Fort Scott worked up about 600 acres of cane last year, and my colleague from the Fort Scott district [Mr. FUNSTON] says that they produced 235,000 pounds of sugar.

Mr. FUNSTON. C sugar.

Mr. PETERS. Yes, coffee C sugar. Anybody who knows what that is can understand just the kind of sugar that they made at the Fort Scott works.

Now, I want to go on with my statement in relation to the production of this sugar. As I said before, last year we were able to produce over a hundred pounds, and in many instances 115 pounds, the first run from a ton of cane, and in addition to that from 5 to 20 gallons of sirup.

To show what the interest of the farmer is in this industry, I state that any farmer with a team can plant and grow and harvest 50 acres of this cane, and the average yield per acre in Kansas was about 12 tons. That gives for one farmer 600 tons of cane, which sold last year at $2 per ton, yielding him $1,200 for the labor of himself and team upon 50 acres of ground, and requiring at the outside only about four month's time to plant, grow, and harvest the crop. Every one can see at a glance why it is that the farmers in the belt of country where this cane can be raised are interested in the development of the industry.

Mr. FUNSTON. And none are interested more than the people of Illinois.

Mr. PETERS. And, as my colleague says, none are interested more than the farmers of Illinois, and the farmers of the entire Union, wherever they live within the belt in which the cane can be successfully produced.

Aside from this, there is another very important item to be taken into consideration, and that is that the cane is almost a certain crop. Drought does not materially affect it; the grasshopper does not affect it. It can be raised almost surely every year in this belt of country, regardless of rainfall or of atmospheric or climatic influences.

I have said that two years ago we had too much science, and therefore did not produce sugar successfully after we had obtained the saccharine matter; but last year it was left to work itself out, passing from the diffusion battery into the vacuum pan, and from that into the centrifugal, and from the centrifugal into the barrel. I made a trip to Fort Scott during the sugar season last year. I went to the field and saw the cane cut; I saw it loaded on the wagon; I saw it hauled upon the scale; I saw it taken to where it was cut up into small pieces; I saw it go into the diffusion battery, and from that into the vacuum pan, and then into the centrifugal, and I saw it come out sugar in the barrels; so that I know what I am talking about, because seeing is believing, and I not only know that sugar was made, but I know that it was made in the quantities I have stated, because I saw the ton of cane weighed and saw the sugar that was produced weighed.

I call special attention to the assertion of the gentleman from Kansas in which he says "the cane is almost a certain crop and drought does not materially affect it." This statement may somewhat exaggerate the virtue of the cane, but it is no doubt true that it is affected less by drought and injured less by chinch bugs and other insects. It is therefore a very valuable plant to farmers located in regions afflicted by drought.

Notwithstanding the fact that in past years, especially during the war period, Congressional legislation has done the farming classes more harm than good, yet Congress can and ought to promote the welfare of that class by reducing the burden of taxation, the abolition of monopolies, the destruction of trusts, and the repeal of laws unjustly affecting their interests, but in addition to all this, great good results to them from legislation like the proposition now before us which calls to their aid science and art and the inventive genius of experts in the development and improvement of methods by which their products may be made more useful, their value increased, and also by such a policy as will enlarge the markets for their surplus.

I can conceive of nothing which will do more to promote the prosperity of the farmers of the district I represent, than that involved in the measure now before us. It lies in the same latitude as the region in which Fort Scott, Kans., is located, where the experiments mentioned were made. I believe that the Congressional district I represent is as well adapted to the cultivation of the best quality of sorghum, and can produce it as abundantly, as any other district in the Union. Therefore I feel the utmost desire for the adoption of this proposition, and the continuance of these experiments, under the direction of our wise and faithful Commissioner of Agriculture, who has accomplished so much for agricultural interests by the zeal, energy, and ability which he has bestowed upon this and other very important discoveries and questions deeply affecting the interests of agriculturists.

Before ending my remarks I am gratified to mention the success of efforts that have been made in Congress during the past ten years to promote the welfare of the farming classes. Since then the interstate-commerce law, which protects them against railroad extortion, has been enacted. The oleomargarine law, which protects their dairy product from competition with a fraudulent, counterfeit article, has been passed.

Experimental agricultural stations throughout the country have been provided. The animal industry has been promoted by wholesome legislation.

We have passed in this House the bill which establishes a new department, called the department of agriculture, and which creates a secretary of agriculture, who is to be a member of the Cabinet. Whilst I think the new department thus provided for could be made more useful to the agricultural and other interests by including other bureaus which have important bearing upon the farming and laboring classes, as well as the commerce and transportation of the country I feel that this is a just recognition of and will greatly benefit the largest and most important interest in the United States. It increases the powers and efficiency of the Agricultural Department and raises it from its present position as a mere bureau of the Interior Department to the dignity of the other Cabinet branches of the administration.

Mr. Chairman, there are other important acts of legislation for the relief and benefit of the farming and other laboring classes which have been enacted within the past few years which I could mention, but I will not occupy further time in doing so now.

I will, however, congratulate the farmers upon the happy change which has occurred in their favor during the past ten years, and the devotion to their interest which has been manifested by many of their representatives in Congress. The change is a wholesome one, and was much needed for the relief of agriculturists. We can more fully comprehend the value and importance of the reforms in their favor when we contrast the present with the unjust course of Congressional legislation against their interest which existed before and at the time when I first came to this House. I will quote from a speech delivered by myself on June 15, 1878, advocating a bill I had introduced, which provided for the repeal of the unjust restrictions upon the leaf tobacco producers. I then said: (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 4671, second session Forty-fifth Congress, June 15, 1878.)

Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois. The reasons impelling me to offer this amendment were induced partly by this circumstance: A short time before my departure from home for this city last summer I met on the railway a neighboring farmer who owned a small piece of land. I found him in custody of the United States marshal, who was taking him to Springfield, the State capital, where the United States courts are held, some 200 miles away. The only charge against him was that on his little farm, devoted mainly to other agricultural productions, he had raised a very small patch of tobacco, intending it for his own consumption, but the necessity for bread in his family store rendered it necessary for him to forego his luxury and part with it.

He had placed the tobacco under his arm, being the entire crop produced by him, and at a neighboring mill exchanged it for flour. Remember, the tobacco had been planted, cultivated, and gathered by his own labor, with no help save Him who gives the increase. The farmer was entirely ignorant of the legal restriction upon his right to dispose of the product of his farm to whomsoever he pleased. A malignant neighbor, moved by a grudge, being better advised, had informed the United States revenue officers. These officers and the marshal, knowing there would be fees in their pockets, no matter what became of the unsophisticated farmer, had caused this man to be arrested, torn from his home and horror-stricken family, and the deputy marshal was conveying him 200 miles away to answer this as a criminal charge.

I asked myself, can it be possible, considering the character of the men from whom we have sprung and who made this Government, men who a hundred years ago rose in rebellion because a small tax had been levied upon a foreign product—tea—that the descendants of those men of the third and fourth generations were being thrown into prison for daring to sell the product of their own labor in order to obtain the necessaries of life for their families? Can it be possible that a man is not permitted to exchange his own honestly-acquired God-given property for bread? But, sir, as grievous and humiliating as it may seem, it must be confessed that our statute-book is disgraced with just such a law. The provision I seek to repeal prohibits a man from exchanging or selling this product of his farm to the highest and best purchaser, even where it be necessary to obtain the necessaries of life.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if you can by law restrict a farmer in the sale of his tobacco, I ask if it is not also in the power of Congress to enact a law restricting farmers in the sale of corn, wheat, or other products except to a certain privileged class? If you build up such a class, having a monopoly of the right to purchase the agricultural products of the country, will you not bind hand and foot the producing classes and deliver them over to the control and power of a combination having the power, governed by their greed and avarice, to fix the price of farm products?

In my judgment the foundation of the wealth and prosperity of this country rests upon the producing classes. When you strike down that class you will have retarded the growth and development of this land and shattered the basis of its greatness.

If the revenue officials who had arrested my neighbor had been in office in the day of our earliest ancestor, Adam, they would not have arrested him and his wife for stealing from the tree of forbidden fruit, but, sir, if Adam had dared to exchange tobacco produced by the sweat of his brow with the men of Nod or any other land, he would have been arrested and thrown into prison.

The letter of the law is as I have stated it, but when I contemplate the purpose for which this Government was established, when I read in the Constitution that it was ordained "to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," when I go further back and read in that Declaration of Independence which gave birth to the Constitution, that all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—as these reflections run through my mind I am driven to the belief that this law is unconstitutional. It is violative of the spirit of the Constitution, as it is certainly in violation of the inalienable right of man to exchange his property for bread.

As I have already said, if you can dictate to whom the farmer may sell his leaf-tobacco, you can dictate to whom he may sell his corn and wheat; if you can deprive him of the right to sell his leaf-tobacco to his neighbor for consumption, you can deprive him of the right to sell his corn or wheat to his starving neighbor for food. Such a law is unjust. It is not an enactment of freedom—it is an edict of tyranny.

While on this subject I will avail myself of the liberty of saying that our system of Federal taxation is wrong. Taxation should be equal and uniform and in proportion to the amount of property. Dollars, not individuals, should be taxed. Every man should bear the burden of taxation in proportion to the value of the property he possesses. The larger the amount of property a man possesses, the greater the amount of protection he receives from the Government. Among the principal objects of government is the protection of property, and yet we find under our system that the poor pay as much Federal taxation as the rich.

* * * * * * *

Before I yield the floor, as a parting word, I desire to remind this House that the national legislation for the past fifteen years has borne heavily upon the agricultural classes. So grievously are they oppressed that they are unwilling to submit to further endurance. They constitute the bone and sinew of this land. They are patient, law-abiding, self-sacrificing, and ardent lovers of their Government, but as they are the main support of the social and political fabric they feel that they have a right to demand relief from the oppressive features of the present law. This amendment is a step in that direction, and I now conclude with an earnest appeal to you who are the direct representatives of the people to listen to their complaint and commence at once to repeal the unjust legislation of the past.

Since then we have succeeded in securing an amendment of that law, which permits the farmer to sell $100 worth of his tobacco with the same freedom that he may sell any of his other products. At the commencement of the present Congress I again introduced the bill to repeal all laws restricting the rights of the farmer to sell his leaf-tobacco, which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and I am now gratified to see that its provisions have in substance been ingrafted on the Mills tariff bill, which has been favorably reported by that committee. If that bill becomes a law, among the many great blessings of relief that it will bring to the farmer will be the right to dispose of his entire tobacco crop with the same freedom from arrest and punishment that he may dispose of his corn or wheat crop.

The Tariff—Raw Material.

SPEECH

OF

HON. N. P. HAUGEN,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. HAUGEN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: On the 10th of July my colleague, Mr. GUENTHER, presented and had read at the Clerk's desk a communication to the Milwaukee Sentinel, written by a prominent manufacturer of Wisconsin, Mr. John A. Johnson, residing at Madison, in my State. Mr. Johnson supported Mr. Cleveland in 1884, and in 1886 was the Democratic candidate for State treasurer. But he has turned from the error of his ways and is this year giving his hearty and zealous support to home industries, fair wages, a home market, and honest elections, by supporting Harrison and Morton. In the communication referred to, in touching upon the Democratic fallacy that only 18 or 20 per cent. of a finished product is labor, Mr. Johnson said:

It does not take any great profundity to show the absolute fallacy of the assertion. * * * The material in a $20,000 steam-engine and a $25,000 printing-press can be bought for a few dollars, say $1 per ton, and not over $50 for material sufficient for both machines, before any labor is put upon it. A finished farm-wagon sells for, say, $60, but I can safely agree to furnish the materials for it before any labor is put on it for $1.

Mr. Johnson evidently knew what he was about when he made this offer, as the following extract from a Wisconsin paper will show. I ask that it be read, simply adding that Mr. Johnson's free-trade friend, when last heard from, had failed to furnish the bonds for the fulfillment of his part of the contract.

The Clerk read as follows:

WHAT IS RAW MATERIAL?

[Eau Claire Free Press.]

Some time ago General Simeon Mills, of the Wisconsin Wagon Works, offered to take the material for ten thousand wagons from J. A. Johnson at $1 for each wagon, the material to have had no labor whatever bestowed upon it. In a late issue of the Madison Democrat is published the reciprocating agreement of Mr. Johnson, which is as follows, and it should be borne in mind that Mr. Johnson, although a large manufacturer of agricultural implements, thinks that in that particular line of manufacturing a tariff is no longer necessary:

"DEAR SIR: With much gratification do I read your letter in the Democrat of the 15th, giving me an order for materials for 10,000 farm wagons, on which no labor has been expended, at $1 for each wagon, in accordance with my proposition in the Milwaukee Sentinel. I will be at my office at 9 a. m., the 19th instant, when please call, and we will have an attorney make out the papers in due form. As the transaction is quite a large one, I presume you will procure the sanction of the board of directors of the Wisconsin Wagon Company. I also think it advisable that both parties enter into bonds for the faithful performance of the contract, let the forfeiture be $5,000 to $10,000. I will try and secure acceptable bondsmen, and I am sure your wagon company will not for a moment hesitate to furnish the bonds. I will not attempt to conceal that I hope to make something out of the transaction. I meant to be perfectly safe when I said that I would furnish materials before any labor had been put upon it at $1 each wagon. I want this to be a bona fide transaction.

"I suppose I might under my proposition furnish the wood and iron material in Tennessee and Alabama. Considerable of wagon material used in this State come from those States. But if preferred, I feel confident that I can get an abundance in this State both of timber and ore, but you must go to the coal States for coal. The trees for the timber that I shall sell you will doubtless be in this State, and the tops of the trees can be utilized to make charcoal, with which you can make charcoal iron. You can fell the trees this fall—they ought to be felled soon to make the best of timber—and haul them to the mills during the winter. The ore for the iron you can mine at any time, as it will not take

me long to make provision for the necessary ore. The lead ore for the paint I can also get the privilege for you to mine in this State, I think. As for the linseed-oil, I can rent land for you to raise the seed in Dakota. It is a good country for flax. For the turpentine you will have to go to North or South Carolina in order to get it before any labor is put on it. Aniline colors for paints are, as you know, manufactured from coal-tar, and the coal you must, as before said, go to the coal regions for.

"Now, while I expect to make from $5,000 to $7,000 on this contract if it is consummated, according to free-trade views, the Wisconsin Wagon Company will make a good round sum. Free-traders generally accept the statements of the leading free traders, David A. Wells, Senator McDonald, Mr. Mitchell, and the Chicago Tribune, who all say that the amount of labor in our finished wares is only 18 to 20 per cent. of their finished value. Now suppose the value of a farm wagon is $50, the labor on it would be $10, then you pay $1 for material, this leaves a profit of $39 on each wagon, which the company gets, except the freight. Suppose we knock off $4 for possible accident and freights, still the profit is $35, and on 10,000 wagons the total profit is $350,000. This will make the stockholders smile, and I am sure, general, there will be no opposition to your re-election as president.

"There is one very strange feature about these wonderful profits that free-traders figure out in manufacturing. Very few free-traders go into the manufacturing business. They content themselves mostly with figuring out the enormous profits, without at empting to get a fair share of those profits themselves. It is true that General Mills seems in dead earnest about making $350,000 on those 10,000 wagons. And yet I confess that I have a little suspicion that he does not intend to consummate the bargain. If he had so intended, it seems to me that he would have come right to me, instead of sending his acceptance to the newspapers. I stand ready to furnish materials in the same way for several times 10,000 wagons. If there is a big margin for him in this contract, he can certainly do a nice business by reselling material to other wagon manufacturers. Here is an excellent opportunity for General Mills or some other free-trader, who really believes what he preaches, to make not one, but several fortunes. Now, do not let modesty be in the way.

"Yours, truly,

"J. A. JOHNSTON."

The French Spoliation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT C. THOMPSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, August 8, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes—

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I do not flatter myself that I can present to the committee anything new upon the subject of the French spoliation claims, and shall content myself with restating some of the arguments which have been used against them heretofore, and which have been sufficient to convince me that they ought not to be paid.

By the act of January 20, 1885, the French spoliation claims were referred to the Court of Claims for investigation and report to Congress. The court is required by this statute to—

receive all suitable testimony on oath or affirmation, and all other proper evidence, historic and documentary, concerning the same, * * * to decide upon the validity of said claims according to the rules of law, municipal and international, and the treaties of the United States applicable to the same—

And to—

report all such conclusions of fact and law as in their judgment may affect the liability of the United States.

The statute requires this report to be made—

on the first Monday of December in each year * * * to Congress for final action—

And is to be taken by Congress as merely advisory, and shall not—

conclude either the claimant or Congress.

So that practically the Court of Claims in this matter stands in the relation of a master commissioner to Congress, which is the court in which final action must be taken, and instead, therefore, of being concluded by the action of the Court of Claims, as insisted the other day by the gentleman from Massachusetts, we are now called upon to carefully examine the report of this master commissioner, hear the exceptions to it, and deliver final judgment in the case.

The law provides only for valid claims—

Valid claims to indemnity upon the French Government arising out of illegal captures, detentions, seizures, condemnations, and confiscations prior to the ratification of the convention between the United States and the French Republic concluded on the 30th of September, 1800.

Resort must be had therefore to existing law, "municipal and international, and the treaties of the United States applicable to the same," to determine what are valid claims, and if they are not "valid" under existing law they can not be appropriated for in this bill. We can not change the law. We can not broaden the scope of the statute of 1885 by a rider on an appropriation bill, and to properly discharge our duty, therefore, we must consider and determine the questions of validity which are presented under existing law.

The question is presented whether the depredations complained of were committed during a state of war between the two countries or were the result of the abuse of the rights of belligerency on the part of France while engaged in war with other nations. To my mind the evidence clearly establishes that there was a state of war—maritime war—between France and the United States between the year 1795 and the year 1800. There was no formal declaration of war; there was no fighting upon land, yet there was actual and flagrant war. These depredations began prior to 1793 and finally reached a point in 1798 where the United States could no longer forbear, and decisive action against France was taken by both the executive and legislative departments of the Government.

On June 23, 1798, Congress authorized the President to officer and arm the "provisional army." On June 25 our merchant vessels were authorized to resist by force "any search, restraint, or seizure" from any vessel sailing under French colors, and to capture or recapture such vessels. On June 28, the President was authorized to treat persons captured in such vessels as prisoners of war. Prisoners so taken were duly exchanged.

On July 7 Congress passed an act annulling all our treaties with France, and two days afterwards, on July 9, passed another act, which, in the language of another—

Without any formal declaration of war, not only authorized the President to instruct the commanders of public armed vessels of the United States to capture any French armed vessel, such captured vessel with her apparel, guns, and appurtenances, with goods and effects on board the same, being French property, to be brought into the United States and proceeded against and condemned as forfeited, but the President was authorized to grant special commissions to private armed vessels which should have the same license and authority.

And the Attorney-General had given an official opinion that there was a state of war.

Mr. LONG. In what year was that?

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio. In the year 1798.

Diplomatic intercourse was suspended. Our minister had been dismissed from France, and she had refused to receive our ministers plenipotentiary, and President Adams in his proclamation had used the following language with reference to French consular officers in this country:

And whereas actual hostilities have long been practiced on the commerce of the United States by the cruisers of the French Republic under the orders of its government; which orders that government refuses to revoke or relax, and hence it has become improper any longer to allow the consul-general, consuls, and vice-consuls of the French Republic above named or any of its consular persons or agents heretofore admitted in these United States any longer to exercise their consular functions: These are, therefore, to declare that I do no longer recognize the said citizen Letombe as consul-general or consul, nor the said citizens Rosier and Arcambal as vice-consuls, nor the said citizen Mozard as consul of the French Republic in any part of these United States, not permit them or any other consular persons or agents of the French Republic heretofore admitted in the United States to exercise their functions as such; and I do hereby revoke the *exequaturs* heretofore given to them respectively, and do declare them absolutely null and void from this day forward.

Mr. DIBBLE. Will the gentleman state the date?

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio. I am not able to give the precise date without spending more time than I care to devote to looking for it, but it was about the time the act of Congress was passed annulling the treaties. I found the extract which I quote in Wharton's International Law Digest.

Mr. DIBBLE. I wish simply to call attention to the fact that that was towards the latter period of these spoliations and that the largest proportion of them were before the act or this proclamation.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio. Of thirty-three cases reported to Congress December 7, 1887, by the Court of Claims, seventeen arose before July 7, 1798, the date of the passage of the act, and sixteen afterwards. Of those arising before the passage of the act, one arose in 1793, one in 1795, eleven in 1797, and four in 1798, so that out of the thirty-three, twenty arose in 1798.

I had not intended and I do not want to spend any more time upon this question, for I wish to pass to other matters. It is enough to say that depredations were committed on more than two thousand vessels, men were killed and wounded on both sides, and after great preparations for war on a more extensive scale a treaty of peace was concluded, which excluded indemnity for captures definitely condemned prior to the execution of the treaty, the French negotiation of which was conducted upon the basis of the existence of a state of war, and which basis we were compelled to accept or continue the war. The French position is stated by Trescot thus:

The French plenipotentiaries would consent to the abrogation of the old treaties, but as such an abrogation could only be the result of war they were obliged to consider the action of the United States preceding, equivalent to war, and a new treaty, in necessary consequence, a treaty of peace. In such case the question of indemnity must be laid aside because a war extinguished all neutral obligations; each party had taken the remedy of complaints into its own hands, and the treaty of peace was a fresh start upon such a new basis as their respective positions warranted them in proposing; and therefore they offered to the American ministers either the abrogation of the old treaties without indemnity, or indemnity with the old treaties.

Judge Washington in Bas *vs.* Tingy, 4 Dallas, page 34, stated the case thus:

In March, 1799, Congress had raised an army, stopped all intercourse with France, dissolved our treaty, built and equipped ships of war, and commissioned private armed ships, enjoining the former and authorizing the latter to defend themselves against the armed ships of France, to attack them on the high seas, to subdue and take them as prize, and to recapture armed vessels found in their possession. Here, then, let me ask what were the technical characters of an American and a French armed vessel combating on the high seas with a view the one to subdue the other and to make prize of his property? They certainly were not friends, because there was a contention by force; nor

were they private enemies, because the contention was external, and authorized by the legitimate authority of the two governments. If they were not our enemies I know not what constitutes an enemy. * * * What, then, is the evidence of the legislative will? In fact and in law we are at war.

Congress had annulled our treaties with France; had provided for the organization of an army, which Washington was called from his retirement to command; had provided for a navy and the issuing of commissions to privateers; had enjoined our ships of war to defend themselves against the armed ships of France, to attack them on the high seas, to subdue and take them as prize, and to recapture armed vessels found in their possession; had authorized the President to treat persons captured in such vessels as prisoners of war, and they were so treated and exchanged as such. The President had announced the suspension of diplomatic intercourse with France; had issued his proclamation revoking the *exequaturs* of all French consuls in this country; and his Attorney-General had given an official opinion that there was a state of war. The Supreme Court, at the August term, 1800, in Bas vs. Tingy, had distinctly recognized a state of war; and as a matter of fact there was actual fighting on the high seas between our armed ships and those of France. McMaster, in his History of the People of the United States, says:

The little navy, which the Republicans so maligned, was serving in four squadrons. Nine ships, under Commodore Barry, cruised along the Lesser Antilles from Tobago northward to the island of Martinique. Five more, under Commodore Truxtun, had their rendezvous at St. Kitts, and watched the ships that came from Guadaloupe. A third fleet closed the Windward Passage. A fourth was off Havana and the Cuban shore. The private armed vessels in commission were, it was boasted, as many as the days in the year. (A report made toward the close of 1798 gave the number of private armed ships as 365, the number of guns on them as 2,733, and the sailors manning them as 6,874.)

And in speaking of the fight between the Constellation and L'Insurgente, which took place about the 10th of February, 1799, he said:

There the Constellation, flying Commodore Truxtun's pennant, gave her chase. In two hours the space between the ships had so much shortened that the fight began. In tonnage, guns, and seamen the pair were not ill-matched. But the fire of the Constellation was slow and well directed, while the shots she received from L'Insurgente passed generally through her sails. When the battle had lasted for an hour and a quarter, and sixty-seven killed and wounded sailors lay on his deck, the French commander thought enough had been done for the honor of the tricolor, and drew down his flag.

And speaking of another contest, says:

The list of prizes for the three years sums up seventy-four; a noble showing, it was said, for an infant navy. The last and, in time, the most famous capture was made in November by the frigate Boston, Captain Little in command. The vessel was cruising in the waters between the West India Islands and the American coast, when she fell in with the corvette Le Berceau, one of the finest and fastest ships of the French marine. The Boston had a few more guns, but the Frenchman was nothing loth to fight, and the battle at once began. For two hours the firing was uninterrupted. By that time the first lieutenant, the master, the boatswain, the gunner, and some thirty of the crew lay dead on the deck of the Berceau, her rigging was cut to pieces, her sides were shattered, and her foremast and mainmast so injured that, not long after she struck, both went by the board. What remained was brought to the United States.

To the ordinary observer this would seem to be a condition of war. It was limited and defensive it is true, but nevertheless war; and although there had been no formal declaration of war, yet its existence had been recognized by every department of the Government.

But if it be conceded that these claims were valid claims against France at the time of the ratification of the treaty of 1800, it by no means follows that by virtue of that treaty the United States became liable to its citizens for these claims. It is assumed that a bargain was made by which the individual claims of certain of our citizens against France were released to France in consideration of the release by France of certain national claims against us; that thereby the United States appropriated the private property of these citizens to the public use, and should make compensation therefor, as she would for land taken for public use. Or that these claims having been used by the Government to effect a compromise with France, the amount thereof is to be treated as so much money had and received to and for the use of these claimants, which the Government is liable to pay upon demand. Or that the circumstances in equity raise a trust against the Government to account for the amount of these claims as having in effect been collected from France through the treaty. The liability, therefore, is to be reached through construction and implication; if it exists it must be implied from the circumstances.

There is nothing in the transaction that directly commits the United States to any such liability. Our Government in no way assumed such liability. Nothing of that kind can be found in the treaty, but it is sought to work out a liability by construction. It is not pretended that the Government expressly or directly assumed liability, as she did not under the treaty with Spain when Florida was purchased. By that treaty it was provided that as a part equivalent for the cession of Florida the United States should renounce all claims of citizens of the United States upon the Spanish Government—

Statements of which, soliciting the interposition of the Government of the United States, had been presented to the Department of State or to the minister of the United States in Spain since the date of the convention of 1802, and until the signature of the treaty.

The United States assumed these debts and agreed by treaty to appropriate $5,000,000 to their payment. The treaty provided for a board of commissioners to—

ascertain the full amount and validity of the claims thus assumed by the United States.

There was nothing of that kind in the treaty with France.

What was the transaction with France? Our contention with her arose under the treaties of alliance and commerce of 1778. Under those treaties we guarantied to France her possessions in America and gave her the privilege of our ports, to the exclusion of her enemies. That is, under the treaty she had a right to come into our ports to refit and reman her ships of war and privateers, to bring in and sell her prizes there, while her enemies were to be wholly excluded. This was of great importance to her in her struggle with Great Britain, and when the privilege was taken from her and given to Great Britain by the Jay treaty she was greatly exasperated.

Prior to this time her depredations on our commerce grew almost out of her necessities, and she always expressed her willingness to make just and proper compensation for them. But after the negotiation of the Jay treaty with England had become known she made open war upon our commerce, and from that day the controversy was hot until the treaty was made. She, however, had first violated the treaty, particularly Article XXIII, which provided that free ships should make free goods, and we were fully warranted in making the Jay treaty. We took this ground and regarded her depredations upon our commerce as unjustifiable and as in further violation of the treaties and of the law of nations; and when negotiations looking to peace began we demanded indemnity for them, but France refused to pay indemnity unless we would reinstate the treaties of 1778, which imposed obligations upon us we could not perform without risking our very existence as a nation. She offered, however, to enter into a new treaty of "peace, commerce, and navigation" if we were willing with her to wipe out past relations and begin anew. She would consent to our recision of the treaties of 1778 if we would abandon our claim for indemnity, and would make a new treaty with us. But our plenipotentiaries were instructed to insist upon indemnity, and they did so.

We presented these claims; we urged them in season and out of season. No gentleman on this floor will assert that up to the time of the treaty the Government of the United States was in any respect derelict in its duty to its citizens in the prosecution of these claims. Our Government carried its prosecution of them at least to the point of war, and in my judgment beyond that; but France absolutely refused to pay any indemnity. She insisted that these depredations on her part were just reprisals for violations of the treaties of 1778, particularly through the operation of the Jay treaty, by which she was excluded from the privileges of our ports and England accorded those privileges. In all our negotiations we were met with her absolute refusal to consider these claims in any but one view, and that was in connection with the reinstatement of the treaties.

She took the position that if we would reinstate the treaties of 1778 she would pay something; that is, she would not pay indemnity for depredations which she justified as acts of reprisal, but would be willing to pay a money consideration to have the treaties reinstated, to have the privileges of our ports granted to her and England excluded. But the alternative on the part of France was, reinstatement of the treaties and indemnity, or a new treaty without indemnity. In other words, the question presented to the United States was the question of peace or war—whether the war then going on should be continued and enlarged until it should become a general war, or whether we would have peace upon the single condition on which France would permit it; that is, peace without indemnity, or peace by the reinstatement of the treaties and such compensation as she would be willing to make for those depreda ions. The transaction, as I view it, was simply this: Instead of a bargain with France, instead of a set-off between the two nations, it was simply the abandonment of the prosecution of these claims when it became apparent that we could no longer prosecute them without involving the country in a war with most disastrous consequences, situated as we then were.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I would like to inquire how the Government could abandon the prosecution of the claims of its citizens, so as to deprive these citizens of their rights, without the Government at the same time becoming liable?

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio. I will in time answer that question. That is the point I want to come to. There is plenty of authority on that subject which I do not think it necessary to cite here, in view of the discussions which have taken place in Congress during almost a hundred years. I do not think any gentleman will claim that the Government is bound to go to the extent of war in the prosecution of the private claims of its citizens. Is it to be asserted that our country is to be involved in all the consequences of war, and that the property and lives of its citizens generally are to be sacrificed in order to prosecute to the utmost the interests of a few individuals? The interests of an entire people were to be considered when this treaty was in course of negotiation—the interests of the whole people, not of these few claimants. And when the question of peace or war was presented, the Government simply said we will have peace upon the only condition on which it will be conceded to us; that is, the abandonment of the further prosecution of these claims.

France stood upon that position; but she finally consented to the making of a new treaty if we would agree that the cousideration of these claims be indefinitely postponed. So we had the treaty of 1800

with the original Article II, by which the consideration of all questions arising under the treaties of 1778 was indefinitely postponed.

But the Senate of the United States was not willing to leave the matter in that shape. The Senate insisted that the treaty should stand for only eight years; that Article II should be stricken out and the following be inserted in its place:

It is agreed that the present convention shall be in force for the term of eight years from the time of exchange of ratifications.

France, however, unwilling that at the end of eight years this controversy should be revived (for you must put that construction upon the action of Napoleon), returned to her original position, and insisted upon the absolute abandonment of the claim for indemnity. Hence there was a new treaty without provision for indemnity, a foot-note being added to the treaty at the instance of Napoleon agreeing to the new article and to the retrenchment of original Article II, but providing—

That by this retrenchment the two states renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article.

So that France simply came back to her original position: if you will indefinitely postpone these questions of controversy we will make this treaty with you. This was a polite and diplomatic way of getting rid of the matter; but if you will not consent to that, but insist upon having the matter in such shape that it may be revived at the end of eight years, we will return to our original position; we will demand that this treaty shall be simply upon the condition of the abandonment of all claims of indemnity.

And the United States Senate accepted that condition, which was, as I say, a condition of peace. Now, from these circumstances, is it to be implied that the United States assumed the payment of these claims? Was there anything in these circumstances of which any gentleman can speak as an appropriation of private property for public use, like land taken for the purpose of a public building? France was not bargaining with us. France was not asking the release of any claim which we had against her. When we pressed this claim for indemnity she simply said we will not pay it; all that we have done to your ships has been in just reprisal of the violations of these treaties of which you have been guilty and the injuries you have done to us by depriving us of the privileges of your ports which were guarantied to us.

She did not call upon us to guaranty her American possessions. On the contrary, it was to her interest to prevent us from being involved in the European war, because she depended upon us largely for her food supply, and Genet, at his first interview with Jefferson, waived the provision of guaranty. He said:

We know that under present circumstances we have a right to call upon you for the guaranty of our islands, but we do not desire it.

Her great complaint against us was because of the Jay treaty, by which the privilege of our ports was taken from her and given to Great Britain; and she justified her refusal to pay indemnity upon our alleged violation of the treaties thereby.

She did not ask to be released from anything. There was no effort to sell to us advantages. There was at least a state of quasi war, a condition of things which could not be continued with safety to the country. It was important that peace should be restored, and the condition imposed on our Government was the abandonment of the prosecution of these claims. Will gentlemen insist that rather than abandon these claims the Government should have gone on and allowed this condition of quasi war to continue until it became general, involving this country in the European wars which then prevailed? Because we did not choose to involve ourselves in the general continental war then prevailing will gentlemen on this floor insist we thereby made ourselves liable for the payment of these claims?

Could any such duty be imposed on an infant republic struggling to get a footing amongst the nations of the earth? Yet that is the position assumed by the gentlemen who support the proposition to pay these claims, and who urge them upon this House, that we were compelled to risk the peace of the country and to suffer all the consequences of war in support of these claims, or by abandoning them make ourselves liable for their payment. That is the position of these gentlemen as I understand it; because we stopped there to avoid a general war in the prosecution of these claims we have by so doing made ourselves liable to pay them on the ground that it was an appropriation by the Government of private property for public uses. Now, Mr. Chairman, to my mind there is a great deal of difference between the case where the Government takes private property with a strong hand and devotes it to public use and the case where it merely abandons the prosecution of claims on the part of certain of its citizens in order to avoid being involved in a general war and for the purpose of securing the peace of the country.

So I say there is no warrant for the position taken here that the Government has in negotiating and consenting to that treaty assumed payment of these claims, or put itself in a position where either at law or in equity liability can be justly implied against it. She did not seek with these claims to buy a release from France of the old treaties. She refused to consider the old treaties, they having been annulled by the solemn act of Congress, and stood upon her claim for indemnity, but France refused to pay indemnity, and presented the alternative of the abandonment of the claim or war—the chances of war or peace without indemnity. She chose peace, and accepted the condition that would bring it. She was forced to abandon the claim of certain of her citizens in the interest of the whole people. It was not a case of bargaining for advantages which were to be purchased with the moneys of some of her citizens of which she had control, but the acceptance of a condition which put an end to war and brought peace to a country sorely needing it.

The duty of government in such cases is thus stated by Mr. Adams:

A government which neglects properly to present the claim of one of its citizens to a foreign government in consequence of which such claim is lost, is not necessarily bound to make good the claim. The argument of the abstract right is strong, but as the justice obtainable from foreign nations is at all times, and under every state of things, very imperfect, and as the only alternative in cases of denial of justice is the abandonment of the claim or war, a nation by abandoning the claim, after exhausting every specific expedient for obtaining justice, neither partakes of the injustice done, nor makes itself responsible to the sufferer; for war, even if it eventually obtains justice for that sufferer, secures it by the sufferings of thousands of others, equally unmerited and which must ultimately remain unindemnified. And mere inability to obtain justice can not incur the obligation it is unable to enforce.

This present idea of fixing the liability of the United States by construction and implication originated in 1835. There was no serious prosecution of these claims prior to 1822. Perhaps in 1818 in some way they were brought to the attention of Congress. There was, however, no earnest attempt to prosecute them before Congress until 1822. They never received any serious consideration until 1835.

The idea—that of constructive liability—was one of the evil consequences of an overflowing Treasury. It had its birth in the demoralizing influence of a surplus, which, then and to-day, is bringing to the front all sorts of trumped-up and preposterous claims, the object of which is to divert the public money into the pockets of a few favored individuals.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Does not the gentleman remember there was a report made on these spoliation claims in 1802 and another in 1807?

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio. No, I do not.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I think I shall be able to furnish them to the gentleman.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio. I will be obliged to the gentleman if he will do so. But I think the gentleman will find when he comes to look the matter up that I am substantially correct in what I have stated. I do not lay much stress upon the early reports in favor of these claims. They did not come from the regular standing committees, but from select committees composed of a majority favorable to the claims. Senator SHERMAN, in a speech made in the United States Senate December 17, 1872, with reference to a bill to pay these claims then pending, said:

It is said that there are some thirty or forty reports in favor of it. Why, sir' how incorrect that is. The way the reports came to be in favor of this bill was that some Senator who thought his constituents were interested would move a select committee, to whom it would be referred. A majority of the committee had to be in favor of it. That was the rule of parliamentary law. Most of the reports in the first instance were made by such committees. And so year after year, from 1829 down to 1861, a majority of and nearly all the reports were made by select committees of one or the other House, packed, as I may say—and I say it in no offensive sense—packed by parliamentary law in favor of the claims.

It is an easy matter to bring claims of this kind amounting to millions of dollars to the attention of Congress, while claims for a few hundreds of dollars or a few thousands of dollars, no matter how just, wait day after day without a hearing. Here are claims which have been running for nearly a hundred years and have been prosecuted by an organized agency established here in 1822. There has been a constant effort to foist them upon the Treasury. Without merit, without any foundation in justice and right, they have yet been able to live and grow because of the large amount of money asked for. That has been their principle of life, the large amount which there will be for division in the event of success. If this appropriation is made it will establish a precedent which will assure the success of any claim, provided only that it be old enough to insure general ignorance of the circumstances of its origin and big enough to pay good dividends to the promoters of the enterprise.

I was a little surprised at one of the propositions suggested by the gentleman from Maryland the other day. He would support the claims upon the ground that the Government is liable because of an appropriation of private property. All the supporters of the claims, including the gentleman from Maryland, place the right of recovery against the United States on the ground of a conversion of trust funds, or an appropriation of private property to public use, and I was much surprised to hear the gentleman from Maryland claim that the question was a purely political one, over which the Supreme Court could have no jurisdiction, even if Congress should confer it by a law enacted for that purpose. If I understood the gentleman aright, that was his position, and it was certainly a very strange one in view of the grounds upon which these claims are being urged here.

This also brings me, Mr. Chairman, to the question of the remedy proposed. All I ask is that this matter of the validity of these claims be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States, that great tribunal of last resort, which commands the fullest confidence of the people, and if that court upon an examination of the circumstances and

of the law says that these claims are valid, and that the United States is liable for their payment, it will satisfy the people of the country; and I undertake to say that no other plan of settling the matter will meet with their approval.

[During the delivery of the foregoing remarks the hammer fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio. I want a minute or two more in order to conclude the single point that I am now suggesting.

Mr. BURNES. I will yield the gentleman a few moments longer.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio, then resumed and concluded his remarks as above.

Free wool will give the people cheaper clothing without reducing the price of wool, without detriment to the manufacturer, and without lowering the wages of labor.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALEXANDER M. DOCKERY,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 12, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. DOCKERY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I do not expect to occupy the time of the House for more than ten minutes; but I ask unanimous consent to speak without limit, as I may desire a few moments additional.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection the gentleman from Missouri will be permitted to proceed without interruption.

There was no objection.

Mr. DOCKERY. It was not my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to make any observations upon this item of the bill, and I have not therefore prepared in systematic order any data upon the question.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that there is any individual, section, or political party in this country hostile to American interests. I am not in sympathy therefore with the position taken by many gentlemen on the other side when they assert that the Democratic party is in favor of a British policy; indeed, I am quite sure that the gentlemen themselves can not be sincere when they announce such a belief. I believe that the entire American people, without regard to section or political creed, honestly desire to encourage and promote that policy which in their judgment will best subserve the interests of this great country. I should despair, sir, of the future of the Republic if I believed, as some gentlemen on that side affect to believe, that a great party numbering nearly five millions of voters is hostile to the real interests of the American manufacturers and the laborers employed by them.

Those gentlemen are not candid when they make this averment. I do not think, sir, there is any difference of intention among us. Upon all questions involving the interests of this country as against any other country the American people are a unit; and if it were necessary to protect the rights and privileges of the humblest citizen or to enforce any feature of our policy, fiscal or otherwise, we would girdle the Dominion of Canada with American bayonets and defend our coasts with American war ships. Since the beginning of this discussion the statement has been constantly reiterated on that side of the House that this and other propositions looking to a reduction of taxation were hostile to American industries; and some one on this side has made a computation by which it appears that (accepting the statement of our Republican friends as true) there have already been thrown out of employment by this bill 43,143,191 American laborers. [Laughter.]

It is barely possible that the exigencies of their party have caused our Republican friends to misapprehend the real condition that confronts them. There is no peril confronting American industries or American laborers, but the imminent danger of the utter overthrow of the Republican party alarms and affrights our friends and is the real explanation of the exaggerated statements that have been made in this discussion and which will undoubtedly be reiterated before the people in the coming campaign.

Mr. Chairman, let us by an unprejudiced and unbiased discussion of the pending proposition, endeavor to reach a correct conclusion. What is the true interest of the American wool-grower, and the American wool-producer in respect to a tariff rate? The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOOTHMAN] who has just taken his seat, insists that the placing of wool on the free-list will destroy that industry; and that a high duty has developed it.

WOOL PRODUCTION.

Let us turn to the record and see what the effect of a high tariff has been upon the sheep industry and ascertain whether it has really developed by reason of such tariff. The high rate of duty on wool was imposed by the tariff act of March 2, 1867.

From the statistical abstract of the United States for 1887 it appears that the production of wool from 1867 to 1883, inclusive, was as follows:

	Pounds of wool.
1867	168,000,000
1868	180,000,000
1869	162,000,000
1870	160,000,000
1871	150,000,000
1872	158,000,000
1873	170,000,000
1874	181,000,000
1875	192,000,000
1876	200,000,000
1877	208,250,000
1878	211,000,000
1879	232,500,000
1880	240,000,000
1881	272,000,000
1882	290,000,000
1883	300,000,000

From an examination of this table it is manifest that during the entire time the high wool tariff was in operation up to 1883, when it was reduced by the Republican party, there were varying degrees of production, depending not upon the tariff rates but upon the inexorable law of supply and demand, which no high tariff can abrogate. When there was an increasing demand for wool, there was a corresponding increase in the wool production; when the demand was not so great, there was a corresponding decrease in the production. The ten years following the adoption of the high wool tariff of 1867 only increased the production of American wool by 31,000,000 pounds, notwithstanding the marvelous development of this country during that period, and its rapid increase in population. During the greater portion of this period there was an absolute decrease of production under this exorbitant tariff, so that in 1871 the production reached its lowest limit since the war—150,000,000 pounds. In 1884, the year following the reduction of the tariff, there was an increase in the wool production of 8,000,000 pounds, and in 1885 the increase was 2,000,000 pounds, while in 1886 the production decreased to 285,000,000 pounds.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let us inquire how a reduction of the tariff can injuriously affect the wool interest? Manifestly, if at all, it will be by increasing the importation of foreign wool, and thus bringing American wool in competition with the foreign production. By the act of March 3, 1883, the Republican party made a reduction of the wool tariff of 1867. During the first year of the operation of that law the total importation of foreign wool amounted to 78,350,651 pounds, while in the ensuing year, instead of increasing under the reduced duty, it decreased to 70,596,170 pounds—an absolute decrease of 8,000,000 pounds.

Under the high wool tariff of 1867 there were very heavy importations of foreign wool, notably in 1871, when the importation amounted 126,507,409 pounds, and in 1879, when the aggregate swelled to 128,131,747 pounds. It will thus be seen that while the importations of foreign wool amounted to 129,084,958 pounds for the year ending June 30, 1886, the fact is not in any wise attributable to the reduced tariff, as we have shown that the importations were just as large under a higher tariff.

Now, let us see what is the effect on the number of sheep.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. DOCKERY. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Of course it took them a year or two to raise the first crop before they could begin to send the wool here. Did not the importation gradually increase from 1883 up to date, after they had a chance to produce one crop of wool?

Mr. DOCKERY. It did not, as the importation which amounted to 129,084,958 pounds in the fiscal year 1886 decreased to 114,038,030 pounds in 1887.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Was not that an increase over 1884?

Mr. DOCKERY. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Has it not increased since?

Mr. DOCKERY. There has been, as I stated a moment since, an increase over the importations of 1884, but does the gentleman claim that the increase resulted from the lowering of the tariff?

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. The increased importations resulted largely from the decrease in the tariff.

Mr. DOCKERY. Largely?

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOCKERY. Will the gentleman then explain, if that be true—it is a poor rule that does not work both ways—how it was that under the high tariff of 1867 the importations increased and the production of wool decreased from 168,000,000 pounds in 1867 to 150,000,000 pounds in 1871? Did the tariff lower the production?

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. No, sir; but from 1867 to 1883 inclusive——

Mr. DOCKERY. I think I understand the position of the gentleman. When the production is increased it is the tariff; when it is de-

creased it is not the tariff. "Now you see it and now you don't." [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Allow me to answer your question. From 1867 to 1883 inclusive the number of sheep raised in this country and the production of wool increased; from 1883 to 1888 inclusive both the amount of wool raised in this country and the number of sheep produced here have decreased. In other words, after the high tariff came an increase, and after the low tariff came a decrease both of wool and sheep.

Mr. DOCKERY. How about the tariff of 1867?

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I said that from 1867 to 1883, taking the whole time, the amount of wool produced and the number of sheep raised increased largely in numbers; but after the tariff of 1883 was levied the number decreased right along.

Mr. DOCKERY. Then do I understand the gentleman to say that the tariff is to be accredited with this result, and that the rapid progress we have made in every department of effort, including our immense increase in population, has had nothing to do with stimulating production?

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. No, sir, I do not go so far as that; but I say that under the operations of the tariff of 1883 thousands and tens of thousands of farmers have ceased to raise sheep and wool because the business is not profitable.

Mr. DOCKERY. Why is it not profitable?

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. It is not profitable because the markets of this country are so flooded with foreign wool that American wool has decreased in value.

Mr. DOCKERY. Does not the gentleman know that it requires a large importation of foreign wool to supplement our own wool crop, and that American wool is insufficient in amount to supply the markets of this country; and even if it were sufficient in the number of pounds, does he not know that by reason of the difference in fiber between American wool and foreign wool our manufacturers are compelled to import a certain amount of foreign wool to mix with the article produced at home in making the best articles of woolen goods? Does not the gentleman further know that the production of American wool for the year 1886 was only 285,000,000 pounds, and the importations of foreign wool for that year 129,084,950 pounds, while it is estimated that the woolen goods imported for the same period contained raw wool amounting to 196,000,000 pounds, making a total consumption of 610,084,950 pounds? The United States has never produced one-half of the wool required annually for the consumption of her people.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I do not wish to occupy the gentleman's time even in answering questions; but I will answer that one if he will allow me.

Mr. DOCKERY. I do not care to have the gentleman interject a speech into my remarks.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. I would like to answer that question, and then I will stop.

Mr. DOCKERY. I will yield later on. Let me tell the gentleman why it is that in some sections of this country the wool business is not so profitable as it was under the tariff of 1857 and prior tariffs. The American wool-grower must depend upon the American manufacturer for his market. I suppose the gentleman will admit that.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. He depends upon the American people ultimately.

Mr. DOCKERY. Oh, of course the American manufacturer regulates his manufacture by the demand of the American market.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. DOCKERY. Now then, when the American market is supplied, the American demand for wool ceases, and this demand has diminished because of the lack of untaxed foreign wool necessary to mix with our domestic wool in the manufacture of the goods that we need in this country.

Mr. DINGLEY. Will the gentleman kindly furnish any evidence of the statement which he has just made?

Mr. DOCKERY. I have not time to enter upon a lengthy dissertation, but the gentleman will find the evidence by a careful consideration of the figures presented in the Statistical Abstract and other publications upon this question. Perhaps the strongest suggestion in favor of free wool is to be found in the message of President Grant submitted to Congress December 7, 1874. The recommendation is in the following terms, and thoroughly accords with the facts I have just stated.

I would suggest to Congress the propriety of readjusting the tariff so as to increase the revenue and at the same time decrease the number of articles upon which duties are levied. Those articles which enter into our manufactures and are not produced at home, it seems to me, should be entered free. Those articles of manufacture which we produce a constituent part of but do not produce the whole, that part which we do not produce should enter free also. I will instance fine wool, dyes, etc. These articles must be imported to form a part of the manufacture of the higher grades of woolen goods. Chemicals used as dyes, compounded in medicines, and used in various ways in manufactures, come under this class. The introduction, free of duty, of such wools as we do not produce would stimulate the manufacture of goods requiring the use of those we do produce, and therefore would be a benefit to home production. There are many articles entering into home manufacture which we do not produce ourselves, the tariff upon which increases the cost of producing the manufactured article. All corrections in this regard are in the direction of bringing labor and capital in harmony with each other, and of supplying one of the elements of prosperity so much needed.

In addition to the testimony of President Grant, I desire to quote from the report of a committee of the New York wool trade made to the Chamber of Commerce in New York in 1874. The situation is tersely stated in the following language:

Before we enter upon an examination of the effects of our tariff on the wool-growing interest it will be well to consider that neither our country nor any country in the world does or can produce to advantage wools of all kinds and grades. It must further be borne in mind that in order to produce the endless variety of woolen fabrics demanded by our times, with the highly-improved machinery now in use, and with the active competition among all manufacturing nations, the free and unrestricted selection of the most suitable classes and grades of wool has grown to be a matter of much more importance to the manufacturer of every country than it used to be in old times. Nor will it be denied that but few of our mills can at this day be run to advantage without using to some extent wools of such working quality as can not be produced in this country, or are not produced here in sufficient quantity. The simple fact that even under our present tariff we have annually imported from fifteen to sixty million pounds of fine wool sufficiently proves these positions. The question of duty on fine wool can therefore never be a simple question of protection or no protection to the wool-grower.

These facts show most conclusively that the object ostensibly aimed at by the tariff of 1867, namely, the protection and encouragement of the wool-growers, has most signally failed. The wool-grower must be blind, indeed, if by this time he has not learned the lesson that he can not prosper as long as the woolen interest does not flourish; why should he not also understand that our industry can not permanently flourish until it is relieved of the present heavy burden of obstructive tariff legislation? By helping the manufacturer he would certainly help himself, and secure a better reward for his labor and investment than he could ever expect to derive from the illusive protection of any tariff.

Facts, indeed, as well as sound reasoning call loudly for the abolition of all duties on wool. In the light of past experience it is clear that neither the wool-grower nor any other special interest ought to plead any injury as likely to result in our country from a policy that has had the most encouraging effect in all other parts of the civilized world. No perfectly safe and solid ground will be reached until wool takes its permanent place on the free-list, and this must be the goal of the manufacturer as well as of the wool-grower—in fact, of the whole people.

Mr. Chairman, if further evidence is necessary to make it manifest that foreign wool is essential to the manufacture of our best woolen goods, it will be found in the testimony of the woolen manufacturers in a reply to a circular of Secretary Manning in 1885, printed in Senate Document No. 72, first session, Forty-ninth Congress, from which I submit the following extract:

It may be said that a remedy for these difficulties is to be found in the exclusive use of the domestic wools, which will be abundantly supplied under due protection. To this we reply that neither our own country nor any other in the world does or can produce to advantage wools of all kinds and grades. Experience under high protection of wool in this country for over thirty years had demonstrated that our domestic wool-growers find it to their advantage to produce only the staple wool required for the ordinary range of woolen fabrics, and as these fabrics will always be in demand they build up their flocks—a work of time—for the production only of the fleeces which will be profitable for a long series of years.

This system, although providing admirable raw material for common goods, is incompatible with the variety required for the diversified and highly advanced manufacture which should be our aim. The American manufacturer, to compete with the fabrics of other nations in the endless variety demanded by our times, must have the power of selecting a portion of his raw material from all the world's sources of supply. The sudden and exceptional demand for more or new raw material must be supplied by importation.

Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan. Will the gentleman answer a question?

Mr. DOCKERY. Let me talk a little while. [Laughter.] American wool is a coarse wool. I do not know that I am using the proper technical term, but I would call it a "jointed" wool, while the Australian wool has a fine fiber in which there are no "joints."

Mr. CASWELL. Will the gentleman——

Mr. DOCKERY. Just let me get through with one statement before you interrupt me.

In consequence of this peculiarity of American wool it has to be intermixed with foreign wool in order to produce the best grades of woolen goods. The woolen manufacturers will all bear witness to the accuracy of this statement, and I do not think there is any question about it whatever. Now, Mr. Chairman, the effect of the proposition in the bill is simply to give to our manufacturers foreign wool freed from the burden of taxation, and the result will be that with foreign wool free, the demand for American wool will be increased and thus the market price of American wool will be maintained if not enhanced.

Mr. WARNER. Then, if I understand my colleague, his proposition is that the greater the quantity of foreign wool imported into this country, the greater will be the demand for the wool that we produce here.

Mr. DOCKERY. My colleague does not state the proposition fairly. If the American wool fiber were exactly the same as the foreign wool fiber the effect of striking off the duty would be to increase the importation of foreign wool, and lower the price of American wool; but the fibers being entirely distinct, and both being necessary for the manufacture of the best woolen goods, the result will be that the importation of foreign wool free will necessarily increase the production of American woolen manufactures and thereby increase the demand for American wool and thus maintain or enhance its price.

Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana. Does the gentleman mean to say it is necessary to have American wool to mix with foreign wool in order to make good woolen goods?

Mr. DOCKERY. It is necessary in the manufacture of certain grades of goods; and the best evidence of that fact is in the large importation even under the present high rates of duty of woolen goods manufactured abroad.

Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana. Is any of our wool exported for that purpose?

Mr. DOCKERY. I beg that the gentleman allow me to proceed with my remarks.

Mr. JOHNSTON, of Indiana. If the foreign manufacturers have not our wool to mix with theirs, how do they succeed in making such excellent goods?

Mr. DOCKERY. They get the coarser grades of wool which they require from other countries with which they trade, and in respect to which their trade is not obstructed and interfered with by high tariff taxes.

NUMBER OF SHEEP.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let us ascertain what effect, if any, the tariff has on the number of sheep and their value. In 1868, the year following the passage of the high tariff act of 1867, there were 38,991,912 sheep in this country, valued at $98,407,809. In 1878, after ten years of the highest tariff on wool this country has ever known, there ought to have been a much larger number of sheep, ought there not? Instead of an increase, however, there was a pronounced decrease, so that in that year there were only 35,740,500 head of sheep, valued at $80,603,062, a reduction in the number of sheep of 3,251,412, and a decrease in their value of $17,804,747.

Mr. DINGLEY. How does the wool product compare in the two years to which the gentleman has referred?

Mr. DOCKERY. In 1868 the production of wool was 180,000,000 pounds; in 1878 it was 211,000,000 pounds. The decrease in the number and value of the sheep is, however, as I have just stated, and at several periods in that decade more pronounced than in 1878.

Mr. DINGLEY. But it appears that the wool product increased.

Mr. DOCKERY. That is very true. The increase in the weight of each fleece is due to the progress which has been made in the science of sheep-breeding, the average weight of the American fleece having increased from 1.85 pounds in 1850 to about 6 pounds in 1887. The same improvement is manifest in Australia where the weight of fleece averages about 8 pounds,

Again, Mr. Chairman, it appears from official figures that in the twenty-nine States east of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers the number of sheep decreased from 37,864,609 in 1868 to 23,320,730 in 1883, when the tariff was reduced, a decrease of 14,543,879 under the high tariff of 1867, or an average annual decrease of 908,992.

It further appears that there has been a loss in the same States of 4,624,011 from 1883 to 1888 inclusive, or an average annual loss of only 770,668 under a lower tariff. The conclusion is therefore reached from which there can be no escape, that the percentage of loss in these States was greater under the high tariff of 1867 than it has been under the reduced tariff of 1883. Mr. Chairman, let us pursue this inquiry further. In seventeen States and Territories west of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers the official figures show that the number of sheep have increased from 5,079,430 in 1870 to 24,774,261 in 1887. These figures tell their own story and show that the sheep-culture in the older States, where land is high-priced and exceedingly valuable, can not compete with the sheep-culture as we find it to-day on the cheap hills, plains, and "free ranges" of the Western States and Territories.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, one of the leading Republican papers of the West, commenting upon the reduction of the tariff of 1883, and defending the action of the Republican party in effecting such reduction, aptly and tersely stated the situation when it declared that—

Wool-growing is bound to increase in importance on the plains and in Texas and California, and to become less and less important in Ohio and the East, tariff or no tariff.

Mr. Chairman, the position of the Globe-Democrat can not be successfully controverted, and I commend its views, so succinctly stated, to the consideration of our friends across the aisle.

The effect of reducing the price of foreign wool to the extent of the duty now paid will be to increase the product of American manufactories. As the imported raw material will be thus cheapened, it necessarily follows that the American people will get cheaper clothing. That is the point we are aiming at; and we will reach this result without any reduction whatever in the price of wool or the wages of workmen employed in American manufactories. If that result is to follow, certainly our friends on the other side ought to favor this measure.

Mr. WEBER. The gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MCKINNEY] stated a little while ago that the placing of wool on the free-list would have no effect on the price of wool, except to raise it on the other side of the Atlantic, which seems to be the object you gentlemen aim at. We on this side of the House seek to legislate so as to keep up prices in the United States; your anxiety seems to be to elevate prices on the other side.

Mr. DOCKERY. If the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MCKINNEY] made the statement that the effect would be to increase the price of wool on the other side, I do not agree with him. I did not hear his statement, but I assume that any fair construction of what he said would not warrant the interpretation put upon it by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WEBER].

PRICE OF WOOL.

Mr. Chairman, I have but a word to add with reference to the price of wool under high and low tariffs, and I am indebted to the very able gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] for the statements I shall make with reference to this phase of the question.

The average price of fine wool in January for the four years prior to the reduction of 1883 was 46.25 cents per pound; the average for the four years succeeding the reduction was only 35.50 cents per pound, and there was also a like decrease in all grades of wool; but this decrease did not begin after the reduction of 1883, but the decline dated from 1873, when wool was quoted at 70 cents per pound. In each of the years succeeding 1873 it dropped to 58 cents, 55 cents, 48 cents, 46 cents, 44 cents, and finally to 34 cents in 1879, or substantially the same price it now commands.

Will the gentlemen on the other side kindly advise me as to the cause of the decline in 1879 to 34 cents when there had been no reduction of the tariff, and when there was no proposition pending looking to such reduction? And besides, both the tariffs of 1867 and 1883 were protective to a high degree, that of 1867 averaging on all grades of raw wool 40.59 per cent. and that of 1883 averaging 33.26 per cent.

According to the "Economic Fact Book," a publication of standing and reliability, it appears that when wool was practically free of duty in 1857 the price averaged 53 cents; in 1858, 45 cents; in 1859, 59 cents, and in 1860 54 cents per pound. Will some gentleman kindly explain how it happened that wool was higher under a low tariff or no tariff than it is under a high rate of duty? In the absence of such explanation from any gentleman on the other side, I will briefly summarize the relation of the tariff to the production of wool and the price of wool.

Mr. Chairman, if this country were able to furnish a wool product sufficient for the demands of its people, and that wool product presented such varying kinds and grades as to enable our woolen manufacturers to produce all grades and classes of goods, then it would be apparent to the most superficial observer that a reduction of the duty on wool or placing the product on the free-list would necessarily result in lowering its price. This, however, is not the "condition that confronts us." The entire wool product of this country is inadequate by at least one-half to supply the demands of the people, and to this fact must be added the further consideration that the grades of American wool are such that they are used largely for the coarser classes of woolen manufactures, whilst they can not be exclusively used in its best grades. The result therefore follows of necessity that foreign wool must be mixed with American wool.

Whatever conduces to the prosperity of the woolen manufacturer results in substantial benefit to the wool-grower, for he must look to the manufacturer alone for a market for his wool. When you furnish the American manufacturer his raw material free of duty you enable him to manufacture his goods at a lower cost. The lower cost of the product enables the manufacturer to extend his market, increasing thereby the demand for his goods, with all the attendant benefits of increased employment and increased wages.

This is the inviting future which awaits the American wool manufacturer and his employés. What of the wool-grower? His position is clearly manifest in the reflection that whenever you furnish the manufacturer with free foreign wool you enable him to purchase a greater amount of American wool, because he is thus enabled to manufacture all grades of woolen goods and extend his market; and instead of importing forty to fifty million dollars annually of woolen goods manufactured abroad, these goods will be manufactured on our own shores and the American wool-grower will furnish the wool for such increasing manufacture.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion let us consider for a moment the main question involved in the pending bill—the reduction of taxation and the surplus. When we present the gentlemen on the other side, item by item, with propositions looking to a reduction of the unnecessary burdens of taxation, we are confronted with the universal wail of "destroyed industries" that are to follow the passage of this bill, and the accusation that we favor a British policy.

Mr. Chairman, I might have more faith in the prophecies we have heard from gentlemen on the other side upon this question if we had not already had some test of their ability as prophets within the last few years. Sir, I remember that the campaign of 1884 rung with prophecies of the disasters which were to befall the country in the event of the election of a Democratic President. In many instances their speakers declared on the "stump"—and frequently succeeded in alarming the colored people—that slavery was to be re-established in this country. It was repeatedly announced that the doctrine of secession was to be revived, that the pensions of the soldiers would be discontinued, that the public credit would be jeopardized, and that the business interests would be imperiled by the election of President Cleveland. More than three and a half years of Democratic rule, with these prophecies unfulfilled, have passed away, and if the old Mosaic law were in force to-day every one of them would be stoned to death as a false prophet. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] After the utter failure of the prophecies made in that campaign, and in view of the prosperous condition of business, the restored fraternity between the two sections of the country, with new enterprises projected

everywhere, with $500,000,000 of capital invested in the development of the resources of the South under the administration of President Cleveland, I should think they would abate somewhat of their disposition to prophesy upon public questions. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, the Democratic party is the friend of every legitimate interest, and I do not believe that our Republican friends are sincere when they assert, as they have asserted here to-day, and will doubtless, as I have remarked, reiterate in the coming campaign, that we are hostile to the manufacturing interests and the laborers employed in those industries.

Sir, I confess that I have listened with some degree of impatience to this talk about the Democratic party being hostile to the laboring men of the country. As well, sir, might you expect the mother to desert her babe [derisive laughter on the Republican side] as the Democratic party to turn its back on the laboring men, who have always constituted the "bone and sinew" of its organization. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, why all this cant about "destroying" the manufacturing industries of the country? Under the low tariff from 1846 to 1861 there was a greater degree of legitimate prosperity in those industries and a greater percentage of growth than has ever been known at any subsequent period in our history. Sir, the greatest of all the leaders of the Republican party, Mr. Blaine, in his Twenty Years of Congress, referring to this remarkable era, makes the most eloquent and forcible comment upon the great prosperity and advancement of that epoch.

Mr. Chairman, why should the Democratic party be hostile to the growth and development of any part of this great country? It gave to the original thirteen States nearly every acre of the public domain, and always had a well-determined, fixed, and aggressive policy of territorial acquisition. Its first achievement was made under the administration of Thomas Jefferson, the great founder of the Democratic party, when he acquired from the first Napoleon the magnificent purchase of Louisiana. Following this came the acquisition of Oregon, Florida, Texas, and the vast territory that was added to the Union as a result of the Mexican war.

Mr. Chairman, every acre of soil added to the original thirteen States, with the exception of Alaska (and that was acquired under Andrew Johnson after he had left the Republican party), was a contribution to the Union by the Democratic party. The original area of 819,815 square miles has thus been increased by the Democratic party until now the flag floats over 3,501,409 square miles of territory.

Sir, with such a record of splendid achievements is it reasonable to presume that the Democratic party does not share with the Republican party in the patriotic desire for the continued growth and development of the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests of this mighty Republic?

Sir, it is not true that the Democratic party favors a "British policy" but as between the United States and any other nation, the American people without regard to party affiliation are indissolubly united, loyal to American institutions and to the old flag of our fathers. [Applause.]

APPENDIX.

Price of fine, medium, and coarse washed clothing fleece wool in the markets of New York (1860–1887) and Philadelphia (1865–1887), inclusive.

[From Mauger & Avery's Annual Wool Circular.]

Year.	January.			July.		
	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1860	60	50	42	55	50	40
1861	45	40	37	38	30	22
1862	48	50	50	48	47	45
1863	75	68	70	75	70	65
1864	80	78	76	100	100	90
1865	102	100	96	75	73	65
1866	70	65	50	70	67	60
1867	68	53	50	55	49	45
1868	48	43	38	46	45	43
1869	50	50	48	48	48	47
1870	48	46	44	46	45	43
1871	47	46	43	62	60	55
1872	70	72	66	72	70	65
1873	70	68	65	50	48	44
1874	58	54	47	53	53	46
1875	55	56	47	52	49	46
1876	48	52	42	38	35	31
1877	46	43	36	50	44	37
1878	44	45	38	36	36	32
1879	34	35	32	37	38	34
1880	50	55	48	46	48	42
1881	47	49	43	42	44	36
1882	44	46	47	42	45	34
1883	40	43	33	39	41	43
1884	40	40	34	35	34	30
1885	34	33	29	32	31	28
1886	35	36	32	33	33	29
1887	33	38	33	34	38	35

A LIST OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MISSOURI UNPROTECTED BY THE PRESENT TARIFF.

Farmers.
Artists.
Auctioneers.
Barbers and hair-dressers.
Boarding-house keepers.
Clergymen.
Clerks and copyists.
Clerks in hotels.
Dentists.
Domestic servants.
Employés of hotels.
Civil engineers.
Veterinary surgeons.
Whitewashers.
Book-keepers in stores.
Clerks in stores.
Commercial travelers.
Clerks in railroad offices.
Clerks in express offices.
Draymen and teamsters.
Insurance agents.
All employés of railroad companies.
Milk men.
Telegraph employés.
Section men on railroads.
All employés of machine-shops and round-houses.
Stock raisers.
Stock shippers.
Dealers in jewelry, watches, and clocks.
Porters and laborers.
Salesmen and saleswomen.
Traders.
Dealers in books and stationery.
Dealers in boots and shoes.
Dealers in wood and coal.
Dealers in tobacco.
Undertakers.
Weighers.
Druggists.
Hostlers.
Hotel-keepers.
Journalists.
Laborers.
Laundresses.
Lawyers.
Livery-stable keepers.
Musicians.
Physicians and surgeons.
Restaurant keepers.
Sextons.
Teachers.
Dealers in real estate.
Dealers in provisions.
Dealers in dry goods.
Dealers in groceries.
Dealers in iron, tin, and hardware.
Dealers in hides.
Dealers in lumber and marble.
Dealers in newspapers.
Dealers in paints and oils.
Dealers in paper.
Bakers.
Blacksmiths.
Bridge builders.
House builders.
Butchers.
Carpenters and joiners.
Car-makers.
Coopers.
Engineers and firemen.
Brick and stone masons.
Millers.
Painters.
Paper-hangers.
Photographers.
Plasterers.
Printers.
Quarrymen.
Stave-makers.
Wood-choppers.

The only "protected" class (if protected as claimed by Republicans) are wool-growers.

The French Spoliation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE D. WISE,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, August 9, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. WISE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is a matter of grave doubt whether it is in the power of Congress to confer upon the Supreme Court jurisdiction of a class of claims depending upon principles of international law and the construction of treaties. Gentlemen assert that Congress possesses this power with great confidence, but the weight which properly attaches to their personal judgment is greatly diminished when they rely upon the case of Chirac *vs.* Chirac. The case of Chirac *vs.* The Lessees of Chirac (reported in 2 Wh.) was an action of ejectment brought by citizens of France, as heirs at law of John Baptiste Chirac, for lands to which he, having been naturalized, had acquired title in Maryland. The State of Maryland, regarding them as escheatable, conveyed them to the natural son of John Baptiste in that State. The sole question there was whether, a French subject having acquired lands in Maryland by purchase, his heir could take them by descent, the descent having been cast upon the French subject whilst the convention of 1800 was in force. The court held that he could, notwithstanding at the time suit was brought the convention had expired by its own limitation.

This involved a mere question of individual and private right under a treaty which came within the jurisdiction of the court. In the Head-money cases (112 U. S.), from which I shall quote further directly, the Supreme Court says:

> But a treaty may also contain provisions which confer certain rights upon the citizens or subjects of one of the nations residing in the territorial limits of the other, which partake of the nature of municipal law, and which are capable of enforcement as between private parties in the courts of the country. An illustration of this character is found in treaties, which regulate the mutual rights of citizens and subjects of the contracting nations in regard to rights of property by descent or inheritance, when the individuals concerned are aliens.

Of such is Chirac *vs.* Chirac.

But it is very different from the construction of a treaty involving the obligations of nation to nation as does the construction of the treaty of 1778. And it is very different from the construction of a treaty in

which nations make releases to each other of claims between themselves which involve private rights as a mere incident to international negotiation. Such constructions involve issues of international law, which belong solely and exclusively to the great political power of the Government.

Congress may require the subordinate courts of the United States to aid it in the exercise of its political power, but can it devolve such duties upon the Supreme Court of the United States whose jurisdiction is limited to cases of "law and equity arising," etc.? Let gentlemen pause to consider whether these claims are law cases, or political questions belonging solely to the political power of the Government—Congress.

A political question may involve issues of law which we may well submit to courts to aid us in the discharge of our duties in exercising the political power of the Government. That is one thing, but it is a very different thing to cast upon the Supreme Court the exercise of the political power of the Government from which it is excluded by the Constitution and which is vested in Congress solely. Let Congress, the immediate representative of the people, hesitate long and proceed cautiously before it strips itself of one of its highest attributes and vests it in another branch of the Government. This question is graver, is far more important to the future of our country than all the money alleged, even, to be involved in these claims.

Let us see what the Supreme Court itself said on this most important and grave matter.

In the case of Ware, administrator of Jones, *vs.* Hylton, 3 Dallas, this very question arises, and it will add force to the opinion when I state that the defendants in error were represented by John Marshall, esq., of Virginia, afterwards Chief-Justice of the United States. Before the Revolution, Hylton, a Virginian, was indebted to Ware's intestate, a British subject, and during the war paid the amount over to the treasurer of Virginia under the provision of the act of Assembly of that State concerning escheats and forfeitures. The British creditor relied upon the provisions of the fourth article of the treaty of Paris of 3d of September, 1783, "that the creditor of either side would meet with no unlawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all bona fide debts theretofore contracted." The court gave judgment for the British creditor, and in doing so uses this important language, namely:

That Congress had the power to sacrifice the rights and interests of private citizens to secure the safety or prosperity of the public I have no doubt, but the immutable principles of justice, the public faith of the States that confiscated and received British debts pledged to the debtors, and the rights of the debtors violated by the treaty, all combine to prove that ample compensation ought to be made to all the debtors who have been injured by the treaty for the benefit of the public. This principle is recognized by the Constitution, which declares "that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation." (See Vattel, Lib. I, c. s., 244.)

Although Virginia is not bound to make compensation to the debtors, yet it is evident that they ought to be indemnified, and it is not to be supposed that those whose duty it may be to make the compensation will permit the rights of our citizens to be sacrificed to a public object without the fullest indemnity.

In 1801 the case of the United States *vs.* Schooner Peggy (2 Cranch, 103) came before the court, and Chief-Justice Marshall delivered the opinion. It was a case growing out of these very spoliations. The United States ship Trumbull was commissioned by the President to seize armed vessels of France "found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States or on the high seas;" and had on April 24, 1800, seized the Peggy, and she had been condemned in the lower court on September 23, 1800. On December 21, 1801, the treaty with France had been ratified, the fourth article whereof provided for the return of all property "not definitely condemned," and on the appeal the judgment below was reversed and the Peggy released. In the opinion the Chief-Justice says:

The Constitution of the United States declares a treaty to be the supreme law of the land. Of consequence its obligation on the courts of the United States must be admitted. It is certainly true that the execution of a contract between nations is to be demanded from, and, in the general, superintended by, the executive of each nation; and, therefore, whatever the decision of this court may be relative to the rights of parties litigating before it, the claim upon the nation, if unsatisfied, may still be asserted. But yet where a treaty is the law of the land, and as such affects the rights of parties litigating in court, that treaty as much binds those rights, and is as much to be regarded by the court as an act of Congress; and although restoration may be an executive, when viewed as a substantive act, independent of, and unconnected with, other circumstances, yet to condemn a vessel, the restoration of which is directed by a law of the land, would be a direct infraction of that law, and, of consequence, improper.

* * * But in great national concerns, where individual rights, acquired by war, are sacrificed for national purposes, the contract making the sacrifice ought always to receive a construction conforming to its manifest import; and if the nation has given up the vested rights of its citizens, it is not for the court, but for the Government to consider whether it be a case proper for compensation.

Now, here is just the distinction to which I ask your attention, namely, in cases of individual or private rights the treaty controls and the court surrenders the private rights of the citizens, but the right of constitutional compensation belongs, not to the court, but to the Government; not to the judiciary, but to the political branch of the Government.

In the face of this language of the Supreme Court will gentlemen argue seriously that Congress can vest jurisdiction of these cases in the Supreme Court without divesting themselves of their power under the Constitution which the Supreme Court itself says belongs to Congress and not to the courts?

Is the Congress of the United States driven to such a strait to avoid the discharge of a simple duty?

We can not shirk our own responsibility by such a device, for we must either discharge our own duty or else divest ourselves of our constitutional prerogative by refusing to act upon a political question pure and simple. The issue is squarely before us and we must either pay these claims or else say that they shall not be paid.

In the case of the Cherokee Nation *vs.* Georgia (5 Peters) a bill filed in the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court by the Cherokee Nation to restrain the State from violating treaties between that nation and the United States, was argued by Sergeant, and William Wirt (who had long been Attorney-General of the United States) for the complainants; and the opinion was delivered by Chief-Justice Marshall. The court having held that the nation was not a "foreign state," says:

The propriety of such an interposition by the court may well be questioned. It savors too much of the exercise of political power to be within the proper province of the judicial department.

The principle announced in these early cases by Chief-Justice Marshall has been followed and elaborated by that court and by its individual justices on the circuit.

In the Clinton Bridge case (1 Woolworth) one Gray filed a bill complaining that a bridge across the Mississippi River obstructed its navigation, and that the treaty of the United States with France (1803) by which the territory was ceded secured its free navigation. Mr. Justice Miller dismissed the bill, and in the opinion uses the following pointed language:

Questions of this class are international questions, and are to be settled between the foreign nations interested in the treaties and the political department of our Government. When those departments declare a treaty abrogated, annulled, or modified, it is not for the judicial branch of the Government to set it up and assert its continued obligation. If the court could do this, it could annul declarations of war, suspend the levy of armies, and become a great international arbiter, instead of a court of justice for the administration of the laws of the United States.

In the Russian hemp case (2 Curtis) the United States sued an importer for duties on imported hemp, and the defense was that the amount of duty allowed under the treaty had been tendered. Judge Curtis gave judgment for the duties claimed, and held that the defendant's rights under the treaty was a question for Congress, the political branch of the Government.

In the Cherokee tobacco case (11 Wall.) the issue was the right of the United States to collect internal revenue on Indian products in violation of the treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, and the opinion of the Supreme Court holding that the tax was collectable despite the treaty was delivered by Mr. Justice Swayne, in which he says:

The consequence in all such cases gives rise to questions which must be met by the political department of the Government. They are beyond the sphere of judicial cognizance. In the case under consideration, the act of Congress must prevail as if the treaty were not an element to be considered. If a wrong has been done the power of redress is with Congress, not with the judiciary, and that body, upon being applied to, it is to be presumed, will promptly give the proper relief.

In the case of Georgia *vs.* Stanton (6 Wall.) the Supreme Court dismissed the bill, saying that it—

calls for a judgment upon a political question, and will therefore not be entertained.

In Mississippi *vs.* Johnson (4 Wall.) the court says the duties sought to be enjoined are not ministerial, but "executive and political."

An attempt on the part of the judicial department of the Government to enforce the performance of such duties by the President might be justly characterized, in the language of Chief-Justice Marshall, as an absurd and excessive extravagance.

In the head-money cases (112 U. S., 581) the Supreme Court expressly decides as follows:

A treaty is primarily a compact between independent nations, and depends for the enforcement of its provisions on the honor and the interests of the governments which are parties to it. If these fail, its infraction becomes the subject of international reclamation and negotiation, which may lead to war to enforce them. With this judicial courts have nothing to do.

I do not undertake to say that this jurisdiction can not be conferred by Congress, but I have given you the decisions of the Supreme Court itself on that question. What I do undertake to say is this, that the question of paying or not paying these claims is a political question which belongs to Congress; that it is the duty of Congress to decide it, and that Congress can not evade it or delegate it to any other branch of the Government without stultifying itself; and I protest now and forever against this House, as the immediate representative of the people, surrendering its powers for the cowardly purpose of avoiding its own responsibility.

There are other questions in this case. There are questions of good faith with these claimants who have for near four years followed the plan prescribed by Congress, at great expense to themselves. There is injustice in the unnecessary delay. There is no wisdom or justice in wiping out all that has been done since January 20, 1885, and starting over under new provisions in the Court of Claims, in order to meet the requirements necessary to an appeal.

I pass by all of these considerations and stand upon the ground that Congress shall not shift its duties upon others, but must meet its own responsibilities.

French Spoliation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES T. O'FERRALL,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, August 9, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. O'FERRALL said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Ever since I was old enough to take any interest in the legislation of this country I have heard of the French spoliation claimants constantly and persistently seeking the payment of their claims at the hands of our Government—this was more than thirty years ago—and now when I come as a member of this body to examine into the matter I find that from a period back of the birthday of the oldest member on this floor these claimants have been knocking at the doors of Congress and endeavoring year by year to secure that which they assert to be simple justice.

Generation after generation has passed away and these claims have descended from the original owners to their children, from their children to their grandchildren, and in many instances from their grandchildren to their great grandchildren, and yet they are unsettled.

Whose fault has this been? Why this long delay, this long deferment of an adjudication of these claims? It has not been the fault of the claimants for they have for three-quarters of a century nearly been bending their energies and doing all in their power to bring the matter to a close. It has been because this Government in the arrogance of its power has been slamming the door in the faces of these citizens and refusing to pay them or even to recognize that they have rights which have been entitled to respectful consideration. It has used its power most tyranically and cruelly, and now after decades of waiting and years and years of wasted time and large expenditures of money, after these claimants have in good faith submitted their claims to a legal and competent tribunal as directed by an act of Congress, and secured a decision in their favor, for one I propose to give them the benefit of this decision, and I shall not be guilty of a further travesty upon justice by voting to refer their claims to the Supreme Court, where the youngest justice on that bench, if he should live to fill out man's allotted time, will not see the end of them, and the infant claimant of to-day will be gray and hoary before a conclusion of them is reached.

Mr. Chairman, if I understand the history of these claims and the steps taken in their prosecution from the time they originated, more than forty favorable reports have been made by more than forty committees of Congress, and not one unfavorable report; and now we have the decision of the Court of Claims, after a full hearing in which the Government was represented by able counsel, in their favor.

What more could any reasonable man require?

Every imaginable question was presented by the Government in the way of defense, substantial and technical, and yet the court held as follows:

1. That the French depredations upon American commerce were illegal. 2. That the United States, by the treaty of 1800, set off these claims against others maintained by France and released them for a valuable consideration beneficial to the nation. 3. That an appeal from a prize court is not an indispensable prerequisite to diplomatic interference, and amid the circumstances is no defense in these cases. (See Thomas Cushing, administrator, *vs.* The United States, 22 C. Cls. R., 1.)

These depredations upon American commerce are held to have been illegal, and it is further held that the United States Government by treaty acting in her sovereign capacity released the French Government from all liability by reason of them, and in doing so received a *quid pro quo*.

This Government by releasing France of all liability to American citizens and granting this release for a valuable consideration, by all principles of equity and fair dealing became liable for the damages which had resulted to her citizens from the illegal acts of the French Government, and she would be false, not only to the sufferers but to her own fair name and reputation, if she were to refuse to pay every dollar of the damages sustained.

I do not, sir, sympathize with the views of the honorable gentlemen who still insist for further delay and investigation of these claims.

With the opinion of many of the shining lights of this country in the past and present in favor of these claimants, with the reports of more than forty committees of Congress in their favor, and with the decision of the Court of Claims in their favor before me, I do not require the decision of the Supreme Court to enlighten my judgment.

It seems to me, if human investigation can be relied upon at all, the justice of these claims has been established to the satisfaction of the country, and their payment should be no longer delayed.

At every session of Congress we appropriate millions to pay claims against the Government upon reports made by a single committee. As a rule we rely upon the reports of the committee to which they are referred; we rely upon the integrity and judgment of the gentlemen comprising the committee, for rarely, indeed, can any other member spare the time from his allotted work to give them a critical examination.

Now, if we can place so much faith in the integrity and judgment of one committee in regard to other claims, can we not rely with implicit confidence upon the combined integrity and judgment of more than forty committees and the Court of Claims, which as with one voice have declared that these French spoliation claims are just and should be paid by this great Government?

But, Mr. Chairman, I have heard the remark frequently made that these claims are so old and stale they ought to be buried beyond the reach of the hand of the resurrectionist.

Sir, this is a sentiment which finds no place in my breast.

If these claims or any others antedated the existence of this Republic, if they were even older than the Constitution, and by any rule of equity or principle of justice this Government should pay them, I would vote for the payment of every dollar of them, even if they had never been before presented; for lapse of time while it may be pleaded in bar in a court, can never alter the eternal principles of honesty and justice by which a great government in the blaze and effulgency of its glory near the close of the nineteenth century should square its actions.

But if these claims are old and stale, who made them old and stale?

This Government, by holding these claimants off for nearly three-quarters of a century and refusing to settle—refusing arbitrarily—standing like a mailed giant and laughing to scorn these men who, weak and powerless, plead for simple justice, for the fulfillment of obligations and the redemption of implied promises.

But these claims are not stale in a legal sense. The claimants have never slept on their rights nor been guilty of latches, but with a consciousness of their justice they have kept their demands constantly before the Government and the country.

Let me repeat, I shall not be a party to the effort to consign these claims to the graveyard of unfulfilled hopes, to file them away in the pigeon-holes of the Supreme Court and place them at the foot of a docket already so long that it will take years to reach the bottom of it.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me say that I am proud of my country, proud of its traditions and memories, proud of its grandeur and beauty, proud of its power and material greatness, but I would be prouder of it still if it would at all times, with its overflowing Treasury and daily incoming revenues, square its actions with the precepts of the proverb:

Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thy hand to do it.

Chinese Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, August 20, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 3304) to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States—

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The history of Chinese affairs on the Pacific coast during the last few years and the alarming increase of undesirable immigration at all our principal ports satisfies me that there is need of legislation that will forever exclude from entering this country all Chinese persons who either come or are brought here as laborers. I desire to state very briefly the reasons that induce me to support the bill now under consideration.

In former discussions in Congress on this subject, objections were raised to the passage of bills of this character on the ground of want of power of our Government to do so whilst the treaties we had made with the Chinese Government remained in force.

Some of the wisest men in Congress voted against similar legislation for this reason. It is not necessary to stop now and discuss the power of Congress to abrogate a treaty whenever its provisions become pernicious to the nation. The power, I have no doubt, remains with every sovereign nation to abrogate any treaty it has made; but it must be the strongest necessity that will justify it in exercising such power. Every honorable effort should first be made to obtain a release from the obligation. We are, however, saved from the need of considering this question in the present case for the best of reasons. The bill itself contemplates a change in our treaty relations with China, and expressly provides that it shall only take effect after the ratification of a new treaty. That the Chinese Government will agree to a modification of the treaties here-

tofore made between us in regard to its people coming into the United States scarcely admits of a doubt.

As was so clearly and eloquently shown by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] in the opening of this discussion, that government in its dealings with us has always shown itself both just and liberal.

It changed what is known as the Burlingame treaty heretofore when we requested it, and the additional changes we desire can most likely be obtained in the same manner.

It is a subject of congratulation that we are able now to perfect legislation to remedy a great evil and still observe in good faith our solemn treaties with that nation.

National honor and national good faith is too sacred an attribute of a people to allow even suspicion to be attached to it. It should be our pride to maintain the highest reputation in this respect.

The question of prohibiting immigration to this country is a new one in our history. For a hundred years we have encouraged foreigners to settle among us, and have passed laws that extended citizenship to them on the most liberal terms. For generations our orators have boasted that this land was a home for the oppressed of all people. These sentiments have been so generally expressed and in such extremely liberal terms, that a proposition to prohibit immigration even of the most objectionable kind seems to some a violation of the spirit of our Declaration of Independence and the Constitution our fathers made. Some even go so far as to argue that all the people of the earth have some kind of inherent right to come and settle in this country if they want to do so. I am fully satisfied that from this time on the question of prohibiting vicious and undesirable immigration to this country will be one of the most important that can come before Congress.

The right of our Government to prohibit undesirable immigration is beyond question, and this right is entirely consistent with every principle contained in the Declaration of Independence, and is fully sustained by constitutional provisions.

It is a general principle of natural and public law that every nation has a right to determine what people of other nations shall be allowed to come and locate within it.

When our fathers sought to declare the independence of this nation they did not declare the right of every person to come and locate here, but they did declare the right of every people being in a particular territory anywhere on the globe to establish for themselves, not for other people, a government of their own.

They asserted the right of every people to determine for themselves the form and character of their government, and of course, that includes the question of receiving other people among them.

When they formed a Constitution for themselves and their posterity they gave Congress a right to prescribe a uniform rule of naturalization, and to determine the terms and conditions upon which foreigners might come among us and become citizens of the United States. From the earliest legislation by Congress on this subject we learn that naturalization was limited to certain classes, and on certain conditions. At no time has our law permitted a Chinaman to be naturalized at all, and before a citizen of any country could be naturalized he was required to reside here a certain length of time, to take a prescribed oath, and that he should be proved to be friendly to the institutions and the polity of the Government of the United States. So long as we have a Government it must reserve to itself the right to determine these questions. No nation could long exist without it. It is necessary to its self-preservation, and all nations of the earth have claimed this right.

The general policy of our Government has always been to encourage immigration of all persons who would come here and make good citizens, and whose children would so unite with our people as to make a homogeneous nation. This bill does not propose to change that policy, and there is, perhaps, no need as yet to change it if it is only strictly observed that the immigrant is of a desirable kind. But there is a great change in these latter years in the character of immigrants who are coming to this country. We are met now with the fact that the European governments are sending to the United States their paupers and criminals; that vast numbers are shipped here at the expense of these governments who neither desire to come nor are able to come of themselves; and that laborers are brought here under contract to displace our own citizens. To prevent such classes from coming here requires prompt and strict legislation of a prohibitory character, and all right-thinking men are agreed on this point.

It is the intention of the bill under consideration to prohibit all Chinese persons from coming into the United States except teachers, students, officials, merchants, and travelers for pleasure or curiosity. This will keep out all Chinese laborers, which is in fact the principal purpose of the bill. Is there good reason for this prohibition? I think there is, and that an examination of the facts will satisfy any candid man that Chinese immigration is a great and threatening danger to our country. Fortunately, only the Pacific Slope of the United States has yet felt with any severity this evil. But the danger threatens to sweep over the whole land. The advance guard of Chinese has already reached every large town and village. They are

> The first low wash of waves,
> The presage of the incoming sea.

The people of the Eastern States have but little idea of the terrible condition of affairs where these foreigners have come in large numbers.

I will not attempt to give any general description of Chinese settlement on the Pacific coast. My time will not permit, and if I had the time I do not feel at all competent to do the subject justice.

I will conclude my remarks with stating in a very brief manner some of the reasons why the Chinese are not desirable and why I think they should be prohibited from coming here.

They are an entirely different race of people from those who have settled the United States. They will not and can not assimilate with our people so as to form, in time, a homogeneous nation. They do not desire to become naturalized. Unlike other immigrants they come without wives or children, make no effort to acquire homes, herd in vast numbers in filthy tenement houses, gather all the money they can and send it to China; and all expect eventually to return there.

They are a heathen race and bring with them and retain their idolatrous practices. It is impossible to administer justice in our courts, when they are concerned either as parties or witness. It is the universal testimony that they have not the slightest regard for the sanctity of an oath and that they deliberately plan and contract to commit perjury wherever they have the slightest interest. That they maintain in their communities pagan customs, rules, and laws which they regard as binding upon them, and that crime in pursuance of these laws is of common occurrence.

They seek to establish impurities and criminalities of a nature so depraved and disgusting that I can not mention them, adding to them all the crimes known to our calendar.

To enable them to evade law, defeat justice, destroy innocence, establish prostitution, and defy the execution of all law, perjury, hypocrisy, and fraud are in constant use. Nor are these things committed and done by a small criminal class. On the contrary, it is the common, usual practice of the entire community of Chinese wherever they have come in any considerable numbers.

There is the most conclusive proof that for years the Chinese in California have carried on between the Pacific coast and China a slave trade in Chinese women for immoral purposes more revolting and disgusting than ever was that of the African slave traffic—done by a regular system of written contracts and guaranties enforced by heathen customs and penalties extending even to murder.

CHEAP LABOR.

But it is from the cheap, servile labor of the Chinese that the greatest injury is likely to be inflicted on our people. They come in competition with labor of all kinds, and are willing to work for less than an American can possibly take and make a living. They are an industrious race; docile, teachable, slow of invention, but quick to imitate other workmen. For many generations, in the densely-populated country of China, they have been taught the greatest cunning and endurance in a struggle against poverty. Accustomed to the smallest pittance of wages, they have learned to live on an amount so small that it is beyond the comprehension of an American how they subsist at all.

They have lived in this condition for many centuries, with scarcely a particle of change. The Chinese Empire has existed in much its present condition at least since the time of the building of the pyramids and the giving of the law on the tables of stone.

It is part of their religion to worship their ancestors, and they neither seek nor desire a change. Wherever they come in large numbers they drive American workmen out of employment.

They can work for lower wages, for they have neither wife nor children to support. They contribute nothing to the support of churches, schools, or charitable institutions. Forty or fifty can live in a house not larger than one necessary for an American family and subsist contentedly on food and in conditions that would render the life of an American laborer simply unendurable. Nothing is better settled than the fact that low, cheap labor will always drive the better class of workmen out of competition.

In slavery times the poor whites of the South would not work in the fields or at any kind of labor in which slaves were engaged, because they considered it degrading. At the same time in the North intelligent, thrifty men worked at all kinds of manual labor and considered it honorable.

In California to-day the Chinaman has so monopolized many kinds of labor that an American can scarcely be found engaged in them. No matter how low the American offers to work, the Chinaman will work just a little lower. He is shrewd and cunning, and keeps his wages only enough lower to get the job.

The American laborer is to-day rightly alarmed at the offer of free-traders to place him in direct competition with the products of the cheap and poorly-paid labor of Europe. Free trade will undoubtedly reduce the price of wages in this country, but the introduction of the servile labor of China into this country will effect a more permanent and serious injury.

It is impossible to overestimate the injury to our people and to our domestic institutions that must follow the introduction of millions of the cheaply fed and cheaply paid servile races of Asia.

But some one asks, "Are Americans unable to compete with these foreigners?" They certainly are except under the same conditions; and I insist that American laborers shall never be forced to accept the condition

of living the Chinaman takes. When Chinamen are found pressing for employment at all our mills, factories, shops, and mines, when they are ready to work in all our hotels, kitchens, laundries, and on every farm, then will Americans be driven out of these employments or else be forced to accept as low wages as the Chinamen. This is a competition that capitalists and owners might possibly endure, but to the great mass of our people, who are laborers and producers, it is a calamity fearful to contemplate.

It is estimated that China has a population of 450,000,000 from which immigrants can be drawn. The past history of the race shows that at different times they have overrun other nations simply by force of numbers. It is apparent that they have a determination to come here. Whilst their number here is not yet great, there is good reason to believe that if permitted they will soon come in vast numbers. It is said that the Chinese now in our country, estimated at 300,000, come from a single province in China not larger than the State of New Hampshire. The facilities for their travel have increased, and in the same proportion the danger of their coming in vast numbers has also increased.

The people of California, who have felt the effect of this immigration, are practically unanimous in their opposition to it. The colonies of Great Britain, which have had experience of the same kind, have passed laws to further prevent their coming among them. Those who are most familiar with the Chinese character are most opposed to having them come to our country.

Much good may come from the passage of this bill, and I cheerfully support it. But I have no doubt that further legislation will be required, and I would, so far as possible, direct the attention of Congress and the American people to the subject.

Much of this immigration comes from the port of Hong Kong under British control, and at least a considerable part of it is first landed on the British possessions north of us, from whence it finds its way into the United States.

Our Government should make an effort by treaty to secure the aid of the British Government in suppressing it. The importance of this whole subject can not be overestimated. The dangers threatening the people of the United States from Chinese immigration are, I firmly believe, both great and imminent.

The French Spoliation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. SETH L. MILLIKEN,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, August 9, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. MILLIKEN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is not my purpose to enter into an elaborate discussion of all the circumstances and conditions surrounding the origin of the French spoliation claims, partly because the time allotted to me would not admit of it, but chiefly because I see no utility and never take comfort in thrashing over old straw.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TOWNSHEND] was very near the truth, if not directly upon it, when he said on Saturday last that these claims had been before the country for nearly a hundred years, and that everything had been said about them that could be said.

Certainly the most painstaking and exhaustive research has been made in procuring evidence to establish their real merits. It has been made by the ablest lawyers and wisest as well as the most distinguished statesmen, distinguished alike for their disinterested integrity and great ability, during nearly three generations of men, and I am sure it would be exceedingly difficult, if not quite impossible, to-day to produce any historical fact, statement, or argument bearing upon the subject which could correctly be called new and valuable.

Charles Sumner in his great report to the United States Senate in 1864, in which he seems to have gone to the bottom of every branch of the subject, bringing to the aid of his investigation, and under the power of his masterly analysis, every source of information obtainable, having examined every treaty stipulation and all the contemporary and subsequent understandings between our Government and France, as well as the opinions of the leading statesmen of both countries relative to these claims, gives the weight of his decidedly and earnestly expressed judgment in favor of their payment.

At that time forty-one reports had been made upon them to Congress, all of which, with the exception of three, had been favorable, and these three were made before the communication of evidence upon the subject of a decisive character.

Since the communication of this evidence there has been an unbroken line of favorable reports, numbering nearly fifty, made upon these claims. They bear the signatures of many of the most illustrious citizens of the Republic.

Edward Livingston, Edward Everett, John Holmes, Daniel Webster, Caleb Cushing, John M. Clayton, and Rufus Choate are among the distinguished names which we find appended to these reports. The findings of facts and the arguments and conclusions of these committees, as well as the reasons presented by their signers and many others in their speeches, both in the Senate and House, extending from 1802 to the present time, for the payment of these claims, have never been successfully controverted.

Such payment has been asked for by thirteen States in the resolutions of their Legislatures presented to Congress, and the same has been prayed for in petitions which may be counted by thousands.

On two occasions bills for the payment of these claims for damages by the spoliation of the commerce of our ancestors by France have passed both Houses of Congress. In the Forty-eighth Congress a bill was introduced and reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs to this House, providing that these claims should be sent to the Court of Claims that the court might "examine and determine their validity and the amount due to each individual claimant."

This bill was most strenuously fought in this House. Gentlemen who to-day talk so glibly and with so much apparent earnestness about a final ascertainment of the merits of these claims by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, left no stone unturned in their efforts to prevent their validity being examined and the amounts due being ascertained at all.

They would refuse to those who had been petitioning the Government for ninety years for justice at its hands an opportunity to go into court and there have settled the question whether they had any valid claims, and if they had, then to determine the amount due. Their efforts then were to turn these claimants away from the doors of the Government without a hearing.

Have gentlemen forgotten their arguments upon the occasion referred to, as well as how, by every means known to parliamentary tactics, a reference to the Court of Claims was sought to be prevented?

They said these claims were stale; that they were a hundred years old, and that therefore they should not be considered; and when I asked if that were a good reason for refusing payment of claims, provided they were just and due the claimants, if, in other words, this great nation of sixty millions of people, with all its vast wealth and a Treasury overflowing with a surplus of money, could afford to plead the statute of limitations against payment of honest demands against it, the answer came that the Government often did plead the statute of limitations; thus clearly showing that they were indifferent to the means they employed to defeat the bill, if only that object could be accomplished.

But it was not accomplished. It was not the bill, but the gentlemen who opposed it who were defeated. The bill passed the House by a decided majority. It passed the Senate readily, was signed by the President, and became a law, and these claimants, who had been standing for ninety years at the threshold of the Government petitioning for redress of their grievances, find not in Congress the deaf ear that gentleman would have had turned to them, but an opportunity to go to the Court of Claims and there have their rights determined by a tribunal which the Government had constituted for that and kindred purposes.

These cases were entered in the Court of Claims. They were presented on their merits to the court, many of them. The Government was present to defend in the person of its attorney, who opposed their allowance not only with earnestness and ability, but with a fertility of expedients if not with an intensity of feeling which savors of the vindictiveness with which they have been opposed in this House. Notwithstanding this the Court of Claims, a tribunal of the Government's own appointment, has been forced, after the fullest hearing and most thorough investigation it could give to the subject, to render judgment so far as its jurisdiction extended over them, for the payment of the claims.

Then the claims which the Court of Claims had adjudicated were returned to the House for payment. Again gentlemen commenced the old fight. It was for delay. Yes, for a long, very long delay. They desired to refer them to the Committee on Appropriations, known to be opposed to their payment. They knew that was to bury them too deep to ever hear the trumpet-call of resurrection.

We have excellent authority for believing that man has died and been resurrected the third day afterwards. And in a shorter or longer period after death, it is the belief of Christendom, that all will hear the call of Gabriel's trumpet and arise to be adjudged good or bad. But there is no prediction and experience does not teach that for anything sent to the Committee on Appropriations to which that committee is unfavorable there is any resurrection in this world or the world to come.

The sound of Gabriel's trumpet has never been loud enough to reach down to the depths where the Committee on Appropriations hung the things which they do not want to come to light in the halls of Congress.

In this unapproachable tomb, from which nothing either of body or spirit was ever known to escape, the gentlemen who now oppose us at-

tempted to place these claims. But they were again defeated in their purpose.

The claims of many of the claimants appear here on the deficiency bill, where the House directed them to be reported, with the indorsement of the Court of Claims, that the House may make an appropriation for their payment.

And what do we meet? Something very extraordinary at least; something which evidences certainly the persistent vindictive spirit with which these claims are opposed; something showing that members of the Appropriations Committee meant to get in their work against this bill by hook or crook, by fair means or foul, and if possible invest their individual opinions with the weight and authority of a committee report.

What was the duty assigned to this committee by the House relative to these claims? It was to insert them in the deficiency bill for the consideration of the House as to their payment as they insert any other item in that bill. They and their friends, as I have shown, tried with all the strength they had in the House to get these claims referred to them and failed. The House refused this disposition of them by a decided majority.

But nothing can daunt these gentlemen; modesty and a decent sense of propriety are words unknown to their vocabulary. Notwithstanding the House by a large majority refused to give them any discretion or authority, but simply directed them to place these items in the deficiency bill, they attach to that bill a long presentation of their views, and endeavor to clothe them with the dignified habiliments of a committee report, as if the subject had been referred to them by the House—a report, if it may be so called, full of ignorance of history, perversion of fact, disingenuous statements, false reasoning, and unwarranted conclusions.

Yes, defeated in the House in their attempt to prevent any hearing at all of these claims, defeated in the Government's own court in their efforts to combat them on their merits, defeated again in the House in their exertions to bury them in the bottomless tomb of a committee, they bob up serenely with a change of base and an assumption of solemnity that is altogether too thin to veil their purpose and pretense of patriotism that they never felt. They seriously proclaim that a subject of so great importance should be sent to the Supreme Court of the United States for final decision. Their decision, they say, they think all the people will bow to and be satisfied.

Why did they not think of this when in the Forty-eighth Congress they had the option to go to the Supreme Court and take a final decision, or go to the Court of Claims as we did do and get the adjudication of that court with the revisory power of Congress reserved?

Gentlemen opposing these claimants, gentlemen who were in that Congress, know they had that option, though I believe it is not of record. Gentlemen did not desire reference to the Supreme Court then. They did not dare to trust the court then to give a final decision. They preferred an adjudication by another court with a reversive power by Congress. They have the opinion of that court. It is that the Government is holden to the claimants, in justice and equity at least, and that it should pay these claims.

Now they repudiate their own chosen tribunal and want reference to the Supreme Court which in the Forty-eighth Congress they turned their backs upon.

And why do they now move to go to the Supreme Court? First, it is their last chance to defeat those claimants. Secondly, it is not so bad a last chance as it would seem to be, though the claimants are confident that it would sustain their claims. But time is an element to be calculated in measuring the chances of success or failure in all human affairs.

The court has now three or four years' business ahead of it. It would be half a decade before judgment could be obtained on the first of these cases, and if it can be correctly said that three generations have come and gone since the indebtedness of the Government to the French spoliation claimants accrued, it may be safely predicted that as many more generations of men will appear upon the face of the earth and leave it ere all these claimants are paid their just dues from the Government by the method now proposed by gentlemen who continue their uncompromising opposition to them.

What do these views of gentlemen so extraordinarily attracted to this bill show? They exhibit no fertility either of information or argument on the part of those who have subscribed to them. They present the same old, unsubstantiated statements and fallacious reasoning that have appeared and have been conclusively answered and overthrown time and again all along the line of the present century.

They present nothing new. They are the reiterations of gentlemen whose persistent efforts to defeat these claimants have known no bounds and no scruples.

But suppose it were possible to get an early decision in favor of these claimants by the Supreme Court, and it should be done, what would be the next means to be resorted to by these gentlemen to defeat these claims? Of course they would resort to something. They would have some excuse, and it would be a wonder if they should not find some means of delay. For nobody supposes they would accept the decision of the Supreme Court as binding unless it should decide in their favor.

The evidence is indisputable that during the great wars of France against all Europe, when an English fleet was attempting to blockade and starve that great nation, the French cruisers committed depredations upon our commerce and the French Government recognized this fact, apologized for it, and promised to make reparation. Our merchants were alarmed by these depredations and hesitated to expose their ships and cargoes to the dangers which threatened them. Our Government fearing its commerce would he frightened from the sea by these new perils, reassured them by promising to protect their property and obtain redress from France.

Thus the Government invited them to accept the hazards to which they were exposed. They accordingly did accept them, and when they had been despoiled our plenipotentiaries made claims against France for their reimbursement. They were ordered not to renounce them in any of their negotiations, but to press them and insist on their payment.

These claims were partially, at least, recognized by Talleyrand, who at the same time presented counter-claims in offset, and the matter went so far that the American Government, by an act of Congress, suspended all commercial intercourse with France until French depredations upon our commerce be disavowed by the French Government.

Now, what were the counter-claims of France against us? They were not without foundation.

France had guarantied to us "liberty, sovereignty, and independence." That guaranty she kept. She did it with great sums of money from her treasury and the blood of many of her bravest soldiers. The war consequent upon the performance of her pledges to us cost her $280,000,000, and the cost to her in blood was even greater.

On our part we guarantied, among other things, her continuance in her French possessions in America. That guaranty we did not keep. An adjustment was made between the two nations, and in that adjustment our Government gave up the claims of our citizens against France for the spoliation of their property as an offset against the claims which France made against us for a failure to make good our guaranties.

Thus our Government used the private property of its citizens to buy itself out of an embarrassing position, to free itself from obligations which it could not probably have met, or if it had met them it must have been at a cost vastly greater than the amount of all these claims.

The proposition made by France in the course of negotiations between the two nations was that "the indemnities which shall be due by France to the citizens of the United States shall be paid by the United States," and this proposition was unquestionably accepted by our Government as one of the conditions of settlement. Yet our Government, though having got its consideration for these claims in being discharged from her obligations to France, has never paid these claims to those of her citizens to whom they were due, but holds that which belongs to them, and has held it in her Treasury for ninety years.

STATE OF WAR A RIDICULOUS ASSERTION.

The rights of the French spoliation claimants were fully recognized by our Government in the demands she made upon Spain for payment of damages for French captures and confiscation of the vessels and cargoes of her citizens in Spanish waters. These demands were met by Spain in every case, and the individual owners of the property received payment for it. I know personally of one instance; it was payment for vessel and cargo made to my grandfather, John Milliken.

Now, if Spain could be holden in justice or equity for allowing French captures and confiscations of our merchantmen in her waters, how much stronger the case against France, who made the captures, confiscated the property and converted it to her own use.

In the case of Spain our Government exacted payment, received it, and paid it over to the individuals whose property had been captured.

In the case of France our Government pressed the claims of its citizens and received payment by offsetting them against claims which France urged against it for violation of its guaranties to her.

Our Government has received all the benefits accruing to it from thus utilizing these claims in its negotiations, but she has paid nothing of them to those whose property was captured. She retains the consideration received from the use of her citizens' property. She has retained and enjoyed it for nearly ninety years.

The claimants have never ceased petitioning for their rights of which their Government has so long deprived them. At last a court, the Government's own court, appointed by its executive, has decided these claims to be due, and in certain cases has estimated the amounts.

Gentlemen in this House who have persistently opposed the adjustment of these claims at every step now contend for further delay. Is it not time that the claimants should receive that justice which has been so long denied them? Is it not time we should wash out a stain that has marred the nation's honor since the dawn of the present century?

Gentlemen set up the plea, I know, that France would not have paid the French spoliation claims to the individuals whose property they captured and confiscated if our Government had not utilized them in the course of her negotiations and for a consideration to herself relieved France from its obligation to pay them, and therefore she should not be holden for them now.

Well, that is altogether problematical. If what has been had not been, no one certainly can tell what would have been.

But even if this statement were substantiated by any evidence of its truth, I certainly never heard that the receiver of stolen goods should be relieved from liability to make restitution to the owner on the plea that

if he had not received them from the thief the latter might have put them beyond the owner's reach, and I do not think that argument worthy of consideration by this House upon the question which is before it.

The Tariff—Wool and Woolen Goods.

I should seriously object to the repeal of the duty on wool. To repeal that would work great injustice to many interests and would seriously discourage what we should earnestly encourage, namely, the sheep culture among farmers throughout the Union. To break down wool-growing and be dependent on foreign countries for the blanket under which we sleep and the coat that covers our backs is not a wise policy for the National Government to enforce.—*James G. Blaine.*

The ability to make its own woolen clothing lies at the basis of a nation's industrial independence.—*Professor Denslow.*

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. MORROW,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, July 16, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. MORROW said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The annual wool product of the world is about 2,000,000,000 pounds. To this sum total the United States has, under favorable conditions, contributed a little more than 300,000,000 pounds, or a little less than one-sixth of the entire product. This domestic product, which has now grown to be an important factor in the world's market, does not, however, fully supply the home demand. In other words, the wool product of this country does not in fact go into the world's market to any great extent as an article of export, but is consumed at home.

It affects the foreign market, however, in withdrawing us from that market to the extent of the domestic supply. The annual consumption of wool in the United States has been estimated as high as 600,000,000 pounds, but I doubt if it much exceeds 500,000,000. The high estimate would indicate that the consumption exceeds our home production 250,000,000 or 300,000,000 pounds. This deficiency, whatever it may be, is supplied by importations of raw wool from other wool-growing sections, and manufactured woolen goods from the manufacturing districts of Europe. These importations last year amounted to nearly 115,000,000 pounds of raw wool and an estimated importation of nearly 133,000,000 pounds in manufactured woolen goods, making a total of about 248,000,000 pounds imported and used in this country.

IMPORTATIONS OF RAW WOOL.

The importations of raw wool for the year 1887 were as follows:

Raw wool imported for immediate consumption and withdrawn from warehouse for consumption for the year ending June 30, 1887.

Quality.	Class.	Quantity, pounds.	Value.	Duty.	Average specific duty per pound.	Average equivalent ad valorem duty.	Average cost per pound.
					Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
Clothing wool	1	23,195,734.30	$4,339,497.97	$2,395,536.78	10.3	55.20	18.7
Combing wool	2	9,703,962.00	2,270,058.00	974,179.26	10.0	42.91	23.4
Carpet wool	3	81,504,477.40	9,741,814.00	2,530,100.59	3.1	25.97	12.0
Total		114,404,173.70	16,351,369.97	5,899,816.63	5.15	36.08	14 29

		Cents.
Average cost of all imported raw wool	per pound	14.29
Average specific duty on all imported raw wool	do	5.15
Average ad valorem duty on all imported raw wool	do	36.08

WOOL IN IMPORTED MANUFACTURED GOODS.

The statistics kept at the Treasury Department do not show the pounds of wool contained in imported woolen goods, but George William Bond, of Boston, who appears to be accepted as authority on the subject, determines the quantity of wool contained in imported woolen goods by assuming that every dollar of cost of goods represents 3 pounds of wool. This method of estimating quantity would give us an aggregate of 132,705,730 pounds on the value of the total importations, amounting to $44,235,243.64 for the year 1887.

HOME PRODUCTION.

The Department of Agriculture reports that the wool production in the United States last year amounted to 269,000,000 pounds.

AMOUNT OF WOOL USED IN THE UNITED STATES.

The wool account of the United States for the year 1887 therefore stands as follows:

			Pounds.
Wool production in the United States (estimated by the Department of Agriculture)			269,000,000.00
Raw wool imported			114,404,173.70
Total raw wool			383,404,173.70
	Pounds.		
Domestic raw wool exported	257,940.00		
Foreign raw wool exported	6,728,292.00		
Total raw wool exported			6,986,232.00
Retained for home manufacture			376,417,941.70
Imported in manufactured goods		132,705,730.00	
Wool in domestic manufactured goods exported	1,618,026.00		
Wool in foreign manufactured goods exported	823,305.00		
Total wool in manufactured goods exported		2,441,331.00	
Imported in manufactured goods less domestic and foreign woolen goods exported			130,264,399.00
Total home consumption of wool			506,682,340.70

CARPET WOOLS.

It will be observed by examining the table showing the importations of raw wool that more than two-thirds of the imported raw wool of last year was of the lowest grade, costing on an average only 12 cents per pound in the foreign market and paying an average specific duty of only 3.1 cents per pound. It is a fact, however, that a considerable part of this low grade of wool was really of a higher grade, and our home market has suffered by the importation of certain grades of clothing and combing wools which under proper classification should not have been admitted into the country under the lower rate of duty as carpet wools.

In an article on the "Development of wool manufactures in the United States," written by Mr. Bond and published in the recent special report of the Bureau of Statistics on "Wool and Manufactures of Wool," Mr. Bond says:

I regret to add that recently there have been repeated attempts to enter wools under the third that should have paid duty as first or second class. I notice large quantities of wool imported as third class from Turkey in Europe, whence a very small percentage of wools of this class comes. Our advices from Liverpool have continually reported large quantities of noils from English wools shipped to this country which, from the prices at which they have been sold, it is to be feared have been entered as third class.

The term "noils" is applied to the short fibers, knots, broker fleeces, and tangled fibers combed from wool, usually scoured. They are carded and mixed with longer fibers for clothing purposes.

Mr. Bond estimates that about 8,800,000 pounds of the higher grades of wools were imported last year as carpet wools and used in the manufacture of clothing. This statement, indorsed by the Administration by its publication in an official report, is sufficiently startling to call for an investigation and the institution of proceedings that would put a stop to such frauds upon the revenue, but unfortunately the Administration is not disposed to enforce with much vigor the protective features of our present revenue laws, and the fraud of evading duties goes on in every direction. Indeed, I am informed by reliable authority that Mr. Bond's estimate of the extent of the evasion of the duty on raw wool last near is too low, and that the amount of higher grade wools imported as carpet wools and used for clothing purposes was nearly 20,000,000 pounds. Bear in mind that these carpet wools are graded at the custom-house as belonging to the lowest class, and the greater part of them pay a duty of only 2½ cents per pound.

Now what is the effect of this failure to properly classify imported wools at the custom-house? The domestic wool-grower under the impression that his higher grade of wool in its natural condition is protected by a tariff duty of 10 or 12 cents per pound is really in competition with a large importation of foreign wool that has passed through the custom-house at 2½ or 5 cents per pound.

Here is a difference of 7 or 7½ cents per pound in favor of the foreign importer. In this condition of an unfair competition the wool-grower discredits the value of a protection he does not get under the present system of administering the law; and when he complains, as he does, he is advised by the free-trader to seek the markets of the world as a remedy for his misfortunes.

HOME MARKET.

What the wool-grower really wants and what he should have is his own home market. If he could have this market under the protection contemplated by the statute, he would be justified in a development of this important industry that would at least meet the demand for home consumption, and that too without any increase of the price of wool to the consumer. If the law were properly construed and enforced, the present margin of profit obtained by the foreign importer in the low grading of imported wool would go in part to the domestic wool-grower. This encouragement would stimulate production, and an increase of production would result in the consumer getting the benefit of a legitimate and active competition in a prosperous home industry, and he would also get the remainder of the profit now obtained by the foreign importer. The wool-grower is suffering now from the effect of a free-trade administration of the law, where every point in controversy concerning the

tariff rate on different grades of wool is construed in favor of the foreign importer and against the policy of protection to the domestic producer.

CLASSIFICATION OF MANUFACTURED WOOLEN GOODS.

If we turn now to the importation of wool in manufactured goods we again find the importer favored in a method of classification of several articles, particularly in the classification of worsted goods, waste, and wool-tops, that destroys the value of the protection which the law intended for the benefit of the manufacturer.

The following carefully prepared table, showing the importations of woolen goods for the year ending June 30, 1887, will prove exceedingly interesting to any one desiring information as to the classification, quantity, and value of imported woolen goods for that period:

Woolen goods imported for immediate consumption and withdrawn from warehouse for consumption for the year ending June 30, 1887.

Articles.	Average value per unit of quantity.	Quantities.	Values.	Duties.	Rate of duties.	Average ad valorem duty.
						Per ct.
Balmorals:						
Valued not above 60 cents per pound.....pounds...	.46	1,733.00	$796.00	$530.00	12 to 18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	66.58
Valued above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	1.07	2,086.00	2,243.00	1,499.67	24 to 35 cts. p. lb. and 35 and 40 p. ct.	67.00
Blankets:						
Valued not above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.30	5,319.50	1,606.60	1,187.10	10 to 18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	73.87
Valued above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	1.01	2,250.57	2,279.92	1,598.19	24 to 35 cts. p. lb. and 35 and 40 p. ct.	70.00
Woolen cloths:						
Valued not above 80 cents per pound.....do.....	.64	1,117,564.40	713,315.94	640,808.21	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	89.84
Valued above 80 cents per pound.....do.....	1.21	7,689,699.02	9,309,054.73	6,415,016.73	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct,.....	68.91
Worsted cloths:						
Valued not above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.50	1,862,276.85	943,912.70	647,123.06	10 to 18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	68.55
Valued above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.82	5,129,235.40	4,210,291.73	2,925,860.04	24 to 35 cts. p. lb. and 35 and 40 p. ct.	70.00
Women's and children's dress goods, etc.:						
Composed in part of wool, etc., valued not above 20 cents per square yard.	.15	26,929,224.70	4,094,403.06	2,779,502.28	5 cts. p. yd. and 35 p. ct	67.89
Composed in part of wool, etc., valued above 20 cents per square yard.	.37	9,701,047.32	3,562,967.99	2,104,260.54	7 cts. p. yd. and 40 p. ct	59.06
Composed wholly of wool, etc., weighing 4 ounces or less per square yard.	.21	31,136,149.26	6,522,568.51	5,411,280.91	9 cts. p. yd. and 40 p. ct	82.96
Weighing over 4 ounces per square yard.....pounds...	1.18	2,560,715.83	3,019,201.46	2,103,931.19	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.....	69.68
Flannels:						
Valued not above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.53	5,348.00	2,847.72	1,926.14	10 to 18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	67.63
Valued above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.85	213,986.15	182,355.78	127,748.06	24 to 35 cts. p. lb. and 35 and 40 p. ct.	70.05
Knit goods:						
Valued not above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.52	20,358.33	10,690.55	7,390.26	10 to 18 cts. and 35 p. ct.....	69.13
Valued above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	1.50	1,311,469.54	1,969,763.19	1,236,299.05	24 to 35 cts. and 35 and 40 p. ct.....	62.76
Shawls:						
Valued not above 80 cents per pound .....do.....	.66	42,604.31	27,903.34	24,677.68	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	88.44
Valued above 80 cents per pound .....do.....	1.46	685,282.50	1,002,094.85	629,330.32	35 to 40 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.....	62.80
Wool hats:						
Valued not above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.47	818.00	387.00	282.69	12 to 18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	73.04
Valued above 60 cents per pound.....do.	2.53	2,455.46	6,207.98	3,279.08	24 to 35 cts. p. lb. and 35 and 40 p. ct.	52.82
Yarns:						
Valued not above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.45	1,514,949.65	680,369.72	463,165.64	10 to 18 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	68.07
Valued above 60 cents per pound.....do.....	.75	1,433,711.29	1,067,192.37	744,569.00	24 to 35 cts. p. lb. and 35 to 40 p. ct.	69.76
Manufactures of wool not otherwise provided for:						
Valued not above 80 cents per pound.....do.....	.65	123,783.46	80,510.00	71,502.76	35 cts. p. lb. and 35 p. ct.....	88.81
Valued above 80 cents per pound.....do.....	1.43	993,500.11	1,421,735.00	916,419.10	35 cts. p. lb. and 40 p. ct.....	64.46
Ready-made clothing, cloaks, etc.....do.....	1.81	806,545.67	1,461,243.03	896,471.70	40 to 45 cts. p. lb. and 35 to 40 p. ct..	61.35
Webbings, gorings, suspenders, etc.....do.....	1.85	239,817.00	443,808.95	293,849.58	30 cts. p. lb. and 50 p. ct.....	66.21
Endless belts and felts.....do.....	.88	191,143.75	167,166.00	88,378.55	20 cts. p. lb. and 30 p. ct.....	52.87
Bunting.....square yards...	.22	242.50	53.00	42.80	10 cts. p. yd. and 35 p. ct.....	80.75
Carpets, etc.:						
Aubusson, Axminster, Moquette, etc.....do.....	2.63	162,244.80	425,924.46	200,787.53	45 cts. p. yd. and 30 p. ct.....	47.14
Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet.....do.....	1.85	53,614.54	99,410.58	53,949.70	.....do.....	54.27
Brussels.....do.....	1.03	190,118.24	196,464.87	115,975.06	30 cts. p. yd. and 30 p. ct.....	59.03
Patent velvet and tapestry velvet.....do.....	1.00	83,630.13	83,313.38	45,901.52	25 cts. p. yd. and 30 p. ct.....	55.10
Tapestry Brussels.....do	.64	106,377.88	68,348.04	41,779.98	20 cts. p. yd. and 30 p. ct.....	61.13
Treble ingrain, 3-ply, Venetian, etc.....do.....	.76	25,437.00	19,332.00	8,852.04	12 cts. p. yd. and 30 p. ct.....	45.79
Yarn Venetian and 2-ply ingrain.....do.....	.54	74,262.00	40,416.00	18,065.76	8 cts. p. yd. and 30 p. ct.....	44.70
Druggets and bockings.....do.....	.34	3,962.00	1,353.00	1,000.20	15 cts. p. yd. and 30 p. ct.....	73.92
Carpets and carpeting of wool, flax, etc., not otherwise provided for, square yards.	.99	35,432.87	35,203.82	14,081.52	40 per cent.....	40.00
Mats, rugs, screens, etc., not exclusively of vegetable materials.	.....	.....	502,889.37	201,155.76	.....do.....	40.00
Rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks, woolen.....pounds...	.38	4,902,381.00	1,155,618.00	490,238.10	10 cts. p. lb.....	26.41
Total manufactures of wool.....	.....	.....	44,235,243.64	29,729,717.50	.....	67.21
Total raw wools, and manufactures of.....	.....	.....	60,586,613.61	35,629,534.13	.....	58.81

Total value of manufactured woolen goods imported for the year ending June 30, 1887..... $44,235,243.64
Total duty paid..... 29,729,717.50
Ad valorem duty, 67.21 per cent.

PROTECTION DESTROYED.

The foregoing table discloses several important facts; among others, the extent to which the rulings of the Treasury Department have been taken advantage of in the importation of worsted cloths. It is admitted by everybody familiar with the trade that woolen cloths and worsted cloths are substantially the same goods and should be subject to the same rate of duty; but under the rulings of the Secretary of the Treasury worsted goods are so classified for revenue purposes that the rate of duty ranges from 10 to 35 cents per pound and 35 to 40 per cent. ad valorem, while woolen cloths are all subject to a duty of 35 cents per pound and 35 to 40 per cent. ad valorem. It is officially stated that in many cases the duty on the wool used in making the imported worsted cloth, if imported in an unmanufactured condition, would exceed the duty imposed on the finished article.

Manifestly there is a great injustice here, not only to the manufacturer, but to the wool-grower, and is another instance where the value of the protection intended by the law is virtually destroyed. It must be

remembered, furthermore, that the importations of woolen and worsted cloths are the largest items in weight and value in the whole list of importations of woolen goods. The weight of all imported woolen goods last year, excluding carpets, mats, rugs, screens, bunting, and women's and children's dress goods weighing less than 4 ounces per square yard, was 30,869,035 pounds, and the foreign cost or value was $28,582,595.47. The weight of the woolen and worsted cloths alone amounted to 15,798,776 pounds, and were valued at $15,176,575.10, or more than one-half the weight and value of all the woolen goods imported, with the exceptions mentioned. These woolen and worsted cloths are therefore important factors in the tariff schedule, and if the principle of protection is destroyed here the whole wool growing and manufacturing industry must suffer. Now, what is the situation. The effect of the rulings of the Treasury Department in favor of the lower rate of duty for worsted cloths will be seen by the following statement of the importations of these goods for last year:

	Weight.	Values.	Duties.
	Pounds.		
Woolen cloths	8,807,263.42	$10,022,370.67	$7,055,824.94
Worsted cloths	6,991,512.25	5,154,204.43	3,557,298.10
Total	15,798,775.67	15,176,575.10	10,613,123.04

It appears that while the importations of worsted cloths amounted to 44 per cent. in weight of the total importations of worsted and woolen cloths together, the duties collected at the custom-house on worsted cloths amounted to only 33 per cent. of the whole sum collected on these two articles. This loss of percentage does not, however, give any correct information as to the loss of duties sustained by the method of classification now in force, since the element of value must be taken into consideration. Perhaps as fair an estimate as any would be to use the rate of duties on woolen cloths in calculating the duties on the worsted cloths, as follows:

Worsted cloths:	
Valued at not above 80 cents per pound:	
5,648,255.45 pounds, at 35 cents per pound	$1,976,889.40
Valuation, $3,684,542.70, at 35 per cent. ad valorem	1,288,589.94
Valued at above 80 cents per pound:	
1,343,256.80 pounds, at 35 cents per pound	470,139.88
Valuation, $1,469,661.73, at 40 per cent. ad valorem	587,864.69
Total duties under woolen cloth rate	4,323,483.91
Deduct duties collected	3,557,298.10
Loss in protective duties	766,185.81

The difference between the amount of duties collected on worsted cloths and the amount that should have been collected is a loss to protection, because if the law had been enforeed in harmony with its general purpose our own wool-growers and manufacturers would have supplied a large part of the nearly 7,000,000 pounds of worsted goods imported from abroad last year. It was the advantage the importer obtained in a classification of these goods at a low rate of duty that enabled him to capture our market to the extent indicated.

RAGS, WASTE, ETC.

The next largest quantity of woolen material imported in the year 1887 was under the designation of rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks. The importations under this paragraph of the tariff schedule reached the enormous quantity of 4,902,381 pounds, and the average invoice cost or value is given at 38 cents per pound, amounting to $1,855,618. All this wool material came in under a uniform tariff rate of 10 cents per pound.

Now mark the evasion of the law that has been practiced at this point. The present law imposes a duty of 12 cents per pound on raw wool valued over 30 cents per pound, and yet under the classification of rags, waste, etc., wool in a condition advanced beyond raw wool and costing on an average 38 cents per pound is admitted at the rate of 10 cents per pound. But this is not all. The law classifies raw wool for revenue purposes on the basis that 1 pound of scoured wool, through the process of cleaning and in consequence of the shrinkage resulting therefrom, represents 3 pounds of wool in its natural state; hence we find that 1 pound of scoured wool costing 30 cents or less per pound in the foreign market is subject to a duty of 30 cents, or three times the duty on raw wool, and if costing over 30 cents per pound the duty is 36 cents per pound.

Now, it is an established fact that much of the imported "waste" is not refuse waste at all, but an article prepared expressly for shipment to this country. It is really scoured wool, and as such should pay a duty of 30 or 36 cents per pound. The duty of 10 cents per pound imposed on an article rating as the equivalent of scoured wool for manufacturing purposes is a fraud upon the revenue and destroys the protection to the wool-grower, since such a duty is only the equivalent of 3⅓ or 4 cents per pound on raw combing or clothing wool. I repeat what I said before, what the wool-grower wants is his own home market protected against all fraudulent devices in the importation of foreign wool.

WOOL TOPS.

In the process of manufacturing raw wool into certain grades of worsted goods an intermediate result is the production of an article of manufacture known as "wool-tops." Mr. Whitman, president of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, describes "wool-tops" as follows:

> They are composed of the longer fibers of the wool. These fibers are by the process of manufacture separated from the short fibers and other refuse known as "noils," and are arranged by combing parallel to each other and slightly twisted. In their manufacture it is necessary to employ very costly and complicated machinery.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> In the manufacture of the article of wool tops in this country many millions of dollars are invested. The buildings and machinery employed for this purpose in one mill alone cost over $500,000, and the annual pay-roll of said mill in 1881 to operatives employed in this industry amounted to over $100,000. The tops can no longer, therefore, be said to be the "wools" of either class specified in the tariff acts. They are in a state, by the manipulation before described, beyond what are termed wools. By these manipulations and the shrinkage thereby produced, a great value per pound has been added to them, and they have been wrought into an article recognized in commerce and trade as different in appearance, quality, character, and value from wools.

This article thus described is, however, not classified as a manufacture of wool, and we do not find it reported in the table of imported worsted or woolen goods, but we find it classified as scoured wool, and as such is imported in large quantities and reported as raw wool. Here, again, the wool-grower and wool-manufacturer are made to suffer in an unfair competition with the cheap labor of foreign lands and the cunning of the foreign importer.

The tariff should be so revised as to correct the evils I have mentioned and afford reasonable protection to our home industries. The present bill placing wool on the free-list proposes to destroy all protection to the wool-grower. This is the first step in the direction of general free trade. The next step will be to remove the tariff from all manufactures of woolen goods.

THE CONFERENCE SCHEDULE.

A conference of the representatives of the wool-growers, wool-dealers, and wool-manufacturers of the United States was held in this city, commencing on the 11th of January last, for the purpose of considering the wool-tariff question. This body, after full consideration, recommended the enactment of a schedule of duties on wool and manufactures of wool which substantially adopts the act of March 2, 1867, with amendments that would prevent the frauds I have pointed out and would equalize and balance the rates of duty on the various articles mentioned in the schedule.

Among other things, it provides that worsted cloths shall be subject to the same duty as woolen cloths. Noils are made subject to the same rate of duty as washed wools. The duty on all kinds of waste, except refuse waste, is equalized with wool at 30 cents per pound, and wool tops are made subject to duty as manufactures of wool.

I will insert in the RECORD at the end of these remarks a comparative statement of the rates of duty on wools and manufactures of wool under the acts approved March 2, 1867, June 6, 1872, March 3, 1875, and March 3, 1883, the so-called Mills bill now under consideration, and the schedule agreed on by the conference of wool-growers, wool-dealers, and wool-manufacturers. I commend this statement to the careful consideration of those who would study the effect of proposed legislation on the wool industry of this country. The conference schedule was before the Committee on Ways and Means when this bill was being prepared, having been introduced and referred to that committee by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY]. Its measure of protection was ignored, and in place of it we have a bill that would strike down the most important industry in the country.

DIAGRAMS OF WOOL INDUSTRY.

I shall also take the liberty of inserting a number of diagrams prepared by the Bureau of Statistics relating to the wool industry of the country. They present to the eye a number of interesting facts which it would be well to consider in determining the propriety of a change of policy in our tariff system.

WOOL PRODUCTION OF CALIFORNIA.

Mr. Chairman, the State of California, which I have the honor in part to represent, is the leading wool-producing State in the Union. The climate is favorable and the large ranges of public land heretofore open to sheep pasture have been of course a great advantage to the industry. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUCKALEW] seemed to think that these advantages were sufficient to warrant the removal of the tariff protection from wool.

But I desire to say to him and others who entertain the same opinion that the rapid increase in our farming population in the last few years has about absorbed all the public land of any value for pasture, and no sheep-owner in California can expect now to find pasture elsewhere than on his own or leased land. It is true that there is a large quantity of unsurveyed land in California. The report of the United States surveyor-general of the State shows that it amounts to 33,000,000 acres, but he also shows that the land is nearly all occupied by settlers for agricultural purposes. The fact that the land is unsurveyed is the fault of the Government, and does not indicate the absence of the pre-emption or homestead settler. The fact is, we have reached the important and desirable period of the small farming industries in California. Our labor is still fairly well paid as compared even with flush times. And as compared with other countries, the comparison indicates the difference between comfort and independence and wretched, pinching poverty.

We would like to at least maintain our present standard of wages for labor. It would be well if we could raise it at some points. The effect of this bill will be to reduce wages in many of our industries in California, if it does not destroy some of the industries altogether. The wool-growing industry is one of the most important we have. It ought to be encouraged and developed, as it can be, in both quantity and quality; but on small and valuable ranges to which we are now coming we can not compete with the free ranges and cheap labor of Australia or South America.

In the circular of Messrs. Justice, Bateman & Co., wool merchants of Philadelphia, dated March 1, 1888, I find the following paragraph making a comparison between the growing of wool in Montana and the Argentine Republic:

COMPARISON OF THE COST OF GROWING FOREIGN AND AMERICAN WOOL.

The main cost of raising wool in foreign countries, where the sheep graze over the public domain, is the wages of the herder. In the Argentine Republic this quality of labor receives 3 Spanish dollars per month. In Montana, where the sheep also graze on the public domain, the wages of the herder, which is also the main cost of growing wool there, is $40 per month, as against $3 in South America. This is an increase in the cost of growing American wool, otherwise under similar conditions, of 1,200 per cent. The freight on wool from Buenos Ayres to New York by sailing vessel is only one-fourth cent per pound, while the cheapest freight from Montana is 2 cents per pound to the same market. Here is an increase to the Montana grower in the cost of transportation of 700 per cent. over the cost to the South American grower. With this difference against the American grower on the free range how much more must be the cost of raising wool on farms worth $50 to $75 per acre?

THE EFFECT OF THE MILLS BILL ON THE WOOL INDUSTRY OF CALIFORNIA.

The last sentence in the above circular applies to the situation in California, where, as I said before, the public land is no longer available for sheep pasture. I commend the facts stated to those who following some vague theory would destroy an important industry already embarrassed, as I have shown, by unfair competition, and now being deprived of whatever advantage there was in large ranges. Remember also that the wool production of California is an important factor in the markets of this country. If you drive it out, as you will if this bill becomes a law, and compel our people to send their sheep to the slaughter-pens, the wool-growers of Australia and South America, instead of giving you the benefit of the remitted duty, will compel you after we are out of the market to pay good prices for their product to supply the deficiency.

The following table shows the number of sheep in, and the wool product of, California and the United States for the past five years:

Years.	California.		United States.	
	Number of sheep Jan. 1.	Wool production.	Number of sheep Jan. 1.	Wool production.
		Pounds.		*Pounds.*
1883	5,907,680	40,848,690	49,237,291	300,000,000
1884	6,203,064	37,415,330	50,626,626	308,000,000
1885	5,892,911	36,531,390	50,360,243	302,000,000
1886	6,069,698	38,509,160	48,322,331	285,000,000
1887	6,069,698	31,564,231	44,759,314	269,000,000
1888	5,462,728	.....	43,544,755	.....

It will be seen that California has about one-eighth of the sheep and produces about one-ninth of the wool of the whole United States. It is therefore a matter of importance to know the effect of this bill on the future wool product of the State. To ascertain this fact as nearly as possible I have had prepared by Messrs. Justice, Bateman & Co., of Philadelphia, a table showing the price of the various grades of California raw wool in the market in June of this year; the percentage of shrinkage of the wools in being scoured; the scoured cost or price in Philadelphia or Boston; the scoured cost or price of competing foreign wool outside the custom-house or free of duty; the free-trade price of our wools, and generally the particulars concerning the competing foreign wools. The table is as follows:

Table showing a comparison of the value in the grease and the scoured value of California wools and competing grades of foreign wools on the basis of the scoured value in London in June, 1888.

California wool.	Prices in June, 1888.	Per cent. of shrinkage.	Scoured, cost or price in Philadelphia and Boston, June, 1888.	Scoured, cost or price of competing foreign wool outside of our custom-house.	Free-trade price of California wool, June, 1888.
Spring, Northern, free, A1 choice	22	60	55	34	14
Spring, Northern, S. B.	16	68	50	32½	11
Spring, Southern, free.	16	68	50	32½	11
Spring, Southern, S. B.	13	70	43½	32½	9¾
Fall, Northern, free	15	65	42¾	32½	11½
Fall, Northern, S. B	12	70	40	32½	9¾
Fall, Southern, free	12	70	40	30	9
Fall, Southern, S. B	10	75	40	30	7½

Table showing a comparison of the value in the grease and the scoured value of California wools and competing grades of foreign wools on the basis of the scoured value in London in June, 1888—Continued.

Qualities of foreign wools competing with California wools.*	Value in pence.	Value in cents.	Scoured value in cents.	Address of English merchants furnishing these wools.
Montevideo	7½	15	34	John Bowes & Bro., Liverpool.
Cape of Good Hope	6½	13	32½	Helmuth, Schwartz & Co., London.
Do.	6½	13	32½	Do.
Do.	6½	13	32½	Do.
Do.	6½	13	32½	Do.
Do.	6½	13	32½	Do.
Faulty Cape	4½	9	30	Windeler & Co., London.
Burry Mestiza	4½	9	30	Do.

*Compare California wools with foreign wools in the order given, that is to say Montevideo competes with California spring, Northern, free, A1 choice, and Burry Mestiza with California Fall, Southern, S. B.

This table shows that our wool-growers would have sustained a loss, under the provisions of this bill, on the sale of their wool in June amounting to from 25 to 36 per cent. Can there be any doubt as to the effect of such a reduction on the price of our wools? With our price of labor and the present cost of transportation our people would go out of the business, and they would do so to the injury of the people of the whole country. Our wools are needed in the market, and if they were not here it would be the part of wisdom to so legislate that they might come and add to your supply of material for woolen goods.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM IN CALIFORNIA ON THE WOOL TARIFF AND OTHER INDUSTRIES.

Why do you gentlemen on the other side prefer to favor Australia and South America to California? Are you influenced by political considerations? I do not know whether there is much of a Democratic party in California now or not, but there was an organization there under that name two years ago, and the party had a platform upon which my colleagues from the First and Second districts were elected. One plank of that platform was as follows:

That the present tariff on wool, prepared by a Republican commission appointed by a Republican President, is an unjust discrimination against a great industry, and we denounce the same, and demand—

Mark the demand—

the restoration of the tariff of 1867.

In the comparative statement of the rates of duty on wools prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, and printed at the end of these remarks, is a column devoted to the tariff act of 1867. I ask my Democratic friends to compare the provisions of that act with the provisions of the Mills bill, and then explain, if they will, why they have abandoned their pretended position in favor of protecting the wool industry of the country. But I have not read the whole of this single plank of our California Democratic platform, and that I may not be accused of reading merely garbled extracts I will read all of it.

That in view of the brilliant future that awaits California in the development of its wine interests we most heartily favor the bills now pending in Congress for the release from taxation of spirits used in the fortification of sweet wines and the protection of our wine industries from the injurious effects of fraud and the unrestricted sale of spurious wines.

That the wool-growers may know that other industries have incurred the displeasure of the Democratic members of this House, I call attention to the fact that when my colleague [Mr. MCKENNA] offered the other day an amendment to the pending bill providing "for the release from taxation of spirits used in the fortification of sweet wines," the Democratic members of the House voted solidly against the amendment.

The concluding sentence in this plank of the Democratic platform is as follows:

And we also favor legislation providing for the protection of the raisin industry.

A reduction of one-half cent per pound in the duty on raisins is the answer the majority of this House makes to the proposition that this new and important industry shall be protected. Some of the gentlemen on the other side have managed to save some of the industries of their districts from the destruction this bill originally proposed. We have sought to understand the policy that guided the majority in granting such favors, but so far no explanation has been made. All we know is that the industries of California are to be sacrificed while the industries of other sections are to be favored.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM IN OHIO ON THE WOOL TARIFF.

The Democrats in Ohio, like their brethren in California, have vigorously protested against the reduction of the tariff on wool. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR] has just called attention to the action of a Democratic Legislature of Ohio in adopting resolutions on this subject on the 23d of January, 1884. The resolutions will bear repeating.

Whereas the Forty-seventh Congress reduced the tariff on imported wool, against the protest of every wool-grower of the State of Ohio and the United States; and

Whereas the said reduction of tariff on imported wool discriminates against

the wool-growers of the West, in favor of the manufacturers of the East, thereby compelling the wool-growers of the West to compete with cheap wool of foreign countries, to their very great injury; and

Whereas that tariff was reasonable and not too high before the reduction, and stands now at a rate so low as to injuriously affect that large and respectable class of people who have devoted themselves to wool-growing; and

Whereas an Ohio Congressman has already introduced a bill in the House of Representatives of the Forty-eighth Congress to restore the tariff on wool as it stood prior to the recent reduction, which should be passed at the earliest time possible: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That our Senators in Congress be, and are hereby, instructed and our Representatives requested to use all honorable means and vote for the bill to restore the tariff on wool as it stood prior to the recent reduction, and that the governor be requested to send a copy of this resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives at Washington.

The gentleman from Ohio informs us that these resolutions received the vote of every Democratic member of the Legislature then present. He further informs us that on the 25th day of June, 1884, the Ohio Democractic State convention which selected delegates to the national convention which nominated Grover Cleveland for President adopted unanimously as the third resolution in its platform the following:

That the just demands of the wool-growers of Ohio and the country for an equitable readjustment of the duties on wool (unjustly reduced by a Republican Congress), so that this industry shall be fully and equally favored with other industries, ought to be complied with, and we indorse the action of the Democratic members from Ohio in their efforts to accomplish this result.

THE POLICY OF DEMOCRATIC FREE TRADE.

I asked a moment ago if the majority of the House were influenced by political considerations in placing wool on the free-list. Do you propose to hold the solid South on free trade for Northern industries, abandon all hope of carrying Ohio and the Pacific coast, and fight out this campaign in New York on financial questions? There seems to be enough wisdom in this proposition to justify its adoption as the policy of the Democratic campaign. You may be able to hold the solid South on the issue of free trade. You will not carry Ohio or the Pacific coast, and I am equally confident that you will not carry New York, and the programme will be a failure.

CHEAP WOOL AND THE POOR MAN'S BLANKET.

The friends of this measure have two explanations to make in its defense. One is that free wool makes cheap wool and clothing, and the "poor man's blanket" is to be reduced in cost. This explanation is doubtless intended for the benefit of a class of people who will be influenced by the consideration that cheaper clothing would be a decided advantage. The other explanation is that free wool would create a greater demand for all kinds, under which the price would at once be raised to the present standard. This explanation appears to be intended for the sheep-growing sections of the country. Both explanations can not be true.

The burden of the customs duties has been the favorite theme for the revenue-reform orator throughout this discussion. He has been somewhat embarrassed by the fact that the unfortunate tax-payer can not be located with absolute certainty, so as to determine the amount of his burden and his ability to carry it, but this difficulty has been overcome in a measure by aggregating the duties on imported articles, adding a like sum to the domestic articles, and then, putting the two gross sums together, divide the whole amount by the population of the United States, thereby distributing the whole burden equally between the rich and the poor, the young and the old. In this way we are all made to understand that we are tax-payers and are being crushed by the "robber tariff."

By reference to the table of woolen goods imported for consumption, etc., last year, inserted in a previous page, it will be seen that the greater part of our importations of woolen goods are of the most expensive quality; and if it be true, as claimed by the President and his followers, that the duties are paid by the consumers, then it appears that the burden conveniently and properly falls on the wealthy, who can well afford to buy costly materials and pay the revenues of the Government for the supposed luxury of the foreign-made article. Take, for instance, the item of blankets, about which there has been so much discussion. The quantity imported last year valued not above 60 cents per pound, was only 5,319½ pounds, valued at $1,606.60, and the total duties amounted to only $1,187.10. The average cost of these blankets was only 30 cents per pound, or $1.50 for a 5 pound blanket, and the rate of duty per pound was less than half of that imposed upon the higher priced blanket.

It is evident that no very heavy tax has been laid on the poor man's blanket, and all the plaintive declamation we have heard upon this subject is without the foundation of fact necessary to make the subject interesting. The home market for cheap blankets has been almost entirely supplied by home production; and, as has been explained by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GEAR] and the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY], the home-made article has been furnished at a price but little in advance of what the same quality of blankets would have cost in England.

In the item of woolen cloths valued not above 80 cents per pound we find the importations amounted to 1,117,564.40 pounds, valued at $713,315.94, and paying duties amounting to $640,808.21, while the importations of the same goods valued above 80 cents per pound amounted to 7,689,699.02 pounds, valued at $9,309,054.73, and paying duties amounting to $6,415,016.73.

The average cost of the cheaper cloth was 64 cents per pound while the average cost of the dearer cloth and the larger importations was $1.21 per pound. Furthermore, the ad valorem duty on the cheaper cloth was 5 per cent. less than on the dearer cloth, showing that the duties are paid at higher rates on the dearer class of goods. And these goods are imported to supply a demand coming from people, many of whom esteem it a privilege to pay high prices for foreign goods. What poor man I would like to know is injured in any way by continuing such protective duties?

Take the item of flannels. The quantity of this class of goods valued not above 60 cents per pound imported last year was only 5,348 pounds, while of the quality valued above 60 cents per pound the importations amounted to 213,986 pounds; the value of the goods of the common quality was only $2,847.72 while the value of the better or fancy quality was $182,355.78. The duties paid on the first class amounted to only $1,926.14 while on the second class they amounted to $127,748.06.

The same significant difference occurs in every item of the schedule where the rate of duty permits a division of the importations into cheap and costly goods. The truth is that the duties are imposed principally upon the more expensive articles, and are collected from the rich, who are able to pay them. It is a false issue to discuss this question upon the assumption that the customs duties on clothing are paid to any considerable extent by poor people. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY] has shown by actual demonstration that ordinary clothing is as cheap here as in free-trade England.

The severe criticism of Matthew Arnold on American civilization, which was recently the cause of much discussion, was qualified by the following testimony he gave in favor of the advantages enjoyed by the people in this country who are in receipt of small incomes. One of these advantages he mentions is that of cheap clothing, another is cheap food. He says:

For that immense class of people, the great bulk of the community, the class of people, whose income is less than three or four hundred a year, things in America are favorable. It is easier for them there than in the Old World to rise and to make the r fortune. Even without making their fortune, even with their income below three or four hundred a year, things are favorable to them in America, society seems organized there for their benefit. To begin with, the humble kind of work is better paid in America than with us, the higher kind worse. The official, for instance, gets less, his office-keeper gets more. The public ways are abominably cut up by rails and blocked with horse-cars; but the inconvenience is for those who use private carriages and cabs, the convenience is for the bulk of the community who but for the horse-cars would have to walk. The ordinary railway cars are not delightful, but they are cheap, and they are better furnished and in winter are warmer than third-class carriages in England. Luxuries are, as I have said, very dear—above all, European luxuries; but a working man's clothing is nearly as cheap as in England, and plain food is on the whole cheaper.

So far as the tariff is a tax or operates as a protection in the production of wool or the manufacture of woolen goods it is not a burden upon any one who can justly say that he feels its weight. Has any member of this House received a petition making any such complaint? The petitions we have filed from the laboring classes have all demanded that the revision of the tariff should be in the interest of protection.

DEAR WOOL AND THE WOOL-GROWER.

The claim that free wool would create a greater demand for the article and result in such an increase in price as would cover the present rate of duty is of course inconsistent with the other proposition, that cheap wool is necessary in order to have cheap clothing. The fact is that free wool would certainly increase importations, but such increased importations would destroy the home market for our domestic wool. The price would then be gradually raised, but only as our own production and competition ceased. The wool manufacturer might possibly obtain a temporary advantage in the use of free wool, but the benefit would be of short duration. The next step would be to remove the duties from the manufactured goods, and then our own manufacturers would go to the wall in competition with the cheap labor of Europe. This is the result plainly pointed out by the English press in its active support of the Mills bill.

NO PROTECTION FOR THE WOOL INDUSTRY IN THE MILLS BILL.

It is claimed, however, that this bill retains a rate of duty on manufactured goods sufficient to cover the difference in the rate of wages between this country and Great Britain. But this is not so. The average rate of duty retained by the bill on manufactured woolen goods is 40 per cent., while the difference in the average rate of wages paid to employés in the woolen mills of the United States and Great Britain is not less than 65 per cent. The first effect of this bill, if it should become a law, would therefore be to reduce wages wherever the struggle might be continued against foreign competition. The final result would be the complete destruction of our manufacturing industries.

The labor, enterprise, and patriotism of this country protest against this measure. It is not in the interest of labor. It is not in harmony with our industrial system. It will not encourage enterprise or promote independence. Every consideration having in view the prosperity of the country demands that this bill should be defeated.

In the words which Lord Bacon addressed to the ministers of his Sovereign:

Let us advance the native commodities of our own country and employ our own countrymen before strangers. Let us turn the wools of the land into cloths and stuffs of our own growth. It would set many thousands to work, and thereby one of the materials would, by industry, be multiplied to five, ten, and many times, to twenty-five times more in value, being wrought.

The history of the country and the wisdom of its greatest statesmen admonish us that American independence and prosperity will not be found in the direction of free trade.

Comparative statement of the rates of duty on wools and manufactures of wool under the acts approved March 2, 1867; June 6, 1872; March 3, 1875, and March 3, 1883; the so-called Mills bill, and the schedule agreed on by the Conference of wool-growers, wool-dealers, and wool manufacturers held at Washington, January 11–14, 1888.

Articles.	Act of Mar. 2, 1867.	Act of June 6, 1872, took effect Aug. 1, 1872.	Act of Mar. 3, 1875.	Act of Mar. 3, 1883, took effect July 1, 1883.	Mills bill.	Conference schedule.
All wools, hair of the alpaca, goat (camel, llama *a*), and other like animals, shall be divided, for the purpose of fixing the duties to be charged thereon, into the three following classes:						
Class 1—						
Clothing wools: That is to say, merino, mestiza, metz, or metis wools, or other wools of merino blood, immediate or remote, Down clothing wools, and wools of like character with any of the preceding, including such as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Buenos Ayres, New Zealand, Australia, Cape of Good Hope, Russia, Great Britain, Canada, and elsewhere, and also including all wools not hereinafter described or designated in classes 2 and 3—						
Value 30 cents or less per pound	.....	.....	.....	10 cts. per lb.....		
Value over 30 cents per pound	.....	.....	.....	12 cts. per lb.....		
Value 32 cents or less per pound	10 cts. per lb.+ 11 per ct.		10 cts. per lb.+ 11 per ct.	.....		10 cts. per lb.+ 11 per ct.
Value over 32 cents per pound	12 cts. per lb.+ 10 per ct.		12 cts. per lb.+ 10 per ct.	.....		12 cts. per lb.+ 10 per ct.
Washed wool—						
Value 30 cents or less per pound	.....		.....	20 cts. per lb.....		
Value over 30 cents per pound	.....		.....	24 cts. per lb.....		
Value 32 cents or less per pound	20 cts. per lb.+ 22 per ct.		20 cts. per lb.+ 22 per ct.	.....		20 cts. per lb.+ 22 per ct.
Value over 32 cents per pound	24 cts. per lb.+ 20 per ct.		24 cts. per lb.+ 20 per ct.	.....		24 cts. per lb.+ 20 per ct.
Scoured wool—						
Value 30 cents or less per pound	.....		.....	30 cts. per lb.....		
Value over 30 cents per pound	.....		.....	36 cts. per lb.....		
Value 32 cents or less per pound	30 cts. per lb.+ 33 per ct.		30 cts. per lb.+ 33 per ct.	.....		30 cts. per lb.+ 33 per ct.
Value over 32 cents per pound	36 cts. per lb.+ 30 per ct.		36 cts. per lb.+ 30 per ct.	.....		36 cts. per lb.+ 30 per ct.
Class 2:						
Combing wools: That is to say, Leicester, Cotswold, Lincolnshire, Down combing wools, Canada long wools, or other like combing wools of English blood, and usually known by the terms herein used, and also all hair of the alpaca, goat (camel, llama *a*), and other like animals—						
Value 30 cents or less per pound	.....		.....	10 cts. per lb.....		
Value over 30 cents per pound	.....		.....	12 cts. per lb.....		
Value 32 cents or less per pound	10 cts. per lb.+ 11 per ct.		10 cts. per lb.+ 11 per ct.	.....	Free of duty..	10 cts. per lb.+ 11 per ct.
Value over 32 cents per pound	12 cts. per lb.+ 10 per ct.		12 cts. per lb.+ 10 per ct.	.....		12 cts. per lb.+ 10 per ct.
Scoured wool—						
Value 30 cents or less per pound	.....		.....	30 cts. per lb.....		
Value over 30 cents per pound	.....		.....	36 cts. per lb.....		
Value 32 cents or less per pound	30 cts. per lb.+ 33 per ct.		30 cts. per lb.+ 33 per ct.	.....		30 cts. per lb.+ 33 per ct.
Value over 32 cents per pound	36 cts. per lb.+ 30 per ct.		36 cts. per lb.+ 30 per ct.	.....		36 cts. per lb.+ 30 per ct.
Class 3:						
Carpet wools and other similar wools: Such as Donskoi, native South American, Cordova, Valparaiso, native Smyrna, and including all such wools of like character as have been heretofore usually imported into the United States from Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere—		90 per cent. of duty imposed by act of Mar. 2, 1867.				
Value 12 cents or less per pound	3 cts. per lb.....		3 cts. per lb.....	2½ cts. per lb.....		3 cts. per lb.
Value over 12 cents per pound	6 cts. per lb.....		6 cts. per lb.....	5 cts. per lb.....		6 cts. per lb.
Scoured wool—						
Value 12 cents or less per pound	9 cts. per lb.....		9 cts. per lb.....	7½ cts. per lb.....		9 cts. per lb.
Value over 12 cents per pound	18 cts. per lb.....		18 cts. per lb.....	15 cts. per lb.....		18 cts. per lb.
(See note *b* as to effect of changed condition of wool.)						
(See note *c* as to purpose for which wools of Class 3 may be used.)						
Sheepskins or Angora skins, raw or unmanufactured, imported with the wool on, washed or unwashed	30 per ct.....		30 per ct. on skins alone.	Wool only dutiable.		30 p. ct. on skins alone.
Wools on the skin. (Same as other wool.)						
Manufactures of wool:						
Rags, shoddy, mungo, waste, and flocks	12 cts. per lb.....		12 cts. per lb.....	10 cts. per lb.....		
Ring waste, thread waste, other yarn waste, top waste, garneted waste, and all similar wastes or products composed wholly or in part of wool, by whatever name now known, or by which they may hereafter be known, of whatever value	.....		.....	.....	.....	30 cts. per lb.
Shoddy, valued at 20 cents or more per pound	.....		.....	.....	.....	30 cts. per lb.
All other shoddy	.....		.....	.....	.....	20 cts. per lb.
Mungo	.....		.....	.....	.....	Do.
Rags, refuse waste, and flocks	.....		.....	.....	.....	10 cts. per lb.
Noils	.....		.....	.....	.....	As washed wools.
(See note *d* as to wools advanced from scoured state.)						
Cloths and shawls, woolen, and all manufactures of wool of every description, made wholly or in part of wool, not herein otherwise provided for—						
Valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound	50 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		50 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	35 cts. per lb.+ 35 per ct.	40 per ct.....	
Valued at above 80 cents per pound				35 cts. per lb.+ 40 per ct.	40 per ct.....	
Cloths and shawls, woolen, and all manufactures of wool of every description, made wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, not specially enumerated or provided for	.....		.....	.....	.....	50 cts. per lb.+ 50 per ct.

Comparative statement of the rates of duty on wool and manufactures of wool, etc.—Continued.

Articles.	Act of Mar. 2, 1867.	Act of June 6, 1872, took effect Aug. 1, 1872.	Act of March 3, 1875.	Act of Mar. 3, 1883, took effect July 1, 1883.	Mills bill.	Conference schedule.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, etc.—Continued.						
Manufactures of wool—Continued.						
Flannels, blankets, hats of wool, knit-goods (and all goods made on knitting frames), balmorals, woolen and worsted yarns, and all manufactures of every description composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other like animals, except such as are composed in part of wool not otherwise provided for:						
Valued at not exceeding 30 cents per pound	.....	.....	.....	10 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	40 per cent.	
Valued at above 30 and not exceeding 40 cents per pound	.....	.....	.....	12 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		
Valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound	20 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	90 per ct. of duty imposed by act of Mar. 2, 1867.	20 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	.....		
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	30 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		30 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	18 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		
Valued at above 60 and not exceeding 80 cents per pound	40 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		40 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	24 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		
Valued at above 80 cents per pound	50 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		50 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	35 cts. per lb. + 40 per ct.		
Flannels, blankets, hats of wool, balmorals, knit goods and all goods made on knitting-frames, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals:						
Valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.
Valued at above 40 and not exceeding 60 cents per pound	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.
Valued at above 60 cents per pound	.....		.....	.....	.....	50 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.
Endless belts or felts for paper or printing machines	20 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		20 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	20 cts. per lb. + 30 per ct.	30 per ct.	25 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.
Bunting	20 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.		20 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.	10 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.	40 per cent.	10 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
Dress goods, women's and children's, and real or imitation Italian cloths, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other like animals—						
Valued at not exceeding 20 cents per square yard	6 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.		6 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.	.....	.....	
Valued at above 20 cents per square yard	8 cts. per sq. yd. + 40 per ct.		8 cts. per sq. yd. + 40 per ct.	.....	.....	
All weighing 4 ounces and over per square yard	50 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		50 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.	.....	.....	
Dress goods, women's and children's, coat linings, Italian cloths, and goods of like description—						
Composed in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals—						
Valued at not exceeding 20 cents per square yard	.....		.....	5 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.		8 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
Valued at above 20 cents per square yard	.....		.....	7 cts. per sq. yd. + 40 per ct.		Do.
Composed wholly of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or a mixture of them	.....		.....	9 cts. per sq. yd. + 40 per ct.		12 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
All such goods with selvedges, made wholly or in part of other materials, or (and all such goods) with threads made wholly or in part of other materials introduced for the purpose of changing the classification	.....		.....	9 cts. per sq. yd. + 40 per ct.	40 per ct.	12 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
All such goods weighing over 4 ounces per square yard	.....	90 per ct. of duty imposed by act of Mar. 2, 1867.	.....	35 cts. per lb. + 40 per ct.		50 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.
Clothing, ready-made wearing apparel of every description, balmoral skirts and skirting, and goods of similar description or used for like purposes, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other like animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, except knit goods	50 cts. per lb. + 40 per ct.		50 cts. per lb. + 40 per ct.	40 cts. per lb. + 35 per ct.		
Cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments for ladies' and children's apparel, and goods of similar description or used for like purposes, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other like animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, except knit goods	.....		.....	45 cts. per lb. + 40 per ct.	45 per ct.	
Clothing, ready made, cloaks, dolmans, jackets, talmas, ulsters, or other outside garments and wearing apparel of every description, not specially enumerated or otherwise provided for, composed wholly or in part of wool, worsted, the hair of the goat, alpaca, or other animals, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer	.....		.....	.....	.....	60 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.
Webbings, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head-nets, buttons, or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, or mohair, or of which wool, worsted, or mohair is a component material unmixed with silk	50 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.		50 cts. per lb. + 50 per ct.	.....	.....	

Comparative statement of the rates of duty on wool and manufactures of wool, etc.—Continued.

Articles.	Act of Mar. 2, 1887.	Act of June 6, 1872, took effect Aug. 1, 1872.	Act of March 3, 1875.	Act of Mar. 3, 1883, took effect July 1, 1883.	Mills bill.	Conference schedule.
Wools, hair of the alpaca, goat, etc.—Continued.						
Manufactures of wool—Continued.						
Webbings, gorings, suspenders, braces, beltings, bindings, braids, galloons, fringes, gimps, cords, cords and tassels, dress trimmings, head-nets, buttons, or barrel buttons, or buttons of other forms for tassels or ornaments wrought by hand or braided by machinery, made of wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals, or of which wool, worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other animals is a component material				30 cts. per lb.+ 50 per ct.	50 per ct.	50 cts. per lb.+ 50 per ct.
Carpets:						
Aubusson and Axminster and carpets woven whole for rooms	50 per ct		50 per ct			
Aubusson, Axminster, and chenille, and carpets woven whole for rooms				45 cts. per sq. yd. + 30 per ct.		
Aubusson, Axminster, Moquette, and chenille, figured or plain, carpets woven whole for rooms, and all carpets and carpeting of like character or description						60 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet, wrought by the Jacquard machine	70 cts. per sq. yd.+ 35 per ct.		70 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.			
Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet				45 cts. per sq. yd. + 30 per ct.		
Saxony, Wilton, and Tournay velvet, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character and description						60 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
Brussels, wrought by the Jacquard machine	44 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.		44 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.			
Brussels		90 per cent. of duty imposed by act of Mar. 2, 1867.		30 cts. per sq. yd. + 30 per ct.		
Brussels, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description						40 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
Patent velvet and tapestry velvet, printed on the warp or otherwise	40 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.		40 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.	25 cts. per sq. yd. + 30 per ct.		
Patent velvet and tapestry velvet, figured or plain, printed on the warp or otherwise, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description					30 per cent	
Tapestry, Brussels, printed on the warp or otherwise	28 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.		28 cts. per sq. yd. + 35 per ct.	20 cts. per sq. yd. + 30 per ct.		35 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
Tapestry, Brussels, figured or plain, and all carpets or carpeting of like character or description, printed on the warp or otherwise						25 cts. per sq. yd. + 50 per ct.
Treble ingrain, three-ply, and worsted-chain Venetian	17 cts. per sq. yd.+35 p. ct.		17 cts. per sq. yd.+35 p. ct.	12 cts. per sq. yd.+30 p. ct.		15 cts. per sq. yd.+50 p. ct.
Yarn, Venetian, and two-ply ingrain	12 cts. per sq. yd.+35 p. ct.		12 cts. per sq. yd.+35 p. ct.	8 cts. per sq. yd.+30 p. ct.		10 cts. per sq. yd.+50 p. ct.
Druggets and bockings, printed, colored, or otherwise	25 cts. per sq. yd.+35 p. ct.		25 cts. per sq. yd.+35 p. ct.	15 cts. per sq. yd.+30 p. ct.		25 cts. per sq. yd.+50 p. ct.
Hemp or jute	8 cts. per sq. yd.	8 cts. per sq. yd.	8 cts. per sq. yd.	6 cts. per sq. yd.		7 cts. per sq. yd.
Carpets or carpetings of wool, flax, or cotton, or parts of either or other material not otherwise specified	40 p. ct		40 p. ct	40 p. ct		50 p. ct.
Mats, rugs, screens, covers, hassocks, bedsides, and other portions of carpets or carpetings. (As carpets of like character.)		90 per cent. of duty imposed by act of Mar. 2, 1867.				
All other mats (not exclusively of vegetable material), screens, hassocks, and rugs	45 p. ct		45 p. ct	40 p. ct		50 p. ct.
Linoleum, corticene, figured or plain, and other cork floor coverings of like character or description						12 cts. per sq. yd.+30 per ct.
e Oil-cloths for floors, stamped, painted, or printed:						
Valued at 50 cents or less per square yard	35 per ct		35 per ct	40 per ct		
Valued at over 50 cents per square yard, and on all other oil-cloths (except silk oil-cloth), and on water-proof cloth not otherwise provided for	45 per ct	90 per cent. of duty under act Mar. 2, 1867.	45 per ct	do	25 per cent	
On oil-silk cloth	60 per ct		60 per ct	50 per ct	50 per ct	

a The words "camel llama" are contained only in the Conference schedule.

b The following provision contained in the Conference schedule is contained in substantially the same form in the acts of March 2, 1867, June 6, 1872, March 3, 1875, and March 3, 1883: "The duty upon wool of the sheep or hair of the goat, alpaca (camel, llama), and other like animals which shall be imported in any other than the ordinary condition as now and heretofore practised, or which shall be changed in its character or condition for the purpose of evading the duty, or which shall be reduced in value by the admixture of dirt or any other foreign substance, shall be twice the duty to which it would be otherwise subject."

c The following provision is contained only in the Conference schedule: "No wool shall be included in Class 3 which shall be imported for any purpose other than for the manufacture of carpets or low grades of blankets, or which shall not strictly be such as are known and recognized as carpet wools."

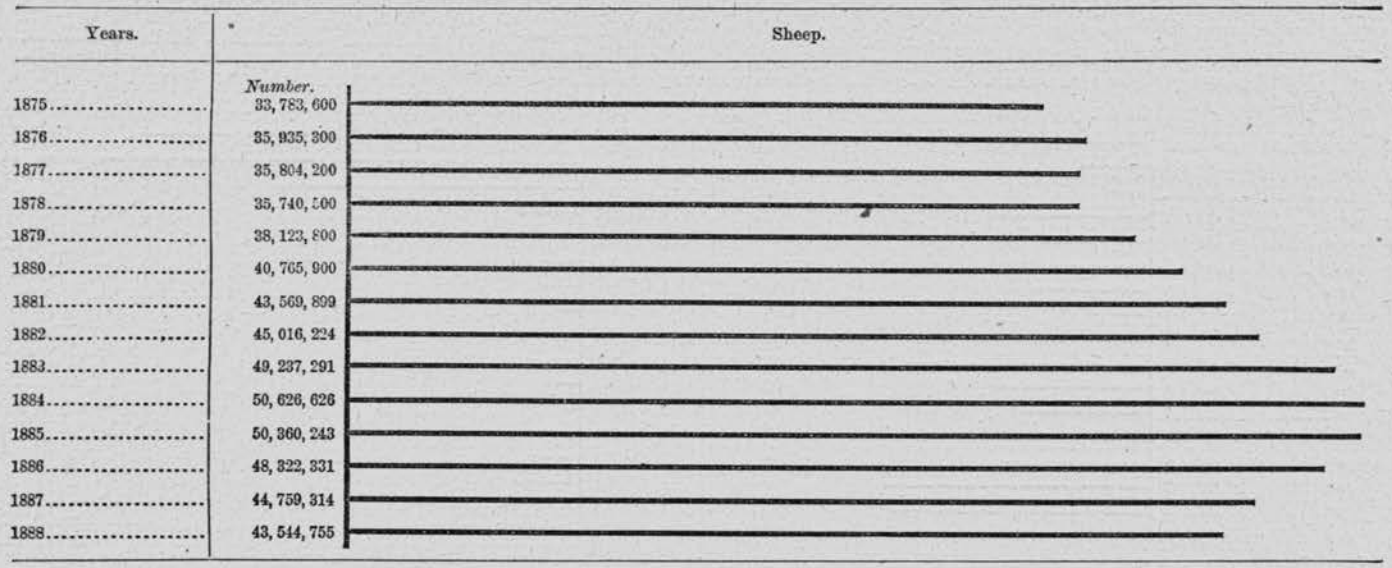
d The following provision is contained only in the Conference schedule: "All wools and hair which have been advanced from the scoured state, not otherwise provided for, shall be classified as manufactures of wool."

e Linoleum is not enumerated in any of the tariff acts, but Department decision (S. S. 3560) of April 30, 1878, decides that linoleum is properly classified for duty as oil-cloth for floors, stamped, painted, or printed. The rates on such oil-cloth indicated by the decision are therefore inserted under the different tariff acts.

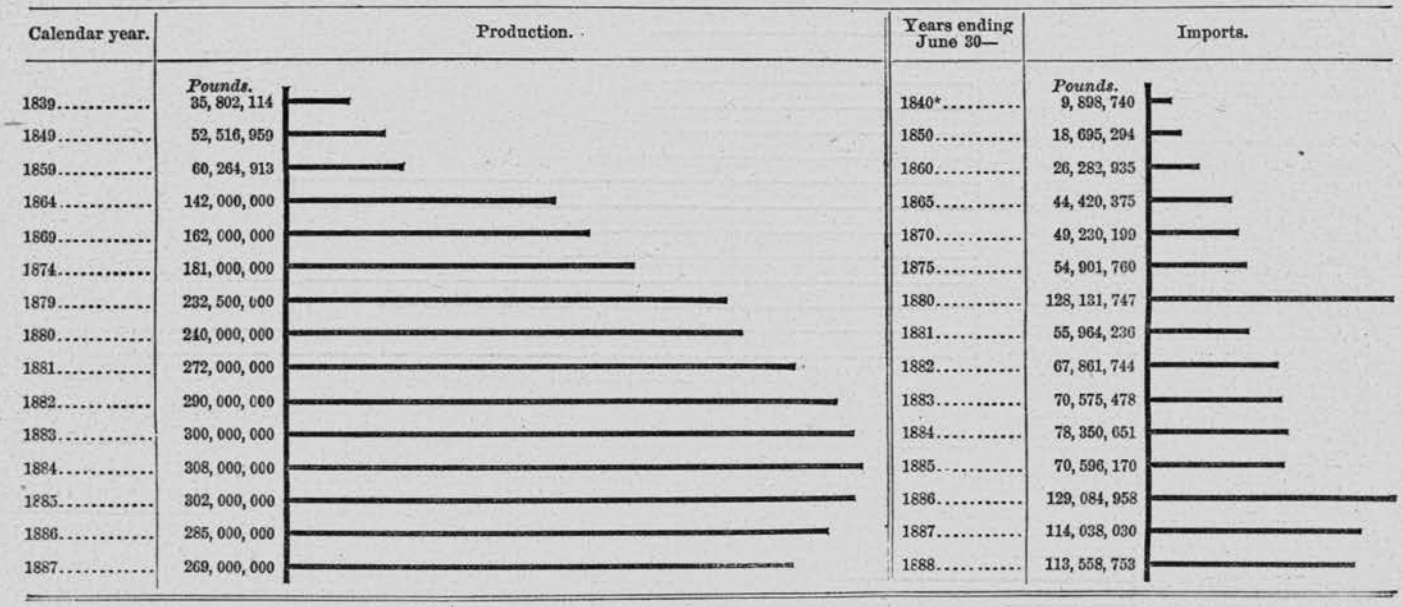
TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *June* 12, 1888.

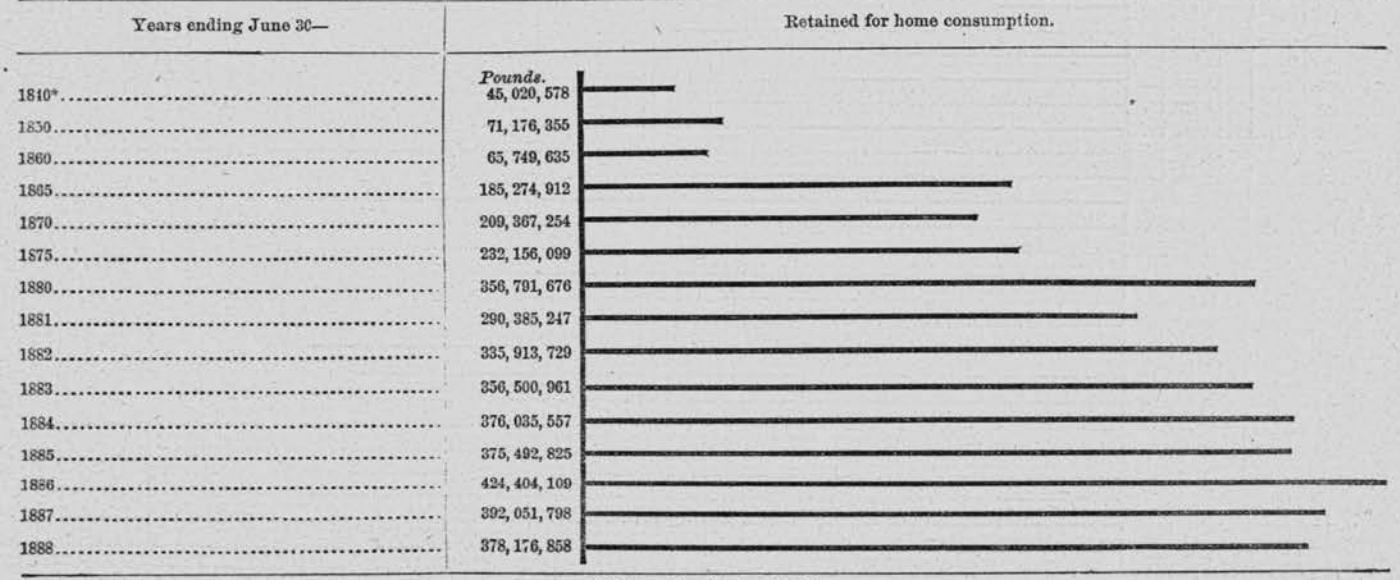
J. N. WHITNEY, *Acting Chief of Bureau of Statistics.*

No. 1.—Diagram showing the Number of Sheep in the United States from 1875 to 1888.



No. 2.—Diagram showing the Quantities of Wool Produced, Imported, and Retained for Consumption in the United States from 1839 to 1888.





* Year ending September 30.

No. 3.—Diagram showing by Classes the Quantities of Imported Wool entered for Consumption in the United States during the Years ending June 30, from 1872 to 1887, inclusive.

Years ending June 30.	Pounds.	Class 1.—Clothing wools.
1872	16,871,332	
1873	6,029,488	
1874	2,398,210	
1875	13,117,679	
1876	8,643,366	
1877	9,294,029	
1878	9,916,012	
1879	5,229,987	
1880	26,785,172	
1881	20,609,707	
1882	13,489,923	
1883	11,546,530	
1884	20,703,843	
1885	13,472,432	
1886	23,321,759	
1887	23,195,734	

Years ending June 30.	Pounds.	Class 2.—Combing wools.
1872	41,155,460	
1873	49,540,231	
1874	27,087,438	
1875	7,769,157	
1876	3,167,307	
1877	2,509,954	
1878	3,028,869	
1879	1,709,601	
1880	13,266,856	
1881	4,421,491	
1882	2,318,671	
1883	1,373,114	
1884	4,474,396	
1885	3,891,914	
1886	4,872,739	
1887	9,703,962	

Years ending June 30.	Pounds.	Class 3.—Carpet wools and other similar wools.
1872	36,289,141	
1873	28,642,863	
1874	27,308,090	
1875	30,799,458	
1876	28,465,005	
1877	28,310,411	
1878	26,856,280	
1879	33,163,054	
1880	59,320,412	
1881	42,285,769	
1882	47,208,175	
1883	40,130,323	
1884	62,525,692	
1885	50,782,306	
1886	79,716,052	
1887	81,504,477	

No. 4.—Diagram showing the Values of Manufactures of Wool Imported into the United States from 1821 to 1888.

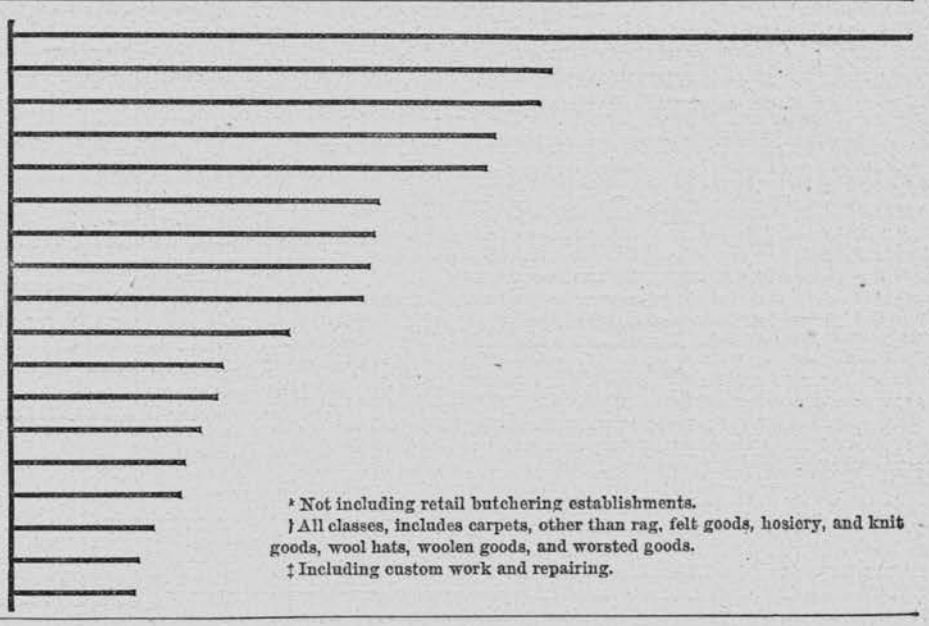
Years ending June 30.	Manufactures of wool.
	Dollars.
1821*	7,238,954
1825*	12,017,468
1830*	5,900,988
1835*	19,151,910
1840*	10,808,485
1845	13,578,352
1850	19,620,619
1855	27,754,372
1860	43,141,988
1865	21,929,487
1870	37,064,001
1875	46,348,545
1876	34,859,506
1877	26,911,873
1878	26,505,573
1879	25,527,117
1880	35,356,992
1881	32,970,307
1882	38,726,925
1883	45,457,307
1884	41,157,583
1885	35,776,559
1886	41,421,319
1887	44,904,816
1888	47,724,852

* Years ending September 30.

No. 5.—Diagram showing the Value of Products of the Principal Manufacturing Industries* of the United States in the year 1880, according to the census.

Manufacturing industries. (Value of products.)

	Dollars.
Flouring and grist mill products	505, 185, 712
Slaughtering and meat packing*	303, 562, 413
Iron and steel	296, 557, 685
Lumber, sawed or planed	270, 072, 085
Wool manufactures†	**267,252,913**
Foundry and machine-shop products	214, 378, 468
Cotton goods	210, 950, 383
Clothing, men's	209, 548, 460
Boots and shoes‡	196, 920, 481
Sugar and molasses, refined	155, 484, 915
Tobacco manufactures	116, 772, 631
Leather, tanned	113, 348, 336
Liquors, malt	101, 058, 385
Carpentering	94, 152, 139
Printing and publishing	90, 789, 341
Furniture	77, 845, 725
Leather, curried	71, 351, 297
Agricultural implements	68, 640, 486



* Not including retail butchering establishments.
† All classes, includes carpets, other than rag, felt goods, hosiery, and knit goods, wool hats, woolen goods, and worsted goods.
‡ Including custom work and repairing.

No. 6.—Diagram showing the Number of Sheep and Lambs of the Principal Wool-producing Countries of the World.

Countries.	Sheep and lambs.	Number of sheep and lambs.
	Number.	
Russia in Europe (1883)	46, 724, 736	
United Kingdom (1887)	29, 401, 750	
France (1886)	22, 688, 230	
Spain (1878)	16, 939, 288	
Germany (1883)	13, 189, 715	
Hungary (1884)	10, 594, 831	
United States of America (1888).	**43,544,755**	
Argentine Republic (1885).*	70, 910, 000	
Uruguay (1884)	15, 921, 069	
Australasia (1885 and 1886).	86, 245, 520	
India (1877 to 1885)†	20, 841, 924	
Cape Colony and Natal (1875 and 1886).	11, 849, 209	

* United States consular report. † Includes goats.

No. 7.—Diagram showing the Raw Wool Produced in each of the Principal Wool-producing Countries of the World.

Countries of production.	Quantities produced.	Raw-wool product.
	Pounds.	
Russia in Europe (1884).	262, 966, 000	
United Kingdom (1885).	135, 936, 000	
France (1882)	80, 138, 000	
Spain (1878)	66, 138, 000	
Germany (1881)	54, 894, 000	
Hungary (1885)	43, 146, 000	
United States of America (1885).	**302,000,000**	
Argentine Republic (1885).	283, 047, 000	
Uruguay (1884)	59, 084, 000	
Australasia (1885–'86)	455, 470, 000	
British East Indies, Turkey and Persia.	36, 354, 000	
Cape Colony and Natal (1885).	46, 605, 000	

Chinese Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. BYNUM,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

August 20, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 3304) to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States—

Mr. BYNUM said:

Mr. SPEAKER: If the gentleman from California [Mr. MCKENNA] during the delivery of his speech had not appeared so serious and looked so troubled his effort would really have been funny, instead of caustic, as he probably intended. He charges me with having gone back into the dead past to dig up the record of the Republican candidate for President instead of discussing the living issues of the present. Only think of it! a Republican holding up his hands in amazement because of the disclosure of his candidate's record which is still fresh in the memories of the people, and which the prominent men of his own party have been trying to explain away from the time of the adjudgment of the Chicago convention. How cruel it is to harrow up this record of the Republican candidate; how it grates upon the gentleman's ears to hear it. Why, Mr. Speaker, General Harrison is running on the record of his grandfather; he has taken refuge in the log cabin, and now the gentleman from California complains because we propose to drag him from his hiding place and force him to face his own record in the Senate which terminated but little more than a year ago.

Again, it is quite refreshing to hear Republicans protesting against any reference to the past when that party has feasted upon nothing but political carrion for more than twenty years. It has never, during a single campaign, turned its face to the front. It has, upon every occasion, sought to appropriate honors won equally by Democrats as well as Republicans and thus to raise a sectional feeling and divert the attention of the people from its own record of corruption and extravagance until it obtained a new lease of power. It even now seeks to blacken the records of the gallant McClellan and the courageous and magnanimous Hancock in order to preserve its political life and to improve its decayed fortunes, and yet the gentleman from California has, I was about to say, the effrontery to chide me for unfolding the record of his party and his candidate, affecting materially the issues of the campaign.

The gentleman, I infer from the ready manner in which he quotes from my speech and the Bible, must have divided his time about equally in reading them on yesterday. I have no doubt but what he derived much information from the former, and I hope much benefit from the latter.

He says we ought not to reprove General Harrison for his votes upon the Chinese question; that like Saul of Tarsus he was converted. He admits that his candidate was once a great sinner; that he was a bitter enemy to the cause of the wage-workers of California; that he persecuted them with all his might, but that at last a great light shone round him and he was converted. General Harrison insists, however, that he never was an infidel, that he was always opposed to Chinese immigration. The gentleman from California, however, refuses to accept this statement, but assumes the rôle of Barnabas, and informs the country that his candidate's conversion is pure and holy; that he can vouch for it. I can imagine the sceptic constituents of the gentleman inquiring of him who the Ananias was that touched this new convert when the scales fell from his eyes?

I imagine I can hear the gentleman's answer; he was the chairman of the Republican national convention; he it was that conveyed to General Harrison the official news of his nomination at Chicago and delivered to him the new doctrine he was to preach, and Harrison said: "I have read the creed; it meets my hearty approval." What a simile! If the gentleman had searched the writings of all the great infidels from Hume to Ingersoll he could not have found a greater burlesque upon the miracle of Saul's conversion than that which he has perpetrated in his effort to palliate and excuse the record of his candidate. I can hear the response they will make to the gentleman: With one acclaim they will reply, "Oh, no; there was no conversion upon this occasion; this was but the act of a sinner prostrate by disease and fearful of the torments of the future."

> The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be;
> The Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he.

[Laughter.]

The gentleman says the Democratic party in Indiana must be in a terrible straight, or I would not have rushed forward to a congenial and invidious service for my party. What a whine? I had no idea that I had punished him so severely. It was probably cruel to disclose to the gentleman's constituents and especially to his partisans the record of their candidate, which is so unpalatable that crow would be a delicate and inviting dish in comparison with it. It is not, I apprehend, the Democracy of Indiana that causes such anxiety upon his part, but the thoughts of the disruption he will find in the ranks of his own party in California when he returns home. He says I sneered at their candidate and that "big men do not sneer, only little men do that." When the gentleman uttered this sentence I could not refrain from wondering when and where and how the gentleman ascertained his dimensions and weight.

> O wad some power the giftie gie us,
> To see ourels as others see us!

The gentleman probably has not weighed himself upon hay scales recently.

But where does the gentleman take final refuge? Like the ostrich upon the desert he sticks his head in the sand, utterly oblivious of the fact that the remainder of his body is only the more conspicuously exposed. Passing over all the bills and resolutions and votes to which I had called attention, he lights upon a bill passed in the Forty-ninth Congress appropriating $147,000 to pay for the property of the Chinese that was destroyed or stolen at Rock Springs, in Washington Territory, by a mob. True, I did not advocate it or oppose it. I believe the gentleman from California is about the only one that did oppose it, and I will not question his motive for doing so. I will only admonish him not to rashly accuse others of playing demagogue lest he invite a closer scrutiny of his own votes and utterances. Let me call his attention to the fact that the strongest advocates in favor of the passage of that bill came from his side of the House. Mr. HITT, in support of it, said:

Is it not most ungracious in us, after the high and hard demands we have made upon China for every bruise or insult an American has suffered, to haggle over this resolution to pay $147,000 for the losses of more than seven hundred people driven from their homes, shot, their dwellings burned, they themselves in some instances murdered, fled, or dragging their wounded limbs and starving to death afterwards upon the sterile mountains?

Mr. RICE, of Massachusetts, said:

I desire to say that the unanimity with which the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported this bill to the House seems to me to be followed by similar unanimity on the part of the House, which seems almost unanimous in its support, and yet, sir, I am unwilling to let it go that we are passing this bill as an act of benevolence or as anything else than an act of international obligation.

The gentleman's own colleague, Mr. MORROW, joined in a favorable report of the bill making this appropriation and advocated its passage.

The House was almost unanimous in supporting this measure. The gentleman stood almost alone in his opposition. His position was something akin to the one juror who discovered that it was impossible for him to convince eleven fools to his way of thinking. There seems to have been about three hundred and twenty-four "little" men in the House, and the gentleman from California was unable to convince them that the appropriation for the payment for the losses sustained by the Chinese at the Rock Springs riot should not be made.

The gentleman, however, was not content to stand upon the record, but had to draw upon his imagination. He says it was rumored that this appropriation was made to smooth the path of the Administration in its efforts to negotiate a new treaty with China. The records of this House do not disclose such rumors, and I heard of them for the first time from the gentleman himself to-day.

While the Democratic party has opposed Chinese immigration, while a great majority of its members upon this floor and in the Senate have voted for the most stringent laws restricting the same, they are not so lost to a sense of right, justice, and humanity as to see the Chinamen who have been lured here under a Republican treaty which guarantied to them protection, driven from their shelter, their homes consigned to the flames, their property stolen or destroyed, while many of them were coolly murdered as they attempted to escape. The gentleman would have refused to do this act of justice and thus have exposed our citizens in China to a similar fate.

The gentleman complains because the Morrow bill was not passed in the Forty-ninth Congress. The gentleman is well aware that the Forty-eighth Congress amended the act of 1882, and that but slight if any improvements upon existing laws were proposed. It was not the laws that were deficient, it was the decisions of the Republican Federal judges in California that rendered their provisions insufficient. The gentleman well knows that the citizens of California, without regard to party, at a public meeting in San Francisco, commended the present Administration for its efforts to restrict and prohibit immigration of Chinese laborers, and condemned the action of the Federal judges of that district and demanded their impeachment at the hands of this House.

The gentleman complains seriously because there was no legislation in the Forty-sixth Congress, which was largely Democratic in both Houses. I will inform him why no bills were considered or passed. The Forty-fourth Congress, the first Democratic House after the war, passed a joint resolution requesting the Administration to negotiate a new treaty with China. This resolution, although notice to the Administration, was smothered in the Senate.

In the Forty-fifth Congress, at the long session, the attention of the Administration was again called to this question and immediate action urged, but no steps were taken. At the short session the Committee on Education and Labor instructed Mr. Willis, of Kentucky, to

report a bill restricting this immigration. The bill was reported and passed by both Houses and vetoed by President Hayes on the 1st of March, 1879, because the law was in contravention of the stipulations of the Burlingame treaty.

The Forty-sixth Congress met in December, 1879. No efforts had yet been made by the Administration to negotiate a new treaty; no legislation could be enacted into law, as it was well known that President Hayes would veto every measure that might be passed. The only thing that could be done was to force the Administration to take action. On the 12th of February, 1880, Mr. Willis, of Kentucky, reported from the Committee on Labor the following preamble and resolution, which was passed:

Whereas on the 25th day of February, 1878, a resolution was unanimously reported to the House of Representatives requesting the President of the United States to open correspondence immediately with the Governments of China and Great Britain, with a view of securing a change or abrogation of all the stipulations in existing treaties which permit the unlimited immigration of the Chinese to the United States: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That the President be requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to inform this House what steps have been taken in the direction indicated by said resolution, and also to communicate any other information upon this subject as he may deem proper.

The next morning after the adoption of this resolution, Secretary of State Evarts called upon Mr. Willis and asked him not to press the resolutions, that the administration would take action soon. One of the commissioners was shortly appointed, and following the additional ones were selected and the negotiations concluded on the 17th day of November, 1880. The new treaty, however, was not ratified by the Senate until the 5th day of May, 1881, nor did the President issue his proclamation declaring it in force till the 5th day of October, 1881, six months after the Forty-sixth Congress had expired, and still the gentleman asks why no bill was passed by this Congress.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] takes great exception to my remarks that the Democratic party desired to give the laboring classes cheap food and cheap clothing. He says we should not talk about cheap food when the Mills bill puts a duty of 100 per cent. on rice and 68 per cent. upon sugar. This way of stating the question is intended to deceive, and only shows how unfair the gentleman from Maine is. One would conclude from the manner in which he expresses the facts that rice and sugar were upon the free-list, and that these enormous rates, the magnitude of which horrifies him, were now placed upon these articles for the first time. What are the facts? Under the present law, made by the Republican party, rice is now taxed 113 per cent., while sugar bears a rate of 82 per cent.

The gentleman, however, insists that we should have made greater reductions in these articles. No doubt we should have made greater reductions on many articles. The conservatism of the Mills bill seems to seriously trouble him. He says that motions were made to reduce the duties on these articles much lower and that this side of the House voted solidly against them. No doubt he was anxious for the adoption of the proposed amendments. He had opposed every reduction which affected his constituents and his section of the country, and would therefore most likely favor large reductions upon the products of other sections, and then howl "Sectionalism!" He was willing to sacrifice the rice-growers and sugar-planters of the South at one swoop to save prohibitory duties for his own section, and yet he is always ready to howl about the sectional character of the Mills bill. The gentleman's patriotism in this line is of a very chameleon-like character. He would retain exorbitant duties for his own section and without warning strike down the duties under which other sections have invested capital and established industries, and when defeated in his mercenary schemes, shout "Sectionalism!" "Sectionalism!"

The reduction on rice is not large, but it is much larger than the reductions made in the iron schedule. The rate upon plate-glass of large dimensions, exclusively a Northern product, of 152 per cent., is untouched by the Mills bill, and yet Republicans ignore these and many like instances that might be cited, and because the entire duties upon rice and sugar were not removed are horrified at the sectional character of the measure.

Rice culture is a very precarious industry, so precarious that I doubt if it will last a great while in this country. When the war terminated the rice fields of the South were destroyed. At great expense the rice planters were encouraged by high rates of duty to reclaim them. The amount expended by them in improvements would to-day purchase an equal quantity of our rich lands in Indiana, Illinois, or Iowa. There is no doubt but that under existing rates many planters have failed and many plantations have been abandoned. I am told by gentlemen from South Carolina that the best plantations in that State can be bought for much less than their owners paid for them a few years ago. The Tariff Commission of 1882, after having fully investigated the matter of rice culture, reported that—

The testimony in regard to retention of the duty on rice was very strong, and it was shown that the cultivation of this cereal gives employment to large numbers of the colored population in three of the Southern States, and that a radical reduction of the rates might result in the abandonment of this industry, which has been resuscitated since the war, and the consequent deprivation of the means of subsistence of thousands of colored laborers in these States. The testimony also brings out the fact that rice-planting rescues the lower lands, by the extensive system of ditching, from an almost valueless condition.

It is a fact well known that the colored laborers that work upon rice plantations can do nothing else; their training has been such that they can not work in the cotton field; they are the most helpless and dependent class of all the race, and yet the gentleman from Maine and in fact all the gentlemen on that side of the House sought to annihilate this industry at a single blow, though it should bankrupt those who under the promise of protection had invested their all in it, and though it should deprive a large number of colored people of the means of earning a living. No, sir; there is nothing sectional in the composition of the gentleman from Maine or his side of the House.

In 1883 the duty on rice was reduced from 2½ to 2¼ cents per pound, and now we have made the same reduction of one-fourth of a cent per pound, the duty on cleaned rice being fixed at 2 cents a pound in the Mills bill. There was nothing sectional about the bill of 1883, and yet we have made the same reduction in 1888, and the cry of favoritism is heard upon all sides.

The gentleman talks about the reductions upon sugars as being too small. The reductions on sugars are more than twice the average reduction made in the bill, and yet the Republicans are not satisfied; they would take all the tax off of sugar and retain them upon the articles which force the taxes into the pockets of the capitalists instead of into the Treasury of the United States. I hope the time will come when we can greatly reduce or abolish the duty on sugar and save to the consumers the tax paid on the same. The tax now paid is about 80 cents per capita, or $4 per family. Of this tax $3.60 goes into the Treasury for revenue. It is much easier, therefore, for the people to contribute through this tax $3.60 to the support of the National Government than through the duties on other articles.

Out of $4 paid only 40 cents is extorted from them to sustain the industry in the United States. But how is it with the tax on clothing and other articles of necessary consumption? Three dollars out of four paid by them go into the pockets of the capitalists. In order to make the same contribution to the support of the Federal Government they would have to pay $16 of tax. In relieving them of the burdens of taxation is it not much better to reduce the heavier burdens which they pay to enrich capitalists and leave the lighter ones they pay to support the Government?

But there is another feature of this question which so good a protectionist as the gentleman from Maine ought not to overlook. The production of beet sugar will unquestionably soon be developed in this country, and the farmers of Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, and other Western States, instead of raising wheat and corn, will be able to diversify their crops, and we will then produce all the sugar we can consume. Mr. Claus Spreckels, in his testimony before the Committee on Manufactures, investigating the sugar trusts, said:

If we were sure that we would have a certain protection there would be no question in my mind that, say, in eight or ten years we would raise all the sugar that America would consume. You can raise beets anywhere. I really do not know whether you can raise them in Louisiana.

The climate is such that the beet will not ripen, in my opinion. I have no knowledge on the subject. But take the West and I am sure it will be a success. Now, I have made a contract with one hundred and sixty-three farmers for raising beets for this factory. The seed is there. I have sent 25 tons of seed and the machinery is on its way. * * * So the following year I will run 70,000 tons of beets which will make 10,000 tons of sugar.

Q. The Agricultural Department of the Government up to within the last year or so had almost despaired of making a success of the production of beet sugar.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. But recently new appliances have been discovered which will lead in the direction of success. Do you understand this to be a fact as to your own experience?

A. Yes, sir; there is a patent called the Steffens process. That patent was purchased by Ull & Co., and I have purchased that patent for the United States.

Q. On land of ordinary fertility, what number of tons of beets is the average yield?

A. It depends entirely upon the soil. In California they raise as much as 42 tons to the acre.

Q. What is the probable average price to the raiser of the beets per ton for the beets?

A. Four dollars.

Q. Then the producer of the beets would receive, if he raised 20 tons per acre, $80?

A. Yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we have protected the production of sugar for a great many years but have been unable to increase the production. We are now just entering upon a period when the production of sugar may in a few years be revolutionized. Instead of being exclusively a Southern industry it may be a Northern and Western industry. If this should prove true, and it will take but a very short time to test it, how gladly our Western farmers will surrender a portion of their lands from the production of wheat and corn for which they receive only $20 per acre to the production of beets from which they can receive from $80 to $160 per acre.

The gentleman from Maine, however, is not interested in the production of sugar; he is not interested in the prosperity of the Western farmers; he is looking after the capitalist of the East, and of the East alone, and yet he never suffers an occasion to pass without advertising his broad and liberal views. Sir, I have always noticed that those having the most inferior quality of stock in trade or who carried on the smallest business were the most liberal advertisers.

Again, the gentleman says we favor the admission of the products of the pauper labor of Europe, but oppose the immigration of the laborer. This is not stating the questions fairly. We have reduced duties on

the products of labor but slightly. The duties left, more than compensate for the difference in wages—in fact, the rates of duties still remaining will compensate our manufacturers for the whole labor cost of production. We do not object to a bona fide immigration of our own race. We are willing for those who can and will assimilate with our people, and who from a desire to better their condition and from an admiration of our institutions and love for free government, voluntarily and upon their own resources come to our country, to land upon our shores and become a part of us; but we object to the importation of laborers of any and every class simply for the purposes of crowding out American employés and reducing American wages. The gentleman from Maine favors a prohibitory duty—a duty that will exclude both products and materials from our shores, and thus confine the American laborer strictly to the American market in the sale of his products—but at the same time favors the free importation of labor. With a restricted market for the products of labor and an open market for the importation of cheap labor the standard of American can not be upheld for a day.

The pauper laborers of Europe are much less harmful when out of our country, from whence but a slight portion of their products can reach us, and then only in exchange for the products of our farmers, than when brought here and placed side by side with the American laborer. The testimony being taken by the special investigating committee sent out by this House shows what an affection the men who cry loudest for "protection to American labor" have for wage-workers of the country. They have studiously been violating our statutes prohibiting the importation of labor under contract. They have whenever they could supplanted American employés with foreigners brought over for that purpose. The working men and women of this country have finally discovered the fraud that has been practiced upon them.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OWEN] sought to make some answer to the charges I had made against the Republican party of Indiana in 1880 for having secured the first papers of citizenship for a number of Chinese in the city of Indianapolis and voting them at the election that year. He assumes to answer my statement by reading a telegram from Messrs. Miller and Elam that they never heard of any such thing—as if that amounted to a denial. The gentleman should not, however, be censured too severely for this weak attempt; no doubt it was the best he could do. The following are the names of the Chinamen who made on oath declarations of their intentions to become citizens before the clerk of the Marion circuit court, some of whom were voted by prominent Republicans on election day:

Name.	Date of naturalization.	Arrived in America.
Shang Foy Sung Moy	Feb. 7, 1880	May, 1873
Chang Sing	June 13, 1881	Before 1873
Foo Chang	Nov. 2, 1880	1872
Back Sing Pang	Sept. 6, 1880	August, 1872
Jo Qui Sing	Sept. 6, 1880	April, 1870
Chan Yee	Jan. 22, 1880	June, 1873
Pang Yin	Oct. 12, 1880	April 15, 1875

I have here and will have read the affidavit of Joseph W. Nichol as to the facts that two of these Chinamen voted in the Eleventh ward of the city of Indianapolis:

CITY OF WASHINGTON, *District of Columbia:*

Joseph W. Nichol, a citizen of the city of Indianapolis and State of Indiana, being duly sworn, deposes and says that at one of the elections held in said city and State during the year 1880 (it was at the October or November election of said year) he was present at the polls on Massachusetts avenue, in said city, in the Eleventh ward, and at the engine-house in said ward, as a challenger for the Democratic party, and that at one of said elections two Chinamen were presented at the said polling place by one George Carter, a lawyer and a Republican, with Republican ballots in their hands, which said Carter asked for them, they not being able to speak the English language with facility, that they be allowed to deposit said ballots and vote the Republican ticket; that as the first Chinaman presented his ballot he, affiant, protested against receiving the same on the ground that said Chinaman was not a citizen, and that then and there the said Chinaman and said George Carter produced and exhibited to the election officers a certificate of declaration of intention on the part of said Chinaman to become a citizen of the State of Indiana and of the United States, and thereupon the said election officers or the inspector of said election at said precinct received said vote and deposited it in the ballot-box in presence of said affiant and others, and thereupon the vote of the second Chinaman was presented and received by the inspector and deposited in the ballot-box.

Affiant says that at said election Daniel M. Ransdell, a Republican, was clerk of the superior and circuit courts of the county of Marion, in which said city of Indianapolis is situate, and said certificates were issued by him, said Ransdell, as he, affiant, was informed at the time; that he, affiant, did not critically examine said certificate at the time, but was assured by said election officers that they were correct and in the usual form; and further affiant saith not.

Joseph W. Nichol, above-named affiant, being duly sworn, says the above and foregoing is true as he verily believes.

J. W. NICHOL.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of November, 1888.
[SEAL.] THOS. E. ROACH,
Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia.

I also present the following affidavit by Austin H. Brown as to the fact that one of them voted in the Seventeenth ward of said city:

CITY OF WASHINGTON, *District of Columbia, ss:*

Before me, Thomas E. Roach, a notary public in and for said city and District, this day personally came Austin H. Brown, a citizen of the city of Indianapolis and State of Indiana, temporarily residing in the city of Washington, who, being duly sworn according to law, says that prior to the year 1887 he was a continuous resident of the city of Indianapolis for thirty-seven years; that in the year 1880, at an election held in said city, he was selected and did act as the challenger for the Democratic party organization at the precinct of the Seventeenth ward; that the voting place of said precinct was on South street, between Meridian and Pennsylvania streets, in said city; that during the voting hours on said election day there was brought to the election poll aforesaid by the Republican workers a Chinaman, who presented a Republican ticket to the election inspector, Benjamin F. Hetherington, a Republican; that immediately the said Brown, as challenger, challenged the right of said Chinaman to vote, whereupon he took from his pocket and produced an official paper, with the seal of the Marion county court attached and signed by Daniel M. Ransdell, clerk of the court, a Republican, certifying that the said Chinaman had taken the oath of allegiance to this country and had declared his intention of becoming a citizen thereof; that notwithstanding this the said Brown persisted in his challenge, on the ground that no court or court officer had any right to issue such a paper to a native of China. The inspector, however, declared that it was *prima facie* evidence sufficient to permit the holder of the certificate to vote, and he then deposited the ballot in the ballot-box. This same Chinaman was the owner of a laundry in said city, and shortly after this occurrence changed the sign over the entrance to his place of business by adding after his name the word "citizen."

AUSTIN H. BROWN.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 20th day of August, 1888.
[SEAL.] THOS. E. ROACH, *Notary Public.*

I also understood the gentleman to say that he had in his hands a denial by General Harrison that he ever read a production advocating Chinese immigration and Chinese citizenship before a literary club in the city of Indianapolis. The gentleman did not read the denial, and as his remarks have not yet found their way into the RECORD, I am in the dark as to what kind of a denial the gentleman based his statement upon. I wish, however, to reiterate the statement I made. I not only here reiterate but emphasize it, and I challenge the gentleman from Indiana or any other gentleman upon that side of the House to put a denial, by General Harrison, of this fact on record.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] rushes to the defense of his brother Benjamin, and it is highly proper that he should do so. There is an appropriateness in their companionship. It is a trite but true saying "that birds of a feather flock together." The gentleman from Illinois is a worthy champion of the record of General Harrison, his own record being akin to that of his candidate for the Presidency. I am of the opinion, however, that it will keep the gentleman busy this campaign to take care of his own record.

In the Forty-sixth Congress, Mr. Goode, a Democrat, of Virginia, on April 21, 1879, offered a joint resolution (H. Res. 9) to provide for the enforcement of the eight-hour law. On the 7th of May a member of the Committee on Education and Labor reported the resolution to the House with a favorable recommendation.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] opposed the passage of the resolution. In reply to a question whether the last proclamation of President Grant did not declare that there should be no reduction in the wages of workmen employed by the Government of the United States on account of a reduction of the hours of labor he said:

I do not now recollect, but it is not material; the fact is, the law as now executed is this: if they work ten hours they get ten hours' pay, and if they only work eight hours they only get eight hours' pay. In other words, they only get pay for what they earn. That is, the law is now being executed, and, so far as I am concerned, it will go on in that way, proclamation or no proclamation.

On motion of Mr. CANNON, the resolution was laid on the table, yeas 127, noes 90. Among those voting with the gentleman from Illinois are the following distinguished Republicans: BAYNE, of Pennsylvania, BURROWS, of Michigan, HISCOCK, of New York, MCKINLEY, of Ohio, REED, of Maine, and Levi P. Morton, of New York. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Speaker, whenever we investigate the record we find the majority of the leading Republicans in opposition to the cause of labor. They enacted the law for the importation of contract labor from Europe. They negotiated the Burlingame treaty under which the Pacific States were flooded with Chinese laborers. They voted against every bill to suspend this immigration until defeated in 1882. They refused to execute the eight-hour law and defeated a resolution favoring its enforcement. They combined in their national convention at Chicago last June, and defeated Judge Gresham, the laboring men's choice for the nomination, because he was unfriendly to corporations and monopolies; and yet they never cease to shout for "protection to American labor." [Great applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MORROW. Before the gentleman takes his seat I desire to call his attention to an error into which he has fallen no doubt unintentionally, as to the action of the State Department concerning this treaty. I hold in my hand the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Chinese minister, which was sent to the Senate of the United States. Referrring to this correspondence, I find that the Secretary of State under date of December 28, 1887, sent the following letter to the Chinese minister:

Mr. Bayard to Mr. Chang Yen Hoon.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *Washington, December 28, 1887.*

SIR: I am constrained in the interests of that international comity which we both desire so fully to promote and sustain, to attract your excellency's attention to certain late disclosures in the course of judical proceedings at San Francisco, in which certain Chinese subjects were arraigned for violation of existing laws of the United States relative to the restriction of the immigration of Chinese laborers, passed for the enforcement of the existing treaties with China.

From the published letters of the judges and the public report of the proceed-

ings in these trials the facts seem to be established that a systematic evasion of the restriction upon the immigration of Chinese laborers, imposed by laws passed in pursuance of the treaties, has been and continues to be practiced by Chinese professing to have gone away from the United States and claiming the right to return hither under the provisions of the treaty.

The details of these disclosures are shocking and unnecessary for repetition in this correspondence. Suffice it to say that an extensive traffic in immorality of the grossest nature, by which Chinese women are imported into the United States and brought and sold into infamy by their own countrymen, is clearly proven to have been carried on.

The systematic violation of the treaty of 1880, and of the restrictive act of the United States passed in 1882, was averred by the eminent judge (Hoffman) before whom part of the cases were tried, and were also stated by another judge (Sawyer) in a published letter to the Hon. Mr. MORROW, member of Congress, dated November 21, 1887.

The intelligent vigilance exercised by you over the affairs and interests of your countrymen in the United States will have doubtless prepared you for these statements; and I have no doubt whatever that you have been duly informed of the transactions referred to, and that you feel equally with me a sincere regret therefor, and a desire to prevent their possible recurrence. I need scarcely tell you of the strong feeling that has been aroused in the public mind in this country by the occurrences referred to, and of the sentiment that has been renewed and reinvigorated in favor of more effective measures of restriction and prevention.

In considering the remedy I have great satisfaction in finding a complete accord between the government you so honorably represent and that of the United States in desiring an absolute prohibition of Chinese laborers from coming into the United States from China.

A conventional arrangement to this end has already been proposed, and measurably discussed between us, and a draught of such a treaty placed in your hands. Let me therefore invite your excellency, under the powers already held by you from your Government, to proceed with me at your earliest convenience in framing a just and wise convention, in which China and the United States shall deal with the subject in a manner consistent with their sense of mutual respect and duty and calculated to cement their amicable relations.

With this view I now hand you inclosed herewith a draught of a project upon the basis of which we can hopefully proceed to an agreement.

Accept, sir, etc.,

T. F. BAYARD.

The Chinese minister in his reply, dated January 30, 1888, uses this language:

As to your proposition for a conventional arrangement and the draught of a project inclosed by you, I beg to recall to your attention the fact that this identical project was sent to me with your note of April 11, 1887, and that I had the honer to send you on the 16th of August last a memorandum note containing a detailed reply to your draught of treaty, with a proposition by me for two additional articles which I regarded as essential to acceptance by my Government.

It thus appears that these negotiations took place after the introduction and discussion of my bill in Congress.

Mr. BYNUM. The matter which the gentleman brings up is one I do not care to discuss; I can not see the point he is attempting to make as against any statement or argument I have made, and I will leave it for reply to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY], who, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, is fully posted as to all the different steps that were taken during the Forty-ninth Congress.

The Mills Bill and the Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BISHOP W. PERKINS,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 17, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. PERKINS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COWLES] manifested or expressed much surprise when by the vote that was given on this side of the House on yesterday he learned what every schoolboy who is capable of reading knew for many months theretofore. His close application to the details of the Mills bill may be his excuse for his opaqueness, and for not having learned the fact earlier that the Republican party is not now and never has been a free-whisky party. When the Democratic organization went out of power on the 4th of March, 1861, after an almost uninterrupted domination of nearly fifty years, levying taxes and collecting tithes from the people, it left calico worth 15 cents a yard and whisky 20 cents a gallon. When the Republican party went out of power on the 4th of March, 1885, after a domination of twenty-four years, it left calico worth 5 cents a yard and imposed taxes upon whisky until not a gallon of it could be sold honestly and legitimately at less than $1 a gallon.

Yet, sir, notwithstanding this record, gentlemen on the other side of the House have the temerity to say that the Republican organization is for free whisky and high calico. Mr. Chairman, it is true that in the Republican platform adopted at Chicago that party declares itself to be, under certain circumstances, in favor of striking down the tax now imposed upon alcohol; in other words, it declares itself in favor of the entire repeal of internal-revenue taxes when the conditions existing in the country justify such repeal, but the conditions under which the party favors their total repeal do not exist to-day, and will not exist for years to come.

A MEMBER (on the Democratic side). What are you talking about them for, then?

Mr. PERKINS. It is only when the conditions which are suggested in that platform come to exist that the party declares itself in favor of their total repeal. Now, what are those conditions? Why, sir, when we have a navy that is in keeping with the dignity of our nation and is capable of protecting and defending the property and the rights of the people of America; when we have coast defenses that shall be ample to protect our great commercial cities; when we have a merchant marine capable of carrying the commerce of America in American vessels and extending the business interests and relations of our people; when we have encouraged and promoted internal improvements and have given to the suffering cities of the country public buildings that shall be decent and suitable for the transaction of public business; when we have improved our rivers and harbors and furnished cheap water transportation for the products of our fields; when we have paid our public debt and have done full and ample justice to the boys who wore the blue and defended their country against treason and rebellion; when they are discharged from the poorhouses and almshouses and are pensioned by the Government they so honorably defended and upheld; when all this is secured and these beneficent measures are consummated, then if we have more revenue than is needed for governmental purposes the Republican party is in favor of the total repeal of the internal-revenue taxes, but not until then.

Then, in the language of the Chicago platform:

We favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and agents of foreign manufacturers.

Then, when it becomes a question whether the Democratic whisky trusts or the American system of protection shall be sacrificed, the Republican party declares it will stand, as it has stood all the years of its history, against whisky and in favor of protection against the cheap products and pauper labor of the Old World.

That, in brief, is the platform of the Republican party, as is known to every gentleman upon that side of the House, and as is known to the voters of this country. Why, Mr. Chairman, what work has been wrought by the Republican party against the reduction of the cost of the necessaries of life! I shall be glad to have gentlemen upon the other side who make these charges tell us what article is more expensive to-day to the consumer in consequence of the legislation which the Republican party gave to the people of this country when it was in power than in the days of Democracy and free trade.

Mr. RYAN. Whisky. [Laughter.]

Mr. PERKINS. A Democratic necessity perhaps, but with Republicans only a luxury. [Laughter.]

Where and what are the burdens imposed upon the people by this party, which for twenty-four years dominated the country and gave the matchless exhibition of legislation and government which attracted the wonder and admiration of the nations of the world, and gave to our own people an era of material growth and prosperity the like of which had never been seen in the entire circuit of the sun?

We diversified the industries of the country, multiplied our manufacturing and industrial agencies, promoted and encouraged business activities, opened up new avenues for the investment and employment of capital, improved our rivers and harbors, gave employment to labor and paid the best wages ever given in exchange for industrial toil, emancipated a race and drove slavery a fugitive from the land, defended our honor and preserved the Union, advanced our credit and gave to the people a stable and excellent currency, met our obligations and redeemed our promises, encouraged home competition and with competition brought a reduction of prices to the consumers, gave to our own people a market for the products of the fields and to the artisan and manufacturer a market for the labor of the shops, and thus, by a system of legislation and government the wisdom of which can not be questioned, made the people of the United States the richest and most prosperous of all the governments of the world.

Is this evidence of bad legislation? Does this prove that we gave to the people bad administration and should be condemned for the record made? From the first page of history that was ever written to the present time no page shines with so much brilliancy and glory as the one on which is written the doings and accomplishments of the Republican party during the quarter of a century it governed the United States of America and legislated for country and humanity.

But, Mr. Chairman, other days have come, and we find a party in power determined to rewrite the history of that period, and organized to strike down that system of protection which was the good magician that enabled us to accomplish all this. We find a party in power declaring that the taxes we collect from the foreign manufacturer and foreign importer, under our system of protection, is legalized robbery, and that in the name of the American people the system is to be stricken down, and in its stead we are to have "a tariff for revenue only," with ultimate free trade as its hope and aspiration.

But, Mr. Chairman, I am glad to congratulate this House and the country on the rapid growth of the protective sentiment. It argues well for our country and proves the intelligence of our people. That it has grown and is growing in overwhelming power is perhaps as clearly demonstrated here in Washington as at any point in the country. This tariff debate was opened in December last by President Cleveland in his message, in which he denounced the American system of protection as "vicious, inequitable, and illogical," and for five months not a word was spoken in its defense upon the other side of this House, except by the two or three protection Democrats who had the courage of their convictions, and who were not to be driven therefrom by vetoes or threats from the White House, or by King caucus, or the representatives of the free-trade Cobden clubs of Great Britain. With the exceptions thus suggested, not a member upon the Democratic side of this Chamber had a word to say in favor of or defense of our protective system.

For five long months it was denounced as "vicious, inequitable, and illogical." The most violent philippics were hurled against it and the passions and prejudices of the people were appealed to to strike it down. It was denounced as a "combine," as a "trust," as a "giant robber," as a "monster" sapping the life-blood of the people, while the pæans of free trade were sung by a full Democratic chorus, and with a touching melody that demonstrated their sympathy with and devotion to the subject. None of us who sat here during those weary days and listened to the violent denunciation of the American protective system and of the great industries fostered and encouraged thereby could doubt the sincerity of our Democratic friends or suspicion for one moment their honest devotion to the cause of free trade. With more than their usual frankness and eloquence they pleaded the cause of the Cobden Club, and insinuated doubts against the patriotism of the member who was not willing to reduce our customs duties and open our ports to the commerce of every sea and our markets to the products of every clime. Mr. Chairman, I will have published as a part of my remarks extracts from some of the speeches delivered upon this floor, showing the devotion of our Democratic friends to the cause so anxiously watched and prayed for by Great Britain, and some newspaper comments thereon.

But, Mr. Chairman, of late these peans for free trade have ceased. Now it is "only a little reduction in the revenue and a correction of the inequalities in the tariff" that is desired. Now our Democratic friends declare themselves protectionists, and say that they are anxious to retain 84 per cent. of what they have heretofore denominated "giant robbery." Why is this? What explanation is there for this wonderful transformation? Is it for diplomacy? Is it to deceive? Is it because there is a Presidential election pending and because the people are not ready for free trade? Is it because they have read the proceedings of the Chicago convention and have learned of the enthusiastic meetings in all sections of the country indorsing the declaration of principles and ratifying the nominations made? Is it because they have heard the threatenings that come from the wage-earners and the manufacturing centers of the country and have seen the columns forming for the overthrow of this British free-trade Cobden Club Democratic Administration, or why is it?

If not this, will some kind Democratic friend tell me why this change of front? Will he please tell us why President Cleveland, who denounced the protective system as "vicious, inequitable, and illogical" in December, declares himself in favor of it in July? Will he please tell me why the gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of this House, a pronounced free-trader, and the gentleman from Kentucky, the Speaker of this body, made their pilgrimage to Tammany on the 4th day of July to assure that potential political organization that Democrats are not in favor of striking down the Republican system of protection?

Is it because they have at last learned that upon a free-trade issue all would be lost to this Administration, and that the nominees of the Chicago convention would be triumphantly elected? Is it because they have learned that the people of this country prefer New England to old England and the Republican clubs of America to the Cobden clubs of Great Britain? Is it because they have learned that the people have already decided to put the Stars and Stripes above the red bandana, and to inaugurate on the 4th of March next an American administration, governed by American convictions and anxious to promote and subserve the interests of the common American people?

Mr. Chairman, I have not the time to notice the partisan and sectional features of this bill as I would like, nor have I the time to call the attention of the country to the amendments made to the bill since its first introduction and the circumstances under which those amendments have been made. As is known to all, the Ways and Means Committee, as a committee, refused to give a hearing to the labor organizations, the wage-earners, the manufacturers, the farmers, the wool growers and dealers, and the vast army of American people deeply and vitally concerned in the subject-matter of this proposed legislation. If such hearing had been given, the Republican members could have been present and a full and impartial consideration could have been given to all affected interests. Labor could have spoken, the farmers could have pleaded, the artisans could have represented, and the manufacturers could have demonstrated the iniquitous features of the bill, and publicity would have been given to the proceedings and the country fully advised concerning this important subject.

But this hearing was refused over the united protest and votes of the Republican members of the committee. And yet upon the floor of this House the confession has been reluctantly made that the Democratic members of the committee, as individuals, have been engaged in hearing a favored few concerning their interests. Democratic politicians have been heard, Democratic trusts have been listened to, Democratic manufacturers have been taken into confidence, and Democratic friends have been written to for suggestions and information, and thus the "dark-lantern" methods of the incubation of this bill have continued to the present, only intensified and aggravated. As the result of these secret hearings we have seen amendments made to the bill remarkable in in their character and without a word of explanation upon the floor of this House in their defense.

We have seen the provisions of the bill affecting Democratic districts changed and amended. We saw the duty on glue advanced, an industry largely owned by a member of the committee on resolutions in the late Democratic national convention, and we saw the "sugar trust" provided for, but not until after Mr. Henry Havemeyer, the president of the trust and a liberal contributor to Democratic campaign funds, had visited Washington and conferred personally with Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, and not until the most of such Democratic members, together with the Speaker of this House, had been entertained at a dinner at Chamberlin's as the guests of the "Parsee Merchant," a representative of such sugar trust, and a lobbyist for free-trade legislation. But it will be understood, of course, that the influences thus exerted, if any, were of a moral and economic character, the sugar trust, like the whisky trust and other Democratic trusts, being only anxious to promote the best interests of the country.

But, if I mistake not, Mr. Chairman, the voters of this country will desire to know before November why these and other changes were made to the bill and why political and sectional interests governed the majority in framing this proposed important legislation rather than economical business and national considerations. They will desire to know why State lines and the political complexions of Congressional districts determine the importance of affected interests and their right to protection rather than those other great and patriotic considerations that should govern statesmen when legislating for the weal or for the woe of a great nation of more than sixty million of people.

But I desire briefly to call the attention of the House to some of the peculiarities of this tariff debate, and I am done. The gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the committee, in his opening speech, grew warm and eloquent in his denunciation of the protective system and stated as one reason why it should be stricken down that the woolen manufacturers of New England were growing rich and grasping at the expense of their workmen and in consequence of the burdens that were imposed upon the consumers. As a free-trader from Texas, and speaking for the agricultural interests more particularly, he hoped to intensify the opposition to our system of protection by making the consumers believe they were wronged and robbed by the manufacturing interests, and as his most convincing argument he said as follows:

I find in this report one pair of 5-pound blankets. The whole cost as stated by the manufacturer is $2.51. The labor cost he paid for making them is 35 cents. The present tariff is $1.90. Now here is $1.55 in this tariff over and above the entire labor cost of these blankets. Why did not that manufacturer go and give that money to the laborer? He is able to do it. Here is a tariff that gives him $1.90 on that pair of blankets for the benefit of his laborer, but notwithstanding that the tariff was imposed for the benefit of American labor and to preserve high wages, every dollar of that tariff went into the manufacturer's pocket. The poor fellow who made the blankets got 35 cents and the manufacturer kept the $1.90.

Some little time later in the debate Hon. JOHN E. RUSSELL, a free-trader from Massachusetts, speaking upon the same subject and upon the same feature of our protective legislation, but speaking for an Eastern and a manufacturing constituency more particularly, made this statement, which was not contradicted by Mr. MILLS or by any member upon this floor:

I have said over and again that the business—

Wool manufacturing—

was not prosperous, and I may say that many large and small manufacturers have become insolvent in the past ten years—some of them not once, but two or three times.

* * * * * * *

As proof of my statement I will quote Mr. Charles A. Beach, of Connecticut, a manufacturer of wide repute and large experience, who testified before the Committee of Ways and Means in the last Congress that the wool manufactories of the United States—not of Massachusetts, not of New England, but of the United States—would not sell for 25 cents on the dollar of their original cost. I speak, and gentlemen can correct me in their own time if I am wrong; one of the largest woolen corporations in the United States has been sold lately. The plant cost something like two millions, and it brought less than $300,000.

Thus I leave free-trader MILLS answered by free-trader RUSSELL.

The President in his free-trade message says:

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield, is 10 cents each pound if of the value of 30 cents or less, and 12 cents if of the value of more than 30 cents. If the liberal estimate of 6 pounds

be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be 60 or 72 cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep and $36 that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one-third of its price.

Thus he fairly estimates that our present protective legislation adds on an average 66 cents to each fleece of wool grown by the American farmer, and as there are in round numbers, as shown by carefully prepared statistics, 45,000,000 sheep in the United States, we find by computation and by the confession of the President that our farmers get each year for their wool $29,700,000 more than they would get for it if the tariff duty was removed. Notwithstanding this confession the President and his followers would have our farmers believe that they are to be benefited by the repeal of the duty which each year gives them this great sum of money. Many of the arguments they advance to support this proposition are necessarily amusing if not ingenious, and as they have been driven from time to time from their positions by the logic of the facts and compelled to advance new theories by the arguments exploding their old ones, it remains for our distinguished friends DOCKERY, of Missouri, and OUTHWAITE, of Ohio, to argue that this duty had a depressing effect upon our wool-growers and for such reason should be repealed; that it was inducing them to reduce the number of their sheep and to quit the business.

They argued long and laboriously to establish the correctness of their position, and in answer I have only time to inquire if our wool-growers are depressed by this duty which each year adds $30,000,000 to their wool crop what would they think of a duty that would each year add $60,000,000 to it? Would it so "depress" them that they would find the growing of wool profitable, as under the act of 1867, or would they in despair join the Democratic column, drive their sheep from the country, and surrender the field to the flock-masters of Australia and South America? If I read correctly the petitions and resolutions of our American wool-growers they unanimously ask that this "depressing" tariff duty shall be increased rather than decreased, that they may find profit and satisfaction in the business in which they have so much money invested and which gives employment to so many American wage earners.

Again, in season and out of season, the advocates of this bill have favored the reduction of the duty on the articles grown by our Northern farmers or manufactured or produced by our Northern workmen, and when upon this side of the House we have protested against the provisions of the bill as unfair and unjust to our farmers and wage-earners, because of the competition it would force upon them from the cheap products and pauper labor of the Old World, we were heartlessly and at times tauntingly told it would be for their good, and all our efforts to amend the bill were unavailing. But when we reached rice, a product of the Southern field, and an effort was made to simply reduce the exceedingly high duty of 100½ per cent. now imposed upon it, our Democratic friends raised their hands in holy deprecation of the act, and our eloquent friend from South Carolina [Mr. ELLIOTT] said, assuming an air of righteous indignation:

It is a condition we are confronting, not a theory. [Laughter.] The Republican party is to-day proposing to reduce the duty on rice in behalf of the Chinese, to whom they have also given a candidate for the Presidency, and the course of this debate shows they are quite ready to sacrifice the colored laborers of the South for their friends the Chinese by giving to the latter free rice.

Mr. Chairman, with this record and these suggestions, I conclude, with the additional suggestion that when needed appropriations are made and legislation is enacted that will do ample and full justice to those who marched in the ranks of the Union Army and carried the flag of their country from the lakes to the sea, and the idle money now in the Treasury is applied to the payment of the interest-bearing indebtedness of the Government, we will have no surplus with which to frighten members.

APPENDIX.

WHAT DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN AND IS—FOR PROGRESSIVE FREE TRADE BEFORE THE WAR.

The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.—*Democratic national platform*, 1856. Readopted by the Douglas and Breckinridge conventions in 1860.

AGAINST THE TARIFF IN 1876.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising, revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.—*Democratic national platform*, 1876.

FOR REVENUE ONLY IN 1880.

A tariff for revenue only.—*Democratic national platform*, 1880.

The Democratic party of the United States in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to the Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic Representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.—*Democratic national platform*, 1888.

THE PLATFORM OF 1888 CLEVELAND'S OWN.

It turned out just as it was planned. The nomination, the platform, everything included; not a single thing miscarried. I brought out that platform myself. Not the crossing of a "t," not the dotting of an "i" was changed. It was adopted just as it was approved by the President.—*William L. Scott*, Democrat, Pennsylvania, after the Democratic national convention of 1888.

THE SECESSIONISTS FREE-TRADERS.

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States.—*Powers conferred upon the Confederate congress by the Confederate constitution.*

DEMOCRATIC POLICY IN A NUTSHELL.

If the gentleman means to ask whether I recognize a principle that would impose a duty above the revenue point merely for the purpose of giving what is called protection, my answer is in the negative. If we were called upon now for the first time to declare a principle or inaugurate a policy upon this subject I should not hesitate to announce my adherence to that creed which demands the largest liberty in law—that doctrine which opens the channels of commerce in all parts of the world and invites the producer and consumer to meet on equal terms in a free market for the exchange of their commodities; for I sincerely believe that all commercial restrictions are in the end injurious to the interests of the people.—*Speaker Carlisle.*

Mr. Chairman, we want not only the home market, but all the markets of the world for the varied products of this great country. We want to send our agricultural products, our cotton and our breadstuffs, and our provisions to the naked and hungry manufacturing people of Europe, and our manufactured products to the agricultural peoples of South America, Mexico, and Asia. We can do this when we determine to trade with other people upon fair terms, but we can not do it so long as we protect England and other manufacturing countries in the great markets of the world upon the pretense of protecting ourselves in our own.—*House debate*, May 19, 1888, Speaker Carlisle, Democrat, Kentucky.

PROTECTION SUICIDAL.

We are the first cotton-producing country. We have wool, flax, hemp; our country is full of coal and ores and lumber, and yet with all these advantages over all others we have pursued a suicidal policy of protection which has closed the markets of the world against us: and not content to stop here, we have plundered the great body of our agricultural people out of a large part of their wealth. We must take a new departure. Instead of laying the burdens of taxation upon the necessaries of life, instead of destroying our foreign commerce, we should encourage it as we would encourage our home commerce. We should remove every unnecessary burden. We should lay taxes to obtain revenue, but not restrict importation.—*House debate*, April 17, 1888, Roger Q. Mills, Democrat, "Premier."

FREE TRADE THE TRUE POLICY.

That policy is American which clings most closely to the fundamental idea that underlies our institutions, and upon which the whole superstructure of our Government is erected, and that idea is freedom—freedom secured by the guaranties of government; * * * freedom to sell our products, and freedom to buy the products of others, and freedom to markets for the products of our labor, without which the freedom of labor is restricted and denied; freedom from restraints in working and marketing the products of our toil, except such as may be necessary in the interests of the Government; * * * freedom from all taxation, except that which is levied for the support of the Government; freedom from taxation levied for the purpose of enriching favored classes by the spoliation and plunder of the people; freedom from all systems of taxation that do not fall with equal and exact justice upon all—that do not raise the revenues of the Government in the way that is least burdensome to the people, and with the least possible disturbance to their business. That, sir, is the American policy.—*House debate*, April 17, 1888, Roger Q. Mills, Democrat, "Premier."

THE TARIFF A MASKED ROBBER.

To show how American labor has been pillaged and plundered by this masked robber of protection. * * * We have not only burdened industries and labor in order to increase the production of materials where there is a deficiency in the home product, giving to European manufacturers and European labor cheaper materials to work up, but we have robbed them by placing a higher rate of duty upon that class of materials of which we produce a surplus, thereby giving the American producer a monopoly of the home market which he supplies at the foreign prices with the duty added, and then sells the surplus for exportation at free-trade prices.—*House debate*, April 26, 1888, William D. Bynum, Democrat, Indiana, member Committee Ways and Means.

PROTECTION PROMOTES POVERTY.

You have fastened your system of taxation as a parasite upon that consumption which for the wage-earner means nine-tenths and frequently ten-tenths of his earnings, until you have built up a tariff which is well entitled to say, "Whoever else escapes my exactions, the poor I have always with me."—*House debate*, May, 1888, W. L. Wilson, Democrat, West Virginia, member Committee Ways and Means.

PROTECTION "EATING EACH OTHER UP."

Wherever there has been a possibility to estrange a nation from us, so far as commercial relations were involved, we have succeeded in doing it. It is the only civilized country in the world whose policy has been sedulously to make money by eating each other up—whose highest political economy has been that a people can grow fat upon each other; that by taxation wealth can be accumulated; that the more the Government takes from its citizens the richer the citizens are by the subtraction.—*House debate*, May 18, 1888, W. C. P. Breckinridge, Democrat, Kentucky, member Committee Ways and Means.

PROTECTION UNPATRIOTIC.

The chief mission of protection during the struggle (the war) was to establish itself, not the Union, to feather its own nest, to put money in its purse, and while the brave and patriotic were fighting the battles of the Union protection bound them hand and foot. Protection can not face a competitor, much less an enemy. It shivers at sight of an enemy, and if one appears in our ports it pleads infancy and begs the power to tax its own customers as a defense against invasion. And now to perpetuate its pensions it says to an old soldier, "Give me that flag; get behind me; I saved the Union."—*House debate*, May 10, 1888; Henry G. Turner, Democrat, Georgia member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Of course any reduction of excessive rates of tariff taxation is in the direction of free trade. I do not seek to conceal my own belief in the wisdom of the greatest possible freedom of trade from all hinderances and restrictions.—*Clifton R. Breckinridge*, Democrat, Arkansas, tariff debate, May 17.

The illustrious Gallatin, for over fifty years a citizen of my own State, the most enlightened financier who has appeared in all American history, third in the great triumvirate—Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin—Secretary of the Treasury eight years under Jefferson and four years under Madison, in that famous memorial of 1832, containing the ripened fruits of his vast experience and profound reflection, said of the alleged protective system in general: "Let it be recollected that the system is in itself an infraction of an essential part of the liberty of the citizen."—*Mr. Scott*, Democrat, Pennsylvania; tariff debate, May 11.

LEGALIZED ROBBERY.

We of the Northwest have had to submit too long to having our money taken from our pockets by the legalized robbery called the protective tariff to acquiesce cheerfully in the enactment of any measure that does not put an end to it.—*House debate*, May 5, 1888; J. L. Macdonald, Democrat, Minnesota.

DEMOCRACY AGAINST PROTECTION

I appeal to the Democracy here to stand true to their colors. I appeal to them to stand up to the traditions of their party. A tariff for anything else than revenue is outside the traditions and principles of our party and at war with its pledges and history. It is foreign to our platform. We have given to our people the assurances of our intention to do this. Let us prove our faith by our works. Let us engrave upon the imperishable tablets of the law the truth of the doctrines we have proclaimed. If you want the Democratic party to live, give it a principle that will sustain it. If you want it to die, stimulate it with a policy foreign to its nature, which will destroy it just as surely as poison will consume the human frame, though it may for a time impart to it the glow of youth and the flush of health. A man can not at this time upon this floor be a Democrat and be in favor of the continuance of the present system. If he is for protection for protection's sake, then he is against his party upon the principal issues that divide the parties.—*House debate*, April 30, 1888; Isidor Rayner, Democrat, Maryland.

WHAT ANOTHER DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS WOULD DO.

Refuse to reduce and reform the tariff; refuse to lift any part of this burden from the shoulders of the toiling millions of this country; defeat this bill as you have defeated all other measures of relief, and a long-suffering people will rise in majesty and strength of desperation and sweep from the statute-books a system, the abuse of which has wrought such widespread injustice and poverty in a land where honest labor, under just laws, would bring peace and plenty to every home.—*House debate*, May 16, 1888, A. B. Montgomery, Democrat, Kentucky.

PROTECTION THE BABY ACT.

I claim that every dollar of money collected from the people above the needs of the Government is organized robbery. * * * We have to-day a territory stretching from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the setting sun, a soil as rich as any on God's footstool, a variety of climate that will produce most everything that grows out of the ground; our hills and plains underlaid with rich mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and coal; our immense forests and unprecedented water powers sufficient to move all the machinery of the world; having passed through great wars with foreign nations and contended with our own kindred, having always as a nation proved our valor on the land and on the sea; having grown to 60,000,000 of people, with our free schools in every part of our fair land. * * *

And yet, with all that Nature has done for us, with all our wealth, our industries, our resources, and our intelligence, we proclaim to the world that we can not live without protection from every other nation of the earth. In other words, we plead to the world the baby act. As an American I deny the assertion. Give us a free and open market with the world, break down the barriers that a false system has built around us. Go back once more to the principles of the Democracy * * * and foreign nations will seek protection from us, the grandest, the freest, and the noblest nation of the earth.—*House debate*, May 3, 1888, Luther F. McKinney, Democrat, New Hampshire.

THE TARIFF A SNEAK-THIEF.

This tariff is a most insidious enemy. It works in silence and under cover, and whilst it pretends to be giving us protection it is really stealing our substance and destroying our lives. It is not the highwayman who boldly gallops up on the public road and demands your money or your life, but the sneak-thief who in an unconscious moment filches your purse, or the burglar who robs you of your possessions in sleep's unconscious hour.—*House debate*, May 2, 1888, Asher G. Caruth, Democrat, Kentucky.

A CANDID FREE-TRADER.

I believe that a tariff for protection is the foundation and principal cause of all the complaints and unrest that have either threatened or actually disturbed the public peace and quiet for years, because it fosters one industry at the expense of another; it transfers the labor and production of one class and gives it to another, thereby building up a small class of great wealth and impoverishing the great body of our people. I am opposed to any tariff whatever for protection simply. I favor a tariff that will bring a sufficient revenue to defray the expenses of the Government; and I favor this because we must collect a tax sufficient to meet the actual wants of the Government and this is the best way to make such collection. If we did not require money to defray the expenses of Government, I would be an absolute and uncompromising free-trader.—*House debate*, May 10, 1888, Silas Hare, Democrat, Texas.

BARBARIC TARIFF LAW.

The protective system is un-American and is a perversion of the laws of nature, of God and man. We find by the laws of nature that some countries produce one article and others give different variety, and we find that the oceans and rivers connect these countries, and, as it were, are highways of commerce, created by nature, from one country to another, and the winds of heaven bring the products of one clime so that they may be exchanged for the products of another and thus bless all mankind. But the barbaric law interferes and prevents the spirit of civilization and retards the tendency of the age in the drawing together of the nations of the earth through the agencies of commerce.—*House debate*, May 10, 1888, Edward Lane, Democrat, Illinois.

A BADGE OF INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY.

A protective tariff that protects all our industries and increases the wages of our laborers in uniform proportions in fact would protect none. Its exact and equal benefits would be its destruction and exemplify its own folly. * * * I do not pretend that the present bill for the reduction of tariff taxes is what I would wish. I would reduce further the manufactures of iron, wool, and cotton. I would give the people to whom these are a necessity cheaper prices. I would make free the farming implements, tools, and machinery with which the tillers of the soil are feeding and clothing the world, Chattel slavery has forever perished in this land; its manacles are stricken off. Now strike down this industrial slavery and then will we be free.—*House debate*, May 5, 1888, L. W. Moore, Democrat, Texas.

BRIGANDAGE AND RECIPROCITY OF ROBBERY.

I have inveighed against this system as mutual brigandage and the reciprocity of robbery. Our tariffs illustrate them in every paragraph. Kentucky wants cheap copper stills for her whisky. She gets even with the Michigan robber by demanding a tariff on hemp. Now, hemp is to be on the free-list, and why not copper? Maine steals on lumber to make up for the Massachusetts roguery on fabrics. Massachusetts howls for cheap coal; Pennsylvania says no; and so Massachusetts goes out with a home-market club and knocks down the West and South to rifle them of half their gains on raw cotton. Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina, being fleeced all round in clothing, sugar, and what not, go for goobers at a cent a pound.

California demands a large reprisal for her lumber, because she is fleeced by New York, West Virginia, Ohio, and Michigan. The Gulf States form a band of brigands and march forth with precious little hope for any steal worth the powder; but being reduced to extremities they call on Fra Diavalo, from Louisiana, to lead against the robber gang of cut-throats on cotton-ties and trace-chains. Pennsylvania, the Robert Macaire of the lot, steals boldly on all articles from a plate-glass to a locomotive. * * * Oh, the beauty of reciprocal rascality!—*House debate*, May 11, 1888, S. S. Cox, Democrat, New York.

The father of all sin and lies is the father of the tariff.—*Mr. Cox*, Democrat, New York, tariff debate, May 17.

TEN CENTS A DAY ENOUGH WITH FREE TRADE.

Admitting the fact that in dollars and cents the United States pays higher wages than England; that England pays more than other countries in Europe; and that Europe pays higher than India; yet it is an established fact that the laborer in the United States can not as a general rule save anything from the result of his toil at the end of each year; nor can he do so in England, nor elsewhere in Europe, nor in India. It is equally as well established that in all those countries the laborer does eat and wear clothes adapted to his country and climate. Then what is the difference between earning $1 per day or 10 cents per day, if the result is the same, namely, sufficient to eat to preserve life and sufficient to wear to protect the body?—*House debate*, May 10, Silas Hare, Democrat, Texas.

PROTECTION UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

A protective tariff is an unjust and unfair discrimination by the Government in favor of one class of citizens against another class of citizens. It is an enforced contribution in which one man is made to contribute to the support of another man's business without a resulting benefit and contrary to the spirit and letter of our Constitution.—*House debate*, May 16, Charles W. McClammy, Democrat, North Carolina.

I follow my party upon this great issue, the issue of the hour; and I have no right, sir, to look to any industry in your district, or in my district, or in the district of any other man in this country, when the great fundamental question before the whole country is whether or not the systematized plan of robbery and plunder which has been in existence so long shall be kept up against the rights of the whole American people.—*Mr. Rayner*, Democrat, Maryland, in House tariff debate.

In his message to Congress President Cleveland struck the key-note of future prosperity and sounded the death-knell of a robber protective tariff by which the manufacturer is made richer and the grand army of laboring people reduced year by year to poverty and almost starvation. * * A system of protection which protects the few at the expense of the many is a species of class legislation which is a blot upon the fair name of American liberty. * * * I am opposed to the protection policy of our Government.—*William H. Martin*, Democrat, Texas, tariff debate, May 8.

The first prejudice to be overcome is that so often answered. It is verbal. It relates to the phrase "free trade." "God save us," said an eminent man, "from the evil spirit and from metaphors." It is idle to explain that freedom and trade in themselves, together or separately, are not obnoxious to any one. No one champions slavery and isolation. Free-traders have but one object—to be rid of that state of affairs which forbids nations to exchange with each other their various products untrammeled by hostile and prohibitory tariffs. Free trade would remove hindrances. It would do it while affording proper support by customs dues to the Government. All agree that if free trade were universal it would confer great blessings on mankind. It is, therefore, worth approximating to it, if we can not reach it. Our trade is only free as to exports; on our imports the exactions are laid, and as a consequence their prices are raised.—*Mr. Cox*, Democrat, New York, in Forty-seventh Congress.

THE TARIFF DEBATE CONDENSED.

Mr. McComas (Republican, Maryland). Why in this debate has every friend of the Mills bill lauded the English free trade-tariff system, which only levies duties on articles not produced at home? Has any friend of this bill in this debate uttered one sentence in favor of the American tariff system, which only levies duties not produced at home? Has any friend of this bill in this debate uttered one sentence in favor of the American tariff system, which discriminates in favor of the home producer and laborer? I pause and will yield a half minute to any member on the Democratic side to name the sentence or the member's name who uttered it.

Mr. Hooker (Democrat, Mississippi). No. There was no one, and you will not hear any Democrat utter one.

Mr. McComas. I am glad to hear the gentleman from Mississippi declare for his party that no Democrat has or can utter a word for protection of labor.—*House debate*, May 2, 1888.

THE RIGHT TO BUY ANYWHERE.

As an abstract question of right, who is there who dares to say with his hand upon his heart, looking to God, "I have not the right, the God-given, inalienable right to buy what I may need or require wherever I can buy it most cheaply?" Not one. The taxing provisions of our Constitution and their limitations have all been cited in your hearing by me this day. They are the supreme law. In them is declared "taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States." * * * Millions for defense of Government, if needs be, but not a cent for tribute beyond the revenue line, should be and will be our campaign rallying cry.—*House debate*, May 6, 1888, Charles H. Mansur, Democrat, Missouri.

The tariff for protection may be defined as a tax or duty laid upon all the four thousand articles specified in the statute of such an amount as will prevent the domestic consumer from purchasing in the open markets of the world, and will compel him to buy of the domestic manufacturer at a price equal to the real value of the article with the tax or a large portion of it added on. Or it may be said that it is a system by which the taxing power of the Government is delivered over into the hands of a few men for the purpose of enabling them to lay tribute upon the rest of their fellow-citizens, and under the transparent pretense of saving us from an alleged foreign monopoly subjects the entire population of this country to a galling home monopoly, not only permitted, but knowingly and willfully enacted by statute. * * * It seems to me that human ingenuity can not devise a system of taxation more unjust, unreasonable, unfair, and unrighteous. * * * What we demand is the inalienable right of purchasing in that market where our money will bring the greatest quantity of the necessaries of life.—*House debate*, April 26, 1888, John J. Hemphill, Democrat, South Carolina.

Mr. PERKINS. Our friend from South Carolina [Mr. HEMPHILL] seems to be good natured about submitting to interrogatories.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. Then I will ask the gentleman a question. Do you believe in the doctrine that we should be permitted to buy where we can buy cheapest?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. Then you believe in the doctrine that we should be permitted to hire where we can hire cheapest?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Who said so?

Mr. PERKINS. Does it not necessarily follow?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Well, I think so.

Mr. PERKINS. If we should be permitted to buy where we can buy cheapest, why should we not be permitted to hire where we can hire cheapest?

Mr. HEMPHILL. Exactly. I think that is right.

Mr. BLAND. It is just the other way. You will not let the people buy where they can buy cheapest; but you hire where you can hire cheapest. You bring in the pauper labor of Europe to compete in our labor market.

Mr. PERKINS. That is what you are contending for, and it is against that that we are fighting here.

* * * * * * *

Mr. PERKINS. Do I understand that the gentleman from South Carolina is in favor of prohibiting the immigration of contract labor?

Mr. HEMPHILL. No, sir; I believe in freedom all around.

COBDEN A FRIEND OF AMERICA.

Cobden was not a nobleman. He was not a hereditary legislator. He was born of the people. He was the son of a yeoman. He was brought up to trade. It was his business training, together with observation abroad, while a partner in a Manchester cotton mill, that made him so cogent in debate and so simple and earnest in his devotion to the cause of the people and to the cheap loaf. I should be derelict as a member of Congress or as a citizen of the United States if I did not, even in this feeble way, vindicate the splendid fame of Cobden. * * * He had a genuine love for America.—*House debate*, May 11, 1888, S. S. Cox, Democrat, New York.

COMMENTS.

Mr. MILLS's speech in opening the tariff debate, as printed in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, justifies the impression produced by the telegraphic reports. It is a manly, vigorous, and most effective free-trade speech, abounding with telling points that go to the very heart of protection.—*Henry George.*

What the result of study should be the President makes plain. The accusations of his opponents, who declare that any reduction in protective taxation would seriously injure American industries, he treats with contempt, and he points out that the present system benefits certain classes of citizens at the expense of every householder in the land. The Republicans, nevertheless, will do their best to maintain that system, and the coming election will turn mainly on the question of strict protection as opposed to a modified free trade. That Mr. Cleveland will be victorious in the struggle seems to be generally accepted in the United States as almost certain. If he returns to power, it seems more than probable that his term of office will be marked by a revolution in the fiscal system of the United States which may have an important effect on European as well as on American trade.—*London Post*, July 8.

The tariff reform which the President recommends goes as far at least as the abolition or reduction of the duties on raw materials. Should Congress give effect to this proposal its immediate result would be an enormous stimulus to English industry. Iron, though a product of manufacture, is in one sense a raw material, and the removal of the duties on iron would stimulate the iron industry in this country. The abolition of the duty on wool, which the President mentions, would also probably lead to a great export of wool to America and a considerable rise in the price of that commodity. The first effect of the adoption of the President's policy would be a great increase in our trade with the United States.—*People's Journal*, Dundee, Scotland, December 10.

Grover Cleveland has done more to advance the cause of free trade than any prime minister of England has ever done.—*London Spectator.*

To convert the United States is indeed a triumph. The Cobden Club will henceforth set up a special shrine for the worship of President Cleveland, and send him all its publications gratis. Cobden founded free trade; Cleveland saved it. Such is the burden of the song all through England to-day.—*A cablegram from "A member of Parliament" to the New York Herald.*

Exclusion of Chinese.

REPLY

OF

HON. WILLIAM WOODBURN,

OF NEVADA,

TO HON. W. D. BYNUM, OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, August 18, 1888,

On the Chinese exclusion act.

Mr. WOODBURN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The State I have the honor to represent is deeply interested in the passage of any measure aiming at the total exclusion of the Mongolian race from American soil. Her people do not suffer as keenly from the effect of Chinese immigration as those of Oregon and California, because they have an unwritten law prohibiting Chinese from competing with American labor in the extraction and reduction of the gold and silver ores which has never been violated during the last twenty years.

The Chinese now in Nevada are principally engaged in the laundry business, or are acting in the capacity of servants. Every one of them displaces a white man or woman, and the sentiment is universal in favor of their immediate extirpation. There are on the Comstock lode two miners' organizations existing by operation of law, the members of which in point of intelligence and manhood have no equals on the habitable globe. There is a similar organization in Silver City, in the neighboring county of Lyon. Every member receives for his daily labor $4 per day. He can work seven days per week if he wishes so to do, and can live more sumptuously for $6 per week than at Willard's Hotel in the city of Washington. Their existence would be ephemeral if they should be brought into competition with cheap, servile, Chinese labor.

I live on the Comstock Lode, and although the value of its silver has been materially reduced by hostile Congressional legislation, it is the only spot on earth where my brethren who wield the pick and shovel receive such wages for their labor through the agency of their protective system. The only measure of relief that will satisfy the people of the Pacific coast is one that will constitute a perfect barrier against their immigration to this country. Experience, observation, the welfare of society, protection to American labor demontrates its necessity and demands it as the culmination of twenty-five years of agitation in Congress that has wrought a most striking change in public sentiment east of the Rocky Mountains upon this solemn question.

This House concedes without a division that a race of people "should be summarily dealt with whose presence on our shores means disease and demoralization, the contamination of society, and the degradation of labor."

No treaty, no act of Congress that will allow Chinese to return to this country upon compliance with the conditions specified in the pending bill will meet the popular and universal demand of the people west of the Rocky Mountains as expressed at the ballot-box.

This bill, intended to enforce a treaty to be ratified hereafter, permits every Chinaman who now resides in this country and who hereafter departs therefrom, to return and land in seven seaports of the United States, provided he makes oath that he possesses any of the qualifications required by section 6. As the eye of no American has ever had the pleasure of gazing on a Chinese laborer who would hesitate to swear to a lie in a court of justice, or before a person empowered to administer an oath, its provisions inspire him with no degree of terror.

If he desires to return, in order to procure a certificate he will testify that he has left behind him a parent, wife, or child, property of the value of a thousand dollars, or a debt due but unascertained of a similar amount. If his oath be false it devolves upon the Government to perform the almost impossible feat of proving a negative.

Without any certificate he can embark at the British port of Hong-Kong and land in British Columbia, Lower California, and Mexico, contiguous territory to the United States, with the same freedom as any other people, step across the line, and invade the Pacific States and Territories. He can come if he wishes to come. Nothing will ever daunt him from making the attempt except an act or treaty of absolute prohibition.

The principal recommendation of this measure is that it will make Chinese perjury less frequent and easier of detection. It may keep out a few who are not entitled to return, and for this reason only am I in favor of its passage.

It ought to have been acted upon a week earlier. It was patent that there was no opposition to it as it came from the Senate. The gentleman from California [Mr. MORROW] asked unanimous consent for its immediate consideration, which was denied by reason of the objection of a Democratic leader of the House, Mr. SPRINGER, of Illinois.

The Democratic Committee on Foreign Relations took arbitrary control of it, put it in a pigeon-hole for a week, and then reported it in its exact original condition, in order to give the Democratic majority an opportunity to play the rôle of the demagogue at the opening of a great political contest.

In order to cover up their free-trade tracks and to divert the public mind away from the damning fact that their leaders have formed an unholy alliance with British manufacturers to strike down American industries and degrade American labor engaged in their prosecution and development, they deemed it necessary to discuss the various provisions of the bill, and in testimony of the sincerity of their approval made a malicious assault upon the Republican candidate for President of the United States by garbling and falsifying his record on the Chinese question in the Senate of the United States. They did more. To show their zeal in the interest of white labor they had the sublime cheek to undertake to make the Chinese question a party one and to prove that their party is now and always was the sole opponent of Chinese immigration.

They selected Mr. BYNUM, of Indiana, to champion the affirmative of these lying declarations. Evidently his speech was intended to gull the laborers of Indiana and the Pacific coast. I dare him to explain to his constituents how he or any of his confrères that voted for the bastard offspring of the President's message, known as the parsee Moore or Mills bill, can consistently vote to-day to exclude Chinese from this country when every one of them a few days ago voted to let in free of duty the product of their cheap labor to displace the product of well-paid American labor.

I challenge him to give to the laborers of Indiana the name of a sin-

gle Democrat that ever until now championed an anti-Chinese restriction measure. He ought to know that the great leaders who led the van and planned the battles in the war against Chinese immigration were Republicans and not Democrats. Such men as Aaron A. Sargent, MITCHELL and Williams of Oregon, JONES and STEWART of Nevada, in the Senate, and Wren of Nevada and H. F. Page of California, in the House, the best Representative that State ever had, inaugurated and kept up the fight, and by the force of their energy and eloquence threw such a flood of light on the Chinese question that to-day enlightened public sentiment demands their absolute exclusion.

How dare the gentleman assert that the Burlingame treaty, which was purely one of amity and commerce, is responsible for the influx of Chinese immigration when prior to its enactment there were 107,000 Chinamen in California, a greater number in proportion to its population than at any time since? I challenge him to name a Democratic newspaper, a Democratic leader, or any other sort of a Democrat that ever uttered a word of denunciation against the negotiation or ratification of the Burlingame treaty.

How does the gentleman's conception of this treaty tally with the statement of the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, a Democratic leader, Mr. HOOKER, who succeeded him in addressing the House upon this bill, which is in the following language?

> At the time we sent to the Chinese Government Mr. Burlingame and Mr. Stanton for the purpose of breaking down the Chinese wall as it was termed and inducing that Government to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and China, it was looked upon almost as a hopeless effort to secure the various provisions which we desired to secure from the Chinese Government.
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> We were the parties seeking negotiations. We were the parties asking to have treaties of amity and commerce between the two countries. Ours was the Government asking that our commercial men should be allowed to carry to China whatever we had that the Chinese desired to buy, and bring back from China whatever our people wanted from that country. It was considered an almost hopeless task, and these two distinguished gentlemen were selected for the purpose of endeavoring to accomplish these results between China and the United States. And when that grand commission landed at San Francisco on their return, no two men in the United States ever received such an ovation as Mr. Burlingame and Mr. Stanton.
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> They were congratulated upon their accomplishment of the treaty which is designated in the history of the country as the Burlingame treaty. Not only on the slopes of the Pacific were they received with such demonstrations of regard, but they were taken from the cars at Pittsburgh and a great ovation given them; and that ovation continued all along their line of travel up to the capital. They were welcomed as having consummated a great treaty, and that treaty was ratified by the two governments.

I desire to supplement this declaration by saying that the public banquet given these gentlemen in San Francisco was presided over by H. Haight, the Democratic governor of California, and one of the principal speakers of the occasion was Eugene Casserly, a Democratic Senator of the United States.

This treaty was no more instrumental in inducing Chinese immigration than that of 1845 negotiated under the Democratic administration of Polk and promulgated by him, or that of 1857 negotiated under the administration of James Buchanan.

If any party is to be held responsible for it, it is certainly not the Republican party. Before it was christened there were not less than forty thousand Chinese in California. They began to come under a Democratic administration as early as 1853. The Chinese in San Francisco had their quarters, their joss-houses, their gambling houses, and their houses of prostitution. They were represented in every mining camp in the State. The Democratic party controlled the politics of the State and nation nearly all the time from 1850 to 1861 and never raised a warning voice against the evil of Chinese immigration.

If it be the intention of the gentleman from Indiana to make this a party question he ought not to have lugged into this unnecessary discussion an allusion to the report of the Morton commission. If he ever read it he must know that it was based to a great extent upon the testimony of a small army of Democrats who favored Chinese immigration. The principal witness was Solomon J. Heydenfeldt, a native of Louisiana, a Democratic justice of the supreme court of California, one of the leading lawyers of San Francisco then and now, and who stands high in the councils of his party. He testified that the prosperity of that State absolutely depended upon the Chinese; that they were the superiors of the Irish and Germans; that they were entitled to naturalization and would make good husbands for American women.

The Chinese question never was and is not now a political issue on the Pacific Slope. Men of all classes and conditions are a unit. It is too late for the gentleman to attempt to make it such. He will be astonished to find on the 6th day of November how "stale, flat, and unprofitable" is the Democratic, demagogical yell of "Chinese Harrison" in that section, the industries of which he and his free-trade confederates attempted to destroy by giving partial life to that nondescript abortion known as the Mills bill.

The Golden State will follow the glorious example of Oregon. Nevada, her sister with the silver hair, the banner State for Blaine, will roll up a still larger majority for the soldier, the statesman, the embodiment of the protective policy of his party, on whose public and private character rests no stain, the next President of the United States, BYNUM'S "Chinese Harrison."

The gentleman must know that the delegations of the three Pacific States to the national convention carefully examined General Harrison's Chinese record before casting their ballots. They were men of intelligence, and from personal experience and observation had a greater horror of Chinese immigration than any advocate of Chinese labor who voted for the Mills bill. After concluding their investigation they wisely cast their votes for him, believing that his record was unimpeachable testimony of his fidelity to treaty obligations and to the principles of the Republican party, which is the only friend and protector of free white American labor.

The gentleman could have easier found nearer home a subject for his censure in the person of General HOOKER, from whose speech I have before quoted. In a few minutes his memory became so treacherous that he forgot that the distinguished gentleman declared that when Page, of California, brought up for consideration in the House in 1882 the twenty years' Chinese restriction bill he gave it as his deliberate judgment that it was in conflict with existing treaty; that if it passed the House the President would veto it, and he voted for his conviction. Is not this a vindication? Ay, a Democratic vindication of Harrison. He did like General HOOKER. If the latter is guiltless of a political crime, so is General Harrison. The record shows that he favored and supported the bill that passed the Senate, reported by SHERMAN and introduced by Fair, the passage of which was earnestly demanded by the people of the Pacific Slope.

What became of it in the Democratic House? It came from the Senate in the first days of the Forty-ninth Congress. The House committee reported it and placed it upon the Calendar The Democrats had a majority of 43 and they took good care to keep it on the Calendar until it died an unnatural death by the expiration of that Congress. He also voted for the Edmunds amendment to a bill to restrict the immigration of Chinese laborers when the words "Chinese laborers" were given their ordinary definition.

The most refreshing part of the gentleman's speech is the illusion to the naturalization of seven Chinamen in Indianapolis and the fact of their voting the straight Republican ticket.

I suppose this is true, and if it be it is a striking evidence of the supreme ignorance of the Indiana judge who decreed their naturalization. There never was a judge of a court of record outside of Indiana but what knew that there never was a law permitting the naturalization of Mongolians. It is no wonder that Indiana is a doubtful State.

The gentleman alludes to a statement in my speech in the tariff debate to the effect that the anti-pauper immigration and anti-cooly bills were passed by the Republican party, and says it is not true and that every other statement of mine is shown to be incorrect. Now, if the people of Indianapolis can elect a judge so phenominally ignorant of American naturalization law, it is not surprising that they should select a Congressman who can claim the entire earth, and who does not seem to have the slighest knowledge of the distinction between assertion and conclusion.

If he will consult the record in order to ascertain the truth he will find the anti-pauper-immigration act was passed by the Forty-seventh Congress, when both Houses were Republican. The anti-cooly act became a law on the 9th of February, 1869, and was passed by a Republican Senate and House. On the 2d of March, 1875, the two Republican Houses passed the act forbidding the importation of Chinese prostitutes. The twenty-years and ten-years restriction acts were originated by Republicans and passed by a Republican Congress.

The Democratic party, if it has any gratitude, ought to vote the gentleman a valuable medal in testimony of that incomparable audacity which prompted him to deny for partisan purposes that the acts above cited were passed by a Republican House and by a Republican Senate. His theory is that, because some Democrats of the minority voted for them, the Republicans are not entitled to any credit for their passage or origination.

My friend O'NEILL, chairman of the Committee on Labor, who represents in part that Garden of Eden, St. Louis, Mo., throws him in the shade by claiming that the labor bills passed by this House were Democratic measures, though they received a solid Republican support in both Houses. How could they reach the President for approval without the intervention of a Republican Senate?

There are only two acts of consequence of those enumerated by Mr. O'NEILL. One is the act to prevent convict labor from being used on public works or in any department of the Government. The other is to prevent the employment of aliens on Government works of a public nature, both of which received every Republican vote.

I now propose to prove by the incontestible record the utter insincerity of the Democratic majority who voted for these measures of but limited, and not universal, application. The record of this very session will, and ought to, damn into perpetual obscurity the Democratic party that is forever posing as the friend of labor, and always voting against its interests.

They could afford to vote to exclude aliens and convicts from public works, but why did they not vote for the following amendments that affected every human being in this broad land:

Mr. BUCHANAN, a Republican member from New Jersey, on the 11th day of July of this year, moved to amend the Mills bill by inserting after line 440, page 27, these significant words:

Provided further, That whenever any of the goods, wares, and merchandise

in this section mentioned are the product in whole or in part of convict labor the same shall pay treble the several rates by this section imposed.

The Chair put the question on the amendment, and upon a division it was rejected by a vote of 65 Democrats against 56 Republicans.

Every Republican was for it, every Democrat against it and in favor of letting the fruit of foreign convict labor come here free of duty to compete with the product of free, well-paid, intelligent labor.

Again, on the 16th of July last, the same gentleman moved to amend the bill by inserting on page 35, after line 38, the following, stating that it was the Canadian law:

And provided further, That no goods, wares, and merchandise the product in whole or in any material part of the labor of persons confined in any prison, jail, penitentiary, reformatory, or other penal institution, shall be imported for the purposes of sale or trade.

Fifty-five Republicans voted for it and 65 Democrats against it.

Mr. BUCHANAN, on the 1st day of June last, offered the following amendment to the same bill:

Insert between lines 4 and 5 the following:
"When not manufactured or produced, wholly or in part, by prison labor, or made within, or in connection with, any prison, jail, penitentiary, or other penal or reformatory institution."

One hundred and five Democrats voted against its adoption and 97 Republicans voted for it.

To the workingmen of this nation I present this record for inspection. I ask them in the name of justice and common decency, is the practice of the Democratic Representatives in the lower House of Congress in accordance with their preaching? Will they continue to perpetuate the power of a party, the representatives of which have three times in this session unanimously voted to take the bread from the mouths of their wives and children by letting in free of duty the product of foreign convict labor to come in ruinous competition with their own handiwork? Is it not the inexorable logic of such legislation that the modern, free-trade, cheap-labor Democrats are willing, as far as wages are concerned, to reduce them to the level of the alien convict laborer.

Men of Indianapolis, your free-trade Representative in Congress voted against all of these amendments. I hope you will ask him to explain it.

Do you not know that it was the Republican party that, in the midst of a mighty war, evinced its concern for the laborers of this country by passing the blessed act known as the "homestead bill," which gave each one of them 160 acres of the public domain without a consideration? Ay, they did more. They gave the alien laborer who never declared his intention to become a citizen of this Republic 160 acres, too, if he had risked his life to preserve the nation.

Contrast this glorious piece of legislation with that of the Democratic party under the administration of James Buchanan, Mr. Cleveland's immediate Democratic predecessor, and what is the result? Mr. Buchanan vetoed a bill which gave the laborer gratis 160 acres of land upon the principal and specific ground that to give land to the laborer without payment was calculated to demoralize him and corrupt his morals. A Democratic Senate sustained the veto. The issue is between Republican protection to American industry and American labor, and Democratic British free trade and cheap labor. Choose between them.

As to Mr. BYNUM'S charge of incorrect statement in my tariff speech, I frankly confess I made a mistake in naming one person only as a member of the Cobden Club who is not, and who is an unimportant factor in Democratic politics and will never be heard of after the next election. With this exception every statement in it is based on the authenticated record and current and impartial history. No reply has ever been made to it; it admits of none.

Who has ever denied that CARLISLE, Bayard, Lamar, Morrison, BECK, VANCE, Tucker, COX, Henry George, Hurd, and a number of other Democratic leaders are members in good standing of the anti-American, British Cobden free-trade club that is now bending all its energies to elect Grover Cleveland? No one. COX admits it, but tries to make his constituents overlook his sin of membership by telling stale gags and worn-out anecdotes that only force a derisive grin instead of laughter.

He admits the authorship of that infamous work the "Buckeye Abroad," but pleads the baby act and says he was a boy when he wrote it, though the year after its publication he represented this Government in Peru. He defends Hewitt, eulogizes Cobden and Bright, says he is an Irishman and a free-trader. Some of his Democratic admirers say that for the first time since 1865 he has turned explorer and is hunting up a new Congressional district. They say he ought to locate in BRYCE'S district, where the Irish (who have found him out) are not numerous and will not vote for a free-trader or a know-nothing, even if he is a leading Democrat. They can not afford to vote for him when they know that three times he voted to let into this country free of duty the products of foreign convict labor.

I bid good-by to the gentleman from Indiana with great reluctance. I hate to part company with a man who says a protective-tariff system has nothing to do with the price of wages, which is a serious reflection on the wisdom of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson.

He was put forward to ring the changes on the Chinese question under peculiar circumstances. He did the best he could. No man can be expected to make even a passable effort when all the facts are against him. It was necessary to take a desperate step. His party was startled by the sound of the footfall of an army of Democrats marching to range themselves beneath the banner of the stars and protection.

They made the discovery that free trade, a red bandana, a silver gavel, a union jack, a platform built by Henry Watterson, the oldest and most esteemed of the American noblemen members of the Cobden Club, was creating a stampede in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana. If the Chinese question is their last refuge it is time to have an undertaker.

This is the first campaign for years waged upon a clear, definite issue. No outside question will be allowed to obscure it. It is for the masses to determine whether they indorse the Democratic, English doctrine of free trade and give up to foreigners our American markets, or stand by that of protection, which has placed this young nation on the pinnacle of earthly glory.

Chinese Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES N. FELTON,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, August 18, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 3304) to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States—

Mr. FELTON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I desired recognition only for the purpose of discussing the terms of the pending bill. But after listening to the remarks made by gentlemen on the other side of the House, and especially to those so carefully prepared by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], I can but note their political significance as manifesting a desire on the part of the other side of the House to make of this important question a party one; and can readily conceive the objects sought to be attained by so doing. They have given us very much of the history of Chinese immigration in the United States and of the legislation in Congress in reference to the same, especially the more ancient part of both, carefully eschewing any reference to the recent or last. But, sir, in my opinion, a true statement of the history of their immigration here and of the legislation on this question by the American Congress will show that this is in nowise a party question.

Now what is the history of this question as it concerns us?

It is that the people of the Pacific coast after about twelve years of association with this people, and only then, had learned by experience the "true inwardness" of the Chinese character and methods, and then came to a realizing sense of the great evil of that immigration, and concluded that their admission ought to and should be prevented in all the future; and this sentiment was not confined to any political party, nationality, religious organization, sect, or sentiment, but was universal. And then commenced their strenuous opposition to this immigration and their continuous struggle to procure the needed legislation to prevent it. The principle as embodied in the Burlingame treaty (of July 28, 1868, Article V, from which I quote)—

Cordially recognizing the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects repectively—

was repudiated by them from both an economic and moral standpoint; while we would not deny them all their rights, we denied the inherent and inalienable right of them or any other nationality to interfere with or encroach upon our rights, to corrupt our race morally, or to despoil them of their substance. Then we came to you our fellow-citizens east of the mountains to plead our cause and the necessity for immediate legislation. We knocked and knocked at the doors of Congress without obtaining admittance or any response to our appeals, and why were we so treated? It was because you, the people of the East, did not understand and could not comprehend the evils attendant upon this immigration. You were not educated to the importance of the occasion and question. No public sentiment had been formed. And what was true in this case was equally true in that of the question of contract labor, criminal and pauper immigration, and it is only of late—only now—that Congress is prepared to legislate upon these questions without hesitation. For the first time in the history of this Government and on this floor both parties will vote alike, and I prophesy there will not be a dissenting vote to the passage of this measure; and why? Simply because the people have a knowledge of this question which they never before possessed. We from the Pacific coast had to teach the communities east of the Rocky Mountains that this was a vital question, that it had

not only an economic phase, but was one of civilization. The laboring classes had to be taught that this was a question in which they were directly interested as their interests were in danger. The more fortunate and perhaps intelligent classes had to be taught that the commonly conceived doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, the æsthetic theory of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of nations and man was in conflict with nature's laws and could not apply to the Chinese without a demoralization of our industries, our laboring classes, and of the morals of the people. In short, we had to force upon the attention of all a true appreciation of this question by arguments, which we, however, had learned by sad experience.

This is a Government of, by, and for the people; the will of the people is supreme; public opinion rules, and is always in advance of legislation. Legislation is the result of its crystallization, and we have but just arrived at this stage in this question, and hence our action.

And now a few words more in reply to the gentleman who last spoke [Mr. BYNUM]. I believe it is an accepted axiom of law that if you desire to judge of the character, the ability, the truth, and sincerity of a man or a witness, you will take and consider his last acts and expressions of opinion as the best evidence as to his belief, desires, and the sincerity of his intentions; that you would disregard declarations and expressions of opinion that were older, of previous date, and conviction. And if this principle is correct (and I apprehend this will not be disputed), and applies to the individual, it will with equal force and justice apply to an association of individuals, a party, or a government.

This is within the line of the argument used by the gentleman from Indiana, that is, to judge the Republican party by the acts and expressions of views of its Representatives in Congress, but I fail to see that he brought his statistics down to the more recent time. He seems to have carefully avoided that. But if we are to judge and hold responsible the Democratic party by its recent acts in regard to this question we shall find them wanting. They will have no foundation for the boast that that party has been especially sound upon Chinese immigration and contract-labor immigrations. In the Forty-ninth Congress my colleague [Mr. MORROW] introduced a bill into this House (a copy of which was introduced in the Senate); this bill was very carefully considered, and emanated from a source that had a third of a century's experience with this people and the effects of their immigration; they were conversant with the existing treaties and the restriction law against Chinese; they knew from experience that they were evaded, that thousands of Chinese were yearly entering the country in violation of the law; they had studied the question, and found the remedy. Had that bill passed it would have pierced the very center of the loop-hole in the laws by which they entered, and would have prevented such entrance.

That bill was in this House referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, composed of a Democratic majority; the bill passed the Senate (a Republican Senate), came to this House, and was referred to the same committee to which the House bill was referred, the Committee on Foreign Relations, where it slept the sleep that knows no waking. Notwithstanding the fact that that committee was monthly, weekly, and sometimes daily importuned by the whole delegation from California to report the bill, to report it in some shape, they were deaf to our pleading. That was a committee formed by Democratic authority with a majority of Democrats on it, selected from a Democratic majority of over forty in the Forty-ninth Congress.

Now, sir, one more fact, and in stating it I feel somewhat embarrassed, as my name is connected with it. I, on the first opportunity in the Forty-ninth Congress, and also in the Fiftieth Congress, introduced bills amendatory of the laws in relation to the incoming of contract-labor paupers and criminals and other objectionable immigrants.

Those bills were referred to a committee of this House, a majority of whom were Democrats selected from a Democratic majority in the House, and were, like the Chinese bill, sequestered, and have never been reported or heard from. Therefore, sir, if we are to judge a party by its last acts and expressions, we must conclude that the Democratic party is opposed to the restriction of Chinese immigration and that of contract labor, criminals, and paupers. And why, sir, did they not report these measures, and at least give an opportunity for the expression of the will of the people through their Representatives upon those kindred subjects? Was it because they were opposed to the passage of the bills from principle, and hence by their action prevented their passage, or was it because they did not fully appreciate the necessity for immediate action and the magnitude of the question?

I believe it is but just to them to concede that the latter was the cause of their delay; that they then had not the knowledge nor were they as conversant with the urgent necessity for legislation on those questions as they to-day are. Nor do I believe it to be just to condemn the acts of Congress or to hold political parties responsible for the individual acts of a portion of its members, or for the acts of its committees, as I know that committees are sometimes formed for the purpose of advancing especial preconceived and concerted measures. I also know that they are sometimes formed with a view for the suppression of some public measures, and thereby deny an expression of either a public or party sentiment. Sir, it took years of earnest endeavor and arguments, and it was only in the light of subsequent experience that many of the people of this country, and among them the most intelligent, were prepared to abandon the idea that America was not only the home and asylum of the down-trodden and oppressed of all nations, of those who came fleeing from despotism, from religious persecution, for principle's sake, as did our forefathers, who came, conquered the natives and the wilderness, and developed this nation, but was also intended to become the home of and to include in its philanthropic embrace the pauper and the criminal, the excrescence of the older nations who have been making their appearance within the last half of this century, daily evading our laws, and interfering with the rights of our citizens and degrading our civilization.

Now, sir, I do not believe that there is a gentleman upon this floor or in the Chamber at the other end of the Capitol who honestly believes that this question is in any sense a political or party one, or that any man in public or civil life, in the light of subsequent events, should be held responsible for opinions formerly entertained or expressed by him, or for his acts upon this or any other question. We should judge the individual as we should desire to be judged, and should only hold him responsible for his present action and opinions as an indication of what his future action would be. What we and the people desire to know is as to his present sentiments in so far as they are of interest to the people as indicating his future course of action.

Mr. McCREARY. Will the gentleman let me make an inquiry there?

Mr. FELTON. Certainly.

Mr. McCREARY. Does not the gentleman know that the treaty of 1880 was in force when the bill he refers to was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and that the treaty of 1880 simply allows us to suspend the admission of Chinese laborers into the United States? The Committee on Foreign Affairs were informed that a treaty was being considered and was in progress of negotiation absolutely prohibiting Chinese from coming to this country, and it was deemed best for us to hold up any action until we could pass such a bill as we have now in this House, absolutely prohibiting the Chinese from coming into this country.

Mr. FELTON. I will answer the gentleman that to the best of my information I did not so understand it.

Mr. McCREARY. I will say to the gentleman that the statement was true, because the treaty has been negotiated and has been sent to the Senate of the United States and acted upon.

Mr. FELTON. Yes; but we heard nothing from the Forty-ninth Congress except as it came to us whispered by the winds; we had no confidence in it.

Mr. McCREARY. The gentleman was not a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and does not know what the Committee on Foreign Affairs did.

Mr. FELTON. Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to be further interrupted, but will say that we heard nothing of this except as I before stated, whispers in the air from unknown sources, and we disregarded them, as did a majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations our importunities to report a bill on this question. True we hear of this in the Fiftieth Congress and a treaty has been brought in. But in the mean time, whether there was to be a treaty negotiated or not, which would consume much time, the measure that we had before that committee was so important that its enactment would have prevented the incoming during the last year alone of eleven thousand of these people.

The passage of that measure at that time would in no wise have interfered with any treaty stipulations, as it was acknowledged by both committees, House and Senate, to be in strict accordance with the treaty stipulations. I know whereof I speak, because I had introduced a bill which in my opinion, and with all due respect to that of others, was worth more than all these bills and the pending treaty. I emphasize this because I do not believe that this treaty or this bill will cure the evil that we desire to have cured. You will get rid of Chinese immigration when you prevent the incoming of all save those attached to the embassy and consular service of that Government, and in no way else, in my opinion, will you be able to do so.

Mr. McCREARY. Let me remind the gentleman that Congress could not have passed at its last session a bill prohibiting Chinese laborers from coming to this country for all time without violating the treaty, which was then in force and which is now in force. For that reason we delayed action, in order to get a treaty that would prohibit the immigration of Chinese entirely.

Mr. FELTON. I think that is a very remarkable statement, coming from a gentleman of the intelligence of the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky. He says that Congress could not have passed any measure for that purpose. If he had said that it would not pass this particular bill in question, that would have been true; but that Congress could not pass any measure without the violation of treaties, I take leave to doubt.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois. The gentleman from Kentucky seems to take substantially the same position that General Harrison took in the Senate. [Laughter.]

Mr. McCREARY. I do not take the same position that General Harrison is charged with taking on this subject. [Laughter.]

Mr. FELTON. Mr. Speaker, observing the adverse criticisms of the

gentleman from Kentucky in charge of this bill [Mr. McCREARY] also that of the eloquent gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] in regard to the Senate amendments to the first and second articles of the pending treaty between this Government and that of the Chinese Empire, I will now but briefly and only with reference to those amendments supplement what my colleague [Mr. MORROW] so very ably and at length presented in his speech this morning, not that I can add aught to what he has said, but simply for the purpose of again calling it to the attention of the House and the country.

Why, sir, were it not for these amendments the pending treaty would not be worth the paper it is written on, as those sections as originally drawn and without amendment would have been so construed as to mean and refer only to Chinese who had never entered the United States. As under the decisions of the United States Supreme Court the prior residents (as we term them) had acquired rights and that those now absent and to become absent before the ratification of this treaty would be entitled to return on the presentation of certificates showing their former residence, or in the absence of which (they in all probability having sold the same), by oral testimony, as is now the case, and through which means thousands have been and are illegally entering; in fact, this is the principal loop-hole with which we have to contend under the existing treaty and desire to close. Chinese oral testimony! What a commentary on justice! To what a depth of infamy, servility, and perjury do they invite us!

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. MORROW was recognized, and yielded fifteen minutes of his time to Mr. FELTON.

Mr. FELTON. Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding all that the gentlemen on the other side of the House have said in regard to the great zeal manifested by the Administration to hasten negotiations for this treaty, and for which reason legislation was denied us throughout the Forty-ninth Congress, the official records of that negotiation prove that the first attempt was made April 11, 1887, over three years after the present Administration came into power and after the expiration of the Forty-ninth Congress, fully substantiating my former declaration that it was all in the air.

And now they complain that the action of the Senate has caused a delay which may jeopardize the acceptance of the treaty on the part of the Chinese Government. To this I reply that should their fears prove true and the treaty be rejected by reason of the Senate amendments, as it only could be, the original terms being acceptable to the Chinese Government and the Administration, then it were well it did not become the law. And I here desire to supplement what I have already said in regard to this treaty by giving it as my opinion that even the pending treaty, if accepted as amended, will only defer the time for our obtaining justice at the hands of Congress, and through it a relief from this immigration.

And now I first desire to say, before entering upon an adverse criticism of this bill or parts of it, that it is not my purpose to antagonize or delay its passage by offering any amendment, as I recognize it to be a step in the right direction in the event of the ratification of this treaty, and appreciate the importance of its speedy passage in order that it may go into effect with the adoption of the treaty, and thereby prevent an interregnum of time which this people could and would take advantage of, and thus create vexatious legislation, though, as before stated, the measure will not meet the expectations of its friends nor set this vexed question at rest.

As I understand its provisions, it will, if properly executed, prevent the illegal entrance of Chinese laborers, and them only through the seaports designated in the bill as well as those to be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury as provided for in the bill. And that it prohibits their entrance through any other source whatsoever. It will also relieve the Federal courts of an amount of business which for want of time they have been unable to consider, and relieve them of a class of litigation impossible to intelligently adjudicate under the laws and rules of a civilized judiciary; and thus causing great dissatisfaction and anxiety among those who have for a third of a century suffered from the evil of this immigration and until forbearance has almost ceased to be a virtue.

The clause referring to the immigration of merchants for observation and pleasure will in time cause no small amount of annoyance and litigation; but this is a fault of the pending treaty and not of the bill, which simply re-enacts the treaty, for when once within this country they will be absorbed among the masses of their countrymen already here and immediately lost to sight and detection.

Practically we shall only know of their existence as one of the factors for their not decreasing in numbers.

Now, with all respect to those who negotiated this treaty, I believe that had they possessed that knowledge requisite to the purpose of the negotiation of a treaty with this people (and only to be acquired by an experience with them), they would have hesitated before consenting to this clause in the treaty; as it was, they could not comprehend the inevitable results that were to follow its adoption. The exception made in the second article in favor of those having $1,000 worth of property or debts, a lawful wife, child, or parent within the United States will prove another source of evasion to the convenient consciences of the Chinese immigrant.

But, sir, my chief objection to the pending bill is that it makes no provision for the detection of illegal immigration that is sure to come over our great borders North and South—from the Dominion of Canada on the north and Mexico on the south—for so soon as the fact is ascertained by them that their illegal entrance through our seaports is impossible, then will be created in them the incentive which will cause them to come over the borders, as the cupidity of John is too great not to avail of any loop-hole or unguarded spot to feed upon our flesh-pots, he having tasted them. It is true that under the provisions of the treaty and of this bill no Chinese, whether laborers or otherwise, have the right to enter the United States other than through the designated seaports, therefore any way or mode of their incoming would be illegal, and those who availed of such entrance would be subject to fine and deportation. As illustrative of their evasion of the present law through these avenues of entrance I read from the New York Sun of August 14, 1888:

CHINESE COMING FROM CANADA.

MONTREAL, *August* 14.

A party of twenty-five Chinese arrived at Montreal to-day, having come through from Vancouver on the Canadian Pacific Railroad. They will be forwarded to New York by the Grand Trunk Railroad. They have come direct from Canton.

But we have no provision in this bill to ascertain the facts, and now the question arises, what measure could and should be taken to prevent such entrance and the subsequent discovery of those so entering. Could we keep a cordon of soldiers or detectives throughout the extent of our great borders, it would prevent their illegally entering; but it is manifest that this could not be contemplated, much less adopted, by reason of the great expense it would entail, and the venal element sure to compose a portion of such a force would to some extent prevent the desired end.

But it occurs to me that the object might be reached by a system of registration and identification by or through the United States courts of the thousands of Chinese now within the country, and the Federal power delegated to all peace officers throughout the States and Territories to arrest and cause to be deported those who could not produce such proper certificates and identification as would entitle them to remain. By this method this end could be very largely attained and with slight expense, for so soon as it was a well-known fact that there was not only a sure way to but the possibility of instant detection, the Chinese would not be so eager to illegally enter, because it would be sure to avail them nothing. The fear of instant discovery, fine, and deportation would, to a great extent, prevent the attempt.

The great difficulty of legislation on this subject and with reference to this singular people is that their character is generally unknown and presents obstacles to surmount that do not apply to the citizens of any of the Western nations. The Chinese are of the Eastern type of civilization; they are moral obliquities, knowing no God, having no conscience, utterly disregarding the sanctity of an oath in all the sense that we appreciate it. With them the end always justifies the means.

To wisely legislate on this question it is necessary to have a knowledge and correct appreciation of the character of this people, and for the benefit of those inexperienced we appeal to the truth of history.

From the history of the early civilizations, including that of the Chinese, we learn that they all occurred under similar environments, similar conditions of soil, climate, and food, all necessary to the development of their peoples from barbarism to comparative civilization, and but for the mild conditions of nature and climate wherein they grew their development could not have been possible, as they lacked the intelligence necessary to surmount the more rugged conditions of nature and its more rigorous climates, as such conditions would not have permitted of sufficient leisure for the development of the intellectual man, the struggle for animal existence being too severe and continuous.

The inevitable effect was that the same antecedents produced in all the same ulterior results, the same causes producing like consequences, and the very conditions that permitted of their evolution to a given stage of civilization prevented any advance beyond it, within their several environments. Nature's laws could not be overcome nor ignored; their conditions were favorable to over-population, causing ignorance of the masses, and thus creating an unequal distribution of wealth, and concentrating all political power among the few, resulting in despotic forms of government, under which the masses of the people by ever-recurring misfortunes were reduced to abject ignorance and poverty and consequent submission, their condition being practically that of slavery. Such were the conditions under which the early civilizations of India, Egypt, Peru, Mexico, and China grew.

Their history is written in their monuments, palaces, public highways, and great walls, all of which attest the existence of despotic governments, the absolute submission and hopeless misery of their peoples, to whom individual liberty and natural rights were unknown. Of them all the Chinese alone remain intact as a government and people, and they have existed substantially as they now are for tens of centuries within the same environments, practically undisturbed by mingling

with or by the immigration of other peoples, uninfluenced by their knowledge and example; with the same form of government, and that the earliest form known to civilization, the paternal, extending through all grades of society and government, from the emperor to the father of the family; the same religion, that of ancestor worship—the spirit of the departed influencing for good or evil the destinies of the living kinsman; with the same manners, habits, customs, and inclinations.

During all the centuries in which the Indo-European race were evolving under different and ever-varying conditions, being influenced and improved by collision with its parts (while many of them grew, matured and decayed, leaving nothing but ruins to mark their existence), the Chinese have remained essentially the same; content in and with their surroundings, they have for forty-five centuries continued to exist in one long unbroken and undeviating line. Actuated by the same impulses and hopes, and controlled by the same necessities, they have from generation to generation transmitted their race characteristics, both mental and physical, until they are the most homogeneous and non-assimilative race that ever has existed. While the languages of the early western nations have disappeared, leaving no inscriptions to mark their existence, the Chinese have been writing theirs in eighty-five thousand of those strange characters, monosyllabic, from right to left. While the western nations have developed a desire for individual liberty and a democratic form of government, and struggled to attain it, the Chinese have been and are content with absolute monarchy or despotism, having no word meaning liberty in their language.

They are not creative, but wonderfully intelligent at imitation, painfully industrious and frugal; they never lead, but always follow; they are not energetic, enterprising, or fearless, as is strikingly illustrated by the history of their immigrations. Though the great island of Formosa was within 20 leagues of their shores and the Philippine islands within 150, twenty-five centuries of their national existence had come and gone before they discovered them, and then only by accident. For one hundred and fifty years afterward they allowed those countries to remain unmolested, and not until in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the western nations, in circumnavigating the globe, discovered and conquered them, having caused the soil to be tilled, established manufactures, and created commerce, was the cupidity of the Chinese excited, and they were anxious to possess what their supineness and cowardice had hitherto prevented them from acquiring. Then commenced their immigration, and then as now they went forth "not fleeing from despotism, nor for principle's sake, not as religious propagandists, not as conquerors to build new empires, nor as colonists to found new societies and erect therein their homes and altars," but leaving their household gods behind them, they went as parasites to subsist upon the vitality, to absorb the substance created by others.

This view is strikingly illustrated by the reply of a Chinese statesman to our late distinguished minister, John Russell Young. When asked by that gentleman why they did not colonize a portion of their redundant population in Africa, this was the significant reply: "My people are not colonists, they have not the faculty for colonization, which has built up so many countries in various parts of the world under western influences. They can not take the lead, they must live upon civilization of some kind or other, seek it out and attach themselves to it." Here, sir, in the concrete, is the character of this people, and the substance of this question.

Their early immigration was influenced by the same reason and for the same purpose as is their present, to seek out vitality and live off of it, to gather the fruits of the industry of others with which to return to the Middle Kingdom to live and die and lay their bones by the side of their ancestors. Their early immigration, as now, was followed by their invading and permeating every avenue and alley of industry, driving forth the native peoples from their inheritance, absorbing all they came in contact with, fearing no competition, knowing its physical impossibility, and disseminating the vices of a pagan civilization and over-populated country; transmitting diseases that taint the blood for generations, and kill both physically and mentally—a moral and physical pestilence.

The history of Chinese immigration during the period of two and three-quarter centuries and over, from 1602 to the present time, is not only instructive, but startling, as an illustration of their fixed and unchangeable character. The effect of their immigrations has ever been attended with the same results. Whenever and wherever they have gone they have remained a distinct people, without change, demonstrating that their older civilizations in no instance has or will give way to or assimilate with the newer wherever or whatever the change of environment and conditions, they have remained the same—a distinct people apart from others; wherever they have gone they have antagonized the economic interests and the moral sentiment of the native populations, and their presence has been universally execrated. They tamely submit to persecution, outrage, and massacre, and in despite of all laws and obstacles persistently continue their peaceful invasions. Quietly they come, quietly they go gorged with the substance of others, only to be replaced by others of their kindred to fatten in the same fields, so great is their cupidity as to withstand all resistance, and to forget the severe lessons of the past. It will require but a brief glance at the history of their immigration to convince us of the absolute truth of the foregoing.

In 1603 they numbered 25,000 in the Island of Manilla, the incentive and conditions under which they immigrated I have already stated. Even at that early date were used the same arguments pro and con in regard to their restriction as we are using to-day. The monopolists availed of their cheap labor, "and corrupt officials accepted of bribes for the evasion of the law" until the outraged inhabitants, driven to desperation, arose and massacred 23,000, and the balance were deported. Again, in 1639, forgetting in their greed for the substance of others, the horrors of 1603, they had again accumulated to the number of 30,000; again they were persecuted, and they revolted, when for months their massacre went on, and 24,000 more were sent to join their ancestors. Yet, again, in 1672 they were ordered to leave the island, and not complying over 12,000 were massacred. In 1709 they were finally expelled from the island by an edict of the Spanish Crown in response to petitions that had been repeatedly made during the previous half century; again, in 1762, they had increased to large numbers; being persecuted they revolted, and an order was issued to put to death all remaining, "which order was generally executed," says the historian. The number so executed is unknown, but amounted to some thousands.

In the Island of Java they repeated the same persistency, when in 1740 they had so grown in numbers as to presume upon their strength, and they attempted to subjugate and control the Government, whereupon ensued a war with all the attendant horrors and atrocities that has ever attended the "conflict of races." "Prisoners were invariably put to death, fire and devastation marked its course, no quarter was given, fire, murder, rapine, victims and executioners were everywhere seen under the conflagration of the burning cities," resulting in a massacre of ten thousand Chinese at Batavia; and war and rebellion continued to desolate this fair island for fifteen years. Such in brief and in part is the history of the early immigrations of this people.

In the present century, when by the genius of the western nations time and space have been practically annihilated, when vast oceans can be traversed in a short time and at small cost, thus rendering it possible for the "little brown man" to emigrate to distant lands, he eagerly and quickly avails of the opportunity. Steadily and persistently this conservative people have and are elbowing their way throughout the civilized world, carefully eschewing the uncivilized as they would a pestilence, ever seeking strength and sapping its vitality.

In Singapore they in twelve years have added to its population 85,000 Chinese; they are immigrating into the countries south of Indo-China at the rate of 150,000 per annum. Chili and Peru contain over 200,000. In the South Sea Islands they have swarmed; they control and dominate the Gilbert Islands; they are overrunning Samoa and Hawaii; in the United States, Australia and New Zealand, and British Columbia they have accumulated to tens and hundreds of thousands, and are still increasing, notwithstanding their severe restriction acts. And from all comes the same cry for deliverance that was heard in all the countries of their early immigration nearly three centuries ago: "Deliver us from the unequal struggle between two types of civilization! Free us from a competition of labor so severe as to render life to us not accustomed to it, not worth the having! Free us from a frugality that to us means starvation!" and to which we add, not worth the purchase at the sacrifice of our civilization! And though the present sentiment has not yet culminated to any great extent in their massacre and while the effect is comparatively silent, yet it is irrepressible and at no distant day will history repeat itself and the massacre of races will occur, unless prevented by wise legislation.

The Rock Springs massacre is but a forerunner of what an aroused, exasperated, and indignant people will do when the protection of the laws are denied them.

The homogeneity of a people actuated by similar motives and governed by the same impulses is necessary to national life. Two non-assimilative races can not exist side by side; one must be exterminated or practically enslaved. History makes no record of the existence of a nation composed of a mongrel or heterogeneous people that has ever maintained its peace or independence, but furnishes many examples showing the impossibility of the assimilation of distinct races and civilizations.

African slavery has been abolished, at what cost to life and property it is unnecessary to state. Has the negro become homogeneous with us? Has the conflict between us terminated? It has not, nor will it. Observe the present condition of the remnants of the American Indian tribes. What have centuries of contact with us resulted in? Are they not a distinct people and have they not almost entirely given way before our civilization? Glance at the ancient civilizations of Peru and Mexico at the time of the Spanish invasion, and look at them now. Are they not races with the vices of both and the virtues of neither?

Sir, we must conclude that the results following Chinese immigration have ever been the same without an exception; that what has occurred is certain to occur again under the same conditions and for the same reasons. History will continue to repeat itself under like conditions and be controlled by the fundamental and immutable laws made by the great Architect of the Universe and over which no puny will or statute of man will prevail. Shall we ignore the teachings of all his-

tory and the effects of a mixing of heterogeneous people? If we are so unwise we shall suffer the consequences.

Would you preserve the western type of civilization and further develop it? Would you preserve individual liberty, this Government, its principles and institutions, its peace and prosperity? If so, you must protect it from the influence of the eastern type of civilization which has for over forty centuries known no change and has kept its people morally, mentally, and physically enslaved. You can only do so by the interdiction of the further immigration of this people. Would you protect the Chinese from massacre and outrage, yourselves from paying indemnities for the same? Nothing short of the exclusion of this people will accomplish it.

The French Spoliation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT T. DAVIS,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, August 21,. 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. DAVIS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I had not thought to participate in this debate, but the course of the discussion in opposition to the payment of these claims has led me to say a few words in their defense.

I believe these claims to be not only valid, but that the reason for their payment are stronger, and appeal more forcibly to our sense of honor and justice than any other class of claims pending before Congress.

Three generations of claimants, each impressed by this conviction, have unremittingly urged them upon Congress. For more than sixty years committees of the Senate and House, charged especially with the duty of examining them, have made more than forty reports in favor of their payment, and within that time no committee has made an adverse report.

Under these circumstances, the delay for so long a time in providing for their payment increases the strength of the claims and the duty of Congress to discharge a just debt so long resting upon our conscience and honor.

These claims of American citizens were originally against the French Government for spoliations prior to July 31, 1801. The ships and cargoes of our citizens were seized and destroyed or confiscated while engaged in honorable and peaceful commerce on the high seas in defiance of the laws of nations and of our treaties with France. There is no doubt of the wanton and indefensible character of these outrages continued for a period of more than seven years, or of the fact that the sufferers had a just claim for compensation arising from them. They were especially and urgently pressed upon the attention of France. That Government never denied their justice, but, on the contrary, substantially and even explicitly admitted their validity, which was solemnly affirmed by the greatest of Frenchmen in his last days at St. Helena. No man who reads the history of these transactions can fail to be convinced of the earnestness and sincerity of our Government in demanding indemnity for the outrages, or its belief in the justice of these claims. This is proved by the measures which were adopted by Congress of a retaliatory and hostile character, wholly because of these spoliations; for we had no other grievance against France.

It is well known that the French presented counter-claims against our Government for its failure to fulfill certain stipulations of the treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce concluded between the two countries when France drew her sword in our favor and contributed most effectually toward securing our independence.

Those treaty stipulations on our part bound us to guaranty the integrity of the possessions of France in America in the event of war between her and Great Britain. This guaranty involved very important and serious consequences, and, in the language of our Secretary of State at that time—

Exposed us to the risk and expense of war or to disputes and questions concerning our national faith.

We also undertook to protect and defend by our ships of war or convoy any or all vessels belonging to French subjects, under certain circumstances—

Against all attacks, force, and violence in the same manner as they ought to protect and defend the vessels of the citizens of the United States.

We stipulated to open our ports to French ships of war and privateers with their prizes, and to close them against those of any power at war with France. And we agreed to allow French privateers—

To fit their ships, to sell what they had taken, or in any other manner whatsoever to exchange their ships, merchandise, or any other lading.

But privateers of a nation at war with France were not allowed to victual in our ports, and it was finally provided that French consuls should have jurisdiction on board French vessels in our ports in civil matters. A war broke out between France and Great Britain and the time had arrived when the terms of this treaty became operative. Did we observe them? No, we failed wholly to do so. Not one of these stipulations was observed by us. We issued in 1793 a proclamation of neutrality, which Chief-Justice Marshall declared was—

Intended to prevent the French ministry from demanding the performance of the guaranty contained in the treaty of alliance.

That was followed by Jay's treaty with England, which was in many respects inconsistent with our treaty obligations with France and made it impossible to observe them. This last act of our Government was denounced by France as unfriendly, ungrateful, and in violation of our pledged faith. And she proceeded to resent it by continuing more vigorously and offensively her assaults upon our commerce.

It can not be fairly denied that France had a degree of justification for this hostile attitude. We had receded from guaranties which were in terms continuing and perpetual, and which Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe declared we could be rightfully called upon to execute, and we deliberately placed ourselves, by a treaty with her enemy, in a position where we could not lift a finger in the defense of our recent ally, to whom we had bound ourselves by the most sacred obligations.

At the most critical period of the Revolutionary struggle, after the dreadful winter at Valley Forge, when even Washington despaired of success, France came to our aid. She sent fleets and armies in support of our cause, and she gave us her powerful and indeed indispensable assistance until the close of the war. In addition to the large naval and military forces she sent across the ocean to our assistance, she expended $280,000,000 in the cause of American independence. This enormous expenditure taxed her financial resources beyond the capacity of an already impoverished treasury. The king was compelled to summon the states general in order to provide means to supply this deficit. The student of history knows that the assembling of this body was the opening of the French revolution. That tragic and tremendous episode in modern history was precipitated by the necessities of France, resulting from her efforts in our behalf, and much of its defiant strength, which shook Europe and unseated dynasties from the Mediterranean to the Baltic seas and from the Atlantic Ocean to the western boundaries of Russia, was derived from the inspiring influence of our own successful struggle in which she had so nobly participated.

And still, if I understood the gentleman from Georgia, he took the ground which has been taken by others, that the occurrence of the French revolution obliterated the claims of France against our Government. Neither equity, common sense, or international law can sustain for a moment such a proposition.

These claims were not owed to a dynasty or any particular form of government for the time being. They were owed to the French nation, which, despite all internal changes, then lived as it had existed from the days of Pepin and Clovis, and still survives through many vicissitudes to maintain the standard of republican ideas in the presence of monarchical Europe. The gentleman referred in terms of contempt and indignation to the execution of the French king. Now, I do not wish to defend the excesses of the French revolution, but for that particular fact there is a parallel in English history to which we are accustomed to refer in terms of commendation.

The execution of Charles I is regarded as one of the triumphs of English liberty, and we have been taught to believe that the same blow which beheaded him destroyed the *jus divinum* of kings, and that the stately and immortal form of constitutional freedom rose from his gory scaffold. And the English sovereign was by far the nobler character, and his many splendid qualities secured the enthusiastic devotion of a large portion of his subjects and caused his memory to be cherished with affectionate loyalty by more than one generation of Englishmen. But the Nemesis of nations is justly blind to individual merits when exacting retribution for long-continued crimes against humanity.

The king or kaiser must stand or fall with the system he represents. It is but a step from the throne to the scaffold when tyranny is confronted with the outraged majesty of the people and human nature demands an example and a sacrifice. The wrongs and injuries suffered by the English people under the Stuarts were as nothing to those endured for generations by France under the despotic, corrupt, and infamous rule of the Bourbons. Corrupt and dissolute kings and nobles debauched the morals, destroyed the substance, and annihilated the rights of the people, and when starvation was added to all other horrors they rose in their frenzy against their oppressors and the French revolution ran its awful course.

Sir, when we consider the causes of that great struggle we will not lay the responsibility for its offenses on the ignorant and famished population of Paris, but upon those long, continued and accumulated wrongs and infamies which finally produced unbridled revolt.

But, sir, internal changes of government, however radical, can not extinguish the just rights and claims of a nation against other governments. Forms of government are often transitory. Nations are permanent. It is the inherent right of a people, which we have solemnly recognized in the Declaration of Independence, to alter or abolish at their pleasure any particular form of government, and with the exercises of that right foreign nations have no concern when it does not

directly menace their own interest. We would not forego claims against France or any other country on account of a change, however radical, in its government. And no valid reason can be given why the rule should not be reciprocal.

The chief objection urged against the payment of these claims is the alleged existence of war between the two countries. This objection has been fully met over and over again, and I shall only state a few facts and considerations which show that while the relations between the two countries were disturbed, and hostile acts were committed by each, no general war existed during that period. No declaration of war was made by either country; and as Congress alone possessed the constitutional function of declaring war and failed to do so, this fact alone furnishes conclusive evidence that war did not exist. During all the time covered by these hostile proceedings negotiations were being carried on between the two countries with a view of settling their differences, and no representative of our Government, whether President, Secretary of State, agent, or commissioner, ever claimed that the two Governments were at war at that time. The diplomatic position of the French Government and its action were based upon the assumption of peace between the two countries.

It would be strange, indeed, if war had existed that parties involved were not aw re of the existence of such a grave fact. Various acts of Congress recognized the existence of hostililities on the part of France and provided for retaliatory measures, but we were careful not to declare or in any manner admit the presence of war. The act of May 23, 1798, authorized the seizure of any armed vessel which had—

Committed depredations on the commerce of the United States and captured vessels and property of citizens thereof on or near the coast.

I quote from Mr. Sumner's report to show the attitude of Congress on this question:

Another act, bearing date the same day, authorizes a provisional army, "in the event of a declaration of war, or of actual invasion of their territory by a foreign power, or of imminent danger of such invasion discovered before the next session of Congress." The act of June 13, 1798, to continue in force only till the next session, and renewed July 16, 1799, for a limited term, suspended commercial relations between the two countries, under penalties of forfeiture; but such acts, however menacing, are absolutely inconsistent with an existing state of war, which of itself, without any additional act, suspends commercial relations between the belligerent parties. The act of June 25, 1798, authorizes our merchant vessels "to subdue and capture any French armed vessel from which an assault or other hostility shall be first made." The act of July 6, 1798, respecting alien enemies, begins with the words of limitation, "Whenever there shall be a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation." The act July 7, 1798, declares the treaties as no longer "legally obligatory;" but if war existed, such an act would have been superfluous. The act of July 16,1798, authorizes augmentation of the Army "for and during the continuance of the existing differences between the United States and the French Republic." The act of March 2, 1799, also authorizes augmentation of the Army "in case war shall break out." Another act, passed the next day, provides that certain troops already authorized shall not be raised, "unless war shall break out between the United States and some European prince, people, or state." And as late as February 10, 1800, while the negotiations were proceeding, another act was passed providing that further enlistments should be suspended, "unless in the recess of Congress and during the continuance of the existing differences between the United States and the French Republic war shall break out between the United States and the French Republic." All these cumulative measures refer to war, not as actually existing, but only as a possible future contingency. Meanwhile there were "existing differences" only. And finally, on the 14th of May, 1800, four months before the signature of the convention, and when the plenipotentiaries on each side were at a dead-lock, as has been already amply shown, another act was passed authorizing the abandonment of the military preparations set on foot in contemplation of the contingency of war. Such is a synopsis of the testimony from Congressional legislation on this point.

I quote further from the same report to prove that the position of the executive branch of our Government harmonized with that of Congress, and the position of the French Government also negatived the idea of war:

The declarations of the Executive are as explicit as the declarations of Congress. In the instructions to our plenipotentiaries at Paris, under date of October 22, 1799, the Secretary of State, after reciting the spoliations of France, says: "This conduct of the French Republic would well have justified an immediate declaration of war on the part of the United States; but desirous of maintaining peace, and still willing to leave open the door of reconciliation with France, the United States contented themselves with preparations for defense and measures calculated to protect their commerce." (French Spoliations, 1826, page 561.) These plenipotentiaries declared to the French plenipotentiaries, under date of April 16, 1800, that "the act of Congress, far from contemplating a co-operation with the enemies of the Republic, did not even authorize reprisals upon merchantmen, but were restricted solely to giving safety to our own, till a moment should arrive when their sufferings could be heard and redressed." (*Ibid.*, page 583.) Again, in the instructions to our minister in England, under date of September 20, 1800, the Secretary of State, who was none other than John Marshall, says: "The aggressions of one and sometimes another belligerent power have forced us to contemplate and to prepare for war as a probable event." (*Ibid.*, page 452.) Not as an actual event already arrived, but only as a probable event. In the face of such declarations, who can say that war existed?

On the part of France the declarations are equally explicit. It is true that on the 12th September, 1800, in conversation, the French plenipotentiaries let drop fitful words to the effect that "if the question could be determined by an indifferent nation such a tribunal would say that the present state of things was war on the side of America, and that no indemnities could be claimed." (*Ibid.*, page 633.) But the context shows that at that moment, in order to avoid the payment of these indemnities. the plenipotentiaries were driven to every possible subterfuge, and the whole suggestion is contrary to all the admissions of the French Government, both in the executive and legislative branches. Indeed, these very plenipotentiaries of France, in a formal communication to the American plenipotentiaries, under date of August 20, 1800, declared that "the state of misunderstanding which had existed for some time between France and the United States, by the acts of some agents rather than the will of the respective Governments, has not been a state of war, at least on the side of France." (*Ibid.*, page 616.) We have already seen that it was not on the side of the United States. These same plenipotentiaries, under date of December 12, 1801, contented themselves with characterizing the relations of the two powers at this period as almost hostile. (*Ibid.*, page 559). Already at an earlier day, Talleyrand, as minister of foreign relations, had written, under date of August 28, 1798: "France has a double motive, as a nation and as a republic, not to expose to any hazard the present existence of the United States. Therefore it never thought of making war against them; and every contrary supposition is an insult to common sense." (*Ibid.*, page 649.) When the convention, in its final form, was laid before the legislative assembly of France, one of the French plenipotentiaries charged with its vindication announced in a speech, November 26, 1801, that "it had terminated the misunderstanding between France and America," which, he said, had become such "that the reconciliation should be hastened if it was desired that it should not become very difficult." A report was also made to the Legislative Assembly by M. Adet, formerly French minister to the United States, in which it is declared: "There has not been any declaration of war. Commissions granted by the President to attack the armed vessels of France are not to be regarded as a declaration of war. The will of the President does not suffice to put America in a state of war. It requires a positive declaration of Congress to this effect. None has ever existed."—*Code Diplomatique, par Portiez*, tome 1, pages 39-57.

It is not denied that hostilities on the part of France and the retaliatory acts committed by our Government might constitute an imperfect and limited condition of war, to which belligerent rules would apply so far as the facts would come within their scope. This would be the case with armed vessels, and armed vessels only. Where no general war existed, calling into operation that great body of neutral and belligerent rights and obligations, private vessels engaged in peaceful commerce would be exempt from the rules of war. If war existed, it would extinguish the claims on either side, and the repeated and long-continued negotiations relating to them would have been unnecessary and absurd. The conclusion is inevitable that war between our country and France was not present at any period of the controversy, and therefore these claims were valid against the latter country.

In closing I wish to advert to the argument of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, that our Government should only be liable for the value of the claims at that time in European markets, which, he asserted, was merely nominal. I disagree wholly with this position. The value of the claims to a speculator would be no criterion of their value to our Government. The supposed value to a purchaser would include the risk of collection, the inability or disinclination of the French Government to pay them, and the possible, and what has proved to be the actual, prolonged delay in securing payment.

When they were used as a set-off by our Government none of these considerations would affect their value, and they would be, and undoubtedly were, used to the full extent of their par value in effecting a settlement which forever released us from the counter-claims of France. We are therefore responsible, if responsible at all, for the face value of these claims. It is certainly to be hoped that Congress will at last decide to pay these just but long-deferred claims to the representatives of the men who in the early days of the Republic carried its flag fearlessly upon the high seas and relied upon the honor and good faith and justice of their Government to protect the property over which it floated.

The French Spoliation Claims.

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL KERR,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, August 21, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. KERR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I avail myself of this opportunity to present a few objections to these claims that I have not heard presented. First of these is their very great age. The wrongs which it is sought to remedy occurred nearly a century ago. They ought to be barred by the statute of limitation. When a claim comes over from another generation there should be strong presumptions of its invalidity. And we have some others presented by Maryland and Virginia amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars. It is true these claims have been presented before. They have even some of them passed Congress and been vetoed by former Presidents; but we have not heard that they received any approval by the men who controlled the Government for the first thirty years after they occurred. There were times then when the Treasury was overflowing and when the surplus was distributed to the States; but these claims were not then deemed valid claims against the Government by the men in control of affairs, and who should be presumed to know more about them than we can possibly learn at this late day.

Originally these were claims against France. They were not claims that France ever admitted. To be just, France was engaged in a life-and death-struggle with Great Britain, and both nations resorted to measures that can not be justified by the rules of war. The men who navigated the seas did so at their peril. The rewards of successful ventures were very great and were inducements for daring. Napoleon, by the Berlin and Milan decrees, was endeavoring to prevent

the rest of the world from obeying an arbitrary order of Great Britain that sought to compel the whole world to give her their trade. The measures of France were defensive measures. They could be justified as measures of defense and on no other grounds. In seeking to evade these measures certain men were captured by the French and losses sustained. France never admitted that she was in the wrong in sustaining her decrees or in preventing their evasion. The measures of France were either justifiable or they were in fact acts of war. And that proposition has never been settled; but whichever they were there was in neither case a foundation for a claim for damages.

France claimed to be the owner of land in America, and we paid them for that land, as I understand, $14,000,000 in cash and relinquished all claims that we might have against her. France had been practically driven from the seas, and whatever claims she might have had to territory on this continent she was no longer able to maintain, and was glad to get $14,000,000 for territory that but for this would surely have fallen into the hands of her ancient enemy. That the nominal amount of the claims for damages was placed at $3,000,000 is a matter of no consequence as fixing any liability on this Government. The fact that France also relinquished her claim for damages for violation of the treaty of 1778 is entitled to very little consideration. General Washington did not regard the treaty of 1778 as imposing an eternal obligation to fight everybody for the sake of France and compelling us to guaranty the possession of the American territory of France. This obligation of amity imposed on the United States by that treaty could not be regarded as a foundation for a money demand any more than any other pledge of friendship, which is always regarded rather as a confession of friendly sentiments than as the foundation of a financial obligation. These declarations are valuable. They are beyond computation, and they have been redeemed in the friendly feelings that have always existed between France and the United States. They were redeemed in the purchase at a critical moment of territory that France would inevitably lose, and which would at the same time subject us to an environment little short of destruction. But, as I said before, the great statesmen of our early day saw the futility and impossibility of a perpetual alliance with France, offensive and defensive; and if such an obligation could have been of any force, by the rules of international law France had abandoned the claim, first, by the act of the Legislative Assembly of 1789, which virtually declared the independence of all her colonies.

It may be said that this act was the act of visionaries, and that it was repudiated by the act of the more practical Napoleon. But the abandonment was a release of the obligation of the United States, whatever that obligation was, for we could not be expected to maintain for her a right that she had herself abandoned, and no law of nations would compel us to assert for her a right to possessions which she had first proclaimed free, and only asserted her right after she had been swept from the seas and was powerless to enforce her claims. And yet these fanciful obligations are now asserted as the just foundation for a claim against this Government that was ignored by all the early statesmen, and after the lapse of nearly a century. The argument in favor of these claims is in no way strengthened by the fact that we have a surplus in the Treasury. I send to the Clerk's desk to have read a statement from the Star of yesterday, from which it will appear that we are in no condition to make any extravagant appropriations. It is as follows:

THE SURPLUS FOR 1889—OFFICIAL ESTIMATES REDUCE IT TO POSSIBLY BELOW FIFTEEN MILLIONS.

The following statement has been prepared at the Treasury Department in regard to appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, made at the present session of Congress in the regular appropriation bills:

Bills.	As passed by House.	As passed by Senate.
Bills finally passed	$222,733,190	$222,733,190
The sundry civil appropriation bill	23,332,406	28,506,999
Army appropriation bill	24,639,300	31,531,800
Navy appropriation bill	20,003,024	20,193,222
Fortifications (pending in Senate)	3,725,000	3,725,000
Fortifications (pending in House)	3,539,434	3,539,434
Total	297,972,405	310,229,716
Permanent and indefinite appropriations	115,640,799	115,640,799
Total appropriations	413,613,204	425,870,515

Estimated revenue, including $57,563,734 for postal revenue, $440,563,734; estimated surplus, $26,950,530 based on House appropriations, and $14,693,219 on Senate appropriations.

From this it appears that we will, even in case there is no change in the prosperity of the country, have only a surplus of $14,000,000, even if no additional bills are passed, and no further relief given, although justly demanded, to our soldiers. We will be under the obligation of asking a recall of the Mills bill from the Senate if there is much more of this kind of legislation. For we have a debt of over $200,000,000 which will mature in 1891 with no provision for its payment, unless we resort to the new method of depletion and destruction of the sinking fund, as is recommended by members at the other end of the Capitol.

Chinese Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. MORROW,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, August 18, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 3304) to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States—

Mr. MORROW said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I apprehend that it will not be necessary, in connection with the bill now before the House, to enter into a discussion of the evils of Chinese immigration. It is only pertinent at this time to explain why new legislation is demanded for the protection of the people of this country against those evils.

The policy that the laboring classes of China should not be permitted to invade this country and destroy American labor was declared and adopted by this Government when it negotiated the treaty with China dated November 17, 1880. The difficulty has been in placing in effective operation the necessary and proper legal machinery to carry that policy into execution. It is not the principle of exclusion, but the urgent necessity of providing a suitable method of exclusion that brings us to the consideration of this particular measure. I shall not therefore detain the House with a restatement of the reasons for closing our gates against this undesirable immigration, but content myself, for the present at least, with an explanation, which I will make as brief as possible, showing how, notwithstanding the treaty, our efforts have seriously failed in that direction.

The first treaty negotiated with China by the United States is known as the Cushing treaty, dated July 3, 1844. This treaty opened five Chinese ports to the commerce of the United States, as they had been by a previous treaty opened to the English. These ports were Kwang Chow (Canton), Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. The second treaty is known as the Reed treaty, dated June 18, 1858, which opened two additional ports to our commerce, namely, Swatau and Tai-Wan, in Formosa.

The third treaty was the Burlingame treaty, dated July 28, 1868, of which the ratifications were exchanged at Peking November 23, 1869. The fifth and sixth sections of this treaty related to the right of the citizens of the one country to voluntarily migrate to the other country for the purposes of curiosity, trade, or permanent residence. The two sections are as follows:

ARTICLE V.

The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties therefore join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country, without their free and voluntary consent, respectively.

ARTICLE VI.

Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

These two sections of the Burlingame treaty have been made the subject of much unfriendly criticism as being the cause of Chinese immigration to the United States. The criticism is not justified by the actual fact. The total Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco from 1850 to December 31, 1887, was 345,977. Of this number 141,800, or nearly one-half of the whole number, came before the ratification of the Burlingame treaty. Immigration had commenced under former treaties and was then going on without any legal restraint. There was no occasion at that time for any provision being made for the admission of voluntary Chinese immigration, but the point was on the part of our Government to provide against involuntary immigration and put a stop to the importation of contract or servile labor.

It was against what was then known as coolie labor that the Burlingame treaty directed its prohibition, and to secure the aid of the Chinese Government in preventing such objectionable immigration the declaration was made concerning voluntary immigration. The declaration was unfortunate in tying the hands of our Government so that it could not freely legislate against an invasion coming under the guise of a voluntary immigration, but the treaty did not provide or even encourage such immigration. There was on the contrary a significant

provision against naturalization, which indicated that there was to be a line drawn somewhere between the people of China and the people of the United States. In view of recent discussion it will be well to remember that the concluding sentence in Article VI, of the Burlingame treaty provided as follows:

But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

The next treaty was dated November 17, 1880. Articles I and II of this treaty provided as follows:

ARTICLE I.

Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

ARTICLE II.

Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

Mr. HOOKER. Are you reading from the law?

Mr. MORROW. No; I am reading from the treaty of 1880. Now, it was clearly the duty of Congress in the proper execution of the provisions of this treaty to have immediately provided for the enforcement of its stipulations by proper and adequate legislation. The treaty was sent to the Senate at the third session of the Forty-sixth Congress. The Congress was Democratic in both branches. The Forty-sixth Congress adjourned without any action being taken on the treaty and without any provision being made for its execution. The Forty-seventh Congress convened December 5, 1881. In this Congress the House was Republican and the Senate evenly divided, with Senator David Davis, of Illinois, holding the balance of power. Legislation was almost immediately proposed and considered, and the result was the passage of the restriction act of May 6, 1882. That act suspended Chinese immigration for the period of ten years and went into effect August 5, 1882. The first and second sections provided as follows:

That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

SEC. 2. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States on such vessel, and land or permit to be landed, any Chinese laborer, from any foreign port or place, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 for each and every such Chinese laborer so brought, and may also be imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

The bill contained fifteen sections. The remaining sections which I do not quote contained provisions in detail for the identification of those who being in the United States should depart therefrom with the intention of returning. The identification was to be by means of a certificate to be issued by the collector of customs at the port of departure.

The act at first gave promise of being effective. From August 5, 1882, to December 31, 1882, only 39 Chinamen presented such evidence at the port of San Francisco as entitled them to land and come into the United States. The number, however, soon began to increase, and during the year 1883 there were landed at the port of San Francisco 3,014. Many of these arrivals presented return certificates which had been issued by the collector of the port, and which, of course, entitled them to return. But there was another class who had no return certificates, but who claimed the right to return on the ground that they were in the country at the date of the treaty, and had departed before the passage of the act of Congress providing for the return certificates. The right to return was claimed under the following provision of Article II of the treaty:

And Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord.

The collector of the port refused to allow such persons to land because they did not produce the return certificates provided by the act of Congress. The Chinamen thereupon sued out writs of habeas corpus in the United States court, and producing evidence that they were in the country at the date of the treaty they were landed by the court. It was evident that the permission to land and come into the United States being conceded to this unidentified class, the door was left open to further immigration by means of false personation. Almost any Chinaman could prove, certainly by his own testimony, that he was somewhere in the United States on the 17th day of November, 1881, and the claim was of that character that it could not always be satisfactorily disproved.

The Government was really unable to maintain a negative and could do nothing but cross-examine the petitioner as to the particulars of his former residence and his knowledge of the country. The only other checks on fraudulent impersonation were the books of the steam-ship companies showing the number of departures on each vessels, and the books of the Six Companies, copies of which were obtained by the court at an early date, showing some particulars concerning each person who had departed from the country. But this evidence was not sufficient to prevent many Chinamen who had never been in the country from proving prior residence. The number of those who had left the port of San Francisco after November 17, 1880, and prior to August 5, 1882, was 12,816. Under the decision of the court these were all entitled to return, and by the method of personation which I have just described this privileged class could be multiplied indefinitely.

During the year 1884 the arrivals numbered 6,602. This rapid increase being brought to the attention of Congress, it was determined to amend the act of 1882 so as to prohibit the landing of any Chinese laborers in the United States who could not produce return certificates. The law was amended for this purpose, but not in a way to reach the evil. It was, for instance, provided in the act of 1882 that the return certificate issued to the departing Chinaman should—

Entitle the Chinese laborer to whom the same is issued to return to and reenter the United States upon producing and delivering the same to the collector of customs of the district at which such Chinese laborer shall seek to re-enter.

The act of 1884 amended this paragraph by adding thereto the following provision:

And said certificate shall be the only evidence permissible to establish his right of re-entry.

The purpose of Congress in this amendment was doubtless to provide that no Chinese laborer should be permitted to land or come into the United States unless he could produce the certificate required by the act of 1882. An amendment expressing this purpose would have cut off the claim of prior residence where a certificate could not be produced. In the case of Chew Heong, on habeas corpus in the United States circuit court at San Francisco, Mr. Justice Field held that the amendment had that effect. He decided that—

A Chinese laborer who resided in the United States on November 17, 1880, and who departed therefrom before the restriction act of 1882 went into operation, can not re-enter the United States since the amendatory act of 1884 went into operation without producing the certificate provided for in such act. Parol evidence of his former residence is inadmissable.

Judge Sawyer, the circuit judge, with whom concurred Judges Hoffman and Sabin, district judges, dissented, holding the contrary view. The opinion of Judge Sawyer is lengthy and discusses the questions involved very fully. The case was taken to the Supreme Court on a certificate of division of opinion, and the judgment of Mr. Justice Field, sitting as circuit justice, was reversed (Chew Heong *vs.* United States, 112 United States Reports, 536.) The Supreme Court held that—

The fourth section of the act of Congress approved May 6, 1882, as amended by the act of July 5, 1884, prescribing the certificate which shall be produced by a Chinese laborer as the only evidence permissible to establish his right of reentry into the United States, is not applicable to Chinese laborers who, residing in this country at the date of the treaty of November 17, 1880, departed by sea before May 6, 1882, and remained out of the United States until after July 5, 1884.

This decision destroyed the value of the amendment, and the claim of prior residence continued to be an available method for Chinese laborers to gain admission into the United States. The return certificate was the only evidence permissible on the part of the person producing it, but for those who could not produce such evidence by reason of departure from the country before the act of 1882 went into effect, other competent testimony was admissible. The act of July 5, 1884, failed to do that which was expected, namely, to provide that the claim of prior residence should not be available to Chinese laborers without return certificates.

We now come to the year 1885, when 9,049 Chinese laborers were landed at the port of San Francisco on certificates and on parol proof of prior residence.

The press of San Francisco denounced the workings of the law in the severest terms. The people of the Pacific coast were indignant. It was plain to be seen that the Chinese were coming into the country in utter defiance of the restriction act. They came into San Francisco on false testimony as to prior residence. They came into the country across the frontier without any evidence of a right to come. The people became exasperated over this condition of affairs and in some instances resorted to effective exclusion measures. In Washington Territory, where the invasion could be seen and understood, the people rose in self-defense and ordered the invaders out of the country. In this year the unfortunate collision occurred at Rock Springs, Wyo., for which Congress has voted an indemnity of $147,000.

The situation was serious and required immediate action. A meeting was held at the Palace Hotel at San Francisco, to which were invited the collector of the port, the naval officer and surveyor, the United States circuit and district judges, the Senators and Representatives from California, and others familiar with the subject of Chinese immigration. The whole subject was thoroughly discussed, and it was determined to prepare certain amendments to the acts of 1882 and 1884 that would effectively carry out the purpose of Congress and close the doors against the Chinese laborers who were coming in on the claim of prior residence supported by parol testimony. A bill was accordingly pre-

pared which received the approval of all the officials familiar with the subject.

It provided, among other things, that Chinese laborers who having been in the United States, had departed therefrom and remained absent from the United States for a period of two years, should be deemed, taken, and held to have elected to remain permanently out of the United States and to have waived and abandoned their right to return thereto. This was a very simple provision and would have effectively cut off the claim of prior residence, as the act of 1882 had then been in force three years and those who were then making that claim on parol testimony had of course been absent for a longer period than three years. The claim asserted was that they had left before the act of 1882, and were therefore not provided with return certificates. This limitation of two years was in accordance with our treaties with many countries respecting naturalization where it is provided that—

The intent not to return may be held to exist when the person naturalized in the one country resides more than two years in the other country.

There did not seem to be any good reason why the Chinaman should not be subject to the same limitation as a German, for instance, respecting his intent to return to the United States. The bill contained other provisions carefully drawn to cure the defects in the acts of 1882 and 1884. One, for instance, provided that Chinamen with return certificates should not come to the United States in any greater number than one Chinaman to every 50 tons of the registered tonnage of the vessel. I introduced this bill in the House December 21, 1885—the first bill day of the Forty-ninth Congress—and it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The California Representatives appeared before that committee, urged the early consideration of the bill, and explained its provisions. The same bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator FAIR, of Nevada, March 29, 1886, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, where it was considered and reported favorably, with only some few verbal amendments, by the unanimous vote of the committee. The bill was reported to the Senate April 29, 1886, and on June 1, 1886, was debated and passed the Senate, without a dissenting vote.

In the course of the debate Senator SHERMAN, who reported the bill, said:

The bill has been carefully examined in the Committee on Foreign Relations, and as far as I know every provision was assented to with entire unanimity.

Senator MITCHELL, of Oregon, who it is well known is extremely radical against Chinese immigration, said:

This bill is a great improvement, permit me to say, in my judgment, upon any bill that has ever heretofore at any time been reported by any committee of either branch of Congress upon this question.

The bill came to the House and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs June 3, 1886. In the meantime the House bill had been considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It was amended in some minor particulars and ordered reported favorably, and was so reported to the House May 1, 1886.

The Senate bill was never reported to the House by the committee, and the House bill was never called up for consideration in the House, although the Representatives from the Pacific coast repeatedly urged such action. It was said that the Secretary of State was negotiating a new treaty upon the subject of immigration covering the whole subject, and that the passage of the bill would interfere with such negotiations.

The year 1886 closed without anything being done for the relief of the Pacific coast. The invasion continued, and the number of Chinese laborers landed at the port of San Francisco during the year was 6,714. The courts were overrun with Chinese habeas corpus cases and the people became impatient and more than ever exasperated because of the failure of Congress to take action in the direction of an effective exclusion. Six years had passed since the treaty was ratified providing for a suspension of immigration and still the immigration continued.

The second session of the Forty-ninth Congress came, and still no action was taken to amend the law. Mr. BELMONT then, as now, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, did, however, on the 8th of February, 1887, call up a bill (S. 2225) to indemnify certain subjects of the Chinese Empire for losses sustained by the violence of a mob at Rock Springs, in the Territory of Wyoming, in September, 1885. In the course of the debate which occurred on this bill I interrogated Mr. BELMONT as to his purpose concerning legislation in regard to Chinese immigration, and he replied, as follows:

Mr. MORROW. Will the gentleman allow me to ask whether after this bill has been disposed of it is proposed to bring forward the bill that also came from the Senate providing amendments to the act restricting Chinese immigration.

Mr. BELMONT. It is not. The gentleman, of course, will desire to know the reason.

Mr. MORROW. I do; and I think the House and the country would like to know why you do not propose to place an effective restraint upon the immigration now coming into this country, contrary to the stipulations contained in the existing treaty.

Mr. BELMONT. The members of the committee, when this matter was before the House last session, declared in almost every instance their opinion that the immigration of Chinese coolies should be prohibited; and I believe that is their opinion to-day. I do not know how far it would be proper to declare to the House what negotiations there may be pending on this subject; but there have been communications made to Congress which for a time were secret, but from which the seal of secrecy has now been removed, and to those I can refer as indicating the disposition of the Chinese Government; and I can say that nothing has changed in regard to the statements there made by our late minister to China, Mr. Young. I refer to pages 43, 64, and 65 of Executive Document (confidential), Forty-ninth Congress, first session. We are assured in this correspondence that the Chinese Government does not desire to embarrass the relations with this country by a continuance of the immigration, and that there is a disposition to modify the treaty to bring about results much more effective than can possibly be accomplished by legislation. Having that in view, the committee do not intend to bring up this matter to-day.

Mr. LONG. That has nothing to do with the present bill.

Mr. BELMONT. That has nothing to do with the present bill, excepting it might be said that if Congress should do this act of justice and meet the Chinese Government in this matter in the same spirit in which they have met us it would undoubtedly be much more easy to accomplish what is desired by negotiations, although of course there is no desire to make this a condition-precedent. The gentleman from California [Mr. MORROW] will see at once that should we press the measure in which he is interested it would retard rather than hasten the very purpose of the legislation which he advocates.

Mr. MORROW. I do not so understand.

Mr. BELMONT. I think perhaps the House would desire to hear what this communication is. To save time I will read from it a few lines. Our minister in 1884 said, among other things:

"In my dispatches Nos. 376 and 382, dated respectively March 7 and March 14, 1884, I had the honor to point out the difficulties attending the presentation of any grievance to the yamên arising out of the workings of the act governing the emigration of Chinese laborers to the United States. So far as our information went, there was no evidence to show that the Chinese authorities had connived at any evasion of that treaty. I said, also, that such acts would naturally take place in Hong-Kong or Macao.

"It was also my duty to show that the policy of the Imperial Government, so far as the emigration of their people was concerned, was a policy of indifference, if not of direct opposition. This was shown, as I explained in my dispatch No. 392, dated March 24, 1884. The Chinese authorities at Canton had gone so far in their restrictions upon emigration as to compel the bankruptcy of one of the most prominent houses in China."

Mr. MORROW. I would like to ask the gentleman what the House is to infer from what he has said respecting an agreement between this Government and China in regard to immigration.

Mr. BELMONT. I would be very careful not to overstep what I consider a proper statement. I can not assure the gentleman that negotiations have been completed, but he must himself know from observation and from the interest he has taken in the question that there is every reason to suppose that negotiations are pending and will be successful.

Mr. MORROW. This has been the promise for years; it has been so ever since this question has been under discussion.

Mr. BELMONT. I think, Mr. Chairman, the House will appreciate the gentleman's remarks. He intimates that there have been assurances and negotiations for some time past without performance. But undoubtedly one of the main difficulties in the way of a modification of the treaty has been the constant legislation, ineffective legislation, upon the subject, and the attempts at legislation in violation of the treaty, which must always receive the veto of the President, and which have for their principal result the embarrassment of the treaty-making power.

Mr. MORROW. The difficulty, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. BELMONT. I do not think I can yield any further. I will reserve the remainder of my time.

The bill providing for the payment of $147,000 to the Chinese as an indemnity for the Rock Springs outrage passed the House and became a law, but no action was taken upon the bills amending the restriction acts, the majority of the Committee on Foreign Affairs refusing to act for the reasons stated by Mr. BELMONT; and the Forty-ninth Congress expired on the 4th of March, 1887, without anything being done in that direction.

The Fiftieth Congress convened December 5, 1887. Bills were again introduced in the House and Senate providing for the repeal of all treaties with China relating to immigration and absolutely prohibiting any further Chinese immigration. The situation had become more serious than ever in San Francisco. The number of Chinese laborers landed at that port during the year 1887 reached 11,572, or nearly 3,000 more than the average arrivals before the treaty of 1880.

The attention of the Administration was called to the unfortunate state of affairs prevailing on the Pacific coast respecting the failure of the law in preventing Chinese immigration. It was again said that a new treaty was being negotiated that would prove satisfactory to our people. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs was not disposed to move in face of such a declaration. Accordingly on the 27th of February I introduced the following resolution in this House, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. MORROW submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs:

"*Resolved*, That the President be, and he hereby is, requested to communicate to this House, if in his opinion not incompatible with the public interests, what, if any, steps have been taken in the direction of treaty stipulations or otherwise to prevent the continued immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States, notwithstanding the provisions of the treaty of November 17, 1880, between the United States and the Empire of China, and the laws of the United States passed in pursuance thereof suspending such immigration."

The resolution was ordered reported favorably by the committee, and was so reported, and passed the House March 1, 1888.

The same day the Senate adopted the following resolution:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States, That in view of the difficulties and embarrassments that have attended the regulation of the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States under the limitations of our treaties with China, the President of the United States be requested to negotiate a treaty with the Emperor of China containing a provision that no Chinese laborer shall enter the United States.

The President responded to these resolutions by transmitting to the Senate, March 16, 1888, the treaty under which the bill now under consideration was framed. It is as follows:

Whereas on the 17th day of November, A. D. 1880, a treaty was concluded between the United States and China for the purpose of regulating, limiting, or suspending the coming of Chinese laborers to, and their residence in, the United States; and

Whereas the Government of China, in view of the antagonism and much dep-

recated and serious disorders to which the presence of Chinese laborers has given rise in certain parts of the United States, desires to prohibit the emigration of such laborers from China to the United States; and

Whereas the Government of the United States and the Government of China desire to co-operate in prohibiting such emigration, and to strengthen in other ways the bonds of friendship between the two countries: Now, therefore, the President of the United States has appointed Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State of the United States, as his plenipotentiary; and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China has appointed Chang Yen Hoon, minister of the third rank of the imperial court, civil president of the board of imperial cavalry and envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, as his plenipotentiary; and the said plenipotentiaries, having exhibited their respective full powers found to be in due and good form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties agree that for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be absolutely prohibited.

ARTICLE II.

The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of $1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. Nevertheless, every such Chinese laborer shall, before leaving the United States, deposit, as a condition of his return, with the collector of customs of the district from which he departs, a full description in writing of his family, or property, or debts, as aforesaid, and shall be furnished by said collector with such certificate of his right to return under this treaty as the laws of the United States may now or hereafter prescribe, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this treaty; and should the written description aforesaid be proved to be false, the right of return thereunder, or of continued residence after return, shall in each case be forfeited. And such right of return to the United States shall be exercised within one year from the date of leaving the United States; but such right of return to the United States may be extended for an additional period, not to exceed one year, in cases where by reason of sickness or other cause of disability beyond his control, such Chinese laborer shall be rendered unable sooner to return—which facts shall be fully reported to the Chinese consul at the port of departure, and by him certified, to the satisfaction of the collector of the port at which such Chinese subject shall land in the United States.

ARTICLE III.

The provisions of this convention shall not affect the right at present enjoyed of Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure, but not laborers, of coming to the United States and residing therein. To entitle such Chinese subjects as are above described to admission into the United States they may produce a certificate from their government or the government where they last resided, viséd by the diplomatic or consular representative of the United States in the country or port whence they depart.

It is also agreed that Chinese laborers shall continue to enjoy the privilege of transit across the territory of the United States in the course of their journey to or from other countries, subject to such regulations by the Government of the United States as may be necessary to prevent said privilege of transit from being abused.

ARTICLE IV.

In pursuance of Article III of the immigration treaty between the United States and China, signed at Peking on the 17th day of November, 1880, it is hereby understood and agreed that Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, either permanently or temporarily residing in the United States, shall have for the protection of their persons and property all rights that are given by the laws of the United States to citizens of the most favored nation, excepting the right to become naturalized citizens. And the Government of the United States reaffirms its obligation, as stated in said Article III, to exert all its power to secure protection to the persons and property of all Chinese subjects in the United States.

ARTICLE V.

Whereas Chinese subjects, being in remote and unsettled regions of the United States, have been the victims of injuries in their persons and property at the hands of wicked and lawless men, which unexpected events the Chinese Government regrets, and for which it has claimed an indemnity the legal obligation of which the Government of the United States denies; and whereas the Government of the United States, humanely, considering these injuries and bearing in mind the firm and ancient friendship between the United States and China, which the high contracting parties wish to cement, is desirous of alleviating the exceptional and deplorable sufferings and losses to which the aforesaid Chinese have been subjected; therefore, the United States, without reference to the question of liability therefor (which as a legal obligation it denies), agrees to pay on or before the 1st day of March, 1889, the sum of $276,619.75 to the Chinese minister at this capital, who shall accept the same, on behalf of his government, as full indemnity for all losses and injuries sustained by Chinese subjects as aforesaid, and shall distribute the said money among the said sufferers and their relatives.

ARTICLE VI.

This convention shall remain in force for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of ratifications; and if, six months before the expiration of the said period of twenty years, neither government shall formally have given notice of its termination to the other, it shall remain in full force for another like period of twenty years.

The correspondence accompanying this treaty does not confirm the statement made in 1886 that a treaty was being negotiated at that time on the subject of Chinese immigration, nor is there anything to show that any such negotiations were pending as late as February, 1887, when the debate on the Chinese indemnity bill occurred in the House.

In a letter addressed to the Chinese minister by the Secretary of State, dated December 28, 1887—after the commencement of the present Congress—the attention of the Chinese minister is called—

to certain late disclosures in the course of judicial proceedings at San Francisco, in which certain Chinese subjects were arraigned for violation of existing laws of the United States relative to the restriction of the immigration of Chinese laborers, passed for the enforcement of the existing treaties with China.

From the published letters of the judges—

The Secretary goes on to say—

and the public report of the proceedings in these trials the facts seem to be established that a systematic evasion of the restriction upon the immigration of Chinese laborers, imposed by laws passed in pursuance of the treaties, has been and continues to be practiced by Chinese professing to have gone away from the United States and claiming the right to return hither under the provisions of the treaty.

* * * * * * *

The systematic violation of the treaty of 1880, and of the restrictive act of the United States passed in 1882, was averred by the eminent judge (Hoffman) before whom part of the cases were tried, and were also stated by another judge (Sawyer) in a published letter to Hon. Mr. MORROW, M. C., dated November 21, 1887.

The Secretary then compliments the minister upon the intelligent vigilance which he exercises over the affairs of his countrymen, and concludes as follows:

In considering the remedy I have great satisfaction in finding a complete accord between the Government you so honorably represent and that of the United States in desiring an absolute prohibition of Chinese laborers from coming into the United States from China.

A conventional arrangement to this end has already been proposed and measurably discussed between us, and a draught of such a treaty placed in your hands. Let me therefore invite your excellency, under the powers already held by you from your Government, to proceed with me at your earliest convenience in framing a just and wise convention in which China and the United States shall deal with the subject in a manner consistent with their sense of mutual respect and duty, and calculated to cement their amicable relations.

With this view I now hand you inclosed herewith a draught of a projet upon the basis of which we can hopefully proceed to an agreement.

The Chinese minister replies to this communication under date of January 30, 1888, and this is what he has to say concerning the negotiations for a new treaty:

As to your proposition for a conventional arrangement and the draught of a *projet* inclosed by you, I beg to recall to your attention the fact that this identical *projet* was sent to me with your note of April 11, 1887, and that I had the honor to send you on the 16th of August last a memorandum note containing a detailed reply to your draught of treaty, with a proposition by me for two additional articles which I regarded as essential to acceptance by my government.

It thus appears that the negotiations for this new treaty did not, in fact, commence until April of last year. There is not a particle of evidence that there was anything in the direction of negotiations even proposed during the sessions of the Forty-ninth Congress. The question will then naturally arise, why was legislation opposed in that Congress on the pretense that negotiations were pending?

We will now see what was the result of these long-delayed negotiations.

The treaty appeared in the newspapers soon after it was sent to the Senate. An examination of its provisions disclosed the fact that it did not provide against the defects in the former treaty or the acts of Congress passed to carry that treaty into effect.

The first article, it will be observed, provides:

That for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States, shall be absolutely prohibited.

This starts well and sounds strong and comprehensive, as indeed it is. It is substantially the first section of the act of 1882, as follows:

That from and after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is, hereby suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come, to remain within the United States.

The difference between the first article of the treaty and the first section of the act of 1882 are, first, the term of years provided in the treaty is twenty, while in the law the term is ten years; second, the treaty provides that the coming of Chinese laborers is "absolutely prohibited," while in the law the coming of such persons is "suspended." These words, however, have no relation to the defects in the former treaty or the act of 1882.

The difficulty with this first article of the treaty is the difficulty that occurred with the first section of the act of 1882, namely, that it is subject to the conditions provided in Article II, as the first section of the act was subject to the conditions of section 3 of that act. Now, Article II of the treaty provides as follows:

The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of $1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement.

The third section of the act of 1882 provided—

That the two foregoing sections shall not apply to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the 17th day of November, 1880, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act.

The treaty merely adds to the qualification of prior residence the requirement that the returning Chinaman shall have one of the following qualifications:

1. A lawful wife in the United States; or
2. A child in the United States; or
3. A parent in the United States; or
4. Property therein of the value of $1,000; or
5. Debts of like amount due him and pending settlement.

What the situation required and now requires is that the claim of prior residence shall not be admitted on any terms; for once being admitted any one of the qualifications provided in the treaty can be as easily established as that of prior residence.

What was before merely evidence of prior residence, to be accepted by the court or not, as tending to prove such prior residence, became when proven under the new treaty an established right to return.

Manifestly the new treaty was in aid of the Chinaman's claim of a right to return.

After providing in the first article for an absolute prohibition, as has been stated by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. McCREARY], the treaty proceeds in the next article to make such exceptions as virtually destroy the value of the treaty. Providing for an excepted class whose qualifications might be established by parol testimony was simply to keep the door open to those Chinese laborers who would come in and prove that they had the required qualifications.

We had the door closed before except that certain classes were entitled to come by showing that they had been in the country before. But this article does not close the door at all. The bill which I introduced in the last Congress disposed of the claim of prior residence on parol testimony by providing a period of limitation for return, which could have excluded absolutely all those who could not produce a return certificate, and as to those who could produce such certificate they were not to be permitted to return in greater numbers than one passenger for every 50 tons of the registered tonnage of the vessel. This would have been an effective method of exclusion, but this treaty as it was originally framed was no better than the present treaty, in fact, not as good, for it provided a never-failing method of proving prior residence.

When this new treaty was published I took the liberty of advising the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs that the treaty did not reach the difficulty encountered in California in enforcing the present law, a difficulty that had been pointed out by the Supreme Court of the United States in more than one decision. As my communication to the committee has been made a public document, I may be permitted to insert it in the RECORD at this point. It is as follows:

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Washington, D. C., April* 10, 1888.

SIR: Assuming that the full text of the new treaty with China has been published, I venture to call your attention to the fact that it is fatally defective in not providing in positive terms against the return of a class of Chinese former residents who are not now in the United States, but who will certainly continue, either in person or by proxy, to assert the claim of a right to return, if such a claim can be made available under the new treaty as it has been under the present treaty. To point out distinctly the probable effect of this omission, permit me to call your attention to the real difficulties encountered in enforcing the provisions of exclusion contained in the treaty of November 17, 1880, and the laws of Congress passed in pursuance thereof. The treaty of November 17, 1880, was negotiated for the purpose of suspending Chinese immigration. It had no other object in view. It was the response of the Government to the urgent and often repeated demand of the Pacific coast that an effective barrier should be raised against the imminent peril of an overwhelming Chinese invasion of the Pacific coast. But unfortunately the treaty was not as comprehensive in its execution as it was in purpose.

In the second article of this treaty it was provided among other things that—

"Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord."

If there had been some means for the immediate identification of the Chinese laborers then in the United States, or if the proper return certificates of identification could have been immediately issued to all those who should thereafter depart from the United States, the treaty would perhaps have been of some value as a measure of exclusion, but unfortunately it was not until May 6, 1882, that Congress passed the act carrying into effect the provisions of the treaty, and even then the law did not go into operation until ninety days thereafter, or August 5, 1882. During this period of nearly two years, between the date of the treaty and the law of Congress, the Chinese swarmed into the country from every direction. The steam-ships from China were crowded to their utmost capacity by an eager mob hurrying to get in before the gate should be closed against them. The arrivals at San Francisco from Hong-Kong from November 18, 1880, to August 5, 1882, were 45,952. The average previous immigration for a like period was less than 16,000, so that here was an excess of immigration over the previous average of 30,000 in twenty months.

This was one of the unfortunate results of the effort to secure an exclusion that did not at once exclude, and for the time being the purpose of the treaty was not only defeated, but its negotiation caused a large increase in Chinese immigration. But bad as was this defect in the proceedings, it was by no means the worst feature of the situation. The bringing of Chinese into the United States during this period was a rich harvest for the steam-ship companies, and on the return trips of their vessels they were able to offer cheap transportation to those who could find it convenient to return to China. The result was that during the same period the records show that 12,816 Chinamen left the port of San Francisco for Hong-Kong. No one supposed at the time that these departing Chinamen would be the cause of breaking down the restrictions of the treaty, but in the practical working of its provisions such came to be the actual result.

As before stated, the treaty provides that Chinese laborers who were in the United States should be "allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord." Those who departed after August 5, 1882, took with them return certificates, as provided for under the law; but the 12,000 who departed after the treaty and before the law, took no certificate; yet under the decisions of the Supreme Court they are as much entitled to return to the United States as those who are provided with and produce the return certificate. Now the point is that Chinamen who were never in the United States are coming into the country on the claim that they were here at the date of the treaty, and our courts are now overrun with cases of habeas corpus involving this claim. It is manifestly impossible to prove in many cases that the Chinamen were not in the country on the 17th day of November, 1880, since persons having knowledge of their presence elsewhere would nearly always be beyond the process of the court.

The practical effect of leaving our doors open to Chinamen who will assert and prove this claim of prior residence is to defeat the whole purpose of treaty stipulations and legislation on this subject, since it can be easily demonstrated that the immigration will be continued under the disguise of the privileged class. The fact that we close our doors is proof positive to the excluded Chinaman that there is some advantage or benefit to be obtained by getting into the country, and he is so further informed and persuaded by those who would profit by his immigration. He is instructed to purchase a return certificate or assume the character of a prior resident, and with proper drilling he crawls through the meshes of the law as a privileged person.

The statistics of Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco will prove interesting in this connection. From the year 1852 to November 17, 1880 (the date of the treaty), the total Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco was 253,035, or an annual average of 8,725 for the twenty-nine years when there were no restrictions whatever. It was to stop this immigration that the treaty of November 17, 1880, was negotiated, and it was to protect the people of the Pacific coast from the evils arising from the continuance of such an immigration that Congress passed the act of May 6, 1882, carrying into effect the provisions of the treaty. Now, what has been the result? The following is a statement of the arrivals of Chinese at San Francisco since August 5, 1882:

From August 5, 1882, to December 31, 1882	39
For year ending December 31, 1883	3,014
1884	6,602
1885	9,049
1886	6,714
1887	11,572
Total	36,990

It will be seen that the average annual arrivals for the whole period since the restriction act went into effect is but little less than it was before the act, while for the last year (1887) the arrivals are greatly in excess of the former average, showing a steady increase, until the immigration has again reached proportions of the most dangerous and threatening character. It is not claimed of course that this increase of arrival is made up wholly of those who are landed on the claim of prior residence. The greater number are in fact provided with the return certificates issued under the act of May 6, 1882, but here again the purpose of the law has been defeated by the fraudulent issue of certificates to Chinamen who did not leave the country, but who merely acted as dummies that the certificates might be procured, sent to China, and sold to immigrants.

Again, certificates are issued to departing Chinamen, who may sell the certificates in China, and on their return without a certificate they are landed on the claim of prior residence, which they are perfectly qualified to assert and prove by satisfactory evidence. There are other methods of defeating the law, but enough has been stated to show the necessity for an absolute exclusion to effect the purpose in view when the Government sets out in earnest to exclude Chinese immigration. It is no longer a question as to the policy of closing our doors against Chinese cheap labor. That question has been determined by the present treaty on more than one principle of protection to our people and our form of civilization. The doors must be closed, and the only problem remaining is how to do it. The new treaty will not accomplish that purpose if the text, as published, is correct. But I note that Mr. Bayard, in his letter to the President transmitting the treaty, referring to the first article, says:

"This precludes the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in this country, and forbids the coming into the United States of Chinese laborers from any quarter whatsoever."

This is precisely the character of an exclusion for which we have been contending these many years, and if the treaty only contained this paragraph in appropriate and comprehensive terms it would have been a very decided step in the direction of solving this difficult problem. Now, the question is, what can be done to cure this defect? If the Secretary of State has correctly interpreted the purpose of the convention in the paragraph just quoted, then the treaty simply fails to express that purpose, and it seems to me that it would be entirely proper for the Senate to so advise the President and propose such amendments as would accomplish that purpose. I would not make this matter a subject of political controversy, but co-operate with the Executive in improving the opportunity to secure some decided and practical results. From what has been said, I think it must be apparent that the object to be obtained in any treaty stipulations that may be agreed upon is to secure entire exclusion, or, failing in this, to limit, as far as possible, the classes of Chinese persons who shall be entitled to come into the United States, expressing such restriction in terms so plain as to prevent any evasion.

The Secretary of State, in his letter referring to the terms of the new treaty, says:

"Existing treaty privileges of travel and sojourn in the United States to Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travelers for curiosity and pleasure remained undisturbed, as well as the transit of laborers, strictly to be exercised under United States regulations."

The admission of so-called "merchants" and the privilege of coming into the country accorded to Chinese laborers claiming to be in transit across the territory of the United States have been much abused privileges under the present treaty. The first effort to break the barrier of exclusion was upon the claim that the immigrants were all "merchants." This led to an amendment of the law (act of July 5, 1884) providing "that nothing in this act nor in said treaty shall be construed as embracing within the meaning of the word 'merchant' hucksters, peddlers, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation." This amendment had the effect of transferring the pressure to other weak points.

The records of the Treasury Department show that many Chinese laborers have been landed in the United States on the claim of being in transit who have not taken their departure, or if they have, their identity has been so completely lost that, with an eye to profit, they have been able to carry off return certificates for sale or future use. It would have been well if some further provision had been made against an immigration under the disguise of merchants and persons in transit, but perhaps these two points may be covered by proper legislation and regulations; and in view of the great necessity for further security at other points this feature of the new treaty may be dismissed without further comment.

The most serious complaint made against the present treaty is the clause providing that Chinese laborers who were here at the date of the treaty should be permitted to come and go at pleasure. As I have before explained, with this door open we find ourselves, at the end of nearly eight years, without any practical relief from this troublesome question; and the new treaty absolutely ignores this important point about which so much controversy has been had in court and before Congress in appeals for further legislation. The new treaty attempts to limit the number of Chinese laborers who shall be entitled to return, but the difficulty is that the courts may hold that this restriction only applies to those who shall hereafter depart, leaving the door open without this restriction to those who are now absent, but who may claim the right to return on their present certificates, or on prior residence, without such certificates. Assuming that Congress may provide such a form of certificate under the new treaty as will properly identify those hereafter departing and who shall be entitled to return, there still remains a necessity for providing against the return of those now absent, which I repeat is for the purpose of preventing the immigration of Chinese laborers who were never in the country. To accomplish this object, which is the real point at issue, I would suggest the following amendments to the new treaty:

"Amend Article I, as follows:

"Add to the end of the article the following: 'And this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in the United States, whether holding return certificates under existing laws or not.'"

The article would then read as follows:

"ARTICLE I. The high contracting parties agree that for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States of America shall be prohibited. And this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in

the United States, whether holding return certificates under existing laws or not."

The article thus amended would terminate the life of several thousand return certificates, but in view of their fraudulent use, their destruction is not only proper, but necessary to secure the enforcement of the terms of exclusion proposed in the new treaty. It would also put an end to the claim of prior residence, or residence here at the date of the treaty of 1880 which would give to the new treaty its chief value as a measure of exclusion. Furthermore the article, if so amended, would then provide for the terms of exclusion mentioned in the letter of the Secretary of State.

The next difficulty will occur in the identification of the privileged class of laborers who will be entitled to return under the new treaty; that is to say, "the identification of the Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States of America, or property therein of the value of $1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement."

I do not think much of the restriction contained in this qualification, for it will probably be developed that all who want to return to the United States will be thus qualified by the aid of the company to which the Chinaman belongs, but there will be a decided advantage in even restricting immigration to such persons as may hereafter depart from the United States; and to make such restriction effective I would suggest that it would be well to make it perfectly plain that Chinese laborers not provided with the return certificate, authorized by Article II, shall not be entitled to return or re-enter the United States. To do this an amendment in harmony with the recent decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of Jung Ah Lung, would be required, as follows:

"Add to the end of Article II the following:

"'*Provided*, That no Chinese laborer shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the return certificates herein required.'"

The next point to which I invite your attention is the failure to provide protection against the abuse of the privilege accorded to certain persons in Article III.

What, for instance, is to prevent any Chinese person from procuring the necessary certificate and coming into the United States under the claim of being either an official, teacher, student, merchant, or traveler? If the doors are closed elsewhere I am afraid this one will be forced open; but to provide as far as possible against such a proceeding, I would suggest the following amendment:

"Amend Article III as follows

"Add after the word 'depart,' in the fourteenth line (as published in the New York Times), the following:

"'And should the description of the person, or the representations as to the character, profession, or business of the person to whom such certificate is issued, fail to correspond with the character, profession, or business of the person producing such certificate, or if said certificate is proven to be false, the right to enter the United States thereunder, or of continued residence therein, shall in each case be forfeited, and no Chinese subjects, whether officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers, shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the certificate required herein to identify such person as privileged under this treaty to enter the United States.'"

With these amendments incorporated into the treaty, and proper legislation by Congress carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect, I think we may reasonably hope for a much better condition of affairs on the Pacific coast, in dealing with this difficult and troublesome question; but I must say, in justice to myself, that I have not changed the views I have heretofore expressed in urging legislation terminating all treaty stipulations and absolutely prohibiting all Chinese immigration.

This, in my judgment, is still the better course; and everything I have written is secondary and subordinate to such judgment. I am now only indicating the acceptance of a situation not by any means satisfactory, but out of which some practical, beneficial results may possibly be obtained. I therefore make these suggestions with the fullest reservation to urge measures of total exclusion, not only as the better, but the only effective course.

Very truly, yours,

WM. W. MORROW.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of United States *vs.* Jung Ah Lung, referred to in the foregoing communication, is reported in 124 United States Reports, page 622. In discussing the provisions of section 4 of the act of 1882 providing for a return certificate the court says:

It [section 4] does not say that the Chinese laborer returning by a vessel shall not be permitted to enter the United States without producing the certificate. In this respect there is a marked difference between section 4 and section 12 of the same act in regard to a Chinese person entering the United States by land. Section 12 provides that no Chinese person shall be permitted to enter the United States by land without producing the certificate mentioned in section 4 of the act. This distinction of language is very marked, and we think that, in the absence of like language in section 4, in regard to a Chinese laborer arriving by a vessel, it was competent for the district court to receive the evidence which it did in the case of a certificate claimed to have been actually lost or stolen, and that its conclusion of law was justified by the facts which it found.

Here the court points out distinctly the language necessary to be used to exclude all persons who can not produce return certificates. It was therefore necessary to amend the treaty in accordance with this decision to exclude the class who had destroyed the value of the former treaty. The Senate accordingly amended the treaty by adding to Article I the following amendment at the end of the article:

And this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in the United States, whether holding return certificates under existing laws or not.

But Article I was still subject to the provisions of Article II, which said that—

The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who has, etc.

The amendment to Article I did not seem therefore to have entirely covered the ground; so, to make the exclusion certain and to conform to the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Jung Ah Lung, the following provision was added at the end of Article II:

And no such Chinese laborer shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the return certificate herein required.

The first two articles as amended, therefore, stand as follows:

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties agree that for a period of twenty years, beginning with the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, the coming, except under the conditions hereinafter specified, of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be absolutely prohibited; *and this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers who are not now in the United States, whether holding return certificates under existing laws or not.*

ARTICLE II.

The preceding article shall not apply to the return to the United States of any Chinese laborer who has a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of $1,000, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement. Nevertheless, every such Chinese laborer shall, before leaving the United States, deposit, as a condition of his return, with the collector of customs of the district from which he departs, a full description in writing of his family, or property, or debts, as aforesaid, and shall be furnished by said collector with such certificate of his right to return under this treaty as the laws of the United States may now or hereafter prescribe and not inconsistent with the provisions of this treaty; and should the written description aforesaid be proved to be false the right of return thereunder, or of continued residence after return, shall in each case be forfeited.

And such right of return to the United States shall be exercised within one year from the date of leaving the United States; but such right of return to the United States may be extended for an additional period not to exceed one year in cases where, by reason of sickness or other cause of disability beyond his control, such Chinese laborer shall be rendered unable sooner to return, which facts shall be fully reported to the Chinese consul at the port of departure and by him certified to the satisfaction of the collector of the port at which such Chinese subject shall land in the United States. *And no such Chinese laborer shall be permitted to enter the United States by land or sea without producing to the proper officer of the customs the return certificate herein required.*

It must be plain that these amended words were absolutely necessary to give the treaty any effect whatever. Without them the defects in the previous efforts at exclusion remained.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY] deprecates the action of the Senate in placing these amendments on the treaty. The gentleman is too good a lawyer not to know the value of a few words sometimes to cure a defect in a contract or agreement. A few well-selected words may be sufficient to cover a world of difficulty if placed in the right place. This is the case with this treaty and these two amendments. They make the treaty say distinctly that the claim of prior residence shall not be admitted hereafter on parol testimony, since after this treaty is ratified no Chinese laborers are to be admitted into the country without the return certificate required by the treaty. But the gentleman says the amendments cause a delay in the ratification of the treaty. If the treaty has been sent to China because of these amendments they must have materially added to its provisions.

If the treaty without the amendments could have been ratified without being sent to China, then the treaty with the amendments could have been so ratified, if they do not materially change its conditions. The fact, however, is that the treaty had to go to China to receive the approval of that government before it could go into effect, whether amended or not.

The bill now under consideration is drawn under the provisions of this treaty and conforms to its restrictions. It provides some additional safeguards for the identification of those who shall depart intending to return, and requires that they shall be admitted only at the port from which they departed. It provides, also, that—

No Chinese person except diplomatic or consular officers and their attendants shall be permitted to enter the United States, except at the ports of San Francisco; Portland, Oregon; Boston, New York, New Orleans, Port Townsend, or such other ports as may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury.

This restriction as to ports of entrance is in accordance with the restrictions imposed upon our people by the Chinese Government with respect to admission into that country. This restriction has the further purpose of preventing further immigration across the frontier from Canada, and particularly from British Columbia.

It is provided in section 12 that—

The collector shall in person decide all questions in dispute with regard to the right of any Chinese passenger to enter the United States, and his decision shall be subject to review by the Secretary of the Treasury and not otherwise.

The purpose of this provision is to do away with the legal machinery now in use in determining the right of a Chainaman to land and come into the United States. It is believed that the custom-house authorities are properly qualified to make the investigation subject to an appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The next important provision is one providing for the deportation of Chinese persons found unlawfully in the United States. If the ports are closed Chinamen will most likely seek to enter the United States by land, coming over from British Columbia and Mexico. No satisfactory method has yet been devised for absolutely preventing such immigration, but it is believed that by prescribing certain ports of entry for the admission of Chinese laborers entitled to come into the United States, and providing for the deportation of those found unlawfully in the United States, a reasonably effective bar has been raised against such immigration.

This bill receives the approval of the people of the Pacific coast, because they believe it is a step in advance of any previous statute on the subject. But it is proper I should say at this time that neither the treaty nor the law meets with the entire approval of our people, because they believe that this Government should reserve to itself the sovereign right

to legislate whenever the occasion or circumstance may require against any foreign invasion which may threaten the best interests of this country. They believe that we should not be compelled to ask China for a treaty providing against the emigration of her undesirable subjects to this country. If our hands have become tied by previous stipulations so that we are prevented acting as freely as we should, the sooner we cut loose and place ourselves in position for self-defense the better. This Government should by proper declaration, by legislation, or otherwise reserve to itself the right to legislate at any time upon this subject of Chinese immigration to the extent it may deem necessary.

Why, Mr. Speaker, if a person presents himself at your door whose company you do not desire, you do not go to the house of the unwelcome visitor and arrange by agreement or stipulation that he will not intrude himself upon you or your family. You close your doors against the invader and you instruct your servants to say that you are not at home for him. Is there any question about your right to protect yourself in such a case? Certainly not. In this respect a nation is like an individual. It should have the right to close its doors instantly and protect itself against improper intrusion.

Because this Asiatic tramp forces his way through the western gate of the continent contrary to the spirit and purpose of our laws are we going to ignore his persistent invasion of our territory, or at most toy with the question, and forgetting the rights and demands of American labor, surrender to the vice and demoralization of Chinese labor? This is the whole question, turn it as you will, and our duty appears to me to be plain.

Mr. Speaker, we have placed upon the statute-book laws respecting the immigration of paupers, lunatics, convicts, contract laborers, and other objectionable classes. We did not apply to any foreign government for treaty stipulations giving us permission to pass such laws, and no government has raised any objection to our course. We considered it our inherent right to protect ourselves in this respect. We acted upon the highest law known to man, the law of self-preservation. I therefore say with respect to this Chinese question that it would be better for us at this time, by some general law, or treaty if you please, to untie our hands, and, freeing ourselves from all obligations, place ourselves in a position where we can act with freedom and provide legislation covering the whole subject. With such proper freedom we could change our laws to suit emergencies. In the last Congress bills having this object in view were introduced in both Houses. It would have been well if such a statute had been passed, and, in my judgment, it is the next step we should take in behalf of American labor and American civilization.

Mr. HERMANN. The gentleman will allow me to say that, while this bill has my hearty approbation, yet in listening to the gentleman's remarks I have not yet discovered any reference by him to the difficulties which at present prevail on the border line between our country and Canada or British Columbia.

Mr. MORROW. I am very glad the gentleman has called my attention to that subject, as I want to make a further suggestion upon that point.

Mr. HERMANN. The gentleman's remarks have been directed in general to the clause in the bill providing that Chinese immigrants to this country shall not be permitted to enter the United States except at the ports of San Francisco, Portland (Oregon), Boston, New York, New Orleans, Port Townsend, or such other ports as may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury. The gentleman's remarks have been directed especially to the prevention of the landing of Chinese in the United States through our own ports. But let me ask him what particular relief can be expected under this bill as to the immigration into this country of Chinese who land at Victoria or other ports of British Columbia, passing thence along the line of the Canadian Pacific and thence into Washington Territory and Oregon, over several well-known trails across the mountains, and spreading themselves all over the Pacific coast. I ask this question with special view to the fact that, according to ample testimony, Chinese immigrants are now constantly passing, in violation of existing treaty and law, over the British Columbia line into our country by the routes I have named.

Mr. MORROW. The section to which the gentleman from Oregon has referred is designed to accomplished as much as we can in this direction under the present treaty. It provides that—

> A Chinese laborer possessing a certificate under this section shall be admitted to the United States only at the port from which he departed therefrom, and no Chinese person, except Chinese diplomatic or consular officers and their attendants, shall be permitted to enter the United States except at the ports of San Francisco, Portland, Oregon, Boston, New York, New Orleans, Port Townsend, or such other ports as may be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Speaker, this bill, if properly enforced, will not permit the entrance of Chinese laborers into this country except at the ports named. Therefore the coming of any such Chinese person over the border line from Canada will itself be a violation of this statute. It will be necessary for Chinese persons entitled to enter the United States, and desiring to do so, to present themselves at one of the ports named in this bill.

The suggestion made by the gentleman from Oregon indicates, however, one of the great difficulties connected with this question; and it is proper we should admit right here that it is one of the questions we have been unable to solve satisfactorily. The special committee which has been created for the purpose of inquiring into foreign immigration has already determined to visit the Pacific coast, particularly San Francisco and the northwestern part of the United States, to ascertain what can be done in this respect. It is true that Chinese persons are now coming into British Columbia and from there they cross the frontier into the United States; and many of those are not entitled under our laws to enter this country. Perhaps there may not be a great number of such cases now; but if our ports are closed effectively they will certainly try the Canada line. The fact that the law is evaded by any number of persons in this way will be sufficient to destroy the confidence of the people in the act, if not in the good faith of Congress in dealing with this question. Therefore it is incumbent on Congress by law, or on the Administration by treaty, to provide some effective measures against the immigration of Chinese across the frontier. Thus far the provisions of section 7, prohibiting the entrance of Chinese laborers except through certain ports, and the provisions of section 13, providing for the deportation of Chinese persons found unlawfully in the United States, are the only restrictions that have been devised in that respect.

A bill was introduced in the last Congress by my colleague [Mr. FELTON] providing for a registration within six months of all Chinamen in the country, with the view of enabling every such person entitled to be in this country to provide himself with legal evidence of that right; so that whenever the right might be questioned he could either show the evidence of his right to be here or in default of that to be deported from the country. That would be an additional and perhaps a most effective means of preventing immigration across the frontier. The provisions of that measure have not been incorporated into this bill. But we shall have to meet that question undoubtedly very soon. The most effective method of exclusion in this direction would be to induce Canada to adopt such action as would prevent this immigration into that country. If the British or the Canadian Government should absolutely prohibit Chinese immigration into Canada that would of course meet the difficulty.

Mr. FELTON. In view of the action of those countries in the past, has the gentleman any idea that they will ever do anything of that kind?

Mr. MORROW. I am not able to answer that question except by referring to the action of Australia. The people of that British colony have acted with considerable force in this matter; they have determined that they will not have Chinese immigration. If Canada should adopt the same course and act in harmony with the United States in this matter, the difficulty so far as this continent is concerned would be practically solved.

Mr. HERMANN. Let me ask the gentleman from California whether that will not be the only absolute relief in the case?

Mr. MORROW. The only absolute protection we can get against Chinese immigration across the frontier is some action on the part of Canada in harmony with the action on the part of this Government in that direction.

Mr. VANDEVER. Will my colleague permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. MORROW. Certainly.

Mr. VANDEVER. Is it not a fact that the entire Chinese immigration coming to this country comes from the port of Hong-Kong, which is a part of the British dominions?

Mr. MORROW. Yes, that is so.

Mr. VANDEVER. They come from the port of Hong-Kong, which is British territory, and even in case of any prohibition being enacted on the part of Canada against Chinese immigration it would not prevent Chinese emigrants leaving the port of Hong-Kong and coming into ports in the British dominion upon the Pacific coast and, following the usual trails, come within our own territory.

Mr. MORROW. That is substantially the difficulty which has been suggested by the gentleman from Oregon, and all we can say is that the restrictions we here seek to enact into law will have the effect to stop this immigration from the port of Hong-Kong as well as from other ports. The prohibitions of the bill are directed against Chinese laborers coming from any direction, and not merely against these persons coming from Chinese ports.

I wish now to return to the question alluded to by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MCCREARY], that Chinese immigration into this country began with the negotiation and ratification of the Burlingame treaty with China. The gentleman is in error in that respect, as there was a very large Chinese immigration into this country before that treaty. The first treaty with China, as I said before, was the treaty of July 3, 1844. It was called the Cushing treaty, having been negotiated by Mr. Caleb Cushing. Next came the treaty of 1858, negotiated by Mr. William B. Reed under the administration of James Buchanan. These two treaties did not provide in express terms for Chinese immigration to this country, nor was it necessary that any such provision should be made to induce immigration. It was only necessary to have the usual treaty relations to invite them here. Our ports were open to the whole world, and why should not the Chinamen come? They did come. They commenced coming in 1850. The statistics of Chinese

immigration into the port of San Francisco prior to the Burlingame treaty is as follows:

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
Prior to 1852	10,000	1862	8,175
1852	20,026	1863	6,432
1853	4,270	1864	2,682
1854	16,084	1865	3,095
1855	3,329	1866	2,242
1856	4,807	1867	4,290
1857	5,924	1868	11,081
1858	5,427	1869	14,990
1859	3,175		
1860	7,341	Total	141,800
1861	8,439		

The Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco from the Burlingame treaty to the treaty of November 17, 1880, was as follows:

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1870	10,870	1877	9,264
1871	5,540	1878	6,675
1872	9,770	1879	6,959
1873	17,075	To November 17, 1880	5,495
1874	16,085		
1875	18,021	Total	121,235
1876	15,481		

The Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco from the treaty of November 17, 1880, to August 5, 1882, when the first restriction act took effect, was 45,952.

The Chinese immigration into the port of San Francisco from August 5, 1882, to December 31, 1887, was as follows:

August 5 to December 31, 1882	39
1883	3,014
1884	6,602
1885	9,049
1886	6,714
1887	11,572
Total	36,990

RECAPITULATION.

Arrivals prior to Burlingame treaty	141,800
Arrivals between date of Burlingame treaty and treaty of November 17, 1880	121,235
Arrivals between November 17, 1880, and August 5, 1882	45,952
Arrivals between August 5, 1882, and December 31, 1887	36,990
Total arrivals	345,977

The above statistics show that a very large part of the Chinese immigration was before the Burlingame treaty. Mr. Boulger, in his recently published history of China, gives an interesting account of this early emigration to the United States. He says:

The first years of Heinfung's reign witnessed what was an entirely novel event in Chinese history—the exodus on a large scale of the Chinese people to lands across the sea. * * * The Chinaman only requires a sufficient inducement to attract him from his own country, and in 1852 that inducement had been supplied in a way that it had never before been by the discovery of the gold fields in California and Australia. Once the example was set the people flocked across the Pacific in their thousands. Each emigrant vessel carried from five hundred passengers to as many as one thousand; and for a time it seemed as if the supply of these persistently-industrious and never-desponding laborers was not merely inexhaustible but would never cease.

Within a few months of their first arrival nearly twenty thousand Chinese had landed at San Francisco. Nor were they unable to take care of themselves or to do justice to their own interests. They were bound together, not only by their common race in a strange land, but by the terms of a labor association which afforded them a much more effectual protection than any possessed by their white fellow-laborers. * * * These emigrants were not lost to their own country. A certain number, possibly a high percentage of them, died; but even then their bodies were conveyed to their homes for burial. But a very large number returned, carrying back with them their savings, which represented, for their wants, a sum by no means inconsiderable. China was so much the richer by the wealth they imported; she could hardly be said to have suffered from their absence.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to say what were the true views of the Chinese Government on the subject. They certainly did not interfere to check the emigration, as they could easily have done. They seemed rather disposed to take the view that those who were willing to leave their country could not be of much use to her if they remained. When the movement attained its largest proportions the Peking authorities were too much occupied with other matters to give it the heed that the fact in itself deserved: but the regular return of the emigrants after a more or less brief absence with the results of their labor, gradually reconciled their rulers to the annual migration. It was satisfactory for them to perceive that they felt none the less Chinese because they had sojourned for a period in a foreign land, and among races regarded as having views of very doubtful friendship towards the Celestial Empire.

The only benefit this English historian finds to have been derived from this migration, by the countries to which it was directed, was the profit resulting from the employment of the "cheapest laborers in the world." This may be the English notion of national wealth and prosperity. It is not American and has not met with favor on the Pacific coast. We require labor to develop the hidden resources of our mountain slopes and valleys, but it must be homogeneous and in accord with the institutions of the country to bring substantial prosperity.

The Burlingame treaty has embarrassed us in securing necessary legislation, but it was not the cause of Chinese immigration.

The policy of the country has been declared upon this subject, and it only remains for us to carry out that policy with such wisdom as we can command. The new treaty will by its terms go into effect upon the exchange of ratifications. The present treaty will then be abrogated and the existing statutes will fall with the treaty.

If Congress should adjourn without passing this bill and the ratification of the new treaty be exchanged prior to the next session of Congress, there would be no law left on the subject and the Pacific coast would be in a deplorable condition. As I have explained before, the difficulty with the present treaty was the negligence of Congress in not providing legislation for carrying it into effect immediately upon its ratification. We should avoid that mistake and have this law upon the statute-book on the very day the treaty goes into effect, so that the restrictions in this bill may operate in harmony with the treaty. There should be no departure of any number of unidentified persons after the treaty whose return would destroy the value of the law. I hope the bill will pass. [Applause.]

Mr. DAVIS. I understand this bill originated in a Republican Senate and was passed by a Republican Senate. Am I wrong?

Mr. MORROW. This bill came from the Senate. It is a Senate bill.

Statues of Richard Stockton and Philip Kearny.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HERMAN LEHLBACH,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, August 21, 1888.

On the presentation of statues of Richard Stockton and Philip Kearny by the State of New Jersey.

Mr. LEHLBACH said:

Mr. SPEAKER: New Jersey, in presenting to Congress the statues of two of her illustrious citizens, has made an appropriate and wise selection. Both heroes and patriots, they are the representatives of different times. The honored Stockton, so prominently connected with the formation of our Government, is a fitting representative of the early days in the history of our country, in which New Jersey bore so conspicuous a part. His sad death, caused by the cruelty of his confinement by the British, was a loss greatly deplored at the time and deeply felt throughout the entire country. His life has been briefly, but eloquently told here by my colleagues, and it would be but a repetition again to refer to it.

The gallant Kearny! Could New Jersey have gone among all her heroes and selected one more worthy, more endeared to her people, more the representative of her bravery, valor, and devotion to the country than he? His early career has been given; and while we may admire the bravery and skill of the young soldier during his brilliant service, we must turn from it and behold him in the great struggle for the life of the nation in order to fully appreciate the man. When the first war notes were sounded Kearny was living abroad, and he at once returned and tendered his services to the Government.

We all remember the difficulty the soldiers really competent had to obtain recognition during the early period of the war. Kearny, eager and willing to serve his country, an accomplished and experienced soldier, was absolutely denied that privilege. He first applied for a commission to the governor of New York, on the recommendation of General Scott, but failed to obtain it. Shortly after this failure the First New Jersey Brigade was formed. The material was most excellent. Many had been active members of the militia organizations, and all had volunteered their services. At the earnest solicitation of leading Jerseymen, Kearny was placed in command of this brigade on the 25th day of July, 1861. He proceeded at once to bring his command to the highest state of efficiency, and it was soon conceded to be the best disciplined in the Army.

He was grateful for his appointment, proud of his troops, and determined that New Jersey, of which State he was a citizen, should not regret that he had been selected to lead her sons. The following extract from "Foster's History of New Jersey and the Rebellion" shows the character of Kearny:

The spirit with which General Kearny entered the Army, may be inferred from the following extract from a letter written by him shortly after taking command of the First Brigade. After speaking of the difficulties experienced in organizing and disciplining the troops, he continued: "But I ought not to complain of this. My position here was not ambition, but I felt that I was paying an early debt I owed to the country. My only hope is, not to live, but that I may not be killed early in an engagement. If I am not, New Jersey shall have no cause to be ashamed of me."

While he was a most exacting and strict disciplinarian, and at first there might have been occasional murmuring here and there, yet it

was not long before he had won the esteem and confidence, and what was more to him, the love of both officers and men. He looked with just pride upon them, and when tendered the command of a division, though glad to accept, he refused because he could not carry his brigade with him. The enthusiasm of his men when he returned to camp after this declination was unbounded, and it was fully shared by all citizens of New Jersey. The brilliant actions of the First New Jersey Brigade under Kearny are well known. It was ever found at the front, and though its losses were severe it was never known to have wavered.

During the Peninsula campaign a vacancy occurred in a division in Heintzelman's corps while it was actually under fire. Kearny was ordered to take command. Here he was compelled to sever his connection with the men he loved so well, but duty called and he obeyed. After assuming command of the division his career was the most brilliant; he was known to the whole Army and almost worshiped by it. After General Pope was compelled to retire across Bull Run, and in order to save the Army it was necessary to repulse and check the enemy, he (Pope) selected three divisions for this daring work, among them the one commanded by the gallant Kearny.

Here, at Chantilly, he fell; he had hurled his troops against the advancing lines of the enemy and had checked them, and during a lull in the battle, going forward unattended for the purpose of inspection, he was shot. His loss was felt and mourned by the Army and the whole country, but nowhere more sincerely and earnestly than in New Jersey.

The old soldiers of New Jersey will rejoice that Kearny, the embodiment of their bravery and courage, should have been selected as one to represent the State in the collection of statues in the old Hall of the House of Representatives.

Chinese Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE G. SYMES,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, August 20, 1888,

On the bill (S. 3304) to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States.

Mr. SYMES said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The exclusion of Chinese immigration from this country has been an important question for many years. It is a subject of much congratulation to those whose experience taught them many years ago that public policy and public necessity demanded the exclusion of the Chinese from our shores that it is no longer a doubtful question in the opinion of the people generally in any part of the country or their representatives.

The two days' debate on this bill shows that each party is vying with the other for the credit of bringing forward and passing this legislation. There will probably not be one vote cast against the bill. Nearly all now concede the necessity of protecting the laboring men of this country from the competition of the hordes of Mongolians liable to overwhelm them and deprive them not only of the bright hopes of the American laboring men, of bettering their condition in life, but deprive them of the very means of subsistence for themselves and their families.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the Pacific coast and the Rocky Mountain country saw the necessity of excluding the Chinese many years ago. They saw the intelligent miners who had been receiving from three to five dollars per day discharged and their places filled with these imported Asiatics, who worked for one-third their wages, lived huddled together in shanties, and subsisted on a few cents' worth of rice per day. They saw the American and European laborers and artisans driven from their employments in the cities and factories by these half-civilized Pagans after they had expended their all in crossing the then unsettled half of our continent, before the railroads penetrated that region, to the promised land of gold, silver, and high wages.

The municipal authorities saw thousands of these Chinamen congregating in their midst and adding barbarism, pestilence, and crime to their before peaceful and Christian communities. The thousands that had already come constituted probably only the advance guard of millions yet to follow. There was no limit to the number that an empire containing from 360,000,000 to 450,000,000 could send to our shores.

In this condition of things, Mr. Speaker, it is not surprising that the people of that part of the country should cry out against it and demand that this immigration, or rather invasion, should be stopped by national authority. Sir, it was not made a party question by those seeking relief from this plague which threatened the destruction of their social, industrial, and political institutions. The Democrats and Republicans in that part of the country met on common ground and espoused a common cause. By the united efforts of the people of the Pacific coast and the Rocky Mountain States and Territories the evils of Chinese immigration has been continually illustrated and shown to the people of the other portions of the country until all now unite in the policy of exclusion.

The object of this debate seems to be to show who discovered the necessity of restricting Chinese immigration. In other words, what party or politicians or statesmen first became sound on this question, and at what particular period did the true light first come to them on this important measure of public policy?

Mr. Speaker, the policy and necessity of excluding Chinese did not originate with either party, or with the politicians of either party. It originated in the minds of the people of the Pacific coast and the States and Territories that witnessed and experienced the ill effects of this immigration.

As much of the time consumed in this debate has been devoted to showing the records and positions of gentlemen on this question, I may be permitted to state my own position on the restriction of Chinese immigration in the past. Eighteen years ago in the Territory of Montana the question was agitated and discussed. It was debated in the Republican Territorial convention at that time, and a resolution was adopted almost unanimously in favor of the absolute exclusion of Chinese.

I was a member of that convention, and spoke in support of that resolution. It was very clear to me then, and it has been ever since, that the importation or immigration of large numbers of Chinese tended to the very destruction of American social and industrial institutions. Quite a number of Chinamen were being brought into Montana at that time. They were being put to work in some of the placer-mining camps. They took the places of the most intelligent and best paid laboring men in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I would emphasize the statement that the precious metal miners of the Rocky Mountains and Pacific coast were then and are now the most intelligent and best paid class of laboring men in the world. I have had an active experience among these men for nearly twenty years. In education, general intelligence, practical knowledge of the world and of men and things they are remarkable. Their patriotism and the interest they take in the well-being of their communities and country are of the highest order.

It was, as a rule, the brightest, most energetic, and courageous young men of the East who crossed the plains (then called the Great Desert) and mountains; fought the Indians; submitted to the hardest privations to develop an empire before not even conceived of. These men created communities and established and enforced laws and government without the aid of legislatures or courts. Meetings of these miners in log-cabins and in the open air created and adopted rules and customs, which had the force of law, that governed the acquisition of title and the holdings and transfer of mining properties worth millions upon millions. Miners' judges, chosen and elected at these miners' meetings, decided controversies where mines worth fortunes were involved. Lawyers of ability practiced before these mining judges. Their decisions and judgments were enforced with as much unerring certainty as the decrees and judgments of any courts in the country. No codes of law were ever enacted that better protected the weak against the strong, or the innocent from the frauds of the guilty than these miners' rules and customs. They were found to be so just and equitable and applicable to the condition of things that when the Legislatures of the different Territories afterwards came to legislate on these subjects, they adopted generally these miners' rules and customs, and gave them the force of statute law. And years afterwards, when Congress first legislated upon the subject of the title to mines and mining property, it adopted these rules and customs. These mining communities were among the most prosperous, progressive, and happy in the whole country.

Is it to be wondered at that such communities rebelled against being revolutionized by the importation of hordes of Chinese? Is it surprising that they revolted against having their social and industrial progress overturned by the Mongolians? Is it strange that they made active efforts and took active measures (some of which were pretty strong and heroic) against this invasion of what they knew to be their dearest rights and privileges and prosperity in the future?

Mr. Speaker, it is not strange or surprising. Such intelligent communities as these are always alert to ward off whatever threatens their welfare and happiness. The principle of self-preservation applies to intelligent communities the same as to individuals.

It thus became the province and the duty of the people of the Pacific coast and the Rocky Mountain country to commence a crusade of public opinion in the Middle, Eastern, Southern, and Western States against Chinese immigration. They commenced this crusade and appealed to their fellow-citizens in other parts of the country for protection from this Chinese plague. The people at a distance could not at once appreciate or comprehend the difficulties or necessities of the situation and did not see the need of national legislation excluding the Chinese from our shores for some time. By the persistence and earnest-

ness with which the matter was pressed upon the people all over the country by those specially and directly interested progress was made, slow at first, afterwards more rapid.

It is characteristic of the people of this country to sympathize with any particular community suffering from a present or threatened wrong or danger. The people of this nation appreciate that an injury to any particular class of the people or community must result in an injury to the whole. And the historian of the future will give the credit of bringing about the now approved national policy of preventing Chinese immigration to the people of the Pacific coast and Rocky Mountain States and Territories. History will not award the origination or enforcement of this beneficent policy, so necessary to the preservation and purity of our republican institutions, to any particular politicians or to any particular political party. The most that any of them (outside of the States and Territories so immediately interested) can claim is, that they followed the wishes and opinions of the people.

Mr. Speaker, this hasty review of the origin, progress, and adoption of the policy excluding the Chinese from this country should teach us a lesson applicable to a most important branch of the same subject now pressing upon the country. It is said that "history is philosophy teaching by example." The history of Chinese immigration should be enough to teach us that there are other kinds of immigration to this country which it is as necessary to prevent as the Chinese. The investigation of the importation of cheap, degraded, and pauper labor now being made by a committee of this House has shown a startling condition of things. It shows that degraded contract and pauper laborers have been and are being imported into this country by the tens of thousands; which is as dangerous to our social and economic system as the immigration of Chinese.

It shows that the laboring men of this country have as much to fear from direct competition with the lowest and most degraded classes of Europe as they of the Pacific coast had to fear from the Asiatics. During the last decade thousands of the most intelligent class of artisans and laborers have been discharged from factories and other industrial works throughout the Eastern and Middle States and their places supplied by the cheapest and most degraded kinds of imported labor. Thousands of Poles and Italians have been imported under the contract system and taken out West to grade and build railroads, and after the roads are completed they have been, so to speak, "turned loose" without employment, a burden to the towns and communities where they congregate.

Towns and cities are beginning to have their Italian or Polish suburbs, almost as distinct from the balance of the community as the "Chinatown" suburbs of the Pacific coast cities.

These imported contract laborers have almost driven the intelligent laboring classes from the mining regions of Pennsylvania. I quote what Mr. Powderly stated before the committee of this House on that subject:

Hungarians had driven many American miners from the mines in Pennsylvania. In fact more than half the miners in Pennsylvania were Hungarians. The latter live on pork and water and sleep like hogs in a pen. In opposing the theory advanced by the circular recently issued by Henry Clews & Co., to the effect that the majority of laborers were evidently bettered by the arrival of large ship-loads of foreigners, Mr. Powderly grew eloquent. He said:

"I do not consider a man can ever become a good citizen who travels over the Pennsylvania Railroad with a brass tag hung to the band of his trousers. These people never learn the English language. They bring their filthy customs with them, and observe them while they stay among us. They never learn to read the Constitution of the United States, and, in my opinion, no man should be allowed the right of franchise until he first learns to read the Constitution. They will take starvation wages and live on the vilest food. If they run short of food they will steal."

Mr. Powderly presents only one of the numerous facts and illustrations which show that this character of immigration must be stopped.

This country might as well be made the dumping-ground of the Chinese as the asylum for millions of degraded paupers and criminals of Europe. To the laboring men it is immaterial whether their high wages and prospects for the future, of themselves and their families, are destroyed by the importation of degraded pauper labor from Europe or the influx of the Chinese from Asia—the moral, social, and industrial condition of our communities are as much injured by the one as the other. Either tends to subvert the boasted theory of equal rights for all and special privileges for none. Either tends to destroy the policy and opportunity of the intelligent and industrious laboring man to support and educate his children and give them equal chances in the race of life.

These things lie at the very foundation of our social and industrial systems. Low wages and ignorant, degraded laborers will, unless prevented by wise laws and measures, become the greatest menace to our free republican institutions. If we are to judge by the oral utterances of our politicians, either in legislative assemblies, on the stump, or in convention platforms, there is no differance of opinion upon the proposition that all our laws, measures, and public policy should be adapted and made to conform to this paramount object—the lifting up and bettering the condition of our laboring classes.

But many of these politicians have peculiar ways of attempting to carry out these abstractly and generally expressed principles. Many who avow their sympathy with the laboring man and say they are in favor of any policy or measure that will better his condition advocate free trade as the remedy, or such additions to the free-list as must greatly increase the importation of the products of cheap pauper labor and bring them in direct competition with the products of American labor. Why this free-trade policy will not result in flooding American markets with the products of cheap foreign labor and lower the wages of our laborers is not and can not be explained.

There are others who for years have been expressing their sympathy for the laboring man and advocating protective tariff for the only purpose, they said, of keeping American wages above the foreign standard, but who did not appreciate or have ignored the fact that unrestricted importation of contract pauper labor must lessen the earnings of the wage-worker and degrade his moral and social condition as much as the free importation of the products of such foreign labor.

Mr. Speaker, I said it was immaterial to the artisans, and other laboring men of this country, whether their wages are reduced to the foreign standard by the importation of degraded foreign labor from Europe or the immigration of Chinese. So it is of little consequence to these wage-workers whether their earnings are reduced, factories and mines closed, and they thrown out of employment by the importation of cheap pauper labor or the free importation of the products of such labor.

Our laboring classes can only be properly protected by the restriction of both the importation of the products of the cheap foreign labor and the cheap labor itself. "This is the stern, unyielding logic of the condition that confronts us." It is no longer a theory. It demands immediate action. If some of the men who have lent all their energies in this debate in attempting to show what man, or what party, first advocated restricting Chinese immigration, had devoted their ability and time to devising practical measures for preventing the importation of contract labor they would have rendered better service to the country and their constituents.

Mr. Speaker, I would not restrict the immigration of those industrious and thrifty foreign classes, who have in the past done so much towards settling up and adding to the industrial wealth of this great country. To all those who come here of their own accord to better their condition, who adopt our customs, assimilate with our institutions and people, become citizens, send their children to our free schools and raise them up to be useful members of our Republic, I say thrice welcome to our shores.

These classes of our foreign-born citizens are as strictly opposed to the importation of degraded contract labor as the native American. They came to this free land to escape from the evils of social and industrial systems that produced such degraded pauper labor, and they object to having the evil follow them here.

Mr. Speaker, I have attempted to draw a lesson from the history of the subject of this debate, and apply it to a threatened and pressing danger. I have not time, and it would not be relevant to the pending bill to discuss the means and measures that ought to be taken to restrict the importation of this pauper contract labor. I hope, however, the opportunity will soon be presented to Congress to perfect and adopt such measures as will protect our laboring people and our social and industrial institutions from this evil.

Statues of Richard Stockton and Philip Kearny.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT C. THOMPSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, August 21, 1888,

On the presentation of statues of Richard Stockton and Philip Kearny by the State of New Jersey.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This is an occasion when I feel especially privileged to speak. As a company commander I followed General Philip Kearny, from that day, in front of Yorktown, when he took command of the First Division of the Third Corps, Army of the Potomac, down to the day of his death at Chantilly, and to-day as I looked upon his well-remembered features, shown so true to nature in the beautiful bronze here presented to the nation by the State that claimed him as a citizen, I again saw him, as in life, riding at the head of his charging columns through the "slashings" of Fair Oaks and across the blood-stained fields of Manassas, bridle in teeth, saber in hand, and that dread light in his eyes, which to us was the sign of desperate and deadly battle, and I remembered how, in the rush and fury of the fight, amid all its appalling surroundings, we turned to him for guidance, for the assurance of victory, and for approval of what we had done, and I could not refrain from adding my feeble tribute to the memory of my old commander. His division was composed of troops from Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan,

and was known as the "Red Patch Division," because of the red patch each officer and soldier was required to wear on his hat or cap, a device of General Kearny's by which the men of his division were distinguished from all others, and which was the origin of the corps badges afterwards prescribed for the whole Army. To us he was "Brave Phil Kearny," as he was to the "old Army," when as a lieutenant he lost his left arm at the San Antonio gate of Mexico, and no soldiers ever followed a leader more devotedly than did the men of the old "Red Patch Division" General Kearny.

Sorrow for his death never ceased in the hearts of these men, and to-day among the survivors of that famous division the mention of his name brings to the cheek the unbidden tear. While the organization lasted his name and fame were cherished by it as something within its personal keeping, and in his honor a division decoration was adopted known as the "Kearny Cross," of which General Birney, who succeeded to the command of the division, in General Order No. 48, dated May 16, 1863, spoke as follows:

> The brigadier-general commanding division announces the following names of meritorious and distinguished non-commissioned officers and privates, selected for their gallantry, as recipients of the "Kearny Cross," the division decoration. This cross is in honor of our old leader, and the wearers of it will always remember the high standard of a true and brave soldier, and will never disgrace it.

And it never was disgraced, but was conspicuous in the front of every battle from Chantilly to Appomatox. Upon the cross worn by the officers was inscribed the motto "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*"—a noble sentiment; a sentiment worthy of Kearny. The devotion of patriotism expressed in this motto is not, however, mere sentimentalism, but has had substantial illustration in every age and land, and nowhere more gloriously than in this land and upon the battle-fields of the rebellion. Every village and hamlet, and almost every fireside, in the loyal, liberty-loving North contributed its sacrifice to this love of country, and each succeeding year the flowers of May are showered upon the graves of thousands of as pure and unselfish patriots as ever honored mankind.

Men who voluntarily left home, wives, children, and loved ones, and endured exposure, hardships, sickness, battle, and death, not to further personal ambition or the desire for fame, but to protect and preserve "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," and to guaranty to all men, white and black, that equality proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence. These men came from every walk of life, and abandoned the prosperous employments of peace to die, if need be, for country. The lessons of patriotism taught by them—the "boys in blue," as in tenderness we love to call them—should be constantly impressed upon the youth of the nation, and no higher or more important duty devolves upon the survivors of the grand army of the Union than that of bringing up their children in that respect for authority, that reverence for the Constitution, and that love of country which so distinguished them in the days of '61.

General Kearny loved his men, and was always solicitous for their comfort, but in battle required the utmost of them. There he seemed to be omnipresent. He saw every movement of his division, and there was a feeling among the men that his eye was always upon them, and that the conduct of each individual soldier was known to him, and no man wearing the "red patch" dared to be a skulker. He led the battle, but required his officers to be in the front of it with him. His General Order 15 was characteristic of the man. In it he says:

> Shoulder straps and chevrons, you are marked men; you must be ever in the front. Colonels and field officers, when it comes to the bayonet lead the charge. At other times circulate among your men, and supervise and keep officers and men to their constituted commands; stimulate the laggard, brand the coward, and direct the brave.

He himself was an exemplar of the duty he thus required, and with such leadership no man could ever be found wanting. He loved the battle! The sound of the cannon was a call to which he never failed to respond. He threw himself into the battle with an *abandon*, which is well described by one of the poets of the war, in the following lines:

> When the battle went ill, and the bravest were solemn,
> Near the lone Seven Pines, where we still held our ground,
> He rode down the length of our fast crumbling column,
> And our hearts at his war-cry leaped up with a bound;
> He snuffed, like his charger, the scent of powder,
> His sword wav'd us on, and we answered the sign,
> Loud our cheer as we rush'd, but his voice rang the louder,
> "There's the devil's own fun, boys, along the whole line."
>
> How he sat his brown steed: How we saw his blade brighten,
> In the one hand still left—and the reins in his teeth!
> He laughed like a boy when the holidays heighten,
> But a soldiers' glance shot from the vizor beneath;
> Up come the reserves to the melee infernal,
> Asking where to go in, through the clearing or pine?
> "Oh, anywhere! Forward! 'Tis all the same, colonel,
> You'll find lovely fighting along the whole line."

Brave, gallant spirit you still live in the hearts of the men of the old "Red Patch Division!"

Mr. Speaker, I must content myself with these few words. It was not my intention to address myself at length to the resolution before the House.

Tariff—Tin-Plate, Sheet-Iron, and Sheet-Steel.

REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 3, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration bill H. R. 9051, and the subject of discussion being the section relating to tin-plate and sheet-iron—

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Judging by experience, I have but little expectation that the majority here will change any part of this tariff bill by reason of discussion, yet I assure you that what I say on the subject under immediate consideration I say in the utmost good faith. I am fully persuaded that if any impartial body of men interested in the welfare of the whole country would fully inform themselves of the facts that they could not fail to become convinced that this bill, so far as it concerns sheet-iron, sheet-steel, and tin-plate, is all wrong, and ought to be changed.

But a Democratic caucus, with more than kingly authority, has decreed that there shall be no amendments to this bill except such amendments as the Democratic members of the committee in charge of the bill shall first approve of, and no arguments offered on our side of the House have any effect.

It is well understood that the committee in charge will not consent to any amendments except in cases where an amendment is absolutely required to secure Democratic votes in doubtful Congressional districts.

It may as well be known once for all that whilst the men who originated this measure are in theory and principle in favor of free trade out and out, that practically this bill is to be molded on the most extreme sectional basis to favor particular localities.

First, and above all, it guarded by high protection the Southern interests of sugar and rice. At a later date it is shaped to save the coal and iron ore of Tennessee and Virginia. Glass is partly saved in the interest of Missouri, and the wood-screws of Connecticut must be taken care of because they are located in a doubtful State. In the course of the general debate on this bill it was not possible for me, even in the liberal time granted to me, to refer at any length to all the interests that I felt were likely to be injured by the passage of this bill. The subject of sheet-iron and tin-plate I consider a most important one, and I am glad of the opportunity I now have of placing myself on record as opposing this bill in all of its provisions affecting these industries.

This bill proposes to admit tin-plate free of duty, and also to reduce the duty on different other classes of sheet-iron and steel.

Tin-plate is but an iron sheet coated with tin, and if the sheet, whether of iron or steel, is coated with a mixture of tin and lead it is terne plate. In either case more than 97 per cent. of the product is iron and steel. Tagger's tin is simply tagger's iron coated with tin.

A large part of tin-plate is used for roofing, so that it comes in direct competition with sheet-iron and sheet-steel. If this bill should become a law two things are apparent. First, we must abandon all hope of encouraging the manufacture of tin-plate in this country; and second, as a large part of the sheet-iron made in this country is used for roofing, the manufacture of sheet-iron must be abandoned. It will be impossible to manufacture and use sheet-iron in competition with free tin-plates.

The sheet-iron industry in this country has not been prosperous because the present tariff allows taggers' iron and tin and terne plates to be imported at 1 cent a pound duty.

The result when tin-plate comes in free is not hard to predict.

It is true, Mr. Chairman, that at present we do not manufacture tin-plate in the United States. But we have demonstrated in the past that we can manufacture it successfully with adequate protection.

Last year we bought from Great Britain $17,000,000 worth of tin-plates. The money to pay for it was sent out of our country and made us that much poorer. It ought to have been kept at home and paid out largely to workmen making the product.

This is an immense industry. It ought to give employment to thousands of our citizens at good wages.

Great Britain makes the greater part of all the tin-plate used in the world, and she has to buy a very considerable part of the tin she uses to make it out of. As I have stated, the tin is but a small part of the material used, and if necessary we could buy it as cheap as Great Britain. But we do not need to buy. Later discoveries show that we have an abundance of tin in this country. Dakota, Wyoming, and other places are rich in this mineral. Let us by protection encourage this industry. It has a great future if Congress will only deal fairly with it. It means an increased production of iron ore, of limestone, coal, coke, and pig-iron. I can anticipate with proper legislation great prosperity in the near future growing out of this industry. But I can

come a little nearer home and to the present in observing the effects of this bill. We have men now engaged in the manufacture of sheet-iron and sheet-steel. Thousands of our citizens are dependent on these industries for their daily bread. If this bill becomes a law they will be driven out of the business and compelled to abandon it.

I assure you that laborers and workmen as well as owners of mills and forges view with apprehension and dread the possibility of this bill becoming law.

I ask to have read by the Clerk as a part of my remarks letters I have received on this subject from practical men engaged in the sheet-iron business, in the district I have the honor to represent on this floor. I know these men to be reliable, and that their statements are entitled to great credit, and I invite special attention to what they say. I know it to be to the interest and welfare of all the citizens of the cities in which their works are situated that their business should be so protected that it may be continued.

But to continue the manufacture of sheet-iron and sheet-steel, and to build up a great tin-plate industry in this country, protection is necessary, and why? Simply on account of the difference in wages between this country and Great Britain. If labor was as cheap here we could make tin-plate as cheap as Great Britain. We ought to be thankful that labor commands higher wages in the United States than in any other country, but if we want to continue good wages we must save our own markets for our own people.

It is said that for several years we have purchased from England nearly two-thirds of her product of tin-plate. Talk about the markets of the world! The very best of them are right here in the United States.

In six years we have paid England over $200,000,000 for tin-plate that should have been made at home.

I am heartily in favor of the amendment striking tin-plate from the free-list. In fact the present duty should be increased, and I urge on the attention of the committee the propriety of protecting the manufacture not only of tin-plate but of sheet-iron and sheet-steel. They are kindred industries and must to a great extent stand or fall together.

In illustration of the remarks I have made on the subject of wages, I will print a statement showing the difference in wages between Great Britain and the United States in the manufacture of plates and sheets.

Occupation.	Amount of work.	Wages.	
		Great Britain	United States.
Roller	100 boxes, IC	$6.87	$23.00
Doubler	do	5.51	11.05
Furnaceman	do	5.20	10.00
Catcher	do	3.02	(*)
Shearer	do	2.17	11.00
Weigher	do	.48	1.08
Roll-turning	do	.48	1.34
Picklers	do	1.46	4.25
Cold rolling	do	1.21	3.60
Catching	do	.22	.56
Opening, girls †	do	.18	.50
Annealing	Per week	17.50	51.25
Tinman	100 boxes, IC	6.00	12.00
Washman	do	6.00	12.00
Cradler	do	2.00	5.00
Helper	Per week	5.46	9.50
Boxer	100 boxes	1.01	2.40
Assorter	Per week	9.72	18.00
Lighting fires	do	4.38	9.00
Engineers	Per day	1.25	2.75
Fitters	do	1.52	2.75
Millwright	do	.97	2.25
Smith	do	1.52	3.00
Striker	do	.73	1.25
Bricklayer	do	1.52	3.00
Laborers	do	.62	1.12½
Watchman	do	.72	1.50
Tin-house manager	Per week	14.50	25.00
Mill manager	do	15.79	38.50
Openers, girls †	100 boxes	1.65	3.50
Pickers-off, girls	Per day	.48	.75
Scourers, girls	do	.48	.75
Dippers, girls	do	.48	1.00
Dusters, girls	do	.36	.75
Carriers, girls	do	.24	.50
Reckoner, girl	do	.48	1.00
Total		122.18	274.90

* Included in roller.

† In this country the most of this work would be done by young men and boys.

This list of wages covers only that part of labor employed from bars of iron or steel to the finished plates, and shows the American rates to be 125 per cent. higher than those of Great Britain. The difference in wages in the production of bars in each country is in about the same ratio.

BEAVER FALLS IRON COMPANY,
Beaver Falls, Pa., March 29, 1888.

DEAR SIR: We desire to call your attention to the items in the bill as reported by a majority of the Committee of Ways and Means, which, if passed, would practically paralyze the sheet-iron manufacturer in this country. The new bill proposes to admit tin-plates free, and as about one-third of the sheet-iron made in this country is used for roofing and siding in competition with tin-plates, the business of iron-roofing and siding would have to cease, as it would be impossible to use sheet-iron made in this country in competition with free tin-plates.

There is about 200,000 tons of sheet-iron and tin-plates used in the United States annually for roofing and siding, and out of this only about 50,000 tons is of sheet-iron made in the United States, the balance, or 150,000 tons, being tin-plates and sheets imported.

If with the present duty, three-fourths of all the material used in the United States in this one branch of business can be used from imported material, what would become of makers of sheet-iron for this purpose with tin-plates admitted free?

The bill also proposes to reduce the duty on all light gauges of sheet-iron from No. 20 to thinner than No. 29. We do not think that any manufacturer of sheet-iron in the United States can truthfully say that he is making any money on sheets, or that he has been for a long time; yet in the face of this there is a reduction proposed of $2.24 per ton on No. 20, $2.24 on from Nos. 21 to 25, and $5.60 on from Nos. 26 to 29.

In our case it is a serious matter, as at least two-thirds of our product is used for roofing and siding, the balance is of gauges from Nos. 26 to 29. Should the bill as reported pass, we would be driven out of business and compelled to close up.

We ask that you give the matter your consideration and use your influence to avert the calamity that threatens our business, and instead of letting tin-plates in free have the duty increased to $17.04, as proposed in Mr. RANDALL'S bill, and let the present duties stand as they are on sheet-iron, and have the question disposed of without any more delay than is absolutely necessary, as the long discussion demoralizes business and its hurtful influence can only be exceeded by the passage of the bill as reported.

Yours, respectfully,

BEAVER FALLS IRON COMPANY,
E. C. EWING, *Secretary.*

Hon. OSCAR L. JACKSON,
Washington, D. C.

NEW CASTLE, PA., *March* 14, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Would respectfully call your attention to the proposition to place tin-plates on the free-list and the great damage it would be to the sheet-iron manufacture. If the tin-plates are imported free, it will entirely destroy the iron roofing and siding industry, which now uses over 50,000 tons of sheet-iron annually, at least one-third of the product of the sheet mills. Indeed, I am free to confess that if the roofing trade was taken away from my mill, it would of necessity be compelled to shut down. Not only that, if we had not had the roofing orders, the mill would not have run half time during the year 1887. Instead of being placed on the free-list, tin-plates should be advanced to 2½ cents per pound duty, the same as it is on galvanized iron, and correct an incongruity in the present tariff. If possible, would like to see this change made in the tariff bill as prepared by the Republican minority of the Ways and Means Committee, and would think it advisable to call Mr. RANDALL'S attention to it. Tin-plates imported free of duty means absolute destruction of the iron-roofing industry and a reduction of almost one-half of the number of sheet-mills in the country.

Yours, respectfully,

GEO. W. JOHNSON.

Hon. O. L. JACKSON,
Washington, D. C.

Oklahoma Territory.

REMARKS

OF

WILLIAM S. HOLMAN,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, August 29, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the bill of the House No. 10614, to organize the Territory of Oklahoma, and for other purposes, the pending amendment being as follows:

"Strike out the words 'that the price of $1.25 per acre,' in the twelfth and thirteenth lines of section 5, and insert the following:

"'Under the homestead law only, except section 2301 of the Revised Statutes: *Provided, however*, That no person seized of any lands in any State or Territory, or who shall have sold land in any State or Territory within three months before the time of the taking effect of this act, shall be authorized to enter any of the lands covered by the provisions of this act. The Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe all needful rules to give full effect to this provision. *And provided further*, That all provisions of law touching the rights of soldiers and officers who served in the Army of the United States during the late war, entering public lands, shall apply to the lands embraced in this act'"—

Mr. HOLMAN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The subject of opening up portions of the Indian Territory for settlement has been exciting interest for several years. There are men of the present generation who indulged the hope that the humane policy of our fathers would be carried out in good faith, and that what was known as the Indian Territory, extending westward from the western boundary of Missouri and Arkansas, as far west as our old international boundary—I believe the one hundredth meridian—should be forever dedicated and set apart as the home of the Indian, so as to form in the progress of time a great Indian community, an Indian commonwealth where the remnants of the once powerful tribes might be gathered together and form one of the States of the American Union. A noble purpose, worthy of the great men of a former age whose memory the American people delight to honor.

The spirit which animated President Jackson and his contemporaries in setting apart that land for that purpose was noble, patriotic, magnanimous; and I think the people of the United States, when the his-

tory comes to be finally written of the policy of our Government towards the Indians, will regret that that magnanimous policy was not adhered to, and that when we had taken their once vast possessions we did not allow them the opportunity to develop in their own way their capacity for progress and civilization under the paternal shelter of our Government.

But, sir, it became too manifest a few years ago that that policy could not be carried out; that the great States of Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri, lying contiguous to this Indian country, found it an impediment in the way of their progress, and accordingly, on their demand, Congress adopted a provision of law prohibiting the President of the United States, who had the power prior to that time to settle friendly Indians in that Territory, from removing any more Indians into that Indian community. And from that time to this that policy has ceased.

The measure abandoning the old policy was not well considered. It was passed on an appropriation bill without discussion, and did not receive that careful consideration which its importance deserved. There has been no reason to hope since then that the humane policy of our fathers could be revived. Our people wanted the land. In view of that fact those who favored treating the Indians justly, if not magnanimously, considered the policy of at least setting off a part of that Territory for these Indians and securing, in a just and honorable way, the balance for the settlement of white people. The 41,102,280 acres constituting the Indian Territory and 3,600,000 acres constituting the Public Land Strip we acquired from Texas are large enough to form two States. It was suggested that the eastern portion should be forever secured to the Indians, while the western portion should be given up to white settlement, progress, and civilization. The western half, with the Public Land Strip, would make a State larger than the State of Indiana.

Two propositions have been before the House since the beginning of the last Congress. The one was in a general way the suggestion of the President, and the bill was drawn up by the late Secretary of the Interior. While the measure embraced all of the Indian tribes and reservations, its provisions related especially to the Indian Territory. It involved an able commission to treat with the tribes and exercise important powers on all Indian questions, including the surrender of lands to the United States. While its general application was to all the Indian lands, it was to have special application to the Indian Territory.

I indulge the belief if that bill suggested by the President had become the law in the first session of the last Congress this trouble over the Indian Territory would have long since terminated. Negotiations would have been entered into with these Indian tribes, and the western portion of the Indian Territory, or a large portion of it, would have been opened up to settlement by our white people, and it would have all been accomplished without any injustice, hardship, or harsh policy towards the Indian tribes, treating them with the justice and magnanimity which inspired our fathers in setting apart this territory for them more than half a century ago.

But the gentlemen favoring the Oklahoma bill were not content with that policy, expressed by the bill drawn up by the Secretary of the Interior; they were not satisfied with anything less than the immediate organization of the Territory of Oklahoma; treaties to be made with the tribes after the Territory was organized, instead of before—either that or there should be no legislation on the subject at all.

That is the condition in which we now stand. Thus this work has been delayed nearly three years. For myself, having visited that Territory with other members of the House as a member of a committee ordered to do so by act of Congress, having had conferences with these various Indian tribes and with their chief men, I am satisfied the policy proposed by the Secretary of the Interior substantially should have been adopted and carried out. It was a just and honorable way to accomplish the purpose which this bill seeks by indirection. Although I shall not vote against the present proposition if the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] shall be adopted, I regret sincerely that gentlemen would not accept the honorable, direct, and practical method proposed by the Secretary of the Interior. They have not only postponed the settlement of this question for years, but they have left the ten thousand people on the Public Land Strip utterly without a government.

Mr. BLOUNT. I wish to ask if the Secretary of the Interior is in favor of the present bill?

Mr. HOLMAN. The Oklahoma bill, you mean?

Mr. BLOUNT. I mean the pending bill.

Mr. HOLMAN. The late Secretary of the Interior favored and prepared the bill to which I have referred, and which I had the honor to introduce.

Mr. BLOUNT. So I understood, but what I ask is if he favors the pending measure?

Mr. HOLMAN. Oh, with reference to that I can not answer, for I do not know. I never, I think, heard him express his opinion of it. I do not know the views of the present Secretary of the Interior on the bill I introduced, either, or on the pending bill. Although that bill was prepared by the late Secretary I reported it from the select committee appointed by the House in the Forty-eighth Congress to inquire into Indian affairs. I have thought proper to state this much, Mr. Chairman, in order to place this question in its proper attitude before the committee. If any one complains of delay they will readily see in the foregoing statement the cause of it.

There is much feeling upon this matter, especially in the Northwest. Everybody understands that, and the question has been between the two conflicting methods of procedure for the accomplishment of the same purpose. The question now is whether the pending bill shall pass or not. Kansas demands its passage; Missouri and the adjoining States——

Mr. WEAVER. And Iowa.

Mr. SPRINGER. And Illinois.

Mr. HOLMAN. The adjacent States generally demand its passage, regarding the Indian Territory as standing in the way of their progress, and our people want the land, and I take it for granted that in some form or other, either in the form proposed by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BARNES], which is substantially the plan of the Secretary of the Interior, or in the present form, the bill now pending will become ultimately a law.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, the pending bill is one of the most peculiar measures that I ever knew to be pending in the House. It applies with certainty to a little over 3,600,000 acres of the public land, the Public Land Strip organizing a Territory over that limited quantity of land. You can not say with certainty that it goes an acre beyond that. The Government has for fifty years recognized the old international line on the Southwest, the one hundredth parallel as the western boundary of the Indian possessions; that is to say all the lands, other than Oklahoma, lands west of those owned in fee-simple by the five civilized tribes, stand substantially on the same footing as the small tract known as Oklahoma, which contains a little over 1,800,000 acres. That is to say they are lands on which the Government might settle friendly Indians, but not otherwise use; and to that extent at least the tribes, the five civilized tribes, have an interest in the lands beyond the mere matter of possession. The Government has recognized that for more than half a century. The civilized tribes claim, taking that view of the case, that they have an interest in the lands of the same character as the Creeks and Seminoles have to Oklahoma which they surrendered to the Government for the settlement of friendly Indians—that is, a right to have civilized friendly tribes settled upon them. Here the present right of the United States over the land to the western line ceases.

That is the condition of things, that is the character of the title that you must extinguish even as to the lands west of the Oklahoma tract, occupied by the Arapahoes and Cheyennes and other tribes under Executive orders. So the result is that beginning as we do now in this legislation, instead of negotiating first, we organize a Territory over a small district of land, a Territory with governor, judges, and the other necessary officers for Territorial organization, a small body of people, a people it is true who ought to have had some form of government long ago; but they must wait for this general plan. Nothing like it has occurred in our history before, and all this results from the fact that gentlemen are determined to force the measure in their own way instead of permitting the views and practical and honorable method of the Secretary of the Interior—the late Secretary I refer to—to be carried out, and that is to negotiate and extinguish the Indian title first and then organize the Territory. The gentleman from Illinois says that we can not negotiate unless we first pass the bill. I dissent from that and hope the gentleman will give the committee the reasons to substantiate that view of the case.

Mr. SPRINGER. I will answer the gentleman if he will permit me now.

Mr. HOLMAN. Very well.

Mr. SPRINGER. The council of the Cherokee Indians now is in control of the Cherokee Live Stock Association, so much so that that council, in the face of the proposition from a cattle company in Texas to pay $150,000 a year for the use of the lands, passed through the council the proposition with regard to the land which Chief Mayse vetoed, and the council tried to pass it over the veto.

Mr. HOLMAN. I understand what the gentleman refers to, but it is of the same character as the question which is raised, but not going quite to that extent, in reference to the railroad interests involved here. It is, at the best, mere speculation; but there are two features or two sides to that question. In regard to the railroad interest I do not pretend to assert that the railroads have an interest in the lands or will acquire any land on the acquisition of the Indian title by the Government; but the committee that the House appointed to inquire into Indian affairs cautiously suggested in their report to the House, in the Forty-eighth Congress, that instead of extinguishing the title of the Indians the land should be held in some form of trust, in order to avoid the possibility of either of the two railroad corporations running through the Territory obtaining any of the lands, for it would be a very mortifying result, in view of the past experience of this Government, if, after all the precautions taken, by a blunder any portion of the lands which ought to be dedicated as homes for the people should become the property of either of these railroad corporations upon the extinguishment

of the Indian title. I know that no gentleman desires to see that done.

Mr. SPRINGER. Let me ask the gentleman in this connection if the Forty-ninth Congress did not pass a bill forfeiting all the lands of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, and if the gentleman does not claim credit to Congress for passing that act?

Mr. HOLMAN. I claim a little credit, as well as my friend, for that legislation. But taking the Atlantic and Pacific, that road had been constructed to Vinita and as far west as the Arkansas River, to my personal knowledge, before the act was passed. I do not admit or believe that if the road had been completed clear through the Territory out of time it gave the corporation any right to the land. But that is still an open question.

It had, to my own knowledge, to the Arkansas River in September, 1885, and it is said reached near the west boundary of the Creek Nation and farther west at a comparatively early day after that, and long before we passed that bill declaring a forfeiture, but I do not know that; but I have inquired of some gentleman of the committee to what extent westward the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad had been constructed when that declaratory act of forfeiture was passed. I have tried to ascertain the fact, but I have not ascertained it yet. No one seems to know.

Mr. HEARD. I will state to my friend, the gentleman from Indiana, that to my own personal knowledge this road was being operated as far as Tulsa in 1883 or 1884.

Mr. WEAVER. But it never has got into Oklahoma.

Mr. HEARD. I suppose not.

Mr. HOLMAN. It has been stated that that road had been constructed through a considerable portion of the Oklahoma tract to a point on the northern fork of the Canadian River not far below Fort Reno, and Fort Reno is about 2 miles, perhaps more, west of the western boundary of what is known as Oklahoma. But on what authority and at what time it was so constructed I am not able to state.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is a mistake.

Mr. HOLMAN. I do not know it as a fact, but I know, as I have stated, that as early as September, 1885, it had reached the Arkansas River. The Atlantic and Pacific corporation ought not to have any of this land, and I hope no mistake will be made. To buy land for the benefit of that corporation would be a sad mistake, but more than that, it would be simply infamous.

Mr. PERKINS. Will the gentleman from Indiana permit me to make a suggestion? I know at the date of the passage of the act forfeiting the lands of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in the Forty-ninth Congress this road was not constructed west of the Arkansas River, west of the town of Tulsa.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. PAYSON. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have permission to proceed.

Mr. SPRINGER. I ask unanimous consent that he may be permitted to speak twenty minutes, with a like privilege on the other side if it is desirable.

Mr. HOLMAN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. STONE] desires to be heard on this pending proposition.

Mr. SPRINGER. This is a request for an extension of the whole debate for twenty minutes on each side.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana be allowed to proceed twenty minutes, and that a like time be allowed to friends of the bill.

Mr. BARNES. That means forty minutes more on this section.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I would like to say to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] that if there is any possible job in this bill I wish he would show it.

Mr. HOLMAN. As to the effect of this measure I wish to say that the only thing to be regretted is the absence of positive information as to the facts. I think the opinion of the Attorney-General should have been taken as to the effect of the two acts, the act of July, 1866, making the grant to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, and the act of forfeiture. I should have been glad to have his opinion on the effect of these two measures before further legislation was had. I take it for granted that it will not be obtained; and I take it for granted that if we proceed with the consideration of this bill certainly every effort should be made to avoid a mistake. If the extinguishment of the Indian title will give any of this land to either of the railroad corporations it clearly ought not to be done. In 1886 I suggested a trust for these lands if we acquired them, rather than a purchase, to avoid the possibility of either of the two railroad corporations acquiring any interest in the lands.

I have said all I desired on the subject. I now come directly to the pending proposition: How far the Government of the United States can now depart from a policy substantially settled of holding lands for the purpose of securing homes for their people, and not only homes for their people but homes for their landless people? It is one of the most gratifying facts in our history that the highest order of statesmanship and the purest patriotism organized our land system. You have all, gentlemen, had occasion to exult in that part of our history.

I have read it with delight and astonishment. With apparently unbounded landed possessions, even when their western boundary was the Mississippi River, yet when that vast country known as the Louisiana purchase, which extended their western boundary to Oregon and the Pacific Ocean was added, it seemed a region so vast as to require centuries even to explore it. Yet our fathers husbanded the public land of that vast domain with the same fidelity and solicitude for the future that a small state would have done with only a limited territorial possession.

And it is an interesting fact to know that with all the countless schemes for grants of public lands that must have been pressed upon Congress at that early period, when emigration began to move westward after the Revolutionary war toward the rich lands northwest and southwest of the Ohio, with all the countless schemes of colonization, formed both at home and in other countries, with great landed estates, the policy of every civilized nation on the globe, there were never but two large bodies of land ever sold by the United States, pressed as they were for money to meet the debts of the Revolutionary war—one, 892,900 acres, known as the purchase of the Ohio Company—Marietta, Ohio, being a part of that purchase—sold for $642,856.66, and the other, 272,540 acres, to John Cleaves Symms, for $189,693.

Both these great sales together make only a little more than a million of acres, and this fact shows the extraordinary fidelity of the men who so long controlled the affairs of this Government through successive generations, and down to the present generation; how mindful they were of posterity and how anxious that the lands of this country should be held in small freehold estates by the American people. I say nothing of the last quarter of a century. It was then less clear than it is now that upon the multitude of these small freehold estates depends the permanency of our free institutions.

There is no hope now, as all considerate men see, of preserving republican institutions with our ever rapidly increasing population swelling the multitudes of our cities with startling rapidity, unless the great body of the people are invested with an actual interest in the soil of their country. It is on the conservative power of these freeholds that our free institutions must rest. Therefore any measure that seeks to enlarge the number of freeholds is a measure of public safety and worthy of the highest consideration of the American Congress. Those freeholds, even if they are but a half or a quarter section of land, are better than fortifications and armed bulwarks for the support of free institutions and free government [applause]; and any measure of policy that will tend to diminish the number of these freeholds by an unwise appropriation of the public land still under national control ought not to be approved by Congress, while any measure that tends to enlarge their number ought to commend itself to us as the representatives of the American people.

Now, what are the facts before us? My friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], who is generally so careful and accurate, misapprehends the spirit which actuated our fathers in relation to the public domain. They never sought to make the public lands a source of speculation or profit. Even when there was the greatest anxiety to pay the debt incurred in the Revolutionary war our fathers declined to sell the public lands in large bodies, and from the beginning the public lands were sold at a nominal price. When the pre-emption law of 1841 passed there seemed to be still some necessity for drawing some revenues from the public lands, but it was legislation in the proper direction, tending toward the ultimate result of securing the land to actual bona fide settlers. It was a measure that gave the actual settler priority over all others.

Mr. SPRINGER. Can the gentleman tell me what were the receipts from the sales of public lands last year?

Mr. HOLMAN. The receipts last year were larger than ever before.

Mr. SPRINGER. Eleven millions of dollars?

Mr. HOLMAN. Between eleven and twelve millions, according to my recollection; larger than ever before. But let me mention another fact to my friend to show the importance of this measure and securing this land to our landless people, and to show how little land we have left that is fit for agricultural purposes, in spite of the impression to the contrary. It has been found necessary this session to suspend your land laws, except the homestead law, in respect to public lands in the five public-land States of the South.

All men who would speculate in public lands now see the advantage of entering them for speculation, because the day comes rapidly upon us when no public land adapted to cultivation without irrigation will be found within the United States. The commission appointed some years ago to inquire into the condition of the public domain, with Major Powell at its head, undoubtedly underestimated the amount of arable land remaining when they put it at 25,000,000 acres. That was clearly a mistake, but not a mistake of the commission, for the statistics were not compiled by them, but at the present time it is reasonably certain that all the public lands adapted to agriculture, lands where the individual citizen with his wife and children around

him, without the aid of artificial irrigation, can build up a happy and prosperous home, does not exceed 75,000,000 acres.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Does that include Indian reservations?

Mr. HOLMAN. It includes Indian and military reservations. Of the Indian reservations, the eastern portion of the Indian Territory and about two-thirds of the great Sioux reservation are the only two large bodies of Indian lands remaining that are arable. Of the lands of the Navajoes and of the Apaches large bodies are worthless for any other purpose than those to which Indians can apply them and for pasturage, not being adapted for agriculture as a general rule in any possible way. They are lands, except here and there a valley, not adapted to agriculture under any possible conditions.

Mr. SPRINGER. For the sake of accuracy the gentleman will allow me to state that the amount received as proceeds of the sales of the public lands for the year 1887 was $12,289,000.

Mr. HOLMAN. Mr. Chairman, the rapid exhaustion of the public domain, indicated by actual sales under existing laws, points out the importance of making no mistake as to how the twenty odd million acres now under consideration shall be disposed of. Let me state more carefully the facts in regard to the cost in money of the public domain and receipts from the sale of public lands. The following table presents the cost of all cessions and purchases made east of the Mississippi, and of all purchases made west of the Mississippi. Happily, except as the result of the Revolutionary war, we have acquired no land by conquest.

Cost of and receipts from the public domain to June 30, 1883.

COST OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Purchases and cessions	$88,157,389.98
For Indian annuities and titles, etc	208,776,031.24
For surveying and disposition	55,047,739.10
Total cost up to June 30, 1883	351,981,160.32

RECEIPTS FROM THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Total receipts up to June 30, 1883	233,576,861.04

So that from the origin of the public domain to June 30, 1883, the cash expenditures by the United States on account of the public domain was $351,981,160.32, while the receipts from land sold was $233,576,861.04, a difference of $118,404,299.28. The cost of the public domain as above stated includes $6,200,000 paid to the State of Georgia for her cession and Yazoo scrip claim, 1802.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. Eighty-eight million dollars without that?

Mr. HOLMAN. No, sir; $88,157,389.98 including that. The foregoing statement establishes the fact that while in the earlier years of our history Congress was often greatly pressed for means to meet the debt contracted during the Revolutionary war and the war of 1812, yet the public lands were never disposed of exclusively for the purpose of raising money. And yet it must be admitted the revenue derived from the public lands was never lost sight of, and Congress habitually took into account their cash value.

Mr. SYMES. Is that the gross amount?

Mr. HOLMAN. That is the gross amount, and that includes the 2, 3, and 5 per cent. fund paid to the different States under the several acts of Congress. So that, as indicating the policy of the United States through all these years, covering now a little more than a century (because our land system may be regarded as having commenced in the year 1785), our public lands, instead of being held and sold as a source of speculation and profit to the Government, have been held in the main with an eye single to securing homes for the people. That magnificent display of prosperity which gladdens the eye of every American citizen as he travels through the great States of his country and gladdens the heart of every lover of freedom and of the human race, this widespread scene of happy and prosperous freeholds, the glory of the grandest period of human progress, has been the result of that wise policy of our fathers which made the creation of prosperous homes the chief object of Government and to that end hoarded and reserved the public land. Homes on the public domain were deemed of more value than revenues of Government received from their sale.

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman's figures come down to 1883. During the five years since that time the receipts from public lands have averaged nearly $10,000,000 a year.

Mr. PAYSON. Let me supplement the statement of my colleague [Mr. SPRINGER] with the remark that the expenses for extinguishment of the Indian occupancy titles during the years he has indicated have averaged nearly $6,000,000 a year; so that in this matter "one hand washes the other."

Mr. HOLMAN. Yet that is true, and you must add to the account the $11,000,000 to be paid to the Blackfeet and other Indians of Montana north of the Missouri for 17,000,000 acres acquired from them during the present session, and yet you wisely applied the homestead principle to that land. I had the honor myself to suggest the homestead provision in the form as it appears in that law. This principle I admit was not applied in the act proposing to take the lands of the Sioux Indians. In that case 50 cents an acre, I admit, was required of the settler in installments. There have been one or two other instances of the same kind, where the amount of land involved has been small. But in the case I have just mentioned, it applied to a region of country of special value. Gentlemen may not be aware of the fact that the 11,000,000 acres which you proposed to purchase from the Sioux, extending over the Black Hill region to the Missouri River, is a better body of land than the average of the Indian Territory; for while the eastern portion of the Indian Territory embraces very fertile land, equal to the average of Eastern Kansas, the western portion is not specially valuable for agriculture, though admirably adapted to pasturage. Besides this, the interests of railroads largely affected the action of Congress in regard to the Sioux reservation.

Mr. SPRINGER. Were not the settlers required to pay for those lands?

Mr. HOLMAN. I have stated that in that case 50 cents an acre was required to be paid; but as to the other seventeen millions which I have just mentioned not a cent was required from the settler. There the homestead principle was strictly applied.

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of the proposition of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] as now modified. It is not simply a homestead provision, but it has a merit beyond that. It is a measure to actually secure homes to your landless people as against all others, actually increasing the number of homes in the country to the extent that this land can provide them. You have been appropriating, or proposing to appropriate, millions of dollars for the defense of your borders, and, whether expressed or not, for your internal safety, by the erection of fortifications and the enlarging of your Navy; yet every American citizen of intelligence knows that the addition of a single homestead where the citizen raises up a family of children in virtuous industry will be a better safeguard to the nation than vast expenditures for military preparations.

Mr. SPRINGER. I concede that. Now, I desire to ask the gentleman whether the bill reported from the Committee on Public Lands and passed by Congress at this session, to amend the land laws so as better to secure lands to actual settlers, contained any such provision as this amendment, that a person who held or owned any land theretofore could not enter upon the public domain.

Mr. HOLMAN. I am glad my friend has asked that question. I will state to him our history on that subject. The pre-emption law enacted in 1841 contained a provision that no person should be entitled to the benefit of that law who was the owner of some limited quantity of land (I can not state the amount), or who should have sold land in the same Territory for the purpose of acquiring land under the pre-emption law, or who shall have sold lands in some Territory to acquire land under the pre-emption law. That was the provision of the pre-emption law of 1841. The homestead law was defective in two things. It was, I may say, defective in three respects. It was defective, *first*, on account of the commutation clause, which enabled the speculator to acquire title at an early period by paying $1.25 per acre for the land. It was defective in the second place because it was not more considerate of the importance of reserving the public lands for the actual settlers by repealing all other laws for entering public land adapted to agriculture. The great defect was that it did not repeal all other laws for the disposing of the agricultural public lands. If those grave errors had not occurred in that important law the laboring men of this generation and of generations to come would have had a highway of escape, an outlet from the curse and oppression of monopoly, an outlet and highway of hope for millions of our people. I say it would have been the good fortune of our people if those three provisions had been incorporated into that homestead law of May 20, 1862.

Now, if that can be accomplished in regard to this bill I wish to see it done, but I am not willing in view of the past history of our country to withdraw any portion of our public lands from the actual settlers. I am not willing to throw open any portion of our public lands to speculation.

Mr. SPRINGER. Let me ask the gentleman from Indiana a question.

Mr. HOLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. SPRINGER. Does his bill contain these provisions?

Mr. HOLMAN. It contains for the first time substantially these limitations. It does not go to the full extent named in the pending proposition. It provides that no person shall be entitled to the benefit of the homestead law who is the owner of a quarter-section of land.

Mr. SPRINGER. I am in favor of that.

Mr. HOLMAN. And absolutely restricts the entry of public land adapted to agriculture to actual bona fide settlers, that good faith being guarantied by an actual residence on the land and cultivation of it for five years. I have always insisted that the public lands shall be withheld from speculation and reserved for actual settlement.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yet the gentleman carried that defect in the homestead law in the very bill he introduced at this Congress. Why did it not occur to him then as it occurs to him now?

Mr. HOLMAN. It did occur to me, and so far as that is concerned I went as far as I could, and for the first time those provisions are now in a homestead bill, the bill now awaiting the action of the Senate.

Mr. SPRINGER. I wish to call the gentleman's attention to the

fact that there are many persons who have small holdings which are mortgaged who wish to sell out and go out to Oklahoma and make actual settlement upon these lands if they are permitted to do so. Under this amendment they will be prevented from doing so.

Mr. PETERS. If a man only owns a lot in a cemetery he will be barred from the privileges by this act.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, if he only owns a lot in a cemetery.

Mr. HOLMAN. Let me ask the gentleman a question. Does he intend by this bill to allow men all over the country to leave their farms and go down to Oklahoma and enter these lands to the exclusion of the landless and homeless people?

Mr. SPRINGER. Under this measure a settler going upon these lands must go there and live upon the land and cultivate it for three years. It contains the same provision of the homestead law which has been so much commended by the gentleman from Indiana. The settler is compelled to remain in occupancy of the soil for three years.

Mr. HOLMAN. My friend has no objection to men of landed estates going there and getting these lands into their possession?

Mr. SPRINGER. If the gentleman will suggest any amendment which will keep Jay Gould or which will prevent any other millionaire going out and settling on 160 acres of this land I undertake to say it will be accepted and adopted as a portion of the bill. Whoever occupies any of these lands for actual settlement will have to cultivate the soil for three years.

Mr. HOLMAN. As I have already said, I am in favor of retaining all the lands belonging to the public domain for the exclusive use of actual settlers for homes, under the safe and wholesome provisions of the homestead law; but I am against disposing of them for purposes of speculation. This bill is not a homestead bill; it does not contain the safeguards of the homestead law as amended by the House; it will not secure these lands to our landless people. This Indian Territory, situated in the midst of populous States, ought not to be given up to speculation. The western half of it can with justice to the Indians and with their consent be opened up to white settlement. But gentlemen ought not to overlook the importance of the lands we are to acquire; the western half of the Indian Territory and the Public Land Strip will form a State about as large as the State of Ohio. If you dedicate that land to the single purpose of securing homes for your landless people, it will be settled by landless men from all sections of the Union, who with scanty means will hurry forward with their wives and children to secure that priceless blessing, an independent home. If you open it up under the provisions of this bill at $1.25 an acre and a nominal residence of three years, it will be taken up at once by the enterprising population of the States around it, and the actual number of your independent freeholds will not be increased. Instead of landless citizens, men of landed estates and homes will at once enter these lands for speculation. To them the $1.25 is a nominal price; it is in fact a nominal price for lands which, while of little value to the Indian, are worth from $5 to $50 an acre to the men whose labor will transform them into prosperous homes.

In the name of labor I demand that this last great body of arable land you will control shall be secured to your landless and laboring people, every quarter section adding to the number of your independent homes.

I am not willing that the interests of railroads for the rapid development of the wealth of this region of country, or the interests of prosperous towns and cities on its borders, or of organized bodies of capitalists shall be considered in disposing of this 24,000,000 acres of land. I entreat you, gentlemen, to devote this public possession, when it shall be rightfully under your control, to the sacred object of securing homes to your laboring people, the landless and homeless.

I am in favor of opening up the western part of the Indian Territory to white settlement in a manner just to the Indians. I think I had the honor to first suggest it to the House, as chairman of a committee appointed by the Speaker on the 4th of March, 1885, of which Mr. CANNON, Mr. PEEL, Mr. HATCH, and Mr. RYAN were members, to inquire into Indian affairs. In the report made to the House by that committee the following views are expressed:

The civilized nations—Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles—and all of the other more advanced tribes are in the eastern part of the Territory. Here the principal progress in agriculture, as well as in general advancement, has been made, while an extended portion of the west is occupied by the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Wichitas, Kiowas, and Comanches, with a united population of 7,746, who have made comparatively little progress, with very unimportant improvements and none of a permanent character.

It is very manifest that if it is the policy of Congress to exclude the further settlement of tribes in the Territory, the interests of the Indians, as well as the Government, require an important change in the condition of this great Territory at an early day.

While it is true that extensive regions of this Territory are leased by the tribes for pasturage, including all of the Cherokee Outlet west of the Arkansas River, and is for the present a source of revenue to the tribes, yet the recent experience in the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation, and the irritation manifest in several tribes whose lands are overrun by vast herds of cattle, passing without authority from one reservation to another, taking off with them the small herds of cattle owned by Indians, indicate the peril to which these leases expose the peace of the country. Besides, in most instances these leases tend to diminish the opportunities, as well as the motives, of the tribes for engaging in agricultural employments, and will, in the opinion of the committee, greatly interfere with any efforts which shall be made to encourage the tribes in agricultural pursuits.

The lease of the Cherokee Outlet is, perhaps, the only exception, and that outlet is remote from the lands actually occupied by the Cherokees; but the great herds of cattle on this outlet may seriously affect the tribes living south of it.

This method of rendering these vast pasture fields productive, while not tending to the civilization of the Indians, threatens constantly the peace of the country, and ought not to become a permanent policy if the substantial progress of these tribes in industrial employments is mainly to be considered, and such surely is the duty of the Government.

It would seem that these considerations induced the legislature of the Creek Nation during the past summer to decline leasing their unoccupied lands, while the Sac and Fox Indians, under chiefs of great sagacity, have entered into a lease of a portion of their lands on the condition that a permanent fence should be constructed which would protect the rest of their lands from herds of cattle wandering from the lands leased by a neighboring tribe.

In the heart of this Territory is situated the tract of land containing 1,887,800.47 acres, known as "Oklahoma," being a part of the land purchased by the Government at 15 and 30 cents an acre by treaties made in 1866 with the Creeks and Seminoles, a tract of land comparing well in fertility and streams of water with the southern portion of the State of Kansas. This Oklahoma tract is surrounded on every side by lands which the Government by treaties or agreements have ceded to Indian tribes. It is manifest that the Government can not, consistently with its agreement with the Creeks, permit this tract of land to be occupied except by Indians; and it will be seen by reference to the testimony (which appears in the appendix) taken by the committee at Muscogee, in the Creek territory, that a council held by delegates from all the civilized tribes consider this question of Oklahoma as one common to all of them. It is certain, in the opinion of the committee, that the tribes will not consent to the occupation of Oklahoma by white settlers. They seem to rely with confidence on the good faith of the Government.

While the settlement of the comparatively small tract of land known as Oklahoma seems wholly impracticable, in view of the obligations resting on the United States in their engagements with the Creeks and Seminoles, there is reason to believe that the Government without serious difficulty can, with the consent of the tribes interested, secure such a concentration of the western tribes in Oklahoma and further east as will open up for general settlement of white people a large portion of the western part of the Territory.

It would undoubtedly be a great benefit to the tribes before named who occupy the western portion of the Territory to remove farther east, and of very great benefit to the Government, not only in opening up for general settlement an extensive region of country, but by greatly diminishing the expense of providing for the good order and progress of the Indians, and extinguishing the motive for the unlawful invasion of this Territory by organized bodies of white men.

The present order of things is necessarily expensive in many respects—the transportation of supplies into regions remote from the railways, the support of a large body of men at different agencies. There are three military posts in this remote region occupied by a small number of people.

The opinion was generally expressed by those well acquainted with the Indians and the general situation that the concentration of all of these tribes in the eastwardly portion of the Territory was entirely practicable, and that it would be greatly beneficial. The opening up to settlement of this western portion of the Territory would, of course, involve the Cherokee Outlet, 57 miles wide, stretching along the southern boundary of Kansas. This strip of land is held by the Cherokees on the same condition on which the United States hold Oklahoma (except in the matter of compensation)—that the United States might settle friendly Indians upon it.

It can hardly be doubted that the intelligent Cherokees will see the general benefit to themselves and their kindred of the concentration of the Indians of the Territory in a region ample for their progress, growth, and development, removing the constantly growing irritation which the presence of a large body of unoccupied land tends to create in our landless people, and at the same time securing to them the reasonable value of the land surrendered.

The committee do not say that views favorable to the policy of surrendering to white settlement any part of the Indian Territory were expressed by the chiefs at that conference, but, on the contrary, it was manifest that the leading men of the five nations are earnest in adhering to the present engagements of the Government as the only safe policy for their tribes, and are fearful of the result of any modification or change. But still it is believed that, with the good faith of the Government assured, these tribes will readily see the benefits which would result to them from their greater concentration in the eastern section of the Territory. It is proper to remark that the leading men of this Territory seem to be exceedingly well informed as to the treaties, agreements, laws, and patents under which the lands of the Territory are held by the tribes.

The American people are not only bound to maintain untarnished their faith and honor in dealing with these remnants of the once powerful tribes which in former ages ruled this vast country, and have gone down in a brave but hopeless struggle with our advancing civilization, but can afford to act with justice, magnanimity, and forbearance towards them. No clamor of greedy avarice should tempt the American people to deal unjustly with these people, now completely at their mercy, in this final adjustment of their Territorial possessions and their relations to Government.

But in relation to the Indian question in general it can now be clearly seen that the period for this final adjustment of their landed possessions and the extent to which their support shall be a charge upon the national Treasury or upon their own resources has been reached. Every reservation is surrounded with an aggressive and growing white population. No further removals can take place except by the consolidation of the tribes. No lands except the waste and barren lands south and east of the pastoral Navajoes can be added to their possession. The wild herds and flocks that so long furnished the race clothing and food are gone, and they must at least in some degree accept the methods and conditions of the civilzation hitherto so fatal to the race, or disappear. The philanthropy of our people will in the early future be put to a severe test in deciding whether they shall on just conditions be permitted to work out their own advancement in civilization and government and survive as a part of the nation, or disappear as a people under the benevolent but utopian theories that the force of education and law will elevate them at once to the plane of the white race.

In view of the facts above presented, the committee are of the opinion that the final location of the tribes and the landed estates which shall be held by them with a view to their permanent settlement and improvement should be determined at an early period, and that in consideration of the magnitude of the subject, both as to Indian tribes and to the Government, and the solicitude that must be felt by the whole people that this adjustment should be made on principles of justice and a high regard for national honor the committee recommend the creation of a commission of six eminent citizens, three detailed from the Army and three appointed by the President from civil life by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall perform the duties and exercise the powers touching the subject mentioned in this report, specified in the draught of a bill which is herewith respectfully submitted to the House.

The members of the committee are unanimous in the opinion, after a careful consideration of the subject, that the lands, as well in the Indian Territory as in the various reservations, which shall be ultimately found not required for the

Indians or the Indian tribes, and which, with their consent, ought to be disposed of for their benefit, should not be purchased by the Government, but should be held and disposed of by the United States, in trust for the tribe interested, to actual settlers only, on an extended period of time. Such a system avoids complications, is perfectly just to the tribes, and at the same time promotes the interest of the settlers, and, it is deemed proper to add, will enable the Government to dispose of these surplus lands gradually, and through a prolonged series of years—a policy believed to be of the highest importance to the people of the United States.

It will be seen that the real difference between the committee of the House which made that report and the Committee on Territories which urges the passage of the pending bill is as to the method by which the western part of the Indian Territory should be secured and opened up to white settlement.

I again express the belief that if the policy recommended by the committee appointed on the 4th of March, 1885, had been adopted and the bill it reported had been passed the Territory of Oklahoma could now be organized, not a part of it, but the whole proposed territory, without embarrassment, while justice would have been done to the Indian tribes. The pending bill proposes to throw open the great body of land proposed to be organized into the Territory of Oklahoma, while the bill of that committee would have ultimately secured them to actual and bona fide settlers without the possibility of either of the great railroad corporations which traverse the Indian Territory securing one acre of the land covered by the questionable grants they obtained from Congress.

The Silver Question.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD P. BLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, August 29, 1888,

On the silver bill.

Mr. BLAND said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I propose to submit a few remarks upon this subject and to show the record of the Democratic and Republican parties in regard to the question of silver money. The following resolution was adopted by the Republican convention at Chicago last June:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

The Republican party is to be congratulated upon its change of front upon this question.

This was the first time this party ever mentioned the subject of silver coinage in its platform since the Republican party demonetized silver in 1873. The Democratic party, however, in its platform at Cincinnati in 1880 and at Chicago in 1884, declared in favor of a currency consisting of gold and silver and paper convertible in coin. This platform of 1884 was also readopted at St. Louis in June last.

To show the duplicity of the Republican party in denouncing the present Administration for recommending the suspension of the coinage of silver I shall give a brief history of the attitude of the two parties upon that subject.

The coinage of silver was authorized by the act of February 28, 1878. In December following Secretary Sherman objected to the law, and recommended a further limitation of the coinage in the following language found in his annual report to Congress of that year:

The Secretary therefore earnestly invokes the attention of Congress to this subject, with a view that either during the present or the next session the amount of silver dollars to be issued be limited, or their ratio to gold for coining purposes be changed.

In his annual report for 1879 Secretary Sherman repeats his recommendation for suspension of silver coinage in the following language:

In the last annual report the Secretary stated:

"It would seem to be the best policy for the present to limit the aggregate issue of our silver dollars, based on the ratio of 16 to 1, to such sums as can clearly be maintained at par with gold, until the price of silver in the market shall assume a definite ratio to gold, when that ratio should be adopted and our coins made to conform to it; and the Secretary respectfully recommends that he be authorized to discontinue the coinage of the silver dollar when the amount outstanding shall exceed $50,000,000."

He again respectfully calls the attention of Congress to the importance of further limiting the coinage of the silver dollar. The market value of the bullion in this coin has been during the past year from 10 to 16 per cent. less than the market value of the bullion in the gold dollar. The total amount of silver dollars coined to November 1, 1879, under the act of February 28, 1878, was $45,206,200, of which $13,002,842 was in circulation, and the remainder, $32,203,358, in the Treasury at that time. No effort has been spared to put this coin in circulation. Owing to its limited coinage it has been kept at par; but its free coinage would soon reduce its current value to its bullion value, and thus establish a single silver standard. The inevitable result would be to exclude gold coin from circulation.

It is impossible to ascertain what amount of silver coin, based upon the ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold, can be maintained at par with gold, but it is manifest that this can only be done by the Government holding in its vaults the great body of the silver coin. It would seem that nothing would be gained by an unlimited coinage unless it is desirable to measure all values by the silver standard. The Secretary can not too strongly urge the importance of adjusting the coinage ratio of the two metals by treaties with commercial nations, and, until this can be done, of limiting the coinage of the silver dollar to such a sum as in the opinion of Congress would enable the Department to readily maintain the standard dollars of gold and silver at par with each other.

Again, in his annual report in 1880 he insists on suspension, as follows:

STANDARD SILVER DOLLAR.

In compliance with the provisions of the act of February 28, 1878, during the last fiscal year 24,262,571.38 standard ounces of silver bullion, costing $24,972,161.81 (an average of $2,081,013.48 per month), were purchased, of which 24,005,566.41 ounces were coined into 27,933,750 standard silver dollars. The total coinage of standard silver dollars since the passage of the act, up to November 1, 1880, has been $72,847,750, at which date $47,084,450 were in the Treasury. Of the latter amount $19,780,241 were represented by outstanding silver certificates, the amount in actual circulation at that date being $25,763,291.

Since the passage of that act the Department has issued numerous circulars and notices to the public in which it has offered every inducement which it could under the law to facilitate the general distribution and circulation of these coins. It has required United States disbursing officers to pay them out in payment for salaries and for other current obligations, and it has offered to place the silver in the hands of the people throughout the United States without expense for transportation, when sent by express, and at an expense for registration fee only, when sent by registered mail.

Notwithstanding these efforts it is found to be difficult to maintain in circulation more than 35 per cent. of the amount coined. While at special seasons of the year, and for special purposes, this coin is in demand, mainly in the South, it returns again to the Treasury, and its reissue involves an expense for transportation at an average rate of one-third of 1 per cent. each time. Unlike gold coin or United States notes, it does not, to the same extent, form a part of the permanent circulation, everywhere acceptable, and, when flowing into the Treasury, easily paid out with little or no cost of transportation.

Again in same report he says:

It may be better for Congress at the present time to confine its action to the suspension of the coinage of the silver dollar, and to await negotiations with foreign powers for the adoption of an international ratio; but, compelled by official duty to report upon this subject, the Secretary feels bound to express his conviction that it is for the interest of the United States now, as the chief producer of silver, to recognize the great change that has occurred in the relative market value of silver and gold in the chief marts of the world, to adopt a ratio for coinage based upon market value, and to conform all existing coinage to that ratio, while maintaining the gold eagle of our coinage at its present weight and fineness.

In 1881, in his annual report to Congress, Secretary Folger also recommended a suspension of silver coinage, and claims that it was not good faith for the Government to pay its bonded debt in anything but gold, as following extracts from his annual report in December, 1881, show:

PAYMENT OF UNITED STATES BONDS IN GOLD.

The gold dollar at the standard weight of 25.8 grains is by law the unit of value, while the standard silver dollar by this standard is now worth about 88 cents.

Although the act of July 14, 1870, provides for the issue of United States bonds, "redeemable in coin of the present standard value," whereby were included both gold and silver coin of that value, yet as by the act of February 12, 1873, the further coinage of silver dollars was prohibited, and the Revised Statutes declared gold coin only to be legal tender for sums exceeding $5, equity, if not strict construction of law, requires that the holders of such bonds should receive payment thereof in gold or its equivalent.

By act of February 28, 1878, silver dollars of the standard weight and fineness were again made a legal tender at the nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract.

Between the adoption of the Revised Statutes, June 22, 1874, and 1878, silver coin was not a tender in payment of United States bonds, and it might fairly be regarded, especially by foreign holders who had acquired bonds during this interval, as a breach of faith if bond creditors were compelled to receive a payment in a coin worth in the markets of the world but 88 per cent. of our own standard of value.

This Government is abundantly able to discharge all its obligations at home and abroad in money which is everywhere accepted as a true standard of value.

In the same report he recommends suspension or a limitation of coinage, as follows:

It may be assumed that a people as enterprising and progressive as that of the United States, holding a leading position among nations, will not consent to the total abandonment of the use of gold as one of the metals to be employed as money, and we can not consent to be placed in the very awkward position of paying for all that we buy abroad upon a gold standard and selling all that we have to sell on a silver standard.

It is therefore recommended that the provision for the coinage of a fixed amount each month be repealed, and the Secretary be authorized to coin only so much as will be necessary to supply the demand.

Again, in his annual report in 1883, Secretary Folger calls for a halt in the use of silver, as follows:

SILVER CERTIFICATES.

The amount of silver certificates outstanding November 1, 1883, was	$99,579,141
The amount outstanding at the same date in 1882 was	73,607,710
There was held by the Treasury on the 1st of November, 1882	7,987,260
And on the same date in 1883	14,244,760

These figures show an increase of the silver certificates in the hands of the people of $19,713,931. Figures given above show a like increase of silver dollars of $4,136,321.

Yet it is apparent that any demand that is likely to arise for silver dollars, or for the silver certificates based upon them, may be readily met without further immediate coinage of the dollars or preparation of the certificates for issue. It

is also apparent that to keep up an aimless purchase of silver bullion, at the rate of over twety-four millions of dollars each year, is a needless use of public money and of the taxing power to supply them, incurring a needless loss of the interest on the sum thus expended, and the expense of the manipulation. Apart from any consideration of the policy underlying the coinage at all, of the standard silver dollar, as now authorized, it would seem that an operation of the Treasury and its mints, for which there is no immediate call, might be at least temporarily suspended.

The Department makes no further comment upon these facts, but refers to its last two annual reports for its views upon the continued coinage of silver dollars and the issue of silver certificates, and for its recommendations thereupon.

Secretary McCulloch, the last Secretary under President Arthur, recommended the suspension of silver coinage and the retirement of the greenback in his annual report of 1884 in the following language:

The coinage of silver dollars under the act of February 28, 1878, has now reached the very large amount of $184,730,829, being an increase of $28,009,880 for the year ending November 1, 1884. The amount of these dollars in actual circulation is $41,326,736. The increase in the circulation for the year has only been $1,260,346, against an increase of $4,136,321 for the previous year. These figures of themselves are an insuperable argument against the continued coinage of silver dollars.

The Treasury would be relieved, in a measure, from the burden of the silver now held in the Treasury by a withdrawal from circulation of the one and two dollar notes. This would not be a gain to the Treasury, but it would be a gain to the country by increasing the amount of silver in circulation.

The amount of one-dollar notes in circulation is $26,763,097.80; the amount of two-dollar notes in circulation is $25,778,738.20. Congress would, I think, act wisely in putting an end to their circulation. Nor do I hesitate to express the opinion that the country would be benefited if all five-dollar notes should be gradually retired and the coinage of half and quarter eagles should be increased. If this should be done, the circulating medium of the United States below $10 would be silver and gold, and we should be following the example of France, in which there is an immense circulation of silver coin, which in all domestic transactions maintains a parity with gold.

The substitution of gold and silver for small notes would be productive of some inconvenience, but this would be temporary only. If the five-dollar notes should be withdrawn, the Treasury would be relieved from the burden of silver in its vaults, and it would not be long before the coinage of silver might be resumed.

In the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the year 1887 (pages 74 and 75) will be found the following tables, showing the coinage of silver since the enactment of the law of February 28, 1878:

Statement showing the amount of standard silver dollars coined, in the Treasury and in circulation, and of silver certificates outstanding, at the end of each month from March, 1878, to October, 1887.

Date.	Standard silver dollars coined.	Standard silver dollars in the Treasury.	Silver certificates in the Treasury cash.	Silver certificates in circulation.	Net standard silver dollars in Treasury after deducting silver certificates in circulation.	Standard silver dollars in circulation.
1878.						
March 31	$1,001,500	$810,561	.....	.....	$810,561	$190,939
April 30	3,471,500	3,169,681	.....	$63,000	3,106,681	301,819
May 31	6,486,500	5,950,451	$314,710	27,330	5,923,121	536,049
June 30	8,573,500	7,718,357	1,455,520	7,080	7,711,277	855,143
July 31	10,420,500	9,550,236	2,647,940	.....	9,550,236	870,264
August 31	13,448,500	11,292,849	4,424,600	1,709,280	9,583,569	2,155,651
September 30	16,212,500	12,155,205	1,316,470	711,600	11,443,605	4,057,295
October 31	18,282,500	13,397,571	2,639,560	68,790	13,328,781	4,884,929
November 30	20,438,550	14,843,219	1,907,460	366,060	14,477,159	5,595,331
December 31	22,495,550	16,704,829	2,082,770	413,360	16,291,469	5,790,721
1879.						
January 31	24,555,750	17,874,457	2,170,840	400,340	17,474,117	6,681,293
February 28	26,687,750	19,505,767	1,976,320	331,860	19,173,907	7,181,983
March 31	28,770,950	21,558,894	2,074,830	251,700	21,307,194	7,216,056
April 30	31,155,950	23,694,563	1,779,340	197,680	23,496,883	7,461,387
May 31	33,485,950	26,181,045	1,922,820	444,140	25,736,905	7,304,965
June 30	35,801,000	28,147,351	2,052,470	414,480	27,732,871	7,653,649
July 31	37,451,000	29,151,801	2,014,680	771,170	28,380,631	8,299,199
August 31	40,238,050	30,678,464	1,976,960	1,304,890	29,373,574	9,559,586
September 30	42,634,100	31,559,870	3,045,130	1,176,720	30,383,150	11,074,230
October 31	45,206,200	32,322,634	4,531,479	1,604,371	30,718,263	12,883,566
November 30	47,705,200	32,839,207	5,173,188	1,894,722	30,944,485	14,865,993
December 31	50,055,650	33,168,064	4,888,658	3,824,252	29,343,812	16,887,586
1880.						
January 31	52,505,650	34,961,611	5,063,456	3,983,454	30,972,157	17,544,030
February 29	54,806,050	36,972,093	4,797,314	4,572,606	32,399,487	17,833,957
March 31	57,156,250	38,780,342	5,611,914	6,017,006	32,763,336	18,375,908
April 30	59,456,250	40,411,673	5,428,354	6,615,366	33,796,307	19,044,577
May 31	61,7 3,250	42,778,190	6,322,731	6,051,539	36,726,651	18,945,060
June 30	63,734,750	44,425,315	6,584,701	5,789,569	38,635,746	19,309,435
July 31	66,014,750	46,192,791	5,758,331	6,930,959	39,261,832	19,821,959
August 31	68,267,750	47,495,063	5,518,821	7,619,219	39,875,844	20,772,687
September 30	70,568,750	47,654,675	9,318,769	12,203,191	35,451,484	22,914,075
October 31	72,847,750	47,084,450	7,333,719	19,780,241	27,304,209	25,763,300
November 30	75,147,750	47,397,453	8,572,294	29,504,986	20,892,467	27,750,297
December 31	77,453,005	48,190,518	9,454,419	36,127,711	12,062,807	29,262,487
1881.						
January 31	79,753,005	50,235,102	9,985,583	36,814,637	13,420,465	29,517,903
February 28	82,060,005	52,939,460	10,856,463	37,027,797	15,911,663	29,120,545
March 31	84,359,505	55,176,158	10,733,085	39,445,815	15,730,343	29,183,347
April 30	86,659,505	58,044,826	11,522,208	39,157,932	18,886,894	28,614,679
May 31	88,959,505	60,518,273	11,988,710	38,784,540	21,733,733	28,441,232
June 30	91,372,705	62,544,722	12,055,801	39,110,729	23,433,993	28,827,983
July 31	93,622,705	64,246,302	11,181,088	40,802,892	23,443,410	29,376,403
August 31	95,922,705	65,948,344	11,516,432	46,061,878	19,886,466	29,974,361
September 30	98,322,705	66,092,667	11,559,730	52,590,180	13,502,487	32,230,038
October 31	100,672,705	66,576,378	7,488,900	58,838,770	7,737,608	34,096,327
November 30	102,972,705	68,017,452	7,089,880	59,573,950	8,443,502	34,955,253
December 31	105,380,980	69,589,937	6,359,910	62,315,320	7,274,617	35,791,043
1882.						
January 31	107,680,980	72,421,584	7,462,130	61,537,540	10,884,044	35,259,396
February 28	109,981,180	75,138,957	8,549,470	60,125,010	15,013,947	34,842,223
March 31	112,281,680	78,178,583	8,931,930	59,423,440	18,755,143	34,103,097
April 30	114,581,680	81,595,056	8,872,790	58,908,570	22,686,486	32,986,624
May 31	116,843,680	84,606,043	10,509,160	57,227,060	27,378,983	32,237,637
June 30	119,144,780	87,153,816	11,590,620	54,506,090	32,647,726	31,990,964
July 31	121,304,780	88,840,899	12,361,490	54,757,720	34,083,179	32,463,781
August 31	123,729,780	91,167,249	11,700,330	57,739,880	33,426,369	32,563,531
September 30	126,029,880	92,228,649	8,364,430	63,204,700	29,023,869	33,801,231
October 31	128,329,880	92,414,977	7,387,260	65,620,450	26,794,527	35,914,903
November 30	130,629,880	92,940,582	5,752,970	67,342,690	25,597,892	37,689,298
December 31	132,955,080	94,016,842	4,405,000	68,443,660	25,573,182	38,938,238
1883.						
January 31	135,405,080	97,530,969	4,306,650	63,438,820	29,092,149	37,874,111
February 28	137,805,080	100,261,444	5,268,550	68,027,420	32,234,024	37,543,636
March 31	140,205,699	103,482,305	6,865,340	70,759,991	32,722,314	36,723,394
April 30	142,555,699	106,366,348	8,887,260	71,884,071	34,482,277	36,189,351
May 31	144,905,699	108,898,977	8,305,940	71,727,391	37,171,586	36,006,722

Statement showing the amount of standard silver dollars coined, in the Treasury and in circulation, etc.—Continued.

Date.	Standard silver dollars coined.	Standard silver dollars in the Treasury.	Silver certificates in the Treasury cash.	Silver certificates in circulation.	Net standard silver dollars in Treasury after deducting silver certificates in circulation.	Standard silver dollars in circulation.
1883.						
June 30	$147,255,899	$111,914,019	$15,996,145	$72,620,686	$39,293,333	$35,341,880
July 31	149,680,899	113,057,052	15,542,730	73,728,681	39,328,371	36,623,847
August 31	152,020,899	114,320,197	17,276,820	75,375,161	38,945,036	37,700,702
September 30	154,370,899	114,587,372	15,568,280	78,921,961	35,665,411	39,783,527
October 31	156,720,949	116,036,450	14,244,760	85,334,381	30,702,069	40,684,499
November 30	159,070,949	117,768,966	13,806,610	87,976,201	29,792,765	41,301,983
December 31	161,425,119	119,449,385	13,180,890	96,717,721	22,731,664	41,975,734
1884.						
January 31	163,775,119	123,474,748	13,179,020	96,958,031	26,516,717	40,300,371
February 29	166,125,119	126,822,399	13,800,100	96,247,721	30,574,678	39,302,720
March 31	168,425,629	129,006,101	20,488,585	95,919,576	33,086,525	39,419,528
April 30	170,725,629	130,314,065	20,876,250	95,497,981	34,816,084	40,411,564
May 31	173,035,629	132,626,753	19,936,620	97,363,471	35,263,282	40,408,876
June 30	175,355,829	135,560,916	23,384,680	96,427,011	39,133,905	39,794,913
July 31	177,680,829	137,692,119	25,265,980	95,138,361	42,553,758	39,988,710
August 31	180,030,829	140,615,722	26,903,230	94,228,691	46,387,031	39,415,107
September 30	182,380,829	142,058,787	26,769,470	96,491,251	45,567,536	40,322,042
October 31	184,730,829	142,926,725	30,814,970	100,741,561	42,185,164	41,804,104
November 30	187,180,829	144,745,075	28,951,590	104,988,531	39,756,544	42,435,754
December 31	189,561,994	146,502,865	23,302,380	114,865,911	31,636,954	43,059,129
1885.						
January 31	191,947,194	150,632,154	27,337,890	113,858,811	36,773,343	41,315,040
February 28	194,247,194	153,561,007	29,951,840	111,467,951	42,093,056	40,686,187
March 31	196,697,394	156,698,482	30,861,615	112,820,226	43,878,256	39,998,912
April 30	199,107,394	159,441,034	32,141,140	109,443,946	49,997,088	39,666,360
May 31	201,509,231	162,244,855	35,575,590	105,085,186	57,159,669	39,264,376
June 30	203,884,381	165,413,112	38,370,700	101,530,946	63,882,166	38,471,269
July 31	205,784,381	166,499,948	40,340,980	98,872,106	67,627,842	39,284,433
August 31	208,259,381	166,854,215	42,712,890	96,079,296	70,774,919	41,405,166
September 30	210,759,431	165,483,721	31,722,990	93,656,716	71,827,005	45,275,710
October 31	213,259,451	163,817,342	31,906,514	93,146,772	70,670,570	49,442,089
November 30	215,759,431	165,568,018	32,034,464	92,702,642	72,865,376	50,191,413
December 31	218,259,761	165,718,190	31,164,311	93,179,465	72,538,725	52,541,571
1886.						
January 31	220,553,761	169,083,385	33,978,767	89,761,609	79,321,776	51,470,376
February 28	223,145,761	171,805,906	34,837,660	88,390,816	83,415,090	51,339,855
March 31	225,959,761	174,700,985	32,410,575	90,122,421	84,578,564	51,258,776
April 30	228,434,121	175,928,502	31,141,055	90,733,141	85,195,361	52,505,619
May 31	231,160,121	178,252,045	30,411,016	89,184,129	89,067,916	52,908,076
June 30	233,723,286	181,253,566	27,861,450	88,116,225	93,137,341	52,469,720
July 31	235,644,286	181,523,924	27,728,858	87,564,044	93,959,880	54,120,362
August 31	238,462,286	181,769,457	25,571,492	89,021,760	92,747,697	56,692,829
September 30	241,070,286	181,262,593	22,555,990	95,387,112	85,875,481	59,807,693
October 31	243,849,386	182,931,231	17,562,302	100,306,800	82,624,431	60,918,155
November 30	246,673,386	184,911,938	14,137,285	105,519,817	79,392,121	61,761,448
December 31	249,343,647	188,506,238	7,338,432	117,246,670	71,259,568	60,837,409
1887.						
January 31	252,105,647	193,963,783	6,737,388	118,183,714	75,780,069	58,141,864
February 28	255,503,647	198,112,760	5,466,347	121,130,755	76,982,005	57,390,887
March 31	258,474,027	201,672,372	6,212,849	131,930,489	69,741,883	56,801,655
April 30	261,524,027	205,788,822	5,007,700	137,740,430	68,048,392	55,735,205
May 31	264,424,027	209,052,567	5,289,164	139,143,328	69,909,239	55,371,460
June 30	266,940,117	211,483,970	3,425,133	142,118,017	69,365,953	55,456,147
July 31	267,390,117	211,528,891	4,209,659	144,166,141	67,362,750	55,861,226
August 31	270,200,117	213,212,448	5,996,743	147,876,385	65,336,063	56,987,669
September 30	273,340,157	213,043,796	3,919,841	154,354,826	58,688,970	60,296,361
October 31	276,716,157	214,175,532	3,451,494	160,713,957	53,461,575	62,540,625
November 30	280,144,157	215,882,443	4,413,446	168,149,274	47,733,169	64,261,714
December 31	283,140,357	218,917,539	6,339,570	176,855,423	42,062,116	64,222,818
1888.						
January 31	285,845,357	223,918,380	14,930,517	179,321,053	44,597,327	61,926,977
February 29	288,545,357	227,947,493	21,166,469	184,452,059	43,494,834	60,597,864
March 31	291,355,789	232,037,274	19,370,425	*191,526,445	40,510,829	59,318,515
April 30	294,039,790	236,156,394	18,316,109	194,426,932	41,729,462	57,883,396
May 31	297,037,790	240,587,970	20,458,423	196,645,405	43,942,565	56,449,820
June 30	299,424,790	243,879,487	29,104,396	200,387,376	43,492,111	55,545,303
July 31	300,658,790	245,798,765	23,361,286	203,680,679	42,118,086	54,860,025

DAILY STATEMENT.

Date.	Paid out by mints.						
1888.							
July 2	$18,500.00	299,424,790	243,891,715	28,755,240	200,736,532	43,155,183	55,533,075
July 3		299,424,790	243,834,132	28,245,387	200,980,485	42,853,647	55,590,658
July 5	6,000.00	299,424,790	243,840,557	28,188,113	201,037,759	42,802,798	55,584,233
July 6		299,424,790	243,817,144	28,235,162	200,826,260	42,990,884	55,607,646
July 7	17,000.00	299,424,790	243,858,760	27,679,756	201,295,166	42,563,594	55,566,030
July 9		299,424,790	243,844,370	27,462,535	201,512,387	42,331,983	55,580,420
July 10		299,424,790	243,851,503	27,244,342	201,615,730	42,235,773	55,573,287
July 11	10,999.25	299,708,790	244,015,928	26,980,977	201,879,095	42,136,833	55,692,862
July 12	2,000.00	299,708,790	244,057,711	26,876,812	201,732,360	42,325,351	55,651,079
July 13	91,498.75	299,708,790	244,110,270	26,488,218	202,120,954	41,989,316	55,598,520
July 14	10,500.00	299,708,790	244,282,448	25,957,637	202,465,035	41,817,413	55,426,342
July 16		299,708,790	244,312,483	25,978,193	202,444,479	41,868,004	55,396,307
July 17	3,000.00	299,708,790	244,310,729	25,653,841	202,547,831	41,762,898	55,398,061
July 18	19,999.25	299,708,790	244,379,743	25,623,525	202,578,147	41,801,596	55,329,074
July 19	16,000.00	299,708,790	244,433,720	25,155,188	202,837,677	41,596,043	55,275,070
July 20	11,000.00	299,708,790	244,454,167	24,918,998	202,989,117	41,465,049	55,254,623

Statement showing the amount of standard silver dollars coined, in the Treasury and in circulation, etc.—Continued.

DAILY STATEMENT—continued.

Date.	Paid out by mints.	Standard silver dollars coined.	Standard silver dollars in the Treasury.	Silver certificates in the Treasury cash.	Silver certificates in circulation.	Net standard silver dollars in Treasury after deducting silver certificates in circulation.	Standard silver dollars in circulation.
1888.							
July 21	$19,999.50	$299,808,790	$244,575,857	$24,830,995	$202,970,920	$41,604,937	$55,232,933
July 23	9,500.00	299,936,790	244,717,256	24,719,369	203,082,546	41,634,710	55,219,534
July 24	6,000.00	299,978,790	244,812,342	24,407,371	203,210,644	41,601,698	55,166,448
July 25	8,500.00	300,072,790	244,933,721	24,465,328	203,152,687	41,781,034	55,139,069
July 26	17,500.00	300,202,790	245,122,802	24,125,155	203,241,960	41,880,842	55,079,988
July 27	18,500.00	300,302,790	245,284,969	24,024,796	203,342,319	41,942,650	55,017,821
July 28	8,500.00	300,408,790	245,448,906	23,790,520	203,396,545	42,052,361	54,959,884
July 30	7,999.00	300,474,790	245,585,878	23,486,816	203,555,149	42,030,729	54,888,912
July 31	21,000.00	300,658,790	245,798,765	23,361,286	203,680,679	42,118,086	54,860,025
August 1	1,500.00	300,758,790	245,752,375	23,029,855	203,874,960	41,877,415	55,006,415
August 2	23,498.00	300,808,790	245,828,835	22,668,699	204,060,816	41,768,019	54,979,955
August 3	3,500.00	300,872,790	245,965,088	22,466,478	204,263,037	41,702,051	54,907,702
August 4	27,500.00	301,092,790	246,198,723	22,059,127	204,514,238	41,684,485	54,894,067
August 6	3,000.00	301,122,790	246,236,184	22,046,551	204,526,814	41,709,370	54,886,606
August 7	9,000.00	301,186,790	246,269,141	21,918,083	204,655,282	41,613,859	54,917,649
August 8	22,500.00	301,302,790	246,366,027	21,553,766	204,669,619	41,696,378	54,936,763
August 9	14,000.00	301,370,790	246,504,319	21,297,013	204,926,402	41,577,917	54,866,471
August 10	45,500.00	301,614,790	246,745,743	20,805,317	205,241,148	41,504,595	54,869,047
August 13	10,500.00	301,664,790	246,760,953	20,624,521	205,421,944	41,339,009	54,903,837
August 14	1,000.00	301,684,790	246,731,675	19,984,304	205,874,511	40,857,164	54,953,115
August 15	20,500.00	301,738,790	246,724,830	19,909,548	205,949,267	40,775,563	55,013,960
August 16	57,498.75	301,850,790	246,824,854	19,481,293	206,147,522	40,677,332	55,025,936
August 17	10,500.00	301,910,790	246,831,641	19,109,540	206,519,275	40,312,366	55,079,149
August 18	45,000.00	302,120,790	246,976,538	18,266,776	207,133,589	39,842,949	55,144,252
August 20	29,000.00	302,254,790	247,079,819	18,075,041	207,405,324	39,674,495	55,174,971

Subsidiary silver coin on hand, $25,854,807.81.

These tables show that the present Administration has coined more silver in same length of time than any previous administration. It further shows that there is now in circulation $207,405,324 of certificates and 55,174,971 standard silver dollars—a total of $262,580,295. Besides this there is of certificates in the Treasury, cash $8,075,041, leaving but 21,597,454 silver dollars in the Treasury not represented by certificates.

Now, with this showing, as compared to Secretary Sherman, who claimed that he could get only $13,002,842 in circulation, and that he had remaining in the Treasury $32,203,358 that he could not get out, as I have shown from his report in 1879, it seems to me the present Secretary of the Treasury stands in a far better light as the friend of the circulation of silver than did Secretary Sherman. Secretary Sherman also in 1880, as I have quoted, complained that he could get only $19,780,241 in certificates in circulation and $25,763,291 in coin of the whole $72,847,750 coined up to that date.

It will be observed that there was a constant complaint that silver would not circulate and it was hoarded, etc., yet we have to-day in circulation of silver certificates and silver dollars, as I have shown, $262,580,295 out of a total coinage of $302,254,790. All would go out but for the fact that the way is blocked by a grand total of surplus revenues of gold, greenbacks, and bank notes of one hundred and twenty-five millions, not counting the one hundred millions of gold reserve nor the one hundred millions more of lawful money held for the redemption of greenbacks. This vast hoard piled up in the Treasury by excessive taxation.

To show more conclusively that the Democrats are the best friends of silver coinage, I will give a history of the two parties on that subject. The Democratic party never demonetized silver as long as it had power in this Government, but maintained its free and unlimited coinage from 1792 till 1873. In 1873 the Republicans, being in a large majority in both Houses of Congress, and having the Executive, prohibited by the law of February, 1873, the further coinage of the standard silver dollar. Now, in December, 1876, the House passed a bill giving free coinage to silver. The House was Democratic. The Republican Senate never acted on the bill. Again, in November, 1877, I moved to suspend the rules and pass a free-coinage bill.

Here is the vote:

VOTE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES NOVEMBER 5, 1877, ON MOTION OF MR. BLAND TO SUSPEND THE RULES AND PASS SILVER BILL (H. R. 1093).

[In the affirmative—164.]

DEMOCRATS—97.

Aiken,	Cabell,	Culberson,	Felton,
Atkins,	Caldwell, J. W.	Crittenden,	Finley,
Banning,	Caldwell, W. T.	Cutler,	Forney,
Bell,	Candler,	Davis, Joseph J.	Franklin,
Bicknell,	Carlisle,	Dibrell,	Fuller,
Bland,	Chalmers,	Dickey,	Garth,
Blount,	Clark, John B.	Eden,	Giddings,
Boone,	Clark, John B. jr.	Elam,	Glover,
Bouck,	Cook,	Ellis,	Goode,
Bridges,	Cox, S. S.	Evins, John H.	Hamilton,
Buckner,	Cravens,	Ewing,	Harris, Henry R.
Harrison,	Luttrell,	Rea,	Steele, W. L.
Hartridge,	Lynde,	Reagan,	Throckmorton,
Hartzell,	Mackey,	Rice, A. V.	Townshend,
Hatcher,	Maish,	Riddle,	Turner,
Hewitt, G. W.	Manning,	Robbins,	Vance,
Herbert,	Martin,	Robertson,	Waddell,
Hooker,	McKenzie,	Sayler,	Williams, J. N.
House,	McMahon,	Scales,	Willis,
Hunton,	Mills,	Shelley,	Wright,
Jones, James T.	Money,	Singleton,	Yeates,
Kenna,	Morgan,	Slemmons,	Young.
Knapp,	Morrison,	Smith, William E.	
Knott,	Muldrow,	Sparks,	
Ligon,	Pridemore,	Springer,	

REPUBLICANS—67.

Aldrich,	Deering,	Lathrop,	Sapp,
Baker, John H.	Dunnell,	Marsh,	Sexton,
Brentano,	Ellsworth,	McKinley, jr.	Stewart,
Brogden,	Foster,	Monroe,	Stone, John W.
Browne,	Gardner,	Neal,	Stone, Joseph C.
Bundy,	Haskell,	Oliver,	Strait,
Burdick,	Hayes,	Pacheco,	Thornburgh,
Cain,	Hazelton,	Page,	Tipton,
Calkins,	Henderson,	Patterson,	Townsend,
Cannon,	Hubbell,	Phillips,	Van Vorhis,
Caswell,	Hunter,	Pollard,	Welch,
Clark, Rush	Humphrey,	Pound,	White, M. D.
Conger,	Ittner,	Price,	Willets,
Cox, Jacob D.	Jones, John S.	Rainey,	Williams, C. G.
Cummings,	Keifer,	Randolph,	Williams, Richard
Danford,	Keightley,	Robinson,	Wren.
Darrall,	Kelley,	Sampson,	

[In the negative—34.]

DEMOCRATS—10.

Covert,	Hart,	Schleicher,	Wood.
Gibson,	Hewitt, Abram S.	Stephens, Alex.	
Hardenberg,	Morse,	Swann,	

REPUBLICANS—24.

Bacon,	Claflin,	Frye,	Norcross,
Ballou,	Cole,	Hendee,	Peddie,
Blair,	Davis, Horace	Joyce,	Powers,
Brewer,	Denison,	Leonard,	Reed,
Briggs,	Eames,	Lindsey,	Rice,
Chittenden,	Field,	McGowan,	Ward.

This bill went to the Republican Senate, where the free-coinage feature of the bill was stricken out and a limited coinage provided for, as the following proceedings will show:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *February* 15, 1878.

The Senate having under consideration the bill of the House (H. R. 1093) to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar, and to restore its legal-tender character, the following amendment was agreed to:

"And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion, at the market price thereof, not less than $2,000,000 worth per month, nor more than $4,000,000 worth per month, and cause the same to be coined monthly as far as so purchased into such dollars. And any gain or seigniorage arising from this coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury, as provided under existing laws relative to the subsidiary coinage: *Provid d* that the amount of money at any one time invested in such silver bullion, exclusive of such resulting coin, shall not exceed $5,000,000."

It was determined in the affirmative—yeas 49, nays 22. (See Senate Journal, second session Forty-fifth Congress, page 202.)

The vote in detail is as follows:

[In the affirmative—49.]

DEMOCRATS—16.

Barnum,	Eaton,	McDonald,	Ransom,
Bayard,	Johnston,	McPherson,	Saulsbury,
Butler,	Kernan,	Merrimon,	Wallace,
Davis of W. Va.	Lamar,	Randolph,	Whyte.

REPUBLICANS—33.

Allison,	Christiancy,	Ingalls,	Plumb,
Anthony,	Conkling,	Kellogg,	Rollins,
Blaine,	Dawes,	Kirkwood,	Sargent,
Booth, anti-Monop.	Dorsey,	McMillan,	Teller,
Bruce,	Edmunds,	Matthews,	Wadleigh,
Burnside,	Ferry,	Mitchell,	Windom.
Cameron of Pa.	Hamlin,	Morrill,	
Cameron of Wis.	Hoar,	Oglesby,	
Chaffee,	Howe,	Paddock,	

[In the negative—22.]

DEMOCRATS—18.

Armstrong,	Davis of Illinois,	Hereford,	Thurman,
Bailey,	Dennis,	Jones of Florida,	Voorhees,
Beck,	Eustis,	McCreery,	Withers.
Cockrell,	Garland,	Maxey,	
Coke,	Grover,	Morgan,	

REPUBLICANS—4.

Conover,	Jones of Nevada,	Saunders,	Spencer.

On the passage of the bill as amended, see Senate Journal, second session, Forty-fifth Congress, page 209.

[In the affirmative—48.]

DEMOCRATS—25.

Armstrong,	Dennis,	Jones, Fla.	Thurman,
Bailey,	Eustis,	McCreery,	Voorhees,
Beck,	Garland,	McDonald,	Wallace,
Cockrell,	Gordon,	Maxey,	Withers.
Coke,	Grover,	Merrimon,	
Davis, Ill.	Hereford,	Morgan,	
Davis, W. Va.	Johnston,	Saulsbury,	

REPUBLICANS—23.

Allison,	Conover,	Kellogg,	Plumb,
Booth, Anti-monop.	Dorsey,	Kirkwood,	Saunders,
Bruce,	Ferry,	McMillan,	Spencer,
Cameron, Pa.	Howe,	Mathews,	Teller,
Cameron, Wis.	Ingalls,	Oglesby,	Windom.
Chaffee,	Jones, Nev.	Paddock,	

[In the negative—21.]

DEMOCRATS—7.

Barnum,	Kernan,	McPherson,	Whyte.
Bayard,	Lamar,	Randolph,	

REPUBLICANS—14.

Anthony,	Conkling,	Hoar,	Sargent,
Blaine,	Dawes,	Mitchell,	Wadleigh.
Burnside,	Edmunds,	Morrill,	
Christiancy,	Hamlin,	Rollins,	

It will be noted that on the Allison amendment, which was an amendment striking free coinage out of the House bill and substituting a limited coinage, there were 33 Republicans voting for the amendment and 16 Democrats.

Against this amendment and in favor of the free-coinage bill were, Democrats 18 and only 4 Republicans. Among the 18 Democrats voting to retain free coinage in the bill is found the name of the Old Roman, now Democratic nominee for Vice-President, Allan G. Thurman.

The next vote of importance on this question was in the House of Representatives in the Forty-ninth Congress, when the following proceedings were had:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *April* 8, 1886.

[See House Journal, first session Forty-ninth Congress, pages 1192 to 1195, inclusive.]

The House then proceeded, under the special order of the 16th ultimo, as modified on yesterday, to the further consideration of the bill of the House (H. R. 5690) for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes.

After further debate thereon,

Mr. BLAND, by unanimous consent, withdrew the motion submitted by him on yesterday to recommit the said bill to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Mr. DIBBLE submitted the following amendment in the nature of a substitute, namely:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following, namely:

"That unless meantime, through concurrent action of the nations of Europe with the United States, silver be remonetized prior to July 1, 1889, that then and thereafter so much of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled 'An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' as authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver bullion and cause the same to be coined, shall be suspended until further action by Congress."

And then, the hour of 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m. having arrived, the Speaker, under the previous order of the House, declared the previous question to be in operation.

The question being first upon the said amendment submitted by Mr. DIBBLE, and being put, namely, Will the House agree thereto? it was decided in the negative, yeas 84, nays 201, not voting 38.

The yeas and nays being desired by one-fifth of the members present, those who voted in the affirmative are—

Adams, George E.	Bingham,	Cole,	Ely,
Allen, Charles H.	Bliss,	Collins,	Ermentrout,
Arnot,	Bound,	Davenport,	Evans,
Atkinson,	Boutelle,	Davis,	Everhart,
Baker,	Bunnell,	Dibble,	Farquhar,
Bayne,	Burleigh,	Dingley,	Findlay,
Beach,	Campbell, Felix	Dowdney,	Gallinger,
Belmont,	Campbell, T. J.	Dunham.	Gibson, Charles H.
Green, Robert S.	Long,	Pindar,	Spriggs,
Grout,	Mahoney,	Pulitzer,	Stahlnecker,
Harmer,	McAdoo,	Randall,	Stewart, John W.
Haynes,	McComas,	Ranney,	Stone, Eben F.
Hemphill,	Merriman,	Reed, Thomas B.	Storm,
Hewitt,	Millard,	Rockwell,	Strait,
Hiestand,	Milliken,	Sawyer,	Swope,
Hires,	Mitchell,	Scott,	Viele,
James,	Muller,	Scranton,	Wadsworth,
Johnson, Fred. A.	O'Neill, Charles	Seymour,	Wait,
Ketcham,	Parker,	Shaw,	Weber,
Lehlbach,	Payne,	Sowden,	West,
Lindsley,	Phelps,	Spooner,	Whiting.

Democrats, 33; Republicans, 51.

Those who voted in the negative are—

Anderson, Chas. M.	Dunn,	Laffoon,	Rogers,
Anderson, John A.	Eden,	La Follette,	Romeis,
Ballentine,	Eldredge,	Laird,	Rowell,
Barbour,	Ellsberry,	Landes,	Ryan,
Barksdale,	Felton,	Lanham,	Sayers,
Barnes,	Fisher,	Lawler,	Seney,
Barry,	Fleeger,	Le Fevre,	Sessions,
Bennett,	Foran,	Little,	Singleton,
Blanchard,	Ford,	Lore,	Skinner,
Bland,	Forney,	Louttit,	Smalls,
Blount,	Frederick,	Lovering,	Snyder,
Boyle,	Fuller,	Lowry,	Springer,
Brady,	Funston,	Lyman,	Steele,
Breckinridge, C. R.	Gay,	Markham,	Stephenson,
Breckinridge, W C P	Geddes,	Martin,	Stewart, Charles
Browne, Thomas M.	Gilfillan,	Matson,	St. Martin,
Brown, William W.	Glass,	Maybury,	Stone, Wm. J., Mo.
Brumm,	Glover,	McCreary,	Struble,
Buchanan,	Goff,	McKenna,	Symes,
Burnes,	Green, Wharton J.	McKinley,	Tarsney,
Burrows,	Grosvenor,	McMillin,	Taulbee,
Butterworth,	Guenther,	McRae,	Taylor, Ezra B.
Bynum,	Hale,	Miller,	Taylor, John M.
Cabell,	Hall,	Moffatt,	Taylor, Zach.
Caldwell,	Halsell,	Morrill,	Throckmorton,
Campbell, James E.	Hammond,	Morrison,	Tillman,
Candler,	Hanback,	Morrow,	Trigg,
Cannon,	Harris,	Murphy,	Tucker,
Carleton,	Hatch,	Neal,	Turner,
Catchings,	Heard,	Neece,	Van Eaton,
Clardy,	Henderson, D. B.	Oates,	Wade,
Clements,	Henderson, John S.	O'Donnell,	Wakefield,
Cobb,	Henderson, Thos. J.	O'Ferrall,	Ward, James H.
Comstock,	Henley,	O'Hara,	Warner, A. J.
Conger,	Hepburn,	O'Neill, John J.	Warner, William
Cooper,	Herbert,	Osborne,	Weaver, Archib'd J.
Cowles,	Herman,	Outhwaite,	Weaver, James B.
Cox,	Hill,	Owen,	Wellborn,
Crain,	Hitt,	Payson,	Wheeler,
Crisp,	Holman,	Peel,	White, Alexander C.
Croxton,	Holmes,	Perkins,	White, Milo
Culberson,	Hopkins,	Perry,	Wilkins,
Curtin,	Houk,	Peters,	Willis,
Cutcheon,	Howard,	Plumb,	Wilson,
Daniel,	Irion,	Price,	Wise,
Davidson, Alex. C.	Johnston, James T.	Reagan,	Wolford,
Davidson, R. H. M.	Johnston, Thos. D.	Reid, James W.	Woodburn,
Dawson,	Jones, James H.	Richardson,	Worthington.
Dockery,	King,	Robertson,	
Dorsey,	Kleiner,	Thomas, Ormsby B.	
Dougherty,	Morgan,	Thompson,	

Democrats 130, Republicans 71.

Those not voting are—

Adams, John J.	Gibson, Eustace,	Negley,	Sadler,
Aiken,	Hayden,	Nelson,	Stone, Wm. J. of Ky.
Allen, John M.	Hiscock,	Norwood,	Swinburne,
Bragg,	Hudd,	Pettibone,	Taylor, Ike H.
Brown, Charles E.	Hutton,	Pidcock,	Thomas, John R.
Buck,	Jackson,	Pirce,	Townshend,
Campbell, Jacob M.	Jones, James T.	Reese,	Van Schaick,
Caswell,	Kelley,	Rice,	Ward, Thomas B.
Compton,	Libbey,	Riggs,	Winans.
Dargan,	Mills,		

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. REAGAN moved to reconsider the vote last taken, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table; which latter motion was agreed to.

The question then recurring upon the engrossment and third reading of the bill, and being put, viz: Will the House agree thereto? It was decided in the negative—yeas 126, nays 163, not voting 34.

The yeas and nays being desired by one-fifth of the members present, those who voted in the affirmative are—

Anderson, John A.	Dockery,	Johnston, Thos. D.	Perkins,
Ballentine,	Dunn,	Jones, James H.	Perry,
Barksdale	Eldredge,	King,	Peters,
Barnes,	Ellsberry,	Kleiner,	Plumb,
Barry,	Ford,	Laffoon,	Price,
Bennett,	Forney,	Landes,	Reagan,
Bland,	Frederick,	Lanham,	Reid, James W.
Brady,	Funston,	Lawler,	Reese,
Breckinridge, C. R.	Glass,	Le Fevre,	Richardson,
Brumm,	Goff,	Louttit,	Riggs,
Burnes,	Green, Wharton J.	Lowry,	Robertson,
Bynum,	Hale,	Markham,	Rogers,
Cabell,	Halsell,	Matson,	Ryan,
Caldwell,	Hammond,	Maybury,	Sayers,
Candler,	Hanback,	McMillin,	Tillman,
Carleton,	Harris,	McRae,	Seney,
Clardy,	Hatch,	Miller,	Sessions,
Clements,	Heard,	Morrill,	Singleton,
Cobb,	Henderson, Thos. J.	Morrow,	Skinner,
Comstock,	Henley,	Neal,	Snyder,
Cowles,	Hermann,	Neece,	Springer,
Crisp,	Hill,	O'Ferrall,	Stewart, Charles
Croxton,	Holman,	O'Hara,	St. Martin,
Culberson,	Houk,	O'Neill, John J.	Stone, Wm. J., Mo
Curtin,	Howard,	Owen,	Symes,
Daniel,	Irion,	Payson,	Tarsney,
Dawson,	Johnston, James T.	Peel,	Taulbee,

Taylor, John M.	Wade,	Wellborn,	Wolford,
Taylor, Zach,	Warner, A. J.	Wheeler,	Woodburn,
Throckmorton.	Warner, William	White, Alex. C.	Worthington.
Trigg,	Weaver, Arch. J.	Wilkins,	
Van Eaton,	Weaver, James B.	Wise,	

Democrats, 96; Republicans, 30.
Those who voted in the negative are—

Adams, George E.	Dibble,	Hopkins,	Ranney,
Allen, Charles H.	Dingley,	James,	Reed, Thomas B.
Anderson, Chas. M	Dorsey,	Johnson, Fred'k A.	Rockwell,
Arnot,	Dougherty,	Ketcham,	Romeis,
Atkinson,	Dowdney,	La Follette,	Rowell,
Baker,	Dunham,	Laird,	Sawyer,
Barbour,	Eden,	Lehlbach,	Scott,
Bayne,	Ely,	Lindsley,	Scranton,
Beach,	Ermentrout,	Little,	Seymour,
Belmont,	Evans,	Long,	Shaw,
Bingham,	Everhart,	Lore,	Smalls,
Blanchard,	Farquhar,	Lovering,	Sowden,
Bliss,	Felton,	Lyman,	Spooner,
Blount,	Findlay,	Mahoney,	Spriggs,
Bound,	Fisher,	Martin,	Stahlnecker,
Boutelle,	Fleeger,	McAdoo,	Steele,
Boyle,	Foran,	McComas,	Stephenson,
Breckinridge, WCP	Fuller,	McCreary,	Stewart, John W.
Browne, Thomas M.	Gallinger,	McKenna,	Stone, Eben F.
Brown, William W.	Gay,	McKinley,	Storm,
Buchanan,	Geddes,	Merriam,	Strait,
Bunnell,	Gibson, Charles H.	Millard,	Struble,
Burleigh,	Gilfillan,	Milliken,	Swinburne,
Burrows,	Glover,	Mitchell,	Swope,
Butterworth,	Green, Robert S.	Moffatt,	Taylor, Ezra B.
Campbell, Felix,	Grosvenor,	Morgan,	Thomas, Ormsby B.
Campbell, James E.	Grout,	Morrison,	Thompson,
Campbell, T. J.	Guenther,	Muller,	Tucker,
Cannon,	Hall,	Murphy,	Turner,
Catchings,	Harmer,	Norwood,	Viele,
Cole,	Haynes,	Oates,	Wadsworth,
Collins,	Hemphill,	O'Donnell,	Wait,
Conger,	Henderson, D. B.	O'Neill, Charles	Wakefield,
Cooper,	Henderson, John S.	Osborne,	Ward, James H.
Cox,	Hepburn,	Outhwaite.	Weber,
Crain,	Herbert,	Parker,	West,
Cutcheon,	Hewitt,	Payne,	White, Milo
Davenport,	Hiestand,	Phelps,	Whiting,
Davidson, Alex. C.	Hires,	Pindar,	Willis,
Davidson, R. H. M.	Hitt,	Pulitzer,	Wilson.
Davis,	Holmes,	Randall.	

Democrats 70, Republicans 93.
Those not voting are—

Adams, John J.	Dargan,	Libbe	Stone of Ky.
Aiken,	Gibson, Eustace	Mills,	Taylor, Ike H.
Allen, John M.	Hayden,	Negley,	Thomas, John R.
Bragg,	Hiscock,	Nelson,	Townshend,
Brown, Charles E.	Hudd,	Pettibone,	Van Schaick,
Buck,	Hutton,	Pidcock,	Ward, Thomas B.
Campbell, Jacob M.	Jackson,	Pirce,	Winans.
Caswell,	Jones, James T.	Rice,	
Compton,	Kelley,	Sadler,	

So the House refused to order the said bill to be engrossed and read the third time.

Mr. JAMES moved to reconsider the vote last taken, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table; which latter motion was agreed to.

It will be observed that in the vote to suspend coinage above given there were in favor of the substitute suspending coinage—Republicans 51, Democrats 33. On the original bill providing for the free coinage there were—Democrats 96, Republicans only 30. This latter vote was at that time a fair test of the sentiment and standing in the House and in the country on the subject of free coinage, that is, at least three to one in favor of the Democrats, or three Democrats to one Republican in favor of the free coinage of silver.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the record thus made by the two parties it sounds a little strange, this resolution in the Republican platform denouncing the present Administration for its attitude upon the silver question. I can only express the hope that this resolution was offered in good faith and that there will be no backsliding on this question, as there has been by our Republican friends on the tariff question.

Territory of Oklahoma.

REMARKS

OF

HON. T. R. STOCKDALE,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

July 26, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10614) to organize the Territory of Oklahoma, and for other purposes—

Mr. STOCKDALE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have given the subject of this bill some attention, and have endeavored to arrive at correct conclusions regarding its merits.

The legal features of the proposed legislation have been so elaborately discussed by gentlemen who rank among the able lawyers of the House and the country, I feel that a further discussion in that line would be repetition, and not interesting to the House.

I have been intensely interested in the discussion, for I have had well-defined—to my own mind—opinions on the Indian policy of this Government for many years. My opinions were formed from a general view of the subject, as exhibited by the history of the two races since they came in contact, and the peculiar developments of the present civilization by the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent.

The legal questions arising out of the connection of the Indian treaties, the laws of the land, and the actions of Government officers and Departments with that policy have been brought into view in as strong a light as exhaustive research, profound learning, and great legal talent could throw upon them. And I embrace with great pleasure this opportunity of testing the correctness of my conclusions; for the law must be upheld, the good faith of the Government maintained, and justice observed at all times. Opinions that do not square with this rule must yield, actions that propose to violate them must be withheld, and any legislation obnoxious to and coming in contact with these principles should recoil and fail.

Whether the pending measure is subversive of these principles is the problem now seeking solution, and the mind, particularly the mind of lawyers, is not advanced in that direction by bold assertion on the one hand, nor by vigorous denunciation on the other. The mind must rest on something substantial before it will be at ease. It is important to know and understand just what action it is proposed for the Government to take by the pending bill.

Gentlemen who oppose the bill have frequently employed in the discussion the phraseology "taking these lands from the Indians." Some gentlemen have gone as far as to denounce the measure as a robbery and theft upon these Indian tribes.

Hearing such strong language from able and patriotic gentlemen, and not wishing to range myself with the advocates of a measure that could be so classified, I again examined the bill, line by line, in the light of the history of former legislation by the Government regarding its relations with Indian tribes and of the decisions of the courts and of former and existing treaties, and if there is a syllable in the bill that can be fairly construed to mean anything deserving of these epithets or deserving of denunciation at all, I have failed to discover it.

By express provision of the bill no lands or territory to which any Indian tribe has any right by any treaty or patent or executive order is included in this Territory unless such tribe consent. Not an acre of land is to be disturbed without their consent. Not a tribe, not one Indian can be disturbed in a rightful possession or occupancy of an acre of land in the proposed Territory except by his consent.

The only effect the bill can have and the only thing it proposes to do without the consent of the Indians first voluntarily given by them, is to establish a government on it and extend the laws and Constitution of the United States over it with United States courts and machinery of the Government to enforce the laws.

I will ask to have the first three sections of the bill read to see if I am correct in these statements.

They were read, and are as follows:

A bill to organize the Territory of Oklahoma, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That all that part of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to wit: Bounded on the west by the State of Texas and the Territory of New Mexico; on the north by the State of Colorado and the State of Kansas; on the east by the reservation occupied by the Cherokee tribe of Indians east of the ninety-sixth meridian of west longitude, and by the Creek, Seminole, and Chickasaw reservations; and on the south by the Creek, Seminole, and Chickasaw reservations and by the State of Texas, comprising what is known as the Public Land Strip, and all that part of the Indian Territory not actually occupied by the five civilized tribes, is created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Oklahoma: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property, or to impair any patent to or right of occupancy of lands now pertaining to the Indians in said Territory under the laws and treaties of the United States, Executive order, or otherwise, or to include any territory occupied by any Indian tribe for which title has been conveyed by patent or otherwise from the United States, or to which such tribe may be entitled by law, Executive order, right of occupancy, or treaty, without the consent of said tribe, or any territory which by treaty or agreement with any Indian tribe is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries and constitute no part of the Territory of Oklahoma until said tribe shall signify its assent to the President of the United States to be included in the said Territory of Oklahoma, except for judicial purposes as provided herein, or to affect the authority of the Government of the United States to make any regulation or enact any law respecting such Indians, their lands, property, or other rights, which it would have been competent to make or enact if this act had never passed.

SEC. 2. That there shall be a governor, secretary, Legislative Assembly, supreme court, attorney, and marshal for said Territory, who shall be appointed and selected under the provisions of Title XXIII, chapter 1, of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the government of all the Territories. The provisions of said title shall have the same force and effect in the Territory of Oklahoma as in other Territories of the United States: *Provided*, That the Legislative Assembly and Delegate to the House of Representatives shall not be elected until the President shall order: *Provided further*, That no person shall be entitled to vote at the first election, or to be elected to any office, who has not been a bona fide resident of said Territory for sixty days previous to said election: *And provided further*, That the council in said Territory shall consist of thirteen members, and the house of representatives shall consist of twenty-six members, which may be increased to thirty-nine.

SEC. 3. That the Constitution and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable shall have the same force and effect in said Territory of

Oklahoma as elsewhere in the United States: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to interfere with the local governments of any of the Indian tribes which may now be provided for by the laws and treaties of the United States, or which may exist in conformity thereto: *And provided further*, That the supreme court of the Territory shall have jurisdiction and shall embrace all causes of action, crimes, and offenses arising within the limits of the Territory organized by this act; and all laws heretofore passed granting jurisdiction to United States courts within the limits of said Territory are hereby repealed: but cases now pending shall be prosecuted to their final disposition therein the same as if this act had not been passed.

Mr. STOCKDALE. Now, I ask, what becomes of these elegant platitudes in regard to "robbery" and "bad faith" on the part of the Government of the United States toward the Indians? Where is the foundation for truth in them? Is this question to be argued in the House of Representatives of the United States upon denunciation and not upon logic, or upon law, or upon history? Invective is a sort of scalping-knife, which may be used in skillful hands with effect upon uninformed and unreflecting people, but grave questions of national policy it would seem ought to be entitled to a calm consideration in the light of history, of the law, written and unwritten, and of judicial decisions. Gentlemen of profound learning, great legal attainments, and high moral standing have framed and reported into this House the bill to establish the Territory of Oklahoma. We must attribute to them an honest and intelligent purpose.

Three gentlemen of equal ability and learning and character of the same committee have felt it their duty to support a different view, and have brought into this House for our consideration an adverse report, and are entitled to have accorded to them the same honest and intelligent purpose. The majority of the committee in an elaborate report urge upon the House to pass into a law House bill 10614, establishing a Territorial government over the Public Land Strip and so much of the Indian Territory as is not actually occupied by the five civilized tribes.

The gentlemen of the minority admit that such a government would be beneficial if it could be rightfully established, but deny the power of the United States to create and maintain such a government without first obtaining the consent of the Indian tribes that occupy the lands over which the Territorial government will extend. The only and sole question, therefore, is, has the United States Government now the right to establish a Territorial government as proposed? If the Government has the right, it is admitted on all hands that it should be done. If it has not the right, then it will be admitted that the Territorial government ought not to be established. I hope the question is capable of solution on information and argument.

The majority urge the pressing needs of a stable and civilized government over that territory and the precedents of the Government of the United States in similar cases.

The minority insist that, whatever reasons may exist showing the needs of such a government, the United States can not perform that act without violating its obligations to the Indians, and therefore it is not to be thought of, unless their consent be first obtained. All sides admit the needs of a government, but dispute on the point whether consent of the Indians is a condition-precedent. It is boldly asserted by the opp nents of the bill, first, that the Indian tribes have and hold an absolute "title in fee" to the lands in question, and can alienate them at will and without any condition as to how they shall sell; second, that by treaty stipulations the United States Government has put it wholly out of its power to ever have or exercise any control over the lands in question, and then proclaim that whoever do not concede these proclamations to be true, valid, and binding are thieves and robbers. To sustain this bold position the gentlemen who oppose this measure rely on patents issued to the Indian tribes in pursuance of treaties previously made, stipulating that they should have the Indian Territory, and various important privileges to be connected with it, in consideration that they release all claim they may have to lands on the east side of the Mississippi River.

The opponents of the bill have selected the case of the Cherokee Nation as the strongest, and exhibit the patent of the Government granting a part of said lands to that nation. This patent, of date December 31, 1838, refers to the treaties with the Cherokees and closes with the following condition expressed in the face of the patent:

And subject also to the condition provided by the act of Congress of the 28th of May, 1830, referred to in the above recited third article, and which condition is that the lands hereby granted shall revert to the United States if the said Cherokee Nation becomes extinct or abandons the same.

It is maintained that this patent is a grant in fee simple, giving the Indians full power to sell, and without condition on how they shall sell; and that they have as good a title as any other man who holds an acre of land granted from the public domain, whatever may be the color of his skin.

Will the gentlemen as lawyers assert before this House that if any man who holds a patent from the Government shall abandon his land it will revert to the United States? It would not revert anywhere, but the title would remain in him and his heirs until divested by legal means or by his own conveyance. He may abandon it for forty years and then come back and occupy it in defiance of the Government, or he may convey it to any one, although he be thousands of miles away at the time. Will it be contended that the Cherokees can sell these lands, so as to defeat these conditions and prevent them from reverting in case the tribe becomes extinct, with this patent on record staring the purchaser in the face?

I contend, and it ought not to be denied, that a sale of these lands by the tribe would be an abandonment, no matter if deeds of conveyance have been made and recorded, for, as has been said in this debate, the treaty-making power can not alienate lands and divest the Government of the title. That can only be done by the law-making power. And the law-making power in the very act that authorized the issuance of the patents put a condition upon them that prohibited the sale of the fee. And our courts never have decided that the Indian tribes can convey a fee-simple title to lands as against the United States. On the contrary, have decided the reverse.

How can gentlemen assert that there is no Indian patent and white man's patent, when the very patent exhibited to us refutes the declaration? No white man's patent contains those conditions.

Why, if the doctrine contended for by the opponents of this bill were true, and these Indian tribes have the absolute fee-simple title to these lands and can sell without condition, and the United States Government has no right to enter the borders of that Territory, these tribes being as they are, so far as their persons are concerned, free and independent nations, capable of levying war and concluding peace. They can sell their lands to Englishmen or Frenchmen, or to England or France for that matter if there is "no condition as to how they shall sell," as declared by my colleague, and that Territory could be made a dependency of England or France.

It is vigorously asserted in this discussion that the Government of the United States has no right to enter this Territory. That no American citizen has the right to enter there except by consent of the Indians, and the fact that the Army is employed to keep our citizens out of it is cited as conclusive that the State Department so construes the relations of this Government to the Indian Territory.

Now, let us keep this fact in mind for a moment, and suppose one of the many tribes now there undertakes to purchase from each of the other tribes until the one tribe shall own the whole Territory; then that tribe undertakes to sell to England or France—they can sell and give a good title "coupled with no condition as to how they shall sell," say these gentleman—at what point and by what right will the United States Government interfere?

When English citizens settle upon it and form their own government and enact laws inimical to the laws of the United States, if any interference is proposed by this Government, they will cite these patents and these treaties and the acts of the Administration and the debates in the American parliament and the vote on this bill, if it is voted down, to prove that the Government of the United States had no shadow of title or domain over these lands, but the Indians had the absolute fee and the absolute and exclusive control of this Territory, and have conveyed all their rights, title, and privileges to us. What a fine opportunity this is for the Mormon community to buy out those Indians.

These gentlemen will scoff at this picture, as they ought; but it is the legitimate result of their argument, and to scoff at the picture, the inevitable production of their logic, is to scoff at their own position, as they ought also to do.

These gentlemen will answer, "The United States Government will not permit that state of affairs," to which I assent, unless the doctrine on which gentlemen base their opposition to this bill prevails. If it does prevail, then I ask them upon their honor and legal reputation to point out the authority upon which the Government can interpose without infringing on the refined system of ethics they would substitute for the sturdy realities of human government. They can not say that the Constitution and laws of the United States will furnish authority, for they announce in this debate that neither one has any existence or vitality in the Indian Territory, and denounce with vehemence, as trespassers and robbers, those who believe that the Government has not lost all right of domain over these lands, and want by this bill to provide a government and a court to give body and expression to the Constitution and laws in that locality.

The friends of this measure believe that the Constitution and the laws and the right of eminent domain have not been obliterated from any foot of land that the Government ever owned, nor ever will be until it is ceded by regular legislation and treaty to some foreign power. And it is conceded that the United States had a complete title to these lands and control over them, and this contest is only whether the Government, by conveyance and treaty, has obliterated every vestige of such right. The opponents of this bill claim that it has, and place it on two grounds, treaties and the patents. The patents of the United States to these Indian tribes conveying these lands are exhibited in triumph as conclusive against the whole bill. Why, Mr. Chairman, the same thing can be shown to exist as to all the other Territories—not issued to tribes, but to individuals—yet no one contends that such patents give the control of the granted lands to those citizents to the exclusion of the right of the United States to establish a government there.

For the same reason the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroad Companies might claim that they had the exclusive control of their immense grants in localities where no local government had been established before the grant. The citizens of States with patents and a long line of conveyances and a century of possession, and State sov-

ereignty to back it, does not wipe out the right of the United States Government to establish courts, and administer the law, and to go upon every man's premises, and even into his house to execute its process.

Even the State government itself is subordinate to the United States Government, and its officers must submit to the process of its courts, and can not prevent the establishment of United States courts within their borders. And yet we are asked to believe—yea, commanded on pain of being stigmatized as evil-doers—to accept the doctrine that this Government has so legislated and acted that it has placed this Indian Territory and the Indian tribes on a far higher basis than that of a sovereign State; that by its own acts it has so bartered with this piece of territory to which it once had an unquestioned title, and over which it had the right of supreme control, that the United States Government may be spurned from its borders, and even to attempt to assert its presence by the establishment of a court is a criminal trespass deserving of the severest condemnation; that the right of governing and the right of eminent domain has been wiped out forever, and all this by "solemn patent," as gentlemen please to call it. How solemn is a patent? It is not the "Sanjak sherif," but simply evidence of title, depending for its meaning wholly on the law authorizing its issuance. It may be correct or it may not. The courts are full of cases to set them aside as null and void. They are daily being canceled by the Department. There is hardly anything less solemn. I see nothing solemn about this patent except the announcement that the President abolished and bartered away the sovereignty of the United States over a part of its territory by signing a patent; and that loses its solemnity when you come to think of it.

This patent conveys not more, but less than an ordinary patent; it has conditions upon it. The Government does not yield the eminent domain by issuing patents to lands—nor the right to govern; on the contrary, the acceptance of a patent and occupancy of land within its domain is itself consent by the purchaser that he is subject to the Government, its Constitution, and its laws, and that argument is worse than untenable. As to the other ground, that the treaties, in pursuance of which these patents were issued, give them the scope of a title in fee, it is answered by the fact that the treaty-making power of this Government has no power to convey lands, not being the Government, but a part of it. Only the law-making power can divest the Government of title.

A patent issued by the President without a law authorizing it, as has frequently been done under misapprehension, is without force. A patent issued by the President and approved by the Senate would be equally so. It must be done by authority of enactment of both Houses, signed by the President, reported back, and enrolled. It was not even necessary for the patents to issue at all in this case. The so-called treaties were really not treaties, but simply agreements accepting a change of lands authorized by act of Congress of May 28, 1830 (United States Statutes, 4, page 412), and which the patent refers to and recites and, which the President was authorized to make; and if these supposed treaties undertook to confer more on the Indians or take more from the Government than the law authorized they were void to that extent, no matter what phraseology they used.

The statute authorizes the President to exchange with the Indians lands on the west of the Mississippi for their lands east of the Mississippi.

Section 3 of that law, out of which the so called treaties and the patents grew, is as follows:

And be it further enacted, That in the making of any exchange or exchanges it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made that the United States will forever secure and guaranty to them, and their heirs and successors, the country so exchanged with them; and if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same: *Provided, always*, That such lands shall revert to the United States Government if the Indians become extinct or abandon the same.

The patent was only to issue if the Indians preferred it. It was no part of the title. Whatever title they had was as good without the patent as with it, and many corporations and individuals refuse to take out patents when they have grants of lands. This statute further provides—

That it shall and may be lawful for the President to have the same superintendence and care over any tribe or nation in the country to which they may remove, as contemplated by this act, that he is now authorized to have over them at their present place of residence.

It will be seen that the whole scope of this statute was simply to authorize the President to remove these Indians, with their consent, and place them on the public lands on the west side in precisely the same attitude and condition towards the United States Government that they occupied on the east side of the Mississippi, and neither treaty nor patent could do more. This formal part of the grant must follow the law, and did follow it, and expressed on its face the proviso contained in the law limiting the grant to the right of occupancy without the power to sell the fee. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BARNES] claims that the Cherokee Nation has the strongest case against the bill, and they present the Cherokee patent which contains the proviso prohibiting a sale of the fee, and refer to the treaty with that nation.

It would seem useless to argue further that the only effect this law had and the only thing that was intended was simply to change the location of the various Indian tribes without changing in any way or degree their status or relations to the Government of the United States.

This being admitted, it will throw some light on this question to know what was that status. My friend, Judge ROGERS, the gentleman from Arkansas, suggests that the case of Johnston *vs.* McIntosh, 8 Wheaton, 542, determines fully the status of the Indian nations in America in their relations to the United States Government and their capacity to sell and convey lands, or rather want of that capacity to convey the fee.

Chief-Justice Marshall delivered the opinion of the court and states the case thus (page 569):

The plaintiffs in this cause claim the land in their declaration mentioned, under two grants, purporting to be made, the first in 1773, and the last in 1775, by the chiefs of certain Indian tribes, constituting the Illinois and the Piankeshaw nations; and the question is, whether this title can be recognized in the courts of the United States.

The facts as stated—

Say the court further—

in the case agreed show the authority of the chiefs who executed this conveyance so far as it could be given by their own people; and likewise show that the particular tribes for whom these chiefs acted were in rightful possession of the lands they sold. The inquiry, therefore, is in a great measure confined to the power of Indians to give, and of private individuals to receive, a title which can be sustained in the courts of this country.

The conclusion reached on that question by the court, after elaborate argument on both sides and an extended opinion, is announced by the Chief-Justice, Marshall, as follows:

That law which regulates and ought to regulate the relations between the conqueror and conquered was incapable to a people under such circumstances. The resort to some new and different rule, better adapted to the actual state of things, was unavoidable. Every rule which can be suggested will be found to be attended with great difficulty. However extravagant the pretension of converting the discovery of an inhabited country into conquest may appear if the principle has been asserted in the first instance and afterwards sustained; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if the property of the great mass of the community originates in it, it becomes the law of the land, it can not be questioned. So, too, with respect to the concomitant principle that the Indian inhabitants are to be considered merely as occupants to be protected, indeed, while in peace, in possession of their lands, but to be deemed incapable of transferring the absolute title to others.

The opinion concludes:

After bestowing on this subject a degree of attention which was more required by the magnitude of the interest in litigation and the able and elaborate arguments of the bar than by its intrinsic difficulty, the court is decidedly of the opinion that the plaintiffs do not exhibit a title which can be sustained in the courts of the United States; and that there is no error in the judgment which was rendered against them in the district court of Illinois. Judgment affirmed with costs.

The court in a lengthy and learned and exhaustive opinion, in which other cases and the history of the country from the earliest times are reviewed, and in concluding upon that feature of the case, remark:

The titles held under the Indians were sanctioned by length of possession; but there is no case, so far as we are informed, of a judicial decision in their favor.

And if Chief-Justice Marshall did not know of any such decision, it is pretty safe to say none existed.

So that, as against the Government of the United States, the Indians can have no title that the Government can not abrogate at any time, and gentlemen are mistaken in the law.

The court, in that same decision (page 586), use the following language:

The United States, then, have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest; and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty as the circumstances of the people would allow them to exercise.

The power now possessed by the Government of the United States to grant lands resided, while we were colonies, in the crown or its grantees. The validity of the titles given by either has never been questioned in our courts. It has been exercised uniformly over territory in possession of the Indians. The existence of this power must negative the existence of any right which may conflict with and control it.

The court proceed:

An absolute title to lands can not exist at the same time in different persons or in different governments, and absolute must be an exclusive title, or at least a title which excludes all others not compatible with it. All our institutions recognize the absolute title of the Crown, subject only to the Indian's right of occupancy, and recognize the absolute title of the Crown to extinguish that right. This is incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians.

This has been the condition of the public lands in this country ever since the establishment of the Government, and of the English Government before that. The title of the Indians has been uniformly and without exception held by our courts and the State Department.

The Supreme Court and the honorable gentlemen differ as to the law. If the law were otherwise and the doctrine of the opponents of this bill is correct, the United States never got a title to the lands on the west side of the Mississippi River, for France had no better title to that country than the United States has to the Indian Territory. She was simply a robber and we the receiver of stolen goods, which does not confer title.

On this point the Supreme Court say, after reciting the dispute between France and England concerning their American possessions, as follows:

These conflicting claims produced a long and bloody war, which was terminated by conquest of the whole country east of the Mississippi.

In the treaty of 1763 France ceded and guarantied to Great Britain all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, and Canada, with their dependencies, and it was agreed that the boundaries between the territories of the two nations in America should be irrevocably fixed by a line drawn from the source of the Mississippi through the middle of that river and the lakes to the sea. This treaty expressly cedes, and has always been understood to cede, the whole country on the English side of the dividing line between the two nations, although a great and valuable part of it was occupied by Indians. Great Britain, on her part, ceded all her pretension to the country west of the Mississippi River.

By the twentieth article of the same treaty Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain. Great part of this territory was also in possession of the Indians. About the same time France by recent treaty ceded Louisiana to Spain. Afterward Spain retroceded it to France. At the time, both of its cession and retrocession, it was occupied chiefly by Indians.

Thus all the nations of Europe who have acquired territory on this continent have asserted in themselves, and have recognized in others, the exclusive right of the discoverer to appropriate the lands occupied by the Indians.

The court then, after citing these historical facts, say:

Have the American States rejected or adopted this principle?

Then the court answer the question in this language:

It has never been doubted that either the United States or the several States had a clear title to all the lands within the boundary lines described in the treaty that closed the Revolutionary war subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and that the exclusive power to extinguish that right was vested in that government which might constitutionally exercise it.

Had Chief-Justice Marshall lived until now he would have learned for the first time that is now doubted, and the measure that advocates it denounced on the floor of Congress as legalized robbery.

The Supreme Court in the same case refers to the history of Virginia in relation to possessions now known as the State of Kentucky in this language:

In pursuance of the same idea Virginia proceeded at the same session (1779) to open her land office for the sale of that country which now constitutes Kentucky—a country every acre of which was then claimed and possessed by Indians, who maintained their title with as much persevering courage as was ever manifested by any people.

It was after summing up all these historical facts and many more, as well as from decisions of the courts, that the Supreme Court announced the comprehensive paragraph that I have quoted:

The United States then have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold and assert in themselves the title by which it was acquired.

* * * * * * *

This is inconsistent with an absolute and complete title in the Indians.

I have shown that the statute of May 28, 1830, simply authorizes a change of place without changing the status of these tribes, and that all former treaties changing location was nothing more, the treaty-making power having to confer title. The treaties recognize that fact. They all commence that "the United States agree to possess the Indians" of certain lands—not to convey. That this was a new doctrine and a departure from the rules that public sentiment of the civilized nations of the world had adopted as to conquered countries and was peculiar to this country is admitted, but it was a necessity growing out of the peculiar circumstances attending the settlement of this country, which had not existed before, so far as history declares. And I prefer to quote the language of our Supreme Court—far more expressive than I can formulate, and has the force of authority. The court on this subject say:

The title by conquest is acquired and maintained by force. The conqueror prescribes its limits. Humanity, however, acting on public opinion, has established as a general rule that the conquered shall not be wantonly oppressed, and that their condition shall remain as eligible as is compatible with the objects of the conquest. Most usually they are incorporated with the victorious nation and become citizens of the government with which they are connected, and they make one people.

* * * * * * *

When the conquest is complete and the conquered inhabitants can be blended with the conquerors or safely governed as a distinct people public opinion, which not even the conqueror can disregard, imposes these restraints upon him, and he can not neglect them without injury to his fame and hazard to his honor.

But—

Say the court—

the tribes of Indians inhabiting this country were fierce savages, whose occupation was war, and whose subsistence was drawn chiefly from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country was to leave the country a wilderness; to govern them as a distinct people was impossible, because they were as brave and high-spirited as they were fierce, and ever ready to repel by arms any attempt on their independence. What were the inevitable consequences of this state of things? The Europeans were under the necessity either of abandoning the country and relinquishing their pompous claims to it or of enforcing those claims by the sword, and by the adoption of principles adapted to the condition of a people with whom it was impossible to mix, and who could not be governed as a distinct society, or of remaining in their neighborhood and exposing themselves and their families to perpetual hazard of being massacred.

Here is an epitome of the historical facts attending the peculiar conditions attending the proximity of these inimical races collected and interpreted by the highest tribunal in the land, with perhaps the most profound jurist this country has ever produced as its mouth-piece, and propounds to itself the inquiry, What were the inevitable consequences of this state of things?

Had the gentlemen who oppose this bill been there they would have had no difficulty in determining. The answer would have been prompt and loud and clear, "Go back to Europe, you robbers and thieves, and let these people alone. They have an indisputable title to these lands, and the command is, 'Thou shalt not steal.'"

The Supreme Court goes on to say, however:

The law which regulates and ought to regulate in general the relations between the conqueror and conquered was incapable of application to a people under such circumstances. The resort to some new and different rule better adapted to the actual state of things was unavoidable.

Why unavoidable, let us ask of the Supreme Court? They could have returned to Europe when they failed to make peace with the Indians, who were making war of extermination upon the Massachusetts Bay people and the Virginia and Carolina settlements.

The white race had no pretense of title except what the demands of civilization warranted, while the Indians held by undisputed occupation that had come down out of the ages from an antiquity which the light of the present age has failed to discover. The voice that is claimed to be of superior humanity goes out from these Halls, back along the brilliant pathway of our history for two centuries, with the inquiry, "Why not get the consent of Indians, you robbers, before you presume to take lands from these people to which they have an undoubted title? You can not establish your government first and get consent afterwards. That is robbery." The Supreme Court of the United States, through its illustrious mouth-piece, Chief-Justice Marshall, gives as the reason that consent was not obtained (8 Wheaton, page 588):

But the tribes of Indians inhabiting this country were fierce savages, whose occupation was war and whose subsistence was drawn chiefly from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country was to leave the country a wilderness. To govern them as a distinct people was impossible. They were therefore, under the necessity, of either abandoning the country or enforcing their claims with the sword.

Then and there was the momentous crisis of the present civilization. Which should they do? Retire from off these shores before these fierce and bloody natives of the soil, or advance over them?

We were not there, and they had to decide for themselves. The Plymouth Fathers, with the Bible in one hand and musket in the other, then and there made proclamation: "On this rock we build this civilization, and the gates of hell, nor the British, nor the savages shall not prevail against it." The echo came back to them in the deep tones of the Huguenot and the daring voice of Cavalier, and "forward" went along the line from Maine to Georgia.

This giant race, this superb governmental structure where Liberty dwells, the stupendous achievements of this civilization, are the result.

I know that all along this march there were multitudes of men with good intentions, who stood on the hilltops and high on the mountains proclaiming that conquest was wrong. I leave history to answer whether God's blessing or His curse has followed them, showing to the world whether their actions were righteous or criminal.

Mr. COBB. Does the gentleman mean to say that the true intent and meaning of this bill is to take these lands, treaty or no treaty, and that this is right?

Mr. STOCKDALE. I have been very unfortunate in my utterances if the gentleman has not understood the position I have taken on that point. The phrase "Take these lands" is not applicable to the provisions of this bill. If I understand its scope and effect, it proposes simply to establish a government over the Territory of Oklahoma, a government that will disturb nobody, but compel every one to obey the Constitution and laws of the United States. In plain terms, it provides that the Indians shall not be disturbed in the ownership or possession of their lands without their consent.

They and their descendants can occupy these lands forever if they desire. All that they are asked to do is simply to allow civilization and law to come among them, and that a civilized form of government, accompanied by courts to determine the rights of citizens, be established in that Territory.

It is begging the question to talk about taking the lands and establishing a Territory.

Mr. COBB. I understand the gentleman from Mississippi to say that on account of the superiority of the white man the Indian must not stand in his way.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I do not put it that broad; but would you require me, before I shall consent to what I believe to be proper legislation, that I shall reverse the history for centuries of the relations between the white race and the Indian tribes occupying this country? What I do say is that civilization is right and has a right to be here; it has a right to cover the territory of the United States; the Indians have not the right to prohibit it; and that has been the battle between the white and red races for three hundred years, and as long as the white race carries the banner of civilization and Christianity and the red man undertakes to prohibit that progress he should not stand in the way, but should join in with civilization and advance with it and let heathenism disappear from this land. I do not want the Indian to disappear, and hence I favor this bill. I want the savage to disappear by being transformed into a civilized man; if that can be accomplished by any means, it certainly can not be accomplished by the present policy of the Government, for after the honest, earnest, and persistent efforts of men devoted to the service of God, and the expenditure of millions of money and many lives of good men, a century of failure stares us in the face. This talk about the cultivation and intelli-

gence of those Indians is born of zeal and not from history, and in direct controversy with members of this House who live where they observe them and speak from knowledge. Their reports accord with the history of the races down to this hour—they are savage, fierce, and cruel, and most of them degraded.

I doubt not that my colleague [Mr. HOOKER] met an educated, eloquent man in the person of the half-breed Cherokee, William P. Adair. I, too, have some experience of that sort.

I saw one of those great Indian chiefs, such as my colleague has described, Mr. William Tanner, a Chippewa chief. I saw him in Cincinnati and heard him make a prayer that brought tears to the eyes of almost every one in the large congregation as he prayed for the preservation of the Red man. His superb stature, his deep and thrilling earnestness, and the indescribable tones of his deep, uncultured, musical voice, and the tears flowing down his bronzed cheeks, made him an impressive figure. His language was not smooth, but he seemed to grasp and wield the strong expressions of the English tongue as a warrior does his weapons. He was grandly eloquent. He was but half Indian blood. His father was a Kentuckian, which accounted for his eloquence. That same man told me that such a thing as a full-blooded civilized Indian he had never seen.

Mr. WEAVER. And that is the truth.

Mr. STOCKDALE. I believe it is. I am satisfied that were it otherwise civilization would not be so obnoxious to them. All civilized races mingle together without trouble. Their conceptions of equity and justice and fair dealing and the great principles of humanity are substantially the same hence; their laws and customs are similar and they are agreeable companions. Even when they engage in war these great recognized principles are not forgotten, but obeyed; and while in the midst of arms laws are silent, humanity, which is next to divinity, asserts itself as the supreme law of the hour.

When in the fortunes of war one power becomes the province of the other, they in time become peaceful citizens and coalesce with the conquering people and form one community. The Floridas and the French citizens of Louisiana resented their transfer to America. We never consulted California whether she would be American or not, and yet we have no more loyal and valuable communities of citizens. Even Alaskans invite rather than repel communication.

But nothing is so repulsive to Indians as civilization.

The Americans claim to be the highest type of civilized people. They are admired and sought after. The nations of the Old and the New Worlds make pilgrimages here to see by what marvelous genius this renowned people command the very elements to obey them. The heirs apparent to the grandest thrones of Europe come here to learn wisdom. The daughters of American citizens are sought in marriage by the proud nobility of Europe. And while plunging forward with an ambition that despises obstacles, with the most delicately constructed, most complicated and most glorious governmental structure of this or any other age, in the absolute management of these surging masses of people who brook no restraint, and yet with a public sentiment so exalted and gentle that Christianity holds sway in all its borders, and woman moves securely, with every American a knight ready to serve her. Our missionaries carry the gospel to the ends of the earth with success. The subjects of defective governments the world over journey hither to the Mecca of the human race, and none return except they are driven away, and yet this phenomenal Indian race have whetted against all these influences for a century and produced nothing but friction.

The effulgence of this civilization, softened and warmed by the milder rays of Christianity that attracts all nations unto it and vitalizes the coldest humanity, falls on that race like the sun's rays on solid ice, which never warms but melts away. This civilization has advanced for one hundred years, with men of God in the vanguard with the Bible in hand, urging Christianity and civilization upon them. They have traveled over this country from West to East and North to South, or their chiefs and headmen have, and witnessed the great achievements of the white race and their habits and customs. They have been furnished the utmost facility for observation.

They have seen our farms, our villages, and great cities, and turned away from it all wearily and gone back with glad hearts as they approached their wigwams far in the wilderness. They never built a house or a permanent abode. They have ridden on our railroads and rivers, and observed our navies and steamers, and visited our institutions of arts and sciences and literature, but have never made a railroad, and their achievements in navigation consist in rowing a canoe, and their advancement in science up to this year (1888) consists in shooting at the eclipse of the moon to "drive the evil thing away," and rejoicing at their success.

They have had more and better opportunities than any other race—an hundredfold better. Our system of government has been explained to them, they have observed the security, contentment, and happiness of our people under its influence and protection, civilization in all its phases has pressed upon them for one hundred years and has now surrounded them and is pouring in upon them a flood of light from all sides. Christianity has been carried among them by heroic and devoted men, and yet now, almost at the dawn of the twentieth century that is coming full of glory to all the civilized races—we find this phenominal race without history, and but crude and imperfect traditions, without intelligent government, without a system of laws, without religion, without architecture, without science or arts, made no discoveries or inventions, reduced from millions to a few thousands, still receding, flashing the scalping-knife in the face of civilization, and turning their backs upon Christianity, contemplating extinction with complacency.

It is said in this debate that the Cherokees are the best fortified in their title and the most civilized. The very patents exhibited here as the basis of the Cherokee title stipulate, in view of the extinction of the race, as well as the subsequent treaties, the lands shall revert to the Government when the most enlightened of all the Indian tribes shall become extinct. No more conclusive evidence of heathenism is needed than that the Cherokees accepted that bargain, trading in contemplation of the extinction of their race from the face of the earth. Love of posterity is one of the glories of civilization, and I might ask, could a more cold-hearted proposition have been made?

A Christian government having pursued one unbroken line of policy for more than a hundred years, with that policy sure to result in extermination, as the end comes in sight cooly bargains with these tribes on the basis of their extinction. And when humane and patriotic men, shocked at the contemplation, undertake to change the policy, denunciations loud and fierce are rained upon them. Will these gentlemen pause for a moment and contemplate the inevitable consequences of their policy? For three hundred years under your policy, stubbornly, and as surely as the Great Father of Waters flows towards the Gulf, these people have marched towards oblivion. Good and patriotic men believe that they will become civilized; but, as I have said, the idea is born of zeal and not of history, for the history of ten generations proves it false.

The Modoc race completed the stipulation and went to extinction under this effete Indian policy that must not be changed. That race went out and completed their history with an act that shocked civilization; a crime damnable enough to soil the walls of perdition. The scarred warrior, the daring, chivalrous Canby, full of the generous impulses of a high civilization, risked his life for peace—peace for women and children—and fell a victim to the present Indian policy. There ended the Modoc civilization. They regarded the act as patriotic.

The United States Government has erected a monument to tell to future generations where the magnificent Custer and his dauntless band dashed to their death in defense of the women and children of the brave frontiersmen. Shall history hold them up to the world as criminals, or write them down as the grand and chivalrous spirits that they were, who died in the defense of innocence and for the advancement of civilization. That monument was erected by the Government to express its approval of their gallant deeds and its appreciation of great soldiers; and there in silence and loneliness it stands a sentinel to their glory, awaiting the advance of civilization; and to make it tell the truth there should be chiseled in its eastward face, "Not robbers," but "Here the gallant three hundred perished in defense of innocence and humanity," "and victims of a policy musty with an hundred years of failure and ghastly with the blood of thousands," and which the United States Government lacks the courage or the will to remedy.

Geronimo and his companion chiefs were hunted down and caught with their hands still wet with the blood of innocence, and as they could not be tried by the courts, and being too fiendish to live in the vicinity of civilization, were caged in the far-off Florida prisons to remain for life. When I read over these recent specimens of the present Indian policy and think of the line of bleaching bones of white victims of savage barbarity, extending from Alaska to the Rio Grande, and wonder how many more mothers are doomed to die by savage hands, and with the last vision of their glazing eyes behold the golden curls scalped from the head of her blue-eyed baby girl and borne away a bloody trophy of Indian warfare, I feel as though William Tanner told the truth.

And, Mr. Chairman, while I do not want to deprive these people of their rights, I do want to protect the white race as well as the Indians. [Applause.] I do want to protect the women and children upon the frontier against Indian atrocities.

I shudder when I think of the responsibility resting upon this Government in reference to its Indian policy, and that I must bear even so small a part as one out of three hundred and twenty-five of one-half of the legislative branch. And I am not relieved when I reflect that my constituency will hold me to account for the expression I will give to their voice on this grave matter, and how posterity will view our actions.

I believe these bloody Indian wars can be anticipated and averted and the slaughter of my race prevented, and the further killing of Indians by our Army or by their own tribes avoided. I also entertain a reasonable hope that the Indian race may be rescued from extinction.

I have no guide but my convictions after years of study of this subject. I believe this bill a step in the right direction. It is designed to extend the beneficence of the law, instead of the Army, to these Indian tribes. We let them inhabit their land, and they did just what

my colleague [Mr. HOOKER] said they did. When some man happened to trespass with a plow a little over the line what did they do? Seek redress as civilized people seek it? No, they commenced to kill; they engaged in "terrible war," as it was well characterized, and all their wars are terrible. Any war is terrible, whatever the scale upon which it is carried on, when women, children, and non-combatants fall alike victims to the scalping knife and tomahawk. This bill is intended to sustain and advance civilization, and at the same time restrain the savage nature of these people by the firm and strong but kind and humane hand of the law, and is in the spirit of the highest patriotism, philanthropy, and justice.

As I have said, if we had had such legislation as this Springer bill twenty years ago we would have been saved many bloody wars and the loss of much valuable life and property. Then these Indians would have had their lands distributed to them in severalty. They would have been established in communities subject to the law and where the marshal could reach them. My colleague has said what is true, that civilization has driven the Indians from the East to the West, and they find now advancing civilization confronts them moving from the West to the East. I ask, is civilization right or wrong? If it is right, why should we stop its advance? [Applause.]

Let these people submit to the laws. Is civilization so obnoxious to them they can not afford to embrace it or to tolerate it in their Territory? Has the United States Government put itself in the attitude that it must employ its army to beat back the civilization of the fathers and of this age, that it may not disturb the royal ease and luxury of the chiefs and head men and agents, many of them half-breeds, who spend the millions furnished for the tribes which the common Indians never see, but are simply vassals to the chiefs, while their women are as mere beasts of burden? Is it wonderful that their chiefs resist the approach of civilization, for if the Indians should become civilized and the masses become free and own lands in severalty, and live under the United States Government, their chiefs could no longer lord it over them and could no longer embezzle their funds. Give us the heathen for our inheritance, they say by their action.

Gentlemen say that the Poles were permitted to die with arms in their hands, and in the next sentence say these Indians are the wards of the nation. Therefore the logic of the two sentences is that we must take care of these tribes and feed them and clothe them as we do, and take the money out of the pockets of our own people to do it. We allow our agents to sell them arms and then we must not extend the laws and government of the United States over them, but let them fight us when they please, and after they kill a good many of our citizens and women and children send our Army to kill a number of them, and then make a treaty of peace and go on feeding them again. We tried the gentlemen's Polish doctrine with the Modocs. The idea strikes me with horror. If they are wards, treat them kindly, but control them, and with law and not the bayonet.

Gentlemen say the Government traded to these wards lands on the west side of the Mississippi for lands on the east side worth far more. Who made the trade, let me ask, by which the Government swindled its own wards? Not those States that surround the Indian Territory, for they were not in existence when the treaty was made. I will tell you who did it—the States east of the Mississippi River. They forced it on the Government and drove the Indians out, if any driving was done.

The English of it all is, Mr. Chairman, when you come to review the whole scope of the argument of the opponents of this bill, that the States of this Union in the East and South, by their representatives in the Congress, being in full control of the Federal Government, used it as a means of removing these Indians—driving them, say these gentlemen—out of the States, far away from the benign influences of our civilization. It was these States, I say; for the very treaty that stipulates about their going recites in the preamble as a reason for going that the Indians wanted to get away from the difficulties with the State governments. What next did we do—these Eastern and Southern States, comprising nearly the whole Government then? Why, we made proclamation to the world of our vast, fertile, unoccupied domain, and invited the oppressed of all lands to our shores. Finally we offered a farm of 160 acres to every man who would go West.

When these settlements approached the masses of heathenism that we had dumped down in the wilderness out of reach of our holy nostrils, with savage yell they sallied out upon civilization. And when the people of our own blood, tired of seeing their women and children massacred and their property spirited away, and not desiring the extermination of the race, ask for the restraining influences of our most beneficent Government to be extended for the protection of both races and to prevent further bloodshed, we wave our sanctified fists in the face of our Western kinsmen and with solemn voice proclaim, "Keep your unhallowed government off those lands that we traded to the Indians and got twice their value; we swindled them as much as good conscience will allow, you robbers." If this whole argument is to be sustained by the decalogue the eighth speech should be amended so as to read: "Thou shalt not steal; but if peradventure ye do, or in exchanging with the heathen round about you you get from them two talents and give unto them one, see thou to it that that one be not touched by the uncircumcised."

I do not believe at this late hour, Mr. Chairman, when the people of the East and the people of the South, have gotten rid of these Indians, we ought to say, in a sort of death-bed repentance on our part, after we have pushed them on you of the West, we will make you take care of them in the best way you can. We got rid of them in whatever way we pleased and now we propose to say to the people of the West, you shall endure them as best you may. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. COBB. I wish to call the gentleman's attention to this point——

Mr. STOCKDALE. I have only ten minutes left, and I have yielded five to the gentleman already; I hope, therefore, he will excuse me.

Mr. Chairman, I accept the golden rule as the arbiter of this issue as heartily as it has been proffered by the other side. I would put myself in the Indians' place, and then embrace it with alacrity. I would speak then to my people as in the presence of the Great Spirit, "Let us come off the war-path, let our camp-fires die out, and all the nations of red men meet the Great Father and say to him, 'We are not cowards, we are brave, we have fought your race for more than a thousand moons while all other nations have flocked to it. You ride upon the sea, you sweep through the mountains in palaces, you talk with the lightning, your people pray and the clouds shower down plenty upon the land, and peace comes to your people and they give the right hand in friendship without fear. Your civilization is high like the heavens. Your religion must be the breath of the Great Spirit. Treat us as you would have us treat you were we enlightened and you in darkness. We see all other nations inhale strength from your civilization. Even the lowly African, who but yesterday was freed from a bondage of two centuries, vitalized by it lives among the white race under the same laws, and rising in the scale of humanity and increasing in numbers, while we, brave and ambitious, surrounded and ingulfed by this great civilization, are about to go down in darkness and oblivion from amidst this halo of a grander life. We have learned the art of war from civilization; now let us learn peace and prosperity and save our race from extinction. You have fed and clothed us and brought us schools. Let your Government extend over our land; let us participate in it and feel its presence. Let us have Sunday and hear the great bells ring, and when the Great Spirit sends blessings on the pale-faced race they will descend on the red men, too.'"

And, Mr. Chairman, when they rise to the appreciation of the new life they will have the right to chide us for not sooner rescuing them from darkness, if indeed they are the nation's wards. I do not believe the Indians will be contaminated or injured by the presence of government and the reign of law.

Civilization is buoyant and strong, but not harsh. The Western people are sturdy and daring, and are marching westward with dauntless will, but they are humane and generous. Twenty thousand of them in this territory now.

Why can we not trust these brave and magnanimous Western people, moved by their own generous impulses, to deal fairly by the Indians, better than we, who drove them from us?

This Government has a surveillance over them now far less humane than a government. The tribes, many of them, can not leave their reservations without leave from the Indian agent. If they do, mischief s suspected and troops drive them back. I say let the law go there and protect those who are peaceable, and when these bands of marauders go out and kill in cold blood, let them be tried and condemned like white people, and this bill provides that remedy.

There is a volume of history, Mr. Chairman, within reach of our eyes as we approach and enter this Capitol building, which is said to challenge the world in grandeur of structure and imposing beauty. The marble group of statuary in the east gable of the portico of the Senate extension, said to have cost $50,000, shows in one view a great volume of history new to the world and not yet finished. We may be writing now on its last chapter if this bill be defeated. It represents the advance of American civilization and the decadence of the Indian races. It represents it as that mighty cavalcade has always advanced—the Pioneer first, Americanism follows, next War, and following him the Arts and Sciences. The stalwart Indian sorrowfully recedes as he sees the wilderness, the temple of his fathers, melt away before civilized life that he can not understand nor resist.

The marble groups at the main entrance represent, the one, Columbus as the discoverer of America; the other, on the opposite buttress, its history avers, was intended to represent a death-struggle between the white and red races for possession of this country in the early settlement of it; but the attitude of the figures, the unruffled face of the almost giant pioneer who holds the writhing Indian in his powerful grasp without seeming desire to kill, indicates to me that deep in the artist's mind was the conception of the higher sentiment of a later era, indicating that this wild race should be grasped and held in the powerful and firm grasp of the law, which should never be relaxed; at least it is not a strained interpretation. The Springer bill is an embodiment of that sentiment.

The same story is eloquently told by the marvelous genius of art,

in paintings and frescoes within the building. These were erected by the American Congresses as objective lessons for the people, illustrating the history of Americanism. Streams of visitors from all parts of the country and of the world daily examine and admire them. Is it all an eloquent lie, or if truthful is it a magnificent portrayal of a century of crime against the Indians, against God's creatures, written on the frontlet of American civilization and thus shamelessly paraded before the world and interpreted robbery and larceny by our own consent? Is the glory of our ancestry a sham after all? Shall our own hands blacken their fame?

These groups and paintings suggest to the mind of the student of history to look for another character in connection with the settlement of America.

His gaze goes westward over the heads of the scholars and orators and statesmen that have made Kentucky famous in her accomplished civilization. His gaze is over the heads of the Breckinridges, the Crittendens, the Guthries, and McCrearys, even past the towering form of Great Harry of the West, and descries standing out against the sky, grandly and alone, in the horizon of civilization, the supurb figure of Daniel Boone, the greatest of all pioneers, and the bravest of all Americans. He, too, is represented as in terrible life-and-death struggle with Indians. The mind asks itself, why did this marvelous man go beyond the mountains? By what right did he trample the soil and utter the English tongue in the forests of the dark and bloody ground? The answer must be that he had no right, no shadow of right, except the divine right to blaze the way for civilization and Christianity into the domains of darkness and heathenism. And according to this latter-day gospel he, too, must be classed with the robbers, for if to advance civilization and extend the benign influences of the American system of government over territory where Indians inhabit is robbery, then Daniel Boone was the boldest robber known to history. And the gentlemen whose duty it is made to show visitors through the Capitol should be instructed to point out the staute of Daniel Boone as the great American Indian-land robber.

The missionaries who followed him to attempt the conversion of the Indians were subjects of criticism because they did not instead point the finger of warning at his massive brow and say: "Daniel Boone, thou shalt not steal; and get thee hence from these lands." It should be written in black lines across the brow of Columbus, for he, for the same reason, was the champion robber of the world. He came across the wide waters and in the name of his king took possession of a continent inhabited by people whose title seemed to come from an antiquity as old as time. The Pilgrim fathers should have an appendix to their history, that the youth of the land shall no longer be deceived, but know they were not Christians and patriots, but freebooters and robbers.

With the same finger they might point to the historical statue of William Penn. Ah, you say, he purchased the land from the Indians. So he did, according to the Anglo-Saxon way of acquiring territory; he takes it. William Penn first took the territory which became Pennsylvania, and then bought parts of it—bought it for prices that made the negotiations a travesty on the name of purchase and sale.

I know history gives Penn great credit for purchasing that territory. It was a purchase in name after he was in full possession under a charter from the English Crown. It was a negotiation by Penn prompted by those noble traits of humanity for which he was so celebrated, to avert an Indian war, but does any man out of the lunatic asylum think Penn intended or contemplated for a moment to give up Pennsylvania if the Indians should refuse to sell. He could have quieted his conscience by giving up the land; he did not think of it; that was not in the programme. He was a great and grand man. He is a glorious character in history, to which generations yet to be born will look back with admiration and utter praises; but he was a true Englishman. They always get possession first and then negotiate.

The student of history looks with amazement over the great drama of human life, back as far as the light of revealed history shows the way to where the dynasty of the Pharaohs exposed to view the declining glory of what must have been a great race with a high civilization which dwelt around the Pyramids, and from then until now civilization has moved westward, alternately falling into the shadows and rising in dazzling glory. Every time it rose it created for itself a new race and a new language. First the Egyptian, then Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and now the Anglo-Saxon race and the English tongue, and still "westward the course of empire takes its way."

When it appeared on the Atlantic shores of this continent it soon transpired that the new race was repellent to the native fierce and savage tribes, and the seeming hopeless conflict commenced. No human courage could have faced the prospect. It was the vanguard of the column that started at the pyramids, beyond the horizon of history, westward on the march of destiny. Civilization was born not to die. Like the eternal motion of the ocean, it can not be at rest. It must advance or recede. It is in obedience to no command, but moves by its own innate power. The nameless force by which the present civilization moves was put in motion when the breath of life was breathed into the Anglo-Saxon race. It grew strong amid impending terrors and extended far along the Atlantic coast. As the succeeding generations were born and grew to manhood on the soil and in the atmosphere of the New World a distinct Americanism pervaded the communities. Their self-reliance and bold thinking resulted in the ambition to own and possess this great continent in their own right, and to govern it. The more exalted attributes of humanity, as well as the consummate wisdom of that achievement, are apparent in the imposing grandeur of our system of government that we almost reverence.

English armies, savage tribes, and bloody Hessians conspired to block the way, and to human vision at one time seemed about to succeed. But the hope of a sublime destiny inspired their courage. Christianity, as the breath of God, imparted to the movement the vitalism of immortality, and in royal disdain alike of hardships, of suffering, and of death, with eagle eye upon the goal, marched over it all. Their faces westward and still in motion, these unexampled people changed the ensign of war to the banners of peace and Christianity.

They walked over the mountains, and the great valley of the world laughed back into the face of civilization as it swept onward to the monarch mountain range of the West, bearing the ensigns of Jehovah—for civilization is of God. It bent its ear southward and heard the voice of a high-spirited people struggling to sever their connection with a sluggish and defective government; took to its embrace the brave young republic and placed the Lone Star in the galaxy that its own genius and inspired courage had made to glow in the front of the sky. With whetted sword and strong hand it pushed the boundary line of the American Republic to the Rio Grande and raised the American flag at the Golden Gate.

Then, as now, criticism fierce and scathing was made upon the movement by good and patriotic and true men; denunciations, too, by some as a robbery and disgraceful to American civilization. But while the anathemas were still in the air, by the magic force of this bounding race, a mighty people, ablaze with the spirit of this wondrous age, rose up between the mountains and the sea, and with the dauntless energy of the race forced a passage through the bowels of the rocky ranges and made an iron way, short and quick, back to this Capitol, and here they are—Texas, California, and Oregon—here to stay, their proud insignia are emblazoned over our heads. Gentlemen on the other side say the admission of Texas and Kansas was violation of the Indian treaties. But we can not afford to relegate Texas back to Mexico because she blocks the Cherokee Outlet. We can not destroy Kansas because her presence may annoy some Indian tribes. It is not necessary now to argue whether the march of the white races over this continent is robbery; it is the march of civilization, it is the march of the inevitable. The command "Go ye into all the world and preach" was given to civilization and not to heathenism.

Gentlemen say Jackson told these people they could have this land as long as grass should grow and water run. Why did not he tell them they could keep their lands in Tennessee that long? No; he "advised" them to go—people generally took the advice of Old Hickory. He advised the removal of the deposits. He was a great general, a great President, and a great man; but civilization is greater than Jackson, greater than Congress, greater than the Administration, greater than the Government itself. It made the Government and can unmake it; and the idea that a few battalions can beat it back is futile. No power this side of the throne of God can stop it. What then becomes our duty as Representatives of this great Government in this enlightened age, with the facts of history before us? Shall we see these people go surely to extinction, and content our consciences with a sentiment, however beautiful; or shall we act with the vigor of the age, in obedience with the highest and holiest dictates of humanity, and let this great civilization take them up in its arms and rescue them from extermination?

If the latter, the Springer bill is a step in that direction and ought to be passed at once, and the name of WILLIAM M. SPRINGER go into history as a philanthropist. I support it because I believe in my conscience that it is in the interests of the Indian races, in the interests of a common humanity, and will subserve the purest philanthropy and the highest patriotism.

Gentlemen say they would not care to belong to such a civilization. I know it is not perfect—nothing is that is developed through human agency—but I would belong to it because it is the best, the highest, and the grandest civilization of the world. Its movements are sometimes harsh, it is true, and it has its victims. I am not arguing now whether the American civilization is all right or all robbery. I am talking history. Its advance over the Indians may be harsh. It swept over the Constitution and crashed through the institution of slavery. It reached out and acquired Utah and then created laws and established courts to punish the people for domestic habits which they had when they were brought under our Government against their will, and established a government over them that they did not want, and has the same right to make a government over the Indian tribes and correct their worse than Mormon habits, their habits of slaughter.

I will adhere to a civilization that produced Washington and Jefferson, Adams and Webster, that gave to the world Fulton, Morse, Edison, and Whitney, of which was born Lee and Grant, Hancock and Jackson, rather than that of Geronimo and Captain Jack. I will go with a civilization that fosters art and science and learning, that made the American system of government possible, that cherishes liberty

and upholds Christianity, and bears upon its bosom an exalted and glorious womanhood; in short, that produces and sustains Americanism, notwithstanding terrible hardships may attend its course.

My colleague says eloquently—as he says everything eloquently—"that the Indians have retreated before the tide of civilization from the Eastern coast, and now they are met by the tide of civilization coming from the Pacific coast." He might have added that civilization is closing in upon them from the South and from the North, and it is against civilization that the Indians complain, and against which these gentlemen defend them. Is civilization such a thing that it can not be trusted? Must we have a line of soldiers to keep it out from among the heathen? and it always carries the Bible open in hand. I tell you this civilization will not be arrested; the tide from the East and the tide from the West are at the flood, and will float together as the approaching clouds if let alone, but will flow together like the waters of the parted sea if resisted.

You say this is wrong; my only answer for the present purpose is, it is inevitable:

> God made for Himself this giant race, which alone
> Rises high as by inspiration;
> This civilization flashes back to the throne
> The wisdom of that creation.

Shall we encourage the Indians in the futile hope that they can withstand it when our better intelligence teaches us that it means extinction to the Indians. I say to encourage that hope with three hundred years of disaster to them from the same cause staring us in the face, is a higher crime than robbery. It is to stultify the civilization that is the crowning glory of the world. It is to contribute to the blotting out of the Indian race, when we should rescue them, as we can, by wise legislation. It is far wiser and nobler and more in accord with humanity when the dikes break to take the helpless from the low lands by force if need be than to try to stay the flood.

I have heard the cry of robber all along the line in this debate. I will point out the robbers and the victims. I, being a new member, have been rather a silent one, but held no restraint on my observation. I have tried to vote intelligently. I hold in my hand the Indian appropriation bill. I remember the discussion upon it. I read the reports of one hundred and forty-two agents, I think there are, and then I was told that the Indians were a suffering, needy people; they were savages, but were improving; that they needed flour and meat and knick-knacks, farming implements, clothing, school-teachers, and agents. I was asked to vote for a bill appropriating over $7,000,000 of the people's money for expenses of the Indians. I am furnished reports of Indian agents giving glowing accounts of the great progress of civilization among the Indians. All right. Then here comes the Springer bill to give them a government—white men and red men together. That bill is denounced as a scheme to rob the Indian.

I find that some of the tribes have lands to the extent of 5,000 acres to each head of a family; that the Cherokees rent their outside lands for which they have no other use for $100,000 a year for grazing purposes; that they have an income besides of $100,000. When the Army bill came up to be voted on, I took occasion to ascertain that the bulk of the expenses of the Army in the field is to support the troops, who watch the Indians to keep them from killing our frontier settlers and from killing each other. We voted a million of dollars this session to reimburse Texas for her expenses in fighting the Indians who were making incursions upon that State. Now, then, I say that if these Indians have progressed as the Indian agents say they have—they have good lands, and plenty of them—let us give them a government, white and Indian together, and let the law govern them, and let them support themselves, and we can gradually get rid of the one hundred and seventy-five employés in the Interior Department who attend to Indian business only at salaries of $900 to $2,500 annually. Let us gradually get rid of the three hundred agents and attachés of the Indian Bureau. We can withdraw the Army gradually as civilization prevails.

These Indians are all healthy, stalwart people; why can not they support themselves? It is simply that civilization has driven out the game and they are too infernal lazy to work. But I must stand up here and vote money out of the Treasury to feed them and clothe them in lounging laziness. Where do I get the money? I must get it from the farmers and husbandmen, who do not work eight hours, but from the dawn till twilight. There is where the robbery comes in. I am going to vote for every bill that looks to the correction of that state of affairs. If, on the other hand, these agents have misrepresented the facts in order to hold their places, and the Indians are savages still, then I say let government be started among them so that white people can live among them and administer the laws for them.

In nearly all the Southern States there are Indians living that way, and are peaceable. And in that way we will get rid of this enormous expense, over $19,000 a day. The Indian chiefs and their agents and the cattle barons and their minions get this money, I am told by respectable men. I am willing to vote money to support the poor, but to vote money out of the pockets of the people to support great stalwart Indians in idleness, that can rally out and kill our people, and vote money to keep an army there to herd them like wild beasts, when they are more able to work and support themselves than my constituents are, I rob my own people. If I must be a robber I will not rob my own folks, and that, too, when I have been trusted by them and commissioned to represent them. These Western men are not savages, but Anglo-Saxons. They will not treat the Indian half so badly as we treat them with the present policy. Let him have government and have peace, and learn industry from the white race among them.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I say that that government is what the Indians want, is what they need, is what will save them. The mighty civilization of this age, which I say is right, whose actions and movements I indorse, must be extended over all the people of this country. I am proud of the civilization of the age. I am proud of the civilization of America and prouder still of the great progress of the Anglo-Saxon race. And, now, while this sentiment may be beautiful and may be as roseate as the romantic dreams of a brown-eyed maiden, this Indian policy—but it is effeminate and beneath the sturdy progress of the age. [Applause.] It never wielded the sword in the line that advanced the progress and civilization of this country. Justice is sturdy, manhood is sturdy, civilization is truth, and if these people have the hand of civilization extended to them they would gladly accept it and live, perpetuate their race, but for the despotic rule of the chiefs and their minions, who revel in wealth and rule with iron hand while their degraded subjects starve. These brown chiefs and their salaried agents should yield and with their race prepare for a higher and nobler life; because I tell you that this great Anglo-Saxon race is going forward, going like the flood-tide, and you had as well undertake to resist the waves of the ocean as its onward progress. [Applause.] They must come in with the tide. The white man is as good as the Indian [laughter and applause] and will obey the laws and accept civilization. The Indian must do the same or lag and be left and finally go out in oblivion.

But, forsooth, the Indian chiefs do not like our laws or our civilization. They cannot sally forth at the head of their tribes and kill women and children and demand a bonus from the Government to quit if they accept civilization. But I say now, we might just as well make up our minds to believe and know that the decree has gone forth. It was signed when the Pilgrim Fathers upon Plymouth Rock on bended knees devoted this new world to civilization, to liberty, and to God. [Applause.] It was emphasized when the bugle blast of the cavaliers announced the presence of that dauntless race on these shores. It was promulgated when the brave and bold Anglo-Saxon swung his gun upon his shoulder, turned his face towards the setting sun, commanded the wilderness to give the way, and with prophetic vision beheld the scene portrayed by the magnificent fresco on the wall of this extension of the Capitol, and meets the eye as we descend the western grand stairway from the upper story to the floor upon which we stand.

There is represented, as with sentient pencil the lofty awe-inspiring Rocky Mountain range. An emigrant cavalcade has pushed its tedious, dangerous way up the last rugged ascent on the eastern side and camped in a mountain gorge near the summit. The emigrants have climbed high up on the base of a high peak, and holding their wives and daughters in place look with beaming triumph in their faces down over the great western slope to the Golden Gate, and out upon "the other ocean." The women have expressions of devotion on their faces. At last God had brought them through the wide and solemn wilderness and over the deserts to victory. Civilization and Christianity have triumphed.

The impregnable rocky barrier to the march of progress yielded to the all-conquering Anglo-Saxon; and that the picture might make complete expression of Americanism a daring youth in wild exuberance climbed to the summit of the loftiest peak and upon the topmost stone of the rocky cliff that none but the eagle's foot had pressed planted the American flag, and erect on that towering, dazzling height waved his hat in wildest exultation as the Stars and Stripes floated out upon the breeze above the clouds and the exultant voice of civilization rang out on the startled air. That is a faithful and grand portrayal of Americanism. And this is the race and this the civilization that a few feeble battalions are to arrest in its triumphal march to a sublime destiny, to slap it in the face and beat back its conquering phalanxes that this patch of heathenism be not desecrated by its presence. This area, in the center of this great country, must be held free from the Constitution and laws of that Government held to be the grandest production of the human brain, fenced by a cordon of soldiery, and devoted to the propagation of savages.

The years that are to come must behold the spectacle of American soldiery in solid phalanx around this territory sacred to heathenism, floating the American flag, with bayonets fixed against the American civilization. The chief of the armies will find that he breasts a resistless force. This civilization moves with a swelling self-prompted motion, as the ocean's swelling tide, and its proud waves are coming in with illumined crests and will cover the whole land. It is the march of the inevitable, and moralize as we will, we must face the fact that it is not a theory but a condition that confronts us, and the theory must give way. [Applause.]

The Tariff in its Relation to the Workingman.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JEHU BAKER,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, September 4, 1888.

Mr. BAKER, of Illinois, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Our country is now passing through a political contest of the highest importance; a contest which profoundly concerns the welfare of our whole people.

Our immense farming population is deeply interested in the issue, for it is invited to concur in a policy which would, as its first effect, destroy the employment of a vast amount of our home labor, by substituting for it the employment of like labor in foreign countries; and which would, as its inevitable second effect, greatly weaken the power of our home markets to purchase and consume the products of the farm, thus entailing a certain injury upon our farmers by seriously impairing the purchasing ability of their home markets, in the uncertain and visionary pursuit of a paying increase of their foreign markets.

Our great business population is equally interested in the issue, for it is invited to concur in a policy which would shock the very foundation on which our business rests, by suddenly disturbing values, by crippling or breaking down home industries, and by diminishing the sum total of the employment and productive force of our country, in the way of transferring a large part of that employment and productive force to foreign countries.

Our great capital interest is in like manner concerned in the issue, for it is invited to concur in a policy which would, to a large extent, destroy the use and profit of American capital by increasing the use and profit of foreign capital.

Our great labor interest is equally and deeply concerned in the issue, for it is invited to concur in a policy which would lower the condition of American labor without elevating the condition of foreign labor, thus aiding to fix the working masses of mankind in the shackles of the same low status of industrial service.

Although I have mentioned classes of our people, according to the general nature of their employment or life, yet all these classes are but parts of one organic whole in our great and complicated American society. Like the organs of a living body, all are in the most intimate sympathy with each other. When one part suffers all suffer. When one part is really and justly prosperous, all are in good condition. The laborer, the farmer, the business man, the capitalist, are so connected together that the real good of one is the real good of the rest; the harm of one the harm of the rest; and all are confronted to-day by a menace which should arouse their united recoil as against a common danger—the menace of substituting a great part of our American labor and farming and business and capital by the labor and farming and business and capital of foreign countries.

But what I have said is only introductory to the views of another—on the matter of the American principle of protection in its relation to our home labor.

It is well that in the halls of our legislation more and more attention is coming to be paid to those who are the immediate, unofficial representatives of the aspirations of great masses of our people. I draw attention to the following letter of Mr. Charles B. Litchman, late General Secretary of the Knights of Labor, in which he briefly discusses the pending issue from the standpoint of an extensive practical study of the interests of the workingman, and in which he very naturally and very reasonably reaches the conclusion that the Republican-American policy is greatly preferable to the Democratic-English policy, as regards the interests of our laboring people; and he might equally have added, as regards the interests of all our people, for, as I have pointed out, all these interests are sympathetic, and all prosper or suffer together. But let us hear Mr. Litchman:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *August* 27, 1888.

DEAR SIR: My connection with the labor movement for the last fourteen years has made it necessary for me to be a close student of the causes of labor depression, and of the needs of those who toil.

While as a body a labor organization may refrain from active participation in politics, so much of what organized labor demands must be obtained through legislation that the individual member of the labor organization must act politically as in his judgment will best aid the aims and objects expressed in the principles of the organization he represents, and whose success he desires.

In the gigantic political struggle now begun side issues count as nothing to aid or hinder the principal combatants in the political arena. However sincere may be the advocates of the measures to secure which these separate political organizations are formed, and whatever strength in votes may be shown at the polls, the fact remains that the candidate of either the Republican or of the Democratic party will be the next President of the United States.

Therefore to him who has the good of his country and the welfare of her people at heart the necessity exists to choose to which of these two old party organizations shall be given his aid, either directly or indirectly, by voice or vote.

While it may be that neither party offers all that labor organizations desire I believe that the Republican party, in adopting and advocating the American system of encouragement and protection to the labor and wages of our own land, is nearer the declarations and desires of organized labor than its free-trade opponent, the Democratic party.

The conflict [is] between the American system, as represented by the Republican party, which would foster and encourage the labor of our own people and retain for them the market and wages of our own country, and the British system, as represented by the Democratic party, which would break down the barriers of protection and throw open our home market to the productions of foreign factories and foreign labor, thus making idle our own toilers and reducing to a lower level the standard of American wages.

When the Knights of Labor and kindred organizations shall have obtained in foreign lands the same commanding position and influence enjoyed in the United States, the inequality in wages will disappear, not by leveling our wages down, but by leveling their wages up. It is far better to level up than to level down, as the larger the income the larger the power to consume.

Until this equalization can be accomplished, and until the wages of labor abroad shall equal those at home, there must be a proper restriction of immigration, so that our land may not be the dumping-ground of the pauper and degraded labor of the balance of the world. This restriction, supplemented by a continuation of thorough, systematic organization of the labor already here, in conjunction with the American idea of protection to American labor, can not fail to secure for our people the best results of their toil, and by our example lift the labor of the whole world to a higher and better plane of existence.

Whichever party wins, something must be done to regulate more strictly this importation of foreign labor under contract and the immigration of paupers and dependents. If nothing should be done, then Democratic success would mean not only free trade in goods made by pauper labor, but the importation of both the labor and the goods. While under free trade goods may be cheaper to the consumer in certain lines, the labor made idle in these lines must turn to other means of employment, and thus by competition compel a lower rate of wages to those already employed therein.

The power of a workingman to consume depends upon what he receives for his labor. Unemployed, his power to consume, except on charity or theft, ceases. I prefer that America should be a land of workers rather than a land of thieves and paupers.

What is true of the individual is equally true of the nation. The primary elements of national wealth and national prosperity are production, distribution, and consumption. Whatever affects the power of labor to consume affects the entire interests of the nation. Whatever lowers the wages of labor affects its power to consume. An "average reduction" of 7 per cent. on the cost of goods imported will not compensate American labor for the loss of 100 per cent. in wages in the lines affected and of from 10 to 50 per cent. in wages in the line of employment by the substitution of the free-trade for the protective system. I hold it to be far wiser statesmanship to build up and retain our home market by a system that protects American labor than to command a market in foreign lands secured by the wholesale degradation and pauperization of our own people.

Every dollar's worth of labor value imported is by so much a reduction of home laborers' wages. This axiom is not offset by the declaration that there are more goods in the imported dollar's worth. The position of the protectionist is rather strengthened by such a specious presentation of the matter, because the question is then instantly forced upon every intelligent man: How can American labor earn dollars if the industry in which he is experienced is transferred to foreign lands?

The theory of protection advocated by the Republican party is the same as the underlying principle upon which all labor organizations are founded. A friend to organized labor that believes in organization as a means to enhance and maintain wages can not consistently oppose a party that applies to all labor the same principle of protection from unfair competition that the individual trade organization gives to the single trade. Trade organizations do aid in advancing wages in their respective trades, and the protective system demanded by the Republican party will secure for all the toilers in the land a similar fostering care.

That this is clearly understood by most of the thinking leaders of organized labor is proved by the declaration recently made in favor of the American system and a home market by the presiding officers of the organizations representing the iron and the glass industries of the United States. There is no better organization of any one trade than the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. There is no trade more thoroughly organized or better disciplined than that of the Window Glass Workers, nor one in which higher wages are paid. The warning of the officers representing those trades against free trade is very significant, and should be heeded.

A careful consideration of all these facts convinces me that the present is a grave crisis in the political affairs of our country, and that I have no right to remain silent. My position as General Secretary of the Knights of Labor has given me an intimate knowledge of the various phases of the labor question, and from the knowledge thus gained I do not hesitate to say that the triumph of the Democratic party, dominated by intolerance in the South and British free-trade sentiment in the North, would be the most serious blow to organized labor it could possibly receive. I can not remain inactive in such a conflict.

Therefore, to you and your associates on the national Republican committee, as the representatives of the Republican party, I offer my services in any position or capacity where they may be useful to aid in securing the success of Harrison and Morton, the representatives in this campaign of the American idea of protection to American labor.

I have the honor to remain yours to command,

CHAS. B. LITCHMAN.

Hon. MATTHEW S. QUAY,
Chairman of the National Republican Committee,
Everett House, New York City, N.Y.

In the main and in the substance these words are well and wisely put, as regards the question of aid, encouragement or protection of American labor; and in one place they rise to the highest level of political and social thought—in presenting the conception that the stand made by the industrial system of the United States has a tendency to ultimately elevate the industrial systems of other countries, and that the surrender of our American system, and the adoption of the system of England instead, would lower the status of labor in America without elevating it elsewhere—which would be the barrenest surrender that was ever made. Will the laboring men of America voluntarily surrender in such a case? Will they voluntarily put aside, by their own votes, that shield of protection which guards them from the debasing competition of the underpaid labor of foreign countries? Will they voluntarily consent to be led blindfolded into the camp of their own subjection, impoverishment, and degradation? I will confidently rely upon the workingmen of the United States to answer these questions in a manner which will at once respect their own just interests, and respect the interests of humanity in general.

I conclude these remarks by adding two tables, the one showing the average weekly wages in England and Wales, and in Chicago and New York, for thirty-six trades, and the other showing the same in London and Chicago for forty-two trades, both of which tables I have compiled

from the United States Consular Reports, published by our Government in 1885, and which therefore carry with them official authority. These are only two of the numerous tables and statements which I have collected and compiled from the most reliable sources and from an extended correspondence, tending altogether, and with overwhelming weight, to the one solid conclusion, that our present tariff system should be maintained and perfected instead of being overthrown. In consulting these tables, which show how much greater wages are in the United States than in England, it should be borne in mind that wages in England are considerably higher than they are on the continent of Europe, thus showing the very great advantage of American wages over all.

TABLE I.—*Average weekly wages in England and Wales, and in Chicago and New York, for thirty-six trades.*

[Compiled from the United States Consular Reports published in 1885.]

Occupations.	England and Wales.	Chicago.	New York.
Bricklayers	$7.56	$24.00	$20.00
Hod-carriers	4.94	10 50	11.00
Masons	7.68	24.00	18.00
Tenders	5.07	10.50	10.00
Plasterers	7.80	27.00	18.00
Tenders	5.27	15.00	10.00
Slaters	7.10	21.00	14.00
Roofers	7.35	16.50	12.00
Tenders	7.24	10.50	9.00
Plumbers	7.90	22.50	16.00
Assistants	4.69	5.70	10.00
Carpenters	7.66	16.50	14.00
Gas-fitters	7.66	18.00	12.00
Bakers	6.77	12.00	7.00
Blacksmiths	7.37	15.00	13.00
Strikers	5.30	10.50	9.00
Book-binders	6.77	16.50	14.00
Brick-makers (about)	7.00	17.40	10.00
Butchers	5.50	16.50	8.00
Brass-founders	7.47	15.00	10.00
Cabinet-makers	7.68	15.00	12.00
Cigar-makers	6.07	18.00	11.15
Coopers	7.50	12.00	12.00
Draymen and teamsters	5.37	12.00	10.00
Street railways	6.09	13.50	11.00
Dyers	$6.18	$16.50	$13.00
Engravers	8.34	24.00	16.00
Gardeners	5.80	12. 0	9.00
Horseshoers	6.32	18.00	13.00
Jewelers	8.76	13.50	11.00
Laborers, porters, etc	4.70	10.50	9.00
Printers	7.17	18.00	13.00
Saddle and harness makers	6.63	12.00	11.00
Sailmakers	7.02	15.00	12.00
Stevedores	8.44	18.00	12.00
Tinsmiths	6.56	12.72	11.00

TABLE II.—*Weekly wages in London and Chicago for forty-two trades.*

[Compiled from the United States Consular Reports published in 1885.]

Occupations.	London.	Chicago.
Bricklayers	$8.40	$24.00
Hod-carriers	4.60	10.50
Masons	8.40	24.00
Tenders	4.60	10.50
Plasterers	7.50	27.00
Tenders	4.60	15.00
Slaters	7.50	21.00
Roofers	7.50	16.50
Tenders	4.60	10.50
Plumbers	8.10	22.50
Assistants	4.87	5.70
Carpenters	8.00	16.50
Gas-fitters	8.00	18.00
Bakers	6.50	12.00
Blacksmiths	7.80	15.00
Strikers	6.00	10.50
Book-binders	7.00	16.50
Brick-makers	6.00	17.40
Brewers	7.00	15.00
Brass-founders	8.10	15.00
Cabinet-makers	8.80	15.00
Confectioners	6.00	12.00
Cigar-makers	6.80	18.00
Coopers	8.00	12.00
Draymen and teamsters	6.50	12.00
Street railways	7.50	13.50
Dyers	7.50	16.50
Engravers	8.50	24.00
Furriers	8.50	15.00
Gardeners	5.20	12.50
Horseshoers	7.10	18.00
Jewelers	8.00	13.50
Laborers, porters, etc	4.87	10.50
Lithographers	8.50	24.00
Printers	7.30	18.00
Saddle and harness makers	7.80	12.00
Sail-makers	7.30	15.00
Stevedores	8.00	18.00
Tanners	7.00	16.00
Tailors	7.50	15.00
Telegraph operators	8.00	20.00
Tinsmiths	7.00	12.72

A glance at the foregoing tables shows at once the great superiority of American wages, and the Secretary of State, in summing up the result, says:

From the foregoing statement it appears that bricklayers and masons in Chicago are paid very nearly three times the wages; plasterers, nearly four times; slaters, three times; plumbers, nearly three times; carpenters, twice; blacksmiths, twice; book-binders, more than twice; brick-makers, nearly three times; brass-founders and cabinet-makers, nearly twice; confectioners, twice; cigar-makers, nearly three times; coopers, once and a half as much; draymen, teamsters, and street-railway drivers, nearly twice; dyers, more than twice; engravers, nearly three times; furriers, twice; horse-shoers, three and one-half times; jewelers, more than one and one-half times; laborers, porters, etc., more than twice; lithographers, three times; telegraph operators, twice and one-half; sail-makers, more than twice; printers, twice and one-half times; saddlers and harness-makers, more than one and one-half times; stevedores, more than twice and one-fourth times; tailors, twice; and tinsmiths, once and three-fourths the wages paid to similar trades and callings in London.

And, in reference to the comparative purchasing power of wages here and in Europe, the Secretary adds the following highly important statement:

In the volume on labor in Europe, published by this Department in 1878, it was shown that the prices of food in the United States were actually lower than in Europe, and that the working classes in the United States could purchase more and better aliment, dollar for dollar, than the working classes of any country in Europe.

It is demonstrably true that the wages of labor in the United States are very much greater than the wages of labor in Europe; and it is as demonstrably true that the wages of labor here go much further than they do there in purchasing the necessaries, the commodities, and the comforts of life. The practical question of the hour for the American workingman is: Will he voluntarily surrender these great advantages? Will he voluntarily agree to level down? Will he voluntarily agree to exchange our American system for the English system? a surrender, a leveling down, and an exchange of systems which would lower his own wages without raising the wages of his fellow workmen in other countries. The very statement of these questions carries with it a necessary and firm negative answer to the whole of them; and I can not doubt that this will be the answer of a great majority of the workingmen of the United States on the 6th day of November next.

Mr. Payson's Proposed Amendment to the Oklahoma Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. SPRINGER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, August 28, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10614) to organize the Territory of Oklahoma, and for other purposes—

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the pending amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

It is proposed, in section 5, to strike out the words "at a price of $1.25 per acre," in lines 12 and 13, and insert "under the homestead laws, only excepting that section 2301 of the Revised Statutes do not apply."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Illinois.

* * * * * * *

Mr. SPRINGER. I will occupy a portion of the time allowed to the friends of the bill this afternoon, if the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER] does not desire to proceed now.

Mr. HOOKER. No, I do not. The gentleman can go on and reply to his colleague from Illinois. I shall be glad to hear his argument.

Mr. SPRINGER. I desire to call the attention of the committee briefly to the fact, and hope the committee will give me its attention, that during the long years in the history of this Government, when we have been purchasing lands from other governments and acquiring the right of occupancy from the Indians by the extinguishment of their titles, the policy of the Government in the disposition of its public lands, although a homestead law was in force in recent years, yet for that whole time has also embraced within it general features and provisions which produced for the Treasury by the sale of these lands large sums of money. While the amount of money received up to this time is not equal to the amounts paid for the lands by the Government, yet, considering the value of the land yet undisposed of and the millions of acres given to States and corporations, the value received is vastly in excess of the cost of the land. The provision in the land laws which allowed the commutation of homestead entries and the pre-emption of lands, and also the taking of railroad lands at double price, and many other provisions which permitted the offering of public lands in certain circumstances at $1.25 per acre to all persons who might take them at the land offices of the United States, under which provisions nearly all of the lands in the great State of Illinois were taken——

Mr. WEAVER. And Iowa.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, and Iowa; which provisions have brought into the Treasury of the United States from 1785 to June 30, 1883, the enormous sum of $233,576,861.04. Since 1883 up to June 30, 1888, the receipts from the sales of public lands, including Indian lands, have been over $53,000,000, making a grand aggregate of cash receipts of $286,576,861. The estimated value of the public domain June 30, 1883, was, less the amount required to survey it and quiet Indian titles, and excluding Alaska, $1,089,500,000. If we deduct from this the value of the lands disposed of since that time we will still have on hand lands worth at least $1,000,000,000. The lands granted to railroads up to November 1, 1880, had realized the railroad companies $68,905,479, and the lands which they received from the Government then unsold were valued at $322,899,130. The railroads will realize at least $100,000,000 from the sales of lands which the Government has given them.

June 30, 1883, the United States owned a total of 928,426,577 acres of unsurveyed land (including Alaska) and 271,382,299 acres of surveyed and unsold lands, a grand total of 1,199,808,876 acres yet to be disposed of, an area equal to 7,498,805 homesteads of 160 acres each. This estimate is within 10 per cent. of the actual amount, official, legal, and other reasons preventing a closer estimate. (See Public Domain, 1883, page 527.)

The total cost of the public domain to June 30, 1883, was as follows:

Purchases and cessions	$88,157,389.98
Surveys and disposition thereof	55,047,739.10
Indian lands, annuities, etc	208,776,031.24
Total	351,981,160.32

The following donations of public lands have been made by Congress up to June 30, 1886:

	Acres.
Swamp lands patented up to June 30, 1885	56,692,500
Common schools, sixteenth and thirty-second sections	67,893,919
Agricultural colleges	9,600,000
Seminaries	1,165,520
Military and naval land warrants	61,028,430
Military reservations	2,920,580
State selections for internal improvements	7,806,554
Scrip	2,893,034
Town sites	18,916
Land bounties for cultivation of timber	9,346,660
To railroads (up to November 1, 1882)	178,952,688
Total	400,446,821

If valued at $1.25 per acre these lands were worth over $500,000,000. If we add to this amount the sums already received (up to June 30, 1888) for sales of public lands and the value of the public domain unsold, the grand aggregate would be as follows:

Value of donations of public lands	$500,000,000
Cash received from sales thereof	286,576,861
Value of unsold lands, not including Alaska	1,000,000,000
Value of Alaska (the price paid)	7,200,000
	1,793,776,861
Deduct total amount paid	351,981,160
Net profit on land purchases	1,441,795,701

My colleague from Illinois has said that the Government has paid to the Indians some $208,000,000 to acquire titles to their lands, and had opened these lands to settlement under the laws to which I have referred. He said under the homestead laws that the Government has given the lands to the people without requiring payment therefor. But I want the gentleman to bear in mind the fact, and I ask the attention of the committee to it also, that the homestead laws were coupled with the other provisions to which I have referred; and those provisions, running parallel with the homestead laws, have caused an immense sum of money to be paid into the Treasury of the United States, namely, as I have already stated, $286,000,000, while we have given the railroads $400,000,000 worth and have still on hand lands worth a billion dollars, to say nothing of the vast amount of lands we have given for schools, colleges, internal improvements, and other purposes.

Mr. PAYSON. What does the gentleman mean by saying that the homestead laws were coupled with provisions which paid vast sums of money into the Treasury? What condition was imposed by any provision of the homestead laws that demanded payment for the lands or required anything else than the occupancy of the lands for a definite period?

Mr. SPRINGER. I mean, as I have just stated, that coupled with the provisions of the homestead law were the other provisions, the commutation feature, for instance, pre-emptions and other features of the land laws which are a part of the general land system of the United States, and which were in force at the same time with the homestead law, and under which provisions the settlers availed themselves of the right to speedily perfect their title by the payment of a definite sum instead of living upon the lands for the number of years required. I grant you, and I have just stated it to be a fact, that the Government under certain conditions offered these lands to persons who settled upon them for a number of years——

Mr. PAYSON. As a donation.

Mr. SPRINGER. Certainly, without cost to them. But the policy of the land laws has coupled with the homestead feature other provisions which were in force at the same time, and which authorized the purchase of the lands; and these two provisions, the commutation-feature principle and the pre-emption right, and other provisions of the laws were in force and operating, and by their operation they brought into the Treasury of the United States the immense sums of money to which I have referred. In fact, as suggested by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ROGERS] who sits near me, while the homestead laws were in force, and persons could occupy the lands and get them for nothing by living five years on them, yet it appears from a reference to the records of the Land Office that in many instances, perhaps in the majority of them, they preferred to commute the homestead and pay $1.25 an acre, so as to get the title immediately, or to pre-empt lands, or purchase offered lands.

Mr. RYAN. And that applies to the great body of them.

Mr. SPRINGER. The great body were commuted, purchased, or pre-empted, showing it to be a fact that the people would prefer to pay the $1.25 an acre rather than take homesteads upon them for nothing. Hence when you provide, as in this bill, but one way to acquire the title, that is, a continuous personal occupancy for three years, and the payment of the sum which the Government must pay in order to indemnify the Government for the purchase of the Indian titles, we place the lands simply upon an equality with all of the other public lands of the country, namely, apply such provisions as in their practical working in the land system generally has brought or will bring into the Treasury of the United States enough money to indemnify the Government.

Now, if the gentleman would suggest and if it were proposed to amend the law to apply all the homestead provisions of the lands laws now in force to Oklahoma, so that the settler could commute in six months under the law by paying $1.25 an acre. I would guaranty that there would not be a single homestead perfected.

Mr. PAYSON. Yes; and the gentleman can go on and state why.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes; the gentleman knows why very well.

Mr. PAYSON. There need not be any hesitancy in saying it. The reason is that in less than three months' time from now all of these lands would be in the hands of speculators, every acre of them; and that is a sufficient answer why the "gentleman from Illinois," referring to myself, is opposed to such a proposition.

Mr. SPRINGER. But I think the gentleman ought to be willing to allow a settler to pay $1.25 an acre, rather than open up the lands under the homestead laws as they stand and thus allow them to go into the hands of the speculators.

Mr. PAYSON. I hope the gentleman does not mean to say that is what I propose.

Mr. SPRINGER. I do not intend to put the gentleman in a wrong position.

Mr. PAYSON. Because if my amendment is adopted it makes that impossible, and prevents the speculator from getting an acre of the lands.

Mr. SPRINGER. I do not say that that is the object of the gentleman's amendment, but that will be its effect if he should apply all of the homestead laws to Oklahoma.

Mr. PAYSON. No; it is simply to prevent that.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have only said that the gentleman's argument was to the effect that the policy of the Government was to allow its lands to be taken under the homestead laws without payment, and his argument implies also that this was the law he was applying to this territory. But by his amendment under the provisions of the bill he will apply a different principle to Oklahoma than to any other portion of the public lands of the United States.

He is requiring it to be taken solely under the homestead law without commutation, thus prohibiting any taking of land except by actual settlers, and he does not provide any means by which the Government can get any indemnification whatever. So that the policy which the gentleman cites as the precedent for one hundred years of our constitutional history, the policy of allowing the people to take the public lands under the homestead law, does not apply in this case. If you applied or offered to apply the same land laws to Oklahoma that have been in existence ever since the homestead act was passed, then more money would come into the Treasury under those laws than will come in under the provisions of this bill. Therefore, we are taking a departure here; we are turning over a new leaf. We can not afford to enter upon these fertile lands of Oklahoma with the provisions of the homestead law, with commutation and pre-emption, in existence. We can not afford to open up these rich fields and allow them to fall into the hands of speculators as so many millions of acres of the public domain have fallen. We must hold them solely and sacredly for the benefit of actual settlers.

Mr. HOOKER. Do I understand the gentleman to take the position that if the homestead law applied to the lands embraced in Oklahoma, more money would be paid into the Treasury for those lands than if they were sold at $1.25 per acre?

Mr. SPRINGER. I said that if the homestead law as it now exists was applied to those lands, then the Government would get more money for them than it will under the provisions of this bill.

Mr. HOLMAN. But the commutation clause is expressly stricken out.

Mr. SPRINGER. I know; but the idea that I want to impress upon the committee, if I can succeed in doing so, is this: My colleague [Mr. PAYSON] has spoken of the precedent of opening up the public lands under the homestead law and holding them for actual settlers, and has alleged that this bill is a departure from that precedent because it requires the settler to pay for his land the amount required to

get the Indian title. Now, I say to my colleague that the land laws of the United States, including the homestead law, as they have existed for years, are not the laws which he proposes by his amendment. The gentleman is not proposing the land laws of the United States as they now exist.

Mr. PAYSON. Except one section.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, except one section; but that makes the whole difference.

Mr. PAYSON. And that section, as it stands in the existing law, is claimed to have rendered possible the frauds upon the public land system with which everybody here is so thoroughly familiar.

Mr. PETERS. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] is entirely mistaken on that point.

Mr. PAYSON. Well, we need not get into that argument now. I do not now assert that as a fact. I simply say it is so claimed.

Mr. SPRINGER. I have already given the figures from the records of the Government showing how many millions of dollars have gone into the Treasury as the proceeds of the sales of public lands, and when those sums are taken into consideration, together with the $400,000,000 worth of lands given to railroads and the countless millions given for common schools, colleges, internal improvements, and the billion dollars' worth of lands unsold, the $200,000,000 which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] has paraded before the committee as having been paid for Indian lands "pale their uneffectual fire" and sink into comparative insignificance.

Now, the gentleman [Mr. PAYSON] proposes a new departure himself. He proposes that, as to these Indian lands, that we shall pay the Indians the price that we agree upon, and then shall give the lands away to actual settlers under the homestead law, without commutation.

What will that policy cost the Government? If the gentleman will look at the reports of the Indian Bureau, he will find that there are now held within the Indian reservations of the United States 224,000 square miles of land, or an area in acres of one hundred and forty-three millions. This area, which is now held for the exclusive occupancy of the Indians in this country, who number, according to the last census, 246,000 only, this area now reserved for the occupancy of these Indians is equal to the combined area of the following States of this Union: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ohio—a territory beginning at New Brunswick and sweeping south to Mason and Dixon's line, and westward to the eastern border of Indiana. The area of the States I have named amounts to 143,000,000 acres, almost precisely the area that is now held in the exclusive occupancy of 246,000 Indians! If you gave each one of those Indians, man, woman, and child, his portion of this land it would amount to 583 acres to each individual; or over 3,000 acres to each family of five persons.

If those lands, under the policy adopted by the Government, shall be disposed of under the allotment law and every head of a family given 160 acres, or, if you please, 180 acres, it will still leave 100,000,000 acres of Indian lands for the future settlement of white men.

One hundred million acres of land. Now, if the policy of the Government is adopted of allotting the Indian lands so that the remainder can be opened to white settlement, under the agreement with the Indians, it will leave 100,000,000 acres of land for future settlement by white people. The gentleman from Illinois proposes to pay $1.25 per acre for that land.

Mr. PARKER. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. SPRINGER. Certainly.

Mr. PARKER. What does the gentleman mean by white people?

Mr. SPRINGER. I mean white and colored and everybody but Indians. I mean white men in contradistinction to red men.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman permit another question?

Mr. SPRINGER. Certainly.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I understood him to refer to all Indian lands.

Mr. SPRINGER. I did.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman tell us if he knows the exact amount that is covered by this bill to which the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois attaches?

Mr. SPRINGER. I will.

Mr. BUCHANAN. In other words, will he bring himself down to the actual details before us?

Mr. SPRINGER. I am coming right down to that. As I understand, if the bill is passed with this amendment, and we secure all the lands of the Indians in what is known as Oklahoma proper and the Cherokee Outlet, there will be 8,000,000 acres to be given away to actual settlers, for which the Government must pay about $10,000,000.

Mr. PARKER. Will the gentleman permit another question?

Mr. SPRINGER. Not until I have answered the gentleman from New Jersey. Under the provisions of this bill what is known as the Cherokee Outlet, containing 6,000,000 acres, and Oklahoma proper containing nearly 2,000,000 acres, or in all nearly 8,000,000 acres of Indian lands, will be opened to settlement, and at $1.25 an acre it would amount to nearly $10,000,000. So that if this provision prevails the next session of Congress will be required to appropriate $10,000,000 in payment for Oklahoma proper and the Cherokee Outlet. Hereafter, if we are to acquire other lands from the Indians outside of the five civilized tribes under the provisions of the allotment law, under which each Indian family shall have 160 acres, there would be an additional 11,000,000 acres to be acquired from the Indians, for which we would have to pay a sum of money amounting to thirteen or fourteen million dollars. I have estimated the land which in the near future will be opened to settlement will amount to nearly 20,000,000 acres, and the cost to the Government will be about $25,000,000, if the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] be adopted.

Mr. PAYSON. That would be the maximum amount.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, that would be the maximum amount.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Will the gentleman permit another question?

Mr. SPRINGER. Certainly.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I want to ask how much land given away under the homestead laws in your own State the Government paid for in hard cash?

Mr. SPRINGER. The Government paid nothing in hard cash for lands in Illinois. The State of Illinois was part of the Northwestern Territory——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Does the gentleman see any reason why the settler of to-day should be treated with less favor than the settler of 1861?

Mr. SPRINGER. No, I do not; and that is just what I desire to speak about. The gentleman from Illinois and my friend from New Jersey have assumed that there is a different rule as to settlement on the public lands provided by this bill from that which prevailed heretofore under the homestead laws, which permit the settler to commute after six months and pay $1.25 for the land.

Mr. PAYSON. Will the gentleman permit me? Under the law as it stands now the homesteader is allowed to commute, and this bill compels him to commute and pay, and there is a great distinction between allowing a citizen to do something and compelling him.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is the general law, and under the law as it now stands the homestead law permits the settler to commute and pay, and he generally commutes and pays, and this would bring a large revenue into our Treasury. The homestead law permits the settler to buy at $1.25 an acre, and he finds it more convenient or profitable to pay $1.25 than to occupy it for five years and get it for nothing. We are now, under existing law, permitting persons to acquire titles without the three years of occupancy and settlement which the pending bill requires. Now, Mr. Chairman, one word further. These lands are differently situated from the lands which were offered for $1.25 under the homestead laws many years ago in the far Western regions.

The lands embraced under the provisions of the pending bill are surrounded on all sides by the highest forms of civilization. Within 60 miles of the Cherokee Outlet there is a city of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants. There are many cities along the border of the Cherokee Outlet of two, three, four, and five thousand inhabitants, from the cupolas of whose spires you can see 50 miles into the Indian Territory. A railroad runs two trains of passenger coaches from Kansas City to Galveston through the Oklahoma territory. These lands are now in the very center of civilization, and they are more valuable than were ever offered heretofore by the Government to actual settlers. I want to say to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] that of the 600,000 people of the United States who have petitioned Congress for the passage of this bill in not one single instance was it asked that the lands should be thrown open to settlement free of cost. The people who desire to settle in Oklahoma only ask the privilege of going there and paying for the lands the same that the Government must pay in order to acquire the Indians' title. They have only asked that. They ask the privilege of going there and paying $1.25 an acre for the land, and the gentleman's efforts to secure it to them for nothing will not be appreciated by the people who desire to go to Oklahoma and settle.

Mr. PAYSON. Does my colleague think that the signers of this petition have noticed the difference between the homestead principle and the compulsory process of requiring $1.25 an acre?

Mr. SPRINGER. I presume they have.

Mr. PAYSON. Let me say to the gentleman that one of the highest representatives of the Knights of Labor that has been about this Capitol has had a conference with me within twenty-four hours, and his idea is that this bill makes provision for homestead settlement alone. I happen to know also that the Knights of Labor in my own county (and numerous petitions have come here signed by all of that organization in my town) understand the homestead feature of this bill to be the homestead principle pure and simple.

Mr. WEAVER. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] think that the people who desire to settle in Oklahoma can reasonably ask the people of the United States—men, women, and children—to tax themselves 50 cents each in order to give those settlers free homes?

Mr. PAYSON. I do. I am in favor of that proposition; and I hope the House will be unanimous in support of it.

Mr. PETERS. That policy, besides the tax upon the people generally, as indicated by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WEAVER] would give those settlers in Oklahoma, without compensation, the benefit of the labor of all the settlers upon lands in the surrounding country.

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON], I

have no doubt, has offered this amendment in good faith; but I want to assure him that I would regard its adoption as fatal to the passage of this bill. The Congress of the United States is not now ready, as the gentleman well understands, to depart from the policy which has heretofore prevailed in the passage of similar bills when we have acquired Indian lands—the policy of requiring the settlers to return to the Government the amount paid by the Government to the Indians.

Mr. WEAVER. Does anybody believe Congress will vote $30,000,000 in order that the lands thus purchased may be made a free gift to those who shall settle upon them?

Mr. PAYSON. My colleague [Mr. SPRINGER] must remember that more acres have been opened by Congress to settlement without expense to the settler than have been opened subject to charge. The great Blackfoot reservation of over 17,000,000 acres was opened without charge to the settler by the action of the present Congress. The only instances I now remember of the contrary policy were the Sioux reservation, where a charge of 50 cents an acre was imposed, and a little tract in Minnesota, the acreage of which I do not now recollect.

Mr. SPRINGER. I will appeal to Representatives on this floor who are most familiar with the circumstances to state whether, in acquiring the Indian reservations in Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska, the Government has not required the settler to reimburse it for the amount paid to the Indians.

Mr. PERKINS. In the county in which I reside, which was formerly a part of the Osage diminished reservation, the settlers were compelled to pay for every acre which they acquired; and the money went into the Treasury to constitute a trust fund for the benefit of the Indians, who are to-day one of the wealthiest of the Indian tribes.

Mr. WEAVER. I live on what is called the new purchase from the Sacs and Foxes; and I know the settlers there had to pay $1.25 an acre.

Mr. PERKINS. Not a foot of land in my county was subject to homestead entry.

Mr. PAYSON. The great Pottawatomie reservation in Iowa, embracing over 5,000,000 acres in one body, was opened up without expense to the settler.

Mr. WEAVER. But settlers upon the new purchase of which I have just spoken were all required to pay $1.25 an acre.

Mr. PAYSON. There have been exceptional cases, like the Osage diminished reserve, mentioned by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PERKINS], and the "new purchase" from the Sacs and Fox Indians in Iowa. In cases where the land has been limited in area, and has been made especially valuable by reason of the proximity of settlement, the exceptionel policy of requiring reimbursement from the settler may have been adopted. But that has not been the general policy of the Government.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I will say to my colleague [Mr. PAYSON] that this amendment is not asked by the friends of this bill, and will not be voted for by them. Those who desire to defeat the bill, those who have not wished to give it even consideration in this House, will vote for that proposition in order to weaken the bill and render its passage impossible. That at least will be the motive of many gentlemen in supporting the amendment. This proposition is a "Trojan horse," which, if introduced into this bill, will have the effect of destroying it. Whatever may be his intention, my colleague [Mr. PAYSON], in urging this proposition, is dealing this bill a fatal blow.

Mr. PAYSON. Why does the gentleman say that?

Mr. SPRINGER. I say it because the people of the United States are not going to depart from the principle heretofore established requiring the settlers to reimburse the Government the cost of the purchase of Indian lands. That policy has prevailed all through our history. The extinguishment of the Indian title to the public lands and their disposal to the people who desired to settle upon them has been one of the most profitable enterprises in which our Government has engaged, as I have already shown.

Mr. HOOKER. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. SPRINGER. Certainly.

Mr. HOOKER. The question I wish to ask is this: Do I understand you to say and admit that to introduce the homestead law into this bill would be fatal to the purpose of the bill? Do you say that?

Mr. SPRINGER. I say that if you introduce the present homestead law, which allows commutation and purchase at a dollar and a quarter per acre, it would be fatal to the purpose of the bill.

Mr. HOOKER. If the gentleman says that the homestead law being introduced into this bill it would be fatal to it, I would like to know from him and have him state to the House why and how it would be fatal. How can it be fatal by allowing commutation under the homestead law by payment of a dollar and a quarter per acre?

Mr. SPRINGER. It would be fatal from the fact that the homestead law allows commutation after six months and the payment of a dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. Under such a provision speculators would get the greater part of the lands.

Mr. HOOKER. Would we object to doing——

Mr. SPRINGER. Would the gentleman vote for the bill if we adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON]?

Mr. HOOKER. I am not going to vote for your bill and you know it. I do not think your bill ought to pass. I ask you to say whether or not you will apply the ordinary homestead law, which applies to all lands in the United States, to the lands which are embraced by this bill.

Mr. SPRINGER. To put in this bill the homestead law as it exists to-day would, in my judgment, be fatal to the immediate purpose of the bill.

Mr. HOOKER. If this bill can not stand the homestead law then it ought to die.

Mr. SPRINGER. The homestead law, as it exists to-day, allows millions of acres of the public lands to go into the hands of speculators. If you put the homestead law in this bill so as to apply to the public lands of Oklahoma it would not be six months after we had acquired these lands by the extinguishment of the Indian title before they would be in the hands of speculators and cattle syndicates. My colleague from Illinois knows that, and the gentleman from Mississippi ought to know it also.

Mr. HOOKER. How many railroads are there which would have possession of them? The gentleman says you have two railroads there already. They get double the amount they do in the States.

Mr. SPRINGER. They will get nothing under this bill.

Mr. HOOKER. If you carry out your obligations they will get what the law allows them.

Mr. SPRINGER. Under this bill every grant to railroads, except the right of way, is extinguished, and the fear which the gentleman states so far as railroads are concerned is groundless. The statement of the gentleman from Mississippi convinces me he has not read the bill at all.

Mr. HOOKER. On the contrary, I have read every line of it, and will tell the gentleman that the courts would soon see whether you have the power to interfere with vested rights.

Mr. SPRINGER. There are no vested rights to be interfered with.

Mr. HOOKER. When you attempt to disturb vested rights the courts will interpose to prevent you. They will teach you that there are such vested rights, and they are to be respected.

Mr. SPRINGER. I repeat it, there are no vested rights on the part of any railroad in any grant of lands in the Oklahoma Territory, except as to the right of way. Whatever rights other than this have been granted can be forfeited. The grant of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company was forfeited during the last Congress. Out of abundant caution the bill contains a provision forfeiting all such grants.

Now, the objection I have to the proposition of my colleague from Illinois is that it provides that the amounts to be paid for the lands shall be paid by the Government and no portion is to be refunded. His amendment in connection with the other provisions of the bill would not open the lands to settlement under the homestead laws as they exist to-day, but under those provisions of the homestead laws which permit the taking up of the land by actual settlers after an occupancy of five years, but without the right to commute.

Mr. WASHINGTON. Let me ask the gentleman a question right there. You say that if you adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois it will open up these lands to speculators?

Mr. SPRINGER. Oh, no; I did not say that.

Mr. WASHINGTON. Then how will the present bill, with its $1.25 per acre provision, prevent the lands from getting into the hands of the speculators?

Mr. SPRINGER. I will tell my friend. The provisions of this bill, if it becomes a law, will permit settlements to be made and the settler to take his 160 acres of land only. It provides that there must be a personal residence and occupancy and cultivation of the lands for three years, and the payment in four annual installments at the rate of $1.25 an acre for them. The provisions of the bill will effectually prevent the lands from getting into the hands of speculators.

Mr. WASHINGTON. And they will not be on the lands very long before they will be turned over to a syndicate.

Mr. SPRINGER. The settler can not turn his claim over to speculators. He gets no title to the land until he has resided on it three years and cultivated it, and paid in cash $1.25 per acre for it. Until these condititions have been complied with he has nothing that he can sell or even encumber.

The money derived by the Government from the sale of the lands will go to the Indians, to pay for the interest in the lands which they now have.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Does the amount necessary to purchase this Indian title, in the opinion of the gentleman from Illinois, constitute an element that will endanger the bill?

Mr. SPRINGER. I do most certainly. I know and understand this: that if you start out on the principle of this amendment of my colleague [Mr. PAYSON] that it will involve an expenditure of $25,000,000 to acquire the Indian titles in the whole Territory and an immediate expenditure of $10,000,000 to cover the Cherokee Outlet and the Oklahoma lands proper. I do not believe the gentleman from Illinois will seriously advocate a policy which is to cost the Government $125,000,000 for Indian lands in the future, and which requires an immediate payment of $10,000,000, and ultimately of $25,000,000 in Oklahoma to acquire the

Indian lands, and then give them away to settlers. I do not believe that he is in favor of inaugurating that policy; and I know very well that the friends of this bill, and those persons who are anxious to go there and acquire the lands, are not asking that that provision be adopted, because they are willing to pay the $1.25 an acre to acquire homes there.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question.

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The gentleman says that to bring the homestead laws into this bill would utterly destroy it. Does he not understand that the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois expressly excepts the commutation provision?

Mr. SPRINGER. I have already stated that proposition so often that it is hardly necessary now to repeat it. But I will say to the gentleman——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Did not your bill contain the commutation clause as originally reported?

Mr. SPRINGER. No, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I understood that it did.

Mr. PAYSON. It permitted it.

Mr. SPRINGER. No, sir.

Mr. PAYSON. Oh, yes.

Mr. SPRINGER. I beg pardon; this bill points out one way and only one way in which the Indian lands can be acquired, which is to pay $1.25 in cash, to cultivate the lands, and reside upon them for three years.

Mr. PAYSON. It may not be profitable to discuss that question now; but will not the gentleman concede that as this bill was reported it adopted the homestead laws, which contain the commutation feature, which feature would have remained in the bill and could have been exercised but for the amendment offered by myself and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN]?

Mr. SPRINGER. I concede nothing of the kind. The gentleman's proposition was entirely surplusage, and the provision by which the land can be acquired was pointed out so clearly that no man could doubt what it was. It was so plain that any man could see it; actual occupancy for three years, cultivation of the soil for three years, and the payment for the land in money in four installments at the rate of $1.25 an acre, and this money to be placed in the Treasury for the benefit of the Indians. It appears that the gentleman has not even read the bill.

Mr. WEAVER. Permit me to say further to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] that the original bill introduced by myself expressly provided that they should not have the right to commute.

Mr. SPRINGER. I move that the committee now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois has occupied thirty-four minutes of his time.

The Retaliation Message.

SPEECH

OF

HON. PETER P. MAHONEY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 7, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 11309) to authorize the President of the United States to protect and defend the rights of American fishing vessels, American fishermen, American trading and other vessels in certain cases, and for other purposes.

Mr. MAHONEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: To a certain extent I feel that I would be lacking in my duty to my constituents did I not avail myself of this opportunity to go on the record with an expression of opinion on the bill brought in by the Foreign Affairs Committee regarding our commercial relations with Canada. In my judgment—and it is the only objection which occurs to me—the bill does not go far enough. It provides in substance that if Canada persists in the narrow policy of discrimination against American interests which has thus far characterized her course, her fishing vessels shall be refused the privileges to which they have been accustomed, and that she shall no longer be permitted to send goods across our territory without payment of duty, Canadian boats to be subjected to the same treatment in American canals as are American boats in the canals of Canada.

This may be called "retaliation" or anything else, but it is not of the vigorous character which would seem to be provoked no less by the churlish attitude of the Canadian Government than by due respect for the dignity and patriotism of our own people.

For my part, in view of all the circumstances, I deem it proper to exclude all Canadian railroads from the transit made across our northern borders, and it is, moreover, my belief that if this decisive policy had been pursued long ago, Canada and the world at large would have been imbued with a much more wholesome respect for the manner in which our national interests can be vindicated. The appeal in this instance is not to party. When we are told on presumably reliable authority that the English stockholders of our Grand Trunk Railway openly boast of their intention and ability to "buy" this Congress; when we see a disposition on the part of a foreign power to transfer our commerce and deny even simple courtesy, and when, further and beyond all this, our conditions are such as to render further delay alike inexcusable and costly, it is our duty, I say, not only to strike back, but to strike hard.

Frankly I avow that I am getting weary of these attempted "friendly negotiations" with Canada, on the principle that it is not wise to make terms with the nation or the individual in whose faith we have no confidence and for whose honesty no respect. Let the British understand once and for all that we know our own business, that we are not slow to resent as an affront any reflection on the character of this representative body, and that our foreign policy, as far as they at least are concerned, can, if necessary, be characterized by as much vigor to-day as it was one hundred years ago. I think it will be agreed the President has shown that he is not willing to surrender American rights or be at all submissive to Great Britain. In this position he should be sustained; and while for my own part I do not think the measure reported by the committee is sufficiently radical, I am content to vote for it in compliance with the ideas and wishes of others. The facts in this controversy are well understood by the people, and there has been much discussion here. What is now needed is not talk, but action to some purpose.

The Fisheries.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, September 5, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 11309) empowering the President to carry out the purposes of an act entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to protect and defend the rights of American fishing vessels, American fishermen, American trading and other vessel in certain cases, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1887.

Mr. LODGE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not rise, sir, with any intention of opposing this bill. On the contrary, I propose to vote for it, for the idea which it embodies has long had my earnest support. But a measure of such importance, which may have the gravest results, and which will certainly, if carried into effect, disturb the commerce of a continent, seems to me to demand the most careful consideration. All that I have to say, and it is very little, is simply in a friendly spirit of inquiry. I desire only to call attention to certain points which seem to deserve special attention. The constituency which I represent includes some of the fishermen whose injuries are put forward as one of the reasons for this bill, and I think I should be unfaithful to them did I not express my views on this most momentous subject.

The country, I think, sir, is to be congratulated that the President has abandoned the policy embodied in the late treaty project of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and has adopted in its stead that which has been vainly urged for three years past by the Republican party. The country, I say, is to be congratulated on this change, assuming, of course, that it is made in good faith, with a single eye to the honor and dignity of the United States. On the morning of Tuesday, August 21, the Chamberlain treaty had the cordial support of the Administration, and the country had been assured that there were no grievances which it did not cover.

The Democratic party in this House in a recent debate gave their allegiance to the same policy. It was, I am bound to admit, somewhat perfunctory, but the allegiance was there in sufficient force to meet the requirements of post-offices and public buildings. In the Senate the support was hearty and outspoken; one very eminent gentleman finding, it is said, fifty-two hours too short to express his admiration of this diplomatic triumph. On Tuesday, August 21, it came to a decision, and the treaty was sustained by a solid Democratic vote and rejected by an equally solid Republican vote. Forty-eight hours later the President sent a message to Congress which, in every line but one, repudiated and condemned that treaty. But yesterday, in the opinion of the Administration, it might have stood against the world; now, none so poor to do it reverence. So violent a change in so short a time may seem strange to persons conversant only with the methods

of statesmen of training and experience. It is really a trifle to a heaven-born genius in a tight place.

It is not my purpose, however, to pry into motives even were this the time and place to do so. It is always difficult to determine the motives by which men are actuated. The secrets of the human heart are accurately known only to Omniscience and to the editors of a few Mugwump newspapers.

All that we are concerned with here is the bill before the House, which I do not need to discuss in detail. Whatever we may think of this specific measure the question is no longer a party question, for the Administration professes to have come over to the Republican position, and we should all be united in support of a policy of vigor and dignity now promised in place of one of timid and feeble subservience. When Canadian cruisers seized our fishing vessels, when the ordinary rights of humanity were denied to our fishermen, when they were harassed, insulted, abused, and driven forth on the ocean short of men, provisions, and water, the Administration thought the slow processes of a tame negotiation were sufficient redress. Within little more than a week even the Administration thought that these outrages were atoned for by a treaty which did not contain one line of apology or one dollar of compensation.

These outrages are two years old, yet the flood of Democratic eloquence has but just ceased to flow in behalf of a treaty that gave us the bare rights of humanity and conceded everything else, including thousands of square miles of fishing water, to England. This slothful negotiation and this impotent treaty have been all that our fishermen have been able to obtain. I may add that it is all they have at this moment. Despite the great retaliatory message the fishermen are no better off and their wrongs are still unredressed. The worst of their wrongs it now appears is the refusal to allow us to send fish home in bond. The treaty admitted the distinction between fish and other products and proposed to buy this right by altering our tariff and admitting fish free. This seemed a pitiful surrender, but until the 21st of August it was deemed all-sufficient.

This, however, is not all. We are now told that there are other grievances of even greater importance. We hear that the Canadian canals discriminate against us in violation of our treaty rights. If we are left to the acts of the Administration for information we are forced to conclude that these discriminations began on Tuesday, August 21, or only reached the ears of the President at that time. Other sources of information, however, are fortunately not so limited. We know as a matter of public notoriety that these discriminations are no new thing. They are as old as the fishery outrages and the refusal of transit to fish in bond. They are all wrongs to the people of this country. Why was the treaty, which covered every grievance, silent in regard to the canals? There is not a word or a line in that treaty to redress these discriminations.

In my opinion they are serious grievances and need redress. Why, then, did the Secretary of the Treasury, in June, 1887, confer large bonding privileges on the Canadian Pacific Railroad through the Pacific Coast Steam-ship Company? The act of 1866, which gave him the authority, is purely permissive. If these discriminations deserve redress to-day, as I fully believe they do, why did they not deserve it in June, 1887? Why did they not deserve it when the Chamberlain treaty was signed? In June, 1887, far from deserving retaliation, they merited, in the opinion of the Administration, additional privileges. In February, 1888, the canal tolls were not of sufficient importance to be worthy of notice in a treaty which covered all grievances. To-day they merit swift retaliation in the new light of truth just seen by this Administration.

But, sir, into the question of canals I do not propose to enter. I wish only to speak of the fisheries. The fishermen of New England, when they were insulted, abused, and harassed, asked for retaliation and redress, and they were refused by the Administration. Congress, acting without distinction of party, gave them the retaliation act of 1887, which was ample and strong, but the Administration refused to use it. It was capable of being a non-intercourse act and struck direct at Canada, but it was passed in vain. At this very moment, while clamoring for more power, the President still refuses, despite his new-found affection for the fishermen, to redress their wrongs by the power he has held idly in his hands for eighteen months. The outrages for the time have practically ceased, but those that were perpetrated are still unredressed. The ordinary rights to touch and trade are still withheld, except when a license is purchased. There has been no take of mackerel on that coast this summer, as Mr. Phelan, the consul-general has pointed out in a recent interview, and so there have been practically no fish to ship in bond, but the privilege of doing so is still denied.

For all this injustice we have asked retaliatory measures. For eighteen months we have asked the enforcement of the act of 1887. We have asked for retaliation in kind and nothing more. The fishermen of New England have never asked that the traffic of the Northwest should be partly paralyzed, as this bill proposes, in order to redress their wrongs. They wished the Canadians to suffer what they themselves suffered, but they have not sought to make their own fellow-citizens suffer for them. They have never desired that the Canadians should be punished by retaliation at the expense of the farmers of the Northwest and of the merchants and traders of Chicago and Detroit, of New York and Boston. They were denied certain rights and they asked that these rights should be denied by us to Canada. This is all they have asked, and they have asked in vain. They ask now at this moment the use of the powers of the act of 1887, and this is still refused. If the President, however, believes that he can only redress their wrongs by stopping trade along the whole Northern frontier, it is not for them to object. It is not for them to criticise a message which, while it asks for narrower powers than those already conferred upon the Executive, nevertheless promises them a tardy redress.

I have in the past criticised the President for making our foreign policy a party question. I am as always firmly of opinion that this should never be done. A vigorous, dignified American policy toward foreign nations will always command my hearty support no matter what its source. A feeble, undignified foreign policy, debased either by timidity or bluster for party purposes, deserves, and will receive, when it is detected, the utter condemnation of the American people.

The President professing himself dissatisfied with the act of 1887 now comes to Congress and asks for certain additional powers. In his hands the Constitution has placed the great duty of initiating and guiding all our relations with other nations. It seems to me the duty of Congress without regard to party to grant his request. It is true that he already has similar powers of a larger scope and greater fitness which he declines to exercise. It is true that he is accused of political motives which ought never to actuate the Chief Magistrate when as the representative of the whole country he deals with foreign nations.

It is true that all the acts both of the President and his party have been favorable to Canada, from the bonding privileges granted to Canadian railroads to the $1,800,000 of duties on Canadian products remitted by the Mills bill. It is true that all we have on the other side are the words of this recent message. All these things are true, but they do not affect the duty of a Representative in this House as I understand it. The President says that he intends to adopt a vigorous policy toward Canada, and asks for a bill granting certain powers. They should be readily given to him as the representative of the nation by the representatives of the people, with no thought of party anywhere. The responsibility for the use of the powers conferred rests with the President. It is a grave responsibility, and he will be held to a strict account. His action as suggested in his message will seriously cripple the trade of the West and North, because, for reasons best known to himself, he declines to retaliate in kind for the fishery grievances, and decides to spread his retaliation over the whole country. All this is for him to decide. We are bound to assume that this message has been written in good faith. A feeble foreign policy is bad, but it is not necessarily disgraceful. To use the honor and dignity of the country at stake in our foreign relations for political ends or to bluster to foreign nations for political effect would be disgraceful in the President of the United States. We can not suppose here that such things as these are possible. Our duty is plain, as I see it. It is to give the President the power he asks, and I shall therefore vote for the bill.

Glass—Tariff.

REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 3, 1888.

The House having under consideration bill H. R. 9051, and the glass schedule having been read—

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The passage of this bill as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means will do great harm to the glass industry of the United States. Gentlemen familiar with the business, and who have no motive for exaggeration, say that it will practically destroy it. I am fully satisfied that with such a law on the statute-book for any considerable time the business can not be carried on unless the glass-workers of this country can in some way be induced to work at much lower wages than they are now receiving. Fully believing this, I express the hope that the glass schedule may be very considerably changed before the bill is put upon its passage. I will cheerfully support any amendment that will have a tendency to protect this industry. I assure you that I am gratified to hear the report that the majority who have this bill in charge are disposed to support what I consider valua-

ble amendments to it. I only regret that they are not willing to do more. I will not stop to inquire what are the motives that have prompted the authors of the bill to amend it in this respect.

If I thought there was any probability of this bill becoming a law I would cheerfully aid in amending it so as to protect the glass industry, even if I was certain that such amendments were offered by the majority for the purpose of obtaining votes for their party in doubtful districts. I do not think it probable that this bill will finally become a law, but I know that it is possible that it may; knowing this, I consider it to be my duty to do all I can to secure amendments to it that will help to protect any industry that seems to be threatened by it. I have occasionally heard it suggested that it was not best for Republicans to aid the majority in amending and improving this bill; that the Democrats, having a majority in this House, are responsible for the bill, and the worse the bill they offer to the country the more surely will their party be defeated at the next election.

I trust I am actuated by higher motives of duty than that. I will do all in my power to amend every section of the bill that I consider wrong. I shall continue to support all proper amendments, so far as I have the opportunity. In this connection I may, however, be permitted to say that I do not see much prospect of the adoption of amendments offered by our side of the House. It is our duty to try to amend the objectionable features of every bill under consideration. If we then fail, the responsibility of bad legislation will rest on the majority, who will very soon be called on to answer before the country for their conduct.

The glass industry has much to commend it to the favorable consideration of all members of this House. We have in this country all the materials—sand, lime, coal, lumber, clay, and soda—necessary to make glass of the finest quality. This material in a raw state is useless, and a large part of it if not used for glass will not be used at all; but little of this material is capable of being used for other purposes or of being sent to foreign markets. From this it is apparent that the principal part of the cost of making glass goes to labor. Taking into account the wages of those who prepare the sand, lime, coal, soda, etc., 80 per cent. of the cost goes for labor; but take the factory after the materials are prepared ready for use, and in the manufacture of glass 60 per cent. goes for labor and only 40 per cent. for salt cake, lime, soda, sand, charcoal, arsenic, boxing, pots, rings, clay work, insurance, taxes, discounts, freight, fuel, incidentals, and all other expenses.

There are now in the United States factories with sufficient capacity by running ten months in the year to make all the window-glass used in the United States. They consist of one hundred and forty plants in fifteen different States and Territories, giving employment directly to over eight thousand men besides the men engaged in preparing material. Notwithstanding these facts we are now importing one-fourth of all the window-glass we use.

Glass-workers in Europe work for very low wages, and a small reduction in tariff will largely increase our importations. A reduction in the duty of one-eighth of a cent per pound by the act of 1883 increased the amount of importations in the next four years about one-third. This in turn compelled a considerable reduction in the wages of workers to compete with the foreign glass so brought in. Instead of lowering the duty it ought to be restored to what it was before the passage of the act of 1883.

Lower duty means increased importation and still lower wages. But it is alleged by some that too high wages are paid to glass men. This is not correct. As a class, glass workers have heretofore made good wages in this country, but not higher than they fairly deserved.

The work of the glass-blower is of the hardest kind. He is exposed to excessive heat, and endures the severest labor for long turns. His labor is of a kind that requires the very highest skill and long training. The art of glass making is very old, but no machinery for blowing has ever been found practicable or useful. No one who knows the character of the skill and labor required to make glass thinks the wages paid the workmen too high. They are deserving of all they get. Their labor is so severe that they can not work all the year round. They require a period for rest. The profit on capital invested in this business is not unreasonably large.

Prior to 1883 the business paid fairly well in advantageous locations. Since then it has required good management and great energy to keep the factories in operation without loss, and the owners are everywhere content with very small profits.

I repeat what I have said at other times in this discussion, that protection is not for the purpose of permanently making the price of glass high, but it is for the purpose of preserving our own home markets for our own factories and enabling the men to receive good wages. Free trade would, no doubt, for a year or two, give us cheap glass, but it would close all the factories in the United States, and as soon as foreign makers got control of our markets the price would go up. In plate glass the establishment of one or two factories in the United States reduced the price of foreign glass one-half in a very short time. Competition among our own people will make glass as cheap as it ought to be.

Protection to the window-glass industry, whilst it has given our own markets to a large extent to our own people, has actually cheapened the price to the consumer, as the following table will show:

American glass.

SINGLE THICK.

Sizes.	Price, 1860.	Price, 1888.
8 by 10 third	$1.95	$1.78
8 by 10 fourth	1.80	1.66
10 by 14 second	2.40	1.90
10 by 14 third	2.10	1.78
12 by 18 first	3.00	2.38
12 by 18 third	2.40	2.08
18 by 24 second	3.60	2.73
22 by 28 second	3.60	2.73
	20.85	17.04

Fifteen per cent. less price in 1888=$3.81.

DOUBLE THICK.

Sizes.	Price, 1860.	Price, 1888.
8 by 10 first	$4.50	$2.93
16 by 20 second	6.00	3.15
18 by 30 first	9.00	4.38
18 by 22 second	7.20	4.00
20 by 30 second	7.20	4.00
30 by 40 second	10.20	4.78
32 by 44 second	12.00	5.18
	56.10	28.42

Fifty per cent. less price in 1888=$27.68.

Imported glass has also been reduced in cost by American competition.

The foreign (invoice) cost, per statement of Bureau of Statistics, averaged for year to July, 1877, 4.10 cents per pound, averaged for year to July, 1887, 2.27 cents per pound.

The duty being specific, this large reduction in foreign cost (45 per cent. in ten years), increases the equivalent ad valorem rate, but is no real advance, and foreign manufacturers have practically paid all the duty.

I again call attention to the numerous petitions of glass-workers that I have presented to Congress protesting against the passage of this bill. I also offer as a part of my remarks the following letter which I have received from a gentleman engaged in the manufacture of glass in the town where I reside. He is an intelligent and well-informed gentleman who has had large experience in the business, and I commend what he says to your careful consideration. This is but one of many letters of the same character I have received, and I present it that Congress may have the benefit of the information, opinion, and judgment of practical, reliable men.

The letter is as follows:

NEW CASTLE, PA., *March* 7, 1888.

DEAR SIR: The proposed reduction of duty on unpolished cylinder window-glass, as contemplated by the Mills tariff bill, will close every window-glass factory in this town. I desire to call your attention to the fact that we pay out for labor 60 per cent. of the cost of production, 40 per cent. only going into ash, salt-cake, lime, sand, charcoal, arsenic, boxing, pots, rings, and all clay work necessary for our works, insurance, taxes, discounts, freight, fuel, and losses incident to a large business. The four window-glass factories here pay out in cash $240,000 annually in weekly payments to labor, and any reduction in tariff on glass will let in upon us foreign glass produced by labor 50 to 60 per cent. cheaper, and in some instances 70 per cent. below what we pay in this country to our workmen for doing the same work. We hope you will spare no effort to defeat the proposed Mills bill, and, if possible have the duty on window-glass restored to what it was in January, 1883.

Yours, truly,

FORBES HOLTON, *Treasurer.*

Hon. O. L. JACKSON,
Washington, D. C.

The Tariff.

REMARKS

OF

HON. W. D. OWEN,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, September 12, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. OWEN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Never in the history of our Government have the people been so aroused on the tariff and all cognate questions. The recent elections in Oregon, Vermont, and Maine indicate the aroused sentiment and increasing intelligence on this subject. The wages and the industries, the happiness and the prosperity of our people are now in the balance awaiting the final decision which shall sustain our protective system and continue our Government in its upward and un-

folding greatness, or check its development and turn its prosperity into decline and disaster. I append the letter of acceptance of the Presidential nomination by General Harrison, which is one of the most valuable contributions on this subject ever given to the country:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *September* 11, 1888.

Hon. M. M. ESTEE and others, *Committee:*

GENTLEMEN: When your committee visited me July 4 last and presented the official announcement of my nomination for the Presidency of the United States by the Republican convention, I promised, as soon as practicable, to communicate to you a more formal acceptance of the nomination. Since that time the work of receiving and addressing almost daily large delegations of my fellow-citizens has not only occupied all of my time, but has in some measure rendered it unnecessary for me to use this letter as a medium of communicating to the public my views upon the questions involved in the campaign. I appreciate very highly the confidence and respect manifested by the convention, and accept the nomination with a feeling of gratitude and a full sense of the responsibilities which accompany it.

DISCUSSION OF THE TARIFF.

It is a matter of congratulation that the declarations of the Chicago convention upon the questions that now attract the interest of our people are so clear and emphatic. There is further cause for congratulation in the fact that the convention's utterances of the Democratic party, if in any degree uncertain or contradictory, can now be judged and interpreted by Executive acts and messages and by definite propositions in Congress. This is especially true of what is popularly known as the tariff question. The issue cannot now be obscure. It is not a contest between schedules, but between wide-apart principles. The foreign competitors of our market have, with quick instinct, seen how our issue of this contest may bring them advantage, and our own people are not so dull as to miss or neglect the grave interests that are involved for them. The assault upon our protective system is open and defiant. Protection is assailed as unconstitutional in law or as vicious in principle, and those who hold such views sincerely can not stop short of an absolute elimination from our tariff laws of the principle of protection.

STEP TOWARD FREE TRADE.

The Mills bill is only a step, but it is toward an object that the leaders of Democratic thought and legislation have clearly in mind. The important question is not so much the length of the step as the direction of it, judged by the Executive message of December last, by the Mills bill, by the debates in Congress, and by the St. Louis platform. The Democratic party will, if supported by the country, place the tariff laws upon a purely revenue basis. This is practical free trade, free trade in the English sense. The legend upon the banner may not be "free trade;" it may be the more obscure motto, "tariff reform," but neither the banner nor the inscription is conclusive, or, indeed, very important. The assault itself is the important fact.

Those who teach that the import duty upon foreign goods sold in our market is paid by the consumer, and that the price of the domestic competing article is enhanced to the amount of the duty on the imported article—that every million of dollars collected for customs duties represents many millions more which do not reach the Treasury, but are paid by our citizens as the increased cost of domestic productions resulting from the tariff laws—may not intend to discredit in the minds of others our system of levying duties on competing foreign products, but it is clearly already discredited in their own. We can not doubt, without impugning their integrity, that, if free to act upon their convictions, they would so revise our laws as to lay the burden of the customs revenue upon articles that are not produced in this country, and to place upon the free-list all competing foreign products.

I do not stop to refute this theory as to the effect of our tariff duties. Those who advance it are students of maxim, and not of the markets. They may be selfishly allowed to call their project "tariff reform" if the people understand that in the end the argument compels free trade in all competing products. This end may not be reached abruptly, and its approach may be accompanied with some expressions of sympathy for our protected industries and our working people, but it will certainly come if these early steps do not arouse the people to effective resistance.

The Republican party holds that a protective tariff is constitutional, wholesome, and necessary. We do not offer a fixed schedule, but a principle. We will revise the schedule, modify rates, but always with an intelligent provision as to the effect upon domestic production and the wages of our working people. We believe it to be one of the worthy objects of tariff legislation to preserve the American market for American producers and to maintain the American scale of wages by adequate discriminating duties upon foreign competing products. The effect of lower rates and larger importations upon the public revenue is contingent and doubtful, but not so the effect upon American production and Americam wages.

Less work and lower wages must be accepted as the inevitable result of the increased offering of foreign goods in our market. By way of recompense for this reduction in his wages and the loss of the American market, it is suggested that the diminished wages of the workingman will have an undiminished purchasing power, and that he will be able to make up for the loss of the home market by an enlarged foreign market. Our workingmen have the settlement of the question in their own hands. They now obtain higher wages and live more comfortably than those of any other country. They will make choice between the substantial advantages they have in hand and the deceptive promises and forecasts of those theorizing reformers. They will decide for themselves and for the country whether the protective system shall be continued or destroyed.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE SURPLUS.

The fact of a Treasury surplus, the amount of which is variously stated, has directed public attention to the consideration of the methods by which the national income may best be reduced to the level of a wise and necessary expenditure. This condition has been seized upon by those who are hostile to protective custom duties as an advantageous base of attack upon our tariff laws. They have magnified and nursed the surplus, which they affect to deprecate, seemingly for the purpose of exaggerating the evil, in order to reconcile the people to the extreme remedy they propose. A proper reduction of the revenue does not necessitate and should not suggest the abandonment or impairment of the protective system. The methods suggested by our convention will not need to be exhausted in order to effect the necessary reduction. We are not likely to be called upon, I think, to make a present choice between the surrender of our protective system and the entire repeal of the internal taxes. Such a contingency, in view of the present relation of expenditures to revenues, is remote.

The inspection and regulation of the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine is important, and the revenue derived from it is not so great that the repeal of the law need enter into any plan of revenue reduction. The surplus now in the Treasury should be used in the purchase of bonds. The law authorizes this use of it, and if it is not needed for current or deficiency appropriations, the people, and not the banks in which it has been deposited, should have the advantage of its use by stopping interest upon the public debt. At least those who needlessly hoard it should not be allowed to use the fear of a monetary stringency thus produced to coerce public sentiment upon other questions.

IMPORTATION OF LABOR.

Closely connected with the subject of the tariff is that of the importation of foreign laborers under contract of service to be performed here. The law now in force prohibiting such contracts received my cordial support in the Senate, and such amendments as may be found necessary effectively to deliver our working men and women from this most inequitable form of competition will have my sincere advocacy. Legislation prohibiting the importation of laborers under contracts to serve here will, however, afford very inadequate relief to our working people if the system of protective duties is broken down. If the products of American shops must compete in the American market, without favoring duties, with the products of cheap foreign labor, the effect will be different, if at all, only in degree, whether the cheap laborer is across the street or over the sea. Such competition will soon reduce wages here to the level of those abroad, and when that condition is reached we will not need any laws forbidding the importation of laborers under contract. They will have no inducement to come and the employer no inducement to send for them.

In the earlier years of our history public agencies to promote immigration were common. The pioneer wanted a neighbor with more friendly instincts than the Indian. Labor was scarce and fully employed. But the day of the immigration bureau has gone by. While our doors will be open to proper immigration, we do not need to issue special invitations to the inhabitants of other countries to come to our shores or to share our citizenship. Indeed, the necessity of some inspection and limitation is obvious. We should resolutely refuse to permit foreign governments to send their paupers and criminals to our ports. We are also clearly under a duty to defend our civilization by excluding alien races whose ultimate assimilation with our people is neither possible nor desirable. The family has been the nucleus of our best immigration and the home the most potent assimilating force in our civilization.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

The objections to Chinese immigration are distinctive and conclusive, and are now so generally accepted as such that the question has passed entirely beyond the stage of argument. The laws relating to this subject would, if I should be charged with their enforcement, be faithfully executed. Such amendments or further legislation as may be necessary and proper to prevent evasions of the laws and to stop further Chinese immigration would also meet my approval. The expression of the convention upon this subject is in entire harmony with my views.

A FREE BALLOT AND FAIR COUNT.

Our civil compact is a government by majorities; and the law loses its sanction and the magistrates our respect when this compact is broken. The evil results of election frauds do not expend themselves upon the voters who are robbed of their rightful influence in public affairs. The individual or community, or party that practices or connives at election frauds, has suffered irreparable injury and will sooner or later realize that to exchange the American system of majority rule for minority control, is not only unlawful and unpatriotic, but very unsafe for those who promote it. The disfranchisement of a single legal elector by fraud or intimidation is a crime too grave to be regarded lightly. The right of every qualified voter to cast one free ballot and to have it honestly counted must not be questioned. Every constitutional power should be used to make this right secure and punish frauds upon the ballot.

THE COLORED VOTER.

Our colored people do not ask special legislation in their interest, but only to be made secure in the common rights of American citizenship. They will, however, naturally mistrust the sincerity of those party leaders who appeal to their race for support only in those localities where the suffrage is free and election results doubtful, and compass their disfranchisement where their votes would be controlling and their choice can not be coerced.

The nation, not less than the States, is dependent for prosperity and security upon the intelligence and morality of the people. This common interest very early suggested national aid in the establishment and endowment of schools and colleges in the new States. There is, I believe, a present exigency that calls for still more liberal and direct appropriations in aid of common-school education in the States.

TERRITORIAL ADMISSION.

The Territorial form of government is a temporary expedient, not a permanent civil condition. It is adapted to the exigency that suggested it, but becomes inadequate and even oppressive when applied to fixed and populous communities. Several Territories are well able to bear the burdens and discharge the duties of free Commonwealths in the American Union. To exclude them is to deny the just rights of their people, and may well excite their indignant protest. No question of the political preference of the people of a Territory should close against them the hospitable door which has opened to two-thirds of the existing States. But admission should be resolutely refused to any Territory a majority of whose people cherish institutions that are repugnant to our civilization or inconsistent with a republican form of government.

COMBINATIONS AND TRUSTS.

The declaration of the convention against "all combinations or capital organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens," is in harmony with the views entertained and publicly expressed by me long before the assembling of the convention. Ordinarily, capital shares the loss of idleness with labor, but under the operation of the trust, in some of its forms, the wage-worker alone suffers loss, while idle capital receives its dividends from a trust fund. Producers who refuse to join the combination are destroyed, and the competition as an element of prices is eliminated. It can not be doubted that the legislative authority should and will find a method of dealing fairly and effectively with these and other abuses connected with this subject.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' PENSIONS.

It can hardly be necessary for me to say that I am heartily in sympathy with the declaration of the convention upon the subject of pensions to our soldiers and sailors. What they gave and what they suffered I had some opportunity to observe, and in a small measure to experience. They gave ungrudgingly; it was not a trade, but an offering. The measure was heaped up; running over. What they achieved only a distant generation can adequately tell. Without attempting to discuss particular propositions, I may add that measures in behalf of the surviving veterans of the war and of the families of their dead comrades should be conceived and executed in a spirit of justice and of the most grateful liberality, and that, in the competition for civil appointment, honorable military service should have appropriate recognition.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The law regulating classified civil service received my support in the Senate, in the belief that it opened the way to a much-needed reform. I still think so, and therefore cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the convention upon this subject. The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation and be faithfully and rigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence. Some extensions of the classified list are practicable and desirable, and further legislation extending the reform to other branches of the service, to which it is applicable, would receive my approval. In appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity

and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interest of the public service should suggest removals from office. I know the practical difficulties attending the attempt to apply the spirit of the civil service rules to all appointments and removals. It will, however, be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform.

VIRTUE AND TEMPERANCE.

I notice with pleasure that the convention did not omit to express its solicitude for the promotion of virtue and temperance among our people. The Republican party has always been friendly to everything that tended to make the home life of our people free, pure, and prosperous, and will in the future be true to its history in this respect.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND FISHERIES.

Our relations with foreign powers should be characterized by friendliness and respect. The right of our people and of our ships to hospitable treatment should be insisted upon with dignity and firmness. Our nation is too great, both in material strength and in moral power, to indulge in bluster or to be suspected of timorousness. Vacillation and inconsistency are as incompatible with successful diplomacy as they are with the national dignity.

We should especially cultivate and extend our diplomatic and commercial relations with the Central and South American States. Our fisheries should be fostered and protected. The hardships and risks that are the necessary incidents of the business should not be increased by an inhospitable exclusion from the near-lying ports. The resources of a firm, dignified, and consistent diplomacy are undoubtedly equal to the prompt and peaceful solution of the difficulties that now exist. Our neighbors will surely not expect in our ports a commercial hospitality they deny to us in theirs.

I can not extend this letter by a special reference to other subjects upon which the convention gave an expression.

In respect to them as well as those I have noticed, I am in entire agreement with the declarations of the convention. The resolutions relating to the coinage, to the rebuilding of the Navy, to coast defenses, and to public lands, express conclusions to all of which I gave my support in the Senate.

Inviting a calm and thoughtful consideration of these public questions, we submit them to the people. Their intelligent patriotism and the good Providence that made and has kept us a nation, will lead them to wise and safe conclusion.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The Tariff.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. O'NEILL,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 10, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Missouri, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In a government by the people the tribute they pay in direct and indirect taxation for the protection of the law and the just and economical administration of public affairs more deeply concerns them than any other question.

This is to-day the paramount political issue before the American people, and it is important that they should be well informed upon every phase of the question. In to-day's press appears the letter of acceptance by Grover Cleveland of his renomination to the Presidency. Believing that the wise and patriotic views therein expressed will be of great benefit to the people and should therefore be given the widest publicity, I append his letter to my remarks and ask that the same be printed in the Congressional Record.

WASHINGTON, *September* 8, 1888.

GENTLEMEN: In addressing to you my formal acceptance of the nomination to the Presidency of the United States, my thoughts persistently dwell upon the impressive relation of such action to the American people, whose confidence is thus invited, and to the political party to which I belong, just entering upon a contest for continued supremacy.

The world does not afford a spectacle more sublime than is furnished when millions of free and intelligent American citizens select their Chief Magistrate and bid one of their number to find the highest earthly honor and the full measure of public duty in ready submission to their will.

It follows that a candidate for this high office can never forget that when the turmoil and the strife which attend the selection of its incumbent shall be heard no more, there must be in the quiet calm which follows a complete and solemn self-consecration by the people's chosen President of every faculty and endeavor to the service of a confiding and generous nation of freemen. These thoughts are intensified by the light of my experience in the Presidential office, which has soberly impressed me with the severe responsibilities which it imposes, while it has quickened my love for American institutions and taught me the priceless value of the trust of my countrymen.

PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS.

It is of the highest importance that those who administer our Government should jealously protect and maintain the rights of American citizens at home and abroad, and should strive to achieve for our country her proper place among the nations of the earth; but there is no people whose home interests are so great and whose numerous objects of domestic concern deserve so much watchfulness and care.

Among these are the regulation of a sound financial system suited to our needs, thus securing an efficient agency of national wealth and general prosperity; the construction and equipment of means of defense, to insure our national safety and maintain the honor beneath which such national safety reposes; the protection of our national domain, still stretching beyond the needs of a century's expansion, and its preservation for the settler and the pioneer of our marvelous growth; a sensible and sincere recognition of the value of American labor, leading to the scrupulous care and just appreciation of the interests of our workingmen; the limitation and checking of such monopolistic tendencies and schemes as interfere with the advantages and benefits which the people may rightly claim; a generous regard and care for our surviving soldiers and sailors and for the widows and orphans of such as have died, to the end that while the appreciation of their services and sacrifices is quickened, the application of their pension fund to improper cases may be prevented; protection against a servile immigration which injuriously competes with our laboring men in the field of toil and adds to our population an element ignorant of our institutions and laws, impossible of assimilation with our people, and dangerous to our peace and welfare; a strict and steadfast adherence to the principles of civil-service reform and a thorough execution of the laws passed for their enforcement, thus permitting to our people the advantages of business methods in the operation of their Government; the guaranty to our colored citizens of all their rights of citizenship and their just recognition and encouragement in all things pertaining to that relation; a firm, patient, and humane Indian policy, so that in peaceful relations with the Government the civilization of the Indian may be promoted, with resulting quiet and safety to the settlers on our frontiers; and the curtailment of public expense by the introduction of economical methods in every departmen tof the Government.

FULLY INDORSING THE PLATFORM.

The pledges contained in the platform adopted by the late convention of the national Democracy lead to the advancement of these objects and insure good government—the aspiration of every true American citizen and the motive for every patriotic action and effort. In the consciousness that much has been done in the direction of good government by the present Administration, and submitting its record to the fair inspection of my countrymen, I indorse the platform thus presented, with the determination that if I am again called to the Chief Magistracy there shall be a continuance of devoted endeavor to advance the interests of the entire country.

EXPENSES LIMITED TO THE PUBLIC NEED.

Our scale of Federal taxation and its consequences largely engross at this time the attention of our citizens, and the people are soberly considering the necessity of measures of relief. Our Government is the creation of the people, established to carry out their designs and accomplish their good. It was founded on justice and was made for a free, intelligent, and virtuous people. It is only useful when within their control, and only serves them well when regulated and guided by their constant touch. It is a free government because it guaranties to every American citizen the unrestricted personal use and enjoyment of all the reward of his toil and of all his income, except what may be his fair contribution to necessary public expense. Therefore it is not only the right but the duty of a free people, in the enforcement of this guaranty, to insist that such expense should be strictly limited to the actual public needs.

It seems perfectly clear that when the Government, created and maintained by the people to do their bidding, turns upon them and, through an utter perversion of its powers, extorts from their labor and capital tribute largely in excess of public necessities, the creature has rebelled against the creator and the masters are robbed by their servants.

The cost of the Government must continue to be met by tariff duties collected at our custom-houses upon imported goods and by internal-revenue taxes assessed upon spirituous and malt liquors, tobacco, and oleomargarine.

TARIFF TAXATION AND ITS EFFECT.

I suppose it is needless to explain that all these duties and assessments are added to the price of the articles upon which they are levied, and thus become a tax upon all those who buy these articles for use and consumption. I suppose, too, it is well understood that the effect of this tariff taxation is not limited to the consumers of imported articles, but that the duties imposed upon such articles permit a corresponding increase in prices to be laid upon domestic productions of the same kind, which increase, paid by all our people and consumers of home productions, and entering every American home, constitutes a form of taxation as certain and inevitable as though the amount was annually paid into the hand of the tax-gatherer.

These results are inseparable from the plan we have adopted for the collection of our revenues by tariff duties. They are not mentioned to discredit the system, but by way of preface to the statement that every million of dollars collected at our custom-houses for duties upon imported articles, and paid into the public Treasury, represent many millions more, which, though never reaching the national Treasury, are paid by our citizens as the increased cost of domestic productions resulting from our tariff laws. In these circumstances, and in view of this necessary effect of the operation of our plan for raising revenue, the absolute duty of limiting the rate of tariff charges to the necessities of a frugal and economical administration of the Government seems to be perfectly plain.

The continuance, upon a pretext of meeting public expenditures of such a scale of tariff taxation as draws from the substance of the people a sum largely in excess of public needs, is surely something which, under a Government based upon justice, and which finds its strength and usefulnsss in the faith and trust of the people, ought not to be tolerated. While the heaviest burdens incident to the necessities of the Government are uncomplainingly borne, light burdens become grievous and intolerable when not justified by such necessities.

UNNECESSARY TAXES ARE UNJUST.

Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation, and yet this is our condition. We are annually collecting at our custom-houses, and by means of our internal-revenue taxation, many millions in excess of all legitimate public needs. As a consequence there now remains in the national Treasury a surplus of more than $130,000,000.

No better evidence could be furnished that the people are exorbitantly taxed. The extent of the superfluous burden indicated by this surplus will be better appreciated when it is suggested that such surplus alone represents taxation aggregating more than $108,000 in a county containing 50,000 inhabitants.

Taxation has always been the feature of organized government, the hardest to reconcile with the people's idea of freedom and happiness. When presented in a direct form nothing will arouse popular discontent more quickly and profoundly than unjust and unnecessary taxation. Our farmers, mechanics, laborers, and all our citizens closely scan the slightest increase in the taxes assessed upon their lands and other property, and demand good reasons for such increase. And yet they seem to be expected, in some quarters, to regard the unnecessary volume of insidious and indirect taxation visited upon them by our present rate of tariff duties with indifference, if not with favor. The surplus revenue now remaining in the Treasury not only furnishes conclusive proof of unjust taxation: its existence constitutes a separate and independent menace to the prosperity of the people.

WHAT A VAST SURPLUS MEANS.

This vast accumulation of idle funds represents that much money drawn from the circulating medium of the country, which is needed in the channels of trade and business.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the consequences which follow the continued withdrawal and hoarding by the Government of the currency of the people are not of immediate importance to the mass of our citizens, and only concerns those engaged in large financial transactions.

In the restless enterprise and activity which free and ready money among the people produces is found that opportunity for labor and employment and that impetus to business and production which bring in their train prosperity to our citizens in every station and vocation. New ventures, new investments

in business and manufacture, the construction of new and important works and the enlargement of enterprises already established, depend largely upon obtaining money upon easy terms with fair security; and all these things are stimulated by an abundant volume of circulating medium. Even the harvested grain of the farmer remains without a market unless money is forthcoming for its movement and transportation to the seaboard.

THE EFFECT OF A SURPLUS ON LABOR.

The first results of a scarcity of money among the people is the exaction of severe terms for its use. Increasing distrust and timidity is followed by a refusal to loan or advance on any terms. Investors refuse all risks and decline all securities, and in a general fright the money still in the hands of the people is persistently hoarded. It is quite apparent that when this perfectly natural, if not inevitable, stage is reached, depression in all business and enterprise will, as a necessary consequence, lessen the opportunity for work and employment, and reduce alaries and the wages of labor.

Instead, then, of being exempt from the influence and effect of an immense surplus lying idle in the national Treasury, our wage-earners and others who rely upon their labor for support are most of all directly concerned in the situation. Others seeing the approach of danger may provide against it, but it will find those depending upon their daily toil for bread unprepared, helpless, and defenseless. Such a state of affairs does not present a case of idleness resulting from disputes between the laboring man and his employer, but it produces an absolute and enforced stoppage of employment and wages.

In reviewing the bad effects of this accumulated surplus and the scale of tariff rates by which it is produced, we must not overlook the tendency toward gross and scandalous public extravagances which a congested Treasury induces, nor the fact that we are maintaining, without excuse, in a time of profound peace, substantially the rate of tariff duties imposed in time of war, when the necessities of the Government justified the imposition of the weightiest burdens upon the people.

CRITICISM OF THE PLANS TO REDUCE THE TREASURY'S ACCUMULATION.

Divers plans have been suggested for the return of this accumulated surplus to the people and the channels of trade. Some of these devices are at variance with all rules of good finance; some are delusive, some are absurd, and some betray by their reckless extravagance the demoralizing influence of a great surplus of public money upon the judgments of individuals. While such efforts should be made as are consistent with public duty and sanctioned by sound judgment to avoid danger by the useful disposition of the surplus now remaining in the Treasury, it is evident that if its distribution were accomplished another accumulation would soon take its place if the constant flow of redundant income was not checked at its source by a reform in our present tariff laws.

We do not propose to deal with these conditions by merely attempting to satisfy the people of the truth of abstract theories, nor by alone urging their assent to political doctrines. We present to them the proposition that they are unjustly treated in the extent of present Federal taxation; that, as a result, a condition of extreme danger exists, and that it is for them to demand a remedy and that defense and safety promised in the guaranties of their free Government.

We believe that the same means which are adopted to relieve the Treasury of its present surplus and prevent its recurrence should cheapen to our people the cost of supplying their daily wants. Both of these objects we seek in part to gain by reducing the present tariff rates upon the necessaries of life.

We fully appreciate the importance to the country of our domestic industrial enterprises. In the rectification of existing wrongs their maintenance and prosperity should be carefully and in a friendly spirit considered. Even such reliance upon present revenue arrangements as have been invited or encouraged should be fairly and justly regarded. Abrupt and radical changes which might endanger such enterprises and injuriously affect the interests of labor dependent upon their success and continuance are not contemplated or intended.

STIMULATE PRODUCTION BY FREE RAW MATERIALS.

But we know the cost of our domestic manufactured products is increased and their price to the consumer enhanced by the duty imposed upon the raw material used in their manufacture. We know that this increased cost prevents the sale of our productions at foreign markets in competition with those countries which have the advantage of free raw material. We know that confined to a home market our manufacturing operations are curtailed, their demand for labor irregular, and the rate of wages paid uncertain. We propose, therefore, to stimulate our domestic industrial enterprises by freeing from duty the imported raw materials which, by the employment of labor, are used in our home manufactures, thus extending the markets for their sale and permitting an increased and steady production, with the allowance of abundant profits.

True to the undeviating course of the Democratic party, we will not neglect the interests of labor and our workingmen. In all efforts to remedy existing evils we will furnish no excuse for the loss of employment or the reduction of the wages of honest toil. On the contrary, we propose in any adjustment of our revenue laws to concede such encouragement and advantage to the employers of domestic labor as will easily compensate for any difference that may exist between the standard of wages which should be paid to our laboring men and the rate allowed in other countries. We propose, too, by extending the markets for our manufactures to promote the steady employment of labor, while by cheapening the cost of the necessaries of life we increase the purchasing power of the workingman's wages and add to the comforts of his home.

And before passing from this phase of the question I am constrained to express the opinion that while the interests of labor should be always sedulously regarded in any modification of our tariff laws, an additional and more direct and efficient protection to these interests would be afforded by the restriction and prohibition of the immigration or importation of laborers from other countries who swarm upon our shores, having no purpose or intent of becoming our fellow-citizens or acquiring any permanent interest in our country, but who crowd every field of employment with unintelligent labor at wages which ought not to satisfy those who make claim to American citizenship.

A STRONG CONDEMNATION OF THE TRUSTS.

The platform adopted by the late national convention of our party contains the following declaration:

"Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when by unnecessary taxation trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them, as purchasers, of the benefits of natural competition."

Such combinations have always been condemned by the Democratic party. The declaration of its national convention is sincerely made, and no member of our party will be found excusing the existence or belittling the pernicious results of these devices to wrong the people. Under various names they have been punished by the common law for hundreds of years; and they have lost none of their hateful features because they have assumed the name of trusts instead of conspiracies.

We believe that these trusts are the natural offspring of a market artificially restricted; that an inordinately high tariff, besides furnishing the temptation for their existence, enlarges the limit within which they may operate against the people, and thus increase the extent of their power for wrong doing. With an unalterable hatred of all such schemes, we count the checking of their baleful operations, among the good results promised by revenue reform.

While we can not avoid partisan misrepresentation, our position upon the question of revenue reform should be so plainly stated as to admit of no misunderstanding.

NO FREE TRADE.

We have entered upon no crusade of free trade. The reform we seek to inaugurate is predicated upon the utmost care for established industries and enterprises, a jealous regard for the interests of American labor, and a sincere desire to relieve the country from the injustice and danger of a condition which threatens evil to all the people of the land.

We are dealing with no imaginary danger. Its existence has been repeatedly confessed by all political parties, and pledges of a remedy have been made on all sides. Yet when in the legislative body, where under the Constitution all remedial measures applicable to this subject must originate, the Democratic majority were attempting with extreme moderation to redeem the pledge common to both parties, they were met by determined opposition and obstruction, and the minority, refusing to co-operate in the House of Representatives or propose another remedy, have remitted the redemption of their party pledge to the doubtful power of the Senate.

The people will hardly be deceived by their abandonment of the field of legislative action to meet in political convention and flippantly declare in their party platform that our conservative and careful effort to relieve the situation is destructive to the American system of protection. Nor will the people be misled by the appeal to prejudice contained in the absurd allegation that we serve the interests of Europe, while they will support the interests of America.

They propose in their platform to thus support the interests of our country by removing the internal-revenue tax from tobacco and from spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes. They declare, also, that there should be such a revision of our tariff laws as shall tend to check the importation of such articles as are produced here. Thus, in proposing to increase the duties upon such articles to nearly or quite a prohibitory point, they confess themselves willing to travel backward in the road of civilization and to deprive our people of the markets for their goods, which can only be gained and kept by the semblance, at least, of an interchange of business, while they abandon our consumers to the unrestrained oppression of the domestic trusts and combinations which are in the same platform perfunctorily condemned.

CHEAP NECESSITIES FOR THE PEOPLE.

They propose further to release entirely from import duties all articles of foreign production except luxuries the like of which can not be produced in this country. The plain people of the land and the poor who scarcely use articles of any description produced exclusively abroad and not already free, will find it difficult to discover where their interests are regarded in this proposition. They need in their homes cheaper domestic necessaries; and this seems to be entirely unprovided for in this proposed scheme to serve the country.

Small compensation for this neglected need is found in the further purpose here announced and covered by the declaration that if after the changes already mentioned there still remains a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, the entire internal taxation should be repealed "rather than surrender any part of our protective system."

FREE WHISKY AND TOBACCO IS NO RELIEF.

Our people ask relief from the undue and unnecessary burden of tariff taxation now resting upon them. They are offered free tobacco and free whisky. They ask for bread and they are given a stone.

The implication contained in this party declaration, that desperate measures are justified or necessary to save from destruction or surrender what is termed our protective system, should confuse no one. The existence of such a system is entirely consistent with the regulation of the extent to which it should be applied and the correction of its abuses.

Of course in a country as great as ours, with such a wonderful variety of interests, often leading in entirely different directions, it is difficult, if not impossible, to settle upon a perfect tariff plan. But in accomplishing the reform we have entered upon, the necessity of which is so obvious, I believe we should not be content with a reduction of revenue involving the prohibition of importations and the removal of the internal tax upon whisky. It can be better and more safely done within the lines of granting actual relief to the people of their means of living, and at the same time giving an impetus to our domestic enterprises and furthering our national welfare.

If misrepresentations of our purposes and motives are to gain credence and defeat our present effort in this direction there seems to be no reason why every endeavor in the future to accomplish revenue reform should not be likewise attacked, and with like result. And yet no thoughtful man can fail to see in the continuance of the present burdens of the people and the abstraction by the Government of the currency of the country inevitable distress and disaster. All danger will be averted by timely action. The difficulty of applying the remedy will never be less, and the blame should not be laid at the door of the Democratic party if it is applied too late.

With firm faith in the intelligence and patriotism of our countrymen, and relying upon the conviction that misrepresentation will not influence them, prejudice will not cloud their understanding, and that menace will not intimidate them, let us urge the people's interest and public duty for the vindication of our attempt to inaugurate a righteous and beneficent reform.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Hon. PATRICK A. COLLINS AND OTHERS,
Committee, etc.

Chinese Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. OWEN,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, August 18, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 3304) to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States—

Mr. OWEN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not know until a few minutes before my colleague [Mr. BYNUM] took the floor to deliver his address that we were to have a speech this afternoon for the special benefit of the voters of Indiana, and an attack upon General Harrison, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. In view of the circumstances under which this matter is presented, I am able to say only a few words in reply to the gentleman at this time. He makes some four distinct charges in his speech. One of them is, if I understood the gentleman correctly

(if I did not, I will thank him to correct me), that a partner of General Harrison in the campaign of 1886 caused to be naturalized seven or some other number of Chinamen, and voted them for the Republican ticket.

Mr. BYNUM. I did not make such a charge. I charged that in 1880 a number of Chinamen—as I recollect now the number was five—were not naturalized, but took out their first papers; that the oath was administered to them by a special friend of General Harrison; that they were voted at the election of 1880, and voted the Republican ticket; and that General Harrison must have known of it from the fact that it was done by his partner, and the oath was administered by his most intimate friend—a loyal supporter of him for the Senate. The gentleman, I presume has read Senator VEST'S speech. I do not understand the facts as Senator VEST states them.

Mr. OWEN. Ah! then the brethren do not agree in their statements.

Mr. BYNUM. I state to the gentleman that I am prepared to prove all I have said if any one controverts it.

Mr. OWEN. I controvert it.

Mr. BYNUM. You controvert it? I state, then, that Daniel Ransdell, clerk of Marion County, administered the oath to three Chinamen, who declared their intention to become citizens; they went to the polls to vote, when one of them was challenged by Austin H. Brown, now an officer in the Treasury Department, upon the ground that he was not naturalized. Mr. Brown examined his papers, and they were signed by Mr. Ransdell as clerk. Mr. Joseph Nichols, now a clerk in the Post-Office Department, challenged another.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. Speaker, my colleague [Mr. CHEADLE] telegraphed to the partners of General Harrison this morning. I sent a telegram myself a few moments ago, not knowing that my colleague had telegraphed, asking about this matter of Chinamen having been naturalized or having voted in the city of Indianapolis. I read the reply received by my colleague:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *August* 18, 1888.

Did no such thing; never heard of a Chinaman being naturalized.

W. H. MILLER.
JOHN B. ELAM.

J. D. CHEADLE, *House of Representatives.*

These gentlemen are the two law partners of General Harrison. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. BYNUM. If the gentleman will allow me——

Mr. OWEN. Will you give me more time?

Mr. BYNUM. Certainly; we will give you all the time you want.

Mr. OWEN. Will the Chair agree to that?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OWEN] is speaking in the time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT].

Mr. OWEN. I did not interrupt the gentleman during his speech, although there were fair opportunities to do so.

Mr. BYNUM. But my colleague has appealed to me; he has asked me to correct him. I want to say I did not make the charge that Mr. Miller or Mr. Elam knew anything about the matter. [Cries of "Regular order!"]

Mr. OWEN. Mr. Speaker, this does not come out of my time?

Mr. BYNUM. The gentleman does not deny that those Chinamen were naturalized and voted the Republican ticket. That is a fact.

Mr. MILLIKEN. I call for the regular order. The gentleman would not allow himself to be interrupted, and he "bulldozes" others.

Mr. BYNUM. I want to force the truth down your throats.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OWEN] is entitled to the floor and will proceed.

Mr. OWEN. I presume, of course, the Chair will not take this out of my time.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair has not done so.

Mr. BYNUM. The gentleman has dodged the issue I made.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman should not introduce the phrases of Indianapolis politicians into the debates of this House. There is no effort to avoid the issue. The fact is I am anxious to get at it. The whole effort of the gentleman's speech is to present General Harrison as favoring the importation and citizenizing of Chinamen, and to connect him personally with the alleged naturalization of Chinamen at Indianapolis. This is so positively true that I assert that if another than General Harrison had been nominated for President my colleague's speech would not have been delivered. Speaking of these Chinamen voting he says: "That General Harrison was cognizant of the intentions of his party to vote these persons there can be no doubt." General Harrison says he never heard of the naturalization or voting of Chinamen at Indianapolis until he read it in a newspaper!

You are pushed to desperate straits when so much labor is performed to get General Harrison "cognizant of intentions." Your solemn asservations that Daniel Ransdell, as county clerk, signed these declarations to become citizens is startlingly convincing evidence. This explanatory amendment to your written speech is valuable, for it is the only direct testimony of General Harrison's complicity in this matter that has not been distinctly overthrown. The case then stands as follows: General Harrison lives in Marion County. One Daniel Ransdell, in his capacity as clerk of the county, administers lawful oath to Chinamen who declare their intentions to become citizens. Daniel Ransdell is a Republican, therefore there can be no doubt but General Harrison was "cognizant of their intentions." Mr. Speaker, this shows the condition of brain fever a man gets himself into by "following Mr. MILLS and doing whatever he commands."

This studied effort to connect General Harrison with the Chinese brings to memory that other effort made by your party in 1880. I here reproduce the famous Morey letter:

[Personal and confidential.]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Washington, D. C., January* 23, 1880.

DEAR SIR: Yours in relation to the Chinese problem came duly to hand.

I take it that the question of employés is only a question of private and corporate economy, and individuals and companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it cheapest.

We have a treaty with the Chinese Government which should be religiously kept until its provisions are abrogated by the action of the General Government, and I am not prepared to say that it should be abrogated until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are conserved in the matter of labor.

Very truly, yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

H. L. MOREY,
Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass.

This letter was published on the eve of the election, almost too late to be contradicted. General Garfield repudiated it, but members of the Democratic national committee affirmed that he wrote it and that it spoke his sentiments. It cost Garfield hundreds of votes. The Democrat who forged that letter has not yet served out his sentence in the penitentiary.

My colleague asserts that the Republican party seeks to bring in pauper and contract labor in harmony with its policy of serfdom to mine and corporation controllers. If I should characterize this statement as it deserves my language would not be parliamentary. But perhaps it will be sufficient characterization to reveal a part of the hollowness and insincerity of his party's labor professions. Why, Mr. Speaker, at this hour Italian imported contract laborers are digging the gas trenches in his own city of Indianapolis. The men who have the contract from the gas trust for digging these trenches, or men connected with them, have already had their contract paupers take out their first papers of citizenship, and will in November be voted by their Democratic bosses for Cleveland and his party.

Who are the great mine and corporation controllers? The greatest mine-owner in America is WILLIAM L. SCOTT, the President's representative on this floor. The greatest corporations are the Pennsylvania coal combination, of which Mr. SCOTT is the central figure; the Standard Oil monopoly, and its Mr. PAYNE is a Democratic Senator and its Mr. Whitney is a Cabinet officer. The third great combine is the sugar trust, whose head, Mr. Havemeyer is an enthusiastic Cleveland advocate. The most infamous and notorious trusts and combines are under the control of men most prominent in your party ranks.

My colleague habitually berates the railroads as cormorants, eating up the farmer and poor man, and yet the national Democratic campaign committee is the most remarkable conclave of railroad cormorants that ever organized to run a poor man's party. William H. Barnum, standing at the head, is president and director of six railroad lines, Arthur Sewall of seven, Calvin Brice of nine, John S. Barbour of one, ARTHUR P. GORMAN of two, WILLIAM L. SCOTT of thirteen, and Herman Oelrichs is not a railroad magnate, but is part owner of the Trans-Atlantic Steam-ship Company. These seven worthies rule land and sea. These seven wise men in a combine with the whisky pool, which is solidly Democratic, and the coal combination and the oil monopoly and the sugar trust as the controlling influence in a great party, present an amazing spectacle for a poor man to contemplate.

Another statement was made in the gentleman's speech, that Senator Harrison read in some literary society a paper in which he advocated the free and unrestricted immigration of the Chinamen to this country. Senator Harrison, over his own signature, says he never did any such thing. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. BYNUM rose. [Cries of "Sit down!" on the Republican side.]

Mr. OWEN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman, in closing his speech, with a flourish of tongue and wave of hand peculiar to a Hoosier orator [laughter], said that every member of the Democratic party could cast his vote for the bill now before this House without swallowing any of his words or taking back any part of his record in the past.

If that be true, I again call up the statement of the gentleman from Maine, Governor DINGLEY, when the Democracy had control of the Senate, from 1879 to 1881, by a majority of 9, and during those two years had control of this House. Why did they not at that time take action on this matter? The Democracy at that time could have forced action on the Chinese question if they had so desired. That they did not do so, but let it slumber until the eve of a Presidential election in 1888, shows your lack of sincerity then and that your "condition" is badly disturbed now. [Laughter and applause.]

Again, the gentleman's speech seeks to impress on the public mind that the Republican party is in favor of the importation of Chinese labor because it is cheap. It is not necessary I should enter into any detailed denial of that statement. The party that was born out of certain great moral necessities of the country, that in its history has blasted a rebellion and saved the greatest nation of the world, that

gave freedom to 4,000,000 of slaves, the grandest elevation of labor ever given by any party; the party that passed the homestead act, that gave to the poor men of this country a home in the West which had been refused to them by the Democratic party; a party, sir, that has built up the protective system until the wage-workers of this land are to-day the best paid, the best fed, the best housed, and the most intelligent and most prosperous of any wage-workers in all the world, is not a party that favors the importation of Chinamen or Italians, or any other sort of pauper labor. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BUCHANAN], when we were on the discussion of the tariff bill, offered an amendment to that bill that in no case should goods be imported into this country which were manufactured in whole or in part by convict labor in foreign countries. On the vote on that amendment every Democrat in the House voted against it. Every Republican voted for it.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Missouri. The gentleman is mistaken. I voted with the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. BUCHANAN] in favor of it. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. OWEN. Mr. Speaker, allow me to digress for a moment and step over the bloody chasm and offer my hand in fellowship to my distinguished friend from Missouri. [Laughter and applause.]

The gentleman from California, General VANDEVER, also offered an amendment prohibiting the importation of any merchandise made in whole or in part by Chinese. Every Democrat voted against that amendment. Every Republican voted for it.

Mr. Speaker, it is idle for the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] to seek to create the impression that the Republican party is in favor of Chinese immigration; that it is in favor of pauper labor. He will not be able to create such impression upon the public mind.

Now, a word with reference to General Harrison's action. He charges that General Harrison voted against every bill to restrict and control Chinese immigration. I deny that charge. General Harrison opposed the Chinese bill which was then under consideration, and the basis of his opposition to that bill, and explicitly so stated, was that its passage was in violation of treaty obligation. When General Harrison took that position and stood on it manfully he did not, in taking such a position or by any word he uttered in the Senate, indicate he was in favor of Chinese immigration. The bill was passed over General Harrison's opposition and the then President of the United States, General Arthur, vetoed it. I will read an extract from that veto message:

I regard this provision (twenty years' exclusion) as a breach of our national faith; and being unable to bring myself in harmony with the act of Congress on this vital point, the honor of the country constrains me to return the act with this objection to its passage.

President Arthur stood, therefore, with General Harrison to preserve the honor of his country, which forbade him to violate a solemn treaty. Now, sir, Secretary Bayard, who at that time was a member of the Senate of the United States, declared in that discussion that the Burlingame treaty was a humbug, and attempted by act of Congress, without notification to the other contracting nation, a willful abrogation of our treaty, which would have been a violation of the solemn pledge of our Government. This Government, sir, can not afford to abrogate her treaty stipulations without due process, no matter whether the treaty is with the greatest or weakest of nations. Senator Harrison stood there and said: I stand first for the honor of my country, and this treaty shall be enforced in its letter and in its spirit until by proper action it shall be abrogated. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell].

Mr. HITT. I yield the gentleman three minutes further.

Mr. OWEN. Now, Mr. Speaker, I maintain that General Harrison in that position showed himself broad in his statesmanship. He showed himself true to American interests. His course upon this subject has been so thoroughly consistent that when at the Chicago convention the people of the Pacific coast could not get their first choice, James G. Blaine, they turned and gave their votes solidly to Benjamin Harrison and said that his record was consistent with the interests and honor of America upon the Chinese question; and it is a sufficient answer that he was true to the interests of the Pacific Slope that he should receive the nomination out of the hands of the Republican convention, the representatives from the Pacific Slope showing their indorsement by voting for him.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in 1886, General Harrison was still a member of the United States Senate and a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That committee brought in a Chinese bill. They brought it in with a unanimous report. It is the best Chinese immigration bill that has ever been offered to the Congress of the United States. In the Senate General Harrison worked for the passage of that bill.

Mr. BAYNE. It was a Republican measure.

Mr. OWEN. Entirely so. It passed the Senate without division, came over to a Democratic House, and slumbered the sleep of death in this House. [Applause on the Republican side.] General Harrison's record is not in favor of Chinese immigration, but against it. The best restriction measure ever offered to Congress was draughted by him and passed a Republican Senate, and was smothered by you Democrats in this House. He is against the violation of the Government's solemn treaties and in favor of maintaining the Government's best interests, whether it be on the Chinese question or whether it be a question affecting those who labor on American soil. He is against the Mongolian in America, and if elected President will enforce the law against the importation of contract labor, which Mr. Cleveland has failed to do. The life, the utterances, the votes, the whole character of Benjamin Harrison are in favor of that which we call distinctively the American idea. [Applause on the Republican side.]

General Deficiency Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE E. ADAMS,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, August 22, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. ADAMS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I avail myself of the leave of the House to call attention to certain changes in the alien contract-labor law, made by the pending bill. They will be found on pages 3 and 4. It is there provided that the act referred to shall be so amended—

As to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, in case he shall be satisfied that an immigrant has been allowed to land, contrary to the prohibition of that law, to cause such immigrant, at any time within one year after his landing, as aforesaid, to be taken into custody and returned to the country from whence he came, at the expense of the owner of the importing vessel; or if he entered from an adjoining country, at the expense of the person previously contracting for his services.

This provision is taken almost literally from a letter dated July 16, 1888, addressed to the Speaker of the House by the Secretary of the Treasury, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations. In this letter the Secretary of the Treasury expresses the opinion that the administration of the law has been impeded, first, by the failure of Congress to make an appropriation to pay the expense of carrying the law into effect, and, secondly, by reason of the limited powers conferred by the act itself on the Secretary of the Treasury.

As the law stands—

Says the Secretary—

his jurisdiction in the premises apparently terminates when the landing of the immigrant has been consummated. From information derived from reliable sources, there is reason to believe that it will not infrequently happen that the evidence going to show that the immigrant has come here under a contract to perform labor is inaccessible till it is too late to be of any avail.

When it is considered that many of these immigrant ships entering at the port of New York bring from a thousand to fifteen hundred passengers at a trip, and sometimes enter at the rate of four or five a day, and the question of their right to land must necessarily be determined, in the first instance, in a very brief period of time, the possibility of evading the most rigid examination that can be instituted under such circumstances is not remote. But the subsequent conduct of the immigrant and his employer may furnish strong proof of the contract previous to immigration.

In view of these difficulties the Secretary recommends, first, that $50,000 be appropriated to defray the expense of executing the alien contract-labor law during the next fiscal year; secondly, that the law be so amended as to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, "in case he shall be satisfied that an immigrant has been allowed to land contrary to the prohibition of that law, to cause such immigrant, within a reasonable time, say one year, to be taken into custody and returned to the country from whence he came;" thirdly, that the Secretary be authorized to pay to an informer a share of the penalties recovered for a violation of the law. These three recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury have been embodied in the pending deficiency appropriation bill. My object in calling attention to these provisions of the bill is to say, in the first place, that while I believe there is much force in the reasoning of the Secretary of the Treasury, I do not believe it is necessary or expedient to give to him and his subordinates the power to take into custody an immigrant who has been allowed to remain a year in this country and send him back to the country from whence he came merely because the Secretary is satisfied that before coming here he entered into a contract to perform labor in the United States.

When an immigrant comes to this country in violation of the law he should not be permitted to land. If he succeeds in landing, the Secretary should have the right to take him into custody within a reasonable time and cause his return to the country from whence he came. So far I agree with the Secretary. But what is a reasonable time? How long after his landing ought the immigrant to be subject to this power of arrest? I believe that one year is an unreasonable time. To permit the arrest of an immigrant so long after his landing, because the Secretary is satisfied that prior to his coming he had made a contract, against the public policy of the United States, as declared by the alien contract alien labor law, would, in many cases, be oppressive upon in-

nocent and worthy immigrants, and would not, in my judgment, tend to a uniform and effective execution of the law.

So far as the law imposes penalties upon the employer who induces the immigrant to come, or upon the steam-ship company which brings him, the penalties should be exacted whenever the violation of the law is discovered, even if it is more than a year after it takes place. But so far as the immigrant himself is concerned, if the law requiring his return to his own country can not be exercised within a month, or, at the very furthest, three months after his landing in this country, it had better, on the whole, not be executed at all.

That the Secretary of the Treasury, having the power to prevent an immigrant from landing because he is satisfied that his landing would be illegal, should also have the power to compel him to re-embark when the illegality of the landing is discovered after it has taken place, is a reasonable proposition. It is reasonable, not merely because it is to secure the effective execution of the law, but it is demanded also by a regard for the security and convenience of the immigrant himself. Suppose, for example, the Secretary by his subordinate says to some passenger on an incoming steamer, "You shall not land, because you, being an alien, or foreigner, have, prior to your coming to this country, entered into a contract to perform labor in the United States." Suppose the answer is, "I am not a foreigner, or alien, at all. I am a citizen of the United States. Let me land and send to my home, and I will prove it." What is to be done? Shall he be allowed to land merely because he claims to be a citizen? Shall he be forbidden to land merely because his statement is disbelieved? Suppose he admits that he is a foreigner, but denies that he has prior to embarkation contracted to perform labor in the United States. Suppose he claims that he is a skilled workman, and that he has contracted to perform labor in the United States in or upon some new industry not at present established in the United States, or that the contract which he has entered into was made with a member of his family, or a relative, or a personal friend, with a view to assist him to immigrate to the United States for the purpose of settlement here. If in any one of these cases the answer is true, the law does not apply to him, how shall it be determined whether the answer is true or not? It may be impossible to decide till after he has landed. Yet if he is allowed to land the power of the Government over him, so far as it is conferred by the existing law, as construed by the Secretary, ceases instantly. He can not be compelled to depart even if it instantly appears that his assertion is false.

If to avoid this inconvenience he is kept on shipboard and compelled to depart in the same vessel in which he came, it may sometimes happen that a great wrong has been done to an innocent and worthy man. It is clear, however, that the power to compel an immigrant to depart because before coming here he has entered into a contract against the policy of the United States ought, in justice to the immigrant himself, to be exercised as soon as possible after the landing has occurred. The Government is bound in fairness to exercise a high degree of diligence in ascertaining whether the law has been violated or not. It is not fair to the immigrant to allow him to remain in the country for a year and to take root, as it were, and then compel his departure, not because of any fault he has committed in this country, but because before coming here he has made a contract against the policy of the United States. In that period of one year he may have formed ties which it would be hard to break. He may have acquired property; he may have married.

We should remember, in the first place, that in order to bring him within the reach of the law it need not appear that he has violated the law willfully. He may have made a contract in ignorance of the law or through a misunderstanding of its applications.

In the second place, we should remember that the act of entering into a contract abroad to perform labor in the United States is not of itself, on the part of the immigrant, an immoral act. It does not imply any degree of moral turpitude. It does not necessarily prove that the immigrant, who has entered into such a contract, is an undesirable immigrant. He may be honest, sober, industrious, frugal, and intelligent. The contract he has entered into may be in itself a fair contract, beneficial rather than injurious, not merely to the parties to it, but to the country. We forbid his landing under such a contract, not because the contract is in itself wrong, but because such contracts are in many cases the instruments of evil to the laboring people of the United States, and we can see no way of preventing the evil except by forbidding such contracts altogether, and forbidding the landing of immigrants who come here in pursuance of them.

Suppose an industrious, sober, intelligent, skilled workman proposes of his own accord and without the assistance of anybody to immigrate from some European country to the United States in order to better his condition, and to make a home for himself and his children. He is a desirable immigrant, in the best sense of the word, whether he brings money with him or lands without a dollar in his pocket. He is a desirable immigrant, even from the point of view of the alien contract labor law.

But now suppose that after he has made all his preparations to come to this country, he happens to meet the agent of an American factory, who discovers the high value of his labor and offers to pay him $4 a day from the time he lands in New York. If he accepts the offer his character instantly changes, from the point of view of the alien contract labor law. He has ceased to be a desirable immigrant. He has become undesirable simply because his desirability as a skilled workman has been discovered and appreciated by an American employer. Yet it is clear that such a man has inflicted no injury upon American labor by the mere making of a contract to work at high wages in the United States. If he had come to this country without any definite prospect of employment, and, upon landing had gone upon the labor market looking for a job, his competition with American workmen likewise looking for a job, would be far more injurious to them than if he had stepped at once into a place already secured for him at high wages, a place suited to his particular kind of skill, which perhaps no one in the United States is so well prepared to fill. Yet just such a man might under the provisions of the alien contract labor law be forbidden to land in the United States, and compelled to return to the country from whence he came.

What I insist on is that as the making of a contract abroad to perform labor in the United States, however injurious the general practice of making such contract may be to the American people, and particularly to the American workingman, does not imply any degree of conscious wrong-doing on the part of the immigrant who enters into it, the law ought not to be executed against him by compelling him to depart after he has been permitted to reside here for a year. Within the year he may have repudiated the contract under which he came. The law allows him to do so. He may have begun to work as a free American workman for an American rate of wages. He may have married and bought a home. To give the Secretary of the Treasury the power to arrest such a man without trial and send him out of the country, not because of any fault he has committed here, but merely because the Secretary is satisfied that before coming to this country he entered into a contract, not immoral in itself, but only contrary to the public policy of the United States—a contract, too, which he may have repudiated the day he landed here—would be so harsh a measure that it would defeat its object and render the law odious. It would, moreover, tend to make it harder to secure evidence by which to convict those whom, far more than the immigrant himself, we ought to regard as the real offenders against the law.

The illustration I have given shows that the alien contract-labor law does not uniformly and exactly reach the evil it was intended to reach. The evil is forced or stimulated immigration, by which the supply of labor is rapidly increased in excess of the demand for labor at American rates of wages, to the injury of American workingmen and workingwomen. The framers of the law undoubtedly supposed, and had a good reason to suppose, that the main cause of this difficulty—stimulated immigration—was to be found in the desire of American employers to employ labor in the United States at European rates of wages. For this purpose gangs of foreign workmen were imported under contract. Many of them spoke a language unfamiliar to the native or foreign-born citizen of the United States. They lived in colonies by themselves, either in the great cities or in the mining districts of the country. They were out of the reach of American influences which would tend to raise their standard of living and their rate of wages. The effect of their competition upon the industrial life of this country was to crowd the labor market, reduce the wages of American workingmen and workingwomen, and thus, indirectly, to lower their standard of living.

That this was an evil and a danger, was recognized not only by the workingmen of this country, but by all others who are concerned for the moral, social, and industrial development of the American people.

The theory of the alien contract-labor law was this: The free and unassisted immigrant comes to this country to make a home here and to become a part of the American people. He soon learns to adopt the American way of living and to charge an American wage for his work. If he produces American goods for other workmen to consume he also consumes American goods which other workmen produce. He is producer and consumer at the same time. The effect of his competition on the wages of other American workmen is comparatively slight. But if his coming to this country has been artificially encouraged in the way I have indicated; if he is imported by a coal company, for example, merely to serve as a cheap industrial machine, and is sedulously kept apart from influences which would tend to raise his standard of living, and consequently his desire to demand American wages for his work, he is no more a consumer, in the American sense of the term, than any other labor-saving machine. He remains a foreign element in the industrial population of the United States, and the effect of his competition on the wages of American workingmen in general is far more severe.

It now appears from the investigations of the Congressional committee in session in New York, that there are many cases of artificially stimulated immigration, which the law does not reach at all. Immigration, for example, that is induced by the false representations of the agents of steam-ship companies, whose only interest lies in the commissions they make on the tickets they sell, is just as injurious to the laboring men of this country as if it were due to the greed of American employers. Yet artificially stimulated immigration of this sort does not come within the reach of the alien contract labor law at all. It is difficult to see

how a law can be framed which will meet all such cases. The best we can do now is to await the report of the Congressional committee now investigating the subject in the city of New York.

It is worth nothing, that while the Secretary of the Treasury complains that he can not effectively execute the alien contract labor law, because by the terms of that law his power to compel the return of an illegal immigrant ceases the moment the illegal immigrant has set his foot on shore, he fails to notice that he is in precisely the same predicament under the act of 1882, forbidding the landing of idiots, lunatics, convicts, and persons unable to support themselves without becoming a charge upon the public. The section of the alien contract labor law giving the Secretary power to compel the return of illegal immigrants to the country from whence they came is copied almost literally from the act of 1882. If the power of the Secretary ceases with the landing of the immigrant in the one case, it ceases also in the other. If it is difficult to determine on shipboard whether a certain passenger is prohibited from landing by the one statute, it is also difficult to determine whether he is prohibited by the other. The power of the Secretary ought to be enlarged under both statutes, not merely to secure the more effective execution of the spirit of the laws, but also for the security and comfort of the immigrants themselves. They ought in both cases to be allowed to land if it is necessary in order to determine whether they come within the prohibition of the law or not.

I have already shown why I think the period of one year after the landing of the immigrant is unreasonably long for the Secretary of the Treasury to exercise the power of arresting and sending him out of the country for a violation of the alien contract law. The reasons given do not apply to the statute of 1882. That statute forbids the landing of convicts, idiots, lunatics, or persons unable to support themselves without becoming a charge upon the public. These classes of immigrants should not only not be permitted to land, but when they have landed, before their character is discovered, they should be taken in custody whenever and wherever they may be found and sent back to the country which is properly chargeable with their support. Any administration is grossly derelict in its duty which does not make strong and persistent reclamation against any foreign power which unloads upon us the expense of supporting its idiots, lunatics, paupers, or convicts, or suffers it to be done by any municipality subject to its jurisdiction.

There is another class of foreigners whom in the interest of all the good people of the United States, whether native or foreign born, we ought to prevent from coming here so far as we can, and send out of the country when their real character becomes apparent only after they have landed. The professional revolutionist who comes here to advocate a reform of society by means of dynamite is the most undesirable of all immigrants. Any man who, in this free country, advocates or encourages the illegal use of force as a means of reforming the social, political, or industrial institutions of this country, is a public nuisance and a public burden, whether he be native or foreign born, naturalized or unnaturalized. If he is a citizen of the United States, we can not get rid of him by sending him to some other country any more than we can get rid of our own convicts, idiots, or lunatics in the same way. But if he is a citizen of another country and comes here to make a living by teaching his doctrine of confusion, there is no reason in the world why we should knowingly permit him to land. Nor is there any reason in the world why we should suffer him to remain here, if, after landing in this country, he makes his character and purpose known.

We can tolerate in this country the largest liberty of speech. We can and should allow peaceable agitators in favor of the most radical changes in our fundamental laws. But when a man abandons the legitimate weapons of reform, which are to be found in free discussion and an appeal to the ballot, and encourages murder as a means of effecting a change in the laws, we have the same right and the same duty to send him out of the country that we have to sent out an idiot, a lunatic, or a convict; and the sooner we exercise the right the better. We have the same right to send out of the country a citizen of some other country, whose presence here is deemed to be injurious to us, that we have to prevent him from landing here. Over three hundred persons, it is said, were forbidden to land in this country during the last year We have the same right to send home a citizen of another country for the sake of our own welfare that we have to send him home under our extradition laws at the request of his own government. This power of extradition we have exercised almost from the foundation of the Republic. If, under our extradition laws, we send abroad a man who has been a law-abiding man ever since he came to this country merely because he is alleged to have committed a crime in his own country before he came here, why should we not send him home to his own country when we discover that by reason of mental, physical, or moral defects his presence here is a burden and a menace to ourselves?

Another thing. The power to send a man out of the country, as well as the power to prevent a man from landing in this country, is a large power, and the exercise of it should be carefully regulated by law. If it is exercised under the immediate supervision of the President, there will be no danger of abuse. But when it is exercised by a subordinate official of the Treasury Department, it seems to me that the person to be affected by it, whether he has been in this country a year, a week, or a day, or has not yet even landed from an immigrant vessel, should have some simple and inexpensive way open to him by which he can prove that his case does not come within the provisions of the law. When we arrest a man for the purpose of sending him abroad under our extradition laws, we first take him before a Federal judge in order to show that there is reasonable cause for his arrest. It is a humane proceeding, intended for the security of the person under arrest. It seems to me that the same consideration ought to be shown to every immigrant on an incoming steamer who is charged with having come here in violation of the law.

Mr. Chairman, when the committee of this House, now in session in New York, shall have completed its labors, I trust it will enable us to do something more than merely secure a more efficient administration of the existing law. I trust we shall see our way clear to make some change in the scope of the law itself. Our object should be not to restrict the free and voluntary immigration of law-abiding and industrious men and women from Europe, however poor they may be when they land here. What we want to do is, to check the artificial or stimulated immigration, whether brought here under contract or by the false representations of ticket agents, or by any other cause, which has filled the city of New York and some of the mining districts of the country with crowds of laboring men, ill-paid or unemployed.

Secondly, we ought to enlarge the powers of the Secretary of the Treasury, not merely under the alien contract labor law, but also under the act of 1882 relating to idiots, lunatics, convicts, and persons unable to support themselves without becoming a charge upon the public, in order that the Secretary may decide the question of the legality or illegality of the coming of any particular person, after, as well as before, he has landed from the vessel.

Thirdly, I hope the committee will suggest some simple way in which, in case of a dispute as to the facts or the law, the question whether the immigration of a particular person is legal or illegal can, without expense to him, be submitted to the nearest Federal judge or to some other proper tribunal. And the same provision should be made for the case of every person who, after landing here, is taken in custody for the purpose of sending him back to his own country.

Fourthly, the Government should strongly and persistently remonstrate with every foreign government which permits its municipalities to send idiots, lunatics, or other dependent persons to this country to avoid the expense of maintaining them. Our consuls abroad should be required to investigate and report such cases, and ample appropriations should be made for this and all other purposes connected with the execution of the two statutes to which I have referred. I do not know that any appropriation has ever been made to carry into effect the alien contract labor law, except an appropriation contained in the amendatory act of February 23, 1887, for the then remaining four months of the fiscal year 1887. Probably no appropriation would have been made for the fiscal year 1889 had it not occurred to the Secretary of the Treasury to write his letter to the Speaker, dated July 16, 1888, after the committee of investigation, now in session in New York, had been appointed.

Mr. Chairman, I trust that the important question of the prevention of artificial or stimulated immigration will not be obscured by attempting, as some have proposed, to change our naturalization laws. The existing laws on this subject should be more carefully executed. No judge ought to admit a man to become a citizen of the United States until he has at least endeavored to ascertain, as the law requires him to do, whether the applicant during the five years of his residence in this country has—

Behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

The purpose and meaning of the existing law should be more effectively carried out; that is all. To require a longer residence than five years before a foreigner can be admitted to the full rights of citizenship seems to me unnecessary and illogical. Our naturalization laws were enacted more than eighty years ago. At that time very few of our immigrants came, or could be expected to come, from a country where the people had any voice in the administration of the public affairs. It was then deemed necessary that a man coming here to make his home should reside here for five years before becoming a citizen of the United States, in order that he might in that interval become accustomed to the government of the people by the people.

Since that time what a change has taken place. The cause of popuular government has made giant strides. Revolution after revolution has swept over Europe. To-day an immigrant coming to the United States from Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, comes from a country where, even under the monarchial form of government, the people have a large share in molding and guiding public policy. The immigrant who comes from any one of these countries has learned long before his arrival here not only to discuss public questions, but to understand his own responsibility as a citizen. If the immigrant of eighty years ago, when popular government was almost unknown outside of the United States, was believed to be capable of becoming in five years a good citizen of this Republic, it is hard to see

why the European immigrant of to-day requires a longer period of probation.

One thing more. This great problem, how to exclude all forms of unnatural or unwholesome immigration without interfering with the wholesome, natural, and free immigration, which has done so much for this country during the last fifty years, ought not to be obscured or prejudiced by any feeling between the native and the foreign born American. Any one who tries to excite race prejudice in the native against the foreign-born American is just as unpatriotic as the man who excites the same race prejudice in the foreign-born against the native. The great problem which we have before us is as important to the American citizen who was naturalized yesterday as it is to the man whose ancestors came over in the Mayflower. Both are interested for themselves and for their children to the same extent and in precisely the same way. Both are interested in seeing to it that the immigrants who come to us hereafter shall come from the industrious, law-abiding, intelligent element of the population of Europe, whom the governments of Europe are as unwilling to part with as we are glad to receive them, rather than from the idiots, the lunatics, and the criminals, whom the municipalities and charitable societies of the Old World are glad to send here, not for our good, but for their own. Immigration from Europe to the United States should be for the benefit of the United States, and not for the benefit of Europe.

In this sense of the phrase, we are all interested, native and foreign born alike, in preserving America for Americans.

The Arid Regions of the Territories and the Mississippi River.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, September 1, 1888.

The House having under consideration the sundry civil appropriation bill—

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I think this is in many respects the most important item in the present bill. I presume that two of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in America are two connected with this enterprise—the proper treatment of the Mississippi River and the irrigation of the arid lands in the Territories. And curiously enough, these two problems are probably solvable by the means pointed out in this amendment of the Senate to which I have offered this additional amendment.

I take it for granted that if any human being could stand upon the banks of the Mississippi to-day and furnish a solution of the problem of the Mississippi River he would be one of the greatest benefactors America ever had. The millions of dollars which we have poured into that stream, and which year by year we pour into it—apparently only to be washed off in the next flood—indicate the value of the solution of the problem which that river presents to science. On the other hand, if the arid regions of the Territories can be made tillable, if a fair proportion of the 1,200,000 square miles which practically are incapable of tillage can be made arable, we add an immense empire to the agricultural resources of America.

It seems to be possible, Mr. Speaker—I will not say more than that—it seems to be possible that the solution of both these questions is in the scientific survey of the waters of the Rocky Mountains and the utilization of those waters after that survey to the irrigation of those arid regions, by which these waters, which defy as yet our efforts to control them in the Mississippi, may be diverted from ruin to fruitfulness by means of canals in irrigating the arid regions of the Territories.

It seems to be a simple proposition. The only element in it which prompts us to take it up reluctantly is the possible amount of money necessary to carry it out successfully. How much money will be required is a question incapable of answer until the experiment is more fully made by an accurate survey of that country. For myself, Mr. Speaker, I desired only to call the attention of the House to this matter. I desired only that the House might seriously take it up. Wishing to be perfectly candid, I say that this appropriation is solely for information, and may not be all that will hereafter be required. How much more may hereafter be necessary I do not know. This much is for the purpose of beginning the surveys which the House has heretofore ordered. I hold in my hand the joint resolution passed by Congress and approved March 20, 1888, ordering this survey to be made. Congress has already deliberately determined that it shall be done. The present proposition simply furnishes the necessary means for carrying out the order of Congress. The joint resolution to which I refer is the following:

Joint resolution directing the Secretary of the Interior by means of the Director of the Geological Survey to investigate the practicability of constructing reservoirs for the storage of water in the arid region of the United States, and to report to Congress.

Whereas a large portion of the unoccupied public lands of the United States is located within what is known as the arid region and now utilized only for grazing purposes, but much of which, by means of irrigation, may be rendered as fertile and productive as any land in the world, capable of supporting a large population, thereby adding to the national wealth and prosperity;

Whereas all the water flowing during the summer months in many of the streams of the Rocky Mountains, upon which chiefly the husbandman of the plains and the mountain valleys chiefly depends for moisture for his crops, has been appropriated and is used for the irrigation of lands contiguous thereto, whereby a comparatively small area has been reclaimed; and

Whereas there are many natural depressions near the sources and along the courses of these streams which may be converted into reservoirs for the storage of the surplus water which during the winter and spring seasons flows through the streams, from which reservoirs the water there stored can be drawn and conducted through properly constructed canals at the proper season, thus bringing large areas of land into cultivation, and making desirable much of the public land for which there is now no demand: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior, by means of the Director of the Geological Survey, be, and he is hereby, directed to make an examination of that portion of the arid regions of the United States where agriculture is carried on by means of irrigation, as to the natural advantages for the storage of water for irrigating purposes, with the practicability of constructing reservoirs, together with the capacity of the streams and the cost of construction and capacity of reservoirs, and such other facts as bear on the question of storage of water for irrigating purposes; and that he be further directed to report to Congress as soon as practicable the result of such investigation.

Approved March 20, 1888.

It would be mere child's play for Congress to pass this resolution without going one step further and furnishing the means for the purpose of carrying it into effect.

Mr. Speaker, this work will be done some day. It is as absolutely certain that those 1,200,000 square miles will, by the enterprise of the American people, be turned into fruitful farms, as that we legislate to-day. The simple question may be whether the vast advantages of this work shall accrue to private speculation, or whether by the common money of the country we shall add that empire to the common heritage of our children.

It may be a conquest by the American people with an expenditure that, scattered over years, can be but very small, of an empire which, when conquered, will be worth many, many fold the amount of money that will be expended upon it. It may, therefore, be hereafter a question not as to whether it shall be done, but whether we shall do it for homesteads, for those who come to seek homes with us, and for our children, and for those who are crowding our cities, now already in many instances too much crowded, or whether it shall be done by means of some private enterprise by which those who go into it will gain the vast pecuniary benefit which will be derived from its successful prosecution. For, Mr. Speaker, it is no new problem. Egypt has preserved the fertility of her delta for five thousand years by means of this same plan of irrigation. It is an old problem which simply requires scientific survey and research to determine how best it may be carried into execution.

On the other hand, if it is done, it may be that the people who live on the Mississippi River have as great an intrest in it in the reclamation of their own lands from overflow as those who will hereafter live in the vast arid regions, for in the reclamation of these immense deserts we will be able to provide for multitudes of people.

I do not care, sir, to trespass further upon the time of the House, but yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX], reserving the remainder of my time.

Mr. SYMES. It was understood that I was to speak next on this question, and that the gentleman from New York was to follow with the time yielded to him by the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. MORGAN. Will the gentleman from Kentucky permit me before he takes his seat to ask him a question?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly.

Mr. MORGAN. Has the gentleman given any thought to that portion of this suggestion by which you can with any degree of certainty determine the protection that will be afforded to the Mississippi River from overflow by this plan?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I know but little of it. In fact, I know only what has been stated in the papers and in the testimony which has from time to time been obtained upon this subject.

It has long been believed by certain scientists who have investigated the Northwest configuration of our country that one of the causes of the floods in the Mississippi is the water that comes down the Missouri River, and that the peculiar effect of these freshets in their destructive work on the banks of the Mississippi is caused by the sediment brought down the Missouri. One of the results of taking the water from the streams that issue from the Rocky Mountains and diverting them by first leading them in reservoirs and then distributing them through canals for irrigation purposes will be to take away from the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers so much of the water as is thus diverted.

Mr. MORGAN. What is to become of the immense body of water that falls in the water-shed east of the Rocky Mountains?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Of course no provision can be made to meet all of the primary causes which operate to increase the flow of the Missouri River.

Mr. HERBERT. Does the gentleman from Kentucky not know that there is a larger volume of water comes down from the Ohio River than the Missouri, and enters the Mississippi proper?

Mr. WEAVER. Oh, that is a mistake.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. All the waters that do not go into the Missouri can not, of course, be diverted from it.

As to the remark of my friend from Alabama, there are two answers. In the first place, that the statement he makes is, in my judgment, incorrect.

Mr. HERBERT. Well, I had the testimony of Major Powell himself, in whose brain this scheme originated.

Mr. WISE. It is certainly a mistake, whoever made it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. In the first place, I repeat, it is not correct that the waters of the Ohio are equal to the Missouri in volume during the floods in that river.

Mr. HERBERT. He said the volume of water is much greater.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I will not dispute the gentleman's statement that Mr. Powell said so, because I do not know. Major Powell has done a great deal of writing and talking during his lifetime, much of which I have not heard or read; but if he said that, and I use the expression with the greatest deference, I am satisfied he has made a mistake. It is not possible. No one who is acquainted with the configuration of the American continent would assert that the waters of the Ohio are equal to the waters of the Missouri.

In the second place, if it be true, then there is much more reason to do something with the superabundant waters of the Missouri, in order that they will not be added to the great flow of water entering the Mississippi by way of the Ohio, and thereby both being combined destroy the Mississippi delta.

Mr. WEAVER. That is exactly it.

Mr. HERBERT. If the gentleman will allow me a moment, I find on page 117 of the Senate testimony this question was asked of Major Powell by Mr. HALE:

Does the Ohio River furnish a larger body of water than the Missouri?
Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir; the Ohio furnishes the largest body of water.

Mr. DORSEY. That must have been for the entire year.

Mr. WEAVER. That is unquestionably a mistake.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I would not put my name against Major Powell in denial of his assertion; but I think it must be an error. If not, then, as I said before, it is the greater reason for doing something to prevent the influx of two such enormous volumes of water into the Mississippi.

Mr. HERBERT. It is not a mistake; for the rainfall in the eastern part of our country is far greater than the rainfall above or towards the West. There is a far larger watershed connected with the Ohio, and a larger volume of water comes down that stream than the Missouri.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I desire to put in the RECORD a paragraph from the letter of Major Powell of date March 13, 1888, to the Secretary of the Interior, and contained in Executive Document No. 134:

The development of irrigation along the base of the Rocky Mountains is of double importance because of its influence on the agriculture of the Lower Mississippi. To store up the water of the Missouri and its main affluents for the purpose of irrigation is to diminish the volume of that flood of the Lower Mississippi which is most destructive by reason of its occurring in the heart of the farming season. Moreover, the great difficulty of the problem of the Lower Mississippi arises from the fact that the river normally makes a deposit there, thus clogging its course and giving to its channel an unstable position.

The principal source of the sediment is the Missouri River, and it is carried forward chiefly during flood. With abolition of great Missouri floods the sedimentary load of the Lower Mississippi would be diminished, and the scouring power of the less-loaded floods from the Ohio and the Upper Mississippi would establish for the Lower Mississippi a lower grade and a deeper channel. For every acre reclaimed to agriculture in Montana another acre will be reclaimed in Louisiana; and, in general, all lands redeemed by irrigation on the great plains will be equaled by the lands redeemed from floods in the great valley of the Lower Mississippi.

We have expended, we are expending, millions on the Mississippi River, with what success I do not now discuss. All I meant to submit to the House was that the amendment under consideration had a wider interest than its relation to the arid regions of the Territories, as important as that is, so that it might be understood that we were considering a subject of national importance, and that the inquiry ordered by Congress in the resolution of last March was one which ought to be prosecuted and for which the sum named in the appropriation was not unreasonably large.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. If the gentleman from Colorado will allow me, I would like to yield five minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MORGAN] before he proceeds.

Mr. SYMES. Certainly.

* * * * * * *

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I yielded the time to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MORGAN] understanding that he was in favor of the amendment. The gentleman and I entirely agree that we want information, and the object of the amendment is to get it, but the mode which he desires to adopt to get information is to do nothing, while the mode provided for is to pay competent persons to go and obtain it. The whole object of this appropriation is to provide for investigating the extent of the arid region of the United States to be redeemed by irrigation.

The House on the 12th of March last ordered that this should be done, but it did not furnish the money. This provides the money for the purpose of obtaining that information. I have no doubt that my friend from Mississippi [Mr. MORGAN] and the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands [Mr. HOLMAN] have made inquiry to find out how much of these lands there are, but it is impossible to obtain the information in that way.

Gentlemen can not get it by sitting here in Congress with a thousand other things to do, and looking for it in places where it is not to be found. What we want done, the object of this appropriation, is to obtain for the benefit of Congress, the very information which the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MORGAN] says he wants to have before he acts. I think we ought to have it before we consider any system of irrigation or commit the Government to any action. We ought not even to go into that question until we have the information, and the mode of getting it is to employ persons to go there and make a survey. There is no other practicable mode.

I know, Mr. Speaker, how easy it is to arouse a prejudice by saying that some corporation may be interested in a measure of this kind. But lands can not be stolen permanently. They are there. Make them arable, and secure the water for the owners of the soil, and whoever may have the title at first, they will be owned ultimately by those who till them. The husbandman will buy them. If they be fertile, human sweat will unite with the agencies of nature and cause them to produce abundantly. No man can prevent this. Those lands are worthless as they are, but they can be made fruitful.

I now yield to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SYMES]. I desire to reserve my time, of which I have promised to yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. COX].

Chinese Immigration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. BINGER HERMANN,

OF OREGON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, August 20, 1888,

On the bill (S. 3304) to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States.

Mr. HERMANN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: For the first time in the history of our Government it is proposed to enact a law for the enforcement of the provisions of a treaty not yet consummated by ratification. This unusual departure from all precedents only the more emphasizes the profound public interest in the pending legislation. It illustrates the solicitude of the nation lest any interval of time shall exist after ratification without appropriate legislation in the premises.

So rapidly has the evil of Chinese immigration increased, and so thoroughly has the country become educated to its baneful influence among our people in a social, industrial, moral, and economic view, that now the most radical measures are proposed as a remedy, which, if even suggested thirty years ago, would have been indignantly frowned down by both parties in Congress.

In no section of the nation has this subject been so long or so practically studied as on the Pacific coast. In the one State of California there are more Chinese residents than there are American voters. There is now hardly an industrial pursuit in which they are not engaged. They are found in the factories, the shops, the mills, the canneries, the mines, and as farmers, teamsters, packers, merchants, cooks, and laundrymen. As an imitative race they soon learn the rudiments of the commoner pursuits. As railroad builders they have almost entirely displaced the white laborer on the Pacific. The secret of their employment is not that they possess or acquire any superior skill, or that they are more industrious or perform more labor than the white laborer, for in nearly every respect they are in all these far inferior; but their success in monopolizing the labor field is in their proportionately cheaper labor. Their labor is in the market as a competitor with white labor. So long as this cheaper article is available its utilization by one enterprise compels a rival business to engage the same labor.

As a matter of self-preservation competitors in a business in which this element is found adapted are compelled to seek it. No upbraiding can check it. Eventually the leading trades of the country would have to adjust their affairs on the basis of this cheapest of labor. The supply comes from a most prolific nation, a people numbering 400,000,000. The lowest level in the conflict has not yet been reached, unless it shall be arrested by a vigorous hand. There is no longer any apologist for this element in our midst. Time and experience have developed a sufficient result. There is but one reading. They remove from the community in which they toil the earnings of their labor and

leave but little behind. They contribute nothing to the support of our schools, our churches, or our libraries. While demanding the protection of the municipal law it is only in rare instances they answer to assessments for purposes of revenue to maintain the law; nor do they even form a part of our militia that in time of war they may extend reciprocal aid to the State. As social beings, and as an exception to all other races seeking our shores, they are absolutely alien and exclusive.

Without the domestic influences of home, wife, and children they are also without appreciation for the many virtues which spring from the domestic relations, and which bind so indissolubly the citizen to the State. With them the Asiatic never changes. They do not and can not assimilate with us. There is nothing in common. They have neither our dress, our language, our music, our literature, our religions, our amusements, our arts, our sciences, our business methods, our pride and hope of country, nor our interest in the stability and perpetuity of our institutions and laws. They are parasites on the body politic. The employment furnished sixty thousand Chinese would if given to a like number of white men provide support for three hundred thousand people in families and bless the State with all the advantages which follow an industrious and social community.

In the arena of labor the conflict between the American and the Chinaman resolves itself into one of physical endurance. A Chinese laborer can subsist on 10 cents a day. Their messes are in associations; one cook, one load of fuel, one light, one fire, one set of board tables and benches will answer for fifty. In the matter of rent and house room their economy is equally noticeable. One small room is divided and subdivided into "bunks" from floor to ceiling, each bunk usually containing two sleepers, one small room often being used in this way for thirty occupants. There is no furniture. For food rice and tea will constitute the sole supply for weeks at a time. Their clothing for the entire year will not exceed an average for each person of $5. It is entirely of Chinese fabric and make. Where under such circumstances is there the remotest hope for the survival of American labor against such rigid economy and degradation?

So long as this cheap labor is in our market there will be a temptation to bid for it. Its immediate acceptance by one association, or manufactory, or enterprise disturbs the existing adjustment of business, and the tendency is at once to a leveling of wages on the basis of the new element. However reluctant the competitors in business may be to conform to the new order yet the sharp rivalry for trade and often of existence compels an acquiescence. It is idle to taunt the people of the Pacific States by asking, "Why do you employ Chinese?" Labor, like the product of labor, when in the market will always find those who will prefer to buy the cheaper to that which is the more costly. This is a law as unvariable as that of supply and demand.

So long as self-interest is a controlling motive in individual man, so long it will be a vain hope to expect a realization of that disinterested patriotism of which the inquirer asks. This brings us face to face with the very alternative presented first to the Pacific coast people, and next to the whole people of the nation. After numerous trials under various laws, and with vain results as the end of all, it has become to be almost a unanimous and final conclusion that the only practicable, sure, and satisfactory remedy is in the absolute exclusion of these people from the United States.

ABSOLUTE EXCLUSION IS THE ONLY REMEDY.

The people of our country will be found to be consistent not only in excluding this degraded labor, but in the exclusion also of the products of degraded labor. To exclude the Chinese and at the same time admit their cheap labor productions in competition with American labor in American markets is the creation of a distinction without a difference. In plain language, it is an absurdity.

Keeping in view the labor interests of America alone it were far better the Chinese remained than that our ports should be opened to the free importation of the labor products of China. Cheap as they can manufacture and labor here, cheaper still can they toil in their own land. The result must be that China would become the workshop and the United States the market. We have educated these people to become competitors. The dire effects of such a disaster to the American wage-earner can not be foretold. Happily we have in the patriotism and intelligence of our people a constant assurance against the adoption of so ruinous a policy.

Sir, while in earnest sympathy with the objects of the pending legislation, I must in justice to my own convictions, as well as in deference to the great interests of those most concerned, be permitted to express a profound apprehension as to whether the treaty or the proposed law will accomplish the remedy so vitally necessary and so universally demanded. From recent experience on our Pacific coast our faith in effective legislation upon this subject is much impaired. Laws deemed apparently faultless have proven but legislative make-shifts. Between the interpretation of courts, the crafty evasion of the Mongolian himself, and the ready aid of well-paid allies on the border line and at American ports the law has become more honored in the breach than in the observance. For these reasons we now look less to the manner in which a law is to be enforced than how it may be evaded.

Heretofore Chinese have found an entrance into our nation chiefly through the port of San Francisco, and the bill before us is eulogized almost exclusively because of its safeguards against immigration to the United States through its leading ports. This far it may prove highly efficient. But to my mind it falls far short of answering the purposes designed in other respects. There are other avenues into the United States than through its ports or on its coasts. We are reminded that to the north of us we have for thousands of miles the border line of British Columbia and Canada. On the south of us we are confronted by the Mexican line. Across these imaginary lines dwell two distinct foreign nationalities, and each without restriction to Chinese immigration and admission.

Wherein, let me ask, does the present measure afford any reasonable guaranty in restriction of immigration through these wide, easy, unguarded, and well-concealed approaches? We have no treaty obligations with these countries to aid us in our restriction. From Hong-Kong, a British port in Asia, to Victoria, Vancouver, and other British ports in North America, or to Mexico or South or Central America the Chinese can come. With every precaution under existing laws and in the face of every effort we have failed so far to arrest the incursions already effected over the border lines of the neighboring territory. Well-known routes are established by trails and by water ways along which they come. When once here they mingle and merge with and become an unrecognizable portion of the "former residents."

Who is to distinguish them? How shall they be distinguished? They are all alike. If perchance one shall occasionally be detected he at once becomes the so-called "student," "merchant," "teacher," and "traveler," and claims exemption under the treaty. When not molested he is the "laborer." Who is to perform the ungracious task of apprehending these contraband Chinamen? Who is to travel through the mines, among the factories, in the orchards, the vineyards, the harvest fields, the laundries, the kitchens, the mills, and along the railways to trace out and arrest the forbidden arrivals across the border? Who is to provide the funds? When adjudged to be unlawfully here, who supplies the means to remove him to China? No appropriation is even anticipated in the proposed law. How shall restriction restrict without these essential aids?

In proof of the modes of ingress to which reference is made, I shall submit the following official communication from the United States consul at Victoria, British Columbia, addressed to the State Department of this Government in regard to the increased immigration of Chinese through British Columbia into the United States:

DEAR SIR: Referring to my dispatch 308, of date December 24, 1887, concerning Chinese and opium, the situation with regard to the arrival of Chinese in this province is so greatly changed since the writing of that dispatch, notably so within the last six weeks, that I have thought proper to report briefly upon the subject. Two thousand eight hundred and fifty-four Chinese have arrived at Vancouver on the steam-ships that are running from the Orient in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, as follows: Per steam-ship Abyssinia, May 10, 1888, 471 Chinese; per steam-ship Zambesi, June 6, 776 Chinese; per steam-ship Batavia, June 10, 674 Chinese; per steam-ship Port Adelaide, June 30, 613 Chinese; per steam-ship Parthia, July 8, 960 Chinese. Total, 2,584 Chinese. Their objective point is mainly San Francisco, and they for the most part are provided with return certificates of the customs authorities of the United States, many of which prove fraudulent. The crossing from and near this point is also renewed with vigor. A small sloop was reported to-day at the consulate as having left last evening with seventeen Chinese aboard bound for the opposite shore.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT J. STEVENS, *Consul.*

Hon. GEORGE L. RIVES,
Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

I make no comment as to what I conceive to be the defects of the treaty, as well as the law in other particulars, especially as to transit facilities, with the slender check provided in the visé of our consuls.

A fair sample of the public disapproval of these provisions of the treaty is found in the concluding portion of an editorial in a leading San Francisco journal, which I quote:

The fisheries treaty, which has already been cut to pieces in the Senate, was wise diplomacy in comparison with the Chinese treaty. The latter is, in fact, the most outrageous sell-out of the present Administration. It may be regarded as a treaty to facilitate Chinese immigration. Under it this country will be flooded with Chinese. Every cooly now ashore can be duplicated as often as he departs, while new hordes can be introduced by the transit privilege. Improvised traders, students, teachers, and travelers can be brought on the scene when everything else fails. There will be no check on the latter but the visé of our consuls, and what sort of a check that will be everybody knows. If this treaty had been considered in open Senate, like the fisheries treaty, it would have been defeated.

Without the amendments insisted upon by the Senate the treaty would have been utterly indefensible. It is by this amendment made more acceptable in preventing the return of those absent from this country who claim to be prior residents, excepting certain classes; and further, as to the cancellation of all certificates outstanding.

NOT A PARTISAN QUESTION.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is to be profoundly regretted, as is apparent in these debates, that partisan politics should be invoked in grave deliberation of a subject which so vitally concerns the bread-winners of America. It is a matter which rises above and beyond party policies. All parties agree upon some heroic remedy whereby to protect the United States from these Mongolian inroads.

There is but one platform upon this policy, and all stand pledged to its faithful observance. The time has come for unity and for concert of action. The necessity of the hour demands it, and no party dare

ignore it. We can not afford to invite dissension among us, for this produces delay, and delay only aggravates the evil.

My good friend from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], usually so fair, so candid, and so accurate, in this instance, however, departs from his usual course to arouse a partisan strife by impeaching the present good faith and motives as well as the past record of the Republican party in its treatment of this Chinese subject. In his speech he says:

The Democratic party and its representatives were not so tender of the feelings of the Chinese Government that they were willing to longer endure this abomination.

Further on he says that the Republican party—

Was in favor of conferring greater rights and privileges upon the Chinese.

By this assertion he unconsciously not only discloses the rancor of the partisan, but a lack of candor as well as a reckless disregard of history. Only the blinding excitement of the campaign and the approaching wreck of the party in power, now so inevitable to him, could possibly tempt him to deviate from his lofty and conscientious regard of established fact. Would it not have been more consistent with the record and consistent with candor and a just presentation of the subject to have conceded that at one time all parties were unconscious as to the evils in store for this nation should reciprocity of travel with China be encouraged? Would it not have been fair as well as accurate to have stated that all parties at one time were eager for an international and free intercourse between the two nations?

THE ACTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

While boasting that the Democratic party were not so tender of the feelings of the Chinese Government had he forgotten that on the Pacific coast that same party were the very first to encourage this same Chinese immigration?

In the California Legislature of 1853 the following resolution was introduced in the Democratic State senate:

Whereas California is nearer to the Empire of China than any other State of the Union, and many thousands of Chinese are now residing in California and intermingling with our people in all their employments; and

Whereas a valuable and increasing commerce already exists between California and China, which may hereafter bring great accessions to the wealth of the whole American Union through the ports of California and open the way to a free intercourse with the secluded nations of Asia: Therefore,

Resolved, That in our opinion the public interest would be promoted by the appointment of a citizen of California to the office of "commissioner to China."

Resolved, That the president of the senate be instructed to forward a copy of the above preamble and resolution to the President of the United States.

It passed by the following vote: Ayes 16, nays 3. The whole vote cast was 26, of which 19 were Democrats and 7 were Whigs. It is understood that the present collector of the port of San Francisco was then a member of the State senate and voted aye, with others equally prominent at the present time in the Democratic party. A bill was introduced in that Legislature the year previous to tax Chinamen. This the Democratic majority refused to pass. Then a Whig member offered a bill known as the miners' tax, imposing a head tax on all aliens working mining claims, and there were then twenty-five thousand Chinese already in that State, but it was laid on the table promptly by the same Democratic majority. The record further discloses that in 1856, when there were thirty thousand Chinese in California, there was considerable discontent manifesting itself as to these large arrivals in the mining regions, and the Democratic Legislature of that year appointed a Democratic committee of investigation, and the Democratic report was as follows:

We say the tendency is not toward corruption. We think they have done us no harm.

THE ACTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

When, in 1862, the Republicans for the first time succeeded to control in that State they appreciated the necessity for stringent legislation in order to shut off the immigration of Chinese, which was now becoming immense and fast spreading all over the State. The first Republican governor in his first annual message sounds the warning voice in these words:

Asia, with her immense population, is sending her people here, and I will be glad to co-operate with any movement having for its object the prohibition of Chinese immigration.

This was twenty-six years ago. How was it in the Congress of the United States? One of the first acts of the Republican party was the passage of the bill prohibiting the importation of coolies. It was approved by President Lincoln February 15, 1862. The subsequent legislation in Congress, becoming at each enactment more and more radical as treaties would permit, was the work of the Republican party, and has been commented upon at length by other gentlemen. I shall not repeat what they have so accurately asserted, but shall content myself, with the indulgence of the House, to submit some record of the Republican party in its national conventions and through Republican Presidents.

General Grant, in his message of December 7, 1874, said:

I call the attention of Congress to a generally conceded fact, that the greater proportion of Chinese do not come voluntarily. * * * If this evil practice can be legislated against it will be my pleasure as well as duty to enforce any regulations to secure so desirable an end.

The first declaration ever made by any national party as to Chinese immigration was that proclaimed in June, 1876, by the Republican party in its national platform of that year, as follows:

It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country.

Why were the national Democratic conventions previous to this "so tender of the feelings of the Chinese Government" as that they had nothing to say until the Republican national convention first thundered forth its anathemas upon this curse to America's "moral and material interests?" Does this look as if it was the Republican party that was, as the gentleman from Indiana asserts, "in favor of conferring greater rights and privileges upon the Chinese?" Then, in the next Republican convention, in 1880, the conflict begun by it before was continued in the declarations of its national party platform demanding legislation restricting the immigration of Chinese.

General Garfield, the Republican nominee of this convention, reasserted the sentiments of the platform in his letter of acceptance, wherein he said:

The recent movements of the Chinese to our Pacific coast is too much like an importation to be welcomed without restriction; too much like an invasion to be looked upon without solicitude. We can not consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. It will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt and prevent their increase by such restrictions as without violence or injustice will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

Still later on, the Republican national platform of 1884 again and equally emphatic asserted the party doctrine on this question as follows:

The Republican party having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad, * * * and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration.

And now, in 1888, comes the latest Republican national convention and in its platform again voices the party sentiment, as follows:

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor alien to our civilization and our Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

THE POSITION OF GENERAL HARRISON.

This declaration, it is fair to say, has the approval of all parties, and especially of the Republican nominee, General Harrison, who is in earnest sympathy with its object, and if elected will enforce all laws in harmony with it firmly and without fear or favor. To those illiberal and narrow-brained politicians who insist on representing this distinguished statesman as antagonistic to anti-Chinese legislation that party advantage may accrue to them, let us commend to them the recent declaration from General Harrison over his own hand in his published letter of February 29th last. In reference to Chinese immigration he says:

I think there has been a very general change of sentiment on that subject since. We do not need to ask anybody to come to this country now, as we formerly did, and I think we have a right to preserve our own institutions by exercising a fair election as to who shall come here. I do not like that class of immigration that comes in gangs; that can be driven into pens and on shipboard and hired, not by personal contract, but by bosses, and the Chinese immigration is very much of this sort.

Very truly yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE ACTION.

What the Republican party promises, that it performs. In no part of its illustrous record has this been more truly confirmed than in its conduct in Chinese legislation. Closely following its declaration in convention June 5, 1880, to "limit and restrict" Chinese immigration a joint resolution was passed by Congress authorizing a commission to treat with China that more effective legislation might be practicable. This met the cordial approval of President Hayes, who appointed James B. Angell, John F. Swift, and William H. Trescot, all Republicans, as the commissioners to negotiate for a modification of the Burlingame treaty, and on November 5, 1880, a new treaty was consummated, the portions of which of interest in this discussion being as follows:

ARTICLE I. Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subjected to personal maltreatment or abuse.

ART. II. Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States, shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, and immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

This was the first treaty ever consummated having for its object the exclusion of the Chinese, and it had its origin with the Republican party and was negotiated under a Republican President. Its limitations and demands were fully up to the popular requirement of that time.

In the next term of Congress an act of exclusion was passed. The bill was introduced by General Miller, a Republican Senator from California, and reported favorably by a Republican committee of the Senate, and passed both Houses.

The preamble and first section of this bill as it was passed read as follows:

Whereas in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof: Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of twenty years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

Sections 16 and 17 were as follows:

SEC. 16. That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 17. That the words "Chinese laborers," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.

Other provisions refer to the penalties for violations and for the registration of such Chinese as were entitled to enter or remain here by the act.

The treaty having guarantied that in the regulation as to immigration and residence "the limitation or suspension shall be reasonable," President Arthur deemed the twenty years' suspension as unreasonable in view of the treaty spirit, and therefore he said, "The honor of the country constrains me to return the act with this objection to its passage." The Republicans in the House at once prepared another bill, which obviated the objections by making the limitation ten years, and it was introduced by Mr. Page, a Republican from California, and reported by him favorably from the Republican committee. On April 17 he moved to suspend the rules and pass the bill, which was done. In the Senate it was amended, and afterward concurred in by the House and passed, and was approved by President Arthur. Of the Democrats it is only candor to say that they cordially united in this legislation as they usually do in the end in all Republican legislation, but in this instance they were earlier in moving their camp than is usual for them to do in occupying Republican grounds.

This was the first law in restriction of Chinese immigration. It was introduced by a Republican. It passed the House, which was Republican, and the Senate, which was a tie, and was approved and signed by a Republican President. Had the bill previously introduced in the Senate by General Miller, a Republican, and passed not only there but through the House and vetoed, contained a more "reasonable" limitation, so as to conform to the treaty, it too would have become a law and met executive approval; but Republicans largely, and many Democrats also, conceived it to be in conflict with the treaty, and are recorded against the first passage of the bill with the twenty years' limitation. General HOOKER, then and now a member of this body from Mississippi, and a distinguished Democrat, in his remarks in this debate as to the sentiment then entertained by himself and others on this treaty obligation, says:

I predicted in my place here that the then President of the United States, animated by a desire to maintain our treaty obligation, as he ought to have been, whether he was the President of one party or the President of another party, would insist upon preserving the treaty and would veto the bill of the gentleman from California even if it should pass. The gentleman declined to listen to my word of warning. He passed his bill through the House and through the Senate, and it went to the Executive Mansion, and it was vetoed by the President. In the same session of Congress the very amendment which I had proposed was adopted by the gentleman from California, and the bill so amended passed both Houses of Congress and became a law.

PRESENT LAW AND TREATY INEFFECTUAL.

This legislation suspended all immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. Those who departed in the mean while with intention of returning were given certificates by the collector of customs at port of departure so as to identify them. This was soon found ineffective, as many who were here between the making of the treaty and the law claimed the right to come and go of their own "free will and accord," which right was allowed all those Chinese laborers in the country at the making of the treaty. On appeal to the courts this right was confirmed to them. It also opened a door to the perjurer, who was only too ready to swear himself within the pale of the treaty, and thus whole legions of these people flocked to the United States who were not entitled to come.

It became necessary again to strengthen and repair the law, and it was enacted in 1884 that the certificates should be the only evidence of a right to return to the United States. But again the courts held—this time the Supreme Court—that this law could not affect those resident here between the treaty and the law. Again were the lawmakers foiled. Once more a bill was introduced in Congress in June, 1886, as a further remedy. This provided that where any Chinese laborer had left the United States and remained absent for two years he should be deemed to have elected to remain absent. This bill passed a Republican Senate, but in the Democratic House no legislation was had, and thus this the Fiftieth Congress inherited the present task of perfecting the former defective legislation.

Had the Democratic House of the Forty-ninth Congress moved in harmony with the prompt and quite effective legislation of the Senate much would have been accomplished, and the Chinaman would not be kicked from one party to the other as a most serviceable political football for a Presidential campaign. It must be admitted that at last he serves some purpose. In the meanwhile a treaty during this session of Congress was most tardily negotiated. This was one advance more radical than any previous treaties or laws. It prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers for twenty years, while others only limited it to ten years; but Chinese "teachers, students, merchants, or travelers" may still come without limitation as to time or numbers. A mere certificate from some government where they may reside as to their occupation and visaed by our official representative in that country is all the passport necessary to admit these people into and throughout the United States. This was all. It still allows extravagant rights even to a Chinese laborer. This is the right to travel over our country to and from other countries, and the right, if absent as a prior resident, to return if he has a wife, child, or parent, or property or debts in the United States—the property or debts to amount to $1,000 in value. It is these licenses which will continue to open the door to unlimited immigration and offer a premium to outrageous fraud and perjury.

It is confessedly true that still another treaty or a total abrogation of all treaty to be followed by legislation of absolute and unconditional exclusion will be necessary before the real object and desire of the American people can be accomplished. And even with this radical remedy it is a question with me if still it will not be required that a general deportation be had of all those now here, or if not this then that Mexico and the Canadian Dominion be invited to co-operate with the United States in stringent measures of exclusion in order that the border line north and south be made more secure against what will soon be broad avenues for wholesale transit into our country. If China will not consent to co-operate by treaty, then it will become necessary, as it is our right, to terminate so much of existing treaties as now interfere with legislation to this end. This right is inherent in every government, and the time will be soon, if not now at hand, when its prompt exercise should be invoked.

Our deliberations should be untrammeled by partisan considerations. The great object in view will not admit of party difference. It rises paramount to party and appeals to the patriotic regard of every citizen throughout our broad land. The results of this legislation concern the great future infinitely more than the present. The rapid and marvelous increase of American population admonishes us to look with suspicious care to the character of the foreign element hereafter seeking a place in the roll of citizenship. Already we number sixty millions of people, and the child is now born who is to behold this nation with a population of 150,000,000. How very essential, then, that we should prepare now for the future conditions with which another generation must contend.

We owe it to ourselves not less than to the unborn millions who will succeed us that our legislation shall all tend to guard well the approaches to our temple of liberty against the vandal tread of the commune and the commorant, the enemies to free government, and the purity of our social system.

The Tariff—Free Quinine.

REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. SPRINGER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 14, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. SPRINGER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have received numerous letters requesting information on the condition of the quinine industry since that article was placed on the free-list. In order to answer such inquiries fully and satifactorily, I requested Mr. John W. Springer, who is well informed upon such matters, to thoroughly investigate the whole subject and prepare an article thereon for publication. He gave the matter a very careful consideration, as will be seen by reading his article, which I ask leave to print in the RECORD.

FREE QUININE.

Quinine is perhaps the most indispensable medicine in this country, and is universally used. Its price affects its consumption. If the price is high, the poor can not buy what they really need, their suffering will be unrelieved, and even death in many malarial districts may ensue. Much has recently been written upon this subject to prove that the taking off of the duty of 20 per cent. on imported quinine in 1879 has resulted in ruining this industry, in closing the factories, and in throwing many laborers out of employment, and that no benefit to the consumer of this article has resulted. The facts in the case are just the opposite from the statements sent broadcast over the country by the

Republican campaign committee at the instance of the quinine monopolists. In 1823 the price of quinine was $20 per ounce, in 1888 only 50 cents. What has brought about this great reduction in price to the consumer?

As is well know quinine is manufactured from cinchona bark, which, until 1870, was all obtained from the mountain forests of South America. England and Holland seeing the increasing demand for quinine, planted forests of the cinchona tree in India and Java, and since 1870 these three countries have supplied bark for the quinine markets of the world, of which London is the certer.

From the most reliable information obtainable, there are about sixteen quinine manufactories in the world, of which number six are in the United States. Two of these—Powers & Weightman, and Rosengarten & Sons—both being in Philadelphia, monopolized the market before 1879, and have kept it well in hand ever since, and failed only in one point, and that was in keeping up the price.

At the request of the writer, Mr. Switzler, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, addressed a letter to each of the above firms, and also to half a dozen other firms, asking for information on this subject. Five have responded. Rosengarten's (1888) "Quinine Protection Tract" contains a table of prices which by computation shows that from 1823 to and including 1879, a period of fifty-seven years, the highest average price of quinine was $3.38 per ounce in the United States. It also reveals the fact that from 1879, when quinine was put on the free-list, to 1888, the highest average price has been $1.74, the lowest $1.20 per ounce, while the ruling price at present is only 50 cents per ounce. In addition to the "tract" just mentioned, one was received from Powers & Weightman, dated December 20, 1887; one from McKesson & Robbins, dated March 1, 1888; one from the Iron and Steel Association, and several others not necessary to mention.

How do these manufacturers and protectionists explain this great drop in the price of quinine? These "tracts" all agree on an answer and that is "the lowering of the prices of cinchona bark brought about by the large supplies from India and Java." These interested witnesses further agree that the taking off of the duty of 20 per cent. had nothing to do with lowering prices of quinine, and they argue that to so hold, would subject the "assertion to ridicule," is "simply an absurdity," and "would expose the ignorance or the malicious falsehood of the utterance."

If taking off the duty on quinine in 1879, and the consequent breaking of the "corner" had nothing to do with this fall in prices, why was the market not overstocked with bark between 1870 and 1880 when the source of supply was the same and when quinine went as high as $4.50 per ounce and averaged in price over $3 per ounce to and including 1879? If the duty had nothing to do with maintaining high prices by "cornering the market and preventing competition," why has the average price of quinine ever since 1879 been less than $1.50 per ounce, while the present price is only 50 cents? When I assert that the repeal of the duty on quinine in 1879 was directly the cause of breaking the "quinine trust" in the interest of the consumers of this country I state a fact that any man free from prejudice will readily admit.

When the McKenzie bill for free quinine was introduced in Congress in 1879 there was a great outcry against it from the protectionists and a vigorous protest "from the quinine manufacturers" (the same men who are still protesting), declaring that if the bill should pass they would have to quit business at once, that their employés would be turned out to starve, and that the price of quinine would rise instead of fall. They asserted that if the bill should pass it would have the effect to immediately close their factories, and that thereupon the foreigners would at once put up prices of quinine, and our consumers would then be at the mercy of the "pauper quinine" of Europe. It was the same old story which we hear so frequently to-day, even in the face of the facts. The chain of protection is no stronger than its weakest link, and the quinine link being broken, the whole system is liable to destruction.

Congressman BINGHAM said on the floor of the House, on June 30, 1879, "This bill to put quinine on the free-list ought not to pass"—would ruin an infant industry. Mr. KELLEY and Mr. BAYNE agreed with him; so did Mr. BURROWS, of Michigan. The Democratic members all supported the McKenzie bill, and it was passed by a vote of 125 to 33—not voting 128. Of those in favor of the bill 100 were Democrats, while every one of the 33 votes against were Republicans, save one Democrat, who was paired with a Republican, but voted "no" to make a quorum. It went to the Senate, and was vigorously opposed by Senator MORRILL, of Vermont, a Republican, who said:

They (the quinine manufacturers) import annually 5,000,000 pounds of bark, and have large quantities on hand, and will be deprived of any power of profitably using it, for they will be compelled to stop the manufacture of quinine. They will be closed at once, although the duty is but 20 per cent. on the article. My judgment is the repeal of the duty upon quinine will not result in giving the American consumer any lower-priced article for any length of time, and that in the end we shall have to pay even higher prices. * * * When you get up the cry of "mad dog" the dog is sure to die. I am very sure that the result desired will not follow, and that within two years from now, or one year from now, the price of quinine will be higher than it has been heretofore unless the demand shall subside.

Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, also said in the debate:

It is represented to us that 25 per cent. is the lowest rate at which the manufacture can possibly be maintained.

Such was the opinion of the leading Republicans of both Houses at that time. Quinine was then $4 per ounce. Senator MORRILL predicted that it would immediately be higher. What can this distinguished Senator say to-day when the people get quinine at 50 cents per ounce? This is a fair sample of similar prophecies in the Fiftieth Congress against the passage of the Mills bill.

The quinine petitioners added their testimony to the prophecy of Senator MORRILL, as follows:

Will the consumer be benefited? We assert, most emphatically, he will not. Prices will fluctuate; average rates will be as high or higher than they have been during the existence of the protective tariff, but even should the wholesale price be as low as now at times, a consumer using it in small quantities will get no benefit from it. In whose interest, then, is the duty to be reduced?

They further ask in their petition:

Why should objection be made to a duty of 20 per cent.? Why should the chemical industry be singled out to be ruined?

Notwithstanding protests, remonstrances, and predictions the bill became a law, and quinine has fallen from $3.60 to 50 cents per ounce, the three factories of 1879 are still manufacturing quinine, together with three other new firms, one of which is the New York Quinine and Chemical Company. These firms employ as many hands, and more than they ever did, and pay undoubtedly as high wages as heretofore. Although Mr. Powers, sr., died not long since, six or seven times a millionaire, the business still goes on, but not at the old stand, as that burned down, and a larger and more costly establishment was immediately erected to meet the demands of the large increase in the chemical industry.

The Republican Tariff Commission in 1882 was appealed to by the quinine manufacturers, who "testified together" and "worked together" for protection for quinine, but the commission decided that there was no necessity for restoring the duty.

Mr. Alexander H. Jones, of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association of the United States, testified before the commission as follows:

We are as much entitled to a fair share of the accepted policy of the Government as are any other manufacturers.

And again:

We are no infant industry, but no matter how long it has existed, unless everything is equalized we want protection, but we do not want to be classed in the same schedule with bladders, peanuts, and corsets.

Mr. John D. Dix, representing the drug and chemical trade, testified:

The majority of work done in chemical factories is done by unskilled labor. I do not think there is one-third of five hundred men all told employed in manufacturing of quinine in this country, and not $150,000 invested in all the five factories in operation now (1882). I believe that there is no business in the world that could so well afford to have its profits cut down as this.

The evidence of the quinine manufacturers before the commission was to the effect that they were losing money, but upon a cross-examination it was finally conceded that they had managed to run their factories at a profit, but not a substantial profit. What a substantial profit is may be inferred when it is stated that since 1878 quinine has fallen in price from $4.50 to 50 cents an ounce.

In the great tariff debate of 1888 in Congress on the Mills bill Mr. ATKINSON, of Pennsylvania, a Republican, said:

The United States deserves no credit for the reduction in the price of this important drug, and anybody that claims that putting quinine on the free-list made the great reduction in price falls into a great error. The duty should never have been removed. It does the consumer no good. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that when a man is sick, good medicine, and not cheap medicine, is what he wants.

To this speech he attached the circular of Powers & Weightman as a part of his argument. Mr. Rosengarten was more radical in his answers to the commission, and insisted upon calling things by their right names.

Of course—

Said he—

a duty makes quinine higher, for if it don't, what do you have it for?

And further—

The great object is to get bark down and prices up.

In 1870 the quinine manufacturers came to Congress and got the duty of 20 per cent. on cinchona bark removed, the duty on quinine being 45 per cent., a prohibitory duty. With free bark the importations of this bark doubled, and has continued to increase, proving what free raw materials will do for any business. The duty on quinine was reduced in 1872 to 20 per cent., and quinine was put on the free-list July 1, 1879.

Since 1879, when the duty was taken off of quinine, the consumption has more than doubled in quantity, while the price is only one-seventh what it was in 1879. Then (for three years prior to 1879) the consumer paid an average of $3.90 per ounce, while for the last three years the average price has only been 65 cents per ounce. These figures clearly show that the saving to the consumers of quinine in this country since 1879 has been over $50,000,000. In the face of such facts how can any one insist that the consumer has not been benefited?

The Rosengartens, of Philadelphia, and Charles T. White & Co., both allege, in letters to the Bureau of Statistics—

That the amount of quinine manufactured in this country has been decreasing year by year as the quantity of the foreign article has increased.

As I stated before, quinine is made exclusively from cinchona bark, none of which is grown in this country. The bark being used only for

quinine and being imported, it will only be necessary to refer to the Treasury statistics on importations. From 1872 to 1879 the quinine manufacturers of this country imported 28,819,552 pounds of cinchona bark, or an average of 4,117,079 pounds per annum. From 1879 (when quinine was put on the free-list) to 1888 the manufacturers imported 40,678,375 pounds of cinchona bark, or an average of 4,519,819 pounds per annum, being an increase of 402,740 pounds of bark annually under free quinine over the period of protection.

The table furnished by Powers & Weightman to the Tariff Commission in 1882 (see page 2573 of volume 2) shows that for the three years preceding 1879 the quinine manufacturers imported 96,800 bales of cinchona bark, or an average of 32,266 bales per annum, while for the three years succeeding 1879 (under free quinine) they imported 110,900 bales of bark, or an average of 36,966 bales, which shows an average of 4,700 bales more per annum under free than under protected quinine.

In the letter of Rosengarten & Sons they say:

The importation of sulphate of quinine last year probably equaled the entire consumption of this country.

For the year ending June 30, 1888, the importation of quinine amounted to 1,628,414 ounces, valued at $651,535, or 40 cents per ounce. In 1880 there was imported one-fourth this number of ounces at twice the cost.

If it be true that foreign quinine supplied our entire home consumption, what then became of the large importation of cinchona bark made during that year? The consumption of quinine in 1882 was 1,600,000 ounces; it was more than double that amount in 1888.

In the circular of Powers & Weightman they say:

Not a single ounce of American sulphate of quinine was exported from 1874 to 1887.

If that was on account of free quinine, what prevented the exportation of quinine under a protective duty of 20 per cent.?

And again they say:

The American manufacturer of quinine once supplied the wants of this country in full, and while not in a position to export, they held the home market.

Of course they held the "home market;" but the poor of this country learned to their sorrow that they were compelled to pay an unjust proportion of their scanty earnings in order to enable these two quinine kings to hold the "home market."

Prior to 1862 the duty on quinine was only 15 per cent. Under the low duty a French firm moved their factory to New York, purchased property, and erected a plant to manufacture quinine. No sooner had they begun operations than these American quinine monopolists got together and decided it was absolutely necessary "to hold the home market" as against the "pauper French quinine." To do this the monopolists decided to cut the price of quinine 75 per cent., which was done, and this figure maintained until the "pauper French quinine manufacturer of New York" was bankrupt, and was driven back to France. When this was accomplished the monopolists held another meeting, at which it was unanimously decided that cheap quinine was not conducive to the public health, and further that "to hold the home market" it would be absolutely necessary to raise the price of quinine 100 per cent. This was done, and as a result the "home market" was held by them until 1879, when a Democratic Congress put quinine on the free-list.

I shall now consider the question asked by Powers & Weightman, Rosengarten & Sons, and Charles T. White & Co. in their petition to the Ways and Means Committee in 1879, namely:

Why should the chemical industry be singled out to be ruined?

It is not generally known, but it is a fact, that over two-thirds of all raw materials for manufacture into chemicals, together with the manufactured articles, are on the free-list. Still, the business has prospered. In 1860 there were in this country 173 chemical establishments, with a capital of $1,977,385. The number of hands was 1,059; wages paid, $372,127; value of product, $3,465,594; the average annual wages, $351.41; the average weekly wages, $6.76. In 1870 there were 292 establishments; capital, $12,750,800; employés, 4,729; wages paid, $2,141,238; product, $19,417,194; average yearly wages, $452.90; average weekly wages, $8.70. In 1880 there were 592 establishments; capital, $28,598,458; employés, 9,545; wages paid, $4,157,163; product, $38,173,658; average annual yearly wages, $400; average weekly wages, $7.71.

Besides building up an immense trade in this country, these establishments have increased their "exports" as follows: From 1850 to 1860 they exported drugs, etc., valued at $6,730,320; from 1860 to 1870 they exported drugs, etc., valued at $15,209,173; from 1870 to 1880 they exported drugs, etc., valued at $22,310,696; from 1880 to 1890, at present rate of increase, will amount to $40,000,000. These figures are taken from the census, and, after carefully reading them over, is there any man so blinded by the theory of protection as to assert in the face of the facts that Congress singled out the chemical industry to ruin it? And now as to the wages paid in this industry. We have seen that the average weekly wages in 1860 was $6.76; in 1870, $8.70, and in 1880, $7.71; while the average wages of woolen operatives in Philadelphia (all very highly protected) is only $5.71 per week.

And now, in conclusion, having demonstrated that the quinine factories existing in 1879 have not closed, but are still "doing business;" that the number of factories is at least six, as against three in 1879; that they employ as many hands, and doubtless more than they did in 1879; that they pay as good wages as they did in 1879; that they pay higher wages than the average paid in the protected industries; that they have manufactured an average of over 402,000 pounds of cinchona bark per annum more than they did before 1879; that the average price of quinine for three years prior to 1879 of $3 has been reduced to 65 cents for the three years ending with 1888; that the consumption has more than doubled, possibly trebled, since 1879; that the Republican tariff commission in 1882 after hearing the "special pleading" of the quinine monopolists, failed to give or suggest a re-establishment of the duty on quinine; that when the duty was removed the "corner" was immediately broken, and quinine placed within reach of the workingmen of this country; and that the McKenzie bill for free quinine, was a Democratic measure in the interest of the consumer, I respectfully submit that the placing of quinine on the free-list has resulted in great benefit to the people and no wrong or injury to any industry in the country.

Irrigation of the Arid Region of the United States.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE G. SYMES,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, September 1, 1888.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10540) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. SYMES said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The first point I would make is that it is of the most imperative necessity to pass this Senate amendment, with our amendment to it, at this time, for the reason that my distinguished friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] has failed to accomplish any legislation, and will fail at this session of Congress to grant any relief against the obtaining title by monopolies in the arid region of the natural sites for reservoirs, which will destroy the value of the balance of the lands hereafter to be settled by homesteaders. I will come to that, however, in the course of my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, we can not at this late period of the present session enter into the question of disposing of these lands made irrigable by providing for these sites for reservoirs, because the Public Lands Committee can not pass their bill. That bill might be amended, but it is in the Senate, and as we all know it is entombed for the first session of the Fiftieth Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this amendment to the sundry civil bill is not new legislation. It is only carrying out the provisions of the statute passed at this session. On the 20th of March last a joint resolution was passed which requires the Secretary of the Interior to investigate the practicability of constructing storage reservoirs for water in the arid region. The resolution is as follows:

[Public resolution—No. 6.]

Joint resolution directing the Secretary of the Interior, by means of the Director of the Geological Survey, to investigate the practicability of constructing reservoirs for the storage of water in the arid region of the United States, and to report to Congress.

Whereas a large portion of the unoccupied public lands of the United States is located within what is known as the arid region, and now utilized only for grazing purposes, but much of which, by means of irrigation, may be rendered as fertile and productive as any land in the world, capable of supporting a large population, thereby adding to the national wealth and prosperity;

Whereas all the water flowing during the summer months in many of the streams of the Rocky Mountains, upon which chiefly the husbandman of the plains and the mountain valleys chiefly depends for moisture for his crops, has been appropriated and is used for the irrigation of lands contiguous thereto, whereby a comparatively small area has been reclaimed; and

Whereas there are many natural depressions near the sources and along the courses of these streams which may be converted into reservoirs for the storage of the surplus water which during the winter and spring seasons flows through the streams, from which reservoirs the water there stored can be drawn and conducted through properly constructed canals, at the proper season, thus bringing large areas of land into cultivation, and making desirable much of the public land for which there is now demand: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior, by means of the Director of the Geological Survey, be, and he is hereby, directed to make an examination of that portion of the arid regions of the United States where agriculture is carried on by means of irrigation, as to the natural advantages for the storage of water for irrigating purposes, with the practicability of constructing reservoirs, together with the capacity of the streams and the cost of construction and capacity of reservoirs, and such other facts as bear on the question of storage of water for irrigating purposes; and that he be further directed to report to Congress as soon as practicable the result of such investigation.

Approved March 20, 1888.

To carry out the provisions of this statute the Senate on the 27th day

of March last passed a resolution directing the Secretary of the Interior to report what appropriation was necessary to carry into effect this joint resolution.

On the 11th day of March last the Secretary made a report to the Senate recommending the appropriation of $250,000 to carry into effect this statute.

The Secretary's report was accompanied by a report of the Director of the Geological Survey made by direction of the Secretary, and which contains an able presentation of the subject. It shows the practicability and utility of making this appropriation to carry into effect this statute.

But the joint resolution directing this investigation and for selecting these natural sites for storage reservoirs which calls for this appropriation was not passed without due consideration and examination.

On the 13th of February last the Senate by a resolution requested the Secretary of the Interior to inform the Senate if it was desirable to direct the Geological Survey to segregate land susceptible of irrigation and to select sites for reservoirs and rights of way for ditches and canals, and the land to be reserved from sale.

The Secretary in response to this resolution transmitted a report of the Director of the Geological Survey, to whom he referred the resolution for information. This report shows the necessity for proceeding without delay in this matter.

The Director says:

It is undoubtedly true that the greater the delay in the selection of areas for irrigation and of sites for irrigation headworks, the greater will be the knowledge which can be brought to bear in making wise selections; but it is also true that the greater the delay the more complex becomes the practical problem, by reason of the interference of vested rights. The difficulties arising from vested rights far outweigh, in my judgment, all considerations in favor of delay, and there is even ground for regret that such surveys and selections as are now proposed were not instituted at an earlier stage in the development of the arid region.

And so, Mr. Speaker, this measure has been under consideration and examination by the Senate and the Department of the Interior for the past six months.

Mr. Speaker, two committees of this House have also given the matter much consideration during this Congress, and arrived at the conclusion that this appropriation ought to be made.

Mr. Speaker, I introduced a bill near the beginning of this session and had it referred to the Committee on Agriculture, providing for the appropriation of $500,000 for the investigation and development of the water resources of the arid region and the utilization thereof for the purpose of irrigation.

It requires the money to be expended under the direction of the Geological Survey in making such topographic or hydrographic surveys as may be necessary to ascertain and locate sites for reservoirs for the storage of water for irrigating the public lands and in aid of agriculture. I was heard in support of this bill before the Committee on Agriculture. I addressed the committee at length in favor of the bill. I think I violate no secret of the committee when I state that it is favorable to the bill, and that a favorable report will be made on the bill if this appropriation is not made. This amendment accomplishes the same object.

The Committee on Agriculture after hearing arguments and investigating this subject are in favor of this appropriation. A bill was introduced by Mr. JOSEPH and referred to the Committee on Territories providing for hydrographic surveys in the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of storing water in reservoirs to aid in irrigating the public lands, providing that lands so made susceptible to irrigation shall be subject to homestead entry at the minimum price of $4 per acre. The bill also provides for sinking artesian wells in aid of agriculture.

The Committee on Territories fully considered this bill and reported it favorably to the House on the 1st of last March, recommending an appropriation of $100,000, $50,000 for Arizona and $50,000 for New Mexico.

The committee in its report shows the necessity for these appropriations:

The Committee on the Territories having under consideration bills H. R. 1980 and 6166, ask to report in lieu thereof the substitute contained in the report made herewith.

Your committee recommend the passage of said bill for the following reasons:

From the census of 1880 it appears that the Territory of Arizona embraces an area of 112,920 square miles, or 72,268,800 acres of land, of which vast area less than 2,000,000 are susceptible of cultivation for want of water, and even this small area is entirely dependent on irrigation, thus leaving utterly without water supply and without any means of irrigation the enormous body of over 70,000,000 acres of land, which, under the present land laws, must forever remain unfit for the habitation of man unless a supply of water can be obtained by artificial means.

The same conditions exist in the Territory of New Mexico, which embraces an area of 122,460 square miles, or 78,374,400 acres of land, of which, as appears by said census, only 5¼ per cent. is susceptible of cultivation, for the reasons already stated, leaving 94¾ per cent., or 74,063,808 acres, forever unfit for human habitation unless water can be obtained to irrigate the same.

The Territory of New Mexico was organized in 1850, and in thirty years thereafter it had a population of 119,565 souls, or less than one person to the square mile, and its population during the two decades preceding 1880 only increased 26,000, all of which increase occurred after 1870, and consisted largely of persons connected directly or indirectly with the construction, maintenance, and operation of railroads leading through said Territory to the Pacific Ocean. While population increased as above stated, and also by reason of large mining enterprises, yet, as shown by said census, there has been an actual decrease of the agricultural element—the number of farms in 1880 being actually less than in 1860. This can be accounted for only on the fact of scarcity of water for agricultural purposes.

The same conditions exist in Arizona, except that its population is about one person to 2 square miles of area. The waters of that Territory have been almost entirely appropriated to agricultural purposes, yet millions of acres of most fertile land is uninhabited because the poverty of the people will not permit experiments in water development, and does actually prevent any effort towards reclamation of these vast deserts.

The climate of this desert country is adapted to the growth of the vine, fig, olive, orange, lemon, and various other tropical and semi-tropical fruits, while the products of the temperate zone grow in richest profusion wherever a water supply can be obtained. The valleys of these Territories are extremely fertile, and under proper encouragement can be made productive beyond probably any other land on this continent.

With these facts before your committee, drawn from official sources and sustained by actual observation, the conclusion is reached that the public interests require the adoption of some wise measure that shall test the question of the practicability of making this vast area of waste and desert country productive.

By such means England has succeeded in making India the granary of the world, and the Ganges Canal, with its branches over 3,500 miles in length, has more than doubly paid the cost of its construction.

Artesian wells have proved a success on the desert of Sahara, as well as in France, Spain, Germany, England, and in many parts of the United States where proper inducement has been held out to capital.

The committee sees no reason to fear a failure in this instance, and, considering the magnitude of the benefits resulting from successful experiment in redeeming millions of acres of now worthless lands, and converting this vast area into fertile fields, tilled by an empire of intelligent, prosperous, and happy freemen, your committee recommends the passage of the substitute herein set out.

I can say as a member of the Committee on Territories that the committee thought the bill ought to pass.

The bill providing for the admission of Montana, Dakota, New Mexico, and Washington Territories into the Union grants to the proposed new State of New Mexico 250,000 acres of land to aid in the construction of reservoirs. The committee thought, after considering the question, that this land should be granted to this new State for this most important internal improvement.

So, Mr. Speaker, two leading committees of this House, after giving full consideration to this question, recommend appropriations of the same character made by this Senate amendment.

These are the only two committees of the House that have investigated this question.

I introduced a bill which grants 500,000 acres of land to the State of Colorado to aid in the construction of storage reservoirs. It was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, but that committee has been so preoccupied we have not yet secured a hearing on that bill.

Let me illustrate from that map one minute, that gentlemen may understand this subject.

Now, Mr. Speaker, this is the topographical map of the United States. The red line where I draw the pointer divides the arid region from the part where you raise crops without irrigation.

The blue, yellow, and other colors on the map represent the sections of country where the topographic and geological surveys have been made. This work has already been done, and this additional appropriation is to be used by making additional local surveys to select and locate sites for reservoirs, and thereby utilize the expensive work before performed. This topographic survey has been going on for ten years, at an expense of $200,000 per year in addition to the geological survey.

The topographic survey makes a description of the country. Is it hill or is it vale? Is it mountainous or is it cañon? Is it plains or is it timber land? Now, that general description has been made by the topographical surveys carried on over the different portions of the country. You have expended millions for it; you have it upon plats and maps in your Government office to-day. Engineers have the field-notes, as they call them. They could go back with these field-notes and they could utilize part of the millions of money that have been expended in this topographic survey by going with these notes upon the ground and locating these sites for reservoirs by the engineers running levels and drawing contour lines and locating these national sites for reservoirs and staking them off. They could make an estimate of the desert lands that can be made arable by the irrigation that will be made practicable by these reservoirs, and report and carry it on the Government maps as irrigable land. Major Powell says on the subject that these topographic surveys have been carried on with a view to irrigation, and that this is only an extension of it. And now are we to stop here and say we will not appropriate $250,000 for this most important purpose?

Mr. Speaker, the arid region comprises about four-tenths of the whole area of the United States outside of Alaska. Hence, within the arid region of the United States there are approximately 500,000,000 acres of land—a tract of country larger in area than the greatest empire in Europe. It is estimated that 10 per cent. or 50,000,000 acres of that arid land can be brought under cultivation by irrigation with a proper system of storage reservoirs.

Without irrigation this desert or arid land is not worth more than 10 to 50 cents an acre. When this land is reclaimed from arid to arable land it will become worth from $10 to $50 to $100 per acre. So

these 50,000,000 acres of the 500,000,000 acres of arid land by irrigation would be increased in value over $2,000,000,000, more than sufficient to pay off the national debt. Most of this land is public domain, and it can never be thickly, nor much of it sparsely, settled without irrigation.

But this gives a small idea of the permanent wealth and accruing benefits to be derived from this system of irrigation by storage reservoirs. It will provide homes in the future for many millions of people. It will create large, populous, and wealthy communities in that part of our country heretofore marked upon the maps as the Great American Desert. Nature has given that country every kind of material wealth in profusion, except agriculture, without irrigation or without water. The storage of water for irrigation is the one thing needed.

I have traveled over that country from the northern boundary of Montana to the southern boundary of New Mexico and Arizona, and from the one hundredth meridian of longitude to the Pacific coast range, and I have contemplated what an empire of population and wealth it would contain when the waters running to waste in those mountain torrents and rivers should be stored up and used by the hand of agriculture.

That part of our country has poured hundreds and hundreds of millions of gold and silver into the Treasury of this great nation. Her mineral wealth of all kinds is inexhaustible, but she needs the development of her agriculture to support her mining interests.

Mr. Speaker, this large part of our country has received and asks nothing for the improvement of rivers and harbors, nothing for light-houses, stations, or piers. She asks for none of the millions appropriated for big guns and forts to protect her cities or coasts. She asks nothing for geodetic or coast surveys. She only asks for a mere pittance compared with these great sums to survey and select and reserve from the grasp of monopoly these natural sites for storage-reservoirs for the future benefit of all the people.

Mr. Speaker, let me recall to the mind of the committee the enormous sums of money that have been expended in this country for internal improvements. Up to 1882 there had been spent for public buildings, $183,000,000—it is now nearly $200,000,000; for rivers and harbors, $105,000,000—it would now reach $140,000,000; for roads, turnpikes, and canals over $19,000,000; for light-houses, stations, piers, etc., $73,000,000; for mints and assay offices, $5,000,000, and for forts and arsenals, $86,000,000, etc. In this way the Government has appropriated and expended on internal improvements in this country over $400,000,000 of money.

Now, a large portion of this was expended, from time to time, up to fifteen years ago, before this country became so great and populous as it is now. I am not criticising these appropriations for internal improvements, but ask the attention of the committee to a comparison with many of these internal improvments with the future benefits and the continued and increasing wealth by accretion that will come to our Government and the people as the result of these reservoirs. How many people in the future will it support among the agricultural classes and the industries dependent upon them by irrigating and making arable land of 50,000,000 acres of desert land? I will not attempt to give the figures; it is something enormous.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to these hundreds of millions of dollars appropriated in aid of internal improvements almost hundreds of millions of acres of the public lands have been granted and donated in aid of intended improvements to States and corporations. Tracts of land, in the aggregate large enough to settle the people of an empire upon, have been granted and donated in this way. Sir, we are only asking for a few thousand dollars, not to be donated to any corporations, but for the purpose of reserving these sites for storage reservoirs for the surplus waters on the public domain for the use and benefit of the Government and the people for generations to come. It will increase the value of the public domain a thousand fold more than the amount to be appropriated. It will increase instead of diminish the Treasury. This amendment reserves the sites for reservoirs.

Mr. Speaker, I ask the House, in the name of future generations that have to settle this country when it shall have become crowded, that we now wrest from the grasp of private corporations these natural sites for reservoirs that are worth so many millions of money, and prevent any further vested rights from being acquired to them.

Mr. Speaker, conventions of the people have been held asking for this legislation. The people of this immense arid region ask that these sites for storage reservoirs be selected and reserved from sale. They ask that the homesteaders who have and who will hereafter make their homes in this arid region shall not be subject to the exactions and extortions of the corporations that will one way or another secure these natural sites for these reservoirs and canals if the Government does not, without delay, make the necessary surveys and reserve these reservior sites from sale.

Any gentlemen who wish this great arid region to be settled up and improved by the homesteaders and small farmers will vote for this appropriation to reserve these natural storage reservoir sites from the possession and control of monopolies. The chairman of the Public Lands Committee, who is devoting his energy and legislative experience towards preserving the public lands for actual settlers, and reserving them from speculators, will of course support this amendment—for it will avail little to reserve the arid land from the grasp of monopolies and speculators unless we also reserve the control of the water from the same hands.

To show how valuable some of these natural sites for reservoirs are and will become if individuals or corporations are allowed to obtain title to them from the United States I will give one illustration. The bed of a small extinct soda lake in Colorado, to which title has been obtained, is valued at over $25,000. A land and irrigating company has offered $25,000 for this lake bed, to be used as a storage reservoir, and the owners have refused the offer. It contains less than 200 acres of land. This shows how necessary and imperative it is to proceed without delay to select these natural sites for storage reservoirs and reserve them from public or private sale. Private enterprise will cause surveys to be made and some of the most valuable sites to be selected, and title obtained to them under the pre-emption laws if the Government does not proceed with this survey and reserve the land from sale.

The individual or corporation that owns the natural site for a large storage reservoir practically controls or has a monopoly of the land that can be irrigated from it. The land is of little value unless water can be obtained at reasonable rates to irrigate it. Water is an incident to the land in other parts of the country, but in the arid region the land is an incident to the water. Those who control the water in an irrigating country practically control the land that can be irrigated. The history of all irrigating countries shows this.

Mr. HERBERT. One question, if the gentleman pleases. If this amendment should pass and this scheme be put into operation, how would the Government, when it undertakes this work, get the bed of that lake? Would it be able to buy it for any less than is demanded from private individuals or a private company?

Mr. SYMES. I am very glad, sir, the gentleman from Alabama asked that question. It leads to, and will explain with a little more force, the next paragraph of what I was about to say. The Government can not obtain it. The Government is too late to obtain it. By the neglect of Congress and by the absence of practical legislation on this great subject of the public lands millions of money have been lost to the Government, and untold hundreds of millions have been lost to the benefit of future generations hereafter to settle that region.

I stand here this afternoon to protest against the continuance of that short-sighted policy. The very illustration of the portion of my argument I am now making is in that line; and I tell you, gentlemen, that private corporations are to-day sending engineers throughout that arid region, making private surveys, running contour lines, and making that character of topographical surveys, where the intelligent mountain engineer, from experience by his own eyes, can find a site for a reservoir by a preliminary survey. Levels are being run, lines traced, and the next thing we hear in the way of "land-grabbing" will be that A, B, C, D, and E will be located, will have acquired homestead or pre-emption rights within that part of the public domain, valuable as they are, for no other purpose than to turn a ditch into it in high water to fill a large reservoir or lake that will command the surrounding land for irrigation so far.

Mr. HERBERT. Will the gentleman allow me another question? I would not interrupt him, but the House desires to be informed.

Mr. SYMES. I will yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. HERBERT. Is it not true that all along the streams in Colorado and Nevada, and other arid regions, wherever there is land which may be irrigated in the manner suggested, settlers have already acquired rights in almost all cases where these natural basins exist, and now use them as farms? And would not the Government, if it undertakes this scheme, have to buy up at any sum that may be asked lands already in possession of settlers who have selected them with an eye to this very purpose?

Mr. SYMES. I thank the gentleman from Alabama again for his question. It is evident that his clear mind is running in such a direction that if he will listen to my answer he will comprehend the necessity for this appropriation.

I was about to say, Mr. Speaker, that along the smaller streams of Colorado, and some, I may say, of the largest, the current supply of water for irrigation purposes has been appropriated, and little lakes and little reservoirs created, and the climate has almost been changed in different valleys until we have now in the thickly settled portions of Colorado utilized all of the small streams during the growing season.

It has been urged against this appropriation that it commits the Government to the policy of carrying on a vast scheme of irrigation. This is not the fact. It does not commit the Government to the carrying on of any system of irrigation. It is not intended by this measure that the Government should take charge of the storage of water, the conveying of it through ditches or canals, or the distribution of it for irrigation. This amendment only goes to the selecting of sites for reservoirs on the public domain, and adding to the present classification of public lands those which are susceptible of irrigation, and the reservation from sale of all lands that are suitable and selected for reservoir or canal purposes. The reservoir land is reserved from sale from

the time this amendment passes, and also the land made susceptible of irrigation by such reservoirs.

This amendment does not commit the United States to conducting irrigation. This amendment has only one object in view at this time; others can be settled in the future. Those who oppose it will in the future be in the position of those who stand here to-day complaining because they say great grants have been made to railroads which they would not have made if they had been here. Mr. Speaker, if this amendment is not passed and these reservoir sites surveyed and selected and reserved these irrigable lands ought to be classified. The statute requires the public surveys to show what lands are agricultural, what lands are mineral, and, in some instances, what lands are desert or arid.

The topographical division of the Geological Survey is required to describe minutely the character of the country over which topographical surveys are extended. The geological branch of the Survey describes the character of the country examined and surveyed, with regard to its geological formation and mineral resources.

But these surveys, classifications, and descriptions of the public lands do not give any special information about what land can be irrigated—that is, what lands can be reclaimed from worthless desert and made valuable arable land.

The topographic survey and the topographic maps that are being made at an expense of $200,000 per year do not lay down or specify these natural sites for reservoirs in the arid region. Additional work is necessary for this purpose.

The Director says:

The topographic work of the Geological Survey in the arid regions has from the first been executed with a view to the problems of irrigation, and if such authority as is contemplated by the resolution shall be given to the Survey, the maps now completed and in preparation will serve as a basis for the special work required in respect to irrigation. It will be necessary in addition to make local surveys for the selection of sites for reservoirs, canals, etc., and of irrigation areas.

This amendment utilizes some of this work upon which $2,000,000 have already been expended.

When the topographic work has extended over a section of the arid region where there are natural sites for reservoirs, this work will be utilized and only some additional survey work will be necessary to locate the reservoir sites and classify the irrigable lands.

In a word, this amendment simply and only adds $250,000 to the (about) $500,000 that has been appropriated annually for many years for topographic and geologic surveys, and will practically utilize a portion of those large expenditures.

Mr. Speaker, I have advocated those appropriations. They are of great public benefit and importance. But, sir, the additional surveys and topographic work necessary to locate the sites for these storage reservoirs and reserve them from sale, and the classification of the irrigable lands, are of much more immediate and practical importance than the other surveys and work which have cost and will cost many millions.

It is known, sir, that this arid region is similar to the plains of Spain, the plains of Asia, and the great wheat-growing plains of Russia, and to some portions of Italy. It is known, sir, that it is similar in character to the great country of India where England has been spending hundreds of millions of dollars in the construction of canals to irrigate that country, so as to rival America in the London wheat market, which by reason of this irrigation she has succeeded in doing successfully in the last ten years.

I will now ask the Clerk to read an extract on this subject from a book written by the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COX], after he had traveled in Spain, some years ago.

The Clerk read as follows:

I said much about this element of Spanish wealth, but did not give you the facts and foundation of the system. Having now seen under my own eyes the principal irrigation works of Spain I feel more competent to write about it. In Valencia, from the rivers Turia and Jucar, there are 56,810 acres under irrigation; in Murcia from the Segura, 25,915; at Orihuela from the Segura, 50,318; at Elche (place of plumy palms), 40,010; Alicante, 9,139; at Granada, from the Darro and Genil, 46,930 acres. These works, whose results at least I have witnessed, comprise nearly one-half of the irrigation area of Spain.

The total quantity of irrigated lands is 374,269 acres. The best works are those of Valencia, Murcia, and Granada. They are the oldest, being made by the Moors about the year 800. On the Spanish conquest and division of land, the rules of the Saracens about water were re-established. Some of these works are made of masonry, in which rain is collected, as at Alicante. The principal rivers of Spain, like the Tagus and Guadalquivir, run to the sea with but little utility as motive or creative power. But almost anything, and in any quantity, of vegetable beauty and utility can be raised in Spain with this water power. Peppers and peaches, apricots and apples, olives, and oranges, sugar and citron, cotton and corn, potatoes and pears; and never less than two crops a year, and sometimes four! Of course irrigation enhances the value of the land. In Castellon good irrigated ground is $700 per acre; dry ground only $50. In Murcia $3,000 per acre is given for the good ground there irrigated. In Valencia it averages from $1,000 to $2,000 per acre. Irrigation adds 1,200 per cent. to the valuation of the land.

Mr. SYMES. Great progress has been made in Colorado in irrigation. The laws, rules, and regulations in Colorado governing the appropriation and use of water for irrigation are among the best in any State or country. The constitution of Colorado wisely provides that all the waters of every natural stream in the State shall be the property of the public and is dedicated to the use of the people.

No private ownership can be acquired in the water. The right of appropriation only carries with it the right to convey the water through ditches or canals for beneficial use. The State can regulate the use and fix the price to be charged for conveying the water.

A foreign and alien corporation constructed a large irrigating canal from the cañon of the Platte River and appropriated the water to fill it. The company then demanded from $20 to $40 an acre royalty from all the owners of land that could be irrigated from this canal. This royalty means the privilege of buying water, the price per acre per annum for the water to be thereafter fixed by the company. This practically amounted to confiscation of the land adjoining the canal. The county commissioners undertook to regulate the price to be charged for the water under a State statute, and denied the right of the company to charge royalty.

The matter was carried into the courts. The courts decided that under the constitution the company could not acquire ownership in the water; that the Legislature could by law regulate the distribution of the water and the price to be paid for conducting it through ditches or canals; and that royalty for the privilege of buying the use of water could not be legally demanded. Thus the people of Colorado by the wisdom of their organic lawmakers were saved from the worst character of monopoly that would have cursed them in the future.

But, Mr. Speaker, the State has no power to protect her people from the monopolies that will arise when private enterprise and private corporations shall seek out and acquire title to the land covering these natural sites for these storage reservoirs on the public domain. The people ask that they be protected from this threatened evil.

In Colorado alone there are over 10,000,000 acres of public domain that can be reclaimed from desert and made valuable agricultural land by this system of reservoirs. Most of the current supply of water from the small streams and a large amount from the large streams have been utilized for irrigation; but the irrigating or growing season only lasts three to four months in the year, and all the water, both in the small and large streams, runs to waste for seven to eight months in the year. The floods of spring and early summer go to waste. This is the water that must be utilized by the reservoir system. The increase in the value of the public lands will be infinitely greater than the cost of locating these reservoirs.

Early in July, 1878, I rode over the trail passing the headwaters of the Rio Grande River. I looked at a bank of snow 50 feet high and turned around on my horse and commented on the fact that that melting snow was running into a little willow marsh 11,000 feet above the sea and forming absolutely the source of the Rio Grande River which separates Mexico from this country. I watched it, and my mind followed that historical river for the next hour in riding over the range on my broncho pony. At that time there were great floods below, and I thought of the millions of acres of land that would be utterly worthless for all coming time unless that water was stored up for the purpose of irrigation. In the San Luis valley alone, which adjoins this river, it is estimated that it will furnish arable land enough which it is practicable to irrigate to support more people than you find in any New England State. That is one illustration; that is only one river. We may go over the headwaters of the Arkansas River in the same way, for illustration, and scores of other rivers and mountain streams.

Mr. SAYERS. I desire to ask the gentleman a question for information. Speaking of the Rio Grande, does not that gentleman believe that the establishment of large reservoirs in that arid region, retaining the waters of the streams that flow into the Rio Grande, would deplete the main body of the river as it runs to the sea?

Mr. SYMES. These reservoirs that I am now speaking about and that this legislation applies to are designed to gather and store the water during the eight months of the year called the non-growing season, and where the current supply during the growing season has already been appropriated along the immediate banks and valleys of the streams.

Mr. SAYERS. But will it not deplete the flow of water down the river?

Mr. SYMES. It will deplete the flow of water, of course, during the proper season, during the high water when there is no use for it below. That is one of the objects of it.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Is it not the fact that the season of the year when this depletion would take place is the season when the people there pray that there may be a depletion, the season when they have a surplus of water?

Mr. SAYERS. Not at all on the Rio Grande.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. It is so on the Mississippi.

Mr. SAYERS. The Rio Grande is very different from the Mississippi.

Mr. SYMES. It is not different in that the people below do not want the water for eight months of the year or during the non-growing season.

Mr. SAYERS. I will state that all along as you get toward the mouth of the Rio Grande these irrigation ditches are extended from the river. But if you establish your immense reservoirs upon those streams which go to fill up the river, then of course these irrigation ditches cease to be valuable.

Mr. SYMES. I beg the gentleman's pardon. He does not comprehend the object of these storage reservoirs in which water is to be stored during the non-growing season. The great object of these storage reservoirs is to gather the snow which I have described when it melts in the early spring, and the surplus water, and retain this supply until the growing season. This plan will never interfere with, but will only benefit, the people living along the bank of the stream below. It is not contemplated to turn the current supply of the stream into these reservoirs, for by the plan proposed you will have all the water you require for irrigation purposes during the growing season of three or four months without attempting to rob the river, so to speak, or any of the localities which have a right by prior appropriation to the current supply.

Mr. SAYERS. I will say to the gentleman that I concur most heartily in his amendment; I think it all right. The only question with me is whether it is the duty of the Government to enter upon a scheme which may involve the expenditure of millions and hundreds of millions of dollars.

Mr. SYMES. I do not think it is the duty of the Government to enter on any scheme which will require the expenditure of millions or hundreds of millions of dollars. Mr. Speaker, if I were called upon to-day to have this Government enter upon a system of irrigation proper—to build dams and reservoirs, ditches and canals, and undertake to distribute the water, as has been done by the Government of India, or Spain, or Italy, or Egypt, I should hesitate. I would not vote for such a proposition at this time. There is no necessity for such a measure in our case. I am only asking (and I trust I have been understood) that the Government protect its own property and preserve it for the use of its people in the future.

I intended to dwell upon the benefit of turning the headwaters of the Missouri River and its tributaries and the sediment therein during the early spring and summer when the freshets are on into these storage reservoirs. The especial benefit to the Lower Mississippi in preventing floods I think I could satisfy gentlemen of in a short time, in answer to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RICE. I would be glad to hear you do so.

Mr. SYMES. I feel confident I could do so, but I must yield the floor for the present, because my friend from New York [Mr. COX] has been promised a portion of the time.

The construction of these storage reservoirs will aid in relieving the people on the Lower Mississippi from the destructive floods that now devastate that region. The worst of these floods are caused by the melting of the snows in the mountains around the headwaters of the Missouri and its tributaries. Major Powell has shown this in his report. He says:

> The development of irrigation along the base of the Rocky Mountains is of double importance because of its influence on the agriculture of the Lower Mississippi. To store up the water of the Missouri and its main affluents for the purpose of irrigation is to diminish the volume of that flood of the Lower Mississippi which is most destructive by reason of its occurring in the heart of the farming season. Moreover, the great difficulty of the problem of the Lower Mississippi arises from the fact that the river normally makes a deposit here, thus clogging its course and giving to its channel an unstable position. The principal source of the sediment is the Missouri River, and it is carried forward chiefly during flood. With abolition of great Missouri floods the sedimentary load of the Lower Mississippi would be diminished, and the scouring power of the less-loaded floods from the Ohio and the Upper Mississippi would establish for the Lower Mississippi a lower grade and a deeper channel. For every acre reclaimed to agriculture in Montana another acre will be reclaimed in Louisiana; and, in general, all lands redeemed by irrigation on the Great Plains will be equaled by the lands redeemed from floods in the great valley of the Lower Mississippi.

The people living in the districts subject to the floods, and who are asking Congress for millions of appropriations to construct levees and dikes to protect their property, will be greatly benefited by this system of storage reservoirs.

Mr. Speaker, if gentlemen who object to this appropriation could travel through portions of my State they would object no longer. They would see large agricultural towns and communities where the farms are valued at from $25 to $50 per acre. This land a few years since was not worth 50 cents per acre. Irrigation alone has wrought this change. It was at one time supposed Colorado was only a mining country. Now she exports wheat, flour, potatoes, and other produce to Chicago and the East.

The changes brought about in the soil and climate by irrigation are truly wonderful. They can only be appreciated and are not generally understood except by those who have had experience. On one side of a country road you see 40 bushels of wheat to the acre standing, on the other side cactus, sage-brush, and alkali that mark the original desert. Irrigation is a great fertilizer. Crops can be continued for scores of years on irrigated land without manure. Where before the hot winds filled the air with alkali dust and scorched up everything, the air is moistened by absorption and refreshing dews spread over the vegetation.

More than one-half the agricultural regions of the world have to be aided by irrigation. England has expended tens of millions in constructing irrigating canals in India in aid of agriculture where irrigation has been carried on since the dawn of civilization. In the richest portions of Spain, Italy, Russia, and the Asiatic countries agriculture has to be carried on by irrigation.

The Investigation of Trusts.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT R. ANDERSON,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, August 8, 1888.

The House having under consideration the report of the Committee on Accounts concerning the expenses of the Committee on Manufactures in continuing the investigation of trusts—

Mr. ANDERSON, of Iowa, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This question of trusts is a very interesting question, and to me especially, as it comes before the House this morning. I am pleased with the position taken by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] and his views relative to trusts. I may also say the same with regard to the views of my friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] with regard to trusts, and the sum of these two views is the ground upon which this Congress should stand, and that is the ground of a sweeping condemnation of all trusts, whether they be found in the sugar interests at the South or in the lumber interests at the North.

The great difficulty in this compromise, as we may term it, with reference to the matters of the various interests from the various sections of the country, is found in the fact that what my friend from Illinois inveighs against in one section and calls a trust, my friend from Arkansas ignores and refers to another. The sum of these criticisms amounts to a confession of the dangerous character of all trusts and high war duties, and should be a sufficient warning to the farmers and others not specially interested in them. The truth is that American trade and commerce have, through the undue advantage of pools, trusts, combines, and corners, become demoralized and corrupted; and no gentleman is willing any longer to go into the open field, and under the law of competition and supply and demand, take an equal chance with others in like business, but by some combination or trust he must have an undue advantage over both his competitor and customers, by which he can drive the one out of business and compel the other to do business with him on such terms as he shall dictate.

I have heard many assertions and a great many denials with reference to the relation the tariff bears towards the trusts. I think a mistake is made on one hand when my friends on the Democratic side charge the tariff with being the father of trusts. And there is a mistake made on this side of the House when the denial is made that the trust is not related to the tariff. The principle involved in the application of the tariff to the commerce of the country, so far as it goes, is simply the same principle that is involved in every trust and in every combine in the country. The tariff is not the sole progenitor of these combinations and trusts, but in principle it is precisely the same to the extent and degree to which it goes; and the protective principle and trust are simply of common origin and are akin and stand on all fours, and are working for the accomplishment of a given purpose, and that purpose is to get rid of the cheapening effects of competition.

While I am for the protection of American industries, I must nevertheless concede that it is true that the principle of elimination of competition that is involved in the application of tariff laws is the same principle that is applied in the pool and in the trust, and a growing principle, and one that the American people must guard against, or the many will bear great burdens in the interest of the few. The great question, Mr. Speaker, in American politics and the foremost one in demand for prompt consideration is well-defined, vigorous control of the legislative beneficiaries that are thronging the halls of legislation from one end of the country to the other. Their procurers and their agents are in the halls of legislation seeking protection for this business enterprise and for that, and to be a bank or railway director or mill-owner, and interested and educated in those lines of industries, is fast coming to be understood in certain quarters as the conclusive proofs of soundness on the main question in American politics and of complete equipment for legislative duties as well as honors.

And the farmers of this country, constituting one-half its population and paying one-half of the whole tax charge of Government, and who at best, no matter what their views or shades of opinion on the question of the adjustment of the tariff, are only incidental beneficiaries, and that in an unknown and speculative quantity, are rapidly coming to understand that they are in unequal contest and that they are bearing an undue proportion of the governmental burden.

And while the farmers of the country are protectionists in the best sense of that much-abused term, the grinding exactions and extortions of the trust and the pool have brought boldly into relief some ugly facts that suggest to them that they are paying more than their relative proportion in maintaining the system as there is a distinct difference between direct and incidental benefits.

No farmer desires to pay more for his daily supplies to maintain his household than they are worth simply because they are good things

and he must have them, and he stands in precisely the same relation to the tariff.

He believes that a 47 per cent. tariff that was imposed as a war necessity and in consequence of an extraordinary temporary condition of things should be revised and reduced to harmonize with the existing conditions. Nor does he regard increase of the free-list or 5 per cent. reduction of a 47 per cent. tariff, as proposed in the Mills bill, any more of an assault on home industries, or any greater step in the direction of free trade than was the recommendation of the Republican tariff commission appointed by President Arthur in 1882 of a reduction of 20 per cent., or about four times as great a reduction as that which is now called an assault, and which contained a large free-list as all tariff laws ever have.

It would seem from the present outcry about the free-list that it was a new feature in tariff legislation, but it is nothing of the kind. The truth is that the Mills bill is nearer the Republican position on the tariff than the Chicago platform, as an effort now being made in another place to construct a measure on ground not covered by it, and that at the same time meets the demands of the Republican party, especially in the Northwest, is making more apparent every day.

So it seems, Mr. Speaker, that the self-styled friends of protection could increase the free-list and greatly reduce duties without being open to the criticism of being free-traders. It resolves itself to this, then, that it is simply a question of which party shall present the measure. Can the tax-payers afford to follow such quibbling for party purposes only, when they bear the great cost and burden of such needless delay in reducing taxation?

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McKINLEY] could say in 1882 that "the free-list might be enlarged without affecting injuriously a single American interest;" yet to put the strap-iron for the poor woman's wash-tub on the free-list at this time is regarded by the same gentleman as an assault on "American interests," and leads him to say that before he will accede to it he will, in the language of the Chicago platform, "favor the entire repeal of internal taxes," which means free tobacco, whisky, and oleomargarine.

Then a Republican protection administration and a commission appointed by it specially to investigate the matter could recommend a reduction of 20 per cent. (more than three times of the amount of the Mills bill) without exciting alarm, or even calling forth a suggestion that such a proposition was "an assault on American industries" or "a blow at American labor." And, Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the fact that an examination of the report of the Tariff Commission of 1882 and the modification of the law in 1883 will disclose as great inequalities in the percents on different articles and will show as many sectional features as the measure which is now denounced by the very authors of that report and change in the laws in 1883 as a "free-trade measure," "an assault on American industries," and "an effort to degrade American labor to the level of pauper labor in Europe." And that I am unquestionably right on these points can be proven by the very highest Republican authority, and for this purpose I desire to submit the testimony of President Arthur and his administration on tariff reduction.

In his last annual message Mr. Arthur declared in favor of—

> Such tariff reductions as may seem advisable when the result of recent revenue laws and commercial treaties shall have shown in what quarters those reductions may be most judiciously effected.

President Arthur had three Secretaries of the Treasury—Charles J. Folger, of New York, an Eastern State, and General Gresham and Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana, a Western State—and all three were able and trusted leaders of the Republican party, and all three were outspoken for tariff reform.

Secretary Folger, in his report for 1883, recommended—

> That the duties upon the articles used or consumed by those who are the least able to bear the burden of taxation should be reduced.

And Secretary McCulloch, in pointing out in his report the proper way in which to do this, said:

> 1. That the existing duties upon raw materials which are to be used in manufacture should be removed.
> 2. That the duties upon the articles used or consumed by those who are the least able to bear the burden of taxation should be reduced.

Mr. Arthur's administration was but executing Republican principles in compliance with the Republican platforms; and the Chicago Tribune, the leading Republican newspaper in the United States, when measured by its devotion to the masses as against special interests, puts the situation in a nutshell and voices the sentiments of its party in the West when it says:

> Thus the last Republican administration anticipated by four years the recommendation just made to Congress by Mr. Cleveland and laid down the precise doctrine which, coming from a Democratic President, is now expected to excite the abhorrence of Republicans.

In short, Mr. Speaker, you may run the whole round of the objectors, and you will find them the men who have within the past few years made solemn proof of indorsement of more radical tariff reform measures than those they are now objecting to. Wool-growing in the South is a large industry, and the finest timber forests in the world are in Tennessee, Georgia, and Arkansas, and other States, and yet the placing of wool and lumber on the free-list is the foundation for this charge of sectionalism.

Could I have my way about it I would put sugar and rice upon the free-list, yet the Mills bill found these articles in the existing law at a much higher duty than it leaves upon them and they are in the existing law at the instance of the very men who are now charging sectionalism on the Mills bill because they are not on the free-list. It seems to me that this charge coming from the source it does is very inconsistent and unfair, as they put these articles in the existing law with their present high rate of duty and will not in any law they frame dare to put either article on the free-list, as they should do, in order to be consistent and meet the demands of a large majority of the voters and tax-payers of the country.

Mr. Speaker, these considerations lead me logically to an important phase of these economic questions which I have heretofore discussed in this Chamber, in relation to the rapid and alarming growth of this demand for a retention of the high impost duties that the country would never have tolerated for a moment but for the imperative demands made by the late war for the preservation of the Union.

The growth of the protection idea, which, beginning under Henry Clay with the plea of "infancy" followed by "war necessity," has reached the climax under the leadership of the trust defenders with the declaration that the entire internal-revenue system, including the tax on whisky and oleomargarine, "must go." And this notwithstanding the declaration of Mr. Clay and his friends that when the period of infanthood should be passed that protection would no longer be needed, and notwithstanding the solemn pledges of those in whose interest they were imposed, as voiced by Senator MORRILL, of Vermont, that these taxes would be greatly reduced when the war necessity was passed.

I appeal to the honest and fair-minded friends of protection to ask them if there is not something in this history, taken as a whole, when calmly and dispassionately viewed, to excite suspicions that mill-owners are taking an undue advantage of the farm owners, and in the alluring name of protection to home industries imposing unnecessarily heavy burdens on the many in the interest of the few?

My predecessor on this floor made a speech in this House in favor of free lumber, an article, according to Mr. Blaine, a prime necessity of life, like bread, and yet such has been the rapid growth of this demand for more and more protection, that to-day were this same gentleman here on this floor, such a declaration by him in favor of taking the tariff off of lumber would cost him his standing with the party managers, as it would be in violation of the tariff plank of the Chicago platform, which distinctly declares as follows:

> We favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trust and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

The miserable appeal to passion and to prejudice formulated in the phrase "at the joint behest of the whisky trust and agents of foreign manufacturers" should deceive no one, and is only worthy of that class of men who, in political life, have reduced the matter of deception to an art whose leading characteristic is to make a diversion of the tax-payer and voter in one direction while his confederates rob him in another.

In view of this extraordinary declaration it is not strange that the Chicago Tribune and the St. Paul Pioneer Press, the two leading Republican papers of the Northwest, should denounce the Chicago declaration on the tariff as contrary to Republican principles and in violation of the entire past history of the position of the party on that question. The Pioneer Press, speaking for the Republican party in Minnesota and the Northwest, says that—

> Of the representatives of the Republican party at Washington not one in a hundred does not declare that the tariff plank adopted at Chicago, in a moment of excitement and without consultation with the delegates of all sections, is not good Republican doctrine. The Republican party, by all its traditions and declarations, by the expressions of its honored leaders, and by its acts when in power, is a party of tariff reform. It is not a party of free trade, nor is it a party of prohibitory tariffs. It has promised and it proposes to reduce the revenue derived from taxes on imports whenever the condition of the Treasury and the condition of native industries unite in declaring that this may be done with safety.

And, Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Chicago Tribune of June 26, written by its editor, an old-time Republican leader who was on the ground and knew the facts touching which he wrote down against the party of his choice, may, at least in part, account for the appearance of the new doctrine on the tariff question. Here is the article, which I commend to the careful consideration of my Republican brethren on this side the Chamber, and should it fail to impress them it may receive some consideration at the hands of the honest voter in the agricultural regions who has no interest in the matter of politics save to get at the very right of the business in hand.

> The Tribune ceased to feel confidence in Gresham's nomination as soon as it discovered the power of a few great or crooked corporations in the convention. From the moment that railroad attorneys and lobbyists from California, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, and New York took their places in the convention and made their first display of strength in electing Thurston, the Union Pacific lobbyist, to the temporary chairmanship, Gresham's chances became clouded.
>
> When availability was thrown overboard and the agents of Gouldism infused into the delegates the foolish notion that the ultra high-tariff plank would elect anybody, no matter how unpopular, and pointed to Oregon in support of the stupid assertion, the Tribune saw who was pulling the wires. Yet while the crooked railroad attorneys talked about the tariff plank electing any one, even a wooden Indian, their acts belied their words. Some days ago the Tribune

said that the real problem with the representatives of Gouldism in the convention was "how to defeat Gresham and yet secure a candidate who could be elected." So it proved. They sought to perform the work of their employer in accomplishing the political assassination of Gresham and yet wanted to secure themselves against the charge of betraying the Republican party to a crushing defeat.

Some of the most powerful forces in the convention might be enumerated thus:

First. Jay Gould and the Wabash wrecking crew, thirsting for revenge against Gresham for removing from control of the "system" Gould's right-hand man, formerly of Iowa, who was on the ground early and was deep in the secrets of every anti-Gresham caucus. Little seen by the public, no man exercised a more potent influence on the result than Gould's most efficient and capable lieutenant. Gouldism as arrayed against Gresham represented $200,000,000 of capital.

Second. The Central Pacific Stanford-Crocker-Huntington ring, with its able, plausible attorney, Creed Haymond, at the end of the California delegation. This firm has in its possession $150,000,000 of railroad plunder which a President of the Gresham stamp might compel it to disgorge. Naturally it fought hard to prevent the nomination of any such man.

Third. The Union Pacific Crédit Mobilier crowd, represented by Lawyer Thurston, who is shrewd, brainy, and nervy, and a packed delegation grossly misrepresenting the granger State of Nebraska. This ring has $150,000,000 worth of railroad Crédit Mobilier and other boodle to protect. It is deeply in debt to the Government, draws dividends on debts which it never intends to pay during the lifetime of any human being now in existence. It wants Mr. David Littler's free-and-easy eighty-year bill passed, which it knows Cleveland favors, and it feared that Gresham never would, as he is not that sort of man. Hence it fought him to the death, using the power of the granger State of Nebraska, nine-tenths of whose population indorse him, to defeat Gresham. It now laughs like Mephistopheles over the success of its schemes.

Fourth. Chauncey M. Depew, the railroad attorney and official head of the great Vanderbilt railroad syndicate, with its $300,000,000 of capital and its doctrine of "the public be d--d." With Depew as helpers were Tom Platt and Wood-Pulp Miller.

Fifth. The great Wisconsin railroads were represented by Senator JOHN C. SPOONER, the well-trained railroad attorney, who manipulated the Wisconsin delegation and put the votes where they would "do the most good." And the popular sentiment of the State for Gresham was ignored and disregarded with the utmost *sang froid*.

These were the leading representatives of corporate railroad monopoly, but with two or three exceptions there was hardly a delegation without a sprinkling of railroad attorneys and lobbyists. The land-grant rings were also represented. They argued that a President like Gresham would have discharged Lamar and retained Sparks, and thus cause them to lose millions of acres of public land which they had grabbed in violation of law. Like all the Gouldites who swarmed in from the East and West, they wanted no "d——d nasty particular honest" candidate, as they called Gresham—no man born in a log cabin and afflicted with homespun, granger notions about honesty and integrity. What great schemes of pelf and plunder might not such a man upset if intrusted with the mighty powers of the Presidency! The Wabash decision showed Gresham's spirit, and it was time an example was made of him for the effect it would have on other judges and public men.

Mr. Speaker, the proofs are overwhelming, and the apathy of the people at the known corruption of the times, and the refusal of party leaders to reduce taxation and check the extortions and robberies of the commercial monsters that are absorbing the wealth of the country, is absolutely amazing.

You ask me, Mr. Speaker, what all this has to do with trusts, and the pending question, and my answer is, everything. Less than twenty-five men, perhaps half that number, can to-day, through the commercial agencies representing the railroads, the telegraphs, the banks, and the manufactures, absolutely dominate the entire business interests of the country and levy upon it, in every department, just what tribute they see fit, and the usual rule is to "levy all" a given "industry will bear."

These great commercial establishments have found that they have a common commercial interest, and this has led very naturally to the development of the fact that they have a common legislative interest, and the result is a combination of instrumentalities in the hands of a few men that makes the strongest and most influential power, comparatively speaking, that the world has ever seen. It is idle to discuss the origin of the trust. It is born of greed and is the general agent and aider and abettor of all the great commercial establishments I have named. While it takes shelter in many instances under the protection of an unduly high tariff, it is a thing that could not well exist but for its alliance with the railroads and the favorite rates it receives as the price it pays for a division of the swag when the robbery is perfected.

In the specious and enchanting name of protection these great powers are plundering the people, and the trust is the handmaid and helper of them all. And, Mr. Speaker, the people need but look to note the fact that the most ultra defenders of railroad extortion and high-tariff duties are the defenders and apologists of the trust. The trust is the creature that goes out upon the road to destroy their rivals and rob their victims.

The undue power of these great commercial establishments must be bridled. The highwaymen who command the public highways of the country naturally head the procession. The highways are to the commerce of the country what alcohol is to the liquor traffic. Rates must be reduced and watered stock and bonds distilled. Tariff duties must be reduced. We must have protection but must draw the line at extortion. Corporate as well as governmental extortion and oppression must cease, and the more than one billion of money that is now taken wrongly from the tax-payers of the country by this dual system of burdens and taxes must be less with the people where it belongs. This vast sum reserved in the pockets of the people and free to flow in the channels of trade, aided, as it should be, by free coinage of silver, would tend to equalize the forces and give the country a prosperity that would apply to the people at large, as well as to the mill-owners and the trust and pool manipulators. Nothing has so grown in the last few years as the people's debts, and there should be an increase of money to relieve the stringency and enable them to pay out.

But the inverse of this order has prevailed, and money has so increased in value and the property with which the people have to meet the demands made on them has so depreciated in value that it would cause them to give up more of it to pay the national debt, now standing at about $1,000,000,000, than it would have taken of the same kind of property—beef, pork, corn, hogs, butter, cheese, and the like—than it would have taken to have paid the debt in 1865, when the amount was $2,700,000,000.

I believe in the adoption of such measures of investigation and such acts of legislation as will make trusts and all like institutions odious, and extirpate them, and therefore think the work of the committee should proceed. And in conclusion I beg leave to submit, as a part of my remarks, to be printed in the RECORD, the opinions of leading Republicans on the tariff, as they have been given to the country in speeches and in official reports and documents, and invite attention to these various opinions in connection with what I have said as to the rapid and extraordinary growth of the demand in this country for the retention of the high taxes that were imposed as temporary measures during the great war which threatened the life of the nation. There will be found in these opinions much wholesome food for profitable reflection.

APPENDIX.

REPUBLICAN OPINIONS ON THE TARIFF—WHAT PROMINENT PARTY MEN HAVE, DURING ITS HISTORY, HAD TO SAY IN FAVOR OF A LIBERAL SYSTEM OF CUSTOMS TAXATION.

[James G. Blaine on lumber—June 10, 1868.]

During the entire war, when we were seeking everything on earth, and in the skies, and in the waters under the earth, out of which taxation could be wrung, it never entered into the conception of Congress to tax breadstuffs—never. During the most pressing exigencies of the terrible contest in which we were engaged neither breadstuffs nor lumber ever became the subject of one penny of taxation. * * * Now, as to the article of lumber, I again remind the House that there has never been a tax upon this article. The gentleman from Ohio may talk on this question as he pleases; but I say that wherever the Western frontiersman undertakes to make for himself a home, to till the soil, to carry on the business of life, he needs lumber for his cabin, he needs lumber for his fence, he needs lumber for his wagon or cart, he needs lumber for his plow, he needs lumber for almost every purpose in his daily life.

[William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, on free wool—July 28, 1866.]

Let the raw material come in. Let us make blankets that will drive out English blankets. Let us make our own "English frieze" and "Peterboro' frosted beaver." Let us be able to rival England and France and other representative nations in making these cloths.

[Senator Ingalls, February 15, 1878.]

We can not disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revolution; the old issues are dead! The people are arraying themselves upon one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side is capital, formidably entrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious to old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own standard. On the other is labor, asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature, and subduing the wilderness; labor starving and sullen in cities, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer; a system which gives to a Vanderbilt the possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice and condemns the poor to a poverty which has no refuge from starvation but the prison or the grave.

[Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury. Recommendations in report, 1884.]

First. That the existing duties upon raw materials which are to be used in manufacture should be removed. This can be done in the interest of our foreign trade.

Second. That the duties upon the articles used or consumed by those who are the least able to bear the burden of taxation should be reduced. This also can be effected without prejudice to our export trade.

[President Grant, annual message, December, 1874.]

Those articles which enter into our manufacture and are not produced at home, it seems to me, should be entered free. Those articles of manufacture which we produce a constituent part of, but do not produce the whole, that part which we do not produce should be entered free also. I will instance fine woolens, dyes, etc. These articles must be imported to form a part of the manufacture of the higher grades of woolen goods. Chemicals used as dyes, compounded as medicines, and used in various ways in manufactures, come under this class. The introduction, free of duty, of such wools as we do not produce would stimulate the manufacture of goods requiring the use of those we do produce, and therefore would be a benefit to home production. There are many articles entering into "home manufactures" which we do not produce ourselves, the tariff upon which increases the cost of producing the manufactured article. All the corrections in this regard are in the direction of bringing labor and capital in harmony with each other, and of supplying one of the elements of prosperity so much needed.

[Mr. Kelley on tax reduction, April 22, 1872.]

If we adjourn on the 29th of May we shall have repealed no tax or duty, and the people will ask us in every paper and at every corner why we have continued the system of taxation, so largely in excess of the demands of the Government and the reduction of the public debt, at the rate of $50,000,000 per annum outside of what is already provided by law. On neither side of the House can justification be found, nor do I believe apologies which will prove entirely satisfactory to the tax-payers, who are loaded at every point and whose profits are absorbed in the excessive Treasury of the Government.

[William McKinley, of Ohio, 1882.]

The free-list might be enlarged without affecting injuriously a single American interest.

[Senator Warner Miller, of New York, 1882.]

The sooner we have that (tariff) revision the better it will be for all industries.

[Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, 1882.]

I will vote in any direction to bring about a resolute attempt to give us a revision of the tariff. I say that as representing a protectionist constituency.

[Mr. Kasson, of Iowa, 1882.]

Some excessive duties remain on the statute-book; some dutiable articles should be on the free-list, and some of the provisions of the tariff have become obsolete.

[Senator Sherman, of Ohio, 1882.]

We agree that the tariff should be revised and the taxes reduced. * * * Under existing law we are collecting from the people of the United States as national taxes the sum of fifty to one hundred millions of dollars more than is requisite to meet all the proper current expenditures of the Government and all our obligations to the public creditors.

[Eugene Hale, of Maine, in the House, 1871.]

The duty upon salt is now 18 cents per 100 pounds in bulk and 24 cents in sacks. The best Turk's Island salt can be purchased at the place where it is produced for from 9 to 10 cents per bushel. Any gentleman here can compute for himself the percentage of duty resting upon this article. I believe there is no one question about which the reflection of millions of people day by day is so decided as it is in declaring that there should be no tax upon this article of salt. I have been asked to amend the bill introduced by me so as to cut down the duty 50 per cent. I do not consent to that. I believe this article should go upon the free-list; that the monopoly which has obtained heretofore for the Onondaga Salt Works—as great and complete as any monopoly ever granted by the Tudors in England's most despotic times—ought to cease.

[President Grant, annual message, December, 1875.]

Many duties now collected and which give but an insignificant return for the cost of collection might be remitted, and to the direct advantage of consumers at home. I would mention those articles which enter into manufactures of all sorts. All duty paid upon such articles goes directly to the cost of the article when manufactured here, and must be paid for by the consumers. These duties not only come from the consumers at home, but act as a protection to foreign manufacturers of the same completed articles in our own and distant markets.

[President Arthur, annual message, 1882.]

A total abolition of excise taxes would almost inevitably prove a serious, if not an insurmountable obstacle to a thorough revision of the tariff and to any considerable reduction in import duties. The present tariff system is in many respects unjust. It makes unequal distributions, both of its burdens and its benefits. * * * I recommend an enlargement of the free-list so as to include within it the numerous articles which yield inconsiderable revenue, a simplification of the complex and inconsistent schedule of duties upon certain manufactures, particularly those of cotton, iron, and steel, and a substantial reduction of the duties upon those articles, and upon sugar, molasses, silk, wool, and woolen goods.

[Senator Sherman, of Ohio, 1867.]

In considering so complicated a subject as a tariff, nothing can be more deceptive than the application of such general phrases as a "protective tariff," "a revenue tariff," "a free-trade tariff." Every law imposing a duty on imported goods is necessarily a restraint on trade. It imposes a burden upon the purchase and sale of imported goods and tends to prevent every importation. The expression, "a free-trade tariff," involves an absurdity. If you converse with intelligent men engaged in the business of manufacturing they will tell you that they are willing to compete with England, France, Germany, and all the countries of Europe, at the old rates of duty. If you reduce their products to a specie basis, and put them on the same footing they were on before the war, the present rates of duty would be too high. It would not be necessary for scarce any branch of industry to be protected to the extent of your present tariff law. They do not ask protection against the pauper labor of Europe, but they ask protection against the creation of your own laws.

[Benjamin Harrison, November 28, 1882.]

The creation of the Tariff Commission was a confession that the tariff needs revision. If the report comes in it should be promptly acted upon. My opinion is that no time should be lost after Congress assembles in bringing forward these measures, and that no time should be lost during the holidays by adjournment.

[James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, 1881.]

The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week:

Spinners: English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.

Weavers: English, $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of 10 per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employés in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are fifty-six, in the Massachusetts mills sixty per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually sixty-six to sixty-nine per week.

Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.

From these returns it is seen that every American spindle consumes 66 pounds of raw cotton, while each British spindle consumes only 32 pounds, or less than one-half the American consumption per spindle.

It thus appears that each American operative works up as much raw material as two British operatives, turns out nearly $1.50 worth of manufactures to the British operative's $1 worth, and even in piece goods, where the superior quality and weight of the American goods are so marked, the American operative turned out 2.75 yards to 2.50 yards by the British operative.

[Senator Morrill, of Vermont, 1870.]

It is a mistake of the friends of a sound tariff to insist upon the extreme rates imposed during the war, if less will raise the necessary revenue.

[Senator Sherman, March 15, 1872.]

I have listened with patience, day by day, to the statements of gentlemen who are interested in our domestic productions. I am a firm believer in the general idea of protecting their industries, but I assure them, as I assure their Representatives here, that if the present high rates of duty, unexampled in our country, and higher by nearly 50 per cent. than they were in 1861, are maintained on metallic and textile fabrics after we have repealed the very internal taxes which gave rise to them, and after we have substantially given them their raw materials free of duties, we shall have a feeling of dissatisfaction among other interests in the country that will overthrow the whole system and do greater harm than can possibly be done by a moderate reduction of the present rates of duty.

[National Republican platform, 1868.]

It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

[National Republican platform, 1884.]

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus.

[Senator Allison, of Iowa, March 24, 1870.]

The tariff of 1846, although confessedly and professedly a tariff for revenue, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any that we have ever had.

But I may be asked how this reduction shall be made. I think it should be made upon all leading articles, or nearly all, and for that purpose, when I can get an opportunity in the House, if no gentleman does before me, I shall move that the pending bill be recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to report a reduction upon existing rates of duty equivalent to 20 per cent. upon the existing rates, or one-fifth reduction. Even this will not be a full equivalent for the removal of all the internal taxes upon manufactures.

[Justice Miller, of the United States Supreme Court, in Loan Association vs. Topeka. 20 Wallace.]

To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. A "tax," says Webster's Dictionary, "is a rate or sum of money assessed on the person or property of a citizen by Government for the use of the nation or State." Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the Legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes.

We have established, we think, beyond cavil that there can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose.

If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the inn-keeper, the banker, the builder, the steam-boat owner, are equally promoters of the public good and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public Treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town.

[Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, annual report, 1882.]

All agree that a revision of the tariff is necessary. The action of Congress in creating a commission for that purpose renders discussion on that point unnecessary. * * * The Secretary earnestly recommends a careful revision of the tariff, with a view to substantial reductions.

[Senator Allison, of Iowa, March 24, 1870.]

The agricultural interest, it will be seen, is much the largest interest in its aggregate products as well as in the number of persons employed. I believe no one will claim that this large interest is directly protected. It is true that under customs laws there is a small duty upon wheat, barley, oats, and other agricultural products, but it does not afford any protection to the great wheat and grain producing regions of the country. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Wilson], in discussing this question, stated that the cost of wheat in New England is about $1.70 per bushel, while in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin the price is about 65 cents per bushel. The Canadian wheat is the only wheat that comes in competition with our own. Canada being nearer New England than the wheat-growing States, more than makes up the duty in the reduced cost of transportation.

What is true of wheat is equally true of other grains. Therefore the farmer has practically no protection at all, and whatever benefit he derives is from what the home market furnishes for home products. Unfortunately for the farmer, the market price of wheat is fixed by the price which the surplus will bring abroad, or the price of wheat in London or Liverpool. At that market, where the surplus is sold, and which fixes the value of the whole crop, he comes in competition with the grain produced in the Crimea, in Hungary, and in the region of the Baltic, from fields cultivated by what is known, in comparison with our own, as pauper labor.

But I am told we must so legislate as to furnish a home market for all our agricultural products, and this can only be done by high tariff. Any one examining the subject will see that our agricultural products increase more rapidly than our population, so that if we do not export these products in their natural condition we must do so by converting them into manufactured articles and export these articles. But this can not be done under a high tariff, for all nations will buy manufactured products where they are the cheapest, and the nation selling the cheapest will control the market. This rule excludes our highly-taxed manufactures made from highly-taxed materials from the markets of the world, although we have natural advantages possessed by no other nation.

[Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, annual report, 1883.]

In the recommendations of the President and those of this Department, and the action of Congress, and in the expression of public opinion, there has been substantial accord as to how the needed reduction of the revenue should be brought about. It has been generally conceded that the internal-revenue taxes, except those upon spirits, fermented liquors, and upon the circulation of banks, might well be abolished. There has been difference whether the tax upon tobacco should be abolished or modified. There were but few advocates of the immediate total abolition of taxes upon spirits or fermented liquors. My last report said that taxes upon spirits and tobacco, being upon things not needful, should be retained rather than those upon the common necessaries of life; which, as a proposition, is not to be controverted. But it was conceded by all that a substantial reduction should be made upon nearly all imported articles subjected to duties.

[Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, September, 1884.]

Grave public questions confront us. There is a large, perilous, and growing surplus in the revenues. It must be removed, not by needless and extravagant expenditures, not by abolishing the proper taxation of whisky and tobacco, not by a stupid and injurious and horizontal reduction for politics only, but by plain business methods, by freeing entirely those great necessaries of life which enter into the daily consumption of every household, and by wise and discriminate reductions.

[John D. Long, of Massachusetts, September, 1884.]

There are only two ways to reduce the tariff. One by raising the tariff to a prohibitory height, which nobody advocates; the other, the free-list. The free-list is the honest revenue reformer's hope.

[Henry Wilson, late Vice-President.]

Men who have looked with hungry eye upon a Treasury overflowing with surplus millions do not wish to see the source from which those coveted millions are derived dried up. Now, as in times past, political ambition is not unwilling to sacrifice the business interests of the country in the hope to win political power. * * * I think American labor will be best protected by taxing all

the necessaries of life lightly; placing the raw materials which enter into our manufactures on the free-list; raising revenue to support the Government upon articles that come in competition with our manufactures and upon the luxuries of life, which are consumed by the more wealthy classes of society.

[Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, April 30, 1872.]

Now, I wish to say to the Senate that I am strongly convinced that we should go further, and reduce the tariff in material respects upon many other articles. * * * The country expects a large reduction, the country knows that it can be made, the country has been promised this reduction, and the dominant party here is responsible to the country for this reduction, and will be held responsible if it is not made.

[James A. Garfield, April 1, 1870.]

We have seen that one extreme school of economists would place the price of all manufactured articles in the hands of foreign producers by rendering it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them, while the other extreme school, by making it impossible for the foreigner to sell his competing wares in our market, would give the people no immediate check upon the prices which our manufacturers might fix for their products. I disagree with both these extremes.

I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the prices as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily we shall year by year approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade.

Mr. Chairman, examining the possibilities of the situation, I believe the true course for the friends of protection to pursue is to reduce the rates on imports wherever we can justly and safely do so, and, excepting neither of the extreme doctrines urged on this floor, endeavor to establish a stable policy that will commend itself to all patriotic and thoughtful people.

[Senator Allison, of Iowa, March 25, 1870.]

This large internal-revenue tax was made the excuse and the cause of the advance of the tariff of July 14, 1862, and June 30, 1864. I quoted the language yesterday of the then chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in 1862, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, himself a protectionist, and certainly in favor of the protection of the great interest of Pennsylvania, iron. He made a pledge upon this floor in 1862 that those additions of duties upon manufactured articles imported in this country were made necessary because of the internal-revenue taxes. Both he and Mr. MORRILL, subsequently chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, declared that the act of June 30, 1864, was a temporary measure, a war measure, and was not intended as a measure which should remain upon the statute-book as a protective tariff in the time of peace.

[William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, May 17, 1879.]

The average American workman performs from one and one-half to twice as much work in a given time as the average European workman. This is so important a point in connection with our ability to compete with the cheap labor manufactures of Europe, and it seems at first thought so strange, that I will trouble you with somewhat lengthy quotations from the reports in support thereof.

For the first time our manufactures are now assuming international proportions. At a time of universal depression we have met those nations which held a monopoly of the world's markets, met them in their strongholds. Within the last fifteen years we have demonstrated our ability by the brilliant development of our own resources to exclude by honest competition foreign manufactures to a large extent from our shores.

The question which now peremptorily challenges all thinking minds is how to create a foreign demand for these manufactures which are left after supplying our home demands. We can not stand still, for the momentum of increase will soon become so great that it will push us outward anyway. To push us safely and profitably is of so much importance as to almost overtop all other public questions of the hour. This question appeals equally to the selfishness and patriotism of all citizens, but to the laborer it appeals with tenfold force, for without work he can not live, and unless we can extend the markets for our manufactures he can not expect steady work, and unless our manufactures can undersell foreign manufactures we can not enlarge our foreign markets.

The first great truth to be learned by the manufacturers and workingmen is that the days of sudden fortunes and double wages are gone. We must realize the fact that ocean steam communication has annihilated distance and brought the nations face to face. This drawing together of the nations means equalization in trade, profits, wages, etc., the advantage being with those who soonest accept the situation. In the near future the workingman of New York can not expect twice or thrice the wages of his fellow-workingman in Europe while all other things—food, rent, clothing, etc.—are on an equality.

Under no consideration must we have strikes; under no consideration must our factories lie idle. If our manufacturers can not run their establishments profitably—and capital will no more remain permanently invested unprofitably than will labor work for nothing—and pay the prevailing wages, our working people must help them to make profit by consenting to a reduction of wages!

[James A. Garfield, July 13, 1868.]

Unless the tariff men take heed, unless they consent to a rational and considerate adjustment of the tariff such as only can be made by the full light that a careful statistical study of the subject will bring, I fear from them, more than from any other source, a reaction which will bring us by and by into free trade and all its consequences of evil to the manufacturing interests of the country.

I desire to say that, in my judgment, it is not the best mode of defending a tariff to denounce every man who does not pronounce the shibboleth after our fashion as an enemy of the tariff.

[Representative John H. Gear, of Iowa, January 16, 1880.]

To a State whose products are in the main agricultural, as are those of Iowa, anything which enhances the cost of railways, thereby even incidentally in the least degree increasing the expense of the transportation of her products to the seaboard, which is her great market, is a question of great interest to all. In view of their greater strength and durability, which lessens the cost of replacement, all the great trunk railway lines of the country are adopting Bessemer steel rails. The manufacturers of this class of rails in the United States are controlled by a combination of not exceeding, I think, ten firms in number.

This combination is protected by a high and specific tariff, which prevents the importation of foreign rails to any extent, thereby increasing the cost of the railways of the country. Without discussing the tariff question in all its bearings, it may well be considered whether it is wise legislation, by a tariff exceptional in its character, to put immense profits into the pockets of a monopoly composed of but few persons at the expense, indirectly, not only of Iowa farmers, but of the whole West. It would, therefore, be well to instruct our Senators and Representatives in Congress to examine into this subject with a view of removing by Congressional legislation any discriminations which may be found to exist in the tariff on steel rails against the interests of Iowa producers.

[James A. Garfield, March 10, 1871.]

I was surprised at a remark of the distinguished gentleman from Michigan. He asserted that there is no item in the whole tariff that can stand alone on its own merits, but that all must be taken in a lump in order to stand. That coal must take salt by the hand, and they, too, must take something else by the hand; and thus all interests unite with all forces before they can make a stand before the country. If this remark be true it strikes a blow at the whole tariff system, a blow I am not willing to strike. I am unwilling to admit that bad taxes must be tied to good ones and thus be kept afloat. I think it unwise to continue this duty on coal, and I am therefore in favor of its repeal.

[Representative Nelson, of Minnesota, March 29, 1888.]

In the face of these platform pledges, in the face of these admissions from unwilling witnesses, in the face of the large, ever-growing and threatening surplus, taken from the people by taxation and used by certain banks without any consideration therefor, and in face of the fact that so many of the barest necessaries of life are loaded down with the highest kind of tariff taxes, it makes me sick at heart to think that there are leading men on this side of the Chamber who can find at this juncture, and under these circumstances, no other field for tax reduction than the internal-revenue taxes on spirits and tobacco. Surely these things are not the diet on which the poor laboring man keeps his family.

Worthier, better, and juster, it seems to my mind, would it be to give our people—the toiling masses—cheaper food, cheaper fuel, cheaper clothing, and cheaper shelter—cheaper because released from the heavy and unnecessary bondage of high-tariff taxes. I will put free sugar, free coal, free salt, and free lumber against free whisky and free tobacco under all circumstances, and so will the great mass of the American people.

[Senator John Sherman, January, 1888.]

The tariff ought to be carefully revised, with a view to correct any inequalities or incongruities that have grown out of the change of values since the passage of the act of 1883; every imported article which does not compete with our domestic industry and is essential to the comfort and wants of our people should be placed on the free-list; every raw material of industry which does not compete with our own productions should be specially selected for the free-list.

[Representative Fitch, of New York, May 16, 1888.]

In the interest of the Republican party, and in the interest of common fairness, I propose to ask gentlemen on this side of the House to consider for a moment how the present tariff, which we have promised to revise, now affects the people whom I have described, and to consider what they pay taxes on in the general distribution of the customs taxes now in force.

They pay upon everything. Look for a moment at what they eat. There is a tariff duty on beef, on pork, hams and bacon, butter and lard, cheese, molasses, grapes, wheat flour, oats, corn meal, rye, barley, potatoes, raisins, vinegar, honey, rice and rice meal, sugar, extract of meat, pickles, currants, apples, salt, and condensed milk. The list is substantially an inventory of the stock of the grocery store at which they buy. There is a duty on the coal which warms them, on their cooking and household utensils, on their entire clothing from their hats to their stockings, on the medicine given them when they are sick, and on the roofs over their heads.

[James A. Garfield, May 18, 1872.]

And I know, moreover, that for nearly two years the wholesale price of American salt in Toronto, Canada, was $1 lower per barrel than the same salt was selling for on the New York side of the lake. That is, we produced it, shipped it across, paying whatever portage, freights, and transportation were required, and then sold it to our Canadian neighbors at $1 per barrel less than it was sold to people on our shores. Certainly, gentlemen will not want a duty continued that enables that thing to be done.

[Senator Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, June 29, 1886.]

The duty must be levied on the raw material or on the manufactured article. If you levy it on the raw material you discriminate against American labor, and if you levy it on the manufactured article you discriminate in favor of American labor. You must have either a protective tariff or a tariff which discriminates against American labor.

[John Sherman, 1872.]

It must be remembered that the present duties, taken together, are far in excess of what they were before the war, and that they have been three times largely increased since the passage of the Morrill tariff act of 1861. * * * Such excessive protection not only ceases to diversify production, but forces labor into protected employments. If the present rates of duty were high enough during and since the war, when home industry was burdened with heavy internal taxes—with stamp duties, income taxes, and high rates on raw materials—then surely they are now too high when all these taxes are removed.

[Hugh McCulloch, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, December, 1887.]

In the main I agree with those views. I am very glad to see Mr. Cleveland insist with such emphasis upon putting the issue squarely before the people. His action, under the circumstances, marks him as a man whose ability has been greatly underestimated. There is no question over which the General Government has jurisdiction that is of such vital importance as the financial policy which we are to pursue. Mr. Cleveland has marked out a course which can safely be followed.

[Governor McGill, of Minnesota, December, 1887.]

The people of the Northwest are naturally tariff reformers. Democrats and Republicans find no difference on this material issue. The result is that I am glad to see the President take such a radical position on the question. I am sure it will meet with general approval all over the Northwest.

[Republicans vote for free coal, June 6, 1870.]

Mr. Ward submitted the following:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee of Ways and Means is hereby instructed at the earliest moment practicable to report a bill to this House to abolish the tariff on coal, so as to secure that important article of fuel to the people free from all taxes."

Ayes—Allison, Cullom, Dawes, Hale, Hawley, Logan.

[Horatio C. Burchard, of Illinois, March 24, 1870.]

If a duty averaging nearly 100 per cent. on the cost of the foreign article is necessary to maintain this branch of industry (salt), we may well consider if it were not better to abandon it.

The business under a tariff of 15 per cent. from 1857 to 1861 seems to have been flourishing. Does it require more protection as the business becomes established?

But the chief objection to the duty on salt is, that of the $3,000,000 paid for revenue and protection, the greater part is paid by sections of the country and industries that receive no corresponding benefits.

The chief consumption of salt is by those engaged in fisheries, and in raising and curing beef and pork.

It affects the farmer doubly; as a consumer, for personal use, he pays his equal share of as much of the tax as falls upon commodities, and as a producer it increases the first cost of the exportable product of his farm.

[Senator Trumbull's amendment to tariff bill, March 26, 1872.]

And that from and after the passage of this act salt shall be placed on the free-list, and no further import duties shall be collected on the same.

Yeas—Blair, Hamlin, Logan, Sumner, and Windom.

[Mr. Allison, in Congress, March 24, 1870.]

I will say with regard to the duty on wool and woolens, that I regard it not as an intentional fraud, but as operating as though it were a fraud upon the great body of the people of the United States. I allude to the woolen tariff, a law, the effect of which has been to materially injure the sheep husbandry of this country. In a single county in the State of Iowa, between 1867 and 1869, the number of sheep was reduced from twenty-two thousand to about eighteen thousand in two years, and what is true of this county is true to a greater or less extent of other counties in Iowa, and during this time the price of wool has been constantly depreciated.

Mr. LAWRENCE. I should like the gentleman to inform me how a reduction of the duties on wool and woolen goods would inure to the advantage of the wool grower?

Mr. ALLISON. I will tell the gentleman how, in my judgment, the wool grower will be benefited. As the law now is the tariff upon fine wools of a character not produced in this country is 100 per cent. upon their cost. The tariff upon woolens of the same class is only about 50 per cent., so that the finer woolen goods are imported, and not the coarser fabrics. Before the tariff of 1867 our manufacturers of fine goods mixed foreign fine wools with our domestic product and were thus able to compete successfully with the foreign manufacturer of similar wools. But being prohibited from importing this class of wools, these fine goods can not now be produced in this country as cheaply as they can be imported. Consequently, mills that were formerly engaged in producing these goods have been compelled to abandon business or manufacture the coarser fabrics. If they could afford to manufacture those fine goods, they would make a market which we do not now have for our fine wools to be mixed with other fine wools of a different character from abroad. This want of a market, as I understand it is the reason why our fine wools now command so low a price. There is no demand for them at home, and we can not export them in competition with fine wools grown in other countries.

[Chester A. Arthur's letter of acceptance, 1880.]

Such changes should be made in the present tariff system of taxation as shall relieve every burdened industry and enable our artisans and manufacturers to compete successfully with those of other lands.

[Henry Wilson, in the Senate, 1857.]

The manufacturers, Mr. Chairman, make no war upon the wool-growers. They assume that the reduction of the duty on wool, or repeal of the duty altogether, will infuse vigor into that drooping interest, stimulate home production, and diminish the importation of foreign woolen manufactures and afford a steady and increasing demand for American wool. They believe this policy will be more beneficial to the wool-growers, to the agricultural interests, than the present policy. The manufacturers of woolen fabrics, many of them men of large experience and extensive knowledge, entertain these views, and they are sustained in these opinions by the experience of the great manufacturing nations of the Old World.

Since the reductions of duties on raw materials in England, since wool was admitted free, her woolen manufactures have so increased, so prospered, that the production of native wool has increased more than 100 per cent. The experience of England, France, and Belgium demonstrate the wisdom of that policy which makes the raw material duty free. Let us profit by their example. If our manufactures are to increase, to keep pace with the population and the growing wants of our people; if we are to have the control of the markets of our own country; if we are to meet with and compete with the manufacturers of England and other nations of Western Europe in the markets of the world, we must have our raw materials admitted duty free or at a mere nominal rate. We of New England believe that wool, especially the cheap wools, manila, hemp, flax, raw silk, lead, tin, brass, hides, lin-seed, and many other articles used in our manufactories can be admitted duty free, or for a mere nominal duty, without injuring to any extent any considerable interest of the country.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, the remarks I have felt it my duty to submit to the Senate and the country, that the Commonwealth I represent on this floor—I say in part, for my colleague, Mr. Sumner, after an enforced absence of more than nine months, is here to-night to give his vote, if he can raise his voice, for the interest of his State—has a deep interest in the modification of the tariff of 1846 by this Congress. Her merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and business men, in all departments of a varied industry, want action now before the Thirty-fourth Congress passes away. They are for the reduction of the revenue to the actual wants of an economical administration of the Government: for the depletion of the Treasury, now full with millions of hoarded gold; for a free-list, embracing articles of prime necessity we do not produce; for mere nominal duties on articles which make up a large portion of our domestic industry, and for such an adjustment of the duties on the productions of other nations that come in direct competition with the product of American capital, labor, and skill as shall impose the least burdens on that capital, labor, and skill.

[Senator Sherman, March 22, 1872.]

I beg Senators who are casting votes to remember the result of those votes. We have now by the vote of the Senate thrown off a revenue amounting to about $17,000,000. We have left untouched all the high taxes of the tariff unabated and undiminished. These taxes are higher than they ever were before in the history of this country, or any other country in the world. Those taxes are retained at war rates. Let me remind Senators that four times during the war we increased the tariff rates, once by 50 per cent. throughout. The rates at the beginning of the war, in 1861, were fixed by the Morrill tariff bill, and that was regarded as a protective tariff; it was passed by the friends of protection, and gave all the protection that was claimed by the friends of protection to American industry. It is what is commonly denominated a protective tariff. The rates prescribed by that tariff were four times increased during the war; once by a single blow 50 per cent. was added to the rates. They have never been diminished except here and there on casual articles, and two years ago we took off about one-third of the duty on tea and coffee and added a few articles to the free-list. All the other war duties remain.

[In the Senate, April 22, 1872.]

On Senator Lyman Trumbull's amendment to place salt and coal on the free-list, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, said:

On this question I am paired with the Senator from Vermont. I understand that the Senator is in favor of free coal, and I am against free salt. [Laughter.]

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Vermont?

Mr. MORRILL, of Vermont. Yes, sir; myself. [Laughter.]

And then the vote was taken and Mr. Morrill recorded as absent. Among those voting for the amendment were Senators Hamlin, Logan, and Windom.

[House Journal, June 27, 1870.]

Mr. Reeves introduced the following resolution:

"Whereas salt is an article of prime necessity and universal consumption, which, proportionally to numbers, forms a larger item in the domestic economy of families of small or moderate means than it does in those of the wealthier classes, and ought, therefore, at all times to be lightly taxed, as is consistent with a due regard to the revenues needed for an economical administration of the Government; and

Whereas in any genuine and well-considered scheme of revenue reform, duties which tend directly and largely to augment the cost of such a commodity as salt should be reduced in preference to others which bear less heavily upon the resources of the great body of the people: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Committee of Ways and Means is hereby directed and instructed to report to this House forthwith a bill reducing the present duties on all classes of salt 50 per cent."

Voting for this resolution were DAWES and HOAR, of Massachusetts; KELLEY, of Pennsylvania; Schenck, of Ohio, and Wheeler, of New York.

[House Journal, February 19, 1872.]

On motion of Mr. HALE to suspend the rules and instruct the Committee of Ways and Means to report a bill placing coal and salt on the free-list, the following voted in the affirmative: HALE, HAWLEY, and William A. Wheeler.

[Senator Joseph R. Hawley, August 4, 1882.]

I will not vote for the entire abolition of direct taxation, nor can the gentleman find a wise government or a wise head of finance in any foreign country that is in favor of taking all duties from whisky and tobacco. They are the legitimate plunder of the tax-collector, the legitimate plunder of the exchequer in every government of the world. They all get a large part of their revenues from them.

[Representative John A. Kasson, of Iowa, July, 1866.]

And now what does this bill do? It raises the tariff on lumber, which is so necessary to the Western prairie farmer; on nails, without which he can not drive his boards on his house or build his fence; and on salt, without which he can not preserve his beef and pork. There is hardly a thing we consume which this bill for ets to raise the duty upon. Every prominent necessity of life, food, fuel, shelter, and clothing, is embraced and made more expensive to the consumer throughout the country. Even on boys' pocket-knives the duty is increased about three times, 600 per cent., and yet it is said this is a tariff for mere protection.

[Senator James W. Grimes, of Iowa, January 24, 1867.]

Mr. President, the man who opposes the passage of this bill must expect to be slandered. The "protectionists," as they choose to call themselves, have already opened the vials of their indignant wrath upon the heads of those whose opposition they anticipated. Threats of utter political extinction are hurled against every man who, in the exercise of an independent judgment, is not prepared to impose upon his constituents the burdens which the various manufacturing combinations demand. That portion of the public press subsorned to their interests is rife with charges that "the capital is thronged with free-traders, and that British gold is operating to secure American legislation for British interests." Every man is condemned in advance who would inquire before he would vote.

We know what all this means, and so far as I have the ability I am resolved that the people shall know what it means.

It means that two or three large manufacturing interests in the country, not satisfied with the enormous profits they have realized during the last six years, are determined at whatever hazard to put more money in their pockets; and to this end they have persuaded some and coerced other manufacturing interests to unite with them in a great combination demand for what they call protection to American labor, but what some others call robbery of the American laborer and agriculturist.

It is the fashion to denounce every man who does not favor a prohibitory tariff as a free-trader. The charge is made that free-trade agents are at work to influence Congress and that our tables are encumbered with free-trade document. Who has seen these free-trade agents? I have yet to see the first man who was in favor of free trade, nor have I seen any man who was opposed to a revenue tariff which would incidentally protect such branches of American industry as needed the fostering aid of the Government. It is on questions of detail that we differ. We disagree as to how much money shall be taken from the pocket of Peter to support and enrich his brother Paul.

[John A. Logan, in the House, April 18, 1870.]

Now, when the gentleman, who seems to be the protector to an especial manner of the great labor interests of the country, speaks of this protection being the protection of the labor of this country, I ask him: Does not every farmer and mechanic in this broad land make use of iron in all kinds of labor? The 4,000,000 men that have been freed recently are laborers, are producers, not manufacturers. They are not men of skilled labor; they evidently are not the men who are protected. And then there are the men in the Northwest who produce corn, wheat, oats, pork, and beans, etc.; they are producers and consumers, and are not protected; and it is they who pay this large amount of money into the pockets of the manufacturers of this article. And when a gentleman stands upon this floor and tells me that this high, this extraordinary high tariff is for the protection of the laboring men of this country who are not skilled laborers, I tell him I do not understand how he can possibly substantiate such a theory.

[The late Emory A. Storrs, of Chicago.]

Finally, what is a tariff? It is a tax. It is nothing less and nothing but a tax. It is a tax which we do not pay to the Government; for where protection begins revenue ceases. The consumer is impoverished, the Government is not aided.

[Judge Thomas M. Cooley, of Michigan, in Constitutional Limitations.]

Constitutionally a tax can have no other basis than the raising of revenues for public purposes, and whatever governmental exaction has not this basis is tyrannical and unlawful. A tax on imports, therefore, the purpose of which is not to raise revenue, but to discourage and indirectly prohibit some particular import for the benefit of some home manufacturer, may well be questioned as being merely colorable, and, therefore, not warranted by constitutional principles.

[Representative Benjamin Butterworth, of Ohio.]

Every nation that is worthy the name is seeking to enlarge the area of its trade and commerce, to enlarge the opportunity to buy and find new markets in which to sell.

[Senator Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont.]

The tariff was intended to be revised, so that there should be some reduction in the cost of living. It was obvious from the first that woolens and wools would have to submit to their fair, equitable, and just share.

[Levi P. Morton, April 5, 1880.]

Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois, moved to discharge the Ways and Means Committee from further consideration of House bill No. 5265, and that the same be passed. The bill was as follows:

"*Be it enacted*, etc., That sections 2503, 2504, 2505, of Title XXXIII of the Revised Statutes of the United States be revised and amended so that the duty on salt, printing type, printing paper, and the chemicals and materials used in the manufacture of printing paper, be repealed, and that said articles be placed on the free-list."

The result was—yeas 112, nays 80, not voting 100. Among those recorded as voting ay is Levi P. Morton, of New York.

[Report of the Tariff Commission, 1882.]

The commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defenses. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the commission regards not only as a due recog-

nition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction. * * * Excessive duties, or those above such standard of equalization, are positively injurious to the interest which they are supposed to benefit. * * * And in the mechanical and manufacturing industries, especially those which have been long established, it would seem that the improvements in machinery and processes made within the last twenty years, and the high scale of productiveness which has become a characteristic of their establishments, would permit our manufacturers to compete with their foreign rivals under a substantial reduction of existing duties. * * * The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free-list and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions, at which the commission has aimed is not less on the average than 20 per cent., and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent.

[John B. Hay, of Illinois, March 14, 1870.]

Resolved, That it is the sense of this House that our present system of taxation is exorbitant and needlessly burdensome, and that a reduction of taxation is demanded, both of tariff and internal taxes, to the lowest amount consistent with raising revenue sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government, to discharge the interest of the national debt, and to maintain the national credit; and that a tariff for revenue with duties properly adjusted must necessarily afford all the advantage to which any interest is entitled.

March 14, 1870, S. S. Marshall submitted the following:

"*Resolved*, That the present depressed condition of the business and the various industrial interests of the country demand of Congress prompt action in relieving the people of all burdens of taxation not absolutely necessary to provide for the wants of the Government economically administered; and that in reforming existing tariff laws legislation should be based upon these principles:

"First. That no duty should be imposed on any article above the lowest rate which will yield the largest amount of revenue.

"That the maximum revenue duty should be imposed on luxuries, etc."

On a motion to lay this motion on the table, Garfield, HALE, HAWLEY, and ALLISON voted in the negative.

[Senator P. B. Plumb, of Kansas, January 17, 1883.]

I do not ask that any duty shall be increased. No one raising anything within the State of Kansas and no manufacturer in that State asks for an increase of duty on anything. We do ask that a ring—if I may use that expression without offense—a collection and combination of interests located upon the eastern frontier of this country, near to the seat and source of power, easily accessible to tariff commissions and easy to get their ears, shall not have their own way about everything of this kind, entirely irrespective of the sections of this country remote from the seat and sources of power.

Mr. President, some of us have got to be consulted before this bill finally passes, and some of us will be consulted after the bill has passed in regard to the reasons for the action or non-action taken. I say now to the persons who have the run of this thing, to those who have had control and are better posted, and have been able by arts and by various processes to do those things which were not thoroughly understood—I beg of them to consider that the people are watching this proceeding and that they want no higher taxes, but lower taxes, and that in giving the protection for American industry they want to give a decent chance to a class of people who, by reason of their calling, can not be protected at all, but who have got to take their chances in the markets of the world for their products, hard products to raise, expensive products to get to market, and in the production of which there is the smallest margin of profit.

I was talking with a farmer from Massachusetts to-day about this thing. He said he had as good a farm as there was in the old Bay State, and yet he said that he could barely make both ends meet, and he complained to me that one of the reasons why he could not do so was because everything else that surrounded him was so much protected that it simply took the difference between profit and loss in his calling and left him a very slim chance indeed from year to year.

Reconstruction of the Federal Courts.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE E. SENEY,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 20, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 8190) to define and regulate the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States.

Mr. SENEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: In the Committee on the Judiciary my vote was cast against this bill. While the minority of the committee have made no formal presentation of their views in opposition to this measure, it will be remembered by my colleagues that it was stated in committee that these views would be presented to the House, if not in a report then in debate.

This bill, it will be noticed, is entitled "A bill to define and regulate the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States," and is reported by the Judiciary Committee as a substitute for House bill No. 1199, introduced in January last by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ROGERS]. But, sir, if we wish to understand all that the substitute proposes, and which is the bill now before the House, we must not rely upon its title. The substitute as well as the original bill ought to be carefully read and thoughtfully studied.

Before calling the attention of the House to the provisions of the bill, let me speak for a moment of the report of the committee accompanying the bill. This report tells us that the bill should become a law because it will destroy the judicial despotism of our present judicial system by creating an intermediate appellate court with power to revise the final judgments of the United States district courts in all civil cases and in all criminal cases, except misdemeanors.

The precise meaning or force of the expression "judicial despotism," as applied by the majority of the Judiciary Committee to the present judicial system, is not very clear to my understanding. If there be any despotism in our judicial system and it can not be got rid of in any other way than by creating another Federal court, then, perhaps, the intermediate court, for which this bill provides, ought to be established, but if the despotism does not exist, but is merely imagined, then there is one reason less for creating such a tribunal. Again; the committee's report informs the House that this bill, if a law, will simplify the whole Federal judicial system by making it, in many respects, like the judicial system in force in several of the States. When it is remembered that there are thirty-eight States, and that their judicial systems widely differ, we are in doubt as to which of the States we are to follow if we would favor this measure.

But for a time let us put the report to one side and take a look at the bill. The bill provides for what the majority of the committee are pleased to term an "intermediate court," not, however, by creating a new judicial tribunal to be known by that name, but by taking the present circuit court and so changing the laws respecting its jurisdiction and the laws organizing it as to make the circuit court a different tribunal from what it is under existing law. One of the noticeable changes proposed is the increase in the number of circuit court judges. The bill calls for nine additional circuit court judges, each at a salary of $6,000 per annum. While the annual expenditure required by this provision of the bill is not large, yet it is not unworthy of considerate thought when legislating respecting our Federal courts.

Again, the bill is open to very serious objection on account of its provision respecting the removal of causes from State courts to United States courts. Under existing law, long in force, certain causes commenced in a State court may be removed for trial and judgment to a circuit court of the United States. It is very questionable whether the right to remove should be extended beyond the limits prescribed by existing statutes. This bill authorizes a removal to either the circuit or district court, and for this reason this part of the bill ought not to become a law. While it may be well enough to provide by law for the removal of certain causes from a State to a Federal court, there is no good reason why the removing suitor should be allowed to choose between two courts rather than be limited to one.

With respect to the jurisdiction of the district courts the bill is quite satisfactory. It provides that the district courts shall have the jurisdiction conferred by existing laws, and, in addition, all the original jurisdiction now vested in the circuit courts, except in habeas corpus, mandamus, and prohibition.

Upon the circuit courts of the United States the bill confers no original jurisdiction, except, as just stated, in mandamus, prohibition, and habeas corpus, and as to other writs necessary for the proper exercise of appellate jurisdiction.

It will be seen, therefore, that the bill proposes to make the jurisdiction of the circuit courts, except as to the writs named, purely appellate. In all civil causes the bill provides that the circuit courts shall have appellate jurisdiction by writ of error in cases proper for such writ, and in all other cases by an appeal; and, strange as it may appear, in criminal cases the provision is that the circuit courts shall take appellate jurisdiction by an appeal, and also by writ of error. Why two ways rather than one for getting into the circuit court from the district court? In criminal cases the review by the circuit courts may be upon a writ of error, or it may be upon appeal which the bill makes a matter of right; but when a writ of error is proper and when an appeal is proper, or whether or not both remedies are proper, and both are to be pursued at one and the same time, the bill is not clear.

Criminal judgments are best reviewed upon a writ of error, and hence provision for their review in some other way, particularly upon appeal, is objectionable for obvious reasons. In civil cases how is it to be determined and by whom, whether a given case is to be taken to the circuit court by a writ of error or by an appeal?

In prescribing remedies statutes ought to be more than ordinarily certain and explicit. Nothing should be in doubt; there ought not to be even a remote chance for mistake. There is nothing in our whole judicial system more deserving of reproach than that which turns a party out of court because he mistook his remedy; or, in other words, because he came in by appeal instead of by writ of error, or by writ of error instead of appeal. One plain, adequate, and complete remedy is sufficient, and more than one is wholly unnecessary.

The better thought of the legal profession is against cumulative remedies. In our reports may be found case after case where justice was denied a party because of a mistake of his counsel in choosing a remedy. The case of Stickney *vs.* Wilt, 23 Wallace, 150, well illustrates this point. Upon reading this case it will be seen that valuable rights were lost because of a mistake as to the remedy. The late bankruptcy act authorized an appeal from the district court to the circuit court, where the petition made a case in equity, while in all other cases not strictly in equity or at law the remedy provided was a petition to review in the circuit court the judgment of the district court.

There were strong reasons for believing that the case was one for re-

view, and strong reasons also for believing that the act required an appeal, and between a review and an appeal the party invoking the appellate jurisdiction had to choose at his peril. The case was taken from the district court to the circuit court by a petition in review, but in the Supreme Court it was held to be appealable and not the subject of review, and this holding closed the door to all inquiry as to the merits of the controversy.

Sir, if we are to have two ways for getting from an original jurisdiction to an appellate jurisdiction, either in civil or criminal cases, each ought to be clearly and plainly defined and thus make a mistake in choosing impossible. According to my understanding, one purpose of the bill is to make the circuit court a mere paper tribunal, with a jurisdiction limited to a review of the record made in the district court, and if this be so there is no reason why both a writ of error and an appeal should be authorized in civil cases, nor any other mode of review prescribed in criminal cases than by writ of error.

Again, it will be noticed that the bill provides that in equity cases the judgment of the circuit court upon questions of fact shall be final and conclusive, subject to the right of either party to have the facts specially found, while in cases at law provision is made for a full and complete record by a bill of exceptions, and causes thus made may be taken to the Supreme Court, either by a writ of error or by appeal. In capital cases the bill provides that they be tried in the district court, and provides also that the judgment of the district court in such a case may be reviewed upon appeal or by a writ of error in the Supreme Court, but it will be noticed that the bill gives no intimation to the accused when his remedy is an appeal or when it is by a writ of error, so that he, in a matter involving his life, is exposed to whatever may be the consequences of a mistake in choosing between two remedies.

The objections we have urged against the bill, because it gives the right to review in the circuit court the civil and criminal judgments of the district court, either upon appeal or by a writ of error, apply with equal force to that provision of the bill which authorizes a writ of error or an appeal to the Supreme Court from the circuit court in civil and capital cases, and therefore they need not be repeated.

Another objection to the bill is because of the provision which limits the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in civil causes to those in which the matter in controversy exceeds the sum or value of $10,000, exclusive of costs.

Under existing law the limitation is $5,000. Under this bill, if this sum or value be less than $10,000, even a penny less, the Supreme Court would have no power to hear and determine the controversy. The change from $5,000 to $10,000, it is said, will greatly relieve the Supreme-Court docket, and for this reason, and this reason alone, is it urged. The limitation, if fixed at $10,000, will not affect any cause now on the docket of the Supreme Court, and while in the future it would no doubt keep out of that court causes which would get there if the limitation was $5,000, yet we must not forget that in relieving the Supreme Court by fixing the limit at $10,000, we make the court of last resort practically a rich man's tribunal. Yes, the limitation, if changed from $5,000 to $10,000, will relieve the Supreme Court by reducing the number of cases which otherwise would be upon its docket, yet such a limitation would operate as a denial of justice to many a poor or well-to-do suitor. If the Supreme Court needs relief from an overcrowded docket it ought to be afforded in some other way than by closing its doors against those who have but little of this world's goods.

Again, the Supreme Court is authorized to take jurisdiction where the amount in controversy is less than $10,000, if the judgment of the circuit court directly concludes, by way of estoppel or by agreement of parties, an amount in value equal to or in excess of $10,000. My best efforts at understanding the meaning or intent of this provision have been in vain. In what way this provision may affect the right to have a review of the judgment of the circuit court in the Supreme Court in certain cases is by no means clear. If this be an exceptional jurisdiction, it ought not to be conferred, or if conferred, it ought to be done in words which will vest no discretion in the court, but, on the contrary, vest an indefeasible right to an appeal or a writ of error in the parties to the suit.

Mr. Speaker, this bill aims to cure all of the defects in the Federal judicial system, but, to my mind, there is one defect which gives more offense than all of the others, and this the pending bill, instead of removing, makes infinitely worse. Respecting the organization of the Supreme Court, the circuit courts, and the district courts, in the beginning, or of the subsequent legislation enlarging their jurisdiction, or providing for its exercise, enough perhaps has been said.

In establishing these courts one hundred years ago no doubt it was thought best to have the one dependent to a great extent upon the other, and for this reason, perhaps, no circuit court judges were then created, but the circuit court was made to consist of a judge of the Supreme Court and a judge of the district court.

Why the legislation of that period did not go further under this dependent plan of organization and authorize the judges of the Supreme Court to sit in the district courts, and the judges of the district courts to sit in the Supreme Court, if not as judges, then as advisory members, is not at this time important to inquire. When these courts were first established perhaps there was no necessity for having judges specially appointed for the circuit courts, and, therefore, judges were made for the Supreme Court and for the district courts, thus constituting the circuit court, to use the language of the majority of the Judiciary Committee, an intermediate court, where the low-court and high-court judges could meet and compare notes and interchange views.

Possibly when these courts were first established judicial timber was scarce and that then no more could be obtained than what was necessary to supply the Supreme Court and the few district courts, but the judicial woods had a larger supply at the time the appointment of nine circuit court judges was authorized (1869), and then was a most fit occasion to have reconstructed our judicial system upon a plan more in accord with the thoughts then entertained by our people. But it was not done. We are now near twenty years in advance of that unimproved opportunity, and again the subject of the organization and jurisdiction of the three Federal courts is before us for consideration.

The bill we are considering is bad, because it adheres strictly to the original plan of organization, and it is bad because it makes the Federal courts more interdependent than they are under the existing system. The bill, it will be observed, provides that in capital cases the accused shall be tried, virtually, by the district and circuit court at one and the same time. "In the trial of indictments for crimes the punishment whereof is capital," says the bill, a judge of the circuit court shall sit with the district judge in the district court. Will any gentleman on this floor tell the House why, even in capital cases, a district court of the United States ought to have the help of an outsider, a judge of another court, if you please, upon the trial? In civil causes, involving great interests, and presenting difficult and intricate questions, and in all other criminal cases, cases in which heavy fines and long imprisonments are imposed, the district judge acts upon his own knowledge of the law and the facts.

A district judge is supposed to be qualified to try all civil causes and qualified to try all criminal causes, capital cases not excepted. Indeed, under our judicial system as it is and has been from the beginning a judge of the district court was thought to have all the judicial talent necessary for a judge of the circuit court, and hence the law for nearly a century has made him a member of the circuit court.

Again, the bill provides that the circuit courts shall consist of a judge of the Supreme Court and two circuit court judges, any two of whom shall constitute a quorum, and in the absence of these judges the number of judges necessary to make a quorum may be supplied from the district court bench of the circuit. In proposing to organize the circuit courts in this manner there is reason to believe that the friends of this bill are of the opinion that circuit courts can not be held without help from the Supreme or district court bench.

Again, the bill provides that a circuit judge may hold the district court either with or without the district judge.

A circuit judge may hold the district court—

Says the bill—

in place of or in aid of the district judge, as the occasion may require.

Mr. Speaker, a judicial system so constructed must be disliked, and dislike for it intensifies at the thought that the same judge who decides a case in the court below may decide it again in the court above. So hateful are these features of this bill that the promoters of this measure, from sheer necessity, no doubt, were obliged to insert a provision that no district judge before whom a cause or question may have been tried or heard in the district court shall sit on the trial or hearing of the same question or cause in the circuit court. In this provision we have an acknowledgment full and complete upon the part of the friends of this measure that a judicial system such as we have under existing laws, or such as this bill proposes to establish, is fundamentally wrong.

Sir, if it be necessary to relieve the present system from a part of the odium which is now upon it, equally necessary is it to relieve it from the whole. As long as a judge of the Supreme Court may decide in the circuit court what he may again decide in the Supreme Court, so long will the present system be hated. And as long as a Federal judge is authorized to sit in the circuit court in review of his opinions formed in the district court, so long will our judicial system be a reproach to free institutions. Sir, that portion of this bill which authorizes a supreme judge to sit in the circuit court, a circuit court judge to sit in the district court, and a district court judge to sit in the circuit court, shows not only that the present judicial system is weak and indefensible, but as well the purpose of this bill to continue it in force, and to this my opposition is fixed and unalterable.

From these vices, for vices they are, the present system ought to be thoroughly purged. The law which compels a party to submit his cause to a court one member of which, in another court, formed and expressed an opinion respecting it, and that, too, upon full advice and after mature deliberation, is, from every point of view, an evil enactment. Such a law does little if anything more than make an opportunity in the court above for a judge to insist and persist in the opinion he held in the court below. Instead of doing the part of an upright judge, in many cases he plays the rôle of the advocate, and with inordinate zeal presses his opinions upon his associates, and at a time, bear in mind, when the door of the consultation-room is closed against all save the members of the court.

While such a statute may not be repugnant to the Federal Constitu-

tion, it certainly is not in strict accord with the guaranty found in the constitutions of some of the States, that all courts shall be open and every person for an injury done him in his land, goods, person, or reputation shall have remedy by due course of law and justice administered without denial or delay. Our jury system, of which we so proudly and so justly boast, would be universally execrated if it permitted a juror to sit upon the trial of a case respecting which he had formed and expressed an opinion. A fair and impartial trial by a jury means that all jurors having opinions as to the case shall be excluded from the panel. A fair and impartial trial by a court means that no one of its members shall have opinions previously formed or expressed.

Hence if it be right to provide in this bill that a district judge shall not sit in the circuit court in a cause heard by him in the district court it is equally right to forbid a Supreme judge from sitting in a cause in the Supreme Court which he heard in the circuit court, and also to forbid a circuit judge from hearing in the circuit court what he heard in the district court; and the failure of this bill to so provide renders it unworthy a place among our statutes.

But we are told, sir, that the provisions of this bill wou'd, if enacted into law, give great relief to the Supreme Court of the United States. In support of this statement we are reminded that the causes now upon the docket of that court can not be heard and determined inside of three years, and that the number of new causes docketed during the year exceed the number disposed of during the same period of time. Upon pending causes it is plain that the bill, in case it becomes a law, can have no effect.

Whether this bill passes or does not pass, the time required to hear and determine all docketed causes will be the same.

Relief may be expected to some extent through the prohibitory limitation which the bill imposes on the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Under this limitation it will be impossible to get into the Supreme Court causes like many now upon its docket. We have already argued that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court ought not to be fixed so as to operate as a denial of justice to suitors whose rights have the value of $5,000; and what has been said upon that point need not be repeated. Again, the circuit courts and the district courts, it is expected, will contribute largely to this relief. But they will not, for the plan upon which it is proposed to reorganize these courts is illy conceived and will fail in its execution.

Sir, to my mind there are better ways for relieving the Supreme Court than those proposed by this bill. Of the ways suggested that of increasing the number of Supreme Court judges seems to have a good many friends. In my judgment nine judges for this tribunal are sufficient, and the addition of more, even one, would take from rather than add to the usefulness and efficiency of that court. To increase the present number with a view of dividing the court into sections would be in effect to establish two courts when the Constitution says there shall be one. A court composed of nine judges will dispose of more business than will a court composed of more than nine, and the decisions as a rule will command higher respect.

In the States, or in most of them, the courts of last resort have to do with questions of the highest importance and which affect large and varied interests, and in none do the number of the judges exceed nine. New Jersey leads with nine. Maine and Maryland each have eight. Seven States, including New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, are content with seven each. The State of Ohio and ten other States have five. Four States have four, and thirteen have three. From these facts it will be seen that the courts of last resort in the thirty-eight States are composed of one hundred and eighty-four judges, and that the average number to a court is five. From all this we may well conclude that the Supreme Court of the United States with nine judges is well composed, and to increase the number would be unwise.

Sir, the Supreme Court would be largely relieved by a repeal of the law which compels the judges of that court to sit in the circuit courts. The Supreme Court of the United States ought to be an independent tribunal, and neither it nor its judges ought to have any connection with another court except what may be required for the proper exercise of an appellate jurisdiction. The sessions of the Supreme Court are held at the seat of Government, and therefore no court duties ought to be performed by either of its judges at any other place. To require a judge of that high tribunal to sit in an inferior court is wrong, and the law which compels it ought to be stricken from the statute-book.

The reasons for making a judge of the Supreme Court a judge of the circuit court may have been good and sufficient at the time it was done; but in this day those reasons are without force, and other reasons strongly suggest that the best policy is to relieve the Supreme judges from attendance upon the circuit courts, and require from them no official duties except those which rightfully and exclusively pertain to the high office of a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The law which makes a judge of the Supreme Court a member of the circuit court ought to be repealed, and no bill to reconstruct the Federal courts is complete without such a repealing provision. The repeal of this law would enable the Supreme Court to continue its sessions two or three months longer each year, and thus would the time of the judges now required in the circuit courts be given to their duties in the Supreme Court.

Again, the Supreme Court would be greatly relieved if the circuit courts were constructed and organized differently from what they now are, and differently from what is proposed by the pending bill. A considerate reconstruction of the circuit courts would not only relieve the Supreme Court, but add largely to the present standing of the circuit courts. While the circuit courts of the United States hold a very high place in the public mind, they can be raised higher by proper legislation. It is true that under our judicial system the judgments of a circuit court can not be as high authority as the judgments of the Supreme Court, yet it is possible for us to make them equally sound, wise, and learned, and if this be accomplished the other questions involved in this discussion are less difficult to consider.

It is within our power to so constitute the circuit courts as to make them in many cases the court of last resort. This is not to be done, however, by excluding parties from the Supreme Court, but by making the circuit courts equal, not in the number of judges, but in their ability and character, to the Supreme Court. A judge of the circuit court ought to be fit in every respect for a judge of the Supreme Court. Three such judges in the circuit courts would give higher character to those tribunals—higher than they have hitherto had. If the circuit courts were so composed, there is reason to believe that litigants in many cases would accept their judgments and make no appeal to the Supreme Court to review them. Such circuit courts would make little business for the Supreme Court, and hence to a very considerable extent they would be courts of last resort. The Supreme Court, had we such circuit courts, would not have one case upon its docket where now it has five.

But there is still another way to relieve the Supreme Court. Under existing laws and by the provisions of the pending bill patent and copyright causes are heard in the Supreme Court upon the facts as well as the law. If the judgment of the circuit court in this class of causes was made final and conclusive as to the facts, subject to the right of either party to have the facts specially found by this court, this would give great relief to the Supreme Court. And if the circuit courts were differently constituted, their judgments in patent and copyright cases might be made final without harming in the least any interest, public or private.

Mr. Speaker, in this contention for a better judicial system I insist that the three Federal courts be made independent tribunals. The Supreme Judges and the district judges ought to be put out of the circuit courts and the circuit judges ought to be put out of the district courts. Those judges ought to be the sole judges in their respective courts, and under no circumstances ought they to sit in judgment in any other court. Sir, more than three courts we do not need. In reconstructing these courts a few more judges may be required, but this will add to the usefulness of our judicial system, and therefore it ought not to meet with objection.

We now have seventy-five Federal judges—nine in the Supreme Court, ten in the circuit courts, and fifty-six in the district courts. In this connection it is to be observed that thirty-seven years ago, when our population was 25,000,000, we had forty-four Federal judges. Ohio then had a population of 2,000,000, and for her three courts of common-law jurisdiction there were thirty-two judges. But in the appointments of a judicial system that State is now far in advance of the United States. Our population is now perhaps 58,000,000, and our judicial force for three courts is seventy-five. In Ohio, with a present population of perhaps 3,500,000, the judicial force for the same number of courts is one hundred and three. It seems incredible that there are twenty-eight more judges in the courts of Ohio than are in the United States courts, yet the official records verify the statement. Other States may possibly make showings in this respect not unlike Ohio.

The Supreme Court, sir, so far as the number of judges are concerned, is well composed, and so, too, are the district courts with a single judge; and a repeal of the laws requiring these judges to sit in the circuit courts and a repeal of the law which authorizes a circuit-court judge to sit in the district court—this done, the three Federal courts are independent tribunals. As the number of district courts increase with the growth of the country the number of district judges will increase, but more than one judge for a district court is not necessary, and when he is disabled from any cause to hold his court, authorize it to be held by another district judge. A district court thus constituted with the original jurisdiction it now has, and with the original jurisdiction now in the circuit courts, it is believed would be a court faultless in organization. With such an organization the responsibility for the administration of justice in the district court would not be as now divided between its judge and a judge of the circuit court, but, on the other hand, it would be personal—individual—with the district judge.

If we would have the circuit courts independent tribunals we must by proper legislation so constitute them. As to their jurisdiction, let that be original in habeas corpus, quo warranto, mandamus, and procedendo, and appellate in all other cases. Let the United States be redistricted for circuit-court purposes, and instead of nine circuits have twelve—in each circuit constitute a court of three judges equal in ability to those upon the Supreme Court bench, two to be a quorum, and in case of the inability of either judge to attend let his place be filled by another circuit judge, and require two terms of the circuit court to be held in each district in each year.

Such a tribunal would be essentially distinct and in every respect

independent. The circuit courts thus reconstructed would make these tribunals the equal in every particular of the Supreme Court, except in the number of judges. Will it be said that such a reconstruction of the Federal courts will make twenty-six more Federal judges? Be it so. With this addition the number of Federal judges will be one hundred and one, which is two less than the number of judges in the three State courts in Ohio, and less no doubt than in several of the other leading States of the Union. The number of persons holding office under the General Government largely exceeds one hundred thousand, and it is believed that less than a thousand are in the judicial department. Will it be said that twenty-six additional circuit judges will add $156,000 to our annual expenditures? Yes, this is true. The annual salaries of the Federal judges now aggregate $203,000, and with twenty-six additional judges this sum would be increased to $359,000.

In a single State—New York—no doubt the judicial salaries paid to the judges of State courts exceed this sum, and probably in Pennsylvania, and it may be in Illinois, and also in other States. The State of Ohio pays her judges for her three courts yearly salaries amounting to $294,000, and besides each of the eighty-eight counties in that State has a judge for its probate court, who draw nothing from the public treasury, but have fees instead of fixed salaries, which are paid by those for whom they do service. Estimating these fees at $200,000 a year, it will be seen that Ohio judges are paid yearly $201,000 more than the sum now paid each year to the Federal judges, and $135,000 more than they would receive if twenty-six were added to the present number. A judicial system for the United States which costs less money to maintain than a judicial system in a single State like Ohio, ought not to be complained of because of the expense.

Mr. Speaker, with the circuit court judges out of the district courts these tribunals will be independent; with the Supreme Court and district court judges out of the circuit courts these tribunals will be also independent, and so, too, will be the Supreme Court of the United States. The circuit courts reconstructed in the manner we have indicated will be made the equal or nearly so in standing of the Supreme Court. Each of these courts thus constructed would have ample time to dispose of its business and parties would not suffer from delay. To secure such a judicial system we may well wait a little longer rather than make a law out of the bill now before the House.

Question of Privilege.

REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES N. BRUMM,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, September 6, 1888.

Mr. BRUMM said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I rise to a question of privilege. Inasmuch as the attention of the House has been called to my extravagance in expending 10 cents for each of three postage-stamps for the delivery of a letter to my colleague, Mr. SCOTT, I think I may as well read that letter and his reply.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, what is there before the House?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] states that he rises to a question of privilege.

Mr. BLAND. We would like to have the question of privilege stated before these letters are read.

Mr. BRUMM. I have risen to a question of privilege, and I am proceeding to state it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BRUMM:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., August 22, 1888.

DEAR SIR: About three months ago you cast reflections on my conduct, charged me with making certain false statements about you on the floor of the House of Representatives, and said, *inter alia*, you would bring me before the bar of the House and make me prove it, etc.

Ever since then I have been patiently waiting for you to take some action in the premises, and as you seem to have abandoned the subject I feel it due to myself to show that you (not intentionally, I hope) have misstated the facts, that what I said was true, and that I am not guilty of the charges you made or the reflections you cast on me.

I will therefore, to vindicate myself, rise to a question of privilege some time before Saturday, September 1, and as I do not want to do injustice to you I wish to know what day will be most convenient for you to be present.

A prompt reply will greatly oblige,

Yours, respectfully,

CHAS. N. BRUMM,
Member Congress.

Hon. WILLIAM L. SCOTT.

ERIE, PA., *August* 23, 1888.

Hon. CHARLES N. BRUMM.
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Your letter of 22d received too late for me to be in Washington, without great inconvenience, on Saturday, but will return latter part of next week.

W. L. SCOTT.

Mr. BLAND. I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLAND. So far as the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] has gone this matter seems to be simply a question between the two gentlemen from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM and Mr. SCOTT] which arose in debate here, and I do not see that there is any question of privilege involved.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not think there is any question involved in the reading of the communications which have passed between the gentlemen from Pennsylvania, but the Chair supposed that this reading was simply preliminary to a statement of the question of privilege.

Mr. BRUMM. It is simply preliminary to what I am about to say. If the gentleman will possess his soul in patience he will see the bearing of it.

Mr. BLAND. The gentleman might take up an hour or more in stating what his question of privilege is.

Mr. BRUMM. It will be time enough when I have stated it. The gentleman need not be alarmed.

On Saturday, May 5, 1888, Hon. THOMAS R. STOCKDALE, of Mississippi, made a speech on the floor of the House, the House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, having under consideration the bill H. R. 9051, to reduce taxation, etc., in which speech he tried to show, following in the wake of most free-traders, that the tariff was responsible for employers employing Pinkerton and other detectives, and Coal and Iron police, etc. While he was trying to show that I rose and the following colloquy took place:

Mr. BRUMM. Is it not true that the very men who have employed the Pinkerton men in all these coal strikes are free-traders, headed by Mr. SCOTT, of this House; Mr. Corbin, of New York, and Mr. Cox, of Pennsylvania, all free-trade Democrats.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Does the gentleman charge that Mr. SCOTT has done so? Does he assume to say that he has?

Mr. BRUMM. I assume to say that he has, and I am responsible for that statement and am ready to prove it.

Mr. MCMILLIN. Well, you and he can settle it between you. He says it is not true.

Mr. BRUMM. Mr. SCOTT, Mr. Corbin, and Mr. Cox, Democratic free-traders——

Then Mr. STOCKDALE proceeds with his speech.

I find in the RECORD of May 17 a speech of Mr. SCOTT, in which he speaks of certain contracts under seal, etc., and as to what he has done and will do in reference to the workingmen; and then I asked this question:

Mr. BRUMM. Will the gentleman include also his anthracite miners?

Mr. SCOTT, Yes, the anthracite miners, too.

After that Mr. SCOTT proceeds to say:

I will stand upon my record at home and with my people. And if I have ever been the oppressor of labor, if I have ever ejected a man from his home, if I have ever endeavored in my life, although I have been, I may say, a large employer of labor, to put one laborer in the place of another, or to force one man in the place of another; if I have employed a detective—not a Pinkerton detective merely, but any other kind of a detective—to come and protect my property or to protect it against the men that are working for me, or have worked for me, I, sir, will resign my seat and leave this Hall the day it is proved.

Mr. BRUMM. Does the gentleman not contribute to pay the coal and iron police?

Mr. SCOTT. I never so contributed. I know you made a statement on this floor that I had employed Pinkerton's detectives, which is false.

Mr. Speaker, this is the way it appears in the RECORD of May 17th; but as was shown by my colleague, Mr. DALZELL, who read from the stenographic report, and which I know to be accurate because I was present and heard it; the insertion should be as follows:

I never so contributed. I know you made a statement on this floor that I had employed—

not Pinkerton detectives, but—

coal and iron police. It is false.

And stops there. It should have proceeded—

It is false as hell itself.

That is exactly what took place.

Mr. BRUMM. And I will prove it.

Mr. SCOTT. I will make you prove it. I am going to bring you before the bar of this House and make you prove that charge.

Mr. BRUMM. All right; I will be there.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman's argument in regard to my employing a $10,000 cook has the same foundation for truth that some of his other statements have; and if such were the fact, sir, I could only compare the wages paid my cook with the wages paid by his clients at the Edgar Thomson Steel Works. As to the salaries paid my secretaries, or at least those who assist me in my business, if he refers to the men in my employ, I can tell him that there are a good many of them who get more than $5,000 a year.

Now, I have nothing more to say. I have been identified with the laborers of this country all my life; I have worked and toiled with them; and when I start out to rob anybody or to get anybody's money it will not be the money of the wage-worker of this country. [Applause.]

In the RECORD of May 22 I find the following, in an altercation be-

tween my colleagues, Mr. SCOTT and Mr. DALZELL, which took place in my absence:

Mr. SCOTT. Now, Mr. Speaker, that was the utterance of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] during my absence from the House, but the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the next morning did not show one word of what has just been read. But, sir, the gentleman from Pennsylvania who uttered that took occasion to see that it was sent out in the public press of this country, charging me with engaging Pinkerton's detectives and being in alliance with Mr. Corbin and other gentlemen from Pennsylvania whom I have never seen and do not know. And the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] now gets up in defense of the charges he makes against me and tries to show that I have been misrepresenting Mr. BRUMM as to the charge he made against me. At the time that he fell from the Pinkerton police he dropped into the local police. I send to the desk and ask to have read a telegram received by me from the superintendent of the mines in Mr. BRUMM's district. This telegram is sent in reply to an inquiry of mine, "Have you ever employed a Pinkerton detective?"

The Clerk read as follows:

"SHAMOKIN, PA., *May* 10, 1888.

"W. L. SCOTT, *Washington:*

"No, sir, never had any occasion to employ detectives.

"HOLDEN CHESTER."

And I ask you to keep that name "Holden Chester" in memory.

Mr. SCOTT. Now, sir, that is all I have to say in regard to this question. If the gentleman [Mr. DALZELL] is satisfied with what he stated, and is willing for this whole thing to go before the country in the condition in which he has put it, it is perfectly agreeable to me; and I will not detain the House by discussing it further.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Who is Holden Chester, who signs that telegram?

Mr. SCOTT. He is my superintendent at the mines in Mr. BRUMM's district.

My colleague, generally inaccurate, is in error when he says that his colliery is in my district. I am glad he has none there. It is on the border of the neighboring district in Northumberland County.

Now, the speech that was made by Mr. STOCKDALE, of Mississippi, on May 5, was not inserted in the RECORD on the following day, but his remarks were withheld for revision, and if my interruptions as a matter of fact did not appear in the RECORD of the next day, as alleged by my colleague, Mr. SCOTT, it was through no fault of mine and certainly because of no action on my part, because they were printed in Mr. STOCKDALE'S speech, and he having withheld his remarks for revision, of course my assertions and interruptions did not appear in the next day's RECORD.

When the gentleman asserts that I had published broadcast the facts as to my statement, he errs again. I published nothing of the kind. I presume the press got hold of it and probably published it, and in that way it was circulated, but I had nothing to do with it, and hence the gentleman does me a great injustice in both respects.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as to the charge that he employs Pinkerton's detectives or Coal and Iron police, and that with regard to his assertion that if he has ever been the oppressor of labor or had ever ejected a man from his home, or ever endeavored in his life to put one laborer in the place of another, or to force one man into the place of another, or if he has ever employed a detective or any of Pinkerton's men, or any other kind of detective, then on being confronted with the fact he will resign his seat on the floor of this House.

I claim, sir, that I shall prove he is guilty or that some "William L. Scott" is guilty of every phase of the charge and of the statement in the RECORD. It is true he does not charge me directly with having withheld the publication of my remarks in the RECORD, but he does it by telling only a part of the truth and not the whole of it.

The usual form of an oath that has existed for centuries indicates the various kinds of falsehoods that may be stated when it says, "You shall tell, first, the truth; second, the whole truth; third, nothing but the truth." The first kind of falsehood is that indulged in by the ignorant and common blackguard. The second is a higher order of falsehood, and is such as was indulged in by the mocker of religion when he quoted from the Bible, "There is no God," but failed to recite the whole paragraph, which says, "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." The third is the very pink and essence of this art, and the more insidious and dangerous, because it tells a part of a truth and not the whole of it, as was demonstrated by Mahomet when he established his religion on the great dogma that God is God, and then maintained it with fire and sword with the false dogma, "I, Mahomet, am his prophet." The latter is the usual style indulged in by the professional charlatan who enters the arena as the friend and champion of labor and proclaims, "I am an employer of labor," as a great truth, and then, while coining his millions out of the sweat and blood of his workingmen, dons the martyr's robe and asserts, "I only do it for sweet charity's sake," declaring that while he is under no obligation to the workingman, yet the workingman should be very thankful that he is permitted to work for him under the reduced wages brought about by himself and his co-conspirators—the lowest wages to which they can possibly reduce him.

I have not said that my colleague is guilty of all of these kinds of falsehood; but, sir, there is, as I said before, some "William L. Scott" guilty of all of them; and as my colleague says that he is not guilty, and that the charges are as false as hell—if he is the truthful and honorable gentleman that he represents himself to be, I am extremely anxious to find out that other "William L. Scott, of Erie." I shall read first a few extracts from newspapers [derisive cries on the Democratic side], and will then give some more substantial proof right in his own locality. Do not be alarmed, gentlemen; you will get all you want of it.

In speaking of this memorable strike yesterday Mr. George Mains, now a resident of West Newton, but who was at that time employed at No. 1 mine, in Scott Haven, said——

Mr. BLAND. I will not raise the point that this is not a question of personal privilege, as everybody knows it is not; but I hope this will not be taken as a precedent hereafter.

Mr. MCCLAMMY. I hope the gentleman from Pennsylvania will be allowed to proceed.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. BRUMM (reading):

"I am glad you came to see me about this, for ever since SCOTT'S speech I felt as though the public should know how far Mr. SCOTT has told the truth. During the reading of his speech I could not help calling him a liar many times."

"Did any evictions take place at Scott Haven during the strike of 1880?" asked the Leader man.

"Yes, indeed. After the men were on strike for some time and refused to go to work at Mr. SCOTT'S terms he turned on them like a lion. He was then far from being labor's friend—what he now claims to be. I will never forget the day he did his dirty work. It was one of the coldest days that came during the spring of 1880, but, notwithstanding this, all who refused to go to work were ordered to vacate the company's houses on that day. Some obeyed the order on Monday, but others, on account of the cold weather, still held on to their houses. Wednesday arrived, and with it came David Orr, the constable, from West Newton, with a posse of men to carry out the orders of the company."

Mr. WILSON, of Minnesota. I rise to a question of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. WILSON, of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, we have business of great importance with which we ought to proceed; and we have heard enough of this matter to know that it would not, perhaps, be very edifying to anybody to have it continued. I therefore make the point, Mr. Speaker, that there is no question of privilege in this matter. I think it is wrong to waste the time of the public in this way.

Several MEMBERS. Let him go on.

Mr. WILSON, of Minnesota. No; I raise the question, and insist on it. [Cries of "Go on!"]

Mr. BRUMM. Does the gentleman want to discuss the point of order?

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks that strictly speaking this does not present a question of privilege. Still, the gentleman has commenced his remarks and proceeded thus far; and the Chair thinks that there was a sort of understanding at least between the gentleman now on the floor and the gentleman on the other side of the House [Mr. SCOTT] that these statements should be made this morning, as the attempt was made the day before yesterday and again on yesterday by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] to obtain the floor. Therefore, unless the point of order is insisted upon, and the Chair is compelled to decide it, the Chair thinks that the gentleman from Pennsylvania should be allowed to proceed.

Mr. WILSON, of Minnesota. I understand the Chair does not rule on the question.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not rule on it. The Chair has stated, however, that he does not think it presents strictly a question of privilege under the rules of the House, but that the gentleman from Pennsylvania is proceeding under what is supposed to have been an understanding.

Mr. WILSON, of Minnesota. Very well, if there has been a compact of that sort I do not press the point; but I protest that this is——

Mr. SCOTT. I hope the gentleman will be allowed to proceed.

Mr. BLAND. In that connection, I hope time will be given to each side.

The SPEAKER. This understanding, about which the Chair speaks, was that the gentleman might proceed with his statement, and that there should be only one hour given on each side.

Mr. SCOTT. I do not want more than ten minutes. I hope that the gentleman will be allowed to proceed and finish his remarks, but I desire to ask the gentleman about one fact if he will allow me to put a question to him.

Mr. BRUMM. I will yield to a question, but not to a speech.

Mr. SCOTT. The question in dispute between you and myself grew out of the language and a charge that you made against me that I had used Pinkerton detectives. You made that charge when I was absent from the House. I denied that charge. Then you accused me of employing Reading Coal and Iron detectives, and I denied that charge; and I said that I would bring you before the House and make you prove it. That was the only question between you and myself growing out of that whole transaction, and what you are interjecting here is not relevant to the issue between you and myself.

Mr. BRUMM. By the time I get through the gentleman and all the members on this floor will see that it is very relevant and pertinent. I shall not read any more from this at present, but have it printed with my remarks.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I object to his printing anything in the RECORD. Whatever he has got to print in the RECORD he must verbally state here.

Several MEMBERS on the Democratic side. That is right.

Mr. BRUMM. If I have time I will read it afterwards, but I will read something now that will be more substantial. I have here a letter, which I may read or may not, as it will depend upon my time.

Here is a letter written by Mr. Wild, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers:

PITTSBURGH, PA., *May* 11, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Hearing that you are to make your speech on the tariff issue to-morrow, and learning that you desire some authentic data regarding the past course of that avowed enemy of organized labor, Mr. W. L. SCOTT, we herein give you a history of what occurred at Mr. SCOTT'S rolling-mill at Erie, Pa., in 1882. It is part of our published proceedings of convention, as you will observe, and has passed into history so far as our organization is concerned. It is needless to say that he used every device known only to tyrannical capitalists such as W. L. SCOTT is, and as a result he, by means of his "iron-clad" agreement, here appended, annihilated our organization in his Mount Hickory rolling-mills at Erie and evicted the men living in the company houses who refused to sign said agreement.

You will observe that in his circular he claims to be unable to pay the men the wages demanded, and yet he and his free-trade colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee claim that low-priced iron and steel, etc. (which would follow the passage of the Mills bill in order to preserve our markets from foreign competition), has no bearing on wages.

We request that you engraft this in your speech; and as the representatives of thousands of men who are benefited by a protective tariff, as we believe the whole country is, we give you liberty to make such disposition of this as you see fit.

Annexed is the data referred to.

Yours, truly,

WILLIAM WEIHE, *President.*
WM. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

Hon. CHARLES BRUMM,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. BRUMM. The paper that he refers to is a very long one. I showed it to Mr. SCOTT this morning and told him that I would have it printed in the RECORD.

Mr. SCOTT. I signed that paper.

Mr. BRUMM. You signed a part of it.

Mr. SCOTT. I signed the whole of it.

Mr. BRUMM. You signed a part of it and the workmen signed the other part. I will only read a few extracts from it, and from what the gentleman says he signed. "When this mill was started, in May, 1879, its policy was to employ non-union men." And in the same paper, which the gentleman says he signed, it says:

Individual contracts will be made with each employé of the mill. These contracts will be in the hands of the superintendent on Wednesday, July 5, and the men who desire to continue to work in the mill must notify the superintendent, and those who are unwilling to do so must prepare to vacate the premises occupied by them belonging to the company.

[Applause on the Republican side.]

Now, the answer of the man I also shall ask to have printed if the gentleman thinks it will do him no harm.

Mr. SCOTT. There is nothing in that, and you can print everything you read there.

Mr. BRUMM. I have a letter here which is confidential, but I have inquired from my colleagues [Mr. BAYNE and Mr. DALZELL] and they say the party is a responsible gentleman, and they assure me he is thoroughly reliable. I will only treat his name as confidential, as he is afraid he might have himself black-listed and have to remove from that section of country. [Derisive jeers on the Democratic side.] Oh, well, they have been driven away as you in the South have driven them away.

Mr. BLAND. Do I understand the gentleman proposes to read a letter without giving the name of the party?

Mr. BRUMM. I do, unless you object. [Evidences of dissent on the Democratic side.] I will not, if you object.

I have a letter from Mr. Gilbreath, who is an officer of the Typographical Union of Erie, Pa. I shall not read it at present, for fear my time shall be too short, and I shall ask to have it printed in the RECORD, as it shows Mr. SCOTT'S conduct at the Erie docks, where he discharged workingmen and employed Italians and Hungarians, and where he favored child-labor and refused to accede to the demands of the Typographical Union on child-labor [applause on the Republican side], and that he runs a "rat" office. That term is understood by workingmen very thoroughly.

Now, I shall have printed, if not objected to, a copy of a letter which he sent to his superintendent, a Mr. Taylor, on the subject of evictions. The letter has been extensively published, and the substance of it is that he insisted upon the eviction of tenants if they would not agree to a reduction of wages while they were on strike. I hold in my hand an affidavit establishing the genuineness of that letter:

McKEESPORT DAILY NEWS,
McKeesport, May 25, 1888.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
County of Allegheny, ss:

Personally came before me James L. Devenny, who, being duly sworn, doth depose and say that the annexed fac-simile of a letter written by W. L. SCOTT, of Erie, Pa., to his mine superintendent at Scott Haven, Pa., is a correct copy of the original, which was given to Mr. Devenny in eighteen eighty-five (A. D. 1885).

JAS. L. DEVENNY.

Sworn to and subscribed this 25th day of May, 1888.
[SEAL.] JOHN W. STEWART,
Notary Public.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall take time to read the iron-clad contract that we have all heard so much about. It is as follows:

MINER'S CONTRACT.

This agreement, made this 28th day of June, A. D. 1887, between the South West Gas Coal Company, of the first part, and ——— ———, of the second part, witnesseth: That the said party of the second part has agreed, and by these presents does agree, to enter into the employment of said party of the first part, as a miner of coal, to commence on the 28th day of June, A. D. 1887, and continue therein until either party hereto shall give the other thirty days notice to the contrary, when, at the expiration of such period, this contract shall cease and determine; but during the continuance of the same the party of the second part agrees to abide by, adhere to, and observe the rules and regulations hereto appended, which are hereby made a part of this contract, and to abide by and observe all other rules and regulations promulgated from time to time by the said coal company, with the consent of the party of the second part, for the purpose of regulating mining and other employment in and about the coal mines of the said coal company, and not to be absent without leave, except in case of sickness or other unavoidable contingency that would prevent him from work; also to keep his room in good working order.

The said party of the first part agrees that in case steady and continuous work can not be furnished the party of the second part, during the life of this agreement, that such work as may have to be done shall be fairly divided with, and apportioned to the said party of the second part, on the basis of all the men so employed at and during such time; also to pay the said party of the second part for each and every ton of coal mined by him, and delivered on pit cars at the face of the room where the same is mined, after it is screened over the screens of the company, the same price per ton that is paid by the Penn or Westmoreland Gas Coal Companies, for and during the time the said second party hereto is mining said coal; and in case the men at the Penn or Westmoreland Gas Coal Company's mines should stop work for any cause whatever, when the said second party hereto is working under this contract, that then and in that case the said party of the second part shall be paid for all coal mined by him during the time said Penn or Westmoreland Gas Coal Company's men are not at work, the price per ton that the Penn or Westmoreland Gas Cas Coal Company's men were receiving at the time when they stopped work; and in case the Penn or Westmoreland Cas Coal Company's men resume work, and are paid a higher rate per ton for mining than that received by them when they stopped work, that then and in that case the said party of the second part shall receive in addition to the price per ton already paid, or to be paid, for all coal mined by him during such period of suspension of work at the Penn or Westmoreland Gas Coal Company's mines, an additional amount for same, equal to the difference between the price paid per ton at the time of such suspension, and the higher price agreed to be paid by the Penn or Westmoreland Gas Coal Companies to their men; and for all coal mined on and after the date of such resumption of work by the Penn or Westmoreland Gas Coal Companies the payment to the second party hereto to be as hereinbefore provided. All payments to be made on the regular pay-day, and in accordance with the rules and regulations aforesaid; and the pay-day will be on the ——— ——— of each month for all wages or moneys the party of the second part may have earned during the last month previous to such pay-day.

And the party of the second part further agrees that he will not stop work, join any "strike" or combination for the purpose of obtaining or causing the company to pay their miners an advance of wages, or pay beyond what is specified in this contract, nor will he in any way aid, abet, or countenance any such "strike," combination, or scheme for any purpose whatever during the time specified in the first clause of said contract. And if the second party shall violate any of the provisions of this contract in this regard, at any time, he shall thereby forfeit all claims for coal previously mined and not paid for, and the first party be released from liability therefor.

In witness whereof, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

THE SOUTH WEST GAS COAL CO.,
By J. F. HOSACK,
Agent and Superintendent.
——— ———.

———, ———,
Witness.

Then follows the poor, wretched miner's signature after that of Hosack, the superintendent.

Mr. O'FERRALL. What is his name?

Mr. BRUMM. Never mind his name; you shall not have him black-listed. Then come the rules and regulations of the South West Coal Company, which I will read:

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE SOUTH WEST GAS COAL COMPANY.

[Adopted for the purpose of regulating mining and other employment in and about their coal-mines.]

I. Every employé of the company will be expected to perform a full day's work in his respective line of employment, unless the foreman of his department orders less time to be worked.

II. Any suspension of work during working hours by any portion or all of the company's employés, for the purpose of holding or attending any meeting for any purpose whatsoever, whether above or below ground, affecting the operations of the company's mines, is positively forbidden.

Mr. Speaker, I had some experience myself in the system of coal mining, and I know that very often a case arises when the boss imposes upon the men some new burden, and under this regulation they can have no immediate remedy, but must submit to whatever the boss chooses to impose upon them until they stop work that day. That one day's service, at least, you have got secure against those whom I call your slaves.

III. The company will not deal with any committee purporting to represent any league, organization, or combination of workmen, but will deal directly and individually with each of its employés.

IV. Any employé feeling aggrieved in any respect must present his claim to the pit-boss, in person. If they fail to adjust the matter in a manner satisfactory to the employé, it may be referred to the superintendent (if either party desire), whose decision, upon the hearing of both sides of the question, will be final.

V. Any employé who may have been discharged by the company, or who may leave, with the consent of the company, shall receive all arrearages of pay due him at once.

VI. No person will be allowed to interfere in any manner with the employer's just right of employing, retaining, and discharging from employment, as provided herein, any person or persons whom the superintendent or pit-boss having charge of the mines for the time being may consider proper; nor cause, or interfere in any way by threats or menace, or otherwise, with the right of any employé to work, or engage to work, in any way, and upon any terms, and with whom he may think proper and best for his interest, or the benefit of his family.

VII. No employé will be permitted to fill his place by another man without the consent of the pit-boss or superintendent.

VIII. Every employé will be paid once a month at the regular pay-day all wages or moneys he may have earned during the last month previous to such pay-day, after deducting any indebtedness which such employé may owe to the company, or which the company, with the consent of such employé, may have assumed to pay to any other person.

This regulation is to evade the law and to enable the employers to carry on what are known as "pluck-me stores."

IX. It shall be the duty of every miner working in the mines to keep his room in said mines in good order and repair; and any such miner who shall willfully, negligently, or carelessly suffer his room to get out of order or repair, and who shall not, upon request, immediately put the same in repair, the company may put such room in repair at the expense of the miner in default, and may retain the amount of such expense from the next or any future payment to which said employé would be otherwise entitled, until fully reimbursed for such expense.

X. No miner who has left the employment of the company, whether voluntarily or by discharge, will be entitled to receive any arrearages of pay due him for labor performed, whether on the regular pay-day or during the interval preceding pay-day, until he shall have put his room in perfect working order, as required by his contract with the company. All miners leaving said employment will be required to procure the certificate of the pit-boss that they have complied with the requirements of this rule, as aforesaid, before making application at the company's office for final payment.

That is, a matter of dispute between the boss and the employé must be adjusted, holding the miner under duress, before the employer will pay the employé the wages due.

XI. Any tenant of the company, upon leaving its service, whether voluntarily or by discharge, will not be entitled to receive any part of the wages due him for labor performed, until he shall have vacated the premises occupied by him, and presented the keys of the same at the office.

Mr. Speaker, this is the ironclad bludgeon that is used against labor organizations and against the individual miner and laborer in the State of Pennsylvania by the gentleman who stands up in this House as the mouthpiece of the Executive to put through by the gag-law the Chinese bill, in order to hoodwink the workingmen into the idea that he has something like kind feeling for them. Mr. Speaker, in my judgment, it is adding insult to injury when these gentlemen imagine for a moment that the workingmen of this country are to be gulled as easily as that. You discount too much, sir, the intelligence of the workingmen. You presume that you can for a long lifetime be their worst oppressor and then deceive them by putting through a Chinese bill that will last only three years, although we have had a law on the subject for seven years which your Administration has for nearly four years failed to better.

Although a treaty has been negotiated, and we have no official knowledge as yet whether it has been accepted by China or not, the gentleman from Pennsylvania attempts to make political capital for himself and his party by rushing through this law upon mere rumor of the rejection of the treaty; but my word for it, the ides of November will show that the workingmen know their friends better than you imagine.

But, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman says that he has never wronged a workingman. If there is any species of wrong that an employer can do a workingman that is more tyrannical, more searching, more effectual than any other, it is done through what is known as the "pluck-me-store" system, a system by which the employers force the workmen to deal in their stores, charging them whatever price they please, and then grumble and growl if the workingmen happen to be a little economical and do not spend all their wages. I have here a letter from the office of the Leader, published in Pittsburgh, which I will read:

No. 133 FIFTH AVENUE, PITTSBURGH, PA., *May* 25, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of 23d instant at hand. As requested, we send you two of SCOTT's store coupons used by the Youghiogheny River Coal Company at their stores in Scott Haven. The coupons run as follows: One cent, 10 cents, 25 cents, 50 cents, and $1. They are compiled in books worth $5 and $10 each. We also inclose one of the stubs of the books.

Hoping that they may be of some service to you, we remain,

Yours, respectfully,

LEADER PUBLISHING COMPANY.

N. B. You need not return them.

Hon. C. N. BRUMM,
Washington, D. C.

In addition to this I have a letter, which I shall not have time to read, which says that these books of coupons are printed in the office that is known as the "rat" office, which is controlled by Hon. WILLIAM L. SCOTT, which the writer of this letter says is run by a company which is "limited," and the limit of which is the length of Hon. WILLIAM L. SCOTT's pocket-book. I exhibit to the House this stub of coupons used by this coal company, and this 25-cent order, and this 1-cent order. What they have this 1-cent order for I do not know, unless it be that the gentleman also runs a peanut stand there.

[Mr. BRUMM then exhibited the stub and coupons, as shown.]

No. 2877.] [$10.

BOOK OF COUPONS

ISSUED BY

THE YOUGHIOGHENY RIVER COAL CO.,

GENERAL MERCHANDISE AND SUPPLY DEPOT,

Scott Haven, Pa., and branches.

(Across the face in red:) Store No. 2.

No. 3795.] [25.

THIS COUPON, numbered and registered, is good for its FACE VALUE in MERCHANDISE at the store of

YOUGH. RIVER COAL CO.

(On the margin:) The Youghiogheny River Coal Co.'s store, general merchandise and supply depot, Scott Haven, Pa.

[3782]

COUPON

ONE CENT.

NOT GOOD IF DETACHED.

Mr. SCOTT. If I had it would not be any smaller than you are. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BRUMM. Mr. Speaker, imagine this great representative of the President of the United States, the reputed owner of twenty millions of wealth, the president and director of some 22,000 miles of railroad——

Mr. SCOTT. Oh, that has all been said over again in the Senate and in the House; the country knows all about it.

Mr. BRUMM. Well, I propose to put it to you now, sir. Imagine, I say, this great man getting down to 1 cent barter with his workingmen and keeping a penny peanut stand!

Mr. SCOTT. The mistake was in not employing you to attend to it. [Laughter on Democratic side.]

Mr. BRUMM. In the first place, your money could not employ me, because I would be afraid you would cheat me out of my wages afterwards. [Jeers on the Democratic side.]

On the subject of police I shall read from an official paper which I have received from Harrisburg:

PENNSYLVANIA, OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH,
Harrisburg, June 11, 1888.

DEAR SIR: I can find no record of A. J. Weaver as policeman; but I do find that March 4, 1879, John A. Weaver, of Northumberland County, was commissioned policeman for the Mineral Railroad and Mining Company, Summit Branch Railroad Company and Lykens Valley Coal Company, for the counties of Dauphin, Northumberland, Schuylkill, and Columbia. The application is signed by Holden Chester—

That is the Holden Chester the gentleman got his telegram from.

Mr. SCOTT. The same man.

Mr. BRUMM (continuing to read)—

Superintendent Mineral Railroad and Mining Company, per R., and a request by S. P. Wolverton to issue the commission for J. A. Weaver at present, and that the superintendent would call for the other commissions, for the application contained three names, namely, John A. Weaver, Timothy Reagan, and Thomas Steele.

Very truly, yours,

WILSON N. GERHART, *Chief Clerk.*

Hon. CHARLES N. BRUMM.

The paper I have just read shows the commissioning of these policemen by this company. The gentleman may say that he never was connected with this company; but this company transferred its rights as to three collieries, the Hickory Ridge, the Swamp Ridge, and another one, to this gentleman; and these policemen had charge after the transfer as well as now. I have an affidavit here, as follows:

SHAMOKIN, *June* 4, 1888—

This is a letter which was afterwards sworn to—

SHAMOKIN, *June* 4, 1888.

DEAR FRIEND BRUMM: Your favor of recent date, asking me whether I was commissioned as a local coal and iron police, etc., is at hand. In reply would say that I was first commissioned in 1872 as policeman for the Mineral Coal Company with jurisdiction in Northumberland, Schuylkill, Columbia, and Montour Counties. I still hold that commission. The Union Coal Company now own three collieries that were then owned by the Mineral Company; they are Hickory Ridge, Hickory Swamp, and Green Ridge collieries. I served process of eviction on half a dozen tenants of said collieries in 1885 during a strike for higher wages when the men were idle four or five months, afterwards going back to work on smaller wages than before. Two of these tenants, I remember their names, are Dennis Cannon and Robert Graham. Service was dated July 25, 1885. Edwin Ludlow was superintendent at these collieries at that time. A. J. Weaver was a coal and iron policeman and was regularly employed as a special policeman for these collieries for a good while.

How about the action of Congress on the Petersburgh mine explosion—

By the way, he was the man who set fire to the match that exploded the Petersburgh mine, and he was inquiring about that matter—

I do not think we are recognized as we deserve to be. You know all about it, and as an old schoolmate and playmate, as well as comrade, I would like you to take some interest in it.

With best wishes for your success,

Your old friend,

HARRY REESE.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *County of Northumberland, ss:*

Personally appeared before me a notary public in and for the said county, Harry Reese, a resident of the borough of Shamokin, county and State aforesaid, who, being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say that the facts contained in the foregoing letter are true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

HARRY REESE.

Sworn and subscribed this 4th day of June, A. D. 1888.

[SEAL.] J. Q. ADAMS, *Notary Public.*

Now, Mr. Speaker, some time ago a committee was down here to wait on Mr. SCOTT, to get him to pay the same wages that were being paid by the Reading Railroad Company. He promised this committee, in my presence, to have it adjusted, and said he would have the matter arbitrated. They went home, and nothing was done to arbitrate the matter. I saw Mr. SCOTT afterward, and he then declared to me that the reason nothing was done was because these men were Knights of Labor, that they belonged to labor organizations, and he would not deal with them or have anything to do with them. I reminded him of his promise. He did not care what was the promise he made to

them; he would give them to understand they must go to work first; he would recognize no men that came in the capacity of organized laboring men or as committee men. The affidavit says:

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *County of Northumberland, ss:*

Be it remembered that on this 14th day of June, A. D. 1888, before me, a notary public in and for said county, personally came William Hodgert, who, being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say, that during the years 1883 and 1884 he was living at Green Ridge, Nothumberland County, Pennsylvania, in a house belonging to the Union Coal Company.

That is the company that Mr. SCOTT is in control of.

That there are a great many houses belonging to said coal company all of which were occupied by the men employed at the colliery at that place, which said colliery also belongs to the said Union Coal Company. That your deponent while living there was employed in said colliery as a miner, and that he received his money from the said company regularly after they had deducted the amount due them for rent of house occupied by him. That on or about the 4th day of January the said colliery ceased work to make repairs that were claimed to be necessary, and remained idle from the said 4th day of January, 1885, to about the middle of April following. That the men then went back to work, and that within two or three days after they had started to work the said company gave them notice that there would be a reduction in their wages of each car. That the men refused to work for them at this reduction and at once instituted a strike, demanding that the 5 cents per car which had been taken from them be restored and that the 5 cents per car which had been taken from them in January of the same year also be allowed them. That the said colliery remained idle from then up to July 27 following. That during all this time your deponent lived in the same house he had been living in, and that on or about the 17th day of July he was served with a notice from the said company to vacate the premises within ten days, and that said notice was served by Al. Weaver, of Shamokin, a member of the Coal and Iron police force. That upon the expiration of the time for which said notice was given, namely, on July 27, 1885, your deponent moved from said premises in obedience to said notice.

WM. HODGERT.

Sworn and subscribed to before me the day and year aforesaid.
[SEAL.]

W. B. FAUST, *Notary Public.*

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *County of Schuylkill, ss:*

On the 1st day of June, A. D. 1888, personally appeared before me, the undersigned, a justice of the peace in and for the said county, W. H. Lee, a citizen of St. Clair, county of Schuylkill, State of Pennsylvania, who upon being duly sworn deposes and says that he served on a committee.

This repeats and swears to what I have stated in reference to the committee; it corroborates under oath the statement I have made.

A MEMBER. Give the substance of it.

Mr. BRUMM. The substance of it I have given: that Mr. SCOTT had agreed the matter should be adjusted; that he went back on that agreement, and assigned no other reason at the time than that they were organized laboring men, although they told him at the time what they were.

PENNSYLVANIA, *County of Northumberland, ss:*

Be it remembered on this 14th day of June, A. D. 1888, before me, a notary public in and for said county, personally came John O'Brien, who, being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say that he is a citizen of the United States and a resident of the borough of Mount Carmel, in said county of Northumberland, where he has resided for almost three years; that some time in the year 1884 he moved to Green Ridge, in said county, and went to work as a miner for the Union Coal Company, and at the same time moved into one of their houses which they rented to their employés; that he worked for the said Union Coal Company until the strike for better wages was instituted in April, 1885, and lived in one of their houses until September of the same year; that some time in July, 1885, he was served with a notice to vacate the premises he was occupying within ten days, and that said notice was served by Al Weaver, of Shamokin, a member of the Coal and Iron police force.

JOHN O'BRIEN.

Sworn and subscribed to the day and year aforesaid.
[SEAL.] W. B. FAUST, *Notary Public.*

I have here the affidavit of Mr. Davis, corroborating further what I have said as to Mr. SCOTT'S promise to pay as much wages as anybody else was paying for similar work, and his failure to do so.

Mr. Speaker, how much time have I?

The SPEAKER. Allowing for the interruption of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the gentleman has six minutes remaining.

Mr. BRUMM. Well, it is hardly worth while to go on further for those six minutes, and I will reserve them, although I have other proofs and affidavits which I hope I will be permitted to print in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman reserves his remaining time.

Mr. SCOTT then replied, after which

Mr. BRUMM proceeded: I ought to have my own time to reply to what I allege on his part as falsehood, and which I regard as a new question of privilege. When he speaks of the Coal and Iron police and detectives, he simply goes into special pleading and relies on technicalities and upon a definition of terms, because he himself admits the rest of the charge made in saying that those he employed are what are called Coal and Iron police, as shown by the RECORD. But, besides that he has nothing to contradict my sworn statements positively made by disinterested parties, and he has no statements except the affidavits of those who are his own employés, who are his superintendents, who do not directly even contradict it. They enter into special pleading, as to dates when certain companies were changed, and therefore assume that he is not responsible, although he was a stockholder!

Mr. SCOTT. I deny that. It is not true; that is false.

Mr. BRUMM. I know you have denied a great many facts that are so, but your denial amounts to very little. What he has quoted from a newspaper as to what I said with reference to the Coal and Iron police I would say the only difference between the gentleman and myself is that I told all about them; I acknowledge it to be true; but what was charged as to him he falsifies and tries to wriggle out of. I did say the Coal and Iron police for certain purposes were necessary institutions, but went no further. I never denounced them as an institution. I merely said that it was your people that employed them and you must be responsible, and that is all that amounts to. Now, sir, there was another Coal and Iron police he employed, as the extract I shall have printed will show, and which if I had time I would read. One of the witnesses is a Democratic constable, the other a Republican, and this very Hoosac, from whom he has affidavits, is charged by one of these men, I think it is the Democrat, with being a detective, and that the work of a detective and that of a Coal and Iron police are one and the same thing, and they know that and I know that, and when you prove one you prove the other, and I could prove it if I had the time. There is no difference substantially.

There is one point I wish to make yet, and it is with reference to his employment of this contract labor. In the district I traveled over, in the mines at Mount Carmel, he employs Italians by the hundred and employs Hungarians, and has them packed together in shanties like sardines in a box, and they live as bad as any Chinamen ever lived, and he has misplaced and transplanted American-born citizens, Irish, German, Welsh, and English, by the laborers whom he gets in there and who can be got in no other way except from the padrone and contract system among the Italians and Huns. I would like to know, Mr. Speaker, what is the difference between the padrone system which he pursues and that of the Chinese Six Companies; the one like the other brings the Italians into the country under contract that he employs, for there is no other way of getting them.

I am now speaking from my own personal observation, and the gentleman [Mr. SCOTT] dare not deny it. I name the localities: Hickory Ridge, Hickory Swamp, Eagle Ridge, at and around Shamokin and Mount Carmel. The testimony that I have not time to have read, or even to attempt to read, will fully sustain me in every position that I have taken, not only as to the policeman, but as to the gentleman's evictions, as to his imposing upon the workingmen, as to his "pluck-me" stores, and the manner in which he conducts his "pluck-me" store business. It will show that he forces his men to deal in those stores and forces them to rent his houses; that unless they rent from him they can not work; that when single men are employed he makes them board in this stable, where he has them huddled together just as many as he can possibly pack in, and that for this stable he receives an exorbitant rent. I ask that gentlemen will read this testimony, the whole of it. I am only sorry that I have not had time to read it myself and comment upon it as I proceeded; but read it, gentlemen, and it will satisfy you all.

Mr. DUNN. Regular order.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I object, as I objected in the beginning to the gentleman [Mr. BRUMM] being permitted to put anything in the RECORD that he has not uttered or had read here. During his last six minutes he said he was going to put this, that, and the other thing in. I want to know what it is, and I object.

Mr. BRUMM. I will show the gentleman what it is.

[Cries of "Regular order" on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BRUMM. What I propose to put in are additional affidavits and statements of which I read parts, and I shall insist on putting them in as a matter of right.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the gentleman can not print anything in the RECORD not spoken or read, unless by consent. The regular order is demanded. The Clerk will report the title of the pending bill.

Mr. HATCH. I did not hear the last remark of the Speaker. I want to know whether any leave has been given to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] to print any paper in the RECORD that he has not had read?

The SPEAKER. The Chair stated to the contrary when the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] objected.

Mr. BRUMM. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BRUMM. I wish to inquire whether when a member in his remarks reads part of a paper, the statement of witnesses in his own defense, on a question of privilege, he is to be cut off in this way? On the question of privilege I would have unlimited time under the rules of the House; but I was prevented from reading these papers because it was contended that I would be given only an hour, although I had a right to as much time as was necessary to vindicate myself, and I desire now to know whether under such circumstances, having started to read a part of these statements and these letters, naming the authors of them, I am not to be permitted to put the statement and the letters on record.

The SPEAKER. Nothing but what has been spoken or read on the floor can go into the RECORD, except by consent.

Mr. BRUMM. If he was innocent he would not object.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRUMM] had no right to one minute's time except by unanimous consent. [Calls of "Regular order!"]

The SPEAKER. The regular order is demanded.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN D. STEWART,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 17, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. STEWART, of Georgia, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am well aware of the fact that the "tariff" has not only been elaborately discussed upon this floor, but has received great consideration by the American people. This is quite reasonable, when we remember that it is a question which largely affects our material prosperity. And as the issue between the two great political parties on this question has been so sharply defined by the opposing candidates for the Presidency, I shall therefore beg the indulgence of the House while I submit some views touching this matter; possibly the views of no member of the Republican party has received wider circulation than those of Hon. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, of Ohio. I therefore desire to call attention, not only to his views as expressed on this floor, but especially to positions which he sought to maintain recently in a speech delivered by him in the State of Georgia. In opening his remarks he announced that he had come to discuss a subject of great national concern, one affecting sixty millions of people. It is quite true that the tariff as an economic question is one of supreme importance, and if it be a benefit all alike should enjoy it. But, unfortunately, a protective tariff seeks to promote the interest of favored classes and discriminates against others who are least able to bear it. This I propose most abundantly to demonstrate in this discussion. As many of the arguments used by my distinguished friend are so contrary to the true theory of our American institutions, and in my opinion so detrimental to our best interests, I am not willing that they shall pass unchallenged.

The gentleman at great length insisted that the taxing power of the Government could be used not only for raising revenue, but for the purpose of fostering "infant industries;" in other words, to aid industries not belonging to the public, but to individuals. Let us consider this argument for a time. Section 8, and Article VIII, of the Constitution of the United States, provides:

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

Was this grant of power to collect taxes for private or for public purposes? If duties are so levied as that the interests of one man or class of men are promoted thereby, will any reasoning mind contend that such conduct is for the "common defense or for the general welfare of the United States?" Will any constitutional lawyer for a moment contend that the Government has authority under the taxing power to extend aid to any one in conducting a private business?

Judge Cooley, in discussing this question, declares that—

Constitutionally a tax can have no other basis than the raising of revenue for public purposes, and whatever governmental exaction has not this basis is tyrannical and unlawful. A tax on imports, therefore, the purpose of which is not to raise revenue, but to discourage and indirectly prohibit some particular import for the benefit of some home manufacturer, may well be questioned as being merely colorable, and therefore not warranted by constitutional principles.

Judge Miller, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in discussing the legality of a tax levied by the city of Topeka, Kans., has declared:

Of all powers conferred on the Government that of taxation is most liable to abuse. This power can as readily be employed against one class of individuals and in favor of another, so as to ruin the one class and give unlimited wealth and prosperity to the other, if there are no implied limitations of the use for which the power may be exercised. To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen and with the other bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation, it is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. Beyond a cavil there can be no lawful taxation which is not laid for public purposes.

In passing I would ask the gentleman if this is not good authority.

The supreme court of Maine, in considering this question, has declared that—

No public exigency can require private spoliation for the private benefit of favored individuals.

The supreme court of Iowa has held—

No authority or even dictum can be found which asserts that there can be any legitimate taxation where the money to be raised does not go into the public treasury.

And the court further declares—

That the uniform weight of judicial authority is that taxes are to be imposed for the use of the people and not for the special benefit of individuals.

Of course tariff taxes are legal and proper when laid for purposes of raising revenue for the Government. But when such taxes are not raised for revenue, but imposed for the purpose of giving special advantages or protection against competition, then the Government uses the taxing power to aid private concerns, and every dollar of taxes so collected is both oppressive and tyrannical, for the reason that the money does not go into the Treasury of the Government, but into the pockets of preferred classes. Will the gentleman deny this proposition?

If there was any one proposition more strenuously insisted upon than any other by the gentleman in his Chautauqua speech, it was that under the Constitution power was conferred upon Congress to so legislate as to benefit one industry, although it might result in injury to others.

In refutation of this proposition I desire to submit some testimony of a high character.

President Jefferson, in 1801, declares that—

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are the most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise.

President Jackson, in 1837, declared—

That the General Government had no power to raise revenue or impose taxes except for the purposes enumerated in the Constitution. And if its income is found to exceed these wants it should be forthwith reduced and the burdens of the people so far lightened.

President Polk, in his message to Congress in 1845, used the following language:

Taxation, direct or indirect, is a burden, and it should be so imposed as to operate as equally as may be on all classes in the proportion of their ability to bear it. To make taxing power an actual benefit to one class necessarily increases the burden of the others beyond their proportion, and would be manifestly unjust. It is true, protection to domestic industries is of popular import, but it should apply under a just system to all the various branches of industry in our country. The farmer or planter who toils yearly in his field is engaged in domestic industry, and is as much entitled to have his labor protected as the manufacturer.

There is so much of wisdom, statesmanship, and patriotism in the following statements made by President Polk, on March 4, 1845, that I will ask to have the same included as a part of my remarks:

One of the difficulties which we have had to encounter in the practical administration of the Government consists in the adjustment of our revenue laws and the levy of the taxes necessary for the support of Government. In the general proposition that no more money shall be collected than the necessities of an economical administration shall require, all parties seem to acquiesce. Nor does there seem to be any material difference of opinion as to the absence of right in the Government to tax one section of country or one class of citizens or one occupation for the mere profit of another. In levying tariff, revenue should be the object, protection the incident. To tax one branch of home industry for the benefit of another would be unjust. No one interest can rightfully claim an advantage over others, or to be enriched by impoverishing others. I have heretofore declared that I was opposed to a tariff for protection merely and not for revenue.

President Fillmore, in 1850, said:

A high tariff can never be permanent. It excludes competition, and thereby invites the investment of capital in manufactures to such excess that when changed brings distress, bankruptcy, and ruin upon all who have been misled by its faithless protection.

President Pierce, in 1855, said:

It is now generally conceded that the purposes of revenue alone can justify the interposition of duties on imports.

And again he says, referring to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that—

A reduction of duties, with a view to raising revenue and not protection, may now be regarded as the settled policy of the country.

President Arthur said, in discussing our system of tax and tariff legislation—

That our merchant marine should be raised from its enfeebled condition, and new markets provided for the sale beyond our borders of the manifold fruits of our industrial enterprises.

That there should be a healthful enlargement of our trade with Europe, Asia, and Africa, which should be sought by reducing tariff burdens on such of their wares as neither we nor the other American States are fitted to produce, and thus enabling ourselves to obtain in return a better market for our supplies of food.

President Arthur, in 1882, also declared—

That it was a maxim of political economy that all taxation are burdens, however wisely or prudently imposed. And that substantially all agree in the doctrine that only such taxes ought to be levied as are necessary for a wise and economic administration of the Government.

Again he declares—

That the present tariff system is unjust; it makes unequal distributions both of its burdens and its benefits.

Mr. Kasson, a Representative from Iowa, in 1886 declared that such a system is simple robbery, taking from one home industry and paying it to another. He said it is an attempt against the law of Providence to force the people of this country to pay more for what they need than by the laws of Providence they would otherwise need.

Mr. Storrs, who stood high in the councils of the Republican party, denounced this system of taxation, declaring that it was a scheme for the private enrichment of the manufacturer.

President Cleveland, in discussing this question of unequal taxation, declares the system vicious, inequitable, and illogical. But why refer to what others have said regarding this system of taxation? Is there not a sense of justice in the mind and heart which instinctively declares that a system of taxation which takes from one class of men in order to enhance the riches of another class is not only contrary to the

genius of our American institutions, but is most oppressive and necessarily unconstitutional?

The gentleman saw proper to give what he claims to be the true definition of a protective and free-trade policy. Without stopping to discuss these definitions as an abstract question, and without repeating the constitutional argument heretofore presented, it will be quite sufficient to say that those who favor a revenue tariff are not undertaking to arrange a new scheme of taxation on a free-trade basis. We are dealing with existing conditions as we find them. Large and numerous industries have grown up in this country, and we would raise revenue only to the extent of public necessity, and should this afford incidental benefits to these industries we would gladly see their usefulness enlarged. As to the definition of Hon. Mr. Tucker, to which the gentleman referred, it is the same as given by Mr. Walker in the tariff of 1846, and this act certainly resulted in no harm to the country. Under it we sought to establish the policy that the exchange of products between two countries must necessarily be beneficial.

The basis of all trade consists in the exchange of products, and we would extend and broaden our commerce so as we might have access to the markets of the world in which to dispose of our surplus and sell or exchange our products in that market which offers the greatest inducements. This, in my opinion, should constitute the true American system, rather than that policy which would circumscribe our trade to the boundary of our own possessions. As to the manner in which England conducts her financial affairs, to which the gentleman referred, it is only necessary in reply to say that England buys our cotton, our surplus grain, and other products. If we refuse to trade with England, or make the rate of our import duties so high as in a large measure to force her products out of our market, in such case what shall be done with our cotton? We produce more than is necessary for home consumption. What would become of our surplus grain? Does it need an argument to convince any one that the more we extend our commerce the greater will be the benefit to our people? We do not simply seek to copy England's policy, but seek an exchange of products which may benefit both countries, and without which policy we would have no market for our surplus products, which would necessarily result in reducing the price of both our products and our labor.

The gentleman dwelt at great length on the adoption of that policy which by imposing a high rate of duty on foreign imports he claimed would necessarily develop the fields, factories, and mines of our country, and would also maintain high rates of wages and bring general prosperity. This entire argument was based upon the presumption that a protective tariff does not increase the price of products to the consumer. This argument has been so often refuted that it would seem unnecessary for me to make a reply. In the very nature of things how is it possible for us to impose a high rate of duty on imported products so that the manufacturer of such products in this country can sell theirs at a higher price, at such rate as to maintain high wages, and at the same time make the manufacturer rich, and that all this will not increase the price of the product to the consumer?

The argument is illogical, fallacious, not to say ridiculous. In 1867 Senator Sherman, of Ohio, in a speech declared—

that every duty on imported merchandise imposed a burden upon the purchaser; that it gave to the domestic manufacturer an advantage equal to the duty.

Surely my friends on the other side of the Chamber will accept this as good authority. Do not the facts abundantly establish the proposition that this condition of things helps the capitalists, burdens the consumer, and only tends to deceive the laborer, for where is the evidence that the laborers of this country are rapidly accumulating fortunes?

The gentleman announced with seeming triumph that a protective tariff was in accordance with the highest law of nature—that of self-protection. In reply to this let it be taken for granted that the capitalist as well as the wage-worker in favored industries is benefited by a protective tariff. Does the gentleman for a moment contend that it would be legally or morally right that the taxing power of the Government be turned over to one individual, so that he can gather up part of what his neighbor's make? This is the complaint we have against this "American system."

Shall seven millions of farmers pay a tax of 47 per cent. to help along one and three-fourths millions of persons who are engaged in protected industries? Shall the Government become the guardian of a favored industry and leave the remainder without guardianship? When we press the gentleman's logic to its last analysis what is it? It amounts to this, that it is both constitutionally and equitably right to so adjust the rates of duties or so select subjects of taxation as to secure advantages to some classes over others. It must necessarily follow, if the foregoing be true, that it would be both constitutional and equitable for the Government to raise an excess of revenue by taxation for the purpose of applying the same to the promotion of private and favored enterprises. If we aid one by direction, the other indirectly, and by both methods take so much money from the people by taxation, what difference does it make to them, and would the gentleman for a moment say that he is in favor of the latter proposition?

In discussing the relation of the Government to the people, the true philosophy of the situation is this: We must suppose that all men voluntarily select their business avocations and start with an even race the business of life; and it is not to be presumed that the Government will step in and by the use of the taxing power make one avocation more profitable at the expense of others; but this is exactly what the so-called American system is doing. The farmers toil and bear burdens for the benefit of certain protected industries, and the gentleman and his political associates look on with complacency, as well as to say,

Lay on, Macduff;
And damn'd be him who first cries, "Hold, enough!"

I take pleasure in serving notice on the gentleman that this state of things can not last. The storm is gathering. "The handwriting is on the wall." The scales are falling from their eyes. If we mistake not, when the ides of November come the toiling millions of this country will rise in their might and hurl from place and power those who maintain this oppressive system.

The gentleman sought to illustrate his theory of taxation by insisting that Atlanta taxed itinerant traders. This illustration must have fatigued the gentleman's imagination. If Atlanta imposes a tax on itinerant traders, most certainly it is a tax for revenue and not for protection; and the gentleman must have known that under the Constitution of our country the city of Atlanta could not discriminate between one of her own citizens and another citizen of Georgia, or between the citizen of Maine and the citizen of Ohio. Will not the gentleman see that his illustration was most unfortunate, and while referring to the subject of taxation by the city of Atlanta I think the city, with its rapid prosperity, which has challenged the admiration certainly of Georgia, if not of the whole South, will fitly furnish an illustration well calculated to show the fallacy of the gentleman's theory of taxation.

Atlanta in her progressiveness has established a trade not only with the people of Georgia, but with Alabama, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, and Florida. She affords a great market where the products of the farm and the mine and skilled artisan in large quantities are exchanged for goods and necessary articles. This exchange has been most beneficial to both parties. It has built up one of the finest cities in all the land. Now let us apply the gentleman's theory. If products from the country districts of Georgia or from the surrounding States had been subjected to a high rate of duty before they could be admitted into Atlanta, what would have been the result upon the prosperity of that city? Could it have prospered? Could the burnt city have risen like magic?

Was it not the free-trade system which Atlanta has enjoyed above every other consideration to which her greatness may be ascribed; and it this system has proven so beneficial in the growth and prosperity of Atlanta why would it not apply with equal force to the prosperity of our country? I beg to suggest that while our American States are sovereign, yet between them we have had free trade; and who can overestimate this fact in accounting for our great State and national prosperity? By the improved methods of the application of steam to machinery the distance between this and other countries becomes a matter of small moment, and when the markets of the world shall have been opened to our commerce and the raw material of other countries brought here and placed under the manipulations of our skilled mechanics and artisans, who can foretell the grandeur that is in store for our people?

The honorable gentleman urged with apparent confidence that a high-tariff system was justified from the fact that it furnished to our people a home market. Nothing could be more deceptive on the part of our protection friends than this cry of the home market. It is a mere catchword and most misleading. We have a home market and always will have. It was not created by law. It is based on the principle of supply and demand. But this is no reason why we should not have access to the markets of other countries. With a country great in resources, one upon which nature has bestowed its grandest gifts, with our broad acres and salubrious climate, with a population whose skill may well challenge the admiration of mankind, with machinery and implements unexcelled, we will always have a surplus, unless in case of great draught or pestilence. And shall we with a purpose simply to benefit one-fifth of our population be shut in as well as shut out from the markets of other nations?

It is inconsistent with that great purpose which marks the civilization of the age to insist that we shall be confined to the home market. Our resources are abundant and almost boundless. Why, then, shall we be influenced by that narrow and contracted policy which would make us dependent alone on the home market? It appears from the statistics that American products which sold in the European markets from 1853 to 1880, consisting of breadstuffs, provisions, cotton, etc., amounted to $8,000,000,000. Is not this fact of itself conclusive proof that we should not be confined to the home market, but that all of the highways of the world should be opened to our commerce? Take another statement: In 1880 the value of all farm products was $2,500,000,000. Of this amount $242,000,000 was cotton, of which $211,000,000 were exported, leaving cereals and provisions to the value of $2,289,000,000; and of this amount $375,000,000 worth were exported, leaving about $1,914,000,000 to be consumed at home.

Is not this statement, taken from the census of 1880, well calculated to convince any unprejudiced mind that the home-market theory is a delusion? China well illustrates what a home market will accomplish for a nation. During the last three thousand years in a great measure she has kept the accumulations of her own people within her own borders. What a spectacle her condition presents to the civilized world to-day. She has reduced the home-market theory to its last analysis. Possibly no people on earth can subsist on so small an amount as the Chinese. And to-day, in the industrial arts, she in her infancy. Her people are the slaves of capital. I would present China to my protection friends as an object lesson on home market; and would ask, do they want the sad fate which has been visited the people of China to be meted out to the people of America?

The honorable gentleman from Ohio, in his Chautauqua speech, in discussing the effect of a protective tariff upon the farming interests of this country, used the following language:

> Next to the laborer the farmer is the immediate beneficiary of the American system. It brings to his plantation a city of consumers. The farmer and the factor are brought into close proximity. The problem of transportation is largely eliminated. He finds a market not only for staple products which would bear transportation, but for many products which, but for a home market, would waste and decay in the fields. I need not tell a farmer in this neighborhood of the beneficial effects of a home market. His own experience is better than any philosophy. Atlanta has given him an object lesson. It has increased the value of his farm products and enhanced the value of every foot of ground he owns.

We all admit that America is primarily and essentially an agricultural country. Of all the great interests of this country agriculture is pre-eminently the most important. If crops are plentiful and the prices of products good, all other interests prosper. If agriculture suffers, other interests of the country suffer likewise. For a number of years, from drought and bad legislation, agriculture has languished, and the honorable gentleman no doubt was well aware of the fact that many Southern farms are mortgaged heavily, and farming for a number of years has proved to be unprofitable to many engaged in it. And no doubt he fancied that any proposition proposing to benefit the condition of the farmer would be received most favorably by them. I not only controvert the gentleman's proposition, but maintain that of all classes of people of the United States, a protective tariff affects most injuriously the farmers.

What are the facts? Facts are more potent and reliable than theories. In the United States there are engaged in agriculture about 7,670,493 persons; in manufacturing, about 2,738,895 persons. The value of farms in 1880 was $10,197,096,776, and the value of capital in manufacturing was $2,790,372,606. Of the products raised by the farmers of the United States in the year 1887 there was exported, in round numbers, about $100,000,000, and for the payment of which in a large measure the farmer received goods of foreign manufacture; upon which goods there was an average duty of 47 per cent. That is to say, for every hundred dollars' worth of goods imported, a deduction of $47 was made by the custom-house officers. Who were compelled to bear this loss? Will any one assert that it was not a loss to the farmer?

Let us consider some specific articles commonly used by farmers. There was imported in the year 1886:

Cotton-ties, at original cost	$603,394
Duty paid on same, at 35 per cent	211,188
Aggregating	814,582

Whose loss was this, if not the farmers'?

The duty on bags and bagging imported in the year 1886 for grain and cotton amounted to, at 40 per cent., $482,240. Will the gentleman deny that this large sum of money was a loss to farmers? And in addition to this there was used of home-made bagging for grain and cotton about $16,000,000. A large per cent. of this amount was profit—the result of the high-tariff system.

Take for instance the article salt. In the year 1886 we imported $1,493,397 worth of salt, upon which there was a duty collected of $706,324. There was of home production used about $5,000,000, and doubtless the price of this was enhanced as much as two millions, the result of the tariff system. I think it but reasonable to claim that there was at least $2,700,000 paid on salt in the year 1886 directly the result of the protective tariff, and of this amount at least one-half was paid by the farmers.

Take another article in common use, that of window-glass, upon which there is an average duty of 86 per cent., and from the best data that can be obtained it is probable that more than $5,000,000 annually are paid by the people of this country on acconnt of this high protective system, and a large proportion of this is paid by the farmers.

I will trespass upon the time of the House to call attention to one other article, that of crockery. In 1886 home-made estimated at $10,000,000; imported, $4,992,214; duties collected, $2,829,535; making a total $17,821,749, the average duty being 57 per cent. At a reasonable calculation this country paid in 1886 about $6,000,000 for the privilege of using crockery, and a very large proportion of which was used by farmers. There was collected on cotton cloth in 1886, such as are mostly use by farmers, duty to the amount of $1,701,795. I might multiply articles until the heart would grow sick. Under our present tariff the farmer pays on articles in common use the following tariff rates:

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Brick	35	Paper	25
Horseshoe nails	31	Castor oil	1.02
Trace chains	53	Castile soap	50
Handsaw	40	Epsom salts	30
Files	40	Window-glass for houses	80
Spool thread	60	White lead for paint	54
Bags and bagging for grain	40	Iron used in making stoves	45
Combs and brushes	30	Hollowware, pots and kettles, etc	53
Alpaca umbrella	50	Crockery, common	55
Iron and steels average for farm use	45	Glassware, common	45
Tin cups, dippers, etc	42	Table cutlery and spoons	45
Tin for canning fruits, etc	34	Pickled and salt fish	25
Shingles for roof	25	Salt	86
Barbed wire	55	Sugar	86
Cotton hosiery and undershirts	45	Sugar	48
Woolen hats and caps	75	Vinegar	36
Gloves	60	Pickles	35
Blankets	60	Rice	1.23
Alpaca dresses	63	Carpets, common	74
Woolen dresses	70	Furniture	35
Scissors	45	Looking-glass	60
Hair-pins	45	Men's clothing, wool	48
Needles	25	Woolen hosiery and undershirts	75
Ink	25		

I herewith submit a table which I have prepared, showing the benefits which will accrue in the conduct of a small farm should the Mills bill become a law:

	Value.	Duty.		Net. saving.
		Per cent.		
One cook-stove	$35.00	47=	$16.45	
By Mills bill		31=	10.85	
				$5.60
One set crockery	12.00	55=	6.60	
By Mills bill		35=	4.20	
				2.40
One set cheap glass-ware	4.00	56=	2.24	
By Mills bill		41=	1.64	
				.60
One set cheap cutlery	2.00	50=	1.00	
By Mills bill		35=	.70	
				.30
Two carpets, $12 and $15	27.00	47=	12.00	
By Mills bill		30=	8.00	
				4.00
Sugar	20.00	60=	12.00	
By Mills bill		50=	10.00	
				2.00
Molasses	10.00	47=	4.70	
By Mills bill		35=	3.50	
				1.20
Salt	3.00	40=	1.20	
By Mills bill		Free list.		
				1.20
Two suits each for father and two sons, six suits, $14	84.00	54=	45.36	
By Mills bill		45=	37.80	
				7.56
Two suits each for mother and two daughters, six suits, $14	84.00	82=	68.88	
By Mills bill		40=	33.60	
				35.28
Twelve pair shoes, $2.50 each	30.00	30=	9.00	
By Mills bill		15=	4.50	
				4.50
Six wool hats, $1 each	6.00	73=	4.38	
By Mills bill		40=	2.40	
				1.98
Six fur hats, $2.50 each	15.00	52=	7.80	
By Mills bill		40=	6.20	
				1.60
Six ladies' hats, $3 each	18.00	70=	12.60	
By Mills bill		40=	7.20	
				5.40
Six bonnets for ladies, $3 each	18.00	70=	12.60	
By Mills bill		40=	7.20	
				5.40
Farming tools, including plows, gear, hand-saw, ax, draw-knife, chains, etc	60.00	47=	28.20	
By Mills bill		34=	13.60	
				14.60
Medicines	20.00	*48=	9.80	
By Mills bill		30=	6.00	
				3.80
Thread, needles, thimbles, scissors, etc	12.00	35=	4.20	
By Mills bill		20=	2.40	
				1.80
Four pairs blankets, $3 each	12.00	70=	8.40	
By Mills bill		40=	4.80	
				3.60
Two umbrellas, $2.50 each	5.00	40=	2.00	
By Mills bill		30=	1.50	
				.50
Cotton hosiery, undershirts, etc	8.00	45=	3.60	
By Mills bill		30=	2.40	
				1.20
Window-glass	2.00	60=	1.20	
By Mills bill		43=	.86	
				.34
Starch	4.00	94=	3.70	
By Mills bill		47=	1.88	
				1.82
Rice	10.00	113=	11.30	
By Mills bill		100=	10.00	
				1.30
Total cost under present tariff	501.00		189.27	
Under Mills bill			104.98	
				84.29

* Average.

Will our farmers carefully consider these figures and ask themselves the question, How is it possible that a protective tariff is beneficial to them when about 50 cents of every dollar they invest in the common necessaries of life are for the benefit of somebody else?

In view of the facts was there ever a system of taxation devised which is more oppressive in character than that of the protective-tariff system as it affects the farming class of this country?

Take one other illustration showing the iniquity of this system: Suppose that one of our farmers should ship to Liverpool 1,000 bushels of wheat, and that the Liverpool prices was $1 per bushel, and suppose that he should exchange this for cloth at 50 cents per yard; when he reached the custom-house at New York with his cloth the custom-house officer should say, "I demand and will take 1,000 yards of your cloth for import duties; you can carry the other thousand yards home with you."

Again, suppose that one of our farmers should ship to Liverpool 1,000 bushels of corn and exchange the same for 1,000 pairs of shoes; when he reaches the port of New York the custom-house officer would say, "Leave with me 500 pairs of these shoes for custom dues; the other 500 pairs you can take to your home." And if the farmer should sell his wheat or corn in Liverpool for money and should seek to purchase shoes or clothes in this country the deduction would be the same, as the home manufacturer would add to the original cost of the articles the ordinary custom-house duties.

From 1849 to 1860, under what is known as the Walker act, we had low tariff. From 1860 to 1880 we had a period of high tariff. Now let us see if statistics do not demonstrate the fact that the tariff in fostering "infant industries" has most injuriously affected the farming interests of the country. In 1850 the estimated wealth of the country was $7,000,000,000; of this amount farmers owned $4,000,000,000. In 1860 the estimated wealth was $16,000,000,000; the farmers' share was $8,000,000,000. This was a period of low tariff. In 1880 the estimated wealth of the country was $43,000,000,000. The farmers' share was $12,000,000,000. From this it will appear that under a revenue tariff the agricultural interests of the country increased in proportion to all other interests, but under the high protective tariff from 1860 to 1880, agriculture increased $4,000,000 and the protected industries $23,000,000. Are not farmers industrious? Are they not honest and frugal? And how can this state of things be accounted for if the position of the gentleman from Ohio, that protective tariff benefits the farmer, is a correct one?

Farmers by assiduous toil have supplied the home market and produced a surplus, and this surplus they have exchanged for clothing, medicine, and other needful articles, upon all of which they have paid a high duty, and the assertion that high tariff benefits them is not only misleading but absolutely untrue. Farmers should ever keep in mind that tariff is a tax, and a tax that they pay for some one else.

The gentleman from Ohio, as well as others of his political faith, insist that a protective tariff is most benefical to the laboring men of this country. If this be true, then all should sing pæans of praise to the American system. But of all the devices resorted to to increase the gains of the manufacturing class this is the most specious.

Why not claim that the tariff laws regulate heat and cold, the changes of the moon, or some other of the laws of nature? If this position of protectionists be true, that tariff regulates wages, then it must follow that wages are low in a low-tariff country and high in a high-tariff country. What are the facts touching this matter? Germany and France have a high tariff and masons get $4 to $5 per week, and in free-trade England masons get $8 per week. Germany and France pay common laborers $2.60 to $3 per week, free-trade England pays $5 per week, and about the same rates apply to other wage-workers.

If tariff regulates wages and benefits labor, then for the same class of work wages should be uniform in this country; but an investigation shows that New York pays laborers less than Chicago, Philadelphia more than St. Louis.

In 1880 in Alabama hands in blast-furnaces received 98 cents per day, in Virginia for the same work they received 82 cents per day—this was unskilled labor—and in Pennsylvania the same kind of laborers were paid $1.02. Take the yearly wages of hands in the woolen mills. In 1880 in New York they received $285, in Indiana $230, and in Ohio $196. In the cotton mills in 1880, in New York they received $281, and in Georgia $181. How can this all be accounted for on the theory that the tariff regulates wages? It only shows the utter folly of the claim of our protective friends. As all must know and should have the candor to admit, the wages are regulated by various causes.

The law of supply and demand is the most potent; the question of rents and the price of provisions in various localities enter largely into the account, and climatic influences affect the price of labor. Let us concede that it is true, for sake of argument, that a protective tariff does increase the wages of those working in manufactories, but how does this benefit those who do not labor in factories? The bricklayer, carpenters, roofers, plasterers, common carriers, merchants, and tradesmen; they compose the greater part of our wage-workers. Have they no rights? Are they to be outlawed? By what right are they to be disinherited? Are they aliens or bastards in the sacred household of protection? I submit their cases to the tender mercies of our protection friends.

I submit as another evidence that a protective tariff is not beneficial to the laboring man: for a number of years the country has had high protective tariff and there has grown up between labor and capital an antagonism bitter and uncompromising. Never before in the history of the country has the relation between labor and capital, between the wage-worker and his employer, been so unsatisfactory. We have had strikes and lock-outs (amounting almost to revolution), which in the last six years has resulted in the loss of from fifty to sixty millions of dollars to the wage-workers; property has been destroyed and blood has been shed. Organizations have been formed, and so great has been the antagonism between the wage-worker and his employer, that many have become alarmed, and have entertained fears about the perpetuation of our American institutions.

How can this state of things be reconciled with the idea that a protective tariff is beneficial to the laboring man? Is it not true in the protected industries that large fortunes are accumulating in the hands of the employers, and that these millionaires are growing strong, aggressive, and insolent, and are forming combinations or trusts, by which they have advanced the prices of many articles which are of absolute necessity, and the result is that the wage-workers have become distrustful? In view of these facts how can any reasoning mind claim that protective tariff is beneficial to labor?

From 1846 to 1868, under a low tariff, this state of things did not exist. Strikes were scarcely known; between capital and labor there was no antagonism. In discussing the proposition that a protective tariff benefits the people of our country, our friends are accustomed to resort to the census reports, and put together a large number of figures, and are constantly exclaiming "See what the tariff has done." "Behold the high development which it has wrought." Will the members of this House indulge me for a moment while I expose these misstatements, not to say wanton misrepresentations. For I now here declare that the highest prosperity of the country is realized under a low tariff. In 1850 our population was 23,191,876; in 1860 it was 31,442,321; this was an increase of 35 per cent. In 1870 our population was 38,573,851; in 1880 our population was 50,155,783—an increase of only 30 per cent. From 1850 to 1860 we had low tariff; from 1870 to 1880, a high tariff.

In 1850 we had 9,021 miles of railroad; in 1860, 30,635 miles of railroad, an increase of 239 per cent. in ten years. In 1870 we had 32,904 miles of railroad. In 1880 we had 93,349 miles of railroad, which shows that under a high protective tariff our gain was much less than under a low tariff. Take the valuation of real estate: In 1850 it was valued at $7,066,562,986; in 1860, at $12,055,053,118, a gain of 70 per cent. In 1880 it was valued at $16,902,993,543, a gain of 41 per cent. for the preceding ten years. Take our manufacturing industries: In 1850 the amount of capital invested was $533,245,351; in 1860, $1,209,953,715, a gain of 89 per cent. In 1870 the valuation was $2,118,208,769; in 1880, $2,790,272,600, an increase of 58 per cent. And I might extend these remarks by showing the condition of nearly all our industries, establishing the fact that the country enjoyed the greatest prosperity during the period of low tariff, and especially is this true in reference to all commerce as well as the values of personal property.

It would seem that candor would induce the friends of protection to cease the oft-repeated declaration that the country has prospered most during the period of a high protective tariff. While it may be true that wealth has rapidly increased in the hands of a few who are at the head of our protected industries, and who are engaged in the management of great corporations, and who have been the participants in trusts and combinations, yet it is not true during the period of a high protective tariff that the wealth of the great mass of our people has rapidly increased.

It is quite noticeable that the gentleman from Ohio in his Chautauqua speech failed to call the attention of the country to its present financial condition. There is now locked up in the vaults of the Treasury of the United States about $130,000,000 money which was gathered from the people by an excessive and unjust taxation. This money belongs to the people and the business interests demand that it be returned to them. It was wrung from their hard earnings by the "American system," or in other words by a protective tariff, and as time progresses we are collecting about $10,000,000 each month more than our necessities demand. This large surplus of money in the Treasury is a standing menace to good government. It tends to corrupt legislation, and when the friends of revenue reform bring forward a measure which would only tax the people an amount necessary for an economical administration of the government the gentleman from Ohio is found working with might and main in opposition to this measure, seeking to maintain his "American system," contributing all his strength of mind and character for the maintenance of a system whose burdens gather thousands from the hard earnings of the toiling millions of this country, and in view of such conduct on his part it does not appear to me consistent that he should pose so conspicuously as the friend of the laboring man.

And no one knows better than the gentleman from Ohio that the present is a war tariff, and that while it is true that originally there were many articles upon which duty was collected which have since

been stricken from the schedule, yet unfortunately for the country changes have been made in the interests of the rich and not the poor. At one time duties were collected on the wealth of the country, and railroads, banks, incomes, and other articles which affected the rich, but these have been repealed, and the necessaries of life have to bear the burden, being subjected to a rate of duty of about 47 per cent. This proposition in itself should demand the consideration of every patriot. I most heartily join in voicing the sentiment of the gentleman that we have a great country and a great people, but our greatness is not on account of the tariff, but was attained in spite of it.

We are a great people, great in moral and intellectual force. We are proud of our citizenship in this the greatest of Republics. We glory in our Constitution and in all our institutions of free government. They have been handed down to us, made hallowed by the blood and prayers of our fathers; and may a kind Providence save them from the "Briarian arms" of the American system as taught and practiced by the Republican party. The gentleman from Ohio must have felt much elated after delivering his recent speech in finding his name in the papers heralded forth as "Ohio's giant" and "The greatest of living statesmen." While I realize that he went forth as the "Jupiter Tonans" of his party, and while I would not detract one iota from his well-earned reputation as an orator and statesman, yet I would venture to ask, is he not mortal? Indeed,

> "Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed
> That he is grown so great?"

Pensions.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. OWEN,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 21, 1888.

Mr. OWEN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: On Saturday, the 28th day of July, my colleague [Mr. MATSON], chairman of the Invalid Pension Committee, delivered through the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address to the voters of Indiana on the subject of soldiers' pensions. It is the most unique and singular address ever delivered in this House. It is a discussion of pensions for political purposes.

My colleague's committee had no bill on the Calendar under discussion at the time. Neither was the subject of pensions in any way before the House. He projected this discussion upon a House which, so far this session, has not been greatly disturbed by any effort on his part to secure the passage of his general pension bills.

As chairman of the Invalid Pension Committee he is supposed to be thoroughly conversant with pension legislation. Are we to understand that he has, while exercising the functions of that office, prepared this address, and that it is to go to the voters of Indiana as a carefully prepared semi-official statement of the part taken in the pension legislation of this country by the two great parties? If so, it is pitiful to see to what vagaries of mind a political interest will drive an otherwise good man.

This double-barreled address, at long range, on the Hoosier voter, has been shrewdly constructed to raise doubts in unwary minds and lead the innocent and hitherto unpensioned claimant into a new political association which will be of no benefit to him. The controlling sentiment of that association is unfriendly to the pensioners' cause, and if it be a second time successful on the 6th of next November it will feel then so securely established in power that it will say to its Northern allies as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] said concerning the widows' pension bill last session, "This thing has gone far enough," and the lamb, having lain down inside of the lion, will be heard of no more forever.

In the address there is a manifest attempt to impress the voter that the Republican party has not been very much of a friend to the Union soldier after all—that it has neglected and shamefully abused him—but that the party whose brains and leadership and three-fourths of whose electoral votes were lately in the interest of the rebellion, and who, on this floor, repudiate that secession was a crime, and proclaims treason is a difference of opinion, and that the Lost Cause is a coerced and sleeping patriotism, and whose 105 Representatives out of the party's 167 shall in caucus shape the party's legislation, is the only old, original, and genuine John Jacob Townsend brand of Union lovers and liberal pension advocates of the Union soldier.

I had always thought my friend a sturdy Cromwellian statesman. I had never suspected that he had a sportive mind, and that out of his stentorian tones you could pick a grim joke like this, but it is in him. When I came to this part of his speech, I settled myself down for a good time. I uncorked my soul and let it go on a spree. I felt a sense of rollicking and joyous delight as I saw a Hoosier in one little speech on the solemn subject of pensions put COX and MASON and ALLEN on the retired-list. There is a broader sense of humor in this than in anything that has occurred since this Administration made Chester A. Faulkner chief of a division in the Pension Office, or the late General VOORHEES proclaimed that Indiana had vindicated him.

I find reason sufficient for all these singularities of my esteemed colleague in the fact that he is the Democratic candidate for governor of Indiana.

We are not particular about the issue in the campaign. If it shall be the tariff, we will go before the people on the Mills bill. If it is on loyalty to the soldier and his cause, we will accept that. There is nothing mean in an Indianian. He will accept anything that has politics in it. We have more politics to the square foot than any other State in the Union. Our girl babies are born singing campaign songs, and our boys come whooping along in a hurry so as to get in the first drum corps.

The gentleman says that one of the President's objections to the dependent bill, vetoed last session, was that it gave equal pensions to the short-term and large-bounty men with the long-term men. There is appearance of reason in this position, but we do not grant pensions because of length of service, but for loyal service. I do not complain because the pittance is great to any, but because it is so little to all. Mr. Cleveland has no right to complain because of the short-term, large-bounty men. Who made large bounties a necessity? The Democratic national convention in 1864 declared the war for the Union a failure. Its papers and orators attacked the administration so maliciously and audaciously that it produced a public distrust until the heart of loyalty staggered and large local purses were raised and county pledges given for the relief of families while the men were at the front, and offers of large Government bounties were necessary to give courage to the country and prove that the war could and would be prosecuted to the preservation of the Union. Had Mr. Cleveland and his coadjutors withdrawn their attacks on the rear and given a real, actual, and uncriticising support to the prosecution of the war, instead of closing in April, 1865, it would, when Lee was swept back from Gettysburgh's heights, have closed on July 4, 1863.

THE ISSUE.

The distinguished chairman says that he will set out the issue and the only issue between the parties upon this question of soldier relief.

He says the Democratic position on the dependent bill is to eliminate the condition of dependence and grant a pension to all soldiers now suffering from a disability not contracted in the service, and "without reference to their financial condition;" that the Republican position is to grant pensions to all soldiers who are suffering from disability contracted since the service which incapacitates them for the performance of manual labor and who are "financially dependent."

Mr. Chairman, this demonstrates how cleverly an issue can be made when one man makes it. No gentleman on this floor knows better than my friend that the Republican members are so intensely in favor of pension legislation that although they may support one bill in preference to another, they will support almost any bill that may be proposed in behalf of the soldier. The difficulty in this House is to have any kind of a general pension bill brought to consideration. If the distinguished chairman had devoted one-half as much time and ability in securing a day for the consideration and passage of the dependent or arrears bill as he has to preparing a pension speech for Indiana, that bill would long since have become a law.

The per diem rating to the man who is disabled since the war, who has financial resources, is a just and merited badge of honor and I am in favor of it, but to the man who is incapacitated for labor and is wholly without means and "dependent for his support," 90 cents or $1.80 per month from the Government whose life he saved, "as her remembrance of his valor," is enough to make patriotism weep. To demonstrate that my friend does not mean all he says concerning Republicans and Democrats in the issue he makes, I here insert the bill he himself has introduced during this session of Congress:

EXHIBIT A.—HON. C. C. MATSON'S BILL.

A bill for the relief of honorably discharged soldiers and sailors who are now disabled and dependent upon charity for a sustenance.

Be it enacted, etc., That all persons who have served one year or more in the military or naval service of the United States, in any war in which the United States has been engaged, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now, or who may hereafter be, suffering from mental or physical disability not the result of their own vicious habits or gross carelessness, and which incapacitates them for the performance of any manual labor, and who are dependent upon public charity for their sustenance, shall, upon making due proof of these facts, according to such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may provide, be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive $8 per month; and such pension shall commence from the date of the filing of the application in the Pension Office, upon proof that the disability then existed, and continue during the existence of the same on the degree herein provided.

THE MILLS BILL OR THE ARREARS BILL.

It is estimated that it will require $250,000,000 to pay the arrears of the soldiers—as every soldier who has applied for a pension since July 1, 1880, which has been granted him, draws only from the date

of his application. This $250,000,000 is not now in the Treasury. Hence the gentleman found it necessary to make a statement concerning his vote in favor of the Mills tariff bill, which measure proposes, if it is passed, a reduction of $80,000,000 in the Government revenues. Now, there are but $132,000,000 of surplus in the Treasury. The fiscal year just closed, June 30, accumulated $53,000,000 of this surplus.

The Secretary of the Treasury has reported to us that the revenues for this fiscal year will be $440,000,000. Our appropriations are $421,000,000, so at the close of this year there will be a surplus of only $19,000,000. Hence, if the Matson arrears bill should pass, there would be no money in the Treasury with which to pay the soldier his dues.

After the gentleman states that there will probably be collected each year a sufficiency to pay the arrears as they are adjudicated, he skips the present great necessity of $250,000,000 that are to be required at once. He finds it necessary to state further that a tax could be levied in another direction and upon the incomes of the wealthy of the nation. This matter was proposed by Mr. Morrison in the Forty-ninth Congress. It received the general execration of the soldiers throughout the country.

The Government from her gathered revenues pays out her money in a thousand different directions. There is no specific tax levied for a specific purpose. Above all taxes the direct excise has been the most obnoxious to the people in all ages of the world, and yet we here find this distinguished champion of the soldier interests proposing to single him out from the other objects in the Government and levy an obnoxious and inquisitorial tax for his support. There is not a soldier in the land but would spurn to be thus made the pauper beneficiary of wealth. The poor soldier, uncared for, may go hobbling along the streets with his back bowed under the weight of toil during his remaining years, but he does not propose that the millionaire, rolling by in his carriage, shall say "There is a man I am helping to support!"

Plainly, he who votes for the Mills bill and desires it to pass does not in reality support the arrears bill. My colleague felt this so keenly that he made a very clear statement of what he would do when these two votes were presented to him and he compelled to choose one of them. He said:

> But it has been represented that this bill (arrears) antagonizes the progress of tariff reform, and that the enactment of this law would be hostile to the Mills bill.
>
> I am now, and have been constantly since that overshadowing issue was made, a consistent and earnest friend of every measure that has been proposed for relief from overtaxation. I yield to no one in devotion to this cause, for I believe it to be the cause of all the people, and the soldiers are only a part of the great body-politic.

In plain language, he means that he would rather vote to reduce protection and decrease the revenues than to retain the revenues and pay the soldier his arrears. I was not prepared to hear him say that the tariff overshadows all duty to the soldier. I was amazed when he declared that the soldier was only a part of the great body-politic, and that he must not stand in the way of the Democratic party's proposed tariff reform—free trade to the Northern farmer's products and protection to the Southern planter's. When it comes to striking down protection, wages, industries, happy homes, prosperity, and the arrears bill for the soldier, I am against him and in favor of this country and the soldier who saved it.

CONCERNING ARREARS.

Many members have introduced bills these seven years looking to the granting of arrears of pensions, but none of these have ever come to a final consideration on the floor of the House. The distinguished chairman says concerning the arrears bill:

> I have reported this great measure of relief in both Congresses prior to this one.

Here again my colleague falls into an inaccuracy. He did not report such a bill as this (arrears) in the last, the Forty-ninth Congress. Nor did he report such a bill in the prior, the Forty-eighth Congress. He has never reported such a bill prior to this time. A thousand dollars lies in a bank in Indianapolis, Ind., placed there by John C. New for any man that will make his affidavit, stating time and place where he heard General Harrison state that a dollar a day was enough for a workingman. As no one has called for that thousand dollars or will ever do so, it is an idle surplus in the treasury. I will give my colleague a check for that thousand dollars if he will produce his favorable report of an arrears bill to this House prior to his nomination for governor of Indiana.

THE TRUTH CONCERNING THE ARREARS ACTS.

I am satisfied the people have the impression that heretofore when the soldier received his pension he also received arrears with it. That is, when the Pension Office granted him, say, $10 pension per month, that it was dated back and he received the $10 per month from the time of his discharge, and that a Republican Congress declared that this should be stopped, and passed a law that arrears should not be allowed on pension claims filed after July 1, 1880. I am sustained in such impression by the fact that of the large number of petitions I have received asking for an arrears bill, every one of them state that "the financial straits of the Government at the resumption period and the burden of the bonded debt made it necessary to restrict arrears to soldiers, but such reason does not now exist," etc.

This is all a mistake. By the general law of the land a pension begins at the date of application when granted in the Pension Office or on the date of signature by the President if passed by Congress. To permit the pension to commence at the time of discharge has always required a special act of Congress. So that instead of the Republican party limiting the arrears, it is by that party's legislation that they have been granted. At the inception of our present pension laws in 1862 the then Republican Congress passed an act declaring that if a soldier applied for a pension within one year of his discharge his pension should begin at the date of his discharge. If he did not apply for a pension until after the year, then it did not begin at the time of his discharge.

On the 4th of July, 1864, another law was passed granting arrears if the soldier applied within three years after discharge.

On July 2, 1868, another law was passed extending the time granting arrears to five years from the time of discharge. It was then supposed that every pension claim would be filed long before the expiration of this five years' limitation. The Government was not only gracious in extending this time, but also in limiting it, for the soldier's evidence was dying and moving away, and the Government was kind in urging him to a prompt action. Many soldiers are to-day unable to make the necessary proof in cases that are entirely worthy, because of the death of their evidence or its removal. On March 3, 1873, another five years' limit was enacted, and when the general revision of the laws was made this limit was incorporated and began running on January 22, 1874.

These several acts granting arrears have been introduced by Republicans and were passed by a Republican Congress, which, up to this time, was Republican in both branches.

UNLIMITED ARREARS.

The Democrats carried the country in 1874, and on March 4, 1875, the first Democratic Congress since 1861 took its seat. The House continued Democratic until March 4, 1881. In 1878 Mr. Cummings, a Republican, introduced a bill absolutely repealing all limitation of arrears and granting the soldier, at whatsoever time he might apply for his pension, his arrears back to date of his discharge. That bill slumbered in the Democratic committee until the 19th day of January, when Mr. Haskell, a Republican, moved to discharge the committee from further consideration of the measure and suspend the rules and pass the bill. It passed, receiving 164 votes to 61 against it, as follows:

Democrats for the bill	48
Democrats against the bill	61
Republicans for the bill	116
Republicans against the bill	None.

As the bill passed under suspension of the rules it required two-thirds, or 150 yeas, of which 150 the Republicans furnished 116 and the Democrats the remainder.

This bill was taken up in the Senate on January 16, 1879, and after brief debate it was passed by a vote of 43 to 3.

The ayes were 27 Republicans and 16 Democrats, and the 3 nays were all Democrats.

The arrears act was not introduced by a Democrat, was not moved by a Democrat, was not passed by Democratic votes. A majority of 13 Democrats in the House voted against it. Every vote cast against it in either House was by a Democrat.

That act received the approval of President Hayes January 25, 1879, and became a law:

IT REPEALED THE ARREARS LIMITATION ABSOLUTELY

and for all time. It created no new limitation. It was a measure of full relief. It was a Republican law.

Under the Cummings act the soldier obtained his arrears whenever he chose to apply for a pension, but for eight years no such arrears have been granted.

LIMITED ARREARS.

When and where and how was this new limitation enacted?

W. A. J. Sparks, late Democratic Commissioner of General Land Office, was at that time a member of the Appropriations Committee of this House, and near the close of that session he brought in the appropriation bill in which provision was made to pay arrears under the Cummings act, and added to it this section:

> *Provided*, The application for such pension has been or is hereafter filed with the Commissioner of Pensions prior to the 1st day of July, 1880, otherwise the pension shall commence from the date of filing the application.

This Sparks proviso repealed the Cummings act after July 1, 1880.

I recite the history of these enactments that the soldier may know that every dollar of arrears he has received was the result of Republican legislation. That under the Cummings act he would have been receiving his arrears to-day, but the Sparks amendment on an appropriation bill has cut him out of those arrears where his application for pension has been filed since July 1, 1880.

MATSON'S AMAZING CLAIM.

I now desire briefly to recite all other pension legislation of the country since 1860, because my colleague [Mr. MATSON] has reaffirmed his statement made in this House, July 7, 1886, that—

> All the legislation friendly to the soldier that has amounted to anything since the war has been given by a Democratic House of Representatives.

That statement is correct or it is not correct.

I have been at some pains to get a transcript of pension legislation with accompanying facts throughout, but have completed my list only to 1875, and I have to acknowledge obligations for the data I here use to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CUTCHEON] and use by his permission. We all accept his recitations of fact without question, for he is one of the most conscientious and painstaking, as well as one of the ablest gentlemen on this floor.

THE BEGINNING OF PENSIONS.

Our Government was practically without a pension system when the war came, and out of the necessities of that war was passed the foundation act of our present system on July 14, 1862. It was necessarily crude and defective, but it was a patriotic move in the right direction. A great system of legislation is inaugurated along general lines, and by experience its inequalities are remedied and proper amendments are made, and wise adaptations are given it as unprovided-for developments may indicate.

When the Republicans turned Congress over to the Democrats on the 4th of March, 1875, after fourteen years of continuous control, in addition to countless minor acts were fifteen great measures of pension legislation on the statute-books.

Each one of these acts, great and small, was to remove some friction in the law, or to add a proper amendment looking to the building up and making broader and better this generous and patriotic department of our Government.

The great system under which the Pension Office is now run, with its army of clerks, its platoons of special examiners in the field, its payment of $80,000,000 yearly to the veterans, is all under the law which was founded by the Republican party and amended from time to time and finally codified in 1874. The additions since that time to the law have been very few and very simple.

PENSIONS FROM 1875 TO 1885.

My colleague says that whatever defects there may be in the pension laws are legacies of Republican rule. Well, since the close of the war the Republicans have had control of this House twelve years, and my friend's party has had control of it for twelve years. Now, what have you done to alter and amend this legacy of defects, and broaden and liberalize the pension laws?

"You broadened a law and gave a separate pension for the loss of both a hand and a foot by act of February 28, 1877. It reached two hundred and twenty-one soldiers.

"By act of March 3, 1877, pensions were granted in certain cases to soldiers who had engaged in rebellion against the United States.

"On March 8, 1878, you amended the Republican law of February 14, 1871, granting pensions to the survivors of the war of 1812. It reduced the term of service from 60 to 14 days. It provided that a widow's pension should cease if she should marry.

"The act of June 18, 1878, makes the pension of a lieutenant-commander in the Navy the same as that of lieutenant commanding.

"The act of June 20, 1878, limits the fee of claim agents to $10.

"The act of June 17, 1878, increased the pensions of soldiers and sailore who had lost either both hands, both feet, or the sight of both eyes to $72 per month. These were all receiving $50 per month. It affected about two hundred pensioners.

"The act of February 19, 1879, provides for paying three months' extra pay to the officers and soldiers engaged in the military service of the United States in the war with Mexico. A very large proportion of these were in the South.

"The act of June 9, 1880, was intended to prevent the reduction of the pensions of certain petty officers in the Navy.

"The act of 1883 making the soldier's enlistment *prima facie* evidence of soundness."

This completes the pension legislation of the Democratic Congress up to the 4th of March, 1885, except the arrears act, concerning which I have already spoken.

VETOES.

I will use this interim between a Republican and Democratic President to speak of vetoes. My colleague makes the soft impeachment that "there may be difference of opinion upon some of the vetoed bills, but there is no ground for the reckless charge by political opponents for the purpose of appealing to the passions or prejudices of the ex-soldiers."

Now, I submit there have been no reckless charges made. It has not been necessary to make any reckless charges. All that has been necessary to do is to "Tell the truth."

The distinguished gentleman [Mr. MCKINNEY] delivered a speech recently in the House, and it is remarked that he was put forward by the President and Commissioner of Pensions to defend them from certain charges, and the great elaboration with which that speech is prepared at least gives color to the fact that it had its origin in the Pension Office. Mr. MCKINNEY says:

> We can only judge of a man's character by his daily life. We judge of a man's sentiments regarding any question before him by his treatment of that question. President Cleveland has had ample opportunity to show his feelings toward Union soldiers, and we have no hesitancy in placing his record before the country as a representative of the Democratic party.

I accept the definition here given, and, like the fathers, "submit facts to a candid world." Let us see how many pension bills have been approved and disapproved by the various Presidents. The count stands as follows:

	Approved.	Vetoed.
Grant	575	8
Hayes	307	.....
Arthur	736	.....
Total	1,618	8

So, from Grant to Arthur there were 1,618 pension bills approved and 8 were vetoed.

How stands the case with President Cleveland?

In the Forty-ninth Congress, 949 pension bills were passed. The Constitution plainly says that "if the President approve the act, he shall sign it." Hence, if he does not sign, he does not disapprove. Of these 949 acts—

President Cleveland vetoed	124
Disapproved (refused to sign)	156
Pocketed and defeated	1
Total number disapproved	281
Approved and signed	668

Thus it will appear that President Cleveland, while approving 668 private pension bills, disapproved of 281. His disapprovals are nearly one out of every three bills.

In all the years of Republican administration there were but eight vetoes of pension bills. Five of these were because the Pension Office had granted the pension while the bill was pending in Congress, and the special act was vetoed by the President because it was for the benefit of the pensioner. The three pension bills that were really vetoed by the Republican Presidents in twenty-four years were because the claimants were deserters.

KEEPS UP THE RECORD.

During the present session of Congress 319 pension bills have been passed. Of these the President has vetoed 55 and disapproved of 50, making 105 disapprovals. He appears to be keeping up the record of the past two years of one disapproval to every three bills passed.

I think comment is unnecessary. It is idle to talk about President Cleveland signing more bills than any Republican President. The facts are a President can not sign any more bills than Congress passes and sends to him. So the test is how many has he vetoed. My friend MCKINNEY says:

> We judge a man's sentiments regarding any question before him by his treatment of that question.

When the question of signing or of vetoing and disapproving pension bills came before the Republican Presidents in twenty-four years they vetoed three, and the claimants in these cases were proven to be deserters.

Of the pension bills that have come before him in three and one-half years President Cleveland has vetoed one hundred and seventy-nine and has disapproved two hundred and six.

My friend MCKINNEY says:

> President Cleveland has had ample opportunity to show his feelings toward Union soldiers, and we have no hesitancy in placing his record before the country as a representative of the Democratic party.

In view of the facts tabulated and presented here, it is evident that President Cleveland has exercised his ample opportunity to show his feelings toward the Union soldier, and I am sorry my friend MCKINNEY asserted that he stands before the country as a representative of the Democratic party.

Mr. MATSON challenges any one to state a case where the President has animadverted unnecessarily upon any soldier when vetoing his bill. When a man is without anything else to defend his cause, I like to see him defend it with audacity. Why, sir, the recital of the President's veto jests and heartless innuendoes against soldiers were made a thousand times in the Indiana campaign in 1886, and before the lash of that recital my friend's majority for Congress shrank more than a thousand votes.

Take the case of John Herbst, which Mr. MCKINNEY quotes from with commendation at such great length, and I will show it to be heartless treatment of a loyal man. Herbst was captured by the rebels and confined in Belle Isle, Salisbury, and Andersonville. Finally, to escape the awful horrors of his confinement, he conceived the idea of joining the rebel army and then escaping to the Union lines. Before he carried out his object he was taken prisoner with many others by the Union troops. His case was investigated and his story found to be true and he received an honorable discharge from the Union Army. Having died as a result of his army troubles, a pension was granted him by Congress, and in vetoing the bill President Cleveland said:

> No record is furnished of the number of battles in which he fought against the soldiers of the Union, and we shall never know the deaths and the wounds which he inflicted upon his comrades in arms.

This is a very patriotic strain from the Executive, but I venture to say there is not a man who served in the rebel army and is acquainted with the evidence in this case but will say that such a man as John Herbst, standing in the rebel battle lines, never fired his musket when it was likely to do any injury to his late comrades in arms.

There were not many soldiers who left the prison pens and volunteered in the rebel army, but in the history of all nations there are records of men who have, by volunteering in the lines of the enemy, sought to and made escape ultimately back into the line of their friends. My friend McKINNEY can doubtless see no virtue in this. It is strange how devoted he becomes to loyalty and honor when he gets a Union soldier in a rebel prison.

The President continues:

But I will take no part in putting a name upon our pension-roll which represents a Union soldier fighting against the cause he would uphold, nor should it be for a moment admitted that desertion and treachery are excused when it avoids the rigors of honorable capture and confinement.

His capture was honorable, I have no doubt, and the confinement was honorable so far as he was concerned, but his confiners were not honorable. Let the twenty thousand spirits that went out from the misery and horrors of Belle Isle to their Maker make answer. Let the sixty thousand soldiers, with all the indescribable misery and woe and torments of Andersonville and Libby, who went from torment to torment unto their death, answer if their confiners were honorable. These prisons, with their torture and their crime, are the most horrible blots on the pages of modern warfare and a shame to the nation's civilization.

A friend has just handed me a clipping from a newspaper concerning this affair which I insert here:

In striking contrast with this case is another. F. C. Armstrong was also a soldier in the Union Army. He was not captured and never experienced the horrors of a rebel prison, but, after the battle of Bull Run, when the Union cause looked dark and Northern Copperheads were chuckling over the anticipated failure of the war, he deserted and voluntarily joined the rebel army. He fought so well on that side that he was promoted, and continued to serve under the stars and bars till the end of the war, when he graduated with honor into the Democratic party. There also he has won promotion, for the discriminating President who vetoed John Herbst's widow's pension, appointed F. C. Armstrong to an Indian inspectorship.

Mark the difference in the two cases. Herbst was captured, Armstrong was not. Herbst enlisted in the rebel army to escape the horrors of Andersonville, while Armstrong deserted voluntarily. Herbst intended to rejoin the Union Army; Armstrong did not. Herbst was captured by Union forces and received an honorable discharge, while Armstrong fought on the other side till the end of the war. Herbst died of disease contracted in the service, while Armstrong still survives. Herbst's widow asks for a pension and Armstrong asks for an office. The President vetoes the pension bill and appoints the deserter an Indian inspector. Herbst's widow pines in poverty and Armstrong enjoys a Government salary.

STRANGE CLAIMS.

Our Democratic friends make very singular claims concerning the issuance of pensions. They seem to be under the impression that Mr. Cleveland grants each pension given a soldier. Every time a list is granted it is published by a partisan press that the Administration has granted such a number of pensions, when, in fact, the Republican party created the law under which every one of these pensions is granted. Whenever a prominent citizen receives a pension in some small town, the papers forthwith assert that Mr. Cleveland gave him a pension.

A CURIOUS NEGLECT FOR SOLDIER-LOVERS.

Mr. MATSON says the Republicans have had control of the Government until 1885 and have absolutely controlled all legislation. Now, this is another one of his information vacuums. The Democrats have had control of this Congress since March, 1875, with the exception of two years. If such was your devotion to the soldier, and so great were the defects in the pension laws, why did you not formulate valuable action in his behalf and pass it and keep on passing it each session you met, and if a Republican Senate would not agree to it, or a Republican President should disapprove of it, you would have shown your sentiments and the blame for the wrong would rest where it belonged.

But the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, unfortunately for your sentiments, shows that every pension act from 1875 to this hour save one was passed by Republican votes, and on every bill save that one enough Democractic votes were recorded against it to defeat it. In a word, if none but Democrats had been in Congress during these fourteen years, all measures of relief for the Union soldier would have been defeated.

PENSIONS FROM 1885 TO DATE.

Let us examine the history of general pension legislation since you have had control of the Presidency. Mr. MATSON says:

But, really, Mr. Chairman, I submit that a record of substantial benefits accomplished under Democratic rule will be much more satisfactory than a record of fulsome promises, recklessly disregarded by the Republicans, and believing that the honest and deserving ex-soldiers of the Republic desire to know what has been done, and are willing to make up their judgments upon the records of the two parties.

He then gives a table of pension certificates issued during the past three years. The table says that 168,231 more pension certificates were issued under the three years of Commissioner Black than under three years of ex-Commissioner Dudley. Now, this is so good a showing that my colleague did himself and his party an injustice in not setting forth a statement in detail of how so much work is done. I am compelled to acknowledge to you, because I am devoted to the soldier's interest, that this is an enormous increase. My esteemed friend declared he would submit a record of substantial benefits accomplished under Democratic rule, but his well-known modesty got the upperhand of him and he did not give the record substantially. I shall come to his relief and give it for him.

First. These 168,231 pension certificates more than were issued during the three years of Dudley's control have not been issued because more work was done in the office, as the hours of work have not been increased nor the force decreased.

Second. It is not because the Commissioner of Pensions has been at his post more regularly than ex-Commissioner Dudley, for he was reported absent from his post one hundred and nineteen days during the past year.

Third. It is not because the office was managed for political interests under ex-Commissioner Dudley and has been free of political interests under Commissioner Black, for the boastful charges made by Commissioner Black against ex-Commissioner Dudley were, by a public investigation, singularly disproved, and there is now nothing left but the recklessness of party slander to sustain that charge.

In contradistinction to this, the Pension Office is at this time engaged in political work in the State of Indiana, and in my Congressional district. It is being done by John Lux, special examiner, located at Logansport, which place is my home. He has caused to be published in a daily paper, of which our Democratic postmaster is the proprietor, certain affidavits seeking to convict James T. Bryer, editor of the Journal, a Republican paper, of unjustly assailing Commissioner Black, and these affidavits thus used are a part of the pension files.

When an examiner is in the field, all the papers in a given case are sent him, and he secures additional information concerning the case involved. He is the Pension Office in the field. Papers once placed in the Government's hands can not be taken therefrom, nor copies thereof be made, except under a special grant. Evidence taken by the special examiner is as much in the hands of the Government office as if placed within the walls of the Pension building, yet John Lux used pension information thus placed in his hands in an effort to convict a Republican editor of an assault on the Pension Office.

The facts in the case are as follows: Albert D. Richards, pensioned for an injured hand, lost that hand by an accident, told A. R. Putney that Commissioner Black had revoked his pension on the ground that his army disability no longer existed. Now, such a thing would be an outrage, if true, but under the pension laws it could not be done; but the public at large do not understand all about the workings of these laws. Mr. Putney, with a just indignation at a wrong done an old soldier, gave Richard's statement to the Republican editor, who properly characterized such an act in his paper. Examiner Lux, under order to investigate the case, took the statement of the Republican editor. He secured a statement from Richards, who had moved from the city, that his pension had not been revoked and that he had never so stated. Lux caused the editor's statement to be printed in the Democratic paper, and followed it by the affidavit of Richards, which resulted in a vigorous attack against the Republican editor for a "base fabrication" concerning Commissioner Black.

Whereas, the facts are Richards did state that his pension was revoked; he so stated to A. R. Putney in the presence of Major Gordon, a reputable citizen, and of Mr. Hammontree, a gentleman of such high character that as a Republican he has been three times successively elected to offices in that city and township which is three hundred Democratic majority. He made such statement to Doctor Banta and many other well-known citizens. Pension Examiner Lux did not give these latter statements to publication.

The Pension Office, through its representative, Examiner Lux, has prostituted the records of the United States Government to a political and partisan purpose, and that he is a malicious, vindictive, and unscrupulous partisan in such action is evidenced by the fact that he withheld from publication the affidavits of well-known and reputable citizens that would have shown that the defamer of the Pension Office was in reality Albert D. Richards, and not the Republican editor.

Fourth. If the increase is not because of the management of the office, then it must be the result of legislation in Congress. Let us give the pension legislation of the past three years a "substantial" consideration, and we may there discover the real truth about these magnificent figures.

THE WIDOWS' BILL.

Seven bills were introduced for widows' pensions in the Forty-ninth Congress. I am told that six of these were introduced by Republicans and one by a Democrat. That is of small concern. I suppose the committee made a report answering to all of these bills. Mr. MATSON proclaims that President Cleveland signed this bill. Well, why should he not? Is it for a moment to be supposed that any man, whomsoever he may be, elected to the Presidency of this Republic, would veto a general bill increasing a widow's pension from $8 to $12 a month?

It is a curious condition of affairs, when the President signs a pension bill instead of vetoing it, that a proclamation of congratulation is issued to the country.

Let us get at the evidence as recorded on this bill. When the bill was up for consideration my colleague, General BROWNE, offered as an

amendment the bill he had introduced to repeal the Sparks arrears limitation. General BROWNE'S bill was at that time before Mr. MATSON'S committee and had not been reported to the House. A filibuster ensued which prevented the House from taking a vote on Mr. BROWNE'S amendment. On February 2 Mr. MATSON moved to suspend the rules and pass the bill with an amendment relating to date of marriage and without the Browne amendment. When Mr. MATSON made this motion as he did it was not possible for General BROWNE'S motion to be voted upon, because after a motion has been made to suspend the rules and pass a bill no amendment is permitted.

The distinguished chairman of the Invalid Pensions Committee, who now seeks to stand before Indiana as the champion of the arrears bill, instead of reporting such a bill and seeking its passage at the last Congress, actually, by a parliamentary movement, defeated all possibility of the passage of such a bill at that time. The vote to increase the widows' pensions from $8 to $12 was passed by 198 yeas and 66 noes, as follows:

Democrats for the bill	80
Democrats against the bill	66
Republicans for the bill	118
Republicans against the bill	None

Now, as two-thirds of the Democrats did not vote for the bill, under the rules of the House it could not have passed. It took Republican votes to save it, and it got them every one. If there ever was a pension measure that appealed to humanity and kindly patriotism it was the widows' bill, and yet 66 Democrats voted against it, enough to have defeated it if only Democrats had been in Congress. The Republican vote saved the bill. In power or out of power the solid Republican vote can always be depended upon in favor of the Union soldier.

This bill increased the widows' pensions from $8 to $12 per month, and 102,568 widows, minors, and dependent relatives of Union soldiers were benefited by it.

This makes a very large hole in the 168,231 pension certificates. The impression prevails in some localities that this 168,231 increase in the pension certificates means that that many persons have been added to the pension-rolls, but not a single one of these 102,568 are new pensioners. This required no additional work in the office except to issue certificates to these old pensioners for $12 instead of $8 per month.

He next recites the amputation bill of August 4, 1886, which increased the pension of 10,092 existing pensioners. This measure passed the House without a recorded vote. On going to the Senate it was amended, and when it came back to the House General CUTCHEON called it up and moved its passage, and Mr. Morrison, the distinguished leader of the Democratic party in the House at that time, made objection and defeated the passage of the bill. At another time Mr. MATSON moved to take it up under suspension of the rules, and it was passed by the following vote:

Democrats voting for the bill	75
Democrats voting against the bill	51
Republicans voting for the bill	91
Republicans voting against the bill	None.

So two-thirds of the Democrats did not vote for the bill, and it was passed by Republican votes.

After the Democratic party casts enough votes against a measure to defeat it they can not in any fairness claim it as their legislation. If the Republicans, being in the minority, cast enough votes to overcome the defeat, and especially if all their votes are cast for the measure, then by all fairness and parliamentary usage the measure is Republican legislation. For this reason the widows' increase bill and the amputation bill can not be justly claimed by my colleague, but those 112,000 pensions belong to the Republican party.

He next calls attention to the Mexican pension bill, by which 21,704 persons were granted pensions. These were actually new pensioners. Those heretofore given were only increases of existing pensions. It is not fair for either of the political parties to claim the passage of the Mexican bill.

It passed the House substantially by unanimous vote, only 5 votes being recorded against it—3 being Democrats and 2 Republicans.

This gives, under the three acts, 133,364 additional pension certificates granted under Commissioner Black's administration out of the 168,000 claimed to the credit of the Democratic party.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD thus gives a very clear statement of how these enormous additions that have been claimed by our Democratic friends were made to the pension-roll. We then have 35,000 pension certificates remaining that have been issued by Commissioner Black in his three years in the office more than were issued by ex-Commissioner Dudley. That the office under management of Commissioner Black should only make an increase of about 12,000 a year over Commissioner Dudley is really astonishing. He certainly has not done the work in that office he ought to have done under the circumstances.

The reasons are found in the following facts: When Colonel Dudley became Commissioner of Pensions he found six hundred clerks in the office. This number was so inadequate to the business that three hundred thousand pension claims lay corded up in the office with all their evidence untouched. Three hundred thousand pension claims of which not one page of evidence had been examined. Three hundred thousand pension claims, not one of which had ever had its "jacket" off. The office was three hundred thousand claims behind in its business. In his second year Commissioner Dudley succeeded in getting a Republican Congress to increase his number of clerks, a thing neglected by the Democratic Congress that had ruled in this House for the prior four years. These clerks had to be educated. They must have a technical training for their work. Efficiency in a semi-judicial pursuit like this comes only by experience.

When Commissioner Dudley retired from the office he left it with 1,600 clerks, a force of trained, experienced and efficient officials, so singularly proficient in their duties that the majority of them are at their posts to-day. The work of the office was practically up at the date of his retirement. That is, no large number of cases were awaiting turn for consideration nor cords of new claims awaiting their first examination.

Commissioner Black entered the office at this stage. Now, observe the parallel! Dudley found the office with 600 clerks; Black found it with 1,600. In his second year Dudley increased his force 1,000, and every man had to be educated for his work; Black has educated but few. Dudley found the office 300,000 cases behind; Black found the claims examined to date. Dudley had but gotten the 1,000 new men into efficient service when he retired; Black took the 1,600 with all their experience. Black issues only 35,000 more pensions in his three years than Dudley in a like three years. It is plain if Dudley had continued in the office he would have increased this number by 150,000 pensions.

My friend next cites the granting of arrears from the death of their husbands in cases of all widows of the late war whose pensions have been or may hereafter be granted. He says this law will favorably affect some 10,000 widows already on the rolls and many more who will apply for their pensions hereafter. The question is, who is responsible for the widows' arrears bill? Although a widows' arrears act had several times been introduced in Congress, no bill had ever been reported favorably to the House. When Mr. FORAN, a Democrat, having in charge the appropriation bill for pensions, asked its passage by the House, the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. CONGER, a Republican, moved to amend by adding to the bill that "arrears of pensions from the death of their husbands be granted in all cases of widows of the late war whose pensions have been or may hereafter be granted." Mr. FORAN made a point of order against the amendment, but it was so clearly germane to the bill that the Chairman held it was parliamentary. The bill as amended passed the House without a recorded vote. In the Senate, Mr. COCKRELL, of Missouri, moved to strike out the amendment, and the vote in the Senate is recorded:

Democrats for striking out the amendment	20
Democrats against striking out the amendment	1
Republicans for retaining the amendment	22
Republicans against retaining the amendment,	None

And so the widows' arrears bill passed the Senate by Republican votes, and had there been no Republicans in the Senate the bill would have been defeated by a vote of 20 to 1.

I have now made an examination of the pension legislation in Congress from 1862 down to 1875, when the Republicans ceased to have a majority on this floor; and also during Democratic control on this floor, from 1875 to 1885, two years of which time the Republicans had a majority here. And, lastly, our attention has been directed to the legislation since Mr. Cleveland became President.

On last Monday Mr. MATSON, as chairman of Pensions, obtained the floor and called up and passed the deaf bill without division. I am glad it passed, although it benefits less than five hundred soldiers. Why did he not call up the dependent-pension bill? Twenty members on this side called aloud to him to do so. Why did he not call up the arrears bill? Many of us called aloud for that also. Soldiers from our State had been here within ten days to ask him to do so. When he goes home in a few days the veterans will ask, "Why was it, when you had possession of the floor as Pension chairman, you did not call up one of the measures that would have brought relief to fifty thousand soldiers?" They will also say to him that nearly every chairman of a committee in the House has, by application to the Committee on Rules, had special days set apart for their bills, why have you not done so? The Calendar does not show that you have any such day, and the RECORD does not show that you tried to get one." More than a dozen Republicans have publicly made such request. The Republican caucus made such a request. Nearly every Republican signed a petition praying for a pension day. My colleague, Mr. JOHNSTON, not a member of the Pensions Committee, ventured to offer a resolution asking the Committee on Rules to give a day. The time is not granted, and yet we adjourn for whole days. We turn to you as the one in authority, and ask, "Why do you not secure a day, or having the floor, why do you not call up one of these bills?"

We have learned in this investigation that the Republican party is the author and founder of our present great system of pension legislation; that every pension measure, except one, which has passed this House, has been passed by Republican votes, and would not have passed if there had been none but Democrats in Congress, and that in all thes e

twenty-six years of pension legislation there has been but one Republican vote against a pension bill.

In view of these facts, without suggestion or comment, I am willing to leave with the people of the country a decision on the remarkable claims put forward by my distinguished colleague.

Mr. Chairman, I have but a thought further to add. It is claimed that we pay the largest amount for pensions ever paid by any government before. I know it, but no government ever had such cause before. No government ever had such wrong-headed and unjustifiable rebellion before. No government was ever builded on the rights of man before. No government had ever overthrown the tyranny of kingcraft and enthroned the people as rulers before. The principle for which this war was waged is without parallel on any field of strife for conquest or for patriotism. It brought for final arbitrament the unsolved problem of the capacity of the people to rule themselves. Hitherto every effort to maintain a government of the people, for the people, and by the people had met with disaster. The last gauge of battle, after the conflict of centuries, was pitched on our shores. And union, and the best form of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people, and loyalty prevailed.

The soldiers who lie buried and those who live and whose pensions we are discussing are the Marathon band who won this measureless achievement. They left their hearthstones when their country called. They severed forever, so far as their act might do so, every tie of home. The babe kissed good-bye knew not that it might be forever. Wives and mothers wept, but with Spartan faith made surrender for the country's cause. Prayers were ministering angels between the family and the bivouac and battle-field. Nearly five hundred thousand of these men saw home nor kindred more. They went forth at their country's call without thought of reward or dream of renown. They went because their country's life was in peril, and laid upon her altar man's highest sacrifice, his life, if need be, that his country might live. Victorious the survivors came back, with malice toward none and charity for all.

Twenty-three years have passed since the close of the great conflict. Those who are left to us now are but a remnant of the mighty squadrons. They are filing down the hill where the shadows grow longer, and are rapidly falling out of the ranks. In a few more years the last veteran will have fought his battles over for the last time and joined the camp on the eternal field.

While they remain with us may the hand that shall ever be raised to draw a line of division on the Union's devotion to these heroes be smitten with defeat. Let our soldiers be so securely above partisan interest that the people all shall agree that the nation which they saved with one heart yields to them abundantly of whatever they may need in the hours of their final march.

Pensions.

But let them remember that these soldiers are still a power in the land, and that the men who stormed the heights of Vicksburg and Missionary Ridge, who rolled back the high tide of rebellion at Gettysburgh, and marched through Georgia to the sea, will be heard from in the coming battle of ballots.

SPEECH

OF

HON. A. C. THOMPSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, September 21, 1888.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Ohio, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I do not propose to make any argument to show that the ex-soldiers of the Union Army deserve at our hands the highest consideration. It will be conceded that we are indebted to them for the preservation of the Government and the maintenance of the Union. All the promise of our future as a nation was made possible by their services in the war for the Union. We owe everything to them, and while we can never adequately compensate them for their services, we may yet do something to alleviate the sufferings of those disabled by disease and wounds, and smooth and make easier the down-grade of their lives. Animated by this sense of what is due to our soldiers, bills have been introduced here in their interest which deserve the attention and the favorable consideration of the House. Among others are the following House bills:

First. House bill 4982, "Prohibiting the allowance of fee in any claim for increase of pension on account of the increase of disability for which the pension was allowed." This bill was reported favorably to the House on the 6th day of February, 1888, and placed on the Calendar. Report No. 242.

Second. House bill 1422, "Relating to pensions granted by special acts of Congress." This bill provides that a special-act pensioner may surrender his certificates and receive such pension as he would have been entitled to had not the certificate been issued. This bill was favorably reported and placed on the Calendar February 20, 1888. Report No. 736.

Third. House bill 1333, "To amend the pension laws in relation to the payment of pensions." This bill provides that when a pensioner has been adjudged legally incompetent to manage his own estate the pension shall be paid to his wife or to a guardian, etc., but an order for such payment can only be made by the Commissioner of Pensions, after an investigation by a special examiner upon ten days' notice to the pensioner. This bill was reported favorably and placed on the Calendar March 7, 1888. Report No. 873.

Fourth. House bill 1420, "For pensioning prisoners of war." This bill was reported favorably and placed on the Calendar March 7, 1888. Report No. 895.

Fifth. House bill 1688, "Relating to claims by dependent parents." This is substantially section 1 of the "dependent bill" vetoed by the President, and is a section to which he made no objection in his veto message. This bill was reported favorably and placed on the Calendar March 13, 1888. Report No. 1076.

Sixth. House bill 1537, "To allow soldiers and sailors in the United States service who have lost both arms an increase of pension"—an increase to $100 per month. This bill was reported favorably and placed on the Calendar March 17, 1888. Report No. 1187.

Seventh. House bill 9961, "Relating to arrears of pension." This bill was reported favorably and placed on the Calendar May 14, 1888. Report No. 2120. And the following Senate bills:

First. Senate bill 181, "Granting pensions to ex-soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to dependent relatives of deceased soldiers and sailors." This bill was reported favorably to the House and placed on the Calendar April 14, 1888. House Report No. 1694.

Second. Senate bill 1000, "To increase the pensions of certain soldiers and sailors who are utterly helpless from injuries received or disease contracted while in the service of the United States." This bill provides a pension of $72 a month, and was reported favorably to the House and placed on the Calendar May 8, 1888. House Report No. 2065.

The purpose of these bills certainly commends them to the favorable consideration of all right-thinking people. There should be in time a revision of the pension laws which will remove the inconsistencies and inequalities which exist and do equal justice to all the soldiers of the Republic who have fought for their Government. But the legislation proposed in these bills should be enacted now and not compelled to await a general revision. The needs of the soldiers and the justice of their claims require this, and Congress should not adjourn until these bills become laws.

Congress has been in session since the 5th day of December, 1887, a period of nine months and seventeen days, and only two pension bills of a general nature have become laws—the bill providing that pensions of widows shall commence from the date of the death of their husbands, and the bill increasing the rate of pension for deafness. Surely this is not fair treatment of the Union soldiers; and I charge and will demonstrate from the record of the proceedings of this House that this failure to do justice to the soldiers of the Union rests upon the Democratic membership of this body.

The House met on the 5th of December, 1887, and the committees were announced on the 5th day of January, 1888, and, as already shown, the bills referred to were reported and placed on the Calendar at various times from February 6 to May 14, 1888. The tariff bill was reported on the 2d day of April, and the debate thereon began on the 17th day of April and ended on the 21st of July, 1888, when the bill passed; so that there was ample time before the debate on the tariff bill began to have passed these bills, except the two Senate bills and the arrears bill, which were not reported in time, and there has been an abundance of time to have passed all of them since the tariff bill was passed. The majority of the members of the House are Democrats, and a majority of the members of each and every committee of the House are Democrats.

The Speaker and all the officers of the House are Democrats, and it was within the power of the Democratic membership of the House to have taken up and passed any of these bills had they desired to do so. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Republican membership they were able to take up and pass the tariff bill, and certainly would have had no trouble in passing any or all of these pension bills, assured as they were of the hearty and cordial support of the Republican membership. As early as April 3, 1888, the Committee on Rules, who have exclusive jurisdiction in the matter, reported a resolution to the House setting apart days for the consideration of business from the following committees, namely, the Committee on Commerce, the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on Pacific Railroads, the Committee on Territories, the Committee on Public Lands, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Agriculture, the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and the Committee on the Judiciary (see

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 2740), but reported no day for the consideration of the business of the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

But I am not content to stop with this negative evidence of the failure of the Democratic membership of this House to do justice to the Union soldier. I propose to show that by management and by open opposition the Democratic majority in the House have prevented the possibility of general pension legislation at this session. Earnest efforts were made from time to time by Republican members of the Committee on Invalid Pensions and by other Republican members of the House to secure a day for the consideration of the business of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, but they were defeated in every instance by the Democratic majority of the House. On the 26th day of March, 1888, Mr. MORRILL, of Kansas (Republican), introduced a resolution setting apart the 2nd and 3d days of May for the consideration of the business of this committee, and, because of the known hostility of the Committee on Rules to any such resolution, moved its reference to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

This reference was opposed by the Democratic membership, Mr. ROGERS, of Arkansas (Democrat), and Mr. COWLES, of North Carolina (Democrat), leading the opposition, and upon the yeas and nays being taken the vote stood, yeas 135, nays 100. Of the nays, 74 were from the South. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 2335.) The resolution was reported back to the House by Mr. MORRILL favorably, and was placed on the Calendar, where it was forced to remain until the Committee on Invalid Pensions was called in regular course during the second morning hour under Rule XXIV, paragraph 5. This rule provides as follows:

> After the morning hour shall have been devoted to reports from committees (or the call completed), the Speaker shall again call the committees in regular order for one hour, upon which call each committee, on being named, shall have the right to call up for consideration any bill reported by it on a previous day, on either the House or Union Calendar. And whenever any committee shall have occupied the said hour for one day, it shall not be in order for such committee to designate any other proposition for consideration until all the other committees shall have been called in their turn; and when any proposition shall have occupied two hours on this call it shall thereafter remain on the Calendar as unfinished business and be taken up in its order: *Provided*, That when the hour herein prescribed shall expire, while the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union is considering a bill, the said committee shall rise without motion therefor.

During the tariff discussion this call was dispensed with from time to time and the committee was not called until the 16th day of August, 1888. Upon this call, being the very first opportunity the committee had had for that purpose, the resolution of March 20, amended by substituting the 29th and 30th days of August for the 2d and 3d days of May, was called up by Mr. MORRILL for consideration, but the Democrats filibustered against its passage and consumed the hour. The next day the hour was consumed in the same way, and under the rule the matter then became unfinished business. The opposition was led by Mr. ROGERS, of Arkansas (Democrat), Mr. BLAND, of Missouri (Democrat), and Mr. CRISP, of Georgia (Democrat). The vote on the first day stood ayes 117, noes 7. The Democrats refused to vote, and consequently, as the vote shows, there was no quorum. Thereupon a call of the House was ordered, and the roll being called, disclosed one hundred and seventy-four members present, being eleven more than a quorum, and pending the taking of this vote the hour to which the Committee on Invalid Pensions was entitled under Rule XXIV expired.

On the second day the vote stood as follows, ayes 119, noes 5. A call of the House was again ordered, and upon the roll being called it again appeared that 174 members were present. At the close of this roll-call, six minutes of the hour to which the committee was entitled, still remained, and this was consumed by a motion to adjourn, made by Mr. CRISP, of Georgia, upon which a division was called for and tellers asked, and pending the taking of the vote by tellers the hour expired. (For these proceedings see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD pages 8345, 8346, 8347, 8348, 8389, 8390, and 8391.) The resolution having become unfinished business, and because of other unfinished business which had already accumulated, there was no longer any opportunity to bring it before the House, except by some affirmative action of the House authorizing it, as by a suspension of the rules or by unanimous consent or by a direct vote to take it up and consider it at once. In order, if possible, to force some such action upon the House, Mr. LYMAN, of Iowa (Republican), gave notice that he would object to any business being done in the House without a quorum until some time should be given for the consideration of general pension legislation, and he did object to the consideration of business without a quorum being present until the 21st day of August when, after a statement to the House that he only desired to fix and emphasize the responsibility for the failure of pension legislation upon the Democratic membership of the House, he withdrew his opposition, having failed, however, to move the Democratic majority to take any steps or to permit anything to be done in the interest of the Union soldier. These proceedings will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for August 16, 17, 19, 20, and 21. Particular reference is made to pages 8356 and 8538, which show the remarks of Mr. LYMAN.

On the 23d of April, 1888, Mr. MORRILL, of Kansas, introduced a second resolution setting apart the 23d and 24th days of May, 1888, for the consideration of the business of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, which was referred to the Committee on Rules, and was never heard of afterwards, although a petition was presented to that committee, signed by every Republican member of the House, asking that the resolution be considered and reported. On the 4th day of June, 1888, that being under the rules of the House a day on which motions might be made to suspend the rules, Mr. MILLS, of Texas (Democrat), moved to suspend the rules and pass a resolution setting apart days for the consideration of the business of the following committees: The Committee on Public Lands, the Committee on Military Affairs, the Committee on the Pacific Railroads, the Committee on Territories, and the Committee on Commerce. Thereupon Mr. CANNON, of Illinois (Republican), asked to be permitted to offer an amendment giving two days to the Committee on Invalid Pensions for the consideration of its business, but Mr. MILLS objected and demanded the regular order. Upon a vote being taken by tellers there were—ayes 95 and noes 2, and Mr. CANNON made the point of "no quorum." Mr. MILLS thereupon withdrew his resolution, sacrificing his resolution rather than permit it to be amended so as to include the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the tariff bill, but was interrupted by Mr. MCKINLEY, of Ohio, who propounded to the Speaker an inquiry as to whether he (the Speaker) would recognize some gentleman to offer a resolution fixing a day for the consideration of general pension legislation. But the Speaker refused to answer him, saying that "the recognitions of this day are within the discretion of the Chair."

When the vote was taken upon the motion of Mr. MILLS the Republicans refused to vote, breaking the quorum, and rather than permit a day to be fixed for the consideration of pension legislation Mr. MILLS moved an adjournment of the House, which was carried by Democratic votes and the day lost, the House adjourning at 2 o'clock. During these proceedings the following colloquy took place between Mr. MILLS, Mr. MCKINLEY, Mr. REED, and the Chair, which fully illustrates the hostility of the Chair and the Democratic membership of the House to the proposition to set apart time for the consideration of pension legislation (page 5251):

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. MILLS. I move that the House now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of House bill No. 9051; and pending that I move that all debate on the paragraph under consideration and amendments thereto be closed in ten minutes, on which I demand the previous question.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I desire to make an inquiry before proceeding with the consideration of this question. When the resolution offered by the gentleman from Texas a few moments ago——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. That has been withdrawn. [Cries of "Regular order!"]

Mr. MCKINLEY. I wish to submit a question in reference to that matter before proceeding——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state that it is not in order pending this motion, on which the gentleman has demanded the previous question. That cuts off all debate, and the resolution mentioned by the gentleman from Ohio is not before the House.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I do not rise to debate the question, Mr. Speaker. [Cries of "Regular order!"]

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The regular order is the demand for the previous question.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I rise to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MCKINLEY. And it is in the interest of the orderly business of this body. If, when the resolution offered by the gentleman of Texas is disposed of——

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. That has been disposed of. [Loud calls of "Regular order!"]

Mr. MCKINLEY. I desire to inquire of the Speaker if, when that is disposed of, he will recognize some gentleman to offer a resolution fixing a day for the consideration of general pension legislation?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. That is not a parliamentary inquiry. The Chair will decide questions of recognitions as they arise.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I wish to get a statement from the Chair.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair does not think the gentleman presents a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MCKINLEY. The Chair, then, declines to say that he will recognize any gentleman for the purpose of moving to fix a day for the legislation I have suggested?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will decline to answer what is not a parlimentary inquiry when propounded as a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I move to amend the motion by making it forty minutes.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on ordering the previous question.

Mr. REED. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. REED. If this proposition of the gentleman from Texas to go into Committee of the Whole is voted down, will it then be in order for the Chair to recognize some gentleman for a motion to suspend the rules and fix days for the consideration of pension legislation?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The recognitions of this day are within the discretion of the Chair, the subjects upon which the recognition will be given and the time of the recognition, and the Chair states that on this day it is in order under the rules to move to go into Committee of the Whole, which motion is now pending.

Mr. REED. Will it be in order for the Chair, if the Chair is so disposed, to recognize a motion to suspend the rules and fix a day for pension legislation?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair has already answered the gentleman.

Mr. REED. Will the Chair answer that parliamentary inquiry squarely and fairly?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair has answered the gentleman's inquiry. The question is on ordering the previous question on the motion of the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. REED. Will the Chair answer a parliamentary inquiry?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question being put, the Speaker *pro tempore* stated that the ayes seemed to have it.

Mr. ANDERSON, of Kansas. I call for a division.

Mr. REED. I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The House is dividing.

Mr. REED. The House is dividing because the Chair is overriding parliamentary law.

Mr. DUNN. But the gentleman from Maine can not override the Speaker.

The question being taken, there were—ayes 97, noes none.

Mr. MCKINLEY. No quorum.

Mr. MILLS. I call for the yeas and nays.

(See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD pages 5250, 5251, 5252, 5253, and 5254.)

On the 12th day of July, 1888, on motion of Mr. MILLS, unanimous consent was given to set apart time for the consideration of the business from the Labor Committee, and upon motion of Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Illinois, like consent was given to set apart time for the business of the Committee on Military Affairs. Thereupon Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR, of Ohio (Republican), asked unanimous consent to set apart an evening for the consideration of general pension bills, but Mr. BLAND, of Missouri (Democrat), objected, and demanded the regular order, the Democratic membership of the House thereby refusing to give its consent to the setting apart of time for the consideration of the business of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, although according it to other committees. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 6738.)

Under the rules and organization of the House the minority may obstruct the majority in doing a given thing, or may prevent them from doing it at all, but can never control legislation nor compel the consideration of any particular business. Bills, when introduced, go to appropriate committees, who, if they take action at all, report them back either favorably or adversely. If favorably, they go upon the Calendar for the consideration of the House. They are taken up in the House for consideration, when presented by the committee reporting them, during the second morning hour, as provided in Rule XXIV, or under a special order fixing a day for the consideration of the business of the committee, or under a special order fixing a day or time for consideration of the particular bill, or under a suspension of the rules, or by unanimous consent, or under privilege, or by a vote of the House to consider the particular bill at once. Motions to suspend the rules can only be entertained on the first and third Mondays of each month. When there is no special order in the way, when no committee is occupying the attention of the House under Rule XXIV, when there is nothing before the House under suspension of the rules, under privilege, or by unanimous consent, or by a vote of the House to take up some particular bill, the unfinished business may be called up in the order in which it stands on the Calendar and be considered, but that time rarely ever comes, especially after the session has been continued for some time, and never comes in opposition to the will of the majority.

The record of the proceedings of the House therefore not only shows that the Democrats have never exercised the power of their majority to fix a day for the consideration of general pension legislation, but, on the contrary, have refused to do so, and have filibustered and wasted the time of Congress rather than permit a proposition of that kind to be even considered. On the other hand, the record shows that the Republicans have exhausted every parliamentary resource to compel the consideration of such legislation, but have been defeated in every effort in that direction by the Democratic membership. The morning hour which belonged to the Committee on Invalid Pensions was consumed in filibustering, the petition to the Committee on Rules was treated with contempt, the Speaker refused recognition to suspend the rules, and Democratic objection was made to a request for unanimous consent. Pension bills, not being like appropriation bills, privileged, nothing can be done in that direction, and we are compelled, therefore, to abandon for this session, at least, all efforts to secure justice for the Union soldier, and there is nothing left but to appeal to the people and take their verdict in November.

Under this Administration the Union soldier is ignored and the Confederate gray has become fashionable. The Union soldier is scouted at, reviled, and made the subject of thick-witted Presidential jokes; the great organization into which the survivors of the grand army of the Union are gathered for the purposes of "fraternity, charity, and loyalty" is denounced in terms of malignancy and hatred, and the flags they captured from the enemies of their country, trophies significant of the victory of loyalty over treason, mute but eloquent witnesses of the power of the Government, are sought to be returned to the hands from which they were taken. Is it any wonder, then, that a Democratic House of Representatives, under such inspiration, should refuse justice to the veteran soldier of the Union?

But let them remember that these soldiers are still a power in the land, and that the men who stormed the heights of Vicksburg and Missionary Ridge, who rolled back the high tide of rebellion at Gettysburgh, and marched through Georgia to the sea, will be heard from in the coming battle of ballots, and their might and strength will prevail as it did in the days when they offered their lives for their country, and they will place the administration of the Government in the hands of one of their own number, a Grand Army man, who marched and fought with them, a statesman of ability and experience, a citizen of pure life and character, an honest man and a true-hearted gentleman, who commands the confidence, respect, and love of all who know him—Benjamin Harrison, of the State of Indiana.

The Tariff.—A Plea for the Industrial Civilization of America.

The third stage of a continuing contest between our two great Social Forces.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JEHU BAKER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, July 19, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. BAKER, of Illinois, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The debate upon this bill has taken a wide range. Long volumes have been spoken and written upon it. Our statistics have been made a harp of a thousand strings, yielding some of the strangest discords, as well as some of the master harmonies which express the true music of the instrument.

I have paid as close attention as possible to the whole course of the debate on both sides, and can testify that culture has done admirable work in our country during the last twenty years. For, comparing the present with two decades agone, I think I clearly see a higher average intelligence among the members of this House than existed then, which is the same as to say (this being a representative body) that the great constituencies represented in this Hall, now amounting in the aggregate to more than sixty million souls, have felt and are feeling the impulse of that growing mental development which keeps step with the magnificent progress of our Republic.

I find in this fact a completely reassuring prophecy that the momentous issue now made up between a higher and a lower type of industrial civilization for our country will be settled in favor of the higher and against the lower by those millions of intelligent freemen who will express their opinion on the question from the Lakes to the Gulf and from ocean to ocean in November next.

This debate has been called, and very often called, a great one. However this may be when measured by that severe and just standard of criticism which knows nothing and favors nothing but that reach and compass of knowledge and thought which grasps and expresses the total significance of a question, it has at all events and in every view been great in its subject-matter; great in the relation it sustains to our millions of workingmen, our millions of business men, and our still more numerous millions of agriculturists, all bound together in one sympathetic whole, and all to prosper or all to suffer, accordingly as wisdom or folly may triumph in the impending contest between the two opposing economical forces which divide our people; accordingly as the cheap labor of Europe, of Asia, of Africa, of Australia, of South America—in short, accordingly as the cheap labor of the entire outlying world, and its low grade of human living, re-enforced by the cheap labor of the six or seven millions of recently emancipated slaves and their descendants in the southern section of our own country, shall or shall not be permitted to drag down and debase the industrial civilization of all America. Or, as the question may be stated in words of still wider import, whether a state of things shall or shall not be maintained in our country which, while tending to save the masses of our own people from industrial degradation, will at the same time serve as a standard, as a pattern, as an example, for the ultimate elevation of the working masses of other nations.

Such, sir, is the question in its just elevation and its true import. It deeply concerns the welfare of our country, and it concerns the welfare of humanity at large. For in the development of that better civilization to which the world is aspiring, and which looks to the elevation of the masses of mankind, a great lead is a great advantage for all. The lead of America is already great beyond any example in history, and it promises to become incomparably greater in the future, if she shall only continue to conquer in the future as she has in the past those reactionary forces in her own bosom which have heretofore threatened and which still threaten, under modified forms, to break her career and debase her life.

It is readily seen, by the very statement of the question, that it is one of a very high order, second only to the two preceding questions which have been settled, and settled in the right way, by the good genius of the American people. I allude, of course, to the question whether slavery should be perpetuated in, and dominate our country; and the question whether, in default of the possibility of that, our Union should be broken into fragments. Both these questions have been determined in the negative, with the unanimous approval of every human being on the globe, whose heart pulsates in sympathy with the higher as distinguished from the lower aspirations of humanity. Not a man in America can now be found who will say that he deplores the destruction of slavery; not one who will say that he

regrets the fact that our Union was not destroyed. All now admit that slavery was economically bad, and not one can be found who will claim that it was morally right. All now admit that the union of our States is full of beneficence for our whole people and for every section of our country; and not one can be found who will deny that the preservation of the Union was the preservation of civilization on our continent.

And yet what a mighty commotion was recently seen on both these points in the direct opposite sense! What multitudes of speeches, of pamphlets, of sermons, of books, of newspapers—numerous enough altogether to freight a ship—were written and published to prove that our black Pompeys and Cæsars and Dinahs and Dilceys are "my money" by the everlasting will of Almighty God! And what tremendous military appliances were brought to bear for the destruction of the Union, for the blotting of the United States from the political map of the world! All now see these matters in another light, and in the right light. Both the great elements of our Republic, the Blue and the Gray, are progressively coalescing in one common patriotism and in the realization of one grand national destiny. But the beneficent work of sectional harmony and of unification under dominant national ideas is not yet finished. Two great questions still remain, one of which is postponed for the moment, whilst the other is the burning question of the hour. The postponed question is whether or not the votes of a vast number of American citizens shall be suppressed on the ground of race, and yet be counted in the basis of representation in this House—than which nothing could be a greater outrage upon the rights of the people and the fundamental principles of our Republic. This question I say is postponed for the moment. The burning question of the hour is whether or not the industrial system of the United States shall be maintained upon a higher or debased to a lower plane.

This is certainly a question of immense importance, second only, as I have said, to the two preceding questions—whether or not slavery should be perpetuated in and dominate our country, and whether, that being thwarted, our Union should be broken up.

It is certainly very natural that that great social force which is coextensive with the old seat of slavery, that is, coextensive with the old slaveholding States, and whose traditions and immediate antecedents connect it so directly with the defunct régime of slavery and slave labor, should be found pretty solidly united on the wrong side of this question; and it is equally natural that that other great social force, which is coextensive with the old seat of free labor, that is, coextensive with the old free States, should be found pretty solidly united on the right side of the question; for blood tells not more effectually in the descent of individuals than general causes tell on the life of great groups of men.

And thus it is clearly seen in a highly rational and comprehensive manner that our country is now passing through the third stage of a great and protracted contest between its two principal social forces, the one of these forces being essentially Southern, but cropping over into the North, the other essentially Northern, but cropping over into the South.

The first stage was, as we have seen, relative to the matter of slavery; the second relative to the matter of the Union, whilst the third and present stage is relative to the matter of the industrial status of our country.

All three of these stages or phases of conflict between the two forces are bound together in historical and rational sequence, and all three will be found bound together, as I firmly believe, by a similar destiny as regards their final outcome.

The Southern social force was beaten by the Northern on the question of slavery and slave labor, and the event has proved that the South was benefited equally with the North by the destruction of slavery.

The Southern social force was beaten by the Northern on the question of secession and war for the disruption of our Federal system, and the event has proved that the South has been benefited equally with the North by the preservation of the Union.

And now, in the third stage of the great contest, which so deeply concerns our industrial civilization, the outcome very plainly promises to be similar to the two preceding ones; very plainly promises to be a triumph of the higher over the lower industrial type; a triumph which, like its predecessors, will scatter its blessings equally over the North and over the South—over the North, in the way of giving stability, assurance, and extension to her now threatened industrial system; over the South, in the way of carrying to her a new life, a new energy, a new developing force, which shall lay hold upon her vast natural resources, and through a thousand diversified appliances bring forth not only her immense material wealth, but, what is still higher and more important, bring forth the latent ability, skill, and talent of her people. These are the things that make a people great. These are the things that put the widest interspace between savagery and civilization. These are the things that distinguish the spirit of progress from the spirit of retrogression. These are the things that distinguish the genius of the Republican party from the genius of the Democracy. The one advocates a policy which would build up the South in all the diverse richness of her native resources of crude material and crude mind. The other, wedded to the bad traditions of the past, wedded to the inherited taint of slavery and slave labor, aspires to a policy which, while failing to diversify and elevate the industrial condition of the South, would inevitably drag down and degrade that of the North.

Manifestly the general view which I have presented, that a continuing contest has been and still is going on in our country between its two leading social forces for and against the permanent establishment of the great and beneficent principles of our national life, carries us to the bottom meaning of the present phase of the contest; and manifestly it is only when we consider the supreme importance of these principles, each and severally, and in their united meaning, that we can fitly comprehend the rational significance of what we are about to-day.

Let the entire matter be put in short, and in terms so plain that the thread of reason running through the whole can not be mistaken.

Firstly, one of the two great social forces in our country has spent thirty years, extending from about 1830 to 1860, in the work of cultivating American politics from the standpoint of negro slavery. This can not be denied. It is fixed in recent and certain history.

Secondly, this same social force has spent four years, extending from 1861 to 1865, in the work of endeavoring, by vast military appliances, and at an immense cost of blood and treasure, to break our Republic into fragments. This also can not be denied. It is fixed in recent and indelible history.

Thirdly, this same social force, constituting the main substance as it does, and taking the lead as it does, of a great political party, is now aspiring to dominate the entire industrial system of the United States, meantime drawing its fiscal inspiration, as it most naturally does, from the tariff doctrine of the father of nullification, John C. Calhoun, and from the same tariff doctrine as formally and definitely expressed in the constitution of the so-called Confederate States of America—which is in direct opposition to the tariff doctrine of the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted and acted upon by Washington, by Jefferson, by Madison, by Monroe, by Jackson, by Lincoln, and Grant, and under which the industrial system of our country has rapidly become the most progressive and gigantic industrial system in the world. Neither can what is here said be denied by candor and intelligence; and if denied it is capable of the most rigorous proof in every part and in every particular.

This, then, is the situation of the hour stated in the fewest possible words: Here is a powerful social force in the bosom of our Republic, recently allied with the cause of slavery and slave labor—recently allied with the cause of secession and war for the destruction of the Union, and now, at this very hour, like a twice defeated giant, gathering itself up for one main determined effort to get governmental control of the enormous industrial interests of a country which it was unable to ruin by the rot of slavery, and unable to cut in two by the edge of the sword!

Let the roster of the two great social forces be called with reference to their respective shares in the industries of the country. The following table, drawn from the census of 1880, exhibits in one view the manufacturing industries of the entire "Solid South" as compared with those of all the rest of the country. If looked at with some attention it will be seen that it teaches a lesson of startling significance at the present moment.

Capital invested, number of employés, wages paid, and value of the product of manufacture in each State and Territory of the United States, according to the census of 1880.

States and Territories.	Capital invested.	Number of employés.	Amount of wages paid.	Value of products.	Population.
Alabama	$9,668,008	10,019	$2,500,504	$13,565,504	1,262,505
Arkansas	2,953,130	4,557	925,358	6,756,159	802,525
Delaware	15,165,822	12,638	4,267,349	20,514,438	146,608
Florida	3,210,680	5,504	1,270,875	5,546,448	269,493
Georgia	20,672,410	24,875	5,266,152	36,440,948	1,542,180
Kentucky	45,813,039	37,391	11,657,844	75,483,377	1,648,690
Louisiana	11,462,468	12,167	4,360,371	24,205,183	939,946
Maryland	58,742,384	74,945	18,904,965	106,780,563	934,943
Mississippi	4,727,600	5,827	1,192,645	7,518,302	1,131,597
Missouri	72,507,844	63,995	24,309,716	165,386,205	2,168,380
North Carolina	13,045,639	18,109	2,740,768	20,095,037	1,599,750
South Carolina	11,205,894	22,128	2,836,289	16,738,008	995,577
Tennessee	20,092,845	22,445	5,254,775	37,074,886	1,542,359
Texas	9,245,561	12,159	3,343,087	20,719,928	1,591,749
Virginia	26,968,990	40,184	7,425,261	51,780,992	1,512,565
West Virginia	13,883,390	14,311	4,313,965	22,867,126	618,457
Total Southern.	339,855,704	381,254	100,569,924	631,473,104	18,507,324
Connecticut	120,480,275	112,915	43,501,518	185,697,211	622,700
Maine	49,988,171	52,954	13,623,318	79,829,793	648,936
Massachusetts	303,806,185	352,255	128,315,362	631,135,284	1,783,085
New Hampshire	51,112,263	48,831	14,814,793	73,978,028	346,991
Rhode Island	75,575,943	62,878	21,355,619	104,163,621	276,531
Vermont	23,265,224	17,540	5,164,479	31,354,366	332,286
Arizona	272,600	220	111,180	618,365	40,440
California	61,243,784	43,693	21,065,905	116,218,973	864,694
Colorado	4,311,714	5,074	2,314,427	14,260,159	194,327

Capital invested, number of employés, wages paid, etc.—Continued.

States and Territories.	Capital invested.	Number of employés.	Amount of wages paid.	Value of products.	Population.
Dakota	771,428	868	339,375	2,373,970	135,177
District Columbia	5,552,526	7,146	3,924,612	11,882,316	177,624
Idaho	677,215	388	136,326	1,271,317	32,610
Illinois	140,652,066	144,727	57,429,085	414,864,673	3,077,871
Indiana	65,742,962	69,508	21,960,888	148,006,411	1,978,301
Iowa	33,987,886	28,372	9,725,962	71,045,926	1,624,615
Kansas	11,192,315	12,062	3,995,010	30,843,777	996,096
Michigan	92,930,959	77,591	25,313,682	150,715,025	1,636,937
Minnesota	31,004,811	21,247	8,613,094	76,065,198	780,773
Montana	899,390	578	318,759	1,835,867	39,159
Nebraska	4,881,150	4,793	1,742,311	12,627,336	452,402
Nevada	$1,323,300	577	$461,807	$2,179,626	62,266
New Jersey	106,226,593	126,038	46,083,045	254,380,236	1,131,116
New Mexico	463,275	557	218,731	1,284,846	119,565
New York	514,246,575	531,533	198,634,029	1,080,696,596	5,082,871
Ohio	188,939,614	183,609	62,103,800	348,298,390	3,198,062
Oregon	6,312,056	3,473	1,667,046	10,931,232	174,768
Pennsylvania	474,510,993	387,072	134,055,904	744,818,445	4,282,891
Utah	2,656,657	2,495	858,863	4,324,992	143,963
Washington	3,202,497	1,147	532,226	3,250,134	75,116
Wisconsin	73,821,802	57,109	18,814,917	128,255,480	1,315,497
Wyoming	364,673	391	187,798	898,494	20,789
Total all other	2,450,416,902	2,357,641	847,383,871	4,738,106,087	31,648,459
Total Southern	339,855,704	381,254	100,569,924	631,473,104	18,507,324
Total United States	2,790,272,606	2,738,895	947,953,795	5,369,579,191	50,155,783
Percentage:					
All other	87.82	86.08	89.39	88.24	63.10
Southern	12.18	13.92	10.61	11.76	36.90

WM. F. SWITZLER,
Chief of Bureau.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Bureau of Statistics, August 1, 1883.

It is seen from the table what a meager relation the manufacturing industries of the Southern States sustained to our whole system in 1880—a relation which is no doubt substantially the same to-day. All of these States together had invested less than 13 per cent. of the capital, employed less than 14 per cent. of the operatives, paid less than 11 per cent. of the wages, and turned out less than 12 per cent. of the total manufactured products of the United States! And yet from the prairies of Texas, from the forests of Arkansas, from the woodland pastures of Kentucky, from the everglades of Florida, from the cotton-fields of Mississippi, from the rice swamps of Carolina, comes a policy which proposes to dominate the gigantic industrial system of the North and of the entire country! Who shall say that here is not a case for the display of self-respect on the part of the Northern voter, as well as loyalty to the industrial interests of our common country, North and South? Who shall say that we are not indeed in the midst of the third stage of a momentous, continuing contest between the two great social forces of our country—in the first of which the one stood for liberty, the other for slavery; in the second of which the one stood for union, the other for disunion; and in the third of which the one is standing for a higher type of American labor and industry, the other for a lower? It is a situation well calculated to stir the blood and arouse a just enthusiasm. That enthusiasm is impending in every direction. I believe it will do its work as effectually as the great works of the past have been done. I believe it will sweep the North, invade the South, and save the country from industrial degradation!

I have said that the economical principle of the Southern social force finds its expression in the constitution of the so-called Confederate States. It is in these words:

> Nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

The words "promote or foster" are practically equivalent to the word "protect." The idea set out in the Confederate constitution excludes, as far as possible, the idea of protection of American labor and industry; and there can be no doubt whatever that this is the idea, that this is the principle, of that dominant Southern social force which controls the Democratic party. Nothing can be more certain than that it is the bottom purpose of that party, led as it is, to overthrow the American system of protection by a series of successive steps. This bill is only the first step in the direction of the ultimate objective point. It is confessedly "tentative," confessedly a beginning merely. And there can be no rational doubt that the destruction of the American protective system would have a most powerful tendency to degrade our labor and lower our industries to a level with the standard of the Old World. This would be an exceedingly bad step to take—a step that would break the progressive career of our industrial people.

As the leading plea for the accomplishment of this great mischief, it is said that a tariff that protects has the effect of burdening the consumer with an increase in the price of the home article to the extent of the duty upon the foreign one. This absurdly erroneous statement admits of scores of demonstrative refutations, derived from particular instances; but the practical, the certain, the crushing refutation, is found in the general statement that under our present tariff system the whole volume of our enormous home manufactures has declined in price to the consumer, whilst at the same time wages have advanced, home markets have been built up, and employment given to a vast amount of home labor which else had been employed in foreign countries. The case is absolutely one sided.

I have collected a large number of illustrations of the movement of the price of home manufactures to the consumer under our present system, to several of which I will draw attention. They teach their own lesson in terms too plain for misrepresentation.

STEEL RAILS.

Average price of steel rails in Pennsylvania from the time they were first made in commercial quantities (1867) *to the present time.*

[Compiled from data derived from Mr. James M. Swank, general manager of the American Iron and Steel Association.]

	Currency per ton.		Currency per ton.
1867	$166.00	1878	$42.25
1868	158.50	1879	48.25
1869	132.25	1880	67.50
1870	106.75	1881	61.13
1871	102.50	1882	48.50
1872	112.00	1883	37.75
1873	120.50	1884	30.75
1874	94.25	1885	28.50
1875	68.75	1886	34.50
1876	59.25	1887	37.13
1877	45.50	1888	30.00

For the purpose of accurate comparison I will observe that the currency price of steel rails in 1867 ($166) equaled $120 in gold, and that the currency price of steel rails now ($30) equals $30 in gold, so that the actual decline in price from 1867 to 1888 has been from $120 per ton to $30 per ton; that is, a decline of 75 per cent. upon the cost in 1867. Thus in connection with this very important matter of steel rails we observe an enormous decline of cost to the consumer under our present tariff system. Meanwhile let it be observed in addition that we have this industry in our own country, employing here the capital and skill and labor, and giving an extension to our home market, instead of being dependent for all these upon foreign countries, besides sending abroad a higher price for the rails, a result which would inevitably follow the crippling or breaking down the industry at home. Let such facts as these be looked at coolly and dispassionately, and it will be clearly seen what a great public benefit has sprung from the building up and maintaining this great industry in our own land, a benefit which extends to every class of our citizens—farmers, workingmen, business men, and capitalists.

PLATE-GLASS.

I compile the following table from data furnished me by Mr. N. T. De Pauw, president of the great glass-works at New Albany, Ind.:

	Per square foot.
Average selling price of plate-glass in United States prior to starting American factories, about	$2.50
Now	.89

Prices of plate-glass to dealers, per square foot, from 1863 to 1870:

Then	$3.05	$2.26	$1.66	$3.39	$3.26	$2.09	$2.07	$1.68	$1.98	$2.00
Now	.93	.95	.76	1.04	.97	.73	.92	.93	.97	.88

Mr. De Pauw adds:

> Please bear in mind that the prices named in 1863-'70 were the prices these dealers paid for their goods. The prices named for the present are prices to consumers, and, for comparison, 20 to 30 per cent. should be added to the 1870 prices to cover freights, insurance, expense, and profits.

We see, then, what an enormous reduction has taken place in the price of plate-glass since the establishment of the industry in the United States—passing from dollars to cents per square foot! Meantime note the additional advantages of having the industry in the United States, the investment of the capital here instead of abroad, the employment of the labor here instead of abroad, the cultivation of the artistic skill of our own people instead of that of foreign countries, the support of a market at home in place of a foreign one! All these advantages are to be added, in addition to a greatly lower price to the American consumer, and I may still add, the advanced wages to the American worker. It is amazing that a political party could be formed and maintained in the United States that can not see these plain and weighty things, and which would blindly subvert, as far as it can, the very foundation on which they rest—protection to American interests while raising revenue for the Government.

COMPARATIVE PRICE OF SALT IN 1860 AND 1887.

I compile this table from a memorial of the Saginaw Board of Trade, February 18, 1888:

	Barrels.
Salt product of Michigan, 1860	4,000
Salt product of Michigan, 1887	4,200,000

Cost of salt along the Great Lakes, including a barrel worth 20 cents in—

	Per barrel.
1860	$2.35
1866	1.80
1871	1.46
1876	1.05
1881	.95
1886	.65
1887	.58

Thus the product of Michigan salt has increased from 4,000 barrels in 1860 to 4,200,000 barrels in 1887, whilst the price has fallen from $2.35 per barrel in 1860 to 58 cents per barrel in 1887. Deducting the cost of the barrel, the salt in 1887 cost 38 cents per barrel to the first purchaser. The same amount of money in 1887 would buy more than five times as much salt as it would in 1860.

Here, again, in this highly important article we see a vast decline of price under our present system; and, in the face of such facts, people ought really to be too intelligent to pay any attention to the wretched stuff that we hear from ill-informed Democratic politicians about salt.

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF TEN GRADES OF BLANKETS FOR THE YEARS 1860, 1883, 1887, AND 1888.

I compile the following table from data furnished from the books of John and James Dobson, Philadelphia, manufacturers of blankets:

Years.	First grade.	Second grade.	Third grade.	Fourth grade.	Fifth grade.	Sixth grade.	Seventh grade.	Eighth grade.	Ninth grade.	Tenth grade.
1860.....	$2.00	$2.50	$2.25	$3.50	$3.75	$5.00	$7.50	$8.00	$10.00	$13.00
1883.....	1.25	1.80	1.62½	2.35	3.20	3.75	5.50	5.60	7.25	8.50
1887.....	1.06	1.53	1.38	2.00	2.72	3.19	4.58	4.78	6.16	7.23
1888.....	1.01	1.45	1.31	1.90	2.58	3.03	4.35	4.50	5.85	6.80

Thus the American-made blanket which cost $2 in 1860 costs only $1.01 in 1888; the blanket that then cost $2.50 now costs only $1.45; the blanket that then cost $2.25 now costs only $1.31; the blanket that then cost $3.50 now costs only $1.90; the blanket that then cost $3.75 now costs only $2.58; the blanket that then cost $5 now costs only $3.03; the blanket that then cost $7.50 now costs only $4.35; the blanket that then cost $8 now costs only $4.50; the blanket that then cost $10 now costs only $5.85, and the blanket that then cost $13 now costs only $6.80.

Here is certainly a very great diminution in the cost of blankets, under our present system, from 1860 to the present time, the present average price being in fact not greatly more than one-half of what it was then.

But I add a table showing what has taken place, in the mean time, in the matter of wages paid at the two periods to employés engaged in the manufacture of blankets.

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF LABOR CONNECTED WITH BLANKET MANUFACTURING IN 1860 AND 1888.

I adopt the following table, furnished by John and James Dobson, manufacturers of blankets, Philadelphia, from their pay-rolls:

	1860.	1888.
	Per week.	*Per week.*
Spinner, average	$6.00	$15.00
Piecer boys	1.50	3.50
Weavers	4.00	10.00
Finishers:		
Unskilled	4.50	9.00
Skilled	6.00	16.00
Dye-house hands:		
Unskilled	4.25	9.00
Skilled	8.00	25.00
Laborers:		
Common	$4.00	$7.50
Skilled	4.50	9.00
Engineer	6.50	16.00
Total	49.25	120.00

Thus it is seen from the two preceding tables that while the manufacturers' price for blankets is now not very much more than one-half of what it was in 1860, the pay to the workmen engaged in their manufacture is more than double what it then was. So, under our present system, the cost of blankets to the consumer has very greatly diminished, whilst the wages paid to the manufacturing workman has very greatly increased. What more or better could be desired, keeping in view meantime that we have the industry in our own country, the capital, the skill, the wages, and the home market for our farmers?

FLANNELS.

I learn from correspondence with the Brown Manufacturing Company, Dover, Me., that the price per yard of common all-wool twilled flannels was:

	Cents.
In 1860	27.0
Now	20.3

And I learn from the same source that the wages paid in the manufacture of flannels has advanced.

Blankets and flannels well represent woolen textures; and the great fall of their price to the consumer under our present system, and the increase of wages in their manufacture, are a complete refutation of all that is said by Democratic politicians about the cost of woolen goods.

FARM WAGONS.

There is no more interesting article supplied by our manufacturers to our farmers than good, commodious, cheap wagons, and I have therefore given this item careful attention. In reply to a letter of inquiry on the subject, Mr. Clem. Studebaker, president of the great wagon and carriage manufacturing company at South Bend, Ind., has sent me the following statement, under date of August 31, 1888:

Farm wagons at retail in 1860 sold from $85 to $100 each. Wagons of the same grade, though really better made, sell to-day at from $55 to $65 each. Common labor in 1860 brought from 75 cents to $1 per day; wagon mechanics got from $1 to $1.50 per day. Common laborers to-day get from $1 to $1.75; wagon mechanics get from $1.25 to $3.50 per day.

That is, to present the statement in its clearest form to the eye:

	Each.
Farm wagons at retail in 1860	$85 to $100
Same wagons, better made, in 1888	55 to 65
Difference in favor of to-day	30 to 35
	Per day.
Common labor in 1860	$0.75 to $1.00
Common labor in 1888	1.00 to 1.75
Increase in favor of to-day	.25 to .75
Wagon mechanics in 1860	1.00 to 1.50
Wagon mechanics in 1888	1.25 to 3.50
Increase in favor of to-day	.25 to 2.00

Thus the farmer, under our present system, buys a better wagon at a much cheaper price, whilst the mechanics and laborers engaged in the making of wagons get considerably better pay than in 1860.

SHOVELS AND SPADES.

I learn from correspondence with the establishment of Messrs. Oliver Ames & Sons, the famous manufacturers of shovels, spades, and scoops, at North Easton, Mass., that the net price of their shovels and spades to their largest customers was:

	Per dozen.
From fifteen to twenty years before 1861	$10.83
Now	7.86

Or about 72½ per cent. of the price before 1860.

Here, as everywhere else, we observe a marked fall in the price of articles of home manufacture which the farmer and the workman has occasion to buy.

PAPER.

I compile from a reliable source the following table showing the price of paper per pound in 1860 and in 1888:

	Cents.
Ordinary grades writing paper, 1860	16 to 25
Ordinary grades writing paper, 1888	9½ to 16
Book paper, 1860	11 to 13
Book paper, 1888	6½ to 7
News paper, 1860	8 to 10
News paper, 1888	4

The depreciation of prices here shown from 1860 to 1880 is 40 to 47 per cent. on ordinary grades of writing paper, nearly 50 per cent. on book paper, and more than 50 per cent. on news paper.

COTTON GOODS.

The following table, showing comparative prices of cotton goods in 1860 and 1886, I compile from a reliable source—that of Joshua Reece, jr., of the New York Journal of Commerce:

	1860.	1886.
	Cents.	*Cents.*
Standard sheetings.....per yard	8.73	6.75
Standard drillings.....do	8.92	6.25
Bleached sheetings.....do	15.50	10.65
Standard prints.....do	9.50	6.00
64 by 64 printing cloths.....do	5.44	3.31

Here, under our present system, is observed a marked decline of price in the case of those cotton goods which are most extensively used by the mass of the people.

The foregoing instances are only presented as examples, and they fairly represent the great decline of price to the consumers of our immense home manufactures under our present system. That decline of price has extended along the whole line of our home manufactured products, which now amount to not less than seven thousand millions of dollars' worth per annum—an immense saving to American consumers through the decline of price, and also by virtue of having these manufacturers, with the capital they employ, the workingmen they pay, the home markets they support, in our own country; a state of things directly and demonstrably the reverse of what the President so erroneously alleges.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has the idea that a great increase of our imports is what the country wants, and that this would be accompanied by a corresponding increase of our exports. This view is of such grave importance, because of such grave mischief, that I have thought it well to give it a thorough refutation. To this

end I draw attention to the following table, and to the comments I shall make upon it, in connection with the theory of the gentleman from Texas:

TOTAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS AND THE BALANCE OF TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT, 1790 TO 1888, INCLUSIVE, NINETY-NINE YEARS.

This table has been prepared, at my request, by the Bureau of Statistics.

Value of merchandise imported into and exported from the United States from 1790 *to* 1888, *inclusive, also annual excess of imports or of exports (specie values).*

Year ending—	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of exports over imports.	Excess of imports over exports.
September 30—				
1790	$20,205,156	$23,000,000		$2,794,844
1791	19,012,041	29,200,000		10,187,959
1792	20,753,098	31,500,000		10,746,902
1793	26,109,572	31,100,000		4,990,428
1794	33,026,233	34,600,000		1,573,767
1795	47,989,472	69,756,268		21,766,796
1796	67,064,097	81,436,164		14,372,067
1797	56,850,206	75,379,406		18,529,200
17.8	61,527,097	68,551,700		7,024,603
1799	78,665,522	79,069,148		403,626
1800	70,971,780	91,252,768		20,280,988
1801	94,115,925	111,363,511		17,247,586
1802	72,483,160	6,333,333		3,850,173
1803	55,800,033	64,666,666		8,866,633
1804	77,699,074	85,000,000		7,300,926
1805	95,566,021	120,600,000		25,033,979
1806	101,536,963	129,410,000		27,873,037
1807	108,343,150	138,500,000		30,156,850
1808	22,430,960	56,990,000		34,559,040
1809	52,203,233	59,400,000		7,196,767
1810	66,757,970	85,400,000		18,642,030
1811	61,316,833	53,400,000	$7,916,833	
1812	38,527,236	77,030,000		38,502,764
1813	27,855,997	22,005,000	5,850,997	
1814	6,927,441	12,965,000		6,037,559
1815	52,557,753	113,041,274		60,483,521
1816	81,920,452	147,103,000		65,182,548
1817	87,671,569	99,250,000		11,578,431
1818	93,281,133	121,750,000		28,468,867
1819	70,142,521	87,125,000		16,982,479
1820	69,691,669	74,450,000		4,758,331
1821	54,496,323	54,520,835		24,512
1822	61,350,101	79,871,695		18,521,594
1823	68,326,043	72,481,371		4,155,328
1824	68,972,105	72,170,037		3,197,932
1825	90,738,333	90,189,310	549,023	
1826	72,890,759	78,093,511		5,202,752
1827	74,309,947	71,332,938	2,977,009	
1828	64,021,210	81,020,083		16,998,873
1829	67,434,651	67,088,915	345,736	
1830	71,670,735	62,720,956	8,949,779	
1831	72,295,652	95,885,179		23,589,527
1832	81,520,603	95,121,762		13,601,159
1833	87,528,732	101,047,943		13,519,211
1834	102,260,215	108,609,700		5,349,485
1835	115,215,802	136,764,295		21,548,493
1836	124,338,704	176,579,154		52,240,450
1837	111,443,127	130,472,803		19,029,676
1838	104,978,570	95,970,288	9,008,282	
1839	112,251,673	156,496,956		44,245,283
1840	123,668,932	98,258,706	25,410,226	
1841	111,817,471	122,957,544		11,140,073
1842	99,877,995	96,075,071	3,802,924	
June 30—				
1843*a*	82,825,689	42,433,464	40,392,225	
1844	105,745,832	102,604,606	3,141,226	
1845	106,040,111	113,184,322		7,144,211
1846	109,583,248	117,914,065		8,330,817
1847	156,741,598	122,424,349	34,317,249	
1848	138,190,515	148,638,644		10,448,129
1849	140,351,172	141,206,199		855,027
1850	144,375,726	173,509,526		29,133,800
1851	188,915,259	210,771,429		21,856,170
1852	166,984,231	207,440,398		40,456,167
1853	203,489,282	263,777,265		60,287,983
1854	236,959,60	297,623,039		60,663,479
1855	218,909,503	257,808,708		38,899,205
1856	281,219,423	310,432,310		29,212,887
1857	293,823,760	348,428,342		54,604,582
1858	272,011,274	263,338,654	8,672,620	
1859	292,902,051	331,333,341		38,431,290
1860	333,576,057	353,616,119		20,040,062
1861	219,553,833	289,310,542		69,756,709
1862	190,670,501	189,356,677	1,313,824	
1863	203,964,447	243,335,815		39,371,368
1864	158,837,988	316,447,283		157,609,295
1865	166,029,303	238,745,580		72,716,277
1886	348,859,522	434,812,066		85,952,544
1867	294,506,141	395,761,096		101,254,955
1868	281,952,899	357,436,440		75,483,541
1869	286,117,697	417,506,379		131,388,682
1870	392,771,768	435,958,408		43,186,640
1871	442,820,178	520,223,684		77,403,506
1872	444,177,586	626,595,077		182,417,491
1873	522,479,922	642,136,210		119,656,288
1874	586,283,040	567,406,342	18,876,698	
1875	513,442,711	533,005,436		19,562,725
1876	540,384,671	460,741,190	79,643,481	
1877	602,475,220	451,323,126	151,152,094	
1878	694,865,766	437,051,532	257,814,234	

a Nine months.

Value of merchandise imported into and exported from the United States from 1790 *to* 1888, *inclusive, etc.*—Continued.

Year ending—	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of exports over imports.	Excess of imports over exports.
June 30—				
1879	$719,439,441	$445,777,775	$264,661,666	
1880	835,638,658	667,954,746	167,683,812	
1881	902,377,346	642,664,628	259,712,718	
1882	750,542,257	724,639,574	25,902,683	
1883	823,839,402	723,180,914	100,658,488	
1884	740,513,609	667,697,693	72,815,916	
1885	742,189,755	577,527,329	164,662,426	
1886	679,524,830	635,436,136	44,088,694	
1887	716,183,211	695,319,768	23,863,443	
1888	695,954,507	723,957,114		$28,002,607

The foregoing table is suggestive of many things, and it teaches several highly important lessons with unmistakable distinctness.

First, let it be looked at intelligently from beginning to end—from 1790 to 1888—and it will be seen that it absolutely refutes the theory of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. In his opening speech in this debate that gentleman states his theory in these words:

> If to-day the barriers against importation were broken down, and our imports should increase from two to three hundred millions, that importation would create a demand for that amount of agricultural products to be exported to pay for them, and that would increase the price of farm products all through the land.

On the one hand this theory is connected with a matter so important in itself—the great farming interest of our country—whilst on the other hand it is so utterly unfounded, delusive, and mischievous, that my main object in having the foregoing table prepared was to present an occular and mathematical demonstration of its falsity. The theory is: let in "from two to three hundred millions" more of foreign imports per annum and there will be an increased annual outflow of two to three hundred millions more of our agricultural products; or, putting the theory in its shortest form—increase of imports carries with it an equal increase of exports. The actual experience of the United States for ninety-nine years, reckoning from 1790 to 1888, inclusive, shows conclusively that there is nothing in this theory.

Take the very first year of our national book-keeping, 1790. In that year our imports were, in round numbers, twenty-three millions and our exports twenty millions. The next year our imports were twenty-nine millions and our exports only nineteen millions, instead of being twenty-six millions, as they should have been according to the theory of the gentleman from Texas. In fact, there was an actual increase of six millions of imports in connection with our actual decrease of one million of exports.

Again, in 1799, our imports were seventy-nine millions and our exports seventy-eight millions, whilst the next year our imports were ninety-one millions and our exports only seventy millions, instead of being, as they should have been according to the theory of the gentleman from Texas, ninety millions, another instance of an actual increase of imports—to the extent of twelve millions—in connection with an actual decrease of exports to the extent of eight millions.

Again, in 1811, our imports were fifty-three millions and our exports sixty-one millions, whilst the next year our imports were seventy-seven millions and our exports only thirty-eight millions, instead of being, as they should have been according to the theory of the gentleman from Texas, eighty-five millions—still another instance of an actual increase of imports, to the extent of twenty-four millions, in connection with an actual decrease of exports to the extent of twenty-three millions.

Again, in 1847 our imports were one hundred and twenty-two millions and our exports one hundred and fifty-six millions, whilst the next year our imports were one hundred and forty-eight millions and our exports only one hundred and thirty-eight millions, instead of being one hundred and eighty-two millions, as they should have been according to the theory of the gentleman from Texas; still another instance of an actual increase of imports—to the extent of twenty-six millions—connected with an actual decrease of exports to the extent of eighteen millions.

Again, in 1863 our imports were two hundred and forty-three millions and our exports two hundred and three millions whilst the next year our imports were three hundred and sixteen millions and our exports only one hundred and fifty-eight millions, instead of being two hundred and seventy-six millions, as demanded by the gentleman's theory; that is no less than one hundred and sixteen millions short of the amount of the exports called for by the theory!

These are instances in which an actual increase of imports has been attended by an actual decrease of exports, the direct reverse of what is called for by the theory of the gentleman from Texas.

But the table throughout abounds in instances of another sort, showing that where there has been an increase of both imports and exports there is no such ratio between the two as is called for by the theory of the gentleman from Texas.

Thus, in 1835, our imports were one hundred and thirty-six millions and our exports one hundred and fifteen millions, whilst the next year our imports were one hundred and seventy-six millions and our exports only one hundred and twenty-four millions, instead of being one hundred and sixty-four millions, as called for by the theory of the gentleman from Texas.

Again, in 1849 our imports were one hundred and forty-one millions and our exports one hundred and forty millions, whilst the next year our imports were one hundred and seventy-three millions and our exports only one hundred and forty-four millions, instead of being one hundred and seventy-two millions, as called for by the gentleman's theory.

Again, in 1856 our imports were three hundred and ten millions, and our exports two hundred and eighty-one millions, whilst the next year our imports were three hundred and forty-eight millions, and our exports only two hundred and ninety-three millions, instead of being three hundred and nineteen millions, as called for by the gentleman's theory.

Again, in 1858 our imports were two hundred and sixty-three millions and our exports two hundred and seventy-two millions, whilst the next year our imports were three hundred and thirty-one millions and our exports only two hundred and ninety-two millions, instead of being three hundred and forty million, as called for by the gentleman's theory.

There is still another class of cases in which diminished imports are accompanied with enlarged exports. Thus, in 1876 our imports were four hundred and sixty millions and our exports five hundred and forty millions, whilst the next year our imports diminished to four hundred and fifty-one millions, or nine millions less, and our exports increased to six hundred and two millions, or sixty-two millions more.

And again, in 1880 our imports were six hundred and sixty-seven millions and our exports eight hundred and thirty-five millions, whilst the next year our imports diminished to six hundred and forty-two millions, or twenty-five millions less, and our exports increased to nine hundred and two millions, or sixty-seven millions more.

I have been thus particular in giving many instances from the table in order to demonstrate the falsity of the theory of the chairman of the Committee on Ways an Means. But the whole table refutes the theory. Nowhere in it can be detected the law of trade which he advances, that increase of imports is accompanied by an equal increase of exports. In some instances the imports increase while the exports decrease. In other instances the imports increase in a ratio vastly greater than the exports. In other instances the imports diminish while the exports greatly increase.

Most obviously, as clearly shown by the whole table, there is no such relation between our imports and exports as the chairman assumes. Most obviously the fundamental causes of the increase and decrease of our exports and imports are the irregular and fluctuating demand of the world's market for the one and the irregular and fluctuating demand of our own market for the other; and this is utterly inconsistent, as the table shows from beginning to end, with the chairman's crude idea that a vast increase of our imports, amounting to hundreds of millions annually, artificially brought about by a change in our tariff, would bring with it an equally vast increase of our exports.

The chairman's theory is not only fallacious and delusive, it is alarmingly mischievous. It is absolutely certain that the hundreds of millions of additional imports annually which his theory calls for would work a great displacement of American labor, would transfer a great amount of American industry to foreign countries, and would thus greatly diminish the industrial production of our own people and the purchasing power of our home markets; and on the other hand it is just as certain that this would not be attended by a corresponding increase of exportation of our products, agricultural or other, fundamentally depending, as this last unquestionably does, not upon the measure of our imports, but upon the unstable and vacillating demand of the world's market, in which we are competed against by all the world, in which we are competed against by great and increasing masses of wheat grown in Russia at a labor cost of about $60 per annum, and by other great masses grown in India at a labor cost of about $30 per annum, whilst the like labor cost in the United States is about $220 per annum, more than three and a half times what farming labor costs per annum in Russia and more than seven times what it costs per annum in India! These figures are not my own. They are approximations obligingly furnished me by the Department of Agriculture. And I have derived from the same highly intelligent and credible source a statement showing what an enormous increase of wheat-growing for exportation has taken place in Russia and India upon the basis of their wretchedly-paid agricultural labor. Here it is in short:

	Bushels.
Russian wheat for export in 1865	37,491,096
Russian wheat for export in 1885	95,370,450
Increase	57,879,354
India wheat for export in 1868	558,852
India wheat for export in 1887	41,588,235
Increase	40,929,383

Let these figures be attentively considered by the American farmer. Let him consider the amazing absurdity of laying off "from two to three hundred millions" of our home manufactures and of admitting a like increase of foreign imports, with a view to getting a market for his surplus wheat 4,000 miles away, and in competition with the wheat produced by the ryots of India and the peasants of Russia!

As regards wheat, I believe the problem for the solution of the American farmer is simple. Let nine acres of wheat be planted instead of ten; let the tenth acre be devoted to the greater diversification of our agriculture, and the whole difficulty is solved. Above all things, let not the farmer imagine for a moment that his interests can be promoted by the injury of his home markets and the substitution of foreign ones. These home markets are his best friends. Step by step they are absorbing the surplus he has to sell. In 1880 only about 80 per cent. of that surplus was sold at home; now 90 per cent. or more is bought and paid for by his home markets; and the time is not distant when the home demand will so far absorb the products of the farmer that they will only seek a foreign market when that market pays well.

Let the farmer note, let the workingman note, let the business man note, that the scheme of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, as stated by himself, demands that the "barriers against importation" be so "broken down" as to increase our imports "from two to three hundred millions" annually; and let them note that this is the whole pith and substance of the present raid upon our tariff system.

And then let them reflect upon the immediate necessary effect of this. Let them ask and seek a correct answer to the question: How much American-employed labor would be displaced by an additional "two to three hundred millions" of foreign-made goods to take the place of like goods made in the United States? Fortunately, our statistics for 1880 enable us to answer this question with proximate accuracy. I have made the calculation myself, and find that two hundred millions of American-manufactured goods gave employment to 102,040 employés, and that three hundred millions gave employment to 153,060 employés. Supposing each employé to have on the average three dependents upon him besides himself, the amount of displacement of American workingmen and their dependents would be from 408,000 to 612,000 persons. Where would these go, and what would they do? Not to any of our home manufacturing employments, for as we have seen they would have been driven out of these in deference to foreign workmen. Not to the farm, for they have no training, no qualification for that, and, besides, the farmer would have no earthly use for them. Where, then, would they go and what would they do? The answer is, this great number of our people would be struck by industrial paralysis—to the obvious injury of the farmer by crippling his home market, and to the obvious injury of every other class of business by striking out of existence so great an amount of American labor, employment, and production, and the substitution therefor of the labor, employment, and production of foreign countries. I think I have never witnessed a more absurd crudity than that which is apparent on the very face of the scheme proposed by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

BALANCE OF TRADE.

But if anything can add to the absurdity of the chairman's scheme it is seen in the fact that it would, beyond all manner of doubt, have the direct effect of fixing the annual balance of trade firmly and steadily against the United States. What is a balance of trade? It is the difference between what a nation sells and what she buys. If she sells more than she buys the balance is in her favor, and it adds to her stored-up wealth; if she buys more than she sells the balance is against her, and has to be paid out of her stored-up wealth. There can be no question that a balance of trade in favor of a nation is a very desirable thing, and that a balance of trade against her is a very undesirable thing. The case is clearly similar in principle to that of an individual or a family doing business. If they sell more than they buy their trade is prosperous; if they buy more than they sell their trade is not prosperous.

Now, what would be the effect on our balance of trade if we should adopt the scheme of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee? What would be the effect of so breaking down the barriers against importation as to increase our imports "from two to three hundred millions" per annum? We have seen what part of that effect would be; we have seen that it would paralyze a vast amount of our home labor and industry by substituting foreign labor and industry in their stead; we have seen the bad effect of this upon the farmer in the way of weakening the purchasing power of his home market; and we have seen its bad effect on every other sort of business in the way of substituting a great amount of employment in foreign countries in place of a like amount of employment in our own country—all of which, taken together, is more than enough to consign the scheme to the execration of every intelligent American.

But what would be its effect upon our balance of trade? To put the question is to answer it. The indisputable effect of "two to three hundred millions" more of annual importations would be in the direction of throwing the annual balance of trade against us; and this, in addition to the other evils of the scheme which I have pointed out, is sufficient to stamp it as one of the crudest, most superficial and mischievous proposals that was ever put forward under the guise of statesmanship for the acceptance of an enlightened people.

Let the preceding table be looked at with some care in reference to

the question of balance of trade. The lesson it teaches is of the greatest national importance. During the first twenty-one years, from 1790 to 1810, inclusive, when our manufactures were in a feeble condition, a solid block of balances of trade is observed against us; thence for the next sixty-five years, from 1811 to 1875, inclusive, there were but fifteen years when we had a balance of trade in our favor, and only two occasions when we had this favorable balance for two successive years; whilst for the last thirteen years, from 1876 to 1888, inclusive, we observe, for the first time in our history, a solid block of twelve years of balance of trade in our favor, and only one year against us, very clearly showing that under our present tariff system, which required some time to overcome obstructions and develop its natural effect, the balance of international trade has at last been turned in our favor, there to permanently remain, with probably few interruptions, unless we shall have the folly to break down the system which has finally secured this great national advantage; and which, while securing a good of such inestimable value, has diversified our home industries, built up our home markets, given the greatest possible employment to our home people, supplied manufactured commodities at a greatly diminished cost to our home consumers, paid increased wages to our home workingmen, developed the prodigious resources of our own country, and gone a wonderful way in bringing forth the admirable genius, talent, and skill of our own countrymen and countrywomen.

The folly which would turn the dial of time back upon these things, the folly which would subvert these great national advantages, I regard as the most marked folly that has place in our political history, always saving and exempting the folly of attempting to perpetuate and extend slavery in our Republic, and the folly of secession and war for the destruction of our Union. As we have seen, the first-named folly stands in close historical sequence to the last two. It has its head, its lead, its abiding inspiration in the same social force and sectional center; it is a tradition of the same national malady; it is expressly and definitely embodied and proclaimed in the Confederate constitution of disunion and national ruin, and I believe it awaits its early day to become as defunct, for the good of all, as that constitution and the dire mischiefs it proposed for our country.

There was another and marked folly which I had nearly overlooked. It was that of the immediate predecessor of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. This was the folly of a "horizontal" reduction of the tariff all along the line; without any regard to high or low, long or short; without any regard to the question whether the industries of the country could bear the cut or could not bear the cut; without any regard to proportions, conditions or qualifying circumstances—elements which statesmen and even politicians usually pay particular attention to. All should be cut 20 per cent. short, whether they could stand it more, or stand it less, or not stand it at all.

Here was simplicity simplified. Here was the most difficult and complicated art made easy, and very easy. It was only necessary to draw the knife and cut, even as a savage chief in the exercise of his primitive science cuts, whether with the actual knife or with his crude judgments. Amazing as it may appear, this folly actually led a great party as represented in this House during two Congresses; but it is now gone to its place in the back chambers of memory; it has been smitten dead by the good sense of the people; no party does it reverence any more, or even recalls it with respect; and I do not doubt that the present folly of the present chairman of the Ways and Means Committee will speedily join it in fit fellowship, as a thing of the past, smitten equally dead by the good sense of the people.

As the matter of balance of trade is of such great moment in this discussion, and as the trade-sheet of the United Kingdom sheds important light upon the pending issue in our own country, I draw attention to it in this connection. It teaches a highly significant lesson.

Merchandise imported into and exported from the United Kingdom, with the excess of imports or exports for each year from 1854 *to* 1887, *inclusive.*

[From official British publications.]

Year.	Imports.	Exports of British, foreign, and colonial produce.	Excess of imports.
1854	$741,601,326	$563,643,344	$177,957,982
1855	698,551,280	567,878,212	130,673,068
1856	839,686,125	677,515,848	162,170,277
1857	914,144,972	711,357,236	202,787,736
1858	800,947,218	680,252,894	120,694,324
1859	871,990,931	757,679,863	114,311,068
1860	1,024,548,493	800,643,115	223,905,338
1861	1,057,742,929	782,579,091	275,163,838
1862	1,098,451,664	808,657,224	289,794,440
1863	1,211,364,411	958,225,573	233,138,838
1864	1,338,054,745	1,034,713,351	303,341,394
1865	1,319,173,275	1,064,943,864	254,229,411
1866	1,437,030,118	1,162,634,501	274,395,617
1867	1,339,178,736	1,098,868,007	240,310,729
1868	1,434,126,443	1,108,483,846	325,642,597
1869	1,437,857,131	1,153,483,751	284,423,380
1870	1,475,802,590	1,187,818,128	287,984,462
1871	1,610,886,833	1,380,016,278	230,870,555
1872	1,726,116,521	1,530,946,561	195,169,960
1873	1,806,869,996	1,513,504,689	293,365,307

Merchandise imported into and exported from the United Kingdom, with the excess of imports or exports for each year from 1854 *to* 1887, *inclusive*—Continued.

Year.	Imports.	Exports of British, foreign, and colonial produce.	Excess of imports.
1874	$1,801,007,464	$1,448,515,983	$352,491,481
1875	1,819,776,951	1,370,466,370	449,310,581
1876	1,825,690,362	1,249,603,334	576,087,028
1877	1,919,443,382	1,228,041,906	691,401,476
1878	1,794,622,816	1,194,647,194	599,975,622
1879	1,766,499,960	1,210,704,240	555,795,720
1880	2,001,248,678	1,393,835,999	607,412,679
1881	1,932,109,943	1,445,753,325	486,356,618
1882	2,009,959,922	1,492,364,364	517,595,558
1883	2,077,467,869	1,486,409,501	591,058,368
1884	1,898,025,366	1,440,326,242	457,699,124
1885	1,805,315,553	1,320,786,077	484,529,476
1886	1,702,610,586	1,307,468,038	395,142,548
1887	1,762,780,440	1,366,333,923	396,446,517

WM. F. SWITZLER, *Chief of Bureau.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS, *August* 20, 1888.

It will be seen from the above table that from 1854 to 1887, inclusive, there has been a very large and unbroken balance of trade against the United Kingdom. But the table does not exhibit the case in its full force. A very large part of the exports set out in the table is not of British but of foreign and colonial produce, amounting from 1876 to 1887 to considerably more than $250,000,000 per year; so that the adverse balance for each of these years as against the exports of British produce alone must be increased by more than $250,000,000 above the sums set out in the table, which brings it up to an enormous annual sum as against the exports of the United Kingdom considered in herself—a sum not less than six to eight hundred million dollars per annum.

Now, the practical application of this situation in the United Kingdom to the American question before us is extremely obvious. What could be more natural than that England should desire to unload a part of her crushing adverse balance of trade upon the shoulders of the United States? And this is precisely what the scheme of the chairman of our American Ways and Means Committee would accomplish. His "two to three hundred millions" more of annual imports would come mostly from England. This would transfer a considerable part of England's adverse balance of trade to the United States, whilst at the same time replacing a great part of American labor and industry by English labor and industry.

In view of all that has been said, what can be more wonderful than that such a scheme can find a following in the United States strong enough to organize a party? But the United States has seen even a more wonderful thing, and got over it. It has seen that same social force which is now leading this invasion against American industries allied heart and soul with English sentiment in a scheme for the destruction of the American Republic! As the good sense and patriotism of the American people warded off the one danger, they can be relied upon to ward off the other. We can confidently expect that the triumph of liberty over slavery, the triumph of the Union over disunion, will be followed now, in the third stage of the great contest between the two forces, by the triumph of a higher over a lower type of industrial civilization for our Republic!

The Expenditures of the Present Administration as Compared with those of the Preceding Administration.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. SAYERS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 24, 1888.

The House having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon the bill (H. R. 10540) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. SAYERS said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], whom I regret to note is absent from the House, delivered, a few days since, a carefully prepared speech, in which he sought to make the impression not only that the Democratic members of this House have been exceedingly extravagant in the appropriation of the public money, but also that the executive department of the Government has been unwise and profligate in its disbursement.

This is, indeed, a most serious charge, and if it be true, would demonstrate most clearly and convincingly that the Democratic party is wholly unfit to administer the public affairs, and is therefore unworthy of the continuation of popular confidence.

Sir, heretofore and all along its existence, whether in power or out of power, it has been a distinguishing characteristic of the great political organization now in the control of this House to be careful and economical in the matter of expenditure; and it has been oftentimes, here and elsewhere, denounced in unmeasured terms for its seeming parsimony in providing the means necessary to the proper and successful administration of the Government.

On the other hand, it can not be denied that the history of the Republican party shows it to have uniformly pursued a policy of which great liberality in the disbursement of revenue is a most prominent and permanent feature. In the absence of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] I will not quote his own utterances, so often delivered upon this floor, as to his views respecting liberal appropriations. I prefer to call the attention of members and of the country to the differences that have uniformly arisen between the Senate, of which the Republicans constitute the majority, and the House of Representatives, which is controlled by the Democrats, in the matter of appropriations.

These differences bear indisputable and conclusive testimony as to the antagonistic relations of the two parties upon this subject, and outweigh the votes and speeches which reflect only the opinions of particular members. They are the embodiment and expression of party policy, and may therefore be accepted as official declarations.

I beg to submit to the House the following:

Increase proposed by the Senate of appropriations as they passed the House, and reduction of the Senate amendments made in conference on the insistence of the House during the fiscal years 1883 *to* 1889, *inclusive.*

Fiscal year.	Increase by Senate amendments.	Reduced in conference.
1883	$7,933,082.02	$3,129,398.68
1884*	4,238,333.35	1,634,167.87
1885	20,139,643.82	8,525,539.46
1886	10,091,807.16	5,665,659.47
1887	13,392,795.82	10,458,146.96
1888	35,046,210.61	18,380,782.71
1889†	21,890,447.58	10,460,330.37
Total	112,732,320.37	58,254,025.52

*The amount of the river and harbor bill, $8,047,000, which passed the House, for 1884, is not considered, as it failed to be considered by the Senate for the want of time.

†The sums for 1889 include the general deficiency bill as reported to but not yet passed by the Senate, and the sum total of the sundry civil bill as agreed upon by the conference committee, allowing $500,000 for the Library building.

Total increase by Senate	$112,732,484.30
Receded from in conference by Senate	58,254,025.52
Net increase of appropriations, 1883 to 1889, by Senate amendments	54,478,458.78

This statement, Mr. Speaker, speaks for itself. It is the evidence of deliberate action, and is the very best testimony which can be adduced by which to establish beyond controversy the line of difference that has always separated the two parties upon this important subject.

It is said, however, that the expenditures as authorized by the present and the last Congresses will be such as to exhaust the surplus and thus to render unnecessary any reduction of the revenue through a revision and reform of the tariff.

Sir, the policy of the present Administration, as I shall hereafter show, demonstrates that it is one thing to appropriate and another thing to expend. But should the expenditures correspond with the appropriations, there will still be left in the Treasury a dangerously large surplus.

To illustrate, let us take the appropriations for public buildings, which were:

For the year ending September 30—	
1886	$2,791,150.89
1887	4,820,396.68
1888	7,750,281.71
Total	15,361,829.28

The appropriation for 1888 contains an item of $2,000,000 on account of the custom-house, etc., in New York.

I am informed by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury that of such appropriations the average actual expenditure has been and will probably continue to be as follows:

	Per cent.
First year	8
Second year	22
Third year	70

The appropriations for rivers and harbors for the present year was $22,397,616.90. It will be borne in mind that the bill for this purpose in the year 1887 failed, which necessarily made that for 1888 so much larger than the one for 1886.

But the expenditure of this sum during the present fiscal year will most probably not exceed $16,798,212.65, if so much. It will also be remembered that until the present year there has been no appropriations for fortifications since 1886. The bill which passed the present Congress appropriated $3,972,000. Of this sum it has been estimated by the Ordnance Bureau that the expenditures will be:

During the fiscal year ending June 30—	
1889	$772,000
1890	1,500,000
1891	700,000
1892	1,000,000
Total	3,972,000

Take the appropriations for the "increase of the Navy."

Act of—	
March 3, 1885, appropriated	$1,895,000
August 3, 1886, appropriated	2,500,000
March 3, 1887, appropriated	3,920,000
September 7, 1888, appropriated	3,760,000
Total appropriated for "increase of the Navy"	12,075,000
Of the first sum there is still in the Treasury	423,352
Of the second sum there is still in the Treasury	1,222,243
Of the third sum there is still in the Treasury	3,180,738
Total yet unexpended	4,826,333

As the plans for the ships provided for in the act of September 7, 1888, have not yet been prepared, it is quite certain that the actual expenditures under it during the current fiscal year can not possibly reach so much as $1,000,000.

I have cited these examples, Mr. Speaker, in order to point out the methods of expenditure as they are followed in the Departments. There are other appropriations and expenditures of a similar character, which it is not necessary to mention. These will be sufficient in order to show that there will be no appreciable reduction of the surplus in consequence of the appropriations of the present Congress.

But let us see how it has been as to ordinary disbursement and administration. After the lapse of twenty-four years the Democratic party came into the possession and control of the executive department of the Government on the 4th day of March, 1885. Its President was a man without any previous practical experience in Federal affairs. But he brought with him to Washington a most enviable reputation for executive ability and incorruptible integrity, manifested and developed in his own State when charged with high and responsible public duties.

He selected his advisers and near subordinates in office, and with them he proceeded to administer this great Government. Has his administration been economical and efficient—so much so as not only to retain the confidence of those who gave to him his eminent place, but so as also to successfully challenge the criticism of those who would overthrow him?

On the 30th of June, 1888, Mr. Speaker, the present Administration completed three full fiscal years of its management of the affairs of the Government, known respectively as the fiscal years 1886, 1887, and 1888. A comparison of the expenditures of the Executive Departments during this period with those of the three fiscal years immediately preceding, namely, 1883, 1884, and 1885 exhibits the following result, embracing all the expenditures of the Government of every character except the interest on the public debt, the bond purchases, and the expenses of the postal service:

Aggregate for the fiscal years—	
1883, 1884, and 1885	$604,562,047.60
1886, 1887, and 1888	616,942,233.71
Excess of expenditures during 1886, 1887, and 1888 over 1883, 1884, and 1885	12,380,186.11

As the case thus stands it would seem that the administration of President Arthur has decidedly the advantage, and unless it should appear upon further examination that the present Administration has been charged by law with duties and disbursements of such a character as to justify this excess of expenditure, the comparison will be against it, and the Democratic party must be held before the bar of public opinion as guilty of wasteful and unnecessary extravagance.

But, sir, how does the matter stand?

I admit that with the balance against the years 1886, 1887, and 1888, as compared with the years 1883, 1884, and 1885, the burden is upon the party in power to explain this excess of expenditure, and to exonorate itself, if it be possible, from censure. Acknowledging this excess to be $12,380,186.11, let us now inquire as to how it accrued. Turning to the books of the Treasury, we find that during the years 1886, 1887, and 1888 there was expended for—

Pensions	$218,722,474.59
Bounties and back pay to Union soldiers	2,104,488.66
National Home for Disabled Volunteers and for the soldiers' homes	7,771,299.02
Making a total of	228,598,252.27

And during the years 1883, 1884, and 1885 for—

Pensions	$177,541,069.19
National Home for Disabled Volunteers and for the soldiers' homes	4,001,735.90
Bounties and back pay to Union soldiers	1,163,051.62
Making a total of	182,711,856.71

Deducting the sum total of 1883, 1884, and 1885 from the sum total of 1886, 1887, and 1888, we have left $45,876,395.56 as excess of expenditure for pensions, bounties, and back pay to Union soldiers, and the support of soldiers' homes during the years 1886, 1887, and 1888 over the payments on like account during the years 1883, 1884, and 1885.

This amount alone, Mr. Speaker, is $33,496,209.45 more than the entire excess of expenditures during the three years of this Administration over the three years immediately preceding.

In other words, if the present Administration had limited the payments on account of pensions, bounties, and back pay to Union soldiers and soldiers' homes to the amounts which had been paid out during the same period under the last administration, the total expenditures of this Administration would have been $33,496,209.45 less than for a like period under the Republican administration.

It may be well to state in this connection that during the fiscal years 1887 and 1888 only $2,500,419.11 were paid to the survivors of the Mexican war and their widows under the act of January 29, 1887.

Surely, Mr. Speaker, our Republican friends will not have the hardihood and effrontery to complain of and to condemn this increase of expenditure for pensions, for bounties, and back pay, and for the homes for Union soldiers, even though it has occurred under a Democratic administration.

Upon the hustings, in both Halls of Congress, through the press, in their conventions, national, State, county, municipal, precinct, and ward; in their legislative assemblies, from their executive chambers, in their organizations, military and semi-military, political and non-political, they are wont to express their extreme fondness and undying devotion for the Union soldier.

They claim for themselves the exclusive championship of his rights, and yet, strange to say, at the very same time and in the very same breath they denounce the present Administration and especially the President as hostile to the soldier, and condemn him for an excess of expenditure, caused by an increase of $45,993,686.05 in the matter of pensions, bounties, and back pay, and for soldiers' homes, not taking into the account $2,500,419.11 paid the survivors of the Mexican war and their widows during the fiscal years 1887 and 1888.

Now, sir, candor compels me to say that I do not intend to constitute myself the soldier's advocate on this occasion. I believe that he has been more than well paid for his services. History does not show such liberality upon the part of any government, existing or in the past, in rewarding its citizen soldiery as is displayed by the United States. But it does not lie in the mouth of any Republican, and particularly of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], to condemn the increased expenditures of the present Administration over those of its immediate predecessor, during the years named, when the facts, the indisputable and uncontroverted facts, show that were it not for the items of "pensions" and "national homes" and bounties and back pay the balance would be largely against the Republican administration. What a mockery upon justice and fair play! Ay, what a deception is being practiced upon the popular mind in the failure to openly and in a manly way attribute the excessive expenditure of 1886, 1887, and 1888 over 1883, 1884, and 1885 to the true cause and in withholding all the facts from the people!

If we compare, Mr. Speaker, the expenditures of the different branches of the public service during the same period the results attained will be indeed gratifying.

Upon an examination we find that the actual expenditures of the Indian service for the last three fiscal years were $18,542,988.73, and for the three years immediately preceding $20,391,084.26—a difference of $1,848,095.53 in favor of the present Administration.

The total expenses of the Navy Department during the fiscal years 1886–'88, inclusive, were $45,975,452.19, and during the fiscal years 1883–'85, inclusive, were $48,597,117.28—a saving by this Administration of $2,621,665 09.

The sum of $111,407,614.70 covered all the expenditures of the War Department during the past three fiscal years, while those of 1883, 1884, 1885 amounted to $131,011,564.76—a difference in favor of the first mentioned years of $19,603,950.06.

All other expenditures, Mr. Speaker, excepting for pensions, are classed under the head of civil and miscellaneous items, the total of which for the last three fiscal years, excluding the postal service, was $214,022,860.74, and for the years 1883, 1884, and 1885, $222,551,103.71, making a reduction of expenditures during the Democratic years of $8,528,242.97.

To this amount there should also be added as not in any sense properly chargeable as expenditures of this Administration, the following sums:

Alabama claims and expenses of commission	$2,059,109.49
Refund of duties and payment of drawbacks upon exported articles of American manufacture	2,536,467.74
Purchase of Louisville and Portland Canal	387,000.00
New Orleans Exposition	326,000.00
	5,308,577.23

Adding this sum to $33,496,209.45, and deducting $2,500,419.11 paid as pensions to the survivors of the Mexican War and their widows, and we have $36,304,367.57, which fairly represents the greater economy of the present Administration in the matter of the ordinary expenditures of the Government, which are, in a measure, under the control of the Executive Departments.

An explanation of these items, Mr. Speaker, may be necessary to a thorough understanding of their character and of the position which they should occupy among the expenditures of the Government.

Excepting the two items of $326,000 and $387,000, they are net increases over expenditures for the same purposes in 1883, 1884, and 1885.

The item, $2,059,109.49, for "Alabama claims and expenses of commission" was upon judgments of the second class paid in 1887 under awards by the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims re-established by the act of June 5, 1882.

Judgments of the first class were paid in 1876 and 1877. These judgments were rendered by a commission appointed by President Arthur, and mainly before the present Administration came into power.

The expenditure of $2,536,467.74, "refund of duties and payment of drawbacks upon exported articles of American manufacture," should not be held as a proper charge against the three last fiscal years, because it was made in pursuance of laws enacted long before the present Administration came into power, and it is of such a character as can not possibly be within the control of the executive branch of the Government. It consists of payments due as drawbacks upon exports, chiefly of tin and sugar, and it may increase or diminish accordingly as such exports are greater or less. The item, "$387,000, purchase of Louisville and Portland Canal," was an expenditure in payment of bonds of the canal company, which matured in 1886, and which it was made the duty of the Government to discharge by the act of May 11, 1874.

Mr. PAYSON. What canal does the gentleman specify?

Mr. SAYERS. The Louisville and Portland. By the act of May 11, 1874, the Government assumed the payment of the company's bonds, some of which were paid in 1886.

The expenditure of $326,000 for the New Orleans exposition, for which an appropriation was made, I believe, by the Forty-eighth Congress, also fell upon the present Administration, and was paid in 1886.

Mr. ROGERS. Let me interrupt the gentleman to ask him to more fully explain what he means by the present Administration liquidating the expenses of the New Orleans exposition.

Mr. SAYERS. I mean that when the present Administration took charge of the public affairs it found in existence a law making an appropriation in aid of the New Orleans exposition, and that $326,000 of it was still in the Treasury, and it became the duty of the Department to apply this sum in pursuance of the law enacted during President Arthur's administration.

Thus stands the account, Mr. Speaker, between the two administrations—Republican and Democratic—and it is for the country to decide which has been the most economical in expenditure.

Mr. PAYSON. Will it interrupt the gentleman if I ask him a question?

Mr. SAYERS. Not at all.

Mr. PAYSON. I understand my colleague [Mr. CANNON] when he addressed the House on the 19th of September to say and to charge that the expenditures under the Democratic administration were in excess of those of the last Republican administration, and this general charge the gentleman now having the attention of the House was answering. I desire to inquire of him whether he wants the House and the country to understand that the Democratic party has been more economical in the management of the affairs of the Government than its predecessor, and I would like to know if he desires to be understood as saying that the figures he gives show that in the performance of its administrative duties a less amount of money has been expended under this Administration than under the last one?

Mr. SAYERS. I do.

Mr. PAYSON. And that there have been no new officers and increase of salaries?

Mr. SAYERS. So far as any new offices are concerned, I will not state that. I will, however, say that in my opinion there has been a discharge of more than a corresponding number of officials who were in the employ of the Government at the time when the present administration came into power and their places have not been since filled. This includes employés.

Mr. SPRINGER. And every increase has been voted on by the gentlemen on the other side of the House.

Mr. SAYERS. I believe so.

Mr. SPRINGER. And they have insisted that we should put them on.

Mr. PAYSON. There is but a shadow of truth in the suggestion of my colleague.

Mr. SPRINGER. How large?

Mr. PAYSON. A shadow.

Mr. SPRINGER. There is not only the shadow, but the substance.

Mr. PAYSON. My colleague [Mr. CANNON] said that there had been an increase of three hundred and fifty officers added to the great

army we heard of four years ago. Does the gentleman concede that?

Mr. SAYERS. I do not know about that. I will not admit nor deny it; but I will state in answer that there have been more officials and employés dismissed and their places not filled in the service of the Treasury Department alone than is embraced in that list.

Mr. PAYSON. I shall be glad to see a list of them. My colleague also stated that the increase of salary caused by the creation of the 358 officers aggregated $52,431.90 each year. Does the gentleman from Texas admit the accuracy of these figures?

Mr. SAYERS. I will not.

Mr. PAYSON. Will the gentleman deny the accuracy of these figures?

Mr. SAYERS. I will neither admit nor deny their accuracy for the reason that I have not investigated it. The gentleman, however, does understand me to say that more than 358 officials and employés have been dismissed from the service of the Treasury Department alone since the 4th of March, 1885, and their places have not been filled. I believe that the exact number so dismissed from the service in the Treasury Department in Washington, and to whom no successors have been appointed, is 310. I am informed that there have also been dismissals from service in that Department of officials who do not reside in Washington and their places abolished.

But, Mr. Speaker, if it should be claimed that the comparison for the past three years should be made with the fiscal years 1882, 1883, and 1884, then it will be found that the results, as I have before given them, will be substantially the same.

The expenditures for pensions during the years 1882, 1883, and 1884 amounted to $182,786,995.65, and the expenditures for the same purpose in 1886, 1887, and 1888, after deducting the payment to the Mexican war pensioners of $2,500,419.11, were $216,222,055.48, which leaves a balance against the Republican years in the matter of pensions equal to $33,436,060.83.

If to this we add $3,782,530.92, which is the increase of the Democratic years over the Republican years for bounties and back pay to Union soldiers and for the support of soldiers' homes, we here have a balance for pensions, back pay, and bounties to Union soldiers and soldiers' homes against the years 1882, 1883, and 1884 and in favor of the years 1886, 1887, and 1888, amounting to $37,218,591.75.

The total expenditures for the past three fiscal years, excluding pensions, interest account, bond purchases, and the postal service, were $390,023,419.84; and the total expenditures for the fiscal years 1882, 1883, and 1884, excluding pensions, interest account, bond purchases, and the postal service, were $399,913,109.27, making a net decrease during the Democratic years of $9,889,689.43. To this should be added the following items, which are in no proper sense chargeable as ordinary expenditures, and which are net increases:

Increased payments on account of bounties and back pay to Union soldiers and support of soldiers' homes	$3,782,530.92
Increased payments on account of drawbacks and refunds, much of which had come over from the Republican administration	10,075,723.57
Sinking funds for Pacific railroads	3,568,768.17
Alabama claims	5,739,000.00
Total	23,166,022.66

This will give us $33,055,712.09 as a total net decrease of expenditures during the past three years as compared with 1882, 1883, and 1884.

It may be proper to say, Mr. Speaker, in reference to the item "sinking funds to the Pacific railroads," that the service performed by these roads for carrying mails and transporting troops is paid from appropriations made for those branches of the service and appears in the statement of expenditures of the Post-Office and War Departments, and is deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the sinking funds created for those companies by the act of May 7, 1878. When drawn from the Treasury and invested, as required by the terms of the law, it necessarily appears a second time as an expenditure on the books of the Treasury Department, although not an actual expenditure, as the bonds purchased for the funds are in the custody of the Treasury Department and the amount has already been charged in the expenditures of the War and Post-Office Departments.

I will now, sir, ask the attention of the House to a comparison of the annual expenditures of the Executive Departments for each of the last three years with the corresponding year four years previously.

Excluding the interest account, the expenses of the postal service, and payments for pensions the increase in expenditures in 1886 over 1882 was $15,092,825, and the decrease in expenditures was $20,895,000, making a net decrease of $5,802,175.

Among the items of saving we find—

Mints and assay offices	$252,000
The internal-revenue service	722,000
The expenses of collecting revenue from customs	110,000
Repayment to importers	233,000
The light-house establishment	311,000
The construction of public buildings	140,000
The Pay Department of the Army	230,000
The Commissary Department	610,000
The Quartermaster's Department	2,510,000
The Ordnance Bureau	93,000
The Bureau of Yards and Docks	$422,000
Equipment and Recruiting	211,000
Bureau of Navigation	208,000
Bureau of Ordnance	44,000
Bureau of Construction and Repair	425,000
Bureau of Steam Engineering	87,000
Bureau of Provisions and Clothing	128,000
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	88,000
Miscellaneous items, Navy Department	502,000
The public-lands service	1,057,000
Miscellaneous civil items, Interior Department	455,000
Indian Affairs	3,638,000

Contrasting the expenses of 1887 with 1883 upon the same basis, omitting the $5,739,000 paid for Alabama claims, we find the net reduction of 1887 over 1883 to be $1,832,000.

In the comparison and among the decreased expenditures of the former over the latter year are—

Miscellaneous expenditures of the State Department	$295,000
Mints	202,000
Internal-revenue service	1,712,000
Building revenue steamers	86,000
Marine-Hospital Service	66,000
Light-house establishment	81,000
Coast Survey	115,000
Construction of public buildings	660,000
Miscellaneous expenditures of the Treasury Department	606,000
Salaries and contingent expenses of the War Department	55,000
The Commissary Department	553,000
The Quartermaster's Department	4,834,000
The Ordnance Department	304,000
The Engineer's Department	172,000
Military Academy	61,000
Miscellaneous expenditures of the War Department	137,000
Salaries and contingent expenses in—	
The Navy Department	$22,000
The Marine Corps	33,000
The Bureau of Yards and Docks	344,000
The Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting	72,000
Bureau of Navigation	75,000
Bureau of Construction and Repair	697,000
Bureau of Steam Engineering	451,000
Bureau of Provisions and Clothing	184,000
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	59,000
The public lands service	1,723,000
Indian affairs	1,168,000
The Post-Office Department	26,000
Salaries and miscellaneous expenses of the Department of Justice	157,000
Expenses of the United States courts	276,000
Unenumerated	39,000

If we compare 1888 with 1884 upon the same basis, we have a net reduction of $2,821,500; and among the items of decrease appear:

Salaries and contingent expenses of the Treasury Department	$38,000
Internal-revenue service	1,343,000
Rebate of taxes	3,535,000
Repayments to importers	563,000
Drawbacks	310,000
Coast and Geodetic Survey	152,000
Salaries and contingent expenses of the War Department	228,000
Buildings and grounds in Washington	241,000
Quartermaster's Department	2,591,000
Medical Department	136,000
Ordnance Department	242,000
Engineer Department	439,000
Signal Service	54,000
Navy Department:	
Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting	209,000
Bureau of Navigation	22,000
Bureau of Ordnance	40,000
Bureau of Construction and Repair	401,000
Bureau of Steam-Engineering	392,000
Miscellaneous	1,058,000
Interior Department:	
Public lands service	1,354,000
Indian Affairs	250,000
Unenumerated	40,000

We also observe, Mr. Speaker, a marked decrease in the rate of expenditure per capita, the average rate per capita of expenditures for the Republican years being $4.72, and for the Democratic years $4.36.

Probably, Mr. Speaker, the best evidence of the superior economy of the present Administration is to be found in a comparison of the balances of unexpended appropriations at the end of each fiscal year, which were as follows:

Balances for the fiscal years 1886, 1887, and 1888	$38,099,915.24
Balances for the fiscal years 1883, 1884, and 1885	27,091,986.55
Balances for the fiscal years 1882, 1883, and 1884	28,774,482.38

Thus we see that there was covered into the Treasury and carried to the surplus fund $11,007,928.69 more in 1886, 1887, and 1888, than in 1883, 1884, and 1885; and $9,325,432.86 more than in 1882, 1883, and 1884. Such, sir, is the record of the two administrations as it is made from the facts and figures taken from the books of the Treasury Department. This record can not be successfully impeached, and bears most eloquent and convincing testimony to the honesty, economy, and prudence of Democratic management.

As to its efficiency, permit me, Mr. Speaker, to call the attention of the House to the operations of some of the Departments during the past three years. It would not be possible for me to review the work of every Department and of its various bureaus, offices, and divisions within the compass of a single speech. I shall content myself with a reference to such only as I have had the time and opportunity to care-

fully investigate, and shall leave to other gentlemen upon this floor the opportunity to speak of what has been left unmentioned.

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The House and the country, Mr. Speaker, are familiar with the methods of business which were in vogue in this most important branch of the public service while under control of the Republican party. Extravagance and corruption disgraced its administration. Immense sums of money were expended in the purchase of inferior material and unnecessary supplies and in the repair of vessels. In fact we ceased to have a navy worthy the name. There was not a ship afloat that, in case of war, would have been able to stand a thirty minutes' close engagement with even a third-rate vessel of any important maritime power.

Everything connected with the Department bore the appearance of decay—not because of the failure of Congress to make the proper appropriations for its support, but only because of a gross mismanagement in every branch, afloat and ashore.

Such was the condition when the present Secretary took charge. Undaunted by the deplorable appearance of things which everywhere met his view, he immediately entered upon a reform.

Chaos immediately yielded to order, extravagance to economy, sloth to energy, carelessness to watchfulness.

To illustrate the good results which immediately followed, Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of the House to those kinds of expenditure which are not controlled by statute, but which are greater or less accordingly as the administration is prudent, honest, and economical, or careless, dishonest, and extravagant—that is, the ordinary expenditures. The following statement is conclusive:

Years.	Administration.	Ordinary expenditures.	Surplus balance.	Deficiency.
1883	Republican	$6,560,701.67		$121,859.28
1884	Republican	6,142,256.52		149,935.75
1885	Republican	5,435,292.57		105,942.65
1886	Democratic	5,020,942.30	$380,125.19	
1887	Democratic	4,870,522.47	280,310.78	

Here, sir, is presented, in its most striking form, the difference between Republican and Democratic administrations. It will be observed that during the Republican years the ordinary expenditures were not only much larger, but also that deficiencies constantly accrued; while, on the other hand, in the Democratic years there were surplus balances notwithstanding a decrease of expenditures. It will not, it can not be said that the administration of 1886 and 1887 was less energetic and efficient than that of 1883, 1884, and 1885. The history of the Department during those years utterly refutes such a proposition. Why, then, this difference in the expenditures? There is but one answer. It need not be stated. Every candid mind will accept it as true—indisputably true.

But the vicious mode in which the Department was conducted during the Republican administration can be better illustrated by a table showing the overpayments made while it was in power as compared with later years. We find that there was overpaid, in the various branches of the service, in—

1881	$61,634.10
1882	174,204.13
1883	273,964.54
1884	189,758.37
1885	218,441.53
1886	24,632.03
1887	15,223.07

While it would scarcely be expected that there should have been no overpayments, considering the nature of the service, yet the carelessness exhibited during the years 1883, 1884, and 1885 was evidently so gross as to become criminal, and could not have possibly occurred under an honest, wise, and economical management.

But, Mr. Speaker, let us see how the new Secretary dealt with the Navy proper? It must be admitted that his administration of the Department has been all that could be desired. But he was not content with this reform, great and valuable as it was, and he proceeded without delay to the rebuilding of the Navy. He found four monitors, whose construction had been in an uncompleted state for several years, and one dispatch-boat and three cruisers, which were under contract. I shall not detain the House to speak as to these latter four vessels. It will be unnecessary to recall their unpleasant history.

Congress immediately responded to the Secretary's suggestions as to the necessity of replacing the old, worn-out, and almost useless vessels which constituted our Navy with ships equal in armament, construction, and speed to the best war-ships afloat.

The manufacturing industries of the country were induced to compete for their building, and though four years have not yet elapsed since the present Administration came into power, the enterprise, industry, and ability of the Secretary has already accomplished the work shown in the following statement:

Statement of the vessels authorized to be built since March 3, 1885.

Date of act.	Names of vessels.	Tonnage.	Estimated cost.	Amounts appropriated.	Amounts not expended and in Treasury Aug. 31, 1888.
Mar. 3, 1885	Newark, Charleston, Yorktown, Petrel.	10,401	$3,195,000	$1,895,000	$423,352
Aug. 3, 1886	Baltimore, Nesurius, Maine, Texas, Torpedo-boat, Puritan, Amphitrite, Monadnock, Terror.	35,618	10,278,046	2,500,000	1,222,243
Mar. 3, 1887	Philadelphia, San Francisco, Concord, Bennington.	11,813	*6,520,000	3,920,000	3,180,738
		57,832	19,993,000	8,315,000	4,826,333
Sept. 7, 1888	4 steel cruisers, 1 armored, 3 gunboats, 1 practice ship.†	25,600	9,000,000	3,760,000	
	Total	83,432	29,593,000	12,075,000	

Probable amounts that will be expended during 1888–'89 ..... $3,473,352
Probable amounts that will be expended during 1889–'90 2,555,000

* And to complete the double-turreted monitors and vessels under acts March 3, 1885, and August 3, 1886.

† The plans for these ships not having been, as yet, prepared it is not possible to form an estimate of the expenditures.

Ten of these vessels are in course of construction at private ship-yards and under contracts made with citizens of our own country, one has been completed, and the remaining two are being built by the Department in its own works at New York and Norfolk.

It is safe to say that the four last authorized to be built will be pushed forward as rapidly as circumstances will permit, and, sir, the time is not distant when the American Navy, though small in the number of its ships, will resume its ancient prestige upon the seas.

But, Mr. Speaker, this is not all.

Previous to June 30, 1885, the Ordnance Bureau of the Department could, at its utmost, produce only eight 6-inch guns and carriages with their equipments in one year. Already their capacity has been increased to fifteen 6-inch guns and thirty 6-inch carriages, with their equipments, per annum, and within a short period of time the Government shops will be prepared to produce every twelve months twenty-five 6-inch guns and twelve 12-inch guns with their carriages and equipments, these calibers being taken as a basis. Surely the record of this Department since March 4, 1885, is indeed good, and this Administration can proudly point to it as an evidence that the public money can be honestly expended and in such a manner as to give entire confidence to the people.

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

There is no Department of the Government, Mr. Speaker, that involves a greater amount of detail and requires keener and more constant vigilance, not only in order to maintain its efficiency, but also to guard itself against extravagance and fraud in their every variety, than that which supplies mail facilities to the country. Its operations, whether good or bad, wise or unwise, go directly to the homes of the people, and are most sensibly and deeply felt by all classes and conditions in life. A brief and hurried glance at the manner in which it has been conducted since the 4th day of March, 1885, will not only be interesting, but it will also show as well a marked improvement and increase in the character and extent of the service as in the economy which has been practiced as compared with former administrations. That its workings may be the better understood we will have to consider it from two points of view—one as a means by which the postal service is conducted, the other as the service itself, extending not only throughout our own country, and following the foot-steps of the citizen wherever they may carry him, but also providing communication with other lands and with strange peoples.

The former is maintained by annual appropriations of a definite character, and these appropriations are to be found in the legislative, executive, and judicial acts of Congress; the latter—that is, the service itself—is provided for in another and an independent act, which applies the receipts of the Department for postages and mail-carriage to various items of expenditure, and supplements these receipts with whatever appropriation that may be necessary in order to give to the people an efficient postal service.

Let us first consider, Mr. Speaker, that division of the Department which superintends and conducts the service. Congress provides a stated sum for its maintenance, and this sum involves two kinds of expenditure; one of these kinds consists of salaries of officers and employés, the number, classification, and pay of which is defined by law. Here discretion is not allowed the Department. The other kind of expenditure is contingent in its character, and may be greater or less, economical or extravagant, wise or foolish, accordingly as the Department is conducted prudently and efficiently.

Contrasting the year ending June 30, 1885—the last Republican year—with the year ending June 30, 1886—the first Democratic year—we find that in the latter year there was a decrease over the former year, in contingent expenditures, of $91,094.25, notwithstanding the year 1886 was charged with the expense of an additional building, as directed by the act of March 3, 1885; of foreign postage, and of free penalty envelopes. These three items of expenditure, as I have said, were not imposed upon the year 1885, and, in the aggregate, they amounted to $7,074.99.

Deducting, therefore, this amount from the entire contingent expenditure of 1886, we have a clear gain of $34,361 in the first year of the Democratic administration over the last year of the Republican administration in the management of the contingent fund—the contingent expenditure of 1885 being $118,381.25.

Notwithstanding this diminution in 1886 over 1885, the Department buildings were much improved in every respect and better fitted for occupancy.

In the year 1887 there was a further reduction in this character of expenditures of about $2,500, and in the year 1888 the same economy was maintained.

So you see, sir, that in this matter alone there was saved to the Government fully one-third of the amount expended under the Republican administration, and that, too, without the slightest detriment to the public service. But that the difference between the two administrations in the manner of handling the public funds entrusted them by Congress may be the better observed let me call the attention of the House, Mr. Speaker, to an item in the contingent expenditures—that for the publication of the Postal Guide. Every member is familiar with the publication. In the year 1875 this book was purchased by the Department at a cost of $19,703.67, and the price annually increased until it reached, in 1883, $53,016.88. Congress then took notice of the extravagance, not to use any harsher phrase, that was being perpetrated, and in the following year, 1884, the cost was reduced to $30,579.73, and in 1885, the last Republican year, to $26,834.19.

In 1886, mark the difference, only $13,708.60 was expended for the purpose, and for this sum a much larger number of copies were procured and issued than in any previous year, exceeding the number in the year 1883, when the highest price was paid, by 2,700 annuals and by 82,772 monthly issues.

Regarding the postal service itself it will probably be necessary to suggest, Mr. Speaker, that a contrast between the expenditures of the two administrations, to be a just one, should take into the account not only the exact amounts expended by each, but also the rapid growth of our population and the extent of territory which is covered by our mail facilities, and the points, almost without number, to which they reach. There is an annual increase from 2,000 to 3,000 post-offices, necessitating the continual and oftentimes rapid enlargement of the bulk and volume of the mails, which, while they may add somewhat to the revenue, yet in a country sparsely settled like ours in many localities disproportionately enhance the cost.

I shall now invite the attention of the House to the reduction which the present Administration has made in the cost of the service to the general Treasury.

At the end of the fiscal year 1885, Mr. Speaker, there was a cash deficiency of about $7,000,000, and it was estimated that the deficiency for the year ending June 30, 1886, would be at least $9,000,000, provided that the same ratio of expense and increase was maintained as in former years. To make this future deficiency the much more certain it was taken into account that, on the 1st of July, 1885, the beginning of the first Democratic year, the postage upon newspapers would be reduced from 2 cents per pound to 1 cent, and the unit of weight of letter postage increased from one-half an ounce to one ounce. This reduction of the newspaper and letter postage, it was apprehended, would reduce the revenue to the extent of not less than $2,000,000, and thus necessitate an increase of the demand upon the general Treasury to supply a deficiency of at least $9,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1886, the first year of the present Administration. The cost of the service for this year was estimated by the last Republican Postmaster-General at $56,099,169.50; the appropriations by Congress were $54,183,642.14, but the expenditures were limited to less than $51,000,000.

The result, however, was far different from what had been predicted. Instead of a deficiency at the close of the fiscal year 1886 of $9,000,000, there was a reduction of the deficiency of 1885 by more than $100,000, and during the second year of Democratic administration the deficiency fell from nearly $7,000,000 in 1885 to $4,000,000 in 1887, and in the third year, that is, in the fiscal year 1888, it fell much lower, a small fraction over $2,000,000.

It may, however, be claimed that this great and rapid reduction should be attributed to a corresponding increase of receipts. But such was not the case. True it is that the receipts were increased to an extent, but not so much as to cause such a reduction and in so short a time. Other forces, Mr. Speaker, were operating. Economy, honesty, and efficiency were at work, and good results followed, as always will follow when these great principles of action have full and fair play, unhindered by extravagance, fraud, and incompetency.

The rate of expenditure had been diminished, as I shall endeavor to show.

The table which I now submit for the consideration of the House, prepared from official data accessible to any one who may desire to investigate for himself, indicates an average annual increase of expenditure during the last six years of Republican administration, of 6.8 per cent.:

Year ended June 30—	Total on account of year's service.	Increase over previous year.	
		Amount.	Per cent.
1880	$36,414,429.03	$3,030,301.53	9.0
1881	39,722,783.06	3,308,354.03	9.0
1882	40,441,192.06	718,409.00	1.8
1883	43,559,749.22	3,118,557.16	7.7
1884	47,074,580.14	3,514,830.92	8.0
1885	49,538,302.09	2,463,721.95	5.2

But, sir, how was it in 1886, 1887, and in 1888, the first, second, and third years of Democratic control?

The expenditures for 1885 were $49,538,302.09. As I have before stated, it had been predicted by the Republican Postmaster-General that for this year there would be a deficiency of at least $9,000,000 should the same ratio of expense and increase be maintained as in former years. The prophecy would have been fulfilled if the same causes had existed, and the expenditures for 1886 would have been more than $52,900,000, instead of falling, as they did, to $50,839,346, which was over $2,000,000 less than the average annual increase for the last six years of Republican management.

A change had taken place—vastly for the better. Hitherto the ratio of the increase of cost had been above the ratio of the increase of receipts as the result of Republican methods of administration. For the years 1886, 1887, and 1888, and we may safely assert for 1889 also, the rule was to be different, and the ratio of the increase of receipts was to rapidly approach the ratio of the increase of cost instead of lagging far behind.

But, sir, let us see how this new relation of revenue and expenditure was established. There was no reduction either in the number of offices or of routes. On the contrary, they were increased and have been constantly increasing during the present Administration.

The cost of the star service had regularly increased every year, except one, previous to the Democratic Administration, but through the wise and efficient methods of the Democratic Postmaster-General they were during the year ending June 30, 1886, decreased $562,437.67, and a still further reduction was made in the fiscal year of 1887.

The following table shows the condition of this service for the years stated:

	Miles traveled.	Annual cost.	Rate per cent.
Average for years 1879-1885	77,705,236	$5,925,537.00	7.67
For 1887	84,259,284	5,119,640.30	6.05
Total	*6,554,048	†805,887.70	‡1.62

*Miles gained. †Saved. ‡Decrease.

The contrast herein presented, Mr. Speaker, is striking, and the Democratic showing as to service in the second year of its existence does not suffer. The number of miles traveled in the Democratic year 1887 exceeds those of an average of seven Republican years by 6,554,048, with a diminution in cost of $805,887.70, and at a decrease of 1.62 per cent.

Now, sir, let us compare the cost of steam-boat service as between the two administrations. On the 30th of June, 1886, the end of the first Democratic year, the cost of this service was $446,419 as compared with $594,849 in 1885, thus saving to the Government in this branch of the service in the first year of the present Administration $148,430, or above 25 per cent.

In the year 1887 there was an additional reduction of $70,000. A like reform and retrenchment, Mr. Speaker, was effected in the mail-messenger service, whose annual rate of cost was on the 1st day of July, 1885, $879,217. On the 1st day of July, 1886, it was $831,223, thus saving to the Government in one year $47,994 in this class of expenditures, though twenty-two new routes had been created during the same time, with an increase in the total mileage length of them all.

In 1887 there was a further increase of one hundred and sixty-three routes, and an additional decrease of $5,311.39 in their annual maintenance.

So, too, sir, with the postal-car service. Upon examination it was found that favoritism had been practiced, and an illegal and unauthorized expenditure had been made to certain favored railroad companies for postal-car service during Republican administrations, and amounting to, June 30, 1885, $979,959.67. This involved an annual charge to the Government of $80,161.73.

A Democratic Postmaster-General unceremoniously put an end to this gross exhibition of extravagance, favoritism, and fraud, and the expenditure was discontinued. The land-grant railroads were also com-

pelled to comply with the provisions of the law in respect to the transatio i of the mails, and in this matter an annual expense of $12,-176.0 was saved; and in addition thereto these roads were compelled to refund to the Government the sum of $69,647.91 which they had been illegally paid.

Through the courtesy, Mr. Speaker, of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads [Mr. BLOUNT], of whose labor and information I have availed myself on this occasion, I submit to the House the following statement from a very able speech delivered by him in the Forty-ninth Congress:

Amount of expenditure for supplies furnished for use of the Post-Office Department and the postal service during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, under contracts made since March 4, 1885, the date of commencement and duration of such contracts, the cost of like kinds and quantities of supplies at the prices in the contracts in force March 4, 1885, and the amount and rate of saving by the new contracts.

Articles.	Date of commencement of contract.	Duration of contract.	Expenditure year ended June 30, 1886.	Cost of like kinds and quantities of supplies in contracts in force March 4, 1885.	Saving by new contracts.	
					Amount.	Per cent.
Adhesive postage-stamps	July 1, 1885	Four years	$114,969.09	$150,045.93	$35,076.84	23.3+
Postal cards	do	do	168,826.06	193,498.11	24,672.05	12.7+
Registered package, tag, and official envelopes	do	One year	72,366.21	127,703.22	55,337.01	43.3+
Mail-bags and mail-bag catchers	April 1, 1885	Four years	211,577.24	247,195.13	35,617.89	14.4+
Wrapping-paper	July 1, 1885	One year	11,216.25	12,099.78	883.53	7.3+
Wrapping-paper for facing slips	do	do	17,700.00	29,100.00	11,400.00	39.1+
Twine	do	do	69,522.00	78,424.50	8,902.50	11.3+
Marking and rating stamps	do	do	9,420.40	10,967.74	1,547.34	14.1+
Letter-balances, test-weights, and scales	do	do	1,120.00	638.00	482.00	75.5+
Stationery for postal service	do	do	23,189.93	24,221.54	1,031.61	4.2+
Stationery for Department	do	do	6,953.55	7,189.29	235.74	3.2+
Total			706,860.73	881,083.24	174,222.51	19.7+

This table will bear a close analysis and well illustrates the very diverse methods of the two adminstrations in the making of such contracts. It is not a wonder, sir, that our postal system cost so much under Republican rule. The Government was almost without protection during those days. In the contracts of the first year of the present management there was a saving, as to the supplies mentioned, of $174,-222.51.

As to supplies furnished postmasters, I beg to lay before the House the following extract from the report of the Postmaster-General for 1886:

This division of the Department underwent an investigation in April and May, 1885, the results of which were laid before you in the report of last year, exhibiting many serious irregularities and arousing the suspicion of peculation. The changes in its methods which were then and since made have been advantageous to the service, and corroborated by results of the inferences of that investigation. Notwithstanding an addition, required by the growth of the service, of over 35,000 record books, over 55,000 facing-slips, over 3,500 reams of wrapping paper, and of 11,100 pounds of ink, and 5,475 ink-pads in the purchases and issues of the year, the total expenditures under the five items of appropriation in the postal-service act—for paper, twine, balances, and scales, stamps, and ink, and stationery, which embraces all the charges of the division except printing at the Government Printing Office, amounted to but $153,465 during the last fiscal year, as against $189,097.40 in the previous year, or a saving in expenditure of nearly 19 per cent., while there was almost an equal percentage of increase in the quantities of goods supplied.

In the comparison of the quantities of twine issued during the two past years the value of the change in methods is very manifest. It was discovered by the investigation mentioned that the twine which had been accepted was deficient in yardage to the pound, but the extent of loss inflicted on the Government was only to be conjectured. It transpires that owing to the care taken to secure the stipulated article during the past year, the amount required for use was many thousand pounds less than the quantity paid for the year before, notwithstanding the increased necessities of the service; and the division superintendent estimates the actual saving accomplished at 140,000 pounds, which would have cost $11,600.

There remains a balance of these appropriations unexpended of nearly 32 per cent., and the experience of the year will justify some reduction in the appropriations for these articles of supply even beyond the reductions already made in those for the current year.

Comment upon the methods which were affirmatively adopted or permitted without objection by the Republican administration of this great department is unnecessary. The facts which I have presented are prominent illustrations of the manifold evils which characterized its management, and are in striking contrast with the reforms, not only in the kind of service but also in its reduced cost to the people, as accomplished under Democratic control.

The increase in the number of post-offices and routes has been great; but it is most gratifying to know that the receipts and expenditures are rapidly reaching the same figures, and that the postal service is hastening to a self-sustaining basis, when it will no longer be to any extent a charge upon the public Treasury.

An inspection of the records of the Department will show:

Post-offices:	
June 30, 1885	51,252
June 30, 1888	57,376
Routes:	
June 30, 1885	21,832
June 30, 1888	24,869
Length of routes:	
June 30, 1885 ..... miles	365,251
June 30, 1888 ..... do	380,379
Net increase from June 30, 1885 to June 30, 1888:	
Post-offices	6,124
Routes	3,037
Length of routes ..... miles	15,128

In the light of such an improvement in the service during the three years of the Democratic Administration, it will be exceedingly interesting to analyze and to reflect upon what is contained in the following:

Statement showing the receipts and expenditures of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, compared with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885.

Gross postal receipts for the year ending June 30, 1888	$53,233,579.13
Gross postal receipts for the year ending June 30, 1885. See page 870 of report of the Postmaster-General	42,560,843.83
Increase:	
Amount	10,672,735.30
Per cent	25.0
Expenditure for the year ending June 30, 1888	$55,250,000.00
Expenditure on account of the year ending June 30, 1885. See page 870, report of the Postmaster-General	49,782,619.09
Increase:	
Amount	5,087,380.91
Per cent	10.9
Cost for every dollar of receipts, 1888	$1.03
Cost for every dollar of receipts, 1885	1,17
Number of warrants and drafts drawn in 1888	99,957
Number of warrants and drafts drawn in 1885	80,054
Increase	19,903
Per cent	24.8

Percentage of receipts to expenditures, 1888, 96.3, or, in other words, the amount of receipts was 93.3 per cent. of the expenditures.

Percentage of receipts to expenditures, 1885, 85.4, or, in other words, the amount of receipts was 85.4 per cent. of the expenditures.

In 1888 the expenditures exceeded the receipts 6.7 per cent. In 1885 the expenditures exceeded the receipts 14.6 per cent.

Deficiency to be supplied from the general Treasury, 1888, $2,020,000.

Deficiency to be supplied from the general Treasury, 1885, $7,221,775.26.

Number of orders made by the Postmaster-General from March 4, 1885, to June 30, 1888, requesting the auditor to readjust the compensation of postmasters who rendered false returns of business, in order to increase their compensation, 521.

Amount the auditor was requested to charge back, $246,624.60.

Number of orders made since March 4, 1885, involving the accounts of postmasters for false returns, appointed prior to March 4, 1885, 449, or 87 per cent.

Number of orders made since March 4, 1885, involving the accounts of postmasters for false returns, appointed after March 4, 1888, 72, or 13 per cent.

Amount recovered by the orders involving accounts of postmasters appointed prior to March, 4, 1885, $239,074.43, or 97 per cent.

Amount recovered by the orders involving accounts of postmasters appointed after March 4, 1885, $7,550.17, or 3 per cent.

I am quite sure, Mr. Speaker, that with such facts as I have presented before them the people will most heartily approve the administration of the Post-Office Department during the past three fiscal years.

THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

There is no question, Mr. Speaker, in which the people of the United States are more deeply interested than that which pertains to the public lands. Their continued happiness, contentment, and prosperity will depend, in a great measure, if not altogether, upon the extent to which the realty of the country is owned by the masses. Moderately-sized holdings, generally distributed among the people, are an absolute necessity to the public welfare, while immense landed estates in the possession of the few can but produce the greatest harm to society.

And it is equally true that corporate power and wealth should be rigidly restrained from their acquisition. As to the entire truth of these propositions there can not be two opinions.

As our population increases the land question becomes more serious and important. In former days, when the public domain of the United States amounted to 1,819,889,987, all acquired previous to the late civil war except Alaska, which consists of 369,529,600 acres, no danger was apprehended as to the speedy absorption of our land; but today the problem is to so provide that comfortable homes may be within the easy reach of the wage-workers of our people.

The Administration of Mr. Cleveland fully appreciated the gravity of the situation in this respect, and it has been a prime policy since its advent to power to restore to the public domain so much as could be of the very large amount which had been lost through reckless, improvident, and corrupt legislation while the Republican party had possession of the Government, or which had been fraudulently and illegally gotten possession of by individuals, syndicates, and corporations.

The General Land Office has therefore been exceedingly active during the past three years in co-operating with and in furthering the views and wishes of the Democratic majority in the House; to evidence which, Mr. Speaker, I submit the following:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., September 18, 1888.

Statement showing the quantity of land actually restored to the public domain, and of land recommended for recovery by the action of the General Land Office and Secretary of the Interior, from March 4, 1885, *to June* 30, 1888:

	Acreage.	Total acreage restored.
LANDS ACTUALLY RESTORED TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.	*Acres.*	*Acres.*
Lands in granted railroad limits restored	2,108,417.33	
Forfeiture of railroad grants under acts of Congress	11,148,067.00	
Railroad indemnity lands restored	21,323,600.00	
Private land claims—withdrawn lands restored	759,553.85	
Entries under pre-emption, homestead, timber culture, desert, mineral, and timber land laws canceled in regular course of examination and proceedings in General Land Office for abandonment, illegality, and other causes	29,729,761.48	
Invalid State selections (internal improvements and swamp)	984,310.85	
Total actually restored to the public domain and opened to entry and settlement		66,043,710.51
RECOVERY OF LANDS RECOMMENDED.		
Lands within railroad grants recommended for recovery:		
Recovery of land recommended and pending for review of Secretary	12,300.00	
Recovery of land recommended and pending on appeal before the Secretary	1,500,000.00	
Suits recommended for the recovery of land	818,687.18	
Railroad forfeitures under bills now before Congress	*54,323,996.00	
Private land claims:		
Recommendations to Congress to reject claims heretofore favorably reported	4,732,480.15	
Resurveys ordered reducing area of claims	629,500.00	
Suits recommended to vacate patents	635,255.00	
Lands forfeited in Oregon and recommended for recovery under grants for military wagon-roads	2,368,320.00	
Total recommended for recovery		65,020,538.33
Grand total actually restored to the public domain and recommended for recovery		131,064,248.84

*Under the bill which recently passed the Senate the quantity of land forfeited will equal 5,627,436 acres, but the aggregate quantity forfeited under the bills of the two Houses, if adopted, will equal 54,323,996 acres as above.

The above statement has been compiled from the official records of the General Land Office.

S. M. STOCKSLAGER, *Commissioner.*

Sir, the most unfriendly political partisan can not but admit the unwonted activity and the great success of the General Land Office, during the past three years, in the effort to recover for the people the lands of which they had been wrongfully deprived. In a word, it has left undone nothing which could have been done, and it has done nothing which ought not to have been done. Its work is its own highest and best eulogy, and the past history of the office can show no record at all approaching that of the present administration in its zeal for the public welfare and in its untiring energy to restore to the people the splendid heritage left them by our fathers.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

It is possible, Mr. Speaker, that there are but few members of Congress entirely familiar with the operations of the Department, its onerous and diversified responsibilities, the innumerable demands that are constantly made upon it from every quarter, and the immense amount of business that daily claims its attention. The building assigned it is the least extensive and imposing of all the departmental structures, and the ordinary passer-by would scarcely believe that within its walls forces are at work, opinions are prepared, and orders are made which through our methods of judicial procedure oftentimes reach to the uttermost nooks and corners of this vast country.

But, sir, it is of the work of this Department during the years 1882 and 1887, and inclusive, that I desire to speak. Not counting the expenses of the courts, the expenditures were as follows:

1882	$181,355.74	1886	$188,235.42
1883	233,723.46	1887	204,156.33
1884	204,585.98	1888	199,644.61
Total	619,665.18	Total	582,036.36

Being a net decrease in the expenditures of 1886, 1887, and 1888, as compared with those of 1882, 1883, and 1884, of $37,628.82.

The total number of officials, including employés, in the Department was:

1882	58
1883	71
1884	77
1885	80
1886	80
1887	79
1888	79

The expenses of the United States courts were:

1882	$3,192,393.67
1883	3,372,465.45
1884	3,246,566.06
1885	3,299,703.23
1886	3,561,124.39
1887	3,217,672.58
1888	3,310,188.03

This shows an excess in such expenditures during the years 1886, 1887, and 1888 over 1882, 1883, and 1884 of $277,559.82, and deducting therefrom $37,628.82 we have $239,931 as the net increase of the Democratic over the Republican administration in the matter of expenditures during the years stated.

The principal objects for which expenditures in the courts are incurred are the pay of marshals, jurors, witnesses, prisoners, bailiffs, attorneys, assistant attorneys, clerks, commissioners, and rents.

It will, therefore, readily be seen that such expenditures, where equal economy and honesty prevail, must necessarily depend, to a very great extent, upon the amount and character of business transacted.

Let us now, Mr. Speaker, briefly review the work of the courts during the years 1882–1887, inclusive, taking into account only such cases as those to which the Government was a party, and also those to which it was not a party, but which it was its duty to defend, and which it did defend.

After a thorough and most careful investigation, the following tables have been prepared and are believed to be entirely correct:

Number of civil causes to which the Government was a party.

Year ending June 30—	Terminated.	Pending.
1882	1,973	2,494
1883	1,597	4,432
1884	1,548	6,152
1885	1,658	2,146
1886	1,379	2,826
1887	1,777	3,054

Number of criminal causes to which the Government was a party.

Year ending June 30—	Terminated.	Pending.
1882	6,358	3,891
1883	7,792	5,722
1884	12,308	5,437
1885	11,977	3,808
1886	10,479	5,593
1887	12,905	7,346

Number of civil suits to which the United States was not a party, but which it was its duty to defend and which it did defend.

Year ending June 30—	Commenced.	Pending.	Terminated.
1882	10,530	23,271	7,439
1883	12,124	27,791	8,327
1884	11,700	30,372	8,738
1885	11,967	29,308	8,952
1886	12,326	31,455	10,109
1887	10,769	29,479	9,332

In the tables which I have read, Mr. Speaker, the suits pending and terminated in the Court of Claims have not been included, nor have I been able to include the work of the courts for the year ending June 30, 1888, because all of the returns from these courts for that year have not yet reached the Department. It is sufficient to say, how-

ever, that the civil suits and criminal prosecutions to which the United States was a party and those other suits which it was compelled to defend in 1888 largely exceeded those of other years.

As instances, there were more than 2,100 habeas corpus cases arising under the Chinese restriction act of 1882, which would be included in the statement for 1888; and in the Court of Claims alone, outside of the several circuit and district courts, the claims now pending against the United States aggregate more than 10,000 and involve nearly $200,000,000.

It may also be observed that it was not until the advent of the present Administration that any serious attempt was made to enforce the anti-polygamy acts of 1862 and 1882.

The Republicans have ever proclaimed themselves the special and implacable foes to Mormonism.

The highly penal act of 1862 and providing for the forfeiture of all the property of the Mormon Church exceeding $50,000 in value, and the Edmunds act of 1882, still more penal in its provisions, and prohibiting polygamy, bigamy, and unlawful cohabitation, were the fruits of their legislative efforts to repress Mormon practices and to destroy its power.

The Republicans were in the full and exclusive control of the executive and judicial departments, and not an obstacle stood in the way of an honest and an earnest attempt to enforce these laws.

What followed?

The records show that under these acts only six prosecutions were instituted; one in 1875, one in 1881, and four in the fall of 1884. Not a single step, however, was taken to enforce forfeitures.

There can be no excuse, however thin and untenable, behind which the administrations then in power can shelter themselves. The laws, the criminal, the evidence, the court, the jury, the power to execute every judicial order and decree, all were present, but the prosecution was not ready, and so it continued until 1885.

A new and entirely different President was then inaugurated, whose purpose it was to vindicate every law by its rigid and impartial enforcement, so that if the law in a particular case were bad, it would thereby be the sooner repealed; but if good and wholesome, its blessings would the more speedily accrue to the people.

The Department of Justice was given strictly in charge to carry this policy—so just and so wise—into practical operation all along the line, and the result was that under these two acts five hundred and eighty-nine persons have been separately tried and convicted; $73,000 of fines and forfeitures inflicted and collected, and near two hundred criminal prosecutions are still pending. In 1887 an act was passed providing for the forfeiture of the franchise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, and within three months from the passage of that act proceedings were instituted under it to declare the forfeitures; a receiver was appointed; over $800,000 are now in his hands; and final decree, if not already made, will be had before the 1st of January next.

Comment is wholly unnecessary. The facts which I have given, Mr. Speaker, clearly illustrate the wide difference between the Republican and the Democratic administrations.

The former pretended, the latter acted; the strength of the former was expended in declamation, the latter evinced its sincerity by action—prompt, decisive, and continued action.

As the result of these suits and prosecutions, conducted in so vigorous a manner under the direction of the present Attorney-General, the Mormons have realized the danger of their position and have framed both organic and legislative enactments looking to a strict and full compliance with the sentiment of the country in regard to their habits and practices.

The expenditures of this Department—maintaining, as they do, all the judicial officers of the United States, from the Supreme Court to the commissioners who first receive information, including marshals, attorneys, and their assistants, jurors, witnesses, clerks, and rent of buildings—must necessarily increase as our population becomes larger and the volume of business greater; but, sir, during the past three years the expenses have been enlarged to no small extent through the operation of the following laws:

An act providing for the reference of the French spoliation claims to the Court of Claims, approved January 20, 1885.

The anti-polygamy act, approved March 3, 1887.

An act to provide for the adjusting of land grants to railroads and for forfeitures of unearned lands, approved March 3, 1887.

An act creating the Interstate Commerce Commission, approved February 4, 1887.

An act regulating the importation of opium, approved February 23, 1887.

An act giving the courts jurisdiction over crimes against the Indian police, approved March 2, 1887.

An act regulating the sale of oleomargarine, approved August 2, 1886.

An act establishing the railroad commission, approved March 3, 1887.

An act for protecting the interests of the United States in the Potomac Flats, approved August 5, 1886.

An act providing for the bringing of suits against the Government, approved March 3, 1887.

It may be worth the while, Mr. Speaker, to add that under the act of January 20, 1885, regarding the French spoliation claims, fifty-five hundred and sixty-nine suits were instituted in the Court of Claims, which, as all the other suits in this court, have not been included in the tables which I have been using before the House.

I trust and believe, sir, that this very short and hasty explanation of the vast and varied and important matters that annually come to this Department for settlement and adjudication, and which must necessarily continue to increase in number, variety, and importance as our population grows and our wealth enlarges and the affairs of the people become more complicated, will not only amply justify the small increase of expenditure in latter years, but that it will also induce Congress to hereafter treat the Department in a manner becoming its high importance in the Government and to respond to its necessities with alacrity and with liberality.

I will not delay the House longer on this occasion, but very shortly I hope to be able to present data, coming from official sources, which will disprove the statement made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] relative to the increase of offices and salaries during the present Administration, or rather to show that wherever there have been increases, either in offices or salaries, there have been greater reductions elsewhere. Of my ability to do this, I do not doubt. Concluding, then, Mr. Speaker, I am impressed with the belief that this has been an honest, an economical, and a bold administration in every Department, and if Congress and the country will respond to the President's effort to reform and to reduce the tariff, the total results of a four years' Democratic rule, after the lapse of so long a time, will not only be extremely gratifying to the party which came into power on the 4th day of March, 1885, but they will bring many and rich blessings to the sixty millions of people who live within our borders.

Department of Agriculture.

SPEECH

OF

HON. PRESTON B. PLUMB,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Monday, September 17, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 8191) to enlarge the powers and duties of the Department of Agriculture and to create an Executive Department to be known as the Department of Agriculture.

The pending question being on the amendment to strike out section 5, proposing to transfer to the Department of Agriculture the weather service of the Signal Service Bureau—

Mr. PLUMB said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The main effect of this bill, if it shall pass, will be to make the head of the Department of Agriculture a member of the President's Cabinet. The Agricultural Department is often spoken of as a bureau, but by the act of its creation, passed in May, 1862, it is named as a department, and the head of it reports directly to the President, who in turn transmits its reports to Congress. But by reason of the fact that it was not named as an Executive Department, there has never been any constraint upon the President to take the head of that department into his Cabinet, that is to say, to bring him into his councils, into that association with him whereby he consults with him in regard to the affairs immediately under his charge or in regard to any other matters which affect the public interest.

It has been often said that nothing would be gained to the agricultural interests of the country by elevating this department in the manner proposed; that it now has, or will in time have, all the useful functions that it would have if it were made an Executive Department. But I think this is one of those cases in which names are things. There is no more reason in fact why the President of the United States should take into his Cabinet councils the Attorney-General or other member of his present Cabinet than that he should take into the same counsel the Commissioner of Agriculture. It is true of the Attorney-General and it is equally true of the other members of the Cabinet that the President consults with them especially about the functions which are committed to them respectively by law in which they chiefly act in his name, performing duties which pertain to the chief executive authority of the country, acting practically as the adjutants of the President.

They are a part of the executive power of the country, a part of the executive power of the Presidential office, and as they execute the will and authority of the President they report to him in form and manner as he may direct. But it is not important that for this purpose alone they should be members of his Cabinet and meet with him collectively at certain stipulated periods. If all the purpose of this assemblage was for such information as pertained only to the jurisdiction of each, it would not be either necessary or desirable that all should come together, nor that there should be formal meetings.

The President does not need in any way to bring them into his presence to consult with them, although of course he may do so, and might do so in the case of the Commissioner of Agriculture. He does so in the case of the heads of the Executive Departments, but he does not do it primarily, as I take it, for the purpose of consulting them about the particular things which concern their Departments, except as it may relate to appointments to office or something of that kind; but he brings them together around his Cabinet table as a body of councilors, all to discuss the duties and affairs of each, and to advise and be advised with concerning the entire round of executive affairs, and as to that which, being within the purview of executive duty, concerns the public interest.

Therefore, in determining what addition shall be made to that board we are to consider not alone the particular things which pertain to the immediate jurisdiction of the official whom we thus provide with a place at the President's Cabinet table, but we are to consider it with relation to the interests of the entire country. I have no hesitation in saying that it is more to the interests of this entire country in every material way that the President shall consult with the head of the Department of Agriculture than it is that he shall consult with the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Attorney-General, or any other one of the heads of the Departments with whom now the law practically imposes upon him the duty of consulting.

The Department of Agriculture was created in 1862, with limited powers and jurisdiction. It has grown very much since that time, and yet it has never had its proper place in the public estimation. This has been the result partly of imperfect administration, but largely on account of the fact that it has lacked the full dignity of a department. It has suffered also on account of the ridicule which certain influences in official places have voided upon it as the representative of agricultural interests, in which the distribution of seeds has been alluded to as its principal function, which has been associated with the promotion of the personal interests of Senators and Members of the House.

But notwithstanding all these adverse circumstances and influences the Department has constantly grown in influence, in effectiveness, and in scope by means of increased appropriations, with the addition of new functions, and has constantly widened its horizon.

Mr. GEORGE. And it has grown in public favor.

Mr. PLUMB. As the gentleman from Mississippi well remarks, it has grown in public favor as well, and it has taken hold upon the good-will, the confidence, and the judgment of increasingly large portions of the American people, who see in its operations, present and future, the prospect of great good to that industry in which they are primarily interested, and which so much concerns the well-being of all the people.

Nearly or quite one-half the people of the United States are engaged in farming. This important interest has not heretofore been the subject of any considerable legislation in its favor. It has seemed to most of those charged with the duty of legislation that agriculture should be satisfied with indirect benefits. It has been assumed that the farmers could take care of themselves, and that they would not only work out their own salvation but take good care that the supply of needful agricultural products should not fail. We discuss at great length and legislate in direct behalf of manufacturers and their employés. They are represented by powerful organizations, which can bring to bear influences which, standing as they are made, to do for public opinion, constrain legislation. The farmers can not so promptly or thoroughly organize, and their influence is less felt. We have legislated for the benefit of wage-workers proper, in response to every demand—wisely and properly, I think—but the time has come when we should take into serious account the interests of the farming classes. They have not and will not bring upon us the pressure we have had from other sources. They are too widely scattered and their interests are too widely divergent to enable them to organize with facility.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] says, *sotto voce*, "grangers." Yes, there have been grangers, and there are grangers, and there will be more of them. This and similar organizations exist and are useful, but their influence can not be so directly brought to bear as can that of persons who live closer together, within easy reach of each other and nearer to the capital.

Mr. PLATT. If the Senator will excuse me a moment, I meant nothing by that suggestion except that there were organizations among the farmers, and very properly so.

Mr. PLUMB. I understand that. I did not understand the Senator's remark to be at all contemptuous.

Mr. PLATT. Not at all.

Mr. PLUMB. On the contrary, I understood him simply to mention the existence of farmers' organizations as a fact. While these organizations have been useful, yet they have not contributed as powerfully as they ought to have done to the formation of public opinion, and they have not as promptly or as effectively influenced legislation as other organizations representing other and smaller interests have done.

That the idea which is embodied in the proposition of the pending bill is not out of keeping and is supported by good authority is admirably sustained by the following quotation from the eighth annual address of President Washington, in which he expresses what is the truth to-day as much as it was when the sentiment was uttered:

> It will not be doubted that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage.

I do not think we have made mistakes in legislating for other interests except, perhaps, relatively; but we have done that for other organizations and interests which so far we have practically omitted to do in the interest of that class of people, as large as all other classes put together, the farmers of the United States.

There is no useful calling which stands upon a more precarious foundation in the sharp competitions of the world than that of the agriculturist. That which he produces from the soil is heavier and more bulky in proportion to its value than any other subject of transportation. Necessarily, therefore, the transportation and other charge which must be paid upon it, if it is to find market at a distance, will absorb a large proportion of its value in that market. Even a small addition to charges for transportation, commission, insurance, and so on will prove to him the difference between profit and loss.

Mr. GEORGE. And from trusts and combinations.

Mr. PLUMB. The Senator from Mississippi suggests also the burden from trusts and combinations. These constitute additional burdens, no doubt, and there is this further to be said: The farmer is located more permanently at the place where he performs his labor than those of any other class of people, and must take what comes to him, and can not go from that base of his hither and yon and everywhere seeking and finding employment and adjusting himself to new conditions. He is compelled to accept more that is unfavorable as inevitable. He must often sell whether the market is favorable or unfavorable. He can not charge bad debts off on somebody else. His individual shipment is so small that if withheld it will not affect the market, and he can not make effective combination against transporters, nor in fact control or favorably affect the market in which his products are inevitably to be sold. He is very liable, so far as that which he is obliged to sell is concerned, to be a victim of combinations and circumstances over which he has no control.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Kansas yield?

Mr. PLUMB. I do.

Mr. GEORGE. I desire to ask the Senator from Kansas, for I know he is posted on that point, if there is not some commercial combination or arrangement by which the beef-raisers of the West get very small prices for their cattle, and the beef-consumers in the rest of the country pay very large prices?

Mr. PLUMB. There is, or at least has been, such a combination which has proved very injurious to the producers of cattle. Combinations are also often formed among railroad companies whereby the prices of the transportation of agricultural products are improperly increased, and even the smallest increase, as I have before said, is a large percentage upon the total value of the product transported.

Mr. GEORGE. Does not the farmer get about as little for his beef now as he ever did, if not less, and is not the consumer paying about as much or more than he ever did before?

Mr. PLUMB. At the present moment of time the price is somewhat better than it was three or four months ago; but taking the last three or four years the price to the cattle-producer has been phenomenally low, while at the same time, as suggested by the Senator from Mississippi and as I stated some weeks since in the discussion of this question upon another bill, the price to the consumer has not been diminished a particle. That only illustrates in the most forcible manner what I said a moment ago, that what is paid to the railroad companies, the commission merchants, and for all the devices which are applied to the transportation and to the handling of the product of the farm uses up the larger portion of the whole value, provided the transportation is to a distant market, and frequently so much that no profit is left to the producer.

Mr. GEORGE. I wish to call the Senator's attention to something a little more specific as to the difference of prices, and I think he can state it. Is not the difference between the price which the farmer gets for his beef and the price which the consumer pays for it as much as 400 or 500 or 600 per cent.?

Mr. PLUMB. The difference is very large, and possibly as large as stated by the Senator.

Mr. GEORGE. It is enormous, is it not?

Mr. PLUMB. It is an enormous difference, and that difference is represented by the price paid for transportation, by commission charges, by interest, insurance, by the enormous and practically fraudulent profits of the cattle combine, the packers, and by those of the local butchers. All these contribute to the diminution of what otherwise might and ought to go to the stock-raiser.

The civilization of the nineteenth century is expensive. The wants, I might say the needs, of our people are not to be satisfied with a little. Each year their needs become greater—for more educational and religious facilities, more and better food and clothing, better habitations,

more that increases comfort, delights the eye and ear and gratifies the tastes, and all this means increased expense, and to meet this expense there must be either lower prices for what must be purchased, or greater wages for labor, or both. The hours of labor can not be increased, for the tendency is not only the other way, but there must be increasing leisure in order that the comforts and luxuries I have mentioned may be used and enjoyed. There must therefore be greater earnings from the same or less labor.

With us the problem is not as it is in China, where the survival of the fittest is the survival of him who can live on the least, but with us the survival of the fittest is that of him who can use the most. The American people rejoice each year in what they conceive to be their greater ability, or at least their greater determination, to have more of the good things of life than they had the year before.

At this juncture the American farmer is brought face to face with a new competition more threatening than anything which has preceded it, and a competition which has been brought about, measureably at least, by that condition of things which he has aided in developing, to which I have before referred. Nations and people which a few years ago were isolated, unambitious, satisfied to remain in the background, have been seized with modern ambition and are coming into the currents of civilization and the commerce of the world. Twenty years ago South America exported nothing but hides which entered into competition with the American farmer. Now the Argentine Republic is exporting corn to England, and hundreds of thousands of sheep are shipped to the United Kingdom and there sold in competition with American meats and at prices which contribute to depress their prices.

Mr. PAYNE. If the Senator would allow me, I should like very much if he would state during the course of his remarks the effect of the interstate-commerce law upon agriculturists?

Mr. PLUMB. I will speak of that in a moment. The table-lands of Mexico, South and Central America are adapted by soil and climate to the growth of corn, wheat, cotton, and other agricultural productions, and as these lands are reached by railroads from the coast it may be expected that their resources will be more fully developed and a constantly increasing quantity of their productions be found seeking outside markets.

The remote regions of Hungary, the farthest provinces of Austria, have been ransacked to bring into British markets beef which would take the place of the American product and reduce its price.

The British Government has devoted itself to the opening up of new areas of cultivation in India, to the minimizing of the effects of drought, and the wheat product of that country has enormously increased by comparison with what it was ten years ago. The labor with which that wheat is raised is paid for at 10 cents a day, and the laborer esteems himself well paid at that price. A somewhat similar condition of things as to wages exists in South America, and, as the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] suggests, in Egypt, where wheat is raised for export.

In addition we shall soon be having the direct and active competition of the whole African Continent. The German Government, for the purpose of preventing the emigration of its subjects to America, has entered upon an extensive scheme of colonization in Africa. It has organized a company having substantially the functions of the old East India Company, which has taken possession of a large fertile area in the Dark Continent, and German subjects are to be induced, as they are being induced, to go there instead of coming to this country, in order that one of the results of their labor may be the continued aggrandizement of the Fatherland. They will make new markets for German manufactures and thus contribute to the prosperity of those left behind.

The British Government has recently organized a similar company to colonize, to develop, and bring under British control another large section of Africa. From all these areas there will come as the result of cheap labor applied to new, fertile, and cheap soil by colonists, whose first efforts are always in the direction of agriculture, new supplies of agricultural products to meet the products of American farms in the world's market.

I do not hazard anything in saying that unless conditions are markedly changed within the next five years India wheat will sell in New York, duty paid, in competition with American wheat.

Mr. PLATT. Wheat can be brought here from Liverpool sometimes for less than 2 cents a bushel.

Mr. PLUMB. This is liable to occur at any time. There are conditions of ocean transportation occasionally existing where that or any other heavy, bulky product can be brought practically as ballast.

The American farmer will have these new and threatening conditions to meet. He can not avoid them, nor can he rely upon new inventions of labor-saving machinery to overcome them. The advantages in this direction which he now has will no doubt be somewhat added to, but not sufficiently to enable him to cheapen his productions to the level of his new competitors. In this respect he is worse off than the manufacturing laborer. Therefore the competitive conditions under which he labors are far more injurious than those which attach under our system to that of labor in any other form.

I shall not go into the field to which this statement naturally invites me. But these facts appeal to Congress, representing the interests of the whole country, and should be taken into serious account. The passage of the pending bill is a very short step, but it is in the right direction. It gives added dignity to the calling of agriculture in its relations to the administration of the Government. It will constrain the President to take those interests into special account when he makes his recommendations to Congress, and it will contribute to bring those interests more directly within the purview of legislation by Congress designed for the benefit of the whole people. It is not that the laborer or manufacturer may be overlooked or neglected, but the farmer may be equally as well taken into account.

Perhaps we need not contemplate the possibility of a failure in our food supply. We have the most fertile area, the greatest diversity of soil and climate in the world, and the most intelligent and capable population engaged in farming it. But notwithstanding we import potatoes and other vegetables in increasing quantities, still we have a large surplus in the aggregate, and our exportations of agricultural productions is largely in excess of our importations. But climatic changes and the continued cultivation of the soil may bring conditions less favorable. Our farmers limit themselves largely to the raising of two or three staple products, the most necessary, no doubt, to meet the food requirements, but a considerable shortage in either would produce serious consequences. As population increases and the new areas subject to cultivation diminish the danger of this increases, and the liability itself is of a great deal more importance than it ever was before. There are many things to be taken into account as affecting the national welfare in connection with the interests of our agricultural population, which have not heretofore been taken into sufficiently serious account.

Our agriculture must be more diversified. Our people must look more and more not to the foreign market, with its ruinous competitions, but to the home market. The costs and risks of distant transportation must be saved, the field of agricultural labor must be widened; there must be no dependence upon outside food production, the chance of short supply especially, in the matter of staples, must be reduced to the minimum. How shall these results be brought about? That they are of importance can not be denied. That they enforce the desirability, if not necessity, of a thoroughly equipped department, possessing opportunity and dignity as a means to that opportunity there can be no doubt.

The department of agriculture in France has for one of its enumerated objects the prevention and cure of phylloxera among grapes. There is no need of enumeration here. What is wanted is an executive department having the confidence of President and Congress, which can not only recommend, but conditioned so that its recommendations will have weight, and Congress will make adequate appropriations and give needed authority from time to time to widen the horizon and prescribe the new fields of exploration and action.

I shall not go into details, but will content myself with a single illustration. Sugar is as much of an agricultural production as flour. Our people pay more for the sugar they use than they do for bread. The climate and soil of the United States are as well or even better adapted to the production of sugar-producing plants than France and Germany, yet our own people not only consume more sugar than any other people in the world proportionately, but they buy over 90 per cent. of it from outside, while France and Germany produce not alone enough for local consumption, but export large quantities each year.

This result has been due to the active and useful intervention of the government of those countries in behalf of this most important industry. Sugar is the object of national desire, and the German Government for many years gave an export bounty of $2 per ton for every ton of sugar which her people should export, with the result that the manufacture shortly exceeded the national consumption. Large quantities were sent to distant markets, and the industry was permanently developed, with the result that lands adapted to the production of the sugar-beet were enormously enhanced in value, this increased value per acre often reaching hundreds of dollars. Sugar was cheaper both at home and abroad. Meanwhile, partly on account of the competition and partly on account of improved methods of manufacture, but most largely on account of the improvement of the variety of beets used, the saccharine strength has gone up in a few years from about 4 per cent. to an average of over 15 per cent., with a maximum of over 22 per cent.

A somewhat curious fact in this connection is that the production of beets for seed is wholly apart from their production for sugar, being carried on at different places and by different persons.

There is no doubt that by the use of the beet alone, if we were remitted to that, this country could produce sugar just as well and perhaps even better than Germany can; but we have another plant which is still better from which we can produce not only all the sugar that we need, but under proper inducements produce it for export as well. The production of the sugar which the people of the United States use would occasion the employment perhaps of 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 people, and the relief to all the people from the payment of the enormous sum which is now paid foreign producers of sugar would be of immense consequence in lightening the burdens under which all our people labor. Our Government can not, of course, give inducements such as have been offered by Germany, but it can assist in experiments, and

can do much to direct our people into the ways by which greater diversity can be brought about in which they may be relieved from crushing competition, and whereby, also, we shall be enabled to produce the one great staple in which we are now deficient.

I only speak of this as an illustration. As we go on advancing in our civilization, we must adapt ourselves to new needs. Each year we ought to become more and more self-supporting in regard to those things which are essential to individual and national welfare. It was the action of the government in Germany as in France which stimulated the people of those countries to enter upon the manufacture of sugar.

But I do not care to dwell upon details. I only say that the time has come when the Department of Agriculture should be made an executive department, in order that the interests of the people who are engaged in that calling may receive that attention which they deserve and which they have not heretofore fully had.

Mr. President, I do not care so much about this fifth section, although nothing that has been said has shaken my conviction that the Weather Signal Service should be transferred to the Agricultural Department. But I am for the passage of the bill by the easiest, speediest way in which it can be obtained. If necessary to the early passage of the bill that the fifth section should be stricken out, then I am for striking it out. I do not so believe, however.

The argument which was read by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. PALMER], being the letter addressed to the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. GEORGE] by Captain Dunwoody, of the Army, but detailed for service in the Signal Service Bureau, loses its force, so far as I am concerned, when I consider that that officer has been away from his proper command practically ever since the Signal Service Bureau was established, and no doubt the great dread of his life is to be ordered back to it. I do not speak of this to disparage him in the slightest degree. He is an accomplished officer and no doubt fairly well posted in the duties he is detailed to perform. Every one who knows anything about the Army knows that the longer a man stays away from the performance of the military duties for which he was commissioned and for which he is presumably paid, the stronger the determination arises in his mind that he will never go back if he can help it. Therefore the argument is not entitled to much weight, because it is an argument from the basis of a personal self-interest, nothing more or nothing less.

The weather service, while originally limited to the report of storms for the benefit of commerce on the lakes, has been extended until now it embraces not only a similar service along the ocean coast, but on the land for the benefit of the agriculturists. Whether the benefits of the service are more largely realized by agriculture or by commerce is not material now, for from the standpoint of neither interest can this service be related to the jurisdiction of the War Department.

If it is, what would happen to it in time of war? Would the farmer, the mariner, the transporter, and whoever else was interested in the course of storms be told that he would have to wait until the war was over before operations would be resumed? The very suggestion that it is connected with military signaling (which is the foundation of the letter of which I have spoken) is enough of itself to emphasize the necessity of this transfer as speedily as possible. If it is to be an important agency in the development of our agriculture, in the commerce of our inland waters, that is all the more reason why it should not be made a tail to the kite of a little military signaling.

Every cadet at West Point is educated in the art of military signaling. He is expected to be able not only to do the signaling himself, but to teach the private soldier of his command to do the same thing. If we had a war one of two things would happen, either the military signaling would be cut entirely loose from the Signal Service Bureau, or the present Signal Service Bureau would be cut aloof entirely from that which it is doing in aid of commerce and agriculture.

But, as I had occasion to say on Friday, there is something entirely incongruous to my mind in this joining of these two opposite occupations and functions, that of production and that of destruction.

I know it is a favorite argument with some, "why not make use of our surplus Army officers?" Let us carry it a little further. Why should we limit the idea to the Signal Service? Why should we not make them heads of bureaus? It might be a good idea perhaps to put some of them into the Senate and a handful of them into the lower House of Congress. If we are carrying on the various Departments of the Government simply to make use of a few surplus Army officers, why not in fact let the Army and Navy embrace in the scope of their operations the carrying on of every civil Department of the Government, using a man to-day as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and to-morrow as second lieutenant of Company F of the Seventh Light Artillery, defending our coast against Canadian invasion? The whole scheme is entirely at war with our theory of the relations of the military and civil powers of the Government.

I would not employ permanently anywhere in the civil service a military officer. If there is no military duty for them to perform, let us provide some plan whereby they may without injustice to them be mustered out of the service, or at least be given opportunity to engage in private callings in which they can serve both themselves and the country.

Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER] has been kind enough to give me to be read in connection with my remarks on this subject a letter written by the president of the University of Wisconsin, which states in the most cogent way not only the argument for this transfer, but the demand which exists among intelligent people who have viewed the situation from the proper standpoint.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Madison, May 25, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR: I observe with gratification that the Hatch bill, relating to the Agricultural Department and the transfer of the weather service to it has passed the House by a very large majority, but I regret to learn that the Senate committee, in favorably reporting it, have stricken out the clause making the transfer of the Weather Bureau. Permit me to express the very firm conviction that this amendment is unwise. The transfer of the Weather Bureau appears to me to be one of the most excellent features of the bill. Indeed, from my perhaps partial standpoint, the most excellent. It seems obvious upon the statement of the case that a bureau of so great importance to the commercial world, and of so great possibilities to the agricultural interests of the country, should be placed in the hands of professional meteorological experts, and should be organized for its own ends. At present it is placed in the charge of a military officer, whose natural functions are entirely foreign to this service. It is furthermore connected with a military signal service whose methods and purposes are entirely foreign to those of the Weather Bureau. Almost the only thing they have in common is the name "signal."

It is obvious to all who have carefully studied the workings of the weather service that it needs reorganization on a modified basis if it is to advance in economic value and to become in the highest practicable degree subservient to the interests of agriculture. It must be rendered more exact, and be made more specifically applicable to the peculiarities of the different regions and to the needs of different agricultural industries. In other words, there must be a higher degree of local adaptation. This is entirely practicable, as it seems to me, and not by any means expensive, compared with the great results that can be obtained.

So far as I know all competent scientists who have given attention to this subject are of one opinion respecting the advisability of a transfer of the weather service to some civil department and the placing of it in the charge of an officer selected on account of his especial fitness for its duties.

At the closing Farmer's Institute a resolution was passed requesting me to correspond with members of Congress, urging this transfer, and further urging the reorganization and local adaptation of the system. In the pressure of other work it appears that I have been dilatory in properly representing this large and important body.

I should be much gratified if these views find a hearty response in your own convictions knowing that you will exercise a very important influence upon the disposal of the amendment.

Very respectfully, yours,

T. C. CHAMBERLIN.

Senator JOHN C. SPOONER,
Washington, D. C.

It is objected to the transfer now because it is desired to reorganize the Department before it is transferred. If it is to be reorganized it ought to be reorganized under the Department which is to operate it. Captain Dunwoody's letter expressly says that it is now in a bad condition. He says:

I would ask your careful attention to the provisions of section 5, which transfers this bureau in its present shape to the Agricultural Department without correcting any of the abuses or inefficiencies which may exist.

* * * * * * *

It is only urged that no transfer in block of a badly-arranged, and in some respects inefficient, *personnel* be enacted, but that a detailed organization, either civil or military, be provided for.

That is a confession from one who is entitled to speak as by authority that the present organization is inefficient, imperfect, and badly needs reorganization. Under whose auspices shall it be reorganized? Those of the Secretary of War, who is out of sympathy with it and has urged that it be transferred, or shall it be reorganized under the Secretary of Agriculture, alive to its importance, and who will, I have no doubt, reorganize it in such a way as to make it answer the purposes of its creation and the needs of both commerce and agriculture, which, confessedly, it is now doing only imperfectly?

If we wait until the War Department reorganizes the Signal Service in such a way as to answer this condition it will never be done.

Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. PAYNE] asked me a question which I can not answer as satisfactorily as I could wish, and that was about the operations of the interstate-commerce law on railroad transportation as affecting the West. Probably the law has not operated to materially reduce rates west of the Mississippi. It has cut off some preferences, some favoritism. It has undoubtedly done much to render the service impersonal and to put the carriers in that relation to the public where they are constrained to serve all alike. But the dominion heretofore exercised by the ordinary general freight agent will be reluctantly relinquished.

He could and did put up and put down; he could and did make fish of one and flesh of another; he could and did make the grass grow in the streets of one town and to another give rates which brought prosperity. He was interested neither in the railroad nor the general public. He was in position largely to look out for himself and his friends, and this he did at the expense of his employer and the public. Such a power will be slowly surrendered, and I have no doubt there are some abuses of that sort yet lingering in the system, and that it is going to take years of purging and of overhauling at the hands of the Interstate-Commerce Commission, or somebody else possessing authority in order to make the railroad system of this country answer the purpose which it was designed by law to answer, and that is, to render to each man precisely the service it renders to every other man, and to render to every locality precisely the service it renders to every other locality, and to serve all at a reasonable price.

The system is the growth of a generation and a half of time. It has been built up piece-meal. It was originally the creature of local con-

ditions and local inducements largely. It never has been a harmonious whole. While localities fully supplied with transportation facilities were clamoring for legal control, localities not supplied were clamoring to have that control withheld in order that they might, by means thereof, and by offer of special advantages, secure such extension of the system as would meet their ambitions; and while these opposing conditions continued it was impossible that there ever should be any wise, any thorough, impartial control of the system established by law. The law has done something; but there is much more to do. Railroad owners and managers must be brought to the conclusion that the great power which they have must not be used for either favoritism or extortion. Until they do this there is more for the law to do.

Another Federal Court Unnecessary—No Court of Patent Appeals.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE E. SENEY,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 1, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9084) to establish a court of patent appeals, etc.

Mr. SENEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The bill before the House proposes to establish, at Washington, a court for the sole purpose of hearing and determining questions arising under our patent laws. The court of patent appeals of the United States is the name by which this tribunal is to be known, and its jurisdiction is to be appellate from the decisions of the Commissioner of Patents and the judgments, in patent causes, of the circuit courts of the United States, with a right of review, on appeal, in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The court of patent appeals is to be composed of a chief-justice and two associate justices, each at a salary of $6,000 per annum; of a clerk and one or more deputies, for whom the bill makes no provision as to salary or fees; of a marshal at a salary of $2,000 a year; of assistant marshals and court messengers, whose compensation is not provided for in the bill; of a reporter of the court's decisions at a salary of $2,500 per annum, and $1,500 additional if the court decisions make two volumes each year. The bill makes no provision for quarters for the court or its officers, or for furnishing them, or for fuel, light, stationery, or other necessary or contingent expense. Information as to all of these matters of expense is important if we would vote understandingly upon this measure.

That the bill will create at least twelve additional Federal offices is very certain, and equally certain that it will make an annual charge upon the Treasury of from $40,000 to $50,000. We now have the Supreme Court, fifty-six circuit courts, and the same number of district courts, a Court of Claims, and a supreme court for the District of Columbia—all maintained by money taken out of the Treasury. At this session of Congress the House passed a bill, which is now pending in the Senate, establishing an additional court called "court of Indian depredations," to consist of three judges, each at a salary of $4,000 per annum, with secretary, stenographer, messenger, and clerks, all at good salaries, and with rooms, furniture, fuel, lights, books, and stationery furnished at the expense of the Government.

Again, at this session the House voted to establish another United States court, to be called the "United States land court," with three judges, each at an annual salary of $5,000, with an attorney at $4,000 a year, and three stenographers at $1,500 each, and with clerks and messengers and reporter, all to be paid at the Treasury. If we by our votes establish a court of patent appeals, this House will have the distinction of doing its best to create three additional Federal courts at the same session, and adding at least fifty new names to the yearly pay-roll of the Government. It may be said by those who favor the pending bill that there is more need for a court of patent appeals than for a court of Indian depredations or for a United States land court. While this may be true, yet in my opinion there is no necessity, none whatever, for establishing either one of these courts, particularly the land court or the patent-appeals court. When the bill to establish the United States land court was under debate in the House, my reasons for opposing it were then stated, and the same reasons may be well urged against the bill to establish a court of patent appeals.

The House will not forget that there are two other bills upon the Calendar proposing legislation about the Federal courts and their judges. One bill proposes to make nine additional circuit-court judges, and to change in several important particulars the present construction of the Supreme, circuit, and district courts of the United States. The other bill proposes to increase the salaries of the district court judges in the aggregate about 25 per cent.

Without proper caution there is danger that the record of this House respecting Federal courts and Federal judges will be one which in the future will not be pointed to with pride.

But, Mr. Speaker, if the bill to establish a court of patent appeals has merit, it ought to be fairly considered, for if there is a necessity for such a tribunal it ought to be established. The argument most relied on by the friends of this bill is that if it becomes a law it will relieve the Supreme Court of the United States of much of the burden now imposed upon it by patent litigation. Sir, in my judgment, it will add to that burden. Under existing law the Supreme Court takes its jurisdiction in patent cases by appeal from the circuit courts, and these cases are heard in the Supreme Court upon both the facts and the law. The number of patent causes upon the docket of the Supreme Court is never small, and it is said, perhaps authoritatively, that much of the time given to the hearing and determination of this class of cases is used in the discussion and consideration of questions of fact. If this be the situation, it may be made different, and that, too, without establishing another United States court. A few moments of legislation in another direction will do more to relieve the Supreme Court than all of the provisions of the pending bill.

If the circuit courts in patent cases were authorized to find the facts, upon the request of either party, and make their findings a part of the record, the Supreme Court would be relieved of much of its labor in this class of litigation. Under such a change in the law long arguments upon the evidence would not occur in the Supreme Court, nor would the Supreme Court be required to study a voluminous record to ascertain the facts, but taking the facts as found by the circuit court it would be enabled to give its entire time to the questions of law. But if this change in the law will not secure earlier hearings in patent cases, and it be important that they be heard early, or in preference to other cases, then, rather than create a court for patent litigants and for nobody else, the circuit courts could be by slight additional legislation so constructed as to keep out of the Supreme Court the less important patent causes. Then, again, if for want of time the hearing of patent causes is delayed in the Supreme Court, earlier hearings could be had if the Supreme judges were relieved from attendance upon the sittings of the circuit courts.

But it is not necessary for me in presenting my views upon this feature of the pending bill to repeat what was said by me in my remarks September 21, 1888, on the bill to define and regulate the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States. It is sufficient in this connection to state that the repeal of the law requiring the Supreme judges to sit in the circuit courts and a reconstruction of the circuit courts in the manner indicated in those remarks would, it is believed, enable the Supreme Court to dispose of its business without delay. There would seem, sir, to be no more need of a distinct and separate court to try causes arising under our patent laws than there is for a distinct and separate court to try those who offend against our criminal statutes, or for a distinct and separate court for the trial of equity causes, or for a separate and distinct court to try admiralty causes, or for a separate and distinct court for the trial of actions at law, or for a separate and distinct court to hear and determine nothing except questions of constitutional law.

Why our inventors, or rather those who speculate upon the products of their brains, should have a court specially constituted for their use did not occur to me when this bill was before the Judiciary Committee, and has not occurred to me since.

But, sir, let us look further into this bill and see what it is that the friends of monopoly are asking us to do. Our laws do more than give to inventors, and their assigns, protection at great public expense, they give them a monopoly in the thing invented for seventeen years; and ow they ask us to organize a court for the sole purpose of settling heir disputes, and to provide for its maintenance by yearly appropriations from the public Treasury.

The bill, it will be seen, provides no original jurisdiction for the court of patent appeals, but gives to it appellate jurisdiction from the Commissioner of Patents, and from the United States circuit courts, and from the supreme court of the District of Columbia. From the Commissioner of Patents this bill authorizes an appeal in all cases touching the patentability of inventions, priority of invention among several claimants for patent upon the same invention, and the judicial practice of the Patent Office; also all cases touching the registration of trade-marks or labels and the rights of conflicting claimants therefor.

Although existing laws provide that where an application for a patent or a reissue of a patent has been twice rejected by the Commissioner of Patents the decision may be reviewed, on appeal, by the supreme court of the District of Columbia, yet perhaps it is an open question whether or not the supreme court of the District can, under the Constitution, take jurisdiction, for the reason that in refusing to issue a patent or reissue a patent the Commissioner of Patents exercises no judicial power. There seems to be no statute which, in express terms, makes the ruling of the Patents Commissioner in either case a judicial act, and in the absence of such a statute it is questionable whether the ruling is anything more than a ministerial act.

If this be the correct view of the question it follows that the court of patent appeals would have no jurisdiction in either of the cases which, under the pending bill, the Commissioner of Patents is authorized to decide; and therefore the Supreme Court of the United States

would have no jurisdiction by appeal from the patent appeals court. Possibly it may be thought that in authorizing the Commissioner of Patents to pass upon such questions as may come before him, or in authorizing an appeal from his rulings, judicial power is conferred; but to this it may be well urged that the presence or absence of judicial power in an executive officer ought not for obvious reasons to rest upon a mere implication.

That judicial power might be conferred upon the Commissioner of Patents to an extent that would make his rulings respecting either of the matters provided for in this bill the subject of review in the court of patent appeals no one doubts, but it will be seen upon a careful examination of the bill that it does not, in direct or indirect words, so provide. The pending bill provides for an appeal from the Commissioner of Patents to the court of patent appeals in a multitude of cases. In other words, the bill authorizes an appeal to the court of patent appeals from nearly every decision the Commissioner of Patents is required to make, and in addition to this it authorizes a further appeal in the same cases to the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is true that upon the right of appeal to the Supreme Court two limitations are imposed. The first one is that in the case sought to be appealed the amount involved shall be $100,000 or more, exclusive of costs. To what extent, if any, this limitation upon the right of appeal will keep patent causes out of the Supreme Court need not now be discussed. If the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is to depend upon the fact whether $100,000 or a less sum is involved in a given case, by whom is this fact to be ascertained, and if by the Supreme Court how much more of its time would be required to hear and determine the case upon its merits? Under the second limitation an appeal is authorized when the Supreme Court deems the questions involved to be sufficiently important, or doubtful, to justify an appeal.

It will be seen, therefore, that the provisions of this bill make it possible for parties to get into the Supreme Court with their patent cases and to have them heard upon the question as to their right to appeal them, if not upon their merits. In what respect, then, will the Supreme Court be relieved in patent causes if this bill be made a law?

The court of patent appeals is to have appellate jurisdiction from the circuit courts of the United States and from the supreme court of the District of Columbia in all cases touching patents, copyrights, trademarks, and labels, without regard to the sum involved in the controversy, and from the judgment of the court of patent appeals an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States subject to the two limitations mentioned but a moment ago.

It is not unreasonable to assume that in case the court of patent appeals be established that all the causes involving important or doubtful questions and all of the causes involving interests of the value of $100,000 will find a place upon the Supreme Court docket, and those of a different character will be on the same docket for hearing as to the right of appeal. Instead of relieving the Supreme Court by reducing the number of cases upon its docket this bill, in case it becomes a law, will, according to my understanding of its provisions, increase the labors of that court.

But there are other objections to enacting this bill into a law. If this court of patent appeals is a necessity—and unless it is it ought not to be established—it ought to be made a court of last resort in patent cases. There should be no appellant jurisdiction in the Supreme Court from the patent appeals court, or if any it ought to be in exceptional cases, and then limited to a review of questions of law.

The patent appeals court, if established, ought to be so composed that its decisions reviewing the decisions of a high tribunal like the circuit court would be, by reason of the ability and learning of its judges, acceptable to patent litigants, if not in all, then in much the larger number of cases. This would make the patent appeals court, to a very considerable extent, a court of last resort, and therefore the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court could be confined to a few exceptional cases.

But, sir, to add one more to the present number of our Federal courts seemingly for no other purpose than to give a certain class of litigants one more chance would be very unwise.

More than two trials of the same cause upon the facts and the law—the first in the original jurisdiction and the second in the appellate jurisdiction—are not allowed under the judicial system in force in the States, and hitherto in the United States, but patent-right men, by the pending bill, ask for three trials in their cases, and to insure three trials they insist that two courts shall be created for their exclusive use. They would have us make a court out of a subdivision of the Department of the Interior and confer upon the Commissioner in charge the powers of a court and a judge. And for their second court they insist we shall establish a court of patent appeals.

The bill, it will be observed, divides patent-right controversies into two classes. Of those touching patents, copyrights, trade-marks, and labels, the circuit courts are to have original jurisdiction, the court of patent appeals appellate jurisdiction, and the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction, or, in other words, three trials are to be had in such patent causes, one in each of these three courts. Of the other class original jurisdiction is in the Commissioner of Patents, acting as a court and judge; after him in the court of patent appeals, and after it, in the Supreme Court, or in other words, a trial before the Commissioner, and afterwards two more trials, one in the patent appeal courts and another in the Supreme Court of the United States.

But there is another reason why the court of patent appeals ought not to be established. The bill gives to this court a place in our judicial system above the United States circuit courts. The judgments of the circuit courts in patent cases are to be reviewed by the court of patent appeals, and this makes the circuit court the inferior tribunal. If a court lower than the Supreme Court and higher than the circuit court—an intermediate court, if you please—be essential in our judicial system, its jurisdiction ought not to be limited to the trial of patent causes. The jurisdiction of such a tribunal ought to extend to all causes in which the Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction under existing laws.

And then, again, a court whose time is to be largely employed in reviewing the opinions of the Commissioner of Patents ought not to stand in our judicial system next in rank to the Supreme Court of the United States.

But, sir, there is still another objection to establishing this court of patent appeals. The bill, it will be observed, provides that the court of patent appeals shall hold its sessions at the seat of Government, and because of this its jurisdiction would extend into and over every State and Territory of the United States. Established in Washington, this court would be invested with power to bring before it from all parts of this vast country those of our countrymen who may have contentions under our patent laws. The jurisdiction of this court is to be wholly appellate, and whether it be from the rulings of the Commissioner of Patents or from the judgments of the circuit courts of the United States, it is to be exercised at Washington, and at no other place. Whatever may be thought of the other objections we have urged to this bill, the one now before us presents the question as to whether it is best to center at the Federal capital more of the judicial power of the Government or diffuse it throughout the States.

Against all legislation which tends to centralize the power of the Government, whether executive, legislative, or judicial, the representatives of the people ought to take a resolute stand.

The Constitution vests the judicial power of the United States in one Supreme Court and in such other inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. While it is eminently proper that the Supreme Court should hold its sessions at the seat of the General Government, it is equally proper that the courts established by the Congress should hold their sessions nearer to the homes of the people.

That part of our judicial system which is under legislative control ought to be made the servant of the people, and hence to establish a court far distant from the place where the causes upon its docket originate, is to legislate in direct opposition to their interests. With the judicial power of the Government well centralized more and more will be our enactments in the direction of centering executive and legislative power at the seat of the General Government.

In providing for the exercise of judicial power by creating courts inferior to the Supreme Court the Congress should consult the interests of the people whom they are intended to serve. Where the causes to be tried in these courts originate, where the parties and their witnesses reside, there such courts ought to be held.

United States courts have been established in each of the States and the organized Territories. In each of the smaller States there is a district court and also a circuit court. Other States have been divided into two or more districts, and in each there is a district and circuit court, and in other States districts have been divided into two or more parts, and in each division district and circuit courts are held. These facts show very plainly that our policy in the past has been to locate courts at such points as were most convenient for the people. In a government like ours, where the people are the source of all power, a different policy would be unwise. Of our Government it has been truly said that it is of the people and by and for them, and hence no law not in harmony with this fundamental principle ought to be enacted.

This bill in proposing to establish another court at Washington, with a jurisdiction coextensive with our territorial area, antagonizes the better interests of the people, and for this reason if for none other it ought not to become a law. The present laws which give to the circuit courts original and to the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction in patent controversies need no change, and of the changes suggested that of creating another court and putting it between these two high tribunals to review the one and then be reviewed by the other in patent causes to my mind is utterly destitute of merit.

Respecting appeals from the Commissioner of Patents, if the law ought to be different from what it is a change is easily made. Appeals from all rulings of the Commissioner of Patents may be authorized by amending the existing law upon that subject, and if there be doubt as to the validity of the law or the amendment it may be removed by enacting that such rulings, for appeal purposes, shall have the effect of judicial acts. But if the right of appeal from the Commissioner of Patents is to be enlarged, I shall insist that appeals to the supreme court of the District of Columbia shall be only in cases where the appellant is a resident of the District, and in all other cases the appeal shall be taken to the circuit court of the district wherein the appellant resides. Entertaining these views respecting the pending bill, my vote shall be against it becoming a law.

Effect of Tariff of 1857.

REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
October 4, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The tariff debate of this session—conspicuously the most exhaustive on the subject in our history—drew largely for facts and illustrations upon the legislation and coincident events of 1846 and 1857. There has been wide difference of statement touching occurrences of those years, occurrences so recent it would seem that controversy over them could scarcely be possible in our time. As bearing upon some of the disputed questions, the following letter from Hon. Edward McPherson is of interest and value. It rescues certain facts and connected incidents from obscurity and possible loss.

I avail myself, therefore, of the general leave, to place it in the RECORD where they will be permanently accessible:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 1, 1888

Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have noted the differences of statement in the House of Representatives some weeks ago respecting the financial and business condition of the country during the life of the tariff of 1857 and the administration of President Buchanan, and have felt a personal obligation to examine this point, because it involves the accuracy of a statement in a historical work prepared by me in 1864. I give to you, as one of the disputants, the result of the earliest examination of official records which it has been in my power to make.

The tariff act of 1857 was substantially coincident with the administration of President Buchanan which began March 4, 1857, and closed March 3, 1861. The act of 1857 was approved March 3, 1857, and was repealed August 5, 1861. As it and the administration came and went together they can be treated together. The tariff of 1857 became operative July 1, 1857. Within six weeks thereafter came a disastrous revulsion, which in all sections of the country prostrated business, paralyzed enterprise, and caused bankruptcy. Its relentless grip remained for three years scarcely shaken, and was finally loosened and lost in the superhuman energy excited, on both sides of the line, by the outbreak of the rebellion.

See how it affected the Government itself. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1857, the last quarter of which only was in Mr. Buchanan's term, there was an excess of revenues over ordinary expenditures of $1,169,604.91. On the next day after the close of that fiscal year the tariff act of 1857 took effect. In each of the next three fiscal years—those ended June 30, 1858, 1859, and 1860—there was an excess of ordinary expenditures over revenues in the sum of $50,180,406.09. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1861, three-fourths of which were covered by the Buchanan and only one-fourth by the Lincoln administration, the deficit was $25,035,714.50. These regularly-recurring deficits were endured with admirable fortitude by the Buchanan administration, which found relief from the inconvenience in regularly-recurring issues of interest-bearing Treasury notes and bonds.

These pregnant facts summarize the net results. When Mr. Buchanan took office the actual debt of the United States was about $12,000,000. The funded debt was a trifle over $30,000,000, but there was in the Treasury an available surplus of about $18,000,000. In President Buchanan's first summer, that of 1857, part of this surplus ($5,567,354) was applied to the purchase in open market of United States 6 per cent. bonds not then due, for which an average premium of 14 per cent. was paid. But before he could so apply the entire surplus the panic which followed within six months the enactment of the tariff of 1857, and within six weeks the operation of the tariff of 1857, quickly claimed the remaining surplus as its own. The funded debt, which had been reduced by these purchases to about twenty-five millions, sprang to forty-five millions in July, 1858; to about fifty-nine millions in July, 1859, and to about sixty-five millions in July, 1860; and the Government lived from December, 1857, to March, 1861, three and a half years, more or less largely upon borrowed money.

Mr. CARLISLE in his speech in the House of Representatives, May 19, 1888, says of the disastrous revulsion of 1857, which produced these astonishing results, that it was a comparatively insignificant incident, and that the country recovered from it in a few months. This extraordinary statement can not be harmonized with the fact that Mr. Secretary Cobb in his report of December, 1858, testifies to the continuance of financial difficulties during the whole of the fiscal year ended June 30, 1858; or with the statement of the same official in his report of December, 1859, that the business of the country was then one of only "comparative prosperity;" or with the fact that the price of wheat and other cereals did not recover up to the fall of 1860 the prices at which they had ruled before the panic; or with the fact that during all this time the Government was a steady borrower of money to an extent unprecedented in time of peace; or with the general fact that not while Mr. Buchanan was President and the tariff of 1857 existed did the country return to a condition of prosperity equal to that in which they found it. It is literally the truth, therefore, to say that the tariff of 1857 brought with it both national and individual bankruptcy, and maintained both to the end of its existence. It is difficult in the light of such facts to see how this period can be regarded an ideal period of prosperity.

During the Buchanan administration the low-water mark of United States credit was reached. In September, 1860, when ten millions of twenty-year 6 per cent. gold bonds for the redemption of Treasury notes were put upon the market and bid at from par to 1.45 per cent. premium, an increasing stringency of the money market, aided by malign influences from the Treasury Department itself,* so crippled credit that but $7,022,000 were actually taken.

In the extremity of diminishing receipts and continuing demands resort was again had to the issue of Treasury notes. On the 28th of December, 1860, ten millions of one-year Treasury notes were offered at public advertisement. The rate of interest on them was fixed in the law at 6 per cent., but in anticipation of inability to float them at that rate of interest the Secretary was authorized to issue them after advertisement at the lowest rates of interest offered by responsible bidders. When those bids were opened it was found that only two and a half millions of the ten millions offered were bid for, and that the rate of interest demanded in the bids varied from 6 per cent. to 36 per cent. Such anomalous bids can not be regarded as a fair test of the credit of the Government, for when dangers were greatest and clouds darkest its credit never fell to the level of this period. Their only proper interpretation is that they were a test of confidence in the administration then existing, which had at that moment little cohesion, no courage, and held out slight hope for the continued unity of the country. All bids at 12 per cent. and less were accepted, and the notes were issued accordingly at those rates.

There was great anxiety attendant upon this loan by reason of the fact that there was not then money enough in the Treasury to pay the interest on the public debt due on the fourth day thereafter. The New York newspapers of the day record the fact that "alarmed at the prospect of a default in the payment of the interest upon the national debt, Mr. Cisco, United States treasurer in New York City, communicated with some bankers and bank managers, and laid the facts before them. Mr. Vail, cashier of the Bank of Commerce, took up the matter warmly, and finding himself seconded by other patriotic citizens, succeeded in making up a purse of a million and a half, which was tendered to the Government this morning by telegraph, at 12 per cent. per annum. This sum will suffice to pay the interest of January on the public debt. As soon as it was known that the Bank of Commerce had tendered, several other parties in Wall street sent on bids at various rates of interest from 12 to 36 per cent., thus swelling the aggregate of the bids to nearly $2,500,000."

This loan served to ward off the immediate danger, but three weeks later it became necessary to sell five millions more of the same class of notes. On the 19th of January, 1861, those bids were opened, when it was found that over twelve millions were bid for, and that the rate of interest varied from 9 to only 20 per cent. This loan was equally divided among the lowest bidders at an average of nearly 11 per cent. interest.

These remarkable transactions have faded almost entirely from public recollection, and I doubt not there are gentlemen in the House who are not aware that they ever occurred. I can find in the printed reports of the Treasury Department no record of the bids for these two loans. I have taken the pains to make copies of them from the New York Tribune and the New York Herald of that day, and will append them to this letter, marking them Exhibit A and Exhibit B. I may add that the History of the National Loans, a Treasury publication, printed in 1882, prepared by Mr. R. A. Bayley, and dramatically handled by Mr. CARLISLE during his speech in the House, contains, on page 75, a summary of the issues under these bids, not, however, naming the dates.

It is claimed by the Treasury Department that these notes were sold "at par." It is true that they were issued dollar for dollar. In that sense they were sold "at par," as claimed. But a one-year Treasury note offered at 6 per cent. interest, and refused unless the rate be changed to a higher rate, and as to about half the loan issued at double that rate of interest, is not correctly described as "sold at par." An excessive rate of interest is always proof of the credit of the borrower, and is the discount of the lender. These loans were not "par loans" as those words are used in the commercial world.

The inevitable conclusion from all these facts is that the dreariest page in the history of the United States is that of the Buchanan administration, and that the tariff act most disastrous to the country and the Treasury was that of 1857.

Very respectfully, yours, EDWD. McPHERSON.

EXHIBIT A.—*List of bids for ten million of 6 per cent. Treasury notes, December 28, 1860.*

Names of bidders.	Amount.	Per cent.
Thomas J. Waarner, New York	$60,000	25
Field & McLean, New York	25,000	12
Do	25,000	15
Do	5,000	30
John Barne, Washington	3,500	6
John T. Wright, New York	4,000	7
John F. Langdon, Vermont	5,600	9¾
Do	5,000	19¼
Amos Townsend, cashier bank, New Haven	10,000	8
Do	10,000	9
Do	5,000	8½
Samuel Debke, New York	4,000	8
William E. Brown, New York	1,000	7
Do	1,500	8
I. F. Huntington, New York	50,000	18
Do	25,000	24
Bank of Commerce of New York, for self and others	1,500,000	12
L. M. Swann, New York	10,000	18
Farmers' Bank, Lancaster, Pa	7,000	8
Do	8,000	8½
Do	10,000	9
Do	10,000	10
R. L. & A. Stuart, New York	116,000	12
Do	80,000	12
Do	56,000	12
Edward J. King, New York	5,000	10
Do	10,000	12
Field & McLean, New York	10,000	36
Do	70,000	24
C. F. Carleton, New York	30,000	25
C. S. Bishop, New York	20,000	10
Do	10,000	9
Do	20,000	9½
T. P. James & Co., New York	25,000	12
Do	25,000	15
Do	25,000	18
Do	25,000	21
Do	100,000	24
George H. Norman	20,000	8½
Sayre & Co	3,000	10
Levi Hasbrouck	2,000	8
William B. Slocum, New York	1,000	10½
Total	2,429,000	

NOTE.—The subscribers to the bid of a million and a half made by the Bank of Commerce were as follows:

Bank of Commerce, $300,000; American Exchange Bank, $250,000; City Bank, $100,000; Bank of Republic, $100,000; Bank for Savings, $100,000; Seaman's Bank for Savings, $100,000; Charles H. Russell, $100,000; William Whitewright, jr., $75,000; James Sampson, $50,000; Grant & Barton, $50,000; M. Morgan & Sons, $50,000; United States Trust Company, $50,000; William B. Astor, $30,000; Duncan, Sherman & Co., $25,000; Ward & Co., $25,000; W. S. Horriman, $20,000; Henry F. Vail, $15,000; S. S. Sands & Co., $10,000; Mechanics' Bank, $50,000.

*From the New York Herald, December 29, 1860: "This is not a time for hesitation or half-way measures. There has been quite enough blundering in the Treasury Department. The late Secretary, Mr. Howell Cobb, before he ran away to Georgia, labored efficiently to destroy the credit of the United States. Let us hope that Mr. Thomas, his successor, will not follow in his footsteps in this respect."

EXHIBIT B.—*List of bids for five millions of 6 per cent. Treasury notes, January 19, 1861.*

Names of bidders.	Amount.	Per cent.
Bank of Commerce, New York	$4,000,000	11
H. F. Vail, acting for other persons	2,500,000	12
W. H. Slocum, New York	2,000	12
Ward & Co., New York	50,000	10¾
B. W. Plum & Co., New York	5,000	10
J. Dennis, jr., Washington, D. C.	2,000	9¾
Taylor Bros., New York	20,000	10
Do	5,000	15
H. F. Vail, acting for others	100,000	10¾
Do	100,000	10½
Field & McLean, New York	50,000	10
Do	50,000	10½
Do	50,000	10½
J. T. Wright, New York	10,000	9
Elias Kennedy, Philadelphia	10,000	20
Solomon A. Greer, Boston	5,000	12
Hartford Insurance Company	25,000	11
Do	25,000	12
H. B. Cranston, Newport, R. I.	2,000	12
Frederick A. Benjamin, New York	5,000	11½
Benjamin C. Wardell, New York	5,000	12
Neptune Insurance Company, New York	25,000	12
Francis Goodrich, New York	6,000	12
Lewis McGregor	4,200	12
Chester W. Chapin, Boston	65,000	12
Trevor & Colgate, New York	100,000	10¾
Eugene Kettell, New York	32,000	10
Henry L. King, New York	10,000	12
Nathaniel Bradford, jr., New York	50,000	12
L. P. Bennett, Guilford, Conn	4,000	12
E. S. Cassatt, Philadelphia	20,000	12
E. Beardsley, New York	5,000	10
Charles A. Hamilton, treasurer, New York	20,000	9
Do	20,000	9½
Do	10,000	10
John Hooper, New York	10,000	12
S. J. Sylvester, New York	15,000	10½
S. J. Sylvester, New York	10,000	11
Washington Marine Insurance Company, New York	20,000	9½
Underhill & Hance, New York	10,000	10¾
Livermore, Clews & Mason, New York	25,000	9¾
Do	25,000	10
Do	25,000	10½
Do	25,000	11
Do	25,000	12
Samuel Miller, New York	53,000	12
Sherman & Romayne, New York	5,000	10
Do	5,000	11
Do	5,000	11½
Dry Dock Savings Institution, New York	100,000	9½
William M. Macallister, New York	3,000	10½
J. F. Randolph, New York	5,000	10
George L. Stevenson & Co., New York	5,000	11½
William A. Timson, New York	4,000	12
Lawrence & Co., New London	5,000	11
E. H. Arthur, New York	100,000	11
Do	200,000	12
T. G. Thurston, New York	10,000	9¾
R. L. & A. Stuart, New York	50,000	10½
Do	50,000	10½
Do	50,000	10
George W. Hatsmer, New York	10,000	12
Salem 5 per cent. Savings Bank, Massachusetts	50,000	10
R. M. Fake, New York	10,000	11¾
Underhill & Havens, New York	20,000	11¾
Do	10,000	12
E. & J. Brown, New York	50,000	10
H. B. Smith, New York	45,000	10¾
A. B. Oppenheimer, New York	5,500	12
Alexander Hawkins, New York	5,000	10
Junius C. Adams, New York	10,000	12
Hewlett & Torrance, New York	20,000	12
Washington Ritter, New York	10,000	11
Deforest & Palmer, New York	50,000	10¾
Do	50,000	10½
Rudolph Ellis, Philadelphia	100,000	10
Do	25,000	11
Do	25,000	12
James T. Bingham, Philadelphia	10,000	11
Searing & Brother, New York	3,000	11¾
John H. Strain, Washington, D. C.	5,000	10
William A. Richmond, New York	2,000	12
Do	2,000	11
Do	2,000	10
Jerome, Fitzpatrick & Co., New York	50,000	10
Joel Ives, New York	10,000	10
Do	10,000	12
Ketcham, Son & Co., New York	150,000	10¾
Timothy C. Leeds, New York	25,000	12
The Cuyler Bank, Palmyra, N. Y.	10,000	11
Do	15,000	12
Bank of Saratoga Springs, Saratoga	5,000	11
Grant & Barton, New York	150,000	10¾
Cortland De P. Field, New York	2,000	11
Do	2,000	11¾
Spence & Reid, Baltimore	25,000	12
Merritt Trimble, New York	50,000	10¾
Samuel C. Thompson, New York	10,000	10¾
Do	10,000	11
W. C. Berson, Washington	50,000	10½
Bliss, Williams & Co., New York	125,000	11
Do	25,000	11½
Do	25,000	11½
Do	25,000	11¾
Do	100,000	12
Field & McLean, New York	100,000	10
W. T. Hooper, New York	11,000	10

List of bids for five millions of 6 per cent. Treasury notes, etc.—Continued.

Names of bidders.	Amount.	Per cent.
Benjamin H. Field, New York	$40,000	12
Do	10,000	11
Clark, Dodge & Co., New York	20,000	10¾
T. P. James & Co., New York	100,000	10½
Mason & Thompson, New York	40,000	10
Do	10,000	11
Do	10,000	12
East River Savings Institution, New York	50,000	12
E. Whitehouse, Son & Morrison, New York	170,000	10¾
Do	100,000	11
Do	30,000	12
Clark, Dodge & Co., New York	200,000	10½
Do	140,000	11
Do	10,000	11½
T. P. James & Co., New York	10,000	10
Do	120,000	11
Do	20,000	12
R. L. & A. Stuart, New York	30,000	10
Do	30,000	10
Do	50,000	11
Do	20,000	9¾
Do	40,000	10¾
Do	10,000	10½
New York Tribune Association, New York	50,000	10½
Reid, Drexell & Co., New York	400,000	10¾
Do	10,000	12
Edward J. King, New York	5,000	10½
Do	10,000	10½
Do	12,000	10¾
Deforest & Palmer, New York	50,000	11½
Samuel S. Sand	10,000	12
Do	5,000	11¾
Henry Beers, Glover, N. Y.	3,000	11
McKim & Co., Baltimore	10,000	11
Do	10,000	11½
Do	20,000	11¾
A. L. Dennis, New York	10,000	11
Do	10,000	12
Do	10,000	13
Do	20,000	15
John Flanders, New York	10,000	10
Do	500	12
T. G. Vanvleck, New York	15,000	10
T. J. Vanvleck, New York	15,000	11
Do	20,000	12
Do	250,000	11
Do	10,000	10¾
Do	10,000	8½
Charles E. Ward, New York	2,000	12
Do	2,000	10
Solomon Sturgis, Chicago	10,000	9½
Do	10,000	9¾
Do	10,000	10½
Spencer K. Green, New York	10,000	12½
Do	5,000	10
Do	5,000	10½
Do	5,000	11
Do	10,000	12
Samuel Hallet & Co., New York	50,000	10
Samuel Brooke, New York	4,500	12
Total	12,200,700	

Tariff Reform and Pensions.

SPEECH

OF

HON. S. S. YODER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, October 8, 1888,

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. YODER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: So long as there existed any reasonable hope of the passage by Congress of some measures of relief to the people from an oppressive and monstrous unjust taxation, I was content to remain silent; but now, when the last hope to accomplish any beneficial legislation in that direction in this session of Congress has expired with the majority report of a bill in the Senate of such a nature and so radically different from the House bill in the matter of revenue that it is apparent that the people and wage-workers, as well as many unprotected industries, can not expect any relief, and that the House will never consent to such a measure and that the Senate can not, nor do the Republicans expect even to attempt to pass such an unjust tariff bill, I deem it a duty I owe to my constituents to give my views on a question that is of so much interest to all.

Months ago the House passed a bill, which if it had become a law, would greatly relieve the people from burdensome taxation, and would do violence nor injustice to no interests. It is a prudent and carefully

considered measure. It was passed, not hastily, but after the fullest discussion and the most careful consideration. Every interest was carefully and most thoroughly consulted. The Mills bill, as it is called, contemplates the accomplishment of the object of relief the people had a right to expect from Congress, the reduction of the surplus accumulation in the Treasury, and relieve labor from burdens, and afford steady employment by cheapening raw material, enabling manufacturers to pay better wages, and to relieve our farmers from paying the enormous sum of 47.1 per cent. tax on everything they buy.

If the report of the Senate should be adopted, the surplus would be reduced, but instead of relief from taxation, the burdens of this class would be actually increased.

It was loudly proclaimed by orators and subsidized newspapers, while they thought they could alarm the people and thereby prevent any legislation in the interest of relief, that there was no necessity for reduction of the tariff, and that the mere fact of agitation of such a proposition was rank British free-trade heresy in the interest of England, and that many industries were actually ruined by the attempt to pass the Mills bill. Only the other night it was proclaimed by Governor Foraker that the surplus had vanished and no more necessity for its reduction existed. "Why not let it alone?" he exclaimed. Mr. Blaine protested that no reduction was necessary.

Yet when they discovered the tidal wave of revenue reform come rolling from the Western prairies, the Northwest, from the East, and from all points of the compass they have concluded to erect a temporary shelter, to erect breakers to stem the tide until after the election, by promising to reduce the surplus $15,000,000 more than is provided for in the Mills bill. This jugglery will deceive no voters. They say in their report that reduction of revenue is demanded and absolutely necessary. When was this discovery made? Did they not say the same thing in 1883? Was it not said by Grant, Arthur, Garfield, and all their leading statesmen? What have they done to redeem their pledges to the people? The commission in 1883 recommended a reduction of the tariff of 20 per cent., and thought it would reach 25 per cent., yet the result was an actual increase. So it will be again if they succeed in the election.

The Mills bill was the result of a demand by the President, the people, and the Democratic national convention, and was passed by the Representatives of the people through the House. The Senate substitute comes directly from the Republican majority in that body. Senators are not directly responsible to the people. They are elected by States and are prohibited by the Constitution from originating revenue bills. In this substitute the majority of the Senate do not represent the people. They not even represent the policy of the Republican national platform. They say in their platforms—

If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes, rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system.

Now, this substitute proposes to surrender a large part of protection. Here is a Republican committee, with no party behind it, at variance with their platform. This is an exhibition of political importance quite unparalleled. They report a tariff bill, to prepare which they have kept Congress in session ten months, so complicated by changes from ad valorem to specific and the reverse that none but experts will ever be able to understand what changes will be made, just as they did in 1883, when they said they would reduce the tax 20 per cent., and the people believed it until after the law was passed.

This Republican bill cuts down revenue by increasing the taxes on many of the necessaries of life; the way in which the monopolists would be glad to cut down revenue, but it is not the way the people, who have to pay the taxes, prefer.

To make blankets and the coarser and cheaper woolen goods worn by the mass of people dearer by higher duties is a way to cut down revenue, but it cuts revenue by forcing the laboring people to pay higher rates for the necessaries and comforts of their lives and putting the added exactions into the pockets of monopolists, while keeping them out of the Treasury.

This Republican tariff bill ought to be entitled "a bill to rob the laboring masses for the profit of monopolists and to facilitate and invite the formation of trusts." If it could become a law it would increase oppression of the present tariff, and would still further impoverish the farmers, mechanics, and workingmen of the country.

The Mills bill is a step in the right direction. It makes raw material free and thus cheapens the goods used by the poorer millions and draws the teeth of monopolies. This Republican bill is a long step in the wrong direction. It aims to make the poor pay even more than the present iniquitous and monopolistic tariff, and it offers a direct encouragement to the extension of trusts and combines in the necessaries of life. That is the difference between the two bills.

As to the necessity of some change and reduction of taxation there is, in fact, no controversy, and it is only necessary to call attention to the Republican platforms and the messages of Republican Presidents, the reports of Republican secretaries, as well as the expressions of the acknowledged leaders of that party to convince the most skeptical that the Republican as well as the Democratic party favors reduction of taxation.

In proof of this statement, if it were necessary, I could occupy my time in quoting from Republican authority. I will give a few quotations:

[President Grant, annual message, December, 1875.]

Many duties now collected, and which give but an insignificant return for the cost of collection, might be remitted, and to the direct advantage of consumers at home. I would mention those articles which enter into manufactures of all sorts. All duty paid upon such articles goes directly to the cost of the article when manufactured here, and must be paid for by the consumers. These duties not only come from the consumers at home, but act as a protection to foreign manufacturers of the same completed articles in our own and distant markets.

[Arthur's second annual message, December 4, 1882.]

The present tariff system is in many respects unjust. It makes unequal distribution, both of its burdens and its benefits. This fact was practically recognized by a majority of each House of Congress in the passage of the act creating the Tariff Commission.

[James A. Garfield, April 1, 1870.]

I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the prices as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily we shall year by year approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade.

[Henry Wilson, late Vice-President.]

Men who have looked with a hungry eye upon a Treasury overflowing with surplus millions do not wish to see the source from which these coveted millions are derived dried up. Now, as in times past, political ambition is not unwilling to sacrifice the business interests of the country in the hope to win political power. * * * I think American labor will be best protected by taxing all the necessaries of life lightly; placing the raw materials which enter into our manufactures on the free-list; raising revenue to support the Government upon articles that come in competition with our manufactures and upon the luxuries of life, which are consumed by the more wealthy classes of society.

[Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, April 30, 1872.]

Now, I wish to say to the Senate that I am strongly convinced that we should go further, and reduce the tariff in material respects upon many other articles. * * * The country expects a large reduction, the country knows that it can be made, the country has been promised this reduction, and the dominant party here is responsible to the country for this reduction, and will be held responsible if it is not made.

[Benjamin Harrison, November 28, 1882.]

The creation of the Tariff Commission was a confession that the tariff needs revision. If the report comes in it should be promptly acted upon. My opinion is that no time should be lost after Congress assembles in bringing forward these measures, and that no time should be lost during the holidays by adjournment.

[Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, 1867.]

In considering so complicated a subject as a tariff, nothing can be more deceptive than the application of such general phrases as a "protective tariff," "a revenue tariff," "a free-trade tariff." Every law imposing a duty on imported goods is necessarily a restraint on trade. It imposes a burden upon the purchase and sale of imported goods and tends to prevent every importation. The expression "a free-trade tariff" involves an absurdity. If you converse with intelligent men engaged in the business of manufacturing they will tell you that they are willing to compete with England, France, Germany, and all the countries of Europe, at the old rates of duty. If you reduce their products to a specie basis, and put them on the same footing they were on before the war, the present rates of duty would be too high. It would not be necessary for scarce any branch of industry to be protected to the extent of your present tariff law They do not ask protection against the pauper labor of Europe, but they ask protection against the creation of your own laws.

[James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, 1881.]

The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week:

Spinners: English, $7.20 to $8.40 (master spinners running as high as $12); American, $7.07 to $10.30.

Weavers: English $3.84 to $8.64, subject, at the date on which these rates were given, to a reduction of 10 per cent.; American, $4.82 to $8.73.

The average wages of employés in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men, $8.30; women, $5.62; male children, $3.11; female children, $3.08. According to Consul Shaw's report, the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.; women, from $3.40 to $4.30, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.

The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are fifty-six, in the Massachusetts mills sixty per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually sixty-six to sixty-nine per week.

Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton-goods trade of the world.

From these returns it is seen that every American spindle consumes 66 pounds of raw cotton, while each British spindle consumes only 32 pounds, or less than one-half the American consumption per spindle.

It thus appears that each American operative works up as much raw material as two British operatives, turns out nearly $1.50 worth of manufactures to the British operative's $1 worth, and even in piece goods, where the superior quality and weight of the American goods are so marked, the American operative turned out 2.75 yards to 2.50 yards by the British operative.

[James G. Blaine on lumber—June 10, 1868.]

During the entire war, when we were seeking everything on the earth and in the skies and in the waters under the earth out of which taxation could be wrung, it never entered into the conception of Congress to tax breadstuffs—never. During the most pressing exigencies of the terrible contest in which we were engaged, neither breadstuffs nor lumber ever became the subject of one penny of taxation. * * * Now, as to the article of lumber, I again remind the House that there has never been a tax upon this article. The gentleman from Ohio may talk on this question as he pleases, but I say that wherever the Western frontiersman undertakes to make for himself a home, to till the soil, to carry on the business of life, he needs lumber for his cabin, he needs lumber for his fence, he needs lumber for his wagon or cart, he needs lumber for his plow, he needs lumber for almost every purpose in his daily life.

[Senator INGALLS, February 15, 1878.]

We can not disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revo-

lution; the old issues are dead! The people are arraying themselves upon one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side is capital, formidably intrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious to old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign commerce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own standard. On the other is labor, asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature, and subduing the wilderness; labor, starving and sullen in cities, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer; a system which gives to a Vanderbilt the possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice and condems the poor to a poverty which has no refuge from starvation but the prison or the grave.

[Justice Miller, of the United States Supreme Court, in Loan Association vs. Topeka. 20 Wallace.]

To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. A "tax," says Webster's Dictionary, "is a rate or sum of money assessed on the person or property of a citizen by Government for the use of the nation or State." Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the Legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes.

We have established, we think, beyond cavil that there can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose.

If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the inn-keeper, the banker, the builder, the steam-boat owner, are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town.

[National Republican platform, 1868.]

It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

[National Republican platform, 1884.]

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus.

[Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury. Recommendations in report, 1884.]

First. That the existing duties upon raw materials which are to be used in manufacture should be removed. This can be done in the interest of our foreign trade.

Second. That the duties upon the articles used or consumed by those who are the least able to bear the burden of taxation should be reduced. This also can be effected without prejudice to our export trade.

[Representative NELSON, of Minnesota, March 29, 1888.]

In the face of these platform pledges; in the face of these admissions from unwilling witnesses; in the face of the large, ever-growing and threatening surplus, taken from the people by taxation and used by certain banks without any consideration therefor; and in the face of the fact that so many of the barest necessaries of life are loaded down with the highest kind of tariff taxes, it makes me sick at heart to think that there are leading men on this side of the Chamber who can find at this juncture, and under these circumstances, no other field for tariff reduction than the internal-revenue taxes on spirits and tobacco. Surely these things are not the diet on which the poor laboring man keeps his family.

Worthier, better, and juster, it seems to my mind, would it be to give our people—the toiling masses—cheaper food, cheaper fuel, cheaper clothing, and cheaper shelter—cheaper because released from the heavy and unnecessary bondage of high-tariff taxes. I will put free sugar, free coal, free salt, and free lumber against free whisky and free tobacco under all circumstances, and so will the great mass of the American people.

[Senator JOHN SHERMAN, January, 1888.]

The tariff ought to be carefully revised with a view to correct any inequalities or incongruities that have grown out of the change of values since the passage of the act of 1883; every imported article which does not compete with our domestic industry and is essential to the comfort and wants of our people should be placed on the free-list; every raw material of industry which does not compete with our own productions should be specially selected for the free-list.

[Representative FITCH, of New York, May 16, 1888.]

In the interests of the Republican party, and in the interest of common fairness, I propose to ask gentlemen on this side of the House to consider for a moment how the present tariff, which we have promised to revise, now affects the people whom I have described, and to consider what they pay taxes on in the general distribution of the customs taxes now in force.

They pay upon everything. Look for a moment at what they eat. There is a tariff duty on beef, on pork, hams and bacon, butter and lard, cheese, molasses, grapes, wheat flour, oats, corn meal, rye, barley, potatoes, raisins, vinegar, honey, rice and rice meal, sugar, extract of meat, pickles, currants, apples, salt, and condensed milk. The list is substantially an inventory of the stock of the grocery store at which they buy. There is a duty on the coal which warms them, on their cooking and household utensils, on their entire clothing from their hats to their stockings, on the medicines given them when they are sick, and on the roofs over their heads.

* * * The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free-list and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions, at which the Commission has aimed is not less on the average than 20 per cent., and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent.

[Senator P. B. PLUMB, of Kansas, January 17, 1883.]

I was talking with a farmer from Massachusetts to-day about this thing. He said he had as good a farm as there was in the Old Bay State, and yet he said that he could barely make both ends meet, and he complained to me that one of the reasons why he could not do so was because everything else that surrounded him was so much protected that it simply took the difference between profit and loss in his calling and left him a very slim chance indeed from year to year.

In 1867 JOHN SHERMAN said:

"It is, therefore, simply an absurdity to talk now about free trade tariff, and to talk about a protective tariff is unnecessary, because the wit of man could not possibly frame a tariff that would produce $140,000,000 in gold without amply protecting our domestic industry."

Surely no Republican will dispute the authorities I have given, as they are all from leading and recognized Republican statesmen. To listen to the Republican orators and read their journals, one would think that the provisions of the Mills bill were a new departure in the theory and policy of our Government, when the truth is that the very doctrine involved is as old as free government, and has been advocated and taught by all our great statesmen since the days of Washington. Andrew Jackson, one of the great sages and champions of the people's rights, said:

[Jackson's eighth annual message, December 6, 1836.]

In reducing the revenue to the wants of the Government, your particular attention is invited to those articles which constitute the necessaries of life. The duty on salt was laid as a war tax, and was no doubt continued to assist in providing for the payment of the war debt. There is no article the release of which from taxation would be felt so generally and so beneficially. To this may be added all kinds of fuel and provisions. Justice and benevolence unite in favor of releasing the poor of our cities from burdens which are not necessary to the support of our Government, and tend only to increase the wants of the destitute.

[Jackson's farewell address, March 3, 1837.]

There is perhaps no one of the powers conferred on the Federal Government so liable to abuse as the taxing power. The most productive and convenient sources of revenue were necessarily given to it, that it might be able to perform the important duties imposed upon it; and the taxes which it lays upon commerce being concealed from the real payer in the price of the article, they do not so readily attract the attention of the people as smaller sums demanded from them directly by the tax-gatherer. But the tax imposed on goods enhances so much the price of the commodity to the consumer, and as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity, which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imposts is drawn from their pockets.

Congress has no right, under the Constitution, to take money from the people unless it is required to execute some one of the specific powers intrusted to the Government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes it is an abuse of the power of taxation, and unjust and oppressive. It may, indeed, happen that the revenue will sometimes exceed the amount anticipated when the taxes were laid. When, however, this is ascertained, it is easy to reduce them; for in such a case it is unquestionably the duty of the Government to reduce them, for no circumstances can justify it in assuming a power not given to it by the Constitution, nor in taking away the money of the people when it is not needed for the legitimate wants of the Government. * * *

There is but one safe rule, and that is to confine the General Government rigidly within the sphere of its appropriate duties. It has no power to raise a revenue or impose taxes, except for the purposes enumerated in the Constitution, and if its income is found to exceed these wants, it should be forthwith reduced, and the burdens of the people so far lightened.

[Polk's inaugural address, March 4, 1845.]

In executing this power by levying a tariff of duties for the support of Government, the raising of revenue should be the object, and protection the incident. To reverse this principle and make protection the object and revenue the incident, would be to inflict manifest injustice upon all other than the protected interests. In levying duties for revenue, it is doubtless proper to make such discriminations within the revenue principles as will afford incidental protection to our home interests. Within the revenue limit there is a discretion to discriminate; beyond that limit the rightful exercise of the power is not conceded. The incidental protection afforded to our home interests by discriminations within the revenue range, it is believed will be ample. In making discriminations all our home interests should, as far as practicable, be equally protected.

It is an admitted fact, then, that both political parties desire the taxes reduced in order to reduce the surplus, but they differ greatly as to the reason for it and consequently as to the methods of reduction, and so strong is the feeling in both parties that no compromise is possible. The Republican party maintains that the surplus—the accumulation of money in the Treasury—is the only charge; that to get rid of this surplus is the only object. On the other hand the Democrats not only consider the surplus an evil but they consider it the cause of even a greater wrong—one that is felt by every man, woman, and child—excessive taxation.

We derive our revenue mainly from internal taxes and tariff taxes. The internal taxes are simple and easily understood. The tariff taxes are obscure, complex, and difficult to understand. Every dollar in the direct internal-revenue tax goes to the Treasury, while in the tariff taxes it is safe to state that not more than one out of every five dollars reaches the Treasury. In fact, it is a part of high protectionist policy to make this tax so high that not one cent will come to the support of the Government and thus reduce the surplus. They say in their platforms that they are in favor of abolishing the entire internal-revenue tax rather than surrender one dollar of tariff taxation; or, in other words, rather than give a laboring man a cheaper dinner-bucket, cheaper clothing, or cheaper salt, rather than give the farmer cheaper woolens, cheaper agricultural implements, cheaper pine lumber, and shingles, window-glass or hardware, they will give him free whisky, free tobacco, free beer!

The Democrats, on the other hand, believe in reducing the tax on all raw material that goes into manufactured goods, thus giving manufacturers cheaper raw material to enable them to compete with foreign manufacturers in the markets of the world, and also enable them to pay higher wages to their employés and give remunerative employment to the laborers and in reducing the tax upon the necessities of the farmer and the laboring men, which will enable them to purchase more of their necessaries with their hard earned wages and small profits on their farms. The Democratic party believes that great and threatening as are the evils of the surplus in the Treasury, that the ever increasing burdensome taxes that bear so heavily upon all consumers is a vastly greater evil—an evil tending to enrich a favored few while it impoverishes the many—creating combinations, monopolies, and trusts, the curse of our free country, and "threatening to shake the very foundation of our Union."

I take it, then, that the issue is distinctly and well understood. The Republican party desires to get rid of the surplus only, while we con-

tend that we must get rid of the unnecessary tax which creates the surplus, and which is a greater evil than the surplus itself. After all demands against the Government have been provided for there is left a surplus of $129,000,000, which represents the sum wrung from the people by excessive and unjust taxation. The Mills bill proposes to reduce this surplus by remitting taxation to the amount of $59,591,638. By reducing taxation $4.61 on the present average rate on every $100, or from 47.10 per cent. to 42.49 per cent., is called a free-trade measure.

The Republican commission, appointed by President Hayes, a Republican and protectionist, recommended a reduction of 20 per cent., instead of less than 5 per cent. as the Mills bill proposes, and yet I do not remember that it was denounced as a free-trade measure by some of the men who are now the leaders of this party. The complaint is that sugar was not reduced enough. The cut on sugar is nearly twice as much as on all other articles combined, except woolens, and far greater than on woolens. The theory of high protection for the sake of protecting special interests is a monstrous outrage, suited only to aristocratic governments, that tolerate privileged classes, pauperizing many.

Governments supremely selfish, like Germany, where Bismarck reigns supreme and where labor is degraded and illy remunerated, where William is Emperor, where military despotism and nobility is almost absolute, has been held up by Republicans as a good authority to quote on political economy. Whose opinions should be followed and whose ideas should be adopted by free Americans? Twenty years more of unnecessary taxation, high tariff, trust creating robbery in this country will bring us nearer Bismarck's idea of a government. I only wonder that "the uncrowned king and greatest statesman of America," while abroad, did not visit and embrace his crowned brother protectionist, William, and observe the degradation, starvation, and suffering of the laboring men in Germany.

There is no need of trusts there. Bismarck is to-day the biggest trust on earth. "Whether harmful or not, no public or private citizen" of Germany has any right to interfere; "He fries the fat" out of the entire people of his empire. He is the king boss of the highest protection country and the poorest paid laborers in Europe. The Republican party claims to be the friend of labor. Its votaries say that the laborer can not compete with the poorly paid laborer of foreign lands. Mr. Blaine says:

> This is a question of labor from the skin to the core and from the core back to the skin again.

That capital needs no protection; manufacturers can protect themselves. "But the poor laborer" is what troubles his soul. Oh, no! Andrew Carnegie needs no protection. He, while his employés are to-day on a strike for living wages, is perfectly contented to draw his $1,500,000 clear of profits yearly; only a little over $4,000 every day all the year round; he needs no protection. It is only his starving, striking employés whom Mr. Blaine wants protected.

Why, they are so solicitous of these poor laborers and so anxious to protect them that they even go to the expense of employing Pinkerton detectives and arm them with repeating rifles to protect and see that no harm comes to them. What more do these discontented laborers want? Are they not amply protected? But, seriously, let us see how laboring men are protected. The Republican party has lined the seacoast with custom-houses, has covered the ocean with ships, and filled our statute-books with enactments to keep out the products of foreign pauper labor. What enactments have they ever passed or what obstruction have they ever offered to keep the pauper laborers themselves from coming into this country and competing directly with our native laborer? The only protection that labor ever had is that afforded themselves by organized associations. They have no other protection against capital nor against foreign competition. What laws did the Republicans, during all the time they were in power, who love these laboring men so much and feel so solicitous after their welfare, ever passed to protect them against foreign pauper labor?

My colleague from Pennsylvania, General MAISH, very ably answered this inquiry when he said in his speech on the tariff:

> The effort of the Republicans to show that they are *par excellence* the friends of the laboring classes will always remain one of the memorable features of this debate. In their desparate endeavor to maintain monopoly, in all the insolence of its power, they have the temerity to pose before the country as the champions of labor. The position is an impossible one.
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> But actions speak louder than words. Let us examine the conduct of the Republican party towards the workingmen of this country.
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> In 1864 the Republican party enacted the following law:
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> "That all contracts that shall be made by emigrants to the United States in foreign countries in conformity with the regulations that may be established by the commissioners of emigration, whereby emigrants shall pledge the wages of their labor for a term not exceeding twelve months to repay the expenses of their emigration, shall be held to be valid in law, and may be enforced in the courts of the United States or of the several States and Territories, and such advances, if so stipulated in the contract and the contract be recorded in the recorder's office in the county where the emigrant shall settle, shall operate as a lien upon any land thereafter acquired by the emigrant, whether under the homestead law where the title is consummated, or on property otherwise acquired, until liquidated by the emigrant; but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize any contract contravening the Constitution of the United States, or creating in any way the relation of slavery or servitude."
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> This remarkable statute authorized the importation of foreign pauper labor under a contract providing that the wages of the emigrant shall belong to the party with whom he made the contract for a period of twelve months, and the strong arm of the courts of the United States could be invoked to enforce its stipulations. It authorized a lien to be put upon any land that the emigrant might acquire, and having thus put the badge of servitude upon him we are coolly asked to hold that nothing in this contract shall be taken or deemed as creating "in any way the relation of slavery or servitude." The concluding paragraph of this statute betrays the guilt of its framers.

Free trade in labor and protection on everything the laborer buys, and that is called protection to American labor! You find the greater number of strikes, suffering and degradation in the high protected industries. We can not protect cotton by putting a tariff on iron. We can not protect labor by putting a tariff on manufactured goods. The attempt is made by politicians to deceive laboring men by telling them that tariff on manufactured goods will give them higher wages. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The only way you can protect labor is to put the tariff on men and not on goods. They are shipping laborers into this country now almost as cheap as goods, at the rate of 30,000 per month. Upon this subject Mr. Powderly, a leading representative of labor, recently used the following language:

> Nine million seven hundred thousand immigrants have landed since 1860—more than the combined population of New York and Pennsylvania, and as much as the total population of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Dakota, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington Territory, West Virginia, and Wyoming. The population which came previous to 1860 was civilized; that which comes to-day is, in a great proportion, semi-barbarous.
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> So long as this tide of unrestricted immigration is permitted to sweep in they will take no steps to reform conditions at home. We must check it at once, or, instead of Americanizing those who come, they will Europeanize us.

Nine-tenths of all the laborers in New England, as testified to by a commissioner of labor, are foreigners.

Senator SHERMAN, one of the ablest Republican statesmen of the country, has said:

> The duty of Congress is to protect the industries of this country from undue competition with the laborers of Europe.

This is in direct contradiction to the assertion of Mr. Blaine, that "capital needs no protection." Mr. SHERMAN'S statement as to the object of high protection is correct. Mr. Blaine's is intended to deceive the laboring men. Let us see if the industries are sufficiently protected. Mr. FORD, of Michigan, said in his speech on the tariff:

> What profit do these men make? That is a very difficult matter to arrive at. There is no law which requires them to make a statement of their gains and losses, and so any knowledge on that subject is not easy to obtain. But occasionally something occurs which compels a disclosure. An instance of this kind is found in a suit between the stockholders of the Jackson Iron Mining Company in the Lake Superior country. The Jackson mine, in all respects, is an average of the iron mines in Michigan. In that suit, in 1883, it became necessary to know the exact dividends declared by that company for the past twenty years. The secretary of the company took the witness-stand and testified that since the organization of the company in 1863 (twenty years) they have declared a total dividend of 1,785 per cent., an average of 89½ per cent. a year. Their original capital stock was $300,000, the dividends declared had been $5,355,000, and the value of the plant in 1883 was $1,500,000. So, out of an original investment of $300,000 the stockholders had taken out over $5,000,000 in profits, and they still had a plant left valued at $1,500,000, which alone was 500 per cent. more than they had originally invested, making a total of 2,300 per cent. profit in twenty years, or an average of 215 per cent. a year. But still these men now say they can not compete against the pauper labor of Europe, and demand that the duty of 75 cents a ton on iron ore be left unmolested.
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> Take the copper mines. The Quincy Copper Mining Company of Michigan, in the ten years ending with 1881, paid an average dividend of 50 per cent. per year. The Calumet and Hecla copper mine, with about a million dollars invested, pays over 200 per cent. every year. In 1861, when every expedient known to taxation was resorted to, to raise a revenue to carry on the war of the rebellion, among other taxes there was a duty of 2 cents a pound placed on copper pigs.
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> Finally the war ended, and the necessity for a large revenue did not exist. But in the mean time the copper-mine owners of Michigan had had a taste of this "protection against the pauper labor of Europe," and they sent a lobby down here and got the tariff on copper increased to 4 cents a pound. Think of it! A war tariff of 2 cents, a peace tariff of 4 cents. This duty is practically prohibitory. Last year the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company paid a dividend of $2,250,000—over 200 per cent.—and the Government received in revenue from imported copper pigs the princely sum of $40. And this same company has shipped copper to England, and, after paying the transportation charges, they have sold it at a less price than it is sold in New York. And yet they have the effrontery to say that they can not compete against the pauper labor of Europe.

Let us now compare the profit of capital invested in the manufacturing of cotton, woolen, and Bessemer steel as compared with the profits of labor in the same industries. Let us inquire how much money the capitalist invests to realize in one year as much as he pays in wages to one employé for the same period. It is a simple calculation, which any one can make from the census report. You will ascertain that invested in cotton manufacturing it requires $1,075.28 to yield the manufacturer net the gross amount his operative gets for a year's labor, which is only $243.65, while $846.95 invested in woolen manufactures pays the owner as much as a laborer receives in that industry, while $675.66 invested in Bessemer-steel manufactures yields as much net as is paid a laborer gross—$452.53. It would only take $692.09 of the capital of the woolen mills to yield $243.65, the wages of the cotton-mill operatives, while $345.72 would yield to the Bessemer-steel man as much as the cotton manufacturer pays his operatives. So, $345.72 of stock in a Bessemer-steel works will produce just as much net, year by year, as the labor of an operative will gross in a cotton mill; yet we are told, and asked to believe, that this protection to industries is a matter of interest to the laborers. That "it is the labor as well as the industries that are protected," and that these laborers have a fair share of the products of their own labor.

In speaking of the increased cost of the consumers of our home manufactures resulting from a duty laid upon the imported articles of the same description, the President says:

These laws, as their primary and plain fact, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty to precisely the sum paid for such duties.

For this statement he has been severely criticised, and in a speech delivered in New York by Governor Foraker recently, he (Foraker) made the statement that "this was absurd and ridiculous." By inquiry we ascertained the fact that this is no new idea. President Grant, in his annual message in December, 1875, heretofore quoted, says:

All duty paid upon such articles goes directly to the cost of the article when manufactured here and must be paid for by the consumer.

Jackson, whom Governor Foraker quoted as good authority on the tariff, said, in his farewell address, March 3, 1837 (I give his exact words):

But the tax imposed on goods enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer, and as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imposts is drawn from the pockets of the people.

Grant and Jackson say it takes just that much money out of the pockets of the consumers. Governor Foraker says, "the assertion is foolish and absurd." But it might be well to remember that great men will differ. I would also, in this connection, call the attention of Mr. Blaine on the political stump, to Mr. Blaine in the House of Representatives, June 10, 1868, and also Secretary of State Blaine, in his report, "The Cotton Market of the World;" Justice Miller, 20 Wallace, as well as many other leading Republicans whom I have quoted.

Miners and laboring men, also know their personal friends as well as those who have arraigned themselves against their interest and on the side of corporations.

[Judge Thurman, the laborers' friend and defender.]

My decision, therefore, is that the operators of the two districts can pay the advance asked (60 cents per ton) and compete with other districts. Respectfully submitted.

The men were right and the employers wrong, and Judge Thurman stood by the men. The reasoning upon which his conclusion was based was so clear that the operators could not resist it, and the miners immediately resumed work upon the terms they had demanded. The judge was the recipient of many resolutions and letters of thanks from laboring organizations throughout the United States.

On January 26, 1886, immediately after Judge Thurman's adjudication, the following preamble and resolution were adopted unanimously by the State Trades and Labor Assembly of Ohio, then in session at Columbus:

Whereas the success of the recent arbitration proceedings between the miners and operators of the Hocking Valley and Ohio Central districts is very gratifying and encouraging to all lovers of justice and fair play; and

Whereas while we congratulate the miners for their willingness to arbitrate the justness of their claims, too much credit can not be given to that sterling man of the people, Allen G. Thurman, for consenting to act as umpire, and his impartial consideration of the evidence presented—no light task for a man of his years—and which was evidently assumed to, in a measure, ameliorate the condition of labor and capital employed in the Hocking Valley and Ohio Central districts and the city of Columbus: Therefore,

Resolved, That the secretary of this assembly be instructed to forward Hon. Allen G. Thurman the above preamble, which properly conveys and expresses the sentiments of the Ohio State Trades and Labor Assembly upon this matter.

This happy settlement of a great dispute resulted in the further increase of miners' wages in the Hocking Valley districts, and the compensation as now fixed is 75 cents for winter mining and 70 cents for summer mining. We have no doubt that the ten thousand miners of Ohio and their brethren throughout the country will remember with their votes the justice done them by Allen G. Thurman, and the benefits they have since received in consequence of his just judgment.

In a similar crisis, in 1877, Benjamin Harrison drew $1,000 per week from the railroad companies, while receiving $5 per day as the pay of a captain of troops organized to contend against the unemployed laborers.

The wage-workers know that their only protection is organization against the encroachments of capital and they are not slow in discovering their interests. We have yet to receive the first petition or prayer in this House against the passage of the Mills' bill or the reduction of the tariff by organized labor associations, while these corridors and committee-rooms have been crowded with manufacturers and capitalists, who are especially favored by the unjust and unequal tariff. Our desks have been loaded down and our mails crowded with tariff protection literature, of falsehood and deception, paid for by millionaires and aristocratic mill-owners. Their money hires the best writers and subsidizes newspapers, while organized labor is crying out in thunder tones against the continuance of this tax on all they buy. This is what labor is saying:

INDORSING THE MILLS BILL—KNIGHTS OF LABOR GIVE THEIR REASON WHY IT SHOULD BECOME A LAW.

Local Assembly 3534 of the Knights of Labor in Philadelphia has passed the following preambles and resolutions:

"Whereas as textile workers we have for years felt the evil effect of a tariff tax on the raw materials of our industries upon us in lessening our opportunities for work and reducing our wages; and

"Whereas the present tariff laws impose a heavier tax upon the raw materials and the partly finished products than upon the finished commodities, thus being directly in the interest of foreign manufactures; and

"Whereas the Mills bill reverses this obvious discrimination against American labor by grading the duties upward in accord and with the amount of labor required to make the commodities: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we, the members of Local Assembly 3534, Knights of Labor, discarding all parties and considerations, do protest against the continuance of the present unequal and unjust system of tariff schedules and demand the passage of the Mills bill as a measure calculated to bring prosperity, steady work, and better wages for every textile worker in our country."

CONDEMNING MR. LITCHMAN.

The sanctuary of the assembly has also passed the following:

"Whereas Charles H. Litchman, ex-general secretary of our order, has gone forth in the political field, taking the side of politics in preference to labor organizations:

Resolved, That Local Assembly 3534, in session, condemns Charles H. Litchman for misrepresenting the political views of the members present and for endeavoring to use the order for political and financial considerations."

The men who represent the laboring men on this floor are, without an exception, in favor of the Mills bill.

Hon. HENRY SMITH, of Wisconsin, who is the State master workman of the Knights of Labor of his State, elected to Congress by workingmen, thus defines his position:

REDUCE THE TAXES ON LABORING MEN.

Congressman SMITH, when asked his views on tariff legislation and the Mills bill, said: "My opinions on this matter are the result of careful, conscientious, and, I hope, intelligent study of what are the needs of the country and especially of laboring men, who make up the country's strength. The tariff is a tax, and no amount of talking in Congress or in the newspapers or anywhere else can make it seem to be anything else. The people of this country can not be made happy or prosperous by taxing them, and until the last few years any one who maintained that this could be done would be laughed at. As the tariff is a tax it should be levied on luxuries, and thus the tax put on those who can best afford to pay the taxes.

"That is the true way to reform the present tariff. The Mills bill, as it is called, is a moderate effort to reduce taxes on the necessaries of life, and I shall vote, if I have a chance, to go even further, and shall support all measures to lighten the load of taxes on the shoulders of labor, which is both the producing and the consuming element of our population. I shall vote for free coal and free sugar as I have already voted for free lumber. Tariff taxation, to my way of thinking, is not a blessing, and men who work for wages and have thought about it, as I have, always reach the same conclusion.

"THE TWIN MONOPOLIES.

"Tariff taxation is not the only obstacle the producing element—by which, of course, I mean labor—has to contend against in this country. I may say, in passing, that the matter of transportation and the absorption of our public lands by aggregated capital, foreign or domestic, is of as great importance to labor as the tariff, and perhaps of greater importance."

And now let us look into the interests of the poor farmer, who is little benefited by protection. He pays the largest portion of this enormous tax, an average of $47.10 on every $100 worth of goods that he buys. Is it not true that he is gradually growing poorer every year? How many farms in Ohio are under mortgage to Eastern capitalists? Forty-eight per cent. of all the farms in Michigan are mortgaged, and the same rate holds true with regard to Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska—all are in the same deplorable condition. Why is it that the price of land and the products of the farm are constantly on the decline? We find that the exports of the products of the farm are constantly growing.

In 1870 this country bought 82 per cent. of our agricultural products. In 1880 it bought but 69 per cent. of them. Observe that as protection increases, manufacturing interests grow, but the per cent. of exports of the farm products is increased. The farmer needs no more of tariff taxation under which monopolies have grown and trusts have become defined. He finds that his home market is ebbing away, and that he must go from home to sell 31 per cent. of his products. The theory of the home market is a delusion and swindle.

I here quote the report of our consul at London, Ontario, Canada, which has just been published, and which explains itself:

[Special issue No. 48. Department of State, October 6, 1888.]

UNITED STATES CONSULAR REPORTS—AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS IN CANADA.

I find that plows of American manufacture are among the most prominent of the imports in this line. The Oliver chilled plow (made at South Bend, Ind., and the one, I am told, that has the largest sale in the United States), the Syracuse plow, and the South Bend plow seem to be most in demand and to have the largest sale. I have before me on my desk an offer from an Ontario dealer in the Oliver plows to sell same f. o. b. at his city in Canada for $10 each in quantities. The retail price here is $12, and numerous transactions take place at that figure. The same plows, I understand, are sold in quantities at the factory (not for export) at $14 each, and cost the American farmer at retail $16.

The Syracuse plow retails at $11 or $12 here, and, I am informed, sells for from $14 to $16 in the United States at retail, and the South Bend at $11 here, and $14 at home.

It is pleasing to observe how cheaply our manufacturers must be able to turn out these goods, from the fact that the Canadian duty on this class of goods is 35 per cent. ad valorem. Even admitting that the manufacturer makes no profit on his sales in Canada, these figures are of interest:

Price at which plow is sold in Canada		$10.00
Duty at 35 per cent. ad valorem and freight	$3.50	
Profit to Canadian dealer, probably	1.50	
		5.00
Leaving actual cost to manufacture plow		5.00
Retailed to American farmer at		16.00
Profit to manufacturer on all home sales, per plow		11.00

It would thus seem that the Canadian farmer has an advantage over his American neighbor in the purchase of necessary implements produced in his

own country, and the latter before purchasing his plows might well figure as follows:

Price of plow at retail in United States		$16.00
Price of same in Canada	$12.00	
Freight to return same to United States (duty is free on American goods returned)	1.00	
		13.00
Profit to American farmer by purchasing American made plow in Canada		3.00

Plows with tempered-steel mold-bands and beams, which sell in the United States for $17 and upwards, are manufactured in Canada (from Pittsburgh steel, on which duty has to be paid, and the wages of the workmen are substantially the same as in the United States), and are sold for $14 retail, thus showing excess of profit made by American manufacturer over Canadian manufacturer of $3 on each plow. When it is considered that the Canadian manufacturer has to pay a duty on his materials, and freight upon same to Canada from Pittsburgh, it will be readily seen at a glance that the excess of profits to the American over the Canadian manufacturer is much greater than the sum named, $3.

I am credibly advised by a very prominent Canadian farmer that he has just bought an American self-binding reaper (Walter A. Wood's) for $110, laid down in an American city, near the lines, while the price of same machine in the same place to an American farmer would be from $150 to $170.

In addition to the larger implements mentioned, farmers' or agricultural hardware imported from the United States consists of light shelf goods, dry paints, and agricultural hand-tools, such as spades, shovels, forks, etc., on which articles the duty varies from 35 to 70 per cent., although the printed tariff reads only from 30 to 35 per cent. This Government has, however, instructed its customs officers to advance prices on invoices in certain lines, which brings the duty up to a very high rate. On scythes, for instance, by means of a specific and ad valorem duty they have to pay from 60 to 70 per cent.

Notwithstanding these tremendous charges a careful comparison of the wholesale and retail prices of the above tools shows that in all cases American goods of this character can be bought in Canada as cheap, and, in many cases, cheaper than in the United States. It is conclusively proven by these facts that the American farmers are not receiving the full benefit of the low prices at which these goods can be produced in the United States.

These benefits are, apparently, reserved for the Canadians and other foreigners to whose markets we export goods. But existing conditions enable the American manufacturer to compel the purchase of his goods by the American farmer at exorbitant profits.

So great has been this discrimination by American manufacturers in favor of foreign purchasers that the Canadian customs authorities have come to regard with suspicion the prices on nearly all American invoices, as they can not understand why these goods should be sold to Canadians at such great reductions from the prices at which they are sold at home, at the point of manufacture. As a consequence they have during the past two years largely adopted the plan of appraising these goods for duty at the home figures in preference to the prices stated in the invoices. For instance, an American manufacturer may be willing to sell a certain article for $5 to the Canadian trade, the price for the same article at home being $8; the valuation is placed at the latter figure, and even though we sell for the former, the purchaser has to pay duty on $3 more than the goods cost him.

The result of this practice is that we are losing our export trade to this and other foreign countries—the falling off of the American export trade to this port on dutiable articles in one year having been $211,058.

LONDON, ONTARIO, *September* 15, 1888.

The short-sightedness of our manufacturers in this respect, no less than the development of manufacturing in Canada, is closing this as it does other outside markets to our goods, and is driving us back to trade only within ourselves, to the injury of our great agricultural interests, to the reduction of the wages of our workingmen, and to the lessening of the products of our factories.

WM. DE H. WASHINGTON,
Consular Agent.

The high-tariff party gets his vote and the trusts and monopolies get his money, and he places a mortgage on his farm to help to raise enough money to pay his debts. They attempt to frighten him by declaring that if the Mills bill passes, the manufacturing interests will be greatly injured, that mills and manufactories will have to shut down, and thousands of workingmen will be thrown out of employment, and that these artisans and laborers will buy farms and go into agricultural pursuits as an occupation and compete directly with the farmer. This is not possible, and will not deceive one intelligent farmer in the entire country.

A reasonable reduction of the tariff would so stimulate these industries for which our national resources have so eminently fitted us that an increased demand for labor would at once spring up, and by reason of the cheapening of the cost of raw material manufacturers would be enabled to successfully compete with foreign markets. This reduction of the tariff would result in a universal increase of production in order to supply the foreign demand, which again would increase the demand for labor to such an extent as to furnish employment for all idle men, if there should be any.

We are told that every panic that has occurred during the low tariff period is directly attributable to the tariff, while panics occurring in periods of high tariff have been due to other causes entirely, and that the prosperous times following low tariff were not due to a reduction of taxation; but an attempt is made to explain in the same inconsistent way that this is due entirely to other causes. These statements are so apparently inconsistent and untenable that no farmer will be deceived by them. Our farmers comprise one-half of our population, and it would seem that if any industry needs protection by the Government it is that of agriculture. Our opponents tell the farmers that all they need is a home market, which is created by war tariff taxation.

Let us see how he is benefited by this protection heresy. Suppose he raises 100 bushels of wheat. He pays 50 per cent. tax on his plow and harness used in raising this crop; still more on other agricultural implements; $2 per thousand feet on the pine lumber used in building his house and barn; 43 to 80 per cent. on nails and hardware; the same rates on everything that he wears or buys to furnish his house. Now, let him add this up and see what it has cost him to produce 100 bushels of wheat. He will find to his astonishment it has cost him $100. But, they say, he has paid these enormous taxes for the purpose of building up a manufacturing interest which will afford him the home market so vividly portrayed to him by the protectionists. Though it has cost him a dollar a bushel to produce his wheat he must not be alarmed, for Mr. MCKINLEY has told him that all he needs is a home market to get a high price for his farm products.

He happens to live near a large manufacturing town where they employ thousands of hands in making the very articles for which he has been taxed so heavily to protect, and of course he expects to realize $1.25 a bushel for his grain. He loads his wagon with the cereal and hauls it to this home market. He says to the proprietor of the flouring mill: "I know that you are an honest man, and will pay me a reasonable price for my grain. I have paid an enormous tax to build up this manufacturing business and protect it from competition with foreign labor. For this reason my wheat has cost me a dollar a bushel to raise. I have always voted for the protection of American industries. I am a good Republican, and I know you will appreciate my patriotism. I am opposed to a reduction of taxation, to the Mills bill, and to the Democratic free-trade party. I must have $1.25 a bushel for my wheat to realize a living profit, send my children to school, and support my family."

The proprietor of the mill replies to this reasonable demand thus: "My dear sir, I can only pay you 73 cents for your wheat. You see Mr. Smith across the way there is one of those free-trade Democrats and does not believe in high taxes. He orders his flour from Minneapolis, ships it here and sells it at a price that I can not compete with if I pay you over 73 cents a bushel." The farmer replies: "Do you mean to tell me that I must be governed by the market at Minneapolis? I have a home market." But the miller replies: "Yes, governed by Minneapolis. You see distances have been annihilated. You must accept the market that is 3,000 miles away—the price of wheat in Liverpool."

The farmer asks, "Liverpool, where is that?" He is told, "It is over in free-trade England. These free-traders are the cause of such low prices. They ship their gold over here to elect Cleveland and reduce taxes." But the farmer says, "I do not understand what that has to do with our home market." The miller replies, "I will explain. England, you see, is a great manufacturing country. There they raise very little wheat and consume a great deal. They must, therefore, to supply the consumption of an immense population, buy the surplus wheat of other countries, and thereby rule the market of the world."

The farmer in his astonishment exclaims: "Do you mean, then, to tell me that these home markets, for which I have paid such enormous taxes to create, are all a deception, and that here in Ohio my labor in raising wheat must compete with the low pauper labor of free-trade England? Do you pretend to say that I, in cultivating my farm and marketing the products, must be governed in price by the cheap labor of Europe?" The miller replies, "Yes, my dear friend, and a great deal worse, many times worse. True, they do not raise wheat in England, but some of her vast dominions do. The fact is, sir, your labor on the farm is in direct competition with the low and half-civilized laborer of East India, a country where labor is so degraded that you can not conceive how wretched its people are. Their condition is worse than that of any other people on the face of the earth. There a man works for 6 cents a day, and his suit of clothing consists of but a half a yard of cotton cloth. You know everybody buys where he can buy cheapest, and if England can buy cheaper in East India or South America than from you she will buy from them. You had better unload your wheat for 73 cents per bushel, go home, and if you feel like it, in the face of these facts, vote to tax yourself 47.1 per cent. on all you buy to protect this large manufacturing town, and build up a falsely so-called home market for all the products which you raise on your farm."

The farmers of this country are the noblest creation of the Lord. A more honorable and upright class of men do not live. They labor from morning till night. Certainly do they eat their bread in the sweat of their faces all the days of their lives. They supply the food for the millions on this great continent. They furnish nine-tenths of all our exports. They clothe the world with cotton. When the greatest civil war of modern history hung like a cloud over the destiny of this country they rallied from the East and the West and presented their bare bosoms to merciless bullets, and with their strong arms stood like a stone-wall in opposition to the foe. They would be ready again should occasion require to save this country from invasion by a foreign foe.

From their ranks come our great statesmen and great generals. The future Presidents of this great country are to-day somewhere on a farm. The nursery of great men is on a farm—the source from whence come almost all our great statesmen. Why should this great class of citizens be discriminated against? Why should they be made hewers of wood and drawers of water to the manufacturing interests of the country? They greatly outnumber any other class of laboring men, and their modesty will not always prevent them from asserting their just rights—rights to equality under the law.

The righteousness of their cause will ultimately prevail. Great as are the manufacturing industries in this country, important as they may be, and essential as they are, to the welfare of the country, the farmers should not be discriminated against, because they are of greater importance than any other class. In 1880 there was invested in our country, in manufacturing interests, a capital of $2,797,223,506, in farming interests $12,104,081,440. There were employed in manufacturing interests 2,738,903 persons, in farming 7,670,493. It will be seen from this that almost five times as much capital in farming as in manufacturing was invested, and three times as many people were employed. Now let us see which class is making the money and the profits.

The manufacturers claim that they must tax the farmers for the purpose of protecting themselves against the competition of the pauper labor of Europe. The farmers have no protection. They pay the taxes, and astonishing as it may seem, the census of 1880 tells us that the manufacturing products were $5,369,667,706, while that of the farming interests were only $2,212,540,929. The average product of a laborer in manufactories is $1,960.49, while the average product of a laborer in farming is only $288.44, and yet we are told that farmers must be taxed, not only now, but for all time to come, to benefit manufacturing interests. The farmers, constantly employed in body and in mind in a hard struggle for a living, have been slow to note the effects of combinations against them, but they are being educated very fast, and the lesson, ere long, will dawn upon us. Then they will be found moving for self-protection, for their rights, and for justice.

They have more men, more money, more homes, more moral rectitude, virtue, and common honesty in this great controversy than any other class. They are fast learning their power, and will soon assert their rights. There is a great spirit of investigation going on among them all over the country, and if they but once understand how they are being robbed and plundered by false pretenses and the misrepresentations that are made to them by demagogues, politicians, and protectionists, who are directly benefited by this unjust system of taxation, they will soon see that they are the victims of a miserable, unjust taxation, and they will vote for their own interests and to protect their homes.

THE FACTS AS TO PENSIONS.

I yield to no man in my devotion and sympathy for the soldier, and I desire to see that fullest justice is done the brave men who stood as a living wall of fire, with their bosoms bared to the bullets of the enemy—the loyal men who saved this nation. I have a right to speak for my comrades, who touched my elbow and divided their last hard-tack with me, shared the same blanket and drank from the same canteen. In 1861 our family of four brothers, full of youth and hope, with cheeks flushed with the bloom of health, enlisted for the war. One fell at the battle of Stone's River, pierced with a dozen bullets; another at Kenesaw Mountain, and the other's bones are now bleaching on the banks of Red River. Politically we were Democrats, true, loyal Democrats, and they who thus died gave their lives to save the Union.

None of my colleagues on this floor, whether they agree with me politically or not, who know how much of my time I have devoted to the interests of soldiers, and have noted my votes on all pension bills, will say I lack in sympathy for the welfare of the soldiers. I therefore claim the right to speak for my comrades. During a hotly contested campaign like the present, when there are so many political, pecuniary, and personal interests involved, partisan newspapers and political stump-speakers are very apt to mislead the soldiers by perverting facts for the purpose of securing votes. Let me appeal to you, my comrades, to vote your honest political sentiments. A soldier who wore the blue should, above all others, have judgment and good common sense enough to give the coming campaign liar a wide berth.

When a newspaper or a politician tells you that President Cleveland is an enemy to your interests, say it is false. When you are told that the Democratic party is not friendly to your interests, say it is false, and point to the record. You can easily prove that during the three full years of the present Administration the Union soldiers have received greater consideration than they ever received during the twenty years of Republican administration. Every Republican, as well as every intelligent man in the country, who has investigated the record knows this to be the fact. A simple investigation of the pension-rolls is conclusive proof.

Write to the Commissioner of Pensions for his late report, and on investigation you will find I am telling you the truth. You will see that during the three years of Democratic rule 168,233 more certificates were issued than during the same period of Republican administration, and in that same period there was disbursed to pensioners $34,000,541.01 more than during the three years of Republican rule; that in the same period there were 79,917 excess of names added to the pension-rolls. It cost $52.31 to examine a case under the Republicans, while under the Democratic Administration the same work has been done for $13.78 per case. There are 24 per cent. more Union soldiers employed in the Pension Department now than under Republican rule, and one hundred and seventy-nine more soldiers or their widows on the pay-roll. I will here take the liberty to make the following extracts from the report of the Commissioner of Pensions for the information of those who may not be able to procure the report itself:

The amount of money expended in payment of pensions was $78,775,861.92, the cost attending such disbursement being, for the pay of the officers, employés, etc., of the Bureau of Pensions, its agents, surgeons, special examiners, etc., $3,262,524.67, the cost of disbursement being a fraction less than 4 per cent. of the total expenditures of the Bureau of Pensions. The total amount expended for all purposes by the Bureau of Pensions was $82,038,386.59, being 21½ per cent. of $380,000,000, which was the total (estimated) gross income of the United States for the period aforesaid. The total expenditures of the Government for the fiscal year 1888 were $267,924,801.13. So it will be seen that the amount expended for and on account of pensions was nearly 31 per cent. of the entire outlay of the Government.

SPECIAL ACTS.

After due advisement it has seemed to me my duty to report to you publicly and in this formal manner the method which from the beginning has been pursued in regard to special acts, and also to state the results thereof. Upon the receipt at the Executive Mansion of a special act granting pension it is referred through the office of the Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of Pensions, whose duty it is to present for the consideration of the Executive all the facts, favorable and unfavorable, shown in the records and files of the Bureau of Pensions concerning such case. To this end the Commissioner employs the services of the chiefs of the boards of review and re-review, and under them four men from among the most highly trained and best equipped in the office, whose sole duty in connection with the cases is to present an impartial, colorless, and accurate brief of all the matter in evidence and every substantial averment of the claimant and every part of his military record. To this end calls are made upon the Adjutant-General and Surgeon-General for their reports, to complete the military history of the claimant, if such history is not already in the case; the claimant's own declaration is briefed and every statement that he has made in his own behalf is set forth. The substantial evidence in support thereof is added, as well as that which is adverse thereto.

These reports are fully examined by the chiefs of the boards of review and re-review, to the end that errors may be corrected. The briefs thus prepared are transcribed and submitted to the Commissioner of Pensions, who examines them with a view, first, to the correction of any error; next, to indicate the complexion of the case under the general law, and to state whether the action of the office on the case, if any has been taken, had been right according to the general law; next, to indicate whether in his judgment the case is one based on equitable grounds, as shown by the whole of the evidence, including the military record and history of the claimant. In this work he is aided by the counsel and presence of the chiefs, two of the oldest and most trusted employés in this branch of the civil service. The clerks who prepare the brief of facts are old and new men, selected for fidelity, capacity, and integrity. When this work is so done it is forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior, and by that official to the President.

The annexed table will show the total number of all special pension acts which have become laws since the year 1861 and the time at which they were enacted:

Years.*	Administration of—	No.
1861–1865	Lincoln	41
1865–1869	Johnson	431
1869–1877	Grant	490
1877–1881	Hayes	303
1881–1885	Garfield and Arthur	736
Total		2,001
1885–1888	Cleveland	1,369
Grand total		3,370

* The years from March to March.

I submit herewith a statement of private pension acts disapproved by the Executive from March 4, 1885, to August 15, 1888, inclusive, showing the grounds for the adverse action, and date of the original rejections in the Bureau of Pensions:

Total number of such special-pension acts vetoed	191
Number of said vetoes in the interests of the claimants and based upon the fact that the claimants would be entitled to greater amounts under the general law than they would have received under the special acts (and the amount paid to said applicants aggregated $17,249, much of which has been paid the widows and dependent children of said soldiers)	17
Number of such cases in which the disapproval was based upon or contained the charge of desertion or dishonorable discharge from the military service of the United States	12
Number of cases (dependent fathers) in which the disapproval was based upon the grounds that the fathers abandoned their sons while said sons were infants, and never resumed the care or custody of the sons, nor did they manifest any interest in them until after their death, when they became applicants for pension	2
Number of cases vetoed upon the ground that the bills were duplicates of acts already passed by Congress, being precisely the same special acts already approved by the Executive and in full force and effect. One of said original acts was passed by the Forty-ninth and one by the Fiftieth Congress	2
Number of said acts disapproved upon the grounds that the death-cause was suicide and had no connection with the military service of the United States	7
Number of acts vetoed on the ground that the soldiers' disabilities or deaths were in no wise due to the service, but arose from causes entirely distinct therefrom	121
Number of acts vetoed upon the ground that they were already pending in the Pension Bureau, that many of them involved the question of arrears, that it would be a manifest injustice to conclude the claimants' rights to arrears or to issue pension certificate until the cases were established, and that there seemed to be no disposition upon the part of the officials in charge of the Bureau of Pensions to either delay the cases or to decide them adversely and improperly	17
Number of cases vetoed for the reason that they affixed no rate, and that the claimants were now receiving pensions commensurate with the degree of disability found to exist on examination by competent boards of surgeons, and that the approval of the acts could in no wise benefit the claimants. (In four of these cases the highest rates given by the law were already being paid.)	9
Number of cases vetoed upon the ground that there was no dependence shown by the evidence on file	2
Number of cases vetoed on the ground that the bill sought to set aside the limitation fixed by the law of 1879, governing the question of arreas, and which applied to all other claimants who had filed their applications since the 1st day of July, 1880. (In this case soldier is in receipt of $50 per month under a subsequent special act which was allowed to become a law)	1
Vetoed upon the ground that the beneficiary was dead at the time of the passage of the act and hence the act was nugatory	1

By the foregoing report it is shown that 1,369 special acts granting pensions have been approved by President Cleveland. If it were true, as alleged by politicians, that Cleveland is hostile to the interest of the soldiers, would it not have been just as easy for him to have vetoed 1,369 bills and approved 191? But all reasonable men will see from the report of General Black that after all the President has but very little to do with the investigation of these cases. They are made by the chiefs of the board of review and the Commissioner of Pensions, in conjunction with two of the most trusted employés of the bureau, who, if they have any politics, it is safe to say are Republicans, and that it is upon their recommendation and judgment that the President's vetoes are based. But I can vouch from personal knowledge that politics do not enter into these cases.

I am free to say the President has never vetoed a single bill from any but the purest and most friendly motives. He acts as a patriotic, pure, and just judge in all these cases, and no falsehoods, misrepresentations, or politically selfish motives can swerve him from the performance of his honest duties. Many of these private pension bills are passed hastily and without due consideration. It is in many instances a system of log-rolling. One member says to another: "You vote for my bill and I will help you through with yours." And so it goes at the rate of forty cases every Friday night in the House, and half that many in a minute in the Senate. It was different under Grant's administration under Republican rule. It was new legislation, and every bill was more carefully scrutinized. Yet Grant vetoed all bills that came before him on the same grounds and for precisely the same reasons.

The Republicans enacted a law providing that no soldier should have a pension whose disibility or death was not due to the service. This is the plain letter of the law, and by reason of this law the President vetoed one hundred and twenty-one bills. Twelve of these were because the pensioners were deserters; seventeen, because they were entitled to greater amounts under a general law; nine, because the act fixed no rate and the soldier was receiving a pension already. By his vetoes he saved the soldiers, their widows and children, $17,249. Is there any other evidence wanting to satisfy any reasonable man that these acts are passed in a careless, reckless manner, and without due consideration?

Let Congress enact laws pensioning deserters, fathers who abandoned their sons when infants, and men whose disability has had no connection with their service in the Army, and there will be no more vetoes. We are told that the rebel brigadiers are opposed to pensioning Union soldiers. This is false. The men who fought bravely on the other side are generous and chivalrous to their conquerers. There may be exceptions. There may be a few "cranks" who would object to anything in order to get a little notoriety. But the most unreasonable objector to a certain class of special pension bills is a Republican "crank," and the only objection I ever had offered to any private bill of my own came from the Republican side of the House. But they say the President vetoed the dependent pension bill. So he did, and he gave his reasons for it. His reasons, I think, will satisfy any sensible man that it was on account of the uncertainty as to the object and consequences of the law. It was on a par with some special acts. No two men agreed as to the object of that bill.

There was great doubt as to the interpretation of the bill. It would be very easy to form a bill that would accomplish the object, about which there could be no dispute as to the meaning, but that was not the purpose. The object was political capital.

Grant vetoed the equalization bounty bill. I do not believe that Grant was an enemy of the soldiers. I am not here to apologize for or defend the President's vetoes. The soldiers themselves have done that. The Republican press and the friends of the soldiers have approved Cleveland's veto of that bill.

Let it not be forgotten by my comrades that in 1862 an able and distinguished gentleman from Indiana, Judge HOLMAN, introduced a bill which passed the House of Representatives, granting a land-warrant for 160 acres of land to every honorably discharged soldier. This was in accordance with the acts of our Government in all previous wars, yet when this just act, which had been held out by recruiting officers as an inducement for the soldiers to enlist, came to the Republican Senate, it was rejected on the ground that land-warrants would pass into the hands of speculators.

Judge HOLMAN amended his bill so as to obviate this objection, and it was rejected again by the Republican Senate on the ground that we had no public lands to give to the soldiers. Yet, in the same year, immediately upon its heels, the Republicans granted to railroad corporations and other monopolies more than 200,000,000 acres of land! They had no land to give to the soldiers, but they could find millions of acres for corporations!

Let it also be remembered by the soldiers that they were promised their pay, as we understood the contract with the Government, in gold. Instead of this the soldiers were paid off by the Republicans in depreciated currency, ranging at a discount of from 50 to 140 per cent. The soldiers were never indemnified for their losses in this instance, but after the war was over, in March, 1869, the Republican party passed a law providing for the payment of bondholders in gold. This, mind you, when the bond stipulate that they were to be paid in the currency of the country. Remember this, comrades, that while the soldier has never been remunerated for his loss on account of the depreciation of the currency, the bloated bondholders of the United States were paid more than $600,000,000 premium in gold. Yet the Republican party claims to be, par excellence, the friend of the soldiers!

Fault has been found with the law as it exists in regard to the niggardly way in which pensions are rated, and the evidence required by law, which it is often impossible to furnish without a hospital record. Let it be remembered that the Republican party is responsible for laws of this kind on the statute-books.

They were passed when a large majority of both Houses of Congress were Republicans; and if they are unjust, the Republican party is responsible for them.

Let us not forget that the Republicans held full sway for many years after the war, yet they never offered to enact a law to grant arrears, and that it was not until a distinguished and brave soldier Democrat, General A. V. Rice, of my own State, was elected to Congress and the House became Democratic that the arrears act, the greatest boon the soldier has ever received, became a law. He introduced the bill and had secured its passed through the House, but when it reached the Republican Senate it was bitterly opposed by such able and distinguished Republican Senators as JOHN SHERMAN, who not only voted against it but spoke against its passage, and, when reminded by the best friend the soldiers ever had—the ideal volunteer general, the lamented John A. Logan—that his party only a short time before that time had pledged itself in its national platform to pass the arrears act, Mr. SHERMAN replied that he preferred to follow the dictates of his own conscience rather than be dictated to by a political platform. The ground of his objection was that it would cost too much. Why was not Senator SHERMAN denounced as an enemy of the soldiers?

And, again, it is asked why, if Cleveland was in sympathy with our soldiers, did he not enlist? Let us inquire, where was the Plumed Knight during the war? If Blaine was not an enemy of the soldier, what regiment and what company did he serve in during the war? Or where was JOHN SHERMAN or a great many of our great men? It is said that Republican soldiers have been dismissed from Government service. So they have, but the record tells us there are more ex-soldiers in the public service now than there ever were under Republican rule. I can see nothing wrong in turning out Republican soldiers and putting Democratic soldiers in. Let me ask, how many Democratic soldiers were in the Government service under Republican administration? It is a well-known fact that Republican politicians have no use for Democratic soldiers except before an election, when they want their votes, and in thirty days after should they come into power (a contingency which is not likely to arise) there would not be one Democratic soldier left in the Government service.

The Republican party is a friend only of those soldiers who vote the Republican ticket. It is not sympathy for Democratic soldiers that makes them so extremely solicitous of their welfare just now. They want their votes. Do not be deceived. Vote for the men and the party you believe will subserve the best interest of all our people. Judge the future by the past and your interest will be best cared for under a Democratic administration. There are hundreds of Republican soldiers in the service now who have been kept there by this Administration.

This Administration has in a multitude of ways shown its kindly feeling towards the ex-Union soldiers, by granting pensions to those who were deserving, and appointing them to positions of honor and trust. We hear objections sometimes because there have been some Confederate soldiers appointed to office. This has always been the case under all administrations. Ex-rebels were appointed. General Longstreet and General Mahone have been special pets of the Republican party. General Mosby was especially despised and obnoxious to Union soldiers. He was a rebel brigadier who carried on his warfare after the style of the guerrilla. He would not meet our forces on the open field.

I had occasion to report a widow's claim for pension only a few days ago, whose husband had been dragged from his home in Virginia and shot by order of this rebel guerrilla. Yet he was sent as minister to represent this country at the court of the Russias by a Republican administration; and a great many others could be enumerated, but it is a well-known fact and not necessary. But this thing of having been a rebel is nothing in the eyes of some Republican partisans as compared with the fact of being a Democrat. That is the only sin they can not forgive. To hear these men talk, so long after the war is over that a new generation has grown up since, such men as Hancock and McClellan, who so nobly defended the Union and shed their blood for its perpetuation, were allies of the Confederates. The orator feels compassion and passes high-sounding resolutions at political conventions, but this is mere moonshine upon which they seek to feed you. The record is the burning monument from which there can be no appeal.

GENERAL PENSION ACTS.

Now let us see what the President has done in his official capacity for ex-Union soldiers, their widows, orphans, and dependent relatives.

He approved the act of March 19, 1886, which has increased to $12 per month the pension of 102,568 widows, minors, and dependent relatives of Union soldiers. The total annual increase in money granted to these 102,568 pensioners by reason of his signing this act of March 19, 1886, is $1,923,261.

He approved the act of August 4, 1886, which has increased the pension of 10,092 crippled and maimed Union soldiers of the late war from $24 to $30, from $30 to $36, and from $30 and $37.50 to $45 per month. The total annual increase in money granted to the 10,092 pensioners by reason of his signing this act of August 4, 1886, is $1,089,938.

He approved the act of January 29, 1887, which has placed upon the pension-rolls 21,704 survivors and widows of the Mexican war at $8 per month or $96 per year. The amount in money these 21,704 Mexican pensioners will receive annually is $2,083,584.

He approved the act of June 7, 1888, granting arrears of pensions from the death of their husbands in cases of all widows of the late war whose pensions have been or which may hereafter be granted. This law will favorably affect some ten thousand widows already on the rolls to an amount it is estimated in money of an average of $108 in each case at once, and hereafter will grant to each widow whose claim may be allowed an average of $108 in each case. The amount of money required to pay these already on the rolls it is estimated will exceed $1,080,000, and the number likely to be placed on the rolls during the present fiscal year will swell this amount to over $1,500,000.

So it will be seen that President Cleveland since his inauguration has approved general pension acts which directly and pecuniarily benefit 144,364 ex-Union and Mexican soldiers, their widows, orphans, and dependent relatives, and that the money value of this benefit is over $9,000,000 per annum.

Refund of Additional Tobacco Tax.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN S. HENDERSON,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, September 4, 1888.

The House, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11258) for the relief of certain persons who paid additional taxes assessed against them under the act of March 3, 1875—

Mr. HENDERSON, of North Carolina, said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The report which has just been read makes the matter so plain that scarcely anything more need be said. I send forward to the Clerk's desk to be read, as a part of my remarks, the following official communications:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *August* 17, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to forward herewith, for your information, copy of a report by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the 15th instant, upon (H. R. 11039) "for the relief of certain persons who paid additional taxes assessed against them under the act of March 3, 1875."

Respectfully yours,

C. S. FAIRCHILD, *Secretary.*

Hon. JOHN S. HENDERSON,
House of Representatives.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, August 15, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith H. R. 11039, a bill introduced by Hon. Mr. HENDERSON, of North Carolina, July 30, 1888, with a request to state what change should be made in the phraseology of the bill, and estimate the amount of tax required to be refunded in case it becomes a law.

I respectfully refer to the letter to you dated February 3, 1888 (copy herewith), and H. R. 4667, dated January 11, 1888.

I suggest the following change in the bill submitted to me. Strike out all after the usual heading and insert:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to any persons who may within two years after the passage of this act present claims therefor to the Commissioner of Internal Revenne, such sums respectively as they shall severally show to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that they, or the persons whom they legally represent, paid as an additional tax on tobacco, cigars, or cigarettes, which they sold or removed for consumption or sale on the 3d day of March, 1875."

Probably the amount of tax that will be refunded, in case such a bill becomes a law, will not exceed $100,000.

Respectfully, yours,

JOS. S. MILLER, *Commissioner.*

Hon. CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD,
Secretary of the Treasury.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
Washington, February 3, 1888.

SIR: I have the honor to return herewith a letter of Hon. ISHAM G. HARRIS, United States Senator, addressed to you under date of January 29, 1888. Mr. HARRIS incloses Senate bills Nos. 22 and 528, only the latter of which accompanied the letter when received at this office, and asks that you give him your opinion as to the merits of the same and return the bills.

The letter, with Senate bill No. 528, is herewith returned with the following report:

The bill proposes to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to pay out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated by law, to the persons named therein, and to any other persons who may, within two years after the passage of the act, present claims therefor to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, such sums, respectively, as they may show to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to have been paid by them as an additional tax on tobacco, cigars, or cigarettes, sold, or removed for consumption or sale, on the 3d day of March, 1875, prior to the President's approval of the act of that date, which imposed an additional tax of 4 cents per pound on certain tobacco and $1 per 1,000 on cigars.

Prior to March 3, 1875, the tax on tobacco was 20 cents per pound, and the tax on cigars was $5 per thousand. The act of March 3, 1875, increased the tax on tobacco to 24 cents per pound and the tax on cigars to $6 per thousand.

Many manufacturers of tobacco and cigars had on March 3, 1875, stamps on hand purchased at the rates in force prior to that date, and on that, and perhaps on subsequent days, they stamped tobacco and cigars with such stamps, and sold or removed for consumption or sale the tobacco and cigars so stamped.

Commissioner Douglass ruled that the act of March 3, 1875, must be held to take effect and be in force during the whole of that day, and under this ruling parties who stamped tobacco or cigars on the 3d day of March with stamps at the rates in force previous to that date were assessed the difference between the values of the stamps at the old and the new rates of tax. If this ruling of Commissioner Douglass was "illegal," as has been strongly contended, then the taxes assessed on account of the tobacco and cigars sold or removed on March 3, 1875, were perhaps illegally assessed, so far as they apply to tobacco sold or removed before the signing of the act by the President.

The case of Burgess *vs.* Salmon (7 Otto, 381) was a case similar to those provided for in the bill, but it was decided upon an agreed statement of facts. Among other things it was agreed by the United States attorney that the duty of 20 cents per pound had been paid upon the tobacco in question, and that the tobacco "had been removed from the storehouse before the act of March 3, 1875, took effect." This agreement, of course, gave away the point the case was designed to raise on the appeal, and if this office had been aware of the nature of the agreement it would have been evident that an appeal would be useless. It was hoped and expected that the question as to the exact point of time when a statute takes effect would be settled in that case. It is a question upon which the United States Supreme Court has never passed, and upon which there has been a conflict of opinion in the inferior courts.

I agree with my predecessor in office, who, in a letter to your office dated April 10, 1884, reporting upon a bill for the relief of some of the parties named in Senate bill No. 528, said:

"Personally, I am inclined to think that the fiction of law, by which, upon the doctrine of relation, a statute is deemed to be in force during the whole of the day on which it is signed, should yield to the exact facts in cases like these where substantial rights are involved.

"Constitutionally, a legislative act can not be a law until it is signed by the President, or until the time has elapsed during which he is allowed to deliberate, and it would appear logically and necessarily that no substantial right of a citizen should be sacrificed to a mere fictional notion, however conveniently that fiction may operate as a general rule. Besides, it is probably a fact that most bills passed by Congress during a short session, if approved on the 3d day of March, are in truth signed very late on that day.

"I think the authorities will bear out the proposition that the fiction alluded to must yield to the demands of an exact justice where those demands are susceptible of intelligent ascertainment.

"If the act of March 3, 1875, took effect from the beginning of that day then the parties named in the bill have no just claims against the Government for the repayment of these taxes, and the bill should not become a law.

"If, however, the act did not take effect as to the part of the day prior to the very moment when it received the approval and signature of the President of the United States, then the parties named have equitable claims against the Government as to so much of the amount claimed as was paid on tobacco manufactured and sold or removed for consumption or use prior to that moment, and if so relief can only be given by legislation.

"This office has no definite information respecting the exact point of time when the act of March 3, 1875, was in fact signed by the President."

I am prepared to go a step further than my predecessor and to say that in view of the fact that the hour of the day when the act was approved is not known and probably can not be ascertained, and in view of the probability that it was not approved until after business hours of that day; also, in view of the difficulties to be encountered in many cases, in ascertaining the exact hour of the day of the sale or removal of tobacco or cigars, and in view of the probability that all such sales or removals were made during the business hours of the day, I think it but equitable and just, if the bill is to become a law, that it should include all tobacco and cigars sold or removed for consumption or sale on the 3d day of March, 1875, and I therefore suggest, if my views are concurred in, that the bill be amended by striking out the wurds "prior to the President's approval of the act of that date," in lines 13 and 14.

Respectfully submitted.

JOS. S. MILLER,
Commissioner.

Hon. C. S. FAIRCHILD,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

The case of Burgess *vs.* Salmon (97 U. S., 381), above cited, proves beyond question that the bill under consideration should become a law. The opinion was delivered at the October term, 1878, of the Supreme Court of the United States. I quote from the opinion as follows:

Burgess was collector of internal revenue for the third collection district of Virginia, and in that capacity exacted from and received of Salmon & Hancock, and paid into the Treasury of the United States, the sum of $377.80 as an additional tax of four cents a pound on a quantity of tobacco belonging to them. It was thus exacted on the 3d day of March, 1875, under the act of that date, which provides as follows:

"That section 3368 of the Revised Statutes be amended by striking out the words '20 cents a pound,' and inserting in lieu thereof the words '24 cents a pound:' * * * *Provided*, That the increase of tax herein provided for shall not apply to tobacco on which the tax under existing laws shall have been paid when this act takes effect." (18 Stat., 339.)

The act contains also the provision following, namely:

"Every person who removes from his manufactory tobacco without the proper stamp being affixed and canceled * * * shall, for each offense, be fined not less than $1,000 and not more than $5,000, and be imprisoned not less than one year and not more than two years."

The tobacco in question was stamped, sold, and removed for consumption, or use, from the place of manufacture, and beyond the control of Salmon & Hancock in the forenoon of March 3, 1875, and the above-named act of Congress was approved in the afternoon of that day, after the stamping and removal of this tobacco, which, when removed, had been stamped at 20 cents a pound. Payment of the additional 4 cents was made under protest, and an appeal to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue regularly taken and overruled. The manufacturers brought suit to recover back the amount, and recovered judgment in the court below. The collector therefore sued out this writ of error. The case presents but a single point: Can a manufacturer be punished, criminally and civilly—civilly here—for the violation of a statute when the statute was not in force at the time the act was done?

In other words, can a person be thus punished when he did not contravene the provisions of the statute? In still other words, can one be punished for offending against the provisions of a statute from the effects of which he was expressly exempted? * * * The President approved the bill, and the time of such approval points out the earliest possible moment at which it could become a law. * * * In the present case the acts and admissions of the Government to establish the position that the duties exacted by law had been fully paid * * * before the President had approved the act of Congress imposing an increased duty. * * * To impose upon the owner of the goods a criminal punishment or a penalty of $377 for not paying an additional tax of 4 cents a pound would subject him to the operation of an *ex post facto* law.

Had the proceeding against Salmon and Hancock been taken by indictment

instead of suit for the excess of the tax, and the one was equally authorized with the other, the proceeding would certainly have fallen within the description of an *ex post facto* law. In Fletcher *vs.* Peck (6 Cranch, 87) it was decided that an act of the Legislature by which a man's estate shall be seized for a crime, which was not declared to bear offense by a previous law, was void. * * * The cases cited hold that the *ex post facto* effect of a law can not be evaded by giving a civil form to that which is essentially criminal. (Cummings *vs.* Missouri, 4 Wall., 277; Potter's Dwarris, 162, 163, note 9.)

The ruling of Commissioner Douglas was highly technical and unjust, if not altogher erroneous in law. At all events "exact justice" and perfect honesty and fairness, on the part of the United States towards the citizens thereof, require the Government to refund to the proper parties the additional taxes arbitrarily collected from them under the act of March 3, 1875. More than thirteen years have elapsed since these taxes have been wrongfully exacted by the Government, and the relief now proposed should no longer be denied or delayed.

Aid to the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ISAAC S. STRUBLE,

OF IOWA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1888.

The House having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for 1888 and prior years, and for other purposes—

Mr. STRUBLE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I can not but regret that the questions involved in the report made by the conferees upon this bill in relation to the amendments now under discussion——

Mr. STOCKDALE. Will the gentleman permit me to interrupt him for a question before he proceeds, for my own information, as I want to hear it discussed——

Mr. STRUBLE. I would like to finish my opening sentence first. I do not know exactly where I am until I have commenced. I would first prefer to be sure I have the floor. [Laughter.]

Mr. STOCKDALE. Certainly. Excuse me for interrupting.

Mr. STRUBLE. I will yield to the gentleman with pleasure in a moment.

Mr. Speaker, I started out to express regret that this discussion in relation to the pending amendments should not have been begun and concluded without the attempt, and the successful attempt, as I am bound to believe, to make it a political and partisan question.

Mr. SPINOLA. That commenced on your side.

Mr. STRUBLE. No, sir——

Mr. RYAN. I beg pardon; it did not commence on this side.

Mr. SPINOLA. It commenced in a Republican Senate, by a Republican Senator, who arraigned a Democratic President for the performance of his duty.

Mr. RYAN. I beg to say in reply to the gentleman that there is nothing whatever in the language used by the Senator that warrants that assertion.

Mr. SPINOLA. Why, you used the language yourself this morning. [Laughter.]

Mr. RYAN. Oh, I replied to my colleague on the committee.

Mr. SPINOLA. And I was replying to you. [Renewed laughter.]

Mr. STRUBLE. I wish to say to the distinguished gentleman from New York before he gets too far away from me——

Mr. SPINOLA. No, sir; I am going to wait right here. [Laughter.]

Mr. STRUBLE. That when this subject was debated at the other end of the Capitol there was no such trouble there between the two parties; no such discussion upon partisan lines as there has been here; but, on the contrary, if I have read aright, there was a commendable sentiment of unanimity upon the question of the merit of the proposition to aid in the maintenance of this home.

Mr. SPINOLA. And to aid in any proposition to take money out of the Treasury. The other end of the Capitol is always ready for that.

Mr. STRUBLE. I beg to say to the gentleman that in my judgment, in that statement he does the Senate of the United States an absolute injustice, and that the Senate is not always ready in any such sense as he implies to take money out of the Treasury.

Mr. SPINOLA. Oh, no; there is the record that speaks for itself. They amend bills every time by adding appropriations to appropriations.

Mr. STRUBLE. They frequently do, but that is one thing, and to support any proposition to take money out of the Treasury is quite another. Now I will yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. STOCKDALE. The question I wished to ask the gentleman from Iowa is mainly in reference to the alleged contract, as I understand it, for this building. I have not heard all the discussion here, being necessarily absent. But gentlemen have been discussing, as I understand it, a contract about this building. Can it be that we are asked to vote money to put up a building on a contract, the only evidence of the existence of which, as I understand my friend, is that he is credibly informed it exists? If it exists and is in writing, why is it or a copy of it not produced?

Mr. STRUBLE. I think it is to be regretted that the gentleman from Mississippi has not been in during the discussion. The question suggested by him has been discussed to some extent by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES], and also and more fully by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. STOCKDALE. I heard the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. STRUBLE. I may not be able to answer his inquiry fully; but if I have time to refer to it, will take pleasure in doing so and presenting such information as I possess concerning it.

Mr. Speaker, I deem it but fair to myself and due the House to say at the outset, that until quite recently I had no thought of taking any part in this discussion. Other gentlemen, some of whom are members of the Committee on Appropriations, were, as I am advised, expected to join with the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN] in presenting the claims and merits of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah in case serious objection should be made to the continuance of the support accorded it heretofore without objection by this and the Forty-ninth Congress. All of these gentlemen except Mr. RYAN are now absent from the House, and this, if any were necessary to be stated, is my reason for having sought recognition in order to make some observations on the pending Senate amendments.

Mr. Speaker, I have great respect for the gentleman from Missouri who has charge of this bill. I have learned to regard him not only as a very able man, but as one possessing and exemplifying on all occasions a large degree of manly fairness and honor. But I must confess, sir, that in this discussion, in so far as these Senate amendments now under consideration are concerned, I have realized no little disappointment in the manner in which he has treated the questions before the House to-day. I know he intends always in public discussion to be fair and honorable, and, I think, to be broad and statesmanlike, but I fear he has fallen a little below that honorable standard he has heretofore and always maintained in public debate.

It is my opinion, Mr. Speaker, that an attempt has been made here to-day not only to question some of the details of operation connected with this enterprise known as the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, but that, whether intentionally or not, the effect of the speech of the gentleman from Missouri has been to discredit the enterprise itself. At the very outset of his remarks the plain insinuation was made by the gentleman from Missouri that the original appropriation made August 4, 1886, was not made to aid the enterprise in Utah inaugurated by the incorporators of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah and others interested in the cause represented by this incorporation.

After referring to the law granting the first aid, the gentleman exclaims, "Industrial Home in Utah Territory! That is not the name of the private corporation now figuring in our deliberations," thereby suggesting to the House that the "corporation now figuring in our deliberations" has possibly availed itself of an opportunity opened by the first appropriation to place itself in an attitude to thereafter claim and receive the favorable consideration of Congress.

I grant that the gentleman had no purpose to lead the thought of the House to that extent, but apprehending that some may have received such an impression, I desire thus early in my remarks to lay the facts fully before gentlemen present.

Years ago, and prior to 1886, the attention of a number of the most intelligent Christian women of the land, who were then devoting themselves to philanthropic efforts to elevate and Christianize such of their sex as were, and, in many parts of the land are, in a deplorable state, and to aid all such in attempts to ameliorate their condition, had their attention attracted to the women of Utah, and missionaries were sent to labor among them and the Mormon people of that Territory. Later, and as prosecutions were made more effective under national statutes for the suppression of polygamy, the condition of such women and the dependent children of such as might from any cause abandon polygamous relations or be compelled to discontinue in it by reason of the enforcement of the law against their husbands—became a most serious question with the ladies to whom I have referred and certain Christian gentlemen residing in and out of Utah—and they were led to consider what should be done to provide means for meeting the urgent necessities of the women and children who might, as I have said, abandon or be compelled to cease their polygamous practices.

The result was a decision to establish in Salt Lake City a home to which the classes I have named could go and receive not only shelter, food, and clothing, but also instruction in such industrial arts as would most quickly and effectually fit them to maintain themselves outside the home; and on March 15, 1886, nearly five months anterior to any appropriation by Congress, the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah was incorporated under the laws of that Territory; and I venture to say, without fear of successful contradiction, that no more emi-

nently reputable men and women, none possessing more intelligence or of superior Christian character, were ever associated together for the inauguration and execution of a disinterested charity than those who, in Utah and out, joined in the movement resulting in the incorporation to which I alluded a moment ago, and to which reference was made by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. RYAN] in his remarks made in reply to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES]. If gentlemen will take the trouble to note in the RECORD the names of these ladies and gentlemen immediately connected with the incorporation of the association—which I will not stop now to give—they will, I am persuaded, justify me in the complimentary reference I have made to them. Beside those whose names appear as incorporators, several national organizations are identified with this interest, and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with Miss Willard as its president; the National Woman's Home Missionary Society, Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, president; the Presbyterian Missionary Society, Mrs. Darwin R. James, of Brooklyn, president, and three hundred thousand women, representing the highest standard of Christian homes in this country, have by official authority memorialized this Congress in behalf of this appropriation.

In order that the House may know fully the powers and scope of the incorporation, the purposes sought to be accomplished by those joining in the movement, I present the articles of incorporation at this point, together with certain affidavits of some of the members thereof, appended to said articles, presumably in compliance with the Territorial law:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, *Territory of Utah:*

These articles of agreement of incorporation of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah witnesseth:

Whereas on this the 15th day of March, 1886, at Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, Utah Territory, a voluntary association, under and bearing said corporate name, has been duly organized and formed, and a constitution therefor duly made and adopted, for the purposes set forth in these articles of agreement; and

Whereas it has been, by the unanimous vote of the meeting, "*Resolved*, That the association incorporate under the laws of Utah, with a board of directors, as provided in the constitution of said association, for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the association as stated in article second of the constitution," which objects are hereinafter specifically set forth as near as may be; and

Whereas in pursuance of, and to assist in carrying out, said resolution, thereafter and on the same day, at the same place, during the meeting of said association, there was elected by a majority vote of the meeting the directors hereinafter named as and for directors of said corporation and to constitute its board of directors; and

Whereas a majority of all the members of said association were and are present at said meeting and organization and election, and Jeannette H. Ferry, of Park City, Utah, and Anna Baker, of Salt Lake City, Utah, were the officers of said meeting and conducted said election:

Now, in order to carry out said resolution and to form a corporation for benevolent and other purposes under chapter 45 of the laws of the Territory of Utah of the year 1884, entitled "An act compiling and amending the laws relating to private corporations," approved March 13, 1884, the undersigned, a majority of the members of said association present at said meeting, do now associate and agree as follows:

ARTICLE I. This corporation is organized at Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, Utah Territory; it shall exist for fifty years, unless sooner dissolved, and its corporate name shall be "Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah."

ART. II. The place of general business of this corporation shall be Salt Lake City, Utah, but corporate business offices and association branches may be established elsewhere in or without Utah Territory to aid in carrying out the objects and pursuits of the corporation.

ART. III. The officers of this corporation shall be a board of thirteen directors or trustees, and a president, eight vice-presidents, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer. Until their successors are elected and qualified the following-named persons shall be officers of this corporation: George A. Lowe, George S. Ellis, Hector M. Scott, James M. Darling, Ira E. Lyons, Henry W. Lawrence, Rebecca C. Shelton, Clara Huse, Emma L. Miller, Martha A. Locke, Margaret D. Zane, and Martha M. Campbell, each and all of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Jeanette H. Ferry, of Park City, Utah Territory, shall be directors or trustees; and Jeanette H. Ferry, of Park City, Utah, shall be president; and Emma L. Carroll, Hettie M. Critchelow, Emma L. Miller, Clara Huse, Rebecca C. Shelton, Margaret D. Zane, and Martha M. Campbell, each and all of Salt Lake City, Utah, and Angie F. Newman, of Lincoln, Nebr., shall be vice-presidents, and Martha A. Locke, of Salt Lake City, Utah, shall be treasurer, and Cornelia Paddock, of Salt Lake City, Utah, shall be corresponding secretary, and Anna Baker, of Salt Lake City, Utah, shall be recording secretary.

ART. IV. The board of directors shall exercise all the corporate powers, and a majority of the whole number of directors shall form a board for the transaction of corporate business. A majority of the board must be residents of Utah, and to entitle one to become a director or officer he or she must be a member of this association under its by-laws, and all directors and officers shall hold office until their successors are elected and qualified. Any director or officer may be removed by a two-thirds vote of the whole number of directors, and may resign by written resignation filed with the recording secretary, and any vacancy occurring in the board or any office from death, resignation, or disability may be filled until the next annual election of the association by a majority vote of the remaining members of the board.

ART. V. There shall be an annual meeting of the members of this association for the purpose of electing officers and directors, and the transaction of such other business as may be necessary, which shall be held at Salt Lake City, Utah, on the first Tuesday of October, in each and every year, the first annual meeting to be there held the first Tuesday of October, 1886; and a majority vote of the whole number of members present at said meetings shall be necessary for the election of officers and the transaction of other business. Special meetings of the members of this association may be called for the transaction of business upon resolution of the board of directors setting forth the reasons for calling the meeting, and notice of such meeting shall be published in some daily newspaper printed and issued at Salt Lake City, Utah, for the period of twenty-one days prior to the time fixed in said notice for such meeting, which notice shall be signed by the secretary of the board and specify the object of the meeting; and a majority vote of the members present at such meeting shall be necessary for the transaction of business.

ART. VI. The objects, pursuits, and businesses af this corporation, as near as may be stated generally, are as follows: To found, build, equip, provide for, maintain, and regulate, in all necessary and proper ways, industrial homes, boarding houses, schools, hospitals, and places for instruction, aid, betterment, and general benevolent and charitable purposes at Salt Lake City and other places in Utah Territory and elsewhere, and in which to promote and accomplish the fitting of persons for industrial and all other pursuits; also to teach, instruct, discipline, educate, and fit for the active duties of life all classes of people without distinction, but more especially women and children, in all pursuits and industries whereby the interests of individuals and of society may be bettered, and whereby people may be fitted to earn, each for himself or herself, an honest livelihood; to establish private schools and school systems and courses of study; to provide rewards for merit in any and all work done under the supervision, aid, or instruction of this association; to provide work and remuneration therefor for all persons who are needy or in want, and especially for women, girls, and children so situated; to provide and secure situations for such as acquire efficiency in any industrial or other pursuit under the guidance of this corporation; to relieve distress and ameliorate suffering among all classes; to aid in every proper and charitable way those who are in poverty and want; to provide for and seek to establish among the masses a better knowledge of sanitary laws and care of health; and generally to forward and aid in every lawful way all benevolent, charitable, and educational purposes and objects whatsoever; also to solicit and receive contributions, to give exhibitions and entertainments, and to adopt and exercise all other proper means to raise funds and the means to carry on the corporate business and further and accomplish the objects of the association; to provide by by-laws for increase and maintenance of memberships of and in this corporation; and lastly, to make all lawful rules, regulations, and by-laws, and to do all other proper things to aid in systematizing, providing for, and carrying on all the business, and in forwarding all the objects of the corporation, and to acquire and hold real estate and personal property sufficient to carry out the purposes of the corporation.

ART. VII. The full names and places of residence of all the members of said corporation are as follows: George A. Lowe, of Salt Lake City, Utah; Henry W. Lawrence, George S. Ellis, Hector M. Scott, Clara Huse, James M. Darling, Elizabeth S. Dickey, Cornelia Paddock, Hettie M. Critchelow, Rebecca C. Shelton, Margaret D. Zane, Leonora Page, Martha A. Locke, Fanny Stenhouse, Emma L. Miller, Rachel Wilson, Mary E. Wilcox, Etha A. Whaley, Delome Trent, Clara C. Darling, Robert G. McNiece, Martha M. Campbell, Anna Baker, Samuel J. Carroll, Emma L. Carroll, each and all of Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, Utah Territory; and Angie F. Newman, of Lincoln, State of Nebraska; and Jeanette H. Ferry, of Park City, Summit County, Utah Territory.

In witness whereof a majority of all the members of said association, present at said meeting, do now subscribe their names and affix their seals to these articles.

Signed (with seal): James M. Darling, Elizabeth S. Dickey, Cornelia Paddock, Hettie M. Critchelow, Rebecca C. Shelton, Margaret D. Zane, Leonora Page, Martha A. Locke, Fanny Stenhouse, Emma L. Miller, Rachel Wilson, Mary E. Wilcox, Etha A. Whaley, Delome Trent, S. J. Carroll, Emma L. Carroll, Clara C. Darling, Robert C. McNiece, Angie F. Newman, Jeanette H. Ferry, Martha M. Campbell, Anna Baker.

In presence of—
WM. M. BRADLEY.

TERRITORY OF UTAH, *Salt Lake County, ss:*

Mrs. Jeanette H. Ferry and Miss Anna Baker, being each duly sworn, upon oath say: We are the persons who were present and acted as officers, to wit, the president and secretary respectively of, and presided at, the meeting, and as such officers conducted the election of directors mentioned in the preamble or recitals of the foregoing attached articles of agreement or incorporation of the "Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah;" said meeting was held at Salt Lake City, Utah, on the date and for the purposes stated in said preamble or recitals; a majority of all the members of said association were present at said meeting and election, and signed said articles of agreement thereat, and the directors and officers named as such respectively in said articles of agreement were at said meeting duly elected as and for directors and officers of said corporation by a majority vote of all the members of said association.

ANNA BAKER.
JEANETTE H. FERRY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me March 15, 1886.
[SEAL] WM. M. BRADLEY,
Notary Public, Salt Lake County, Utah.

TERRITORY OF UTAH, *Salt Lake County, ss:*

On this 17th day of March, 1886, before me, the probate judge of Salt Lake County, Utah, personally appeared Anna Baker, Martha A. Locke, Emma S. Carroll, and Angie F. Newman, personally known to me to be the identical persons named in, and who, as members of the "Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah," executed the foregoing attached articles of agreement of incorporation, and they duly acknowledged to me that they, each of them, respectively, executed the same freely and voluntarily and for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Witness my hand at Salt Lake City, in said county, the day and year aforesaid.

ELIAS A. SMITH,
Probate Judge, Salt Lake County, Utah.

TERRITORY OF UTAH, *County of Salt Lake, ss:*

Anna Baker, Martha A. Locke, Emma S. Carroll, and Angie F. Newman, being each duly sworn, each on oath says: We are members of the "Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah," and it is our bona fide intention, and the bona fide intention of the members of said association, to commence and carry on, and we and they have commenced, the business mentioned in the foregoing attached articles of agreement of incorporation.

ANNA BAKER.
MARTHA A. LOCKE.
EMMA L. CARROLL.
ANGIE F. NEWMAN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of March, 1886.
ELIAS A. SMITH,
Probate Judge, Salt Lake County, Utah.

TERRITORY OF UTAH, *County of Salt Lake, ss:*

I, John C. Cutler, clerk of the probate court in and for the county of Salt Lake, in the Territory of Utah, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true, and correct copy of the articles of agreement only of incorporation of the "Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah," as appears on file in my office.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court, this 19th day of March, A. D. 1886.

[SEAL.] JOHN C. CUTLER, *Probate Clerk.*
By H. S. CUTLER, *Deputy.*

It will be observed that here appears to be an incorporation organized deliberately, with ample formality, and which no doubt was in strict compliance with the then existing laws of Utah.

Mr. Speaker, I assert here, upon what I consider most reliable information, that on August 4, 1886, when the first appropriation was made by Congress to aid in the establishment of such a home, no other association or incorporation known as an "industrial home," or one seeking to establish such a charity, was known in Utah; and further, that to this date no such association or incorporation, except the one incorporated on March 15, 1886, and now seeking further aid from Congress, is known in Utah or has existence therein. Nor were any other person, persons, association, or incorporation on or prior to August 4, 1886, in so far as the records of Congress show, seeking to obtain an appropriation in aid of such an enterprise in Utah. Further than this, let me say that prior to the first appropriation in aid of the only "industrial home" in Utah, and with a view to secure such appropriation, the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah presented to the Senate, by Mrs. Angie F. Newman, its agent, a memorial praying financial assistance to this association. The memorial, which was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, was as follows:

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Forty-ninth Congress:

We, the undersigned, officers of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory, by the authority of the board of trustees of said incorporation, beg leave to present for the consideration of your honorable body the following memorial and petition:

A great philanthropic movement for the relief of the dependent classes of Utah Territory has been in formative operation among civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Utah and the States for the past three years.

On the 15th of March, 1886, a permanent organization was formed in Salt Lake City under the name of the "Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah." The association was incorporated under chapter 45 of the laws of the Territory of Utah of the year 1884.

The officers of the association are Christian women of established character and executive ability.

The board of trustees are gentlemen of known business integrity and financial strength.

The object of the association is the establishment of an educational institution in Salt Lake City where industrial pursuits shall be taught upon a basis which shall qualify for self-support. The institution will be divided into three distinct departments.

In the first, domestic industries, such as cooking, dress-making, tailoring, cutting and fitting children's clothing, etc., will be taught.

In the second, mechanical industries, including type-writing, telegraphy, stenography, silk-reeling, etc.

In both of these departments competent instructors will be employed.

A bureau of information will be established who shall furnish information as to positions available to graduates in adjacent States.

The graduates in the mechanical department may perform remunerative labor in the institution to the extent of funds for transportation to the positions secured.

Pupils from the domestic department will find immediate employment in the gentile homes of Utah.

The third department will offer temporary shelter to the homeless women and children whose cases are accepted by the board. For this class the bureau may furnish employment in the Territory or adjacent States of such character as the capacity of the individual indicates or opportunity furnishes.

The demand for such an institution is found—

1. In the anomalous social condition of Utah Territory under Mormon régime.

2. In the fact that there is not a single benevolent institution in the Territory for the dependent classes.

Moreover, it is hopeless to expect a Mormon Legislature to appropriate funds to meet a condition of things which the Mormon leaders declare does not exist or to establish an institution which shall contribute towards the disintegration of the Mormon Church.

Hence national obligation is apparent.

The principle is fundamental in a Republican government to protect its helpless minorities, especially so when these minorities are women and children.

The question of self-support is based in the solution of the problem of the disruption of polygamous households.

It is a well-known fact that there are many who would voluntarily abandon polygamous relations if facilities for self-support were provided.

Furthermore, it is futile to legislate against existing relations and make no provision for the terrible exigencies which arise in the execution of law.

Fathers and mothers whose moral nature has survived the wreck of polygamous life will at least hesitate to impose upon their children immediate disaster by either voluntary or enforced obedience to national law.

Therefore it is with confidence in that justice which is the apotheosis of mercy that we, your petitioners, in behalf of those who can not speak for themselves, except by their silent appeal to the nation's God, ask of your honorable body the appropriation of $100,000 to the Industrial Christian Home Association for the construction and equipment of such an institution as is herein specified.

Respectfully submitted.

JEANNETTE H. FERRY, *President*,
Park City, Utah Territory.
MARGARET D. ZANE, *Vice-President*,
Salt Lake City, Utah Territory.
CORNELIA A. PADDOCK, *Secretary*,
Salt Lake City.

GEORGE A. LOWE,
IRA E. LYONS,
HECTOR M. SCOTT,
JAMES M. DARLING,
GEORGE E. ELLIS,
HENRY M. LAWRENCE,
Per ANGIE F. NEWMAN, *Vice-President at Large*,
Trustees, Salt Lake City.

As further bearing upon the authority of Mrs. Newman to thus appear and present this memorial, and as showing the fitness of this lady for the mission with which she was intrusted, I submit the following evidence of authority and testimony:

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, held upon due notice at the place of business of the corporation, in Salt Lake City and County, Utah Territory, on Monday, the 22d day of March, 1886, a majority of the whole number of directors composing said board being present, it was, by the unanimous vote of the meeting, in substance and effect,

Resolved, That Mrs. Angie F. Newman, of Lincoln, Nebr., one of the vice-presidents of this corporation, be, and she is hereby, appointed and authorized to represent this corporation at Washington, D. C., and at other Eastern places, as its aid and assistant in forwarding all matters pertaining to the business of the corporation; and, among other matters, she may take measures to raise by private subscription for corporate purposes, and may for such purposes receive contributions, moneys, and funds, and may solicit and seek, and adopt and carry out measures to secure, in all proper ways, Congressional action and assistance by way of appropriation, or other measures looking to the pecuniary betterment of the affairs or other advancement of the business of the corporation.

Attest:

H. M. SCOTT,
Secretary pro tempore of the Board of Directors.

The foregoing and within is approved by the undersigned, a majority of the board of directors, said corporation having no seal.

EMMA L. MILLER,
President pro tempore.
CLARA A. HUSE.
G. S. ELLIS.
MARTHA M. CAMPBELL.
H. W. LAWRENCE.
MARTHA A. LOCKE.
MARGARET D. ZANE.

STATE OF NEBRASKA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Lincoln, April 16, 1886.

To the Congressional delegation of the State of Nebraska:

GENTLEMEN: Mrs. A. F. Newman, of this city, visits Washington for the purpose of securing Government aid in establishing an industrial school at Salt Lake City. I take great pleasure in commending her to your courteous consideration as well as to your kindly offices in the work in which she is engaged.

I remain, respectfully,

JAMES W. DAWES,
Governor of Nebraska.

DENVER, COLO., *April* 6, 1886.

To the Senators and Representatives of Colorado in Washington, D. C.:

I hereby commend to your thoughtful consideration the plans for an industrial home for the destitute women of Utah, presented by the bearer, Mrs. Angie F. Newman, and indorsed by the leading philanthropists of Salt Lake.

Sincerely, yours,

H. W. WARREN.
Bishop of the M. E. Church and in charge of Missions in Utah.

SALT LAKE CITY, *April*, 1886.

To whom it may concern:

Mrs. Angie F. Newman being duly elected by the directors of the Woman's Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah as their delegate to secure Congressional aid in behalf of this much-needed institution, I take pleasure in commending her to the confidence of all people as a brilliant speaker, an earnest advocate of reform, and a Christian woman whose heart has borne the burden of the cause of Christ in Utah for years.

S. J. CARROLL,
Pastor of M. E. Church and Editor of Utah Christian Advocate.
J. JAY GARVIN,
President of S. Seminary.

The Woman's Industrial Christian Home Association, in their meeting March 22 to reconsider the election of delegate to Washington in their behalf, decided to send but one delegate in place of the two first chosen.

Mrs. Angie F. Newman was elected the one delegate, and a committee was appointed to secure funds for her use and forward the same to her at Washington.

JEANNETTE H. FERRY,
President Woman's Industrial Christian Home Association,
Salt Lake, Utah.

To the House Committee on Appropriations:

The Utah Industrial Home Association is an organization whose purpose is to provide a means of self-support for the dependent classes of this Territory. The society have incorporated under the statutes. They have elected Mrs. A. G. Paddock and Mrs. Angie F. Newman as their representatives to your honorable body to ask for Congressional appropriation of $—— to aid in the purchase of lots and the erection of suitable buildings in which domestic and mechanical industries shall be taught and a shelter afforded to helpless women and children. The object is in every sense praiseworthy. There are many women now members of polygamous families who would renounce their present relations if they had any place of shelter or any means of support assured for themselves and their children. There are many more who have renounced polygamy and Mormonism together, and who have nothing but their hands to ward off starvation. The fact that there is not a single public institution in this Territory for the protection of this numerous class makes imperative such action. The ladies selected to make this appeal are trustworthy. The project has the indorsement of—

CHARLES S. ZANE.
W. H. DICKSON.
E. A. IRELAND.

The following, while addressed to the supposed chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, was sent to the Senate committee:

OFFICE OF THE UTAH COMMISSION,
Salt Lake City, March 12, 1886.

SIR: An organization under the general incorporation laws of this Territory has been perfected by Christian women of Utah for the establishment of an industrial home for the helpless and dependent of their own sex and their children at or near the city of Salt Lake.

The trustees of the association are prominent business men of known ability, integrity, and good financial standing, resident of this city. The executive officers are representative Christian women, also residing here. We vouch for their high character and cordially indorse and commend the philanthropic movement they have inaugurated.

It is proposed to establish an institution upon a basis broad enough to meet the exigencies that may arise from the exceptional social conditions of this Territory.

It is contemplated not only to provide homes for the indigent and distressed, but to furnish gratuitous domestic and mechanical instruction which shall qualify those who receive it for self-support.

We believe that such a beneficence, supplemental to the enforcement of the laws for the suppression of polygamy in Utah, will effectively aid in accomplishing the result sought through Congressional legislation.

It may be reasonably hoped that this provision for the maintenance and industrial education of polygamous wives and children will induce the withdrawal of many who are now held through fear of the distress and suffering that would inevitably result to them from such separation.

Considering the undoubted usefulness of an institution of this character in aid of the effort of the Federal Government to eradicate the polygamic evil, we believe that it could properly and should receive financial assistance through liberal appropriations by Congress. We desire, therefore, to second the appeal of the association in this behalf.

Very respectfully,

A. B. CARLTON.
J. R. PETTIGREW.
A. S. PADDOCK.
G. R. GODFREY.

Hon. W. S. HOLMAN,
Chairman Appropriations Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Upon the memorial to which I have alluded, formal hearing was had by the Senate committee on May 7, 1886—Mrs. Newman appearing for the Industrial Christian Home Association, making argument and being subjected to thorough cross-examination by members of the committee.

The committee made a favorable report on the memorial—to which I will presently allude. And I should say, from the slight examination I have given to this report, the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate gave to this question most careful and earnest attention before making it to the Senate. I will now read a few sentences from that report. After the preliminary statement in reference to the question submitted, it goes on to say:

The disorganization of the existing form of society in the Territory of Utah growing out of the enforcement of the laws against polygamy, and which must become continually greater until that practice is totally suppressed, has developed the necessity of some great local agency of a humane and charitable nature to co-operate with the forces of the law as administered through the courts and the executive power.

Great numbers of persons now entangled and fettered in the structure of Mormon society have indicated a desire to sever their relations, but without help from some outside agency to make the transition from their present to new relations in accord with the laws of the land and the legitimate customs of American life, they find themselves completely helpless by reason of their poverty or their lack of that intellectual or industrial training indispensable to secure employment and support.

The hardships inflicted by the proper enforcement of the law upon women and children are very great, and the voluntary abandonment of existing conditions is hardly to be expected where no provision is apparent by which existence can be prolonged and the way opened to a new life.

I call the attention of the House especially to the following language of the report:

The Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah is an institution chartered by the laws of the Territory, and appears to possess the confidence of the authorities and responsible citizens of Utah.

This association proposes to undertake the work the necessity of which is above indicated. The expenses incurred must come from the public Treasury or from private charity. Fortunately, the most important thing of all, able, upright, and benevolent individuals—men and women—are ready to devote themselves to the work. It would seem to be almost compulsory upon the Government that the effort to extirpate polygamy by law should be abandoned, or the severities and sufferings incident thereto should be removed so far as possible by means of this or some like institution, to be made efficient through so much of government support as may be necessary.

Now, so much to the point of the character of the applicants to Congress for aid to this home and the proceedings in Utah and before the Senate prior to the first appropriation. It is not a case in which Congress was "captured," so to speak, by the importunities of one or more individuals who came here to represent that cause, but it is a fact that the deliberate body at the other end of the Capitol took this question into consideration, gave it careful attention, and the Committee on Education and Labor dignified the subject by reporting upon it favorably to that body, and thereafter the Senate, following the recommendations contained in the report, agreed with this body in an appropriation in aid of the work contemplated by this Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah.

Mr. Speaker, what strikes me as remarkably strange in this discussion is the attitude of my friend from Missouri [Mr. BURNES], in view of the fact that during all the time this question has been up before Congress he was a member of the Appropriations Committee of the House, and if I am not in error, was on each conference committee on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on bills to which the Senate attached the two appropriations for this home, and if he did not concur in these appropriations for the purpose for which that home was inaugurated and the objects sought to be accomplished by and through the agency established, I do not remember ever hearing a word of protest from him at any time previous to this. I am well aware, and I will not do him the injustice not to state, that he expresses himself as willing to make appropriations in aid of the purposes of this home on certain conditions, but nevertheless he goes on and raises so many objections to the Senate amendments that I am led to question whether he is much in favor of the project. Certainly he is not enthusiastically interested in favor of granting further aid to the home, and I presume he will not claim any such feeling.

Now, why is it that my friend from Missouri, after favoring these appropriations in the Forty-ninth Congress and the first session of this Congress and after having been present in the conference with the Senate conferees on former bills making appropriation in aid of this home, as I think he was, should come in here and make this strong and vigorous fight, as I regard it, against the further continuance of the home and the work of those engaged in it? He asks the question, and seriously, too, why these ladies managing this home have not been satisfied to let the power of controlling the disposition of the money rest with the governor of Utah, the judges of the courts of that Territory, and the district attorney.

He says the law reposes this authority in the governor and that the ladies or persons interested in the management of the home have from time to time been seeking to have a change in the law in respect to handling and disposing of the funds appropriated to aid it.

In the first place, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that it would appear from what the governor of Utah said in his last report to the Secretary of the Interior, neither he nor the judges of the courts of Utah have had time to devote to this project, nor have had time to consider the bills, to audit the accounts, or to give attention to the many things pertaining to the work of the home. He became so impressed upon this subject that in his last report to the Secretary of the Interior he used the following language in respect of the present board of control, meaning himself, the judges of the supreme court of the Territory, and the district attorney:

The board of control unanimously hold that some other and better agency than the board can and ought to be selected as disbursing agent of the fund. The chief-justice and district attorney residing at the capital have their time fully occupied with the duties of their respective offices.

The other judges hold their courts away from here, and are compelled either to absent themselves from and close their courts or fail in attendance at the board meetings. The board of control recommend that the executive committee of the Woman's Christian Industrial Home Association of Utah be constituted a board for the purpose.

I wish to emphasize to members this recommendation of the board of control, and ask that each one present will remember it: "The board of control recommend that the executive committee of the Woman's Christian Industrial Association of Utah be constituted a board for the purpose," namely, to receive and disburse funds, etc. There is a slight technical error in the description of the incorporation, but we are now beyond the point of question as to what corporation is meant. It appears, then, that the governor and the other members of the board of control—the judges of the supreme court and the district attorney—after more than a year's acquaintance with the enterprise, and presumably with those who have under their supervision had charge of it, solemnly concluded, and unanimously, "that some other and better agency than the board (meaning the board of control, themselves) can and ought to be selected as disbursing agent of *the fund,*" and it follows from the recommendation made immediately thereafter that the executive committee of the Home Association was deemed to be that better agency.

In the face of such a recommendation, how weak become the insinuations and allegations of incompetency against the capacity of the home management to receive and disburse these funds which Congress has and will in the future appropriate to this commendable and humane charity!

But, sir, what is the position of the friends of these amendments? First, however, I want to answer the query of the gentleman from Missouri as to why these ladies have, from time to time, come here seeking a change in the law with respect to the custody and management of these funds. It was for the very reason that the governor, the judges, and the district attorney have never had sufficient time to devote to the duties devolved upon them by the law; and in support of this statement I wish now to call attention to a part of the record of the joint meetings of the Industrial Christian Home Association, its executive board, and the board of control. It seems a record is kept of all action had by the association, of its board of directors, and of the joint meetings of such board of control and the executive board of the home.

I think gentlemen who will give attention to this record will see that the statement of the governor and the recommendation of this board of control that there should be a change are fully justified. The fact is these officials have been so engaged in other affairs connected with their official positions that they could not meet the representatives of the association on many occasions, and during the first year their joint meetings were almost total failures, even when those meetings were called with reference to most important questions in connection with the work of the home. But here is the record:

RECORDS OF THE JOINT MEETINGS OF THE INDUSTRIAL CHRISTIAN HOME ASSOCIATION AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Industrial Christian Home Association, held November 30, 1886, the following resolutions were presented and passed by unanimous vote:

1. *Resolved*, That a committee from the Industrial Christian Home Association be appointed to take steps toward a formal opening of the home January 19, 1887.

2. That the board of control be asked to sanction the opening of two departments, namely, a cooking school and sewing department—the latter to include appliances for everything pertaining to family or household needs.

Adjourned to meet board of control, 5 p. m.

5 p. m.—Executive committee met board of control at Continental Hotel. Present of board of control: Governor West, United States Attorney Dickson, Judges Zane, Boreman, and Henderson.

Resolutions presented by executive committee to board of control.
No. 1. Laid on the table.
No. 2. Laid on the table.

On February 27, 1887, the following was submitted to the board of control by the director of the home:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD: In consideration of the number of inmates of the home (17), and their urgent need of a person who shall be competent to teach and direct the labors whereby these women shall be better able to fulfill the design of Congress in establishing the home, namely, 'to provide employment and means of self-support,' I ask that such person be employed, and that a department of cooking be opened at once.

"These women have been helped in a great degree; but that the spirit of the institution be met, departments are necessary.

"RUTH M. WOOD."

At a semi-annual meeting of the executive committee of the Industrial Christian Home Association on March 15, 1887, the following resolution was unanimously accepted and presented to the board of control:

Resolved, That the association take such steps as they, with the co-operation of the board of control, may deem wise to open two departments of labor in the Industrial Home at 44 South Fifth East street, namely, a cooking and sewing department, with qualified teacher in each.

The board of control made no response to either of the foregoing propositions.

JUNE 6, 1887.

The executive committee met at the Industrial Home at 2.30 p. m.

The following resolutions were adopted by the committee:

1. *Resolved*, That the executive committee be instructed to confer with the board of control in reference to the opening of new departments of industry in the home.

2. *Resolved*, That the executive committee be instructed to confer with the board of control on the importance of proceeding at once to purchase property for a permanent home with a view of beginning immediately the erection of a much-needed building.

3. *Resolved*, That these instructions be presented by the committee to the board of control at their joint meeting at 8 o'clock p. m.

Adjourned to meet at 8 p. m. at the governor's rooms.

JUNE 6, 1887.

The meeting of board of control and executive committee was held at the governor's rooms at 8 o'clock p. m.

The committee presented, through their chairman, the view of the association on the importance of proceeding at once to purchase property for a permanent home, of beginning immediately the erection of necessary buildings; also urging the necessity of more ample accommodations, making possible the successful opening of new departments of industry in the home. A majority of the board favored the proposition of the committee to purchase property and erect suitable buildings with a view to a permanent home. Governor West urged the necessity of inmates to sanction such outlay. This was met by the committee and some of the board that such outlay was necessary to insure the inmates, and this proposition was ably argued.

(At this time the temporary home was crowded to excess with inmates from the menial classes. No facilities for self-support having been provided, the more intelligent classes were not reached.)

The meeting adjourned to July 11.

JULY 11.

The executive committee met at the Industrial Home at 2.30 p. m.

The architect employed by the chairman of the executive committee presented a plan for an addition to the building now occupied, embracing rooms for a laundry and cooking departments, also a room for the children with bath-room and dining-room for same. Rooms convenient for mo thers and children. These were examined and approved by committee.

The home was visited throughout by the committee and found to be in good order, evidencing excellent management and law.

Adjourned to 8 p. m.

JULY 11—8 P. M.

The board of control and the executive committee met according to appointment at the governor's rooms.

There being no quorum of the board of control, no business could be done. Mr. Lawrence submitted the plans of the architect to those present.

Adjourned to meet August 1.

AUGUST 1.

The executive committee met at the Industrial Home 2 p. m.

The report of the director came before the committee and was approved. The home was visited and the comfort of the inmates looked into by the committee. The management of the home was heartily approved by the same.

Adjourned to meet at the governor's rooms at 8 p. m.

AUGUST 1.

The board of control and executive committee met at 8 p. m.

As there was not a quorum of the board of control no business could be transacted.

Adjourned to meet first Monday in September.

SEPTEMBER 5.

The executive committee met at the Industrial Home 2.30.

The attorney employed to ascertain title for the place occupied by the home, requested the original lease made of the premises. Upon inquiry the director of the home, stated that she had delivered the original lease to Governor West, chairman of the board of control, at his request.

SEPTEMBER 5.

Meeting of board of control and executive committee, at the governor's rooms 8 p. m. Present of the board, Governor West; absent, Judge Zane, Judge Henderson, Judge Boreman, and Attorney Peters.

As there was no quorum of the board of control no business could be transacted. Governor West failed to find the original lease.

Adjourned to October 3.

OCTOBER 3.

The executive committee met at the Industrial Home at 2.30 p. m. The secretary's minutes from June until September 5 were read and approved. A conference was had relating to the interests of the home, Mrs. Newman presenting important facts.

Adjourned to meet the board of control at 8 p. m.

There was no meeting of the board of control with the executive committee as appointed, the governor stating to the committee that he was too busy to attend to it.

At the second annual meeting of the association held October 4, 1887, the association decided to again ask the board of control to purchase property for a permanent home out of the funds held by the said board of control. The matter was put into the hands of a committee of five elected by the association, said committee to select site and ask the board of control to at once purchase.

The committee handed to the board of control the following (as the books of the secretary of the board of control will show):

We, the undersigned, a committee appointed by the Christian Industrial Home of Utah to select a site for a permanent home, do most respectfully report: We, the committee, have considered all the real estate firms in the city, looked constantly for two days at all properties for sale offered by them and others, and unanimously ask that the home may be located at and the property purchased known as the "Clayton Farm." It consists of 10 acres of beautifully lying land, a large red-brick cottage, brick barn, out houses, sheds, etc., all new, three artesian wells, furnishing plenty of water, also being carried into the house. Possession can be given at once and the home moved immediately, thereby saving rent. The property is in the best of repair, and has ample room for the present number of inmates now at the Home.

The property is situated on the Boulevard, the fashionable drive, 1 mile or less south of Liberty Park. The price asked is $6,000.

H. W. LAWRENCE, *Chairman*,
M. B. SOULES,
C. H. PARSONS,
MRS. ARTHUR BROWN,
MRS. JACOB BOREMAN,
Committee on Site.

The board of control not being prepared to vote, or at least did not vote, upon this request, the meeting was adjourned until the following Saturday, the board of control adding to the committee on "site" two of their own members, Judge Charles Zane and District Attorney Peters, that more time might be given the committee on site and also the board of control to look more thoroughly into properties for sale.

At the meeting held Saturday evening the committee on "site" reappeared before the board of control and submitted the following:

"We, the undersigned committee on 'site,' appointed by the Christian Industrial Home of Utah, most respectfully ask that you, the board of control, purchase for the Christian Industrial Home of Utah, out of the funds appropriated by Congress for this object and held by the board of control, the following property:

"Twenty acres of land adjoining and lying south of the La Grand Young farm and north of Liberty Park. The price asked is $10,000. We also ask the sum of $15,000 for the erection of suitable buildings to carry out the work of the association.

"The street-car track, we are informed, will run to the gate if the home is located upon this piece of ground."

H. W. LAWRENCE,
M. B. SOULES,
C. H. PARSONS,
MRS. ARTHUR BROWN,
MRS. JACOB BOREMAN,
Committee on Site.

The committee called the attention of the board of control to the fact that this piece of land lies only about 40 rods south of and on the same street on which is located the Goddard farm, consisting of 47 acres, which the association was anxious to purchase one year ago and which was offered them for $5,500, and the board of control did not think it advisable to buy or to purchase property at all at that time.

The committee stated that within sixty days the Goddard farm had been purchased for $15,000, and was at that date held at $25,000.

The committee stated these things that the board of control should know how real estate was increasing in value in that part of the city.

On this communication of the committee on "site," the following action was had by the board of control:

"*Resolved*, That said communication be received and filed and that action thereon as to the purchase of property and employment of an architect for the present be deferred and that this board at this time decline to take any action for the purchase of property."

The following was received by the association and handed by the president to the board of control, to which no answer was ever received by the association:

"SALT LAKE CITY, *November* 1, 1887.

"*To the Christian Industrial Home Association of Utah:*

"I will give to the Christian Industrial Home of Utah 20 acres of land, platted, about half a mile from the 'White Bridge,' provided the association expend $10,000 within the next two years upon the same in the erection of buildings or improving the land, etc. Artesian water procurable.

"The offer to hold open until January 1, 1888.

"E. B. CRITCHELOW."

At the last meeting of the board of control in October, 1887, on motion of Judge Boreman, seconded by Mr. Peters, it was resolved that the Industrial Christian Home Association be requested to inform the board as to what departments of industry they desire to open in the present home, and the number of employés to be employed, and what salaries and the expense of opening and running said departments. To this the following answer was returned by the association:

"REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ESTABLISHING DEPARTMENTS AND TRADES AT THE INDUSTRIAL HOME.

"We, the undersigned, most respectfully report the departments to be opened at once as follows:

"First. A school for the children with all the modern conveniences and appliances and so situated and managed that a night school could be maintained for women desirous of learning to read and write.

"Second. A sewing department, where all kinds of sewing, dressmaking, tailoring, mending, etc., might be conducted so that the inmates might become proficient in these arts.

"Third. A cooking department, where instruction could be given in all kinds of cooking, also where kitchen gardening could be taught.

"We, the undersigned committee, most respectfully report that we have examined the premises now occupied by the home and, in our judgment, find it totally inadequate and deficient in room for the successful or otherwise opening and conducting any one of these departments.

"These three named departments we, your committee, think it of vital importance for the good of the inmates of the Industrial Home to be at once opened, and that the association enlarge their quarters.

"We find the house the association is now renting very old and inconvenient for such an institution, a cellar of two rooms, all under-ground.

"The first floor contains four rooms, not any of them large; the second floor the same number and size; above is a garret where, for want of room, a number of children are now sleeping.

"We find the inmates crowded and the home most uncomfortable for want of room, and we recommend the obtaining of larger quarters.

"J. CAMERON BROWN, *Chairman.*
"MRS. H. W. LAWRENCE.
"MRS. JAMES DARLING.
"MRS. ILIFF."

No changes were inaugurated at the home by the board of control, no departments opened, no property purchased.

Thus it appears that at every meeting of the association from November 30, 1886, to October 3, 1887, resolutions were passed urging the board of control to open departments in the home that the intent of the law might be fulfilled, also to purchase lots and erect buildings. The resolutions of November 30 were by the board of control laid on the table. Those of February 27 and March 15 were unanswered. For the next four months no quorum was present at any meeting of the board of control. It appears from the record that the ladies representing the home were unable to secure the consent of the board of control during the time covered by this record to the opening of two very important departments, namely, cooking and sewing, that the board of control would not or could not, at a most favorable period in the history of real-estate prices in and near Salt Lake City, co-operate with the board of directors of the home in selecting and purchasing property on which to establish the home permanently, nor permit the home's board of directors to take any steps to secure property.

It appears, also, that the offer of E. B. Chritchelow, made on November 1, 1887, to donate 20 acres in aid of the cause, upon the very reasonable condition that $10,000 should be expended by the association within two years thereafter, could not or was not considered by the board of control, and that opportunity to secure a valuable donation of land was lost, and, presumably, because the gentlemen composing the board had not time to meet and deliberate on the proposition.

The properties offered the association at prices ranging, namely, $5,500 in one case, $6,000 in another, and $10,000 in another (the latter being for 20 acres), have since then greatly increased in value, being now held at figures largely in excess of the sums at which they could have been purchased had the board of control thought and acted differently.

Now, sir, I am disposed to take a charitable view of this matter, and to assume that the members of this board of control have had too much to do in their official positions to be able to give any considerable time to this important work. But is it not time, I ask the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES], upon this record of the failure of the board of control to meet and act with the executive committee of the association, that there should be a change in the management and control of the funds of the institution? The first appropriation in aid of this home was made August 4, 1886, as I have said, and was in language following, being part of the general deficiency bill of last August:

To aid in the establishment of an industrial home in the Territory of Utah, to provide employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy, and the children of such women of tender age, in said Territory, with a view to aid in the suppression of polygamy therein, $40,000; said sum to be expended upon requisition of and under the management of a board of control to consist of the governor and justices of the supreme court and the district attorney of said Territory; and said board shall duly and properly expend said sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the purposes herein indicated, and shall, from time to time, report to the President their acts and doings and expenditures hereunder, for transmission to Congress.

Those friends of the home who advocated this first appropriation supposed that the duly authorized treasurer of the corporation, after giving bonds to the satisfaction of the Treasury Department, would be paid the money from time to time as needed; but it was but a short time after the law was passed until Governor West, of Utah, construed the law as authorizing him to receive the money, and every dollar up to this date has been paid to him. The second appropriation, made by the present Congress on February 1, 1888, being a part of the first deficiency bill passed by the Fiftieth Congress, is in language following:

To aid the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah in carrying on, under its articles of incorporation, the work of providing employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who shall have renounced polygamy, and their children of tender age, $40,000; and the unexpended balance of the appropriation for aiding in the establishment of an industrial home in the Territory of Utah contained in the act of Congress approved August 4, 1886, entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, and for other purposes," shall be deemed a part of this appropriation; and the board of control mentioned in said former appropriation shall audit the expenditures under this appropriation and report yearly to the Secretary of the Interior.

It will be observed that the language of this law is quite different from that of the first one, and indicates clearly that thereafter it was the purpose of Congress to have the money go into the hands of the treasurer of the home under suitable bond.

This law only gives power to the board of control to "audit the expenditures under this appropriation and report yearly to the Secretary of the Interior." To "audit" means "to examine and adjust accounts," not to audit and pay accounts.

As to the money paid over to the governor under the above act, I think the association by some action consented to his drawing it, and no complaint is made because he did so.

Now, what is it the second amendment of the Senate proposes? It proposes that instead of the governor or this board of control having charge of the money which may be appropriated for the use of the home, it may be paid over to a treasurer of the institution, but that all accounts of expenditures under this appropriation shall be audited by the Utah Commission, which shall hereafter act as the board of control for the institution, and shall make an annual report to Congress covering the work of the institution and its expenditures. In other words, it undertakes to make plain beyond doubt the intention of Congress quite clearly expressed in the first law, and which is essential to the efficient management of this home.

My friend from Missouri seems to think that the idea can not be entertained of placing public funds in the hands of the treasurer of this corporation, composed, though it may be, of eminently intelligent and respectable ladies and gentlemen.

He designates it "a private corporation." It is only in a limited sense "private." It is organized to subserve national as well as charitable ends; not for private interests. It is organized to make provision for the innocent victims of national law—in other words, it is the humane side of law. The law says: "You must abandon polygamy whatever the consequences." The home says: "We will give you shelter, food, clothing, education, and industrial training to prepare you for future self-support."

As I am informed, those managing the home do not ask any one to give up polygamy; they are not engaged in such labor; but those who voluntarily abandon it may apply to the home if they desire, and in such case will be received and assisted.

Mr. Speaker, another objection to the amendments expressed by some of the gentlemen who have spoken deserves notice. It is based somewhat, if not entirely, on the following words in the first amendment, namely, "who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church." Undoubtedly those words were inserted more as a rule of identification, to indicate for whom the charity is intended and not that the association is to enter upon a work of proselyting. I think, however, they might well be stricken out, and I would so move were it in order. At the same time, I maintain that on fair construction the words do not indicate a purpose to have those charged with the duty of conducting the home authorized or encouraged to enter on what may be strictly termed "missionary work"—the conversion of Mormon women and children to another faith. These words may well be stricken out for another reason. Nothing answering to them appears in that section of the articles of incorporation defining the purposes of its organization; nothing like them appears in the memorial of the association to Congress; without these words the amendment containing them has sufficient in these words, "for the benefit of the dependent women and children in Utah," and in my opinion any such, no matter about their prior church affiliations, should be admitted to the home and all its benefits equally with those who may have come from a polygamous state.

Sir, there never has been a question raised, so far as I know, against the competency or the disinterestedness of the men and women associated under the laws of Utah for the management of this Christian home until to-day. My friend from Missouri, however, is absolutely shocked at the idea of one of their number being allowed to receive this money from the Government upon the execution of a bond which will secure the Government from loss; and hence he objects most strenuously to the propositions contained in the Senate amendments.

Mr. BURNES. The gentleman seems determined that I shall give him information which I have purposely withheld, out of compassion for parties involved in this mater.

Mr. STRUBLE. I do not yield for that; I will yield for a question.

Mr. BURNES. I only desired permission to give the gentleman information.

Mr. STRUBLE. I would cheerfully yield for a question, or any number of them, because the gentleman was very courteous to me; but my time is too limited to yield for what the gentleman terms information, which might require considerable time to impart. From what I have heard said elsewhere, I readily infer the gentleman proposes answering my observations in reference to his objections to a duly elected treasurer of the association, under bonds, to be approved by the Treasury Department, by referring me and the House to an informal and wholly unofficial financial statement put forth by Mrs. Newman concerning the condition of the appropriations heretofore made by Congress to aid this association. He may venture on an attempt to show that a certain discrepancy exists between her statements and facts obtained from Governor West or the Treasury Department, and he may seek to draw the conclusion that Mrs. Newman is placed in a position that reflects upon her financial or business ability.

Anticipating such an attempt on the part of the gentleman, I desire, in order that the House may be prepared properly to judge on this point, to remind it again, and also the gentleman in charge of this bill [Mr. BURNES], of some facts material to his "information."

First. Mrs. Newman left Utah for Washington the last of March, this year, at which time $10,000 had been drawn from the United States Treasury. Mrs. Newman filed this so-called "financial statement" with the Senate committee the first week in June, on this basis: The financial exhibit of expenditure of $13,500 was made the last of September, on an approximate estimate pro rata with expenses in the past, not hav-

ing later official data at hand, hence no discrepancy appears along the line of expenditures.

Second. As to the full amount drawn from the Treasury to date, on which the apparent "discrepancy" is based, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] may give, if he chooses, but in his own time, the information "purposely withheld" by the gentleman "out of compassion for parties involved." The facts are as follows:

The law of February, 1888, failed to specify in terms by whom the funds should be drawn from the Treasury. Governor West was about to leave for Washington, and the corporation delegated to him the mission of inquiry at the Treasury Department as to the proper agency through whom the funds should be drawn. The governor returned to Utah without executing the commission. The association desired to draw the funds in order to proceed with the erection of buildings, etc. Hence, on the 8th of June, Senator MANDERSON, of Nebraska, accompanied Mrs. Newman to the Treasury Department, and was informed the association could authorize the governor to draw the funds until such time as a law should be passed defining the proper agency.

This information was communicated by Mrs. Newman to the association in Utah. Governor West was so appointed. Through this delay, the association fearing the money would revert to the Treasury on the 1st of July, the chairman of the board of directors, Henry W. Lawrence, sent to Mrs. Newman, on June 25, 1888, the following telegram:

Requisition mailed this evening for balance of appropriation. See that it is honored before June 30.

The governor never communicated with Mrs. Newman as to the receipt of the funds or the amount drawn. Mrs. Newman first learned from the speech of the gentleman from Missouri that $48,000 was the amount drawn, There was some doubt on the part of the association as to the interpretation of the law of February, 1888—whether it appropriated $40,000 plus the expenditures, or otherwise. Mrs. Newman's estimates were made on the basis of the original appropriation of $40,000, having received no notification that the Treasury Department had construed the law as inclusive of the expenditures; hence any "compassion" or "information" of the distinguished member from Missouri, if he shall make such, is a gratuity, which, if applied at all, should be expended upon the governor for failing to notify Mrs. Newman of the facts.

Thus it appears to this hour not a dollar of the Congressional fund has been handled by the corporation, the governor of the Territory having been authorized by the association to draw the funds appropriated under the last law until a disbursing agent should be recognized by the Government. Even the treasurer of the association was not held to be such agent until the law should so specify.

Referring, again, to the matter of a treasurer of this corporation and the funds he may receive from time to time, and the objection raised by the gentleman from Missouri to this plan, I beg again that the House will bear in mind that the amendments we are now considering propose there shall be supervision over the financial transactions of the association by the Utah Commission, a body of men already having much to do with one phase of the Utah situation—all able and respectable men, a majority being Democrats, of course—and this plan maintains Federal supervision over the funds and their disposition to an extent compatible with prudent business management of such a charity.

I wish also to remind the House that the secretary of this Utah Commission is the secretary of the Territory, and is, as I understand, a disbursing officer under bond, disbursing now a considerable sum of money annually. If money should not be paid the association treasurer, why may it not be intrusted to him. Of course the proposition is that one of the members of the corporation shall be the treasurer. But it seems to me my friend's objection might well be obviated (if he is willing to co-operate in aiding this enterprise) by bringing together the two bodies who shall carefully and in a patriotic way administer the charities which are intended to be administered under this legislation.

Mr. BURNES. There is no need of more than one.

Mr. RYAN. I do not know that there would be very much difficulty on that point; but I understand that the proposition in the amendment was put in at the suggestion of the Treasury Department.

Mr. STRUBLE. Does the gentleman refer to the proposition with regard to paying money over to the treasurer of the association?

Mr. RYAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRUBLE. I am very glad to have that information. I am gratified to be advised that a Department of the Government having charge of its financial affairs, has, in considering this question, suggested that in this case, as in many similar ones, I presume, of charities in which the Government is aiding, it would not be a great violation of business principles if a treasurer elected by the corporation be permitted, upon proper bond, to receive and disburse the moneys which may be allowed it from the public Treasury.

I wish to state to this House a further fact, as indicating the views of the Treasury Department in regard to the proper custodian of the funds of the association—not stronger, perhaps, than the one given by my friend from Kansas [Mr. RYAN], but in harmony with it.

The fact relates to this question of treasurership. When Mrs. Newman, in company with a Senator from Nebraska, visited the Treasury Department at the time mentioned and had the conference about the proper agent to draw the funds, conversation was also had in reference to giving bond by the association, and the Treasury official (who he was I am unable now to state) gave the opinion that if the gentleman appointed treasurer of the association were a resident of Utah and had sufficient standing as to character and means, and would give proper bond, he saw no objection to the money being paid over into his hands as treasurer of the corporation. My information is further that since that time steps have been taken by this corporation to elect from its members a gentleman to be its treasurer who will in every way, I think, prove acceptable to the Department when he shall have presented to it a proper bond.

If these things are true, as I have no doubt they are, what need be said about the disqualification of a woman to give bond since it is not intended that a woman should hold the office? The treasurer of the association, a lady who has held moneys in the past, has only been treasurer of the membership dues, private donations, and other incidental funds of the association. The national funds have always been disbursed by the board of control. In the event of an appropriation being made by the pending bill, the treasurer, a qualified male resident, will be elected, and will give suitable bond and receive and disburse funds.

But, Mr. Speaker, why should this proposition to aid this industrial home be looked upon with so much suspicion when the Government is annually aiding institutions of charity, when it is annually here in this District aiding enterprises which seek to relieve want and suffering among people who find themselves in distressed and dependent circumstances and unable to provide for their own wants?

This is a Territory, and like the District of Columbia, is under the control of Congress, and its expenses are largely paid out of the national Treasury. For years the Government has been appropriating for charities in the District. I have not had time to ascertain how much money has been expended for charities aside from cost of buildings, but the following table shows some, and perhaps all, the moneys appropriated to construct or repair buildings used for such purposes:

Appropriations for buildings for charitable institutions in the District of Columbia.

Fiscal years.	Name.	Amount.
1882	Industrial Home School building, District of Columbia	$5,000
1884	do	5,000
1887	do	3,500
1881	Washington Asylum, south wing of work-house	10,000
1881	Little Sisters of the Poor building	5,000
1884	do	25,000
1881	German Orphan Asylum building	10,000
1886	Homeopathic Hospital Association (District of Columbia) building.	15,000
1887, 1888, 1889	Washington Hospital for Foundlings, $5,000 each year for building.	15,000
1887–'88	House of the Good Shepherd building	8,000
1887, 1888, 1889	St. Rose Industrial School building	15,000
1887	Church Orphanage of District of Columbia building	6,000
1889	do	4,000

In this connection it may not be out of place to call attention to a bill passed by this House September 24, 1888, and now pending in the Senate, to appropriate quite a sum to aid one of the deserving charities in the District. It does not seem to be very specific on the subject of how, when, and to whom the funds shall be paid out, and yet I remember of no objection to it being made.

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of $30,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the benefit of the Girls' Reform School of the District of Columbia, a corporation incorporated by act of Congress of July 9, 1888.

SEC. 2. That the sum herein appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be used for the purchase of a site and purchase or erection of a suitable building for the Girls Reform School of the District of Columbia.

One reply to my query, and one most apt to suggest itself, is that this is not only the District of Columbia, but that here are more than 200,000 people, and as a matter of course demands for charity are numerous and imperative.

There is force in this, but alongside of it I can not forbear placing the 200,000 Mormon people of Utah, fostering and practicing a most disgusting and immoral form of social vice, against which the Government has enacted severe laws with a view to its extermination. If any substantial progress is made it involves the separation of the head of a family in which polygamy is practiced, from two, four, six, or more wives, and in many cases numerous dependent children, and while the Mormon Church may be ready to aid such while they remain true to their allegiance to the church, it is hoped that many others than those now anxious to escape from their unhappy condition when deprived of their dependence on their husbands—such as it may be—may, of their own volition, and induced by their own aided or unaided reflections, determine to quit that manner of life. So quitting, it is unreasonable to presume any help would be accorded such by Mormon authority, unless the case were one appealing most strongly to humanity, and

doubtless not then. Without some sheltering roof, some kindly hearts near to afford assistance, what would, what could such do unless to "repent and return."

The policy of this Government is settled in hostility to polygamy. The war upon that vile system should be carried on with relentless vigor and determination until success is attained, or by years of failure under more effective laws it is demonstrated to be of the impossible things attainable by government.

According to the last annual report of the Attorney-General, the expenses of the courts in Utah in the fiscal year of 1887, and paid that year, were over $63,000, a large increase over former years, occasioned, it may be supposed, by reason of further attempts to enforce the laws against illegal cohabitation and polygamy. Let many thousands more be expended, if necessary, in honest economical efforts to compel obedience to the laws of the land; but let it not be said that dependent women and children are left to nakedness and hunger when they would flee from the barbarity of polygamy, if they could do so knowing they would receive needed assistance.

The necessity for such a home as this has already been sufficiently presented by my friend from Kansas [Mr. RYAN], but it may not be improper for me to make some further observations in addition to what I have already said on the same line, and therefore I shall proceed to do so.

Mr. Speaker, although I repeat utterances made but a moment ago, let me say that I think any thoughtful person who would stop a brief time to consider the attitude of the United States Government toward the question of polygamy; any one who will remember the stringent laws passed by Congress looking to its extermination; any one who has read the papers with regard to the enforcement of those laws, the condemnations, and sentences resulting from prosecutions, must be convinced that in prosecuting offenders under such a system as polygamy, where not only the head of a family is concerned, but several wives of that head in many cases, great hardship and great suffering must result to the unfortunate women and children who by these prosecutions, by the enforcement of the laws, or by their own choice, are compelled to abandon their former relations with the head of the family. He can not fail to realize that any considerable success at enforcement of law must necessarily bring upon the women and children of those husbands who are imprisoned for long periods more or less suffering and distress. In addition to this view, however, is another, and one having a closer relation to the aim and purpose of this association. It is undoubtedly true that many women in polygamous relation in Utah must feel the disgrace and shame of such a relation and would gladly escape from the bondage by which they are held to that condition. It was for the purpose of alleviating distress and opening a place to which those wishing to abandon the unholy alliance in which they were participants—a place to which mothers and children might go and be cared for and taught in education and simple but practical arts that would enable them in a short time to go out and earn a livelihood for themselves, that this industrial home was conceived and established.

No one, it seems to me, can question the disinterestedness of the ladies and gentlemen who are actively supporting this enterprise, and who have, with the assistance of the Government, carried it along to the extent of its present development. Shall we stop here now after the Government in harmony with the petitions presented has recognized the excellent character of this enterprise, made contributions to it, said it was in the right direction, said this work was to be commended, said something of this kind was demanded by considerations of humanity? Shall the Congress of the United States now turn its back, as it seems to be the effort of some to have it do, and say we have gone thus far, but we will go no farther?

"Shall we appropriate money," says my friend from Missouri [Mr. BURNES], "to keep one woman and five children?" To this I invite the attention of the House for a little while. If the question involved here were only the care of one woman and five children, I would say no, at least not in this manner.

But the fact is we are not asked to appropriate money for seven persons alone. We are solicited to continue aid to a work which Congress has already and heretofore indorsed, and a work the necessities for which are more apparent to the promoters of this charity than to us who live remote from the place of its location—necessities that unavoidably grow out of this most unfortunate social condition in Utah, and which call loudly and imploringly for aid.

If the number now at the home is small, there are sufficient reasons not condemnatory of the enterprise or those managing it why it is so.

From the beginning the governor of the Territory assumed to decide in respect of an important feature connected with the work, namely, what class should be admitted to it, and while it is probable his decisions may have been technically correct, yet a glance at the cases rejected and the condition and history of each, so far as given, will convince those favorable to a liberal construction of the statute, with a view to its usefulness, that the construction should have been broadened or the law made more comprehensive.

I give the rejected cases:

Cases rejected by Governor West on the ruling of the law that only plural wives were included in its provisions:

First case.—Dolly Mitchell, fifty-third child of Bishop Mitchell; daughter of his seventh wife; mother had died; Dolly living in a polygamous family; was twelve years of age; on being rejected was employed as doorkeeper by the matron.

Second case.—Application made by Judge Henderson, Democratic judge of the Federal court, by letter, in substance as follows:

Mrs. David May; five children; Mr. May was employed in the silk factories of Glasgow, Scotland; was induced by missionaries of the Latter Day to come to Zion; arriving in Salt Lake found things at variance with the representations which had been made by the missionaries; was urged to go into polygamy; then resolved to leave the Territory.

The wife secured employment at the Continental Hotel, Salt Lake City; husband started East on foot by the Denver and Rio Grande Railway. The wife's health failed; took her five children and went to Provo for lighter work; found none; applied to the Mormon Church for help; was refused; appealed to Judge Henderson, exclaiming: "Must I starve, and my little ones, in this land of liberty?" Judge Henderson attempted to find the Bishop of Provo. The bishop took the under-ground, lest the woman had given information concerning his plural relations. Judge Henderson then made application to the Industrial Home for the woman and her five children; case rejected by Governor West.

Third case.—Mount Pleasant. Application made by Grace Murphy, Presbyterian school-teacher. Girl fourteen years old, whom I wish to get into the home, and also a younger sister; have kept them both in my home three months. I sent Emma away with the weight of her soul resting upon me, but I could not keep her longer; I still have the sister. The mother of these girls was left an orphan in her infancy; was brought up by the bishop, a polygamist, who made her marry a sixty-year-old polygamist when she was twelve years old. She now has four husbands.

Fourth case.—Springville. Application made by Hannah Breckinridge. Case: Second wife, sixty-three years of age, helpless in bed; no one to bring her a drink of water. No liberal has dared to help her but me, for they dread the attacks of the Mormons.

I am a widow, living alone with two daughters, and I am seriously threatened for the service I have rendered her. The Mormons have cut down my wood and drawn it away; they have fenced out the public road so I could not go to town to get supplies—all because I have given help to this Mormon woman. I know three or four other Mormon women for whom my heart is weeping. I wish the governor would send a detachment of soldiers to help them away. My home should shelter them. Ask the governor to assist me now and send commissioners to open the road.

This letter was taken to the governor and he declined to have anything to do about it, and rejected the cases.

Fifth case.—Pleasant Grove. Application made by the postmistress. Case: Old lady eighty-three years of age; came to Utah three years ago by request of Mormon relatives; has been abused and persecuted because she would not adopt Mormon practices. She was refused as not a legal applicant, but the old lady came to the home; said she was so unhappy she had to come, and they must take her. She is aunt to Bishop Brown's third wife. The matron wrote to Bishop Brown and asked what should be done with her. Answer by Mrs. Brown: "The bishop is in exile for polygamy. I don't want the old lady returned to me. The late law has thrown me on my own resources with five children. I can not take the burden." The governor said she could not stay over night in the home. The matron kept her five days; and now the Methodist Church are paying her board elsewhere.

It may be interesting at this point, in order to give an idea of the classes received into the home, to submit a statement of ten cases accepted and admitted:

ACCEPTED CASES—INDUSTRIAL HOME, UTAH TERRITORY.

First case.—Amelia Chatterton is the daugher of Bishop Mitchell, who was missionary to England in 1854. Mitchell had seven wives and fifty-three children. Amelia was married at fifteen years of age, by command of her father, to Jonathan Chatterton, as his second plural wife. Chatterton was living with his third wife, to whom he had never been married until after the passage of the Edmunds law; he was then married in order to evade arrest for adultery. Amelia, the second wife, was many times whipped by both Chatterton and the first wife. Chatterton struck her in the face so she bore blackened eyes for days. Just before Lossie's birth Chatterton stood over her with a pick-ax and threatened her life.

Second case.—Mrs. Bross, second wife of William Bross. Had eight children, three living; first wife living; brought three children to the home.

Third case.—Mrs. Lorrenson, first wife, lived two months with Lorrenson after he went into plurality, then left with her four children. During the years she lived with Lorrenson she had to wash, beg, herself and her children go barefooted in cold weather, while he paid the most he could earn to the church. When he took his second wife he mortgaged the home to her because the first wife rebelled against his going into polygamy.

After leaving Lorrenson she lived for weeks on one meal a day—herself and children—and often put her three boys to bed crying for food. And then she sobbed all night because another wife had her home.

Fourth case.—Helen Larsen; twenty-four years of age; plural wife. George Q. Cannon performed the marriage ceremony. Mrs. Larsen earned her own living for nine years, and Larsen appropriated to himself a large portion of her earnings. When Mrs. Larsen was sick in bed Larsen left her alone in the house for days.

Fifth case.—Mrs. Neilson; three children; married in the endowment-house by Brigham Young. Can neither read nor write. Never been in a house of more than one room; oldest child fourteen; never been out of the town in which he was born.

Sixth case.—Lizzie Littgon; third wife; was married by Daniel H. Wells in the endowment-house after the passage of the Edmunds bill. Brought three children to the home, one nineteen months old. Lived with Littgon until the second day before she left. Gave birth to two children in celestial marriage before the legal marriage.

Seventh case.—Mary K. Peterson; came to Utah in 1885 from Sweden with a band of one hundred and fifty. Married in plurality January 1, 1886. Second wife entered the home June 6; daughter born in the home August 14. Later was sent to friends in Wisconsin.

Eighth and ninth cases.—Elizabeth Clawson and Anna Bell, both second wives, were assisted with money and sent to friends in Chicago and Denver.

Tenth case.—Mrs. Jennie Hitches; converted to Mormonism in St. Louis in 1883. Came to Utah and was entertained in the homes of President Taylor and Apostle Woodruff; here the only conversation heard was, in substance: "Marry, marry in plural marriage, and become a high priestess." Was taken in plurality by Hudson. He made application for her admit to the home, and, on being questioned, said he had never married her; he was living with her from a purely medical standpoint by order of the priesthood. She had no children by the husband she left in St. Louis. Hudson had taken her simply to break down physical barriers.

It would certainly seem, if such is a fair indication of the work opening up in Salt Lake City under the auspices of this association, the people of these United States, in some way through their Representa-

tives in Congress, or by personal contributions, should aid its continuance. But let me present a little more concerning the history of this association.

The governor, acting either on his own motion or by direction of the board of control, but, as I infer, without consulting the ladies who were to go in and do the work, rented a moderate-sized house, furnished it, and provided limited facilities for its operation. It was not such a place, I think I am justified in saying, as should have been provided, but the lady selected as matron went in under his management and did the best she could in caring for such as came to the home. And while it may be true that the number now is small, during the first year the number was from twenty-two to twenty-seven, and a statement is made of the expenditures in their behalf. It is shown that but for a technical ruling of the governor of Utah more would have been admitted.

The labors of those assigned or employed by the association were continued and probably the best was done under the circumstances that could be done to make a fairly successful beginning.

Now, it is asserted and emphasized that at present there are only one woman and five children at the home. This may be true, but there are good reasons why this is so.

First, as I am informed by Mrs. Newman, is this: When the association received authority by the law of February 1, 1888, to manage its affairs, and, as it claims, to purchase real estate on which to build, they decided not to continue the existing home as a charity refuge or temporary shelter, but to conserve the funds for the new building then, and from the beginning, contemplated, in which industrial education should be taught, this training being, in the opinion of the board of directors, of far greater importance to the poor and dependent ones than mere temporary charity. The idea seems to be that when these dependent women and children come into the home they should, as soon as possible, be taught, and among other things special importance is laid on industrial education; so that, since February last, efforts to ascertain cases of charity and encouragement to those who came to consult about entering the home have been relaxed.

Second. The ladies and gentlemen connected with this work have constantly realized that under the conditions surrounding the home, the insufficiency of accommodations, their failure to bring the board of control to see as they did on the subject of opening the two departments, cooking and sewing, the apparent lack of active interest on the part of the board of control, but more especially the prospect of having a new building constructed on plans adapted to the uses for which it would be intended, led the board of directors to conclude the most important thing first to be done was to have premises of their own, with building and conveniences required for so important an undertaking.

If the association, prior to February last, was not as successful as its critics think it should have been, another reason exists, and will doubtless always stand as a powerful obstacle in the way of the largest measure of success under the most favorable circumstances, and that is the attitude of the Mormon press and priests toward any movement having in view assistance to dissentient female communicants and their children. But of this I will speak more fully presently.

I desire now to refer to what has been done since the last appropriation was made, and to do so briefly. Lots suitable for the purposes of the association, at a cost of $10,500, have been purchased, and a contract for the main part of a brick building, now in process of construction, let to one of the well-known contractors in the city; cost $18,000. This main building, with such internal conveniences as were deemed best, is to be completed for the sum, as I have said, of $18,000; but the contract provides, subject to further appropriations by Congress, that this main building shall be raised to a fourth story, and two wings, three stories high, constructed, the whole to cost about $50,000. Work is now progressing under this contract.

The main building is to be 37 by 52 feet, three stories certainly, and four if the pending amendment pass, the wings to be 31 by 46 feet, three stories conditional, as I have said, on the appropriation.

There are to be attics, also basement under all the buildings. Besides these a rear addition 21 by 27 feet, two stories with basement. Laundry in rear detached, 20 by 26 feet, one story. Full and complete plans and specifications for these buildings are on file with the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

But, Mr. Speaker, before passing to my concluding point, I wish to refer to a third reason why this enterprise may not have been as successful as its friends had hoped, and I make bold to affirm that this reason will remain a continuing hindrance to the fullest success until the power of Mormonism is in fact broken and shattered. As I am advised, and as is natural to suppose, the Mormon press in Salt Lake City, and no doubt throughout the Territory, has from the beginning, ay, from the time the friends of this charity in Utah began to discuss the feasibility of establishing such a home, strongly opposed the movement and did what it could to pervent its establishment and to impede its progress. It has attempted to bring the home into disgrace and have it regarded among Mormon people as a place to be avoided under any and all circumstances.

It has villified and slandered those who have been most active supporters of the home, and particularly the most active in instituting it. It has made this place as unpopular as possible, so that those who might make application, or would, if a respectable building were erected and under such management as the friends of the home contemplated, have no doubt to a considerable extent been deterred from doing so. And the result is the management, as I understand and have already said, realizing this state of facts, concluded it was unwise to make further effort to have people go there and enter the home and receive its benefits; and while they have not opposed any coming to it, they have preferred to wait for the erection and completion of the new building before undertaking to extend their efforts or to look after cases of this class, which doubtless on slight inquiry could readily be found.

Now, sir, if it is true that this building was of somewhat an inferior character, and if it be also true that the Mormon press brought its power to bear upon the people to influence a prejudice against it and its projectors—I say if it is true that they thus made war upon it, as I believe has been done from the day that this building was leased until the present time, can it reasonably be expected that such a fact would not have influence upon the minds of very many women who feel a sensitiveness about going to such a place, but who would go somewhere away from polygamy, from this terrible crime against law and common decency, if they could go to such a place as the new home will be. Is it therefore to be doubted that such conditions deterred many from going to the home during the time referred to who otherwise might or could have gone, taking this means to escape from an unnatural and loathsome relationship and practice? As early as 1886 the Mormon press opened out on Mrs. Newman and the then projected home in the following style:

[Deseret News, official organ of the Mormon Church, June 11, 1886. Editorial.]

A HUGE ANTI-MORMON SHAM—WHAT AN AGE THIS IS FOR HUMBUG!

Here is a proposition before Congress to give a little knot of schemers in Utah $100,000 to establish a home for "escaped" polygamous wives. It will not be surprising if it is given to the plotters to spend as they please. * * * The committee, of which Senator Blair is chairman, which made the report recommending the appropriation, were led away by the stories told by an experienced religious subscription circulator. Her name is Angie F. Newman. Her home is in Nebraska; she is an adept in gathering in dollars and dimes for sectarian purposes, and she claims to speak on this subject from knowledge as a resident of Utah. * * *

We have no objection to the expenditure of such portion of the funds as would be used for the proposed purpose in buildings and their fittings in this Territory. It would be that much money put in circulation. * * * But it would be much more of a profit to certain impecunious persons who have been figuring to finger a portion of it, and to others who lend their aid to the schemes. And we object to the falsehoods by which its appropriation has been rendered possible and to the deception which has been practiced upon the committee, and through them upon the country, that this project of a few cunning people in Utah, indorsed by some estimable but misinformed persons, and a coterie of pious but hoodwinked women in Ohio, might receive Congressional support and national money, while all the time it is a national and gigantic humbug.

Later, and on June 17, 1886, the Deseret News published a communication from an influential Mormon woman reflecting on Mrs. Newman and the efforts she was then making to secure an appropriation. It shows the natural animus that might be supposed to exist in a mind wrought up to an intense pitch of opposition not only against the agent, but also the cause.

Here it is:

THE ASYLUM-FOR-WOMEN SUBTERFUGE—OBTAINING MONEY UNDER FALSE PRETENSES—DR. FERGUSON SHOWS UP THE SCHEME.

SALT LAKE CITY, *June* 17, 1886.

Editor Deseret News:

The recent report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and the recommendation of the chairman, Mr. BLAIR, that Congress should appropriate $100,000 for the establishment in Utah of an asylum for women escaping from polygamy, justly excites feelings of profound contempt, as well as indignation, amongst the Latter-Day Saints. During my recent mission to Washington I had several opportunities for conversing with Mr. BLAIR, and had one interview with him especially on the subject of Mrs. Newman's application to the committee. The most forcible statements were made to him of the feelings and views of "Mormon" women about such an institution, and a most positive denial of the falsehoods which she urged as a pretext for such an appropriation.

It is not, therefore, through ignorance that Mr. BLAIR has presented such a report and amendment, but from a desire to pander to popular prejudice, which is strangely inconsistent with his verbal expression of a wish to do justly in this matter. The subjoined letter was sent to the Washington Evening Star in reply to statements published in that paper in regard to Mrs. Newman's plea before the committee, but, though falsehood found a ready circulation, truth was not permitted to put in an appearance.

The substance of this same letter was also sent to Mr. BLAIR and the committee by the delegation of "Mormon" ladies in Washington, and since my return I have been requested to send it to you for publication.

"*Editor Evening Star:*

"In your issue of May 5 I read the statement made by Mrs. Newman before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in behalf of an appropriation for some charitable institution in Salt Lake City, which she professes to represent. The principal ground on which she makes this application appears to be the benefits thus offered to 'Mormon' women who wish to escape from polygamy. * * * I most emphatically protest, in their name, against any such reason being urged as a pretext for obtaining a share of the public funds. There is, I believe, a severe penalty enforced against persons in private life who obtain money under false pretenses, and it seems to me but a matter of justice that any individual who so shamelessly demands a Congressional appropriation on grounds that have no existence in fact, and for a purpose to which such moneys will never be applied, ought to be similarly dealt with. It is high time that the practice of begging for the 'Mormons' should cease, and the benevolent and charitable people in the Eastern States be no longer imposed upon by such flimsy and unreliable stories as those that are the stock in trade of these professional beggars and clap-trap lecturers.

"Yours, for truth and right,

"ELLEN B. FERGUSON."

On October 14, 1886, in an editorial entitled "Beginning at the wrong end," the editor of the Deseret News, after referring to the home, Mrs. Newman, and a certain public meeting at which Governor

West and others spoke, among other things less indicative of feeling in alluding to the home, said:

Is there a genuine philanthropist who takes in the situation of affairs here, and appreciates the amount of suffering entailed upon women and children by the crusade against the Saints? Does he desire to alleviate the afflictions of the distressed? If there is, it appears to us that his efforts will be directed towards checking the manufacture of misery rather than wasting energy in attempts to alleviate it after it is evolved. It is a shame that this great Government should, through a few of its officers, be transformed into a factory for the production of human distress. Genuine and intellectually directed effort would endeavor, so far as practicable, to dispense with such institutions as the Industrial Home. Those who seek to alleviate suffering by such institutions without attempting to stem the tide of its production are in the position of a physician who allows disease to make ghastly inroads upon the physique of his patient, and then applies nostrums in the form of a cure almost as disastrous as the complaint. Proper and intelligent endeavor would be to give such an institution as the alleged home as little necessity for existence as possible.

But I present now a communication which evidently was penned by some one who wrote *ex cathedra* on this subject. It is calculated, I feel justified in saying, to greatly discourage Mormon women from making application to the home.

THE INDUSTRIAL HOME—A VIGOROUS WRITER MAKES IT BETTER KNOWN.

NOVEMBER 8, 1886.

Editor Deseret News:

The devil does not always show an iron fist; sometimes he holds out a velvet glove. The Latter-Day Saints must learn not only to bid defiance to the former but to detect the hand giving shape to the latter.

In a letter to the News of the 15th ultimo, descriptive of the aim and object of the proposed Industrial Home, there are certain suspicious forms and lineaments partly hidden under such a glove which we wish to make bare.

For instance, here is the glove:

"In the outset, such industries will be started as will enable people to enter the home with perfect self-respect."

Here is the hand beneath:

"SEC. 221. * * * To aid in the establishment of an Industrial Home in the Territory of Utah, to provide employment and means of self support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy * * * and to aid in the suppression of polygamy therein, $40,000."

"It is something to emancipate a soul from civil bondage. It is more to emancipate a soul from the deathless bondage of a false faith."—*Mrs. Angie F. Newman.*

Is it possible that among the Latter-Day Saints are women so blind as not to see the barb beneath the bait in the foregoing? Suppose this immaculate board of control should ever formulate an oath of renunciation not trenching upon belief—which, in view of their record in the courts, would require the charity that believeth all things—what will be the character of the influence to be brought to bear upon them when once they are safely within this so-called home?

Mrs. Newman foreshadows not only the nature of this influence but the spirit in which it will be used, namely, "to emancipate their souls from the deathless bondage of a false faith."

Can any Latter-Day Saint who has made sacred covenants with God enter such a home (?) with perfect self-respect?

"Come into my parlor,
Said the spider to the fly."

The fact is "Mormons" have no more need of this Industrial Home with the mission assigned to it than they have of the Edmunds law. Both are equally reprehensible; one is the iron fist, the other the velvet glove, but both are the limbs of the adversary of truth.

The home may now rest under the shadow of being unknown or misknown, but it gains nothing by being better known. Latter-Day Saints should hold their noses when they pass it by, for these reasons:

First. It was conceived in falsehood.
Second. It was born of prejudice.
Third. It is being reared and fondled by their bitterest enemies.
Fourth. The devil's benediction rests upon it.

N. L. N.

These are a few clippings, and only a few, that happen to be at hand from Mormon papers. I am informed that many similar attacks on Mrs. Newman and the enterprise she is attempting with so much loyalty and ability to serve have been from time to time made, and it is to be presumed they will continue to be made until the cause represented by the association, supplemented and aided by the supremacy of the laws of the land at some not very remote day, we trust, to be established in Utah, shall triumph, and polygamy, that certain "twin relic of barbarism," shall have been driven beyond the limits of the Republic.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] in his remarks has gone so far as to say, in speaking for the committee of conference on his side of the House, that "they" are willing to make provision for Mrs. Newman's services—meaning, I suppose, her services here from time to time in presenting the cause of this Home Association to Congress. Mr. Speaker, I am authorized by this lady to say that under no circumstances would she consent to any appropriation being made which contemplates payment of any sum, however large or small, to her, and the gentleman's generous proffer is most respectfully declined. Whatever may be done to reimburse her for expenses paid by her on behalf of this charity must, if received at all, come through the proper channels of honorable financial management of such funds, if any, as may lawfully be used for such purpose. She is not here now as a paid lobbyist and never has been, and while grateful for the suggestion of the gentleman from Missouri, she will receive nothing by way of an appropriation for her benefit.

Something has been said about the progress made in suppressing polygamy under this and under Republican administrations, and an effort has been made to show that the Democratic party has already suppressed this crime. It is not yet time to divide "honors." The vile practice is not yet extirpated; it still lives in the teaching and lives of many of the church, if other than Mormon testimony can be received as reliable. It is asking too hasty a surrender of opinion on this subject to be requested to accept the statement made by some that polygamy, a primal tenet of their so-called Christian polity, has now been extirpated or solemnly and forever discarded, and only within a little more than one year past, and when a well-planned attempt was being made by the Mormons to secure admission into the Union as a State. Deep-seated religious convictions pervading the general mind and influencing the actions of thousands of people bound together by such ties as bind these Mormons are not so easily and conveniently surrendered forever.

I am free to say I believe as the younger generations come on and realize that this primal tenet and practice are widely at variance with the standard of accepted morals in the most intelligent parts of the civilized world, and if accompanying this the severe penalties of the law are steadily and unrelentingly administered, polygamy will give way and Mormonism as a religious faith disconnected from polygamy may continue to exist as one of the religions of the world. That time has not yet come, however. The present generation must give way first to another, and I trust one more law-abiding.

Mr. Speaker, the history of the Democratic party toward this evil, which is now contending so stubbornly against Federal authority, is this: No Democratic platform from the institution of the Mormon Church in 1831 has ever uttered a word of condemnation of polygamy, and unless I am in error, no Democratic President, except Mr. Cleveland, has ever pronounced against it and recommended Congressional action looking to its overthrow. In his inaugural address Mr. Cleveland did refer to it in terms indicating opposition to the system, and this was followed by a reference to it at some length in his first annual message to Congress. Since then not a word from the President or Democratic conventions, State or national, has been heard.

I give President Cleveland the credit for what he said in condemnation of this institution of polygamy. I am willing to give such credit as is rightfully due to any Democrat, be he a member of Congress or be he a citizen, who takes a position, as many of them have squarely and fairly taken, against the continuance of this evil practice.

But, sir, when it comes to claiming for the Democratic party the larger share of honors that may be due any person or party for the recent prosecutions in Utah and the progress which has been made there in attempts to suppress and extirpate polygamy, I think gentlemen on the other side are going entirely too far in thus arrogating to themselves and their party unusual credit for the condition of things now existing by reason of prosecutions under laws passed by Republican Congresses or framed and first passed by a Republican Senate.

What is the fact in regard to convictions under these laws? I am advised by a gentleman who is well acquainted with the history of judicial proceedings in Utah that three-fourths of the convictions for violations of any laws that have been enacted by Congress against polygamy were convictions resulting under Judge Zane, a Republican appointed by President Arthur, and until recently chief-justice of the Territory.

He has lately been superseded.

Mr. CAINE. His term expired.

Mr. STRUBLE. As the gentleman from Utah has said, his term expired, and Mr. Cleveland, as was right and proper from his standpoint, appointed his successor. I have no question to raise upon the appointment of a Democratic chief-justice for the courts of Utah; but I have noticed since the appointment of one of the judges there—Judge Sanford—distinguished Mormons, long under indictment and in hiding, are coming out and submitting themselves to the jurisdiction of the courts.

It appears from the public prints that very soon after the appointment of Judge Sanford the leading violator of the Federal statutes, George Q. Cannon, one of the most noted leaders and violators of law, issued from his place of hiding, came into court, and pleaded guilty on two indictments.

Mr. CAINE. Excuse me——

Mr. STRUBLE. A small fine——

Mr. CAINE. Having been convicted, he is now in the penitentiary under sentence of one hundred and seventy-five days' imprisonment and $450 fine.

Mr. STRUBLE. I was about to add when interrupted by the gentleman that a small fine and sentence of imprisonment for less than three months in each case were imposed on him. The press also informed us that a certain bond for quite a large sum had been forfeited. But the point I wish to make is this: On the appearance of a Democratic chief-justice George Q. Cannon came to the surface and submitted himself to the jurisdiction of the court, whereas he had theretofore succeeded in evading the officers of the law.

It may be the sentences and fines imposed were reasonable under the indictments. I do not know as to that, but I do know that this noted violator of the law appeared willing to trust this Democratic judge in making disposition of the indictments against him. But, Mr. Speaker, whatever may be the fact as between the two parties in Congress or out, it is true that up to this time the Democratic and Republican residents of Utah have been working together earnestly in opposition to Mormon rule and polygamy. These people are "on the ground," so to speak; they have for years resided in that Territory; they know better than we the facts concerning the defiance of law by that people and the practices obtaining among them; and while they are thus agreed it appears to me we should follow their example until polygamy is indeed driven from all the Territories in which it now exists and over which it has seemed for years to have been rapidly spreading.

Estimates and Appropriations.

It is not the amount of appropriations that creates anxiety in the minds of the people, but it is the integrity and wisdom with which such appropriations are disbursed and the honest value received therefor which give them confidence and contentment.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES N. BURNES,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, September 18, 1888.

The House having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (H. R. 10540) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. BURNES said:

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not my purpose at this particular time to fully reply to the political speech of my colleague of the Committee on Appropriations, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], nor to make extended comment upon his statement of figures and his varied and unsupported deductions therefrom touching the general subject of estimates, appropriations, and expenditures on the part of the General Government pending the administration of President Cleveland.

When the general deficiency appropriation bill is returned here from the Senate (if, indeed, in the dire necessity of the Republican majority of that body to cover the nakedness of its pretenses respecting revenue questions, that bill shall ever find its way back to this end of the Capitol) I shall then endeavor to give the House, in the light of known and ascertained facts and in a business form and manner, a true, impartial, and non-partisan statement of estimates and appropriations, regardless of political advantage of any nature.

But should I transcend somewhat this self-imposed limit, I must plead in extenuation the possible necessity for immediate and positive refutation of the erroneous statements and indefensible inferences and conclusions which characterize the remarkable and studied effort of my friend from Illinois.

I can not, however, permit this occasion to pass without submitting some few observations that may serve to operate as an antidote, *pro tanto*, for the cunningly-distilled poison which, even now, is dripping from consolidated telegraph wires in every quarter of the land. The ability and learning of the gentleman from Illinois, fully recognized and conceded by us all, have not enabled him to interpose a barrier against instantaneous perception of his erroneous assumptions, his injustice in conclusions and craftiness of insinuation. Many of these are so patent and undisguised they almost fail to demand the dignity of challenge.

The gentleman from Illinois gravely calls attention to the estimates of appropriations transmitted annually and from time to time to Congress through the Secretary of the Treasury, and because they aggregate an amount in excess of the appropriations, he makes them the basis of a charge of extravagance against the executive departments of the Government under Democratic administration. It will need but a brief statement of facts to demonstrate the utter baselessness of this accusation.

What are estimates of appropriations and how are they made? They are the mere opinions of perhaps a thousand officials in the Executive Departments expressed as to the amount or amounts of money they desire to have appropriated. Each estimates for his own Department, bureau, division or office, and is probably not inclined to yield the benefit of a doubt against himself. But the Secretary of the Treasury, who *pro forma* transmits these opinions to Congress for its consideration, can not reasonably be expected to have immediate personal or official knowledge of their correctness in respect to extravagance or otherwise. He forwards these estimates to the House, where in committee their authors are examined, cross-examined, and frequently re-examined by subcommittees as to each item. Even the heads of Departments do not escape rigid examination by the subcommittee in order to reach the correct basis for appropriation.

Here permit me to advance the proposition that while Congress is responsible for appropriations, the Administration is responsible for the expenditures. Estimates are but the means to secure an end—a tool used upon a work, an aid, instrument or agency employed in perfecting and completing the object desired. The gentleman from Illinois might with equal propriety criticise and condemn the architecture of a building because of the crudity of its scaffolding, as to charge extravagance upon the Administration, not because of its expenditures, but on account of the mere preliminary recommendations and opinions vouchsafed by departmental officials regarding amounts thus estimated.

I disavow all reflection upon any official of the Executive Departments, either those now incumbent or of previous administrations, when I state that, for many years past, a pernicious custom has obtained to inflate rather than diminish, or even restrict within reasonable bounds, the sums total of many items estimated for. Possibly apprehensive that the Appropriations Committee, being charged with the duty and responsibility of closely scrutinizing the outlays and liabilities of the Government, might and doubtless would be disposed to exercise prudential economy, these officials are prone to frequently leave a wide margin to compensate for the probability of reduction in amounts. This is particularly the case in estimating for expenses of a contingent nature. In this way they seek to strike the happy medium and take all the chances incident to profit and loss. Although this practice of overestimate is rarely, if ever disguised, and stands out embossed and self-confessed, it is no less mischievous and misleading.

The gentleman accuses the Democratic party of extravagance, because, as he alleges, the appropriations made by Congress for the four years of the administration of President Cleveland are $96,000,000 in excess of the amount appropriated for the four years immediately preceding. The figures showing the totals of appropriations are open and of easy access to all, but the justice or injustice of deductions or inferences to be drawn therefrom is not so plain nor of such easy determination, especially to the uninitiated. For the four years from 1885 to 1889, Congress may have appropriated $96,000,000 more than it appropriated for the four years from 1881 to 1885, without being properly amenable to charges of prodigality or extravagance.

A careful analysis of the nature and character of the individual items of appropriations during the two periods to be contrasted, can alone determine whether economy and frugality are upon the side of the greater or the smaller aggregate of appropriations. Before such charge of extravagance can be justly preferred, it must be ascertained what proportion of total appropriations was disbursed to meet the usual and ordinary expenses of government, and what proportion was provided for extraordinary obligations or liabilities originating prior to the period for which the appropriations were made.

The gentleman from Illinois does not claim to have made such an analysis. For all he has told us, 95 per cent. of the total appropriations made from 1881 to 1885 may have been expended in paying for the ordinary service of Federal administration, and only 75 per cent. of those made from 1885 to 1889 may have been so consumed. So we can concede the increase of $96,000,000, as stated, and yet safely deny the deductions and inferences in which the gentleman has been so swift to indulge. An increased aggregate of appropriation is therefore no evidence of extravagance; but even if it were, in what condition are the gentleman from Illinois and his party associates at the other end of the Capitol, that they should complain of the representatives of the Democratic party on account of such increase?

Speaking more particularly for the appropriation bills which originate in the House Committee on Appropriations, I submit to the gentleman what increase in any one of them did he ever oppose? What proposed increase in any one of them, after it had been reported to the House and was under consideration in Committee of the Whole, did the gentleman ever fail to support?

Will not the gentleman admit that, if all the appropriation bills had passed both Houses as they were made up and reported by the House Committee on Appropriations, the aggregate would have been a less percentage of increase than that which marked the growth and increase of the country in population, public improvement and diversified industries?

The charge of extravagance in appropriations for increases made through amendments added by a Republican Senate, comes with a bad grace from representatives of that party. Surely the wolf was not more unreasonable with the lamb for disturbing the water below him. Increased appropriations have been forced by Republican influences upon bills prepared by Democratic committees, and now, with complacency and self-satisfied air of triumph, those identical Republican influences, at the closing hours of the session, sneer at us for results of which they were the sole and only cause.

I can not forbear commending the speech of the gentleman to the consideration of certain of my party friends on this the Democratic side of the House, who have sometimes followed the lead of my friend from Illinois and others of his party in their efforts to override the carefully-considered work of the Appropriations Committee. They can now perceive, and but too clearly, that partisan advantage is the essential life-essence of the politicians who constitute the minority of this body. Partisanship is their cloud by day and pillar of fire by night. Between the Republican Senate and the active, zealous and able efforts of my excellent friend from Illinois and his party associates here, the judgment of the House committees has been too frequently reversed and set at naught.

Mr. CANNON. Allow me one moment. I do not think I am responsible for the increase of these appropriations. The gentleman and I have worked upon the Committee on Appropriations together, and I would be glad if he would point out any instance of that kind for which I am justly responsible.

Mr. BURNES. I can not go into that matter at this time, but I will say that if my distinguished friend will point to a single proposition of

appropriation with reference to which he failed to support the largest amount, I will suspend my remarks until the general deficiency bill shall be returned by the Senate.

Mr. CANNON. That, my friend will allow me to say, is not a fair statement. The gentleman has acted with me upon the Committee on Appropriations for a number of years, and he knows as well as I do that politics very rarely enter that committee-room. If he will look back over my record, he will understand that I have not been in the attitude of increasing appropriations. Where I have asked further or additional appropriation, it has been for reasons assigned at the time and, in my judgment, proper.

Mr. BURNES. Let me say—indeed, I feel it my duty to say—that the gentleman is correct in his statement that politics very rarely enters the room of the House Committee on Appropriations. Business methods and principles are applied to business propositions, and none of the members are more able, conservative, or clean-handed than the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

It is not of his work in committee that any one has a right to complain. Here, on the floor of the House of Representatives, in the broad view of his countrymen, with the inspiration of political combat illumining his soul, he is sometimes, I am sorry to say, suspected of entertaining a slight partisan bias in favor of the Republican party. [Laughter.] Indorsing his integrity as equal to that of any gentleman on either side of the House, he will pardon me for adding that, whenever party questions are under consideration, he is at least as honest politically as he can afford to be. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CANNON. I want to return the compliment of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BURNES] so far as I can. I have thought sometimes, when he has had the control of appropriations in this House, and when under his lead appropriations have not been made, even where judgments had been rendered and where in one notable instance $100,000 had accrued as interest upon a judgment of the Court of Claims because the gentleman opposed an appropriation for it—I refer to the Choctaw claim—I have thought at times that the gentleman was not as honest politically as he could afford to be. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. BURNES. Ah, the gentleman bears witness against himself. Here are nearly $3,000,000 appropriated and paid this year for the Choctaw claim with the approval of the gentleman from Illinois, and it constitutes a part of the alleged $96,000,000 increase of appropriations, when, as all know, the claim originated more than half a century ago here in this city and received continuous and tender nurture during all those years.

I did oppose the appropriation for this claim. It was a claim founded in doubt, prosecuted in uncertainty, and ended in exposure and disgrace. In my opinion, it was without merit and void of every element of justice. The form and covering with which fifty years of effort on the part of a patient or impatient lobby had dignified it, did not change its nature nor give it a character before this high tribunal, in which is vested an independent part of the sovereignty of the people.

I am proud of my vote and action in opposition to the payment of this claim, and commend to the consideration of the gentleman the disgraceful result of the appropriation. When it was too late to remedy the mistake, claims for a "fair divide" carried into the courts of the District of Columbia, by bills of injunction and otherwise, one against another, developed the fact that over $1,000,000 of the appropriation had been retained by parties in this city for services and expenses of the patient nurses of the now famous or infamous Choctaw claim. Is the gentleman still satisfied with his vote to pay it? But I should not be led away from the general subject of appropriations.

It is not, Mr. Speaker, the amount of money appropriated that causes anxiety upon the part of the people, because, unless they have carefully studied the vast machinery of this Government, with its almost innumerable agents and servants, they can not determine what the aggregate of appropriations should be; yet they reach substantially correct conclusions as regards the economy or extravagance of every administration. I took it for granted that I was a fair sample of the average intelligent American citizen until I came to this House and was buried in yonder committee-room. [Laughter.] But even if I were not mistaken in this regard, I admit that I had no adequate conception at the outset of my Congressional career, either of the details or of the aggregates of necessary appropriations. The little I may know now of this subject I have literally dug out of the committee-grave by constant study and unremitting labor.

So it is and must be with others besides myself. True, we have the examples and opinions of our predecessors, but each new object of appropriation is made to assume a special and particular form, when, as is often—too often—the case, the best legal talent of the country is employed to divert it from the safe paths of precedent and opinion by specious arguments and moving sentimentalities.

The work on appropriation bills of the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN], his examples and his teachings, together with those of the equally distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL], establish landmarks and rules of action which future generations may safely observe. Avoiding parsimoniousness, these gentlemen have ever sought by strict, rigid, and definite appropriations to give every dollar necessary for respectable, honest, and economical administration and no more. But from 1875 to this hour, their well-directed efforts on behalf of proper economy have been stigmatized as "cheese-paring" by a certain class of statesmen, who now charge in effect that these stalwart economists have suddenly become prodigal and extravagant in the matter of appropriations. Such men do not change so swiftly and radically.

Sir, it is not the amount of money that may be appropriated that causes anxiety or alarm to the people, but rather the character of the objects for which it is appropriated and the spirit of honesty and fidelity with which it is disbursed. The gentleman from Illinois says that for the four years' incumbency of President Cleveland, Congress has appropriated $96,000,000 more than was appropriated for the four years of the Garfield-Arthur administration. Bear in mind that he is charging responsibility upon the party of which I am an humble member for this alleged increase of appropriations. Let us see. If the charge is true in form, it certainly is not true in substance.

I assume that the aggregate of appropriations for the four years ending June 30, 1889, over the aggregate of the previous four years will amount to, say, $96,000,000, but the exact amount can not be stated until all the appropriation bills are finally passed. What objects of appropriation caused this increase?

First, unusual obligations originating under former administrations, the Choctaw claims, and the Alabama claims awards	$3,627,813.90
Second, the general postal service	45,490,485.14
Third, the Navy	17,010,562.12
Fourth, pensions	12,819,093.32
Fifth, increase on account of fortifications and armament of the same	2,320,000.00
Total	86,267,954.48

Are not these objects of appropriations approved by the gentleman from Illinois? He tells us he favored the payment of the Choctaw claim, and he does not object to the payment of the Alabama awards. Did he not approve the payment of the Fox and Wisconsin River claims? And were they not all legacies of indebtedness originating long before the advent of the present Administration, and were they not handed down to it for no purpose except for payment? The gentleman, in fairness of calculation and speech, should then eliminate these sums from the alleged increase of appropriations—not only these sums, but also numerous others of like nature which at this moment I can not attempt to state. What else should he eliminate?

During the four years' appropriations pending Mr. Cleveland's administration, the House of Representatives originated and passed appropriation bills sufficient for a wise and economical administration of every branch of the public service. To these bills the Republican Senate added amendments aggregating $81,777,447.24; so that, if the Democratic House had acquiesced in the bills just as they passed the Republican Senate, the aggregate increase of appropriations for the four years would be $58,547,632.91 more than it is, or $154,932,946.70, instead of the $96,000,000 indicated by the gentleman from Illinois.

Again I ask the gentleman from Illinois, should he not in like fairness of calculation and speech give credit to the Democratic House for this sum of $81,777,447.24 which his brethren and colleagues of the Senate by solemn enactment declared to be an administrative necessity?

The same fairness in calculation and speech requires the elimination of another important item from the $96,000,000. During the four years of the present Administration the Republican Senate, by stubborn resistance to the conferees on the part of the House, succeeded in forcing increased appropriations on the several House bills aggregating $23,229,814.33. The gentleman now includes this sum in his calculation and makes it a part of the $96,000,000 of alleged increase in appropriations on which to charge the Democratic party with extravagance. If this be not rank partisan injustice, I challenge any one to point to a single more pronounced instance of that character.

Now, with these amounts subtracted from the $96,000,000—to say nothing of others of like character not now occurring to me—there may yet be a seeming rather than an actual increase in appropriations for which the Democratic party can justly be held responsible; but even then, there is not balance enough of the $96,000,000 left to represent the current increase in population or the progress and advancement of public works.

Here, Mr. Speaker, I might close my remarks with a just claim that the charges, deductions and inferences of the gentleman from Illinois concerning increase of appropriations for the past four years, were fully met and repelled; but I have another and more pleasing answer.

As I have previously averred, it is not the amount of money that is appropriated or expended which causes anxiety in the minds of the sovereign people, but it is the integrity with which such appropriations are disbursed and the honest "value received" which inspires the country with confidence and contentment.

One of the items of increase constituting a part of the $96,000,000 relates to the Navy, under the wise, able and honest administration of that Department by the present distinguished and honored Secretary. The amount of this item is $17,010,562.12.

On the 4th of March, 1885, the present Administration, looking back over a period of twenty preceding years, was confronted with an aggregate expenditure of $365,000,000, disbursed in behalf of an alleged

American Navy. When the integrity of the administration of the Department during that period was considered, and when the "value received" for that vast expenditure was examined and inventoried, shameful marks of maladministration and empty shells of worthlessness constituted the Department's inheritance. Chaos or disorder marked every bureau of the service; there were expenditures, but no battleships; expenditures, but no Navy. The $365,000,000 were gone, but the Navy which ought to have been created was invisible. Even this extraordinary sum of money, if it had been honestly and intelligently expended in ship-building and armament, would have been justified by the people at large, who look mainly to the integrity and wisdom of disbursements and not so much to the amount of appropriations.

How is it during the past four years? Not a dollar has been wasted, nor a dollar misplaced. Integrity, vigor, wisdom, economy, and "value received" are conceded, even by all of the Secretary's political adversaries, to have been the distinguishing characteristics of his superb administration. Sir, we have appropriated this excess of $17,010,562.12 for a tangible and existent American Navy, and we are proud of it—proud of the Navy and proud of the appropriations! Four more years of like administration and our naval standing and power upon the high seas will have been regained. In the progress of this great reform inaugurated by Secretary Whitney, in the contracts made, in the work accomplished, in the disbursement of appropriated millions, not a whisper either of fraud, accident, or mistake has been heard. Even in this era of indiscriminate defamation, no speck of calumny tarnishes the fair record of his clean administration. The President and the Secretary are above the possibility of reproach, and their subordinates in the Department bureaus, and in every branch of the naval service, are respected and honored for their successful and faithful labors. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

"Look here upon this picture, and on this," which preceded it. With $365,000,000 worse than wasted in twenty years, with remembrances of maladministration by Robeson, and of questionabl contracts and construction by Roach, I venture to draw the veil of forgetfulness over evils of the past, and repeat that it is not the amount of money appropriated or expended which causes anxiety to the sovereign people, but it is the integrity with which appropriations are disbursed and the honest "value received" which give the country contentment and confidence. [Renewed applause.]

Another item of increase constituting the $96,000,000 relates to the postal service. This amount aggregates $45,490,485.14. As the Committee on Appropriations have not had control of the bill for this service since the Forty-eighth Congress, I hesitate to speak of appropriations reported by the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads in the presence of the eminent gentlemen of that committee, who are much more able than myself to do justice to the subject. But whence comes that augmentation, and what have we to show for it?

It arises from an immense increase in the weight of the mails, stimulated and encouraged by the reduction of rates of postage, near the close of Mr. Arthur's administration, on all classes of matter; from the immense increase of mileage in the railway mail service, the extent of which will be better understood when I state that in the past year alone new postal service has been placed upon 12,000 miles of additional railway; from the rapid increase of population and the growth and development and the spread of settlement and habitation all over our vast country; from the great extension of the free-delivery service to one hundred and twenty-one additional cities, and finally from an extended star route service, by which the mails are carried almost to every citizen's door.

These are some of the beneficent works of progress in the interest of all the people and the direct cause of increased appropriations for the postal service. But let us remember that among these appropriations, we do not find a single dollar of private subsidy or tribute, large amounts for which purpose a Republican Senate fiercely and repeatedly sought to force upon a Democratic House. Nor do we find that a dollar has been wasted or misspent; nor has a breath of scandal touched the fair name or fame of either of the honored gentlemen who have administered the Post-Office Department, nor of any of their subordinates.

Over the darkened past of former administrations of this great branch of the Government; over millions wasted and given in subsidies, and other millions stolen; over prosecutions and trials without convictions or recoveries, and over opulent malefactors who unblushingly walk the streets unwhipt of justice, I again draw the veil of forgetfulness, if not forgiveness, and repeat the shibboleth: It is not the amount of appropriation which disturbs the people, but rather the lack of integrity in its disbursement, for such shortcoming brings condemnation to any party. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Still another item of increase constituting the $96,000,000! This amount is $12,819,093.32, and was appropriated to pay pensions to worthy soldiers of the Union.

Sir, I have myself seen poor, ignorant, and deluded colored men shed honest tears of anguish over the election of a Democrat to the Presidential office. They had been cruelly deceived. They had been made to believe that, with the advent of this administration, they would be remitted to a condition of slavery; and I have seen not a few applicants for pensions deeply grieving because they had been led by Republican partisans to apprehend that the same event would deprive Union soldiers of their pensions, or at least prevent the granting of any more. After four years of results under Democratic administration, we can point with pride to the fact that individual, personal liberty was never before so secure, and that the increase of pensions to the soldiers of the Republic has so frightened the jealous souls of Republican politicians, that they openly criticise the increase of appropriations, under Democratic auspices, to pay them. The gentleman from Illinois who arraigns us for an augmentation of appropriations to the amount of $96,000,000, takes no account of the fact that part of such increase is the sum of $12,819,093.32 for payment of pensions. Does he object to that increase? If not, why does he include it as a part of the $96,000,000 for the appropriation of which he has dared to charge us with extravagance? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

We had supposed, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman from Illinois and his party associates had not ceased to pose as the champions and friends *par excellence* of the late soldiers of the United States, but with all their great capacity for political maneuver, we certainly had no expectation that they would advertise themselves as having no sympathy with objects of legislation and appropriation intended to increase pension facilities and to pay to the utmost farthing the sums due to our maimed, wrecked, destitute, or suffering heroes, their widows and their orphans. Have they not thrown off their disguise? Will they not now acknowledge that the Democratic party is the true friend of our veterans, and their most liberal defender and supporter? We have increased the rate of pension to the widows, the rate of pension to nearly every class of serious disability, added during the fiscal years 1886, 1887, and 1888, under the administration of Mr. Cleveland, 156,303 honored names to the pension-rolls, and appropriated from the Federal Treasury a sufficient amount to pay all, and yet at the close of our patriotic work we find ourselves criticised and our appropriations questioned by the gentleman from Illinois and the Senator from Iowa, chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

To the late soldiers of the Union in my district, and in the whole State of Missouri; to the late soldiers of the Union in the States of Illinois and Iowa, and to those of the whole country, I submit the issue which the gentlemen in political desperation have precipitated, without the slightest apprehension as to the justifying verdict of an intelligent and discriminating constituency. Again I say the $12,819,093.32 increase of appropriations for pensions is, to that amount, a part of the $96,000,000 for the giving of which our party is called upon to bear the burden of the gentlemen's denunciations or criticisms, and to suffer vicariously from their eloquent lips for maintaining the rights of our worthy pensioners. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CANNON. Would it interrupt the gentleman from Missouri to place a statement of fact on file in that connection? I hold in my hand a statement of the appropriations for pensions for the four years of Cleveland's administration and the four years of Arthur's, and that statement shows that the appropriations for pensions were as much under Arthur as under Cleveland.

Mr. DOCKERY. That is not correct.

Mr. BURNES. If the gentleman asserts that, then I need only say that it involves a dispute between us in regard to figures which can be verified and settled in a moment. I have mine, and after careful investigation of the record I am perfectly certain they are accurate. The gentleman has his figures also, and, no doubt, believes them to be correct. It will be an easy matter for any one who has a doubt as to the correctness of my figures to make the examination for himself of the record of appropriations; but I regard it as almost impossible that my calculation can be incorrect, or that my friend's statement can be sustained.

Mr. CANNON. Let me state further, in exact justice to the gentleman and claiming it for myself, that under both the administrations every dollar has been appropriated for the payment of pensions the law called for promptly and in full, and I do not understand the gentleman from Missouri to criticise former administrations for the appropriations. But when he seeks to make me occupy the position of criticising the pension appropriations, he is not worthy of himself.

Mr. BURNES. I will ask the gentleman (whose temper gets the better of him at times, while mine, thank God, I can restrain) to state if he did not say in his speech just made, that the total of appropriations for the four years of Cleveland's administration exceeded the appropriations for the four years preceding by ninety-odd million dollars?

Mr. CANNON. I did.

Mr. BURNES. Then another question. Did you not further take into account in the making up of that sum, $12,819,000 for the increased pension-list?

Mr. CANNON. If such be the increase, I did. [Derisive laughter on the Democratic side.] And now——

Mr. BURNES. And now let us leave it there. I did not interrupt the gentleman in the whole course of his speech.

Mr. CANNON. If the gentleman wants to be so unfair as to leave it there, he has the power, of course.

Mr. BURNES. I do not wish to be unfair, and the gentleman knows it, but he has been a little ferocious in some of his remarks. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CANNON. I accused you of increasing the salaries of your Democratic officials who were not soldiers. Answer that.

Mr. BURNES. Now, I am sorry that my friend from Illinois does not seem to like it. [Laughter.] But I will say if he gets angry at this he ought to be here when the general deficiency bill comes in. [Renewed laughter.] But I can not change the issue as suggested by my friend. If any salaries have been increased, I am quite sure my friend and his associates are primarily responsible for it.

The gentleman from Illinois alludes to President Cleveland in terms of great disrespect and with marked injustice; but, like all others who have observed and studied the President's official career only to interpose criticisms or objections, he is compelled to confine himself to the form of insinuation, or enter the field, as some others have done, of wordy billingsgate. That field is never congenial to the gentleman from Illinois; but, I submit to him that it is less harmful and no more offensive than the method of insinuation by which he has covertly made his attack.

As I now recall his language, the gentleman refers to the President as being in harmony with and giving active support to the interests of certain citizens of the United States who center and congregate about Wall Street, and have fixed incomes, large blocks of wealth, and are interested in having the purchasing power of their money appreciated. If the gentleman had been a disinterested and unprejudiced judge, he would have told us that the President was in harmony with and was ever giving active support to the interests and equal rights of all the people of the United States, without discrimination of class or locality; that his active support was equally the safeguard and dependence of the poor and the rich, of the humble "squatter" on the public land and the opulent merchant or banker in the great cities; and that, in his official life, strict and absolute impartiality has been the distinguishing rule of his action.

Has the gentleman banished from his mental vision the picture of this great, strong man, lifting up from despondency and oppression the class of citizens to which Guilford Miller belongs, and making them secure in their homes as against wealthy, powerful, and influential oppressors? Has the gentleman so soon forgotten the reply of the President to the great cattle combinations, whose representatives, accompanied by men of the highest official station, appeared before him to protest against his order requiring them to release their grasp upon millions of acres of the public domain? Will the gentleman attempt to present a single instance in the career of Grover Cleveland wherein any official partiality has been shown in favor of one class of the people and against another? If in any of the offices he has held such a record has been made, the gentleman from Illinois would have known it long since. But there is no such record. No instance even tending to imply such a record can be produced; and the innuendo of the gentleman establishes nothing but his own partisan bitterness and injustice.

This mild attack on the President by the gentleman from Illinois we can afford to forgive, since a patient and long-suffering people four short years ago drove out of the temple of the Republic the despoilers, for corporation aggrandizement, of their public domain, the bond and money kings, the land barons, the cattle syndicates, and the troop of knightly adventurers, whose habit was to claim everything and use everything, regardless of the rights and interests of the people. Before leaving this subject I would earnestly ask my friend from Illinois if he objects to "having the purchasing power of money appreciated?" His recent opposition to a reduction of tariff duties and the consequent increase of the purchasing power of our money I was constrained to regard as the result of a mere desperate party necessity, but the serious manner in which he has arraigned the President for having appreciated the purchasing power of the money of the people, demands a review of my estimate of his position.

The Treasury Department and its administration have been alluded to and to some extent criticised by the gentleman from Illinois. I will not enter a field reserved to other members of this House, nor attempt a defense of the Secretary of the Treasury, which, in fact, he does not need. But it is within the limit I have prescribed for myself to suggest that, whether or not the policy of the Secretary is the best that could have been devised, it has, nevertheless, been conscientiously taken and honestly pursued. That policy has been carried out safely without financial panic or convulsion during a period replete with peril and through an ordeal requiring the highest and best attributes of firmness, courage, and patriotism. The Secretary has been equal to every emergency, although hedged about with imperfect statutes, dangerous precedents and questionable methods of former administrations. There is neither imputation nor suspicion of dishonor against his administration, a fact more than gratifying to the people, who doubtless remember with horror to this very day how our silver coin was demonetized by legislative assassination; how the 4 per cent. bonds were sold to a banking institution for a mere credit balance therein without interest; how bonds redeemable in currency were made payable in gold; how whisky-ring frauds rioted throughout the land, marking with infamy here and there certain dealers and distillers and smirching various departmental officials and others, and how political assessments were shamefully levied upon these violators of the internal-revenue laws, as well as upon every poor and dependent employé in Government service.

But, here again let us draw the veil over stolen, extorted, and wasted millions, over records of confessed guilt, over fines and imprisonments imposed by judicial tribunals, as the sequel to indictments and convictions by grand and petit juries, with the simple observation that the sovereign people of this Republic are not likely to commit the power of the Government into the hands of a political party that either would not or could not timely see and repress these heinous crimes.

Mr. Speaker, we have under consideration the sundry civil bill, and upon that bill the gentleman has made his speech. I desire to call the attention of this House, and likewise the attention of another House not far away—and I would not object if the country would take notice of it—that upon this important general appropriation bill the Republican Senate has annually forced additional appropriations over and above the amounts approved and passed, in the first instance, by the House, year by year, as follows:

In 1885, the Senate increased the House bill $4,036,990.69. In 1886, it increased the House bill $5,486,739.45. In 1887, it increased the House bill $3,106,850.08. In 1888, it increased the House bill $4,038,647.74; and in the House bill for the current year, now under consideration, it has increased the amount appropriated $5,174,593.24. And yet the gentleman from Illinois, and the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in another legislative body not far removed from us, have made speeches, after deliberate preparation, in which each has called the attention of the country to an alleged increase of appropriations during the past four years of Democratic administration of $96,000,000, notwithstanding they both knew that the Republican Senate had passed amendments which committed that body to an increase for the four years of $154,932,946.70 instead of $96,000,000!

In like manner both of the gentlemen indicated have included in their calculations of the $96,000,000, and made part of it, the sum of $12,819,093.32 increase for pensions. If they did not mean to object to this appropriation for pensions, they were, at least, willing to arraign the Democratic party and punish it for making such appropriations. I am glad to add in amelioration of this partisan injustice by the two gentlemen, that they are not habitually unfair, and may be reasonably expected to review their figures and their inferences at an early day.

Mr. Speaker, I submit here a concise statement of certain figures to which I have made reference, and assure the House they are reliable.

The increase of appropriations by the direct action of the Senate for the four years from 1886 to 1889, over the amounts proposed by the House was as follows:

1886	$4,426,147.69
1887	2,934,648.86
1888	3,934,419.58
1889	11,934,598.20
Total	23,229,814.33

The following shows the increase proposed by the Senate on appropriations as they passed the House during the four years, 1886 to 1889:

1886	$10,801,807.16
1887	13,392,795.82
1888	35,046,210.61
1889	22,536,633.65
Total	81,777,447.24

The amount stated for 1886 does not include the river and harbor bill as it passed the House and failed in the Senate for want of time to consider it.

It is insisted that the appropriations as made by the House of Representatives are sufficient for a wise and economical administration of the Government. As shown by the preceding statements, the Senate each year proposes large increases of the appropriations as passed by the House, and by persistency in conference always succeeds in fastening upon the House bills a great many amendments of more or less doubtful necessity.

The sundry civil bill, of which the chairman of the Senate committee has had personal control during the last six years, has been the favorite field upon which the Senate practices its fine art of increase, as will be demonstrated by the following statement:

INCREASE OF SUNDRY CIVIL BILLS BY THE SENATE OVER THE HOUSE DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS.

1889	$5,174,593.24
1888	4,038,647.74
1887	3,106,850.08
1886	5,486,739.45
1885	4,036,990.69
1884	2,570,724.72
Total	24,414,545.92

Of the $96,000,000 alleged increase of appropriations for the four years including 1889, over the previous four years, more than $90,000,000 of it can be accounted for, as follows:

Increase in appropriations during Cleveland's administration for pensions	$12,819,093.32
Increase in appropriations during Cleveland's administration on account of the Navy	17,010,562.12
Increase in appropriations during Cleveland's administration on account of the postal service	45,490,485.14
Unusual appropriations during Cleveland's administration—Alabama claims awards and Choctaw Indian claim	8,627,813.90
Increases made by the Senate on appropriation bills at this session other than Army, fortification, pension, Navy, and Post-Office, as shown by Senator ALLISON'S statement	6,264,489.44
Total	90,212,443.92

During the last three years of Mr. Arthur's administration, the ordinary expenses of the Government aggregated $769,761,316.98, or a per capita expenditure for the three years of $13.85, or an average of $4.61 per annum.

During the three fiscal years, including 1888, under Cleveland's administration, the total net ordinary expenses have been $778,340,119.60, or a per capita expenditure for the three years of $12.94, and an average per annum of $4.31.

AMOUNTS OF INCREASE PROPOSED BY AND PASSED THROUGH THE SENATE ON APPROPRIATION BILLS IN EXCESS OF THE BILLS AS THEY PASSED THE HOUSE AT THIS SESSION.

Agricultural bill	$119,200.00
Army bill	6,892,500.00
Diplomatic and consular bill	39,600.00
District of Columbia bill	855,628.65
Fortification bill	897,000.00
Legislative, executive, and judicial bill	203,865.47
Navy bill	190,217.78
Pension bill	1,476,000.00
Post-Office bill	1,549,393.00
River and harbor bill	2,523,000.64
Sundry civil bill	5,174,593.24
Deficiency bill, 1887 and prior years	64,594.11
Deficiency bill, 1888, urgent	724,588.29
Deficiency bill, customs and pensions	25,445.37
General deficiency bill	1,937,530.33
Total	22,673,156.88

The Indian bill alone as it passed the House was reduced by the Senate $136,523.23, making the net increase proposed by the Senate on all of the bills, including those for deficiencies, $22,536,633.65.

Against all these Senate amendments the House conferees earnestly and determinedly protested, but the other side yielded but little, and manifested a stubborn courage worthy of a better cause.

The House conferees were not on their part destitute of courage. You who so well know the firmness of my distinguished colleague [Mr. FORNEY] and the unyielding courage of the honored chairman of the committee [Mr. RANDALL], will not believe that the House conferees yielded or receded a moment too soon.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. Right here let me state to the gentleman from Missouri what I am sure he will be glad to hear, as well as other gentlemen on that side of the House, that Mr. RANDALL, in a week from to-morrow, will be renominated by the Democratic convention, every shade of Democrat being for his nomination, irrespective of his vote upon the tariff bill. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BURNES. And I ask my friend——

Mr. O'NEILL, of Missouri. Every intelligent voter in his district will vote for him.

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I do not know whether there will be any Republican nominated; but the nomination of Mr. RANDALL will be largely due to his fearlessness in expressing his opinion upon all subjects.

Mr. BURNES. I had not entertained a doubt as to what the Democracy would do in support of Mr. RANDALL, and am surprised that my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. O'NEILL] could imagine that the great Democratic party of this country would sacrifice so good a man and so good a Democrat simply because he was not quite in line on a single question, however important that one question might be. The era of good feeling is at hand, and for Cleveland and Thurman the Democracy are in line from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf [applause on the Democratic side], and victory, victory is everywhere in the air. [Continued applause.]

Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania. I make this statement because it has been said that there would be some effort made to push him out of the Democratic party. But the people will take care of him. [Applause and cries of "He is all right" on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BURNES. The Democratic party does not push any man out of it; on the contrary, it calls upon all, as a true evangelist, to "come and join with us;" and the kind and fraternal invitation is being accepted by numerous thousands with great joy, who for the first time in their lives join in swelling, loud and long, the Democratic shouts of victory.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I would like to know from my friend from Missouri whence are coming the sounds of victory of which he has spoken.

Mr. BURNES. Even Iowa, not loud but deep. Iowa, my good friend, is trembling in the balance for Cleveland. Look out for your "homes and your firesides."

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Does my distinguished friend trace the signs of victory from the late elections that have been held?

Mr. BURNES. The Democracy of Maine reduced your majority in that State 1,250 votes without assistance from any quarter outside the State.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. When you hear from Iowa you will have a peroration for your oration which will not gratify the Democracy.

Mr. BURNES. I know my friend believes it thoroughly, and it is sad to see so good a man under such an hallucination.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I know it.

Mr. BURNES. Worse and worse, my poor, dear friend.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I ask you about the breezes of victory that you speak of.

Mr. BURNES. When defeat settles upon the national standard of my friend and the disheartened remnant of his divided party in Iowa are in full retreat, I will carry with me to his hospitable home those victorious breezes with which, cooling his fevered brow, I will tenderly and fraternally nurse him back to a happy convalescence. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa, and others on the Republican side. "Oh! Oh!"

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. My friend from Missouri is an encyclopedia of information on every question, and I hold him always in the highest respect; but this is one time he is in error. I can say to him as one who was almost born in Iowa, and who has been pretty close to the hearts of her people, that I can instruct him that his miss is a great deal more than a mile; and now I rise again and ask him if he will not give me a suitable answer to the question I asked him, as to where the breezes come from that have "victory in the air" for the Democratic party?

Mr. BURNES. Have you not heard from Maine?

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. They did not come from Oregon, from Vermont, or from Maine. Where do they come from? Arkansas?

Mr. BURNES. Oregon voted before our forces were in the field or our horses were upon the track. But that Chinese vote in Oregon will always beat us until we restrain and prohibit their importation. They increase there faster than Democrats do.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. You had some other things than horses there. You had some fellows who carried purses in their hands.

Mr. BURNES. This is mere trifling, but you and I understand each other.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Oh, we love each other; but I could not help referring to the "breezes."

Mr. BURNES. Mr. Speaker, I beg the pardon of the House for consuming so much time, and sincerely thank every member present for an indulgent and respectful hearing.

A carefully prepared but simply stated table will be appended to my remarks and printed. This table will show how and to what amounts the Senate has increased House bills of appropriation, and what amounts the Senate deliberately passed, by way of amendments, as increases on House bills.

From the Forty-fourth to the Fiftieth Congress, both inclusive, it will be observed that above the amounts contained in the House bills as they were passed and sent to the Senate, the latter body added the immense increase of $180,448,311.67; and that the House, resisting augmentation from year to year, succeeded in reducing this increase to $70,469,768.64, being a net decrease and saving by the House as against the Senate of $109,978,543.03. This table also shows the political complexion of both House and Senate during each year, so that the proper distinction of party domination may appear in connection with the appropriations.

Appended hereto are tables, figures, and explanations bearing upon regular annual appropriations which have been made and including miscellaneous appropriations down to the 5th of October, 1888, and including also a contrast of expenditures of the administrations for two full years of Arthur and Cleveland.

In these tables is exemplified the splendid record of Democratic economy now and for a period of fourteen years past, and they exhibit the undeniable record of Republican prodigality in appropriations. But at last, the tranquility of the people is not disturbed by the amount of appropriations, but is secured by the honesty and integrity with which such appropriations are disbursed.

Session of Congress.	Year.	Increases proposed on appropriation bills by the Senate.	Excess of appropriation laws over amount passed by the House.
Forty-fourth Congress (Democratic House, Republican Senate)	1877	$19,508,235.21	$8,966,731.43
	1878	19,832,631.09	10,198,370.75
Forty-fifth Congress (Democratic House, Republican Senate)	1879	14,164,529.47	9,513,093.83
	1880*	.....	.....
Forty-sixth Congress (Democratic House, Democratic Senate)	1881	4,832,412.21	2,564,509.30
	1882†	7,731,977.25	5,820,112.92
Forty-seventh Congress (Republican House, Republican Senate)	1883	8,933,082.02	4,798,683.34
	1884	4,238,333.36	2,604,165.49
Forty-eighth Congress (Democratic House, Republican Senate)	1885	20,139,643.82	2,754,287.25
	1886	10,091,807.16	4,426,147.69
Forty-ninth Congress (Democratic House, Republican Senate)	1887	13,392,795.82	2,934,4 9.58
	1888	35,046,210.61	3,934,419.58
Fiftieth Congress (Democratic House, Republican Senate)	1889	22,536,633.65	11,934,598.20
Total		180,448,311.67	70,469,768.64

*No record for 1880.

†Does not include $18,282,306.68 deficiency on account of pensions growing out of the passage of the arrears act, placed by the Senate on the pension bill for 1882.

The following statement exhibits, by titles of appropriation bills, the estimates submitted for the fiscal year 1889, the amount of the bills as reported to the House from the committees, the amounts as passed the House, the amounts as reported to the Senate from committees, the amounts as passed the Senate, and the amounts as they became laws, appropriations made by miscellaneous acts approved up to September 22, and the permanent annual appropriations, together with the appropriations for 1888:

History of appropriations first session, Fiftieth Congress; estimates and appropriations for fiscal year 1888–'89, *and appropriations for fiscal year* 1887–'88.

Title.	Estimates, 1889.	Reported to the House.		Passed the House.		Reported to the Senate.		Passed the Senate.		Law 1888–'89.		Law 1887–'88.
		Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Amount.
		1888.		1888.		1888.		1888.		1888.		
Agricultural	$1,046,925.00	May 28	$1,591,860.00	June 2	$1,591,860.00	June 12	$1,700,660.00	June 14	$1,711,060.00	July 18	$1,716,010.00	$1,028,730.00
Army	25,364,334.08	May 28	24,289,700.00	June 16	24,639,300.00	June 28	25,180,800.00	July 26	31,531,800.00	Sept. 22	24,471,300.00	23,724,718.69
Diplomatic and consular	1,947,865.00	Feb. 7	1,416,865.00	May 21	1,413,865.00	June 4	1,424,965.00	June 6	1,453,465.00	July 11	1,428,465.00	1,429,942.44
District of Columbia *a*	5,265,702.35	Mar. 29	4,518,990.32	May 21	4,525,801.32	June 11	5,318,618.97	June 13	5,381,429.97	July 18	5,046,410.32	4,284,590.66
Fortification	8,239,000.00	July 26	6,202,670.00	Aug. 16	3,725,000.00	Aug. 29	4,622,000.00	Aug. 31	4,622,000.00	Sept. 22	3,972,000.00	(*b*)
Indian	5,488,697.66	Mar. 16	8,348,052.36	Apr. 20	8,398,652.36	May 24	8,252,129.13	June 1	8,262,129.13	June 29	*c*8,260,129.13	5,226,897.66
Legislative, etc	21,500,120.80	Apr. 14	20,559,061.85	June 1	20,615,475.10	June 25	20,811,608.57	June 26	20,819,340.57	July 11	20,758,178.07	20,745,023.67
Military Academy	361,660.66	Feb. 7	315,043.81	Mar. 29	315,043.81	Apr. 9	315,043.81	Apr. 11	315,043.81	May 1	315,043.81	419,936.93
Navy	*d*23,003,624.13	June 18	19,991,074.25	June 22	20,003,074.25	July 20	20,157,092.03	July 25	20,193,292.03	Sept. 7	19,943,389.95	*d*25,767,348.19
Pension	76,312,400.00	Jan. 19	80,275,500.00	Apr. 20	80,284,700.00	May 10	81,760,700.00	May 17	81,760,700.00	June 7	81,758,700.00	*e*83,152,500.00
Post-office *f*	58,967,233.74	Apr. 13	60,035,840.74	May 24	60,085,840.74	June 11	61,635,233.74	June 14	61,635,233.74	July 24	60,860,233.74	55,694,650.15
River and harbor	*g*12,213,470.00	Mar. 31	19,494,783.13	May 7	19,902,783.13	June 20	21,562,783.77	July 2	22,425,783.77	*h* Aug. 11	22,397,616.90	(*i*)
Sundry civil	28,742,695.26	June 16	23,714,798.11	June 22	23,332,406.30	July 17	27,344,871.48	Aug. 1	28,506,999.54	Oct. 2	26,245,454.82	22,386,540.96
Total	268,453,728.68		270,754,239.57		268,833,802.01		280,086,506.50		288,618,277.56		277,263,051.74	243,860,879.35
Deficiency, 1887 and prior years	7,365,436.06	Jan. 10	2,951,353.87	Jan. 11	3,062,985.34	Jan. 19	2,968,247.49	Jan. 25	3,127,579.45	Feb. 1	3,127,579.45	
Deficiency, agricultural stations	585,000.00	Jan. 13	585,000.00	Jan. 18	585,000.00	Jan. 26	585,000.00	Jan. 30	585,000.00	Feb. 1	585,000.00	
Deficiency, urgent, 1888		Feb. 1	4,083,342.57	Feb. 17	5,290,620.64	Feb. 29	5,371,924.53	Mar. 7	6,015,208.93	Mar. 30	6,878,511.31	
Deficiency, customs, pensions, etc., 1888	*j*16,000,000.00	May 2	450,000.00	May 10	3,950,000.00	May 24	3,975,445.37	May 25	3,975,445.37	June 8	4,097,158.44	
Deficiency, general, 1888 and prior years		July 19	3,539,434.49	Aug. 27	3,227,518.32	Sept. 18	4,518,862.58	Sept. 24	5,165,048.65		*k*4,933,223.57	
Total	292,303,164.74		282,363,370.50		284,949,926.31		297,505,986.47		307,486,559.96		296,884,524.51	243,860,879.35
Miscellaneous	*j*10,000,000.00										*l*9,091,715.40	4,811,991.49
Total regular annual appropriations	302,303,164.74										305,976,239.91	248,672,870.84
Permanent annual appropriations	115,640,798.90										115,640,798.90	116,595,525.48
Grand total regular and permanent annual appropriations	417,943,963.64										421,617,038.81	365,268,396.32

a Fifty per cent. of the amounts appropriated for the District of Columbia is paid by the United States. The amount for the water department (estimated for 1889 at $266,947.35) is paid out of the revenues of that department.

b No appropriations were made for fortifications for the fiscal years of 1887 and 1888.

c This amount includes $2,858,798.62 for payment of judgment of the Court of Claims in favor of the Choctaw Nation.

d Includes amounts for navy-yards and stations.

e This amount includes $6,900,000 for Mexican war pensions appropriated by separate act.

f The appropriations for the postal service are paid out of the postal revenues (estimated for 1889 at $57,563,734.32), and any deficiency in the revenue is provided for out of the Treasury of the United States.

g This is the estimate submitted for rivers and harbors for 1889. "The amount that can be profitably expended," as reported by the Chief of Engineers, is $40,041,998.77. [Book of Estimates, page 183.]

h The river and harbor bill became a law without the President's signature.

i No appropriations were made for rivers and harbors for the fiscal year 1888.

j This sum is approximated.

k This sum represents the amount of the general deficiency bill as agreed upon in the conference report submitted October 3. Items appropriating $91,245 in this bill remained to be settled.

l This amount includes acts approved and printed up to September 22.

The thirteen regular appropriation bills as they passed the House, it will be seen, appropriated $268,833,802.01. As passed by the Senate, these bills appropriated $288,618,277.56, being an increase proposed by the Senate of $19,784,475.55.

The bills as they became laws appropriated $277,263,051.74, the Senate having receded from $8,429,249.73 of its proposed increases.

Compared with the regular appropriations made for 1888, which are also shown in the statement, there is an apparent increase in the appropriations for the ordinary current expenses of the Government for 1889 of $33,402,172.39. This sum is more than accounted for on four bills, namely:

The fortification bill appropriates $3,972,000. No bill for this object was passed during the last session of Congress for the fiscal year 1888.

The Indian bill includes $2,858,798.62 to pay a judgment in favor of the Choctaw Indians. Otherwise the bill appropriates but a trifle more than it carried last session.

The post-office bill is increased $5,165,583.59, $1,000,000 of which sum is due to the passage at this session of the law limiting to eight hours a day the labor of letter-carriers. The balance of the increase is owing to the enlargement of the service incident to the growth of the country.

The river and harbor bill appropriates $22,397,616.90. No bill for the improvement of the harbors and water-ways of the country became a law during the last session of Congress.

These sums aggregate $34,393,999.11, and when eliminated from the sum total of the thirteen regular bills, make the amount actually appropriated for the current and ordinary expenses of the Government during the fiscal year 1889 nearly $1,000,000 less than was appropriated for the fiscal year 1888.

The aggregate amount appropriated by the five deficiency appropriation bills passed during the session, each of which is shown in the statement, is $19,621,472.77. No deficiency bill was passed during the last session of Congress, and the first one enumerated in the statement as for 1887 and prior years, appropriating $3,127,579.45, was passed to supply the general deficiency bill, which failed of passage during the last session of Congress.

Of the whole sum represented by these deficiency bills, namely, $19,621,472.77, more than one-half is to provide for the payment of judgments of the Court of Claims; judgments for damages caused by the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, allowed under a law passed in 1875, when both houses were Republican; for claims certified to be due to soldiers and sailors for back pay and bounty; for horses and equipments lost in the military service and for commutation of rations while confined in Confederate prisons; for refunding to the States expenses incurred in suppressing the rebellion and Indian hostilities; for the payment of claims of postmasters under a readjustment of their salaries provided for by an act of Congress passed in 1883, and to cover a deficiency of $3,500,000 on account of pensions for 1888.

The items thus enumerated, together with many others of lesser magnitude, covered by these deficiency bills, grow out of obligations in-

curred by the Government many years ago, and, therefore, are not an element of the current and ordinary expenditures.

The amount stated for miscellaneous appropriations, $9,091,715.40, covers sums of money appropriated by miscellaneous acts of Congress passed for the construction of public buildings and for other objects. Of this sum $2,650,000 is for the erection of a public building for the accommodation of the appraiser's stores in the city of New York, and $1,018,000 is appropriated by an act of Congress passed for the purpose of securing from the Sioux Indians a portion of their large reservation, to be made a part of the public domain.

The amount stated for permanent annual appropriations, $115,640,798.90, is the amount estimated by the Treasury to be expended during the year under certain indefinite and specific permanent appropriations, to meet the interest on the public debt, the requirements of the sinking-fund, the expenses of collecting the revenue from customs, and for other purposes.

A comparison of the expenditures of the Government under the administration of President Arthur, for the years 1883–'84, *and of President Cleveland, for years* 1886–'87, *taken from statistical abstracts for* 1887, *No.* 10, *page* 3:

Arthur—net ordinary:		
1883		$206,248,006.29
1884		189,547,865.85
		395,795,872.14
Cleveland—net ordinary:		
1886	$191,902,992.53	
1887	220,190,602.72	
		412,093,593.25
Excess of Cleveland		16,297,723.11
Arthur—pensions:		
1883		66,012,573.64
1884		55,429,228.06
		121,441,801.70
Cleveland—Pensions:		
1886	$63,404,864.03	
1887	75,029,101.79	
		138,433,965.82
Excess of Cleveland		16,992,164.12

Thus showing that the apparent excess in net ordinary expenditures made by Cleveland's administration is more than accounted for in the payment of pensions by the sum of $604,436.01.

The Mills Bill.

Every change of conditions which widens the chasm and impairs the sympathy between rich and poor can not fail, however beneficial its effects, to bring with it grave dangers to the state.—*Lecky.*

SPEECH

OF

HON. HILARY A. HERBERT,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, October 12, 1888.

On the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue.

Mr. HERBERT said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The Canadian problem the President has given to the Senate of the United States seems to worry the Republicans of that body about as much as that other puzzle the House has sent them, the Mills bill. The trouble in the Republican camp all this long session of ten months and over has been and is now that their leaders could not and can not agree. That is why this Congress has broken the record. The session is already longer than ever was known before, and nothing is done. The Republican members of this House have, while confessing the necessity of reducing revenues, contented themselves with opposing the Democratic measure, and offered nothing of their own.

It was given out that their brethren in the Senate would deal with the question. The Democratic House might pass its bill if it could—well, we did. The Senate would pass a substitute—but it has not done it. It does not intend to do it. The majority party there has spent all this session in a determined effort not to do it. Let us look at the record.

RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATIC HOUSE ON REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

The Ways and Means Committee was appointed in this House to consider questions of taxation on January 5, 1888. March the 1st, the Mills bill was reported, ordered printed, and referred. April the 2d, having been slightly amended, it was finally reported to the House. The Republican members of the committee simply dissented; they reported no substitute. The discussion in the House began April the 17th; it was exhaustive almost beyond precedent; the Republicans insisted on a long debate; one hundred and fifty-one speeches were made in general debate, and the bill was discussed at great length under the five-minute rule.

It finally passed the House July 21; no substitute was offered. If the Republicans have any method by which they really intend to reduce taxation they ought to have formulated it here. To this House, and to this House only, the Constitution confides the power of originating revenue bills. But the Republican members in this House were divided, and so were incapable of dealing with the question of taxation. Time was when that charge was made against the Democratic party, and the time was when, perhaps, in part it was true. But the time never was when the great body of the party was not willing to make an effort, at least, to reduce taxation. We tried in the Forty-fifth Congress, in the Forty-sixth, Forty-eighth, and Forty-ninth Congresses, to pass bills reducing tariff taxation, and each time, though in the majority, we failed. There were enough Democrats in the House uniting with the Republicans to defeat us; but we had no leader then; Grover Cleveland had not come to the front. We had for years simply been a party of opposition, and though we had able men in our ranks, we needed an administration to fuse us together and give us solidarity.

June 5, 1878, Fernando Wood, a Democrat, moved in the House a tariff-reduction bill. The enacting clause was stricken out by a majority of 14. One hundred and nineteen Democrats voted against the motion and for the bill, only one Republican standing with them. The Republicans voting to strike out were 115, and they were aided by 19 Democrats.

May 12, 1879, Mr. Dibrell, of Tennessee, moved to suspend the rules and pass a bill imposing an income tax. This would place some of the burdens of the Government where they ought to be, on the shoulders of the rich, and to that extent relieve the laboring man. A two-thirds vote was required to pass it. The yeas were 111, the nays 94. Voting for it were 101 Democrats, aided by 10 Republicans and Greenbackers; voting against it were only 9 Democrats and 83 Republicans. This was not a tariff question, but I cite it to show how parties stood on taxation.

On the 30th of June, 1880, Mr. McKenzie, of Kentucky, moved to suspend the rules and place quinine on the free-list. This motion was carried. It appealed so strongly and so directly to the popular sympathy in favor of the poor and the sick that this time 22 Republicans were found in the House ready to vote with the Democrats. These, added to the 106 Democrats who voted for it, were sufficient to carry it. Only 2 Democrats in the House were found to vote against this bill.

January 12, 1880, a motion was made by Mr. HATCH, a Democrat, to make all salt free; 100 Democrats voted for it and only 12 against it. But it failed, for of all the Republicans in the House, aided by the Greenbackers, only 15 were found to vote for it, and 104 Republicans voted squarely against it.

THE REPUBLICAN TARIFF OF 1883.

In the Forty-seventh Congress the Republicans were in power again in both branches of Congress. March 3, 1883, they passed their tariff bill, pretending to reduce tariff taxation. They made an actual reduction on some articles, an increase on others, and on others still fixed specific instead of ad valorem duties, thus cunningly revising the law so as to impose higher average duties than before. The average ad valorem duty upon all dutiable articles for the year ending June 30, 1883, before that law took effect, was 42.45 per cent.; under the operation of the law as our Republican friends revised it this duty has been gradually climbing up, so that on the 30th day of June, 1887, it had reached 47.10 per cent.

HOUSE AGAIN DEMOCRATIC—FORTY-EIGHTH AND FORTY-NINTH CONGRESSES.

On the 6th of May, 1884, the Democrats were again in possession of the House. On that day a motion was made to strike out the enacting clause of Mr. Morrison's bill reducing tariff taxation, and the bill was defeated by a majority of 4; 118 Republicans voted against this bill; they were aided by 41 Democrats; voting for the bill were 4 Republicans and 151 Democrats. On the 17th day of June, 1886, Mr. Morrison moved another bill to reduce tariff taxation. This was defeated by the votes of 107 Republicans aided by 33 Democrats; for the bill were 3 Republicans and 137 Democrats. The Democratic majority were unable to pass a bill through the House of Representatives. Cleveland had not yet gotten full control. In the present, the Fiftieth Congress, the Democratic majority is but 15. When we assembled in December, 1887, President Cleveland had been at the head of the Government for two years and a half; he had had time to take in the situation, and he determined to throw his influence in favor of a reduction of tariff taxation.

The course he decided upon many of his best friends thought was unwise; his administration had been so clean; the motives by which he had been influenced so pure; every act, it was so apparent to the people, had been upright and patriotic, that it was now perfectly clear that

if no new issue was made and he could go to the country solely upon his administration up to that time, there could be practically no opposition to his re-election. But when he had made up his mind, as he had, that the system of taxation imposed by the Republican party upon the masses of the people for the benefit of the classes was outrageous and oppressive, he would have been untrue to himself if he had hesitated. He did not hesitate. He boldly declared in favor of a reduction of tariff taxation. He knew his motives would be misrepresented. He knew he would array against him in fierce opposition the power of these monied monopolies which had so long dominated the land, but he halted not for a moment. In order to center and localize public attention, he addressed himself, in his message, to the question of taxation alone. The people were overtaxed. He was the people's representative, and for the rights of the people he flung down the gage of battle. Here at least is one man who proves by his action that he had rather be right than be President.

A bill for the relief of tariff taxation, with the President behind it, passed the House and went over to the Senate.

INTENTIONAL DELAY IN THE SENATE.

We have seen that the Republicans in the House did nothing but oppose—proposed nothing. The Senate Republicans seeing this, lost confidence in their brethren, and determined even before the House bill went over to act for themselves.

Their Committee on Finance appointed a subcommittee on the tariff May 22. The subcommittee began their hearing May 26. They have heard everybody but the consumer—all the manufacturers and all the people who wanted still higher taxes, that they might be manufacturers. Senators probably thought when they appointed their committee they would do something. They no doubt then supposed they could agree, and it was said their substitute would be ready when the Mills bill got over to them, but it was not.

The summer passed; autumn came. The public was in doubt. The Senators looked wise but made no report. Finally one of them made a lot of figures, endeavored to show that Democratic government was so expensive that no reduction of taxation would be necessary; that expenditures would equal income, but when the figures were examined the excuse was too flimsy; it was abandoned, and now, at last, they have reported, October 2, a tariff bill which is said to make a reduction of seventy-three millions from revenues which a few weeks ago they claimed would stand no reduction. The bill was reported by the same gentleman [Mr. ALLISON], who laid himself out on the figures.

If there be, Mr. Speaker, any one thing apparent it is the baldness, the hollowness of the pretense that the Republican Senate intends to pass a bill reducing taxation. If they had really intended to do anything of the kind we should not have had this long delay since May the 22d. Look back for a moment at the history of tariff bills.

The celebrated tariff bill of 1846 was passed by the House July the 7th; in twenty-two days afterwards, July 28, it passed the Senate. Senator ALLISON, of Iowa, said, on the 24th day of March, 1870, that this—

> was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any that we ever had.

The tariff bill of 1857 passed the Senate six days after it passed the House. I do not cite, because it would not be fair, the rapidity with which such bills rushed through the Senate during the war. I point only to what was done in time of peace. The tariff bill of 1867 was in the Senate committee fifty-four days—longer than any other I have been able to find. The tariff bill of 1870 passed the House June 6; twenty-nine days thereafter, July 5, it passed the Senate.

Now we come to the last tariff bill that was passed, the bill of 1883. December 8, 1882, the Senate took from the Calendar a little internal-revenue bill, recommitted it to the Senate Committee on Finance, and January 4, 1883, that committee reported to the Senate a complete tariff bill tacked onto an internal-revenue bill—a thing never done before in the history of our legislation. I do not cite the novelty of this performance for the purpose or showing that Republican Senators are brighter than any other statesmen in the world; I do not allude to it to draw the conclusion that they stand less upon precedents or that they care less for constitutions than any other legislators that ever assembled in this Capitol, but I call attention to it to prove, and it undoubtedly does prove, that when they want to do a thing they can find a way to do it, and they are not always about it, either. They framed that bill, root and branch; they reported it to the Senate, perfect and complete, in twenty-seven days; and on the 20th of February they passed it.

Sir, since the Senate committee began to work upon their present bill national conventions have been held, candidates have been nominated, the summer has waxed and waned and gone; all through the dog-days the House has been here waiting on the Senate to send us some measure of relief to the people; money is still piling into the Treasury, hundreds of thousands of dollars every day more than the Government needs; the people need relief from taxation, and they need it now; and yet it is rumored in the air that the Senate having reported a bill is ready to adjourn if the House will only send them a resolution. This has been their purpose for weeks and months, to report a bill and adjourn, to wear out the patience of the House and get away to their constituents without coming to a vote, for a vote will only show that they are hopelessly divided.

The same committee that framed the bill of 1883 in twenty-seven days is in the Senate now, and was at work in committee, or pretended to be, on this bill for one hundred and thirty days. The Republican members of that committee were in 1883, Messrs. MORRILL, SHERMAN, Ferry, JONES of Nevada, ALLISON, and ALDRICH. Only one Senator has gone—Ferry. The other five have been there all the time since. They have had five years more of experience, five years more of service on that committee than they had had in 1883; five years more within which to familiarize themselves with the details of taxation; and losing Senator Ferry they have gained HISCOCK, at least Ferry's equal in ability and far his superior in knowledge of the subject, for Senator HISCOCK has had many years' experience as a member of the Ways and Means Committee in fighting and killing in the House bills for the relief of the people that never lived to be considered in the Senate. What is the matter with them? What has this committee to gain by taking one hundred and thirty days in which to frame a bill, when five years ago they could make one in twenty-seven days?

The answer can be made but in one way, delay—delay that would excuse them from voting. They have not intended to vote, they dare not vote upon their bill, for a vote would show their division. They prefer the bill should stand subject to amendment. In that shape it is pliable as any political platform that ever was built. In Kansas and on the Pacific coast they can promise to amend it in one particular. Senator INGALLS is already out in a letter to one of his constituents, in which he says that farmers ought to be protected, but there is no time to consider a bill this session.

That means that the high tariff on sugar which the Kansas farmers want protected can be put back next session. All the Republican members from Kansas and the Pacific coast voted in the House against the reduction on sugar made by the Mills bill. The Senators from those States can promise to vote against the reduction on sugar in the Senate bill. Senators from the Northwest can promise to amend it in other particulars, and those from Pennsylvania and New England can promise still other amendments. The advantage, then, they think they have is that the Mills bill is the action of a Democratic House. If there are any defects in that bill Republicans can assail it—a Democratic House passed it. But if the Senate bill is defective, why, Republicans can promise that the Senate will amend it. The Senate has not indorsed it. It is only the bill of a committee. That, Mr. Speaker, is the game they are playing; but it is so different from the bold and brave utterances of their platform at Chicago that nobody can be deceived. Sir, it is no wonder that when that platform was read at Chicago it was received with such wild enthusiasm. It struck the great heart of Republican representatives there assembled; it spoke out in manly language. When the news of it had come to Washington the great protection leader of the House, Mr. KELLEY, said with pious unction:

> Now Lord, lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen the glories of Israel.

There were many of us on the Democratic side, Mr. Speaker, who were as much rejoiced as the Republicans were, for we had longed to see the day when the Republican party would speak out boldly as their platform does. There is not in it a single substantial promise to the consumers of manufactured articles. It is everything for the favored few—not a ray of hope for the millions of workers who are not and can not be protected by law, whose lines in life lie outside of those which circumscribe the chosen pets of the Republican party. Never before did a political party declare in favor of such a "revision of our tariff laws as will tend to check imports," etc.—that is, such a revision as will tend towards the destruction of foreign commerce. But the Republican party has for years been drifting in that direction, and now and then I have heard a candid gentleman openly avow such sentiments.

One of these was Mr. Columbus Delano, who was examined February 20, 1884, by the Ways and Means Committee of the House, when the following colloquy between him and myself took place, after much cross-examining upon my part:

> Mr. HERBERT. Can you answer that question, yes or no; whether the measure of protection which you think is right for each industry is that which gives it control of the American market?
>
> Mr. DELANO. Substantial control; yes.
>
> Mr. HERBERT. That means substantially to prohibit the introduction of foreign goods?
>
> Mr. DELANO. I have answered that question several times.
>
> Mr. HERBERT. Please to say yes or no.
>
> Mr. DELANO. Well, yes; if that will end it.

REPUBLICAN REPUDIATION OF HENRY CLAY'S DOCTRINES.

The reasonable doctrine of protection as held by Henry Clay was, that infant industries were to be protected in order that in the end they might be able to compete with foreign markets.

June 2, 1864, Senator MORRILL, now chairman of the Senate committee that reports the Senate bill, said: "Protection was never defended on any other ground than that; in the end the consumer obtained his supplies more cheaply." But now the doctrines of Henry Clay have been thrown to the winds; now the theories held by Republican leaders twenty years ago have been abandoned, for the Re-

publican party has marched up and taken the position avowed by Mr. Delano four years ago, that Congress must "prohibit the introduction of foreign goods" in order to give to each American industry "control of the American market"—in the words of the platform, revise the laws so as to "check imports." To give any industry "control of the American market," which is to put duties so high as to take away all danger of foreign competition, is to place the consumer at the mercy—not of the workers, the laborers in that industry, but in the power of the capitalists, who control its products.

If this control be given to one man or one corporation a monopoly is at once established. If there be several corporations engaged in the manufacture they have all the benefits of a monopoly if only, as the law invites them to do, they will combine and form a trust. The public is at their mercy, for they can raise prices at will, as the bagging trust has done. The laborer is at their mercy, for they can limit production and turn their hands out of employment, all the time increasing their own profits. This is what the American Steel Association, the great exemplar of trusts, did away back some sixteen years ago. It paid the Vulcan Works of St. Louis at the rate of $70,000 per annum to shut down and turn its hands out of employment.

This is what the sugar trust did not ten days ago. It shut down its works at Boston and turned out its operatives. No one man in America can tell the extent of these combinations among capitalists, because most of them are kept secret. A friend of mine, himself a tariff reformer, told me not two years ago that he was interested in four different sorts of manufactures. In one of these he had no fear of competition, but in each of the other three there was an agreement as to prices with other manufacturers of the product. It can not be otherwise. Can gentlemen give to manufacturers absolute control of our market and then expect them not to control prices? And how can they control prices without combinations? Do you take them to be weak enough to deprive themselves by competition of all benefit of the market you have handed over to them?

Sometimes they are. When profits are so great that "fortunes are to made in a year," then competition is often for a time very sharp; then comes over production, then bankruptcy, then operatives go tramping over the country, for our high tariff is the parent of the trust and the tramp. Everybody condemns trusts, which are combinations to raise prices, almost always, too, on the necessaries of life—conspiracies of a few rich men to rob the poor. Everybody knows, too, that these combinations, facilitated by railroads and telegraphs, are becoming more common day by day.

How is it then, sir, that at such a time as this the Republican party should put behind it all the old theories of protection which was defended on the ground that "in the end the consumer obtained his supplies more cheaply" and openly avow in its platform an intention never to reduce tariff taxation on any article on which capital can make a profit by manufacturing it in the United States; and how dare it declare further that, if need be, to prevent revenue the tariff must be raised higher and higher?

The answer can be but one thing. The monopolists, by their money and their influence, have obtained complete possession of the Republican party.

It is equally remarkable, sir, that the Republican members of the Senate committee in reporting a bill reducing revenues, as they say, by more than seventy-three and a half millions of dollars, a bill in which it is reasonable to suppose all the people of the United States feel some interest, should in enumerating at the beginning of the report the reasons which induce them to bring in the bill entirely forget that there were any other people in America except those engaged in manufacturing and importing. That is just what they do. Other people may be mentioned incidentally later on in the report, but their interests were not controlling. Here are the reasons considered as set forth in the words of the committee:

Mr. ALDRICH, from the Committee on Finance, submitted the following report (to accompany bill H. R. 9051):

The Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue, respectfully report:

The demand for a careful and thorough revision of our revenue laws is imperative. This revision is necessary:

1. To reduce the national revenues, which are now excessive. * * *

2. To protect honest importers and domestic producers from the disastrous consequences resulting from fraudulent undervaluations of imported merchandise on which ad valorem rates of duty are levied. * * *

3. To remedy the defects, anomalies, and incongruities which have been from time to time discovered in the tariff schedules, or which have been created by erroneous decisions of the Treasury Department. * * *

4. To secure the proper readjustment and equalization of tariff rates rendered necessary by modified business conditions, improvements in methods of production, radical changes in prices, or by new elements or sources of competition.

5. To give relief and protection to many industries which are now suffering on account of the inadequate rates levied on competing products.

Now, sir, we see why it is that the monopolists have contributed, as it is said they have, more than a million of dollars to the national executive committee of the Republican party for this campaign. But, sir, the record has been the same thing for twenty-two years. Banks, railroads, capitalists—these, and not the masses, have been the beneficiaries. Capital seems never to have made a demand when a Republican Congress did not respond.

Here is the boast of the minority of the Ways and Means Committee of this House when giving their reasons for refusing to support the Mills bill, and I want to give them the full benefit of it. The McKinley report says:

Of internal taxes the following have been the reductions made by the party now in the minority since the conclusion of the war:

By the acts of July 13, 1866, and March 2, 1867	$103,381,199
By the acts of March 31, 1868, and February 3, 1868	54,802,578
By the act of July 14, 1870	55,315,321
By the act of December 21, 1871	14,436,862
By the act of June 6, 1872	15,807,618
By the act of March 3, 1883	40,677,682
Total	284,421,260

What they say is true. More than $284,000,000 of internal-revenue taxes have been removed since the war; but what classes did our Republican friends select as beneficiaries when taxation was to be lightened? Some of these taxes gentlemen boast of removing were taken from spirits, beer, tobacco, etc., some from stamp duties, and a small amount, $1,219,571, from "slaughtered animals." These could not but affect some of them at least, both the rich and the poor. But what I call attention to is that taxes were allowed to remain all the time on the necessaries of life used by the poor, and that when there was a chance to take off a burden that rested exclusively on the shoulders of the rich man, the man best able to bear the burdens of state, his Republican friends lifted it every time. Look at this list:

CAPITAL RELIEVED OF TAXATION—THE BURDENS OF STATE LEFT ON THE CONSUMER AND THE LABORER.

First, and most munificently, the manufacturers were relieved by laws passed in 1866, 1867, and 1868 of $127,230,000 annually. These were war taxes placed on the articles they produced. When these internal-revenue taxes were imposed on manufactured products, additional tariff taxes were at the same time put on imported articles as an equivalent burden to protect the manufacturers against foreign competitors. That was fair enough then, but here manufacturers were relieved and the war tax remained on the imported article.

Second. Taxes amounting to over $11,000,000 were taken off from the "gross receipts" from stock in railroad and steam-boat, express, and insurance companies, etc.

Third. From "sales" of stocks, bonds, gold and silver bullion, etc., taxes amounting to nearly $9,000,000.

Fourth. The income tax was very odious to the rich man. He complained of it. It was inquisitorial, and it was very hard to tax him on what he made annually over $600, or even over $1,200, so his Republican friends let it all go, amounting in one year to $72,982,156.

Sixth. Legacies and successions, $3,091,825.

Seventh. It was a great hardship to pay tax on "articles of luxury kept for use," so this tax went, amounting to over $2,000,000 annually.

Five million two hundred and forty-nine thousand and one hundred and seventy-three dollars annual taxes on State and private bank capital and deposits and $5,959,702 on national-bank capital and deposits have been swept away. This is the work of the party that has spun out this session till it is now more than ten months long, in the vain effort to find some excuse for keeping high taxes on the necessaries of life. Can the laboring man be made to believe that such a party is his friend?

The Senate bill is intended to "check imports" and strengthen the

POWER OF MONOPOLY OVER LABOR.

Many things are taken from the free-list and duties imposed upon them. Animals for breeding purposes are now free. More than two and one-half million of dollars' worth of animals were imported last year for the purpose of improving our stock. Under the Senate bill a tax of over $300,000 is imposed upon them. Altogether they take from the free-list and impose duties on provisions worth $3,265,091; sundries, $2,984; chemicals, $8,773.

It is said no single farmer appeared before the committee, but the capitalists were there in force.

Ties for baling cotton and hay now pay a duty of 35 per cent. Capitalists not willing to manufacture them at the importer's price with 35 per cent. added, demanded such a duty as will enable them to "control the American market," and the Senate bill raises the duty to over 100 per cent. This would give us the benefit of a "cotton-tie trust." On woolen dress-goods costing abroad an average of 15 cents a yard, the duty now, 83 per cent., is raised to 92 per cent. These are only samples; look at whole schedules.

On the whole amount of metals imported in 1887, amounting to $55,111,922.37, the average duty paid was 40.77; under the Senate bill it would be 42.13. On cotton manufactures, amounting to $30,208,851.83, the average duty was 39.99; under the Senate bill it will be 40.74. On books, papers, etc., amounting to $5,214,635.21, the average duty has been raised. On sundries, amounting to $59,580,006.88, the average duty has been raised. On wool and woolens, amounting to $60,586,613.71, the average duty was 58.80; under the Senate bill it will be 66.12.

On sugar they make their greatest cut of 50 per cent.; but as to this, as I have said, they can not agree and do not intend to vote till after the election. But, Mr. Speaker, when we look at their bill and the situa-

tion as it is; when we remember that on the 6th day of this month of October the surplus in the Treasury, including subsidiary silver, was $114,506,513.24; when we remember, further, that in order to keep that surplus down and put the money into circulation the President has been obliged to buy at high premiums bonds amounting with interest and premiums to $100,461,196.04, and that the surplus is still coming in at the rate of ninety or one hundred millions a year; when we recollect that we were promised twenty-odd years ago that the time would come when these war taxes should be removed; when we see that the average tariff duty in 1867 was 46.47 per cent., that it is now 47.10, and that this Senate has taken four months and ten days in which to frame a bill that raises duties almost all along the line in order to check imports, and then remember how common trusts are becoming in these days, this bill really looks like a deed of trust with the Republican party as political beneficiaries.

The advocates of the Mills bill believe that a tariff is a tax; that a tax is a burden, and that government ought to relieve the people of all unnecessary taxation.

A tariff is simply a tax imposed upon goods at the custom-house when they are imported into the United States. Whoever buys and imports a hat, paying for it $1, and pays a tax upon it at the custom-house of 50 cents, has paid for the article $1.50. The importer, when he sells this article, must have his profit equally upon the money he paid for the article abroad and the money he paid for the right to introduce it. Suppose that the profits made by a wholesale dealer who has imported and paid duty on this hat amount to 10 per cent. The hat has cost him $1.50; his 10 per cent. profit is 15 cents. Adding these two together, the price the retail merchant pays for the hat is $1.65. Now, if the retail merchant makes, as he must, a profit of at least 20 per cent., his profit on the $1.65 he paid amounts to 33 cents. Adding this profit to what the hat cost him, which was $1.65, and the price of the hat to the consumer, the man who buys the hat of the retail dealer, is $1.98.

Now, how much did that tax of 50 per cent. cost the last purchaser? To find out we have only to suppose that the importer paid no tariff duty. If he paid only $1, his 10 per cent. profit would make the hat cost the country merchant $1.10. Then, if this retail dealer put on it his 20 per cent. profit, that would be 22 cents. Adding that sum to the $1.10 paid by the retail dealer, the hat would cost the purchaser who should buy it for use $1.32. The difference, then, to the consumer between what the taxed hat would cost him, $1.98, and what the untaxed hat would cost, $1.32, would be 66 cents. So it is clear that the tariff is not only a tax, but it is a burdensome tax. The 50 cents tax has cost the consumer 66 cents, because he must necessarily pay it; and he must also pay a profit on it to every merchant who handles the article he buys.

Now, if such a tax is laid for the benefit of the Government, and it the Government gets this 50 cents and needs it the consumer will not complain. He paid 66 cents, where the Government got only 50. Sixteen cents is a high price to pay for collecting 50 cents, but still the Government is entitled to and must have money to support and enable it to protect the citizen. Now, suppose the Government should raise the duty on that hat to 60 per cent. in order to protect the manufacturer, who wanted to sell it at $1.50. This would be "checking imports," because the wholesale dealer would buy the American hat at $1.50 instead of the foreign hat at $1, when he has to pay the 60 cents tax. Then the wholesale dealer demanding his 10 per cent. profit and the retail dealer his 20 per cent. on the $1.50 hat bought from the manufacturer, the hat would cost the consumer just the same as before. The difference would be that the Government would not in the last case get any revenue. The citizen would, therefore, be taxed in some other way for his share of the burdens of state.

He could have bought the hat if it had been imported free of duty at $1.32. As it is, the Government, by putting duty so high as to prohibit imports, has prevented itself from getting revenue and has compelled the person needing the hat to pay to the manufacturer $1.98 for it, thus paying 66 cents on the hat to keep the manufacturer going.

The manufacturer gets no benefit from articles which are imported. He gets no share of the taxes paid at the custom-house. It is only on the goods bought of him that he gets a profit. This is why he favors (as Mr. Columbus Delano said in the extract from his testimony which I have quoted) a tax that will practically "prohibit the importation of foreign goods." Just to the extent that a tax is prohibitory and prevents importations, to that extent precisely does it protect the manufacturer, because it compels consumers, or the merchant who sells to them, to buy of him and not abroad.

It would seem, Mr. Speaker, that those manufacturers who oppose all reduction of tariff taxes are charging to-day for their wares just the price of the European goods with the tax added, or so near to that figure as practically to amount to the same thing. If that be not true, then why is it that when an effort is made, as in the Mills bill, to effect even a moderate reduction of taxation they cry out that it is an attempt to ruin them by bringing in cheap goods, the product of what they call the pauper labor of Europe.

Before I come, however, to that question of the effect of a reduction of duties on the labor employed in manufactures, let me ask what right does the Government have to tax, say, the farmers, or any other class of people for the benefit of those engaged in other industries.

Our agricultural exports for the year ending June 30, 1888, amounted to $500,785,314. These include cotton, breadstuffs, provisions, etc. The lumber and timber we exported during the same year amounted to $17,724,370. The prices of lumber, timber, etc., in our export districts, and the prices of our cotton and our wheat, are regulated by the markets abroad. Our cotton is sold in Liverpool in sharp competition with the cotton made in India, Egypt, and other countries. The prices our farmers get for cotton depend, not upon our home manufactures, but on the demand and supply of the world.

The advocates of the present system are pleading all the time to us about a home market and telling us of its value, and yet every year we send abroad more and more cotton. We supply the greater portion of the world, and still the effort of the manufacturers is to allow us to buy our goods nowhere in the world but of them. Their system has been in full operation since 1865. Has it changed our market? Counted in bales of 400 pounds each, the cotton supply of the world in 1866–'67 was 4,408,000. In that year all other countries supplied 2,178,000; the United States 2,230,000, more than half. Ten years afterwards, in 1876–'77, the supply of the world was 6,830,000; other countries made, all told, 1,897,000; the United States furnishing 4,933,000, largely more than two-thirds. In 1886–'87 the supply of the world was 9,750,000; other countries made 2,300,000; the United States producing 7,450,000, about seven-ninths of the whole cotton supply of the world.

On what principle of right can it be that the makers of this cotton shall be prohibited by law from buying cheaply of that world which they supply so liberally with cheap cotton. These figures show that we are successfully competing in the production of raw cotton with the pauper labor of India. We shall probably continue to do so. In India, which is our principal competitor, the average product per acre, from 1879 to 1886, of raw cotton was about 50 pounds; the average product of cotton per acre during the same period in the United States was about 170 pounds. But other countries still compete. Competition with ourselves is becoming serious. Mark how we ran up in twenty years from 2,230,000 to 7,450,000 bales of 400 pounds each. There seems to be absolutely no bounds to the amount of cotton we can make.

This continued increase must continue to result in cheapening the price.

The case of the Western farmer is precisely the same. He supplies fully half the wheat imported into other countries. It is the foreign market that regulates the prices of his breadstuffs and his meats.

But the case of the cotton producer or of the producer of timber or wheat or other provisions will not be so hard if his supplies, too, are cheapened as they ought to be all along the line. The tendency of the world is in that direction. Farmers' products continue to fall; so ought manufactures, and they do. Improved machinery, improved processes of manufacture everywhere, bring down prices, in America and Europe alike. The hand-loom, the country blacksmith shop, the small private manufactories, carried on by hand, that formerly dotted our whole country, and especially New England, are things of the past. Cloth, shoes, hats, clothing, nails, agricultural implements—everything is made by machinery; everything necessarily becomes cheaper.

It is the crowning blessing of civilization that the necessaries and even the comforts of life are being brought within the reach of the laboring man. The world over, where the laws allow him a fair chance his condition is improving. He produces more than the laboring man could in past ages, and he ought to be allowed to enjoy more. By right he is entitled to a fair share of the triumphs of civilization, including the benefits resulting from the wonderful development of transportation by steam, on land and at sea, bringing so cheaply to be exchanged one for another the products of all peoples and all nations.

But our Republican friends point to the cheapening of goods among us and to the progress we are making, and attribute all to what they call our American system. If gentlemen really believe this they ought to lift up their eyes and look abroad. England has taken from us almost the last vestige of the large share that once was ours in the carrying trade of the world. Great Britain, France, Belgium, all Europe, is gridironed with railroads. London in thirty years has increased her population by a million. Berlin in forty years has more than trebled her population. New towns have sprung up all over Europe, old cities have taken on new growth, new factories have been built, new mines developed. The impulse of modern civilization is felt everywhere, even in Italy, sitting so long inert amid the crumbling ruins of the past.

The spirit of progress is there as well as here; and there, too, as well as here are witnessed the triumphs of invention. If we have developed more rapidly, it is because of our free government and because of our vast resources of field and forest and mine and waterfall, answering like magic to the touch of enterprise and energy.

It is for these reasons, sir, and because also of the fact that we come of the most enterprising of human races, that we have progressed; not by reason of but in spite of the gyves and shackles that our Republican friends have placed upon labor. If we wish to decide how much of our present prosperity is due to our tariff system, let us compare ourselves with ourselves. Look at this table, not made by a Democrat, but taken from the second volume of the census of 1880, compiled by Republican authorities. It shows, first, that from 1860 to 1870 man-

ufactures advanced more rapidly than during any previous decade. It shows, secondly, they advanced more than at any subsequent decade. The per cent. of increase in the gross value of manufactured products in the United States for the decade from 1850 to 1860, the first of these decades, was 85 per cent.; in the second, from 1860 to 1870, it was 79; and in the third, from 1870 to 1880, it was 58 only. The percentage of increase in the net values of manufactured products in the first decade was 84, in the second 63, and in the third 41 per cent. The capital invested and wages paid increased in a somewhat like proportion, though the number of hands fell off as machinery improved and increased in value. But the advance of wages during that first decade, according to this table, was greater than it was in either of the two following decades. Here are the tables, prices in 1870 reduced to gold:

Table showing increase in manufactures.

	1850-1860.	1860-1870.	1870-1880.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Gross value of manufactured product	85.05	79.54	58.59
Net value of manufactured product	84.13	63.31	41.40
Capital invested	89.38	67.80	64.66
Wages paid	60.03	63.76	52.78
Hands employed	36.86	56.64	33.04

Table showing increase in wages.

Year.	Average yearly wages.	Increase.	Increase.
			Per cent.
1850	$247.11		
1860	288.86	$41.75	16.9
1870	302.07	13.21	4.5
1880	346.86	44.79	14.8

The country developed under that Walker tariff, which was passed in 1846, as it never did before and never has since that day. The development was not only in the increase of manufactures and improvement in the wages of laborers, but in every respect.

Taking the same census returns for the period between 1850 and 1860, the farm values advanced throughout the United States as follows: In the first decade, 103 per cent., and in the second decade—that is, from 1860 to 1870—only 10 per cent.

The war had its effect on the decade from 1860 to 1870, but from 1870 to 1880 we enjoyed uninterrupted peace; and yet, Mr. Speaker, the advance in the values of farms during this decade was only 39 per cent., while under the Walker tariff, from 1850 to 1860, the increase was 103 per cent.

THE WAGE QUESTION.

These figures can not be disputed, but Republicans are now trying to array on their side the vote of those who labor in the protected industries upon the pretense that wages are higher in America than in Europe because of our present tariff. Such a proposition can not be sustained. The American producers of turpentine, of timber, of cotton, of wheat, and of meats are not protected by any law. They can not be, for their products are sent abroad. The foreign markets, as everybody knows, regulate the prices of timber and turpentine and cotton and wheat, and yet the American laborers who produce these commodities get better wages than those engaged in similar employments abroad. In the current discussion of the Mills bill last summer, replying to Mr. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania, I said:

No better illustration can be found of the fallacy of the idea that wages depend upon the existence or non-existence of tariff laws than the cases of Belgium and England, alluded to by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] when last upon his feet. Belgium has free trade; England has free trade. They are both upon precisely the same footing so far as regards the law, and yet the Belgians, according to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, make brick and transport them all the way to London and there sell them in competition with English brick. They do this, he says, because the wages of labor are lower in Belgium than in England. Now it is perfectly certain that the difference in wages between Belgium and England does not arise from any difference in laws, for both countries are on free trade. So, on the other hand, when you come to America. Here we all live under precisely the same tariff laws. And yet we find differences in wages in the different States, East, West, North, and South. If it was free trade that made low wages you would find the same low wages in England and Belgium; if it was protection that made high wages you would find the same high wages ruling in every State in America.

Contrast other countries in Europe one with another, and you find there that the wages are higher in free-trade England than anywhere else. Why? Is it solely because of free trade? No. England has coal; she is surrounded by water, giving the benefits of cheap transportation, and, in addition to these natural advantages, she has free trade, which gives her free wool and free cotton; and being thus allowed by the wisdom of her law-makers to utilize her natural advantages, she can and does pay higher wages than are paid anywhere else in Europe.

I traveled there last summer myself, and was very much struck with the differences between things in England and in Belgium, France, and Germany. The highest wages paid anywhere in Europe are, as I have said, paid in England, and the next highest perhaps in France, where protection prevails, but not to so great an extent as in Austria and Germany. Nowhere in Europe are wages lower than in Germany. If a high tariff could make high wages we should find wages higher in Germany than in England; workingmen would remain in Germany and not go to England: and yet, sir, I was particularly struck with the almost universal complaint that cheap labor coming over from protected Germany was ruinous to labor in free-trade England.

You find the English newspapers filled with the complaint that the Germans are flocking to England and working for less wages than English workingmen receive as firemen on railroads, brakemen, conductors, barbers, waiters, and every imaginable position a hungry man can fill. I think the gentleman will not deny that that is a common complaint among the English working people, that they are being ruined by the lower-priced labor of Germany. Therefore, sir, it is clear that it is not, and can not be, in the power of the law to secure men high wages. Wages depend upon other conditions; where population does not crowd the means of subsistence; where there is work to do and money to pay for it and demand for its products, wages will be high, and they will continue to be high, and labor will find plentiful employment where law-makers are wise enough to add to their natural advantages by giving them free raw materials upon which to employ their skill, just as the Mills bill proposes to do for the workingmen of America.

The value of labor is measured by its product. The American laborer is superior to any other in the world, energized as he is by the spirit of our free institutions and with the hope always before him of bettering his condition. Statistics show that he produces more. His wages do not depend upon law; the law can not fix them. They depend much more upon himself and the properly directed efforts of trades unions and other labor organizations.

Whatever the causes may be, the wages of labor in all civilized countries have made advances during the last fifty years. Especially is this the case in America and England. I have shown that in America wages advanced more rapidly under the Walker tariff from 1850 to 1860 than since. In England they advanced more rapidly under her free-trade system than before. The improvement in the condition of the English laborer in the fifty years from 1833 to 1883 is shown by tables made by the great statistician, Sir Robert Giffen, from which I take the following as samples of weekly wages:

	1833.	1883.	Amount increase.	Per cent.
	£. s. d.	£. d. s.	s. d.	
Carpenters, Manchester	1 4 6	1 14 0	10 0	42
Bricklayers, Glasgow	15 0	1 7 10	12 0	80
Mule-spinners, Huddersfield	1 5 6	1 1 0	4 6	20
Weavers (men), Bradford	8 3	1 6 0	12 3	150

Here we see that wages all advanced, some at a greater rate than others; carpenters wages from $6 per week to $9.50, gaining 40 per cent. Men weavers at Bradford gained 150 per cent., increasing from $2.06 per week to $6.50. Seamen's wages advanced in England, from 1850 to 1883, all the way from 25 to 70 per cent., on an average, say 50 per cent. Certainly the protective tariff of America had nothing to do with this increase in England, but it had just as much influence as it has had here.

Sir, in all the history of tariff legislation in America I do not remember to have seen, and in all the discussion I have heard on this subject I do not remember to have heard, one single well-authenticated instance in which any direct connection was shown between the raising of tariff taxation and the increasing of any workingman's wage. These laws were never passed for that purpose. When high tariffs were first contended for, the contention was not placed on the ground that labor was to be benefited; it was solely the protection of capital, the nurturing of infant industries, which, at some day in the future, were to stand alone and no longer need protection. The general tendency of wages, as I have shown, has for the last fifty years, both in Europe and America, been upwards. The laborer has been getting from time to time a fairer share of that which he produced. God speed the time when he shall get still better wages than he has gotten in the past, for he is certainly entitled to them, and I believe that time is coming. But it will not be through customs laws, which hem him about and shackle him and deprive him of the material with which to work.

What labor wants is not only good wages, but steady, continuous employment, such as will come from legitimate industry.

A TARIFF HIGH ENOUGH TO GIVE CAPITAL ABSOLUTE CONTROL OF THE AMERICAN MARKET GIVES IT ABSOLUTE CONTROL OVER LABOR.

Such a tariff, by holding out to capital the temptation of large profits, must bring about one of two results—that is to say either, first, severe and sharp competition; then overproduction; and then, as raw materials are taxed and we can not produce cheaply enough for export, must come either bankruptcy to the manufacturer, or, to prevent that catastrophe, shutting down and lock-outs. The bankruptcy of his employer or a shut-down is all the same to the laborer, for in either case his occupation is gone. To prevent all this the remedy of the capitalists who oppose free raw material in these days is the

SECOND ALTERNATIVE, TRUSTS.

The natural tendency in this age is towards large combinations of capital in every industry. A manager with a slight increase of clerical force can conduct a business employing $275,000 capital as easily as if it only employed $50,000 capital. Small establishments, therefore, are passing away, large ones increasing. The census shows that we had in the United States invested in cotton manufactures in 1830, $40,000,000; in 1880 more than five times that amount, namely, $208,000,000.

The whole number of establishments, however, in 1830 was 801, while in 1880 it was but 756. The amount of capital to each estab-

lishment in 1830 was $50,000. In 1880 the amount in each was $275,000. Nobody can object to large establishments if they are more profitable to the stockholders so long as they carry on a legitimate business. I only cite these figures to show that establishments in every industry are year by year becoming fewer and combinations easier.

In 1830 combinations and trusts were never heard of. Want of communication and want of transportation rendered them impossible. Now the fewer men who control American industries are brought closer together by railroad and telegraph; experience has demonstrated how easily fortunes can be made by controlling markets; and the day of trusts has come. Our high protective tariff is their prolific parent. It shuts out competition and invites combination.

It is true that trusts are not confined to tariff-protected articles, but tariff laws render them easy of accomplishment, and human greed can not resist the temptation these laws hold out. It is easier to make a combination among a few than many. It is easier for monopolists who speak one language, live in one country, under the sheltering influence of one law, to combine than it is to effect a combination among the manufacturers of all climes and of all nations. Difference in laws, difference in habits of thought, national jealousies, national prejudices, widely divergent and multiplied interests, the vast mass of products to be handled, and the multiplicity of conflicting interests concerned render world-wide trusts almost impossible.

I have spoken of the pioneer trust, the American Steel Association, how, years ago, to keep up prices, it paid the Vulcan Works, of St. Louis, Mo., $70,000 per annum to stop work and turn its five hundred hands out of employment. The sugar trust followed. It has raised the price of sugar from 1½ to 2 cents per pound, thus robbing the consumers of sugar of millions of dollars. Not ten days ago it shut down its refinery at Boston and turned its hands out of employment. That is the way the tariff benefited the laborers. Now comes

THE BAGGING TRUST.

The tariff on bagging is 2 cents per yard. This has given the American market to a few manufacturers. Bagging was once made at Dundee, in Scotland, but the tariff was so high Dundee could not compete, and so the Dundee mills are closed. Bagging is made in Calcutta, but it would take three months to get it, even if there was enough there. So the protected American manufacturers of bagging, waiting till the cotton crop began to come in, raised the price of bagging, which was 8 cents last season, to 11 and 12 cents, thus robbing the cotton growers of over $2,000,000 in increased prices. Not only that, but this trust has shut down some of its mills and turned its hands out of employment. Ruinous to the consumer, ruinous to labor, these trusts bode good to nobody but to the conspirators, unless it be the Republicans. They claim a share of the spoils from all who are protected by the tariff, and the more highly protected they are the more the Republican leaders demand. And, Mr. Speaker, they have a right to demand their share, for their policy upholds these trusts.

FRYING THE FAT OUT OF THE MANUFACTURERS.

Listen to Mr. James P. Foster, president of the Republican League of the United States. See how he scolds because his friends had failed to make a fair division. In a confidential circular, dated at New York May 25, 1888, calling for money with which to fight this battle in favor of monopoly, he says of the manufacturers, they are the—

men who are getting practically the sole benefit, or at least the most directly important benefits, of the tariff laws.

He goes on then to speak particularly to the manufacturers of Pennsylvania—

who are—

He says—

more highly protected than anybody else, and who make large fortunes every year when times are prosperous.

And he says:

If I had my way about it I would put the manufacturers of Pennsylvania under the fire and fry all the fat out of them.

There is no doubt of the authenticity of this letter.

Well, Mr. Speaker, the circular seems to have done its work. We hear no more complaint from Foster. More than a million of dollars is said to have been dumped into the national Republican executive committee with which to fight this battle "all for the benefit of labor." Rings, monopolies, and trusts are all for Harrison and Morton. The people have a mighty contest before them.

THE MILLS BILL.

The great battle is on the Mills bill, an effort of the Democratic House to reduce taxation. This bill takes off about $28,000,000 from tobacco and about $50,000,000 from customs duties, altogether about $78,000,000. The bill, of course, is not perfect. There are some things in it I could wish were changed; but it is an honest effort in the right direction, and I support it most heartily.

It gives free salt, free tin-plate, free cotton-ties, free wool, and makes many other articles free. It reduces the duties on sugar, on rice, on glassware, crockeryware, on cotton goods, very largely on woolen goods, and, indeed, on all the necessaries of life.

It reduces the tax on cotton-bagging from 2 cents down to one-half cent. A duty of one-half cent will let in foreign competition and break up the trust. If the trust had been formed before the bill left the House, bagging would have been made free. The bill has passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

It would strike the shackles from labor and give the American workingman a fair chance at the markets of the world by giving him free raw material. Thus it would give a new impulse, not to trusts, but to legitimate manufactures. It would multiply manufactures and give increased opportunities to the wage-worker. With free raw material no factory need shut down when the American market was supplied. It could export its goods, as our leather-workers now do. Many manufacturers see this and are supporting the Mills bill. At the same time this would benefit the consumer by giving him cheaper goods.

This is the very theory the Republicans go upon when, in the interest of manufacturers, they sustain

OUR REBATE LAWS.

These laws provide that one who imports a dutiable article for the purpose of manufacturing and exporting the product, shall at the time he exports it be allowed to draw back from the Government in some cases 80 and in other cases 98 per cent. of the duty paid upon the raw material manufactured. Thus, if one imports jute and pays $100 upon it and manufactures it into cordage for exporting, the Government pays him back at the time he ships it $80 of the $100 he paid upon the importation. The theory is that the manufacturer is to have free raw material to enable him to export and sell cheaply abroad, in competition with the foreign manufacturer. The 20 per cent. is withheld by the Government simply to cover the supposed expense of the collection and repayment. Now, there is no doubt that the theory upon which this law proceeds is practicable. To have raw material even lightly taxed does enable the American manufacturer to sell cheaply to the foreigner, but the question suggests itself just here, why not allow him to have his raw material free and sell cheaply to the American? What reason is there for giving the foreigner the advantage over the American consumer?

The operation of the law is brought out very clearly in the testimony of Mr. William Marshall, of New York, who was examined on February 21, 1884, before the Ways and Means Committee of this House. The following colloquy between him and myself took place:

Mr. HERBERT. You are entitled to a rebate of 80 per cent. on the duty paid on your raw materials.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. HERBERT. Then you are able to sell cordage to the foreigner cheaper than you can sell it in your own country?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HERBERT. If duty were taken off the raw material, and if the tariff on the manufactured article was also reduced, would you be able to sell to your own countrymen at pretty nearly the same price as you sell to the foreigner?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. HERBERT. That is, you would give the American consumer a fair chance?

Mr. MARSHALL. Exactly.

Mr. HERBERT. But as it is now the foreign consumer is protected by our tariff laws at the expense of the American consumer?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes; I said a few years ago to a gentleman (well known by reputation) who was going to deliver a speech on the commerce of the country, that if I sell 5 tons of ropes on the docks in the city of New York and export 30 tons to China, the American captain has to pay me more money for the rope which he buys at the dock in New York than the English or the German or French captain has to pay who buys the same rope in China after paying all the expense of sending it there. That is the way that the commerce of this country is benefited by the tariff.

If we wish to see what our workingmen can do when they have a fair opportunity take leather and its manufactures. Hides were made free in 1872. At that time our population was about 40,000,000, and our imports of leather and leather goods amounted to $11,879,000—our exports of hides, leather, and leather goods, $5,129,000. We failed to supply, at that time, our own wants by more than $5,000,000. Since then we have increased in population more than twenty millions. In 1887 our whole imports of leather and manufactures thereof amounted altogether to $11,199,945, which is less than we needed from abroad in 1872.

So we have actually supplied all the wants in this line of our increased population of 20,000,000. Not only that, but we exported in 1887 of cotton and leather goods $10,436,000, thus increasing our exports by more than $5,000,000—supplying the wants of the whole 60,000,000 of our people, having this $5,000,000 worth to sell to other countries. This has furnished wages to thousands of workers, and has brought down the prices of their products, cheapened to the consumer the prices of boots and shoes and saddles and harness, which are now as cheap in this country as abroad. But it has not brought down the wages of labor. On the contrary, the wages of the workers in leather have increased and the industry is flourishing.

It was predicted by the high-tariff men that the introduction of free hides would bring disaster to the farmer, just as now it is predicted that the making of wool free will be disastrous to the wool-grower, but the cattle business since the passage of that law of 1871 has flourished as never before.

FREE WOOL.

So we believe that if manufacturers are allowed to bring in all kinds of wool free to mix with our native wools, while we at the same time greatly reduce the tax on manufactures of woolen goods, the result will be a large increase of our woolen industries, a great increase in the amount of work given to our laborers, a large reduction to the consumer of the price of hats, blankets, and all kinds of woolen clothing, a steady and increasing demand for our own home-grown wools, and, as in the case of hides, no real injury to the wool-growing interest.

Some of my constituents are wool-growers, directly interested in this question, and they are entitled to the greatest consideration.

Let us discuss it fully and freely. First upon theory. Neither this country nor any other can grow all the wools necessary to make the various kinds of cloth. Wools, like the juice of grapes, to be used to the greatest advantage must be mixed, many kinds in one.

In France the highest-priced wines are made by the admixture of crops from many vineyards. For generation after generation experiment after experiment has been made, and the result has been the development of those fine brands which bring the highest price in the markets of the world, and thus has been secured a market, constant and valuable, to all these vineyards. So in the manufacture of cloth, wools from Algeria, Australia, South America, and many other countries, as well as the United States, are woven together. It is a positive injury to the American wool-grower that the manufacturer can not import freely of all kinds of wool to mix with the American. How far the free admission of every wool grown in the world into the United States, thus enabling the manufacturer to mix as he pleases with American wool, would neutralize the effect of taking off the tax, and what would be the precise effect of the removal, is a matter that can not be determined with any certainty; but it is, beyond all doubt, true that it will tend largely to uphold, if not to increase, the price.

I see, on consulting the table of exports, that 78,002 pounds of American wool were exported during the year 1887. Why was this? Can there be any answer but one? That a better market was sought abroad than could be obtained in America. This is not a large quantity, but it certainly shows that that much wool went from under this high tariff to be mixed with foreign wools in some country where wool is admitted free of duty. For in every other great manufacturing country except our own wool is free. Besides, that wool would not have chosen to go to a country where it had to pay duty. Now, certainly, if wools were admitted free into America the owners of that wool would not have sought a foreign market; they would have saved the cost of transportation abroad by finding a market at home. This is a significant fact to be considered by plain business men.

We imported into this country the same year (1887) 16,424,479 pounds of wool, but the manufacturers of finer sorts of woolen clothing have, many of them, stopped, because of the high duty on certain classes of wool. If they had been allowed their choice of the markets of the world not a single pound of American wool would have gone abroad.

The next fact for the consideration of the wool-growers is that prices under the present tariff on wool are not equal to what they were in 1860 under the low Walker revenue tariff. I insert here a table showing the prices of wool from 1860 to 1887, inclusive:

Price of fine, medium, and coarse washed clothing fleece wool in the markets of New York (1860–1887) *and Philadelphia* (1865–1887), *inclusive.*

[From Mauger & Avery's Annual Wool Circular.]

Year.	January.			July.		
	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.	Fine.	Medium.	Coarse.
	Cents.	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*	*Cents.*
1860	60	50	42	55	50	40
1861	45	40	37	38	30	22
1862	48	50	50	48	47	45
1863	75	68	70	75	70	65
1864	80	78	76	100	100	90
1865	102	100	96	75	73	65
1866	70	65	50	70	67	60
1867	68	53	50	55	49	45
1868	48	43	38	46	45	43
1869	50	50	48	48	48	47
1870	48	46	44	46	45	43
1871	47	46	43	62	60	55
1872	70	72	66	72	70	65
1873	70	68	65	50	48	44
1874	58	54	47	53	53	46
1875	55	56	47	52	49	46
1876	48	52	42	38	35	31
1877	46	43	36	50	44	37
1878	44	45	33	36	36	32
1879	34	35	32	37	38	34
1880	50	55	48	46	48	42
1881	47	49	43	42	44	36
1882	44	46	47	42	45	34
1883	40	43	33	39	41	43
1884	40	40	34	35	34	30
1885	34	33	29	32	31	28
1886	35	36	32	33	33	29
1887	33	38	33	34	38	35

In 1860 coarse wool was worth, in July, 40 cents; in July, 1887, it was worth 35 cents. The wool supply of the world is so short, the demand for it is so great that it seems not to be governed very largely by the prices which obtain for other articles. Like beef, it will make a market for itself. Prime beef is much higher now than it was in 1860, and that, as everybody knows, was an era of low prices. Consulting this table, we find that in 1867 the price of wool in July was 45 cents. The high tariff on wool was imposed in 1867. The next year after that law was passed, in July, 1868, the price was 43 cents. Wool went up gradually during the years 1871–'72, was high in 1875—46 cents; but in 1876, in July, it was at 31 cents; that was before the reduction of the tariff by the law of 1883. Immediately after the passage of that law of 1883, which materially reduced the tariff, it went down; but in 1887 it again rose to 35 cents. These variations under the tariff of 1867, which continued until 1883, ranged from 31 to 65 cents.

If we take the whole table and compare the price of wool in 1860 with what it was in 1887 (and these are the last figures I have at hand) the reduction from 40 cents to 35 does not compare with the reduction in wheat, in tin, or in most of the stable commodities. Tin from 1879 down to 1887 went down from 6 to 3 cents a pound. The average price of the wheat exported from the United States went down from $1.24 in 1880 to 80 cents per bushel in 1887. When prices are falling all along the line, not only in the products of agriculture but of manufactures, it can not be expected that wool should be entirely exempt from this downward tendency. The wool-grower, if there should be any depression of price, will have his compensation in the increased cheapness of the necessaries of life,

The Mills bill, while it proposes to make wool free, proposes also to reduce taxation by $78,000,000. This seventy-eight millions, of which about fifty millions are taken from imported goods, will amount to very much more than that by the time these goods reach the people. The importer, the wholesale merchant, the retail merchant, must all have their profits on the amounts they pay for tariff taxes as well as on the original price of the goods; and it is safe to say that the taking of the seventy-eight millions from the taxes will relieve the people to the amount of at least $100,000,000. The relief to the consumers of goods in Alabama would amount to two and one-half millions of dollars—a sum equal to almost twice the amount now collected for State and county taxes.

This legislation is believed to be for the good of the people at large; it is for the many instead of the few. For myself, I believe as the country grows more prosperous, as it must and will under juster and fairer laws, and as we relieve the people of unnecessary burdens, wealth will increase, the demand for wool and woolen goods, necessities to so many and a luxury to all, will increase, because more people will be able to buy, and the wool-grower in the future will prosper as he has never in the past. So I trust it may be.

Mr Speaker, I think I can not better illustrate the difference in the principles upon which the two bills proceed than by discussing briefly the manner in which they dispose of tin. It may involve some repetition, but it will make clear that the Democratic House is legislating for the masses, the Republican Senate for the classes. The Senate bill continues the tax on, and the House bill admits free, tin-plates—that is to say, the ordinary tin from which are manufactured tin cups, buckets, cans for fruit, and tinware of all kinds. We collected in 1887 on tin-plates $5,706,433.89. The Government does not need that money.

In every cabin throughout the land you will find some of the tin that has paid that duty. It is 1 cent per pound. Our population is now variously estimated from fifty-six to sixty millions. Supposing it to be 57,000,000, then the duty paid by each man, woman, and child on imported tin (supposing its use to be equally distributed among all the people) was exactly 10 cents per head. It is true every person does not pay exactly an equal share of this tax. Some use more tin cans, more tin for covering houses, more tinware than others, but everybody, rich and poor, uses some of this tinware and pays some of this tax.

Not a pound of this tin-plate is manufactured in America. The importing price is now 3 cents per pound. The tax on it at 1 cent per pound is 33⅓ per cent. ad valorem, but that is not margin enough for the monopolists, for they are unwilling to manufacture it at 4 cents a pound. To put tin on the free-list would be to take off this 1-cent tax and cheapen it just that much to the consumer. That is what the Mills bill proposes to do. The Senate bill retains the tax.

Why? Is it for the protection of any industry at present existing in America? No; but there is a ring of capitalists, organized under the name of the American Tin-Plate Association, that has been lobbying for years at the doors of Congress asking that this duty be raised from 1 cent to 2 cents. It is left to stand now, that it may be increased in the future. Their friends in the House tried to put on the additional cent. Senator SHERMAN in his speech advocated it, and the Republican party will do it whenever it gets the power. This will enable them to demand of the consumer 5 cents per pound instead of the 4 cents he is now paying, and of the 3 cents per pound which is all he would pay under the Mills bill. The plea is that this imposition of an additional tax on sixty millions of people would enable the manufacturers to employ 24,000 workmen, who with their families would constitute 120,000 people.

These ringsters see no reason why the 60,000,000 inhabitants of the United States should object to paying an additional tax to enable them to transfer 24,000 workmen from other employments to this new industry they propose to establish. It would enable them to invest their capital, to control the market for tin-plate, to reap large profits, and build more palatial residences to adorn and beautify our land. Why should the poor tax-payer object? That is the system they seek to extend—taxing the many for the benefit of the few. We have taxed the timber-getter whose products must go abroad to seek a market, the turpentine-maker whose products go abroad to seek a market, the farmer whose cotton and breadstuffs are regulated in price by foreign

markets—all these, everybody, is taxed to enable the manufacturers of glass to control the market and get a high price for glass. Everybody who uses it is taxed to enable the manufacturers to make a profit on crockery-ware; why not tax everybody also to let a few capitalists control our home market and make profits on tinware?

But we ask, is not the laborer in the field, in the forest, in the railroad shop, is not the worker of tin, the carpenter who puts it on the house-top, the tinner who fashions it into cups and buckets and cans, and who wants cheap material, is not the oysterman who cans his oysters, the fruit-grower, the vegetable-grower, the meat-packer, the dairyman, all the people who can their products, and all the millions who buy and use these goods—are not all these as worthy of consideration as the few persistent capitalists who call themselves the American Tin-Plate Association? To this they make but one reply. They said, when the bill was here, that while the increased tax might temporarily raise the price to the consumer, yet the establishment of the industry in America would create competition with the foreigner and eventually reduce prices. To that we reply by saying, look at this table showing the history for thirteen years of the importation of tin in plates, sheets, terne, and taggers' tin.

Fiscal year ending June 30—	Quantities.	Value.	Rate of duty.	Duty received.	Value per unit of quantity.
	Pounds.				
1875	81,165,646	$5,077,122.30	1.1 cts. per pound..	$1,892,822.07	$0.06
1876	196,863,621	10,163,368.87	.....	2,165,499.81	.05
1877	222,307,980	9,818,069.69	.....	2,445,387.70	.04
1878	242,646,871	9,893,639.61	.....	2,669,115.55	.04
1879	278,544,822	10,248,720.34	.....	3,063,992.93	.04
1880	369,435,844	16,524,590.19	.....	4,063,794.22	.05
1881	377,072,728	14,641,057.87	.....	4,147,799.98	.04
1882	439,746,895	16,550,834.64	.....	4,837,215.85	.04
1883	453,724,126	16,688,276.67	.....	4,990,965.32	.04
1884	527,881,321	18,931,072.70	1 cent per pound..	5,278,813.21	.04
1885	505,559,076	16,610,104.56	.....	5,055,590.76	.03
1886	574,097,405	17,719,957.12	.....	5,740,984.05	.03
1887	570,643,389	16,883,813.95	.....	5,706,433.89	.03

This table shows that without the establishment of any monopoly here we are getting the benefit of the gradual fall of prices everywhere going on. It shows that tin-plate, which, in 1875, cost the importer 6 cents, has gradually come down from 6 to 5 and then to 4 and now to 3 cents a pound. That is what it now costs the importer without the tax. Democrats propose to take off the 1-cent tax and let it come in for consumption at 3 cents. Republicans propose to let it stand at 1 cent so that they may hereafter increase it. If we raise the price by taxing it 2 cents, then we shall have to pay this tax of 2 cents a pound forever; for the Republican doctrine is never to let go any portion of their protective tax. That is what they say in their platform. Thus do they seek to establish new monopolies to help with their money and their votes the Republican party.

The Senate bill makes its greatest increase by discarding duties which are ad valorem; that is, a given per cent. on the values of imports, and

ADOPTING SPECIFIC DUTIES.

A duty is specific when the goods are taxed, not according to value, but according to measurement, as by the pound, yard, or bushel. Look at the table of tin importations again. The duty there is specific because it is so much per pound. The rate of duty does not fall as prices fall. It remains stationary. When tin is 5 cents per pound the tax at 1 cent is 20 per cent., or 20 cents on the dollar's worth. When it falls to 4 cents in value the ad valorem tax is 25 per cent., or 25 cents on the dollar, and now that tin is 3 cents per pound 1 cent is 33 per cent. ad valorem, or 33 cents on the dollar. The ad valorem tax is fair to the consumer because he gets the benefit of the gradual and continuous fall in prices that is taking place all over the world. The specific tax would give the manufacturer the advantage of this fall, the tax remaining the same while values fall. So that is the method the Senate bill adopts.

If the Senate bill should pass and prices of goods should continue to go down in the future as in the past, the amount of tax the consumer would pay on each dollar's worth of goods to which they attach specific duties would gradually rise year after year.

The one thing to be said in favor of specific duties is that it prevents frauds which are sometimes successful by undervaluations. If the specific system were only adopted in certain cases, and if these duties were adjusted from time to time, that would work no hardship. But to adopt them generally is a fraud upon consumers, the mass of the people, because it gives the manufacturers the benefit of a constantly rising duty and deprives the people of the benefit of the fall in the prices of manufactured goods.

It is a fraud, too, on the poor man because they apply the same yardstick of taxation to the coarse as to the finer qualities of cloth coming under the same denomination.

FREE QUININE.

To illustrate again how we would get the benefit of foreign competition if the Republican party would allow it: In 1880 a Democratic House, aided by public sentiment, forced a Republican Senate to agree to a law making quinine free. The price at which Powers & Weightman, of Philadelphia, sold quinine in 1880 was $2.25 per ounce; it has gradually run down to 50 cents per ounce. I do not pretend that all this took place by reason of taking off the 20 per cent. The fall has been much greater than 20 per cent. It was brought about partly by the removal of the tax and partly by the competition of foreigners among themselves, seeking to sell not only to America but to supply all the markets of the world. By making quinine free we simply allowed ourselves the benefit of that competition, and this table shows we have had it:

Price of quinine, Powers & Weightman, Philadelphia.

Date.	Lowest price.	Date.	Lowest price.
	Per ounce.		*Per ounce.*
1880	$2.25	1885	$0.75
1881	1.90	1886	.65
1882	1.80	1887	.46
1883	1.60	1888	.50
1884	.90		

But this table shows a great deal more than that. Powers & Weightman and the other manufacturers of quinine claimed when quinine was made free, as many manufacturers now claim, that if the tax upon which they relied was removed they must shut up their establishments and turn their hands out employment; but Powers & Weightman are to-day, as other firms are, still engaged in the manufacture of quinine; still making profits. The manufacture of quinine has increased till we now make 2,225,000 ounces—more employment to labor and an incalculable gain to the suffering sick.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Speaker, I have dwelt a long time on this subject of taxation, but it is a great question. It is one on which I could talk for hours more. It is a subject I have studied for years. I believe there is no hope of any relief of taxation except through the instrumentality of the Democratic party; that that hope is brighter now than for years past. If President Cleveland is re-elected, and if we get control of both House and Senate, relief to the people is now sure to come.

I believe I have succeeded in establishing what I said on a former day and now:

First, that the Democratic party is the only party to which we can look for economy in public expenditures. The Republicans, in order to keep up high taxes on imports for the benefit of their friends, the monopolists, must and do sustain extravagant appropriations.

Second, that President Cleveland favors the people as against railroad or any other corporations. Under him we have already suspended, for the time being at least, speculation in all public lands fit for agriculture, in order that we may reserve them as homes for the people.

Third. That the Democratic party has been for all the past, the great body of it, in favor of relieving the people from onerous and unnecessary taxation; that under our great leader it is united now on this question as never before. If there ever was a time when any citizen was justified in leaving that party to seek relief in other organizations, that time certainly is not now; and, Mr. Speaker, it can never come till the Democracy shall forget its mission and turn its back on its history in the past.

During all my long term of service in this House I have all the time felt that if anywhere, either on the Judiciary Committee or the Ways and Means Committee or the Naval Committee, I could contribute by my humble efforts anything whatever to the success of the Democratic party I was aiding to that extent in the great crowning achievement of relieving my constituents from unnecessary taxation. That relief is not to come this session, because a Republican Senate stands in the way. If we achieve, as I trust we will, a great victory at the polls the Senate, yielding to public sentiment, may at the December term consent to at least a modified relief. If they do not we shall have made straight our way for the future.

I trust that the people this fall will be aroused as never before. For myself, I have been at my post during all this long session of now nearly ten months and a half. I have long known that the Senate did not intend to pass any bill, but I felt it to be the duty of Democrats to stay here and show the people that the House was ready to act on any bill that the Senate might return to us. Thus we would demonstrate to the public the hollowness of the pretense of the Senate that they intended to pass a bill. And we have done it. They now have no quorum—can not take a vote on a single provision of their bill. Thus it is and thus they intended it should be.

In the mean time the Republicans are at work all over the country. Money is to be used everywhere, wherever they can hope to capture a district. In the district I have the honor to represent there is already a candidate in the field. How much quiet work in organizing their forces has been done and how much is to be done no one can tell; but I trust, sir, that on

THE 6TH OF NOVEMBER

the people there as elsewhere will crowd to the polls, rain or shine, to vote for Cleveland and tariff reform. Let no voter anywhere be overconfident. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

The Arid Lands of the United States.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARCUS A. SMITH,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, September 19, 1888.

The House having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 10540) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: When the present appropriation bill was before the House some days ago an amendment, known now as the one hundred and nineteenth amendment, was adopted. At that time I strenuously objected to one of the provisos of that amendment; and as this bill is to go back for further conference, as now seems evident, I deem it my duty to protest against a grievous, though unintentional, wrong which that proviso will certainly work on the present development and settlement of the arid lands.

I was confidently assured by members interested in obtaining an appropriation for a hydrographic survey of our desert land that the conferees on the part of the Senate would never agree to that proviso, the adoption of which will ultimate in an embargo on the prosperity of my constituents. Finding by the report of the conferees that the proviso complained of is now reported for adoption by both Houses, I would be untrue to those who sent me here, untrue to my convictions, and untrue to myself did I fail here and now to raise my voice against this threatened wrong.

Let us examine the consequences of the proposed legislation and see whether, even in the face of a conference report, it is not lacking in wisdom and fraught with danger.

By reference to what is known as the one hundred and nineteenth amendment it will be observed that there is a proviso which, after reservation of the desert lands from entry, empowers the President in his discretion by proclamation to open to settlement under the homestead law any portion or all of the land reserved.

This proviso was attached to the Senate amendment of the present bill, which amendment appropriated $250,000 for making a hydrographic survey of the arid lands of the United States. As is known to all of us who have time amid the thousands of demands on us to give any attention to legislation, the House adopted the Senate amendment with an amendment reducing the appropriation to $100,000, and with the further provision—

That all lands made susceptible of irrigation by such reservoirs are henceforth reserved from sale and shall not be subject, after the passage of this act, to entry, settlement, or occupation until further provided by law.

It needs no vision to discover the danger in that amendment. A blind man could feel it. It has not only a tendency to retard the development of these arid wastes, it actually prevents their development. There is not to-day within the vast Territory of Arizona 10,000 acres of land suitable for settlement under the homestead law, especially when we exclude from our calculation all those choicest lands which the Government in its mistaken munificence has seen fit to bestow on a lot of idle, vagabond, murderous Indians, to the great injury of the virtuous, peaceful, and industrious poor of our own blood and nationality.

I will resist here the strong temptation I feel to enter into a discussion of our Indian policy, reserving my observations on that question until a more appropriate occasion.

If the provision already adopted should become law it will be beyond the power of anybody to settle on the desert lands in the West with any assurance of certain title. The settler is forced to assume the risk of locating beyond and outside of the limits which may in future chance to prove itself susceptible of irrigation from reservoirs constructed by the aid of Government.

I fear the settler will be slow to assume the risk. Private enterprise will be cramped. Settlement and reclamation of the land will be delayed by hypothetical contingencies which Congress is now about to throw in the way. I implore you to pause. Is the desert not already forbidding enough? Do you propose to lay even yet another burden on my struggling people by suspending, from a hair, above their titles a sword of Damocles, weighty with impending danger? Will you insist on alloying danger with your blessing? Why can not the appropriation be made free from the difficulties and dangers which you seem determined to place upon it? We asked for bread; and while you have not exactly given us a stone, you have insisted on cooking the bread in a way to ruin digestion.

As I before observed, the land in Arizona is desert in character. It is not adapted to homestead entry, and if it is ever reclaimed, it will be reclaimed, in my opinion, only under a reasonable desert-land law, such as we now have. Then why is this "homestead" limitation placed on the President's power? If power were given the President to open these reserved lands to settlement under "existing law," then we would have far less objection to the reservation; hence, I have suggested that the word "homestead" be stricken out and the words "existing law" substituted in lieu thereof. With this change in the language of the proviso, the wholesale reservation of these lands could be avoided by showing that in this or that locality no necessity for the reservation exists, and the President by proclamation can open these reserved lands to desert as well as homestead entry.

Mr. HERBERT. The effect of this conference report, if adopted, would be, as I understand the gentleman, to prevent the President from allowing those reserved lands to be settled under the desert-land act.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. It would entirely prevent their settlement under the desert-land act, and inasmuch as there is none but desert land in Arizona, there will remain no inducement to its settlement; for no man can be expected to go into the desert and spend five or ten years in reclaiming 160 acres of land there, when he could elsewhere obtain the same amount of land and immediately begin raising crops and providing for his family.

If there shall be a further conference between the two Houses on this bill, I beg the gentlemen composing the committee of conference to give due attention to this matter. I am assured by conversations had with Senators serving on the conference committee that there will be no objection raised upon that quarter to the amendment I suggest, for they must see, on the mere statement of the case, the necessity for the amendment. I shall take pleasure in going before the conference committee at its meeting and urge upon it the importance of the measure which I am here attempting to explain.

Mr. Speaker, there seems a settled purpose on the part of certain able and experienced members of this House to repeal the desert-land act, the timber-culture act, and the pre-emption act. My limited time prevents me from discussing the effect of such repeal further than concerns the desert lands. The note of alarm which has so frequently been sounded in this Hall by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Lands [Mr. HOLMAN] has justly attracted the attention of the country. I indorse without reservation every word uttered by him in denunciation of any policy or any law which permits land monopoly.

I know that much of the public land has been stolen. I know that adroit and conscienceless land-grabbers are still plying their unholy avocation. I will permit no man to go beyond me in earnest desire and honest effort to protect our public domain from plunder, yet I feel that the facility of its acquisition is due not so much to the law as to the manner of its execution and the perfidy which ever attends on avarice. The whole difficulty with the desert lands arises from an improper classification.

Large bodies of the public lands are classified and entered as desert land when they are not in fact desert. Such a condition attracts the cupidity of the land-grabber, and he thus acquires against the spirit and intent of the law vast tracts of agricultural land for a mere trifle. These conditions do not exist in Arizona or New Mexico. I can not speak advisedly of those Territories lying north, but it is safe to say that they contain a vast area of purely desert land.

The expense attending the reclamation of strictly desert land will always prevent the land-grabber from injuring the public. I suggest to the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands that the Territory of Arizona should not be subjected to a policy which might very wisely be applied in other sections of the country where the land, though classified as desert, is in fact agricultural land. The efforts of the Public Land Committee to prevent fraud in such localities and under such conditions should not induce it to nullify or repeal the very wise and beneficent desert-land act.

The difficulty, I repeat, is not in the law but in the manner of its execution. You permit a wrong classification of land under a just law and immediately proceed to condemn the law. It reminds me much of the boy who went to his mother complaining that his little brother cried just because he hit him on the head with a hammer. I tell you seriously this constant attack on the desert-land law is a blow of a hammer to our prosperity and to our country's development.

In order that enterprising people who have families to support may be induced to labor for five, seven, or ten years before their land becomes productive some special premium or advantage must be offered; otherwise they will settle elsewhere. This land will never be settled except by allowing liberal quantities to those who are willing to bear the hardships of the desert and spend years of labor in reclaiming it. I therefore urge on the gentleman having charge of this bill that in the coming conference he insist on incorporating the amendment I have suggested; otherwise you endanger not only the interest of people now in Arizona but of all those who shall subsequently come. It is idle to hope for settlement in a desert under the homestead law. The homesteader will inevitably go elsewhere. The question here squarely presented is, will Congress willfully retard the prosperity of its Territories? Will you knowingly throttle our struggling enterprises?

Mr. DUBOIS. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. Certainly.

Mr. DUBOIS. There is a conflict of opinion as to what constitutes desert land. I know you are familiar with the subject, and I would like you to give a definition of what constitutes desert land.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. That question has been often decided by the Department and various definitions given, some of which are simply ridiculous.

Mr. DUBOIS. I ask you as an expert.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. As an expert? The knowledge is not so technical as to produce an expert. It is plain, simple knowledge of a plain, physical fact. Every land is desert that will not produce something. Yet as plain as this simple proposition seems, it has been decided that land producing a mesquite bush or two to the acre is not desert land. It would be just as sensible to hold that no desert exists where a cactus grows. Land is desert land when it will not, without irrigation, produce sustenance for man or beast.

Land may produce some grass and still be desert. A great portion of our desert country will support one steer to 50 acres on the grass which springs up quickly after the summer-rain, dies, and forms a sort of hay on which stock can, if industrious, manage to subsist. All such land is essentially desert, and should be subject to desert entry, and such entry should remain at 640 acres, as now provided by law.

Now, is Congress willing to do what we ask? If it is, we have nothing more to say. We ask that it adopt this amendment by enlarging the power of the President under the proviso, so that desert as well as homestead entry may fall within the proclamation.

Mr STONE, of Missouri. Why is not the amendment adopted by the House on motion of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] satisfactory to the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SMITH]? Because I much prefer that the reservation should extend only to land on which reservoirs, roadways, and canals are to be built.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. Would not the amendment as it passed the House prevent the entry of any land in your Territory that could be reclaimed by irrigation?

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. That is the burden of my contention. If it does not absolutely prevent entry it at least forces the entryman to take up land subject to a contingency which may defeat his title. I think without my amendment this law will prevent any settlement in Arizona. This fact accounts for the very deep interest I manifest in the measure.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. What difference does it make whether the amendment proposed by the conference committee be adopted or not? It is putting you in worse position to adopt it.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. I am objecting not so much to the conference amendment as I am to the amendment of Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I am trying with all my might to have the next conference correct the mistake made by the adoption of the House amendment, which mistake was partially but not fully neutralized or removed by the conference amendment. The House amendment was wrong in the extent of the reservation of land. The conferees took a step on the line of correction, but did not go far enough. My amendment will do away with the difficulty if I can be so fortunate as to secure its adoption.

Mr. HERBERT. Both amendments of which you complain dooms Arizona to a desert until further legislation is had.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. That is precisely the result which I fear.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. The latter clause of the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] ought to be stricken out.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. By all means.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. So as to leave the lands still subject to entry under existing law.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. Undoubtedly; because otherwise they can not be entered at all. The original Senate amendment, making an appropriation for a survey of the arid lands (on which I had the honor to address the House the other day), was free from all objection. The Breckinridge amendment made absolute reservation of all desert land. This amendment was offered by Mr. BRECKINRIDGE at the suggestion of the honorable gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SYMES]. I regret that it was offered. The conference amendment modifies the House amendment by permitting a settlement of these reserved lands under homestead law.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. When the President by proclamation throws it open.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. Yes, sir. But as I have shown, nobody will thus settle on it. If you are unwilling to go further, you should at least empower the President by proclamation to throw them open to settlement under existing law, so that on the proclamation the desert land can be taken up.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. That is what ought to be done.

Mr. SMITH, of Arizona. I thank the gentleman, and if all members of this House will but exercise the clear, just judgment which always characterizes the honorable gentleman from Missouri, the apprehension which now disturbs me will be dissipated by the adoption of the measure which I have attempted with earnestness, at least, to advocate.

I see my time has expired. I thank the House for its patient attention.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HILARY A. HERBERT,

OF ALABAMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 24, 1888.

The House having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 10540) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, and for other purposes—

Mr. HERBERT said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I regret very much that I was absent from the House on Monday while the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] was speaking about what he called the extravagant expenditures of this Democratic administration. A constituent of mine in the service of the Government had died here that morning, and I was looking after his funeral arrangements.

Had I been present, I should have questioned a number of the statements made by the gentleman from Illinois, who evidently had not examined with his usual care some, at least, of the topics on which he spoke. For instance, he said, as I read it in the RECORD, and emphasized the statement, that the number of offices abolished since this Democratic administration came into power was 0. On that subject I shall undertake to speak now only for the Navy Department. With the expenditures there and the appropriations I am familiar.

The powers of the Navy Department are distributed among eight bureaus.

The expenditures under the Bureau of Yards and Docks for what is called the civil establishment, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, amounted to $56,374.90. The moneys appropriated for that year were carried in a bill passed in the Forty-seventh Congress, before President Cleveland came in, and the reforms subsequently inaugurated under this Democratic administration did not apply to that fiscal year. The civil establishment is made up of clerks, writers, and messengers, officials drawing higher pay than common laborers. The expenses of this civil establishment under that bureau have been reduced to $46,430.

Mr. PAYSON. A reduction of $10,000.

Mr. HERBERT. About $10,000.

Mr. PAYSON. What offices have been abolished?

Mr. HERBERT. I can not stop to enumerate each one now, seventeen of them in all. I have here a table showing the number and character of these offices in 1886, and they were all there before President Cleveland came in and the number in 1888. The exact difference is seventeen of these offices abolished and $9,944.17 saved. That of itself is an answer to the triumphant statement of the gentleman from Illinois that the number of offices abolished under this Democratic Administration was 0.

In the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting the amount expended for the civil establishment in 1885–'86, which was the same as for previous years, was $25,551, paid to twenty-five persons; the amount appropriated in the last bill for the same purpose was $11,525, for the payment of nine persons, making a saving in round numbers of $15,000. I have here also a table showing these changes.

In the Bureau of Steam-Engineering there was paid for the fiscal year 1885–'86 the sum of $30,857.95 on account of the civil establishment, twenty-eight persons. For the same purpose the law for the present fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, appropriates $17,000 to be paid to seventeen persons.

For the expenses of the civil establishment of the Bureau of Construction and Repair there was paid in the year 1885–'86, and during previous years, the sum of $58,772.37. Great reductions have been made in this bureau in the various navy yards where this expensive civil establishment was kept up, so that the sum appropriated for the present civil establishment of this bureau, during the current year, amounts only to $19,972.50. This sum, however, does not include the work of writers, clerks, and draughtsmen, and similar employés necessarily engaged in and about the construction of new vessels begun during this Administration.

Now, it is a fact that in the Bureau of Ordnance, which is engaged in the manufacture of great guns for the many new ships that have been authorized, and in the Bureau of Construction and Repair, which is engaged not only in building new ships at Norfolk and New York, but also in supervising those let out to contract in Philadelphia, Chester, Baltimore, New York, and San Francisco, and in the Bureau of Steam-Engineering, which is engaged in supervising the construction of engines being built for these new ships, there are necessarily many new employés. This is new work which this Administration has entered upon. There is also a considerable addition to the force employed in the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing under the new order consolidating purchases and accounts. But what I complain of is that while the

gentleman seems to have found and carefully enumerated every new official whose employment had been rendered necessary by the new work undertaken by this Administration, he utterly failed to discover the fact that the Secretary of the Navy and the House Committee on Naval Affairs have cut off with unsparing hand every useless official employed in the ordinary current work of the Navy when this Administration came in. Tried by any fair test this Administration has adhered rigidly to its promises to the people and abolished all useless offices.

In one respect it has failed, and failed signally, to accomplish what it proposed, and that failure lies at the door of the Republican party.

In the Forty-ninth Congress the Committee on Naval Affairs brought into this House a bill to consolidate the bureaus of the Navy Department. A principal feature of this bill was to place under one bureau the work now done by the Bureaus of Construction and Repair, of Steam-Engineering, and of Equipment and Recruiting. The last Republican Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Chandler, had more than once recommended that this be done. The Admiral of the Navy, in his report to the Secretary for the year 1886, had also recommended it; in fact, this same distinguished officer, in his Naval History of the War, attributed much of the friction in the work of the Navy Department during the civil war to the present faulty organization of the bureaus, and now, he said in his report to Secretary Whitney, and said truly, that it was practically almost the unanimous opinion of the Navy and of persons acquainted with naval affairs that this consolidation should be made, and he added that great credit would be due to whoever might accomplish it. When the bill came into this House it was supported by this side of the House. There was, as I now remember, only one Democrat who opposed it; two of the most distinguished Republican members of the Naval Committee, Messrs. THOMAS, of Illinois, and Buck, of Connecticut, joined in the favorable report of the committee. It was estimated in the report that the civil establishments of the various bureaus in the several navy-yards in the United States might be reduced by 30 per cent. if the bill were passed. This would have been a great reduction; but the Republicans on this floor resorted to parliamentary tactics and succeeded in defeating the bill. Day after day did we attempt to pass it. It became a party measure, and the Republicans are entitled to the credit of defeating the bill. They deprived the Democracy of the glory which Admiral Porter said would crown so great an achievement, and now a gentleman who, according to my recollection, aided in that defeat, comes forward to chide the Democracy with a failure to abolish useless offices.

The audacity, Mr. Speaker, exhibited by our Republican friends in the charges of extravagance they make against this Democratic Administration fills me with amazement. As I entered the Hall a few moments ago the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] was remarking that there was just a grain of truth in what his colleague [Mr. SPRINGER] had said about the increases made by the Senate to the appropriation bills sent over to that body by this House.

Mr. PAYSON. I did not say that.

Mr. HERBERT. I so understood you.

Mr. PAYSON. What I said was that there was a shadow, and only a shadow, of foundation for what my colleague had stated in regard to gentlemen on my side of the House having voted for these increases of offices and pay.

Mr. HERBERT. I desire to state that during my long experience in this House—and I put the proposition squarely—I have never seen an extravagant proposition defeated by Republican votes, I care not whether it was for an increase of salary, the creation of a new office, or the initiation or furtherance of some gigantic expenditure. Never have I witnessed such a spectacle. What I mean to say is that I have never seen such a proposition defeated when there were not more Democratic votes against it than Republican. I have never seen the Republican party, as such, in this House, on any proposition, go before the Democratic party in the practice of economy. There have been individual instances of zeal by individual members for the defeat of particular propositions; the gentleman from Illinois himself, Mr. PAYSON, a few days ago signalized himself by a great speech against the proposed appropriation for carrying on the new Library building. He aided powerfully in its defeat; but, Mr. Speaker, on that very vote he was followed mostly by Democrats, not by Republicans. They are not to be led in that direction. I venture to say, without counting up the yeas and nays, that any gentleman who will take the trouble to do so will find that a majority of the gentleman's own party did not follow his lead upon that occasion. He was playing the rôle of economist, and that, I was about to say, is what the Republicans do not often profess, but I am mistaken; they do sometimes put forward such claims in their platform but on this floor they have been playing, ever since I have been here, the rôle of liberal statesmen—statesmen who are liberal with the people's money.

Now, sir, to illustrate this and show what "a shadow of foundation" there is in the charge made by my Democratic friend from Illinois, Mr. SPRINGER, that the Republicans always vote to increase appropriations made by Democrats, the charge which his colleague, Mr. PAYSON, so indignantly resented, let me just turn your attention for a moment to the appropriations for the Navy made during the last four years. I propose to illustrate the difference between the Democrats and Republicans on this question of expenditures by reference to the conduct of a Democratic House and a Republican Senate. I take no individual Democrat to compare with any individual Republican, but, to place the matter beyond cavil, I propose to contrast the conduct of the Democratic House and the Republican Senate. To the bill making appropriations for the Navy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, as sent over by the House, the Senate added $2,476,500; the House consented to only $254,000 of this addition, thus striking off from the Senate bill, by the persistence of the Democratic conferees of this House and of the Democrats in the House who stood behind them, $2,137,500. In the bill for 1887 the House struck off from the additions proposed by the Senate $83,687.26. In the bill for 1888 the conferees of the House struck off from the additions proposed by the Senate the sum of $20,967,182.75.

A MEMBER. What was that for?

Mr. HERBERT. Increase of the Navy. The House had already put on a large sum for this purpose; the Senate added twenty-one millions more. Just here let me call the attention of this House to a fact which will be within the memory of many who are within the sound of my voice. When I first asked, in the Forty-ninth Congress, to set a day for the consideration of a bill for the increase of the Navy the proposition was defeated. There were some Democrats who were unwilling to vote for it; and the leader of the Republican party on this floor joined with them, so the motion to set a day failed. I made more than one ineffectual effort to fix a day to consider that bill. Our Republican friends did not openly dare to oppose an increase of the Navy; they knew the country demanded it; they believed the Democrats would fail to meet this demand, so they had no disposition to help us fix a day, although when the proposition was placed squarely before them they dared not refuse to vote for the bill. We succeeded, however, in spite of all opposition during the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress in providing for an increase of the Navy. The Republican Senate had quietly waited upon us, the Democratic House, to take in that session, the initiative. They seemed, like their Republican brethren in the House, to expect that Democrats would fail to meet this great public demand. So they made no move in that direction themselves, though, in the face of public sentiment, they could not fail to pass the bill which was sent to them. When the next session came it had been made clear that the Democrats of this day, true to the traditions of their party, were the friends of the Navy, that we would not fail in the duty the country expected of us, and now Republican tactics seem to have changed. Before the House, in this second session, had considered the appropriation bill the Senate sent over bills providing for the expenditure of more than $40,000,000 for new ships and seacoast defenses. The House did not consider these bills, but sent over on the appropriation bill a large but reasonable appropriation for a further increase of the Navy. The Senate added the sum of $21,008,382.75. Of this the House struck off $20,967,182.75.

Now, sir, to complete the four years' contrast. The House struck off of a bill sent back from the Senate, making appropriations for the Navy for the year 1889, the net sum of $244,703.08.

I have simply contrasted the action of the House and of the Senate on the bills appropriating money for one single Department for the last four years, and in each case we have seen that the Senate added largely to the House bill and that the House struck off vast sums from these additions made by the Senate. This failed in no single instance, and in four years the amount thus stricken off by the House from the Senate bills for naval appropriations foots up to $24,026,073.09. How can the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] stand on this floor and say, without blushing, to his colleague [Mr. SPRINGER] that there is only a "shadow of foundation" in the charge that Republicans vote, as a rule, to increase the expenditures proposed by Democrats. The instances I have given are not exceptions, they illustrate the rule, the almost, if not quite, invariable rule. I saw a table, prepared recently, in which increases proposed by the Senate to the House appropriation bills for the past four years amounted then to $73,507,916.91. I doubt whether a case can be found in which a Republican Senate has brought down a general appropriation bill to a lower figure than was proposed by a Democratic House, and I do not remember an instance in all my experience, as I said before, in which the Republican party, as a party, can claim the credit on this floor for defeating a single extravagant proposition. If these things be so—and I challenge denial—then, sir, I am justified in remarking upon the unparalleled audacity of a Republican who, with the long experience on this floor of my friend Mr. CANNON, will take upon himself the responsibility of charging extravagance upon the Democracy.

For myself, sir, I do not feel that it is a sufficient answer for Democrats to say that Republicans are more extravagant than we are. We are, and we ought to be responsible to the people, and we can not gauge our responsibility by the measure of Republican practices. We were not educated in the same school of politics. They have been taught to believe, and many of them I am sure do believe, that heavy taxation conduces to the happiness and prosperity of the people.

The difference, Mr. Speaker, between the two parties was never more broadly marked than it is to-day—one is the party of the people, the other the servant of monopolies. The Democracy holds fast to

economy in the public expenditures, in order that (in the words of Jefferson) "labor may be lightly burdened." The Republicans believe that extravagant expenditures add to the grandeur of the Government, and that heavy taxation enriches the people. There may be individual Democrats who model their views after the practices which have so long obtained in the Republican party. The glamour of what Republicans call their brilliant administration has here and there misled a Democrat into the belief that lavish expenditures will commend a party to public favor; but if there be Democrats now and then who fail to see the virtue of economy it is because the party has so long been without a leader. We have that leader now.

The Democracy placed him at our head—Grover Cleveland—and, if in this campaign he should be re-elected and can have a Democratic House and Senate to sustain him, he will give the country once more square, old-fashioned, even-handed Democratic government.

Four years ago the Republicans delighted to call him an accident, and ridiculed him as a man of no ability. We will never hear that charge again. He had not been in office twelve months before he impressed himself on the minds and the hearts of the people as no President, in time of peace, has ever done since the day of Andrew Jackson. In him the people found their friend and their great captain.

Four years ago the Republican leaders were running about among the money-changers and traders predicting business disaster, financial ruin, if this untried candidate of an untried Democracy was placed at the head of the Government. He has been President three years and a half, and everything is as prosperous as was possible under the unjust and partial laws he found in existence, and which he has been powerless, so far, to change. Nothing is now wanting to universal prosperity but to follow the course he has pointed out. His management of finances has been safe and sound. On the 30th of June, 1885, just after he came in, the aggregate circulation of all kinds of money in the country amounted to $1,567,569,489.27; on the 27th of September, 1888, it amounted to $1,719,423,615.99, an increase in a little over three years in circulation, the life blood of commerce and industry of $151,-854,126.72.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] charges that the President is not a friend of silver. That from a Republican, a member of the party which demonetized silver and whose chosen President vetoed the bill passed by a Democratic Congress to remonetize it, is strange, but it is stranger still that this charge should be made in the face of the great facts of Cleveland's administration. The law under which silver is coined by the President gives a discretion, within certain limits. Under Hayes's administration, counting from March 1 to March 1, four years, there was coined $82,060,005; under Garfield and Arthur's, $112,-187,189; under Cleveland's administration to September 30, 1888, there has been coined $112,503,696. Continuing at the same rate until the close of his administration Cleveland will have coined $125,585,521; in round numbers, forty-three millions more than Hayes and $13,000,-000 more than Garfield and Arthur. Under Arthur's administration the complaint was that silver did not circulate; that it glutted the Treasury; that the people would not take it. It was this fact more than any other, and not that he was an enemy of bimetalism, for he is not, that caused Cleveland to write his celebrated letter advocating the temporary cessation of silver coinage. Since he became President silver has circulated, both silver dollars and silver certificates, more than ever before. On the 30th of June, 1885, there were in circulation, of silver dollars, $31,289,044.48; on the 30th of September, 1888, this circulation had increased to $48,620,964. But the great increase has been in silver certificates. On the 20th of September, 1885, the silver certificates in circulation, not counting the three millions in national banks, amounted to $98,391,676; on September 20, 1888, this circulation, not counting the seven millions in national banks, amounted to $193,664,803. Thus, the President has not only coined many millions of silver dollars more than did his predecessors in the same length of time, but while under them a loud complaint went up that the people would not take the money and that it was accumulating on the hands of the Government, he has actually put into circulation since June 30, 1885, $201,380.52 more of silver and silver certificates than has been coined during all the time from March 1, 1885, down to the 20th day of September, 1888.

In every message he has penned and in every act of his administration he has proven himself the friend of the people. He has allowed neither cattle syndicates nor railroad corporations to rob the citizen when he could protect him. Under Arthur's administration millions of acres of grazing lands in the West had been fenced in without authority of law by rich syndicates of cattle-dealers, many of them foreigners. Cleveland ordered and compelled these fences to be broken down. The public domain under this Administration is for the benefit of the public.

GUILFORD MILLER.

As far back as 1872, 21,000,000 acres of land under orders from a Republican administration had been withdrawn from settlement and entry for the benefit of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company. This company was entitled, under an act of Congress, to select lands outside of the limits of its grant as indemnity for its failure to obtain certain other lands within those limits. The withdrawal had been made in 1872. Under Republican administrations settlers had waited for thirteen years the convenience of this railroad company. Guilford Miller had settled on a piece of this land in 1878; he had endeavored to enter it as a homestead in 1884. The case was brought to the attention of the President. He was unable under the law to validate Miller's homestead, but he did what was better; he restored to settlement the whole 21,000,000 acres; thus allowing Guilford Miller to re-enter his homestead and giving opportunity, if that much of the lands were fit for homesteads, for more than one hundred and thirty thousand other citizens to acquire homes.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.

In this age, when the rich are becoming richer everywhere, syndicates of speculators have, without let or hinderance, been allowed to buy up vast tracts of land. Four years ago a Democratic House of Representatives passed a law providing that the public lands in Alabama should be withdrawn from sale and thereafter be subject only to homestead entry. That bill died in a Republican Senate. During the present session a similar bill, applying to the whole country, has passed the House of Representatives and gone to the Senate. It provides, in effect, that all the lands in the United States fitted for homesteads shall be subject to entry in no other way. The Republican Senate has at last been pricked up by public sentiment to the point of passing a bill containing a similar provision. The House and Senate bills, which are dissimilar in some respects, are now pending between the Houses, and it is to be hoped the measure will become law during the present Congress. A resolution has passed both Houses withdrawing all such lands from entry until the close of the present Congress.

This Congress has failed to forfeit over thirty-five millions of lands unearned by railroad companies because the Republican Senate refuses to pass the House bill forfeiting that number of acres. The House bill includes the unearned lands of the Mobile and Girard Railroad Company.

These lands and many others should be forfeited, so that settlers already on them, and others wanting to go on them, can acquire titles to their homes. The Senate is willing to forfeit only about 7,000,000 of acres. The two Houses disagree about the rights of the railroad companies, the Senate contending that only about seven millions are subject to forfeiture, the House insisting on thirty-five millions. But both Houses agree that the lands when forfeited shall only be subject to homestead entry and that settlers shall have preference, that is, that they may have homesteads when they have not heretofore entered under that law. If settlers have heretofore had homesteads they may still be allowed to enter their homes at $1.25 per acre.

I think it very certain that as this provision is substantially agreed on by both Senate and House it will ultimately become law.

THE FISHERIES QUESTION.

The foreign policy of the Administration has been equally open, manly, and patriotic. Disputes had arisen between American and Canadian fishermen as to the rights of Americans in Canadian waters under the treaty of 1818. American fishermen, undoubtedly, now and then, had given provocation to the Canadians, but the Canadian authorities had, beyond all dispute, been guilty of many outrages upon the rights of Americans. President Cleveland sought a remedy by treaty; an agreement was at last made by a commission, upon which the New England fishermen were represented by Mr. Putnam, one of the ablest statesmen of Maine. The treaty is believed to have been a fair and just settlement, a compromise of conflicting rights. As such it was submitted at the present session by the President to the Senate. The Republican Senators determined before the treaty was made that it should not be ratified. The Presidential election was approaching. Great Britain was a party to the treaty. There was a strong anti-British feeling among many of the voters of the United States. Any compromise of conflicting rights between the United States and the British possessions, as any treaty of course must be, necessarily afforded opportunity for arousing political prejudice, so the Senate determined, contrary to all custom, to make a party question of this treaty, to debate it with open doors, and so appeal to all the anti-British sentiment in the Democratic party. How dare Grover Cleveland make a treaty with the British on the eve of an election! As a matter of course, the treaty was defeated by a partisan majority; as a matter of course, anti-British sentiment was aroused, and the opponents of the Administration were jubilant.

Back of all this dispute between the Canadians and the New Englanders was the desire, on the part of the Canadians, to force their fish, fresh and salt, into the United States markets free of duty; and in the background, also, was a desire on the part of the New England fishermen to compel all Canadian fish to pay duty, including fresh fish, which now come in free. It was suggested to the President from interested sources that he retaliate; that he settle this great dispute, a dispute that had at last grown into international proportions, by simply proclaiming that the Canadians should bring in no more fresh fish; and a law had been made ready for the occasion. But the President could be driven to no such lame and impotent conclusion. If he was to retaliate it must be by a measure worthy the dignity of the great nation whose representative he was, by a measure which would bring the Canadians at once to a sense of their duty. By existing treaty, made by a Republican administration, Canada has the right to transport free of

duty, across American soil, her goods from abroad. The American citizen who brings goods from abroad into this territory must pay duty; the citizens of every other country in the world except Canada must pay duty. To her, under this treaty, the United States annually foregoes duties amounting to over $20,000,000.

This privilege is to Canada almost invaluable. For six months in the year transportation from the western portion of the Dominion, by way of the St. Lawrence, is impeded by ice. The President (to the astonishment of the Republicans, who were reveling in the thought that in one point, at least, they had him at the vantage) sent in a message suggesting the passage of a law which would give him the right to suspend this privilege. The House of Representatives passed it almost at once, the Republicans in that body yielding an unwilling consent; but Republican Senators were puzzled. Their friends, the northeastern railroad companies, were largely interested. It was a great question, they had said, this dispute between Canada and the United States; the honor of our country was involved; but, then, these railroad corporations would lose the profits to be made in the transporting of Canadian goods, and that gives pause to our brethren of the Senate. They are now discussing a resolution the theme of which is how the Canada question can be disposed of in an amicable manner.

A few weeks ago they were bellicose—the British lion must be humbled. Now that they see the President means business, the situation is changed. Their mood towards Canada has suddenly become so winsome that the danger now is they will annex her, fresh fish, salt fish, codfish, halibut, and all. I hope they will not do it till after the election, as it might change the result. For myself, I shall hesitate even then. I do not want to bring into the United States so much "British influence."

Industrial Christian Home.

"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN T. CAINE,

OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, October 4, 1888.

The House having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 10896) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for 1888 and prior years, and for other purposes, and the amendments of the Senate thereto, namely:

"112. Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory: To further aid the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory, under its articles of incorporation, in the establishment and maintenance of an industrial and educational institution in Salt Lake City for the benefit of the dependent women and children of Utah and Idaho Territories who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church, $75,000, and for contingent expenses of the association, $5,000; in all, $80,000.

"113. The money hereby appropriated shall be disbursed by the treasurer of said association, who shall give such bonds for the faithful performance of his duties as may be deemed requisite by the Secretary of the Interior. All accounts of expenditures under this appropriation shall be audited by the Utah commission, which shall hereafter act as a board of control for said institution, and shall make an annual report to Congress covering the work of said institution and its expenditures"—

Mr. CAINE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not intend to participate in this discussion. I have neither opposed nor favored the appropriation for the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah. Naturally those who have been here since 1886 soliciting aid from Congress have not approached me on the subject, and I have not felt it to be my duty, nor have any of my constituents requested me, to oppose these appropriations. Thus far Congress, in making appropriations for the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, has been careful to confine the expenditure to a specific purpose, with a view to alleviating suffering which the enforcement of the laws against polygamy naturally and inevitably caused. Although I knew perfectly well that there was behind the ostensible purpose for which these appropriations were sought an entirely different one to subserve, I was content to hold my peace and let the developments be made without any effort on my part. It was inevitable that the "true inwardness" would be laid bare sooner or later. It was merely a question of time. The African in the wood-pile was sure to make his appearance.

Even now I am reluctant to do what it is clearly my duty to do. An uncalled for and wholly unjustifiable attack has been made upon the Mormon people, and it was instigated and insisted upon by those who have been persistently seeking to gain control of money given for a worthy purpose in order that they might divert it to forward their own visionary schemes. The object in instigating a general assault on the Mormons was, under cover of the popular cry of "destroying polygamy," to more surely accomplish their own objects. I can not refrain from vindicating those who are entitled to the vindication at my hands. I ought not to fail in my duty.

Nevertheless, I regret the course this discussion has taken. Surely there is no occasion for the introduction of partisan politics in a debate upon a proposition to vote money for charitable purposes. But, unhappily, it seems impossible to have considered anything relating to Utah in a calm and philosophical spirit. The religious and social problems involved in the agitation, which was doubtless inevitable upon the founding of the Mormon Church, deserved, and still deserve a dispassionate consideration. The material effects which a new social order has wrought are suggestive to the student of social questions.

The admitted general morality of a great community, which has grown up upon foundations laid by a new dispensation, is worthy of a different treatment than the one it has received by our publicists and statesmen. It will not be disputed that Mormonism has accomplished some most wonderful results, and no matter what the verdict of this day and generation may be concerning the truth or falsity of the faith professed and practiced by the Mormons, history will eventually do justice to the good wrought by them. Serenely confident that the faith they have comes of God, sustained in all the trials and tribulations, imposed upon them for some good reason, by implicit belief in God's purpose, the Mormons have ever looked and will look beyond the clouds which encompass them to the dawn of that better day which they know is coming.

They have felt the harrow which has passed over them. They are keenly aware of the sufferings which they have had to endure, and which they are enduring to-day. The bonds of fellowship which unite them are strong, and responsive chords are touched when the lot of a brother or sister is made hard. They naturally would welcome any disposition of the Government of the United States to relieve the distress and suffering which the strenuous enforcement of the so-called Edmunds laws inevitably entail. They are far from interposing obstacles in the way of charitable men and women who, individually or as associations, seek to relieve "dependent women and children" whose natural protectors and supporters have been taken from them. There have been many cases of extreme hardship, and in very many instances the sufferings have been increased by the construction which has been placed upon the law against unlawful cohabitation. This construction has made it an impossibility, in a great number of instances, for the husbands and fathers to provide maintenance without subjecting themselves to the penalties of the law.

But when a magnificent charity is proposed from the national Treasury for whom is it to be dispensed? I submit that it is a most monstrous thing that proffered charity should be coupled with the distinct and unequivocal declaration that it is only "for the benefit of the dependent women and children of Utah and Idaho Territories who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church."

Mr. Speaker, the discussion of the Mormon question here and elsewhere has developed many extraordinary propositions, and some most remarkable legislation has been enacted by the Congress of the United States to accomplish the overthrow of the Morman Church; but this proposal to found, at the expense of the national Treasury, an Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, with the declared purpose that its beneficence shall be only for those "who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church," exceeds all that has gone before. Its nakedness, its shamelessness, must strike every reflecting mind. Think of it for a moment. The Constitution of the United States guaranties the freedom of religious belief and forbids the enactment of laws which encroach upon this priceless privilege of the citizen. And yet it is proposed to make it a prerequisite to the participation in a great charity, existing and to exist solely by appropriations from the United States Treasury, that the recipients shall first express their "desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church."

Was this language inadvertently used? From the readiness with which the authors of the amendment expressed their willingness to strike out the objectionable words, and, in effect, apologize for the employment of the same, it would seem that they had still some regard for the proprieties of legislative verbiage. And still they displayed, if not a disregard for the truth, a willingness, upon wholly insufficient grounds, to bear false testimony against the Mormon people. It has been asserted here, and in the other Chamber, that the whole power of the Mormon press and of the Mormon Church was arrayed against the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, and that every effort was being made by the Mormons to defeat this appropriation. Nothing could be further from the truth. I know that no one in the interest of the Mormons has sought, directly or indirectly, to influence a single Senator or Representative to oppose this appropriation. So far as I am aware there has not been one utterance from the Mormon press or pulpit which can be justly claimed as opposition to this appropriation. Doubtless there have been criticisms of the methods and of the avowed purposes of the persons who seek to have vast sums of money appropriated for them to disburse as they see fit to use it. These methods and purposes are plainly indicated by the language employed to make this appropriation "for the benefit" of those "who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church."

Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly willing to concede to those who con-

ceived the purpose of establishing the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah the most benevolent intentions. They are undoubtedly Christian philanthropists, but their zeal as humanitarians is, after all, measured by their ability to secure appropriations from the national Treasury. There are doubtless more than three hundred thousand good and noble women in the United States who, in a perfunctory way, are moved to sympathize with the "dependent women and children of Utah and Idaho;" but thus far they have confined themselves to words of encouragement to those of their number engaged in organizing a great charity which was to exist and subsist upon the public Treasury. The incorporation of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah was effected on the 15th day of March, 1886, and within one month a delegation was here besieging Congress for $100,000 to enable these philanthropists to carry into execution their grand conception.

It was truly a "grand conception," and doubtless the originators deemed their demand for $100,000 from Congress extremely modest. The sixth article of their articles of incorporation is as follows:

ART. VI. The objects, pursuits, and business of this corporation, as near as may be stated generally, are as follows: To found, build, equip, provide for, maintain, and regulate, in all necessary and proper ways, industrial homes, boarding houses, schools, hospitals, and places for instruction, aid, betterment, and general benevolent and charitable purposes at Salt Lake City and other places in Utah Territory and elsewhere, and in which to promote and accomplish the fitting of persons for industrial and all other pursuits; also to teach, instruct, discipline, educate, and fit for the active duties of life all classes of people without distinction, but more especially women and children, in all pursuits and industries whereby the interests of individuals and of society may be bettered, and whereby people may be fitted to earn, each for himself or herself, an honest livelihood; to establish private schools and school systems and courses of study; to provide rewards for merit in any and all work done under the supervision, aid, or instruction of this association; to provide work and remuneration therefore for all persons who are needy or in want, and especially for women, girls, and children so situated; to provide and secure situations for such as acquire efficiency in any industrial or other pursuit under the guidance of this corporation; to relieve distress and ameliorate suffering among all classes; to aid in every proper and charitable way those who are in proverty and want; to provide for and seek to establish among the masses a better knowledge of sanitary laws and care of health; and generally to forward and aid in every lawful way all benevolent, charitable, and educational purposes and objects whatsoever; also to solicit and receive contributions, to give exhibitions and entertainments, and to adopt and exercise all other proper means to raise funds and the means to carry on the corporate business and further and accomplish the objects of the association; to provide by by-laws for increase and maintenance of memberships of and in this corporation; and lastly, to make all lawful rules, regulations, and by-laws, and to do all other proper things to aid in systematizing, providing for, and carrying on all the business, and in forwarding all the objects of the corporation, and to acquire and hold real estate and personal property sufficient to carry out the purposes of the corporation.

The founding of "industrial homes, boarding-houses, schools, hospitals," and providing "for instruction, aid, betterment, and general benevolent and charitable purposes," not only at Salt Lake City and other places in Utah, but "elsewhere," showed that "no pent-up Utica" was to confine the operations of the promoters. Besides "the fitting of persons for industrial and all other pursuits," the "interests of individuals and of society" were to be bettered, and "people" generally "fitted to earn, each for himself, or herself an honest livelihood." Of course such a magnificent scheme, for the "betterment" of humanity, would necessitate the establishment of "private schools, and school systems, and courses of study," and all this would perchance fail unless "rewards for merit" were provided at the expense of the national tax-payers!

So comprehensive a scheme for general relief "for all persons who are needy or in want" might not succeed without a national employment bureau "to provide and secure situations" for those who "under the guidance of this corporation," acquire "efficiency in any industrial or other pursuit." Having done all these things, founded, built, equipped, provided for, maintained, and regulated industrial homes, boarding-houses, schools, hospitals, established private schools, school systems and courses of study, and distributed rewards of merit, obtained employment for those needy or in want, something was yet to be done, and accordingly the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah must provide for and seek to establish "among the masses a better knowledge of sanitary laws and care of health."

It is not my purpose to ridicule the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, but simply to call attention to the visionary character of its projectors. No doubt the "several national organizations," which we are told are identified with and interested in the establishment of the institution, have the very best intentions. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Woman's Home Missionary Society, are without doubt worthy organizations with great and meritorious work in hand. And, as I have remarked, there is something in the undertaking to relieve the suffering in Utah caused by the rigorous enforcement of the laws against polygamy which appeals to Mormons as well as to non-Mormons. If this benevolent work was not to be made, as it has been, the cover for open as well as insidious attempts to undermine our religion, I am sure that it would be welcomed by the whole body of the Mormon people. But it has been made clear by the advocates of this appropriation that those who are the directing spirits of this so-called charity are not only intent upon making it a vehicle for proselyting, but that they are unwilling to have any control exercised over the disposition of the means provided from the national Treasury. The first appropriation was made August 4, 1886, less than five months after the incorporation of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah. It was made as follows:

To aid in the establishment of an industrial home in the Territory of Utah, to provide employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy, and the children of such women of tender age, in said Territory, with a view to aid in the suppression of polygamy therein, $40,000; said sum to be expended upon requisition of and under the management of a board of control to consist of the governor and justices of the supreme court and the district attorney of said Territory; and said board shall duly and properly expend said sum, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the purposes herein indicated, and shall, from time to time, report to the President their acts and doings and expenditures hereunder, for transmission to Congress.

But the safeguards thus provided did not please these philanthropists. They surely could not truthfully allege that the "board of control" was not in sympathy with the alleged objects for which Congress gave the money. The governor of the Territory, the justices of the supreme court, and the district attorney were as zealous in the work of destroying polygamy as the most rabid anti-Mormon could desire. But because the terms of the law required the $40,000 "to be expended upon the requisition of, and under the management of a board of control," and did not hand it over outright to those who had gotton up the "institution," there was immediate and continued dissatisfaction. The "philanthrophists" who had had themselves made into a corporation and constituted themselves the directors and managers of a charity on such grand proportions and with such multifarious objects did not want to be hampered by men who felt bound to regard the letter as well as the spirit of the law. How could the vast scope of their all-embracing work be comprehended by such a "board of control?" The founding of industrial homes, boarding houses, schools, hospitals, and all other sorts of institutions, including "private schools, school systems, and courses of study," and a national employment bureau, with an attachment for giving "the masses a better knowledge of sanitary laws and care of health," could never be realized if the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah had not "free course to run and be glorified."

The evidence of the "bickerings," of the "heart-burnings," of the "unpleasantness" that followed has been spread on the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The trouble began just as soon as the $40,000 were available. We have the "record of the joint meetings of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah and the board of control" brought before us to show what?—that those responsible for a wise and legal expenditure of the money Congress provided were hampering this great charitable undertaking! I will quote the first two propositions that the executive committee of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah presented to the board of control November 30, 1886:

Resolved, 1. That a committee from the Industrial Christian Home Association be appointed to take steps toward a formal opening of the home January 19, 1887.

2. That the board of control be asked to sanction the opening of two departments, a cooking school and sewing department; the latter to include appliances for everything pertaining to family or household needs.

The committee was appointed and the meeting with the board of control took place, as the record shows:

Executive committee met board of control at Continental Hotel. Present of board of control: Governor West, United States Attorney Dickson, Judges Zane, Boreman, and Henderson.

Resolutions presented by executive committee to board of control.

No. 1.—Laid on the table.

No. 2.—Laid on the table.

Wherefore this summary disposition of the propositions of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah by the board of control? The sententious "record" is silent. Does any one who knows Governor West, United States Attorney Dickson, and Judges Zane, Boreman, and Henderson doubt that their reasons for this summary disposal of the "resolutions" were not wise and proper? They did not deem it necessary to formally open the home with two departments, a cooking school and a sewing department, until there was somebody within the terms of the law "to provide employment and means of self-support" for. They thought there ought to be "some dependent women who renounce polygamy, and the children of such women of tender age, in said Territory" available for the "cooking school and the sewing department" before they were opened.

And again, in June, 1887, when the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah had been for several months with an establishment running and wanted to buy ground and begin the erection of a building, Governor West ventured to suggest that before such an outlay could be sanctioned the necessity therefor ought to be shown by inmates ready for it. The reply was characteristic: "The outlay was necessary to insure the inmates." There was a temporary home, but the house was "very old and inconvenient" and not in a locality with surroundings calculated to attract "the needy or those in want!" It was, forsooth, because of this that only "nine polygamous women" during the first year were in the home. And this number was secured by a systematic and persistent canvass of almost every settlement in the Territory. The Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah was nothing more nor less than a missionary establishment with its agents spread over the Territory attempting to proselyte in the interest of different Protestant religious denominations.

There can be no objection to the National Women's Home Missionary

Society and other organizations prosecuting their work in Utah and using every legitimate means to forward their undertakings, but have these religious propaganda any special claim upon the national taxpayers? At bottom the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah is not and was not established solely for relieving "dependent women and children" of Mormon connections. Such an object was a mere pretense. The design was and is to build up an establishment which would afford a resort for an army of women and girls recruited all over the United States for purely missionary work in the Territories. It was to be the headquarters of denominational school-teachers, lecturers, and other females with a "calling," and the "reclaiming" of Mormon wives and daughters was simply to be the means of opening to the projectors the Treasury of the United States.

The trouble between the board of control and the executive committee of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah was inevitable, and grew out of the fact that the purpose for which the appropriation was made confined the expenditures to a specific object—"to provide employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who renounce polygamy, and the children of such women of tender age." The board of control did not feel justified in allowing this specific object to be departed from, and hence the "unpleasantness."

It is not strange that the gentlemen composing the board of control very soon desired to be relieved from the disagreeable duty imposed upon them. The capacity of the persons running the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah to make "life a burden" for those who did not surrender their convictions of duty at their behest, can well be imagined. They had behind them a perfectly unscrupulous newspaper to daily misrepresent and vilify those who did not cringe to "the lash mercilessly wielded." The machinery for commanding public attention throughout the country was perfect and run by mendacious and malicious people.

The surprising thing is that Governor West did not sooner seek to escape the unpleasant and onerous responsibility which had been imposed upon him. He knew perfectly well that however conscientious he might be he would not escape misrepresentation. It has been charged in the Senate and in this House that "the hostility of the Mormon leaders" was sufficient to thwart the efforts of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah,

To have money expended in such a way as would most clearly accomplish the object stated by Congress—

And in the very next breath it is alleged that—

The new Governor of the Territory, who acted as chairman of the board of control, largely took charge of the matter, and by his rulings as to the construction of the language of the appropriation prevented the application of its provisions in very many of the cases where relief was applied for.

That this indirect effort to make it appear that Governor West was influenced by Mormon leaders in his rulings or in his "construction of the language of the appropriation" is unjust and unwarrantable, will clearly appear when the facts are stated. The board of control was composed of the governor, three justices of the supreme court, and the United States district attorney. The governor was one to four, and these four were and are intense and I believe prejudiced opponents of everything Mormon.

The insinuation that Governor West is in the leastwise amenable to Mormon influence is impudently false. On the contrary, he has been extreme in his efforts to deprive the Mormons of every vestige of their civil rights. In his recommendations, and in his exercise of personal influence in this Capitol, he has been a radical of radicals. The fact that Chief-Justice Zane, District Attorney Dickson, and Justices Boreman and Henderson constituted four out of five of the members of the board of control gives the lie most emphatically to the statement that Governor West ran that body in the interest of the Mormon leaders.

The truth is that the managing spirits of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah would be satisfied with nothing less than the absolute control of the money voted by Congress. They had a grand scheme to carry out, and with the national coffers freely tapped and flowing gold into their laps, they hoped to accomplish "all they had dreamed of." Their first year's experience was disappointing. In the language of their report, "the past has had its rejoicings as well as sadness; its days of bright sunshine as well as dark storms." The "sadness" and "storms" came whenever the board of control interfered with the plans of the executive committee of the Industrial Christian Home Association.

But "sunshine" was bright and effulgent when Senate committees were listening to the siren voices of the lady managers and their representatives, the distinguished philanthropist, Mrs. Newman, and the disinterested husband of the amiable president of the institution. Before a year had elapsed from the voting of the first $40,000 the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah was here in the person of this wonderfully bright and clever woman beseeching Congress to curb the functions of the board of control. Success was almost achieved. The time, however, was too short, and the board of control remained in power for a short season. At the very beginning of this session of Congress the same indefatigable and, I regret to say it, not over-scrupulous lady made her appearance and began her work. The result was the following item in our first deficiency bill:

To aid the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah in carrying on, under its articles of incorporation, the work of providing employment and means of self-support for the dependent women who shall have renounced polygamy, and their children of tender age, $40,000; and the unexpended balance of the appropriation for aiding in the establishment of an industrial home in the Territory of Utah contained in the act of Congress approved August 4, 1886, entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, and for other purposes," shall be deemed a part of this appropriation; and the board of control mentioned in said former appropriation shall audit the expenditures under this appropriation and report yearly to the Secretary of the Interior.

It was supposed that this would accomplish the purpose—the board of control being reduced as was thought to a mere board of audit. But, unfortunately for the schemers, the language was obscure—"the board of control mentioned in said former appropriation shall audit the expenditures under this appropriation." The Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah did not want a board of control even mentioned in the appropriation bill. It was deemed fatal to their grand scheme. What would it avail to have the national Treasury thrown open to them if a board of control was to supervise the spending of the money? Perish the thought! Their grand and general amelioration of the human race, the founding, building, equipping, and providing for so many different beneficent establishments, including a national employment bureau, and teaching "the masses a better knowledge of sanitary laws and care of health," at the expense of the whole people of the United States, would surely fail if a board of control was to insist that they should find subjects to practice upon before they began the good work!

And so another desperate effort is made to get the use of the people's money without restrictions as to the manner of using it. The Senate lends a willing ear to representations, some of which I shall presently deal with, and has put upon the deficiency bill the following amendments:

112. Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory: To further aid the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah Territory, under its articles of incorporation, in the establishment and maintenance of an industrial and educational institution in Salt Lake City for the benefit of the dependent women and children of Utah and Idaho Territories who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church, $75,000; and for contingent expenses of the association, $5,000; in all, $80,000.

113. The money hereby appropriated shall be disbursed by the treasurer of said association, who shall give such bonds for the faithful performance of his duties as may be deemed requisite by the Secretary of the Interior. All accounts of expenditures under this appropriation shall be audited by the Utah Commission, which shall hereafter act as the board of control for said institution, and shall make an annual report to Congress covering the work of said institution and its expenditures.

For the first time "bright sunshine" illumined the pathway to the national Treasury. But "dark storms" are threatening in the obdurateness of the House conferees, who insist upon some reasonable accountability in the disbursement of these vast sums of money. There are discrepancies in the accounts thus far rendered, and quite a large sum of money, I understand, is not accounted for. And why not? The good people who are so much interested in the establishment of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah have not been sending in contributions, and the managing spirits of the institution have been too busy contending with the board of control and organizing for its overthrow "to give exhibitions and entertainments" whereby cash might be obtained. In the mean time certain expenses have had to be met—"a great philanthropic movement" will not run itself.

Mrs. Angie F. Newman, who speaks for not only the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, but "as the legal representative of the loyal element of Utah Territory," presented a memorial "to the honorable Senate Committee on Appropriations," in which she asked for—

First. An additional appropriation of $75,000.

Second. An expansion of the law to the status defined in the original memorial of the association to the Senate, namely, "the dependent classes of Utah Territory."

Third. That the law shall specify through whom the funds shall be drawn from the national Treasury.

Fourth. That special provision be made in the law for "contingent" expenses of the association to the amount of $5,000, for use in the transportation of applicants to the home, to the States on leaving the home, for advertising, and such other expenditures as are necessarily incurred "in the establishment of the home."

Verily here was "the milk in the cocoanut." An indication of how "such other expenditures as are necessarily incurred 'in the establishment of the home,'" is contained in this same memorial. The memorialist says:

On the 6th of August, 1886, $40,000 was granted by Congress to "aid in the establishment of an industrial home" in Utah Territory. As the representative of the association, on the adjournment of Congress I devoted six weeks' time to visiting the institutions of the East to ascertain the cost of mechanical appliances, plans for building, to secure teachers, specialists in the various departments. I went to Utah in October, 1887, to lay these plans before the association, and assist them to proceed at once to the erection of a suitable building. At a joint meeting of the board of control and the association, I was met by the ruling of the chairman of the board of control, Governor West, that the appropriation was made to the board of control, that the work of the association ended when the appropriation was secured.

Of course this six weeks junketing tour through the East cost something. "The work of the association" in securing "the appropriations" cost something also. Ways and means have to be provided for "a great philanthropic movement" nowadays, and the 300,000 members of the National Women's Home Missionary Society and of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union do not contribute 10 cents apiece

to keep it moving even on a "sunshine" illuminated pathway to the national Treasury.

Mr. Speaker, this same memorialist confesses that all that the Industrial Christain Home Association of Utah has been able to accomplish was "to support the pauper element," and, moreover, "the better element of Mormon society—those whom it would be of value to lift to the grade of intelligent citizenship—will not accept charity. Yet only charity has been provided." But this admission is not half the truth. "The better element of Mormon society" might welcome a charity that was not coupled with a condition that is at once an insult and a reproach—namely that the recipients must sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church.

An "industrial home" which would confine itself to instructing women and children in the arts of refined domestic pursuits, while affording them maintenance, would indeed be a great boon to any people. But when a charity is coupled with the condition that it is attainable only by abandoning their faith, "the better element of Mormon society" will indeed spurn it. So far as "the pauper element" is concerned, Mormonism eradicates rather than produces it. It is no idle boast of ours that in exclusively Mormon communities there are no alms-houses and no need for them. But we have the poor, the sick, the needy who require, and not in vain, at our hands, relief. "The poor ye always have with ye," said our Saviour. Charity no Mormon believes a thing to be spurned. They know that "to give is better than to receive," but they know, also, that "to receive" is often a necessity.

It has been represented here that "a building" for the Industrial Christian Home was in process of erection, and it is objected to the proposition to have the money voted by Congress spent under the supervision of the Government architect that great delay would inevitably result. This is of a piece with all the representations made in respect to this institution. A building is not in course of erection save on paper. And so in regard to "inmates" who await the completion of this building. The rented home is in a good locality, near one of the finest private residences in Salt Lake City. There is no lack of room because there is a solitary inmate, about whom the less said the better. There has never been a time when there was not in the rented home ample accommodations for all who within the terms of the law were entitled to relief. The home is not popular among those who have been inmates. Its popularity is confined to the salaried "inmates."

I am reluctant to deal, as the truth compels me, with some of the misrepresentations which have been made to Congress by the representative of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah. I entertain for the object for which this lady and her associates ostensibly labor a profound respect. I am not only loth to believe that they would intentionally make deliberate false statements, but I dislike extremely to point out such misstatements. I am charitable enough to suppose that the gross falsehoods which are to be found in the memorials presented to Congress over the name of Mrs. Angie F. Newman were not concocted by her, but were accepted "on faith" as gospel truth, or are due to a disordered imagination. She is, as so often happens, a blind believer of every silly story which comes to her ears about the Mormons from those whose trade it is to manufacture them. Here is an example. In a memorial to Congress this estimable lady declares it to be "indisputable" that one-half per cent. of the Mormon population of Utah have been convicted of polygamous crimes; and further, that "the number of indictments out is larger than the number of convictions."

Now, what are the facts as shown by the official statistics? The Attorney-General in reply to the House resolution, in relation to convictions for unlawful cohabitation and polygamy in Utah, gives the total as 500 from 1875 to June, 1888, and of these 13 were for polygamy. The Mormon population of Utah exceeds at a low estimate 160,000; one-half per cent. of that number would be 800. In the percentage of convictions the estimable lady was a long ways off. As to the number of indictments out she was still farther away. There were at the beginning of the present term of court, according to the United States district attorney, only one hundred and sixty-three indictments found upon which there had not been service. Every one knows that save where arrests have not been made there has been no delay in securing convictions.

In another memorial she declares that—

One lady missionary, in a town of 6,000 inhabitants, last year visited in four hundred polygamous families.

In her very last memorial she says the town has only 500 inhabitants. I am charitable enough to suppose this to be a misprint. It would be difficult to find four hundred families in a town where only 500 people lived. There is but one city in Utah with a population of about 6,000 inhabitants—the city of Ogden. It has not and never had four hundred polygamous families. It is an absurdity to suppose that if there were in the city of Ogden four hundred male persons defying the law by living in polygamous relations, the total convictions under the Edmunds law for the entire Territory would only be five hundred.

But, Mr. Speaker, here is a declaration which this lady makes as of her own knowledge, which is the most amazing of all. She speaks of a visit which she made to the Utah penitentiary in March last, and avers that in a—

cell were two girls, one fourteen, one sixteen, each married to her own father, both with babes.

And adds by way of climax:

And yet polygamy is a lost art.

In her last memorial to Congress, in recounting this visit, only one is spoken of—

a girl sixteen years of age, the wife of her own father.

The climax is varied this time, as follows:

Her two months' old babe had a divided upper lip and no roof to its mouth; and yet polygamy is a lost art.

Now, sir, I submit that any one who makes an assertion like this in a memorial to Congress ought to be held to a very strict accountability. If so frightful an accusation is made lightly, recklessly, to what credence is she entitled in other matters? Aside from the unfairness, the untruthfulness of the charge made that the institution of plural marriage, revealed through Joseph Smith and accepted by the Mormon Church, sanctioned so horrible a crime as incest, it is impossible that there could have been such a case as this lady, upon her responsibility, asserts existed. What were these two girls doing in prison? The intimation is that they were there for contempt of court, for refusing to testify as to who was the father of their children.

I will quote the paragraph preceding the one in which this heinous crime is laid at the door of the Mormon Church:

I found—

Says the memorialist—

in one cell, 10 by 13½, without a floor, six women, three of whom had babies under six months of age, who were incarcerated for "contempt of court" in refusing to acknowledge the paternity of their children. When I plead with them to answer the court and be released, they said, "If we do there are many wives and children to suffer the loss of a father."

Following this comes the awful calumny I have just referred to:

In another cell were two girls, one fourteen, one sixteen, each married to her own father, both with babes; and yet polygamy is a lost art.

There is no qualification in this statement. The unqualified declaration is made, as of positive personal knowledge, that these girls were "each married to her own father," and the implication intended was that this was due to the teachings of the Mormon Church. What evidence was there to satisfy this lady that a Mormon had been guilty of incest with his own daughters? Was there one scintilla of evidence warranting the statement? If there had been, would the wretch have been at liberty and the unfortunate children in prison? Was it not mere gossip upon which this well-meaning (?) lady based her charge?

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Newman did visit the penitentiary in March last, as she states in her memorials to Congress, but she did not find confined in one cell—

Six women, three of whom had babies under six months of age, who were incarcerated for "contempt of court" in refusing to acknowledge the paternity of their children.

Neither did she find—

In another cell two girls, one fourteen, one sixteen, each married to her own father, both with babes.

There were confined in the penitentiary at that time seven women, two for contempt of court—one Sarah M. Tong, twenty-three years of age, with babe, on the charge of fornication; two for adultery; one for robbery, and one for selling liquor without license. There is not and was not a particle of evidence to show that of these women more than two were or had been a Mormon. Sarah M. Tong was acquitted of the charge of fornication and discharged.

"Two girls, one fourteen, one sixteen," were not confined in the Utah penitentiary last March. "A girl sixteen years of age" was not confined in the penitentiary at that date, or at a subsequent date, or for a period long anterior to March, 1888, if, indeed, there ever was one of that age, or approximating that age, confined there.

There was no woman, or girl, in the penetentiary at that time who was even alleged to have been guilty of incest with "her own father," and the story is "made out of whole cloth." It is a fabrication from beginning to end. Out of respect to the person who became responsible for it over her signature, and related it as of personal knowledge, I will not characterize it as it deserves to be characterized. Nor do I mean that it shall be said that these statements and the contradiction rest upon the same basis—I shall withhold my remarks till I can incorporate therein the evidence upon which my contradiction is bottomed.

The following speak for themselves:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *October* 9, 1888.

DEAR SIR: Yours of this date received, making certain inquiries about women confined in the penitentiary during the month of March last, and quoting certain statements which you claim to have found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 3, in the report of Mrs. Angie F. Newman, etc.

With regard to their being seven women confined in the penitentiary at that time, three of whom had babes, I desire to say that it is correct. Two were being held for contempt of court in refusing to answer certain questions put to them by the court touching their polygamous marriage relation; one, Sarah M. Tong, twenty-three years of age, with babe, on the charge of fornication; another for robbery, another for selling liquor without a license, and two for adultery. The statement as to the size of the room in which these prisoners were kept is about correct, being so small as for it to be almost inhuman to keep fe-

male prisoners in such a place; but it is the only place we have for that purpose. There is a floor in it, however, which is always kept neat and clean.

The last item to which you call my attention is this: "In another cell were two girls, one fourteen, one sixteen, who were married to their own father, both with babes." This is wholly incorrect, and I can not understand how anybody could have been so misled. Somebody must have made malicious misrepresentations to Mrs. Newman on this subject, as we have never had any girls of this age confined in the penitentiary since I have been marshal.

These facts are taken from the records at the penitentiary, and I personally know them to be correct.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK H. DYER,
United States Marshal.

H. B. CLAWSON, Esq.,
Salt Lake City.

OFFICE OF UNITED STATES MARSHAL, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
Utah Penitentiary, October 12, 1888.

In reply to your question as to the accuracy of a statement over the signature of Angie F. Newman in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 3, 1888, that last March, "in another cell were two girls, one fourteen, the other sixteen, each married to her own father, both with babes, and yet polygamy is a lost art," I have to say that no such cases appear on the records of this penitentiary at any date, and that there were no such persons here last March. I was then warden, and am positive that the statement of Mrs. Newman is incorrect.

Yours, truly,

ARTHUR PRATT, *Warden.*

Hon. JOHN T. CAINE,
Washington, D. C.

UTAH PENITENTIARY, *October* 12, 1888.

We have read the statement of Warden Pratt and can say from our own knowledge that it is true, and that during the time we have been employed in this penitentiary no girls aged fourteen and sixteen, respectively, have been imprisoned here, nor have any girls been here in custody who were married to their own father.

EDGAR M. JANNEY,
F. G. HUDSON,
T. C. WRIGHT,
JAMES A. DOYLE,
WM. N. MCCURDY,
Guards at Penitentiary.

The above guards have been employed here for a long period, and were all here when Mrs. Angie F. Newman made her visit in March last.

ARTHUR PRATT, *Warden.*

In the district court for the third judicial district of Utah Territory. The United States of America *vs.* Sarah Tong. Indictment for fornication.

TERRITORY OF UTAH, *County of Salt Lake, ss:*

I, Henry G. McMillan, clerk of the district court for the third judicial district of Utah Territory, do hereby certify in relation to the above case as follows: Proceedings—

1888, February 24, indictment presented and filed charging the defendant, Sarah Tong, with the crime of fornication, committed on the 1st day of June, 1887, with one Peter Tong.

1888, March 2, plea of "not guilty" entered.

1888, April 27, indictment dismissed and defendant discharged.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court, at my office in Salt Lake City, this 12th day of October, 1888.

[SEAL.] HENRY G. MCMILLAN, *Clerk.*

Is it possible that any unprejudiced person could believe that the Mormon Church authorities would seek to shield a man who had debauched his own daughters? Is it possible that the belief prevails that a marriage of a father to his daughter would be solemnized by the Mormon Church? Such a crime is unnatural. To any well-balanced mind it is revolting. The very thought causes a shudder. It is monstrous to impute to a people whose lives are in all respects as well-ordered as those of any community on the face of the globe the tolerance of such a heinous offense. The very fact that this statement, in a memorial to Congress, has not been noticed is, to my mind, proof that it was attributed, as I attribute it, to the fanatical zeal of an unreflecting woman.

Mr. Speaker, the spirit which pervades all the literature emanating from this faction in Utah respecting the Mormons is simply hellish. The fountain from which all these calumnies spring is the Salt Lake Tribune, which day after day proclaims that polygamous marriages are of daily occurrence. No sane man will believe that such a thing is possible if there was the purpose to disobey the law. With an army of special officers scattered over the Territory and spies encouraged everywhere, the certainty of discovery and condign punishment would make such offenses an impossibility. The fact has been certified by the Federal officials that but one well-authenticated case of polygamy has come to their notice since March, 1887, and that offender has been indicted. And yet this dishonest newspaper declares that—

Servant girls are daily leaving the homes in which they are employed, frankly acknowledging they are going to Logan to enter into polygamy.

It would be beneath me to notice such silly lies if they were not incorporated into memorials and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I repeat that the author of these memorials doubtless believes such improbable stories to be the gospel truth. It is her misfortune to be incapable of disbelieving anything appearing in the columns of the Salt Lake Tribune.

Certain deputy registration officers, appointed by the Utah Commission, report the names of twenty-nine men "who, in their opinion," had entered into polygamy during 1887. These officers do not give the "evidence" which induced "their opinion." If it had been "evidence" of sufficient weight to satisfy the United States district attorney that the law against polygamy had been violated by these twenty-nine men, it is perfectly certain that he would have had the offenders arrested and held for the action of the grand jury. But the arrests have not been made, and the deputy registration officers have not been before the grand jury, or, if they have, their "evidence" was not deemed sufficient to warrant indictments against the accused twenty-nine men.

The majority of the Utah Commission in their last annual report have labored hard to make out a case of insincerity against the Mormon people in relation to the abandonment of polygamy. They have endeavored also to prove that the Mormons are intolerant and unprogressive. They are compelled to admit certain facts which they could not ignore, but they have done their best to break the force thereof by "insinuations," and ingeniously constructed suggestions of doubts, as to whether the people really meant to obey the law.

In contrast with the "doubts" of the majority I will quote a few paragraphs from the report of the minority which indicate the emphatic views entertained by two members of the commission, whose ability, courage, personal character, and sterling patriotism none will question:

It is obvious that the laws of Congress and of the Territorial Legislature, the officers in charge of the execution of the Federal statutes, the people of Utah, including the Gentiles and the monogamous Mormons, with many other beneficent influences, such as railroads, telegraphs, schools, colleges, and the invincible progress of civilization, are rapidly and surely working out a reformation of the inhibited sexual offenses in Utah; and there does not now seem to be any necessity or propriety for further legislation restrictive of political rights in that Territory.

We are thoroughly satisfied that the work of reformation in Utah is progressing rapidly, and that it will soon result in a successful issue without a resort to legislation that is proscriptive of religious opinion. Our view may be epitomized in a few words: Punish criminal actions; but religious creeds, never.

The present laws of Congress appertaining to Utah are very stringent, and they will accomplish all that can be reasonably required of legal coercion. We are therefore unwilling to advise any further abridgment of local self-government in that Territory.

Without going into tedious detail, the general result shows gratifying progress in the enforcement of the laws in Utah.

After instancing the taking of the registration oath by "the mass of the Mormon voters" who swore "that they will not go into polygamy," and the fact that "95 per cent. of them voted in August of last year for the adoption of a constitution prohibiting and punishing the offense," and the passage of "a well-considered and efficient marriage law providing among other things severe penalties against clerks who issue licenses for plural marriages," and declaring all "polygamous marriages null and void," and pointing out that a resolution had been passed by the assembly declaring "in favor of a just, humane, and impartial enforcement of the laws of the United States in the same manner as other criminal laws are enforced" against polygamy and kindred offenses, the minority report calls attention to fusion of "Mormons and Gentiles" at the last municipal election in Salt Lake City, and says:

The import of these facts is emphasized in a remarkable manner by what is now transpiring in the courts in Utah. Within a few days past a number of Mormons, charged by indictment with sexual offenses, and who had been evading trial, came into open court, waived trial, voluntarily pleaded guilty to the indictments, and received sentence of fine and imprisonment. Among the number so doing were one or more leading men. We repeat that this example is, in our opinion, pregnant with significance, and that it will be followed by other like examples; that the hinderance which has hitherto impeded the course of law and justice is giving way as a raft before the steady and increasing current of the rising stream. It is hardly to be supposed that they or other men in the same category would voluntarily take such steps with the purpose to repeat and continue to repeat them. On the contrary, rationally they conduct to a different conclusion, namely, a disposition on the part of the Mormons to abandon the commission of sexual offenses and to yield obedience to the law. Yet the laws should continue to be vigilantly and strictly enforced against all violating them. No step backward in this regard should be sanctioned. Let the laws be executed.

The facts above set forth, with others that have fallen under our observation, confirm the opinion that a great majority of the Mormons have wisely resolved that the practice of polygamy should be abandoned.

Our view that polygamy is on the decline in Utah is supported by an eminent Methodist minister, who for many years has been in charge of the "Methodist mission in Utah," and who has mingled with the people in all parts of the Territory. He is credibly reported as having stated in conference, at Cincinnati, early in this month, "that notwithstanding reports given out by the press in general, polygamy is on the decline," and that "in a few more years it will be driven out of Utah."

The ex-chief justice of Utah, Hon. C. S. Zane, over a year ago expressed the opinion "that the existing laws diligently and strictly enforced might be reasonably relied on to work a cessation of polygamy as a practice," and about the same time Hon. William G. Bowman, surveyor-general of Utah, stated that "the change in Mormon sentiment in the last year has been marked and encouraging on the question of the supression and abandonment of polygamy."

The statement of the reverend gentleman hereinbefore mentioned suggests the remark that on account of the "peculiar institutions" of a portion of the people of Utah "the reports given out by the press" are not only at present but have been for years of a sensational and highly colored character.

The Mormons have always contended that the faction in Utah which has been so persistent in its efforts to have them deprived of their civil rights in order that they, a minority, might rule the Territory made a handle of public opinion against polygamy, and that its abandonment by the Mormons would not abate the hostility of these self-seeking people. This has been shown to be true by the cry which is now raised about the Mormons being in favor of a union of church and state. Dealing with this cry, the minority report of the commission says:

The revolution of opinion and conduct among the Mormons in Utah, particularly in the rising generation, is inaugurated and advancing with increasing momentum to the front and the control, and, in our opinion, it will irresistibly proceed until its mission is finished. Revolutions, as a rule, do not retrograde.

Now that it is apparent that the practice of polygamy is passing away, another thing is made prominent and brought forward by non-Mormons in Utah as a justification for further hostile discrimination by the Government against the Mormons, namely, their religion and church government. On this subject we will repeat the language of our last annual report:

"Now, in the close of the most enlightened century in the tide of time, shall we invoke legal coercion over the consciences of men and resort to the pains and penalties inflicted in former times for recusancy, non-conformity, apostasy, and heresy?

"In this age the world moves; and even religious fanatics must keep pace with progress. The Utah of to-day is not what it was when Brigham Young as prophet, seer, and revelator dominated over his devoted followers, isolated from all the world in the secluded valleys of the Rocky Mountains; nor, in our opinion, can that fading and dissolving specter of the past be justly or properly invoked as an excitative to legislation proscriptive of religious opinion. The railroad and the telegraph, free speech and a free press are there now. Schools and colleges and churches of many denominations are found in all parts of the Territory. The people are no longer isolated, but are now in communication with all the world; and Salt Lake City is one of the most cosmopolitan on the continent, a resort for tourists, savants, statesmen, and scholars from abroad. Under such circumstances is it not morally impossible that Utah shall ever again become subject to that church domination and oppression which are now imputed by some persons as an existing reality against 'the Mormon hierarchy?'"

In concluding this report we wish to say that we take our stand on the Constitution, the decisions of the Supreme Court, and the principles of civil and religious liberty as proclaimed by the fathers of the Republic, principles that should never be violated at the behest of popular prejudice against Jews, Catholics, Protestants, or Mormons.

The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that—

"Laws are made for the government of actions, and while they can not interfere with mere religious belief they may with practices. * * *

"Congress can not pass a law for the government of the Territories which shall prohibit the free exercise of religion. The first amendment to the Constitution expressly forbids such legislation. Religious freedom is guarantied everywhere throughout the United States, so far as Congressional interference is concerned. (8 Otto, 145).

Madison says, sententiously:

"Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, is not within the province of civil government."

Jefferson says:

"Believing that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, and that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship; that the legislative power of the Government reaches actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with solemn reverence that act of the whole American people which declares that their legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." (8 Jefferson's Works, 113.)

I have shown that the underlying cause of the objection of the controlling spirits of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah to any control being exercised over the expenditure of the money voted by Congress is their desire to divert it to purposes which were not contemplated by the legislators. That is why Mrs. Newman wants "an expansion of the law to the status defined in the original memorial of the association to the Senate, namely, the dependent classes of Utah Territory." The object is to have Congress recognize an institution with scope and purposes entirely different from the one Congress originally supposed it was assisting. The Senate amendments with the objectionable phrase about women who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church stricken out will be entirely satisfactory to Mrs. Newman and her coadjutors. Their willingness to have this phrase disappear is another proof of the fact that is plainly evident, namely, that their agitation of charity for dependent Mormon women and children is a mere pretext to get access to the national Treasury.

This was at the bottom of all the trouble with the board of control. This is why such terrific onslaughts are made on the Mormon Church and people. They desire to take advantage of the prejudice existing, not only in the public mind, but in Congress, where such silly, wicked, and improbable statements ought not to be accepted on the mere assumption that Christian women would not make them if they were not true. The utter untruthfulness of some of these statements has been proved by irrefragible testimony. I do not charge that those who become responsible for these calumnies originated them. On the contrary, I believe that those who became sponsors for them were deceived. But I do insist that persons who will make themselves responsible for such falsehoods are not worthy of credence in any statements they make concerning the Mormon people

The scope of the multifarious undertakings of the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah has been made apparent by reference to the sixth article of its articles of incorporation. The Senate amendments turn over $80.000 to the treasurer of that corporation, and the Utah commission is merely to audit the accounts without responsibility for the expenditure of the money further than to see that vouchers are furnished. It was distinctly stated in the Senate by the Senator speaking for the Committee on Appropriations, and for the Senate conferees, that—

The objects, pursuits, and business of the association are set out fully—

in the article I have quoted. And it was maintained in the Senate, and is maintained in this House, by the advocates of the Senate amendments, that Congress has already "recognized" this corporation by the appropriations already made, and that it is most singular that the point should be made at this late day that it is not a responsible concern and can not be trusted to receive and disburse the funds designed to aid in carrying out the objects it has in view.

With the sum now proposed to give, with the unexpended balances to be turned over, more than $100,000 will be handed over for "the objects, pursuits, and business of the association" as set forth in the sixth article of its articles of incorporation. Does Congress propose to commit itself to what, I submit, is the most visionary of visionary schemes? I have called attention to some of the absurdities of "the objects, pursuits, and business of the association," and if Congress is ready to indorse them by voting vast sums of money, and to assume the moral responsibility of supplying still vaster sums, let it do so. But it should assume this responsibility with full knowledge, and hence I have felt it my duty to set forth the facts.

It must not be assumed that, in the language of Senator HALE, the Mormon leaders see in this institution a "menace" to their cause "sufficient to arouse" their hostility. It is a matter of perfect indifference to the Mormon leaders, to the Mormon Church, and to the Mormon people, how many thousands of dollars Congress votes to the Industrial Christian Home Association of Utah, or how many hundreds of thousands of dollars it assumes the moral responsibility to vote in the future, so long as it does not undertake, in the name of charity, to set up an institution with the Treasury of the United States at its back, to induce persons "to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church." Speaking from a strictly selfish standpoint, the more money Congress votes for use in Utah Territory the greater will be the benefit the people thereof will derive. So far as the Mormon Church is concerned it will survive not only this scheme to destroy it, but all others concocted by men. It is of God, and He will preserve it!

I have been gratified by hearing the vigorous denunciations of this covert attempt to make the national Treasury contribute to those who doubtless have convinced themselves that they are serving God by laboring for the overthrow of the Mormon Church. It has seemed passing strange to me that the note of alarm has not been sounded earlier in this war which is being waged for the destruction of the Mormon Church. The remark of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SPINOLA] was pregnant with truth when he expressed the fear that if the power of the General Government could be used to destroy one religious organization it might in turn be directed against others. Let me call attention to a fact which scarcely attracts any notice—a fact which is of more serious import than any of the so-called "burning questions of the hour" in this country.

The entire property of the Mormon Church, real and personal, except the Temple Block in Salt Lake City, has been adjudged not to belong to its rightful owners, and is to-day in the hands of a receiver, a United States marshal, appointed by a United States court, in a suit begun by the Attorney-General of the United States in accordance with a law enacted by the Congress of the United States. The property thus in the custody of a receiver, who is an officer of the United States, consists of both real and personal estate, and the nominal value of the personalty amounts to $825,583.06 without including 30,158 head of live-stock. The actual cash amounts to $237,666.15. The other personal property is actually worth about $125,000, and with the cash in the hands of the receiver, and real estate, is valued at $790,666.15.

The real estate which has been declared not to belong to the church consists of the ground in Salt Lake City whereon stand the Tithing house, the church offices, the Historian's office, the Gardo house, the residence of the president of the church, and other real estate, all of which was set apart and dedicated to the church from the first settlement of the Territory. The Temple block, whereon stand the great tabernacle and the unfinished temple, is graciously conceded as a place of worship.

The live-stock was accumulated by contributions, in kind, made by devout people, and its care gave employment to worthy persons entitled to assistance in this way from the church. The management of all this property, the care of the herds and flocks, is now the business of the United States marshal of Utah.

In making up the value of the property turned over to the receiver there was no estimate placed upon the Temple block. It would be difficult to place an approximate value on this piece of real estate, because the Temple is unfinished, and will require a very large sum to complete it. What has been expended upon it can scarcely be determined because a large part was labor contributed. Moreover, as the building was designed for the peculiar rites of the church, and was also to stand a monument of the people's reverence for, and devotion to, Almighty God, its value for any other purposes would be only the material of which it is built.

The entire personality of the nominal value of $825,583.06 and of an admitted actual value of nearly $400,000 is declared escheated to the Government of the United States.

What is the purpose of the suit under which this property has been seized, and some of it forfeited and escheated to the United States, and all turned over to a receiver? Nominally the suit is to dissolve the corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, wind up its affairs, and distribute its belongings. There is another suit to forfeit and escheat to the United States the real property alleged to have been illegally acquired by the church. The two together are really meant to destroy the Mormon Church by depriving it of its property. It is nothing more nor less than a disguised attempt to overthrow a religious denomination.

Let me point out upon what flimsy grounds this attempt to dissolve the corporation of the Mormon Church is bottomed. The incorporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was originally by an act passed by the so-called Legislature of the State of Deseret—a sort of provisional government provided by the Mormons for themselves in 1849, before there had been any territorial subdivision of all that vast domain acquired from Mexico by the treaty of Guadalope-Hildago out-

side the somewhat indefinite boundaries of California. The Mormon settlements, beginning in Salt Lake Valley in 1847, grew rapidly and there was pressing need for government of some kind. The people had petitioned Congress for a form of government, and no heed being paid thereto provided for themselves, in 1849, a provisional one.

In 1850 Congress, under an omnibus law, provided for the erection of several Territories, and among them was Utah. This organic act provided a Territorial government with certain executive officers to be appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, and a Legislative Assembly the members whereof were to be chosen by the people. The powers granted to this legislative body were by no means restricted in the matter of granting corporate powers save a general proviso to the effect that Congress reserved the right to disapprove of any legislation which might not meet with its approval. An absolute veto power was, however, given to the governor, an officer to be appointed by the President.

One of the first acts of the Territorial Assembly of Utah was the reenactment of the act passed in 1849 by the legislative body of the so-called state of Deseret, incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The act was approved by the governor of the Territory. It was never in whole disapproved by the Congress of the United States.

In 1862 Congress, in enacting the law against polygamy, disapproved of and annulled so much of the act incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints as might authorize that organization to legalize any particular church doctrines whereby plurality of wives possibly might be sanctioned or civil power of any kind be conferred. At the same time there was a limit placed on future acquisition of real estate by "any religious or charitable organization whatsoever in any of the Territories." That limit was $50,000 in value at the time of the acquisition of the property. It was especially stipulated that there was no intention to interfere with merely ecclesiastical features of the corporation in so far as they related to purely religious subjects, and not to question vested property rights. The discussion of the bill, which became a law, shows how scrupulously careful the legislators were to guard vested rights, and to avoid even the suspicion of violating the constitutional prohibition of legislation infringing the sacred right of religious liberty.

The act of March 3, 1887, in addition to directing the institution of proceedings to dissolve and wind up the affairs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, provided further for suits to forfeit and escheat to the United States whatever property that corporation had acquired in derogation of the act of 1862. The law of 1862 restricted the prohibition to real estate of greater value than $50,000, but the act of March 3, 1887, speaks of property, and not that particular kind mentioned by the former enactment.

Now what becomes of the doctrine of vested rights if the Congress of the United States can, after a lapse of so many years, direct a corporation created by a Territorial Legislative Assembly to be dissolved, its affairs wound up, and its property disposed of? The organic act creating the Territory of Utah provided—

> That the legislative power of said Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act.

There was no restriction in regard to creation of corporations.

But I have no intention of discussing the momentous interests involved, or of dealing with the questions of law which have to be passed upon. I simply desire to call attention to a fact—one that ought to give pause to thoughtful men. If it seems dangerous to appropriate money "for the benefit of those who desire to sever their relations to the Mormon Church," is it not far more dangerous to begin suits to dissolve church corporations, seize church property, and to forfeit and escheat it to the United States?

There is no dispute as to certain facts involved in the controversy as to the real estate in Salt Lake City, which, as the property of the church, has been adjudged to belong to no one, and therefore, in effect, to be ready to be escheated to the United States. The ground whereon stand the Tithing office and the church offices was, at the very founding of Salt Lake City by the Mormon settlers, set apart and dedicated to their church, just as was the ground known as the Temple block. It was not then a part of the domain of the United States, but of Mexico, the actual settlement having been made before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty made it part of the domain of the United States, but it was not possible until long after to obtain strictly legal titles under the land laws. The ground, however, was always deemed and held to be the property of the church, and was used by it for strictly religious and church purposes.

In the case of the real estate known as the Historian's office it is admitted that equitable title thereto was obtained in 1855 by purchase for a valuable consideration, and that the property ever since has been occupied by the Historian office of the church.

The, strictly speaking, legal titles to these several lots or parcels of ground were not obtained under the town-site law until 1871 and 1872.

I quote the finding of facts in relation to the Temple block, the Gardo house and grounds, the Historian office and grounds, and the Tithing office and grounds as agreed upon and accepted by the supreme court of Utah and made part of the final decree in the case of The United States of America, plaintiff, *vs.* The Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints *et al.*, defendants:

> The said Temple Block was taken possession of by the agents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, then existing as a voluntary unincorporated religious sect, when Salt Lake City was first laid out and surveyed in 1848, and since said date has been in the possession of said church as a voluntary religious sect until it became incorporated as aforesaid, and then as a corporation; that at the time the same was taken possession of as aforesaid, it was a part of the public domain, and continued to be such until said land was entered by the mayor of said city, along with other lands, on the 21st day of November, 1871, under the town-site act of Congress entitled "An act for the relief of cities and towns upon the public lands," approved March 2, 1867. That on the 1st day of June, 1872, the same was conveyed by the mayor of said Salt Lake City to the trustee-in-trust, in whom the title remained until the act of Congress of February 19, 1887, took effect.
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> The facts in regard to the possession and acquisition of the balance of said real estate above described, are as follows: The second property above described and known as the Gardo house and grounds, was owned by Brigham Young individually at the time of his death in 1877 and was thereafter conveyed by his executors to John Taylor as trustee-in-trust, for a valuable consideration; that subsequently, on the 24th day of April, 1878, the said John Taylor transferred the same to Theodore McKean, on a secret trust for said corporation, who held the same until the 2d day of July, 1887, when he attempted to convey it to trustees Burton, Winder, and Preston for the sum of $1. That said Gardo house and grounds were used and occupied by said John Taylor, president of said church, from 1878 up to the time of his death, as a residence.
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> The Historian's office and grounds were taken possession of by Albert P. Rockwood, in 1848, and was a part of the public domain, and continued to be such until November 21, 1871, when the town site of Salt Lake City was entered. That on October 3, 1855, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, through Brigham Young as trustee-in-trust, purchased Rockwood's claim and erected thereon the building which has ever since been known as the historian's office and residence; that from 1848 till his death, George A. Smith was historian, and lived in said building with his family; that the books, papers, and records of the church have always been kept in said building from the time of its construction to the present, at the cost of said church; and that said office has been and is necessary for the use of said historian in the discharge of his duties; that in 1872 George A. Smith obtained the title of said premises from the mayor of Salt Lake City under the town-site act; and that after his death the same was conveyed to his wife and one of his daughters, who afterwards transferred the same to Theodore McKean for a valuable consideration; that the said McKean has held the property since that date on a secret trust for the use and benefit of said corporation.
>
> The part of the Tithing office and grounds were taken possession of by agents of the church in 1848, when Salt Lake was first laid out, and ever since that time have been used by said sect in receiving and distributing tithing and voluntary contributions of property; that prior to July 1, 1862, buildings and other improvements of considerable value had been built thereon by the church; that at the time they were taken possession of it was part of the public domain; on the 21st of November, 1871, said land was entered under the town-site act. That Brigham Young, then president and trustee-in-trust of the church, claimed said land under the town-site law, and it was conveyed to him by Daniel H. Wells, then mayor of said city; that in November, 1873, Brigham Young transferred the same to George A. Smith, as trustee-in-trust; that at his death the legal title to said premises vested in Brigham Young and his successor, and the executors of the Brigham Young estate transferred the property to John Taylor, who in April, 1873, transferred and conveyed the same to Edward Hunter upon a secret trust for the use and benefit of said corporation; that Hunter on the 24th day of April, 1878, transferred and conveyed the same to Robert T. Burton on a secret trust for said corporation, and on the 2d day of July, 1887, the said Burton attempted to convey the same to W. B. Preston, John R. Winder, and Robert T. Burton, as trustees.
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> That the other piece of property known as part of the Tithing office and grounds was possessed, acquired, and owned, as follows: That in 1848 Newell K. Whitney, then presiding bishop of the church, took possession of lot 5, block 88, plat A, Salt Lake City survey; and in the same year Horace K. Whitney took possession of lot 6 in said block; that some time in the year 1856 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, by its agents, took possession of the south half of said lots, and placed thereon yards and corrals, and have continued to occupy the same down to the present. That in 1870 the foregoing lots became a part of the town-site entry. The said church in 1871 filed an application in the proper court for a title to the south half of said lots, and the heirs of Newell K. Whitney also filed an application in the proper court for the south half of said lot 5, and Horace K. Whitney filed an application in the same court for the south half of lot 6. The court awarded the title to the said premises to Brigham Young, as aforesaid. That in 1872 Brigham Young, trustee, obtained a deed from the heirs of Newell K. Whitney to said south half of lot 5, and in consideration thereof paid them $7,000, and at the same time he also obtained a deed from Horace K. Whitney of lot 6, and paid therefor the sum of $2,000. At the time the act of Congress of February 19, 1887, took effect, the legal title thereto was held by Robert T. Burton on a secret trust for the use and benefit of said corporation; that on the 2d day of July, 1887, he attempted to convey the same to Trustees Winder, Burton, and Preston, by a certain instrument of writing.

It will be observed that the "agreed upon facts" as to the Temple block ground are precisely the same in substance and effect as those in relation to the Historian's office and grounds and the Tithing office and grounds. As to the Gardo house and grounds, it is "agreed" that Brigham Young individually owned the same at the time of his death, and that they were conveyed by his executors to John Taylor as trustee in trust for a valuable consideration. The true meaning of this is that the deed from Brigham Young's executors to John Taylor, trustee in trust, sets forth a consideration, but, in point of fact, while the Gardo house and grounds stood in the name of Brigham Young, it was actually the property of the church. In this statement of facts "agreed upon" only such facts as appeared of record were admitted by the plaintiff.

The following is the statement as "agreed upon" in relation to the personal property of the church:

> That at the time the said act of Congress of February 19, 1887, took effect, said corporation owned, held, and possessed the following-described personal property, to wit: One large safe, 1 medium-sized iron safe, 25 arm chairs, 11 rotary chairs, 10 upholstered chairs, 2 desks, 1 letter press, 800 shares of $100 each of the capital stock of the Salt Lake Gas Company, 4,732 shares of $100 each of the capital stock of the Deseret Telegraph Company, 1 promissory note, dated March 2, 1887, due and payable to John Taylor, trustee-in-trust, or order, two years after date, calling for the sum of $13,333.32, bearing 6 per cent. interest from date, signed by Sharp and Little; 1 promissory note, dated March 2, 1887, due and

payable to John Taylor, trustee-in-trust, or order, two years after date, and calling for $1,666.66, with 6 per cent. interest from date, signed by LeGrand Young; 1 promissory note dated March 2, 1887, payable to the order of John Taylor, trustee-in-trust, two years from date, calling for $4,833.33, with interest at 6 per cent. from date—signed James Jack; 1 promissory note, $5,000, with 6 per cent. interest—signed H. B. Clawson; 30,158 sheep; $237,666.16 money, proceeds of sales of miscellaneous property. That since said personal property came into the possession of the receiver heretofore appointed in this cause, he has collected as rent from the said real estate, $2,850; as dividends on said gas stock, $4,900; as interest on said money, $2,233.60.

As to the status of the corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints at the time of the passage of the act of Congress of March 3, 1887, the plaintiff admits:

That the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was, from the 19th day of January, 1851, to the 3d day of March, 1887, a corporation for religious and charitable purposes, duly organized and existing under and in pursuance of an ordinance enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Utah and approved by the governor thereof on the said 19th day of January, A. D. 1851, a copy of which ordinance is made a part of the complaint herein.

And it is also admitted:

That since the passage of said act of Congress on February 19, 1887, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints has existed as a voluntary religious sect, of which the said Wilford Woodruff is the acting president, and has had duly designated and appointed by the probate court of Salt Lake County, in said Territory, in pursuance of the act of Congress aforesaid, the following-named trustees: W. B. Preston, Robert T. Burton, and John R. Winder, to take the title to and hold such real estate as shall be allowed said religious sect by law for the erection and use of houses of worship, parsonages, and burial-grounds.

As to the nature of the corporation itself the following was "agreed upon in the statement of facts:"

That the said corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was in its nature and by its statute of incorporation a religious and charitable corporation, for the purpose of promulgating, spreading, and upholding the principles, practices, teachings, and tenets of said church, and for the purpose of dispensing charity, subject and according to said principles, practices, teachings, and tenets, and that from the time of the organization of said corporation up to the time of the passage of said act on February 19, 1887, it never had any other corporate objects, purposes, and authority; never had any capital stock or stockholders, nor have there ever been any natural persons who were authorized under its act and charter of incorporation to take or hold any personal property or estate of said corporation, except the trustees provided for by said statute of incorporation.

That the said personal property hereinbefore set out had been accumulated by said latter corporation prior to the passage of said act on February 19, 1887, and that such accumulation extended over a period of twenty years or more. That prior to and at the time of the passage of said act the said personal property had been used for and devoted to the promulgation, spread, and maintenance of the doctrines, teachings, tenets, and practices of the said Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and the doctrine of polygamy or plurality of wives was one of the doctrines, teachings, tenets, and practices of the said late church corporation, but only a portion of the members of said corporation, not exceeding 20 per cent. of the marriageable members, male and female, were engaged in the actual practice of polygamy. That since the passage of the said act of Congress on February 19, 1887, the said voluntary religious sect, known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, has comprised the great body of individuals who formerly composed the membership of said corporation, and the organization, general government, doctrines, and tenets of said voluntary religious sect have been and now are substantially the same as those of the late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

That certain of the officers of said religious sect, regularly ordained and certain public preachers and teachers of said religious sect who are in good standing, and who are preachers and teachers, concerning the doctrines and tenets of said church, have, since the passage of said act of Congress on February 19, 1887, promulgated, taught, spread, and upheld the same doctrines, tenets and practices, including the doctrine of polygamy, as were formerly promulgated, taught, and upheld by the said late corporation, and the said teachings of the said officers, preachers, and teachers have not been repudiated or dissented from by said voluntary religious sect, nor have their teachings and preachings or their actions created any division or schism in said voluntary religious sect.

That any dedication or setting aside of any of the personal property hereto fore set out as having belonged to the late corporation to the uses and purposes of or in trust for the members of the late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or any of them, would practically and in effect be a dedication and setting aside of said personal property to the uses, and for the purposes of, and in trust for, the unincorporated religious sect known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

It was also agreed that at the commencement of the suit all the personal property now held by the receiver was held in trust for the church corporation, and that the Temple block was used exclusively for the worship of God according to the doctrines and tenets of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints; and further, that proceedings were pending and undetermined "for the purpose of having declared and adjudged forfeited and escheated to the Government of the United States" all of the real estate except the Temple block.

These were the essential finding of facts as agreed upon, and before the court made its decree the persons representing the voluntary association of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints asked leave to intervene, and by their counsel filed the following petition:

In the supreme court of the Territory of Utah. The United States of America, plaintiff, *vs.* The Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints *et al.*, defendants.

Now come George Romney, Henry Dinwoodey, James Watson, and John Clark, and by leave of court first had and obtained file this petition in intervention in the above-entitled cause on behalf of themselves and all others who are members of the church hereinafter mentioned, and for their grounds of intervention allege:

That the said members are more than one hundred thousand in number, and so numerous that they can not, without manifest inconvenience and oppressive delays in the said suit, be brought before the court; that all said members have an interest in common with said petitioners in the subject of this petition, and the questions involved in this suit. Wherefore said petitioners file this petition for the benefit of all said members.

That heretofore, on the —— day of ——, 1887, this court made an order in the above-entitled action, appointing Frank H. Dyer, receiver of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, who thereupon duly qualified, and ever since has been, and still is, acting as such receiver.

That since his said appointment said receiver has seized, taken possession of, and now holds, subject to the order of this court, the following described real and personal property, to wit:

(The petition then describes the Temple block, Tithing-office property, Gardo house, Historian's office, Church farm, and coal lands. Also the personal property in the hands of the receiver, of the total value of about $790,000, exclusive of the Temple block.)

That all the said described property is, and at the time it was taken by said receiver was, and long prior thereto had been, the property of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and the possession thereof by said receiver is wrongful and without authority or right.

That the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints is, and for many years last past has been, a voluntary religious society or association organized and existing in the Territory of Utah, for religious and charitable purposes.

That said petitioners, and the others for whose benefit they file this petition, are members of said church residing in said Territory. That said church became possessed of all the above-described property in accordance with its established rules and customs, by the voluntary contributions, donations, and dedications of its said members, to be held, managed, and applied to the use and benefit of said church, and for the maintenance of its religion and charities by trustees appointed by said members semi-annually at the general conference or meeting of said members.

That John Taylor, the last trustee so appointed, died on the 25th day of July, 1887, and since his said death no trustee has been appointed.

That said property in the hands of said receiver is claimed adversely to said church, said petitioners, and the members thereof, but wholly without right, by said plaintiff, and is being wrongfully withheld and diverted by said receiver from the purposes for which it was donated, dedicated, and granted. That said petitioners and the said members on whose behalf this petition is filed are equitably the owners of said property and beneficially interested therein, and to prevent the diversion of the same from the said religious and charitable purposes of said church to which they donated and granted said property.

Wherefore your petitioners pray that in case said corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints should, upon the final hearing of this cause, be held and decreed to be dissolved, an order and decree of this court be made and entered, adjudging and decreeing:

First. That the said property belongs to the individual members of said church, and that they are authorized to appoint a trustee or trustees to hold, manage, and apply such property and money to the purposes for which it was originally given.

Second. That the said receiver deliver the possession of said property, together with its proceeds and income in his hands, to such trustee or trustees as may be named and appointed at a general conference of the members of said church in accordance with its rules and customs.

Third. For such and further relief as may be suitable and just.

JAMES O. BROADHEAD,
F. S. RICHARDS,
LE GRAND YOUNG,
SHEEKS & RAWLINS,
Solicitors for Intervenors.

Colonel Broadhead, for the defendants, insisted upon the following points, upon the facts stipulated:

First. On behalf of the corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, we claim that the act of Congress of February 19, 1887, is unconstitutional and void, so far as it undertakes to dissolve said corporation, and that the said corporation is not dissolved, nor is there any power in this court to decree a dissolution of the said corporation.

Second. That the act of July 1, 1862, so far as it undertakes to limit the powers of said corporation as to the amount of property it may hold or otherwise, or to amend its charter, is unconstitutional and void.

Third. That at the time of the passage of the act of July 1, 1862, the right to the property referred to in the agreed statement of facts as the Tithing Office property, was vested in the said corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and is therefore not subject to escheat and forfeiture.

Fourth. That the Temple block, which is used exclusively for the worship of God, and religious purposes, ought to be set aside for the use of the church.

Fifth. That the property known as the Gardo house ought to be set aside to the church as a parsonage.

Sixth. That the property known as the Historian's office ought to be set aside to the church as a part of the parsonage, and because the said corporation had a vested right in the same before the 1st of July, 1862.

Seventh. That if the court should find that the corporation is dissolved, then the personal property described in the agreed statement of facts ought to be turned over to the present members of the church or to trustees for their use and benefit.

But the court adopted the following, suggested by the plaintiff, the Government, as its final decree:

It is therefore adjudged and decreed by the court upon the facts ascertained and declared as aforesaid, as follows, to wit:

That on the 3d day of March, 1887, the corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints became and the same was dissolved, and that since said date it has had no legal corporate existence.

Second. It is furthermore adjudged and decreed that the following alleged deeds hereintofore set out were executed without authority, and that no estate in the property set out in said deeds is passed by the same or any of them, to wit: The deed dated June 30, 1887, from John Taylor, trustee-in-trust, to W. B. Preston, Robert T. Burton, and John R. Winder, as trustees, for the property described in the Temple block; the deed dated July 2, 1887, from Theodore McKean and wife to the property known as the Gardo house and grounds; the deed from R. T. Burton and wife for the property described as the Tithing house and grounds. And it is, therefore, ordered and decreed that said alleged deeds and each of them be, and the same are hereby, annulled, canceled, and set aside.

Third. It is further adjudged and decreed that block 87, known as the Temple block, be, and the same is hereby, set apart to the voluntary religious worshipers and unincorporated sect and body known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and that the said W. B. Preston, Robert T. Burton, and John R. Winder, trustees appointed by the probate court of Salt Lake County, as hereinbefore set out, do hold, manage, and control said property, so set aside for the benefit of said voluntary religious worshipers and unincorporated sect and body, and for the erection and use by them of houses of worship, and for their use and convenience in the lawful exercise of worship, according to the tenets of said sect and body. And it is ordered that Frank H. Dyer, receiver of this court heretofore appointed, do surrender and deliver possession and control of all of the property so set aside, to the trustees, William B. Preston, Robert T. Burton, and John R. Winder.

Fourth. It is furthermore adjudged and decreed that except as to the Temple block aforesaid, the petitions of William B. Preston, Robert T. Burton, and John R. Winder, trustees, filed the 6th day of October, 1888, in this court, for the setting aside of certain real estate for the uses and purposes of the religious sect known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, be, and the same are hereby, denied. And it is adjudged and decreed that the balance of the real estate, over and above said Temple block, which has been hereinbefore found as belonging to said corporation, has not, nor has any of it, ever been used as buildings or ground appurtenant thereunto, for the purposes of the worship of

God or of parsonages connected therewith, or for burial-grounds, by the said late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, nor is the said real estate, except as set aside, or any part thereof, necessary for such purposes for the unincorporated religious sect known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

Fifth. It is further adjudged and decreed that all of the real estate set out in the findings of fact hereinbefore was the property of and belonged to the late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and the same was held in trust for said corporation. And, furthermore, that the legal titles of and estates in said real estate, and every part and parcel thereof, were acquired by said late corporation and its trustees subsequent to July 1, 1862, and that prior to said date neither the said corporation nor its trustees had any legal title or estate in and to said real estate or any part thereof.

Sixth. And it is further adjudged and decreed that the petition of intervention by George Romney, Henry Dinwoody, James Watson, and John Clark, on behalf of themselves and other members of the late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, filed this day in this court, which said petition alleges the claim on behalf of the petitioners and those for whom it is filed in and to the real and personal property formerly belonging to said late corporation and now in the hands of the receiver of this court, be, and the same is hereby, denied. And it is adjudged and decreed that neither said intervenors nor those in whose behalf they filed said petition have any legal claim or title in and to said property or any part thereof.

Seventh. And the court does further adjudge and decree that the late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, having become by law dissolved, as aforesaid, there did not exist any trusts or purposes within the objects and purposes for which said personal property was originally acquired, as hereinbefore set out, whether said acquisition was by purchase or donation, to or for which said personalty or any part thereof could be used or to which it could be dedicated that were, and are not in whole or in part, opposed to public policy, good morals, and contrary to the laws of the United States. And, furthermore, that there do not exist any natural persons or any body, association, or corporation who are legally entitled to any portion of said personalty as successors in interest to said Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, nor have there been, nor are there now, any trusts of a definite and legal character upon which this court, sitting as a court of chancery, can administer the personal property hereinbefore set out, and it is futhermore adjudged that all and entire the personal property set out in this decree as having belonged to said late corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints has, by reason of the dissolution of said corporation as aforesaid, on account of the failure or illegality of the trusts to which it was dedicated at its acquisition, and for which it has been used by said late corporation and by operation of law, become escheated to and the property of the United States of America, subject to the costs and expenses of this proceeding, and of the receivership by this court instituted and ordered.

Eighth. It is furthermore ordered and adjudged that there is not now, and has not been since the 3d day of March, 1887, any person legally authorized to take charge of, manage, preserve, and control the personal and real property hereinbefore set out, except the receiver heretofore appointed by this court; and it is therefore ordered that the receivership hereinbefore established by this court is continued in full force and effect, and that the said receiver shall continue to exercise all and entire the powers and authority conferred upon him by the decree appointing him. And it is further ordered that he do continue in his possession and keeping all of the property, real and personal, hereinbefore set out, except such realty as has been set apart by the provisions of this decree, for the benefit of the unincorporated religious sect known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and that he do safely keep, manage, and control the same in accordance with the provisions of the order of this court appointing him receiver, pending the determination of the proceeding upon information hereinbefore referred to, and until the further order of this court and final action upon and determination concerning the accounts, proceedings, and transactions of said receiver, and all matters connected with or incidental thereto are ordered to be reserved for the future consideration and decision of this court.

It is worthy of note that while the court directs the Temple block to be surrendered to the representatives of the voluntary association known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, it denies the petition of these same representatives to have the rest of the real estate, the titles to which were in all respects practically similar to that to the Temple block. The title to this other real estate is declared not to be in the late corporation and does not belong to its successor, to whom the Temple block is adjudged, and all personal property is adjudged—

Escheated to and the property of the United States of America, subject to the costs and expenses of this proceeding, and of the receivership by this court instituted and ordered.

Upon what broad legal ground was this judgment as to escheatment of the church's personal property based? Because, in the language of the decree—

There did not exist any trusts or purposes within the objects and purposes for which said personal property was originally acquired as hereinbefore set out, whether said acquisition was by purchase or donation to or for which said personalty or any part thereof could be used, or to which it could be dedicated that were or are not in whole or in part opposed to public policy, good morals, and contrary to the laws of the United States.

The forfeiture and escheatment of the real estate is not adjudged because separate suits are pending for that purpose, but in effect the final degree declares it to be subject to forfeiture and escheatment because—

The legal titles and estates in said real estate, and every part and parcel thereof, were acquired by said late corporation and its trustees subsequent to July 1, 1862, and that prior to said date neither the said corporation nor its trustees had any legal title or estate in and to said real estate or any part thereof.

I do not make any comments on these extraordinary proceedings, and the still more extraordinary decree of the supreme court of Utah. An appeal has been granted to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that august tribunal will finally pass upon the law involved therein. I simply want to call attention to the undisputed facts, and to suggest that there are involved in the issue joined pecuniary interests and legal rights of the most transcendent importance outside of and beyond those of the Mormon Church and people.

If it is possible for the Congress of the United States to legislate a religious corporation, which it is admitted had a legal existence and vested rights, out of existence upon the assumption that it is opposed to public policy and good morals, then the existence of any religious corporation and the security of its vested rights, its real and personal property, depends upon, in the United States, its political power, the votes it can influence and control.

But religious corporations are not alone endangered. If the Congress of the United States can direct the dissolution of one kind of a corporation, it can do likewise to another. It only requires that its objects and its purposes shall be deemed by the majority to be opposed to public policy and good morals and laws enacted after its incorporation, and down it goes.

Let me tell you that fundamental rights can not be taken from Mormon citizens and the Mormon Church without endangering the liberties and rights of others. The Constitution can not be violated with impunity, even temporarily, because a people hated and despised, unjustly maligned and misrepresented, are the only sufferers. Experience teaches that the only sure guaranty which any one religious denomination has for equal rights is absolute security for all. If for one pretext or another the property rights of one sect can be invaded, inevitably a like fate will sooner or later overtake the adherents of some other creed.

Is there no danger threatening religious organizations except sectarian jealousies and rancor? Is there not some reason to fear assaults upon church property from a rapidly growing class that is at war with all conservative institutions? If the time ever comes when an assault is made upon the rights of property in this country, at what class will it first be aimed? Remember, history repeats itself. A Roman Catholic priest having persuaded Louis XIV to revoke the edict of Nantes, whereby more than a million Protestants were driven from France, doubtless hugged the delusion that for all time his church was secure. For a century Roman Catholicism lorded it over France, and then reaped the whirlwind. Talleyrand, degenerate son of the church, suggested to the Constituent Assembly the policy of the state hiring the priests and regulating religion as it did any other domestic affair. Irreligion was in the ascendant. Church property was confiscated, one hundred and thirty-four archbishops, bishops, and coadjutors, and forty-six thousand priests who refused to become functionaries of the state were placed outside the pale of the law. Persecution followed. The non-juring clergy were declared "suspected of revolt against the law and of evil intentions against the country." In due time, adoration of the Goddess of Reason supplanted the worship of Almighty God, and following came the revolt of the peasantry, the insurrections of Mismes, Franche-comté, La Vendée, and Brittany, emigration, transportation, imprisonment, the guillotine, or drowning, for two-thirds of the clergy of France.

Let the precedent be made that the state, for any pretext whatever, can interfere with the property rights of religious corporations, and the whole church structure will be struck down by the iron hand of conscienceless uniformity. To-day it is the Mormon Church, upon the theory that the state, being the conservator of public morals, can deprive it of the control and management of its property, because it teaches and upholds a doctrine inimical to society. To-morrow it will be the Roman Catholic Church, because its ecclesiastical polity recognizes an executive head extraneous to the state, and compels obedience to its decrees by exerting an influence over superstitious minds which degrades the object thereof, and thus injures society. There will be no lack of pretexts, and the logic of common sense will avail nothing against the swelling tide of popular prejudice or the radicalism of irreligionists.

The arguments which support the assumption, by the state, of such extraordinary power are not new. Mirabeau forged them from the suggestions of Talleyrand for the Constituent Assembly of France, and the advocates of sequestration of Roman Catholic Church property in Germany and its confiscation in Italy and Mexico have not improved thereon.

Your aim—

Said Mirabeau—

was to destroy ecclesiastical orders, because their destruction was essential to the safety of the state. If the clergy preserve their property, the clerical order is not destroyed; you necessarily leave it the right of assembling; you sanction its independence. If they are proprietors they are independent, and if they are independent they will associate this independence with the exercise of their functions.

The Mormons have experienced persecutions and endured trials in the past. They have contended with mobs, and had to do with State authorities, unable or unwilling to withstand mob leadership. They have, as a people, been twice driven from their homes and despoiled of almost all their earthly possessions. They were compelled to make an unparalleled march across trackless plains and over unknown mountains to find a place of refuge in a desert region. They reclaimed the desert and have made it the marvel of this age. Their church is now being despoiled. Its property is in process of being, or is declared, escheated to the United States, and under the guise of a great charity it is deliberately proposed to vote a large sum of money, to relieve whom? Only women "who desire to sever their allegiance to the Mormon Church."

Let me say that, having survived all efforts to destroy it in the past, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints will doubtless survive, even if its property is taken from it and missionary establishments set up and maintained in Utah at the expense of the Federal Treasury.

Federal Restrictions on Music.

SPEECH

OF

HON. S. S. COX,

OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, October 17, 1888,

On joint resolution 24 (introduced by himself January 4, 1888) in reference to the employment of Army and Navy bands.

There is a difference between liberty and liberties. The people should have the one, the Government often takes the other. Freiheit is von Gott; freihetan von Teufel.—*German proverb.*

> Preposterous ass! that never read so far
> To know the cause why music was ordain'd!
> Was it not to refresh the mind of man
> After his studies, or his usual pain?
> —*Taming of the Shrew, Act III, scene 3.*

Mr. COX said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The resolution to which I address myself is one of many which have been commended to the House by the Committee on Labor, of which Hon. JOHN J. O'NEILL is chairman. It has not yet become a law. Owing to the extraordinary character of this session, and the difficulty in obtaining a day for the consideration of matters from that committee, but few of the bills which pertain to the labor interests of this country have had final determination. But I beg to say that all of these bills have had my warm sympathy and support, and always my voice and vote, especially those which relate to the eight hours for our letter-carriers, and those which were intended to prevent the competition of convict labor with the honest labor of our people.

Upon the last-named bill, as well as upon the bill for the back pay of Government employés who have labored more than eight hours, I have spoken for my constituents, and, I believe, for the best interests of those upon whom rests the substantial prosperity of our communities.

The bill to provide a Department of Labor became a law not without much effort, for it seemed to be the special object of certain members to place impediments in the way of any remedial measure looking to the interest, comfort, and elevation of the laboring class.

It has been said by some that the bill in reference to a board of arbitration is not a substantial measure. But if it be useful to settle controversies and differences between railroad corporations and other common carriers engaged in interstate and Territorial transportation of property and passengers and their employés, I am sure that that bill of far-reaching magnitude will be found to be one of the many acts by which this Congress will be kindly remembered.

But the resolution, sir, which I desire especially to analyze and enforce upon your attention is the one introduced by myself in reference to the employment of enlisted men in competition with local civilians.

It was reported early in the session, but did not come up for debate and passage until April 18, 1888. At that time it was championed by my friend from Missouri [Mr. O'NEILL], and opposed by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HERBERT].

And why did he oppose it? Because he thought it to be an outrage on natural liberty. He asserted that one free American should not compete with another American. He thought that many persons on whom the bill would operate should not have been comprehended with mere musicians, and that the bill had too broad a scope. He said it came from the musicians and from no one else. It was thus, and by these fallacious statements, that he argued against the bill.

While it was intended to apply to the musicians especially it would not have been so generous and liberal a measure had it not been more comprehensive. The gentleman from Alabama desires to know what harm there was in allowing a poor enlisted man in the service of the Government to engage in other occupations by which he could add to his happiness and comfort. He thought it was a discrimination against the poor man. He looked in vain for the people who had petitioned for it.

These grounds of opposition are not founded in that policy of individual liberty which should be the basis of all republican democracy, for if the present system in our Army and Navy authorizes Government employés to engage in outside employment, the effect is, as the musicians have found to their cost, an outrage for which there can be no excuse.

The resolution was temporarily withdrawn, but it will come up for action in the next session, when a more thorough and radical discussion will illustrate its desirability.

There may be, Mr. Speaker, two sides to this question. The gentleman from Alabama has the "aye," I take the "no." As the German proverb says, "*Ja und Nein ist ein langer Streit.*" The propriety and justice of such regulations against musical workmen, who are not in the Army and Navy, is no new dispute, but the "noes" should carry when doubt has so long existed as to the propriety and fairness of the competition involved in the present system.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is not a new affair with me. It is, *in hæc verba*, the same bill which I introduced several years ago, and which would have passed had it ever been reached. Since that time the musical force in this country has greatly increased for many reasons. One reason is that there is an increased fondness for music among our people, and especially that of bands.

INCREASE OF MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES.

As an evidence of this increased fondness for music, I may say that there is a national league of musicians of the United States; and perhaps there is no district represented on this floor where there are more professional musicians in connection with the league and otherwise than in my own district. The reason of this is that the district is largely made up of German people, whose singular attraction toward music is proverbial.

These musicians have a grievance which is very grave. It is caused by the encroachments upon resident bands in certain localities in the employment of the United States Government, located at army posts, army garrisons, navy-yards, training-ships, soldiers' homes, etc. This competition interferes with the business interests of musicians in civil life, and these musicians are dependent solely upon their profession for the support of themselves and families.

They are tax-payers, and pay their quota toward sustaining the bands employed by the Government. Their grievance consists in competition that is neither fair nor just, and this bill can be advocated on that ground.

The Government musicians are provided subsistence, fuel, and quarters free, and with clothing at low rates, while the civil musicians have to bear these burdens. Therefore they are left at the mercy of Government competition.

It may be said that the Government bands are not adequately compensated. This may be true. But why should they not be well paid instead of making this competition, so ruinous, on such a frivolous pretext?

Let it be remembered that by the census of 1880 there were recorded some 30,477 musicians in the United States. Doubtless there are 50,000 at present. Their earnings are estimated at $20 weekly, and therefore the annual earnings would run up to over thirty millions.

Why should this honest wage of these deserving people be reduced by unjust legislation? Why should it not be corrected by the Departments? The answer to the last query is to be found in the fact that there have been more or less directions given about this from the Departments—Navy and War; but such direction is by no means uniform, and it amounts really to nothing. In fact, complete failure on the part of the Departments would be better than this whimsical control which the Departments are in the habit of using when applied to by bands who are driven somewhat to desperation by the competition.

These musicians have appealed to Congress again and again, and in their National League they have asked for legislation as well to prevent the importation of foreign bands or orchestras under contract as to devise a plan for the recognition of the skilled laborers in this branch of work; for, I imagine, the House will see very promptly that there is no more reason why a skilled laborer who works with a sewing-machine or runs a steam engine should have discrimination in his favor than the man who handles the little octave flute and the majestic trombone, or plays "The girl I left behind me" on a snare-drum with a "double drag."

ABUSES OF SUCH REGULATIONS.

There are several abuses connected with this business, one of which I will notice.

Not only do these bands compete with their fellows in civil life, but there is a percentage of their earnings deducted and paid into a fund at the various posts. This varies, because it is fixed by officers who determine its ratio.

Again, if Government can interfere with civil pursuits in regard to music, why may not they also interfere in such pursuits as the practice of the law, teaching of school, or practicing medicine?

The answer is that they do allow the right in this city to many parties who are connected with the Government upon regular salaries to practice their professions.

I am told that there are at least fifty physicians who are connected with the Departments that take care of other business, and especially their professional business. It may be outside of office hours, and it may be not. And I know of one case, which is quite flagrant, and the man who did it became derelict in many ways—I will not say criminally, but it led to a great loss to the Treasury.

Is it not wisest, when a man enters the service of the Government, to confine him to that business? By the same reasoning with which we require him to hold only one office, so we should require him to attend strictly to the business for which he is paid by the Government, and not go outside and compete with others who have not the prestige and pay of the Government.

THE NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT BANDS.

The House will be astonished to know the number of Government

bands used in different parts of the country. They do a regular business in their vicinage, to the detriment of civil musicians. Notably are those at West Point, Fort Hamilton, David's Island, New York; Naval Academy; navy-yard, Brooklyn; Newport; Jefferson Barracks; Columbus arsenal; navy-yard, San Francisco; Newport, Ky., and other places.

They disregard instructions very often in order to cut down prices, and do the work which others are entitled to do.

The schedule rates of these men who labor to make concord and to give éclat to our occasions of celebration are thus injured by the monopoly of the Government.

Mr. Secretary of War Lincoln forbade this competition. It was afterwards modified by the present Secretary of War, but the temporary restraint or modification seems to have given no value to the civilian.

THE MARINE BAND.

There is considerable sympathy evoked on behalf of the Marine Band of this city. Their leader is paid $95 per month; their first-class men, $38; second-class, $24; third-class, $21; they get rations, fuel, and clothing, and they control most of the local business at this capital.

They have circulated petitions, some of which have been presented here, to make them an exception to the operation of this resolution.

I am at a loss to see why they should be excepted. If this law be good for anybody, it is good for them. If they are not paid enough, let their pay be increased.

The band has a famous leader, I am told, who has endeavored to make some discord on this subject, of which I will not complain, for some one says that "oftentimes a discord tendeth to a comely concordance." And when we see this magnificent band inspiring to patriotic duty and surging through the broad avenues of the city on our gala days to the great delight of the infantile colored population, who look up to the drum-major with his big barber-pole and bear-skin cap as if he were a very god, a martial Apollo, just dropped from an Olympian height, we can not but feel proud of the band and the flag and the nation that pays for such a superb entertainment.

But, after all, is there not something too much of this? If this band is to play at the President's receptions, or on official occasions, very well. Let them play away! But if they are to go tooting around into all sorts of private arrangements, and attending private balls and soirées and minstrel shows and picnics, is it not best to call a halt, take down the baton of the drum-major, set the moths to work on his bear-skin cap, and hang up their brazen instruments as bruised monuments for the wonder of future generations?

I have a communication from the league of musicians at Chicago, Ill. The writers desired to send a committee here with proper memorials to the Secretary of War. They claim that the business to which they have given their life study is monopolized by the competition of the United States barracks' band with the bands at that place, and that it has repeatedly ignored the order from the War Department issued in 1884. They desire our officials to remedy the evil.

It is not quite fair, and certainly it is not natural justice or personal liberty, to allow these bands to beat down the prices of these men. I do not wonder that the bands in my old district at Columbus, Ohio, complain in a letter, which is also before me, dated the 14th of March, 1888, that they have families to feed and clothe, and that the United States soldier is driving them almost to desperation by depriving them of the means whereby they live.

It does not tend, Mr. Speaker, to make our citizens, or at least this portion of them who are civil musicians, look upon our flag or our little Army with much respect. They curse the blue-coat band.

It is said that in a well-organized orchestra the instruments may be divided into groups, each being complete in itself, and each producing harmony without aid from the others. As, for instance, a flute—like that of the voice of my friend from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE]—may be set off against a single reed, so-called, like the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED]. The reed may be harmoniously contrasted with the trumpet, like that of the voice of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. TAULBEE]; and the saxophone, which, I take it from the name, comes mostly from the Northland, via Wisconsin and Minnesota, can be happily blended with any other brass instrument which honors this floor with its blasted music. For a combination which forms a new tone-color never heard in this House, give me the bugle horn sweetly blending with the cymbal, with a touch now and then upon an alto and basso clarionet, assisted by the stunning undertone of the big bassoon!

If these analogies are not too fanciful, may we not well divide the superb and imposing Marine Band into several parts and distribute them over our land without much loss to music and with some gain to melody and its artistic devotees in civil life?

There are some gentlemen in this House who, I am persuaded, could illy be spared because of the harmony they create. It is said that the clarionet is a wind instrument—can give a mere whisper, or produce a volume of tone equal to the trumpet. I have, sir, in my mind several gentlemen who can fill these requisitions with satisfaction at the rate of $5,000 a year.

No doubt the Marine Band is a pet institution of this city. No doubt every member of the band, as has been claimed—whether the shrill little piccolo, the sonorous French horn, the ear-piercing clarionet, the jangling triangle, the clashing cymbal, or the thundering trombone—are each so perfect in their parts that each could be the leader in place of Director Sousa in some grand emergency, say a German dance!

I have seen it stated that on certain occasions in our public grounds, where youth and beauty meet to pass the hours with dampened feet, these petted Government musicians are well appreciated. But it is to me a matter of surprise that such stupendous makers of harmonious noise, after their performances at the White House and at the departmental and Senatorial levees, should condescend to give the music of motion to the little dances given by the humble private citizen.

This Marine band also forms, it is said, the better part of the local theater orchestra. It is a matter, therefore, of poignant regret that the Committee on Labor should have interfered with this delicate governmental fraternity, which thus thrusts its unwelcome and intrusive instrumentation into the business of the civil musicians.

THE FEMALE LOBBY.

It is also said that a charming little female lobby has been organized, and has besought our members, while purring around the corridors like a brood of gentle kittens over a saucer of new milk. They have with their eyes plead for their dear marines with more seductive allurements than Mendelssohn's "Songs Without Words," or more entrancing than even the *andante* of the high saxophone played with a single reed.

It is a pity to disturb the dreams of these young maidens as they flit through the corridors or the mazy waltz when Sousa interprets Strauss with agonizing catgut, or with his bâton leads the first alto into a maze of inextricable melody.

MUSIC EVERYWHERE.

Still, is not our duty here apparent? Let us be disenchanted of these sweet and alluring sirens by the passage of the resolution.

I have never voted for the increase or exaggeration of Federal power. Certainly I would not vote even to keep up an Army or Navy band—any measure in restraint of that which gives comfort, grace, and bread to the civilian artist—whether he keep time at the ringing anvil or with the resonant trombone. Of all things I would not aggrandize power here—in restraint of the blessings of music.

We Americans are already little enough prone to recreate our worn frames. Music! Let it be heard everywhere among our feverish people. Let us in this regard learn of our Teutonic relations. Music! Is it not the very keynote of all other harmonies? Does not Nature give us its music for refreshment in the rustling leaf and the autumn wind? Is it not murmured in the sea-shell and thundered in the sea-waves? When refined by Art, has it not a "golden tongue" that speaks the still, soft voice of humanity? Is it not the language of all-conquering Love in all ages and every land? Does it not give cheerfulness at our birth, make merry at the marriage feast, and at death melt the heart to solace our sorrow? Longfellow calls music the universal language of mankind. Lydian airs, organ peals, vocal pathos, and humor set to sweet, lyric sounds, and even political assemblies, with their partisan and patriotic strains and songs, allay our passions and attune us into better temper and higher thoughts—thoughts other than those of "treasons, stratagems, and spoils." Music! It is the charm of earth, the prelude to heaven. Through its reverberations in the Gothic minster, and, as we fondly fancy, in the courts of the better world, it touches the soul of man—

> And wings it with sublime desires,
> And fits it to bespeak the Deity.

When a government of strictly granted powers, made to conserve social order and general welfare, undertakes to interfere with so as to lessen the blessings of this finest of fine arts, may we not exclaim against its arrogant intermeddling and present the canons of our political creeds of personal liberty and constitutional order in restraint of its excesses?

When, therefore, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HERBERT] opposed this bill because it may interfere with natural liberty, he forgets that if there be one distinguishing feature between our theory of government and that of monarchical countries it is this, that in our system no powers are given to the state by which the right to create and enjoy the means of life are taken from the people.

In Europe military bands are supported by the government. But here they are not only supported by the Government, but by many people besides, who desire that cheap federal music, which comes in competition with the rightful employment of our own uncivilian musicians.

In other words, the whole mass of powers of a powerful Federal Government is called into activity in order to strike down the poor, who depend upon their skill in music to sustain themselves and their families. They come to this Congress, which has ample supervision over such matters as the Army and Navy, and demand their inalienable rights as citizens.

Therefore, in conclusion, I place this matter before the House as an element in individual liberty which should be protected and preserved against the encroachments of Federal authority.

Chinese Exclusion.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN P. JONES,

OF NEVADA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, September 13, 1888.

The question before the Senate being the bill (H. R. 11336) supplementary to an act entitled "An act to execute certain treaty stipulations with the Chinese," approved the 6th day of May, 1882—

Mr. JONES, of Nevada, said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: Having on more than one occasion heretofore submitted my views on this question fully to the Senate, I shall at this time present but a few general considerations. I am the more content to do this from the conviction I entertain that, by consent of all parties, the question has passed beyond the realm of controversy. The masses of the American people, in advance of their diplomatists and representatives, have irrevocably decided this question, as they decide nearly all questions of moment, while political philosophers and *dilettanti* are still engaged in considering abstract refinements that are immaterial to the issue. The whole question is now reduced to one of etiquette, whether or not we shall at once take affirmative and decisive action to prevent the influx of this stream of Mongolian barbarism or wait still longer and until the Chinese Government shall see fit to give us permission to do so.

The power to obtain relief is inherent in the American people themselves by virtue of their national sovereignty, and does not in any way depend upon the Chinese Government. The duty of giving relief and giving it immediately is imposed upon Congress by the exigencies of the situation and by the demand of constituencies all over the United States, whose will it is that we shall now declare that the immigration into our country of this non-assimilating race shall at once and forever cease.

This demand, Mr. President, is not a hasty or ill-considered one, but is based on profound conviction arrived at after years of observation and reflection with ample opportunity for knowledge.

The conclusion of our people is irresistible that two such races—races having not only separate origin, but which by blood, training, and tradition are totally distinct and dissimilar—can never coalesce. They are profoundly impressed with the conviction that for a nation to be harmonious and progressive, its inhabitants must have unity of aims, purposes, and aspirations. In other words, that to attain the highest development a people must be homogeneous. This homogeneity can not be brought about by the schoolmaster, the missionary, or any other external agency. It can result only from assimilation—from intermingling of the blood. Even if this were advisable, it would take countless ages to accomplish. But the attainment of homogeneity by this agency between those people and ourselves would be treason to our race and a crime against posterity.

Never in the history of the world did two races so antipodal as the Chinese race and ours live harmoniously together. Two civilizations so antagonistic and incompatible, the imperial and progressive civilization of America, and the persistent, stagnant, and degraded civilization of Asia, can not continue to exist side by side. Either the higher civilization must retire, or it must subject to vassalage the people of the lower—a policy which would be inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our Republic.

Contrast for a moment the condition and aspirations of the Chinese race with those of the race that dominates this continent. According to the latest estimates the population of the Chinese Empire numbers 450,000,000—all trained athletes against starvation, living under a crushing despotism, always in squalor, and consequently in the very atmosphere of crime. This has been their condition for scores of centuries—and they are contented! Their dreary civilization culminated ages ago. They have contributed nothing to the welfare of the human race—neither in art, science, literature—nor even in example, save as a warning.

Our race, on the contrary, is the great creative race of the earth. It has harnessed the elements and subordinated the subtle forces of nature to the wants and uses of man. By its inventive genius it has vastly ameliorated human conditions. It is aspiring, sensitive, hopeful, energetic, untiring. In art, literature, and achievement in every field of human action it has enriched the annals of mankind. It has brought to the foot of imperial time the noblest harvest of deeds ever gleaned from the field of human endeavor. The presence of the Chinese acts as a dissolving chemical—a poisonous drug—in the veins of such a civilization.

The speakers on the other side of this Chamber, Mr. President, have exhausted themselves in attempts to prove that their party was the first to be right on this question. While I do not regard that consideration as of special consequence, I have observed that none of our Democratic friends have presented to this Chamber any statement of the evil results of Chinese immigration, nor what the injury is which they wish us to understand they attempted to ward off. The whole of their argument has been devoted to the proposition, which, if true, would be of no practical consequence, that they "got there" first, and that on that account they are entitled to the votes of the American people in the coming Presidential election. Their claim in this regard, however, is not true.

After 1865, when the Democratic party took off the gray uniform, it was at a loss for a platform. Every plank of every platform it ever had had been destroyed by the war. It was for some time floundering around for a place on which to stand. It was not to be blamed for this; it had to stand somewhere. Its only policy was opposition to the party in power, and while occupied in this opposition it struck wildly about for a platform of its own. In 1872 it hit upon a curious one—a sort of free-trade platform, with the chief priest of protection in command, and in which, unlike its present position, it insisted on a discussion of the tariff "wholly free from executive interference or dictation," but at that time it had not yet discovered that there was a Chinese question.

To the Republican representatives in Congress from the Pacific coast must be awarded the credit of first giving warning to the country on this question, yet it must be conceded that when the agitation began the Democrats in Congress in larger numbers than the Republicans voted for the exclusion of the Chinese. A majority of the Democrats from the East united with the solid Republican vote of the far West. The fact is patent, however, that the Democrats were listless about it.

If they regarded Chinese immigration as an evil at all, they considered it a local affair of no special importance to the nation at large. They were acquiescent rather than aggressive, and contented themselves with saying: "If the people of the coast want this exclusion law, let them have it." But in the inception of the policy which admitted the Chinese, neither Republicans nor Democrats, whether of the Pacific coast or of the country at large, foresaw the baleful consequences necessarily resulting from their presence among us.

In order to understand the sentiments with which the two political parties of the country approached this question, it is necessary to review briefly the history and traditions of those parties, respectively, on cognate questions.

The Republican party was the party of liberty; the Democratic party, the party of slavery, having no use for labor that it could not own. The Republican party inscribed on its banner, Justice, Freedom, and Equal Rights for all. It is the pride and boast of its history that it has been the friend of the oppressed of every clime. It believed, and still believes, in the immortal declaration that all men are created equal and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

But when the agitation for Chinese exclusion commenced the Republican party had but recently passed triumphantly through a great war, in which it had succeeded in striking the shackles from the limbs of four millions of slaves. When it emerged from that struggle, exultant at the establishment of freedom throughout the Republic, it is hardly to be wondered at that it was not yet prepared to listen to a proposition to exclude any race or people from sharing with us the blessings of our free institutions.

It had intertwined the Declaration of Independence with the Sermon on the Mount, and it was not willing, without the demonstration of actual experience, to admit that races of men, even with totally dissimilar systems of civilization, could not live and commingle under the shield of the Republic without danger to the institutions which had cost so much blood and treasure to establish and preserve. It had had no experience with unassimilating races of men; it knew little of the real character of the Chinese and nothing of the industrial disturbance and demoralization that was sure to result from their presence in large numbers among us.

The Republicans of the Pacific coast warned their brethren of the East that if they did not join them in efforts to exclude the Chinese the Republican party of the nation would lose control of the States on our western border. The reply was, that while that would be a great disaster, it would not be so great a disaster as if they abandoned their principles, not so great a disaster as if the Republicans should become traitors to their convictions, and barter principles for power.

When it is remembered that we of the Pacific coast had for years had every opportunity for personal observation of this immigration before we came fully to appreciate the character and extent of the evils impending, we had no reason to be surprised that the people of the East, with no opportunities for personal observation, believed on first presentation that the cause of our alarm was groundless. We had no reason to be surprised that they did not at first perceive that there was involved in Chinese immigration a system of contract slavery almost if not fully as repulsive as that which had been melted away in the hot crucible of war.

We were confident that observation and reflection would in time bring the masses of our party to our view, and that when they came they would come to stay. In this we were not mistaken. They now plainly

see and appreciate that the exclusion of this alien race is not obnoxious to the principles of the Declaration of Independence; that in excluding Chinese we do not necessarily deny that they have as much right as ourselves to life, liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, or that it is their privilege to exercise that right in their own country in such manner as they may deem best conducive to the end sought. But the Republican party agrees and affirms that the Chinese have no right to invade a country to the development of which they have contributed nothing, and prevent us from enjoying the inalienable rights guarantied to us by our great charter.

How was it with our Democratic friends? The inscription on their banner was "Slavery." We all understand that the principal assets of the Democratic party are in the former slave-holding States. The assets in brains, in numbers, in ability, and in will are all in that section. Why, sir, with them the Declaration of Independence applied to white men alone, to the exclusion of all other races. They scouted the idea that the principles of that Declaration applied to the Chinese. They had had long experience with a non-assimilating race, and fully realizing the difficulties of adjusting the relations between two distinct and dissimilar races living in the same country, they were ready to vote to exclude the alien race if they could not enslave it.

So indifferent were they, however, in support of our propositions for Chinese exclusion that we did not believe much in their sincerity. Their support was colorless. Presenting no bills for our relief, manifesting no zeal in the support of bills introduced by Pacific coast representatives, we were afraid that at any time they might change front, as they had done in the last twenty-five years on almost every important public question.

On the other hand, we noticed that every Republican that came to our side came there with enthusiasm. When Republicans became convinced that it was essential to the well-being of our people that Chinese should be excluded, they espoused the cause with zeal. The masses of that party are with us to-day. The success of our cause is assured, as will be the success of every cause espoused by that invincible party whose history is an Iliad of freedom and whose life has been an anthem of justice.

It is cause for congratulation that the Democratic party stands to-day side by side with the Republican party for the policy of Chinese exclusion. The Democrats started right by accident; I believe they are now right by design. But it is unfair and disingenuous on their part to attempt to make political capital out of a question on which there is no diversity of opinion.

Mr. VEST. Will it interrupt the Senator in his argument if I ask him a question?

Mr. JONES, of Nevada. Not at all.

Mr. VEST. I am curious to know, what I have never been able to understand, whether there was a difference of opinion between the Republican party at large throughout the United States and the Republicans of the Pacific Slope upon this question of the meaning of the Declaration of Independence? Does my friend from Nevada mean to say that that difference existed? In other words, does he mean that he agrees with the Democratic party that this is a white man's Government, or does he agree with what he says is the opinion of the Republican party throughout the nation?

Mr. JONES, of Nevada. As a boy, Mr. President, on every Fourth of July I heard read the declaration that all men were created equal, and on every patriotic occasion I listened to stirring speeches claiming this country to be the asylum and refuge of the oppressed of all nations. I fully believed in that claim, and I also believed that the right of expatriation meant not only the natural right of men to leave their own country, but an equal natural right to domicile in ours, or in any other country.

But, Mr. President, experience, observation, and reflection wrought a change in my mind on this question, as on many other questions. I now believe that a nation has the absolute right to exclude any and all races of men whose presence it has reason to believe would be inimical to its own welfare, and that not only has it the right in such case to exclude them, but that its highest duty imperatively demands that it should do so. And, speaking for myself, I do not believe that all men are created equal; and I do not believe that the authors of the Declaration of Independence meant to assert for all men equality in its broad sense. The experiences of every-day life contradict it.

They doubtless intended to assert that all men should stand equal before the law; that the birthright of all men in any given country was equality before the law. This does not necessarily imply that the laws of any country should be universal, for it is obviously true that laws entirely suitable for one civilization may be ill adapted to another. The question of the Senator from Missouri opens a very wide door for discussion and involves too many subtle considerations not germane to the subject in hand for me to attempt to make a full answer at this time.

The super-sentimental idea that our gates must be opened wide to all peoples, in obedience to some fanciful injunction, found nowhere in law, human or divine, concerning "the universal brotherhood of man," would abolish quarantine laws, open the doors of pest-houses and release their inmates, and make it a crime to exclude the small-pox from the play-grounds of our schools. There are follies that are the worst of crimes. Among all that have ever been proposed is that which would make the United States of America an annex of Asia to receive its overflow until the black waters of vice, poverty, and degradation should reach the same line in both. It would be like establishing a conduit between a cesspool and a drinking well. The former would not be improved; there would simply be two cesspools.

The simile is not a violent one. What Americans revere the Chinese of the emigrating class despise; what we cherish they scorn; what to us seems barbarism is to them civilization; what we call degraded vices are with them the common manners of every-day life. There are words in their language that signify truth, honor, and chastity, but they have not progressed in education so far as to know of them. They have no words that mean "home," "fireside," or "conjugal affection." As between highest virtue and foulest crime they are absolutely impartial. We honor the home; they desire only the harem. With our home we want a door-yard; they want six bunks in a room 10 feet square. We enjoy fresh air; they shut themselves in with foul odors. Their vices can not be hinted at. Their redeeming quality is industry. They are cunning of hand and artful in money getting, but they add only to the coffers of the rich who profit by their labor. They become no part of our people. Wherever they go they establish a quarter of their own. They absorb, but never contribute. What nourishes them would starve the lowest of our population. They are the shadow in the path of labor, the mire to the laborer's feet. Five thousand years ago they were as they now are. Five thousand years hence they will be the same. Let them tarry on their own continent. Ours is not for them.

I had ample opportunities, Mr. President, for observing the early immigration of the Chinese to California, and soon came to realize the dangers of that immigration. I perceived that they had nothing in common with us, that our civilization and theirs were separated by unnumbered centuries of time, and that not eons of ages could bring us together. If the Chinamen that came to California forty years ago have changed in any degree whatever, the change is imperceptible to the most acute observer. When I state the fact that the Chinese on the Pacific coast are about equal in number to the voters on that coast it will be seen that in every aspect of the case they are an unmitigated evil.

An industrial struggle between our people and the Chinese is unequal, unjust, and oppressive to the race to which we belong. Our wage-earners are charged with the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. They form alike the basis and superstructure of our society. They are the foundation on which the prosperity of the State must rest, and upon which it must depend for moral, intellectual, and material advancement. They are equally consumers and producers. The money they receive in wages is paid out by them to other wage-earners and so kept in continuous round of circulation, insuring stimulus and prosperity to industry and commerce.

Not so, however, with the Chinese. They acknowledge no allegiance, save to the Six Companies; they care nothing for either our political or social institutions. The money they receive in wages is instantly withdrawn from circulation in this country and sent to China, causing continuous contraction of our currency and consequent stagnation in industrial and commercial enterprises. They have already foraged on us to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars, which have been sent out in this way. Even the small amounts which they pay out for their own miserable subsistence are paid out for goods produced entirely in China. Hundreds of them, men, women, and children, herd together like dogs in a kennel; no distinction being made between families. They live on the coarsest and cheapest food, so that the cost of their living is reduced to a minimum. They are not subjected, as are our families, to the expense of maintaining the home—the family circle—separate and distinct. Social life, as we understand it, is unknown to and unrecognized by them.

Under those conditions they find no difficulty in crowding our unskilled workmen, and, in many instances, our skilled workmen, out of every avenue of employment. Within the limits of every city of considerable size they have built up towns and cities of their own, where are found such immorality and squalor as has hitherto been unknown to our civilization, with such crimes and such vices, Mr. President, as I am compelled to refrain from even hinting at in this presence; and, what is saddest of all, and perhaps not to be wondered at, very considerable numbers of our youth of both sexes, deprived of the means of livelihood by the grinding competition of these people, seek solace in their somnolent opium dens.

It will not be amiss at this point to indulge in a brief review of the historical phases of the question.

In 1868 a treaty, known as the Burlingame treaty, was entered into between the United States and China, by which the people of China were accorded the privilege of domiciling in the United States. Before that time the Chinese had emigrated to this country in large numbers, but they came in by sufferance. Up to 1868 we had the undoubted right by virtue of our own sovereignty to exclude them, and in excluding them we should have given no real cause of offense or violated any agreement.

The treaty was one-sided and unjust to our people. It was all gush

and sentimentality toward the Chinese; all narrow proscription toward us. The privileges were all given to China; the penalties all inflicted on the United States. It operated perniciously upon our national welfare from the beginning. It was the work of an American, who, being our minister to China, did not think it unbecoming in him to abandon his post, lay down the honorable commission of his own Government, and become the embassador of the Celestial Kingdom to the outside "barbarians" of his own country.

He negotiated a treaty with us for them in which the opening of our whole country to the subjects of his imperial master was conceded as an equivalent for the admission of our citizens into five ports of China. Our people could not pentrate beyond those five ports in that country, while the Chinese were free to colonize and overrun our land. Mr. Burlingame struggled desperately against the Senate amendmen' to his treaty by which they were denied the privilege of naturali here.

Railway contractors, steam-ship companies, and all others who could gain anything from the importation of cooly slaves to occupy American labor fields, were eager allies of mistaken though sincere philanthropy, and of apathy, greatest force of all, in holding back the Government of the United States for years from any step towards undoing the disastrous folly of 1868.

The extent of the blunder that had been made in the Burlingame treaty began to be realized soon after its ratification, and there was a universal demand for its abrogation by the people of the Pacific coast, who were the principal sufferers under it. The party in power, as usual, was charged with the responsibility for the evil, and in 1867 from that cause, and that alone, the Republican party was overwhelmingly defeated in California. Eastward of the mountains the people had never heard of the question.

In 1871 a Republican Representative from the State of California introduced in Congress a bill to prohibit "the importation of Chinese coolies"—that being understood to be their character, and that being the term by which they were known on the Pacific coast. This sounded the note of alarm throughout the country. The bill passed Congress and was signed by the President. At that time both branches of Congree were Republican, and President Grant occupied the executive chair.

Although it was well known that no Chinese laborers other than contract coolies ever entered the United States, yet, false swearing in our courts not being by them deemed perjury, the importation continued under the name of "immigration," notwithstanding the law. To remedy this defect and to settle, as was then believed, the Chinese question, Mr. Page, a Republican Representative from California, with sagacious foresight introduced a bill in the House of Representatives proposing the abrogation of the Burlingame treaty—a course which experience has since proved to be the only fundamental remedy for the evil.

The discussion which then took place served to some extent to educate the Eastern mind, especially the masses of the people. It presented for the first time the overshadowing evils of Chinese immigration. The proposition was made clear that so far as we were concerned, the Chinese were an incongruous and unassimilating race; that they had neither aims, purposes, nor hopes like ours; that no matter how long they remained with us, they never became of us; that from thousands of years of habit, thousands of years of training, they were able to live in conditions that were odious and impossible to our people. It was found that the sons and daughters of those who under scorching suns, in weary processions across alkaline deserts, had carried our flag and planted our civilization on the shores of the Pacific, were being driven from their homes, driven to want, driven to crime, driven to desperation and despair by the cruel competition of this semi-barbarous race in all the avenues of labor.

It was seen by the reflective portion of the people of the coast that this evil constituted a foul ulcer upon our body politic, and that the advanced civilization of the nineteenth century was being inoculated with the virus of antique barbarism. This alarming condition was not appreciated by the people east of the Rocky Mountains. The people of the East did not seem able to understand how it was that while for many years a great influx of Chinese had been taking place on the Pacific, the evils complained of had not been earlier observed. The answer to that is found in the fact that the Chinese were for some time scattered in isolated groups all over the gulches and cañons of California, extracting gold from the alluvial sands, which, I may observe in passing, they sent immediately to China.

They had not at that time come into competition with the American workingman. They took up claims that white men, with richer claims in sight, did not then care to operate. For instance, in 1867 they worked in placers that the white workingman did not then want, but which in 1868 he would have been glad to occupy. In 1868 they worked placers which the American miner would have been glad to occupy in 1869, but did not care to occupy in 1868. And things so continued until the placer mines were practically exhausted. Then the Chinamen, driven out of the mines by the exhaustion of the placers, began to come into competition with our working people in all departments of industry.

By that time a new generation was coming upon the stage of action, a large proportion of which had no means of livelihood except their labor.

The self-respecting working men and women of the Pacific then for the first time began to find themselves forced to compete with this degraded labor. They began to realize that the Chinese had developed the faculty of doing the largest amount of work upon the smallest and coarsest amount of human food. They found these Asiatics satisfied with a form and modicum of subsistence upon which American working men and women would starve. Then it was that the working people, feeling the tremendous pressure of this miserable competition, began in all their assemblages to organize against it. Accordingly a universal demand was made for the abrogation of the Burlingame treaty.

When the demand could no longer be ignored without defiance of that public opinion which, under our system, sooner or later becomes the supreme law, a feeble response was made by sending commissioners to China with the object of securing a modification of the Burlingame treaty. The Executive did not move in the matter until compelled by Congress, and Congress did not move until the efforts of our Pacific coast representatives had been supplemented by the great labor interest throughout the country, when longer resistance required more courage than did action. The State Department appeared to regard the yielding of Congress to our entreaties as in the nature of a disaster, to be repaired by leaden-footed diplomacy, and in the negotiations that followed then, as now, Chinese sensibilities seemed the most important object of consideration.

The Chinese Government could not fail to observe, through the intelligent eyes of its minister here, the unnecessary procrastination of our officials and the perfunctory manner in which they acted when delay was no longer possible. In the negotiations which followed, and which, for no good reason, took place in China, there was a sort of semi-official admission (though not by all of the commission) that our Government was acting under pressure from an ignorant mob, which for political party considerations could not longer be openly resisted, but which the Chinese Government might disappoint by niggardly concessions without offending our officials.

The demand for abrogation continued, however, and in response thereto, between 1872 and 1879, many measures were introduced in Congress having that object in view.

In 1879 a bill was passed which abrogated the obnoxious portions of the treaty and reasserted the exclusive prerogative of this Government to decide for itself who should become domiciled on our soil. The news of the passage of that bill was received with joy all over the Pacific coast, but unfortunately the will of the people was thwarted by a Presidential veto. The only substantial reason given by the President for that veto was that the bill was obnoxious to certain provisions of the Burlingame treaty.

There never was a more unfortunate exercise of the veto power than in that case; never in the history of the Government was there a veto more prolific of evil. In its baleful effects it overbalances, in my opinion, all the benefits which have ever resulted from the exercise of this Presidential prerogative, and furnishes ample reason for such an amendment to the Constitution as will take from any one man the power, through caprice, prejudice, or defective judgment, of thwarting the deliberate and matured decision of a majority of the representatives of the people in both branches of Congress.

This action relegated the whole Chinese question to the delusive realm of diplomacy. A new treaty was negotiated and ratified in 1880, but hedged in with so many reservations and restrictions that it was found almost if not quite impossible to frame an effective exclusion law that should be consistent with its provisions. Two years after the ratification of the treaty a law was enacted to carry it into effect—the act of 1882. That law operated well for a few months, but its provisions could be evaded by false swearing, which, from the nature of the case, in a great majority of instances it was found impossible to detect and punish. This the Chinese soon discovered. Then the cheating began and the tide of immigration rose higher than ever.

In 1884 another act was passed, which it was thought would prevent the rascality and check the flood; but unfortunately the judges of the Federal courts on the Pacific coast decided that the law was not applicable to the classes of cases which furnished the largest immigration. Again, in 1886, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. MORROW, a Representative from California, and in the Senate by Mr. Fair, my then colleague. It was carefully prepared, with a view to remedying the defects, negative and positive, which time had disclosed in the act of 1882.

It was probably the most effective bill that could be framed consistent with the provisions of the treaty. It was reported unanimously from the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, of which the present Republican candidate for President of the United States was then a member. It unanimously passed this body and went to the House of Representatives. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of that body, and was there permitted to slumber for many months, when finally Mr. MORROW rose in his place and asked the chairman of the committee what had become of the bill and why it had not been reported.

The reply of the chairman was that a new treaty was under consideration, and that under the circumstances the committee thought it proper not to take action on the bill that had been referred to them. In other words, that even to relieve the people from the curse of Chinese immigration it would not be polite to introduce a measure that would mar the harmony of diplomatic music! It was afterward discovered that the chairman of the committee was misinformed; that no treaty negotiations were then pending, and not until two years afterward was any treaty formulated. That treaty is still under consideration, with all the probabilities against its ratification.

The Democratic members of this body insist that the delay in the ratification of the treaty is chargeable solely to the amendments proposed to it by the Republican members from the Pacific coast, and adopted by the Senate. At the same time and in the same breath they tell us that these amendments made no substantial change in the treaty. If that is true, why all these months of delay in its ratification? Is it to be presumed that the Chinese Government was willing to create delay upon a non-essential point in a treaty—a mere question of verbiage?

The fact of the delay shows conclusively that a change, and one of importance, had been made in the treaty by the Senate amendments. We were informed that the Chinese Government were entirely acquiescent in the policy of excluding its laborers from the United States.

The Chinese minister here having participated in its negotiation, and the treaty, as so negotiated, having, as we were assured, been acceptable to his Government as so negotiated, what was it that rendered it unacceptable to that Government? The only change made by the Senate was the addition of two provisions, which, in exactly five lines, prevented the possibility of any further juggling with certificates, which had rendered the treaty of 1880 and the law of 1882 practically dead letters.

Is it possible that the Chinese Government saw the weak places in the barriers we had set up, and was willing that its people should take advantage of them? Is it possible that it was willing we should have the treaty, provided we should leave holes in it large enough to permit the Chinese laborers to crawl through? The mere statement of the point vindicates the Senate amendments.

By those amendments the Chinese Government has now been definitively informed, if never before, that Chinese immigration is by the American people deemed pernicious, and will be absolutely prohibited.

As to the bill under consideration, it will be conceded by all that it has an extraordinary history.

It is at least suggestive that it was introduced in the House of Representatives by the principal member of what has, not inaptly, been termed the President's "kitchen cabinet"—by the chairman of the "steering committee" of the St. Louis convention that renominated the President—the intimate friend and spokesman of the President, and a distinguished member of the Democratic national committee.

It is curious that that gentleman, who had never before been known to interest himself in the subject of Chinese immigration, should rush, as is stated, from the White House to the Capitol with a bill of this character; that, contrary to the uniform practice of the legislative body of which he is a member, unanimous consent should be given to suspend the rules and take up for immediate action, with scarcely any discussion, and without the usual reference to a committee, a bill abrogating a treaty now in force and rendering useless a treaty under consideration, to the terms of which the President had but recently assented.

I am not finding fault with this action. On the contrary, the bill being one for the exclusion of the Chinese, I heartily favor the promptness with which it was passed. I only call attention to the incident for the purpose of contrasting the action of the Democratic members of the House with that of the Democratic members of the Senate.

It is very evident that the influential gentleman who introduced that bill in the House had an intimation from an authoritative source upon which he felt warranted in relying—secret information withheld from the Republicans—that the treaty which several months prior had been prepared by our State Department and amended by the Senate had been rejected by China.

The very recent history of the Democratic majority of the House, especially their treatment in refusing to consider the Chinese exclusion bill of 1886, showed that they were unwilling to take action on a bill even when there was nothing but a suggestion that negotiations for a treaty were about to be commenced. Yet they did not hesitate in this case to pass a bill in the face of a treaty that had had the assent of the President of the United States. It is wholly inadmissible to suppose that they would introduce such a bill and rush it through in half an hour unless they had had a well-grounded belief, based on presumably accurate though secret information that the treaty had been rejected by the Chinese Government.

The unusual proceedings of the House—their furtive preparation, their suddenness of execution—are only to be explained upon the hypothesis (insisted upon by the press and public, and nowhere contradicted) that the putative author of the bill had had it whispered in his ear that the treaty was a dead letter. Does anybody suppose that it was sympathy with the interests of the laboring masses of the country that induced this hot haste, this new-born zeal? Does anybody suppose that its object was really the exclusion of the Chinese? Was it not rather to gain votes for the Democratic party? Was it not an attempt, by a ruse, before the information became public, to anticipate the action of the Republicans, and to make it appear that the Democratic party was *par excellence* the party favoring Chinese exclusion?

When the bill passed the House the object of its authors seems to have been accomplished. The Democratic enthusiasm for it in that body cools off into indifference in this. The obvious hope was that it would be obstructed by the Republicans of the Senate; and now, that source of obstruction failing, we find Democratic Senators engaged in the attempt to fasten on the Republican Senate a record against Chinese exclusion!

All this strategy, Mr. President, will not do. The masses of the people are not so easily deceived. They will see through the flimsy gossamer of this movement. I sympathize with the Democratic party in its disappointment at discovering that the gun aimed, as was supposed with so much accuracy, at its opponent, proved more damaging at the breech than at the muzzle, and that those who went out hunting for partisan wool came back shorn. But whatever the motive, we are thankful for the bill. We accept the gift with gratitude, and will not be so ungracious as to look a gift horse in the mouth. One can not help, however, being struck by the fact that on discovering that China had not rejected the treaty the friends of the Administration saw fit to make an entire change of front, and to urge delay in this Chamber with the same zeal that they had urged haste in the other.

While professing anxiety for its passage, Democratic Senators consumed days in its discussion. Having discussed it at great length, they voted for its passage. The apparent unanimity with which they now change their attitude and advocate reconsideration and delay, indicates with certainty two things. First, that when they voted for the bill, they believed the treaty had been rejected by the Chinese Government; and, second, that they regard their obligations to be polite to the Chinese Government as outweighing their obligations to deal justly with their own people.

One distinguished Democratic Senator after eloquently advocating the passage of this bill immediately retreated from the ground he had taken and told us that we ought to hesitate, we ought to wait, because the refinements of the diplomatic situation might be disturbed by our action; that etiquette, good breeding, and courtesy demanded a reconsideration of this bill. I wondered then whether if that Senator found himself in a burning hotel and saw a bed-ridden lady in her room destined to certain death if assistance were not instantly rendered, he would come down stairs and give as an excuse for failing to rescue her from her perilous position that he had not been introduced to her husband, and that being a stranger it would be impolite for him to enter her chamber. [Laughter.] If to that statement he should superadd that he really did not have his "calling suit" on, it would be a precise parallel to the position taken by the Senators who favor delay in the passage of this bill.

In appealing for delay our Democratic friends ask us to "rise, above party." We are willing, Mr. President, to rise above party, but we can not consent to continue a gross injustice. If there were not urgent need of the relief sought by this measure, why did we negotiate the treaty which is now before the governing powers of China for ratification?

That is an extraordinary treaty. It is the first time in the history of the world that an agreement has been made between two governments to keep an entire race of people from entering the territory of one of the parties to the agreement. The treaty would never have been entered into except for the most cogent reasons and upon the most exigent necessity. It would never have been negotiated if the people of the United States did not entertain the firm conviction that Chinese immigration was inflicting irreparable injury on them. The reasons impelling the negotiation of the treaty establish the necessity for the passage of the bill now before the Senate.

If this necessity is exigent, which all admit—if the evil is continuing, which none will deny, why should we wait? Why should we wait when the dearest interests of our people are being sacrificed? In reply to this, the claim is made that existing treaty obligations stand in the way. No nation can be bound by a treaty stipulation one day after fair notice to the other nation that experience has demonstrated its pernicious effects upon the nation seeking the release. This is the written public law, as it is also the law of common sense, and the plainest dictate of the law of self-preservation—the highest authority for nations as it is for individuals.

It was through treaties, Mr. President, that we got into this difficulty. It was with the hope that further treaties would get us out of it that the people of the Pacific coast have waited patiently for years before insisting upon the passage of an absolute and unconditional exclusion bill. The additional treaties having served only to delay relief, it is time for us to take our own affairs into our own hands. It is time we stop dancing this diplomatic quadrille, and give ear and heed to the demands of our people for relief. No nation on the face of the earth, unless its actions were controlled by fear, would so long have tolerated a treaty that inflicted such injury on its people.

Suppose we had a treaty with Spain, under the provisions of which

Spanish ships every day in the year and every hour in the day were coming into our ports from the Caribbean Sea; suppose we found those ships to contain the germs of yellow fever, and that our people were seized with that dread malady and were dying all along the coast, what would be thought of the minister of state who, on behalf of the United States, should say to Spain, "We propose an amendment to the treaty so that infected ships may be kept out. To be sure, our people are dying in large numbers; distress and dismay, sorrow and suffering exist all along our coast, still we want to be polite above all things; therefore we wish to negotiate with you about it?"

Suppose we had been weak enough or forgetful enough of the interests of our people to even entertain the thought of negotiating an amended treaty providing for the absolute exclusion of such ships. Suppose the treaty had been formulated, had been submitted to the Spanish Government and had been held by that government without action for four months, the injury to our people continuing meanwhile, and suppose we should then be informed that that government had postponed the consideration of the treaty, would Senators under such circumstances hesitate as to the proper course to pursue? Would they hesitate, for reasons of etiquette, to pass a bill forbidding plague-ships to enter our harbors? And if such ships, in defiance of our laws, continued to enter would we not speak to Spain through the mouths of our guns? Would Senators then rise in their places and urge us to desist on the ground that our action was calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the Spanish Government? Should we permit gild-edged diplomacy or a desire to be polite, or an anxiety to conserve the *crême de la crême* of diplomatic punctilio, to prevent us from saving the lives of our people? Mr. President, this sort of diplomacy might be superlatively refined, but it would not be robust. Every sensible person will concede that that would be a case demanding instant action. We could never consent that the sensibilities of the Spanish Government should be permitted to play any part in a matter of such transcendent importance to us. No matter what the consequences, the ship would be excluded.

To those who know the full significance of this Chinese immigration and appreciate its far-reaching consequences, it is a more appalling calamity than a yellow-fever epidemic. The infirmities of the body, even death itself, are not the worst evils to which a people may be subjected. No matter how severe a fever scourge may be, it would leave our civilization unimpaired. Chinese immigration, on the contrary, is destructive of all that is noble in our civilization. It continues from day to day a monstrous monotony of degradation. The fever at the worst is but the visitant of a season; the frosts of winter are sure to dissipate it. The deadly blight of Chinese immigration, on the contrary, is affected by neither the frosts of winter nor the heats of summer. The fever epidemic affords at least the melancholy satisfaction of leaving the surviving population spiritualized and exalted by the contemplation of suffering, by the example of heroic deeds, by works of mercy, by patient and loving attention to the sick and dying—by innumerable acts that bring into relief the nobler qualities of human nature. The Chinese plague is always a menacing, debasing, and degrading influence.

Whatever division of sentiment may exist on this subject among the representatives of the people in Congress, there is no diversity of opinion among the masses of the people throughout the country. Democrats and Republicans alike regard this immigration as in the nature of an invasion. On the Pacific coast they regard it as more to be dreaded than any warlike invasion that could be precipitated upon us. It is not a party question. The position of the Republican party, at least, is beyond controversy. In proof of this I have but to read a few words from the letter of acceptance of General Benjamin Harrison, the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States. These words will be found unequivocal and unmistakable. They refer to no treaty; they suggest no diplomacy. They recognize the inherent right of the United States to settle for themselves a question of such paramount importance. General Harrison says:

> We are also clearly under a duty to defend our civilization by excluding alien races whose ultimate assimilation with our people is neither possible nor desirable. The family has been the nucleus of our best immigration and the home the most potent assimilating force in our civilization. The objections to Chinese immigration are distinctive and conclusive, and are now so generally accepted as such that the question has passed entirely beyond the stage of argument.

No self-respecting person can question the sincerity of such an utterance made under circumstances of such responsibility. Whosoever expresses a doubt of it discredits himself and not the author of the utterance. We find disingenuous and unworthy attempts made, however, to confuse the public mind as to the position of parties here on this question. A conspicuous instance is shown by the public press of this morning in an official declaration of the Democracy of New York, which I will read in one moment.

The State of New York is essential to the success of the Democratic party in the coming election. It is relied upon to renew the term of that party's power in the nation. The Democratic convention of that State must therefore speak by authority. It could not afford, at the opening of the campaign, to give forth any uncertain sound upon any subject with which it dealt. Was it supplied from Washington with secret information regarding the rejection or supposed rejection of this treaty? Was it also given a suggestion that the bill now under consideration would probably be delayed in this body by reason of the custom of the Senate to pursue careful and conservative ways in legislation?

In the platform of that convention, held yesterday at Buffalo, I find the following:

> We approve the Democratic measure passed by the Democratic House of Representatives prohibiting Chinese immigration. By it actual and not sham protection will be afforded to the American workingman, and we demand its passage by the Republican Senate.

Yet when we try to pass that bill we find the Democratic members of the Senate the most strenuous objectors to it.

It must be a source of disappointment and mortification to the members of the "kitchen cabinet" to find their calculations defeated, the Republicans of this Chamber being only too glad of an opportunity to pass this bill, while the obstructions proceed from Senators belonging to the administration party.

It is pertinent to inquire from what cause this obstruction proceeds—what can have caused the change in the minds of those Senators since voting for the passage of the bill a day or two ago. We now find them with hands and voices uplifted and with all the eloquence at their command calling for reconsideration, and asking that the affront which the passage of this measure would import may not be put upon the Government of China.

They voted for its passage in the first instance in the expectation of securing a cheap advantage for their party without loss of prestige to the Administration; but on the receipt of further news from China they suddenly recalled that there had been a treaty pending, and now with more regard for the feelings of the Chinese Government than for the interests of the great laboring masses of our own country, they hesitate. Ignoring the direful consequences to our people of Chinese immigration, they see only the offence to the awful majesty of China that would be implied by the passage of the bill. They insist that international courtesy must be complied with before attention can be turned to the wants of the United States. Their sense of diplomatic propriety is shocked at the idea that we should take care of our own interests without regard to the interests of China.

It seems that in voting for the bill in the first instance they considered themselves as law-makers only, while on the vote for reconsideration and in favor of delay they take into account the fact that they are also part of the treaty-making power. However bold they may be as law-makers, they must be circumspect as diplomats. So, after having in one capacity helped to pass the bill, they are now in the other capacity straining every nerve to undo what they have done. In their diplomatic capacity they regard themselves as representatives of the Administration. As such they seem to be apologizing for the action taken by themselves in their broader capacity as representatives of the people.

In the exercise of their functions as law-makers, charged with the responsible duty of caring for the interests of 65,000,000 people, they voted to pass the measure under consideration. But having performed that duty, they discharge themselves from further consideration of the interests of their constituents, put on their dress suits, and, *boutonnière* on the lapel, assume the diplomatic function. In this capacity they deem it their duty to see that the sensibilities of the Chinese Government are not wounded.

In their legislative capacity they did not hesitate to contemn the low civilization of the Chinese; in their diplomatic capacity they are awed into admiration by the barbaric splendor of "a great empire of 450,000,000 people!" As legislators they felt compelled to favor the passage of this measure, but as diplomats they now feel equally compelled to prevent its passage! In contemplating the attitude of Democratic Senators on this question one is almost led to institute a comparison between it and the case of Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde.

For my part, Mr. President, I am glad to have the opportunity to vote to abrogate the treaty absolutely, so that all the world may know that this country will permit no interference in its domestic affairs. Who denies that this nation has the right to say what people shall, for our weal or woe, form the body of our citizenship? If objection is made to instances of harmful immigration from Europe, especially of contract laborers, what can be said in defense of a policy which permits a worse class of such laborers to come in from China?

In the platform of the New York State Democratic convention I find also the following:

> We commend the efforts of the President to enforce the laws relative to imported contract labor. Such efforts have revealed their weakness and the insufficiency of our immigration laws so far as applicable to criminal paupers and contract laborers; and we therefore recommend a thorough revision of the laws in relation to such immigration and imported contract labor, so that our country shall not be made the refuge of the dangerous and criminal classes of other lands; shall not be burdened with the support of their paupers, and that our workingmen shall not be deprived of work or have it cheapened by competition with imported contract labor.

With this resolution before them in this morning's newspapers, Senators here are endeavoring to continue in force a treaty arrangement under which large numbers of the most degraded class of contract laborers are daily coming into our country. A Chinese laborer on the Pacific coast is never anything but a contract laborer. His labor is contracted for by the Six Companies—the slave-traders of the new régime. When one of those laborers is sought for hire, nobody thinks of

going to the laborer himself. He is hired on contract from the Six Companies, and when so hired is compelled to work without any volition on his own part; he dare not refuse to work in his appointed place. Those people have secret tribunals which enact laws more binding than those of the United States, and have murderous "high-binders" to enforce their decrees.

Upon this contract labor the Six Companies are amassing enormous sums of money; and, as the immigration increases, the fund increases with which to make the immigration larger, to the great profit of the Six Companies and the great harm of our civilization. It is understood that the Six Companies have for some time had under consideration a proposition to establish a line of steamers of their own in order to carry on this iniquitous immigration on a gigantic scale.

Who can foresee the consequences to the interests of our laboring masses, and ultimately to our civilization, if this country were subjected to a weekly or fortnightly inflow of thousands of these degraded laborers? From the innumerable population of China millions could detach themselves without being missed, while a much smaller number, by the keenness of their competition with our people in every field of industry, their barbarous economy, and debasing social system, would overturn the civilization of the North American continent.

The meanest, most ignorant and abject contract laborer that ever landed upon our shores from any port of Europe is less threatening and less harmful to our community and our institutions than the best and most intelligent Chinese laborer that ever entered the United States.

Notwithstanding our treaty relations with European peoples of our own race, we did not find it necessary to open negotiations with England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, or Russia when we concluded to exclude their contract laborers from our country. We were well aware that we had a perfect right to deal with the question directly through our own legislative enactments without consulting any foreign nation or asking any permission from them. We find force enough in our statutes to keep out contract laborers from all those countries. Toward those nations we assert our national sovereignty, assert the right to regulate our own affairs. But when it comes to dealing with the Mongolian the most delicate sensibilities are aroused; we must not touch the refinements of a treaty!

We are told, however, there are important interests involved, and that the Chinese might retaliate. Well, that is their affair, Mr. President. Our trade with China is principally with the British port of Hong-Kong, and for every dollar's worth they buy from us we buy $5 worth from them. The sum total of our trade with China is a mere bagatelle. But whatever we might lose by the loss of that trade, it is no advantage to this country to favor the firm of "Truck, Dicker & Co.," at the expense of our civilization. If the Chinese Government were to order the expulsion from China of all Americans resident there, we should be very glad to exchange for them the two hundred thousand Chinamen in this country. We should be very great gainers by the exchange.

We have even heard something of "war" in this debate. Well, Mr. President, there are worse things than war. If China should wish to make war on us because of the passage of this measure, we would have to stand it, and I have no doubt we could. Better a war with China, better a war with all the world, than the degradation of our race and the destruction of our civilization. Let us preserve untainted our own imperial race, the manhood of our men and the virtue of our women, for those are the foundations of our Republic. Let us see that our people are well employed, and that they receive fair compensation for their labor. Let us see to it that they are not compelled to compete in a race for cheapness with men whose only attributes are labor and sleep. Our civilization demands more than these of our people. Let us see to it that we do not deprive them of the power to meet the demand.

Our Democratic friends are shocked because we do not want to wait, nay, because we do not retrace the steps already taken and then meekly wait upon the humor of the Chinese Government while it is considering whether it will consent to a resumption by the United States of one of its chief attributes of sovereignty. The people of the Pacific States have waited for sixteen years, and in every one of these years, through their press, their representatives in Congress, and in all their public assemblages, have been demanding the passage of just such a measure of relief as this.

Is it not time, Senators, to afford the relief? If the Pacific coast had not been an integrant portion of this Republic its people would long since have taken this matter into their own hands, defied China and all the other barbaric powers, and themselves prevented this immigration. Their deliverance should not now be delayed. Their long-deferred hopes should quickly find fruition. Further dalliance with this question may induce the thought in the minds of that patriotic people that the great Government to which they belong is unmindful of their welfare.

Mr. President, on this subject the roll is about to be called. Those who answer "yea" on the motion to reconsider, and thus show that they are willing to postpone this question or to refer it to a committee for further consideration—those who are not willing to take immediate action and pass the bill at once are simply voting to indefinitely continue the monstrous evils which are growing more monstrous every day upon the fairest portion of this country. They vote that thousands of young men shall be remitted to idleness and thousands of young women driven to desperation and despair. They vote that the people of our own race, who are entitled to have whatever of work there is to do among us, and at fair and remunerative prices, shall either starve outright, or, what is but little better, compete at starvation wages with Chinamen.

In return for this there shall come to those Senators the grateful adulation of the Six Companies, that mighty Chinese labor trust, which, in this age of emancipation, carries on a new slave trade as baneful and dehumanizing in its ultimate results as was the old. They shall enjoy the proud satisfaction of having aided in establishing more securely the authority of the despotic government maintained on our soil by these same Six Companies, under whose laws their subjects are put to death for disobedience. The "high-binders" whose industry is the slaying of Chinamen at the bidding of the companies, will warm with gratitude toward them. Four hundred millions of Asiatics shall rise up and call them blessed for having offered to each of them the bread out of the mouths of the children of American workingmen, if the Chinese will but cross the Pacific and accept it.

They will have the approbation of all our great land-owners, who, if they could secure a large supply of this degraded labor, would become feudal barons in everything but the name. They will have also the thanks of all in our land who deal in human lives and amass fortunes by compelling the most labor for the least pay. Finally, and what should be most grateful of all, they will secure the flattery and simulated approbation of foreign diplomatists, who will assume to see in their votes an assurance that they can be depended upon by any foreign power which may seek to overreach this country in negotiations or to secure immunity for some flagrant invasion of its sovereign rights.

To those on the other hand who vote for the immediate passage of this bill, thanks shall come up from the home of every American toiler, from the heart of every American patriot. To them shall come especially the fervent and enduring gratitude of the people of the Pacific, not alone the present dwellers on that coast, but the teeming millions destined hereafter to find homes and happiness in that favored portion of our Republic. The news of the passage of this bill, Mr. President, will be received with one glad shout of acclaim that shall reverberate from Mount Rainier to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado.

Oklahoma.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES E. HOOKER,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, August 29, 1888,

On the Oklahoma bill, while the same was under discussion under the five-minute rule.

Mr. HOOKER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I desire to call the attention of the committee as briefly as the gravity and importance of the subject will allow to the character of the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON], and to the objections which are made to it. I had occasion, sir, when speaking upon this subject in the general debate to announce my opposition to this bill upon the general ground that it was an effort to create a Territory out of land which did not belong to the Government of the United States, and upon which, as was said by a gentleman in the course of that debate, there were no citizens and no people over whom a Territory could be created or for whom a Territorial government should be constituted. I am not going over the ground which I then assumed before the committee, because I presume it is fresh in the minds of most gentlemen. Having demonstrated, as I believe, not myself, but as evidenced by the statutes and the treaties and the patents of the Government, that these Indians held this land by virtue of the most solemn form of conveyance known to the Government of the United States, I was very much surprised when my friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] on the other side of the Chamber, in the course of the debate, when this question was up before, in answer to an inquiry which I made of him as to how he would dispose of lands patented to the Indians, said he would dispose of them, and that the highest title to land was in the Congress of the United States, and we could give it away notwithstanding the prior conveyance under patents as well as under the treaties.

The proposition is startling in its character, and if it be true in regard to the Indian lands, I submit it is equally true in regard to all other lands which the Government has patented to any other parties, either companies or individuals.

It can not be assumed that the solemn conveyances under which these lands are held can be gotten rid of by an act of Congress. If that were the case, it is competent for the Government to convey any title, and no man would hold them except at the will of the legislative department of the Government of the United States. Now, the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] is to amend section 5, which requires that these lands shall only be sold to actual settlers at the price of $1.25 an acre, and make them amenable to the homestead law; and it was announced by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Territories in the speech he made to this committee on yesterday that if that amendment was adopted it would be the Trojan horse which was intended and designed should kill his bill. It is the first time, I submit, in the history of the legislation of this Government that public domain has been attempted to be created in which they are afraid of allowing the homestead law to prevail.

Now, the honorable chairman of the committee says that if this bill passes, when this is created into a Territory and becomes part of the public domain it shall be distinct from all other public lands, and the right of a citizen to make a homestead upon this land shall be denied.

Mr. SPRINGER. I hope the gentleman will not misrepresent me upon that. My point was that under the homestead laws as they now exist a settler was permitted to take the land, and in six months he could sell it. While under this bill he does not get title unless he pays $1.25 and lives on it for three years. How, under those provisions, could they fall into the hands of speculators within six months?

Mr. HOOKER. On the contrary, Mr. Chairman, if we pass the bill, within six months these lands will fall into the hands of speculators, and it is not hard to determine who these speculators will be.

Mr. SPRINGER. I beg the gentleman's pardon. He certainly does not wish to misrepresent the bill. No man can obtain this land except by actual settlement and cultivation; by personal residence of three years.

Mr. HOOKER. I will demonstrate my proposition.

Mr. WEAVER. I say you can not demonstrate your proposition.

Mr. HOOKER. We will see. If I do not, you do not need to vote for my proposition. If I do not demonstrate it, then I will not ask the gentleman from Illinois or the gentleman's lieutenant to vote for it. But if I do demonstrate it I will expect them to vote for it.

Mr. WEAVER. I suppose you will.

Mr. HOOKER. It is very hard to convince those who will not be convinced against their will. But certainly the gentleman from Illinois said that if the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] becomes a part and parcel of this bill it will destroy his bill.

Are we afraid to permit the principles embodied in the amendment offered by the gentleman on the other side of the Chamber [Mr. PAYSON] to be applied to these lands, as it is applied to all public lands? Why should we be? It was said by the honorable gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WEAVER] that he spoke for six hundred thousand men who wanted homes. Why, sir, you do not speak for the very men who you say want homes when you are afraid to have applied by your bill the principle of the homestead entry of lands.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the proposition of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] is, in my judgment, a fair proposition to amend the bill in order to perfect it, and should be acceptable to those who are willing to vote for it under any conditions. I am opposed to the bill, because I believe it violates our solemn treaties with these Indians, and violates the solemn conveyances made by the Government, and therefore ought not in any form to become a law. You propose to create a Territorial government with a governor and all its officials over that Territory, before you have obtained the consent of the Indians, and you propose to create a commission at the vast expense of $10 a day for each commissioner and $6 a day for their secretary to go to that Territory to obtain that consent.

The history of the grant of these lands to the Indians I recited in the speech which I had occasion to make on this subject some time ago, and I will now merely call attention to the position which I then assumed and which I fortified by reading the very patents of the Government themselves, showing the nature and character of the conveyance which the Government made to the Indians, and also by reading the treaties, every one of which would be violated, at least in spirit, by this bill. And even if you can urge the doctrine that we can get rid of a treaty by an act of Congress, you certainly can not urge the doctrine that we can get rid of the patents of the Government by an act of Congress; if so, you can unsettle the titles to all the lands in the United States which are based upon patents derived from the Government, whether they are held by Indian tribes or by individuals.

Some years ago there was a commission appointed by the Senate of the United States for the purpose of investigating the character of the titles to these Indian lands and the propriety of constituting them into a Territory.

The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WEAVER] in arguing this question the other day said:

> It sounds well to hear gentlemen laugh when there are five hundred thousand homeless people in this country who are praying for an opportunity to settle upon the public domain in accordance with the law, who are seeking a home and a shelter for their little ones. It is a nice thing for gentlemen to sneer and laugh.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what is the extent of the public domain of the United States? I beg leave to call attention to the figures which were presented by the gentleman from New York [Mr. BAKER] in the speech which he made here the other day, and which show that we have still some seven hundred or eight hundred million acres of the public domain unoccupied. Why is it that gentlemen insist that this particular land shall be opened up to public settlement and tell us that there are five hundred thousand homeless and shelterless people of the United States who are seeking homes and demanding this particular land in order that they may make homes upon it, and yet object to this Territory being opened to entry under the homestead law?

I will embody in my remarks a quotation from the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. BAKER] showing the extent of the public domain in the different States and Territories. Listening to the speech of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WEAVER] one would suppose that no man who is without a home, no man who is landless, could find a homestead or land to settle upon anywhere within the territory of the United States unless this Government should be guilty of Punic faith by taking from the Indians what it has given them by its solemn patents; and this, although we have seven hundred or eight hundred millions of acres of the public domain still open to occupation by those who are landless. No, Mr. Chairman, it is this particular land that is wanted, this territory which belongs to the Indians and which you have patented to them, describing in the patents the metes and bounds in the lands you conveyed, and enumerating the acres down even to a fraction. For instance, in the case of the Cherokees you made a patent of over 14,000,000 acres, and you designated the amount even down to the fraction of an acre. It is this particular land, therefore, that the homeless and landless men of the United States want, according to the advocates of this bill. In the name of the homesteader, in the name of the poor people of this country who desire homes on the public domain, I deny that they want to dispossess anybody else in order to get homes for themselves.

Gentlemen can not account for this bill upon that ground, and if they can not, how can they account for it? The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. WARNER] was eloquent in his appeal to the House in favor of this bill on the ground that he wanted to remove the cattle syndicates and the corporations now in possession of this Territory. Mr. Chairman, if you remove the cattle syndicates and the corporations who are in possession of this part of the public domain and constitute it a Territory, where does it go? Does the honorable gentleman, the chairman of the committee [Mr. SPRINGER], tell you? How will these lands be disposed of? I submit that under this bill they will go primarily to two corporations, the two great lines of railway that run respectively east and west and north and south through that Territory. I see that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WEAVER] smiles.

Mr. WEAVER. I smile audibly.

Mr. HOOKER. The gentleman no doubt wants to refer to that provision of the bill which proposes to rescind the acts by which these lands were granted. But, sir, you have got a vested right to contend with, and you ought to be lawyer enough and the chairman of your committee ought to be lawyer enough to know that when the lands given under those grants are mortgaged they are placed beyond your control, and I hope that when I demonstrate this proposition I shall have the chairman of the committee and his intelligent lieutenant on my side of the question and in opposition to the corporations and syndicates who otherwise will grab up all this territory for themselves.

I have said, sir, that some years ago there was an investigation made by the Senate of the United States for the purpose of ascertaining what was the condition of these Indian lands. Upon that committee of investigation was the present distinguished Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. Garland. I do not say that he was the chairman of the committee, but he was one of the prominent members who conducted the investigation, and what did they find, as shown in their report to the Senate? I hold that report in my hand, together with the testimony which was taken. I will not weary the committee by reading the resolution, but I will simply call attention to the language of the report which was made by this committee to the Senate of the United States. They say:

> We respectfully beg leave to submit the following report:
>
> By the acts of Congress referred to in the first resolution there was granted to two railroads a right of way through the Indian Territory, one extending from the southern line of Kansas to the northern boundary of Texas, and the other from the western line of Arkansas to the Pacific coast, and in addition to the right of way a grant of lands was made dependent (I call attention particularly to this language)—a grant of lands was made dependent upon the extinguishment of the Indian title, and upon the lands becoming public lands of the United States. The road from Kansas to Texas passing through the whole width of the Territory, known as the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway, extends from Hannibal, on the Missouri River, through Missouri and Kansas and the territory of Texas, being 576 miles in length, and forming a link in the line of direct railway communication between Chicago and St. Louis and the Gulf of Mexico at Galveston.
>
> It has mortgaged all its line and all its property of every kind in those States and the Territory as security for its bonds, but has issued no bonds "predicated" upon the lands alone.
>
> These mortgage bonds have been negotiated and are largely held in London, Paris, and Amsterdam, as well as New York. They were issued in aid of the construction of the road, and are held by private investors.
>
> The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad has been constructed only some 35 miles from the Missouri line to Vinita in the Territory, and has mortgaged the lands conditionally granted for that distance to secure certain bonds issued by said company, which bonds are held by purchasers for investment.

In the examination made by the Senate committee, in Report No. 744 of the Senate, to the third session of the Forty-fifth Congress, page 26, Mr. G. D. L. Huldro, an expert accountant, was sworn, and asked to state where the bonds were held, and what amount of bonds had been issued, and replied as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN *pro tempore:*

Q. What part of the road did they cover?
A. They covered from Sedalia down to Denison, Tex.
Q. How many miles?
A. Between 400 and 500 miles.
Q. What were they; 6 per cent. bonds?
A. Seven per cent. gold bonds.
Q. What are those bonds worth?
A. Forty-two or 43 cents.
Q. Where are they now held?
A.:

In Amsterdam	$6,600,000
In London	900,000
In Paris	1,700,000
In New York	5,400,000
Total	14,600,000

I call the attention of the committee particularly to this concluding language of the report:

The only condition by which the lands in the Indian Territory could become public lands would be by the voluntary abandonment of the same by the Indians or in case of the extinguishment of their title.

Mr. SPRINGER. Does not the gentleman know that neither of the roads to which he refers touches a foot of land embraced in the Territory of Oklahoma as provided in this bill——

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; but they touch the Indian Territory——

Mr. HOLMAN. The Atlantic and Pacific does.

Mr. SPRINGER. The western terminus of that road has not reached the Indian Territory, and its whole grant has been forfeited by act of the Forty-ninth Congress.

Mr. HOOKER. The Oklahoma territory, as I understand, takes in every portion of the Indian Territory not occupied by the five semi-civilized tribes.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes, sir; it does.

Mr. HOOKER. That is what I understand.

Mr. SPRINGER. And while the line of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road, to which the gentleman refers, passes within the territory of the five semi-civilized tribes, it does not go within 100 miles of Oklahoma. The Atlantic and Pacific has not reached that territory, and its grant has been forfeited.

Mr. HOOKER. Then the fact is still more condemnatory that the company should have attempted to mortgage these lands before they reached that territory.

Mr. SPRINGER. That is their business.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, it is their business; and it is your business, too, to understand this matter, and let the committee understand it. Here are all these lands granted by these acts which you propose by the fourteenth section of your bill to repeal. Why should you propose to repeal these laws if they are not in full force and effect? Mr. Chairman, it will not do to attempt any evasion of this question. The falsity of the argument is apparent upon the statement of it.

The committee go on further in this report:

But both land grants to the railroad companies were ill-advised and should not have been made; and the committee recommend their repeal.

This committee has recommended the repeal of those laws, but they yet stand, and the fourteenth section of this bill proposes their repeal. But the laws have been in operation, have been acted on, and bonds have been issued under them.

Mr. STRUBLE. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. Suppose negotiation is first had with the Indian tribes interested, for the organization of this territory; what difference will it then make in regard to the railroad companies or the lands granted to them by the acts of Congress to which the gentleman refers?

Mr. HOOKER. The gentleman does not at all meet my argument. Whether you get the cession by agreement with the Indians or get it by force, as this bill proposes, when you have extinguished the Indian title and possession, then the rights of these railroad companies supervene; and you can not prevent it, because they have issued their mortgages upon the lands; those mortgages are transferrable and are held by outside parties. I will show directly by whom they are held.

Upon this question with reference to what was granted to these railroad companies a number of gentlemen were examined by the Senate committee; and I will refer to the testimony of Mr. James Baker, who was the attorney of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. He was sworn as a witness on this subject; and I read from his examination by Mr. Garland, now Attorney-General of the United States:

Q. Did your company issue bonds predicated upon an additional grant?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Do you remember the amount of those bonds, and when issued?
A. Not accurately; they were issued, as I remember, in 1871. There were two series on the road amounting to $1,200,000, the other upon land lying upon the side of the road amounting to $500,000, making in all $1,700,000.
Q. What did each bond call for?
A. I presume each bond called for $1,000. There might have been some smaller. I am not positive about that.
Q. Can you furnish a copy of the bond of the road?
A. I can furnish a copy, but the bond is included in the mortgage.
Q. What became of these bonds, or any of them, or all of them, according to your recollection?
A. They were sold to raise funds with which to build the road.

Mr. Hereford, who was also a Senator at that time and a member of this Senate committee, asked:

Q. Then I understand your proposition to be that if the Indian Territory shall be opened for settlement you will be willing to relinquish all your right to the land within the borders of the Indian Territory?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. How can you do that if you hold the fee and predicate your bonds on the land?
A. I do not think we can as against the bonds, but I think that Congress has power to revoke the grant.

Here the attorney of the road states the fact so far as they had mortgaged these lands granted by this act, they had not the power to affect the interest which had been acquired by the parties by whom these bonds had been purchased.

Mr. PETERS. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HOOKER. Certainly.

Mr. PETERS. Did not the grants to the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad and to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad reserve the rights of the Government?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; but the Government has not exercised that right, and these bonds were issued under the grant made by the Government to this railroad.

Mr. PETERS. Does the gentleman from Mississippi say that bonds could be issued before the lands themselves were conveyed by the Government?

Mr. HOOKER. Certainly they can. The Indian title being extinguished to the lands and becoming a part of the public lands, they come under the railroad grants, and the railroads acquire title to them.

Mr. PETERS. Let me ask the gentleman a question of law. If the purchasers of these bonds purchased them with the full knowledge that the Government had the right at any time to alter, amend, or repeal those acts, then they took them with the full notice of the power of the Government, and their authority or legal right to any portion of these lands in the Indian Territory is absolutely null and void.

Mr. HOOKER. They took them upon this condition alone, that on the extinguishment of the title of the Indians to these lands, then their title was good in these lands. That is what your bill provides notwithstanding the fourteenth section. You make them a part of the public domain of the United States, and the moment you make them a portion of the public domain that moment the right of the holders of these mortgage bonds on the lands would accrue to them.

Mr. PERKINS. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question in that connection?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PERKINS. Does the gentleman say the title passes to the railway companies in advance?

Mr. HOOKER. That depends on the character of the charter of these roads. These lands were granted without regard to the construction of the road. Their rights were to attach just so soon as the title of the Indians was extinguished. Whenever you make it public domain the right attaches to these railroads.

Mr. PERKINS. It only attaches as the road is constructed, and the Atlantic and Pacific not having been constructed, or indeed any portion of it, if the grant is forfeited before the construction, is it the gentleman's idea any right under these bonds can attach?

Mr. HOOKER. It depends on the charter. The Government may grant lands to railroads without coupling with it a condition requiring the construction of so many miles. I wish to say one other thing.

Mr. SYMES. Will the gentleman permit me to make a statement?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SYMES. It depends on the language of the grant and not on the language of the charter of the railroad company. We reviewed these grants in the Committee on Territories, and we had no doubt section 14 in this bill absolutely wiped out all rights which might in any contingency arise, and the best lawyers who have investigated the subject have no doubt about it. I simply want the gentleman's attention called to that fact.

Mr. HOOKER. If that be the case, if what the gentleman states in regard to these lands be true, then no railroad could anywhere have any lands conveyed to them by the Government. These lands were granted to aid in the construction of these roads, and they have become the lands of the road, for the moment the Indian title was extinguished they have become a part of the public lands of the Government.

Mr. SYMES. That is where I differ with the gentleman. They do not become railroad lands and the railroads do not acquire any title in them by the extinguishment of the title of the Indians.

Mr. HOOKER. Whether they do or not, it is apparent they have absolutely mortgaged these lands and that they are now held partly by foreigners and partly by people in our own country.

Mr. PETERS. If the gentleman from Mississippi will allow me, the Supreme Court of the United States have decided, Justice Miller

rendering the opinion, that the right to alter, amend, or repeal, reserved to the Government in the granting act, gave notice to all parties of the reserved power of the Government.

Mr. HOOKER. I beg to be excused from yielding further. I have said in substance that it does. But the railroads, on the conveyance of the lands by the Government, performed certain things. The acts have remained in existence in accordance with the original grant, and they are not repealed. Mortgages have been made and bonds issued. The railroads have conveyed whatever title the roads themselves acquired. Those rights may be subject to subsequent repeal by Congress if the charter so prescribed, or prescribed that the rights accrued only upon the construction of so many miles of the road.

But, Mr. Chairman, the question is further asked of this witness:

By the CHAIRMAN *pro tempore:*

Q. In this portion built in the Indian Territory, the company has laid no claim to lands?
A. No, sir; that is, we could not claim the land without the Government extinguished the Indian title.

That is exactly what you propose to do here.

Again:

Q. I see by the act that the land throughout the Territory is double the quantity of that throughout the States?
A. Yes, sir.

Again, in response to a question as to the value of the bonds, the witness replies:

That they can be bought for 5 cents on the dollar. That was the value of the bonds then issued; but they had increased to 35 or 40 cents.

I now want to call the attention of the committee to a still further description of the manner in which these bonds are held.

Mr. SPRINGER. Will the gentleman please explain this as he proceeds——

Mr. HOOKER. I must beg not to be interrupted further. The gentleman will have his own time.

The question is again asked of this witness:

Q. Do you regard those citizens of the United States, who are there without authority, as being intruders in that country?
A. I so consider the treaty.
Q. Does not the treaty provide that the Government shall remove them?
A. Yes sir; that is my understanding.

And the Government has been trying all these years to do just that very thing, so that, in point of fact, as has been stated by a gentleman on the other side of the House [Mr. CUTCHEON], there is not now a single citizen in the United States rightfully living within the limits of the Territory, except that portion which we call the Public Land Strip, or No Man's Land. Not one. Your proposition, therefore, is to create a Territory over lands of which you have not control, within which you have no right to create a Territory, and in regard to which, if you do extinguish the Indian title, that title instead of reverting to the Government will pass, under the granting acts, or may pass to the railroads and to the parties holding the bonds, who will have the right to come in and say we purchased these bonds which were valid obligations; we acquired them subject to that provision of the granting act that at the time of the extinguishment of the Indian title that title should pass to the railroads, and now having extinguished the title, that right accrues.

They will have a legitimate claim to that extent, and it should be borne in mind that these bonds to the amount of $14,000,000 are held mainly abroad, to a large extent in Amsterdam and foreign cities; or, to be more exact, six millions, about, are held over there, five millions of them in New York, and the other three millions are scattered throughout the country. So, in point of fact you have under this granting act and the additional grants to these railways, whether the roads were constructed under the grant or not—the grants still standing upon the statute-books unrepealed—exactly the condition of affairs to which I have called your attention, or else the gentleman in charge of the bill and the Committee on Public Lands would not have introduced a proposition to repeal those grants.

Mr. SPRINGER. But these lands are not affected by this bill at all.

Mr. HOOKER. Then the gentleman could not have been correct when he said that the whole of the Oklahoma lands were embraced within the bill, except the lands occupied by the five civilized tribes.

Mr. SPRINGER. But the gentleman should remember that these roads do not come into Oklahoma at all—I mean Oklahoma proper. They are entirely in the five tribes.

Mr. HOOKER. But I understand that the Pacific road has a right of way through the Territory.

Mr. SPRINGER. It is not yet constructed.

Mr. HOOKER. But it has the right of way, and the grant is extraordinary in this respect, that you give double the amount of land in the Territory that you have given in the States. In the States you give for each 5 miles ten sections, whereas in the Territory for some reason you have seen proper to increase this to twenty sections.

Mr. SPRINGER. But the Atlantic grant, to which the gentleman has referred, has been forfeited.

Mr. HOOKER. But the bondholders will undoubtedly raise the question if your action here affects their interests. If their interests have vested you can not deprive them of them. If their rights have vested, they will insist upon the fulfillment of the bond.

Mr. SYMES. Let me ask the gentleman this question: Are we to hesitate about the enactment of legislation because some railroad company may make a big claim or the bondholders of the road may make a claim, although Congress, in view of the fact that the company has not performed the obligations under which the grant was made, passed a solemn act forfeiting the claim to every acre of land?

Mr. HOOKER. No, sir; not by any means. But that is not the condition here. I say that you are running the risk, where a provision exists that in view of the proposed extinguishment of an Indian title that title shall pass to the company, of doing just exactly what the gentleman suggests in his own question and a large portion of the lands passing to them.

Mr. SYMES. I would like to ask the gentleman if he, as a lawyer, would be willing——

Mr. HOOKER. I beg the gentleman not to interrupt me further, as I have but a few moments more. I will only say in passing that by virtue of the grant made by the United States to these railroad companies, bonds were issued and a mortgage executed. The mortgagees take the place of the railroad company and acquire whatever rights the railroads had themselves under the granting act.

Now, the effect of the passage of the gentleman's bill, with the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois on the other side of the Chamber, would be at least to hazard long litigation in reference to these matters. People do not put $14,000,000 in bonds into things they have not investigated and without legal advice as to how far they acquire any right or title in the land for which the payment is made.

Mr. WEAVER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HOOKER. I would rather not. You can answer in your own time.

Mr. Chairman, if this bill is passed in the shape in which it has been presented by the Committee on Territories you will have violated every single one of the treaty obligations which you have made with these Indians. While it may be said there is power in the Congress, the Senate and the House acting together, and the President approving your measures, to do away with the treaties, yet I say that this would violate all the treaties. I want to cite these treaties. There are plain and simple provisions, every one of which would be violated by every man who votes for this measure to take away this land from these people.

I think, Mr. Chairman, the committee has been premature in its action, and that before a measure of this kind was proposed you should have had the consent of the Indians. You ought to have had a commission to obtain that consent. It should have been a condition-precedent before asking any legislation of this character. That was originally contained in a proposition that there should be representatives of the Indian Territoy in the Congress of the United States, and which would have given them representatson in the Senate and in the House. But I say, Mr. Chairman, and I put it to the conscience of the members of this committee to say whether they are willing to violate the letter and spirit of every treaty which has been made with these Indians. I call attention to the treaty made with Cherokees, one of the tribes.

ART. 5. If any citizen of the United States, or other person not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the lands westward or southward of the said boundary, which are hereby allotted to the Indians for their hunting-grounds, or having already settled, and will not remove from the same within six months after the ratification of this treaty, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him or not, as they please: *Provided, nevertheless,* That this article shall not extend to the people settled between the fork of French Broad and Holstein Rivers, whose particular situation shall be transmitted to the United States in Congress assembled for their decision thereon, which the Indians agree to abide by.

Mr. WARNER. Does that relate to these lands?

Mr. HOOKER. It relates to the treaties. The treaty with the Wyandots provides:

ART. 9. If any person or persons, citizens or subjects of the United States, or any other person not being an Indian, shall presume to settle upon the lands confirmed to the said nations, he and they shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the said nations may punish him or them in such manner as they see fit.

This, Mr. Chairman, was an early treaty, and was one where we very carefully guarded the rights and interests of these tribes when we conceded lands to them and got vast concessions from them. Then, in the treaty with the Cherokees, dated August 7, 1790, and in the treaty with the Cherokees of July 2, 1791, and that with the Wyandots of August 3, 1795, and the Choctaws of September 27, 1830, similar provision was made.

The provisions of the Choctaw treaty I will read, because it shows in what temper these people were dealt with and what was regarded as just and proper at that time:

ARTICLE 4. The Government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to the said Choctaw Nation of red people the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw Nation of red people and their descendants, and that no part of the land granted them shall ever be embraced in any Territory or State; but the United States shall forever secure said Choctaw Nation from and against all laws except such as from time to time may be enacted in their own national

councils, not inconsistent with the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and except such as may and which have been enacted by Congress, to the extent that Congress, under the Constitution, are required to exercise a legislation over Indian affairs (pages 333, 334).

That was the provision under which the Choctaw grant was made, and the same treaty provided:

ART. 5. The United States hereby covenant and agree that the lands ceded to the Cherokee Nation in the foregoing article shall in no future time, without their consent, be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory; but they shall secure to the Cherokee Nation the right, by their national councils, to make and carry into effect all such laws as they may deem necessary for the government and protection of the persons and property, within their own country, belonging to their people, or such persons as have connected themselves with them: *Provided, always*, That they shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States and such acts of Congress as may have been or may be passed regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians, and also that they shall not be considered as extending to such citizens and Army of the United States as may travel or reside in the Indian country, by permission, according to the laws and regulations established by the government of the same.

Coming down to a later treaty, I find the same provision embodied. I find in the treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws of June 22, 1855:

ART. 4. The government and laws now in operation and not incompatible with this instrument shall be and remain in full force and effect within the limits of the Chickasaw district until the Chickasaws shall adopt a constitution and enact laws superseding, abrogating, or changing the same. And all judicial proceedings within said district, commenced prior to the adoption of a constitution and laws by the Chickasaws, shall be conducted and determined according to existing laws.

ART. 7. So far as may be compatible with the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the Choctaws and Chickasaws shall be secured in the unrestricted right of self-government, and full jurisdiction over persons and property within their respective limits, excepting, however, all persons with their property who are not by birth, adoption, or otherwise citizens or members of the Choctaw or Chickasaw tribes, and all persons not being citizens or members of either tribe found within their limits shall be considered intruders, and be removed from and kept out of the same by the United States agent (assisted, if necessary, by the military), with the following exceptions, namely: Such individuals as are now or may be in the employment of the Government, and their families; those peacefully traveling or temporarily sojourning in the country, or trading therein under license from the proper authority of the United States, and such as may be permitted by the Choctaws or Chickasaws, with the assent of the United States agent, to reside within their limits without becoming citizens or members of either of said tribes.

Article 7 provides that—

So far as may be compatible with the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the Choctaws and Chickasaws shall be secured in the unrestricted right of self-government for jurisdiction over persons and property within their respective limits.

These are the provisions of the more recent treaty.

Mr. WARNER. Will the gentleman pardon me for interrupting him just there to call attention to another part of that treaty. In the same treaty did not the Choctaws lease to the General Government every inch of land that is included in the territory of Oklahama with the simple reservation that the territory so leased should remain open to settlement by Choctaws and Chickasaws?

Mr. HOOKER. They leased it simply for the settlement of friendly Indians upon it—for no other purpose.

Mr. WARNER. And in 1866, for an additional $300,000, did they not quitclaim to the United States every right that they had?

Mr. HOOKER. No, sir; not at all—only the right for the settlement of friendly Indians. The treaty of 1866 is the latest treaty, and it refers to all the other treaties and shows exactly what was the spirit of the Government in treating with these tribes of Indians. It is too late now to say that you will not treat with the Indians. You have treated with them from the beginning, and the Supreme Court of the United States itself has said that they are a people and nation *sui generis*, and that although they may have made unequal treaties with the United States it is not less the honorable obligation of the United States to observe those treaties and carry them out in good faith.

The treaty of 1866 with the Seminoles provided that—

The Seminole Nation agrees to such legislation as Congress and the President of the United States may deem necessary for the better administration of justice and the protection of the rights of person and property within the said Territory; *Provided, however*, That the said legislation shall not in any way or manner interfere with or annul their present tribal organization, rights, laws, privileges and customs.

In the treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws there was a similar provision.

The Chickasaws and Choctaws agree to such legislation as Congress and the President of the United States may deem necessary for the better administration of justice and the protection of the rights of person and property within said Territory; *Provided, however*, Such legislation shall not in any way interfere with or annul the present tribal organization or the respective legislatures or judiciaries or the rights, laws, privileges, and customs of the Choctaw or Chickasaw Nations respectively.

That shows how carefully they guarded their rights in all these treaties.

Article 38 of the same treaty contains provisions with reference to persons who should go there and intermarry with the Indians.

Article 45 provided that:

All the rights, privileges, and immunities heretofore possessed by said nation or individuals thereof, or to which they were entitled under the treaties and legislation theretofore made and had in connection with them, shall be, and are, hereby declared to be in full force so far as they are consistent with the provisions of this treaty.

It will thus be seen, Mr. Chairman, that from the earliest treaties made in the last century down to the latest treaty made in this century it has been the spirit and purpose of the Government of the United States to secure absolutely the government of these Indians in their own Territory, under their own legislative council, under their own judiciary. This bill proposes to take a large portion of the territory embraced in the Oklahoma district and constitute a Territory of the United States in violation of the language and spirit of the treaties made by the Government with every one of these tribes from the earliest period when we began to treat with them down to the present time.

What should have been the course pursued? If there were a foreign nation involved, our course would have been very plain; but these people do not occupy that attitude. When you want to get their lands you say they are "the wards of the nation" and that you owe them protection. When you find that plea will not operate, you then come in with the argument that "the best Indian is a dead Indian;" and you propose to kill off the Indians if you can not cheat them out of their lands. That is the gravamen, the substance and object of the bill. This bill should have proposed that a commission be sent out to treat with these Indians to ascertain whether they wish to abandon their form of government. No white citizen is there now in accordance with law; every white citizen who may be there is there either in violation of law or without authority of law; and the Government of the United States has time and again used its military power for the purpose of expelling anybody who attempted to invade the rights of these Indians to that Territory. You regarded this obligation as so valid and binding that you were willing to send there the whole Army of the United States for the purpose of protecting these Indians. Now, this bill reported by the Committee on Territories proposes to take this land without consultation with those Indians, to create a Territory with a governor and other officers, and then to go and ask these Indians whether they will consent. What a beautiful line of Territory we should have, zigzagging in and out according as this or the other tribe might assent or refuse to assent to this measure! Where would be the boundaries of this grand Territory which the Committee on Territories proposes to create? Can anybody tell? This Territory is to be dwindled down and zigzagged into shape as this, that, or the other tribe may refuse assent to this measure.

Why, sir, one gentleman testifies in the very examination to which I have referred that there are not twenty-five men in the Indian Territory who want to change their form of government and become an organized Territory. If that be the case, why do you presume that you are going to get the assent of the Indians? Sir, you had a singular exhibition of what agreement is likely to do when you passed your bill in regard to the great Sioux reservation. You sent your commissioners there with Mr. Pratt at their head to treat with the tribes in Dakota. Your commissioners held pow-wows with them, smoked the pipe of peace, remained there for months and months. What was the result? They said the Indians were accusing the Great Father of telling lies to them. What did the leading chief of the Sioux tribe say to them? He said, "No; you accuse us wrongfully; we did not say that our Great Father at Washington had lied to us; but we did say that the commission which he sent to treat with us has lied to us; and we do not intend to sell our lands." If the Sioux tribe said that, what will the civilized tribes, what will the other Indians say?

We ought therefore to send out a commission. Instead of endeavoring to force this bill through, in violation of our obligations to the Indians, we should primarily ask the Indians, not as the result of persuasion, but as a free and voluntary act on their part, to concede that their Territory may be constructed into an organized Territory of the United States, with Indian representation on this floor, and with Indian representation in the other branch of Congress; for I say here and now that the only safeguard for these people against the rapacity of which this bill is but the outcome, the only protection of these Indians against the rapacity of the States bordering upon their Territory, is that they shall have representation on this floor and in the Senate, so that they may be able to defend their rights intelligently. They have now no special representative to speak for them. They should have representation in the Congress of the United States, so as to be heard in vindication of their own rights.

But this Territory is proposed to be created out of land which does not belong to the Government and over citizens who exist only in the imagination of the distinguished gentlemen of the Territorial Committee who have presented this bill. I am speaking now to the general merits of the bill. I am opposed to it upon principle. I believe it wrong from the first section to the last. I do not think that the people of the United States can be induced to perpetrate this wrong upon the Indians; but if this bill is to pass, then, certainly, unless there is some interest to be subserved which is not apparent upon the face of the bill, I can see no reason why the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PAYSON] should not constitute a part of the bill. If there are interests so dear to the Territorial Committee that the adoption of this amendment will, as the gentleman from Illinois suggested yesterday, prove a "Trojan horse;" if there are to be ideas carried out and people to be protected that we know nothing of, and if this amend-

ment is to be a "Trojan horse" to kill this bill, then, as I said to the chairman of the committee yesterday, the bill ought to die, because it has the seeds of destruction within itself.

With these remarks, asking permission to include in my printed speech some treaty provisions which I have not had time to read, I leave the question for the consideration of the committee.

Alaska—The United States Should Give It a Better Government.

SPEECH

OF

HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, June 21, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole and having under consideration the sundry civil appropriation bill, on an amendment offered to increase the appropriation for education in Alaska—

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The purchase of the Territory of Alaska by the United States from Russia may not have been good policy. We do not seem to have any great use for it, either present or prospective, and our form of government is not well adapted to the control of distant colonies.

But whether it was wise or unwise to acquire it, we have actually purchased it, and it is now a part of our national domain. We are under obligations to provide a good government for the inhabitants, one suited to their condition and circumstances. I am not satisfied that we have done all that we should in this respect. In fact, I feel quite certain that we have not.

One great difficulty Congress labors under is a want of correct information in regard to the territory and the people who live in it. Prior to the purchase from Russia, citizens of the United States were in general as ignorant of this vast territory as if it had been in Asia. We have owned it over twenty-one years, and the information yet obtained is meager indeed. Officers of the Army and civil officers of our Government have made explorations in this country and furnished very interesting reports of their observations. But the extent of the territory is so great and the means of travel so poor that these reports make it certain that the greater part of Alaska is wholly unknown to us.

The inhabitants are largely half-civilized tribes, scarcely equal in point of intelligence to the blanket Indians on our Western reservations. Among these, Christian missionaries from the United States are doing good work. Those who have gone from comfortable homes to this distant territory as teachers and preachers are deserving of great credit for their self-sacrifice and devotion to duty.

It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that all the inhabitants of Alaska are uncivilized. There are some ten or twelve thousand civilized inhabitants living in communities that have had Christian churches and schools for several generations. These are the people that feel most the want of proper laws and a government to protect their lives and property.

In addition to the natural obligations we are under to these people by reason of having purchased the Territory, our Government is bound by solemn treaty to maintain and protect these people in their rights. The Territory was ceded to the United States by Russia for the price of $7,200,000 by a treaty dated March 30, 1867. The Emperor of Russia, who is remembered as the firm friend of our Government during the rebellion, when he transferred this Territory to the United States, took from our Government this covenant in the treaty in regard to the people who then lived in Alaska:

The inhabitants (with exception of uncivilized tribes) shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may from time to time adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country.

Mr. Speaker, it must be confessed that we have not fulfilled this treaty obligation with the promptness and fairness that should characterize a great nation like ours.

Alaska is a Territory in size almost equal to all the States of the Union east of the Mississippi River. It is true that the civilized inhabitants occupy but a small fraction of the Territory, but their numbers, as I have stated, are considerable, and we have reliable information that the civilized population is increasing rapidly.

A colony from British Columbia under the lead of Rev. William Duncan, consisting of one thousand educated Christian natives, has recently settled within the Territory, bringing with them all their industries. The gold, silver, and other minerals are attracting prospectors, and the vast undeveloped resources of forests, fisheries, and grazing are bringing immigrants in very considerable numbers.

I am not expecting that any great part of this Territory will soon be settled like our Western lands, with their genial climate and fruitful soil. We need not expect its great resources to be even generally developed for several generations. In fact, its great value consists in this, that it may furnish to future generations fields for development and homes for crowded thousands of American citizens when the public lands in the older Territories and States of our Union are exhausted. But there is a present population that demands our attention, and in addition to this the population, without any doubt, will increase very considerably within the next few years. The foundations should be laid now by education, religious instruction, and the passage and execution of just laws for a republican form of government that will make this Territory, a hundred years from now, suitable for homes for millions of American citizens.

When we obtained possession of the Territory the laws of Russia ceased to operate in it. What have we done since to give it reasonable and just laws? We have given it a governor, whose office consists mostly in the name. His duties are few, and he is without means to enforce and execute laws, even if he had the authority and there were laws to execute. It is true Congress passed an act extending all the laws of the State of Oregon to this Territory so far as they are applicable. But when it is considered that Alaska is not divided into either townships or counties and has no local courts or officers such as Oregon, it is easy to see that these laws can be of no practical benefit. The act providing for a governor expressly states that the public-land laws of the United States shall not be extended to Alaska, and there is to-day no law whatever for acquiring title to public lands.

Congress in 1884, as a temporary matter, directed the Secretary of the Interior to make needful provision for the education of children, and appropriated the sum of $25,000 for the purpose. Notwithstanding the criticisms that have been made here to-day I am satisfied, from the governor's annual report and other evidence, that this money has been as well expended for the purpose as we had any right to expect under all the circumstances. The present bill proposes an appropriation of $25,000 to continue the work of general education and $20,000 for an industrial school. The proposed amendment is to increase this sum $25,000. I am in favor of the amendment, and hope it may be adopted.

Much good has undoubtedly been done, as I before remarked, by Christian missionaries and teachers in the way of establishing and conducting schools. I regret that I am unable to give the names of all of the self-sacrificing men and women who have devoted themselves to this work.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS.

There was in operation in the territory last year fifteen Government day-schools. They are much in need of buildings and furniture. Additional schools are also greatly needed. All expenses, including salaries of teachers and new buildings, must be paid from the appropriation we now make.

There are in addition to these Government schools, two in a large part supported by the Government appropriation, and the schools to which I have referred under the charge of the Presbyterians, Friends' Society, and Catholics. There may be others of this class, but if so, I have not seen any account of them. One thing in this connection I consider worthy of notice. The despotic government of Russia, through the organization of its established church, yet supports seventeen schools among these people who were once its citizens. It is far from creditable to us that whilst the territory belongs to us and we are deriving a large revenue from it, the Russian Government, without any interest whatever except love for its former citizens, is yet expending annually more money for the education and christianization of the native people of Alaska than our own Government.

In reply to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] I say that our Government is under greater obligation to provide for education in Alaska than in any other Territory we have. The reason is that other Territories have local laws, Legislatures of their own, and a system of government under which taxes can be levied and schools supported. Alaska has none of these. The United States Government collects revenues from the seal fisheries and other sources to a large amount, and can well afford to appropriate money for the government and education of the people. I say further to the gentleman that I do believe that our Government assumed the responsibility of educating the youth of Alaska when it purchased the Territory. We are at least under obligation to see that the people have the means of securing education for their children.

I want to call the attention of Congress to the urgent need of legislation on other subjects for this Territory. It seems to me that we have been very negligent in regard to this matter. This is the only Territory we have in which the people are wholly without representation. They have no local Legislature such as our other Territories have, and it is probable the circumstances will not justify giving them one for some considerable time yet. I do not think they are now fitted to have a Legislature. But I do think they ought to have a representative in Congress, like other Territories. Congress greatly needs the information a Delegate could give in regard to legislation suitable for the Territory. The remoteness of its location and the want of knowledge as

to its conditions are reasons why Alaska needs a Delegate in Congress more than any other Territory belonging to the United States.

The great reason why it has been so long neglected is that there is no one here that seems to feel responsible for its welfare. No one member of Congress feels it to be his special duty to look after its interest, and with a divided responsibility and its people unrepresented and unheard its great interests are entirely neglected. We have all been derelict in this respect. This session of Congress ought not to be allowed to close without enacting laws that would give the people of Alaska, representation in Congress by a Delegate, better mail facilities, some system of land laws by which homesteads might be acquired on the public lands, and at least some provisions of law and courts to punish crime, preserve the peace, and protect life and property.

Much more is needed for the civilized settlements in the way of local government, that should have attention at an early day. But the matters I have enumerated are of such pressing, urgent necessity that they should be granted at once. I am aware that for years information has been circulated about the capital that the inhabitants of Alaska are of such a character that they do not need any better government than they have. This information, Mr. Speaker, seems without doubt to come from the Alaska Commercial Company, a corporation that has a monopoly of the fur trade of Alaska, and which is interested in keeping the Territory in a state of savage barbarism.

This company desires to prevent immigration and development of the resources of the Territory. It is opposed to all industries except fur trading, and makes a monopoly of that; and we ought not to be deceived by its misrepresentations.

I have extended my remarks in the hope of calling the attention of Congress and the country to the manner in which this great Territory and its civilized inhabitants have now for twenty-one years been neglected. I trust that we shall this day begin to do justice by voting a liberal appropriation for education in Alaska, and that we shall at an early day follow it by legislation that will give its inhabitants a better government and tend to the development of its really great natural resources.

The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILKINSON CALL,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, October 12, 1888.

The Senate being in Committee of the Whole, and having under consideration the bill (... R. 9351) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. CALL said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The issue at the present time between the two political parties of the country can not be said by any fair process of argument to be questions concerning the propriety or wisdom of the policy of protection or of free trade. Senators have discussed it in this method of argument, but it can not address itself to the approval of intelligent or thoughtful people in the Congress of the United States or outside.

CONSPIRACY OF SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

It has been said by them to be a conspiracy against American labor for the House of Representatives to have formulated a bill and presented it here for a reduction of the rates of duty upon imported goods. I think the Senate of the United States and the people of the United States are sadly wanting in intelligence if arguments of this description can address themselves with power to their judgment. It might as well be charged that it was a conspiracy against the sun and the moon and the whole planetary system.

Labor, as is known by all intelligent men who reason upon the subject, whether in New England or out of it, is governed by laws which no conspiracy in the world can affect. The economies which control mankind in their business relations, in their productive forces, are absolute and can not be affected, if every man in the world were to conspire against the divine order of nature and of natural economy.

Mr. President, it is a matter of surprise that in this body, whose processes of reasoning should be of a high order and informed by the intelligent thought of the world, such ideas should be propounded as a conspiracy of the Southern people, of the Southern States, against the interests of American labor—a conspiracy in favor of cheap labor as against the well-paid labor. There is no predicate for such a proposition.

HIGHEST PAID LABOR CHEAPEST.

Suppose it were true that the Southern people and their representatives in Congress were so unwise as to desire a controversy of this description, how would they proceed to do it? What interest could they have? Highly-paid labor produces the lowest cost of goods everywhere. It is highly paid because it is more valuable. If not more valuable, it can not be paid a larger sum than is paid to less valuable labor by a natural law which all the world could not control.

Why is this so? It is because production must pay its own cost. If it does not do so, it will soon cease to be production. It must support itself and something more. This is a self-evident proposition.

There is no such thing as a controversy between highly-paid labor and cheap labor, because the highly-paid labor is the cheapest in production; it produces more to him who pays the higher wages than does the cheap labor, and it is for that reason alone that it can be better paid for.

I hold in my hand a treatise by Professor James H. Canfield, of the University of Kansas, from which I read the following:

The general effect of the protective system on Western development and upon our agricultural interests is detrimental and repressive. We are handicapped at the beginning of the race, and heavy weighted clear through to the end. That we have made rapid advancement goes without saying; we simply can not help this, with the constant influx of fresh blood, much of it the best that the country affords. That the tariff tax has been our only enemy is not true; we have all the failings and shortcomings of mankind, and must make the usual struggle against nature both within and without ourselves. But at every step we have been obliged to overcome tariff obstacles; and some of these have been so great as to prove insurmountable to the weaker folk who have tried to "grow up with the country" and have painfully failed.

Take Kansas as a fairly typical State. It has just completed the first quarter century of its existence. During the four years of civil strife it was subjected to all the terrible waste and strain of border war. Since peace came it has been compelled to wrestle with grasshoppers and with drought. Its water supply is small, and its timber very inadequate. It is at a great distance from those central markets, those points of storage, where the prices of most of its exports are determined. Rival Western States have left no stone unturned to direct from it both population and capital. It has a fine climate, a wonderfully fertile soil, and a commanding geographical position. Consider very briefly what was needed that it might most readily and surely rise in material well-being and in influence and power.

Taking Kansas as a typical State, this essay shows with very great ability how much there is in the suggestion of a conspiracy against labor by reducing the taxation upon that which labor supplies, upon labor itself. Mr. Canfield shows that the labor of Kansas, producing untaxed goods, is the highest and best paid labor to be found in the whole country, and that this labor so highly paid of the people of Kansas and producing untaxed goods entirely, deriving no benefit from the imposition of the high rates of duty produces a large surplus, which is sold abroad in foreign countries in competition with the cheapest labor of the world, and in successful competition; and that there is returned back to this country the product of the labor of the people of Kansas, paid for in higher wages than in any manufacturing center in the country, to be taxed 47 per cent. for the benefit and the support of the protected industries of the country.

Why, then, talk about a conspiracy of cheap labor against well-paid or highly paid labor? Why talk about the continuance of the sectional spirit and feeling of the war when all intelligent men have arrived at the conclusion that highly paid labor is the best economy for the producer?

The proposition, then, is that highly paid labor is the cheapest labor in the world. It is the cheapest, as I said, to the person who pays the wages, and therefore there can be no conspiracy in favor of cheap labor as against high labor, because high labor is cheap labor, the cheapest in the world to the producer, to the man who pays the wages.

Cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions are the farmer's wages—not his day-wages but his piece-wages. They are all cheaper here than in England. Work by the piece is therefore cheaper here than in England, for half the workers. Such being the case, if their work is higher by the day, the fact must be attributed to something besides the tariff.—*Henry J. Philpott, Tariff Chats.*

To this effect are to be found the statements and reasoning of Mr. Edward Atkinson, a New Englander, who I think in many respects is one of the ablest men and statisticians in the country. Although many of his conclusions do not address themselves to my judgment favorably, yet they certainly are the result of long study and intellect of a very high order, and his opinions are those of a man whose business associations are all in the interest of those who have accumulated capital, and whose prejudices, if any he has, are in the line of that system of legislative interference with the relations of labor and production which have characterized the policy of the country for so many years.

I take it, then, that the country has advanced too far to give any consideration to the suggestions that whatever policy may be advocated or adopted in the diminution or increase of the duties will not be the product of sectional feeling or be in anywise connected with the differences which have been created in past years between the two sections of the United States.

The attempt to connect financial questions, economical questions, with the old difficulties that existed between the people of the United States is equally unworthy of a Senator and of a reasoning mind outside of the Senate. It can not address itself to the judgment and the intelligent thought of any class of people.

DEMOCRATS PLEDGED TO REDUCE TAXES.

The Democratic party since the close of the war have appealed to the people of this country for their support upon the pledge that if they obtain power they would reduce the taxes imposed upon the people for the defense of the country in time of war to such an amount as was adequate only to pay the expenses of the Government in a time of peace.

That proposition has not been antagonized by the political organization of the country in opposition to the Democratic party, nor has it been antagonized by the judgment of sensible or thoughtful men elsewhere. But events have passed on until a quarter of a century has expired, and these impositions still remain a burden upon the people.

We are all agreed that taxes shall be reduced, and the question addresses itself, how shall they be reduced? That is the only question before the American people at this time, as between the two parties in reference to the financial policy of the Government. How shall the taxes be reduced? There the point of division occurs.

The Democratic party as represented in the Congress of the United States have formulated and placed before the country a proposition to the effect that the method for the reduction of taxation shall be by reducing taxes upon the articles of general consumption of necessary use for the people of the country, and the opposing party have antagonized that proposition. They have insisted that the duty upon a large proportion of the articles necessary for the subsistence of human life shall not be reduced, but shall be increased. They insist that the taxation is a benefit to the people of the country, and not an injury to it; and they antagonize sharply and forcibly the proposition that taxation is a burden, that taxation should not be placed upon the necessaries of life, that the economies which produce cheapness of all things necessary for subsistence and human comfort should be ascertained and closely followed.

NECESSARIES TO BE FREE FROM TAXES.

Here comes the great question to be considered by the people of this country. Abstractly, there would be no difference of opinion that the necessaries of life should be untaxed; that they should be most easily obtained and with the least amount of human labor; that this is necessary to the preservation of human life and human comfort; but considerations intervene claiming that this taxation will ultimately benefit the people of the country and not injure them.

Mr. President, let us examine very briefly that proposition. Let us see whether or not we can afford, whether the capitalists of this country, the men who have accumulated fortunes, can afford to impose a tax upon the necessities of life.

The great historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has said with a great deal of force:

The true interest even of an absolute monarch generally coincides with that of his people. Their numbers, their wealth, their order, and their security are the best and only foundations of his real greatness, and were he totally devoid of virtue, prudence might supply his place and would dictate the same rule of conduct—

Namely, to consult the interests and the welfare and the comfort of all of the people.

ONE-HALF OF LABORING MEN'S WAGES PAID FOR TAXES.

What is the condition of the people of the United States? Is it true, or is it not true, that 47 per cent., nearly one-half, of the product of every man's labor, whether it be high or low, dear or cheap labor—is it true that by a system of tax levies, either directly or indirectly, every man pays, taking it as an average, 47 per cent. of his labor to be invested in the necessaries of life? It is no treason to consider that proposition. It is not the subject of denunciation, as it was made yesterday by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT]. If it be true, it is a fact which will force its own conclusions. If it be not true, then it can be shown by a fair, an enlightened, and a reasonable consideration of the propositions which tend to demonstrate its truth. Is it true that the laboring people of the United States pay 47 per cent. of their labor, of their lives, by reason of a system of tax levies?

That is affirmed by many men of great power of thought, and is believed by men of great capacity and great research and great practical business knowledge. Why do not Senators on the other side address themselves to the point of disproving that proposition? There are methods of thought by which that is proved.

I read again from a little book by Henry J. Philpott, an able man, but it does not matter who is the author of the book. He may be a very bad man or a very good man. He may be in the penitentiary or out of it, but thought is the same; it is true or untrue; it is capable of examination. Facts are none the less facts, be the source from which they come elevated or degraded. We are here to reason in regard to matters.

The proposition which Mr. Philpott makes is that very nearly the amount of the tax, not an absolute, not a fixed, not an invariable quantity, not without its exceptions, but that the amount of the tax, whether it be a tariff tax or a domestic tax, is paid by the laborer of this country to the producer of the thing taxed. He says:

You may think this an exaggeration. But reflect that this tax, which we have empowered the tariff trustees to levy on us, along with the Government, is laid on everything you wear and many things that you eat, as well as on all the dishes and the table-cloth; it is on the pane of glass that lets God's sweet sunlight shine on your baby; it is on the baby's flannels, on the wood in its crib or cradle; it is on the lumber in the house that shelters you; it is on the tools with which you earn your bread, and on the materials to which your diligent hands apply them; it is on the wheels and rails that carry your goods to market; it is on your beds and bedding; it is on your books, Bible and all; and if you die before the law is changed, it will be on your grave-clothes, your coffin, and your tombstone. Yes, even the plain white marble slab that marks the spot where your tax-ridden remains await the resurrection must pay a tariff tribute to one of the closest and most soulless tariff trusts in the country. From the cradle to the coffin, from the baby linen and baby flannel to the linen (cotton or woolen) grave-clothes, from the family Bible where the birth is recorded to the heavenward-pointing tablet whereon both death and birth are carven, the tariff trustee follows you and taxes you, and you let him; and when asked why, you reply that you don't understand these deep questions.

It is certainly true that a tax is imposed on all of these articles enumerated.

I read further from the same author:

What in the world is this average $18 tax which nobody understands? Who are these men who either pray or swear every time a cut is hinted at? And whence these tears and oaths? Perhaps it is not quite so deep a mystery as they would like to have us believe. Suppose we play the detective, and probe it.

A tariff tax is a tax on foreign goods. No civilized country produces all the things its own people use. Some savage tribes live entirely on their own products, and everything that is produced is consumed by the "home market." But the moment they become civilized, or even start fairly on the road to civilization, they begin to use things that other tribes or nations produce. They pay for them with the things they themselves produce, and thus commerce arises. How this has benefited and civilized humanity has often been pointed out.

The quantity of foreign goods used in this country is quite surprising to people who haven't thought much about the matter. All our tea, coffee, pepper, and spices are foreign, and most of our sugar. We should not like to do without these. A large part of our clothing is foreign, and so are a great many other things that we use in every-day life. Altogether, we used in 1887 so many of these foreign things that their total cost, in the countries from which we bought them, was $683,000,000. They are not all taxed, but $450,000,000 worth were taxed when they entered our ports, and the total tax amounted to $214,000,000; so that, counting the tax and all, our people paid last year $897,000,000 for the foreign goods they used. This does not include the cost of bringing them to America and distributing them to the storekeepers, nor the profits and commissions. What these amount to no man can exactly estimate. Is it extravagant to guess that, adding them all together, the freight from all the far-off foreign countries, the ocean insurance, the profits of the importer, wholesaler, and retailer, and the railroad freights, they amount to 50 per cent. of the value of the goods in the countries of production? That is my guess. Make yours lower, and then figure on your own plan. I heartily wish I was sure that my guess was not too low. Yours can not be enough lower to make any difference in the argument. Accept mine, and we have a total sum paid by you and me and our fellow-countrymen, for foreign goods, of $1,440,000,000 in a single year. Dividing this up among the families in the country, we find that each average family used last year $120 worth of foreign goods.

Why are two-thirds of these foreign goods heavily taxed, while the other one-third is allowed to come in free of duty? If part are taxed, why not all? What can be the matter with our people that in spite of the tax they use twice as much of the taxed as of the untaxed foreign articles, and pay for them, including the tax, three times as much? Are the whole American people crazy, or are some of them selfish and mistaken? All buy these foreign goods—protectionists, free-traders, tariff reformers—and all alike. Who is it that is gifted by Heaven with such wisdom as to dictate to 60,000,000 of people what foreign goods they should buy, and what not?

"Oh, surely," you say, "no foreign article is taxed as high as 50 per cent." Yes, indeed. Some of the taxes are as high as 150 per cent., and all averaged 47 in the year 1887.

THE DUDE AND THE MILLIONAIRE.

In the United States Senate, on February 2, 1888, Senator PLATT said:

"There is a standing challenge in the office of a protection newspaper in the city of New York, with the samples ready to be shown to any free-trader, to show that clothing in this country is not as cheap as in England. The truth is that everybody, except the dude and the millionaire, can be clothed cheaper in this country than in England, and in woolen clothing too; and I apprehend that we are not very anxious to reduce the tariff duties for the purpose of benefiting the dude and the millionaire."

Now, let us see about this. Do the dude and the millionaire use women's and children's woolen dress goods? Are these cheaper in America than in England? Then how happens it that in 1886 we imported over 60,000,000 square yards of them, paying $15,000,000 for the goods and $11,000,000 tariff on them? This is an average of 2 yards for every woman and girl in the country. It would make a whole dress apiece for half the American women.

And these are the goods that are actually imported and on which the tax is actually paid. Do you think we would import enough of this one single class of goods to give half the women in the country a spick and span new woolen dress every year if they were cheaper here than in countries from which they were imported? Do you not think the trustees of the tariff trusts are trying to impose on your credulity a little?

CALICO.

Speaking of calico Senator PLATT, on behalf of his clients, who say (without blushing) that they can not run their business if your taxes and mine are reduced, made another remark which affords me a long looked for and confidently expected opportunity. We have all heard of the backwoods free-trader who interrupted a protectionist speaker and asked him about the tax on shirtings. "The tax is 7 cents a yard," said the speaker. "Now, what did your shirt cost you?" "Five cents a yard," was the reply, and of course the free-trader was crushed.

I heard that story when I was a boy, but there never was any chance to run it down and corner the man who started it. I have been waiting ever since for some responsible person to make a similar argument in a tangible shape.

It is not true that the duty on calico is 6 cents a square yard, and it is not true that you can buy it at retail for 6 cents a square yard. The tariff on this class of goods is purposely made as complicated as possible, so that as few people as possible shall be able to "understand the tariff." On goods having less than 100 threads to the square inch, counting warp and filling, which would certainly include any 6-cent calico, the duty is 4½ cents a square yard. But you can not get 50 by 50 calico for 6 cents a square yard. You may get it for 6 cents a running yard, but such calico is only 22 inches wide. Hence you pay more than 9 cents a square yard; and while you might not get it 4½ cents cheaper in England you would certainly get it some cheaper.

Of the colored cotton goods that pay 6 cents a square yard, we actually imported in 1886 two and a half million yards, and paid 12½ cents for the cloth and 6 cents, of course, for the tax. That made these goods cost us, wholesale, 18½ cents, and at retail perhaps 25. These are the nice lawns and the like which our wives and daughters like to wear. They are not calicoes at all. To speak of them as such is to perpetrate, whether intentionally or unintentionally, a falsehood. To prove this, cut a square inch of the best calico you can get, not bias, pick it to pieces, and count all the threads both ways. See if there are 200 of them. I have tried it.

The tax on the running yard of actual calico of the common grade and width is not 6 cents, but 2¼ cents. A gentleman who has sold scores of thousands of yards of calico at retail in both countries, and is now in the business, tells me that, quality and width considered, there is at least 1½ if not 2 cents' difference in the price between this country and England. This is one of the cases where the manufacturer is not able to realize the whole amount of the protection apparently afforded by the duty. In such cases very little if any of the goods are imported.

* * * * * * *

I do not mean to say that the duty is always added to the price, and in fact

I have proved that it is not; but in many cases it is, and I have no hesitation in saying that this tax system, by which the Government realizes $18 from each average family, costs that family at least $90 a year. It costs the whole American people not less than $1,000,000,000,000 a year, and I think much more, to have their taxes dictated by the trustees of half a hundred trusts.

* * * * * * *

I used to rise on Sunday morning from my humble cot in a log farm-house, throwing off the bed-clothes taxed 40 to 100 per cent. and donning my clothing taxed 35 to 100 per cent., eat my taxed breakfast from dishes taxed 45 per cent. on a table-cloth taxed 40 per cent., and when the Sabbath bell, taxed 35 per cent., sounded its inviting notes, I took my Bible, taxed 25 per cent., and went to the church built of lumber taxed 20 per cent., and there, in a Sunday-school song-book taxed 25 per cent. (and all these taxes paid to the objects of my charity, not to the Government), I read:

"Far out upon the prairie
How many children dwell,
Who never read the Bible,
Nor hear the Sabbath bell."

* * * * * * *

Our manufacturers as a whole class have as great advantages over any other country as the farmers have. I have already called attention to these advantages. The result is that the American manufacturers get their work done for less labor expense than those of any country in the world. Here is a little table worked out by our consul at Tunstall, Mr. J. Schoenhof, showing the daily wages per yard of cotton-mill operatives in three countries:

	Daily wages.	Wages per 100 yards.
In Switzerland, and we may include Germany	$0.44 to $0.49	$0.60
In England	.65	.55
In America	.80 to 1.12	.40

So the pauper labor of Europe is not so cheap to the man who buys it and sells its products as American labor is. Mr. J. B. Sargent, of New Haven, the most extensive hardware manufacturer in America, has told me over and over again that the same is true in his business, and, as he believes, in the great majority of American manufactures. This is one method of proof that it is not the workingman who gets the benefit of the tariff. He would be a pauper if he did, but he does not. The tariff pauper is the mill-owner. He owns the goods when they are made. He sells them. He pockets the proceeds. He imports laborers, free of duty. He joins a trust, closes his mill half the year, gets a dividend for lying idle and "limiting production," and turns his hands into the street to lie idle without a dividend and without wages.

Wages are lower in the protected than in the unprotected industries, and the workingmen are more generally foreigners and treated worse. Many of them are to all intents and purposes bought by the ship-load, like slaves, in Europe. Of the 340,854 persons engaged in strikes last year, 112,317, or about one-third, were in Pennsylvania, the most highly protected of all the States. There were half as many strikers in Pennsylvania as in all the rest of the country together.

In 1880 the trustees placarded every workshop in the country with a comparison of wages in thirteen occupations between different European countries and New York City and Chicago. This was not a fair comparison, because the United States census of manufactures shows that wages are 24 per cent. higher in New York City than in the country as a whole. Without making any allowance for this, and averaging the whole thirteen occupations, we have on the trustees' own authority:

Germany, per week	$3.46
England	7.69
New York	12.38

England higher than Germany, 111 per cent.
New York higher than England, 61 per cent.
Nearly double the relative difference between England and Germany, as between New York and England, though Germany protects and England admits German goods free of duty. Our census of 1880 shows:

WAGES IN WOOLEN MANUFACTURES.

Ohio—yearly	$196
Connecticut	335

Connecticut higher than Ohio, 70 per cent.

WAGES IN COTTON MANUFACTURES.

North Carolina—yearly	$135
New Jersey	255

New Jersey higher than North Carolina, 88 per cent.
A greater relative difference in both cases than even a red-hot protectionist campaign card claimed between New York City and England. If the latter difference is caused by the tariff, what, pray, has created the others? While the trustees were at it they ought to have done a smoother job of wage-raising—or deception.

The question we have to investigate is, what is the effect of the tax? It can not be said anywhere that the effect of a tax is to reduce the cost of the thing taxed. If you have a coat and it has cost a dollar to make that coat, and it is taxed 47 per cent., there is no one who will pretend to say that that 47 per cent. added to the cost of the coat, making it cost $1.47, will cheapen that particular coat. The most that could be claimed would be that it will in some indirect method cheapen some other coat yet and hereafter to be made. Whether it will or will not have that effect depends upon many questions, upon questions of great practical importance, questions which, if we have erred in assuming that their effect will be to cheapen the price of other coats, will carry with them a power that may even destroy the Government itself, may destroy social order. It carries with it the question whether or not there shall be abundance or want, whether distribution shall be equal and easy on the necessaries of life or whether they shall be so burdened and taxed that they will come to the people at such rates as will diminish their consumption and use of them.

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

What, then, is the fact? I take it it will be determined by the condition of the country. We have no accurate census to inform us of what the condition of the country is; we do not know as a matter of absolute certainty, but we do know this, that in the last twenty-three years there has been eight thousand millions of dollars of products sold by one portion of the people of this country in foreign markets for gold values in imported merchandise, and brought back to this country to pay 47 per cent., or nearly one-half, nearly four thousand millions, to somebody. To whom is that paid? Put the rates at what you please, and with what sophistry or with what force can it be alleged that outside of the specific duty paid to the Government there is no effect upon the larger portion of this eight thousand million of gold values imported into this country during the last twenty-three years? We can not convince ourselves or any one else that it has had no effect in increasing the cost of productions at home, which it was intended to benefit; you must allow that something of this eight thousand millions of dollars shall represent the sale of farm products, of agricultural productions, of the cattle productions, of the dairy interests of the country; you must admit that this eight thousand millions of dollars have gone to some extent to pay for this advanced price, or you must admit that the system has no merit, and that in place of the eulogies which have been bestowed upon it, it has no real advantage and amounts to nothing; that it is simply a method of collecting revenue which is the most agreeable to the people and attended with fewer discontents in the public mind.

How shall we arrive at the question whether or not these eight thousand million dollars made by the farmers, by the agricultural people of the country, by the wine-growers, by the dairymen—I have a list here of these products, specific ones, and their values sold abroad, but I will not detain the Senate by reading it; I will ask the privilege of printing it with my remarks; but I ask how shall we ascertain what portion of this vast amount of eight thousand millions of dollars, as against less than one thousand millions in the twenty-three years of manufacturing products sold to the farming interests in competition with what is called pauper labor, poorly paid labor, the ryots of India, the serfs of Russia before they were emancipated, the peasantry of Europe—how is it that these eight thousand millions of dollars of agricultural production of the highest and best paid labor of the free American citizen in the world have been sold in competition with this species of labor and brought back in the shape of what? Of foreign goods at the rate of five or six hundred millions, nearly seven hundred millions a year of imported goods, to compete with the protected productions of American manufacturers.

AMOUNT PAID BY FARMERS.

I desire here to read from Lieb on "The protective tariff; what it does for us." On pages 76, 77, and 78, he says:

A few years ago the Chicago Tribune was asked by an Illinois granger "how much tribute the farmers of Illinois had to pay for the support of our infant industries." "Please give us the cold facts," said the granger, "to paste in our hats." To these inquiries the Tribune replied:

"The cold facts may give our granger reader a chill colder than does the frosty weather, unless perchance his indignation should warm him up. We will classify a few of the items of the expenditure of an Illinois farmer's family, with the amount per cent. of tax it pays either to the Government on the articles imported or to the manufacturer if produced in the Eastern States:

TAXES ON AN ILLINOIS KITCHEN.

	Per cent.
The iron the stove is made of	45
Hollow ware, pots, and kettles	53
Copper and brass utensils, if any	45
Crockery of the commonest kind	55
Glassware, of the cheapest kind	45
Table cutlery and spoons	45
Pickled or salted fish	25
Salt	36
Sugar	48
Vinegar	36
Pickles	35
Rice	123
Oranges and other foreign fruits, about	20

TAXES ON AN ILLINOIS PARLOR.

Carpet, if made of druggets	74
Carpet, if made of tapestry	68
Furniture	35
Wall-paper	25
Window-curtains	45
Looking-glass	60
Ornaments or knick-knacks	35

TAXES ON AN ILLINOIS WARDROBE.

Men's clothing, of wool	48
Woolen hosiery and undershirts	75
Cotton hosiery and undershirts	45
Woolen hats and caps	75
The farmer's wife's black silk dress (less now)	60
Gloves	60
Blankets	60
Alpaca dresses	63
Any other woolen dresses	70
A pair of scissors	45
Brass pins	30
Hair-pins	45
Penknives	50
Needles	25
Steel pins	45
Ink	25
Paper	20
Razors	45

TAXES ON SUNDRIES.

Castor-oil	102
Castile soap	50

	Per cent.
A dose of Epsom salts	30
Insect powder	20
Salad oil	34
The commonest window-glass for houses	80
Paint, white lead for farm-house	54
Brick	35
Roofing slates	30
Horseshoe nails	31
Trace chains	53
A hand-saw	40
Files	40
Spool thread	60
Bags and bagging for grain	40
A burr-stone	20
Combs and brushes	30
A wooden pipe	80
An alpaca umbrella	50
Any iron or steel a farmer may need, average of	45
Tincups, skimmers, dippers, and all tinware	42
Tin-plate, for canning meats and fruits	34
Fencing boards, $2 per thousand	
Pine boards, for building, about	20
If planed	33
Fencing posts, about	30
Shingles for roof	25
Lath for house building	20
Barbed wire, for fencing	55

Mr. President, a man must reason. Be he an advocate of one theory or another, as a man who has intellect he must weigh and value facts. If it be true that the highest and best paid labor of the world has gone into the markets of Europe in competition with the agricultural labor of the poorest and cheapest paid people upon the earth, and been enabled to sell its productions at an advantage in that competition, and has brought back this $8,000,000,000, for what purpose has it been done? To benefit themselves? To improve their own farms? To make agriculture respectable and profitable and remunerative? Mr. President, the census shows that these people who have produced this $8,000,000,000 of value in twenty-three years, as contrasted with the millions of dollars of manufactured products, are resting now under mortgages upon their homes of a total amount of $4,871,000,000. In the place of this excess over their own consumption they are resting under a mortgage indebtedness of $4,871,000,000.

I have here an investigation of the condition of the laboring people in respect to their own personal and immediate supply of the necessaries of life. I have collated portions of Lieb which I propose to publish with my remarks without detaining the Senate to read them.

*Protected occupations.**

Occupations.	Weekly wages.		
	1880.	1886.	Decrease.
			Per cent.
Brush-makers	$12.00	$10.80	5
Cloak-factory workers	14.75	11.75	20
Coal-miners	12.02	8.02	33
Confectioners	18.86	12.14	35
Iron and steel workers	41.10	36.50	11
Iron-molders	16.43	14.41	12
Organ-builders	15.00	12.00	20
Paper-mill operatives	12.00	10.05	16
Salt laborers	13.20	12.00	9
Shoemakers	12.30	9.90	19
Tinners	12.90	11.25	12
Zinc-factory men	25.00	18.75	25

* The average rate of wages of watch-factory workers at Elgin, as reported, was $12 a week in 1882 and only $9 in 1886.
Similar workers employed in the watch factory at Rockford received $16 per week in wages in 1882 and but $12 in 1886.
The tariff on watches is 25 per cent.

Unprotected occupations.

	Weekly wages.		
	1880.	1886.	Increase.
			Per cent.
Bricklayers and stonemasons	$19.05	$20.10	14
Electrotypers	13.50	19.15	44
Hod-carriers	9.00	11.50	27
Slate-roofers	14.25	15.75	10
Press-feeders	7.00	8.50	21
Stair-builders	13.50	15.75	17
Steam-fitter helpers	9.00	12.00	33
Stone-block pavers	18.00	24.00	33
Stonecutters	18.00	21.60	20
Street-railway employés	10.25	13.01	27
Wooden-block pavers	18.00	23.50	30
Wood-turners	12.00	14.25	19

Thus it appears that the wages in the twelve protected industries suffered a decrease of 18 per cent. on an average during those five years, while the wages in the twelve unprotected industries received an average increase of 21 per cent. And again, Mr. Arrott, of Philadelphia, who was selected to collect statistics for the United States census of 1880, says:

"While wages earned in protected industries in 1870 was, per hand employed, $346, for the year 1880 it was but $313.75, or a decrease of about 29 per cent."

And again, Mr. Wright, in his annual report of 1883, states that in 1875 the percentage of wages paid to the value of production in over two thousand establishments was 24.68, and that in 1880 it was only 20.23, a decrease of one-sixth in five years.

It appears that in many portions of the country, with an annual average receipt varying in different States and in different localities in the same State of from $350 to $450 and upwards, they are in a condition of great want, that in large part their compensation, their share of this great aggregate production, is not sufficient to support them even in ordinary comfort, but that they are in absolute want, that for a large portion of the time they are without a comfortable subsistence.

I hold in my hand a treatise by Mr. Edward Atkinson, going into the details, with the figures, showing that a difference of 1 cent or 5 cents in the compensation of these people is a matter of almost life or death to them, showing the economies which are necessary, the rigid economies for even the support of human life.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, present Chief of the United States Labor Statistics Bureau, testified before the United States Senate committee in relation to wages and its proportionate share in the profits as follows:

Senator PUGH. "That is the value of the product of the labor of the mechanic?"

"That is what each mechanic, man, woman, and child, produces. Now, to each man, woman, and child employed in a mechanical industry the employer gets $98 net profit; that is giving him 6 per cent. on his capital and 5 per cent. on his product, etc. Each employé gets $364. That brings $98 to the employer as net profit on the product of each employé. It is the product of $364 yearly wages paid to each employé that produces that $1,792. The balance is raw material and expense."

"Suppose there were but one employer in Massachusetts, and the present number of employés, how much would that employer get?"

"He would get a net profit of $34,505,367."

"What would the laborers receive?"

"They would receive $128,315,362, divided among 352,255 of them, or $364 each."

"How much capital would one employer have in business then?"

"He would have $303,806,185."

"What he has left after paying all expenses is $34,505,367?"

"Yes; after all his expenses of labor, raw material, etc."

"That is to say, that would be the profit after the payment of interest on his capital invested and all insurance and outgo of every description, and keeping up his plant, repairs, and all that?"

"Yes."

These questions are presented here by capable men. They are subjects of reason and thought, and they correspond with the abstract facts of the case. You can not convince these people, if these facts be true, that they are not suffering from want. They know whether their families are well clothed and well fed; they know whether they have abundance to eat of nutritious and healthy food; they know whether their wages are adequate to give them comfortable shelter and reasonable recreation; and it is the man who has accumulated fortune, it is the man who by his superior sagacity has become a millionaire or a hundred millionaire who has taken so large a part of the annual production of the country, for it can be neither more nor less, its gross amount must be divided in some proportion between either the whole number of the people or between a small number on one side and the vast body on the other.

We see here in the facts and figures that the division of this distribution has not been equal. We find that by the best estimate, which is somewhat in the nature of a conjecture, but still has some degree of probability in it, that there are in this country one hundred persons who own from $100,000,000 upwards to an indefinite amount; that there are a thousand people who own a million of dollars and upwards but less than one hundred; we find that there are something like 100,000 people who own $10,000 and upwards, and that the whole remainder of the 65,000,000 people of the United States, the 17,000,000 of workers, have from $350 to $500 as the largest estimate of the average annual share of this annual production of upwards of ten thousand millions of dollars estimated in money value.

In the presence of this inequality of distribution, it is a grave and serious question for those men who own this vast amount, this vast disproportion of the annual production of the country, to arrest it before it shall reach the point at which this large body of sixteen or seventeen millions of men shall feel that they have arrived at the point of starvation. All wise public economy centers in stopping the inequality of distribution before it shall become seriously threatening to the life and happiness of the people of the country. As Gibbon says, even under an absolute monarchy, the security of good order, the comfort of the great mass of the people of a country, are the sure protection to the Government, even in the absence of virtue. And as to the governing people of any country, whether they be the whole people or a part, so to the people themselves, is it a matter of the greatest concern that the distribution of the production of the country shall be made in its public economies so easy, so untaxed, so free, that it will carry comfort and abundance of the necessaries of life, at least, to every home in the country.

How shall we arrive at that point? Shall we be told that there should be a division of the entire production of the country? We will say there is produced here $1,000,000,000 annually of agricultural productions, the result of highly-paid wages, of a fertile soil, of an efficient railroad method of transportation; we will say that this $1,000,000,000 is the excess over the consumption of our own people, and that

it is forwarded abroad and invested in money or in goods and returned to this country. It is admitted here now that we have a law which divides all the production of the year into taxed and untaxed goods. That is the tariff law. It is a division of the production of the country into taxed and untaxed values. Nobody can question, and I defy a disputation upon that point, that the tariff law is simply a division of the annual products of the country into taxed and untaxed values. The law then says that those who may become the owners of a certain portion of the productions shall be untaxed; that the burden of Government shall be placed upon the other portion of the production; the taxed portion shall bear the whole expense of the burden of the Government, and for that purpose that a tax shall be placed upon that portion of the goods, it matters not how we describe them, whether of domestic production or of foreign production.

LAW DIVIDES VALUES INTO TAXED AND UNTAXED PROPERTY.

You may as well apply the principle and say that the domestic production shall be taxed a certain amount; what would be the result? Here is a demand for both the domestic and the foreign productions. If not, why is there brought here every year six hundred and upwards of millions of dollars of foreign values to compete even with the tariff duty of 47 per cent., and to sell over and above that duty to the men who have made these thousands of millions of agricultural value sold abroad and brought back here in money and sold to them with the tax added, for there can be no question in regard to that? We have a law which taxes a portion of the values of the country and gives the privilege of being untaxed to another. The reasons of public policy that may justify this are not of importance here to consider. It may or may not be wise; but that is the law and that is the effect of the law, and the fact is that the tax is imposed upon one portion and the other portion is left untaxed. Do you not suppose, or do you not see as a necessary effect, that when there is a demand for both the taxed and the untaxed goods—for instance, there are three coats and six men to use them; two of them are taxed and the other untaxed; will not the cost of the taxed goods and tax added be the price which will be asked by the other provided that the demand is for both? The only theory is that this tax is intended to stimulate the production of untaxed goods and that it will eventually do it; but it can only do it by imposing upon the country that uses the taxed goods the penalty of paying the full value or cost of the untaxed goods, estimated at the cost of the foreign article with the tax added; and this is a law which all the world can not change.

It may have its exceptions; it may be that here and there there may be a combination of favorable circumstances which give to some one article a superabundance of production above and beyond the local demand; but that the result is not so in our country is proved by the fact that during this last year $600,000,000 of foreign values were imported and sold in our country, with the tariff duties at an average of 47 per cent. added, in competition with our domestic production; or, in other words, that our domestic production, after these fifty years of development of our industries, has not been sufficient to supply the demand at home for the goods which are imported from abroad and subject to a tax.

TAX INCREASES PRICE.

Then let us consider that whatever may be the theory and whatever the true proposition upon which a system of revenue based upon customs is to be founded or justified, it has its necessary effect, as every tax must, of increasing the cost of the thing taxed. Let that be admitted. Upon a wider range of view it is evidently true that, if any man can produce something and sell it at a higher price at one place than another, or he can buy something at one place less than he can at another, there is a loss to him, and no law, no interference, can prevent that consequence. This is equally true of a nation as it is of an individual. This is what is called free trade; but as a qualifying fact—and that proposition we all perceive—there are certain local and national advantages attending the coexistence of arts, of manufacture, and agriculture, and a people may well afford to sacrifice something in order to diversify the employments of their country. We can perceive that the economy which inflicts a loss upon a people by legislative interference with the free exchange and commerce of goods is an unquestionable fact. You can not stimulate by all the legislation and all the bounties you can impose the productions and manufactures of a country beyond the point of permanent demand. If you studded every rill and every stream with a factory and diversified your arts to the utmost extent to which human ingenuity and invention could go, you could not prevent its being true that if anywhere in the world the national production might be exchanged for less, then you are the loser, because the sum total of production is the same, and you can advantage yourselves only by increasing your relative proportion of it or acquiring that which you do not have for a less amount than it cost you.

That is true no matter what the condition of the prosperity of the country; but all persons agree that, to a reasonable extent, short of the general oppression of the people, short of the restriction and limit of their consumption of the necessaries of life, whatever advantages or benefits may be derived from such incidental aid as may be given as a stimulus to manufactures, it is a wise policy to extend. Hence this idea of free trade which has been discussed here and imputed to the thoughtful men who are seeking not to establish unrestricted trade, but who are seeking to free the people of the country from the burdens of an enormous and oppressive taxation, which neither increases the wages of labor nor the benefits of capitalists, if they will look in a wise and enlightened view at their own condition and the prospects before them, has no application to our situation. We are suffering from taxation which oppresses every poor man, every woman, and every child, which limits the quantity and character and comfort of the clothing which they wear, which reduces the amount of food they consume, which taxes the very salt of life—that very tax that brought about the great revolution in France, which resulted in blood and in the destruction of the crown and of virtue and the great elements of heroism of the people for so many years, even in their religion.

The policy which looks to making these things easy to be obtained, which enables the workman to give one hour of labor for that which now costs him two, which secures to him an hour of recreation instead of a lifetime of toil for the benefits of others—why characterize this simple question of the reduction of revenue by reducing the taxes on the necessaries of life as free trade?

SAVING BANKS.

I see that Mr. Blaine alludes with great triumph to the amount of deposits of the laboring people of the United States in the savings-banks. What is the proportion of depositors in the savings-banks to the seventeen and a half millions of toilers in the United States, to the seven and a half millions of agricultural laborers in the United States? I think there are about one million four hundred thousand—I have not the table here but will print it—in the States of New England and in New York, out of a population of nearly five millions, and how many of those are laboring people? How much of suffering and want and destitution those deposits represent, or how much of wealth, we do not know.

In the other States the number is so insignificant as not to be worthy even of consideration. That merely proves this inequality of distribution, which leaves the great body of the people without sufficient food, without sufficient clothing, without sufficient shelter.

I have here some articles from the Chicago Tribune and from a protective paper in Cleveland, Ohio, on the condition of the people in the mines of Pennsylvania, showing the entire and exclusive system of proprietorship of the immensely rich mines of that region of country by a few persons in connection with the great transportation interests of the country, representing the great body of that people, with exceptional instances here and there of men and companies who are generous and liberal and philanthropic in their economies, as in a state of almost absolute destitution.

How, then, can this argument be addressed to the American people, that the amount of money deposited in the savings-banks by a small proportion of the whole number of the people in the United States indicates anything whatever as to the condition of the people; and who will deny that the condition of the masses of the United States in respect to the houses in which a majority of them live, to the furniture contained in those houses, to the clothing which they wear, to the food upon which they subsist, determines absolutely the benefit or the evil of any system of taxation or finance that may exist in the country?

Admit that the fertility of soil, admit that economies of transportation, admit that the inventions and machinery of a country are the elements which have made the colossal production of this day, which is true, yet the fact that a portion of the people are saving a thousand or two thousand millions of dollars is no evidence whatever that the distribution of this total production is equal, fair, and general of the necessaries of life. It signifies nothing. I am of the opinion from the best evidence I can obtain, from the fact that there are mortgages upon the agricultural interest, which has produced and paid in gold values eight thousand millions of dollars in the last twenty-three years into the aggregate gold values of the United States, from the fact that these people who have no benefits from any system of government aid or legislative interference, who have nothing but the natural fertility of the soil, who have nothing but the improvements and the inventions which the progress of civilization and the arts and sciences have made in Europe and America, to which, no doubt, we have contributed, and that much benefit, perhaps, may be said—I think a doubtful question—to have been derived from our system of duties and protection; but grant that it may be so; we have contributed our part in the progress of civilization, of invention and machinery, and these great people, these agricultural people, these cotton producers, these wine producers of California, these wheat and grain growers of the Western States, these dairymen of the country at large, have produced eight thousand million as compared with less than a thousand million of manufactured productions which has been returned to this country and gone into the national values. Now, notwithstanding that they are embarrassed with nearly $5,000,000,000, of loans, of mortgages, if the census be true—I am impressed with the fact that $335 of wages is the highest average rate to be found in this country, one rate in New England, another in New York, another in Ohio, another in the West; but I insist that it is a reasonable conclusion that with three persons dependent upon that $350, and with a taxation of nearly one-half, nearly 50 per cent., an average tax of 47 per cent., increasing the

price of all the necessaries of life—I am of the opinion that the American laborer in the average is in a condition of personal want and personal necessity.

I find in the statistics as given by Mr. Carroll D. Wright, of the State of Massachusetts, and as given by Mr. Atkinson, that the margin is very small between want and suffering, even in those States where the larger portion of the wage people of the country are to be found, and that almost a hair's breadth will turn it one way or the other.

Mr. President, that is a commentary, I think, upon our present tariff and on the Senate bill; that is a commentary upon the remarks we have had here on the subject of a Southern conspiracy against labor by simply insisting that in our opinion, upon the basis of these facts, it is a logical conclusion that the seventeen and a half millions of working people, with the forty millions of people, and more than that counting the women and children, who are dependent upon them, will be benefited by a reduced price for the necessaries of life, and in answer to this we are met by the proposition that this is a Southern conspiracy.

FORTY CENTS A DAY THE AVERAGE WAGE OF AMERICANS.

Mr. Atkinson, in his very useful book on the Distribution of Products, of which I have already had occasion to speak as a very valuable work, and he himself is certainly a man of ability, who, whatever may be the correctness of his politics, is contributing a great deal to the advancement of science and knowledge in respect to political economical questions, says—

These families comprise 99 persons, of whom 41 are engaged in some kind of gainful occupation—*i. e.*, earning wages. Each working member of this small force, therefore, represented a group of 2.17 as against the average of 2.90 in the whole country.

The average income of each one of these persons was $372 a year, somewhat less than the average which I have assigned to each person in my estimate, but when we convert the $372 per year into so much a day for each person, the result gives 47 cents a day in Massachusetts, in arts conducted mainly by machinery, against my estimate of 40 cents for the average of the whole country, the group 217 being smaller.

Forty cents a day for the great majority of the working people connected with the arts and machinery in Massachusetts! I have also the calculations from a large number of mills taken in certain States. I submit the question to the capitalists of this country. They are men of great intellects many of them, and are leaders in the arts, in the beneficences, in the great charities which give life and joy and happiness to the people.

The accumulation of wealth is not an evil to a country with a fair and just distribution; it is a benefit. These men become leaders in the great philanthropic arts for the advancement of mankind; but if they tie down the safety-valve, if they stop the flow and distribution of the productions of the country into the homes of the poor people, if the seventeen millions of workers, with the 2.91 of women and children dependent on each one, are brought to a state of starvation in connection with the arts of machinery, which make the colossal production of this country, and a tariff of 47 per cent. on the necessaries purchased and consumed by them is levied, and if that brings want and suffering, these great men who give credit to governments in war or in peace, who control so largely our policies, had better take heed of the fact that the economies of nature, of cause and effect, are immutable; that they do not depend on the policies of governments. They may be advanced or retarded by a compliance with or adherence to them, but opposition is like attempting to dam the mountain torrent, which will break through and overcome any and all obstacles.

ERROR OF SENATE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President, the error of the Senate Committee on Finance in increasing the duties, instead of reducing them, upon the necessaries of life, has no connection with a proper system of revenue or of incidental protection or of absolute protection. If their theories are right, they had better abolish the tariff and put an embargo upon commerce, upon importations of every kind. They would be wise to say, for the purpose of protecting the productions of our own country against the temporary invasion of a mass of production from another country—whether the product of cheap or dear labor is immaterial—that this importation should be prohibited. They would be wise if they would say, let us encourage, if we desire to do so, the productions of our own country by some other and direct means, rather than to interfere with the flow of the necessaries of life into the household of each man; let us encourage and stimulate it. Let us not divide the production of the country into one part of taxed and the other part untaxed goods. Let us not create a privileged class, a class with a privilege greater than ever was given by the government, for you may by legislative interference with trade confer privileges which are greater than any direct grants made by any government.

For myself, I am not opposed to a fair and just system of tariff revenue in the present condition of the world, but I am opposed to a system which will impose a tariff upon the necessaries of life. Let your tariff be as low as possible upon necessaries. In that respect the Mills bill is a correct one. You can not interfere with the great mass of the comforts of the people of the country, as you must inevitably do, by taxing what they consume. You can not trust to incidental and indirect causes the domestic competition which you say will come from the prohibition of foreign competition. You can not do that so long as you have a surplus of agricultural production to sell. It matters not what it is, it must come back in goods in competition with American labor. Money is of no value, except as it represents production. It is not an entity in itself; it is of no value except as it represents property.

TAX ON NECESSARIES THE SOLE QUESTION.

But be that as it may, be it theory or be it speculation, there is in this controversy no question of free trade. There is a question of taxation. Will you tax the necessaries of life or will you not? That is the sole question. Will you tax the necessaries of life and increase the price to every consumer throughout the United States of his clothes and of his wife's clothing, of his food, of the salt with which he makes it nutritious and wholesome to the taste? Will you impose an increased duty upon his kitchen utensils, upon the furniture of his house, upon the blankets and the woolen clothing he must use? Two-thirds of the clothing of the people of this country is of wool, and even in my own State, the nearest of all the States to the tropics, our people have to be clad in wools. Will you increase the cost with 40 cents a day, as estimated by Mr. Atkinson, the friend of capital, the advocate of capital, the representative of the manufacturing interests of Massachusetts, the ablest man and statistician to be found in the country, a man of research—with 40 cents a day the best paid labor in connection with the arts and machinery of Massachusetts—will you increase above the 47 per cent. of the present tariff, as is done, the cost of the utensils which are used in cooking, the tin, the furniture, the woolen hats, the woolen clothing of the laborer?

DANGERS OF THE TAX.

This is a theory that the rich people of this country ought to oppose. Every capitalist in the United States is interested in the defeat of this Senate committee's substitute. It is the most unwise bill that has ever been presented under the circumstances and conditions of the country. It is a bill that menaces the peace and order of society. Enforced it will bring want, it will bring that suffering which knows no limits but the extent of its violence, its disorder, and its desperate intent to protect itself.

As the friend of order and conservatism, as the friend of peace and the conservation of the different interests of society and business, I deplore the doctrines upon which this measure is founded. It is not in the interest of a wise protection. It is not in the interest of a just distribution. It is not in the interest of the protection of capital. It is upon a wild theory which every thoughtful economist in the world ha, demonstrated to be utterly untrue, a theory that restrictions upon trade that taxation can bring prosperity and comfort and wealth and invention and a domestic competition which will advance and protect the mass of the people. Mr. President, that is not so. Incidental protection, which does not oppress, which gently stimulates, may at times be an advantage, as a bounty of so many cents a yard would be or so many cents a pound paid out of the public Treasury. The proposition would be made with the least injury to the public. You may make one man contribute to the support of an enterprise of another for the purpose of ultimately obtaining a benefit to himself in diversified production and to cheapen the sale of commodities and enhance the employment of labor. That is the proposition. A limited tariff for revenue, discriminating wisely not upon articles of necessity, not upon salt, not upon those things which are necessary to the people, but touching them lightly upon the revenue standard, but as little above it as can be, is the only reasonable theory for the basis of a protective duty.

But, Mr. President, before I close I desire to say that the theory of taxing the people on the consumption of the necessaries of life for the benefit of a few, to build up great masses of interests in the hands of a few, taxing the consumption of the necessaries of life and putting in the hands of a few hundred thousand of the people of the United States, a privileged order, growing rich upon the wants and sufferings of the other—this principle and this theory is still illustrated by the features of this bill that concern the State that I in part represent. We have a country down there which abounds in delicacies and luxuries. The skill of the gardener and the horticulturist produce the fruits which are delightful, but costly, which the poor man can rarely afford to use, the bananas and oranges which perish upon short transportation, and which, therefore, have to be sold, and sold at high prices. These fruits, which are articles of luxury, are consumed by the rich and can bear any amount of duty for revenue purposes without hurting anybody at all, while those fruits are almost put upon the free-list in the Senate bill. Nobody but the rich people can eat them. They are excluded from the consumption of the great mass of the people. They are things that nature grows upon the islands of the West Indies and in Central America. Nature, with her prodigal hand, without even the presence of a human being, spreads the forests with the golden orange and the ripe banana, with their beautiful colors, and they come here with nothing but the cheap cost of transportation, in an untaxed ship, and they are frequently smuggled into our country, and even for the purpose of keeping the smugglers off the highest duties that could be imposed would be a benefit.

So it is that the Senate bill in all its provisions, in my judgment and opinion, is a fatal mistake, a mistake that concerns the rich people of the country quite as much as it does the poor, and it is unfortunate for the manufacturer as for the others, as unfortunate for even a moderate protection, which is all that the country needs.

NOT A CONSPIRACY BUT A PROTEST AGAINST THE STARVATION OF WORKINGMEN.

It is not a Southern conspiracy. The South has but little to do with it. It is an uprising of the intelligent thought of the world, indicating the course of economic policy and which indicates that you must make distribution, for, as this book of Edward Atkinson says, the economies of distribution and the economies of saving are the great agencies to bring comfort—economies in the supply of coal and fuel, economies of transportation which will limit the power of corporate organization to impose artificial prices on the people. Everything must look in that direction—the comfort of the great mass of the people. The idea that you can make a man's clothes cheaper to him by taxing or that you can make his wages higher when the fact appears in all these statistics that the best paid labor in this country is the labor which has no protection whatever and which belongs to no protected industry.

Mr. President, I again say I am in favor of a reasonable tariff. There is no question of free trade here. There is a question of what method of taxation as to the thing taxed is the best for the people of this country, for the poor man, whether it be upon the necessaries of life or whether it be upon the luxuries of life. I am for taxing the luxuries of life for the support of the Government to the highest extent possible and exempting the necessaries of life from taxation.

HOW SHALL TAXES BE REDUCED?

This is the question and the only question before the people in this election. Shall the taxes be reduced and how reduced?

Shall the amount each man is required by law to pay be paid in such way as will reduce the cost to him of his clothes, his food, his house-rent, or by reducing the cost of the whisky and tobacco which he consumes? Is it better for the comfort and the progress, and the accumulation of the savings of the great body of the people, that the taxes of the country and the tax that each man pays shall be levied on the food that he and his family eat, the salt that he seasons his own and his wife and children's food, the sugar with which he makes it pleasant to the taste and nutritious to life and health, the coat and vest and pantaloons which he and his children wear, the dresses which his wife and daughters wear, the material out of which his house shall be built, the cooking utensils necessary to prepare the food for himself and his family and t e furniture which he uses? Shall taxes be so levied and collected that if a man shall wear two coats or give his wife and child two coats and dresses, or shall consume two pounds of salt or two pounds of sugar, he shall pay a greater tax for the support of Government than if he used one? Or, in other words, shall the taxes which support the Government be so levied that they will be paid most largely by those who use the luxuries of life or by those who use the necessaries, so as to increase the price of the necessaries of life or so as to increase the price of the luxuries of life?

Or, to state the question in another form, shall the taxes be so levied that each laborer or tax-payer shall be required to give two days or two months or two years or twenty years of the labor of himself and family for the support of government, when one day or one month or one year or ten years of his labor is amply sufficient for all legitimate and proper needs and purposes of government?

ACCUMULATION NOT DANGEROUS.

We need not fear the accumulation of property or riches in the hands of a few men under a proper system of distribution of the aggregate production of a country.

If there be a Lucullus there will also be a Maecenas. If a Julian who buys the Roman purple, there will also be a Julius Cæsar who wins and wears it for the good of mankind. A St. Just who spends his wealth and ancestral fame in self-sacrifice for noble if unattainable hopes of human happiness and prosperity, and a Washington, a Jefferson, and a Franklin, who, with spotless fame, devote themselves to institutions for the preservation of liberty, prosperity, and happiness.

INEQUALITY OF FORTUNE OR DISTRIBUTION.

So far as regards the necessary clothing and food and utensils of cooking and furniture, each one of these sixty-five millions consumes an equal quantity, age, sex, and occupation being considered; and yet how vastly different the proportion of distribution in value, quantity, and quality.

And yet we live in a country of equal right before the law. Each man, we are told, has equal rights before the law; and this is intended to mean equal opportunities before and by the law. We are told by all political parties and all philosophers that no exercise of the powers of government can be permitted which will give to one man or one class or any number of persons a larger part of the production of all than to another. We can have no law of primogeniture or entail. We can have no tying up of property beyond three lives in being and twenty-one years. We can have no involuntary servitude except for crime. We can have no titles of nobility. We are even told by some zealous friends of equality in distribution and in fortune that the faithful public servant who gives his life in the service of the people must leave his family to want, and be forbidden to have any recognition of his services to the people in the most moderate provision for them after his death, for fear that a civil list will be created, which will be burdensome and oppressive to the people. We are required then to consider whence comes this enormous inequality—how, in defiance of law and public policy, is this accumulation into the hands of a few of the great, much the larger, portion of the production of the labor of the people?

This great power over the lives of the people, in other times and governments was created by law based on armed force. Is it with us the result of individual and personal character making use of superior intelligence, superior economy of production and transportation and exchange, or is it the result of the exercise of legislative power, or is it the result of both of these causes? If it be the result of legislation, the Democratic party, the party of the people, demands the reform of this legislation.

If this inequality of distribution in these vast differences of proportion be true—that is, fifteen millions of people with nothing but an inadequate amount for the necessaries of life and a few hundred thousand with nearly all of the natural product as the result of its labor—then we stand in the presence of an important fact which demands of us our most serious consideration—a fact, if it be true, that will force its own consequences.

TAX ON ARTICLES OF NECESSITY.

The tax on all the necessaries of life—the increased price, if there be one—the tribute levied on the many laborers in the interest of the few wealthy persons, if such be the fact, is levied by a duty or tax on imports, collected at the custom-house. This tax or duty averages 47 per cent. now, and it is proposed to make it 42 per cent. under the Mills bill.

It is true that this average does not represent the amount on each separate article, and that many considerations important to the public depend on the amount levied on each particular article; but it still remains true that this average does represent the exactions on the labor of the country; does represent that tribute, if there be such, and is therefore the question with which we are chiefly concerned at this time.

The law, then, is that every man shall pay nearly a half dollar at the entrance into the country for the privilege of selling a dollar's worth of all the necessaries of life. Now we are to consider the nature of the law; second, its effects and operation; its direct and indirect results. The law, we will say, for illustration, requires if you have a coat which you have bought for $1 to pay 47 cents for the right to sell it. The first effect of this law is that you pay the Government the tax and it goes into the public Treasury. The next effect is that you have a coat to sell which before cost you a dollar and after the payment of this 47 cents it has cost you $1.47.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF THE LAW.

The next question is, what price can you afford sell it for? Can you sell it for less than it cost you and continue to sell other coats? The law, then, forces you either to sell this coat at $1.47 or quit selling coats, for you can not continue the business of buying and selling coats for less than they cost you, and the law has fixed a cost on this coat, namely, the original price of making it, the value of the labor of the person who made it, the taxes paid on it. This is a natural law which has no exceptions. A man can not give his whole time to the cultivation of a piece of ground unless he can grow from it enough to replace the corn and meat and other things he has necessarily consumed while working it, and something over to meet other and future wants. He may do it once, but he can not do it twice, for starvation then comes. In other words, all work, all production must be self-supporting.

This is a natural law which can have no exception. If, then, you must sell the coat for $1.47 the man who buys it must pay this dollar and forty-seven cents. Another person, seeing that a coat can be sold for $1.47 because the natural law has made it cost $1 in material, time, and labor and the municipal law has added 47 per cent., concludes that he can make and sell a coat at $1.47, and in doing so finds that he has a profit, and whether he work at home or abroad he has the same inducement to reduce the cost at which he can make the coat, so that the portion of the $1.47 which he shall receive as profit may be larger.

When he finds that he can make the coat for $1, and that he has no tax of 47 cents to pay, will he sell his coat for $1, or will he say that the law forbids coats to be bought when sold by another man for less than $1.47, and I will charge that price for my coat? But at this time other persons, seeing that you can sell coats at $1.47, and are guarantied that price by law, engage in the business, and other coats are offered, and the theory is that two coats being for sale when there was only one the price will be reduced. This result can only follow when there are three persons, each of whom want a coat, and not until there are three coats for two persons will the price of necessity be reduced by the desire of the two persons owning the two coats to sell, bringing them into competition. But suppose the men having the two coats are under a necessity to sell to support life, and the men who need coats are not under a necessity to buy for the protection of life. Here we perceive a new element enters into the demand and qualifies and limits it, and a new element enters into the supply and forces it, and both of these are natural conditions, such as belong to every-day life. But suppose the two men having the two coats to sell, on which they have paid no tax of 47 cents, shall say that the law requires all other men having coats to sell except themselves to pay 47 cents for the right to sell them, and shall also see that by agreeing be-

tween themselves no coats can be bought for less than $1.47, will they not so combine and make this agreement? And if their necessities shall be so great as to compel them to sell, will there not be some other person who, seeing this situation, will say here are only two coats that can be sold without paying 47 cents over the cost of them, and here are three men who are compelled sooner or later to have coats, and these two men owning these coats are under such necessity that they are obliged to sell; now, I will supply the necessities of these men and take two of these coats and sell them to these three men when they are compelled to buy and either divide the profit of 47 cents with the men who have made the coats or keep it all for myself. We perceive, therefore, that while the fact is true that the law in imposing a tax on certain persons to pay 47 cents for each coat sold in the first instance makes it necessary for that man to pay 47 cents more, it also renders it necessary for the man who buys it to pay 47 cents more for it, and that the second result of inducing other persons to engage in the making of coats, and thus reducing the price, is met by opposing conditions of combinations in the natural and unavoidable course of business to intervene between the necessities of buyers and sellers, or producers, and retain the price at the standard fixed by law.

LAW FIXES MINIMUM OF PRICE AND LIMITS COMPETITION.

The law thus fixes the price at cost of the article and the tax added as the minimum of price, and imposes it on the buyer—the man who requires coats—but does not fix the maximum of price. The law also fixes the limits of competition between producers, and requires that the only competition shall be by reducing the cost of material and labor, makes the cost of the coat, its material and labor, and the tax added the conditions of sale to one set of persons, and the cost of materials and labor without the tax to another. Thus the latter can only compete with the former by reducing the cost of material and labor. And the persons who are permitted to sell without the tax can only compete with each other by reducing the cost of labor and material, and all the inducements of profit encourage them to reduce the cost of labor and material—that *is*, the wages of workingmen.

But if the persons who are allowed to sell without paying the tax can not supply all the coats that are required and the persons who can only sell by paying the tax have to furnish some of the coats, then what will be the effect? Will the home producer, who sells without tax, sell his coat for a less price than the person who has to pay the tax, and if so for what reason will he do so? He is protected by the law against the competition of the men who have to pay the tax before selling, and he is protected by an inadequate supply and an unsatisfied demand, against competition from men like himself who can sell without paying any tax.

PEOPLE DEPEND ON WILL OF SELLER FOR NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

If he shall sell his coat for a smaller amount it will be because of charity; because he chooses to do so against his own interest. We then establish as a principle of conduct by law that the people must depend for the necessaries of life, for their clothing, on the generosity of the seller against his own interests relieved and protected from competition. We propose by law to establish this principle, namely, the dependence of the great body of the people on the voluntary generosity and sense of justice of a small number of persons acting against their interest. Now let us look at this subject from another point of view. We propose to create a home market. We say it is better that our people should make everything possible at home in our own country. What are the means by which we propose to do this?

PRIVILEGE OF SELLING UNTAXED GOODS.

We have, then, a law creating a privileged class of persons to produce and sell. It is true that this law is not in terms confined to any particular man or set of men, as former grants of privilege have been in both monarchies and republics, but it is open to all. Any man or set of men who choose and have the money may enter the privileged class of the untaxed seller of untaxed goods, but still the fact remains that he becomes one of a privileged class created by law, and possessing as the gift of the Government a privilege of great value.

I propose now to examine the value of this privilege, its effects on public policy and private fortune and the mass of the people, and to endeavor to see how far it is possible for the great body of the people to subsist under it. While doing this we must bear in mind that without trade, commerce, or exchange between men there can be neither government or taxation or values of any kind. That is a primal law of man's nature—resulting from his powers of speech and his natural senses and faculties—and all governments, whether despotic or free, have agreed in the general on the proposition that restrictions in trade were hurtful, and have only used them as a means of obtaining revenue, and our modern theories of their use for other purposes are mere devices, serving at times useful purposes, but in the main hurtful. They may at times defend us from an invasion of commodities which may unsettle and destroy our productive agencies, and may be properly used for this purpose, but the question is, how and when, by what methods that are safe to the people can this sometimes useful but always great and dangerous power be exercised—a power of fixing the price which a man shall pay for what he consumes, and fixing it so that he shall pay not the least amount that he can obtain it for, the least amount of his labor, but so that the price or the amount of labor he gives for it shall be greater, and this burden be imposed on him for the benefit of particular persons or classes, to the end that as a matter of public policy the aggregate production of the country may be increased and the country furnished with manufactures and products? This is a wise, proper, and necessary object of public policy for every state, but one not to be attained by sacrificing, oppressing, and impoverishing the great body of the people.

The aggregate wealth or production of a country, the result of all its industrial power, is a standard for comparison of their economical and industrial forces with those of other peoples, and its quantity determines the comparative efficiency of these powers in respective countries, and the harmony or co-operation, either forced or natural, of their adjustment in relation to each other, or what is termed by Mr. Edward Atkinson progress of the nation; but great national productions and a forced adjustment of all the forces of production are consistent with each other, and with the misery, want, and discontent of the great body of their people. Natural fertility of soil, superior economies of husbandry, efficient methods of industrial employment, careful economies of supply, developments of inventive skill and mechanical forces, and well-adjusted methods of transportation—these are the Titans that move the colossal developments of production in modern days.

COEXISTS WITH POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

But it is obvious that these may all coexist with poverty in the masses, and with the progress of poverty in the aggregate. None of these great forces in themselves touch the question of the supply of each individual's necessities and wants. This is well illustrated by an article in the October Forum, "The Progress of the Nation," and a table and chart which he has prepared, showing, first, average wages of mechanics, engineers, carpenters, machinists, and painters connected with mills and works, treated in volume 20, United States Census, in Eastern, Middle, and Western States; second, average of one day's supply of food, fuel, material for clothing customarily used by such mechanics at retail prices; third, purchasing power of three hundred days' wages in equal portions of same kind of food, fuel, and cloth as above given; fourth, quantity per capita of coin, bank notes, and legal-tender notes in circulation or use as money at the respective dates. This chart shows a greater power of purchasing for fuel, cloth, and food of same amount of labor of these classes, an increase of wages of these classes since 1860—from $1.50 per day to $2.50—a variation in the amount of bank notes, coin, and legal tender in the proportion per capita of $14.06 in 1860 to $27.28 in 1886.

Admitting these computations to be correct for present purposes, although they do not include the cost of ready-made clothing and dresses and material and house rent and transportation of each person, it is quite evident that they show nothing of the quantity of each person's supply either of the necessaries or the comforts of life. They show nothing of of the wages of labor for the great mass of laborers, the great body of consumers, for the people, the bone and muscle, the seven millions of men who live next the soil and are attached to it, and the millions who are dependent on them. These are the people whose wants must be supplied to some extent, or, failing this, sooner or later comes discontent, violence, and strife.

WISE ECONOMIES, EQUAL DISTRIBUTION TO ALL.

All wise public economies and policies of state, whether in a republic like ours or in a monarchy where the people are kept in subjection by armed forces, must center in such economic forces as will result in such a distribution of the results of labor, of aggregate production, as will give to each man all the necessaries and as much of the comforts of life as may be possible.

This is well expressed by Mr. Edward Atkinson in his article "Must humanity starve at last?" "If the functions of government were admitted to be to give each man an equal opportunity to make use of the benefits which science and invention place at his disposal, and to do through the intervention of government only such actual work as can not be done by society in its corporate capacity better than individuals can do it for themselves, most of the obstructions which legislation has placed in the way of mutual service would soon be removed and the true law of human progress would then develop itself; wages would then increase to the maximum within the limits of a product attained under the most favorable conditions."

THE POINT OF DANGER.

Here, then, we have the great central point of a necessary public economy. This is the point of perpetual danger, the safety-valve through which the discontents arising from inequality of fortune from greater luxury and accumulations of some over others will pass harmlessly away—a just and equal distribution in which mutual service will make the exchanges unrestricted by legislative interference. We discover, if these observations be true, a power of great magnitude and determining force in the fortunes of men and the public policies of states which inheres in and is incident to the methods of taxation, a power the abuse of which may impoverish great numbers of the men, women, and children of a state and enrich others, and at the same time increase the aggregate production and coexist with the greatest development of inventive skill and of advancement in learning and in all the

arts and sciences, a power which may change the whole internal autonomy of states, convert a republic of equality, of individual right and privilege into a people of classes, of privilege and peculiar right, and thence into a monarchy or aristocracy. This power is legislative interference with the distribution or exchange of the products of labor through mutual service.

LEGISLATIVE INTERFERENCE WITH DISTRIBUTION.

Its developments must by a law greater than human laws, a law of cause and effect in the inevitable chain of natural order, produce the result of inequality of classes, superior power and influence of one order over others—a caste, an aristocracy, a plutocracy, in which some are made vastly rich by the labor of others, and the great body of the people are poor from the exactions imposed on them by law in favor of others.

How long can this condition continue? We have seen that this is the necessary result of a grant of a privilege of selling untaxed goods to a portion of the people and the imposition of a tax for selling or exchanging goods on others; and that the system of the exclusion of goods from sale subject to special taxation is nothing in its nature but the grant of a right or privilege created by law in those who use this privilege to make a forced levy on the time, labor, and savings of other persons, and that all the available means of the people will be drawn into the business of selling untaxed goods subject only to such limitation as may be imposed by combinations and repressive influence of those enjoying this privilege and possessing the largest means and the greatest facility of combination and of exercising a power of repression.

In all countries and in all times the struggle has been to obtain this advantage of some over others, and it has been always known that it was necessary to limit the concession of such advantages by law and restrain it in the interests of the great body of the people to avoid their impoverishment and consequent revolution. The struggle for advantage in opportunity either by law or without it has always existed and will perhaps always exist. To restrain and direct it is a necessary object of a wise public policy. It has its uses, and when given by law it has been for the purpose of giving stability to government and fostering art and education and religion; but we are now considering whether it has not developed into proportions so great in our country that it is now about to produce its necessary result in the impoverishment of the people and a continuous discontent, which must either overthrow the powers of government or be suppressed by armed force. This is our question, and not the question whether American industries shall be protected, fostered, and encouraged; whether the invasion of our country by foreign labor and foreign goods to the detriment of our own employment and people shall be permitted or not. We may agree that American industries shall be fostered, encouraged, protected, and that the American laborer shall be protected, rewarded, and made comfortable, educated, and respected. All wise public policies must be in this direction, and to this end; and he would be an unwise statesman who in prescribing the public policy of a state should fail to make this the chief object of all his legislation. But we may agree to all this and yet not touch the merits of the question now presented. How shall we best meet the condition with which we are now confronted, and what is that condition?

We have seen, if these statements and this reasoning is correct, that we can not accomplish these objects by a law giving to a part of the people the privilege of selling untaxed goods and imposing all the burdens of Government on those who sell taxed goods.

PRINCIPLE OF TARIFF PROTECTION.

The principle of protection is that a tax on products of foreign labor sold in our own country protects the product of American labor against being sold for less than the tax and the cost of the foreign article by forcing the consumer to pay this amount for it, and that the consumer, together with the whole country, is benefited by the employment of labor in new industries and by an additional demand for labor, and in the end by a home competition which will reduce the price below the foreign cost and make the protective tax unnecessary. This is the proposition on which this public policy is founded. It proposes to levy a tax on all the necessaries of life and to increase the price of them to all the people for the purpose of encouraging their production of them at home.

I have upon a former occasion endeavored to trace and analyze the principle of endeavoring to effect a diversity of labor and production by imposing a tax on the sale and the person who sells certain kinds of goods and of granting to others the privilege of selling the same kinds of goods without the payment of a tax. I will now submit to the Senate, and place in the RECORD without reading it, the remarks I made upon that occasion. (See appendix B at the close of these remarks.) I may speak on this subject impartially, because the productions of the State of Florida are chiefly of those articles of luxury which will bear and, under the proper system of revenue, receive when imported from abroad the highest rate of taxation for revenue purposes. Oranges, bananas, pine-apples, fruits generally, and cigars are articles of luxury, consumed for the most part only by those who are independent in fortune, except in small quantities, and should therefore bear the highest rate of taxation required for revenue purposes instead of being placed on the free-list as they are by the Senate bill.

What is the condition of the people? This is the only true test after twenty-five years of the policy of giving by law the privilege of selling untaxed products to a part of the people and collecting all the taxes from those who sell taxed goods, and besides a surplus of over $132,000,000 last year, do we find the people generally in a condition of comfort and prosperity? Has every man, woman, and child employment at such wage or compensation as will purchase for them the occupation of a comfortable home, an abundance of healthy food, comfortable clothing, and all the absolute necessaries of life? Are the great majority of the people in this condition? Is the distribution of the product of labor fair and equal and easy everywhere and amongst all the people? If we find this to be true, then no fault can be found with the system of policy.

A thoughtful and able man, Mr. Atkinson, in the July Forum, expresses a truth of great significance and one rarely appreciated in these words:

> In the last analysis it will appear that there is no such thing as fixed capital; there is nothing useful that is very old except the precious metals, and all life consists in the conversion of forces.
>
> The only capital which is of permanent value is immaterial—the experience of generations and the development of science. It is not given to material capital to save any one generation from the work of getting its own living. All that it can accomplish is to lighten labor. The condition in which it attains its own income is that it render full service for all that it receives, and that it also render the general struggle for life less severe.

If our public policy has done this, or is doing it, then we are in the line of improvement; if it has failed, then we are in the line of ultimate ruin. The forces of natural law are being converted by a power which is immutable to our ruin.

What, then, is the condition of our people, of the great body of them, in respect to the supply of their wants?

In this inquiry we should follow the natural order of cause and effect. If we shall reason on this subject we will examine carefully the effects, the facts within the range of our observation and knowledge, and then endeavor to ascertain their cause.

If our observation of facts shall be correct, we shall not fail in our endeavor to trace these facts to their true and ascertained cause.

CONDITION OF PEOPLE.

What is the condition of the people in respect to their supply of the necessaries of life—of the average portion of each individual of the production of all the industrial forces. Are the facts within our reach and susceptible of proof? The following facts present themselves to us: $839,593,902 in gold and silver coin have been produced and issued by the Government in the last thirteen years. In the twenty-three years, from 1860 to 1883, the farmers of the country have produced and sold in European markets eight thousand millions of dollars of agricultural and farm products.

In 1880 of textile fabrics there were exported $24,000,000. Assuming this to be an average of the last twenty years we have about five or six hundred millions of dollars of textile manufactures exported as against eight thousand millions of values from the farmers. The exports of gold and silver have been for the same period of time, say, between six and seven hundred millions of dollars from the mines, as against eight thousand millions of dollars of farm products.

The question for us to examine is, what has become of this great production? Has it been distributed amongst the people fairly; has it made them comfortable and given them abundant food and clothing and comfortable homes to live in? Has it furnished the means for universal industrial education?

If that is not the present condition of our people, then the cause must be in a failure of the public policy and the laws under which it has been produced. Whether that failure is the result of a cause impossible to be overcome or not, it is evident that there has been a failure. The results of general prosperity have not been reached.

Let us then examine into the facts which show the present condition of the people, the comfort of their homes, the abundance of their clothing and of all the necessaries of life, and the compensation for their labor. On page 653, United States Senate committee report, is the testimony of Charles J. Chum, jr., of Somerville, Mass.:

> I am a currier, and work at it for a living. I am a member of the Tanners' Union of Massachusetts. There are about two thousand of them in the union. The average pay of a currier would be about $3 per week, or a dollar a day.

The Cleveland Herald of 6th of July, 1884, a protectionist newspaper, contains the following:

> For some time past all sorts of stories have been circulated in reference to the suffering of the miners and their families along the Pennsylvania Railroad between this city and Allentown. These people have had their wages reduced from time to time until they are now only getting from 60 to 70 cents per day, or an average of about 65 cents. These reports have excited considerable comment, and in order to verify them a Herald correspondent visited the mine. George Schock, residing in a log hut, was called on in the evening. The picture was one of extreme pity—the children, four in number, were all huddled about the stove, they were thinly clad and three suffering with measles. The floor was carpetless, the furniture old and showed hard usage. The bed-room adjoining the kitchen contained two beds, in which the entire family slept. Two of the window-panes were broken out and stuffed with old clothes. Mr. Schock works in one of the mines 5 miles distant, and did not reach home until 7 p. m.
>
> Supper had been prepared, and consisted of bread and molasses, mush and coffee. A stiff breeze was blowing from the northwest, and the cold air whistled through the cracks of the old structure.
>
> "Will you give me an insight into your daily life, Mr. Schock?"
>
> "Well, to tell you the truth, it is a tough one. I get up at 4 o'clock every

morning and leave here half an hour later in order to reach the works at 6 o'clock."

"What are your duties?"

"I am a loader, and with another man load from sixty to seventy cars a day. I get 62 cents per day."

"How do you manage to live with that amount?"

"Oh, we manage to just hang together. We can not afford meat but once a week. Bread and molasses constitute our chief diet, with a few potatoes and corn meal thrown in."

"How much did you earn in January?"

"Eleven dollars and thirty-eight cents. I made a little over eighteen days."

"How much did it cost you to live?"

"My earnings did not quite cover the bills, and the grocer told me that hereafter none of the men would be allowed to exceed their earnings. I have not handled a cent since December 1."

"How is that?"

"Why, you see, after the grocer is paid, nothing is left."

That is the story of a dozen or more, and with the exception of one or two cases, all tell the same story.

Berville Eck, employed as foreman in the mines of Kaufman & Co., at Alburtis, said: "I have been employed in the mines over twenty years and get $30 per month. I live 4 miles from here, and generally get up about 4 o'clock in the morning. I am a married man and have three children. I do not know how the men live, but judging from what I see here bread and molasses are the chief articles of diet."

The substance and effect of the policy of granting a privilege of selling untaxed commodities to some persons and imposing a tax on others for selling the same kind of commodities when the sale of both the taxed and untaxed commodities is necessary for the supply of the people is illustrated and proved beyond possibility of doubt, cavil, or question.

Here, then, we have the condition of the people, and we find that it corresponds with the conditions which naturally and logically result from the law requiring each consumer to pay 47 per cent. of his labor to the producer and seller of untaxed goods.

APPENDIX A.

Savings banks of New England, 1886-1887.

[From the Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1887.]

States.	Number of depositors.	Estimated population June 1, 1887.	Population for each depositor.	Amount of deposits.	Average to each depositor.
Maine	114,691	667,400	5.8	$37,215,071	$324.47
New Hampshire	132,714	371,100	2.8	50,822,762	382.94
Vermont	53,810	333,700	6.2	15,587,050	289.67
Massachusetts	906,039	2,056,600	2.3	291,197,900	321.40
Rhode Island	119,159	326,200	2.7	53,284,821	447.18
Connecticut	266,888	694,300	2.6	97,424,820	365.04

Classification of deposits in 104 savings banks in Massachusetts for last three months of 1873.

[From Fifth Annual Report Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor.]

Totals and classes.	Average amount of each deposit.	Per cent. of number of deposits.	Per cent. of amount of deposits.	Number of deposits $300 and under.	Amount of same.
Aggregate of all deposits, $24,663; aggregate amount of same, $3,870,227	$152.91	.....	.....	20,901	$1,496,274
Class I—Day wage receivers	121.72	57.7	44.8	12,770	868,162
Class II—Salary receivers	129.50	11.0	9.1	2,397	142,434
Class III—Professional persons	225.85	2.9	4.2	565	50,438
Class IV—Use or interest of money*	232.27	28.3	41.8	5,169	435,240

Totals and classes.	Per cent. of number of deposits $300 and under.	Per cent. of amounts of deposits $300 and under.	Number of deposits above $300.	Amount of same.	Per cent. of number of deposits above $300.	Per cent. of amounts of deposits above $300.
Aggregate of all deposits, $24,663; aggregate amount of same, $3,870,227	.....	.....	3,762	$2,373,953	.....	.....
Class I—Daywage receivers	61.1	58.0	1,472	865,341	39.1	36.4
Class II—Salary receivers	11.5	9.5	319	209,292	8.5	8.8
Class III—Professional persons	2.7	3.3	164	114,213	4.3	4.8
Class IV—Use or interest of money*	24.7	29.1	1,807	1,185,107	48.0	49.9

*Trading and capitalistic class, including trust companies.

APPENDIX B.

[Speech of Hon. WILKINSON CALL, of Florida, in the Senate of the United States, Saturday, February 17, 1883, on the bill (H. R. 5538) to reduce internal-revenue taxation.]

Mr. CALL said:

Mr. President: The amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] proposes to increase the rates of duty in the metal schedule upon all manufactures of iron. The importations under that schedule last year reached $605,000,000 of values. It is a matter which interests the whole country in the sum total of its annual production. I therefore avail myself of it as a proper occasion upon which to submit some remarks touching the principles and the theory upon which not only the amendment but the bill is based.

FIVE THOUSAND MILLIONS OF MANUFACTURES PAID FOR BY THE PEOPLE.

Mr. President, the production of manufactures in the United States in the last fiscal year was more than $5,000,000,000. This vast amount was used and consumed under our tariff system by the laborers of the United States at prices the minimum of which to some extent were fixed by the Government, and which we are now asked to increase from 40 to 45 per cent. It is surely an object worthy of Congress to consider carefully whether this amount of $5,000,000,000 annually levied on the production of this country is an equitable and reasonable amount, and whether it is advantageous to the manufacturing interests that it should be increased or diminished or continued.

For one I commence this inquiry with the admission that no amount of taxation is too great to be paid for the development of manufactures and diversified production, provided only that it is within the means of the country to pay.

I am persuaded also that this vast amount represents the energy and capacities of a body of men—the great manufacturers and their employés—who have a right to the respect and gratitude of their country, who have done a great work in the past and are now doing a great work for the improvement of the condition of their countrymen and of the world.

NO CONFLICT BETWEEN AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURE.

There is probably no more capable body of men than those who represent, direct, and control this vast American manufacturing interest. I am satisfied, also, that there is no conflict between the interest of agriculture and manufactures, but that the two harmonize, and whatever is best for the one is best for the other. In seeking, therefore, to find out what is necessary for both, I am prepared to vote for any measure, whether it be for protection or not, which, within the limits of revenue and constitutional power, shall be found necessary for the support and maintenance of this great interest, both in the States where it is and for the extension and establishment of manufactures and diversified production in every other State and Territory.

VALUES MUST NOT BE GREATER THAN PEOPLE CAN PAY.

The inquiry, therefore, which I propose to make is equally in their interest and for their benefit, as it is for that of the consumers, for it is manifest that the levy of five thousand millions of dollars annually on the production of a people must harmonize with the economic conditions of that people. It can not be done at arbitrary values and without reference to the production of the country in agriculture. The portion of agricultural production taken for this great interest must not be so great as to leave nothing of profit for that and other interests.

It is evident that it is to the interest of the sagacious and capable men who control this great interest that they should have customers who are able to pay, and that the home market which by law they propose to reserve for themselves should be a good one, and shall not be burdened beyond its means of payment. I have no doubt, therefore, that the capable men who control and direct this vast and increasing manufacturing interest are willing to accept any just conclusion which results from a fair, impartial, and truthful investigation of the principles of economic law and of public policy which result therefrom.

TAXES REST ON LABOR AND ITS FRUITS.

All taxation, whether collected through a tariff on imports or by internal taxation, rests on labor and its fruits. This is apparent when we consider that production and its distribution comprehend the whole of our values, whether by manufacture or agriculture. Commerce and exchange are only the agencies and means of distribution, and inventions and mechanics are only the auxiliaries of production and distribution, and are only of value as useful to these ends, and derive all their profits from production.

It might be curious and profitable and pertinent to this subject to consider and trace the relations of arbitrary values, or fixed capital as it is termed, to real values or production, and to consider it in its nature and relations to the end that we might consider this subject in all its just relations to the people, to production, whether in manufacture or agriculture, but, Mr. President, I shall not weary the Senate by any effort to enter at large into this part of the subject.

The principles which should direct the imposition of taxes, whether by taxation on imports or on internal production, are the same; they should be so levied that they will rest equally on the distribution of production or the fruits of labor, so that those who have much should pay much, those who have little pay little. They should be so levied that they shall encourage and not discourage production.

And here commences the inquiry which opens the whole subject of protection, which claims that taxation should be so levied that it will encourage production and not discourage it. Hence the question arises whether production is encouraged by the levy of taxes, and the extent and manner of the encouragement to be afforded. The proper determination of this question can only be obtained by a careful consideration of the principles of economic law which control and direct it and upon which labor, its sole factor, depends.

Many Senators have discussed the subject of the tariff in its economic and political relations in the light of experience and on the basis of certain assumed formulas of principle and fact.

I propose to endeavor to consider and analyze the economic principles involved in these questions, and, if possible, to advance step by step from one proposition to another to a final conclusion, in order that we may see where the truth may be found, assured that if we follow the path of a truthful induction, I shall not fail to reach a just conclusion.

ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES OF HIGH AND LOW TARIFF.

The school of protection under high-tariff rates and discriminating duties and the school of low rates and duties for revenue only both claim the object of their theories and the necessary result of them to be the protection of American labor. American labor includes all labor—agricultural and mechanical. The high-tariff theory claims that protecting manufacturing labor protects agricultural and mechanical and scientific labor.

Let us examine their respective claims by the rules of abstract reason before we seek to apply to them conclusions drawn from an imperfect and limited induction. The first question is whether it is more advantageous for a people to be all engaged in agricultural production or all engaged in manufactures, and this may be considered also as to whether it is more important or useful to one man or many men that he or they should have nothing but agricultural productions or nothing but manufacturing productions.

If we start with the individual man and let him have nothing but agricultural labor, he will have nothing but agricultural productions; he will have plenty to eat, but nothing to wear. So if he has nothing but manufacturing labor, he will have much to wear and much to exchange, but nothing to eat.

Hence it is clear that in the first case the agricultural laborer will convert himself into a manufacturer and give a part of himself to manufacture and a part to agriculture, and so of the manufacturing man.

Therefore it is apparent that both manufacture and agriculture are necessary to the individual man, and it is also apparent that this necessity does not disappear when one man becomes many men—a community or a nation.

The next question is whether it is better for each man to be both an agricult-

urist and a manufacturer, or whether the labor had better be divided and one man be an agriculturist and another a manufacturer. This is also apparent because of the economy of labor and the better quality and quantity of production which come of greater practice and skill in any one thing over less practice and skill.

We arrive, then, at the conclusion that a division of labor is necessary to supply the wants of the individual man, and also and equally necessary to supply the wants of an aggregation of men—a community, a state, or a nation.

So far the argument demonstrates only a necessity for a variety of production, both agriculture and manufacture, and a division of labor.

But suppose a single family composed of several persons divide labor and production among themselves; one is an agriculturist, one a manufacturer. So far as the division of labor is concerned, they are as competent as any number of persons to supply their wants. All the causes which pertain to skilled labor, which render a division of labor an economical factor, exist here. What hinders, then, this small community of a family of skilled laborers from supplying all their wants from their own midst? Manifestly, if these wants relate only to the range of production local to them, this may be done.

DIVERSITY OF PRODUCTION AND SKILLED LABOR OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

But there is a diversity of production, of climate, and location in a country and in many countries; and as the circle of observation is extended so as to embrace the temperate and the torrid and the frigid zones, these diversities of production increase. The warm and genial air of Ceylon produces the spices and coffees and the perfumes of far-famed Cathay and the isles beyond; the frigid regions of the Poles, of Siberia and Greenland and North America, the furs and robes with which luxury protects itself from even the moderate inclemency of milder climes. Hence we find diversities of production in widely separated localities limit and affect the supply of the individual and the aggregate needs by limiting and affecting the supply of the material for manufacture or the necessary articles of subsistence for exchange. Hence it is manifest that diversity of production renders a division of labor between manufacture and agriculture in a small community of a single family, or even of many families, or of even a single country, inadequate for the complete supply of the wants of the family, the community, or the country.

We have, then, two essential factors in this economical problem, which belong to the region of calm and philosophic science. These are diversities of production in nature, diversities of labor and skill and development in mechanical science and art; upon these two factors a third and still more powerful factor, though purely artificial and related by no necessary connection, has erected a colossal fabric of power and even absolute and arbitrary dominion. This third factor is the diversity of capacity and knowledge among men, and the empire which these qualities have erected and still maintains, with no evidence of weakness or decay or failure, is the power of commerce and exchange. Hence we find in this economical problem diversities of natural production in agriculture in different and widely separated regions of the country, and diversities of capacity and character and development in man. Of the latter the Hottentot and the Terra del Fuegan, and the civilized, educated, and skilled artisan, machinist, and laborer of America and Europe, furnish the evidence and the example. The problem of the development of man by artificial means, by education, by invention, has been demonstrated in every age, but has never yet attained the plane of equality.

The problem of the development of an equality and identity of natural production in the materials for manufacture has made but little progress and has taken no steps toward an equality of educated and skilled labor. It is manifest that skilled labor, with its better economies, its larger and better production, will assert a supremacy over unskilled labor, even when in contact with natural production: and it may be said that skilled labor and the triumphs of commerce and exchange have, in every age of the world, accomplished the problem of removing the manufacture of raw material from the place of production to the place of residence of skilled labor.

But we are considering the expediency of developing the diversities of production, of manufacture and agriculture, within different countries or of creating an equality of skilled labor, invention, and mechanical power.

MECHANICS—INVENTION, MANUFACTURE.

Assuredly there can be no question of the almost unlimited advantage of the highest degree of skilled labor, of mechanical power, of invention, and manufacture within a State.

As to the abstract value of knowledge of skilled, educated labor, we can not measure it, we can not overestimate it. "The merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her. Length of days is in her right hand and in her left hand riches and honor."

There can be no question of the incidental advantages to agricultural production, of manufacturing production, in contact with and alongside of it.

First. It gives a home market for labor which otherwise would be engaged in agriculture.

Second. It stimulates skill in agriculture.

Third. It stimulates and produces invention and new appliances of mechanical power in agriculture.

Fourth. It enriches the state and contributes to the general prosperity by whatever it may obtain from abroad by the sale of its products. It creates competition with foreign nations. To such extent, then, as may be practicable the development of manufactures may be assumed to be of great and inestimable importance.

So far, I take it, all schools of political economy, all theories of politicians and statesmen will agree. But the differences will begin to arise when the inquiry commences.

HOW AIDED BY PUBLIC AUTHORITY.

Within what limits and to what extent and by what means is it wise and practicable to develop diversities of labor and production, whether in manufacture or agriculture, by the aid of public authority, by the exercise of the powers of government?

This question depends on a great many factors, and opens a broad range of inquiry, which it seems to me to a large extent to be foreign to all practical questions of state or public policy—under existing circumstances. But as it has been largely entered into here and is now occupying the thoughts of the ablest minds of our country, it requires careful and earnest study by those who are charged with the high duty of exercising the powers of government.

Within what limits is it wise and practicable to develop this diversity of production in a country? Certainly not beyond the extent when they become an onerous burden upon the existing industries of the state, nor beyond the extent to which the natural and climatic conditions of a country under wise economic conditions render easy of accomplishment, nor beyond the extent to which its commercial facilities and its power of exchange render easy and practicable.

Thus it could scarcely be concluded that any system of government aid could wisely develop industries which must depend on commerce and exchange for their value when there is no commerce and exchange and no possibility of it.

It is also apparent that no amount of tax on importations and no amount of bounty bestowed on manufacture among the Hottentots or the Terra del Fuegans would result in the development of manufacture unless by infinitesimal degrees or at some remote age.

The extent to which such industries should be developed by the aid of the public powers certainly ought not to be beyond the point at which they are profitably self-sustaining.

This conclusion seems so obvious that it is unnecessary to enforce it by any statement of the reasons why it is so. If it is not true, it follows that a privileged order of industry may wisely be created to which all other industries must pay tribute; not to the end that new and profitable industries may be either created or continued, but to the end that those engaged in them may be enriched beyond others.

This proposition would surely be indefensible under any condition of economic law, and also unsupported by any of the arguments by which different orders in a state are defended. In brief, it has no support on any ground of reason, under any condition of society or any theory of government, much less under a government such as ours, which with some degree of ostentation boasts of an absolute equality of men, of privilege, of right, and of opportunity.

By what means can the public authority, the powers of government, be wisely used to the end of developing diversity of labor and production in manufacture, in agriculture, in mechanics, in art and invention, in commerce and exchange, for we can not in just reasoning confine the inquiry to manufacture or to agriculture or to mechanics or to commerce? All depend on the same ground, the same principle, and must stand or fall together. If it be wise for the state to foster by any public policies or by any exercise of the public powers one of these for the object of diversifying labor and production, of enriching the state as a whole, the argument reaches all the others and can be measured in its wisdom only by the extent of the burdens required to be borne and the extent of the beneficial results to arise from it.

We all acknowledge that the first and greatest factor in creating diversity of labor and diversity of production, whether in agriculture, manufacture, or mechanics, or commerce and exchange, is education—the diffusion of knowledge. For this we impose taxes under our State laws, and in our national capacity we make donations of land which represent money, and we are now considering the wisdom and expediency of making large appropriations of the public money directly to this object.

Another factor in creating diversity of production and labor is commerce and exchange. For many years we have granted exclusive rights to American-built ships, a monopoly of our coasting trade, and given bounties to vessels engaged in the ocean fisheries, to the end that we might create ships and encourage sailors. We have given a monopoly to inventors to exact from the public for themselves all they can get for the use of every useful invention. We have given empires of territory, of land, and vast amounts of money and exclusive right of taxing all other industries to individuals as a bounty to induce the construction of railways as highways for commerce and exchange. We have created a vast monopoly, an exclusive right to corporate banking credit in individuals, to the end that we may facilitate and extend commerce and exchange with a sound and safe currency.

Indeed, it seems as if the habit and the theory of Government had been to create exclusive rights, monopoly, in every department of industry, and to limit by arbitrary law the field of competition; but this only relates to precedent, and does not advance us anything in the argument toward ascertaining by what means the Government may wisely use the public powers for the encouragement of diversity of production and manufacture. The limit and the direction of this policy must certainly be to such extent as it may benefit, the interests of labor in the aggregate industries of the country, and in so far only as it is consistent with their well-being; and in all cases this must depend on the extent of the burden imposed and the amount of the benefit to result.

No arbitrary rule or principle can ascertain and fix this amount. The policy of this Government, whether wisely or unwisely, has become established in favor of a revenue so far as practicable from customs, and no party or combination of men are strong enough to change this, or even seriously propose it. There are many reasons which demonstrate the greater equality and fairness of a direct over an indirect tax, which latter, when excessive, is felt only in the decline of industries, and not by the individual, and the influences which control the powers of this Government may some day see it in this light; but we are now concerned with the question of the adjustment of the customs in the tariff.

There are many reasons which demonstrate that if encouragement or aid is to be given by Government to any industry or interest in the state it is better to do it directly by grants of the public money, by bounties, or in some way separated from the methods adopted for raising revenue for the support of the Government; but what party will propose it, what statesman will advocate it? It is said if a revenue is to be raised by a tax on imports, let it be imposed on such articles as may be manufactured or produced at home, so as to encourage their manufacture or production. To this proposition I do not see that there can be any answer. Certainly it is wise to consider the incidental effect of a tax, and to see that its indirect effects are not hurtful, quite as much so as to see that its direct effects are not hurtful. But this conclusion will demand that the imposition of the tax shall not be upon articles that are necessary to enable manufactures to exist here, for you can not wisely encourage one manufacture by means which will discourage others, unless one be much more useful than the other.

NOT A QUESTION OF FREE TRADE.

We reach, then, the necessary conclusion that the question before us is not of free trade; not of a system of unrestricted exchange or barter which is to proceed from and be controlled by purely natural causes unaided by Government policies or Government aid or encouragement, or by the aid of powerful individual combinations of credit or exchange, which in most important respects relating to the means by which commerce may be extended is the same. But the question before us is of the duties we are to impose, the articles on which they are to be imposed, and the rate of duty which is to be levied.

It will be observed that under our system there is no place for prohibitory duties. Such duties are certainly without authority in any system of revenue, and if imposed must be upon a different system and under a different authority. If such duties are authorized under our system of government the authority must be found in the power to regulate our commerce with foreign nations, and by regarding the word regulate as extending to prohibition. We have found no difficulty with men of all parties in so regarding this word in connection with Chinese commerce, and if prohibitory duties may be authorized in the power to regulate commerce our friends of New England may derive some comfort in their sorrow over the successful assault of this measure on the universal brotherhood and the absolute equality of man in the constitutional warrant which the example gives of prohibition for protection.

We are brought then face to face with the existing tariff and its alleged advantages and defects, the necessity for its reform; and here we come upon the ground from which the Senators from Kentucky, Mr. BECK and Mr. Williams, and from Texas, Mr. COKE, and from North Carolina, Mr. VANCE, and from Mississippi, Mr. Lamar, send out their powerful array of facts in demonstration of the necessity for tariff reform. I do not understand that the argument goes further than this. I do not understand that any of these Senators deny that if England or France or China should by arbitrary law force their people to labor fourteen hours a day and refuse them all compensation except necessary subsistence—that these Senators contend that it would be unwise in us to protect ourselves, if we could, against the hurtful cheapness of the results of their labor.

TAXES ON CONSUMPTION.

But, Mr. President, what is this tariff, and what the evils which grow out of it?

It has been estimated that there are no less than from fifty to one hundred men in the United States whose average income is over $1,000,000 a year; there are about 2,000 whose income is $100,000; there are 100,000 whose income is $10,000 a year; there are 1,000,000 whose income is $1,000 a year; there are 14,000,000 who work for the support of their families whose average income is less than $400 a year.

Under a revenue system derived through taxes upon consumption, it is certainly true that the 14,000,000 who are only supporting their families will pay nearly all the taxes for the support of government, and the fifty or one hundred men who have $50,000,000 a year will pay little or nothing.

Let us consider, then, the ideas that justly belong to this subject. We have reached the conclusion that the policy of Government may be wisely used for the encouragement or creation of diversity of production, inclusive of skilled labor and of manufactures, whenever this result can be better and more completely attained with Government aid than without it.

DIVERSITY OF PRODUCTION AND CHEAPNESS.

In brief the formula of reason would seem to be diversity of production is necessary to the prosperity and welfare of an individual, a family, a community, a nation, in agriculture, in manufacture, in mechanics. The natural stimulus of want, of demand, does not of itself create supply, educate skilled labor, produce spontaneously the efficient causes which are requisite for the combination of credit and educated labor upon which manufacture, mechanics, and diversified agriculture must depend. This truth is demonstrated by the absence of skilled labor and diversified production in many parts of our country. These proceed either from Government aid or from powerful combinations of individuals having large credit, and the latter are dependent upon the profit to be derived from the sale of the manufactured article. If advantages of location and education or other causes producing cheapness prevent such combinations from deriving a profit, it is evident that they will have no motive to be made and will not be made.

We have, then, the proposition to consider whether admitted cheapness of an article in itself is more advantageous to an individual and a people than the direct and indirect advantage of producing it. Let us examine with care and patience this proposition, for upon it depends many of the conclusions which in reason determine this question—cheapness to the consumer, to the individual, to the people; the least degree of labor and effort necessary to obtain it is the essential need, the paramount object to be attained at all times and under all circumstances it is a controlling fact. If a person can at all times be assured of purchasing or obtaining any article at the smallest possible cost of labor or effort on his part, he has certainly reached in respect to such article the most advantageous economic condition possible; and as the consumer must, except in agriculture, be far greater in number than the producer, the cheapness of production will always be the essential object of economic effort.

But this cheapness to the individual, to the family, to the community, to the State, or the nation of States must be measured by reasonable standards, and not by nominal and delusive ones. They must be standards which correctly measure the effort and labor which is necessary to be given for the article, and therein the certainty and the regularity of its supply, and including in this the means of payment, whether in the labor of the consumer directly or in his or their labor after passing through many exchanges into different productions, each bearing its own cost of exchange and transportation.

It is needless to pursue this branch of the inquiry further; it is evident that this fixedness of price, the certainty of supply of any article, can not be relied on. War, pestilence, and famine, the ever new and ingenious combinations of commerce and exchange, causes both natural and artificial, combine to prevent this necessary element of cheapness from being a certain quantity in the price of any articles of production.

We reach, then, the conclusion that permanent cheapness of production is dependent on causes which increase in uncertainty as the extent of the regions from which the supply comes increases—and in exact proportion to all the economic conditions of the country from which it comes, on the extent of its taxation, on the condition of its finances, on the modes of its transportation, on the skill and invention of its people, on all the social and political causes which constitute good or bad government. We must therefore leave out fixedness of price or permanent cheapness as a controlling consideration in the argument, for the reason that it is an impossible result, and seek for the causes which secure it approximately.

What, then, are the causes which produce cheapness of production? They are the same without reference to the subject to which they are applied. Abstract truth, whether in mathematics or in morals, is the same without reference to its application. It does not vary with the subject to which it is applied.

What are the causes, then, of cheapness of production and the cheapness of price of commodities? They are supposed to be cheapness of labor, cheapness of material, skill of labor, and the relations of supply and demand. These results are supposed to be produced by competition; whether foreign or domestic its influence is the same. Let us examine, then, and see what is competition and from what source it comes and what laws govern it. What is the extent and limit of its influence? Does it respond like the barometer to the temperature? Is it of natural growth, or is it the result of foresight, of educated intelligence? Is it the child of commerce and exchange and without life until they breathe into it the power of being? If it is itself the creature of foresight and preparation, then we shall not find it unless we supply or create this foresight and preparation.

Manifestly, if we are to reason on this subject, we will agree that diversity of production, namely, agricultural, manufacturing, mechanical, is absolutely necessary to an individual, a family, a people, as they are to mankind. We will agree that educated skilled labor is essential to this diversity of production, and that this skilled educated labor is no more of natural, spontaneous growth than other kinds of knowledge and skill, but is the result of care, effort, foresight, of causes which are artificial and the outgrowth of long-continued human effort, and of policies of state and economies of business. We will agree that this care, effort, and foresight must be provided either by public or private effort.

Entering, then, upon another point of view, we will seek to find out whether a family, a community, a state, a nation of states may with greater comparative advantage rely on the supply of articles of manufacture, of diversified agriculture, and mechanical skill from other families, communities, states, nations of states. We will agree that the essential economic test of this comparative advantage or disadvantage of local, family, community, state, or national production and supply, as contrasted with other production or supply, is the permanent cheapness and certainty of supply of the products of skilled labor.

We will agree that this permanent cheapness of supply is dependent on causes which increase in uncertainty with the extent of the circle of the sources of supply. We will then have reached a conclusion upon which we can base some reliable inductions. To this we may add that competition within certain limits is a factor in reducing the cost or securing cheapness of commodities in some proportion to the cost of production; that this competition is itself the creature of effort; and that after its birth it is subject to many artificial causes which regulate and control it both at home and abroad; that the extent and power of individual combinations to control and limit competition, both in production and in transportation, and in commerce and exchange, has become so manifest and is so potential as to control the exercise of the powers of government; to overthrow its declared policy, and create privileged orders or classes in the state, with all the characteristics of the nobility of other countries, and with all the power, pomp, and prestige of other times. We shall see in the future policies of state which the public good shall require that we will be dealing upon false economic conditions if we shall assume in our laws that this diversity of production, this development of manufacturing and mechanical production which is absolutely necessary alike to the individual man and to every aggregation of people, will exist without artificial aid or some inducing cause greater than the mere want or demand for it, or that it will exist without public policies in aid of it.

If we shall assume that competition, whether foreign or domestic, will be an efficient and sufficient cause to secure cheapness of commodities, or to regulate equitably the division of production, whether of agriculture or of skilled labor in manufactures or mechanics, we will be acting upon false premises, and the conclusions which we draw from them will be false conclusions, not founded on an induction from facts. We will be attempting to chain a Samson with the green withes of the Philistines when we seek to deal with this great question, which creates and overthrows governments and institutions, upon false premises and unsound inductions. This question of the supply of the needs of man, of the family, the community, the state, the nation of states, is a giant capable of overthrowing all powers that fail to satisfy his wants. We can lead him and direct him by superior intelligence in the paths of abundance and contented comfort, but we can not chain him to want and poverty and destitution with the gossamer web of a false logic.

Foreign production and home production, whether in agriculture or manufactures or mechanics, in art or science, in everything that brings to every family abundance of the things necessary to human life and comfort, and everything that enables man to use these necessaries of life so as to increase his capacities for enjoyment and for usefulness, are parts of one harmonious whole. In economic law it is true as in all other things that "one touch of nature hath made all mankind of kin."

The protection of American labor against foreign labor is a solecism and has no foundation in truth. American labor and foreign labor, by economic law which no statutes can change, work together for the benefit of each. The protection of American labor from foreign labor has no connection with the protection of American labor from poverty, want, and insufficient wages by securing to him reasonable compensation for his labor and the power of purchasing an abundant supply of the comforts and luxuries of life.

Cheapness of things necessary for use to every individual and abundance of supply and the means of purchase are all questions of economic supply on which the just rights of labor depend, and these are themselves dependent on the increase and diversity of production and the facility and cheapness of transportation and on a proper system of regulation of commerce and exchange or distribution. This great question of the abundant supply of the wants of labor—that is, of each member of the community—it is evident is the great question of enlightened government to-day and in future time. Abundance and diversity of production and equal and just means of distribution are the factors on which it rests.

To a consideration of these agencies in all their vast field of influence the intelligent mind must address itself. To exclude productions, to increase the price of commodities, to create scarcity and dearness of commodities, to increase the nominal wages of particular or all classes of labor, and to decrease in still larger proportion the capacity of his wages to supply the wants of the individual, the family, the community, the state, the nation, must be false ideas and of no influence in bringing about the abundant supply of the laborer with the comforts and needs of human life.

It is also evident that in a consideration of the means and agencies by which diversity of production in agriculture and mechanics and manufactures and skilled labor is created, stimulated, and encouraged, the great combinations of credit, the great corporate enterprises which bring the power of combination to their aid, are similar in their influence to the aid of government to a public policy founded on law.

The power of government is only the power of combination. It is of no importance whence the power comes or what causes it if it is power in its influence and effect.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY.

We have seen that this diversity of production, this manufacturing labor, this educated and skilled labor does not grow spontaneously, that it requires artificial aid for its development either in the established combinations of great agencies of credit or the influence of government. That the natural law of demand and supply, as it is termed, is itself the creature of foresight and preparation and great combinations of credit, and a high order of economic civilization which applies the power of combination of established powers to this end, similar precisely to the aid of government, both in its character and effects. In brief, that there is no natural law by which supply is immediately born of demand.

That the uneducated and unemployed men, women, and children of many parts of our country have wants—demands which do not bring to them supply of the things they want—but that they live, as they have lived for hundreds of years, the just and proper subjects for the protection of such agencies or causes, be they what they may, as will create this supply for their wants which in the long ages has not come in answer to their demands, even when this demand was in an agonizing appeal to protect human life from beggary, from starvation, from disease and death. All history attests that supply is not born of demand, but that its third factor is the beneficent influence of intelligence, of long effort, of skilled and educated labor, and this factor is the creature of public policy and of a high civilization. We then come to consider the character of the aid which government may properly give to the development of diversity of productions in agriculture, in manufactures, and mechanics, to the end that it may be efficiently given and that it may produce the result of abundant and cheap production and the development of skillful and educated labor.

GOVERNMENT AID TO PRODUCTION.

In what form shall this Government aid be given? By what measures shall we legislate to the end that production may be diversified; that it shall be abundant and cheap to all consumers; that skilled labor, educated labor, its necessary factor, shall be created?

Let us examine this question in its own form and measure it in its own proportions. Let us regard it in its own great majesty, its all-sufficient strength, and not seek to decorate it with meretricious ornaments and defend it as the protector of American against foreign labor, but simply as a chief factor in the general prosperity, and as absolutely essential to the laborer whether foreign or domestic, and as the strength and glory of States.

Diversified production—skilled educated labor—is necessary to the supply of the wants of each person of the 50,000,000 of the people of the United States, and therefore of each family, community, State, and of the nation of States.

It is then of such importance as to demand the earnest thought of the statesman, and of such importance as to demand that the powers of Government shall be so adjusted as to embrace it. Let us then examine the means by which this Government aid, this public policy, shall be effectually and justly used to the end of causing diversity of production and the creation of skilled labor.

There are several methods in which production, whether in agriculture or manufactures, may be encouraged by governments. One method is by such an exercise of the powers of government as will build up, foster, and extend commerce and exchange, and create and regulate the institutions of credit, which are its proper and efficient auxiliaries; another is by grants of money as a consideration or inducement for any particular production; and still another

is a grant of an exclusive right to a particular production or manufacture. This grant may be either a direct grant of the exclusive right to a particular production or manufacture, or indirectly by a direct prohibition of the production or manufacture by any other person; another by indirect prohibition of the production or manufacture by imposing on all production or manufacture, except the privileged class, the obligation of selling at prices above a certain minimum and fixing this minimum at such a price as will secure a certain profit to some producers over others; that is, by requiring by law the consumer to pay for it a price not below a certain minimum or by increasing the price of the article to the consumer.

TARIFFS AND THEIR EFFECTS.

This latter method is the means adopted in the tariff system; that is by collecting a revenue out of certain articles for the purpose of increasing the price of such articles to the people, to the end that persons may be induced to produce or manufacture them.

The system then is an increase of the price of the commodity to the consumer that a profit may accrue to a producer that production may be created, with its direct and indirect advantages.

Competition must be limited—by an imposition of higher price upon the production of all competitors, except those confined to certain localities—to the end that competition in a designated locality shall ultimately reduce price.

Price of commodities to the people shall be increased to the end that profits may be secured to the producer, and that ultimately prices shall be reduced by domestic competition.

It will be obsrved that there can be no correspondence between the amount that will be obtained by a tax on consumption and the amount that may be required for the encouragement or creation of any particular production or manufacture; as, for instance, if any species of cotton is manufactured abroad with foreign labor and machinery at 10 cents a yard, and the proper and necessary cost of manufacture in this country is 20 cents a yard, the amount charged to the consumer in the aggregate will bear no proportion nor in any wise be related to the amount necessary for the encouragement of the manufacture or production. The aggregate amount paid will be measured by the amount of consumption, and all of the excess of consumption over the amount of home production will be unnecessarily paid.

If a million of yards is the extent of home production and 10,000,000 the home consumption, and 10 cents the duty, just double the cost of its production by this class of manufactures, it is evident that so long as 9,000,000 yards shall be supplied by the manufacturer, who is not within the privileged class, the consumers, the whole people, will pay 10 cents a yard or $900,000 merely that $100,000 may be paid to the producers of the million of yards for the development and encouragement of his home industry.

It is evident that $900,000, or nine times the amount necessary to be produced, is a very unwise and unjustifiable mode of raising a hundred thousand dollars, and that the only proper way would be to raise the $100,000 and appropriate it directly to the producer of the million of yards of cotton; or, in other words, that a tax on an indefinite and increasing consumption of any or all production is a wasteful and hurtful and unnecessary and excessive method of raising any particular sum of money. The tax in this instance and under this system seeks to find its justification in the fact that while $100,000 of the given amount of the tax is appropriated to the necessary purpose of encouraging the home production, the other $900,000 of excessive cost becomes revenue.

The object of the impost, the tax, or the discrimination, it does not matter which you term it, is to develop the home industry by securing 20 cents a yard to the home manufacturer; and under all circumstances the inseparable incident of such a tax or tariff is that an amount exceeding by indefinite and great proportions the amount necessary either for the encouragement of the manufacture or production sought to be aided and the amount required for revenue will be collected.

This system, it is evident, is the least hurtful when the impost or tax is adjusted at such an amount as will not be prohibitory, but is so carefully adjusted that competition will exist between all producers, both foreign and domestic. So long as this balance is nicely adjusted and this competition exists the price imposed on the people is limited by the competition; but when the duty becomes prohibitory the purchasers, that is, the people, are left to the unrestrained will of the producer, except as home competition is developed, because this local competition must be developed, not only by local demand but also by experimental success. The burden of such an imposition on the labor of the people then becomes onerous, oppressive, and ruinous, and the public object of developing and continuing the diversity of production and manufacture is lost in the eager pursuit of their personal pecuniary interest.

The method, then, in which the public policy may be wisely directed to the end of producing this necessary diversity of production, this educated and skilled labor, this abundant supply of all the comforts and necessaries of life, this division of labor which relieves any one branch of production from superfluity of labor, this competition between home and foreign industries which shall cheapen comforts and necessaries and render it possible for other wise public policies to bring these comforts and necessaries within the reach of every man, woman, and child, is evidently that which shall most directly apply the necessary amount of aid to the direct encouragement of the production, continuing only so long as is necessary to make this industry self-subsisting.

But we are precluded from the consideration of any other method of encouraging or, as the phrase is, protecting or developing diversity of production, except by a tariff for revenue. It is evident that such a system is by no means the best or most efficient for the purpose of creating American manufacture, and that it has nothing to do with the distribution of the profits of manufacture. The profits of manufacture and the distribution of the profits of manufacture or production on which the wages of workmen and the protection of American labor depend are two different subjects. The ratio of distribution of the profits is not determined by the abundance of the profits in any other sense than it is necessary to make a profit before there can be any distribution of it, whether fair or unfair.

Our inquiry here is confined to the question whether a diversity of production, whether agriculture, manufactures, mechanics, skilled labor, should be encouraged, aided by public law, or whether they should be left unaided to chance or natural causes; whether they should be left to struggle into existence against established combinations of credit or to remain unborn. If we answer these questions in favor of a public policy that will furnish this aid, we then approach the question, in what form, whether by direct aid or by a tariff, we shall furnish it. In this inquiry we are confined to the policy of a tariff, to an impost or customs; and however objectionable and unequal and imperfect and oppressive this method of aiding American industry or of diversifying American production in agriculture is, and is liable to be made, we are brought to the alternative of leaving manufactures and mechanics and diversified productions in agriculture either to chance or the slow development of purely natural causes, or to harmonize the objects of revenue with the development of diversity of production in the United States under a tariff. In this alternative there is not and never can be any choice. The necessity of a supply of the wants of mankind; the necessity for comfort and abundance to every family; the inadequacy of purely natural causes to produce this diversity of production; the necessity of whatever means will produce the result of cheap and abundant supply of the comforts and necessaries of life to every family, will assert itself, whether under a tariff or otherwise, and will mold and direct the policy of every enlightened government. Our duty now, one to which we are restricted not alone by the traditions and opinions of the past generations, but by a policy now established and fixed in the interests and opinions of the country, is to harmonize the interests of revenue under a tariff, and by means of it, with the interests of manufacture and agriculture, and with the interests of an abundant and cheap supply of the comforts and necessaries of life, and of everything that is included in and the result of diversified production and skilled labor in a country.

Let us address ourselves, then, to the principles on which this harmonious adjustment may be made under our revenue system. We will commence this investigation with the knowledge that a tariff is in itself of all modes of collecting revenue the most hurtful and oppressive to all the industries and consumers of a country; that it is a Chinese wall, and its admitted and desired effect is to create local competition by excluding foreign competition, to create home invention by excluding foreign invention; that its means and entire power of effecting any object is by increasing the cost, by rendering commodities dear; that it is not only a tax on consumption, but that it first renders the things consumed dear to the consumer; that while the path of intelligent effort in this advanced period of human history is to make inventions by which labor shall be saved, by which the forces of all the elements are made to relieve man of labor, and to enable the least amount of labor to procure the largest comfort, the system of tariff imposition is to diminish supply in order to increase it, to increase the price of the comforts and necessaries of life in order to diminish it, to increase the price of all labor without any correspondence or proportion or relation to the value which wages shall bear to the value of the commodities increased in value; that its theory is to create exclusive right, power, or privilege in one or many men, and thus enable them to obtain contributions from the labor of a large number and thus aggregate values; that it assumes that it is the nature of this exclusive right and power to distribute this aggregation of values beneficently and with proper regard to the necessities and interests of others; that it fails to recognize the fact that there is no natural law which makes fair and just compensation for labor result from the accumulation of its proceeds or from control over production; that its whole influence in respect to labor is based on the ideas that abundance and cheapness of production must precede abundance and cheapness of supply, abundance and cheapness of the means of production (including both material and labor) must precede abundance and cheapness of production, and that, although each of these are essential conditions to the others without which they can not exist, and neither are sufficient of themselves to produce the other any more than the human faculties, although present everywhere with all men in all climes and conditions, will as a necessary consequence of their possession develop themselves into their greatest capacity and power; yet it fails to recognize the essential fact that the abundance and cheapness of supply depend on commerce, exchange, and transportation, and on its equitable distribution or the just compensation of labor according to its value and capacity of production.

Let us, then, approach this question of the adjustment of the tariff with a full knowledge of the extent of its power for good and the extent of its power for evil, perceiving always that while a tariff may by limiting competition and increasing prices, encourage and stimulate production in manufactures and in agriculture and invention, and while in the absence of the established combinations of credit which are assimilated to Government aid the protection or encouragement afforded by a tariff may be a preferred alternative to the absence of diversity of production, to the absence of manufactures and of skilled labor, yet that it is properly subject to the objections which we have stated.

Suppose a community is supplied with agricultural productions to such an extent only as is sufficient for their wants, and the demand is so nicely balanced as to be only equal to the supply, and the question arises whether the producer of the supply of necessaries should be protected from a supply of these necessaries from some other community which would so cheapen them as to prevent the home producer from continuing this production, what would be the advantage or disadvantage of protecting the community against this supply, or against competition by keeping up the price of the necessaries of life, and what would be the disadvantage of giving the protection?

The wants of the community we will suppose are all supplied from their local or home productions. Any interference will disturb this economic adjustment, and the preservation of it by protection, by prohibitory duties, would be the proposed object of public policy; but the prohibition might soon develop the home supply beyond the home demand. The consumers would then have the advantage in the cheapness of commodities, and might demand legislation prohibitory of exports on the same ground that the producers demanded it, namely, on the ground that their employments would be made unprofitable by increasing the cost of subsistence. The theory of protection or proper Government aid in such a case would be to do that which would best promote the general interest or good of the community.

The question would arise whether the general good would not be best promoted by such an exercise of the public powers as would neither sacrifice the producer nor consumer, but would secure employment and reasonable compensation to each. The consumer might justly say that to render dear the necessaries of life would be an injury to the majority without any advantages to the state, the producer; that to allow his labor to be unremunerated would be to deprive him of the power of production and to transfer the production to others; that employment for many persons would be taken away, and by the extent of his loss the aggregate injury would be measured.

All this would doubtless be true, and in just such a community, with balanced interests so nicely adjusted, if it were possible to harmonize not only the present relations of demand and supply, but also the future, the object of economic effort would be attained in everything except the development of new industries. The community would be an Arcadia of simplicity, abundance, and contentment, and all that would be needed would be the law of prohibition to place the angel with the sword at the entrance of this Eden.

LABOR AND CHEAPNESS AND ABUNDANCE OF PRODUCTION.

But if we alter these conditions so as to represent a community with a supply of the necessaries of life inadequate to demand, but with the larger part engaged in pursuits which make them consumers of the necessaries of life, and a part only in the production of these necessaries, what will be the effect of legislation which shall make the necessaries of life dear to labor?

Is it not true that even the farmer who produces articles of subsistence for sale is not benefited by increasing the dearness of those articles which he produces, unless he produces with his own labor alone all of his supplies? In that case the greater the value of his superfluity the greater his profit. But if he relies on labor of others the greater the unnecessary cost of this labor because of the dearness of subsistence to it the greater his unnecessary expense, and if he is dependent on other communities for the purchase of his commodities, the greater his loss in competing with those who are not burdened with an unnecessary element of expense. It may be assumed as a principle of economic law that dearness of the necessaries of life are not an advantage to the producer or the laborer; that as all production depends on labor and labor on subsistence, whatever relieves labor of unnecessary cost increases the net profits of labor and production, and that the net results to each is to have a larger amount of surplus of production in the results of labor in everything. But this general principle of economic truth has doubtless its qualifications when applied to the relations of communities with each other. And while it is certainly true that the foundation of all economic law is the abundance and cheapness of production, and the abundance and cheapness of supply, and the abundance of de-

mand, and the facility of exchange as a necessary factor, there is no place in its whole system for the unnecessary and superfluous cost of anything, and nothing can be made cheap by its being made dear.

To reason on this subject of the relations of cost, of commodities, of what is termed price; to understand and give meaning to the terms so often reiterated, that the greater cost of living here the greater cost of labor, requires greater compensation, let us consider what does cost or price mean. It means the amount of labor, the quantity of human effort which is requisite to exchange for labor and effort of another and different kind. It means the amount of the production of all kinds that can be obtained by a given amount of labor. The expression and measure of this quantity in dollars and cents, in the denominations of money, for reasons which are obvious, but which it would be tedious to mention here, is delusive and altogether inadequate to represent this quantity.

Commerce and exchange are the means by which the fruits of labor are exchanged and transferred from one to another.

How can the laborers between whom these fruits are exchanged be benefited by diminishing the quantities which either or both shall receive?

How shall either party of laborers in this exchange of the fruits of their labor be benefited by increasing the amount of their labor required to be expended in the production of the fruits of their labor?

How shall either party of laborers in this exchange be improved by the greater amount of labor required to be expended by the other in obtaining the fruits of their labor?

If the Englishman has to work three days for the amount of production that the American laborer obtains for one day's work, how does it injure the American to obtain in the exchange two days' labor of the Englishman for one of his own?

It is evident, therefore, that there is a false condition here, and that the laborer is not injured by the cheapness of labor and the cheapness of productions elsewhere, but that to all every progress in the line of reducing the amount of labor necessary to be expended for production is a benefaction, commencing with the man who saves so much of his labor and extending to all others whom he can, if he chooses, allow to enjoy the fruits of his production for a correspondingly smaller amount of their labor.

But the proposition is that the cost of labor, its cheapness and dearness, must be measured by another standard, namely, the cost of subsistence to himself, the amount of his labor which he must give for his subsistence. If one man can live on one-half as much as another laborer and do the same amount of work of the same kind, his work is cheaper by that much. Another standard, therefore, intervenes here, namely, the value of the laborer in respect to the cost of subsistence and the scale of the comforts of life used by the one or the other. In this point of view, while this as much as any other element of cheapness inures to the benefit of all other laborers in cheapening production and increasing the amount of the production of others which each day's labor will buy, it is evident that all laborers who require the greater amount of the comforts of life are disadvantaged as compared with those who labor under privation and in destitution and for an amount of subsistence not measured in any degree by any just rate of compensation. This, it is true, is an arbitrary and artificial factor and bears no relation to economic law; but still it is a real factor, and the laborer who requires comforts can not compete with those who require none, and if it is desirable to a country to have the laborer, the fruits of such labor can not be thus antagonized, but must in some form be protected by a just exercise of the powers of government. The existence of this labor and the fruits of it, and the abundance, regularity, and cheapness of its fruits, are, as we have shown, necessary to the state and to all of the people of a state; and the comfort and just compensation of labor are also essential to good government and prosperity. But it must be considered here that the injury which may be done to labor in one country by the labor of another country working under conditions of want, privation, and suffering is only temporary.

The conditions of comfort, of abundant subsistence, of pleasant and healthy surroundings, are the conditions of health of body and mind, and of the most efficient exercise of their faculties; and the efficient exercise of the mental and bodily faculties of the laborers is the condition of the most abundant and the most excellent quality of production, and this latter is the condition of the greatest cheapness of production; and whenever we shall arrive at such a condition of law as will inseparably connect the comfort and well-being of the laborer with the skill and intelligence and efficiency of his labor, when we shall supply the moral force in place of the physical, which will require the persistent effort to acquire, and apply the faculties of intelligent and healthy labor, we shall have left no room for the competition of inferior labor or its productions.

These are public objects which concern all the people, and the body of the State may well afford to be taxed in whatever form may be least hurtful for this public object. I reach the conclusion, then, that in the adjustment of a tariff for revenue, if it is to be so raised, its incidental effects should, if possible, be directed to the end of securing employment and just compensation to all persons living under our laws.

INSTANCES OF PROHIBITORY DUTIES AND OF FOREIGN COMPETITION.

Let us suppose that a million of people are settled in some country under the most favorable conditions of soil and climate, and that they comprise within themselves all the different kinds of skilled labor and the arts and sciences. They adopt the policy of imposing taxes on consumption for the purpose of encouraging the different industries, and they do it in the form of prohibitory duties of a high protective tariff, which prohibit importation. This would be the perfection of the policy of a tariff for protection.

Let us examine, then, carefully this instance and develop and analyze it.

The soil is prolific, the climate favorable, their knowledge of agriculture advanced, all the economies of labor excellent. An abundance of subsistence is produced for the whole population, fruits and flowers abound for all.

The whole population is engaged in agriculture and horticulture. A wise statesmanship, exercising the powers of government, carefully ascertains the part of this labor necessary to produce abundantly the subsistence and fruits necessary for an abundant supply for all. The remainder is divided and assigned to all the several employments necessary to supply the wants and luxuries of the whole body of the people. The carpenter charges at will, without competition, except from his home competitors. The manufacturers of clothes charge at will; the furniture dealers the same; the house-builders also; the railroads the same. They are left to the law of competition among themselves to regulate their exchanges

It is evident that the farmer who has a superfluity will desire to exchange it for such things as he requires but does not produce, for all articles of comfort and luxury, and that this exchange will be limited only by the wants of each and the imperative needs of each. The relative quantities of each which will be exchanged for the others will be determined only by their necessities and tastes and by the abundance of supply. Then will come the force of combinations between those who have similar interests to keep up prices, but this force can operate only temporarily, and not permanently, against superfluity of production.

But supposing all branches of industry within the close community to produce a superfluity, a new division of labor will have to be made, and still another part be applied to the higher arts and to the supply of wants developed out of this superfluity of production.

This instance would represent a condition of economic law which would be fair and equal as between themselves. No objection could be made that because the Government had apportioned the amount of labor to each pursuit and had excluded all productions outside of the State the agricultural part of the community were imposed on. They could only complain that the productions of the outside world were excluded and insist that the abundance of production, and its cheapness of supply and the just distribution and compensation of all was due not so much to the exclusion of foreign productions as to the proper division of labor.

But let us compare this State with another with a population of a million of people similarly located in every respect, and in which there is no prohibitory duty and no protective duty, and find the difference. In both a small part of the people are adequate to produce a superfluity of subsistence; in both a wise public policy divides labor and directs it into new productions; in both skilled labor, art, and science abound. In this latter State a tax is imposed on all the people for precisely the amount necessary to sustain and compensate those engaged in the new division of labor until it becomes self-sustaining. No tax upon consumption is imposed; foreign productions and inventions come in free and unimpeded, and the standard of price and value in all things is fixed by this competition, except in so far as the ingenious combinations of commerce and exchange may still introduce an unnatural and arbitrary factor to control prices.

If more highly skilled labor and better economics of well-fed and well-clothed, contented labor, wisely distributed into different employments as the wants of the people and the extent of production, or demand and supply require, has produced an abundance of supply on the cheapest possible terms as to price; if labor-saving inventions have reduced the amount of human labor requisite for any given amount of production to the minimum in this latter state, there will be no room for competition by the products of more costly labor.

This result will be reached by the competition between the fruits of labor in all parts of the world, in which contest the cost of production has been constantly lessened and the contest left to rest upon the progress of invention and the greater efficiency of labor, in which struggle the advantages of better fed labor and more contented labor and better machinery have been the factors relied on.

With productions thus increased and cheapened, with an industrial system resting on the economic truths that the intelligence of the laborer directs the use of his faculties better than his ignorance, that it improves his habits and his strength and his health, that better intelligence and better habits and labor-saving inventions produce more abundantly and more cheaply than inferior labor the production of the state where competition has been excluded and prices made dear by the opportunities of combination to keep prices down will be at a fatal disadvantage.

It is evident that the superfluities of production from the state where values have been increased by arbitrary law can not compete in outside markets with production reduced in its cost, not only by skilled labor and by a wise exercise of the public powers in the constant division of labor, but also by competition from the outside world—both in labor-saving machinery and in invention and from natural advantages.

We perceive, then, that to the producer, whether a farmer or a manufacturer, the only law that will measure the value of his production in exchange is the amount of labor and the cost of labor as measured by the amount and the cost of labor of the object to be exchanged, and that the chief agents in increasing or diminishing the cost will be the greater or less skill and efficiency of the labor, and that all the elements beyond these that enter into the price are those of commerce, of exchange, of transportation, and of credit, which are the subject of the enterprise and commercial sagacity of a country.

But we are considering the laws of production, and not of distribution and exchange. We must confine our attention to the subject of the means by which production of a country may be diversified and the wants of all the people supplied—the subject of the agency of skilled labor in this result and of a division of labor—the subject of the effect and influence of foreign and of domestic competition.

We have seen that it would be possible under a system of entire seclusion of a people from all foreign production so to adjust the economic conditions by proper divisions of labor as to produce a superfluity of productions and of all things susceptible of production and manufacture there, and that in such a case the increase of values between the abundant production would only be the wants, necessities, and tastes of the people, the cost of transportation, and the reasonable cost of exchange.

We have observed that in this instance in any exchange the amount of labor required to produce it would be the first element of cost, then of transportation, and then of exchange, and this amount would be a strictly equitable mode of exchange, in which no hardship would exist. There would be no estimate of comparative values of their production estimated by any other standard of values. The producer of wheat could not say that wheat in another country will bring so many dollars a bushel, and that this sum represented more than he could obtain for it at home, for he has received the value of his production by an equitable and just standard of compensation, which is equal and just to all.

What do you do, then, when you adopt another standard and introduce the value of production as fixed by other countries, a standard fixed by what you term the law of competition, the law of supply and demand? Do you adopt a standard of value fixed by any just and equitable rules, by any standard based on just compensation to all the agencies engaged, on a compensation based on a just division of the value of the things produced in proportion to the agencies of production, to the skill of the laborer, and the amount of his production? For this is unquestionably the just and compensating law of values, until the elements of transportation, of commerce, and of exchange are added, and competition is only of value in so far as it is a means of reaching this end.

You adopt a standard of price and a quality of excellence measured and fixed by great combinations of credit, which are themselves the creature of the exercise of the powers of foreign governments.

The truth of this conclusion will appear from a consideration of what are the elements of value in any article of foreign production. What is it that fixes the price abroad?

First, necessary cost of production, including subsistence and compensation of labor, cost of material and transportation. To this must be added the cost of exchange and credit used in effecting it. To this absolutely necessary cost must be added the amount which may be added by speculative and artificial considerations, such as speculation, such as purchase and concentration of the whole supply; such as result from the control of credit; such as result from the great associated capital of these industries, which enable them to put on the market just such amount of the supply of these commodities as will not destroy the price; such combinations as will enable them to limit and prevent competition.

If Mr. Keene could make a combination which enabled him to control the entire production of a great staple like wheat; if Mr. Vanderbilt can make a combination which will control the rates of railroad transportation for such vast production and travel as that of the fifty millions of the people of the United States, what will prevent the concentrated credit and capital of Great Britain from making the foreign standard of value by which American production is to be measured altogether arbitrary, and in what respect is such a standard of values a better one for American interests than one fixed by our own Government and by our own people? And in what respect can such a standard of values more truly measure the proportions of compensation of labor in our own country than a standard of our own?

But, it is replied, that this theory, and it is confronted with a fact to which

it must give place; that fact is this, to-day you can exchange American productions for gold values, and with that you can buy foreign productions, foreign manufactures, notably articles of clothing and necessary use, in Great Britain, of equal excellence, for from one-half to one-third less than in the United States. This is certainly a fact which can not lightly be set aside, but must be carefully weighed and taken for its true value, for we are not in search of error, but of truth; we wish to go wherever reason leads us. What does this fact import? Equal if not superior excellence of quality, abundance of production, and greater cheapness of supply, measured by a standard common to both countries. It imports a superiority in all the agencies of manufacturing, production, and of transportation, commerce, and exchange. It imports vast and powerful combinations of credit and finance, the creatures of government aid and public policy, well established and long pursued. It imports that government aid and public policy which established and maintained the East India Company, and which for hundreds of years has fostered trade and commerce. It does not import that these vast interests which have enabled England to rule the world have been built up by independence of the fiscal agencies of her government, but it does import a dependence for hundreds of years, which finds its expression in large measure in her present enormous public debt.

Let us examine this question of the foreign standard of value by an instance of fact: A farmer sells a hundred bushels of wheat, or pounds of butter, or bales of cotton. If there is a foreign demand the price will be fixed at the foreign standard for all that is sent abroad or that is supplied for this purpose. This foreign standard of value will be the result of the causes we have mentioned, peculiar to the economics of the foreign state, whether pauper labor, combination of credit, or skilled labor. The wheat, butter, and cotton bought for export and valued at the foreign standard, when turned into money is required by law to be invested in manufactured production at from 25 to 40 per cent. more than its price in the market; that is, the value of the money received for the wheat, butter, or cotton, is diminished by law just the amount that the duty requires him to pay in increased price for the articles he is required to buy. We will suppose this difference to be 25 per cent. That is, every dollar he receives for his wheat or butter or cotton is diminished just one-fourth; that is, he receives 75 cents for every dollar, and this by force of law. Now, this is the necessary effect of a duty, for as soon as the competition has made the home price the same or less than the foreign price the duty has no effect and no office to perform. What benefit then does the producer receive for this one-fourth of his wheat, butter, or cotton?

Why should the law require him to give one-fourth of his labor to the support of others?

It is said to promote the general welfare; to educate skilled workmen; to develop educated labor; to diversify production; to divide labor; to relieve overburdened industries. It is admitted that if it is necessary to this end that this producer shall be required to contribute the fourth of his labor for this purpose it would be wise that he should be made to bear all the burden of these great ends. But let us see if it is either a necessary or proper means to that end.

Why is it necessary for a whole people to be required to pay 25 per cent. more for any article of consumption than they can buy it for otherwise, in order to give a profit to those who make such articles, when the 25 per cent. thus paid by the whole community aggregates vastly more than the amount necessary to give the profit to the producer or manufacturer? Why would it not be better and wiser to pay the producer of the articles a bounty of whatever sum his business requires to equalize or make his profits superior to the foreign manufacturer or producer?

If the account shall show that the manufacturers can be supported and a large rate of profit can be given by an appropriation of one-fourth less than the amount now taxed for their benefit directly to them, then it can not be maintained that diversified production is really dependent on the prohibition of foreign imports or on high duties. This is certainly true in all cases where the protected interest with high duties supplies only a fourth or a half or two-thirds of the amount consumed in the country, for in these instances it is apparent on the very surface that all over and above the amount produced in the country, whether it is a half or a third or two-thirds, does not go to the manufacturer or producer, and is therefore unnecessarily paid so far as protection is concerned.

It is therefore evident that skilled labor and educated workmen and manufacturers and diversified production are not dependent on a tariff for protection; but if public aid is necessary to the support of these great interests this public aid can be given much more economically by a direct appropriation of a much smaller amount of money.

DEPENDENCE ON FISCAL EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT.

The honorable Senator from Mississippi, with the great ability that always belongs to his efforts, commanded the attention and interest of the Senate while he grasped the whole of this great subject in the two propositions, that diversified production was not dependent in any wise for its full and proper development on the aid of Government or on public policies which create and foster these great agencies of business, to-day levying greater tribute on production than any and all other causes.

Second. That dependence in the fiscal agencies of the Government was destructive of the Government and the healthy exercise of its functions. Let us examine these propositions. If true, they determine this question entirely. However important diversified productions may be, if natural causes are adequate to produce it, then the aid of Government or of any public policy established by it is altogether unnecessary and besides injurious in the highest degree.

There can be no question that any dependence of the great interests of a country on the exercise of the powers of government creates an inducement and a motive for influencing and controlling and directing such powers and those who exercise them.

No doubt a powerful influence is thus created to influence the government of the country. But, Mr. President, how will you divorce the power of government from both a direct and an indirect influence over the great values of the country? It seems to me that it will not answer the demands of production at this day to affirm that its dependence on the proper exercise of the fiscal powers of a government is a fatal objection to the just and equal exercise of these powers in its behalf.

Shall the power which aggregates greater revenue than the government itself does from the franchise to tax all production and all locomotion given by the government to individuals be declared independent of all the powers of government? Is not all production absolutely dependent on this power? Does not their combination give them absolute control over the great body of the people? Are we quite sure that entire independence of control from the public powers best consists with the interests of the great body of producers of the country? Shall transportation, the perpetual right to tax locomotion and transportation, be left entirely beyond the reach of the powers of government?

As population increases and the magnitude of production is enlarged, will these great interests adjust themselves into harmonious relations with each other without any directing power?

Are there no forces which evolve themselves outside of law to aggregate power in the hands of a few and to subject the interests of the majority of the people to the control of a minority?

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION MUST BE FAIR AND EQUAL.

Mr. President, the day has come in which the question of production and its distribution, so as to supply subsistence and comfort to all the people, and the agencies both public and private, natural or artificial, by which this end can be effected properly must be used, and the necessity for this end will make itself felt.

It may well be considered whether there are not some rights of the people that are human rights—other than the mere right to be protected against violence or the wrongful deprivation of property which they do not possess; whether it is not a proper object of government to establish such policies as will secure to the people opportunity to engage in pursuits which will enable them to obtain subsistence and comfort and the healthy exercise of their faculties, and which will secure abundance and cheapness of the things necessary for a healthy, vigorous, and intelligent people, and reasonable remuneration for their labor.

Theories of Government which are confined to the proposition that the functions and limit of the powers of government must be the protection of the individual from unlawful violence and robbery, without exercising any influence toward securing to him a fair opportunity for the employment of his faculties and for their remuneration in the fruits of labor, may well be questioned when we see that as density of population and magnitude of production increase there are forces evolved which subject the great majority of the people to an absolute dependence on a very small minority for the necessaries of life, and that the amount of labor which is required to obtain the absolute necessaries of life increases precisely as population and production increase.

TARIFF SHOULD BE FOR REVENUE.

The tariff should be adjusted to the revenue standard. It should be, so far as consistent with revenue, taken off of the articles of necessity for the people; it should be distributed under the revenue standard between those articles which are of domestic manufacture and production, but it should never be more than sufficient to equalize the cost of production in this and other countries. It should never be continued to such a point as to become onerous and prevent a fair competition from foreign production.

EVILS OF PRESENT CONDITION.

Somewhere in our present system there is a great fault which needs the correcting hand of a wise statesmanship. Whether it is in our system of banking credits, our transportation, our methods of trade and exchange, or in our tariff, it should be the subject of careful thought. Our municipal, county, State, and national taxation has become an enormous burden, bearing very unequally on the great majority of the people. Prices measured by labor constantly increase in great disproportion to the remuneration of labor. In many parts of our country there is no diversity of employment; women and children are often in a state of great destitution for want of employment. An intelligent correspondent writes me as follows:

"The sixteen Southern States have bought for their consumption in the ninety-five years more than $1,500,000,000, being $12,000,000 for each Congressional district, amount of the domestic manufacture and mining products of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the six New England States, appreciated in prices one-fourth of said amount over and above what they could have bought it for in the open markets of the world at prices 25 per cent. less than they paid these nine States. This money tribute amounted to $375,000,000 in the last fiscal year given these States, and a proportional amount in the Western agricultural States.

"The cry of competition with the pauper labor of Europe is not true. It is machinery *vs.* machinery. More than 80 per cent. of the labor entering into the production of cotton cloth, etc., is the work of machinery, less than 20 per cent. manual labor. The quotations of middling cotton are 11 cents. The cost of producing the best grades of cotton shirting which such middling cotton turns out is less than 2 cents per yard, 36 by 28 inches, 4 yards to the pound of cotton, which sells at 10 cents per yard, 40 cents. First middling cotton, 11 cents; cost of manufacture, 8 cents (cost of 4 yards), makes 19 cents. Now, view it in the Southern section. Dealing direct with Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and New England States, manufacturers receiving 4 yards of cotton cloth for the same, at 10 cents the yard, 40 cents. In fact, he has sold the 1 pound of cotton at 11 cents, which the manufacturer has rendered into 4 yards of cloth for 8 cents, 19 cents, and profited 21 cents.

"These figures cover the facts of the transaction and are proven by the fact that he could go to the British manufacturer with his pound of middling cotton and buy sheeting, equal in quality, at 2½*d.*, or 5 cents per yard, for which he pays here 10 cents. These manufacturing States bought of the last crop, say, one and a half millions of bales of cotton from the Southern States and paid for the same the net proceeds of three-quarters of a million of bales of the same cotton in full satisfaction therefor. This has continued for ninety-five years."

Mr. President, these statements are from a merchant of many years' experience and of much and accurate information. Whether they are exact or not they serve to show the unequal operations of our revenue system. They also serve to show how production is constantly burdened with unnecessary cost, which to some extent increases price to the consumers, and that this increase to the agricultural producer carries with it no increasing remunerations to labor in other pursuits. Indeed I do not think it would not be difficult to demonstrate that it decreases the wages of labor and lessens the beneficent results of diversified productions to the people at large.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, I should not regret the payment of this vast sum of money by the sixteen States from which it has been taken—I shall not regret, but regard with pride and satisfaction the great prosperity and the immense capital of the Northern States, if the result had been or shall be to establish diversified productions in every county of the States from which it was taken. I would be willing that these States should contribute this vast sum, if its distribution was such as to create diversified production, the arts and manufactures, skilled labor among their own people, even *pari passu* with the manufacturing States.

Mr. President, I am aware that it will be replied that the system is equal, that there is no prohibition by law of their industries and has been none in any of these States, and they might have adopted such policies as would have developed these interests among them and relieved them of the inequality complained of.

I think this is true; but still as the fact is and as they have chosen to devote themselves to agriculture and its kindred pursuits, it is eminently just that even on this lower ground of the argument the revenue system should be so adjusted as to relieve them of all unnecessary cost and give them for the articles which they consume the benefits of competition on fair terms in the markets of the world.

But, Mr. President, the effect of a tariff, whether for revenue with protection or protection without revenue, is not in itself sufficient to encourage the development of industries or diversified production throughout the country, but the advantages of concentrated credit, of skilled labor, of machinery, of the better economies of business, appropriate its advantages and profits and concentrate manufacture in particular localities. Hence we have had manufacturing States. And the great contest which arose between Calhoun and McDuffie and Webster and Clay in the early days of the Republic may be regarded as arising out of this fact. Suppose the one thousand and five hundred millions of dollars extra price which is estimated to have been levied on the agriculturists of sixteen States, without reference to that imposed on the West and Northwest, had been applied directly to the encouragement of manufactures and diversified productions in the States by which it was paid, then no doubt much of the force of the argument against it would disappear.

It would be a curious subject to examine and consider what would have been

the effect of the appropriation of $1,500,000,000 during the past history of the Republic to the direct encouragement of manufacturing industries and to diversified agricultural production within the States which paid it.

THE TRUE PUBLIC POLICIES.

What wide-spread prosperity, what general contentment, what increased and diversified production? How contented and happy a people the vast and varied resources of these States would have developed by this time. I will not pursue this subject further at this time. It is evident that the public policies which produce diversified production are the established combinations of credit which result from a sound and equal and just system of currency and exchange, from a commerce free from unnecessary burdens and restrictions, from systems of transportation wisely regulated, from all agencies of exchange fostered and adjusted and protected by wise economies; from a fair and just competition, both foreign and domestic, from general education, and schools of art. A system of revenue, however raised, should be adjusted with reference to these conditions as the established commercial policy of the country and without interfering with them any further than might be necessary for the protection of its great interests against sudden and temporary causes.

The future necessities of this country, with its rapidly increasing population, will soon demand a conformity to the economic laws which control the questions of supply and demand. The necessities of the great body of the people, the necessary conditions of human life in a dense population will have to be supplied under a new state of things. The bounties of nature in a country where an unoccupied soil and untouched forests furnish subsistence to a people with but little or no labor will soon have been exhausted, and it will no longer be possible to supply their wants without a true adjustment of the economic conditions of the country, without a just equation in the exchanges of the fruits of labor, without increasing and cheapening production and increasing and cheapening distribution and the means and facilities of exchange. Whatever policies of state effectuate this end will be those which are necessary for the Government and will force themselves into observance. Certainly they will not be such as increase the cost of commodities and limit and check commerce and exchange.

A TARIFF FOR REVENUE BEARING EQUALLY ON ALL THE STATES.

In my votes, Mr. President, I regard the present question as one of adjustment and not of the adoption of a system. So long as it exists I shall endeavor, as others will, to obtain as large a share of the supposed advantages for the people of my own State as possible. Whenever it is in my power to aid in adopting a system which shall establish fair and just relations between the agricultural and mechanical and manufacturing labor of this country, which shall relieve commerce and exchange of unnecessary burdens, which shall cheapen the cost of subsistence to the people, which shall at the same time diversify their employments and protect manufactures, not by giving unreasonable profits to capital, not by increasing the cost of the manufactured article, but by protecting them from sudden and powerful foreign combinations by temporary means, and opening and widening the area of consumption and the markets of the world, I shall gladly do so. I believe such a system to be possible, a system of free trade and also of protection under wise policies of government, under a revenue tariff with its incidental and reasonable protection.

SPEECHES

OF

HON. JOSEPH WHEELER,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, July 18, *and Thursday, July* 19, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. WHEELER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: When this discussion commenced it was asserted that all American industries were to be destroyed. We have spent three months in this debate, most of which has been carried on by gentlemen on the other side of the House in opposition to this bill, and no one has yet shown that a single industry will be even harmed, much less destroyed.

Now, about the cotton-ties, the duty on which has been under discussion this morning. A tariff commission appointed by the Republican party, every member of which was a protectionist and the special champion of some protected interest, took some testimony on that subject, from which I quote.

Mr. English, in his testimony, says: "When the cotton is landed in Liverpool and sold, 6 per cent. is deducted for the tare, just as 10 per cent. is deducted for tare on sugar." Then the question was asked him: "The 6 per cent. that is deducted in Liverpool is the tare on the ties and bagging?" His answer was, "Yes, sir." Then he was asked this question: "So that in fact the cotton is sold in Liverpool by its net actual weight?" To which he answered, "Yes, sir."

Again, on page 306 of the report, I find that Mr. Ranlett testified in these words:

By Commissioner AMBLER:

Q. Is not the price of cotton in this country fixed by the price of cotton in Liverpool?

A. Of course.

Q. I am speaking of Liverpool; do they not strip the cotton, taking off ties and bagging, and weigh it?

A. American cotton is bought in America by agents of English houses in Liverpool. The Liverpool merchants have a knowledge of the way cotton is sold in this country, so that when they give an order for 1,000 bales they know it means with the bagging and ties around it (gross weight), and they calculate so much for the packing and pay so much less.

Q. So that in Liverpool they pay for the cotton they get, and although apparently they pay for the bagging and ties, yet in regulating the price here they allow for the bagging and ties?

A. Yes, sir; and the American producer loses it.

From the same report we learn that the pretense that the proposed increase of duty will not result to the advantage of the workingmen, but is purely and simply a bonus to the manufacturer.

I read from the testimony of Mr. Edgerly, on page 2261:

There are only ten mills in the United States which make cotton-ties, and they employ only a small proportion of the workers in iron. I call special attention to that fact. It has been stated that the necessity for increasing the tariff is that it will benefit an enormous number of people employed in the manufacture of these ties in this country. That is a fallacy. The entire consumption of the United States is never more than 30,000 tons, which would only occupy 300 men, making 1 ton a day 100 days.

This testimony shows that every cent paid for bagging and ties is a dead loss to the cotton-planter, and it seems to me that this loss should not be augmented by increasing the duties on ties, which the manufacturer will add to his price for an article of prime necessity to the planter.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Thursday, July 19, 1888.

Mr. WHEELER. I desire to occupy the committee but one moment for the purpose of correcting some erroneous impressions which I see have crept into this debate. It is now more than one hundred days since this bill was reported to the House by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. It is more than three months since the debate was opened by the speech made on this floor by that distinguished gentleman. Since that time more than one thousand speeches have been made upon this bill, more than three-fourths of which have been by gentlemen who have opposed its passage. They have been very——

Mr. LEHLBACH. I desire to ask a parliamentary question. Am I not to get a vote upon my amendment now?

Mr. WHEELER. I have risen to oppose the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has risen to oppose the amendment.

Mr. WHEELER. It will be beaten after I get through.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Do I understand the gentleman to say that this amendment will be beaten?

Mr. WHEELER. It will depend upon the vote, but I think it will be defeated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. It is in order to obviate the competition of Austrian prisons if you want to beat it.

Mr. WHEELER. The House will vote with great consideration and good judgment. It has been said that this bill is destructive of the iron interests, and I want to call attention to the fact that the reduction upon the metal schedule hardly affects in the slightest degree any industry in this country. Of the $18,000,000 reduction by the additions to the free-list, some sixteen millions are upon tin-plate; then there are three hundred thousand on needles; there are two hundred and forty thousand on iron-ties, which have almost ceased to be manufactured in this country. Then on quicksilver and copper ores and antimony and the balance of the metal schedule we have had in the past an importation which amounts to $267,000, upon which a tax is collected of near $36,000. I think I am correct in stating that no intelligent manufacturer or employé engaged in the iron industry has protested against or suggested that they objected to or were opposed to any of these clauses of that schedule which includes this $267,000. For the last twenty-five years every Secretary of the Treasury, every President, and every platform of every party has demanded a reduction in the tariff.

Now, in regard to the dutiable schedule. The largest reduction proposed to be made in the duty on any article, except wool, has been made on sugar, and we have heard no complaint from the sugar industry on that score; but if it does affect them they recognize that all the industries should in some manner contribute to this necessary reduction which must be made in our revenues. The largest reduction is upon wool, and the State of Texas and other Southern States produce much more raw wool in proportion to population than any other portion of our country. No protest has come from them, excepting those few protests which are sent here as political measures and for political purposes, and not as the expression of the opinions or feelings of the protestants regarding any economical business principles.

[Here the hammer fell.]